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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the question of whether mirative meaning, in the sense of Aksu-Koç and Slobin's (1986) "unprepared mind" and DeLancey (1997), is grammatically encoded in the Dardic language Shina. Mirativity marking in Shina's linguistic neighbors is examined and compared with the situation in Shina. I find a clustering of what appears to be morphologically indicated mirativity in the eastern dialects of Shina, and identify two morphological strategies which can be employed to encode mirativity.

*Traces of mirativity in Shina**

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0 Introduction

In this paper, I explore the question of whether mirative meaning is grammatically expressed in Shina, a Northwest Indo-Aryan ("Dardic"[1]) language spoken in northeastern Pakistan and some adjacent areas of northwestern India. Section 1 defines the term "mirativity" as used in this paper, and discusses its relationship to other closely related terms and notions. In Section 2, a brief description of Shina and its dialects is presented. Section 3 treats the encoding of mirativity in languages in close geographical proximity to Shina. Section 4, the heart of the paper, adduces all available data relevant to the questions of whether and how mirative meaning is expressed in various Shina dialects. Section 5 summarizes my findings and suggests some tentative generalizations and new avenues of research.

1 Mirativity

There is a long scholarly tradition of discussion of the expression of mirative meanings-- including new information, surprise at a present state and deferred realization of a previously existing state--in the literature on the Balkan languages, notably Friedman (1981, 1982, 1986, 2003) and the references cited in those papers. In those languages these meanings can either emerge as contextual variants of general "non-confirmative"[2] forms like the unmarked indefinite past in Balkan Slavic (Friedman 1986: 173) or as one meaning of marked non-confirmative forms like the Albanian "admirative" paradigm, which can express meanings of irony, doubt and reported speech,

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[1] The quotation marks around "Dardic" indicate that the term is commonly used, but its status as a (genetic) classificatory term is not uncontroversial. See Mock (1997-2010) for discussion of the uses of the term "Dardic".

[2] The term "confirmative" originated in the work of Aronson (1967) on Bulgarian; Friedman (e.g. 1981, 2003) makes an opposition explicit with "non-confirmative".

as well as surprise (Friedman 2003: 197).[3] In order to make clear the relationship of this earlier scholarly trajectory with the more recent one focused exclusively on mirative semantics, it is important to, in Friedman's words (2003: 192), "distinguish between *mirative*, which is limited to unexpected or surprising information, and *admirative*, which refers to a set of paradigms for which 'surprise' (mirativity) is one of the contextual variant meanings." Aikhenvald (2003: 210) reinforces this distinction, saying that admirative forms in the Balkan languages can have a mirative extension, but this is not their primary meaning. In this paper, I will be discussing the *mirative* in this sense.

The expression of mirative meanings in Turkish had previously been discussed by Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986), who describe a pragmatic extension of the particle *-miş* to mark events impinging on an unprepared mind as follows: "…the inferences encoded by *-miş* can be based on any kind of sensory evidence of resultant state, with the provision that no aspect of the antecedent process itself has been present in the speaker's consciousness. In psychological terms, the use of *-miş* represents an experience of which the speaker has had no PREMONITORY AWARENESS" (Aksu-Koç and Slobin 1986: 160).

Mirativity has been receiving increasing attention since DeLancey's important 1997 article, in which, largely based on his work with Tibeto-Burman languages, he argues that mirativity is a category "distinct from the related categories of aspect, evidentiality and modality". He says, "The fundamental function of the category [of mirativity] is to mark sentences which report information which is new or surprising to the speaker, regardless of whether the information source is first- or second-hand" (DeLancey 1997: 33). DeLancey's new claim was that in some languages there are forms or paradigms whose sole function is to express mirative meaning, rather than mirative meaning being one of several semantic developments of a given form. The particle *lõ* in the Athabaskan language Hare is such a unique mirative form (DeLancey 2001). The Tibeto-Burman language Kham has a specifically mirative construction involving nominalized main and auxiliary verbs, the necessary conditions for the felicitous use of which are "the non-integration of information into the speaker's store of knowledge" and that the newly discovered knowledge has not been anticipated in any way (Watters 2002: 290).

Since DeLancey (1997), the semantic category of mirativity has been reported and described for many additional languages. In some languages mirative meanings are conveyed by the same forms that encode other indirective, mediative, inferential meanings; while in other languages, e.g., Kham, they are indicated by unique grammatical forms (Aikhenvald 2003, Chapter 6). Although markers of other types of indirective meanings, (cf. Lazard's [1999] "mediative") like hearsay, quotative, inference, or non-witnessed action, often overlap with those which mark mirativity, as in Kalasha and Khowar, for example, the semantics of the category of mirativity is distinct. DeLancey's insight that the dominant communicative function of mirative utterances is to express "the speaker's discovery of the fact rather than the fact itself" (1997: 40), that is, to express a change in the knowledge state of the speaker, rather than to communicate specific information or assert particular propositions, is central to the work in this paper.

One example of a clearly mirative utterance in a language neighboring Shina will serve to introduce the topic. In Kalasha and Khowar, the forms called "inferential" in Bashir (1988) report

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[3] One important difference, it seems to me, between the Balkan "non-confirmative" forms and the mirative meanings discussed for Shina and its neighboring languages in this paper is that meanings of speaker attitude toward the truth of the utterance are not involved in the latter.

non-witnessed events or actions learned of by hearsay, inference from observation of resultant states, or narrated in traditional tales; however, these forms also encode meanings which are uniquely mirative. Example (1), a Khowar sentence which I have had addressed to me as a foreigner not expected to know Khowar, on a first meeting with someone, illustrates this point.

(1)   *tu   khowár   kor-ák   bir-áu*
        you   Khowar do-AG.N   become(PST.I)-2SG
        '(Oh), you speak Khowar.' (registering surprise)[4]

The sentence shown in (1) is a surprised reaction to an immediate, first-hand observation of an unexpected ongoing action, and clearly not reporting hearsay, inference from a resultant state, or non-witnessed action. Nor can its primary purpose be to inform the addressee (me, in this case) of a fact, since I can be presumed to already know that I speak Khowar. Its function is to communicate the fact that the speaker has learned something new and is surprised by it. The mirative meaning of this utterance is clear and distinct, regardless of the fact that the Khowar "inferential form" is also used for other indirective/mediative meanings.

In this paper I focus on Shina in the context of its neighboring languages, attempting to characterize the type of evidentiality system and the type of mirativity marking (if any) for each of these languages based on available evidence.[5] The aim of this effort is to fill in some of the gaps in our specific knowledge of evidential and mirative marking in these small, and in most cases, little-studied languages. For each of the languages discussed here, I will attempt to address these points to the extent possible given the available data.

2 Shina and its dialects

Shina, a Dardic language with numerous dialects, is spoken by an estimated total of perhaps 500,000 people, living mainly in Gilgit and Diamer Districts and Baltistan, now included in the Gilgit-Baltistan Autonomous Region of Pakistan;[6] and Kohistan District of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province.[7] Radloff (1992a:158), based on contemporary lexical similarity and mutual intelligibility tests, concludes that overall, dialect distribution of Shina is best described in terms of four geographical clusters: Northern (Gilgit, Hunza-Nagar), Eastern (Baltistan, Astor, Gures, Satpara, Kharmang, Dras, Gultari), and the Southern clusters of Diamer (Chilas) and Kohistan (Palas, Kolai). In addition, there are the currently outlying variants of Brokskat (Ladakh), Ushojo (upper Swat), Kalkoti (Dir), Palula (southern Chitral), and Sawi (Kunar valley, Afghanistan). Schmidt and Kohistani (2008: 3) present a diachronic scenario in which the original home of the

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[4] Abbreviations, with the exception of those listed in Appendix A, follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules (http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php). A few of the abbreviations in the morph-by-morph glosses of some examples have been changed to conform with this emerging standard.

[5] The reader is reminded that data on these languages are very sparse, and the data in this paper are, in most cases, all that are available.

[6] The former Northern Areas have recently been re-named as the Gilgit-Baltistan Autonomous Region.

[7] The North West Frontier Province was renamed as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Province as part of the 18th amendment to the Constitution on April 15, 2010.

Shina speakers is in Gures, with diffusion both eastward and westward from a central zone reaching from Gures to Gilgit. According to Schmidt and Kohistani, the original dialect split is between Gilgiti and the ancestor of the remaining dialects, with a later, fairly recent, separation of Kohistani and Drasi. Palula was probably brought to its present locations in southern Chitral some time before the mid seventeenth century from the Indus valley near Chilas, or according to other sources, Tangir (Strand 1998d-2000, 2001b; Cacopardo and Cacopardo 2001: 83, 88, 118).[8] Strand (1998c-2000) draws his conclusions on genealogical charts based on oral histories recorded during fieldwork with informants in 1985. Strand (1999a-2009) listed Kalkoti, previously identified by many as a variety of Kohistani, and Ushojo, as probably dispersed dialects of Chilasi. Recently, confirming Strand's idea, Liljegren (2009) has argued that the speech of Kalkot in Dir Kohistani is indeed also a variety of Shina which belongs to what he calls a Dangari cluster, including Northern Palula (Biori), Southern Palula (Ashret), Sawi and Kalkoti.[9] Liljegren (2009: 57) has refined the description of the relationships of Palula and Sawi, postulating two migration routes: the first from Chilas to Laspur to Ashret to Sau, and the second from Tangir to Dir Kohistan to Biori.[10]

3   Mirativity in languages neighboring Shina

Evidentiality and inferentiality-marking systems tend to diffuse readily among geographically contiguous languages. As Aikhenvald (2003: 288) says: "The emergence and the loss of evidentials is often due to intensive language contact." Marking of evidentiality is a feature of several linguistic areas including the Balkans, Central Asia, parts of North and South America, the Tibeto-Burman region, and the environs of the Hindu Kush mountains. The expression of mirativity appears to be similarly prone to areal diffusion, based on comparative analysis of the semantics of the Balkan languages and, more directly relevant here, on a Hindu Kush cluster of languages with morphological mirative marking. This generalization is one of the motivating factors for the investigation in this paper.

Mirativity is morphologically encoded in several of the languages neighboring Shina. Figure 1 is a rough sketch map showing the areas in which varieties of Shina are spoken (shaded) and some of the adjacent languages.[11] These languages are discussed in Section 3 in roughly west to

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[8] Inayatullah Faizi (p.c.) considers "Dangarikwar", a Khowar name for Palula, as a reference to the origin of this speech community in Tangir. Strand (2001c: 298) also refers to a Tangir origin story for some of the Palula communities, but specifying that they came from Chilas to Tangir, from where they were expelled, making Chilas rather than Tangir the central place in their origin stories. Strand (2000-2002) has Dangari [*ḍangári*], a valley near Chilas, as the original home of the Dangariks [*dangarík*].

[9] Strand (p.c., 2010) comments that the term "Dangari" is viewed as a pejorative by speakers in Ashret, and expresses reservations about its use. This perception of "Dangari" as pejorative may be due to association with IA *ḍaṅgara-* 'cattle' (T5526). References of the form "Txxxx" are to entries in Turner (1966). See also Cacopardo, A.M. and Cacopardo, A.S. (2001:81) for further discussion of this term.

[10] Grammatical treatments of various dialects of Shina can be found in Bailey (1924) and Radloff and Shakil (1988) for Gilgit Shina; Schmidt and Kohistani (2008) for Kohistani Shina; Strand (2000-2002) and Liljegren (2008) for Palula; Hook (1996) for Gultari Shina; and Bashir (2003) for a summary overview.

[11] The map is approximate and not to scale. Thanks to Elijah Buck of the Humanities Computing Division, University of Chicago for his repeated help in improving its appearance. Responsibility for the accuracy of its content is entirely mine.

east order.[12] For most of these languages, full descriptions of the evidential systems remain desiderata, and the examples presented here are those most relevant to the point at hand
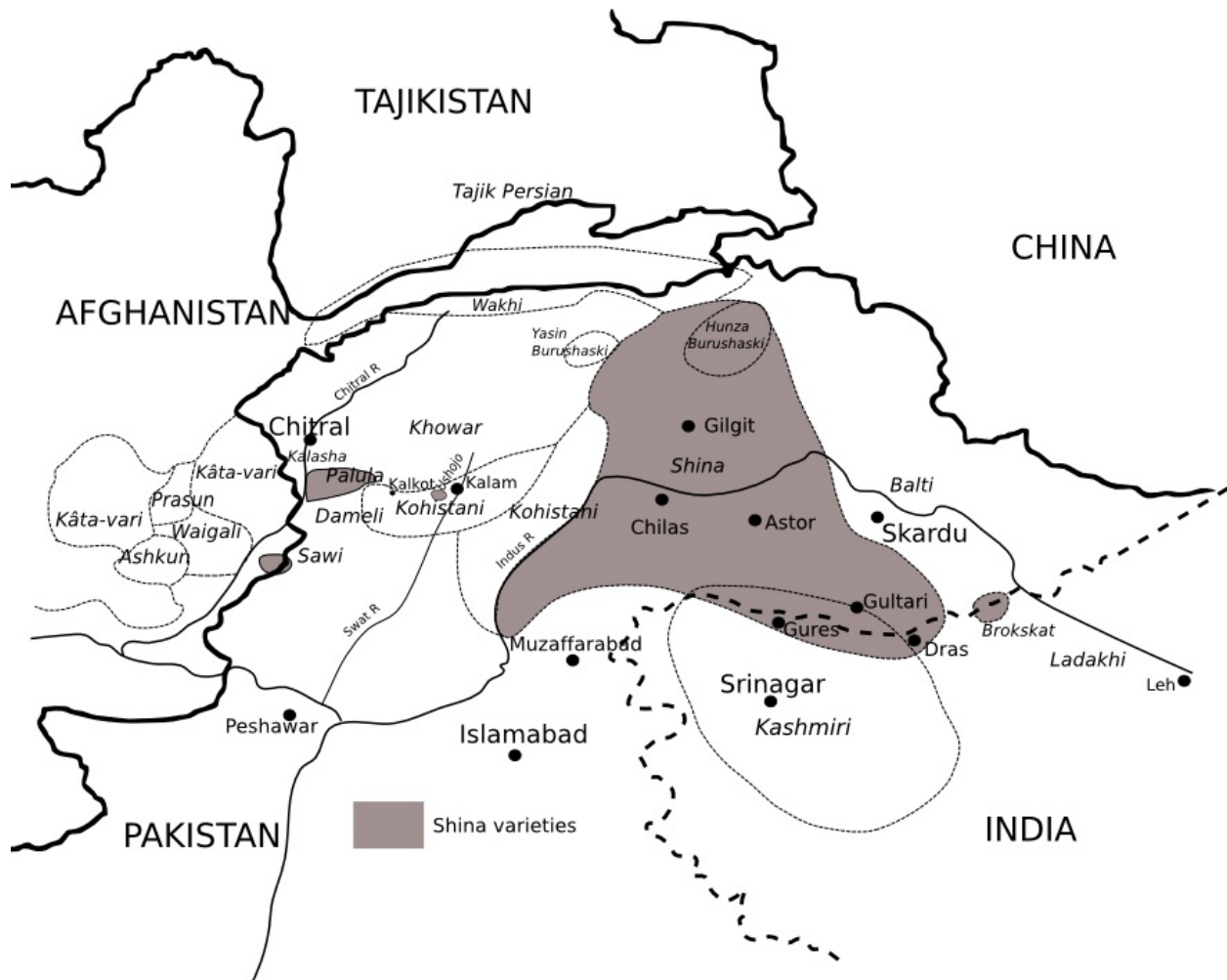
Figure 1. Shina and some neighboring languages

3.1   *Indo–European languages and Burushaski*

3.1.1 *Nuristani languages*

The Nuristani languages show clear indications of inferential/indirective systems, and of the marking of mirative semantics. In some of the languages mirative semantics develops from an indirective/inferential form, while in others it seems to have a unique marker. These languages are relevant to the analysis of the Shina systems for two reasons. First, Nuristani and Indic languages

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[12] There are, of course, many other languages in the less-immediate vicinity which have mirativity marking systems, e.g., Modern Iranian Persian, and numerous Tibeto-Burman languages; in the interest of keeping the topic manageable, these are not discussed here.

are Indo-European cousins, and second, in one case, Prasun, the same morphological alternation functions to indicate mirative semantics as does in some of the eastern Shina dialects.

3.1.1.1 Kâmviri[13]

      Kâmviri is a dialect of what has been referred to in previous literature as Kati or Bashgali. Its speakers live in the lower Lanḍay Sin and upper Kunar basins, including a small area of southern Chitral (Strand 2010). Strand (p.c.) has identified a use of the marker *-o*, which when used with the verb *âsá-* 'be' produces a "realizational mode" (Strand 2010)[14]. He describes the semantics as follows: "The basic meaning of this mode contrasts current certainty with former skepticism, disbelief, or unawareness: now I really am aware of the past action or circumstance, as opposed to my former skepticism, disbelief, or ignorance" (Strand p.c., 2006). It is used, in the words of Qazi Ghulam Ullah, Strand's Kâmviri teacher, to report situations in which, "Later it becomes known." These are typical descriptions of mirative forms cross-linguistically. Thus Kâmviri clearly has a morphological mechanism for marking of mirativity. Strand's paradigm (p.c., June 2006, October 2009) for the realizational mode of 'be' is given as (2).[15] These realizational forms consist of *âsá-* 'be' + *o* + person-number endings. Realizational forms also appear in other complex tense forms built with *âsá-* 'be' like the (mirative) past progressive (3)[16].

