KASHMIRI

Kashmiri, spoken in Kashmir, the northernmost state of India, challenges every field of linguistics, be it synchronic, diachronic, areal, comparative, typological, modern or generative. Unlike other members of the Indo-Aryan language family, to which it is acclaimed to belong, its syntax, similar to Germanic and other verb second languages, has raised many significant issues within current generative theories proposed by Chomsky and other prominent linguists.

The book contains extensive descriptions of Kashmiri syntax, morphology, agreement, and pronominal clitics. It is invaluable as a reference and source book. Its originality lies in the fact that it presents a wealth of information on a relatively unknown verb second language. It will help to clarify certain key issues in current theories.

Kashi Wali has been working on Kashmiri for the last ten years and has published extensively in the fields of linguistics and South Asian languages. She is a visiting professor at Cornell and Syracuse universities. **Omkar N. Koul**, a native speaker of Kashmiri, has published several books and articles related to linguistics, sociolinguistics, and South Asian languages including Kashmiri, Punjabi, and Hindi. He is currently a professor cum deputy director of the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, India.

DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMARS
Series Editor: Bernard Comrie
University of Southern California

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Until quite recently, work on theoretical linguistics and work on language description proceeded almost entirely in isolation from one another. Work on theoretical linguistics, especially in syntax, concentrated primarily on English, and its results were felt to be inapplicable to those interested in describing other languages. Work on describing individual languages was almost deliberately isolationist, with the development of a different framework and terminology for each language or language group, and no feeding of the achievements of language description into linguistic theory. Within the last few years, however, a major rapprochement has taken place between theoretical and descriptive linguistics. In particular, the rise of language typology and the study of language universals have produced a large number of theoreticians who require accurate, well-formulated descriptive data from a wide range of languages, and have shown descriptive linguists that they can both derive benefit from and contribute to the development of linguistic theory. Even within generative syntax, long the bastion of linguistic anglo-centrism, there is an increased interest in the relation between syntactic theory and a wide range of language types.

For a really fruitful interaction between theoretical and descriptive linguistics, it is essential that descriptions of different languages should be comparable. The *Questionnaire* of the present series (originally published as *Lingua*, vol. 42 (1977), no. 1) provides a framework for the description of a language that is (a) sufficiently comprehensive to cover the major structures of any language that are likely to be of theoretical interest; (b) sufficiently explicit to make cross-language comparisons a feasible undertaking (in particular, through the detailed numbering key); and (c) sufficiently flexible to encompass the range of variety that is found in human language. The volumes that were published in the predecessor to the present series, the *Lingua Descriptive Studies* (now available from Routledge), succeeded in bridging the gap between theory and description: authors include both theoreticians who are also interested in description and field-workers with an interest in theory.

The aim of the Descriptive Grammars is thus to provide descriptions of a wide range of languages according to the format set out in the *Questionnaire*. Each language will be covered in a single volume. The first priority of the series is grammars of languages for which detailed descriptions are not at present available. However, the series will also encompass descriptions of better-known languages with the series framework providing more detailed descriptions of such languages than are currently available (as with the monographs on West Greenlandic and Kannada).

Bernard Comrie

KASHMIRI

A cognitive-descriptive grammar

Kashi Wali and Omkar N. Koul

ROUTLEDGE

London and New York

For Pandit Içvara Kaula and Sir George A. Grierson, O. M.,
the two pioneers of modern Kashmiri grammar

CONTENTS

Introduction

The purpose of this volume is to provide a synchronic description of the Kashmiri language within the framework outlined in the *Lingua Descriptive Series: Questionnaire,* developed by Comrie and Smith (1977). The intention of the series is to provide uniform, theory neutral descriptions for the purpose of cross language comparison. We have confined ouselves to these tenets.

Since the material on Kashmiri in this volume does not include geographical, ethnic, and in particular dichronic setting, that is quite controversial, we hope the following introduction will fill in this gap.

1.0 Kashmiri language and its dialects

1.1 Area and speakers

The Kashmiri language, variously spelled as *Kaschemiri, Kaçmiri, Kāshmiri, Cashmiri,* and *Cashmeeree* by European scholars, is called *kə:shur* or *kə:shir zaba:n* by its native speakers. It is primarily spoken in the Kashmir valley of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India, and also parts of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan. Kashmiri is also spoken in other parts of India, and in many other parts of the world by Kashmiri immigrants. The speech of the valley is divided into three groups, traditionally known as *mara:z,* spoken in the southern and southeastern region; *kamra:z,* spoken in the northern and northwestern region; and *yamra:z,* the dialect of Srinagar and its neighboring areas in the center. The variations in Kashmiri spoken in these areas are minor. Two other regional dialects of Kashmiri—Kashtawāri/Kishtawāri and Poguli—are spoken outside the valley. Siraji and Rambani, often listed as dialects of Kashmiri and also spoken outside the valley, are more akin to Dogri than Kashmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1984). The language spoken in the Srinagar area is regarded as standard and holds a prestigious position. It is widely used in literature and mass media. It is, however, neither the official language nor the medium of instruction in the state, except at the elementary level.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is the northern most state of India. It is bordered by Pakistan in the west, China in the north, and Tibet in the east. It is divided into three provinces, namely, Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh, each with its own distinct geographic, ethnic, and linguistic boundaries. The Kashmir valley, popularly known as Vale of Kashmir, is separated from Ladakh in the northeast by the Zojila pass in the Himalayan ranges. Most of the Ladakhi people speak Ladakhi, which is of Tibetan origin. Jammu is situated in the

south beyond the Pir Panjal range of the Himalayas. The major language of this region is Dogri, an Indo-Aryan language. Kashtawāri is spoken in the Kashṭawar valley of the Doda district, which borders on the southeast of Kashmir province. Poguli is spoken in Pogul and the Paristan valley, west of Kashṭwār. The extreme northwest territory of the state, known as Gilgit, and a small area in the west are under dispute at present. The three main languages of the northwest territory are Shina, which is closely related to Kashmiri; Balti, related to Tibetan and spoken in Baltistan; and Burushaski, which is spoken in Hunza in the northeast of Baltistan.

According to the 1981 census of India, the total number of Kashmiri speakers in the state of Jammu and Kashmir is 3,174, 684, with the main concentration in the Kashmir valley.

1.2 Linguistic affinity

The linguistic affinity of Kashmiri with the Indo-Aryan (IA) family has not been easy to establish within the framework of traditional comparative method. This is not surprising in view of its several unique features, which differ from other IA languages such as Punjabi, Sindhi, and Hindi. These features encompass several aspects of linguistics, including phonetics, phonology, morphology, pronominal system, syntax, and prosody, as first documented in detail in Grierson (1915). In Kashmiri, for example, one finds several features such as insertion of epethetic vowels, aspiration of the final unvoiced stops, absence of voiced aspirates and gemination, presence of an indefinite article—*ah*— three-way distinction in the pronominal system and also in the past tenses,which are unlike other IA languages. It is worth noting here that in spite of these differences the great bulk of Kashmiri vocabulary is of the IA/Sanskritic stock, regardless of the heavy borrowing from Persian. In his elaborate article "The Linguistic Classification of Kashmiri," Grierson concludes that:

> Kashmiri is a mixed language, having at its basis a language of the Dard group of the Pis'ācha family allied to Shiṇā. It has been powerfully influenced by Indian culture and literature and the greater part of the vocabulary is now of Indian origin and is allied to that of the Sanskritic Indo-Aryan languages of northern India. As, however, its basis,—in other words, its phonetic system, its accidence, its syntax, its prosody,—is Pis'ācha, it must be classed as such, and not as a Sanskritic form of speech. (1915)

The word Pis'ācha is later replaced by Grierson with Dardic, since the former has a derogatory connotation—a cannibal demon—in Indian mythology.

Grierson reiterates this classification in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (1919, 8.2: 2). According to him, ARYAN language branched into three distinct sister groups, with further subgroups as follows:

