

HANS HENDRIKSEN

HIMACHALI STUDIES

III. Grammar

Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 48,3



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København 1986

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Synopsis

Vol. III treats on a descriptive and comparative-genetic basis the phonology, morphology and syntax of two Himachali dialects, Kotgarhi and Koci, and examines their position among the Himachali dialects and the other Indo-Aryan languages.

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Contents

Map of the Himachali dialects (after LSI vol. IX part 4, 1916)	III
Foreword	1
Introduction	3
PHONOLOGY · 7-69	
Sounds	7
Inventory	7
Notations	7
Phonemes	9
Non-phonemic sounds	12
Pronunciation	15
Pronunciation in general	15
Alternative pronunciation	16
The laryngeals (aspirations) and tones	19
Sound alternations	25
Difference of stress	25
Other alternations	26
Alternations of quantity	28
Tone and Quantity	30
General remarks	30
1. Position. Quantity	30
2. Character of the postprominent and anteprominent consonant. Position	31
3. /V*h/. Quantity. Tone	31
4. Conflicting conditions	31
Note	32
A. Tone	32
B1. Vowel quantity	33
a. Short vowels	33
b. Long vowels	34
B2. Consonant quantity	35
a. Weak consonants	36
b. Aspirated consonants, /š/and /s/ in Ktg.	36
Summary of the quantity and tone rules	37
I. Quantity	37
1. Position of syllable	37
2. Quality of consonant	37
II. Tone	37
Alternation of quantity and tone	38
Quantity alternation according to I in the summary	38
Tone alternation according to II in the summary	38

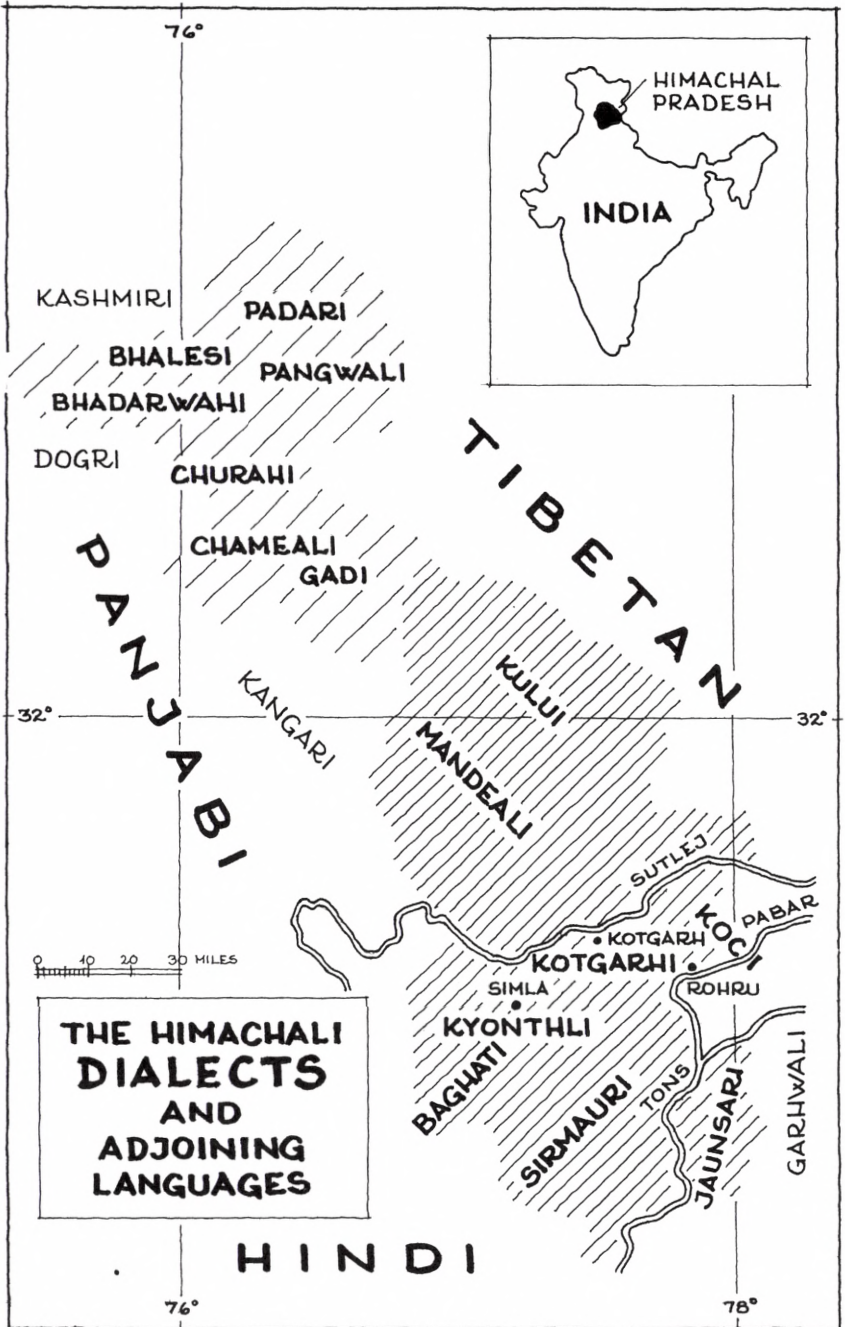
The Relation between Stress and Vowels.....	39
Synopsis of stress- and vowel-types.....	40
The Vowel Sequences.....	44
Structure of the sequences.....	44
I. Non-final lexical sequences.....	45
II. Final lexical sequences.....	46
III. Final unstressed lexico-morphological sequences.....	46
IV. Final stressed lexico-morphological sequences.....	46
V. Final morphological sequences.....	48
VI. Vowel alternations in unstressed final sequences in Ktg. .	49
The genetic background of the lexical and morphological sequences	52
Consonant Structure.....	56
Single consonants.....	56
Consonant groups.....	56
Definition of the Word.....	60
Sound History in Outline.....	61

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX · 70–189

Suffixes.....	70
Verbal suffixes.....	70
Nominal suffixes.....	71
Diminutives and augmentatives.....	73
A. The feminine gender.....	74
B. Diminutives in /u/.	74
C. Diminutives in /ku/, /kɪ/; augmentatives in /kɔ/	75
D. Diminutives in /ɲu/.	75
E. Diminutive and augmentative suffixes containing /t/ and /ɾ/	75
Comparative and genetic remarks.....	79
The Noun Inflection.....	82
The substantives.....	82
Survey of the inflection.....	82
Exceptions.....	87
The primary case morphemes.....	87
Use of the primary cases.....	87
The genetic background of the primary case morphemes.....	89
The declensions.....	95
Survival of the gender and base finals from OI and MI.....	99
The secondary nominal morphemes.....	102
1. The instrumental.....	102
2. The possessive.....	105
3. The relational.....	106
4. The vocative.....	108

Compounds.....	108
The adjectives	110
The pronouns	112
The pronouns of the first and second persons.....	112
The pronouns of the third person.....	115
Ktg /ʃɔ/, /ʃɛ/	121
The relative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns.....	124
Remarks on the syntax of the pronouns.....	126
The pronominal adjectives	127
The adverbs	129
1. The nominal adverbs.....	129
2. The non-nominal adverbs.....	133
 Prepositions and Postpositions	 137
 The Verb Inflection.....	 139
The verb classes	139
The first verb class.....	139
The second verb class.....	140
Morphology.....	140
Function (involitive, reflexive, denominative verbs).....	142
Genetic background	145
The third verb class.....	149
Causative verbs.....	149
Alternations.....	150
The suffix verbs.....	152
The suffixless verbs	155
Remarks on the syntax of the causative verbs.....	155
Note regarding the terms agent and patient	157
The tenses.....	158
The present.....	158
The imperfect.....	161
The preterite	161
The future.....	163
The /m/ morphemes	165
The moods.....	169
The indicative	169
The subjunctive and the optative.....	169
The injunctive	171
The imperative	172
The expressive	173
The infinite verb forms.....	174
The present participle	174
The preterite participle	175
The static participle	177
The infinitive and the gerundive	179

VI	48:3
The gerunds	183
1. The present gerund	183
2. The preterite gerund	184
Remarks on the Word Order	188
THE HIMACHALI DIALECT GROUP · 190–206	
Differences between Ktg. and Kc.	190
Differences between the Himachali dialects	192
Connections with other NI languages	196
Appendix	
Linguistic peculiarities in poetry	207
Paradigms	
	209
Bibliography	219
Abbreviations	227



Foreword

This final volume of the Himachali Studies contains the grammar of the two Himachali dialects, Koṭgarhi and Koci, which I studied on three tours to Himachal Pradesh in India in 1952-53, 1964 and 1984. During my last stay together with my wife in the mountains I was able to clear up a number of doubtful points.

The following persons assisted in giving me information concerning their dialects in 1984: Mr. Amrit Singh Rathore and Mr. Megh Raj Sharma concerning West-Koci; Mr. Narenjan Dev Sharma, Mr. Rajinder Singh Chauhan and Mr. Jawahar Lal Jamta concerning Koci; and Advocate Devi Chand Jishtu and Mr. M. R. Bharduj concerning Koṭgarhi. I am very grateful to these gentlemen for their unselfish assistance. A special debt of gratitude I owe to my old friend Dr. Devi Chand Jishtu who was one of my best informants in 1964 and who also this time always was ready with his intelligent help and certain knowledge of his dialect. I had the good luck to meet other old friends, some of them right from 1952. Mr. Ranjit Singh Rathore, now Barrister in the Supreme Court of Delhi, assisted me in practical matters with his usual kindness and helpfulness, as did Principal Vidya Sharan Goswami who together with Mrs. Goswami housed us in their hospitable home in Solon for some days. Dr. Khushhal Chand Azad, Director of the Horticultural Department of Himachal Pradesh, helped us in different ways when we went on a tour to his native village Kutara in Spail valley where we met his relatives some of whom we first met as far back as 1953. Later he took us in his car on a wonderful tour for four days to the valleys of Mandi and Kulu. Mrs. Vidya Stokes, Minister in the Government of Himachal Pradesh, lent us valuable support in helping us to get an extension of our visas after we had run into unexpected difficulties. Without her help I would not have been able to get the full benefit of my stay.

I owe a debt of gratitude to the Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish Research Council for the Humanities for the financial support given me.

Regarding the English Mr. Gerard Müller-Rasmussen, B. A., has lent me competent assistance.

The map has been drawn by Architect Jens Danstrup, M.A.A., after LSI IX 4, 1916.

The following pages will show how much I owe to the works by the three grand old men of Indo-Aryan studies, Jules Bloch, Georg Morgenstierne and last but not least Ralph Turner.

In conclusion I want to express the hope that the study of the interesting Himachali dialects may proceed on a much larger scale than hitherto. It is an important task since the speech of such small communities may rapidly disappear.

Introduction

Himachali embraces the following dialects counting from the south and the west: Sirmauri, Jaunsari, Baghaṭi, Kyoṅṭhli, Koṭgarhi, Koci, Maṇḍeali and Kuḷui. They are spoken in the south-western part, including the Kulu valley in the north, of the state of Himachal Pradesh. In the east various Tibetan languages are spoken, chiefly Kanauri. On the other sides Himachali is surrounded by Indo-Aryan languages; to the south-east in the Himalayan foot-hills counting from Himachal Pradesh: Gaṛhvali, Kumauni and Nepali; to the south and south-west: Hindi; to the west counting from the south and the east: Panjabi, Lahnda and Sindhi; and to the north-west in the Himalayan foot-hills a number of languages: Gadi, Cameali, Curahi, Bhadravahi, Bhalesi and the eastern Panjabi dialects: Bhaṭeali, Ḍogri and Kangri. Finally in Kashmir a great number of partly mutually divergent languages, the Dardic, are spoken, and in the extreme north-west the so-called Kafir languages.

The delimitation of a given language area is largely a matter of interpretation dependent on the features which are supposed to be constitutive. In our case, however, one thing can be said with certainty: the assumption, still adhered to by some scholars, of a great language group called Pahaṛi and consisting of West-Pahaṛi (Himachali), Central Pahaṛi (Gaṛhvali and Kumauni) and East-Pahaṛi (Nepali) is erroneous. It is evident that Gaṛhvali and Kumauni are mutually closely related. But the differences between Himachali and the three eastern hill languages are numerous and so marked that they cannot be said to form a group together. The Himachali dialects on the other hand have many characteristic features in common with the languages in the north-west, not only those spoken in the hills between the Kulu valley and Kashmir, but also with the Dardic languages in Kashmir. There are however at the same time certain marked differences which show that none of these languages can be considered to form one group together with Himachali. The questions concerning the relationship of the Himachali dialects mutually and with other New Indo-Aryan languages will be treated in the last chapter.

In the grammar the two dialects Koṭgarhi and Koci which I had occasion to study on three visits to Himachal Pradesh in 1952-53, 1964 and 1984 are examined. It is chiefly the Koṭgarh dialect which is treated because I had better possibilities of studying it, but also Koci receives adequate treatment. I have based the description and phonological notation of the two dialects on observations made on the spot and on the numerous tape-recordings I took. Where necessary and possible other Himachali dialects have been included in the study.

Koṭgarhi is spoken in the area surrounding the villages Koṭgarh and Thanedhar south of and bordering on the river Sutlej. To the east of this is the Koci area bordering on and in places crossing the river Pabar (/pəb:ər/) on its east. The two areas are separated by a mountain ridge which, as I was told, is a watershed between them, mentioned by Bailey, 1920, p. 113 as "the main ridge which runs from Simla east to Kanaur (i.e. the Tibetan area)".

Koṭgarhi is closely related to the dialect in and around the small town Rampur on the Sutlej a few miles east of Koṭgarh (see Bailey, 1920, p. 113 foll. and description of the dialect *ib.* p. 131-147), and to the dialects which Bailey calls Suket Siraji and Outer Siraji, the former west of Koṭgarhi and the latter across the Sutlej opposite to the Koṭgarh area (Bailey, 1920, p. 201 foll., description p. 218-25; Bailey, 1908, I p. 35, description p. 37-43).

Koci proper is only known to me as the dialect spoken in the valley Spail or Spoil (/spɛ:l/, /spɔil/), about two miles north of Rohru, the commercial centre of the district.

West and south of the Spail valley, adjoining the Koṭgarhi area on the west, and on the east bordering on the Pabar south of Rohru is spoken what I have termed West Koci, in all essentials identical with Koci, but in a few points agreeing with Koṭgarhi. To the Koci dialects in the wider sense also belong those spoken in Rohru on the Pabar and Baghi north-west of Rohru, further Surkhuli north-east of Rohru on the upper course of Pabar, and Kuari south of Surkhuli and south of Pabar (Bailey, 1920, p. 113 foll.; descriptions p. 118-171).

I have only had occasion to acquire a superficial knowledge of a few of the other Himachali dialects. While staying a couple of days in the small town Solon in December 1983 I interviewed for a few hours Mr. Ishvari Dutt, lecturer in the local High School, about his

native dialect, Baghatī. Mr. Ishvari Dutt has written an unpublished thesis about his dialect which he showed me. As far as I could see it was a competent work which ought to be published. In 1953 while in Haṭkoṭi on the bank of the Pabar I took down some few words in the local dialect and in 1964 I chanced to meet some Kyoṅṭhli speaking people.

Short descriptions of Kotgarhi have been given by Bailey, 1908, I p. 25–33 and in LSI vol. 9 part 4, 1916, p. 647–667. The Koci dialect of the Spail valley which I regard as the most pure form of Koci (in this work the term is used in the narrow sense, indicating this specific dialect) does not correspond exactly with any description known to me. The nearest is the dialect of Rohru described by Bailey, 1920, p. 118–130.

Regarding the other Himachali dialects I rely on Joshi, 1911 (essentially Kyoṅṭhli); the LSI vol. 9, part 4, 1916 (treating the so-called “Pahari” languages); Bailey, 1908 and 1920; and Thakur, 1975 (Kuḷui). Bailey’s two pioneer works contain descriptions of all the Himachali dialects except the two southernmost, Sirmauri and Jaunsari, besides treating the languages spoken in the hills north of Kulu valley and south of Kashmir. His descriptions are short and the phonetic rendering, building on the English orthography, appears amateurish (in later works he proved himself to be an excellent phonetician). But his works are very valuable because they give a broad survey and contain many keen observations. The LSI volume mentioned above which treats all these languages including Sirmauri and Jaunsari is to some extent dependent on Bailey’s works. It is to be noticed that there are indications that his *Linguistic studies from the Himalayas*, which has 1920 as the year of publication, was printed as early as 1915.

On the whole the information about Himachali must be said to be insufficient.

As for the languages spoken in the hills west and east of Himachali, works by the following scholars have been very useful to me: Morgenstierne (Dardic and Kafir languages), Buddruss (Dardic languages), Bailey (Shina), Grierson (Kashmiri), Varma (Bhadravahi and Bhalesi), Catak (Garhvali), Apte and Pattanayak (Kumauni) and Clark (Nepali). Regarding the latest period of Middle Indo-Aryan I have found Tagare’s work 1948 very helpful.

Note. The name *Kyõṅṅhli* is spelled in different ways: *Kiũṅṅhali* (Bailey, LSI), *Kiunṅṅhali* (Bailey, 1908, I p. 11, 21 alongside of the preceding spelling), *Keonthali* (Mohan, J., A village survey of Shakrori, 1963, p. 13), *Kyõṅṅhali* (Ṫhakur, 1975, e.g. p. 86). The name of the former state of *Kyõṅṅhal*, after which the speech is called, is spelled with the same variation. Also *Kyõṅṅhal* occurs (e.g. the weekly *Himprastha*, no. 107, February 1964, p. 7). The only really uncertain point is this: is the word pronounced with a dental or a retroflex? There is no doubt about the present pronunciation of the rest of the word in those parts I visited, i.e. the central parts where *Kyõṅṅhli* is spoken and the surrounding country. The word contains -yo- followed by a nasal consonant, and both two and three syllables may be heard: *Kyõṅṅhali* or, with the usual "suppression" of an unstressed vowel, *Kyõṅṅhli* (i.e. /kjoṅṅṅhəli/ ~ /kjoṅṅṅhli/). In the books printed in devanagari the anusvara is used as usual to indicate a nasal when followed by a consonant. This is reflected in the books printed in Latin characters by the sign of nasalization. By asking a number of persons I found that both pronunciations, with a dental and a retroflex consonant group, are used, probably locally distributed. It may be a case of the different treatment of OI -rt-. The etymology of the name is unknown as far as I understand.

PHONOLOGY

Sounds

INVENTORY

Notations

In Kṭg. and Kc. the following sounds occur:

Vowels	a e ε ɔ o i ɪ u ʊ ə
Semi-vowels	j w
Velars	k kh g g ^c
Palatals	c ch j j ^c
Dental affricates	ts tsh dz dz ^c
Retroflexes	ʈ ʈh ɖ ɖ ^c
Dentals	t th d d ^c
Labials	p ph b b ^c
Fricative	f
Nasals	ṅ ṅ̃ ṇ ṇ ^c n n ^c m m ^c
Liquids	ṛ ṛ ^c r r ^c ɭ ɭ ^c l l ^c
Sibilants	š s z
Laryngeals	(h) ^c
Concomitant features	˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘ :

Digraphs (e.g. /kh/, /d^c/, /ts/) and trigraphs (/tsh/, /dz^c/) indicate one sound each, /h/ and /^c/ indicating unvoiced and voiced laryngeals (aspirations) respectively, and /s/ and /z/ together with preceding /t/ and /d/ respectively indicating affricates. /h/ only occurs as an aspiration of unvoiced stops and is never independent. /ṅ/ is a velar nasal, /ṅ̃/ a palatal nasal, always followed by a homorganic stop. /^c/ as an independent consonant only occurs in initial position.

A dot under a consonant letter indicates retroflex articulation, thus /ṅ/, /ḷ/ and /ṛ/ and the row of stops beginning with /ṭ/; /ṛ/ is a flapped consonant.

By /š/ is indicated a palatal sibilant.

In the last line concomitant features are mentioned. Thus $\tilde{\text{v}}$ written over a vowel indicates nasalization. The signs $\acute{\text{v}}$ and $\bar{\text{v}}$ over vowels indicate tones, $\acute{\text{v}}$ high falling tone and $\bar{\text{v}}$ high level tone. Long quantity is indicated by $:/$ put after a vowel or a consonant. Finally, $'$ is put in front of the stressed (prominent) syllable; it is only used in the few cases where the stress cannot be inferred from the word structure.

The above-mentioned signs will only be used when citing sounds or words from Kṭg. and Kc. When other languages are cited, even closely related dialects from the Himachali group, the usual notation employed when writing Indo-Aryan languages is used; this means partly other signs and partly the same signs with other values.

The following differences in the notation for other languages should be noticed: /a/ is a mid central vowel, i.e. /ə/ or /ʌ/ (not as in Kṭg. Kc. a low central vowel like English /a/ in /part/); /y/ a palatal semi-vowel (Kṭg Kc /j/); /j/ a voiced palatal (Kṭg Kc /j/); /h/ indicates an unvoiced aspiration when following an unvoiced stop, e.g. /kh/, and a voiced aspiration initially and when following a voiced stop, e.g. /gh/ (Kṭg Kc /kh/, /g^c/); /ś/ indicates a palatal sibilant (Kṭg Kc /š/); v placed over a vowel indicates long quantity (Kṭg Kc $:/$). The vowels /e/ and /o/, written without quantity sign, are always long in Sk., long in open syllables in MI, and usually long in other NI languages than Kṭg. Kc.

Some of the linguists cited use a notation which agrees more or less with that used here for Kṭg. Kc., e.g. Siddheshwar Varma; Apte and Pattanayak.

Ṭika Ram Joshi, T. Grahame Bailey and to some extent G. A. Grierson in the Linguistic Survey of India employ special notations.

In Joshi's notation the very common vowel /ɔ/ is written a, except for the few cases with *au*, see below; there is often no distinction between the palatal row and that of the dental affricates (for both

ch (= /c/, /ts/), chh (= /ch/, /tsh/), j (= /j/, /dz/) and jh (= /j^c/, /dz^c/) are used); no indication is given of tone; neither is any distinction made between /e/ and /ɛ/ (both written e), /o/ and /ɔ/ (both written o), except in the cases with *ai* and *au*; in front of stops ñ indicates a homorganic nasal; in all other cases it indicates nasalization of the preceding vowel; *ai* = /ɛ/, *au* = /ɔ/; an accent-sign above a vowel (e.g. â) indicates length; after a vowel ˘ seems to indicate an overlong vowel, usually in monosyllables and where an */h/ has disappeared, or does it indicate a weak aspiration in the latter case?

Where deviating from the normal notation Bailey's and Grieron's notations by and large agree with Joshi's.

Among the signs used in this volume the following differ from those used in the two preceding volumes, Vocabulary 1976 and Texts 1979, of this work: /ʃ/ (previously /ʒ/); /t̪/, /d̪/, /n̪/, /r̪/, /l̪/ (/t̪/, /d̪/, /ŋ̪/, /ɽ̪/, /l̪/); /ñ/ (/ŋ/); /š/ (/ʃ/). I have decided on this change for practical reasons and because indologists are generally more familiar with the signs adopted in this volume.

Phonemes

The sound table consists, with /ʊ/, /u/, /ə/, /ñ/ and /ñ̃/ as the only exceptions, of phonemes which can be ascertained by minimal word groups. Below, these words valid for Kṭg. are mentioned. We will not concern ourselves with the problems of the phonematic status of 1. the two laryngeals as opposed to each other and 2. the high falling tone as opposed to the free tone (see Hendriksen 1969 pp. 313 and 314 foll.). The fricative /f/ is rare, only occurring in foreign words; no minimal pair exists in the material, but it is a potentiality.

/a/: /ɛ/: /ɔ/.

/laɪ/ (pret.f.sg.) "applied": /lɛɪ/ "taken": /lɔɪ/ "cut (about grass etc.)".

/ɛ/: /e/.

/mɛɭɔ/ "dirty": /meɭɔ/ "market".

/ɔ/: /o/.

/bɔl:ɔ/ (possess.) "practice": /bol:ɔ/ "said".

/ɪ/: /i/.

These are only phonematically distinctive when unstressed and final or in certain cases when occurring as the first vowel of a final vowel sequence.

/tshō:ɬi/ (dir.sg.): /tshō:ɬi/ (dir.pl.) “girl(s)”.

/g^còɾie/ (possess.f.sg.) “horse”: /g^còɾie/ (possess.f.sg.) “mare”.

/ɛ/: /e/: /ɪ/: /i/.

/tsal:ɛ/ (pret.m.pl.): /tsal:e/ (2.3sg.subj.): /tsal:ɪ/ (pret.f.sg.): /tsal:i/ (pret.f.pl.) “to walk”.

/e/: /ɪ/.

/pet:ɔ/ (possess.) “stomach”: /pɪɾ:ɔ/ “beaten”.

/o/: /ʊ/, /u/.

/khōɾ/ “walnut”: /khōɾ/ “the lowest story in a house”.

/dz^còl:ɔ/ “bag”: /dz^cùl:ɔ/ “rope bridge”.

/j/: /w/.

/tja:r/ “ready”: /twa:r/ “incarnation”.

/k/: /kh/: /g/: /g^c/.

/kəɭaɪ/ “pack saddle”: /khəɭaɪ/ (pret.f.sg.) “was caused to melt”.

/kʊ:l/ “family”: /gʊ:l/ “raw sugar”.

/gā:/ “from on”: /g^cā:/ “grass”.

/c/: /ch/: /j/: /j^c/.

/šācṇō/: /šācṇō/ (invol.) “to stick”.

/cīš/ “thirst”: /jīš/ “morning”.

/ciṇjṇō/ “to call”: /ciṇj^cṇō/ (invol.).

/ts/: /tsh/: /dz/: /dz^c/.

/tsāɔ/ (from /tsā:ṇō/) “wished”: /tshāɔ/ (possess.) “whey”.

/tso:r/ “thief”: /dzo:r/ “force”.

/dzōɾ:hɔ/ “polluted”: /dz^cōɾ:hɔ/ “false”.

/ɬ/: /ɬh/: /d/: /d^c/.

/tshāṇɬṇō/ “to select”: /tshāṇɬṇō/ (invol.) “to be selected”.

/ɬol:ɪ/ “bundle of grass”: /dɔl:ɪ/ (possess.f.sg.) “large drum”.

/khōṇḍi/ “ear-ring, nose-ring”: /khōṇḍ^ci/ (possess.f.sg.) “a piece”.

/t/: /th/: /d/: /d^c/.

/sāt:i/ “all seven”: /sāt:hi/ “together”.

/tarɔ/ “star”: /darɔ/ (possess.) “beam of wood”.
/šādṇō/ “to call”: /šād^cṇō/ “to be called”.

/t/ : /t/.

/tɔḷnō/ “to be displaced”: /tɔḷnō/ “to fry in oil”.

/d/ : /d/.

/doḷa/ (obl.) “marriage palanquin”: /doḷa/ “quilt”.

/bād^cṇ/ “carpenter”: /bād^cṇ/ (f.sg.) “whole”.

/p/ : /ph/ : /b/ : /b^c/.

/pəṭaunō/ “to cause to be beaten”: /phəṭaunō/ “to cause to crack”.

/perɔ/ “a particular kind of sweetmeat”: /berɔ/ “palace”.

/bāšṇō/ “to sing (of birds)”: /b^cāšṇō/ “to speak, promise, make a vow”.

/ṇ/ : /ṇ^c/ : /n/ : /n^c/.

/šūṇnō/ “to hear”: /šūṇ^cnō/ “to be audible, be heard”.

/ṇaunō/ “to cause to be brought”: /naunō/ “to bend”.

/tshūṇṇō/ “to crush”: /tshūṇ^cṇō/ “to be crushed”.

/m/ : /m^c/.

/šīm^cṇ/ “legume”: /šīm^cṇ/ (possess.f.sg.) “snot”.

/r/ : /r^c/ : /r/ : /r^c/.

/šār/ “border of a garment”: /šār^cṇ/ (possess. f.sg.) “the month from mid June till mid July”.

/pəra/ “falls”: /pəra/ “from beyond”.

/thērṇō/ “to spin”: /thēr^cṇō/ “to be spun”.

/l/ : /l^c/ : /l/ : /l^c/.

/phōḷnō/ : /phōḷ^cnō/ (invol.) “to bear fruit”.

/to:l/ “downwards”: /to:l/ “weight”.

/tshōḷṇō/ “to scratch, cut”: /tshōḷ^cṇō/ “to be scratched”.

/s/ : /z/.

/səman:a/ (obl.) “provisions”: /zəmana/ “time, period” (near-minimal pair).

/^c/ : /Ø/.

/^cāt:hi/ (possess.f.obl.) “hand”: /āt:hi/ “there is”.

There are numerous instances with /g^c/ : /g/ etc.; see the preceding oppositions. /^c/ is here interpreted as having a twofold phone-

mic status: both as a separate phoneme (only when initial) and as part of a phoneme. Where necessary, /^c/ will be treated as a separate phoneme also after stops. This also applies to /h/.

As for the concomitant features the following examples may be mentioned. That the features are indicated as being in opposition to zero is a matter of phonemic writing; also /h/ might with some justice be regarded as an attendant feature which would give /h:/Ø/ in e.g. /sāt:hi:/sāt:i/; in the same way the sign /:/ is used for long quantity, short quantity not being indicated:

/[̄]/: /Ø/.

/š[̄]:/ “an ell”: /š[̄]:/ “one hundred”.

/:/: /Ø/.

/khē:l/ “game”: /khēl/ (impv.2sg.) “play”.

/[̇]/: /[̇]/.

/g^cāi/ “disgust”: /g^cāi/ (possess.f.sg.) “grass”.

/[̄]/: /Ø/.

/pō:r/ “period of three hours”: /pō:r/ “last year”.

/:/: /Ø/.

/kε/ “what”: /kε/ (postposition) “by means of”.

Consonant quantity (long and short) and stress have a low phonemic status, long quantity being, with a few exceptions, connected with certain consonants (e.g. /tol:a/ (dental /l/) “weighs” against /toɭa/ (retrofl. /l/) “from below”), the stress being connected with certain vowel features. Also the high falling tone has a very low phonemic status which only appears in specific surroundings.

The phonemic system of Kc. is essentially the same as that of Kṭg. The Kṭg. phonemic distinction /i:/ /ɪ/ is not found in Kc. which has final /-e/ where Kṭg. has /-ɪ/. In Kc. /i/ and /ɪ/ are bound variants.

Non-phonemic sounds

I. The vowels /ʊ/ and /u/ are bound variants in both dialects.

1. In a stressed syllable /ʊ/ occurs if followed and/or preceded by a

retroflex consonant; otherwise the /u/ vowel appears as /u/. E.g. Kṭg Kc /šōṇɔ/-o/ “heard”, /ṭukṇō/-o/ “to bite” as opposed to Kṭg Kc /šūn:ɔ/-o/ “empty”, /pudzṇō/-o/ “to worship”. A near-minimal pair is Kṭg /pura/ “drumhead”: /pura/ “full”.

2. Independently of condition 1, stressed /u/ vowels follow a rule of vowel harmony as predominant condition, appearing as a) /u/ if the following syllable contains /i/ (this possibility exists only in Kṭg.), and as b) /u/ if the following syllable contains /u/ or /i/, e.g. a) Kṭg /šun:i/ “empty” (dir.f.sg. of /šūn:ɔ/), b) Kṭg Kc /šūṇu/ “I hear”, /ṭuk:i/ “bitten” (pret.partc.f.pl.).

II. The /i/ vowels follow very much the same rules as the /u/ vowels.

1. Before and/or after a retroflex or a labial, /i/ appears: Kṭg /gʻi:ṇ/ “compassion”, Kc /gʻiṭko/ “basket”, Kṭg Kc /ḍiṅɔ/-o/ “stick”; Kṭg /tsiməts/, Kc / tsimtse/ “spoon”; Kṭg Kc /bikṇō/-o/ “to be sold”.

Elsewhere /i/ appears, e.g. Kṭg Kc /tsirnō/-o/ “to tear”, Kṭg /din:ɔ/ “given”. A near-minimal pair is Kṭg /ṭi:r/ “mountain peak”: /ti:r/ “arrow”.

2. In accordance with the rules of vowel harmony either /i/ or /i/ appears: a) Kṭg /tsiri/ “torn” (pret.partc.sg.f. of /tsirnō/), /din:i/ “given” (dir.sg.f. of /din:ɔ/). b) Kṭg /gʻiṇi/ (possess.pl.f. of /gʻi:ṇ/), Kṭg Kc /bik:u/ (pres.l.sg. of /bikṇō/-o/).

The stressed vowel sequences consisting of /i/ and /u/ vowels follow the same rules, e.g. Kṭg Kc /dziuṇō/-o/ “to live”: /dziundɔ/-o/ “alive”; Kṭg /biudzṇō/ “to wake up”: /biudzʻu/ (pres.l.sg.); Kṭg /ṭhōɔ/ “agreeable in manners”.

One may wonder why /u/ is not a phoneme in Kṭg., as the case is with /i/. The latter vowel has status as a morpheme and phoneme when in final position or when followed by a final vowel. The following instances may be mentioned: 1. the dir.sg. of 2. decl. stems (e.g. dir. sg. /bō:ṭi/ “wife” as opposed to dir.pl. /bō:ṭi/), 2. the short gerund (e.g. /kōri/ “after doing” as opposed to /kōri/ “we do”) and 3. the long gerund (e.g. /kōriɔ/ as against invol.opt. 3sg. /kōriɔ/ “it may be done”). As for /u/ one expects it to have morphemic status in the dir.sg. of u-stems. It must be pointed out here that one informant did use this morpheme, e.g. dir.sg. /dʻəṭ:u/ “kerchief”, but dir.pl. /dʻəṭ:u/. I had very little occasion to use this informant and

since the rest of my informants did not make the distinction the two vowels are here interpreted as non-phonemes. It is, however, possible that the phonemic function of /ʊ/ and /u/ is more widespread than I was able to ascertain.

Since the difference between /i/ and /ɪ/ is phonemic in Kṭg. and the conditioned occurrence of /u/ and /ʊ/ is like that of /i/ and /ɪ/ the distinction /u/: /ʊ/ is regarded as structurally important in Kṭg. (and Kc. as well).

III. The vowel /ə/ is only found in unstressed syllables, but always in internal position; it is never word-initial or word-final. It is very frequently an alternant of one of the other vowels which we shall call full vowels.

The alternation is i.a. seen in the relation between a basic verb and its causative as well as between a noun and a corresponding denominative verb, e.g. Kṭg. Kc /tsalṇō/-o/ "to walk": /tsələuṇō/-o/ "to cause to walk"; Kṭg /bēšṇō/ "to sit": /bəšēḷnō/ "to seat"; /ḍʰò:l/ "stone": /ḍəḷʰeṇō/ "to stone". Actually /ə/ may function as an alternant of any of the full vowels.

In each of the above-mentioned cases the full vowel together with an indication of the stress could be written instead of /ə/, e.g. /tsələuṇō/ instead of /tsələuṇō/, be'sēḷnō/ instead of /bəšēḷnō/. However, it is not to be seen what would be gained, since /ə/, besides indicating the actual pronunciation, also has the important function of indicating the position of the stress.

In addition there are a great number of words having an /ə/ which is phonemically indefinable since there is no alternation between /ə/ and a full vowel, e.g. Kṭg Kc /tsəla:k/ "sly", Kṭg /rīk:həṇ/ "she-bear", /mit:ə/ "sister's husband". One might, quite arbitrarily, choose one of the two most common full vowels, /ɔ/ or /a/ as a phoneme, at the same time indicating the position of the stress, thus e.g. /tsɔ'la:k/ or /tsa'la:k/, /rīk:həṇ/ or /rīk:haṇ/. But that would not be a structurally warranted solution. Accordingly, the only natural thing is to write /ə/.

IV. As for /ñ/ and /ṇ/, they only occur in front of the homorganic stops, i.e. the velar stops and the palatal stops, e.g. Kṭg Kc /bāṅkhə/-o/ "beautiful", Kṭg Kc /təṅg/ "balcony", Kṭg /gɔ:ṅc/ "cow's urine", Kc /šā:ṅj/ "ploughshare". The three other nasals /ŋ/, /n/ and /m/

enter into corresponding homorganic combinations (beside their “independent” occurrence determining their phonemic status), e.g. Kṭg Kc /ba:ṇḍ/ “share”, /da:nd/ “tooth”, Kc /cambo/ “copper”. There is thus a parallelism in the ante-clusil occurrence of the five nasals which justifies the interpretation of /ṇ/ and /ṇ̄/ as having structural importance.

PRONUNCIATION

Pronunciation in general

Vowels.

/a/: low central, like English /a/ in *part*.

/ɛ/: low front, like English *bet*.

/e/: mid front, like French *été*.

/ɔ/: low back, like English *dog*.

/o/: mid back, like French *mot*.

/i/: tense high front, like German *bieten*.

/ɪ/: slack high front, like English *bid*.

/u/: tense high back, like German *buch*.

/ʊ/: slack high back, like English *put*.

/ə/: mid central, like the last vowel in German *bitte*.

/j/ and /w/ are pure semi-vowels as in English *youth* and *we*; there is no friction.

Stops.

/k c ts ʈ t p/: unvoiced unaspirated.

/g j dz ɖ d b/: voiced unaspirated.

/kh ch tsh ʈh th ph/: unvoiced with a weak aspiration.

As for the fourth vertical row /g^c/ etc. they will be treated separately together with /^c/ (see p. 19 f.).

The palatals or rather pre-palatals /c/, /j/ correspond to English *ch*, *j*, but are articulated with less energy. The aspirate /ch/ is closer to English *ch*. In view of the fact that these sounds in genuine Himachali words come from OI /tr/ and /dr/ a retracted articulation is to be expected, but no such articulation was audible to me.

- /f/: which is rare, only occurring in foreign words, is bilabial.
 /r/: apical rolled.
 /r̥/: is a flapped liquid.
 /ʃ/: is a palatal sibilant, like *sh* in English *ship*.
 /s/ and /z/: are dental sibilants, unvoiced and voiced respectively.

The laryngeals /h/ and /ʕ/ and the tones /´/ and /-/ will be described separately below p. 19 f.

Alternative pronunciation

In the examples mentioned below the first alternative is in principle the structurally accepted form.

I. Vowels.

Final unstressed /-a/ is generally heard as /a/, even in rapid speech, but sporadically the Kṭg. pronunciation is /ʌ/ or even /ɔ/, e.g. /pīṭ:a/ ~ /-ʌ/ ~ /-ɔ/ “he beats”; /pa:c:a/ ~ /-ʌ/ ~ /-ɔ/, obl. of /pa:c/ “a leaf”. It is to be noticed that certain Himachali dialects have final /-ɔ/ or /-o/ corresponding to Kṭg Kc /-a/, thus Kyoṅṭhli and Jaunsari.

When having high level tone /ɪ/ may be pronounced as /i/ due to the high pitch of the voice: Kṭg /pīṭ:h/ ~ /pīṭ:h/ “the back”, /dī:ṇ/ ~ /dī:ṇ/ “snow-fall”.

Vowel-sequences, when stressed, vary with their first vowel having long quantity in a non-final syllable, e.g. Kṭg Kc /ḍe:ṇō/-o/ ~ /ḍe:ṇō/-o/ “to go”; Kṭg /ba:ṇɔ/ ~ /ba:ṇɔ/ “dwarf”; /ci:ṇkhu/ ~ /ci:ṇkhu/ “bird”. In Kṭg /kē:ṇɪ/, obl. of /kēiṇ/, and Kc /kā:ṇi/, obl. of /kāiṇ/ “tale”, the long vowel is the structurally accepted form.

Final /ē:/ and /ō:/ having high level tone (coming from */Vh/) vary with /ēa/ and /ōa/, e.g. Kṭg /bē:/ ~ /bēa/ “wedding”; /tē:/ ~ /tēa/ “her” (obl.sg.f.); Kṭg Kc /rō:/ ~ /rōa/ “he remained”; /mō:/ ~ /mōa/ “honey”.

A long internal vowel with level tone (from */Vh/) may vary with a short vowel + /ɔ/, e.g. Kṭg /mō:ɪ/ ~ /mōaɪ/ “cudgel”, Kṭg Kc /šē:r/ ~ /šēaɪ/ “town”, /bō:ṭɪ/-e/ ~ /bōaṭɪ/-e/ “wife”.

II. Consonants.

The affricate /dz/ varies with /z/ in all positions; thus initially: Kṭg Kc /dzɪṇō/-o/ ~ /zɪṇō/-o/ “to live”; finally: Kṭg Kc /bɪ:dz/ ~ /bɪ:z/ “seed”; /bāndz/ ~ /bānz/ “barren”; medially: Kṭg Kc /bad:za/

~ /baz:a/, inf. /badzṇō/-o/ ~ /bazṇō/-o/ “to sound” (of musical instruments). Even if /z/ is a quite common pronunciation, especially in rapid speech, the sound must be distinguished from the unchangeable /z/ in e.g. /zəmi:n/ “earth, ground”.

The retroflex lateral /l/ approaches /r/ in Kṭg. and is often hardly distinguishable from this, e.g. /^cḍ:l/ ~ /^cḍ:r/ “plough”, /dəkhēlnō/ ~ /dəkhērṇō/ “to show”. My Koṭgarḥ informants would sometimes, when writing down a word in devanagari, confuse the two consonants.

A similar variation is met with in the case of the retroflex /ṇ/, which may be pronounced as a nasalized /r/, i.e. /ṛ/. This seems especially to occur if the following vowel is stressed. E.g. Kṭg /bəṇauṇō/ ~ /bəṛauṇō/ “to make”; /ṇauṇō/ ~ /ṛauṇō/ “to cause to be brought” (causative of /aṇṇō/ “to bring”).

Consonant-groups have quite frequently loose contact which often manifests itself in such a way that it may be difficult to decide whether there is an interconsonantal time-interval or a short central vowel (ə), e.g. Kṭg /təṇ^vkε/ (v indicating interval) ~ /təṇəkε/ “thus”, Kṭg Kc /bək^vt/ ~ /bəkət/ “time”. The loose contact explains why such consonant collocations as /ṭd/ in Kṭg /phāṭd/ “bursting” (pres.ptc.) are possible.

Related to the loose contact is the occurrence of whispered vowels. Such vowels are sometimes audible after a final consonant, e.g. Kṭg Kc /a:gə/ “fire”, /b^cà:tə/ “member of the bhat caste”, /ra:cj/ “night”. Like the loose contact this is a relic of a former vowel. In certain NI languages it is a regular feature, e.g. Avadhi. See Saksena, 1937, § 113–119.

The following consonant-groups have close contact: a) /Cj/ /Cw/: Kṭg Kc /khja:l/ “consideration”; Kṭg /dwāsṇō/, Kc /dwāsiṇo/ “to be restless, dejected”, b) homorganic nasal groups (as a rule preserved from MI and/or OI), e.g. Kṭg Kc /da:nd/ “tooth”, /tə:ṅg/ “balcony”, Kṭg/kamba/ “trembles” (but groups with heterorganic articulation have loose contact), c) quite often groups consisting of a liquid, especially /r/, followed by or following another consonant, e.g. Kṭg /d^cārcu/ “person carrying a load of grass”, /pərdad:c/ “great-grandfather”, /pərmīšwər/ “the Lord”, /graū/ “village”. The liquids often have a retroflex articulation, which indicates a weakening: /pəṛmīšwər/. In certain cases an assimilation has taken place: Kṭg Kc /b^cirṭi/-e/ ~ /b^cirṭi/-e/ ~ /b^ciṭ:1/-e/ “man-eating leopardess”; Kṭg

Kc /d^cɔ̃rni/ ~ /d^cɔ̃n:i/ “down on the ground”. Some of these assimilation forms are used so frequently that they can be taken to have the same value as the unassimilated forms. On the other hand, loose contact varying with close contract is met with in e.g. /gɔ̃rm/ ~ /gɔ̃rəm/ “hot”.

III. Concomitant features.

Nasalization. While some words have constant nasalization (e.g. /graũ/ “village”, /siũ/ “boundary”, /tā:/ “thee”, /bəšēũ/ “repose”), inconstant nasalization is quite frequent: vowels preceding or following a nasal may be pronounced nasalized, e.g. /aṇa/ ~ /āṇā/ “he brings”, /ca:ṇ/ ~ /cā:ṇ/ “ornaments”, /na:k/ ~ /nā:k/ “nose”. The said variation is not found or is rare, at any rate, with stressed short single vowels following a nasal, e.g. /māg:^c/ “the month January-February”, /nōš/ “fingernail”.

Final vowel-morphemes may have nasalization if following a stressed vowel and coming from a nasalized vowel, e.g. Kṭg /āu/ ~ /āũ/ “I come” (the ending /-u/ of the 1.sg. from Ap. -aum, -aũ), /bɔu/ ~ /bɔũ/ “I sow”, /bɔa/ ~ /bɔā/ “he sows” (with 3.sg.pres. /-a/, cp. Maṇḍ. /-ā:/, Kashm. /-ān/). But without nasalization e.g. /b^cāu/ “love” where no nasalization has ever occurred (Pk. /bhāvō/, S. /bhāvah/).

Where there is variation the unnasalized variant is to be understood as being the relevant form.

Vowel-quantity. A vowel with high falling tone, if long, is quite often less so than other long vowels, e.g. Kṭg /d^cā:r/ ~ /d^cā:r/ (the sign · indicating half-long quantity) “mountain ridge”, but with full-long vowel /da:r/ “a beam of wood”; Kṭg /b^cā:ṭ/ ~ /b^cā:ṭ/ “a priest”, but /ba:t/ “road”. This seems to be connected with the intensity with which the first part of the vowel having high falling tone is pronounced, leading to an abrupt and therefore shortened pronunciation.

Final unstressed vowels are usually short, but may rarely be pronounced long, except /-i/ which is always short. The infinitive in /-ṇō/ has especially often a long vowel which is nasalized; it will be notated /-ṇō/ (/ -nō/ after /ṇ/, /l/, /ṭ/ and /r/).

The laryngeals (aspirations) and tones

Below, /h/ as well as /^h/ are treated as separate phonemes.

The laryngeals (aspirations) /h/ and /^h/ and their occurrence are closely connected with the tones /ˀ/ and /-/. The voiced laryngeal (aspiration) only occurs at the beginning of the stressed syllable and at the end of it or immediately after it. The tones are conditioned by the laryngeals and sibilants and only affect the stressed vowels. The two tones are clearly perceptible in Kṭg. and WKc., but there is some uncertainty regarding the high falling tone in Kc. Some Kc. speakers do not seem to have this tone.

1. The high falling tone /ˀ/ occurs after /^h/, voiced aspirates (including aspirated nasals and liquids) and consonant groups containing voiced aspirates, e.g. Kṭg Kc /^hḏṭṇō/-o/ “to retire, return”, /^hḏ:l/ “plough”, /^hd̥à:r/ “mountain ridge”, /^hb̥è:r/ “sheep”, Kṭg /^hn̥èrɔ/ “darkness”, Kṭg Kc /^hm̥in:ɔ/-o/ “month”, Kṭg /^hr̥àunō/ “to defeat”, Kṭg Kc /^hg̥wàrnō/-o/ “to open”, /^hd̥wà:r/ “loan”, /^hl̥wà:r/ “blacksmith”, Kc /^hn̥jāro/ “darkness”, Kṭg /^hb̥r̥ḥ:/, Kc /^hb̥r̥āū/ “eyebrow”.

There are no examples of syllable-initial aspirated semi-vowels in the material. The only possible syllable-initial consonant groups containing voiced aspirates are those in which a semi-vowel or liquid follows the aspirate. Voiced aspirate + nasal is theoretically possible.

2. The high level tone /-/ occurs after an unvoiced aspirate, /š/ and /s/ and after consonant groups consisting of these sounds and a semi-vowel, liquid or nasal as the second consonant, e.g. Kṭg Kc /kh̥ḥ:l/ “threshing floor”, /ph̥īrnō/-o/ “to turn round”, /tsh̥ēur̥i/-e/ “woman”, /š̥ūn:ɔ/-o/ “empty”, /s̥iun/ “needle”, /ph̥wā:l/ “shepherd”, /kh̥jā:l/ “thought”, Kṭg /sw̥āṇɔ/ “staircase”, /ph̥r̥ārnō/ “to pierce open”, /b̥əkh̥nāṇɔ/ “proverb, saying”.

Groups containing a sibilant have a semi-vowel following the sibilant. Sibilant + liquid and sibilant + nasal are theoretically possible, but no examples are found in the material. The same is the case with stop + sibilant. Notice that /ts/ is an affricate; it has no tonal effect.

In groups with sibilant + stop, e.g. Kṭg /stab:i/ “soon, quickly”, Kṭg Kc /spe:l/ “name of a certain valley” the sibilant is probably

prevented from exercising any influence on the following vowel by the stop which forms a barrier against it.

3. The high level tone also appears in front of */h/, a voiced or unvoiced aspirate, /š/ and /s/ and consonant groups containing these sounds, e.g. Kṭg Kc /āk:h₁/i/ “eyes”, /āt:hi/ “there is”, Kṭg /ōt:h/, Kc /ō:th/ “lip”, Kṭg Kc /bād:ᶜᵛ/-o/ “entire”, /bij:ᶜᵛ/-o/ “clear (sky)”, Kṭg /dzīb:ᶜ/, Kc /dzi:b:ᶜ/ “tongue”, Kṭg /kāj/ “twenty-one”, /kān:ᶜ/, Kc /kā:n:ᶜ/ “shoulder”, Kṭg Kc /kōrᶜuᵛ/-o/ “was done”, /dōš/ “ten”, /bīs:ərnō/-o/ “to forget”, /tē:rᵛ/-o/ “his” (*/teh-/), /bā:rɛ/-e/ “outside”, (*/bāh-/), /āndᶜᵛ/-o/ “blind”, Kṭg /gōrbᵛᵛ/ “uterus”, Kc /gōlkhō/ “buttock”, Kṭg /bōrš/ “year”, /šəkōst/ “defeat”, Kc /āsti/ “there is”.

Where these post-vocalic conditions conflict with the antevocalic conditions determining high falling tone they prevail, e.g. Kṭg /āt:h/, Kc /ā:th/ “hand”, Kṭg Kc /dᶜōk:h/ “a little”, /bᶜōrᶜuᵛ/-o/ “was filled”, Kṭg /gᶜūšṇō/ “to rub”, Kc /gᶜā:s/ “grass”, Kṭg /gᶜā:/ “grass” (*/ghāh/), Kṭg Kc /bᶜōmphər/ “shoulder (blade)”, Kṭg /bᶜikša/ “alms”.

All the possible syllable-final consonant groups with aspirates or sibilants seem to condition high level tone, i.e. voiced and unvoiced aspirate with preceding liquid and nasal, sibilant with following stop and sibilant with preceding liquid and nasal. Only the group stop + sibilant arouses doubts. One expects a similar obstructing effect of the stop as in ante-vocalic sibilant + stop. Now, the tonal conditions of the syllable following the stressed syllable must be taken into consideration. It is probable that the consonants which condition high level tone on the preceding stressed vowel have a tonal effect on a following unstressed vowel as well in such a way that at least the first part of this vowel has high tone, i.e. a similar effect as the aspirations and sibilants exercise on a following stressed vowel. This seems to be the reason or part of the reason why a word like /rākša/ (obl. of /rākš/) “troll” has high level tone, this tone being produced by the final vowel’s high tone. The syllable-shortening effect of a final sibilant has not been obstructed by the preceding stop in /rākš/ and similar words. Since there is a connection between this effect and that of the high level tone, both of them being manifestations of the loud voice with which the vowel is pronounced, one understands that also the high level tone is heard in /rākš/.

The following phonetic description is based on impressions gained from listening to my informants and to the tape recordings I made. It would only be possible to reach certainty by means of instruments, see the investigation "Phonetic analysis of breathy (murmured) vowels in Gujarati" (*Indian Linguistics* 28, 1968, p. 71-139) by Eli Fischer-Jørgensen.

The high falling tone starts at a very high pitch and falls abruptly. The high-pitched part is accompanied by a strong stress, lending a characteristic energy to the first part of the syllable. The impression seems to be very much like that of the same tone appearing in partly the same conditions in the Chittagong dialect of Bengali judging by Norihiko Učida's description, 1970, § 2.27: "Ein musikalischer Akzent, der am Anfang der Silbe hoch ist, aber die Tonhöhe schnell verliert", having as allophone "ein Druckakzent, der am Anfang der Silbe stark ist, aber an Stärke schnell verliert". It is, however, my impression that pitch and stress are simultaneous in Kṭg. and Kc.

The pitch of the high level tone is high, but not so high as that of the opening part of the high falling tone. The vowel is stressed in its whole length; however, if conditioned by a post-prominent */h/, the end of the vowel more so than its beginning. Postprominent */h/ leads to an overlong vowel both in final and non-final syllables, e.g. /bē:ŋ/ "sister" with a longer vowel than /bɛ:ŋ/ "message"; obl. of "sister": /bē:ŋi/. On the other hand, if the final syllable ends in a consonant and the vowel has high falling tone it has shorter quantity than a syllable with free (unmarked) tone, e.g. /b^cà:t/ "boiled rice" is shorter than /ba:t/ "path".

As has been mentioned on p. 16 a long internal vowel with high level tone from */h/ may vary with short vowel + /ə/, e.g. Kṭg Kc /bō:ṭi/-e/ ~ /bōṭi/-e/.

It is possible that one must allow for different intonations in such cases as /khē:c/ "field" (the tone dependent on a preceding unvoiced aspirate) and /bē:ŋ/ "sister" (with post-prominent */h/), but no such difference was audible to me. In words having two conditions of tone I believe I sometimes heard an extra-high tone, thus /sī:/ "lion" (Pk. /siho/) where both /s/ and */h/ condition high tone with higher pitch than /sī:/ "plough-furrow" (Pk. /sīā/). But since such tone differences are exceptional they will not be taken into account.

The high falling tone and its causes were first mentioned by Bailey, 1920, p. 115 and p. 88 in connection with a similar, though not identical feature in Panjabi (see below p. 22 f.). The high level tone and its conditions were first observed by me on a visit to Koṭgarh in 1964, communicated in lectures soon after and in the paper 1968 p. 313 foll.

The unvoiced laryngeal /h/ which only occurs as an aspiration after unvoiced stops (its occurrence after sibilants is a matter of doubt) is practically always pronounced. In final position, however, it is quite often dropped. In that case a level tone of medium pitch is heard instead of the high level tone, e.g. /^hat:/ instead of /^hāt:h/. The aspiration of the affricate /tsh/ is very weak and may be altogether absent.

The voiced laryngeal /^h/ is missing or unstable. It is not heard at all when followed by the high falling tone. It seems that the high pitch and the strong stress are incompatible with /^h/. The aspirate loses some of its voicing with mute /^h/. If the vowel following is short and has a high level tone with a lower pitch, as in Kṭg /^hāt:h/, /b^hük:h/ “hunger”, the laryngeal may be heard. This is also the case if an aspirate with /^h/ is post-prominent, i.e. comes after the stressed vowel, e.g. /āg:^hi/ “forward”. As an independent sound /^h/ only occurs initially.

Bailey in his sketches and Grierson in the LSI write words like /g^hòrɔ/, /g^hḍ:r/, with h after the vowel, thus gōhṛo, gōhr. Bailey is undoubtedly the inventor of this notation which he uses in LNH 1908 in his descriptions of Baghaṭi, Kyoṅthli and Kṭg. The volume of the LSI treating Himachali appeared as late as 1916. Grierson states here p. 560 that the above notation (gōhṛo etc.) “represents the real pronunciation”, and that “the aspiration is transferred – projected, so to speak, to a later stage of the word”. It is evident that this is not correct, at least not in the meaning that an h is pronounced after the vowel. It is evidently in an attempt to prevent a misunderstanding that Bailey 1920 (1915) p. 115 writes, “Looking at the words as they appear on the the printed page, one would say that the h is transferred to a position after the vowel. The fact, however, is that it is generally omitted altogether, and the only trace of its existence is found in the raising of the tone of the syllable in which one would expect the h. Thus, ghorā, bhāi, bhaiṅ, ghār become gōhṛo, bāhī, bauhṅ, gauhr, in which the h is not

sounded, the words being, however, pronounced with the high falling tone described under Kāgānī”.

Bailey gives ib.p. 88 the following description of the tones in Kagani, a Panjabi dialect: “The deep tone [not found in Himachali] begins a little above the lowest note that the speaker can reach, rises four or five semi-tones and sometimes falls again about a tone. The high tone begins slightly more than half an octave higher than the deep tone and generally falls about a tone”. The high falling tone of Kṭg. and Kc. differs from this in that it begins at a higher pitch and has a wider range.

The notation with *h* after the vowel may be due to the acoustic impression of the aspiration accompanying the stressed vowel after /^h/. My informants would in the same way write an *h* after the vowel or after the consonant following the vowel, e.g. *ghauh(a)r(a)* or *ghaur(a)h(a)* (we indicate the inherent mute *a* of the devanagari script by placing it in parenthesis).

My informants used the expression “stressed” about the vowels following or followed by /^h/.

Is there a glottal stop in Kṭg and Kc? The possibility cannot be excluded. The “stress” or “energy” which accompanies the pronunciation of /d^h/ etc. may be connected with a glottal stop. In an article “Isophones of the orthographic gh, bh, dh, etc., and of h- in the Ambala district” (BSOS VII, 1935, p. 329-333) B. D. Jain gives the following brief description, “Glottal stop followed by vowel in high-falling tone (hills about Simla)”. The author is mainly dealing with Panjabi dialects, but the mention of a high falling tone together with the following geographical indication makes it clear that Jain’s description concerns Himachali dialects.

A glottal stop connected with laryngeal (aspiration) occurs in Panjabi and in Himachali dialects spoken in Jubbal immediately to the south of the Koci dialects and closely related to these. In Panjabi an initial voiced aspirate in front of the low rising tone has become an unvoiced stop followed by a glottal stop (see Shackle, 1972, p. 13 foll.). Bailey gives in LStHim (1920) p. 172 the following description of the feature in Jubballi, “The words *ghōṛā* “horse”, *dhī* “daughter” become *gō^hṛo*, *dī^hī*. The sound represented by ^h is very remarkable. It is not unlike a mild ‘ain or a strong glottal stop”. Besides the two words mentioned he gives the following examples:

ōṅo “to become, be”, *gi^cu* “ghee”, *mā^cru* “our”, all having an old voiced aspirate or /h/. By *rau^cṅo* (i. e./rɔ^c,ṅo/) “to remain” it is seen that a postvocalic */h/ had the same effect.

Bailey does not mention anything about a tone accent. I had occasion during a short stay in Hatkoṭi to note down a small number of words having a falling tone in connection with the glottal stop. As far as I could hear the pitch of the voice is first level and then abruptly descending, this descent coming after the glottal stop if it is followed by a nasal, liquid or vowel and before it if it is followed by other sounds: /dā³ṅ/ “rice”, /g⁵ṛ/ “house”, /bā¹ṅ/ “brother”, /m⁵ṅiṣ/ “buffalo”, /bā³ga/ “he runs away”, /ā¹ta de/ “in the hand”. All these words begin with an original voiced aspirate and /h/ except the word for “buffalo” which has postvocalic */h/. Both in Panjabi and the Jubbali dialects the glottal stop has arisen in connection with the low pitch.

In Gujerati the voiced laryngeal has produced breathy (or murmured) vowels, to some extent accompanied by a low pitch. See Fischer-Jørgensen, 1968, § 6.3.

Tones dependent on laryngeals (aspirations) are known from other NI languages. Varma, 1948, mentions Bhalesi words with falling tone in front of an original voiced aspirate and /h/, e.g. /dzāṅg/ “leg”, Pk. Sk. /jaṅghā/ p. 5; /lō/ “iron”, Pk. Sk. /loha-/ p. 7.

In Standard Panjabi the tones following and preceding an original voiced laryngeal (aspiration) are low rising or falling-rising in the first case and high falling in the latter; the aspiration is lost and in initial position an unvoiced stop appears instead of the voiced aspirate, e.g. /kār/ “house” < /ghar/, /cārṅā/ “to climb”, H. /caṛṅhā/ (Bailey, Panjabi Phonetic Reader 1914, p. XV; Shackleton, 1972, p. 13 foll.). In other Panjabi dialects there is a high falling tone after and a low rising tone in front of a voiced laryngeal (aspiration) (Ved Kumari Ghai, Word tones in Dogri, Annual report of the Institute of Phonetics 2, University of Copenhagen, 1967, p. 133-151; K. C. Bahl, Tones in Punjabi, Ind. Lingu. XVII, 1957, p. 139-147). Lahnda has a low rising tone in front of an original /h/, but no specific tone after a voiced aspirate which is kept as such (K. C. Bahl, A note on tones in Western Punjabi (Lahanda), Ind. Lingu. (Bagchi Memorial Volume) 1957, p. 30-34).

There is some similarity to the Chittagong dialect of Bengali. Not only is the voiced laryngeal involved, but also the unvoiced and the sibilant. There is a high falling tone after a voiced laryngeal, which is lost; also after an unvoiced laryngeal and after a sibilant, e.g. /bār/ “load”, Sk. /bhārah/; /thāl/ “plate”, Pk. /thāla-/; /šāt/ “seven”; /āt/ “hand”, Pk. /hattho/; /ūnō/ “to hear”, Pk. /sunai/. A low rising tone appears in front of an interior /h/, which has been lost, e.g. /bót/ “much”, Pk. /bahuttā/. Both a stressed and an unstressed vowel is affected by tone in the Chittagong dialect. See Norihiko Učida, 1970, §§ 1.4.2, 2.27-29, 3.6.

From Dardic languages Morgenstierne mentions tones connected with the loss of aspiration (1932, p. 24, 29, 49), but it does not seem to be a regular feature.

From a general phonetic point of view it may be said that a voiced laryngeal (aspiration) is usually accompanied by a low pitch. Himachali is peculiar in showing the opposite effect, namely a high pitch.

SOUND ALTERNATIONS

The sound alternations connected with inflection reflect the sound changes, often of a recent date, involved. They affect 1. bases, 2. morphemes, suffixes or 3. both bases and morphemes/suffixes.

Difference of stress

When etymologically connected words show a difference in the place of the stress this difference is accompanied by different kinds of alternations. The stress difference is of course itself a fact of alternation. The change of stress is as a rule from the first syllable to the second, in rare cases from the first or second syllable to the third.

a) Vowel alternation. An empty vowel is substituted for a full when the stress is shifted to a later syllable, e.g. Kṭg Kc /kōrnō/-o/ “to do”: /kōraunō/-o/ “to cause to be done”; Kṭg /pāt:shi/ “behind, after, back”: /pōtschōū/ “backwards”. Zero is substituted for an empty vowel, e.g. /sōmādzñō/ “to understand”: /sōmdz^cāunō/ “to make understood”.

b) Loss of nasal or nasalization: Kṭg /b^càṅḍo/ “utensil”: /bəḍ^càri/ “treasurer”; /nīṣṇō/ “to come out”: /nəsēuṇō/ “to bring out”.

c) Shift of aspiration. The voiced aspiration only occurs immediately before or after the stressed syllable, i.e. in either anteprominent or post-prominent position. If the stress is moved to a later syllable an anteprominent voiced aspiration is shifted to the beginning of that syllable and it is changed to an unvoiced aspiration if appearing after an unvoiced stop, e.g. Kṭg Kc /b^cè:r/ “sheep”: /bər^càḷo/-o/ “shepherd”; Kṭg /b^cà:t/ “a brahman of a certain caste”: /bəṭhēt:u/ “the small son of a bhat”. There is also a change of intonation on account of the aspiration shift.

In a second class verb having a base of the type V□v□ (see Synopsis of stress- and vowel-types, p. 40) ending in a voiced consonant there is possibly anticipation of the voiced aspiration of the morpheme, e.g. Kṭg /bād:^cəḷnō/ “to become overcast”, denominative of /bad:əḷ/ “cloud”. Vocab. /badəḷ^cnō/ is an error.

d) An initial vowel is lost, e.g. Kṭg /aṇṇō/ “to bring”: /ṇauṇō/ “to cause to be brought, ask for”.

If the initial vowel is /u/ or /o/ and /a/ is substituted for the empty vowel in the following syllable a /w/ appears between the word's first consonant and /a/ (epenthesis), e.g. Kṭg /uk:^cəḷnō/ “to climb”: /kwaḷnō/ “to make ascend”; Kc /ōt:shəḷno/ “to descend”: /tshwā:l/ “descent”.

Other cases of /u/ epenthesis are: Kṭg /twaṅo/ “lying on one's back”, Sk. /uttānaḥ/; Kc /tswaḷno/ “to lift”, */uccālayati/. It even occurs in loanwords, e.g. Kṭg Kc /twa:r/ “incarnation”, P. /utār/, Sk. /avatāraḥ/. Regarding /u/ epenthesis in Ḍogri and Kangari see Gupta, 1965, p. 49; Sharma, 1974, § 2.43 (p. 119).

In Kc., /i/ and /u/ may occur in unstressed syllables, e.g. /uṭhāuṇo/ “to lift”; in that case they are empty vowels.

