SUBORDINATION, GROUNDING AND THE PACKAGING OF INFORMATION IN

GOJRI

by

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iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.......................................................................................................................... vii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS................................................................................................................. viii

ABSTRACT ........................................................................................................................................... ix

1 INTRODUCTION............................................................................................................................ 1

1.1 The Gojri People and Language ................................................................................................. 2

1.2 Previous Language Work on Gojri .............................................................................................. 4

1.3 Overview of Thesis ..................................................................................................................... 6

2 SUBORDINATE CLAUSE STRUCTURE IN GOJRI................................................................. 8

2.1 AdverbialClauses ......................................................................................................................... 8

2.1.1 Adverbial clauses of time ...................................................................................................... 8

2.1.2 Adverbial clauses of manner ............................................................................................... 13

2.1.3 Adverbial clauses of purpose ............................................................................................. 17

2.1.4 Adverbial clauses of cause or reason ............................................................................... 21

2.2 Complement Clauses ............................................................................................................... 22
2.3 Relative Clauses ................................................................. 26

2.4 Conjunctive Participles ..................................................... 39

3 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES, GROUNDING AND PROMINENCE ........ 42

3.1 Analysis of Discourse/Grounding Theories ............................ 43

3.1.1 Definition of foreground .................................................. 43

3.1.2 Overview of different approaches to grounding status of main clause 45

3.1.3 Grounding status of subordinate clauses with respect to main clauses 48

3.2 Adverbial Clauses .................................................................. 49

3.3 Relative Clauses and Prominence ........................................ 53

3.4 Clause Chaining ................................................................. 59

4 CONNECTIVES AND PACKAGING OF INFORMATION ............... 66

4.1 Coordinative te ................................................................. 68

4.2 Juxtaposition .......................................................................... 73

4.3 fir and te fir .......................................................................... 78

4.4 bas, bas fir and te bas .......................................................... 84

4.5 Non-coordinative te ............................................................. 89

4.6 ājī ......................................................................................... 103
5 CONCLUSION ........................................................................................................ 106

APPENDIX A: ASLAM ............................................................................................. 160

APPENDIX B: TUG OF WAR .................................................................................. 160

APPENDIX C ............................................................................................................. 160

1. Gloss Abbreviations .......................................................................................... 160

2. Narrative Title Abbreviations .......................................................................... 162

BIBLIOGRAPHY ....................................................................................................... 163
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gojri Connectives</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vii
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is based on a collection of narratives told by Gujar women in northern Pakistan. It majors on the structure of subordinate clauses, the discourse functions of relative clauses and conjunctive participial clauses, and the function of the most common connectives: te, fir, bas and jī.

The position of the relative pronoun indicates whether a relative clause is referring to an activated or a new participant. Relative clauses that appear superfluous indicate that the referent has a significant role to play in the subsequent discourse.

Conjunctive participial clauses may convey information of the same storyline status as the main verb in the sentence.

Sentences are normally joined with a connective. The most common connective, coordinative te, joins equal constituents when they convey distinct information. Juxtaposition indicates that adjacent sentences do not convey distinct information.

Correlative te and contrastive te, as spacers, separate constituents of unequal status and indicating their relation to the context. Correlative te switches the attention to a new time or participant, and contrastive te indicates a proposition counter to expectation.
1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to describe certain discourse features found in oral narratives in Gojri, first of all, in order to contribute to the Gojri Language Development Project in the Northwest Frontier Province in Pakistan, and, secondly, to add to the linguistic knowledge of discourse and syntax in the Indo-Aryan language family and SOV languages in general.

The corpus used for the analysis of this thesis consists of 24 oral narratives in the Eastern Gojri dialect of Pakistan. The average length of each narrative is 80 sentences. The majority of these narratives were recorded by me over a two month period, with 8 different female speakers. Two of the texts were recorded previously by the Gojri Language Development Project with a female story teller who is since deceased. Some of the stories were transcribed into Gojri script by one of my language assistants. The two texts ‘Aslam’ and ‘Tug of War’ appear in Appendices A and B respectively. ‘Aslam’ was transcribed by one of the Gojri Language Project employees, and ‘Tug of War’ was transcribed by the linguists working on the language project. The rest were
transcribed by me using the Indological transcription described below, with the help of another language assistant.

The story tellers, as mentioned, are female. They have no formal education and are therefore uninfluenced by Urdu, Pakistan’s language of education. The pure Eastern Gojri found in these texts will provide a standard by which educated Urdu speakers’ decisions about Gojri can be tested. This has further practical application in the production of written materials, potential Gojri language learning, and teaching written Gojri for children in schools.

1.1 The Gojri People and Language

There are approximately 1.4 million speakers of Gojri in Northern Pakistan and neighboring regions in India and Afghanistan. The Ethnologue uses the term ‘Gujari’ and the language code ‘gju’. It indicates a number of variant pronunciations, including ‘Gojri’, which is favoured by Losey (2002) and will be used in this study. The people are called ‘Gujars’.

Gojri belongs to the Central zone of Indo-Aryan. According to Masica (1991:48), its closest related language is Mewati, a North Eastern Rajasthani language.
Losey (2002) identifies two dialects of Gojri: Allaiwal Bakarwal and Kaghani Bakarwal. These correspond to the Western and Eastern dialects, respectively, which are proposed by Hallberg and O’Leary (1992). This study concentrates on the Kaghani Bakarwal dialect, or Eastern dialect, found in the North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P.) of Pakistan.

The Kaghani Bakarwal people are semi-nomadic and migrate between the Kaghan Valley and Abbottabad District, N.W.F.P. The language of wider communication in Kaghan and Abbottabad is Hindko (see Losey 2002). Gujar men are usually bilingual in Hindko. Women only speak their dialect of Gojri, unless their community is bilingual, in which case they grow up speaking both Gojri and Hindko. My primary language assistant, Shameem Tikri, grew up speaking Hindko and Gojri and married into a Hindko family. Her husband’s family is also bilingual.

The Indological transcription used in this study is adopted from Losey (2002), who based his transcription on the ‘Standard Orientalist’ transcription described by Masica (1991:xv) and extended it with symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Retroflex consonants are representend with a subscript dot under the consonant symbol: \( \text{ṭ}, \text{ḍ}, \text{ṛ}, \text{ṇ} \). Aspiration is represented by an \( \text{h} \) (not a raised \( \text{h} \), as in the IPA) following the aspirated consonant. For the alveopalatal fricatives and affricates, \( \text{ʃ}, \text{tʃ}, \text{dʒ}, \text{dʒ} \), and \( \text{p} \).
Losey (2002) uses Americanist symbols: š, č, ķ, whereas for the two affricates, Masica uses the bare forms c and ţ.

When vowel length is differentiated, long vowels are indicated by a macron over the vowels ā, ě, ĩ, and their short counterparts are represented by the bare vowels. Vowels o and e are closed-mid and their open counterparts are represented by the IPA symbols ō and è. Losey (2002) follows Masica (1991) and Baart (1997) in his transcription of nasals, putting the tilde beside the vowel instead of over it. In this study, in contrast to the others, nasalization is indicated by a tilde above the vowel. In cases where the vowel is also long, the tilde is written above the macron, for example, ā̃, ď̃.

A final note about transcription is the marking of Gojri’s tone. Losey uses a grave accent for low tone and an acute accent for high tone. Mid tone is unmarked. This study adopts this system. This produces the possibility of having three superscripts on one vowel segment, such as ā̃̃. For a more extensive description of the sounds of Gojri, the reader is referred to Losey (2002).

1.2 Previous Language Work on Gojri

Losey (2002) describes the history of Gojri language research, which began with Bailey in 1903. The most recent linguistic study mentioned by Losey is Sharma’s work
on the sound system (1979) and the grammar (1982) of Punch Gojri in Indian-administered Kashmir. More recently, there have been sociolinguistic studies on Gojri conducted by Hallberg and O’Leary (1992) and Hugoniot and Polster (1997).

Losey (2002) is the most recent study on Gojri. It is an extensive description of Gojri’s phonology and morphology, as well as a preliminary description of its syntax and a sociolinguistic description of the Bakarwal people. The purpose of his study was to decide which features of the two major dialects should be used in developing an orthography that could benefit both. In his study of syntax, he described the verb phrase and identified four types of non-finite verbs: infinitives, perfective participles, imperfective participles, and conjunctive participles. In personal notes, Losey made some preliminary observations about relative clause structure and usage. This study has depended heavily on the information supplied by Losey (2002) as well as the dictionary he is developing and other personal notes (referred to henceforth as p.c.). In particular, it builds on his observations of the relative clause and his more extensive description of non-finite verbs.
1.3 Overview of Thesis

This thesis looks at subordination, grounding, and packaging of information in Gojri.

Chapter 2 sets the scene for chapter 3. It continues the study of Gojri syntax begun by Losey (2002) by describing the structure of subordinate clauses. It describes three different types of subordinate clauses found in Gojri: adverbial clauses, complement clauses, and relative clauses. Adverbial clauses include clauses of time, manner, purpose, and cause or reason. One special type of adverbial clause is theconjunctive participial clause, which may occur singly or in chains before the main verb (it may also occur after the main verb, on occasion). Complement clauses include finite complements of verbs of speech and awareness and infinitive complements of other verbs. Relative clauses can be divided into two categories, the first with the relative pronoun preceding the head, the second with the head first.

The third chapter deals with the role of subordinate clauses in grounding. It describes the difference in grounding that is indicated by the position of the adverbial clause in a sentence. Then it describes the role of the relative clause in narrative discourse and finally the unique role of the conjunctive participle. The two most significant discoveries in this chapter relate to these two subordinate clause types. First,
apart from the normal identifying use of the relative clause, a seemingly superfluous relative clause is used to give prominence to a participant or prop. Second, the conjunctive participle in Gojri, although a subordinate clause, often conveys information that is of equal storyline status with the main verb.

The fourth chapter deals with the role of connectives in the packaging of events. The chapter majors on four different connectives and their respective functions. It also looks at the function of juxtaposition in contrast to the presence of the default connective te, which introduces distinct information and, under certain circumstances, indicates the beginning of a new package of events.

Chapter five provides a brief conclusion of my study and suggestions for further research.
2 Subordinate Clause Structure in Gojri

Traditional grammar has posited three basic types of subordinate clauses: adverbial, complement, and relative (Whaley 1997:247). Gojri has all three. This chapter first deals with each of these types separately and then handles conjunctive participial clauses as a case on their own, since they behave differently from other subordinate clauses.

2.1 Adverbial Clauses

The adverbial clauses found in this corpus can be divided into at least four categories: time, manner, purpose, and cause or reason. Adverbial clauses can occur before the main clause, after the main clause, or between the subject and the verb of the main clause. The position in the sentence affects their grounding status, which will be addressed in the following chapter.

2.1.1 Adverbial clauses of time

The time clauses of this corpus have four different structures. They can be introduced with the clause-initial subordinating conjunction jad. They can also be
introduced with a clause-initial relative phrase, involving the oblique relative pronoun ǰīs. Thirdly, an infinitival clause followed by a postposition can indicate the relative time at which something happens. Finally, the non-specific relativizer jīyā can also introduce time clauses, though instances of this are almost exclusively found in only one of the texts used in this study. A fifth structure is also mentioned in this section which overlaps with and will be more fully handled in the discussion on adverbial clauses of manner (section 2.1.2).

The adverbial clause marker jad is associated in some way with a span of time. Three of the four examples that I have of this subordinator refer to a span of time during which another event happened. The fourth example introduces a point in time that occurs while an activity is going on.

In example (1) jad introduces the time period in which ‘this brother ... was studying at school’. The imperfective form of the verb brings out the fact that the time indicated is a period and not a point.

(1) te yó mer-ǝ pây
    CC 3S.PRX.N.M 1S.O-MS.N brother

  ğad skül pár-ǝ hò-we th-ǝ ná …
  when school read-HAB.2/3S be-HAB.2/3S PST-MS.N NEG

  ‘When this brother of mine was studying at school, okay …’ (Aslam 2)
Example (2) is the fourth instance of *jad*, where the adverbial clause introduced with

*jad* is a point of time that occurs during a span of time that is encoded in the main clause.

(2)  

\[
\text{\textit{jad} - šāziā - zalzal-} \text{-hō-e-} \text{te andar} \\
\text{when Shazia earthquake-MS.N be-PRF-MS.N CC inside} \\
\text{baṛ-ī māl k-} \text{ kam kar-} \varepsilon \\
\text{big-FS.N livestock GEN-MS.N work do-HAB.2/3s} \\
\text{th-ī. PST-FS.N} \\
\]

‘When – Shazia – the earthquake happened, (she) was inside doing the chores for the big livestock.’ (Shazia 1)

The oblique relative pronoun *fis* introduces temporal clauses as part of a clause-initial relative phrase such as *fis tem* ‘time that’ or *fis waxt* ‘time that’ or other variations that include more specific time words such as *fis din* ‘day that’. Like other relative clauses (see section 2.3), relative clauses of time are restrictive. In example (3) below, the relative clause identifies the time when the boy was born, which will contrast with a later point in time, in which the situation was quite different:
The third method of referring to time is with an **infinitival clause and a postpositional expression.** This construction presents an event by describing its relation to a prior or following activity. It concentrates on the relation of the described time to another time. In example (4), the storyline event of the speaker going (to visit relatives) is represented as occurring two days before the event of their leaving. The infinitive čalun ‘to go’ is followed by the postposition te ‘from’ and the adverb pēlā ‘before’.¹

(4) fir rāt - do dēār-ā čal-uṇ te pēl-ā	hen night - two day-MP.N go-INF.O from before-P.O

hū ga-i.
1.S.N go-PRF-FS.N

‘Then (one) night – two days before (their) leaving, I went.’ (Aslam 11)

This construction is not used very extensively in my corpus. In fact, this is the only example of it. More commonly, the combination of te and pēlā modifies a noun, such as ḫd ‘Eid’ in example (5), giving a time phrase rather than a time clause:

---

¹ The infinitival clause can also contain other clausal constituents, but there are no examples of this in my corpus.
(5) te fîr id te do dēār-ā pîl-ā
cC then Eid from two day-MP.N before-P.O
muṟ ke dēr-ā ā-e-ō te.
return.INTR CP home-MS.O come-PRF-MS.N cC
‘Then, two days before Eid, he came back home.’ (Akram 48)

The non-specific relativizer ģîyā is handled more fully in section 2.3 on relative
clauses. As a relativizer it sometimes has the meaning of ‘whenever’. This creates a
temporal adverbial clause, as in example (6):

(6) enū kar-t-ā kar-t-ā ģī
like.this do-IMPF-ADV do-IMPF-ADV LIM

ţiyā rāt hō ga-ī so rá-ī.
whenever night be go.PRF-MS.N sleep stay.PRF-MS.N
‘So, (we) just (sat there) like that. Whenever night came, we slept.’
(EQ Short 43 - 44)

An imperfective participial clause can also present an activity that provides a
backdrop against which the punctiliar event of the main verb occurs (see further in
section 2.1.2 below.) Example (7) describes the situation in which the girls are cutting
corn and, while they are cutting, the earthquake happens.
(7) makaĩ kap-tā kap-tā  
corn cut-IMPF-ADV cut- IMPF-ADV  

dizal-zā hō g-i-ɔ.  
earthquake-MS.N be go-PRF-MP.N  

‘We kept cutting and cutting corn (and then) the earthquake happened.’  
(Sham 5)

2.1.2 Adverbial clauses of manner

Some adverbial clauses express the manner in which the main verbal activity is carried out. The manner can be given as a subordinated clause introduced with the oblique relative construction ğis tareā ‘manner that’, which is comparable to the use of ğis to give the time of an activity.

(8) te bēa wi kar-ā-e-ɔ  
cc marriage also do-CAUS-PRF-MS.N  

ğis tareā dukh dukh kar kar nā  
REL.O manner hurt hurt do do NEG  

is tareā ɣam.  
3S.PRX.O manner worry  

‘But we made the wedding, in such a way that there was pain and pain we did it – right? – this way, with sorrow.’ (Anwar 18)

Alternatively, the manner can be given as an imperfective participle, most often without any other clausal constituents. This presents an activity simultaneous to the
activity expressed by the main verb and describes the manner in which it was enacted.²

In the following example, the imperfective participle ḏɔṛtā ‘running’ describes the manner in which the subject came:

(9) bas hàm ḏɔṛ-t-ā ā-e-ā.
    well 1P.N run-IMPF-MP.N come-PRF-MP.N
    ‘Well, we came running.’ (Shazia 33)

The imperfective participle can be repeated in order to intensify the manner in which an activity takes place (for example, to indicate its duration or degree).