ARYAN

```
                          |
         _____
        |              |                |
   Indo-Aryan       Eranian          Dardic
                                        |
                                 _____
                                |       |       |
                              Kāfir  Khōwār   Dard
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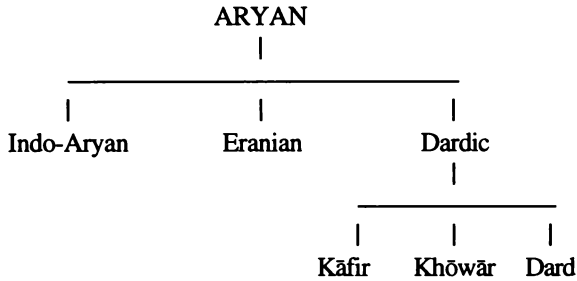
The three Dardic subgroups include several languages and dialects. For example, the Kāfir group, includes Bashgalī, Wai-alā, Wāsī-veri or Veron, Ashkund, and Kalāshā-Pashai subgroup; the Khō-wār, also called Chitrālī, group includes a few dialects; and finally the Dard group, which includes Shinā, Kōhistāni, and Kāshmīrī. It is significant to note that Kashmiri has been classified as a Dardic language.

Turner (1927), Bloch (1934), and some others have expressed their opposition to Grierson's three way classification of ARYAN. Morgenstierne, however, was the first person to seriously challenge this classification. After years of reserch in Afghanistan and surrounding areas, he concluded that ARYAN branched into only Indo-Aryan and Eranian. He denies the existance of Dardic as a third sister. He places Kā:firi, presently Nuristani, languages under Eranian, and Khowār and Dard group under Indo-Aryan. This is clearly seen in his article "Some Features of Khowār Morphology."

> The Dardic languages, in contradistinction to the true Kāfir group, are of pure IA origin and go back to a form of speech closely resembling Vedic. This state of affairs cannot be altered by the fact that Dardic has preserved many archaisms lost in later IA languages, by the widespread loss of aspiration. (1947:6)

In "Dardic and Kāfir Languages," Morgenstierne, reiterates his views:

> [Dardic]...contain absolutely no features which cannot be derived from old IA. They have simply retained a number of striking archaisms, which had already disappeared in most Prākrit dialects. Thus for example the distinction between three sibilant phonemes (s, s'(sh), ṣ), or the retention, in the western dialects, of ancient st, ṣṭ. The loss of aspiration of voiced stops in some Dardic dialects is late, and in most of them at least some trace of aspiration has been preserved. *There is not a single common feature distinguishing Dardic as a whole, from the rest of the IA languages,* and the Dardic area itself is intersected by a network of isoglosses, often of historical interest as indicating ancient lines of communication as well as barriers.

Dardic is simply a convenient term to denote a bundle of aberrant IA hill languages, which in their relative isolation, accented by the invasion of Pathān tribes, have been in varying degrees sheltered against the expanding influences of IA Midland (Madhyadesh) innovations, being left free to develop on their own. (1961:138) [emphasis added]

Morgenstierne's Dardic/IA hill group consists of six subgroups, which are listed here with our own simplified numbering and a few "remarks": (1) Kalāṣā, Khowār; (2) Damēlī, Gawar-Bāti, remnants of dialects similar to Gawar-Bāti (however, see Kachru 1973:16; also 1981:4–5, fn. 8. Morgenstierne has reclassified this language with the Kāfir group); (3) Pashaī; (4) Bashkarīk (Gārwī/ Gāwrī), Torwālī, Maiyā (Kohistani), Tirāhī, etc.; (5) Ṣiṇa, Phalūrā, Dumaki; and (6) Kashmīri, with Kashtawari as a true dialect and other dialects strongly influenced by Dogri.

This classification of Morgenstierne, which clearly identifies his Dardic group—consisting of IA hill languages including Kashmiri—as being a direct descendant of IA, has been taken as a departure point by Fussman (1972), Strand (1973), and some others with certain reservations and further clarifications. Fussman, for example, also warns that Dardic and Kāfir languages are geographic, not linguistic, expressions:

....c'est une expression géographique, non linguistique. Prise au pied de la lettre, elle laisserait croire que font partie des langues dardes toutes les langues parlées au Dardistan. Or le Bur. [Burshaski], du Hunza, n'ayant d'I-A que quelques rares mot empruntès au Sh. [Shina], n'est pas une langue darde. Inversement *stricto sensu* la dénomination langue darde ne devrait pas s'appliquer au K. [Kashmiri] (1972: 2, 11).

Strand (1973) agrees with Morgenstierne but has suggested a slightly revised classification. His work is mostly confined to Kāfiri/Nuristani languages.

Returning to Kashmiri, though Morgensteirne has classified it as an IA language, the position of Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the famous Indian philologist, seems ambivalent:

As a language, Kashmiri, at least in its basic stratum, belongs to the Dardic section of Aryan or Indo-Iranian. Possibly one section of the Aryans who came to India before 1000 B.C. and who spoke dialects very much like the languages of the Ṛg-Vēda but with certain special characterstics (which later gave rise to the Dardic branch of Aryan) became established in the valley of Kashmir, and in the surrounding mountainous tracts; and very early, possibly from after the Vedic age, Brahminical Aryans with their Indo-Aryan "spoken" Sanskrit (and subsequently with the Prakrits) came and settled in Kashmir and other Himalayan areas...In this way, Kashmir, in spite of a Dardic substratum in its people and its speech, became a part of

the Sanskrit culture-world of India. The Indo-Aryan Prakrits and Apbhramsha from the Midland and from Northern Panjab profoundly modified the Dardic bases of Kashmiri, so that one might say that Kashmiri language is a result of a very large over-laying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan elements. (Chatterji 1963: 256)

Schmidt (1981), and Koul and Schmidt (1984), represent the most recent work on Kashmiri, Shina, and their dialects. Their analyses are based on the comparison of phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary count, which previous scholars have used to define the so-called Dard group. Their findings confirm that both Shina and Kashmiri possess phonological and morphological features that characterize the so-called Dard group, (i.e., IA languages of the Dard area), though there are certain differences between the two. Shina, for example, has developed a tone system and has preserved a three-way contrast among sibilants. Kashmiri, in contrast, has developed a system of palatalized consonants. The most striking difference, according to these authors, is the occurrence of verb-second order, which is peculiar only to Kashmiri and its dialect Kashṭwāri/Kishṭwāri. The Poguli dialect shows both verb-second and verb-final order in the root clause. Word-order facts about Poguli are also confirmed in Hook (1987).

It is worth noting here that Zakharyin (1984), working within a quantitative typological framework, which is different from the comparative method, also concludes that Kashmiri belongs to the IA family. We will not go into the details of his analysis except to quote his remarks on the ergativity in Kashmiri and other IA languages:

Among the Indo-European languages of the West India, Kashmiri is the one that concentrates to the greatest degree the characteristics of ergativoidness. Thus it is a kind of prototype for all ergativoid languages of the area. The Indo-European languages of the West demonstrate the mixed phrase of ergativoidness. Detailed analysis of each language allows to determine the degree of "verbalness" or "nominalness" in them. In this respect in Kashmiri the verbal features of ergativoidness are found to the maximum extent. Hindi, and its dialects, specially those bordering Western Pahari (Bangaru, for example), represent the opposite prototype of a system with the greatest concentration of nominal features. While moving along the line of Kashmiri, Lahnda, Sindhi, Western Rajastani, Gujarati, Marathi, Western Hindi, and Eastern Punjabi dialects, we can easily observe the decrease of verbal features within the mixed type of ergativoidness and the increase of its nominal features. (1984:43)

In this connection, his earlier remarks in the same article are also worth noting:

> ...the more we learn about the Dardic languages...the more evident it becomes that G.A. Grierson might have been wrong to separate Kashmiri from the Indo-Aryan language stock, and that perhaps J. Block (1934) was right in stating that Kashmiri only primordially had been Dardic and later underwent a very heavy "Indo-Ayanization." (1984:29)

At present, then, there is a clear consensus that Kashmiri belongs to the IA hill language family. What should be noted here first is that Kashmiri and the related hill languages are listed as Dardic in most linguistic literature even today, giving an impression that they form some sort of a separate branch from Indo-Aryan. Second, Kashmiri is the only language that has a rich literary tradition dating from the thirteenth century onward (see Kachru 1981 for details) and a great bulk of Sanskrit vocabulary that has yet to be explained. The problem in our judgment clearly borders on ethnolinguistics rather than pure linguistics.

1.3 Kashmiri grammars

Edgeworth (1841) and Leech (1844) represent the earliest attempts at recording the grammars and vocabulary of Kashmiri. Pandit Içvara Kaula's *Kashmirashabdamrtam* (A Kashmiri Grammar), written in Pāṇinian style in Sanskrit in 1879 A.D. and published in 1898, is probably the first complete descriptive grammar of Kashmiri written by any scholar. The book contains chapters on the rules of sandhi, declension of nouns, pronouns, substantive and adjective, varieties of the vocative case, concordance and composition of nouns, formation of derived nouns, and adjectives, verbs, and their conjugation. The book was translated into English by Grierson in the form of essays in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the years 1896–98. At that time, Grierson also wrote an elaborate article on the Kashmiri vowel system and laid down the foundations for his transcription. These essays and articles form a valuable reference source for Kashmiri even today. In 1911, Grierson wrote the *Standard Manual of the Kashmiri Language,* which comprised grammar, a phrase book, and vocabulary. It was mostly meant for tourists wanting to learn Kashmiri. A brief description of the Kashmiri language is also found in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (vol. 8, part 2). Later Grierson compiled a four-volume Kashmiri-English dictionary (1932) based on the material left by Içvara Kaula. Kachru (1969b) and Bhat (1980) represent more recent works on Kashmiri.

1.4 The contribution of the present grammar

Most of the studies on Kashmiri have concentrated on phonology and morphology. Unfortunately, the syntax of the language has received very little attention. For example, until recently, Kashmiri word order was supposed to be

similar to English (see Grierson 1911). In reality, however, Kashmiri word order is more like Germanic and other verb-second languages. In the root clause, the finite verb may be preceded not only by the subject, as in English, but also by other clause constituents, as is the case in the verb-second languages, such as German, Dutch, and Icelandic, to name a few. Interestingly, the word order in Kashmiri differs even from these languages. For example, unlike German, Dutch, and Icelandic, in Kashmiri, the clause constituents generally precede the wh-question words, shifting the verb to the third position. The constituents may also precede the verb in yes-no questions. In addition, the finite subordinate clauses show a remarkable symmetry with the root clause in all types of constructions. In this book, we have made every attempt to note the word-order variations in all aspects of the language—root structures, question-word questions, imperatives, relative clauses, adverbials, and comparatives—thus making extensive data available for the first time to scholars interested in comparative studies. We have also described in detail the distribution of pronominal suffixes/clitics, the role of the reflexive possessive as the subject antecedent of the object—self's mother loves John—double case-marking in the possessive, extensive layering of causatives, and many other interesting and significant features of Kashmiri. Our book thus fills an important gap in Kashmiri grammar.

This work is primarily based on the standard dialect spoken in the Srinagar district of the Kashmir valley, where coauthor Omkar Nath Koul was a resident for many years. The data conform to the speech of many informants we know and have talked to. The vocabulary is a mixture of both Persianized and Sanskritized Kashmiri. No particular attempt is made to focus on these social differences.

1.5 Kashmiri script and transcription

Kashmiri is most commonly written in Perso-Arabic script with added diacritical marks to represent special Kashmiri sounds. It has been recognized as the official script by the Jammu and Kashmir Government. The old Sharada script, developed around tenth century, is mostly used for religious purposes by Kashmiri Pandits. The Devanagari script, with additional diacritics, is mostly used by Kashmiri Hindus for writing Kashmiri literature. The transcription scheme used in this volume is based on the one employed by Kachru (1974), Koul (1977, 1987), and Bhat (1987) and is elaborated on in the chapter on phonology.

Finally, we must add that though at present Kashmir is in great political turmoil, we hope the turmoil will be over soon so that the scholars can once again visit Kashmir and pursue various aspects of this unique and fascinating language.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
abl	ablative
abs	absolutive case
acc	accusative
adv	adverb
agn	agent/agentive
anaph	(discourse) anaphoric
asp	aspiration/aspirate
aux	auxiliary
caus	causative
comit	comitative
cond	conditional
conj	conjunctive
contra	contrastive
cor	correlative
cp	conjunctive participle
dat	dative
dem	demonstrative
dist	distal
emph	emphatic
erg	ergative case
exc	exclusive
foc	focus
fpl	feminine plural
fsg	feminine singular
fut	future
gen	genitive case
gern	gerundive
hon	honorific
imp	imperative
impf	imperfective
inc	inclusive

ind	indirect
indef	indefinite
inf	infinitive
inst	instrumental
interjec	interjective
ip	indefinite past
lit.	literal translation
mk	marker
mpl	masculine plural
ms	masculine singular
neg	negative
nom	nominative
obj	object
opt	optative
part	particle
pass	passive
pl	plural
pol	polite
poss	possessive
pp	postposition
pre	prefix
prec	precative
pro	nonovert pronoun
PRO	
prox	proximate
prp	present participle
ps	pronominal suffix
psp	past participle
ptcp	participle
Q	question particle
refl	reflexive
rel	relative
rp	remote past
sbjt	subjunctive
sg	singular
suff	suffix
vcd	voiced
vcl	voiceless
voc	vocative

SYMBOLS

Capitalized terms	generalized term for various forms
	(*UN* = all forms of genitive suffix *uk*)
~	nasalization
( )	optional element
[ ]	subordinate clause
/	variants of a linguistic form
t	trace of moved element/place of extraction
*	ungrammatical sequence
?	marginal sequence
subscripts i, j, k	coreference between elements
›	precedes
↑	upward intonation

Acknowledgments

1 SYNTAX

1.1 GENERAL QUESTIONS

1.1.1 Sentence types

1.1.1.1 Direct and indirect speech

In Kashmiri, indirect reports, which include indirect speech, are expressed by embedding a finite or a nonfinite clause, under the verbs of communication, assertion, opinion, and some others, as noted below. The finite clause may employ the regular or a logophoric pronominal pattern.

1.1.1.1.1 The logophoric pattern

A salient feature of the reported speech is that a replica of the direct speech may be embedded in the finite subordinate clause. The embedded first- and second-person pronouns primarily refer to the subject and the object of the main clause. The expected pronominal reference to the speaker and the addressee of the current speech act, although possible to infer, is usually suppressed. The two way ambiguous pronominal reference is exemplified in (1a-c). Notice that the subordinator *zi/ki* 'that' need not be expressed.

(1a) Embedded direct speech
ja:ve:d-an$_i$ von   (zi/ki)   b$_i$i,j   yim$_i$ jal$_i$d.
Javed-erg   said   that   I   come-fut   soon
'Javed said that he/I will come soon.'

(1b) Embedded question
shi:l-an$_i$ pr$_i$tsh-u-m$_j$ (zi/ki)   b$_i$i,j   k'a:zi   gatsh$_i$ n$_i$ to:r?
Sheila-erg   asked- 1sgps   that   she/I   why   go-fut   neg   there
'Sheila asked me that why she/I can't go there?'

(Note that *-m* is a first-person pronominal suffix/clitic. (See 2.1.3.6.2.2 for details.))

(1c) Embedded command
ja:ve:d-an$_i$ l'u:kh   (zi/ki)   ts$_i$j,k   par   yi   kita:b.
Javed-erg   wrote   that   you   read   this   book
'Javed wrote that you read this book.'

The logophoric pattern is predominant with verbs of communication, opinion, assertion, and psychological verbs. A partial list of these verbs is provided at the end of this section. Here we provide some examples:

(2a) ra:j$_i$ chu sõ:ca:n (zi/ki) shi:l$_i$ cha me$_{i,j}$ naphrath kara:n.
Raj be think-prp that Sheila be me hate do-prp.
'Raj thinks that Sheila hates him/me.'

(2b) ra:j-as$_i$ chu ba:sa:n (zi/ki) b$_{i,j}$ chus sa:riv$_i$y khot$_i$ bod.
Raj-dat be feel that I am all-in than big
'Raj$_i$ thinks that he/I am the biggest of all.'

In the context of certain verbs, such as shout, yell, and exclaim, the embedded first- and second-person pronouns convey only the logophoric sense. In (3a) for example, *b$_i$* 'I' refers only to the main subject. In contrast, these pronouns lack the logophoric sense if the main verbs such as mention, and remark are used. This is exemplified in (3b-c), where the pronouns *me/b$_i$* 'I' refer only to the speaker, namely, the subject of the speech act.

(3a) ra:jan$_i$ dits krakh (zi/ki) he bagva:n$_i$ b$_i$$_i$ k'a: kan$_i$
Raj-erg gave shout that Oh God I what do-fut
kunzon.
alone
'Raj shouted that Oh God, what would I do alone?'

(3b) ja:ve:d-an kor zikir (zi/ki) me chu akh bun$_i$ a:dath.
Javed-erg did mention that I-dat have one bad habit
'Javed mentioned that I have a bad habit.'

(3c) ja:ve:d-an von vayse ki b$_i$ chus cust ladk$_i$.
Javed-erg. said just that I am smart boy
'Javed said/remarked in passing that I am a smart boy.'

Antecedents of logophoric pronouns

Antecedents of logophoric pronouns may be quantifiers, as exemplified in (4a-b). However, if the antecedents are question words or modifiers, the pronouns will fail to be logophorically interpreted, as shown in (4c-e).

(4a) sa:riv$_i$y$_i$ von (zi/ki) asi$_{i,j}$ gatshi kita:b.
everyone-erg said that we-dat require book
'Everyone said that we/they require a book.'

(4b) kẽ:ts-av$_i$ naphrav von (zi/ki) əs'$_{i,j}$ chi pa:gal.
some-erg. persons-erg said that we are mad
'Some people said that we/they are mad.'

(4c) kəm'ᵢ   von   (zi/ki) bɨ*ᵢ chus bema:r?
     who-erg. said that   I   am   sick
     'Who said that I'm sick?'

(4d) nəsi:m-ɨn'ᵢ   kin'   chu-s   bɨ*ᵢ ga:ʈul.
     Nasim-gen-abl   according   be-1sgps   I   intelligent
     'In Nasim's opinion, I am intelligent.'

(4e) ja:ve:d-asᵢ chu   khaya:l (zi/ki) bɨ*ᵢ chus be:vku:ph.
     Javed-dat   has   idea   that   I   am   studpid
     'Javed's thinking is that I am stupid.'

Long-distance embeddings

First- and second-person pronouns may convey the logophoric interpretation
even under a second or a third level of embedding. For example, in (5a), the
pronoun *me*, embedded in the third clause, refers to all of *Raj, Mira* and the
speaker.

(5a) ra:jan   von   zi/ki mi:ra: cha   sõ:ca:n   zi/ki ja:ve:d
     Raj-erg.   said   that   Mira   is   think-prp   that   Javed
          chu   me   naphrath   kara:n.
          is   me   hate   do-prp
     'Raj said that Mira thinks that Javed hates him/her/me.'

Finally, it should be noted here, that in the written text the conventional
quotation marks are used to indicate direct speech. First- and second-person
pronouns in the quoted direct speech convey only the expected logophoric sense.

1.1.1.1.2 The nonlogophoric pattern

In the nonlogophoric pattern, first- and second-person pronouns of the direct
speech are changed into third-person pronouns. The third-person pronoun may
refer to the subject of the main clause, or to some other person outside the
discourse.

(6a) ja:ve:d-anᵢ von   (zi/ki) suᵢ,ⱼ pari   akhba:r.
     Javed-erg. said   that   he   read-fut   newspaper
     'Javed said that he will read the newspaper.'

1.1.1.1.3 The nonfinite pattern

Indirect reports may also be expressed by means of a nonfinite clause. The first-
and second-person pronouns in the nonfinite clause do not convey the
logophoric sense. For example, the first-person pronoun in the following
examples does not refer to the main subject. It refers only to the speaker of the
discourse.

(7a) ra:j-an   von   me:nis   kita:b   parn-as   mutalakh.
     Raj-erg   said   my   book   read-inf-dat   about
     'Raj said about my reading the book.'

(7b) ra:j-an   von   me   darva:zɪ   band   karnɪ   khə:trɪ.
     Raj-erg   told   me   door   close   do   for
     'Raj told me to close the door.'

List of logophoric verbs

(i) Verbs of communication: *vanun* 'to say/tell', *samja:vun* 'to explain', *guzə:rish karɪn* 'to request', *prɪtshun* 'to ask', *hukum d'un* 'to order/command', *baya:n karun* 'to declare/express/announce', *ma:nun* 'to agree/confess', *zo:r d'un* 'to insist', *krakh din'* 'to shout/yell', *kasam kh'on* 'to swear'.

(ii) Verbs of opinion: *yitimina:n a:sun* 'to be certain', *khaya:l a:sun* 'to have an idea about', *mutamayi:n a:sun* 'to be convinced about', *ra:y din'* 'to suggest/give one's opinion'.

(iii) Verbs of assertion: *yakra:r karun* 'to agree', *ma:nun* 'to agree/admit', *java:b d'un '* 'to answer/reply', *yinka:r karun* 'to refuse', *zə:hir karun* 'to express', *phikri ta:run* 'to explain', *isha:rɪ karun* 'to hint at', *zo:r d'un* 'to insist', *ha:vun* 'to point out/to show', *vanun* 'to say', *kasam kh'on* 'to swear', *le:khun* 'to write', *yinka:r karun* 'to deny'.

(iv) Verbs of decision: *phə:slɪ karun* 'to decide', *tay karun* 'to decide/to fix (a deal, an appointment)', *ma:nun* 'agree', *yekra:r karun* 'to agree/accept'.

(v) Psychological verbs: *ba:sun* 'to feel, seem, appear' *sō:cun* 'to think, to presume', *lagun* 'seem/appear' *baro:sɪ karun* 'to believe', *khaya:l karun* 'to imagine', *kaya:s karun* 'to guess', *vɔme:d a:sɪn'* 'to hope', *kho:tsun* 'to be afraid of', *baro:sɪ a:sun* 'to be certain'.

1.1.1.2 Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences are primarily classified as: (a) yes-no questions; (b) question-word questions; and (c) echo-questions. All the three types show a distinct syntactic and morphological pattern, as shown in their respective sections.

1.1.1.2.1 Yes-no questions

1.1.1.2.1.1 Neutral yes-no questions

Yes-no questions, which are neutral with respect to their answers, are formed by means of a rising intonation, or by adding a bound question marker *a:* to the predicate. In both these strategies, an additional question marker *k'a:*—homophonous with the question word *k'a:* 'what'—is optionally placed in the

sentence initial position. The use of *k'a:* in yes-no questions is distinct from its use as a question word. The question word *k'a:* semantically contrasts with other question words and follows the regular question-word pattern noted below in (1.1.1.2.2). In contrast, *k'a:* in yes-no questions is semantically empty and has a distinct pattern of its own.

1.1.1.2.1.1.1 Intonation patterns

A declarative sentence can be converted into a simple yes-no question simply by placing a rising intonation on the verb. The sentence may be optionally preceded by the question marker *k'a:*.

(1a) (k'a:) toh'   chi-vɨ   kə:shur   za:na:n?
       Q   you-pl-nom be-2plps Kashmiri know-prp
       'Do you know Kashmiri?'

(1b) (k'a:) toh'   chi-vɨ   kita:b para:n?
       Q   you-pl-nom be-2plps book   reading
       'Are you reading a book?'

1.1.1.2.1.1.2 Yes-no questions with *a:*

Neutral yes-no questions are also formed by adding the bound question marker *a:* to the predicate of the declarative sentence. The question marker is always placed at the end of all verbal inflections.

(2a) mohnan   ə:s   bulə:v-mɨts   mi:ra:.
       Mohan-erg be   invite-psp   Mira-abs
       'Mohan invited Mira.'

(2b) (k'a:)   mohnan   ə:sa: bulə:v-mɨts   mi:ra:?
       Q   Mohan-erg be-Q   invite-perf   Mira-abs
       'Did Mohan invite Mira?'

(2c) tsɨ   gatsha-kh   paga:h   garɨ.
       you   go-2sgps   tomorrow home
       'You will go home tomorrow.'

(2d) (k'a:)   tsɨ   gatsh-kh-a: paga:h   garɨ?
       Q   you   go-2sgps-Q   tomorrow home
       'Will you go home tomorrow?'

Note that *k'a:* usually occupies the initial sentence position. Its use in other positions is marginally acceptable to some speakers. However, the position of *k'a:* after the verb is totally unacceptable.

(3a) (k'a:) tsɨ gatsh-kh-a: paga:h garɨ?
     k'a: you go-2sgps-Q tomorrow home
     'Will you go home tomorrow?'

(3b) ?? tsɨ k'a: gatsh-kh-a: paga:h garɨ?

(3c) * tsɨ gatsh-kh-a: k'a: paga:h garɨ?

1.1.1.2.1.1.3 Word-order variations

It is important to note here that Kashmiri is a verb-second language, unlike the neighboring Indian languages, which are verb final. The finite predicate, which may be an auxiliary or a verb, occupies the second position in both root and embedded finite clauses. The first position is occupied either by a subject or some other constituent (i.e., the topic). (See 1.14 for details.) Kashmiri maintains its verb-second order in yes-no questions except when these contain *k'a:*. The addition of *k'a:* throws the verb in the third position, as in (2d) above.[1] The verb with its question mark in the initial position is only marginally acceptable. (Compare (4a) with (2d).)

(4a) ?gatsh-kh-a: tsɨ garɨ paga:h?
     go-2sgps-Q you home tomorrow
     'Will you go home tomorrow?'

(4b) paga:h gatsh-kh-a: tsɨ garɨ?

1.1.1.2.1.1.4 Negative yes-no questions

A negative yes-no question is formed by adding *a:* to the negative morpheme *nɨ*, or the suppletive negative imperative *mɨ*, as the case may be. The negative *nɨ* follows the inflected auxiliary or the verb, as the case may be. The imperative *mɨ* precedes the auxiliary/verb complex. In both the constructions, one may use the question marker *k'a:*.

(5a) tsɨ gatsha-kh nɨ paga:h garɨ.
     you go-2sgps-fut neg tomorrow home
     'You won't go home tomorrow.'

(5b) (k'a:) tsɨ gatsha-kh n-a: paga:h garɨ?
     k'a: you go-2sgps neg-Q tomorrow home
     'Won't you go home tomorrow?'

(5c) tsɨ mɨ gatsh paga:h garɨ.
     you not go-2sg tomorrow home
     'Don't go home tomorrow.'

(5d) (k'a:)   tsɨ   ma: gatsha-kh paga:h gaɾɨ?
                  neg-Q   go-2sgps
     'Aren't you going home tomorrow?'

1.1.1.2.1.2 Leading yes-no questions

The function of leading questions is to ask for confirmation or to express doubt about the truth of an assertion. Leading questions are constructed by means of a tag, which consists of a copy of the main predicate plus the yes-no question marker *a:*.

1.1.1.2.1.2.1 Expecting the answer "Yes"

Leading questions expecting a positive answer are expressed by an affirmative statement followed by the negative tag [aux/verb + *na:*].

(6a) az   cha tɨ:r,   cha na:?
     today be   cold   is   neg-Q
     'It is cold today, isn't it?'

(6b) su   le:khi   cith',   le:khi   na:?
     he   write-3sg-fut letter write-3sg-fut neg-Q
     'He will write a letter, won't he?'

1.1.1.2.1.2.2 Expecting the answer "No"

Leading questions expecting a negative answer are expresed by a negative statement followed by the affirmative tag sequence [aux/verb + *a:*].

(7a) az   cha nɨ   tɨ:r,   ch-a:?
     today be neg cold   is-Q
     'It isn't cold today, is it?'

(7b) su   le:khi   nɨ   cith',   le:kh'a:?
     he   write-3sg-fut neg letter   write-3sg-fut-Q
     'He won't write a letter, will he?'

When the main verb occurs with the auxiliary, as is the case with the imperfective and other aspectual constructions, the marker *a:* is added to the auxiliary in the tag. The main verb is optionally repeated in the tag.

(8a) təm'   cha cith'   li:chimɨts,   cha-n   na: (li:chimɨts)?
     he-erg has letter write-psp   has-3sgps not-Q
     'He has written a letter, hasn't he?'

(8b) tami   cha-nɨ   cith'   li:chimɨts, cha-n-a: (li:chimɨts)?
     she-erg has-not letter write-psp   has-3sgps-Q
     'She hasn't written a letter, has she?'

(8c) təm-is pazi garı gatshun, paz-es na: (gatshun)?
     he-dat should home go-inf should-3sgps neg-Q
     'He should go home, shouldn't he?'

(8d) təm-is pazi nɨ yi dava: kh'on, pazisa: (kh'on)?
     he-dat should neg this medicine eat-inf should-3sg-Q
     'He shouldn't take this medicine, should he?'

(8e) tsɨ ma:rɪ-hə:-n su, ma:rɪ-hə:-n na:?
     you kill-fut-2sg-ps-3sg-ps he kill-fut-2sg-ps-3sg-ps not-Q
     'You will kill him, won't you?'

(8f) tsɨ dikh təmis kita:b, dihə:s na:?
     you give-2sg-ps him-dat book give-2sg-ps-3sgps not-Q
     'You will give him a book, won't you?'

Note that, in all these examples, the auxiliary in the tag is carrying the appropriate pronominal suffixes referring to the subject and the object. For example, the suffix *n* in (8a) refers to the ergative subject, while the suffix *s* in (8c) refers to the dative subject. In (8e) and (8f), the pronominal suffixes in the tag refer to both the subject and the object.

1.1.1.2.1.3 Alternative questions

1.1.1.2.1.3.1 Alternative questions in the main clause

In alternative questions, the verb is suffixed with the question marker *a:*, and a special negative coordinator *kinɨ* is placed between the alternative elements. In the case of multiple alternative elements, *kinɨ* is placed at the end of the last but one alternative.

(9a) su gatsh'a: az kinɨ paga:h?
     he go-Q today or tomorrow
     'Will he go today or tomorrow?'

(9b) tsɨ cekh-a: ca:y, ka:phi: kinɨ dɔd?
     you drink-Q tea, coffee or milk
     'Would you like to drink tea, coffee or milk?'

In alternative questions that employ contradictory predicates, *kinɨ* is followed by the negative particle *na*.

(9c) tsɨ par-kh-a: yi kita:b kinɨ na/kinɨ parakh nɨ?
     you read-2sgps-Q this book or not/or read not
     'Will you read this book or not?'

1.1.1.2.1.3.2 Alternative questions in the subordinate clause

Alternative questions of the if/whether type that are found in the subordinate clause use the regular coordinator *ya:* 'or'. The subordinate aux/verb is suffixed with the question marker *a:*.

(10a) me chu nɨ pata: zi/ki sɔli:m cey-a: ca:y ya: na.
      I be not know that Salim drink-fut-Q tea or not
      'I don't know whether Salim will drink tea (or not).'

(10b) tse cha-y-a: pata: zi/ki sɔli:m cey-a: ca:y ya: shara:b?
      you-dat be-Q know that Salim drink-fut-Q tea or wine
      'Do you know whether Salim will drink tea or wine?'

It should be noted here that in this construction the subordinate verb may be optionally placed at the end of its clause. The verb in this case immediately precedes the alternator *ya:*. (Compare (11a) with (10b).) This behaviour of the verb contrasts with the one in the regular finite subordinate clause in which the verb must stay in the second position, as exemplified in (11b).

(11a) me chu nɨ pata: zi/ki sɔli:m ca:y cey-a: ya: na.
      I be not know that Salim tea drink-Q or not
      'I don't know whether Salim will drink tea or not.'

(11b) me chu pata: zi/ki sɔli:m chu kita:b par-a:n./
      I-erg be know that Salim be book read-prp
      *sɔli:m kita:b chu para:n.
      'I know that Salim is reading a book.'

1.1.1.2.1.4 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions have the force of opposite polarity. In a positive rhetorical question, the speaker expects a negative answer, while in a negative rhetorical question, the expected answer is always positive. Rhetorical questions may belong to the leading yes-no question class or to the question-word question class.

In leading yes-no rhetorical questions, a negative answer is expected—rather forced—in the presence of certain negative polarity expressions, such as *gɔdɨ*, *zã:h* 'first, ever'. Note that these questions are not appended by a tag.

(12a) su cha: gɔdɨ/zã:h to:r gatsh-a:n?
      he be-Q first/ever there go-prp
      'Does he ever go there?'

(12b) sɔ cha: zã:h sɔ:ras gatsh-a:n?
      she be-Q ever walk-dat go-prp
      'Does she ever go for a walk?'

Question-word rhetorical questions expecting a positive answer are usually negative questions with a question word.

(13a) kəmis   chu-nɨ   panun shur   pasand?
       who   be-not self's child like
       'Who doesn't like his own child?'

(13b) Ans: prath   kɔ̄:si.
           'Everyone.'

(13c) mohnas   k'a: chu nɨ?
       Mohan-dat what be   not
       'What doesn't Mohan have?'

(13d) Ans: prath   kĕh.
           'Everything.'

Rhetorical questions expecting a negative answer are formed with expressions such as *kas pata:* 'who knows', *khɔda/bagva:n za:ni* 'God alone knows'. These are sometimes followed by an alternative question using the coordinator *kinɨ*. The expected answer here is clearly of the type 'nobody knows/only God knows'.

(14a) kas pata:?
      'Who knows?'

(14b) yeti   k'a: chu m'a:ni   ba:path?
      here   Q   be   me-poss   for
      'What is here for me?'

(14c) kas   pata:,   su   yiya: kinɨ na?
      who knows he   come-3sg-fut-Q or   not
      'Who knows if/whether he'll come or not?'

(14d) khɔda:/bagva:n za:ni,   su cha: poz vana:n kinɨ na?
      God/god   know-3sg-fut he be-Q truth saying or   not
      'God knows whether he is telling the truth or not?'

1.1.1.2.2 Question-word questions

It has been mentioned above that Kashmiri is a verb-second language. In Kashmiri, the question word moves before the predicate (i.e., auxiliary/verb). An interesting, and somewhat significant, feature of Kashmiri is that question words may be preceded by a subject or a topic.[2] The verb then shifts to the third position. The sequence [topic + question word + V + ····] represents the preferred order. Question words in the sentence initial position are also acceptable, but the

derived sequence [question word + V + ····] is not a preferred mode of expression. In both constructions—topic first/question word first—question words usually carry a higher intonation than the rest of the elements in the sequence. A condition on both constructions is that the predicate must not precede the question word. Secondly, the question word may be preceded by one element only. The sequence [topic + topic + question word + V + ····] is not acceptable to native speakers. Note that in most of the neighboring Indo-Aryan languages, such as Sindhi, Punjabi, and Hindi, the question words stay *in situ* in the unmarked order.

The primary question words in Kashmiri are *k'a:* 'what', *kus* 'who', *kati* 'where', *k'uth* 'how', *ka':zi* 'why', *ku:t* 'how much', *kar* 'when', *kot* 'in what direction', etc. A few question words, such as *kus, k'a:* 'who, what', inflect for case as well as number and gender. (For paradigmatic details, see 2.1.2.6.) Here we illustrate some of these inflectional variations.

Inflectional variations on *kus* 'who'

    (1a) yi   kus   chu?/   yi   kɔs   cha?
            this who-abs-msg aux/ this who-abs-fsg aux
            'Who is he/Who is she?'

    (1b) yi   kəm'/kami   khev tsū:ṭh?
            this who-erg-msg/-fsg ate   apple
            'Who ate this apple?'

    (1c) kas/kəmis ləṛk-as   chu   gatshun?
            who-dat   boy-dat   is   go-lnf
            'Which boy has to go?'

(The dative forms *kas/kəmis* in (1c) are in free variation.)

    (1d) kɨman   ləṛk-an/ko:ren   chu   yun?
            who-pl-dat boys-dat/girls-dat   have come-inf
            'Which boys/girls have to come?'

Possessive question words follow the complex inflectional pattern of the possessive forms noted in (2.1.2.4). The initial morpheme of the possessive question word, (e.g., *kəm'* in (2a) and *kɨman* in (2c), inflects for the possessor's number, while the second morpheme (e.g., *sund* in (2a) and *sɨnz* in (2b)) inflects for the gender and number of the modified noun. (See 2.1.2.6 for details.)

    (2a) yi   kəm'-sund   maka:n   chu?
            this whose-msg-gen-msg house-msg   is
            'Whose house is this?'

    (2b) yi   kəm'-sɨnz   gər   cha?
            this whose-msg-gen-fsg watch-fsg is
            'Whose watch is this?'

(2c) yi   kɨman-hund   maka:n   chu?
     this   whose-mpl-gen-msg   house-msg is
     'Whose house is this?'

1.1.1.2.2.1 Constituents of the sentence that can be questioned

1.1.1.2.2.1.1 Constituents of the main clause that can be questioned

All the constituents of the main clause can be questioned, as illustrated below. Various word-order possibilities have also been illustrated.

(3) ra:jan   hə:v   ra:th   shi:las   panɨni   gari
     Raj-erg showed-fsg   yesterday Sheila-dat own   home-loc
       akh   nəv   kita:b.
       a   new   book-fsg
     'Raj showed a new book to Sheila at his home yesterday.'

 (4) Questioning the subject

(4a) kəm' hə:v ra:th   shi:las panɨni gari akh nəv kita:b?
     'Who showed new book to Sheila at his home yesterday?'

(4b) shi:las kəm' hə:v ra:th panɨni gari akh nəv kita:b?

(4c) akh nəv kita:b kəm' hə:v ra:th shi:las panɨni gari?

 (5) Verb before the question word

(5a) *shi:las hə:v kəm' ra:th panɨni gari akh nəv kita:b?

 (6) Two elements preceding the question word

(6a) *shi:las ra:th kəm' hə:v panɨni gari akh nəv kita:b?

 (7) Questioning the direct object

(7a) ra:jan k'a: hə:v ra:th shi:las panɨni gari?
     'What did Raj show Sheila at his home yesterday?'

(7b) shi:las k'a: hə:v ra:jan ra:th panɨni gari?

 (8) Questioning the indirect object

(8a) ra:jan kəmis hə:v ra:th panɨni gari akh nəv kita:b?
     'Whom did Raj show a new book at his home yesterday?'

(8b) ra:th kəmis hə:v ra:jan panɨni gari akh nəv kita:b?

(9)   Questioning a temporal adverb

(9a)   ra:jan kar hə:v shi:las panɨni gari akh nəv kita:b?
        'When did Raj show Sheila a new book at his home?'

(9b)   akh nəv kita:b kar hə:v ra:jan shi:las panɨni gari?

(10)   Questioning a locative adverb

(10a)   ra:jan kati hə:v ra:th shi:las akh nəv kita:b?
         'Where did Raj show a new book to Sheila?'

The questioning of a constituent with multiple members is obtained by reduplicating the relevant question word, as shown in (11b-d). The intent of the reduplicated question is to extract the list of the members.

(11a)   paga:h   yiyi   mohnɨ,   mi:ra:,   tɨ   nəsi:m
         tomorrow   come-fut   Mohan   Mira   and   Nasim
              sha:hrɨ   peṭhɨ.
              city-abl   from
         'Tomorrow Mohan, Mira, and Nasim will come from the city.'

(11b)   paga:h   kus   kus   yiyi   sha:hrɨ   peṭhɨ?
         tomorrow   who   who   come-fut   city-abl   from
         'Who are the various people that will come tomorrow from the city?'

(11c)   təm'   k'a: k'a: vuch?
         he-erg   what   what   saw
         'What (various) items did he see?'

(11d)   su   kot   kot   gav?
         he   where   where   went
         'Which various places did he visit?'

Note that there is no special question word for questioning a verbal complex. The complex is replaced by *k'a: kor* 'do what' or *k'a: sapud/gav* 'what happened' for action and stative verbs respectively.

(12a)   ra:j-an   k'a: kor   ra:th   panɨni   gari?
         Raj   what   do   yesterday   his-at   house
         'What did Raj do at his home yesterday?'

(12b)   ra:jɨni   gari   k'a: sapud   ra:th?
         Raj's   house-in   what   find   yesterday
         'What happened at Raj's house yesterday?'

(13) Constituents of the copular sentence that can be questioned

In equational copular sentences, either the subject noun phrase or the predicate nominal can be questioned. The demonstrative pronoun in the subject position cannot be questioned.

(13a) yi   cha   gər.
      this is-fsg   watch-fsg
      'This is a watch.'

(13b) yi   k'a: cha?
      this what is-fsg
      'What is this?'

(13c) *gər   k'a: cha?
      watch what is-fsg
      'What is a watch?'

In nonequational copular sentences, all elements except the verb may be questioned. The copular verb cannot be deleted.

(14a) kus   chu? /*kus?
      who is-3sg
      'Who is (there)?'

(14b) kəm-is   chi va:riya:h   põ:sɨ?
      who-dat has lot   money
      'Who has a lot of money?'

(14c) aslam-as   k'a: chi?
      Aslam-dat what has
      'What does Aslam have?'

(14d) tsɨ   kəmis   sɨ:t' chu-kh? /*tsɨ kəmis   sɨ:t'?
      you who-dat with are-2sgps
      'Who are you with?'

(14e) kita:b   kati   cha?
      book-fsg where-abl is-fsg
      'Where is the book?'

(14f) vohɨvo:d kar   chu-vɨ?
      birthday   when is-2hon-sgps
      'When is your birthday?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.2 Constituents of subordinate clauses that can be questioned

All the constituents of finite as well as nonfinite subordinate clauses may be questioned. The question words in these clauses carry certain scope restrictions, as explained in their respective sections.

1.1.1.2.2.1.2.1 Nonfinite clauses

Questioned elements in the nonfinite clause show certain optional movement variations. The most preferred position for questioned elements is before the main verb, as is the case with the root clause. However, note that the whole nonfinite clause including the questioned word may also be placed before the main verb.

Other movements with marginal acceptibility have also been shown. In all these variations, the questioned element has a scope over the entire clause. In short, questioned words in nonfinite clauses can only be interpreted as forming direct questons.

(15) Infinitival clauses

All overt elements of the infinitival clause are accessible for questioning.

(15a) Extraction of indirect object

(15b) mi:ra:yi   gəyɨ məshɨth   [ra:jas   kita:b   ra:th   din'].
       Mira-dat   aux   forgot   Raj-dat book   yesterday give-inf
       'Mira forgot to give the book to Raj yesterday.'

(15c) kəmis   gəyɨ mi:ra:yi   məshɨth   [ra:th   kita:b   din']?
       who-dat   aux   Mira   forgot   yesterday book   give-inf
       'Who did Mira forgot to give the book yesterday?'

(16) Word-order variations on (15c)

(16a) mi:ra:yi kəmis gəyɨ məshɨth [kita:b ra:th din']?

(16b) ? [kəmis kita:b ra:th din'] gəyɨ mi:ra:yi məshɨth ?

(16c) ???? mi:ra:yi gəyɨ [kəmis kita:b ra:th din'] məshɨth?

(17a) mə:l'   von   neciv-is [mi:ra:yi ciṭh'   le:khnɨ   khə:tri].
       father-erg told son-dat Mira-dat letter write-ɪnf- for
       'The father told his son to write a letter to Mira.'

(17b) kəm-is   von   mə:l' [ciṭh' le:khnɨ khə:tri] necivis?
       who-dat   tell
       'To whom did the father ask his son to write the letter?'

(18) Word-order variations on (17b)

(18a) məːl' kəmis von [ciṭh' leːkhnɨ khəːtrɨ] necivis?

(18b) ?? məːl' [kəmis ciṭh' leːkhnɨ khəːtrɨ] von necivis?

(18c) ??? məːl' von necivis [kəmis ciṭh' leːkhnɨ khəːtrɨ]?

(19) Extraction of the adverb for questioning

(19a) kar   gəyɨ mi:ra:yi   [ra:jas   kita:b   din']   məshɨth?
       when   aux Mira-dat   Raj-dat   book   give-inf forgot
       'When did Mira forgot to give the book to Raj?'

(20) Word-order variations on (19a)

(20a) mi:ra:yi kar gəyɨ məshɨth [kita:b ra:th din']?

(20b) ??? mi:ra:yi gəyɨ [kar kita:b ra:th din'] məshɨth?

(20c) [kar kita:b ra:th din'] gəyɨ mi:ra:yi məshɨth ?

(Note that *kar* may also refer to the time of forgetting.)

(21) Extraction of the possessive element for questioning

(21a) məːlis   chu-nɨ [co:n   tamo:k   con]   pasand.
       father-dat aux not your   tobacco drink-inf like
       'Father does not like your smoking.'

(21b) məːlis   kəm'sund chu-nɨ [tamo:k   con]   pasand?
       father-dat whose   aux-not tobacco   drink-inf like
       'Whose smoking father does not like?'

(22) Word-order variations on (21b)

(22a) ?? məːlis [kəm'sund tamo:k con] chu-nɨ pasand?

(22b)   ?? [kəm'sund tamo:k con] chu-nɨ məːlis pasand?

(23) Extraction of the nonpossessive constituent for questioning

(23a) məːlis   k'a: chu-nɨ [co:n   con]   pasand?
       father-dat what   aux-not your   drink-inf like
       'Father does not like your smoking what?'
       (What is it that father does not like your smoking?')

(24) Word-order variations on (23a)

(24a) * mə:lis [k'a: co:n con] chu-nɨ pasand?

(24b) * [k'a: co:n con] chu-nɨ mə:lis pasand?

(25) Participial clauses

In participial clauses, such as frequentatives and conjunctives, question words follow the infinitival question strategy.

(26) Frequentative participials

(26a) su   o:s   batɨ kheva:n kheva:n kita:b   para:n.
        he   was   food eating   eating   book   reading
        'He was reading a book while eating his meals.'

(26b) ? su   k'a: o:s   [kheva:n   kheva:n]   kita:b   para:n?
        he   what was   eating   eating   book   reading
        'He was reading a book while eating what?'

(26c) su [k'a: kheva:n kheva:n} o:s kita:b para:n?

(27) Conjunctive participials

(27a) su   o:s   kita:b   pəri-th   shõgɨ-mut.
        he   was   book   read-cp   sleep-psp
        'He slept after reading the book.'

(27b) ? su   k'a: pərith   o:s   shõgɨ-mut?
        he   what read-cp   was   sleep-psp
        'He slept after reading what?'

(27c) ???su   k'a: o:s   pərith   shõgɨ-mut?

1.1.1.2.2.1.2.2 Finite subordinate clauses

We have shown so far that in both simple and nonfinite clauses the questioned element normally moves to the second position in the main clause and has a scope over the entire sentence. In contrast, the questioned element in the embedded finite *zi/ki* clause has the unambiguous indirect question interpretation. The scope of the question word does not encompass the higher sentence. Note that the embedded finite clause in Kashmiri has the same verb-second order restrictions, as is the case with the main clause. Note also that the subordinator *zi/ki* flanks the subject or the topic as the case may be and literally throws the subordinate verb in the third position. The questioned element in the subordinate clause moves before the embedded verb and may be flanked by

the embedded subject or some other embedded element. The subordinator *zi/ki* stays *in situ* and may be optionally deleted, as is the case with the corresponding declarative sentence.

(28) təmis   chu   pata: (zi/ki)   aslam-an   dits   mohn-as
     he-dat   aux   know   that   Aslam-erg   gave-fsg   Mohan-dat
        ra:th   gər.
     yesterday   watch-fsg
     'He knows that Aslam gave a watch to Mohan yesterday.'

(29) Questioning the subject

(29a) təmis chu pata: (zi/ki) mohn-as kəm' dits ra:th gər.
      'He knows who gave a watch to Mohan yesterday.'

(30) Questioning the direct object

(30a) təmis chu pata: (zi/ki) aslam-an k'a: d'ut ra:th mohnas.
      'He knows what Aslam gave to Mohan yesterday.'

(31) Questioning the indirect object

(31a) təmis chu pata: (zi/ki) aslaman kəmis dits ra:th gər.
      'He knows to whom Aslam gave a watch yesterday.'

(32) Questioning the time adverb

(32a) təmis chu pata: (zi/ki) aslaman kar dits mohnas gər.
      'He knows when Aslam gave the watch to Mohan.'

The formation of the direct question from the elements of the finite embedded clause is usually obtained by a complex construction. The construction requires insertion of a question marker *k'a:* before the main verb in the matrix clause. The embedded questioned element is moved to the second position of the subordinate clause. The subordinate verb appears in the third position.

(33) Questioning the subject

(33a) tse   k'a: chu-y   ba:sa:n   (zi/ki)   mohn-as   kəm'
      you-dat what   aux-2sg-ps   think   that   Mohan-dat who
         dits   kita:b?
      gave   book
      'Who do you think that gave a book to Mohan?'

(34) Questioning the object

(34a) tse   k'a: chu-y   ba:sa:n (zi/ki) ra:j-an   k'a:
       you   what   aux-2sg-ps   think   that   Raj-erg   what
            d'ut   mohn-as?
            gave   Mohan-dat
       'What do you think that Raj gave to Mohan?'

(35) Questioning the indirect object

(35a) tse   k'a: chu-y   ba:sa:n (zi/ki) ra:j-an   kəm-is
       you   what   aux-2sg-ps.   think   that   Raj-erg   who-dat
            dits   kita:b?
            gave   book
       'Whom do you think (that) Raj gave the book?'

(36) Questioning the adverb

(36a) tse   k'a: chuy   ba:sa:n (zi/ki) ra:j-an   k'a:zi   dits
       you   what   aux   think   that   Raj-erg   why   gave
            mohn-as   kita:b?
            Mohan-dat book
       'Why do you think (that) Raj gave the book to Mohan?'

Note that the *k'a:* strategy is not used with factive verbs, such as *za:nun, mo:lum a:sun* 'to know'. Thus, there is no Kashmiri equivalent construction corresponding to the English 'What do you know that Mary likes?/Who do you know that Mary sees regularly?' (see Wali 1988 for details). The *k'a:* strategy is confined to nonfactive verbs, such as *ba:sun* 'to seem, to believe, to guess', *sõ:cun* 'to think' *yatshun* 'to wish/to want'.

It is worth noting here that some native speakers marginally accept the direct questions formed by moving the question words into the main clause as exemplified in (37a, 37b, and 37c). However, it is not a preferred mode of question formation

(37a) ??ra:man   kəmis   vuch   (zi/ki) mohnɨ   o:s   kita:b   diva:n?
       Ram-erg   who-dat   see   that   Mohan   aux-pst   book   giving
       'Who did Ram see that Mohan was giving a book to?'

(37b) tse   k'a:zi   chuy   ba:sa:n (zi/ki) ra:jan   a:si   ditsmɨts'
       you   why   aux   think   that   Raj-erg   aux   gave-perf
            mohnas   kita:b?
            Mohan-dat book
       'Why do you think (that) Raj would have given the book to Mohan?'

(37c) tse   kati   chuy   ba:sa:n (zi/ki) ra:jan   a:si   ditsmɨts
       you   where   aux   think   that   Raj   has   given
             mohnas   kita:b?
             Mohan-dat book
       'Where do you think (that) Raj would have given the book to Mohan?'

The subjunctive construction embedded under *zi/ki* subordinator allows the main clause *k'a:* strategy noted above, as well as the movement of the embedded questioned element, as exemplified below. (See Wali 1988.)

(38) The *k'a:* strategy

(38a) mi:ra: k'a: chi yatsha:n   ki   su   k'a: gotsh   anun?
       Mira   what want-ing   that he   what should bring
       'What does Mira want that he should bring?'

(39) The movement strategy

(39a) mi:ra: k'a: chi yatsha:n   su   gotsh   anun?
       Mira   what want-ing   he   should bring
       'What does Mira want that he should bring?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.3 Constituents of a noun phrase that can be questioned