Other alternations

a) Vowel sequences. In Kṭg. a final /u/ of a verb or noun base is facultatively dropped in front of vocalic morphemes; usually not if two identical vowels would result, but always in front of /u/:

/ḍeuṇō/ “to go”; pres. 1.sg. /ḍeu/, 1.pl. /ḍeui/ ~ /ḍei/, 2.3.sg.pl. /ḍeua/ ~ /ḍea/, ger. /ḍeuio/ ~ /ḍeio/. Always, however, pret. /ḍeu(w)o/ (as for the reason for the preservation here see p. 175).

/kərauṅō/ “to cause to be done”, pres. 1.sg. /kərau/, 1.pl. /kəraui/ ~ /kərai/, ger. /kərauio/ ~ /kəraio/. Usually 2. 3.sg.pl. /kəraua/ and always pret. /kərau(w)o/.

/gau/ “cow”, obl. /gau/ ~ /gai/.

/dziu/ “life, mind”, obl. /dziua/ ~ /dzia/; /dziuṅō/ “to live”, /dziu/, /dziua/ ~ /dzia/. Usually 1.pl. /dziui/.

/kau/ “crow”, obl. /kaua/, not */kaa/.

In Kc. /u/ has become /b/, passing through /w/:

/kərauṅo/, pres. 2.3.sg.pl. /kərab:a/, ger. /kərab:ea/, pret. /kərab:o/.

/gau/, obl. /gab:i/.

/dziu/, obl. /dzib:a/.

Kc /-ū-/ > */-w̄-/ > /-m-/ (/w̄-/ > /-m-/ = /-w-/ > /-b-/).

/graū/ “village”, obl. Kṭg /graūa/, Kc /gram:a/.

/iū/ “snow”, obl. Kṭg /iūa/, Kc /im:a/.

Kc verbs having a base in /-Vu-/ have /m/ instead of /u/ in the 1.sg.pres. due to the originally nasalized ending /-u/, e.g. /kəram:u/. The /m/ has been extended to the 1.pl. /kəram:i/ and in WKc to the 2.3.sg.pl. /kəram:a/, unless it is due also there to the original nasalization of the ending. As alternatives 1.sg. /kəraū/ and 1.pl. /kərai/ are used.

In the verb /ḍeuṅo/ Kc. has pres. /ḍeu/, /ḍei/, /ḍea/, but with /b/ pret. /ḍeb:o/.

b) An originally nasalized vowel is facultatively nasalized when appearing after a stressed vowel, e.g. Kṭg Kc /niu/ ~ /niū/ “I lead”, 2.3.sg.pl. /nia/ ~ /niā/. But in e.g. Kṭg instr. /g^cḍreε/ with /-ε/ from OI /-ena/ there is no nasalization because the ending occurs after an unstressed vowel.

c) See p. 49 “Vowel alternations in unstressed final sequences in Kṭg.” about the interplay between the morphemes of the oblique case of the first, second, fourth and to some extent sixth declensions and certain secondary case morphemes. It is governed by three tendencies: 1) that of creating a certain phonetic relation between the two vowels, 2) that of differentiating them, and 3) that of maintaining their phonetic character.

d) In Kṭg. /ə/ appears if an unacceptable consonant group would emerge without it, e.g. /sṃmədzṅō/ ~ /sṃmdz^cəṅō/ “to understand”, /sṃmb^cəṅnō/ “to think of”, /nṃukəṛ/ “servant”, /b^cḍṭ:əṅ/ “wife of a bhaṭ”. If the syllable, however, is the first in the word and begins

with a consonant, the occurrence of /ə/ is independent of the consonant structure; thus /pəra:t/ “plate for kneading dough”, /gəri:b/ “poor”, even if /pr/ and /gr/ are tolerated in initial position. The alternation /ə/ : /Ø/ occurs if the emerging consonant group is tolerated, e.g. /sōmədznō/ : /sōmdz'a/ (pres. 2.3.sg.pl.), /sōmbəʎnō/ : /sōmbəʎa/, /nɔukər/ : /nɔukra/ (obl.), /b'ət:əŋ/ : b'ətŋi/ (obl.). A full vowel occurring in an initial syllable introduced by a consonant alternates with /ə/ and not with zero in such pairs consisting of a principal verb as opposed to a causative verb as /kornō/ “to do”: /kəraunō/, /sūtŋō/ “to sleep”: /sətaunō/.

In Kc. very much the same conditions are found. It retains, however, the empty vowel to a larger extent. Thus it is remarkable that the unstressed /i/ is kept in second class verbs, e.g. /'ūd:z'iqo/ “to rise”.

Alternations of quantity

This type of alternation appears especially in the inflection of substantives following the third and fourth declensions if their base has a final stressed syllable containing a single vowel and ending in a single consonant or nasal + homorganic stop. In accordance with the quantity rules, there is 1) long vowel quantity and short consonant quantity if no morpheme follows the base, e.g. in the dir.sg. and, in the 3a decl., in the dir.pl., and 2) short vowel quantity and long quantity of single strong base-final consonants in the forms having a morpheme, e.g. in the oblique. Examples: With a strong consonant e.g. Kṭg Kc /b'ə:t/ “brahman of the bhat caste”: obl. Kṭg Kc /b'ət:a/. With weak consonant e.g. Kṭg Kc /šəka:r/ “hunting”: obl. /šəkara/. With nasal + stop e.g. Kṭg Kc /šā:nd/ “a particular fair”: obl. /šāndi/, Kṭg Kc /da:nd “tooth”: obl. /danda/.

Exceptions. There is no quantity alternation 1) in both Kṭg. and Kc. if the base vowel comes from V*h/, because the vowel in that case has constantly long quantity, e.g. Kṭg Kc /šē:r/ “town”, obl. /šē:ra/, and 2) only in Kṭg. if the base-final consonant is an aspirate or a sibilant, the vowel in that case being constantly short and the consonant long if strong (except for final sibilants which have been indicated to be short), e.g. Kṭg /brāg:c/ “leopard”, obl. /brāg:a/ (but

Kc /brā:g^c/: /brāg:^ca/ with alternation according to the rule); Kṭg /šār^c/ “the month from mid June till mid July”, obl. /šār^ca/ (but Kc /šā:r^c/ : /šār^ca/); Kṭg /bīš/ “poison”, obl. /bīš:a/ (Kc /bī:š/ : /bīš:a/).

In the final stressed base-syllable of substantives following the third and fourth declensions both dialects show a lengthening of originally short vowels corresponding to MI short vowels followed by single consonants (with ensuing quantity alternation), e.g. Kṭg Kc /g^cḍ:r/ “house”, Pk. /gharā̃/; Kṭg Kc /š̄s:r/ “autumn crop”, Pk. /sara-/; Kṭg Kc /rī:r/ “debt”, Pk. /riṇā̃/. It is no doubt due to analogy with quantity alternations like that of e.g. Kṭg Kc dir. /d^cā:r/ “mountain ridge”: obl. /d^cāra/ (which is due to a vowel shortening in non-final syllables), leading to e.g. dir. /g^cḍ:r/ (instead of */g^cḍr/) as opposed to obl. /g^cḍra/. The lengthening occurred after the change of MI short /a/ to Him. /ɔ/.

Tone and Quantity

GENERAL REMARKS

In this chapter “vowel” and “syllable” mean, unless otherwise indicated, “stressed (or: prominent) vowel” and “stressed (or: prominent) syllable”.

The features of a) tone, b) vowel quantity, and c) consonant quantity are interrelated and determined by 1) the position of the syllable or the vowel within the word, 2) the character of the anteprominent or postprominent consonant, and 3) the occurrence of /V*h/.

The consonants are either weak or strong, their character being determined by their quantity when postprominent and single in intervocalic and final position. The weak consonants (/j w, f, ŋ n^c, l l̥, r r^c, r r^c/) are always short. The strong consonants (the stops, and /n n^c, m m^c, l l^c, š, s/) occur as short or long according to fixed rules. This difference of quantity between the two consonant classes has a genetic basis in the fact that the weak consonants come from those MI consonants which always are short (ungeminated) while the strong consonants come from the MI consonants which are long (geminated) when intervocalic. Only regarding /š/ and /s/ is there some uncertainty, since they sometimes have developed from short and sometimes from long sibilants. In any case, they are long after a non-final syllable, whereas they seem to be short in final position. Among the remaining consonants, /ñ/, /ñ̄/, /^c/ and /h/ do not come into consideration here. They never occur singly between vowels or in final position. The nature of /z/, which is very rare, is uncertain.

1. *Position. Quantity.*

Vowel- and consonant-quantity are correlative: a single consonant is short after a long vowel and long after a short vowel.

In non-final syllables a vowel is short and a following single strong consonant is long.

In a final syllable a vowel is long and the following consonant, whether strong or weak, is short (regarding vowels + aspirates, /š/,

/s/ in Ktǵ., for which there are special rules, see 2a). Only such words are meaningful examples which end in single consonants or nasal + homorganic stop.

Unstressed vowels are short.

Consonants can only be long when single and occurring at the end of the stressed syllable.

2. *Character of the postprominent and anteprominent consonant.*

Position.

a. Quantity.

In Ktǵ. an aspirate and /š/, /s/ determine short quantity of a preceding vowel, also in final syllables.

In Ktǵ., strong aspirates and /š/, /s/ are always long if single and postprominent (however, final /š/, /s/ have been noted as short).

b. Tone.

Aspirates, /š/, /s/ and */h/ determine high level tone of the preceding vowel.

Unvoiced aspirates, /š/ and /s/ determine high level tone of a following vowel.

/c/ (including aspirates in °) determines high falling tone of a following vowel.

3. /V*h/. *Quantity. Tone.*

By this sign we indicate the result of what at an earlier date was a vowel followed by /h/ (coming from NI /h/ or sibilant and MI intervocalic /h/ or sibilant from OI intervocalic /h/, aspirate, sibilant). If the */h/ in the NI form of the word belonged to the same syllable as the preceding vowel, it leads to a long vowel in a non-final as well as a final syllable; it leads to high level tone no matter whether belonging to the same or the following syllable. See A 1 γ, B 1 b α below.

4. *Conflicting conditions.*

If a word contains conflicting conditions (i.e. conditions (sounds) determining different phonetic results), that closest to the end of the word will determine the result and can thus be said to be dominant. There are two such oppositions:

I. a) Anteprominent /^c/ (determining high falling tone): b) Postprominent aspirate, /š/, /s/, */h/ (determining high level tone). See A2 below.

II. a) /V*h/ (demanding long vowel if a consonant or pause follows): b) Postprominent strong aspirate, /š/, /s/ (determining a short vowel followed by a long consonant (except final short /š/ and /s/)). See B 1 b α, B 2 a α below.

The postprominent strong aspirates (the aspirated stops and /n^c, m^c, l^c/) as well as /š/, /s/ enter into both oppositions, leading to a high level tone in opposition I contrary to the anteprominent ^c, and to a short vowel + a long consonant in opposition II contrary to the preceding /V*h/. But the weak aspirates (/j^c, w^c, ŋ^c, l^c, r^c, r^c/) are dominant only in opposition I, while the structure {/V*h/ : postprominent weak aspirate} leads to a long vowel, determined by /V*h/.

Note. By the sign */h/ a genetic feature is introduced into the description, leading to a better understanding of cases containing a long vowel which cannot be accounted for synchronically. But it is to be conceded that while the conflict of opposition I is manifest, that of opposition II is not extant. Now, it is to a certain degree a matter of interpretation whether a postprominent /h/ is regarded as still existing or not. Even if I prefer the latter position, the */h/ may be said to be “just below the surface”.

A. TONE

1. High level tone.

α. The syllable ends in or is followed by an aspirate, /š/ or /s/: Kṭg /āk:h/, Kc /ā:nkh/ “eye”; Kṭg /pāntsh/ “bird”; Kṭg /bāḍ:^c/, Kc /bāḍ:^ci/ “carpenter”; Kṭg /kān:^c/, Kc /kā:n^c/ “shoulder”; Kṭg Kc /kōšṇō/-o/ “to tighten”; Kṭg /bōrš/ “year”; Kṭg Kc /bōsṇō/-o/ “to lodge”.

β. The vowel follows an unvoiced aspirate or /š/, /s/: Kṭg Kc /tshā:l/ “bark (of tree)”; Kṭg Kc /phīrnō/-o/ “to turn round”; Kṭg /bōšēlnō/, Kc /bušālno/ “to seat”; Kṭg Kc /sūtṇō/-o/ “to sleep”.

γ. The vowel is /V*h/: Kṭg Kc /tē:rɔ/-o/ “his” (NI */teh-/ < */tesV-/) (but /terɔ/-o/ “your”); Kṭg Kc /bā:/ “arm” (NI */bāh/, Pk. /bāhā/) (but Kṭg /ba:/ “tank of water”, Sk. /vāpī/); Kṭg /pō:r/ “period

of three hours" (/*pəhr/, Sk. /praharah/) (but /pə:r/ "last year", Sk. /parut/); Kṭg /mō:l/ (varying with /mūəl/) "pestle, club" (*/muhl/, Sk. /musalah/) (but /mɔ:l/ "root", Sk. /mūlam/). With /*h/ introducing a following syllable: /bāa/ "flows" (*/bāhā/), /mūəl/ "pestle" (*/muhal/, Sk. /musalah/).

2. High falling tone.

After /^c/ (including aspirates in /^c/): Kṭg Kc /cə:l/ "plough"; Kṭg Kc /^ciund/ "winter"; Kṭg /səg^cā:/, Kc /səg^cār/ "wooden staircase"; Kṭg. Kc /b^cəri/ "much, many"; Kṭg /n^cērɔ/, Kc /n^cjāro/ "darkness".

Conflicting conditions:

In opposition I postprominent aspirates as well as postprominent /š/, /s/, /*h/ are dominant and lead to high level tone: Kṭg /^cāt:h/, Kc /^cā:th/ "hand"; Kṭg Kc /b^cər^cuɔ/-o/ "is filled, is full"; Kṭg /b^cēs/, Kc /b^cē:š/ "dress, guise"; Kṭg /g^cā:/ (containing final /*h/ < */s/); Kṭg /g^cās/, Kc /g^cā:s/ "grass".

3. Free tone.

In all other instances the tone is free, but usually lower than the two high tones: Kṭg Kc /a:g/ "fire"; Kṭg /kal:ɛ/, Kc /kal:a/ "tomorrow"; Kṭg Kc /ṭa:ŋ/ "leg"; Kṭg Kc /badzṇō/-o/ "to sound".

An exhaustive treatment of the tones and their conditions is given on p. 19 foll.

B 1. VOWEL QUANTITY

a. Short vowels.

α. Vowels in non-final syllables ending in or followed by any consonant or consonant-group or by a vowel are short: Kṭg Kc /d^cāc:a/ "brings up"; Kṭg Kc /ād:ɔ/-o/ "half"; Kṭg /ag:əḷnō/ "to bolt"; Kṭg Kc /toḷa/ "below"; /danda/ (obl. of /da:nd/) "tooth"; /kaprɔ/-o/ "cloth". Followed by a vowel e.g. Kṭg Kc /^ciū/ "snow".

A word which has a long vowel in its final syllable when used as a simplex will have a short vowel instead when used as the first member of a compound, e.g. Kṭg Kc /pa:ndz/ "five", but Kṭg /'pandz'maru/, "the one that kills five"; Kṭg Kc /ka:n/ "ear", but Kṭg Kc /'kan'baḷ/-e/ "earring".

This rule has a number of exceptions, the three most typical being: 1. Words containing /V*h/. 2. Some loanwords, e.g. /ba:ra/ “twelve” (H. /bārah/). 3. Words with vowel sequence varying with long vowel (see Alternative pronunciation p. 16), e.g. Kṭg Kc /ḍeunō/-o/ ~ /ḍe:ṇō/ “to go”; Kṭg /ciuṅkhu/ ~ /ci:ṅkhu/ “bird”.

β. In Kṭg. the vowel of a final syllable ending in an aspirate, /š/ or /s/ is short: /sāj^c/ “like”, /kōj^c/ “twenty-one”, /gāw^c/ “forward”, /rik:h/ “a bear”, /pīt:h/ “the back”, /^cāt:h/ “hand”, /dzīb:^c/ “tongue”, /^cmaṅ'chēn:^c/ “smell of human beings” (from a tale), /šim:^c/ “snot”, /dār^c/ “molar tooth”, /gōr^c/ “shaman priest”, /bīš/ “poison”, /būš/ “talk”, /mās/ “flesh”. Also such cases with nasal + homorganic aspirated stop; liquid + aspirated stop or sibilant; and stop + sibilant, like /lāṅg^c/ “woollen cloth”, /kōṇḍ^c/ “pit, vessel”, /kəḍōrkḥ/ “rude man”, /^cōlš/ “pole of plough”, /bōrš/ “year”, /rākš/ “troll” have a short vowel.

b. Long vowels.

α./ V*h/. As examples of long vowels occurring both in non-final and final syllable with tauto-syllabic */h/ in the NI form of the word the following may be mentioned in addition to those given above under A 1 γ : Kṭg /pō:tsə/ “reached” (/*pōhtsə/, Pk /pahucca-/); Kṭg Kc /pə:rō:t/, obl. /pə:rō:ta/ “priest” (/*puroht(a)/, Sk /purohitah/); /pē:lə/, /-o/ “first” (/*pēhlə/); Kṭg Kc /šē:r/, obl. /šē:ra/ “town”; /kā:l/, /-e/ “restlessness”; Kṭg /bē:/ “wedding” (Sk /vivāhaḥ/). Notice that /V*h/ leads to a long vowel even in a non-final closed syllable, thus Kṭg Kc /pē:lkə/-o/ “first”, Kṭg /pō:ndzə/ “the wrist” (cp. H. /pahūcā/, i.e. /pōūhca/). If the */h/ belonged to the following syllable in the NI form of the word it had no influence on the quantity of the stressed (prominent) vowel: Kṭg /mūə/! (/*muha/), /bēa/ (/*bēhā; obl. of /bē:/).

Conflicting conditions:

In opposition II we have a short vowel, in spite of /V*h/, due to the /š/ in Kṭg /m^cēš:/ “buffalo”, /m^cēš/ “buffalo-cow” (due to the shortening of the syllable the*/h/(coming from Sk./-h-/in /mahiṣa-/, /-ī/) has been moved to the beginning of it). Probably the same process due to an unvoiced aspirate in Kṭg Kc /b^cōmphər/ “shoulder-blade” (/* bāhu-sphara-).

The weak aspirates are less dominant, since in opposition II the

result is a long vowel due to /*h/ in Kṭg Kc /kā:ɭ^cuɔ/, /-o/ “having become restless” (Pk /kāhalo/).

β. The vowel of a final syllable is long, in Kṭg. with the above-mentioned exception: Kṭg /ba:t/, Kc /ba:t/ “path”; Kṭg Kc /šī:l/ “slate”, /bəršā:ɭ/ “the rainy season”, /da:nd/ “tooth”, /tɔ:ŋg/ “verandah”, Kc /ca:ŋd/ “the loft of the house”, Kṭg Kc /nɔ:/ “nine”, /ma:/ “mother”.

Notice the following long-vowelled Kc words in aspirate, /š/, /s/ corresponding to the short-vowelled Kṭg words, one of the characteristic word-structural differences of the two dialects: /rī:kh/, /pī:ṭh/, /ā:th/, dzī:b^c/, /šī:m^c/, /dā:r^c/, /bī:š/, /bū:š/, /mā:s/. Se B 1. a. β.

In such words as Kṭg /pɔ:r/ “last year”, /bɔ:ŋ/ “uncultivated ground”, Kṭg Kc /ʔ:ɭ/, Kc /bī:š/ a vowel-lengthening has taken place, a marked feature of Himachali as opposed to the other NI languages.

There are a number of exceptions, the most characteristic being words in which the final syllable is introduced with an unvoiced aspirate or sibilant, e.g. Kṭg Kc /khɔɭ/, /sɔŋg/, Kṭg /tshɔɭ/, /khōr/, /phɔŋ/, /sōŋd/ (besides according to the rule: Kṭg Kc /chɔ:ŋ/, /tshā:l/, Kc /šā:l/, Kṭg /tshē:ŋ/, /khō:r/, /šē:l/, /nəšɔ:ŋg/, /šā:nd/, /šā:ŋd/). A certain vacillation was to be observed in some cases, thus Kṭg /phɔ:ɭ/ and /phɔɭ/ “fruit”, /sā:t/ and /sāt:/ “seven”. In a number of words a short vowel is evidently due to the fact that they are loan-words, e.g. Kṭg Kc /khōrts/, Kṭg /bɔrt/, Kṭg /šārt/ (and Kc /šōrt/), Kṭg /rɔŋg/, /ɔn:/, /pun:/, Kṭg Kc /kul:/.

2. sg. impv. has a short vowel, at least in Kṭg., thus /bol:/ “say!”, /kɔr/ “do!”; possibly also high level tone.

B 2. CONSONANT QUANTITY

On account of the quantity correlation of vowels and consonants the rules of consonant quantity follow from those of vowel quantity: a consonant is short after a long vowel and long after a short vowel. The only exceptions are final /š/ and /s/, which have been noted as short even when they follow a short vowel.

It is in the nature of the matter that the distinction of short and

long quantity is only found with the strong consonants since only they can be long, which happens when they occur as single consonants at the end of the stressed (prominent) syllable.

a. Weak consonants.

Here some examples with weak consonants after a short vowel: Kṭg /loja/ “woollen gown”, /sāfa/ “distinct”, Kṭg Kc /paṇi/, /-i/ “water”, /tāṇ^cuɔ/, /-o/ “scattered”, Kṭg /pāṇ^ci/ “shoe” (Vocab. has long /-ṇ^c-/, which is wrong), Kṭg Kc /aḷu/ “potatoe”, Kṭg /g^cwāl^cuɔ/ “embraced”, Kṭg Kc /pɔɾɔ/, /-o/ “he fell”, /pōṛ^cɔ/, /-o/ “was read”, /tsori/, /-e/ “theft”. Also /z/ seems to be short here, e.g. Kṭg Kc /mōzɔ/-o/ “pleasure”.

Aspirated weak consonants in final position (with short vowel in Kṭg): Kṭg /sāj^c/ “similar”, /gāw^c/ “ahead”, /šār^c/ “the month from mid June till mid July”, /tsīṛ^c/ “hatred”, /kōṛ^c/ “leprosy”.

b. Aspirated consonants, /š/ and /s/ in Kṭg.

As has been mentioned these consonants determine the short quantity as well as the high tone of the preceding vowel. The two features seem to be caused by the energy which aspiration and sibilation lend to the vowel.

In certain cases it is difficult to determine the quantity and it is quite possible that mistakes have crept in in the material. Thus the affricates have often been noted as short in the vocabulary against the rule: Kṭg /katsɔ/, /bɔtsɔ/, /tsatsi/, /kadzəl/, /d^cidzɔ/; even aspirates: /bītshəɾṇō/, /grīdz^cuɔ/. But, according to the rule, long in: /khāt:shər/ “mule”, /sōt:sɔ/ “true”, /bad:zɪ/ “gambling”, /rɔd:zɪ (gɔ)/ “(got) satisfied (with food)”, /sərad:zɪ/ “inhabitant of the highland”, /pāt:sha/ “after, back”, /bāt:shu/ “calf”, /māt:shɪ/ “fish”. Even if some uncertainty regarding quantity is in the nature of the affricates there is no doubt that they should be interpreted as long when intervocalic after the stressed vowel.

The same uncertainty occurs with strong consonants appearing after the third-last syllable; short consonant e.g. Kṭg /ukəḷṇō/, /ubəḷṇō/, /ekio/ (/i-ɔ/ makes up two syllables), /cəpəɾṇō/, /tsəkəɾṇō/, /pətshekəɾṇō/, /badəḷṇō/. But following the rule: /ag:əḷṇō/, /ut:əɾṇō/, /tsop:əɾṇō/, /bud:əɾṇō/, /muk:əɾṇō/. The reason why the consonant is (or seems to be) shorter in such words may be their length which involves a more rapid pronunciation.

In loanwords one suspects influence from neighbour languages, e.g. /kabu/, /dzaga/, /papi/, /b[◌]ɔmɪ/, /kɔdɛm/, /kagɛz/, /dzatɛr/.

It is significant that aspirates and sibilants have been noted as long in polysyllables after the third-last syllable, e.g. Kɬg /bōd:[◌]ɛɪnō/, /nɪk:həɪnō/, /āk:hərnō/, /khɔ̃š:iɔ/, /bīs:ərnō/. There are only two exceptions in the material out of 13 instances (/khīsəkɬnō/, /bitshərnō/).

SUMMARY OF THE QUANTITY AND TONE RULES

By vowel is meant the stressed vowel and by consonant the postprominent consonant, unless otherwise indicated. Only strong single consonants can be long.

I. Quantity

1. *Position of syllable.*

- a) A final syllable contains long vowel + short consonant.
- b) A non-final syllable contains short vowel + long consonant.

2. *Quality of consonant (eliminates 1).*

- a) Kɬg Kc tauto-syllabic /*h/ determines long vowel + short consonant, both in final and non-final syllable (eliminates 2 c).
- b) Kɬg strong aspirate, /š/, /s/ determine short vowel + long consonant, in final and non-final syllable, though final /š/, /s/ are written short (eliminates 2 a).
- c) Kɬg weak aspirate determines short vowel + short consonant, in final and non-final syllable.

II. Tone

- a) In I 1 a and b the tone is free.
- b) Anteprominent unvoiced aspirate and sibilant determine high level tone (eliminates II a).
- c) Anteprominent [◌] determines high falling tone (eliminates II a).

d) I 2 a b c determine high level tone (eliminates II c). It should be added that /*h/, when determining tone, can be both tautosyllabic and heterosyllabic.

ALTERNATION OF QUANTITY AND TONE

Quantity alternation according to I in the summary

The quantity can alternate if the stress-syllable of the word has alternation of position, i.e. if it shifts from final to second-final position. One may distinguish between two types, one with alternation and one without.

Type 1.

Quantity alternation in substantives of the third and fourth declensions according to 1 a and b (in the following substantives the first form is dir.sg., the second form obl.): Kṭg /ba:t/, Kc /ba:t̄/ (a): Kṭg /bat:a/, Kc /ba:t̄:a/ (b); Kṭg Kc /b̄i:t/: Kṭg /b̄i:t̄:ɪ/, Kc /b̄i:t̄:i/; Kṭg /tshā:r/, Kc /ᶜə:l/: Kṭg /tshāra/, Kc /ᶜəla/.

Alternation only in Kc. (2 b and c are invalid here, indicated by ÷): Kc /ō:t̄h/: /ōt̄:ha/ (÷ 2 b); /šā:r̄ᶜ/: /šār̄ᶜa/ (÷ 2 c).

Type 2.

According to 2 a, b, c, no alternation (b, c only in Kṭg.): Kṭg Kc /p̄rō:t̄/: /p̄rō:ta/ (a); Kṭg /ōt̄:h/: /ōt̄:ha/ (b); /šār̄ᶜ/: /šār̄ᶜa/ (c).

Tone alternation according to II in the summary

Tone alternation takes place if an aspiration-headed morpheme follows the base, the aspiration demanding high level tone according to II d. It goes without saying that alternation is only possible if the base has free tone (according to II a) or high falling tone (II c).

In the noun such alternation is possible where an adverb in /-ᶜi/ is derived from a substantive: e.g. Kṭg /ba:t/, Kc /ba:t̄/ "path": Kṭg /bāt:hi/, Kc /bāt̄:hi/ "by way of".

In the verb the relation between the involitive and the principal verb deserves mention: Kṭg /kaṭ:ɔ/: /kāt̄:huɔ/; /pr̄eɲɔ/: /pr̄eɲᶜuɔ/; /ᶜāṇḍɔ/: /ᶜāṇḍᶜuɔ/. No alternation: /khōḍ:ɔ/ (/ō/ acc. to II b): /khōḍ:ᶜuɔ/. All examples are in the preterite.

The Relation between Stress and Vowels

The vowel /ə/ is never stressed and never occurs in initial or final position in the word. Neither is /[˘]ə/ possible in the beginning of the word, which appears from certain alternations (the few words with /[˘]ə/ in Vocab. are incorrect or atypical). The /ə/ and in certain cases other vowels (see below) will be called empty vowels.

The other vowels, which will be called the full vowels, are stressed or unstressed.

A full vowel either appears as a single vowel, separated by a consonant from the other vowels of the word, or as a member of a vowel sequence, which means that it follows and/or is followed by another vowel.

A vowel sequence is a series of successive vowels. A non-final sequence contains two vowels, a final sequence from two to four vowels. All sequence vowels are full apart from the specific case where the second vowel of a two-vowel sequence is /ə/.

Each of the sequence vowels constitutes a syllable.

Only the first sequence vowel, the head vowel, can bear the stress; the sequence is then considered to be stressed. In unstressed sequences none of the vowels are stressed.

The term heavy vowel denotes a potentially stressed vowel, i.e. a) a full single vowel, and b) a head vowel.

A word cannot contain more than two heavy vowels separated from each other by one or several consonants. The vowels are either two full single vowels or two head vowels or a full single vowel and a head vowel in this or the inverse order.

Each word which is not enclitic or proclitic has one stress-syllable.

If there are two heavy vowels in a word the first bears the stress. This vowel, or, in the case of a head vowel, the sequence which it introduces occurs in non-final position which means that it or the sequence is followed by a consonant.

The other heavy vowel, which is unstressed, is final, either

Synopsis of stress- and vowel-types

Signs: V = full vowel. v = empty vowel. VV = vowel sequence. □ = consonant(s). Initial consonants are not indicated.

1. Final syllable stressed.
 - a. Monosyllables.
 - α. With final vowel. /šū:/ 1. \acute{V}
 - β. With final consonant. /ka:m/ 1. $\acute{V}\square$
 - b. Dissyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /kəṛā:/ 1. $v\square\acute{V}$
 - β. W.final cons. /kəṭhā:r/ (/ku'thā:r/) 1. $v\square\acute{V}\square$
2. Second-final syllable stressed.
 - a. Dissyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /sūl:ε/. /naɪ/. 1. $\acute{V}\square V$. 2. $\acute{V}\square V$.
 - β. W.final cons. /ōk:hər/. /kēiŋ/. 1. $\acute{V}\square v\square$. 2. $\acute{V}\square V\square$.
 - b. Trisyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /khəzantsɪ/. /bəšēū/. 1. $v\square\acute{V}\square V$. 2. $v\square\acute{V}\square V$.
 - β. W.final cons. /tsəlāp:həɾ/. /šə'kait/ (/ši'kait/). 1. $v\square\acute{V}\square v\square$. 2. $v\square\acute{V}\square V\square$.
 - c. Quadrisyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /šəṇšəṇa:ṇō/. 1. $v\square v\square\acute{V}\square V$.
3. Third-final syllable stressed.
 - a. Trisyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /ut:ərnō/. /peukɔ/. /sāt:iɔ/. /āia/. 1. $\acute{V}\square v\square V$. 2. $\acute{V}\square V\square V$. 3. $\acute{V}\square V\square V$. 4. $\acute{V}\square V\square V$.
 - β. W.final cons. /khāugəl/. 1. $\acute{V}\square V\square v\square$.
 - b. Quadrisyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /pətshēk:ərnō/. /pətshāūšɛ/. /khəzantsiɔ/. /kəraua/. 1. $v\square\acute{V}\square v\square V$. 2. $v\square\acute{V}\square V\square V$. 3. $v\square\acute{V}\square V\square V$. 4. $v\square\acute{V}\square V\square V$.
4. Fourth-final syllable stressed.
 - a. Quadrisyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /koṭgəɾuɔ/. /g^cēuɪɔ/. /^cūd:z^cuio/. /ḍeuio/. 1. $\acute{V}\square v\square V\square V$. 2. $\acute{V}\square V\square V\square V$. 3. $\acute{V}\square V\square V\square V$. 4. $\acute{V}\square V\square V\square V$.
 - b. Quinquesyllables.
 - α. W.final vowel. /nəb^cəlpəṇiɛ/. /kəṇɛuṭio/. 1. $v\square\acute{V}\square v\square V\square V$. 2. $v\square\acute{V}\square V\square V\square V$.

Notes on the Synopsis.

(3.a.α. /āia/: pres. invol. of /ā:ṇō/. 3.b.α. /khəzantsiə/ and 4.a.α. /g^cəuliə/: pss.m.sg. of /khəzantsi/ and /g^cəuli/. 3.b.α. /kəraua/: pres.ind. of /kərauṇō/. 4.a.α. /^cūd:z^cuio/ and /ḍeuio/: long ger. of /^cūd^cṇō/ and /ḍeuṇō/).

To the four main types already mentioned a fifth type having the stress on the fifth-final syllable can be added. For an example see /neutieə/ (pss.m.sg. of /neutiə/ “an only son”) (VV□VVV), mentioned below p. 43.

alone, if a single vowel, or together with its sequence, if a head-vowel. If there is only one heavy vowel it of course bears the stress.

All final morphemes are unstressed.

The vowels /i/ and /u/ (with their variants /ɪ/ and /ʊ/) and even other vowels may be unstressed when single in non-final position. This case is not uncommon in Kc., but exceptional in Kṭg., where it may be atypical (there is always variation with /ə/ in Kṭg.). This kind of unstressed vowels may be considered to be equivalent to /ə/ and like this to be empty vowels, having a status different from the full vowels which are stressed or, when unstressed, final and/or members of vowel sequences.

A compound substantive consists of two, in exceptional cases three, members which form one rhythmic whole. Each member is stressed separately. The members are usually identical with independent substantives or adjectives. The first member as a general rule is shortened compared to the same word when occurring independently and quite often only has one heavy vowel.

The synopsis gives an idea of the different combinations of stressed and unstressed syllables. It appears from it that only vowel-final words can have two heavy vowels, the first of them having the stress, while the second, being final either alone or together with its vowel sequence, is unstressed. See 2.a.α.1., 2.b.α.1., 2.c.α., 3.a.α.1.-2.-3., 3.b.α.1.-2.-3., 4.a.α.1.-2.-3., 4.b.α.1.-2. This is in keeping with the rules given above.

There is a remarkable difference, with regard to vowels, between unstressed final syllables ending in 1) vowels and 2) consonants. Only the first can contain heavy vowels while the latter contain

empty vowels or the last vowel of a sequence. Notice the relation between α - and β -words: Corresponding to an α -word ending in V one finds a β -word in $v\bar{\square}$, e.g. /mūš:ɔ/ “mouse” (V \square V) as opposed to /mūš:əŋ/ “she-mouse” (V \square v \square). It is a remarkable fact that heavy vowels can be, and indeed often are, unstressed at the end of the word, whereas they always have the stress in consonant-final words (either in front of the last consonant, thus 1.b. β . /kəθhā:r/, or earlier in the word, e.g. 2.b. β . /tsəlāp:həŋ/; 3.a. β . /khāugəl/).

Full vowels can be present in comparatively great numbers in the word and quite often they are unstressed. Both features are due to the frequency and composite nature of the vowel sequences.

As for the empty vowels their occurrence is restricted. In general only two empty syllables (containing /ə/ or, exceptionally, its substitutes /i/ and /u/) are possible in a word. Two successive empty syllables are possible, but at any rate rare (an example is /šəŋšəŋa:ŋō/, 2.c.). Alternating distribution of empty and full vowels is the rule, see /tsəlāp:həŋ/ (2.b. β .1.), /pətshēk:əŋnō/ (3.b. α .1.), /ut:ərnō/ (3.a. α .1.).

Consonant-final words of more than three syllables are almost out of the question for the following reasons: such words have only one heavy vowel; the vowel must preferably introduce a sequence, which means that a greater number of syllables are involved, but a sequence with more than two vowels is not possible in consonant-final words (see p. 39, 45); finally the occurrence of empty syllables, as has been mentioned, is narrowly conditioned.

Regarding the structure of the synopsis: within the main types (1., 2. etc.), if coming to words with an additional syllable, an empty syllable is added in front. When moving from one main type to the following a full vowel is often added behind. The first relation is seen in e.g. 2.a. α . /dēk:ha/ (pres. ind. of /dēkhŋō/) $\acute{V}\square V$ as opposed to 2.b. α . /dəkhēla/ (pres.ind.caus.) $v\square\acute{V}\square V$, and the second relation in 1.a. β . /šōŋ/ (impv. sg. of /šōŋnō/) $\acute{V}\square$; 2.a. α . /šōŋa/ (pres.ind.) $\acute{V}\square V$; 3.a. α . /šōŋ^cui/ (short ger.invol.) $\acute{V}\square VV$; 4.a. α . /šōŋ^cuiō/ (long ger.invol.) $\acute{V}\square VVV$.

On the basis of the distribution of the full and empty vowels and taking the nature of the vowel sequences into consideration the following rules for the occurrence of stressed and unstressed syllables and their relation to each other can be stated. The stressed syllable is in general preceded by only one syllable which

must contain an empty vowel (see 1.b., 2.b., 3.b., 4.b.). Only such very rare cases with two successive empty syllables as 2.c. /šəŋšəŋa:nō/ (containing a reduplication syllable) are possible. After the stressed syllable normally only one empty syllable is admissible. Vowel-final words may have a comparatively great number of unstressed syllables made up of sequence vowels. Up to four such syllables are met with if a word contains two sequences, the first, being stressed, consisting of two vowels, and the last, being unstressed and final, having three vowels. Taking the substantive /neutiǝ/ “an only son” as an example, such a case is represented by its pss.m.sg. /neutieǝ/ where all the vowels except the head vowel of the first sequence are unstressed, resulting in five syllables altogether.

As for the genetic background of the stress see p. 67 and also p. 52 f.

The Vowel Sequences

There are a great number and variety of vowel sequences (over fifty different two-vowel combinations) the majority of which can be morphologically analysed. They will be treated as consisting of as many syllables as the number of vowels they contain. Evidence that the sequences are not diphthongs or triphthongs is to be found in words containing tone-conditioning consonants. If an aspirate or sibilant follows a sequence, which in that case can only contain two vowels (sequences of three or four vowels are always final), one should expect high level tone if the sequence were a diphthong. But no tone appears in the following words: Kṭg /ciuŋkhu/, /deuṭhu/, /deuṭ^c/, /biuḍz^cŋō/ (pres. /biuḍz^ca/), /kaušəŋ/, /reuš/. That indicates that the vowel nearest to the tone-conditioning consonant is unstressed and therefore cannot bear any tone; the two vowels are independent in a syllabic respect. Much the same reasoning seems possible in the case of anteprominent consonants, e.g. Kṭg /dz^cəuŋō/, /g^ciu/, /khāugəŋ/, /ṭhōiɔ/: Only the head-vowel can bear the stress and with it the tone, which cannot be extended over the whole sequence since the following vowel or vowels do not form one syllabic whole together with the head-vowel.

The word Kṭg /bāiš/ (also /bāišɔ/) “bamboo” is the only exception known to me, probably derived from Sk. /vaṃśaḥ/. In my field notes I have written a diphthong. It would probably be more correct to write /bājš/, /bājšɔ/ (cp. /kɔj^c/, /tēj^c/, /sāj^c/).

The sequences may be replaced by long monophthongs which follow the general rule with regard to tone: /dē:ṭhu/ beside /deuṭhu/, /cī:nkhu/ beside /ciuŋkhu/.

STRUCTURE OF THE SEQUENCES

The sequences can be divided into five different types which have definite characteristics with regard to 1) morphology (lexical, morphological), 2) position (final, non-final), 3) stress (stressed, unstressed), 4) number of vowels involved, and 5) movement

(ascending, plane, descending). The last-mentioned feature is determined by the level of the tongue-position in articulating the vowels, whether low or deep (as in the case of /a/), medium (as for /e/ and /o/), or high (as for /i/ and /u/), ascending indicating the movement from lower to higher level (e.g. in /ai/) and descending indicating the opposite movement; by plane is meant vowels having the same level (e.g. /iu/).

I. Non-final lexical sequences.

These sequences, being non-final, are by definition stressed and consist of two vowels.

Sequences in i and u.

The movement is ascending.

	Second vowel: i		Second vowel: u	
Head vowel	a	i Kt̥g Kc phāidɔ. Kc kāiŋ	a	u Kt̥g Kc bāur
»	ε	i Kt̥g kēiŋ	ε	u Kt̥g gʻɛ̃uɫɪ
»	e	i Kt̥g 'bei'manɪ	e	u Kt̥g neutɪ
»	ɔ	i Kc goiŋ. tsɔitər	ɔ	u Kt̥g Kc nɔukər. Kc gɔuc
»	o	i Kt̥g Kc pərōit	o	u
»	i	i	i	u Kt̥g Kc ʻiund. Kt̥g tsɪur
»	u	i ⁺ suiŋo	u	u

Sequences in /ɔ/

These are the only non-final sequences having a second vowel other than /i/ and /u/. Their special status is due to an /*h/. There is variation between /V*hɔ/ and /V*h/. Due to the /*h/ the head vowel has high level tone.

/gāɛn/

/sɛ̃ɛpɔ /~/ sɛ̃:pɔ/

/tsōɔr /~/ tsō:r/

/bōɔɫɪ/-e /~/ bō:ɫɪ/-e/

/dīɛŋ /~/ dī:ŋ/. /bīɛth/. /kəŋiɛth/. /sīɛŋ /~/ sī:ŋ/

/mūɔɫ /~/ mū:l/

The genetic basis appears e.g. in the case of /bīəth/ from Pk. /vihatthi-/ “measure of length”, in the case of /sīəŋ/ from Pa. /sīhini/ “lioness” and in the case of /mūəʃ/ from Sk. /musalah/ “pestle”.

The loan-words /rɛət/ and /niəm /~/ nɪ:m/ do not contain /*h/.

II. Final lexical sequences.

There are a few lexical sequences which contrary to the chief rule are final. They have the same characteristics as the non-final sequences in /i/, /u/.

E.g. Kṭg Kc /gau/ “cow”, /sēu/ “apple”, /ʕiū/ “snow”.

Their inflection (with obl. /gau/ (gawɪ) in Kṭg., /gab:i/ in Kc.; /sēua/ in Kṭg., /sēb:a/ in Kc.; /ʕiūa/ in Kṭg., /ʕim:a/ in Kc.) indicates that the three words are nominal bases and so are of a lexical nature. But since they have an alternative inflection in Kṭg. with the obl. form being identical with the dir. form they can also be interpreted in that dialect as following the 6. declension in /-u/; they will then probably have to be understood as having /-u/ as a suffix, which means that they belong to the final stressed lexico-morphological type, to be mentioned immediately. In any case, the obl. forms /gau/, /sēua/, /ʕiūa/ belong to that type.

III. Final unstressed lexico-morphological sequences.

They consist of two vowels: Kṭg Kc /pandzuə/-o/, Kṭg /pandziə/ “the fifth”; Kc /bʕəŋio/ “jackal”. The movement is descending.

IV. Final stressed lexico-morphological sequences.

They contain from two to four vowels.

Two vowels.

The movement is free, i.e. ascending or descending, depending on the vowels involved.

Examples of the different vowel-combinations are arrived at by choosing verb bases in /-a/, /-ɛ/, /-ɔ/, /-e/, /-o/, /-i/, /-u/ and adding the following endings: 1.pl.pres. /-i/, 1.sg.pres. /-u/; 3.sg.subj. /-e/, 3.sg.opt. /-o/; pret.m.pl. /-ɛ/, pret.m.sg. /-ɔ/; 3.sg.pres. /-a/. All these endings are found in Kṭg. Also Kc. has them except those for pret.m.pl. and sg., where the Kc endings are /-a/ and /-o/. In any

case, /ɛ/ is a very rare vowel in Kc., so a verb-stem in /-ɛ-/ cannot be given for that dialect.

Head vowel /a/. Kṭg Kc /ga-/ “to sing”.

Ascending: /gai/, /-u/; /gae/, /-o/; /gae/, /-ɔ/.

Plane: /gaa/ (~ /ga:/).

Head vowel /ɛ/, /ɔ/. Kṭg Kc /lɛ-/ “to take”, Kṭg Kc /bɔ-/ “to sow”.

Ascending: /lei/, /-u/; /lee/, /-o/; /boi/, /-u/; /boe/, /-o/.

Plane: /lee/ (~ /le:/), /-ɔ/; /boe/, /boɔ/ (~ /bo:/).

Descending: /lea/, /boa/.

Head vowel /e/, /o/. Kṭg Kc /dɛ-/ (dɛu-/) “to go”, /ro-/ “to weep”.

Ascending: /dei/, /-u/; /roi/, /-u/.

Plane: /dee/ (~ /de:/), /-o/; /roe/, /roo/ (~ /ro:/).

Descending: (/dɛue/, /-ɔ/), /roe/, /-ɔ/; /dea/, /roa/.

Head vowel /i/, /u/. Kṭg Kc /ni-/ “to lead”, /tshū-/ “to touch”.

Plane: /nii/ (~ /ni:/), /-u/; /tshūi/, /tshūu/ (= /tshū:/).

Descending: /nie/, /-o/; /niɛ/, /-ɔ/; /nia/, /tshūe/, /-o/; /tshūe/, /-ɔ/; /tshūa/.

Three and four vowels.

With three vowels: Kṭg /khəneiɔ/, /graūi/, /gaio/. Kc. /šəmoio/, /gaea/, /niea/.

With four vowels: Kṭg /khəneiɛɔ/, /graūio/, /dɛuio/. Kc. /šəmoiea/, /dɛuea/.

Analysis: /gaio/, /gaea/; /dɛuio/, /dɛuea/: long ger. of /gaṇō/-o/, /niṇō/-o/ and /dɛuṇō/, /-o/; /khəneiɛɔ/, /graūio/: possess. m.sg. of /khəneiɔ/ and /graūi/; /šəmoiea/: instr. of /šəmoio/.

In the three- and four-vowel words there is free movement between the head-vowel and the next vowel, but after the next vowel the movement is descending. A stressed final sequence with three or four vowels can be understood as consisting of head-vowel + unstressed sequence (see V. below).

Alternation in stressed final sequence.

In Kṭg., after noun- and verb-bases in /-i/, the vowel /-e/ is facultatively substituted for /-i/ in the possess.f.sg. of the noun and in the ger. and the pret.f.sg. of the verb: /d^cie/, possess.f.sg. of /d^ci:/ “daughter”; /nie/, ger. and pret.f.sg. of the verb-base /ni-/ “to lead” (inf. /ni:ṇō/). It is a case of differentiation like that of the unstressed

sequences, see below. If /-ɪ/ is kept, the base-vowel /-i/ is assimilated: /dʰɪ/ (~ /dʰi:/), /nɪ/ (~ /ni:/).

V. Final morphological sequences.

These sequences consist of two or three vowels. They are unstressed. The movement is descending. The head-vowel is /i/, /ɪ/, or /u/ except for the nouns following the first declension where the oblique ending, Kɬg /-ɛ/ and Kc /-e/, is the head-vowel. In Kɬg. the head-vowel /-ɛ/ and some of the case vowels enter into an alternation (see below p. 49).

Two vowels.

A. In the examples mentioned below the following words appear, containing as *head-vowel*:

1. /i/. The noun Kɬg Kc /bāḍ:ʰi/, obl. form of respectively Kɬg /bāḍ:ʰɪ/, Kc /bāḍ:ʰi/ m. The verb form Kɬg Kc /šāndi-/ , pres. base of Kɬg /šāndʰnō/, Kc /šāndiŋo/ (invol.).

2. /ɪ/ (only found in Kɬg.). Kɬg /bʰāṭɪ/, obl. form of /bʰāṭ:əŋ/ f.

3. /u/. The noun Kɬg Kc /raṇḍu/ m., dir. and obl. form. The verb form Kɬg Kc /šāndʰu-, pret. form of Kɬg /šāndʰnō/, Kc /šāndiŋo/.

4. /ɛ/, /e/. Kɬg /gʰōrɛ/, Kc /gʰōre/, obl. of /gʰōrɔ/, /-o/ m.

Alternants. Kɬg /ɛ/ is replaced by a) /e/ in front of /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /o/, and, facultatively, in front of /a/, and by b) /ɪ/ in front of /ɪ/ and /i/.

B. As *second vowel* the following endings appear:

1. In the noun: a) In Kɬg.: 1. Voc.sg.m. /-a/. 2. Instr./possess.m.pl. /-ɛ/. 3. Possess.m.dir.sg. /-ɔ/. 4. Voc.pl. /-o/. 5. Possess.f.dir.sg. /-ɪ/. 6. Possess.f.pl. /-i/. b) In Kc.: Voc.sg./instr. /-a/. Voc.pl. /-o/.

2. In the verb: 1) Added to /šāndi-/ a) In both dialects: 3.sg.pres. /-a/, 3.sg.opt. /-o/, 3.sg.subj. /-e/. b) In Kc.: 1.sg.pres. /-u/.

2) Added to /šāndʰu-/: a) In Kɬg.: m.sg. /-ɔ/, m.pl. /-ɛ/, f.sg. /-ɪ/, f.pl. /-i/. b) in Kc.: m.sg. /-o/, m.pl. /-a/, f.sg. /-e/, f.pl. /-i/.

Alternants. In the Kɬg. noun the following alternants appear:

1. In the paradigms A1, A2, A4, below: /e/ instead of B. 1.a) 5. /-ɪ/. In A1: /-i/ ~ /-e/ and in A2, A4: /-ɪ/ ~ /-e/ instead of B.1.a) 6. /-i/. 2. In the paradigm A4: /-o/, facultatively, instead of B.1.a) 3. /-ɔ/.

*Examples.**Head-vowel /i/ (A1).*

B.1.a) Kṭg 1. /bādːˈcia/. 2. /bādːˈciε/. 3. /bādːˈciɔ/. 4. /bādːˈciɔ/. 5. /bādːˈcie/. 6. /bādːˈcii/, /-ie/.

B.1.b) Kc /bādːˈcia/. /bādːˈciɔ/.

B.2.1) a) Kṭg Kc /šāndia/. /šāndio/. /šāndie/.

B.2.1) b) Kc /šāndiu/.

Head-vowel /-i/ (A.2.).

B.1.a) Kṭg 2. /bˈcātɲiε/. 3. /bˈcātɲiɔ/. 4. /bˈcātɲiɔ/. 5. /bˈcātɲie/. 6. /bˈcātɲii/, /-ie/.

Head-vowel /u/ (A3).

B.1.a) Kṭg 1. /raṇdua/. 2. /raṇdue/. 3. /raṇduɔ/. 4. /raṇduo/. 5. /raṇdui/. 6. /raṇdui/.

B.1.b) Kc /raṇdua/. /raṇduo/.

B.2.2) a) Kṭg /šāndˈcɔ/. /šāndˈcɛ/. /šāndˈcɯ/. /šāndˈcui/.

B.2.2) b) Kc /šāndˈcɔ/. /šāndˈcɯa/. /šāndˈcɛ/. /šāndˈcui/.

Head-vowel /ε/, /e/ (A4).

B.1.a) Kṭg 1. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛɛa/, /-ea/. 2. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛɛ/. 3. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛɛɔ/, /-eo/. 4. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛɛo/. 5. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛie/. 6. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛii/, /-ie/.

B.1.b) Kc /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛɛa/. /gˈc̣ɔ̣ṛɛo/.

Three vowels.

The head-vowel is /u/. As an example may be mentioned the long gerund of the involitive: from the above-mentioned verb Kṭg /šāndˈc̣ɔ̣̃/, Kc /šāndiɲo/: Kṭg /šāndˈc̣ɔ̣̃/. Kc /šāndˈc̣ɛa/.

VI. Vowel alternations in unstressed final sequences in Kṭg.

These alternations, which have already been mentioned sporadically, are especially characteristic of two-vowel sequences. This feature has as far as I know first been mentioned by me 1968 p. 312 footnote and 1973 p. 114.

In Kc. the vowel-combinations are without complications because the two vowels involved are so different from each other that they can easily be kept apart in pronunciation. This is also the case in Kṭg. with regard to the verb inflection where the unstressed sequences occurring in the involitive (pres. /-ia/, /-ie/, /-io/; pret. /-ɔ/, /-ɛ/, /-ɯ/, /-ui/) do not present any difficulties. But in those nouns which have an oblique form in a front vowel (/ε/, /i/, /-i/)

complications come up when they are followed by certain morphemes. The matter is comparatively simple when the oblique ends in /-ɪ/ or /-i/ because these vowels can remain unchanged throughout, and the morphemes B.1.a) 1. /-a/, 2. /-ε/, 3. /-ɔ/, 4. /-o/ also keep their pronunciation. But B.1.a) 5. /-ɪ/ and 6. /-i/ are so close to the preceding /-ɪ/ and /-i/ that the head-vowel and the second vowel easily coalesce and the morphologically important distinction between them will be slurred. It is important to keep the two vowels as far apart as possible in pronunciation. That leads to a differentiation which appears as a substitution of /-e/ or /-ε/ for the morpheme /-ɪ/ so that one has /-ɪe/, /-ɪε/ for /-ɪ/ + /-ɪ/, and /-ie/, /-iε/ for /-i/ + /-ɪ/. As for /-ɪ/ + /-i/ it becomes /-ɪe/, /-ɪε/. And /-i/ + /-i/ becomes /-ie/, /-iε/ or is left unchanged as /-ii/ varying with /-i:/. Also /-ɪ/ + /-ɪ/ may be preserved as /-ɪɪ/ ~ /-ɪ:/>

Things are much more intricate in the case of the nouns following the first declension, which have /-ε/ in the oblique form. There is not only the question of closeness leading to differentiation, but also that of movement between the two vowels. If the endings B.1.a) 4. /-o/, 5. /-ɪ/, 6. /-i/ were to appear as the second vowel after /-ε/ the movement would be contrary to the regular one, being ascending instead of descending. Consequently /-ε/ + /-o/ is realized as /-eo/ (with plane movement), /-ε/ + /-ɪ/ and /-ε/ + /-i/ as /-ɪe/, /-ɪε/ (with descending movement).

Differentiation takes place when /-ε/ + /-ε/ (with the ending of B.1.a)2.) appears as /-eε/, /-ɪε/. Two identical vowels are as far as possible avoided, especially if both are unstressed. On the whole, /ε/ is unsuitable as the first vowel of an unstressed descending sequence because it has a low and open articulation and thus does not constitute a sufficiently sharp contrast to a following low and open vowel. The result is that /e/ is substituted for /ε/ also in the remaining combinations with /-a/ (B.1.a)1.) and /-ɔ/ (3.), so that one has /-ea/, beside /-εa/, and /-eɔ/ ~ /-eo/ instead of /-ε/ + /-ɔ/ (only after a noun in /-ɪε/ in the oblique is the vowel /-ɔ/ or both vowels /-εɔ/ preferred since they contrast better with /i/, e.g. /neutieɔ/ or /neutiεɔ/).

One must reckon with the possibility that the vowel of the oblique was still /e/ and that the morpheme of the possess.m.sg. was still /-o/. In that case /-eo/ has preserved the original vowels both in B.1.a) 3. and 4., and /e/ is preserved in /-eε/ and /-ea/. But a radical

change takes place when /-e/ + /-i/ and /-e/ + /-i/ become /-ie/, /-ie/, and differentiation occurs when /-e/ + /-e/ (possess.m.pl.) becomes /-eε/.

It is in the nature of the matter that there is a good deal of fluctuation. Three tendencies are involved, 1) avoiding ascending sequences, 2) keeping the two vowels apart, and 3) maintaining as far as possible the phonetic character of the vowels. These tendencies conflict with each other; none of them can make their effect fully felt.

The descending movement has the advantage of maintaining the syllabic independence of the two morpheme vowels which make up the above-mentioned sequences.

The fact that the vowels of the possessive morpheme follow directly after the vowel of the obl. form has of course augmented the number of vowel combinations and added to the complexity of the matter in Kt̄g. (in Kc. the morpheme /ro/ does of course not entail any complications).

There are still other grammatical forms where there is reason to assume similar remodellings caused by the movement mechanism of the sequences, even if they do not stand out so manifestly as in the above-mentioned cases.

The inflection of the 3. and 5. declension nouns, which in the obl. form end in /-a/, exhibits the irregularity that the vowel of the obl. is absent when the vocalic case endings of the voc., instr. and, in the case of Kt̄g., the possess. follow: from the 3. decl. noun /tso:r/, obl. /tsora/ "thief" one has Kt̄g. Kc. voc.sg. /tsora/, voc.pl. /tsoro/, instr. Kt̄g /tsore/, Kc /tsora/, Kt̄g. possess. m.sg. /tsorɔ/, f.sg. /-i/, f.pl. /-i/ (and similarly from 5. decl. nouns). The background of this singularity is in part of the same nature as in the above-mentioned alternations. Since the /-a/ of the obl. form has a lower articulation than the rest of the vowels the combination with a following vocalic ending will have an ascending movement, except of course for the ending /-a/ where there is plane movement. The ascending movement of unstressed sequences would not be tolerated and the result would in the end be a preservation of the case endings at the cost of the obl. vowel, possibly passing through a stage with identical vowels: */-ɔɔ/ from */-aɔ/, */-eε/ from */-ae/, etc. It would evidently not be possible to maintain a distinction between the obl. vowel and that of the case ending because it would entail a very radical

change of the former. One might expect a long final vowel resulting from the identical vowel combinations (*/-ɔ:/ from */-ɔɔ/, etc.), but that would be at variance with the normal short quantity of final unstressed vowels.

Other possibilities of explaining the last-mentioned problem are to be preferred for some of the forms as mentioned p. 102 f., but the development indicated is at any rate a very probable one as far as the possessive forms of Kṭg are concerned.

The gerund of the 2. verb class in Kṭg. and Kc., Kṭg /-^cuɪ/, Kc /-^cue/, which likewise is a case of unstressed final sequence, can also be accounted for as a remodelling from ascending to descending (plane) sequence. The form contains the verb Kṭg /^cṅṅō/, Kc /^cṅṅo/ “to be, become”, the gerund of which is Kṭg /^cṅṅɪ/, Kc /^cṅṅe/, and so it is possible that /-^cuɪ/, /-^cue/ (e.g. /šūṅ^cuɪ/, /šūṅ^cue/) comes from /-^cṅṅɪ/, /-^cṅṅe/. But the possibility must be taken into account that the alternant /^cu-/ (appearing in the pret. form /^cṅṅ/ of the verb /^cṅṅō/ and also occurring in the pret. invol., e.g. /šūṅ^cuɔ/, /šūṅ^cuo/) is present also in the gerund of the 2. class, seeing that the same alternant is gaining ground at the cost of the other alternant /^cɔ-/ in Himachali, as the case is in other NI languages (notice the pres. partic. form /^cṅṅṅ/ beside the older /^cṅṅṅ/).

Bailey gives in his description of Kṭg. in LNH 1908, -*ēai* (i.e. /-eɛ/) as the ending of the possessive referring to the feminine in the first declension. That is all he has; he gives no explanation. One is inclined to believe, as I did at first, that it is a printing error. But it is evidently another proof of his power of observation.

THE GENETIC BACKGROUND OF THE LEXICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL VOWEL SEQUENCES

1. The lexical sequences. These sequences which as we have seen have ascending movement go back to those MI words the first vowel of which in accordance with the stress rules was stressed, the succeeding non-final syllables containing short vowels. E.g. Kc /gɔiṅ/ f. “the sky”, Pk. /gayaṅā/ (Sk. /gaganam/); Kc /bōiṅ/ “sister”, Pk. /bahiṅī/ (Sk. /bhaginī/); Kṭg /tsɪɔṛ/ m. “parched rice”, Pk. /civiḍa-/ (Sk. /cipiṭa-/); Kc /gɔūc/m. “cow urine”, Pk. /gōmuttiā/ (Sk.

/gōmūtram/); Kṭg Kc /^ciund/ m. “winter”, Pk. Sk. /hēmanta-/; Kṭg /biudz^cṇō/ “to wake up (intr.)”, Pk. /viujjha-/ (Sk. /vibudhyatē/); Kṭg Kc /^ciū/ m. “snow”, Pk. /himā/(Sk. /himaḥ/).

There is another type of MI words in which a later syllable (in most cases the second syllable) has received the stress because it is open and contains a long vowel while the preceding sonant part of the word has become a half-vowel in Kṭg. and Kc., e.g. Kc /bja:l/ f. “evening”, Pk. /viālō/ (Sk. /vikālah/); Kṭg /kja:r/ m. “irrigated paddy field”, Pk. /kēārō/ (Sk. /kēdārah/); Kṭg /kwa:r/ “bachelor”, Pk. Sk. /kumāra-/ “youth”; Kṭg Kc /l^cwà:r/ “blacksmith”, Pk. /lōhārō/ (Sk. /lōhakārah/). In all the examples the stressed vowel of Kṭg. Kc. goes back to a MI long /ā/, but other vowels are theoretically possible. In a number of cases Kṭg Kc /w/ comes by epenthesis from an initial /u/ or /o/ in MI, e.g. /d^cwà:r/ m. “loan”, Pk. Sk. /uddhāra-/.

In their MI form both kinds of words either contain vowel sequences or the vowels are separated by such consonants which would easily be lost in Kṭg. Kc. (and NI in general), namely /y/, /v/, /h/, /m/ and in some cases the sibilants /s/ and /ś/. The high vowels /i/ and /u/ after the stress in the first word-type and the semi-vowels before the stress in the second have the same origin, coming either from MI high vowels, not only /i-, /u/, but also /e/, /o/ (notice Kṭg /kja:r/ from Pk. /kēārō/ and Kṭg. Kc. /l^cwà:r/ from Pk. /lōhārō/), or from the MI consonants /y/, /v/ and /m/ in intervocalic position connected with the loss of the unstressed vowel following or preceding these consonants. As for the latter case notice /goin/, Pk. /gayaṇā/; /tsuṛ/, Pk. /civiḍa-/ and Kṭg /baun/ “dwarf”, Pk. /vāmaṇō/ as examples of /i/, /u/ after the stress, and Kc /pjāš:o/ m. “a light”, Pk. /payāsō/ (Sk. /prakāśah/); Kṭg Kc /g^cwà:l/ f. “embrace”, Pk. /aṅkavālī/ (Sk. /aṅkapāliḥ/) and Kṭg Kc /dzwaī/ m. “son-in-law”, Pk. /jāmāu-/ (Sk. /jāmātā/) as examples of /j/, /w/ in front of the stress. Intervocalic /y/ and /v/ are common in LMI, being either kept from OI and EMI or coming from intervocalic stops and intervocalic /m/.

Loanwords either fit into the pattern or are adapted to it, e.g. /dzwa:n/ “young”, H. /javān/.

2. The morphological sequences. The genetic stress rules are not observed with regard to morphemes which consist of final vowels and vowel sequences. They are unstressed whether the MI form contained a long or a short non-final vowel in open syllable.

The di-vocalic MI endings (some of them with the same intervocalic

calic consonants as mentioned above to which /ŋ/ must be added) have led to mono-vocalic morphemes, e.g. nom.sg. /-aɔ/ > Kṭg /-ɔ/, Kc /-o/ (/gwaɭɔ/-o/ “cowherd”); loc.sg.m. /-ahi/ > Kṭg /-ɛ/ (/g^cəɾɛ/ “in the house”); inst.sg.f. /-āe/ > Kc /-a/ (/dzīb:^ca/ “with the tongue”); instr.sg.m. /-ēṇa/ > Kṭg /-ɛ/ (/b^cət:^ɛ/ “by the brahman”); pres.partc. middle /-āṇō/ > Kṭg Kc /-a/ (/bol:a/ “he says”).

The di-vocalic Kṭg and Kc morphemes come from tri-vocalic MI endings beginning with /i/ or /u/, thus instr.sg.f. /-iyāē/ > Kc /-ia/ (/tshēuria/ “by the woman”); instr.sg.m. /-uēṇa/ > Kṭg /-uɛ/ (/tshō:ṭue/ “by the boy”); pres.partc. passive /-iāṇō/ > Kṭg Kc /-ia/ (/bol:ia/ “it is said”); gerund /-iyāṇa/ > Kṭg /-ia/ (/bol:ia/ “after saying”). Three of these MI endings, consist of /i/, /i/ or /u/ followed by the same di-vocalic endings as mentioned above.

The suffix /-uɔ/-o/ in e.g. /pandzuɔ/-o/ “fifth” comes from MI /-amaō/ with the same change to /u/ of intervocalic /m/ as was mentioned under the lexical sequences.

The only tri-vocalic MI endings beginning with a vowel different from /i/ and /u/ were case endings of the enlarged /-a/ declension, corresponding to the first declension in Kṭg. and Kc. They have resulted in mono-vocalic endings. Thus gen.sg.m. /-ayaha/ resulted in Kṭg /-ɛ/, Kc /-e/, passing through */eha/ (obl. /g^cəɾɛ/-e/ “horse”). Instr.sg. /-a(y)eṇa/ has become /-ɛ/ in certain Himachali dialects, thus in Kului (Thakur 1975, p. 249). If Kṭg. and Kc. have a di-vocalic ending (Kṭg /-eɛ/, Kc /-ea/) it is due to an analogical process (see below and p. 104).

All these facts have led to the result that all final unstressed vowel-sequences that can be derived from MI have descending movement.

Tri-vocalic final sequences emerge in Kṭg. Kc. when di-vocalic morphemes are added to bases in /i/ or /u/, e.g. Kṭg possessive /neutiɔ/, /neutiie/ etc. from /neutiɔ/ “an only son”. Such sequences are due to a late joining.

