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3 A linguistic sketch of Kanashi

Abstract: This chapter presents a grammar sketch of Kanashi, covering its main features and contrasting it with its closely related and better described sister language Kinnauri.

Keywords: Kanashi, Sino-Tibetan, Kinnauri, grammar, morphology, syntax

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1 Introduction

In Chapter 2 where we describe the sound system of Kanashi, we saw that the language exhibits a lot of phonetic variation (e.g. between $u \sim o$, $a \sim o$, $e \sim i$, $s \sim \text{ʃ}$, $ts \sim \text{tʃ}$, $ts \sim \text{tʃ}^h$). In this chapter we will primarily provide a phonemic transcription (based on our current analysis as presented in Chapter 2) where such variation and certain automatic segmental alternations (e.g. positionally determined devoicing of stops) will not be indicated in the transcription. This phonemic transcription will be rendered in italics without surrounding “/.../”. However, our understanding of the sound system of Kanashi is still far from complete. In particular, and primarily due to sparse data, we cannot always determine in individual instances if we are dealing with the mentioned allophonic or morphophonemic variation or not. Consequently, our phonemic transcription may still occasionally contain some “excess” variation. Occasionally we will also provide a phonetic transcription of the actual pronunciation as documented in our field recordings (enclosed in “[...]”). Examples in the text are from our fieldwork notes unless explicitly noted otherwise. Language data from other sources, such as Konow (1909) and Sharma (1992: 305–399) have sometimes been retranscribed and glossed following the conventions used in this volume, and are sometimes left as in the original source.

Within West Himalayish, the subbranch of Sino-Tibetan (ST)¹ to which Kanashi belongs, it is most closely related to a small cluster of languages spoken some 200 km away, in the Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh (see Chapters 1 and 8). All these languages are unwritten and largely undocumented. However, one of them, (Standard) Kinnauri (kfk) has been extensively described (e.g. Saxena 2017; 2022), and throughout this chapter we will compare linguistic features of Kanashi with the corresponding Kinnauri constructions whenever appropriate. Similarly, we will occasionally note differences between our description of Kanashi and the brief sketch presented by Konow (1909), and especially the longer treatment by Sharma (1992: 305–399), and also occasionally make comparisons with other ST languages spoken in the same general area.

¹ The Sino-Tibetan language family is also referred to by some authors as Tibeto-Burman or Trans-Himalayan. Yet others use Tibeto-Burman for a posited primary branch of Sino-Tibetan. The exact classification of higher-level nodes of ST is not material to our discussion.

2 Noun phrase

2.1 Noun phrase structure

The noun phrase in Kanashi has the following basic structure:

(Dem / NP_{POSS}) (Qnt) ((Adv) Adj((-F/M)-PL)) N(-PL)(-CX)(=EMP)

The head noun may be omitted, in which case a modifier – an adjective or quantifier – will carry the plural and case suffixes. When noun phrases are juxtaposed in apposition – common with quantifiers such as *sab* ‘all’ – number and case markers may be affixed only to the last NP or to both NPs.

- (1) *nu teg kim*
DEM.PROX big house
‘this big house’
- (2) *du-ga: nif mi*
DEM.DIST-PL two man
‘those two men’
- (3) *bari-ts mot-a: tʃʰaŋ-ts-a:*
much-DIM fat-PL child-DIM-PL
‘many fat children’
- (4) *bari-ts mot-eŋ-a: tʃime-ts-a:*
much-DIM fat-F-PL girl-DIM-PL
‘many fat girls’
- (5) *bari-ts dʒog bunen-a:*
much-DIM warm sweater-PL
‘many warm sweaters’
- (6) *pu juʃk-e kim-a:*
four old-PL house-PL
‘four old houses’
- (7) *tegje himd-a: rotʰ-a: munuk-a:*
very courageous-PL brave-PL man-PL
‘very courageous, brave men’

- (8) *du-ga: fʊm tegje himd-a: roʈ^h-a: ʃ^haŋ-ts-a:*
 DEM.DIST-PL three very courageous-PL brave-PL child-DIM-PL
 ‘those three very courageous, brave children’

The structure of a noun phrase with a pronominal head is:

Pro(-PL)(-CX)(=EMP)

- (9) *du-ga:=i tot-ke*
 3.DIST-PL=EMP be-PST
 ‘Only they were’
- (10) *aŋ-ɖ=i i:d kim la-ge*
 1SG-DAT=EMP one house feel-PST
 ‘I, too, wanted a house’

Quantifiers such as *sab* ‘all’ and cardinal numerals will normally appear after pronouns, in apposition, optionally followed by *lok* ‘people’ (see Section 2.4.3):

Pro(-PL)(-CX)(=EMP) (Qnt(-CX)) ([lok(-PL)(-CX)])

- (11) *ette sab-us an-e-p arʃug-a taŋ-me-muk*
 1PLI all-ERG REFL-PL-ACC mirror-LOC look-PST-1PLI
 ‘We all looked ourselves in the mirror’
- (12) *du-ga: sab-us ɖa:ta-f*
 3.DIST-PL all-ERG eat-NPST-3PL
 ‘All of them are eating’
- (13) *ki nif ʃ^hub bar-ta-n-e* [b^həʈtne]
 2PL two when come-NPST-1/2PL-Q
 ‘When will the two of you come?’

2.2 Nouns

Nouns in Kanashi inflect for number and case. Nouns denoting humans, some culturally important animals and mythological beings have inherent gender, shown through adjective agreement and verb indexing (in the imperative; see Section 3.8). There are some Indo-Aryan (IA) nouns in Kanashi which do not inflect, e.g. *taŋ*

‘bother’, *ḡuru* ‘beginning’, *pata* ‘knowledge’. Such nouns occur as part of a support verb construction, a kind of multi-word lexical unit where the noun carries the semantics of the combination and the verb is one of a small number of items with more or less empty semantics (typically at least the verb ‘do’), e.g.:

- (14) *ra:m-us santof-u-p tegje ton ḡaṇ-mug*
 m.name-ERG f.name-SG-ACC very bother do-PST.3
 ‘Ram bothered Santosh a lot’

These constructions are ubiquitous in IA, and are most likely partial calques in Kanashi. The whole construction has probably been borrowed from an IA language, keeping the semantic part – the IA noun (uninflected also in the donor language) – but replacing the grammatical part – the support verb – with the corresponding native item.

2.2.1 Origin and structure of nouns

2.2.1.1 Derived nouns

Adaptive markers on Indo-Aryan loanwords

A substantial number of Kanashi nouns are borrowings from Indo-Aryan, which means that they may ultimately be also of Persian or English origin. Kanashi together with some related ST languages exhibits a characteristic adaptation mechanism in IA loanwords, where nouns and adjectives often show a final part – an “adaptive marker” $-(V)\eta$ or $-(V)s$, which in many ways behaves formally like a suffix, although no semantics can be assigned to it (except possibly [-SG.NOM]). See the detailed description and discussion in Chapter 6. Kanashi has been in continuous contact with IA languages for a long time, not only in Malana and Kullu, but during its prehistory presumably also elsewhere (see Chapter 7). This accounts for the fact that the same IA loans are found in several variant forms, e.g. one with the adaptive marker $-(V)\eta$ or $-(V)s$, and another form which is more akin to the form found, e.g., in standard Hindi (e.g. *sa:laṇ* ~ *sa:l* ‘year’). The latter is more evident among literate language consultants and/or those who have dealings with, for example, Indian judiciary or other governmental agencies.

Diminutive

The most frequent productive nominal derivational category attested in our data is the diminutive, which occurs freely both on nouns and adjectives. The diminutive marker in Kanashi is *-ts*. An identical or similar diminutive suffix occurs in several ST languages, notably in Kinnauri (*-ts*; Saxena 2022), but also in Newar (*-caa*) and

Chepong (-co?) (STEDT 2016), and a diminutive marker *-tsɛ* is found in some ST languages of Uttarakhand (e.g. Chaudangsi; Krishan 2011: 192).

The diminutive marker is affixed closest to the stem. On noun stems, the plural marker, the case marker and the discourse marker follow the diminutive marker, e.g. *ʃime-ts-u-p* [girl-DIM-SG-ACC]; *ʃʰaŋ-ts-a:s* [child-DIM-PL-ERG]. It occurs with IA noun stems (e.g. *goʔʰi-ts-a:* [finger-DIM-PL]), with ST noun stems (e.g. *rig-ts-a:* [louse-DIM-PL]) and with nouns of unknown origin (e.g. *ʃʰaŋ-ts-a:* [boy-DIM-PL]). The diminutive marker is also affixed to adjectives (e.g. *buʔi-ts* [old.F-DIM], which then tend to occur without a head noun, *dala-ts* [few-DIM])² and to at least one adverb quantifier (*bari-ts* [much-DIM]). There is, however, no instance of the diminutive marker *-ts* with nouns or adjectives ending in an adaptive marker *-(V)ŋ/-(V)s* in our material.

Noun-adjective compounds

The placement of adjectives in relation to their modified head nouns is flexible, but with a clear default ordering of constituents, where adjectives precede head nouns. However, we find a number of cases, typically kinship terms, where the adjective follows the head noun. In some such instances the form of the adjective is reduced in shape and the noun-adjective combination has single-word prosody, indicating that we are dealing with a lexeme-formation mechanism, a kind of compounding, where the resulting combination patterns as a noun rather than as an adjective. The plural marker is suffixed to the adjective in such compounds.

- (15) (a) *ja: pʰakutʃ* // (b) *ba: pʰakutʃ*
 (a) mother small // (b) father small
 (a) ‘father’s brother’s wife’ // (b) ‘father’s younger brother’
- (16) (a) *ba: kan* // (b) *ja: kan-i*
 (a) father step/bastard // (b) mother step/bastard-F
 (a) ‘step-father’ // (b) ‘step-mother’
- (17) (a) *ba: dʒetʰ-a* // (b) *ja: dʒetʰ-i*
 (a) father senior-M // (b) mother senior-F
 (a) ‘father’s older brother’ // (b) ‘mother’s older brother’
- (18) (a) *ba: pʰakutʃ-a:* // (b) *ba: dʒetʰ-a-ga:*
 (a) father small-PL // (b) father senior-M-PL
 (a) ‘father’s younger brothers’ // (b) ‘father’s older brothers’

² We do not have any example of [Adj-DIM N-DIM].

Other nominal derivations

The ST feminine prefix *mi(f)-* is attested only in a few lexical items by Konow (1909: 443): *rāṅg* ‘horse’ – *mīc rāṅg* ‘mare’; *kui* ‘dog’ – *mīch kuti* ‘bitch’ and by Sharma (1992: 338): *jak* ‘yak’ – *mi-jak* ‘yak (female)’. It is not found in our material.

2.2.1.2 Traditional naming strategy

Traditionally, men used to be named after the day of the week that they were born (see Table 1). For example, our oldest language consultant was called *fukru* as he was born on a Friday. This strategy is not used for naming women.

Table 1: Traditional Kanashi men’s names by weekday of birth

‘name of man	born on:	
<i>sūāru</i>	Monday’	(<i>soar, suāraṅ</i> ‘Monday’)
<i>maṅgal</i>	Tuesday’	(<i>maṅgal</i> ‘Tuesday’)
<i>budʰ, bui</i>	Wednesday’	(<i>bud(d)</i> ‘Wednesday’)
<i>bestru, bei</i>	Thursday’	(<i>brest</i> ‘Thursday’)
<i>fukru</i>	Friday’	(<i>fukkar</i> ‘Friday’)
<i>janitʃaru, jēji</i>	Saturday’	(<i>junitʃare</i> ‘Saturday’)
<i>ahuta</i>	Sunday’	(<i>tva:r</i> ‘Sunday’)

In modern times, the use of this naming strategy is diminishing. Even though many adult Kanashi speakers are aware of this traditional naming strategy, children and young adults nowadays have names similar to those found elsewhere in India. For example, *indar*, *anita*, *dikʃa*, *monika*. The form of some modern Indian popular names are, at times, slightly modified in Kanashi, e.g. *hari* is called *harja*.

2.2.2 Number

Kanashi makes a two-way number distinction in its nominal morphology. With some exceptions to be noted below, the singular carries no marker. The plural markers on noun stems in Kanashi are: *-ga:*, *-a:* and *-e*. Nouns of ST and IA origin behave alike concerning the choice of the plural marker (including recent borrowings, e.g. *pʰrut-a:* [fruit-PL], *frajbin-a:* [frying.pan-PL]).

As elsewhere in Kanashi, phonetic variation is observed even here; we find variation in the phonetic realization of both the consonant and vowel of the plural markers (see Chapters 2 and 4 for details).

As can be seen in examples (19–21), plural marking is optional after cardinal numerals and other quantifiers with plural semantics.

- (19) *nif ʃʰaŋ-a:*
two boy-PL
'two boys'
- (20) *du-ga: nif mi*
DEM.DIST-PL two man
'those two men'
- (21) *bari-ts bura:ɽi(-ga:)*
many-DIM cat(-PL)
'many cats'

According to Sharma (1992: 340), "[p]lurality is not marked with case suffixes". This does not find support in our data, where the plural marker occurs with case markers in both nouns and pronouns, e.g.:

- (22) *beɽaɽi-ga:-s laɽpaɽ-ga:-p ʃi-ke*
woman-PL-ERG garment-PL-ACC wash-PST
'The women washed clothes'
- (23) *nu-ga:-s kʰila-ge*
3.PROX-PL-ERG feed-PST
'They fed (us)'

To a large extent, the distribution of the two most frequently occurring plural markers *-ga:* and *-a:* is phonologically determined.

When a noun stem ends in a vowel, in most cases the noun stem takes the plural marker *-ga:*. This ending is, at times, realized as [g] or as [k], when it occurs word-finally. For example, *laɽpaɽa* 'piece of clothing, garment', *laɽpaɽa-ga:* [laɽpaɽək] [garment-PL].

As the examples in Table 2 show, the plural marker *-ga:* occurs with both monosyllabic and polysyllabic noun stems, with both animate (masculine, feminine) and inanimate noun stems; with both ST and IA nouns. In all these cases the form of the noun stem remains the same in singular and in plural.

The plural marker *-a:* occurs mainly when the noun stem ends in a consonant (see Table 3). As was the case with the plural marker *-ga:*, *-a:*, too, occurs in monosyllabic as well as polysyllabic noun stems, with both animate (masculine and feminine) and inanimate nouns of IA as well as of ST origin. The form of the noun stem remains the same in the plural.

Table 2: The Kanashi plural marker *-ga:*

SG (ST-origin)	PL	SG (IA-origin)	PL
<i>ta</i> ‘nose’	<i>ta-ga:</i>	<i>kaɬora</i> ‘bowl’	<i>kaɬora-ga:</i>
<i>ba:</i> ‘father’	<i>ba:-ga:</i>	<i>ma:mi:</i> ‘maternal uncle’s wife’	<i>ma:mi:-ga:</i>
<i>ja:</i> ‘mother’	<i>ja:-ga:</i>	<i>dʒaɾe</i> ‘day’	<i>dʒaɾe-ga:</i>
<i>tso</i> ‘thorn’	<i>tso-ga:</i>	<i>tʰullaŋ</i> , <i>tʰulla</i> ‘leg, foot’	<i>tʰulla-ga:</i> , <i>tʰullaŋ-a:</i>
<i>fo</i> ‘field, orchard’	<i>fo-ga:</i>	<i>bura:ɾi</i> ‘cat’	<i>bura:ɾi-ga:</i>
<i>kurti</i> ‘shirt’	<i>kurti-ga:</i>	<i>tope</i> ‘cap’	<i>tope-ga:</i>

Table 3: The Kanashi plural marker *-a:*

SG (ST-origin)	PL	SG (IA-origin)	PL
<i>pra:d</i> ‘finger’	<i>pra:d-a:</i> , <i>*pra:d-ga:</i>	<i>dʒa:nvar</i> ‘animal’	<i>dʒa:nvar-a:</i>
<i>kʰas</i> ‘sheep, lamb’	<i>kʰas-a:</i> , <i>kʰ-a:</i>	<i>dʒaŋgal</i> ‘forest’	<i>dʒaŋgal-a:</i>
<i>mig</i> ‘eye’	<i>mig-a:</i>	<i>ʃaɾak</i> ‘road’	<i>ʃaɾk-a:</i>
<i>pʰuts</i> ‘mouse’	<i>pʰuts-a:</i>	<i>bja:le</i> ‘meal’	<i>bja:le-ga:</i>
<i>kim</i> ‘(traditional) house, home’	<i>kim-a:</i>	<i>sev</i> , <i>seb</i> , <i>seo</i> ‘apple’	<i>sev-a:</i>
<i>om</i> ‘path’	<i>om-a:</i>	<i>tsʰol</i> ‘waterspring’	<i>tsʰol-a:</i>
<i>ka:g</i> ‘crow’	<i>ka:g-a:</i>	<i>qibɾiŋ</i> ‘pond’	<i>qibɾiŋ-a:</i>
<i>dʒimida:r</i> ‘farmer’	<i>dʒimida:r-a:</i>		

There is a small set of nouns which end in a consonant in their singular form, but still allow the plural marker *-ga:*. In such cases the plural marker *-ga:* is realized as [əga:]. These nouns also permit the default plural marker *-a:*. See Table 4.

As described in Chapter 2, *ŋ* is often realized as [ŋg] between vowels. Hence, the plural forms of words ending in *-ŋ* could be described as involving *-ŋ-a:* or *-ŋ-ga:* (both alternatives pronounced identically as ending in [ŋga:]). As indicated in Chapter 2, we treat the intervocalic realization of *ŋ* as an automatic phonetic process, with the consequence that words ending in *-ŋ* are treated like all other consonant-final words, i.e., if the *-ŋ* is kept (see Table 5), they take the *-a:* plural marker.

Nouns with the adaptive markers *-(V)ŋ/-(V)s* show several different plural formations. As shown in Table 5, the plural marker *-a:* can be suffixed to the full noun form. The adaptive marker can be partially or completely deleted – thus appearing as a kind of (nominative) singular suffix, leaving either a vowel-final stem to which the plural marker *-ga:* is added, or a consonant-final stem to which *-a:* is added to form the plural; see Table 6.

Table 4: Kanashi words with varying or irregular plural markers

SG	PL	SG	PL
<i>ro:d</i> [ro:d], [ro:tʰ)] 'ear'	[ro:da:], [ro:tʰ)əga:], [rɔtʰga]	<i>bu:t</i> 'shoe, boot'	[bu:ta:], [bu:təga:]
<i>binif</i> 'husband'	[binifa:], [binifəga:]	<i>kar</i> 'star'	[karo:], [karəga:]
<i>barf</i> , <i>barfan</i> 'year'	[barfa:], [barfəga:]	<i>maɖa:r</i> 'tenant'	[maɖa:rəga:]
<i>kim</i> 'house, home'	[kima:], [kiməg(a:)]	<i>ka:m</i> , <i>ka:man</i> 'work'	[ka:məga:]

Table 5: Kanashi plural markers with words ending in *ŋ*

SG	PL	SG	PL
<i>jan</i> 'flea'	[jaŋga:]	<i>na:iŋ</i> [na:iŋ] 'river'	[na:iŋga:]
<i>fiŋ</i> 'wood'	[fiŋga:]	<i>ɖa:ŋaŋ</i> 'penalty'	[ɖa:ŋaŋga:]
<i>goɖiŋ</i> 'foot, leg'	[goɖiŋga:]	<i>puʈfaŋ</i> 'tail'	[puʈfaŋgo]
<i>paʈfaŋ</i> 'leaf'	[paʈfaŋga:]	<i>piʈaŋ</i> 'door'	[piʈaŋga:]
<i>maʈfaŋ</i> 'man'	[maʈfaŋga:]	<i>kʰa:kaŋ</i> 'mouth'	[kʰa:kaŋga:]
<i>pakʰiŋ</i> 'wing'	[pakʰiŋga:]	<i>na:laŋ</i> 'riverlet'	[na:laŋga:]
<i>haɖɖaŋ</i> 'bone'	[haɖɖaŋga:]	<i>giʈʰaŋ</i> 'song'	[giʈʰaŋ(g)a:]
<i>kukaʈaŋ</i> 'chicken'	[kukaʈaŋga:]	<i>biʈiŋ</i> 'wall'	[biʈiŋ(g)a:]
<i>kʰakaŋ</i> 'mouth'	[kʰakaŋga:]	<i>ɖibiʈiŋ</i> 'pond'	[ɖibiʈiŋ(g)a:]
<i>deʈaŋ</i> 'village, world'	[deʈaŋga:]	<i>laŋ</i> 'cow'	[laŋ(g)a:], [lā:ga:]

As seen here, there are a total of three possible plural forms of *kʰas* 'cattle (group of sheep or goats)' found in our material: *kʰ-a:*, *kʰas-a:* and *kʰas-ga:* [kʰasəga:]. Since the word *kʰas* 'cattle' does not actually contain the adaptive marker *-(V)s* (all such words are bi- or polysyllabic), its plural form *kʰ-a:* is most likely a result of analogy.