The questioning of the constituents of a noun phrase, such as determiners, quantifiers, adjectives, and possesors, involves the movement of the whole noun phrase. The questioned element cannot be extracted away from the noun phrase it qualifies.

(40) Questioning the demonstrative pronoun

(40a) təm'   vuch yi   lɔkɨṭ ku:r.
       he-erg saw this little girl
       'He saw this little girl.'

(40b) təm'   [kɔs   lɔkɨṭ ku:r] vuch?
       he-erg which little girl saw
       'Which little girl did he see?'

(40c) *təm' kɔs vuch lɔkɨṭ ku:r?

(41) Questioning the attributive adjective

(41a) təm'   vuch akh   tshoṭ   ku:r.
       he-erg saw   one   short-statured girl
       'He saw a short-statured girl.'

(41b) təm'   kitsh   ku:r   vɨch?
       he-erg   what-type-fsg girl   saw
       'What kind of a girl did he see?'

(42)   Questioning the intensifier

(42a) su   za:ni   əkis   seṭha: ze:chi   ko:ri.
       he   knows   one-dat   very   tall-fsg-dat qirl--dat
       'He knows a very tall girl.'

(42b) su   kɨ:tsi   ze:chi   ko:ri   za:ni?
       he   how-much-fsg-dat tall-fsg-dat girl-dat knows
       'How tall a girl does he know?'

(43)   Questioning the possessive phrase

(43a) əzi:zun   gaɳ   chu   dili.
       Aziz-poss house   is   Delhi-loc
       'Aziz's house is in Delhi.'

(43b) kəm'sund gaɳ chu dili?
       'Whose house is in Delhi?'

(43c) təmis   chu   əzi:z-n-i   ma:si-hund   gaɳ   mo:lu:m.
       he-dat   has   Aziz-gen-dat   aunt-dat-gen   house   know
       'He knows Aziz's aunt's house.'

(43d) təmis   kəm'sɨnzi   ma:si-hund   gaɳ   chu   mo:lu:m?
       he-dat   who-gen-dat   aunt's-gen-dat   house has   knowledge
       'Whose aunt's house does he know?'

(44)   Questioning the quantifier (cardinal number)

(44a) nəzi:rɨn'   tre   do:s   yin   paga:h.
       Nazir's   three   friends   come-3pl-fut   tomorrow
       'Nazir's three friends will come tomorrow.'

(44b) nəzi:rɨn' kəts do:s yin paga:h?
       'How many friends of Nazir will come tomorrow?'

(44c) su   za:ni   nəzi:rmen   tren   do:stan.
       he   knows   Nazir-gen-dat   three-dat   friend-dat
       'He knows three friends of Nazir.'

(44d) su   kətsan   nəzi:men   do:stan   za:ni?
     he   how-many   Nazir-gen-dat friends-dat know-3sg
     'How many friends of Nazir does he know?'

(44e) *su kətsan za:ni nəzi:men do:stan?

(45) Questioning the specifier/classifier

(45a) su   za:ni   aslam-nis   zith-is   neciv-is.
     he   knows   Aslam-gen-dat   elder-dat   son-dat
     'He knows Aslam's elder son.'

(45b) aslam-nis   kəmis   neciv-is za:ni   su?
     Aslam-gen-dat   which   son-dat knows   he
     'Which son of Aslam does he know?'

(45c) su kəmis aslam-nis neciv-is za:ni?

(46) Questioning the quantifier (ordinal number)

(46a) təm'sund   treyim   necuv   chu   da:na:
     he-gen   third   son   is   intelligent
     'His third son is intelligent.'

(46b) təm'sund kətsim necuv chu da:na:?
     'Which son of his is intelligent?'

(46c) su   za:ni   nəzi:rnis   treyimis   necivis.
     he   knows   Nazir-gen-dat   third-dat   son-dat
     'He knows Nazir's third son.'

(46d) nəzi:rnis kətsimis necivis za:ni su?
     'Which son of Nazir does he know?'

(47) Relative clauses

The questioning of the constituents of a finite relative clause as well as a complex noun phrase (i.e., noun + sentence) produces an unacceptable construction.

(47a) su   shə:yir yem' nazım   pər   gav   garı.
     rel   poet   who poem   read went   home
     'The poet who read the poem went home.'

(47b) * su shə:yir yem'   k'a: pər gav garı?
                what

(47c) * su shə:yir yem' pər k'a: gav garɨ?
                             what
       *What the poet who wrote went home.'

(48) Complex noun phrases

(48a) təm'   bu:z yi   aphva: zi   mohn-an   li:ch   kita:b.
      he-erg heard this rumour that Mohan-erg wrote   a book
      'He heard the rumour that Mohan wrote a book.'

(48b) *təm'   k'a: bu:z yi aphva: zi mohnan li:ch ?
              what
      'What did he hear the rumour that Mohan read?'

(49) Nonfinite relative clause

Unlike the finite relative clause, the elements in the nonfinite clause formed
with the suffix *vo:l* can be questioned. The questioned elements stay within the
nonfinite clause, as illustrated below.

(49a) [lədkan   kita:bɨ kɨnanvo:l duka:nda:r] gav   dili.
      boys-dat   books   sell-vo:l shopkeeper   went Delhi
      'The shopkeeper who sells books to the boys went to Delhi.'
      (lit.: boys to bookselling shopkeeper.....)

(49b) [kɨman kita:bɨ kɨnanvo:l duka:nda:r] gav dili?
      who-dat
      'The shopkeeper who sells books to who went to Delhi?'
      (To who bookselling shopkeeper went to Delhi?)

(49c) [lədkan   k'a: lɨnanvo:l duka:nda:r] gav dili?
                what
      'Boys-to what ɛelling shopkeeper went to Delhi?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.4 Constituents of a postpositional phrase

The questioning of the constituents of a postpositional phrase requires the whole
phrase to move to the preverbal position. The postposition cannot be stranded in
general and, if stranded, the construction becomes extremely marginal.

(50a) kita:b   cha yath me:zas peṭh.
      book   is   this table   on
      'There is a book on the table.'

(50b) kita:b [kath me:zas peṭh] cha?
      'On which table is the book?'

(50c) [kath me:zas peṭh] cha kita:b?

(50d) *kita:b kath cha me:zas peṭh?

(50e) kita:b   kath   peṭh   cha?
book   what on   is
'What is the book (placed) on?'

(50f) * kita:b kath cha peṭh?

(51) mohnɨ-nis garas   nish   chu   ba:g.
Mohan's   house near   is   garden
'There is a garden near Mohan's house.'

(51a) ba:g   [kəm'sɨndis   gar-as   nish]   chu?
garden   whose   house-dat near   be
'Near whose house there is a garden?'

(51b) kəm'sɨndis garas nish chu ba:g?

(51c) * ba:g kəm'sɨndis chu garas nish?

(52) mi:ra: pəc   [ma:hrini   sɨ:th'   sɨ:th'].
Mira   walked bride-dat   with   with
'Mira walked alongwith the bride.'

(52a) mi:ra: [kas sɨ:th' sɨ:th'] pəc?
'With whom did Mira walk?'

(52b) [kas sɨ:th' sɨ:th'] pəc mi:ra:?

(52c) *mi:ra: kas pəc sɨ:th' sɨ:th'?

1.1.1.2.2.1.5 Constituents of a coordinate structure

Coordinate structures are opaque to question formation, as is the case with the relative clause. However, if the conjunct *tɨ* 'and' is interpreted as 'in addition/also', then elements in the second conjunct become accessible to question formation, as exemplified in (53d).

(53) Questioning the elements of a conjoined NP

(53a) shi:lan   tɨ   mohnan   məklə:v   panɨn'   kə:m.
Sheila-erg   and   Mohan-erg finised-fsg self-fsg   work-fsg
'Sheila and Mohan finished their work.'

(53b) *kəm'   mɔklə:v   tɨ   shi:lan panɨn' kə:m?
      who   finished   and   Sheila   their   work?

(53c) *shi:lan   kəm' mɔklə:v   tɨ   panɨn' kə:m?
      Sheila   who finished   and   their   work?

(53d) shi:lan tɨ (beyi) kəm' mɔklə:v   panɨn' kə:m?
      'Sheila and who else finished their work?'

(54) Questioning the elements of conjoined sentences

(54a) təm'   li:ch   cith'   tɨ   pərɨn   kita:b.
      he-erg wrote   letter   and   read   book
      'He wrote a letter and read a book.'

(54b) *təm' k'a: li:ch   cith'   tɨ   pərɨn.
      He   what wrote   letter   and   read

(54c) təm' li:ch cith' tɨ (beyi) k'a: korun?
      'He wrote a letter and what else did he do?'

(55) Questioning of the juxtaposed elements

(55a) shi:lan   on   ka:kaz   kalam   cith'   le:khnɨ   khə:trɨ.
      Sheila-erg   brought   paper   pen   letter   write-inf   for
      'Sheila brought paper and pen for writing a letter.'

(55b) *shi:lan   k'a: on   kalam   cith'   le:khnɨ   khə:trɨ?
      Sheila   what   brought   pen,   letter   write-inf   for.'

1.1.1.2.2.1.6 Number of sentence constituents that can be questioned

Any number of sentence constituents can be simultaneously questioned. The resulting string of multiple question words exhibits two types of extraction patterns, say A and B. In pattern A, all the question words move before the verb. In pattern B, only one of the question words is moved before the verb and the rest are left *in situ* in their source position. Both these patterns operate under certain conditions, as explained below.

1.1.1.2.2.1.6.1 Pattern A

Consider first the string of multiple question words consisting solely of the arguments in the main and subordinate declaratives, as in (56a and b). Exactly the same pattern is found with respect to both the clauses.

(56) Declarative statement

(56a) ra:jan   dits   shi:las   kita:b   ra:th   ba:gas   manz.
      Raj-erg   gave   Sheila   book   yesterday   garden   in
      'Raj gave a book to Sheila yesterday in the garden.'

(56b) me   chu   nɨ   pata: zi/ki   ra:j-an   dits   shi:las
      I-dat   be   not   know   that   Raj-erg   gave   Sheila
          kita:b   ra:th   ba:gas   manz.
          book   yesterday   garden   in
      'I don't know that/whether Raj gave a book to Sheila yesterday in
      the garden.'

(57) Multiple question words

(57a)   kəm'   kəmis   k'a: d'ut?
          who-erg   whom   what-gave
          'Who gave what to whom.'

(57b) me chu nɨ pata: zi/ki kəm'   kəmis   k'a: d'ut.
                                who-erg   whom   what-gave
      'I don' t know who gave what to whom.'

(57c) kəmis   kəm'   k'a: d'ut?
      whom   who   what   gave

(57d) me chu nɨ pata: zi/ki   kəmis   kəm'   k'a: d'ut.
                                whom   who   what gave

(57e) * k'a: kəm'   kəmis   d'ut?
        what   who   whom   gave

(57f) * me chu nɨ pata: zi/ki   k'a: kəm' kəmis   d'ut.
                                  what   who   whom   gave

Notice that the question word *k'a:* 'what' corresponding to the direct object
must immediately precede the verb. The question words corresponding to the
subject and indirect object may be switched around as long as they precede *k'a:*.
Interestingly, the adjunct question word also follows the *k'a:* pattern, as
exemplified below.

(58a) kus   kəmis   tɨ   k'a:zi   o:s   me:lɨni gatsha:n?
      who-abs   whom   and   why   aux-pst meet   going
      'Who was going to meet who(m) and why?'

(58b) me   chu   nɨ   pata: zi/ki kus   kəmis   tɨ   k'a:zi
                                 who-abs   whom   and   why
      o:s   me:lɨni gatsha:n.
      aux-pst meet   going
    'I don't know who was going to meet who(m) and why?

(58c) * k'a:zi kus kəmis o:s me:lɨni gatsha:n?

(58d) *me chu nɨ pata: zi/ki k'a:zi kus kəmis o:s me:lɨni gatsha:n.

Note however that the adverbial *kot* 'where' may precede the subject question
words, as in (59b) for the sake of emphasis, etc.

(59a) me   chu nɨ pata: zi/ki kus   kəmis   kati o:s me:lɨni gatsha:n.
                           who-abs whom   where
    'I don't know who was going to meet who and where.'

(59b) me chu nɨ pata: zi/ki kati kus kəmis o:s me:lɨni gatsha:n.

1.1.1.2.2.1.6.2 Pattern B

(60) Multiple question words *in situ*

(60a) kəm'   dits   kəmis   kita:b?
     who-erg   gave-fsg   whom   book-fsg
    'Who gave the book to whom?'

(60b) me   chu   nɨ   pata: zi/ki kəm'   dits   kəmis   kita:b.
                          who-erg   gave-fsg   whom   book-fsg
    'I don't know who gave the book to whom.'

(60c) ?? kəm' d'ut kəmis   k'a:?
      who   gave   whom   what

(60d) ??me chu nɨ pata: zi/ki   kəm' d'ut kəmis   k'a:.
                    who gave   whom   what

(60e) ra:jan   kar   d'ut kəmis   k'a:?
        when   gave   whom   what

(60f) me chu nɨ pata: zi/ki ra:jan   kar   d'ut kəmis   k'a:.
                    when   gave   whom   what

(60g) *ra:jan   kar   d'ut kati   kəmis   k'a:?
       when   gave   where   whom   what

(60h) *me chu nɨ pata: zi/ki ra:jan kar   d'ut kati   kəmis   k'a:.
                                    when   gave where   whom   what

(60i) * ra:jan kəmis   k'a: d'ut kar   kati?
              whom   what gave when   where

(60j) *me chu nɨ pata: zi/ki ra:jan kəmis   k'a: d'ut kar   kati.
                                    whom   what gave when   where

Multiple reduplicated question words that convey the distributive nuances follow the same conditions as the single question words noted above. Note that the paired items are treated as a single unit.

(61a) paga:h   kus kus yiyi   sha:hɨ   peṭhɨ?
      tomorrow   who who come-fut city-abl from
      'Who are the various people that will come tomorrow from the city?'

(61b) təm'   k'a: k'a: vuch?
      he-erg what what saw
      'What (various) items did he see?'

(61c) su   kot   kot   gav?
      he   where   where   went
      'Which various places did he visit?'

(61d) ?kus kus kar   kar   kɨman   kɨman   nish
      who who when   when   whom   whom-dat near
          chu beha:n?
          is   sitting
      'Who sits with who and when?'

In (61d), all the question words have moved in the initial position before the verb.

1.1.1.2.2.2 Position of the questioned element

The unmarked position of the questioned element and the conditions that govern them have been noted in most sections under consideration. However, the question word may be placed in other marked positions to convey various emphatic nuances, as in (62c-d). The exact conditions that give rise to these semantic nuances are not known at present.

(62a) rame:sh   kar   yiyi?
      Ramesh   when   come-3sg-fut
      'When will Ramesh come?'

(62b) kar yiyi rame:sh?

(62c) ?rame:sh yiyi kar? (with emphasis on Ramesh)

(62d) ?yiyi kar rame:sh?   (with emphasis on *yiyi*)

Intuitively, the question word in the initial position carries stronger force than its use in the second position. Note that (62a) represents the preferred order. Secondly, in (62c-d), where the verb precedes the question word, the construction does not necessarily invoke an answer. Thus, it does not qualify as a proper question.

1.1.1.2.3 Echo-questions

Echo-questions are used as responses to an immediately preceding utterance and which in part mimic that utterence. The echoed question usually involves an element of surprise or incredulity. Its main intent is to seek clarification. A salient feature of echo questions is placement of rising upward intonation on the echoed element or expression, as the case may be.

1.1.1.2.3.1 Yes-no echo-questions

A yes-no echo-question response consists of a repetition of the pertinent element picked up from the previous utterance of the speaker. The echoed response may consist of just a single element, a phrase, or a larger constituent, which may be the whole sentence itself, as illustrated below. The answer to a yes-no echo-question is in the yes-no form.

(1)

Speaker A:

(1a) mohnɨ gatshi   paga:h   philim   vuchni.
      Mohan go-3sg-fut tomorrow film   see-inf-dat
      'Mohan will go to see a film tomorrow.'

Speaker B:

(1b) mohnɨ gatshi   paga:h   philim   vuchni?
      Mohan go-3sg-fut tomorrow film   see-inf-dat
      'Will Mohan go to see a film tomorrow?'

(1c) philim vuchini gatshi ʄ?
      (to see a film?)

(1d) mohnɨ gatshi ʄ ?
      'Mohan will go?'

(1e) mohnɨ ɨ?

(1f) paga:h ɨ?
'Tomorrow?'

Speaker A:

(1g) a:, tse k'a:zi chuy shakh?
yes, you why be doubt
'Yes, why do you have any doubt?'

These questions are frequently preceded or followed by the exclamatory particle *acha:* 'Is it so?' Often *acha:* may be the only response.

(2)

Speaker A:

(2a) su a:v ra:th dili peṭhɨ.
he came yesterday Delhi-abl from
'He came from Delhi yesterday.'

Speaker B:

(2b) acha:, su a:v ra:th dili peṭhɨ?
'Is that so, he came from Delhi yesterday?'

(2c) acha: ɨ

1.1.1.2.3.2 Question word echo-questions

Question word echo-questions are responded by repeating the pertinent element with a question word and with a rising intonation placed on it. The echoed utterence may contain multiple question words depending upon the extent of clarification sought. Note that the question words may not stay *in situ*, unlike English echo-type questions 'John read what ɨ?'

(3)

Speaker A:

(3a) su chu ciṭh' le:kha:n.
he is letter writing
'He is writing a letter.'

Speaker B:

(3b) su k'a:ɨ chu le:kha:n?
'What is he writing?'

Speaker A (in answer):

(3c) ciṭh'.
      letter.

(4)

Speaker A:

(4a) təm'   pər   ra:th   kita:b.
      he-erg   read-fsg yesterday book-fsg
      'He read a book yesterday.'

Speaker B:

(4b) kəm' ʈ pər ra:th kita:b?
      'Who read a book yesterday?'

(4c) kəm' ʈ k'a:-pər?
      'Who read what?'

(4d) kəm' k'a: kor?
      'Who did what?'

(4e) *təm'   por   k'a:ʈ ra:th?
       he-erg read   what yesterday
       'He read what yesterday.'

(5)

Speaker A:

(5a) aslam   cha: siriph   kə:shur   bo:la:n?
      Aslam   be-Q   only   Kashmiri   seaking
      'Does Aslam speak only Kashmiri?'

Speaker B:

(5b) aslam k'a: ʈ   chu: siriph bo:la:n?
      'Aslam only speaks what ʈ?'

(5c) *aslam cha: siriph k'a: ʈ bo:la:n?

These question word echo-questions may also repeat the element under clarification at the end and have a rising intonation on it.

(6)

Speaker B:

(6a) su   k'a: chu le:kha:n? cith' ɪ?
     he   what is   writing,   letter
     'What is he writing, a letter?'

Speaker A (in answer):

(6b) a:, cith' ɪ.
     'Yes, a letter.'

1.1.1.2.3.3 Yes-no question echo-questions

The yes-no question echo-questions are provoked by a yes-no question. The echo in this case is a mere repeat of the whole yes-no utterence. The echo may at times be embedded under phrases such as are you asking/saying, etc.

(7)

Speaker A:

(7a) tɔhi   pərva: kita:b?
     you-erg read-fsg-pst book-fsg
     'Did you read the book?'

Speaker B:

(7b) me   pəra: kita:b ɪ?
     I-erg   read-Q   book
     'Did I read the book?'

(7c) toh' chiv prɪtsha:n (zi) me   pəra: kita:b ɪ?
     you are   asking   that I   read-Q
     'You are asking that did I read a book?'

(7d) toh' chiv-a: prɪtsha:n (zi) me   pəra: kita:b ɪ?
     you are-Q   asking   that I   read-Q
     'Are you asking/saying that did I read a book?'

The response may also be in the form of a question word replacing the pertinent word.

Speaker A:

(7e) asho:k   cha: kulphi: pasand kara:n?
     Ashok   be-Q   ice-cream   like   doing
     'Does Ashok like ice-cream?'

Speaker B:

(7f) asho:k   k'a:ɪ   chu   pasand   kara:n?
     Ashok   what   is   like   doing
     'Ashok likes what?'

1.1.1.2.3.4 Question-word question echo-questions

Question-word question echo-questions are used as a follow-up on a question-word question. They may be a mere repeat of the previous utterence or contain multiple question words as illustrated.

(8)

Speaker A:

(8a) tsɪ   k'a: chu-kh   kara:n?
     you   what   are-2sg ps   doing
     'What are you doing?'

Speaker B:

(8b) bɪ   k'a: chu-s   kara:n?
     I   what   aux-1msg-ps   doing
     'What am I doing?'

Speaker A:

(8c) nə:dimɪn'   shə:yri: kəmis   cha   pasand?
     Nadim's   poetry   who-dat   aux   likes
     'Who likes Nadim's poetry?'

Speaker B:

(8d) kəmis   k'a: chu   pasand?
     who-dat   what   be   likes
     'Who likes what?'

Speaker A:

(8e) bɪ   chus-o:vɪ   prɪtsha:n   kəm'   kəmis   tɪ   kar   dits
     I   am-2pl-ps   asking   who-erg   who-dat   and   when   gave
         və:j?
         ring
     'I am asking you who gave a ring to whom and when?'

Speaker B:

(8f) kəm' kəmis kar k'a: kor?
'Who did what to who and when?'

1.1.1.2.3.5 Elements of the sentence that can be questioned

All elements in a sentence including the verb and any possible combination there of can be repeated as an echo-question in both yes-no question echo-questions and question-word echo-questions. However, echo-questions in response to yes-no question and question-word questions are much more restrictive. They range over the whole proposition and not any individual element. Note that question-word question echo-questions are more restrictive than yes-no question echo-questions. The echo of the former must contain the question word. In contrast, the echo of the latter may be a mere repeat of the yes-no question or include a question word, as noted above.

1.1.1.2.4 Answers

1.1.1.2.4.1 Answers as a distinct speech act

1.1.1.2.4.1.1 Answers to yes-no questions

A distinguishing mark of answers to yes-no questions is that they are introduced by words such as *a:* 'yes', *na* 'no', *sha:yad* 'perhaps', *pata: chu nɨ* 'it is not known', and a few others. These are often followed by polite terms such as *sə:, jina:b, haz, ma:hra:*. The polite term *sə:* is a general polite marker and is used irrespective of age and other qualifications. The honorific term *ma:hra:* 'sir' is used to address Hindus and Sikhs, while *haz* 'sir' is used to address Muslims. The honorific term *jina:b* 'sir' is neutral and is not cued to any social group. The minimal answers may consist of such introductory words only.

(1) Que.:

(1a) su   yiya: az   siri:nəgrɨ?
he   come-fut-Q   today   Srinagar-abl
'Will he come from Srinagar today?'

(1b) Ans:

(i) (a) a: (b) a: jina:b (c) a:han sə: (d) a:han haz (e) a:han ma:hra:
yes   yes sir   yes   sir   yes   sir   yes   sir
(su yiyi az siri:nəgrɨ.)
(he will come from Srinagar today)

(Note: *a:* changes to *a:han* when followed by *sə:, haz,* or *ma:hra:*)

(ii) (a) na   (b) na sə: (c) na jina:b   (d) na haz   (e) na ma:hra:
        no   no sir   no sir   no sir   no sir

(iiii) (a) sha:yad (b) sha:yad hasə: (c) jina:b   (d) ma:hra: (e) haz
          perhaps   perhaps sir   sir   sir   sir

(Note: *sə:* changes to *hasə:* after *sha:yad*.)

(iv) k'a: pata:?   k'a: pata:, jina:b?
       Who knows?   Who knows, sir?

(v) pata: chu-m   nɨ.
      know   aux-1sgps not
      'I don't know.'

Both *jina:b* and *ma:hra:* can be added in the sentence initial position.

(vi) jina:b/ma:hra: k'a: pata:? /pata: chum nɨ.

Note that a mere *jina:b* or *ma:hra:* may also be used as an affirmative response.

(2) Que.:

(2a) su   chuna: badma:sh?
       he   isn't-Q   rogue
       'Isn't he a rogue?'

(2b) Ans.:

(i) jina:b/ma:hra:.
      'Yes sir.'

The particles *a:* 'yes' and *na* 'no' are at times reduplicated for emphasis. They may be followed by certain expressions such as *zəru:r, k'a:zi nɨ?* 'certainly, why not' for greater emphasis.

(3) Que.:

(3a) toh' kəriva: me:n' yi   kə:m?
       you   do-2pl-fut-Q   my-fsg this   work-fsg
       'Will you do this work for me?'

(3b) Ans.:

(i) a: a:,   zəru:r   /a: a:,   k'a:zi   nɨ?
      yes, yes,   definitely/yes,   yes,   why   not

(4) Que.:

(4a) toh'   yiyiv   na: so:n   garɨ?
you-hon   come-2pl-fut neg-Q our-msg house-msg
'Won't you come to our house?'

(4b) Ans.:

  (i) na   na,   bilkul   nɨ.
no   no,   absolutely not.

Negative yes-no questions usually invoke two types of answers. The first type involves the usual positive/negative response, as in (5b). The second type indicates agreement or disagreement with the question asked, as in (6b).

(5) Que.:

(5a) (k'a:) tsɨ parakh na: yi   kita:b?
Q   you read   not-Q this book
'Won't you read this book?'

(5b) Ans.:

  (i) a:, bɨ parɨ   (yi kita:b).
yes I   read-1sg-fut (this book).
'Yes, I'll read (this book).'

  (ii) na, bɨ parɨ   nɨ   (yi kita:b).
no   I read   neg (this book)
'No. I won't read (this book).'

  (iii) a:, bɨ parɨ nɨ.
'Yes, I won't read.'

  (iv) na, bɨ parɨ.
'No, I'll read.'

(6) Que.:

(6a) az   chu   na: garɨm?
today is   neg-Q hot
'Isn't it hot today?'

(6b) Ans.:

  (i) a:, az chu garɨm.
'Yes, it is hot today.'

  (ii) na, az chu nɨ garɨm.
'No, it isn't hot today.'

(iii) a:, az chunɨ garɪm.
'Yes, it isn't hot today.'

(iv) na, az chu garɪm.
'No, today it is hot.'

1.1.1.2.4.1.2 Answers to question-word questions

Answers to question-word questions are usually cued to the pertinent question words used in the utterence. These answers usually omit the presupposed constituents.

(7) Que.:

(7a) su   kar   gatshi   siri:nəgɪr?
he   when   go-fut   Srinagar
'When will he go to Srinagar?'

(7b) Ans.:

 (i) kə:l'keth   gatshi.
day-after-tomorrow   go-fut
'(He) will go day-after-tomorrow.'

 (ii) kə:l'keth.
'Day-after-tomorrow.'

(iii) me   chu   nɨ   pata.
I-erg   is   not   know
'I don't know.'

(iv) sha:yad nɨ   zã:h.
perhaps not   ever
'Perhaps, never.'

Answers to positive and negative leading questions are determined by the proposition underlying the question. The answers are usually incomplete in the sense that they do not repeat the whole content of the proposition. The answers are preceded by the usual yes-no particles.

(8) Que.:

(8a) toh'   kər-iv   yi   kə:m,   kəriv   na:?
you   do-2plps-fut this work-fsg do-2sgps neg-Q
'You will do this work, won't you?'

(8b) Ans.:

  (i) a:,   kar-ɨ.
     yes   do-1sg-fut
     'Yes, I'll do.'

(9) Que.:

(9a) toh' kəriv   nɨ   yi   kə:m,   kəriva:?
     you do-2plps neg this work   do- Q
     'You won't do this work, will you?'

(9b) Ans:

  (i) na, bɨ   karɨ   nɨ.
     'no, I   do-fut   not.'
     'No, I will not do it.'

Answers to rhetoric questions have already been discussed in 1.1.1.2.1.4. We illustrate a few more examples here. These negative questions expect only a positive answer.

Que:

(10a) tɔhi   k'a: chu-vɨ   nɨ   duniya:has manz vuchmut?
     you-erg what be-2pl not   world-dat in   see-psp
     'What have you not seen in this world?'/
     'Is there anything you have not seen in this world?'

Ans:

(10b) me   chu   prath   kẽh   vuchmut.
     I-erg be   every   thing   see-psp
     'I have seen everything.'

Que:

(10c) təmis   k'a: chu   nɨ   yiva:n?
     he-dat   what be   not   know-prp
     'What doesn't he know?'/'Is there anything he doesn't know?'

Ans:

(10d) təmis   chu   prath   kã:h   ci:z   yiva:n.
     he-dat   be   every   some   thing   knows
     'He knows everything.'

1.1.1.2.4.1.3 Answers to echo-questions

Answers to echo-questions have already been explained in 1.1.1.2.3.

1.1.1.3 Imperative sentences

Positive imperative forms of verbs in Kashmiri are cued to the degree of politeness and also to the degree of obligation. The forms may be divided as: (a) the unmarked imperative, (b) the polite imperative, and (c) the obligative. The prohibitive imperative uses a special negative form. All these forms vary according to the number and the status of the addressee. In the imperative sentence, the addressee—*tsɨ* 'you (singular)' and *toh'* 'you (plural/honorific)'—is usually unexpressed.

1.1.1.3.1.1 The unmarked imperative

The unmarked singular imperative form is expressed by the verb stem itself. The verb stem is inflected to express the plurality. The plural form also marks the honorific status of the addressee.

(1) Verb stem Addressee

	Singular	*Plural/Honorific*
(1a) le:kh 'write'	le:kh	li:kh-iv
khe 'eat'	khe	khe-yiv
ce 'drink'	œ	ce-yiv
ni 'take'	ni	ni-yiv
(1b) par 'read'	kita:b par	kita:b pər-iv
	book read	
	'Read the book'	
an 'bring'	kita:b an	kita:b ən-iv
	book bring	
	'Bring the book.'	
di 'give'	ko:ri di kita:b	ko:ri di-y-iv kita:b
	girl-dat give book	
	'Give the book to the girl.'	

Note that in (1b) the verb is preceded by a topic element.[3] In the case of pronominal objects, the verb may stand alone if the verb is inflected with proper pronominal suffixes noted in (2). (See Bhat 1987.)

(2) Subject Object (dative)

IInd Person	*Ist Person*		*IIIrd person*	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Singular	um	----	us	ukh
Plural	hu:m	----	hu:s	hu:kh

(The vowel *u* is deleted after the vowel-ending imperative stems of the verb.)

(2a) an-um.
bring-1sgps
'Bring for me.'

(2b) di-y-hu:-m.
give-2plps-1sgps
'Give to me.'

1.1.1.3.1.2 The degree of the imperative

Unmarked imperative forms may be further suffixed by the polite marker *sə:* to decrease the brusqueness of the command and make it sound more like a request.

(3) kita:b   an   sə: /kita:b   əniv   sə:.
book   bring sə:/   book   bring-2pl/ps   sə:
'Please bring the book.'

Alternatively, one may use the precative—the polite form of the imperative. The precative entails request and persuasiveness. It is formed by the addition of *tɨ* (sg) and *tav* (pl) to the verbal stem.

(4) *Singular*   *Plural/Honorific*
kita:b par-tɨ   kita:b pər'-tav   'Please read the book'
kita:b an -tɨ   kita:b ən'-tav   'Please bring the book'
ko:ri di-tɨ kita:b   ko:ri di-y-tav kita:b   'Please give the book to the girl.'

Addition of certain phrases such as *vɔn' k'a:* 'now what', *meharbə:ni: kərith* 'please/kindly', *bagva:nɨ/ khɔda:yi sɨndi khə: tɨ* 'for the sake of God', etc., also weakens the force of the imperative.

(5a) vɔn' k'a:,   gatsh-tɨ/gətsh'-tav   garɨ.
now   what,   go-2sg-prec/2pl-prec   home
'Please go home.'

(5b) meharbə:ni: kərith   yi-tɨ/yiy-tav.
kindly   do   come-2sg-prec/2pl-prec
'Kindly come.'

Intonation and tone as well as certain vocative terms play an important role in enforcing the degree of the imperative. A soft persuasive tone naturally weakens the imperative, while a hard authoritative voice strengthens it, as expected.

Vocative terms, which may be polite or impolite in forms, are placed in the intitial sentence position. The basic vocative forms are *he:*, *hatɨ*, and *talɨ*. These are followed by various informal or formal polite forms, as shown in (6a). The increase in politeness decreases the strength of the imperative to the extent that it becomes a request.

(6a) Various polite vocative forms

Singular	Plural
Informal/Formal	*Formal*
he:	hatɨhaz
hasə:	hatɨma:hra:
hatɨsə:	hatɨjina:b
talɨsə:	talɨhaz
	talɨma:hra:
	talɨjina:b

(6b) he:/həsə:/hatɨhaz/hatɨ ma:hra: kita:b diy-tav.
                                         book give-2pl-fut
'Please give me the book.'

Vocative forms may also be followed by kinship terms like b*o:y* 'brother', *ya:r, do:s* 'friend', *ʈo:ʈh* 'dear one', *beni* 'sister', *mə:j* 'mother', etc. Both the vocative and kinship terms are inflected by an additional suffix *-a:* (msg)/*-i* (fsg)/*-av* (mpl-fpl). The suffix induces certain morphophonemic changes (e.g., *he + a: › haya:; bo:y + a: › ba:ya:*), as in (7a).

(7a) hə:v/hayo:/haya:/ ba:ya:/do:sta:/ya:ra:/ʈa:ʈh'a: dɔd an.
    hey-msg   brother/friend/friend/dearone milk bring
'Hey brother/friend/dear one, bring milk.'

(7b) hə:y/haye:/talay beni:/mə:ji:/vesi:/ʈə:ʈhi: kə:m kar.
    hey-fsg   sister/mother/friend/dear one work do
'Hey sister/mother/friend/dear one do your work.'

(7c) he:/hasə:/hatɨsə:/hatɨhaz/hatɨma:hra: bə:y sə:ba:/la:la: kə:m kəriv.
    hey-hon   brother/dear one work do-2pl/hon
'Sir/brother/honey please do your work.'

(8) Various impolite vocative forms

Singular		Plural	
Masculine	*Feminine*	*Masculine*	*Feminine*
hayo:/haya:	haye:	hayo:	haye:
tala:v	talay	talav	talay
hatɨba:	hatibi:	hatɨba:	hatɨbi:
hə:v	hə:y	hə:v	hə:y

(8a) hə:v/hayo:/hayo: darva:zɨ kar band.
    həv-msg   door do-2sg-fut close
'Hey, close the door.'

(8b) hə:y/haye:/talay   də:r   mɨtsra:v
     hey-fsg   window   open-2psg-fut
     'Hey, open the window.'

Impolite vocatives may be followed by derogative terms like *khar'a:/khəri:* 'a rude or rustic person', *ṭi:nɨ/tra:mɨ kalɨ̀* 'copper-headed person', *pa:gla:/phə:tira:* 'mad'; terms of sexual abuses; kinship terms such as *hehra:* 'father-in-law', *həhra:* 'brother-in-law'; or derogative kinship terms like *ho:n'an hɨndi həhra:* 'o brother-in-law of dogs'. The use of such derogative and abusive terms strengthens the force of imperative.

(9a) hə:v   khar'a:/pa:gla:/phə:tira:/hehra:/həhra: kath   bo:z.
     hey-ms   talk   listen
     'Hey, listen to me.'

(9b) hə:y   khəri:/pa:gli:/   yo:r   yi.
     O-fem   rude/mad   here   come
     'O stupid one, come here.'

The reduplicated singular imperative reinforces the impoliteness, while the reduplicated plural forms enhance the politeness.

(10a) gatsh   gatsh,   bu:z.
      go-2sg   go-2sg   heard
      'Go, I have heard.'

(10b) gətshiv, gətshiv.
      'Please go.'

1.1.1.3.2 The prohibitive imperative

The prohibitive imperative is expressed by placing a suppletive negative particle *mɨ* 'don't' in the preverbal position. Note that the regular negative *nɨ* always occurs in the postverbal position. Note also that *mɨ* is inflected for the precative marker *ta*, as exemplified in (11b).

(11a) kita:b   mɨ   par/pəriv.
      book   not   read/read-2plps
      'Don't read a book.'

(11b) ciṭh'   ma-tɨ   le:kh-tɨ/li:kh'-tav.
      letter   not-prec   write-prec/write-pl-prec
      'Don't write a letter.'

Prohibitive imperatives can also be formed by embedding the commands under verbs such as *mana: a:sun* or *ṭha:kh a:sun* 'to deny/to prohibit', as in (12a-b), or by simply using warning expressions such as *khabarda:r* 'beware' followed by a conditional clause, as in (13).

(12a) [shara:b con]   chu   mana:.
      liquor drink-inf is   prohibited
      'Drinking of liquor is prohibited.'

(12b) [shara:b can-a-s]   chu   ṭha:kh.
      liquor drink-inf-dat is   prohibited

(13) khabarda:r agar to:r   gatsha-kh.
     beware   if   there go-fut-2sgps
     'Beware, if you go there.'
     (You better not go there.)

1.1.1.3.3 The obligative of prescription and compulsion

The obligative form of the imperative is mostly prescriptive and expresses
duties or moral obligations. It is formed by adding *izi* (sg) and *izev* (pl/hon) to
the verbal stem.

(14) *Singular*   *Plural/honorific*
     li:khizi   li:khizev   'You should write.'
     hezi   hezev   'You should buy.'
     kita:b pər'zi   kita:b pər'zev   'You should read the book.'
     kita:b di-zi   kita:b di-zev   'You should give the book.'

   Note that the regular/canonical obligative is distinct from the obligative of
the imperative. The former is expressed by means of lexical modals, also known
as explicators/vectors (see 2.1.3.4.6 for details). These modals allow overt
subject in all the three persons. The subject is marked dative. The explicators are
placed in the second position. The verb occurs in the infinitive and is usually
placed in the final position.

(15a) me   pazi   gaṟ   gatshun.
      I-dat should/ought home   go-inf
      'I should/ought to go.'

(15b) tse   pazi-y   tsū:ṭh kh'on.
      you-dat should-2sg-ps apple   eat-inf-3msg
      'You should eat an apple.'

(15c) tse   pazɨ-n-ay   tsū:ṭh' khen'.
      you-dat should-3pl-2sg-ps apples   eat-inf-3m-pl
      'You should eat apples.'

1.1.1.3.4 Other means of expressing the imperative

Some alternative forms of expressing the imperative have already been noted above. In addition, the yes-no type questions in future tense also carry the sense of request.

(16a) toh' diyiv-a: tasvi:r?/tasvi:r diyiva:?
      you give-2pl-fut-Q   picture
      'Will you give the picture?'

(16b) toh'   di-yiv-n-a: tasvi:r?/tasvi:r diyivna:?
      you-pl give-2pl-fut-neg-Q picture
      'Won't you give the picture?'
      (Please give the picture.)

Polite requests are expressed by using predicative expressions such as *arɨz karun* 'to make a request', (*gul' gənḍith) ilti ja: karun* 'to make a request' (with folded hands) in the main clause.

(17) bɨ   chu-s-ay gul'-gənḍith   arɨz   kara:n ki   me   peṭh
     I   am-2sg   hands-folded   request doing   that me   on
         kar   meharbə:ni:.
         do   kindness
     'I am humbly requesting you to be kind with me.'

1.1.1.4 Other distinct sentence types

There are no other major sentence types besides the declarative, the interrogative, and the imperative mentioned above. The interjections and other minor sentence types will be described in 1.15.

1.1.1.5 Additional functions of some regular sentence types

In addition to its regular function, the declarative is often used as an interrogative with a change in intonation. Similarly, the yes-no negative questions often convey a request, as noted above.

1.1.2 Subordination

1.1.2.1 General markers of subordination

There are two types of subordinate clauses—finite and nonfinite—with their own distinct clause markers, internal structures, and positions with respect to the main verb.

The finite subordinate clause follows the main verb. The clause is optionally preceded by the subordinator *zi/ki*, which is more like an adjunct linker than a true complementizer found in some languages such as English. The subordinator does not affect the order of the subordinate constituents in any way and does not

count as a first position with respect to the verb. As a result, the internal structure of the finite subordinate clause is very similar to the simple clause. In both clauses the finite verb is placed in the second position and is fully inflected. In both, the verbal inflections are conditioned by tense, split ergativity, and person hierarchy. (See 2.1.3.6.1 for complete details.)

(1) Verb second in the main clause

(1a) səli:m   gav   ra:th   ra:jas sɨ:t'   ba:gas manz.
     Salim-abs went yesterday Raj-with   garden-in
     'Salim went in the garden with Raj yesterday.'

(1b) ba:gas manz   gav   səli:m   ra:th   ra:jas sɨ:t'.
     garden-in   went   Salim-abs yesterday Raj-with
     'Salim went in the garden with Raj.'

(2) Verb second in the finite subordinate clause

(2a) bɨ   o:sus   za:na:n   zi/ki səli:m gav   ra:th
     I   was   knowing   that Salim   went yesterday
            ra:jas sɨ:t   ba:gas manz.
            Raj-with   garden-in
     'I knew that Salim went in the garden with Raj yesterday.'

(2b) bɨ   o:sus   za:na:n   zi/ki ba:gas manz   gav   səli:m
     I   was   knowing   that garden-in   went Salim
            ra:th   ra:jas sɨ:t.
            yesterday   Raj-with
     'I knew that Salim went in the garden with Raj yesterday.'

Note that the elements of the finite subordinate clause may not be moved to the matrix clause, as shown in (2c), which is derived from (2a) above.

(2c) *səli:m o:sus bɨ za:na:n zi/ki gav ra:th ra:jas sɨ:t ba:gas manz.

Nonfinite subordinate clauses, which comprise both infinitives and participles, are quite distinct from the main clauses. All of them show verb-final order and lack features of person agreement. The infinitive and the perfect participials retain gender-number agreement. The present and conjunctive participials show complete absence of agreement.

The infinitive is marked by the suffix *UN,* which is inflected for various cases as determined by the main predicate. The suffix shows the gender and number features of the embedded nominal, just in case it is nominative, as exemplified in (3b). The features assume a neutral form (i.e., 3 m.sg.) when the embedded nominal is oblique, as seen in (3c).

(3a) Masculine   Feminine

Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
un	ɨny (msg)	ɨny	(i)nɨ

(3b) bɨ   chu-s-an   yatsha:n   su/sɔ   vuch-un/vich-ɨny.
      I-abs aux-1sg-3sgps   wanting   he/her-abs   see-3msg/3fsg
      'I want to see him/her.'

(3c) səli:m   chu   yatsha:n   [me   ba:gas.manz   vuch-un].
      Salim   aux   wanting   I-dat garden-in   see-inf-neut
      'Salim wants to see me in the garden.'

It is worth noting that in (3b) the person suffixes of the embedded nominative have moved to the main verb. The present and the conjunctive participles do not show any agreement features, as shown in (4a) and (4b). The former is marked *-a:n,* while the latter takes the *-ith* suffix.

(4a) mohnan   vuchus   bɨ   aslam-as   sɨ:th'   paka:n.
      Mohan-erg saw-1sg-ps   me-abs   Aslam-dat with   walk-prp
      'Mohan saw me walking with Aslam.'

(4b) su gav   khɔsh   [tse   ba:gas.manz   vuch-ith].
      he aux   happy   you   garden-in   see-cp
      'He was happy to see you in the garden.'

The past participle *MUT* varies for gender and number, as shown below.

(4c) Masculine   Feminine

Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
mut	mɨt'	mɨts	matsɨ

(4d) mohnan   vuch mi:ra: buɖe:mɨts.
      Mohan-erg saw   Mira-fsg   age-fsg
      'Mohan saw Mira aged/become old.'

1.1.2.2 *Noun clauses*

1.1.2.2.1 Markings and position of noun clauses

Finite noun clauses are introduced by the subordinator *zi/ki* and follow the main clause verb. They function as subjects, direct objects, or mere complements of the main predicate. They also occur as complements of nouns such as: *aphva:* 'rumour', *kath* 'story, news', *yeki:n* 'belief', etc., forming a complex noun phrase.

1.1.2.2.2 Different types of noun clauses

Noun clauses classify as simple indicative statements, indirect statements, indirect questions, and indirect commands. With the exception of indirect questions, noun clauses may take either a finite or a nonfinite form. The indirect questions exist only in a finite form.

1.1.2.2.2.1 Finite clauses

Finite subject clauses usually occur as subjects of adjectival predicates such as *poz* 'true', *sa:ph* 'clear', *muno:sib* 'proper, *ţa:ka:ṛ* 'obvious', *mumkin* 'possible', *na: mumkin* 'not possible'. Most of these predicates are linked by the copula *a:sun* 'to be'. However, the predicates may also be linked by the auxiliary *gatshun* 'to become' to express a sense of surprise, joy, happiness, etc. (See Shauq 1984 for details.)

(5a) yi   o:s   sa:ph zi/ki səli:m gav   ra:jas sɨ:t'.
      it   was   clear that   Salim   went Raj-with
      'It was clear that Salim went with Raj.'

(5b) yi gav   muno:sib zi/ki səli:m gav   ra:jas sɨ:t'.
      it aux   proper   that   Salim   went Raj-with
      'It is proper that Salim went with Raj.'

It is worth noting here that the only verb that allows a subject complement is *ba:sun* 'to seem, to appear'.

(6a) yi   chu   ba:sa:n   ţa:ka:ṛ   zi/ki su chu gəri:b.
      is   be   seems/feels   obvious   that he is poor
      'It seems obvious that he is poor.'

(6b) me   chu   ba:sa:n zi/ki su gatshi phe:l.
      I-dat be   feel   that he go-fut fail
      'It appears to me that he will fail.'

(6c) yi   chu   sa:ph ba:sa:n zi/ki su   chu gəri:b.
      it   be   clear seems   that he   be   poor
      'It seems clear that he is poor.'

The subject clause cannot precede the main clause whether it is with or without the subordinator *zi/ki,* as exemplified below.

(7a) yi   chu   mumkin zi/ki mohnan   vuch yi   philim.
      it   is   possible that Mohan-erg saw this film

(7b) *zi/ki mohnan vuch yi philim yi chu mumkin.

(7c) *mohnan vuch yi philim yi chu mumkin.

Elements of the subordinate clause cannot be moved to the matrix clause, as shown above in (2c). However, it is possible to move the main clause adjective in the topic position, as exemplified in (7d). (Compare with (7a).)

(7d) mumkin chu yi zi/ki mohnan vuch yi philim.

Finite clauses function as objects of both mono- and ditransitive verbs, as exemplified below.

(8a) bɨ   o:sus   za:na:n   zi/ki səli:m   gav   ra:jas sɨ:t'.
I   was   knowing   that Salim   went Raj-with
'I knew that Salim went with Raj.'

(8b) me   cha vɔme:d zi/ki   tsɨ   chukh   va:ray.
I-dat be hope   that   you be-2sg-ps well
'I hope that you are well.'

(8c) me   chu ba:sa:n zi/ki su   chu   dili   ro:za:n.
I-dat be   believe that he   be   Delhi-in   live-prp
'I believe that he lives in Delhi.'

(8d) timav von   me   zi/ki səli:m   gav panɨni   zana:ni nish.
they   told   me-dat that Salim   went self's   wife   near
'They told me that Salim went to see his wife.'

(8e) tse   koruth va:dɨ   zi/ki tsɨ   dikh   me   gər.
you-dat made   promise that   you give-fut me-dat watch
'You promised me that you will give me a watch.'

It is worth noting here that the factive transitives such as *mo:lum a:sun'*, *khabar a:sɨn'*, *pata a:sun*, *za:nun* 'to know, have the knowledge of', *məshun* 'to forget', optionally allow a pleonastic element, such as *yi* 'it', or a noun, *yi kath* 'this story', in the matrix clause. The nonfactive clauses headed by verbs such as *ba:sun*, *ma:nun'* 'to believe', *tə:jib gatshun* 'wonder' do not allow any such pleonastic elements in their matrix clause.

(9a) bɨ   o:sus yi/yi   kath   za:na:n   zi/ki səli:m   gav
I   was   this/this story   knowing   that Salim   went
   ra:th   ra:jas sɨ:t'.
   yesterday   Raj-with
'I knew the fact that Salim went with Raj yesterday.'

(9b) me   chu   ba:sa:n   (*yi/*yi kath)   zi/ki su   chu bema:r.
'I   believe this/this story   that he   is   sick.'

Secondly, the factive clause can be placed before the matrix clause. The subordinator *zi/ki* is obligatorily deleted in the preposed position. The pleonastic *yi/yi kath* is optionally retained and may be substituted by *ti*, which

has the same denotation as *yi*. The nonfactive clause may not precede the main clause, as exemplified in (11a).

(10) Preposed factive clause

(10a) səli:m   gav   ra:th   ra:jas sɨ:t', yi/yi   kath/ti
      Salim   went yesterday Raj-with   this/this   story/that
          o:sus   bɨ   za:na:n
          was   I   knowing
      'Salim went with Raj yesterday, this I knew.'

(10b) *səli:m gav ra:th ra:jas sɨ:t' o:sus bɨ za:na:n.

(11) Preposed nonfactive clause

(11a) *su   chu   bema:r   ba:s'o:v   me/chu me   ba:sa:n/me
      he   is   sick   believe-pst I-dat/be I-dat believe-prp/I-dat
          chu   ba:sa:n.
          be   believe-prp
      'He is sick I guessed/I believe.'

The factive clause cannot follow *yi/yi kath* in the matrix clause, though this is possible in some Indo-Aryan languages such as Marathi.

Factive clause immediately after *yi/yi kath*

(12a) *bɨ   o:sus   yi/yi   kath/ø   zi/ki səli:m   gav   ra:th
      I   aux   this/this   story   that Salim   went yesterday
          ra:jas sɨ:t']   za:na:n
          Raj-with   knowing

Comparable Marathi factive clause:

(12b) malaa   hi   goshṭa   [ki   [ra:ju   ghari   gelaa]   tha:u:k   hoti.
      me-to   this   story   that Raju   home   went   know   aux
      'I knew the story that Raju went home.'

The main clause of a finite complement clause may also contain an adjectival predicate. The adjectives in this class belong to what is known as emotive predicates, such as *khɔsh* 'happy', *na:ra:z* 'angry', *hə:ra:n* 'surprise', and a few others. A few nonstative predicates such as *khabarda:r* 'be careful, be alert', *pare:sha:n* 'anxious' are preceded by the copula *gatshun* 'lit. to go/become'.

(13a) bɨ   chus   khɔsh   zi/ki me   dits   tas   kita:b.
      I   am   happy   that I   gave   him   book
      'I am happy that I gave him a book.'

(13b) su   gav   pare:sha:n zi/ki mohni a:v   ni.
      He   became   anxious   that Mohan came   not
      'He became anxious that Mohan did not come.'

Some of these adjectives can be used in their nominalised form. The subject appears in the dative case.

(13c) me   cha   khɔshi: zi/ki me   dits   tas   kita:b.
      I-dat   have   happiness   that I   gave   him   book
      'I have happiness that I gave him a book.'

Notice that the verbs of wishing and wanting such as *yatsha:n* require their complement clause to be in the subjunctive. The embedded verb is put in the infinitive and is preceded by the putative *gatshun* 'should'. Alternatively, the verb itself may be put in a conditional form to express the subjunctive.

(14a) bi   chus yatsha:n   (zi/ki) tsi   gotsh-ukh   gatsh-un.
      I   aux   wanting   that   you   should-2sgps   go-inf
      'I want that you should go.'

(14b) bi   chus yatsha:n   (zi/ki) su   diyihe: yimtiha:n.
      I   aux   wanting   that   he   give-cond   exam
      'I wish that he appears for the examination.'

It has been noted above that the *zi/ki* clause modifies nouns such as *aphva:* 'rumour', *kath*, *khabar* 'story, news', *yeki:n* 'belief'. The complex noun phrase may function both as a subject or an object of the verb. In its unmarked position, the clause follows the noun it modifies, but it can be moved away from the head noun, as shown in (15b).

(15) Complex noun clause as a subject

(15a) [yi   aphva: zi/ki səli:man   li:ch bəḍ na:val] cha   bebun'a:d.
      The   rumour that   Salim-erg wrote big novel   is   baseless

(15b) yi aphva: cha bebun'a:d zi/ki səli:man li:ch bəḍ na:val.
      'The rumour is baseless that Salim wrote a big novel.'

(16) Complex noun clause as an object

(16a) səli:man bu:z   [yi shech [zi/ki mohnan   li:ch bəḍ na:val].
      Salim-erg heard   this news that   Mohan-erg   wrote big novel
      'Salim heard the news that Mohan wrote a big novel.'

1.1.2.2.3 Indirect statements

Indirect statements involving reported speech acts have been explained in detail in 1.1.1.1. It should be noted here that hearsay reports are indirect statements in a pragmatic sense only. They are not to be confused with formal indirect

statements. The main clause of hearsay reports is headed by phrases such as 'it is said/heard that...', etc.

(17a) vanɨnɨ   chu   yiva:n   zi/ki   su   yiyi-nɨ   yo:r
      said   is   passive that   he   come-not here
      'It is said that he won't come here.'

(17b) yi   a:v   vanɨnɨ   zi/ki   su   yiyi-nɨ   yo:r.
      it   pass   said   that   he   come-not here
      'It is said that he won't come here.'

(17c) me   bu:z   su   a:v   va:pas.
      'I heard he came back.'

1.1.2.2.4 Indirect questions

Indirect questions interpreted here as narrow scope questions, as in 'John knows who left', can be formed with the finite *zi/ki* clause only. The nonfinite constructions do not lend themselves to indirect questions. Question words in the nonfinite clause are interpreted as direct questions only. The verbs that allow indirect questions belong to the familiar group such as: *za:nun, pata: a:sun, mo:lum a:sun* 'to know, have knowledge of', *prutshun* 'to ask', *phə:slɨ karun* 'to decide', *e:la:n karun* 'to declare, to announce', *mashun* 'to forget', *tə:jib gatshun* 'to wonder', and some others. The indirect questions are fashioned in the same way as the main clause questions. In both, the question word moves to the preverbal position and may be preceded by another constituent. The subject question word may stay in the preverbal position or be preceded by another constituent. (See 1.1.1.2.2. for details.)

(18a) təm'   prutsh   zi/ki   k'a: dəli:l   cha?/ dəli:l   k'a: cha?
      He   asked   that   what   matter   was?' matter   what   was
      'He asked what the matter was?

(18b) me   chu nɨ   pata: zi/ki kus yiyi   paga:h/
      I   not   know   that who come-fut   tomorrow/
            paga:h   kus   yiyi.
            tomorrow who   come
      'I don't know who will come tomorrow?'

Notice that, unlike English and some other languages, in Kashmiri the complementizer and the question words are not mutually exclusive, and secondly, the question words do not necessarily move in the initial clause position. The preferred Kashmiri tendency is to place the question words after the initial subject/topic constituent.

1.1.2.2.5 Indirect commands

Indirect commands corresponding to the direct imperatives are usually expressed by employing the infinitive or by embedding the imperative form, as in (19c). The infinitive takes either a postposition or a genitive suffix.

(19a) təm' von asi darva:zɨ band karnɨ khə:trɨ'.
He asked us door close do-inf for
'He asked /told us to close the door.'

(19b) mi:ra:yi d'ut ra:j-as [ca:y can-uk] hukum.
Mira-erg gave Raj-dat tea drink-inf-gen order
'Mira ordered Raj to drink the tea.'

(19c) təm' von asi zi/ki garɨ gətsh-iv.
he-erg told us that home go-2pl-imp
'He told us to go home.'

1.1.2.2.6 Nonfinite noun clauses