(2)		Sg.			Pl.
1.	*âs[á]-o-m*[17]	'I realize that I was'	*âs[á]-o-miš*	'I realize that we were'
2.	*âs[á]-o-š*	'I realize that you were'	*âs[á]-o-ň*	'I realize that you [pl] were'
3.	*âs[á]-o*	'I realize that he was'	*âs[á]-â*	'I realize that they were'

(3)   *bún-âs-o* 'I now realize that it was happening' vs. *bún-âs-i* 'It was happening'.

      With other verbs, Strand (2010) says that "*-o* follows a non-feminine stem to indicate the speaker's vivid perception or imagination of the verbal event: *tapi-ó-m* 'I did indeed get hot,'" which may or not be a mirative sense. Thus it may be that the mirative marker *-o* either overlaps semantically with or is homophonous with a more general emphatic marker. With regard to the question of whether this *-o* marker can be considered as a general indirective/inferential marker, Strand says emphatically that it is not an extension of an indirective/inferential marker (p.c. June

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[13] Self-designations for the Nuristani languages are from the work of Richard Strand, most recently Strand (2010).

[14] He now prefers to consider as a sub-type of a verbal category of "vividness" or as an "emphatic" marker (Strand 2010).

[15] In this paper, the orthography of the original authors has been almost entirely retained, with the exception of the substitution of <š> for <sh> to represent the voiceless palatal sibilant, or other minor changes. The symbol <ň> in Strand's Kâmviri materials represents a nasalized retroflex approximant (Strand, p.c. March 2010). In general, retroflex consonants are indicated by the conventional underdot. The author's field work on Shina and Balti referred to in this paper was carried out in 1986 and 1987 as part of an interdisciplinary project on popular culture in Pakistan organized by Wilma Heston and William Hanaway and funded by the Smithsonian Institution.

[16] Strand (p.c., February 2010) comments that this form is not marked for past tense. The sense of past time reflected in the glosses of the forms in (2) and (3) probably arises from the mirative meaning, "later it becomes known", imparted by *-o-*. This is the sense of "is and was" that arises with Kalasha and Khowar mirative forms.

[17] The *a* drops before a vowel, giving *âsóm*, etc. (Strand p.c., 2010).

2006): "The Realizational[18] mode does not appear in traditional tales, which are usually told in the Retrospective Imaginative mode (*e mér bAlla* 'There was [probably] a king...'). As such tales cannot be verified by the speaker's experience, they would preclude the Realizational mode. And it is not used for the narration of unwitnessed events (normally in the Retrospective Perfect: *e kúdUm* *bi.sa* 'An action has happened'), unless the speaker is emphasizing his realization that the unwitnessed events were verified by his later experience. The mode does imply inference from the observation of resultant states, as does the Retrospective Perfect, but it emphasizes the speaker's change of evaluation of the event from uncertain to certain." It is also "quite different from the Reportative particle *-mma*, which may be used after any past-tense verb (except the past definite) to explicitly indicate that the speaker got knowledge of the verbal action from another source, rather than from his own inference" (Strand p.c. May 2006). Thus Kâmviri has, as far as is known so far, an evidential system in which mirativity, hearsay (reportative), non-witnessed events (presented as probably true) and non-witnessed events (accepted as true) are encoded with different forms, i.e. are different grammatical categories. If these are distinct categories, this would give Kâmviri a four-valued system in Aikhenvald's scheme.

3.1.1.2 Ashkun (*Âṣkuṇu-vi:ri*)

The language of village Wama[19] is one of the dialects collectively named Ashkun in most Western literature. Buddruss (2006) consists of three texts in this dialect and their grammatical analysis. These texts contain a significant number of verb forms which Buddruss calls Preterite II and Imperfect II, which are formed from the preterite or imperfect, respectively, extended with *séi*, the present tense of *s-* 'be'. Buddruss' discussion (2006: 196) of the meanings of these forms is consistent with my reading of them as conveying inferential meanings, including hearsay. Preterite II occurs in contexts typical of inferential forms in neighboring Khowar and Kalasha, and are also encountered when a speaker recounts a dream. Examples of Preterite II appear here as (4), (5-a) and (5-b). From these examples, it seems clear that the Ashkun Preterite II can be considered an indirective or inferential form. Sentence (4) is the opening sentence of a traditional tale, a context in which inferential forms are cross-linguistically typical.

(4) *a sə̃ṛú-ə*   *zú-es*   *kamgə́l*   *istrí přoti-séi*
     a man.from.Wama-OBL   daughter-PS.3sg   to.Kamgal   wife gave(PRT.II)-**is**
     'A man from Wama gave his daughter in marriage to (someone in) Kamgal.' (Buddruss 2006: 179, Text 1, #1)

Examples (5-a) and (5-b) indicate that Preterite II also has mirative extensions. The context for (5-a) is as follows. The man who had married his daughter in Kamgal in (4) went once to Kamgal with his son to see his daughter. In the house of his son-in-law there was a golden pot in which the householders used to collect ashes, but the pot was so covered with soot that they didn't realize or had forgotten that it was made of gold. Having heard a rumor that there was a golden pot in this house, the girl's father, on seeing this soot-covered pot, thought to himself, "This pot is

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[18] For the meanings of Strand's terms, see http://users.sedona.net/~Strand.

[19] The self-designation of this variety is *saňu-vīrī* (Strand 1998a-2008). Its Pashto name is *Wâmâi* (Buddruss 2006: 178).

made of gold!" He said to his son-in-law, "Give me this pot!" The son-in-law agreed, saying, "Take it; I have no use for it." His father-in-law picked it up and took it with him. His son-in-law also went along with him for company. They came to a river, and there the father-in-law cleaned the pot with sand so that it shone. Then the son-in-law realized that the pot was made of gold, and thought, "Oho, so this is gold! Why should I give it?" I consider this utterance as clearly mirative because it focuses on the speaker's (son-in-law's) new understanding of the the pot's nature. Previously he had thought that the pot was worthless and readily gave it to his father-in-law, whereas now he realizes its true value and that he had made a mistake in giving it to his father-in-law.

(5-a) *zəmás   batúə: "ohō, yek   to son   sagə-séi"*
son.in.law   thought aha   this so gold   was(PRT.II)-**is**
'His son-in-law thought, "Aha, so this is gold (as is heard)!' (Buddruss 2006: 179, Text 1, #11)

It should be noted that the parenthetical "as is heard" in the gloss of (5-a) is Buddruss' interpretation of the meaning of the PRT.II form in the example, based on the assumption that *sei* is the marker of a hearsay-indicating form, as in (4); there is no overt lexical expression of this idea in the sentence. This sentence (5-a) is a clear example of mirativity, since it expresses a sudden realization, through first-hand observation, of a previously existing state of affairs, which is neither learned through hearsay or inferred by observation of a state resulting from some action. Taken together, examples (4) and (5-a) illustrate the typological generalization that markers of mirative semantics often overlap with those of other types of indirective (inferential) meanings.

G. Buddruss (p.c. June 2006) also recalls a sentence noted during his fieldwork in Wama, carried out in 1956 and 1970. It is shown as (5-b).

(5-b) *ímə   dōs   a amá-ta   gestə́gomiš*
we   yesterday a house-(in)to   go(PST.PRF.1PL)

ki   mac p-amə́   na   sagə-séi
that   man at-house not   was(PRT.II).3SG
'Yesterday we went (lit. 'had gone') to a house (where we hoped to visit a certain man who was said to live there), that man was not at home (contrary to our expectations, unfortunately). (Buddruss' translation)

Here, for the sentence 'he was not at home,' Buddruss recalls that his informant preferred the second past tense (Preterite II) *na sagə-sei* 'he was not' to the *s*-less Preterite I *na sagə*. This preference, Buddruss later came to think, was because of the unexpected occurrence of the man's not being at home (p.c. June 2006).[20]

Buddruss (2006: 196) also discusses a Pluperfect II, and gives the paradigm for the Pluperfect II of 'go', shown in (6). According to Buddruss (p.c., June 5th 2006), Pluperfect II forms occur frequently in his as yet unpublished field materials.

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[20] I am most grateful to G. Buddruss for sharing this example with me, and for long discussions concerning this topic.

(6) Sg. Pl.
1. *gestə́gə-səm* 'I had gone.', etc. *gestə́gə-səmiš*
2. *gestə́gə-səs* *gestə́gə-səg*
3. *gestə́gə-sei* *gestə́gə-sən*

Morgenstierne (1929: 213) noted that his informant from village Majegal "has a special form *sə́gəsēi* (M) *sigəseī* (F) 'there was, existed'. This form appears identical to Buddruss' PRET.II from Wama in (5-a) and (5-b). Morgenstierne (1934: 68-69) gives numerous examples of these forms, describing their meaning as uncertain. However, a sentence occurring in one of his 1929 texts from Majegal (7) shows a form identical to Buddruss' Preterite-II occuring in the opening sentence of a fairy tale, a typical inferential/indirective context.[21] This is directly comparable to (4) above. It contrasts with the unmarked preterite of 'be', as seen in (8), when the wazir accuses the king's wife of adultery, presenting this as old, established information.

(7) *a bə́dšə́ sə́gə-**sei*** *sə* *du* *istrírē-[s] sə́gə-**sən***
one king was(PRT.II)-**is** those two wives-his were(PRT.II)-**are**
'There was a king; he had two wives.' (Morgenstierne 1929: 232)[22]

(8) *tōa deštṓk istrí-k badkā́rī **sə́gī***
thy elder wife-PS.2S evil.doer was(F.SG)
'Thy elder wife was an evil-doer.' (Morgenstierne 1929: 234)

Thus, in the Ashkun of Village Wama, mirativity is one of the meanings encoded by what appears to be a generalized indirective/inferential form.

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[21] Morgenstierne gives the following paradigms for the present and past tenses of 'be' (1929: 212, 213). The unmarked forms are probably from Wama, and the forms marked "M" are from an informant from Majegal.

	'be' – Present		'be' - Past	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1.	*sem, (a)səm* (M)	*semiš, səmiš* (M)	*sə́gōm*	-
2.	*ses, (a)səs* (M)	*seg* (*sek*)	*sə́gōs*	*sə́gōk*
3.	*sēi, (a)sēi* (M)	*sen, sən* (M)	*səgə, sə́gɛ* (M)	*səgən* (M, F)
			səgī (F)	

Strand (2008) has the following present tense forms for Saňu Vi:ri (Wama). In Strand's phonemic transcription /a/ = high central vowel = Morgenstierne's and Buddruss' <ə>.

	Sg.	Pl..
1.	*sá-m*	*sámiš*
2.	*sás*	*sák*
3.	*séi*	*sán*

[22] These examples maintain Morgenstierne's transcription.

3.1.1.3 Waigali (Kalaṣa-alâ)

Waigali (self-designation *kalaṣa-alâ*) has a clear reportative enclitic particle, *-le*, first described by Buddruss (1987: 33, 37) as a particle used when a speaker reports what he has not observed himself but knows by hearsay. Subsequently, Degener (1998: 173-182), describing the dialect of village Nishey, enumerates the tense forms with which *le* is attested and discusses its functions in several text types. She compares its semantics with Turkish *miş* and with the OIA perfect. Degener's description of *-le* points to the possibility of its functioning also as a mirative particle (1998: 181), but identifies no clear examples of this meaning: "Es ist möglich daß in der Konversation die Partikel *-le* auch Inferential-Funktion hat (als Ausdruck der Überraschung, der unerwarteten Erkenntnis, der Freude, des Ärgers usw., (vgl. Bashir 1988). Da bislang kein entsprechendes Material zur Verfügung steht, läßt sich dies nur durch weitere Feldforschung mit muttersprachlichen Informanten klären."[23]

Strand (1999b), in his review of Degener (1998), discussing the preterital forms of 'be' given in Degener (1998: 72), thinks that these are not simple preterites, but "rather a marker of what I [Strand] have called 'Realizational Mode' for neighboring Kamviri. It indicates a past change that the speaker formerly was unaware of, but at present realizes to be true. It appears most frequently with the reportative particle *-le*. English phrases like 'I realize/see/hear that...' and 'It turns out that...' indicate a similar mode. My [Strand's] data lack examples of this form as an auxiliary, but it appears to form Degener's 'Imperfekt II' and 'Plusquamperfekt II' (Strand 1999b: 243)". If Strand is correct, then the Waigali system is similar to the Ashkun system in having two sets of preterital forms, I and II, of which the II forms convey indirective meanings, and also mirativity. Thus Waigali appears to have at least two means of indicating inferential/ indirective meaning--the particle *le* and the Imperfect II and Pluperfect II--both of which are likely to have mirative extensions.

3.1.1.4 Prasun (Vâsí vari)

Prasun (self-designation *Vâsí vari*) also displays a morphological difference between mirative and non-mirative utterances. According to G. Buddruss (p.c. February 2010), in clearly mirative contexts, a bare participial verb form, without person and number marking, is found.[24] Buddruss has supplied the following pairs of examples to illustrate this point. Sentences (9-a) and (9-b), whose verbs have second-person singular person-number marking, show normal non-mirative utterances.

(9-a) *ā-má-sċ*
come-PRS.PPL-2SG
'You are coming.' (Buddruss, p.c. 2010)

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[23] Translation: "It is possible that in conversation the particle *-le* also has inferential function (as an expression of surprise, unexpected knowledge, joy, anger, etc. [see Bashir 1988]). As yet there is no relevant material available, This can be clarified only by further field research with native informants."

[24] The correlation of lack of person-number marking on a perfect/past participle with mirative semantics in the context of Balkan languages is discussed in Friedman (2001).

(9-b) *aċ-óg-əsċ*
      come-PST.PPL-2SG
      'You have come.' (Buddruss, p.c. 2010)

In contrast, the verb forms in (10-a) and (10-b), which show clear cases of mirativity from an actual text collected by G. Buddruss, are bare participles without person-number-gender (PNG) marking. The context for the sentences in (10-a) and (10-b) is that a man has invited a friend to visit, but has doubts about whether his friend will be able to come to see him, since the friend has many enemies who lie in ambush wanting to kill him. But the friend succeeds in coming to visit despite these difficulties and dangers. The surprised host utters the sentences shown in (10-a) and (10-b).

(10-a) *psē* *tü-nċor-í*   *ā-má*
       how into-enter.a.hole-CP   come-PRS.PPL
       'How do you come having crept into a hole?!' (i.e. becoming invisible to your enemies) (registering amazement)

(10-b) *téna*   *tü-nċor-í*   *aċ-óg*
       from.where   into-enter.a.hole-CP   come-PST.PPL
       'From where have you come?!' (which is unbelievable, like a miracle)

Buddruss further notes that this absence of a tensed auxiliary (carrying PNG marking) occurs mostly with second-person singular subjects. This is consistent with such utterances representing new knowledge to a speaker, who is usually not privy to the SOURCE of another person's actions or his mental states, and is thus usually able only to observe resultant states.[25] The participial forms in these examples refer to the observed resultant state of an event vector.[26]
    As we will see in sections 4.1, 4.4 and 4.5, it is the absence of PNG marking which I think encodes mirative semantics in some Eastern Shina dialects.

3.1.2 Dardic languages

3.1.2.1 Kalasha

    Kalasha is spoken in the Chitral valley in northwest Pakistan by approximately three or four thousand people. In Kalasha, there is obligatory morphological distinction in the past tenses between utterances reporting first-hand, direct knowledge (DIRECT forms) and those reporting second-hand, hearsay, inferred, or newly-acquired knowledge (INFERENTIAL forms). Additionally, in non-past tenses, the distinction between old, established knowledge and new knowledge, i.e.

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[25] On the affinity between mirativity and statements with second-person subjects, see also DeLancey (1997: 40), in which, discussing the Athabaskan language Hare, he says: "The mirative force of *lõ* seems to give it a particular affinity for second person statements, since a statement about the addressee is generally conversationally relevant only if it is new knowledge to the speaker. In that case, of course, it is the speaker's discovery of the fact, rather than the fact itself which is actually being communicated."

[26] For discussion of the concept of event vector in the context of evidentiality, see DeLancey (1981, 1985) and Bashir (1993), for example.

mirative senses, is effected by the use of *húla*, the inferential past tense of *bik* 'to become'. This is illustrated in examples (11) and (12). Sentence (11) is a simple, unmarked statement reporting a fact; (12), on the other hand, reports the speaker's dismay at discovering that s/he has made a mistake.

(11)   *a krom kai-áam*
       I work do(PRS.PRF.A)-1SG
       'I did/have done the work.'

