

Documentation of Kullui: typologically significant results

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Himachali (Western Pahari)

- a minor Indo-Aryan language of Northern India
- one of the Himachali (Western Pahari) languages
- spoken in the Kullu, Mandi, and Kangra districts of Himachal Pradesh
- number of speakers – 196,295 (according to the 2011 census)
- descriptions of Kullui – [Diack 1896; Bailey 1908; Grierson 1916; Ranganatha 1971; Thakur 1975; Sharma 2014]



Research project on Kullui: 2014-2024 grammar, dictionary, text, dialectology





Data on Kullui and its dialects were obtained during expeditions to the districts of Kullu, Mandi and Kangra (Himachal Pradesh)



Typological parallels: Russian accent



- In English terminology, a distinction is made between the concepts of stress and accent. Stress is considered an acoustic phenomenon of intensity of a syllable, therefore accent is marking of a syllable of the word by one or another acoustic means.
- length, intensity and pitch are possible acoustic correlates of the accent
- Quality (timbre) as a correlate of accent is also possible
- Correlates of unaccented syllables can be negative
- Correlates of Russian accent are length and (by some degree) intensity
- Also, in Russian, the reduction of unaccented vowels as a negative correlate is very important: the number of different vowels in unaccented positions is much less than in accented ones
- This distinction is conveniently described through the morphophonological level of the language, that reflects its previous stage
- Because of Russian orthographic principles that are taught in schools, the idea of this level can be easily approved by educated speakers

Kullui Phonology

	Back	Middle	Front
High	<i>u</i>		<i>i</i>
Mid-High	<i>o</i>		<i>e</i>
Mid-low	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>[ə]</i>	<i>ɛ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

- Nazalization can be either phonological or based on context.

Acoustic length

- Long: *[a]*, *[e]*, *[o]*, *[ɔ]*
- Medium: *[i]*, *[u]*
- Short *[ɛ]* and *[ə]*
- All vowels can vary significantly in length. This is determined by the number of syllables, phrasal intonation, closed/open syllable, presence/absence of geminated consonants on the right
- In the final position vowels have positional length
- Vowel of a monosyllabic word also has positional length:
 - *[bɔ:t]* 'road' , *[bɔta:]* 'roads'
 - *[re:t]* 'sand', *[reta:]* 'sands'
 - *[sa:l]* 'year', *[sala:]* 'years'

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	Back	Middle	Front
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Mid-low	<i>ɔ</i>	[ə] <i>ε</i>	
Low		<i>a</i>	

Vowel positions:

- Accented: *a, i, u, o, e, ɔ, ε*
- Final: *a, i, u, o, e*
- Convocal: *i (j), u (w)*
- Weak: *ə/∅*

Kullui Morphophonology

Accentual positions and alterations

Morphophoneme	Accented	Final	Convocal	Weak
{ā}	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>
{ē}	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i/j</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>
{ō}	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u/w</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>
{ī}	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i/j</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>
{ï}	<i>i</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>	<i>i/j</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>
{ū}	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u/w</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>
{ü}	<i>u</i>	-	<i>u/w</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>
{ă ₁ }	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>
{ă ₂ }	<i>ε</i>	-	<i>ə/∅</i>	<i>ə/∅</i>

Accentuation

Kullui Morphophonology

	Short vowel	Long vowel
Open	Light	Heavy
Closed	Heavy	Heavy

Accentual positions and alterations

Morphophoneme	Accented	Final	Convocal	Weak
{ā}	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a/∅</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ē}	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i/j</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ō}	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u/w</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ī}	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i/j</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ĩ}	<i>i</i>	<i>a/∅</i>	<i>i/j</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ū}	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u/w</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ũ}	<i>u</i>	-	<i>u/w</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ă ₁ }	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>a/∅</i>	<i>a/∅</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ă ₂ }	<i>ε</i>	-	<i>a/∅</i>	<i>a/∅</i>

- Jacobi et al. [Jacobi 1898, Turner 1985: 95] showed that in Classical Sanskrit and most of the Middle Indian languages the Vedic accent system was replaced by a “penultimate” one:
- The accent is on the first heavy syllable from the end, beginning with the penultimate and ending with the 4th from the end.
- In the absence of heavy syllables, the accent falls on the syllable furthest from the end, beginning with the penultimate and ending with the 4th from the end.