It has been noted above that indirect questions cannot be expressed in nonfinite forms. Both indirect statements and indirect commands have a corresponding nonfinite form, which has been noted in their respective sections. Note, however, that infinitival indirect statements and commands differ from the embedded finite clause with respect to pronominal interpretations. Infinitives do not assign logophoric interpretations to first- and second-person pronouns.

1.1.2.2.6.1–6 Pertinent changes in the nonfinite noun clauses

Nonfinite noun clauses are formed by changing the subordinate verb into the infinitive. The infinitive is inflected for gender, number, and case, and is placed in the final position. The subject of the infinitive is deleted in the context of certain verbs, as exemplified below.

Infinitival object complements omit the subject of the embedded clause. The embedded subject is controlled by the matrix subject in monotransitive verbs, as exemplified in (20a-b). In ditransitives, the control is switched over to the matrix direct object, as shown in (21a-b).

(20a) bɨ chu-s-an yatsha:n [su/sɔ vuch-un/vɨch-in']
I-abs aux-1sg-3sgps wanting he/her-abs see-3msg/3fsg
'I want to see him/her.'

(20b) təm' kor va:dɨ ne:rnuk.
he-erg made promise leave-inf-gen
'He promised to leave.'

(21a) me   von   tas   [pathar   bih-un].
I-erg told   him   down   sit-inf
'I told him to sit down.'

(21b) təm'   kər   sɔ   nisha:t   ba:g   gatshnɨ   khə:trɨ   majbu:r.
he-erg made her   Nishat garden   go-inf   for   force
'He forced her to go to Nishat garden.'

Note that certain verbs such as *hye, ku:shish kar* 'begin, try' obligatorily employ the infinitive form.

(22a) tem'   h'ot   natsun.
he-erg brgan   dance-inf
'He began to dance.'

(22b) tem'   kər   bə:th   g'avnɨc   ku:shish.
he-erg made song   sing-inf-gen   try
'He tried to sing/He made an attempt at singing.'

1.1.2.2.6.7 Nominalizations

In the nominalized version of the infinitive, the subject is put in the possessive (i.e, nominalized) form, as in (23a).

(23a) mohnɨn'   yi   philim   vuchɨn'   chu   mumkin.
Mohan-gen   this   film   seeing   be   possible
'Mohan's seeing this film is possible.'

(23b) mohnɨn'   kita:b   tsu:ri   nin'   chu   hə:ra:n   kun.
Mohan-gen-fsg book   stealing   be   surprising
'Mohan's stealing the book is surprising.'

(23c) me   gav   khɔsh   təm'sund   garɨ   gatshun.
I-dat aux   happy   his   home   go-inf
'I was happy about his going home/I like his going home.'

(23d) təm'   mo:n   m'o:n   nebar   gatshun.
he-erg agreed-to my   going   abroad
'He agreed to my going abroad.'

(23e) təm'sund   az   yun   chu   mumkin.
his   today   coming is   possible
'His coming today is possible.'

(24) Possible word-order variations on (23e)

(24a) ? mumkin chu təm'sund az yun.

(24b) * yi chu mumkin təm'sund az yun.

(24c) *təm'sund chu mumkin az yun.

1.1.2.3 Relative clauses

Kashmiri relative clauses are broadly divided into restrictive and appositive types. The appositive relative clause is always finite. The restrictive relative clause may have a finite or a nonfinite form. Finite relative clauses maintain all the sentential features including the agreement. All the constituents of the finite clause may be relativized. Nonfinite relative clauses are participle-based and are mostly restricted to subjects (see 1.1.2.3.9).

A significant feature of the relative clause is that the finite verb is placed in the final position, as is the case with the regular nonfinite clauses. The finite verb-final position in such constructions strongly suggests that the underlying word order in Kashmiri is verb final and that all other orders, such as verb second and verb third, are derived by some movement rule (see Hook 1984, Wali 1989). Note that the main clause of the relative exhibits the regular verb-second pattern.

1.1.2.3.1 Finite restrictive relative clauses

Finite restrictive relative clauses are divided into two types, currently known as headed relatives and sequential relatives. In the former, the head noun precedes the relative clause and has the usual head-modifier relation. In the sequential relative—the traditional correlative type—the relative clause precedes the matrix clause. Both the types are exemplified below. The relative and the correlative pronouns have been glossed as 'rel' and 'cor', respectively.

(1) The headed relative clause

(1a) su   ləḍkɨ   [yus dili   chu ro:za:n] chu m'o:n bo:y.
     cor   boy   rel Delhi   is   live   is   my   brother
     'The boy who lives in Delhi is my brother.'

(1b) su   ḍabɨ [yus tse   lobuth] chu kɨ:mti:.
     cor   box rel you   found   is   precious
     'The box which you found is precious.'

(2) The sequential relative clause

(2a) [yus ləḍkɨ dili   chu ro:za:n] su   ləḍkɨ chu m'o:n   bo:y.
     rel boy   Delhi   is live   cor   boy is   my   brother
     'The boy who lives in Delhi is my brother.'
     (Lit. Which boy lives in Delhi that boy is my brother.)

(2b) [yus no:kar tse   ra:th   samkhuy] su   no:kar dra:v vun'.
     rel servant you yesterday met   cor servant left just now
     'The servant who met you yesterday has left just now.'
     (Lit. Which servant you met yesterday that servant has left just now.)

1.1.2.3.1.1 Finite relative clause markings

Finite relative clauses are marked by a special relative pronoun *YUS* (i.e., *yus*
and its inflected forms), which is morphologically distinct from the
interrogative *KUS* 'who'. The pronoun *YUS* declines for case, gender, and
number and shows different forms for animate and inanimate nouns. It is closely
related to the demonstrative pronoun *yi* 'that' and its various forms. (See
Burkhard 1895: 245.)

The pronominal correlative form *SU/Tɨ* is used in the matrix clause, in both
headed and sequential relative clauses. The form *SU* (i.e., *su* and its inflected
forms) occurs only when the correlative is in the direct case. The form *Tɨ* (i.e., *tɨ*
and its inflected forms) is used with the oblique correlative. Both *SU* and *Tɨ*
vary with gender and number. (See 2.1.2.7.1 for the paradigm.)

1.1.2.3.2 Nonrestrictive relative clauses

Nonrestrictive relative clauses (i.e., the appositives) also employ the relative
pronoun *YUS*. Antececents of *YUS* in the nonrestrictive clause are not marked
by the correlative pro ioun *SU/Tɨ*. The antecedents may be proper nouns or
some phrase about wh ch the appositive clause provides an extra information.
This fits with the well-known observation that the head of a nonrestrictive
relative has an independent reference. Note also that the antecedent obligatorily
precedes the appositive clause.

(3a) lalded, [yɔs kə:shric   gədɨnic shə:yir ə:s] za:yi pa:mprɨ.
     Lalded, who Kashmiri-of first   poet   was born Pampore-loc
     'Lalded, who was the first poet of Kashmir, was born in Pampore.'

(3b) mo'n do:s,   yus dili   chu roza:n, yiyi   az.
     my   friend, who Delhi-in is live,   come-fut today
     'My friend, who lives in Delhi, will come today.'

(3c) hu   ḍa:kṭa:r,   yus yath haspta:las manz chu   nokri:
　　 that doctor,   who this hospital-in   is   job
　　　　 kara:n, chu seṭha: kə:bil.
　　　　 does   is   very   efficient
　　 'That doctor, who works in this hospital, is very efficient.'

(Notice the use of *hu* 'within sight proximate demonstrative pronoun'.)

The relative clause of the appositive may not be extraposed or have a sequential version.

(4) Extraposed version of (3a)

(4a) *lalded za:yi pa:mpr̩ [yɔs kə:shric gɔḏᵻnic shə:yir ə:s].

(5) Sequential version of (3a)

(5a) * [yɔs lalded kə:shric gɔḏᵻnic shə:yir ə:s] sɔ za:yi pa:mpr̩.

1.1.2.3.3 The position of the head noun

In the headed relative clause, the head noun immediately precedes the relative clause, unless the relative clause is extraposed to the right, as in (6b).

(6a) su ləḍkᵻ [yus tse   ṭo:th chuy] chu   me   ti   ṭo:th.
　　 cor boy   rel you-to   dear is   is   me-to also   dear
　　 'The boy who is dear to you is dear to me also.'

(6b) su ləḍkᵻ tⱼ chu me ti ṭo:th. [yus tse ṭo:th chuy]ᵢ.
　　 (t denotes the trace of the extraposed clause)

In the sequential relative clause, the head noun usually immediately follows the relative clause, as in (7a), but this is not obligatory. It may also occupy other positions, as in (7b). In short, the matrix clause does not behave any differently than the unmarked simple clause with respect to constituent movement.

(7a) [yus ləḍkᵻ tse   ṭo:th chuy] su ləḍkᵻ chu me   ti   ṭo:th.
　　 rel boy   you-to   dear is   cor boy   is me-to also dear

(7b) [yus ləḍkᵻ tse   ṭo:th chuy] me   ti chu su   ləḍkᵻ ṭo:th.
　　 rel boy   you-to   dear is   me-to is cor boy   dear
　　 'The boy who is dear to you is dear to me also.'

Notice that Kashmiri does not allow the head noun to be positioned within the relative clause. Compare (7a) with (7c).

(7c) *[yus ləḍkɨ su ləḍkɨ tse   ṭo:ṭh chuy] me   ti   chu ṭo:ṭh.
     rel boy cor boy you-to dear is   me-to also is   dear

1.1.2.3.4–5 The relativized element

An interesting feature of relative clauses in Kashmiri is that, both in correlatives and headed relatives, pronouns may be followed by a full lexical noun (N) under certain conditions. The pronoun full-noun interplay is very much determined by the structure of the relative clause itself, as noted below.

In the headed relative, the relative pronoun *YUS* may not be followed by a lexical noun. The lexical noun may accompany the correlative pronominal head *SU/Tɨ*. The pronoun and the full-noun combinations are tabulated in (8) and exemplified in (9a-c).

(8) *Main clause*   *Relative clause*
    Cor. head + Lexical noun   Rel. pronoun + Lexical noun

         [SU + N]   [YUS + ø]   (as in 9a)
        *[SU + N]   [YUS + N]   (as in 9b)
        *[SU + ø]   [YUS + N]   (as in 9c)

(9a) su   ləḍkɨ   [yus tse   ṭo:ṭh chuy]
     cor   boy   rel   you-to dear is
         chu   me   ti   ṭo:ṭh.
         is   me-to   also dear
     'The boy who is dear to you is dear to me also.'

(9b) *su   ləḍkɨ   [yus ləḍkɨ   tse   ṭo:ṭh chuy]
     cor   boy   rel   boy   you-to dear is
         chu   me   ti   ṭo:ṭh.
         is   me-to   also dear

(9c) *su [yus ləḍkɨ tse ṭo:ṭh chuy] chu me ti ṭo:ṭh.

The headed extraposed relative clause optionally allows the lexical noun to follow *YUS*. In this context, the correlative pronominal head *SU/Tɨ* must also be followed by the lexical noun. A pronominal head without the lexical noun is illicit, as shown in (11c).

(10) *Main clause*   *Relative clause*
     Cor. head + Lexical noun   Rel. pronoun + Lexical noun

          [SU + N]   [YUS + Ø]   (as in 11a)
          [SU + N]   [YUS + N]   (as in 11b)
         *[SU + Ø]   [YUS + N]   (as in 11c)

(11a) su   ləḍkɨ t chu me ti ṭo:ṭh [yus ø   tse   ṭo:ṭh   chuy]
      that boy   is   me-to also   dear rel you-to dear   is
      'The boy is dear to me also who is dear to you.'

(11b) su   ləḍkɨ t chu me ti ṭo:ṭh [yus ləḍkɨ tse   ṭo:ṭh   chuy]
      that boy   is   me-to also dear rel   boy you-to dear is

(11c) *su t chu me ti ṭo:ṭh. [yus ləḍkɨ tse ṭo:ṭh chuy].

In the sequential relative clause, both the relative and the correlative pronoun
may be followed by a full lexical noun.

(12) *Relative clause*   *Main clause*
     Rel. pronoun   + Lexical noun   Cor. pronoun + Lexical noun

              [YUS + N]   [SU + N]   (as in 12a)
              [YUS + N]   [SU + Ø]   (as in 12b)
           ?? [YUS + Ø]   [SU + N]   (as in 12c)

(12a) [yus ləḍkɨ tse   ṭo:ṭh chuy] su ləḍkɨ chu me   ti   ṭo:ṭh.
      rel boy   you-to   dear is   cor boy   is me-to also dear

(12b) [yus ləḍkɨ tse   ṭo:ṭh chuy] su ø chu   me   ti   ṭo:ṭh.
      rel boy   you-to   dear   is   that is   me-to also dear

(12c) ?? [yus ø tse ṭo:ṭh chuy] su ləḍkɨ chu me ti ṭo:ṭh.

(13) Headed relatives with quantifiers

In the headed relative clause, the relative pronoun *YUS* may not be followed
by any of the quantifiers, except the universal, as in (13a-c). In contrast, in the
sequential relative clause, *YUS* may be followed by all the quantifiers.

(13a) humɨ   kita:bɨ [yimɨ   sa:rey hot'an pemɨtsɨ cha] cha m'a:ni.
      those   books   which all   there lying   are are mine
      'Those books which all are lying there are mine.'

(13b) *'humɨ kita:bɨ   [yimɨ kɛh hot'an pemɨtsɨ cha] cha m'a:ni
                              some

(13c) * 'humɨ kita:bɨ [yimɨ zɨ hot'an pemɨtsɨ cha] cha m'a:ni
                             two

(14) Sequential relatives with quantifiers

(14a) yimɨ sa:rey kita:bɨ   hot'an pemɨtsɨ cha timɨ   cha m'a:ni.
      rel all   books   there   lying   are those   are mine
      'All the books lying over there are mine.'

(14b) yimɨ kĕh   kita:bɨ hot'an pemɨtsɨ cha timɨ cha m'a:ni.
      rel   some   books   there lying   are those are mine
      'Some books which are lying over there are mine.'

(14c) yimɨ zɨ   kita:bɨ hot'an pemɨtsɨ cha timɨ   cha m'a:ni.
      rel   two   books   there lying   are those are mine
      'The two books which are lying over there are mine.'

(15) Position of the relativized element in the relative clause

In the headed relative clause, the relativized element *YUS* must precede all other elements, as shown in (15a-d).

(15a) sɔ na:val [yɔs tse   təmis ditsɨth] cha nɨ me   pərmɨts.
      the novel rel you   him-to give-cp be not me   read
      'I have not read the novel which you gave him.'

(15b) *sɔ na:val [tse yɔs təmis ditsɨth] cha nɨ me pərmɨts.

(15c) *sɔ na:val [tse təmis yɔs ditsɨth] cha nɨ me pərmɨts.

(15d) *sɔ na:val [tse təmis ditsɨth yɔs] cha nɨ me pərmɨts.

(16) Differences between headed and sequential relative clauses

Headed relative clause	*Sequential relative clause*
(i) Relative clause follows the head noun	Relative clause precedes the main clause
(ii) Relative pronoun may not be followed by a lexical noun or a quantifier	Relative pronoun may be followed by a lexical noun or a quantifier.

(17) Position of the negative *nɨ*

It should be noted here that in Kashmiri the negative element is placed after the verb in all verb-second constructions. However, in relative clauses, the negative may be optionally placed before the verb. This is exemplified in (17a-b) for the sequential and in (17c) for the headed relative clause.

(17a) səli:mas   a:yi sɔ ku:r pasand yemi nɨ mohn-as   cith'
      Salim-dat come that girl like   rel not Mohan-dat letter
        li:ch.
        write
      'Salim liked that girl which did not write the letter to Mohan.'

(17b) səli:mas a:yi sɔ ku:r pasand yemi mohn-as ciṭh' li:ch nɨ

(17c) me kor su   sava:l   yus   nɨ   tse   taga:n   o:suy/yus
     I   did that problem which not you know   was/rel
       tse   taga:n   o:suy   nɨ.
       you-dat know   was   not
     'I solved the question which you could not solve.' (Shauq 1983: 98)

1.1.2.3.6 Headless relative clauses

Headless relatives, as in 'He likes what Mary likes', are expressed in Kashmiri within the sequential paradigm. The relative clause may be placed in the initial or final position.

(18a) kə:shir'   chi ti-y   kara:n   yi timan   khɔsh yiyi.
     Kashmiris be that-emp do   rel them-to please come
     'Kashmiris do that which pleases them.'

(18b) yi kẽ:tsha: sha:lɨma:rɨ chu me:la:n ti   chu nɨ me:la:n nisha:tɨ.
     rel some   Shalimar-in be find   that be not find   Nishat-abl
     'What one finds in Shalimar that one does not find in Nishat.'

(18c) bɨ raṭan su   naphar yus tsɨ vana-kh.
     I   catch that   person rel you wish
     'I'll catch that person who you wish.'

(18d) yus-uy vavi   su-y   lo:ni.
     rel-emp sow-fut that-emp reap-fut'
     'What you sow that you shall reap.'

Note that the correlative head *su/ti* in these examples does not have a referential interpretation. It is just a connector, as Shauq (1983) rightly points out. Notice also that *ti* may be optionally deleted, as in (19a), or it may be replaced by a question word. All these alternatives have a quantificational force typical of the headless relatives. (See Srivastav 1991 for details of such constructions in Hindi.)

(19) *ti* deletion

(19a) [ra:jan   yi   bu:z] me   bu:z nɨ   (ti).
     Raja-erg rel   heard I-erg herd not
     'I didn't hear what Raja heard.'

(19b) tsɨ nats   [yas sɨ:t' tse khɔsh kariy]. (Shauq 1983: 111)
     you dance rel   with you like   do
     'You may dance with whom you like.'

(20) Interrogative substitution (Shauq 1983: 108)

(20a) k'a: k'a: v'atro:v   me   ti   za:nɨ   bɨ-y.
       what   what   bore   I-erg   that   know   I-emph.
       'What I bore, that is known to me alone.'

1.1.2.3.7 Elements that can be relativized

1.1.2.3.7.1 Constituents of the main clause that can be relativized

1.1.2.3.7.1.1 Finite relative clauses

All the constituents of a sentence can be relativized in both headed as well as sequential relative clauses. In the following examples, (a) represents the headed relative clause and (b) the sequential counterpart.

(21) Relativization of subject

(21a) su   naphar   [yus a:v]   gav   garɨ.
       that   person   rel   came   went   home
       'The person who came went home.'

(21b) [yus naphar a:v] [su (naphar) gav garɨ].

(22) Relativization of direct object

(22a) su   naphar   [yus me yo:r on]   gav   garɨ.
       that   person   rel   I-erg   here   brought   went   home
       'The person whom I brought here went home.'

(22b) [yus naphar me yo:r on] [su (naphar) gav garɨ].

(23) Relativization of indirect object

(23a) su   naphar   [yas me gər dits]   gav   garɨ.
       that   person   rel   I-erg   watch   gave   went   home
       'The person who I gave the watch went home.'

(23b) [yas naphras me gər dits] [su (naphar) gav garɨ].

(24) Relativization of postpositional object

(24a) su   naphar   [yemis sɨ:t' bɨ dili go:s]   gav   garɨ.
       that   person   who-with   I   Delhi   went   went   home
       'The person with whom I went to Delhi went home.'

(24b) [yemis naphras sɨ:t' bɨ dili go:s] [su (naphar) gav garɨ].

(25) Relativization of locative object

(25a) su   daphtar [yath manz bɨ kə:m chus kara:n] chu nɨ ja:n.
      that office   rel-in   I   work is   doing   is   not good
      'The office in which I am working is not good.'

(25b) [yath manz bɨ kə:m chus kara:n] [su daphtar chu nɨ ja:n].

(26) Relativization of possessor noun

(26a) su   naphar [yem'sund yi   maka:n chu] gav   garɨ.
      that person   rel-poss   this house   is   went home
      'The man whose house this is went home.'

(26b) [yem'sund yi maka:n chu] [su naphar gav garɨ].

1.1.2.3.7.2 Constituents of a subordinate clause that can be relativized

All the constituents of a subordinate clause can be relativized.

(27) Relativization of subordinate subject

(27a) su   lədkɨ [yus ra:jan   von   para:n   chu] gav.
      cor   boy   rel   Raja-erg   said reading is   went
      'The boy that Raja said is reading has gone.'

(27b) [yus ra:jan von para:n chu] [su lədkɨ gav].

(28) Relativization of subordinate direct object

(28a) sɔ   bəniya:n [yɔs ra:jan   von   sa:ran   cha vu:n'mɨts]
      that pullover   rel   Raja-erg said   Sara-erg   has knitted
           cha   me   nish.
           is   me   with
      'The pullover that Raja said that Sara has knitted is with me.'

(28b) [yɔs ra:jan von sa:ran cha vu:n'mɨts] [sɔ bəniya:n cha me nish].

(29) Relativization of subordinate indirect object

(29a) su   lədkɨ [yemis aslaman   von   ki   ra:jan   kita:b dits]
      that boy   rel   Aslam-erg said that Raja-erg book   gave
           gav   garɨ.
           went home
      'The boy that Aslam said that Raja gave a book to has gone home.'

(29b) [yemis aslaman von ki ra:jan kita:b dits] su lədkɨ gav garɨ.

(30) Relativization of subordinate adverbial phrase

(30a) su   ka:rkha:nɨ [yath   manz   [aslaman   von   zi   sa:rɨ
        that factory   rel   in   Aslam-erg said that Sara
           cha kə:m   kara:n]] chu   lɔkuṭ.
           is   work   doing   is   small
        'The factory that Aslam said that Sara works in is small.'

(30b) [yath manz [aslaman von zi sa:rɨ cha kə:m kara:n]] [su ka:rkha:nɨ
       chu lɔkuṭ].

1.1.2.3.7.3 Possessive noun phrases

(31) Relativization of possessor nominal

(31a) su   ḍa:ktar [yem'sund aslam   dava: chu   kheva:n] chu
        that doctor   rel-poss   Aslam medicine is   eating   is
           nɨ   ja:n.
           not   good
        'The doctor whose medicine Aslam is taking is not good.'

(31b) [yem'sund aslam dava: chu kheva:n] [su ḍa:ktar chu nɨ ja:n].

(32) Relativization of modified nominal

(32a) ???su   dava: [yus   ḍa:ktar   sund aslaman   khev] o:s   t'oth.
        that   medicine   rel   doctor's   Aslam   took   was   bitter
        'The medicine which doctor's Aslam took was bitter.'
        (The doctor's medicine which Aslam took was bitter.)

(32b) ḍa:ktar sund dava: yus   aslaman   khev] su   o:s   t'oth.
        doctor's   medicine rel Aslam   took   that was   bitter
        'The doctor's medicine which Aslam took was bitter.'

(33) Relativization of a constituent of a relative clause is illicit.

(33a) su   naphar   [yas me   gər   dits] chu   pa:gal.
        that person   rel   I-erg watch gave is   crazy
        'The person who I gave the watch is crazy.'

(34) Relativization of gər in the headed relative clause

(34a) *sɔ   gər   yɔs   [su   naphar   [yem'   me   dits] chu   pa:gal]
        the   watch which that boy   who   me-to gave is   crazy
           ə:s   nɨ   ṭhi:kh.
           is   not   good
        'The watch which [the person who gave me] was crazy was not good.'

(35) Relativization of *gər* in the sequential relative clause

(35a) *[yɔs gər [yem' me dits] [[sɔ gər ə:s nɨ t̪hi:kh]
      rel watch rel- me-to gave that watch is not good
      su naphar chu pa:gal]].
      that person is crazy

1.1.2.3.7.4 Relativization from coordinate structures

Coordinate structures are opaque to relativization, as is the case with the relative clause. Relativizating the elements of the first- or second-conjunct clause results in ill-formed sentences.

(36a) *su mazmu:n [yus me por] t̪ɨ [aslaman li:ch cit̪h']
      The essay which I-erg read, and Aslam-erg wrote letter
      chu z'u:t̪h.
      is lengthy.

(36b) *[me por mazmu:n] t̪ɨ [yɔs cit̪h' aslaman li:ch]
      'I read the essay, and which the letter Aslam-erg wrote
      sɔ cha zi:t̪h.
      that is lengthy.

Note, however, if the conjunction is interpreted as a causal sequence, then relativization from one of the conjuncts becomes marginally acceptable in both headed and sequential clauses. Examples (37a) and (37b) represent the conjunct relativization in the headed clause, while the examples in (38a) and (38b) show the sequential relativization versions.

(37a) ?su mazmu:n [yus me por] t̪ɨ [cit̪h' li:ch] chu ja:n.
      cor essay rel I-erg read and letter wrote is good
      'The essay which I read and wrote a letter is good.'

(37b) *[me por mazmu:n] t̪ɨ [sɔ cit̪h yɔs' li:ch-im] cha ja:n.
      I read essay and that letter rel wrote-1sgps is good
      'I read an essay and the letter which I wrote is good.'

(38a) ? [yus me por] [t̪ɨ cit̪h' li:ch] [su mazmu:n chu ja:n].
      rel I-erg read and letter wrote cor essay is good
      'The essay which I read, and wrote a letter, is good.'

(38b) ? [me por mazmu:n] t̪ɨ [yɔs cit̪h' li:ch-im] sɔ cha ja:n.
      I read the essay and rel letter wrote-1sgps cor is good
      'I read an essay and the letter I wrote is good.'

1.1.2.3.8 Movement of the relativized element

The relativized element in the headed clause may not be moved, as noted above in (15). The relativized element in the sequential clause may be moved but must always precede the verb. The movement of the relativized element does not affect other constituents.

1.1.2.3.9 Nonfinite relative clauses

In the nonfinite relative clause, the verb is suffixed for either the present participial *VUN* or the past participial *MUT*. Both these suffixes inflect for gender and number but not for case.

(39)

	Present Participle		Past Participle	
	Masculine	*Feminine*	*Masculine*	*Feminine*
Singular	vun	vɨn'	mut	mɨts
Plural	vɨn'	vɨni	mɨt	mɨtsɨ

The relative pronoun has a null form and the coreferential matrix noun is not preceded by the correlative *SU/Tɨ*. The deleted arguments of the present and past relative participles can be subjects only.

(40) Relativization of the subject

(40a) vuḍɨvɨn'   tsər.
fly-prp   sparrow
'The sparrow that is flying.'
(Flying sparrow)

(40b) pashas   pa'ṭh khot-mut   ləḍkɨ.
roof   on   climb-psp   boy
'The boy who climbed the roof.'
(The roof-climbed boy)

(41) Relativization of the object

(41a) *duka:nda:r   kɨnɨvɨni   kita:bɨ
shopkeeper   sell-prp-fpl   books
'Shopkeeper selling books.'

(41b) *[shi:lan   chəl'-mɨt']   palav.
Sheila-erg   wash-psp   clothes
'Sheila washed clothes.'

(41c) *ra:jan   gər   ditsmɨts   ku:r.
Raj-erg   watch   give-psp   girl
'Raj watch-given girl.'

Kashmiri also has an agentive participial suffix *VO:L,* which is attached to several nouns to form nouns of agency such as *na:vi-vol* 'boatman', *dɔdɨvo:l* 'milkman', etc. The suffix varies for gender and number and inflects for case.

(42) Masculine   Feminine

Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
vo:l	və:l'	va:jen	va:jni

The *vo:l* suffix is often used with verbs to form participial relative constructions.

(43a) [dili   ro:zan-vo:l]   ləḍkɨ   chu   m'o:n   bo:y.
       Delhi live-ptcp-msg boy   is   my   brother
       'The boy who lives in Delhi is my brother.'
       (Delhi-living boy is my brother)

(43b) [kita:bɨ kɨnanvo:l]   duka:nda:r   gav   dili.
       books   sell-ptcp-msg shopkeeper   went Delhi
       'The shopkeeper who sells books has gone to Delhi.'
       (Book-selling shopkeeper has gone to Delhi)

(43c) [ka:r cala:van- va:jen]   zana:n   ə:s-nɨ   bema:r.
       car   drive   -ptcp-fsg woman was-not sick
       'The woman who drives car was not sick.'
       (Car-driving woman was not sick)

1.1.2.4 Adverb clauses

1.1.2.4.1 Markings and position of adverb clauses

The syntactic form of finite adverbial clauses denoting time, location, manner, and degree is similar to the form used for correlative clauses (see 1.1.2.3). Both the subordinate and the main clause in these adverbial constructions are marked by a connective pair *Y...T* familiar from the correlative construction. The conditional and the concessional adverbial clauses also employ a similar paired set: *agar...teli* 'if...then', *agarci/yodvay...to:ti* 'although...then'. Adverbial purpose, cause, and result clauses use independent morphemes to mark their onset.

Adverbial clauses of time, manner, purpose, and cause also have nonfinite counterparts. The nonfinite clauses are formed by means of a conjunctive participle, a reduplicated present participle, or an oblique infinitive with a postposition. There are no nonfinite forms for conditional, result, and degree clauses.

Adverbial finite clauses may precede or follow the main clause. An important feature of these clauses is that they show verb-final order, as is the case with the relative clauses. Secondly, the subordinate connective elements (e.g., *yeli,*

agar...) may move within their clause as long as they stay before the verb. The only exception is *tik'a:zi* 'because' clause, which has the unmarked verb-second order. The main clause in all these constructions maintains the verb-second order. Nonfinite clauses also maintain internal verb-final order, as mentioned before. The nonfinite clause itself may move within the main clause, maintaining the external verb-second order. We exemplify all these relevant word-order variations below.

(1) Presentential subordinate clause

(1a) [yeli   bɨ sɔnmarg   chus gatsh-a:n] teli   chu   su   ti   gatsh-a:n.
     when   I   Sonmarg-to am gone   then   is   he   too goes
     'When I go to Sonmarg, (then) he goes too.'

(2) Postsentential subordinate clause

(2a) su ti chu gatsh-a:n [yeli bɨ sɔnmarg chus gatsh-a:n].

1.1.2.4.2 Types of adverb clauses

1.1.2.4.2.1.1 Finite temporal clauses

Finite temporal clauses are invariably expressed by a connective pair expressing various time expressions, as in (3). The *YELI* words mark the subordinate clause, while the *TELI* words mark the main clause.

(3) yeli.   teli   'when then'
    yeli   yeli   teli teli   'whenever'
    yanɨ (peṭhɨ) tanɨ (peṭhɨ) 'since'
    ya:n'   ta:n'   'as soon as'
    yuthuy   t'uthuy   'as soon as/that very instant'
    yota:m   tota:m   'as long as, till'
    yemi sa:tɨ   tami sa:tɨ   'the   moment'

(4) Adverbial *yeli...teli* clause

(4a) [yeli   su   yiyi]   bɨ   ti   yimɨ.
     when   he   come-fut I   too   come-fut-lsg
     'When he'll come, I'll come too.'

(5) Adverbial *yeli yeli...teli teli* clause

(5a) yeli   yeli   bɨ   tihund garɨ   go:s,   su o:s   nɨ   mu:ju:d.
     when   when I   his   house   went he   aux not   available
     'Whenever I went to his home, he was not available.'

(6) Adverbial *yanɨ...tanɨ* clause

(6a) [yanɨ su yo:r a:v] tanɨ chi əs' yikɨvaṭɨ kə:m kara:n.
since he here came from are we together work doing
'Since he came here (from that period), we work together.'

(7) Adverbial *yuthuy...t'uthuy* clause

(7a) [yuthuy toh' shech su:ziv], bi yimɨ (t'uthuy).
moment you message send I come that moment
'The moment you will send a message that moment I will be there.'
(As soon as you will send the message, I will be there.)

(7b) [yuthuy bɨ daphtarɨ ne:run h'otus], t'uthuy vo:t su.
moment I office leave about right then came he
'Just as I was about to leave my office, he came.'

(7c) [tsu:rav yuthuy yi java:b bu:z], tim vɔshle:yɨ.
thieves as soon this reply heard they blushed
'As soon as the thieves heard this reply, they blushed.' (Kachru 1973)

(8) Adverbial *yota:m...tota:m* clause

(8a) [yota:m bɨ yeti chus kə:m kara:n], tota:m hekɨ nɨ
as long as I here aux work do till can not
bɨ kun-ti gətshith.
I anywhere go-cp
'As long as I'm working here, I can't go anywhere.'

1.1.2.4.2.1.2 Nonfinite temporal clauses

Nonfinite temporal clauses are formed by means of the reduplicated present participle *-an,* the conjunctive participle *-ith,* or the oblique ablative infinitive with certain postpositions.

(9) The present participial clause

The reduplicated present participle *a:n* expresses an ongoing action (i.e., while) and is traditionally called a frequentative adverb. Note the various positions of the frequentative in the following examples.

(9a) me bu:z re:ḍiyo [batɨ kh'ava:n kh'ava:n].
I listen-pst radio meal eating eating
'I listened to the radio while eating (my) meal/as I ate my meal.'
(I heard the radio news while eating my food.)

(9b) [ca:y cava:n cava:n] o:s su maji sɨ:th' kathɨ kara:n.
tea drinking drinking was he mother with talk do
'He was talking with his mother while drinking his tea.'

(9c) me   vuch su   [kita:b par-a:n par-a:n].
     I   saw he-nom book   reading reading
     'I saw him reading a book.'
     (=I saw him while I/he was reading a book)

(9d) ma:ji   vuch [necuv vuzɨna:v-a:n vuzɨna:v-a:n] bro:r.
     mother saw   child waking   waking   cat
     'Mother saw the cat while waking up her child.'

Note that when the present participle is followed by the emphatic suffix *y*, it imparts simultaneity to the events expressed in the subordinate and the main clause.

(9e) [yiv-a:n yiv-a:n-ɨy]   prutsh təm'   yi   sava:l.
     come   come-emph   asked   he-erg   this   question
     'As soon as he came, he asked this question.'
     (Immediately on coming, he asked this question.)

The nonredulicated form of the present participle is also used as a temporal adverbial.

(9f) mohnan   vuchus   bɨ   aslam-as sɨ:th'   paka:n.
     Mohan-erg   saw-1sg-ps   me-abs   Aslam-dat   walk-prp
     'Mohan saw me walking with Aslam.'

(10) The conjunctive participial clause

The conjunctive/absolutive participle -*ith* is frequently used to express sequential events. The event mentioned in the -*ith* clause is interpreted as preceding the one in the main clause. Secondly, the null subject argument of the conjunctive clause is identical with that of the main clause. The two clauses also share the same tense.

(10a) [philim vuch-ith]   gatshav əs'   rame:shun   garɨ.
      film   see-cp   go   we   Ramesh-gen   house
      'After watching the film, we will visit Ramesh's house.'

(10b) toh' yiyiv [daphtarɨ   yi-th]   so:n sha:man sheyi baji.
      you   come   office-from   come-cp   our   evening six   time
      'Please come to our house at six after coming back from office.'

(10c) [kə:m mukamal kər-ith] so:z-a-th   tsɨ bɨ garɨ.
      work   complete do-cp   send-1sg-fut-2sgps   you I   home
      'I will send you home when you/I finish the job.'

(11) The infinitival clause

The infinitive when followed by certain postpositions such as *brō:h* 'before', *patɨ* 'after', *peṭh* 'on', or by temporal expressions such as *vizi/vakhtɨ* 'at the time' also expresses the time adverbs.

(11a) [ra:jni dili   yinɨ   brō:h] gatshi nɨ   kā:h   kəshi:ri.
      Raj's Delhi come-inf-obl before go-fut-neg noone Kashmir
      'No one will go to Kashmir before Raj's arrival in Delhi.'

(11b) [paga:h   təm'sɨndi   ne:rnɨ   patɨ] gatshɨ bɨ.
      tomorrow he-gen-obl departure-inf after go-fut I-nom
      'I'll go after his departure tomorrow.'

(11c) [garɨ gatshnɨ   vizi/vakhtɨ] h'əts   me   sabzi:.
      home go-inf-abl time   bought I-erg vegetables
      'I bought some vegetables at the time of going home.'

(11d) daphtar yinɨ   vizi gav me   tse:r.
      office   come-inf   time aux I-dat late
      'I got late at the time of coming to the office.'
      (I was late office coming time.)

1.1.2.4.2.2 Locative and manner adverbial clauses

(12) Locative adverbial clauses employ connective pairs such as: *yot...tot* 'wherever...there', *yeti...tati* 'where...there', and *yapə:r'...tapə:r'* 'which way...that way'. (See Shauq 1983.)

(12a) yot   tsɨ   gatshakh   tot   gatshɨ bɨ   ti.
      where you go-fut   there go-fut I   too
      'Wherever you'll go, I'll also go.'

(12b) yeti   po:sh   chi a:sa:n   tati   chi kənḍ' ti   a:sa:n.
      wherever flowers are aux-prp there are thorns also   are
      'Where there are flowers, there are thorns, too.'

(12c) yapə:r'   bɨ go:s   tapə:r'   o:s nɨ   z'a:dɨ po:n'.
      which way I   went   that way   was not much   water
      'There wasn't much water in the direction I went.'

(13) The finite manner clause

Finite manner clauses are expressed by the connective pair *yithɨkɨn' tithɨkɨn'*, or *yithɨpə:ṭh' tithɨpə:ṭh'*, 'in this manner'.

(13a) yithɨkɨn'   bɨ vanay   tithɨkɨn'   kar.
      as-rel   I   tell-2sgps the same way   do
      'Do as I tell you.'

(13b) yithɨkɨn'   me   təmis von   kə:m   karnɨ khə:trɨ tithɨkɨn'
      the manner I-erg he-dat told   work   do   for   that way
          kərnɨ   təm'.
          do not   he-erg
      'The manner I told him to do the work, he did not do it that way.'

(13c) yithɨpə:ṭh'   me   təmis   von   gari   ro:zun
      manner   I-erg   him-dat told   house   stay/behave
          tithɨpə:ṭh'   ru:d   nɨ su.
          that manner stayed   not he
      'He did not behave the way I told him to behave at home.'

(13d) Word-order variations on (13a)
      tithɨkɨn' kar [yithɨkɨn' bɨ vanay].

1.1.2.4.2.2.1 Nonfinite manner clauses

(14) The present participial clause

The reduplicated present participial clause is often ambiguous between time
and manner sense.

(14a) su   a:v   [vada:n   vada:n].
      he   came   weep-ing   weep-ing
      'He came crying.' (in that fashion)

(14b) sɔ   cha nəts'   nəts'   paka:n.
      she is   dancing dancing   walking
      'She walks dancingly.' (dancy manner)

(14c) su   o:s   ma:ji   sɨ:t' asa:n   asa:n   kathɨ   kara:n.
      he   was   mother dat with   laughing laughing talk   doing
      'He was talking with his mother laughing.'

(14d) təm' kor panun pa:n khara:b [hame:shɨ philimɨ vuch'   vuch'].
      he   do   self   ruined   always   films   seeing   seeing
      'He ruined himself by watching movies all the time.'

(14e) təm'   kari   kathɨ   me:zas   peṭh dog' diva:n   diva:n.
      he-erg did   talking table-dat on   fist give-prp give-prp
      'He talked pounding his fist on the table.'

(15) The conjunctive participial clause

(15a) su   a:v   patɨ   patɨ   təm'sund athɨ   rəti-th.
      he   came   behind   his   hand   hold-cp
      'He came holding his hand behind him.'

(15b) təm'   vod   [ca:rpa:yi   peṭh   bihi-th].
      he-erg wept   cot-abl   on   sit-cp
      'He cried sitting on the cot.'

(16) Infinitival clauses

The infinitival clause is often used to confer a complement in addition to expressing the manner in which the action took place.

(16a) [təm'sund   natsun]   chu   me   pasand.
      (s)he-gen   dance-inf is   I-dat like
      'I like his/her dance/I like the way he/she dances.'

The manner sense may be paraphrased, as in (16b).

(16b) təm'sɨndi   natsnuk   təri:kɨ   chu   me   pasand.
      (s)he-gen-obl dance-inf-gen   manner   is   I-dat like
      'I like his/her manner of dancing.'

(16c) sɔ   cha kə̃:-si   prɨtshɨ-nay   garɨ   gatsha:n.
      she   is   anyone   ask-inf-without   home   go-prp
      'She goes home without asking anyone.'

(16d) su   chu   batɨ   khe-nay   shɔ̃g:-a:n.
      he   is   food   eat-without   sleep-prp
      'He sleeps without eating his meals.'

1.1.2.4.2.3 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses are formed by adding the postposition *khə:trɨ* 'in order to' or *ba:path* 'about/concerning 'to the ablative form of the infinitive. There is no corresponding finite purpose clause.

(17a) su   gav   gulɨmarag shi:n   vuchnɨ   khə:trɨ.
      he   went Gulmarg   snow   see-inf-abl   for
      'He went to Gulmarg to see the snow.'

(17b) me   n'uv   su   ba:zar   sabzi: henɨ   khə:trɨ.
      I-erg took   he   market   vegetables buy-inf-abl   for
      'I took him to the market so that he might buy vegetables.'

(17c) su   chu   apuz   vana:n   pɔ̃:-sɨ   ze:nɨnɨ   ba:path.
      he   is   lie   saying   money   earn-inf-abl for
      'He is telling lies to earn money.'

1.1.2.4.2.4 Cause/result clauses

1.1.2.4.2.4.1 The finite causal clause

The finite causal clause is formed by means of adverbs such as *tik'a:zi, amikin'*
'because, therefore/as a result'. When these adverbs are used as a pair, they
impart the cause and result sense. Notice that the use of *tik'a:zi* throws the verb
in the third position. The use of *amikin'*, on the other hand, maintains the verb-
second order.

    (18) Postsentential *tik'a:zi* clause

(18a) su   heki   nɨ   pərith   [tik'a:zi [su   chu   muḍɨ].
      he   able   not   read-pp   because   he   is   illiterate
      'He cannot read, because he is illiterate.'

    (19) Presentential *tik'azi* clause

(19a) [tik'a:zi siri:nəgrɨ   ə:s   sakh   garmi:]   bɨ   go:s   gulɨmarag.
      because Srinagar-abl   was   very   hot]   I   went   Gulmarg
      'Because it was hot in Srinagar I went to Gulmarg.'

    (20) *tik'a:azi/amikin'* clause

(20a) [tik'a:zi siri:nəgrɨ ə:s sakh garmi:] amikin' go:s bɨ gulɨmarag.

    (21) *amikin'* clause

(21a) [ra:th   o:s   ja:n   mu:sim],   amikin'   go:s   bɨ   cakras.
      yesterday was   good   weather   therefore went-ls I   walk-dat
      'It was a fine weather yesterday, so I went for a walk.'

    (22) The nonfinite causal clause

Nonfinite causal adverbials are generated by adding *-y* to the verb stem and
then reduplicating the verb. The suffix *y* induces palatalization in the last
consonant, as in *prə:r'* (i.e., *prə:r + y = prə:r'*). Note that the verb stems ending
in vowels are not palatalized (e.g., *khe + y = khey* 'eat').

(22a) bɨ   a:s   prə:r'   prə:r'   tang.
      I   became   wait-pp   wait-pp   sick
      'I got sick because of waiting.'

(22b) tə:m'   kor   panun pa:n khara:b   philmɨ vuch'   vuch'.
      he-erg   do   self-nom   ruined   film   seeing seeing
      'He ruined himself by watching movies.'

(22c) rame:sh gav   kasrath kər'   kər' setha: zə:v'ul.
      Ramesh   became   exercise doing doing very   slim
      'Ramesh became slim by doing exercises.'

(23) The conjunctive participle *ith* usually does not generate the causal sense,
     except in certain pragmatic contexts.

(23a) [z'a:dɨ shara:b ce-th]   pev su bema:r.
      more   liquor   drink-cp fell he sick
      'Because of drinking a lot of liquor, he became sick.'

Similarly, given a proper context, the reduplicated present participle also
imparts a marginal causal sense.

(23b) [paka:n   paka:n]   thok su tɨ   bu':th pathar.
      walk-prp   walk-prp   tired he and sat   down
      'Because of walking (constantly), he got tired and sat down.'

(24) Causal adverbs may also be expressed by using the oblique infinitive
     when followed by the postposition *sɨ:t'* 'with' or by the postposition *ki
     vaja:h* 'of because'.

(24a) shur'-sɨndi yin-ɨ   sɨ:t' gəyi sə:ri: khɔsh.
      child-abl-gen come-inf-abl with   went all   happy
      'Because of the arrival of the child, all were happy.'

(24b) ru:d peni   sɨ:th' gav   phasɨl khara:b.
      rain fall-inf with   went   crop   bad
      'Because of the rainfall, the crop was ruined.'

(24c) [ru:d peni   ki-vaja:h] h'ok-us   nɨ bɨ ba:zar gətshith.
      rain fall-inf-obl of reason able-1sg not I   market go-cp
      'The rain fell, as a result I could not go to market.'

(24d) kəshi:r   khu:bsu:rath a:snɨ   ki-vaja:h chi yo:r
      Kashmir   beautiful   be-inf obl   reason   are here
           va:riya:h sə:lə:ni: yiva:n.
           many   tourists   come-prp
      'Kashmir is beautiful, as a result many tourists visit this place.'

1.1.2.4.2.5 Conditional clauses

Conditional adverbial clauses are marked by the pair *agar, teli* 'if, then'. Notice the presentential and postsentential position of the subordinate *agar* clause, as exemplified below.

(25a) [agar sɔ ba:zar gatshi],   teli   gatshɨ   nɨ bɨ.
   if   she market go-fut-fsg then go-fut-lsg neg I
   'If she goes to market, then I won't go.'

(25b) [teli bani ja:n   phasal] agar ru:d peyi.
   then make good crop,   if   rain fall
   'The crop will be good if the rain falls.'

The conditional clause is also expressed with the conjunction *natɨ* 'otherwise'.

(25c) paga:h yizi   jalɨd natɨ   ne:rɨ bɨ kunuyzon.
   tomorrow come-imp soon otherwise leave-fut I alone
   'Come early tomorrow, otherwise I will go alone.'

 (26) Negative conditional clause

(26a) [agar nɨ təm' madad a:sihe: kor-mut] bɨ a:sɨha: nɨ
   if   not he-erg help had-cond did-psp I had-cond not
   ka:miya:b sapuḍmut.
   success   be-psp
   'If he had not helped, I would have not found success.'

(26b) [tota:m yizi   nɨ] yota:m   nɨ bɨ van-ay.
   until   come-should-fut not till-then not I tell-2sgps
   'Don't come until I call you.'

1.1.2.4.2.6 Concessive clauses

A concessive clause is marked by *agarci/yodvay...to:ti* 'although, still'; *harga:h, to:ti* 'even if, still'; or *k'a:zi nɨ* 'why not'. The concessive clause can be placed in presentential or postsentential position, as exemplified below.

(27a) agarci   sɔ   seṭha: əmi:r cha, to:ti cha kanju:s.
   although she very rich is   still is miser
   'Although she is very rich, still she is a miser.'

(27b) sɔ cha kanju:s agarci sɔ seṭha: əmi:r cha.

(28a) harga:h   toh'   təmis   co:b   ti   diy-iv,
      even if   you   him   beating   also   give-2plps
       to:ti   kari   nɨ   su   yi   kə:m.
       even then   do-3sg   not   he   this work
      'Even if you beat him up, still he will not do this work.'

(29) Concessive clause without *to:ti*

(29a) su kari nɨ yi kə:m.harga:h toh' təmis co:b ti diyiv.

(29b) [harga:h toh' təmis co:b ti diyiv], su kari nɨ yi kə:m.

(29c) [su k'a:zi kari   nɨ   me za:rɨpa:rɨ],   bɨ   gatshɨ nɨ   təm'sund garɨ.
      he why   do   not me begging   I   go-fut not his   home
      'Even if he begs me, I'll not go to his home.'
      (Unless he begs/entreats, I'll not go to his home.)

(29d) Extraposed version of (29c)
      bɨ gatshɨ nɨ təm'sund garɨ [su k'a:zi kari nɨ me za:rɨpa:rɨ].

(30) Nonfinite concessive clauses

The concessive meaning can also be generated by using the conjunctive participial clause, as exemplified below.

(30a) m'o:n do:s   ə:si-th ti   chu-kh nɨ   tsɨ   me   peth baro:sɨ
      my   friend be-cp also   are   not you 1-dat on   believe
       kara:n.
       do-prp
      'You do not trust in me, though you are my friend.'

(30b) panɨni   vesi   mi:li-th   ti   gəyi   nɨ   nəsi:m khɔsh.
      own-gen friend met-cp   also   became   not   Nasim   happy
      'Nasim wasn't happy even after meeting her friend.'

1.1.2.4.2.7 Degree clauses

Adverbial degree clauses closely follow the general pattern used for comparative, superlative and equative clauses. (See sections 1.8.3 and 1.9.)

1.1.2.4.2.7.1 Comparative clauses

Comparative clauses are introduced by *yu:t* 'as much as', while the main clause contains the ablative form *tami* of the demonstrative pronoun. The pronoun is followed by the comparative morpheme *khɔtɨ* 'than'.

(31a) aslam   yu:t   be:kɨl chu mohnɨ chu tami   khɔtɨ
      Aslam as much stupid is   Mohan is   that-abl than
      z'a:dɨ   be:kɨl.
      more   stupid
      'As much stupid as Aslam is, Mohan is more stupid.'
      (Mohan is more stupid than Aslam.)

(31b) aslam   yu:t   əmi:r chu mi:ra: cha sa:s   ganɨ
      Aslam as much rich   is   Mira   is   thousand times
      tami   khɔtɨ   əmi:r.
      that-abl than   rich
      'Mira is thousand times richer than Aslam.'

1.1.2.4.2.7.2 Equative clauses

Equative clauses are expressed by the connective pair *YUT...TUT*. The pair inflects for case, gender, and number. (See 2.1.2.7.2 (18) for complete paradigm.) The pair denotes comparison in terms of quantity.

(32a) Masculine   Feminine
      Singular   *Plural*   *Singular*   *Plural*
      yu:t   yi:t'   yi:ts   yi:tsɨ
      t'u:t   ti:t'   ti:ts   ti:tsɨ

(32b) su   chu   t'u:t   suli   nendri   vɔtha:n yu:t   bɨ   chus.
      he   is   cor-much   early   sleep-obl rise-prp rel-as   I   am
      'He gets up as early as I do.'

(32c) aslam   yu:t   da:na: chu t'u:t   chu təm'sund bo:y
      Aslam as much wise   is   that much   is   his   brother
      be:vku:ph.
      stupid
      'Aslam is as wise as his brother is stupid.'

(32d) yi:t'   palav   tse   chiy,   ti:t'   chi   me   ti.
      as many   clothes   you-dat have   that many   are   I-dat   too
      'I have as many clothes as you have.'

1.1.2.5 Sequence of tenses

The tense in the finite subordinate *ki/zi* clause is independent of the tense in the main clause. The tense in the infinitive clause with the so-called control verbs is usually a future/unrealized tense. The tense of the participial clause may be the same as the main clause tense indicating the simultaneity of the events or they may indicate an event that happened before the event in the main clause.

1.2 STRUCTURAL QUESTIONS

1.2.1 Internal structure of the sentence

1.2.1.1 Copular sentences

The principal Kashmiri copula is *a:sun*. The copula has a suppletive stem *chu* in the present tense. Complements of the copula may be a predicate noun, an adjective, an adverb, or a postpositional phrase. These complements are not marked in any special way. The copula is placed in the second position, as is the case with the finite verb. The unmarked order in the copular sentence is [subject + copula + complement]. The order [complement + copula + subject] is also acceptable with certain complements, as exemplified in (4d-e) below.

1.2.1.1.1–3 Nominal, adjectival, and adverbial complements

(1) Predicate nouns

(1a) su   chu   vəki:l.
     'He is a lawyer.'

(1b) aslam   o:s   ma:star.
     'Aslam   was   a   teacher.'

(2) Predicate adjectives

(2a) yi   ləḍkɪ   chu   z'u:ṭh.
     'This boy is tall.'

(2b) yim ləḍkɪ chi zi:ṭh'.
     'These boys are tall.'

(2c) yi   ka:kaz   chu   saphe:d.
     'This paper is white.'

(2d) yim ka:kaz   chi   saphe:d.
     'These papers are white.'

Note that the adjectives in (2a-b) show agreement with their subject, while those in (2c-2d) do not. The adjective agreement pattern in copular constructions follows the general adjective agreement pattern in the language. (See 2.1.4 for details of adjective agreement.)

(3) Predicate adverbials

(3a) shi:lɪ   cha   taya:r.
     'Sheila is ready.'

(3b) bɨ   chu-s   yet'ath.
     'l am here.'

(4) Predicate postpositional phrases

(4a) yi   cha   kəshi:r-i   mutalakh.
     It   is   Kashmir-abl   about
     'It is about Kashmir.'

(4b) gə:ḍ cha   pə:nis   manz.
     fish is   water   in
     'Fish is in the water.'

(4c) be:kɨl   chi   prath   ja:yi.
     senseless-people are   every   place
     'Senseless people are everywhere.'

(4d) so:n maka:nɨ   chu   səku:las   patɨ kani.
     our house   is   school   behind
     'Our house is behind the school.'

(4e) Word-order variations with postpositional complements, as in (4d)

     səku:las   patɨ kani   chu   so:n   maka:nɨ
     school   behind   is   our   house
     'Our house is behind the school.'

    In yes-no questions and negative sentences, the copula remains in the second position. In question-word questions, the copula is placed after the question word but is not necessarily a final element, as shown in (6a-b). In short, the behaviour of the copula is patterned after the finite verb.

(5a) hum   cha: ma:ṣṭarji:?
     that   is-Q   teacher
     'Is that a teacher?'

(5b) yim   chi-nɨ   ma:ṣṭar.
     'This is not a teacher.'

(5c) yi   k'a: chu?
     this what   is
     'What is this?'

(5d) toh'   kati   ə:si-vɨ   sha:mas?
     you   where   were-2plps   evening-dat
     'Where were you in the evening?'

(6) Word-order variations on (5d)

(6a) kati ə:sivɨ toh' sha:mas?

(6b) sha:mas kati ə:sivɨ toh'?

1.2.1.1.4 Retention and deletion of copula

The copular verb is obligatorily retained in both affirmative as well as negative sentences.

(7a) aslam   chu   ḍa:ktar. / *aslam   ḍa:ktar.
     Aslam   is   doctor
     'Aslam is a doctor.'

(7b) aslam   chu-nɨ   ḍa:ktar./*aslam   nɨ   ḍa:ktar.
     Aslam   is not   doctor
     'Aslam is not a doctor.'

1.2.1.1.5 Copula without a complement

Kachru (1968: 32) notes that *a:sun* rarely occurs without a complement except in existential sentences, as in (8a-b). He cites a few more examples, which we note below in (8c-d).

(8a) bɨ chus.
     'I am.'

(8b) khɔda: chu.
     'God is/exists'

(8c) tre:sh   cha: (yeti)?
     water   is-Q   (here)
     'Is there any drinking water here?'

(8d) tre:sh cha (yeti).
     'Drinking water is here.'

1.2.1.1.6 Various uses of the copula

The copula is widely used to make statements about universal truths, identity, definition, and existence.

(9) Universal truths

(9a) nəsi:b   chu   panun   panun.
     luck   is   self   self
     'You are born with your own luck.'

(9b) marun   chu   zaru:r.
     death   is   certian/inevitable
     'Death is inevitable.'

(9c) duniya:h   chu   phə:ni:.
     world   is   transitory
     'World is transitory.'

(10) Generic sense

(10a) hu:n   chu   vapha:da:r   ja:nvar.
      dog   is   faithful   animal
      'The dog is a faithful animal.'

(11) Definition

(11a) zɨ   tɨ   zɨ   gəyi   tso:r.
      two   and   two   make   four
      'Two and two make four.'

(12) Role