The plural marker *-e*, finally, occurs in a restricted set of nouns. In most of these examples the regular plural marker *-a:* is also permitted; see Table 7. Many nouns in this set are IA loans. In at least some of these examples, the plural/oblique ending is *-e* in IA languages such as Hindi. Consequently it is possible that the plural ending *-e* in Kanashi is an IA borrowing, which entered the language as part of some borrowed IA nouns. It is, however, important to note that not all IA nouns that take the plural/oblique ending *-e* in IA languages such as Hindi take *-e* as the plural marker in Kanashi (e.g. Hindi *kaṭora* 'bowl', *kaṭor-e* [bowl-PL/OBL.SG], but Kanashi *kaṭora-ga:* [bowl-PL]).

Sharma (1992: 339) states that the plural marker *-e* occurs with stems ending in a vowel and the plural marker *-a* occurs with stems ending in a consonant. As can be seen in the examples provided above, this does not hold in our material. Further, according to Konow (1909) and Sharma (1992: 339), when the plural marker *-ga:* is followed by a suffix, it is realized as *-ga:n*. In our material this is

Table 6: Kanashi plural marking with adaptive $-(V)\eta/- (V)s$

SG	PL	SG	PL
<i>gra:maŋ</i> ‘village’	<i>gra:ma-ga;</i> <i>gra:maŋ-a:</i>	<i>baɽaŋ</i> ‘forest’	<i>baɽa-ga;</i> <i>baɽaŋ-a:</i>
<i>madras</i> ‘man’	<i>madr-a;</i> * <i>madra-ga:</i>	<i>gettʰaŋ</i> ‘oven, fireplace’	<i>gettʰ-a:</i>
<i>buɽas</i> ‘old (man)’	<i>buɽ-a:</i>	<i>kʰas</i> ‘cattle (sheep, lamb)’	<i>kʰ-a;</i> <i>kʰas-a;</i> <i>kʰas-ga:</i>
<i>baniŋ</i> ‘pot, utensil’	<i>baniŋ-a;</i> <i>bani-ga:</i>		

Table 7: Kanashi plurals in $-e$

SG (IA)	PL	SG (unknown etym.)	PL
<i>ʃammaʃ</i> , <i>ʃamʃi</i> , <i>ʃamʃiŋ</i> ‘spoon’	[ʃamtse], [ʃamʃe]	<i>tukor</i> ‘nest’	[tukore], [tukre]
<i>mobajl</i> ‘mobile phone’	<i>mobajl-e</i> , <i>mobajl-a:</i>	<i>rinig</i> ‘snake’	[riniga:], [rinige], [ringa:]
<i>ʃana</i> ‘chickpea’	<i>ʃan-e</i>	<i>ʃime(ts)</i> ‘girl’	<i>ʃimets-e</i> , <i>ʃimets-a:</i>
<i>tʰepar</i> ‘slap’	<i>tʰepr-e</i>	<i>aɖʒaɽ</i> ‘apricot’	<i>aɖʒaɽ-e</i> , * <i>aɖʒaɽ-a;</i> * <i>aɖʒaɽ-a:ga:</i>

not always the case. For example, *ʃara-ga:-s* [child-PL-ERG], *ʃara-ga:-p* [child-PL-ACC]. As we will see in the section on case markers below, $-n$ in noun phrases in our material has a possessive function. E.g. *paʃa-ga:-n-ka* [leaf-PL-POSS-POSS], *ɖʒaɽe-ga:-n ba:d* [day-PL-POSS after], *nu-ga: gra:ma-ga:-n na:m* [DEM.PROX-PL village-PL-POSS name] ‘the name of these villages’.

As already mentioned, nouns can optionally take the plural marker also in NPs with numerals greater than ‘one’ and other quantifiers with plural semantics.

- (24) *bari-ts bura:ɽi(-ga:)*
many-DIM cat(-PL)
‘many cats’

- (25) *bari-ts tope(-ga:)*
many-DIM cap(-PL)
‘many caps’

- (26) *i:d maɽfaŋ-ka-di niʃ ʃʰaŋ-ts-a: to-f*
one man-POSS-ADE two boy-DIM-PL be.PRS-3PL
‘One man has two sons’

- (27) *ni-ka nif paŋ^hiŋ-a: to-f*
 1PLE-POSS two assembly-PL be.PRS-3PL
 ‘We have two assemblies’
- (28) *fum lok-a: bara-ke*
 three person-PL go-PST
 ‘Three people went’

2.2.3 Gender

The gender distinction in Kanashi is primarily lexical; there are distinct lexical terms for masculine and feminine human nouns and domesticated animals (e.g. *ba*: ‘father’ : *ja*: ‘mother’; *pag* ‘ox’ : *hu:ɬɬ* ‘cow’). In IA loans the original (i.e., IA) gender distinction is retained in Kanashi. For example, *goɽa* [goɽa] ~ [g^hora] ‘horse’ : *goɽi* [goɽi] ~ [g^hori] ‘mare’, *kutta* ‘dog’ : *kutti* ‘bitch’. There are, however, some grammatical constructions (adjective inflection and verb indexing) in which the distribution of the markers reflects a natural gender/sex distinction in noun referents (see Sections 2.4.1 and 3.8).

2.2.4 Case

The case markers in Kanashi are shown in Table 8.³ The case marker is suffixed only to the last constituent of a noun phrase. Repetition of case markers occurs only in specific structures treated as appositions here (e.g. *ki-n-ka (sab-ka) ba:-ka* [2PL-POSS-POSS (all-POSS) father-POSS] ‘your (all’s) fathers’). There is more than one layer of case markers in Kanashi nouns; case markers can be stacked. In Table 8 we indicate the combinations that we have found in our data.⁴

³ Konow (1909: 443) provides the following case markers (numbering according to the order in Table 8 and Konow’s transcription): Ø: “subject of intransitive verbs”; (2) *-sh*, *-s*: “subject marker with transitive verbs”, and *-s*: instrument marker; (3) *-p*: “object” (accusative); (4) *uj*, *uzh*, *uz*: dative; (5) *-ka*: possessive; (6) *-a*: “locative and terminative”; (7) *-s*, *-ɬ*, *-ts*: ablative; (8) *rang*: ‘with’ (postposition); (9) *di*: “seems to mean ‘with’”. Additionally, he mentions the following postpositions: *paa* ‘on’, *kash* ‘for the sake of’, *hipich* ‘behind’, *nandris* ‘before’, *yen* ‘under’.

⁴ In addition to clear (discourse-particle) clitics such as *=i* [=EMP], we also find among the “case suffixes” described in this section some elements which straddle the boundary between suffix and clitic. However, and as indicated in the table, all case markers will be formally treated as suffixes – i.e., preceded by “-” – in analyzed examples and their glosses, while postpositions (not treated in this section) are transcribed as separate (orthographic) words.

Table 8: Kanashi case markers

Case	Case marker(s) // case marker sequence(s)
Nominative	Ø
Ergative/instrumental	-s, -as, -is, -us
Accusative	(-u)-p [(SG)-ACC], (-e)-p [(PL)-ACC]
Dative	-uɖʒ, -ɖʒ, -fʃ
Possessive	-n, -u, -ka // -n-ka [-POSS-POSS]; -u-ka [-POSS-POSS]
Locative	-a, -ŋa, -e (-e occurs only in a few words)
Ablative	-ɖʒ, -ts, -fʃ // -a-ts [-LOC-ABL]; -di-ts [-ADE-ABL]; -u-di-ts [-POSS-ADE-ABL]
Comitative	-raŋ // -u-raŋ [-POSS-COM]
Adessive	-di // -ka-di [-POSS-ADE]; -n-di [-POSS-ADE]; -u-di [-POSS-ADE]

2.2.4.1 Nominative

The nominative form is the stem of a noun or pronoun without any other case suffixes, although as we have seen, the adaptive markers $-(V)\eta/-(V)s$ are sometimes dropped in other forms than the nominative singular. This form can be used for subjects (intransitive and transitive) – i.e., the NP co-referring with the subject indexing in the verb – and direct objects.

2.2.4.2 Ergative/instrumental

The case marker $-(V)s$ functions both as an ergative marker and as an instrumental marker. It has four basic allomorphs: -s, -us, -is and -as. As elsewhere in Kanashi, in all these cases, -s is, at times, realized as -f without any difference in meaning (e.g. *nu-ga:s* [nuga:s] ~ [nuga:f] [3.PROX-PL-ERG]; *beɽaɽi-ga:s* [beɽariga:s] ~ [beɽaɽiga:f] [woman-PL-ERG]; *ra:m-us* [ra:mus] ~ [ra:mu:f] [m.name-ERG]; *santof-is* [santofis] ~ [santofɨ] [f.name-ERG] (see Chapter 2).

Sharma (1992: 343) states that the ergative marker occurs in transitive clauses in the past tense. This is not the case in our material. In our material the ergative marker occurs in all tenses and aspects – in transitive clauses and in active intransitive clauses.

The first and second person singular personal pronouns do not take the ergative marker⁵ (see Section 2.3.2). The ergative marker occurs with nouns, with plural personal pronouns, and with third person singular personal pronouns.

⁵ In Tinani and Pattani (see Sharma 1992), too, the same 1SG pronoun form occurs in nominative and ergative.

The ergative marker *-s* occurs on stems ending in vowels (e.g. *baː-s* [father-ERG]; *jaː-s* [mother-ERG]; *andʒu-s* [f.name-ERG]; *fukru-s* [m.name-ERG]; *du-gaː-s* [3.DIST-PL-ERG]). *-s* can also be added to consonant-final stems (see below).

The remaining ergative markers (*-is*, *-us*, *-as*) occur with stems ending in consonants. *-us* occurs only with masculine nouns, *-is* is predominantly found with feminine nouns, although there are also some examples of *-is* with masculine nouns. The distribution of the ergative marker *-as* is unclear. In some instances, more than one of *-s*, *-as*, *-is* and *-us* are permitted (see Table 9).

Table 9: Variation in ergative marking

N-ERG	N-ERG
<i>santof-is</i> ~ <i>santof-as</i> [f.name-ERG]	<i>mahef-us</i> ~ <i>mahef-is</i> [m.name-ERG]
<i>kukaɽaŋ-s</i> ~ <i>kukaɽaŋ-as</i> [hen-ERG]	<i>munuk-s</i> ~ <i>munuk-us</i> [man-ERG]
<i>mohan-as</i> ~ <i>mohan-s</i> [m.name-ERG]	<i>harif-us</i> ~ <i>harif-is</i> [m.name-ERG]
<i>lalit-s</i> ~ <i>lalit-us</i> [m.name-ERG]	<i>ʃʃita-s</i> ~ <i>ʃʃit-us</i> [m.name-ERG]

- (29) *raːm-us* *poʃo-gaː reʃ-ta*
 m.name-ERG fruit-PL sell-NPST
 ‘Ram sells fruit’
- (30) *raːm-us* *suraːb tui-gu-ta*
 m.name-ERG alcohol drink-PROG-NPST
 ‘Ram is drinking alcohol’
- (31) *raːm-us* *ʃʃo-p* *tog-u-ta* [togut(a)]
 m.name-ERG child-ACC hit-PROG-NPST
 ‘Ram is hitting the child’
- (32) *sonu-s* *letu* *buɽu-mug*
 m.name-ERG spit(N) throw-PST.3
 ‘Sonu spat’
- (33) *sonu-s* *vaɽʃu-ke*
 m.name-ERG scratch-PST
 ‘Sonu scratched’
- (34) *nu* *huɽʒ-is* *tʰiːd kʰiraŋ dalats ken-ke*
 DEM.PROX COW-ERG little milk today give.1/20-PST
 ‘This cow gave (us) little milk today’

- (35) *gu du-ga:p roḏ ta-gu-ta-k*
 1SG.NOM 3.DIST-PL-ACC every.day look-PROG-NPST-1SG
 ‘I am watching them every day’

The instrumental markers are the same as the ergative markers. The instrumental marker occurs with concrete nouns (e.g. *tʰure-s* [knife-INS]) and abstract nouns (e.g. *vakt-us* [time-INS]). The default instrumental marker with stems ending in vowels is *-s*. For example,

- (36) *aŋ ja:-s ŋija-s ba:ḏi tʰul-ku-ta*
 1SG.NNOM mother-ERG chopper-INS vegetables cut-PROG-NPST
 ‘My mother is cutting the vegetables with the (traditional) chopper’

- (37) *ni gettʰaŋ-a ŋiŋ-a:-s mi: sut-ta-ŋ*
 1PLE stove-LOC wood-PL-INS fire light-NPST-1/2PL
 ‘We light fire in the stove with wood’

- (38) *gu ḏabaŋ-ts tʰamfʰi-s ma:r ḏun-me-k*
 1SG.NOM box-ABL spoon-INS butter take.out-PST-1SG
 ‘I took out butter with a spoon from the box’

The default instrumental marker with consonant ending stems is *-as*. For example,

- (39) *du-s simiṭ-a: iṭ-as kim gaŋ-mug*
 3.DIST-ERG cement-PL brick-INS house build-PST.3
 ‘He built a house with cement and bricks’

Similarly to the ergative, some stems allow both variants. This occurs especially frequently with stems ending in a nasal consonant in our material. For example,

- (40) *mohan-s/-as muṭi:n-s/-as laṭpaṭa-ga: tʰi-gu-ta*
 m.name-ERG/-ERG machine-ERG/-ERG garment-PL wash-PROG-NPST
 ‘Mohan washes clothes in the machine’

There are very few examples of the instrumental markers *-is* and *-us* in our data. The basis for their distribution is unclear since gender is only attributed to animate nouns.

- (41) *nu-s pen-us tʰittʰi likʰ-ja:-mug*
 3.PROX-ERG pen-INS letter write-TR-PST.3
 ‘He wrote the letter with a pen’

As with the Hindi instrumental marker *se*, the Kanashi suffix, too, occurs in some other contexts, e.g. with a quantifier to give a superlative interpretation.

- (42) *gu sab-as ts^heka/ts^hika bas soara boŋ-ta-k*
 1SG.NOM all-INS early bus p.name go-NPST-1SG
 ‘I will go to Kullu with the earliest bus’

2.2.4.3 Accusative

-p is the accusative case marker in Kanashi. It does not show any sign of assimilation. It occurs with noun and pronoun stems (e.g. *fer-p* [tiger-ACC]; *aŋ-p* [1SG-ACC]).

Kanashi is atypical for a South Asian language in having a distinct accusative case. The most common situation – at least among surrounding languages; see, e.g., the three sketches of languages of Kinnaur in Saxena (2022), including closely related Kinnauri, which does not have a separate accusative – is to have a case called *dative* or *objective*, used both on patient and recipient arguments.⁶

The accusative marker *-p* occurs with animate (masculine and feminine) as well as inanimate head nouns (43).

- (43) *om-p* [path-ACC]
k^hiraŋ-p [milk-ACC]
latpat-a:p [garment-PL-ACC]
fer-p [tiger-ACC]
rinig-p [snake-ACC]
monika-p [f.name-ACC]
ra:m-p [m.name-ACC]
ʃfara-ga:p [child-PL-ACC]

Only the emphasis marker *=i* follows the accusative marker. Example, *ʃ^hu-p=i* [what-ACC-EMP].

As already seen in some examples above, in some cases there is an *-u* or *-e* between the consonant-ending stem and the accusative marker *-p*. In all such instances nouns with *-u* are singular,⁷ while *-e* in the same slot signifies plural. *-u* and *-e* occur with both IA loans (including recent loans) and ST noun and pronoun stems.

⁶ Typical for this configuration is also that the dative/objective can be replaced by the nominative in some cases. Specifically, if there is both a patient and a recipient argument, only the latter receives dative marking.

⁷ A (partial) exception is formed by *sabup* (*sab-u-p* [all-SG-ACC]), which arguably has plural semantics.

- (44) *du-s tʰog madras-u-p taŋ-mug*
 3.DIST-ERG fair.complexioned man-SG-ACC see-PST.3
 ‘He saw a fair-complexioned man’
- (45) *du-s i:d tʰind-u-p a:ɾe-mug [a:ɾemo]*
 3.DIST-ERG one servant-SG-ACC call-PST.3
 ‘He called one of the servants’ (Konow)
- (46) *ra:m-us santof-u-p tegje taŋ ʃaŋ-mug*
 m.name-ERG f.name-SG-ACC very bother do-PST.3
 ‘Ram bothered Santosh a lot’
- (47) *du-s das taka-n loŋ-u-p ke-ta*
 3.DIST-ERG ten money-POSS note-SG-ACC give.1/20-NPST
 ‘He will give (us) a ten rupee note’
- (48) *gu ga:ɾiŋ-ts beg-u-p ɖun-me-k*
 1SG.NOM car-ABL bag-SG-ACC take.out-PST-1SG
 ‘I took out my bag from the car’
- (49) *sab ʃara-ga:-s an-e-p arfuk-a ta-ge*
 all child-PL-ERG REFL-PL-ACC mirror-LOC look-PST
 ‘All the children looked at themselves in the mirror’

The occurrence of *-u/-e* is, however, not obligatory here. We have instances of the same noun taking *-u-p* in one occurrence and *-p* in another, apparently with no difference in meaning.

- (50) *ka ɖa:b-a ʃer-u-p sat-ta-n*
 2SG.NOM now-LOC tiger-SG-ACC kill-NPST-2SG
 ‘You now kill a tiger’
- (51) *ka ʃer-p san-me-n*
 2SG.NOM tiger-ACC kill-PST-2SG
 ‘You killed a tiger’

The accusative marker does not occur obligatorily.

- (52) *gu kuta:b-u-p ba:le-me-k*
 1SG.NOM book-SG-ACC see-PST-1SG
 ‘I saw the book’

- (53) *ra:m-us kuta:b paŋ-mug*
 m.name-ERG book read-PST.3
 ‘Ram read a book’
- (54) *ra:m-us mohan-uḏ kim-p ren-mug*
 m.name-ERG m.name-DAT house-ACC sell-PST.3
 ‘Ram sold the house to Mohan’
- (55) *gu kim g^ho-ta-k*
 1SG.NOM house build.structure.from.foundation-NPST-1SG
 ‘I will build a house (from the ground up)’

2.2.4.4 Dative

The dative case marker with nouns is *-(u)ḏ*. As elsewhere in Kanashi, in the dative case marker too, there is variation in the realization of the consonant and vowel of the dative marker ([ḏ] ~ [z] ~ [ḏ] ~ [ʈ] and [u] ~ [o]). This variation is observed both within the speech of one language consultant as well as across speakers. For example, [aṇḏ] and [aṇḏ] ‘to me’ were provided by the same consultants. Furthermore, as elsewhere in Kanashi, the consonant of the dative marker is barely audible in the word-final position. For example, [santofuḏ] ~ [santofu] ‘to Santosh’; [mohanuḏ] ~ [mohanu] ‘to Mohan’; [ʈarao] ~ [ʈarauḏ] ~ [ʈarauʈ] ‘to a/the child’; [sabuf] ~ [sabu] ‘to all/everybody’. But when asked to repeat, language consultants provided the full dative marker with the final consonant.