(12)   *a galatí   kai-áam   **húla***
       I mistake   do(PRS.PRF.A)-1SG   become(PST.I).3SG
       '(I just realized that) I have made a mistake.' (Bashir 1988: 44)

3.1.2.2 Khowar

In Khowar, as in Kalasha, the distinction between the reporting of directly experienced events/ states and those which represent second-hand, hearsay, or newly-acquired information is obligatory in the past tenses. And in Khowar too, mirative meanings can be expressed for non-past (14-b) and past (14-c) tenses by the use of the inferential past tense of *bik* 'to become', *bir-* + person-number marking. This is illustrated in the contrast between examples (13-a) and (13-b), and between (14-a) and (14-b) and (14-c). (13-b) (=1) was addressed to this author, a non native-speaker researcher, by a Khowar speaker who is surprised to learn that she can speak Khowar. (14-b) and (14-c) illustrate inferential present/future and past tense forms, respectively.

(13-a) *awá   khowár   kor-ák*
        I   Khowar   do-AG.N
        'I speak Khowar.' (lit. 'I am a Khowar speaker.' spoken by a native speaker)

(13-b) *tu   khowár   kor-ák   **bir-áu**[27]*
        you   Khowar   do-AG.N   become(PST.I)-2SG
        '(Oh, I see that) you speak Khowar.' (registering surprise)

(14-a) *hasé   pešáur-o-te   no   bír-an*
        s/he   Peshawar-OBL-DAT   not   go(PRS/FUT.3SG)-SPEC
        'S/he is not going to Peshawar.' (known directly through first-hand information)

(14-b) *hasé   pešáur-o-te   no   boγ-ák   **bir-ái***
        s/he   Peshawar-OBL-DAT   not   go-AG.N   become(PST.I)-3SG
        'S/he is not going to Peshawar.' (new information from any source, e.g. report)

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[27] The Khowar infinitive for 'to go' is *bik*, as is that for 'to become' and 'to be able'. But the conjugated forms of 'go', 'become' and 'be able' diverge. Khowar *bik* 'to go' < *vi* + √ i (T12223), while *bik* 'become' < *bhū* (T9416)'.

(14-c) *hasé   paloγ-o   žurdu   **bir-ái***
     s/he(DIR) apple-OBL   eat(PST.PPL)   become(PST.I)-3SG
     '(I have just learned that) s/he ate the apple.' (mirative)

The Khowar inferential forms can express other indirective meanings like hearsay (14-b), or narration in traditional tales, as well as newly learned information (14-b) or clear mirativity (13-b) and (14-c).

3.1.2.3 Dameli

     Dameli is a Dardic language which shows strong influences from a Nuristani language formerly spoken in the region (Strand 1998b-2002; Cacopardo and Cacopardo 2001: 145). [28] It is spoken by perhaps 6,000 people in the Damel valley of southernmost Chitral. Dameli morphologically marks the evidential distinction between witnessed (15-a) and unwitnessed (15-b) events. Based on the information available so far, Dameli appears to have a two-term (Aikhenvald's Type A) system. It also marks the lack of speaker committment, an epistemic rather than evidential distinction (15-c). Whether or not mirativity is also morphologically indicated is not yet established, but given the fact that mirative meaning emerges from indirective/inferential marking in the neighboring languages Kalasha and Khowar, and that the Nuristani languages also mark mirativity similarly, it seems possible that the non-witnessed form may also be used for mirative meanings.

(15-a) *tanii   yee   kram   doos   kur-ee*
     3SG.ANIM.DIST.ERG   ART.3SG.INAN   work   yesterday   do-PROX.PST.3SG
     'He did this work yesterday (witnessed by speaker). (Perder 2008)

(15-b) *tanii   yee   kram   doos   kur-thee*
     3SG.ANIM.DIST.ERG   ART.3SG.INAN   work   yesterday   do-DIST.PST.3SG
     'He did this work yesterday (not witnessed by speaker). (Perder 2008)

(15-c) *tanii   yee   kram   doos   kur-thio*
     3SG.ANIM.DIST.ERG   ART.3SG.INAN   work   yesterday   do-DUB.PST.3SG
     'He is supposed to have done this work yesterday (the speaker does not commit to the truth of this). (Perder 2008)

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[28] Strand (1998b-2002) thinks that this Nuristani language was probably an earlier form of Kalaṣa-alâ (Waigali). About Dameli itself, he says (Strand 2001a) "...the laryngeal processes of this language, including aspiration, tones, and basic laryngeal posture, are characteristically Indo-Âryan, not Nuristâni. It is undoubtedly Indo-Âryan in origin, with a layer of Nuristâni vocabulary." Further: "The bygone intrusion of immigrant Väi communities into southernmost Chitrâl may explain in part the significant stratum of early Nuristâni loanwords (e.g., *ćuna* 'dog', current KalaSa-alâ *ćũ*) in the Indo-Aryan language currently spoken in *dằman* (Khowar *daméL*) in southern Chitrâl" (Strand 1998b-2002).

3.1.3 Yasin Burushaski

Yasin Burushaski, spoken in an small area within the larger Khowar-speaking region, has a unique past tense form, in which *-aast-* (Berger [1974] *-asċ/ast-;* Tiffou and Pesot [1989] *-ãsc*)[29] is infixed between the verb stem and the personal endings. This form is not found in Hunza Burushaski, and appears to be an influence from Khowar, given its phonological and semantic similarity with the Khowar inferential past forms of *as-* 'be(ANIM)', e.g. *astaái* 's/he turned out to be'.[30] In Yasin Burushaski, this form imparts inferential/ indirective and mirative meanings, and appears frequently in verbs in the introductory sentences of traditional tales, for example (16-a). From (16-b), we see that in Yasin Burushaski it has extended to specifically mirative meanings, as have the inferential forms in Khowar. In (16-b), the king, having just tasted some soup which he had previously rejected, announces his surprise at its tastiness.[31]

(16-a) *cor cor*   *hen*   *badšá-en*   *b-ãsc-imi*
       long.ago   one   king-SG.INDF   be-*ãsc*-3SG.PST
       'Long long ago there was a certain king.' (Tiffou and Pesot 1989: 107)

(16-b) *siia,*   *baadšaa*   *seni*   *ka*   *"uule*   *šorba*   *axer*   *buṭ*   *nyʌm,*   *buṭ*   *mʌza*
       saying   king   said   that   well(?)   soup   after.all   very   sweet   very   tasty
       mʌne-aast-imi"
       remain-*aast*-PST.3SG
       'On his saying this, the king said, "Well, the soup was very sweet and very tasty after all."' (Lorimer 1962: 294[16]) (mirative)

3.1.4 Iranian languages

3.1.4.1 Wakhi

In Wakhi, an Eastern Iranian language spoken in northernmost Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan, mirative and other indirective meanings can develop from the perfect. For example, a normal equational sentence without a copula in the present (17-a) might be uttered to warn someone against eating the fruit from a certain tree, which is previously known to bear sour fruit. Sentence (17-b) with *tuétk*, the perfect of 'be', on the other hand, would report newly-acquired knowledge about a specific fruit learned after tasting it.[32] The meaning in (17-b) is clearly mirative,

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[29] Berger's <ċ> and Tiffou and Pesot's <c> both indicate the voiceless dental affricate.

[30] Example (a) shows a natural Khowar sentence with a past inferential form of 'be' in a clearly mirative meaning.

(a)   *awá*   *oreéi asít-am*
    I   sleep(PST.PERF.DIR-1SG)
    angáh   *hótam*   *ki*   *xúur*   *kos*   *dúr-a*   **asteét-am**
    awake   become(PST.DIR)-1SG   when   other   someone(OBL)   house-LOC   **be(PST.I)-1SG**
    'I was asleep (lit. 'had fallen asleep'). When I awoke (I realized that) I was in someone else's house.'
    (Bashir 2006b; example from Maula Nigah, village Zondrangram)

[31] See also Berger 1974:40-41, and Tiffou and Pesot 1989 for more examples in texts.

[32] In Wakhi, the copula *tei* 'is/are' occurs when existence or identity is emphatically affirmed. Otherwise the copular function may be performed by the pronominal clitics if identity or a quality is stated, or not at all, if a quality or location is non-emphatically stated (Bashir 2009: 841-2).

rather than hearsay or inferential, since it reports a change in the speaker's knowledge state resulting from a direct, first-hand experience.

(17-a) *yem*   *cuán–i*   *trešp*
      this   apricot-PS.3SG sour
      'This apricot (tree) is sour.' (Bashir, field notes)

(17-b) *yem–i*   *trešp*   *cuan*   **tuétk**
      this-PS.3SG   sour   apricot   be(PRF)
      'This is a sour apricot.' (lit. 'This turns out to be a sour apricot.') (Bashir, field notes)

3.1.4.2 Tajik Persian

Tajik Persian expresses mirative meaning with perfect forms, which also function as non-witnessed past or present. Consider (18-a), which reports the sudden realization of the identity of a black thing, i.e. a mirative context. This contrasts with (18-b), which is an ordinary factual statement, as might be made in describing a picture or a biological specimen.

(18-a) *ammo bād fahmīd ki   īn   cīz–I   siyoh   zoγ   **būda-ast***
      but   then realized that   this   thing-EZ   black   crow   be(PRF).3SG
      'But then he realized that this black thing (as it turned out) was (i.e. 'is' [eb]) a crow.' (Perry 2005: 233)

(18-b) *īn   cīz–I   siyoh   zoγ   ast*
      this   thing-EZ black   crow   be(PRS).3SG
      'This black thing is a crow.' (Perry, p.c. 2010)

3.1.5 Nepali

In Nepali, the inferential perfect of *rahanu* 'to remain, continue' supplies a specifically mirative copula *rahecha* 'why, she/he/it is!', which also participates in a progressive tense and a marked perfect inferential. In present tense existential sentences like (19-a) or (19-b), *rahecha* functions as mirative copula. In these sentences, the speaker expresses his realization of a previously existing situation of which he was formerly unaware.

(19-a) *mero   kitāb timro koṭhā–mā   **rahecha***
      my   book your room-in   it.is(MIR)
      'Oh, I see that my book is in your room.' (Matthews 1990: 55)

(19-b) *āhā!   kasto   rāmro   pokharī   **rahecha***
      Ah!   what.sort.of beautiful   lake   it.is(MIR)
      'Ah! What a beautiful lake!' (Clark 1963: 244, cited in Mikhailovsky 1996: 111)

3.1.6 Urdu and Hindi

Moving south from Shina and its immediate neighbors, we find that in Hindi and Urdu mirative senses can emerge from the use of the bare perfective participle, without a tensed auxiliary.

Montaut (2001: 351), comparing the semantics of the present perfect (perfective *-(y)ā* participle + present tense of 'be') with that of the "aorist" (bare perfective participle) argues that actions or events represented with the aorist are disjunct from the speaker's present (moment of speech) because of the lack of a tensed auxiliary, which would anchor the reported event to the speaker's reference time. Thus mirativity, meanings which "are grasped through a sudden irruption in the consciousness", emerges for the simple perfective form. Montaut's examples contrast the meaning of surprise ("as when opening the door and seeing an old friend accompanied by his young son not seen for long") in the simple perfective, (20-a), with the response to it in (20-b), which is rooted in the respondent's (prior) connection to the event (Montaut 2004: 106). Absence of the auxiliary has the same effect in the present progressive, as in (21), uttered when a speaker, telephoning someone and expecting an answer, is surprised when no one picks up the telephone.

(20-a) *are!*   *kitnā*   *baṛā*   **ho gayā** !
         interj   how.much   big   become(PFV.PPL.M.SG)
         'Oh, he has grown so tall! / how tall he has grown!'

(20-b) *vah*   *kāfī*   *baṛā*   **ho gayā hai**
         he   quite   big   become(PRS.PRF.3SG.M)
         'He has grown quite tall.' (Montaut 2001: 352)

(21)   *koī*   *uṭhā*   *nahī̃*   **rahā**
         anyone   lift   NEG   PROG.PPL.M.SG
         'No one is picking up (the telephone).' (Bashir 2006)

The simple perfective of *honā* 'to be', referring to an unanticipated event or state of affairs, can produce a mirative effect, as in (22). Sentence (22) involves a question, which can be interpreted either as an exclamation of surprise, or a request for information about a just-witnessed or unexpected event or state of affairs. Both of these senses involve mirativity in that the speaker's knowledge state has been affected by something unexpected or unknown.

(22)   *kyā*   **huā**
         what   become(PFV.PPL.M.SG)
         'What's the matter?' (lit. 'what happened?')

In Hindi and Urdu, the mirative sense thus emerges from the *absence* of a tensed auxiliary, rather than a variation of its form.[33]

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[33] The presentational use of the perfective participle of *rahnā* 'to remain' in sentences like *ye **rahā** āp kā kek* 'Here is your cake.' (http://www.urduweb.org/mehfil/showthread.php?t=21447&page=2) or *lījie āp ne mujhe jītne kā mauqa de diyā – šukriya. ye **rahī** merī pehlī posṭ* 'Here – you have given me the chance to win (over you) – thanks. Here is my first post.' '(http://www.urduvb.com/forum/showthread.php?t=3196&page=65) appears to be a case of a form used when the speaker presumes that the information or object offered will be new for the addressee, though not (necessarily) for the speaker.

3.2   Tibeto–Burman languages

3.2.1 Balti

Balti is a Western Tibetan language, spoken mainly in Baltistan immediately to the east of the eastern Shina region, with a smaller number of speakers in Ladakh. Many Shina speakers are bilingual in Balti, and a significant number of Balti loanwords are found in the eastern Shina dialects. Balti employs at least three mechanisms for marking mirativity: choice of copula, reportative and surprise particles, and two specifically mirative markers. The following examples were provided by Syed Abbas Kazmi during the course of the author's fieldwork in 1986 in Skardu.[34] In example (23), various forms of the copula are employed with different epistemic senses. In (23-a), the copula *dug-et* refers to a general habitual state of affairs. In (23-b), the copular form *in* reports old, established knowledge about a definite entity; while in (23-c), the existential copula *yod*, which is used to report existence in a specific location, a quality of something, and states of affairs known by direct observation, gives a mirative sense.[35]

(23-a) *chulí   ŋarmo **dug-et***
apricot(s) sweet   are
'(Fresh) apricots are (usually) sweet.' (usual state of affairs, cf. Urdu *mīṭhe hote hāĩ*)

(23-b) *chulí–u   skyurmo   **in***
apricot-DEF sour   is
'The apricot (tree) is sour.' (known beforehand, as of a tree which always bears sour fruit)

(23-c) *di   chulí–u   skyurmo   **yod***
this   apricot-DEF sour   is
'This apricot is sour.' (learned after tasting an apricot fruit)

Importantly, in Balti, the mirative meaning is not expressed by by the same form as hearsay or other reported information. In (24-b) the reportative particle *lo*, with hearsay meaning, appears; and in (24-c) both the reportative particle *lo* and *le* with specifically surprise meaning, are employed. (24-c), with mirative meaning, combines both these strategies.

(24-a) *salyím-e   áta–si   di   naŋ–po bčhos*
Salim-GEN   father-AG this house   built
'Salim's father built this house.' (event witnessed by speaker)

(24-b) *salyím-e   áta–si   di   naŋ–po bčhos   **lo***
Salim-GEN   father-AG this house   built   REP

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[34] The author's field work on Shina and Balti referred to in this paper took place in 1986 and 1987, together with Peter Hook, as part of an interdisciplinary project on popular culture in Pakistan organized by Wilma Heston and William Hanaway and funded by the Smithsonian Institution.

[35] Examples (23-b) and (23-c) should be compared with the Wakhi examples (17-a) and (17-b) above.

'(They say that) Salim's father built this house.' (hearsay, fresh news, lack of speaker committment)

(24-c) *salyím-e   áta-si   di   naŋ-po   bčhos   **lo**   **le***
        Salim-GEN   father-AG   this   house   built   REP   SURP
        'Salim's father built this house.' (surprise at reported information)

In (25), an example intentionally constructed to involve a present-tense observation likely to produce surprise, the auxiliary *yod*, indicating directly-observed new knowledge is combined with the surprise particle *le*. According to Read (1934: 68) *le* can also be used as a sentence-initial interjection to convey surprise.

(25) *gilít   bazaar   iŋ.nu   xlaŋ.pho.čho   čik   **yod**   le*[36]
      Gilgit   bazaar   inside   elephant   INDEF   is   SURP
      'There is an elephant in Gilgit bazar.' (surprise at seeing such a sight.)

In addition to choice of auxiliary and the reportative and surprise particles, there are two indirective/inferential particles: *suk* (past) and *aŋ* (present), which have been described by Jones (2009: 41ff). The past mirative particle *suk* has also been discussed by several other scholars. Lobsang (1995: 44) calls it an "inferential suffix", and although it is described somewhat differently than the Ladakhi mirative particle *tshuk* discussed in the next section, it is semantically similar (26). Lobsang says about *suk*: "By using it the speaker expresses that he was not fully informed of fact he communicates in the sentence" (Lobsang 1995: 44).

