Kullui on the way to synthetism

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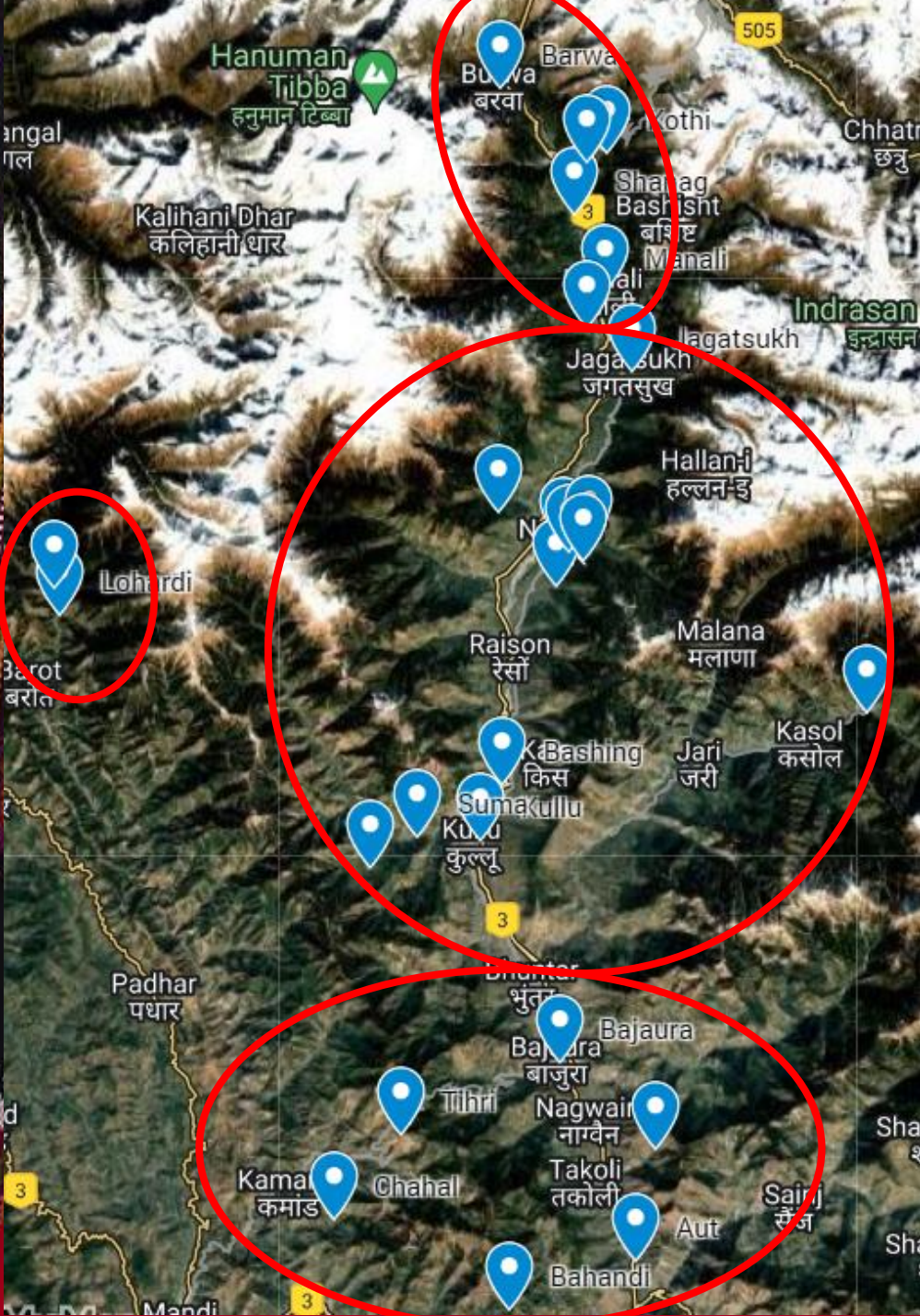
Himachali (Western Pahari)