The dative case marker *-uḏ* occurs both with noun stems ending in consonants (e.g. *harif-uḏ* [m.name-DAT]; *kusum-uḏ* [f.name-DAT]; *t^ha:r-uf* [tiger-DAT]) and with stems ending in vowels (e.g. *ba:-uḏ* [father-DAT]; *ja:-uḏ* [mother-DAT]; *bare-uḏ* [m.name-DAT]; *pratiba-uḏ* [f.name-DAT]). In some instances, however, when the stem ends in a vowel, the stem final vowel is either deleted or it is modified (e.g. [a] > [o], [i] > [j]: *kalpu-uḏ* [kalpuḏ]; *papa-uḏ* [papuḏ]; *nirali-uḏ* [niraljuḏ]).

- (56) *an ja:-s aṇ-ḏ taka ken-ke*
 1SG.NOM mother-ERG 1SG-DAT money give.1/20-PST
 ‘My mother gave money to me’

The following are all the examples that we have with the dative marker on plural nouns. All three examples are from a text provided by Konow (1909). Unlike the accusative marker, *-u* here occurs with plural stems too.

- (57) *mitar-a:-ɕ* [friend-PL-DAT]
tʃʰaŋ-a:-uɕ [child-PL-DAT]
bɛʈaŋi-ga:-uɕ [woman-PL-DAT]

With the dative case marker too, only the emphasis marker =*i* follows the dative marker:

- (58) *aŋ-ɕ=i* *sauda-ga: fobilas lag-e-ta*
 1SG-DAT=EMP candy-PL good feel-INTR-NPST
 ‘I for one do like sweets’

The dative marker also occurs in some other grammatical contexts in Kanashi. For example it occurs on the subject of an obligative construction and in the experiencer subject (or dative subject) construction (see Section 4.3).

2.2.4.5 Possessive

The possessive markers in Kanashi are: *-n*, *-u* and *-ka*.⁸

The possessive marker *-n* is used with pronouns and shows a strong preference for plural nouns in our material. With nouns (but not pronouns), it seems that it forces a plural interpretation even in the absence of an overt plural marker.

- (59) *du-s* *das ʈaka-n* *loʈ-u-p* *ke-ta*
 3.DIST-ERG ten money-PL.POSS note-SG-ACC give.1/20-NPST
 ‘He will give (me) a ten rupee note’

With singular noun stems ending in vowels, *-ka* is strongly preferred.

- (60) *baʈka-ka/*bʰaʈka-u kim* [f.name-POSS house]
*fo-ka/*fo-u* [field-POSS]
*koʈi-ka/*koʈi-u kim* [m.name-POSS house]
*tʃiʈa-ka kim/*tʃiʈa-u kim* [m.name-POSS house]
 but: *svati-u/svati-ka kim* [f.name-POSS house]

The possessive markers *-u* and *-ka* occur freely with singular noun stems ending in a consonant, apparently with no change in meaning. We encountered the possessive marker *-u* with a particular noun stem during one data collection session, while in another data collection session we recorded *-ka* with the same noun stem.

⁸ As elsewhere in Kanashi, there is variation in the vowel quality ([ka] ~ [ko]) of the possessive marker *-ka*, and the vowel of *-ka* in the word-final position is often not heard. E.g. *raɕa-ka* [raɕɔk] [king-POSS], *disambar-ka* [disəmbark] [december-POSS], *sonu-ka* [sonuŋ] [m.name-POSS].

- (61) *amit-ka/amit-u kim* [m.name-POSS house]
kusum-u/kusum-ka kim [f.name-POSS house]
anup-ka/anup-u kim [m.name-POSS house]
punam-ka/punam-u kim [f.name-POSS house]

Further, *-ka* can follow the possessive markers *-u* or *-n*, but there are no instances of the co-occurrence of the possessive markers *-u* and *-n*.

The following examples illustrate that the possessive markers *-n/-u* and *-ka* can occur in a sequence affixed to the same noun stem.

- (62) *patʃ-a:-n-ka rokʰaŋ*
 leaf-PL-POSS-POSS roof
 ‘roof of leaves’
- (63) *mohan-u-ka katab*
 m.name-POSS-POSS book
 ‘Mohan’s book’
- (64) *buʃ-u-ka raŋg rok to*
 rope-POSS-POSS color black be.PRS
 ‘The color of the rope is black’
- (65) *nu an-u-ka ʃʰetsaŋ-u-ka æa:ŋmamula:p kʰoʃ-mug*
 3.PROX REFL-SG-POSS wife-POSS-POSS gold.necklace-ACC snatch-PST.3
 ‘He snatched my wife’s gold necklace’
- (66) *santof-u-ka ʃʰo aŋ-raŋ guʃ-a:p mila-fi-ke*
 f.name-POSS-POSS son 1SG-COM hand-PL-ACC shake-MDL-PST
 ‘Santosh’s son shook hands with me’

The distribution of the possessive markers remains the same with alienable and inalienable head nouns, for example:

- (67) *mohan-u-ka ta-ts kʰui dva-ta*
 m.name-POSS-POSS nose-ABL blood come.out-NPST
 ‘Blood comes out of Mohan’s nose’
- (68) *mohan-u-ka kuta:b teble-n-ka rigi:n tot-ke*
 m.name-POSS-POSS book table-POSS-POSS on/above be-PST
 ‘Mohan’s book was on the table’

- (69) *hu:ɕ̥-u-ka tʰuʈre la:mas*
 cow-POSS-POSS tail long
 ‘The cow’s tail is long’

When the possessive marker is affixed to nouns with an adaptive marker, we find both variants – one with the adaptive marker and another without the adaptive marker, without any difference in meaning. Here we again see variation: in some cases the possessive marker is *-ka*, while in other the possessive marker is *-u*.

- (70) *sa:lan̩-u sa:l-ka ba:d*
 year-POSS year-POSS after
 ‘year after year’

A predicative possessive in a copular construction is used to render ‘have’.

- (71) *harija-ka fu:m tʰan̩-a: to-f*
 m.name-POSS three boy-PL be.PRS-3PL
 ‘Harija has three sons’

The possessive marker (*-u*)-*ka* also occurs after a nominalized verb. E.g.

- (72) *ra:m-ud̥ ka:m-a: fan̩-m-u-ka man ma:j*
 m.name-DAT work-PL do-NMLZ-POSS-POSS desire(N) BE.NEG.NPST
 ‘Ram does not want to work’

- (73) *gun̩-a ri:ga: bar-am-ka batr to*
 winter-LOC glacier-PL come-NMLZ-POSS danger be.PRS
 ‘During winter there is a danger of avalanches’

It is possible that *-u* is the inherited ST possessive marker, while *-ka* could be a relatively recent borrowing from IA. On the one hand, this hypothesis is supported by the ordering of the two possessive markers *-u* and *-ka* on one stem, where *-u* precedes *-ka*. But unlike the IA possessive marker *ka* (for example in Hindi), the possessive marker *-ka* in Kanashi does not inflect for number and gender of its head noun. On the other hand, a complication is that the form *-ka* is typically not found in Western Pahari, where possessive suffixes tend to be r-initial, similar to what is found in Kullui (*ra:*; Grierson 1928: 674) or Kinnauri Pahari (*-ɾɔ/-ri*; Saxena 2022), although Jaunsari does have *-ko* (Hendriksen 1986: 105). Also, k-initial possessive markers are not unknown in ST: a possessive clitic *=ki* occurs both in Bunan (Widmer 2017) and Navakat (Saxena 2022), and in the cross-linguistic survey of borrowed affixes presented by Seifart (2017), genitive/possessive suffixes do not occur even once, despite the fact that borrowed case morphology is not uncommon in his sample, pointing to the need for more concrete evidence of borrowing in this case.

2.2.4.6 Locative

The locative marker occurs productively in our material with common nouns, place names, and pronouns. The most frequently occurring locative marker in Kanashi is *-a*. It has three allomorphs: [a], [va] and [ja]. [va] and [ja] occur with stems which end in vowels. [va] occurs when the stem ends in a back vowel and [ja] occurs when the stem ends with a front vowel; [a] occurs with stems ending in consonants.

- (74) *arfuk-a* [mirror-LOC]
fo-a [fova] [field-LOC]
kim-a [house-LOC]
tokori-a [tokorija] [basket-LOC]
pra:d-a [finger-LOC]

The locative denotes both location at a place (75) and direction or movement to a place (76–77).

- (75) *ka muḍ kim-a ma:j-ge-n*
 2SG.NOM yesterday house-LOC NEG.be-PST-2SG
 ‘You were not at home yesterday’
- (76) *nu-ga: sab muḍ kim-a bo-ke-oŋ*
 3.PROX-PL all yesterday house-LOC go-PST-?
 ‘They all went home yesterday’
- (77) *gu bedḏa k^haŋ-am-a bo-ke-k*
 1SG.NOM seed buy-NMLZ-LOC go-PST-1SG
 ‘I went to buy seeds’

Some adverbs also seem to historically contain the locative suffix: *du:r-a* [far-LOC]; *ḏa:b-a* [now-LOC].

A few place names take the locative marker *-e*. For example, *fiṃl-e* [p.name-LOC], *kulu-e* [p.name-LOC]. *-e* is mostly not permitted with common nouns (e.g. *skul-a* [school-LOC], **skul-e*; *k^hisaŋ-a* [pocket-LOC], **k^hisaŋ-e*; *tokri-a* [basket-LOC], **tokri-e*). There is, however, one instance where both locative markers *-a* and *-e* are permitted: *boṭuaŋ-a* ~ *boṭuaŋ-e* [purse-LOC].⁹ In some cases the locative marker

⁹ The locative marker *-e* could possibly be due to IA influence. In Hindi, for instance, the noun appears in the non-nominative in *-e* when a locative marker follows (*baṭu-e mē* [purse-OBL LOC]).

is realized as [i]. For example, *mala:ŋa-e* [mala:ŋaji] ‘in Malana’, *ʃum-e-ts* [ʃumits] [three-LOC-ABL].¹⁰

The adaptive marker *-(V)ŋ* is retained when the locative marker is affixed to nouns with an adaptive marker.

- (78) *defaŋ* ‘village’ : *defaŋ-a*
ga:ɽiŋ, *ga:ɽi* ‘car, bus’ : *ga:ɽiŋ-a*
k^hiraŋ ‘milk’ : *k^hiraŋ-a*
dili, *diliŋ* ‘Delhi’ : *diliŋ-a*
gra:maŋ ‘village’ : *gra:maŋ-a*
najiŋ ‘river, ocean’ : *najiŋ-a*

Distinct from this, there are some examples of plural nouns where the locative seems to be rendered as *-ŋa*. The following are all the examples of this type in our material. This is possibly due to reanalysis of locative forms of nouns with the adaptive marker *-(V)ŋ* – *-(V)ŋ-a* > *-a-ŋa* – and subsequent analogical extension of this pattern to other nouns.

- (79) *mobajl-a* [mobile.phone-LOC] : *mobajl-a:-ŋa* [mobile.phone-PL-LOC]
pra:d-a [finger-LOC] : *pra:d-a:-ŋa* [finger-PL-LOC]

2.2.4.7 Ablative

The ablative case marker is *-ts*. It is also realized as *-s*, *-ʃ* and *-ɖ*. In some cases we find the same allomorph in all instances of a particular stem (e.g., [dudits], [duts], [duats] ‘from him/her’; [mala:ŋiɖdz] ‘from Malana’). But, in other cases, this is not the case, e.g. [aɖits] ~ [aɖiʃ] ‘from me’.

The ablative case marker *-ts* is affixed to stems ending in consonants and those ending in vowels. It can be affixed directly to the noun or pronoun, or it can be affixed to a stem containing a noun or pronoun followed by adessive *-di* or the locative marker *-a*.

- (80) *qabaŋ-ts* [box-ABL]
maŋdi-ts [p.name-ABL]
bitiŋ-a-ɖ [wall-LOC-ABL]
dilli-ts [p.name-ABL]

¹⁰ The locative marker can occur on numerals when there is no explicit head noun.

mala:ŋiŋ-ɕ [p.name-ABL]
ʃamʃiŋ-a-ts [spoon-LOC-ABL]
ga:ŋiŋ-ts [river-ABL]
ni-ʃ [here-ABL]
u:-a-ts [flower-LOC-ABL]
ham-ʃ [who-ABL]
sa:laŋ-ɕ [year-ABL]
sima-di-ts [f.name-ADE-ABL]
kʰisaŋ-ɕ [pocket-ABL]
ta-ts [nose-ABL]
kartik-u-di-ts [m.name-POSS-ADE-ABL]

As we saw above *-ts* in Kanashi also functions as the diminutive marker. The ablative and the diminutive markers occur in two different slots: [N-DIM-PL-ABL]. But when *-ts* is suffixed directly to a noun stem (e.g. *ka:tʰi-ts* [mountain-ABL] or [mountain-DIM]), the word form is ambiguous. We do not have any example of ablative occurring with the diminutive or with plural head nouns.

2.2.4.8 Comitative

The comitative marker is *-raŋ*. The diminutive and plural markers precede the comitative marker (e.g. *ʃʰak-ts-raŋ* [boy-DIM-COM]¹¹). As elsewhere in Kanashi, the word-final consonant (*-ŋ* in the comitative marker *-raŋ*) is not always clearly audible (e.g. *ri:ŋdz-raŋ* [ri:ŋdzra] ‘with sister’). *-raŋ* occurs both with proper nouns and with singular and plural animate and inanimate common nouns.

-raŋ as a comitative marker occurs in several ST languages of the Himalayas, but unlike some of these other ST languages (Kinnauri, Navakat), in Kanashi the *-r* in *-raŋ* is not assimilated to the preceding consonant.

- (81) *da:l-raŋ* [lentil-COM]
maʃaŋ-raŋ [man-COM]
ramef-raŋ [m.name-COM]
kulpu-raŋ [m.name-COM]

¹¹ This is the only example in our material of COM preceded by DIM. Note also, that all occurrences of *ʃʰak* ‘boy’ in our data have the diminutive marker.

p^hul-raŋ [cooked.rice-COM]

ri:ŋdz-raŋ [ri:ŋdzrã] [sister-COM]

lata:-raŋ [f.name-COM]

ra:m-raŋ [m.name-COM]

ʃfara-ga:-raŋ [child-PL-COM]

With some proper nouns (masculine as well as feminine) which end in a consonant, the possessive marker *-u* occurs before the comitative marker (82), but there are also instances of consonant-final proper noun stems which occur without an intervening possessive marker *-u*, e.g., *ra:m-raŋ*, *rameʃ-raŋ* in (81). It is unclear what determines the occurrence of *-u* here.¹²

(82) *amar-u-raŋ* [m.name-POSS-COM]

kusum-u-raŋ [f.name-POSS-COM]

santof-u-raŋ [f.name-POSS-COM]

anup-u-raŋ [m.name-POSS-COM]

mohan-u-raŋ [m.name-POSS-COM]

suradž-u-raŋ [f.name-POSS-COM]

apa:r-u-raŋ [m.name-POSS-COM]

punam-u-raŋ [f.name-POSS-COM]

As the following example illustrates, a NP may contain more than one comitative marker *-raŋ*.

(83) *gu p^hul-raŋ da:l-raŋ ho:q ɖa:-ge-k*
 1SG.NOM cooked.rice-COM lentils-COM roti eat-PST-1SG
 ‘I ate roti with cooked rice and lentils’

-raŋ can sometimes be omitted, without any apparent difference in meaning.

(84) *ʃʃak-ts(-raŋ) ʃʃimets bo-ke*
 boy-DIM(-COM) girl go-PST
 ‘The girl went with the boy’

The comitative marker *-raŋ* also functions as a subordinator where it is suffixed to the bare verb form of a non-final clause.

¹² Possibly, we are dealing with IA influence: notice that this construction (N-POSS COM) is similar to the *ke s:at^h* [POSS along] construction in Hindi. In Hindi too the possessive marker *ke* is optionally deleted.

- (85) *dug-uḏḡ nark-da:n gek kubo:r bu-raŋ ma-ja-g*
 3.DIST-DAT bad-temper became inside go-COM NEG-want.PST
 ‘He became angry and refused to go in’ (source: Konow 1909)

2.2.4.9 Adessive

In our material the adessive marker *-di* is attached either to a noun (proper and common) or to a pronoun. With common or proper noun stems ending in a consonant, a possessive marker (*-u*, *-ka*, *-n* or *-en*) occurs before the adessive marker. It is unclear what determines its occurrence.

- (86) *an-en-di* [REFL-PL.POSS-ADE]
ba:-di [father-ADE]
hendu-di [m.name-ADE]
indru-di-ts [m.name-ADE-ABL]
kartik-u-di [m.name-POSS-ADE]
kartik-u-di-ts [m.name-POSS-ADE-ABL]
maŋsaŋ-ka-di [man-POSS-ADE]
sima-di-ts [f.name-ADE-ABL]
sipahis-u-di [soldier-POSS-ADE]
ʃʰak-ka-di [boy-POSS-ADE]

As seen in the examples above, *-di* can be followed by the ablative marker *-ts*. In our material *du-di* [3.DIST-ADE] and *aŋ-di* [1SG-ADE] can be replaced in some contexts with *du-ka* [3.DIST-POSS] and *aka* [1SG.POSS] respectively.

2.3 Pronouns

Pronouns do not have inherent gender and honorificity distinctions. Like nouns, they inflect for number (singular and plural) and case.

2.3.1 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns in Kanashi are: *du* [DEM.DIST], *nu* [DEM.PROX] and their corresponding plural forms (*du-ga*: [DEM.DIST-PL], *nu-ga*: [DEM.PROX-PL]).

- (87) *du kursi*
DEM.DIST chair
'that chair'
- (88) *nu kuta:b sastas to*
DEM.PROX book cheap be.PRS
'This book is cheap'
- (89) *nu-ga: niʃ mi-s ɖa:-ge*
DEM.PROX-PL two man-ERG eat-PST
'These two men ate'

The demonstrative pronouns also function as third person personal pronouns.

2.3.2 Personal pronouns

2.3.2.1 The set of personal pronouns

The personal pronouns in Kanashi are the following:

	SG	PL
1	<i>gu</i> (NOM) <i>aŋ</i> (NNOM/POSS) <i>aka</i> (POSS)	<i>ette</i> (INCL) <i>ni</i> (EXCL.NOM) <i>niŋ-</i> (EXCL.NNOM)
2	<i>ka</i>	<i>ki</i>
3	<i>du</i> (3.DIST) <i>nu</i> (3.PROX)	<i>du-ga:</i> (3.DIST-PL) <i>nu-ga:</i> (3.PROX-PL)

An exclusive-inclusive distinction is made in the first person plural pronouns. Further, some personal pronouns have distinct nominative and non-nominative forms. The analysis presented here is consistent with Konow's description (Konow 1909: 444), except that Konow does not mention the inclusive-exclusive distinction. He glosses *ni* as 'first person plural'.

Sharma (1992: 349) provides the following as honorific pronouns: "/ki/ you (pl and hon.)", "/duš/ he (hon.)", "/du gəš/ they (hon.)", "/nu gəš/ those (hon.)". This is not corroborated in our material. Pragmatically, however, the choice of pronoun conveys (dis)respect. The use of the plural pronoun form for a singular referent conveys respect, and the use of a singular pronoun form for a plural referent conveys disrespect.

As shown in the table above, the first person singular pronoun allomorphs in Kanashi are: *gu* (NOM), *aŋ* (NNOM/POSS) and *aka* (POSS). The last-mentioned could conceivably be analyzed as *a-ka* [1SG-POSS], but will be glossed unanalyzed as *aka* [1SG.POSS] in this chapter.¹³

gu occurs in the subject position in copular, transitive and intransitive clauses in all tenses and aspects. It never takes the ergative marker.

