Landscape and spatial coding in Palula and surrounding languages

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Geographic Grounding - Place, direction and landscape in the grammars of the world
30-31 May 2016, University of Copenhagen
Outline

- General background: the region and the P. community
- P. spatial coding overview
- General locative expressions
- Inherently locative expressions (relational nouns)
- Deictics
- Motion verbs
- Stream-oriented expressions
- Summary
- Areal parallels
- Conclusions
The Greater Hindukush Region
The Greater Hindukush Region

Tirich Mir (7,708 m), from Chitral Town (2004)

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Languages of the Hindukush region

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Chitral and the Palula speaking area

[Map showing the location of Chitral and Palula in Pakistan and Afghanistan.]

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The Palula community

- Palula [phl], Shina group: [paːluːlǎː], [atsʰareːtǎː]
- 10,000 speakers
- Animal husbandry, agriculture, logging
- Today 100% Muslim
- Vital in the two side-valleys, Ashret and Biori

Wedding in Ashret (2005)
Palula fieldwork

- 1998-2006
- Lived in Peshawar; summers in the area
- Outcomes: grammar, dictionary, texts
- Gradual community involvement
- Practical applications: orthography, literature, curriculum, mother tongue-based schools


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The Palula-speaking area
Palula spatial coding (overview)
Palula spatial coding (overview)
Palula spatial coding (overview)
Palula spatial coding (overview)

Relational nouns

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Palula spatial coding (overview)

Deictics + Relational nouns
Palula spatial coding (overview)
General locative expressions

Linguistic resources:

a) inflection (morphological case)

\( \text{ghoóóst NOM} \quad \text{ghooóst-á OBL} \quad \text{ghooóst-íi GEN} \) ‘house’

b) noun + core-function postposition (small set)

\( \text{the} \) ‘to, for’ \quad \text{díi} ‘from, (out) of, than’

c) noun + specialized postposition (larger set)

\( \text{ściiti} \) ‘inside’ \quad \text{pharé} ‘along, through, across, over’

\( \text{dapáara} \) ‘for’ \quad \text{ dúši} ‘in the direction of’

d) noun + specialized postposition + core postposition

\( \text{ściiti the} \) ‘into’ \quad \text{ dúši thíi} ‘from the direction of’
General locative expressions: noun morphology

**atshareéét**
‘Ashret [a Palula village]’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>muṣṭóoi</th>
<th>zamaaná-ii</th>
<th>atshareet-á</th>
<th>paačhambeé</th>
<th>thaní</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of.past</td>
<td>time-GEN</td>
<td>Ashret-OBL</td>
<td>Pashambi</td>
<td>QUOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áak</td>
<td>míiš</td>
<td>heensílu</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>maní.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>live-PFV-MSG</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>HSAY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘A long time ago there was a man in Ashret whose name was Pashambi.’
General locative expressions: noun morphology

`tas wheel-í atshareet-á phed-óol-u.`

3SG.ACC take.down-CV Ashret-OBL bring.back-PFV-MSG

‘We brought him down to Ashret.’
General locative expressions: noun morphology

[source]

atshareet-íi xálaka gíía, táa=the.
Ashret-GEN people go.PFV.PL 3SG.LOC=to

'The people went from Ashret to there.'
General locative expressions: noun morphology + core postposition

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{atshareet-á} & \quad \text{wée} & \quad \text{kaaláaś-am-ii} & \quad \text{hukumát} & \quad \text{de.} & \quad \text{LOCATION} \\
\text{Ashret-OBL} & \quad \text{in} & \quad \text{Kalasha-PL.OBL-GEN} & \quad \text{rule} & \quad \text{be.PST} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The Kalasha people ruled in Ashret.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{eesé} & \quad \text{waxt-ii} & \quad \text{peeyambár} & \quad \text{har} & \quad \text{deés} & \quad \text{GOAL} \\
\text{REM} & \quad \text{time-GEN} & \quad \text{prophet} & \quad \text{every} & \quad \text{day} \\
\text{tasíi} & \quad \text{ghooṣṭ-á} & \quad \text{the} & \quad \text{b-ii} & \quad \text{de.} & \quad \text{SOURCE} \\
\text{3SG.GEN} & \quad \text{house-OBL} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{go-3SG} & \quad \text{PST} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The prophet of the time went to his house every day.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tu} & \quad \text{xu} & \quad \text{sóon-ii} & \quad \text{thii} & \quad \text{wh-áand-u.} & \quad \text{SOURCE} \\
\text{2SG.NOM} & \quad \text{ADVS} & \quad \text{pasture-GEN} & \quad \text{from} & \quad \text{come.down-PRS-MSG} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘So you are actually coming down from the high pasture.’
General locative expressions: noun morphology + postposition

- **muṭ-á ğe**
  - tree-OBL up.in(to)
  - ‘up a tree, up in a tree’