(10) wá ḏɔṛ-t-ī ḏɔṛ-t-ī
    3S.DST.N,F run-IMPF-FS.N run-IMPF-FS.N
    ā-e-ī.
    come-PRF-FS.N
    ‘She came, running and running (i.e. running hard).’ (Shazia 8)

In the above two examples, (9) and (10), the imperfective participles immediately precede the main verb, so could be treated as part of the verb phrase rather than separate clauses. In the next example another constituent occurs between the participle and the main verb:

² Losey (2002) calls the participles that agree with the gender and number of the nominative subject, or non-oblique object in an ergative construction, adjectival participles; he calls the participles that agree with the gender and number of the oblique object, adverbial participles.
Furthermore, participles can also follow the main verb. Example (12) shows the reduplicated imperfective in the postverb position.

(12) bēn mer-ī k-ε der-ε g-ī-ā
sister 1S.O-FS.N GEN-LOC home-LOC go-PRF-MP.N
ṭūḍ-tā šūḍtā.
search-IMPF-MP.N (rhyme)

‘They came to my sister’s house, looking and looking.’ (Nephew 27)

A reduplicated imperfective participle which is uninflected for person, number, or gender can be used at the junction of two discourse units to indicate that the activity in the preceding unit keeps going on until the activity in the following unit begins.

Because it has no agreement marker, it does not relate to any verb in its sentence as closely as other inflected forms of reduplication relate to the main verb in their sentence. In example (13), the action, given as a reduplicated imperfective participle kārtā kārtā ‘doing doing’, continued until the fifth day, when Rimzi brother came. The
choice of words in the free translation, ‘it went on and on like this’, reflects the participle’s independence of any other verb.

(13) dekh kis tareā hē hō g-ī-ə.
look of.what.quality mannerPRS.2/3S be go-PRF-MS.N

fīr ēnū kar-t-ā kar-t-ā
then like.this do-IMPF-ADV do-IMPF-ADV

jīyā panjm-ō din th-ə
which fifth-MS.N day PST-MS.N

tē fīr rimzī pāy ā rē-ə.
and then Rimzi brother come stay-PRF.MS.N

‘Look how it happened; it is finished. Then, it went on and on like this, until it was the fifth day and then Rimzi Brother came.’ (Jamila 47)

In the above example, the generic verb kar- ‘do’ is used to indicate that whatever the action was until this point, that is what continued until the next unit began. It is also possible to use a specific verb, such as turtā ‘walking’, to describe more exactly the continuous action that is interrupted by the second action, as in the following example:

(14) tē tūrt-t-ā tūrt-t-ā
CC walk-IMPF-ADV walk-IMPF-ADV

bālākōṭ ā rē-ə.
Balakot come stay-PRF.MP.N

‘and walking and walking, they came to Balakot.’ (Jamila 23)
2.1.3 Adverbial clauses of purpose

An adverbial clause of purpose consists of the oblique infinitive form of the verb plus one of the three postpositions: nā ‘dative (DAT)’, jūg- ‘purpose (PURP)’, or wāste ‘PURP’. It may occur before the main clause, after the main clause, or between the subject and the main verb.

The infinitive + dative construction can be used in two ways. When it occurs with the main verb lag- ‘start’, it acts as the complement of its main verb. This construction will be handled in section 2.2 on complement clauses. With any other verb, the infinitive + dative combination either carries the meaning ‘in order to V’, where ‘V’ stands for the verb in the infinitive, or describes an activity that overlaps with that of the main verb. These two uses of the infinitive are consistent with the imperfective sense associated with an infinitive, since events in the imperfective are portrayed as not complete at the point of reference. The meaning ‘start to V’ that is associated with complement clause formation with lag- and the infinitive is likewise consistent with an imperfective analysis of the infinitive.

---

3 Bhat (1999:121) classifies Indo-Aryan languages as aspect dominated. The imperfective aspect associated with the infinitive form of a verb is in keeping with such a description.
In the following example, the mother is upset because her daughter has gone to cut grass. It is clear that she expects the intention of cutting grass to be fulfilled:

(15) ọxọ! mer-i ụh kà kap-uñ nà
       oh.no! 1.S-O-FS.N daughter grass cut-INF.O DAT

       ga-i th-i!
       go.PRF-FS.N PST-FS.N

‘Oh! no! My daughter went to cut grass!’ (Sister 33)

It is possible to omit the dative postposition from this construction and keep the intentional meaning. In (16), the infinitival clause is at the end of the sentence and lacks nà.

(16) jẹnj jẹnj ẹ ọ ọ ọ ọ
       wedding.procession come go.PRF-FS.N LIM

       te bọt-i nà le ọal-uñ.
       CC bride-FS.N DAT take go-INF.O

‘the groom’s men came just then, to take the bride away.’ (Resh 27)

The next example illustrates the infinitive dative combination, kẹun nà ‘saying’, used to express an overlapping activity. The combination is used to express what the husband said as he went:
The purpose clauses with *wāste* and *jug-* have one common usage. Both postpositions are used in connection with clauses that specify the function of an object.

The function is specific to the object and does not change, whether the object actually gets used for that function or not. The next example shows *jug-* in this context:

\[
\text{(17) } \text{ḍer-ā} \quad \text{mer-ā} \quad \text{āl-ɔ} \quad \text{afrā}
\]

*home-MS.O 1S.O-MS.O kind.of-MS.N upwards*

\[
\text{g-i-ɔ} \quad \text{th-ɔ} \quad \text{ādmi-ā} \quad \text{kā}
\]

*go-PRF-MS.N PST-MS.N person-P.O grass*

\[
\text{k-ɔ} \quad \text{ké-uṇ} \quad \text{nā} \quad \text{‘kā} \quad \text{kapā-ŋ-ɔ} \quad \text{k-ɔ.’}
\]

*GEN-MS.N say-INF.O DAT grass cut-INF-MS.N GEN-MS.N*

‘My husband had gone to cut people’s grass, he’d said (saying) “to cut grass.”’ (Reshma 5)

*wāste* can be used in this same way:

\[
\text{(18) } \text{roz-ā} \quad \text{khol-uṇ} \quad \text{jug-i} \quad \text{kūj} \quad \text{čiz} \quad \text{nī}
\]

*fast-MS.O open-INF.O PURP-FS.N some thing NEG*

\[
\text{th-ɔ}
\]

*PST-MS.N*

‘There was nothing to break the fast with’ (Arshad 21)

\[
\text{(19) } \text{tē} \quad \text{hōr} \quad \text{tē} \quad \text{koe} \quad \text{šē} \quad \text{th-ī}
\]

*CC more CC MS.INDEF thing PST-FS.N*

\[
\text{nī} \quad \text{th-ī} \quad \text{khā-uṇ} \quad \text{wāste} \quad \text{tē.}
\]

*NEG PST-FS.N eat-INF.O PURP CC*

‘and otherwise there was not a single thing to eat.’ (Shazia 24)
In both of the above examples the adverbial clause involving \textit{jug-} or \textit{wāste} modifies a head noun, indicating, specifically in these examples, the things to break the fast with or the things that are for eating. This is the only way that \textit{jug-} is used in my set of stories. \textit{wāste}, on the other hand, can also be used to express the intent of a participant. The intention expressed is not necessarily fulfilled. In the following example, the woman got up with the intention of going out of the house, but before she got out, the house fell on top of her:

\begin{verbatim}
(20)  tē bas uṭh-i
        CC   well get.up-PRF.FS.N
bīr-ē nā ā-uṇ wāste
outside-LOC DAT come-INF.O PURP

        tē afr-ū koṭh-ɔ čār-e-ɔ
        CC above-ABL house-MS.N fall-PRF-MS.N

        tē bas ut-ē hēṭh ā ga-i.
        CC   well there-LOC under come go-PRF-FS.N

‘She got up to go outside, and from above, the house fell and right there she got caught underneath.’ (Mother 11)
\end{verbatim}

In all my textual examples of adverbial clauses of purpose with the dative and the infinitive, it appears that the purpose was fulfilled. It is clear, however, that purpose clauses with \textit{wāste} are left unspecified, and it is possible that what is expected did not happen, depending on the rest of the context.
2.1.4 Adverbial clauses of cause or reason

Adverbial clauses also describe the cause or reason of an action. The subordinator *kyūje* introduces the clause that gives the reason for an action in clause (b) of the following example:

(21)(a) te mer-į mā ut-ũ muṟ
CC 1S.O-FS.N mother there-ABL return.INTR

kke jā rá-i
CP go stay.PRF-FS.N

(b) kyūje mer-į mā apar muč mēs
because 1S.O-FS.N mother on much buffalo

mel-e wē th-ũ nā.
milk-HAB.3P be.HAB.3P PST-FP.N NEG

‘And from there my mother went back because she had so many buffalos to milk, you know.’ (Aslam 58)

A cause for an event can also be expressed with an infinitive plus the ablative postposition te.

(22) sā le-uṇ te is k-ũ hāth
breath take-INF.O from 3S.PRX.O GEN-MS.N hand

tel-e th-ũ ...
shake-HAB.2/3S PST-MS.N

‘Because it was taking a breath, her hand was moving ...’ (Mother 19)
2.2 Complement Clauses

This section distinguishes the following complement clauses in Gojri: the complement of attributive verbs, the infinitival complement of the verb *lag*-‘start’, as introduced in section 2.1.3 on adverbial clauses of purpose, and the infinitival complement of other verbs.

Verbs of attribution⁴ include the most common form, speech, as well as other verbs. There is only direct speech in Gojri narrative. The complement of the speech verb is given as a finite verb clause. Example (23) has two speech acts, both of which are introduced by the finite verb *kėɔ* ‘said’. No complementizer occurs in this example.

The complement clauses consist of the finite verbs *čalɔ kā* ‘(you) are going’, in (b), and *čalā kā* ‘(we) are going’, in (c).

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⁴ Longacre (1996) uses the term ‘attribution’ and divides it into two categories: speech attribution and awareness attribution (which includes verbs of perception and cognition).
When news is given, even if the orienter is not a speech verb, the news itself is given as direct speech with a finite verb form. The following example describes the arrival of some important news. In this example, the news is introduced with the complementizer *arā*, which commonly introduces speech, even though no speaker is identified here and no speech verb is employed.

(24) bas tīj-ē dēar-ē hàmŋā xabar lag-i
well third-LOC day-LOC 1P.DAT news hit-PREF-FL.N

arā, ter-ā pąy k-ē lag
COMP 2S.O-MS.O brother GEN-LOC hit

gá-i, ná?
go.PREF-FL.N NEG

‘Well, on the third day we received the news, “Your brother has been hurt,” didn’t we?’ (Aslam 29)
With verbs of perception, such as *dekh-* ‘see’, the complement is also given as a finite verb. With verbs of cognition, when the content of the cognition is a realis fact now known to the storyteller, the complement clause occurs as a final clause. The full form is the noun-verb combination *patɔ* lag- ‘fact hit’. Example (25) shows a full verb of cognition with realis content of the complement clause in final verb form:

(25) hàmŋa fir patɔ lag-ɔ jî
1P.DAT then fact hit-PRF.MS.N INTERP⁵
yó dákɔr hè.
3S.PRX.N.M doctor 2/3S.PRS
‘So then we knew that he was a doctor.’ (Doctor 8)

The verb of cognition is usually shortened to the noun *patɔ* ‘fact’. The verb need not be present, even in a negative construction.⁶ When the content of the cognition is realis, the complement clause occurs as a final clause, and the negative is marked on the verb of cognition. Example (26) shows the shortened, negative form of the cognition orieniner with realis content. The content is realis because the storyteller now knows that Shazia was caught under the window, even though ‘we’, the characters in the story, were unaware of this fact at the time.

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⁵ This particle is not the limiter *jî* discussed in section 4.6. The interpretive function of *jî* in this example does not affect grounding and so is not handled in this thesis.

⁶ It is also common in copula-negative constructions to omit the verb.
In contrast, when a verb of cognition is negated and the content of the complement clause is irrealis, the complement clause is given in the subjunctive. In example (27), the speaker is not sure about the details, whether or not tea was drunk on this occasion, so the complement is in the subjunctive and there is no complementizer:

\[
\text{(27)} \quad \text{us} \quad \text{dēā-ā} \quad \text{ní} \quad \text{patō}
\]

\[
\text{3S.DST.O} \quad \text{day-MS.O} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{fact}
\]

\[
\text{čā} \quad \text{pi-ē} \quad \text{je} \quad \text{ní} \quad \text{pi}.
\]

\[
\text{tea} \quad \text{drink-SBJV-2/3S} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{drink}
\]

‘I don’t know if she drank tea or not that day.’ (Doctor 34)

Two types of complement constructions regularly take an **infinitive** form of the verb in the complement clause. The complement construction involving the main verb *la*-

‘start’ takes an oblique infinitival complement verb with a dative postposition (see section 2.1.3 above on adverbial clauses of purpose), to produce the meaning ‘start to

V’, as in example (28):
(28) bas ļok ā ke laq-ā kād-ūn nā.
well people come CP start-PRF.MP.N remove-INF.O DAT

‘So the people came and began to dig (her) out.’ (Mother 14)

A second construction that takes the infinitive form of the complement clause verb

is illustrated in the following example. The main verb *karto* ‘was doing’ is generic and

the specific actions that the participant was doing are given as infinitive verbs in

complement clauses.

(29) hɔ̀r is k-i sār-ɔ kūj
more 3S.PRX.O GEN-FS.N entire-MS.N some

is k-ɔ ġāth tò-ā-n-ɔ
3S.PRX.O GEN-MS.N hand wash-CAUS-INF-MS.N

is nā pešāb kar-ā-n-ɔ
3S.PRX.O DAT urine do-CAUS-INF-MS.N

is nā khwāl-η-ɔ
3S.PRX.O DAT feed-INF-MS.N

mer-ɔ pày kar-t-ɔ rē-ɔ.
1S.O-MS.N brother do-IMPF-MS.N stay-PRF.MS.N

‘Everything for him – washing his hands, helping him go to the
bathroom, feeding him – my brother was doing it.’ (Aslam 107-8)

2.3 Relative Clauses

In personal notes, Losey describes relative clauses in some detail. He notes a

distinction, semantically though not formally, between restrictive and non-restrictive
relative clauses. However, in the corpus of Gojri narratives available to him and in the
corpus of strictly oral texts that I have gathered, there are no instances of the non-
restrictive relative clause, so this paper does not consider them.\(^7\)

Losey (p.c.) notes further that restrictive relative clauses are used extensively to
introduce a participant or prop into the narrative and as a retrieval device for something
previously introduced. When introducing a participant or prop in the narrative, ‘often
the [relative clause] seems superfluous to English speakers’ (Losey, p.c.). This
superfluous construction consists of the relative pronoun, \(j\text{i}r\), plus the copula (such as
the present tense \(h\text{e}\)). It is possible to view \(j\text{i}r\ h\text{e}\) as a semantically empty relative
clause. Losey (p.c.) writes that it ‘adds weight’ to a participant being mentioned in a
narrative. This section deals with each of these issues: the identificational function of
the relative clause in connection with introductions and further reference to activated
participants (see below) as well as the superfluous use of certain relative clauses and
their function of ‘adding weight’, or giving prominence, to a constituent (see section
3.3).

\(^7\) Losey suggests that there is a higher toleration for complex sentences (and hence the potential
occurrence of non-restrictive relative clauses) in written texts than in oral texts, because of the influence
of Urdu on those who have been educated and are able to produce written texts. He recommends the
avoidance of non-restrictive relative clauses in prose.
Relative clauses always include a relative pronoun. There are two relativizers in Gojri, a relative pronoun ġīṛ- and a non-specific relativizer ġīyā which has an additional function as a related adverb (see the end of this section).