- (90) *nalɪŋ gu dʒimida:r tot-ke-k*
 last.year 1SG.NOM farmer be-PST-1SG
 ‘Last year I was a farmer’
- (91) *gu ʃiml-e tot-k*
 1SG.NOM p.name-LOC be.PRS-1SG
 ‘I am in Shimla’
- (92) *gu p^hul-ɾaŋ a:l-ɾaŋ ho:q dʒa:ge-k*
 1SG.NOM cooked.rice-COM lentils-COM bread eat-PST-1SG
 ‘I ate bread with cooked rice and lentils’
- (93) *gu du-ga:p roʒ ta-gu-ta-k*
 1SG.NOM 3.DIST-PL-ACC daily look-PROG-NPST-1SG
 ‘I am watching them every day’
- (94) *gu na:b ka:m-ga:ʃaʔ-ta-k*
 1SG.NOM tomorrow work-PL do-NPST-1SG
 ‘I will work tomorrow’

aŋ occurs in non-nominative positions. For example, it occurs with the accusative, dative, ablative and comitative case markers.

- (95) *aŋ-dʒ ʃabʔi pasand to*
 1SG-DAT meat liking(N) be.PRS
 ‘I like meat’
- (96) *p^hakutʃ boi-ts aŋ-ɾaŋ soaraŋ bore-ke*
 small sibling-DIM 1SG-COM p.name go-PST
 ‘The younger sibling went with me to Kullu’

¹³ While *-ka* is a bona fide possessive morph in Kanashi, the remainder (*a-*) does not occur anywhere else in the 1SG paradigm. As with other vowel-final words, *aka* is sometimes realized as *ak*, with apocope.

It also occurs in possessive constructions, but without the possessive marker.

- (97) *aŋ ja:s aŋ-ɬ taka ken-ke*
 1SG.NNOM mother-ERG 1SG-DAT money give.1/20-PST
 ‘My mother gave money to me’

aŋ occurs frequently with *-di* [-ADE]:

- (98) *aŋ-di i:d kim to*
 1SG-ADE one house be.PRS
 ‘I have a house’
- (99) *aŋ-di bais k^h-a: to-f*
 1SG-ADE twenty.two sheep-PL be.PRS-3PL
 ‘I have twenty-two sheep’
- (100) *indru aŋ-di fjobbi ɕaɽe-ga: naɸ-ta*
 m.name 1SG-ADE twenty.four day-PL stay-NPST
 ‘Indru stays with me for twenty-four days’

While case markers are regularly suffixed to *aŋ* (except possessive markers; see below), there are also instances where there is no overt case marker.¹⁴

- (101) *aŋ som kula:r ken to-f*
 1SG.NNOM morning breakfast give.1/20 BE.PRS-3PL
 ‘In the morning (they) give me breakfast’
- (102) *om-a santof-is aŋ ɕindije p^hon-a fed-mug*
 path-LOC f.name-ERG 1SG.NNOM much phone-LOC send-PST.3
 ‘On the way Santosh called me many times (she sent me on phone)’

aŋ also occurs in the “dative subject construction”, with or without the dative case marker (see also Section 4.3).

- (103) *aŋ-ɬ=i sauda-ga: fobilas lag-e-ta*
 1SG-DAT=EMP candy-PL good feel-INTR-NPST
 ‘I like sweets’

¹⁴ These cases coincide with those where we would have expected to see a dative/objective-marked argument in some other South Asian languages, possibly pointing to an earlier stage of Kanashi.

- (104) *aŋ du kamra dʒiŋ lag*
 1SG.NNOM DEM.DIST room big feel
 ‘That room felt big to me’

As the following examples illustrate, in possessive constructions both *aka* and *aŋ* are found. They occur in different contexts, however.

- (105) *aka ba:*
 1SG.POSS father
 ‘my father’
- (106) *aka niʃ kim-a: to-ʃ*
 1SG.POSS two house-PL be.PRS-3PL
 ‘(I) have two houses’
- (107) *aŋ-di niʃ kim-a: to-ʃ*
 1SG-ADE two house-PL be.PRS-3PL
 ‘(I) have/near me there are two houses’

It seems that while both *aka* and *aŋ* can occur with animate head nouns – both *aka ba:* and *aŋ ba:* ‘my father’ are acceptable – only *aka* is permitted with inanimate head nouns. For example, according to our language consultants, *aka laʈpaʈa-ga:* ‘my clothes’, *aka bu:t-a:* ‘my shoes’ *ak beg* ‘my bag’, *aka ro:d* ‘my ear’ are acceptable, but not **aŋ laʈpaʈa-ga:*, **aŋ beg* or **aŋ ro:d*.

aka occurs with both singular and plural head nouns, as well as animate and inanimate head nouns.

- (108) *aka ba:* ‘my father’
aka ja: ‘my mother’
ak fo ‘my field’
ak fo-ga: ‘my fields’

The NP containing *aka* does not seem to be sensitive to the grammatical relation it occurs in. In the following examples the NP containing *aka* occurs in the subject and direct-object positions as well as in non-agentive constructions.

- (109) *aka ja:ba dilli naʃ-is*
 1SG.POSS parents p.name sit-PFV
 ‘My parents live in Delhi’
- (110) *ka aka help^h ʃa-t^h*
 2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS help do-IMP
 ‘You, (please,) help me!’

- (111) *ak parset da-k ??*
 1SG.POSS sweat fall-?
 ‘I got sweaty’
- (112) *ak battis ga:r-a:*
 1SG.POSS thirty.two tooth-PL
 ‘my thirty-two teeth’
- (113) *ak bari-ts defaŋ-a:*
 1SG.POSS much-DIM village-PL
 ‘my many villages’

As with *aka*, *aŋ* as a possessive pronoun occurs in NPs in various grammatical relations.

- (114) *aŋ ba: ba:saʔ^h sa:laŋ-ts to*
 1SG.POSS father sixty.two year-DIM be.PRS
 ‘My father is sixty-two years old’
- (115) *gu aŋ ja:uɟ p^hon fan-me-k*
 1SG.NOM 1SG.POSS mother-DAT phone do-PST-1SG
 ‘I phoned my mother’
- (116) *du aŋ na:na:-raŋ naʃi to*
 3.DIST 1SG.POSS m.grandfather-COM stay BE.PRS
 ‘S/He lives with my maternal grandfather’
- (117) *aka/aŋ-di niʃ kim-a: to-f*
 1SG.POSS/1SG-ADE two house-PL be.PRS-3PL
 ‘I have two houses’

The second person singular pronoun is *ka*. It occurs in both subject and non-subject positions. Just as with the first person singular pronoun, the second person singular pronoun, too, never takes the ergative marker. In other non-nominative positions, *ka* optionally takes the relevant case marker.

- (118) *ka jobilas madras to-n*
 2SG.NOM good man be.PRS-2SG
 ‘You are a good man’

- (119) *ka mud kim-a ma:j-ge-n*
 2SG.NOM yesterday house-LOC NEG.be-PST-2SG
 ‘You were not at home yesterday’

- (120) *ka dʒa:-mi raŋ-me-n*
 2SG.NOM eat-NMLZ give-PST-2SG
 ‘You gave (someone) food’

- (121) *ra:m-us ka-ɕ poʃo ken-ke*
 m.name-ERG 2SG-DAT fruit give.1/2O-PST
 ‘Ram gave you fruit’

ka sometimes is used for second person plural referents. First, in constructions where it is followed by *sab* ‘all’. For example:

- (122) *gu ka-p sab-u ta-gu-ta-n*
 1SG.NOM 2SG-ACC all-ACC watch-PROG-NPST-?
 ‘I am watching all of you’

Secondly, as mentioned above, the use of the singular pronoun form for plural referents indicates disrespect.

In the possessive construction *ka* obligatorily takes the suffix *-n*, which may then be followed by the additional possessive marker *-ka*. *ka-n* and *ka-n-ka* seem to be in free variation.

- (123) *ka-n/ka-n-ka kim*
 2SG-POSS/2SG-POSS-POSS house
 ‘your house’

- (124) *gu ka-n sa:mna bagva:n sa:mna kasu:r faŋ-mug*
 1SG.NOM 2SG-POSS in.front god in.front sin do-PST.3
 ‘I have sinned in front of you, in front of god’ (Konow)

- (125) *ka-n-ka kim ham to*
 2SG-POSS-POSS house where be.PRS
 ‘Where is your house’

The demonstrative pronouns *du* and *nu* function as third person singular pronouns, where they retain their semantic distinction: *du* has a distant interpretation, while *nu* has a proximate interpretation.¹⁵ They occur in copula construc-

¹⁵ Sharma (1992) describes *nu* as distant and not as proximate.

tions, in intransitive and transitive clauses with both masculine and feminine referents. Unlike the first and second person singular pronouns, third person singular pronouns take the ergative marker.

- (126) *du/nu* *daɬ^his ʃfara*
 3.DIST/3.PROX good child
 ‘S/He is a good child’
- (127) *du/nu* *kim-a* *ma:j*
 3.DIST/3.PROX home-LOC NEG.be.3SG
 ‘S/He is not at home’
- (128) *du-di/du-ka* *nif=i* *kim-a:* *to-ʃ*
 3.DIST-ADE/3.DIST-POSS two=EMP house-PL be.PRS-3PL
 ‘S/He has two houses’
- (129) *du* *bo-ke*
 3.DIST go-PST
 ‘S/He went’
- (130) *nu-s* *an-u-ka* *ʃime-p* *a:ʃe-mug*
 3.PROX-ERG REFL-SG-POSS girl-ACC call-PST.3
 ‘S/He called her/his daughter’
- (131) *nu-p* *sa-t-o*
 DEM.PROX-ACC kill-IMP-M
 ‘Kill this one!’
- (132) *p^ha:kutʃ* *boi-ts* *nu-ran* *soaran* *bo-ke*
 little y.sibling-DIM 3.PROX-COM p.name go-PST
 ‘The child went with him/her to Kullu’

The possessive form *du(-n)-k(a)* occurs with both alienable and inalienable head nouns, with both masculine and feminine head nouns and with singular as well as plural head nouns.

- (133) *du-n-ka* *da:di* *ba:saɬ^h* *sa:lan-ɖ* *to*
 3.DIST-POSS-POSS p.grandmother sixty.two year-ABL be.PRS
 ‘His/her paternal grandmother is sixty-two years old’

- (134) *du-n-ka dil-a bindra to*
 3.DIST-POSS-POSS heart-LOC pain be.PRS
 ‘There is pain in his heart’

- (135) *du-n-ka k^has vof to*
 3.DIST-POSS-POSS sheep hunger be.PRS
 ‘His sheep is hungry’

The grammatical role of the NP in which POSS occurs does not affect the choice of the POSS markers.

- (136) *du-ka mig-a: p^hak-e to-f*
 3.DIST-POSS eye-PL small-PL be.PRS-3PL
 ‘His eyes are small’

- (137) *du-ka p^ha:kutʃ ʃ^ho krab-ku-ta*
 3.DIST-POSS small child cry-PROG-NPST
 ‘His younger child is crying’

- (138) *nu du-ka/du-n-ka gari to*
 DEM.PROX 3.DIST-POSS/3.DIST-POSS-POSS watch be.PRS
 ‘This is his watch’

- (139) *du-ka ta-ts k^hui dva-ta*
 3.DIST-POSS nose-ABL blood come.out-NPST
 ‘Blood comes out of his nose’

ette functions as the 1PLI pronoun. In our material it occurs as subject in copular and transitive clauses, but unfortunately we do not have any examples of an intransitive clause with a first person plural inclusive pronoun subject.

- (140) *ette naliŋ dzimida:r-a: ma:j-ke-muk*
 1PLI last.year farmer-PL NEG.be-PST-1PLI
 ‘Last year we were not farmers’

- (141) *ette kamraŋ-a ton-muk [tonmo]*
 1PLI room-LOC be.PRS-1PLI
 ‘We are in the room’

- (142) *ette sab beŋiŋ taŋ-ta-muk*
 1PLI all tree climb-NPST-1PLI
 ‘All of us will climb the tree’

- (143) *ette-n-ka ba:*
 1PLI-POSS-POSS father
 ‘our father’

- (144) *ette-n-ka kim*
 1PLI-POSS-POSS house
 ‘our house’

There is one example in our material where *ette* takes the ergative marker:

- (145) *na:b ette-s bufame tam*
 tomorrow 1PLI-ERG ? ?
 ‘We will relax tomorrow’

sab ‘all’ sometimes follows this pronoun. In the following example, *sab* takes the case marker, but not *ette*.

- (146) *ette(j) sab-us an-e-p arfug-a tan-me-muk*
 1PLI all-ERG REFL-PL-ACC mirror-LOC look-PST-1PLI
 ‘All of us looked at ourselves in the mirror’

The first person plural exclusive pronoun in Kanashi has two main allomorphs: *ni* and *niŋ*-. *ni* occurs in the nominative case as subject in copular, intransitive and transitive clauses. We have no examples of the first person plural exclusive pronoun with an ergative marker.

- (147) *ni tʰaŋ-ts-a: to-ŋ*
 1PLE boy-DIM-PL be.PRS-1/2PL
 ‘We are boys’

- (148) *ni niran tʰepar bo-ku-ta-ŋ*
 1PLE p.name p.name go-PROG-NPST-1/2PL
 ‘We are going to Nirang and Thepar’

- (149) *ni ka:m-a:/ka:maŋ-a: fa-ta-ŋ*
 1PLE work-PL do-NPST-1/2PL
 ‘We will do the work’

- (150) *ni tsʰol-a latpaŋ-a:p mi-tʰi-me-ŋ*
 1PLE waterfall-LOC garment-PL-ACC NEG-wash-PST-1/2PL
 ‘We did not wash clothes in the waterfall’

ni only takes the possessive marker *-ka*. It occurs with animate and inanimate head nouns, singular as well as plural head nouns.

- (151) *ni-ka kim*
1PLE-POSS house
'our house'
- (152) *ni-ka ba:*
1PLE-POSS father
'our father'
- (153) *ni-ka hu:ɕ-u-ka t^hut^hre tegje la:mas*
1PLE-POSS cow-POSS-POSS tail very long
'Our cow has a very long tail'
- (154) *ni-ka ɕʒaŋ sab-a(s) teg*
1PLE-POSS god all-INS great
'our god is the greatest'
- (155) *nu-ga: ni-ka na:ʈa-ga: to-f*
3.PROX-PL 1PLE-POSS relative-PL be.PRS-3PL
'They are our relatives'

In the remaining non-nominative positions, *nin-* [1PLE.NNOM] occurs. This is a bound stem form, always followed by a case suffix, as indicated by the “-”.

- (156) *gopal-us nin-p ta-ge-kuk ??*
m.name-ERG 1PLE-ACC look-PST-?
'Gopal saw us'
- (157) *gopal-us nin-ɕ sab sev poʈo keni-ke*
m.name-ERG 1PLE-DAT all apple vegetable/fruit give.1/20-PST
'Gopal gave us apples'
- (158) *nin-ɕ ti-ka kam=i*
1PLE-DAT water-POSS shortage=EMP
'We do have a shortage of water'

ki functions as the second person plural pronoun. It occurs in both nominative and non-nominative positions. There are no instances of *ki* in the ergative, even though there are transitive clauses with second person plural subjects in our material.

- (159) *ki ʃ^haŋ-ts-a: to-ŋ*
2PL boy-DIM-PL be.PRS-2PL
'You (PL) are boys'

- (160) *ki mud kim-a ma:j-ge-η*
 2PL yesterday house-LOC NEG.be-PST-2PL
 ‘You (PL) were not at home yesterday’
- (161) *gopal-us ki-p ta-ge-kuk ??*
 m.name-ERG 2PL-ACC look-PST-?
 ‘Gopal saw you’
- (162) *gopal-us ki-ǵ sev poʈo keni-ke*
 m.name-ERG 2PL-DAT apple vegetable/fruit give.1/20-PST
 ‘Gopal gave you apples’

At times, *sab* ‘all’ follows the pronoun. As the following examples illustrate, the case marker can be suffixed either to each element of an NP or only to the last element of the NP.

- (163) *ki-n-ka sab-ka kim*
 2PL-POSS-POSS all-POSS house
 ‘the house(s) of all of you’
- (164) *du-ga: sab-us ǵa:-ta-f*
 3.DIST-PL all-ERG eat-NPST-3PL
 ‘All of them (will) eat’
- (165) *ki sab lok-a:f an-e-p arʃug-a taŋ-me-η*
 2PL all person-PL-ERG REFL-PL-ACC mirror-LOC look-PST-2PL
 ‘All you people looked at yourselves in the mirror’

du-ga: and *nu-ga:* function as third person plural pronouns. As in the singular, *du-ga:* has a distant interpretation, while *nu-ga:* indicates proximity. They take the ergative marker.

- (166) *du-ga: ǵimida:r-a: to-f*
 3.DIST-PL farmer-PL be.PRS-3PL
 ‘They are farmers’
- (167) *du-ga: malaŋi-ts*
 3.DIST-PL p.name-ABL
 ‘They are from Malana’

Table 10: The personal pronouns: attested case forms

SG	1	2	3	
NOM	<i>gu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>nu</i> (3.PROX), <i>du</i> (3.DIST)	
ERG(/INS)	<i>gu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>nu-s</i> , <i>du-s</i>	
ACC	<i>aŋ</i> , <i>aŋ-p</i> , <i>aŋ-u-p</i>	<i>ka-p</i>	<i>nu-p</i> , <i>du-p</i>	
DAT	<i>aŋ-ɕ</i>	<i>ka-ɕ</i>	<i>nu-ɕ</i> , <i>du-ɕ</i>	
POSS	<i>aŋ</i> (NNOM), <i>aka</i>	<i>ka-n</i> , <i>ka-n-ka</i> (POSS-POSS)	<i>nu-ka</i> , <i>du-ka</i> , <i>du-n-ka</i> (POSS-POSS)	
LOC	—	—	<i>nu-a</i>	
ABL	<i>aŋ-ts</i>	<i>ka-ts</i> , <i>ka-n-ts</i> (POSS-ABL)	<i>du-ts</i>	
LOC-ABL	—	—	<i>du-a-ts</i>	
COM	<i>aŋ-raŋ</i>	—	<i>nu-raŋ</i> , <i>du-raŋ</i>	
ADE	<i>aŋ-di</i>	—	<i>nu-di</i> , <i>du-di</i>	
ADE-ABL	<i>aŋ-di-ts</i>	—	<i>du-di-ts</i>	
PL	1PLI	1PLE	2	3
NOM	<i>ette</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>nu-ga</i> ?, <i>du-ga</i> ?
ERG(/INS)	<i>ette-s</i>	—	—	<i>nu-ga:-s</i> , <i>du-ga:-s</i>
ACC	—	<i>niŋ-p</i>	<i>ki-p</i>	<i>nu-ga:-p</i> , <i>du-ga:-p</i>
DAT	—	<i>niŋ-ɕ</i>	<i>ki-ɕ</i>	<i>nu-ga:-uɕ</i> , <i>du-ga:-uɕ</i> , <i>du-ga:-uɕ</i>
POSS	<i>ette-n-ka</i> (POSS-POSS)	<i>ni-ka</i>	<i>ki-n-ka</i> (POSS-POSS)	<i>du-ga:-ka</i> , <i>du-ga:-n-ka</i> (POSS-POSS)
LOC	—	—	—	—
ABL	—	—	—	—
LOC-ABL	—	—	—	—
COM	—	<i>niŋ-raŋ</i>	—	—
ADE	—	<i>niŋ-di</i>	—	<i>du-ga:-n-di</i> (POSS-ADE)
ADE-ABL	—	—	—	—

- (168) *nu-ga: sab muɖ kim-a bo-ke-oŋ??*
 3.PROX-PL all yesterday house-LOC go-PST-?
 ‘They all went home yesterday’

- (169) *gu du-ga:-p taŋ-me-k-oŋ??*
 1SG.NOM 3.DIST-PL-ACC look-PST-1SG-?
 ‘I looked at them’

- (170) *du-ga:-s ɕa:-gja*
 3.DIST-PL-ERG eat-PST.3
 ‘They ate’

du-ga: and *nu-ga:* occur also in the dative subject construction (see also Section 4.3).