- **baṭ-á ğhulí**
  - stone-OBL on (top of)
  - ‘on (top of) a stone’
General locative expressions: noun morphology + specialized pp + core pp

ghooṣṭ-ā
house-OBL

šiiṭí
inside

the
to

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Inherently locative expressions: bare relational nouns

huṇḍ ta čhiitr=ee
up.above CONT field=CONJ

bhun ba ghaawaáz
down.below TOP stream.bed
de.
be.PST

‘The field was up above and the stream-bed was down below.’
Inherently locative expressions: bare relational nouns

STREAM-ORIENTED GOAL

yalab  ghas-ī
 canal    catch-cv
ajá   güum.
upstream     go.PFV.MSG

‘I went up along the canal.’
Inherently locative expressions: bare relational nouns

\[ oóra \ xoneerí \ thaní \ áa \ néeri \ hín-i. \]

this.side  Khuneri  QT  a  brook  be.PRS-F

‘There is on this side [of the pass] a brook named Khoneri.’
Inherently locative expressions: relational noun morphology (+ core pp)

*huṇḍ*-ii   ین-ә   ҭookeeper   th-iiil-i.
up.above-GEN bear-OBL jump do-PFV-F
‘The bear made a leap from above.’

*sum*  *huṇ=ʈe (< huṇḍ the)*  şugal-и    ba  čo    ba
mud    up.above=to throw.away-CV TOP go.ahead go.IMP.SG
thaniiit-u.

say.PFV.MSG

‘[The pir] threw soil up [into the air] and said “Yes, go on!”.’
Inherently locative expressions: relational noun morphology (+ core pp)

\( phar-i\)\( ï \) \( thi\)\( ï \) \( ba \) \( míi\)\( š \) \( yh-áa\)\( ť \)\( -u \) \( bh-íl\)\( -u \) \( hín-u. \)

yonder-GEN from TOP man come-AG-MSG become-PFV-MSG be.PRS-MSG

‘From the opposite side [of the pass] a man was coming.’
### Deictic expression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proximal (within reach)</th>
<th>Distal (out of reach; visible)</th>
<th>Remote (out of reach; invisible)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attributive</strong></td>
<td><em>ee-nú</em></td>
<td>‘this X’</td>
<td><em>ee-ró</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominal</strong></td>
<td><em>ee-nú</em></td>
<td>‘this one’</td>
<td><em>ee-ró</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location I</strong></td>
<td><em>inda</em></td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td><em>ee-ráa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location II</strong></td>
<td><em>ee-níi=</em></td>
<td>‘to here...’</td>
<td><em>ee-ríi=</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source</strong></td>
<td><em>ándóoi</em></td>
<td>‘from here’</td>
<td><em>ee-ráai</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* *ee-* = ha-* in B. dialect

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**Deictic expressions: space-time-discourse**

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<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td><em>eenú</em></td>
<td><em>eeró</em></td>
<td><em>eesó</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>NON-EMPH</td>
<td><em>nu</em></td>
<td><em>lo</em></td>
<td><em>so</em></td>
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**Exophoric use**
Deictic expressions: space-time-discourse

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Anaphoric use
# Deictic expressions: space-time-discourse

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**Discourse-deictic use**
Deictic expressions: space-time-discourse

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<tr>
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<td>nu</td>
<td>lo</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Article-like use
Deictic expressions (+ case (+ pp))

ha-n-ú   booǰéi   ha-ɾ-áa=te   ghin-aṇḍeéu
EMPH-PROX-MSG.NOM   sack   EMPH-DIST-LOC=to   take-OBLIG

‘This [within reach] sack needs to be taken to there [out of reach, visible].’

máa=ee   tu   ga   bheš-í   hín-a
1SG.NOM=CONJ   2SG.NOM   REL   sit.down-CV   be.PRS-MPL

ee-n-í   ghooṣṭ-á   šīṭi...
EMPH-PROX-OBL   house-OBL   inside

‘In this house, where you and I are sitting...’

be   ee-t-áa   yh-óol-a   ta,   hiimaál
1PL.NOM   EMPH-REM-LOC   come-PFV-MPL   SUB   glacier

čhinǰ-í   asaám   híɾ-a.
strike-CV   1PL.ACC   take.away.PFV-MPL

‘When we reached there, an avalanche hit and swept us away.’
Deictic expressions specified (geomorphically) by relational nouns

táa  yhaí  ba  góo  bhraapútr  thaníít-u  ta,
REM.LOC  come.CV  TOP  where  brother’s.son  say.PFV-MSG  SUBJ

bhun=a-ṛíi=wee  ga  šáali  ţópa  dít-i
down.below=EMPH-DIST.LOC2=in  REL  Shali  down  put.PFV-F

