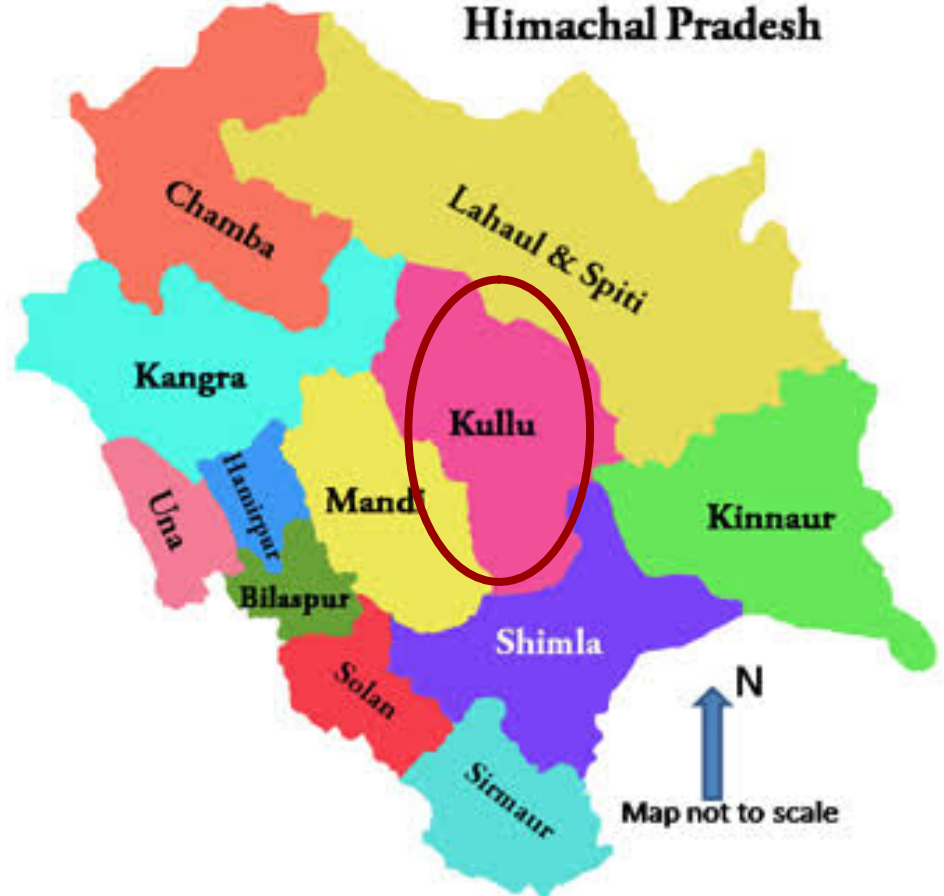# Inanimate demonstrative pronouns in Kullui

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(Saint Petersburg, 21–23 November 2019)

