

Discourse Markers in Dardic Languages

Palula *ba* and *ta* in a comparative perspective

Erik Svärd

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Supervisor: Henrik Liljegren
Examinator: Henrik Liljegren
Expert reviewer: Henrik Bergqvist



Stockholms
universitet

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Abstract

The present study investigates discourse markers in Dardic languages (Indo-Aryan; Pakistan), focusing on the discourse markers *ba* and *ta* in Palula in comparison with other languages of the region, particularly Dameli in which two markers with the same form and similar functions have been observed. The results showed that Palula *ba* functions as a topic-marker, in addition to other functions, whereas *ta* only signals subsequence, except in an adversative construction *ta... ba*. In Dameli, both *ba* and *ta* function as topic-markers, in addition to other functions such as *ta* marking subsequence, and the *ta... ba* construction functions similarly to Palula. Interestingly, Kalasha and Gawri showed some similarities, as both have a topic-marker surfacing as *ta* and *tä* respectively, which can be used in the adversative constructions *ta... o* and *tä... i* respectively, both of which have another marker as the second element. No other language in the sample was found to have a construction similar to the *ta... ba* construction nor a marker similar in form and function to *ba*, but all have a subsequence marker resembling *ta*. These results indicated that the Palula markers *ba* and *ta* are part of an areal phenomenon encompassing at least the Chitral, Panjkora and Swat valleys, where Palula originally only had the Shina subsequence marker and later adapted the Dameli system into the language.

Keywords

Dardic, Indo-Aryan, Chitral, Palula, Dameli, discourse, topic, conjunctions, Shina, Kohistani

Sammanfattning

Denna studie undersöker diskursmarkörer i dardiska språk (indoariska; Pakistan) med fokus på diskursmarkörer *ba* och *ta* i palula i jämförelse med andra språk i regionen, i synnerhet dameli i vilket två markörer med samma form och liknande funktion har observerats. Resultaten visade att palula *ba* fungerar som topikmarkör, tillsammans med andra funktioner, medan *ta* enbart signalerar subsekvens, förutom i den adversativa konstruktionen *ta... ba*. I dameli fungerar både *ba* och *ta* som topikmarkörer, tillsammans med andra funktioner så som att *ta* markerar subsekvens, och konstruktionen *ta... ba* fungerar i likhet med palula. Av intresse är att kalasha och gawri uppvisade en del likheter, så som att båda har topikmarkörer i form av respektive *ta* och *tä*, vilka kan användas i språkens respektive adversativa konstruktioner *ta... o* och *tä... i*, varav båda använder en annan markör för det andra elementet. Inget annat språk i urvalet observerades ha en konstruktion lik *ta... ba*

eller en markör lik *ba* i form och funktion, men alla har en subsekvensmarkör lik *ta*. Dessa resultat indikerar att palulas markörer *ba* och *ta* är en del av ett arealt fenomen som innefattar åtminstone dalgångarna Chitral, Panjkora och Swat, och att palula ursprungligen enbart hade shinas subsekvensmarkör och därefter integrerade damelis system in i språket.

Nyckelord

dardiska, indoariska, Chitral, palula, dameli, diskurs, topik, konjunktioner, shina, kohistani

Abbreviations

The abbreviations used for the glossings are based on the Leipzig Glossing Rules¹. Note that no separating sign follows person, number or gender.

1	first person	INDIRPST	indirect past
2	second person	INF	infinitive
3	third person	IPFV	imperfective
AG	agentive	M	masculine
ACC	accusative	N	neuter
ANIM	animate	NEG	negation
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominative
CNJ	conjunction	OBL	oblique
CNTR	contrastive particle	OI	old information
COMP	complementizer	PFV	perfective
COND	conditional	PL	plural
CONT	continuous	PRF	perfect
CP	conjunctive participle	PROX	proximal/proximate
CPRD	copredicative participle	PRS	present
CVB	converb	PRT	particle
DEF	definite	PST	past
DIRPST	direct past	PTCP	participle
DIST	distal	Q	question marker
DM	discourse marker	QUOT	quotative
DS	different-subject	REFL	reflexive
EXCL	exclusive	REM	remote (distance)
F	feminine	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	SS	same-subject
HOST	host element	TOP	topic marker
HSAY	hearsay marker	TOPSH	shift-topic marker
IDEF	indefinite	TOPSM	same-topic marker
INDIR	indirect	VN	verbal noun

¹ See <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>

Data references

All interlinear glossings contain a reference to the original text. The abbreviations for the languages are P – Palula (PA – Ashret dialect; PB – Biori dialect), D – Dameli, K – Kalasha, and G – Gawri. The abbreviations of the various texts in Palula and Dameli correspond as far as possible to those used by Liljegren (2008:392–393) and Perder (2013:16–17) respectively. The abbreviations for Kalasha and Gawri are original, but references for the latter to Baart & Sagar (2004) are included in the table below. The type of each text could not be accurately ascertained for Dameli and Kalasha, while unfortunately no information about the speakers (or writers) for the latter was found. Furthermore, in most cases the name of the text could be found for the Kalasha texts; names were in these cases created for them based on their abbreviations in the material. Note that only those abbreviations that are present in the examples of this thesis are listed below.

Palula

Id.	Name	Type and speaker
PA:ABO	About a king	Written narrative, Sardar Hayat
PA:ACR	Across the Lowari	Oral narrative, Muhammad Hussain
PA:ASH	Ashret history	Oral narrative, Akhund Said
PA:AYA	Ayan Mir 1	Oral narrative, Akhund Said
PA:BHR	Bharadam 2	Oral narrative, Seyd ul-Muluk
PA:DRA	Dragon	Oral narrative, Adils Muhammad
PA:GHA	Ghazi Samad	Oral narrative, Lal Zaman
PA:GHU	Ghulam Said	Oral narrative, Ghulam Habib
PA:HOW	How to build a house	Oral procedural discourse, Hazrat Hassan
PA:HUA	Hunter	Oral narrative, Ghulam Habib
PA:JAN	Jangibaz Khan	Oral narrative, Ghulam Habib
PA:KAT	Katamosh	Written narrative, Naseem Haider
PA:KEE	Keeping goats	Oral procedural-descriptive discourse, Lal Zaman
PA:MAA	Machoke and the princess	Oral narrative, aunt of Ikram ul-Haq
PA:MAR	Marriage	Oral procedural discourse, Sher Habib
PA:OUR	Our school	Oral descriptive discourse, Muhammad Jalal ud-Din
PA:PAS	Pashambi	Oral narrative, Ghulam Habib
PA:SHA	Sharia	Oral narrative, Akhund Said
PA:SHP	Shepherd	Proverb, Naseem Haider
PA:SHY	Shepherd boy	Written narrative, Sher Haider
PA:THA	Thaataaku	Oral narrative, Fazli Azam
PB:ATI	Atiq family history	Oral narrative, Atiq Ullah
PB:AVA	Avalanche	Oral narrative, Haji Abdul Jalil

Dameli

Id.	Name	Speaker
D:E0	Examples	N/A
D:T0	Revenge	Hayat M. Khan
D:T1	The patient women	Asmat Ullah
D:T3	Two ancestors	Sayed Ahmad Jan
D:T4	Adil Jesta	Ahmad Nur
D:TA1	Domel	Asmin Ullah
D:TA8	Genealogy	Sayed Ahmad
D:TI0	Idioms and proverbs	N/A
D:TP0	Pear story – Asmat	Asmat Ullah
D:TV3	Ghazal 1	Asmat Ullah
D:TW2	Kabul	Minhaj
D:TW3	Moral story	Sifat Ullah
D:TW5	Gramgal	Siraj UI-Abedin
D:TW7	Safarnaama	Sher Zaman

Kalasha

Id.	Name
K:LAD	Lader Khan's story
K:BAR	The barn
K:FOX	The fox & the bear
K:WAL	Walmoc
K:SHE	Shepherd plans
K:ADM	Admonition
K:DAN	The dangerous dog

Gawri

The numbers under “Reference” point to the page range of the story in Baart & Sagar (2004).

Id.	Name	Type and speaker	Reference
G:AFG	My visit to Afghanistan	Oral narrative, Shamshi Khan	pp. 67-119
G:WIT	The witch of Jan Shay	Written narrative, Gul Rahman	pp. 121-152
G:SHE	The story of King Shehdad	Oral narrative, Gulab Khan	pp. 153-182
G:UNL	The story of the unlucky prince and his friend	Oral narrative, Shah Nawab	pp. 183-232
G:MIG	The migration to Kalam (history)	Oral narrative, Namroz Khan	pp. 37-60
G:MEN	The story of the love-crazy mendicant	Oral narrative, Zarin Khan	pp. 233-261

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1. Introduction

In the mountainous area of northern Pakistan and adjacent areas of Afghanistan and India, there are 27 named Indo-Aryan languages belonging to six discernible subgroups. Only limited linguistic research has been done on these languages (not least due to the unstable political situation), but there are despite this some relatively well-studied languages. These languages, which have been grouped together under the heading “Dardic”, exhibit many interesting features which are very unusual for Indo-European languages, such as split-ergativity and tonality. There have also been a few intriguing discoveries in the area of discourse, as two particularly well attested languages of the area, Palula (phl) and Dameli (dml), both exhibit a similar set of markers, *ba* and *ta*, which have been described as either topic markers or different-subject markers. However, the analyses are far from complete and further research is necessary, especially when comparing these to other languages of the region. The aim of the present study is consequently to investigate how these markers work in Palula and Dameli, as well as to investigate what relevant particles may be found in other languages of the region, in particular Kalasha (kls) and Gawri (gwc). The material used for these languages are annotated linear texts from fieldwork, whereas other minor texts and in some cases grammars are used for the other languages of the study. The results of this will serve as the starting point of a discussion on whether Palula *ba* and *ta* are part of a genealogical or an areal phenomenon.

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of the present study is (1) to describe the function of the discourse markers *ba* and *ta* in Palula, and (2) to do a cross-linguistic comparison with other Dardic languages. The research questions are:

- What functions do Palula *ba* and *ta* have?
- Do other Dardic languages in the region have markers with these forms, and if so, what functions to they have?
- Are there other markers with similar functions in other Dardic languages?
- Are Palula *ba* and *ta* part of a genealogical or an areal phenomenon?

In order to investigate this, a number of Dardic languages are included in the study, in addition to some relevant literature on linguistic theory.

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Discourse markers and topicality

Linguists love structure, and the clearer it is the better. It is therefore not surprising that morphology, syntax and phonology are historically dominated by areas such as case marking (preferably overlapping with grammatical relations), word order and “sound laws.” In comparison, terms such a

“pragmatics” or “discourse” are more or less shunned except by the bravest (or perhaps most foolish) of researchers. This negative view is reflected in the following quote from Levinson (1983) regarding topic and focus in linguistic theory (both of which are usually considered as belonging to pragmatics):

Terminological profusion and confusion, and underlying conceptual vagueness, plague the relevant literature to a point where little may be salvageable. (1983:x)

However, not all researchers have such defeatist views. One example is Lambrecht (1994), who presents an elaborate attempt to further the field with what he calls “information structure,” an approach that can be regarded as an intermediate area between the morphosyntax (i.e., “sentence-internal structure”) and pragmatics (i.e., “sentence-external structure”), as it is concerned with the formal representation of factors relevant for discourse in the grammatical structure.

Of a similar view is Schiffrin (1987), who analyzes discourse markers in English, such as *oh*, *well*, *and*, *but*, *so*, *now*, and *y’know*. She identifies these using an operation definition, based on their independence of sentential structure, brackets, and sequential dependence (Schiffrin 1987:31–40); that is, markers such as the ones above are devices that work on the discourse level.

As can be seen in the sections below, an important aspect of the functions of the particles investigated in this study is the notion of “topic.” Discussing the universals of topic-comment structures, Gundel (1988) gives two instructive definitions of topic, i.e., (1), and comment, i.e., (2) (adapted from Gundel 1988:210).

(1) *Topic Definition:*

An entity, E, is the topic of a sentence, S, iff in using S the speaker intends to increase the addressee’s knowledge about, request information about, or otherwise get the addressee to act with respect to E.

(2) *Comment Definition:*

A predication, P, is the comment of a sentence, S, iff, in using S the speaker intends P to be assessed relative to the topic of S.

In addition to this, she states two conditions which are necessary for an entity to serve as topic (adapted from Gundel 1988:212 and 214 respectively):

(3) *Topic-Familiarity Condition*

An entity, E, can successfully serve as a topic, T, iff, both speaker and addressee have previous knowledge of or familiarity with E.

(4) *Topic-Identifiability Condition*

An expression, E, can successfully refer to a topic T, iff E is of a form that allows the addressee to uniquely identify T.

Kroeger (2004) uses a very similar definition of topic, albeit less formal, and uses conditions equivalent to (3) and (4) when examining the linguistic evidence for identifying topics in a few languages. The most interesting of these for this study is Japanese, as it has an oft-cited topic marker *wa*. Using these two conditions, Kroeger examines the evidence for identifying *wa* as a topic marker. Firstly, topics must be identifiable by the hearer (i.e., the Topic-Identifiability Condition), and as consequently *wa* may be used with a definite or generic element, but not an indefinite element (where the subject marker *ga* must be used instead). This is exemplified in (5) (adapted from Kroeger 2004:151).

- (5) **Japanese**
- a. *Kuzira-wa honyuu-doobutu desu.* (GENERIC)
 whale-TOP mammal is
 ‘A whale is a mammal.’
- b. *Zyon-wa watakusi-no tomadati desu* (DEFINITE)
 John-TOP 1SG-GEN friend is
 ‘John is my friend.’
- c. *Dareka-{ga/*wa} kimasita* (NON-GENERIC and INDEFINITE)
 someone-NOM/*TOP came
 ‘Someone has come.’

Secondly, new pieces of information cannot be topics (i.e., the Topic-Familiarity Condition), and thus question words cannot be topics. It is therefore not surprising that question words in Japanese cannot be marked with *wa*, as shown in (6) (adapted from Kroeger 2004:152).

- (6) **Japanese**
- a. *Dare-{ga/*wa} kimasita ka?*
 who-NOM/*TOP came Q
 ‘Who came?’
- b. *Dare-{o/*wa} Taroo-ga mimasita ka?*
 who-NOM/*TOP Taroo-NOM saw Q
 ‘Who did Taroo see?’

Thus, Japanese *wa* is shown to be a topic marker, and using these conditions similar analyses may be done for the particles in this study.

1.2.2 The Dardic languages

According to the Ethnologue, the Dardic languages constitute an Indo-Aryan branch of 27 named languages belonging to six subgroups, viz., Chitral, Kashmiri, Kohistani, Kunar, Pashayi, and Shina (2014). However, the genealogical basis of this proposed group is strongly contested by researchers. Against the term is Strand (2001:251), who argues that it should be abandoned altogether due to there being no justification for such a grouping, proposing instead that the subgroups be viewed as independent groups on the Indo-Aryan branch. On the other hand, others researchers have been more supportive of the term: Bashir (2003:822) considers the similarities between at least some of the languages sufficient to justify the term, while Zoller (2005:10) considers the Dardic languages descendants of Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) Gāndhārī and other unknown related languages.

One of the aims of the present study was to investigate as many branches of Dardic as possible. However, due to varying availability of material in these languages, they were investigated to different extents. They can broadly be divided into two categories based on available material and thus importance for the present study: (i) languages for which I have extensive annotated interlinear glossings, and (ii) those for which I only have short texts or at most a grammar. Thus, the four main languages of the study (see below) were chosen because they (1) constitute a varied, albeit small,

sample as they belong to different subgroups, and (2) are represented by extensive annotated material. These languages consist of (with ISO 639-3 abbreviations in parenthesis):

- **Palula** (in older literature Phalura, phl): Spoken by approximately 10,000 people in the Chitral Valley and is seen as a variety of Shina (Liljegren 2008:19).
- **Dameli** (dml): Spoken by approximately 5,000 to 6,000 people in the Chitral district (Perder 2013:3). Perder does not try to specify a subgroup for Dameli, but Bashir (2003) lists it as a Kunar language (together with Gawarbati), a classification which Ethnologue follows (Lewis et al. 2014).
- **Kalasha** (kls): Spoken by at least 2,500 to 3,000 people in the Chitral district (Trail & Cooper 1999:xi). It belongs to the Chitral subgroup together with the local lingua franca, Khowar (Morgenstierne 1961:138).
- **Gawri** (alternatively referred to as Kalam Kohistani, Swat and Dir Kohistani or Bashkarik, gwc): Spoken by approximately 100,000 people in the Swat and Dir districts (Baart & Sagar 2004:3–4). It belongs to the Kohistani branch (Baart & Sagar 2004:8).

In addition to these four languages, seven other Dardic languages have been investigated as well, although to a lesser degree. These are (with ISO 639-3 codes in parenthesis) the Kohistani languages Gowro (gwf) and Bateri (btv), the Pashai language Southwestern Pashai (psh), as well as the Shina language Ushojo (ush) and the Shina² (scl) varieties of Gilgit, Hunza, Astori, Satpara, and Chilas.³

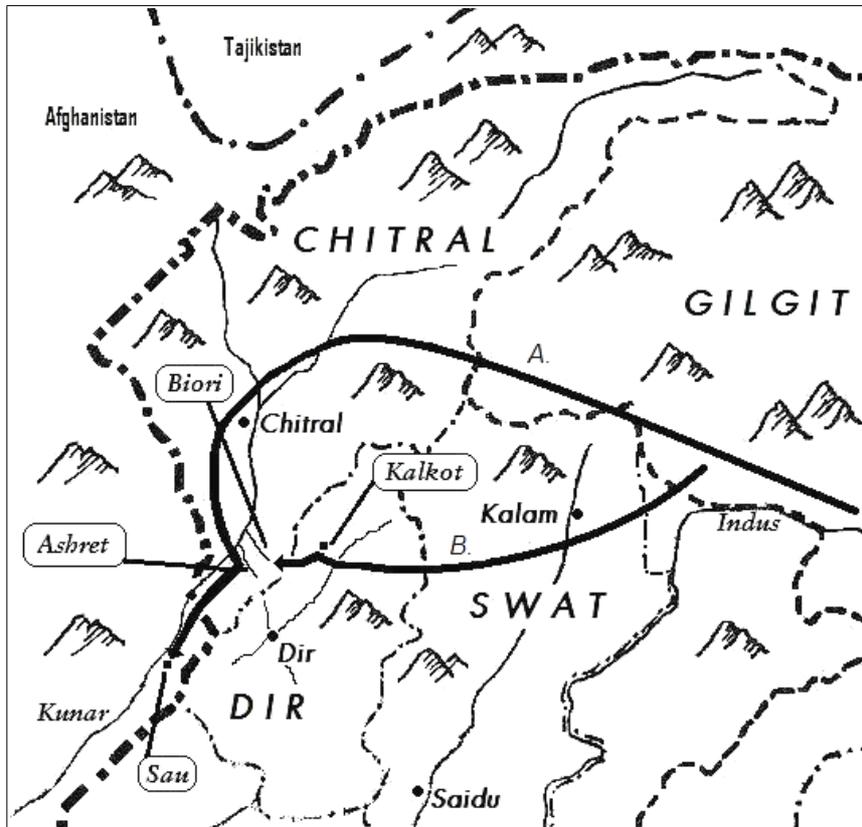
Northern Pakistan and the surrounding areas is an area of enormous linguistic diversity. This is shown in Map 2, a topographical map showing the linguistic situation of northern Pakistan, as well as in Map 3, which is a more detailed purely linguistic map of the Hindu Kush. It serves as the meeting point of Indo-Aryan, Sino-Tibetan and (just slightly to the north) Turkic languages, and multilingualism is very common; in fact, concerning Palula in particular, Liljegren (2008:38) writes that “if something characterises the immediate surroundings of the Palula area, it is multilingualism and ample opportunity for cross-language interaction.” Thus, it does not come as a surprise that the languages have influenced each other to such a degree that genealogical classification becomes difficult, which is one of the main problems with the term “Dardic.”