šáali  kh-éel-i  thaníít-u  ta.
Shali  eat-PFV-F  say.PFV-MSG  SUBJ

‘When he came there, he said, “Nephew, where [is it]?” and I said, “Down there, where it felled Shali [a goat’s name] and ate her.”’
## Motion verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>direction rel viewpoint</th>
<th>geo-orientation</th>
<th>other specification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bíí</td>
<td>away from</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yhíí</td>
<td>toward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whíí</td>
<td></td>
<td>down-stream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukhíí</td>
<td></td>
<td>up-stream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šáača</td>
<td></td>
<td>up-hill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikhíí</td>
<td></td>
<td>horisontally</td>
<td>in to out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áača</td>
<td></td>
<td>horisontally</td>
<td>out to in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>láanga</td>
<td></td>
<td>away from</td>
<td>horisontally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phéda</td>
<td></td>
<td>toward</td>
<td>horisontally</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stream-oriented expressions

*kareé*  ukháat-u.

when  move.upstream.PFV-MSG

‘When did you arrive? [i.e. from down-country Peshawar to Ashret in Chitral]’

Ashret, 1,450 m

Peshawar, 360 m
Stream-oriented expressions

feerimaá the
Ferima to
wh-áand-a.
move.downstream-PRS-MPL

‘We’re going to Ferimaa [said in Ashret while going to F, a small village situated down-stream in the same side-valley].’

Ferimaa, 1,350 m
Ashret, 1,450 m
Stream-oriented expressions

*haraŋúu-a the
*Arandu-OBL to
*wh-áand-u.
move.downstream-PRS-MSG

‘I’m going to Arandu [said in Ashret while going to A, a place situated down-stream in the main Chitral/Kunar valley].’
Stream-oriented expressions

čatróol-a the
Chitral-OBL to

ukh-áand-u.
move.upstream-PRS-MSG

‘I’m going to Chitral [said in Ashret while going to C, the district capital, situated up-stream in the main Chitral/Kunar valley].’

Ashret, 1,450 m

Chitral, 1,520 m
Stream-oriented expressions

dhrúu~ṣ-a the
Drosh-OBL to
ukh-áand-u.
moves.upstream-PRS-MSG

‘I’m going to Drosh [said in Ashret while going to D, a bazaar town, situated up-stream in the main Chitral/Kunar valley, but at a lower elevation than A].’
Combined resources

túuri  ğe  ukháat-u.
down(stream).below  up  move.upstream.PFV-MSG

‘He came up [to Ashret] from down below [i.e. via the Kunar valley in Afghanistan].’
## Spatial features across categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Visibility</th>
<th>Access</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postpositions</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deictics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational nouns</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motion verbs</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GEOMORPHIC FoR

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Geomorphologic frames of reference

ACROSS BOUNDARY

UPHILL

DOWNHILL

DOWNSTREAM

UPSTREAM

ACROSS BOUNDARY

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Parallels in Indo-Aryan Khowar
## Parallels in Indo-Aryan Khowar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Specification</th>
<th>Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-vertical, -horizontal</td>
<td>LOC 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>+horizontal (level): location, direction, extent</td>
<td>LOC 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tu</td>
<td>+vertical (up): location, direction, content</td>
<td>LOC 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>+vertical (down): location, direction</td>
<td>LOC 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Bashir 2000:15)

### Proximal Distal Absent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(ha)y-ii</th>
<th>(h)e-i</th>
<th>(ha)te-i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ha)yar-a, (ha)yaa</td>
<td>(h)er-a</td>
<td>(ha)ter-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ha)y-uu</td>
<td>(h)oo</td>
<td>(ha)t-uu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Bashir 2000:22)
Parallels in Indo-Aryan Khowar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker deixis</th>
<th>Upward</th>
<th>Downward</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>toward</td>
<td>yíi</td>
<td>yúu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>away from</td>
<td>aih</td>
<td>af</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Bashir 2000:23)

/tóri
uphill (upstream)

/múti
downhill (downstream)
## Areal parallels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Within reach</th>
<th>Out of reach, visible</th>
<th>Out of reach, invisible</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palula (Indo-Aryan)</td>
<td>(ee)nu</td>
<td>(ee)ro</td>
<td>(ee)so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri (Indo-Aryan)</td>
<td>yi(hoy)</td>
<td>hu(hay)</td>
<td>su(y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakhi (Iranian)</td>
<td>(ha)yem</td>
<td>(ha)yet</td>
<td>(ha)ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamviri (Nuristani)</td>
<td>(o)ina</td>
<td>(o)ia</td>
<td>(o)aaska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purik (Tibeto-Burman)</td>
<td>dyu</td>
<td>ao – (odoo)</td>
<td>eu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burushaski (isolate)</td>
<td>in(e)</td>
<td>khin(e)</td>
<td>khin(e)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Conclusions

- Spatiality part of various P. subsystems: case morphology, postpositions, demonstratives, relational nouns (adverbials), motion verbs (also used in combination)
- At least relational nouns and motion verbs involve geomorphic reference
- Dimensions: upstream-downstream, uphill-downhill, across boundaries (primarily major streams and mountain passes)
- External physical environment: high mountains; settlements clustered on steep slopes near major streams
- Possible areal parallels (across linguistic genera)
Thank you!

پیوست مهر بینی!