➢Kullui (< Himachali Pahari (= Western Pahari) < Indo-Aryan

➢About 170 thousand speakers

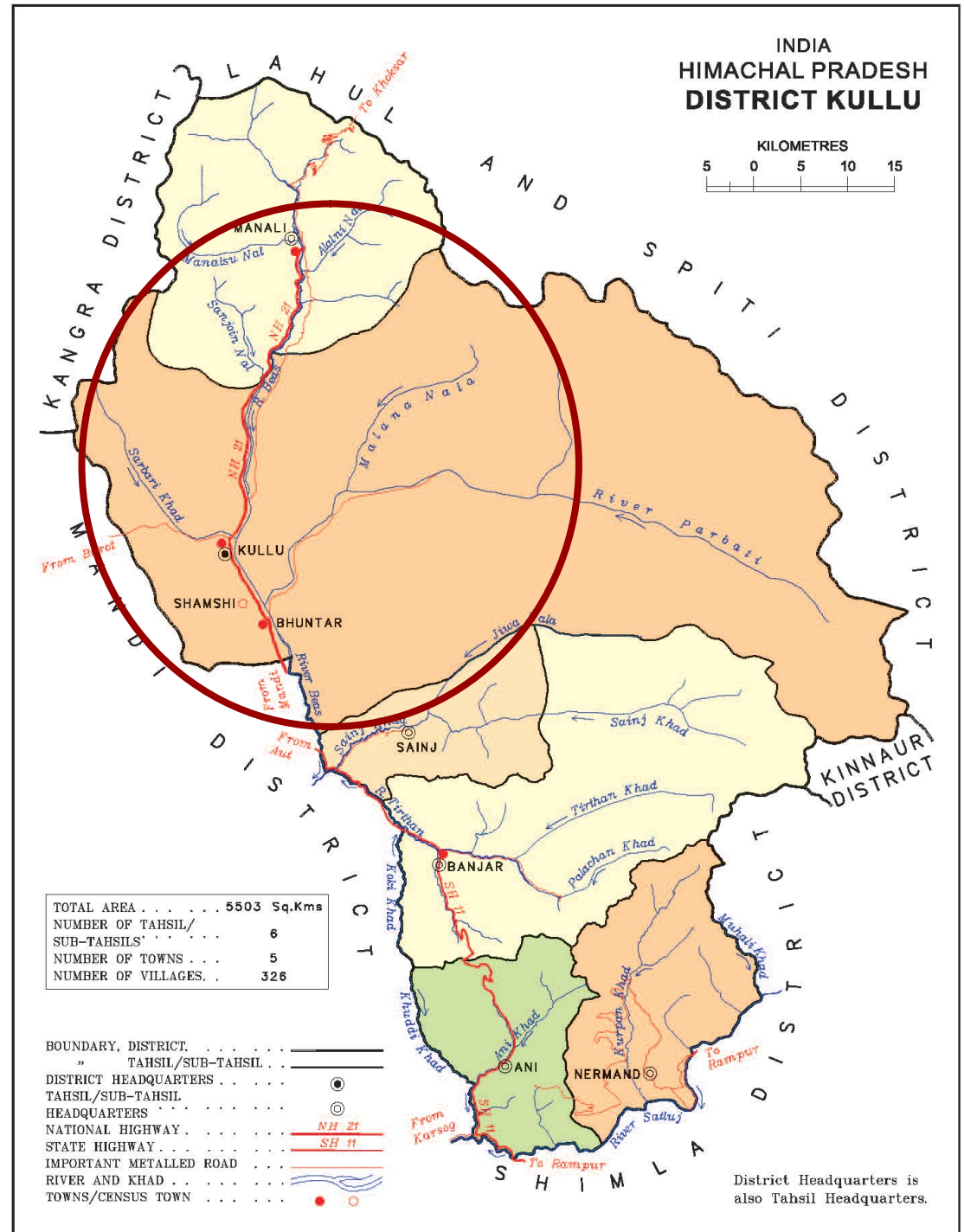➢Located in Kullu District in Himachal Pradesh, India

Kullu district

6 tehsils (Manali, Kullu, Sainj, Banjar, Ani, Nirmand)

Kullui is spoken in Kullu and Manali tehsils

Field data are from Kullu district, Himachal Pradesh, India, collected in 2014-2018:

➢ Central part: the town of Kullu and the villages of Naggar, Nashala, Bashing, Katrain, Suma, Bhalyani, Jagatsukh

➢ Northern part: the town of Manali, and the villages of Barua, Palchain, Shanag, Kothi

Website: www.pahari-languages.com

Demonstrative pronouns in New Indo-Aryan:

- are used as both adjective and substantive pronouns
- function as 3rd-person pronouns

Historical development of demonstrative pronouns in NIA

PROX	*i-, e-, ei-, j-*	< Old Ind. *ēṣa* 'this'	*i*-pronoun
DIST	*s-, t-, s-/t-*	< Old Ind. *sa* (oblique stem *ta*-) 'that'	*s/t*-pronoun
DIST	*u-, o-, ou-, w-, b-*	? < Old Ind. *asau* (oblique stem *amu*-) 'that'	*u*-pronoun