(26) *ahmat   natpa   **yot-suk**,   ŋa-la   ma   tshor*
      Ahmad   ill   be-**was**   me-to   NEG   aware
      'Ahmad was ill, but I was not aware of it.' (Lobsang 1995: 44)

Notice that in (26) Lobsang glosses *suk* as 'was', indicating that the state of affairs referred to existed in the past, but has recently come to the awareness of the speaker.[37] It seems to me that the second clause *ŋa-la ma tshor* '(but) I was not aware of it,' is an overt spelling out of the sense of *suk*, and that the sentence would carry this sense even without this explication. Jones (2009) has an extensive treatment of *suk*. She finds that it has three functions (2009: 49-50): (i) To indicate that the assertion is based solely on immediate perception with no knowledge of the cause. With a first- or second-person subject this yields a meaning of surprise or regret. (ii) To indicate events known by report or hearsay; and (iii) in historical and folk narratives to describe (typically introduce) background information or events known only by report. Jones' function (i) is the mirative. It appears then, that with Balti *suk*, mirative semantics develop from a more generalized indirective marker. Jones also mentions the use of *suk* in irrealis past conditionals. Read's 1934 discussion of *suk*

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[36] *xlaŋ pho čho*, glossed as 'elephant', means literally 'very great bull' (Abbas Kazmi). *čik* 'some, a' is an indefinite marker.

[37] This is like the sense of 'was and is' that Kalasha and Khowar mirative forms in the present tense convey, or as Strand's Kâmviri teacher said, "Later it becomes known".

mentions that it is used when the event is certain or has been seen by the speaker (1934: 42), and also discusses its associations with modal distance, giving examples of its use in counterfactual sentences (1934: 49). Zeisler (2004: 661-663) contains a valuable comparative discussion of the semantics of this particle in Ladakhi, Balti and Purik.

The present-tense mirative marker, a bound morpheme *aŋ*, with its morphophonemic variants, has two functions: (i) when information is immediately perceived or acquired, or (ii) in historical narratives, where the usage occurs with third person subjects only, and often relays information about the way things are. (Jones 2009: 52-55).[38] One of her examples of the mirative meaning from a text "Eran King" is shown here as (27). The context for this sentence is that the police discover the identity of the thief when they smell his perfume (realization based on direct sensory observation).

(27) *rkunma badši   kʰar   čaq-kʰan-po   kʰyaŋ   in-**maŋ***
      thief   king.GEN palace break-doer-DEF you(SG) be-MIR
      'Thief ! You are the person who broke into the king's palace.' (Jones 2009: 53)

3.2.2 Ladakhi

Ladakhi has a mirativity-marking particle *tshuk* (Koshal 1979: 217-225). The meanings indicated by this marker are precisely those discussed by DeLancey (1997), and seem to parallel those discussed for Balti *suk*. *tshuk* can be added to present, present continuous, past, past continuous, and past perfect forms (Koshal 1979: 217). For example, discussing the reportive past continuous + *tshuk*, Koshal (1979: 223) says, "With 1st person subjects, it expresses the speaker's surprise at finding out that he was doing something in past which he was not expected to do and it was a mistake for him to have done it," as in (28). In (29), with a second-person subject, the speaker expresses his surprise at learning something unexpected about the addressee.[39]

(28) *ŋə.žə   i-čhu   thung.ŋət.pin-**tshuk***
      we   this-water drank-MIR
      'We drank this water (without realizing it to be an error).' (Koshal 1979: 222)

(29) *khyo.rəŋ   žək.təŋ   bok-sñən   ltə-ə   čhə.ət.pin-**tshuk***
      you   daily   cinema-to   see-DAT   go-MIR
      'Oh! You used to go to see movies every day.' (Koshal 1979: 221)

4 Mirativity in Shina dialects

Until very recently, I had not found any published mention or indication of morphological marking of any aspect of evidentiality, indirectivity, or mirativity in Shina. However, on re-reading Peter Hook's Shina text in Gultari Shina (Hook 1996) after several years, I noticed several sentences which struck me forcefully as mirative expressions. These involve the bare past stem of *b-* 'become', *bil*, in sentences in which the speaker expresses surprise at a new realization. Such

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[38] Jones (2009) discusses the present-tense mirative particle *aŋ* extensively, apparently for the first time.

[39] In these two examples the morphological analysis has been greatly simplified and collapsed.

sentences contrast with forms consisting of *bil* + PNG marking. Thus the text in Hook's 1996 article was the initial stimulus for this investigation.

Given the widespread distribution of morphological marking of indirectivity and mirativity in languages both geographically adjacent to and genetically related to Shina, one would expect to find it in Shina as well. This paper is an attempt to explore the question of whether or not mirativity is morphologically encoded in Shina, using a hypothesis based on patterns observed in neighboring languages. The techniques employed will be (i) to investigate whether, in those dialects where there are two different forms of the past (or perfective) form of *b-* 'be, become', one or the other of them is preferentially associated with mirative contexts, and (ii) to search available materials for other expressions of mirativity.

The present paper considers data from the following locations, listed here in rough east to west order: Gultari, Dras, Gures, Satpara, Astor, Gilgit, Chilas, Kohistan (Palas, Kolai), Palula (Byori and Ashret), Sau (eastern Afghanistan) and Kalkot. The sources of data for the dialects vary, and are indicated for each sub-section or example. The questions I am exploring for each of these varieties are: (i) what forms of the past tense of *b-* 'become' are attested in this dialect, and (ii) if variant forms are found, can correlation with meaning differences be established? It should be stressed at the outset that textual materials for Shina dialects are sparse, and that this study is necessarily preliminary and can only be suggestive.

4.1   Gultari

The village of Gultari lies south of Skardu and southeast of the Deosai plains near the Kashmir ceasefire line. It is located in the eastern Shina-speaking region, in an area where Tibeto-Burman Balti is also spoken. Most of the villages near Gultari are Shina-speaking, but there are also a few Balti and Purik-speaking villages (Radloff 1992a: 109). According to Hook (1996: 129), there are reported to be about 4,000 native speakers of Gultari Shina.

Hook (1996) is a Gultari Shina version of the Kesar saga, including morphological analysis, translation, comparative discussion and grammatical analysis; it is the source of all the Gultari examples in this paper. Sentences from this text which I think are clear instances of mirative meaning conveyed by a distinct form are displayed in the following series of examples, with sentence numbers from Hook's text in parentheses after the glosses.[40]

(30)   *ani   mulaayi-k   bil*
        this   woman-INDF   become(PST)
        'This is a woman.' (reveals new and unanticipated information about identity of a woman in disguise) (#28)

The context for (30) is that the wife of Khretung, an uncle of Kesar's known for his cowardice, has been engaging in battle against the Hors disguised as a man, and killing many enemies. The Hor wazir realizes that the unknown warrior is a woman and reveals her true identity to his soldiers. Sentences (31) and (32) show the same type of situation, unmasking a disguised identity. Here, the

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[40] Examples from Hook (1996) retain Hook's original transcription and glosses. In these examples, vowel length is indicated by doubling of the vowel letter and nasalized vowels are represented by upper-case letters. Upper-case consonants represent retroflexes.

context is that the Hors have siezed a woman they believe to be Kesar's queen Gulisana. The wazir again recognizes the true identity of the disguised woman, who is really a servant woman.[41]

(31)   *walaa,   bewakuuf   baadshaa!   ani   roni   ne   **bil***
       God   foolish   king   this   queen   NEG   become(PST)
       'My God[42], you foolish king! This is not the queen.' (#39)

(32)   *ani   Chile   duyey-ek   bar   giney-ek   chum   khaS.they-ek   **bil***
       this   clothes   wash-AG.N   load   take-AG.N   trash   clean-AG.N   become(PST)
       'This is the one who washes clothes, carries things, cleans out trash.' (#40)

Yet another instance of discovering hidden identity occurs toward the end of the story, when Queen Gulisana observes the marvelous exploits of a stranger on a horse, and suspects that he is really Kesar (33).

(33)   *gulisana   roni-se   šak   thyei,   anu   i   kesar   **bil**   the*
       Gulisana   queen-ERG   doubt   made   this   EMPH   Kesar   become(PST)   QUOT
       'Queen Gulisana suspected that this was Kesar.' (#149)

Sentences (34) and (35) appear to be questions. They occur when Bubulastang, the brother of Kesar, who had been locked in a closed room all his life, is finally rescued. He is taken out of the room and allowed to see the world for the first time. Looking around, he marvels at each new and surprising thing he sees. I argue that rather than being true questions seeking to elicit specific information, these utterances should be understood as marvelling expressions of amazement, either overtly voiced or mentally uttered, addressed as much to the speaker himself as to anyone else.[43]

(34)   *daro   khazhoo-to   sury-ere   "jok   **bil**?"   thaw*
       out   emerged-then   sun-DAT   what   become(PST)   said
       'When he came out, he (looked) at the sun and said, "What's that?!" (#46)

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[41] The folklore motif of a female hero disguising herself as a man to perform heroic deeds or quests is common. A similar sentence from one of my unpublished Khowar texts is: *hes awrát **birái*** 'S/he is a woman!' employing the inferential past form of *bik* 'to become'. This speech occurs at the moment in the story when the identity of the disguised woman is being revealed.

[42] Regarding the gloss of *walaa* as 'God', see (81-c) below, in which, according to Amin Zia, the similar form *ala* means simply 'oh!' (indicating surprise). Radloff and Shakil (1998: 30) also have *ála* 'oh!'. Similar interjectory forms, *əla, əla ṛe,* and *əi əla*, are found in Sindhi. According to Wadhwani (1975: 58-9), they do not refer to *əlahU* 'God', but go back to an earlier Sanskrit form *allā* 'mother', evidence for which is found in commentaries on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī*, vii, 3.107. However, consider also T1373 with the root meaning 'speech' and entries for Domaaki, and Waigali among others, which seems another plausible source for this word. Derivation from T1373 could yield a meaning something like the exclamatory "You don't say!".

[43] Some support for this argument can be derived from the next sentence in the narrative, which says, "It took a year to teach him things." One might even say that in some sense in mirative expressions the speaker is, at least partially, talking to himself, and that speaker and addressee are to a certain extent the same person.

(35) *anis-ere*   *"jok **bil**?"*   *thaw; aas-ere*   *"jok*   *bil?"*   *thaw*
    this-DAT   what become(PST) said   that-DAT   what   become(PST)   said
    '(He looked) at this and said, "What's this!?" and at that and said, "What's that!?" (#47)[44]

With (34) and (35), contrast (44) below, in which *jok hAI* 'what is it?' is a genuine request for information which is presumed to be known by the addressee.

    The bare form *bil* is not marked for person, number or gender. This can be seen by comparing sentence (32), with a feminine subject, and (33), which has a masculine subject, in both of which *bil* appears. With (31) and (32), both of which have a feminine subject, contrast (36), in which *bili* 'she became', consisting of the past stem plus third-person feminine singular PNG marking, has the literal meaning 'became' (i.e. change of state, event).

(36) *roni*   *hun*   *bil-i*
    queen   up   become(PST)-3SG.F
    'The queen stood up.' (#162)

Similarly, contrast (33) above, which has a masculine subject, with (37), also with a masculine subject, in which *bil* + PNG expresses an eventive meaning.

(37) *axir*   *ašup*   *wazii*   *Diri*   *bil-o*
    at.last horse   descend(CP) fallen   become(PST)-3SG.M
    'At last the horse descended and fell (to the ground).' (#148)

    Since all the sentences in this text with *bil* newly establish or attempt to establish the identity of something, one must ask whether the bare past-stem form *bil* is found only in equational sentences. A sentence like (38) might seem at first to support such a hypothesis. In (38), the speaker asks about a new, surprising circumstance; however, the sentence refers to an event rather than establishing an identity, and it is a genuine request for information in contrast to (34) and (35). Also note that here the verb is present perfect, and that feminine gender, in agreement with *jok* 'what', is marked on the stem of *b-* by palatalization, spelled here as <y>. Compare (38) with (31) and (32) above, in which the bare past stem occurs.

(38) *tu-re*   *jok*   *bily-AI*
    you-DAT   what   become(PST.F.SG.)-be(PRS.3SG.F)
    'What has happened to you?' (Hook 1996: 176)

    In (39), *bil* is seen in a conditional sentence.

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[44] Hook's comment on (34) and (35) is as follows: "Here, and in line 39 the meaning of *bil* a past tense form of *as-/h-/b-* 'be; become' is present stative (1996: 143)." Hook compares this to an Urdu or Hindi locution which is perfective in form but has present stative meaning, *kitnā huā* 'how much it it?', an analysis reminiscent of Montaut's analysis of the simple perfective (her 'aorist') in Hindi (Montaut 2001) (see exx. 20-a, 21, 22 above).

(39) agar   nu-se   ašp-e   paNyo[45]   **bil**   to   inaam   d-em
     if   he-ERG   horse-ACC   mount   can   then   prize   give-FUT.1SG
     'If he can mount the horse then I'll give (him) the prize.' (#143)

In Gultari Shina, as well as in Gilgit Shina (Bailey 1924: 80), Kohistani Shina (Bailey 1924: 218) and other Dardic languages, e.g. Khowar[46], the verb stem *b(h)-* 'become' also develops the meaning 'be able to'. In Gultari, *b-* following a non-finite verb form ending in *-o* acquires this meaning (Hook 1996: 61). In Gilgit Shina and Khowar, *b-* following the infinitive means 'be able to'. In this sentence it is not clear whether the form *bil* means 'is able to' (ability < *b-* 'be able to') or 'turns out to mount' (lit. 'became a mounter') (mirative < *b-* 'become'). In either case, *bil* in this sentence is an instance of a simple past stem in a conditional sentence, analagous to the use of the simple perfective in conditionals in languages like Urdu or Hindi, or the inferential past in Khowar.[47] In this Shina sentence, there may or may not be a mirative sense in the conditional, as in, 'If he turns out to be able to mount the horse...'. As noted in section 3.1.10 above, the simple perfective often carries a mirative sense in Hindi and Urdu. Under either of these analyses, the bare past stem *bil* could occur because of the conditional clause. Also, under either of these analyses it could be considered to have a mirative-like meaning, since the realization of the outcome of a hypothetical conditional can be considered as potentially new knowledge for both speaker and addressee (Tables 1-a and 1-b, Case 3). Akatsuka (1985: 625) argues that conditionals and surprise (i.e. mirativity) both partake of irrealis meaning, which ranges from negative conviction ('I know that this is not the case.') through uncertainty ('I don't know if this is the case.') to surprise ('I didn't know this until this moment.'). Like conditionals, questions also partake of uncertainty.

    It is not the case that *all* equational sentences employ *bil* without PNG information. In (40), also an equational sentence, the verb form consists of the past stem *bil* plus the first-person singular masculine PNG marker. Importantly, (40) is a not a mirative utterance for the speaker; in it he states something which is clearly not new knowledge for him, i.e. his own identity. The context for this utterance is that Kesar, in disguise, has just succeeded in freeing his shepherds from captivity. Revealing his identity to them, he utters (40). Here, the information that the speaker is Kesar is

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[45] The precise analysis of the form *paNyo* is not clear; whether a second type of conjunctive participle (Hook 1996:133), or an "*o*-infinitive" (Hook 1996: 161).

[46] In Khowar, the infinitive *bik* serves for both 'be/become' and 'be able'. In the past tense, different conjugations have developed: *awa no bétam* 'I was not able (to)', *awa hótam* 'I became', *awa birétam* 'I became (mirative/inferential)'

[47] For example Urdu, *agar wo ā̲yā̲, to ham calẽge* 'If he *comes*, we will go', in which *ā̲yā̲* is the masculine singular perfective participle of *ānā* 'to come'. A similar situation occurs in Khowar, where *bir-,* the inferential past of *bik* 'to become' appears in conditionals, as in (a).

(a) "*te-ɣáar   ki   no   **girú**   **birát-am**,"   rétai   ki,
    there-from   if   NEG   COME(PST-I)   become(PST-I)-1SG   say(PST-A)-3SG   that

    *ki   **birdú**   **birát-am**,"   rétai   ki,   "ḥató-wat   sa   čit,"
    if   die(PST-I)   become(PST-I)-1SG   said   that   that-time   your   will

    "'If I don't come (back) from there," he said, "if I die, then do as you like.' (lit. 'your will') (folk tale narrated in village Bang by Zarkoti Khan)

clearly old information for the speaker, but equally clearly new information for the addressee. In the case of this example and similar sentences of the same type, (52) and (71) below, the situation is complicated by the question of whether or not the bare form *bil* is possible with non third-person subjects. This point will be addressed again later.