However, the difficulties do not only arise from languages being affected by their present neighbors: many peoples in the area also have a history of migration, throughout which the languages undoubtedly have changed. For example, a likely historical scenario for the migration of Palula speakers is that they migrated as two groups from the traditional homeland of Shina (see Map 1): one originating in the Chilas area, going through Shandur Pass to Laspur and south through Chitral to Ashret Valley and even Sau, whereas the other originating in Tangir and, passing through Swat and Dir Kohistan, ended up in Biori Valley (Liljegren 2009:57). These then developed into the present-day Palula varieties of Ashret and Biori, whereas the variety of the former spoken in Sau become modern Sawi (Liljegren 2009:58). Furthermore, it is also important to consider changes in the linguistic and ethnic composition of the area of the recent past. For example, Kalasha, Palula, and Dameli have most certainly had much more language contact in the past (see e.g., Cacopardo & Cacopardo, 2001).

² Note that the term “Shina” denotes both a subgroup of Dardic, as well as a language in the family. Specifically, Gilgiti Shina is often taken as the de facto standard of Shina (for a discussion on Gilgiti as a standard, see Radloff 1992a:174–200).

³ The only Dardic subgroup not present in the present study is that of Kashmiri. The reasons for this is the geographical distance as well as the fact that Kashmiri in many aspects differs from typical Dardic characteristics.

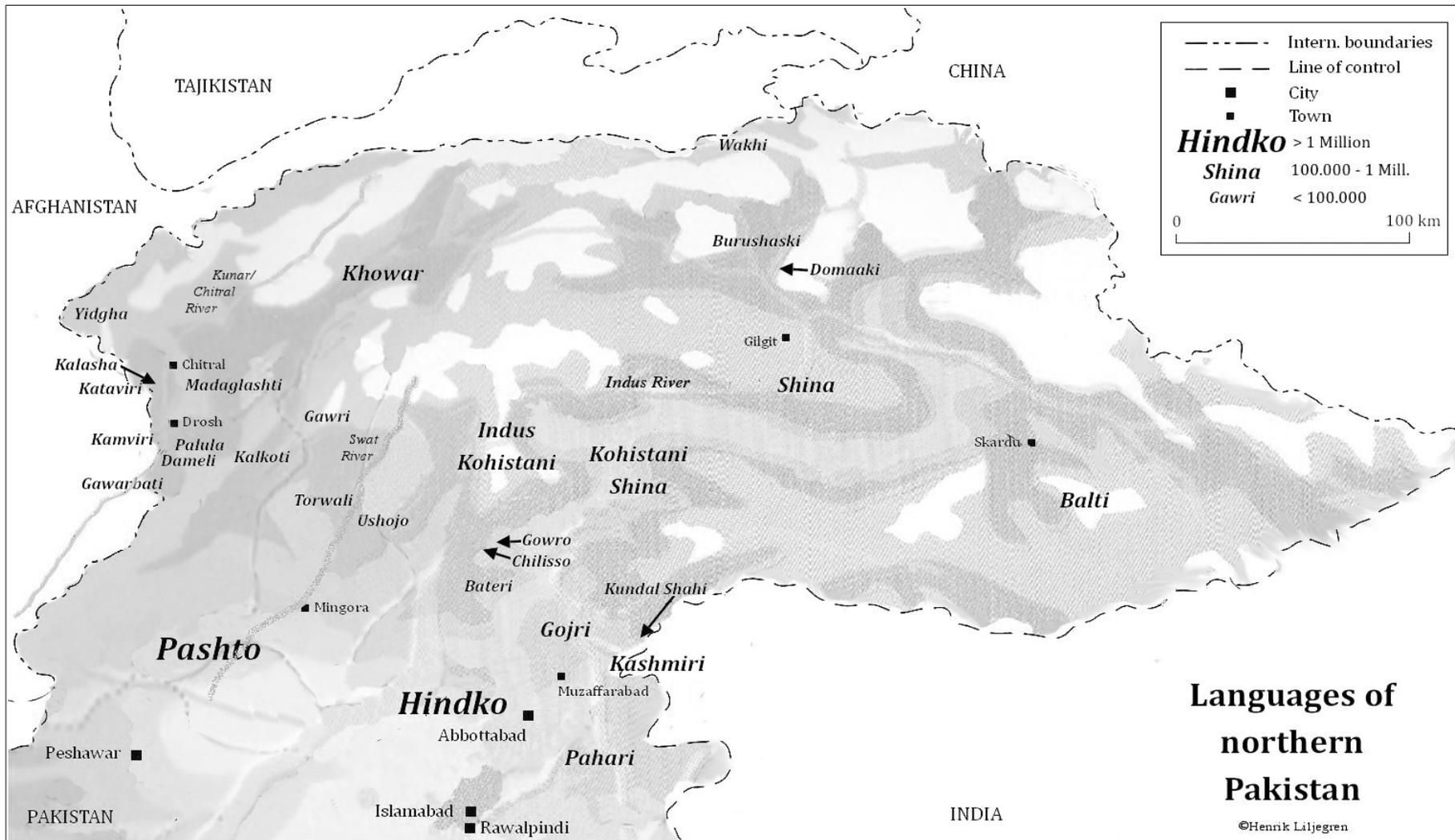
Today, these groups only have little contact and rather use a lingua franca when communicating (Henrik Liljegren, p.c.).



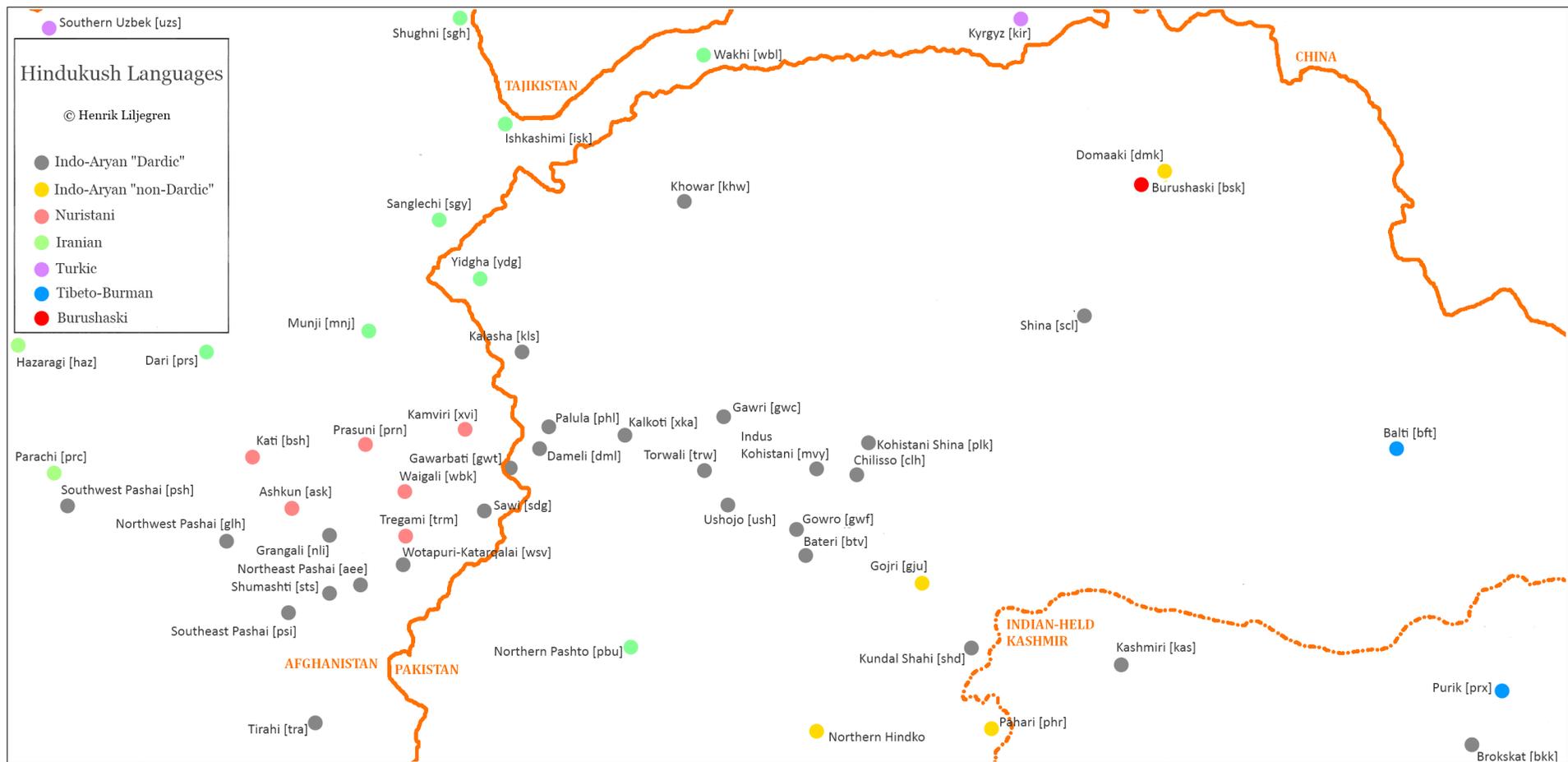
Map 1: The two historical migrations routes of present-day Palula and Sawi speakers. Route A is the origin of the speakers of Ashret dialect and Sawi, while B is the origin of Biori speakers. (Liljegren 2009:57)

Besides these factors, it is also important to take into account that all Dardic languages (except Kashmiri) only recently have become written languages. As the present study concerns discourse markers, this has important implications, as exclusively oral languages are more prone to (i) rapidly change (as they have no standard to adhere to) and (ii) exhibit discourse markers (cf., the wide array of discourse markers in colloquial English).

To summarize, the Dardic languages are many different and sometimes widely divergent languages with intertwined histories and widespread contact between both each other and neighboring languages, making them an interesting subject for analyzing areal phenomena.



ap 2: A topographical map showing the languages of northern Pakistan. Palula and Dameli can be seen to the far west, Kalasha slightly to the north, and Gawri somewhat farther east. (Made by Henrik Liljegren.)



Map 3: A linguistic map of the Hindu Kush, showing each language's ISO 639-3 code (in square brackets) as well as genealogical classification. (Made by Henrik Liljegren.)

1.2.3 Palula discourse markers *ba* and *ta*

The main subject of this study are the two discourse markers *ba* and *ta* in Palula, both of which have received treatment in a grammatical description of Palula (Liljegren 2008) as well as a dictionary (Liljegren & Haider 2011).

a. Switch-topic marker *ba*

In the dictionary entry for *ba*, Liljegren & Haider define it as a “[discourse] marker with a (switch-)topic function (variously corresponding to ‘and, however, instead, as for, but’).” (2011:14) This reinforces the analysis made in the earlier grammatical description, where *ba*, while constantly glossed ‘PRT’, is defined as a specific postposed switch-topic marker (Liljegren 2008:378). This is illustrated in example (7), where the previously mentioned protagonist Pashambi is reintroduced (adapted from Liljegren 2008:378)

- (7) *úuč-a se be heensil-i hín-i. [pašambeé ba]*
 Uch-OBL 3FSG.NOM go.CVB stay.PFV-F be.PRS-F Pashambi PRT
bakáara ghin-í úuč-a the gúum hín-u
 flock take-CVB Uch-OBL to go.PFV.MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘She had gone to live in Uch. [Now it so happened that] Pashambi was going with his flock to Uch.’ (PA:PAS113-4)

While not reintroducing a topic, *ba* can also be used to signal an explicit contrast with an immediately preceding subject as in (8) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:378).

- (8) *míi ghoóšt lookúri hí-u [iskuúl ba] asíi kañeeghaá hín-i*
 1SG.GEN house Lokuri be.PRS-MSG school PRT 1PL.GEN Kanegha be.PRS-F
 ‘My house is in Lokuri, *while* our school is in Kanegha.’ (PA:OUR004)

In other cases, *ba* primarily signals that similar or related topics are non-identical, as in (9) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:378).

- (9) *[koó ba] paiseé d-áan-a, [koó ba] toobaák d-áan-a,*
 who PRT money.PL give-PRS-MPL who PRT gun give-PRS-MPL
[koó ba] teép d-áan-a
 who PRT tape.recorder give-PRS-MPL
 ‘Some give money, others give guns, others tape recorders.’ (PA:MAR091-3)

Along with its topic switching function, Liljegren also analyzes *ba* as signaling natural continuity, ‘and then... and then...’, and thus connecting one piece of discourse with the next (Liljegren 2008:379). This is shown in example (10) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:379).

- (10) *tarkaán teeñii the bheénš gal-ii [rhalá bheenš-á jhulí ba]*
 carpenter REFL do.CVB main.beam put.in-3SG on.top main.beam-OBL on PRT
čauráts gal-ii [čaurats-i jhulí ba] bhít-a gal-ii
 cross.beam put.in-3SG cross.beam-OBL on PRT plank-PL put.in-3SG
 ‘The carpenter himself puts up the main beam, and then on top of the main beam he puts in the cross-beams, and then on the cross-beams he puts in planks.’ (PA:HOW016-7)

If *ba* is not explicitly contrasted with a preceding entity, the marker functions more as a signal of special emphasis, which Liljegren writes sometimes corresponds to English ‘as for’ (Liljegren 2008:379). This is illustrated in example (11) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:379).

- (11) *[ma ba] gaaq-u zuwaán miš de*
 1SG.NOM PRT grown-MSG young man be.PST
 ‘As for me, I was a strong young man.’ (PA:PAS004)

In a similar fashion, *ba* can also be used in questioning about the general whereabouts of a person as in (12) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:380).

- (12) *o mééš, [kaṭamúš ba]*
 oh! aunt Katamosh PRT
 ‘Oh auntie, what about Katamosh?’ (PA:KAT112)

In some cases, *ba* seems to do little else than signal a switch in referentiality, which in example (13) is seen in how the two instances of *tasii* ‘his’ refer to different referents (Liljegren 2008:380).

- (13) *tasii áak putr de. [yaazisamadxaán ba]*
 3SG.GEN IDEF son be.PST Ghazi.Samad.Khan PRT
tasii nóo de
 3SG.GEN name be.PST
 ‘He had a son. His [i.e., the son’s] name was Ghazi Samad Khan.’ (PA:GHA004)

An entity marked with *ba* can also be further expanded in a subsequent *ki*-construction (Liljegren 2008:380). This is shown in (14) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:380).

- (14) *[mii šjǰrá ba] eteeñ-ú ki [mii putr-ii nóo umarséed...]*
 1SG.GEN line PRT like.this-MSG COMP 1SG.GEN son-GEN name Umar.Said
 ‘My line looks like this: My son’s name is Umar Said...’ (PA:ASH019)

While acknowledging that further research is needed, Liljegren notes that the marking of a non-subject entity with *ba* seems to allow for one of the other arguments to be extraposed to a postverbal position (2008:381). This is shown in (15) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:381)

- (15) *[islaám ba] aṭil-i hín-i [gabarúut-ii putr-óom]*
 Islam PRT bring.PFV-F be.PRS-F Gabaroot-GN son-PL.OBL
 ‘Islam was brought by the sons of Gabaroot.’ (PA:ASH054)

Finally, Liljegren points out that almost any word or phrase can be marked by *ba* (Liljegren 2008:381). The examples below show *ba* following an adverbial (16), a numeral as noun-modifier (17)

a locative expression (18) as well as both same-subject clauses (19) and different-subject clauses (20) with adverbial functions (adapted from Liljegren 2008:382–383).

- (16) *[típa ba] ma kanáa bh-úum*
 now PRT 1SG.NOM like.what become-1SG
 ‘Now then, what will become of me.’ (PA:MAA017)
- (17) *dúu oostaaz-aán hín-a o [čuurbhišá ba] kuṇaak-á*
 two teacher-PL be.PRS-MPL and forty PRT child-PL
hín-a asii iskuúl
 be.PRS-MPL 1PL.GEN school
 ‘There are two teachers, and forty children in our school.’ (PA:OUR011)
- (18) *[diiš-a ba] baalbač-á kuṛiina tamá th-éen de*
 village-OBL PRT child-PL woman.PL waiting do-3PL PST
 ‘Back in the village, the women and children were waiting.’ (PB:AVA218)
- (19) *[aḍaphará whayí ba] damá thiiil-u*
 halfway come.down.CVB PRT rest do.PFV-MSG
 ‘When we had come halfway down, we rested.’ (PA:GHA057)
- (20) *[phedóol-ii pahúrta ba] hukumát xabaár bhil-u*
 arrive.with.PTCP-GEN after PRT government informed arrive.with.PTCP-GEN
 ‘As soon as they had got it there, the government learned about it.’ (PA:GHA08)

b. Different-subject marker *ta*

In the dictionary, *ta* is defined as a “[discourse] particle with different-subject marking function (variously corresponding to ‘when, then, so (that), and’),” with a note that it can also be analyzed as marking temporal sequence and causality (Liljegren & Haider 2011:140). This is expanded upon in the grammatical description, where *ta* is described as signaling a subject switch after a non final clause which in turn is followed by another (final or non-final) clause (Liljegren 2008:312). This clause chaining function can be compared with the function of the Palula converb: *ta* has a different-subject chaining function, while the converb has a same-subject chaining function (Liljegren 2008:310). The use of *ta* is illustrated in example (21) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:312).