The relative pronoun stem ġīṛ- is inflected for gender, number, and case. It has an interrogative counterpart kīṛ-, which is likewise inflected for gender, number, and case. The interrogative pronoun will not be handled in this paper.

Although the standard relative pronoun ġīṛ- is inflected for gender, number, and case, a second variant of the relative pronoun, ġīs, also exists, used exclusively for the oblique case and only in specific situations. ġīs, with its interrogative counterpart kīs, remains uninflected for gender or number. Losey (2002:133-134) calls this the ‘oblique variant’. Because the standard relative pronoun ġīṛ- is inflected for nominative and oblique cases, this study will call ġīs the ‘second variant’ of the relative pronoun, rather than Losey’s term ‘oblique variant’.

Losey further writes that the second variant may be preferred for instances where the relative pronoun occurs on its own, with no accompanying noun, while the standard pronoun ġīṛ- is used when a noun accompanies the pronoun. In my set of stories, I have found that the second variant is used specifically for expressions involving time, manner, or a possessor, whereas the standard inflected variant is used for relative
clauses involving all other references to entities and locations, whether with a head noun or without one.

Urdu and Hindi distinguish between a nominative relative pronoun \( \text{jo} \), defined by the Popular Oxford Practical Dictionary as ‘who; what; which; that’ and an oblique relative pronoun \( \text{jis} \) defined by the same dictionary as ‘whom; what; that; which; who’.

The nominative pronoun \( \text{jo} \) does not inflect for gender, number, or case. This pronoun exists in the Gojri texts in this corpus as well, in the form \( \text{j\~o} \). Losey (p.c.) defines it as ‘whatever’ as in the following examples:

(30) tamn\~a \qquad \text{jo} \qquad \text{gal} \quad \text{kar-\(n\)-\(i\)} \quad \text{h\~e}  
\text{2P.DAT} \; \text{whatever} \; \text{matter do-INF-FS.N} \; \text{2/3S.PRS}

mer-\(e\) \quad \text{n\~a}\!l \quad \text{kar-\(o\)} \quad \text{pe\~a}\!l  
\text{1S.O-LOC} \; \text{with} \; \text{do-IMP.2S} \; \text{fall}

‘Whatever you have to say to me, go ahead and say it!’ (Losey p.c.)

(31) te \quad \text{andar} \quad \text{jo} \quad \text{k\~u\~p} \quad \text{th-\(o\)} \quad \text{m\~a\~l} \quad \text{\(\text{\~s}\~a\~l\)}  
\text{CC} \; \text{inside} \; \text{whatever} \; \text{some PST-MS.N} \; \text{wealth (rhyme)}

k\~a\~d-\(u\~n\) \quad \text{lag} \quad \text{\(g\)-i-\(a\)}
\text{remove-INF.O} \; \text{start} \; \text{go-PRF-MP.N}

‘and whatever was inside, wealth and such, they started to remove it’  
(Tug 18)
The relative pronoun \( \text{j} \) is not used very extensively in my corpus. It acts more like the non-specific relativizer \( \text{j} \text{ý} \text{w} \) (see below) than the relative pronoun \( \text{j} \text{r} \), which is the main focus in this section.

Losey (2002) does not go into the various constructions possible for the relative clause. In his (p.c.) notes, however, he points out the extreme flexibility in relative clause ordering. He says that the relative pronoun can, grammatically, occur in any position in the clause. The following sentence is taken from a story in my corpus which Losey had access to as well. The full sentence is given below in example (32) and the relative clause is repeated below in versions (A), (B), (C), and (D). Losey found that the relative pronoun could occur at the beginning of the clause, after the possessive (as it is in the text), after the demonstrative, or between the noun and the verb.\(^8\) These possibilities are illustrated in (A) through (D).

\[
\begin{align*}
(32) \quad & (a) \text{mer-} \text{í} \quad \text{Jir-} \text{i} \quad \text{wé} \quad \text{lakař-} \text{í} \quad \text{th-} \text{í} \\
& \text{1S.O-FS.N} \quad \text{REL-FS.N} \quad \text{3P.DST.N} \quad \text{wood-PF} \quad \text{PST-PF} \\
(b) & \text{te} \quad \text{wé} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{rāt} \quad \text{sař} \quad \text{ga-} \text{íl}! \\
& \text{CC} \quad \text{3P.DST.N} \quad \text{CC} \quad \text{night} \quad \text{burn} \quad \text{go.PRF-PF} \\
& \text{‘those which were my pieces of wood, they burned in the night! (That wood of mine, it burned in the night!)’} \quad \text{(Seventh 101)}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^8\) Losey considers the constituents /meri Jirí ... thí/, excluding the constituents in between, to constitute the relative clause.
A. mer-ī ǰīr-ī wē lakaɾ-ī th-ī
B. ǰīr-ī mer-ī wē lakaɾ-ī th-ī
C. mer-ī wē ǰīr-ī lakaɾ-ī th-ī
D. mer-ī wē lakaɾ-ī ǰīr-ī th-ī

Structures similar to orders A, B, and D have been found in the corpus (see below).

This study has found that the relative clause occurs with a head noun phrase in the following two patterns. The difference between these two patterns is neutralized when there is no head.

1. REL (head) clause
2. (head) REL clause

Pattern 1 identifies an activated (or accessible) entity and is not used to introduce an entity for the first time. In contrast, Pattern 2 may be used to introduce a new entity into the narrative. It can be divided into two further sub-groupings:

Pattern 2a ‘(Noun) REL clause’

Pattern 2b ‘(Demonstrative) (Possessive) REL clause’.

At least 16 out of the 18 relative clauses in the two narratives included in the appendices A and B are of Pattern 2. Of these, five are of Pattern 2a, nine are of Pattern 2b, and two are headless.
**Pattern 1.** Examples (33) and (34) below illustrate Pattern 1. In (33), the head noun /ɔk ‘people’ follows the relativizer and identifies the people as the ones that were seen.

(33) te jíř-Č lɔk hàmŋe hèr-e-Č
CC REL-MS.N people 1P.AG see-PRF-MS.N

‘and the people that we saw’ (Bibi 67b)

In example (34), which is separated from (33) by one clause, there is no head, and the rest of the clause simply follows the relativizer and identifies the ‘ones’ that were seen being carried away.

(34) jíř-Č le čał-t-Č hèr-e-Č hě
REL-MP.N take go-IMPF-MP.N see-PRF-MP.N PRS.3P

‘the ones that we saw being carried away’ (Bibi 67d)

**Pattern 2.** This pattern is illustrated in example (35). The hearer knows from the previous part of the narrative that Jamila has an injured back, and now the narrator is describing exactly what is wrong. In doing so, she introduces something new into the narrative: the bone in Jamila’s back, which is the thing that is broken. Consequently, the reference to the ‘bone of her back’ precedes the relativizer.

(35) lak k-Č hàd-Č jíř-Č th-Č ná? …
back GEN-FS.N bone-FS.N REL-FS.N PST-FS.N NEG

‘The bone that is in her back, right? …’ (Jamila 26)
Example (35) is, more specifically, an example of Pattern 2a. The head that precedes the relative pronoun is a full noun phrase *lak kī hāḍī* ‘the bone of the back’. Pattern 2a is used to activate a referent that fits the description given in the relative clause.

Pattern 2b, which is used for activated participants, is given below in example (36). Here the head modified by the relative clause is the demonstrative *wā* ‘she’ and the complement (the focus of the relative clause) is *terī maū* ‘your mother’.

(36) te wā jīṛ-i ter-i mā th-i  
CC 3S.DST.N.F REL-FS.N 2S.O-FS.N mother PST-FS.N

te wā wī ...  
CC 3S.DST.N.F also

‘And your *mother*, she also ... (literally: she who was your mother)’ (Doctor 22)

In this example, the character ‘your mother’ is described as doing the same actions as a previous character in the narrative. The context of example (36) sets up a scene with both ‘your father’ and ‘your mother’. First the father ‘came and greeted my brother and then came inside.’ Then the mother did the same. This is an instance of ‘expanding focus’ (Dik *et al* 1981:60). The activity remains the same in each statement, but the focus on the character doing the activity which started with the father, expands to include the mother as well.
In the following example, a demonstrative is again the head, modified by the relative clause, but this time the relative clause consists of a verb phrase and no nominal complement. (pàrǰāi ‘sister-in-law’ is not part of the relative clause, but is in apposition to it.) The narrator is clarifying that the baby belongs to the woman who died, in contrast to the one who is taking care of it. In other words, this is an instance of selective focus (ibid.)

(37) wá jīr-ī mū-ī w-ī, pàrǰāl ...  
3S.DST.N.F REL-FS.N die-PRF.FS.N PFP-FS.N brother’s.wife

‘The (lit. ‘that’) one who had died, the sister-in-law ...’ (Doctor 30)

In the default order of the relative clause, the complement follows the relative pronoun. In the following example of a headless relative clause, the complement is the noun phrase plus modifier terī mā ‘your mother’ and the verb is the copula thī. These follow the relative pronoun jīrī.9

(38) fir jīr-ī ter-ī mā th-ī ...  
then REL-FS.N 2S.O-FS.N mother PST-FS.N

‘Then, she who was your mother ...’ (Doctor 52)

---

9 The difference between pattern 1 and 2 is neutralized in this instance, because of the lack of a head in the relative clause. See p. 27.
However, one or more constituents in the complement may precede the relativizer to give prominence to a new or contrastive topic, or to a constituent in narrow focus. For example, in (39) below, which is similar to (38), the possessive *teri* ‘your’ occurs to the left of the relativizer. The effect is to give prominence to the contrastive topic. In the preceding context, the story was dealing with the main character’s family and Wahid, who came to give them some news. In this sentence ‘your mother’ is the new topic, in contrast to ‘we’ and ‘Wahid Brother’, and the following clauses deal with her actions.

(39) tɛ ter-ɪ jír-ɪ mā th-ɪ ...
    CC 2S.O-FS.N REL-FS.N mother PST-FS.N

‘And she (as for her), who was your mother ...’ (Doctor 48)

A reduced form of Pattern 2 consists of a head noun and a relative pronoun, but no remaining relative clause constituents. This subtype never introduces a new entity. Rather, the relativizer acts like a demonstrative, as can be seen in the free, English translation below in example (40):

(40) gal jír-ɪ tɛ wá xatum hɔ
    matter REL-FS.N CC 3S.DST.N.F finished be
    ga-ɪ.
gO.PRF-FS.N

‘This matter, it is finished.’ (Aftahad 83)
I now address the syntactic roles of the head noun in the relative clause. According to Andrews (2007:226) (following Keenan and Comrie 1977) there is a hierarchy of the possible syntactic roles, which includes:

subject > object > oblique > possessor > object of comparison

According to the data in this corpus, relative clauses with the pronoun jîr- modify subject, object and locative oblique head nouns. They thus conform with Keenan and Comrie’s proposal that ‘a given relativization strategy will cover a contiguous portion of the hierarchy’ (Whaley 1997:264). Similarly the second variant of the relative pronoun, jîs, modifies the oblique head nouns, other than locative, and also possessors.

The first example shows the head noun hàḍî ‘bone’ as the subject of the clause:

(41) lak k-î hàḍ-î jîr-î th-î ná? …
    back GEN-FS.N bone-FS.N REL-FS.N PST-FS.N NEG

‘The bone that is in her back, right? …’ (Jamila 26)

Example (42) shows a direct object lâk as the head noun:

(42) te jîr-ça lâk hàṃṅe hër-e-ça
    and REL-MS.N people 1P.AG see-PRF-MS.N

‘and the people that we saw’ (Bibi 67b)

Example (43) shows two locative obliques, afrä ‘upwards’ and basti mà ‘in that town’, as the head nouns of consecutive relative clauses:
Relative clauses introduced with the second variant *jis* modify head nouns that refer to time and manner. Example (44) shows the relative construction with time, *jis tem* ‘time that’:

(44) ó jis tem pedā hö-e-ɔ
3S.DST.N REL.O time bear.PRF be-PRF-MS.N

‘At the time when he was born’ (Mazar 2)

Example (45) shows the relative construction with manner, *jis tareā* ‘manner that’.

(45) te béā wī kar-ā-e-ɔ
CC marriage also do-CAUS-PRF-MS.N

jis tareā dukh dukh kar kar nā
REL.O manner hurt hurt do do NEG

is tareā yam.
3S.PRX.O manner worry

‘But we made the wedding, in such a way that there was pain and pain we did it – right? – this way, with sorrow.’ (Anwar 18)
The second variant of the relative pronoun also modifies a head noun that is in a possessive relationship to the relative clause. Example (46) shows the possessive construction ǰīs kī ‘whose’ modifying the head noun us kī tī ‘her daughter’:

(46) us k-ī tī jīr-ī -
     3S.DST.O GEN-FS.N daughter REL-FS.N -
     jīs k-ī is wār šād-ī
     REL.O GEN-FS.N 3S.PRX.O time marriage-FS.N
     hò-e-ɔ hè
     be-PRF-MS.N 2/3S.PRS

‘her daughter, the one who - whose wedding was just now’  (EQ Long 14)

The non-specific relativizer ǰiyā can be used to introduce a headless relative clause whose referent is a non-specific participant, place, or time. In the following example, the referent of the relative clause is a non-specific participant:

(47) te ó ǰiyā dāxal kar-e-ɔ w-ɔ
     CC 3S.DST.N N.S.REL admitted do-PRF-MS.N PFP-MS.N
     th-ɔ us k-ɛ ḍarip
     PST-MS.N 3S.DST.O GEN-LOC intervenous
     lag-î w-î th-î.
     attach-PRF.FS.N PFP-FS.N PST-FS.N

‘And whoever had admitted him, had put an IV in him.’  (Aftahad 31)
The form ḫīyā can be used as what the Oxford English Dictionary calls a ‘related adverb,’ as in the following example. In (48), the adverbs urā and parā, translated ‘this direction’ and ‘that direction’ respectively, already give the feeling that the direction they walked is not specific. The subsequent use of ḫīyā amplifies this non-specific meaning.

(48) urā parā sār-ε ḫīyā phir-e-ɔ
this.direction that.direction entire-LOC ḫīyā phir-e-ɔ

‘They walked this direction, that direction, everywhere ...’ (Aftahad 29)

The non-specific relative pronoun can also be used for a non-specific time, see example (6) in section 2.1.1 above.

2.4 Conjunctive Participles

Gojri is a clause chaining language and can employ conjunctive participles (hereafter CP) to encode information of equal status to the main verb in the sentence. Therefore, although CPs might arguably fit under adverbial clauses of time, they will be treated uniquely. The CP consists of a verb stem plus the particle ke.

The CP, as stated above, behaves differently than other subordinate clauses. It shares the tense, mood, and negation of its main verb, but is semantically more independent than any other subordinate clause (Whaley 1997:268). To reflect this
independence, independent clauses, such as ‘get up’ in example (49), are used in the free translation instead of comparable participial clauses in English.

Example (49) illustrates the CP sharing the negative associated with the main clause, as well as the tense and mood. In this example, the narrator is explaining both that they ‘didn’t even get up (out of bed)’ and that ‘they didn’t look’:

(49) án-ā ne uṭh ke nī hēr-e-ā th-ō
3P.DST.O AG get.up CP NEG see-PRF-MS.N PST-MS.N

‘They didn’t (even) get up and look’ (Aslam 54)

A CP may occur directly adjacent to the main verb itself. As described by Losey (2002), it ‘immediately precedes the main verb phrase and describes an action completed immediately prior to the main verb.’ This is exemplified in (50):

(50) fir mer-ā pāy wi le ke ā-e-ō.
then 1S.O-MS.N brother also take CP come-PRF-MS.N

‘So my brother took him and came.’ (Aslam 57)

However, it is also possible to insert constituents between the conjunctive participle and the main verb. In example (51) there are two intervening constituents: ʿus nā ‘him’ is a right displaced object for the conjunctive participle and kalandarābād

‘Qalandarabad’ is the locative belonging to the main clause.
There may be more than one conjunctive participle in a sentence. Example (52) illustrates this phenomenon. Clauses (a) – (d) contain conjunctive participles and all relate to the main verb ā re in (e):

(52) (a) lakāṛ-i le kē
    wood-FS.N take CP

(b) tē gāḍ-i de kē
    CC bundle-FS.N give CP

(c) beč kē
    sell CP

(d) tē rāṭ ğug-Č apaṇ-Č xarē-Č
    CC night PURP-MS.N one’s.own-MS.N expense-MS.N

āṭ-Č šāṭo le kē
    flour- MS.N (rhyme) take CP

(e) kūj ā re
    some come stay. HAB.2/3S

‘He takes wood, gives a bundle (of wood), and sells it and brings his supplies, flour and such, for the night and comes.’ (Seventh 64-65)

The significance of the conjunctive participle in Gojri for grounding is discussed below in chapter 3.
3 Subordinate Clauses, Grounding and Prominence

This chapter deals with Gojri’s use of subordinate clauses in grounding and in giving prominence to information or participants in a narrative. It begins by evaluating conflicting theories of grounding. It then looks at adverbial clauses and describes how their position in the sentence affects grounding. Thirdly, it handles the unique role of relative clauses in giving prominence to participants and props in Gojri narrative. Finally, it deals with conjunctive participial clauses and their grounding status with respect to the sentence’s main verb, as has been alluded to in the previous chapter.