(40) *kesar-e   paayaalo-re   razhaw, "mo   kesar bil-os"*
      Kesar-GEN   shepherds-DAT said   I   Kesar become(PST)-1SG.M
      '(He. i.e. Kesar) said to Kesar's shepherds, "I am Kesar." (sentence #115)

It is possible to contrast present tense copular sentences constructed with present tense forms of *h-* 'be' *hAW* 'is (M.SG)' or *hAI* 'is (F.SG)',[48] with the mirative equational sentences above, (30) - (35), all formed with *b-* 'become'. Consider (41), (42), (43), (44) and (45). One can hypothesize that in a situation where the identity of Kesar is old information for both speaker and hearer, the expression might be, instead of that in (40), hypothetical ?*mo kesar hAWs*? 'I am Kesar,' following the pattern in (41), (42), (43) and (45), all of which report old knowledge about their respective subjects. Testing of such hypotheses requires further field work.

(41) *Zus-o puro Dim   pholatelo   hAW*
      his   entire body made.of.steel is(M.SG)
      'His whole body is made of steel.' (#55)

(42) *abaldumbu-se   razhaw Zu laao   buzdil   hAW*
      Abaldumbu-ERG   said   he very   cowardly   is(M.SG)
      'Abaldumbu said, "He is a coward".' (#101)

(43) *tato   kesar-se   šor   thaw, "ni   coriTi hAI*
      then   Kesar- ERG noise made   this thief   is(F.SG)

      ni-se   kesar-oli   eji-jo   urann kh-aali"
      this- ERG Kesar-at sheep-ABL lamb   eat-was
      'Then Kesar raised his voice, "This is the thief! She used to eat the lamb from the sheep belonging to Kesar."' (#163)

(44) *khretung gaa jamaat khazii   raje, "jumum   brumum   jok hAI to   razaa"*
      Khretung and wife   emerging said please (B?) please (B?)[49] what is(F.SG) TOP say
      'Khretung and (his) wife came out and said, "Please, please, tell us what you want" (lit. 'what is it?')'. (#30)

(45) *khretung gaa jamaat raje, "aZaa maal churen diš-ijaa   hAI"*
      Khretung and wife   said above stock keep   place-LOC is (F.SG)
      'Khretung and his wife said, "She's up in the barn.". (#32)

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[48] Hook (1996: 133) gives paradigms for the present tense forms of *h-*.

[49] The abbreviation "B" in Hook's text stands for Balti loan.

In (41) and (42) a quality of something, rather than equivalence between two entities, is being asserted. In both these cases, the quality in question is common knowledge in the world of the story. Compare (43), in which Kesar states that a woman is a thief--an assertion based on his prior knowledge (old information)--with the mirative sentences (30) - (35). Similarly, compare (44), containing the embedded question *jok hAI* 'what is it?' with (34) and (35) above, in which *jok bil* 'what is it?' appears. In (44), the addressee is presumed to know something, about which the speakers are asking him to tell from this position of prior knowledge; whereas in (34) and (35) above the verb form *bil* simply expresses the speaker's lack of knowledge. Example (45) shows yet another situation; it states the location of something already known, rather than assigning it a quality or stating an identity. The question now arises of which form would be used to state the newly discovered location of something, as for example, when finding a previously mislaid object, as in the Nepali example (19-a) above. Such an example would speak to the question of whether or not *bil* occurs only in equational sentences, or whether it can also occur in mirative existential sentences. Unfortunately, no sentences of this type occur in this text or in other published materials.

Table 1-a shows a speculative distribution pattern of for first-person forms encoding information which is either old or new, for the speaker and/or for the addressee. In Gultari Shina, only Case 1, in which the utterance is old knowledge for the speaker but new knowledge for the hearer is attested. Examples similar in type to Case 1 are (52) from Dras and (71) from Satpara. Sentences of this type almost seem intended to produce a marked mirative effect in the addressee. Case 2 is not attested in Gultari, but is found in Gilgit Shina (46). The difference between Case 1 and Case 2 is significant and suggests that speaker estimation of the addressee's knowledge state has a grammatical reflex in the Gilgit dialect of Shina. Cases 3 and 4 are speculative guesses. The absence of attested examples in cells 3 and 4 of Table 1-a, and by the non-attestation of the form *bil* for the first person in Grierson's and Bailey's paradigms for Drasi Shina (footnote 57 below) raises the question of whether the bare form *bil* can occur in Gultari Shina with other than third-person subjects.[50] This cannot be answered without much more data, particularly connected texts.

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[50] The only examples with an apparently first-person subject and the form *bil* are (62) from Tandal, with modal meaning, and (89) from Kalkoti, in which *bil* is so far the only past/perfective form of *b-* 'become' which is attested.

Case	Speaker	Addressee	Expressions
1	old knowledge	presumed new knowledge	*mo kesar **bil-os*** 'I am Kesar.'(which you didn't realize and I am just now revealing to you) also (52) and (71)
2	old knowledge	presumed old knowledge	*(?mo kesar hAWs?)* 'I am Kesar.' (which we both know very well, and of which we know the implications). Not attested in Gultari (Hook 1996). However an example of this type is found in Gilgit Shina; it is shown as (46).
3	new knowledge	presumed new knowledge	not attested. *(?mo kesar bil?)* 'I am Kesar.' (which I now remember, as on recovering from amnesia) uttered to persons who presumably do not know identity of the speaker
4	new knowledge	presumed old knowledge	not attested. *(?mo kesar bil?)* 'I am Kesar.' (which I now remember, as on recovering from amnesia) uttered to persons who presumably already know the identity of the speaker

Table 1-a. Speculative distribution of forms encoding old and new knowledge (first-person)

The case of old knowledge which is presumed shared by speaker and addressee (Case 2) occurs in example (46) from as yet unpublished transcripts of the radio program *baayak* 'the meeting place' in Gilgit Shina (Degener ms. 2010).[51] The context is that, in a debate with a younger person, the *trangpha* asserts his identity as *trangpha*, a tribal headman whose traditional position is well known to both interlocutors, in order to reinforce his addressee's awareness of his status and his own desire to be addressed with proper respect.[52]

(46)　*má-saa~ty beéṭ-o　　　to,　míṣṭu-k　beé　asíl auláad-ak-ei,　ẓáak-ei　širií*
　　　me-with　sit(PST.PPL-M.SG)when good-INDF　be(CP)　real　child-INDF-GEN　brother-GEN like
　　　*bey-ií mor　the!　aaxír　**ma traŋphá　han-ús.***
　　　sit-CP　word　do(IMP)　after.all　**I　trangpha　be(PRES)-1SG.M**
　　　'When you are with me, sit down properly and talk like a well-behaved child or a brother! After all **I am the trangpha...**"

Notice that the form of 'be' in this utterance is an *h-* form, as hypothesized in row 2 of Table 1-a. The fact that this example is from the Gilgit dialect, rather than from Gultari, makes it less than ideal in supporting this line of argument, but unfortunately examples of the required types from Gultari are not (yet) available to me. Nevertheless, the fact that an *h-* form does appear here is suggestive.

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[51] Degener (ms. 2010) is an analysis of some of the dialogs from this radio program, seven of which were collected and transcribed by Georg Buddruss. Muhammad Amin Zia is the author of these scripts, which were broadcast starting from 1984 on Radio Gilgit in a weekly program of Shina one-act plays or radio features.

[52] Functions of the *trangpha* include(d) determinations in divorce cases, assigning men to work on community projects, organizing collection of funds for community projects, and representing the tribe at meetings (Willson 1999: 70, 231).

Table 1-b is a similar exercise for third-person subjects. Comparing rows 1 in Table 1-a and Table 1-b, which display the case when the utterance is old knowledge for the speaker but presumed to be new knowledge for the hearer, seems to indicate that the distribution of these forms and communicative function associations is different for first and third persons. No second-person forms of *b-* 'be(come)' occur in the Gultari text; however, (52) below, from Drasi Shina, suggests that second-person subjects require PNG marking.

Case	Speaker	Addressee	Expressions
1	old knowledge	presumed new knowledge	*khretung gaa jamaat raje,"aZaa maal churen diš–ijaa hAI*' 'Khretung and his wife said, "She is up in the barn."' (45)
2	old knowledge	presumed old knowledge	*abaldumbu–se razhaw Zu laao buzdil hAW* 'Abaldumbu said, "He is very cowardly."' (42)
3	new knowledge	presumed new knowledge	*ani mulaayi–k bil* 'This is a woman.' [assertion] (30) *jok bil?* 'What is this!?' [apparent question] (34) (35)
4	new knowledge	presumed old knowledge	*jok hAI?* 'What is this?' [actual question] (44)

Table 1-b. Distribution of forms encoding old and new knowledge (third-person)

Row 1 of Table 1-b shows the situation in which the utterance represents old knowledge for the speaker and presumed new knowledge for the addressee. Row 2 shows the situation in which both speaker and addressee share old knowledge. In row 3, however, the utterance represents new knowledge for the speaker and presumably also the addressee, who, as in (34) and (35), may be identical with the speaker.[53] Case 4, if it involves a genuine question, involves a presumption of old knowledge on the part of the addressee, and new knowledge for the speaker in that if it the question is answered, the answer will provide new knowledge for the speaker, who will have reversed his role and become the addressee.[54] In rows 1, 2, and 4 a present tense form of *h-* 'be' appears, while in row 3 the bare past participle of *b-* 'become' appears.

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[53] Littell, Matthewson, and Peterson (2010: 89), discussing three Amerindian languages, find that "in many languages with evidentials, the insertion of a conjectural/inferential evidential into a question creates a non-interrogative utterance, roughly translatable using 'I wonder'." In these "conjectural questions", neither the speaker nor the addressee is presumed to know the answer to the question, giving them a "reduced interrogative force" (2010: 92). This seems to offer cross-linguistic support for the meaning proposed here for the questions (34) and (35) in Case 3 of Table 1-b.

Also, with regard to the appearance of mirative forms in questions, note that in Khowar *bir–*, the inferential past stem of *bik* 'to become', which figures in other mirative contexts, can also occur in utterances cast as questions, as in (a).

(a) *gadéri   bir–áu–aá,   tu*
    crazy   become(PST-I)-2SG-Q   you
    'Are you crazy?!' (folk tale narrated in village Bang by Zarkoti Khan)

Here, as with the Gultari examples above (34) and (35), the speaker may not be actually seeking information from the addressee but simply expressing his amazement; hence the mirative form. Note that examples (48) and (52) below also contain questions with *bil* (3rd person) and *bil* + PNG (2nd person), respectively .

[54] Bickel (2008: 3-4) contrasts mirative systems of the type found in Turkish with those found in Tibetan. He finds that "in Turkish the person whose knowledge is at issue is always the speaker", whereas "in Tibetan [...] it is the category 'informant', i.e. the speaker in statements and the addressee in questions. [...] As a result, the two languages

The fact that different verbs or forms occur for what is superficially the same meaning 'is' depending on whether the knowledge states of the speaker and addressee are shared or not shared is consistent with the findings for Korean in Lee (1991) and Choi (1995). That is, in addition to encoding information about the speaker's knowledge state, it appears that some forms functioning in the evidential/mirative system may also indicate information about the speaker's beliefs about the addressee's epistemic state.[55] Choi (1995) discusses the function of sentence-ending (SE) modal particles in Korean in detail, saying (1995:174): "...the meanings of many suffixes incorporate the speaker's assumption about how much the listener knows. That is, the speaker's choice of a specific SE suffix reflects his or her assumption about the status of the listener's knowledge about the proposition..." Even more directly relevant for this study of Shina are the findings in Hyslop (2010) about the Tibeto-Burman language Kurtöp, in which two of the perfective suffixes, *–shang* and *–pala,* are marked for the speaker's estimation of the addressee's knowledge state. The suffix *–shang* is used with a statement made on the basis of direct evidence and for which there is no expectation that another speech-act participant would have direct evidence for it. The suffix *–pala*, on the other hand, encodes the expectation that someone else also has direct knowledge of the event. Since the present definition of mirativity for Turkish-type systems pertains only to the change in knowledge state of the speaker, perhaps some new terms, specifically reflecting the distinctions discussed by Choi for Korean and Hyslop for Kurtöp need to be introduced. It may be that data like those in this paper offer evidence for the grammatical expression of such distinctions in Gultari Shina. This may be an area where Balti (T-B) influence on Gultari Shina could be identified.

I suggest that one can conclude from these facts that in Gultari Shina the bare past stem form *bil* is used in stative, mirative contexts (with third-person subjects), whereas *bil* + PNG marker forms report either events, or non- or only partially-mirative statements (with non-third person subjects). In general, it appears that the bare past stem *bil* occurs only when the utterance represents new knowledge for the speaker and/or addressee (with third-person subjects). Counting the forms of both types that occur in this text, we find the following distribution (Table 2).

Form	Event/change of state	Stative [+/- mirative]
bil	0 (eventive) 1 (conditional; mirative?) (39)	7 (mirative)
bil + PNG	12	1 (new knowledge for addressee; old knowledge for speaker) (first-person) (40)

Table 2. Distribution of *bil* and *bil* + PNG forms in Gultari Shina (Hook 1996)

The one occurrence of *bil* + PNG in a mirative sense is (40) above, in which Kesar proclaims his own identity, as new information for his hearers. If, however, *bil* occurs only with third-person

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use mirative forms in very similar ways in statements but in very different ways in questions." The fact that rows 1 (old knowledge for speaker) and 4 (old knowledge for addressee) in Table 1-b are treated alike suggests that Gultari Shina may display the Tibetan system with regard to mirative forms in questions. Since many speakers of Gultari Shina also speak Balti, this would not be a surprising result.

[55] See also Nuyts (2001), which discusses this parameter as subjectivity.

subjects, then *bil* + PNG would be obligatory for the first-person subject of (40) and no conclusion could be ventured about the speaker's assumptions about the knowledge state of the addressee. Answering this question requires much more textual data. The one occurrence of the bare past stem *bil* reporting a (potential) state/event is in the protasis of the conditional sentence (39); see the discussion of this example above.

In Gultari Shina, the morphological difference exploited to mark mirativity in third-person subject equational sentences is the presence or absence of PNG marking on the past stem of *b-* 'become'. With first-person subjects, it appears that the difference between *h-* 'be' and *b-*'become' forms is exploited. We cannot claim that *bil* exclusively marks mirativity, but this is one of its functions. Many further questions remain to be investigated. For instance, in Gultari can bare *bil* occur in other than equational mirative sentences, for example, in complex predicates (conjunct verbs) consisting of N or ADJ + *b-*, as it can in Guresi (Section 4.3)? Is the use of *bil* regular in (any type of) conditional sentences? Is mirative semantics marked on other verbs, and if so, in which tenses, and how? To what extent and how are other evidential or indirective meanings expressed in Gultari Shina, and how much overlap is there between the morphological markers expressing them?

4.2 Dras

Dras is about 80 kilometers south of Skardu, on the Indian side of the Line of Control. According to Bailey (1924: 273) Drasi closely resembles Guresi and Kohistani. Some speakers of Drasi Shina also speak both Kashmiri and Tibeto-Burman Purik (Bailey 1924: ix). In Shaw (1878), as well as in the *LSI* paradigm, which follows Shaw closely, both *bilo* and *bil* are given for the third-person singular past tense of 'become'. Bailey, however, gives only the form *bil*, for the third person, both masculine and feminine, singular and plural for the past tense of *bōnụ* 'to be, become'. Grierson (1919) shows both *bil* and *bilo* for the third person singular, masculine.[56] Relevant to the

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[56] Shaw (1878: 50) gives the following paradigm for the perfect tense of *bono* 'to become', and provides glosses indicating the perfect meaning, e.g. 'I have become', i.e. 'I am'. It is significant that Shaw considers this tense form a (present) perfect, while Grierson and Bailey call it a past. The question of whether this participle is basically a perfective, or a past participle deserves much thought. Liljigren (2009: 29), for example, considers that in Palula it is primarily a perfective, and that Palula is an aspect-based rather than a tense-based language. Schmidt and Kohistani (2008: 204) vacillate between calling the L-participle a "past" or a "perfective" form for Kohistani Shina.

	SG		PL	
	M	F	M	F
1.	*bilos*	*bilies*	*biles*	*bilies*
2.	*bilo*	*bilieš*	*billet*	*bilieti*
3.	*bilo, bil*	*bili*	*bilen*	*bilyen*

Grierson's (1919: 195) paradigm for the past tense of *bōnō/bēōnō* 'to be, become' is as follows.

	SG		PL	
	M	F	M	F
1.	*bilōs*	*biliis (bilīs)*	*biles*	*bilies*
2.	*bilō*	*biliē, bilī*	*bilet*	*biliet*
3.	*bilō, bil*	*biliē, bilī*	*bilen, bilē*	*bilien, biliē, bilī*

question of this paper, Grierson's texts afford two examples of the simple form *bil*, both glossed with present time (stative) meaning. They are shown here as (47) and (48).

(47) *žōg   mōī   hã̃-k   thēī   bil*
      what   mine   are-NMLZ   yours   become(PST)
      'What is mine is yours.' (Grierson 1919: 196)

(48) *kačā   barš   bil*
      how.many   years   become(PST)
      'How many years are there?' (i.e. How old is [this horse]?) (Grierson 1919: 196)[57]

(47) and (48) contrast with (49) and (50) immediately below, in which *bil-o* 'become(PST)' + PNG marker indicates an event or change of state.

