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## Documenting the Kalasha language: some Challenges and Solutions.

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### ABSTRACT

The present paper based on extensive fieldwork conducted on Kalasha, an endangered language spoken in the three small valleys in Chitral District of Northwestern Pakistan, exposes a spontaneous dialogue-based elicitation of linguistic material used for the description and documentation of the language.

After a brief display of the basic typology of elicitation techniques (Himmelman 2006) and a thorough discussion of my fieldwork on a language threatened by extinction, I have shown with my natural data recordings (audio-visual) how most essential documentation is for the revitalization of a language pressurized by outside forces.



Kalasha young man and woman.



Kalasha girls preparing for the Spring Festival.

In the background, their village.

### BACKGROUND

The Kalasha language is spoken in the mountain valleys of Chitral, North-West Frontier Province, Pakistan. The most recent research conducted by Taleem Khan, my language consultant under our fieldwork program, has documented 3254 speakers of Kalasha in July 2008. They live in densely built-up villages in three valleys along Kunar river: Rumbur, Bumburet and Birir. There are two more valleys, Jingiret and Urtsun with Kalasha speakers, converts to Islam. Of these two I attempted a perilous trip to Urtsun and recorded the few Kalasha speakers only to find out that the language of the younger

population was hardly comprehensible to my Kalasha language consultants. Only one video of a very old man documented the language but still with serious losses.

Kalasha is classified as an Indo-Aryan language of the Dardic Chitral group, together with such Dardic groups as Pashai, Pech, Kohistani, Shina and Kashmiri. Morgenstierne (1932), also, classifies Kalasha as an Indo-Aryan language, closely related to Khowar: "Probably the two languages belong to the first wave of Indo-Aryan immigrants from the south" (Morgenstierne 1932: 51).

My position is that linguistic records (according to my fieldwork data) manifest a significant amount of Ancient Greek in the Kalasha language.

The main scope of this study, however, is to present an empirical linguistic description of a living language.

## **METHODOLOGY of documentation: A documentary linguistic approach.**

### **What's new?**

Himmelmann (2006: 14) proposes:

- **Focus on primary data:** Make primary data available for a broad group of users.
- **Explicit concern for accountability:** Primary data recordings and processing documentations make evaluation of analysis possible.
- **Concern for long-term storage and preservation of primary data:** Documentary materials are made available to users into distant future. The quality of the recordings is of paramount importance for long term storage.
- **Work in interdisciplinary teams:** Language documentation needs both linguistic expertise as well as other disciplines, such as anthropology, ethnomusicology, oral history and literature
- **Close cooperation with and direct involvement of speech community:** Language documentation encourages active cooperative work of members of the speech community both as native speakers and as researchers.

## THE PRESENT RESEARCH

The documentation of the Kalasha language is solely based on audio-visual material recorded in the valleys of Bumburet, Rumbur and Birir, in Chitral, Hindu Kush, Himalayas, where the Kalasha people live today. (Only a few recordings were done in Urtsun –a remote valley where only converted Kalashas live). All the videos and audio recordings were accomplished during my sabbatical April 2007-August 2008. My main informant Taleem Khan Bazik, from Brun, Bumburet, collected an abundance of linguistic material through the recordings and videos.

## AUDIO VISUAL MATERIAL: ELICITATION

### Linguistic Material

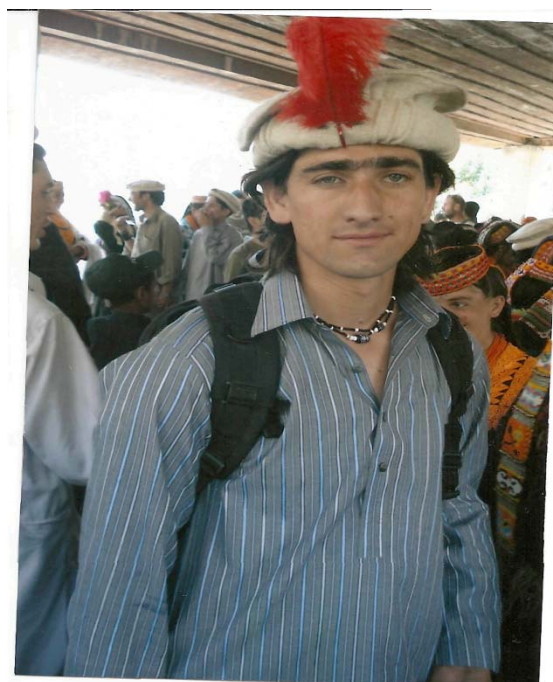
- Every day life situations and activities. A wide range of spontaneous dialogues between two or more indigenous speakers of five distinct age groups: dialogues between children, teenagers, young adults, middle aged, over eighty.
- Pre-planned, semantically or grammatically oriented speech, e.g. semantic fields or derivational and inflectional morphemes. The dialogues were meant to elicit **one** morphological or syntactic phenomenon each time.