Adverbial clauses and relative clauses play a role in grounding differentiation, but the presence of a complement clause does not affect the grounding of a sentence. The storyline status of the sentence is determined by the main verb and if a clause is the complement of that verb, it just assumes its status. Therefore complement clauses do not feature in this chapter.
3.1 Analysis of Discourse/Grounding Theories

Hopper and Thompson (1980:280) define the terms ‘background’, ‘foreground’ and ‘grounding’ as follows:

The part of a discourse which does not immediately and crucially contribute to the speaker’s goal, but which merely assists, amplifies, or comments on it, is referred to as BACKGROUND. By contrast, the material which supplies the main points of the discourse is known as FOREGROUND. Linguistic features associated with the distinction between foreground and background are referred to as GROUNDING.

This chapter is concerned with linguistic means of indicating the grounding status of subordinate clauses with respect to main clauses.

3.1.1 Definition of foreground

Hopper and Thompson’s definition of foreground information, given above, emphasizes the ‘main points’ of the discourse. Callow (1974:52-53) uses the term ‘thematic material’ which ‘carries the discourse forward, contributes to the progression of the narrative or argument [, and] ... develops the theme of the discourse.’ She describes background information as ‘non-thematic’ material, which ‘serves as a commentary on the theme, but does not itself contribute directly to the progression of the theme ... [it] fills out the theme but does not develop it.’ Longacre (1990)’s definition of foreground is closely related to Callow’s, in that the storyline, as he calls
Grimes (1975) distinguishes events from non-events in narrative, stating that the events form the backbone of the narrative. These definitions work well together. They all have something to do with the main point or the forward progression of a narrative, through the description of its events.

In contrast to the works mentioned above, Heimerdinger (1999:222) does not use the term ‘foreground’ to refer to the main event line of a narrative. Instead of foreground being the backbone or indispensible part of a narrative, he defines it as the unexpected or extra things in a narrative. Heimerdinger uses the term ‘foreground’ as an action that can be done to events or to non-events to set them apart or highlight them in a narrative. In conjunction with this, he discusses the manipulation of linguistic structures to achieve a certain effect on the hearer. Heimerdinger’s term allows both events and non-events to be foregrounded, or, as stated above, manipulated for a certain effect. Such a definition of ‘foreground’ is quite different from the description of main event material supported by the other linguists mentioned above.\cite{11}

\footnote{10 Longacre also considers foreground information to be related to the high dynamicity and transitivity of the verb (see Hopper & Thompson 1980:251).}
\footnote{11 To avoid confusion between foreground and foregrounding, Levinsohn uses the term ‘highlighting’ to refer to the phenomenon that Heimerdinger calls ‘foregrounding’. (2008:81-84)}
This thesis follows Hopper and Thompson’s approach. The term foreground is used for the main events of the theme line that contribute to the forward progression of the narrative.\textsuperscript{12}

3.1.2 Overview of different approaches to grounding status of main clause

Grimes (1975) not only differentiates between events and non-events, but further divides non-events into setting, background, evaluation, and collateral information. He distinguishes between background and setting information according to what he calls the primary and secondary components of the narrative. Setting and event information are classified as primary information, whereas other non-event information, including background, is secondary, because it clarifies the narrative.

Longacre (1990) differentiates between a storyline band and six or more non-storyline bands that occur at increasing distances from the storyline: backgrounded events, backgrounded activities, setting, irrealis, author intrusions, and cohesive information. The different aspects of the verb in a particular language correspond to the different bands in the storyline scheme. Certain discourse markers may move

\textsuperscript{12} Goldberg (2006) and Lambrecht (1994) have also offered definitions of the foreground and background distinction, but these are not relevant to this study.
information up from one band to another. Subordination moves information down to a lower band.

Heimerdinger (1999:77) objects to Longacre’s storyline scheme. According to Longacre a particular verb form constitutes the storyline band. For example, he claims that the storyline band in Hebrew consists of *vayyiqtol* verbs (1990:59). Heimerdinger disagrees, pointing out that *vayyiqtol* verbs in Hebrew encode not only foreground events, but also events that are not on the main line of the narrative.

Levinsohn’s solution is to define a particular verb form, such as the *vayyiqtol* verb in Hebrew, as the default verb for narrative events (2002:128). If such a verb form is default, instead of viewed as a form specific to the storyline, it is not necessary to explain why events of apparently differing importance are encoded with the same form.

Heimerdinger also has a problem with Longacre’s use of the term ‘background’. According to Longacre, ‘background’ refers to information that is preliminary to the storyline. This information may occur right before the event information and be important to the event, but not itself be event line. Longacre assigns all instances of imperfective or habitual aspect to the background event or background activity bands. Again using examples from Hebrew, Heimerdinger argues that information that is
important to the development of the story is often encoded in the imperfective aspect and so should not be classified as background.

In response to this difference, Levinsohn objects that Heimerdinger does not understand Longacre’s use of ‘background’. Longacre uses ‘background’ as an action that categorizes events as preliminary to the story line, which may be preliminary to or lead up to the climax and therefore be important to the storyline, even though they are not on the storyline themselves. He writes, ‘I do not think that Heimerdinger has understood what Longacre means by *backgrounded*. The point about such events is that they may be viewed as ‘preliminary to the main events of the story’ (Levinsohn 1991:150) or as resulting events of a secondary nature.’ (Levinsohn 2002:128)

In summary, Longacre and Levinsohn make a fundamental distinction between events and non-events, but allow either to be highlighted in a narrative. This contrasts with Heimerdinger’s use of the ‘foregrounded’ instead of ‘highlighted’. This thesis takes the position of Longacre and Levinsohn. It will refer to the main event line, or backbone of the story, as the foreground, and refer to information that gets extra attention as ‘highlighted’.
3.1.3 Grounding status of subordinate clauses with respect to main clauses

Although Longacre’s scheme is primarily concerned with classifying independent verbs in main clauses, he does claim that ‘adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and most verbals are demoted. Thus a verb which, if independent, would have been on the storyline may be demoted to [band] (2) when it occurs in an adverbial clause, relative clause, or is a verbal.’ (Longacre 1990:3)

Hwang (1990:69) corrects Longacre’s assumption that subordinate clauses never contain eventline information, using English examples. She claims that post-nuclear subordinate clauses do often contain eventline information. Levinsohn (2008:75) quotes an example from ‘The Three Little Pigs’: *He was picking apples when the wolf arrived.*

In this sentence, the new and crucial information, given here in bold, is that the wolf arrived, and is encoded in an adverbial clause.

Adverbial clauses in Gojri behave according to Hwang’s description of subordinate clauses and grounding. They convey backgrounded information if they are in pre-nuclear position, but eventline information in other positions (see section 3.2 below).

For OV languages, Longacre (1990) posits three types of clause chain ranking. In type A languages, the final verb is on the storyline and preceding verbs, or gerunds, constitute backgrounded activities or something still lower on the rank scheme.
B languages, the final verb is a routinely added element that is grammaticalized or almost grammaticalized and the preceding gerunds are storyline. In type C languages, both the final verb and the preceding gerunds may be on the storyline. For each type, the above observations hold if the whole sentence is on the storyline. If the main verb, in language type C, is off the storyline, the gerunds will be off the storyline as well.

Gojri is a clause chaining OV language. This study finds that Gojri’s conjunctive participial clauses behave in the same way as the gerunds in Longacre’s description of type C languages.

3.2 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses can occur before the nucleus of the sentence, between the subject and the verb, or after the verb. The grounding status of an adverbial clause with respect to the main clause depends on its position in a sentence.

If an adverbial clause comes before the nucleus of the sentence, it contains or relates to established information, and is backgrounded with respect to the rest of the sentence. In example (53), I elicited the text by asking the narrator to tell me what happened to Shazia in the earthquake. Therefore, the first clause, ‘when the earthquake happened’, is established information and is encoded as a prenuclear adverbial clause introduced by
*jad* (see section 2.1.1). Thus it is backgrounded with respect to the following main clause, which conveys the new information that the narrator wants the hearer to know.

(53) \[\begin{array}{lllllll} jad & - & šāziā & - & zalzal-ɔ & hò-e-ɔ & te & andar \\
\text{when} & \text{Shazia earthquake-MS.N} & \text{be-PRF-MS.N} & \text{CC} & \text{inside} \\
\text{bar-i} & \text{māl} & \text{k-ɔ} & \text{kam} & \text{kar-ɛ} \\
\text{big-FS.N} & \text{livestock} & \text{GEN-MS.N} & \text{work} & \text{do-HAB.2/3s} \\
\text{th-i.} \\
\text{PST-FS.N} \\
\end{array}\]

‘When – Shazia – the earthquake happened, (she) was inside doing chores for the big livestock.’ (Shazia 1)

One interesting deviation from this pattern is the case where an adverbial clause occurs before the main clause, but carries new information. This phenomenon is related to Gojri’s use of connectives as spacers, so will be handled in section 4.5.

If an adverbial clause occurs inside the sentence nucleus, between the subject and the verb, the status of the adverbial clause will be the same as that of the main clause since it falls within the focal domain of the main clause (Lambrecht 1994:222). The information in these clauses is new and often important for the development of the story. In the example below, the compound subject, *yó te ek merc duʃɔ pɔy* ‘he and another brother of mine’, occurs a number of clauses previous to the main clause, as shown by the dots in between. Then the purpose clause, *skul pàruŋ wàste* ‘to attend
school’, occurs just before the main clause, īt ré giā ‘would stay behind here’. The purpose clause is focal because it is part of the comment about ‘this brother of mine’.

(54) ek yō te ek mer-ɔ duʃ-ɔ pày ...
    one 3S.PRX.N.M CC one 1S.O-MS.N second-MS.N brother

skūl pär-un wāst te ré g-i-ā
school read-INF.O PURP here stay go-PRF-MP.N

‘(when) he and another brother of mine ... they would stay behind here to attend school’ (Aslam 2c-4)

Example (55) illustrates the same phenomenon but it occurs in speech rather than in the narrative. The instructions that they should ‘see him’ are given as an adverbial clause of purpose. This instruction and the instruction to ‘come’, which is given as the main imperative verb, are equally important for the hortatory discourse in which it occurs.

(55) te tam wī hèr-un wāst ă-i-ɔ
    CC 2P.N also see-INF.O PURP come-IMP.FUT-IMP.2P

us nā.
3S.DST.O DAT

‘You come too and see him.’ (Aslam 33)
If an adverbial clause comes after the main verb, it may again fall within the focal domain of the main clause. The adverbial clause *usnā hēruṇ wāste* ‘(lit.) in order to see him’ in example (56) follows the main verb *čalū̃ kī* ‘will go’ in this way:

(56) nā hũ āp čal-ũ k-i

NEG 1s.n self go-hab.1s fut-fs.n

us nā hēr-ũn wāste

3s.dst.o dat see-inf.o purp

‘No, I will go to see him myself’ (Aslam 71)

Alternatively, post-nuclear adverbial clauses may convey information that supports the main clause, rather than being part of the focal domain. The next example shows an adverbial clause of reason, (b), occurring after the main clause, (a). Clause (b) introduces new information into the story: the many buffalos that the mother has at home to milk. This new information appears to support the information in clause (a) by providing a reason for it, rather than being as important as the main verb *fā rái* ‘went.’
(57)(a) te mer-i mā ut-ū mur
  CC 1S.O-FS.N mother there-ABL return.INTR

  kē jā rá-i
  CP go stay.PRF-FS.N

(b) kyūje mer-i mā apar muč mès
because 1S.O-FS.N mother on much buffalo

  mel-e wē th-ī
  milk-HAB.3P be.HAB.3P PST-FP.N

‘And from there my mother went back because she had so many buffalos
to milk’ (Aslam 58)

3.3 Relative Clauses and Prominence

We have seen that relative clauses in Gojri are typically restrictive, whether their
referent is new or activated. We have also noted that some relative clauses seem to be
‘superfluous’ (Losey 2002). This section looks at the use of the superfluous relative
clause to give its referent thematic prominence.

The head noun phrase may follow the relative pronoun (see Pattern 1) and the
relative clause serve to identify a referent who is already activated, or, at least,
accessible. Such a construction does not seem to give prominence to the referent.
Example (58) demonstrates this. The girl, beṭkē, is identified as the one who ‘was
engaged to my sister’s son’. The ‘sister’s son’ has already been introduced, and
although the fiancée is a new character, she is treated as accessible because of her relationship to the son. She is not prominent at this point.

When the contents of a relative clause do not identify a referent, however, but are apparently superfluous, such a construction marks the referent as salient. The following example repeats the above extract and adds the rest of the sentence. Clause (b) introduces a character *uski bēṭ* ‘her sister’, who is related to the girl in (a), and who will feature as a temporary center of attention in the next part of the story. The nephew’s fiancée is identified by a relative clause in (a). In clause (b), the older sister of the fiancée is given prominence with a superfluous relative clause. Finally in (c) a comment is made about the older sister, who is now the temporary centre of attention.
(59) (a) jīr-ī beṭk-ī mer-ī bēṇ k-ā pūt
REL-FS.N girl-FS.N 1S.O-FS.N sister GEN-MS.O son
nā mang-ī w-ī th-ī
DAT request-PRF.FS.N PFP-FS.N PST-FS.N

(b) tɛ us k-ī jīr-ī bar-ī bēṇ
CC 3S.DST.O GEN-FS.N REL-FS.N big-FS.N sister
th-ī
PST-FS.N

(c) tɛ wá zalzal-ā mā mar qa-ī
CC 3S.DST.N.F earthquake-MS.O in die go.PRF-FS.N
th-ī nā?
PST-FS.N NEG

‘The girl who was engaged to my sister’s son, her older sister (who was) had died in the earthquake, right?’ (Nephew 3)

Secondly, when the head noun or demonstrative precedes the relative pronoun (see Pattern 2), the relative clause, in left-dislocated position, modifies a referent which has been previously activated and gives the referent thematic prominence.

In example (60), the brother has just been brought to the hospital and now the narrator makes a comment on the standard of the care in the hospital. Here, the doctors, ḍākṭar, are introduced as new participants in the story, but ones which the hearers have access to through their knowledge of the concept ‘hospital’. They appear as a left-dislocated noun phrase that includes a superfluous relative clause, jīrā thā ‘who were’.
Preceding the head noun and relative clause is the locative adverb *ut* ‘there’, which is not part of the relative clause, but has been preposed because it is established information. Their actions occupy six sentences (Appendix A 51-56), after which they disappear from the story.

Example (61) is a further example of a superfluous relative clause giving a participant salience. This is a relative clause of type 2b, with a demonstrative as the head preceding the relative pronoun. The doctor has already been introduced into the story and the contents of the relative clause, *th-ā dāktar jīr-ā* ‘who was a doctor’, serve to activate him as a referent who fits this description and to mark him as thematically prominent. Indeed, the doctor does become the centre of attention for the next section of the narrative.
In (61) above, the relative pronoun is preceded by a distal demonstrative ó, which is the head of the relative clause. A demonstrative can also act as the modifier of a noun.