Those morphological sequences in which alternations have taken place are relatively recent. The fact that ascending sequences must be assumed as their source shows this. In the possessive forms of Kṭg. the possessive morpheme originally was an independent word identical with the enclitic possessive adjective /ro/ of Kc. With the loss of the intervocalic /r/ this adjective acquired the status of a morpheme and a number of new vowel sequences were created in

Kṭg, several of them having the unwonted ascending movement which was eliminated by means of the above-mentioned vowel changes. As was mentioned above, the descending movement involves a structure in which the two syllables and morphemes are kept separate. It may be mentioned here that Bhalesi which has similar possessive forms (p. 108) has alternations leading to the opposite result, namely diphthongs: possess.m.sg. /ghoṛeu/ < /-e-o/, m.pl. /ghoṛeɪ/ < /-e-e/. In the possess.n.pl., /-eā/ is to be expected, but the m.pl. form is used instead (Varma, 1948, pp. 31, 32).

The morphemes of the instrumental and the vocative are derived from MI morphemes occurring in the /-a/ and /-ā/ bases. The substantives of the third declension go back to these MI bases and the morphemes of the instrumental and vocative of such substantives are of MI origin. The forms instr. Kṭg /tsoreɛ/, Kc /tsora/, voc.sg. /tsora/, voc.pl. /tsoro/ are old; they are not due to any change from hypothetical forms like */tsoraɛ/, */tsoraa/, */tsorao/.

In the substantives of the first declension, however, the corresponding forms are due to an analogical process involving the joining of the morphemes of the two cases to the oblique form after the pattern of other declensions, e.g. instr. Kṭg /gwaḷeɛ/, Kc /gwaḷea/ in analogy with old instr. forms like Kṭg /tshō:ṭuɛ/, Kc /tshōrua/. The obl. morpheme Kṭg /-ɛ/, Kc /-e/ was originally only used when the obl. form occurred independently and not when secondary morphemes followed.

Consonant Structure

Single consonants.

The distinction between strong and weak consonants is determined by quantity: the strong consonants, i.e. the stops, the sibilants, and /n/, /n^c/, /m/, /m^c/, /l/, /l^c/, are according to certain rules long (geminated) when intervocalic or final; the weak consonants, i.e. /j/, /w/, /ŋ/, /ŋ^c/, /r/, /r^c/, /r/, /r^c/, /l/, /l^c/, are always short. The nasals /ñ/ and /ñ̄/ only occur when followed by a homorganic stop; /h/ only occurs after an unvoiced stop, /c/ only after a voiced consonant and when single in initial position where no consonant can be long. The status of /f/ which is very rare, only occurring in loanwords, is unknown; it is probably always short.

All consonants except /j/, /w/, /ñ/, /ñ̄/ can occur in final position. In initial position all consonants can occur except /ñ/, /ñ̄/, /h/. The retroflex nasals and liquids are in MI and NI typically intervocalic and final. Their occurrence in initial position in Himachali has special reasons. It is usually due to a comparatively recent loss of an initial unstressed vowel: Kṭg /ṅi:/ “nineteen”, cp. Kc /uṅi:/, /uṅi:š/, Pk. /ūṅavīsa-/, Sk. /ūṅaviṃśatiḥ/; /ṅaṅṅō/ “to cause to be brought”, caus. of /aṅṅō/ “to bring”; /ṅai/ “insistence, obstinacy”, cp. H.P. /aṅ/ “obstinacy”; /ṅṅṅō/ “to make fun of”, Ku. /heṅno/ “to trifle with”, Sk. /heḍati/ “to act or treat frivolously” (the /h/ appears as an aspiration of /ṅ/ in /ṅṅṅō/); /ḷōi/ (or /ḷ^cōi/?) “ploughman”, connected with /ḷ:ḷ/ “plough”, probably from OI */halohin-/ with */-ūhin-/ from Sk. /ūhati/ “to push, thrust, move”. In Kṭg /ṅi:ṅj/ “sleep” (beside /ni:ṅj/) from Sk. /nidrā/, the /ṅ-/ is due to assimilation with the originally retroflex /j/ < /dr/, and /ṅ-/ in /ṅṅṅō/ (beside /ṅaṅṅō/) “to cause to be brought” is due to a change of /ṅ/ when still intervocalic.

Consonant groups.

Groups of successive consonants in Kṭg. and Kc. are regulated according to a principle which is well-known in a great number of languages: it is the degree of opening or sonority that determines the order of the consonants in such a way that there is a movement from less open to more open in the beginning of a syllable and the

opposite way from more open to less open at the end of a syllable.

The consonants of the two dialects may be arranged in the following classes: 1. semi-vowels (or semi-consonants) /j/ and /w/ (symbol: W); 2. stops (T); 3. nasals (N); 4. liquids (L); 5. sibilants (S). The above-mentioned rule of order according to degree of opening is valid for four consonant classes, namely W L N T, listed in order of diminishing opening. The remaining class, S, does not fit into the regular order.

Below, the double consonant groups in word-initial position (indicated by a preceding ≠ or +) and word-final position (indicated by a following ≠ or +) are listed.

	W	L	N	T	S
W	WW	WL	WN	WT	WS
L	≠LW	LL	LN≠	LT≠	LS≠
N	≠NW	NL	NN	NT≠	NS+
T	≠TW	≠TL	+TN	TT≠	+TS≠
S	≠SW	+SL	+SN	≠ST≠	SS

By ≠ is indicated that the group exists in the material, by + that the group is not found in the material, but is considered to be possible.

Two identical symbols (e.g. WW, LL) indicate two different consonants from the same class, i.e. not a long (or geminated) consonant.

W is not possible in front of a consonant because the corresponding vowel, /i/ or /u/, occurs instead.

Examples: (notice that /ts/ etc., being affricates, and /lʰ/ , ph/ etc., being aspirates, are single consonants).

Initial LW: Kṭg /rwāɫ/ “downward slope”, Kṭg Kc /lʰwā:r/ “blacksmith”.

Initial NW: Kṭg /nʰwārɪ/ “breakfast”, Kc /njat:o/ “hot”.

Initial TW: Kṭg Kc /phwā:l/ “shepherd”, /pja:r/ “love”, /gwaɫɔ-/ “cowherd”, Kc /bja:l/ “evening”.

Initial SW: Kṭg /šwā:ṇō/ “to swell”, Kṭg Kc /swā:r/ “Monday”.

Initial TL: Kṭg Kc /graū/ “village”, Kṭg /preṇnō/, Kc /pranno/ “recognize”; Kṭg /brāgː/, Kc /brā:gː/ “leopard”; WKc /glūp:hu/ “cheek”.

Final LN: Kṭg /korm/ “fate”.

Final LT: Kṭg /bort/ “fast”, Kṭg Kc /khōrts/ “expenses”.

Final NT: Kṭg /bāndzː/ “barren”, Kṭg Kc /ba:ṇḍ/ “share”.

Final TT: Kṭg /sōkt/ “hard”.

Initial ST: Kṭg Kc /stōb:əl/ “stable”; Kṭg /spe:l/, Kc /spoil/, name of a certain valley.

Final ST: Kṭg /kōšt/ “trouble”, /nāšt/ “loss”.

Final LS: Kṭg /kārš/ “awn”, /ḥlš/ “pole of plough”.

Final TS: Kṭg /rākš/, Kc /rā:ks/ “troll”.

Even if far from all relevant words have been listed it appears that the consonants within the separate classes are not utilized in consonant groups to the same extent.

Initial and final consonant groups of more than two consonants are theoretically possible, e.g. initial STW and final LTS, but are not found to occur. Kc /prāš:o/ beside /pjāš:o/ “a light” seems to indicate that */pryāšo/ existed at an earlier date, which is confirmed by Kṭg /prēš:ɔ/ with /ɛ/ < /yā/. The same relation is seen in Kc /pranno/ “to recognize”, Kṭg /preṇnō/.

Consonant groups in medial position are composed of two phases, an initial or implosive phase and a final or explosive phase. They have in principle a double movement, 1. from open to closed and 2. from closed to open, which appears in complex groups containing more than two consonants. Groups with three consonants have generally a stop as the second consonant which so to speak constitutes the top of the group and often has an implosive and an explosive phase.

N TL: Kṭg /kumbṛɔ/ “a species of grass”; /khāndzrɪ/ “tambourine”; /ɔndlɪ/, obl. of /ɔndəl/ “greeting with the joined hands”.

L TN: Kṭg /ɔrkɪ/ “elbow”.

N TN: Kṭg /bantsɪ/ “prostitute”.

N TS: Kṭg /āṅšu/ “a sort of rake for collecting pine needles”.

S TL: Kṭg /ūstrɔ/ “razor”.

N TT: ⁺/aṅktu/, place name.

Also L ST is possible: from Kṭg /kārš/ “awn” a diminutive in /-tu/ could be formed, /kārštɪ/.

TN: Kṭg /bəkhnānɔ/ “proverb, saying”.

Several groups are etymologically analysable, e.g. Kṭg Kc /sōrtsnō/-o/ “to be reconciled”; Kc /untsnɔ/ “to pluck”, pres. partic. /untsdo/; Kṭg /šīngtɔ/ “horn”, augmentative of /ši:ng/; /adzɔ/ “to-day’s”, /āgšɛ/ “in front” (cp. /ag:ɛ/ “in front”). Kc /kōdṭho/ “flour of kodo-grain” appears from the alternative /kədiṭ:ho/ to contain /kod:o/ and /piṭ:ho/ “flour”.

The succession of such dissimilar consonants as in /kodṭho/, /adzɔ/, /untsdo/ is only possible because Kṭg. and Kc. have loose contact in consonant groups pronounced with a short interval between the consonants, never, however, between a nasal and a homorganic stop. In rapid and careless pronunciation assimilation takes place.

The most important fact to note concerning consonant groups is their structure in word-initial and word-final position because it is one of the criteria of defining a word. The static participle consists of the preterite participle and an auxiliary participle which in one alternative begins with /nd/, e.g. Kṭg /din:ɔ ndɔ/ (also /din:ɔ nɔ/), Kc /deṇo ndo/ (also /deṇo do/) “having been given”. A word cannot begin with NT, but on the other hand the auxiliary is not an integrated part of the verb either, because a word cannot contain more than two heavy vowels and there are three such vowels in the static participle. The elements /ndɔ/ and /ndo/ have a status intermediary between a word and a morpheme. This may be the cause of the alternatives Kṭg /nɔ/ and Kc /do/ which have a consonant structure normal for words.

Definition of the Word

The word is defined by the following rules:

1. The word cannot contain more than two heavy or potentially stressed vowels. A heavy vowel is either a single full vowel or the first vowel of a vowel sequence. The postpositions are consequently not morphemes, because such combination as *Kṭg Kc /g̊ɔ̄ra ka/*, *Kṭg /kaɯ̄ni dɪ/*, *Kc /kaɯ̄ni de/* contain three heavy vowels. On the other hand there is nothing to prevent interpreting *Kṭg /kaɯ̄niɛ/*, *Kc /kaɯ̄nia/* as constituting single words having the morphemes */-ɛ/* and */-a/*.

For the same reason the static participle consists of two words, e.g. *Kṭg /tsal:ɔ̄ ndɔ̄/ ~ /tsal:ɔ̄ nɔ̄/*, *Kc /tsal:ɔ̄ ndo/ ~ /tsal:ɔ̄ do/*. In this latter case, however, the consonant structure of the auxiliary is a complication.

Compound words like *'pāt:hər'šēl:u/*, *'nɔg:ər'dad:ɔ̄/* are irregular. They have more than two heavy vowels and consist of two or three words.

2. The final syllable of a word contains a long vowel if it is stressed, e.g. *Kṭg Kc /g̊ɔ̄:r/*, */ka:m/*, */ra:c/*, */sədu:k/*, *Kṭg /kəro:/*. *Kṭg* possessive forms like */kam:ɔ̄/*, */b̊ə̄t:ɔ̄/* cannot accordingly be understood to consist of two words, because */kam:/*, */b̊ə̄t:/* are not to be interpreted as words. For the same reason the adverbs *Kṭg /g̊ɔ̄rkɛ/*, */kamkɛ/* make out one word each, even if */kɛ/* is otherwise known as a postposition.

Exceptions with short vowel are 1. the impv.2.sg. e.g. */kɔ̄r/*, */tsal/*, 2. words having final aspirate or sibilant in *Kṭg*., e.g. *'ə̄t:h/*, */bīš/*.

Sound History in Outline

Where necessary, Kṭg Kc /a/ which is a low central vowel will be underlined in order to distinguish it from /a/ used in the notation of other dialects or languages indicating a short mid central vowel: ə, or an unrounded low back vowel: ʌ (see p. 8).

OI and MI /a/ is the only vowel which has been radically changed. In originally open stressed syllable it has become Kṭg Kc /ɔ/, e.g. Kṭg Kc /gɔrkɔ/-o/ “heavy”, Pk. /garukko/; Kṭg Kc /ʕə:l/ “plough”, Pk. /halā/. The same change is found in the eastern NI group, e.g. Bengali. Long /ɔ/ in /gʕə:r/ “house”, /ʕə:l/ “plough” coming from MI short /a/ is due to a rule of lengthening in final syllables ending in a single consonant, cp. /ku:l/ “family”, Pk. /kulā/; /gʕi:n/ “compassion”, Pk. /ghinā/. The lengthening which only seems to have taken place in the nouns is analogical and comparatively late, after the change of /a/ to /ɔ/.

Loanwords which in their original language have /a/ have /ɔ/ or /a/ in the two dialects, e.g. /sɔkt/ “hard” (H.P. /sakht/), /mandər/ “tempel” (H. /mandir/).

Where Kṭg /ɛ/ does not come from /e/ (e.g. Kṭg /dɛŋõ/ “to give”, Kc /deŋo/) it goes back to 1. /ai/, 2. /yā/. The Kc correspondents are 1. /ɔi/ and 2. /ja/: 1. Kṭg /gɛ:n/, Kc /gɔiŋ/ “the sky”, Pk. /gayaṇā/; Kṭg /bɛ:n/, Kc /bɔiŋ/ “sister”, Pk. /bahiṇī/; 2. Kṭg /bɛ:l/ “evening”, Kc /bja:l/, Pk. /viālo/; Kṭg /nɛt:ɔ/, Kc /nɔjat:o/ “hot”.

How is the change of /ai/ to /ɛ/ in Kṭg. to be reconciled with that of /a/ to /ɔ/ and with Kc /ɔi/? It is a question of the chronology of the two sound changes. On the face of it one should think that the process leading from /ai/ to /ɛ/ began before the start of the change of /a/ to /ɔ/. That would mean placing the change leading to /ɛ/ at an old date, or that of /a/ to /ɔ/ at a late date. There is, however, another possibility. According to Bailey’s description of Kyoṇṭhli (LNHim, 1908 I p. 17) that dialect has a vowel which he writes *eu*, by which is indicated a rounded front vowel, compared by him to that in French *douloureux*. Two of the three Kyoṇṭhli words mentioned by

Bailey l.c.p. 17 correspond to Kṭg and Kc words with the opposition /ɛ:/ /ɔi/, namely Kyoṇṭhli *beuḥṇ* “sister”, cp. Kṭg /bɛ:ṇ/, Kc /bōiṇ/, and Kyoṇ. *meuīsh* “buffalo”, cp. Kṭg /m^cēš/, Kc /mōīš/. The third word is *beuḍd* “ox” related to *bauḍd*, i.e. /boiḍd/ (from Pk. /baliddo/ with epenthesis of /i/) in Sainji spoken in Kulu (Bailey 1908, I p. 55). It is possible, then, that Kṭg /ɛ:/ in such words developed by unrounding from /œ/, this vowel in turn coming from /ɔi/.

Notice that /ɔi/ also occurs in loanwords, e.g. Kc /tsɔitar/, name of a month, H. /caitar/.

MI /a/ in a closed syllable having the stress in the NI form of the word (see below p. 67) was lengthened, ending by becoming Kṭg Kc /ā/, e.g. /tsalṇō/-o/ “to walk”, Pk. /callai/; /b^cât:/ “boiled rice”, Pk. /bhattâ/; /gād:^c/-o/ “donkey”, Pk. /gaddaho/. Also the other short vowels were lengthened, but this is no longer recognizable, since there is no qualitative distinction involved. The vowel length was only kept in a final syllable. In non-final syllables long vowels were shortened.

It is to be noticed that the two dialects have /ā/ as a result of the lengthened vowel and at the same time the long (geminated) consonant following it, e.g. Kṭg /kal:ɛ/, Kc /kal:a/ “to-morrow”, Pk. /kallâ/; Kṭg Kc /tsal:a/ “he walks”; /b^cât:a/, obl. of /b^cât:t/; /gād:^c/-o/. They differ from both Hindi and Panjabi on this point, Hindi having a long vowel and a short consonant in the corresponding words and Panjabi having a short vowel and a long consonant. Kṭg. and Kc. show traces of a syllabic structure with a half-long vowel followed by a half-long consonant in such words. Judging from Bailey’s description of the northern Himachali dialect which he calls North Maṇḍeali this dialect has such a syllabic structure since he writes the relevant words with a long vowel followed by a double consonant or nasal + consonant: *gāddhā* “ass” (probably [ga-d-ha:] with one dot indicating half length), *tāttā* “hot”, *bābbā* “father”, *bēbbī* “younger sister”, *kūttā* “dog”, *dūddh* “milk”, *āṇḍā* “egg”, *sūṅgar* “pig”, *pīṇḍā* “body” (LNHim 1908, II p. 13).

This vowel-lengthening has occurred in most NI languages, but not in the north, namely in Dardic, the languages between Kashmir and Kulu; Panjabi, Lahnda, Sindhi. The dividing line passes through Himachali, since the northern dialect, Kului, has no

lengthening. European Gypsy has it. See Turner, Position of Romani § 45.

A marked feature in the changes from OI to EMI (Pali, the Aśoka inscriptions) is the assimilation of consonant groups which become geminated consonants intervocally, e.g. Sk. /sapta/ “seven” > Pa. /satta/, Sk. /hastah/ “hand” > Pa. /hattho/, Sk. /asmi/ “I am” > Pa. /amhi/, i.e. [ammhi].

The history of the consonants from EMI to LMI (Prakrit, Apabhramśa) and NI is characterized by the different treatment of initial and geminated intervocalic consonants on the one hand and single intervocalic consonants on the other. The first are generally well preserved, the latter have lost their occlusion, the process often resulting in their loss. In the case of Himachali the following changes have taken place in originally intervocalic position from OI and EMI (where necessary, the notation used for Kṭg. and Kc. is written in parentheses):

/t/ /d/ > /ɽ/; /tʰ/ /dʰ/ > /ɽʰ/ (/ɽʰ/).

/p/ /b/ > /v/ (/w/), /u/.

/k/ /g/ /c/ /j/ /t/ /d/ > /y/ (/j/), /i/; or /v/ (/w/), /u/; or Ø.

The aspirated stops (except /tʰ/ /dʰ/) > /h/ (intervocalic /h/ has disappeared in Kṭg. Kc.).

/n/ > /ɳ/, /l/ > /ʎ/.

/m/ > /ṃ/ (/ṃ/), /ū/.

In the case of OI and EMI /y/ and /v/ the same contrast appears, only it is here a change in the other direction, initial /y/ becoming NI /j/, Him. /dz/, and initial and geminated /v/ becoming NI /b/.

The treatment of OI and EMI /n/ and /ɳ/ is especially to be noticed. The occurrence of Him. /n/ and /ɳ/ is altogether different from that of the OI and EMI dental and retroflex nasals. In originally intervocalic position OI and EMI /nn/ and /ɳɳ/ have become Him. /(n)n/, and OI and EMI /n/ and /ɳ/ have resulted in Him. /ɳ/.
Examples:

OI, EMI /nn/, /ɳɳ/ (EMI /ɳɳ/ < OI /rɳ/), e.g. Sk. /panna-/ “fallen”, Kṭg /pan:ɔ/ “gelded”, Shiṇa /pɳno/ “disappointed”; Sk. /karnah/ “ear”, Pa. /kaṇṇo/, Kṭg Kc /ka:n/.

OI, EMI /n/, /ɳ/, e.g. Sk. Pa. /jānu/ “knee”, Kṭg /dzaṇu/; Sk. /ṛṇam/ “debt”, EMI */riṇa-/ (Pa. /iṇā/), Kṭg Kc /rɳ:/.

The treatment of the intervocalic /n/ as well as /l/ and /m/ is of the same nature as that of the intervocalic stops, i.e. it is due to a loosening of the articulation. This is evident in the case of /-m-/ > /w̃/, but also the retracted articulation of /ṅ/ and /ḷ/ which have a looser tongue-palate contact than /n/ and /l/ has been caused by the same tendency. The reverse change of /-ṅṅ-/ to /(n)n/, on the other hand, is due to the more energetic articulation and closer tongue-palate contact accompanying the gemination which has led to the dental articulation. The change is of the same nature as that of MI intervocalic /-vv-/ to NI /(b)b/ and of EMI /-yy-/ to /(j)j/ (the voiced palatal stop) in certain Prakrits and parts of NI.

The change of /-ṅṅ-/ to /(n)n/ is attested by that of /-ṅḍ-/ over /-ṅṅ-/ to /(n)n/ in words like Kṭg /pɪ:n/ “morsel” from Sk. /piṇḍaḥ/, /gan:ɔ/ “sugar cane” from Sk. /gaṇḍaḥ/.

The same treatment of /n/ and /l/ as in Himachali is found in a number of NI languages, such as Panjabi, Gujerati, Maraṭhi, Oṛiya. Also Gaṛhvali and Kumauni have it, but not Nepali (see Turner, Nepali Dictionary p. XIII).

Kṭg. and Kc. have two unvoiced sibilants, palatal /š/ and dental /s/. OI palatal /ś/ and retroflex /ṣ/ have both become /š/, e.g. Kṭg Kc /šɔ:r/ “autumn, autumn crop”, Sk. /śarat/; Kṭg /prēš:ɔ/ “a light”, Kc /prāš:o/, Sk. /prakāśaḥ/; Kṭg Kc /mūš:ɔ/-o/ “mouse”, Sk. /mūśakaḥ/; Kṭg /bīš/, Kc /bī:š/ “poison”, Sk. /viṣam/. OI /s/ is preserved or has been lost in originally intervocalic position, e.g. Kṭg /g^cās/, /g^cā:/, Kc /g^cā:s/ “grass”, Sk. /ghāsaḥ/.

The only OI and MI consonant groups which have been preserved or have received a distinctive treatment in Kṭg. Kc. are those consisting of a stop and /r/, and of a nasal and a stop. Examples with stop + /r/: Kṭg /preṇṇō/, Kc /praṇṇo/ “to recognize”, Sk. /prajānāti/; Kṭg /b^rēḥ:/ “eyebrow”, BHSk. /bhramu-/; Kṭg Kc /graũ/ “village”, Sk. /grāmaḥ/.

A dental + /r/ has been changed into a palatal, e.g. Kṭg Kc /cuṭṇō/-o/ “to break (intr.)”, Sk. /truṭyati/; /khē:c/ “field”, Sk. /kṣe-tram/; Kṭg /ni:n̄j/, Kc /ni:j/ “sleep”, Sk. /nidrā/; Kṭg Kc /bīj:ɔ/-o/ “clear (of the sky)”, Sk. /vīdhraḥ/. Kṭg /cīš/ f. “thirst” (Sk. /tṛṣyā/) and similar words show that Sk. /ṛ/ became /ri/. The only example with a palatal stop from a group consisting of a non-dental stop +

/r/ is Kṭg /cəmʊlɪ/ “mulberry tree” from */kr̥mbukalī/, see CD Sk. /kr̥mukaḥ/ “a kind of tree”; it is no doubt a loan.

The distinction between /š/ and /s/ and the assimilation of /tr/ and /dr/ into single consonants different from /t/ and /d/ are two important points of agreement between Himachali and the hill languages spoken farther north, i.e. the Bhadarvahi group, and the Dardic languages in Kashmir. Some of these languages have /š/ from OI /ś/ and /ṣ/, other languages distinguish all three sibilants. Where Himachali has palatal stops from /tr/ and /dr/, some parts of Dardic have retroflex affricates (written /ç/, /j./) or retroflex sibilants; in other parts the results are retroflex lateral fricatives (written /ʎ/) or retroflex lateral affricates (written /tʃ/, /dʃ/). Thus /tʃ/, /dʃ/ occur in Bhadarvahi and Bhalesi, e.g. Bhal. /ʃaʃlɪ/ “a fair”, Sk. /yātrā/; /bhaḍʃo/, name of the month from mid August to mid September, Sk. /bhādraḥ/ (S. Varma 1948 p. 15 foll.). From among the Dardic languages Shiṇa has e.g. /çē/ “three” and /zā/ “brother”, Sk. /bhrātā/ (Bailey 1924 pp. 135, 169); Pashai has /ʎē/ “three” (Morgenstierne, *The Pashai Language*. 3. Vocabulary, 1956, p. 116), and Gawar-Bati has /muʎ/ “urine”, Sk. /mūtram/ (Kṭg Kc /mu:c/), /lāk/ “grape”, Sk. /drākṣā/ (Morgenstierne, *Notes on G.-B.* 1950 p. 12).

Bhadravahi and Bhalesi have the change from other groups of stop + r, e.g. Bhadr. /d̪h̪l̪ā/ “brother”, /d̪l̪āū/ “village” (see S. Varma l.c). This is also the case in the Dardic languages, cp. the above-mentioned Shiṇa /zā/ “brother”, and Pashai /ʎa:m/ “work”, with metathesis of /r/ (see below), Sk. /karma/. Kṭg /cəmʊlɪ/ “mulberry tree”, mentioned above, must have been borrowed from a hill language spoken farther north.

Metathesis of /r/ appears in: Kṭg /brāgːc/, Kc /brā:gːc/ “leopard”, Sk. /vyāghraḥ/; Kc /cambo/ “copper”, Sk. /tāmram/ (as for /-b-/ cp. Pk. /tambā/); Kṭg /ju:b/ “a kind of grass”, Sk. /dūrvā/. Joshi mentions in his dictionary 1911 drāṭi “sickle” (with preserved /dr/ as in some other cases), Sk. /dātram/, from Kyoṅthli (but Kṭg Kc /dac:ɪ/-e/ without metathesis). Kc /ca:ṇḍ/ “the loft of the house” probably comes from Sk. /tantram/ “loom, web”, cp. /tantriḥ/ “string, cord”. The same feature is quite frequent in Bhadravahi and Bhalesi and besides in Dardic (see below); it already appears in the northern Aśoka inscriptions (J. Bloch 1950 §§ 6, 12).

The pronunciation of /c/, /j/ in Kṭg. and Kc. is decidedly of the

well-known NI palatal or pre-palatal nature, but there are traces of an older retroflex pronunciation like that found in Bhadravahi-Bhalesi and in the Dardic languages. The retroflex stop of *Kyõṅṅhli dráṭi* “sickle” must be understood to come from */ṭr/ and the /ṅ-/ of *Kṭg* /ṅi:ṅj/ “sleep” (alternative of /ni:ṅj/) to be due to assimilation with the final group */ṅṛ/. Also /-ṅḍ/ in /ca:ṅḍ/ must come from */ṅṛ/ if the etymology suggested above is correct. It is to be noticed that the /r/ has been lost in words with r-metathesis without leaving any other trace than retroflexion, as appears from *dráṭi* and /ca:ṅḍ/.

Examples with r-metathesis in Bhadravahi-Bhalesi are mentioned p. 883 in LSI and p. 16–17 in Varma 1948, e.g. Bhal. /ḍlāg/ “leopard”, /ḍlati/ “sickle”, /ḍhḷobr̥i/ (/r̥- is probably a suffix) “a kind of grass”, /ḍhḷeḍḍ/ “sheep” (Sk. /bhedraḥ/), Bhadr. /ḍhḷabbu/ “red bear” (Sk. /babruḥ/ “reddish brown”).

Morgenstierne mentions in his article “Metathesis of liquids in Dardic”, *Irano-Dardica* 1975, p. 231–240, i.a. the following examples from Dardic languages (l.c. p. 232): *Khovar* /trok/ “sour” (Sk. /takram/ “buttermilk”), *Pashai* /drāt/, /lāit/ “sickle”, *Dameli* /brēdi/ “clear sky”, *Bashkarik* /lām/ “copper”, *Phalura* /trāṅḍ/ “loom”, *Shiṅa* /çāko/ “spindle” (Sk. /tarkuḥ/), *Pashai* /lām/ “work”, *Khovar*, *Shiṅa* /praš/ “rib” (Sk. /parsuḥ/).

The r-metathesis occurs outside the above mentioned language groups, thus in Sindhi and Gujerati. In Sindhi it is regular in words originally beginning with dental stops. Turner mentions in *Collected Papers* 1975 p. 216 i.a. /ṭraku/ “spindle”, /ṭrāmō/ “copper”, /ḍrighō/ “tall” (Sk. /ḍirghaḥ/). As has been pointed out by Turner l.c. the change was not from the outset a metathesis, but an anticipation of /r/ with the original /r/ preserved, e.g. /ḍirghā-/ > */ḍrigha-/.

The /r/ groups are of two kinds: 1. groups consisting of /r/ + consonant, e.g. /karma/ and 2. groups with consonant + /r/, e.g. /tāmra-/. As pointed out by Morgenstierne l.c. the oldest known cases with metathesis from the Aśoka inscriptions only contain the first kind of groups (e.g. *pruva-* < Sk. /pūrva-/) and the same type is also the most wide-spread in Dardic, while the second type of metathesis seems to be later and active up to the present in certain areas. The examples from Himachali belong to the second type except one: *Kṭg* /ju:b/ from Sk. /dūrvā/.

The old palatals have become dental affricates, e.g. Kṭg Kc /tʃoŋ-/ -o/ “gram, chick-pea”, Sk. /caṇaḥ/; /tʃō/ “six”, Pa. Pk. /cha/; /dzɔ:/ “barley”, Sk. /yavāḥ/; Kṭg /dzʰəɾɪ/ “shrub”, Sk. /jhāṭaḥ/; Kṭg Kc /na:ts/ “dance”, Pa. /naccā/; /a:dz/ “to-day”, Pk. /ajja/.

If a stop followed a homorganic nasal it was changed in such a way that 1) an unvoiced stop was voiced, 2) a voiced stop was assimilated, only the nasal remaining, e.g.

1) Kṭg /šāndʰṇō/, Kc /šāndiṇo/ “to get tired”, Sk. /śrāntaḥ/ “tired”; /pa:ndz/ “five”, Sk. /pañca/; Kṭg /kāṇḍʰɪ/ “hairy ring on the neck of certain birds”, Sk. /kaṇṭhikā/ “necklace”.

2) Kṭg Kc /bānʰṇō/-o/ “to bind”, Sk. /bandhati/; Kṭg /nʰəɾɔ/, Kc /nʰjāro/ “darkness”, Sk. /andhakāraḥ/ (with loss of unstressed initial vowel); Kṭg /lamɾɔ/ “long”, Sk. /lambaḥ/; +/nim:u/ “lemon”, Sk. /nimbūkaḥ/. There are however many exceptions to rule 2.

The group /ṇḍ/ was changed to /n:/ (in final position /n/) as a consequence of the fact that /ṇ/ being a weak consonant did not occur as a long (geminated) consonant, e.g. Kṭg /pɪ:n/ (obl. /pɪ:n:a/) “morsel”, Kc /pɪ:n:e/ “egg”, Sk. /piṇḍaḥ/ “lump, ball of rice”.

These changes of nasal + homorganic stop have taken place in the north-western NI languages, i.e., besides Himachali, the Dardic languages, the hill languages between Kashmir and Kulu, Garhvali, Kumauni, Nepali, Panjabi, Lahnda, Sindhi and European and Syrian Gypsy (but not in Kafir or in the Bhadarvahi group). They first appear in the north-western Middle-Indian dialect in Kharoṣṭhi script from the third century A.D. See Turner, The position of Romani in Indo-aryan § 43.

As for stress in a descriptive perspective see p. 39.

The genetic background of the stress and its position in the native words of Kṭg. and Kc. is the following: in words which come from MI words with more than one syllable the stressed vowel goes back to what in the MI form of the word was a) the last non-final long vowel (long vowels only occurring in open syllable), b) in other cases, the first vowel of the word. In certain cases a contraction with a preceding or following vowel has taken place. The vowels of neighbouring consonant-bordered syllables are lost or reduced to /ə/. MI vowel sequences in /i/ and /u/ are generally kept. Unstressed

initial vowels are lost. Kc. keeps unstressed single /i/ and /u/ to some extent.

a) Kṭg /mauḷɔ/ “mother’s brother” (Pk. /māulō/, Sk. /mātulaḥ/); Kṭg Kc /pəra:r/ “the year before last” (Pk. Sk. /parāri/); Kṭg /kəṭhā:r/, Kc /kuṭhā:r/ “granary” (Pk. /koṭṭhāārā/, Sk. /koṣṭhāgāram/); Kṭg Kc /dziundo/-o/ “alive” (Pk. Sk. /jīvanta-/); Kṭg /be:ḷ/, Kc /bja:ḷ/ “evening” (Pk. /viālō/, Sk. /vikālah/).

b) Kṭg Kc /pɔ:r/ “last year” (P. /paru/, Sk. /parut/); /tsōt:hɔ/-o/ “fourth” (Pk. /cautthō/, Sk. /catūrthah/); Kṭg /bɔḷd/, Kc /bɔḷəd/ “ox” (Pk. /baladdō/); Kṭg Kc /ut:ərnō/-o/ “to descend” (Pk. Sk. /uttara-/); /gɔrkɔ/-o/ “heavy” (Pk. /garukkō/); Kṭg Kc /bad:əḷ/ m. “cloud” (Pk. /vaddalō/, Sk. /vārdalah/).

From this it appears that two facts have determined the stress: vowel length and initial position of a syllable, but not the syllabic length produced by a MI geminated consonant or consonant group. Notice especially such words where a short syllable followed by a closed syllable bears the stress like /bɔḷd/ and /gɔrkɔ/. This is also the case with the present participle, e.g. /kɔrdɔ/-o/ “doing”. An OI long vowel has been shortened in a closed syllable in the MI dialect from which Himachali and many other NI languages descend. Also the stress rules valid for Himachali are found in the majority of the NI languages.

There are a number of exceptions. It has become a rule that morphemes are unstressed; thus against the stress rules ablative /-a/ in adverbs and substantives, coming from /-āo/; pres.ind. /-a/ from /-āṇa-/; Kc involitive /-i-/ (e.g. /šūṇiṇo/) from /-ī(y)a-/). Only the causative suffix /-au-/ has attracted the stress, probably because it is used in the whole inflection (differently from the involitive /-i-/) and because causative verbs are more or less felt to be independent verbs. In some words an originally non-initial closed syllable bears the stress, e.g. Kṭg /gūṇṭhi/ “finger”, but Kc /oṇṭhe/ (Pk. /aṅguṭṭho/, Sk. /aṅguṣṭhah/), and some old compounds, e.g. those in /-īṭ:hɔ/-o/ denoting different kinds of flour, e.g. Kṭg /tshəlīṭ:hɔ/ “maize-flour” (cp. Kṭg /tshāl:ḷ/ “maize” and /pīṭ:hɔ/ “flour”).

A final vowel in the MI form of the word did not attract the stress. In this connection it should be mentioned that this vowel was lost in as good as all the NI languages, among them the Himachali group. Where a word ends in a vowel in Kṭg. and Kc. it comes from a MI word with a final two-vowel sequence, or with the

two last syllables separated by an intervocalic /y/, /ŋ/, or /h/ which was lost without leaving any trace, e.g. nom.sg.m. /-aō/ > Kṭg /-ɔ/, Kc /-o/; instr.sg.m.n. /-ēṇa/ > Kṭg /-ε/; pres.partc. middle /āṇō/ > Kṭg Kc /-a/. If the word ends in a two-vowel sequence this goes back to the three last syllables in the MI form of the word, e.g. instr.sg.f. /-iyāē/ > Kc /-ia/; instr.sg.m.n. /-uēṇa/ > Kṭg /-uε/.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

Suffixes

A suffix is a grammatical element which has functions different from those of the morphemes. The morphemes indicate inflectional relations such as case, tense, mood, person. The suffixes indicate special kinds of substantives, adjectives or verbs; or a substantive is derived from a verbal base, an adjective from a substantive or adverb by means of suffixes. A word having a suffix constitutes a base to which morphemes are added. One may interpret such elements as /-(n)dɔ/-o/ forming the present participle or /-ŋō/-o/ forming the infinitive as suffixes. We have nevertheless treated them as morphemes because they belong intimately to the verb inflection.

The suffixes are generally primary elements, i.e. they follow the shortest form of the base.

There is often an interchange of suffixes, e.g. Kṭg /mūš:ɔ/ "mouse": /mūšṭu/ "young one of a mouse", /bɛm:u/ "peach": /bɛmṭu/ "peach tree", /kuk:ɔr/ "dog": /kukṭu/ "puppy".

Only the most important suffixes are mentioned below.

VERBAL SUFFIXES

In *the second verb class* the verb base is followed by a composite suffix consisting of a number of morphemes characteristic of the separate verb forms.

In Kṭg. the first morpheme is /-^c/ ~ /-h-/ , i.e. an aspiration, /^c/ appearing after a voiced consonant and /h/ after an unvoiced consonant. It occurs when a consonant-initial morpheme follows, i.e. /-ŋō/ of the infinitive, /-dɔ/ of the pres.partc., /-da/ of the pres.gerund, /-mu/ of the fut.l.sg. and /-mɛ/ of the fut.l.pl.

The second Kṭg. morpheme is /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/ , with the same distribution of /^c/ and /h/ as above, occurring when followed by /-ɔ/ of the preterite, /-ɪ/ of the short gerund and /-ɪo/ of the long gerund.

These words are old compounds, Sk. /lohakārah/, /suvarṇakārah/. They may be loanwords from e.g. Hindi. In Kṭg. one should expect */-ε:r/ instead of /-a:r/ from */-yāra-/.

/-aɭ/-o/. E.g.

Kṭg Kc /gwaɭ/-o/ “cowherd” (/gau/ “cow”).

Kṭg Kc /bərɕaɭ/-o/ “shepherd” (/bʰɛ:r/ “sheep”).

Also these words are old compounds, Sk. /gopālah/, */bhedrapālah/; also possibly loanwords.

/-uɔ/-o/, /-iɔ/.

These suffixes are used with ordinal numbers, /-iɔ/ only in Kṭg. beside /-uɔ/, but not in “the 6.” and “the 9.”: Kṭg Kc /pandzuɔ/-o/, Kṭg /pandziɔ/; Kṭg Kc /tshɔuɔ/-o/; Kṭg Kc /sāt:uɔ/-o/, Kṭg /sāt:iɔ/; Kṭg Kc /āṭ:huɔ/-o/, Kṭg /āṭ:hiɔ/; Kṭg Kc /nɔuɔ/-o/; Kṭg Kc /dš:uɔ/-o/, Kṭg /dš:iɔ/.

/-uɔ/-o/ and /-iɔ/ come from OI and MI /-ama-/ and MI /-ima-/ (see Caillat 1968).

The first four ordinals are: Kṭg Kc /pē:lɔ/-o/; Kṭg Kc /duj:ɔ/-o/; Kṭg /ciɔ/, Kc /cij:o/; Kṭg Kc /tsɔt:hɔ/-o/.

/-kɔ/-o/. An adjectival suffix indicating time.

Kṭg /adzɔ/ “belonging to to-day” (/a:dz/).

/āškɔ/ “belonging to this year” (/āš:u/).

/dotkɔ/ “belonging to the early morning” (/do:t/ “the early morning”).

Kṭg Kc /pē:lkɔ/-o/ “first, past” (/pē:lɔ/).

Kṭg /pātshkɔ/ “last” (/pāt:shɛ/ “behind, after, back”).

Kṭg /rackɔ/ “nightly” (/ra:c/).

Kṭg WKc /beɭkɔ/-o/ “belonging to the evening” (/be:ɭ/ “evening”).

Kṭg /ʷizkɔ/ “belonging to yesterday” (/ʷiz/).

As appears from the above the suffix is added to substantives, adjectives and adverbs.

The suffix may occur with words having other meanings, e.g.

Kṭg /kamkɔ/ “useful” (/ka:m/ “work, use”).

/-ɔ/-o/.

This is a very common suffix with a wide application.

Below are given some examples where the suffix forming adjectives is added to adverbs. E.g.

Kṭg /āg:uɔ/, /ag:uɔ/ “situated in front”, /pāt:shuɔ/ “situated behind” (* /patshu/ “backwards”).

/tōl̥ʰuɔ/, /toɭuɔ/ “situated below”.

/bʰi:triɔ/ “inner” (/bʰi:tri/ “inside”).

/kid:ɔ/ “belonging where” (/kidi/ “where”).

Diminutives and augmentatives

Diminutives express what is considered to have small size or quantity, mostly as seen in relation to other concepts, or to be object of sympathy, intimacy or, on the contrary, of contempt, criticism (the pejorative meaning is especially often present if the suffix ends in /u/). With the shade of intimacy such words are frequently used in poetry. The same shade of familiarity may also have led to the use of diminutives to designate people as inhabitants of a certain place or as having a certain function, in the first instance possibly also connected with the diminutive sense proper (“son (daughter) of a certain place”). In certain cases, however other explanations are possible.

Most diminutives end in /u/ and have masculine gender, quite often having feminine counterparts in Kṭg /ɪ/, Kc /e/. The diminutive ending /-u/ is partly an old neuter morpheme, partly it comes from OI and /or MI /u/. Beside diminutive bases in /u/ and /ɪ/, /e/ (of the sixth and second declensions respectively), bases in Kṭg /ɔ/, Kc /o/ (first declension) are found with augmentative function, i.e. indicating large size or quantity, or else force, clumsiness and the like. The augmentatives are masculine irrespective of the gender of the basic word. The diminutives are either masculine (ending in /u/) or feminine (ending in /ɪ/, /e/).

There is some agreement of their gender with that of their basic words, a fact which is of course especially significant in the case of inanimates, but different semantic associations thwart such an agreement. Either gender of the diminutives is used to express certain categories. Some of these categories are not diminutives in the proper sense of the word, but indirectly connected with it as developments of the diminutive idea.

The following examples are from Kṭg if no indication is given.

A. The feminine gender may by itself, without specific suffixes, express the diminutive aspect, when opposed to the masculine gender, e.g.

/rʊ:r/; obl. /rʊrɨ/ f. “small heap”: /rʊ:r/, obl. /rʊrɑ/ m. “heap”.

/dandɨ/ f. “small tooth”: /da:nd/ m. “tooth”.

/t̥ōɨ/ f. “small staff”: /t̥ōɔ/ m. “staff”.

/t̥al:ɨ/ f. “patch on cloth”: +/t̥alo/ m. “cloth”.

B. *Dim.* /-u/. All diminutives in /u/ are masculine.

1. Small size or quantity.

/g̊õrʊ/ “small horse, colt” (/g̊õrɔ/ “horse”).

/bakru/ “kid” (/bakrɔ/ “goat”).

/bāt:shu/ “calf” (Sk. /vatsaḥ/).

/*beṭu/ in /b̊əṭh̊eṭ:u/ “small son of a Bhaṭ” (/beṭ:ɔ/ “son”).

/bauṇu/ “dwarf” (/bauṇ/ “id.”).

/doru/ “string, band” (/d̊o:r/ m. “rope”).

/tsadru/ “thin woollen sheet” (/tsad:ər/ f. “sheet”).

2. Contempt.

+/kagu/ “crow” (Sk. /kākaḥ/ m.).

/raṇḍu/ Kṭg Kc “widower, husband” (/ra:ṇḍ/ f. “widow”).

3. Familiarity.

Men’s names: /m̊ɔlku/, /ts̊ornu/, /ɔklu/, /ram:u/, /’pat:h̊ər’s̊el:u/ Kc (fictitious name from a story).

/bab:u/ “father” (/ba:b/).

/mam:u/ “mother’s brother” (/ma:m/).

/b̊əu/ “younger brother, male baby” (/b̊əi/ m. “brother”).

+/š̊aṅḡu/ “door-chain” (/š̊aṅḡə/ f. “chain”).

4. Inhabitants.

/koṭḡərʊ/ “inhabitant of the village Koṭḡarḥ”.

/m̊eḷnu/ “inhabitant of Melan”.

/s̊āmtu/ “inhabitant of Samet”.

/b̊ənoṭ:u/ “inhabitant of Banotḥ”.

5. Persons having certain functions.

/d̊õl:u/ “drummer” (/d̊õ:l/ m. “drum”).

/niundru/ “man bearing invitation to a wedding” (/niundrɔ/ “invitation to wedding”).

/bərat:u/ “wedding guest” (/bəra:t/ f. “wedding feast”).

/d̡ārcu/ “man meeting another in order to take over a load”.

/ʔādru/ “servant” (H./hāzir/ “being in attendance”).

+/taru/ “man leading somebody across (a stream)” (Sk. /tārah/ m.).

6. Fruits.

/aru/ “peach” (/artɪ/ f. “peach tree”).

/bəm:u/ “wild peach” (/bəmɪ/ f. “its tree”).

/aļu/ K̡t̡g Kc “potatoe” (Sk. /ālu/ n. “an esculent root”).

/paļu/ “wild apple”.

+/okhr̥u/ “walnut” (Sk. /akṣoṭah/ m.).

/sēu/ “cultivated apple” (Sk. /sevam/).

+/tsulu/ “apricot”.

C. Dim. /-ku/, /-kɪ/, augm. /-kɔ/.

/tsɔrku/ K̡t̡g Kc “bird”, /tsɔrkɪ/ K̡t̡g Kc “small bird, sparrow” (+/tsɔrɛ/ f.).

+/beṭku/ “small son” (/beṭ:ɔ/ m. “son”).

/d̡āṭku/ Kc “small scarf” (/d̡āṭ:u/ m. Kc “scarf”).

/d̡ōlkɪ/ “small drum”: /d̡ōlkɔ/ m. “large drum” (/d̡ō:l/ m. “drum”).

D. Dim. /-nu/.

/peṭnu/ “child’s belly” (/pe:ṭ/ m. “belly”).

/g̡ōrnu/ “a small house, the house and its inhabitants” (as for the last mentioned meaning cp. /koṭgəru/ “inhabitant(s) of Koṭgarh; the village K.”, i.e. “the inhabitants in a collective sense”).

E. Dim. and augm. suffixes containing /t̡/ and /r̡/.

Dim. suffixes: /-ṭu/, /-ṭɪ/, /-r̡u/, /-r̡ɪ/.

Augm. suffixes: /-ṭɔ/, /-r̡ɔ/.

In rare cases /r̡/ is preceded by an empty (unstressed) /u/: /-uṭu/ etc.

The occurrence of /t̡/ and /r̡/ is subject to a phonetic limitation due to a tendency towards differentiation. The /t̡/ does not appear

after retroflex and dental stops, and /r/ is not found after /r/, /r/. In the words with /r/ following a retroflex or dental stop (/dz^còṭṛu/, /rōṭhṛu/, /b^cùṭṛɔ/, /māṭhṛɔ/, /bòḍṛɔ/, /loṭṛu/, +/sutru/, +/buṭṛe/, +/peṭṛo/, +/oṭṛu/, +/dud^cṛe/, +/səgeṭṛu/, +/miṭhṛo/, +/undṛo/, +/seṭhṛe/) it is impossible to determine the etymological value of the suffix, whether having /ṭ/ or /r/ from the outset, except by taking, where possible, its function into consideration. The best substitute for /ṭ/ after the said consonants is no doubt /r/. Such words may be said to contain an “enforced” /r/, which does not of course mean that /r/ is necessarily a substitute; it simply indicates that /ṭ/ is out of the question and that /r/ is the only possibility. The case is different if /ṭ/ follows /r/ or /r/ (/arṭu/, /arṭi/, /šārṭi/, +/l^cwarṭu/, /d^carṭi/) because it is not /ṭ/, but /ḍ/ that is the best substitute for /r/. This is clearly demonstrated by the augmentative adjective /māt:həṛḍɔ/ “small (in comparison), smaller” (derived from /māṭhṛɔ/) where /-ḍɔ/ replaces /-ṛɔ/ after /r/ (probably also in /kē:ṛḍɔ/ “how, in what health” from /kē:ṛɔ/ “how”). So the /ṭ/ suffixes of /arṭu/ etc. are present here, so to speak, in their own right; they do not represent /r/ suffixes.

One may operate with a third, very narrowly conditioned, kind of suffixes containing /ḍ/.

1. /-ṭu/, /-ṭi/, /-ṭɔ/.

a. Size, quantity (/ -ṭu/, / -ṭi/, / -ṭɔ/).

/dactṭi/ “small sickle” (/dac:i/ f. “sickle”).

Dim. as opposed to augm.

/ḍ^còḷṭu/ “small stone”: /ḍ^còḷṭɔ/ “big stone, big boulder”.

/gəriṣṭu/ “small quantity of cow-dung”: /gəriṣṭɔ/ “large quantity of cow-dung”.

/šilṭi/ “small slate”: /šilṭɔ/ “big slate”.

/kōṣṭi/ “small hoe”: /kōṣṭɔ/ “hoe”.

/šāṅṭi/ “small branch”: /šāṅṭɔ/ “branch”.

/pūndz^cṭi/ Kṭg Kc “small tail”: +/pundz^cṭo/ “long tail”.

b. Offspring, brood (/ -ṭu/, / -ṭi/).

/kukṭu/ Kṭg Kc “whelp”: +/kukṭe/ “female whelp, bitch” (/kuk:əɾ/ Kṭg Kc m. “dog”).

/bərəḷṭu/ Kṭg WKc “kitten”: /bərəḷṭi/ Kṭg WKc “female kitten” (/bərəḷi/ f. “cat”).

/brāg^cṭu/ “leopard cub” (/brāg:^c/ m. “leopard”).
 /mūṣṭu/ “young of mouse” (/mūṣ:^o/ “mouse”).
 /rīkhṭu/ “bear cub” (/rīk:h/ m. “bear”).
 /sūṅṅṭu/ “pig” (/sūṅṅəɾ/ m. “hog”).
 /khōṣṭu/ “son of a man of the Khash caste” (/khōṣ/ m.).
 /tshō:ṭu/ “boy”: /tshō:ṭɪ/ “girl”.
 /poctu/ “grandson”: /poctɪ/ “granddaughter” (/ pər-poc:^o/ “great-grandson”).

/dzat:^u/ “illegitimate child” (+/dzao/ m. “son”).

For names of offspring with /u/, see above B. 1.

c. Fruits (/ṭu/).

/arṭu/, /aru/ “peach”.

/kəmṭu/ “lemon” or “lime”.

/paḷṭu/, /paḷu/ “kind of wild apple”.

/guḷṭu/ “grain, fruit, stone of fruit” (J guḷe m. pl. “grain”).

For fruit names with /-u/, see above B. 6.

d. Plants (/ṭɪ/ f., some of them corresponding to fruit names in /-ṭu/, /-u/, see c).

/arṭɪ/ “peach tree” (cp. /arṭu/).

/kəmṭɪ/ “lemon or lime tree” (cp. /kəmṭu/).

/bēmṭɪ/ “peach tree” (cp. /bēm:u/).

/šārṭɪ/ “apricot tree”.

/ḍaḷṭɪ/ “shoot, branch” (/ḍa:l/ m. “tree”).

/pauṭɪ/ “shoot of a tree” (+/paulo/ “bud, sprout”).

/šāṅṅṭɪ/ “small branch” (/šāṅ/ f. “branch”).

/tumṭɪ/ Kṭg Kc “gourd, pot made of a gourd” (/tumbɔ/ Kṭg Kc “gourd”).

e. Female sex (/ṭɪ/).

/bō:ṭɪ/ “wife” (Sk. /vadhū-/ + /ṭɪ/).

2. /-ru/, /-rɪ/, /-rɔ/.

a. Size, quantity.

/dz^còṭru/ Kṭg Kc “buffalo calf” (/dz^còṭ:^o/ m. “buffalo”).

+/rōṣṭru/ “small litter of a deity”, used figuratively about a young woman and her gait, Texts p. 98 v. 23 (/rōṣ:h/ m. “wooden litter of a deity”).

+/lotʁu/ “small water jug” (+/loʃa/ m. “water pot”).

+/sutʁu/ “thread worn on arm as an amulet” (/sūt:əʁ/ m. “thread”).

/tɪbrɪ/ “small hill” (/tɪb:ɔ/ “hill”).

/pōndzʁɪ/ Kʈg Kc “small tail”, also /pōndzʁɪ/ (/pōndzʁ/ m. “tail”).

/bʰəçru/ WKc “brother’s son” (/bʰəç-/ , Sk. /bhrāṭṛ-putra-/).

The four first words have an “enforced” /ʁ/ after /t/, /t/ and /th/, so the suffix may represent /-tu/. This is highly probable in the case of /dzʰəʈru/, see words designating offspring E.1.b.

b. Female sex.

/tshēuʁɪ/ Kʈg Kc “woman, wife”.

c. Diminutive: augmentative.

/puʁɪ/ “jute shoe for women”: /puʁɔ/ “jute shoe for men” (/puɔ/ “jute shoe”).

/tshābrɪ/ “small basket”: /tshābrɔ/ “big basket”.

3. *Augmentatives.*

Besides the above-mentioned examples in pairs comprising diminutives and augmentatives (see E.1a, 2c) the following may be mentioned:

/khālʃɔ/ “animal hide, big bag of goat’s skin” (J kha’l f. “a hide, skin”).

/dzanʃɔ/ “rock, big boulder” (/dza:n/ f. “rock, boulder”).

/šīngʃɔ/ “horn of a big animal” (/šī:ŋg/ m. “horn”).

/šū:ŋʃɔ/ “big broom” (/šū:ŋ/ f. “broom”).

/bʰəʈru/ “ghost” (/bʰə:t/ m. “demon”).

+/peʈro/ “big stomach, stomach of a pregnant woman” (/pe:t/ m. Kʈg Kc “stomach”).

4. *Augmentative adjectives and adverbs.*

An interesting effect of the augmentative is seen when an augmentative suffix follows the base of an adjective or adverb. It emphasizes the meaning of the word, seen in contrast to something else, in such a way that the meaning approaches that of the grammatical

category of comparative. The feminine ends of course in /-i/, but the masculine has determined the function.

/bɔd̪rɔ/ “big (as seen in relation to something else), bigger” (/bɔd̪:ɔ/).

/māṭhrɔ/ “little, small, smaller” (/māt:hɔ/).

Also /māṭ:həṛḍɔ/ with the same suffix twice (for /ḍ/ see above p. 76).

/ɔ̃krɔ/ “little, less, younger” (/ɔ̃knɔ/ “little, young”).

+^cundrɔ/ “situated (farther) down” (/ɔ̃ndɔ/ “turned down”).

+^ub^crɔ/ “situated (farther) up” (/ūb^ci/ Kc “up”).

The two last-mentioned adjectives occur in a contrasting pair, Texts p. 100 v. 37 /^cundrɔ bəṭaurɔ, ub^crɔ g^wwaca/ “below is (the village) B., above is (the village) G.”

+^sseṭhrɔ/ adv. “close, closer” (/sɛṭ:hɛ/ “close”).

The following words may be of the same kind: /ɔ̃tsrɔ/ “short”, also /ɔ̃tstɔ/ (J hochhā “short”), /lamrɔ/ “long” (/lambɔ/ “long”).

Comparative and genetic remarks.

The final vowels of the augmentative suffixes in /ɔ/, /o/ and the diminutive suffixes in /i/, /e/ are simply those of the first and second declensions and have the same background.

The /-u/ of the diminutive suffixes has a complex origin. In certain instances it goes back to OI and MI /u/, but most often it represents the late Middle Indian neuter ending in the nom. acc. sg. of -a-bases in the enlarged form /aū/. It still exists in a number of NI languages, thus in Gujerati (/ -ū/), Marāṭhi (/ -ũ/) (beside the more common neuter ending /-ē/), Bhadravahi and Bhalesi (/ -u/) (Cardona 1965 p. 61 foll.; Navalkar 1925 §§ 66, 110; Varma, Neuter Gender in Bhadravahi, Ind. Lingu. vol. 1 parts 2-4, 1931 p. 1-38). It is of special importance to note that at least one of the Himachali dialects has clear traces of the neuter gender. From two Kyoṅṭhli speaking men (village Thuṅḍ near Chail, and village Gulo, Theog) I received in 1964 the following examples: /g^cɔ̃rɛ-kh khɔ:r dittu/ “he gave the horse grass”; /ɛ ka:m kɔ̃rnu pɔ̃rɪ/ “this work must be done”; /b^cəṭɔ ru g^cɔ̃r/ “the bhaṭ’s house” (but with masculine gender /b^cəṭɔ ra g^cɔ̃ra/ and feminine gender /b^cəṭɔ re gau/). It is puzzling that one of these informants said /mera g^cɔ̃r/, /bɔ̃ra g^cɔ̃r/ with /-a/. Joshi has in his Pahāri dictionary (Joshi 1911; the dialect of this work is Kyoṅṭhli) the same peculiarity: the adjectives are given in two

forms for the masculine, one in /u/ and the other in /á/, e.g. achhu, -á; haru, -á; meru, -á "my". Even if there is some uncertainty regarding the distribution of the /u/ and the /a/ endings in Kyoñthli, it is certain that /u/ is the old ending of the neuter. The same /u/ appears in the infinitive ending /-nu/, which is common, beside /-no/, in the Himachali dialects as well as in the other Himalayan languages from Bhadravahi and Bhalesi in the west to Nepali in the east.

The languages which have kept the neuter in living use have also preserved more or less faithfully the original function of /u/ as the case-ending of the dir. sg. n. of the first declension in keeping with conditions in MI. But if the neuter gender has been lost, as in Kṭg. Kc., a reinterpretation has taken place; the /u/ has coalesced with the homonymous suffix coming from OI and MI /u/ so that the inflection follows that of the sixth declension. There is one remarkable exception to this in Kṭg. Kc. The oblique form of the infinitive follows the first declension, which is also the case in other languages having an infinitive in /-nu/ or /-nu/, e.g. in Kumauni and Nepali (for Kumauni see Apte and Pattanayak 1967 § 4.3.21).

For the use of the neuter gender in diminutive nouns see: for Marāṭhi: Navalkar 1925 § 66 (/bakrū/ n. "kid": /bakrā/ m. "goat"); for Gujarati: Cardona 1965 p. 159, section 6 (/gāmṛū/ n. "small village": /gām/ n. "village"); for Bhadravahi, Bhalesi: Varma 1931 p. 14 foll. (Bhadr. /seppəṭu/ n. "young of a snake": /səpp/ m. "snake"). The suffixes in the above-mentioned examples, Mar. /-ū/, Guj. /-rū/, Bhadr. /-ṭu/, correspond to the Himachali suffixes /-u/, /-ru/ and /-ṭu/ respectively. Further examples of /-u/ suffixes are: P. /baccū/ m. "term of endearment in addressing a child" (P. /baccā/ m. "child"), P. /bachṛū/ m., H. (poetry) /bachrū/ m. "calf" (Kṭg. /bāt:shu/), H. /māmū/ m. = /māmā/; /bāpū/, /bābū/ m. = /bāp/, /bābā/.

The H. and P. equivalents of Kṭg. Kc. /-ṭu/ in words indicating brood, progeny are /-eṭā/, /-oṭā/, evidently from /beṭā/ m. "child" and /poṭā/ m. "young of animal" as final compound members, e.g. P. /jaṭeṭā/ m. "the son of a Jaṭṭ", H. /hiranoṭā/ m. "deer calf" (/hiran/ m. "deer"), P. /bakroṭā/ m. "kid". It is probable that /-ṭu/ in Kṭg. Kc. has the same origin. In that case Bhadravahi /-əṭu/ with a vowel in front of /t/ as in Hindi, Panjabi, but with the stress on the base word as in Himachali (/ʼitshəṭu/ n. "bear cub", Kṭg. /rīkḥṭu/; /d̪l̪əgəṭu/ n. "tiger cub", Kṭg. /brāgṭu/ "leopard cub") is a connecting link. Kṭg. /bəṭhēṭ:u/ is probably due to influence from Hindi or Panjabi. But it

is to be noted that the two last-mentioned languages, in which /-u/ as a diminutive suffix is less prominent, have /-ā/, where Himachali and Bhadravahi have /-u/, and that Kṭg. Kc. /-ṭṭ/ has augmentative function.

Regarding the use of gender to express diminutiveness or the opposite Platts 1941 § 257 mentions similar examples from Hindi, and Cardona 1965 p. 64, section B. gives the following instructive information about Gujerati, "For some speakers the oppositional system of inanimates involves three genders such that: a masculine opposed to neuter and feminine designates an extra large referend, a neuter opposed to masculine and feminine designates pejorative".

Varma 1931 p. 18 mentions that in Bhalesi fruit names have neuter gender. That is also the rule in Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan. For Sanskrit see Delbrück, Grundriss der Indogermanischen Sprachen III 1893, p. 92 where it is pointed out that Greek and Latin have the same rule. The /u/ of the fruit substantives in Himachali is well suited to illustrate the difference between synchrony and diachrony. From a descriptive point of view it is one and the same grammatical element, but genetically it is complex, coming partly from OI and MI /u/ (e.g. /aḷu/ from Sk. /ālu/ n.), partly from OI and MI /-am/ (the suffix /-ṭu/ in /arṭu/ etc., probably also in /sēu/ from Sk. /sevam/), and finally it may have been introduced analogically in a number of instances.

As for augmentative adjectives J mentions from Kyoṅṭhli /ba-ḍṛá/ "larger"; Buddruss, 1967 Sprache von Sau, has p. 38 (last section) /ghaṇeró/ "älter", /lasjeró/ "jünger" (it must be pointed out, however, that Buddruss in note 12 p. 74 mentions the possibility of deriving /-ṛo/ from the OI comparative suffix); and Hoernle, Gaudian 1880, § 388 mentions /barḱā/ "elder", /choṭkā/ "younger" and adds "/kā/ emphasizes the meaning of the adjective", in other words, it has augmentative function like the Himachali suffix /-ṛṭ/.

It must be admitted that there is a good deal of uncertainty regarding the distribution of the masculine and feminine diminutive suffixes and likewise that of the suffixes with /ṭ/ and /ṛ/. If the suffixes /-ṭu/ and /-ṭi/ are connected with /beṭṭ/ and /beṭṭi/ it would explain why these suffixes more than anything else are used with substantives denoting living beings.

The Noun Inflection

The nominal inflection is followed by 1. substantives, 2. adjectives, 3. pronouns and 4. adverbs. These categories may be divided into: 1. the nouns, comprising substantives, adjectives and pronouns, and 2. the adverbs.

The nouns are inflected in gender, number and case, to which must be added the possessive.

1. The genders are masculine and feminine.

2. There are two numbers: singular and plural.

3. The cases are: two primary cases, namely direct and oblique; three secondary cases, namely instrumental, relational and vocative. The status of being primary and secondary is determined by the morphology and not by the function of the cases.

4. The possessive is an adjective indicating the "possessor" and inflected in agreement with the word expressing what is "possessed". Its function is very much like that of the genitive in other languages. The possessive is a secondary form in Ktg.

The relational and the possessive are constituent parts of the Ktg. nominal inflection, both of the substantives and the pronouns. In Kc., this is the case only in the pronouns, the relational in the substantives being expressed by means of a postposition /re/ and the possessive by means of a separate adjectival word /ro/. Both the postposition and the adjectival word govern the substantive in the oblique.

THE SUBSTANTIVES

Survey of the inflection

The substantives are divided into six declensions which are characterized by the morphemes of 1. the direct case in the singular and 2. the oblique case in the singular and plural (in the substantive and the adjective the oblique always has the same form in the singular and the plural).

The morphemes of the direct singular and of the oblique singular and plural

1. decl. 2. decl. 3. decl. 4. decl. 5. decl. 6. decl.

Dir.sg.	Kt̥g	-ɔ	-i	-∅	-∅	-a	-V
	Kc	-o	-e	-∅	-∅	-a	-V
Obl.sg.pl.	Kt̥g	-ε	-i	-a, -∅	-i	-a, -∅	-V
	Kc	-e	-i	-a, -∅	-i	-a, -∅	-V

In the third and fifth declensions the morpheme /-∅/ (i.e. zero) of the oblique is used when a morpheme of one of the secondary cases follows.

The second, third and fifth declensions are bifurcated into sub-declensions (2a-2b, 3a-3b, 5a-5b) according to gender. The sub-declensions are characterized by the morphemes of the direct case in the plural.

The morphemes of the direct plural

1.decl. 2adecl. 2bdecl. 3adecl. 3bdecl. 4.decl. 5adecl. 5bdecl. 6.decl.

Kt̥g	-ε	m. -i	f. -i	m. -∅	f. -ε	-i	m. -a	f. -ε	-V
	Kc	-a	-i	-∅	-a	-i	-a	-a	-V

In Kc. there are no masculine substantives following the second declension. In Vocab. some masculine words from Kc. are erroneously indicated to have dir.sg. in /-e/ and thus as belonging to the second declension. In Kc. the sub-declensions are only found in the third declension, the second declension only occurring with feminine substantives and the fifth declension having the same inflection in both genders. In both dialects the first declension only contains masculines and the fourth declension only feminines. Substantives of both genders occur in Kt̥g. in the second declension and in both dialects in the third, fifth and sixth declensions.