### Social and Cultural material

- Songs and sayings during rituals related to the Kalasha tradition and religion. These recordings (both videos and cassettes) contain invaluable literary material pertaining the three main religious festivals: the **Zhoshi** (Spring), the **Uchaw** (late Summer) and the **Chawmos** (Winter festival) which is the longest. In Birir village, they also celebrate the **P'u** festival (fruit collecting) in October.
- Traditional stories and tales, the **Ac'hōik**, told by old people only during the long winter nights.

## SORTING OUT ALL THE AUDIO VISUAL MATERIAL

- **TRANSCRIPTION** of all recorded talks
- **TRANSCRIPTION** of all video recorded talks and ritual songs and tales.
- Word for word **TRANSLATION** of all the material. Hypotheses concerning the etymology of certain words.
- **PHONOLOGICAL** analysis. Phonetic transcription of all the sounds and intonation of the language.
- Identifying the phonemes and allophones.



Mr. Taleem Khan Bazik

- **MORPHOLOGICAL** analysis of all the recorded dialogues, tales and songs
- Identifying the morphemes (derivational – inflectional).
- **MORPHOSYNTACTIC** analysis and special syntactic problems. Seeking the origins of certain grammatical phenomena. Hypotheses for connections with the Classics, consolidated especially from old-age group recordings.
- First steps for a rudimentary **GRAMMAR**. Sketchy morphological analysis. Parts of speech and description of them drawn solely from the recorded material.
- Attempts for **textbook** writing. Authentic recorded dialogues created by Taleem Khan, following a specific linguistic pattern and a semantic field. For example, for a language problem, such as {-eli}<sub>suf</sub>, meaning ‘should’ and the semantic field a scene from their daily life, e.g. taking wheat seeds to the watermill to make flour, the created dialogue should focus on the production of {-eli} within the particular semantic field:

Tay hatya may zhōtraī 4um harieli zhe at pis’eli
you for me the mill-to wheat take-should and flour make should
For you I should take wheat to the water-mill and I should make flour
May au zueli zhe cay pieli zhe wal’ parieli
To me food eat-should and tea drink-should and watch goats go-should
I should eat food and drink tea and go and watch the goats

## PREVIOUS LINGUISTIC RESEARCH

The first published work on the Kalasha language is Leitner’s pioneering sketch 1880, summarized by Grierson (1919) in which Kalasha is presented in a ‘Kafir Group’ of a Dardic sub-family of the Aryan languages. Another pioneering sketch of the sound system and grammar of Kalasha is Morgenstierne (1932), based on data collection directly from the Kalasha people during his field work which started in 1929 and lasted a lifetime. Morgenstierne’s 1932 sketchy work is thoroughly described and completed in his 1973 Volume, “Notes on Kalasha”. Since then, this has been the starting point for subsequent linguistic work on Kalasha, which still remains fragmentary: Elena Bashir’s 1988 PhD thesis “Topics in Kalasha syntax” and Jan Heegård Petersen’s 2006 unpublished PhD thesis “Local case-marking

in Kalasha”. In parallel line, we have the publication of Sir Ralph Turner’s 1966 “A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages”. Thirty years later we have the publication of a Kalasha-English dictionary compiled by Ron Trail and Greg Cooper, in 1999. Now, all the entries in this dictionary are compiled according to the following alphabetical order:

a, ā , ą , ǎ , b, č, č̣ , d, dz, e, ě, ė , ě̇ , g, h, i, ĭ, ĭ̇ , ĭ̇̇ , ĵ, ĵ̇ , k, l, l̇ , m, n, ŋ, o, ǒ, ǒ̇ , ǒ̇̇ , p, r, s, š, ṧ , t, ts, ṫ , u, ũ, ւ, ũ̇ , w, y, z, ž, ž̇ .

## THE SOUNDS OF KALASHA

Following the Trail & Cooper dictionary and my fieldwork data documentation, I have come up with the following conclusion regarding the Kalasha alphabet and its sound system. I propose that the Kalasha alphabet consist of 22 letters in Roman script (Table 1). Letters such as f, q, v and x, are non-existent.

	Letter	Name	Example
1.	Aa	a	au ‘bread; food’
2.	Bb	ba	baya ‘brother’
3.	Cc	tsa	Chawmos ‘winter festival’
4.	Dd	da	dur ‘house’
5.	Ee	e	ek ‘one’
6.	Gg	ga	gak ‘cow’
7.	Hh	ha	homa ‘our’
8.	Ii	i	im ‘I come’
9.	Jj	dza	ju ‘yoke’
10.	Kk	ka	karim ‘I do’
11.	Ll	la	lõ’ ‘salt’
12.	Mm	ma	mo ‘don’t’
13.	Nn	na	ne ‘no!’
14.	Oo	o	ond’rak ‘egg’
15.	Pp	pa	parim ‘I go’
16.	Rr	ra	re ‘path in the snow’

17.	Ss	sa	sat 'seven'
18.	Tt	ta	tron 'loom for weaving'
19.	Uu	u	uk 'water'
20.	Ww	wa	wawa 'grandfather'
21.	Yy	ya	yuru 'vein; artery'
22.	Zz	za	za 'vegetables'
Table 1.			