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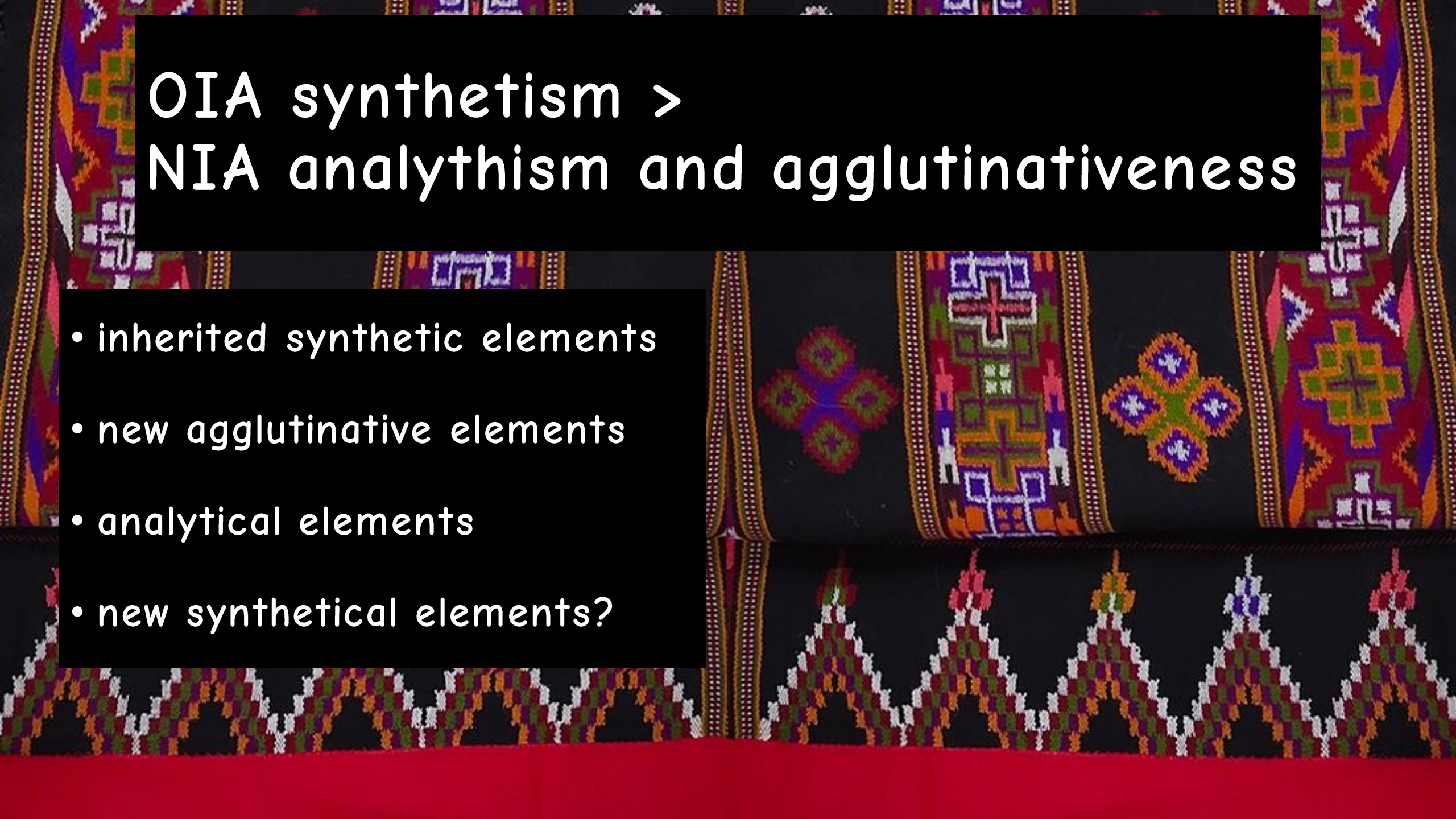
Materials on Kullui and its dialects were obtained during expeditions to the districts of Kullu, Mandi and Kangra (Himachal Pradesh):

Four dialects – central, northern, southern (Mandi) and western (Kangra)

https://pahari-languages.ru
https://kullui-corpus.info

OIA synthetism >
NIA analythism and agglutinativeness

- inherited synthetic elements

- new agglutinative elements

- analytical elements

- new synthetical elements?

Lexical derivation in Kullui

- prefixation (few)

- suffixation (more)

- conversion (a lot of)

- compounds (few)

- reduplication (depends on definition)

- blends (very few)

Compounds in Kullui

Words retain morphological and accentual independence; they are distinguished from phrases by semantics:

| kʰaɳa 'eat' | piɳa 'drink' | kʰaɳi-piɳi 'party' |

Compounds in Kullui

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

dew 'god'	*gʰɔr* 'house'	*dewgʰra* 'temple'
bɔŋ 'forest'	*maŋhu* 'man'	*bəŋmaŋhu* 'savage'
gʰɔr 'house'	*peʃŋa* 'come'	*gʰərpeʃi* 'housewarming'
mũg 'mash, green mungo'	*pʰɔɭi* 'pod'	*mũgpʰəɭi* 'peanut'

Reflection of OIA compounds

Old and new suffixation:

First OIA base	Second OIA base	OIA compound	Kullui primary lexeme	Kullui derivative (-*ar-*/-*jar-* suffix)
kōdrava 'finger millet'	*kāṣṭha* 'piece of wood'	**kōdravakāṣṭha*	*kodra* 'finger millet'	*kədraʈʰa* 'finger millet straw'
*cīnī 'millet'		**cīnīkāṣṭha*	*tsiŋi* 'millet'	*tsənjaʈʰa* 'millet straw'
**challī- 'maize'???		***challīkāṣṭha* ???	*tsʰɔli* 'maize'	*tsʰlaʈʰa* 'maize straw'

Reflection of OIA compounds

ek '1'	dui '2'	trah, trai '3'	tsar '4'	pɔndz '5'	tsʰɔh '6'	sɔt '7'	ɔʈʰ '8'	nɔu '9'	dɛs '10'
gjarah '11'	barah '12'	terah '13'	tʃɔudah '14'	pɛndra '15'	soɭa '16'	stara '17'	tʰara '18'	uɳɳi '19'	bih '20'
iki '21'	bai '22'	trei '23'	tʃɔubi '24'	pɛtʃi '25'	tʃʰɛbi '26'	stai '27'	tʰai '28'	uɳetti '29'	tih '30'
kɛtti '31'	bɛtti '32'	teti '33'	tʃɔuti, tʃɔnti '34'	pɛnti 35'	tʃʰetti '36'	sɛnti '37'	tʰetti '38'	untaɭi '39'	tsaɭi '40'
iktaɭi '41'	bətaɭi '42'	tərtaɭi '43'	tʃutaɭi, tʃurtaɭi '44'	pəndʒtaɭi, pɛntaɭi '45'	tʃətaɭi '46'	sẽtaɭi '47'	ɽətaɭi, ərtaːɭi '48'	(u)ɳundʒa '49'	pədzah '50'
kundʒa '51'	bundʒa '52'	trjundʒa '53'	tʃərundʒa '54'	pədʒundʒa '55'	tʃʰəpundʒa, tʃʰundʒa '56'	stundʒa '57'	tʰundʒa '58'	uɳahəʈʰ '59'	ʃɔʈʰ '60'
kahəʈʰ '61'	bahəʈʰ '62'	trɛhəʈʰ '63'	tʃɔhəʈʰ '64'	pẽhəʈʰ '65'	tʃʰahəʈʰ '66'	stahəʈʰ '67'	tʰahəʈʰ '68'	uɳettər '69'	sɛttər '70'
kettər '71'	bettar '72'	tjettər '73'	tʃwettər '74'	pətʃettər, pədʒattər '75'	tʃʰettər '76'	stettər '77'	tʰettər '78'	unasi '79'	aʃi '80'
(i)kasi '81'	basi '82'	trasi, trjasi '83'	tʃurasi '84'	pədʒasi '85'	tʃʰasi '86'	stasi '87'	tʰasi '88'	(u)ɳanwe '89'	nɛbɛ '90'
kanwe '91'	banwe '92'	trjanwe '93'	tʃəranwe '94'	pədʒanwe '95'	tʃʰanwe '96'	stanwe '97'	tʰanwe '98'	nəɽinwe '99'	ʃɔu '100'

Reflection of OIA compounds

OIA compounds distinquishable as blends in synchrony:

	First base	Second base	Blend
OIA	*suvárṇa* 'gold'	*kaṅkaṇa* 'bracelet'	**suvarṇakaṅkaṇa* 'gold bracelet'
Kullui	*suna* 'gold'	*kangŋu* 'bracelet'	*snangŋu* 'gold bracelet'
OIA	*lavaṇá* 'salt'	*kóśa* 'bucket, storage, grain vessel'	**lavaṇákōśa* 'saltcellar'
Kullui	*luŋ* 'salt'	*koʃu* 'small bowl'	*nəloʃu* 'saltcellar' < metathesis from ***ləŋoʃu*

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pɔʈu 'woolen plaid worn by women'

bumɳi 'buckle of *pɔʈu* consisting of two pins and some chains between them'

Blends that cannot be traced back to OIA

	First base	Second base	Compound
OIA	*ṭhakkura* 'idol, deity, title'	*vēṣṭá* 'band, noose, enclosure', *vēṣṭaka* 'fence'	*ṭhakkuravēṣṭá* '???'
Kullui	*ʈʰaʼkər* 'Thakur, the main local landlord caste'	*beɽʰ* 'small group of houses, quarter'	*ʈʰəkreɽ* 'small group of houses belonging to Thakurs'
OIA	OIA*vunana* 'weaving'	*dhāgga* 'thread'	*vunanadhāgga* '???'
Kullui	*bumŋi* 'buckle of *pɔʈu* consisting of two pins and some chains between them'	*dʰaga* 'thread'	*bʰəŋaga* 'thread between pins of *bumŋi,* as it was earlier'

Synthetism in grammar: verbal inflection

- - medial / denominative verbs

- - perfective participles

- - hortatives

- - plural forms of future imperatives

- - etc.