- (21) *[áa deés táa gúum ta] máa-the qisá thiiil-u*
 IDEF day day go.PFV-MSG PRT 1SG.NOM-to story do.PFV-MSG
 ‘One day I went there, and he told me a story.’ (PA:HUA009)

In sequences of two or more non-final clauses, the included clauses may be both same-subject (SS) clauses as well as different-subject (DS) clauses (Liljegren 2008:313). This is shown in (22) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:313).

- (22) *theé aaxerii [áa baçhúuru mheer-í]_{SS} píustu şaawóol-u ta]_{DS}*
 then finally IDEF calf kill-CVB skin put.on.PFV-MSG PRT
baçhúur-ii píust-a ba tas ghaşil-u, ıing thıil-u
 calf-GEN skin-OBL PRT 3SG.ACC catch.PFV-MSG HOST do.PFV-MSG
 ‘Then at last he killed a calf, dressed (his son) in the skin, and the skin of the calf helped him.’
 (PA:DRA031)

However, in many cases of chaining with *ta*, Liljegren found it more natural to translate the non-final clause as a ‘when’-clause in English (Liljegren 2008:313), indicating subsequence (Liljegren 2008:314–315). This is illustrated in (23) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:315).

- (23) *(ađaphará wháil-u.) [ađaphara wháil-u ta]*
 halfway take.down.PFV-MSG halfway take.down.PFV-MSG PRT
tasii ujut-ı maşı xaarax paidóo bhıl-i
 3SG.GEN body-OBL in itching born become.PFV-F
 ‘(He brought him down halfway.) When he had brought him down halfway, his body started to itch.’ (PA:DRA020)

This can be combined with *kareegalé* or *kareé galé ki* ‘when’ in order to trigger a more explicit subsequential reading, which creates a construction that has characteristics of relative clause (Liljegren 2008:316). This is shown in (24).

- (24) *[hasó kareé galé ki sastıl-u ta] şúu itlaá phedıl-i*
 3MSG.NOM when ever PRT heal.PFV-MSG PRT king message arrive.PFV-F
 ‘When he had become healthy, a message arrived from the king.’ (PB:ATI059)

c. Combinations of *ba* and *ta*

Besides the functions of the markers *ba* and *ta* when used alone, they may be used together in various constructions.

One of these is the adversative construction *ta... ba*, i.e., *ta* following the first constituent and *ba* following the second are used together to indicate an adversative meaning with an implied semantic contrast, translatable as ‘but, whereas, while’ (Liljegren 2008:305). This is shown in (25), and along with the coordinating suffix *-ee* in (26) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:305).

- (25) *eetás [mıış-a ta ıhak-ıin de kuřına ba čoot-ıin de]*
 3SG.REM.ACC man-PL PRT shake.down-3PL PST woman.PL PRT pluck-3PL PST
 ‘The men were shaking them [the walnuts] down, while the women were collecting them.’
 (PA:JAN017)

- (26) *hunđ ta çhıitr-ee bhun ba ghaawaáz de*
 above PRT field-CNJ below PRT stream.bed be.PST
 ‘The field was above and the stream-bed below.’ (PA:JAN082)

The adversative construction may also be combined with negation as *na ta... na ba*, which translates as ‘neither... nor’, but the word order is reversed compared with the adversative construction *ta... ba*

in that the contrasted constituent follows the particle (Liljegren 2008:309). Examples are given in (27) and, along with the coordinating suffix *-ee*, (28) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:309).

(27) *na ta tanaám the dít-i na ba asáam the dít-i*
 NEG PRT 3PL.ACC to give.PFV-F NEG PRT 1PL.ACC to give.PFV-F
 ‘Neither did they give them to them, nor to us.’ (PA:GHA089)

(28) *méeji na ta šoo-ii tarapii ga faaidá-ee*
 between NEG PRT king-GEN direction-GEN any benefit-CNJ
na ba brawolxaan-ii tarapii ga faaidá
 NEG PRT Barawul.Khan-GEN direction.GEN any benefit
 ‘Between them, neither was there any benefit from the king’s side, nor from Barawul Khan.’
 (PA:JAN007-8)

d. Other markers

Palula also has a number of other markers which approach the functions of *ba* and *ta*. While these are not particularly relevant in the analysis of *ba* and *ta*, it nonetheless is relevant to acknowledge them. These are most importantly: (i) the separation marker *bi* (approximately ‘also, too; else, at all; even’), which is particularly used in a *bi... bi* construction where *bi* is added after each of the conjoined constituents, or with the negation particle as *bi na... bi na* ‘neither... nor’ (Liljegren 2008:303–304; Liljegren & Haider 2011:25); (ii) the exclusivity or emphasis marker *eé* (also *-ee*, B. *-e*), which approximately means ‘X’s own’ when used with pronouns and ‘only X’ with numerals (Liljegren 2008:111, 144; Liljegren & Haider 2011:47); and, (iii) the adversative/evidentiality marker *xu* (approximately ‘but; however; although’), which is a borrowing from Pashto (Liljegren 2008:305–306; Liljegren & Haider 2011:160–161).

1.2.4 Dameli topic markers *ba* and *ta*

Interestingly, two formally identical and functionally very similar markers have been found in Dameli, both being among the most common words of the language and filling similar but contrastive functions that are crucial to the information structure of Dameli clauses (Perder 2013:183). Syntactically they function similarly to the Palula markers by splitting a clause into two parts, but their functions are described somewhat differently: while Liljegren (2008) defines the prototypical functions of Palula *ba* and *ta* as ‘switch-topic marker’ and ‘different-subject marker’ respectively, Perder defines Dameli *ba* as ‘new topic’ or ‘topic shift’, and *ta* as ‘previously mentioned topic’ (2013:183). Thus, *ba* is usually used when there is a switch in topic, i.e., if the subject is different from the one in the preceding clause or when a new topic is introduced, while *ta* is used to show that the subject or topic is the same (Perder 2013:184). An instance of *ba* signaling a switch in subject is shown in (29) (adapted from Perder 2013:184).

- (29) *gram ta zaatak-nam muu ki peegoor pre-nun*
 village of⁴ child-PL 1SG.OBL to taunt give-IPFV.3PL
ãã tu ba wail-aai-ap ni k^huṇḍi-nap
 and 2SG.NOM TOPSH hide-CAUS-IPFV.2SG not tell-IPFV.2SG

‘The children of the village are teasing me, and you are hiding [something] and don’t tell.’
 (D:T0024)

The marker *ba* can also be used in conditional clauses akin to the English “if... then” construction, where the clause is marked by a contrastive intonation pattern and a *ba* following the conditional clause (Perder 2013:173). An example is shown in (30) (adapted from Perder 2013:173).

- (30) *tu muu ki telefon kur-an gaṭi-nap ba*
 2SG.NOM 1SG.OBL to telephone do-INF want-2SG.IPFV TOPSH
beera reeṭ-a yaaš baḷa pakistani teem-a kur-e
 tomorrow night-LOC eleven o’clock Pakistani time-LOC do-IMP.SG

‘[If] you want to call me, do it tomorrow night at eleven o’clock, Pakistani time.’ (D:E0104)

As in Palula, there is a particular construction *ta... ba* which is used to contrast between two entities (Perder 2013:184). This is shown in example (31) (adapted from Perder 2013:185).

- (31) *tēḥ duu maana ek ta dokṭor žup-aa*
 3PL.ANIM.DIST two of.them one PRT doctor make.PFV.3SG.M
ãã tasuu maana ek ba pulis
 and 3PL.ANIM.DIST.ACC of.them one PRT police

‘Of the two one made himself a doctor, and one of them a police.’ (D:TW3005)

Similarly, this construction can be combined with the negation particles *ni* to form *ni ta... ni ba*. As in Palula, the negation particle and the marker are placed at the beginning of each clause (Perder 2013:181). This is shown in example (32) (adapted from Perder 2013:181).

- (32) *daamia baasha mudiya diyoo talii*
 Dameli language today day until
ni ta kii nat prai-t^hen
 not TOPSM who nat give-INDIRPST.3PL
ni ba kya nat žup-aai-t^hen
 not TOPSH which nat make-CAUS-INDIRPST.3PL

‘Until today, no one has sung nats (religious songs) in the Dameli language, nor have they made any nats.’ (D:TV0001)

There are also a few other markers which approach the functions and syntactic contexts of *ba* or *ta*. These are most importantly: (i) the clitic *-es* ‘too, also’, which is attached to nouns, postpositions, adverbs, adjectives and probably other word classes as well (Perder 2013:185); and, (ii) the

⁴ Identical in form but different in meaning, *ta* is also a postposition meaning ‘from, of; than’ (Perder 2013:131). Also similar is the past tense marker *taa*, albeit containing a long vowel (Perder 2013:154).

adversative coordinator *xu* ‘but’ (from Pashto), which can be used both prepositively and postpositively (Perder 2013:167).

2. Method

2.1 Material

There is little published material for most of the languages of the region. Instead, the material consists mainly of annotated interlinear glossings from fieldwork, kindly supplied by Henrik Liljegren (Palula), Emil Perder (Dameli), Ronald Trail (Kalasha) and Joan Baart (Gawri). The annotated interlinear glossings were in the format used by Field Linguist's Toolbox by SIL International, and were given to me by Perder (Dameli) and Liljegren (Palula, Kalasha, and Gawri). They mostly consist of oral narratives, but also of dialogues, proverbs, as well as some originally written texts. The data for the remaining languages consist of short transcribed texts in Backstrom & Radloff (1992) as well as Rensch et al. (1992), which are not glossed but include free translations into English, while additional material for Gilgit Shina consists of annotated interlinear glossings by Radloff & Shakil (1998) as well as translated proverbs in Degener & Zia (2008).

2.2 Procedure

Field Linguist's Toolbox does not have advanced searching capabilities (e.g., regular expressions), so the first step was to convert the data into a more usable format. This was accomplished by programming three Python applications, each outputting a spreadsheet with a specific function.

The first script simply turned the material into one continuous spreadsheet, by omitting all information except the original sentences, the glossings, as well as the translations. Besides allowing for the use of advanced search functions of modern spreadsheet software, it also made the data much easier to scroll through and gain an overview of. Perhaps most importantly, it made it much easier to investigate sentences in their wider contexts (i.e., with the surrounding utterances actually viewable on the same page).

The second script was used to create word lists for the languages, outputting spreadsheets with three columns: words in the specific language, their English translations, as well as the number of occurrences of the word in the text. Two word lists were created for each of the four languages, one based on the words surface structure and their glossings, and one based on the morphemically segmented sentences with their respective translations. It is important to note that since this was an automatic process, it was impossible for the script to judge whether words of similar form but different glosses represented the same lexeme or different ones. A compromise was thus made, where only words with identical glossings were counted as the same word. Furthermore, in order to associate a word with its English glossing, it of course is necessary that the number of words (or morphemes) in both the original sentence (whether showing surface structure or its morphemic decomposition) is the same. However, it was quickly found out that this was not the case, so all such unalignable sentences were ignored. Nevertheless, they were included when calculating the number of occurrences of each word.

The third and final script was used to retrieve (i) all instances of an input word (such as *ta* or *ba*) and the gloss of the word, (ii) the sentence it occurs in, with its translation and reference number, and (iii)

the previous word and its translation. As when creating the word lists, only those entries which contained the same number of words in the original sentence and its glossing was included. This was then made into a spreadsheet, where all instances of the word (with its associated information as just described) occupied one row each. The reason for this script was to gain an overview of all instances of a specific particle (particularly Palula and Dameli *ba* and *ta*) and the context in which it occurred. Furthermore, it served as the basis for grouping the particles by the part of speech of the preceding word, as it made all necessary information readily available.

Having thus made the data more easily accessible, the largest and most difficult part of the research ensued. This was a mainly exploratory process, which consisted of carefully reading many passages in order to capture the function of the particles. For Gawri and Kalasha, it also included searching for words which were either discourse markers or possibly related to Palula and Dameli *ta* and *ba*.

2.3 Glossings

While the glossings were not made by me, some changes have been made. Firstly, it is important to note that the material consists of “unrefined” texts. This concerns not least the glossings, some of which could be out of date. However, the most important consequence is that the texts contain its fair share of inconsistencies, especially in the glossings. In order to make the present thesis more coherent, the abbreviations used in the glossings were changed to as far as possible follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, which are becoming a standard of glossing abbreviations. However, the authors’ own terminology was kept, so that (arguably) identical phenomena may be glossed differently depending on the language, e.g., CVB for Palula, but CP for Dameli and Gawri, and PRS.PTCP for Kalasha.

Due to inconsistencies in the source material, some texts were supplied with less detailed glossings than others. In many of these cases, especially for Palula, I changed them in accordance with other glosses in the material and/or the grammatical descriptions. Likewise, a number of grammatical and orthographical errors in the English translations were corrected, sometimes requiring a complete rewrite of the translation.

The morphemically segmented texts in the material are often also very different from the surface structures in order to reflect the base forms of the underlying morphemes (i.e., Palula *yhéi-í* ‘go-CVB’ > *yhai* ‘go.CVB’), not least in Gawri which employs heavy apophony. As this study does not aim to describe the morphology of these languages, I opted to base all sentences on the surface structures while separating the morphemes whenever possible.

Finally, it should be noted the examples given in this essay very well may use different transcription systems than more recently published material. While I mostly kept the transcription systems of the original texts, all examples of Kalasha were changed following some notes in the material as well as the alphabet in Trail & Cooper (1999:xviii). The main changes were changing the apostrophe into an acute accent on the vowel of the preceding syllable, as well as adapting some obviously provisional spelling conventions and digraphs of the material to their corresponding letters in Trail & Cooper (1999), i.e., <D> > <ɖ>, <L> > <ɭ>, <S> > <ʂ>, <T> > <ʈ>, <zh> > <ʒ>, <j> > <ɟ>, <sh> > <ʃ>, and <ch> > <ç>.

2.4 Limitations

The purpose of this study was primarily to investigate the functions of *ta* and *ba* in Palula and how they relate to other Dardic languages. A number of limitations arose so as to not lose focus of this main objective. Firstly, while not entirely a matter of choice, only a limited sample of languages was used. Material sufficiently extensive to investigate the various particles was only available for Palula, Dameli, Kalasha, and Gawri, whereas the other languages mentioned in this study also were included depending on availability. However, there was a compromise in that only Dardic languages were investigated, as the inclusion of other neighboring language groupings would cause too wide a scope.

Secondly, due to the study consisting of detailed investigations into the discourse structures of four different languages, it was unfeasible to make detailed comparisons between the particles and current typological research or syntactic theories.

3. Results

In the following section, frequencies are presented for the discourse markers. Three things should be pointed out about these numbers.

Firstly, as explained in the method, two kinds of word lists were made in order to both account for the more idiomatic glossing provided by the word-for-word glossings, as well as the more linguistically detailed glossings provided by the morphemic glossings.

Secondly, all numbers concerning the use of the particles and what words they follow were based on the automatic process described above for analyzing them in context.

Thirdly, particles occupying the first position of a line in the glossings were ignored in the numbers, due to the difficulty of automatically assuming that the previous word is directly related to the particle. However, they were included when comparing the number of instances of the particle with the total number of words in the material. An example illustrating the difficulty of automatically classifying them is given in (33), which is an excerpt from a phone call (it is unknown to the present writer whether the two sentences are uttered by the same speaker or rather by two). It appears fully plausible that *ta* functions as a discourse marker similar to English ‘(well) then’, in which case it would be misleading and potentially completely erroneous to assume that it relates in any way directly to the previous verb.

- (33) **Dameli**
ni bi-ãã-i
not arrive-CAUS.3SG.M-Q
‘It’s not done yet?’
- ta tas-a ki telefon kur-ee tee*
PRT 3SG.ANIM.DIST-OBL to telephone do-IMP.SG that
- yaar muu tang ni kur-e *** yaar ...*
friend 1SG taunt not do-IMP.SG *** friend ...
- ‘Call him and tell him not to bother me...’ (D:D1004-5)

However, many of the line-initial instances of the particles do appear to be related to the previous word, rendering sentence-initial particles too heterogeneous a group. For these reasons, all sentence-initial particles are ignored in the numbers and mostly in the analyses as well, although exceptionally clear cases may be used.

3.1 Palula (Indo-Aryan, Shina)

3.1.1 *ba*

The particle *ba* is by far the most common token in the Palula material. In the less detailed glossing, *ba* represents around 4.4% (823 of 18773) of all tokens, and is glossed as ‘then’ or ‘??then’ (473+29

times), ‘and’ (194), ‘as for’ (59), ‘PRT’ (27), ‘however’ (16), and ‘?’ or ‘??’ (21+4). In the more detailed glossing, it also represents around 4.4% (850 of 19161), being glossed as ‘then’ (412), ‘TOP’ (338), ‘PRT’ (59), ‘CONJ?’ (33), as well as ‘***’ (5) and ‘?’ (3). Note that the particle *ba* is identical in form to the imperative of *bíi* ‘go’; naturally, these instances were ignored when calculating the numbers above. Also ignored were the single instances of ‘heaning’, ‘my’, ‘sent’, ‘Shishi’, ‘there’, and ‘that’, most of which probably stem from errors in the material.

The following sections are based on the distribution of *ba* in the material. Around 88% of all instances of *ba* follow one of the following four groupings of parts of speech: converbs (37%), common and proper nouns (22%), pronouns and determiners (14%), and adverbs and postpositions (15%). The remaining 12% of instances follow the particle *ta*, numerals, adverbs, as well as a number of grammatical particles.

a. Converbs

One of the most common positions of *ba* is following a converb, occurring in such positions in 37% (305 of 817) of all instances. These constructions signal subsequence, as shown in (34).

- (34) *patugiráa yhai ba aní bóol-a hín-a ki na*
 back come.CV TOP PROX hair-PL be.PRS-MPL or NEG
aninaám aní angúri-m bóol-a phaṭi de maní
 3PL.PROX.ACC PROX finger-PL hair-PL pluck.3SG be.PST HSAY
andáa thée jáandu hín-u ki na thaní
 like.that do.CV alive-MSG be.PRS-MSG or NEG QUOT

‘He returned and plucked the hair from his fingers like this, to see whether he was still alive.’
 (PA:SHA040-1)

It frequently follows *thée* ‘then’, representing 15% (38 of 251) of instances. This construction signals subsequence by connecting the preceding utterance with a following one in a manner translatable to English “and having done so...” (hence Liljegren’s glossing of *thée* as ‘then’, e.g., in 22 above). The form *thée* is a variant of *the*, the converb of *thi* ‘do’. However, more recently Liljegren considers *thée* + *ba* to constitute one phonological word (i.e., *théeba*), that has become lexicalized. An example of *thée ba* as it occurs in the material is shown in (35).