(12a) kã:tɨ   cha   rame:shin'   zana:n.
      'Kanta is Ramesh's wife.'

(12b) the:kɨdar   chu   bank   mane:jar.
      contractor   is   bank   manager
      'The contractor is a bank manager.'

(13) Identity/comparison

(13a) mohnɨ   chu   kən'.
      Mohan   is   stone
      'Mohan is like a stone.'

An interesting use of the copula in Kashmiri is that its complement imparts a sense of possession if the subject is put in the dative case. Some of these sentences generate an additional generic sense, as in (14a). (See Kachru 1968.)

(14a) gə:v   cha   tso:r   zangɨ.
      cow-dat is   four   legs
      'A cow has four legs.'

(14b) ra:ma-s   chu   maka:nɨ/necuv.
Ram-dat   is   house/son
'Ram has a house/son.'

(14c) darva:z-as   chu   kuluph.
door-dat   is   lock
'The door has a lock.'

1.2.1.1.7 Other copular verbs

Copular verbs such as *sapdun* 'lit. to happen' or *gatshun* 'lit. to go' are used to convey the sense of becoming, happening, or occurring.

(15a) kath-ba:th   sapɨz.
conversation-fsg   be-pst-fsg
'The conversation took place/occurred.'

(15b) tse:r   sapud/gav.
late-msg   be-pst-msg
'It became late.'

(15c) bɨ sapdu-s baḍɨ na:vome:d.
'I became much disappointed.'

(15d) phe:rɨ   sɨ:t'   sapdus   bɨ   seṭha: kamzo:r.
walking   with   become I-abs   much   fatigued
'I became fatigued by walking.'

(15e) k'a: gav?
'What is the matter/what happened?'

(15f) aslam   gav   li:ḍar.
Aslam   be   leader
'Aslam is a leader.'

(15g) mohnɨ   ban'o:v   prəziḍanṭ.
Mohan   became   president
'Mohan became the president.'

Note that in the present tense the sense of become/becoming is rendered by employing the stem *chu* and the present participial form of *sapdun* and *gatshun*.

(16a) dɔh   khɔtɨ   dɔh   chu   gatsha:n   vakhɨt   kru:th.
day   more   day   is   go-ing   time   difficult
'The time is becoming difficult day by day.'

(16b) azkal   cha   sapda:n   suli: anigaṭɨ.
      nowadays is   becoming early dark
      'It becomes dark early these days.'

1.2.1.2 *Verbal sentences*

1.2.1.2.1 Subject

All verbs in Kashmiri have subjects with the exception of weather verbs and a few others noted below. The subject may be overtly expressed or deleted (i.e., take a null form). The subject may or may not bear a semantic role. The subjects bearing semantic roles are realized as agents, experiencers, or themes (e.g., passive subjects). The expletive subject realized as *yi* 'it' is semantically empty and may be optionally deleted.

1.2.1.2.1.1 Verbs without overt subjects

Kashmiri has an extensive system of pronominal suffixes/clitics that are incorporated in the verbs. (See 2.1.3.6.2.2.) These pronominal suffixes can refer to subjects, objects, and indirect objects. Pronominal arguments are often deleted, leaving the inflected verb phrase as the sole representative of the sentence. The suffixes can be added to the finite verb in all tenses and moods. (See Hook and Koul 1984b, as well as Bhat 1987 for extensive discussion.) Note that in the present tense the verb is always in its present participial form, and the auxiliary carries both the tense and the pronominal suffixes.

  (1) Overt subject

  (1a) me   por   akhba:r.
       I-erg read paper
       'I read the paper.'

  (1b) bɨ   chus   kita:b   para:n.
       I-nom be-1mps book   read-prp
       'I am reading a book.'

  (2) Null/pro subject

  (2a) akhba:r poru-m.
       paper   read-1sgps.
       'I read the paper.'

  (2b) kita:b chus   para:n.
       book   be-1mps read-prp
       'I am reading a book.'

    (3) Overt subject and object

    (3a) tsɨ   go:kh   me   na:ra:z.
           you became-2sgps me-dat angry
           'You became angry at me.'

    (4) Null/pro subject and object

    (4a) na:ra:z   go:-h-am.
           angry   became-2sgps-1sgps.
           'You became angry at me.'

1.2.1.2.1.2 Verbs with quasi-dummy subjects

The demonstrative proximate pronoun *yi* 'this' serves as a quasi-dummy subject in copula sentences. (See 1.2.1.) In these sentences, it has a clear demonstrative function and takes on the agreement features of the complement. It even occurs in the object position where it has a clear argument role, as in (5a).

    (5a) tsɨ   he-kɨ-kh-a: yi   kər-i-th?
           you can-2sgps-Q   this do-2sg-cp
           'Are you able to do this?'

1.2.1.2.1.3 Verbs with expletive subjects

The pronoun *yi* functions as an expletive subject in simple sentences, as in (6a). It serves the same expletive function when it heads factive predicates, such as *poz, sa:ph, munə:sib, rut, na:ka:rɨ* 'true, clear, proper, good, bad'.

    (6a) təm'   von   zi/ki yi chu yuthuy.
           he-erg said that it is   so
           'He said that it is so.'

    (6b) yi chu poz   zi/ki kəshi:ri -manz chi setha: masta:nɨ sapɨd'mɨt'.
           It is   true that Kashmiri-in   are many mystics found
           'It is true that Kashmir has produced many mystics.'

An interesting facet of this construction is that the predicate can be moved to the preverbal/topic position, as in (6d). (See Shauq 1983: 143.)

    (6c) yi chu munə:sib zi/ki toh' kəri:v   timan   teli:pho:n.
           It be   proper   that you make-2sg-pl them-dat telephone
           'It is proper that you telephone them.'

    (6d) munə:sib chu yi-y zi/ki toh' kəri:v timan teli:pho:n.

The expletive also occurs as the subject of certain passive constructions. such as 'it was said/seen/thought that'. The expletive can be optionally deleted in such constructions (Shauq 1984: 160).

(6e) yi a:v vann zi/ki paga:h   chu yeti akh kə:shur ḍra:ma:.
     it pass said that tomorrow is here a Kashmir drama
     'It was said that tomorrow a Kashmir drama will be played here.'

(6f) vann a:v zi/ki paga:h chu yeti akh kə:shur ḍra:ma:.

1.2.1.2.1.4 Verbs of weather, health, and a few other expressions

Kashmiri weather expressions fall into two types. One type resembles the Indo-Aryan pattern (i.e., without expletive subjects), as exemplified in (7a-c).

(7a) ru:d p' av.
     'Rain fell.'

(7b) az   cha seṭha: garmi:.
     today is very hot
     'It is very hot today.'

(7c) maka:nas andar   chu dam h' uh.
     house-dat in   is suffocating
     'It is suffocating inside the house.'

However, unlike other Indo-Aryan languages, Kashmiri has an alternative construction for weather verbs. An interesting facet of this construction is that it shows the third-person singular pronominal suffix/clitic *n* on the verb. (See 2.1.3.6 for details of agreement.) Hook (1986) and also Hook and Koul (1987) have argued that this suffix must be attributed to an abstract agent. According to them this abstract agent is distinct from the usual dummy subject. Thus, along with regular weather expressions, as in (8i), we also find abstract agent constructions, as in (8ii). In these constructions, the verb shows the third-person pronominal suffix *n,* though there is no overt subject/agent with which it can be linked.

(8) Regular weather expressions   Abstract agent weather expressions
     (i) obur   khot (nabas).   (ii) obur   kho:ru-n   (nabas).
        clouds rose (sky-dat)   cloud raises-3sg-ps sky-dat
     'It has clouded over.' (lit. X raised the clouds to the sky)

In the regular nonweather constructions, the suffix *n* refers to the ergative subject and has a plural varient *kh.* The presence of *n/kh* usually deletes the subject.

(9a) tami   h' ot (*-n) bə:th   g'avun.
     she-erg began   song sing-inf

(9b) bə:th   h'otu-n   g'avun   (*tami).'
    song   began-3sg-ps   sing-inf   (she-erg)
    'She began to sing a song.'

However, in weather expressions, the suffix *n* does not change for the number feature, thus supporting the view that it represents an abstract agent. (For details, see Hook and Koul 1987.)

(10) gɔdɨ karyi-n-as   seṭha: vuzɨmalɨ.
    first did-3sg-ps-3sg-ps(dat)   many   lightening strokes-dat
    'At first there were many lightening strokes.'

The suffix *n* is found in several constructions, such as natural processes, natural forces, expressions of health, and possessed beings. It is also found with the phasal verb *hye* 'to begin'. We exemplify these below.

(11) Natural processes

(11a) ru:d na   penɨ   sɨ:t' zazrə:vɨ-n-as   sabzi:.
    rain not falling with wither-caus-3sg-ps-3sgps(dat) vegetables-dat
    'With no rain falling, the vegetables withered up.'

(12) Health expressions

(12a) təm-is chi pe:ch yiva:n./   (ii) təm-is kər-in   pe:ch.
    he-dat is   cramps come-prp   he-dat do-3sg-ps cramps
    'He has stomach cramps.'

(12b) bɨ o:sus bema:r, vɔn' koru-n-am   yehsa:n.
    I   was   sick   now did-3sg-ps-1sgps grace
    'I was sick. Now I am well.' (lit. X did grace to me)

(13) Expressions of possession by external/natural forces

(13a) tsɨ k' a:zi chu-kh-nɨ   panɨn' kə:m kara:n? roṭu-n-kh-a:?
    you why   are-2sgps-not your   work doing seized-3sgps-2sgps-Q
    'Why aren't you working? Did X possess/catch you?'

(14) The phasal verb *hye*

(14a) kɔl   hetsɨ-n hɔkhɨn'.
    stream-nom   began-3sg-ps dry-inf- fsg
    'The stream began to dry.'

Notice that if the subject 'stream' is put in the ergative, then the suffix *n* is excluded, as in (14b).

(14b) kɔli   h' ot   hɔkh-un.
    stream-erg   began dry-inf-neuter
    'The stream began to dry.'

1.2.1.2.2 Direct object

In Kashmiri, the deletion of the direct objects is controlled by its morphological case and the aspect of the verb. In the nonperfective, the direct object is marked with null case if the subject is in a higher person. (See 2.1.3.6.2.2.) These direct objects obligatorily mark the verb for pronominal suffixes. The pronominal direct objects may be optionally deleted, as exemplified in (16).

(15) Overt object

(15a) bɨ   chu-s-a-th   tsɨ   parɨna:va:n.
      I   am-1sg-2sg you-abs teaching
      'I am teaching you.'

(16) Null object and null subject

(16a) parɨna:va:n chu-s-a-th.
      'I am teaching you.'

The direct object is marked dative if the subject is lower in person (i.e., III › I, II; II › I) or if both the subject and object are third person. The verb must inflect for the dative second-person object. The second-person object may be optionally deleted. The verb must not inflect if the first- and third-person dative objects are overtly present, as shown in (18a). The dative inflection on the verb causes the first- and third-person objects to be in their null forms, as shown in (19a). (See 2.1.3.6.2.2. for details.)

(17) Second-person dative direct object

(17a) su   chu-y   (tse)   parɨna:va:n.
      he   is-2sgps you-dat teaching
      'He is teaching you.'

(18) First- and thirc -person overt dative direct objects

(18a) su   chu   me /təmis   parɨna:va:n.
      he   is   me-dat/he-dat   teaching
      'He is teaching me/him.'

(19) First- and third-person null dative direct objects

(19a) su   chu-m   /chu-s   parɨna:va:n.
      he   is-1sgps /is-3sgps teaching
      'He is teaching me/him.'

In the perfective, the direct object is in the absolutive case. The verb is obligatorily inflected for the absolutive direct object. The pronominal direct object is usually not deleted, but the deletion is not forbidden.

    (20) Absolutive overt direct object

(20a) nanan   roṭ- u- s   bɨ.
          Nana-erg caught-msg-1ps I-msg-abs
          'Nana caught me.'

(20b) nanan roṭ-u-s. (Andrabi 1984)
          'Nana caught me.'

1.2.1.2.3 Indirect object

Indirect objects are always marked for the dative case. They follow the inflection pattern of the dative-marked direct objects noted above. The verb inflects for first and third persons only if the pronouns are not overtly present. The verb obligatorily inflects for the second-person pronoun. The deletion of the second-person pronoun is optional.

    (21) First- and third-person overt indirect objects

(21a) təm'   d'ut me   /təm-is   kalam.
          he-erg gave me-dat /him-dat pen
          'He gave me /him a pen.'

    (22) First- and third-person null indirect objects

(22a) kalam d'ut- n-   am./d'ut-n-   as.
          pen   gave-3sgps-1sgps/gave-3sgps-3sgps
          'He gave me/him a pen.'

    (23) Second-person indirect object

(23a) təm'   d'ut-uy   tse   kalam.
          he-erg gave-2sgps you-dat pen
          'He gave you a pen.'

    (24) Second-person null object

(24a) kalam d'ut-n-ay.
          pen   gave-3sgps-2sgps
          'He gave you a pen.'

1.2.1.2.4 Oblique arguments

A verb may take all types of oblique arguments, such as locatives, instrumentals, benefactives, and comitatives. These arguments are usually expressed by means of postpositions. (See 2.1.1.4.)

1.2.1.2.5 Combination and order of constituents

There are no restrictions regarding the number of oblique arguments a verb may take. In contrast, the number of primary/main arguments is determined by the way a verb is subcategorized. For example, intransitive verbs will take only one argument, while transitive verbs may take two or three arguments, as is well known.

We have noted above that in Kashmiri in the root clause the verb occurs in the second position. The unmarked word order is [subject + finite verb + indirect object + direct object + various oblique arguments]. Any one of these arguments may be placed in the preverbal position. The order of the constituents in the postverbal position is also relatively free, as exemplified below.

(25) aslaman   dits   mohnas   kita:b ra:mini   khǝ:tɪ   ra:th
       Aslam-erg gave Mohan-dat book   Ram-dat for   yesterday
       gari.
       home-abl
       'Aslam gave Mohan a book for Ram yesterday at home.'

(26) Movement of constituents to preverbal position

(26a) mohnas dits aslaman kita:b ra:mini khǝ:tɪ ra:th gari.

(26b) kita:b dits aslaman mohnas ra:mini khǝ:tɪ ra:th gari.

(26c) ra:mini khǝ:tɪ dits aslaman mohnas kita:b ra:th gari.

(26d) ra:th dits aslaman mohnas kita:b ra:mini khǝ:tɪ gari.

(27) Word-order variations of the postverbal elements.

(27a) aslaman dits ra:th gari kita:b mohnas ra:mini khǝ:tɪ.

1.2.1.3 Adverbials

1.2.1.3.1 Types of adverbials

Forms of adverbs may be (i) simply basic, (ii) morphologically derived, (iii) phrasal, or (iv) clausal types. The type (ii) adverbs are mostly derived from nominals, adjectives, and postpositional phrases. Phrasal adverbs may consist of reduplicated forms or a string of distinct words. Clausal adverbs may be finite or nonfinite, as noted earlier in 1.1.2.4. Most of these adverbials can be further regrouped according to their functions.

(A) Adverbs of time/duration

(1) Simple adverbs

(1a) *az* 'today', *ra:th* 'yesterday', *vɔn'* 'now', *suli* 'early', *tsi:r'* 'late',
hame:shɨ 'always', *yeli* 'when', *teli* 'then'

(2) Adverbs derived by suffixation

(2a) The suffix *an* 'in, during':
subɨh-an 'in the morning', *sha:m-an* 'in the evening'

(2b) The suffix *as* 'duration':
gaṇṭ-as 'for an hour', *dɔh-as* 'for a day', *r'at-as* 'for a month'

(2c) The suffix *i* 'duration':
sul-i 'early', *dɔhli* 'during day time'

(2d) The suffix *vizi* 'at that time':
yemi-vizi 'at this time', *tami-vizi* 'at that time', *prath-vizi* 'all the time'
kami-vizi 'at what time'

The suffix *vizi* is extensively used with many verbs to derive expressions,
such as *parnɨ-vizi* 'at the time of reading', *kh'anɨ-vizi* 'at the time of eating', etc.
However, there are no expressions like *gaṇṭɨ-vizi* 'at that hour' (Kachru 1973:
238).

(3) Adverbs derived by reduplication:
Reduplicated temporal adverbs add a quantifier-like distributive force.

(3a) *dɔhay dɔhay* 'daily', *ro:t-us ra:th* 'during the night itself',
kar kar 'at which times', *kuni kuni* 'some times/at times'

(3b) sɔ   kar   kar   ru:z   gə:r-hə:zir?
she when when remained-fsg absent
'On which dates did she remain absent?'

(3c) su chu kuni   kuni   yo:r yiva:n.
he is sometimes sometimes here coming
'He comes here at times.'

The reduplicated adverbs may be separated by the negative particle *natɨ*, which
adds a sense of indefiniteness to the adverbial.

(3d) su yiyi kuni   natɨ kuni   vizi.
he come-fut sometime or sometime time-dat
'He will come sometime or the other.'

(4) Phrasal adverbials

(4a) —treyi   reti   pati—
     three-obl   month-obl   after
    —after three months—

(4b) —parni   brŏ:h—
     read-inf-obl   before
    —before reading—

(B) Adverbs of direction

(5) Basic forms:

Adverbs of direction may be purely postpositional as in: *andar* 'in/inside', *nebar* 'out/outside', *bɔni* 'under', *brŏ:ţhi, buthi* 'in front of', *pati* 'behind', *peţhi* 'above', *kat'ath* 'where'. These postpositions may also be suffixed to nouns to form composite adverbials, as in *ḍa:kha:nas bɔni* 'below the post office'.

(6) Adverbs derived by suffixation

(6a) The suffix *kun, -kin* ' 'towards':
path kun 'towards the back', *kho:vur kun* 'leftward', *yo:r kun* 'towards this side', *ho:r kun* 'towards that side', *ləḍkas kun* 'towards the boy', *ba:zri kin'* 'towards the market'

(6b) The suffix *pə:r* 'from':
yepə:r' 'from this side, in this direction', *hɔpə:r'* 'from that side, in that direction' (remote but within sight), *tapə:r'* 'in that direction' (remote out of sight), *kapə:r'* 'in which direction'

(C) Adverbs of location

(7) Basic locative adverbs

(7a) *yeti* 'here', *tati* 'there', *nəzdi:kh* 'near', *du:r* 'far'

(8) Locative adverbs derived by suffixation

(8a) Suffixes *an, nas, kani*

yet-an, yeti-nas 'here, at this sight', *hoti/hot-en/hoti-nas* 'there', *tati/tati-nas* 'there', *kati/katen/katinas* 'where'

(9) Locative adverbs by reduplication

(9a) *kot kot* 'which places'

(9b) toh'   kot   kot   gəyi-vi?
    you-pl   where   where   went-2plps
    'Which places did you visit?'

(D) Adverbs of quality, quantity and degree

(10) Basic forms

kam 'less, little, not enough', *seṭha:* 'very much', *lagbag* 'approximately', *va:rya:h* 'many', *ku:t* 'how much', *k'uth* 'of what type', *kha:l kā:h* 'hardly any'

(10a) yath havɨsbo:ṭas   manz cha seṭha: ja:y.
       this houseboat in   is lots room.'
       'This houseboat has lots of room.'

Note that the interrogative adverbs *ku:t, k'uth* 'how much, of what type' decline for both number and gender of the modifier.

(11) Masculine   Feminine

Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
ku:t	kɨ:t'	kɨ:ts	kɨ:tsɨ
k'uth	kith'	kitsh	kitshɨ

(E) Manner adverbs

(12) Basic manner adverbs

(12a) *a:sə:ni: sa:n* 'easily', *yakdam* 'suddenly'

(12b) bɨ   karɨ   yi   kə:m   a:sə:ni: sa:n.
      I   do-fut this work   easy   with
      'I will do this work easily.'

(12c) su   dra:v   ba:zar yakdam.
      he left   market suddenly
      'He left for the market suddenly.'

(13) Derived manner adverbs

(13a) Suffixes: *thɨkɨn', pə:ṭh* 'manner'

(13b) *yi-thɨ-kɨn'/yi-thɨ-pə:ṭh'* 'in this manner, *hu-thɨ-kɨn'/huthɨ-pə:ṭh'* 'in that manner' (remote within sight), *tithɨkɨn'/tithɨ pə:ṭh'* 'in that manner' (remote out of sight), *kithɨ-kɨn'/kithɨ-pə:ṭh'* 'in which manner', *ja:n-pə:ṭh'* 'nicely'

(13c) bəniya:n   vo:n yithɨkɨn'./yithɨpə:ṭh'.
      sweater   knit in this manner
      'Knit the sweater in this manner.'

(13d) tsɨ   kithɨkɨn'/kithɨpə:ṭh' kara-kh   yi   kə:m?
      you which manner   do-fut-2sgps this job
      'How will you do this job?'

(14) Adverbs derived from adjectives:

Certain adjectives of quality, such as *ja:n*, 'good', *na:ka:rɨ, khara:b, bad,* 'bad', at times express adverbial functions.

(14a) mohnan   li:ch   ja:n   pə:ṭh'   ciṭh'.
      Mohan-erg wrote   good   way   letter
      'Mohan wrote the letter in a good way.'

(15) Manner adverbs by reduplication

(15a) *va:rɨ va:rɨ* 'slowly', *jaljal* 'quickly', *vada:n vada:n* 'crying'.

(15b) tsɨ   pakh   va:rɨ   va:rɨ.
      you   walk-2sgps   slowly   slowly
      'You walk (very) slowly.'

(15c) shra:n   kar   jal   jal.
      bath   do   quick quick
      'Take bath quickly.'

(15d) shur   a:v   vada:n vada:n ma:ji   nish.
      child   came   crying crying mother   near
      'The child came crying near the mother.'

(F) Adverbs of reason, instrument, and purpose

(16) Reason: *kin'* 'for':

(16a) *gəri:bi: kin'* 'for the reason of poverty, *kamzu:ri: kin'* 'for the reason of weakness'

(16b) təm'   h'ok nɨ   z'a:dɨ   pərith gəri:bi: kin'.
      he   could'nt   more   study   poverty   reason.
      'He couldn't study more because of poverty.'

(17) Instrument/commitative: *sɨ:t'* 'with'

(17a) *kalmɨ-sɨ:t'* 'with pen', *shra:pcɨ sɨ:t'* 'with knife', *mohnas sɨ:t'* 'with Mohan, etc.'

(17b) tsū:ṭh   katɨra:v shra:pcɨ   sɨ:t'.
      apple   cut   knife-obl with
      'Cut the apple with the knife.'

(17c) shi:lɨ   gəyi ba:zar mohnas sɨ:t'.
      Sheila   went market Mohan with.
      'Sheila went to the market with Mohan.'

(18) Purpose: *khə:tɨ* 'for'

(18a) *parnɨ khə:tɨ* 'for reading', *ka:mi khə:tɨ* 'for work'

(18b) me   di   kita:b   parnɨ   khə:tɨ.
me   give   book   read   for
'Give me the book for reading.'

1.2.1.3.2 Position of adverbs

Almost all adverbs may be placed in the initial, medial, or final position of a sentence.

(19) su   chu   subɨhanas   daphtar   gatsha:n.
he   is   morning-dat   office   goes
'He goes to his office in the morning.'

(20) Variations on (19)

(20a) subɨhanas chu su daphtar gatsha:n.

(20b) su chu daphtar gatsha:n subɨhanas.

(20c) daphtar chu subɨhanas gatsha:n.

1.2.1.3.3 Optionality of adverbs

Adverbs are always optional and are not obligatory in any construction.

1.2.2 Adjective phrases

1.2.2.1 Operational definition

An adjective phrase is a substantive modifier and as such a constituent of the noun phrase. The minimal adjective phrase is an adjective itself, which may be basic or derived. The relative clause denotes its maximal extension. Note that adjectives may function as adverbs, or predicates, or even as substantives. The adjective phrase may contain an intensifier adverbial.

(1) Simple adjectives

(1a) mohn-an   pər   akh   nəv   kath.
Mohan-erg   read   one   new-fsg   story-fsg
'Mohan read a new story.'

(2) Relative clauses (see 1.1.2.3 for details)

(2a) sɔ   ku:r yɔs   siri:nəgr̩   cha ro:za:n, cha seṭha: thəz.
     that girl rel   Srinagar-abl is live-prp is   very   tall
     'The girl who lives in Srinagar is very tall.'

(3) Adjective modified by an adverbial

(3a) yi   chu   seṭha: boḍ   /lɔkuṭ   kul.
     this is   very   big-msg/small-msg   tree-msg
     'This is a very big/small tree.'

(4) Substantive modifier

(4a) ləkri   kədɨl   chu   khatarna:kh.
     wood-gen   bridge is   dangerous
     'The wooden bridge is dangerous.'

1.2.2.2 *Adjectives with arguments*

Adjectives take arguments only when they are used as predicates in copular or small-clause constructions. (See 1.1.2.2.)

1.2.2.3 *Adverbial modification*

Adjectives can be modified by degree adverbs, as exemplified below.

(5) Intensive/degree adverbs

(5a) yi   chu   seṭha: boḍ/lɔkuṭ   kul.
     this is   very   big/small   tree

The emphatic suffix *ɨ:y* may also be added to degree adverbs for intensification.

(6) yi   maka:nɨ   chu   seth-ɨ:y   khu:bsu:rath.
    this house   is   very-emph   beautiful
    'This house is very very beautiful.'

1.2.3 Adverbial phrases

1.2.3.1 *Operational definition*

A minimal adverbial phrase is an adverb itself. Its extension usually consists of a postpositional phrase, another adverb, or a simple reduplication, as noted above in (1.2.1.3).

1.2.3.2 *Adverbial modifiers of adverbials*

Adverbial modifiers are placed before the adverb and usually act as intensifiers. The modifier can be a duplication of the adverb itself, or another adverb further

suffixed by an intensifier/emphatic marker *ɨy*. The adverb itself may be optionally suffixed by a postposition.

(1) Reduplicated modifiers

(1a) mohnɨ   chu   bo:la:n   seṭh-ɨ:y   zo:ṛɨ   zo:ṛɨ.
     Mohan   is   talk-prp   very-emph   loud   loud
     'Mohan talks very loudly.'

(1b) shi:lɨ   cha   paka:n   seṭh-ɨ:y   lɔti   lɔti.
     Sheila is   walk-prp   very-emph slowly slowly
     'Sheila walks very slowly.'

(2) Other adverbial modifiers

(2a) mohnɨ   dra:v   seṭh-ɨ:y   jalɨd.
     Mohan   left   very-emph   quick
     'Mohan left very quickly.'

(2b) shi:lɨ   cha   g'ava:n   seṭh-ɨ:y   ja:n.
     Sheila is   sing-prp   very-emph   good
     'Sheila sings very well.'

(2c) mohnɨ   dra:v   seṭha: jaldi: sa:n.
     Mohan   left   very   quickly   with
     'Mohan left in a hurry.'

(3) yi:tis/yi:tis-ɨy   ka:l-as   manz   a:s   bɨ   va:pas.
    this much-dat-emph   period-dat   in   came-1sg   I   return
    'I came back in that time.'

(4) yu:tuy   yo:t   h'ok   nɨ   me   kəri-th.
    this much   just   could   not   I-erg do-cp
    'I couldn't do just this much.'

1.2.4 Postpositional phrases

1.2.4.1 Operational definition for postpositional phrases

A core postpositional phrase is headed by a postposition that governs a noun phrase. Postpositions divide into three groups: namely, postpositions that require a dative case on their noun phrase; postpositions that require an ablative case; and postpositions that require no case. Both dative and ablative cases inflect for the gender and number of the nouns they govern. Note that some postpositions may mark their noun phrases either with the dative or the ablative case. The case choice is guided by semantic criteria.

(1) List of postpositions requiring dative case:

peth 'on', *andar* 'in/inside', *manz* 'in' *sɨ:t'*, *sɨ:tin*, *sa:n* 'with', *tal* 'under', *nish* 'near/nearby', *k'uth* 'for', *kun* 'towards', and *bagə:r* 'without'.

(1a) kita:b thav me:z-as   peṭh.
    book   keep table-dat-msg on
    'Keep the book on the table.'

(1b) kursi-yi   tal/talɨ kani   cha   ka:pi:.
    chair-dat-fsg under   is   notebook
    'The notebook is under the chair.'

(1c) ləḍk-an   kith' an   nəv' palav.
    boys-dat-m.pl. for   bring new   clothes
    'Bring new clothes for the boys.'

(2) List of postpositions requiring ablative case:

peṭhɨ 'from', *əndrɨ*, *manzɨ* 'from within', *sɨ:t'* 'with' (instrumental), *tau* 'from under', *nishɨ* 'instead', *sa:n* 'with'.

(2a) su   a:v   panɨni   ga:m-ɨ   peṭhɨ.
    he   came   own-abl   village-abl   from
    'He came from his own village.'

(2b) tim   a:yi   ga:m-av   peṭhɨ.
    they came   villages-abl   from
    'They came from villages.'

(2c) sondu:kɨ   manzɨ   kaḍ   palav.
    box-abl   from within   take out clothes
    'Take out clothes from the box.'

Certain other postpositions that form locative, directional, or temporal adverbial phrases do not require their nominals to be case-marked. They may at times induce an oblique form in the nominals.

(3) Postpositions   Examples

Locative: *-an, -nas, -kani, -nɨy*   *yeti-nas* 'here'; *patɨ-kani* 'behind'

Direction: *-kun, -pə:r'*   *saḍk-i-kin'* 'road-towards'

Temporal: *-an, -as, -i, viẓi*   *ra:t-as* 'night-during' (during the night)

1.2.4.2 Postpositional phrases and their arguments

1.2.4.2.1 Postpositions as simple adverbs

Certain postpositions, such as *bɔnɨ, du:r, nish, tal* 'below, far, near, under', function as adverbs (see Kachru 1973: 181).

(4a) bɔnɨ   kus   chu   kathɨ   kara:n?
     below   who   is   talk   doing
     'Who is talking downstairs?'

(4b) nehru: pa:rk cha du:r.
     'Nehru Park is far away.'

Postpositions also tend to function as adjectives. These postpositions show agreement with the nominal they govern. (See Kachru 1973: 222.)

(5) Masculine   Feminine
    Singular   *Plural*   *Singular*   *Plural*
    um/-im   im   im   imi

(5a) yi   m̃ɔz-im   lədkɨ   chu   ca:la:kh.
     this middle-msg   boy   is   clever
     'The middle boy is clever.'

(5b) humɨ   pət-imi   ko:ri cha sho:r   kara:n.
     those back-fpl   girls are noise   do-prp
     'Those girls at the back are making noise.'

(5c) me   di   peṭh-im/peṭh-imi   kita:b/kita:bɨ.
     me-dat give   top-msg/top-mpl   book-msg/books-mpl
     'Give me the top book/books.'

1.2.4.2.2 Postpositions with more than one argument

A single postposition does not modify two distinct arguments.

1.2.4.2.3 Postpositions with other arguments

Postpositions such as *nay, varə:y/badlɨ* 'without, without/instead' modify both verbs and infinitives.

(6a) su   chu   mehnath karɨ-nay   yatsha:n   pɔ̃:sɨ   ze:nun.
     he   is   labour   do-inf-without   wish-prp   money   earn-inf
     'He wants to earn money without working.'

(6b) yi   kə:m   karnɨ   varə:y   gatshi   nɨ   va:pas   yun.
     this work   do-inf-abl   without   should   not   return   come-inf
     'You should not come back without doing this work.'

(6c) yeti   ro:zn‡   badl‡   pazi   təm-is   gar‡   gatshun.
     here   stay-inf instead should he-dat   home   going
     'Instead of staying here, he should go to (his) home.'

1.2.4.2.4 In Kashmiri, postpositions cannot be stranded. They must immediately follow the nominal head.

1.2.4.3 *Modifiers of postpositions*

Postpositions cannot be modified by adverbs or other elements. They may however take certain emphatic particles, such as *‡y, yo:t,* or limiters, such as *ta:n'/ta:m* 'up to/till'.

(7a) ts‡   thav kita:b me:z-as   peth-‡y   yo:t.
     you-sg   keep book table-dat on-emp   only
     'You just keep the book on the table.'

(7b) su va:ti   ma:ml-as   andar   ta:m/ta:n'.
     he reach-fut   matter-dat in   up to
     'He will reach right into the matter.'

1.2.4.4 *Postpositions governing more than one case*

Postpositions such as *s‡:t', s‡:t'an, sa:n, nish* 'with, together with, with, near' allow their nominals to be either in the dative or the ablative case. As mentioned above, the case choice is usually guided by the semantic criteria.

(8a) de:va:ras s‡:t' ma   beh.
     wall-dat with   don't sit
     'Don't sit by the side of the wall.'

(8b) shra:pc‡ s‡:t' katra:v tsū:th.
     knife-abl with   cut   apple
     'Cut an apple with the knife.'

(8c) mohn-as   s‡:t'an yiyi   təm's‡nz zana:n   ti.
     Mohan-dat with   come-fut   his   wife   also
     'His wife will also come along with Mohan.'

(8d) pȝ:sav   s‡:t'an k'a: heki n‡   bəni-th?
     money-abl with   what can not   happen-cp
     'What cannot be procured with money?'

1.2.5 Noun phrases

1.2.5.1 Operational definition

A noun phrase can be simple or complex. A simple noun phrase dominates a noun, a pronoun, or a nonfinite sentential clause. The nominals may be modified by adjectival elements. A complex noun phrase is headed by a nominal that is modified by a sentential clause. These phrases form the basis of various relative clauses and what is known as a complex noun phrase. Syntactically, a noun phrase may function as an argument of a predicate, a predicate nominal of a copula, or as a complement of a postposition.

1.2.5.2 Modifiers of a noun phrase

1.2.5.2.1 Adjectives in a noun phrase

    (1a) nov   ko:ṭh.
          new   coat
          'A new coat.'

    (1b) shəri:ph   ku:r.
          gentle   girl
          'A gentle girl.'

1.2.5.2.2 Relative clauses

    (2) su   ləḍkɨ   [yus   kita:b   para:n   chu]   chu   m'o:n   bo:y.
       the   boy   who   book   reading is   is   my   brother
       'The boy who is reading a book is my brother.'

1.2.5.2.3 Possessive 'adjectives'

    (3) aslam-un/aslam-sund   necuv.
       Aslam-gen/Aslam-gen son
       'Aslam's son.'

1.2.5.2.4–5 Articles

There are no articles as such in Kashmiri. A bare noun is ambiguous between a definite and an indefinite sense. A demonstrative pronoun may function as a definite article. In a similar vein, the numeral *akh* 'one' functions as an indefinite article. There is also a bound indefinitizer suffix *a:/a:h,* which is optionally added.

(4a) yi/hu   shur.
     this/that child
     'This/that child.'

(4b) akh   lədkɨ.
     some/one/a boy
     'A boy.'

(4c) kath-a:h.
     story-some
     'Some story/A story.'

1.2.5.2.6 Quantifiers

(5a) yimɨ   sa:rey   kita:bɨ   cha   me   par-imatsɨ.
     these all-nom-fpl   books-fpl   are   I-erg read-pp-fpl
     'I have read all these books.'

(5b) siriph yim   godɨnik' zɨ   shur '   bi:ʈh' yimtiha:nas   manz.
     only   these first   two   children sat   examination-dat   in
     'Only these first two children appeared in the examination.'

(5c) kãh   kita:b   an.
     any   book   bring-imp
     'Bring any book.'

(5d) kẽh   lədkɨ   ə:s'   sho:r   kara:n.
     few   boys   were noise make-prp
     'A few boys were making noise.'

1.2.5.2.7 Adverbials

Though adverbials are not typical modifiers of a noun phrase, both temporal and locative adverbs qualify the noun, as exemplified in (6a-b). The nouns may also be qualified by derived adjectival/adverbial phrases, as in (6c-d).

(6a) sha:m-ɨc   ca:y cha taya:r.
     evening-gen tea   is   ready
     'The evening tea is ready.'

(6b) kəshi:ri hund kɔng   chu mashhu:r.
     Kashmir-gen   saffron is   famous
     'Kashmiri saffron is famous.'

(6c) me:zɨ p'aʈhuk   me:zposh   chunɨ   sa:ph.
     table- on—gen   tablecloth is-not   clean
     'The tablecloth on the table is not clean.'

(6d) darva:zas   nishi   p'omut   khɔrba:nɨ   chu   tsh'onɨmut.
     door-dat   near   fall-psp   shoes   are   wornout
     'The shoes lying near the door are worn out.'

1.2.5.2.8 Emphatic words

There are no distinct emphatic words that modify the nouns. Emphatic particles
are bound morphemes attached to the noun phrase, as noted in 1.11.2.1.1.

(7) shur-ɨy   a:v   ba:zar.
    child-emph   came   market
    'It was the child who came to the market.'

1.2.5.2.9 Comparative/superlative/equative structures

(8a) me   gatshi   bɔḍ   paha:n   gɔr.
     l-dat   want-fut   big   about   watch
     'I want a bigger watch.'

(8b) yimɨ   cha   tshɔci   paha:n   ko:ri.
     these   are   short   about   girls
     'These are shorter girls.'

(8c) tuhɨnz   kɨ:s   hish   ku:r   kati   cha?
     your-fsg younger   one   daughter   where   is
     'Where is your younger daughter?'

 (9) The superlative structure

(9a) [sa:rivɨy   khɔtɨ   z'u:ṭh]   lɔḍkɨ   kus   chu?
     all   than   tall   boy   who   is
     'Who is the tallest boy?'

(10) The equative structure

(10a) timɨ   cha   hishay   benɨni.
      they   are   alike   sisters
      'They are alike sisters.'

(10b) yimɨ   cha   akh   ɔkis   hishay   benɨni.
      they   are   one   one-dat   equal   sisters
      'These sisters resemble each other.'
      (These are resembling sisters.)

1.2.5.2.10 Derived nominals as modifiers

(11a) yi   chu   kɔ̃ɗda:r gula:b.
      this is   thorny   rose
      'This is a thorny rose.'

(11b) yi   cha   sekij   mets.
      this is   sandy   clay
      'This is a sandy clay.'

1.2.5.3 Modifier combinations

Most adjectives and nested possessives can form an unlimited sequential string. However, the restrictive relatives cannot follow each other, unless they are conjoined, as exemplified in (12c-d). Note, however, (12e) is possible.

(12a) su chu zə:vij zi:ṭh prən' (tɨ) khu:bsu:rath zana:n tshã:ḍa:n.
      he is   slim   tall   fair and   beautiful   wife   search-pre
      'He is looking for a slim, tall, fair complexioned, and beautiful wife.'

(12b) me:nis bədis   bə:y-sɨnzi ko:ri-hɨnz   za:m
      my-dat elder-dat brother-gen daughter-gen husband's sister
          yiyi   paga:h.
          come-fut   tomorrow
      'My older brother's daughter's sister-in-law will come tomorrow.'

(12c) sɔ ku:r yɔs ən'   cha, tɨ   yɔs zi:ṭh cha, cha yeti ro:za:n.
      cor girl rel   blind is   and rel   tall   is   is   here   stays
      'The girl who is blind and who is tall lives here.'

(12d) ??? sɔ ku:r yɔs ən'   cha, (yɔs) zi:ṭh cha, cha yeti ro:za:n.

(12e) sɔ ku:r yɔs təmis   lədkas sɨ:t' ə:s ginda:n cha yus yeten
      that gitl rel that-dat boy-dat with was playing is   rel   here
          bihith   o:s, cha ja:n.
          sit   was is   good
      'The girl who was playing with the boy who was sitting here is good.'

In contrast, modifiers such as demonstrative pronouns, quantifiers, interrogative adjectives, and emphatic particles may modify only a single element. Their combinations produce semantic oddities.

1.2.5.4–5 The order between various modifiers

The order between some modifiers is quite flexible, as exemplified in (13a-c). However, the most preferred order is: demonstrative pronoun › possessive ›

quantifier > adjective. It is also the least-marked order. Note that the attributives must immediately precede the head, as evidenced in (13f).

(13a) demonstrative > possessive > quantifier > adjective > head
yim me:n' sə:ri: ja:n do:s.
these my all good friends

(13b) me:n' yim   sə:ri: ja:n   do:s.
my these all good friends

(13c) demonstrative > quantifier > possessive > adjective > head
yim sə:ri: me:n' ja:n do:s.

(13d) possessive > quantifier > demonstrative > adjective > head
me:n' sə:ri: yim ja:n do:s.

(13e) quantifier > demonstrative > possessive > adjective > head
sə:ri: yim me:n' ja:n do:s

(13f) *ja:n   sə:ri: yim   me:n'   do:s.
good   all   these   my   friends

1.3 COORDINATION

1.3.1.1 Sentence coordination

There are three primary sentence coordinators *tɨ* 'and', *magar/vɔn'gav* 'but', and *ya:/natɨ/kinɨ* 'or'. In addition, there are two paired coordinators, *ya:...ya:/natɨ* 'either-or' and its negative counterpart *nə...tɨ/nə* 'neither-nor'.

1.3.1.1.1 Coordination with *tɨ*

The coordinator *tɨ* 'and' conjoins two or more sentences. It is placed before the last conjunct. It may be optionally deleted, producing a mere juxtaposed sequence, as in (1c).

(1a) shi:lɨ   cha   kita:b para:n   tɨ   ra:jɨ cha   cith'   le:kha:n.
Sheila is   book   reading and   raja is   letter writing
'Sheila is reading a book and Raja is writing a letter.'

(1b) ra:mɨ chu   ginda:n, mohnɨ chu   bə:th bo:za:n   tɨ
Ram   is   playing   Mohan is   songs listening and
sha:mɨ   chu   philim vucha:n.
Sham   is   film   watching
'Ram is playing, Mohan is listening to song(s), and Sham is watching a film.'

(1c) bɨ   gatshɨ   ba:zar,   (tɨ)   tsɨ   gatsh   garɨ.
     I   go-fut   market   and   you   go-fut   home
     'I'll go to the market and you go home.'

The coordinator *tɨ* is used to express various semantic nuances, such as contrast, contingency, sequential events, and causal connections. (See Shauq 1982 for details.)

(2) Contrast

(2a) yi   ləḑkɨ   chu   ga:ṭul   tɨ   hu   ləḑkɨ   chu   be:kɨl.
     this   boy   is   intelligent   and   that boy   is   stupid
     'This boy is intelligent and that boy is stupid.'

(3) Contingency

(3a) toh'   vuchiv   ja:n   ku:r   tɨ   kəriv   ne:thɨr.
     you-pl see-fut   good   girl   and   do   marriage
     'You find a good girl and get married.'

(4) Sequential events

(4a) su   a:v   tɨ   vonun   asi   garɨ   gatshnɨ   khə:trɨ.
     he   came   and   said-3sg-ps   us-dat   home   go-inf-abl   for
     'He came and told us to go home.'

(5) Causal connection

(5a) tsu:ras   ləj   gu:l'   tɨ   su   gav   zakhmi:.
     thief-dat struck bullet   and   he   was   injured
     'The thief was hit by a bullet and he was injured.'

1.3.1.1.2 Coordination with *magar/vɔn'gav* and *bəl'ki*

The coordinator *magar* 'but' is also placed in the beginning of the second conjunct. It expresses contrast or adversative events. It may be at times deleted, as in (6b). In colloquial speech, *magar* is often replaced with *vɔn'gav*.

(6a) Contrast
     ra:jɨ   cha   muḑɨ   magar   sɔ   cha   seṭha: da:na:
     Raja   is   illiterate, but   she   is   very   wise

(6b) Deletion of *magar*
     me   bulo:v,   (magar)   su   a:v   nɨ.
     I   called   but   he   came   not
     'I called, but he did not come.'

(7) Adversative events

(7a) mohnɨ gav   shi:nas   peṭh khɨr   tra:vɨni
     Mohan went snow-dat   on   skid   throw-inf-fsg
         magar shi:n   o:s   golmut.
         but   snow   had   melted
     'Mohan went for skiing, but the snow had melted.'

The coordinator *bəl'ki* 'moreover, on the contrary' is used to restate affirmatively the fact expressed negatively in the first conjunct. Note that *bəl'ki* is at times deleted.

(8) su   chu   nɨ   me   peṭh na:ra:z (bəl'ki) su   chu   khɔsh.
    he   is   not me   on   angry   instead   he   is   happy
    'He is not angry with me, instead he is happy.'

1.3.1.1.3 Coordination with *ya:*, *natɨ*, *kinɨ*

Both *ya:* 'or' and *natɨ* 'or, otherwise' express alternative coordination and may be substituted for each other in most contexts. However, it is more natural to use *natɨ* in the negative 'otherwise' type context. It also has other uses, as noted in Shauq (1982). It should be noted here that unlike *tɨ* and *magar*, the coordinators *ya*, *natɨ* are placed immediately before the verb in the second conjunct. In short, they attract the verb.

(9a) mi:ra: le:khi   ciṭh'   ya: kari   mohnas   pho:n.
     Mira   write-fut   letter or   make-fut   Mohan-dat   phone
     'Mira will write a letter or call Mohan.'

(9b) tsɨ   kar   sakh mehnath natɨ   la:yi-y   mo:l.
     you   do   hard work   otherwise beat-fut-2sgps   father
     'You work very hard otherwise father will beat you up.'

The coordinator *kinɨ*, a combination of the question marker *ki* and the negative *nɨ*, is used when the second conjunct is implied as a question. The initial conjunct may be a statement, an order, or a simple question. The particle *ki* is at times substituted for *kinɨ*, but its use is not so prevalent.

(10a) mohnan   ditsa: mi:ra:yi kita:b   kinɨ shi:las?
      Mohan-erg gave-fsg-Q Mira-dat book-fsg   or   Sheila-dat
      'Did Mohan give the book to Mira or to Sheila?'

(10b) tsɨ   ne:rkha: kinɨ bɨ   dim-ay   co:b?
      you   leave-Q   or   I   give-fut-2sgps   beating
      'Will you leave or should I give you a beating?'
      (Leave or I will beat you.)

(10c) aslam   a:va: kə:shi:ri   kinɨ   su   ru:d   panja:bɨ?
       Aslam   came-Q   kashmir-abl   or   he   stayed   Punjab-abl
       'Did Aslam come to Kashmir or did he stay in Punjab?'

(10d) su   gatsh'a: ki/kinɨ   nɨ?
       he   go-fut-Q   or   not
       'Will he go or not?'

1.3.1.1.4 Other coordinators

1.3.1.1.4.1 Coordination with *ya:....ya:/ya:*... *natɨ* 'either-or'

The 'either-or' effect is achieved by placing *ya:* in the beginning of the initial
clause and *ya:/natɨ* at the beginning of the second clause. The verb is placed
immediately after *ya:* in both conjuncts, giving rise to the familiar verb-second
effect. Note, however, that *ya:* may be placed after the subject in the first
conjunct, as exemplified in (11c).

(11a) ya: peyi   æz   ru:d   ya: peyi   æz   shi:n.
       or   fall-fut today rain   or   fall-fut today snow
       'Either it will rain today or it will snow.'

(11b) ya: pari   mohnɨ kita:b ya:/natɨ le:khi shi:lɨ cith'.
       either read fut Mohan book   or   write   Sheila letter
       'Either Mohan will read a book or Sheila will write a letter.'

(11c) mohnɨ ya: pari   kita:b ya: le:khi cith'.
       'Mohan either read-fut book   or   write   letter.'
       'Mohan will either read a book or write a letter.'

1.3.1.1.4.2 Coordination with *na...na* 'neither-nor'

Negative disjunction is expressed by substituting the negative particle pair
na...na for *ya:...ya:*. The verb is again placed immediately after the coordinators
in both the conjuncts.

(12a) na   kheyi   su   pa:nɨ   na   diyi   me   khenɨ.
       neither   eat-fut he   himself nor   give-fut me   eat-inf-abl
       'Neither he himself will eat nor will he let me eat.'

(12b) na   diyi   me   su   no:kri: karnɨ
       neither   give-fut me   he   job   do-ing-abl
          na   diyi   me   m'o:n   khanɨc.
          nor   give-fut me   my   expenses
       'He will neither allow me to take a job, nor will he meet my expenses.'

Note that *na* in the first conjunct may also be placed after the subject, as exemplified below.

(12c) su   na diyi me no:kri: karni na diyi me m'o:n khari¢.
      he   not give me job   do   not give me my   expenses

1.3.1.2 *Number of conjunctions in relation to coordinated elements*

The coordinator *ti* 'and' usually appears only once irrespective of the number of sentential elements that are coordinated, as mentioned in 1.3.1.1.1. The coordinator *magar* 'but' appears only once before the second conjunct. The coordinator *ya:* 'or' can precede the first as well as subsequent disjuncts.

1.3.1.3 *Coordination of major sentential categories*

1.3.1.3.1 Coordination with *ti* 'and'

The coordinator *ti* is used to coordinate almost all major categories, such as nouns, noun phrases, verbs, verb phrases, adjectives, and adverbs, as exemplified below.

(13) Coordinating nouns

(13a) lədki ti   ku:r chi soku:l gatsha:n.
      boy   and   girl are school going
      'A boy and a girl are going to school.'

(14) Coordinating noun phrases

(14a) yɔsi ku:r asa:n   ə:s ti   yus lədki vada:n o:s
      rel   girl laugh-prp was and   rel boy   cry-prp was
            ləg' gindni.
            began play-inf-abl
      'The girl who was laughing and the boy who was crying began to play.'

(15) Coordinating verb phrases

(15a) aslaman   por   akhba:r   ti   l'u:khun mazmu:n.
      Aslam-erg read newspapaer   and   wrote   essay
      'Aslam read a newspaper and wrote an essay.'

(16) Coordinating adjectives

(16a) yi   kapur chu dor   ti   srog.
      this cloth is   strong and   inexpensive
      'This cloth is strong and inexpensive.'

(17) Coordinating adverbials

(17a) sakh   shi:n   pev   ra:th   tɨ   az.
      heavy   snow   fell   yesterday   and   today
      'Heavy snow fell yesterday and today.'

1.3.1.3.2 Coordination with *magar* 'but'

Coordination with *magar* is mostly confined to adjectives and adverbials. When *magar* is used with nouns or verbs, a negative particle is usually employed in one of the conjuncts.

(18a) shi:lɪ   cha   mudɨ   magar ga:t̪ɨj   ku:r.
      Sheila   is   illiterate but   wise   girl
      'Sheila is an illiterate but a wise girl.'

(18b) tami kər   kath magar   ga:t̪ɨja:rɨ   sa:n.
      she did   talk but   intelligence-abl   with
      'She talked but with intelligence.'

(18c) asi   chu shi:nɨ   məhnivis   mutalakh   bu:z-mut
      we-erg   have snow   man-dat   about   heard-psp
          magar   vuchɨ-mut   nɨ   zã:h.
          but   seen-psp   neg   ever
      'We have heard about the snowman but have never seen one.'

(18d) aslam   nay   yiyi,   magar le:khi   zaru:r.
      Aslam   neg-emph   come-fut   but   write-fut   definitely
      'Aslam may not come but will definitely write.'

1.3.1.3.3 Coordination with *ya: /natɪ, kinɨ* 'or'

The coordinators *ya:/natɪ, kinɨ* are used with most major sentential categories to express alternative options.

(19a) məjid   ya: aslam   gatshi kul'   t̪halɨni.
      Majid   or Aslam   go-fut trees   branching
      'Majid or Aslam will go to branch trees.'

(19b) ra:jɨ rani   batɨ ya: chali   palav.
      Raja cook-fut   food or wash-fut clothes
      'Raja will cook meals or wash clothes.'

(19c) yi   kapur   cha: drog   kinɨ srog?
      this   cloth   is-Q expensive   or   inexpenxive
      'Is this cloth expensive or inexpensive?'

(19d) toh'   ceyiva: dɔd   kinɨ ca:y?
      you-pl drink-2plps-Q   milk   or   tea
      'Would you like to have milk or tea?'

(19e) gur   cha: te:z   paka:n   kinɨ va:rɨ va:rɨ?
      horse is-Q   fast   walk-prp   or   slowly
      'Does the horse walk fast or slowly?'

1.3.1.4 Coordination and accompaniment

Accompaniment is usually expressed by the postposition *sɨ:t'* 'with'. However, the same sense may also be expressed by the conjunct *tɨ* 'and'.

(20a) shur   a:v   ma:ji   sɨ:t'.
      child   came   mother-dat   with
      'The child came with the mother.'

(20b) shur   tɨ   mə:j   a:yi.
      child   and   mother   came

Note that the coordination in (20b) is ambiguous between accompaniment and joint action. For example, with coordination one may use *dɔshɨvay* 'both', as in (20c), a possibility that is excluded when using the postpositional strategy in (2oa) (see 2od).

(20c) shur   tɨ   mə:j   a:yi   dɔshɨvay.
      child   and   mother   came   both
      'The child and mother both came.'

(20d) *shur a:v ma:ji sɨ:t' dɔshɨvay.

1.3.1.5 Structural parallelism

It is well known that a conjunction in general shares closely related syntactic categories. However, the extent of this parallelism cannot be precisely stated. The extent of precision varies across categories. For example, conjoining of adverbs requires more than a category label, as evidenced by the unacceptable '*John left yesterday and quickly'. Second, inherent properties of coordinators also impose certain restrictions. An adequate account of coordination will require stating many such conditions. Here, we give some examples of parallel categorial conjunctions.

1.3.1.5.1 Coordinate adjectives and adjectival-type participial constructions

Adjectives may coordinate with certain present and past participial-based adjectives, and also those derived from the nominalizer suffix *vo:l.*

(21a) bɨ   chus   yatsha:n   natsɨvɨn'   tɨ   prən'   ku:r.
      I   am   wanting   dancing   and   fair-looking   girl
      'I want a dancing and a fair-complexioned/beautiful girl.'

(21b) bɨ   chus   yatsha:n   pərmɨts   li:chimɨts
      I   am   wanting   read-psp-fsg   write-psp-fsg
          tɨ   prən'   ku:r.
          and   fair-looking girl
      'I want an educated and a fair-complexioned girl.'

(21c) aslam   chu   pormut   l'u:khmut   tɨ   shəri:ph   ləḍkɨ.
      Aslam   is   study-psp write-psp   and   gentle   boy
      'Aslam is an educated and a gentle boy.'

(Note that the compound *pormut l'u:khmut* literally means one who can read and write and is a literate person.)

(21d) aslam   chu   nɨ   pormut-l'u:khmut   magar   chu   shəri:ph.
      Aslam   is   not   literate   but   is   gentle
      'Aslam is not literate but is gentle.'

(21e) bɨ   chus   yatsha:n   kathɨ   vanan   vajini   tɨ
      I   am   wanting   story   tell   vo:l-fsg   and
          əmi:r   ko:ri   sɨ:t'   ne:thɨr   karun.
          rich   girl   with   marriage   do
      'I want to marry a storyteller and a rich girl.'

(21f) m'o:n   do:s   chu   shəhrɨ   ro:zan   vo:l   tɨ   shəri:ph.
      my   friend is   city-abl live-inf   agt   and   gentle
      'My friend is a city-dweller and is gentle.'

1.3.1.5.2 Nouns and nominalized constructions

Nouns and nominalized constructions may be conjoined, but conditions that constrain their conjunction are not clear.

(22a) təmis   cha   na:vlɨ   tɨ   philmɨ   vuchɨni   pasand.
      he-dat   has   novels   and   film   watch-inf-abl like
      'He likes novels and watching films (film watching).'

(22b) ? təmis   chi   miṭhə:y   khen'   tɨ   mehnath   karɨn'   pasand.
      he-dat   has   candies   eat-inf-fsg and   hardwork do-inf   like
      'He likes eating candies and working hard.'

1.3.1.5.3 Different types of adverbials

Most adverbs require a subcategorial parallelism. For example, one can conjoin manner adverbs, but temporal adverbs cannot be conjoined with a manner or a locative adverb.

(23a) su   chu asa:n   asa:n   tɨ   jalɨd panɨn' ra:y   diva:n.
      he   is   laugh-pp laugh-pp and quick own   opinion give-prp
      'He gives his opinion smilingly and quickly.'

(23b) *təm' os   ra:th   tɨ   va:rɨ va:rɨ.
      he-erg laughed yesterday and slowly