Accent in lexical derivation

	Accented	Convocal
{ō}	<i>lóha</i> 'iron'	<i>luhár</i> 'blacksmith'
	<i>d^hóna</i> 'wash'	<i>d^hwána</i> 'make wash'
{ē}	<i>déa</i> 'pity'	<i>djálu</i> 'pityful'
{ī}	<i>pína</i> 'drink'	<i>pjána</i> 'make drink'

	Accented	Weak
{ǎ ₁ }	<i>kón</i> 'ear'	<i>kənbá u</i> 'big earring'
{ī}	<i>tsíl</i> 'chir pine'	<i>tsláru</i> 'its needles'
{ō}	<i>kódra</i> 'finger millet'	<i>kədrát^ha</i> 'its straw'
{ē}	<i>bésna</i> 'sit down'	<i>bəfána</i> 'seat'

Kullui Morphophonology

Accentual positions and alterations

Morphophoneme	Accented	Final	Convocal	Weak
{ā}	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a/∅</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ē}	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i/j</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ō}	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u/w</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ī}	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i/j</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ĩ}	<i>i</i>	<i>a/∅</i>	<i>i/j</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ū}	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u/w</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ǔ}	<i>u</i>	-	<i>u/w</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ǎ ₁ }	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>a/∅</i>	<i>a/∅</i>	<i>a/∅</i>
{ǎ ₂ }	<i>ε</i>	-	<i>a/∅</i>	<i>a/∅</i>

Voiced aspiration and the pitch

Voiced aspiration is unstable and often lost. Some of possible realizations:

- 1) In final position with enumerative intonation it appears like ə at the end of a word, forming an additional syllable: [budə] from bud^h 'Wednesday'.
- 2) A voiced aspiration at the end of a word, in cases where it does not appear as ə, is incompatible with enumerative (rising) intonation, requiring the falling pitch:

[kən↘] / [kənə↗] kən^h 'shoulder'
[kol↘] / [kolə↗] kol^h 'nest'

BUT

[kən↘] / [kən↗] kən 'ear'
[gol↘] / [gol↗] gol 'round'

Lexical derivation in Kullui

- prefixation (few)
- suffixation (more)
- conversion (a lot of)
- compounds (few)
- reduplication (depends on definition)
- blends (very few)

Compounds in Kullui

The derivative base is morphologically and accentually unified, while both producing bases are distinguishable:

<i>dew</i> 'god'	<i>g^hɔr</i> 'house'	<i>dewg^hra</i> 'temple'
<i>bɔŋ</i> 'forest'	<i>maŋhu</i> 'man'	<i>bəŋmaŋhu</i> 'savage'
<i>g^hɔr</i> 'house'	<i>peŋa</i> 'come'	<i>g^hərpeŋi</i> 'housewarming'
<i>mũg</i> 'mash, green mungo'	<i>p^hɔli</i> 'pod'	<i>mũgp^həli</i> 'peanut'

Reflection of OIA compounds

OIA compounds distinguishable as blends in synchrony:

	First base	Second base	Blend
OIA	<i>suvárŋa</i> 'gold'	<i>kaŋkaŋa</i> 'bracelet'	* <i>suvarŋakaŋkaŋa</i> 'gold bracelet'
Kullui	<i>suna</i> 'gold'	<i>kangŋu</i> 'bracelet'	<i>snangŋu</i> 'gold bracelet'
OIA	<i>lavaŋá</i> 'salt'	<i>kōśa</i> 'bucket, storage, grain vessel'	* <i>lavaŋákōśa</i> 'saltcellar'
Kullui	<i>luŋ</i> 'salt'	<i>kofu</i> 'small bowl'	<i>nałofu</i> 'saltcellar' < metathesis from ** <i>laŋofu</i>

•
pɔtu 'woolen plaid worn by women'

bumni 'buckle of *pɔtu* consisting of two pins and some chains between them'



Blends that cannot be traced back to OIA

	First base	Second base	Compound
OIA	<i>ṭhakkura</i> 'idol, deity, title'	<i>vēṣṭá</i> 'band, noose, enclosure', <i>vēṣṭaka</i> 'fence'	* <i>ṭhakkuravēṣṭá</i> '???'
Kullui	<i>t^ha'kər</i> 'Thakur, the main local landlord caste'	<i>beṭ^h</i> 'small group of houses, quarter'	<i>t^həkreṭ</i> 'small group of houses belonging to Thakurs'
OIA	OIA * <i>vunana</i> 'weaving'	* <i>dhāgga</i> 'thread'	* <i>vunanadhāgga</i> '???'
Kullui	<i>bumṇi</i> 'buckle of <i>pəṭu</i> consisting of two pins and some chains between them'	<i>d^haga</i> 'thread'	<i>b^həṇaga</i> 'thread between pins of <i>bumṇi</i> , as it was earlier'

Morphology: imperatives

Imperative (*κέρνα* 'do' - *do*)

SG	-	<i>ker</i>
PL	<i>-a/-at</i>	<i>ker(a)t</i>

Future imperative (*do in future*)

SG	<i>-i</i>	<i>keri</i>
PL	<i>-it</i>	<i>kerit</i>

Prohibitive (*don't do*)