- (35) *ṭhaaṭáaku yhai šiṭi aṭit-u ta so miiš mhaás*
 ogre come.CVB inside enter.PFV-MSG DS DEF.MSG.NOM man meat
khóo de theé ba se ṭhaaṭáak-a bi tas sangí kha-inii
 eat.3SG be.PST do.CVB TOP DEF ogre-OBL also 3SG.REM.ACC with eat-VN
široó thiil-u
 starting do.PFV-MSG

‘The monster came inside the hut while the man was eating meat, and he also started eating meat with the man.’ (PA:THA006-7)

While these constructions with converbs undoubtedly signal subsequence, it is more difficult to explain the function of *ba*. Converbs (including *thée*) can be used without *ba* as well and appear to have the same sequential meaning.

b. Common and proper nouns

When *ba* follows a noun, it can most often be interpreted as a topic marker. This is shown in (36). When *jaangúl* is first introduced (having not been mentioned before in the narrative), it is preposed but not followed by *ba*, indicating that it represents the comment. However, when *jaangúl* has been introduced and is referred to a second time and thus is the topic of the utterance, it is followed by *ba*, functioning as a sort of parenthetical explanation.

- (36) *jaangul-á ma bhanjool-u thaniit-u*
 Jangul-OBL 1SG.NOM beat.PFV-MSG say.PFV-MSG
jaangúl ba áak búuḍ-u miiš lanii gaawaḍí
 Jangul TOP IDEF old-MSG man 3PL.DIST.GEN neighbour
 ‘I said that Jangul beat me. Jangul was an old man and his neighbour.’ (PA:HUA102-3)

In Palula, one of the main functions of the oblique case of nouns is as a locative (Liljegren 2008:53). Accordingly, when *ba* follows an oblique noun, as in (37), it is possible that it signals topicality.

- (37) *sóona ba so phoo koošiš tháan-u*
 pasture.OBL TOP DEF.MSG.NOM boy attempt do.PRS-MSG
xu waxt milaáu na bháan-u
 but time meeting NEG become.PRS-MSG
 ‘At the high pasture the boy tried to find the time [to come down], but he couldn’t.’ (PA:SHY042)

However, there are also many cases where it is more difficult to interpret *ba* as marking topicality. A clear example is shown in (38), where the proper noun is followed by *ba*. In this context, it is difficult to not consider it the comment of the sentence rather than the topic, which is the first *tasii*.

- (38) *yafraán thani miiš de*
 Ghafran QUOT man PST
tasii báabu qeematčhaá ba tasii nóo de
 3SG.GEN father Qemat.Shah TOP 3SG.GEN name PST
teewiz-i tháat-u le peeriaán gaḍ-í seekaaḍ-u
 amulet-PL do.AG-MSG DIST fairy.PL pull.out-CVB lead.out.AG-MSG
 ‘There was a man whose name was Ghafran. His father’s name was Qemat Shah. He was an expert in making amulets and he was a saviour from djinns.’ (PA:HUA127-8)

In these cases, it appears more fitting to consider it as a kind of relative marker, so that instead of “His father’s name was Qemat Shah. He was an expert in making amulets [...],” it would be translated as “His father, whose name was Qemat Shah, was an expert in making amulets [...].”

c. Pronouns and determiners

As for nouns, *ba* often appears to function as a topic marker. Consider example (39), where *ba* appears to be used to switch the topic from the main character to the narrator (*mii ba* ‘1SG.GEN TOP’) and then back again (*ma ba* ‘1SG.NOM TOP’).

- (39) *ghooṣṭ-a wháat-u ta tasíi kúri*
house-OBL come.down.PFV-MSG DS 3SG.GEN wife
míi ba preṣ bheš-i hín-i
1SG.GEN TOP mother.in.law sit.down-CVB be.PRS-F
ma ba huṣut-íi paalawaán takṛá gáaḍ-u míiš
1SG.NOM TOP body-GEN strong.man strong big-MSG man
‘When I reached my home my wife (storyteller: my mother-in-law) was there. I was a powerful and strong man.’ (PA:HUA99-100)

Another example is given in (40), where *se ba* ‘3PL.NOM TOP’ functions as the topic of the clause while referring back to the comment *uč-a xálak* ‘little-MPL people’ of the previous utterance.

- (40) *úč-a xálak de*
little-MPL people be.PST
se ba dúu tróo bhiš-á kasaán hóons-an de
3PL.NOM TOP two three twenty-PL persons live-3PL be.PST
‘There were few people. They would be forty or sixty people.’ (PA:JAN023-4)

As mentioned above, Liljegren (2008) and Liljegren & Haider (2011) primarily consider *ba* as having a switch-topic function, but this does not account for a number of sentences. While *ma* ‘1SG.NOM’ followed by *ba* certainly may be the topic in (41), it clearly contradicts the notion of switch-topicality. There are two instances of *ma*, both of which are the topics of their respective clauses, while only the second is marked with *ba*; thus, if *ba* still is to be seen as a topic marker, it must be a ‘same-topic’ marker, which is redundant and not applicable to other examples.

- (41) *ma na ting bhil-u thaní ma ba*
1SG.NOM NEG firm become.PFV-MSG QUOT 1SG.NOM TOP
ruul-u zoór zoór bhe
weep.PFV-MSG strong strong become.CVB
‘I said that I could not face him and then I started to weep, loudly.’ (PA:HUA108)

d. Adverbs and postpositions

Around 15% of instances of *ba* (121 of 817) follow adverbs or postpositions. It appears to function similarly to *ba* following an oblique noun (see above), in that it probably topicalizes a locative or directional phrase. This is shown in (42), where *ba* follows *the* ‘to’, the most commonly preceding postposition.

- (42) *se hiimeelí wée asím tas tsaadar-í mají pailáá*
 DEF glacier.OBL in 1PL.ERG 3SG.ACC blanket-OBL in fold.CVB
ghañd-í ađaphara tíi khaşaal-ím wheelil-u
 tie-CVB halfway until drag-CPRD take.down.PFV-MSG
 ‘On that glacier we wrapped him into a blanket, we brought him down halfways, by dragging.’
- táai bhun the ba şúuk de*
 from.there.REM down.below to TOP dry.place be.PST
- se şúuk-a wée asím eendáa thíil-u ...*
 DEF dry.place-OBL in 1PL.ERG like.this do.PFV-MSG ...
 ‘Below it was dry [i.e. no glacier] and there we did like this...’ (PA:GHA031-33)

3.1.2 *ta*

Like *ba*, the particle *ta* is very common in the Palula material. In the less detailed glossing, *ta* represents around 1.8% (365 of 15546) of all tokens, and is glossed as ‘then’ (188 times), ‘when’ (66), ‘after’ (36), ‘while’ (12), ‘PRT’ (2), as well as ‘one’, ‘there’, ‘that’, ‘to’, and ‘?’ (all of which occur only once). In the more detailed glossing, *ta* represents around 1.7% (384 of 19161) of all tokens, being glossed as ‘DS’ (192), ‘then’ (156), ‘PRT’ (28), as well as ‘IDEF’, ‘there’, and ‘?’ (each occurring only once).

As for *ba* above, the following sections are based on the distribution of the particle in the material. Around 85% of instances of *ta* follow one of the following four parts of speech: verbs (60%), common and proper nouns (16%), pronouns and determiners (9%), and adverbs and postpositions (5%). While the percentages are significantly different, the categories and frequencies are almost identical to those for *ba*, besides *ta* typically following finite verbs while *ba* follows converbs. The remaining 15% consist of numerals as well as a number of grammatical particles, including one instance of *ba*.

a. Verbs

While *ba* commonly follows converbs (i.e., nonfinite verbs), *ta* even more commonly follows finite verbs, representing as many as 60% (144 of 239) of all instances.

The particle *ta* often appears to function as a different-subject marker, just as Liljegren often glosses it. An example is shown in (43), where the subject is switched from the implicit protagonist to the demon.

- (43) ... *angóor jheelí táa pačaa khainii şiroó thíil-u şiroó*
 ... fire light.CVB there.REM cook.CVB eat.VN starting do.PFV-MSG starting
thíil-u ta tíi mají áa jhařil-u řhařáaku yhóol-u
 do.PFV-MSG DS 3SG.REM.OBL in IDEF hairy-MSG ogre come.PFV-MSG
 ‘... he brought it to a hut and made a fire, cooked the meat and started eating. While he was eating a hairy demon suddenly appeared.’ (PA:THA004-5)

A similar meaning is expressed in the example (44), where the first subject is an implicit ‘we’, *ta* signals a change to *zinaawír-a* ‘beast.PL’ (a more analogous English translation would be “Thus we followed his foot prints, and many wild animals had walked [there] as well.”).

- (44) *eesé rhaíi ghašé-í páand-a giia ta*
 REM footprints catch-CVB path-OBL go.PFV.PL DS
zinaawur-á bi biid-a gir-íl-a de
 beast-PL also much-MPL walk-PFV-MPL PST
 ‘Thus we followed his foot prints. There were also the foot prints of wild animals.’ (PA:GHA010)

The particle *ta* also follows *de* ‘be.PST’, but almost only when *de* itself follows a finite verb (i.e., the past imperfective construction; see Liljegren 2008:220), as in (45).

- (45) *táa gúum ta tasíi bheen hazrati umarii*
 there.REM go.PFV-MSG then 3SG.GEN sister Hazrat Umer
bheen quraani paak manii de ...
 sister Qur’an clear say.F be.PST ...
 ‘When Hazrat Umer went there, his sister was reciting the Qur’an...’ (PA:BHR198)

No instances of *ta* following a verb were found where *ta* could not be explained as signaling different-subject.

b. Common and proper nouns

The particle *ta* may also follow both common and proper nouns, although this is not as common as after a verb, representing only 16% of instances (39 of 239). Only three of these instances are following proper nouns. Many of these are parts of the *ta... ba* construction, as in (46). For more examples, see 3.1.3 below.

- (46) *(eetii-wee whaí ba thée ba axsí jiin)*
 3SG.REM.OBL-into come.down.CVB TOP then TOP kind.of.game beat.3PL
kuríina ta támbul-am-ii jiin rhoo-á diin
 woman.PL DS drum-PL.OBL-GEN beat.3PL song-PL give.3PL
míiš-a ba axsí jiin
 man-PL TOP kind.of.game beat.3PL
 ‘(They would come there to play the game of axsi.) The women would beat the drums and sing songs, and the men would be playing axsi.’ (PA:JAN033-5)

The only observed instances where *ta* following a noun is not part of a *ta... ba* construction is when it follows *noo* ‘name’. All of these instances are found in only a single narrative as part of the construction *gubaa noo ta* ‘what name then’, which is probably equivalent to the colloquial English ‘whatchacallit’ or interjections such as ‘uh’, i.e., indicating self-initiated repair or a filled pause. An example is shown in (47).

- (47) *diini the yhoolii pahurta are tanim*
 religious to come.CVB after 3PL.NOM 3PL.REM.OBL
- gubaa noo ta abujehla are thiili asim xu*
 what name **then** Abujehl 3PL.NOM do.CVB 1PL.OBL but
- umar rusuul mhaarainii dapaara phrayilo de*
 Umar prophet kill.VN for send.PFV be.PST
- ‘When he had embraced the faith [i.e. Islam], that... they... what’s his name... Abujehl did [i.e. said] this: ‘We had sent Umar to kill the prophet.’ (PA:BHR208)

c. Pronouns and determiners

While not as common as following common and proper nouns, *ta* follows pronouns and determiners in 9% of instances (22 of 239). While the sample is too small to account for a thorough investigation into the function of *ta* in these contexts, most of them belong to the *ta... ba* construction, e.g., the proverb in example (47).

- (48) *ma ta máam-ii bakaraál, máamu ba diišii bakaraál.*
 1SG.NOM **DS** uncle-GEN shepherd uncle TOP village.GEN shepherd
- ‘I am my uncle’s shepherd, and my uncle is the shepherd of the village.’ (PA:SHP01-2)

Only a few instances of *ta* following a pronoun or determiner without being part of the *ta... ba* construction were found. One of these is shown in (49), in which it is difficult to ascribe *ta* a subject-switching function; rather, it seems that *ta* signals subsequence (as reflected in the glossing ‘then’), or as a way of ‘reinforcing’ the subject. Nevertheless, there is no change of subject.

- (49) *phara wee whaatu hin-o*
 yonder on come.down.PFV.MSG be.PRS-MSG
- so ta raat pilaanu wee dap lameeṭii ghaši ba*
 3MSG.REM.NOM **then** blood drink.PRS.MSG on ? tail catch.CVB then
- ṣiṣ-a phare giraa uriiito de ...*
 head-OBL on towards let.loose.PFV.MSG be.PST ...
- ‘He [then] came down from yonder. While he was drinking the blood, he caught the tail of the leopard and threw it on the head...’ (PA:PAS094-5)

d. Adverbs and postpositions

Only 5% of instances of *ta* (22 of 239) follow adverbs or postpositions. Most of these are part of the *ta... ba* construction, e.g., example (50).

- (50) *aḍapharii huṅḍ the ta ḵaláš bhun the ba lhist-u*
 from.middle up.above to **DS** hairy down.below to TOP bald-MSG
- ‘Above it was hairy and below it was hairless.’ (PA:HUA075)

The remaining cases are difficult to analyze. Consider example (51), shown in its wider context. While the passage is difficult to understand (e.g., Ayan Mir’s getting closer to the bear appears to be mentioned four times in a row), there is no self-evident reason to regard *ta* as signaling a switch of

subject (as indicated in the glossing), as the following subject is the same as the previous. The most likely interpretation, and that which most suits the translation, is that it signals temporal subsequence, i.e., akin to ‘then’.

- (51) *than-i ba dóodu ayaanmiir bhraáš*
 say-CVB TOP grandfather Ayan.Mir slowly
se iñç-a kéeçi gúum hín-u
 DEF bear-OBL near go.PFV.MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘Then grandfather Ayan Mir got close to the bear.’
iñç-a kéeçi be ba so iñç-a kéeçi ta
 bear-OBL near go.CVB TOP 3MSG.NOM bear-OBL near DS
so nhiaár bhíl-u hín-u
 3MSG.NOM near become.PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG
 ‘When he came close to the bear,’
se toobaák bak galí ba so andáa bhe ...
 DEF rifle ? throw.CVB ? 3MSG.NOM like.that become.CVB ...
 ‘the bear was near where it left the rifle, but...’ (PA:AYA037-9)

3.1.3 *ta... ba*

A very common construction in Palula is *ta... ba*, which signals contrast between two referents. It mostly follows nouns, pronouns or determiners. A clear example of its use is shown in (52).

- (52) *áa ta ma, mhaatuseén mí nóo,*
 one DS 1SG.NOM Muhammad.Hussain 1SG.GN name
áa ba habibulaxaán thaní míš de ...
 one TOP Habibullah.Khan say.CV man be.PST ...
 ‘One of them was I, my name is Muhammad Hussain, and one was a man called Habibullah Khan...’ (PA:ACR022-3)

A similar meaning is conveyed in example (53). With the two sons having been mentioned, Hayat Noor is first described (marked by *ta*), followed by Fazal Noor (marked by *ba*). While the *ta* is glossed as ‘there’ and possibly could be interpreted as such, it is more probable that it is the particle *ta* in a *ta... ba* construction as the glossing ‘there’ only occurs once for *ta* (cf., the similar case in the Dameli example 76 below).

- (53) *(hatés díi ba dúu putrá yúula fazelnuúr-ee hayaatnuúr)*
 him from ? two son-SG.OBL came Fazel.Noor-CNJ Hayat.Noor
hayaatnuúr ta muftí seéb de
 Hayat.Noor **there** religious.judge sir be.PST
fazelnuúr ba míi-e gaadubaábu de
 Fazel.Noor **PRT** 1SG.GN-EXCL grandfather be.PST
fazelnuur-á díi ba panj putrá bhila
 Fazel.Noor-OBL from ? five son-SG.OBL became
 ‘(He had two sons, Fazel Noor and Hayat Noor.) Hayat Noor became religious judge (Mufti) of his valley. Fazel Noor was my own grandfather. Fazel Noor had five sons.’ (PB:ATI076-9)

The *ta... ba* construction can also be used with the negation particle *na*, in which case the clause follows the particle instead of preceding it. An example is given in (54).

- (54) *méeji na ta sóo-ii tarap-ii ga faaida-ee*
 among **NEG DS** king-GEN side-GEN any benefit-CNJ
na ba barawulxáan-ii taráp-ii ga faaidá
NEG TOP Baruwul.Khan-GEN side-GEN any benefit
 ‘However, there were no benefits attached, neither from the king's side, nor from Barawul Khan.’ (PA:JAN007-8)

However, instead of considering the order as reversed and the following clauses as marked, it would be more consistent to view the negation particles as marked; i.e., the *na ta... na ba* is a normal *ta... ba* construction where two negation particles precede the particles instead of e.g., proper nouns as in (53) above.

3.1.4 Conditional subordinations *heentá* and *seentá*

While the relationship is not immediately apparent, there are reasons to believe that the two conditional subordinations *heentá* (also *hée~ta*, B. *hínata*) and *seentá* (also *sée~ta*, B. *sínta*) are related to *ta*. These two subordinations (or alternatively auxiliaries) are used in various conditional constructions, with the former carrying a hypothetical meaning (i.e., ‘if X would...’) and the latter one of assumed conditionality (i.e., ‘if X...’, ‘when X...’) (Liljegren 2008:228). Examples of their uses are shown in (55) and (56) (adapted from Liljegren 2008:228 and 229 respectively).

- (55) *misrí [yhóol-u sée~ta] misrí díi tsaták hóons-a*
 mason come.PFV-MSG **COND** mason from hammer stay-3SG
 ‘When the mason comes he would have a hammer (i.e., he would bring a hammer with him).’ (PA:HOW010)
- (56) *biiḍ-u táru bi [dít-u hée~ta] xaraáb bh-éen-i*
 much-MSG fast also give.PRF-MSG **COND** bad become-PRS-F
 ‘If it (salt) is given very soon it will harm her (the goat).’ (PA:KEE019)

These two words are interesting because of their formal and functional similarities to *ta*. They both contain *-tá/-ta*, which quite obviously is similar to *ta*. The other remaining parts of the words are

similarly arguably related to the verbs; at least *heentá* can be identified with the copula *hínu* ‘is (MSG)’ or one of its forms (especially striking is it when considering the B. form *hínata*). While *seentá* probably has a similar origin, no suitable connection was found by the present author. Thus, it seems likely that these words are grammaticalizations of what originally were separate verbs followed by the particle *ta*. Such a use corresponds well with the other functions of *ta* as described above.

b. Common and proper nouns

Around 22% (58 of 260) of all instances of *ba* follow common or proper nouns. It probably has a topic marking function, as in e.g., (60). Note that the *ba* following the finite verb could be interpreted as a subordinate particle.