In what follows, I will present a brief framework of the Kalasha vowel and consonant sounds. The descriptions are based on my transcriptions of the video and tape recordings.

### The Kalasha Vowel Phonemes.

Letters: a e © o u

Letters: Oral	IPA	example
a	/ʌ/	awa 'grandmother'
e	/e/	ec 'eye'
i	/i/	its 'bear'
o	/ɒ/	onza 'fry pan'
u	/ʊ/	uhuk 'owl'
Table 2.		

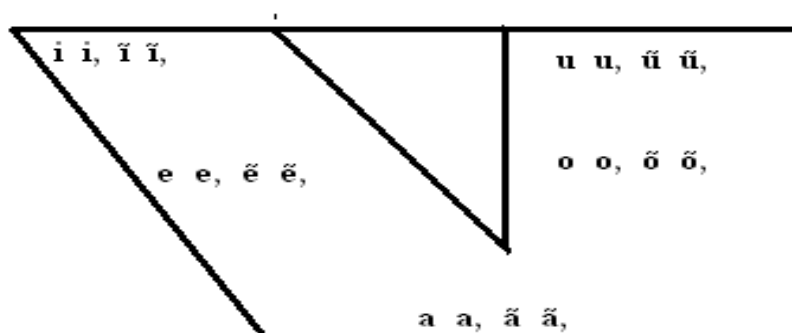


Fig. 1. The vowel phonemes.

All the Kalasha vowel phonemes can also occur as retroflex, nasalized or both.

(a) Retroflex marked with an inverted comma next to it.

Letter	IPA	example
a'	/ʌ <sub>r</sub> /	a'© 'duck'
e'	/e <sub>r</sub> /	ame'a 'sheep'
i'	/i <sub>r</sub> /	hi'a 'heart'
o'	/ɔ <sub>r</sub> /	o'nga 'cuff of shalwar'
u'	/ʊ <sub>r</sub> /	u'ghu'ik 'to repair a millstone'
Table 3.		

(b) Nasalized

letter	IPA	example
ã	/ã/	hash 'horse'
ẽ	/ẽ/	khẽ 'how?'
ĩ	/ĩ/	pac'hĩyak 'bird'
õ	/õ/	s'õs'kik 'to sweep'
ũ	/ũ/	gũzi 'dented'
Table 4.		

(c) ©both Retroflex and Nasalized

letter	IPA	example
ã'	/ã <sub>r</sub> /	mã'ik 'necklace'
ẽ'	/ẽ <sub>r</sub> /	ẽ'hẽ'n 'Ayon'
ĩ'	/ĩ <sub>r</sub> /	ga'wa'hĩ'ak 'rabbit'
õ'	/õ <sub>r</sub> /	sõ'a 'dog'
ũ'	/ũ <sub>r</sub> /	pũ' 'the grape harvest'
Table 5.		

Interestingly, there is no contrastive distribution between short and long vowels. They may occur in any position.

## The Kalasha Consonant phonemes

letters	phonemes	IPA	letters	phonemes	IPA
Bb	b	/b/	Nn	n	/n/
Cc	c	/tʃ/	Pp	p	/p/
Dd	d	/d/	Rr	r	/r/
Gg	g	/g/	Ss	s	/s/
Hh	h	/h/	Tt	t	/t/
Jj	j	/dʒ/	Ww	w	/w/
Kk	k	/k/	Yy	y	/j/
Ll	l	/l/	Zz	z	/z/
Mm	m	/m/	Table 6.		



Beating the drums at the Spring Festival (Zhoshi)

Some Kalasha consonant phonemes can also occur as retroflex, some as aspirated and only three as both retroflex and aspirated, of which  $c^h$  and  $d^h$  can occur marginally, while  $l^h$  has been documented once only.

### (a) retroflex

letters	IPA	example
c'	/tʃ <sub>r</sub> /	c'as'a 'cheese'
d'	/d <sub>r</sub> /	d'a 'wine'
j'	/dʒ <sub>r</sub> /	j'anj'er 'chain'
l'	/l <sub>r</sub> /	l'awak 'fox'
s'	/s <sub>r</sub> /	s'us'utr 'female head cover'
t'	/t <sub>r</sub> /	t'ong 'pear'
z'	/z <sub>r</sub> /	z'ar 'quickly'
Table 7.		



(b) Aspirated: All consonants can be aspirated except for w and y.

letters	IPA	example
bh	/b/	bhut 'shalwar, trousers'
ch	/tʃ/	chu 'daughter'
dh	/dʰ/	dhan 'roasted corn'
gh	/gʰ/	ghona 'big'
jh	/dʒʰ/	jhaw 'fence made of branches'
kh	/kʰ/	khawa 'conical basket'
lh	/lʰ/	lhoyak 'flat and smooth'
mh	/mʰ/	mhal 'curse'
nh	/nʰ/	nhast 'nose'
ph	/pʰ/	phaw 'earth'
rh	/rʰ/	rhad'id'ish 'pine-cone'
sh	/sʰ/	shara 'mountain goat'
th	/tʰ/	thara 'above, on'
zh	/zʰ/	zho 'barley'
Table 8.		