Substantives of the sixth declension can in principle end in any vowel, indicated by /V/; this vowel remains unchanged in the whole inflection.

Being morphemes, all the above-mentioned vowels are unstressed.

It is possible to determine the declension and sub-declension and thereby the inflection of a given substantive if one knows the gender and the form of the dir.sg.; in certain instances it is also necessary to know the form of the obl., e.g. if one has to distinguish a word of the 3b declension (having obl. in /-a/) from one of the 4. declension (with obl. in /-ɪ/, /-i/).

The above-mentioned morphemes by which the declensions are established are the primary case morphemes which follow the base of the word. The fact that these morphemes have a number of different forms characteristic of each declension shows the close connection between them and the declensions. In a genetic perspective the primary case morphemes are amalgamations of OI and MI base finals and case morphemes.

The secondary nominal morphemes are those of the instrumental, the relational, the vocative and the possessive. In Kc. the relational and the possessive are not part of the substantive inflection. As has been mentioned, in Kc. substantives the relational is formed by means of a postposition /re/ and the possessive by means of an enclitic adjective /ro/. The instrumental, the relational and the possessive remain unchanged in both numbers and genders in the two dialects. The vocative distinguishes between the singular and the plural, and in Ktg. between the sg.m. and the sg.f.

The secondary nominal morphemes are placed after the morphemes of the oblique, in the third and fifth declensions after the zero morpheme /-Ø/. The oblique form serves as the base for the secondary morphemes.

Unlike the primary case morphemes each secondary nominal morpheme remains unchanged in all declensions, apart from alternants.

The secondary nominal morphemes

1. The morphemes of the instrumental, relational and vocative

	Instr.sg.pl.	Rel.sg.pl.	Voc.sg.	Voc.pl.
			m. f.	
Ktḡ	-ε	-ε	-a -ε	-o
Kc	-a		-a	-o

2. The morphemes of the possessive singular and plural in Kotḡarḡhi, when governed by a substantive in the

	→ masculine		→ feminine	
	→ dir.sg.	→ dir.pl./obl.sg.pl.	→ dir.sg.	→ dir.pl./obl.sg.pl.
Ktḡ	-o	-ε	-i	-i

The arrows indicate that the case forms of the possessive are determined by the substantives to which the possessive is attributive.

As for the vowel alternations in the unstressed sequences, consisting of primary and secondary morphemes, see p. 49.

Examples of the inflection of the substantives: /g^còr̄-/o/ “horse”; /bād:^c/ “carpenter”; /tshō:ṭi/, /tshōṭ:e/ “girl”; /^cāt:h/, /^cā:th/ “hand”; /dzīb:^c/, /dzī:b^c/ “tongue”; /ra:c/ “night”; /radza/ “king”; /maḷa/ “garland”; /tshō:ṭu/, /tshōru/ “boy”.

Substantives with the primary case morphemes.

1. decl. 2a decl. 2b decl. 3a decl. 3b decl. 4. decl.

Dir.sg.	Ktḡ	g ^c òr̄-o	bād: ^c -i	tshō:ṭ-i	^c āt:h	dzīb: ^c	ra:c
	Kc	g ^c òr̄-o		tshōṭ:-e	^c ā:th	dzī:b ^c	ra:c
Obl.sg.pl.	Ktḡ	g ^c òr̄-ε	bād: ^c -i	tshō:ṭ-i	^c āt:h(-a)	dzīb: ^c (-a)	rac:-i
	Kc	g ^c òr̄-e		tshōṭ:-i	^c āt:h(-a)	dzīb: ^c (-a)	rac:-i
Dir.pl.	Ktḡ	g ^c òr̄-ε	bād: ^c -i	tshō:ṭ-i	^c āt:h	dzīb: ^c -ε	rac:-i
	Kc	g ^c òr̄-a		tshōṭ:-i	^c ā:th	dzīb: ^c -a	rac:-i

		5a decl.	5b decl.	6. decl.
Dir.sg.	Ktḡ	radz-a	maḷ-a	tshō:ṭ-u
	Kc	radz-a	maḷ-a	tshōr-u
Obl.sg.pl.	Ktḡ	radz(-a)	maḷ(-a)	tshō:ṭ-u
	Kc	radz(-a)	maḷ(-a)	tshōr-u
Dir.pl.	Ktḡ	radz-a	maḷ-ε	tshō:ṭ-u
	Kc	radz-a	maḷ-a	tshōr-u

Substantives with the secondary nominal morphemes

		2. decl.	6. decl.
Instr.sg.pl.	Ktḡ	tshō:ṭ-i-ε	tshō:ṭ-u-ε
	Kc	tshōṭ:-i-a	tshōr-u-a
Rel.sg.pl.	Ktḡ	tshō:ṭ-i-ε	tshō:ṭ-u-ε
	Kc	tshōṭ:-i re	tshōr-u re
Voc.sg.	Ktḡ	tshō:ṭ-i-ε	tshō:ṭ-u-a
	Kc	tshōṭ:-i-a	tshōr-u-a
Voc.pl.	Ktḡ	tshō:ṭ-i-o	tshō:ṭ-u-o
	Kc	tshōṭ:-i-o	tshōr-u-o
Possess.sg.pl.	Ktḡ	tshō:ṭ-i-ɔ	tshō:ṭ-u-ɔ
	Kc	tshōṭ:-i ro	tshōr-u ro

See paradigms p. 209 f.

Exceptions

In a number of instances other primary morphemes than those mentioned above appear. All the examples in the material are from Kṭg.

1. In the first declension /-a/ appears instead of /-ε/ in the oblique. The infinitive, which follows this declension, sometimes has /-a/, especially if /lε/ “for, to” follows, e.g. /kōrna lε/ “for doing”, /dēkhṇa lε/ “for seeing”, /laṇa lε/ “for attaching”, /khāṇa lε/ “for eating” (usual in /khaṇa lε caṇṇō/ “to cook food”). But the last word may be the regular oblique of /kha:ṇ/ “food” following the third declension.

Obl. /-a/ is also found in: /duj:a lε/ “for another person”, /apṇa lε/ “for one’s own relative”; /khānda dī/ and /šīngṭa kε/ are from /khāndō/ “grain box”, /šīngṭō/ “horn”.

This morpheme is identical with the ending of ablative adverbs like /tēt:ha/ “therefrom” (with /lε/ e.g. /tēt:ha lε/ “thereto”) and related to the Bhalesi ablative morpheme /-a/ in e.g. /gho'ra/ from /ghoro/ “horse”. See p. 94, p. 130 and p. 134.

2. In the second declension the oblique ending /-iε/ appears beside /-i/ in obl. /buiε/, /bui/ from /buī/ “father’s sister” and /d'àiε/, /d'ài/ from /d'ài/ “elder sister”. This ending also occurs in poetry. See p. 95.

3. In the sixth declension /-ui/ in the dir.pl.f. and obl. f. is found instead of /-u/ in /šāš:ui/ from /šāš:u/ “mother-in-law”, /mōrui/ from /mōru/ f. “cremation ground” and /keḷui/ from /keḷu/ f. “deodar tree”.

The primary case morphemes

Use of the primary cases.

1. The direct is used as the case of the subject and the object.

a. Subject: Kṭg /εb:ε m'āre aṇṇō e:k gəṇet:ō/ “now we must fetch a priest” (lit. “now for-us (is) to-be-brought one priest”).

b. Object: Kṭg /ap:u kε šāktō ɔr maṭ:ō khāu/ “must I eat gravel and clay myself?”; /apṇō g'òrō ni: poru/ “lead your horse away”; Kc. /āũ kaṭ:u mero rī:ṇ/ “I cancel your debt to me”.

2. The oblique is used a) as the case of the object, b) when the substantive is governed by a postposition, and c) as the base when the secondary morphemes follow.

a. Object: Kṭg /ɛb:ɛ ɛu gʰɔ̀rɛ dɛ oru/ “now give here this horse”; /sɔ bandər lag:ɔ tɛa khāndzri bədzauɔ/ “the monkey began to play the tambourine”; Kc /mu ka iā gab:i de/ “give me this cow”.

The object takes the oblique when it has a demonstrative pronoun attached to it. This seems to be a consequence of the rule that personal and demonstrative pronouns are in the oblique when functioning as objects (for a similar rule in Panjabi see Shackleton 1972 p. 69). See p. 126. It is an open question whether an object in the oblique case is especially frequent with words denoting living beings, especially human beings, as in other NI languages.

In a number of instances the oblique object occurs where one should not expect it. The examples (altogether seven in the material) have in common that the governing verb is infinite with adverbial function, e.g. Kṭg /bɔɪd khēc:a lɛ ʰɔ̀la laɳa lɛ niɛ/ “he led the oxen into the field for ploughing”; /dzɔa dʰɔio aɔ:ɔ bəɳauɔ/ “after washing the barley, flour was made”; Kc /dəb:o apɳe riɳa grā:nde/ “he went to collect his loan”. A possible explanation is that it is due to case attraction. A literal translation of /ʰɔ̀la laɳa lɛ/ would be “for plough for applying”.

In the majority of the NI languages the object, when not occurring in the direct case, is expressed by means of the oblique form + a postposition which is also used for indicating the indirect object. Himachali together with a relatively small number of other languages spoken in Kashmir and Himalaya deviates by using the oblique form without any postposition. In Kṭg. and Kc. it is not quite uncommon to find that the oblique case of the pronoun has a relational function, a fact which points in the direction of a concurrence of the two functions of object and indirect object also in Himachali. Concerning the use of oblique forms to express the object in other languages see: regarding Kashmiri, G. A. Grierson, *Manual of the Kashmiri Language*, 1911, § 12 (the oblique, by Grierson termed the dative, is used with the definite object); regarding the Dardic language Phalura, G. Buddruss, *Die Sprache von Sau*, 1967, §§ 27, 33 (it is expressly stated that the oblique always occurs as case of the object if a demonstrative pronoun is present, in the same way as in Kṭg. Kc.); regarding Kumauni, Apte-Pattanayak 1967 p. 33 (oblique + postposition /-ac/ ~ /-aj/ with animate nouns in the singular, oblique without any postposition with inanimate nouns and with animate nouns in the plural).

b. The oblique + postposition: Kṭg /g^cṛa dī/ “in the house”, /g^cṛa bⁱtri/ “inside the house”; /tshāpra gāḗ/ “on the roof”; /a:dmi lē/ “for the man”; /ek:i khēc:a ka/ “from a field”; Kc /g^cṛa de/ “in the house”; /g^cṛa khe/ “to the house”.

c. The oblique as base form when followed by a secondary morpheme, e.g. instr. Kṭg /tshēurīḗ/ (oblique + /-ḗ/) “by the woman”, Kc /tshēurīa/; voc.pl. Kṭg Kc /tshēurio/; possess. Kṭg /tshēurīo/.

The genetic background of the primary case morphemes.

Treating the history of the primary morphemes is equal to treating the history of the declensions. The genuine words belonging to the separate declensions have the following origin:

Words of the 1. decl. come from OI MI /-a(k)a-/ bases

Words of the 2a decl. come from OI MI /-i(k)a-/ bases

Words of the 2b decl. come from OI MI /-i(k)ā-/ bases

Words of the 3a decl. come from OI MI /-a-/ bases

Words of the 3b decl. come from OI MI /-ā-/ bases

Words of the 4. decl. come from OI MI /-i-/ and /-ī-/ bases

Words of the 6a decl. come from OI MI /-V(k)a-/ bases

Words of the 6b decl. come from OI MI /-V(k)ā-/ bases.

Words belonging to the fifth declension are not included in the list since that declension is exclusively made up of loanwords.

It appears from the table that all genuine masculine words come from OI and MI /-a-/ bases and that the genuine feminine words come from either OI and MI /-ā-/ or /-i-/ , /-ī-/ bases.

The notation with /k/ in parenthesis indicates that Sanskrit and Pali had intervocalic /-k-/ (or, less frequently, certain other consonants, chiefly /t/), while the Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa had /y/ or /v/ (/v/ especially after /u/) or zero instead, e.g. Pk. Ap. /-aya-/ , /-aa-/ corresponding to OI /-aka-/; Pk. Ap. /-uva-/ , /-uya-/ , /-ua-/ corresponding to OI /-uka-/.

The history of the NI nominal inflection is largely the history of OI and MI /-a/ and /-ā/ bases. The direct source of the Modern Indo-Aryan forms is to be found in Middle Indo-Aryan, but determining

the exact MI basis, especially that of the oblique case, is not without difficulty. Late Middle Indo-Aryan is divided into two main groups, the Prakrits and the Apabhraṃśa dialects, and even if Apabhraṃśa in the main is a later stage than the Prakrits there is also a dialectical difference between the two groups. The Modern Indo-Aryan languages are not in every respect derived from Apabhraṃśa. Below, endings from both groups will be mentioned (the Prakrit ending first), unless there is only an insignificant difference between them; in that case only the Prakrit morpheme will be mentioned.

The morphemes of the direct case are derived from the Middle Indian nominative and accusative forms which have coalesced in Apabhraṃśa (Bloch 1934 p. 166) in agreement with the double function of the direct case in Modern Indo-Aryan as the case of the subject and the object.

It is more difficult to determine the origin of the oblique case forms. In most cases the NI forms come from OI and MI genitive forms. The genitive had an even more extended use in MI than in Sanskrit which agrees well with the broad function of the NI oblique case. Clear indications of the origin are found in the pronominal inflection: Kc /tēs/ "him" (obl.sg.m.) and H./tis/ are clearly related to Pa. Pk. gen.sg.m. /tassa/ and Sk. /tasya/, and Kṭṭ /tīn:ᵃa/ "them" (obl.pl.), H. /tin/ to Pk. gen.pl. /tāṇaṃ/. Also Eur. Gypsy obl.sg. /cores/ and obl.pl. /coren/ from /cor/ "thief" as well as K. obl.sg. /tsūras/, obl.pl. /tsūran/ from /tsūr/ are evidently derived from the genitive.

In the 3a declension the zero morpheme in the dir.sg. and the dir.pl. is due to the loss of MI endings which consisted of only one vowel: MI nom.sg. /-o/, /-u/ (Sk. /-aḥ/ ~ /-o/), acc.sg. /-ā/ (in written form /-aṃ/), /-u/ (Sk. /-am/); nom.pl. /-ā/ (Sk. /-āḥ/), acc. pl. /-e/, /-ā/ (Sk. /-ān/).

The same thing happened in the dir.sg. of the 3b declension where the vowel of the MI nom. and acc.sg. /-ā/, /-ā/ (Sk. /-ā/, /-ām/) disappeared. Kc dir.pl. /-a/ seems to come from MI nom. acc.pl. /-āo/, /-āu/ (Sk. /-āḥ/). Kṭṭ dir.pl. /-ε/ corresponds to H. /-ē/ in e.g. /bātē/ from /bāt/ f. "matter"; the origin is MI nom.acc.pl.n. /-āī/, Sk. /-āni/. The neuter ending has been adopted by feminine substantives of this type in a number of NI languages (see J. Bloch 1934 p. 169 foll.).

Also in the 4. declension the MI endings of the nom.sg. /-i/, /-ī/ and acc.sg. /-ī/ (OI /-iḥ/, /-ī/ and /-im/, /-īm/) should disappear, but the nom.acc. pl. /-īo/, /-iu/ (supplanting OI /-(a)yaḥ/ and /-iḥ/) has survived as the dir.pl. /-i/.

In the 6. declension the final vowel of the MI form of the words disappears after the vowel /V/. Thus after /u/ in the masculine: MI nom.sg. /-uo/, acc.sg. /-uā/, nom.pl. /-uā/, acc.pl. /-ue/; in the feminine: nom.sg. /-uā/, acc.sg. /-uā/. In the dir.pl.f. the MI /āo/ in nom.acc.pl. /-uāo/ has disappeared. The same development occurred in the 2b declension, see below.

The 6. declension is made up of enlarged bases containing the suffixes /-(k)a-/ and /-(k)ā/. The typical representatives of enlarged bases are however to be found in the 1. and 2. declensions.

In the 1. declension the MI nom.sg. form /-ao/ (Sk. /-akaḥ/ ~ /-ako/) has been decisive for the result in NI. In the late MI form /-au/ it led to a diphthong very much like this in a restricted NI area, e.g. in Braj, but generally to a monophthong, /-o/, as in Kṭg. Kc., and /-ā/; see Bloch 1934 p. 171 foll.

Kṭg. and Kc. differ in their forms of the direct plural. Kṭg. /-ε/ agrees with the ending /-e/ of a great number of NI languages (e.g. Hindi, Panjabi, Marāṭhi, Kashmiri, European Gypsy), while the /-a/ of Kc. appears as /-ā/ in a restricted area (thus Gujerati, Garḥvali, Kumauni, Nepali). Bloch 1934 p. 172 explains these endings as coming from */-aya/ (leading to /-e/) and */-aa/ (leading to /-ā/). Above all it should be noted that Kc. on this point agrees with the languages east of it while Kṭg. agrees with those spoken to the west of it.

The dir.sg. of the first declension appears in two forms in the Himachali dialects. The dialects to the south, west and north of Kṭg. Kc. (Sirmauri, Baghaṭi, Maṇḍeali, Kuḷui) have the same ending as Hindi and Panjabi, i.e. /-ā/. In Kyoṇṭhli and Jaunsari the two endings /-ō/ and /-ā/ are found side by side. As shown above the result in Kṭg. Kc. is /-o/. In quite exceptional cases I heard /-a/, probably due to the influence from Kyoṇṭhli or Hindi. But it is interesting to note that Kṭg. and Kyoṇṭhli according to Bailey's description in LNH 1908 p. 11 foll. and p. 25 foll. have /-o/ in practically all the adjectives mentioned there, but /-ā/ alongside with /-o/ in the substantives. A similar distribution occurs in other NI languages, thus in Braj (/ -au/ in the adjectives, /-ā/ in the

substantives). Marāṭhi, which normally has /-ā/, has /-o/ in the participle (e.g. from /uṭhṇē/ “to rise” pres.ind.1.sg. /uṭhtō/ “I rise”, 2.sg. /uṭhtō-s/, 3.sg. /uṭhtō/ formed with the pres. ptc.). Bloch mentions a similar case in Syrian Gypsy (L’i.-a. 1934 p. 184). I did not find anything like the distribution mentioned in Bailey’s description of Kṭg., even though the dialect is definitely the same. It seems to be a chronological difference (Bailey’s notes were first printed in 1902). The distinction /-a/: /-o/ (/ -o/ later becoming /-o/) has been levelled out in present-day Kṭg. It is possible that the different syntactic role of the adjectives and the substantives in the sentence is the cause of the difference between /-o/ and /-ā/. In “covered” position where the adjectives would often occur, e.g. when attributive or, as in Marāṭhi, when followed by an enclitic word, the result was /-o/. In free position, which is the normal one for the substantives, the outcome was /-ā/. One must also expect a certain amount of influence from the demonstrative pronouns, e.g. Kṭg /sō/ “he”, which would affect the adjectives more than the substantives.

The neuter gender has been retained in a few modern languages, Marāṭhi, Gujerati, among the Himalayan languages in Bhadravahi and Bhalesi, and east of Himachali in Kumauni and Nepali. Within Himachali there are traces of it in Kyoṅṭhli as well as in Kṭg. and Kc. The typical ending in the direct singular is /u/, nasalized in Gujerati and in Marāṭhi (the M. /-ū/ may be due to Gujerati influence), partly in Bhadravahi and Bhalesi, which have /-ō/, but also /-u/. There is no nasalization in final position in Himachali, Kumauni and Nepali. The origin of the ending is Ap. /-aū/, i.e. the nom.acc.sg. n. of the enlarged /a/ stems, the /ū/ of which is the final result of OI /-am/. In Kṭg. Kc. the /-u/ appears, as has been mentioned already, in diminutives in /-u/ (e.g. in the suffix /-ṭu/) and in the infinitive ending /-ṇu/. This latter also occurs in Kumauni and Nepali. In Kṭg. and Kc. the diminutives are bases in /-u/, inflected according to the sixth declension, but the infinitive has /-ṇε/, /-ṇε/ in the oblique, which means that it belongs to the first declension in spite of the deviating direct form.

The enlarged feminine substantives of the 2b declension ending in OI /-ikā/ became /-iyā/, /-iā/ in MI. The masculine nouns of the 2a declension have OI /-ikaḥ ~ -iko/, MI /-iyō/, /-io/. The MI nom.sg. /-iā/, acc.sg. /-iā/ became dir. sg. Kṭg /-ɪ/, Kc /-e/ and the same result occurred in the Kṭg 2a inflection from MI nom.sg.m. /-io/ and

acc.sg.m. /-iā/. In the plural MI nom.pl.m. /-iā/ and acc.pl.m. /-ie/ would naturally also lead to Kṭg. dir.pl.m. /-i/ of the 2a declension. In the 2b declension Kṭg Kc dir.pl.f. /-i/ must be supposed to come from MI nom.acc.pl.f. /-iāo/.

The above changes are not the ordinary ones in NI. MI nom.sg. /-iā/, /-io/ and acc.sg. /-iā/ became a long /-ī/ with loss of the final vowel and lengthening of /i/ in practically all the NI languages. Himachali has kept the short /i/ which in the end has become Kṭg /i/ and Kc /e/ in the dir.sg. The same development has evidently taken place in MI nom.acc.pl.m. /-iā/ and /-ie/ which became Kṭg /-i/. In the plural form of the feminine nouns, MI /-iāo/, one would expect a trace of the vowel complex following /i/ as in Kumauni, Marāṭhi, European Gypsy (Kum. dir.pl. /celiya/ from /celi/ “daughter”, M. dir.pl. /ghoḍyā/ from /ghoḍi/ “mare”, E. Gypsy /rania/ “ladies” from /rani/, Sk. /rājñī/), also in H. P. /-iā̄/ (even if one suspects a confusion with a neuter form as in H. /bātē/ etc.). In Kṭg. Kc. the /ā̄/ following /i/ has disappeared, leading, however, to a lengthening of the /i/. The result of all this is a shortening one step further than e.g. in Hindi: instead of H. long /ī/ in the dir.sg. a short vowel, changed in the way indicated, and instead of H. /i/ + /ā̄/ in the dir.pl.f. a long /ī/ appearing in Kṭg. Kc. as /i/. The dir.pl.f. /i/ is of the same nature as the dir.pl.f. /u/ from MI /-uāo/ mentioned above. It seems to be a rule in Himachali or part of the dialect group that the last vowel of two unstressed final vowels disappeared unless it was a sequence composed of morphologically distinct vowels as in the secondary case forms where a sequence of two morphemes arose. The primary and secondary forms were kept apart.

Regarding the dir.sg. of the 2b declension in /i/ or /e/ Bailey has similar examples from the Baghi dialect (a Kc. dialect), the Rampur dialect (close to Kṭg.), the Kc. dialect of Jubbal, and Curahi (L St Him. 1920 p. 131 foll., p. 179, L N Him. 1908 III p. 30). Also Bhalesi has the same vowels as Kṭg., having /-i/ as opposed to /-i/ both in the substantive and the adjective: dir.sg.f. /juṭṭi/ “shoe”, /rulli/ “good”, but dir.pl. /juṭṭi/, /rulli/ (Varma 1948 p. 33 foll.). Bailey has l.c. the important specification that /-i/ or /-e/ is only found in adjectives and participles in the Baghi, Rampur and Jubbal dialects. In Marāṭhi which has /-ī/ in the feminine singular, /-e/ appears in the feminine under the same conditions as /-o/ in the masculine, i.e. in the participle, e.g. pres.ind.l.sg. /uṭṭē/, 2. sg.

/uṭhtē-s/, 3 sg. /uṭhtē/ “she rises”. The limitation of /i/, /e/ to the adjectives and participles is of the same kind as that of /-o/ in the masculine (mentioned above) and must be due to the same cause.

When treating the oblique morphemes it will be best also here to begin with the third and fourth declensions because conditions are clearest here.

In the 3a declension the obl.sg. /-a/ seems to go back to the Ap. gen.sg.m. /-aha/ (Pk. /-assa/, Sk. /-asya/) which also occurs in the feminine and thus accounts for the obl.sg. /-a/ of the 3b declension as well, even if it is not excluded that the Pk. gen. ending /-āe/ (coming from the OI dat.sg. /-āyai/) is the source. The -i/ of the obl.sg. morpheme of the 4. declension may in the same way be derived from Ap. /-ihi/ or Pk. /-iē/, /-īa/.

The obl.pl. morphemes of the two declensions may come from Ap. gen.pl. /-ahā/, both m. and f., thus accounting for the ending /-a/ both in the 3a and 3b sub-declension and from Ap. gen.pl. /-ihī/ leading to the obl.pl. /-i/ of the 4. declension.

As for the zero morpheme (/∅/) in the third and fifth declensions see p. 102, p. 104 and p. 108.

Choosing Kṭg. Kc. bases in /-u/ as examples of nouns of the 6. declension, one can establish that the MI gen.sg. in the Apabhraṃśa form /-uaha/ of the masculine and feminine and, as an alternative source, the Prakrit gen.sg.f. /-u(v)āe/, as well as the Ap. gen.pl.m. and f. /-u(v)ahā/ have led to Kṭg Kc /-u/. The expected vocalic remnant of the MI vowel cluster following the /u/ has disappeared in the same way as in the Kṭg Kc dir.pl. /-u/ of feminine /-u/ bases and the dir.pl. /-i/ of substantives following the 2b declension.

As far as the first declension is concerned, the morpheme Kṭg /-ε/ and Kc /-e/ of the obl.sg. and pl. is possibly to be explained as a contraction of the MI /-aya-/ in the gen.sg.m. /-ayaha/ and the gen.pl.m. /-ayahā/ in the Apabhraṃśa forms.

The rare obl. morpheme /-a/ in the first declension (/kōrna lε/, /apṇa lε/ etc.; see above p. 87) is to be derived from Pk. abl.sg. /-ayāō/. The same ending occurs in adverbs with ablative function (p. 133 f.).

The morpheme /-i/ of the obl.sg. and pl. in the masculine and feminine of the 2a and 2b sub-declensions can be derived from MI

(Ap) gen.sg.m.f. /-iaha/ (or alternatively for the feminine, Pk. gen.sg.f. /-iāe/) and Ap. gen.pl.m.f. /-iahā/ with the same loss of a final vowel as has been mentioned above of the resulting final vowel after the /i/. The final vowel is still present in exceptional instances like obl. Kṭg /buiε/ from /buɪ/ "father's sister" and in poetry.

As far as the obl.pl. morphemes of all the declensions in Kṭg. and Kc. are concerned it is possible that they go back to the fuller MI form of the gen.pl. occurring in the Prakrits, but also to some extent in Apbhraṃśa, /-āṅā/ in the MI bases in /-a/ and /-ā/ and /-īṅā/ in the bases in /-i/ and /-ī/ (Sk. /-ānām/ and /-īnām/).

It is a remarkable fact that there is no distinction between the oblique singular and the oblique plural. This is a widespread feature in Himachali. Only the border dialects, Jaunsari and to some extent Sirmauri, and to the east the dialects which Bailey term Koci Kuari and Koci Rohru make a distinction. The original state was no doubt that the oblique plural distinguished itself from the oblique singular exclusively by the nasality of the morpheme, as is the case in Apabhraṃśa with the genitive plural in relation to the genitive singular. Nasalization of final unstressed vowels has been lost in Himachali leading to the coalescence of the two sets of morphemes. The same has happened in colloquial Marāṭhi; consequently there is also here an almost complete identity of the oblique singular and plural (see Lambert, Marāṭhi Course 1943 p. 235). It is possibly due to an attempt (unconscious to be sure) to remedy the ambiguity of the two numbers that the tales in the material contain a remarkably great number of constructions of substantives with attributive, especially demonstrative, pronouns because the pronouns distinguish clearly between the two numbers. But it may also be a consequence of the primitive style of story-telling.

The declensions

Substantives following the first, second, fifth and sixth declensions have an unstressed final vowel as primary case morpheme, both in the direct and the oblique case, and consequently a syllabic build which remains the same in both cases. They consist of at least two syllables, having in principle two heavy vowels, with the usual

exception of final stressed vowel sequences where only one heavy vowel is possible, e.g. Kṭg Kc /kuɔ/-o/ (1. decl.) “a well”, /b̄c̄ai/ (6. decl.) “brother”. As for gender, all substantives of the first declension are masculine and all substantives of the fourth are feminine. The latter is also the case with the substantives of the second declension in Kc. Both dialects have the two genders in the third, fifth and sixth declensions and Kṭg. in the second declension as well.

Already in Sanskrit the first beginnings of bases in /-aka-/ and /-ikā-/ leading to the NI first and second declensions appear, e.g. Sk. /ghoṭakaḥ/ m. “horse” and /ghoṭikā/ f. “mare” (enlarged from /ghoṭaḥ/ and /ghoṭī/) becoming NI /ghoṛ|au/-o/-ā/ (Kṭg /ḡc̄òrɔ/) and /ghoṛī/ (Kṭg /ḡc̄òrī/); Sk. /ghaṭakaḥ/ m. “pot” and /ghaṭikā/ f. “water jar, water clock” (enlarged from /ghaṭaḥ/) (Kṭg /ḡc̄òrɔ/ and /ḡc̄òrī/). Concerning the Sanskrit suffixes which probably at the outset had diminutive function see Wackernagel-Debrunner II 2, 1954, § 199. The two declensions have been very productive in MI and NI, new words being perpetually created according to this model.

The Kṭg. masculine substantives of the second declension correspond to the Hindi masculine substantives in /-ī/, e.g. Kṭg /sāt:hī/ m. “companion”, H. /sāthī/ m. The corresponding OI and MI substantives end in /-i(k)a-, e.g. Sk. /sārthikah/ m. “travelling-companion”, Pk. /satthi(y)o/; Kṭg /bəḍ̄c̄ārī/ m. “treasurer”, Sk. /bhāṇḍāgārikah/, Pk. /bhaṇḍāri(y)o/.

In Kc. the corresponding substantives end in /i/ and follow the sixth declension.

It is a characteristic feature of the second declension masculine substantives in Kṭg. that they denote male beings, thus, besides /sāt:hī/, /bəḍ̄c̄ārī/ mentioned above: /bāḍ̄c̄arī/ “carpenter”, /ḡc̄òrī/ “householder”, /graū/ “villager”, /sərad:zī/ “inhabitant of the highland”, /c̄èrī/ “hunter”, /koḷī/ “low-caste man”, /d̄c̄òb:ī/ “washerman”, /d̄c̄òṇī/ “master, lord”. Loanwords which in Hindi and other languages have final /-ī/ have come to follow this inflection, e.g. /khəzant-sī/ “treasurer”, H. /khazāncī/; /d̄c̄òrdzī/ “tailor”, H. /darzī/.

The fifth declension consists exclusively of loanwords. Thus Sanskrit words having a base and/or nominative singular form in /-ā/, e.g. Kṭg /kōt:ha/ f. “tale” (Sk. /kathā/ f.), Kṭg Kc /pōrdza/ f. “offspring, the subjects of a king” (Sk. /prajā/ f.), Kṭg Kc /radza/ m. “king” (Sk. /rājā/ m.). Other words are of Perso-Arabic origin, e.g.

/mul:a/ m. "Mohammedan scholar", /dzaga/ f. "place", /dunia/ f. "the world".

Kṭg Kc /maḷa/ f. "ring of dancing men" is peculiar in containing a retroflex /ḷ/, in normal circumstances an indication of a genuine origin, and at the same time ending in /-a/ which points to a foreign origin. It may be a loan from Panjabi which also has /māḷā/ f. But the problem remains the same in Panjabi and for the same reasons. It is probably a hybrid of a genuine word (Him. */ma:l/, P. */māḷ/) and a loanword from Hindi or Sanskrit.

The masculine words of the fifth declension are liable to be attracted to the first declension because their dir. sg. form in /-a/ is being interpreted as the direct singular of that declension in neighbouring dialects or languages, e.g. Kyoṅṭhli, Hindi and Panjabi, thus dir.sg. /radzɔ/, obl.sg. /radzɛ/ beside /radza/.

The substantives following the sixth declension have different final vowels, specific for the separate substantive types, e.g. /ciuṅkhu/ m. "bird", /a:dmi/ m. "man", /pun:ō/ f. "full moon".

The following rules can be stated for the substantives of the third and fourth declensions:

A. 1. The direct singular never ends in an unstressed single vowel. 2. The direct singular has no case morpheme. 3. The oblique form has an unstressed final vowel as case morpheme. 4. The direct plural form, either a) if the substantive is masculine, has no morpheme, or b) if it is a feminine substantive, has an unstressed final vowel as case morpheme. Below we shall distinguish between the short form (A.2. and 4.a) and the long form (A.3. and 4.b.).

In the third and fifth declensions the oblique morpheme is zero (/-/Ø/) if a secondary morpheme follows.

B. The syllabic structure shifts, either in such a way that 1. the long form has one syllable more than the short, or 2. the number of syllables remains the same, but the last syllable of the base is suppressed in the long form according to the general alternation rules. In both cases the change is due to the addition of the unstressed case vowels.

C. Changes in syllabic structure are determined by the structure of the short form. The long form has an extra syllable if the short form ends in 1. a stressed vowel + consonant(s) or 2. a stressed single vowel or vowel sequence. There is syllable suppres-

sion if 3. the short form ends in an empty vowel + consonant or a vowel sequence + consonant.

1. Dir.sg.pl. Kṭg Kc /b^cà:t/ m. "a brahman of a certain caste", obl. /b^càt:a/; dir.sg. Kṭg Kc /ra:ṇḍ/ f. "widow", obl. /raṇḍa/, dir.pl. /raṇḍε/-a/; dir.sg. Kṭg Kc /ra:c/ f. "night", obl., dir. pl. /rac:ɪ/ -i/.

2. Dir.sg.pl. Kṭg Kc /d^cũ:/ m. "smoke", obl. /d^cũa/; dir.sg. Kṭg Kc /d^ci:/ f. "daughter", obl. /d^cia/, dir.pl. /d^ciε/-a/; dir. sg. Kṭg /ba:/ f. "tank", obl., dir.pl. /baɪ/; dir.sg. Kṭg Kc /gau/ f. "cow", obl., dir.pl. /gauɪ/, /gab:i/.

3. Dir.sg.pl. Kṭg Kc /pāt:hər/ m. "stone", obl. /pāthra/; dir.sg.pl. /pərōit/ m. "priest", obl. /pərō:ta/. It is of course a requirement that the consonant structure of the word makes a suppression possible; in e.g. /pṛṇḍət/ m. "scholar" it cannot occur: obl. /pṛṇḍeta/.

Nouns having a short form in stressed /-a/ constitute an exceptional type. On rare occasions I observed oblique forms in /-aa/; from e.g. Kṭg /šā:/ m. "wilderness" I got obl. /šāa/ and from /səḡ^cà:/ m. "ladder" obl. /səḡ^cāa/. But normally a coalescence of the final of the short form and the oblique vowel takes place so that the direct and oblique cases have the same form: e.g. Kṭg /kəṛā:/, dir.sg.pl. and obl. of /kəṛā:/ m. "iron pot"; /'bad'šā:/, dir. and obl. of /'bad'šā:/ m. "emperor". It may be discussed under which declension substantives of this type should be classified. As they have the same base in the whole inflection they could be classified under the sixth declension. But against the morphological point of view may be raised the sound structural argument which we have chosen as the leading principle: that the sixth declension nouns should have an unstressed final vowel and not like /kəṛā:/ etc. a stressed final vowel. Moreover, feminine nouns in /-a/ of the third declension have the primary morpheme /-ε/ in the direct plural, e.g. /məḍāε/ from /məḍā:/ f. "headache"; by this characteristic morpheme the words are determined as belonging to the 3b. declension. The /-a:/ of the oblique case is to be interpreted as being equal to /-a + a/, i.e. the base final vowel followed by the morpheme of the oblique case. The secondary case forms are then to be understood as adding, in the way normal for the third declension, the secondary morphemes to the base + the zero morpheme /-Ø/ of the oblique, e.g. instr. /kəṛāε/.

It is a characteristic feature of the third and fourth declensions that their short form can only contain one heavy vowel. The short form may end in: 1. a full vowel: 2. a vowel sequence: 3. a full vowel

+ consonant(s), the most common type: 4. a vowel sequence + consonant(s): 5. a full vowel or a vowel sequence + consonant(s) + an empty vowel + consonant.

Examples (the words are from Kṭg. unless otherwise indicated):

1. 3a decl. /šū:/ “parrot”, /kəro:/ “group of people coming to a fair”, Kc /jō:/ “the god Yama”; 3b. decl. /i:/ “mother”, Kṭg Kc /ju:/ “louse”; 4. decl. /dɔ:/ “sunshine”, Kc /šā:/ “branch”. See “Synopsis of stress- and vowel-types” (p. 40) 1.a.α.; 1.b.α.

2. 3a. decl. Kṭg Kc /graũ/ “village”; 3b. decl. /siũ/ “boundary”; 4. decl. Kṭg Kc /gau/ “cow”. Synopsis 2.a.α.; 2.b.α.

3. 3a. decl. Kṭg Kc /ka:m/ “work”; /šəka:r/, /ši'ka:r/ Kṭg Kc “hunting”; 3b. decl. /tshī:nk/ “a sneeze”; Kṭg Kc /lɔki:r/ “line”; 4. decl. Kṭg /pī:ɬ/, Kc /pī:ɬh/ “the back”. Synopsis 1.a.β.; 1.b.β.

4. 3a. decl. Kc /pəroit/ “priest”; Kṭg Kc /ʔiund/ “winter”; 4. decl. Kṭg Kc /siuŋ/ “needle”. Synopsis 2.a.β.; 2.b.β.

5. 3a. decl. /dɔrək/ “the loft in the house”; /šəɲic:ər/, Kc /šəŋšər/ “Saturday”; 3b. decl. /dzat:ər/ “market”; 4. decl. Kṭg Kc /šāngəɭ/ “chain”; /šəbat:ər/ “a festival celebrated in February”. Synopsis 2.a.β.; 2.b.β.; 3.a.β.

For alternations of vowel and consonant quantity in the third and fourth declensions see “Sound alternations” p. 28 f.

Survival of the gender and base finals from OI and MI.

The final vowels of the OI and/or MI substantives have on the whole been kept. Also the original gender has survived to a large extent; only the neuter has disappeared, in so far as it has coalesced with the masculine. The survivals are especially apparent in a great number of substantives belonging to the third and fourth declensions. These words are especially valuable in a genetic respect because they have been left unchanged apart from the regular sound changes. It is in the nature of the matter that only words which can be supposed to be direct descendants from OI and/or MI come into consideration in the enumeration to follow.

In the following lists, the first (1.a.) shows retention of the masculine gender and of the original base vowel. Original neuter words have become masculine. The lists 1.b. and 2. also show retention of gender and base vowel. All the words in the lists are from the Kṭg. dialect; the rule is valid for Kc. no less than for Kṭg.

1. Substantives of the third declension.

a. Masculines. These come from ancient /a/ base substantives having masculine or neuter gender. E.g. /aṅgəṇ/ “courtyard”, Sk. /aṅganam/; /ōṭ:h/ “lip”, Sk. /oṣṭhaḥ/; /kəṛā:/ “iron pot”, Sk. /kaṭā-haḥ/; /tshāp:ər/ “roof”, Sk. /chattvaraḥ/ “a bower”; /d̪ç:/ “smoke”, Sk. /dhūmah/; /pa:c/ “leaf”, Skt. /pattram/; /pa:ṭ/ “mill stone”, Sk. /paṭṭaḥ/ “slab, tablet”; /pɪ:n/ “piece of bread”, Sk. /piṇḍaḥ/ “lump, ball of rice”; /phō:l/ “fruit”, Sk. /phalam/; Kṭg /bē:/, Kc /bjā:/ “wedding”, Sk. /vivāhaḥ/; /biš/ “poison”, Sk. /viṣam/; /šā:/ “breath”, Sk. /śvāsaḥ/; /çiū/ “snow”, Sk. /himam/.

b. Feminines. These words come from substantives having feminine gender and base in /-ā/. E.g. /u:n/ “wool”, Sk. /ūrṇā/; /ciš/ “thirst”, Sk. /trṣyā/; /ju:/ “louse”, Sk. /yūkā/; /dzib:ç/ “tongue”, Sk. /jihvā/; /tɔ:l/ “a balance”, Sk. /tulā/; /dā:ç/ “molar tooth”, Pk. /dāḍhā/; /d̪ç:r/ “mountain ridge”, Sk. /dhārā/ “edge”; /b̪ük:h/ “hunger”, Sk. /bubhuṣā/; Kṭg /ni:n̪j/, Kc /ni:j/ “sleep”, Sk. /nidrā/; /mɪ:ndz/ “fat” (subst.), Pa. Pk. /miñjā/; /ra:ṇḍ/ “widow, whore”, Sk. /raṇḍā/; /siū/ “boundary”, Sk. /sīmā/.

2. Substantives following the fourth declension are feminine. They come from feminine substantives having a base in /-i/ or /-ī/. E.g. /gau/ “cow”, Sk. /gāvī/; /tsu:l/ “oven”, Sk. /cullī/ “fire-place”; /ḍe:ṇ/ “witch”, Sk. /ḍākinī/ “female imp”; /dē:l/ “threshold”, Sk. /dehalī/; /pīṭ:h/ “the back”, Sk. /pṛṣṭiḥ/; /ba:/ “tank of water”, Sk. /vāpī/; /b̪ç:t/ “wall”, Sk. /bhittiḥ/; /ra:c/ “night”, Sk. /rātrī/; /šā:nd/ “a particular fair and rite”, Sk. /śāntiḥ/ “propitiatory rite”; /siōṇ/ “needle”, Sk. /sīvanī/. The suffix Kṭg /-əṇ/, Kc /-iṇ/, which follows the fourth declension and signifies females, comes from the Sanskrit suffix /-inī/, e.g. /brāg:çəṇ/ “leopardess”, Sk. /vyāghriṇī/.

A comparatively small number of substantives disagree. E.g. /prɔ:/ m. (3.decl.) “place for providing water for visitors at a fair”, Sk. /prapā/ f. “roadside fountain”; /ba:ṇḍ/ f. (4. decl.) “part, share”, Sk. /vaṇṭaḥ/ m. The reason for the disagreement of these words is not apparent.

In other instances is it possible to account for the change. If the NI words coming from Sk. /agniḥ/ m. “fire” and /akṣi/ n. “eye” have acquired feminine gender (Kṭg Kc /a:g/ f. and /āk:h/, /ā:kh/ f., both words following the fourth declension) it is due to the fact that they on account of the base final /i/ have come to belong to the fourth declension and on that account became feminines. Also Hindi and

many other NI languages have the feminine gender for the same two words. It should be noticed as an interesting fact that the words for “fire” and “eye” according to some of my informants also can be masculine, at the same time changing their final vowel: from West Kochi I observed /āk:ho/ m. “eye” after the first declension and from Koṭgarhi /a:g/ m., obl. /ag:a/ “fire” after the third declension. Turner notes CD 1966 similar instances from two other languages, Kumauni and Nepali, which have /āgo/ and /ākho/ (beside /ākhi/) and observes, “-o for -i to maintain the original gender”. Both features, the masculine gender and the base final /i/, could not be preserved on account of the conflict between them. Either the base vowel was maintained with ensuing change of gender or the change was the other way. The change of gender started already in MI. The P.-s.-m. mentions that /aggi-/ has two genders, masculine and feminine, and that /akkhi-/ can have all three genders.

Another instance of gender change due to the inherited base vowel /i/ is /ondə/ f., obl. /ondl/ “anjali greeting”, Sk. /aṅjaliḥ/ m., also feminine in certain other NI languages. See CD 171 aṅjali-.

But on the whole there are only few similar cases. The great majority of bases in /i/ and all bases in /ī/ were feminine in classical Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit which resulted in the absolute domination of the feminine gender in the NI changeable substantives having oblique in /i/. See Bloch 1934, p. 152–3 and C. Caillat, Indog. Forsch., vol. 88 (1983) p. 316.

The majority of loanwords with feminine gender follow the fourth declension if they have the required syllabic structure, i.e. if they do not end in an unstressed single vowel, e.g. Kṭg /āk:hər/ “end”; /a:d/ “remembrance” (H. /yād/ from Persian); /ək:əl/ “wisdom”; /wa:z/ “voice” (H. /āvāz/); /phōs:əl/ “harvest”; /phīk:ər/ “worry”; /mōdəd/ “help”; /dzamət/ “shaving” (H. /hajāmat/).

A number of Kṭg. words ending in vowel sequences in /u/ can follow two declensions, the third and the sixth: /dziu/ m. “mind”, obl. /dziua/ and /dziu/; /graū/ m. “village”, obl. /graūa/ and /graū/. And in the same way /kau/ m. “crow”, /b̄:āu/ m. “love”, /thēu/ m. “knowledge”, /naū/ m. “name”, /iū/ m. “snow”.

In the same way Kṭg /gau/ f. “cow” follows both the fourth and the sixth declensions: obl. /gau/ and /gau/.

From a genetic point of view the majority of these substantives

belong to the third or fourth declension, having in OI and MI bases in /-a/ or /-i/, /-ī/, e.g. Sk. /jīvaḥ/ m. “soul”, /grāmaḥ/ “village”, /gāvī/ “cow”. They came, however, to follow alternate declensions because the final /-u/ was associated with the common ending /-u/ of the sixth declension.

This did not occur in Kc., because the oblique form of the corresponding words contains a characteristic /b/ or /m/ which prevented the introduction of a form radically different from it: Kc /dzīb:a/, /gram:a/, /nam:a/, /im:a/ and /gabi:i/ from /dziu/ etc.

The secondary nominal morphemes

The secondary nominal morphemes are those of the instrumental, the relational, the vocative and the possessive.

1. *The instrumental* is the case of the agent and of the means or instrument. The following examples may be mentioned:

a. Agent: Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ bʰəṭ:ɛ paɔ sɔ rɔʃ:ɔ ʰundi/ “the brahman let that rope down”. Kc /sāu'kara tsuŋge ʃi:l kān:ʰa māt:hi/ “the money-lender lifted the stone up on his shoulder”. Regarding the term agent see p. 157.

b. Instrument: Kc /tiŋia lae tīā re gɔle de ɔaŋgrea/ “he struck at her throat with the axe”.

The striking fact that the oblique morpheme /-a/ of the third declension is missing when the morpheme of the instrumental as well as the other secondary morphemes follow demands an explanation. We have already when dealing with the structure of the final unstressed vowel sequences p. 51 treated the question. The explanation given there accounts perfectly well for the feature. It is definitely valid for the Kṭg. relational and possessive which originally consisted of the oblique and a postposition and a possessive adjective respectively of the same kind as Kc /re/, /ro/. However, regarding the instrumental another explanation involving a process of a much older date is to be preferred. The vocative has very much the same status as the instrumental; both have integrated forms from the outset.

The inflection of the masculine substantives of the third declension rests, as has been mentioned, on that of the OI and MI nouns in

/-a/. The obl.sg. /-a/ of Kṭg. Kc. probably goes back to Ap. gen.sg. /-aha/. The instr. /-ε/ of Kṭg comes from Sk. instr.sg. /-ena/, Pk. /-eṇa/. Regarding the loss of /-ṇ-/ , at first with nasalization, compare the personal ending of the present Kṭg Kc /-a/ from MI /āṇa-/.

This cannot however be the whole explanation of Kṭg. instr. /-ε/ because it is the universal morpheme of that case in the masculine and feminine in both numbers, while the Sanskrit and Prakrit morphemes mentioned are only valid for the masculine (and neuter) singular. In the masculine plural it is possible to account for Kṭg /-ε/ as coming from Ap. instr.pl. /-ehī/, this probably from OI /-ebhiḥ/ (Tagare p. 142, Pischel § 368). Also for the feminine singular and plural, i.e. OI and MI /-ā/ bases, it is possible to derive the Kṭg. morpheme from MI, especially Ap., morphemes of the instrumental feminine in the singular and plural, Ap. /-āī/ and /-ahī/ respectively.

Kṭg /ε/ in feminine words may however also come from /-a/ (see the following) through vowel palatalisation after an /i/ vowel. In the northern hill languages Bhaṭeali and Bhadravahi the corresponding morpheme is restricted to the singular of masculine substantives: instr.sg.m. Bhaṭ. /-ē/, Bhad. /-e/. In the instr.sg.f. both languages have /-ā/. Bhaṭeali has no instr. form in the plural, but uses the obl.pl. morpheme /-ā̃/ in both genders. Bhadravahi has an instr.pl. form in /-eī/, used both in the masculine and the feminine. See Bailey 1908 III p. 17 and 57. Similar conditions are found in Old Marāṭhi (Bloch 1934 p. 173).

These facts shed light on the Kc instrumental in /-a/. In the singular of the feminine one may derive Kc /-a/ and Bhaṭ., Bhad. /-ā/ from the Pk. instr.sg.f. /-āe/ as suggested by Bloch 1934 p. 173, hesitatingly, it is true, for Old Marāṭhi. In the instr.pl. it may be supposed that Kc. in the same way as Bhaṭeali has used the obl.pl. morpheme in both genders. From the plural the morpheme /-a/ would seem to have penetrated into the instr.sg. of the masculine in conformity with the overall function of the oblique morphemes in Himachali. The Kc adverbs in /-a/ and /-ia/ with their broad function of mode and location (e.g. /sūl:a/ “silently”, /iṇia/ “in this way”) as well as the instrumental forms in /-ia/ in the singular masculine of the third person pronouns (/tiṇia/, /iṇia/) may have

been connected with the process. Besides, a form like */g^coṛee/ in Kc. would easily lead to differentiation.

Whatever may be the origin of the Kṭg. and Kc. morphemes of the instrumental, and some uncertainty attaches to their history, from a descriptive point of view they as well as the other secondary morphemes follow the primary morphemes of the oblique, in the third and fifth declensions the zero morpheme of that case.

It is probable that the instrumental in its present form in Himachali originated in the second and third declensions and perhaps in certain types (substantives ending in /i/, /u/) of the sixth declension. From there it has spread to the other declensions. We have discussed the prehistory of the morpheme in the third declension. The /-ε/ and /-a/ in Kṭg /-iε/, Kc /-ia/ of the second and sixth declensions and of Kṭg /-uε/, Kc /-ua/ of the sixth declension must be supposed to have the same OI and MI origin as in the third declension. The result has been a dissyllabic unstressed vowel sequence. After the pattern of the second and sixth declensions, substantives of the first and fourth declensions had the morphemes Kṭg /-ε/ and Kc /-a/ attached to their oblique forms. The fifth declension, consisting of loanwords, followed the third declension and substituted the instrumental morpheme for the morpheme of the oblique. In some of the Himachali dialects the old instrumental form of the first declension seems to have had one vowel, /-ε/ or /-e/, as the ending, judging by Bailey's descriptions of Baghaṭi, Kyonṭhli and the dialect called Outer Siraji by him. This last dialect is very closely related to Kṭg. See LNHim. 1908 I pp. 1, 11, 37. Also Kului has /-ε/ (Ṭhakur p. 249). The source, Pk /-a(y)eṇa/, Ap. /-aī/, would probably have led to */-ē/ in Kṭg. and this again to */-ε/, only later to be substituted by /-eε/ through the analogical process indicated. The instrumental seems always to have been integrated or inanalytic, forming one word, not, as the possessive, two words. This explains why an attributive pronoun is in the instrumental and not in the oblique, e.g. Kṭg. /tɪn:ɪ b^cāt:ε/, Kc /tɪni b^cāt:a/. In the same way in certain Rajasthani dialects attributive adjectives agree with their substantives in the oblique, instrumental or locative as the case may be (LSI IX 2, 1908, p. 7). It is a conservative feature in both language groups. Rajasthani as well as the Himachali-affiliated Panjabi dialects, Dogri and Kaṅgri, have integrated instrumental forms in the substantive.

2. *The possessive.* Grierson connects LSI p. 653 the Kṭg. form with the Kc. possessive formed by means of /ro/, assuming that the /r/ has been lost in Kṭg. In this way it is easy to understand the possessive of the first, second, fourth and sixth declensions in which the adjectival morpheme /-ɔ/ follows the oblique form of the substantive. There are indeed, as will be shown, very good reasons to accept Grierson's point of view. The possessive of substantives following the third and fifth declensions with /-ɔ/ instead of */-aɔ/ etc. must then be explained by the rule governing final unstressed vowel sequences (see p. 49), even if also the force of analogy after the pattern of the instrumental may have been operative.

We have indicated above p. 60 the reasons why the possessive of Kṭg. is to be interpreted as making out one word instead of two words, namely substantive followed by a possessive adjective. This fact has a syntactic peculiarity as a result. The possessive, as we know, is an adjective, and so an adjective which is attributive to it will be dependent on another adjective, not as in ordinary cases on a substantive. The attributive adjective must be in the same case, namely the oblique, and the same gender as the substantive inherent in the possessive, e.g. /meri tshēuriɔ dʰaṭ:u/ "my wife's kerchief".

Possessive adjectives of the same kind as Kc /ro/ and closely related to it are found in all Himachali dialects. Jaunsari which is spoken on the outskirts of the area is an exception, having /ko/. Outside Himachali it occurs in more or less the same form in the northern hill languages and in Rajasthani. It goes back to Sk. /kārya-/ "work, matter, purpose" which in MI has become /kera-/, in enlarged form /keraa-/ (Pischel §§ 176, 434, Tagare § 103), already at that stage used as a sort of possessive adjective which function it has in Old Western Rajasthani /kerau/ beside /rau/, in Avadhi /ker/ (Saksena 1937 § 76) and, especially beautifully preserved, in Bhadarvahi /kero/ (Varma 1948 p. 30) and European Gypsy /kero/. The Bengali possessive ending /-r/ is related to it. The word appears in Himachali as well as in a number of other NI languages in the shortened form lacking the first syllable after merging with the substantive or pronoun and loss of the intervocalic /k/. In Himachali it still exists in the full form as a postposition /kere/, /kore/, kore/, meaning "for the sake of, for, by, on account of", e.g. Kc /abe sēo āš:a tīā šil:a kore (kere) 'wapis/ "now he will come back on account of that stone".

3. *The relational.* The Kṭg. morpheme /-ε/ and the Kc. grammatical word /re/ occur in a function which may be called the relational, evidently related to that of the postposition /kere/. The relational is so frequently used and the function so characteristic that it may be incorporated with good reason among the cases of our dialects. It indicates reference to something or especially often somebody in connection with the verb context. Related features occur in other NI languages, e.g. in Hindi. As examples may be mentioned: Kc /mere neī ṭop:o/ “I do not possess a cap” (but /muk:a neī ṭop:o/ “(just now) I have no cap”); Kṭg /tsore ʿās:1 lag:1/ “the thief burst out laughing” (lit. “to the thief laughter came”); Kc /tīū re zərurta pōre āšņe re/ “they had to come” (lit. “necessity of coming befell them”). It is regularly used with certain verb forms. Thus with the involitive e.g. Kṭg. /tēu pərō:tε neī šūṇʿuo kits na/, Kc /tēs pərō:ta re neī šūṇʿuo kūtsh na/ “nothing was audible to the priest”. With the static participle: Kc /dalji re tho dzaṇo do ki.../ “the miser had realised that...” (lit. “to the miser it was being known”). With the gerundive: Kṭg /rākšē ʿām:ε khāṇε/ “(somebody realizes:) the troll will eat us” (lit. “to-the-troll we (are) to-be-eaten”). One will get an idea of the difference between the relational and the “dative” from examples like the first mentioned here (/mere.../, /muk:a/) and the following containing an involitive verb form: Kc /tab:e na dēuo tēs radze re kūtsh dzwa:b tēs pərō:ta khe/ “then the king was unable to give any reply to the priest” (/radze re/ as opposed to /pərō:ta khe/).

The fact that Kṭg. in the substantive inflection expresses the relational function by means of a morpheme /-ε/ which has the same relation to the possessive morpheme /-ɔ/ as the Kc. relational postposition /re/ has to the possessive adjective /ro/ speaks in favour of the assumption that the Kṭg. possessive and relational have the same origin as in Kc. As has been mentioned the relational case form of Kṭg. and the corresponding postposition of Kc. are related to the postposition /kere/ and genetically identical with it. Since the Kc. possessive adjective /ro/ is an abbreviated form of */kero/ and together with the postposition has its ultimate source in OI /kārya-/ and MI /kera-/ it is reasonable to assume that also the Kṭg. possessive /-ɔ/ has this origin. A further confirmation appears in the inflection of the pronouns where Kṭg. has relational forms of the same kind as in Kc. Syntactic constructions like Kṭg. /tēu rākšē/ “for that troll” (obl. of the pronoun attributive to a substantive in the

relational) are also important in showing that the relational embodies an oblique form.

Even though the possessive and the relational are closely related from a genetic point of view, the two forms are from a descriptive point of view of an altogether different nature, the possessive being an adjective, while the relational is a case form. The semantic relation between the two forms may be brought out by rendering the possessive adjective /kera-/ by “relative” or “related” (Tagare § 103), while the postposition /kere/ is to be rendered “in relation to”. In the first function the word was an adjective directly from Sanskrit, either being the last member of a compound or governing the substantive in the genitive or some other case. In the second function (the relational) it was originally a substantive in the locative or instrumental, meaning “matter, purpose, relation, regard”, later used as a postposition. See CD 3078 *kārya-*.

In Kṭg. the relational has the same form as the instrumental in the substantives, but not in the pronouns. Both in Kṭg. and Kc. there is identity of the relational and the obl.m. of the possessive. In most cases it is possible, however, to determine the form by means of the verbal context. In the Kṭg sentence /ʃ tsi:z merε lag:1 °āt:hε/ “this thing came into my hands” /merε/ is the relational of the personal pronoun which appears from the fact that it occurs together with the verb /lagṇō/, regularly combined with the relational; /merε/ is not the possessive in the obl.m. agreeing with /°āt:hε/. In the same way the static participle is regularly combined with the relational; thus /rākšē/ is relational and not the instrumental in the following sentence: /bōʃɔ b°āri 'ma:lmə'ta: b°ōʃɔ nɔ tēu rākšē/ “the troll had collected a great mass of possessions”, Texts p. 41, 16 (notice /tēu/, not /tɪn:1/).

Intervocalic /r/ has normally been kept in Kṭg. Only in the relational and the possessive has it been lost, and in another case: the long gerund in /-io/ is probably related to the Kyoṇṭhli gerund in /-e ro/ and thus exhibits the same loss in very much the same circumstances. In both cases an enclitic word has been involved and a contraction into one word has taken place. Still the abnormality of the sound-change in question may seem to be a serious stumbling-block. However, the special conditions of the sound-change must be taken into consideration. The relational and possessive

and the long gerund are the only instances known so far in Kṭg. in which an /r/ occurred between two unstressed syllables.

Also in Bhalesi an /r/ has disappeared in the possessive as well as in the perfect participle: Bhal. /'ghoṛɛu/ "of the horse", cp. Bhadr. /'ghoṛɛro/; perf.partc. /bho'ɔu/ "having been", Bhadr. /bhu'oro/ (Varma 1948 pp. 19,48). Thus curiously enough there has been loss of /r/ in very much the same circumstances as in Kṭg.

An /r/ has been lost in Kyoṅṭh. kaṅḍéi "medicinal plant, Solanum jacquini" J, from Sk. /kaṅṭakāri/ (CD) and in Bhal. /ghiāi/ "vessel for ghee", cp. Kyoṅṭh ghyári J (but CD: from Sk. /ghṛtāci/).

4. *The vocative.* The difference between the vocative of the masculine substantives in /-a/ and the feminine substantives in /-ɛ/ appearing in Kṭg. reflects a similar difference in OI and MI which have /-a/, in MI, especially in Apabhraṃśa, often lengthened into /-ā/, and /-e/. The ending of the voc.pl. is /-ahu/ in Apabhraṃśa. These MI forms account for the Himachali voc. morphemes. The long /-ā/ of the MI voc.sg.m. being a late feature survived into NI times. The same is to be supposed for the voc.sg.f. /-ē/. Counterparts of the Kṭg. morphemes are found in all Himachali dialects with the exception of Kc., as well as in Panjabi.

Kc. does not distinguish between masculine and feminine in the voc.sg., having /-a/ in both instances. If this is not due to a local development whose nature remains obscure, it may be genetically connected with conditions in Siraiki which likewise has /-a/ in the two genders (Shackle 1976 §§ 2.4.1.-2.4.3.). The genetic background is however not clarified by this connection.

The vocative has from the outset been an integrated form constituting one word like the instrumental (see p. 102 f.). As the case is with the instrumental, the form of the vocative in the first declension is not original; it is due to an analogical process.

Compounds

A compound substantive consists of two, in exceptional cases three, members which together express one concept and form one rhythmic whole. Each member is stressed separately. The members are usually identical with independent substantives or adjectives. Most

compounds are loanwords. E.g. Kṭg /^cḍrən'sī:n̄g/ m. "a musical instrument consisting of a deer's horn" (/^cḍrən/ "deer" + /sī:n̄g/ "horn"), Kc /ti:r-kə'ma:n/ m. "bow and arrow", Kṭg /n̄ɔg:ər'dad:ɔ/ m. "great-great-grandfather". The first member is often shortened compared to its independent form, e.g. Kṭg /g^cḍr̄/ "horse" + /swā:r/ "rider". A number of compounds are loanwords from Persian or Arabic through Persian, e.g. /bā:d'sā:/ "emperor", /ma:l-mə'ta:/ "goods". Both members may be inflected, e.g. Kṭg obl. /radza'paṭ:a/ from /ra:dz'pa:t/ "royal throne, reign". This together with the double stress and the occasional long vowel quantity of the first member testifies to a certain independence of the members.

There are a number of old compounds which have ceased being compounds since they have the normal word structure with only one stressed syllable. The two members are often still recognizable. If the original second member had a single initial stop this is missing in accordance with the genetic sound rule for single intervocalic stops, e.g. Kṭg /šəra:l/ m. "hair of the head" (OI */širo-bālah/, Kṭg /šī:r/, /ba:l/); /kəršīū/ m.pl. "wheat of good quality" (cp. Kṭg /kārš/ "awn" and /gīū/ "wheat"); Kc /kodṭho/ m. "flour of kodo-grain" (cp. Kc /kod:o/ "a certain species of grain" and /pīṭ:ho/ "flour"). J. mentions in his dictionary nhyairkh m., i.e. with our notation /n'jerkh/, "the dark fortnight (of a lunar month)" (OI */andhakāra-pakṣah/, cp. Kṭg WKc /n^cērɔ-/o/ "darkness" and J /pakh/ m. "fortnight").

Besides such instances as these, which show the regular treatment with regard to the stressed syllable, there are such instances where the first syllable of the second member against the rule bears the stress, even if it was (and still is) closed, e.g. Kṭg /dəljet:ɪ/ "the daughter of a poor man", /bəṭhēt:u/ "the small son of a member of the bhaṭ- caste" (cp. Kṭg /daljɪ/ "a poor man", /b^cà:t/ "a bhaṭ" and /bet:ɔ-/o/ "son, daughter"). Notice the following words in /-īṭ:hɔ-/o/ from Sk. /piṣṭam/, Kṭg Kc /pīṭ:hɔ-/o/ denoting different kinds of flour: Kṭg /kədrīṭ:hɔ/, Kc /kədrīṭ:hɔ/ (beside the above-mentioned Kc /kodṭho/) "flour of kodrɔ/ kodo"; Kṭg /tshəlīṭ:hɔ/ "maize flour" (cp. Kṭg /tshāl:ɪ/); WKc /dzəlīṭ:hɔ/, Kṭg /dzərīṭ:hɔ/ "barley flour" (cp. Kṭg Kc /dzɔ:/ "barley"); WKc /bəlīṭ:hɔ/ "maize flour" (cp. WKc /bəlre/ "maize"). The last part of such words assumes the character of a suffix and could be interpreted as such.

THE ADJECTIVES

The adjectives are divided into four classes.

1. Only the first class of adjectives distinguish between the two genders, following the first declension in the masculine and the second declension in the feminine and having the same inflection as the substantives.

When the adjective is dependent, i.e. when it is attributive and predicative, it is only inflected in the primary cases, the direct and the oblique, the direct agreeing with the direct of the substantive, the oblique agreeing with the oblique, the instrumental, the relational, the vocative and the possessive of the substantive. Examples: The direct case: Kt̥g /t̥in:ε̄ s̄ārɔ̄ 'ma:l̥m̄ə'ta: ḡɔ̄r̄ε̄ ḡāe lad:ɔ̄/ "they loaded all their possessions on the horse". The oblique case: /'ɔ̄k'bar 'bad's̄āe ap̄n̄ε̄ dziu d̄i s̄ōt̄:h̄ɔ̄/ "the emperor Akbar thought in his mind". With the substantive in the instrumental: /t̄ē:r̄ε̄ s̄āt:hīε̄ bol:ɔ̄/ "his comrade said".

When the adjective is independent, having the same syntactic function as a substantive, it is inflected in all forms, e.g. in the relational: Kt̥g. /nat:ɔ̄ r̄išt̄ɔ̄ ek:ī duj̄:ε̄ m̄ədad:ī l̄ε̄ ɔ̄ḍa/ "one relative is of assistance to the other".

Adjectives of the first class are numerous and extensively used. Among the more characteristic types the following may be mentioned:

1. The preterite participle and the present participle which have very important functions in the verb inflection.
2. The possessive.
3. A number of adjectives which are intimately connected with certain adverbs (see 72).
4. The pronominal adjectives (see 127).
5. The adjectives in /-kɔ̄/ (see 72).