      'He laughed yesterday and slowly.'

1.3.1.5.4 Coordinate active and passive verbs

(24a) səli:m a:v   garɨ   tɨ   a:yas mə:l'sɨndi zariyi
      Salim   cmae home   and pass   father-gen- by
          co:b   dinɨ.
          beating give-inf-abl
      'Salim came home and was beaten by his father.'

The passive verbs in Kashmiri also generate a capability meaning in the negative and interrogative context. The capability passive can be conjoined with its active counterpart.

(25) Coordinate active verb and capability passive

(25a) me   kər yi   kə:m tɨ   təm'sɨndi zəriyi   a:yi nɨ karnɨ.
      I-erg did this work and he-gen-abl through pass neg do-inf-abl
      'I did work this work and/but it could not be done by him.'

(25b) bɨ chus phal ana:n tɨ   khenɨ chi-m-nɨ   yiva:n.
      I   am   fruit bring and eat-inf are-1sgps-neg pass
      'I bring the fruit and I am not able to eat it.'

1.3.2.1 Omission of identical sentential elements in coordination

Identical elements of most minor and major categories can undergo deletion, as exemplified below. (See Shauq 1982 for details.)

(26) Omission of the subject

(26a) aslaman   pər   kita:b tɨ   li:ch   ci:ʈh'.
      Aslam-erg read   book   and wrote   letter
      'Aslam read a book and wrote a letter.'

(27) Omission of the object

(27a) aslaman   ən'   kita:b tɨ   pərɨn.
      Aslam-erg brought book   and   read-fsg-3sg-ps
      'Aslam brought a book and read.'

(28) Omission of adjectives

(28a) ? təmis cha vɔzɨj kəmi:z tɨ   me   ʈu:p'.
      he-dat has red   shirt   and   I-dat   cap
      'He has a red shirt and I a (red) cap.'

(29) Omission of the verb

(29a) shi:lɨ tɨ   salmɨ   cha mohn-as   peṭh asa:n.
      Sheila and   Salma are Mohan-dat on   laugh-prp
      'Sheila and Salma are laughing at Mohan.'

(30) Omission of adverbials

(30a) paga:h   a:si su   dili   tɨ   bɨ   a:sɨ dehra:du:nɨ.
      tomorrow will he   Delhi-abl and I   will Dehradun-abl
      'Tomorrow he will be in Delhi and I will be in Dehradun.'

1.4 NEGATION

1.4.1 Sentence negation

Sentence negation is expressed by the negative particle *nɨ*, the imperative *mɨ*/polite *matɨ*, and the negative conditional *nay* 'if not'. The particle *nɨ* is added to the finite verb. It follows the agreemental suffixes but precedes the yes-no question marker *a:*, (see 2a and 2b). Imperative negativizers precede the finite verb (see 3a and 3b). (See 1.1.1.3 for details.) The negative conditional *nay* is derived from the conditional *ay* by the usual *sandhi* rules (i.e., *nɨ + ay = nay* 'not if'). Both the conditional *ay* and the negative conditional *nay* may be placed after the subject or the verb, as exemplified in (5a, 5b, 6a, 6b).

(1a) bɨ   chu-s-nɨ   azkal   garɨ   gatsha:n.
     I   be-1sgps-neg   nowadays home   going
     'I don't go home nowadays.'

(1b) su   pari-   nɨ   kita:b.
     he   read-fut   neg   book
     'He will not read the book.'

(2a) su   pari   -na: kita:b?
     he   read-fut neg-Q   book
     'Will he not read the book?'

(2b) chu-y   na: taga:n?
     is-2sgps   not-Q   possible
     'Is it not posssible for you?'

(3a) akhba:r   mɨ   par.
     newspaper   neg   read
     'Don't read the newspaper.'

(3b) akhba:r   ma-tɨ   par-tɨ.
     newspaper   not   read
     'Don't read the newspaper.'

Note that in the obligative imperative the particle *nɨ* is used instead of the imperative *mɨ*.

(4a) kər'-zi   nɨ.
     do-imp   not
     'You should not do that.'

(4b) pər'zi-he: nɨ.
     read-imp-cond   not
     'You should not have read.'

(5a) su-nay   madath   karihe: bɨ   a:sɨhə: phe:l   go:mut.
     he-neg   help   do-cond   I   be-cond   fail   went-cp
     'Had he not helped me, I would have failed.'

(5b) su madath karihe:-nay bɨ a:sɨhə: phe:l go:mut

(6a) shur-nay   vadihe: kus   vuchiye: təmis   kun.
     child-neg cry-cond   who   see-cond   he-dat toward
     'Had the child not cried who would have looked towards him.'

(6b) shur vadihe:-nay kus vuchiye: təmis kun.

Note that the scope of the negative conditional *nay* in these constructions is confined to the conditional clause only. Secondly, the versions in (5a and 6a), in which *nay* is attached to the subject, are preferred over (5b and 6b).

1.4.2 Constituent negation

Constituent negation may be expressed by prefixation, by suffixation, by stressing the element to be negated, or by simply placing the negative particle

stressing the element to be negated, or by simply placing the negative particle before the constituent to be negated. Only exception to this rule is indefinite quantifiers. These are negated in situ when they occur in a negative sentence.

1.4.2.1 Negative prefixation

A negative prefix usually has the scope over the lexical item it is bound to. The Persian prefix *be* 'without', for example, is used to generate negative counterparts of certain words such as *be-rəham* 'merciless', *be-dil* 'heartless', *be-sabab* 'without cause'. Similarly, Sanskrit-based prefixes such as *n'ar* and *nesh* generate negative words, as in *n'ardu:sh* 'guiltless', *n'arbal* 'without strength', and *neshka:ran* 'without reason', *nesh'kriy* 'actionless'. (See 2.2 for a list of these prefixes.)

Prefixing *na* to certain lexical items or phrases also delimits the scope of the negative to these items or phrases, as in *na-banɨvun* 'not possible/impossible', *na-ma:nun, na bo:zun* 'not obeying, not agreeing', *na vanɨnɨ yun* 'it will not be told/it cannot be described'. Notice, however, when these phrases are used in a sentence, the negative takes scope over the matrix clause.

(7a) yi   kath   cha   na   banɨvɨn'   zi   su   ro:zi   gə:rhə:zir.
       this   matter   is   not possible   that   he   remain-fut   absent
       'It is not possible that he will remain absent.'

(7b) təmis   chu   na   ma:nun,   bɨ   k'a: kar-as?
       he-dat   is   not agree-inf   I   what do-3sgps
       'He doesn't listen, what can I do?'

(7c) tse   chu-y   na   bo:zun,   pa:n-ay   pachta:vakh.
       you-dat   have-2sgps   not   listen-inf   self-emph   repent-fut-2s
       'If you don't listen, you'll repent.'

1.4.2.2 Negative suffixes

The scope of negative suffixes, such as *nay, ros, varə:y,* and *bagə:r,* all meaning 'without', is also confined to the phrase they are attached to. The suffix *nay* is added directly to the verbal root, while others follow the ablative infinitive form of the verb. These latter may also be added directly to a nominal, as in (8d-8e).

(8a) su   gav   ba:zar   batɨ   khe-nay.
       he   went   market   food   eat-neg
       'He went to the market without eating food.'

(8b) təm'   hets   kita:b   pɔ́:sɨ   di-nay.
       he-erg   bought   book   money   give-not
       'He bought a book without giving money.'

(8c) su   gav   ba:zar   batɨ khenɨ-   ros/varə:y.
     he   went   market   food eat-inf-abl without/without
     'He went to the market without eating the food.'

(8d) me   ceyi   ca:y   mədre:rɨ ros/bagə:r.
     I-erg drank   tea   sugar   without/without
     'I drank tea without sugar.'

(8e) su   chu   mə:lis   ros.
     he   is   father-dat without
     'He is without a father.'

1.4.2.3 Constituent stress

The constituent to be negated is simply stressed in the regular negative sentence.

(9a) dɔhay   pazi   nɨ   təmis to:r gatshun.
     daily   should neg   him   there go-ing
     'He should not go there daily.'
     (He should go there, but not daily).

1.4.2.4 Negative particles

Particles *na* and *ma* are placed before the honorifics to generate 'no, sir' type response, as already noted in (1.1.1.2.4).

(10a) ma-sə: kar   /matɨ-sə: kar.
      don't   do   /don't   do
      'Please, don't do (that).'

(10b) na sə:,   az   nɨ,   beyi kuni- vizi.
      no sir,   today not,   some other time
      'No sir, not today, some other time.'

1.4.2.5 Indefinite quantifiers

The normal use of *nɨ* in sentences containing indefinite quantifiers such as *kā:h* 'someone', *kẽh* 'something', *kuni* 'ever', negates these elements themselves, producing the effect of negative incorporation found in English words such as no one, nothing, never. These indefinite quantifiers are usually marked by emphatic particles.

(11a) kã:h   ti   shur gav nɨ   az   soku:l.
      someone emph   child went neg today school
      'No child went to school today.' (Constituent negation)

(11b) kĕh   ləḍkɨ gəyi nɨ   garɨ.
      some-pl boys went not home
      'Some boys did not go home.' (Sentence negation only)

(11c) kã:h-ti   ma: a:v   garɨ.
      some-one-emph not come home
      'No one came home.' (Constituent negation)

(11d) təm'   kər nɨ   kĕh   kə:m ra:tɨ   peṭhɨ.
      he-erg did neg any   work yesterday-abl from
      'He did nothing since yesterday.'

(11e) su gav   nɨ   kun-uy.
      he went neg where-emph
      'He went nowhere.'

(11f) bɨ chus nɨ   handvo:r   zã:h go:mut.
      I   have neg Handwara ever go-pp
      'I have never gone to Handwara.'

1.4.3 Multiple negation

Most Kashmiri speakers allow only one negative particle per clause. However, in some dialects an extra negative particle is placed also before the verb for emphasis. (See Dhar 1984.)

(12a) bɨ na: gatshɨ-nɨ   garɨ.
      I   not go-fut-not home
      'I will not go home.'

1.4.4 Negation and coordination

In the coordinate structures, the mode of negation is the same as in simple sentences. The negative element does not move next to the coordinator.

(13a) mohnɨ chu nɨ   kita:b para:n   tɨ   dulɨ   cha nɨ   soku:l
      Mohan is   neg book   read-prp and Dulari is not school
      gatsha:n.
      go-prp
      'Mohan does not read his book and Dulari does not go to school.'

(13b) su chu əmi:r magar ca:la:kh nɨ.
      he is   rich   but   smart   not
      'He is rich but not smart.'

Note that the negative elements are placed in the sentence initial position in the 'neither...nor' construction. (See 1.3.1.1.4.2.)

(13c) na   chu ra:m ka:ruba:r kara:n tɨ   na   no:kri:.
      neg is   Ram business do-prp and neg job
      'Ram is doing neither business nor a job.'

1.4.5 Negation and subordination

The scope of negated matrix verbs is usually confined to the matrix clause. The negated matrix verb does not entail the negation of the subordinate clause, as seen in (14a). However, with predicates expressing beliefs, expectations, and opinions, the scope of matrix negation does extend to subordinate clauses. For example, in (15a) and (15c), the negated matrix verb has scope over the subordinate clause. In fact, the scope remains the same whether the negative element is in the matrix or the embedded clause, as suggested by the examples in (15b) and (15d).

(14a) me   chu nɨ   pata: zi/ki su yiyi   az.
      I-dat am   not   know   that he come-fut today
      'I do not know that/if he will come today.'

(14b) me   chu pata: zi/ki su yiyi   nɨ   az.
      I-dat be   know   that he come-fut not   today
      'I know that he will not come today.'

(14c) ?su   chu khɔsh kita:b na   pərith.
      he   is   happy book   not reading-cp
      'He is happy not to read the book.'

(15a) me   chu nɨ   ba:sa:n zi/ki su yiyi   az.
      I-dat be   not   believe that he come-fut today
      'I don't think that he will come today.'

(15b) me chu ba:sa:n zi/ki su yiyi nɨ az.
      'I think that he will not come today.'

(15c) bɨ   chus nɨ   yatsha:n zi   su   gotsh   garɨ   gatsh-un.
      I   am   neg   want-prp that he   should home   go-ing
      'I don't want that he should go home.'

(15d) bɨ   chus yatsha:n zi   su   gatshi   nɨ   garɨ   gatshun.
      I   am   want-prp that he   should-fut   neg   home   go-inf
      'I want that he should not go home.'

1.5 ANAPHORA

1.5.1 Means of expressing anaphora

Kashmiri anaphors may be personal pronouns, reflexives, zero pronouns (i.e., null elements PRO or pro), quasi-pronominals (i.e., former, latter), or pronominal epithets.

1.5.2 Domains of anaphora

1.5.2.1 Anaphora within a root clause

A root clause permits both reflexives and personal pronouns, though under differing conditions. Antecedents of a reflexive may be subjects as well as objects (see 1.6 and 1.7). Antecedents of personal pronouns must not be a subject or an object, as exemplified in (1). The pronoun may be anteceded by complements of a postposition, or a possessive modifier.

(1a) *mohnan$_i$ dits təmis$_i$ kita:b.
Mohan-erg gave him book
'Mohan gave him a book.'

(1b) aslamnev$_i$ do:stav vuch su$_i$.
Aslam-gen-erg friends-erg saw him
'Aslam's friends saw him.'

(1c) paga:h gatshɨ bɨ ra:jas$_i$ si:t' təm'-sɨnd-is$_i$ bə:yis nish.
Tomorrow go I Raj-dat with his-gen-dat brother-dat near
'Tomorrow I will go with Raj to his brother'

Note that in a simple clause the pronoun must not precede its antecedent, as exemplified in (1d), the scrambled version of (1b).

(1d) *su$_i$ vuch asl amnev$_i$ do:stav.
he saw Aslam-gen-erg friends-erg
'Aslam's friends saw him.'

1.5.2.2 Anaphora between coordinate structures

In coordinate structures, the zero pronouns are more acceptable than the overt personal pronouns. In both types, the antecedent is in the preceding main-conjunct clause. The antecedent in the second-conjunct clause cannot pronominalize backwards except in a discourse-related context. (See Shauq 1982 for details.)

(2a) mohnɨ vo:t vakht-as peṭh tɨ Ø /*təm'
     Mohan reached time-dat on and he-erg
        kəɾɨn panɨn' kə:m.
        did-3sgps refl-fsg work-fsg
     'Mohan reached in time and (he) did his work.'

(2b) tsɨ yikha:h me sɨ:t' kinɨ Ø kunuy zon gatsha-kh.
     you come me with or single person go-2sgps.
     'You come with me or go alone.'

(2c) mohnɨ chu ca:la:kh magar buzdil.
     Mohan is clever but cowardly
     'Mohan is clever but cowardly.'

1.5.2.3.1 Anaphora between superordinate and subordinate clauses

Overt personal pronouns in the finite subordinate clause can link with the main-clause antecedents. In indirect reports, logophoric pronouns may overlap with the expected third-person pronoun, as noted in (1.1.1).

(3a) mohnanᵢ von ra:masⱼ zi/ki suᵢ,ⱼ o:s bema:r.
     Mohan-erg told Ram-dat that he was sick
     'Mohan told Ram that he was sick.'

(3b) ra:jniᵢ zana:ni von ra:masⱼ ki təm'sɨnd'ᵢ,ⱼ do:s
     Raj-poss wife-erg told Ram-dat that hisᵢ,ⱼ friends
        la:yan aslam-as.
        beat-fut Aslam-dat
     'Raj's wife told Ram that his friends will beat Aslam.'

Pronouns usually delete if the subordinate clause is in the subjunctive mode.

(4a) mohnɨ chu yatsha:n (ki) ø /? su əmi:r gatsh-un.
     Mohan is wanting that /he rich become-inf
     'Mohan wants that he should be/become rich.'

Nonfinite clauses such as infinitives and participials employ a zero pronominal form (i.e., PRO) in the subject position and a reflexive or occasionally an overt pronoun in the nonsubject position. Note that the reflexive is ambiguous in both (5a) and (6a).

(5) Infinitives

(5a) mə:l'ᵢ von necivisⱼ [(PRO) təm'sɨnziᵢ,ⱼ/panɨniᵢ,ⱼ beni
     father told son-dat his/self's sister
        ciṭh' le:khnɨ khə:tɾɨ].
        letter write-inf-abl for
     'The father asked the son to write a letter to his/self's sister.'

(6) Participials

(6a) təm'ᵢ   vuchu-s   bᵢj   [(PRO) təm'sɪndisⱼ/panɪnisᵢ,ⱼ
     he-erg   saw   me   his/self's
        bə:yis   sɪ:th'   paka:n].
        brother   with   walking
     'He saw me walking with his/self's brother.'

1.5.2.3.2 Anaphora between subordinate and superordinate clause

A finite subordinate adjunct clause may precede the main clause. The antecedent
in the subordinate clause may link with the pronouns in the main clause.
Conversely, the antecedents in the main clause also link with the pronouns in
the adjunct clause. It should be noted here that these pronouns may be overt or
null. The only constraint on the pronominalization is that a pronoun in the main
clause may not precede the antecedent in the subordinate clause, as shown by the
unacceptibility of (7d).

(7a) Sohnan   hets   pa:nas   kitsh   ṭu:p'   [yeli   ø /su   ba:zar   gav].
     Sohan   bought   self-dat   for   cap   when   ø/he   market   went
     'Sohan bought a cap for himself when he went to the market.'

(7b) [yeli   sohnɪ   ba:zar   gav]   Ø/*təm'   hetsɪn   pa:nas   kitsh   ṭu:p'.
     when   Sohan   market   went   Ø/he   bought-fsg   refl-dat   for   cap
     'When Sohan went to market, (he) bought a cap for himself.'

(7c) [yeli   su   ba:zar   gav]   sohnan   hets   pa:nas   kitsh   ṭu:p'.
     when   he   market   went   Sohan-erg   bought   refl-dat   for   cap
     'When he(i) went to the market, Sohan(i) bought a cap for himself.'

(7d) *təm'   hets   pa:nas   kitsh   ṭu:p'   [yeli   sohnɪ   ba:zar   gav].
     he-erg   bought   refl-dat   for   cap   when   Sohan   market   went
     'He bought a cap for himself when Sohan went to the market.'

1.5.2.4 Anaphora between different subordinate clauses

Anaphora between sequential subordinate clauses uses the same strategies as
noted above for various subordinate clauses.

(8a) aslamanᵢ   von   mohn-asⱼ   [ki   [təm'ᵢ,ⱼ   o:s   ra:jasₖ   vonmut [ki
     Aslam-erg   said   Mohan-dat   that   he-erg   be   Raj-dat   told   that
        [təm'sɪnd'   bə:y ᵢ, ⱼ, ₖ   prutsh   ra:masₗ   [ki   [su ᵢ,ⱼ,ₖ   hek'a:
        his   brother   asked   Ram-dat   that   he   can
           təmis   sɪ:t'   gulmarg   gətshith]]]].
           him   with   Gulmarg   go-prp
     'Aslam said to Mohan that he had said to Raj that his brother had asked
     Ram whether he can go to Gulmarg with him.'

1.5.2.5 *Anaphora between sequential sentences*

1.5.2.5.1 Zero/null anaphora

In sequential sentences, in particular in discourse, zero pronouns are used much more extensively than overt pronouns. These zero pronouns may be subjects, objects, possessive modifiers, or postpositional objects, as exemplified below in dialogues (A) and (B).

(9) Dialogue A

(9a) aslam   dra:v   ga:m   mə:lɨ   vuchini.
Aslam   set out   village   fair   see-inf-abl
'Aslam set out to visit a village fair.'

(9b) ø zana:n tɨ   ø zɨ   shur'   ə:sis   sɨ:th'.
    wife   and   two children were-3sg with.
'His wife and his two children were with him.'

(9c) ø bas gəyi vati   khara:b.
    bus   went way-dat out-of-order
'(Their) bus broke down on the way.'

(9d) ø paydal dra:yi ga:mas   kun.
    on-foot started village-dat toward
'(They) started on foot towards the village.'

(9e) mə:lɨ k'a: vuchiha:n.
    fair   what see-cond
'What fair could (they) see?'

(9f) ø khatɨm o:s   go:mut.
    finish   was went-psp
'(It) was finished.'

(10) Dialogue B

(10a) aki dɔhɨ vuch ək'   ra:zan   akh tsu:r məhlas   andar.
one   day   saw   one-erg king-erg one thief palace-dat inside
'Once upon a time a king saw a thief inside the palace.'

(10b) prutsh-n-as: "tsɨ kus   chu-kh?"
asked-3sg-ergps-3sg.datps you who is-2sgps
'(He) asked (him), "Who are you?"'

In (10b), the discourse subject (i.e., the king) and the object (i.e., the thief) become accessible through their respective pronominal suffixes, *n* and *as*. Similarly, observe the following dialogue.

(10c) tsɨ   a:kh   gaɾɨ.   mohnas   sɨ:th'   kəɾɨth   kath.
      you   came   home.   Mohan-dat   with   did-cp-2sgps   talk.
        go:-kh   panɨnis   dostɨ-sund   gaɾɨ.
        went-2sg-ps   self's   friend-gen   home
      'You came home. You talked with Mohan. You went to your friend's house.'

1.5.2.5.2 Quasi-pronouns 'former/latter'

Quasi-pronominal elements, such as former and latter, are mostly used in discourse context.

(11a) ra:j   tɨ   səli:mɨ   cha benɨni.
      'Raja   and   Salima   are sisters.'

(11b) gɔdɨnic cha   ca:la:kh tɨ   doyim   cha   s'əz.
      first   is   clever   and   second   is   simple
      'The former is clever and the latter is simple.'

1.6 REFLEXIVES

1.6.1 Means of expressing reflexivity

In Kashmiri, the reflexive may be simple, possessive, or emphatic. The core reflexive is *pa:n* with an alternative compound form *panun pa:n* 'self's self', which is also in frequent use. Both the forms vary with case but not with gender, number, or person. In possessive constructions, the possessive reflexive form *panun* is used. The form *panun* inflects for case and shows agreement with its head nominal for number and gender. (See 2.1.2.2.) There are no verbal reflexives or reflexive clitics.

1.6.2 Scope of reflexivity

All the reflexive forms are clause-bound. The clause may be simple, nonfinite, or of the small-clause type. (See Wali, Koul, Hook and Koul forthcoming.) Reflexives are excluded in the finite-embedded clause, as shown in (4a-4b).

(1) Reflexives in the simple clause

(1a) aslaman   kor   panun pa:n   taba:h.
     Aslam-erg   did   refl-nom   ruin
     'Aslam ruined himself.'

(1b) tsɨ   chakh   panɨni   kəmi:zɨ chala:n.
     you-fsg   are-2sgps   refl   shirts   wash-prp
     'You are washing your shirts.'

(2) Reflexives in the nonfinite clause

(2a) səli:m chu panun pa:n ə:nas manz vuchun yatsha:n.
    Salim is self's self mirror in seeing want-prp
    'Salim wants to see himself in the mirror.'

(2b) səli:m chu panɨni zana:ni ə:nas manz vuchun yatsha:n.
    Salim is self's-dat wife-dat mirror in seeing want-prp
    'Salim wants to see his wife in the mirror.'

(3) Reflexives in the small clause

(3a) mi:ra: cha pa:nas/panɨnis-pa:nas philmi: sṭa:r ma:na:n.
    Mira is self-dat/self-dat film star considering
    'Mira considers herself a film star.'

(3b) mi:ra:yi cha [mohnas$_j$ panun$_{i,j}$ dushman] ma:na:n.
    Mira is Mohan-dat refl enemy-nom considering
    'Mira considers Mohan self's enemy.'

(4) Reflexives in the finite embedded clause

(4a) *mohnan von zi pa:n va:ti vakhtas peṭh.
    Mohan said that refl reach-fut time-dat at
    'Mohan said that self would reach in time.'

(4b) *mohnan von zi panun do:s va:ti vakhtas peṭh.
    Mohan-erg said that refl friend reach-fut time-dat at
    'Mohan said that self's friend would reach in time.'

1.6.4 Reflexives in various clause internal positions

A reflexive may be placed in any linear position within its clause. In particular, it may precede its antecedent. For example, compare (1a, 1b) with (5a, 5b).

(5a) panun pa:n kor aslaman taba:h.
    self did Aslam-erg ruin
    'Aslam ruined himself.'

(5b) panɨni kəmi:zɨ cha-kh tsɨ chala:n.
    self's shirts are-2sg-ps you wash-prp
    'You are washing your shirts.'

1.6.5 Antecedent reflexive relations

The antecedent of *pa:n* may be a subject of its clause or that of a nominalized phrase. The antecdent of *pa:n* may not be the subject of a copular construction,

a possessive modifier, or an object of a postposition. Note that some native speakers also accept object antecedents. The reflexive *pa:n* may occupy all nominal positions except that of the subject and certain copular complements.

The range of antecedents of the possessive reflexive is the same as that of the regular reflexive. However, the possessive occurs in more nominal positions than *pa:n*. For example, the possessive is acceptable in copular complement positions. More importantly, it occurs in the subject position, where it is bound to the object, as exemplified in (16b-c) in section (1.6.5.5). Note that this is a rare construction. It is not found in Hindi, Marathi, and many other neighboring Indo-Aryan languages. (See Hook and Koul 1992a.)

In the following examples, some relevant data for both the reflexives have been documented.

1.6.5.1 *Reflexives with subject antecedents*

(6) Reflexives as direct objects

(6a) mohn-an   vuch panun   pa:n ə:nas   manz.
Mohan-erg saw   self-s   self mirror   in
'Mohan saw himself in the mirror.'

(6b) mi:ra: cha   panɨni   kəmi:zɨ chala:n.
Mira-nom is   self's   shirts   washing
'Mira is washing her shirts.'

(7) Reflexives as indirect objects

(7a) mohn-an   li:ch   pa:nas/panɨnis-pa:nas   ciṭh'.
Mohan-erg wrote self-to/self-to   letter
'Mohan wrote a letter to himself.'

(7b) mohn-an   dits   panɨnis do:st-as   kita:b.
Mohan-erg gave self's   friend-dat book
'Mohan gave a book to self's friend.'

(8) Reflexives as benefactives

(8a) mohnan   shu:r pa:nas/panɨni beni   batɨ.
Mohan-erg served self-dat/self's sister-dat food
'Mohan served food to himself/to his sister.'

(9) Reflexives in other adpositions

(9a) aslam-an   h'ot   pa:nas k'uth/panɨni beni k'uth nov   bu:ṭh.
Aslam-erg bought self-dat for /self's sister for   new   shoes
'Aslam bought a new pair of shoes for himself/for his sister.'

(9b) aslaman   thəv kita:b pa:nas   nishi/panɨni beni   nishi.
     Aslam-erg kept book   self-dat near/selfs   sister near
     'Aslam kept a book near himself/his sister.'

(10) Reflexives as copular complements
     Only the possessive reflexive occurs as a copular complement.

(10a) mohnɨ chu panun dushman.
      'Mohan is selfs enemy.'

1.6.5.2 *Reflexives with modifiers as antecedents*

Modifiers of the subject or the object do not control the reflexives. The reflexive in (11) refers to the head noun only.

(11a) aslamunᵢ mo:l   chu panɨnis pa:nas*ᵢ/panɨnis*ᵢ   do:stas
      Aslams   father is   refl   -dat   /selfs   friends
          naphrat   kara:n.
          hate   do
      'Aslam's father hates himself/his friend.'

1.6.5.3 *Reflexives with dative subjects as antecedents*

A dative subject can antecede *panun pa:n* and the possessive reflexive *panun* but not *pa:n.*

(12a) ma:la:yi chu   panun pa:n pasand.
      Mala-dat is   selfs self like
      'Mala likes herself.'

(12b) ma:la:yi chu   panun bo:y   pasand.
      Mala-dat is   selfs brother like
      'Mala likes selfs brother.'

Note that the absolutive theme object in the dative construction can also be an antecedent of the experiencer subject.

(13) ma:hren' a:yi   panɨnis   ma:hra:z-as   khɔsh.
     bride-nom came   refl-dat-gen bridegroom-dat like
     'The bride is liked to selfs bridegroom.'
     (lit. 'To her own bridegroom, the bride is liked.')

1.6.5.4 *Reflexives with passive subject antecedents*

(14a) panɨni/təm'sɨnzi ma:ji hɨndi   zəriyi   a:yi   ku:r
      self-gen-abl   mother-gen-abl by   came-pass girl-nom
         mohnas   ha:vɨnɨ.
         Mohan-dat shown
      'The girl was shown to Mohan by her (i.e., self's) mother.'

1.6.5.5 Reflexives with object antecedents

(15a) aslaman$_i$ von me$_j$ pa:nas$_{i,j}$ mutalakh/panɨni   ma:ji
      Aslam-erg told me   self   about /self's   mother-dat
         mutlakh.
         about
      'Aslam told me about himself/myself/my/his mother.'

(15b) bɨ$_i$ ha:vɨ   ma:la:yi$_j$ panun   pa:n$_{i,j}$/panun$_{i,j}$ bo:y
      I   show-fut Mala-dat   self's   self /self's   brother
         ə:nas   manz.
         mirror-dat in
      'I'll show myself/herself/my/her brother to Mala in the mirror'

As mentioned above, the reflexive modifier of a subject, but not the reflexive subject, can be anteceded by the object, as in (16a-c). These constructions are similar to the well-known English sentence 'His mother loves John.'

(16) Reflexives as subject

(16a) *pa:n/panun pa:n chu mohnas   naphrath kara:n
      'self   is   Mohan-dat   hate   doing.'
      'Self hates Mohan.'

(16b) panɨnev$_i$ do:stav   vuch aslam$_i$.
      self's-erg friends-erg saw Aslam-abs
      'Self's (i.e., his) friends saw Aslam.'

(16c) panɨnev   necivev   su:z mo:l haj-as.
      self's-erg sons-erg sent father Haj-dat
      'Self's (i.e., his) sons sent their father on Haj.'

1.6.6 Reflexives within nominalized clauses

Reflexives can be controlled by the subject of the nominalized clause.

(17a) me   a:v nɨ khɔsh [mohnun pa:nas mutalakh tabsur karun].
      I-dat aux not like Mohan's self-dat about   analyze do-inf
      'I did not like Mohan's analyzing himself.'

(17b) me a:v nɨ   khɔsh [mohnun panɨni beni   mutalakh
     I   aux neg like   Mohan's self's sister about
       tabsur   karun.
       analyze   do-inf
    'I did not like Mohan's analyzing his sister.'

1.6.7 Reflexives within ordinary noun phrases

Reflexives do not occur within ordinary noun phrases.

1.6.8 Reflexives without overt antecedents

Reflexives without overt antecedents are found with implied generic subjects, with null subjects of the imperatives, and with null pronominal subjects that are deleted due to the overt presence of pronominal suffixes on the verb.

(18a) pa:nɨ vakhɨt za:yi karun chu nɨ ṭhi:kh.
     refl   time   waste do-inf is   not good
    'It is not proper to waste one's time.'

(18b) panun   kamrɨ   kar   sa:ph.
     refl   room   do-imp clean
    'Clean your room.'

(18c) mohbath   chu-s   pa:nas   kara:n.
     love   be-1sg   self-dat do-prp
    'I love myself.'

1.6.9 Other uses of reflexive

1.6.9.1 Emphatic reflexive

The emphatic reflexive forms are *pa:nɨ, pa:n-ay, panɨni pa:nɨ* 'self's self by/voluntarily', *pə:n' pa:nɨ* 'only by self self'. The form *pa:n-ay* is derived from *pa:nɨ* plus the emphatic suffix *-ay*.

(19a) aslam   a:v   daphtar   pa:nɨ/pa:nay/pə:n' pa:nɨ.
     Aslam   came   office   refl
    'Aslam himself came to the office.'

(19b) bɨ   chus pa:nɨ/pa:nay batɨ rana:n.
     I   am   refl   food cooking
    'I cook meals myself.'

(19c) aslaman   vuch panɨni pa:nɨ   ku:r.
      Aslam-erg   saw self-by self   girl
      'Aslam saw the girl voluntarily.'

1.6.9.2–3 *Honorific and other uses of the refelxive*

The simple reflexive is often used as second-person addressee to show respect.

(20a) pa:nas   sɨ:th'   di   me   paknɨ.
      Self-dat with   allow   me   walk
      'Allow me to go with you.'

1.7 RECIPROCALS

1.7.1 Means of expressing reciprocity

There are two ways of expressing reciprocity. The regular reciprocal relation is expressed by *akh əkis* 'lit. one to one', while a distinct form *pa:nɨvə:n'* 'mutual/between' is used for the distributive reciprocal relation. The latter has a limited distribution and has been exemplified with certain relevant examples. There are no verbal reciprocals or reciprocal clitics.

1.7.2 Scope of reciprocity

The scope of reciprocity is the same as that of the reflexive. Both the reciprocals are clause-bound. The clause may be simply a root clause or a nonfinite sentence.

(1) Reciprocals in the root clause

(1a) asi   kor   akh   əkis   sɨ:t'   mashvarɨ.
     we-erg   did   one   another-dat   with   consultation
     'We consulted with each other.'

(1b) toh'   chi-vɨ   pa:nɨvə:n'   ledə:y   kara:n.
     you   are   amongst yourself   quarrel doing
     'You are quarreling amongst yourself.'

(2) Reciprocals in the nonfinite clause

(2a) ko:ri cha akh əkis   ə:nas   manz vuchun yatsha:n.
     girls are each other-dat   mirror-dat   in   see-inf want-prp
     'The girls want to see each other in the mirror.'

(2b) tim   chi   nɨ   yatsha:n   pa:nɨvə:n'   ledə:y   kar-ɨn'.
     they are   not   wanting   among-self   quarrel do-inf
     'They don't want to quarrel amongst themselves.'

(3) Reciprocals in the small clause

(3a) tim   chi   akh əkis   pa:gal   za:na:n.
they   are   each other-dat mad   consider-prp
'They consider each other mad.'

(3b) tim   chi   akh ək'sɨnd'   do:s   pa:gal   za:na:n.
they   are   each-other's   friends   crazy   consider
'They consider each other's friends crazy.'

(4) Reciprocals in the finite subordinate clause

(4a) *timav   von   mi:ra:yi   ki   akh əkis   chi   pa:gal.
they   told   Mira-dat   that   each other-dat   be   crazy
'They told Mira that each other are crazy.'

(4b) ??ma:la:yi   tɨ   mohnan   vuch   ki   akh ək'sɨnd'
mala-erg   and   Mohan-erg   saw   that   each other's
shur'   chi   ginda:n   yikɨvaṭɨ.
children   are   playing   together
'Mala and Mohan saw that each other's children are playing together.'

It should be noted here that *akh əkis* is a dative case form. There is no corresponding nominative form, and the dative is used even when the syntax requires a nominative form. For example, the direct object of most verbs is marked absolute in the past tense. However the direct-object form of 'each other' is realized as *akh əkis,* as shown below.

(4c) timav   vuch   akh əkis/mohnɨ   ə:nas   manz.
they-erg   saw   each-other-dat/Mohan-abs   mirror   in
'They saw each other/Mohan in the mirror.'

1.7.3 The position of reciprocals

Reciprocals may be scrambled to any position in a clause. In particular, they may precede the antecedent, as exemplified below.

(5a) akh əkis   kor   timav   seṭha: madath.
one another-dat   did   they-erg   very   help
'They helped each other very much.'

(5b) pa:nɨvə:n'   chi-v   toh'   leḍə:y   kara:n.
amongst yourself   are   you   quarrel   doing
'You are quarreling amongst yourself.'

1.7.4 Antecedent reciprocal relation

The antecedent of a reciprocal may be a subject or an object. The reciprocal itself occurs in all possible nominal positions except the subject position, as is the case with the simple reflexive.

1.7.4.1–5 Subject antecedents

(6) Reciprocals in direct object position

(6a) tim   sam*i*kh'   akhəkis   va:riya:hi kə:l'.
they-erg met   one another-dat long-abl period of time
'They met each other after a long time.'

(6b) əs' chi n*i* akhək'sund   gar*i* gatsha:n.
we are not one another-poss home go-prp
'We don't visit/go to each other's house.'

(7) Reciprocals in indirect object position

(7a) ko:rev   dits*i*   akhəkis   kita:b*i*.
girls-erg gave-fpl each other-dat books
'The girls gave books to each other.'

(7b) ko:rev dits*i* kita:b*i* akh ək's*i*nden   do:stan.
girls gave books each other's-dat friends-dat
'The girls gave books to each other's friends.'

(7c) ko:rev dits*i* kita:b*i* pan*i*nen do:stan.
girls gave books self's   friends
'The girls gave books to their own friends.'
(Each girl gave a book to her own friend.)

(8) Reciprocals as benefactives

(8a) ko:rev shu:r akh əkis bat*i*.
girls served eachother-dat rice/food
'The girls served rice/food to each other.'

(8b) ko:rev shu:r akh ək's*i*nden   do:stan bat*i*.
girls served each other gen-dat friends-dat food
'The girls served food to each other's friends.'

(8c) mohnan t*i* kamli   shu:r bat*i* pa:nas pa:nas.
Mohan-erg and Kamla-erg served food self-dat self-dat
'Mohan and Kamla served rice to their own self.'

(8d) mohnan   tɨ   kamli   shu:r   batɨ panɨnen do:stan.
Mohan-erg and Kamla-erg served   food self-dat friends-dat
'Mohan and Kamla served rice to their own friends.'

(9) Reciprocals in other adpositions

(9a) ko:rev   het'   akh ək'sɨndi   khə:trɨ bu:ṭh.
girls   bought each other's-abl for   shoes
'The girls bought shoes for each other.'

(9b) ko:rev   het'   pa:nas kith'   bu:ṭh.
girls   bought self-dat self-dat shoes
'The girls bought shoes for their own self.'
(Each girl bought shoes for herself.)

(10a) ko:rev het'   akh ək'sɨnden do:stan hɨndi   khə:trɨ bu:ṭh.
girls bought each other's-dat friends-dat-gen for   shoes
'The girls bought shoes for each other's friends.'

(10b) ko:rev het'   panɨnen panɨnen do:stan hɨndi khə:trɨ bu:ṭh.
girls bought self-dat self-dat friends-dat-gen for   shoes
'The girls bought shoes for their own self's friends.'
(Each girl bought shoes for her own friend.)

(11a) ko:rev   thavi kita:bɨ   akh əkis   nishi.
girls-erg kept-fpl books-fpl each other-dat near
'The girls kept the books near each other.'

(11b) ko:rev   thavi   kita:bɨ   pa:nas nishi.
girls-erg kept-fpl books-fpl self-dat near
'The girls kept the books near/with themselves.'

(12a) ko:rev   thavi kita:bɨ akh   ək'sɨnden   do:stan   nishi.
girls-erg kept-fp books each other's gen-dat friends-dat near
'The girls kept the books near each other's friends.'

(12b) ko:rev   thavi   kita:bɨ panɨnen   panɨnen   do:stan   nishi.
girls-erg kept-fp books self-gen-dat self-gen-dat friends-dat near
'The girls kept the books near their own friends.'

1.7.4.2 *Antecedent: Direct object*

(13) Reciprocals as indirect objects

(13a)   bɨ   ha:vakh   zɨ   ləḍkɨ   akh əkis   ə:nas   manz.
        I   show-fut-3pl   two   boys   each-other-dat mirror   in
        'I will show the two boys to each other in the mirror.'

(13b)   bɨ   ha:vakh   zɨ   ləḍkɨ   akh ək'sɨnden do:stan ə:nas   manz.
        I   show-fut-3pl   two   boys   each other's friends mirror   in
        'I will show the two boys to each other's friends in the mirror.'

(14)   Reciprocal as postpositional phrases

(14a)   ma:la:yi   von   ləḍk-an   akh   əkis   mutalakh.
        Mala-erg   told   boys-dat   each other-dat about
        'Mala told the boys about each other.'

(14b)   ko:rev   von   ləḍkan   akh   ək'sɨnden   do:stan   mutalakh.
        girls-erg told   boys-dat   each other's-dat   friends-dat about
        'The girls told boys about each other's friends.'
        (Reference here goes to boys as well as girls)

(14c)   ma:la:yi   vuch   zɨ   ləḍkɨ   pa:nɨvə:n'   laḍə:y   kara:n.
        Mala-erg   saw   two   boys   self-amongst fight   do-prp
        'Mala saw the two boys fighting amongst themselves.'

(15)   Reciprocal relations within nominalized clauses

(15a)   tihund   akhək'sund   garɨ   na gatshun chu   nɨ   ṭhi:kh.
        their   one another-gen house not go-inf is   not good
        'Their not visiting each other's house is not right.'

1.7.5 Reciprocals without antecedent

Reciprocals may occur without overt antecedents if the antecedent is understood syntactically, as is the case with the imperative, or in discourse context.

(16a)   akh   əkis   sɨ:t'   ma   kəriv   kathɨ.
        one   another-dat   with   not   do-2pl   talk
        'Don't talk to each other.'

(16b)   aslamas   chi   zɨ   neciv'.   akhəkis sɨ:t'   chi
        Aslam-dat has   two   sons.   one   another-dat with are
            hame:shɨ   laḍa:n.
            always   flght-prp
        'Aslam has two sons. (They) always quarrel with each other.'

1.8 COMPARISON

1.8.1 Means of expressing comparison

Comparison essentially involves use of a comparative postposition *khɔtɨ* 'than' or Perso-Arabic comparative phrase *muka:balas manz*. The comparison can be made by using either the phrasal or the sentential structures.

1.8.1.1–4 (a) Phrasal comparison

In a phrasal comparison, the standard of comparison is assigned a genitive case. The postposition *khɔtɨ* requires the genitive to be marked with ablative case, while *muka:balas manz* requires the genitive to be marked dative. In both instances, the genitive marker may be optionally deleted. In the case of *muka:balas manz*, the postposition manz may also be optionally deleted.

(1) Comparison using *khɔtɨ*

(1a) aslam chu [təm'-sɨnd-i khɔtɨ] cust.
     Aslam is   him-gen-abl   than   smart
     'Aslam is smarter than him.'

(1b) [homi kani   khɔtɨ] chu yi hi:rɨ z'a:dɨ camakda:r.
     that stone-abl than   is   this diamond more   bright
     'This diamond is more bright/brighter than that stone.'

   (In (1b), the genitive has been deleted and the comparative phrase has been moved to the topic position.)

(2) Comparison using *muka:balas manz*

(2a) human   lədkan   hɨndis muka:balas   manz chi
     those-dat boys-dat   of-dat comparison-dat   in   are
         yim   lədkɨ hushiya:r.
         these boys   clever
     'These boys are cleverer than those boys.'

(2b) shi:lɨ   cha təm'sɨndis muka:bl-as   parnas   manz kamzo:r.
     Sheila   is him-gen   than-dat   studies-dat in   weak
     'Sheila is weak in her studies in comparison to him.'

(2c) shi:lɨ   cha təmis   muka:blɨ parnas   manz kamzo:r.
     Sheila   is him-dat than   studies-dat   in   weak
     'Sheila is weak in her studies in comparison to him.'

(2d) [mohnɨn-is/mohnas   muka:balɨ]   chu   sohnɨ
     Mohan-poss-dat /Mohan-dat comarison   is   Sohan-nom
          kamzo:r   parnas   manz.
          weak   studies-dat in
     'Sohan is weak in his studies in comparison to Mohan.'

In (2c-d), the postposition *manz* as well as the genitive marker on the standard of comparison has been deleted. Note the possible word-order variations of (2d) shown in (2e-f).

(2e) sohnɨ chu [mohnas mukabalɨ] kamzo:r parnas manz

(2f) sohnɨ chu kamzo:r parnas manz mohnas muka:blɨ

1.8.1.1–4 (b) Sentential comparison

In a sentential comparison, the comparative clause employs a relative marker *yu:t* and the postposition *khɔtɨ* is attached to the ablative of the correlative.

(3a) aslam   yu:t   be:kɨl   chu   mohnɨ   chu
     Aslam   rel(as much) stupid   is   Mohan   is
          tami   khɔtɨ   z'a:dɨ   be:kɨl.
          cor(that)-abl   than   more   stupid
     'Mohan is more stupid than Aslam.'

(4) Word-order variations on (3a)

(4a) yu:t aslam be:kɨl chu tami khɔtɨ chu mohnɨ z'a:dɨ be:kɨl

(4b) yu:t aslam chu be:kɨl tami khɔtɨ z'a:dɨ chu mohnɨ be:kɨl

1.8.2–5 Deletion in comparative structures

The comparative phrase obligatory deletes all identical elements, including the verb. In essence, the phrase absorbs all the clausal marks.

(5a) aslam   chu   nazmav   khɔtɨ   mazmu:n   z'a:dɨ   le:kha:n.
     Aslam   is   poems-abl than   essays   more   write-prp
     'Aslam writes more essays than poems.'

(5b) aslaman   le:chi   mohnɨni   khɔtɨ   z'a:dɨ   kita:bɨ.
     Aslam-erg wrote-fpl   Mohan-gen-abl than   more   books-fpl
     'Aslam wrote more books than Mohan.'

(5c) aslam   chu   mohnɪnev   nazmav   khɔtɪ z'a:dɪ
Aslam   is   Mohan-gen-abl lyrics   than   more
   ja:n   kava:liyi   geva:n.
   good   kawali   sing-prp
'Aslam sings kawalis better than Mohan's lyrics.'

In sentential comparison also, all the identical elements are deleted.

(5d) aslam   chu   tami   khɔtɪ thod yu:t   toh' sõ:ca:n   chiv.
Aslam   is   cor-that-abl than tall as much you think-prp are
'Aslam is taller than (that which/what) you think (he is).'

(5e) Variation on (5d)
yu:t toh' sõ:ca:n chiv, aslam chu tami khɔtɪ thod.

1.8.6 Correlative comparison

Correlative comparison is expressed by means of the connective correlative pair
yu:t...t'u:t. (see 2.1.2.7.1.3). This strategy is best illustrated in proverbial
expressions. Note in particular the absence of the postposition *khɔtɪ.*

(6a) su yu:t mehnath   chu   kara:n t'u:t chu   pɔ́:sɪ   kama:va:n.
he rel   hard work is   doing cor is   money   earning
'The more he works, the more he earns.'

(6b) yi   chu b'uch,   yu:t rɔchzen t'u:t diyi ʈɔph.
this is   scorpion rel   fondle   cor   give sting
'This is a scorpion, the more you fondle it, the more it will sting.'

(6c) yu:t vi:ri   ʈakh dikh,   t'u:t chus ya:vun yiva:n.
rel   willow chop give   cor   is   grow   come
'The more you chop a willow tree, the stronger it grows.'

1.8.7 Superlatives

Superlatives use phrases such as *sa:rivɪy khɔtɪ* 'out of all', *prath kɔ̃:si hɪndi
khɔtɪ* 'everyone than', *kāh b'a:kh* 'anyone else'. The last phrase is found in a
negative environment.

(7a) mohnɪ chu   jamə:ts   manz sa:rivɪy khɔtɪ da:na:.
Mohan is   class-abl   in   all   than   wise
'Mohan is the wisest of all in his class.'

(7b) shi:lɪ   cha   prath   kɔ̃:si hɪndi khɔtɪ te:z do:ra:n.
Sheila is   everyone else of-abl   more fast run-prp
'Sheila runs faster than everyone else.'

(7c) aslamas boḍ chu -nɨ kã:h b'a:kh.
     Aslam-dat big is   not anyone else
     'No one is bigger than Aslam.'

Superlative adjectives are formed by inserting *khɔtɨ* between the adjective and the adjective's duplicate, as exemplified in (8a-b). The first adjective is put in the ablative case.

(8a) su chu baḍi   khɔtɨ boḍ maslɨ   a:sə:ni: sa:n hal kara:n.
     he is   big-abl more big   problem easy   with solve do-prp
     'He solves the biggest problem easily.'

(8b) asi   nish chu yi   rɨti   khɔtɨ rut   kapur.
     we-abl with is   this good-abl more good cloth
     'This is the best cloth we have.' (We have the best of all cloth)

Note that the superlative information may also be encoded in the lexical adjectival form itself, as is the case with the English superlative 'best'. The morphological superlatives are confined to a few adjectives only.

(9a) behtar gav təm'sund to:r   gatshun.
     better is   his   there go-inf
     'It is better/best for him to go there.'

(9b) yi   cha badtar kath   təm'sɨndi   khə:trɨ.
     this is   worst   matter him-poss-abl for
     'This is the worst thing for him.'

1.9 EQUATIVES

1.9.1 Means of expressing equatives

1.9.1.1 Phrasal equatives

Phrasal equatives use adjectives such as *bara:bar/sumb* 'equal' or *h'uv/hiv'* (msg/mpl), *hish/hishi* (fsg/fpl) 'like'. The agreement of the adjective *h'uv* links with the matrix subject. Equative adjectives follow the standard of equality, which is assigned a dative case.

(1a) mohnɨ   chu shuris   bara:bar.
     Mohan   is   child-dat   equal
     'Mohan is like a child.'

(1b) ra:jɨ cha nasi:mas   sumb bəḍ.
     Raj   is   Nasim-dat   equal big
     'Raj is as big as Nasim.'

(1c)   yim   zɨ   ba:rɨn'   chi   ma:ji   hiv'   shəri:ph.
       these two brothers are mother-dat like-mpl gentle
       'These two brothers are gentle like their mother.'

(1d)   nəsi:mɨ   cha po:shas   hish ə:vij.
       Nasim   is flower-dat like delicate
       'Nasim is as delicate as a flower.'

(1e)   bɨ   hekɨ co:n h'uv rut   li:khith.
       I   can your like good write-cp
       'I can write as good/well as you can.'

The equative phrase deletes all identical elements including the verb, as is clear from the above examples.

1.9.1.2 *Correlative equatives*

Correlative equatives use the connective correlative pair, as is the case with the comparative.

(2a)   sohnɨ chu t'u:t shəri:ph   yu:t   təm'sund   bo:y (chu).
       Sohan is   that much gentle as   much-rel his   brother is
       'Sohan is as gentle as his brother (is).'

(2b)   sɔ   cha t'u:t ja:n   geva:n   yu:t mohnɨ o:s.
       she is   cor much-good sing-prp rel   Mohan was
       'She sings as well as Mohan used to (sing).'

(2c)   yuth sohnɨ   chu, t'uth chu təm'sund bo:y   (ti).
       rel   Sohan is   corel is   his   brother (also)
       'His brother is same way as Sohan is.'

(3a)   yi təm' kor me, ti   karas bɨ.
       rel he-erg did me cor do-fut I
       'As he did to me, so will I do to him.'

(3b)   yuth vɔsta:d t'uth tsa:ṭh.
       rel   teacher cor disciple
       'The disciple is as the teacher.' (lit. As the teacher, so the disciple)

1.10 POSSESSION

1.10.1 Sentences expressing possession

Sentences expressing possession either employ the copula *a:sun* 'to have', noted in (1.2.1.1.6), or postpositions such as *nishi, athi* 'near, with'. The copula

assigns the dative case to the subject, the postpositions follow the subject. In both constructions, the entity possessed is put in the nominative/absolutive case and shows agreement with the verb.

1.10.2–5 Types of possession

1.10.2–5 (a) Copular possession

The copula *a:sun* expresses both the inalienable and the alienable possession. It takes both animate and inanimate subjects. It also indicates temporary emotive possessions such as feelings, sensations, or sicknesses. (See Kachru 1968 for details.)

> (1a) mohn-as chu duka:nɨ/bo:y.
>   Mohan-dat has shop /brother
>   'Mohan has a shop/brother.'

> (1b) ba:dsha:h-as a:sɨ tre zana:nɨ.
>   king-dat had three wives
>   'The king had three wives.'

> (1c) nisha:t-as chi dəh hisɨ.
>   Nishat-dat has ten terraces/parts
>   'Nishat garden has ten terraces.'

> (1d) shi:las chu kalas do:d.
>   Sheila-dat has head-dat pain
>   'Sheila has a headache.'

> (1e) təm-is ə:s thar.
>   (s)he-dat had tremlings
>   'He/She had trembling(s).'

> (1f) aslam-as cha khoshi: panɨni ka:myə:bi: peṭh.
>   Aslam-dat has happiness self's success-dat on
>   'Aslam is happy with his success.'

1.10.2–5 (b) Possession expressed by means of postpositions

The postposition *manz* 'in' is employed to indicate inherent emotions, a type of permanent quality or possession. However, the use of *manz* is not essential, since the construction is valid even without it.

> (2a) aslamas (manz) chu barda:sh.
>   Aslam-dat (in) is patience
>   'Aslam has patience.'

(2b) shi:las   (manz)   cha   hemath.
     Sheila-dat   (in)   has   courage
     'Sheila has courage.'

Postpositions *nishi* 'near' and *athi* 'with' are used to indicate mostly alienable, contingent, or accidental possession. These postpositions mark the subject with dative case. The entity possessed is generally an inanimate object, but animate human objects, such as servants, cats, and dogs, are also found since these represent alienable objects.

(3a) təmis   nishi   chi   sə:riy   pɔ:sɨ.
     he-dat   poss-near   are   all   money
     'He has all the money.'

(3b) me   athi   chi   zəru:ri: ka:kaz.
     I-dat   with   are   important   papers
     'I have all the important papers.'

(3c) təmis nishi   ə:s'   hame:shɨ no:kar   tɨ   pɔ̃z'   tɨ   to:tɨ.
     he-dat near   had   always   servants and   monkeys and   parrots
     'He always had servants, monkeys, and parrots.'

1.11 EMPHASIS

1.11.1 Sentence emphasis

1.11.1.1 *Noncontradictory emphasis*

Noncontradictory sentence emphasis is expressed either by raising the pitch level on the verb, or by the emphatic particle *ay,* or certain emphatic adverbials, such as *zaru:r, be:shakh* 'certainly, of course', *yath (kathi) manz chunl kā:h shakh zi* 'there is no doubt in this (matter) that'. The emphasis is further enhanced by appending the affirmative particles *a:, a:* 'yes, yes' to the sentence.

(1a) (a: a:)   bɨ   kar-ay   panɨn'   kə:m.
     yes   yes   I   do-fut-emph   refl   work
     'Yes, yes, I will (definitely) do my work.'

(1b) su   gatshi   garɨ   zaru:r.
     he   go-fut   home   definitely
     'He will definitely go home.'

(1c) yath   (kathi)   manz   chunɨ   kā:h   shakh   zi
     this-dat (matter)   in   is-neg any   doubt   that
        su gatshi   garɨ   (zaru:r).
        he go-fut   home   definitely
     'There is no doubt in this matter that he will definitely go home.'

1.11.1.2 *Contradictory emphasis*

Contradictory sentential emphasis is expressed by placing the intonation on the negative particle *nɨ*, or by particles such as *tɨ sɘhi:* 'at least', *k'a:zi* 'why', and *thoɾe-hi* 'at all'. The sentence is appended with *na na* 'no' in the initial position for added effect.

(2a) na   na,   su   gatshi nɨ   sha:har.
     no   no   he   go-fut not   city
     'No no, he will not go to the city.'

(2b) su   gɘtshin   tɨ   sɘhi:.
     he   go-fut-3sg   emph   least
     'Let him go./The least he could do is to go.'

(2c) su   yiyi   k'a:zi?
     he   come-fut   why/emph
     'Why will he come?' (He will not come at all.)

(2d) su   yiya: thoɾe: hi:? su   chu   ɘmi:r.
     he   come-Q emph   he   is   rich
     'Why will he come? He is rich.' (He will not come at all.)

1.11.2 Constituent emphasis

1.11.2.1 (a) *Contrastive constituent emphasis*

A constituent is contrastively emphasized by intonation; by the addition of the emphatic particles *y, ti* 'also', *beyi ti* 'moreover'; or simply by clefting.

1.11.2.1.1 Emphasis by emphatic particles

(3a) ku:ɾy   chanɨ   ja:n.
     girl-emph   is-not good
     'It is only the girl who is not good/well behaved.'

(3b) gulmarg-iy   dits   mohnan   me   kita:b.
     Gulmarg-abl-emph   gave   Mohan-erg me-dat book
     'It was in Gulmarg (itself) that Mohan gave me the book.'

                   or

(3c) mohnan   dits   gulmarg-iy   me   kita:b.

(3d) kɘshi:ri   chu   amn-ɨy   /amnukɨy   zɘru:rath
     Kashmir-abl   is   peace-emph/peace-gen-emph need