- (60) *oot^h-i puču muk^hai daç-ee ba*
 remain-CP upwards direction see-DIRPST.3SG PRT
mač ba muṭ-a t^h-na
 man PRT tree-LOC be-PRS.3SG.M
 ‘Having stopped, he looked up and saw that the man was in the tree.’ (D:TP0017)

It is frequently used in genealogies, as illustrated in the excerpt in (61), and thus clearly functions as a switch-topic marker.

- (61) *mia jan mullah ba ahmad seed sãã put*
 Mia Jan mullah PRT Ahmad Sayyed 3SG.ANIM.POSS.M son
 ‘Mullah Mia Jan was the son of Ahmad Sayyed.’
ahmad seed ba mahmad fakir sãã put
 Ahmad Sayyed PRT Muhammad Faqir 3SG.ANIM.POSS.M son
 ‘Ahmad Sayyed was the son of Muhammad Faqir.’
mahmad fakir ba xwaja mahmad sãã put
 Muhammad Faqir PRT Khwaja Muhammad 3SG.ANIM.POSS.M son
 ‘Muhammad Faqir was the son of Khwaja Muhammad.’ (D:T8004-6)

It also follows nouns in the locative case, as shown in example (62). It probably signals topic; in the sentence below, *daaman* ‘Domel’ is established as the topic, but in sentences where the locative noun hasn’t been mentioned in the previous utterance, the locative is not followed by *ba*. This appears generally true for locatives throughout the source material.

- (62) *mas-sãã nam daro daaman ... asili nam daaman daro*
 3SG.ANIM.PROX-POSS name is Domel ... original name Domel is
 ‘Its name is Daman...its real name is Daman.’
daaman-a ba kati gal daro ek
 Domel-LOC PRT how.many stream is one
šinṭeri kuruu gal yede k^haragram yee beru
 Shinteri Kuru stream go.CP Kharagram this was
 ‘How many valleys are there in Domel? One, having gone to the Shinteri Kuru stream, was Kharagram.’ (D:T3040-1)

However, a locative may be followed by *ba* if it contrasts with a previous locative, as shown in (63).

- (63) *punagraam ta aaxar-a ayaa aac-i ſunjaar-a gwa āā*
 Punagram from end-LOC here come-CP summer-LOC field and
- malu aaspar-a faſel k^{hi}ſ-i ta zin-a ba*
 Malu Aspar-LOC crop cultivate-CP PRT winter-LOC PRT
- kaſa punagraam-a ki nag-aal bai-t^hum*
 household Punagram-OBL to come.down-PRS.PTCP be-INDIRPST.3PL
- ‘From Punagram in the end they came here, in the summer they went to Aspar and Malu to cultivate the fields, and in the winter they were coming down to Punagram with their households.’
 (D:T8043)

c. Pronouns and determiners

As when following nouns, it appears that the particle *ba* signals switch-topicality when following pronouns and determiners as well. A good example of this is shown in (64).

- (64) *tu tāā put ni laaki-i muu laak-nap ba*
 2SG.NOM 2SG.POSS.M son not having.cried-CP 1SG weep-PRS.2SG PRT
- ay ba matiki begarati ni t^hum*
 1SG.NOM TOPSH so dishonourable not be.PRS.1SG
- ‘You did not cry for your son, you cried for me. I am not so dishonorable,’ (D:T1039)

The particle *ba* can also follow pronouns and determiners in other cases than the nominative, e.g., a genitive such as in example (65). It appears once again to signal topic, i.e., *tasāā* ‘his’ refers back to *mač* ‘man’ (or rather, *ek lee yarib mač* ‘one very poor man’), which is the comment of the previous clause.

- (65) *taga zamaana ta ek ſiluuk daru-i*
 ago times from one story is-Q
- tee ek lee yarib mač bai-t^haa*
 that one very poor man be-INDIRPST.3SG.M
- tasāā ba ek čoſti put bai-t^haa*
 3SG.DIST.POSS.M PRT one only.child son be-INDIRPST.3SG.M
- ‘There is a story from long ago, that there was a very poor man. He had an only son.’ (D:T4001)

When the referent in the example above is referred to in two different clauses, a particularly common construction in Dameli is to add a possessive pronoun directly after the noun (proper or common) in constructions such as *tas mač sāā put* ‘the son of that man’ (‘that man 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M son’). In such constructions, *ba* may follow the possessive, as in (66).

- (66) *āā ta⁵ maatep sāā-ø ba ſoo put-suu*
 and from Matep 3SG.ANIM.POSS-M PRT six son-KIN.PL
- ‘And Matep had six sons.’ (D:T8022)

⁵ This *ta* is probably not the postposition ‘from’, but rather the discourse particle *ta*. In the only other occurrence of *āā ta* in the material, *ta* is glossed ‘PART’.

d. Adverbs and postpositions

The particle *ba* can also follow adverbs and postpositions. With postpositions, it appears to topicalize the postpositional phrase, as in the following rather long example; in (67) topic *too ki* ‘for you’, which refers to the same referent as the comment *tãã* ‘yours’ in the previous clause, is marked with *ba*. The topic is then switched to the *seek braa-es-a ki* ‘for the other brother’, which is followed by *ba*.

- (67) *(ta mää-i kʰur weeb-aa gan-i ta ber ta man-tʰen-i*
 PRT 1SG.POSS-F foot reach-PRS.3SG.M say-CP PRT ? PRT accept-INDIRPST.3PL
tee yee watan ta tãã b-aa razan sãã)
 that this country PRT 2SG.POSS.M be-DIRPST.3SG.M Razan POSS-M
 ‘(He said that my foot reached there, and then they agreed that this land would
 become yours, [that is] Razan’s.)’
- ãã too ki ba ware daç-ima gan-i yede*
 and 2SG.OBL for PRT other see-FUT.1PL say-CP go.CP
seek braa-es-a ki ba biurigali yede see waar-tʰen
 other brother-KIN.3-OBL for PRT Biori.Valley go.CP 3SG.DIST catch-INDIRPST.3PL
 ‘And we will look for another for you, he said, and having gone they went to Biori and took it for
 the other brother.’ (D:T3017-8)

When the particle *ba* follows an adverb, it too seems as though *ba* signals a switch of topic, which can be seen in example (68) where *žaa* ‘now’ followed by *ba* contrasts with the earlier *preešbãĩ* ‘before’.

- (68) *yee muu ki mamuli ni daro tee preešbãĩ tʰ-aa ta*
 this 1S.OBL to ordinary not is that before be-PRS.3SG.M PRT
tãã-i ãĩ muu-a
 2SG.POSS-F eye 1SG.OBL-LOC
 ‘It is not unimportant to me, that before your eyes were searching for me.’
- žaa ba yee yam lee baloo daro tee*
 now PRT this grief very big is that
muu-a tãã-ø nazar-es ni daro
 1S.OBL-LOC 2SG.POSS-M sight-also not is
 ‘Now this grief is very great, that I am not in your sight either [you do not want to look upon
 me].’ (D:TV3003)

3.2.2 *ta*

The particle *ta* is the second most common word in the Dameli material. In the less detailed glossing, it represents around 1.5% (141 of 9647) of all tokens, and is glossed ‘PART’ (140 times) and once as ‘TOPSM’. In the more detailed glossing, the particle *ta* represents around 1.5% (156 of 10593) of all tokens, being glossed identically as ‘PART’ (154) and ‘TOPSM’ (2).

However, Dameli also has a postposition with an identical form, which is glossed as ‘of’ (132), ‘from’ (115) and once as ‘than’ in the less detailed glossing. Though having a long vowel, there is also a rarer past tense marker *taa*, which is glossed variously as ‘PAST’ (44) and ‘then’ (9) in the same glossing.

There are also some inconsistencies and confusions probably stemming from the similar form of these three different words, as evidenced in *ta* also being glossed ‘PAST’ (21) and (unexpectedly) ‘necessity’ (1), and *taa* once being glossed rather bluntly (and thus probably erroneously) as ‘taa’; these few confusing cases will be ignored in the analysis. Also interesting is the hapax legomenon *taaba* ‘then?’. These words are similarly present in the more detailed glossing.

Around 86% (99 of 115) of all occurrences of *ta* can be divided into the following three categories: proper and common nouns (39%), verbs (36%) as well as pronouns and determiners (11%). The remaining 16 instances follow variously (and never more than four times per category) postpositions, adverbs, adjectives and grammatical particles (including *ba* once).

a. Proper and common nouns

In many cases, it is difficult to account for *ta* functioning as a same-topic marker. An example is presented in (69), where *yii* ‘mother’ is marked with *ta*; while *yii* functions as the topic of an earlier clause, it is not the most recent topic. Thus, if *ta* signals topic, it is rather a switch of topic, contrasting *yii* with *žaniibrei* ‘bride’ in the previous clause.

- (69) *paai sãã-i yii çan pre-i gan-ni tee*
 boy 3SG.ANIM.POSS-F mother cry give-CP say-PRS.3SG.F that
 ‘Crying out, the mother of the boy said:’
- mãã putr-oo too ni laak-num*
 1SG.POSS.M son-VOC 2SG.OBL not weep-PRS.1SG
- mãã-i luři bawi laak-num*
 1SG.POSS-F young.girl daughter-in-law weep-PRS.1SG
 ‘‘My son, I am not crying for you. I am crying for my young daughter-in-law.’’
- yee baati baarbaar k^huñd-ni tee*
 3SG.INANIM.PROX word again.and.again tell-PRS.3SG.F that
- žaniibrei hairan b-ui*
 bride wondering become-DIRPST.3SG.F
 ‘As she said these words over and over again, the bride started to wonder.’
- yii ta taanu put sãã yam kur-an-baš-a*
 mother TOPSM REFL.POSS son 3SG.ANIM.POSS.M grief do-INF-able-LOC
- mãã yam ku-ni*
 1SG.POSS.M grief do-PRS.3SG.F
 ‘The mother could be grieving for her own son, but she grieves for me.’ (D:T1020-4)

Particularly helpful are idioms and proverbs, where there naturally is no directly related previous topic. Thus, in e.g., (70), it would be difficult to argue that *ta* functions as a same-topic marker.

(70) *alaa tãã put ta aᅅgar t^haa*
 God 2SG.POSS.M son PRT fire be.PRS.3SG.M
 ‘Oh God, your son is fire.’ (D:TI0006)

Example (71) also contradicts the notion of same-topicality, as the phrase marked with *ta* (*aazim yalti* ‘great mistake’), which is the topic of its clause, refers to the comment of the previous clause (*ek aazim yalti* ‘one great mistake’). The function of the following *ba* is unknown to the present author.

(71) *yee ek aazim yalti b-o*
 this one great mistake be-FUT.3SG
 ‘This would be a great mistake.’

ãã yee aazim yalti ta ba ainda
 and 3SG.INANIM.PROX great mistake PRT PRT coming.times
ainda-es masãã ki izaala ni b-o
 coming.times-also 3SG.ANIM.POSS.M for result not become-FUT.3SG
 ‘And this mistake could not be corrected in the future.’ (D:T008-9)

b. Verbs

The particle *ta* follows verbs in around 36% (41 of 115) of instances. Most of the preceding verbs are finite, with around a fourth being infinitives or conjunctive participles.

If *ta* follows conjunctive particles, it appears to function as a same-subject marker as described by Perder (2013). An example of this is shown in (69). However, most instances with conjunctive participles are not followed by *ta* while still retaining a same-subject reading.

(72) *preeᅅ b-aa ba tẽẽ zaatak-nam waapas bin-nun*
 spill become-DIRPST.3SG.M TOPSH 3PL.DIST child-PL back see-PRS.3PL
 ‘After they have been spilled, those children look back.’

waapas aaç-i baara aaç-i ta paai mili madad kur-i
 back come-CP away come-CP PRT boy with help do-CP

tee taaygu-nam ral ku-nun
 that pear-PL up do-PRS.3PL
 ‘Returning back, they help the boy picking up the pears.’ (D:TP0027-8)

However, when following a finite verb, *ta* instead appears to signal a switch of topic. Consider example (73), where the topic is switched from an implicit ‘he’ to *daamiãã sãã zaadi* ‘the hearts of the Dameli people’.

- (73) *kabza lag-aai-i see tʰan ni win-aa*
 take.by.force do-CAUS-CP 3SG.DIST place not leave-DIRPST.3SG.M
 ‘Having taken it, he did not leave that place.’
- ni win-aa ta daamiãã sãã*
 not leave-DIRPST.3SG.M PRT Dameli 3SG.ANIM.POSS.M
- zaadi lee baloo angar prambal-na taa ...*
 heart very big fire burn-PRS.3SG.M PST ...
- ‘When he did not leave it, the hearts of the Dameli people burned with great desire...’
 (D:TW5020-21)

However, it appears completely incomprehensible for a language to have a particle that functions as both a same-topic and a switch-topic marker. Indeed, if ignoring the notion of topicality, the function of *ta* becomes much clearer. Conjunctive participles can by definition only share the subject (and thus most often the topic) with the finite verb of their main clause. Thus, one would not expect a conjunctive participle to be followed by a marker expressing a switch of topic. Similarly, one would not expect a finite verb to be followed by the same subject or topic – a conjunctive participle would be used instead. A more justified analysis is then to consider the conjunctive participle as expressing same-topic and the finite verb as different-topic, which renders the particle *ta* either redundant or, more likely, as having another function. The most likely interpretation is that it signals subsequence, i.e., akin to English ‘[and] then’.

c. Pronouns and determiners

While representing 11% of all occurrences, there are in fact only 13 instances of *ta* following pronouns or determiners. Some of these are part of the *ta... ba* construction (e.g., 75 below), whereas the remaining do not necessarily point to *ta* being a same-topic marker. An example is (74), where it rather serves to introduce a new topic (i.e., *ay* ‘I’). If *ta* was a same-topic marker, one would expect it to follow *muu mili* ‘with me’ and not *ay*.

- (74) *ḍakṭor-ee gan-ee mãã yii-oo parwa ma kur-e*
 doctor-ERG say-DIRPST.3SG 1SG.POSS.M mother-VOC worry don't do-IMP.SG
- tee ay ta ḍakṭor tʰum*
 that 1SG.NOM PRT doctor be.PRS.1SG
- ‘The doctor said "My mother, do not worry; [for] I am a doctor.”’
- muu mili ek manuu mas šaa*
 1SG.OBL with one thus 3SG.ANIM.PROX.ACC on
- mas-a ek manuu čunči laga-im-i tee*
 3SG.ANIM.PROX.ACC-LOC one thus injection do-FUT.1SG-CP that
- ‘I have a thing, such that I will give him an injection, that...’ (D:TW3020-2)

3.2.3 *ta... ba*

As in Palula, *ta... ba* is a very frequent and important device used in adversative constructions, most typically with pronouns and determiners. Two typical examples are shown shown in (75) and (76).

Note that while *ta* is glossed as ‘from’ in (76), there is no obvious reason for this given the context (cf., the Palula example in 53 above).

(75) *see ta oot^hin-aa ay ba g-eem*
 3SG.DIST PRT remain-DIRPST.3SG.M 1SG.NOM PRT go-DIRPST.1SG
 ‘He stayed and I went.’ (D:TW2017)

(76) *tasuu maana duu ta g-ede skul-a daxil*
 them of.them two **from** take-CP school-LOC entrance
ku-t^hee ãã ek ba madrasa-a daxil ku-t^hee
 do-INDIRPST.3SG and one PRT madrasa-LOC entrance do-INDIRPST.3SG
 ‘Two of them were admitted in school, and one was admitted in a madrassa.’ (TW3002)

The construction *ta... ba* can also be used with the negation particles *ni* as *ni ta... ni ba*, which causes the clause to follow the particle instead of to precede it. An example is shown in (77).

(77) *paisa halas b-aa tee*
 money finished be-DIRPST.3SG.M that
ni ta ay waapas daaman b-een-baş baama
 not PRT 1SG.NOM back Domel be-DIRPST.3PL-able ?
ni ba waapas peexawor weeb-an-baş baama
 not PRT back Peshawar reach-INF-able ?
 ‘After the money finished, I was not able to go back to Domel, or go back to Peshawar.’
 (D:TW7006)

As argued for Palula (see 3.1.3 above), it is more consistent with other uses of the particles as well as the normal *ta... ba* construction to not regard the particles as having been moved the beginning of the clauses, but instead the see them as following the negation particle.

3.3 Kalasha (Indo-Aryan, Chitral)

Kalasha has a number of words that are similar in form and function to Palula and/or Dameli *ba* and *ta*: *ta, to, báta, pe* and *o*. There is also an adversative construction *ta... o*.

3.3.1 *ta*

Kalasha has a word *ta* that is probably related to Palula and Dameli *ta*. In the glossings, Trail primarily uses ‘CNTR’, i.e., ‘contrastive [particle]’. It appears to function as a (same-)topic marker. In contrast to Palula and Dameli *ta*, it never follows verbs. Note that it is identical with the past hearsay suffix *-ta*.

In example (78), it is used to refer to the previous topic by emphasizing that it was the son (i.e., the previous subject and topic) who was saved.

- (78) *(t-asa nawa[-as bian drašn-i a-a-u*
 REM-3SG.GEN grandchild-3SG.GEN outside come.out-PTCP be.ANIM-0⁶-3SG.PRS
- e gošt o nitsi ši-a-u)*
 when barn DM collapsed be.ANIM-0-3SG.PRS
- khoday to ta bacat ar-aw*
 God 3SG.ACC CNTR safe do-3SG.PST
- ‘(When his son's son, his grandson came out, the barn collapsed.) God saved him (in contrast to his grandfather).’ (K:BAR09-10)

It can also be used as a general topic marker, as in (79). In this context *ta* seems to do little else than introduce a new topic.

- (79) *se gáda istriža jag-a-í má-i-ļa ki*
 that old woman be.seen-CAUS-PRS.PTCP say-0-3SG.PST.HSAY that
- ía ta bo šišóyak*
 this.one CNTR very beautiful
- ‘When the old woman saw her she said, “This girl is very beautiful!”’ (K:LAD056)

The particle *ta* can also be used in the adversative construction *ta... o* (see 3.3.6 below).

3.3.2 *to*

Besides being identical in form to the 3SG accusative pronoun (e.g. in 78 above), *to* is also an adverb glossed as ‘after’. This is shown in (80), as well as in and (84) below.

- (80) *ahú žú-i to báca čú-ļasi kay*
 bread eat-PRS.PTCP **after** king daughter-3PL.KIN to
- š-áma suál ká-da ...*
 DEF-this question do-3SG.PST.HSAY ...
- ‘After eating, the king asked his daughters this question, [“My first-born daughter, who has made you?”]’ (K:LAD021)

It can also be combined with the locative marker *-a*, as in (81) as well as (82) below.