2. The second class has an /i/ vowel in the oblique singular and plural (for /i/ see below on the collective numerals). It consists of the three adjectives /e:k/ "one", /o:r/ "other" and /s̄5b/ "all", in the oblique Kt̥g Kc /ek:ī, /orī, /s̄5b:ī/. It is to be noted that also /i/ in the alternative form /hi/ is used with /e:k/: /ēk:hi/.

Notice the following forms with /i/ in the north-western MI

dialect: gen.sg. /ekisya/, /aṃñisya/, gen.pl. /sarvina/ (Burrow 1937 § 88).

3. The third class is made up of the cardinal numerals (with the exception of /e:k/ “one”). There are two kinds: a. the numerals proper and b. the collective numerals.

a. The numerals proper are inflected in the direct and the oblique.

The direct: Kṭg /dui/ /cɔ:n/ /tsa:r/ /pa:ndz/ /tshō:/ /sā:t/ /āṭ:h/ nɔ:/ /dōš/ /gɛ:ra/ /ba:ra/ /ṭe:ra/ /tsɔ:da/ /pɔndra/ /sō:l̩a/ /sōtra/ /ṭhā:ra/ /ṇī:/ /bī:/ /e:k bī: e:k/ /e:k bī dui/, etc. /e:k bī: dōš/ /e:k bī: gɛ:ra/ etc. /dui bīɛ/ /dui bīɛ dōš/ /cɔ:n bīɛ/ /cɔ:n bīɛ dōš/ /tsa:r bīɛ/ /tsa:r bīɛ dōš/ /šō:/ . Kc. has, apart from the usual phonological differences, the same numerals except: /ci:n/ “three”, /gja:ra/ “eleven”, /pandra/ “fifteen”; /u'ṇī:/ /u'ṇī:š/ “nineteen”, /bī:/ /bī:š/ “twenty”, /dui bīa/ “forty”, etc.

The oblique: Kṭg /dui/ /ci:/ /tsɔu/ /pandza/ /tshōa/ /sāt:a/ /āṭ:ha/ /nɔa/ /dōš:a/ /gɛ:ra/, etc. /bīa/, etc. Kc. the same except: /cia/ /tsau/ /gja:ra/.

b. The collective numerals are used when a group is to be signified; a sense of definiteness attaches to their meaning: “the group of four; (all) the four (of them)”. The sense of a definite number seems to be connected with the collective sense: e.g. the expression “the four men” is generally used about a group. There is no difference between direct and oblique. The morpheme is /-i/ which follows the base. For “two” a special base is used. Kṭg /dun:i/ “both, the two (of them)”, /cɔn:i/ “the three (in a group), all the three”, /tsari/ /pandzi/ /tshōi/ /sāt:i/ /āṭ:hi/ /nɔi/ /dōš:i/ /gɛ:ri/, etc. /ṇīi/ /bīi/. Kc. has the same forms except: /duia/ “both, the two”, /cin:i/ “(all) the three”. Examples: Direct: Kṭg/tid:a sɛ cɔn:i dzɔŋɛ g'òra lɛ tsal:ɛ/ “from there the three people went home”. Oblique: /tsuŋg dun:i rākšɛ sɛ khəɾari/ “the two trolls, up they lifted those axes”.

The morpheme is also found with aspiration, thus /sāt:hi/ “the seven”, and even with /ɛ/ added in Kṭg: /dun:iɛ/ /dūn:ciɛ/ “both”. Notice Kc /-ia/ in /duia/. This reminds one of the form /ɛk:hi/ beside /ek:i/ on the one hand and of the adverbs in /-ci/ /-ciɛ/ and /-i/ /-iɛ/ on the other. In a genetic perspective the collective numeral forms seem to be oblique case forms, reminiscent of the Hindi collective numerals with the oblique plural ending /-ō/, e.g. /cārō/ “the four”, /donō/ “both”, possibly something like “by four”, “by two” (but the

emphatic particle may also have been involved, J. Bloch 1934 p. 188 foll.). They were hardly used attributively from the outset. The following example gives an idea of the original syntax: /sāt:hi ɖe:me dun:iɛ/ “let us go together, the two of us” (“let us go together by two”). Later the attributive syntax was introduced and the morpheme was reinterpreted as a morpheme of collectivity.

4. The fourth class consists of invariable adjectives, e.g. Kt̄g Kc /khāl:i/ “empty” (direct and oblique), /la:l/ “red” (direct and oblique). Adjectives like /la:l/ differ from the substantives having the same syllabic build and following the third or fourth declension in that they are invariable while the substantives are inflected.

THE PRONOUNS

The pronouns are divided into: 1. the pronouns of the first and second persons, 2. the pronouns of the third person, 3. the relative and interrogative pronouns, 4. the indefinite pronouns.

The pronominal inflection distinguishes itself from that of the substantives, adjectives and adverbs on a number of points. The pronouns of the third person, the relative and interrogative pronouns and the indefinite pronouns have in all essential points the same inflection, while that of the first and second person pronouns differs. Note that the relational is clearly related to the possessive in its formation. The vocative does not occur in the pronominal inflection.

The pronouns of the first and second persons

Apart from the dir.sg. of the first person pronoun in Kc. the bases of the singular begin with /m/ in the pronoun of the first person and with /t/ in that of the second person. The bases of the plural pronouns have /^cam-/ in Kt̄g. and /am-/ in Kc. in the first person and /tum-/ in both dialects in the second.

Kt̄g. has in the oblique /mū:/ “me”, /tā:/ “thee”, /^cām:a/ “us” and /tum:a/ “you”. In Kc. the forms are /mū:/, /taū/, /am:u/ and /tum:u/. The two dialects have slightly alternative forms in the obl.sg. in front of the morphemes Kt̄g /lɛ/ “to, for”, /ka/ “from, for”, /kɛ/ “by”, /di/ “in, with”; Kc /khe/ “to, for” and /ka/ “from, for”. In Kt̄g. the

forms are /mul:ε/ “for me”, /tal:ε/ “for thee”; /muk:a/, /taŋka/; /muk:ε/; /mɔndɪ/, /tandɪ/. Kc has /mūk:he/, /tāk:he/; /muk:a/, /tak:a/. But also the regular forms /mū: lε/, /tā: ka/, /taũ khe/, etc. are heard.

In the instrumental Kṭg. has an /ε/ vowel: /mē:ε/, /tē:ε/, /^cam:ε/ and /tum:ε/. Kc. has the following forms: /muī/, /tai/, /am:a/ and /am:ua/, /tum:a/ and /tum:ua/.

The direct forms are: Kṭg /mū:/, /tu:/, /^cam:ε/ and /tum:ε/; Kc. /āũ/ ~ /^cāũ/, /tu:/, /am:a/ and /tum:a/.

The possessive adjectives are:

Kṭg Kc /merɔ/-o/ “my”; /terɔ/-o/ “thy”; Kṭg /m^carɔ/ and /mā:ro/, Kc /mā:ro/ “our”; Kṭg /thārɔ/, Kc /tumā:ro/ “your”.

The relational has the following forms: Kṭg /merε/, /terε/, /m^carε/, /thārε/; Kc /mere/, /tere/, /mā:re/, /tumā:re/.

The West-Kc. subdialect has some special forms: 1.sg.dir. /^cəũ/, /^cũ:/; 2.sg.obl. /təũ/, /tək:he/, /tək:a/; 1. and 2.sg. instr. /mēī/, /mɔī/ and /tēī/; and finally 2.pl.pss. /tā:ro/ “your”. By some of these forms it can be seen that West-Kc. has some affinity with Kṭg.: /^cũ:/, /mēī/ and /tēī/ have the same vowels as the corresponding Kṭg. forms and the syllabic build of /tā:ro/ is close to that of Kṭg /thārɔ/.

These forms are partly inherited from OI and MI and partly remodellings on the basis of what has been inherited.

The plural forms having /^cam-/ , /am-/ and /tum-/ rest on MI /amh-/ and /tumh-/ , e.g. nom.acc. /amhe/, /tumhe/, connected with OI acc.pl. /asmān/, /yuṣmān/. The Kṭg. morphemes of the obl.pl. /-a/ and the instr.pl. /-ε/ are those of the substantives of the third declension and of the third person pronouns. The dir.pl. may have its /-ε/ from the third person pronouns. Another possibility must however be taken into consideration: the dir.pl. /^cam:ε/ may genetically be identical with the form of the instr. pl., when used together with the 1.pl. of the pres.ind. in /-i/ which is an old passive form, /^cam:ε bol:i/ originally meaning “by us is said”. The morpheme would then have been taken over by the second plural pronoun on account of the complete agreement in inflection of the two plural pronouns. This explanation is confirmed by the fact that Kc. has /-a/ in the same forms. The morpheme /-u/ of Kc. obl.pl. /am:u/ and /tum:u/ must be connected with that of the obl.pl. /tīũ/ and /īũ/ in the third person pronouns. The instr.pl. /amua/ and /tumua/ beside /am:a/ and /tum:a/ has the instrumental morpheme added to the

oblique form in the usual way, cp. also /tīūa/ and /īūa/ of the third person pronouns. The forms /am:ua/ and /tum:ua/ may be said to follow the pattern of the substantives of the sixth declension.

The Kc. form /āũ/ ~ /[°]āũ/ “I” comes from OI */ahakam/, partly preserved in the Aśoka form /hakam/; Pk. has /aha(y)ā/ and Ap. /haũ/. The /-ũ/ of the Ap. and Kc. words is the regular result of OI final /-am/, and Kc /a-/ ~ /[°]a-/, representing an older long aspirated /ā/, is the normal result of MI /aha-/. Kṭg. has taken over a form from the oblique in the dir. /mū:/ as in a great number of NI languages, probably because a direct form beginning with aspiration or vowel seemed too aberrant.

The MI instrumental forms /maĩ/ and /taĩ/, the genesis of which is not quite clear (Tagare pp. 118 foll., 207), have led to Kṭg. instr. /mē:/ and /tē:/ . The obl. /mū:/ in both dialects may as suggested by Bloch 1934 p. 191 come from Ap. gen.sg. /mahũ/, cp. S. /mũh/. How the /a/ coming from long /ā/ of Kṭg. obl. /tā:/, Kc /taũ/ should be explained is not easy to tell. The pronouns of the first and second person singular have influenced each other in NI in a capricious way. In Maṇḍeali spoken not far from Kṭg. the reverse distribution of the two vowels is seen in the obl. /mā/ and /tū/ (Bailey 1908 II p. 2). In some languages /ā/, /a/ has been generalized, in others /u/, e.g. Rajasthani, Guj. /ma/, /ta/; Singh. /mā/, /tā/; but Braj /muhi/, /tuhi/, H. /mujh/, /tujh/. Kyoṇṭhli has /mā̃/, /tā̃/.

The /u/ vowel of Kc. obl. /taũ/ may be related to that of Kc /am:u/, /tum:u/, probably also to that of Kṭg. obl. /tēu/ “him” and Kṭg Kc /āp:hu/ “self”, Kṭg Kc /ōr[°]u/ “to this side”, /pōr[°]u/ “to that side”. The /i/ vowel of Kc. instr. /muĩ/ and /taĩ/ seems to represent MI /-hi/, /-hī/ which in Apabhraṃśa forms the instrumental and the locative singular and plural (Alsdorf, Kumārapālapratibodha § 22, 28, 29).

The pss. forms /merɔ/-o/ and /terɔ/-o/ are widespread in NI, and so are in more or less the same form /m[°]ārɔ/, /mā:ro/ and /thārɔ/, /tumā:ro/. They contain the MI /kera-/ which has been mentioned earlier in connection with the possessive. Pischel refers in § 176 to Hemacandra’s Grammar II 147 which mentions as examples Pk. /amhakerɔ/ “our” and /tumbakerɔ/ “your”.

It is to be noticed that Kc. has possessive adjectives in the pronouns of the same kind as Kṭg. This means that the possessive and together with it the relational are organic members of the

inflectional system of the Kc. pronoun, whereas in the Kc. substantive they are expressed by periphrastic constructions.

The elements Kṭg /lɛ/, /dɪ/ and /ka/, Kc /khe/ and /ka/ which in all other instances are postpositions form one word together with the obl.sg. forms of the first and second person pronouns and thus have the status of case morphemes of the dative (/lɛ/ and /khe/), the locative (/dɪ/) and the ablative (/ka/). This applies also to /kɛ/. The amalgamation is evident from the sound changes which have occurred: shortening of the vocalic part of the pronoun (e.g. /mul:ɛ/), nasal instead of nasalization (/mʊndɪ/, /tandɪ/) and lengthening of the morpheme consonant (e.g. /muk:a/).

The pronouns of the third person

There are two pronouns of the third person, the remote pronoun dir.sg.m.f. Kṭg /s̄ɔ/ “he, she, it (over there); that” and the proximate pronoun dir.sg.m.f. Kṭg /jɔ/ “he, she, it (over here); this”. In Kc. the forms are: for the remote pronoun dir.sg.m. /s̄eo/, dir.sg.f. /s̄e/ and for the proximate pronoun dir.sg.m. /eo/, dir.sg.f. /e/.

None of the Himachali dialects use the remote pronominal base /u/ or /o/ found in a great number of NI languages, among them Hindi, Panjabi and Bengali. Himachali shares this peculiarity with a comparatively small number of languages, thus Marāṭhi, Gujērati, Assamese, Oṛiya and some Dardic and Kafir languages. Bhalesi and Bhadarvahi have the /u/, /o/ pronoun.

There is a distinction between the masculine and the feminine in the singular of the third person pronouns as well as in the relative and interrogative pronouns, this also being a rare feature. There are special forms for inanimate concepts.

The two pronouns have exactly the same inflection within either dialect; only the direct singular and plural deviate. The inflection of the proximate pronoun is as indicated below, if the direct forms are left out of consideration. The remote pronoun has a /t/ in front of the forms listed below: /t̄e:/, /t̄eu/ etc.

Obl.sg.m. Kṭg /ē:/, /ēu/; Kc /ē:/, /ēs/.
 Obl.sg.f. Kṭg /ē:/, /ēa/; Kc /īā/.
 Instr.sg.m. Kṭg /in:ɪ/, /in:iē/; Kc /iɲi/, /iɲia/.
 Instr.sg.f. Kṭg /ēɛ/, /ē:/; Kc /īā/.
 Rel.sg.m. Kṭg /ē:re/, /ēuɛ/; Kc /ē:re/, /ēsre/.
 Rel.sg.f. Kṭg /ēɛ/; Kc /īāre/.
 Pss.sg.m. Kṭg /ē:rɔ/, /ēuɔ/; Kc /ē:ro/, /ēsro/.
 Pss.sg.f. Kṭg /ēɔ/; Kc /īāro/.
 Obl.pl.m.f. Kṭg /in:^a/, /in:a/; Kc /īū/.

In the plural Kṭg. substitutes /-ɛ/ in the instrumental and the relational and /-ɔ/ in the possessive for the oblique morpheme /-a/.

In Kc. the plural forms add /-a/ in the instrumental, /-re/ in the relational and /-ro/ in the possessive.

The locative and ablative forms of the inanimate gender are identical with the non-nominal adverbs. In the remote pronoun the forms are in Kṭg /tēt:h/, /tɛt/; /tēt:hɛ/, /tɛt:ɛ/ “that (object or circumstance), in or with that (object or circumstance), therein or therewith” and /tēt:ha/, /tɛt:a/ “from that (object or circumstance), therefrom”. And in the same manner in the proximate pronoun: /ēt:h/, /ɛt/; /ēt:hɛ/, /ɛt:ɛ/ and /ēt:ha/, /ɛt:a/. The ablative form is used as the oblique base when followed by a postposition, e.g. /tēt:ha le/ “for that (therefor), to that (thereto)”. It is to be noticed that the oblique or ablative inanimate is also used in the plural, e.g. /tɛt:a mā:/ “among them” (cp. the corresponding English idiom “thereamong”). In Kc. the inanimate oblique forms are /tēth/, /tēt:hi/ and /ēth/, /ēt:hi/. The obl. sg.m. case is case of the object, also in the inanimate, e.g. Kc /ēs na dendo/ “I do not give this (thing)”.

There is consonant alternation in the remote pronoun of both dialects between the direct singular and plural, which have initial /s/, and the remaining forms which have initial /t/. Thus Kṭg dir.sg.m.f. /sɔ:/, /sɔa/; dir.pl.m.f. /sē:/, /sēa/; obl.sg.m. /tē:/, /tēu/, etc.: Kc dir.sg.m. /sēo/, f. /sē:/; dir.pl.m.f. /sē:/; obl.sg.m. /tē:/, /tēs/, etc. In Kṭg. the proximate pronoun has initial /ʃ/ in the direct singular /ʃɔ:/, /ʃɔa/ and plural /ʃɛ:/, /ʃɛa/ and, as we have seen, no initial consonant in the remaining case-forms. Kc. has vowel-initial forms in the whole inflection of the proximate pronoun; thus dir.sg.m. /eo/, f. /e:/, dir.pl.m.f. /e:/.

Kc dir.sg.m. /sēo/ and /eo/ must be interpreted as having the

morpheme /-o/ of the first declension, but at the same time as being solitary forms, since no other forms according to the first declension exist in the two Kc. pronouns. The direct case forms /s̄o:/ and /ʃo:/, /s̄ē:/ and /ʃē:/ of Kṭg. deviate from the first declension of the substantives in being monosyllabic and thus having stressed morphemes. Furthermore they are valid for the feminine as well as for the masculine. This last peculiarity is not of the same nature as that of H. /so/ since Hindi does not distinguish between the two genders in the pronoun at all. A clue is probably to be found in the fact that some Himachali dialects have /eh/ as the universal direct form of the proximate pronoun, e.g. Kyoṅṭhli. Also Kṭg. has had /eh/ beside /ʃo:/ in the dir.sg.m. and f. according to the LSI p. 655; likewise according to Bailey 1908, I p. 38 the closely related dialect Outer Siraji. It may be assumed with good reason that /eh/ from the outset belonged together with the obl.sg. /ēu/ and that it later was replaced by /ʃo:/ which took over the peculiarity of being valid for both genders. MI /eso/ in the masculine and /esā/ in the feminine both became /eh/ while /ʃo:/ goes back to the OI and MI pronoun /ayam/, /iyam/. The pronoun /ʃo:/ will be discussed later.

In Kṭg. the allegro forms /so/, /ʃo/, /sɛ/, /jɛ/ with short vowel and no tone are common. In the same way Kc. has /se/, /e/ beside /s̄ē:/, /e:/ in the dir.sg.f. and dir.pl.m.f.

As was shown with regard to the pronouns of the first and second persons there is also in the third person pronouns a certain agreement with the inflection of the substantives of the third and sixth declensions. The oblique plural inflection of Kṭg. which follows the third declension has been mentioned. That of Kc. with the oblique forms /tīū/ and /īū/ follows the sixth declension, adding the morpheme of the instrumental /-a/ and that of the possessive /-ro/ to the oblique.

The inflection of the oblique and instrumental singular feminine in Kc. follows the third declension. This is also the case in Kṭg. if /tēa/, /ēa/ are considered to be the regular forms of the obl.sg.f. If the shorter forms /tē:/, /ē:/ are chosen as the regular forms and those in final /a/ as alternatives, the inflection will be that of the sixth declension.

The inflection of the masculine in the singular differs sharply from the nominal inflection.

We have interpreted the possessive and relational forms as

forming one word in agreement with the first and second person pronouns, even if they could be understood to consist of two words.

Regarding the particularizing pronouns Kṭg /sēd:zɔ/, /ed:zɔ/, Kc /sēd:zɔ/, /ed:zɔ/ see p. 123 and p. 127.

The initial /s/ and /t/ of the remote pronoun are inherited from the OI and MI pronoun /sa-/: /ta-/. The /s-/ has been introduced into the dir.pl. Kṭg /sē:/, Kc /sē:/ instead of the /t-/ of OI and MI nom.pl. /te/. Kṭg dir.sg. /sō:/ is genetically identical with OI and MI /so/.

The proximate pronoun has a complex origin. Two OI pronouns seem to be at the root of it, namely the Sk. pronouns /etad/ and /idam/. Already in Apabhraṃśa the two pronouns have merged, see Tagare 1948 § 125, p. 241.

The base of the proximate pronoun is in most NI languages either /e/ or /i/. Also adverbs like MI /iha/, /ettha/ “here”, /evvā/ “thus” (cp. Kc. /ia/ “here”, Kṭg /ēt:h/, /ēt:hɛ/ “herein”, /ɛb:ɛ/ “now”) have influenced the pronoun. The /e/ of the Kc dir.sg. /eo/, /e:/ and dir.pl. /e:/ as well as of the obl.sg. forms Kṭg /ēu/ and Kc /ēs/ is in all probability identical with that of Sk. nom.sg.m. /eṣa/, f. /eṣā/, n. /etad/; Pk. /eso/, /esā/, /e(y)ā/; and Ap. /ehu/, /eha/, /eu/. More specifically the MI nominative forms Ap. /ehu/ m. and /eha/ f. seem to have led to Kc /e:/ which no doubt is genetically identical with Kyoṅṭhli dir.sg. and pl.m.f. /eh/, also found in other Himachali dialects, thus Baghaṭi, Sirmauri and Kului. However, in the masculine singular an /o/ has been added in Kc /eo/.

The Kṭg obl.sg.m. /ēu/ is indicated by the tone to have contained an /h/; it is probably connected with Ap. gen.abl.sg.m. /eyaho/, coming from Sk. /etasya/, with a final /o/, quite often also /u/, ultimately stemming from the abl. ending Sk. /-taḥ ~-to/ and the ending of the gen.sg. of athematic nouns Sk. /-aḥ ~-o/. The Ap. morpheme /-hu/ appears in the gen.abl.sg.m. /tahu/ of the remote pronoun.

The Kc obl.sg.m. /ēs/ contains an /s/ which ultimately goes back to Sk. /-sya/ in gen.sg.m.n. /etasya/, preserved in the Apabhraṃśa alternative form of the gen.abl.sg.m. /eyassa/, /eyassu/.

The remote pronoun has been influenced with regard to its vowels by the other pronoun. The result has been Kc dir.sg. /sēo/ and /sē/, obl.sg. /tēs/ and Kṭg /tēu/. The last word may have been transformed from Ap. gen.abl.sg.m. /tahu/.

When searching for forms with /i/ in the older stages of Indo-Aryan one finds that the source is not in all instances the pronoun /idam/ with its other base /ima-/, but that it at least to some extent is to be found in the remote pronoun /tad/. This is true of the obl.sg.f. where Kc /tīā/ is the older form in relation to the Kṭg. form /tē:/ . As can be concluded by the tone the form has contained an /h/. Kṭg /tē:/ is the regular outcome of */tihāa/ which also has led to Kc /tīā/, the nasalization being additional evidence of the former existence of an intervocalic /h/. The reconstructed form */tihāa/ goes back to /tissāya/ which is a gen.sg.f. form in Pali of the pronoun /tad/. On the pattern of Kc /tīā/ and Kṭg /tē:/ the proximate pronoun may have generated the forms /īā/ and /ē:/ . The corresponding forms of Kyoṅṭhli are obl.sg.f. /tessō/ and /essō/ with /-ō/ as the regular result of final /ā/ in that dialect. Kului has /tesā/ and /esā/ (Ṭhakur 1975 pp. 255, 258), and in Bhalesi /tesɪ/ and /ɪsɪ/ are the corresponding forms. All these words are evidently connected more or less directly with MI /tissāya/. Kṭg. has preserved the form in the idiom /tēs:i bāt:hi/ “by that way”. The final /i/ must be supposed to be the adverbial morpheme /-^ci/.

The instr. sg.m. Kc /tiṇi/ and /tiṇia/ are connected with the two MI forms /teṇa/ and especially /tiṇā/ which are the instr. sg.m.n. of /tad/ (Pischel §§ 425, 428). The /-i/ and /-ia/ are the adverbial morphemes. The proximate pronoun has /iṇi/ and /iṇia/. The corresponding forms of Kṭg. have a dental /n/: /tɪn:ɪ/, /tɪn:iɛ/ and /ɪn:ɪ/, /ɪn:iɛ/. The dental /n/ appears in the majority of the Himachali dialects as well as in other northern Himalayan languages. Thus Bagh. /tenne/, /enne/; Kyoṅṭh. /tinie/, /inie/; Maṇḍ. /tine/, /ine/; Bhal. /teni/, /ɪni/. The /ɪ/ of Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ/ and /ɪn:ɪ/ is due to the fact that the words are unstressed; they are usually spoken very rapidly. Kc /n/ is the regular result of a single intervocalic /n/. It is much more difficult to account for the dental /n/ of the Kṭg. form, also found, as has been mentioned, in a great number of other languages. Is it due to a MI lengthening of intervocalic /n/ of the same kind as that in Pk. /triṇṇi/ “three”?

The /n/ of the obl.pl. forms in Kṭg. is well-known from several other NI languages, e.g. obl.pl. H., Braj, Av. /tin/, /in/; H. /tinhō/, /inhō/; Pj. /tinhā/, /inhā/; S. /tinhane/, /inhane/. Within Himachali one finds Bagh. /tinnā/, /innā/; Kyoṅṭh. /ti(h)nō/, /i(h)nō/; Kuḷui /tinhā/, /inhā/. The /n/ is probably genetically identical with the /n/

and /ŋ/ of the gen.pl. morpheme OI /-nām/, MI /-nā/, e.g. Pk. /tāṇā/, /e(y)āṇā/. The /n/ was preserved in NI in the pronouns because it stood immediately after the stress syllable. The dental /n/ instead of the retroflex /ṅ/ which was to be expected (it appears in Raj. obl.pl. /tiṅā/, /iṅā/) is possibly due to the aspiration following the nasal in the forms mentioned as well as in Kṭg /tīn:^ca/, /iṅ:^ca/. The aspiration is a relic of a MI gen.pl. morpheme (cp. Ap. /-hā/) which has been pleonastically added to the elder gen.pl. morpheme in /n/, as has been suggested by H. Smith and J. Bloch 1934 p. 177. The addition should then have been so early as to prevent the change to retroflex /ṅ/. Or is the dental /n/ due to the same cause as that suggested for the instr.sg. Kṭg /tīn:1/, /iṅ:1/? The Kṭg. forms without aspiration and tone /tin:a/, /in:a/ are allegro forms of the same kind as the instr.sg. forms /tīn:1/, /iṅ:1/.

Another possible origin of the above mentioned forms may be briefly mentioned here. One cannot exclude that the MI base /iṅa-/ of the proximate pronoun (Pischel § 431) is at the root of them.

The Kc. obl.pl. forms /tīū/, /iū/ must have contained an intervocalic /h/ as indicated by the tone and nasalization, and shown by Jauns. obl.pl. /tehū/, /ihū/. There is little doubt that they contain the Ap. morpheme of the gen.pl. /-hū/, the same ending also appearing in the obl.pl. of the first and second person pronouns in Kc. /am:u/ and /tum:u/. The ending seems to have been added to the pronominal base /i/ and possibly also /ti/, perhaps in analogy with the inflection of nominal bases in /i/ in Apabhraṃśa. Apabhraṃśa has a proximate pronoun /ia-/ which may be involved in Kc /iū/. However, it must be admitted that the form is obscure.

Some of the alternative forms demand an explanation.

The obl.sg.m. in Kṭg. and Kc /tē:/, /ē:/ are especially often used when a postposition follows, and in Kṭg. they always appear in front of /-rɔ:/ /tē:rɔ/. An alternative possessive form in Kṭg. has in the same way as the nouns the possessive morpheme following the oblique base, /tēuɔ/. Kc. has /tē:ro/ beside /tēsro/.

In Kṭg. a number of monosyllabic vowel-final forms have an alternative form with an /a/ added. The /a/ seems to originate from the obl.sg.f. /tēa/, /ēa/ and to be of the same nature as the final /a/ in words which at some moment in the history of the language contained an /h/ followed by a now extinct vowel, e.g. /bē:/ beside

/bēa/ “wedding”, Sk. */vivāhah/*; */r5:/* beside */r5a/* “he remained” from */r5:ṇō/* (to be derived from the Sk. root */rah-/*). In the same way */tē:/*, as has been shown, contained an */h/*. The doublets */tē:/*: */tēa/* have led to the */a/* being added to such monosyllabic vocalic forms which had not already a dissyllabic side form (as the case is with */tē:/*: */tēu/*). In this way a syllabic harmony with the rest of the inflection was created. Such dissyllabic forms containing a vowel sequence in */a/* also occur in the relative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns. The forms in final */a/* are partly used for emphasis, and are partly *andante* forms. The oblique forms in */a/* are generally used independently while those without */a/* are used when a postposition follows.

Kṭg */jɔ/, /jε/*.

The forms of the direct singular and plural */jɔ/* and */jε/* of the proximate pronoun in *Kṭg.* are peculiar in having an initial */j/*. In H. Hendriksen’s article “Two Problems in New Indo-Aryan” BSOAS XX, 1957 p. 329–333, it is shown that their source probably is OI */iyam/* which in the eastern MI dialects is used in the masculine as well as the feminine. The Himachali dialect Jaunsari has in the proximate pronoun the following forms of the direct case, sg.m. */ejo/*, sg.f. */ejī/*, pl.m.f. */eje/* (obl.sg.m. */es/*) (LSI p. 391). *Kc* */ed:zo/* will be mentioned later. For the *Kc.* dialect of the Kuar valley Bailey gives from the same pronoun dir.sg.m. */jo/* (obl.sg.m. */eh/*) and dir.pl.m.f. */je/*; for the *Kc.* dialect of Jubbal dir.sg.m. */edzā/*, dir.sg.f. */edze/* and dir.pl.m.f. */edze/* (obl.sg.m. */eh/*, obl.pl. */in/*). In the *Kc.* dialect of Baghi Bailey writes the form for dir.sg.m. */eh dzo/* which is in all probability wrong for */edzo/*, influenced by the other form of the dir.sg.m.f. */eh/*. It seems to be due to native tradition; my informants were also inclined to write the form in two words (Bailey 1920 pp. 133, 160, 176).

Outside Himachali similar forms are found in a number of languages. Sindhi has dir.sg.m. */ijho/*, f. */ijhā/* and dir.pl.m.f. */ijhe/* (Trumpp 1872 p. 198; LSI VIII 1. p. 36); Braj dir.sg.m. */jao/*, f. */jā/* (Dh. Varma 1935 p. 80); Bundeli dir.sg. */jo/* (LSI IX 2, 1908, p. 9); the Kashmiri dialect Kishtavari dir.sg. */zi/* (LSI VIII 2 p. 362). It is possible, as mentioned by Grierson l.c.p.363, that also Shina (Guresi dialect) dir.sg.m. */žo/*, f. */že/* (Bailey 1924 p. 243) and the Kafir language Kati dir.sg.m. */ize/* (Konow 1913 p. 66) are related.

In Siraiki, /iho/ "this very" is pronounced /ižho/ according to Shackle, 1976, § 1.8.g.

The consonants in the above-mentioned words must go back to an OI and Early MI (Pali, Aśoka) geminated /y/ and a Later MI (Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa) geminated /j/. It is probable that it is the MI pronoun /iyam/ in the geminated form */iyyam/ which is at the root. The gemination is of the same kind as that in Pa. /hiyyo/, Pk. /hijjo/ "yesterday" which has become Kṭg /^hiz:/. There is no evidence in Early or Late MI of a form */iyyam/, */ijjam/. Pischel mentions in § 429, however, a curious word from the Deśīnāmamālā which may be related: /ajjho/ m., /ajjhā/ f. "mit dem auf eine anwesende Person hingewiesen wird". This appears to be an early instance of the gemination and of the aspiration appearing in Si. /ijho/. However, /ajjho/ must come from */ayyam/. Also the meaning of the MI word coincides with that of the Sindhi word rendered by Trumpp (l.c.p. 198) "this one present". The assumed gemination of /y/ in the pronoun can be ascribed to its emphatic or deictic nature. The aspiration of Si. /ijho/ is probably due to related pronouns, e.g. /iho/ which is another form of the proximate pronoun, according to Trumpp l.c.p. 196 meaning "this very, this here" (see J. Burton-Page BSOAS XXI, 1958, p. 174 foll.). The close correspondence of the MI and the NI word makes it less probable to derive /ajjho/ from Sk. /arhya/ "worthy, respectable"; besides, there is no indication that /ajjho/ had a honorific connotation.

The Sindhi pronoun /ijho/ occurs only in the direct singular and plural (see Trumpp 1872 p. 198). This is also the case with Kṭg /jɔ/, /jɛ/, as well as, judging by Bailey's and Grierson's descriptions, with Jaun. /ejo/ and the corresponding words in Kc. Kuar, Kc. Jubbal and Kc. Baghi. Also Kishtavari /zi/ seems only to be used in the direct case. This circumstance makes it highly probable that the words go back to the pronoun /iyam/ which in the same manner only occurs in the nominative, from which the direct is derived.

Beside /ejo/ Jaunsari has /eu/ in the direct case. A similar duality exists elsewhere, thus Kc /eo/ and /e/ as opposed to /edzo/, Kc. Baghi /eh/ as opposed to /edzo/. Sindhi has /iho/ and /io/ beside /ijho/, Braj /yao/ beside /jao/, Bundeli /e/ beside /jo/, Kishtavari /i/, /yi/ beside /zi/. It may here be mentioned that the dialect of Kumharsain, very close to Kṭg., has /ɔ/ beside /jɔ/. On this basis it may be assumed that MI had two forms of the pronoun "this", /iyam/ (and in certain

idioms /*ayam*/) from which the NI words without /*j*/ (/z/ etc.) came, and an emphatic form */*iyyam*/ (*/*ayyam*/) leading to the words containing /*j*/ or other consonants. The “unemphatic” forms either come more or less directly from /*iyam*/ (that may be the case with Si. /*io*/, also in one of the Kc. dialects, Bailey 1920 p. 148) or they have been intermingled with the OI pronoun /*eṣa*/. This explains the /*h*/ in Si. /*iho*/ and the /*e*/ in a great number of Himachali forms. In Himachali the /-*jo*/, /-*dzo*/ in /*ejo*/, /*edzo*/ has been felt as a convenient means to approximate the inflection of the pronouns to that of the adjectives. These elements have been extended to the oblique case and also to other pronominal bases: thus Kc /*sēd:zo*/, obl. /*sēd:ze*/ beside /*seo*/; the relative /*dzed:zo*/ beside /*dzv:ṇ*/; and the interrogative pronoun /*ked:zo*/ beside /*kv:ṇ*/. Cp. also Jaun. /*sojo*/ beside /*so*/ (/sojo/ only used in the direct as the case is with /*ejo*/). In Sindhi a similar extension has taken place: /*ujho*/ “that one present”, formed after /*ijho*/. Also Kṭg. has these extended pronouns. But Kṭg. /*ɛd:zo*/ is probably a loanword from some other Himachali dialect. The genuine Kṭg. word must be /*ʃo*/. In Kṭg. and Kc. the forms containing /*dz*/ have particularizing function: Kṭg. /*sēd:zo*/, Kc /*sēd:zo*/ “that particular (of a definite number)”; /*kɛd:zo*/, /*ked:zo*/ “which particular”, etc.

The /*ʃ*-/ of Kṭg. /*ʃo*/ poses a problem: /*dz*-/ should be expected. One way to account for this is to connect it with the fact that the word is monosyllabic, probably because it was stressed on the last syllable like /*sɔ̃*/. One may assume a development such as */*idzɔ́*/ > */*ḍzo*/ > */*dzḍo*/ > /*ʃo*/. For the epenthesis of /*i*/ cp. /*šrɛāl*/ “hair” from */*širāl*/ in the closely related Inner Siraji (Bailey 1908, I p. 49) and the regular epenthesis of unstressed initial /*u*/, /*o*/ in Kṭg. and Kc.

Finally it may be mentioned that also the /*o*/, /*u*/ pronoun has double-forms in certain NI languages, thus Braj /*bao*/, /*bo*/ “that one” beside /*wao*/, /*wo*/; Bundeli /*bō*/ m., /*bā*/ f. beside /*ū*/. See Dh. Varma 1935 § 168. The /*b*/ is probably due to a gemination of /*v*/ and would thus lend support to the explanation of Kṭg. /*ʃo*/ etc. advanced above.

Grierson’s suggestion in the LSI p. 655 that Kṭg. /*ʃo*/ is in origin a relative pronoun used in the same way as in Rajasthani with the function of a third person pronoun is not tenable. It is true that there are several examples of this use in the text-pieces in vol. IX 2

of the LSI treating Rajasthani, but it is evident that the feature is of a special nature. The relative pronoun or adverb occurs in the beginning of the sentence pointing back to the preceding sentence, e.g.p.77, l. 3 "He went to a man in that country. By whom /jini/ he was sent to the fields to feed the swine". Sometimes there is a whole chain of such inter-connected sentences, e.g.p.68, l. 27. "The elder son came home. When /jad/ he heard dance and music. Whereon /jarai/ he asked a servant what it was. When /jad/ the servant answered". It is evidently a stylistic feature, hardly belonging to the colloquial language.

Kṭg /jɔ/ and the other above-mentioned pronouns from Himachali dialects are used in the way normal for third person pronouns. The Kishtavari, Shina and Kati pronouns mentioned p. 121 cannot come from the OI relative pronoun since initial /y/ is kept unchanged in those languages.

In Braj and Bundeli the use of respectively /jao/ and /jo/ "this" has nothing to do with that of the relative pronoun which clearly appears from the examples given by Dh. Varma 1935 and the LSI: e.g. Braj /jā kā kī ammā hae/ "whose mother is this?" (Varma p. 80), Bundeli /jo sab kā hot/ "what is all this?" (LSI IX 1 p. 417).

Note. It should be mentioned as a possibility that the adjectives Kṭg /ɛd:zɔ/, Kc /ed:zo/ etc. may contain the enclitic adjective Kṭg /dzɔ/ "like". In that case their origin is different from that of Kṭg /jɔ/, Braj /jao/, Bundeli /jo/, Kishtavari /zi/ and Shina /zo/.

The relative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns

The inflection of these pronouns resembles closely that of the third person pronouns. It is more or less defective.

The characteristic sound of the relative pronoun is an initial /dz/, genetically identical with OI /y/ and LMI /j/, while that of the interrogative as well as the indefinite pronouns is an initial /k/, identical with OI and MI /k/.

The relative and interrogative pronouns have a form ending in /v:ɳ/ in the dir.sg.pl. m. and f., thus Kṭg Kc /dzv:ɳ/ and /kv:ɳ/. In addition, Kc. has in the relative pronoun dir.sg.m. /dzeo/, dir.sg.f.

/dze/ and dir.pl.m. and f. /dze/. In Kṭg., /dzɔ/ is rarely heard in the dir.sg.m. and f. Hindi has /jaun/ and /kaun/ corresponding to /dzv:ɳ/ and /kv:ɳ/. Similar forms in the interrogative pronouns are found in a great number of NI languages (see the survey in Tagare 1948 p. 256). It is evident that the direct form of the relative pronoun has been formed on the pattern of the interrogative pronoun. The source of /kv:ɳ/ is to be sought in Apabram̐śa which has nom.sg.m.n. /kavaṇu/, nom.sg.f. /kavaṇa/; instr. sg.m. /kavaṇeṇa/. That the Ap. word belongs together with Pali /ko pana/ as mentioned by Bloch 1934 p. 202 and Tagare 1948 p. 257 is very probable. However, one might wonder if MI */ko puna/ would not be a more probable source of some of the NI words, among them Him. /kv:ɳ/ and Nep. /kun/.

The instrumental singular has been formed in analogy with the form of the third person pronoun, the result being Kṭg /dzuɳi/, /dzuɳiɛ/ and Kc /dzuɳi(a)/; Kṭg /kuɳi/ /kuɳiɛ/ and Kc /kuɳi(a)/. This form is also used in the plural; also the other singular forms can be used in the plural.

The forms of the obl.sg.m. /dzɔ:/ and /kɔ:/ in Kṭg. come from Ap. gen.sg.m. */jahu/ and /kahu/, while Kc /dzas/ and /kas/ go back to Ap. /jassa/ and /kassa/. The final /a/ of Kṭg /dzɔa/ and /kɔa/ is due to the inherent */h/. The obl.sg.f. has these same forms, or /dzɛ:/, /kɛ:/ in Kṭg., /dzīā/, /kīā/ in Kc.

In the inanimate gender the Kṭg. obl. forms /dzīu/ and /kīu/ contain the vowel /i/ of the base /ki-/ of the neuter form of the OI and MI interrogative pronoun with the Ap. morpheme of the gen.sg. /hu/. It is to be noticed that /kīu/ can be used as an attribute to the feminine substantive /gɔl/ "talk, matter" in the expression /kīu gɔl:a d/ "in which matter", evidently a construction ad sensum. Notice the adverbs Kṭg /kil:ɛ/ and Kc /kel:a/ "why" with the same unification as in /mul:ɛ/ "to me", /tal:ɛ/ "to thee", etc.

The dir.sg. inanimate Kṭg /kɛ/ "what" corresponds to Pj. /kiā/, H. /kyā/ and contains the usual result of /yā/ in Kṭg., namely /ɛ/. The Kc /ka:/ is rather puzzling. It is not the regular correspondent of Kṭg /kɛ/, H. /kyā/, etc.

As in the third person pronouns the relative and interrogative adverbs may be used for the oblique inanimate: Kṭg /dzɛt:hɛ/, /dzɛt:ha/ and /kɛt:hɛ/, /kɛt:ha/, Kc /dzɛth/, /dzɛt:hi/ and /kɛth/, /kɛt:hi/.

The indefinite pronoun is very defective. There is no distinction between masculine and feminine, nor between singular and plural. The forms consist of the interrogative forms after which an /i/, genetically connected with OI /api/ or /cit/, follows. The dir.sg. and pl.m.f. /koi/ comes from Sk. /ko'pi/, Pk. /ko vi/ and/or Pa. /ko ci/. Obl.m.f. Kc /kās:i/, Kṭg /kās:i/ and obl. inanimate /kīui/ contain the oblique form of the interrogative pronoun, the Kṭg. form being remarkable in having an /s/ which is not found anywhere else in pronouns in that dialect. The dir.sg. inanimate is /kītsh/ which according to CD 3144 *kiṃcid* is Pk. /kacchi/ “somebody” from OI /kaścit/ influenced in its vowel by /kī/ “what”. In Kc., /kutsh/ seems to be more common, having the change to /u/ which appears in a number of other words. In the oblique the interrogative pronoun may function as an indefinite pronoun.

Remarks on the syntax of the pronouns

If a pronoun is attributive to a substantive in the instrumental it appears itself in that case, e.g. Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ pərō:tɛ bol:ɔ/, Kc /tiṇia pərō:ta bol:ɔ/ “the priest said”. In the other cases the oblique is used. Note in the relational: Kṭg /tēu pərō:tɛ/ where the oblique /tēu/ agrees with the oblique form inherent in the relational in the same way as in Kc /tēs pərō:ta re/.

A pronominal object is put in the oblique: Kṭg /ʃɛ kuk:əɾ d^cɛɾa mū:/ “these dogs will flay me”; /mū: tā: ɖau/ “I will employ you”; /sɔ tum:a bɪ poru khā:/ “he will also eat you”; /tēa ʃiḡ^cɾɛ aṇ/ “bring her here quickly!”; /ɪn:^ca dzɛla lɛ pao b^citrɛ/ “put them in prison!”; Kc /tu:āś:a lo es khəra:b kōrea/ “you will have spoilt it when you come”; /īā kōru āū eb:i dziundi/ “I will now revive her”. The pronominal direct forms were inapplicable because they, going back to OI and MI nominative forms, have preserved the function of that case. See above.

Another remarkable feature is the use of the oblique form or the form having /ka/ as postposition or, more frequently, morpheme, to express the relational or the dative. This is evidence of the original broad function of the oblique and the element /ka/, reminiscent of the Kc use of adverbs in /a/ in a locative function. The relational and dative function of the oblique also reminds one of the fact that

it goes back to the MI genitive and of the relational function of the OI and MI genitive. This use is especially common in the pronouns of the first and second persons.

Use of the oblique in function of the relational: WKc /tū e kəta:b neī tshēī pāṛ^cne/ “you ought not to read this book”; Kc /am:u ja: lo b^cōk:ha mārno/ “we will have to die from hunger”; Kṭg /a:dz ʿəm:a rākṣa loṛi loṛio e:k m^cin:ɔ ʿūi gɔ/ “to-day one month has passed for us searching for a troll”.

The LSI mentions on p. 483 examples from the Himachali dialect Sirmauri with the oblique form in the function of dative: /se mū: de/ “give that to me!” and p. 463 /ε: rupja tes de/ “give this rupee to him!”.

Instances with /ka/ used in relational and dative function: Kc /ka tak:a kūtsh na šūṇ^cuo/ “could you not hear anything?”; /muk:a iā gab:i de/ “give me this cow!”.

This feature is related to the Hindi pronominal forms /mujhe/, /tujhe/, /hamē/, /tumhē/ and their use. Concerning Braj see Dh. Varma 1935 §§ 160, 166, 173, 179, 183, 188.

Bailey mentions in LSt H (1920) p. 211 and p. 222 a similar use of the oblique form in the pronouns in the Himachali dialects Eastern Suketi and Suket Siraji which are closely related to Kṭg.

THE PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES

Certain adjectives occur in sets, each containing four adjectives characterized by their interchangeable initial sounds, namely 1. /t-/ , in one set /s-/ , 2. /Ø-/ , 3. /dz-/ and 4. /k-/ . By these sounds the adjectives are indicated to have remote, proximate, relative and interrogative meaning respectively. There are four sets, a few of them containing alternative forms. When represented by their Kṭg form the meanings of the first set are: 1. /sēd:zɔ/ ~ /tēd:zɔ/ “that particular (over there)”, 2. /ēd:zɔ/ “this particular (over here)”, 3. /dzēd:zɔ/ “which particular (rel.)” and 4. /kēd:zɔ/ “which particular (interr.)”. Indicated by the first adjective of each set, the meanings of the other sets are: /tēṅɔ/ “of that kind”, /tetrɔ/ “so big, so much”, /tet:i/ “so much, so many”. The Kc meanings are the same as those mentioned for Kṭg. The adjectives of the fourth set are uninflected

in both dialects. The three other sets follow the first adjective class. The Kt̥g alternative /t̥ɛd:zɔ/ is rare.

I. 1. Kt̥g /s̥ɛd:zɔ/ ~ /t̥ɛd:zɔ/, Kc /s̥ɛd:zɔ/. 2. Kt̥g /ɛd:zɔ/, Kc /ed:zɔ/. 3. Kt̥g /dzɛd:zɔ/, Kc /dzɛd:zɔ/. 4. Kt̥g /kɛd:zɔ/, Kc /ked:zɔ/.

II. 1. Kt̥g /t̥ɛɲɔ/, Kc /t̥ɪɲɔ/. 2. Kt̥g /ɛɲɔ/, Kc /ɪɲɔ/. 3. Kt̥g /dzɛɲɔ/, Kc /dzɪɲɔ/. 4. Kt̥g /kɛɲɔ/, Kc /kɪɲɔ/.

III. 1. Kt̥g /tetrɔ/, Kc /tetɲɔ/. 2. Kt̥g /etrɔ/, Kc /etɲɔ/. 3. Kt̥g /dzetrɔ/, Kc /dzetɲɔ/. 4. Kt̥g /ketrɔ/, Kc /ketɲɔ/.

IV. 1. Kt̥g /tet:i/, Kc /tet:i/ ~ /tetri/. 2. Kt̥g /et:i/, Kc /et:i/ ~ /etri/. 3. Kt̥g /dzet:i/, Kc /dzet:i/ ~ /dzetri/. 4. Kt̥g /ket:i/, Kc /ket:i/ ~ /ketri/.

It is remarkable that the first adjective in the first set starts with /s/ while /t/ is the initial consonant in the other sets. This indicates a difference in the genetic process: while the sets two to four are old, more or less directly inherited from MI and OI, the first set is comparatively recent. As has been mentioned above p. 123 while treating the proximate pronoun, it originated in this pronoun and was in the beginning limited to the direct case, only later to be extended to the remote pronoun and still later to the relative and interrogative pronouns, and used in all cases. In the remote pronoun the last syllable /dzo/, and in other dialects /jo/ (/j/ = /j̃/), was added to the form of the direct case which occurs in Baghaṭi and Kyoṅṭhli as /se/. This development is still apparent in Jaunsari which has /sojo/ in the dir.sg.m., /sojī/ in the dir.sg.f. and /soje/ in the dir.pl. beside /so/ used in the dir.sg.m.f. and in the dir.pl. In the proximate pronoun Jaunsari has /ejo/ etc. beside /eū/. As has been mentioned above the Jaunsari forms with /-jo/ etc. only occur in the direct. See LSI p. 391.

As for the other pronominal adjectives, Kt̥g /t̥ɛɲɔ/ can be traced back to MI (Pa.) /tādina-/, having developed from Sk. /tādr̥k/; Kc /ɪɲɔ/ in the same way goes back to MI */idina-/ from Sk. /īdr̥k/; and /tet:i/, /et:i/ to Pk. /tattia-/, Ap. /tettia-/, Sk. /tati/ and Pk. /ettia-/, Sk. /iyattaka-/ with /e/ from the proximate pronoun and adverbs. See CD no. 1589 iyattaka- and no. 5641 *tattika- where also the suffixes with /r/ and /ɲ/ appearing in /tetrɔ/, /tetɲɔ/ are mentioned.

As for pronominal adverbs see the chapter on adverbs.

THE ADVERBS

Only such adverbs as are characterized by certain morphemes belong to the grammar. Thus adverbs like *Kṭg* /^{ci}z:/, *Kc* /^{ci}:dz/ “yesterday” will not be treated here. The adverbs may be divided into two classes, 1. nominal and 2. non-nominal. Both classes are connected with the noun, the nominal adverbs by being derived from nouns by means of certain morphemes, and the non-nominal adverbs by having the same morphemes without being derived from nouns from a descriptive point of view. Some of the non-nominal adverbs, besides being adverbs, also function as postpositions.

1. The nominal adverbs have the following morphemes: a. *Kṭg* /-ε/, *Kc* /-ε/. b. *Kṭg Kc* /-a/. c. *Kṭg Kc* /-^{ci}i/ /-i/. d. *Kṭg* /-^{ci}ε/ /-iε/, *Kṭg Kc* /-^{ci}ia/ /-ia/. e. *Kṭg* /-kε/, *Kṭg Kc* /-ka/.

All these morphemes are primary, following the short base.

a. A limited number of substantives following the third declension and having the morpheme /-ε/ are used as adverbs in *Kṭg*.

/g^cḏrε/ “at home, home” from /g^cḏ:r/.

/^{ci}undε/ “in winter” from /^{ci}und/.

/bəršā!ε/ “in summer” (/bəršā:l/).

/mūε/ “in(to) the mouth” (/mū:/).

/^{ci}āt:hε/ “to hand”, e.g. /ʃo tē:rε lag:ḡ ^{ci}āt:hε/ “that came him to hand” (/^{ci}āt:h/).

/kam:ε/ “of use” from /ka:m/ “work, use”, e.g. /ʃo ā: tē:rε kam:ε/ “that is of use to him” (lit. “that comes usefully for him”).

/ḏa!ε/ from /ḏa:l/ “tree”, e.g. /so ḏa!ε ḏeua/ “he goes up on the tree”, i.e. “he is conceited”.

/sōrgε/ “up in the air” from /sōrg/, /sōræg/ “sky, air”.

/ḏəpā:rε/ “at noon” from /ḏəpā:r/.

With the names of the months: /tsetrε/ “in the month tset:ər”, /bəšēε/ etc., all of them following the third declension, except /kat:iε/ from /kat:i/, which follows the second declension.

In poetry there are, as is to be expected, still a number of examples, e.g. /dešēε/ “in the country”, /pōlgε/ “on the bed”, and from a substantive of the sixth declension: /dud^uε/ “on the breast”.

The only example from *Kc*. seems to be /bere/ from /be:r/ in /ek:i

bere/ “once”, /pɛ:li bere/ /duj:i bere/ “first time, second time” (Kṭg. uses /bēr^ci/ here with another adverbial morpheme: /-^ci/).

This morpheme has the function of a locative as appears from the examples. It goes back to a MI locative ending, Ap. /-ahi/.

b. The morpheme /-a/ has a very restricted use when employed in colloquial language in nominal adverbs. See below 2.

/g^cḍra/ means in Kṭg. “from home”, in Kc. “at home”. The same difference of meaning in the two dialects appears in other adverbs indicating place and time, i.e. in Kṭg an ablative function, in Kc. a broader function which approaches that of the locative.

The following example is from poetry: /kəm^caršəṇa/ “from Kumharsain”, Texts p. 94 v. 2 /para kəm^caršəṇa kaḡlɪ aɪ/ “from K. over there a letter came”.

Judging from these instances the morpheme /-a/ only appears in third declension nouns.

This morpheme comes from a MI ablative ending, Pk. /-āō/ or Ap. /-aha/. The same ending appears more or less sporadically in languages spoken in the neighbourhood of Kṭg. Kc. or farther to the north and west. Thus Kyoṇṭhli /phā/ “from” (L S I p. 562) from */pahā/, cp. P. /pās/ /pāh/ “near”, /pāsō/ “from”, Pk. /passāō/, abl. of /passa-/ from Sk. /pārśvam/ “side, flank”. Cameali has /mañjhā/ “from among”: /mañjh/ “in” (L S I p. 778), cp. Kṭg. Kc. /mānd:z^ci/ “in the middle”, Sk. /madhyaḥ/ “middle, centre”. In Bhalesi the ending belongs to the case-system in all the declensions and even appears in the pronoun, thus abl. sg. from /ghoṛo/ m. (1. decl.) “horse” /gho^rra/; from /juṭṭɪ/ f. (2. decl.) “shoe” /juṭṭi^a/; from /ghar/ n. (3. decl.) “house” /gha^rra/; and /ɪ'sa/ abl. sg.m.f. of the pronoun /i/ “this” (Varma 1948 p. 32 foll.). Bhalesi has the adverb-postposition /pu^rra/ “from on” beside /puṛ/ “on” (Varma 1948 p. 28). It is to be noticed that the morpheme bears the stress in Bhalesi, a consequence of the long vowel in the penultimate syllable in MI /-āō/. It may be pointed out here that Bailey 1920 p. 162 has noticed that the adverb /i^tā/ “here, from here” in the Koci-Kuari dialect has the stress on the second syllable. From a language area outside Himachali the following may be mentioned: Ḍogri (Shankar 1931 p. 22) /šèra/ “from the city” from /šèr/ and Shankar p. 17 /ca/ “from in”, ablative of the postposition /c/ “in” (</vic/).

c. Adverbs in /-ci/ /-i/.

The /^c/ indicates aspiration, i.e. /^c/ after a voiced consonant, /h/ after an unvoiced. In our description the aspiration has been detached from the aspirates because the morphological structure on this point conflicts with the phonological description chosen by us.

Ktḡ /d^cēr|^ci/ -i/, Kc /d^cjār|^ci/ -i/ “daily” from /d^cērɔ/, but with the morpheme /-ε/: Ktḡ /d^cērε/ “in day-time”.

Ktḡ /bē|^ci/-i/, Kc /bjā|^ci/ -i/ “in the evening” from Ktḡ /bε:l/ f., obl. /-a/, Kc /bja:l/ f., obl. /-a/.

Ktḡ /dōt:|hi/ -i/ “early in the morning” from /do:t/ f.

/n^cēr|^ci/ -i/ “in darkness” from /n^cērɔ/.

/bēr|^ci/ -i/ in /ek:i bēr^ci/ “once”, /pē:li bēr^ci/ “the first time” from /be:r/ f., obl. /-a/ “time, occasion”.

Ktḡ /bāt:|hi/ -i/, adverb and postposition, “by way of, through” from /ba:t/ f., obl. /-a/ “way”. Kc. /bat:i/ with the same function, from /ba:t/ “way”.

Derived from adjectives:

Ktḡ /ēṇ|^ci/ -i/ “in this way”, and similarly /tēṇ|^ci/ -i/, /kēṇ |^ci/ -i, /dzēṇ|^ci/ -i/ from /eṇɔ/ /ēṇ^cɔ/, etc.

The fact that the morpheme /-ci/ -i/ is primary appears from the relation between /d^cērɔ/ and /d^cēr^ci/, between /n^cērɔ/ and /n^cēr^ci/ and between /eṇɔ/ and /ēṇ^ci/. The morpheme replaces the suffix /-ɔ/ and thus attaches itself to the short base.

The origin of the morpheme is rather complex. One possibility is that the MI (Ap.) locative morpheme /-hi/ /-hī/ is at the root of it, possibly loc.pl. /-ehī/, cp. P /-ī/. Or is it abstracted from the following morpheme?

d. Adverbs in /-ciε/ /-iε/ and /-cia/ /-ia/.

A few of these adverbs have counterparts among those mentioned under c.

Ktḡ /bē|^ciε/ -iε/ “in the evening”.

/dōt:|hiε/ -iε/ “in the morning”.

/n^cēr|^ciε/ -iε/ “in darkness”.

/ēṇ|^ciε/ -iε/ “in this way”.

/khūš:iε/ “happily” from /khūš:ɪ/ “happiness”.

/b^cūk:hiε/ “because of hunger” (from /b^cūk:h/), e.g. /b^cūk:hiε tē:re na āi ṇi:ṇj/ “he could not fall asleep because of hunger” (lit. “sleep did not come for him”).

/cīš:iε/ “because of thirst”, from /cīš/ f., obl. /-a/.

/prēš:iε/ “at daylight” (/prēš:ɔ/), e.g. /'n^cēr'prēš:iε sō ūd:z^cu/ “at daybreak he got up”.

/rac:iε/ “during the night”, e.g. /e:k šēlɔ rac:iε b^càg:ɔ/ “a jackal ran away in the night”, from /ra:c/, obl. /-i/.

The adverbs in /-ia/ are properly Kc forms, but are also sometimes used in Ktg.

Ktg Kc /tsoria/, Ktg /tsoriε/ “stealthily” from /tsori/ -e/ Ktg Kc “theft”.

Ktg /d^cērⁱia lε/ “for ever”. Cp. /d^cērⁱ/ “daily”.

The source of /-iε/, /ia/ seems in a few instances to be the instrumental of second declension substantives: /khūš:-iε/ from /khūš:1/ and /tsoria/ from /tsore/; /rac:iε/ may be wrong for /rac:iε/ (the phonetic difference is minimal, hardly audible), likewise instrumental according to the fourth declension, from /ra:c/. The ending may have been abstracted from instances like that and may have spread to other paradigms, at the same time being associated with the morpheme /-i/ -i/. At any rate, from a descriptive point of view /-iε/, /-ia/ are to be interpreted as primary morphemes.

e. The morphemes /-kε/ and /-ka/ follow the bases of a few nouns. The same phonological units also appear as postpositions following the oblique case of substantives. One cannot consider /kε/ and /ka/ to be morphemes in such instances because that would be contrary to the principle followed by us, namely that a word can contain two heavy vowels at the most. In e.g. */g^cɔraka/ and most other similar instances there would be three heavy vowels. In the words to be mentioned, however, it is necessary to treat the same units as morphemes as they follow the bases /rac-/ , /εɲ-/ , /^catsh-/ , /g^cɔr-/ , /kam-/ which cannot be considered to be words (see p. 60).

Examples:

Ktg /g^cɔrke/ “at home”.

/kamkε/ “of use” from /ka:m/ m. “work, use”.

/rackε/ “in the night”.

From adjectives:

/εɲkε/ “thus” and in the same manner /tεɲkε/, /kεɲkε/, /dzeɲkε/.

/'ātshkε/ “well” from /^cāt:shɔ/.

Due to the existence of an adjective suffix /-kɔ/, found in precisely two of the above cases (/kamkɔ/ “useful” and /rackɔ/

“nightly”), one cannot dismiss the possibility that /-kε/ is the same suffix in the oblique form. This, however, cannot be the case with /-ka/ in the following example.

Kc /g^còrka/ “at home”. The meaning of this adverb agrees with that of Kc /g^còra/ and other Kc adverbs in /-a/.

The most probable genetic explanation of these examples is that the same words which in independent use finally became postpositions governing their substantives in the oblique, could also enter into composition with the noun, eventually becoming adverbial suffixes.

Another example of the same kind may be mentioned here even if it is not a nominal adverb: /agdı/ “in front, forward” with the base of /ag:ε/ “in front” (Sk./agra-/ “top, front”) and /-dı/, otherwise used as a postposition meaning “in” (from Sk. /antike/ “in the neighbourhood”). From the Rampur dialect which is closely related to Ktg. Bailey mentions LSt.Him 1920 p. 131 the following nominal adverb: gauhr dīa “in the house” beside gauhr kě and gauhre. Apart from the strange “phonetic” notation and the interpretation as a construction of substantive with postposition gauhr kě corresponds exactly to /g^còrkε/ and gauhre to /g^còrε/; dīa must be a form with /-ia/ corresponding to /dı/ so that gauhr dīa, /g^còrdia/, would be an alternative of /g^còrdı/.

2. The non-nominal adverbs which also function as postpositions (apart from those listed under b. below) have on the whole the same morphemes as mentioned under 1.

Ktg has sets of contrasting adverbs of place and time. In each set the first adverb, the locative adverb, indicates the place where or the moment when, the second, the ablative adverb, the place from where or the moment from or after which. The locative adverbs have the morphemes /-ε/ or /-^ci/-i/, the ablative adverbs the morpheme /-a/. Cp. /g^còrε/ “at home”: /g^còra/ “from home”.

The ablative adverbs function also as oblique forms followed by a postposition, e.g. /bā:ra lε/ “out”.

- a. /ore/ “on this side”: /ora/ “from this side”.
 /pore/ “on the other side”: /pora/ “from the other side”.
 /gāε/<*/gahε/ “above, on”: /gā:/<*/gaha/ “from above”.
 /paṛε/ “down, under”: /paṛa/ “from under”.

/b^{ɔ̄}itrɛ/ “inside”: /b^{ɔ̄}itra/ “from inside”.
 /bā:rɛ/ “outside”: /bā:ra/ “from outside”.
 /toḷi/ “below”: /toḷa/ “from below”.

b. /tēt:hɛ/ “thereat, at that”: /tēt:ha/ “therefrom, from that”.

Correspondingly /ēt:hɛ/: /ēt:ha/.

/tid:i/ “there”: /tid:a/ “from there”.

Correspondingly /indi/: /inda/, /kid:i/: /kid:a/, /dzid:i/: /dzid:a/.

/tɛb:ɛ/ “then, at that moment”: /tɛb:a/ “from then”.

Correspondingly /ɛb:ɛ/: /ɛb:a/, /kɛb:ɛ/: /kɛb:a/, /dzɛb:ɛ/: /dzɛb:a/.

Followed by a postposition, e.g. /kɛb:a tɛĩ/ “for how long?”, /tid:a lɛ/ “towards there”.

Here /tɛt:hɛ/, /tid:i/, /tɛb:ɛ/ were from the outset nothing but adverbs, thus beside /tēt:hɛ/ the adverbs /tēt:h/ /tɛt:/ occur; also, beside /ēt:hɛ/, /ēt:h/ /ɛt:/. They acquired the originally nominal morphemes /-ɛ/ and /-a/ from words like /g^{ɔ̄}rɛ/: /g^{ɔ̄}ra/ and the first seven sets mentioned above starting with /orɛ/ which were originally nouns.

The adverbs mentioned under b. cannot function as postpositions.

c. Kc. did not develop contrasting sets in the same way as Kṭg. In Kc. the /-a/ morpheme has not the ablative function. It indicates location in a way similar to the Kṭg locative adverbs. Kc /tid:a/ means “there”; /g^{ɔ̄}ra/, /g^{ɔ̄}rka/ “at home”, /bā:ra/ “outside”, /paṛa/ “under”, /toḷa/ “below”, /tab:a/ “then, at that moment”. Notice also: Kṭg /sūl:ɛ/, Kc /sūl:a/ “quietly, silently”; Kṭg /kal:ɛ/, Kc /kal:a/ “tomorrow”. With very few exceptions, like /pāt:shɛ/ “behind”, there are no counterparts of the Kṭg locative adverbs in Kc. The ablative meaning is expressed by means of the postposition /ka/ in Kc., /tid:a ka/ “from there”, /g^{ɔ̄}ra ka/ “from home” etc., the same means, by the way, also used in Kṭg. beside the ablative adverbs, /tid:a/, /tid:a ka/; /bā:ra/, /bā:ra ka/ etc. It is possible that the Kc. function of the /-a/ forms reflects an old state of things. One is reminded of the fact that /-a/ is the oblique ending of the substantives following the third declension. The oblique was used in a broad undifferentiated function of mode and location. Certain features in the use of the pronouns point in the same direction, see p. 126 f.

d. There are a great number of adverbs in /^ci/ i/ in Kṭg. Kc. Two have already been mentioned: /toḷi/ and /tid:i/. In addition to the locative adverbs in /-ε/ one can mention: Kṭg /ōr^ci/ -i/, /pōr^ci/ -i/, Kṭg Kc /pār^ci/ -i/, /b^citri/, Kṭg /bār^ci/ -i/. The adverbs Kṭg Kc /tēt:hi/ -i/ and Kṭg Kc /tēb:^ci/ -i/ have emphatic meaning: “exactly there” and “at that very moment”. The emphatic particle /-^ci/ /-i/ and the adverbial morpheme have coalesced.