In the following example, ó ‘that’ is a demonstrative that modifies musāfar ‘traveler’.

(61) fir kúj dēār-ā fir ó jīr-ɔ dākṭar
     then some day-MP.N then 3S.DST.N REL-MS.N doctor

th-ɔ tɛ wò ...
PST-MS.N CC 3S.DST.N.M

‘So some days went by, then that doctor (the one who was a doctor), he ...’ (Doctor 42)

In summary, relative clauses, depending on their structure, can introduce a new participant into the narrative or identify an already active participant. This study shows that, when a relative clause of either type is superfluous, it marks the referent as salient, which in practice means that it becomes the temporary centre of attention.

To conclude this section, I give a summary outline of the first episode of Tug of War (see Appendix B sentences 1-47 for the text in Gojri) to illustrate the use of superfluous relative clause to mark participants as salient. Section (a) is a general
summary of the beginning of the story. Sections (b) – (e) show the literal translations, in bold, of the superfluous relative clauses that mark each participant as temporarily salient. These relative clauses are given with an English word choice that reflects the Gojri wording to emphasize the superfluousness of the relative clauses. The non-bold type in these sentences are again general summaries.

(63)(a) Two thieves are introduced. A singer is introduced, who is looking for work. The singer joins the thieves. They go off together and come to a house.

(b) **They who were thieves** started stealing things.

(c) **They who were residents of that house** were sleeping. The singer went and looked around.

(d) **She who was an old lady** was sleeping. There was yogurt beside her. The singer ate the yogurt. The old lady heard a noise and woke up.

(e) **They who were residents** woke up as well. The singer tried to run away, but the residents pulled him back in. The thieves came back and pulled him from the other side. They all pulled. The thieves were stronger. They took the singer and the things they had stolen and left.

In the above extract, the singer is the VIP, and when he reappears, in (c), (d), and (e), no relative clause is necessary to introduce him. In contrast, reference to other characters by means of a superfluous relative clause signals that they are temporarily the centre of attention. In (b), the thieves, introduced with a superfluous relative clause, take over center stage for a short time while they begin robbing the house. In (c), a
superfluous relative clause refers to the residents of the house to show that they will have a significant part to play in the story. In (d), an old lady is introduced with a superfluous relative clause as she is about to play a short, but significant, part in the narrative. In (e), the residents of the house join in the action and are similarly marked. The reentry of the thieves in (e), however, does not require a relative clause as they have a major role to play throughout the rest of the episode.

3.4 Clause Chaining

Longacre (1990) recognizes three types of clause chaining for SOV languages, as we saw in section 3.1.3. His three language types are summarized again here and related to Gojri’s use of clause chaining.

Languages of type A have a chain of subordinate medial clauses which convey background information followed by a main clause which conveys foreground information. Languages of type B have a final verb which is a routinely added, grammaticalised element and a preceding chain of subordinate clauses which convey foreground information. Languages of type C have a final verb and a preceding chain of subordinate clauses, both or either of which may convey foreground information. I
now propose that Gojri belongs to language type C since both the final verb and the preceding chain of CPs (conjunctive participles) may convey foreground information.

In the preceding sentences, the word ‘may’ is significant, because CPs share the storyline status of the main verb to which they relate only if certain conditions hold. Longacre’s description of type C languages does not indicate the conditions that must be met for both the final verb and the preceding subordinate clauses to convey foreground information. In the case of Gojri, the information in the CP clause and the main clause must be equally active or equally new in order for them to be on the same level of grounding.\textsuperscript{13} If the CP contains established information and the main clause contains new information, only the final clause will convey foreground information. Conversely, if the CP contains new information and the main clause only contains established information, only the CP will convey foreground information. Further, it is possible for the content of the CP and the content of the final verb to merge, giving a compound meaning, in which case both verbs are automatically in the same storyline rank. The following examples illustrate these possibilities.

\textsuperscript{13} Lambrecht (1994:165) describes a ‘Topic Accessibility Scale’ which categorizes information according to how familiar it is to the audience, from the most familiar or accessible to the least accessible: ‘active – accessible – unused – brand-new anchored – brand-new unanchored’.
Example (64) illustrates the case where the CP has the same grounding status as the main clause. It presents a list of activities that describe to the hearer what the woodsman’s occupation is. The information in this extract is of a background nature as far as the overall story is concerned, that is, it describes regular activities which occur all the time and do not advance the story. Nevertheless, the CPs that occur in the chain prior to the main verb convey information that is at least as important as that of the main verb itself, in that it is they that primarily answer the question ‘What does he do?’
Example (65) demonstrates that the CP can also have the same grounding status as the main clause when the main verb is on the storyline. The first CP, (65b), conveys accessible information that has been established in the immediately preceding clause.

The two remaining clauses both convey events that are important to the storyline: (65c), the girl washing, and (65d), giving the clothes to her brothers. The first of these two events, tô ke ‘having washed’ (65c), is a CP, and the second, ditā ‘gave’ (65d), is a main verb, but they are both storyline events.
‘Then (one) night – two days before (their) leaving, I went. I went and washed their clothes for (and gave them to) them.’ (Aslam 11-12)

CPs have the same grounding status as the main verbs only if they contain new information or information that is as established as the information in the main clause.

CPs may contain established information, especially in tail-head constructions, like the first CP in example (65b) above. In this case, only the information in the second participle and the main clause is foreground.

Example (66) illustrates a case in which the CP, (66b), conveys non-established information and the main clause, (66c), conveys information that is established in the preceding sentence, given in (66a).
(67a) “Then the next day they said, “... You take him (somewhere else) – take him to Abbottabad or Qalandarabad.””

(b) fir mer-ɔ pây wi le ke
then 1S.O-MS.N brother also take CP
ā-e-ɔ.
come-PRF-MS.N

(c) te mer-i mā ut-ū muʁ ke
CC 1S.O-FS.N mother there-ABL return.INTR CP
jā rá-i …
go stay.PR-FS.N

‘So then my brother took him and came. And from there my mother went back ...’ (Aslam 55-58)

Sentence (67a) contains the command ‘you take him’, so ‘took’ in (67b) is the response to that command and a separate activity from ‘came’. In the sentence (67c), in contrast, the CP muʁ ke ‘return’ adds to the main verb jā rái ‘went/left’ the meaning of ‘back to
where she originally was.’ This verb combination cannot be split into two different storyline events, or divided into background information and foreground information.

Rather, the two verbs join their meanings to give a compound meaning encompassing both.

To summarize this chapter, firstly, adverbial clauses that occur before the main clause are backgrounded with respect to the main clause, whereas adverbial clauses in other positions may be part of the focal domain of the main clause. Secondly, although relative clauses normally identify a participant, seemingly superfluous relative clauses give a participant or prop thematic prominence, making it the temporary center of attention. Finally, CPs used in clause chains have a grounding status which corresponds with Longacre (1990)’s language type C. In other words, the pre-final CP clauses may have the same storyline status as the main verb.
4 Connectives and Packaging of Information

The default mode of coordination in Gojri narrative is with a connective. The default connective is te (te in Punjabi—Bhatia 1993:103). For example, in ‘Aslam’ (Appendix A), there are 119 sentences. A connective begins 72 of them, whereas juxtaposition occurs in 47. Te introduces 40 of the 72 sentences that begin with a connective. See below for the other Gojri connectives that occur in my corpus.

This study has found two different uses of te: a coordinative and a non-coordinative use. It compares te with juxtaposition and with two other common connectives. This chapter first looks at coordinative te which marks distinct units of information. This is followed by two usages of juxtaposition: the first is complementary to te and involves continuity, indicating that pieces of information belong to the same unit, and the second involves discontinuity. The chapter then looks at two other connectives, fir, which indicates that two events are in sequence, and bas, which acts as a reorienter, warning the hearer to expect a change in the narrative. Subsequently non-coordinative te is discussed. The chapter closes with a discussion of ji and its two functions, first,
limiting the interpretation of a clause, or indicating that exactly what is said is meant, with nothing extra added, and, second, speeding up the storyline.

The following table shows the various connectives that exist in Gojri:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connective</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Combinations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>COORDINATOR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jī</td>
<td>LIMITER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fir</td>
<td>‘then’</td>
<td>te fir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bas</td>
<td>‘well’</td>
<td>te bas, bas fir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enū</td>
<td>‘like that’</td>
<td>te enū, bas enū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hɔ̀r</td>
<td>‘more’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hònŋ</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>‘so’</td>
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<td>ē</td>
<td>‘well’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāre</td>
<td>‘but’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā</td>
<td>‘therefore’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1 Coordinative te

Constituents of varying size are coordinated by te to other constituents that belong to the same grammatical class, provided the coordinated constituents are distinct. In Urdu and Hindi the equivalent coordinating conjunction is aur. Urdu and Hindi’s cognate to is not used as a coordinator, but only as a correlative or contrastive conjunction, comparable to Gojri’s non-coordinative te, discussed in section 4.5 below.

Noun phrases, verb phrases, certain subordinate clauses, independent clauses, and sentences are all coordinated with their own class by te. The following examples from Gojri narrative texts show, in (68), the coordination of noun phrases, in (69), the coordination of verb phrases, in (70), the coordination of subordinate clauses, in (71) the coordination of simple sentences, and, in (72), the coordination of sentences. In each case the constituents being coordinated are distinct from each other.

In (68), ‘he’ and ‘another brother of mine’ are distinct people.

(68) ek yó te ek mer-∅
    one 3S.PRX.N.M cc one 1S.O-MS.N
dūj-∅ pāy
    second-MS.N brother

‘... he and another brother of mine’ (Aslam 2c)
In (69), ‘removing’, that is, drawing yogurt from a pot, and ‘drinking’ are distinct actions.

(69) ó jī laq-ɔ hè pī-uŋ nā
3S.DST.N LIM start-PRF.MS.N 2/3S.PRS drink-INF.O DAT

glās-ā nāl kāḍ-t-ɔ te pī-t-ɔ.
glass-P.O with remove-IMPF.MS.N CC drink-IMPF-Ms.N

‘Immediately he began drinking – by the glassful (he keeps) removing and drinking.’ (Tug 25-26)

In (70), taking the clothing for the wedding and taking the possessions, which are part of the dowry, are distinct activities.

(70) fir ā rē-ā kapar-ā le-uŋ nā
then come stay-PRF.MP.N clothes-MP.N take-INF.O DAT

te samān le-uŋ nā.
CC possessions take-INF.O DAT

‘Then they came to take the clothes and to take the possessions.’
(Naheed 5)

In (71), the three clauses describe distinct events or states. Sentences (a) and (c) are distinct activities and (b) makes a background statement that gives distinct information:

(a) ‘came down to the Kawai bazaar’, (b) ‘there was a man there’, and (c) ‘he said’.
In (72), sentences (a) and (b) describe distinct purposes for the speaker’s visit.

The above observations also apply to occasions when te joins one conjunctive participial clause (hereafter, CP) to another CP and both convey new information. In such instances, the CPs are of equal status and each presents a distinct step in a procedure. This is particularly clear when there is a long chain of CPs before the final verb, as in the example below.
The connective *te* can also occur at the end of a sentence (as in example (73d)), in which case it is often hardly more than a bare *t* at the end of the preceding word, with a little puff of air after it. After the *t* the speaker takes a breath and then continues with the next clause. If *te* were actually at the beginning of the following clause, the speaker would take a breath before the *te* and say it and the following word in the same breath.

At the end of a sentence, *te* indicates that distinct information will come in the next sentence. For example the sentence after (73d) gives a new, distinct activity: ‘then we came down’ (not given here) and the *te* at the end of (73d) points toward this distinct information.

Similarly, in the following example, the main character arrives on the momentous visit that she has been waiting for. The preceding sentences describe the process of
leaving and now, in this example, the travelers arrive, and they finally see their brother in the hospital. Clause (74a) describes them arriving, which is information that has been established in the preceding context. It is followed by te, which directs the hearer forward to what is about to come. The second clause in fact begins with a repetition of their arrival, (74b), which is not distinct information, and another te separates this old information from the distinct information in the third clause, (74c), which describes their brother’s condition when they first see him.

(74)(a) firhammeraa-āitdēār-i te.
thentralP.Ncome-PRF-MP.NhereFS.NCC

(b).hammitā-e-ā
1PNhereP.RF-MP.N

(c)te wōekmašīnmā
CC3SDST.N.MonePST-MP.NmachinePFP-MP.N

tār-e-ōw-ōth-ōnā.
set-PRF-MS.NPFP-MS.NPST-MS.NNEG

‘Then we arrived here, during the day (so ...). We came here and he had been put on a machine, you know.’ (Aslam 75-76)

In summary, the default function of te is to coordinate constituents of the same grammatical class and indicate that the second constituent is distinct from the first.
4.2 Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition occurs in two different situations. On the one hand, it complements \( tc \) in that it introduces information that is NOT distinct from what has just been stated, so belongs to the same package of events. On the other hand, it occurs in connection with a break in the narrative.

Levinsohn (2000:118) describes this same phenomenon for Koiné Greek (he uses the word ‘asyndeton’ for ‘juxtaposition’).

‘Asyndeton is found in two very different contexts in non-narrative text:

- when there is a close connection between the information concerned (i.e., the information belongs together in the same unit)
- when there is no direct connection between the information concerned (i.e., the information belongs to different units).’

The first use of juxtaposition, to introduce non-distinct events, is used in at least two different contexts in Gojri. One context in which juxtaposition occurs involves the restatement or paraphrase of preceding information in various ways, such as generic-specific, negated antonym, and summary information.\(^{14}\) The second context involves

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\(^{14}\) See Longacre 1996:76f for definitions of these terms.
simultaneous events which belong to the same package of events as others in their context. These contexts are illustrated below.

*Juxtaposition introducing paraphrase with a synonym.* In the following example, the quality of the doctors’ treatment is described with one adjective in (a) and another in (b).

(75)(a) te ut daḵtar jīr-ā th-ā wē muč
   CC there doctor REL-MP.N PST-MP.N 3P.DST.N much
   sōn-ɔ ilāj ní kar-ē th-ā ná.
   beautiful-MS.N treatment NEG do-HAB.3P PST-MP.N NEG

(75)(b) hāčh-ɔ ilāj ní kar-ē th-ā.
   good-MS.N treatment NEG do-HAB.3P PST-MP.N

‘The doctors there didn’t do very satisfactory treatment, you know (The doctors there weren’t particularly competent, you know). They didn’t do good treatment.’ (Aslam 51-52)

*Juxtaposition introducing a negated antonym.* Example (76) follows directly after example (75) in ‘Aslam’. The actions of the doctors are being described to illustrate how poor the care is at the hospital, as seen in example (75) above. In this next extract, sentence (a) gives a positive statement of what they did (‘just slept’) and sentence (b) restates their actions as a negative statement (‘they didn’t even get up’):
‘(For example) during the night he had such trouble urinating and they just slept. They didn’t (even) get up and look, did they?’ (Aslam 53-54)

*Juxtaposition introducing a summary.* In example (77), the family has just received bad news about their brother. Their reaction is first given as a speech sentence (a). Then the content of the speech is summarized in sentence (b) and introduced without a connective:

(77)(a) te hāmne ké-ɔ, ṭxɔɔ us nā ke hò
CC 1P.AG say-PRF.MS.N oh!.no! 3S.DST.O DAT what? be
g-ɪ-ɔ? ...

(b)saxt dil sar-ɛ-ɔ.
hard heart burn-PRF-MS.N

‘And we said, “Oh! no! What has happened to him? ...” (Our) heart hurt badly.’ (Aslam 37,40)
Juxtaposition introducing a simultaneous event. In example (78), the narrator’s other brothers have been taking care of their sick brother. They have just had him admitted at a better hospital. Sentence (a) describes what happened after he was admitted, ‘he stayed’. Sentence (b) is simultaneous to the first, describing what the other brothers did while the first brother stayed, and requires no connective, because the events concerned simply conclude a section.