(49) *mudā   bil-ō*
      needy   become(PST)-M.SG
      'He became needy.' (Grierson 1919: 196)

(50) *hun   bō-ī   ras   bil-ō*
      erect   become-CP   set.out   become(PST).3SG.M
      'He stood up and started.' (Grierson 1919: 196)

In (51), we have a Drasi sentence which is formally parallel to (40) above, from Gultari. I have retained Grierson's gloss for (51); however, it seems that the sense could be 'I am a sinner'. If this is the case, as would seem likely from Shaw's analysis, then this Drasi example would be parallel both in form and in meaning to Gultari (40). It occurs at the point in the narrative when the prodigal son on returning home meets his father for the first time and announces that he has sinned. We can probably say that he is treating this as new knowledge for his father.

(51) *bil-os   gunāhgār*
      become(PST)-1SG.M   sinner
      'I became a sinner.' (Grierson 1919: 204) (possibly 'I am a sinner.')

Bailey (1924: 280) gives the past tense paradigm of *bōnụ* 'to be, become', as follows.

	SG		PL	
	M	F	M	F
1.	*bilos*	*bilās*	*biles*	*biles*
2.	*bilo*	*bilā*	*bilet*	*bilet*
3.	*bil*	*bil*	*bil*	*bil*

[57] Bailey (1924: 282) gives this sentence for Drasi as *ani ã̃špi-ṛe kăčā bariẓi bil*, in which the form *bil* is the same as that found in the *LSI* example. Bailey has no example of a past tense of *bōnụ* 'to be, become' with change of state meaning for comparison. Unfortunately, I do not have any more recent materials for Dras. Bailey's Gilgit Shina version of this sentence is *ănŭ ăšp-ăi kačāk ŭmr hăni* (1924: 109).

Shaw (1878) contains an example of this same type, shown as (52), in which the speaker, who has come to visit his old friend is not recognized by him. When the speaker is asked by his friend who he is, he reveals his identity. The question included in this utterance, *tu koi bilo* 'who are you?' is a genuine question, posed to elicit information from the addressee. Note that with this second-person utterance, both a question about identity and the report of an event (change of state) take the *bil* + PNG form.

(52)   *tu   koi   **bil–o?**   ki   àl–o?*
           you who become(PRF)-2SG.M why come(PRF)-2SG.M
           'Who are you? Why have you come?'

           *so   dòst   šarmanda **bil–o**   ràjàu*
           his   friend ashamed become(PRF)-3SG.M say(PRF).3SG.M
           'His friend became embarassed and said"

           *tu–sa   moñ suẓân   thé   nuš dà? moñ to   purono dòst **bil–òs***
           you-ERG me   recognition do(CP) is.not Q I   your old   friend become(PRF)-1SG.M
           'Don't you recognize me? 'I am your old friend.' (Shaw 1878: 56-57)

4.3   Gures

4.3.1 LSI (Grierson 1919)

For Guresi, the *LSI* (Grierson 1919)[58] gives both the bare form *bil* and *bil* + PNG marking for the third person. Sentences (53) and (54) contain examples of the N/ADJ + V type of complex predicate usually referred to as "conjunct verb". In (53), it is not clear to me what the force of *bil* is when it is used as the finite part of these conjunct verbs. Does it indicate an unwitnessed event in the past, or is the force mirative? That is, is the more approriate gloss for *ẓunu bil* 'he became alive' or 'he is alive (mirative)'? In (53), *liṗ bil asul* appears to be a past perfect formation.

(53)   *mū asūl   ẓunu **bil**   liṗ **bil**   asul, bara hāt āl–u*
           dead be(PST) alive become(PST)   lost become(PST) be(PST) again hand come(PST)-3SG.M
           '(your brother) was dead, he is/became alive; he had become lost (but) has again come to us (lit. 'to hand')' (Grierson 1919: 185)

(54) and (55) contain forms consisting of *bil* + PNG endings, and report change-of-state events which advance the narrative.

(54)   *ẓu mulk–až   baṛ   drāg   **hun.bil–u***
           that country-in great famine arose(PST)-3SG.M
           'In that country a great famine occurred.' (Grierson 1919: 184) ['arose' (eb)][59]

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[58] Grierson's 1919 *LSI* account is based on Wilson (1899).

[59] Grierson's original gloss for *hun.bil-u* is 'happened'.

(55) *že   xuš   bil–ⁱ* [60]
      they   happy become(PST)-3PL.M
      'They became happy.' (Grierson 1919: 185)

Examples (56) and (57) show the use of *bil* in subjunctive or irrealis contexts. In (56), *bil* following a third-person plural future form appears to convey a subjunctive (perhaps conditional) meaning, as in Gultari (39) above.

(56) *rāzin   bil*
      say(FUT.3PL)   become(PST)
      'They may/will say.' (Grierson 1919: 185) (perhaps 'They will undoubtedly say')

4.3.2 Tileli (Schmidt 2000)

Example (57) shows a clearly irrealis conditional sentence from the Shina of the Tilel Valley, a variant of Guresi (Schmidt 2000). Given the three instances--(39), (56), and (57)--it seems that a second function of *bil* without PNG marking can be identified--to express various types of un-realized situations. This would not be a surprising result with a reduced-finiteness form like *bil*.

(57) *ágar   ẓé-seĩ   adaa   krom   thau   aas   bil*
      if   he(VIS)-AG   such   work   do(PST.3SG.M) be(FUT.3SG) became
      'If he had done such a thing...'
      ẓo   haɣdaar   myō   baal   rajoóno   na   aas   bil
      he(VIS)   rightly   my(M)   son   call(INF)   not   be(FUT.3SG) became
      'he would not be worthy to be called my son.' (Schmidt 2000: 205)

4.3.3 Bailey (1924)

Bailey's (1924: 251-2) two short Guresi texts show only one occurrence of a past tense of *b-*, *bil* + PNG (*bilu*), which reports an event: *bran **bilu** ašap* 'the horse stumbled.'.

4.3.4 Hook and Bashir (unpublished text–1996)

This text contains two occurrences of a past tense of *b-* (58-a) and (58-b). Although one of them (58-a) does report an event which was unexpected at the time of its occurrence, since there is only one token of a form expressing a surprising event, no conclusions can be ventured. Two other short sentences in our notes have the third-person masculine singular form *bUl*, but we have no instance of a feminine past tense form of *b-* 'become' corresponding to *bUl*. There is also no instance of *bUl* + PNG for the third-person singular. However past tense third-person feminine forms of other verbs, e.g. (59), with feminine marked by vowel fronting, suggest that the third-person masculine singular is zero-marked in the dialect of our text.

(58-a) *ek   chakh   bUl   ma-T   sad   æksiDENT*
       one   day   become(PST.M.SG)   me-DAT   there accident(M)

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[60] The superscript *i* is Grierson's representation of the palatalization which marks 3ʳᵈ person plural.

'One day I had an accident there.' (possibly mirative meaning).

(58-b)　*mo*　**bUl-os**　　　　　　　*tabət*　*paedá*
　　　　I　become(PST.M.SG)-1SG.M　Tawbat　born
　　　　'I was born in Tawbat.'

(59)　*čay*　　*libil-ʸ*
　　　tea(F)　spill(PST.F)-3SG.F
　　　'The tea boiled over.'

There are too few occurrences of relevant forms in our Guresi data to allow any pattern to be discerned.

4.4　Tandal (Bashir field notes)

Tandal [tə́ndəl] is a small village, of perhaps 30 Shina-speaking households, about fourteen kilometers west of Skardu in Baltistan. The Shina spoken there thus also belongs in the eastern cluster of dialects. In the small data corpus obtained from this village, the form *bil* appears in two different senses (60) and (61), and (62).[61] In (60) and (61), *bil* behaves like a present imperfect with stative, perhaps gnomic, meaning.

(60)　*tom-e*　　*bal-ōya*　　*työni*　*sii*　*ne*　**bil**
　　　self's-PL　children-ACC　beat-INF　good　NEG　become(PST)
　　　'It is not good to beat one's children.' (Bashir, field notes)

(61)　*tu-re*　　*myo*　*nōm*　*yād.thyono*　*awajei-k*　**bil**
　　　you-DAT　my　name　remember　　need-NMLZ　become(PST)
　　　'You should remember my name.' (Bashir, field notes) (perhaps 'You will have to remember my name.')

(62)　*mu-su*　*tom-o*　　*puc-āya*　*tyem-ek/tyem-ik*　　**bil**
　　　I-ERG　self's-M.SG　son-ACC　beat-AG.N.M/AG.N.F　become(PST)
　　　'I (M/F) (will) beat my son.' (Bashir, field notes)

The meaning of (62) as recorded in my notes is puzzling. On the one hand, it is structurally somewhat similar to the Khowar inferential present/future, illustrated in (13-b and 14-b) above. In view of this structural similarity, it seems possible that this sentence might encode mirative meaning, as do the Khowar sentences of analogous form. If this is the case, the sentence could mean 'I beat my son mistakenly/regrettably,' with the sense of surprise or regret that emerges cross-linguistically for first-person mirative forms. However, Amin Zia, though not from village Tandal, thinks that it means 'I had to beat my son,' and offers the Urdu equivalent *mujhe apne beṭe ko mārnā paṛā*. Example (62) is interesting from another point of view as well. Except for (93) below, from Kalkot, it is the only sentence I have found with an apparently first-person subject in which the

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[61] The data were provided by one Ghulam, who was approximately 55 years old in 1986.

form *bil* does *not* have PNG marking. Notice also that in (62) *bil* occurs with either a masculine or feminine agent noun (subject).

The contrast between sentences formed with *b-* 'become' and with *h-* 'be' to convey new vs. old knowledge, appears to exist also in Tandal Shina. Consider the pair of sentences shown here as (63-a) and (63-b).

(63-a) *žak   pon-gii yažō   həŋ senó mey dos   bil*
       who(REL) road-in walking is   he   my   friend become(PST)
       'The (man) walking in the road is my friend.

(63-b) *žak   pon-gii yažō   həŋ senó mey dos   hən*
       who(REL) road-in walking is   he   my   friend be(PRS.M.SG)
       'The (man) walking in the road is my friend.'

Both (63-a) and (63-b) were offered spontaneously, which suggests to me that the speaker felt that both were necessary or appropriate and also that there is a meaning distinction between them. It is possible that the distinction is of mirativity, such that (63-a) may mean '(I just realized that) the man going on the road is my friend,' while (63-b) represents old knowledge. Or, pursuing the line of thought developed in 4.1, one can speculate that perhaps the difference is in the speaker's assumptions about the addressee's (in this case the researcher's) knowledge. If this is the case, (63-a) could represent the case of assumed new knowledge for the addressee, and (63-b) the case of assumed old knowledge. Yet a third possibility is that the difference between (63-a) and (63-b) may be one of presumption and assertion, with (63-a) meaning 'must be/is probably my friend' and (63-b) 'is my friend'. Without further context, however, one cannot say anything. These same considerations apply also to (65-a) and (65-b), a similarly contrastive pair of examples recorded in Satpara (Section 4.5). The fact that the two differing versions of this sentence were offered spontaneously in both Tandal and Satpara suggests that a significant distinction exists. What that difference is, however, remains to be established.

There are five instances of *bil* + PNG suffixes in the data from Tandal, all of which refer to events or changes of state. Two of these are shown as (64-a) and (64-b).

(64-a) *šarōn phəṛək   bil-o*
       roof   collapsed become(PST)-3SG.M
       'The roof collapsed.' (Bashir, field notes)

(64-b) *mo-re ṭiki   sii   bil-i*
       I-DAT bread(F) good   become(PST)-3.SG.F
       'I like(d) the bread.' (Bashir, field notes)

Thus it appears that in Tandal Shina, the bare past stem *bil* appears in stative utterances (60) (61) (63-a), while *bil* + PNG appears in reports of events or changes of state (64-a, 64-b). The analysis of (62) remains unclear; however, the best indications are that it expresses a modal meaning, probably necessity.

4.5 Satpara

4.5.1 Bashir field notes

Satpara [*sāspər*] village lies about six kilometers from Satpara Lake, which is about nine kilometers south of Skardu, in Baltistan. Field research reported here was carried out in 1987 with Ghulam Mehdi, a bilingual Shina and Balti speaker who was 32 years old at the time. According to him, the Shina speakers of village Satpara are said to have come to the area about 350 years ago, from around Chilas. The data from this research yield 19 occurrences of simple past stem *bil* and *bil* + PNG.[62] The association of form with meaning for these 19 forms is as shown in Table 3. The correlation of bare *bil* forms with utterances with stative meaning and *bil* + PNG forms with reporting of events appears strong.

Form	State	Event
bil	7 (3rd person only)	0
bil + PNG	2 (1st person only)	10

Table 3. Event type and past tense form of *b-* 'become' in Satpara Shina

Examples of the three attested types are given below. (65-a) shows *bil* with a stative meaning in an equational sentence. Both (65-a) and (65-b) were offered spontaneously, as were the comparable sentences from Tandal, (63-a) and (63-b) above.[63] In (65-c) we see a nominalized finite clause functioning as a relative clause, a construction type common in Shina. The overall meaning of the sentence is stative.

(65-a) *pon-gye   yajyō   manuẓo   myo   saati   **bil***
       road-on   going   man   my   friend   become(PST)
       'The man going on the road is my friend.'

(65-b) *pon-gye   yajyō   manuẓo   myo   saati   **hoŋ***
       road-on   going   man   my   friend   be(PRS.M.SG)
       'The man going on the road is my friend.'

(65-c) *anu   klom   mi   thaa-s-ik   **bil***
       this   work   I(AG)   do(PST)-1SG-NMLZ   become(PST)
       'This job is [one] which I did.' (i.e. 'This work was done by me.')

(66-a) and (66-b), with first-person subjects, show *bil* + PNG describing a state. (67-a) and (67-b) show *bil* + PNG reporting an event or change of state.

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[62] This count excludes three instances of present and past perfects.

[63] Unfortunately (65-a) and (65-b) also lack context which could help differentiate the meanings.

(66-a) *mo babu* **bil-ús**
      I   father become(PST)-1SG.M
      'I am a father.' (state)

(66-b) *mo aže* **bil-áas**
      I   mother become(PST)-1SG.F
      'I am a mother.' (state)

(67-a) *mo aže* **bíl-es**
      I   mother become(PST)-1SG.F
      'I became a mother.' (event)

(67-b) *ṇáare gyeeta to myo šaako ṭar* **bíl-o**
      down go(CP) then my arm broken become(PST)-3SG.M
      'I fell down and my arm broke.' (event)

Both of the examples showing *bil* + PNG indicating a state, (66-a) and (66-b), have the stress on the first-person PNG ending; possibly these are (abraded) past perfect forms. With *bil* + PNG reporting an event as in (67-a) and (67-b), the stress is on the stem. If it is not possible for *bil* to occur without PNG marking for first-person subjects, then the correlation of *bil* with stativity and/or mirativity shown in Table 3 is complete. Example (67-b) also demonstrates that in Satpara Shina the third-person singular masculine of the past of *b–* 'become' is not zero-marked.

     Compare also (68), with the past tense of *as–* 'be', and (69), which, because of the nasalized vowel appears to be a present perfect.

(68) *mo babu* **asíl-os**
      I   father be(PST)-1SG.M
      'I was a father.'

(69) *mo babu* **bil-ō̃s**
      I   father become(PST)-be(PRS.1SG.M)
      'I became/have become a father.' (event)

4.5.2 *Radloff (1992b) text*

     A short text from Satpara in Radloff (1992b: 384-388), contains nine *bil* + PNG forms. Of these, eight report events, e.g. (70), while one (71) asserts the identity of the speaker. The fact that both (70) and (71) have the bil + PNG form suggests that perhaps, in fact, PNG marking is obligatory for the first person. Sentence (71) is exactly parallel, both semantically and morphologically, to the Gultari sentence (40) above. Like (40), it reveals an identity which is new knowledge for the addressee, but old knowledge for the speaker. In these examples, the word-by-word glosses are as in Radloff (1992b); morphological analysis and free translations are by the present author.

(70) *čei   yok   tʰem   tʰe   herániya   bil–os⁶⁴*
now   what   do(FUT.1SG) QUOT   astonished   become(PST)-1SG.M
'Now thinking, "What shall I do?", I became afraid.' (Radloff 1992b: 385)

(71) *nʌ   tʰe   ne   tʰe   mõ   tʰaní   ráǰʰi   bIl–as*
NEG   do(IMP.SG)   NEG   do(IMP.SG)   I   your(F) guarding.spirit   become(PST)-1SG.F
'Don't do it, don't do it. I am your guarding spirit.' (Radloff 1992b: 388)

The text also contains one interesting expression of an apparently mirative meaning with the verb *a–* 'come', shown here as (72). This complex verb form *áli bíli* 'came/had come'consists of the past tense of 'come' plus a PNG-marked form of the past of *b–* 'be, become'. If this analysis is correct, it is structurally parallel to the Khowar type illustrated in (14-c) above, and this complex form *áli bíli* would be a mirative past (perfect), with *bíli* functioning as auxiliary. Importantly, the sentence in (72) is the only example I have found with what seems to be a mirative form of a main verb other than *b–* 'be, become'. It does suggest, however, that (complex) forms can be constructed freely by employing *b–* 'become' as an auxiliary. Whether or not such forms are regularly used to report events of which one has just become aware, and the extent to which they exist for other tenses remain questions for further research based on connected texts.