The well-known coupling together of the two morphemes /-^ci/ -i/ and /-^ciε/ -iε/ is also seen here: beside /tēb:^ci/ also Kṭg /tēb:^ciε/, Kc /tēb:^cia/ occurs, and in the same way J gives tethiá “at the very spot” beside tethí “there” (thus according to him only emphatic in the first case); further J toḷiyá “below” beside /toḷi/ and +/mathia/ “above” beside Kc /māt:hi/.

e. /-š̥ε/, /-ša/. Kṭg. has a number of adverbs with a characteristic morpheme beginning with /š̥/ and containing /ε/ in the locative and /a/ in the ablative. An idea like neighbourhood, side, region is attached to its meaning. There are two examples with the contrast locative: ablative in the material.

/ōr̥š̥ε/ “on this side”: /ōr̥ša/ “from this side”.

/tōš̥:ε/ “at the nether side”: /tōš̥:a/ “from the nether side” (from */toḷ̥-š̥ε/, */toḷ̥-ša/).

/āg̥š̥ε/ “at the front side”.

/pət̥shāūš̥ε/ “at the back side”.

/b^cit̥ər̥ša/ “from the inside”.

/bā:r̥ša/ “from the outside”.

No examples are found in Kc. The southern Himachali dialect Jaunsari has /bārāš̥i/, /bārāš̥ō/ “outside”, /āgāš̥ō/ “in front” (/ō- is the outcome of final /-ā/ in Jaunsari; the /-ī/ in /-š̥ī/ may be the adverbial morpheme mentioned above). The word /pachāš̥ū/ “rear” seems to be a substantive (LSI pp. 413, 414, 429). Outside Himachali Dogri offers examples of a similar feature involving the possessive of the personal pronoun: /mere-āš̥ε/ “with me”, /mere-āš̥ē/ “from me” (Shankar, 1931, p. 14 and p. 17). Shankar mentions the alternative constructions /mere pāš̥ε/ and /mere pāš̥ē/ with the substantive /pās̥/ “side, neighbourhood” coming from Sk. /pārśvam/ “side (of the body), flank” which also must be at the root of Kṭg /-š̥ε/, /-ša/. The adverbs with this morpheme are no doubt old compounds with the compound member reduced, i.e. with /-š̥ε/ coming from

*-/pšɛ/, and this again from */pāšɛ/ (a similar phonetic change possibly lies at the root of the diminutive suffix /-tu/ < */-bṭu/ < */-beṭu/, see p. 80). Is the /ā/ appearing in front of /š/ in Jaunsari /bārāšō/ etc. part of the word */pāš-/ and comparable to the /ā/ in Ḍogri /mere- āsɛ/?

It may be mentioned in this connection that Ḍogri has a morpheme /šā/ “from”, e.g. /mere-šā/ “from me”, /richɛ-šā/ “from a bear” (Shankar 1931 p. 17). The Ḍogri and Kṭg. morphemes have nothing in common from a genetic point of view. Ḍogri /š/ is the regular outcome of OI /(c)ch/, /kʃ/, MI /(c)ch/ which becomes /tsh/ in Himachali. Shankar gives l.c. the alternative expression /mere kʌšā/, where the latter word corresponds to /kachā/ “from” in the northern Himalayan languages Cameali and Bhaṭeali (Bailey 1908 III pp. 4, 19). These words are ablative forms of what in Kṭg. appears as /kāt:sh/ “armpit”, and in Panjabi as /kach/ from Sk. /kākṣā/, Pk. /kacchā/ “armpit” with a similar semantic change as that seen in Ḍogri /-āseā/, Kṭg /-ša/ from Sk. /pārśvam/.

Prepositions and Postpositions

The only prepositions are those meaning “with” and “without”. The two first govern the noun in the instrumental.

+/se/ “with” is only known to me from poetry, e.g. +/se ˈaŋdkuɛ/ “with the pot”.

Kɥg /bɪnɑ/ “without”, e.g. /bɪnɑ dūd:ɛ/ “without milk”. The closely related Kɥg /bɪni/ is, however, used as a postposition in the following example: /tshēuɾi bɪni/ “without ones wife”.

Kc /bɪ:dz/ “without”, e.g. /bɪ:dz niʃ:a/ “without sleep”.

The postpositions most commonly used consist of a consonant and a vowel and express elementary local notions besides having to some extent functions approaching those of the case forms and adverbs. This last fact is especially true of Kc /re/ by which the relational is expressed. These postpositions govern the noun in the oblique.

Kɥg /dɪ/, Kc /de/ generally means “in”, but also has a broad positional meaning, “at, on”: Kɥg /tɪn:ɪ apɲɛ dziu dɪ sōʃ:hɔ/ “he thought in his mind”, /pɛ:ɲɛ dɪ sɔ bakri tsardɔ lag:ɔ ndɔ/ “he was tending goats on the path”, Kc /tiɲia lae tiā re gɔʎe de ɖaŋgrea/ “he struck at her throat with the axe”.

Kɥg Kc /ka/ “from, for, to, at, by”, e.g. Kɥg /gˈɔra ka/ “from home”, Kc /muk:a e:k al:o/ “I have a tool” (lit. “to me is a tool”). This postposition may be used in such contexts where also the relational case occurs, e.g. Kɥg /muk:a neɪ šūɲˈuɔ/ “I could not hear it”.

Kɥg /lɛ/, Kc /khe/, WKc /kh/ “to, for”; Kɥg /sɔ tɔ lag:ɔ ndɔ tēa bēa le deundɔ/ “he was on his way to the wedding”, /ɛb:ɛ etɾɪ sɔza ē: le muktɪ a/ “now he has had sufficient punishment”, Kc /lag:o tēs khe bolde/ “he started saying to him”, WKc /muk:a kūtsh khāɲe kh deo/ “give me something to eat!”.

Kc /la/ which etymologically corresponds to Kɥg /lɛ/ is only used in certain standing combinations: /kel:a/ “why”, cp. Kɥg /kil:ɛ/ “why”; /bɪl:a/ “towards” (e.g. /gˈɔra bɪl:a/ “towards the house”), Kɥg /bɪl:ɛ/ id., a combination of a word related to Kc /bia/ “at” and /la/.

Kɥg /kɛ/ “by, by means of, with, to” e.g. /ag:ɪ kɛ/ “by means of fire”, /tēu kɛ ml:ɔ/ “I met (with) him”, /kɪu kɛ likhɲō/ “wherewith

shall I write?", /roṭ:1 dɪn:1 tē: caɪ1 cuɲio tē: kɛ/ "you made the loaf and gave it to him".

The close association between these postpositions and the noun appears from the fact that they have amalgamated with the pronouns of the first and second person singular, e.g. Kṭg /mʊndɪ/, /tandɪ/; /muk:a/, /taŋka/; /mul:ɛ/, /tal:ɛ/; /muk:ɛ/; Kc /mūk:he/, /tāk:he/; /muk:a/, /tak:a/. Notice Kc /kel:a/, Kṭg /kil:ɛ/, /bɪl:ɛ/ mentioned above.

Regarding the use and etymology of Kc /re/ we refer to our treatment of the relational p. 106.

Most of the remaining postpositions are dissyllabic and end in a vowel, e.g. Kṭg Kc /ag:a/-ɛ/-i/; /ōr^cu/, /pōr^cu/; Kṭg /kaɛ/; /gāɛ/; /g^cin:1/; Kṭg Kc /para/-ɛ/-i/; /pāt:sha/-ɛ/-i/; Kṭg /bat:i/, Kc /baṭ:i/; Kṭg /bās:i/; Kc /b^cit:a/; Kṭg Kc /b^citra/-ɛ/-i/; Kc /māt:ha/-i/; Kṭg Kc /māndz^ci/; Kṭg Kc /sāt:hi/; Kṭg /sōṅgɛ/, Kc /sōṅga/.

In general the postpositions are construed with the oblique. But some of them are combined with the possessive, especially of pronouns (as for similar conditions in Dardic see Buddruss 1967 § 43), e.g. Kṭg /meri ōr^cu/ "towards me" (cp. H. /or/ f. "direction"), /ek:iɛ kaɛ/ "in somebody's house" (locative adverb of a word from Sk. /kāyaḥ/ m. "body, house").

Some of the postpositions may be combined; thus Kṭg /ka: lɛ/ "to the place of" (/ka:/ is in a genetic perspective an ablative adverb corresponding to /kaɛ/); /tōṅga para lɛ/ "in under the balcony", /para/ corresponding to /paɾɛ/ in e.g. /sō buṭ:a paɾɛ sōt:1 gɔ/ "he lay down to sleep under a tree".

The postposition Kṭg /g^cin:1/ "with" is in origin a pret. gerund of /g^cinṇō/ "to take". The use of a gerund, meaning "having taken along" as a postposition meaning "with" is preserved in a number of NI languages from OI times, cp. Sk. /ādāya/ "having taken along, with".

The Verb Inflection

The morphology of the verb comprises the following forms:

Three verb classes: the first class, the second class (i.a. involitives) and the third class (i.a. causatives).

Four tenses: present, imperfect, preterite and future.

Six moods: indicative, subjunctive, optative, injunctive, imperative and expressive.

Four verbal adjectives: the present participle, the preterite participle, the static participle and the gerundive.

The infinitive.

Two gerunds: the present gerund and the preterite gerund.

The indicative occurs in the present, the preterite, the imperfect and the future tenses. The five moods: indicative, subjunctive, optative, injunctive and imperative are found in the present tense. The expressive is a mood of the preterite.

There are a number of periphrastic forms. Two of these, i.e. the imperfect and the static participle, have been included on the above list because they are supposed to have the same functional importance as the other forms mentioned.

THE VERB CLASSES

The verbs are divided into three classes. While the verbs belonging to the second and the third class are characterised by certain morphological and functional features, those belonging to the first class have no special features either in a morphological or functional respect. Most of the verbs of the two other classes stand in a special relation to verbs of the first class. The term "principal" indicates a verb or noun as seen in relation to its correlate among the second class or third class verbs.

The first verb class

These verbs consist of different types.

The most common type has a base ending in a stressed syllable

with one or two final consonants, e.g. Kṭg /paḷnō/ “to rear, foster”, Kc /āṣṇo/ “to come”, Kṭg Kc /b^cṛnō/-o/ “to fill”, /aṇṇō/-o/ “to bring”, /maṅṅō/-o/ “to beg”; Kṭg /pətshēṇnō/, Kc /pətshjāṇno/ “to recognize”, Kṭg /pəṭikṇō/ “to jump”.

A number of verbs end in a full vowel or a vowel sequence, e.g. Kṭg Kc /paṇō/ “to put, throw”, Kṭg /deṇō/, Kc /deṇo/ “to give”, Kṭg Kc /lṇō/-o/ “to cut (grass)”, /d^còṇō/-o/ “to wash”, /nṇō/-o/ “to lead, take”, Kṭg /cuṇō/ “to miscarry”; Kṭg Kc /ḍeuṇō/-o/ “to go”, /dzṷuṇō/-o/ “to live”, /səṛā:ṇō/-o/ “to praise”.

A few verbs have a base ending in V□v, i.e. full vowel + consonants + empty vowel; it is necessary that the symbol □ represent more than one consonant here. E.g. Kṭg /jṷbkəṇō/ “to give a start”. See p. 40.

A number of verb bases end in V□v□, i.e. full vowel + consonant(s) + empty vowel + consonant, a few of them being alternatives to the preceding type, e.g. Kṭg /nīk:həḷnō/, Kc /nik:əḷṇo/ “to come out, appear”; Kṭg Kc /sōmədznō/-o/, also /sōmdz^cəṇō/-o/ “to understand”, /pak:əṛnō/-o/ “to seize”, Kṭg /pətsintsərnō/ “to squeeze”.

The second verb class

Morphology.

In the phonematic description p. 7 f. we have chosen to treat aspirated consonants as phonematic units. In describing, however, the morphology of the second class verbs the aspirates will be divided into their two phonetic components, namely voiced consonant + /^c/ and unvoiced consonant + /h/, the aspiration thus being treated as a separate unit.

All second class verbs have in principle the same inflection.

In Kṭg. the morphemes of the second class which follow the base of the principal word are:

1. /-^c-/ ~ /-h-/, 2. /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/, 3. /-i-/.

The first morpheme is an aspiration, /^c/ appearing after a voiced consonant and /h/ after an unvoiced consonant. It occurs when a consonant-initial morpheme follows, i.e. /-ṇō/ of the infinitive, /-dō/ of the pres.partc., /-da/ of the pres.gerund.

The second morpheme occurs when followed by the morphemes

/-ɔ/ of the preterite, /-ɪ/ of the short gerund and /-iɔ/ of the long gerund.

The third morpheme occurs in front of the personal endings of the pres.ind., the subj., the opt. and the impv., but as a rule not in front of the 1 sg. /-u/ and never in front of the 1.pl. /-i/ nor the inj. /-i/.

In Kc. the morphemes are:

1. /-i-/ and 2. /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/, the last occurring in the same verb forms as the identical Kṭg. morpheme and the first in the remaining verb forms.

The morphemes /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/ and /-i-/ are unstressed in both dialects.

Examples are:

Principal words: Kṭg Kc /khōṛɔ/-o/ "erect"; Kṭg Kc /thā:c/ "place, station".

1. Kṭg /-^c-/ ~ /-h-/, Kc /-i-/: inf. /khōṛ^cnō/, /khōṛiṇo/ "to stand, rise"; /thāchnō/, /thā:c:iṇo/ "to stop, halt (intr.)"; pres.partc. /khōṛ^cdɔ/, /khōṛido/; /thāchdɔ/, /thā:c:ido/; pres. gerund /khōṛ^cda/, /khōṛida/; /thāchda/, /thā:c:ida/.

2. Kṭg Kc /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/: the preterite /khōṛ^cuɔ/, /khōṛ^cuo/; the short gerund /khōṛ^cuɪ/, /khōṛ^cue/; the long gerund /khōṛ^cuɪo/, /khōṛ^cuea/. In the same way: /thā:huɔ/, /thā:c:huo/, etc.

3. Kṭg Kc /-i-/: pres.ind. 2.3.sg.pl. Kṭg Kc /khōṛia/; subj. Kṭg Kc /khōṛie/, opt. Kṭg Kc /khōṛio/, impv. 2.sg. Kṭg Kc /khōṛi/, /khōṛie/, 2.pl. Kṭg Kc /khōṛio/, Kc /khōṛieo/. In the same manner: Kṭg Kc /thā:ia/, etc.

There is, however, no morpheme of the second class in pres. ind. 1.sg. Kṭg /khōṛu/, 1.pl. /khōṛi/, and likewise in Kc., even if Kc 1.sg. /khōṛiu/ is possible as an alternative form beside /khōṛu/. In Kṭg. one can say /^cam:ɛ piṭ:ia/ "we fight".

Certain word types have other morphemes:

If the principal word ends in a single vowel Kṭg. has the morpheme /-u-/ instead of /-^c-/ ~ /-h-/. At the same time the vowel of the base has high level tone which shows that an */h/ has been present. Thus, from /paṇō/ "to throw, put" Kṭg. has inf. /pāuṇō/ "to be thrown, to be put"; pres.partc. and pres. gerund /pāundɔ/, /pāunda/; from /deṇō/ "to give" inf. /dēuṇō/ "to be given", etc. Instead of /Vu/ a long vowel with high level tone occurs as an alternative form: /pā:ṇō/, pā:ndɔ/-a/. If the basic vowel is /u/ neither aspiration

nor /u/ can appear as a morpheme. The only signs indicating the second class are the tone and the long vowel quantity.

Kc. has the normal morpheme: /paiŋo/, /paindo/-a/.

The second morpheme /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/ loses its aspiration after a vowel in Kṭg. and Kc. The vowel has the high level tone, thus Kṭg /pāuɔ/, Kc /pāuo/; Kṭg /dēuɔ/, Kc /dēuo/.

Aspiration cannot be added to an aspirated consonant nor, in all probability, to a sibilant. Kṭg. has from /dūk:hñō/ “to be distressing” e.g. /mul:ε dūk:hia/ “I am sad”, /mul:ε dūk:huɔ/ “I became sad”. From a verb base ending in a sibilant the following may be quoted: Kṭg /nəsāsñō/, Kc /nəsās:iŋo/ “to breathe heavily, to sigh”, pres.ind. Kṭg Kc /nəsās:ia/, pret. Kṭg Kc /nəsās:uɔ/-o/.

The voiced aspiration only occurs immediately before or after the stressed syllable. Thus a base of the type V□v□ ending in a voiced consonant, e.g. Kṭg /bad:əɭ/ “cloud”, cannot have an aspiration added. Accordingly there is no aspiration in /bad:əɭnō/ “to become overcast (of the sky)”, pres.partc. and ger. /bad:əɭdɔ/-a/. It is quite probable, however, that the aspiration is anticipated: /bād:^cəɭnō/. The present has the normal form, /badɭia/. This is also the case in the preterite since the empty vowel has disappeared, the aspiration accordingly coming immediately after the stressed syllable: /bādɭ^cuɔ/. The form /badəɭ^cnō/ in Vocab. is incorrect.

In Kṭg. a peculiar form of the pres.partc. in /-(n)dia/, /-(n)diɔ/ is sometimes heard.

Function.

All the verbs belonging to the second class are intransitive.

There are two kinds of second class verbs, 1. deverbatives and 2. non-deverbatives. Those belonging to the second category are either denominative or underived.

1. The deverbative verbs. Involitive and reflexive verbs.

The term involitive which was, as far as is known, first used by T. Grahame Bailey expresses quite well the characteristic function of these verbs. They express in general that the “action” or verb concept is independent of the agent’s will. If the principal verb is transitive the meaning of the involitive may approach that of the passive without really being a passive. Quite often feasibility is

expressed, especially if the verb is negated. See Varma 1948 p. 51 for the same function of the corresponding verbs in the Bhadarvahi group. Some deverbatives express that the action is reflexive or reciprocal. The syntax is quite different in the two cases.

a. Involitive meaning.

In the following examples the principal verb will be mentioned first followed by the second class verb.

Kṭg Kc /šōṇṇō/-o/ “to hear, to listen”, e.g. Kṭg /sō šōṇa e:k gi:t/ “he hears a song, he listens to a song”. Involitive: Kṭg /šōṇ^cnō/, Kc /šōṇiṇo/ “to be audible, to be heard”, e.g. Kṭg Kc /e:k gi:t šōṇia tē:rē/-e/ “he unexpectedly hears a song” (lit. “a song becomes audible to him”). In connection with a negative and in questions the sense of feasibility is especially prominent: Kṭg /tē:rē kiṭsh bī nēī šūṇ^cuo/ “he could not hear anything”; /kε tak:a kūtsh šūṇia/ “can you hear anything?”

Kṭg /ā:nō/ “to come”, /sō āo/ “he came”. Involitive: /āuṇō/, e.g. /tē:rē nēī āu/ “he could not come”.

Kṭg /dzaṇṇō/ “to know, understand, believe”. Involitive: /dzāṇ^cnō/ “to be understood, be deemed”, e.g. /jɔ dēš bit:ɔ mere dzaṇia/ “I like this place very much” (lit. “this place is deemed beautiful to me”).

Kc /kaṭṇo/ “to cut (down)”, /muī kaṭ:e go e:k brā:g^c/ “I have cut a leopard down”. Involitive: /kaṭiṇo/ “to be cut down (by mistake)”, e.g. /mere aṇṇe tshēure kāt:hue rōš:a māt:hi/ “I happened to cut my wife down in anger” (Texts, p. 48, last lines).

Kṭg /^cāsṇō/ “to laugh”, /mū: ^cās:u/ “I laugh”. Involitive: /mere ^cās:uo/ “I burst out laughing”. Regarding /^cās:iṇo/ in WKc. see below.

Kṭg /sūtṇō/ “to sleep”, /sō sūt:i gɔ/ “he lay down to sleep”. Involitive: /tē:rē sūt:huɔ/ “he fell asleep”.

Kṭg /mucṇō/ “to piss”, /tɪn:i (or /sō/) muc:ɔ/ “he made water”. Involitive: /tē:rē mūc:huɔ ɔrē marē/ “he pissed with fright”.

An involitive verb may have a causative as principal verb, e.g. Kṭg /bəṇauṇō/ “to make, do”, involitive: /bəṇauṇō/, pres.partc. /bəṇaundɔ/, pret. /bəṇāuɔ/, pres.ind. /bəṇauiə/, /bəṇaiə/, e.g. /tē:rē jɔ nēī bəṇaundɔ/ “he cannot make this”.

In such instances with an involitive sense the agent is in the relational or expressed by means of the postposition or case morpheme /ka/. See Varma 1938 p. 40 and 1948 p. 51 regarding the

agent expressed by the ablative in the Bhadarvahi group. Regarding the term agent see p. 157.

b. Reflexive or reciprocal meaning.

Kc /d^còño/ “to wash”, /tiṇi d^còo g^cõro/ “he washed the pot”. Involitive: /d^còiño/ “to wash oneself”, e.g. /sēo d^cõuo/ “he washed himself”.

Kṭg /maṇḍṇō/ “to rub”, e.g. /tīn:ī āk:hī maṇḍi/ “he rubbed his eyes”. Involitive: /māṇḍ^cṇō/ “to rub oneself”, /sō māṇḍ^cuo/ “he rubbed himself”.

Kṭg Kc /piṭṇō/-o/ “to beat”. Involitive: Kṭg /piṭḥṇō/, Kc /piṭ:iño/ “to quarrel, fight”, Kṭg /sē piṭ:ia/, Kc /sē piṭ:ia/ “they quarrel”.

Kṭg /meṭṇō/ “to gather (tr.)”. Involitive: /mēṭḥṇō/ “to gather (intr.)”, e.g. /sē meṭ:ia/ “they gather”.

The agent of the reflexive and reciprocal verbs is the subject and thus is in the direct case.

2. The non-deverbative verbs.

Since these verbs have no verb counterparts they do not stand in any functional relation to other verbs.

One can divide the non-deverbative verbs into two groups: the denominatives, and the verbs which are not, as far as can be ascertained by the material, derived from nouns or from other verbs. The incompleteness of the material involves a certain degree of uncertainty: it cannot be excluded that what seems to be a non-deverbative verb is in reality derived from another verb or, in the case of the “non-derived” verbs, from a noun.

a. A number of the denominative verbs are predicative: they indicate the coming into being of the concept expressed by the noun.

The principal word is an adjective:

Kṭg Kc /khōṛo/-o/ “standing, erect”: Kṭg /khōṛ^cṇō/, Kc /khōṛiño/ “to stand, rise”, Kṭg /sō khōṛia/ “he rises”.

Kṭg /dwās/, Kc /dwā:s/ “indifferent, lazy”: Kṭg /dwāsṇō/ (pres. /dwās:ia/), Kc /dwās:iño/ “to be or become restless, dejected”.

Kṭg /ḍ^cil:ɔ/ “loose, slack”: /ḍ^cil^cṇō/ “to become loose, slack, to be broken up (of a gathering)”, /εb:ε gī dzat:ər ḍ^cil^cdī lag:ī/ “now the fair had begun to break up” (Texts p. 19).

Kc /tauḷo/ “rash”: /tauḷiño/ “to be or become rash”.

The principal word is a substantive:

Kṭg /ra:ṇḍ/ "a widow": /rāṇḍ^cṇō/ "to become a widow, to be widowed", /s̄: rāṇḍ^cu g/ "she has become a widow".

Non-predicative denominative verbs.

Kṭg /dzɔr/ "fever": /dzɔr^cnō/ (pres. /s̄: dzɔria/) "to be feverish".

Kṭg /g^cwà:l/ "an embrace": /g^cwāl^cnō/ "to embrace", /s̄: g^cwāl^cu tē: d/ "he embraced him".

b. Non-derived verbs.

Kṭg /^cūd^cṇō/, Kc /ūd:z^ciṇo/ "to rise, wake up", Kṭg /s̄^cūd:z^cia/, Kc /s̄ēo ūd:z^cia/ "he rises, wakes up".

Kc /n^caiṇo/, Kṭg /n^cēuṇō/ "to take a bath", Kc /s̄ēo n^caiā/, Kṭg /s̄^cn^cēia/ "he takes a bath".

WKc /^cās:iṇo/ "to laugh", /s̄ēo ^cās:ia/, /s̄ēo ^cās:uo/. Kc has /^cṣṇo/ and Kṭg /^cāsṇō/, /s̄^c ^cās:a/. It is possible that the WKc verb is a denominative, cp. Kṭg /^cās:l/ "laughter". At any rate, it is of a different nature than the Kṭg word mentioned above p. 143 which is evident from the syntax. Kṭg /^cās:ia/ is involitive which is seen by the fact that the agent is in the relational case, whereas the agent of /^cās:iṇo/ is in the direct case in WKc.

The functional relation to the principal word is clearly defined in the case of the deverbative second class verbs and also in the case of the predicative non-deverbative verbs, but it is not possible to define it as far as the non-predicative denominative verbs are concerned. These verbs as well as the fourth type which do not seem to be derived from any other word are not functionally distinguished from intransitive verbs of the first class.

Genetic background.

In Kṭg. the morphemes /-^c-/ ~ /-h-/ and /-^cu-/ ~ /-hu-/ are genetically connected with the verb /^c:ṇō/ "to be, become" which is to be traced back to OI /bhavati/, MI /bhavati/, /ho(t)i/.

The morpheme /-i-/ comes from the OI and MI morphemes of the passive and denominative, OI /-ya-/, /-īya-/, MI /-īya-/, /-īya-/.

The Kc. morphemes /-^cu/ ~ /-hu-/ and /-i-/ have the same origin as the corresponding Kṭg. morphemes.

There are similar forms in other NI languages. The hill languages spoken east of Himachali, namely Garḥvali, Kumauni and Nepali, have in the corresponding verb class the morpheme /-i-/ in

the whole inflection, also in the preterite, while in a number of languages in the west, among them the hill languages Bhalesi and Bhadarvahi, morphemes coming from OI and MI /bhavati/ prevail (this is by the way also the case with European Gypsy). This is probably, at least to some extent, the reason why Kṭg. and Kc. have both sets of forms, and why the /-i-/ forms are more widespread in Kc. in the east than in Kṭg. in the west. Kṭg. has a historically justified distribution of the two sets of morphemes, in that the OI passive morphemes /-ya-/ , /-īya-/ only appeared in the forms corresponding to the Kṭg. forms with /-i-/. In Kc. the /-i-/ forms have spread beyond the original limits. See H. Hendriksen 1973 p. 116.

The involitive and reflexive-reciprocal sense of the second class verbs is clearly connected with the function of OI and MI /-ya-/ , /-īya-/. The denominative, especially predicative, function is connected with that of OI /bhavati/, but also the morphemes /-ya-/ , /-īya-/ were from the outset disposed for the same function as is seen from Sk. denominatives like /sumanasiate/ “is favourably disposed”, /sajjīyate/ “makes oneself ready, is ready” from /sajjah/ and /taviṣiyate/ “is mighty” from /taviṣī/ “might”, /taviṣaḥ/ “mighty” (Whitney § 1059 foll.). From Pali Geiger 1916 § 188, 3 mentions /aṭṭiyati/ “is worried” from /aṭṭa-/ “hurt, desperate” (see CPD) and /dhanīyati/ “covets riches” from /dhanam/. In Kṭg. Kc. we have seen examples of the predicative function. From Nepali may be mentioned: /gairinu/ “to be deep” (/gairo/), /choṭinu/ “to become small” (/choṭo/) and many others.

The involitive and passive function of the morphemes /-i- / or /-ij-/ (the latter from Pk. Ap. /-ijja-/ from older /-īya-/) is wide-spread (see Bloch 1934 p. 240), e.g. Nep. /mārinu/ “to be killed” (/mārnū/ “to kill”); Old Western Rajasthani /kahiyaī/, /kahijai/ “is said” (Tessitori 1916 § 137); Siraiki /karijan/ “to be done” (/karaṇ/); Shiṇa /lupiṣōiki/ “to be lit” (/lupōiki/).

In Himachali /-i-/ comes from MI /-īya-/ with regular loss of the short /a/. The stress has through analogical generalisation come to be on the base even if the sound laws demand that it rest on the morpheme. In other NI languages the morpheme has the stress, e.g. Siraiki. See Shackleton 1976 § 4.5.

The Kṭg. morpheme /-c-/ ~ /-h-/ in e.g. /šōṇ^cnō/, /šōṇ^cdo/ is what is left of the verb “to be, become”. In independent use the corresponding forms are /^cṇō/ and /^cndo/. Beside /^cndo/ also /^cṇdo/ occurs,

and it must be such a form which is behind /-^cdɔ/. The vowel disappeared in unstressed position, the same thing happening to the homorganic nasal which, by the way, also has disappeared in pres.partc. forms of first class verbs, e.g. /kɔrdɔ/. The morpheme /u/ (accompanied by high level tone on the preceding vowel) which occurs after vowel-final bases, comes from */-hu-/ , the vowel of which in accordance with the sound rules has been preserved in postvocalic position. Also the nasal is still extant: /pāundɔ/.

This same morpheme appears in the preterite, the ending of which, namely /-^cuɔ/, is identical with the preterite of /^cñõ/-o/.

From a descriptive point of view the morphemes of these forms follow the base. One may, however, ask what the genetic facts are. The deverbative verbs of the second class cannot from the outset have formed a kind of compound consisting of the verb base + a form of the verb "to be, become". On this point certain languages give valuable information. In Bhalesi the involitive and predicative have the morpheme /-io-/, e.g. involitive /kerioṇu/ "to be done" from /karnu/ "to do", predicative /berioṇu/ "to be great" from /baṛo/ "great" (Varma 1948 p. 51 foll.). The /i/ of /kerioṇu/ which is found in all Bhalesi involitive verbs is in all probability identical with the morpheme of the short gerund; thus /karnu/ has /keri/. On this point Bailey makes one of his important observations (1920 p. 242). From one of the Himachali-affiliated Panjabi-dialects, Bilaspuri, he mentions the sentence /mette nēh eh kamm karī hundā/ "I cannot do this work", where /karī/ is the short gerund of the verb "to do" and /hundā/ the pres. partc. of the verb "to be, become". It thus appears that it is not, as was to be expected, the pret.partc. of the principal verb which was used, but the gerund. Sentences like the above might be rendered in the following way if a literal translation is attempted: "this work is not on doing (or: a-doing) to me". That it is not the pret.partc. which is used appears from the Bilaspuri example just cited and besides from such instances as Kṭg /dēundɔ/, /dēuɔ/, Kc /dēuo/ "to be given"; Kṭg /kōr^cdɔ/, /kōr^cuɔ/, Kc /kōr^cuo/ "to be done". The pret. participles of the verbs "to give" and "to do" in Kṭg. Kc. are: Kṭg /din:ɔ/, Kc /deṇo/ and Kṭg Kc /kiɔ/-o/ which evidently do not form part of the involitive verbs mentioned. The short gerunds on the other hand, Kṭg /dɛi/, Kc /dee/; Kṭg /kōri/, Kc /kōre/, are obviously the forms used. After the combination of gerund + the verb "to be, become" had come to form one word, the

final vowel of the gerund was subject to loss, being unstressed in interior position, the loss happening before the loss of intervocalic */h/. This means that where the Kṭg. morpheme is /-c-/ both the /-i/ of the gerund and the /u/ of the verb “to be, become” have disappeared. There is nothing unusual in this in view of the extensive suppression of unstressed vowels in the development of NI. The /i/ forms (e.g. pres.ind. /kaṭ:ia/) were from the beginning inflected as one word with a clear distinction between the verb base and the morpheme after the MI pattern. They have evidently exercised an influence on the process. From the moment the two kinds of forms, the /i/ forms and those with the verb “to be, become”, were united into one paradigm, consisting of deverbative and denominative verbs, they influenced each other. In some languages the /-i-/ morpheme was generalized, e.g. Nepali, in others the morpheme coming from OI /bhavati/, e.g. Bhalesi.

The ending /-oṇu/ of Bhal. /kɛrioṇu/ etc. is that of Bhal. /bhoṇu/ “to be, become”, the /bh/ of which was preserved in the independent word, but lost (after passing to /h/ as already in MI and almost everywhere in NI) in the involitive and predicative verbs. Both kinds of verbs have /io/ or /jo/ (/j/ = /y/). From among the predicative verbs a few examples may be mentioned: /bɛrioṇu/ “to be great” (/bɛro/), /lɛmmjoṇu/ “to be tall” (/lɛmmo/), /ūcjoṇu/ “to be high” (/ūco/), /billjoṇu/ “to be wide” (/billo/) (Varma 1948 p. 51). There is a striking similarity to the predicative verbs of European Gypsy, e.g. /bariovela/ “he is or becomes great” (/baro/ “great”), /kariovela/ “is or becomes black” (/kalo/), /nangiovela/ “is or becomes naked” (/nango/) (Paspati 1870 p. 114; Sampson 1926 § 237–239). The principle of the Gypsy predicative verbs is the same as that of the Bhalesi verbs (Gy. /uvela/ “is, becomes”) and the similarity even includes the /i/ appearing before the /o/ vowel. It is tempting to identify the /i/ with the OI /ī/ in such cases as Sk. /bahulī-bhavati/ “becomes widespread, increases”.

In Kyoṇṭhli /u/ has been generalized; thus Joshi mentions in his dictionary e.g. toluwṇu “to be weighed” from toḷṇu. LSI mentions p. 652 uzuṇau “to rise”, cp. Kṭg /cūdzcṇō/.

The restrictions regarding the use of the morpheme /i/ in the first persons singular and plural are at least to some extent due to the genetic identity with the personal ending of the 1. pl. /i/ which

originally was a passive morpheme. Another reason is the phonetic identity of the two morphemes leading to their coalescence. When it is necessary to distinguish the function of the second class from that of the first class, e.g. if it is a verb with reflexive or reciprocal meaning, the personal ending /a/ will be employed, e.g. /^εàm:ε pit:ia/ “we fight, we quarrel” in contradistinction to /^εàm:ε pit:i/ “we beat”. In the same way one can say in Kc. /āũ d^εòiu/ “I wash myself” as opposed to /āũ d^εòu/ “I wash”. In the case of a non-functional second class verb, however, the endings are /u/ and /i/: Kt̥g /mũ: ^εūd:z^u/, /^εàm:ε ^εūd:zⁱ/ from /^εūd:z^εñō/ “to get up”; Kc /āũ ūd:z^u/, /am:a ūd:zⁱ/ from /ūd:zⁱño/. In the other persons the /i/ morpheme is used: Kt̥g /^εūd:zⁱa/, Kc /ūd:zⁱa/. For “he laughs” one says in WKc /sēo ^εās:ia/, but in the first persons /^εũ: ^εās:u/, /am:a ^εās:i/. It is in the nature of the second class verbs that they are rarely used in the forms of the first persons. In the involitive verbs, which are the most characteristic representatives of the class, practically the only possible form is that of the third singular.

In Kt̥g., as has been mentioned, a form in /(n)dia/, /(n)diɔ/ is occasionally used if the verb is involitive: /merε neĩ sũthdia/ “I cannot sleep”, /merε neĩ khā:ndiɔ/ “I cannot eat”; from poetry, Texts p. 92 v. 33 /tɛɲε bɪɲa dziundiɔ neĩ/ “I cannot exist without such a man”. Here we must be dealing with a case of contamination: taking the first example it was possible to have both /sũt:ia/ and /sũthdiɔ/; the two forms have been intermingled, the result being either /sũthdia/ with /-a/ in accordance with the first form, or /sũthdiɔ/ with /-ɔ/ in accordance with the second. The similar relation in the non-involitive verb between /sũt:a/ and /sũtdɔ/ has influenced the development. The new form is due to an attempt to produce a better distinction between the principal verb and the derived verb in the form containing the morpheme of the pres.partc. /-(n)d-/. The same necessity did not make itself felt in Kc. which has a sufficiently clear distinction with /-i(n)d-/ in the derived verb as opposed to /-(n)d-/ in the principal verb.

The third verb class

Causative verbs.

The great majority of the verbs following the third class are causatives. They express a causation of what is expressed by the

principal verb, e.g. Kṭg /šəṇaunō/ “to cause to be heard, to relate” from /šōṇnō/ “to hear”. In rare cases the third class verbs are denominative, e.g. Kṭg /pəḷṛēunō/ “to beat with a shoe” from /pəḷṛə/ “shoe”. In only one or two cases does the verb have a factitive function, i.e. it expresses the calling into being of the quality of an adjective, e.g. Kṭg /khəṛēunō/ “to cause to stand, to place” from /khōṛə/ “standing, erect”, possibly also in Kṭg /rəšāunō/ “to make (somebody) jealous”, if this is from */rišu/ “jealous” and not from /rīš/ “jealousy”.

In a morphological respect there are two kinds of verbs belonging to the third class: 1. verbs which in relation to their principal words have certain suffixes, 2. verbs which have no suffixes.

The base of the principal word, i.e. the principal base, is inherent in the corresponding third class verb, the derived verb. That part of the latter which corresponds to the principal base has the same consonants, apart from some rare and small differences (see below), but differs considerably with regard to their vocalic and syllabic structure.

Alternations.

1. In the suffix verbs the differences are connected with a difference of stress: the principal words are stressed on the base while the suffix is stressed in the derived verbs. The vowel alternations and difference in syllabic structure and tone between the two kinds of verbs reflect quite clearly the sound changes involved.

If the principal base is monosyllabic and has the type $\square V \square$ (see p. 40), the full vowel interchanges with an empty vowel in the derived verb, e.g. Kṭg Kc /tsalnō/-o/ “to go, walk, advance”: Kṭg Kc /tsələunō/-o/ “to cause to walk”; Kṭg Kc /šōṇnō/-o/ “to hear”: Kṭg Kc /šəṇaunō/ “to cause to be heard, to relate”; Kṭg /d̪ə:l/ “stone”: /d̪əḷṛēunō/ “to stone”.

If the principal base has the type $\square V \square v$ the derived word has $\square v \square \emptyset$ (i.e. full vowel interchanges with empty vowel, and empty vowel with zero), e.g. WKc /pəgəḷno/ “to melt (intr.)”: /pəgḷēunə/ “to cause to melt”; Kc /tsəmərno/ “to stick, adhere”: WKc /tsəmṛēunə/ “to paste”; Kṭg /pāt:hər/ “stone”: /pəthrēunō/ “to stone”. The alternant $\square v \square$ appears if the principal type is $\square V \square v$ and the second consonant barrier consists of two consonants, e.g. Kṭg /jɪbkəṇō/ “to start up”: /jəbkaunō/ “to cause to start up”; Kṭg /sōmdzəṇō/ (inter-

changing with /sōmədznō/) “to understand”: /səmdz^cəuṇō/ “to make understood, explain”.

If the principal word has an initial vowel, it is missing in the suffix verb owing to the rule (valid especially in Kṭg.) that a word cannot begin with an empty vowel, e.g. Kṭg /aṇnō/ “to bring”: /ṇauṇō/ “to cause to be brought, ask for”. Also initial /^c/ disappears, thus Kṭg /^ciṣṇō/ “to go out (of fire)”: /ṣḡeuṇō/ “to extinguish”; Kṭg /^cūd:z^cṇō/ “to get up, wake up (intr.)”: /dz^cēḡnō/ “to wake up (tr.)”. The verbs mentioned in Vocab. Kc /^cətauṇo/ “to cause to return”, WKc /^cəṇḡeuṇo/ “to cause to walk”, Kṭg /^cəsāuṇō/ “to cause to laugh” conflict with the rule.

Verbs which have a base ending in /u/ or /o/ show /w/ instead in the suffix form, e.g. Kṭg /tshōṇō/ “to touch”: /tshwāuṇō/ “to cause to be touched”; Kṭg Kc /d^cōṇō/-o/ “to wash”: /d^cwāuṇō/-o/ “to cause to be washed”; Kṭg /roṇō/ “to weep”: /rwauṇō/ “to cause to weep”. Neither /ə/ nor unstressed /u/ can appear in front of /a/, instead /w/ is substituted.

The derived verbs Kṭg /r^cēuṇō/ “to cause to rest, to place” from /rō:ṇō/ “remain, stay” and Kṭg /r^cəuṇō/ “to defeat” from /^cārṇō/ “to lose” are peculiar. The base vowels of /rō^{*}h-/ and /^car-/ have been exchanged with zero in front of the stressed suffixes /εu/ and /au/; /ə/ is excluded in both cases, in /rō^{*}h-/ because */əhV/ is inadmissible, and in /^car-/ because initial */^cə-/ is inadmissible. Neither is */r/ tolerated, thus the result was /r^c/ in /r^cəuṇō/.

2. In the suffixless verbs the vowel alternations are of a different kind. They are not due to any difference of stress except in certain dissyllabic types (see below). The mechanism behind them is of a much older date than in the suffix verbs.

In monosyllabic bases there are three vowel alternations which have been inherited from OI, namely /ə/ : /a/, /i/ : /e/, /u/ : /o/. Examples are: Kṭg Kc /dzəḡnō/-o/ “to burn (intr.)”: /dzaḡnō/ “to burn (tr.)”; Kṭg /tsərnō/ “to graze (about cattle)”: /tsarnō/ “to tend (cattle)”; Kṭg /phīrnō/ “to turn (intr.)”: /phērnō/ “to turn (tr.)”; Kṭg /khūḡnō/ “to be untied, to be opened”: /khōḡnō/ “to untie, open”.

If the principal word has a dissyllabic base of the type □V□v□ the full and empty vowel are exchanged in the derived verb. Kṭg /səb^cəḡnō/ “to keep ready, make ready” is by origin a causative of Kṭg /sōmb^cəḡnō/ “to think of”, J /sambhalṇu/ “to be careful”. In the

two following words the principal verb has an initial /u/ and the type V□v□: Kṭg /ukəɫnō/ “to climb”; Kṭg /ubəɫnō/ “to boil (intr.)”. They have the causatives /kwaɫnō/ “to make ascend” and /bwaɫnō/ “to boil (tr.)” with a characteristic epenthesis of the unstressed initial */u/ (see p. 26).

3. The following consonant alternations should be mentioned:

Metathesis of voiced aspiration from initial position to the last consonant of the principal base, e.g. Kṭg Kc /dz^curnō/-o/ “to pine, long for”: /dzə^cɛuñō/ “to distress”; Kṭg /b^cidznō/ “to be wet”: /bədz^cɛuñō/ “to make wet, drench”.

Loss of a homorganic nasal, e.g. Kṭg /maŋgnō/ “to beg, ask for”: /məgaunō/ “to send for, procure”; Kṭg /sōmbəɫnō/ “to think of”: /səb^cəɫnō/ “to make ready”.

Interchange of /t/ and /r/ (very rare), e.g. Kṭg Kc /tshōtñō/-o/ “to be discharged”: /tshə^cɛuñō/ “to liberate”; Kṭg Kc /cətñō/-o/ “to break (intr.)”: /cəɾnō/-o/ “to break (tr.)”.

The suffix verbs.

The suffix verbs consist of 1. deverbatives and 2. denominatives. All deverbatives are causatives.

The suffixes are, in order of frequency, /-au-/ , /-eu-/ , /-eɫ-/ , /-aɫ-/ and /-ar-/ . Each suffix remains the same in the whole inflection.

The preceding pages list a number of verbs containing the first two suffixes. The first of these is slightly more frequent (about 65 examples in the material) than the second (about 50 examples).

There are four examples with /-eɫ-/ in the material:

Kṭg Kc /dz^cɛɫnō/-o/ “to raise, wake up (tr.)” (Kṭg /^cūd^cz^cñō/ , Kc /^cūd^cz^cɪñō/ “to rise, wake up”). Besides this Kṭg. has /dz^cɛuñō/ , also used as an auxiliary verb in the periphrastic causative (see p. 181).

Kṭg Kc /dəkhɛɫnō/-o/ “to let see, show” (/dəkhñō/-o/).

Kṭg WKc /bəšɛɫnō/ “to seat” (Kṭg /bēšñō/ , WKc /bōšñō/).

WKc /sətɛɫno/ “to cause to sleep” (/sūtñō/).

Three examples containing /-aɫ-/ may be mentioned:

WKc /dz^cwəɫno/ “to raise, wake up (tr.)” (/^cūd^cz^cɪñō/).

Kc /bušāɫno/ “to seat” (/bōšñō/).

Kṭg /gəsraɫnō/ “to move something with force” seems to be a causative even if no principal verb is found in the material, but cp. H /ghusaɾnā/ “to be thrust in”. J /ghuseɾnu/ “to throw in” is a

causative of the short base (see CD */ghuss-/) with a suffix which is related to /-ε|-/.

The following example containing the suffix /-ar-/ can be mentioned:

Kc /su'tarno/ "to cause to sleep".

Among the verbs in /-au-/ , /-eu-/ some have /-Cau-/ , /-Ceu-/ , i.e. the suffix with a prefixed consonant.

The verbs Kc /khilauno/ "to feed" from /khāno/ and Kṭg /dālauno/ "to cause to be given, to let be given" may be loanwords from Hindi. See /khēuno/ below.

The suffix /-ṇeu-/ occurs in:

Kṭg /pṇeuṇō/ "to give to drink" (/pṇō/). In a genetic respect this is a denominative, from /pani/ "water".

Kṭg /nṇēṇō/ "to cause to bathe" (/nēṇō/ , /nē:ṇō/).

Kṭg /sṇeuṇō/ "to make tolerable" (/sē:ṇō/ "to bear") is possibly another example.

The following instances with /-eu-/ , /-au-/ instead of the vowel(s) of the principal verbs should be noticed:

Kṭg WKc /khēuṇō/ "to give to eat" (/khāṇō/-o/), cp. Kul. /khiyā-ṇā/, Ṭhakur 1975 p. 287.

Kṭg /dzeuṇō/ "to revive, resuscitate" (/dziuṇō/).

Kṭg /ḍeuṇō/ "to move, lead" (/ḍeuṇō/ "to go").

Kṭg /ṛauṇō/ "to cause to fly, chase away (flies, birds)" (/ṛeuṇō/ "to fly").

Kṭg WKc /nēṇō/-o/ "to cause to bathe, to wash (somebody)" (Kṭg /nēṇō/ "to bathe", WKc /nēṇō/). Kṭg. has also /nṇēṇō/ (see above). Kṭg /nēṇō/ as well as the WKc. word are involitive forms. The only difference between the causative and involitive forms of this verb in Kṭg. is their tones which are due to normal sound changes.

Bailey LSTHim 1920 cites the following causative forms from the Kc. dialect of North Jubbal: khēṇo "to cause to eat", pēṇo "to cause to drink" (p. 185). With pēṇo, i.e. /pēṇo/, cp. the Panjabi causative /pyāuṇā/.

Three-member groups as in Hindi (e.g. H. /marnā: mārnā:/ /marvānā/, Mc Gregor 1972 p. 113) do not occur in Kṭg. Kc.

The suffix /-au-/ and to some extent /-eu-/ can be traced back to OI and MI. It is a well known fact that NI /-āu-/ is to be derived from OI /-āpaya-/ , MI /-āve-/ ~ /-āva-/. As for Kṭg Kc /-eu-/ it can at least

be said to be related to /-au-/. Other NI languages, e.g. Nepali, employ a suffix /-yāu-/ which would lead to /-εu-/ in Kṭg. It is probable that the suffix has penetrated the Kc area from Kṭg.

In Nepali /-yāu-/ is used in causatives and factitives corresponding to passive (involitive) and predicative verbs with the morpheme /-i-/, e.g. /choṭyāunu/ “to make little, shorten”: /choṭinu/ “to be little”. See Turner, Nep. sub /-yāunu/. It is perhaps not accidental that the majority of the denominative verbs in the material have /-εu-/. Notice especially the factitive Kṭg /khəreunō/ as opposed to the predicative Kṭg /khōr^cnō/, Kc /khōriṇo/.

All denominative verbs of Himachali have suffix forms. Besides the examples cited above the following instances may be mentioned:

Kṭg /kətshēunō/ “to tie a burden with straps to be carried on the back” (/kāt:shu/ “strap for carrying a burden on the back”).

Kṭg /kəmaunō/ “to earn money” (/ka:m/ “work”).

Kṭg /pəlrēunō/ “to beat (somebody) with a shoe” (/pəl̥rə/ “shoe”).

See also Kṭg /rəšāunō/, /dəl̥^cēunō/, /pəthrēunō/, /pəṇēunō/, /khəreunō/ above.

Notice that some of the denominative verbs are intransitive, e.g. /kəmaunō/.

Special mention must be made of the peculiar Kc inflection of suffix verbs in /-au-/ and /-εu-; this is due to the change of intervocalic /w/ to /b/ and /w̄/ to /m/: pret.m.sg. /kərab:o/, pret. f.sg. /kərab:e/; pres. 2.3. sg.pl. /kərab:a/; but with /m/ due to the originally nasalized /-u/ of pres. 1.sg.: /kəram:u/, and accordingly also in the 1 pl. /kəram:i/. However, also 1 sg. /kəraū/, 1 pl. /kərai/ occur. WKc. has /m/ in all present forms: /kəram:u/, /kəram:i/, /kəram:a/. The verb Kc /nauno/ “to bend” (not to be confused with Kṭg /ṇaunō/ “to cause to be brought”) which is used as an auxiliary in the periphrastic causative has /m/ in the whole inflection due to the nasality caused by the initial /n/; likewise the corresponding WKc verb /neuno/.

In Kṭg /w/ may appear instead of /u/ before the morphemes /a/ and /i/ in the present: /kərawa/, /kərawi/ beside /kəraua/, /kəraui/. If the morpheme /-u/ of the 1. sg.pres. follows, the final /u/ of the causative base is missing and the morpheme is often nasalized: /kərau/ ~ /kəraū/. Also in the 1. pl. and in front of the involitive morpheme /-i-/, the /u/ may be missing: /kərai/, /kəraia/. In the

preterite the base ends in /uw/: /kərauwo/ (for an explanation see p. 175). In the preterite of the involitive the /u/ of the causative base is missing in front of the involitive morpheme: /kərauwo/.

The suffixless verbs.

The suffixless verbs have preserved the OI vowel alternation between the principal verbs and their causative forms. The relations /i/: /e/ and /u/: /o/ are well-known from Sanskrit and so is the relation /a/: /ā/ (short /a/ as opposed to long /a/) which has led to Kṭg Kc /o/: /a/.

The principal type V□v□ mentioned above can usually be traced back to an OI or MI verb base with a short syllable, in most cases containing short /a/, preceded by a preverb which in the NI form of the word has the stress, e.g. Pk. /sambhal-/ “is attentive”, from which comes Kṭg /sombhā-/-. In the causative OI and MI have a long vowel in the base instead of the short, thus /sambhāl-/ giving Kṭg /səbhā-/.

It is remarkable that the verbs following the suffixless inflection are causatives of intransitive verbs, while the same semantic limitation is not found in the suffix verbs which have a number of transitive verbs among their principal words.

The third class is not an established grammatical feature. It is formed in several different ways and has not one, but several functions. This fact is to some extent a heritage from OI where the verb forms in /-aya-/, /-āpaya-/ have different functions.

Remarks on the syntax of the causative verbs.

The causative verb has a double nature in so far as it morphologically and semantically incorporates the principal verb, adding an extra element which may be called the causation. It expresses the calling into being of what is expressed by the principal verb. In the periphrastic causative (see p. 181) the two elements of the causative verb are kept apart. It is analytic or composite, consisting of the principal verb and an auxiliary verb which expresses the causation, while the causative verb is inanalytic. What is agent and patient of the inherent principal verb bears a different relation to the causative verb; at the same time a new agent is added. As for the definition of agent and patient see below.

The agent of an intransitive principal verb is the patient of the corresponding causative verb, e.g. *Kt̥g* /s̄ ʰās:a/ “he laughs”, but with the causative verb /mū: ʰəsāu tēu/ “I make him laugh”; /s̄ mē: ʰəsāuwɔ/ “I made him laugh”.

If the principal verb is transitive, the situation becomes more complicated. The inherent principal verb can have, and quite often has, both an agent and a patient, e.g. *Kt̥g* /s̄ šik:ha gredzı/ “he learns English”; /merε tı jɔ ʰi gi:t šik:hı nı/ “I have only learnt this song”. In this last example the agent appears in the relational (/merε/) because the verb is in the static participle. With the causative verb the principal patient remains a patient. The principal agent is sometimes the patient of the causative verb; sometimes its agent aspect appears. If when being the patient it is the subject of a form with passive value it is a requirement that the principal patient should be absent, this necessarily being the subject if it were present. The principal patient may be present or absent when the principal agent is the object; thus the causative verb can have two objects. Finally, the agent aspect of the principal agent can be expressed by means of the postpositions and, in certain pronouns, case morphemes /ka/ or /kε/, in this connexion approximately corresponding in meaning to English “by”. As far as can be seen, this only happens when the principal patient is present; the verb may be active or passive.

Examples are:

The principal agent as object, *Kt̥g* /s̄ šəkhēua tshō:ʈu/ “he teaches his son”.

The principal agent and patient as objects, /s̄ mū: gredzı šəkhēua/ “he teaches me English”.

The principal agent in the /ka/ form, the principal patient as object, /s̄ muk:a gredzı šəkhēua/ “he teaches me English”.

The principal agent in the /kε/ form, the principal patient as subject, /tın:ı muk:ε bəkhnāɔ šəkhēuwɔ/ “he taught me a proverb”.

The principal agent as subject of a verb form with passive value, *Kc* /dalji re thē sē šəkhēb:ε de ki “tu: ıɔo ıɔo kɔre”/ “the miser had taught her, “you should do thus and thus”” (Texts, p. 47, 1. 13).

Note regarding the terms agent and patient

Since there are different views of what is meant by the terms agent and patient it will be necessary to define their use in this work. The two terms indicate certain functional relations between the noun (comprising substantives and pronouns) and the verb, the noun or nominal concept being either an agent or a patient. It is futile in my opinion to attempt a semantic definition of these relations. They are to be defined morphologically and syntactically.

In a morphological respect the two relations are expressed either by the noun or by the verb. In the Himachali dialect group as in the NI languages in general the agent appears in the instrumental or the relational when expressed by the noun. An agent of this kind may be called actor. When being the patient, the noun is in the cases appropriate for the object, i.e., in Himachali, the direct or the oblique cases. The actor and the object are consequently always agent and patient respectively in relation to the verb with which they are syntactically connected. The verb expresses the two relations in such a way that a personal verb form in the active refers to the agent while it refers to the patient if it is in the passive or has a related value (in Himachali e.g. the involitive). Thus the subject is either agent or patient depending on the verb. The agent and patient relations are defined by these double functions, that of agent by the functions of actor and of the subject of an active verb form, and that of patient by the functions of object and of the subject of a passive verb form.

The impersonal infinite verb forms may have a noun belonging to them in the relation of agent or patient without any such relation being morphologically expressed. This is often the case in certain syntactic constructions which contain an impersonal infinite verb form dependent on a syntactically superior verb and in which a noun is morphologically expressed as being agent or patient in relation to the superior verb, the noun at the same time being understood as having one of these relations to the subordinate infinite verb. Such infinite verb forms in Himachali are the gerund and the infinitive (see p. 185 f.). Another case of latent agent and patient appears in the syntax of the causative verbs, as has been mentioned above. A simple test of ascertaining the relation between the noun and the impersonal verb is to transform

the verb into a personal verb form. The agent or patient relation will then be expressed either by the noun or the verb in the way mentioned above.

THE TENSES

The present

In MI the present indicative has been confused with the optative, after the bases in /-e-/ from OI bases in /-aya-/ encroached on the domain of the /-a-/ bases (Pischel § 472) and after MI ind. /-ai/ converged with opt. /-e/, /-ei/. Already in Sanskrit the distinction between the pres.ind. and the opt. is about to disappear (Speijer 1886 §§ 458b, 468, 471; Bloch 1934 p. 224). The ambiguity of the old present with regard to mood is the reason why the NI languages to a large extent use the present participle to express the present indicative.

The Kṭg. Kc. inflection of the present indicative has a complex origin; it consists partly of old finite forms and partly of an old participle.

The morpheme of the 1.sg. /-u/ is related to /-ũ/ of Hindi etc. After a vowel, nasalization may be heard, e.g. Kṭg /kərau/ ~ /kəraũ/, due to its preservation in postvocalic position. See below concerning 2.3.sg.pl. /-a/. The source of /-u/ is Ap. /-aũ/, probably from Pk. /-ami/ with change of intervocalic /m/ to /v̄/, i.e. [w̄], and loss of final /i/. The ending appears in the form /-aṽi/ in one Ap. work, the Harivaṃśa-purāṇa, see Tagare 1948 p. 287. As suggested by Bloch 1934 p. 247 one may reckon with an influence from the first person pronoun.

Examples: Kṭg /mū: mōru bī ɔr dziu bī, ˚āt:shɛ rədzwaɛ di mū: pɛdɔ bī ˚ɔu ɔr mōru bī/ "I die and revive, I am constantly born into a royal family and then die again" (Texts p. 25). Kc /āũ dʒjār˚ci kōru iŋo i/ "I do daily like this". The function may approach that of the future or the subjunctive, e.g. Kṭg /roṭ:i dɛu tal:ɛ, ap:u kɛ šaktɔ ɔr maṭ:ɔ khāu/ "if I give you the loaf must I then eat gravel and clay myself?".

The morpheme of the 1.pl. /-i/ is related to that of Maiṭhili (/i/

and /-īe/), Panjabi and Gujerati /-īe/. Also the Hindi polite imperative in /-ie/ belongs here. These morphemes come from MI forms of the 3.sg. passive, /-īai/ or /-īei/, as has been observed by Turner (BSOS VII p. 399) and Bloch (1934 p. 248). As in other cases only the first vowel of the three-vocalic unstressed vowel sequence has remained in Kṭg and Kc. The pronouns of the first plural Kṭg /^əām:ε/ and Kc /am:a/ serve, as has been mentioned above, both for the direct and the instrumental. Thus Kṭg /^əām:ε bol:i/, Kc /am:a bol:i/ must be supposed to have meant originally “by us is said”, “by us may be said”. Kṭg Kc /-i/ is used with both an indicative sense and a broader one embracing the future and the subjunctive in the same manner as the morpheme of the 1.sg., e.g. Kṭg /mū: tum:a lε jō dōsṇō tsāu ki ^əām:ε pā:ri lo:g kεṅkε rōi/ “I want to tell you how we Paharis live”; Kc /ab:e am:a caṇi roṭ:i/ “let us now cook food”.

The morpheme /-a/ is used in the 2. and 3. persons in the singular and plural. It may also be used in the Kṭg. dialect in the 1.pl. beside /-i/. The Kc. dialect of Surkhuli described by Bailey 1920 p. 148–158 has /-ā/, i.e. long /a/, in all persons, followed by the verb “to be”. The same is the case in Kului which has e.g. /uṭhā sā/ in the three persons of the singular and /uṭhā sī/ in the plural (/uṭhṇā/ “to rise”). See Thakur 1975 p. 299 foll. The most important feature is found in a sub-dialect of one of the northern Himachali dialects, Maṇḍi Siraji, which has a present participle in /-ā̃/, the same morpheme being used in the present indicative (Bailey 1920 p. 227). Bailey has LNHim 1908 II p.1 directed attention to the possibility of a relationship with Kashm. /-ān/, the morpheme of the pres. partc., e.g. /gupān/ “concealing”; when used together with the verb “to be” it expresses the pres.ind., e.g. /boh chus gupān/ “I conceal”. The origin seems to be the Sk. middle pres.partc. in /-āna-/ or in /-amāna-/ (see Bloch 1934 p. 260 bottom).

There is no doubt that Bailey’s suggestion of a connection between the Kashmiri and the Himachali morphemes is correct. The change of MI vowel + /n/ + vowel to nasalized vowel in unstressed final position and the subsequent loss of the final nasalization is regular in Kṭg. Kc. The nasalization is, however, facultatively preserved in postvocalic position, e.g. /sɔ niā̃/ ~ /sɔ nia/ “he leads”. See above concerning 1.sg. /-u/. The Himachali present morpheme /-ā̃/, /-a/ forms an important connecting link with the Dardic languages. It is a puzzling fact, however, that the

pres.partc. in living use in Himachali, except the above-mentioned dialect, is the one having the morpheme /-(n)do/ (also found in Maṇḍi Siraji). It is used together with the negation /neī/ “not, is not”, e.g. Kṭg /sɔ neī ā:ndɔ/ “he is not coming”. It is rather exceptional to use /-a/ here, even if it is possible, e.g. /sɔ neī tsal:a/ “he is not leaving”.

All the Himachali dialects have morphemes corresponding to Kṭg Kc /-a/. The /-ā/ of Maṇḍeali and the long /-ā/ of Kului have been mentioned. Jaunsari has /-ō/ in all persons singular and plural; the same morpheme occurs in a sub-dialect of Sirmauri in the 3.sg. and pl. Baghaṭi has /-o/ in the 2.3.sg.pl. In Kyoṇṭhli, /-o/ is the morpheme of the 3.sg.pl. Jaunsari and Kyoṇṭhli show the change, regular in these dialects, of final unstressed long /-ā/ to /-o/. The nasalized /-ō/ of Jaunsari is remarkable. This dialect preserves nasalization of final unstressed vowels and thus lends support to a derivation of Kṭg Kc /-a/ from /-ān/. The Sirmauri and Baghaṭi morphemes seem to have been borrowed from the neighbouring dialects.

Some of the above-mentioned languages have more or less preserved the old finite person morphemes, thus 2.sg. Jaun. /-ē/, Kyoṇṭh. and Sirm. /-e/ from Ap. /-ahi/, Pk. and Sk. /-asi/. Jauns. Sirm. 2.pl. long /-ō/ comes from Ap. /-ahu/; the last-mentioned morpheme is widespread in NI. The 2.pl. /-o/ of Kyoṇṭhli and Baghaṭi may have the same origin.

In the 1.sg. and pl. the same dialects have a long /-ū/, in Jaunsari and to some extent Sirmauri with nasalization. The source of the /-u/ in the 1.pl. is Ap. /-ahū/. Jaunsari has, as mentioned above, /-ō/ as an alternative in all personal forms.

The verb “to be” having the base /as-/ , /ɔs-/ has the same person morphemes in Kyoṇṭhli (1.sg.pl. /ɔs:u/, 2.sg. /ɔs:e/, 2.pl. and 3.sg.pl. /ɔs:o/) while its inflection is more or less defective in the other dialects. In Jaunsari, /ɔsō/, /asō/ and in Kṭg., /ās:a/ is uninflected. This is also the case with Kc /sē/ which only seems to occur together with /ka/ “what”, e.g. /eo ka: sē/ “what is this”. In other combinations /^cè/ is used in Kc., probably related to /hai/ in Hindi and other NI languages. The source of /as-/ seems to be OI */āsyate/, cp. Sk. /āste/ “to sit, remain”, Kashm. /ās-/ “to be” (see CD 1480 āsate). Kṭg. also has /a/ “am, are, is”, a shortened form of /ās:a/.

The remarkable present inflection in Kc. of verbs in /-au-/, /-eu-/

(e.g. /kəram:u/-m:i/-b:a/) has been mentioned in the treatment of the third class verbs.

The imperfect

This is expressed periphrastically by means of the pres.ind. + the preterite of the verb "to be": Kṭg /tɔ/, Kc /thō/. This tense expresses habitual or continued past, e.g. Kṭg /dzu:ṇ sō bʰat:əṇ tɪ sō tēu bʰat:a lɛ kēb:ʰi ʰātshkɛ na khāṇa lɛ dɛa tɪ, na ʰātshkɛ tē: sōṅgɛ bol:a tɪ/ "that wife of the Brahman was never giving him food in a proper way nor speaking properly to him"; Kc /tēs re dora thō nam:a ka bɪ/ "he was afraid even of his name".

Similar combinations are found in other NI languages, e.g. in Rajasthani. Eur. Gypsy contains a form which possibly in principle is an exact parallel if the final /-as/ of the imperfect forms is a relic of the imperfect of OI and MI /as-/ "to be": e.g. /kerélas/ "he was doing" corresponding to the present /kerél(a)/ "he does".

The preterite

The preterite is expressed by means of the preterite participle. The verb is accordingly inflected as a predicative adjective of the first class in agreement with the subject.

If the verb is intransitive the preterite is active, having the agent as subject, e.g. Kṭg /sō tsal:ɔ/, Kc /sēo tsal:o/ "he went away"; Kṭg /sō bēš:ɔ/, Kc /sēo bōt:ho/ "he sat down".

If the verb is transitive the preterite takes a passive construction, i.e. the patient is the subject and the agent is in the instrumental (regarding the terms agent and patient see p. 157), e.g. Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ e:k khāndzɪ tē: lɛ dɪn:ɪ/ "he gave him a tambourine"; Kc /'sāu'kara tsuṅgɛ šɪ:l kān:ʰa māt:hi/ "the money-lender shouldered the stone".

Constructions lacking subjects, known from other NI languages, e.g. Hindi, with the agent in the instrumental even when the verb is intransitive, and the patient as object if the verb is transitive, are not found in Kṭg. Kc.