When one of DISTs is used as distal demonstrative pronoun, another DIST can:

➢ function as correlative

➢ have different deictic degree in increased deictic system (e.g. degree of visibility)

➢ function more like 3rd-person pronoun (e.g. be only animate, only substantive)

➢ be lost

Examples from New Indo-Aryan

Pronouns	Hindi			Nepali		Kumaoni Soryali	
PROX *i-* pronoun	*jeh*	PROX	*jo*	PROX	*jo*	PROX	
DIST *s/t-* pronoun	*so*	correlative, almost lost	*tjo*	DIST	-		
DIST *u-* pronoun	*woh*	DIST	*u*	animate, substantive	*u*	DIST	

U-pronoun as main distal demonstrative (hereinafter [Masica 1991: 225]):

Hindi
Kumaoni
Punjabi
Lahnda
Sindhi
Rajasthani
Braj
Awadhi
Maithili
Bhojpuri
Chattisgarhi

_S/t_-pronoun as main distal demonstrative:

Dardic languages
Himachali Pahari group
Gujarati
Marathi
Konkani
Bengali
Oriya

Gender in demonstrative pronouns

No gender-differentiated pronouns

Hindi
Kumaoni
Nepali
Punjabi
Some Himachali Pahari
Lahnda
Maithili
Bhojpuri
Chattisgarhi

Gender in demonstrative pronouns

Two gender pronouns (M/F)

Sindhi
Rajasthani
Braj
Awadhi
Some Himachali Pahari

Gender in demonstrative pronouns

Three gender pronouns (with preservation of the Old Ind. Neuter)

Marathi
Konkani
Some Himachali Pahari (Bhadrawahi, Bhalesi, Mandeali, Kiunthali, Shodochi)

Three gender nouns (with preservation of the Old Ind. Neuter)

Gujarati
Marathi
Konkani
Some Himachali Pahari (Bhadrawahi, Bhalesi)

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Himachali Pahari group:

➢ *s/t*-pronoun as distal demonstrative

➢ preservation of Old-Ind. Neuter in nouns in some languages

➢ preservation of Old-Ind. Neuter in demonstrative pronouns in some languages
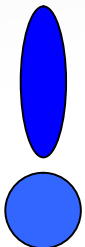
Kullui: two gender nouns (M/F)

Demonstrative pronouns in Kullui

Pronoun		PROX=VIS			DIST=INVIS		
Number	Gender	M	F	INAN	M	F	INAN
SG	DIR	*e*		-	*sɔ*		-
	OBL	*ei*	*esa*	*ui*	*tei*	*tesa*	*tui*
	ERG/INSTR	*eie*	*ese*	*uie*	*teie*	*tese*	*tuie*
PL	DIR	*e*			*te*		
	OBL	*inha*			*tinha*		
	ERG/INSTR	*inhe*		-	*tinhe*		-

Inanimate demonstrative pronouns in Kullui

Pronoun		PROX=VIS			DIST=INVIS		
Number	Gender	M	F	INAN	M	F	INAN
SG	DIR	e		-	sɔ		-
	OBL	ei	esa	ui	tei	tesa	tui
	ERG/INSTR	eie	ese	uie	teie	tese	tuie
PL	DIR	e			te		
	OBL	inha			tinha		
	ERG/INSTR	inhe		-	tinhe		-

Inanimate demonstrative pronouns in Kullui are always substantival and do not have DIR.SG and PL forms

The existence of the inanimate pronouns along with the masculine and feminine ones typologically suggests that the gender category in this case is characteristic only of the animate pronouns, but this is not so for Kullui. The masculine and feminine pronouns can refer to both animate and inanimate objects, cf.:

(1) *e   mhar-e grã-ri   ʃohri sa   esa-be   mhar-e*
    this our-OBL village-GEN girl   COP PROX.F.OBL-ACC/DAT our-OBL

   ghɔr-a-be   ʃad-at
   house-OBL-ACC/DAT call-IMP.PL
   This is the girl from our village, invite her to our house