(c) both retroflex and aspirated, only three: c, d and l.

c'h	/tʃʰ/	c'hir	'milk'
d'h	/dʰ/	d'hok	'high forests' (marginally manifested)
l'h	/lʰ/	l'hos,	'charcoal' (only one item found)
Table 9.			

One final comment is that intervocalic consonants are often dropped, e.g. *asam* → *aam*. Also, voiced consonants in final position become voiceless, e.g. *b* → *p*, etc and word-final voiceless consonants may turn into voiced if a vowel is added, e.g. *uk* → *ug*; *uk* 'water' → *ug-ay* 'in the water'.

### SECTION III. The Morphology of Kalasha. Some Etymological Remarks.

#### 1. Nouns. Some hints on the origin of certain nouns. Connection with Ancient Greek.

Despite the various influences on the language over the centuries (e.g. Persian, Arabic, Urdu), Kalasha seems to have sustained time and has retained both Sanskrit and Greek lexical items intact. (1, 2)

##### 1. Proper names and place names. (Bevan (1902))

Kalasha	Greek		
Kalash	Hellas < Hadda, Skt	Sikander	Alexander
Ashtoreh	Asterusia (Aster + usa)	Oxus (river)	Axios
Nishei-grom	Nysa (Thrace)	Biriu/Birir	Beroia
Ayun	Aegae	Beo/Bio	Boeotia
Alishang (river)	Alexander	Makkah	Makedonia

##### 2. Mythological names (Morgenstierne 1973)

Kalasha	Greek
Balimain/Balimahin < *Bala-mahendra	Apollo
bhut 'evil spirit' < bhu:ta	vou- 'big ; monstrous'
Dez'au 'highest God'	Dias
J'es't'ak	Estia, L. Vestia

#### LEXICAL MORPHEMES. NOUNS

{-a} amě'a 'sheep' < Gr. **amnoa, amnis, amnas**; Skt. men'd'ha 'ram'

shul'a 'wood' < Gr. **ksylon**; Skt. s'alaka

s'õ'a 'dog' < Gr. **kyon, kyn**; Skt. suna

{-i/-y} at'hi 'bone' < Gr. **osteon, o~a, ostakos, astakos, astris**

pay 'goat' < Gr. **epolion** 'heard of goats', **epolos** 'shepherd'

{-u} chu 'daughter' < Gr. **thuyatyr**

Other common noun stems may end in various consonants such as : m, t, c, k and the diminutive -yak.

{-m} grom 'village' < Gr. **agros** 'field', Skt. agras, L. ager

krom 'work' < Gr. **erg- eirgasme**; Skt. vragami

{-t} put 'boy; son' < Gr. **pais**, Gen. παιδ-ος

{-c} kuc 'stomach' < Gr. **kyeo**<sub>v</sub>, **kystis**; Skt. kuks,i

{-k} d'hak 'waist' < Gr. **δaktylios**

1b. Lexical Items. Recorded dialogue.

1	Zam	us't'iu;	us't'i	baza maza	<b>ningiu</b>
	Zam	get up-3 <sup>rd</sup> sg	get up-pp	hand	wash-3 <sup>rd</sup> sg

**ningiu < ningik 'to wash'**

**Greek Root  $\nu\lambda\gamma$ -,  $\nu\lambda\pi$ -, 'niγ-, nip-' 'to wash'**

2	Phato	Zam	dura	<b>iu</b>	
	Then	Zam	house-to	come-3 <sup>rd</sup> sg	
	Dura	<b>ita,</b>	au zui	cai mai	<b>pi</b>
	house-to	home-pp	food eat-pp	tea	drink-pp
	jaas	som	bo	koshan	thi, .....
	wife-his	with	very	happy	become-pp

**iu < eo, ita < eo 'to come'**

**Greek Root  $\iota$ -,  $\epsilon\iota$  'to come' >  $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$  'we come',  $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\iota\text{-}\tau\alpha\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$**

**pi-pp < piik 'drink'**

**Greek Root  $\pi\iota$ -,  $\pi\omicron$ - 'to drink'**

More Kalasha morphemes elicited from the dialogues:

**DERIVATIONAL**

{**be-**} prefix of negation gam 'worry' → be-gam 'without worry' parwa 'care' → be-parwa 'careless'

{**-ani**} der. suffix 'from' dur-ani 'from the house' di-ani 'from the sky'

{**-ani**} 'from' grom 'village' → gromani 'village from'

{**-ai**} 'to' grom-ai 'to the village'

{**-ai**} 'inside' joari moc-ai mo pari!