(78)(a) fir ut ré-ɔ.  
then there stay-PRF.MS.N

(b) wé muʁ ke g-i-ā.  
3P.DST.N return.INTR CP go-PRF-MP.N

‘Then he stayed there. They (the other brothers) went back.’ (Aslam 64-65)

The second use of juxtaposition, as described above, is at a complete break in the narrative, indicating that a new episode is beginning. Example (79), repeated from example (78) above, and expanded here, illustrates such a break or ‘discontinuity’ (Givón 1984:245). Between sentences (a) and (b), there is no connective, because the events are simultaneous. Between sentences (b) and (c), again, there is no connective, but in this case there is not only a switch of location from the hospital to the author’s

15 See section 4.5 for instances in which simultaneous events belong to different packages.
home, but also a switch from events involving the injured brother to a report of what had happened. The lack of a connective reflects this discontinuity.

(79) (a) fir  ut  rē-ɔ.
then  there  stay-PRF.MS.N

(b) wé  muŗ  kē  g-i-ā.
3P.DST.N  return.INTR  CP  go-PRF-MP.N

(c) ún-ā  ne  hàmŋā  das-e-ɔ ...
3P.DST.O-P.O  AG  1P.DAT  tell-PRF-MS.N

‘Then he (Aslam) stayed there. They (the other brothers) went back. They told us …’ (Aslam 64-66a)

The existence of discontinuity between sentences (b) and (c) is confirmed by the presence of the pronoun únā ‘they’ at the beginning of (c). It follows from Givon’s Iconicity Principle (1983:18) that, when a subject remains unchanged in successive sentences, the default way of referring to him or her in a pro-drop language is zero (see Levinsohn (2008) for the same phenomenon in Koine Greek and in Hebrew.) Sentence (a) illustrates this: the sick brother is the main participant in the preceding sentences, so he is understood as the subject in this sentence. In sentence (b), a pronoun is necessary because the subject changes from Aslam to the other brothers. In sentence (c), however, the pronoun should not be necessary, according to the Iconicity Principle,
because the subject remains the same as that of (b). The pronoun is used in this context to reflect the break in the narrative.

In summary, juxtaposition is the norm when used to introduce sentences conveying non-distinct information, such as restatements. Juxtaposition can also be used at breaks in the narrative.

4.3 *_fîr* and _te fîr*

*_fîr*_ indicates a relationship of chronological sequence between propositions or groups of propositions when the new event follows naturally from the previous one(s). In the following example, *_fîr*_ marks sentence (b) as being in sequential progression with (a).

(80)(a) ‘(For example) during the night he had such trouble urinating and they just slept. They didn’t (even) get up and look, did they?’

(b) _fîr_  dúŋ-ɛ  dēr-ɛ  ūn-ā  ne  ké-ɔ,

then  second-LOC  day-LOC  3P.DST.O-P.O  AG  say-PRF.MS.N

yó  màr-ā  te  is  k-ɔ

3S.PRX.N.M  1P.O-MS.O  from  3S.PRX.O  GEN-MS.N

ilāǰ  ní  hò-t-ɔ.

treatment  NEG  be-IMPF-MS.N

‘Then the next day they said, “We aren’t able to do anything for him.”’

(Aslam 53-55)
In certain contexts, the event in sequential progression is the result of what preceded. In the following example, ‘they’ (the doctors) tell the addressee to take his sick brother away, and, as a result, he does so.

(81) (a) fir dūǰ-ɛ dēar-ɛ ún-ā ne kē-ɔ,  
thens second-LOC day-LOC 3P.DST.O-P.O AG say-PRF.MS.N  
yó mār-ā te is k-ɔ  
3S.PRX.N.M 1P.O-MS.O from 3S.PRX.O GEN-MS.N  
ilāǰ nī hōt-ɔ te tam is nā  
treatment NEG be-IMPF-MS.N CC 2P.N 3S.PRX.O DAT  
le čal-ɔ ...  
take go- IMP.2P

(b) fir mer-ɔ pāy wī le kɛ ā-e-ɔ.  
then 1S.O-MS.N brother also take CP come-PRF-MS.N  
‘Then the next day they said, “We aren’t able to do anything for him. You take him (somewhere else) ...” So my brother took him and came.’ (Asl am 55-57)

The difference between fir and tɛ can be thought of in terms of the way in which the information is packaged. When propositions are connected with fir, A fir B fir C, they constitute a single package of events in sequence. In contrast to fir, when tɛ accompanies some indicator of ‘discontinuity’ (Givón 1984:245), it marks the beginning of a new package of events, variously described as a ‘group of events’ (Levinsohn 2000:75), a ‘development unit’ (Levinsohn 2008:105), ‘a new burst of closely related

79
actions’ (Heimerdinger 1999:124), the ‘introduction of a new phase in the action of the narrative’ (Revell 1996:61), and a ‘distinct step’ (De Regt 1999:20).

The next example shows the division into packages of events of the portion of the Aslam narrative from which examples (75), (76), and (81) were taken (see Appendix A: Aslam 50-58) for the extract in Gojri). The example is given in English, for simplicity, with the relevant Gojri connectives at the beginning of their sentences.

(82)  50  ∅  They got to Balakot, in the Balakot hospital and said, ‘This is my brother we brought in the night.’

51  tɛ  The doctors there weren’t particularly competent, you know.

52  ∅  They didn’t do good treatment.

53f  ∅  (For example) during the night he had such trouble urinating, and they just slept ...

55f  fir  Then the next day they said, ‘We aren’t able to do anything for him. You take him (somewhere else) …’

57  fir  So my brother took him and came.

58  tɛ  And from there my mother went back, because she had so many buffalos to milk ...

In the above example tɛ starts two sentences, 51 and 58. These two sentences each begin a new package of events: the first, what transpired at the hospital (51-57) and the second, the mother’s return home (58ff). Sentence 51 begins with a left-dislocated relative clause translated ‘the doctors there’, which indicates a switch of attention from
the participants in the preceding sentence. Three sentences begin with juxtaposition, marked by ∅: 50 is part of the same event of the previous sentences, and 52 and 53f are amplifications of the new information given in 51. Finally, sentences 55f and 57 are introduced with fir. They are both in chronological sequence with respect to the information in the preceding sentence (see above on the logical relation between 56 and 57). However, they belong in the same package of events because they make a single point, namely, that the patient could not be looked after in the hospital, so was taken elsewhere. Sentence 58 starts a new topic with a spatial point of departure by renewal16 ‘from there’, and thus begins a new package of events.

Another extract from ‘Aslam’ (see Appendix A 83-91), given in example (83) below, shows the same phenomenon. Te marks the first, short package of events in sentence 83. Sentence 84 is introduced with the combination te fir, which marks a new package of events as well as the next in sequence from the previous sentence. The connectives in 84 are followed by a new starting point in time ‘it was late afternoon’, which contrasts with the time period ‘the whole day’ in the preceding sentence.

Sentences 85-87 are introduced with no connective. Each of them is a restatement of 84

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16 Points of departure connect the following information with something that is already known to the hearer from the context (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001). (See section 4.5 for a more complete definition.) A point of departure by renewal ‘renews a previous point of departure or topic’ (Levinsohn 2008:47).
and so part of the same package of events. 88 is introduced with fir, which indicates that it is the next event in sequence but still part of the same package as the previous sentence. Sentence 89 is the same, also introduced with fir. Then a new package of events begins in 90, with te and a switch of participants from ‘I’ to ‘my uncle’. 91 belongs to the same package as 90 and is connected with the preceding sentence by juxtaposition.

(83)  
83  te  And we stayed with him the whole day.

84  te fir  Then it was late afternoon, and we left and went back (home).

85  ∅  We left ... that ... (my) heart was upset by this, very upset.

86  ∅  We left.

87  ∅  We went back home.

88  fir  Then we stayed there.

89  fir  And I didn’t come again.

90  te  And my uncle stayed with him ...

91  ∅  Other people come too.

When fir occurs together with te, as in sentence 84 of the above example, the relationship expressed between the preceding and following events involves both chronological sequence and distinctiveness. Example (84) is another instance of this
combination. Sentence (84b) is the last in a sequence of questions that the father asks his daughters. The question is always the same and the answers do not change.

However, the father keeps asking because he wants a different answer from his youngest daughter. The third time that he asks is the climax in this sequence, because the daughter still gives the wrong answer and finally he reacts and punishes her. For this reason, although it has become customary for him to ask this question, this time it is marked as distinct information, because it is the last time and a reaction is imminent.

Tɛ marks (84b) as the beginning of a new package of reported speeches.

(84)(a) fir ā-e-ɔ.
then come-PRF-MS.N

(b) tɛ fir us ne pučh-e-ɔ ún-ā
CC then 3S.DST.O AG ask-PRF-MS.N 3P.DST.O-P.O

tī-ā čhe-ā te
daughter-P.O six-P.O from

‘then came. And again he asked those six daughters’ (Seventh 20)

In summary, fir signals a sequential relationship between the events described before and after the connective, but does not mark the second one as the beginning of a new package of events.
4.4  *bas, bas ġir* and *te bas*

Blakemore (2002:144) describes Carlson (1994)’s interpretation of the function of English *well* as ‘reorienting hearers for the purpose of achieving optimal relevance’ and cites numerous contexts in which it may be used. Reorientation signals a modification of the current situation which applies to the immediately preceding events.

The Gojri connective *bas* also acts as a reorienter, letting the hearer know that some reorientation is needed but without completely changing the theme. It is typically used in two situations: one to move the hearer’s attention away from the storyline events, the other to introduce unexpected developments.\(^{17}\)

Leading up to the following example, the narrator described the visit of the two brothers to their sister and how they left after the visit. (85b) occurs in the same time frame as the events of (85a), but involves a change of orientation, as the narrator moves away from her description of their actions to her own reaction.

\(^{17}\) An alternate interpretation is that *bas*, with the inherent meaning of ‘enough’, is used to fastforward to the climax or result of an event. It moves the hearer quickly to the end of the current train of thought, at which point a transition to a new train of thought is naturally expected (Baart p.c.).
(85)(a) ‘They came and said good-bye to me and then they left.’

(b) \textit{bas} de\'\^{a}r-i h\~{u} xaf\~{a} tik-i

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
well & day-FS.N & 1.S.N & upset & stay-PRF.FS.N \\
\end{tabular}

rá-i.

stay-PRF-FS.N

‘Well, I was upset all day.’ (Aslam 17-18)

\textit{bas} is also used to introduce an unexpected development into the narrative. In the following example there is a drastic change of orientation from things going well to things going wrong. The extract is taken from the end of the journey that the narrator’s brothers went on. She explains that they traveled for two days and then stayed up in the mountains. Then, in the next sentence, \textit{bas} introduces the bad news that they received about her brother:

(86) \textit{bas} tīf-ɛ de\'\^{a}r-ɛ hàmnā xabar lag-i

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
well & third-LOC & day-LOC & 1.P.DAT & news & hit-PRF.FS.N \\
\end{tabular}

arā, ter-ā pāy k-ɛ lag

COMP 2S.O-MS.O brother GEN-LOC hit

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
ga-i, nā?
go-PRF-FS.N & NEG \\
\end{tabular}

‘Well, on the third day we received the news, “Your brother has been hurt,” didn’t we?’ (Aslam 29)

The two connectives \textit{bas} and \textit{fir} can also occur together, as in the next example.

The narrator has just finished describing how the brother stayed with his sister and now
in this sentence, *bas* signals reorientation as the narrative moves from this event to a summary of what happened next. In turn, *fir* marks sequence. The sentence summarizes the brother’s stay at his sister’s house, which is a period of one month, sequentially following his initial removal to her house.

(87) **bas** **fir** **kar-t-ā** **kar-t-ā** **ek** **mǐn-ɔ**
    well then do-IMPF-ADV do-IMPF-ADV one month-MS.N
    **pūr-ɔ** **mer-ɛ** **đer-ɛ** **rɛ-ɔ**
    entire-MS.N 1S.O-LOC home-LOC stay-PRF.MS.N

‘Well, so it went on (like this); he stayed at my house for one whole month’ (Aslam 112)

Although example (87) involves reorientation, the sentence still progresses forward in time, which is indicated not only by *fir* but also with the time phrase at the beginning of the second clause, *ek mǐnɔ pūrɔ* ‘(for) one whole month’. This contrasts with example (85), which also has a time phrase *đɛrɛ* ‘day’, but no *fir*. This is because the departure of the brothers was not intended to cause the author to be upset. In other words, although ‘I was upset’ is the result of their departure, it is not in natural sequence with ‘they left.’ Instead, the *bas* in (85) simply introduces the feelings of the main character right at the time when her brothers left.
When the two connectives *te* *bas* are used together, *te* indicates that a new package of events is starting and *bas* lets the hearer know that there has been a reorientation.

This is illustrated in the following example. Sentence (a) is part of the preceding package of events and describes the author’s injured brother being removed from her home to her mother’s. Sentence (b) is introduced by *te* *bas*. *Te* introduces the next package of events. The new package begins with a reorientation to a description of how she feels, hence the use of *bas*. This description leads to the next event, in (c), introduced with *fir*, in which the narrator goes to visit her brother at their mother’s house, because she was upset.

(88)(a) apan-ɛ dever-ɛ le g-i-ā
one’s.own-LOC home-LOC take go-PRF-MP.N

(b) te bas mer-ɔ dil zari xafā hò-e-ɔ.
*te* *bas* well 1.S.O-MS.N heart a.little upset be-PRF-MS.N

(c) fir hū wi rāt ín-ā k-ɛ koļ
then 1.S.N also night 3.P.PRX.O-P.O GEN-LOC near
gā-i rā-i.

‘They took him to (their) home, and, well, my heart became a little upset. Then I went to visit them in the evening too and stayed there.’ (Aslam 114-115)
At a climactic point in the narrative, *te bas* can be used repeatedly to introduce unexpected new developments. The following example is the climax of the story of Shasta’s mother’s death in the earthquake. Three sentences contain *te bas*. They introduce the three steps that occurred to bring about her death. The first, (b), is the actual earthquake, the second, (c), is the house falling when she gets up to escape, and the third, (d), is her being caught underneath.

(89)(a) mès k-ᵉ hèteh beth-i
 buffalogen-loc under sit-prf.fs.n

(b) te bas zalal-ɔ hò g-i-ɔ.
 cc well earthquake-ms.n be go-prf-ms.n

(c) zalal-ɔ hò-e-ɔ te bas ut-th-i
 earthquake-ms.n be-prf-ms.n cc well get.up-prf.fs.n

bîr-ā nā ā-uŋ wâste
 outside-ms.o dat come-inf.o purp

tê afr-ū koṭh-ɔ čâr-e-ɔ
 cc above-abl house-ms.n fall-prf-ms.n

(d) te bas ut-ᵉ hèteh ā ga-ǐ.
 cc well there-loc under come go.prf-fs.n

‘[She] sat down under the buffalo and then the earthquake happened. The earthquake happened and then she got up to go outside and from above the house fell and then she came underneath it.’ (Mother.1 10-11)
In summary, *te bas* is normally used to start a new package of events and to signal reorientation in the storyline. In the climax of a story, however, as just illustrated with example (89), *te bas* introduces unexpected new developments.

4.5 Non-coordinative *te*

Section 4.1 discussed the coordinating conjunction *te*, which links constituents of equal syntactic rank. This section discusses two further uses of *te*, both of which separate constituents of unequal syntactic rank. These uses of *te* are grouped together under the label ‘non-coordinative *te*’.

Previous studies of Indo-Aryan languages have noted a particle like *te* which occurs between constituents of unequal status. For example, Phillips (2006)’s study on Hindi *to* describes the function of *to* when found between a temporal or a conditional clause and the main clause. Similarly, Baart (p.c.) states that Kalami *to* occurs between a subordinate clause and a main clause.

Non-coordinative *te* in Gojri is defined as occurring between sentence constituents of unequal syntactic rank. It is used in two ways which correspond to two different morphemes in Kalami, *tā* and *to*. as a marker of contrastive emphasis (see also Schmidt 1999:210 on the contrastive emphatic particle *to* in Urdu) and as a linking element.
between a pre-nuclear subordinate clause and the rest of the sentence (corresponding to what Philips 2006 and some works cited there call a *correlative conjunction*). These will be referred to as *contrastive* *te* and *correlative* *te*, respectively.

Linguists such as Ramsey (1987:385) have recognized that pre-nuclear subordinate clauses, such as adverbial clauses of condition and time, behave like other topicalized constituents. Gojri places correlative *te* after preposed adverbial clauses and relative clauses and contrastive *te* after the sentence topic. In both cases the constituents set apart by *te* are topicalized and can be called, more exactly, ‘points of departure.’