     'Kashmir needs peace./It is peace that Kahsmir needs.'

(3e) bɨ   ti   go:s   garɨ   vakhtas peṭh.
     I   emph   went   home   time-dat on
     'I too went home on time.'

(3f) akh   ti   kita:b cha-nɨ   ja:n.
     one   emph   book   is-not   guod
     'Not a single book is good.'

(3g) beyi   ti yiyi   su   vakhtas peṭh.
     moreover   come-fut   he   time-dat on
     'Moreover, he will come on time.'

1.11.2.1.2 Emphasis by clefting

In Kashmiri, both cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences are formed by a relative-type clause structure. In the cleft structure, the emphasized element is followed by the emphatic particle *ɨy/ay*. The subject of the cleft is a neutral noun—*yi, su zon, su naphar, su ci:z* 'it, that one, that man, that thing'. The subject may also be replaced by various demonstrative pronouns, such as *su, ti* with their appropriate declined forms. (See Shauq 1982.)

(4a) yi/su o:s   aslam-ɨy   yem' ra:j-as   sɨ:t'   ne:thɨr   kor.
     it/that was   Aslam-emph   rel Raj-dat   with   marriage did
     'It was Aslam who married Raj.'

(4b) yi/sɔ ə:s   ra:j-ay   yemis sɨ:t'   aslaman   ne:thɨr   kor.
     it/she was   Raj-emph   rel-dat with Aslam-erg marriage did
     'It was Raj who Aslam married.'

(4c) su   o:s   mohn-ay   yem'sund   necuv
     it   was   Mohan-emph   rel-poss-msg son
          yimtiha:nas   manz aval   a:v.
          examination-dat   in   first came
     'It was Mohan whose son stood first in the examination.'

The pseudo-cleft construction is a kind of variation on the cleft structure, as can be seen by comparing the example (4a) with the one given immediately below.

(4d) aslam-ɨy   o:s   su   yem' ra:jas   sɨ:t'   ne:thɨr   kor.
     Aslam-emph   was   he   who Raj-dat   with   marriage did
     'Aslam was the one who married Raj.'

1.11.2.1 (b) Noncontrastive constituent stress

Noncontrastive constituent stress is mostly expressed by reduplication, right dislocation, or by means of parantheticals.

1.11.2.1.1 Emphasis by reduplication

A reduplication strategy is mostly confined to adjectives, adverbs, and imperatives. The reduplicated elements are often marked with a high pitch or other emphasis-intensifying devices.

(5a) ra:jɨ cha v'əth v'əth ku:r.
     Raj is fat fat girl
     'Raj is a very (very) fat girl.'

(5b) su chu asa:n zo:rɨ zo:rɨ.
     he is laugh-prp loudly loudly
     'He laughs very (very) loudly.'

(5c) subɨhan subɨhan cha tɨ:r a:sa:n.
     morning-abl morning-abl is cold be-prp
     'It is cold in the (very early) mornings.'
     (It is in the early morning that it is cold.)

(5d) gatsh gatsh/ gətsh-iv gətsh-iv.
     Go go/ go-please go-please

1.11.2.1.2 Emphasis by dislocation

A dislocation strategy usually involves moving a constituent to the right-most or left-most sentential boundary for the purpose of emphasis. In both, a pronominal copy of the constituent is left behind in its source position. This kind of emphasis does not involve any contrast. It should be noted here that both right and left dislocation are rarely used, and the sentences have a marginal status.

(6) Emphasis by right dislocation

(6a) ??təm' vuch su$_i$ mohnas sɨ:t' ba:zar gatsha:n— aslam$_i$.
     he-erg saw him Mohan-dat with market going— Aslam
     'He saw him$_i$ going to the market with Mohan— Aslam$_i$.'

(7) Emphasis by left dislocation

(7a) ?yim ba:l, yim chi pəz' pə:th' thəd'.
     these mountains, they are really tall
     'These mountains, they are really tall.'

1.11.2.2 Simultaneous expressions of constituent emphasis

The emphatic particle definitely provides the most versatile device for simultaneously emphasizing more than one constituent. The reduplication

strategy can also be used in a limited way. The right and left dislocation strategies however are extremely rigid and allow only one constituent to be emphasized.

(8a) təm-iy   vən'   pa:n-ay   sə:r-ɨy   dəli:l   me-y.
     he-erg-emph said   himself-emph all-emph story   me-emph
        tɨ   beyi nɨ kɜ̃:s-iy.
        and   else not anyone-emph
     'He himself told entire story to me and no one else.'

(8b) sa:rin-ɨy   cha panɨn-iy   panɨn-iy   phikir.
     all-emph   is   own-emph   own-emph   worry
     'Everybody has his/her own worry.'

1.11.3 Focus of yes-no questions

A constituent in a yes-no question is focused by placing the rising intonation on the constituent itself. The emphatic particle can also be added to the focused constituent. In short, the focusing in yes-no questions mimics the noncontradictory emphasis strategy employed in declarative structures.

(9a) tsɨ-y   parkha: yi   kita:b?
     you-emph   read-fut-Q   this book
     'Will you read this book?'

(9b) tsɨ   parkha: yi   kita:b-ɨy.
     you   read-fut-Q   this book-emph
     'Will you read this book?'

1.12 TOPIC

1.12.1 Means of expressing topic

There are no formal means of expressing topic in the pragmatic sense—what the sentence is about—in Kashmiri. The topic in this pragmatic sense is expressed indirectly by opening the dialogue with expressions such as 'X-about, with respect to X, what to talk about X...', as exemplified below.

(1a) mohnɨn'   k'a: kath kəriv,   su   chu   so:n
     Mohan-gen-   what talk do-2hon-ps   he   is   our
        gɔdɨn'uk   necuv,   tɨ   su   chu   ca:la:kh.
        first   son   and he   is   smart
     'What to say about Mohan, he is our first son, and he is very smart.'

(1b) yot ta:m nisha:t ba:guk   to:lukh   chu,
     as   far Nishat Bag-gen relation is,
        me:n' kin'   chu yi pəz'pə:ṭh' khu:bsu:rath.
        me-gen according is this really   pretty
        'As far as NishatBag/to talk about NishatBag, I think it is really pretty.'

(1c) mohnas   mutalakh, cha ra:y   zi   su chu boḍ li:ḍar.
     Mohan-dat about   is opinion that he is   big leader
     'About Mohan, my opinion is/I think that he is a big leader.'

1.13 HEAVY SHIFT

In Kashmiri, heavy NP shift is not distinct from the movement of a simple
noun, noun phrase, or other constituents. The constituents in the postverbal
position can be quite freely scrambled, as exemplified below. Kashmiri thus
differs from English and other languages that allow only heavy NPs to move, as
exemplified by the contrast in (1a) and (1b).

(1a) *He threw into the basket the letter.

(1b) He threw into the basket the letter he wrote to his mother.

 (2) Scrambling of constituents in postverbal position

(2a) təm'   trə:v   ciṭh'   ṭu:kri   manz.
     he-erg   threw   letter   basket-dat   in
     'He threw the letter into the basket.'

(2b) təm'   trə:v   ṭu:kri   manz   ciṭh'.
     he-erg   threw   basket   in   letter

 (3) Scrambling of the heavy noun phrase

(3a) təm'   trə:v   sɔ   ciṭh'   yɔs   təm'   panɨni   ma:ji
     he-erg   threw   that letter rel   he-erg self's   mother-dat
        li:ch   ṭu:kri   manz.
        wrote   basket-dat   in
        'He threw the letter which he wrote to his mother into the basket.'

(3b) təm'   trə:v   ṭu:kri   manz sɔ   ciṭh' yɔs   təm'
     he-erg   threw   basket-dat in   that letter rel   he-erg
        panɨni ma:ji   li:ch.
        self's mother-dat wrote
        'He threw into the basket the letter which he wrote to his mother.'

1.14 OTHER MOVEMENT PROCESSES

We stated earlier that Kashmiri is a verb-second language. Any constituent of the sentence can be moved to a preverbal (i.e., sentence initial) position. This type of movement is found in both main and subordinate finite clauses. The movement is clause-bound. The constituents of the subordinate clause, for example, cannot be moved into the matrix clause. The following examples indicate the scope of this movement.

    (1) Constituent movement from the main clause

    (1a) me   dits mohn-as   yi   kəmi:z ba:gas   manz.
            I-erg gave Mohan-dat this shirt   garden   in
            'I gave Mohan this shirt in the garden.'

    (1b) yi   kəmi:z dits me   mohnas   ba:gas   manz.
            this shirt   gave I-erg mohan-to garden   in

    (1c) mohnas   dits me   yi   kəmi:z ba:gas   manz.
            'Mohan-to gave I-erg this shirt   garden   in

    (1d) ba:gas manz dits   me   mohnas   yi   kəmi:z.
            garden in   gave I-erg mohan-to this   shirt

    (2) Constituent movement within the finite subordinate clause

    (2a) me   chu   pata: zi/ki (i) ra:man   dits mohnas   yi   kəmi:z.
            I-erg be   know that   Ram-erg gave Mohan-dat this   shirt
                                              Ram   gave Mohan   this   shirt

                    (ii)   mohnas   dits ra:man yi   kəmi:z.
                           Mohan-to gave Ram   this   shirt

                    (iii) yi   kəmi:z dits ra:man mohnas.
                         this shirt   gave Ram   Mohan-to

No constituent of the finite subordinate clause can be moved into the matrix clause, as exemplified below in (3), which is a variation on (2a).

    (3) *mohnas_i chu me   pata: zi/ki ra:man   dits t_i yi kəmi:z.
        Mohan-to be   I-erg know   that Ram-erg gave   this   shirt

    (4) Constituent movement from the nonfinite clause

Movement of a constituent from the nonfinite clause into the matrix clause is only marginally acceptable to native speakers. Notice, however, that the nonfinite clause itself may be moved to the preverbal position in the matrix clause.

(4a) təm'   von   mi:ra:yi [mohnas   ca:y   dinɨ   khə:trɨ].
     he-erg told Mira-dat Mohan-dat tea   give-inf-abl for
     'He told Mira to give tea to Mohan.'

(4b) [mohnas   ca:y   dinɨ khə:trɨ] von   təm'   mi:ra:yi.
     Mohan-to tea   give for   told he-erg Mira-to

(4c) ??mohnas   von   təm'   mi:ra:yi   [ca:y   dinɨ khə:trɨ].
     Mohan-to   told he-erg Mira-to   tea   give for

(5a) su gav   soku:l [mohnas   sɨ:t' kath karnɨ   patɨ].
     he went school Mohan-dat with   talk do-inf-abl after
     'He went to school after talking to Mohan.'

(5b) [mohnas   sɨ:t' kath karnɨ   patɨ] gav   su soku:l.
     Mohan-dat with   talk do-inf-abl after went he school

(5c) ?? mohnas sɨ:t' gav su soku:l [kath karnɨ patɨ].

(5d) [kath karnɨ patɨ] gav su soku:l mohnas sɨ:t'.

(6) Constituent movement from a coordinate construction

Constituents of the second conjunct of coordinate constructions cannot be
moved to the main conjunct.

(6a) mohnɨ   chu kita:b para:n   tɨ   cith'   le:kha:n.
     Mohan   is   book   reading and letter writing
     'Mohan is reading a book and writing a letter.'

(6b) *cith'   chu mohnɨ kita:b para:n   tɨ   le:kha:n.
     letter   is   Mohan book   reading and writing

It should be noted here that more than one constituent cannot be
simultaneously extracted from any finite construction with one exception. In
question-word questions, both the question word and a nonquestion sentential
element may simultaneously precede the finite verb. The sentential element
precedes the question word. It may not intervene between the question word and
the verb.

(7a) k'a: khev mohn-an   ra:th?
     what   ate   Mohan-erg yesterday
     'What did Mohan eat yesterday ?'

(7b) mohnan   k'a: khev ra:th?
     Mohan   what   ate   yesterday

(7c) ra:th   k'a: khev mohnan?
yesterday what ate   Mohan

The question-word question construction also allows to extract multiple question words (see 1.1.1.2.2.1.6). These question words may also be preceded by the nonquestion constituents.

1.15 MINOR SENTENCE TYPES

1.15.1 Exclamatory sentences

Exclamatory sentences lack the structure of a full sentence and are usually marked by strong intonation or preceded by question words equivalent to 'how' or 'what.'

(1a) ha:y ko:ta:h s'od   lədkɨ!
oh   how   simple boy
'O, what a simple boy (he is)!'

(1b) va:h, kə:tsa: khu:bsu:rath ku:r!
oh,   how   beautiful   girl
'O, what a beautiful girl (she is)!'

(1c) ko:ta:h   khu:bsu:rath naza:rɨ!
how-msg   beautiful   scenery
'What a beautiful scene!'

(1d) kə:tsa:h   shəri:ph   ku:r!
how-fsg   gentle   girl
'What a gentle girl!'

1.15.2 Interjection-type sentences

These are usually one-word emotive utterences such as *ah, aha:, oh, sha:ba:sh* expressing surprise or delight, or *va:h va:h* uttered in appreciation.

1.15.3 Vocative sentences

Vocatives are address terms such as *he: ba:ya* 'oh brother', or *hayo:/haye:/he:*, etc., as in the following examples. (See Koul 1984 for details of address terms.)

(2a) hayo: mohna:!
oh-msg Mohan-voc
'O Mohan!'

(2b) haye: ku:ri:!
oh-fsg   girl-voc
'O girl!'

(2c)　he:　　　ba:ya:　/bə:y　sə:ba:　/ṭa:ṭh'a:!
　　　oh-msg　brother　/brother-hon　/dear one
　　　'O brother/dear one!'

1.15.4 Short answers

Short answers to questions can consist of single constituents and may be counted as minor sentence types.

(3a)　batɨ　hekha:　beyi
　　　food　take-Q　more
　　　'Would you like to have some more food?'

(3b)　na,　bas.
　　　'No, enough.'

(3c)　ahan haz/　ahan sə:/　na　haz/　na　sə:.
　　　yes　sir/　yes　sir/　no　sir/　no　sir

1.16 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF WORD CLASSES

1.16.1 Noun

Nouns are complete semantic units. They have independent reference. They subclassify as proper, common, or abstract nouns. The gender encoded in nouns may be inherent or grammatical. Nouns inflect for case and function as complements of postpositions. Proper nouns are inflected differently for ergative as well as genitive case. The nouns control the inflection on the verb for gender and number, just in case they are in the nominative/absolutive.

Syntactically nouns can function as arguments of their predicates. Nouns differ from pronouns with respect to referential properties. Nouns have independent reference and do not need an antecedent to establish a reference.

1.16.2 Pronoun

Syntactically, pronouns function as subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, or objects of a postposition, as is the case with the nouns. However, pronouns have no independent reference of their own and require an antecedent. They subclassify as reflexives, indefinites, interrogatives, relatives, and personal pronouns. Personal pronouns vary according to the gender and number of their antecedent. The case inflections of these personal pronouns are different from the nouns. Crucially, both verbs and auxiliaries show inflections for person-number features of these pronouns in all tenses. They may also delete in argument positions, in contrast to nouns. (See Wali and Koul 1994.) Reflexives do not show any inflection on the auxiliary or the verb. Bare reflexives, though not possessives, are excluded in the subject position. Reflexives occur in the same clause as their antecedents.

1.16.3 Verb

Verbs are obligatory constituents of a sentence. Since there is a tendency in Kashmiri to delete pronouns, a verb can be the only constituent at the surface level. (See Hook and Koul 1984a.) Finite verbs inflect for tense, aspect, mood, and voice, as well as person, number, and gender features of their arguments.

Syntactically, the verb occupies the second position in a finite clause. In question-word questions, the verb follows the question words and is at times thrown in the third position. In the nonfinite and relative clause, the verb is placed in the final position.

1.16.4 Adjective

Adjectives occur before nouns. They are placed in predicate positions of the copula and modify degree adverbs. They constitute an important element of comparative and superlative constructions. Some adjectives, though not all, decline for gender, number, and case of the nouns they modify.

1.16.5 Postposition

Postpositions immediately follow their complement nouns. The complements are marked dative or ablative, depending on the postposition. A few postpositions do not mark their complements. Nouns affixed by a postposition function as nonnuclear arguments, such as instrumental and ablative phrases. Some postpositions decline for number and gender of their complements.

1.16.6 Numeral/quantifier

Numerals and quantifiers appear to be modifiers of nouns at the surface level. However, note that quantifiers function as operators at the logical level. A quantifier has scope over the whole proposition. A quantifier may also have a scope over another quantifier as well as the negative operator. Their scope properties are complex. They are at times affected by the position they occupy in the surface structure. (See Andrabi 1983 for details.)

2 MORPHOLOGY

2.1 Inflection

2.1.1 Noun inflection

2.1.1.1 Means used to express syntactic and semantic functions of noun phrases

Syntactic functions of noun phrases such as subjects and objects can be expressed by cases, morphophonemic alternations, or by means of pronominal suffixes/clitics on the verb itself. (See 2.1.8.) Notice, however, that there is no one-to-one correspondence between the case and the syntactic function. For example, the nominative, also called absolutive, is assigned to both subjects and objects. Similarly, the dative case is assigned to both direct and indirect objects. The dative is also assigned to experiencer subjects and at times encodes the semantic function of the benefactive. In a certain sense then, cases in Kashmiri are lexically and contextually determined, and not so much by their syntactic functions. Semantic functions of nominals are mostly expressed by postpositions with the exception of dative, which is used in the benefactive sense.

(1) The case paradigm:

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nominative	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Ergative	an/C'	av	i	av
Dative	is/as	an	i	an
Ablative	ɨ/i	av	i	av

Feminine singular forms do not change with case. Similarly, plural forms do not change with gender. There is a complexity in the masculine singular forms in both ergative and dative cases. Most masculine singular nouns are marked with the ergative suffix -*an*. However masculine nouns that form their plurals by palatalization—*mo:l* 'father', *mɔ:l'* 'fathers'—use the palatalized plural forms as ergative singular forms. Thus the form *mɔ:l'* is used both as a nominative plural and ergative singular. Palatalized masculine plural forms also act as a base for forming their corresponding masculine singular dative forms. They use the dative suffix -*is* in place of the regular -*as*—*mɔ:l'-is* 'to the father'. It should also be noted here that feminine proper nouns that end in -*ɨ* take the masculine

singular ergative and dative suffix in place of the regular *-i*. For example, *shi:lɨ* (nom fsg)/*shi:las* (dat)/*shi:lan* (erg).

Most postpositions require their complements to be marked either in the dative or ablative case. The dative case co-occurs with postpositions that function as locatives, comitatives, and also before HUND possessive marker. The ablative co-occurs with postpositions that indicate directions, commitative functions, and *UK/UN* possessive markers, (for possessive details, see 2.1.1.4.6). Some postpositions may take both dative and ablative, as shown in the table below.

(2)

Dative-marking postpositions		*Ablative-marking postpositions*	
andar	'in/inside'	əndrɨ	'from within, from among'
keth	'in'		
k'uth	'for'		
manz	'in'	manzɨ	'from within'
nishi	'near'	nishi	'from near'
peṭh	'on, upon'	peṭhɨ	'from'
sa:n	'with, together with'	sa:n	'with'
sɨ:th'	'with, together with'	sɨ:th'	'with, by means of'
sɨ:t'an	'with, together with'	sɨ:tin	'with, by means of'
tal	'under'	talɨ	'from under'
HUND	'of	(i) UK	'of (possessives of inanimate masc sing.)
		(ii) UN	'of (possessives of proper nouns)

2.1.1.2 *Expressions of syntactic functions*

2.1.1.2.1 Subject of intransitive verbs

Subjects of most intransitive verbs are assigned nominative case and show agreement with the auxiliary or with the verb in the absence of the auxiliary. The case-marking does not distinguish agents from nonagents.

(3a) bɨ   chu-s   gatsha:n.
    I-nom   be-msg   go-prp
    'I am going.'

(3b) su   thok   seṭha:.
    he-nom   tired   lot
    'He was very tired.'

(3c) shi:shɨ   phuṭ.
    glass-nom   broke
    'The glass broke.'

Subjects of a few exceptional intransitives are marked ergative in the past tense. These include: *asun* 'to laugh', *vadun* 'to cry', *laḍun* 'to quarrel', *natsun* ' to dance', *vo:run* 'to shout', *põḍ tra:vɨn'* 'to sneeze', *zosun* 'to cough', *tsalun* 'to flee', *gindun* 'to play' (see Hook, Koul, and Koul 1987). The verb *natsun* 'to dance' may mark its subject with an ergative or a nominative case. The intransitive verb does not agree with the ergative subject.

(4a)   təm'   vod   az.
      he-erg   cried   today
      'He cried today.'

(4b)   bɨ   nots-us   /me   nots
      I-nom   danced-1sgps   /I-erg   danced
      'I danced.'

2.1.1.2.2 Subjects of transitive verbs

2.1.1.2.2.1 Agentive subjects

Active transitive verbs mark their subjects in the nominative in the nonperfective aspect. In the perfective/past, subjects are marked with the ergative case and the verb agrees with the object in gender and number. It is worth noting here that inanimate subjects are also marked ergative, though they are not necessarily agents.

(5a)   su   chu   kita:b   para:n.
      he-nom   is-ms   book   read-prp
      'He is reading a book.'

(5b)   su   pari   kita:b.
      he-nom   read-fut   book
      'He will read a book.'

(5c)   mohn-an   chəl'   palav
      Mohan-erg   washed-mpl   clothes-mpl
      'Mohan washed the clothes.'

(5d)   mo:tan   tsəl-ɨro:v   su   gari. (Syeed   1985)
      death   flee-caus   he-abs   home-ab
      'Death chased him out of his house.'

2.1.1.2.2.2 Nonagentive subjects

Nonagentive subjects include the class of passive and psychological subjects. Passive subjects are assigned the nominative case and acquire subject properties. (See Pandharipande 1981, Raina 1991.) Indirect objects and dative direct objects

of a few exceptional predicates (e.g., *la:yun* 'strike/beat')[4] retain their dative case under passivization. It is not clear whether the indirect object acquires any syntactic subject properties such as controlling the reflexive. The by-phrase agent is often deleted. Psychological subjects usually control the reflexive and acquire other subject properties (see Bhatt 1994 for details).

2.1.1.2.2.2.1 Passive subjects

(6a) su   a:v   raṭnɨ   mohnɨni   zəriyi.
     he   pass caught Mohan   by
     'He was caught by Mohan.'

(6b) mohnas   a:v   aslamni zəriyi la:ynɨ.
     Mohan-dat pass Aslam- by   beat
     'Mohan was beaten by Aslam.'

(6c) mohnas   a:yi kəmi:z aslamni zəriyi   dinɨ.
     Mohan-dat pass shirt   Aslam- by   give
     'Mohan was given the shirt by Aslam/
     'The shirt was given to Mohan by Aslam.'

2.1.1.2.2.2.2 Psychological subjects

Subjects of psychological predicates are obligatorily marked dative in all tenses and aspects. These include verbs of mental or physical state, such as: *shara:rath khasɨn'* 'to be angry', *bɔchi lagɨn'* 'to be hungry', *tresh lagɨn'* 'to be thirsty', *a:r yun* 'to have pity'; perception predicates such as *bo:znɨ yun* 'to hear', *ḍẽ:shun* 'to see'; verbs of belief and knowledge *ba:sun, lagun* 'to feel, to believe', *za:nun* 'to know', *tagun* 'to know how'; and verbs of desire such as *yatshun* 'to want' and a few others. (See Kachru 1973: 75, 336.)

(7a) shi:l-as   ləj   bɔchi.
     Sheila-dat struck   hunger
     'Sheila was hungry.'

(7b) təmis cha nɨ   pharakh   bo:znɨ   yiva:n.
     he-dat is not   difference see-inf-abl come-prp
     'He is not able to see the difference.'

2.1.1.2.3 Subjects of copular construction

The subject of a copular construction is generally in the nominative. It is marked dative when it expresses ownership or generic sense, as noted in (1.2.1.1.6).

2.1.1.2.4 Direct objects

In Kashmiri, the case of the direct object is controlled by a number of complex contextual factors such as animacy, aspect, and person hierarchy. The inanimate direct object, for example, is always marked nominative/absolutive in all tenses and aspects. The case-marking of the animate direct object cannot be so easily stated. In nonperfective tenses/aspects, the animate object is unmarked (i.e., marked with a nominative case) just in case the subject is in a higher person, as exemplified in (8a-c). In the reversal or absence of person hierarchy, the direct object is marked dative, as shown in (9a-c and 10a). (See Hook and Koul 1987, and Wali and Koul 1994, for details.) In the perfective, the direct object is not sensitive to the person hierarchy. It is marked nominative/absolutive, as shown in (11a). Note that both nominative and absolutive are unmarked cases. It is customary to assign nominative to subjects and absolutive to the unmarked objects in ergative constructions. Our usage of nominative and absolutive follows this tradition. We are using nominative for the unmarked nonperfective objects.

2.1.1.2.4.1 Nonperfective tenses

(8) Nominative objects conditioned by the person hierarchy

(8a) bɨ   chu-s-a-th   tsɨ   parɨna:va:n.   (I › II)
I-nom   am 1sgps-2sgps   you-nom teaching
'I am teaching you.'

(8b) tsɨ   chi-h-an   su   parɨna:va:n.   (II › III)
you   are-2sgps-3sgps   he-nom   teaching
'You are teaching him.'

(8c) bɨ   vuch-an   su. (I › III)
I-nom   see-1sg-3sgps he-nom
'I will see him.'

(9) Dative direct objects conditioned by the reverse person hierarchy

(9a) tsɨ   chu-kh   me   parɨna:va:n.   (II › I)
you   are-2sg me-dat   teaching
'You are teaching me.'

(9b) su   chu-y   tse   parɨna:va:n.   (III › II)
he   is-2sgps you-dat   teaching
'He is teaching you.'

(9c) tsɨ   vuch-a-kh   me.   (II › I)
     you-nom   see-2sg-ps   me-dat
     'You will see me.'

(10) Dative direct objects in the absence of person hierarchy

(10a) su   vuch-i   təmis.   (III › III)
      he   see-3sg   he-dat
      'He will see him.'

2.1.1.2.4.2 Perfective tenses

(11) Absolutive objects

(11a) tse   vuch u - th   as   bɨ.
      you-erg   saw- msg--2sgps-1sg   me-abs
      'You saw me.'

It should also be noted here that the theme object in a psyche-verb construction is also marked nominative/absolutive.

(12a) me   cha yi   kita:b   pasand.
      me-dat   is this   book   like
      'I like this book.'

(12b) tse   chu-s-ay   bɨ   asɨl   laga:n.
      you-dat   be-1sg-2sgps   I-nom   good   feel
      'You like me.'

2.1.1.2.5 Indirect objects

The indirect object is obligatorily marked dative. It is usually an animate being, but inanimate indirect objects are also found, as shown in (13b).

(13a) aslaman   su:z mohnas   ciṭh'.
      Aslam-erg   send Mohan-dat   letter
      'Aslam sent a letter to Mohan.'

(13b) bɨ   chus sin-is   nu:n vucha:n.
      I   am   curry-dat   salt see-prp.
      'I am testing the salt in the curry.'   (Hook and Koul 1984: 100)

2.1.1.2.6 Objects of comparison

The object of comparison receives the genitive/possessive-marking. The genitive is further marked ablative in the presence of the comparative postposition *khɔtɨ*

'from/than'. The genitive is marked dative if the comparative phrase *muka:balas manz* is used (see 1.8).

(14a) —aslam-n-i   khɔtɨ   te:z—
       Aslam-gen-abl   than   fast
       '—faster than Aslam—'

(14b) —aslam-ni-s   muka:balas   manz—
       Aslam-gen-dat   comparison-dat   in
       '—in comparison with Aslam—'

2.1.1.2.7 Objects of equation

The object of equation is marked dative when followed by the postposition *h'uv* 'like'. The object is marked genitive if the equality is expressed by the postposition *pe:ţh'* 'like' (see 1.9).

(15a) —səli:m-as   h'uv   zə:v'ul—
       Salim-dat   like   slim
       '—slim like Salim—'

(15b) —beni   hɨnd'   pə:ţh'   khu:bsu:rath—
       sister-gen   like   beautiful
       '—as beautiful as her sister—'

2.1.1.2.8 Other objects

Certain verbs are categorized to take objects that require a postposition. For example, verbs such as *laḍun* 'to quarrel', *kath karɨn'* 'to talk', select a comitative object, while verbs like *yintiza:r karun* 'to wait', *yintiza:m karun* 'to make arrangements', select a genitive object.

(16a) me   kər təmis sɨ:th'   laḍə:y.
       I-erg did he-dat with   quarrel
       'I quarreled with him.'

(16b) təm'   kər me   sɨ:th'   kath.
       he-erg did me-dat   with   talk
       'He talked with me.'

(17a) me   kor təm'sund   yintiza:r.
       I-erg   did he-dat-gen wait
       'I waited for him.'

(17b) me   kor ro:zn-uk   yintiza:m.
       I-erg   did stay-gen   arrangement
       'I made arrangements for staying.'

2.1.1.2.9 Complements of copular constructions

All complements of copular predicates are marked nominative.

(18a) su   chu   insa:n. /vɔsta:d.
      he   is   man-nom/teacher-nom
      'He is a man/teacher.'

(18b) su   ban'o:v   vəzi:r.
      he   became   minister-nom
      'He became a minister.'

2.1.1.2.10 Subject complement

(19a) bɨ   a:s   ba:dsha:h   bana:vɨnɨ.
      I-nom was   king   made
      'I was made a king.'

2.1.1.2.11 Object complement

(20a) lu:kav   bano:v   su   panun rəhnuma:.
      people-erg made   him-nom   selfs' leader-nom
      'People made him their leader.'

(20b) su   bana:vi   me panun sektri:.
      he   make-fut   me self's secretary
      'He will make me his secretary.'

2.1.1.2.12 Objects governed by adjectives

A number of predicate adjectives require their objects to take postpositions.

(21a) su   chu   mohn-as   peth/sɨ:th'   khɔsh.
      he   is   Mohan-dat   on/with   happy
      'He is happy with Mohan.'

(21b) mohnɨ   chu   panɨni   beni   nishi   alag.
      Mohan is   self's-dat sister from-abl different
      'Mohan is different from his sister.'

2.1.1.2.13 Agents in regular and capability passive constructions

The agent in both the regular and the capability passive may be overt or null. The overt agent in both passives is put in the genitive case followed by the postposition *zəriyɨ* 'by'.

(22a) kita:b   a:yi nɨ   par-nɨ.
book-nom pass not   read-abl
'The book was not read.'
'The book could not be read.'

(22b) aslamni   zəriyɨ a:yi yi   kə:m   kar-nɨ.
Aslam-gen by   pass   this work   do-abl
'This work was done by Aslam.'

(22c) aslamni   zəriyɨ a:v nɨ   to:r   gatshnɨ.
Aslam-gen by   pass not   there going
'Aslam was unable to go there.'

Note that the agent of the capability passive may also occur in the dative case.

(22d) aslamas   chu nɨ   sɔ̃n:gnɨ   yiva:n.
Aslam-dat is   not   sleep-inf   pass
'Aslam is not able to sleep.'

(22e) me   yiyi   nɨ   cith' le:khnɨ angri:ziy-as manz. (Kachru 1973: 353)
I-dat passive not   letter write   English-dat in.
'I will not be able to write the letter in English.'

2.1.1.2.14 Topic

Kashmiri does not inflect the topic element in any special way (see 1.12, also 1.14).

2.1.1.2.15 Emphasized elements

Emphasized elements are marked by stress, particle, movement, dislocation, and repetition (see for details 1.11).

2.1.1.3 Syntactic functions in relation to nonfinite and nominalized verb forms

In a nonfinite clause, the embedded subject is deleted in the context of what is known as control verbs. In the nominalized construction, the subject is marked genitive/possessive. The remaining constituents in both constructions are realized in the same way as in the root clause (see 1.1.2.2.6).

(23a) təm'   kor   va:dɨ   ne:rnuk
he-erg made   promise leave-inf-gen
'He promised to leave.'

(23b) bɨ   chu-s-an   yatsha:n [sɔ   vɨch-in']
I-abs aux-1sg-3sgps   wanting her-abs see- 3fsg
'I want to see her.'

(23c) me   von   tas   [pathar bih-un].
      I-erg   told him   down   sit-inf
      'I told him to sit down.'

(23d) təm'   kər   sɔ   nisha:t ba:g   gatshnɨ khə:trɨ majbu:r.
      he-erg made her   Nishat   garden   go-inf   for   force
      'He forced her to go to Nishat garden.'

(23e) mohnɨn'   yi   philim   vuchɨn'   chu   mumkin.
      Mohan-gen this   film   seeing   be   possible
      'Mohan's seeing this film is possible.'

2.1.1.4 Nonlocal semantic functions

Nonlocal semantic functions may be expressed simply by the dative case, or by
a combination of postposition and some appropriate case such as ablative,
dative, or genitive. A few of these postpositions at times convey two or more
shades of meaning. Most negative nonlocal functions use the postpositions
varə:y, bagə:r 'without'.

2.1.1.4.1 Benefactive

The benefactive sense is expressed by the dative case alone, or by the
postposition *k'uth /k'ut* 'for the sake of', which inflects for the number and
gender of the governing noun, as exemplified in (1). The benefactor itself is
marked dative.

(1) | Masculine | | Feminine | |
    |---|---|---|---|
    | *Singular* | *Plural* | *Singular* | *Plural* |
    | k'uth | kith' | kitsh | kitshɨ |

(1a) Benefactor + dative + k'ut + head

(1b) aslaman   ən'   səli:m-as   (kitsh)   kəmi:z.
     Aslam-erg brought-fsg Salim-dat (for-fsg) shirt-fsg
     'Aslam brought a shirt for Salim.'

(1c) aslam-an   ani   səli:mas   (kitshɨ) kəmi:zɨ.
     Aslam-erg brought-fpl Salim-dat (for-fpl) shirts-fpl
     'Aslam brought shirts for Salim.'

Benefactive is also indicated by the postpositions *khə:trɨ, ba:pat* 'for' in
combination with the infinitive of purpose. These postpositions mark the
benefactor with the genitive followed by the ablative case instead of the dative.
The postpositions do not inflect for the governing noun.

(2a) aslam-an   on   akhba:r   səli:m-n-i   khə:trɨ.
     Aslam-erg   brought-msg   newspaper-msg   Salim-gen-abl   for
     'Aslam brought a newspaper for Salim.'

(2b) aslam   a:v   səli:m-n-i   ba:path   yo:r.
     Aslam   came   Salim-gen-abl   for   here
     'Aslam came here for the sake of Salim.'

(2c) bɨ   go:s to:r ca:ni   khə:trɨ/ba:path.
     I-nom   went there you-gen-abl   for
     'I went there for your sake/benefit.'

2.1.1.4.2 Source

Source is primarily expressed with the postposition *peṭhɨ* 'from' or *nishi* 'from near'. The postposition *peṭhɨ* is also used to express a locative source.

(3a) yi   khabar   mi:j   kəshi:r-i   peṭhɨ.
     this   news   got   Kashmir-abl   from
     '(We) got this news from Kashmir./This news came from Kashmir.'

(3b) me   bu:z   yi   mi:ra:yi   nish-i.
     I-erg   heard   this   Mira-dat   from-abl
     'I heard this from Mira.'

The locative or temporal source may also be marked by the genitive postposition *UK*, which changes with gender and number.

(3c) Masculine   Feminine
     Singular   *Plural*   *Singular*   *Plural*
     uk   ɨk'   ɨc   ɨci

(3d) yi   kurtɨ   chu   lakhnav-uk.
     this   shirt-msg   is   Lucknow-gen-msg
     'This shirt is from Lucknow.'

(3e) yi   dɔd   chu   ra:t-uk.
     this   milk is   yesterday-of
     'This milk is from yesterday.'

The locative source is also marked by the suffix *i/ur*, as in *lakhnavi: kurtɨ* 'shirt from Lucknow', *kə:shu:r kɔg* 'saffron from Kashmir', forming an adjectival category.

(3f) yi   cha   kə:sh-ir   tsa:dar.
     this   is   Kashmiri-of-fsg blanket-fsg
     'This is a Kashmiri blanket.'

2.1.1.4.3 Instrumental

Postpositions *sɨ:th'/sɨ:ten* 'with' and *zəriyi* 'by' are used to indicate the instrumental source. The modifier is assigned the ablative marker *ɨ/i* (masculine/feminine).

(4a) me   tsoṭ   tsɑ̈:th   shra:p-ci   sɨ:th'.
      I-erg cut   apple   knife-abl-fsg   with
      'I cut the apple with a knife.'

(4b) me   l'u:kh   bo:ḍas   peṭh ca:kɨ   sɨ:th'/sɨ:ten.
      I-erg wrote   board-dat on   chalk-abl-msg   with
      'I wrote on the board with a piece of chalk.'

(4c) me   su:z shech   ta:ri-hɨndi-   zəriyi.
      I-erg sent message   telegram-dat-gen   by
      'I sent the message by means of a telegram.'

(4d) me   su:z shech   aslam-n-i   zəriyi/aslam-as   athi.
      I-erg sent message   Aslam-gen-dat   through/Aslam-dat   through
      'I sent the message through Aslam.'

The sense of 'without' is expressed by *bagə:r* or *varə:y*. These postpositions mark their complement with ablative.

(5a) me   phuṭro:v   ḍu:n   kan-i   bagə:r.
      I-erg broke-msg   walnut stone-abl   without
      'I broke a walnut without using a stone.'

(5b) təm'   pər   ci:ṭh'   ə:nkɨ   varə:y.
      he-erg read   letter   glasses-abl   without
      'He read the letter without using glasses.'

2.1.1.4.4 Comitative

Comitative is also expressed by means of *sɨ:th'*, *sɨ:ten* 'with'. Its negative counterpart employs *bagə:r/varə:y* 'without', as is the case with the instrumental source. The complement of the comitative is marked dative.

(6a) bɨ   go:s aslamas   sɨ:th'/sɨ:ten   cakras.
      I   went Aslam-dat   with   walk-dat
      'I went for a walk with Aslam.'

(6c) bɨ   go:s   aslamas   varə:y/bagə:r   ga:m.
      I   went   Aslam-dat   without   village
      'I went to the village without Aslam.'

2.1.1.4.5 Circumstance

Circumstance is expressed by the postposition *kin'*.

(7a) sehtɨ   kin' chu su   kamzo:r.
     health   by is he   weak
     'He is weak in health.'

(7b) sɔba:vɨ   kin' cha sɔ   narɨm.
     temperament by is she   gentle
     'She is gentle by temperament.'

2.1.1.4.6 Possession

2.1.1.4.6.1 Possessor/possessed relation

Possessive (i.e., genitive) suffixes have a dual relationship, linking with both the possessor and the possessed/head noun. First, they divide into three distinct types according to the category of the possessor. Type I suffixes are used only for proper nouns. Type II suffixes are used for inanimate singular possessor nouns just in case they end in a consonant. Type III suffixes are used for all common nouns except those listed in Type II. Type III are found with proper nouns also. The possessor is marked dative when Type III suffixes are used. The possessor is marked ablative when Type I and II suffixes are used.

(8a)

Type	Possessor	Case marker	Suffix
I	Proper nouns	Ablative	UN
II	Singular inanimates *(consonantal stem-ending)*	Ablative	UK
III	All other common nouns *(including all plural forms)*	Dative	HUND

The case markers vary according to the gender and number of the possessor, as follows:

(8b)

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Dative	as/is	an	i	an
Ablative	i/ɨ	av	i	av

The distinction dative/ablative is used in Grierson (1919). Note that the ablative case form is used only with proper nouns and inanimate singular nouns (i.e., Type I and II forms). Thus, only the singular ablative form *i/ɨ* comes into play. Clearly, this form could be listed as a suppletive form of the dative singular *as/is*. Bhat (1987) combines dative and ablative markers into a single case-marking system—*ɨ/C'* (msg), *i* (fsg), *an* (pl). A problem with Bhat's

system is he has to posit a separate rule for HUND/SUND alternatives found in the masculine singular common nouns. This rule is predictable if the case suffixes are listed as dative forms (e.g., ləḍk + as + hund › ləḍksund). Grierson supports his distinct ablative form on the basis of adjectival inflection. The adjectives that precede the SUND form show a dative form, and those preceding the ablative case form show an ablative form (e.g., *baḍ-is* (msg dat) + *ləḍkɨsund* 'of the big boy', but *baḍi* (msg-abl) *kar'uk* 'of the big bracelet'). These adjustments can be accommodated with the suppletive form also. The adjective copies the possessive suffix.

The suffixes themselves further decline according to the gender and the number of the possessed/head noun. They are also marked for the cases of the possessed noun/head

(8c)

Type	Possessor suffix	Possessed noun/head noun			
		Masculine		*Feminine*	
		Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	UN	un	ɨn'	ɨn'	ɨni
II	UK	uk	ɨk'	ic /ɨc	ici/ɨci
III	H/SUND	hund	hɨnd'	hɨnz	hɨnzɨ

(Note that *HUND* changes to *SUND* when the possessor noun has the dative masculine singular suffix *-as/is*.)

The major nesting relations of the possessive phrase are shown in (8d).

(8d) (Possessor + dat/abl + genitive suffix) possessed noun
    (GN)$_i$ + (GN)$_i$ + (GN + case)$_j$ (GN + case)$_j$
    (G = gender, N = number)

The possessed noun, unlike the possesor, is not marked in any special way. Secondly, the gender-number and case features of the possessed noun percolate to the possessive suffix, but the morphological form of the possessive itself is controlled by the category of the possessor. Notice that the gender-number features of the possessor show up on the dative case marker (see 2.1.1.1 (1)).

(9) Type I: Proper nouns

(9a) mohn-un   bo:y.
     Mohan-abl-gen-msg   brother-msg
     'Mohan's brother.'

(9b) mohn-ɨn'   beni.
     Mohan-abl-gen-fsg   sister-fsg
     'Mohan's sister.'

(9c) shi:l-ɨn' beni.
'Sheila's sisters.'

(9d) sarla:yi hɨnzi   beni.
Sarla-dat-gen-dat sister-dat
'To Sarla's sister/to the sister of Sarla.'

(10) Type II: Inanimates ending in a consonant

(10a) duka:n-uk   mə:likh.
shop-abl-of-msg owner-msg
'The owner of the shop.'

(10b) duka:n- ɪc   də:r.
shop-abl-gen-fsg window-fsg
'The window of the shop.'

(10c) duka:nɪci   da:ri.
shop-gen-dat window-dat
'To the window of the shop.'

(11) Type III: (All others)

(11a) lədk+ ɪ+   hund   kalam › lədkɨ-sund   kalam
boy-dat   gen-msg   pen-msg   boy-dat-gen   pen
'Boy's pen'

(11b) ko:r-i   hɨnz   kita:b.
girl-dat gen-fsg book-fsg.
'Girl's book.'

(11c) ko:r-i   hɨnzɨ   kita:bɨ.
girl-dat gen-fpl book-fpl
'Girl's books.'

(11d) lədk-an   /ko:r-en-   hɨnd'   ma:ʂtar.
boys-dat-pl/girl-dat-pl gen-mpl   teachers
'The teachers of the boys/girls.'

(11e) lədk-ɨ   sɨndis   mə:l-is.
boy-dat gen-msg-dat   father-msg-dat
'To the father of the boy.'

(11f) lədk-an   hɨnd'-an   ma:l'-an.
boys-dat   gen-mpl-dat-pl   father-dat-pl
'To the fathers of the boys.'

2.1.1.4.7 The genitive-marking is used for both alienable and inalienable possession. The alienable possession is also expressed by the postposition *nishi* 'from, near' or *athi* 'with', as noted above in (1.10).

2.1.1.4.8 Quality

Quality is expressed by the adjective itself, which may be simple or derived (see 2.2.3).

   (12a) —shaki:l   ku:r—
            beautiful   girl
            '—a beautiful girl—'

   (12b) —haya:h-da:r   yinsa:n—
            shame-with   person
            '—a bashful person—'

   (12c) —bad-   shaki:l   ku:r—
            neg   beautiful   girl
            '—an ugly girl—'

   (12d) —be-haya:h   yinsa:n—
            neg-shame   person
            '—a shameless person—'

Reference quality is indicated by various forms of genitive postposition with the usual gender-number variations noted earlier in (8a) and (8c) in the possesive section.

   (13a) —zana:ni   hund   sabɨr—
            woman-dat   gen-msg   patience-msg
            '—the patience of the woman—'

   (13b) —yinsa:nɨ sɨnd'   osu:l—
            human   bing-abl-gen   principles
            '—principles of human beings—'

   (13c) —po:sh-uk   mɨshuk—
            flower-gen   fragrance
            '—fragrance of the flower—'

2.1.1.4.9 Quantity

The structure of the quantitative phrase is: numeral + unit of measure + classifier (terms of weight, length). The unit of measure is optionally marked with a genitive postposition, as in (14b), or the suffix *vo:l*, as in (14c).

(14a) —zɨ   hath   gaz   zi:ṭh   raz—
       two   hundred   yards   long   rope
    '—two hundred yards long rope—'

(14b) —dɔ-n   hat-an   gaz-an   hɨnz   zi:ṭh   raz—
       two-dat hundred-dat yard-dat   gen-fsg   long   rope-fsg
    '—two hundred yards long rope—'

(14c) —dɔ-n   hat-an   gaz-an   va:jin'   zi:ṭh raz—
       two-dat hundred-dat yard-dat   vo:l-fsg   long   rope-fsg
    '—two hundred yards long rope—'

2.1.1.4.10 Material

Material is expressed by the genitive postposition. The past participle form of *banun* 'to be made' may also be used as an optional element after the postposition. Negative material is commonly expressed by *varə:y/ bagə:r*.

(15a) hu   darva:zɨ   chu   ləkr-i   hund   (ban'o:mut).
       that   door-msg   is   wood-dat   gen   (made-ppl-msg)
    'That door is made of wood.'

(16) Attributive use of the suffix *da:r*

(16a) yi   cha   seki-da:r   zəmi:n.
       this   is   sand-like   land
    'This is a sandy land.'

(17) Negative material

(17a) yi   sabzi: cha   nu:nɨ   varə:y/bagə:r   bane:mɨts.
       this   vegetable is   salt   without   made-ppl-fsg
    'This vegetable is made without salt.'

2.1.1.4.11 Manner

Manner is expressed by the postposition *pə:ṭh'* 'manner' added to the genitive form of the noun or by the comitative postpostion *sa:n*.

(18) The postposition *pə:ṭh'*

(18a) sɔ   cha   natsa:n   põ:prɨ   sɨnd'   pə:ṭh'.
       she   is   dance   butterfly-gen like
    'She dances like a butterfly.'

(18b) su   chu   gur'sɨnd'   pə:ṭh'   vɔtɨ   tul-a:n.
      he   is   horse-gen   like   jump   lift-prp
      'He jumps like a horse.'

(19) Comitative postposition *sa:n*

(19a) m'o:n   do:s   chu   a:ra:m   sa:n   kə:m   kara:n.
      my-msg   friend   is   leisure   with   work   do-prp
      'My friend works leisurely.'

(19b) sabrɨ   sa:n   kəriv   kə:m.
      patience with   do-imp-2p   work
      'Please work with patience.'

Negative manner is expressed either by the negative particles *varə:y/bagə:r* 'without' or by adding the negative marker *nay* to the verb. The negative prefix *be* generates negative adjectives.

(20a) asnɨ   varə:y/bagə:r   von   nəsi:m-an.
      laugh   without   said   Nasim-erg
      'Nasim said without laughing.'

(20b) nəsi:mɨ   cha   bedil   kə:m   kara:n.
      Nasim-nom   is   without-interest   work   doing
      'Nasim works without interest.'

2.1.1.4.12 Cause

Cause is expressed in one of the two ways: (i) by means of the postposition *sɨ:th'/sɨ:ten* 'with' or (ii) by the postpositional phrase *vaja:h kin'* 'for the reason of'. Both postpositions require the complement noun to be in the genitive. Note that the suffix *tarphɨ* 'side' may also be used in a causal sense, as in (21c). The result is expressed by the phrasal expression *amikin'/ami sɨ:ten.*

(21a) bunili   sɨ:th'/sɨ:ten   pev   maka:n.
      earthquake-abl   with   fell-msg   house
      'The house fell down because of the earthquake.'

(21b) təm'sɨndi   vaja:h   kin'   pev   me   ga:tɨ.
      he-gen-abl   reason   for   fell   I-dat   loss
      'I had to undergo loss because of him.'

(21c) təm'sɨndi   tarphɨ   m'u:l   nɨ   me   sɔkh   zã:h.
      he-gen-abl   side   got-msg   neg   me-dat   comfort   never
      'I never got comfort on his account.'

(21d) shi:n   pev.   amikin'/ami sɨ:ten   gav   phaslas   nɔkhsa:n.
      snow   fell.   As a result/therefore happen crop-dat damage
      'It snowed. As a result the crops were damaged.'

2.1.1.4.13 Purpose

Purpose is expressed by the posposition *khə:trɨ* and *ba:path* 'for'.

(22a) su   gav   duka:nas   peth   ca:ni   khə:trɨ/ba:path.
      he   went   store-dat   at   you-gen   for/for
      'He went to the store for you.'

2.1.1.4.14 Function

Function is expressed by the postposition *pə:ṭh'* 'like'. The modifier is genitively marked.

(23a) su   chu   chətɨr'   lo:ri   hɨnd'   pə:ṭh'   yistima:l   kara:n.
      he   is   umbrella stick-dat-gen-dat   like   use   do-prp
      'He uses an umbrella like a stick.'

2.1.1.4.15 Reference

Postpositional expressions, such as *mutlakh, ba:path* 'about', are employed to express reference. Note that the generic refererence expressed by nominals such as *sava:l/ma:mlɨ/mo:zu:* 'question/subject/topic' employ the postposition *peṭh*. The complement in all these cases is marked dative.

(24a) təm'   von   me panɨn-en   shur-en   mutlakh.
      he-erg told   me self's   children-dat   about
      'He told me about his children.'

(24b) tɔhi   pazi   ami   ba:path   ku:shish   karɨn'.
      you-erg should   this-dat   for   effort   do-inf-fsg
      'You should make efforts in this regard.'

(24c) su   heki   yath   sava:l-as/ma:ml-as/mo:zu:-h-as
      he   can-fut   this-dat   question-dat/subject-dat/topic-dat
           peṭh   panɨn'   ra:y   və:ni-th.
           on   self's   opinion   say-cp
      'He can express his opinion on this question/subject/topic.'

2.1.1.4.16 Essive

There is no postpositional equivalent of essive as such. The essive is indirectly expressed by expressions such as *shakli manz/ru:pas manz* 'in the form of'.

(25a) ra:zɨ dra:v pheki:rɨ sɨnzi   shakli   manz
      king set   out   beggar-abl-gen form-dat in
          lu:kan-hund   ha:l   za:nɨni.
          people-dat-gen   condition   know-inf-abl
      'The king went out in the disguise of a beggar to find out the condition
      of the people.'

2.1.1.4.17 Translative

There is no formal translative/factive postposition.

2.1.1.4.18 Part-whole

Part-whole relations are expressed by the genitive postposition with the usual
possessive construction.

(26a) yi   cha   yemi   kulic   lənd.
      it   is-fsg this-abl   tree-gen-fsg   branch-fsg
      'It is the branch of this tree.'

(26b) yi   chu   taphti:sh-uk   gɔdɨn'uk   hisɨ.
      this is   investigation-gen-msg   first-gen-msg   part
      'This is the first part of the investigation.'

2.1.1.4.19 Partitive

There is no formal postposition denoting partitive case as such. Reference to a
part of a group may be indirectly expressed by means of the postposition *manzɨ*
'from/amongst' attached to the group nominal, as in (27c).

(27a) təm'sɨnzɨ   zɨ   ko:ri   cha   no:kri: kara:n.
      he-gen-fsg two   daughters   are   job   do-prp
      'His two/two of his daughters are working.'

(27b) me:n'   kĕh   sha:girɨd   chi   dili   ro:za:n.
      my-pl   some   students   are   Delhi-abl   live-prp
      'Some of my students live in Delhi.'

(27c) təm'sɨndev   sha:gird-av   manzɨ chi tso:r kəshi:ri.
      he-gen-pl-abl   students-abl from   are four   Kashmir-abl
      'Amongst his students, four are in Kashmir.'

2.1.1.4.19.1–2 Partitive and nonpartitive negative quantifiers

There are no special partitive or nonpartitive negative quantifiers. The quantifiers
are negated by the sentence negator *nɨ.*

(28a) kã:h   shur   gav nɨ   garɨ   va:pas.
      some   child   went neg home   return
      'No child/none of the children returned home.'

2.1.1.4.20 Price

The dative/locative postposition is generally used to express the price of an item.

(29a) me   hets   yi   kita:b vuh-an   rɔpɨy-an.
      I-erg bought-fsg this book   twenty-dat rupees-dat
      'I bought this book for twenty rupees.'

2.1.1.4.21 Value

The value of an item is expressed by the genitive postposition or by the possessive phrase X's *kɨ:math* 'the price of X'.

(30a) yi   kəmi:z cha   she:th-an rɔpɨy-an   hɨnz.
      this shirt   is   sixty-dat   rupees-dat gen
      'This shirt is of sixty rupees.'

(30b) yemi   kəmi:zi   hund   kɨ:math chu she:th   rɔpɨyi.
      this-dat shirt-dat   gen   price   is   sixty   rupees
      'The price/value of this shirt is sixty rupees.'

2.1.1.4.22 Distance

The word for distance is *du:r*. It is optionally attached to the nominal expressing distance.

(31a) siri:nəgɨr chu   tsatji: mi:l   (du:r)   yeti   peṭhɨ.
      Srinagar   is   forty   miles   (distance) here-abl from
      'Srinagar is forty miles away from here.'

(31b) bɨ   pokus   she   mi:l   (du:r)   paydal.
      I   walked six   miles   (distance) foot-on
      'I walked six miles on foot.'

2.1.1.4.23 Extent

Extent is expressed by words for extent followed by adjectives such as *z'u:ṭh* 'tall/long', *khulɨ* 'wide', *thod* 'high', *bɔn* 'low', *son* 'deep'.