(2) *e   saɽi bohu ʃobhl-i sa   esa-be*
    this saree very   good-F COP PROX.F.OBL-ACC/DAT

   bja-re   rodz la-i
   wedding-GEN.OBL day   wear-IMP.FUT
   This saree is very beautiful, wear it on the day of the wedding

Functions of the inanimate demonstrative pronouns in Kullui:

➢ (referring to inanimate objects) being used instead of M/F-pronouns with all postpositions except ACC/DAT

(3) *le   e   pen ui   sɛnge*
take.IMP PROX.DIR pen   INAN.PROX INSTR

likh   tɛbe ei   mumbe   bapəs de-i
write.IMP then   PROX.M.OBL I.ACC/DAT   back   give-IMP.FUT

Take this pen, write with it and then give it back to me

(4) *e   tusər-i tʃah   sa esa-be   pi   mɛ̃*
PROX.DIR your-F   tea(F)   COP PROX.F.OBL-ACC/DAT drink.IMP I.ERG

ui-ne   khɛɳɖ nɛi   pa-i
INAN.PROX-LOC sugar   NEG put-PFV.F

This is your tea, drink it, I haven't put sugar in it

(5) *e   bɛksa sa   ei   ɖhɔk-a   pər ui*
PROX.DIR box   COP PROX.M.OBLgrasp-IMP.PL but   INAN.PROX

andre mɔta her-d-e
inside   PROH look-IMPV-PL

This is a box, take it, but don't look inside it

> substitution of indirect sentential arguments

(6) *sərgit   mɔta   pi-nd-e   **e**   sɛt-ri   tẽje*
cigarette PROH.PL drink-IMPV-PL PROX.DIR health-GEN for

ʃobhl-i   nɛi   ho-nd-i
good-F   NEG be-IMPV-F

Don't smoke, it is not good for health

(7) *dze dze kal   tɔkhe hu-a   **tui-be***
what what yesterday there   be-PFV.M INAN.DIST-ACC/DAT

tu   dɛs-i   sɛk-a   sa
you tell-CVB can-GER COP.SG

Can you tell about what happened there yesterday?

(8) *eɳɖ-i murti bəɳa-ŋ-i   muʃkil sa   **ui-ri**   tẽje*
such-F statue make-INF-F difficult COP INAN.PROX-GEN for

khase rodz lag-a   si
many   day   be_taken-GER COP.PL

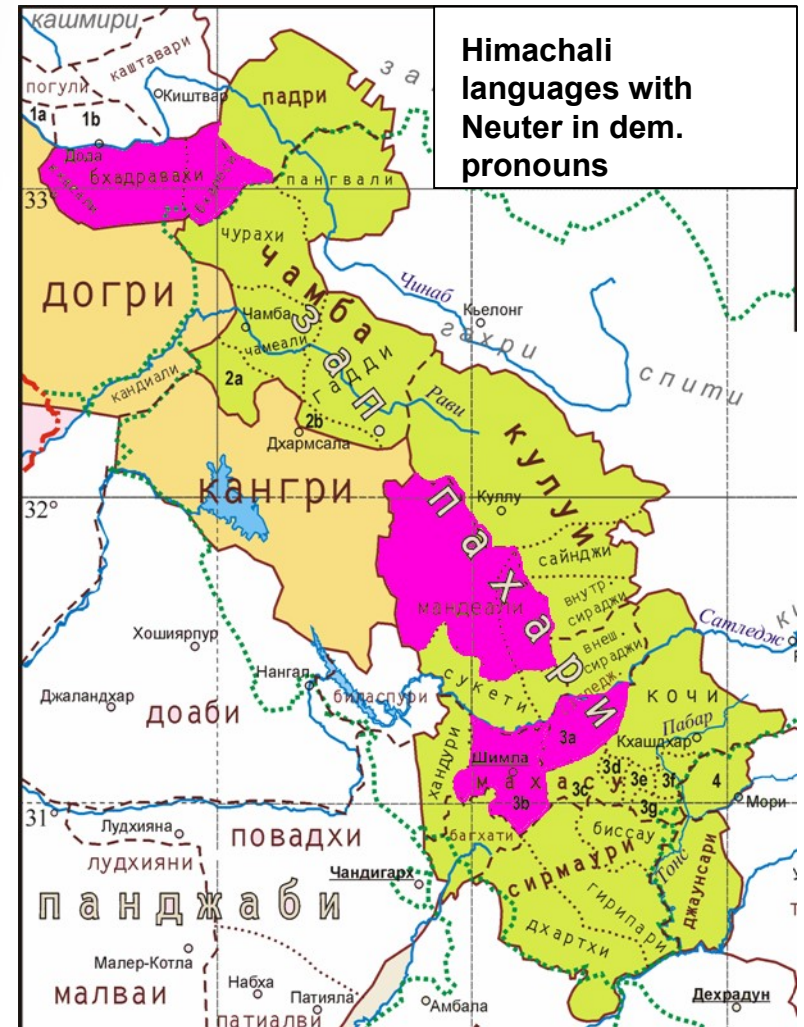Such statue is difficult to make, it takes many days for it