(72) *ˌcʌkyū́   to   yál–ik   yáni   yok   balá–ik   ál–i –*
see(PST.1SG.M)   then   fairy-INDF that.is one   monster-INDF   come(PST)-F.SG

mei   khóni   ál–I bíl–i
my   eating   come(PST)-F.SG   become(PST)-3SG.F
'When I looked (I saw that) a fairy, that is a monster (had) come to eat me.' (Radloff 1992b:387) (free translation by Bashir)

4.6   Astor

A short Astori text in Radloff (1992b: 379-383) contains seven past tense forms of *b–* 'become'; all of these are of the *bil* + PNG type, and all of them report events. Two of them occur in (73).

(73) *thʌp   bul–o   rati   bil–i*
dark   become(PST.M)-3SG.M   night   become(PST.F)-3.SG.F
'It became dark, and night fell.' (Radloff 1992b: 380-81)

4.7   Chilas

A text in the Shina of Chilas (Radloff 1992b: 389-393) includes eight instances of *bil* + PNG endings, and two of *bil*. These two bare stem sentences are shown in (74-a) and (74-b). In both of them, either the story as a whole or a new episode is introduced. Recall that the introductory sentence of a narrative is a typical place for an inferential form to occur. However, an additional complicating variable is that in both (74-a) and (74-b) the subject of the verb is the

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⁶⁴ The printed text has *dilos*, which is undoubtedly a typo for *bilos*.

cataphoric pronoun *ʌde* 'this', which is a "placeholder" in subject position in the matrix clause and is coreferential with a following *keʰ*-clause. Thus it may be that if the subject is not a noun or referential pronoun, *bil*, without person, gender or number marking is obligatory.

(74-a) *ek   wʌr   ʌde **bil**   keʰ   beg   beʰ ʌse du ċe yʌr   dost   gʌ   ʌs*
       one   time   this become(PST)   that   we   we our 2 3 friend friend also were

       be   šikʌr-eṭ   ges   gi   nʌlʌʰ   de
       we   hunting-DAT   went   Ges   Nallah   to
       'Once it happened that we - along with two or three friends- went to Ges Nallah for hunting.' (Radloff 1992b: 389)

(74-b) *ʌde **bil**   kiʰ ... so   tubʌk-er   mʌi hʌtʰ   nʌ   aṣʌto*
       this become(PST)   that ... that rifle-DAT   my hand   NEG reached
       'It happened that... my hand didn't reach ... that rifle.' (Radloff 1992b: 391)

Now contrast (74-a) and (74-b) with (75). In (74-a) and (74-b), the event is introduced for the first time as new (74-a) and/or unexpected (74-b), while in (75) the speaker is narrating events which he has already previously experienced and which he has previously reported. The event is definite in some sense.

(75) *mo   rʌjʌs kIʰ   bʌI   ʌdeI wʌkIʌ **bil-I**   ʌde   wʌl **bIl-o***
     I   said   that brother this event become(PST)-3SG.F this   trick become(PST)-3SG.M
     'I said to them that this event happened, this trick happened.' (Radloff 1992b: 392)

4.8   Gilgit

4.8.1 Bailey (1924) and Radloff (2009)

    Gilgit Shina is so far the best studied of the Shina dialects. Available sentences and texts on this variety span 139 years, from Leitner's 1877 description and collection of sentences (Leitner 1877) through Radloff's current (2009) work. Materials from these different time depths show a definite change in the past tense forms of *b-* 'be, become', such that earlier forms based on L-final past stems are being replaced by G-final past stem-based forms, e.g. *bili* vs. *bigi* for the 3rd person feminine singular past tense of *bo-* 'become'.[65] Having found traces of mirativity in Gultari Shina and noting that in Gilgit Shina both L-final (*bul-u* 'became' M.SG) and G-final (*bug-u* 'became' M.SG) forms of the past stem of *bo-* 'become' are found and that some speakers of this variety have both forms in their grammars, it seemed possible that this difference of form might be correlated with a difference between mirative and non-mirative meanings. However, Radloff (p.c., September 2009) has expressed the opinion that the L-form/G-form distinction depends on speaker, or perhaps even specific village. In support of this, it is relevant to note that the four tales in Radloff and Shakil (1998), all of which were written down by Shakil Ahmad Shakil, include a total of 27 past-tense based forms of *b-* 'become', all of which are G-forms. This is consistent with Radloff's

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[65] Probably by analogy with the transitive paradigm.

observation that some, but not all, speakers use both forms. The distribution of L- and G-forms in Bailey's four (1924) texts, displayed in Table 4, also supports the idea that use of L- or G- forms is highly speaker dependent. Thus it seems clear that if there is any meaning difference between L-forms and G-forms for speakers who have both, discovering what it might be requires more text-based research. One hypothesis that suggests itself is that the L-form/G-form difference may correlate with the agentivity or non-agentivity of the (intransitive) subject, with L-forms tending to occur in non-agentive contexts and G-forms in agentive contexts.[66]

Text	L-forms	G-forms
A Visit to Thur	0	3
The Death of the Raja	1	0
The Farmers' Quarrel	0	2
Parable of the Prodigal Son	5	0

Table 4. L- and G- past tense forms of *bo-* 'become' in Bailey's (1924) Gilgit Shina texts

All of these forms are of the past stem + PNG type; no instance of the bare past stem *bil* occurs in these texts.[67]

4.8.2 *Bashir fieldwork (1986, 2010)*

In an attempt during my 1986 fieldwork to determine whether inferential or mirative meanings are marked in Gilgit Shina, I found two different strategies.[68] (i) An overtly mirative meaning was expressed analytically with the phrase *leél bíl–i* meaning literally 'knowledge became', as in (76-b) and (77-c).

(76-a) *saliím–ei   baábu–s   anu   goóṭ   duliíg–un*
      Salim-GEN   father-AG   this   house   build(PST)-PRF.3sg

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[66] Along the lines of the distinction between unaccusative and unergative intransitives.

[67] The published texts available for contemporary Gilgit Shina do not show any forms consisting only of the past participle *bil* without PNG marking. However, in recent correspondence related to example (62) above, Amin Zia provided the following sentence (c), in which *bil* conveys the modal meaning of necessity.

(c)   *ma–ṭ   toóm   puc–e   toik–ek   bil*
    I-DAT   self's   son-OBL[67]   beat(INF)-AG.N.1   become(PST)

    'I had to beat my son (compulsorily, required by authority).' (Zia, p.c. May 2010)

However, in further correspondence, he gave (d), in which *bili* rather than *bil* appears in the same meaning.

(d)   *ma–ṭ   jawab   doik–ek   bil–i*
    I-DAT   reply   give(INF)-AG.N.1   become(PST)-F.SG

    'I had to reply.' (Urdu: *mujhe jawāb denā hī paṛā* [compulsorily required by authority]).

When asked about this, he said that the meanings of *bil* and *bili* are the same, but that the form varies from village to village, even from mohalla to mohalla within the town of Gilgit (p.c., May 2010).

[68] The Gilgit Shina examples in Section 4.8.3 were provided by Muhammad Amin Zia, for whose keen insights into his language and continuing gracious help I am grateful. Examples from my 1986 work have been supplemented by more recent material (Zia p.c., April 2010).

'Salim's father built this house.' (action witnessed by speaker)

(76-b) *saliím-ei   baábu-s   anu goóṭ   duliíg-un   theé*
     Salim-GEN   father-AG   this house build(PST)-PRF.3s QUOT

     ma-ṭ   koto   leél   bíl-i
     I-DAT just.now   knowledge(F) become(PST)-F.SG
     'I just found out that Salim's father built this house.' (new knowledge, mirative)

(76-c) *saliím-ei   baábu* [*anu gooṭ   duliit-uk*]   *han theé*
     salim-GEN father [this house   build(PST.PPL)-NMLZ] is(M) QUOT

     ma-ṭ   koto   leél   bíl-i
     I-DAT just.now   knowledge(F) become(PST)-F.SG
     'I just found out that Salim's father built this house.' (lit. 'is the one who built this house')

(ii) However, a morphological possibility for expressing mirative meaning in some contexts also exists. It is illustrated in (77-a) and (77-b). These examples occur in the context of stating a quality of something that is newly discovered or realized, and contrast with their old knowledge counterparts in (77-a) and (78-a), respectively. These mirative expressions make use of the indefinitizing nominalizer *-Vk* (< 'one') to transform an adjective or participle into an indefinite noun phrase.

(77-a) *ané   juĩĩ   ạ̈ṭi   han^y*
     this(F) apricot.tree(F)   sour(F)   is(F)
     'This apricot tree is sour (i.e. bears sour fruit).' (I know it from before and I am warning you.)

(77-b) *ané   juĩĩ   ạ̈ṭi-k   han^y*
     this(F)   apricot(F) sour-INDF.NMLZ   is(F)
     'This apricot is sour.' (lit. 'a sour one.') (discovered after eating a fruit)

(78-a) *anú baál akalman   han*
     this boy intelligent   is
     'This boy is (very) intelligent.' (I have known it since his babyhood.)

(78-b) *anú baál akalman-**ak***   *han*
     this boy intelligent-INDF.NMLZ is
     'This boy is (very) intelligent.' (lit. 'an intelligent one') (e.g. I conclude it by seeing his examination results.)

Degener (p.c., May 2010) has provided an additional example, also from the transcripts of the *bayaak* radio programs, which is relevant to the discussion of *-ak* and mirative meaning. The context for this example is that Taaj, the young interlocutor of the *trangpha* (see footnote 52 and

example [46] above), ridiculing his vanity, utters the sentence shown as (79). Degener comments on this sentence that, "Even if it is the other speaker who puts this in the *trangpha*'s mouth, there is definitely an element of mirativity implied (I wasn't aware how wonderful I am)."

(79) *wasmá deé,   much loólyo thee   "jéek sír-**ak**   han-ús"   theé*[69]
hair.dye apply(CP) face red   do(CP) what miracle-**INDF.NMLZ** be(PRS)-1SG do(CP)
'Having applied hair-dye, having made (your) face red, thinking "What a miracle I am!", (you) ..." (Degener p.c., May 2010)

The nominalizing strategy does not appear with the attributive possessive adjective used as in (80-b). However, see the Kohistani example, (87-a) below, in which the indefinite –*k* does appear with the attributive possessive adjective.

(80-a) *ane kitab mei   hin*
this book mine is
'This book is mine.' (previous knowledge)

(80-b) *ne   to   mei kitab hin*
this TOP my   book is
'(Oh,) this is my book!' (new knowledge, as on opening a book and being surprised to see one's own name written inside)

Nor does the nominalizing strategy occur when the *location* of something is surprisingly learned. Compare (81-a), (81-b) and (81-c).

(81-a) *mei kitab thei goṭ-er   hin*
my   book your room-LOC is
'My book is in your room.' (previous knowledge, as in answering the question, "Where is your book?") (Zia p.c., May 2010)

(81-b) *Nan.ne!!   mei kitab   to   thei kamr-ar   hin*
here.it.is my book TOP your room-LOC is
'(Oh!) here it is; my book is in your room!' (surprise, as on finding one's book in an unexpected place after searching for it) (Zia p.c., May 2010)

(81-c) *ala! mei ne   kitab thei   kamr-ar   hin*
oh! my   this book your room-LOC is
'Oh!, this book of mine is in your room!' (surprise, as on finding one of my books in someone else's room) (Zia p.c., May 2010)

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[69] *theé*, the conjunctive participle of *thoiky* 'to do', functions as a quotative particle; see Bashir (1996) for discussion of quotatives from 'say' (and 'do') in the Hindu Kush, Karakoram and western Himalaya region.

As a first approximation to thinking about an analysis, it may be that since indefinites represent new information in a discourse (for example: 'There is a walnut tree in my garden,' uttered in response to the question, 'What is in your garden?') and miratives are new knowledge in the epistemic sense, reporting a change in the speaker's mental state (for example: 'Walnut trees are so beautiful!' uttered on first seeing a walnut tree), the emergence of a mirative meaning with (some) indefinites is a consequence of the fact that they both involve kinds of "newness".[70]

4.9 Kohistani Shina

Kohistani dialects are spoken on the southwestern margin of the Shina-speaking zone in and around the Indus valley downstream from the town of Sazin (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008: 1).

4.9.1 Jalkot (Bailey 1924)

Bailey's description of Kohistani Shina is based on material mainly from Jalkot (1924: xiv), with some forms from Chilas. In this material there is no indication of evidentiality, inferentiality, or mirativity. Past tense forms of *b-* 'become', *bil* + PNG are noted in conditional and modal constructions. For example, (82) shows an irrealis conditional with the past tense of 'come' plus *bil–to* (< *bile-to*) in the protasis and the future plus invariant *bile* in the apodosis.

(82) *mõ̃ belā   āl-os   bil-to   sāb-se   mŭ-ṛa pöisa dei   bĭle*
      I   yesterday come(PST)-1SG become(PST)-*to* Sahib-AG me-DAT pice give(FUT.3SG) *bile*
      'If I had come yesterday, the Sahib would have given me a pice.' (Bailey 1924: 220)

He also describes a Kohistani "future indicating doubt" as expressed "by the future with [the past tense of *b-* plus PNG]"[71] For example, *hănŭ bĭlŭ* 'it will doubtless be so' (1924: 214). This is the meaning usually called "presumptive" in the literature on Urdu and Hindi. It appears to be related

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[70] The use of nominalizations to express mirative meaning is widespread in Tibeto-Burman languages, though apparently not in Balti or Ladakhi (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 above). For example, Noonan (in press) discusses the effect of nominalization in the Bodic (Tibeto-Burman) language Chantyal. He says: "In Tamangic languages, when nominalizations appear as main clauses, the typical effect is one of mirativity, *i.e.* the sense that the predication so expressed is in some sense surprising, contrary to expectation, or in some way exasperating" (Noonan In press: 5). Two of his examples appear here as (a) and (b).

(a)   *bənnu-ye nal   tato ta-si-wa*   (Chantyal)
         gun-GEN barrel hot   become-ANT-NMLZ
         'The barrel of the gun had become hot!' (Noonan In press: 5))

(b)   *ət   a-ca-si-wa*
         innards NEG-eat-ANT-NMLZ
         'It didn't eat the innards!' (Noonan In press: 8)

Bickel (1999) and Watters (2002) present detailed discussions of the phenomenon for the two Bodic groups, Kiranti and Kham, respectively. In Magar, a Central Himalayish language spoken in Nepal, a language in which the evidential, mirative, and epistemic systems are all independent of each other, the mirative consists of a nominalization plus an imperfective marker (Grunow-Hårsta 2007). According to Aikhenvald (2003: 373) the development of indirectives (with mirative extensions) from nominalizations is typologically common.

[71] To refer to the (full) paradigm of the past tense of *b-* 'become', Bailey writes *bĭlos*.

to the non-indicative senses observed in the *LSI* Guresi sentence above (56), the Tileli example (57), or Gultari (39).

4.9.2 Palas (Schmidt and Kohistani)

Schmidt and Kohistani (2008) describe the Shina of Palas Valley. In this variety, sentences which describe contexts typically marked as mirative in languages which have morphologically marked mirativity, like (83), (84), and (85), do not show a grammatical difference from other sentences which serve to advance the narrative. In the case of the three examples given here, they both advance the narrative, and probably also have mirative semantics. Significantly, example (85), with a first-person agent, shows the sense of mistaken or inadvertent action which is cross-linguistically typical with first-person mirative forms, but shows no distinctive mirative marking.

(83) *sa   aj–nyúu baṣ*[72]   ***bíl–o***
      he   up-ABL   appear   became(PST)-3SG.M
      'He turned up unexpectedly.' (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008: 73)

(84) *acáa–k   mají   ịch–ak   baṣ   **bíl–o***
      this.much-INDF between   bear-INDF   appear become(PST)-3SG.M
      'In the meanwhile, a bear turned up.' (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008: 106)

(85) *aš   aáe mó–ji   jóo   kom   **bíl–u–n**   y–aá*
      today this I-ABL.SUP what   work   be(PST)-3SG.M-PRS   RHET
      '[Oh no], what have I done (involuntarily) today?' (Lit. 'What work has happened from me?' (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008: 84)

Discussing her narrative of a Naga-Prince Tale (Schmidt 2006), Schmidt says (p.c. 2009): "There are other moments of surprise in the story, such as when the princess discovers that the button has become a one-year-old child, or her father-in-law discovers a prince coming out of her fort, and so on; but as far as I can see, there are no grammatical features associated with them, just lexical ones like *waá* ('wow'), or 'she/he became surprised' (*heryáan bíli/bílo*), or 'made big eyes' (*atáti achyée tháao*)."[73]

4.9.3 Kolai (Mahrin village)

Mahrin village in the Kolai area, downstream from Palas, is home to speakers of Shina and of Gowro, a Kohistani language (Rensch, Decker and Hallberg 1992). Radloff (1992b) contains one text in the Shina of Mahrin village. In this text there are three tokens of *bil* and three of *bil* + PNG. The three instances of *bil* + PNG all report events; for example, (86), in which the speaker is separated from his friends.