- (171) *du-ga:-uḑ sardi la-ke*
 3.DIST-PL-DAT cold feel-PST
 ‘They had a cold’

With the ergative, accusative and possessive markers, the pronoun form remains the same (i.e., *du-ga:*, *nu-ga:*). But the final vowel of the plural suffix is often deleted when the dative case marker is affixed: *du-ga:-uḑ* ([duguḑ] ~ [dugaoḑ]) ~ *du-ga:-ḑ* [duguḑ] ~ *du-ga:-ḑ* [duguḑ].

2.3.2.2 Personal pronouns: case forms

Table 10 provides summary paradigms (of forms attested in our data; unattested forms are indicated by “—”) for the personal pronouns in Kanashi.

2.3.3 Interrogative pronouns and adverbs

what, which	<i>ḡ^hu</i> , <i>ḡ^hupe</i> [which-ACC-PL], <i>ḡ^huge</i> [what-?PL] (Konow 1909: 444: “ <i>chhuge</i> , what?”)
where	<i>ham</i>
who	<i>hat(e)</i> (Konow 1909: 444: “ <i>hate</i> , who? <i>hase</i> , by whom? <i>hat-ka</i> , whose? <i>hate ditse</i> from whom?”)
when	<i>ḡ^hub(a)</i>
why	<i>k^hue</i> (Konow 1909: 444: “ <i>kwe</i> , why?”)
how	<i>hale(s)</i> (Konow 1909: 444: “ <i>hole</i> , how?”), <i>hane</i>
how much, how many	<i>tada</i>

- (172) *ka ḡ^hub-a bon-ta-n*
 2SG.NOM when-LOC go-NPST-2SG
 ‘When will you go?’
- (173) *ka ḑo k^hue bara-ke-n*
 2SG.NOM down.south why come-PST-2SG
 ‘Why did you come down south?’
- (174) *ka ḡa hale-s faṇ-me-n*
 2SG.NOM tea how-INS make-PST-2SG
 ‘How did you make tea?’

- (175) *ka ham-e to-n*
 2SG.NOM where-LOC be.PRS-2SG
 ‘Where are you?’

- (176) *nu f^hu to*
 DEM.PROX what be.3SG
 ‘What is this?’

The interrogative pronouns appear *in situ*. While in most instances the WH-interrogative clauses have the same finite verb forms as affirmatives, there is one example in our material where the polar question suffix *-a* is affixed to the verb:

- (177) *ka dza:b-a ham bo-ku-ta-n-a*
 2SG.NOM now-LOC where go-PROG-NPST-2SG-Q
 ‘Where are you going now?’

When the emphatic discourse marker *=i* is affixed to interrogative pronouns they function as indefinite pronouns. For example,

- (178) *daba hat=i mo-to-ta-f*
 then who=EMP NEG-be-NPST-3PL
 ‘Then no-one will be (there)’

IA *koi* also occurs in our material, as an indefinite pronoun ‘some’, but not as an interrogative pronoun. But unlike IA languages, *koi* can take a plural marker (*-ge*) in Kanashi: *koi-ge naŋi-ge* ‘some stayed’

2.3.4 Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronoun is *an*. Distinct from the personal pronouns which normally have external reference, the reflexive pronoun co-refers within the current discourse, either to an explicit NP (with a nominal or pronominal head) or a person index on a verb, in the (typically preceding) context. Its main usage is as a reflexive for all persons,¹⁶ although in 1SG the regular personal pronominal form *aŋup*

¹⁶ In contrast, Kinnauri and Tinani display the more typical ST pattern: reflexivity in Kinnauri is either expressed by using the detransitivizing morpheme *-f(i)* on the verb, or by means of reflexive pronouns, which inflect for number and person. With regard to the reflexive pronouns in Kanashi, Kinnauri and Tinani, they form a continuum, where Kanashi has almost an invariant form for reflexives, while in Kinnauri we find somewhat more variant forms and in Tinani mostly variant forms.

alternates with *anup*. In almost all instances it either has an *-u* (with singular arguments) or an *-e* (with plural arguments), to which the relevant case marker is suffixed. In reflexive usage it carries the accusative marker *-p* as shown in Table 11 and (179–184).

Table 11: The reflexive pronoun in Kanashi

SG	PL
1 <i>an-u-p</i> (<i>aŋ-u-p</i>)	<i>an-e-p</i> (EXCL/INCL)
2 <i>an-u-p</i>	<i>an-e-p</i>
3 <i>an(-u-p)</i>	<i>an-e-p</i>

- (179) *gu aŋ-u-p/an-u-p taŋ-me-k*
 1SG-NOM 1SG-SG-ACC/REFL-SG-ACC look-PST-1SG
 ‘I saw myself’
- (180) *ette sab-us an-e(-p) arfuk-a taŋ-me-muk*
 1PLI all-ERG REFL-PL(-ACC) mirror-LOC look-PST-1PLI
 ‘We all looked at ourselves in the mirror’
- (181) *ka an-u-p arfuk-a taŋ-me-n*
 2SG.NOM REFL-SG-ACC mirror-LOC look-PST-2SG
 ‘You looked at yourself in the mirror’
- (182) *ki: (sab) lok-a:-s an-e-p arfuk-a taŋ-me-n*
 2PL (all) person-PL-ERG REFL-PL-ACC mirror-LOC look-PST-2SG
 ‘You (people) looked at yourselves in the mirror’
- (183) *monika-s an-u-p arfuk-a taŋ-mug*
 f.name-ERG REFL-SG-ACC mirror-LOC look-PST.3
 ‘Monika looked at herself in the mirror’
- (184) *sab f̣ara-ga:-s an-e(-p) arfuk-a ta-ge*
 all child-PL-ERG REFL-PL(-ACC) mirror-LOC look-PST
 ‘All children looked at themselves in the mirror’

Reflexivity and reciprocity are also indicated by using the middle voice marker *-(f(i))* on the verb (see Section 3.1.1).

The other case forms of *an* found in our data are *an-e-n-ka* [REFL-PL-POSS-POSS], *an-e-n-di* [anindi/anendi] [REFL-PL-POSS-ADE], *an-u* [REFL-POSS], *an-u-ka* [REFL-SG-POSS] (or [REFL-POSS-POSS]) and *an-u-ɕ* [REFL-SG-DAT].

- (185) *an-u-ɕ lapta-p k^haŋ-t*
 REFL-SG-DAT garment-ACC buy-IMP
 ‘Buy some clothes for yourself!’
- (186) *du-s an-u-ka guɖ-as kim gaŋ-mug*
 3.DIST-ERG REFL-SG-POSS hand-INS house build-PST.3
 ‘He built his house with his own hands’
- (187) *mohan-as an-u ja:-uʃ taka raŋ-mug*
 m.name-ERG REFL-POSS mother-DAT money give-PST.3
 ‘Mohan gave money to his (=Mohan’s) mother’

There is one instance where *du* occurs in place of the third person singular reflexive pronoun *an*:

- (188) *du du-ka ja:-raŋ naʃi-m fobilas dan-ta*
 3.DIST 3.DIST-POSS mother-COM stay-INF beautiful fall-NPST
 ‘He likes to stay with his mother’

an(-u) also functions as an emphatic pronoun, in apposition to an immediately preceding NP. As usual in this construction, number and case marking can occur either on the last NP (as in 189) or on both NPs.

- (189) *ka an-u-s lon-me-n*
 2SG.NOM REFL-SG-ERG tell-PST-2SG
 ‘You yourself told (me this)’

2.4 Adjectives

In Kanashi adjectives prototypically occur as modifiers of explicit head nouns (190) or as predicates in adjectival copula constructions (191). In these structural positions they can show agreement inflection, agreeing in number and gender with their head noun.

- (190) *jug ba:ɕi / fobilas biŋiʃ / p^hakuʃ bakar*
 just.cooked vegetable / beautiful husband / small goat
 ‘freshly cooked vegetable’ / ‘beautiful husband’ / ‘small/younger goat’

- (191) *nu kuta:b sastas to*
 DEM.PROX book cheap be.PRS
 ‘This book is cheap’

Adjectives used as modifiers stand before their head noun. A systematic exception to this is exhibited in a (multi-word) noun-formation pattern characteristic of a number of kinship terms showing the order N–Adj (see Section 2.2.1.1), although there are also lexicalized multi-word kinship terms with adjectives preceding the head noun:

- (192) *p^hakutʃ bau-ts / p^hakutʃ ri:ŋ-ɕ*
 small brother-DIM / small sister-DIM
 ‘younger brother’ / ‘younger sister’

- (193) *teg bau / teg ri:ŋ-ɕ*
 big brother / big sister-DIM
 ‘older brother’ / ‘older sister’

A noun phrase may contain more than one adjective.

- (194) *tegje himt roʔ^has munuk*
 very courageous brave man
 ‘very courageous, brave man’
- (195) *tegje himt-a: [himda:] roʔ^h-a: munuk-a:*
 very courageous-PL brave-PL man-PL
 ‘very courageous, brave men’
- (196) *jug ʃ^hog [ʃ^hɔk] kim*
 new white house
 ‘new white house’
- (197) *jug-e ʃ^hog-e [ʃ^hɔke] p^hakuts-e kim-a:*
 new-PL white-PL small-PL house-PL
 ‘new white small houses’

2.4.1 Adjective agreement and independent inflection

In earlier descriptions of Kanashi, Konow (1909: 443) notes that number agreement occurs, while Sharma (1992: 353) classifies adjectives as “belong[ing] to the undeclinable class of words”.

On the basis of our fieldwork data, we find that adjectives in Kanashi may agree with their head noun in number (SG–PL) and gender (M–F). We distinguish the following four inflectional classes of Kanashi adjectives:

1. indeclinable (one form);
2. agreeing in number only (two forms: singular and plural);
3. agreeing in number, and in the plural also in gender (three forms: singular, masculine plural, and feminine plural); and
4. agreeing fully in number and gender (four forms: masculine singular, feminine singular, masculine plural, and feminine plural).

As mentioned in Section 2.2.3, the gender system of Kanashi nouns is partial in that only a relatively small number of animate nouns can be said to participate in it. In other cases adjectives in category 3 and 4 will occur in the “masculine” form.

The indeclinable category 1 comprises both mono- and polysyllabic adjectives and both native and borrowed items, e.g. *sust* ‘lazy’, *polak* ‘strong’. It also includes perfective and habitual verb forms used as participles (see below).

Adjectives in category 2 behave like nouns with regard to their plural formation. The attested plural endings are *-(g)a:* and *-e*. It is unclear what determines their distribution. See Table 12. In two instances both plural markers *-a:* and *-e* are possible: *rag-a:*, *rag-e* [green-PL]; *tfits-a:*, *tfits-e* [wet-PL].

Table 12: Adjectives in category 2

SG	PL	SG	PL
<i>dʒaŋts ʃimets</i> ‘weak girl’	<i>dʒaŋts-a: ʃimets-a:</i>	<i>seʔ munuk</i> ‘rich man’	<i>seʔ-a: munuk-a:</i>
<i>dʒaŋts ʃʰakts</i> ‘weak boy’	<i>dʒaŋts-a: ʃʰakts-a:</i>	<i>seʔ beʔaʔi</i> ‘rich woman’	<i>seʔ-a: beʔaʔi-ga:</i>
<i>juʃk ʃara</i> ‘big child’	<i>juʃk-e ʃara-ga:</i>	<i>rok beʔaʔi</i> ‘black woman’	<i>rok-e beʔaʔi-ga:</i>

Adjectives in category 3 exhibit different plural forms depending on the gender of the head noun, where *-e* occurs with masculine head nouns and *-a:* occurs with feminine plural head nouns, e.g. *ʃʰog* ‘white, fair-skinned’. See Table 13.

In adjectives in category 4, the masculine and feminine plural adjectival forms are built on the gendered singular forms, i.e. if an adjective inflects for feminine singular, the corresponding plural form is made by affixing the plural marker to the feminine (singular) form [Adj-F-PL], and correspondingly for the masculine forms. As can be seen in the examples provided in Table 14, in contrast to ad-

Table 13: Adjectives in category 3

SG	PL	SG	PL
<i>tʃʰog madras</i> ‘white man’	<i>tʃʰog-e madr-a:</i>	<i>tʃʰog beʔaʔi</i> ‘white woman’	<i>tʃʰog-a: beʔaʔi-ga:</i>

jectives with masculine head nouns, a range of inflectional strategies occur with feminine head nouns. With feminine head nouns, the following strategies are found for adjectives ending in *-as*. It is unclear what determines the distribution of the various feminine suffixes on adjectives.

Table 14: Adjectives in category 4

SG	PL	SG	PL
<i>ka:ŋ-as madras</i> ‘blind man’	<i>ka:ŋ-a: madr-a:</i>	<i>ka:ŋ beʔaʔi</i> ‘blind woman’	<i>ka:ŋ-e beʔaʔi-ga:</i>
<i>moʔʰ-as tʃʰakts</i> ‘fat young man’	<i>moʔʰ-a: tʃʰakts-a:</i>	<i>moʔ-en beʔaʔi</i> ‘fat woman’	<i>moʔ-en-a: beʔaʔi-ga:</i>
<i>buʔ-as munuk</i> ‘old man’	<i>buʔ-a: munuk-a:</i>	<i>buʔ-its beʔaʔi</i> ‘old woman’	<i>buʔ-its-a: beʔaʔi-ga:</i>
<i>roʔʰ-as munuk</i> ‘brave man’	<i>roʔʰ-a: munuk-a:</i>	<i>roʔʰ-ar beʔaʔi</i> ‘brave woman’	<i>roʔʰ-ar-a: ~ roʔʰ-ar-e beʔaʔi-ga:</i>
<i>ʃobil-as biŋif</i> ‘beautiful husband’	<i>ʃobil-a: biŋif-a:</i>	<i>ʃobil, ʃobilas beʔaʔi</i> ‘beautiful woman’	<i>ʃobil-e beʔaʔi-ga:</i>
<i>matsl-is tʃaŋts</i> ‘lazy boy’	<i>matsl-tʃaŋts-a:</i>	<i>matsl-en beʔaʔi</i> ‘lazy woman’	<i>matsl-en-e beʔaʔi-ga:</i>

As these examples show, many IA-origin adjectives in Kanashi have the adaptive marker *-(V)s* (as also some nouns; see Section 2.2.1.1). In these adjectives the adaptive marker *-as* is almost always deleted and the plural ending *-a:* is suffixed to the remainder. See Table 15. As they normally also have a distinct feminine form, the *-(V)s* element could be treated as the masculine marker, and has been marked as such in the above examples. There is only one adjective in our material where the *-(V)s* is retained when the plural marker *-a:* is added (*ɖuniŋas-a:* [difficult-PL]).

There are a few adjectives where the gender distinction is made in Kanashi by the choice of the suffix *-a* (M) or *-i* (F). See Table 16. Note that almost all the adjectives of this set are of IA origin. In a number of IA languages, the gender distinction is also made by *-a* and *-i*. This set of adjectives takes the plural marker *-ga:* with masculine and feminine head nouns. These adjectives (frequently) occur without a head noun.

Table 15: Adjectives with the adaptive marker *-(V)s*

SG	PL	SG	PL
<i>la:mas tʃʰakts</i> ‘tall y.man’	<i>la:m-a: tʃʰakts-a:</i>	<i>utʰras ka:tʰi</i> ‘high mountain’	<i>utʰr-a: ka:tʰi-ga:</i>
<i>mitʰas sev</i> ‘sweet apple’	<i>mitʰ-a: sev-a:</i>	<i>ma:gas tʃidz</i> ‘expensive thing’	<i>ma:g-a: tʃidz-a:</i>

Table 16: Adjectives with the adaptive marker *-(V)s*

SG	PL	SG	PL
<i>nagrij-a munuk</i> [poor-M man]	<i>nagrij-a-ga:</i> <i>munuk-a:</i>	<i>nagrij-i/-e/-en beʔari</i> [poor-F woman]	<i>nagrij-en-a:</i> <i>beʔari-ga:</i>
<i>kubek-a munuk</i> [stingy-M man]	<i>kubek-a-ga:</i> <i>munuk-a:</i>	<i>kubek-i beʔari</i> [stingy-F girl]	<i>kubek-i-ga:</i> <i>beʔari-ga:</i>
<i>nanʔ-a tʃara</i> [naked-M child]	<i>nanʔa-ga: tʃara-ga:</i>	<i>nanʔ-i tʃara</i> [naked-F child]	<i>nanʔ-i-ga: tʃara-ga:</i>

Adjectives in Kanashi are not sensitive to the grammatical relations of the NPs they occur in.

Predicative:

- (198) *nu tʃʰog kamʃ to*
DEM.PROX white blanket be.3SG
‘This is a white blanket’

Subject:

- (199) *tʃʰog-e madr-a: kim-a bo-ke*
fair.complexioned-PL man-PL house-LOC go-PST
‘The fair-complexioned men went home’
- (200) *tʃʰog-a: beʔari-ga: kim-a bo-ke*
fair.complexioned-PL woman-PL house-LOC go-PST
‘The fair-complexioned women went home’

Direct object:

- (201) *du-s tʃʰog-a: beʔari-ga: taŋ-mug*
3.DIST-ERG fair.complexioned-PL woman-PL look-PST.3
‘S/He saw fair-complexioned women’

- (202) *du-s tʰog beʔaʔi-p taŋ-mug*
 3.DIST-ERG fair.complexioned woman-ACC look-PST.3
 ‘S/He saw the fair-complexioned woman’

- (203) *du-s tʰog madras-u-p taŋ-mug*
 3.DIST-ERG fair.complexioned man-ACC look-PST.3
 ‘S/He saw the fair-complexioned man’

In (204), illustrating a predicative adjective as object complement, the syntactic dependency of the complement on the object is marked by both constituents receiving the accusative suffix.

- (204) *tʃa:p dʒog-i-p tuŋ la-ge*
 tea-ACC warm-SG-ACC drink feel-PST
 ‘One should drink tea warm’

The habitual and perfective aspect markers also form participles, e.g. habitual: *pa-f-idz* [cook-MDL-HAB] ‘cooked (cauliflower)’; *ʃi:ɕ maʔʃaŋ* [die-HAB man] ‘corpse’; *tsʰar-ɕ ʃiŋ* [dry-HAB wood] ‘fodder, hay’; *tʃi-ts ka:m* [wash-HAB floor]; *kif-ɕ* [tame-HAB] ‘domesticated’ (about animals). Examples of perfective verb forms as participles are *tuŋ~tuŋ madras* [drink~PFV man] ‘drunk man’; *naʃ-is* [naʃis] ~ [naʃiʃ] [rest-PFV] ‘rested’. Both seem to correspond to past participles in translation.

2.4.2 Degrees of comparison

The instrumental marker is suffixed to the quantifier *sab* ‘all’ to express the superlative.

- (205) *gu sab-as tsʰeka/tsʰika bas soara boŋ-ta-k*
 1SG.NOM all-INS early bus p.name go-NPST-1SG
 ‘I will go to Kullu with the earliest bus’
- (206) *ni-ka dʒaŋ sab-a(s) teg*
 1PLE-POSS god all-INS great
 ‘Our god is the greatest’

2.4.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers in Kanashi can be classified as determiners or pronouns. In the former case they occupy the Qnt slot in the NP structure shown above in Section 2.1, in-

stead of or together with the numerals. As determiners, quantifiers do not inflect, e.g. *bari-ts* [borits] [much-DIM]. Some quantifiers can appear in both roles: *sab* ‘all’ as determiner remains invariant, while as a pronoun it behaves like any NP head, taking number and case suffixes. A salient usage of *sab* and the pronoun-like item *lok* ‘people’ (from *lokas* ‘non-Kanashi person’) is in apposition to a (plural) pronoun.