➤ substitution of some abstract nouns (rarely)

(9) *e*   *ʃobhl-i*   *kəhaɲi*   *sa*
     PROX.DIR   good-F   story   COP
     ui-be   *dzərur*   *pɔɽ-i*
     INAN.PROX-ACC/DAT surely   read-IMP.FUT
     This is beautiful story, surely read it

Himachali languages where the preservation of Old Ind. Neuter in demonstrative pronouns is attested [Masica 1991: 225]

Bhadrawahi
Bhalesi
Kotgarhi
Kiunthali
Mandeali

Pronoun		PROX			DIST		
Number	Gender	M	F	N	M	F	N
SG	DIR	*je*			*se*		
	OBL	*jes*	*jessa*	*jetta*	*tes*	*tessa*	*tetta*
	ERG	*inne*	*jesse*	*jette*	*teie*	*tesse*	*tette*
PL	DIR	*jõ*			*sjõ*		
	OBL	*innha*			*tinnha*		
	ERG	*innhe*			*tinnhe*		

Mandeali
[Ranganatha 1981: 38] (preservation of Old-Ind. Neuter in dem. pronouns)

Pronoun		PROX			DIST		
Number	Gender	M	F	INAN	M	F	INAN
SG	DIR	*e*		-	*sɔ*		-
	OBL	*ei*	*esa*	*ui*	*tei*	*tesa*	*tui*
	ERG	*eie*	*ese*	*uie*	*teie*	*tese*	*tuie*
PL	DIR	*e*			*te*		
	OBL	*inha*		-	*tinha*		-
	ERG	*inhe*			*tinhe*		

Kullui
(inanimate pronouns seem to be analogically constructed)

Pronoun *ui* hypothetically comes from the archaic *U*-stem-pronoun that has gone extinct in the language

Pronoun *tui* is probably constructed from *ui* on the analogy of the distal pronouns by adding *t-* at the beginning of the word

‘Grey zone’ of archaisms

U-pronoun

Kullui

Pronoun		PROX			DIST		
Number	Gender	M	F	N	M	F	N
SG	DIR	e			sɔ		
	OBL	ei	esa		tei	tesa	
	ERG	eie	ese		teie	tese	
PL	DIR	e			te		
	OBL	inha			tinha		
	ERG	inhe			tinhe		