The corn inside don't go!

{wal'-} Prefix Agent Noun    A wal'moc ais

I shepherd was

{-waw} Suffix Agent Noun    A batyak-waw        asam

I baby goats watcher am

## INFLECTIONAL MORPHEMES

### Possesive genitive case

{-as} pay-as 'of the goat', mut'-as 'of the tree', dad-as 'of the father'

{-a} proper nouns: Kharim-a 'Karim's', Astratgul-a 'Astratgul's'

Two genitive morphemes with kinship nouns: {-as}, {-asi}

Kharim-a bay-as. 'Karim's brother.'

Kharim-a bay-asi. 'Karim's brothers.'

### Dative/Oblique cases {-as}, {-on}

Pari amě'a-as uk piay

Go to one sheep water make drink 'Go and make one sheep drink water'

Pari amě'a-on uk piay            'Go and make many sheep drink water'

to many sheep

### Plurality morphemes {-an}, {-ai}

Tu batyak-an        hatya bonj            oni.

You the baby goats for oak tree leaves bring 'Bring oak leaves for the baby goats'

May pay-an hatya khas ne shian

To me goats for weeds not are

Onja dad-ai paron 'Now the fathers went'

Dos' bay-ai on 'Yesterday the brothers came'

Wawai zhe awai ad'ud'an

The grandfathers and grandmothers slept

### Verbal Inflectional Morphemes

**{-alak}**: May + V-alak + hiu day 'I have a strong desire to do sth'

May zhu-alak hiu day

to me eat desire is becoming 'I want to eat'

**{-eli}**: May + V-eli + hik 'I must do sth'

May au kar-eli hiu day

to me food make should is becoming 'I must make food'

**{-as}** + dem : 'I begin to do sth'

A krom kar-ik-as dem.

I work to work begin give 'I will start work'

Se au zhukas del

He food will start eat 'He will start eating food'

**{-a}** : 'in order to'

A uk onik-a parim 'I will go in order to bring water'

I water bring to will go

**{-una}**: 'to allow sth'

Tasa krom kar-una mo de

To him work to do allow not give 'I will not allow him to work'

{-ori}: 'allow to stay'

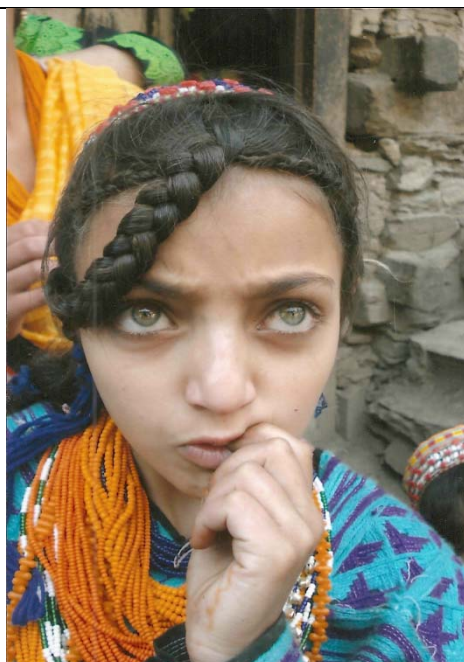
May som shiau ori

Me with is let. 'leave it with me'

### COMMENTS ON THE INFLECTIONAL MORPHEMES

From the above picture we conclude that the Number of Nouns Kalasha has retained a full productive plural formation especially in the oblique case. The majority of nouns, however, do not distinguish between Singular and Plural in the Nominative case which is uninflected. Case marking, on the other hand, differentiates between animate and inanimate nouns. Inanimate nouns seem to have retained many of the **archaic case endings**, concerning the locative, ablative and temporal cases. All case morphs are unstressed with the exception of nominative plural **-án** and genitive plural **-ón**.

Case-suffixation of common nouns in Kalasha				
	Animate		Inanimate	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	∅	∅, -an, -án	∅	∅
Genitive / Oblique	-as, -a	-an, -ánon, -ón	-as	-an
Dative	-as	-an	-as	-an, ∅
Accusative	∅	∅	∅	∅
Instrumental			-an	
Locative			-a, -una, -ai	
Ablative			-yei, -ani, -aw	
Temporal			-ano, -asa	



Little girl with five plaits (c'ui).

Vocative	-ow, Ø	Ø, -an?		
Table 10.				

According to Table 10 we can make the following claims:

**Genitive Singular** {-a}{-as} < OIA –asya; Gr. –s can function as:

2.a Possessive:

<i>muc-as chu</i>	<i>mastruk-as phrel'ik</i>	<i>Zama-a ja-as</i>
'the man's daughter'	'the moon's light'	Zama's wife
<i>tasa putr-as</i>	<i>tasa putr-asi</i>	
his/her son	his/her sons	

2.b Indirect/direct object:

*Se tan putras c'het praw*

'he gave a field to his son'

2.c The nominal complement in post position phrases: *pay-as hatya* < Gr. **aegos eneken** (αιγός ἐνεκεν).