SG	<i>mət + -da</i> (PTCP.SG)	<i>mət kerda</i>
PL	<i>məta/mətat + -de</i> (PTCP.PL)	<i>məta(t) kerde</i>

Preventive (*never do*)

SG	<i>heri/məti + -da</i>	<i>heri/məti kerda</i>
PL	<i>herit/mətit + -de</i>	<i>herit/mətit kerde</i>

- Preventive particles *heri / herit* are grammaticalized from the future imperative forms of *κέρνα* 'to look/see', so preventive form goes back to the construction 'look (= be careful) while doing';
- Prohibitive particle *mət* by analogy with *heri / herit* was reinterpreted as an imperative form of a non-existent prohibitive verb ***mətḡa* and now there are 5 forms: *mət* (PROH.SG) / *məta=mətat* (PROH.PL) / *məti* (PREV.SG) / *mətit* (PREV.SG);
- Formant *t* is derived from the particle *tə*, which being used with imperatives softens the original command or request. At first the combination IMP.FUT.SG *-i* + particle *tə* functions as an honorific form of imperative and then becomes a plural form of imperative;

Grammatical semantics: mirativity

- **Mirativity** is a linguistic category that expresses information that is surprising or unexpected to the speaker [DeLancey 1997]
- [Peterson 2000: 13]: Mirativity can be considered an areal feature of the Himalayan region; this category is found in many Dardic [Bashir 2010] and Tibeto-Burman [DeLancey 1997] languages of the area, while it is rarely found in Indo-Aryan;
- To express mirativity in Kullui, there is a negative mirative predicate, consisting of a combination of a negative copula *nisa* (with dialectal variants *nisi*, *nei si*, *nei sa*, *nitshi* etc) and a verb form created by adding the affix *-i* to the verb stem.

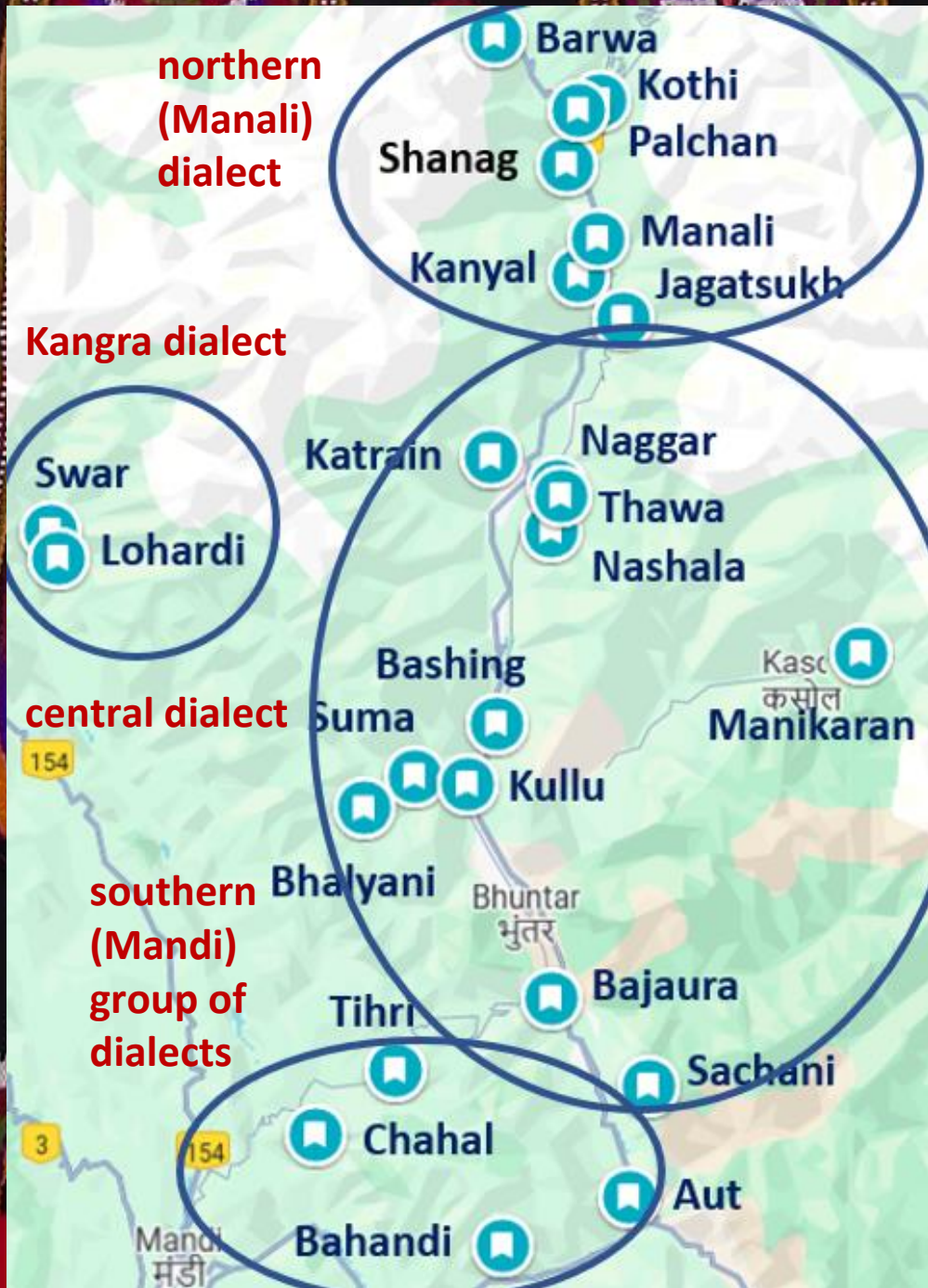
(1a) $\text{ɔk}^h\epsilon$ $p^hon-a-ra$ *signal* *nei* *e-nd-a*
here phone-OBL-GEN.M signal NEG.COP come-PTCP-M