Medial / denominative verbs (including passive, involitive, reflexive, reciprocal verbs)

- *kaʈiɳa* 'to be cut' (< *kaʈɳa* 'to cut')
- *ʃuɳiɳa* 'to be heard, audible' (< *ʃuɳna* 'to hear')
- *srahiɳa* 'to boast' (< *srahɳa* 'to praise')
- *dʒʰɔʈiɳa* 'to fight' (about *dogs*) (< *dʒʰɔʈɳa* 'to bite)'
- *ɖongiɳa* 'to freeze' (< *ɖong* 'ice')
- *kʰapriɳa* 'to get old' (< *kʰapra* 'old')

Formation
-i- (< OIA -ya-, -īya- 'passive / denominative marker') + hoɳa 'to be'

Medial / denominative verbs

- In perfective forms as well as in forms where affix starts with *-i*, the *-i*-formant changes to *-u-*:

- *ʃuŋ-i-ŋa* 'to be heard' – *ʃuŋ-u-a* '(he/it) is heard' – *ʃuŋ-u-ija* 'being heard'

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- INF: *ʃuŋ-i-ŋa* 'to be heard' > *ʃuŋ-i +hoŋa*

- PFV: *ʃuŋ-u-a* '(he/it) is heard' > *ʃuŋ-i +hua*

- Synthetic formation of passive verbs by adding the *-i*-marker (historically combination of *-i*-marker and the verb *hoŋa* 'to be') is an areal feature of the Himalayan region (most of the Himachali languages, all three Pahari languages: Garhwali, Kumaoni, and Nepali).

Perfective participles

Infinitive	Perfective participle		
	M		F
	SG.DIR	SG.OBL и PL	
kɛr-ŋa 'to do'	**kɛr-u-d-a**	**kɛr-e-d-e**	**kɛr-i-d-i**

- *ʃobʰli dzəmin-a*   *nə*   *bah-u-d-a*   *bedza*
- good ground   LOC   sow-PFV-PTCP-M   seed
- A seed sown in good soil

- *tei-e*   *apŋ-a*   *kɔm*   *kɛr-u-d-a*   *sa*
- 3SG.OBL-ERG own-M work   do-PFV-PTCP-M   COP
- He has done his work

Formation
- old perfect participle + *hunda* (imperfect participle of *hoŋa* 'to be')
- Now: forms with two endings

Hortatives

- Stem + am
- *kɛram* 'let's do'

- *tsɔl-a* 　　　　*braʄi*　　*be*　　　*mɔtsi*　　*de-am*
- walk-IMP.PL cat 　　　　DAT 　　fish 　　give-HORT
- Let's give the cat a fish

- **Formation**
- Stem-*a* (plural form of imperative) + *hame* 'we'

- A similar formation of hortatives exists in many Himachali, such as Kotgarhi, Eastern Mandeali, Jaunsari, etc. [Hendriksen 1986: 165-166]

- But: 1PL *hame* does not exist in Kullui (it is present in many other Himachali), there is 1PL *ase*. However there are two 1PL possessive pronouns with the same frequency of use: *asəra* (< *ase*) and *mhara* (< *hame*) and it means that Kullui once had 1PL *hame* (at least as a contact influence).

Plural forms of future imperatives

- IMP.FUT.SG *-i* – IMP.FUT.PL *-it*

- *kɛri* '(you) do (in future)' – *kɛrit* '(you people) do (in future)'

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- **Formation of IMP.FUT.PL**

- IMP.FUT.SG *-i* + particle *tə*

- Particle *tə* is used to semantically emphasize a word in a sentence. In the same time, being used with imperatives it 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

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- *beʈa mer-a   koʈ   aŋ*

- son my-M.SG   coat   bring.IMP

- Son, bring my coat

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- *beʈa   mer-a   koʈ   aŋ   tə*

- son   my-M.SG coat   bring.IMP   EMPH

- Son, bring my coat please

Some conclusions

- Some features are found in many Indo-Aryan languages of the northern area, while others are unique to Kullui.

- In Hindi and other better described NIA languages, the reduction of unaccented vowels is not as strong and widespread as in Kullui. Therefore, the accentual unity of a new lexical unit as a factor of synthesis does not attract enough attention.

- Traditional Indology may underestimate the phenomena of blending and new suffixation in their examination of modern languages as a result of tradition of tracing modern lexical units back to the OIA level.

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Thank you!