- (81) *ghō-i ma-i-ļa e ļawak ma-i-ļa ki*
 say-PRS.PTCP say-0-PST.HSAY.3SG when fox say-0-PST.HSAY.3SG that
- eli š-h išnehari may sawz-a-iman as-i-s*
 those DEF-like.that thing 1SG.GEN be.made-CAUS-PST.CONT be.anim-0-PST.3SG
- se naš-i to-a onja o a bāta sawz-e-m day*
 he die-PRS.PTCP **after-in** now CNTR I CNTR be.made-CAUS-PRS.1SG CONT
- ‘The fox said, “My father used to make that kind of thing. After he died, now I make (them).”’ (K:FOX008-9)

⁶ The meaning of ‘0’, which occurs in this and a few other examples in *Kalasha*, is unknown to the present author.

3.3.3 *báta*

Interestingly, there is a marker *báta* (or *bata*) which is glossed either ‘CNTR’ (as *ta* and *o*) or ‘on the other hand’ (which also is used for *o*; cf., *ta* ‘on one hand’). It appears to signal topic, but what kind is difficult to interpret: in example (82) it appears to function as a different-topic marker, while in (83) it (at least the second time) rather seems to function as a same-topic marker.

- (82) *se náš-i tó-a onja o a báta sawz-é-m day*
 he die.PRS after-in now CNTR I CNTR be.made-CAUS-PRS CONT
 ‘After he died, now I make (them).’ (K:FOX009)

- (83) *se báta sóc-as móc-ay pa-i á-a-u*
 she CNTR thought-3SG.OBL middle-in go-PRS.PTCP be.ANIM-0-3SG.PRS
 ‘She also began to think.’

bo soc ka-i to, se báta má-i-ła
 much thought do-PRS.PTCP after she CNTR say-0-3SG.PST.HSAY

ki dád-a tu may páyda ka-i
 that father-3SG.KIN 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC creation do-PRS.PTCP

ás-a-s ghõ-i-ła
 be.ANIM-0-2SG.PRS say-0-3SG.PST.HSAY

‘After thinking for some time she said, “Father, you have made me.”’ (K:LAD027-8)

3.3.4 *pe*

The particle *pe* ‘if’ was included with much hesitation, as it is not clearly related to either Palula/Dameli *ba* or *ta*, nor is it used to indicate the topic or subject. However, it exhibits two interesting characteristics that caused it to be included here.

Firstly, it may actually be related to Palula and Dameli *ba*. There exists at least some alternation between K. /p/ and P. /b/, e.g., K. *pa-* ‘go’ (P. *bii*) and K. *pay* ‘goat’ (P. *abai*), and at least one alternation between K. /e/ and P. /a/, i.e., K. *ne* ‘not’ (P. *na*). While this comparison (and the material itself) is much too small-scale and thus obviously requires further analysis for any conclusions to be drawn, it does present an interesting possible link between the different languages.

Secondly, the function of *pe* as a conditional particle overlaps somewhat with one of the functions of Dameli *ba*. Compare the Kalasha example in (84) with the Dameli example in (85).

- (84) **Kalasha**
hal-a pe haw hal-i la
 take.ANIM-PST.2SG **if** SUBJ take.ANIM-IPFV.2SG polite
 ‘If you take them, then take them.’ (K:WAL023)

(85) **Dameli**

ãã gan-ee tee muu bin-um ba ay žan-im
 and say-DIRPST.3SG that 1SG.ERG see-DIRPST.1SG **PRT** 1SG.NOM kill-FUT.1SG

mya bin-oba ba bi žan-iba
 2PL.ERG see-DIRPST.2PL **PRT** 2PL.NOM kill-FUT.2PL

‘And [he] said: If I see him, I will kill him, if you see him, you will kill him’ (D:T4023)

3.3.5 o

While not immediately directly related to either *ba* or *ta*, the particle *o* is the single most common discourse particle in Kalasha. Trail normally glosses it ‘OI’ (i.e., ‘old information’). However, the particle is very difficult to classify. Sometimes it appears to function as a switch-topic, as in example (86).

(86) *aj kaw pay kawa hatya ni-is day*
 this year goats where to take.ANIM-2SG.PRES CONT

‘‘Where are you taking your goats this year?’’

a o may te har kaw-a pastiret mi hatya
 I **OI** 1SG.GEN they.REM every year-in Pastiret EMPH to

ni-im har kaw-a
 take.ANIM-1SG.PRES every year-in

‘I take my flock each year to Pastiret (high pasture).’ (K:SHES018-9)

The possibility of its functioning as a topic marker is supported by the fact that it can be used with time adverbials, as in (87) where the future is contrasted to the present.

(87) *homa dur-ay lj*
 1PL.GEN house-in shame

copa o tay putr bata ubuj-iu
 future **OI** 2SG.GEN son on.other.hand be.born-3SG.PRES

‘It is shame to our house. In the future your son will be born.’ (K:ADM066-7)

However, the interpretation is complicated as *o* may sometimes be used to mark the comment instead, as in example (88) (excerpt from a conversation) where the comments *kay* ‘when’ and *dash basan* ‘in ten days’ are both marked with *o*. Nothing else had been mentioned previously in the conversation except a short exchange of greetings.

(88) *son-ay hatya kay o ni-im gho~-i citx-is day*
 pasture-in to when **OI** take.ANIM-1S.PRES say-PRS.PTCP think-2S.PRES CONT

‘‘When are you thinking of taking (your goats) to the high pastures?’’

dash bas-an o ni-ik albat
 10 day-in **OI** take.ANIM-1P.PRES surely

‘‘In ten days we may take (them).’’ (K:SHES005-6)

In other cases it is clearly used to mark the topic, as in (89) where the (preposed) topics *tay* ‘you’ and *may* ‘me’ are followed by *o*, whereas the comments are *kúra* ‘who’ and *khoday* ‘God’ are not.

- (89) *báca chútyak chu-las kay ma-i-ła ki*
king young daughter-KIN.3SG to say-0-PST.HSAY.3SG that
tay o kúra payda ka-i as-a-u
2SG.ACC CNTR who creation do-PRS.PTCP be.ANIM-PST.2SG-PRS.3SG
‘The king said to his youngest daughter, “And who has made you?”’

chútyak chu-las bo dun-una bo dun-una to
young daughter-KIN.3SG much think-PST.HSAY.3SG much think-PST.HSAY.3SG after
ma-i-ła ki may o khoday payda ka-i
say-0-PST.HSAY.3SG that 1SG.ACC OI God creation do-PRS.PTCP
as-a-u
be.ANIM-0-PRS.3SG
‘The youngest daughter thought and thought and said, “God has made me.”’ (K:LAD031-2)

Besides being used on its own, the particle *o* may also be used in the *ta... o* construction as shown in the next section.

3.3.6 *ta... o*

The particle *ta* and *o* can also be used together in the adversative construction *ta... o* (cf., Palula and Dameli *ta... ba* in 3.1.3 and 3.2.3 above respectively), as shown in (90).

- (90) *kay-mina kay-mina ek ta its as-ta*
when-time when-time one **on.one.hand** bear be.ANIM-PAST.HEARSAY.3S
‘Once upon a time there was a bear.’
ek o ławak as-ta
one **on.other.hand** fox be.ANIM-PAST.HEARSAY.3S
‘And there was a fox.’ (K:FOX001)

Although occurring only once in the material, *ta* can also be paired with the negation particle to form the negative adversative construction *ne ta... ne o* (cf., Palula *na ta... na ba* in 3.1.3, and Dameli *ni ta... ni ba* in 3.2.3 above). In this single instance, shown in (91), the clauses are placed after the particles.

- (91) *sh-ál-ey o ne ta a mút-a úst-ik a-bha-is*
DEF-there-from OI **not** CNTR I tree-in climb-INF PST-be.able-1SG.PST
ne o may dust koki ...
not CNTR 1SG.GEN friend because ...
‘Therefore neither I nor my friend were able to climb the tree because...’ (K:DAN017)

3.4 Gawri (Indo-Aryan, Kohistani)

As Kalasha, Gawri has a number of words that are similar in form and function to Palula *ba* and *ta: bi, tä, tākä*, and *i*. There is also an adversative construction *tä... i*.

3.4.1 *bi*

The particle *bi* (glossed as ‘CONTR’) is used to contrast a topic with the previous one. Consider example (92).

- (92) *ya märo ya kābūl phār gā-š*
 I QUOT.I I Kabul to go.PRF-PST
äro tu bi ätek šārdä yā-y ā
 QUOT you CNTR this.much quickly come-PRF Q
 ‘I said, "I went to Kabul." He said, "Did you return this quickly?"’ (G:AFG113)

Sometimes *bi* has a similar function to the adversative construction *tä... i*. In these cases the topics of a series of clauses are marked with *bi* to contrast with the unmarked topic of the first clause. An example is given in (93).

- (93) *kän nimāz kīr kän bi čey pīy*
 who.A namaz do.PRF who.AG CNTR tea drink.PRF.F
kän bi känā~ kīr
 who.AG CNTR something do.PRF
 ‘Some prayed, some drank tea, some did whatever.’ (G:AFG093)

Whereas *bi* in the examples above could also be analyzed as signaling a switch of subject, example (94) affirms this analysis as a switch-topic marker, as it contrast two different locational topics; one locative noun phrase (*kā~ wāxä* ‘at that time’⁷), and one prepositional phrase (*pār kā lāṅūgā~ wāx māy* ‘at the time of passing to the other side’).

- (94) *pārā xō kā~ wāx-ā sā mū~ bām kā yē~š*
 but then which.OBL time.OBL-LOC it our direction to come.IPFV.F-PST
tē khur-ā~ čāl pati bām kā āš,
 and foot-GEN.PL print.PL reverse direction to were
 ‘But where she had been coming towards us, there her footprints were pointed in the other direction,’
tē pār kā lāṅ-ūg-ā~ wāx māy bi khur-ā~ čāl
 and other.side to pass-INF-GEN.OBL time.OBL in CNTR foot-GEN.PL print.PL
mū~ bām kā gir-āl jānā~š.
 our direction to turn-AP know.IPFV.PL-PST
 ‘and where she had been crossing the stream her footprints were pointed in our direction.’

⁷ This translation may very well be wrong, as the function of *kā~* ‘which’ is unknown to the present author. It does not appear to function as relative particle, but it always agrees with the following word. Here, it is tentatively interpreted as a determiner.

3.4.2 *tä*

The particle *tä*⁸, which also is part of the *tä... i* construction (see 3.4.6 below), is glossed ‘EMP’, i.e., ‘emphatic particle’. It follows nouns and pronouns and appears to function as a topic marker, signaling a change of topic. This is clearly shown in (95), where a new topic (‘their trunks’) is introduced.

- (95) (*hōz-ūnā~* *čāphārā nāqli* *tām* *čāy*)
 water.pond-PL.GEN.OBL around artificial tree.PL make.PRF.PL
tāsū~ nēr **tü** *lau* *zār-ē~* *čēy* *tē*
 their root-PL EMP red gold-GEN.F make.PRF.F and
tāsū~ phāṅ *tē* *pāl* *i* *zāmrūd-ā~* *čāy*
 their branches and leaves top emerald-GEN.PL make.PRF.PL

‘(Around these ponds artificial trees were created.) Their trunks were made of gold and the branches and the leaves were made of diamonds.’ (G:SHE045-6)

The particle *tä* can also signal contrast, as shown in (96) where the talking characters in the story didn’t find a previously mentioned fish, but the king’s son did.

- (96) *äro* *mā* **tü** *māsin* *nā* *let* *pārā* *čhā~* *pō-ā* *lā*
 QUOT we EMP fish not find.PRF.F but your.OBL boy-A find.CP
thāy *rā* *pāzuan* *nā* *kā* *gī* *nān-ā* *tāl-i*
 you.OBL on respect not do.CP take.CP river-LOC put-PRF.F

‘They said, “We did not find the fish, but your son found it; but he did not respect his father and threw it back into the river.”’ (G:UNL018)

However, in other cases a suitable interpretation is more difficult to find. Example (97) contains two instances of *tä*. The utterances are taken from a man’s retelling of his journey to Afghanistan. On the way he met a soldier, who asked him for some snuff. Realizing that the snuff was from Peshawar, the soldier asked the traveler if he was Pakistani. The first *tä* is similar to the examples above, in that the snuff becomes the topic. However, the second *tä* is not that straightforward; instead it seems to indicate that *pākistēnī* is inferred from the context, i.e., the man’s being Pakistani from the latter’s Peshawar snuff.

- (97) *tān* *mē~* *nāswār-ē~* *ḍābāy* *bir-i* *tē* *nāswār* *bir-i*
 that.AG my.F naswar-GEN.F box see-CP and naswar see-CP
äro *yār* *tē* *čhā~* *nāswār* **tü** *pēxōr-ā~* *thu*
 QUOT friend and your.M.SG naswar EMP Peshawar-GEN is
äro *tu* *pākistēnī* **tü** *nā*
 QUOT you Pakistani EMP no

(He saw the box and the snuff and said, “Friend, your snuff is from Peshawar!”) He said, “You are Pakistani, no?” (G:AFG039-40)

⁸ *Gawri* has two open vowels, with /a/ written as <ä> and /o/ written as <a>.

3.4.3 *tākā*

While only occurring two times in the material, *tākā* ‘then’ is interesting as it resembles *tā* and (unlike *tā*) follows conjunctive participles both times. From the two examples, it appears that it signals subsequence, as in (98). It is quite possibly formed from *tā* and the postposition *kā* ‘to, for’.

- (98) *rāj̄kōṭ māy äy ikhi tākā ṣiṣāy-ä ä khänä-ä bāṣ.*
 Rajkot in it come.up.CP **then** top-LOC one mountain.OBL-LOC sit.PRF
 ‘He came up to Rajkot and stopped on the top of some mountain.’ (G:MIG025)

3.4.4 *to*

Gawri also has a particle *to* ‘SUB’ (i.e., ‘subordinator’) which is extremely rare in the material. It always occurs at the end of subordinate phrases. These tend to have a relative function, as (99).

- (99) *āthā~ mīṣ pā giyā-y kän läxä ās hālāl kīṣ to.*
 that man also bring-PRF who.AG as this.OBL slaughter do.PRF.PST SUB
 ‘The man who had slaughtered this mendicant was also brought.’ (G:MEN074)

At first glance, it appears very difficult to account for a subordinating function for *to*, as it comes at the end of the entire sentence. This stands true for all instances of *to* in the material. This is wholly unexpected, as logically, a subordinator ought to separate the main clause from the subordinate clause so as to not be superfluous. However, there are two explanations as to why it occurs in such an unexpected position.

Firstly, it is shown to function very differently in Baart (1999). While *to* still occurs at the end of the subordinate clause, the subordinate clause instead precedes the main clause. Consider (100), where the relative clause clearly precedes the main clause.

- (100) [*kā~ ī~ rāqām ās kē āṣu to*]
 which this money her with was SUB
än ās rumēl wā tālu
 she.AG it handkerchief.OBL down put.PRF
 ‘She put the money that she had in a handkerchief.’ (Baart 1999:150)

However, it is important to note that *to* can be used in other subordinate clauses than relative clauses. An example is shown in (101) which is clearly not a relative clause.

- (101) [*nimāṣām-ē~ baṇ dit to*] *āpān mākā pāṣā*
 evening-GEN.F azan give.PRF SUB self to.me show.IMP
 ‘Show yourself to me when the evening azan (call to prayer) has sounded.’ (Baart 1999:149)

Secondly, there is an observed tendency among some Dardic languages to have newer right-branching structures competing with the original left-branching structures of the languages (Henrik Liljegren, p.c.). While merely a conjecture from the present author, this could very well imply that it is a newer construction. This also explains why the subordinate clauses with *to* in the material always begin with another subordinator or relativizer/relative pronoun, i.e., as a way to compromise the degrading function of *to*, which would also explain why it is so rare.

Thus, it would appear that Gawri *to* originally had a function similar to Kohistani Shina *to* (e.g., in 109) or Palula *-tá* in the conditional subordinators *heentá* and *seentá* (see 3.1.4), i.e., indicating subsequence, and gradually grammaticalized into a subordinator.

3.4.5 *i*

The particle *i* is glossed ‘TOP’ and indeed appears to function as a topic marker, as well as being part of the *tā... i* construction (see 3.4.6 below). It almost exclusively follows nouns and pronouns. Its function as a topic marker, or rather a switch-topic marker, is shown in example (102) where *isāl* ‘women’ is contrasted with earlier *tām* ‘they’ (implying only the men).

- (102) *tē mū~ tātā kābūlī thu; tām čälāp šān-t*
 and our there Kabuli are they turban.PL put.IPFV.PL-PRES
tē isāl i pāṛān šēn-t
 and women TOP dress.PL put.IPFV.F-PRS

‘... and in our [area] there are Kabuli people, but they wear turbans and the women wear long dresses...’ (G:AFG084)

It can also be used in two coordinate clauses, as in (103) where the two marked topics (*tēm* ‘time’ and *ālāqa* ‘area’) both contrast with the conditions of the previous context; the excerpt is from a narrative in which the protagonist just arrived in Kabul and, upon realizing that everyone speaks Persian, did not know how to find a place for the night.

- (103) *tēm i biṭāk thi tē ālāqa i kiškā gān ä bāzār thu;*
 time TOP late is.F and area TOP some big one bazaar is
dī čhēri sārāi-ā~ mākā pāta nā šaj-an-t.
 other leave.CP inn-GEN to.me information not touch-IPFV-PRS

‘It was late and it was a big bazaar area; apart from anything else, I could not find any hotel.’ (G:AFG052)

3.4.6 *tā... i*

Gawri also has a construction similar to Palula/Dameli *ta... ba*, viz., the adversative *tā... i* construction. An example of this is shown in (104).

- (104) *tātā ī~ miš-ā mān-u-t ū~ ī~ gārā*
 there this man-AG say-PRF-PRS that this river.side.OBL.LOC
ä ṭāprāy šānā čā ya tū zikir kār-an-t tē
 one cabin like make.CP I EMP zikir do-IPFV-PRS and
tu i tānī kā sāl māl kār-a--š, kār.
 you TOP own what visit echo do-IPFV-PST do

‘There this man told him, “Make a sleeping place here at the river bank; I will spend some time in zikir (repeated invocation of the names of God), and you should do some sightseeing.”’ (G:UNL045)

The construction can also be used with the negation particle *nä*, reversing the order of the marked clause. An example is given in (105).