**Genitive Plural** {-an}, {-anan}, {-on} < Gr. {-όν} (only animate nouns ending in –a take –όν) and can function as the nominal complement in post position phrases: *amē-on hatya* < Gr. οἰ-ῶν ἐνεκεν /i-on eneken/ 'of the sheep for'.

3. Kalasha		Greek	
nast-on	hatya	νεκρῶν	ἐνεκεν
dead-Gen.PI.	for Benef.	nekr-on	for Benef.
for (the sake of) the dead		for (the sake of) the dead	

4(a)	Genitive		4(b)	Genitive	
	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
	moc 'man'	moc-an 'men'		amēa 'sheep'	amē-on

	pay 'goat'	pay-an 'goats'		batya 'kid goat'	baty-on
	Unan 'Greek'	Unan-an 'Greeks'		suda 'child'	sud-on
	pus, 'flower'	pus'-an 'flowers'		onjes't'a 'pure'	onjes't'-on

The **Kalasha Genitive plural –ón** is definitely **the Greek plural suffix –on/-ón**. Morgenstierne does not give any etymological explanation of –on, while he suggests the Old Indo-Aryan –asya as the origin for the Genitive Singular –as (MG 1973: 207). Moreover, Petersen gives no etymological information of –on. “This I am unable to explain otherwise than referring to analogy: –án > –ón.” (Petersen 2007: 61).

Let us go back to case-marking of common nouns. The Nominative case is zero marked for the Singular for both animate and inanimate nouns. Only few animate nouns show either unmarked or marked nominative for the Plural, i.e. ∅ or –an, –án.

5. ek moc iu day 'One man is coming'  
Bo moc in day 'Many people are coming'  
mocan

Interestingly, Morgenstierne, in the texts he recorded, cites one more nominative plural morpheme {-ai} or {-ei}, which I documented in my recordings:

6. may putrai zhe chulai aya ita a-an  
My sons and daughters here PP-come Aux 3p.  
My sons and daughters have come here

So, apart from the Nominative, Genitive-Oblique and Vocative, no other case is marked for the animate nouns, whereas, with the inanimate nouns all cases are marked, except for the nominative and vocative.

#### The Dative Case in Kalasha with ditransitive verbs.

- 7a. Se batyak-as au del.  
He/she baby goat-Dat food give-3<sup>rd</sup> sg  
He/she gives/will give food to the baby goat



7b.	Gr. δῖ-δω-μι	tví	tt
	δi-δο-mi	tini	ti
	give-1 <sup>st</sup> sg	PN-Dat	PN-Acc

I give to somebody something

7c.	may	tre	chul-ei	ainyi.
	me-	three	daughter-	are-3 <sup>rd</sup> pl
	Dat		pl	
	sg			

Greek: ἐμοί εἰσί(v) emi-Dat sg isi-3<sup>rd</sup> sg

Current linguistic literature (Bashir 1988, Trail 1996, Petersen 2007) do not give any suggestions with regard to the origin of these case endings. For example, says Morgenstierne: “I am unable to suggest any explanation of the Obl. Plural forms in –ana, -anu, -ani.” (MG 1973: 209). Here Morgenstierne talks of only one morpheme of the Ablative case. He does not mention –ey or –aw. Petersen (2007) discusses quite extensively on the distributional and semantic parameters of locative and ablative case endings, but nothing on their origin.

### III. 2. Verbs

Finite verb forms in Kalasha can be described as having Tense, Aspect and Modal. The verb agrees with the subject in person and number and by the use of auxiliaries (to include aspect), in animacy.

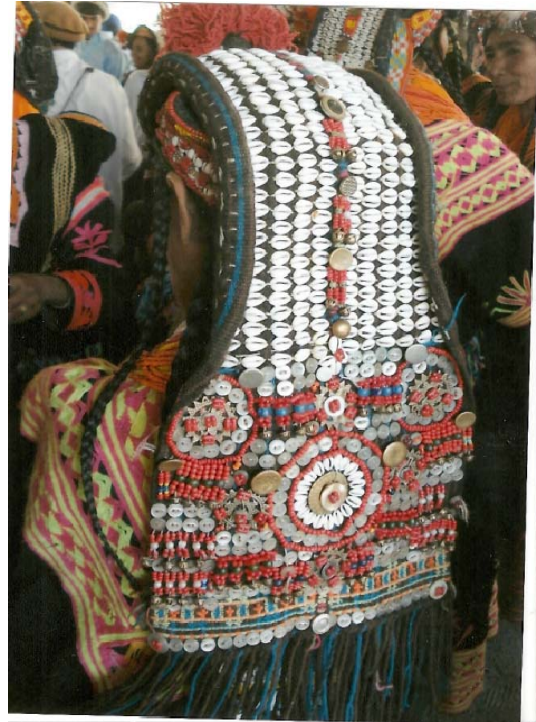
There are as many as eight conjugation classes in Kalasha (Bashir 1988: 26).