‘The term POINT OF DEPARTURE (Beneš 1962, cited in Garvin 1963:508) designates an initial element, often fronted or left-dislocated, which cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context (i.e. to something accessible in the hearer’s mental representation)” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:68).

In subject-initial languages, one way to show that a subject is also a point of departure is by placing a ‘spacer’ between the subject and the rest of the clause. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:73) define spacers as ‘short expressions with little or no stress, whose lexical meaning has sentence scope ... They ... can be placed between constituents with distinct discourse-pragmatic roles.’ Since non-coordinative *te* is found after points of departure in both its environments, it functions as a ‘spacer’.
The presence of contrastive *te* in a clause indicates that something unexpected or surprising is about to be stated. In example (90), stored wood is not expected to burn up in the night, but that is what happened, and the unexpected event is announced by the contrastive *te* that immediately precedes it.

(90) mer-i jîr-i wé lakař-i th-i
   1S.O-FS.N REL-FS.N 3P.DST.N wood-FS.N PST-FS.N

te wé te rât sar ga-i!
   CC 3P.DST.N CC night burn go.PRF-FS.N

‘That wood of mine, it *burned* in the night!’ (Seventh 101)

As shown in this example, contrastive *te* prefers to occur after lighter constituents.

Instead of occurring directly after the left-dislocated relative clause (see below), contrastive *te* occurs after the lighter resumptive pronoun.

Baart (1999:159-160) describes the use of the contrastive emphatic particle *tâ* in Kalami as follows:

The particle *tâ* occurs in sentence-medial positions and in this way divides a sentence into two parts: that which precedes it, and that which follows it. The parts are not necessarily grammatical constituents of the sentence, and they do not necessarily correspond to the grammatical subject and the grammatical predicate of the sentence. However, the two parts do constitute units at the level of *information structure*. The part that precedes *tâ* is the *topic* of the sentence (representing the entity or concept that the sentence is about), while the part that follows *tâ* is the *comment* (representing the new information that is provided about the topic.)
Then he further states:

While ṭā marks the boundary between topic and comment, it also serves to emphasize the comment, marking it as particularly newsworthy. In many contexts, the implication of emphasizing the importance of the comment is that one of the listener’s presuppositions is being contradicted.

The contrastive emphasis spacer te in (90) above indicates that the comment given about the topicalized ‘wood’ is particularly unexpected and, as Baart stated above, that ‘one of the listener’s presuppositions is being contradicted.’

Similarly, Phillips (2006) describes the function of contrast to in Hindi comparing the proposition in its sentence to another proposition, or, in Baart’s terminology a ‘presupposition’ that the hearer has. In Phillips’ words, ‘to indicates that the constituent preceding it should be compared with a corresponding constituent in another proposition’ (2006:72).

Examples of contrastive emphasis in this corpus of personal historical narratives and folkstories are rare, whereas correlative te is often found between subordinate clauses and main clauses, so I will concentrate on this second use from here on.

Correlative te is a spacer, just as contrastive te is, and it consequently has some similarities. When correlative te separates a constituent from the rest of the clause or sentence, the narrative develops in connection with the switch of attention to that
constituent. In other words, the comparison with a corresponding constituent in another proposition that was mentioned in regard to contrastive \textit{te} is applicable to correlative \textit{te} because the story will develop in connection with this switch of attention.

I first describe correlative \textit{te} as a spacer separating an adverbial clause or phrase from the main clause. I then describe \textit{te} as a spacer separating a reference to a participant in the form of a relative clause from the rest of the sentence.

When correlative \textit{te} marks a switch from one \textit{time} to another, the story will develop through the actions performed at that new time. In the following example, \textit{suba} ‘morning’ is introduced in sentence (91b) and then reasserted in sentence (91c), where it is set apart with a spacer \textit{te} to indicate the development of the story through the actions performed at this new time.

\begin{verbatim}
(91)(a) rāt enū guzār-ī
    night like.this pass-PRF.FS.N

(b) suba hō-e-ī
    morning be-PRF-FS.N

(c) te suba te lāš hāmne kāḍ ke ...
    CC morning CC corpse 1P.AG remove CP

    ‘We passed the night like this. Morning came, and it was in the morning that we dug out the bodies ...’ (Khatune 60)
\end{verbatim}
When a temporal expression occurs at the *beginning* of a story or new episode, in contrast, *te* is not used, because the author does not wish to signal a switch from one time to another. In the following example, which occurs at the beginning of ‘Khatune’ and is therefore not a development with respect to anything preceding it, *suba nā* ‘in the morning’ is not separated from the rest of the clause by a spacer:

(92) suba nā pēl-ā hàm uṭh-e-ā.
    morning DAT before-P.O 1P get.up-PRF-MP.N

‘In the morning, first we got up.’ (Khatune 1)

In the next example, an adverbial clause of time introduced with *jad* is followed by *te* and a main clause. In other words, *te* separates clauses that do not belong to the same grammatical class, so is judged to be functioning as a spacer. The presence of *te* also implies development in connection with the temporal switch. What follows *te* is relevant in the sense that what happens during the school holidays will advance the storyline.

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18 Example (53) does not match this analysis. It is the first sentence in the narrative. The initial adverbial clause is separated from the main clause by *te*, even though it is not marking a new development with respect to the time given in the adverbial clause.
(93) te fir jad ún-ā nā skūl te
   CC then when 3P.DST.O-P.O DAT school from
čhuṭ-i hò-e-i
holiday-FS.N be-PRF-FS.N

(94) (a) jad zalzal-ɔ ð-e-ɔ
   when earthquake-MS.N be-PRF-MS.N

(b) hàm pičhā dar-ū ā-e-ā ná?
   1P mountains.ward toward-ABL come-PRF-MP.N NEG

‘When the earthquake happened, we came from the mountains, right?’
   (Doctor 2)

The clauses in (94) are not separated by a spacer because the development does not
progress with respect to the action described in the second clause, (b). (b) is a reminder
of what happened first after the earthquake, and the story development starts in the next
action, described in a later clause.

A noun phrase modified by a relative clause can precede correlative te. Once again
in this context te separates clauses that do not belong to the same grammatical class, so
is judged to be functioning as a spacer. As described in section 3.3, relative clauses can introduce participants, identify previously introduced participants, or, if the relative clause appears superfluous, mark a participant as salient. Correlative *te*, following any of these relative clauses, signals that the story will develop through the participants concerned.

In the following example, the superfluous relative clause marks the thieves as the centre of attention in the following section of the story. The *te* following the relative clause not only signals a switch of attention from the VIP, the singer, but also indicates that the storyline will develop through the thieves’ actions.

(95) \[ \text{vé ūř-ā čor th-ā} \]
\[ \text{3P.DST.N REL-MP.N thief PST-MP.N} \]
\[ \text{te vé laŋ-ā} \]
\[ \text{CC 3P.DST.N start-PRF.MP.N} \]
‘They who were thieves, they got started’ (Tug 18)

In contrast to (95), example (96) involves a relative clause with no accompanying spacer. The superfluous relative clause marks the residents of the house as salient, because they will have a significant part to play later in the story. However, the story at this point does not develop through their actions, but those of the VIP, the singer (hence the use of *te* in (96b)).
(96)(a) te wé jír-ä der-ä k-ä
CC 3P.DST.N REL-MP.N home-MS.O GEN-MP.N

ādmi th-ā
person PST-MP.N

sār-ā wé bì jāg g-i-ā.
entire-MP.N 3P.DST.N also wake go-PRF-MP.N

(b) jāg-e-ā te mirāsī nas g-i-ɔ.
wake-PRF-MP.N CC singer run.away go-PRF-MS.N

‘And those persons who were residents of that house, they also all woke up. They woke up and the singer ran away.’ (Tug 31-32)

In example (95) above, the constituent preceding te functions as a point of departure, involving a switch in or discontinuity of time or participants. When te separates a

**conjunctive participial clause** (CP) from a main clause, in contrast, there is continuity with the context even though a new package of events is beginning. Yet again, te separates clauses that do not belong to the same grammatical class, so is judged to be functioning as a spacer.

Typically when te follows a CP, there is ‘tail-head linkage’ (Loos 1963) between the information in the CP and the immediate context. This means that the action of the final verb in the preceding sentence is repeated as a CP at the beginning of the next sentence. Example (97) contains tail-head linkage in that the final verb of (a), uthī ‘got

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19 The norm is for a conjunctive participial clause to be juxtaposed to a main clause.
up’, is the same as the initial verb of (b), Ṽṭ ke ‘having gotten up’. The head Ṽṭ ke at the beginning of sentence (b) is set off from the main clause of the sentence by te. Te indicates, as usual, that a new package of events is beginning, but the tail-head linkage indicates continuity of situation with the context.

(97)(a) wá bāḏazādī Ṽṭ-ī.
3S.DST.N.F princess get.up-PRF.FS.N

(b) Ṽṭ ke te us maskīn lakaṛ-ī-ā
get.up CP CC 3S.DST.O poor.man wood-FS.N-P.O
āl-ā nā musāfar nāl čal-t-ī rá-ī.
kind.of-MP.N DAT traveler with go-IMPF.FS.N CONT-PRF.FS.N

‘That princess got up. Having gotten up, she went off with the poor wood guy, the traveler.’ (Seventh 60-62)

The next extract, (98), shows a contrastive example. In this case, there is tail-head linkage between sentences (a) and (b), just as in (97) above, but the CP head in (98b), le ke ‘having taken’, is not separated from the rest of the sentence by a spacer. This is because sentence (b) contains no distinctive information. The preceding sentence contains the distinct event ‘(they) took their home into it’, but (b) is a concluding statement, with the expected information that, having moved in, they would stay there, and thus no te is necessary.
Because Gojri is a clause chaining language, with the ability to convey storyline information in CP clauses, a CP in a tail-head relation can occur not only before a main verb, but also before the combination of a second CP and a main verb. This happens in example (98) above, without the introduction of any distinct information, where ‘having taken it’ is followed by a second CP (translated ‘they went there’). It can also happen when te follows the CP in a tail-head relation. Example (99) (discussed below) illustrates this.

(99)(a) le jā! hàle hò!
    take go quick be

(98)(a) te dər-ɔ fir us mā le g-i-ā.
    CC home-MS.N then 3S.DST.O in take go-PRF-MP.N

(b) le kẽ ut čal kẽ tik ré-ā.
    take CP there go CP stay stay-PRF.MP.N

‘... then (they) took their home into it. Having taken (it), they went there and stayed on.’ (Seventh 120)
In this example, sentence (a) and the beginning of sentence (b) are in a tail-head relation. Tɛ follows the initial CP at the beginning of (b) and marks the beginning of a new package of events, in this case a new set of instructions. The new package includes both the second CP and the following main verb.

When a CP describes the next expected event in a schema, it functions in a similar way to tail-head linkage. It conveys continuity with the context and may be followed by tɛ to mark the beginning of a new package. In the following example, the CP in clause (b), wā ā ke ‘she came’, describes the fulfillment of the command in (a), wā us ne čalāi ‘he sent her’, and is therefore the next expected event. A tɛ again follows this CP, at the beginning of (c), to mark the beginning of a new package of events, which includes both further CPs and a final main verb.

(100)(a) tɛ wā us ne čalā-i.  
   CC 3S.DST.N.F 3S.DST.O AG send-PRF.FS.N

(b) tɛ wā ā ke  
   CC 3S.DST.N.F come CP

(c) tɛ hēr ke muṛ ke ga-i ...  
   CC see CP return CP go.PRF-FS.N

‘he sent her. And she came and looked and went back ...’ (Mother 24)
In summary, a CP at the beginning of a sentence can convey established or expected information and conveys continuity with the context. When followed by *te*, it leads from the CP into a new package of information in the following clause.

In the preceding section on CPs, the information preceding *te* was usually established or expected information, and *te* always introduced a new package of events. It is also possible for the reverse to occur.²⁰ In the following two examples involving *te*, clauses conveying established information FOLLOW clauses with new information.

In example (101), the information in the reason clause, (a), refocuses on information that the listener has heard a few sentences ago in the text and gives it in this context as a reason for the established information in the main clause, (a). The following extract occurs at the end of a description of how the aunt (‘she’ in this sentence) took care of the two boys while they were going to school.

²⁰ ‘It is not unusual for the same spacer to be used in all four of the following circumstances:

- topic spacer comment
- point of departure spacer rest of sentence
- less important information spacer more important information
- more important information spacer less important information.’ (Levinsohn 2008:76)
‘Because Mother wasn’t there and so she – she took care of them, right?’
(Aslam 7)

Sentence (b) of the next example, (102), illustrates the same order: brand-new
information te established information. This time an initial CP clause, (b), conveys
brand-new information, while the clause following te, (c), repeats information stated in
(a).

(102)(a) ‘Well, that poor traveler came bringing (everything).’

(b) de ke
give CP

(c) te ut-ū ān ke us nā dit-ā.
CC there-ABL bring CP 3S.DST.O DAT give.PRF-MP.N
‘(He) gave (the ring); (he) brought (everything) from there and gave it to her.’ (Seventh 79-80)

It should be noted, though, that the norm is for the non-established information to
follow te and for any established information to precede it rather than the reverse.
In summary, coordinative *te*, as described in section 4.1, normally introduces distinct units of information. Non-coordinative *te* separates constituents that belong to different grammatical classes. Correlative *te* marks switches from one time or participant to a new time or participant, and contrastive *te* introduces information that contrasts with an expectation of the hearer.

4.6 *ǰī*

*ǰī* functions as a limiter, that is, it limits the possible interpretation of the clause in which it occurs. This study distinguishes two uses: a default use and a pragmatic use.

In its default use, *ǰī* is usually found at the end of a clause. In the following example, *ǰī* limits the interpretation of the locative expression ‘there where they were removed.’ This is reflected in the translation ‘just there.’

(103) JIT JIT KĀḌ-I
    where where remove-PRF.FS.N

    UT-E DAFANĀ-E-Ā HĒ Jī.
    there-LOC bury-PRF-P.O 3P.PRS LIM

    ‘There where (they) were removed, just there (they) were buried.’
    (Khatune 66)

In the next example, *ǰī* occurs at the end of a clause that starts with *ēnū* ‘like.this’ and closes off the preceding activity. It follows the reduplicated imperfective participle,
which is regularly used to summarize a preceding activity. The effect of adding ḫī is to indicate that what is described about this activity is all there was, they did nothing extra and nothing changed:

(104) ɛnū kar-tāā kar-tāā ḫī
like.this do-IMPF-ADV do-IMPF-ADV LIM

ǰiyā rāt hō ga-i so rá-i.
whenever night be go.PRIF-FS.N sleep stay.PRIF-FS.N

‘So we just kept on like that and when night came, we slept.’ (EQ Short 43)

In the next example, ḫī does not occur at the end of the clause. Instead it follows the adjective, before the final verb of its clause, and exerts its influence on the complement and not on the whole clause:

(105) šāzīā tē ɛnū karunǰī ḫī hō-e-i
Shazia CC like.this wrinkled-FS.N LIM be-PRIF-FS.N

pā-e-i w-i th-i.
find-PRIF-FS.N PFP-FS.N PST-FS.N

‘... Shazia, found just curled up like this.’ (Shazia 33)

The second use of ḫī is to move the story along quickly. When it occurs early in a clause, as in example (106), immediately preceding a perfective, active verb, it has a pragmatic effect on its environment. In such a position, ḫī speeds the story up or directs the hearer forward to the next event of the story. Typically the perfective verb is
followed by *te*. *Te* introduces a new package of events and *ǰḏ* indicates that this new development took place immediately after the previous one. This combination of *te* and *ǰḏ* is predominantly used by one of the authors of my corpus, but other authors also use it occasionally.

The following passage contains three of these pragmatic instances of *ǰḏ* in a row.