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[72] cf. Hook (1996: 171) *buṣ/buš* 'glimpse'. Radloff and Shakil (1998: 87) gloss *baṣ* as 'visible'.

[73] Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:204) also report a presumptive particle *bo*, apparently < *boón* 'to become'.

(86) *to mi aso dost ḥanok par tʌrʌf-eṛ pʰʌt **bil-us***
      so my those friend ⁷⁴ far side-DAT left become(PST)-1SG.M
      'So I was left on the other side from my friends.' (Radloff 1992b: 397)

However, the picture with regard to the three occurrences of *bil* is unclear. Two of them occur in the first clause of a complex sentence, as in the first clause of (87-a) and in (87-b).

(87-a) *sosei maⁱ-k žauli **bil**, dosti **bil-i***
      with.him my-INDF brotherhood become(PST) friendship become(PST)-F.SG
      'There was (a) brotherhood with him, (and) friendship developed.' (Backstrom and Radloff's translation: 'A strong friendship grew between us.') (Radloff 1992b: 395)

In the case of (87-a), it is possible that first a sense of brotherhood was experienced (surprisingly) and then the friendship developed; if this is the case, *bil* could have a mirative sense here. Note also the indefinite element –*k* on *maⁱ-k* 'my'.

(87-b) *rage cʰidi majɛ zahar ga peda **bil***
      blood.vessels break(CP) in.them poison also born become(PST)

      to daktaranoǰ aprešʌn-eⁱ tarix deg
      so doctors operation-GEN date give(PST)
      'The blood vessels disintegrated and poison was produced (in them), so (the) doctors set the date of the operation.' (Radloff 1992b: 398-99)

With (87-b), it may be that since the poison developed inside the body, unseen by the speaker, *bil* here carries the inferential sense of an unwitnessed event inferred by observing its consequences. However, lacking more data, these thoughts remain conjectures.
    The third instance of *bil* is shown in example (87-c). The context for this is that the speaker, describing a childhood experience, describes being confused by a sudden uproar and rushing wildly around in the road, with the result that he is hit by a truck. Again, this might be a mirative utterance; it does describe a new, unexpected experience, the sudden uproar in the bazaar, but the interpretation is unclear.

(87-c) *mōṛǰo nawā́s he lel **bil**, čʌkʌ, oro mō pére haⁱtʰ-as*
      to.me strange this knowing become(PST) you.see here I there run(PST)-1SG.M
      'It seemed strange to me, you see, (and) I ran here and there.' (Radloff 1992b: 396)

In the Mahrin dialect of Kohistani Shina, therefore, the picture remains unclear, but intriguing.

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⁷⁴ *ḥanok* is left unglossed in Radloff and Backstrom; however, it appears that it may be the (indefinite) morpheme -*k* used in a relative (clause) function (see Schmidt and Kohistani 2008: 77).

4.10 Ushojo

Ushojo is a Shina variety transplanted from the Kolai area in Indus Kohistan several hundred years ago. Circa 1992 it was spoken by about 2,000 people in several villages in the Chail Valley in Swat Kohistan, in immediate contact with Torwali (and Pashto) (Decker 1992: 66-67). Decker (1992) contains one Ushojo text from village Karial, in which there occur seven tokens of *bil* + PNG, all of which report events. The sentence shown as (88) contains two of these. There are no attestations of *bil* in this text.

(88)
sʌ́ja	pʌto	ža	šo	**bil-o**	ba	rʌwan	**bil-e**
that.from	after	brother	good	become(PST)-M.SG	and	departed	become(PST)M.PL

'After that the brother recovered and they set out.' (Decker 1992: 203)

4.11 Palula

Palula is a variety of Shina spoken in southern Chitral in two slightly differing varieties in the Biori and Ashret valleys, adjacent to Khowar, Dameli and up to very recently, Kalasha. Palula speakers migrated to their present location in the seventeenth century from Tangir and Chilas above Indus Kohistan (Strand 1998d-2000; Liljegren 2008: 28-29, 2009: 7). Most of its speakers are multilingual in several of the languages of the region, mainly Khowar and Pashto.

Liljegren (2008) and my own field notes (1987) show only L-final pasts of *bh- /bhe-* (Liljegren) 'be, become', all of which include PNG marking. Most of Liljegren's sentences either show clear change of state, or advance the narrative. From the evidence available, I can not (yet) find any (morphological) marking of mirativity; (89-b) and (90) seem to indicate that *bhíɫ-u*, the past/perfective of *bh-* 'become' is used only in the change of state meaning; (91) may report a state or change of state.

(89-a)
so	xafá	**hin-u**
he	sad	be(PRS)-3SG.M

'He is sad.'

(89-b)
so	xafá	**bhíɫ-u**
he	sad	become(PST)-M.SG

'He became sad.' (Bashir, field notes)

(90)
dhoṛ	hasó	káɣaz	ma-the	miláu	**bhíɫ-u**[75]
yesterday	that	letter	me-to	obtained	become(PST)-M.SG

'Yesterday I received the/that letter.' (Bashir, field notes)

(91)
hasé	díiš-a	hateeṇ-ú	ɣam	**bhíl-u**
that	village-OBL	such-M.SG	grief	become(PFV)-M.SG[76]

'There was such grief in the village.' (Liljegren 2008: 84)

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[75] In my example, velarized l is represented by <ɫ>, while in Liljegren's work <l> represents that sound.

[76] According to Liljegren (2009: 48), "the most central grammatical distinction in the Pal(ula) verb system is aspect." The question of whether the verb system of a particular variety is tense-based or aspect-based is an important one, and should be explored for each variety.

4.12 Kalkoti

The village of Kalkot is home to two speech communities, possibly the reason for earlier uncertainty about the identity of the Kalkot speech. One of these, *kalkoṭī*, is a variety of Shina closely related to Palula (Strand 1999a-2009, and Liljegren 2009). The other is a variety of Dir Kohistani (Rensch 1992: 15). Importantly with reference to the topic of this paper, *bil* is the form of the perfective stem of *buun* 'to become' recorded in Kalkoṭi by both me in my field notes from 1989 (92), (93) and by Liljegren (2009: 13).

(92)   *ma   zəxɔm   **bil***
        I(DIR)   wounded become(PST)
        'I am hurt/wounded.' (Urdu, *mujhe coṭ lagī)* (Bashir, field notes)

(93)   *mɔ-ṭe   gʸermi   **bil***
        I(OBL)-to   heat   become(PST)
        'I feel hot.' (Urdu, *mujhe garmī lagī*) (Bashir, field notes)

From these meager data, it appears that *bil* is not restricted to third-person subjects; note the direct form of the first-person pronoun as subject in (93). However, no data relevant to the question of mirativity are available for Kalkoṭī.

4.13 Sawi

Sawi is an offshoot of Palula located at the westernmost edge of the extended Shina-speaking area. Buddruss (1967) contains the only original published material on this dialect. His eleven short texts include ten tokens of *bil–o* 'become(PST)-3SG.M'and two of *bil–i* 'become(PST)-3SG.F', all of which report events, e.g. (94). The bare past/perfective stem *bil* is not attested in Buddruss' (1967) materials.

(94)   *phoī behōš   bil–i*
        girl unconscious become(PST)-3SG.F
        'The girl became unconscious.' (Buddruss 1967: 68)

5 Conclusions

Taking all the Shina dialects examined into consideration, leaving aside lexical or analytical strategies, two distinct morphological mechanisms were found which can indicate mirative semantics: use of *bil*, the simple past stem of 'become' (Dras, Gultari, Tandal, Satpara), which can be considered an instance of reduced finiteness, and use of the indefinite nominalizing morpheme -*Vk* (Gilgit). In summary, there is evidence of morphological mirativity in Drasi, Gultari, Tandal and Satpara Shina, a mixed picture in Gilgit Shina, and the apparent absence of grammaticized mirativity in Kohistani Shina, Palula and Sawi. The strongest evidence to date of morphological marking of mirativity in Shina is found in the eastern dialects of Gultari, Tandal and Satpara. Interestingly, at this point Gilgit Shina seems like an island, showing behavior different from other Shina dialects. This study of mirativity marking, especially the role of the bare past/perfective

participle of 'become' *bil* has also brought to light other functions of *bil*, expressing various modal meanings including conditionals, both realis and irrealis. This is another area of research waiting to be explored. In no variety of Shina did I find an exclusively mirativity marking form; in all cases examined, mirativity is one semantic development from an underspecified verbal form which can develop various meanings, including unwitnessed past, event mentioned for the first time, stative, gnomic(?); and modal, subjunctive and irrealis meanings. Table 5 summarizes the results of this study so far.

Shina variety	Mirativity-marking strategy	Other observations
Gultari	*bil* (bare past participle of 'become') stative, used with mirative equational sentences; *bil* + PNG eventive	
Dras	*bil* perhaps stative; *bil* + PNG eventive	
Gures	*bil* stative, possibly mirative; *bil* + PNG eventive	*bil* also possibly used for unwitnessed past events; used in subjunctive and irrealis (Tileli) contexts.
Tandal	*bil* stative; *bil* + PNG eventive	*bil* possibly used in gnomic contexts.
Satpara	*bil* stative, probably mirative; *bil* + PNG eventive	
Astor	*bil* not attested; *bil* + PNG eventive	
Chilas	*bil* possibly mirative; *bil* + PNG eventive	
Gilgit	*bil* not attested; *bil* + PNG eventive; mirativity marked by indefinite nominalizer or analytical/lexical means. Possible exploitation of *h-* 'be' vs. *b-* 'become' forms in first person.	
Kohistani (Palas)	*bil* not attested; *bil* + PNG eventive; no morphological mirativity marking; particles; analytical/lexical strategies	
Kohistani (Jalkot)	*bil* not attested; no potentially mirative examples available	*bil* + PNG appears in "future indicating doubt"
Kohistani (Kolai)	*bil* attested, function unclear; *bil* + PNG eventive	*bil* possibly used for unwitnessed past events, possibly mirative
Ushojo	*bil* not attested; *bil* + PNG eventive	

Shina variety	Mirativity-marking strategy	Other observations
Kalkoti	*bil* attested, no data relevant to mirativity question	
Palula	*bil* not attested	
Sawi	*bil* not attested	

Table 5. Mirativity marking strategies in Shina dialects

Table 6 summarizes information known so far on the forms utilized for inferential, mirative and other related meanings in the languages neighboring Shina.

Languages	Forms	Inferential, mirative, and other meanings observed
Indo-European and Burushaski		
Kâmviri	marked forms of 'be' (Realizational forms)	uniquely mirative meanings; inferential and unobserved events separately indicated
Ashkun	Preterite II, Imperfect II, Pluperfect II (constructed with marked forms of 'be')	mirative semantics expressed as extension of inferential
Waigali	reportative particle *le*; Imperfect II and Pluperfect II	possible extension of inferential forms to mirative meanings
Prasun	bare past participle	mirative meaning; indication of other inferential meanings not yet known
Kalasha	obligatory direct/inferential choice in past tenses; inferential past of 'become' in non-past tenses	mirative semantics expressed as extension of inferential
Khowar	obligatory direct/inferential choice in past tenses; inferential past of 'become' in non-past tenses	mirative semantics expressed as extension of inferential
Dameli	three distinct past tense forms	witnessed, non-witnessed, and dubitative past; marking of mirativity not yet known
Yasin Burushaski	*–aast–* (< Khowar inferential past of 'be')	witnessed and non-witnessed; mirative extension of non-witnessed meaning
Wakhi	perfect	mirative semantics expressed by extension of inferential meanings of perfect
Tajik Persian	perfect	mirative semantics expressed by extension of inferential meanings of perfect

Languages	Forms	Inferential, mirative, and other meanings observed
Nepali	*rahecha* (perfect from 'remain')	exclusively mirative copula
Urdu and Hindi	perfective participle without tensed AUX	unexpected events (mirative semantics)
Tibeto-Burman languages		
Balti	reportative particle *lo;* surprise particle *le*; mirative particles *–suk* and *–aŋ*; auxiliary choice	mirative semantics uniquely marked by some particles; extension of inferential in others
Ladakhi	mirative particle *–tshuk*	mirative semantics marked by *tshuk*.

Table 6. Type of inferentiality and mirativity marking in languages neighboring Shina

Of the languages examined in this paper, only in Kâmviri (Nuristani), Nepali (I-A), Balti (T-B) and Ladakhi (T-B) does mirativity appear to be an independent category, not sharing the markers of various inferential meanings. In the larger Hindu Kush-western Himalaya area, I have found two "epicenters" of mirative marking, whether independent or overlapping. One in the west includes the Nuristani languages; I-A Kalasha and Khowar; Yasin Burushaski influenced by Khowar; and Iranian Wakhi and Tajik Persian. The other in the east includes the Tibeto-Burman languages, and, I argue, the eastern dialects of Shina. These languages show several strategies for indicating mirativity. One strategy employs the use of varying forms of BE or BECOME. In the western part of this region the Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages as well as Nuristani Ashkun, and possibly Waigali (*Kalaṣa-alâ*), display this strategy, while Prasun, according to data available so far, exploits the absence of an auxiliary (cf. PNG marking) for mirative sentences. Kâmviri employs a verb-internal emphatic particle *–o–* to signal mirative meaning. In the eastern portion of the area and also farther east, separate particles (Ladakhi, Balti), choice of auxiliary (Ladakhi, Balti), or nominalizers (Chantal) are employed.

Given this, one might expect that the eastern dialects of Shina would be more influenced by the Tibeto-Burman strategies, and the western dialects by the western cluster (Nuristani, Khowar, Kalasha, Wakhi, Tajiki) strategies.[77] However, no such pattern emerges for mirativity marking. I have not been able to find mirativity marking in the western Shina dialects Kohistani, Palula and Sawi. Contact between the strongly mirativity-marking languages like Kalasha and Khowar may be too recent for this influence to have affected Palula and Sawi. Or perhaps the lack of long, analyzed texts in Palula and Kohistani Shina simply does not allow us to observe how mirative contexts are marked. It is the eastern dialects Dras, Gultari and Satpara which show morphological marking of mirativity, and, in fact, display a strategy more similar to the mechanism employed in Prasun, Kalasha, Khowar, Tajik Persian, and even Urdu. In view of this, a potential hypothesis emerges: perhaps in these dialects the *impulse* to mark mirativity comes from the Tibeto-Burman languages directly to the east of the Eastern Shina area, in at least one of which (Balti) there is frequent

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[77] Lexical influences following this sort of areal pattern have been documented by Schmidt and Kaul (2008: 254), who show that the Shina in varieties of the northern cluster loanwords from Burushaski predominate, while in the eastern cluster and in Guresi, Kashmiri loanwords are more common.

bilingualism, but the (morphological) *mechanism* is a variant of the Indo-Iranian-Nuristani strategy found in the west.

One structural feature common to the forms of Prasun, eastern Shina, and Hindi and Urdu which convey mirative meanings is that they have reduced finiteness, i.e. reduced morphological marking.[78] In Prasun and in Eastern Shina, PNG marking is absent; while in Hindi and Urdu a tense and person-marking auxiliary is absent. This is interesting in view of the remark by DeLancey (2001: 379-80) that "Typically the mirative, indicating new or unexpected information, is the marked category, and old or integrated information is presented in the unmarked clause type." Here, DeLancey seems to be referring to formal or morphological marking. However, as Aikhenvald (2004: 71) points out, formal and functional markedness may correlate, but they do not always coincide. Prasun, Eastern Shina and Urdu-Hindi seem to be typologically non-typical, in that formal markedness does not coincide with functional markedness (mirativity). In Ashkun, Tajik Persian, Kalasha, Khowar, and particle-employing languages, on the other hand, the mirative forms are morphologically more complex. Questions raised by such observations require more investigation.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations not given in the Leipzig glossing rules are as follows.

A	actual	INDIR	indirect
AG	agentive	MIR	mirative
AG.N	agent noun (*nomen agentis*)	PNG	person-number-gender
ANIM	animate	PPL	participle
ANT	anterior	PRT	preterite
CP	conjunctive participle	PS	pronominal suffix
DEF	definite	REP	reportative particle
DIR	direct	RHET	rhetorical particle
DUB	dubitative	SPEC	specific
EMPH	emphatic	SUP	superessive
EZ	ezafat	SURP	surprise
I	inferential	VIS	visible
INAN	inanimate		

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[78] I am using the following as a working definition of finiteness. A maximally finite verb form is one which carries the maximal morphological marking possible for the language or form for the verbal categories of tense, aspect, mood and agreement marking for person, number and gender. Thus a verb form lacking in one or more of these verbal category or agreement markers has "reduced finiteness".

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