The determiner usage is illustrated in the following examples.

- (207) *sab t̪ara-ga:s an-e-p arfuk-a ta-ge*
all child-PL-ERG REFL-PL-ACC mirror-LOC watch-PST
‘All children looked at themselves in the mirror’

The pronominal usage of *sab* can be seen in the following examples, in (208–209) following a pronoun, and in (210–211) as NP head. As we can see in the examples below, the case marker can either be suffixed only to the last constituent of a NP, or to every constituent or only to the pronoun. *sab* ‘all’ can also be followed by *lok*.

- (208) *ette sab-us an-e-p arfuk-a taŋ-ke-muk*
1PLE all-ERG REFL-PL-ACC mirror-LOC look-PST-1PLE
‘We all looked at ourselves in the mirror’

- (209) *ki-n-ka sab-ka kim*
2PL-POSS-POSS all-POSS house
‘the house(s) of all of you’

- (210) *sab-us niḁa ṭaka ka-ku-ta-f*
all-ERG twenty money bring-PROG-NPST-3PL
‘All are bringing twenty rupees’

- (211) *nu munuk-us sab-ka kim-ga: t̪orig-ga: ʃaŋ-mug*
DEM.PROX man-ERG all-POSS house-PL theft-PL do-PST.3
‘This man robbed everybody’s houses’

A similar pattern is observed also with *lokas* ‘non-Kanashi person’. When it functions as a lexical noun, it behaves like any head noun of a noun phrase. In this role it takes the relevant noun inflectional morphemes.

- (212) *nu-ga: lok-a: beiman-a: to-f*
DEM.PROX-PL person-PL dishonest-PL be.PRS-3PL
‘These people are dishonest’

Table 17: The Kanashi cardinal numerals 1–20

Gloss	Kanashi	Origin (Source: IA: Turner 1966; ST: STEDT 2016; Matisoff 2003)
‘one’	<i>i:d</i> <i>ek</i>	ST: *it IA: Turner 2462 éka
‘two’	<i>nif</i>	ST: *g-ni-s/*g-nis
‘three’	<i>fum</i>	ST: *gsum; ST: *g-sum
‘four’	<i>pu</i>	ST: *pwa (breadth of four fingers)
‘five’	<i>ŋa, na</i>	ST: *ŋa
‘six’	<i>ʃʰa</i>	IA: Turner 12803 šāṣ
‘seven’	<i>sat</i>	IA: Turner 13343 sâpta
‘eight’	<i>aɫʰ</i>	IA: Turner 941 aṣṭā
‘nine’	<i>nao</i>	IA: Turner 6984 nāva
‘ten’	<i>das</i>	IA: Turner 6227 dāśa
‘eleven’	<i>gjara</i>	IA: Turner 2485 ékādaśa
‘twelve’	<i>bara</i>	IA: Turner 6658 dvādaśa
‘thirteen’	<i>tera</i>	IA: Turner 6001 trāyōdaśa
‘fourteen’	<i>ʃoda</i>	IA: Turner 4605 cāturdaśa
‘fifteen’	<i>pandra</i>	IA: Turner 7662 pāñcadaśa
‘sixteen’	<i>sola</i>	IA: Turner 12812 ṣōḍaśa
‘seventeen’	<i>fum-is kam niḍa</i> <i>suta:ra</i>	[three-INS less twenty] IA: Turner 13146 saptādaśa
‘eighteen’	<i>nif kam niḍa</i> <i>ʃʰara</i>	[two less twenty] IA: Turner 946 aṣṭādaśa
‘nineteen’	<i>i:d-is kam niḍa</i> <i>unni</i>	[one-INS less twenty] IA: Turner 2411 ūnavimśati
‘twenty’	<i>niḍa</i> <i>bi</i>	ST: [two:ten] (cf. Kinnauri <i>niḍa</i> : <i>nif</i> ‘two’; <i>se</i> ‘ten’) IA: Turner 11616 vimśati

- (213) *fum lok-a: bara-ke*
 three person-PL come-PST
 ‘Three persons came’

lok also has a grammaticalized function, where it exhibits pronoun-like behavior similar to *sab* ‘all’.

- (214) *ki sab lok-a:s an-e-p arʃug-a: taŋ-me-n*
 2PL all person-PL-ERG REFL-PL-ACC mirror-LOC watch-PST-2/3PL
 ‘All you people looked at yourselves in the mirror’

2.5 Numerals

The structure and remarkable multiplicity of the Kanashi numerals are given detailed treatment in Chapter 5 of this volume. Here we simply list some of the cardinal numbers in Table 17 (reproduced from Chapter 5). Similar to other ST languages of the Himalayas, only a few (synchronically) nondecomposable cardinals are ST in origin (1–5 and 20), while the rest are IA loanwords (Matisoff 1997; Mazaudon 2010). The little data that we have concerning ordinal numbers in Kanashi indicate an even more overwhelming IA influence. Thus, even the lowest ordinals ‘first’ and ‘second’ (at least as they are attested in our material) are IA borrowings (*pela* and *duḍa*, respectively).

3 The verb complex

The finite verb complex in Kanashi – except imperatives and prohibitives, which are given separate treatment in Section 3.8 below – exhibits the following structures:¹⁷

Simplex: (N) (NEG-)V-TAM-IDX(-oŋ)(=EMP)

Aux 1: (N) (NEG-)V-ASP (BE-TNS-IDX(-oŋ)(=EMP)) (see Section 3.9)

Aux 2: (N) (NEG-)V-ASP (VVB-TNS-IDX(-oŋ)(=EMP)) (see Section 3.9)

With the exception of a few monosyllabic verb stems with the phonotactic structure CV(:), (underived) Kanashi verbs stems are consonant-final.¹⁸ Most verb stems in our data are monosyllabic CV(:)C structures, but we also find stems with more than one syllable, especially among the IA loanwords.

In the sections below, verbs will be cited either as stems¹⁹ (e.g., *taŋ-* ‘look’) or as nominalizations in *-(a)m* (*taŋam* ‘to look’), which we will refer to in the text as

¹⁷ The initial “(N)” in these structural schemes is the (uninflected) nominal component of a sup-port verb construction; see Section 2.2, especially example (14). The function of the element *-oŋ* is as yet unclear. The 1SG index is, at times, realized as *-g* when it is followed by the suffix *-oŋ*.

¹⁸ As another exception, we find some vowel-final disyllabic verb stems of IA origin in our data, e.g. *ba:le-* ‘look, see’; *kaṭe-* ‘cut’.

¹⁹ Specifically: the stem of the infinitive; there is a sizeable group of verbs undergoing morphologically conditioned stem variation.

“infinitives” when used as citation forms.²⁰ The suffix *-(a)m* has the form *-m* after vowels and *-am* after consonants: *fɪːm* ‘to die’ : *tan-am* ‘to watch’.²¹

Kanashi has many verbs which have more than one stem allomorph. One prominent such set comprises verbs whose infinitive stem ends in *-n*, *-ŋ* or *-ŋ*, and which we will refer to as “nasal stems” below.²² As a general rule, the final *-n* and *-ŋ* are dropped in front of a consonant-initial suffix, whereas *-ŋ* is optionally dropped, but there are many special cases depending on the suffix, which we will describe in connection with each suffix below. Additionally, vowel-final verb stems may lose the vowel in certain contexts.

3.1 Valency-changing morphology

Valency-changing morphology is among the main derivational morphological devices available in the Kanashi verbal system. By and large, we find the same valency-changing mechanisms in Kanashi as in Kinnauri. There are three productive valency-changing mechanisms, two which decrease valency and one which increases it. Finally, there is a non-productive historically detransitivizing mechanism which synchronically manifests itself as a stem alternation with no obvious directionality.

3.1.1 Reflexive/middle *-fi*

Kanashi has a multifunctional verbal suffix *-fi* with cognates in several other ST languages.²³ This suffix is realized as *-f* when the suffix following it starts with a vowel.

²⁰ This ending is glossed as [INF] in the examples, except when it is followed by case morphology, in which case we gloss it as a nominalization: [NMLZ].

²¹ The infinitive suffix is given as *-(a)m* since the suffix vowel is often barely audible in normal speech.

²² This name is slightly misleading, since infinitive stems ending in the bilabial nasal *-m* do not as a rule participate in the stem alternations characteristic of the nasal stems.

²³ Similar morphemes for this function have been reported for several other ST languages, e.g. Kinnauri *-fi* (Saxena 2017), Byangsi *-fi* (Willis Oko 2019), Darma *-si/-xi* (Willis Oko 2019), Thulung Rai *-si* (Lahaussais 2003). LaPolla (1996) also reports similar morphemes with middle voice functions in other ST languages: *x* (Rawang/Dulong), *-siŋ* (Limbu), *(na) ci* (Bantawa), *sit* (Thulung), *si* (Khaling), *-s* (Rongpo), *-su* (Padam-Mishing) and *-s* (Nishi).

- (215) *su-* : *su-fi-* ‘bathe’
taŋ- : *taŋ-fi-* ‘look, watch’
ɕʑi-/tʃi- : *ɕʑi-fi-/tʃi-fi-* ‘wash’
ses- : *ses-fi-* ‘know, recognize’
sar- : *sar-fi-* ‘awaken’
ken- : *ke-fi-* ‘give.1/2o’

Nasal stems drop the stem-final nasal before *-fi*, except *-ŋ*, whose deletion is optional (e.g. *ken-* : *ke-fi-* above).

- (216) *tʃara ka:m ʃa-f-o tʰake~ke*
 child work(N) do-MDL-PROG tired~PFV
 ‘The child got tired, working’ (cf. *ʃaŋam* ‘to do, to make’)
- (217) *du an-u-ka tʰok-adi tʰor raŋ-mu bo-ke tʰum-fi-ge*
 3.DIST REFL-SG-POSS son-near run give-NMLZ go-PST catch-MDL-PST
 ‘He ran to his son, he kissed (him)’

The middle marker occurs with both ST and IA verbs as well as with verbs of unknown etymology. But unlike Kinnauri, in Kanashi *-fi* is also affixed to IA transitive forms without the transitive marker *-ja-*.

- (218) *sesam* (<ST) ‘to recognize, to know’ : *sesfim*
tsu:mam (<IA) ‘to catch, to hold’ : *tsu:mfim*
saram (<ST) ‘to awaken’ : *sarfim*
kʰulam (<IA) ‘to open(TR), to peel’ : *kʰulfim*
sum (<unknown origin) ‘to bathe’ : *sufim*

While *-fi* in Kanashi does express functions which are normally associated with the middle marker, as shown below, it also occurs in some other, distinctly non-middle constructions. For consistency, we will still refer to *-fi* as the “middle marker” here.

As described above in Section 2.3.4, Kanashi has a reflexive construction involving a transitive verb and a reflexive pronoun, with the verb form remaining the same as in a regular transitive clause. As in many other ST languages, a reflexive and a reciprocal reading in Kanashi can also be accomplished by adding *-fi* to a transitive verb.

- (219) *ette taŋ-fi-muk*
 1PLI look-MDL-1PL
 ‘We looked at ourselves (in the mirror)’

- (220) *ka tan-fi-me-n*
 2SG.NOM look-MDL-PST-2SG
 ‘You looked at yourself’
- (221) *fara-ga:s arfuk-a tan-fi-ge*
 child-PL-ERG mirror-LOC look-MDL-PST
 ‘The children looked at themselves in the mirror’

Note that in (221) the subject is in the ergative. This is distinct from Kinnauri, where ergative subjects are not found with verbs showing the middle suffix.

Analogously, there is one example in our material where we have both the reflexive pronoun and the middle voice marker.²⁴

- (222) *gu an-u-p/an-u-p arfuk-a ba:le-fi-ge-k*
 1SG.NOM 1SG-SG-ACC/REFL-SG-ACC mirror-LOC see-MDL-PST-1SG
 ‘I saw myself in the mirror’

We have only two examples of reciprocal constructions in our material. In both examples the verb contains the middle marker *-fi*, but there is no reflexive pronoun.

- (223) *sagar nita nif mi-s ses-fi-ge*
 m.name f.name two man-ERG recognize-MDL-PST
 ‘Sagar and Nita recognized each other’

- (224) *mud mi-ga: nif mi-s ba:le-fi-ge*
 yesterday man-PL two man-ERG see-MDL-PST
 ‘Yesterday the men looked at each other’

-fi also occurs in transitive clauses where the subject is suppressed, and the interpretation of the clause is that of a general statement. E.g.

- (225) *latpaṭa-ga:p fi-fi-im ḍaruri*
 garment-PL-ACC wash-MDL-INF necessary
 ‘Washing clothes is important’

- (226) *ra:tiṇ kar-aga: tan-fi to-f*
 night star-PL look-MDL be.PRS-3PL
 ‘Stars are seen in the night’

²⁴ In Kinnauri, the middle marker does not occur together with the reflexive pronoun.

- (227) *pa-f-idʒ gobi*
 cook-MDL-PFV cauliflower
 ‘cooked cauliflower’

In addition, *-fi* in Kanashi occurs also in constructions which are not normally associated with the middle voice.

First, we find a kind of generalization of the reflexive usage of *-fi* in Kanashi, where the verb retains an object or other non-subject argument. The *-fi* here seems to emphasize the agency or individuality of the subject. This usage has been reported as the primary function of cognate items in the Macro-Tani languages by Modi & Post (2020) under the label “subject autonomy”.

- (228) *ʃfara ka:m ʃa-f-o tʰake~ke*
 child work make-MDL-PROG tired~PFV
 ‘The child got tired (after) having done the work himself’

There are some examples of verbs where more than one intransitivizing strategy is found on a single verb: word-initial consonant voicing as well as the middle marker *-fi* (for example, *ʃfim* ‘to wash (e.g. clothes)’: *ʃfi-fi-m* and *dʒi-f* ‘to get washed (e.g. in the rain)’. Interestingly, in the following pair of examples, the verb stem is transitive (*ʃfim* ‘to wash (e.g. clothes)’) in one example, but intransitive (*dʒim* ‘to get washed (e.g. clothes)’) in the other. But both take the middle marker. In both instances there is an explicit object. In our current understanding, the default interpretation of *dʒim* is ‘to wash one’s own’s hand’, but the occurrence of the middle marker here, probably is a kind of emphasizer, wash your own hand, not someone else’s.

- (229) *ʃfara gar-a: ʃfi-f-id tot-ke*
 child tooth-PL wash-MDL-HAB BE-PST
 ‘The child was cleaning his teeth’

- (230) *sita guɖ dʒi-f-is dʒa:mi raʃ*
 f.name hand wash.INTR-MDL-PFV food give.IMP
 ‘Sita, wash your hands and (then) give food’

We also find a kind of generalization of the reflexive usage of *-fi* in Kanashi, where the verb retains an object or other non-subject argument, and *-fi* indicates that the referent of the latter belongs to the subject; this could be through a kinship relation, or part of one’s body part (the subject doing something to/with his body-part) or belongs to the subject (ownership).

- (231) *nu: ba: ka-n-ka kim-aj-fo-ka hisa-p aŋ-ɕ*
 oh father 2SG-POSS-POSS house-and-field-POSS portion-ACC 1SG-DAT
ke-f-a-g
 give.1/2O-MDL-?-?
 ‘(The younger son said to his father:) “Oh father, please give me a share of
 your estate.”’ (source: Konow 1909)

In our Kanashi material we do not seem to have any instance of middle where it emphasizes that the action was done collectively. This may be a gap in our material.

3.1.2 Intransitivizing -e

The intransitive marker -e in Kanashi occurs only with IA verbs (see Chapter 7).

- (232) *k^hul-am* [open-INF] : *k^hul-e-m* [open-INTR-INF] ‘to open (TR : INTR)’
baŋ-am [make-INF] : *baŋ-e-m* [make-INTR-INF] ‘to make (TR : INTR)’

Confusingly, there seem to be some underived disyllabic verb stems ending in -e as well (e.g., *ba:le* ‘look, see’; *kaɕe* ‘cut’). These are recognized by their occurrence in clear transitive clauses. In some cases there are also intransitive usages in our data, so that the same verb stem receives two different analyses: *ba:le-m* [look-INF] ‘to look, see’ : *ba:l-e-m* [see-INTR-NMLZ] ‘to be visible’.

Kanashi -e has a close correspondence in Kinnauri -ed (Saxena 2017; 2022). The suffixes are presumably cognate, and in Kinnauri, too, -ed occurs only with IA verbs. Distinctly from Kanashi, the Kinnauri suffix appears in the variants -e, -ed or -en depending on the (morphophonological) context. In Kinnauri there is a set of simple (ST) verb stems whose stem-final segments alternate in exactly the same way. The most economical description is one where -ed is assumed to be the basic form of the suffix and the other two variants are the results of assimilatory processes. Kanashi -e is invariant (except for normal phonetic variation involving the vowel /e/; see Chapter 2). It is reasonable to assume that Kinnauri presents the more original situation, and that Kanashi has lost the final -d (or -n, since the cognates of the simple ST verb stems exhibiting this variation in Kinnauri end in -n in Kanashi, e.g. *lonam* ‘to tell’; *sanam* ‘to kill’; *tsunam* ‘to tie’). For further details on intransitivizing -e, see Chapter 7.

3.1.3 Valency increasing *-ja:*

The suffix *-ja:* functions as a transitivizer/causativizer.²⁵ It attaches to stems of IA origin and to stems with unknown etymology. Very often, the corresponding intransitive verb has either *-e* or *-* in some cases *-* the middle marker *-fi*.

- (233) *bi:-m* [disappear-INF] : *big-ja:-m* [disappear-TR-INF]
mil-e-m [meet-INTR-INF] : *mil-ja:-m* [meet-TR-INF]
tul-e-m [sleep-INTR-INF] : *tul-ja:-m* [sleep-TR-INF]
ɖik-e-m [press-INTR-INF] : *ɖik-ja:-m* [press-TR-INF]
roh-e-m [grow-INTR-INF] : *roj-ja:-m* [grow-TR-INF]
siṭ-e-m [cook-INTR-INF] : *siṭ-ja:-m* [cook-TR-INF]
kaṭe-fi-m [cut-MDL-INF] : *kaṭ-ja:-m* [cut-TR-INF]
ba:l-e-m [see-INTR-INF] / *ba:le-fi-m* [see-MDL-INF] : *ba:l-ja:-m* [see-TR-INF]

Notably, nasal stems do not drop their final consonant before *-ja:* (e.g. *ganja:m* ‘to count’), which indicates that the *-j-* patterns as a vowel in the phonological system of Kanashi.

For further details on valency increasing *-ja:*, see Chapter 7.

3.1.4 Consonant voicing alternation

Finally, there is a small number of verb stem pairs, where a transitive verb stem beginning with a voiceless obstruent (stop, affricate) has a corresponding intransitive verb stem beginning with the voiced counterpart of this obstruent, e.g. *tʰan* ‘drop, fell(TR)’ : *dan* ‘drop, fall(INTR)’; *ʃi* ‘wash(TR)’ : *ɖʒi* ‘wash(INTR)’; *ʃuk* ‘break(TR)’ : *ɖʒuŋ* ‘break(INTR)’. This is, however, not a productive process in Kanashi.

²⁵ *-ja:* is used to derive both transitive and causative verbs from IA items. Despite this, it will be consistently glossed [TR] here.

3.2 Aspect

3.2.1 Perfective aspect

The perfective aspect in Kanashi is formed by adding a suffix *-is* to verb stems ending in *-tf* or *-f* (including verbs with the middle suffix *-f(i)*) and by reduplication of the final syllable of the verb in all other cases.

- (234) *ka na:mi p^ha:kutf bakar me-ken~ken*
 2SG.NOM even small goat NEG-give.1/2O~PFV
 ‘You did not give me even a small goat’

- (235) *du-s sima-utf taka tva~tva*
 3.DIST-ERG m.name-DAT money take.away~PFV
 ‘He sends (out) money to Sima’

The perfective aspect markers also occur in non-final clauses in clause chain constructions, e.g.