- (105) *ĩ~ zumān ĩ~čhālā~ āš ũ~*
 this time such was that
nü tü mä bijläy jñā--š tē
 not EMP we electricity know.IPFV.PL-PST and
nü i čälē~ kēr điba tē lāṭēn āš.
 not EMP light.GEN.F sake lamp and lantern were

‘In that time we did not know about electricity, neither were there lamps for lighting or lanterns.’
 (G:WIT003)

3.5 Comparisons with other Indo-Aryan varieties in the region

In addition to the four languages above, ten other languages were investigated as well, although to a lesser extent mostly due to a lack of available material. For most of these languages, the material comprises just a couple of pages which have not been the subject detailed analysis, in contrast to the texts for Palula, Dameli, Kalasha, and Gawri, all of which have been glossed by experts, which makes the following analyses less precise and reliable. However, the material used for Kohistani Shina, Gilgit Shina, and Pashai is much more extensive. Note that the references to Decker (1992) and Hallberg (1992) refer to appendices in Rensch et al. (1992), while Radloff (1992b) is an appendix of Backstrom & Radloff (1992).

3.5.1 Ushojo (Indo-Aryan, Shina)

Ushojo (Decker 1992) appears to have two relevant particles: *ba* and *to/ta*. The particle *ba* (which may be the same as *bai* ‘then’, occurring once), which is shown in (106) has the same form as Palula *ba*, and the glossing shows some similarity to it. However, the glossings are too vague to arrive at any conclusions.

- (106) *kalama dɽ umɽ laŋgege; kačak monda neṭa laŋgili ba*
 Kalam in time spent some time time spent **then**
ɽji ali šagama te šagama dɽ umɽ umɽ laŋgege
 up came Shagram to Shagram in time time spent
 ‘... they spent time in Kalam. Then after some time they came up to Shagram.’
 (Decker 1992:200, 204)

The particles *to* and *ta*, which probably are variants of the same particle, have various glossings. The particle *to* is most frequently glossed ‘to’, but also as ‘will?’ and simply ‘?’ (along with ‘you’, which in all certainty is another word), while *ta* is ‘?’. If they constitute one particle, it is very similar in form to Palula/Dameli *ta*. Indeed, the glosses ascribed to it are difficult to account for. Consider example

(107)⁹, where the glossing ‘to’ appears unjustified; rather, it seems more likely that it signals some kind of topic-marking function.

- (107) *niaĵi ma ali niašama sas asili xapa*
 hunt from came evening sister was sad
sisi tapos tege ža roĵa tapos tege
 they asked did brother from asked did
e sase to ke xapa hani razinu
 oh sister to why sad is said

‘They came from hunting in the evening and their sister was sad. They asked, “Why are you sad? Oh, Sister, why are you sad? What happened to you?”’ (Decker 1992:199, 203)

3.5.2 Kohistani Shina (Indo-Aryan, Shina)

Kohistani Shina (Schmidt & Kohistani 2008) has a word *to*, which shares many similarities with Palula/Dameli *ta* and Gilgit Shina *to*. Schmidt & Kohistani (2008:255) define it as a topicalizer ‘as for, then’ which “emphasizes the immediately preceding topic, possibly contrasting it with a new topic, and may mark a sequence of events.” It is thus used with both nouns and pronouns, as in (108), and with finite verbs, as in (109).

- (108) *thóo to mo yára th-eég-i-n-ee*
 you.AG.PRF TOP me drown do-PRF-F.AUX.PRS-2FSG

‘As for you, you have drowned me.’ (Schmidt & Kohistani 2008:255)

- (109) *bextyáar-oo kašáp th-eég-i to tak kudi-k-áan-i*
 automatic-ABL grab do-PRF-3FSG TOP button where-IDEF-is-3FSG

‘She automatically clutched (her neck), then the button was not there.’ (Schmidt & Kohistani 2008:255)

As the quotation and examples above show, *to* following nouns and pronouns functions as a topic marker, while *to* following finite verb appears to signal subsequence; this is strikingly similar to the functions of Palula *ba* and *ta* respectively. However, *to* also has a further function as a conditional marker (cf., the same function of *to* in Gilgit Shina below). This is seen in example (110).

- (110) *mo ozgáar-n-os to tú-di ay-óo-s*
 I free-am-1MSG TOP you-to come-FUT.MSG-1

‘If I am free, I will come to you.’ (Schmidt & Kohistani 2008:204)

It appears that this is the standard way of constructing conditional sentences; judging from the examples given, even if the loanword *agar* ‘if’ is added (which takes the very first position), *to* remains in the same position (Schmidt & Kohistani 2008:254).

It is also worth noting that *to* never appears to follow conjunctive participles (= Palula’s converbs), which makes it similar to Palula *ta* but different from Dameli *ta*.

⁹ I do not know whence the last two sentences come, as their meanings are not apparent in the original text (which continues with *razinu mi puč marene a lino gaĵa t^ha sinoi razigⁱ asa sane gaĵa t^haono* ‘She said, “My son was killed and you should revenge him.”’) (Rensch et al. 1992:204)

3.5.3 Gilgit Shina (Indo-Aryan, Shina)

Gilgit Shina (Radloff & Shakil 1998; Radloff 1992b)¹⁰ has a possibly relevant *to* ‘then, so, when’, as well as *taki* ‘so that’ which, although possibly equal to Palula *ta + ki*, has a totally different function as it introduces a purposive clause. However, there are some curious differences between the two sources which could indicate that they represent two different varieties, the most significant of which is the total absence of *taki* in Radloff & Shakil (1998) whereas it occurs twice in the comparatively small text in Backstrom & Radloff (1992b).

Both words are shown in (111), where *to* is followed by *nee* ‘then’ (also ‘not’); the only instance of *to* not being followed by *nee* is shown in (112), where it could be interpreted as marking either subsequence or switch-topic.

- (111) *baɫɛb lupeé šudare buɫɛs kʰɪɽe hai-tʰige to nee*
 bulb having.lit boys all down ran **to** then
- hastel bɔʃi par-kaman tʰee maʃʌnʌɽ wigeɛ taki čuruɽo nee učoɽ.*
 hostel all surround doing middle.to putting **so.that** thief not flee
- ‘Turning on the light, the boys all ran down and surrounded the hostel on all sides so that the thief could not flee.’ (Radloff 1992b:373)

- (112) *luʃɽak lo bu to bɔʃʌm*
 tomorrow light be **then** I.will.go
- ‘Tomorrow morning early I will go.’ (Radloff 1992b:371)

However, Radloff & Shakil note that *to* also has a function as a conditional marker, where a simple past tense verb of a subordinate clause followed by *to* is translatable to ‘if’ (Radloff & Shakil 1998:72). An example of this is shown in (113). An argument against its being glossed as ‘if’ is that conditional clauses are common without *to* as well, indicating that it rather has a subsequential function, which would be make (113) translatable as “[If] you want to, *then* go and eat, then!”

- (113) *“rak hin to geé kha, náa!”*
 desire be.PRS.3FSG **so** go.CP eat-IMP.2SG EMPH
- ‘If you want to, go and eat, then!’ (Radloff & Shakil 1998:98)

While rather the opposite of a related marker, it is interesting to note that Gilgit Shina does not have an adversative construction. Instead, no marking at all is used. Compare the (unglossed) examples (114) and (115) from Gilgit Shina and Palula respectively.

¹⁰Note that the transcription system differs in the examples (especially for vowels), as Radloff & Shakil (1998) use a transcription system to that of other Dardic languages, whereas Backstrom & Radloff (1992b) rather use a more IPA-inspired phonetical transcription system. Note also that the glossings from Backstrom & Radloff (1992b) are much less detailed.

Gilgit Shina

- (114) *šudaár-se hai thoóiky su-í-yei – dižoóiky neé su-íyei*
 ‘The child knows how to run, but not how to fall.’¹¹ (Degener & Zia 2008:186)

Palula

- (115) *kunaák utrapainii ta jhaanáanu, whaidainii ba na jhaanáanu.*
 ‘The child knows running but not falling.’ (Haider 2012:39; transl. Henrik Liljegren)

3.5.4 Hunza Shina (Indo-Aryan, Shina)

Hunza Shina (Radloff 1992b) has two seemingly relevant words: *to* ‘so’ and *bas* ‘then’. Both are shown in example (116). It appears from this extremely limited sample that *to* has a subsequential function, while *bas* could be a switch-topic marker. Note that *bas* is very similar to Persian *pas* ‘then, so’, while *to* is very similar to the past tense marker *-to* (e.g., in *wato* ‘came’ in the example below).

- (116) *naradei aŷyo kʰiri wale rætyo buʈa to*
 having.fallen from.there down bringing night stayed **so**
- æʎaltio lo bilo bas aŷyo hɔn tʰee wato*
 early dawn became **then** there.from up having.become came
- ‘Having fallen into the gorge, he spent the night there. Early in the morning, at dawn, he got up from there and came.’ (Radloff 1992b:377)

3.5.5 Astori Shina (Indo-Aryan, Shina)

Astori Shina (Radloff 1992b) has *to* ‘so’, which appears to have a subject-switching or topic-switching function. Consider example (117); the first *to* switches the subject from the time to the major, while the second switches from the major to the guard.

- (117) *poš minʌʈʌk dʌi minʌʈʌk geʌle to meŷar ifalo gete. ifoi pʰʌš tʰe*
 five minutes ten minutes went **so** major reached gate came finish done
- santaʹriʃ raŷʌo “ye ʌšip ʈʌk tʰe niseʃ na de” tʰo*
 guard.to said this horse fasten do him.to not give said
- na de tʰo-bʌl to santaʹriʃ maʃ ʌšpik ʃek na do*
 not give said.while **so** guard me-to horse.of any not gave
- ‘After five to ten minutes, the major reached the gate. He told the guard to tie the horse and not to give it to him (the boy). The guard did not give me the horse at all...’ (Radloff 1992b:380)

Astori Shina also has *ba* ‘again’, which despite its form is difficult to relate Palula/Dameli *ba*. However, it could be related to Palula *bi* ‘also’.

3.5.6 Satpara Shina (Indo-Aryan, Shina)

Satpara Shina (Radloff 1992b:384) has four interesting and potentially relevant words: *tato* ‘then’ (also *tato* and *tʰato*), *to* ‘then, when, so’, *baa* ‘then’, and *ba* ‘*’.

¹¹In its original German translation: ‘Das Kind wird zu rennen verstehen, zu fallen verstehen wird es nicht.’

The particles *to* and *tato* are shown in (118), both seemingly expressing subsequence with *to* possibly signaling a switch of topic. It is possible that *tato* is a combination of *ta* ‘again’ + *to*.

- (118) *'oree ee tato baas-beṭasik be sade baas-bee tato*
 little coming **then** night-stay we there night-staying **then**
eal lo bilo lo-br'la to beṭ žas be 'alas
 soon dawn came dawn.morning-come **then** we started being come
or'the 'oron to 'raati b'g'i 'bili.
 this.side came **so** night midnight happened
 ‘After a little [distance], we stayed there. Soon the dawn came. With the dawn, we started to move. We continued until midnight.’ (Radloff 1992b:385)

The particles *ba* and *baa* occur only once each, in two unfortunate contexts; *ba* occurs in (119), where it precedes *tato*, rendering an analysis of its function too conjectural, while *baa* occurs in (120) after a non-glossed word. Nevertheless, at least for *ba*, the form, context, and absent glossing indicate that it could be related to Palula/Dameli *ba*.

- (119) *u'niṭe-ta'ri 'božom ba tato 'b'ari žo 'gasī to*
 to.crossing.it I.shall.go * then big that went so
āšpos 'sati wa'zi tato dōp-'wazi das 'k'ari.
 horse with came.down then falling.down ? down
 ‘I thought that I will cross this ice. Suddenly I fell down with my horse into the water.’ (Radloff 1992b:387)
- (120) *dezi če č'ak beeṭas. 'sade bei tato ek 'aso 'walo baa*
 days 3 days we.stayed there being then one that ? **then**
baa ni buṭe to mi'rjanos.
then these all so we.will.die
 ‘We stayed three days. We stayed there and thought we would all die.’ (Radloff 1992b:384)

3.5.7 Chilas Shina (Indo-Aryan, Shina)

Chilas Shina (Radloff 1992b) has the word *to* ‘so’, which appears to indicate subsequence and possibly functioning as a switch-topic marker.

- (121) *yani ki^h batser darde xare nil^h to sose čakas to*
 means that cave.of door.at down came **so** it saw **so**
par so hagare sat poštoni šuru t'egi^h.
 there that fire with fumbling started did
 ‘The witch came down at the entrance of the cave. I looked and saw that it started fumbling with the fire.’ (Radloff 1992b:390)

There is also a *ba* ‘again’, which, despite its form, is not necessarily related to Palula/Dameli *ba*.

3.5.8 Bateri (Indo-Aryan, Kohistani)

Bateri (Hallberg 1992) has two interesting particles: *te* ‘?’ and *ta* ‘then’. The particle *te* could very well be a switch-topic or switch-subject marker. This is shown in (122), where the topic and subject is switched to *mī mamsapuš* ‘my cousin’.

- (122) *ate be das gɛɛɛŋ a mɛso me'o melgere dʌs gɛɛn te*
 as we to-fire about ? I my friend to.fire about ?
mī mamsapuš mənɪs ʧe des ne gariap
 mine cousin said that fire not fire
 ‘As my friend and I were about to fire, my cousin told us not to fire.’ (Hallberg 1992:250–251)

On the other hand, *ta* has a clearer subsequential meaning (as reflected in the glossing). An example is shown in (123).

- (123) *be buɫ ʧa jɔ bʰeɟge bayima ʧe bʰalid ta*
 we all 3 ? sat about-to-sit when look then
ase agæn gʰo ak tɪz iye utʰɪgə rɛŋe nu ratũ asu
 we in.front.of big a thing come stood color of red was
 ‘First we all three sat down. We were about to sit when we saw a big animal (thing) standing in front of us. It was red.’ (Hallberg 1992:250)

3.5.9 Gowro (Indo-Aryan, Kohistani)

Gowro (Hallberg 1992) has a particle *te* which is glossed ‘then’ or ‘?’, as well as a similar word, *teyā/taŋā* ‘then’. Both of these have a subsequential function and could be related to Palula/Dameli *ta*. An example of the use of *te* is shown in (124). It is interesting to note that it follows what possibly is a converb.

- (124) *tʌzi yi te dikʰʌn xelo so kale ladere*
 that-place came then Dikan Khel that small.beams tore.down
so gu des bazala deren
 he home making big-beams did
 ‘The Dikan Khel people came to that place and tore down the small and big beams of the house.’ (Hallberg 1992:246)

3.5.10 Southwest Pashai (Indo-Aryan, Pashai)

Pashai constitutes a subgroup of the Dardic languages, to which four distinct and not necessarily mutually comprehensible varieties belong, viz., Southwest, Northwest, Northeast, and Southeast. While acknowledging them as distinct, the dictionary by Morgenstierne (1956) encompasses all varieties of Pashai. In this dictionary, there is a very relevant word: *ta*. The particle *ta* is described by Morgenstierne (1956:172) as emphasizing a preceding pronoun or more rarely a noun; most of these are subjects, but *ta* also occasionally follows objects and possessives. An example is given in (125)¹², which is an excerpt from a song.

¹²Morgenstierne (1956) marks stress with a small vertical line before the stressed vowel, similarly to IPA.

(125) *Maur 'īem yey 'īk wāyaw 'āna: 'Ša 'ī ləman 'am, n 'āmī.'*
'My Maurā came to the house: 'Come with me, I'll carry thee off.'

M'am ta mar 'āikama: 'Watan 'āi parih 'ār ma bey 'ī, bār 'ā!'

I said to him: 'Don't become a run-away from thy own country, my boy.' (Morgenstierne 1944:187)

Morgenstierne (1956:172) states that the particle only occurs in songs, and almost exclusively so in the Izbin and Özbin dialects, i.e., Southwestern Pashai. It is thus a very rare particle, and in all likelihood has a very specific pragmatic function. Furthermore, Morgenstierne notes that it was stated that Özbin *a: ta* in a song corresponded to Laurowan (a Northwest Pashai dialect and the main focus of Morgenstierne's research) *a: ta:nke* 'I myself', and writes that it perhaps is possible that *ta* is an exceedingly shortened form of *ta:nke*, *ta:nuk* 'self, own' (Morgenstierne 1956:172). Thus, as it is only present in those dialects farthest from Palula and Dameli, as well as its having a possible origin from a reflexive particle, it is difficult to relate Southwest Pashai *ta* to either Palula or Dameli.

4. Discussion

4.1 Palula and Dameli *ba* and *ta* as topic markers

As discussed in the background, Gundel (1988) presents useful definitions and conditions for topicality, while Kroeger (2004) examines the evidence for identifying Japanese *wa* as a topic marker. Using this as a basis, similar analyses may be done for Palula and Dameli *ba* and *ta*.

However, the process becomes much more difficult due to informants being unattainable as well as the present author's inability to judge a sentence grammatical or ungrammatical. Instead, one must try to imply that a certain construction is grammatical or ungrammatical from the presence or absence of the construction in the source material. Further investigation into the actual usage and understanding of grammaticality must thus be done to arrive at a more satisfactory conclusion. Nevertheless, despite these limitations a number of observations can be made from the material used in this study alone, as can be seen in the following two sections of *ba* and *ta* in Palula and Dameli respectively. Note that the following discussion disregards the *ta... ba* constructions.¹³

Palula *ba* is regarded as having a primarily topic-marking function in both Liljegen (2008) and the results section of this study (see 3.1.1), and it appears that *ba* fulfills these conditions. As for the Topic-Identifiability Condition, *ba* may follow definite elements, as in (36), but it never follows indefinite elements (no generic elements at all were found, so no conclusions can be made about them). Similarly, concerning the Topic-Familiarity Condition, no instances of *ba* could be found following a question word. These findings point to *ba* being a topic marker. However, there are two difficulties with this analysis:

1. *Converbs*: The particle *ba* does not only follow noun phrases (which both Gundel (1988) and Kroeger (2004) seem to imply as the only possible topic elements), but also converbs; in these cases it is impossible to utilize the Topic-Familiarity or Topic-Identifiability conditions.
2. *Word order*: The particle *ba* may not only follow a noun phrase, but may also separate the modifiers from the head, as in (126) below. However, this is very rare and could represent e.g., hesitation.