There is no mobile signal here (too remote place)

(16) $\text{ɔk}^h\epsilon$ $p^hon-a-ra$ *signal* *nits^hi* *edz-i*
here phone-OBL-GEN.M signal NEG.COP come-*i*

Surprisingly, there is no mobile signal here (although it was expected that there would be a signal)

Dialectology



- Kullui dialects have never been studied before;
- All grammatical descriptions were mainly based on the central dialect - the dialect of Kullu town and its surroundings;
- There are 4 dialects: central (Kullu), northern (Manali), southern (Mandi) group of dialects and the Kangra dialect;
- Kangra dialect is spoken in a region separated from the rest of the Kullui speaking area by a mountain range. Between these two areas there are hiking trails in the mountains that were much used in the past. This dialect of Kullui is the most archaic.

Dialectology

	central	northern	Mandi	Kangra
copula	SG <i>sa</i> PL <i>si</i>	only <i>sa</i>	<i>sa</i> and <i>si</i> are used in free distribution with predominance of <i>sa</i> . Sometimes <i>si</i> is used with feminine nouns.	only <i>sa</i>
negative copula	<i>nei ɔt^{hi}</i> for all persons, genders and numbers			M <i>nei ɔsta</i> F <i>nei ɔsti</i> PL <i>nei ɔste</i>
perfect participle forms	M <i>-uda</i> F <i>-idi</i> PL <i>-ede</i>	M <i>-ura</i> F <i>-iri</i> PL <i>-ere</i>	M <i>-ira</i> F <i>-iri</i> PL <i>-ire</i>	
intensive verbs	few of them, rarely used, some are only found in the older speakers speech			very frequent
Mandeali borrowings	few		a lot	

Linguistic tools

- Website <https://pahari-languages.ru>, containing a draft of Kullui-English-Russian dictionary, our team's publications and talks on Kullui, photos and other data;
- <https://kullui-corpus.info/> is the corpus of Kullui, comprising about 18,000 tokens. It consists of two subcorpora – oral texts with corresponding audio recordings and elicited grammatical questionnaires with the translation into English and Russian. All the texts have detailed morphological annotations. Access to the full texts and their recordings is also available.

Himachali: Indo-Aryan Languages of North India

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The corpus of Kullui

The linguistic corpus of Kullui was developed within the framework of the study of [Himachali Pahari](#) – Indo-Aryan languages of North India. The corpus was created by researchers of the Institute of Linguistics, RAS and the Institute of Oriental Studies, RAS – E. Renkovskaya (Institute of Linguistics), J. Mazurova (Institute of Linguistics), A. Krylova (Institute of Oriental Studies). The corpus comprises the data collected during fieldtrips to Kullu district (Naggar, Bashing, Thawa, Suma villages) in 2014–2017.

The software part of the corpus was developed by Evgeniya Korovina. At the moment, the Kullui corpus comprises about 18,000 tokens. It consists of two subcorpora – oral texts and elicited grammatical questionnaires with the translation into Russian and English. The phrases from the text subcorpus have corresponding audio recordings, while questionnaires are not provided with the oral component.

All the texts have detailed morphological annotations. Besides combined search of the Kullui words, parts of the words and their Russian and English translations, there is a possibility for the search of the grammatical categories and the combinations of two Kullui words with a certain distance between them. The user of the corpus can also have [access to the full texts and their recordings](#).

The texts are provided with the discourse marking reflecting intonation, pauses, breaks, self-correction, code-switching and other important characteristics of the oral speech. The corpus also comprises metadata of the place and the time of the recording and the sociolinguistic information about the speaker.

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[Phonetics of Kullui](#)

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Thank you!