- (236) *sohan naf-is gitar-a: ma-la-gu-ta*
 m.name sit-PFV song-PL NEG-sing-PROG-NPST
 ‘Having sat down, Sohan is not singing’

- (237) *tfara-ga: oɕ-is t^hak-e-ke*
 child-PL play-PFV tire-INTR-PST
 ‘The children got tired, having played (for a long time)’

- (238) *sita guɖ ɕi-f-is ɕa:-mi ra-t*
 f.name hand wash.INTR-MDL-PFV eat-NMLZ give-IMP.SG
 ‘Sita, wash (your) hands and (then) give food’

Finally, the perfective forms of Kanashi verbs are frequently used adjectivally, as participles (see Section 2.4.1 above).

3.2.2 Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect markers are *-id* and *-ts* (the latter as usual with variants *-tf* and *-ɕ*), where *-id* occurs with verb stems ending in *-tf* or *-f* (including after the middle marker *-f(i)*); and *-ts* occurs elsewhere. Nasal stems optionally lose the stem-final nasal before *-ts*.

- (239) *didd f̥a-ɖʒ to-f*
 there dance-HAB BE.PRS-3PL
 ‘There (they) dance’
- (240) *suvari ɖʒo anganva:riŋ-a ka:m fa-ts to*
 f.name down.south p.name-LOC work do-HAB BE.PRS
 ‘Suari works down south in the Anganwadi’
- (241) *gu beŋiŋ kaɽe-ts tot-k*
 1SG.NOM tree cut-HAB BE.PRS-1SG
 ‘I cut trees daily’
- (242) *f̥ara ga:r-a: f̥i-f-id tot-ke*
 child tooth-PL wash-MDL-HAB BE-PST
 ‘The child was cleaning his teeth’
- (243) *du bara-ts to*
 3.DIST come-HAB BE.PRS
 ‘He is coming’
- (244) *sattar lokas t̪ʰoro-ga: ra-ts tot-ke*
 seventy person running-PL give-HAB BE-PST
 ‘Seventy people were running’

Similar to the perfective forms, the habitual aspect markers in Kanashi, too, function as participial markers (see Section 2.4.1 above). They are also used in object complementation constructions, as illustrated in examples (245–246).

- (245) *gu ɖʒuɽta-p tsamk-e-ts-u-p taŋ-me-k*
 1SG.NOM moon-ACC shine-INTR-HAB-SG-ACC see-PST-1SG
 ‘I saw the moon shining’
- (246) *gu santof-u ko:t gaɽ-idʒ taŋ-me-k*
 1SG.NOM f.name-SG.ACC coat wear-HAB see-PST-1SG
 ‘I saw Santosh wearing a coat’

3.2.3 Progressive aspect

The progressive aspect marker in Kanashi is *-u* (as elsewhere in Kanashi it is, at times, also realized as *-o*). With nasal stems, final *-n* and *-ŋ* are dropped before *-u*, and stem-final *-ŋ* is optionally dropped (with doublet forms as a result).

- (247) *bar-am* [come-INF] ‘to come’ : *bar-u* [come-PROG]
naŋi-m [sit-INF] ‘to sit, rest’ : *naŋi-u* [sit-PROG]
bof-am [forget-INF] ‘to forget’ : *bof-u* [forget-PROG]
raŋ-am [give-INF] ‘to give’ : *re-u* [give-PROG]
buŋ-am [throw-INF] ‘to throw’ : *buŋ-u* [throw-PROG]
su-fi-m [bathe-MDL-INF] ‘to bathe’ : *su-fi-u* [bathe-MDL-PROG]
kaŋ-e-m [cut-INTR-INF] ‘to cut’ : *kaŋ-e-u* [cut-INTR-PROG]
faŋ-fi-m [make-MDL-NMLZ] ‘to be made’ : *faŋ-fi-u* [make-MDL-PROG]
k^hul-e-m [open-INTR-INF] ‘to open’ : *k^hul-e-u* [open-INTR-PROG]
tsamk-e-m [shine-INTR-INF] ‘to shine’ : *tsamk-e-u* [shine-INTR-PROG]
mil-e-m [mix-INTR-INF] ‘to mix’ : *mil-e-u* [mix-INTR-PROG]
tul-e-m [sleep-INTR-INF] ‘to sleep’ : *tul-e-u* [sleep-INTR-PROG]

With a small number of verbs, the progressive aspect marker is realized as *-gu/-ku*. After the intransitive marker *-e* and after the middle marker *-fi*, the progressive marker is always *-u* (never *-gu/-ku*). Sharma (1992: 364–365) describes the *-k* in the *-ku* variant of the progressive suffix as the first person agreement marker. This is not supported in our material. *-gu/-ku* shows up in all persons.

The choice between *-u* and *-gu/-ku* does not seem to depend on phonological factors. Notably, there are some verbs which can take both markers:

- (248) *ɕa:m* ‘to eat’ : *ɕa:gu*, *ɕa:u*
toŋam ‘to beat’ : *toŋ-u*, *to-gu*
nem ‘to exist’ : *ne-gu*, *ne-u*

With *-gu* and *-ku*, on the other hand, we find *-gu* after vowels and *-ku* after consonants. The only exception in our data is *bonam* ‘to go’ : *bo-ku*.

- (249) *bon-am* [go-INF] ‘to go’ : *bo-ku*
puf-am [sow-INF] ‘to sow’ : *puf-k^u*
ɕab-am [rain-INF] ‘to rain’ : *ɕap-k^u*
su-m [bathe-INF] ‘to bathe’ : *su-gu*
ɕa:m [eat-INF] ‘to eat’ : *ɕa:gu*
taŋ-am [watch-INF] ‘to watch’ : *ta-gu*
gual-am [dig-INF] ‘to dig’ : *gual-k^u*
toŋ-am, *tog-am* [beat-INF] ‘to beat’ : *to-gu*, *toŋ-u*
krab-am [cry-INF] ‘to cry’ : *krab-k^u*
tun-am [drink-INF] ‘to drink’ : *tun-u*, *tu:gu*

lan-am [do-INF] ‘to do, make’ : *la:-gu*
ʔfi-m [wash-INF] ‘to wash’ : *ʔfi-gu*

3.3 Tense

Kanashi makes a two-way tense distinction between non-past and past.

3.3.1 Non-past tense

The marker for non-past tense is *-ta*. It appears after any valency changing suffix and the progressive marker. With nasal stems, the final nasal may be kept, dropped or assimilated to the *-t-* of the ending; see, e.g., the verbs *raṇam* ‘to give’ and *renam* ‘to sell’ below.

- (250) *baṇem* ‘to build’: *baṇe-ta*
renam ‘to sell’: *ret-ta*
baram ‘to come’: *bar(a)-ta*
sanam ‘to kill’: *sa(t)-ta*
bonam ‘to go’: *bok-ta, boŋ-ta*
sum ‘to bathe’: *su-ta*
ḍa:m ‘to eat’: *ḍa:-ta*
ʃaṇam ‘to make’: *ʃa(t)-ta*
kanam, kaṇam ‘to bring’: *ka-ta, kaṭ-t*
ʃenam ‘to send’: *ʃe-ta*
kenam ‘to give.1/2o’: *ken-ta, ke-ta*
ʃi:m ‘to die’: *ʃi:-ta*
kʰaṇam ‘to buy’: *ʰhaṇ-ta*
taṇam ‘to look’: *tag-ta*
lanam ‘to do, make’: *laṭ-t, la-ta*
tunam ‘to drink’: *tun-ta, tug-ta*
lonam ‘to tell’: *lo-ta*
ʔulem ‘to sleep’: *ʔul(-e)-ta*
milem ‘to meet’: *mil-ta*
tsumam ‘to catch’: *tsum-ta*
nem ‘to be, exist’: *ne-ta*

fʌ:m ‘to dance’: *fʌ-ta*

raŋam ‘to give’: *raŋ-a, ra-ta, raŋ-ta*

fʃi:m, dʒim ‘to wash’: *fʃi-ta*

- (251) *gu roʒ ʈul-e-u-ta-k*
1SG.NOM daily sleep-INTR-PROG-NPST-1SG
‘I sleep daily’

- (252) *mukeʃ dilli boŋ-ta*
m.name p.name go-NPST
‘Mukesh will go/goes to Delhi’

- (253) *gu ʒa:b-a su-ʃi-u-ta-k*
1SG.NOM now-LOC bathe-MDL-PROG-NPST-1SG
‘I am bathing right now’

- (254) *gu mud ʃer-p san-ta-k*
1SG.NOM yesterday tiger-ACC kill-NPST-1SG
‘Yesterday I was killing a tiger’

3.3.2 Past tense

The past tense marker has the allomorphs *-ke*, *-ge* and *-me*, which are used with all persons, optionally signalled by an added person indexing suffix. Additionally, there are some portmanteau past tense markers used with third person subjects (see below).

-ke/-ge are the normal past tense markers. Their basic distribution is that *-ge* occurs after vowels and *-ke* after most consonants, although we find a fair number of instances in our material where *-ke* appears after a vowel, e.g.:

- (255) *gu bedʒa kʰaŋ-am-a bo-ke-k*
1SG.NOM seed buy-NMLZ-LOC go-PST-1SG
‘I went to buy seeds’

As elsewhere in Kanashi, the vowel in *-ke/-ge* is realized also as [i] (i.e. [ki/gi]). Also, as elsewhere when the past tense marker occurs word-finally, the final vowel is, at times, not audible (e.g. [bok(e)] ‘(He) went’).

With nasal stems we find a variety of forms:

- (1a) The past tense marker is realized as *-me* and the verb-stem final consonant is retained (e.g. *sanam* ‘to kill’ : *san-me-k* [kill-PST-1SG]; *taṇam* ‘to look’ : *taṇ-me-k* [look-PST-1SG]).
- (1b) The past tense marker is realized as *-me* and the verb-stem final consonant is dropped (e.g. *lanam* ‘to do, to make’ : *la-me-k* [do-PST-1SG]).
- (2) When the verb stem ends in a retroflex nasal (e.g. *raṇam* ‘to give’), the past tense marker is *-me* (*raṇ-me* [give-PST]); here we also find the past tense marker *-ke*, but in this case, the stem final consonant loses its nasalization: *raṭ-ke-k*.

These past tense markers occur with all person subjects, and they are the only possibility with first and second person subjects. With third person subjects, Kanashi has two additional past-tense markers: *-mug* and *-gja/-gjo*. They occur only with third person subjects in our data.

- (256) *du* *ḍa:-ge* / *nu-ga:-s* *ḍa:-gja* / *ram-us* *an-u-p*
 3.DIST eat-PST / 3.PROX-PL-ERG eat-PST.3 / m.name-ERG REFL-SG-ACC
taṇ-mug [taṇmuk]
 watch-PST.3
 ‘S/He ate’ / ‘S/He ate’ / ‘Ram watched me’

The following list shows some of the past-tense forms attested in our data.

- (257) *anam* ‘to carry’ : *an-me*
milem ‘to meet’ : *mile-ge*, *mile-ke*
a:ṛem ‘to call’ : *a:ṛ-e-me*, *a:ṛ-e-mug*
pi:m ‘to lose’ : *pi:-me*, *pi:-mug*
baṇem ‘to build’ : *baṇe-k(e)*
raṇam ‘to give’ : *raṇ-ke*, *raṇ-me*, *raṭ-ke*, *ran-mug*, *raṇ-mug*
baram ‘to come’ : *bar(a)-ke*
renam ‘to sell’ : *ren-mug*
bi:m ‘to disappear’ : *bi-ge*
sanam ‘to kill’ : *sat-ke*, *san-me*, *san-mug*
bonam ‘to go’ : *bo(k)-ke*
sum ‘to bathe’ : *su-me*, *su-mug*
dvanam, *tvanam* ‘to take out’ : *dvat-ke*, *dvan-me*, *tvat-ke*, *tvan-me*
faṇam ‘to make’ : *faṇ-e*, *faṭ-ge*, *faṇ-(e)-me*, *faṇ-mug*
ḍa:m ‘to eat’ : *ḍa:-ge*, *ḍa:-ke*, *ḍa:-gja*
fenam ‘to send’ : *fe-mug*
kanam, *kaṇam* ‘to bring’ : *kan-mug*

fi:m ‘to die’ : *fi:-g(e)*, *fi:-k(e)*
kaɬem ‘to cut’ : *kaɬe-me*, *kaɬe-mug*
taŋam ‘to look’ : *tag-e*, *taŋ-me*
kenam ‘to give.1/20’ : *ken-k(e)*
tuŋam ‘to drink’ : *tu-ke*
k^haŋam ‘to buy’ : *k^haŋ-me*
tulem ‘to sleep’ : *tule-k(e)*
k^haŋem ‘to cough’ : *k^haŋe-k(e)*
ts^ha:m ‘to listen’ : *ts^ha:-me*
k^hulam ‘to open’ : *k^hul(i)-mu(g)*
ɬa:m ‘to dance’ : *ɬa:-ge*
lanam ‘to do, make’ : *la-k(e)*, *la-me*, *la-mug*
ɬi:m, *ɬɛim* ‘to wash’ : *ɬi-ge*, *ɬi-me*, *ɬi-mug*
lonam ‘to tell’ : *lon-me*, *lon-mu(g)*
u:nam ‘to take’ : *u:n-mug*

3.4 Subject indexing

Kanashi has subject index markers. They are placed after tense, aspect and mood markers. The subject index markers are the following (the corresponding subject pronouns are also provided in the following table):²⁶

	SG (pronoun)	(suffix)	PL (pronoun)	(suffix)
1	<i>gu</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>ni</i> (1 PL)	<i>-ŋ</i>
			<i>ette(-s)</i> (1 PL)	<i>-muk</i>
2	<i>ka</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>-ŋ</i> (and <i>-n</i>)
3	<i>du(-s)</i> , <i>nu(-s)</i>	∅	<i>du-ga:(-s)</i> , <i>nu-ga:(-s)</i>	<i>-f</i> (and ∅)

Note that the two verbal suffixes *-muk* [-1PL] and *-mug* [-PST.3] are very similar in form, and due to the phonetic system of Kanashi, *-mug* [-PST.3] is also realized as

²⁶ *-ŋ* will be glossed [1/2PL] in the examples in this chapter. This (along with Tika Ram Joshi’s glossing of *ki* as [2PL]) possibly suggests that Kanashi has retained an older stage, while Kinnauri has grammaticalized the 2/3PL pronoun as honorific singular forms/markers. In Kinnauri *-ŋ* indexes 2SG.H and *-f* 3SG.H. It is, however, interesting to note that in Kanashi we have a retroflex nasal consonant [ŋ] in *raŋ*, while Kinnauri has an [n] – a possible influence of the neighboring IA languages.

[muk], and both *-mug* and *-muk* are also realized as [mu] and [mo] word-finally (see Chapter 2 for details). But *-muk* and *-mug* occur in two different slots, *-muk* [-1PLI] in the IDX slot and *-mug* [-PST.3] in the TNS slot. The verb index marker *-muk* [mu(k)] [-1PLI] occurs with both past and non-past tense markers, while *-mug* [-PST.3] is a past tense marker.

Other authors have noted (Konow 1909; Sharma 1992), and we also find in our material, that the attested verb forms in actual language data are not the expected ones; we often see “first person” forms with explicit third person subjects, and vice versa. We do not have enough data to formulate an explanation for this.

3.5 Object “indexing” – the verb *ken/raŋ* ‘give’

Unlike Kinnauri, Kanashi does not show an inflectional marker indexing an affected SAP on the verb, but it does have the same kind of suppletive paradigm for the verb ‘give’²⁷ that we find in Kinnauri: *ken-* [give.1/2o] occurs with affected speech act participants (first or second person beneficiaries) and *raŋ-* ‘give’ occurs elsewhere. Further, just as in Kinnauri, both *raŋ-* and *ken-* have two stem variants each: *ken-* and *ke-* and *raŋ-* and *ra-/re-*, respectively.²⁸

(258) *me-ken~ken*
NEG-give.1/2o~PFV
‘did not give me/you’

(259) *du-s das ʈaka-n loʈ-u-p ke-ta*
3.DIST-ERG ten money-POSS note-SG-ACC give.1/2o-NPST
‘He will give (me/you) a ten rupee note’

In our material *raŋ-* ‘give’ and *ken-* [give.1/2o] occur in the following forms (except imperatives and prohibitives which are described below in Section 3.8):

	NPST	PST	HAB	PFV
<i>raŋ-am</i> ‘to give’	<i>raŋ-ta, raʈ-ta, ra-ta</i>	<i>raŋ-me, raʈ-ke, raŋ-ke</i>	<i>raŋ-ts, ra-ts</i>	<i>re~re</i>
<i>ken-am</i> ‘to give.1/2o’	<i>ken-ta, ke-ta</i>	<i>ken-ke</i>		<i>ken~ken</i>

²⁷ Sharma (1992: 361) states that Pattani too has two verb forms for ‘give’: *raŋ* and *ke*, the latter occurs with first person indirect object and *raŋ* with third person indirect object.

²⁸ Even if there is no doubt that the Kanashi and Kinnauri verbs are cognates, this behavior of the verb ‘give’ in particular is attested in a number of languages across the globe (Comrie 2003).

As we can see here, both have several allomorphs. As a nasal stem, when *raŋ-* ‘give’ is followed by a morpheme which begins with a *t*-, in some cases there is assimilation: [raŋta]. The past tense marker appears as *-me* with *raŋ-* ‘give’.

ken- ‘give.1/20’ does not show any signs of assimilation. The past tense marker here is realized as *-ke*. Similarly, as mentioned above, the verb final consonant (*-ŋ/-n*, respectively) of *ran-* and *ken-* is not always realized.

This person-based distinction in the choice of the verb for ‘give’ is maintained in non-finite clauses. For example, in a clause chain construction.

- (260) *ka na:mi p^hakuf^f bakar me-ken~ken dug-uḏ*
 2SG.NOM even small goat NEG-give.1/20~PFV 3.DIST-DAT
an-u-ka mita:r-a:-uḏ k^huḏi fo-ta-ŋ
 REFL-SG-POSS friend-PL-DAT happy do-NPST-1PLE
 ‘Yet you never gave me even a young goat so that me and my friends could celebrate’

Unlike Kinnauri, in Kanashi we find some occurrences of *raŋ-* with affected speech act participants. This typically happens when the interpretation of *raŋ-* is something else than ‘give’, as in (261–263),²⁹ which could be taken to indicate that these usages are no longer perceived as representing the same verb.

- (261) *du-s aŋ-p raŋ-ke-guk*
 3.DIST-ERG 1SG-ACC give(bite)-PST-?
 ‘He bit me’
- (262) *gopal-us niŋ-p sab raŋ-mug*
 m.name-ERG 1PLE-ACC all give(hit)-PST.3
 ‘Gopal hit all of us’
- (263) *gopal-us ki-p raŋ-mug*
 m.name-ERG 2PL-ACC give(hit)-PST.3
 ‘Gopal hit you (PL)’

Finally, the IA verb *de-* ‘give’, too, occurs in our material. It shows an interesting combination of IA and ST elements. Unfortunately we don’t have any examples of *de* ‘give’ with an affected SAP.

	NPST	PST	PROG
<i>de-</i> ‘give’	<i>de-ta</i>	<i>de-ke</i>	<i>de-u</i>

²⁹ These usages represent a semantic change similar to that hinted at in the English idiom *to give as good as one gets*.

3.6 The verb ‘be’

The verb *to* ‘be’ functions both as copula and as verb of location or existence. In addition, in the non-past there is a distinct lexical verb of location *nem* ‘to be, to exist’ which does not appear to have copular usage.

As opposed to other verbs, where, as we have seen, the main dividing line in the tense system runs between non-past and past, both *to* and *ne-m* [be-INF] show a three-way present–past–future opposition in their tense inflection. The paradigm of *to* is shown in the following table.