Events are building up to the climax of the story and these instances of *ǰḏ* speed up the pace at which each new development comes:

(106)  

\[ \text{mirāsi} \ \text{ǰḏ} \ \text{naṭṭh-} \]  

\[ \text{singer} \ \text{LIM} \ \text{run.away.PRFF-MS.N} \]  

\[ \text{te} \ \text{bas} \ \text{bū-ā} \ \text{mā} \ \text{ǰḏ} \ \text{g-i-} \]  

\[ \text{CC} \ \text{well} \ \text{door-MS.O} \ \text{in} \ \text{LIM} \ \text{go-PRF-MS.N} \]  

\[ \text{te} \ \text{kád-ū} \ \text{ǰḏ} \ \text{čhik-e-} \]  

\[ \text{CC} \ \text{after-ABL} \ \text{LIM} \ \text{pull-PRF-MS.N} \]  

\[ \text{te} \ \text{koe} \ \text{ādd-} \ \text{tanā} \ \text{lag-} \]  

\[ \text{CC} \ \text{MS.INDEF} \ \text{half-MS.N} \ \text{downhill} \ \text{hit-PRF-MS.N} \]  

‘As soon as the singer ran, well, as soon as he went in the doorway, (they) pulled him from behind, and half of him fell outside ...’ (Tug 34-36a)

Thus *ǰḏ* has two functions. It normally limits the interpretation of a clause. However, when occurring immediately before a perfective verb, it indicates that the next event took place immediately after the preceding one.
5 Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed three aspects of Gojri discourse: the structure of subordinate clauses, the use of subordinate clauses in grounding and prominence, and the function of certain common connectives in packaging information, concentrating on the default connective te.

As expected, Gojri narrative discourse uses adverbial clauses, complement clauses, and relative clauses. Most adverbial clauses give a time at which an activity happened, a manner in which it happened, the purpose for which it happened, or a reason or cause for the main activity in a sentence. One particular kind of adverbial clause, the conjunctive participial clause (CP), is commonly found in chained constructions preceding the final verb.

Subordinate clauses are used both to background information with respect to a main clause and to give new, important information of storyline status. The information in an adverbial clause that precedes the main clause is usually backgrounded with respect to that of the main clause. However, it is also possible for a pre-nuclear adverbial clause to convey storyline information.
When a relative clause refers to an activated participant, it follows the relative pronoun. Conversely, when it introduces a new participant, the head noun precedes the relative pronoun. Other constituents may also precede the relative pronoun for focal prominence. Relative clauses are also used in contexts where they appear superfluous. In these cases, they indicate that the referent has a significant role to play in the subsequent discourse.

CP chains are used as per Longacre (1990)’s description of Language Type C, in that the CP clause may contain information of the same storyline status as the main verb in the sentence.

*te* is the default connective in Gojri. Sentences are normally joined with a connective. Coordinative *te* joins equal constituents that convey distinct information. Non-coordinative *te*, on the other hand, acts as a spacer, separating unequal constituents from the main clause and indicating their relation to the context. Correlative *te* switches the attention to a new time or new participant and contrastive *te* indicates a proposition that contrasts with an expectation of the hearer. Juxtaposition occurs when adjacent sentences do not convey distinct information. Other connectives discussed in this paper are *fīr, bas*, and *jī*. *fīr* introduces information as the next in sequence to what preceded.
*Bas* signals reorientation. Finally, *jī* has two uses. Its default use is to limit the interpretation of a clause. Its marked use is to speed up the progression of the storyline.

As mentioned in the introduction, this paper addresses relevant issues for both Gojri and other Indo-Aryan linguistics. This is a unique study in that all of the speakers giving the language data are female. To obtain a broader study of the language it would be necessary to compare these findings to narratives given by male speakers. This study provides an initial narrative discourse analysis of Eastern Gojri for the Gojri Language Development Project. It adds to the knowledge of clause chaining languages, which have primarily been researched in Africa (see Longacre 1990), not in the Indo-Aryan language family. Finally, the studies of spacer *te* and the apparently superfluous relative clauses used to mark salience have contributed to the knowledge of the behavior of Indo-Aryan languages and SOV languages in general.
001. hū tinnā apanā paṭy ki kāṁī suṇāū?

Should I tell you the story of my brother?

002. te yō mero paṭy jād skūl pārē hōwe

When this brother of mine was studying at school, okay, when he was just little - he and another brother of mine, who was younger than him -
when my mother and my father and my whole family would go to the pastures,

and it wasn't their school holidays, they would stay behind here to attend school, at my uncle's house.

Then when they would return from school she who was my aunt would give them food and meals.
And at night they would also sleep there and stay there, right?

Because Mother wasn't there and so she - she took care of them, right?

So it went on like this, with them staying at my aunt's house.
And then, when their school holidays came, my brother said, "I am going to go to my mother now and to my father and to my other brothers."

We answered, "Go."

Then (one) night - two days before (their) leaving, I went.

I went and washed their clothes for them.
I went to see them and I said, "You're going?"

And they answered, "(Yes,) we're going."

And they said to me, "When it's time to leave, we'll come to you and we'll say good-bye to you and then we'll go."
So then I - I went back to my house and then, when it was time to go, they came to see me.

They came and said good-bye to me and then they left.

Well, I was upset all day (the day they left).

I said (to myself), "My brothers have gone and I'm left alone."
My mother isn't here, my father's far away too, my mother's far away ...

My brothers were with me and now today they've left too, haven't they?"

Well, I stayed and they ... they left.

They said good-bye to me and left.
I watched and watched (as) they descended from across there and down, right:
(down) the middle of the spur, right?

I kept watching and, well - then when they started descending from there, I kept
watching from my house.

They met me and left.

They left.
They went for two days and then stayed up there in the mountains.

Well, on the third day we received the news, "Your brother has been hurt;" didn't we?

(Someone) came down to the Kawai bazaar and there was a man there, and he said, "Your brother has been hurt."
Up there in the town where your family is, they've been told that he has been hurt. And they've taken him to a doctor.

You come too and see him."

The man came to us and said this - it was evening, wasn't it? (you know what 'numasa' is, right?)
It was at sundown. The man came to us and said, "Aslam has been hurt.

And his brother Ashrif, he too, and also Akram and also his mother and also one of his uncles have taken him to the hospital in a vehicle."

And we said, "Oh, oh! What has happened to him?"
We don't know what has happened to him."

(Our) heart hurt badly.

We cried and cried.

I didn't even eat any food that night..

We thought and thought about him.

In the morning at first light, he who was my husband then went, too.
My uncle - my husband's father - he went too.

Another of my uncles went too.

They all went.

One uncle went with him.
Two of my uncles had been staying (up) there - both of them also went to see him.

They (all) got to Balakot, in the Balakot hospital and said, "This is my brother we brought in the night."

The doctors there weren't particularly competent, you know.

They didn't do good treatment.
because night 3s.dst.o dat urine short -ms.o gen -fs.n so.many -fs.n
difficulty be -prf -fs.n cc 3p.dst.n 3p.dst.n sleep stay -prf.mp.n pst -mp.n
(normal) during the night he had such trouble urinating, and they - they just slept.

They didn't (even) get up and look, did they?

Then the next day they said, "We aren't able to do anything for him.

You take him (somewhere else) - take him to Abbottabad or Qalandarabad."
So my brother took him and came.

And from there my mother went back because she had so many buffalos to milk, you know.

She had to run the household, you know.

So then my older brother - my uncle took my mother and went back up to the pastures.
Then my older brother, he and my younger brother and one of my uncles, they took him and came to Qalandarabad; other people came along, too.

Then the Qalandarabad doctors admitted him.

Then he stayed there.

They went back.
They told us, "He - we have taken him there. We took him there, and there the doctors have admitted him in the hospital.

But please don't be upset.

We will take you and show you him.

And he has been admitted there."
Then many days (passed), but I didn't come, neither did they (bring) me - they (would) come and give news, they (would) say, "Today he is like this. Today he is like this. Today his condition is good, he is fine."

His - " they (would) do like this and then one day I said, "No, I will go to see him myself - I feel like it."
Then they said, "Okay, you come (along)."

I came with them and one of my aunts came too.

My aunt's daughter came there too and my husband too.

Then we arrived here, during the day.
We came here and he had been put in a machine, you know.

So, he was put upside down like this, and so we came and went in; and he couldn't talk with us, because he was upside down, you know.
And they said, "There is just a little bit of time left, then we'll turn him right side up and then you please talk with him."

So then we sat (there).

When the time was up, then they turned him right side up and we talked with him.

And he held my daughter lots, too, and cuddled her.
And we stayed with him the whole day.

Then it was late afternoon, and we left and went back (home).

We left - that - (my) heart was upset by this, very upset.
We went back home.

Then we stayed there.

And I didn't come again.

And my uncle stayed with him; my brother (did) too.

Other people come too.
And we kept hearing, "He is like this, he's like this (= that)."

Then the doctors said, "There is no other treatment for him, so you take him (home) or leave him.

And his treatment is this exercise (regimen).

When you have taken him home, then get him to do this (there) too."
At the hospital they used to do that very thing.

They would only give him two pills.

They didn't give him any other medicine, nothing at all; and they weren't giving him any injections either.
And then he ... he said that ... my brother said, "Okay, I will take him home, and
now our household will come (back) from the back country, too and there is lots of
work (to do); we'll cut grass, too; so we'll take him home."

And the doctors answered, "It is up to you, if you leave him here that's fine ... if
you take him, then ..." So.
So then my brother didn't leave him - he took (him).

My mother and my - brother's wife - they were up in the pastures.

At that point they hadn't ... she hadn't come yet.

My brother took him and left him at my house, yes?

And he stayed at my house for one month.
My brother took care of him.

Everything for him - washing his hands, helping him go to the bathroom, feeding him -

my brother was doing it.

Taking him outside, and sitting him there, taking him back inside -

my brother did it.
I was just making his food and such and giving it to him, I would wash his clothes and give them to him.

So it went on; he stayed at my house for one whole month, then my mother arrived from the back country.

She came and then they took him to their own house.
They took him to (their) own house, and, well, my heart became a little upset.

Then I went to visit them in the evening too and stayed there.

Then I came back.

So it went on (like this); my mother took care of him there; those were days (filled with) other work too.
Then my brothers were doing the other work and my mother was taking care of him because my mother was well in those days and she was able to take care of him.

So it went on (like this) with my mother taking care of him.

My brothers and sisters took care of him, too.
Then Wahid Brother and the others went (there), having heard (of us) from someone, yes?

They went and then we ... He stayed with him quite a while.

And then they said, "We are going to take Aslam down with us."

Then they brought Aslam down with them and (he) stayed with them across the way.
And (he) stayed here for two years - three - across the way.

Then they took him to Islamabad and (he) stayed there.

Then (he) came back here from there.

He lived in this house.

Then they stayed here.
Finally, he (Wahid) went back to his country for a holiday, and then the earthquake happened.

And Alsam’s work was finished.

And now, my heart is very upset when I remember Aslam.
APPENDIX B

TUG OF WAR

001. aslam hū tampā ke suṇā? | Aslam 1S.N 2P.DAT what? tell -HAB.1S

Aslam, what should I recite for you?

002. ğis kā is kānī kō nā hē čhikkā čhikkī. | 3S.REL.O GEN -MP.N 3S.PRX.O story -FS.N GEN -MS.N name 2/3S.PRS Tug.of.War

That of which . . . the name of this story is “Tug of War”.

003. čhikkā čhikkī nā hē. | Tug.of.War name 2/3S.PRS

"Tug of War" is the name.

004. ek koe šēr tho age. | one MS.INDEF city PST -MS.N ahead -LOC

There once was a city.

005. te us ke bič thā do pāyā. | CC 3S.DIST.O GEN -LOC in PST -MP.N two fellow -MP.N

In it there were two fellows.
They were thieves.

They used to go and steal and such and bring (and) eat and such and stay on (there).

There was a singer in that place, and some of his work ended.

(His) work couldn't get going.
He said to them, “You are stealing and bringing in (money), so if you go again take me along.

011. hū bī čalū.  
1s.n also go -sbjv.1s

I ought to take (stuff) too.

012. merɔ kam nī lago.  
1s.o -ms.n work neg start -prf.ms.n

My work hasn't gotten going.”

013. únā ne kē, čalto rāie nāḷ tō  
3p.dist.o -p.o ag say -prf.ms.n go -imf -ms.n stay -prf -imp -fut -imp.2s with 2s.n

bī.  
bī  
also

They said, “Come along with us always, you.”

014. wē ek dēāre giā.  
3p.dist.n one day -loc go -prf -mp.n

One day they went.

015. nāḷ ó mirāsi bī jā réɔ.  
with 3s.dist.n singer also go stay -prf.ms.n

And that singer also went along.
Well they went.

They walked on and on, (and) as soon as they came to a house up ahead they went in, into the house of some residents.

They who were thieves, they got started and whatever was inside, wealth and such, they started to remove it; they move it outside and they bring it.
Now they who are members of this household, they are sleeping.

And the singer went.

And he looked this way and that way.

And an old lady that (she who was an old lady) was sleeping, and alongside her string bed there was a pot of milk - a pot of yogurt.
The singer had eaten so many lentils that his insides were burned.

He gave thanks that he had found milk.

Immediately he began drinking by the glassful (he keeps) removing and drinking.

He drank and drank; as soon as that old lady heard the clanging, she said, “Shoo! Shoo!”
She said (to herself), “A cat must have come and gotten into the milk.”

When she shooed, the "cat" didn't stir.

And they who were residents of that house, they also woke up.

They woke up and the singer ran away.

The thieves had earlier come outside.
As soon as the singer ran, well, as soon as he went in the doorway,

(they) pulled him from behind

and half of him fell outside through the doorway and half fell inside.

As soon as he fell there, those thieves arrived.

The thieves arrived from outside (of the house).
From inside those residents of the house - the residents of the house were pulling inwards.

And those thieves were pulling toward the outside.

They pulled and pulled; the thieves were stronger.

They took him out.

They took him and left.
They left.

The riches that were removed, they took them too and left, and that singer also left.

He left and they went to their home.

As soon as he went to his home, his wife was present.
She said, "Where did you go?

What have you brought?"

He, the guy - the singer, said, "I went out stealing, but in robbery there is a lot of pleasure and (there is) a wide variety of things to eat."

She said, the wife said, "What did you bring?"
054. **hàmṇā de!**

1P.DAT give

Give it to us!

055. **hàm bì khā!**

1P.N also eat.HAB.1P

We should eat too!"

056. **us ne ké, khāun ko muč hī mazo**

3S.DST.O AG say -PRF.MS.N eat -INF.O GEN -MS.N much EMPH enjoyment -MS.N

2/3S.PRS

He said, "There is so much pleasure in eating.

057. **rang rang kī še milē.**

kind kind GEN -FS.N thing meet -HAB.3P

A huge variety of things are available.

058. **bāre nā pučh is gal ko hū gīo tho.**

but NEG ask 3S.PRX.O matter GEN -MS.N 1S.N go -PRF -MS.N PST -MS.N

But don't ask about this. I went."

059. **čor ne ké, čorī mā te barā hī mazā hē.**

thief AG say -PRF.MS.N theft in CC big -MP.N EMPH enjoyment -MP.N 3P.PRS

The thief said, "Stealing is pleasurable."
But one thing (about it) is terrible.

His wife asked, "Tell me.

What might that be?"

(He answered,) "You must not ask about that."

(She said,) “Why shouldn't I ask?”
Tell me! What is that, about which you say, 'Don't ask!'
That thing is this: other pleasures abound in stealing, but that thing is this, that it involves a lot of tugging.

This part is just awful."
1. Gloss Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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2. Narrative Title Abbreviations

Aftahad Aftahad
Akram Akram
Anwar Anwar’s Wedding
Arshad Arshad Bibi’s Story
Aslam Aslam
Bibi Bibi Khatune’s Story
Doctor My Father’s Story
EQ Long Long Earthquake Story
EQ Short Naheed’s Earthquake Story
Jamila Jamila
Khatune Khatune’s Story
Mazar Mazar
Mother Shasta’s Mother II
Mother.1 Shasta’s Mother I
Naheed Naheed’s Wedding
Nephew Shameem’s Sister’s Nephew
Resh Reshma’s Wedding
Reshma Reshma’s Story
Sham Shameem II
Shazia Shazia
Seventh Seventh Daughter
Sister Shameem’s Sister
Tug Tug of War
BIBLIOGRAPHY