Some examples of typological demand and typological supply from the 'grey zone' of archaisms in Kullui
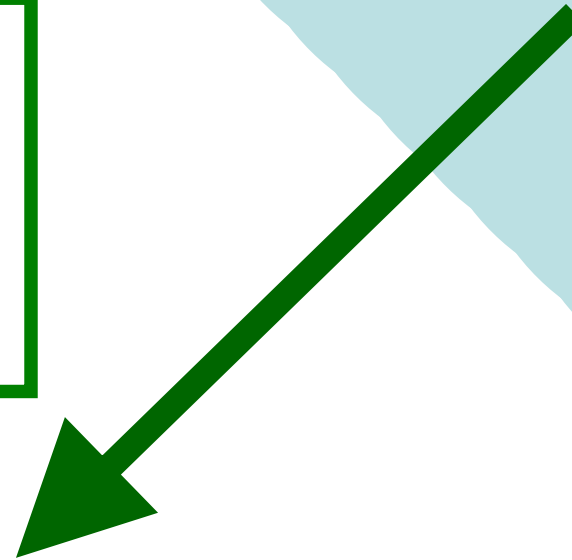
nɛi ɔthi negative copula

Mirativity has been attested as especially common feature for the Himalayan area (cf.[Peterson 2000: 13])

⇩

nisa~nisi mirative negative copula

<u>'Grey zone' of archaisms</u>

nisa~nisi negative copula

Some examples of typological demand and typological supply from the 'grey zone' of archaisms in Kullui

<u>'Grey zone' of archaisms</u>

si copula

sa copula

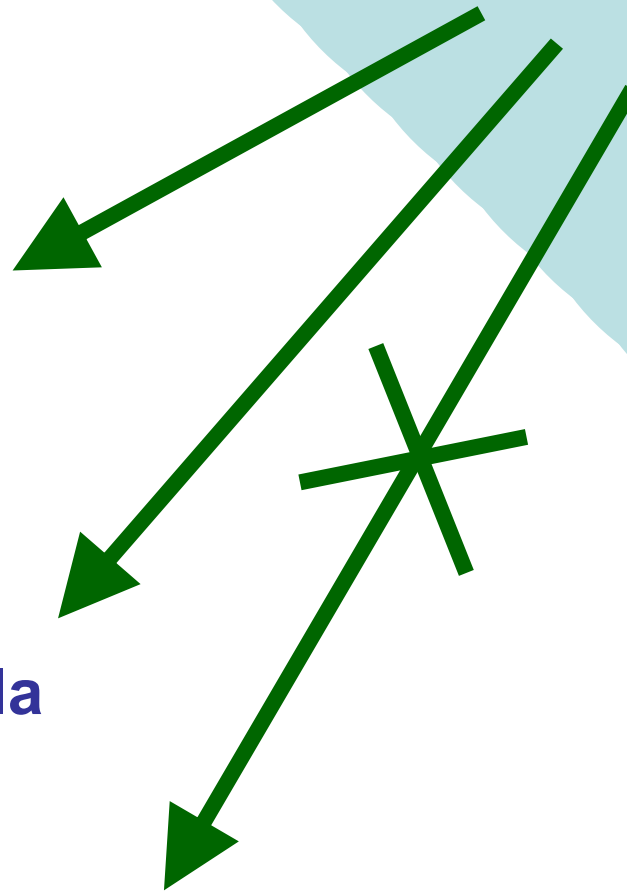| Central dialect |
|---|

si plural copula

Southern dialect (cf. [Bailey 1908: 59])

si feminine copula

Northern dialect

copula *si* doesn't exist

Conclusion

- Inanimate pronouns in Kullui are used instead of M/F-pronouns with all postpositions except ACC/DAT, for substitution of indirect sentential arguments and some abstract nouns

- Inanimate pronouns seem to be constructed by analogy to Mandeali neuter pronouns

- Inanimate pronoun *ui* hypothetically comes from the New Indo-Aryan *u*-pronoun and pronoun *tui* is probably constructed from *ui* on the analogy of the distal pronouns by adding *t-* at the beginning of the word

References

Bailey, Thomas Grahame (1908), The Languages of the northern Himalayas, being studies in the grammar of twenty-six Himalayan dialects, London: The Royal Asiatic Society.

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Peterson J. Evidentials, Inferentials and Mirativity in Nepali. Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area 23-2. 2000. Pp. 13-37.

Thank you