	PRS	PST	FUT
1SG	<i>tot-k</i>	<i>tot-ke-k(-e), tot-ke</i>	<i>hof-ta-k</i>
2SG	<i>to-n</i>	<i>tot-ke-n, tot-ko-η</i>	<i>hof-ta-n</i>
3SG	<i>to</i>	<i>tot-k(-on)</i>	<i>hof-ta</i>
1PLE	<i>tot-ki-η/to-η</i>	<i>tot-ke-η</i>	<i>hof-ta-η</i>
1PLI	<i>ton-muk</i>	<i>tot-ke-muk</i>	<i>hof-ta-muk</i>
2PL	<i>to-η</i>	<i>tot-ke-η, tot-ko-η</i>	<i>hof-ta-η</i>
3PL	<i>to-f</i>	<i>tot-k(-on), tot-k(-on)</i>	<i>hof-ta-f</i>

The copula is not obligatory in Kanashi. For example, *ɖʒuʃaŋ tʰi* [cloud today] ‘It is cloudy today’.

It is also used as auxiliary verb in the second of the two finite verb structures described above (see the beginning of Section 3). This is described in more detail below in Section 3.9.

The verb of location/existence *nem* is inflected as shown in the following table. Note that there are no distinct past-tense forms; instead, forms of *to* are used. Formally, the forms glossed as ‘future’ are non-past forms (with *-ta* [-NPST]) and the ‘present’ forms contain *-u-ta* [-PROG-NPST].

	PRS	(PST)	FUT
1SG	<i>ne-u-ta-k</i>	<i>tot-ke-k(-e), tot-ke</i>	<i>ne-ta-k</i>
2SG	<i>ne-u-ta-n</i>	<i>tot-ke-n, tot-ko-η</i>	<i>ne-ta-n</i>
3SG	<i>ne-u-ta</i>	<i>tot-k(-on)</i>	<i>ne-ta</i>
1PLE	<i>ne-u-ta-η</i>	<i>tot-ke-η</i>	<i>ne-ta-η</i>
1PLI	<i>ne-u-ta-muk</i>	<i>tot-ke-muk</i>	<i>ne-ta-muk</i>
2PL	<i>ne-u-ta-η</i>	<i>tot-ke-η, tot-ko-η</i>	<i>ne-ta-η</i>
3PL	<i>ne-u-ta-f</i>	<i>tot-k(-on), tot-k(-on)</i>	<i>ne-ta-f</i>

The corresponding forms of *to* can always be used instead of *nem*, and according to one of our language consultants, there is no difference between the two alterna-

tives. According to him, both are used by all, both older as well as younger speakers, although *to* is more frequent. Sharma (1992: 359), too, suggests that there does not seem to be any difference.

3.7 Negation

Verbal negation is formally expressed by adding a prefix *mV-* to the verb. Unlike some other ST languages, the form of the negative marker in Kanashi is not sensitive to tense/aspect. However, the vowel of the prefix is assimilated to the vowel quality of the first vowel of the verb stem. Thus we find that it appears as *ma-*, *mi-*, *mo-*, and *mu-*, depending on the vocalism of the verb stem.³⁰

- (264) *gu nu ka:m-a: ma-faŋ-me-k*
 1SG.NOM DEM.PROX work-PL NEG-do-PST-1SG
 ‘I did not do those tasks’

- (265) *gu didd mo-bo-ke-k*
 1SG.NOM there NEG-go-PST-1SG
 ‘I did not go there’

- (266) *svari-s latpat-ga:p mi-ffi-mug*
 f.name-ERG garment-PL-ACC NEG-wash-PST.3
 ‘Suari did not wash clothes’

- (267) *lugri mu-tu-gu-ta-ŋ*
 rice.beer NEG-drink-PROG-NPST-1/2PL
 ‘We are not drinking rice beer’ (Konow)

A similar pattern is observed in non-final clauses.

- (268) *ka na:mi p^hakuf^h bakar me-ken~ken dug-uḏ*
 2SG.NOM even small goat NEG-give.1/2O~PFV 3.DIST-DAT
an-u-ka mita:r-a:-uḏ k^huḏi fo-ta-ŋ
 REFL-SG-POSS friend-PL-DAT merry do-NPST-1PLE
 ‘Yet you never gave me even a young goat so that me and my friends could celebrate’ (Konow)

³⁰ Pattani (Sharma 1989) has two negative prefixes *ma-* and *tha-*. They do not show correlation with tense/aspect or vowel harmony. Darma (Willis Oko 2019) may have vowel harmony in the vowel of the negative marker (Willis 2007: 369), similar to that of Qiang and Dolakha Newar. In Darma the distribution of verb-indexing markers (1SG) in negative clauses is dependent on PST vs. NPST.

- (269) *ma-taŋ-m=i muʃkil to*
 NEG-see-INF=EMP difficult be.PRS
 ‘Not seeing is difficult’

3.7.1 Negation of the verb ‘be’

The copula *to* and the verb of location/existence *nem* have a common suppletive negated stem *ma:j-* [NEG.be-]. It is used in all persons and numbers in all tenses. The same form is also used in negated auxiliary constructions (*ma:j-* [NEG.BE-]).

- (270) *gu ɕimida:r ma:j-k*
 1SG.NOM farmer NEG.be.PRS-1SG
 ‘I am not a farmer’
- (271) *gu naliŋ ɕimida:r ma:j-ge-k*
 1SG.NOM last.year farmer NEG.be-PST-1SG
 ‘Last year I was not a farmer’
- (272) *nu-ga: / du-ga: ɕimida:r-a: ma:j-f*
 3.PROX-PL / 3.PROX-PL farmer-PL NEG.be.PRS-3PL
 ‘They are not farmers’
- (273) *naliŋ nu-ga: / du-ga: (sab) ɕimida:r-a: ma:j-ge*
 last.year 3.DIST-PL / 3.PROX-PL (all) farmer-PL NEG.be-PST
 ‘Last year they were not farmers’
- (274) *ette kim-a ma:j-muk / mai-ŋ [mãĩ]*
 1PLI house-LOC NEG.be.PRS-1PLI / NEG.be.PRS-1/2PL
 ‘We are not at home’
- (275) *ette muɖ kim-a ma:j-ge-ŋ*
 1PLI yesterday house-LOC NEG.be-PST-1/2PL
 ‘We were not at home yesterday’

3.8 Imperative and prohibitive

The imperative can be expressed with the bare verb stem, e.g. *naʃ* ‘sit!’. Additionally, Kanashi has specific optional imperative suffixes expressing number and

gender. Together with an optional prohibitive prefix, they define the following structure:

(PROH-)V-IMP(-SG/PL)(-M/F)
 t^h V- V (-t/-t/Ø)(-u/-o) [(-SG)(-M)]
 (-t/-t/Ø)(-e) [(-SG)(-F)]
 (-ŋ/-n)(-o/-u) [(-PL)(-M)]
 (-ŋ/-n)(-e) [(-PL)(-F)]

The distribution of the imperative singular suffix allomorphs is determined by the stem-final segment. Ø (null) occurs after vowel-final stems³¹ and -t after consonant-final stems. In nasal stems, the stem-final consonant is deleted and -t or -ŋ is affixed to the stem, the latter with stems ending in -ŋ. The plural imperative suffix is -ŋ in all contexts except after verb stems ending in a velar nasal, where -n appears instead, a case of dissimilation. The masculine marker -u in imperative constructions is frequently realized as -o.

INF	[-SG-M]	[-SG-F]	[-PL-M]	[-PL-F]
<i>san-am</i> 'to kill'	<i>sa-t-o</i>	<i>sa-t-e</i>	<i>sa-ŋ-o</i>	<i>sa-ŋ-e</i>
<i>ren-am</i> 'to sell'	<i>re-t-o</i>	<i>re-t-e</i>	<i>re-ŋ-o</i>	<i>re-ŋ-e</i>
<i>an-am</i> 'to carry'	<i>a-t-o</i>	<i>a-t-e</i>	<i>a-ŋ-o</i>	<i>a-ŋ-e</i>
<i>lan-am</i> 'to make'	<i>la-o</i>	<i>la-je</i>	<i>la-ŋ-o</i>	<i>la-ŋ-e</i>
<i>raŋ-am</i> 'to give'	<i>ra-t^h-u</i>	<i>ra-t-e</i>	<i>ra-ŋ-o</i>	<i>ra-ŋ-e</i>
<i>faŋ-am</i> 'to do'	<i>fa-t^h-u</i>	<i>fa-t^h-e</i>	<i>fa-ŋ-o</i>	<i>fa-ŋ-e</i>
<i>bon-am</i> 'to go'	<i>boŋ-t-o</i>	<i>boŋ-t-e</i>	<i>boŋ-n-o</i>	<i>boŋ-n-e</i>
<i>tun-am</i> 'to drink'	<i>tun-t-u</i>	<i>tun-t-e</i>	<i>tun-n-o</i>	<i>tun-n-e</i>
<i>dʒa:-m</i> 'to eat'	<i>dʒa:-u</i>	<i>dʒa:-je</i>	<i>dʒa:-ŋ-o</i>	<i>dʒa:-ŋ-e</i>
<i>ts^ha:-m</i> 'to listen'	<i>ts^ha:-o</i>	<i>ts^ha:-e</i>	<i>ts^ha:-ŋ-o</i>	<i>ts^ha:-ŋ-e</i>
<i>ʧi-m</i> 'to wash'	<i>ʧi-u</i>	<i>ʧi-e</i>	<i>ʧi-ŋ-o</i>	<i>ʧi-ŋ-e</i>
<i>tuf-ja:-m</i> 'to wipe'	<i>tuf-ja:-u</i>	<i>tuf-ja:-ve</i>	<i>tuf-ja:-ŋ-o</i>	<i>tuf-ja:-ŋ-e</i>

The subject (i.e., the second person pronoun *ka/ki*) may also explicitly occur together with the imperatives: *ka nid naʃ* 'you sit here!'. If the imperative clause has a direct object, the object takes the regular inflectional endings:

- (276) *ti: tun-n-e*
 water drink-IMP.PL-F
 'Drink water!'

³¹ This also happens with at least one consonant-final verb in our data (*tog-am* 'to beat, hit'): *to-u* [hit.IMP.SG-M], *to-e* [hit.IMP.SG-F], *to-ŋ-o* [hit-IMP.PL-M], *to-ŋ-e* [hit-IMP.PL-F].

- (277) *suma:n-a:p a-t-o*
 thing-PL-ACC carry-IMP.SG-M
 ‘Carry (the) things!’

The verb ‘come’ has a suppletive imperative form *ɖʒar* [come.IMP] [ɖʒar] ~ [ɖʒar] (the non-imperative infinitive stem ‘come’ is *bar-*). The regular imperative markers are not suffixed to *ɖʒar*.

As discussed above in Section 3.5, the verb ‘give’ has two distinct stems (*ken-*, *raŋ-*), where *ken-* occurs with affected speech act participants. However, in imperative clauses *raŋ-* ‘give’ occurs also with speech act participants in our material.

The prohibitive prefix *tʰa-* that we find in Kanashi also occurs in many other ST languages. It is prefixed to the imperative verb form, including the suppletive imperative form of ‘come’ (*tʰa-ɖʒar* [PROH-come.IMP] ‘don’t come!’). In Kanashi, unlike in Kinnauri, but analogously to the negative prefix (see Section 3.7), the vowel of the prohibitive marker *tʰa-* assimilates to the first vowel of the verb stem, except when this is *e*. In the last-mentioned case the prohibitive prefix remains *tʰa-*. In our material there is no instance of prohibitives where the first verb stem vowel is *i*.

- (278) *tuf-ja:-u* [wipe-TR-IMP.SG.M] : *tʰu-tuf-ja:-u* [PROH-wipe-TR-IMP.SG.M]
tuf-ja:-ŋ [wipe-TR-IMP.PL] : *tʰu-tuf-ja:-ŋ* [PROH-wipe-TR-IMP.PL]
ɖʒa:-u [eat-IMP.SG.M] : *tʰa-ɖʒa:-u*, *tʰa-ɖʒa:-o* [PROH-eat-IMP.SG.M]
ɖʒa:-ŋ-o [eat-IMP.PL-M] : *tʰa-ɖʒa:-ŋ-o* [PROH-eat-IMP.PL-M]
ɖʒa:-e [eat-IMP.SG.F] : *tʰa-ɖʒa:-e* [PROH-eat-IMP.SG.F]
ɖʒa:-ŋ-e [eat-IMP.PL-F] : *tʰa-ɖʒa:-ŋ-e* [PROH-eat-IMP.PL-F]
ka boŋ-t [you come-IMP.SG] : *tʰo-boŋ-t* [PROH-come-IMP.SG]
boŋ-n-o [come-IMP.PL-M] : *tʰo-boŋ-n-o* [PROH-come-IMP.PL-M]
boŋ-t-e [come-IMP.SG-F] : *tʰo-boŋ-t-e* [PROH-come-IMP.SG-F]
boŋ-n-e [come-IMP.PL-F] : *tʰo-boŋ-n-e* [PROH-come-IMP.PL-F]
bedɖʒa puf-t [seed sow-IMP.SG] : *bedɖʒa tʰu-puf-t* [seed PROH-sow-IMP.SG]

3.9 Complex verb forms

Kanashi has two types of grammatical complex verb constructions – as opposed to the more lexical support verb constructions described above in Section 2.2, especially example (14) – labeled “Aux 1” and “Aux 2” in the verb complex schemas given above in Section 3.

The verb ‘be’ (see Section 3.6) is used as an auxiliary (glossed [BE-] in this usage) in (Aux 1) constructions with the general structure

V-ASP BE-TNS-IDX

For example:

- (279) *gu d̥aː-ts tot-k*
 1SG.NOM eat-HAB BE.PRS-1SG
 ‘I am eating’
- (280) *ʃfara ga:r-o ʃfi-f-id tot-ke*
 child tooth-PL wash-MDL-HAB BE-PST
 ‘The child was cleaning his teeth’

The compound verb (Aux 2) construction is another grammatical complex verb construction in Kanashi. Here the main verb (its stem or its perfective form) is followed by a *vector verb*.³² In our data we have attested *ʃaŋ*- ‘do’ and *bon*- ‘go’ as vector verbs (glossed [DO-] and [GO-], respectively):

- (281) *harija-s rinig-p tupk^h-s raŋ ʃaŋ-mug* [saŋmuk]
 m.name-ERG snake-ACC gun-INS give DO-PST.3
 ‘Harija killed the snake with a gun’
- (282) *indr-us raŋ-a bo-ke sap saŋʃaŋ-mug* [saŋmuk]
 m.name-ERG summit-LOC go-PST snake kill DO-PST.3
 ‘Indra went to the summit and killed the snake’
- (283) *nu-s ʃfara-gaː-p t^hepr-aː* [t^heprɛ] *re~re ʃaŋ-mug* [saŋmuk]
 3.PROX-ERG child-PL-ACC slap-PL give~PFV DO-PST.3
 ‘S/He slapped the children’
- (284) *sonu malani buɖ~buɖ bo-k*
 m.name p.name leave~PFV GO-PST
 ‘Sonu went, leaving Malana (forever)’

³² Kinnauri has a parallel construction, where the lexical main verb in the perfective is combined with one of a small number of auxiliary-like “vector verbs” – such as *nimu* ‘to stay’, *rannu/kemu* ‘to give’, *bɔɔmu* ‘to go’, *tamu* ‘to keep’, *ʃennu* ‘to send’ – each of which adds a specific semantic dimension to the main verb (and serves as the carrier of finite verb morphology).

4 Clauses and sentences

4.1 Word order

The default and the most frequent constituent order in direct elicitation is SOV, where the subject (both noun and pronoun) normally occurs in the first position.

- (285) *harija-s rinig-p tupk^h-s raŋ faŋ-mug* [saŋmuk]
 m.name-ERG snake-ACC gun-INS give DO-PST.3

‘Harija killed the snake with a gun’

- (286) *nu huč-is t^{hi}:d k^{hi}iraŋ dalats ken-ke*
 DEM.PROX cow-ERG little milk today give-PST

‘This cow gave (us) little milk today’

- (287) *du-s ʧ^hog madras-u-p taŋ-mug*
 3.DIST-ERG fair.complexioned man-SG-ACC see-PST.3

‘He saw a white/fair-complexioned man’

- (288) *gu du-ga:p roč ta-gu-ta-k*
 1SG.NOM 3.DIST-PL-ACC every.day look-PROG-NPST-1SG

‘I am watching them every day’

4.2 Alignment

For core expressions, Kanashi noun phrases (other than first and second person singular pronouns) have three cases available, though their distribution leads to a complex alignment pattern. The ergative is used for some, but not all, transitive subjects, and also for some more agentive intransitive subjects. The accusative is used for some, but not all, direct objects. In both cases, subjects and direct objects can appear in the nominative instead. Kanashi thus has both differential subject marking and differential object marking, combined with semantic alignment (agentive versus patientive).

First and second person pronouns (except 1PLI) lack an ergative case, using the nominative instead, but generally take accusative marking.

4.3 Experiencer subjects

Like many other languages of South Asia, Kanashi has oblique – or dative, or experiencer – subjects. The dative marker occurs on the “subject” of an obligative construction and in the dative subject construction.

- (289) *aŋ-ɕ=i sauda-ga: ʃobilas lag-e-ta*
 1SG-DAT=EMP candy-PL good feel-INTR-NPST
 ‘I like sweets’

- (290) *aŋ du kamra ɕiŋ lag*
 1SG.NNOM DEM.DIST room big feel
 ‘That room felt big to me’

- (291) *niŋ-ɕ ti:-ka kam=i*
 1PLE-DAT water-POSS shortage=EMP
 ‘We do have a shortage of water’

- (292) *du-ga:-uɕ sardi la-ke*
 3.DIST-PL-DAT cold(N) feel-PST
 ‘They had a cold’

4.4 Clause chaining

Kanashi makes use of clause chaining, whereby any number of non-final clauses (including zero) are followed by a final clause. Non-final clauses use (at least) the perfective form(s) of the verb (see Section 3.2.1). Non-final clauses differ from final clauses in that only final clauses take tense and subject index marking. Hence, non-final clauses are normally interpreted to have the same subject as the final clause. It is very likely that such coreferentiality is a preference rather than an absolute constraint; cf. (293) from Kinnauri.

- (293) Kinnauri (kfk) (Saxena 2022):
gə-s git^haŋ lan-ts mi-pəŋ taŋ-o-k
 1SG-ERG song make-HAB man-DAT observe-PST-1SG
 ‘I looked at the man while he (= the man) was singing’
 ‘I looked at the man while I was singing’

4.5 Content and polar questions

In our data, we have only attested polar questions with second person singular subject. Just as in Kinnauri, in Kanashi too, *-a* ([a] ~ [e]) is suffixed to the finite verb in polar questions. This *-a* also occurs in WH-questions, but its occurrence in WH-questions is not obligatory.

- (294) *ka-ɬ pata to-a*
 2SG-DAT knowledge be.NPST-Q
 ‘Do you know (X)?’
- (295) *ka nu-p raʃ-ta-n-a*
 2SG.NOM 3.PROX-ACC strike-NPST-2SG-Q
 ‘Will you beat him?’
- (296) *tun-a*
 drink-Q
 ‘May I drink?’ (Sharma 1992: 377)
- (297) *ki nif ʃ^hub bar-ta-n-e* [b^həʈtne]
 2PL two when come-NPST-1/2PL-Q
 ‘When will the two of you come?’

4.6 Honorificity

Distinct from some of its linguistic relatives and geographical neighbors, Kanashi does not mark honorificity grammatically, neither in the choice of pronouns nor in verb indexing. There is also no lexical expression of honorificity, e.g., by using different noun, verb, or adjective stems based on mutual interlocutor status relations in discourse. Honorificity is, however, indicated by using a plural pronoun form for a singular referent, and vice versa (see Section 2.3.2).

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