The preterite may be used about the present and the future,

especially in conditional clauses (these are quite often main clauses indicating the condition of the following clause), e.g. Kc /dzao na °uo, ta šō:g na °uo/ “if one has no son one has no grief”; Ktg /dzɛɲiɛ sō g°òɾɛ gāɛ bēš:ɪ tɛɲiɛ tu: eɟiɛ lae/ “as soon as she has sat down on the horse you must spur it”. It is the past seen as a condition in a future perspective which makes the preterite suitable to be used about the present and even (in conditional sentences) the future. The first, gnomic, example is of a different nature; here the preterite indicates what is known from experience.

Even if the preterite of transitive verbs has a passive construction, it is not a passive in the true sense of that concept. The preterite is a sort of replica of the present; it has an enforced passive construction. In my thesis *Syntax of the infinite verb-forms of Pali*, 1944, I have suggested calling it “inverted construction”. The relation between the agent and patient on the one hand and verb forms dependent on the main verb on the other remains the same in the active construction and in the “inverted” (see p. 185 f.).

Sometimes a preterite in what appears to be the feminine form in the singular not referring to a feminine subject is used, e.g. Ktg /tin:°ɛ tē: lɛ nak:ɪ/ “they refused him it”; Kc /g°òɾɛa lae a:dmi de pətshāria/ “the horse kicked the man” (lit. “struck at the man with his hind legs”). From Kyoṅṭhli J mentions (sub ná) /tiɲiɛ °ā: na: ni dit:i:/ (with our notation) “he did not say yes or no”.

The feature is not limited to the preterite; thus in the future Kc /tsāe kūtsh bɪ lag:a le/ “whatever one may wish will happen”, i.e. “happen what may”. Bailey 1920, p. 211 mentions from the dialect which he calls Eastern Suketi and which is close to Ktg the following example *mā* (obl.) *nī jāṅī* “I will not go”.

There are examples also in other NI languages, thus Kashmiri (Grierson, 1911, vol. II sub tsuv- “to quarrel”, e.g. *tsuvü-n* “he quarrelled”, lit. “it was quarrelled (fem.) by him”); Panjabi (Clair Tisdall, *Simplified grammar and reader of Panjabi*, reprint 1961 (New York), p. 46 *Nānak ne ikk na mannī* “Nanak did not heed one (word)”; Rajasthani (LSI IX 2, p. 42 *ū nai pūchī* “he asked”). From Old- and Middle Bengali, Chatterji 1926, vol. II p. 946 foll. mentions preterite forms in short or long /i/.

In some of the instances a word with feminine gender may be understood, thus a substantive meaning “matter, word, speech”

like Ktḡ /gɔl/, Kc /bū:š/, both words being feminine, with verbs denoting utterance ("say, ask" etc.) or understanding; or a word meaning "blow" with verbs meaning "to strike". As suggested by Chatterji l.c. the ending may in a number of cases come from the OI and MI unenlarged ending of the pret. partc., i.e. from MI /-iō/, /-iā/, /-iā/. In the same way the future form /jāñī/ mentioned by Bailey may go back to an OI gerundive form in /-anīya-/.

The future

The morphology and to some extent the syntax of the future is altogether different in the two dialects.

The Kc form of the future is periphrastic consisting of the present indicative + a participle /lo/ which is inflected in the two genders and numbers in agreement with the subject according to the first class of the adjectives. Thus from e.g. /korno/ "to do" the forms are, in the masculine 1.sg. /koru lo/, 2.3.sg. /kora lo/, 1.pl. /kori la/, 2.3.pl. /kora la/; in the feminine 1.sg. /koru le/, 2.3.sg. /kora le/, 1.pl. /kori li/, 2.3.pl. /kora li/.

In WKc the verb follows the inflection of the subjunctive: 1.sg. and pl. /koru/, 2.3.sg. and pl. /kore/ after which /lo/, inflected as above, follows.

The principle of the Kc future form is the same as that of the imperfect. A corresponding form occurs in e.g. Hindi which has /karū gā/ "I will do". Future forms containing an /l/ element are found in other NI languages, e.g. in the Rajasthani dialect Jaipuri, in Marāṭhi and in the Himalayan languages Bhadarvahi, Gaṛhvali, Kumauni and Nepali. Within Himachali it is found in Kyoṇṭhli, Baghaṭi, Sirmauri and Kuḷui. The mechanism varies from language to language: sometimes the /l/ element has a nominal inflection, sometimes a verbal, at other times there is a combination of both kinds of inflection. A similar variation is found in the main verb. The /lo/ in Kc., Jaipuri and other NI languages is undoubtedly originally a preterite participle. In Bloch 1934 p. 290 foll., where a treatment of this and similar periphrastic forms is to be found, the author suggests the verb /lā-/ "to take" to be the source. It is perhaps better to seek its source in the homonymous verb /lā-/ "to apply, attach" (see Vocab. /la:ṇō) so that the meaning would be something like "is attached (on doing)". In any case, the participle

has had a resultative sense, as is no doubt also the case with /gā/ in H. /karū gā/ for which Bloch 1934 p. 290 suggests the translation “je suis parti” (/gā/ from /gayā/). It is almost impossible in this as in many other cases of periphrase to pin down the exact contents of the expression. There is probably a long history behind it with changes and rearrangements of the elements of the original idiom or idioms, as is suggested by the great variety of the /l/ periphrases.

The future in Kṭg. is more complex than that of Kc. It contains 1. /m/ morphemes which follow the base and are only used in the first persons, 1.sg. /-mu/, 1.pl. /-mε/; 2. a morpheme /-ṅɔ/ which is inflected in number and gender according to the first adjective class, agreeing with the subject. It is used in all three persons in both numbers. This form is active with intransitive verbs and passive with transitive. In the last case the construction is “inverted”, having an enforced passive, as in the preterite. The agent is in the relational if the form in /-ṅɔ/ has passive value.

Examples with /deuṅō/ “to go”, /bakri tsarni/ “to graze goats”:

1.sg. /mū: deumu/, /mū: tsarmu bakri/; /mū: deuṅɔ/-1/, /mere bakri tsarni/.

1.pl. /^cām:ε deume/, /^cām:ε tsarme bakri/; /^cām:ε deuṅε/-i/, /m^care bakri tsarni/.

2.sg. and pl. /tu: deuṅɔ/-1/, /tere bakri tsarni/; /tum:ε deuṅε/-i/, /thāre bakri tsarni/.

3.sg. and pl. /s̄ deuṅɔ/-1/, /tē:re (tēε) bakri tsarni/; /s̄ deuṅε/-i/, /tīn:ε bakri tsarni/.

The form in /-ṅɔ/ is by origin a gerundive; the sense of what is due or necessary has led up to that of the future tense. Forms like /deuṅɔ/ with active value are pure future forms. They cannot be interpreted as being gerundives because the active sense is not compatible with that category. The fact that such forms are active is probably due to analogical influence from other verb forms, e.g. the futures with /-mu/, /-mε/ and the preterite. As for the passive /-ṅɔ/ forms, it is not always possible to decide whether they have pure future function or that of the gerundive; the two senses are close to each other. The sentence /mere bakri tsarni/ means “I shall graze goats” as well as “I have to graze goats”.

Also the intransitive verbs may have passive value. In this way an intention or necessity is indicated; the agent which is in the

relational is generally the first person. The verb, which is in the dir.sg.m., lacks a subject. E.g. /kal:ε m^càre dzatra lε ðeunō/ “tomorrow we will go (or: “we must go”) to the market”. Notice the following two examples containing the same verb with active and passive construction respectively, the first indicating the future, the second the intention or necessity: /mū: ēb^c:i koi ād:^cε g^càñte dī rō:ñɔ dziundɔ, tēt:ha ba:d mornɔ mū: poru/ “I shall remain alive now for about half an hour, thereafter I shall die” (Texts p. 24,9); /ēu dēš:a dī m^càre ni: rō:ñō/ “we will not (or: “are not to”) stay in this country”. The passive construction of intransitive verbs has usually the infinitive form in /-ñō/ or rather, the gerundive is identical with the infinitive. By extension also the transitive passive may have the infinitive form: /merε ka:m kornō/.

The /m/ morphemes

The /m/ morphemes of the 1.sg. and pl. are widespread in Himachali. They are found in Koṭgarhi, Kyoñṭhi, its sub-dialect Koṭkhai, Baghaṭi, Jaunsari, East Mañḍeali (Bailey 1920 p. 230) and Suket Siraji (Bailey 1920 p. 221). Only Koci, Sirmauri and Kului are without them.

In trying to find the source of the /m/ morphemes, one cannot help noticing a similarity of the future morphemes of the first persons to the corresponding pronouns. Thus compare Kṭg /-mu/ with /mū:/, /-me/ with /^cām:ε/; Kyoñṭh. 1.sg. /-ā/ (/ṭipuā/ “I shall beat”) with /ā/ “I”, 1.pl. /-mē/ (/ṭipumē/) with /hamē/ “we”; Bagh. 1.pl. /-mē/ (/ṭipmē/) with /hamē/; Jaun. 1.pl. /-mē/ (/mārmē/) with /āmē/; East Mañḍ. 1.pl. /-me/ (/nāhūme/ “we shall go”) with /hāme/; Suket Siraji 1.pl. /-me/ (/pōrme/ “we shall fall”) with /hāme/. Only Koṭkhai (1.pl.fut. /-mē/) does not exhibit any similarity to the pronoun judging by the information available.

It is to be noticed that the pronoun and the future in Kyoñṭhi are inflected according to gender. Joshi 1911 (see má) mentions the following two sentences with a verb in the 1.pl. future: hámeñ karumé in the masculine, hámi karumi in the feminine. This is clear evidence of a connection between the pronoun of the first person in the plural and the corresponding verb form of the future, being due to either genetic causes or to associations of a later date.

Outside Himachali /m/ morphemes in the future are found in the hill languages north of Himachali, i.e. Curahi, Bhadravahi and

Bhalesi: Cur. 1.sg. /demā/, pl. /demē/; Bhadr. 1.pl. /kuṭmē/, /kuṭmlē/ “we shall beat”; Bhal. 1.pl. /kuṭmēl/ (Varma 1948 p. 46). These morphemes do not exhibit any similarity to the pronoun which has 1.sg. /aũ/, and /s/ instead of /m/ in the 1.pl. in all three languages, e.g. Cur. /ässē/ “we”.

All the above-mentioned languages have /m/ in the 1.pl. In the 1.sg. the following /m/ morphemes occur: Kṭg /-mu/, Kyoṅṭh. /-mā/ (beside /-ā/), Jauns. /-mo/, Suket Siraji /-mā/, Cur. /-mā/.

In the remaining languages other morphemes or auxiliaries are used in the 1.sg.: Koṭkhai /lā/ (/māru lā/), Bagh. /-e/ (/ṭīpue/), East Maṇḍ. /be/ or Ø (/nāhū be/, /nāhū/), Bhadr. /-lo/ (/kuṭlo/), Bhal. /-un/ (/kuṭṭon/).

In the second and third person singular and plural, /l/ elements are used by all the above mentioned languages except Koṭgarhi, Jaunsari, East Maṇḍeali and Suket Siraji. In addition, Koci, Kului and Sirmauri possess such /l/ elements. Also the hill languages spoken to the east of Himachali, Garhvali, Kumauni and Nepali, use /l/ morphemes in the future. Some of the languages have an analytical construction with the /l/ element functioning as an auxiliary participle. This is the case with Koci, as we have seen; moreover with Kyoṅṭhli (and its sub-dialect Koṭkhai), and, as it seems, with Curahi, Bhadarvahi and Bhalesi. Baghaṭi, Sirmauri and Kului use the /l/ element as an integrated part of the verb, i.e. as a morpheme following immediately after the verb base. The verb form is inflected as an adjective belonging to the first class, e.g. Bagh. 2.3.sg.m. /ṭīplā/, f. /-lī/; 2.3.pl.m. /ṭīplē/, f. /-lī/.

In Kyoṅṭhli, Koṭkhai and East Maṇḍeali the /m/ element is placed after the present form; it is properly a separate and independent word as the /l/ element is. Baghaṭi, Suket Siraji, Bhadarvahi and Bhalesi have integrated /m/ morphemes with gender inflection, e.g. Bagh. 1.pl.m. /ṭīpmē/, 1.pl.f. /ṭīpmī/.

The gender inflection of the /m/ elements, whether they from a descriptive point of view are independent words or morphemes, is probably influenced by that of the /l/ elements. These are no doubt from the outset participles, whereas the /m/ elements have a different origin. The /m/ elements of Kyoṅṭhli have on their part influenced the pronoun of the first plural so that it also became inflected according to gender.

It is tempting to identify the /m/ elements with the correspon-

ding pronouns and to assume an amalgamation of verb and pronoun. *Kṭg* /kɔrmu/ could come from */kɔru mū:/ and in the same way /c̣am:ɛ/ might have been joined to the 1.pl. form of the verb giving /kɔrmɛ/ as result. In *Kyoṇṭhli* it would seem evident that 1.sg.fut. /ṭipūā/ and 1.pl. fut. /ṭipūmē/ were formed in such a way that the pronouns /ā/ "I" and /hamē/ "we" were added to the verb-form /ṭipū/ of the 1.sg. and 1.pl. present.

Identity of the /m/ elements with the pronoun is, however, uncertain as it is not to be seen how the pronoun by itself could express the future. The origin of /m/ is therefore rather to be sought in the verb inflection itself.

In Prakrit, especially Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, one of the endings of the 1.pl. is /-mha/, e.g. /ciṭṭhamha/ "let us stand". According to Pischel 1900 §§ 455, 470 it belongs to the imperative, even if it is handed down in manuscripts as belonging to both the present indicative and the imperative. The correct ending in the indicative is /-mo/, naturally from OI /-mas/. (Jacobi 1886 attributes p. LXXI /-mha/ to both moods). Pischel derives § 470 /-mha/ from OI /-sma/, the 1.pl. ending of the s-aorist, from which the ending of Pa. 1.pl. preterite also comes, e.g. /agamamha/, /agamimha/. Its use in Pk. as an imperative ending is due to the OI injunctive.

In *Bhadravahi* and *Bhalesi* the morpheme of the 1.pl. subjunctive according to the LSI p. 895 is /-am/, which Varma 1948 p. 44 in a phonetically correct way writes /-əṃ/, e.g. /biṣ:əṃ/ "let us sit down". This probably comes from MI /-amha/. The voiced aspiration has been lost as usual in unstressed endings. The 2.pl.subj. /-əṭh/ of the two languages, e.g. /biṣ:əṭh/ (Varma l.c.), confirms such an assumption; it would be the regular outcome of MI /-attha/, cp. Pali /agamattha/. There is only a faint trace of this ending in the Prakrit form 2.pl. future /gacchihitthā/ mentioned by the Prakrit grammarians (Pischel § 520; Bloch 1934 p. 236); possibly also forms in /-ittha/ in Hybrid Sanskrit (Edgerton 1953 § 32.41-42).

We must also expect a certain amount of influence from the verb "to be" to have taken place. It is very probable that the 1.pl. present /Λm/ and 2.pl. present /Λth/ of *Bhadravahi* (Varma 1948 p. 39) go directly back to MI /amha/ or /amho/ and /attha/. *Bhalesi* has /ahəṃ/ and /ahəṭh/ with the morphemes mentioned above following the base /ah-/ , related to Him. /as-/.

In *Bhadravahi* the present indicative consists of the present

participle + the verb “to be”; in the 1.pl. and 2.pl. e.g. /pitəm/, /pitəth/ from /piṇu/ “to drink”. Bhalesi has the same form as Bhadarvahi in the 1.pl.; the 2.pl. consists of the pres.partc. alone, /pite/ (Varma 1948 p. 39, 42). It has gender and number inflection, e.g. 1.pl. Bhal. /pitim/ in the feminine.

In the Dardic languages north of the Bhadravahi group the 1.pl. ends in /-s/, the 2.pl. in /-th/. These have the same origin as the Bhadravahi and Bhalesi endings /-am/, /-əm/ and /-əth/, /(s)s/ being the regular result of OI /sm/ in those languages. See the inflection of the verb “to be” in Siraji, Rambani, Poguli in Bailey 1908 IV p. 36-60, e.g. Ramb. pres. 1. and 2.sg. /chu-s/, 3.sg. /chu/, 1.pl. /cha-s-am/ (i.e. /cha-s/ to which the ending of the 1.pl. subj. /-am/ (coming from MI /-āma/ or /-āmo/, thus genetically different from Bhadr. Bhal. /-əm/) has been added, cp. Siraji 1.pl.pres. /cha-s/), 2.pl./cha-th/, 3.pl. /chi/. The /-s/ of the 1.sg. naturally comes from OI /(a)smi/; in the 2. sg. from OI *(a)ssi/. Shiṇa has very much the same inflection; the forms of the verb “to be” in the present are: 1.sg. /hanu-s/, 2.sg. /hano/, 3.sg. /hanu/, 1.pl. /hane-s/, 2.pl. /hane-t/, 3.pl. /hane/ (Bailey, Grammar of Shina, 1924 p. 30). We may here call attention to the MI 1.pl.fut. /gacchihissā/ mentioned by the Prakrit grammarians (Pischel § 520: “ganz dunkel”; Bloch 1934 p. 236: “inexpliqué”).

It may be supposed that the Himachali dialects have had a form similar to that in /-əm/ of the 1.pl.subj. in Bhadravahi and Bhalesi. The change to a future morpheme /-mē/, /-mε/ may have been of the same nature as that met with in Bhadarvahi which has the future ending /-mlē/ consisting of the subjunctive ending and the /l/ morpheme of the future. The alternative Bhadr. morpheme /-mē/ probably comes from /-mlē/, unless it is due to the addition of an /-ē/ in analogy with the /-lē/ of the 2. and 3.pl.fut. In the Himachali dialects the ending /-me/ was reminiscent of the 1.pl. pronoun, and in analogy with it a pronominal form was also introduced in the 1.sg., thus Kṭg /kɔrmu/ after /kɔrmε/. In Kyoṇṭhli the future morphemes /-ā/ and /-mē/ were joined to the form of the present 1.sg. and pl. in /-ū/ under the influence of the other future forms in /-ē-lā/, /-ō-lā/ etc., and like these /-mē/ got a gender inflection.

The /m/ of East Maṇḍ. 1.pl. /-ūme/ may have a different origin: it may come from a nasalized /b/. Notice the alternative form with a particle /be/ (probably identical with Kṭg /bε/) added, e.g. /nāhū be/.

It is a dialectically remarkable fact that the MI morpheme /-mha/ occurs in the northern and eastern Prakrits, i.e. Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, not in Māhārāṣṭrī in the west nor in Ardha-Māgadhī in the south.

The only other NI occurrences with /m/ in the inflection of the future or subjunctive are found in some eastern languages (Magahi, East-Bengali and Oṛiya) and in Syrian Gypsy. In these languages /m/ appears in the 1.sg. only. The origin of the /m/ in Syrian Gypsy (/nanam/ "I may bring") is uncertain (connected with OI /asmi/?). The future of the eastern NI languages is formed by means of /b/ (ultimately from the gerundive, OI /-itavya-, MI /-iavva-) which in the 1.sg. became /m/ under the influence of the following nasalized vowel.

THE MOODS

The indicative occurs in the present, the imperfect, the preterite and the future. The subjunctive, the optative, the injunctive and the imperative may be said to belong to the present tense, while the expressive is a mood of the preterite.

The indicative

The only fact of interest to be mentioned here is that the 1.sg. present in /u/ and the 1.pl. present in /i/ may have a function verging on that of the subjunctive. Examples have been mentioned above p. 158 f.

The subjunctive and the optative

These two moods only distinguish themselves from each other in the 2. og 3. sing., where the subjunctive morpheme is /-e/ while the optative has /-o/. The remaining morphemes are: 1.sg. /-o/, 1.2.3.pl. /-e/. In the 1.sg. /-u/ occurs as an alternative and so do /-i/ and in WKc /-u/ in the 1.pl. and /-o/ in the 2.pl. As a general rule the subjunctive indicates injunction, the optative possibility. The optative often occurs in conditional and general relative sentences, while the subjunctive is common in main sentences.

Examples: 3.sg. Kṭg /s̄ ka:m kōre/ “he should do work” (subjunctive); /dzv:ṇ kuts s̄ kōro, s̄ ṭhī:k a/ “whatever he may do, is good” (optative); Kc /dzv:ṇ kuts s̄o kōro.../ (optative); 3.pl. Kṭg /dzv:ṇ kuts s̄ē kōre.../ “whatever they may do...” (optative); 2.sg. /khəbərda:r r̄ō, neī ta bəma:r ʔəe/ “be cautious, otherwise you will become ill” (subjunctive); /dzε tu: t̄ēu brāg:ᶜa dzᶜəṅgo t̄εb:ε d̄eu tal:ε na:m/ “if you kill that leopard I will give you a reward” (optative); Kc /dzab:e tu: ka:m kōro .../ “if you do the work...”; 3.sg. Kc /bol t̄ēs ka ki oru āš:e/ “tell him to come here” (subjunctive); 1.sg. Kṭg /mū: t̄ēu d̄ēk:ho ki s̄ō meri t̄ēī ā: ki neī/ “let me see if he comes for my sake or not” (subjunctive).

The verb /ʔə:ṇō/ has regular subjunctive and optative forms in the 2.3.sg., namely in /-e/ and /-o/ respectively, but also an irregular form /ʔə:/ with subjunctive as well as optative function. All examples in the material are from Kṭg. E.g. /khəbərda:r r̄ō neī ta bəma:r ʔəe/ “be careful, otherwise you will become ill” (2.sg.subj.); /p̄oṭo nīt:hi kidi s̄ō ʔəo/ “I do not know where he is” (3.sg.opt.); /ʔə:/ “yes” (lit. “let it be”) (3.sg.subj.); /dzeṇo p̄ərmīšwara l̄ε m̄əndzu:r ʔə: t̄eṇo kōrmu/ “as it pleases the Lord thus will I do” (3.sg.opt.); /s̄ō bī āo ʔə: ʔəm:ε bī tsal:e/ “when he comes we shall leave” (3.sg.opt., 1.pl. subj.). About a surmise: Kṭg /t̄in:ī s̄ōṭ:ho ki naie kaṅṅṇi nie ʔə:/ “he thought, “the barber must have taken the ring”” (3.sg.opt.).

The origin of the /e/ morphemes is evident. Kṭg Kc /-e/ comes from Ap. 2.sg. /-ehi/, 3.sg. /-ai/, /-ei/, 2.pl. /-eha/ and possibly 3.pl. /-ahim/, finally including also the 1.pl.

The source of the /-o/ forms of the optative is not as obvious. It may be sought in the MI impv. endings, Pk. /-amu/ for the 1.sg., Pk. Ap. /-au/ (Sk. /-atu/) for the 3.sg., and possibly Ap. /-ahu/ for the 2.sg.

The 2.pl. /-o/ is the well-know NI impv. morpheme, Ap. /-ahu/. The 1.sg. /-u/ and 1.pl. /-i/ are genetically identical with the indicative morphemes coming from MI morphemes with broad function embracing indicative and subjunctive. The 1.pl.subj. /-u/ in WKc. is related to the morphemes /-u/ or /-ū/ of the 1.pl.ind. and subj. in Kyoṅṭhli, Baghaṭi, Jaunsari and Sirmauri. It probably comes from Ap. /-ahū/.

The subjunctive and the optative are not well delimited against each other. There is only a morphological distinction in the 2.3.sg.

and their use overlaps. The explanation of the /o/ forms of the optative as coming from the OI and MI imperative is not easily reconciled with their use as expressions of potentiality. Instead one may try to view these forms as a comparatively recent feature. It may be due to the subjunctive-optative form /^ɕð:/ of /^ɕð:ṅō/, coming from the subjunctive form /^ɕḍe/. The distinction between /a:/ and /^ɕð:/ may have led to the creation of a form /kōro/ as opposed to /kōra/. Since the old form /kōre/ was already in use, the new form was specialized as being chiefly potential, possibly because /^ɕð:/ was mainly used with that function. The relation in Hindi between indicative /hai/ and subj. /ho/ is in a descriptive respect very much like the Himachali feature.

Morphemes of the 3.sg. and 3.pl., consisting of or containing /o/ or /u/ exist in Marāṭhi, Bengali and the eastern Bengali-centered language group. In these languages it is evident from their function as imperative or subjunctive that their origin is the OI and MI imperative endings with final /u/ (Sk. /-atu/, /-antu/).

The injunctive

This form which has /-i-/ as a morpheme has subjunctive, more rarely indicative function. The ending is genetically identical with the morpheme /-i/ of the 1.pl. coming from the MI passive optative /-īe/. It is an involitive form as appears from its syntax. Only the 3.sg. and pl. are used. There are no examples from Kc.

a. With subjunctive sense.

The verb is transitive: /gaḷi neī dēi/ “one should not scold”; /bōḷḍ aṅi bāiō/ “an ox should be bought (only) after ploughing”.

The agent is in the relational case, e.g. /tēb:ε m^ɕàrε ^ɕātshō na:ts kōri/ “then let us have a beautiful dance”.

The verb is intransitive: /^ɕātshkε šāiō bēš:i/ “one should look about oneself carefully before sitting down” (lit. “after observing well one should sit down”). From a verse: /mōriō ḍeui jōmpəri/ “after dying one has to go to the reign of the dead”.

b. With indicative sense.

The set form /bol:i/ has indicative meaning: “is said, is called”: /^ɕindu dī bol:i na b^ɕà:t/ “among Hindus they (ɔ: the priests) are called brahmans”. The word /dzāṅi/ is common in certain poetical contexts, e.g. /por^ɕu dzāṅi kaḡḷi aḷ/ “from afar a letter seems to have

come". In colloquial language /dzəni/ means "perhaps" (lit. "it may seem").

The sense of the injunctive form often approaches that of an injunction. The Hindi polite imperative in /-ie/ is related. The word /tsēī/ "is necessary" is by origin an injunctive of /tsā:ṇō/ "to desire", to be compared to H. /cāhie/.

The imperative

There are two kinds of imperative: direct and indirect. The direct imperative has a zero morpheme in the 2.sg. and /-o/ in the 2.pl., e.g. Kṭg Kc /kɔr/, /kɔro/ "do!". The indirect imperative has /-e/ in the 2.sg. In the 2.pl. Kṭg. has the same morpheme as in the direct imperative, while Kc has /-eo/. E.g. Kṭg Kc 2.sg. /kɔre/, 2.pl. Kṭg /kɔro/, Kc /kɔreo/. The indirect imperative indicates a mild request and a conditioned injunction, e.g. 2.sg. Kṭg /εṇɔ kɔre/, Kc /iṇɔ kɔre/ "you should do like this"; Kṭg /dzeb:i mū: ā:mu teb:i tum:ε εṇɔ kɔro/, Kc /dzeb:i āū āš:u lo teb:i tum:a iṇɔ kɔreo/ "when I come you shall do like this".

The direct imperative forms Kṭg /āc:h/ "come!" of /ā:ṇō/ and /ḍē/ "go!" of /ḍeuṇō/ are irregular.

The origin of the direct imperative is the MI imperative having the morphemes /-a/, /-u/ in the 2.sg., and, in Apabhramṣa, /-ahu/ in the 2.pl. Kṭg /āc:h/ comes from MI /āaccha/, Sk. /āgaccha/.

The morpheme /-e/ of the 2.sg. indir. impv. is genetically identical with the corresponding subjunctive morpheme. Kc /-eo/ seems to be an analogical extension with the 2.pl. morpheme /-o/ added.

In the 2.sg. of the direct imperative a high level tone is often heard if the stress is on the final syllable; the vowel is short, and the word pronounced with energy, e.g. /kɔr/ "do!"; /āṇ/ "bring!"; /bōl/ "speak!"; /pōrˈc u b^ˈādz/ "run away!".

I sometimes believed I heard an aspiration after the final consonant, e.g. /kɔr^c/.

A similar feature appears in Panjabi, but the high tone only appears here in vowel-final words, see Shackleton, Panjabi 1972, p. 68; Shankar, Dogri 1931, p. 32; Sharma 1974, p. 194. These authors do not mention anything about a final aspiration.

If there is a final aspiration, it can be traced back to the OI and

MI morpheme /-hi/ of the 2.sg.impv. Notice Dh. Varma 1935 § 215 where it is mentioned that ancient Braj has /-hi/ after verb bases in final vowel. This is in accordance with the Panjabi rule (mentioned by Shackle, Shankar and Sharma) that high tone only appears in verbs of that type.

The expressive

This peculiar feature is to be interpreted as a mood of the preterite, indicating sudden, violent incidents. It is only used in the 3.sg. and pl., and its form is equal to the verb base. The verb is quite often placed in the beginning of the sentence; in all my examples the verb comes before the subject. The agent and patient construction is the same as that of the preterite indicative. The form often has short vowel and high level tone.

Kṭg /ku:d sō ū:ṭ/ “suddenly the camel jumped”; /tsuŋ e:k etrō pāt:hər, ṭaḷ be sō məṭhīl:ɪ/ “up he took such a big stone and then he pressed it violently with his hand”; /tsuŋ dun:i rākṣe sē khəṛari, ṭaḷ ek:i duḷ:a dī tīn:ʼε khəṛariε gəsraḷɪ/ “the two trolls, up they lifted those axes and brandished them against each other”; /tīn:ɪ ṭaḷ sō cim:u dzōɾʼcɪ ka pəṭ:ɪ/ “he violently uprooted the mulberry tree”. The auxiliary /ṭaḷnō/ in the last sentences expresses in itself vehemence.

Kc /'sāu'kara tsuŋ daŋgro, ma:r sē kaṭ:ea/ “the money-lender suddenly lifted an axe and cut her dead” (Texts p. 49 l.5).

I do not know of a parallel to this in any other NI language. An explanation seems to be that it is an elliptic expression containing an action noun of the same kind as P. /mār/ f., H. /mār/ m. “beating, blow” (e.g. P. /mār mārī/ “a beating was given”), the noun being reinterpreted as a pret.partc. Or has it sprung from such MI short preterite participles as Pk. /mukka-/ (see p. 175 f.)?

THE INFINITE VERB FORMS

The present participle

This form comes from the OI and MI pres.partc. in /-nt-/ and /-nta-/. It ends in /-dɔ/-o/ after a verb base in consonant, e.g. Kṭg /kɔrdɔ/, Kc /kɔrdɔ/ “doing”, and in /-ndɔ/-o/ after a vocalic base, e.g. Kṭg /dɛndɔ/, Kc /dɛndɔ/ “giving”. Kc. has /-do/ after the empty /i/ of the second verb-class, e.g. /šūṇido/.

The verb /^oṇō/ “to be, become” has /^oṇdɔ/-o/ and /^oṇndɔ/-o/ in Kṭg. and Kc.

In quiet speech the /d/ always retains its pronunciation as a voiced dental stop due to the loose contact in consonant groups. Thus /caṇdɔ/-o/, /pṛṭdɔ/-o/ are normally pronounced /caṇṭdɔ/-o/, /pṛṭṭdɔ/-o/ with a minute interval.

The present participle functions as a main verb expressing the present together with the negatives /neī/, /na/, /ni/, e.g. Kṭg /mū: neī mandɔ/ “I do not agree”; Kc /ēś na dendo/ “I do not give this”. In positive sentences the pres.ind. is used. This difference is probably due to the fact that the proper meaning of /neī/ is “is not” which demands a verbal adjective as a main verb. A similar feature is found in Gujerati.

If the present participle is used predicatively in positive sentences it indicates something as being hypothetical as is the case in Hindi. In the Kc examples that I collected, the preterite of the verb “to be” was added. E.g. Kṭg /dzɛ ī tsu:l ^oṇdi tɛ ^oam:ɛ khāṇa lɛ caṇdɛ/, Kc /dzɛ:i id:a tsu:l ^oṇde thē tab:e am:a roṭ:i baṇḍa thā/ “if there was a fireplace here we would cook food”.

In Kṭg the present participle appears in non-predicative and non-attributive position in the direct case, 1. expressing intention and 2. together with /lagṇō/, /pɔṛṇō/. Examples: 1. /sō tshēuṛi maē bēšdɔ ɖeuɔ/ “he went to sit down among the women”; 2. /sɔ ^oṇdi paṇi sōṅɛ bō:ndɔ lag:ɔ/ “he began to float down (the river) with the water”; /sō ka:m kɔrdɔ lag:ɔ nɔ/ “he is doing work”; /sō pɔɔ pāthra tsuṅdɔ/ “he began to lift the stone”.

In the same constructions Kc. has the obl.sg.m. of the participle: /sē roṭ:i khānde g^oṛa āś:a/ “they come home to eat”; /lag:ɔ tīā šīl:a pudzde/ “he began to worship that stone”; /a:dmi ka:m kɔrde lag:ɔ do/ “the man is doing work”.

We have seen that the form in /-a/ of the 2.3.sg.pl. of the pres.ind. is an old pres.partc. Regarding the distribution of the two forms, that in /-(n)do/ and that in /-a/ (originally /-ā/), it is worth noticing that Maṇḍi Siraji, which has preserved the old function as pres.partc. of the form in /-ā/, has a pres. partc. with the morpheme /-(n)dā/ of the verb “to be, become” when this is 1. part of the static participle and 2. the pres.partc. of the involitive: /baitṭhīdā/ (stat.partc.) “seated”, /jāhndā/ (pres.partc.invol.) in the sentence /mere nehī jāhndā/ “I cannot go” (Bailey 1920 p. 227 foll.). The participial function of /-ā/, /-a/ seems to have been reduced in the majority of the Himachali dialects while /-(n)do/ has gained ground. It may be that the verb “to be, become” and the forms containing it (e.g. the static participle and the pres.partc. of the involitive) from the outset only had the /-(n)do/ form and that this has been a concurrent factor in extending the use of that form.

The preterite participle

This participle is important since the preterite tense is formed by means of it. It contains the morpheme Kṭg /-ɔ/, Kc /-o/ which follows the verb base, e.g. Kṭg /tsal:ɔ/, Kc /tsal:o/ from /tsalnō/-o/ “to walk”, Kṭg Kc /caṇɔ/-o/ “made” from /caṇnō/-o/, Kṭg Kc /paɔ/-o/ “thrown, put” from /paṇō/-o/.

The source is in most cases the preterite participle in /-ita-/ in OI and /-i(y)a-/ in MI. Some NI languages still bear traces of the /i/ of the OI and MI morphemes (e.g. Braj /-yo/, P. /-iā/), but it has vanished in Himachali as well as other NI languages, e.g. Hindi. Only if the base ends in /Vu/ as e.g. in causatives in /-au/ or /-εu/ does a remnant seem to be present, namely in the substitution of /uw/ for /u/ in the pret.partc. in Kṭg., e.g. /kərauɔ/ from /kərauñō/ “to cause to be done”, /tsələuɔ/ from /tsələuñō/ “to cause to walk”. Here /-auɔ/ comes from */-āwǰō/ < MI /-āvi(y)ao/. In the same way /ḍeuñō/ “to go” becomes /ḍeuɔ/. In Kc. the result is /b/ instead of /u/: /kərab:o/, /tsələb:o/, /ḍeb:o/.

The absence of /i/ has two causes: 1. An analogical process emerged from the feminine where the /i/ coalesced with the morpheme /i/. 2. Certain preterite participles did not contain OI /-ita-/ and/or MI /-i(y)a-/. This is the case with a) the irregular

pret.participles (see below) and b) the MI verbs whose bases ended in a long (geminated) consonant. Such verbs had /-a-/ as morpheme (Pischel § 566; Tagare 1948 § 148,2), e.g. Pk. /mukka-/ from /mukkaĩ/ “leaves, sets free”, Kṭg /mukṇō/ “to come to an end”, pret.partc. /muk:ɔ/ (see CD 10157 *mukna-); Ap. /tuṭṭa-/ , pret.partc. of /tuṭṭai/ “be broken”, Kṭg Kc /cuṭṭō/-o/ “to break (intr.)”, pret.partc. /cuṭ:ɔ/-o/ (CD 6065 truṭyati; /tr-/ > Him. /c-/ , Ap. /t-/); Pk. /lukka-/ “zerrissen, ausgerissen, versteckt” from /lukkaĩ/, Kṭg Kc /lukṇō/-o/ “to hide (intr.)” (CD *lukka-, lupta-, sub 11083 lupyate). Several of these cases are no doubt due to a morpheme /-na/ as indicated by Turner in CD. The identity of the verb base with that of the pret.partc. came into being in some instances by phonetic merging (e.g. Pk. Ap. /tuṭṭa-/ from */truṭ-na-/ or */truṭ-ta-/, /tuṭṭai/ from Sk. /truṭyati/), in other instances because a verb base was created on the basis of the pret.partc. (e.g. Kṭg Kc /pakṇō/-o/ “to be cooked” from /pak:ɔ/-o/ from Sk. /pakva-/). See Tagare 1948 p. 283.

There is only a handful of irregular pret.participles in Kṭg. Kc:

Kṭg Kc /kiɔ/-o/ from /kornō/-o/ “to do”, Sk. /krta-/, Pk. /kia-/.

Kṭg Kc /muɔ/-o/ from /mornō/-o/ “to die”, Sk. /mrta-/, Pk. /mua-/.

Kc. also has the regular form /moro/.

Kṭg /din:ɔ/ from /deṇō/ “to give”, Pk. Ap. /diṇṇa-/. Also found in European Gypsy as /dino/ and in Old Marāṭhi, Sindhi, Braj, Old Avadhi, Old Hindi and Sinhalese (see CD 6140 datta-).

Kc /deṇo/ from /deṇo/ “to give”. Similar forms are found in the neighbouring dialects Koci-Kuari and Koci Jubbal (Bailey 1920 p. 164, 181). Its origin is obscure.

In Kc. the verb /bōšṇo/ “to sit down” has beside the regular pret.partc. /bōš:ɔ/ the irregular /bōṭ:ho/, coming from either Sk. /viṣṭa-/, Pk. /viṭṭha-/ with /i/ > /u/ in connection with a retroflex consonant, or from MI */vuṭṭha-/, OI /uṣṭa-/, pret.partc. of /vasati/ whose root vowel appears in /bōšṇo/. Kṭg. has a regular pret.partc. /bēš:ɔ/ from /bēšṇō/ “to sit down”, but the closely related Rampur dialect has /biṭ:hɔ/ from /bišṇo/ (Bailey 1920 p. 139, biṭhau).

Kṭg Kc /gɔ/-o/ from /jaṇō/-o/ occurs as an auxiliary in perfective periphrases, sometimes in a longer form: /gɔo/ or /geo/ (probably due to influence from Hindi). The OI and MI forms are: Sk. /gata-/, Pk. /ga(y)a-/.

Kṭg Kc /^ʕũɔ/-o/ from /^ʕḍṇō/-o/ “to be, become”, Sk. /bhū-ta-/, Pk. /hūa-/.

Kc /tho/ “was”, Sk. /sthita-/, Pk. /thi(y)a-/ “settled”. In other Himachali dialects the form is /tho/, /thā/ or /thiā/. Cp. H. /thā/, N. /thiyo/. Kului has indeclinable /thī/ (Ṭhakur 1975, p. 298).

Kṭg /tɔ/ may have the same origin as the Kc. word, with loss of the aspiration in unstressed position. In an article “Two problems in New Indo-Aryan”, BSOAS XX, 1957, p. 329–333 I have, however, suggested another explanation. Forms with /t/ occur not only in Kṭg. and neighbouring Himachali dialects, but also in the Dardic language called Chinab Siraji by Bailey (1908, IV p. 36–45; Turner regards it in CD as a dialect of Kashmiri) which has /butō/ “was” and /tō/ when used as an auxiliary. As stated by Turner l.c. /butō/ is to be derived from Sk. /vṛtta-/, Pk. /vutta-/ in the meaning “passed, elapsed” (CD 12069 vṛtta-). It is tempting to include Avadhi /tā/, Rajasthani (Sirohi) /to/ and other similar cases, but it is uncertain whether they belong here. Among the Himachali dialects, the closest neighbours of Kṭg., i.e. Outer Siraji, Koci Kuari and Sainji, have /t/ forms (Bailey 1908 I p. 39, p. 53; 1920 p. 162).

The static participle

This consists of two verbal adjectives, namely the preterite participle and an auxiliary, /ndɔ/ or /nɔ/ in Kṭg., /ndo/ or /do/ in Kc.; e.g. Kṭg /šōṇɔ ndɔ/, /šōṇɔ nɔ/; Kc /šōṇo ndo/, /šōṇo do/. There is concord between the two parts as appears from the examples which are in the dir.sg.m. In the dir.sg.f. the forms are Kṭg /šōṇi ndi/, /šōṇi ni/; Kc /šōṇe nde/, /šōṇe de/. The auxiliary forms Kṭg /nɔ/, Kc /do/ are allegro forms and those commonly used. WKc. agrees with Kṭg. in having /n/: /šōṇo no/.

The auxiliary is a shortened form of the pres. partic. /^ʕḍndɔ/-o/ or /^ʕḍndɔ/-o/ of /^ʕḍṇō/-o/. The full form appears in Bailey’s records. Thus he has Kṭg loṭau aundau (i.e. /loṭ:ɔ ɔndɔ/) “having fallen down” (1908 I p. 28). For Kyoṇṭhli he gives /riṛā hundā/ which he translates “in the state of having fallen down” (1908 I p. 15).

The initial nasal + stop of the form /ndɔ/-o/ conflicts with the word structure rules and is evidence of the close contact between the two parts of the static participle.

The static participle indicates a state resulting from a previous event. Often the establishment of a fact is expressed. Examples: Kṭg /tum:ε na sōmdzɔ ki mū: bəṇauwɔ nɔ/ 'thāne'da:r/ "have you not understood that I have been appointed chief of police?"; Kc /dēk:ha khĩntsre bəṇe de khū:b g^cia māndz^ci/ "he sees the khintsri dish nicely prepared with (lit. "in") clarified butter".

The agent of a transitive verb is in the relational case, e.g. Kṭg /merε khā:ṇ bəṇauwɔ nɔ/ "I have prepared food"; Kc /dalji re the duj:ε tərki:b sūntse de/ "the miser had devised another plan".

The pret.partc. is not used attributively. Instead the static participle is employed, e.g. Kṭg /e:k mōε b^cōri nı auḷı/ "a pot filled with honey"; Kc /sīt:ɔ do pīt:ho/ "baked dough".

When predicative, the static participle corresponds to the English perfect except when the preterite participle has a resultative function, e.g. Kṭg /sɔ bēš:ɔ nɔ/ "he is sitting". When used together with the verb form "was" it corresponds to the English pluperfect; see the Kc sentence with /the... sūntse de/ above.

If /a/ "is" occurs in the sentence in Kṭg. the static participle has the status of an adjective, e.g. /tın:ı tshō:ṭue dēk:hɔ ki tēu rākši āk:hı phūṭ:i ni a/ "the boy saw that the troll's eyes were burst".

The verb constructions with /lagṇō/-o/ have been mentioned when dealing with the present participle. The static participle of /lagṇō/-o/ is used together with the present participle of the main verb to express a continuous (imperfective) present and (with Kṭg /tɔ/, Kc /thō/) past, e.g. Kṭg /sɔ bakri tsardɔ lag:ɔ nɔ/ "he is grazing cattle", Kc /'sāu'ka:r thō lag:o do dēkhde/ "the money-lender was looking on".

The static participle is formed in the same way in most of the Himachali dialects and outside Himachali in the Panjabi dialect Dogri. In Hindi the construction of the pret.partc. with /huā/ is related.

Another principle is in force in Koci Kuari, Jubbali and Maṇḍeali among the Himachali dialects and in the hill languages farther north: the combination of the gerund or the preterite participle of the main verb and the pret.partc. of the verbs /eṛ-/ ,/or-/ "to do", "to see", e.g. Koci Kuari /khai eṛo/ "having been eaten", S. Jubbali /kōri eṛu/ "having been done" (related to Kṭg /dēk:hı ero/ etc.; see p.186). Outside Himachali the pret.partc. of the main verb is used, e.g. Bhadr. /kioro/ "having been done".

The infinitive and the gerundive

There is a great similarity between these two categories, both in form and use.

The infinitive has in Kṭg. the morphemes /-ṅō/ and /-nō/, the latter after /ṅ/, /ḷ/, /ṛ/ and /r/. Kc has /-ṅo/ and /-no/. These morphemes follow the verb base. Examples: Kṭg Kc /milṅō/-o/, /dēkhṅō/-o/, /paṅō/-o/, /cannō/-o/, /ṭaḷnō/, /pōṛcṅō/-o/, /marnō/-o/. The infinitive follows the first declension in spite of the diverging direct form with /ō/ instead of /o/ in Kṭg. The nasalization of this vowel is difficult to account for. It has no doubt some connection with the preceding nasal, although this cannot be the sole cause. Nasalization is occasionally heard in such adjectives as /apṅo/-ō/ "own", /tṅo/-ō/ "deaf".

Beside the above morphemes the direct case of the infinitive more rarely has the morpheme /-ṅu/ in the two dialects. It is above all used when an isolated indication of a verb is given, e.g. as the answer to the question "What do you call this?" As has been mentioned, this morpheme contains the neuter ending /-u/ coming from Ap. /-aū/. Infinitives in /-ṅū/, /-nū/ occur in the other Himachali dialects and in the hill languages west and east of the group.

The gerundive is an adjective inflected according to the first adjective class. It has the same morphemes as the infinitive; /-ṅu/, however, does not occur. The dir.sg.m. ending is /-ṅo/ in Kṭg., /-ṅō/ only occurring sporadically.

The infinitive is partly an action substantive expressing the concept (the process, "action") of the verb; partly, when used together with certain verbs, it has a function which is difficult to define, sometimes appearing to be an adjective, in other cases an adverb. It may have the ending /-ṅo/ when used as an adjective.

The gerundive is a participle which has a passive obligatory sense ("obliged or requiring to be done").

A third function appears when a form in /-ṅo/ is used in the sense of future in Kṭg.

These three categories, i.e. the infinitive, the gerundive and the future are intimately connected in their use as well as in form.

We have treated the -ṅo-form above when dealing with the future in Kṭg. where it functions as a main verb. Transitive verbs have passive value and intransitive verbs active. The form indicates the pure future when having active value.

The gerundive expresses what must or ought to be done. Both transitive and intransitive verbs are passive. It seems exclusively to function as the main verb of the sentence. The agent is in the relational. Examples: Kṭg /terε jə ka:m kərnə/ “you have to do this work”; /merε tsalṇə-ō/ “I must leave”.

The infinitive often occurs as a substantive:

When used as the subject: Kṭg /muk:a rwaḷi dī ʿāṇḍṇō ʿāt:shə lag:a/ “I enjoy walking downhill” (lit. “walking downhill suits me well”).

With a postposition and having a noun in the possessive attached to it: Kc /tab:e tēs pəro:ta re iṇe bolṇe mā:t:hi tṇi radzea sāri porza de ila:n kio/ “then after these words of the priest the king made a proclamation among his subjects”.

The infinitive is often construed with other verbs.

1. The verb /tsā:ṇō-/ “to desire, want” is often combined with the infinitive. The latter always seems to be in the direct case, either a) in the sg.m., or b) agreeing in number and gender with a substantive or pronoun:

a) Kṭg /sə bəzara lε ɖeunō tsā:/ “he wants to go to the bazar”; /sə tē: gʷəri betsṇō tsā:/ “he wants to sell that mare”; Kc /āū ēthre bare dzanno tsāū/ “I want to know about this”.

b) Kṭg /sə apṇi gʷəri betsṇi tsā:/ “he wants to sell his mare”; /tṇi:pāt:hər dze loṇε tsāε/ “he wanted to find some stones”.

If the infinitive has a patient in the direct case the infinitive agrees with it (the sentences mentioned above under b.); but if the object is in the oblique case or if there is no object the infinitive is in the dir.sg.m. (the sentences mentioned under a.).

2. Together with Kṭg Kc /tsēi/ “is desirable, necessary; must, ought to” the syntax of the infinitive is the same as with /tsā:ṇō/ because /tsēi/ by origin is a passive form in the subjunctive of /tsā:ṇō/. The agent is in the relational, e.g. Kṭg /terε apṇə ka:m kərnə (kərnō) tsēi/ “you ought to do your work”, /thāre indi tsēi pō:tsṇō/ “you should arrive here”. The agent can also occur in the instrumental, e.g. Kc /taī tsēi thō ɖeunə/ “you should have gone”.

It should be mentioned that also the pret.partc. occurs together with /tsēi/ and agrees in gender and number with the subject. The agent of intransitive verbs and the patient of transitive function as subjects. The agent of transitive verbs is in the relational or the instrumental. E.g. Kṭg /sə tsēi āə/ “he ought to come”; Kc / iṇə na

tsēi šūno meri bō:tia/ “this should not be heard by my wife”. The semantic difference between the construction with the infinitive and that with the pret.partc. is not easy to grasp. According to two of my informants there is more emphasis on necessity in the first case.

3. The 3.sg.prs. */ja:/* of */jaṇō/-o/* has very much the same meaning as */tsēi/*; it is, however, less emphatic than this. The syntax is the same as that of */tsēi/* when this is construed with the infinitive. Examples are: *Kṭg /thāre ra:dz-dərbari kapre ja: khōlne/* “you must take off your royal garments”; *Kc /am:u ja: b^ook:ha mōrno/* “we will have to die of starvation”.

4. The construction of the verb */laṇō/-o/* with the infinitive seems to be used exclusively with transitive verbs. The fundamental meaning of */laṇō/-o/* is “to attach”. This verb is the transitive counterpart of */lagṇō/* “to be attached” and when used with the infinitive it has very much the same meaning as */lagṇō/* with the pres.partc., i.e. “to begin”. It goes without saying that the construction is that of a transitive verb. The material I have gathered only contains examples with the pret.partc. and the stat.partc. of */laṇō/-o/*, e.g. *Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ tshō:ʈue sō kərnaɪ phūkərnɪ laɪ/* “the boy started blowing the trumpet”. The static participle of */laṇō/-o/* has the same function as */lag:ɔ ndo/*: it indicates a continuous present, e.g. *Kṭg /kəta:b pōr^enɪ laɪ ndɪ/*, *Kc /kəta:b pōr^ene lae de/* “the book is being read”.

5. When occurring with */deṇō/* in the meaning “to permit, to let” the infinitive is in the obl.sg.m., e.g. *Kṭg /ēu ā:ne deo/* “let him come”; */^eam:ε tēu ni dende deunε/* “we do not permit him to go”.

6. A periphrastic causative is expressed by means of the verbs *Kṭg Kc /b^edzṇō/-o/*, *Kṭg /dz^eeuṇō/*, *Kc /nauṇo/* and *WKc /neuṇo/* (the proper meanings being: */b^edzṇō/* “to send”, */dz^eeuṇō/* “to lift, wake up”, */nauṇo/* and */neuṇo/* “to bend”) together with the infinitive; the latter is in the obl.sg.m. except for certain cases (see below), e.g. *Kṭg /sō b^eed:za muk:a ^eāsne/*, *Kc /sēo b^eed:za muk:a ^eās:ine/* “he makes me laugh”; *Kṭg /mē: dz^eeuwō tēu ka sēuṇε/* “I made him sew it”; *Kc /eo nam:a muk:a ka:m korne/* “he makes me do work”; */iṇi nam:o muk:a ^eāsne/* “he made me laugh”; *WKc /ē: ka bolne neo/* “make him speak!”.

If the auxiliary is in the preterite and the patient is in the direct case, there may be concord between the patient, the infinitive and

the auxiliary, e.g. *Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ bʰədʒɪ muk:a tsɪṭ:hɪ līkhɪ/* “he made me write a letter”. In the following example from WKc, however, the infinitive is in the obl.sg.m. as above: */iṇi nəm:o muk:a ed:zo ka:m kørne/* “he made me do this work”.

In all the examples I recorded, the principal agent (i.e. the agent of the infinitive) is expressed by means of the case morpheme */-ka/*. This also occurs with the integrated (“organic”) causative. On the other hand, it does not seem to occur that the principal agent of the periphrastic causative appears as its patient as the case is with the integrated causative. If a patient of the Himachali auxiliaries is present it is not the principal agent which functions in that capacity (as in the corresponding English construction with “make”); on the contrary it is the principal patient, as appears from the concord between this and the auxiliary. Where no patient occurs the infinitive may be said to function as a sort of patient. This is in accordance with the contents of the causative which does not so much indicate the urging of somebody to do something as the causation of the process expressed by the verb.

The difference in the grammatical case of the infinitive between the construction with */deṇō/* and the periphrastic causative on the one hand and the preceding constructions on the other is noticeable. There seems to be a connection between case and the function of the agent. The infinitive is in the direct case in constructions with */tsā:ṇō/* and */laṇō/-o/* which means that subject and infinitive to a large extent have the same case (e.g. */sɔ tsā: deṇō/*). At the same time verb and infinitive have a common agent. On the other hand the infinitive is in the oblique case in the two last-mentioned constructions; there is disagreement with regard to case between subject and infinitive (e.g. */sɔ bʰəd:za muk:a deṇε/*), and at the same time the verb and the infinitive have separate agents. It goes without saying that */tsēi/* and */ja:/* must be left out of consideration.

The source of the infinitive is the OI action noun in */-ana/* in enlarged form, the gerundive being evidently related hereto. There is an old association between the action noun and the gerundive in Indo-Aryan, which appears i.a. from the Sanskrit gerundive in */-anīya-/*. While the gerundive in */-ṇo/-o/* seems to have arisen from the action noun in Himachali and other NI languages, a development the other way, from the gerundive in */-tava/* to the infinitive, has taken place in Bengali and Gujarati.

The gerunds

The gerunds are verbal adverbs indicating circumstances connected with the main verb.

1. *The present gerund* indicates a circumstance simultaneous with that expressed by the main verb. It has three morphemes, all containing /-(n)d-/ whereby they prove to be related to that of the present participle: /-(n)da/, /-(n)di/, /-(n)diε/, the first being by far the most common. It is often repeated to indicate a continuous process.

Examples: Kṭg /ā:nda ʷi: tīn:ε merε guʃ:ε moʃi ka bʷɔre/ “as they came they filled my pockets with roasted grain”; Kc /sēo ɖeb:o ʷsda ʷsda/ “he went away laughing all the time”; Kṭg /ʷāṇḍdi rac:io šēi/ “just let it get dark while (we are) wandering”; /ɪn:ɪ aṇɔ dziundiε jɔ brāg:ʷ dziundiε pakɾiɔ/ “he has brought this leopard here alive having caught it alive” (the first gerund, /dziundiε/, referring to the patient, i.e. the leopard, the second to the agent).

The present gerund may be combined with a substantive in the oblique in a sort of absolute construction, the substantive being the agent of the gerund; e.g. Kṭg /bʷɔri dʷɛrε ʷè tēu ūṭa gʷās:a tsɔrda tid:ɪ/ “for many days the camel grazed there” (lit. “many days came to be while the camel grazed there”); /tsiḷki lagda i mʷare tsalṇō/ “at daybreak we must leave” (lit. “when dawn begins”).

The present gerund is used as a complement to the patient of the main verb in such sentences as Kṭg /mē: sō natsda dēk:hɔ/ “I saw him dance” and /mē: sō ga:nda šūṇɔ/ “I heard him sing”.

In the following instances the present gerund is attached to a word meaning “time” in the adverbial form in /-i/ ~ /-i/: Kṭg /tu: bōd:ʷɔlda beri merε be:ztɪ kil:ε kɔra/ “why do you do me a disgrace at the time when I am growing old?”; /tshīnka ā:nda beri bol:ε dziu lāk:ha bōrša/ “when a sneeze comes (to somebody) say, “Live a hundred thousand years!””.

The present gerund forms are adverbial forms of the present participle with the morphemes /-a/, /-i/ ~ /-i/ and /-iε/ ~ /-iε/ from nominal adverbs. The present participle is an adjective belonging to the first class. While the two last-mentioned morphemes occur in adverbs corresponding to adjectives of the first class, the same is not the case with /-a/. This morpheme is found in adverbs corresponding to substantives of the third declension and adjectives of

the fourth class. The form in /-(n)da/ might be derived from a present participle corresponding to e.g. Braj /calat/, also found in Avadhi (Varma 1935 § 217) and Garhvali (e.g. /aund/ “coming”, LSI p. 289). However, it may after all be an oblique form in /-a/ belonging to the first declension and related to such forms as infinitive /khaṇa le/ and an adjective form like /apṇa le/.

Present gerunds in /-(n)de/ are found in e.g. Baghaṭi, Kyoṇṭhli and Kului, probably being identical with the oblique of the present participle. Also /-(n)die/, /-(n)diā/, related to Kṭg /-(n)die/, occur as morphemes in Kyoṇṭhli and Jaunsari, and outside Himachali /-(n)diā/ in Panjabi.

2. *The preterite gerund* occurs in two forms, namely the short and the long.

The short gerund in Kṭg. ends in /-i/ and in Kc. in /-e/, e.g. Kṭg /tsal:i/, Kc /tsal:e/; Kṭg /khāi/, Kc /khāe/. The long gerund in Kṭg. has /-io/ and in Kc. /-ea/ as morphemes, e.g. Kṭg /tsal:io/, khāio/, Kc /tsal:ea/, /khāea/. More rarely Kṭg. has /-ia/ or /-ea/, e.g. /tsal:ia/ (or /tsal:ea/) and /khāia/ (or /khāea/).

The Kṭg. short gerund in /-i/ comes from Pa. Pk. /-i(y)a/ (Geiger 1916 § 213; Pischel § 590) from Sk. /-ya/. A morpheme in /i/ is found in most NI languages including some Dardic languages and European Gypsy. Concerning the latter see Paspatis 1870 p. 105: /phiri phiri/ “en marchant”, /roi roi/ “en pleurant”.

The Kc. form in /-e/ has in all probability the same origin as the Kṭg. form. Compare the same relation seen in Kṭg /-i/ as opposed to Kc /-e/ in the dir.sg. of substantives following the second declension, where Pk. /-i(y)ā/ is the source. It is, however, not to be excluded that one can compare the Kc. form with e.g. H. /māre/ “after having beaten”, which seems to be the pret. participle in the obl.sg.m. In the southern Himachali dialects gerund forms in /-e/ prevail, thus besides Kc. also in Baghaṭi and Kyoṇṭhli; the northern dialects as well as the hill languages farther north have long or short /-i/.

There are two irregular short gerunds: Kṭg Kc /kie/ and Kṭg /^cūi/, Kc /^cue/, occurring beside the regular forms /kōri/-e/ and /^cūi/-e/.

The long gerund in /-io/ of Kṭg. must be viewed in connection with that in /-e rō/ occurring in Kyoṇṭhli and Baghaṭi according to LSI pp. 502, 570 and Bailey 1908 I p. 5 (the Kyoṇṭhli form in /-eō/ mentioned 1908 p. 15 is not correct, as noted by Grierson p. 570). In

NI the long gerund most frequently consists of the short gerund + some form, often the gerund, of the verb “to do”, e.g. H. /cal kar/, /cal ke/ “after walking”. The /rō/ of Baghaṭi and Kyoṅṭhli seems to be a shortened form of the gerund /rœ/ of /rɔ:ṇu/ “to remain”. In Kṭg, /r/ has disappeared under the same conditions as in the possessive.

The Kṭg. long gerund in /-ia/ comes from Pk. /-iyāṇa/-ā/ (Pischel § 592). Kului /-iyā/ (Ṭhakur 1975 p. 297) must be of identical origin. The same is the case with /-iyā/ in Bhalesi and Bengali (having become /-e/ in Standard Colloquial Bengali). See Varma 1948 p. 49: /lɛɾiyā/ from /lɾɳu/ “to fight”, /kheiyā/ from /khāṇu/ “to eat”, and Chatterji 1926 § 737: /kariyā/, pronounced /kore/ “after doing”. Final nasalization has disappeared in Kṭg. as well as in Kului, Bhalesi and Bengali, but is still preserved in the Middle Bg. gerund in /-iyā̃/, see Chatterji l.c. Jaunsari which retains final nasalization has /-iē̃/ in the long gerund, but /-ē̃/ is the instr. morpheme rather than the palatalized form of /-ā̃/ since vowel palatalization is not a regular feature of that dialect.

The other form of the long gerund morpheme /-ea/ which is regular in Kc. could hardly be traced back to MI /-iyāṇa/-ā/. It would rather seem to be the adverbially used instr.sg.m. of the preterite participle; compare the short gerund form in /-e/ of Kc. which possibly is the corresponding obl.sg.m. and the above mentioned Jaunsari form in /-iē̃/. Also the morphemes of the present gerund in /-da/, /-diɛ/, /-di/ are participial case forms.

The functional difference between the two preterite gerund forms, the short and the long, is that the short gerund occurs in certain fixed combinations with other verbs while the long gerund is more free in its use, being a verbal adverb which indicates a circumstance preceding or, more rarely, simultaneous with that indicated by the verb to which it is subordinate.

a. The long gerund.

Special attention must be drawn to the syntax of the preterite gerund with regard to agent and patient (regarding these terms see p. 157). It is a rule which has been valid from OI times up to the present that what is agent and patient respectively of the verb to which the gerund belongs is also agent and patient respectively of the gerund. This is a consequence of the “inverted” construction

with “enforced” passive used when the preterite participle or the gerundive occur as the main verb. See H. Hendriksen, *Syntax of the infinite verb-forms of Pali*, 1944, § 17, 1 b, §§ 42, 43.

Kṭg /tɪn:ɪ e:k roʃ:ɪ caŋɔ dɪn:ɪ mul:ɛ/ “he made a loaf and gave it me”. The main verb /dɪn:ɪ/ and the gerund /caŋɔ/ have the agent /tɪn:ɪ/ and patient /roʃ:ɪ/ in common.

In the following sentence there is no agent. The subject is the patient of the gerund and the main verb: /s̄ɔ ɔkbar badʃā: ka: le bed:ɪɔ niɔ/ “he was summoned and led to the emperor Akbar” (Texts p. 21).

Kc /eb:i ge taɪ gau khəra:b kɔrea aŋe/ “now you have brought the cow back after destroying it” (Texts p. 47,6).

b. The short gerund.

The short gerund is used in a great number of periphrastic constructions, even if not to the same extent as e.g. in Hindi. The great languages of the plains seem to have influenced the hill languages on this point.

The most commonly used auxiliaries are Kṭg Kc /ʃaŋō/-o/, Kṭg /ernō/, Kc /ɛ̀rno/ and WKc /ɔ̀rno/. Together with the gerund they express a perfective aspect which in the preterite often corresponds to the perfect in English. In Kṭg. and WKc. /ʃaŋō/-o/ is used with intransitive verbs, and /ernō/, /ɔ̀rno/ with transitive: Kṭg /ɛ̄ɪunda bās:iɛ ja: gɔrmɪ ɔ̄ɪ/ “after winter the warm weather will come”; /s̄e s̄ɔt:ɪ gɛ/, WKc /s̄e s̄ɔt:e ga/ “they fell asleep, they have fallen asleep”; Kṭg /t̄e:rɛ ernɪ s̄ɔ gɔl t̄ā: kaɛ b̄ətaɪ/ “he will explain the matter to you”; WKc /m̄eɪ dui dzɔŋa aŋe ɔ̀ɔra/ “I have brought two people”.

In Kc /ʃaŋo/ occurs both with transitive and intransitive verbs: /tu: ɔ̄e go pagəl/ “you have gone mad”; /tɪɪɪ aŋe tsh̄eure kaʃ:e ge/ “he killed his wife, he has killed his wife”. The other auxiliary mostly appears in the shortened preterite form /ɔ̄o/, e.g. /t̄iā b̄ɔ̀ɔre ɔ̄o ḡɛ̄tko/ “she has filled the basket”.

It is to be noticed that /ʃaŋō/-o/ is only used as an auxiliary whereas “to go” is expressed by means of /ɔ̄eunō/-o/. As for the other auxiliaries mentioned above two meanings seem to be represented: “to work, do” (J /herŋu/ “to work”) and “to see, observe”. The latter was communicated to me as the proper meaning of /ɛ̀rno/.

Other verbs occurring together with the gerund are: /mukŋō/,

/ʧaɫnō/, /deŋō/, /sōkŋō/. Examples: Kʧg /mū: khāi muk:ɔ/ “I have finished eating”; /ɛb:ɛ bol:ɪ ʧaɫu/ “now I *must* (or: will) say it” (insistence); /merɛ šəra:ɭ dɛ kaʧ:ɪ/ “cut my hair” (said to the barber); /ɛb:ɛ mū: kɛ kəɪ sōk:u/ “what can I now do?”; Kc /tu: pōɾ^ce sōk:a/ “can you read?”.

Remarks on the Word Order

Only a few points will be mentioned.

1. An auxiliary verb is normally put after the main verb, but exceptionally the inverse word order is used, e.g. *Kṭg* /d^cɛ̃ɾɔ̃ ɡɔ nīkhl̩/ “the sun has risen”, *Kc* /sēo lo āš:a/ “he will come”.

2. It often happens that two syntactically connected words, most often an attributive adjective or pronoun and its substantive, are separated by one or even two unstressed words, usually in the beginning of a sentence, e.g. *Kṭg* /e:k tɔ na b^cà:t̩, e:k t̩ tē:r̩ b^cà:t̩:əŋ/ “now there was a brahman and his wife”, *Kc* /e:k tho dal̩ji, e:k tho 'sāu'ka:r/ “there was a miser, and there was a money-lender”, *Kṭg* /t̩n̩:t̩ tēu d̩n̩:t̩ p̩ndz^cɾa d̩ dandɛ/ “he bit in that tail (of the horse) with his teeth” (Texts p. 31, l. 8).