Due to the lack of space, I shall not go into details as to Tense formation. Table 11 provides one indicative example of the verb parik ‘I go’. The infinitival suffix for all verbs is {-ik} / {-ek}

Table 11.

**PRESENT SIMPLE/FUTURE**

Kalasha		Greek	
A	par-im <	πάρ-ειμι	par-imi
Tu	par-is	πάρ-εις	par-is
Se	par-iu	πάρ-εισι	par-isi
Abi	par-ik	πάρ-ιμεν	par-imen
Abi	par-eo / par-a	πάρ-ιτε	par-ite
Te	par-in	παρ-ίασι	par-iasi



The Kalasha head-dress, the 'kupas'.

**PRESENT IMPERATIVE**

	Kalasha	Greek	
Sing.	par-i	πάρι-θι	parithi
Pl.	par-a	πάρι-τε	parite

**PRESENT / PAST PARTICIPLE**

Kalasha	Greek	
pa-i	παρι-ών	pari-on

**III. 3. The Kalasha Participle**

Past participles in Kalasha can function freely as adjuncts in the sense that subject control is done by the matrix sentence. They may also occur as subject controlled absolute constructions (cf. Ancient Greek absolute genitives). Consider the data in 9a-9d (RECORDING 158).

9a. Son-ay pa-i, c'as'a on-im.
High pasture to having gone, cheese I will bring.
Having gone to the high pasture, I will bring cheese.

9b. Cut'i th-i-o, tu kia kar-is day?
Holiday having passed, you what are doing?
After the holiday has passed, what are you doing?

9c. Zama	jaas	shul'a	udriman	atai,	angar	kariu
Zam-Gen	wife-Gen	wood	inside	atek-pp	fire	make-3 <sup>rd</sup> sg
Zam's	wife	wood	inside	having brought	fire	makes
Having brought wood inside, Zam's wife makes fire.						

9.d Angar	kai,	cai	thal.	Cai	thai,	au	kariu.
fire	make-pp	tea	thek-3 <sup>rd</sup> sg	tea	thek-pp	bread	make-3 <sup>rd</sup> sg
Fire having made, tea she puts. Tea having put, bread makes.							
After making fire, shen serves tea. After serving tea, she makes bread.							

### Section III. Deverbal postpositions and grammaticalization phenomena.

The phenomenon of grammaticalization is very common in IE languages and the literature is quite extensive (e.g. Kortmann & Konig 1991 and 1992, Mela-Athanasopoulou 2002, et al). Consider the verbs and their past participles in 10a-b in the Kalasha language.

10a. Infinitive	10b. Past Participle		
griik 'to grasp'	gr-i <sup>1</sup> 'having grasped'	karik 'to do'	ka-i 'having done'

<sup>1</sup> Morgensterne calls –i absolutive suffix (MG 1973: 236)

hik 'to become'	th-i 'having become' (suppletive form)	dek 'to give'	da-i 'having given'
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The past participles of 10b can also function as postpositions after undergoing morpholization, i.e. they lose their syntactic properties of the verbs they derive from and convert into postpositions. Apart from this morphophonological and syntactic erosion, they also suffer semantic bleaching, i.e. they lose completely the meaning of the verb they derive from.

Now consider the data in Kalasha.

12a.

Ek	l'awak	phond-una	<b>dai</b>	par-iman asta
one	fox	way-loc	postposition	go-past - progr. aspect
one	fox	the way in	to	was going
A fox was going on (our) way.				

12b.

ek	gad'a	moc	tasi	<b>kai</b>	a-ma-aw:
one	old	man	Dat.	postposition	Past-matrik-Past, 3 <sup>rd</sup> Sg.
one	old	man	them	to	said
An old man said to them:					

12c.

Sudayak	wāts	<b>ka-i</b>	dur-a	hatya	ni!
little child	care	Postposition-with	house-in	to	take (to) IMP.
The little child	care	with	into the house		take
Take the child to the house with care.					

12d.

A zhe tu	<b>th-i,</b>	au	zhuk
I and you	postposition	food	1 <sup>st</sup> pl. Pres./Fut. eat
I and you	together	food	(will) eat
You and I (will) eat food together.			

12.e

L'uc zhe saras	asta	gri	ew!
Oil wood and juniper branch	also	postposition	Imp. Pl. come
Oil wood and juniper branch	also	with	come!
Come with oil wood and juniper tree branch, too.			

## CONCLUSION

### Suggestions and Solutions

- All the empirically based documented material was drawn from a wide range of activities: every day life, customs, cultural and traditional events.
- The recorded data were useful for all fields of linguistics: phonology, morphology, syntax and discourse. They provided invaluable database for etymological analysis of words as well as oral literature and traditional songs and poems.

To sum up: all the transcribed, translated and morphophonologically described material was used for the construction of text books and Grammar, which I intend to release soon. The last two, I believe, may be a first attempt for the maintenance and revitalization of the Kalasha language.