(126) *janj* *gúum* *teenii* *sangi* *bíid-a* ***ba*** *xálak-a*
wedding.party go.PFV.MSG REFL with much-MPL **then** people-PL
'He went with many people as a wedding party.' (PA:GHU008)

On the other hand, disregarding the *ta... ba* construction, Palula *ta* shows hardly any signs of its being a topic marker. As for the Topic-Identifiability Condition, only one instance of *ta* following a definite element was found, and none following an indefinite element. However, concerning the Topic-Familiarity Condition, there are a few instances of *ta* following e.g., question words, as in (127) below, but it is uncertain if *ta* marks the question word or the phrase as a whole (i.e., switching the subject/topic back to the speaker); nevertheless, it is clearly not a main function of *ta*. Because of the

¹³While the *ta... ba* constructions possibly could be interpreted as a kind of switch-topic construction (marking first the entity marked with *ta*, and then switching to the entity with *ba*), they are so lexically fixed that any topical interpretation would be superfluous.

very small number of occurrences of *ta* fulfilling these conditions, they will be considered as not fulfilling them henceforth.¹⁴ Adding to these pointers of its not being a topic marker is the obvious fact that it (when disregarding the *ta... ba* construction) almost exclusively occurs following finite verbs

- (127) *xéer béem ni rhali ghaš-i gubáa ta thaní*
 happiness go.1SG PROX footprints catch-CV what DS QT
 ‘I thought: What are these but I determined to follow the animal.’ (PA:HUA062)

The results differ when looking at Dameli. In contrast to Palula, both *ba* and *ta* are regarded as topic markers in Dameli, both by Perder (2013) and in the results section above. As for the particle *ba*, it appears to mark switch-topic. It fulfills the Topic-Identifiability Condition, as it often follows definite elements, as in (60), (63) and (64), but never indefinite elements. Likewise, it fulfills the Topic-Familiarity Condition by never following question words. Despite these strong indications for its being a topic marker, it is complicated by the fact that it follows finite verbs.

The particle *ta* similarly fulfills the two conditions. It fulfills the Topic-Identifiability Condition by following definite elements, as in (69), (70) and (74), but never following indefinite elements. Similarly, it fulfills the Topic-Familiarity Condition, as it never follows question words. As for *ba*, it also has other functions as it follows verbs, especially finite verbs.

Thus, Dameli *ba* and *ta* both fulfill the criteria for topic markers, but both have other important functions as well. In Palula, only *ba* fulfills the criteria for being a topic marker, while clearly having other important functions as well, whereas *ta* does not and so constitutes another kind of particle. An overview of the Palula and Dameli particles *ba* and *ta* in relation to topic is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: The Palula and Dameli particles *ba* and *ta* in regard to Gundel's (1988) conditions for topicality.

		Topic-Identifiability Condition	Topic-Familiarity Condition	Other
Palula	<i>ba</i>	Yes	Yes	Follows converbs
	<i>ta</i>	No	No	Follows finite verbs
Dameli	<i>ba</i>	Yes	Yes	Follows finite verbs
	<i>ta</i>	Yes	Yes	Follows verbs (mostly finite)

As the table shows, there are striking differences between the markers, so that a relation between them is immediately clear. However, their functions when following verbs do present problems, as such constructions are not seen as functions of a topic marker by either Gundel (1988), Gundel & Fretheim (2004), or Kroeger (2004). There are thus three logical possibilities: (i) topic markers may be used with verbs, but this has not been described in the literature, (ii) the topic markers should be differentiated from those following verbs, as these are merely homophones, or (iii) they do not mark verbs at all, but rather other elements which are then marked as topics. Of these, the first may be possible, albeit unlikely, while the second seems wholly unlikely, as it would be unlikely that such different functions would arise and be kept almost uniformly in both languages. The last alternative seems to be the most likely of the three, but even this is not immediately apparent. All of this presents a problem too great for the present study, but it would be a prime subject for further investigations, together with an investigation into the other languages in this study.

¹⁴Otherwise all kinds of words may be considered fulfilling these conditions if they happen to follow a definite element and a question word once.

4.2 Discourse markers as an areal phenomenon

As the results above show, there are two very general main observations: (i) the discourse markers of the various languages differ widely in their specific functions (although arguably based in topicality), and (ii) many of them are similar in form. I will here propose that some of the markers are formally descendants from a common ancestor language, whereas their functions constitute an areal phenomenon.

First of all, one may separate the discourse markers of the languages in two groups: those which resemble *ta* (i.e., *ta*, *to*, and *tä*), and the rest. Secondly, as evident from the results and accompanying discussions above, there are two prototypical general functions of the various markers, viz., subsequence vs. contrast/topic¹⁵. Starting with the particles which resemble *ta*, one might thus illustrate their distribution as in Table 2.

Table 2: The prototypical functions of *ta*, *to* and *tä* (dash marks an absent cognate).

Function	Palula	Dameli	Kalasha	Gawri	Shina ¹⁶
Subsequence	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>to</i>
Contrast/topic	<i>ta</i> (only <i>ta... ba</i>)	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tä</i>	<i>to</i>

However, the languages have more markers than only *ta/tä* and *to*, and the results become even more striking when categorizing them in the same way, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: The remaining discourse markers (dash marks an absent marker).

Function	Palula	Dameli	Kalasha	Gawri	Shina
Subsequence	<i>ba</i>	<i>ba</i>	-	-	-
Contrast/topic	<i>ba</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>o</i> <i>báta</i>	<i>i</i> <i>bi</i>	-

There is clear correspondence between Palula and Dameli, whereas Kalasha and Gawri have their own (and not necessarily etymologically related) particles. Note especially that only Palula and Dameli use another marker than *ta/to* for signaling subsequence. On the other hand, Shina shows no related discourse markers except for *to*. However, it gets even more interesting when considering the adversative construction (i.e., Palula/Dameli *ta... ba*), which is present in all languages except Shina. This is illustrated in Table 3.

Table 4: The adversative construction in the various languages (absence of it is marked with a dash).

Function	Palula	Dameli	Kalasha	Gawri	Shina
Adversative construction	<i>ta... ba</i>	<i>ta... ba</i>	<i>ta... o</i>	<i>tä... i</i>	-

As shown in the table, all adversative constructions use *ta* (or *tä* for Gawri). Three things should be noted about this: (i) only the contrastive/topical particle is used, (ii) the second element of the construction differs widely, and (iii) the construction is absent in Shina¹⁷.

¹⁵ Contrast and topicality is not as separate as one might assume, as contrast is a primary function of topic (and focus) (Gundel & Fretheim 2004:181).

¹⁶ Unless otherwise noted, "Shina" here and in the remainder of this chapter refers to Kohistani and Gilgit Shina together, as these two are the varieties of Shina best attested in this study while exhibiting practically the same functions of *to*.

¹⁷ To the knowledge of the present author, there are no similar construction in other Indo-Aryan languages either.

Now, this has a number of important implications. While Palula and Dameli share a very similar system, Kalasha and Gawri employ different systems but with many overlapping functions; Shina on the other hand stands out as it doesn't have such a complex system for contrast/topic. Moreover, all except Shina have the adversative construction with the same contrastive/topical marker but another probably etymologically unrelated marker. Note also that topic-marking is extremely rare in the region and among Indo-Aryan languages (and Indo-European languages at large). All of this implies that the system is an areal one covering at least the Chitral, Panjkora and Swat valleys. Furthermore, it would appear that the functions alone have been the main targets of influence, whereas the lexical entries mostly are native words. Reasons for this claim are presented in the following discussion.

Firstly, it appears evident even at first glance that the various forms *ta*, *to*, and *tā* are cognates. However, there are two complications, as (i) their functions range from marking topic to subsequence, and, more importantly, as (ii) some languages have more than one of these forms with different meaning. So, whereas Dameli has *ta* marking both topic and subsequence, Kalasha separates these functions as *ta* and *to* respectively, while Gawri differentiates between them as *tā* and *to* respectively. While an originally single word may exist as two words in a language, this is very uncommon and mostly occurs with borrowings (cf., English *chief* and *chef*, both from French)¹⁸. Thus, I will postulate that the markers are a combination of inherited lexical items as well as borrowings.

The markers *ta*, *to*, and *tā* are almost undeniably cognates and derivatives of what in Sanskrit is reflected as *tá-* (and derivatives of it), which occurs in words such as *tátas* 'from there; there; then', *táthā* 'so, in that way', *tadā* 'then', and *tā't*¹⁹ 'thus, then' (Turner 1966:5639, 5646, 5649, 5753). Judging from Turner's lists of descendants of these words, they are more or less omnipresent in Indo-Aryan languages, not least in Shina, where *to* is considered a descendant of *tátas* 'from there; there; then' (Turner 1966:5639). However, even that spread is not wide enough: *tá-* in turn derives from Proto-Indo-European **tod* 'this, that' (NOM/ACC.NSG of the pronoun **so* 'this, that') (de Vaan 2014a). It is therefore not surprising to find cognates of the markers *ta*, *to*, and *tā* in other Indo-European branches, such as Germanic (e.g., English *then*, German *dann* 'then') (OED Online 2014), Italic (e.g., Latin *tum* 'then') (de Vaan 2014b), Hellenic (Greek *tóte* 'then') (Beekes 2014), and even Tocharian (Tocharian B. *tumem* 'then') (Adams 2014).

As suggested by the Sanskrit cognates (and those which Turner lists from other Indo-Aryan languages) that the original meaning was thus a subsequential one akin to English *then* in "He came, then I left." However, in some languages it acquired another meaning, as reflected in Old Awadhi (Indo-Aryan, East Central zone²⁰) *ta* (< *tā't*) 'a slightly adversative particle' (Turner 1966:5753). This thus implies a semantic change where the subsequential meaning expanded to include a contrastive/topical one. A particularly enlightening example is Urdu *tō*, which is used as a contrastive particle as well as a marker for introducing result clauses in conditional sentences (Schmidt 1999:232–233). This is incredibly similar to the function of Shina *to*, and Degener & Zia (2008:64–65) indeed consider the Gilgit Shina topic-marking particle *to* as a borrowing from Urdu. Due to their functions being almost identical, this seems a very likely. If so, this must be a relatively recent borrowing, which would render

¹⁸ However, cf., English *then* and *than* (< Old English þan(ne), þon(ne), þæn(ne) 'then') or German *dann* 'then' and *denn* 'than' (< Old High German *danne*, *denne* 'then'), but Dutch *dan* 'then; than' (< Old Saxon *thanna*, *than* 'then') (OED Online 2014). Note that *then* and *than*, as well as *dann* and *denn*, often are conflated in colloquial speech and less careful writing.

¹⁹ Turner notes that New Indo-Aryan forms of *tā't* cannot be distinguished from derivatives of *tadā* (Turner 1966:5753).

²⁰ Lewis et al. (2014)

it unlikely that any of it has been inherited by Palula, which instead only inherited the subsequential Shina *to*.

However, as mentioned above, Kalasha and Gawri pose a challenge as they have two markers, each with a separate meaning. Still, this need not necessarily be a problem, as there are reasons to consider only *to* as inherited forms. In Kalasha it has more or less kept its original meaning, whereas in Gawri it has evolved into a subordinator. The particle *ta/tā* on the other hand, was probably borrowed into the languages due to language contact. Interestingly, the evidence for this is most evident when examining Palula and its relationship to Dameli.

Palula has the same set of markers as Dameli, but there are a number of important differences:

1. The functions of the particles in Palula are much less complex than those in Dameli. Whereas Dameli *ta* may follow both finite verbs and conjunctive participles (i.e., converbs), Palula *ta* only follows finite verbs.
2. Whereas Dameli *ta* has a contrastive/topical function both alone and in the *ta... ba* construction, Palula *ta* only does so in the *ta... ba* construction.
3. Palula *ba* always follows converbs, whereas Dameli *ba* mainly follows finite verbs.

On the other hand, there are some important similarities as well:

1. The forms of the particles are identical.
2. The *ta... ba* construction is identical (unlike Kalasha *ta... o* and Gawri *tā... i*)
3. The particles *ba* both mark topic when used outside of the *ta... ba* construction.

Despite the differences, it is apparent that there is a particularly close connection between the Palula and Dameli systems; in fact, precisely due to the differences, it appears that Palula has adapted the system of Dameli into its original Shina system (see Figure 1). As stated above, other major varieties of Shina have a particle *to* which has two functions as either a subsequence marker or topic marker, which likely is a borrowing from Urdu. As Palula has been separated from other Shina varieties for centuries, it is likely that this borrowing never was a part of the variety of Shina that became Palula. The main function of Dameli *ba*, i.e., that of a topic-marker, was thus borrowed into Palula without conflict. When this had been done, Dameli *ta... ba* was adapted into the system. A possible consequence of these changes was a change from a previous **to > ta*, which would explain the discrepancy when comparing it with the other Shina varieties²¹; this is especially evident when keeping in mind that Kalasha and Gawri both seem to have acquired the form /*ta*/, even though they have absorbed the system to a lesser extent, so it would seem likely that Palula would borrow it as it has integrated the Dameli system even further. Finally, *ba* somehow acquired its function following converbs; whether this was due to Dameli influence (Dameli *ba* actually follows conjunctive participles, although only rarely; still, *ta* does not follow them many times either in the material, so the difference in number rather than share of instances is small) is difficult to judge, but its worth noting that the function of a particle following finite verbs (i.e., Dameli *ba*) already was filled by *ta* in Palula, which at least would account for why *ba* does not occur in such a position in Palula. All of this is further strengthened by the fact there have been clear historical interactions between speakers of Palula and Dameli (see e.g., Cacopardo & Cacopardo, 2001).

²¹ However, there are indications that Palula /*a*/ corresponds to Shina /*o*/, e.g., Palula *ba* 'go.IMP' and *ma* '1SG.NOM/ACC', vs. Kohistani Shina *bo* 'go.IMP' and *mo* '1SG.OBL', although this is far from a fully regular process.

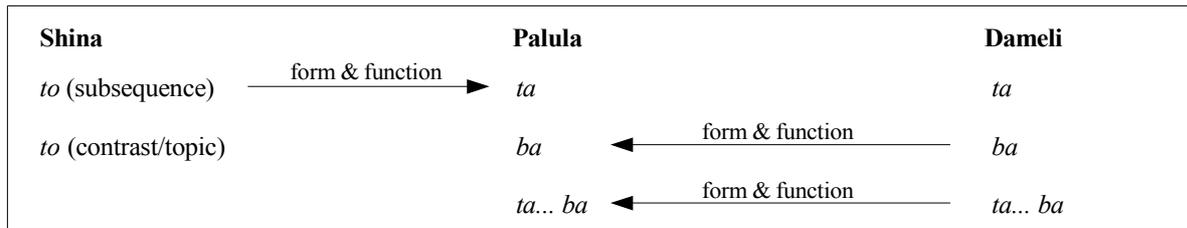


Figure 1: The development of Palula *ba* and *ta*

Furthermore, these conclusions have further implications for Kalasha and Gawri, which probably have borrowed *ta/tā* together with the adversative construction into their languages. However, the link to Dameli is much less clear, and it is uncertain that Dameli should be seen as the source, which even further points to its being an areal phenomenon.

To summarize, there are many indications that the similarities of the discourse marking features of the Dardic languages are due to the system being an areal one. The relationship is clearest between Palula and Dameli, where Palula appears to have adapted the Dameli system into its original Shina system. On the other hand, Kalasha and Gawri, while less similar, still have the most striking features such as the particles *ta/tā* and the significant adversative construction, although adapted to their own respective discourse markers (i.e., Kalasha *ta... o*, Gawri *tā... i*).

4.3 Suggestions for further research

There are three main areas that this thesis opens up for further research. The first is to investigate and identify the functions of the various markers. While the aim of this study has been to give general definitions, they are far from detailed and require more study, whether syntactically, semantically or pragmatically.

Secondly, while the conclusions of this study shows that there is a strong indication that the discourse markers are part of an areal phenomenon, the sample used is much too small to arrive at any satisfying conclusions. It would also be necessary to include other languages of the region, such as the Nuristani and other Indo-Aryan languages of the region, as well as (and not least) the only excluded Dardic subgroup, Kashmiri, in order to investigate how this potentially areal system may surface in more distantly related or even genealogically unrelated language. Similarly, further investigation into the exact nature of Urdu's influence on Shina and potentially other languages of the region regarding discourse would be of interest.

Finally, if the conclusions of this thesis stand true, further investigations into the discourse markers as an areal phenomenon could serve as a source of information how languages adopt structures of other languages while not necessarily borrowing their lexical entries as well, e.g., Kalasha and Gawri which (partly) have adapted the adversative construction to their own discourse markers.

5. Conclusions

Palula *ba* and *ta* have different but related functions. The particle *ba* is primarily a topic marker, but also follows converbs where its function has not been ascertained. On the other hand, *ta* functions as a subsequence marker following finite verbs. Both particles are also part of the adversative construction *ta... ba*.

Dameli *ba* and *ta* are more complex than their Palula counterparts. The particle *ba* mostly functions as a topic marker, but also follows finite verbs. The particle *ta* also functions as a topic marker, and similarly follows mostly finite verbs, but also converbs and infinitives, and most often signals subsequence. Dameli also has the adversative construction *ta... ba*, which functions more or less identically with its Palula counterpart.

Kalasha has two words related to Palula/Dameli *ta*: the topic marker *ta*, and the subsequence marker *to*. It also has two other particles signaling contrast/topic, viz., *o* and *báta*. Interestingly, a construction analogous to Palula/Dameli *ta... ba* is present as *ta... o*.

Gawri has a very similar system to Kalasha, differentiating between the topic marker *tā* and the subsequence marker *to*. There are also two further contrast/topic markers *i* and *bi*. The adversative construction surfaces as *tā... i*.

None of the other languages investigated in this study was found to clearly have a particle related to *ba* nor a construction corresponding to *ta... ba*. However, all of them have a *to*, which functions as a subsequence marker. Furthermore, *to* functions as a topic marker in both Kohistani and Gilgit Shina, but this is probably a borrowing from Urdu.

The above findings have important implications for the origin of the Palula system. They point to Palula originally having had one the subsequence marking particle *to* as Kohistani and Gilgit Shina, whereas the form of the topic *to* never entered Palula from Urdu. Rather, Palula acquired the topic-marker *ba* from Dameli. The adversative construction was then adapted from Dameli into the new Palula system, and as such Palula *ta* only approaches a contrast/topic function in this construction. Eventually the function of Palula *ba* was extended to include its following converbs, which could be due to Dameli influence.

On the other hand, Kalasha and Gawri also were affected by this areal system, which is seen in their probable borrowing of their respective topic markers *ta* and *tā*, as well as their counterparts of the adversative construction, i.e., *ta... o* and *tā... i* respectively, which were adapted to their own discourse markers.

The evidence thus points to the system of all four main languages being an areal one of the Chitral, Panjkora and Swat valleys, whereas the surrounding languages (such as the Shina varieties to the east, primarily across the Indus River, and Pashai to the west) have much simpler systems with only *to* as a combined topic and subsequence marker.

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Stockholm University
SE-106 91 Stockholm
Phone: 08 – 16 20 00
www.su.se



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