3. In subordinate clauses the sentence verb is generally placed at the end, while its position is in the middle in main clauses, especially in *Kc*.; there is greater liberty in main clauses in *Kṭg*.

Examples from *Kc*.

Main clauses: /duj̩:e d̩n̩:a sāukara tshā: khū:b khū:b mākhm̩la ra kap̩ɾa d^cɛ̃n̩:i, gab̩:i khe deŋo tat̩:o paŋi ɔɾ ɔ̃re ɡ^cā:s/ “the following day the money-lender spread a number of fine velvet cloths on the ground and gave the cow hot water and fresh grass” (Texts p. 46, l. 10), /sāuka:r p̩:ntso tē:re ɡ^cɔ̃ra/ “the money-lender came to his house” (ib. p. 46, l. 18).

Subordinate clauses: /dzab̩:e tum̩:a khū:b khū:b kap̩ɾa tshā: la d^cɛ̃n̩:i ɔɾ tat̩:o paŋi ɔ̃re ɡ^cā:s dea la khāŋe khe tab̩:e tum̩:u ka dea le o:r b̩ dzad̩:i š̩ɾphi/ “if you spread several fine cloths on the ground and give (the cow) hot water and fresh grass to eat then it will give you still more coins” (ib. p. 46, l. 5), /dziŋd̩i sēo dal̩ji t̩ā ag̩:a p̩:ntso t̩ŋd̩i t̩ŋia lae t̩ā re ɡo̩le de ɗaŋɡrea/ “as soon as the miser came in front of her he struck at her throat with the small axe” (ib. p. 47, l. 14).

Examples from *Kṭg*.

Main clauses: /phək̩ɾi ɔ̃a ɛ̃t̩:sh̩/ “the life of a hermit is best” (Texts p. 33, l. 1), /s̩ɛ̃ pāt̩:h̩ɾ š̩āc̩:ɛ s̩ɔb d^cɛ̃n̩:i/ “all the stones stuck to

the ground” (ib. p. 30, l. 14), /rac:ɪ ʕa lambi lambi/ “the nights are long” (ib. p. 17, l. 4).

Subordinate clauses: /ag:ər phəkɪrɪ ʕāt:ʃɪ ʕa tɛ tsal mʕərə deuṇō/ “if the life of a hermit is best then come on let us go” (ib. p. 33, l.1), /dzɛb:ɛ dʕn:i šac:ɛ tɛ tē:rɛ phōš:ɪ bɔrɪ mūškil/ “when they stuck to the ground he was in great difficulty” (ib. p. 30, l. 14), /beḷi beḷi dzv:ṇ nat:sɔ ā: gaṇeo šəki:n ʕa sō pɔra khōḷa bɪ:ɛ dze bā:ršeɔ na:ts ʕa/ “in the evening, whosoever is fond of dancing and singing will go to the barn if it is an outdoor dance” (ib. p. 16, l. 14).

The rule, which is, to be sure, known from other languages, e.g. German, may be due to differences of rhythm and syntax caused by the initial position of the relative pronouns and adverbs (note for instance the difference between /I saw the man/ and /this is the man that I saw/).

It is interesting that the same rule is found in Kashmiri. See Grierson, *Manual of Kashmiri*, 1911, vol. I p. 64 foll. (§ 97–98). Does it occur in other IA languages?

THE HIMACHALI DIALECT GROUP

Differences between Kṭg. and Kc.

The chief differences between the two dialects are the following:

1. Corresponding to Kc /e/ and /o/ Kṭg. has often, especially in final position, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, e.g. Kṭg /dɛŋō/ “to give”, Kc /deno/; Kṭg /gwaɔ/ “cowherd”, obl. /gwaɔɛ/, Kc /gwaɔo/, /gwaɔe/.

2. Kṭg /ɛ/ corresponds to Kc /ja/, /ɔi/ in e.g. Kṭg /bɛ:ɪ/ “evening”, Kc /bja:l/; Kṭg /bɛ:ŋ/ “sister”, Kc /bōiŋ/.

3. A stressed vowel in a final syllable is short if followed by a final aspirate or sibilant in Kṭg., long in Kc., e.g. Kṭg /āk:h/ “eye”, Kc /ā:kh/; Kṭg /biš/ “poison”, Kc /bī:š/.

4. Kc. has /-b-/ corresponding to Kṭg /-w-/ (/ -u-/) and /-m-/ corresponding to Kṭg /-w̄-/ (/ -ū-/), e.g. Kṭg obl. /gau/ “cow”, Kc /gab:i/; Kṭg obl. /graūa/ “village”, Kc /gram:a/.

5. In the inflection of the substantive Kṭg. uses a form in /-ɔ/ in the possessive while Kc has an analytical form, e.g. Kṭg /tshēuɔi/ “the woman’s”, Kc /tshēuɔi ro/.

6. The morpheme of the dir.pl. in the first declension is /-ɛ/ in Kṭg., /-a/ in Kc., e.g. Kṭg /bakɛ/, Kc /bakra/ “goats”. Notice the same relation in the pronouns Kṭg /^cām:ɛ/ “we”, /tum:ɛ/ “you”; Kc /am:a/, /tum:a/.

7. The same opposition Kṭg /-ɛ/: Kc /-a/ is found in the morphemes of the instr. sg.pl., the voc.sg.f., and the dir.pl. of the third b and fifth b declensions (feminine substantives).

8. The morpheme of the dir.sg. in the second declension is /-ɪ/ in Kṭg, /-e/ in Kc. The same difference appears in the short gerund and in Kṭg /dɪ/ “in”, Kc /de/.

9. There are a number of differences in the pronominal inflection: notice especially Kṭg /mū:/ “I”, Kc /āū/; Kṭg obl. pl. /ɪn:^ca/ “them”, Kc /īū/.

10. The morphology of the second verb class is different in the two dialects (p. 140 f.).

11. This is also the case with the future (p. 163 f.).

12. There are some differences in the vocabulary, e.g. Kṭg /ā:ŋō/ “to come”, Kc /āšŋo/; Kṭg /ɾɛuŋō/ “to fly”, Kc /uɾno/; Kṭg /bēšŋō/ “to

sit down”, Kc /bōšṇo/; Kṭg /dɔɾək/ “the top story in the house, the loft”, Kc /ca:ṇd/; Kṭg /khōr/ “the ground story”, Kc /obro/; Kṭg /gōṇṭhi/ “finger”, Kc /ōṇṭhe/. For “talk, matter” Kṭg. uses the loan-word /gɔl/, while Kc. has /bū:š/ of unknown origin.

The WKc sub-dialects spoken west of Kc. (the latter only known to me as spoken in the valley /spɛ:l/ or /spoil/ a few miles north of the town Rohṛu) are in all essentials identical with Kc. Where they differ they approach Kṭg. The following differences may be mentioned:

/ɛ/ corresponding to Kc /ja/, e.g. /bɛ:l/ “evening” (but /ɔi/ as in Kc., e.g. /bōiṇ/ “sister”).

Final /-i/ corresponding to Kc /-e/, e.g. in the dir.sg. of the second declension, in the short gerund and in the postposition /dɪ/ “in”.

Some WKc sub-dialects have final /-ɛ/, /-ɔ/ corresponding to Kc /-e/, /-o/.

Notice the following pronominal forms: /^oṁū/, /^əṁ:/ “I”, Kc /āū/; instr.sg. /mɛī/, /mōī/ “by me”, /tɛī/ “by thee”, Kc /muī/, /taī/; possess. /tā:ro/ “your”, Kc /tumā:ro/.

From the vocabulary may be mentioned: /ḍoā/, /ḍiā/ “goes”, Kc /ḍeā/; /dzɛṇno/ “to know”, Kc /dzaṇno/; /ɾɛuṇo/ “to fly”, Kc /uṛṇo/.

Kc. agrees with the eastern hill languages Garḥvali, Kumauni and Nepali on the following points:

1. The morpheme of the dir.pl. in the first declension is /-a/.
2. The morpheme of the obl.pl. in the pronouns is /-u/ (as in Garḥvali, but not in Kumauni and Nepali).
3. The second verb-class has the morpheme /-i-/ in the infinitive and the present participle.

Kṭg. has the following agreements with the north-western hill languages:

1. There is a more or less pronounced tendency to vowel-palatalization.

2. The morphemes of the 1.sg. and 1.pl. of the future contain /m/.

To this should be added that in Kc /ba:t/, Kṭg /ba:t/ “path” (Sk. /vartma/), Kc. has /t/ coming from /rt/ in agreement with the languages to its east, while Kṭg. has /t/ agreeing with the western languages. A similar feature may be present in Kc /səg^cà:ɾ/, Kṭg /səg^cà:/ “ladder” (Sk. /saṃghāṭaḥ/ and /saṃghātaḥ/, which may come from MI).

Differences between the Himachali dialects

If Himachali is tentatively defined as including besides Kṭg. and Kc. the following dialects: Kyoṅṭhli, Baghaṭi, Jaunsari, Sirmauri, Kului and Maṇḍeali, a number of features may be mentioned and their occurrence among the dialects briefly indicated. It must, however, be borne in mind that our knowledge of the group is imperfect.

I. Short stressed /a/ in open syllable. 1. /a/ > /ɔ/. 2. /a/ (i.e. /ə/ or /ʌ/) preserved.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṅ., Bagh., Jaun., Sirm., Kul.
2. Maṇḍ.

II. Short stressed vowel in closed syllable. 1. Lengthened. 2. The short quantity preserved.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṅ., Bagh., Jaun., Sirm., Maṇḍ.
2. Kul.

III. Him. unstressed final /ā/. 1. /-ā/ preserved with regard to quality. 2. /-ā/ > /-ō/, /-ɔ/.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Bagh., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Kyoṅ., Jaun.

The position of Sirmauri is uncertain.

IV. /ś/, /ṣ/. 1. /ś/, /ṣ/ > /š/. 2. /ś/, /ṣ/ > /s/.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṅ., Bagh., Jaun., Sirm., Kul.
2. Maṇḍ.

V. /tr/, /dr/. 1. /tr/ > /c/, /dr/ > /j/. 2. /tr/, /dr/ preserved.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṅ., Bagh., Sirm., Kul.
2. Maṇḍ.

The position of Jaunsari is uncertain.

VI. /c/, /j/. 1. /c/ > /ts/, /j/ > /dz/. 2. /c/, /j/ preserved.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṅ., Bagh., Kul.
2. Jaun., Maṇḍ.

The position of Sirmauri is uncertain.

VII. /kṣ/. 1. /kṣ/ > /(k)kh/. 2. /kṣ/ > /(c)ch/.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṅ., Bagh., Jaun., Sirm., Maṇḍ.
2. Kul.

VIII. *The possessive in the substantive.* 1. /ro/, /rā/. 2. /-ɔ/. 3. /ko/.

1. Kc., Kyoṇ., Sirm., Bagh., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Kṭg.
3. Jaun.

IX. *The dir. pl. in the first declension.* 1. The morpheme is /-ε/, /-ē/. 2. The morpheme is /-ā/.

1. Kṭg., Kyoṇ., Bagh., Jaun., Sirm., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Kc.

X. *The obl. pl. in the substantive.* 1. Obl.pl. = obl. sg. 2. Obl.pl. different from obl.sg.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Kyoṇ., Bagh., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Jaun.

The position of Sirmauri is uncertain.

XI. *The bases of the pronouns of the first and second person plural.* 1. The bases contain /m/. 2. The bases contain /s/. 3. The first plural pronoun contains /m/, that of the second plural contains /s/.

1. Kṭg., Kc., Bagh., Jaun., Sirm.
2. Kul., Maṇḍ.
3. Kyoṇ.

XII. *The obl. in the pronouns of the first and second person plural.* 1. The obl. form ends in /-ā/, /-ō/. 2. The obl. form ends in /-u/.

1. Kṭg., Kyoṇ., Bagh., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Kc., Jaun.

The position of Sirmauri is uncertain.

XIII. *The form of the obl.sg.fem. in the third person pronouns.*

1. The form is /tessā/-ō/ : /essā/-ō/ and the like. 2. The form is /tiā/, /tē/ : /iā/, /ē/ and the like.

1. Kyoṇ., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Kṭg., Kc., Bagh., Jaun.

The position of Sirmauri is uncertain.

XIV. *The form of the obl.pl. in the third person pronouns.* 1. The form is /tinhā/-ō/ : /inhā/-ō/ and the like. 2. The form is /tiū/ : /iū/ and the like.

1. Kṭg., Kyoṇ., Bagh., Sirm., Kul., Maṇḍ.
2. Kc., Jaun.

XV. *Morphemes of the future*. 1. /-m-/ in the first persons. 2. /l/.
3. /-gh-/.

1. Kṭg., Kyoṇ., Bagh., Jaun.
2. Kc., Sirm., Kul.
3. Maṇḍ.

Looking at the mutual position of the Himachali dialects with regard to the fifteen oppositions enumerated above one finds that some of the dialects deviate from the rest. This is especially true of Maṇḍeali and Jaunsari.

Maṇḍeali does not agree with the other dialects with regard to oppositions I, IV, V, VI. It coincides with Panjabi on these points, having /a/ (i.e. /ə/ or /ʌ/) instead of /ɔ/ (opposition I); /s/ instead of /š/ (IV); /tr/, /dr/ instead of /c/, /j/ (V); /c/, /j/ instead of /ts/, /dz/ (VI). It must be added that Maṇḍeali according to the meagre information known to me (Bailey 1908, II p. 1–10) has no special form for the obl.sg.fem. in the third person pronouns (see below p. 197 Himachali feature 24), even if a sub-dialect is indicated by Bailey to have this and other characteristic features (XIII).

Jaunsari at the opposite edge towards the southeast deviates with regard to the oppositions VI, VIII, X, having /c/ and /j/ instead of /ts/ and /dz/ (VI); the possessive adjective /ko/ (e.g. /ghoṛe ko/) instead of /ro/ (VIII); and an obl.pl. form which is different from that of the obl.sg. (e.g. obl.pl. /ghoṛū/, obl.sg. /ghoṛō/ from /ghoṛ/ “house”) (X). Both the possessive /ko/ and the obl.pl. in /-ū/ exist in Garhvali to the east. It is to be noticed that Jaunsari preserves final nasalization.

Kc. has one peculiarity, namely the ending /-a/ of the dir.pl. of the first declension (IX). Also this is in agreement with the neighbouring language to the east, Garhvali.

Still another agreement with Garhvali may be mentioned: the ending /-u/ or /-ū/ of the obl.pl. in the pronouns of the first and second persons and those of the third person, Koci and Jaunsari sharing this peculiarity (oppositions XII and XIV): Kc /am:u/, Jaun. /āmū/ “us”, cp. Garhv. /hamū/; Kc /tum:u/, Jaun. /tumū/ “you”, cp. Garhv. /tumū/; Kc /tīū/, /īū/, Jaun. /tehū/, /ihū/ “them”, cp. Garhv. /wū/, /yū/. All the remaining Himachali dialects have /-ā/ or /-ō/, the /-ō/ being due to a change of /-ā/.

The Kṭg. peculiarity, the possessive in /-ɔ/, is, as has been

pointed out, a relatively late feature due to the loss of /r/ in /ro/ (VIII).

The above-mentioned features from Maṇḍeali, Jaunsari and Koci are marginal; they are not genuine in Himachali. It may even be discussed whether Maṇḍeali is a Himachali dialect or a transitional dialect. The same may apply to Jaunsari.

Also the position of Kului is marginal. This dialect distinguishes itself from the rest of the Himachali dialects on the following points:

It has no vowel lengthening in a closed syllable as the other dialects. This is especially conspicuous in the treatment of originally short /a/ which has become /ɔ/ everywhere in Kului corresponding to the low /ā/ in originally closed syllables in the other Himachali dialects; e.g. Kul. /hɔth/ "hand", /ɔg/ "fire", /sɔt/ "seven", /ɔt̪h/ "eight", /bɔt/ "way" (Sk. /vartma/) (Ṭhākūr 1975, pp. 170, 195) (see opposition II above). Kului agrees in this respect with Panjabi and languages farther north, while the southern Himachali dialects, among them Kṭg. and Kc., coincide with Hindi and other languages farther south and east.

A similar split appears in the treatment of OI /kʃ/ (VII) which has become /(k)kh/ in the southern dialects, while Kului has /(c)ch/, e.g. /hɔchi/ "eye", Kṭg /āk:h/; /mɔchi/ "fly", Kṭg /māk:h/; /chet/ "field", Kṭg /khē:c/.

The pronouns of the first and second person plural have /(s)s/ in Kului where the southern dialects have /(m)m/ (XI). The difference is ultimately due to a different treatment of OI /sm/ : Kul. /āse/ "we", Kṭg /ʔām:ε/; Kul. /tuse/ "you", Kṭg /tum:ε/. Pronominal forms with /s/ are found in Panjabi and languages north of Kulu, while the forms with /m/ of the southern dialects agree with the neighbouring languages. Kyoṇṭhli, however, is an exceptional case, since it has dir. and instr. /tussε/ beside /tumē/, obl. /tussō/, but only /m/ in the possess. /tumā(h)rō/ and in the first plural: /hamē/, /hamō/, /mā(h)rō/.

The regular result of OI /sm/ is /mh/ in Himachali as well as in Panjabi and the languages between the Kului region and the region where Dardic languages are spoken. In Dardic the regular result of /sm/ is /s/ and consequently one has to state as a curious fact that the two pronouns in Panjabi, Bhadravahi etc. and in Kului are loanwords from or strongly influenced by Dardic languages.

Connections with other NI languages

In attempting to assess the connections of Himachali with other NI languages a comprehensive selection of features of the Himachali group as comprising the eight dialects mentioned in the preceding section has been made.

The reservation mentioned above is appropriate also when dealing with the whole collection of NI languages.

1. Short stressed /a/ in open syllables has become /ɔ/.
2. Short stressed vowel in closed syllable has been lengthened.
3. /ś/ and /ṣ/ have coalesced, both becoming /š/; /s/ remains unchanged.
4. /r/ is preserved after the velar stops and the labial stops.
5. /tr/ has become /(c)c/ and /dr/ has become palatal /(j)j/.
6. /c/ has become /ts/; /j/ has become /dz/.
7. The voiced aspiration is unstable or missing and replaced by a high tone on an adjoining vowel.
8. /kṣ/ has become /(k)kh/.
9. /ñk/, /nt/, /mp/ have become /ṅg/, /nd/, /mb/ respectively, and /ṅg/, /nd/, /mb/ have become /(ṅ)ṅ/, /(n)n/, /(m)m/ respectively.
10. Intervocalic /n/ has become /ṇ/; intervocalic /l/ has become /l/; /-ṇṇ-/ has become /(n)n/.
11. Initial /v/ has become /b/.
12. Initial /y/ has become palatal /j/.
13. /īya/ has become /i/ (e.g. the morpheme Kṭg Kc /-i/ (from the Sk. passive /-īya-/) in the second verb-class).
14. Intervocalic /m/ has become /ṃ/.
15. /sm/ has become /mh/ (i.e. Him. /m^c/).
16. The dir.sg. of the substantives of the second declension has the morphemes /-i/ or /-e/ and the same substantives distinguish the dir.sg. from the obl.sg.
17. The morpheme of the dir.pl. in the first declension is /-e/ or /-ε/.
18. The morpheme of the obl.sg. in the first declension is /-e/ or /-ε/.
19. A morpheme is used in the obl.sg. of substantives following the third and fourth declensions.

20. The obl.pl. in the substantives has the same morpheme as the obl.sg.

21. The instr.sg. in the substantive has an integrated form with a morpheme and not a composite form with a postposition.

22. The possessive is expressed by means of an enclitic adjective /ro/ or /rā/.

23. In the remote pronoun the /o/, /u/ base is not used. Instead the base /s-/: /t-/ occurs.

24. There is a distinction between masculine and feminine in the singular of the pronouns of the third person.

25. The second verb-class has a complex inflection comprising the morphemes /-i-/ and /-hu-/ (i.e. /-^cu-/).

26. In the pres.ind., /-ā/ or /-ā̄/ occur as a personal ending.

27. There is a different word order in main clauses and subordinate clauses.

28. The pres.ind. of the verb "to be" has /as(s)-/, /ɔs(s)-/ or /s-/ as its base.

The features 16. (morpheme of the dir.sg. /-i/ or /-e/ in the second declension) and 27. (word-order rule) have only been established for a minority of the dialects. They may have a wider distribution. Parallels are found outside Himachali.

The following features have been established for the majority of the dialects (see p. 192 f.): 1. (/a/ > /ɔ/), 2. (vowel lengthening), 3. (/š/ from /ś/ and /ṣ/), 5. (/tr/ > /c/, /dr/ > /j/), 6. (/c/ > /ts/, /j/ > /dz/), 8. (/kʃ/ > /k(k)h/), 17. (morpheme of the dir.pl. /-e/ in the first declension), 20. (same morpheme in the obl.sg. as in the obl.pl.), 22. (possessive adjective /ro/ or /rā/). 7. (loss or instability of the voiced aspiration) has not been established for Kului and Jaunsari, and 25. (complex inflection in the second verb-class with the two morphemes /-i-/ and /-hu-/) may be absent in Kyoṅṭhli which possibly only has one morpheme /-u-/.

The following features occur in all Himachali dialects: 4. (/kr/, /pr/ etc. preserved), 9. (/ñk/ > /ñg/ etc.), 10. (/n- > /ṅ/, /l- > /l/, /-ṇ- > /n(n)/), 11. (/v- > /b-/), 12. (/y- > /j-/), 13. (/iya/ > /ī/), 14. (/m- > /w̄/), 15. (/sm/ > /mh/), 18. (morpheme of the obl.sg. /-e/ in the first declension), 19. (morpheme used in the obl.sg. in the third and fourth declensions), 21. (the instr.sg. in the substantive has an

integrated form with a morpheme), 23. (the /o/, /u/ base is not used in the remote pronoun), 24. (distinction between masculine and feminine in the singular of the third person pronouns), 26. (personal ending /-ā/ or /-ā̄/ used in the present indicative), 28. (/as(s)-/ etc. occurs as the base in the verb "to be").

To the above the following remarks should be made:

Regarding 14. Kc /m/ in e.g. /gram:a/ "village" (obl.form) is due to a comparatively recent change of /w̄/, see p. 27.

Feature 20 is due to a comparatively late loss of nasalization, see p. 95.

Regarding 10. A number of NI languages have lost the distinction between /ŋ/ and /n/ and between /ɹ/ and /l/ by generalization of /n/ and /l/. This has happened in the southern and south-eastern languages of the plains, e.g. Hindi and Bengali, and in Nepali.

Regarding 19. and 21. Some languages which now have no such morphemes are known to have possessed them.

a. Looking for agreements with other NI languages we may begin with the languages of the plains south of the Himalaya. In the southern group (represented chiefly by Hindi) and the south-eastern group (Bengali, Assami, Bihari and Oriya) the following features occur (see Turner, *The position of Romani in Indo-aryan*, *Collected Papers* p. 251 foll.):

2. (vowel lengthening).

8. (/kʂ/ > /kʰ/).

11. (/v-/ > /b-/).

12. (/y-/ > /j-/).

13. (/īya/ > /i/).

14. (/m-/ > /w̄/).

15. (/sm/ > /mh/).

17. (dir.pl. in /-e/ in 1. decl). But Rajasthani has /-ā/.

18. (obl.sg. in /-e/ in 1. decl). Rajasthani has /-ā/.

1. (/a/ > /ɔ/) This change occurs in the southeastern group. If it is a historically based agreement with Himachali it must be very old since the two areas with /ɔ/ are separated by several hundred kilometers. Either a migration has taken place leading to the separation, or the change covered originally the whole territory from Himachal Pradesh to Bengal (and Orissa?), the intermediate parts later losing any trace of it. However, in view of the indetermi-

nate character of the Indo-Aryan short /a/ one must allow for the possibility that the change to /ɔ/ has taken place independently in the two areas.

10. (/n-/ > /ŋ/, /l-/ > /ɭ/) is found in Oriya, Rajasthani and to some extent in Bihari, since intervocalic /l/ has become /r/ here.

21. (integrated instr.sg.) occurs in Awadhi and elsewhere.

22. (possess. /ro/). Rajasthani has /ro/; Bengali has the morpheme /r/, probably having the same origin.

6. (/c/ > /tʃ/, /j/ > /dʒ/) is found in eastern Bengali dialects.

b. If we turn to the three hill languages spoken east of Himachal Pradesh, namely Garhvali, Kumauni and Nepali, they have for a long time been assumed to constitute a separate language group together with Himachali, called Pahari and divided into West-Pahari (Himachali), Central Pahari (Garhvali and Kumauni) and East-Pahari (Nepali). They contain the following features:

2. (vowel-lengthening).

3. (/ʃ/ < /ś/ and /ʂ/).

8. (/kʃ/ > /(k)kh/).

9. (/ŋk/ > /ŋg/ etc.).

10. (/n-/ > /ŋ/, /l-/ > /ɭ/).

11. (/v-/ > /b-/).

12. (/y-/ > /j-/).

13. (/īya/ > /ī/).

14. (/m-/ > /w̄/).

15. (/sm/ > /mh/).

22. (possess. /ro/).

24. (distinction between m. and f. in 3. person pronouns).

Feature 10. does not occur in Nepali.

The features 3., 22. and 24. are only found in restricted areas. The first has only been noted in a part of the Kumauni area (LSI p. 253 f.). It might seem to be a genetically founded agreement with Himachali. But the nature of the change must also be taken into consideration. One may consider the coalescence of /ś/ and /ʃ/ to be of such a nature that it could easily occur. In that case the change may have taken place independently in the two language groups. If, however, it is considered to be a radical change, it has a common basis. That would mean that also Garhvali in view of its geographical position between Himachali and Kumauni must have had it.

Feature 22. has only been stated for certain Garhvali dialects (Catak 1966, p. 100–3). Standard Garhvali has /ko/.

Feature 24. is only found in Garhvali which in the obl.sg. of the two third person pronouns distinguishes between the masculine and the feminine: m. /we/, f. /wī/ in the remote pronoun and m. /ye/, f. /yī/ ~ /ī/ in the proximate pronoun (G. Catak, 1966, p. 107; LSI p. 285).

On all the other points the three eastern hill languages disagree with Himachali: /a/ has become /ə/ or /ʌ/; /r/ has been assimilated with a preceding stop; /c/ and /j/ are unchanged; voiced aspiration is maintained; the dir.sg. and the obl.sg. have the morpheme /-i/ in the second declension; /-ā/ is the morpheme of the dir.pl. and the obl.sg. in the first declension (a point of agreement with Rajasthan); no morpheme occurs in the obl.sg. in the third and fourth declensions; the obl.pl. has a morpheme different from that of the obl.sg. in the substantives; the instr.sg. is composite, a postposition being used; the possessive adjective is /ko/ except in a part of Garhvali; the base /o/, /u/ is used in the remote pronoun; the second verb-class has only one morpheme, /-i-/; in the pres.ind. the personal ending /-ā/ or /-ā̃/ does not occur; the pres.ind. of the verb “to be” has /ch-/ as base. There is no information about any rule of word-order as that mentioned under 27.

The above-mentioned features which agree with Himachali features are also found in the languages of the southern and south-eastern plains (see above p. 198 f.), except: /š/ from /ś/ and /ṣ/, /ñk/ > /ṅg/ etc. and the distinction between the two genders in the pronouns of the third person, features which also occur in the northwestern languages.

There is nothing that indicates a special genetic connection between Himachali and Garhvali, Kumauni and Nepali. The assumption of a “Pahari” language group is erroneous.

c. The most numerous and most characteristic agreements are with the languages spoken in the hills between the valley of Kulu and Kashmir and with the Dardic languages in Kashmir, only a few of them with Panjabi, Lahnda and Sindhi. Below, the languages between Kulu and Kashmir are represented by Bhadravahi and Bhalesi.

3. (/ś/ and /ʃ/ > /š/, /s/ maintained). Bhadr.-Bhal., but not Dardic which distinguishes between all three sibilants.

4. (/kr/ etc. maintained). Certain Dardic languages. Also in Pj. etc.

5. (/tr/ > /c/ etc). Similar changes in certain Dardic languages. Bhadr.-Bhal. and several Dardic languages change /kr/, /pr/, /tr/ to /tʃ/ (a retroflex affricate), see p. 65.

6. (/c/ > /ts/ etc.). Bhadr.-Bhal., Dard.

7. (voiced aspiration lost or unstable). Dard., but not Bhadr.-Bhal. This feature occurs in Pj.

9. (/ñk/ > /ng/ etc.). Dard., but not Bhadr. Bhal.

10. (/n-/ > /ŋ/, /-l-/ > /l/, /ŋŋ/ > /(n)n/). Bhadr.-Bhal., but not Dard. which shows other results; thus /ŋŋ/ has maintained the retroflex articulation in several Dardic languages, e.g. Phalura /kān/ "ear", Pk. /kaŋŋo/, Sk. /karaṅḥ/.

11. (/v-/ > /b-/). Bhadr.-Bhal., commonly in Dardic, but Kashmiri has /v-/.

12. (/y-/ > /j-/). Bhadr.-Bhal., but not Dard., which has /y-/.

13. (/īya/ > /ī/). Bhadr.-Bhal. But Shina and Kashmiri have /ij/ (or later developments thereof) from Pk. /ijja/, Pali /iyya/ from /īya/ (e.g. Pa. /diyyati/ ~ /diyati/ "is given", Sk. /diyate/).

14. (/m-/ > /w̄/). Bhadr.-Bhal. But Dard. has /m/.

15. (/sm/ > /mh/). Bhadr.-Bhal. But Dard. has /(s)s/.

16. (a. dir.sg.in /-i/ or /-e/ in the 2. decl., b. distinction between the dir.sg. and obl.sg. in the 2. decl.). Bhadr.-Bhal. (a. and b.), Dard. (b.). Also eastern Pj. dialects have b.

17. (dir.pl. in /-e/ in the 1. decl.). Bhadr.-Bhal., Dard.

18. (obl.sg. in /-e/ in the 1. decl.). Bhadr.-Bhal. The position of Dardic is uncertain.

19. (there is a morpheme in the obl.sg. in the 3. and 4. declensions). Bhadr.-Bhal., Dard. Also found in eastern Pj.

20. (same morpheme in the obl.sg. and the obl.pl. in the substantives). Occurs in a couple of hill languages north of Kulu, namely Gadi and Curahi.

21. (the instr.sg. has a morpheme in the substantive). Bhadr.-Bhal., Dard. Also in eastern Pj.

22. (possess. adjective /ro/, /rā/). Bhadr.-Bhal. Hardly found in Dardic.

24. (distinction between m. and f.sg. in the pronouns of the 3. person). Bhadr.–Bhal., Dard.

26. (personal ending /-ā/, /-ā̄/, /-ān/). Dard., but not Bhadr.–Bhal.

27. (rule of word-order). Kashmiri, hardly found in Bhadr.–Bhal.

28. (base /as(s)-/ etc. in the pres.ind. of the verb “to be”). Bhadr.–Bhal., Dard.

Deviations from Himachali in both Bhadravahi-Bhalesi and Dardic are as follows:

There is no vowel-lengthening in originally closed syllables (2). They have /c)ch/ from /kʃ/ (8). They have not changed /a/ to /ɔ/ (1.) and have no complex inflection of the second verb-class (25). On the other hand they use the pronominal base /o/, /u/ (23). It should be noted that the two first-mentioned deviations are found in Kului among the Himachali dialects.

Dardic alone deviates by preserving initial /y/ (12.) and intervocalic /m/ (14.) and by the changes of /īya/ to /ij/ (13.) and of /sm/ to /s)s/ (15.).

Bhadravahi and Bhalesi are peculiar in not having the change of /ñk/ etc. to /ñg/ etc. (e.g. /kañkañ/ “bracelet”, Sk. /kañkaṇam/; /pant/ “five”; /dant/ “tooth”; pres.partc. in /-(n)t-/ (9); this sound-change has, apart from these languages and the Kafir languages, pervaded the whole northwestern part of India and has penetrated along the mountain chain as far east as Nepal. Bhadravahi and Bhalesi also deviate from Himachali by preserving the voiced aspiration (7.) and by absence of the personal ending /-ā/, /-ā̄/ (26).

Note the following lexical agreements (we refer to CD):

Kṭg /šācṇō/ “to stick, adhere”, Sh. /šacoiki/. Possibly also in Nepali and Gujarati, see CD sajati.

Kṭg /gāe/ “on, above”, Kṭg WKc /gāš/ “up, above”, Kc /gīš/ “on”, Sk. /ākāśah/ “the sky”. Found in some Dardic languages in the meanings “sky, cloud”, e.g. Sh. /agai/ “sky”. This convincing etymology, suggested by Hukam Chand Patyal, Indo-Iranian Journal 25, 1983, p. 42, is to be preferred to that suggested in Vocab.sub /gā/. As for the meaning “up, above” developed from “in the sky” note Him. /gɛɲe/ “in the sky, above, up”, from Kṭg /gɛ:ɲ/ “sky”.

Kṭg /ās:a/ “is”, Kashm. /ās-/ “to be, exist”, Kho. /asur/ “is”.

Kṭg /bəlṇō/ “to be able”, Sk. /balāyate/ “puts forth strength”. CD

also mentions Kho. /baleik/ “to overcome, defeat” as an uncertain example.

Kṭg /nōš/ m., Kc /nō:š/ m. “finger-nail, claw”, Bhal /nēš/, Ashkun (a Kafir language) /nauca/. CD 6914.

Kṭg /dā:ṇō/ “to place, put”, Maṇḍ /dāh-/ (dental /d/) LSI p. 767 “to put”, Sk. /dadhāti/ (the long /ā:/ in the Kṭg word comes from /aha/). Found in a number of Dardic languages. Pj. /dāhṇā/ “to spread (a bed)” may have a different origin (see CD dhvaṃsati).

Kṭg Kc /š̄s:r/ m. “harvesting time (September–October), autumn (crop)”, Sk. /śarat/ f. Found in a great number of Dardic and Kafir languages; also in Sindhi and Sinhalese.

Kṭg /cəmōl/ f. “mulberry tree”, * /kṛmbukalī/. Occurs in a great number of Dardic and Kafir languages in different, partly aberrant forms. The Himachali word must be a loanword from a north-western language (see p. 65).

The following words are peculiar. Either they are not found in the languages of the plains or they differ in form and/or meaning. Some of them occur in Garhvali, Kumauni, Nepali or in Sinhalese.

Kṭg Kc /tshēuṛ/-e/ “woman, wife”.

Kc /bū:š/ f. “talk, matter”. Of unknown origin.

Kṭg Kc /ḍeuṇō/-o/ “to go”. Ass. Or. /ḍeibā/ “to jump, step over”.

Kṭg Kc /čaṇṇō/-o/ “to make”; Sk. /trāṇaḥ/ “protected, preserved”.

Kṭg Kc /dz̄aṅṅō/ -o/ “to beat, kill”, Sk. /jaṅghanti/. Is Pash. /jaṅgaw-/ “to strike against” related?

Kṭg /prēš:ɔ/, Kc /prāš:o/ “light (from a candle, the sun etc.)”, Sk. /prakāśaḥ/.

Kṭg Kc /bīj:ɔ/-o/ “clear (of the sky)”, Kum. /bido/ “bright, sunny”, Nep. /bāsi-bido/ “cessation of the rains”; Sk. /vidhraḥ/.

Kṭg Kc /kaun/-e/ “a species of grain, millet”, Kum. /kāunī/, Nep. /kāuni/.

Kṭg /rwaḷ/ “downward slope, descent”, Kum. /ulār/, Nep. /orālo/.

Kṭg /uk:əḷnō/ “to climb, ascend”, /kwaḷ/ “upward slope, ascent”. Also meaning “to ascend” in Kumauni and Nepali, but in other languages “to go out, descend, boil over, etc.”

Kṭg /^cīz/, Kc /^cī:dz/ “yesterday”, Eur. Gypsy /yidž/, /iž/, Nep. /hijo/, Sinh. /iyē/. From Pk. /hijjo/, Pa. /hiyyo/, Sk. /hyaḥ/. Kṭg /phōrədz/, Kc /phāre:dz/ “on the day before yesterday”, Si. /parīhā/, */para-hiyaḥ/ (CD).

Kṭg /^oūdzc^oñō/, Kc /ūdzcⁱño/ “to rise”, Nep. /ujhāunu/ “to lift”.

Kṭg /pəŋ^eɛri/ “canal, woman carrying water, rainbow”, Kc /pəŋ^ejäre/ “rainbow”. The meaning “rainbow” does not seem to be present in other NI languages.

Here may be mentioned some few words which seem to be loanwords from the adjoining Tibetan language Kanauri. We refer to Bailey, Kanauri vocabulary, English–Kanauri and Kanauri–English, 1911. The influence from Kanauri on Himachali is negligible. The influence has gone the other way judging by Bailey’s vocabulary. Kanauri contains a considerable number of IA loanwords from Himachali, Hindi and Panjabi. Consequently one cannot always be sure of the origin of such words as those mentioned below.

Kṭg Kc /pəla:ts/ m. “goat’s blood”, Kan. /pöläts/ “blood”.

+/tsulu/ m. “apricot” (from poetry), Kan. /cul(h)/ “wild apricot”.

The native word for “apricot” is /šārɔ/ in Kṭg.

Kṭg /tshāl:ɪ/ f. “maize”, Kan. /tsalia/. But notice Pj. /challī/ “a cob of Indian corn”.

Kṭg /sā:l/ f. “harvest, crop”, Kan. /sāl/ “harvest, crop”. The Tibetan language of Spiti has *khral*, pronounced /ṭhal/ “revenue”. Is this related? If so, H. /sāl/ m. “growing or unhusked rice” is hardly related.

Kṭg /šāŋ/ m. “ice”, Kan. /shāñənmig^c/ “to freeze”.

Kṭg /šāŋɔ/ m. “lock of door”, Kan. /shāñöñ/ “lock of door”.

d. Among the 28 features enumerated above, the following are especially characteristic of Himachali as viewed from the southern languages:

1. /tr/ > /c/, /dr/ > /j/ (5).
2. Loss or instability of voiced aspiration and introduction of tones instead (7).
3. The morpheme /-ɪ/ or /-e/ of the dir.sg. in the 2. declension (16).
4. Complex inflection with the morphemes /-i-/ and /-hu-/ in the 2. verb-class (25).
5. The personal ending /-ā/ or /-ã/ in the pres.ind. (26).
6. The word-order rule (27).

7. The pres.ind. of the verb "to be" has /as(s)-/, /ɔs(s)-/ or /s-/ as its base (28).

The features 1., 3. and 7. are found in the Bhadravahi group, the features 1., 2., 5., 6. and 7. in Dardic. The complex inflection of the second verb-class seems to be restricted to Himachali where Ktg. has a genetically conditioned distribution of the two morphemes, see p. 146.

The Himachali dialect group contains southern and south-eastern features on the one hand and northwestern features on the other. This is also true of the Bhadravahi group and of the Gypsy languages, especially European Gypsy. As is well known, R.L. Turner was able on the basis of the genetically composite nature of Gypsy to establish that it was in origin a southern language, but that it later received a number of northwestern elements, witnessing of an early migration from central India to the north and a subsequent stay for some time in the northwest (Turner, *The position of Romani in Indo-Aryan*, 1926; *Collected papers*, 1975, p. 251–290). As for Himachali the same fact of a blend of northern and southern features is probably rather to be explained as a consequence of a habitat on the border-line between the two areas.

Several of the northwestern features are conservations: 3. (distinction between /š/ (< /ś/, /ṣ/) and /s/), 4. (/r/ preserved after velar and labial stops), 19. (a morpheme used in the obl.sg. in the 3. and 4. decl.), 21. (integrated form with a morpheme of the instr.sg. in the substantive) and 24. (distinction between m. and f. in the singular of the 3. person pronouns). Also the change of /tr/ etc. to /c/ etc. (5.) starts from a conservation, and 23. (use of the base /s-/: /t-/ in the remote pronoun instead of /o/, /u/) possibly also must be considered to be a conservation if the /o/, /u/ base is a recent introduction. Northwestern changes or innovations are 5. (/tr/ > /c/ etc.), 7. (loss or instability of the voiced aspiration), 9. (/ñk/ > /ñg/ etc.), 26. (personal ending /-ā/, /-ā̄/). It is to be noted that the northernmost dialect, Kului, has two northwestern features not found in the rest of Himachali, namely: short stressed vowels in closed syllables remain short (2.) and the change of /kṣ/ to /(c)ch/ (8.).

There are evident genetically founded connections between Himachali and the northwestern languages including the Dardic

languages in Kashmir, which is a remarkable fact. None of these languages can however be regarded as forming one group together with Himachali.

Himachali does not constitute an undivided whole either. We have seen above that it is split up by certain features and that some of the dialects have a marginal position. But on the whole it is a relatively homogeneous group.

Appendix

Linguistic peculiarities in poetry

There are comparatively few peculiarities to be found in poetry. Sometimes, however, a colouring of other dialects appears, especially Kyoṇṭhli which seems to have a special status as the language of poetry, judging by the grandiose songs edited by H. A. Rose, 1908–09 and 1909, and R. C. Temple, 1884 (see the bibliography).

Kyoṇṭhli features appear especially, without being consistently carried through, in the (fragmentary) song about Maulku and the song of the mouse in vol. 2 of these studies:

/-o/ or */-ɔ/* instead of final */-a/*: obl. /d^caro de/ “on the hill”, /šar^co re mɪn:e de/ “in the month of asārḥ (from mid June to mid July)”; dir.pl. /dak:ho/ “grapes”; 3. sg.pres. /maṅɔ/ “demands”; the numerals, e.g. /ba:rɔ/ “twelve”, /ṭha:rɔ/ “eighteen”.

1. pl.pres. */-u/*: /gau/ “we sing”, /aṇu (lɛ) / “we (will) bring”.

Instr. 1.decl. */-ɛ/*: /šaurɛ tɪ khɔru kɛ lai/ “my husband’s family has sent me for grass”.

Other peculiarities:

In the dir.sg. 1.decl. */-a/* is occasionally used.

In the short forms of substantives following the 3. and 4. declensions an */a/* may be added: /surdza/ (= /sūrɛdz/) “sun”, /oɖa/ “carpenter”, /gəmana/ “haughtiness”, /šanda/ “name of a particular fair and rite”. This is not so much a linguistic feature; it is due to the song rhythm where often an extra syllable is wanted. It has nothing to do with the */-a/* of the dir.sg.m. since it is also added to feminine words like /ša:nd/ and can appear in the dir.pl.m., e.g. /phəkara/ (for /phəka:r/) “invocations”.

Loc. */-ɛ/*: /d^carɛ/ “on the hill”, /tharɛ deš:ɛ/ “in your country”, /dɔpa:rɛ/ “at noon”, /ṭop:uɛ/ “in the cap”, /piṭ:hiɛ/ “on the back”.

Abl. */-a/*: e.g. /kəmaršəṇa/ “from Kumarsain”.

Obl.fem. */-ia/*: /mɔria rɔ b^carta/ “the song of the plague”.

Obl.fem. */-iɛ/* in the attributive adjective: /lambie keṛi/ “with outstretched neck”, /duʃ:iɛ bere/ “another time”, /miṭ:hiɛ buṭ:iɛ phɔ:l/ “the fruits of the sweet plant”.

The attributive adjective joined to a vocative is put in the vocative: /kaɫea kaua/ “black crow!”, /meriɛ sɔget:ɛ/ “oh my (country) Suket”, /rɛ:ndiɛ tsiɾiɛ/ “flying bird!”. Notice in the plural: /merio maɔ/ “oh my mothers” (addressing the goddesses).

Pres.partc. used as a sentence verb: /terɛ ʔndi lambi dandi/ “you have long teeth”, /gʰasɳi dɪ muš:a gʰeri dɛnda pheri/ “on the grass field the mouse walks round and round”.

Pres.ind.invol. in /-i/: /dʰɔn dei maɾ:ia/ “wealth is given by the soil”, /piš:ɪɔ khai khənɔra/ “chestnuts are ground and eaten”.

Pret.in /-i/: /giũ ɫi/ “wheat was mown”, /dziu lag:i laltsa/ “desire came to the mind”.

Besides /gɔ/ also /geɔ/ is used.

/ʃaɳõ/ means “to go” (in colloquial language /ɖeɳõ/-o/).

Of two paratactic substantives only the last is inflected: /ramu dei khɔš:ɪɔ bʰarta gaɪ/ “let us sing the song about Ramu the khash”. The same rule is also found in the colloquial language, e.g. /ʔkʰbar ʰbadʰšæ apɳɛ dziu dɪ sɔɾ:hɔ/ “the emperor Akbar thought in his mind”.

PARADIGMS

The substantive

gwałɔ,-o “cowherd”; bād:ᶜ¹ “carpenter”; tshēuɾɪ,-e “woman”; ˘āt:h, ˘ā:th “hand”; dzīb:ᶜ, dzī:b:ᶜ “tongue”; ra:c “night”; rad:za “king”; mała “garland”; raṇḍu “widower”.

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	<i>1. declension (m.)</i>			
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	gwał-ɔ	gwał-ε	gwał-o	gwał-a
Oblique		gwał-ε		gwał-e
Instrumental		gwał-e-ε		gwał-e-a
Relational		gwał-e-ε		gwał-e re
Vocative	gwał-e-a	gwał-e-o	gwał-e-a	gwał-e-o
Possessive		gwał-e-o		gwał-e ro

	<i>2a. declension (m.)</i>	
Direct	bād:ᶜ-ɪ	
Oblique	bād:ᶜ-i	
Instrumental	bād:ᶜ-i-ε	
Relational	bād:ᶜ-i-ε	
Vocative	bād:ᶜ-i-a	bād:ᶜ-i-o
Possessive	bād:ᶜ-i-ɔ	

	<i>2b. declension (f.)</i>			
Direct	tshēuɾ-ɪ	tshēuɾ-i	tshēuɾ-e	tshēuɾ-i
Oblique		tshēuɾ-i		tshēuɾ-i
Instrumental		tshēuɾ-i-ε		tshēuɾ-i-a
Relational		tshēuɾ-i-ε		tshēuɾ-i re
Vocative	tshēuɾ-i-ε	tshēuɾ-i-o	tshēuɾ-i-a	tshēuɾ-i-o
Possessive		tshēuɾ-i-ɔ		tshēuɾ-i ro

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	<i>3a. declension (m.)</i>			
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	°āt:h		°ā:th	
Oblique	°āt:h-a		°āt:h-a	
Instrumental	°āt:h-ε		°āt:h-a	
Relational	°āt:h-ε		°āt:h-a re	
Vocative	°āt:h-a	°āt:h-o	°at:h-a	°āt:h-o
Possessive	°āt:h-ɔ		°āt:h-a ro	

	<i>3b. declension (f.)</i>			
Direct	dzīb:°c	dzīb:°c-ε	dzī:b:°c	dzīb:°c-a
Oblique	dzīb:°c-a		dzīb:°c-a	
Instrumental	dzīb:°c-ε		dzīb:°c-a	
Relational	dzīb:°c-ε		dzīb:°c-a re	
Vocative	dzīb:°c-ε	dzīb:°c-o	dzīb:°c-a	dzīb:°c-o
Possessive	dzīb:°c-ɔ		dzīb:°c-a ro	

	<i>4. declension (f.)</i>			
Direct	ra:c	rac:-i	ra:c	rac:i
Oblique	rac:-i		rac:i	
Instrumental	rac:-i-ε		rac:-i-a	
Relational	rac:-i-ε		rac:i re	
Vocative	rac:-i-ε	rac:-i-o	rac:-i-a	rac:-i-o
Possessive	rac:-i-ɔ		rac:i ro	

	<i>5a. declension (m.)</i>			
Direct	rad:z-a		rad:z-a	
Oblique	rad:z-a		rad:z-a	
Instrumental	rad:z-ε		rad:z-a	
Relational	rad:z-ε		rad:z-a re	
Vocative	rad:z-a	rad:z-o	rad:z-a	rad:z-o
Possessive	rad:z-ɔ		rad:z-a ro	

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	5b. declension (f.)			
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	maɫ-a	maɫ-ε		maɫ-a
Oblique		maɫ-a		maɫ-a
Instrumental		maɫ-ε		maɫ-a
Relational		maɫ-ε		maɫ-a re
Vocative	maɫ-ε	maɫ-o	maɫ-a	maɫ-o
Possessive		maɫ-ɔ		maɫ-a ro

	6. declension (m. and f.)			
Direct		raɳɖ-u		raɳɖ-u
Oblique		raɳɖ-u		raɳɖ-u
Instrumental		raɳɖ-u-ε		raɳɖ-u-a
Relational		raɳɖ-u-ε		raɳɖ-u re
Vocative	raɳɖ-u-a	raɳɖ-u-o	raɳɖ-u-a	raɳɖ-u-o
Possessive		raɳɖ-u-ɔ		raɳɖ-u ro

Alternations in Kotgarhi

Morphemes involved in the alternations are: -ε (obl. in 1. decl.) and the four possess. morphemes: 1.-ɔ (dir. sg. m.), 2.-ε (obl. m., dir. pl. m.), 3.-ɪ (dir. sg. f.), 4.-i (obl. f., dir. pl. f.).

1. declension. Obl. gwaɫ-ε. Instr., rel. gwaɫ-e-ε. Voc. sg. gwaɫ-e-a. Voc. pl. gwaɫ-e-o. Possess. 1. gwaɫ-e-o ~ -e-ɔ, 2. gwaɫ-e-ε, 3. gwaɫ-ɪ-e ~ -ɪ-ε, 4. gwaɫ-ɪ-e ~ -ɪ-ε.

2. declension and 6. declension. Possess. 3. tshēuɾ-i-e ~ -i-ε, adm-i-e ~ i-ε; 4. tsheuɾ-i-e ~ -i-ε, adm-i-e ~ -i-ε.

4. declension. Possess. 3. rac:-ɪ-e ~ -ɪ-ε, 4. rac:-ɪ-e ~ -ɪ-ε.

The adjective

1. class: kaɫ-ɔ,-o “black”

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>	<i>Koci</i>
Dir.sg.m.	kaɫ-ɔ	kaɫ-o
Obl.m.	kaɫ-ε	kaɫ-e

Dir.pl.m.	kaḷ-ε	kaḷ-a
Dir.sg.f.	kaḷ-ı	kaḷ-e
Obl.f., dir.pl.f.,	kaḷ-i	kaḷ-i

2. class

Dir.sg.pl.m.f. Kṭg Kc e:k “one”, o:r “other”, s5b “all”.

Obl.sg.pl.m.f. Kṭg Kc ek:i, ori, s5b:i

3. class

Dir. Kṭg Kc d5š “ten”, obl.d5š:a. Collective: d5š:i “all the ten”.

4. class

Indeclinables: Kṭg Kc la:l “red”.

The pronoun*The pronouns of the first and second persons*

By ° are indicated WKc forms

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	1. sg.	2. sg.	1. sg.	2. sg.
Dir.	mū:	tu:	āū~°āū, °ēū, °ū:	tu:
Obl.	mū:	tā:	mū:	taū, °tū
Instr.	mē:	tē:	muī, °moī, °meī	taī, °tēī
Rel.	merε	tere	mere	tere
Poss.	merɔ	terɔ	mero	tero

Integrated postposition forms: Kṭg mul:ε, tal:ε; muk:a, tak:a; muk:ε; mūndı, tandı. Kc mük:he, tāk:he; muk:a, tak:a. WKc t5k:he, t5k:a.

	1. pl.	2. pl.	1. pl.	2. pl.
Dir.	°ām:ε	tum:ε	am:a	tum:a
Obl.	°ām:a	tum:a	am:u	tum:u
Instr.	°ām:ε	tum:ε	am:a~ua	tum:a~ua
Rel.	m°ārε~mā:re	thārε	mā:re	tumā:re, °tā:re
Poss.	m°ārɔ~mā:rɔ	thārɔ	mā:ro	tumā:ro, °tā:ro

The pronouns of the third person

sō “he, she, it; that”. jō “he, she, it; this”.

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	Sg.m.		Sg.m.	
Dir.	sō:,sōa	jō:, jōa	sēo	eo
Obl.	tēu,tē:	ēu,ē:	tē:,tēs	ē,ēs
Instr.	tīn:ɪ, tīn:ɪε	īn:ɪ, īn:ɪε	tīɲi, tīɲia	īɲi, īɲia
Rel.	tē:re, tēue	ē:re, ēue	tē:re, tēsre	ē:re, ēsre
Poss.	tē:ro, tēuɔ	ē:ro, ēuɔ	tē:ro, tēsro	ē:ro, ēsro

	Sg.f.		Sg.f.	
Dir.	sō:,sōa	jō:, jōa	sē:	e:
Obl.	tē:, tēa	ē:,ēa	tīā	īā
Instr.	tēε, tē:	ēε, ē:	tīā	īā
Rel.	tēε, tē	ēε, ē:	tīāre	īāre
Poss.	tēɔ	ēɔ	tīāro	īāro

	Pl.m.f.		Pl.m.f.	
Dir.	sē:,sēa	jē:, jēa	sē:	e:
Obl.	tīn:°a, tīn:a	īn:°a, īn:a	tīū	īū
Instr.	tīn:°ε, tīn:ε	īn:°ε, īn:ε	tīūa	īūa
Rel.	tīn:°ε, tīn:ε	īn:°ε, īn:ε	tīūre	īūre
Poss.	tīn:°ɔ, tīn:ɔ	īn:°ɔ, īn:ɔ	tīūro	īūro

Inanimate sg. and pl.

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
			sg.m.sēo	sg.m.eo
Dir.	sg.sō:, pl.sē:	sg.jō:, pl. jē:	sg.f., pl.sē:	sg.f., pl.e:
Obl.	tēt:h, tet	ēt:h, et	tēt:h	ēt:h
	tēt:hε, tet:ε	ēt:hε, et:e	tēt:hi	ēt:hi
	tēt:ha, tet:a	ēt:ha, et:a		
Poss.	tēt:hɔ, tet:ɔ	ēt:hɔ, et:ɔ	tēthro	ēthro

The relative pronoun

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	Sg.m.	Sg.f.	Sg.m.	Sg.f.
Dir.	dzv:ɲ, dzv:	dzv:ɲ, dzv:	dzv:ɲ, dzeo	dzv:ɲ, dze:
Obl.	dzō:, dzōa	dzē:, dzēa	dzā:, dzās	dzīā

Instr.	dzuṇi, dzuṇie	dzuṇi, dzuṇie	dzuṇi, dzuṇia	dzuṇi, dzuṇia
Rel.	dzõ:re	dzēε, dzē:	dzā:re, dzāsre	dziāre
Poss.	dzõ:rõ	dzēõ	dzā:ro, dzāsro	dziāro
	Pl.m.f.		Pl.m.f.	
Dir.	dzu:n, dzε:		dzu:n, dze:	
Obl.	dzin:°a, dzin:a		dziū	
Instr.	dzuṇi, dzuṇie		dzuṇi, dzuṇia	
Rel.	dzin:°ε, dzin:ε		dziūre	
Poss.	dzin:°õ, dzin:õ		dziūro	

The sg.f. may have the same inflection as the sg.m. both in Kṭg. and Kc.

Inanimate sg. and pl.: dir. Kṭg Kc dzu:n; obl. Kṭg dziu, dzēt:h, dzēt:hε, dzēt:ha; obl. Kc dzēt:h, dzēt:hi.

The interrogative pronoun

	<i>Kotgarhi</i>		<i>Koci</i>	
	Sg.m.	Sg.f.	Sg.m.	Sg.f.
Dir.	ku:n	ku:n	ku:n	ku:n
Obl.	kõ:, kõa, kēu	kē:, kēa	kā:, kās	kiā
Instr.	kuṇi, kuṇie	kuṇi, kuṇie	kuṇi, kuṇia	kuṇi, kuṇia
Rel.	kõ:re	kēε, kē:	kā:re, kāsre	kiāre
Poss.	kõ:rõ	kēõ	kā:ro, kāsro	kiāro
	Pl.m.f.		Pl.m.f.	
Dir.	ku:n		ku:n	
Obl.	kīn:°a, kin:a		kiū	
Inst.	kuṇi, kuṇie		kuṇi, kuṇia	
Rel.	kīn:°ε, kin:ε		kiūre	
Poss.	kīn:°õ, kin:õ		kiūro	

The sg.f. and the pl. may have the same inflection as the sg.m. in Kṭg. and Kc.

Inanimate sg. and pl.: dir. Kṭg kē:, kea, ku:n, Kc ka:; obl. Kṭg kiū, kēt:h, kēt:hε, kēt:ha, Kc kēt:h, kēt:hi.

*The indefinite pronoun**Kotgarhi**Koci*

	Sg.m.f.	Pl.m.f.	Sg.pl.m.f.
Dir.	koi	koi, kei	koi
Obl.	kōs:i	kōs:i	kās:i
Instr.	kuṇi	kuṇi	kuṇi
Rel.	kōs:iε	kōs:iε	kās:ire
Poss.	kōs:iɔ	kōs:iɔ	kās:iro

Inanimate sg. and pl.: dir. Kṭg kūt:sh, kuts; kīt:sh, kits; Kc kūt:sh, kuts; obl. Kṭg kiui, kēt:hi; Kc kēt:hi.

The pronominal adjectives

1. "That particular", etc.

Kṭg sēd:zɔ, ɛd:zɔ, dzɛd:zɔ, kɛd:zɔ

Kc sēd:zo, ed:zo, dzed:zo, ked:zo

2. "Such", etc.

Kṭg tēṇ^ɔ, tɛṇ^ɔ; ɛṇ^ɔ, ɛṇ^ɔ; dzēṇ^ɔ, dzɛṇ^ɔ; kēṇ^ɔ, kɛṇ^ɔ

Kc tɪṇo, ɪṇo, dziṇo, kiṇo.

3. "So big", etc.

Kṭg tetrɔ, etrɔ, dzetrɔ, ketrɔ

Kc tetṇo, etṇo, dzetṇo, ketṇo.

4. "So much", etc.

Kṭg tet:i, et:i, dzet:i, ket:i

Kc tet:i, tetri; et:i, etri; dzet:i, dzetri; ket:i, ketri.

The verb

Kṭg Kc šōṇṇō, -no "to hear"; tsalṇō, -ṇo "to walk"; Kṭg thāchnō, Kc thāc:iṇo "to stop (intr.)".

1. verb class. Kṭg šōṇṇō, tsalṇō. Kc šōṇṇo, tsalṇo.

2. verb class. Involitive: Kṭg šōṇ^ɔnō, tsāl^ɔṇō. Kc šōṇiṇo, tsal:iṇo.

Denominative: Kṭg thāchnō, Kc thāc:iṇo (cp.thā:c "halt").

3. verb class. Causative: Kṭg šəṇauṇō, tsələuṇō. Kc šəṇauṇo, tsələuṇo.

Present
Kotgarhi

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	šūṇu	šūṇi, šōṇa	thāc:u	thāc:i thāc:ia
2.		šōṇa		thāc:ia
3.		šōṇa		thāc:ia

Koci

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	šūṇu	šūṇi	thāc:u, thāc:iu	thāc:i
2.		šōṇa		thāc:ia
3.		šōṇa		thāc:ia

Negated present. neī + the present participle.

Imperfect

Kṭg present + tō, tī, tē, ti
Kc present + thō, thē, thā, thī,

Preterite
Kotgarhi

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
m.	šōṇo	šōṇε	thāc:huo	thāc:hue
f.	šōṇi	šūṇi	thāc:hui	thāc:hui

Koci

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
m.	šōṇo	šōṇa	thāc:huo	thāc:hua
f.	šōṇe	šūṇi	thāc:hue	thāc:hui

Future
Kotgarhi

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	šōṇmu	šōṇme	thāchṇo	thāchṇe
	šōṇṇo, -1, -ε, -i		thāchṇi	thāchṇi
2.3.	šōṇṇo, -1, -ε, -i		thāchṇo	thāchṇe
			thāchṇi	thāchṇi

The agent is in the relational with šōṇṇo, e.g. mere šōṇṇo.

Koci

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	šūṇu lo, le	šūṇi la, li	thāc:u lo, le	thāc:i la, li
2.3.	šōṇa lo, le	šōṇa la, li	thāc:ia lo, le	thāc:ia la, li

WKc. has 1.sg. šūṇu lo, le; 1.pl. šūṇu la, li; 2.3.sg. šōṇe lo, le; 2.3.pl. šōṇe la, li.

*Subjunctive**Koṭgarḥi and Koci*

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	šōṇo,-u	šōṇe,-i	thāc:io thāc:u	thāc:ie thāc:i
2.	šōṇe	šōṇe,-o	thāc:ie	thāc:ie,-io
3.	šōṇe	šōṇe	thāc:ie	thāc:ie

WKc. has in the 1.pl. šōṇe, -u.

Optative

The only difference from the subjunctive is the ending -o in the 2.3. sg. in both dialects.

Injunctive

	Sg. pl.	Sg.pl.
Koṭgarḥi and Koci.	3. šūṇi	thāc:i

Imperative

Direct imperative: Kṭg Kc 2sg.šōṇ, thāc:i; 2pl.šōṇo, thāc:io.

Indirect imperative: Kṭg 2sg.šōṇe, thāc:ie. Kc 2sg. šōṇe, thāc:ie; 2pl. šōṇeo, thāc:ieo.

Expressive

Kṭg Kc šō:ṇ, šōṇ; tsa:l, tsal. E.g. Kṭg šōṇ tɪn:ɪ, Kc šōṇ tɪṇi “suddenly he heard”; Kṭg tsal sō, Kc tsal sēo “suddenly he went”.

Present participle

Kṭg šōṇdɔ, thāchdɔ. Kc šōṇdɔ, thāc:ido

Preterite participle

Kt̄g šōṇṇ, thāc:huc. Kc šōṇ, thāc:huc

Static participle

Kt̄g šōṇṇ ndṇ, šōṇṇ nṇ. Kc šōṇṇo ndo, šōṇṇo do
thāc:huc ndṇ, thāc:huc nṇ. thāc:huc ndo, thāc:huc do

Gerundive

Kt̄g šōṇṇṇ, thāchṇṇ. Kc šōṇṇo, thāc:iṇṇ

Infinitive

Kt̄g šōṇṇō, šōṇṇu. Kc šōṇṇo
Kt̄g thāchṇṇō, thāchṇṇu. Kc thāc:iṇṇo

Gerunds

Present gerund: Kt̄g šōṇṇda, thāchda. Kc šōṇṇda, thāc:ida.

Preterite gerund:

Short gerund: Kt̄g šōṇṇi, thāc:hui. Kc šōṇṇe, thāc:hue.

Long gerund: Kt̄g šōṇṇio, šōṇṇia; thāc:hucio, thāc:hucia. Kc šōṇṇea, thāc:huea.

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Abbreviations

Ap.	Apabhraṃśa
Ass.	Assamese
Av.	Avadhi
Bagh.	Baghaṭi
Bhad(r).	Bhadravahi
Bhal.	Bhalesi
Bhaṭ.	Bhaṭeali
BHSk.	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. London
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies. London
CD	Turner, R. L., A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages. See Bibl.
C(h)am.	Chameali
CPD	A critical Pali dictionary. See Bibl.
Dard.	Dardic
EMI	Early Middle Indo-Aryan
expr.	expressive
Garḥ(v).	Garḥvali
ger.	gerund
Guj.	Gujerati
H(i).	Hindi
Him.	Himachali
IA	Indo-Aryan
Ind.Lingu.	Indian Linguistics (journal), Calcutta, Poona
inj.	injunctive
invol.	involitive
J	Joshi, T. R., A dictionary of the Pahari dialects. See Bibl.
Jaun.	Jaunsari
Kan.	Kanauri
Kash.	Kashali
Kc.	Koci
Kho.	Khowar
Kṭg.	Koṭgarhi
Kul.	Kului
Kum.	Kumauni
Kyoṇ(th).	Kyoṇṭhli
LMI	Late Middle Indo-Aryan
LNH	Bailey, T. G., Languages of the Northern Himalayas. See Bibl.

LSI	Linguistic survey of India. See Bibl. Grierson. Where no indication of volume is given the reference is to vol. IX part 4, 1916
LStHim.	Bailey, T. G., Linguistic studies from the Hima- layas. See Bibl.
Maṇḍ.	Maṇḍali
Mar.	Marāṭhi
MI	Middle Indo-Aryan
Nep.	Nepali
NI	New Indo-Aryan
OI	Old Indo-Aryan
Or.	Oṛiya
Pa.	Pali
Pash.	Pashai
P(j).	Pañjabi
Pk.	Prakrit
Possess., pss.	possessive
P.-s.-m(ah).	Sheth, H.D.T., Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇava. See Bibl.
Raj.	Rajasthani
rel.	relational
Sh.	Shina
S(i).	Sindhi
Sing., Sinh.	Sinhalese
Sirm.	Sirmauri
Sk.	Sanskrit
Texts	Himachali Studies, vol. II (Texts)
Vocab.	Himachali Studies, vol. I (Vocabulary)
WKc.	West Koci

+ in front of a word indicates that it is only known to me from poetry.

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