The Kalasha women dance for the Zhoshi Festival, while men play the drums.

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## **APPENDIX. Some of the recorded dialogues.**

Saphir Shah, 12, boy.

Awel	ay	abi	pushan	paromi.
Awel	ay	abi	push-an	par-omi.
First	at	we	flower-pl	go-1 <sup>st</sup> pl Past
At first we went to the flowers				

Toa	abi	c'hirik	pipi	paromi.
Toa	abi	c'hir-ik	pipi	par-omi.
Then	we	milk drinking festival		go-1 <sup>st</sup> pl Past
Then we went to the milk drinking festival.				

Toa	c'hir	adharimi.	Toa	abi	zhoshi	arimi.
Toa	c'hir	adh-ar-imi.	Toa	abi	zhoshi	ar-imi.
Then	milk	pour- 1 <sup>st</sup> pl Past	Then	we	Spring festival	do- 1 <sup>st</sup> pl Past
Then we poured milk. Then we did the spring festival.						

Toa	mrac'waki	zhoshi	arimi.
Toa	mrac'waki	zhoshi	ar-imi.
Then	mulberry	Spring festival	do-1 <sup>st</sup> pl Past
Then we did the mulberry spring festival			

Toa	tara	pai	c'as'a	ashimi.
Toa	tara	pai	c'as'a	ash-imi.
Then	there	go-pp	cheese	eat-1 <sup>st</sup> pl Past
Then there, having gone, we ate cheese.				

Toa	ashimi.	Toa	khul	hawaw
Toa	ash-imi.	Toa	khul	h-awaw
Then	eat-1 <sup>st</sup> pl Past	Then	complete	become/be-3 <sup>rd</sup> sg Past
Then we ate. Then it finished.				

Bek, 10, boy.

A	Zhoshi	bandem.	Mrac'waki	Zhoshi	bandem.
A	Zhoshi	band-em.	Mrac'-waki	Zhoshi	band-em.
I	Spring Festival	Pres/Fut. 1 <sup>st</sup> Sg. announce.	Little	Spring Festival	announce
I will announce the Spring Festival. I will announce the little Spring Festival.					

Paywaw	parim.	Ãa,	bira	marim,	dond	marim.
Pay-waw	par-im.	Ãa,	bira	mar-im,	dond	mar-im.
goat –Suf agent	Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> Sg go	Yes	ram	Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> Sg sacrifice	bull	Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> Sg sacrifice
I will go to watch the goats. Yes, I will sacrifice the ram. I will sacrifice the ox.						

Al'ay	batyakan	batyak	piem,	pay	duim.
Al'-ay	batyak-an	baty-ak	pi-em,	pay	du-im.
There	kid goat-pl	goat	cause to drink- Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> Sg	goat	milk- Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> Sg
There, I will make the baby goats drink. I will milk the goats.					

A	sarazari	bandem,	gheri	cawmos	bandem,
A	sarazari	band-em,	gheri	cawmos	band-em,
I	ceremony	announce – Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> Sg	again	winter festival	announce – Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> Sg
I will announce the religious ceremony. Again I will announce the Winter Festival.					



l'awak	biik	saw	pura	karim.
l'awak	bi-ik	saw	pura	kar-im.
fox	surround/circle Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> Pl	all	completely	do- Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> Sg
We will circle the fox. All completely I will do.				

Sabak	maam.	Al'ay	ac'u	al'ay	sonay	paam.
Sabak	ma-am.	Al'-ay	ac'u	al'-ay	sonay	pa-am.
Lesson	learn-  Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> sg	There	pasture	there	high pasture-to	go-  Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> sg
I will study my lesson. There to the high pasture. There I will go to the high pasture.						

Sonay	pai,	c'as'a	kai	onim.
Son-ay	pa-i,	c'as'a	kai	on-im.
high pasture-to	go-pp	cheese	make-pp	bring- Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> sg
Having gone to the high pasture, having made cheese, I will bring.				

C'as'a	kay	oni,	mocan	dem.	Zhun.
C'as'a	kay	on-i,	moc-an	d-em.	Zhu-n.
cheese	with	bring-pp	person-Pl Dat	give- Pres/Fut 1 <sup>st</sup> sg	eat- Pres/Fut 3 <sup>rd</sup> pl
Having brought cheese, I will give to the people. They will eat.					

**4. Zardali (female): 6**  
**Bek (male) : 10**

Bek : Tay nom kia?

Zardali: May nom Zardali. A mashushtyak heman hatya s'us'ay aam a.

Bek: Ware o tu kia kia karik khoshes?

Zardali: Ish, kia ne, sabak maik.

Bek: Sabak maas day e?

Zardali: Ña.

Bek: Sabak mai, tu kia kaas?

Zardali: Hm, d'akt'har him.

Bek : D'akt'har his e?

Zardali: Ña

Bek: Jahas kasek tay khosh e?

Zardali: Ña

Bek: Wal' parik tay khosh e?

Zardali: Ña

Bek: Sahi e?