(32a) —she   phuṭ   zu':ṭh yinsa:n—
      '—six   feet   tall   person—'

(32b) —vuh   mi:tar   khulɨ dəriya:v—
      '—twenty meter   wide   river—'

(32c) —dəh   gaz   thod de:va:r—
       '—ten   yard   high wall—'

The adjectives can be optionally dropped, leaving the extent words as sole representative of the concept.

(32d) —shu   phuṭ   yinsa:n—
       six-adj   feet-adj-msg person
       '—a six feet person—'

2.1.1.4.24 Concessive

Concessive is expressed by the postpositional phrase *ba:vaju:d ti* 'despite also'.

(33a) shi:n   penɨ ba:vaju:d ti   a:v   su.
      snow   fall   inspite   also came   he
      'He came inspite of the snowfall.'

2.1.1.4.25 Inclusion

There are two ways to indicate inclusion: (i) by the postposition *sa:n* 'including'; (ii) by the absolutive form of the verb *rala:vun* 'to mix/include'.

(34a) tim gəyi   sə:ri: tɔhi   sa:n   sa:las.
      they came   all   you-abl including feast-dat
      'They all went to the feast including you.'

(34b) əs' chi dəh naphar tɔhi   sa:n/ralə:vith.
      we   are ten persons you-dat   with/include-cp
      'We are ten persons including you.'

2.1.1.4.26 Exclusion

Exclusion is expressed by the negative postpositions *bagə:r/varə:y* 'without'.

(35a) aslamas   bagə:r/varə:y   a:yi   sə:ri: vakhtas   peṭh.
      Aslam-dat without   came   all   time-dat on
      'All came on time excluding/except Aslam.'

2.1.1.4.27 Addition

Addition is expressed by the comitative *sɨ:th'* 'with/along with', by the postposition *ala:vɨ* 'in addition to', or by means of the inclusive particle *ti* 'also'. The comitative is reduplicated to enhance the force of addition.

(36a) mohnas   sɨ:th' sɨ:th' /ala:vɨ   a:yi   zɨ   ko:ri beyi ti.
      Mohan-dat with   with   /besides came   two girls more also
      'In addition to Mohan, two more girls came.'

2.1.1.4.28 Vocative

Vocative is expressed by optionally employing the vocative/interjective particles that precede the noun they address, as in (37c). The noun itself is inflected for the vocative case markers agreeing with the noun in gender and number, as in (37b):

(37a)

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
haya:	hayo:	haye:	haye:
hata:	hato:	hatay	hatay
hayo:	hayo:	həːy	həːy

(37b) Inflections for the addressee

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
aː	-av	-iy	-av

(37c) Examples of the vocative forms

Nominative	*Vocative*
ləḍkɨ 'boy'	haya: ləḍkaː
ləḍkɨ 'boys'	hayo: ləḍkav
kuːr 'girl'	haye: kuːriy
koːṛi 'girls'	haye: koːṛev

2.1.1.4.29 Citation

The citation form usually occurs in the nominative singular for nouns and in the stem/infinitive form for verbs.

2.1.1.4.30 Label forms

In Kashmir, label forms for shops are usually not put in Kashmiri. They are mostly in Urdu or English.

(38a) yeti   chi phal   meːlaːn.
here-abl are fruits available-prp
'Fruits are sold/available here.'

(38b) miːrun   vaːn.
Mir-gen-msg   shop
'Mir's shop.'

2.1.1.5 *Location in space*

Locative functions may be expressed by case suffixes. However, in general, they are expressed by various postpositions. Most of these postpositions assign either dative or ablative case to their complements, as exemplified below in their respective sections. (See also 1.2.4.)

2.1.1.5.1 General location

Constructions expressing general location are as follows:

(1) At rest: [...location + dat....]

(1a) su   chu   so:po:r-ɨ   ro:za:n.
     he   is   Sopore-dat   live-prp
     'He lives in Sopore.'

(1b) kita:b   cha   m'a:ni   gari.
     book   is   my-abl   house
     'The book is at my house.'

(2) Motion to: [...location + nom/dat/*kun*...]

(2a) su   gav   gulmarag.
     he   went   Gulmarg-nom
     'He went to Gulmarg.'

(2b) toh'   chiva: kəshi:r-i   gə:mit'?
     you   be-2ps -Q   Kashmir-dat   gone
     'Have you gone to Kashmir?'

(2c) su   dra:v   ga:mas   kun.
     he   set out   village-dat   towards
     'He set out towards the village.'

(3) Motion from: [...location + abl + *pethɨ*...]

(3a) bɨ   a:s   dili   pethɨ.
     I   came   Delhi-abl   from
     'I came from Delhi.'

(4) Motion through: [...location + abl + *mənz'*...]

(4a) bas   cha   ga:mɨ   mənz'   gatsha:n.
     bus   is   village-abl   through   go-prp
     'The bus goes through the village.'

(5) Motion up to: [...location + *ta:m*...]

(5a) bɨ gatshɨ ba:zar ta:m.
     I   go-fut market up to
     'I will go up to the market.'

2.1.1.5.2 Proximate location

Postpositions used to express proximate location are *nəzdi:kh* /*kəri:b*/*nishi* 'near' and *manzɨ* 'from within'.

(6) At rest: [...location + dat + *nəzdi:kh* /*kəri:b*/*nishi*...]

(6a) maka:nas   nəzdi:kh chu duka:n.
     house-dat   near   is   shop
     'The shop is near the house.'

(6b) sɔ ə:s   me   nishi bihith.
     she was   me-dat near   sit-cp
     'She was sitting near me.'

(7) Near up to: [....location + dat + nəzdi:kh + ta:m...]

(7a) su vo:t   daphtaras nəzdi:kh ta:m.
     he reached   office-dat near   up to
     'He reached up to near the office.'

(8) From within: [...loc + abl + manzɨ...]

(8a) a:va:z a:yi   garɨ   manzɨ.
     voice came   house-abl from-within
     'The voice came from within the house.'

(8b) ku:r a:yi nəzdi:kɨki   ga:mɨ   manzɨ   tsəlith.
     girl came nearby-gen-abl village-abl within-abl run-cp
     'The girl came running away from nearby village.'

2.1.1.5.3 Interior location

Postpositions used to express interior location are *andar/manz* 'inside of' and *əndrɨ* 'from inside'.

(9) Inside: [...loc-dat + *andar/manz*...]

(9a) yath   maka:nas   andar/manz chu   nɨ   kã:h   ro:za:n.
     this-dat house-dat   inside   is   not anyone   live-prp
     'No one lives inside this house.'

(9b) ja:nvar   gav   ə:lis   manz   vuph   tulith.
     bird   went   nest-dat   in   fly   lift-cp
     'The bird flew into the nest.'

(9c) saruph   tsa:v   ṭu:kri   manz.
     snake   crawled basket   in
     'The snake crawled into the basket.'

(10) From inside: [....location-abl + *andrɨ*...]

(10a) shur   dra:v   kamrɨ   əndrɨ.
      child   came out   room-abl   from
      'The child came out of the house.'

(10b) ja:nvar   dra:v   kamrɨ   mənz'   vuph   tulith.
      bird   flew   room-abl-from   within fly   lift-cp
      'The bird flew out through inside the room.'

(10c) ja:nvar   vuph'o:v   kamrɨ   əndrɨ.
      bird   flew-msg   room-abl   from
      'The bird flew out through inside the room.'

2.1.1.5.4 Exterior location

The postposition used to indicate exterior location is *nebar* 'outside'.

(11) Outside: [...location + dat/abl + *nebar*...]

(11a) su   chu   ga:m-as   /ga:m-ɨ   nebar   ro:za:n.
      he   is   village-dat   /village-abl   outside   live-prp
      'He lives outside the village.'

(12) Up to: [...location-dat + *nebar ta:m*...]

(12a) su   dra:v   ga:m-as   nebar   ta:m.
      he   set out   village-dat   outside   up to
      'He came up to the outskirts of the village.'

(13) Away from: [...location + abl + *nebar kin'*...]

(13a) ga:mɨ   nebɨr'   kin'   cha akh saḍakh.
village-abl outside-abl towards is   a   road
'There is a road outside the village.'

2.1.1.5.5 Anterior location

Anterior location is expressed by *brõh kani* 'in front of'.

  (13) In front of: [...location + dat + *brõh kani*..]

  (13a) soku:las   brõh   kani chu akh ba:g.
school-dat in-front of   is   a   garden
'There is a garden in front of the school.'

  (14) From in front of: [...location-dat + *brõh kani peṭhɨ*....]

  (14a) soku:l-as   brõh   kani peṭhɨ cha bas ne:ra:n.
school-dat in-front-in of   from   is   bus start-prp
'A bus starts from in front of the school.'

  (15) Through/past in front of: [...location + abl + *brõh kin'*...]

  (15a) soku:lɨ   brõh   kin' cha akh bas paka:n.
school-abl in front of past is   one bus run-prp
'A bus runs past in front of the school.'

  (16) Up to/in front of: [...location-dat + *brõh kani ta:m*...]

  (16a) soku:las   brõh   kani ta:m cha saḍakh.
school-dat in front of   up to is   road
'There is a road up to in front of the school.'

2.1.1.5.6 Posterior location

Posterior location is indicated by *patɨ kani.*

  (17) Behind/to behind: [...location-dat + *patɨ kani*...]

  (17a) soku:las   patɨ-kani   cha akh duka:n.
school-dat behind   is   a   shop
'There is a shop behind the school.'

  (17b) ku:r do:re:yi darva:zas patɨ kani   ta:m.
girl ran   door-dat behind-abl up to
'The girl ran up to behind the door.'

(18) From behind: [...location + abl/dat + *patɨ kani peṭhɨ*...]

(18a) soku:l-as   patɨ   kani peṭhɨ yot   ta:m   chi   sa:s
      school-dat behind-abl   from   here up to are   thousand
      mi:ṭar.
      meters
      'It is thousand meters from behind the school up to here.'

(18b) soku:las   patɨ kani   ta:m   cha   bas   yiva:n.
      school-dat behind   up to is   bus   come-prp
      'The bus comes up to behind the school.'

(19) Through/past behind

(19a) soku:lɨ   pət'   kin'   cha   bas   paka:n.
      school-abl   behind-abl through-abl is   bus   run-prp
      'A bus runs past behind the school.'

2.1.1.5.7 Superior location

Superior location is indicated by *peṭh', peṭh' kin'* 'above'.

(20) Above/over: [...location + abl + *peṭh'/peṭh' kin'*...]

(20a) maka:nɨ   peṭh'/peṭh'-kin' chi   ja:nvar vupha:n.
      house-abl   on/above   are   birds   fly-prp
      'The birds fly above the house.'

2.1.1.5.8 Superior-contact/Surface location

Postpositions used to express superior-contact/surface position are *peṭh* 'on',
peṭh ta:m 'up to', and *peṭhɨ* 'from off'.

(21) On the surface: [...location + dat + *peṭh*...]

(21a) me:zas   peṭh cha   kita:b.
      table-dat   on   is-fsg   book-fsg
      'The book is on the table.'

(21b) me:zas   peṭh ta:m   chi palav   vəhri-th.
      table-dat   on   up to are clothes spread-cp
      'The clothes are spread up to on the table.'

(21c) su khot   he:ri   h'or ta:m.
      he climbed   staircase   top   up to
      'He climbed the staircase up to the top.'

(21d) me:zɨ   peṭhɨ   alɨma:rɨ   peṭh   ta:m   cha   kita:bɨ.
       table-abl from   cupboard   on   up to are   books
       'The books are spread from the table up to the top of the cupboard.'

2.1.1.5.9–10 Inferior and inferior-contact location

Both inferior and inferior-contact location are indicated by *tal* 'under, below', *talɨ kani* 'from under', *təl' təl* ' 'through/past under' and *tal ta:m* 'up to under'.

(22) Under/under contact: [...location-abl + *tal*...]

(22a) zəmi:ni   tal   chu   po:n'.
       ground-abl under   is   water
       'There is water under the ground.'

(23) From under: [...location + abl + *talɨ*...]

(23a) zəmi:ni   talɨ   dra:v   po:n'.
       ground-abl under-abl came-out   water
       'Water appeared from under the ground.'

(23b) kita:b cha pensalas   tal.
       book   is   pencil-dat   under
       'The book is under the pencil.'

(24) Under through: [...location + abl + *təl' təl'*...]

(24a) zəmi:ni   təl'   təl'   chu   po:n'   paka:n.
       ground-abl under-abl under-abl   is   water   run-prp
       'Water is passing through under the ground.'

(25) Under up to: [...location-dat + *tal ta:m*...]

(25a) zəmi:n-i   tal   ta:m   vo:t   po:n'.
       ground-dat under   up to   reached   water
       'Water reached up to under the ground.'

2.1.1.5.11–12 Lateral location

Lateral and lateral-contact locations are expressed by *sɨ:th'/sɨ:ten* 'in the company of/besides', *sɨ:th' sɨ:th'* 'past beside'.

(26) Beside: [...location + dat + *sɨ:th'/sɨ:ten*...]

(26a) aslam   b'u:ṭh   səli:mas   sɨ:th'/sɨ:ten.
       Aslam   sat   Salim-dat   with
       'Aslam sat besides Salim.'

(26b) mohnɨ dra:v de:va:ras sɨ:th' sɨ:th' nebar.
Mohan set out wall-dat with with outside
'Mohan came out past beside /along the wall.'

2.1.1.5.13–14 Citerior location

Citerior location is expressed by the adverbial *yemi tarphɨ* 'this side' or *yapa:ri* 'this side'.

(27a) təm'sund duka:n chu saḍki yemi tarphɨ.
he-gen-msg shop is road-gen this-gen side
'His house is on this side of the road.'

(27b) kɔli yapa:ri chi shur'.
stream this side-gen are children
'Children are on this side of the stream.'

(28) motion up to

(28a) kɔli-hɨndis yath tarphas ta:m vuchiv.
stream-gen-dat this-dat side-dat up to see-2ps
'Look toward up to this side of the river.'

(28b) shur' kər khɔkɨj me:zkis yath tarphas ta:m.
child did crawl table-gen-dat this side-dat up to
'The child crawled up to this side of the table.'

(29) motion from

(29a) ba:l a:yi mə:da:nɨki yemi tarphɨ peṭhɨ.
ball came yard-gen-dat this-dat side from
'The ball came from this side of the yard.'

2.1.1.5.15–16 Ulterior location

Ulterior location is expressed by the adverbial *apari* 'that side', or *tarphɨ* 'side', preceded by the remote demonstratives *homi /tami* (within/out of sight).

(30a) saḍki homi tarphɨ chu mohnɨ.
road-abl that-abl side is Mohan
'Mohan is on that side of the road.'

(30b) dəriya:vɨ apa:ri cha ra:jɨ.
river-abl other side is Raj
'Raj is on the other side of the road.'

(30c) saḍki   apə:r'um   kul   chu   nɨ   z'u:ṭh.
      road-dat   other-side-of tree   is   not   tall
      'The tree on the other side of the road is not tall.'

2.1.1.5.17–18   Medial location

Medial location is expressed by *manz-as* 'in the middle', *semanzas* 'in the centre', or *darmiya:n* 'middle'. Notice that the postpositions have been inflected for the dative case along with the nouns. The sense of 'between' is expressed by expressions such as *dɔn, tren, sa:rivɨy* 'of the two, of the three, of all'. These expressions are inflected for the dative case.

(31a) m'o:n maka:n chu   ba:zras   manzas/semanzas.
      my   house is   market-dat   middle-dat/centre-dat
      'My house is in the middle/centre of the market.'

(31b) yi   duka:n chu   dɔn   saḍk-an   manz-as.
      this   shop   is   two-dat road-dat middle-dat
      'This shop is between the two roads.'

(31c) ga:mas   darmiya:n cha   akh   məshi:d.
      village-dat middle   is   one   mosque
      'There is a mosque in the middle of the village.'

(31d) ga:mas   manz-as   ta:m   chu   po:n'   va:ta:n.
      village-dat centre-dat up to   is   water   reach-prp
      'Water reaches up to the middle of the village.'

2.1.1.5.19   Circumferential location

Circumferential location is indicated by *ənd' ənd'* 'all around'. The term *tsɔpə:r'* 'lit. four sides' is used in the sense of from all around/from all sides.

(32a) yath   ba:g-as   ənd' ənd'   cha   dɔs.
      this-dat   garden-dat around   is-fsg   wall-fsg
      'There is a wall around this garden.'

(32b) puli:s chu   bank-as   tsɔpə:r' yista:dɨ.
      police is   bank-dat   on all   sides   standing
      'The police are standing on all the sides of the bank.'

2.1.1.5.20   Citerior-anterior location

Citerior-anterior location is expressed by *buthi* 'opposite' and *buthi kin'* 'in the opposite direction'.

(33a) aslam   o:s   tsu:r-as   buthi   vɔdɨni.
      Aslam   was   thief-dat   opposite   standing
      'Aslam was standing facing the thief.'

(33b) sali:m a:v   tsu:ras   buthi   kin'.
      Salim came   thief-dat   opposite   direction
      'Salim came from the opposite direction of the thief.'

2.1.1.5.21–29 Motion past long object (in direction of its length)

There are no special terms for locations in relation to long objects as such.

2.1.1.5.30 Other directional locations

Other directional expressions are: *shuma:l/jonu:b/mashrik/magrib* 'north/south/
east/west; *dəchin' kin'* 'on the right-hand side' and *kho:vɨr' kin'* 'on the left-hand
side'. The idiomatic expression *nasti s'od* 'lit. nose 'straight' is used in the sense
of 'straight ahead'.

(34a) tsɨ   pakh nasti   s'od.
      you   walk nose-dat   straight
      'Walk straight ahead.'

2.1.1.5.31 Locational precision

Locational precision is expressed by adding the emphatic particle *ɨy/ay* to the
locative expression.

(35a) su   ru:d   gar-as   manz-ɨy.
      he   stayed   house-dat   inside-emp
      'He stayed right inside the house.'

(35b) təm'   vən'   me shech   darva:zas   nebr-ay.
      he-erg told-fsg me message   door-dat   outside-emp
      'He conveyed the message to me right outside the door.'

2.1.1.6 Location in time

2.1.1.6.1 General expression

Location in time in general is expressed by employing dative/ablative case-
markings, postpositions, or combination of both. Temporal adverbs are also
pressed into use in place of postpositions.

2.1.1.6.1.1 Time of day

The time of day is indicated by the word *baje:*, borrowed from Hindi *bajna:* 'to sound' (of a bell or clock). Special expressions for quarter, three-quarter, and half-hours precede the numeral expressing the time. The numeral and the qualifiers are optionally suffixed with the dative case.

(1a) vuniken   baje:yi   sath.
     this time   struck   seven
     'It is seven o'clock now.'

(1b) sath   baje:yi   vuniken.
     seven   struck   this time
     'It is seven o'clock now.'

(1c) du:n   /sva:d   /sa:dɨ.
     quarter to /quarter past /half past

(1d) su a:v   du:n   trey baje: /du:n-i   trey-i   baj-i.
     he came quarter three o'clock /quarter-dat three-dat o'clock-dat
     'He came at quarter to three o'clock.'

Special temporal expressions *ḍɔḍ* and *ḍa:yi* are used to indicate the time '1.30' and '2.30' respectively.

(1e) su yiyi   ḍɔḍ-i/   ḍa:y-i   baji.
     he come-fut at half-past one-dat/ half-past two-dat o'clock-dat
     'He will come at half-past one/half-past two.'

(1f) ḍa:yi   baje:yi.
     half-past two   struck
     'It is half-past two.'

The conjunctive part cipial form of *bajun* is used to express minutes after the hour.

(2a) su a:v   tso:r bəj-ith   dəh   minath.
     he came four   strike-cp   ten   minutes
     'He came at ten minutes past four.'

(2b) tso:r baje:yi dəhi   minṭi   peṭh'.
     four struck   ten-abl minute   past
     'It is ten minutes past four.'

The dative infinitive form of *bajun* + *manz* 'in' is used to express minutes before the hour. Alternatively, one may use *kam* 'less' with accompanying changes in word order and case-marking.

(3a) su   a:v   tso:r   bajn-as   manz   dəh   minaṭh.
     he   came   four   strike-inf-dat   in   ten   minutes
     'He came at ten minutes to four.'

(3b) su   a:v   dəhi   miniṭi   kam   tso:ri   (baj-i).
     he   came   ten-dat   minute-dat   less   four-dat   (strike-dat)
     'He came at ten minutes to four (o'clock).'

(3c) tso:r   bajnas   manz   chi   dəh   minaṭh.
     four   struck-dat   in   are   ten   minutes
     'It is ten minutes to four.'

(3d) dahi   minṭi   kam   tso:r.
     ten   minute   less   four
     'Ten minutes to four.'

The time may be inquired, as exemplified in (4a-b).

(4a) kəts   baje:yi?   /baje:yi kəts?
     how much/many-fsg   strike-pst-fsg
     'What time is it?'

(4b) vakhɨt   k'a: a:v?
     time   what   came
     'What time is it?'

2.1.1.6.1.2 Period of day

Location in the period of day is expressed simply by marking the nominal with a dative case, or by means of postpositions, such as *manz* 'in', *k'uth* 'during'. The dative case may be either in its singular or plural *as/an* form.

(5a) subɨh-an   /dupɨhə:r-as   /dupɨhə:r-an.
     'in the morning   /in the afternoon /in the afternoon'

(5b) dɔhli/dɔhas manz   /ra:th k'uth   /ra:tas manz...
     'during the day   /during the night'

Adverbials such as *suli/tsi:r'* 'early/late' are added at the end of these expressions, as shown in (5c).

(5c) aslam   yiyi   subɨh-an   suli/tsi:r'.
     Aslam   come-fut   morning-dat   early/late
     'Aslam will come early/late in the morning.'

(5d) sha:m   o:s   go:mut/sapudmut   yeli   mohnɨ   a:v.
     evening was   happened   when   Mohan   came
     'It was evening when Mohan came.'

Note that special lexical items usually related to prayer times also employ the dative case, as in: *sahar* 'dawn', *sa:hr-an* 'at dawn', *digar* 'afternoon', *digr-an* 'in the afternoon', *peshin* 'late afternoon', *peshn-an* 'in the late afternoon', *khɔphtan* 'at dusk', *praba:t-an* 'at dawn', *sand'a:h-an* 'at dusk'.

2.1.1.6.1.3 Days of the week

Location in the days of the week is marked with the dative case. The days of the week are: *tsəndɪrva:r* 'Monday', *bomva:r* 'Tuesday', *bɔdva:r* 'Wednesday', *brasva:r* 'Thursday', *shokɪrva:r/juma:h* 'Friday', *baṭɪva:r* 'Saturday', *a:thɪva:r* 'Sunday'. The last term *va:r* in these names literally signifies 'day' and is independently used as such. The word *haphtɪ* signifies week.

(6a) az   cha a:thɪva:r.
     today is   Sunday
     'It is Sunday today.'

(6b) bɪ ro:zɪ   a:thɪva:ri   ta:m.
     I   stay-fut Sunday-dat   up to
     'I will stay up to Sunday.'

2.1.1.6.1.4 Month of the year

Location in month is indicated by the dative case. The genitive is used when the name of the month is followed by *reth* 'month'. Names of Hindu months are: *vayakh* (April-May), *ze:ṭh* (May-June), *ha:r* (June-July), *shra:vun* (July-August), *bə:dɪr* (August-September), *ə:shid* (September-October), *ka:rtikh* (October-November), *mɔnjiho:r* (November-December), *poh* (December-January), *ma:g* (January-February), *pha:gun* (February-March), and *tsithɪr* (March-April). The names of the months borrowed from English are also in vogue and have been phonologically nativized as follows: *janvari:, pharvari:, ma:rɪch, april, me:, ju:n, julay, agast, sitambar, okto:bar, navambar, disambar.* The names of Arabic months are as follows: *mahram* (January), *safar* (February), *rabi:-ul-aval* (April) *jama:di-il-aval* (May), *jama:d-il-sa:ni* (June), *rajab* (July), *sha:ba:n* (August), *shava:l* (October), *ziyqad* (November), *zilhaj* (December).

(7a) janvəriy-as manz cha tɪ:r   a:sa:n.
     January-dat in   is   cold be-prp
     'It is cold during/in January.'

(7b) march-ɪk-is   ret-as   manz cha nɪ   tɪ:r   a:sa:n.
     March-gen-dat   month-dat   in   is   not cold be-prp
     'It is not cold during the month of March.'

(7c) me: chu   khu:bsu:rath   reth.
     May is   beautiful   month
     'May is a beautiful month.'

(7d) az   chu   dəh   apre:l.
      today   is   ten   April
      'It is April tenth today.'

(7e) su   a:v   apre:l-ki   dəhimi   tə:ri:kɨ.
      he   came   April-gen-dat   tenth-dat   date-abl
      'He came on the tenth of April.'

2.1.1.6.1.5 Year

The location in year is expressed by the postposition *manz* 'in'. Reference to a year is usually to the year A.D. called *yi:svi:*. Hindus and Muslims refer to their respective calendars as *bikrami/sha:k* and *hijiri*. A special word, *san*, signifies the year and is used before the Christian year. The Hindu year starts with the term *samvat* before the year and ends with the term *bikrami*.

(8a) —san   kunɨvuh   shath   she:thas   manz—
      year   nineteen   hundred   sixty-dat   in
      '—in the year 1960—'

(8b) —samvat   zɨ   sa:s   she:th   bikrami   manz—
      year   two   thousand   sixty   Vikrami   in
      '—in the year two thousand sixty Vikrami—'

2.1.1.6.1.6 Festivals

The period of festivals is indicated by means of dative or ablative suffixes followed by the postposition *peth* 'on'.

(9a) az   cha he:rath   /yi:d/dɨ:pma:la:.
      today is Shivratri/Id/Deepavali
      'Today is Shivratri/Id/Deepavali.'

(9b) bɨ   gatshɨ   he:rɨts   /yi:z /crɨsmasas   peth   garɨ.
      I   go-fut   Shivratri-dat/Id-dat/Christmas-dat   on   home
      'I will visit my home on Shivratri/Id/Christmas.'

2.1.1.6.1.7 Seasons

Location of the seasons is also indicated by the dative/ablative case suffix followed by the postposition *manz* 'during'. There are four major seasons in Kashmir: *vandɨ* 'winter', *sõ:th* 'spring', *retɨko:l* 'summer', and *harud* 'autumn'. These can be used either alone or followed by the word *mu:sim* 'season'.

(10a) harud (mu:sim) chu ja:n.
autumn (season) is good
'The autumn (season) is good.'

(10b) vandas manz cha tɨ:r a:sa:n.
winter-dat in is-fsg cold-fsg be-prp
'It is cold during winter.'

2.1.1.6.2 Frequentative expressions

The quantifier *prath* 'every' is used to express periodicity.

(11a) su chu prath doh/a:thɨva:r-i cakras gatsha:n.
he is every day/Sunday-dat walk-dat go-prp
'He goes for a walk every day/Sunday.'

(11b) bɨ chus dɔhay sə:r kara:n.
I be daily walk doing
'I go for a walk every day/daily.'

2.1.1.6.3 Punctual future

Punctual future is expressed by postpositions such as *manz* 'in', *andar, andar andar* 'within'.

(12a) su yiyi əkis gaṇṭas manz/andar/andar andar.
he come-fut one-dat hour in/within
'He will come in an/within an hour.'

2.1.1.6.4 Punctual past

Punctual past is expressed either by the postposition *brŏh* before', or by past participials such as *gatshun, guzrun* 'to go, to pass'.

(13a) bɨ go:s bambyi tre vəri: brŏh.
I went Bombay three years before
'I went to Bombay three years ago.'

(13b) me gəyi tre vəri: bambyi gə:mitis.
I-erg passed three years Bombay went-ppl-dat
'Three years have passed since I went to Bombay.'

(13c) she vəri: guzre:yi tas yo:r a:mɨt-is.
six years passed he-dat here come-ppl-dat
'Six years have passed since he came here.'

2.1.1.6.5 Duration

Past and future duration are denoted either by the postposition *khǝ:trɨ* 'for' or *do:ra:n* 'during'. Both are preceded by the dative case suffix.

(14a) su   ru:d   yeti   tren   vǝriy-an   (hɨndi   khǝ:trɨ).
      he   stayed here-loc three-dat years-dat (gen-abl for)
      'He stayed here for three years.'

(14b) ath   do:ra:n-as   manz   gav   nɨ   su   garɨ.
      this-dat   duration-dat in   went   neg he   home
      'During this period, he did not go home.'

(14c) su   ro:zi   yeti   dɔn   dɔh-an.
      he   stay-fut here   two   days-dat
      'He will stay here for two days.'

(14d) su   chu-nɨ manzɨ   manzɨ   sǝ:risɨy   dɔhas   kihin'   kheva:n.
      he   is not sometimes/between whole-emph day-dat anything eating
      'Sometimes he does not eat anything whole day.'

2.1.1.6.6–7 Anterior-duration

Both past and future anterior duration take the postposition *ta:m* 'up to'.

(15a) a:thɨva:ri   ta:m   vo:t   nɨ   su   yo:r.
      Sunday-dat   up to   reached   neg   he   here
      'He did not reach here until Sunday.'

(15b) su   va:ti   nɨ   yo:r   a:thɨva:ri   brõ:th.
      he   reach-fut here Sunday-dat   earli
      'He will not reach here until/before Sunday.'

2.1.1.6.8–9 Posterior-duration

Both past and future posterior duration are expressed by the postposition *peṭhɨ* 'from'.

(16a) bomva:ri   peṭhɨ   a:v   nɨ   su   daphtar.
      Tuesday-dat from   came   neg   he   office
      'He has not come to the office since Tuesday.'

(16b) brasva:ri   peṭhɨ   karɨ   bɨ   yi   kǝ:m   shoru:.
      Thursday-dat from   do-fut   I   this work   start
      'I will start this work from Thursday.'

2.1.1.6.10   Anterior general

Anterior general is expressed by the postposition *brŏh* 'before' following a noun phrase in the dative case.

> (17a) su   a:v   yo:r   shokɨrva:ri brŏh.
>   he   came   here   Friday-dat before
>   'He came here before Friday.'

2.1.1.6.11   Posterior general

Posterior general is indicated by the postposition *patɨ* 'after' following a noun phrase in the dative case.

> (18a) su   yiyi   yo:r   batɨva:ri   patɨ.
>   he   come-fut   here   Saturday-dat after
>   'He will come here after Saturday.'

2.1.1.6.12   Point in period-past

Points in period-past are expressed by the postpositions *manz, andar* 'in/inside/within'. In addition, the nouns indicating time are preceded by the adverb *pətim* 'last'.

> (19a) bɨ   a:s   yo:r   pətimis retas   manz/andar   dɔyi   lati.
>   I   came   here   last-dat month-dat in   two-abl   times
>   'I came here two times during/in the last month.'

2.1.1.6.13   Point in time-future

Point in future is not distinguished from point or points in period-past, but the verb is used in the future tense.

> (20a) su   yiyi   əkis   haphtas   manz/andar va:pas dili   peṭhɨ.
>   he   come-fut   one-dat   weed-dat   in   back   Delhi-abl from
>   'He will return from Delhi within a week.'

Reference to points in period past/future can he highlighted or emphasized further by duplicating the postposition *andar*.

> (21a) bɨ   a:s/yimɨ   dɔn   dɔhan   andar   andar   va:pas.
>   I   came/come-fut   two-dat   days-dat   in   in   back
>   'I came/will return wihin two days.'

In general, then, the temporal expressions in 2.1.1.6.2–13 are expressed by postpositions or simple case-markings, as is the case with expressions in 2.1.1.6.1–4.

2.1.1.7 Double case-marking

There is no double case-marking with respect to core cases such as ergative, dative, and ablative. However, the genitive/possessive markings require their possessor to be marked dat/ablative, as noted in 2.1.1.4.6. Similarly, certain postpositions used to signify comparatives and benefactives mark their complements with genitive + dative (see 2.1.1.2.6 and 2.1.1.4.1).

2.1.1.8.1–5 Number-marking system

There is a two-way number distinction in count nouns. Plurals are formed from singular stems by vowel change, palatalization and suffixation. A few nouns stay invariant. Masculine plurals are formed differently than the feminine plurals. Inanimate plurals are formed the same way as the animate plurals. Mass nouns are used as singular. A collective plural for animate nouns signifying multitude is formed by adding *kh'ol* 'herd' to the nominative plural form, as in (1a). Mass nouns, most body parts, and borrowed English nouns use the same form in both the singular and the plural.

(1a) ga:v 'cow'   gə:v-kh'ol 'a herd of cows'
      ti:r' 'sheep'   ti:r'-kh'ol 'a herd of sheep'

(1b) Mass nouns:
      dɔd 'milk'
      pon' 'water'

(1c) Body parts:
      kalɨ 'head/heads'
      kan 'ear/ears'
      dil 'heart/hearts'
      nam 'nail/nails'

(1d) English-borrowed nouns:
      ho:ṭal   'hotel/hotels'
      moṭar   'car/cars'
      saykal   'bicycle/bicycles'

2.1.1.8.6.1 Masculine plurals

Most masculine plural forms palatalize the final consonant with certain vocalic changes, as noted below.

(2a) Nouns of CVC types change the final /o/ to /ə/. The final /u/ remains unchanged.

Singular		Plural	
mo:l	'father'	mə:l'	'fathers'
koṭ	'boy'	kəṭ'	'boys'
kul	'tree'	kul'	'trees'
gur	'horse'	gur'	'horses'

Exception:

ph'ok	'shoulder'	phek'	'shoulders'

(2b) Nouns of CVCVC form change their final /u/ to /ɨ/.

ga:ṭul	'wise'	ga:ṭɨl'	'wise'
latshul	'broom'	latshɨl'	'brooms'

(3a) Nouns of (C) VCVC form change the second high back vowel /u/ to /a/. There is no palatalization in this group.

gagur	'mouse'	gagar	'mice'
ko:tur	'pigeon'	ko:tar	'pigeons'
o:luv	'potato'	o:lav	'potatoes'

(4a) Masculine nouns do not change for plurality if:

(4i) The final vowel is /ɨ/

gila:sɨ	'glass/glasses'
maka:nɨ	'house/houses'

(4ii) The CVC form has a central vowel

khar	'donkey/donkeys'
va:l	'hair'
sɨh	'lion/lions'

(4iii) The noun is borrowed from Hindi-Urdu and English and ends in a consonant.

bema:r	'sick person/persons'
mozu:r	'labourer/labourers'
ho:ṭal	'hotel/hotels'
saykal	'bicycle/bicycles'

(Note that these borrowed items do get nativized and show phonological changes.)

2.1.1.8.6.2 Feminine plurals

Most feminine nouns form their plural by /i/ suffix, with added vocalic and consonantal changes.

(5a) Nouns in CVC (C) lower their final vowel unless the final vowel is /u/.

Singular		*Plural*	
nər	'hand'	nari	'hands'
də:r	'window'	da:ri	'windows'
ku:r	'girl'	ko:ri	'girls'
tsoṭ	'bread'	tsɔci	'breads'
muj	'raddish'	muji	'radishes'

(5b) The final retroflex becomes a palatal

ləṭ	'tail'	laci	'tails'
lənḍ	'branch'	lanji	'branches'
kuṭh	'grain store'	kuchi	'grain stores'

(5c) Nouns in CVCVC form delete the final /ɨ/

gagɨr	'rat'	gagri	'rats'
gɔgɨj	'turnip'	gɔgji	'turnips'
ɔ̃gɨj	'finger'	ɔ̃gji	'fingers'

(6a) Nouns ending in CVC forms use the plural suffix /ɨ/ instead of /i/.

kath	'story'	kathɨ	'stories'
na:v	'boat'	na:vɨ	'boats'
dɔs	'wall'	dɔsɨ	'walls'
kis	'little finger'	kisɨ	'little fingers'
ma:zbe:r	'gum'	ma:zbe:rɨ	'gums'

(7a) The final consonant /th/ changes to /ts/, and the preceding vowel is raised in height.

ra:th	'night'	rə:ts	'nights'
za:th	'caste'	zə:ts	'castes'

(8a) A few feminine nouns do not change for plurality.

əch	'eye/eyes'
pa:lakh	'spinach', etc.

Note that the plural of borrowed nouns, which are treated as feminine in Kashmiri (see 2.1.1.9.5), is formed in a fashion similar to the native nouns.

2.1.1.9.1 Gender-marking system

Both animates and inanimates are distinguished for gender. Masculine forms are traditionally taken to be basic. Gender of a large number of inanimate nouns can

be predicted by their endings. Primary gender formation processes involve: (i) suffixation, (ii) changes in vowels and consonants, and (iii) suppletion. Most of the phonological and morphological changes are regular, though irregular formations are also often found.

2.1.1.9.1.1 The suffixation pattern

Feminine nouns are formed by adding various suffixes such as *-en'*, *-in'*, *-ə:n'*, *-ba:y*, *-ɨr* to masculine nouns.

(9a) *Masculine* *Feminine*
 duka:nda:r duka:nda:r-en' 'shopkeeper'
 khar khər-in' 'an ass'
 gujur gujr-ə:n' 'Gujar'
 ma:ṣtar ma:ṣtar-ba:y 'teacher'
 phot phɔt-ɨr 'basket'

Some of these derivations involve palatalization of the final consonant.

(9b) on ən' 'blind person'
 zon zən' 'person'

2.1.1.9.1.2 The pattern of vocalic and consonantal changes

Vowels /u/ and /o/ in CVC masculine nouns are diphthongized or changed to central vowels of the same height in their feminine forms.

(10a) *Masculine* *Feminine*
 shur shuɨr 'child'
 gu:r 'milkman' gu:ɨr 'milkwoman'
 koṭ 'boy' kəṭ 'girl'

The penultimate vowel /u/ of the CVCVC structure is replaced by /ɨ/.

(10b) kɔkur 'cock' kɔkɨr 'hen'
 gagur 'mouse' gagɨr 'she mouse'

The word-final consonants /l, k, kh, t, and g/ are replaced by /j, c, ch, ts, and ḍ/, respectively.

(10c) ga:ṭul 'wise man' ga:ṭɨj 'wise woman'
 mot 'mad man' məts 'mad woman'
 long 'lame man' lənḍ 'lame woman'
 kul 'tree' kuj 'tree' (fem)
 tsok 'sour' tsoc 'sour' (fem)
 hokh 'dry' hoch 'dry' (fem)
 tot 'hot' təts 'hot' (fem)

2.1.1.9.1.3 The suppletion pattern

(11a) *Masculine   Feminine*
   dä:d   'bull'   ga:v   'cow'
   mar∔d   'man'   zana:n   'woman', etc.

2.1.1.9.1.4 Some other patterns

Nouns denoting certain species of animals such as birds, and insects are either only masculine or only feminine. For example: *ja:nvar* (m) 'bird', *ka:v* (m) 'crow', *k'om* (m) 'insect', *kukil* (f) 'cuckoo bird', *məch* (f) 'fly', *gə:ḍ* (f) 'fish'.

2.1.1.9.4 Classifiers

There are no noun classifiers in Kashmiri. However, there is a limited set of words that refer to quantities of different nouns. For example, terms such as *bod, g'əḍ, tho:p* refer to a vegetable bunch, *t∔r, tilim, chal* refer to a piece of cloth, and *katr∔, ph'or, dɔtsh* refer to measures of liquid. (See Kachru 1973.)

2.1.1.9.5 The gender-marking of foreign words

Kashmiri borrows words from Perso-Arabic sources as well as from Sanskrit, Hindi-Urdu, and English. Nativized loans from these languages fall into two gender classes, namely, masculine and feminine. It is interesting to note that a large number of words borrowed from Hindi-Urdu have different genders from their sources. A few examples are given below in (12a). A list of borrowed English words with their genders is given in Kachru (1973: Part II).

(12a) Words that have changed the gender

   Hindi-Urdu   *Kashmiri*
   a:dat (f)   a:dath (m)   'habit'
   ki:mat (f)   k∔:math (m)   'price'
   dava: (f)   dava: (m)   'medicine'
   kismat (f)   k∔smath (m)   'luck'
   ta:r (m)   ta:r (f)   'telegram'
   rupaya: (m)   rɔpay (f)   'rupee'
   ruma:l (m)   ruma:l (f)   'handkerchief'

(12b) Words without gender change

   kita:b (f)   kita:b (f)   'book'
   kami:z (f)   kəmi:z (f)   'shirt'
   darva:za: (m)   darva:z∔ (m)   'door'
   naksha: (m)   naksh∔ (m)   'map'

2.1.1.10 Marking of definiteness

Nouns are not overtly marked for definiteness or specificity. Bare nominals can convey definiteness or specificity. The definite feature is also added by anaphoric pronouns when they are discourse-bound. (See Andrabi 1983 for some insightful discussion of this topic.)

(13a) darva:zɨ kar-tɨ   band.
     door   do-pol   close
     'Close the door.'

(13b) yi kəmi:z vuch.   yi/ kəmi:z cha   ja:n.
     this shirt see-imp   it/shirt   is   good
     'Look at this shirt.   It/the shirt is good.'

2.1.1.11 Marking of indefiniteness

Noun phrases can be made indefinite by adding qualifiers such as the numeral *akh* 'lit. one' or the quantifier *kā:h /kẽh* 'some (sg/pl)'. Kashmiri also has an indefinite marker *a: /a:h*, which maybe suffixed to the nominative nouns (Grierson 1898a: 89). The marker *a:/a:h* when added to a numeral imparts a sense of approximation, as exemplified in (14c).The indefinite marker *akh* 'one' may impart a specific interpretation, as is usually the case with verbs of wishing. (See 14e-f below.) The markings are often omitted, leaving the nominal in its bare form.

(14a) tsɨ   vɨchi-h-an   akh   ku:r   tati.
     you   see-agr-3sgps   a   girl-def/girl-indef   there
     'You will see a girl there.'

(14b) me   hetsɨ   kẽh   kəmi:zɨ.
     I-erg   bought-fpl   some-fpl   shirts-fpl
     'I bought some shirts.'

(14c) tsɨ   vɨchi-h-an   ku:r-a: tati.
     you   see-2sgps-3sgps   girl-indef   there
     'You will see a girl there.'

(14d) təm' ani   me   kitshɨ   kəmi:zɨ   tsɔmbrɨ.
     he-erg   brought-fpl   me   for   shirts-fpl   four-indef
     'He brought about four shirts for me.'

Notice that in (14d) the indefinite numeral follows the noun.

(14e) mohnɨ   chu   ḍa:ktar-as   yatsh-a:n   me:l-un.
     Mohan   is   doctor-dat(def/indef)   wanting   meet-inf
     'Mohan wants to meet a doctor.'

(14f) mohnɨ chu əkis   ḍa:kṭar-as   yatsh-a:n
      Mohan is one-dat (specific) doctor-dat (def/indef) wanting
          me:l-un.
          meet-inf
      'Mohan wants to meet a doctor.'

Imprecision in numerical quantities can also be indicated by markers such as *bəd'*, as in *hatɨ bəd'* 'hundred about', *sa:sɨ bəd'* 'thousand about', or *marɨ, as* in *panda:h marɨ* 'about fifteen'.

2.1.1.13 Genericness

Generic nouns do not bear any special marking. Note, however, that genericness in human and nonhuman nouns is implied by their respective plural and singular form.

(15a) ko:ri   cha   da:na: (a:sa:n).
      girl-pl are   wise   be-prp
      'Girls are (generally) wise.'

(15b) ga:v   cha   dəd diva:n.
      cow-fsg is-fsg milk give-prp
      'A cow gives milk./Cows give milk.'

2.1.1.14 Degree of importance of actors

There are no special morphological means to distinguish more important actors from less important ones. However, titles and honorific forms do signify the social scale of importance.

2.1.2 Pronouns

2.1.2.1 Personal pronouns

The following table represents the pronoun paradigm:

(1)

Person	Deixis	Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I		bɨ	əs'	bɨ	əs'
II		tsɨ	toh'	tsɨ	toh'
III	proximate	yi	yim	yi	yimɨ
III	remote (within sight)	hu	hum	hɔ	humɨ
III	remote (out of sight)	su	tim	sɔ	timɨ

2.1.2.1.1 Free pronouns

Free pronouns occur in all positions that are occupied by nouns, which may be subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, complements of postpositions, comparatives, and others. The presence of pronouns in argument positions is determined by the category of the person, and more crucially by pronomial clitics, traditionally known as pronomial suffixes (see Grierson 1895, Hook and Koul 1984b). In Kashmiri, the second-person pronoun is a highly marked category with respect to clitics/suffixes. The verb must inflect for the second person in all its argument roles—subject, object, and indirect object. The pronoun itself may be overt or null. In contrast the verb must not inflect in the presence of first- and third-person dative-cased objects. These two pronouns must be null in the presence of dative clitics/suffixes. All the three pronouns may be optionally present in the context of ergative and absolutive clitics/suffixes. (See section 2.1.3.6 for details on pronominal clitics/suffixes.) It should also be noted here that the verb also shows a gender number—say GN—agreement in all tenses. This GN agreement is obligatory and is distinct from the pronominal clitics. The GN agreement is controlled by both subjects and direct objects just in case they are in the nominative/absolutive case. The combination of GN agreement and pronominal clitics/suffixes generates an abundance of null/pro forms in Kashmiri and it is not unusal to find a verb with a string of GN agreement and pronominal clitics/suffixes as a sole representative of the sentence, as shown in (2b).

(2a) tse   vɨchi-th   (sɔ).
      you-erg   saw-3fsg-2sgps   her-abs
      'You saw her.'

(2b) os-m-ay.
      laugh-1sgps-2sgps
      'I laughed at you.'

A noncontrastive nonemphatic context does allow overt pronouns with the exceptions noted above for first and third dative-cased pronouns. In contrastive emphatic situations, pronouns must be overtly present. Emphasis is expressed by means of stress or emphatic particle -ɨy added to the pronouns.

(3a) bɨ-y ·   gatsɨ   dili.
      I-emp   go-fut   Delhi-abl
      'I will (myself) go to Delhi.'

In imperative sentences, second-person subject pronouns are omitted. The pronoun may be retained for emphasis or to indicate contrast.

(3b) (tsɨ)   par   kita:b/   kita:b par.
      you   read-2s   book   book   read
      'You read a book./Read a book.'

Answers to questions of the type 'Who is there/that?' may start with the pronoun or the name itself. The pronoun may not be dropped.

(4a) kus   chu?
       who is
       'Who is there?'

(4b) bɨ   chus (ra:mɨ)/ra:mɨ chus
       I   am   Ram/Ram   am
       'I am Ram.'

(4c) *chus
        am

2.1.2.1.2 Person distinction in pronouns

There is a core three-way person distinction—first, second, and third. The second person is highly marked with respect to cliticization, as already noted above in 2.1.2.1.1. In contrast, the third-person clitic form shows up only in certain contexts. (See 2.1.3.6 for details.) The third person also shows a subcategorial—within sight, and out of sight—distinction noted in the begining in 2.1.2.1.

2.1.2.1.3 Inclusion vs. exclusion distinction

The first- and second-person plural forms are not marked for inclusive vs. exclusive distinction.

2.1.2.1.4 Number-marking in pronouns

Plural pronoun forms are distinct from the singular ones. There are no special dual, trial, or quadral forms for any of the pronouns. The plural of the second person is also used to indicate respect or honorific status.

2.1.2.1.5–12

The pronominal system is not marked for anaphoricity, tribal or family relationships, or tense distinctions. The third-person pronouns are distinguished for proximity, as noted in 2.1.2.1. The distinction refers to objects within sight and objects out of sight with respect to the participants of the speech act. Third-person pronouns also show overt gender distinctions (see 2.1.2.1). Note that the predicate is marked for gender distinctions in all the three persons. The status distinctions have been discussed in imperatives and yes-no questions (see 1.1).

2.1.2.1.13 Nonspecific indefinite pronouns

There are no special nonspecific indefinite pronouns as such. This notion is indirectly expressed by employing: (i) indefinite pronouns; (ii) second-person pronoun; (iii) null/pro forms of the third-person pronoun; and (iv) generic nouns such as *yinsa:n, manush* 'man/human'.

(5a) kã:h   cha: gari   tsala:n?
     someone is-Q home-abl running
     'Does anyone run away from home?'

(5b) bɨ vanay   tse   akh   kath.
     I   tell-fut-2sg-ps you-dat a/one story
     'I will tell you a story.'

(5c) van-a:n chi.
     saying are
     'So they say.'

(5d) yinsa:n chu po:shɨ khɔtɨ ə:v'ul.
     man   is flower than   delicate
     'A man is more delicate than a flower.'

2.1.2.1.14 Indefinite pronouns

The primary indefinite pronoun/quantifier is *kã:h* 'someone/anyone/something/ anything'. It declines as shown in (6). The indefinite pronoun is also expressed as *kã:h-tshah* 'someone/something'. This latter form does not decline for case, and secondly, its plural varient *kĕh-tshah* refers to inanimate 'something' only.

(6)

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nom.	kã:h	kĕh	kã:h	kĕh
Dat.	kɜ:si	kɜ:tsan	kɜ:si	kɜ:tsan
Agt.	kɜ:si	kɜ:tsav	kɜ:si	kɜ:tsav
Abl.	kɜ:si	kɜ:tsan	kɜ:si	kɜ:tsan

(6a) me chi kĕh   ja:n ya:r.
     I-dat be some-pl good friends
     'I have some good friends.'

(6b) me di   kã:h kalam.
     I-dat give-imp some pen
     'Give me some pen.'

(6c) təmis   cha: kā:h   necuv?
     him-dat has-Q any   son
     'Does he have any son?'

2.1.2.1.15 Emphatic pronouns

There are no special emphatic pronouns. Pronouns are made emphatic by the general emphatic suffix -*ɨy* noted several times in the above sections. Following table shows emphatic forms of the pronouns in the nominative.

(7)

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	bɨy	əsiy	bɨy	əsiy
II	tsɨy	tohiy	tsɨy	tohiy
III-proximate	yiho:y	yimay	yihə:y	yimay
III-remote (within sight)	hohay	humay	hohə:y	humay
III-remote (out of sight)	suy	timay	soy	timay

2.1.2.1.16 Complex pronouns

There are no complex pronouns in the language that simultaneously link to the subject and the object or any other combinations of such functions.

2.1.2.1.17–18 Pronoun-noun reference

Pronoun-noun constructions in which both elements share a common reference are found with first- and second-person pronouns.

(8a) əs'   kə:shir'   chi   kə:r'gar.
     we   Kashmiris are   artisans
     'We Kashmiris are artisans.'

(8b) toh'   kə:shir'   chi-v ja:n   li:ɖar.
     you-pl Kashmiri are   good leaders
     'You Kashmiris are good leaders.'

2.1.2.1.19 There is no secondary pronominal system in Kashmiri.

2.1.2.1.20 Case system in pronouns

The case system of pronouns is slightly different from the nouns since some case forms of pronouns are suppletive. The first- and second-person ergative and dative forms are nondistinct. The nominative forms of pronouns have been listed in 2.1.2.1. The rest of the case forms are given below.

(9)

(9a) Dative case

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
I	me	asi	me	asi
II	tse	tɔhi	tse	tɔhi
III-proximate	yemis	yiman	yemis	yiman
III-remote (withinsight)	homis	human	homis	human
III-remote (out of sight)	təmis	timan	təmis	timan

(9b) Ergative/agentive case

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
I	me	asi	me	asi
II	tse	tɔhi	tse	tɔhi
III-proximate	yem'	yimav	yemi	yimav
III-remote (within sight)	hom'	humav	homi	humav
III-remote (out of sight)	təm'	timav	tami	timav

(9c) Ablative case

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
I	me	asi	me	asi
II	tse	tɔhi	tse	tɔhi
III-proximate	yemi	yimav	yemi	yimav
III-remote (within sight)	homi	humav	homi	humav
III-remote (out of sight)	tami	timav	tami	timav

(9d) Genitive/possessive case

The possessive forms of personal pronouns vary with the number, gender, and case of the possesed/head nouns. The nominative forms are listed below. The dative and other case forms are listed in appendix II.

Possessed/head noun: Nominative case

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
I (sg.)	m'o:n	me:n'	me:n'	m'a:ni
I (pl.)	so:n	sə:n'	sə:n'	sa:ni
II (sg.)	co:n	cə:n'	cə:n'	ca:ni
II (pl.)	tuhund	tuhɨnd'	tuhɨnz	tuhɨnzɨ
III (sg.) proximate	yem'sund	yem'sɨnd'	yem'sɨnz	yem'sɨnzi

III (pl.) proximate	yihund	yihɨnd'	yihɨnz	yihanzɨ
III (sg) remote (within sight)	hom'sund	hom'sɨnd'	hom'sɨnz	hom'sɨnzɨ
III (pl) remote (out of sight)	huhund	huhɨnd'	huhɨnz	huhɨnzɨ
III (sg) remote (within sight)	təm'sund	təm'sɨnd'	təm'sɨnz	təm'sɨnzɨ
III (pl) remote (out of sight)	tihund	tihɨnd'	tihɨnz	tihɨnzɨ

2.1.2.2 *Reflexive pronouns*

The main reflexive pronoun is *pa:n* 'self'. There is also a compound form *panun pa:n* 'self's self'. These forms do not vary with person or gender, but they do inflect for case, as shown below.

(10a)

Nominative	Dative	Ablative	Ergative
pa:n	pa:nas	pa:nɨ	pa:nan

The possessive reflexive pronoun is *panun* 'self'. It agrees with the following head noun in number and gender. Its case forms are listed in (10b).

(10b)

Case	Masculine Singular	*Plural*	Feminine Singular	*Plural*
Nom.	panun	panɨn'	panɨn'	panɨni
Dat.	panɨnis	panɨn'an	panɨni	panɨn'an
Abl.	panɨni	panɨn'av	panɨni	panɨn'av
Erg.	panɨn'	panɨn'av	panɨni	panɨn'av
Gen.	panɨn'sund	panɨn'sɨnd'	panɨn'sɨnz	panɨn'sɨnzɨ

Note that the genitive forms of the possessive are rarely used. However, they are found sometimes, as in (10c).

(10c) panɨn'sund ə:b   chu-nɨ   ba:sa:n.
       self's   misdeed be-not   appear
       'The misdeeds of the person closely related to you are not realized.'

2.1.2.3 *Reciprocal pronouns*

Reciprocal pronouns are *akh əkis* 'to one another' and *pa:nɨvə:n'* 'mutual'. The nominative form of *akh əkis* (i.e., akh ək') is never used (see 1.7). The possessive forms of the reciprocal are listed below.

(11a)

| Case | Masculine | | Feminine | |
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom	akh ək'sund	akh ək'sɨnd'	akh ək'sɨnz	akh ək'sɨnzɨ
Dat	akh ək'sindis	akh ək'sɨndan	akh ək'sɨnzi	akh ək'sɨnzan
Erg	akh ək'sund	akh ək'sɨndev	akh ək'sɨnz	akh ək'sɨnzav

2.1.2.4 Possessive pronouns

(See 2.1.2.1.20)

2.1.2.5 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives are identical with the third-person pronominal forms listed above. In addition, there is a special form *ti* used only for inanimate nouns that are out of sight.

(12a) ti   sapdi   nɨ   ză:h.   phikir   mɨ   kar.
      that   happen-fu   neg   never   worry   neg   do-imp
      'That will never happen. Don't worry.'

(12b) tath   kəmi:zi   k'a: karav   əs'?
      that-dat   shirt-dat   what   do-fut   we
      'What will we do to that shirt?'

2.1.2.5.1 Demonstrative adjectives

Demonstrative adjectives have the same forms as demonstrative pronouns.

2.1.2.6 Interrogative pronouns and other question words

2.1.2.6.1 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns for animates and inanimates are *kus* and *k'a:* respectively. Both forms inflect for case. The animate interrogatives show both gender and number distinctions. The inanimates vary only for number.

(13a) The animate interrogative *kus* 'who'

| Case | Masculine | | Feminine | |
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom.	kus	kam	kɔs	kamɨ
Dative	kəmis/kas	kɨman	kəmis/kas	kɨman
Ablative	kami	kɨmav	kami	kɨmav
Ergative	kəm'	kɨmav	kami	kɨmav

(13b) Possessive interrogatives vary with the gender and number of the head. The singular and plural possessor forms are distinct, as is the case with other pronouns and nouns.

Possessor	Head noun			
	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Singular	kəm'sund	kəm'sɨnd'	kəm'sɨnz	kəm'sɨnzɨ
Plural/Hon.	kɨman hund	kɨmanhɨnd'	kɨman hɨnz	kɨman hɨnzɨ
	or kuhund	kɨhɨnd'	kɨhɨnz	kɨhɨnzɨ

(14a) Inanimate interrogative *k'a:* 'what'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nom.	k'a:	k'a:	k'a:	k'a:
Dative	kath	kɨman	kath	kɨman
Ablative	kami	kɨmav	kami	kɨmav

(14b) Possessive interrogatives of *k'a:* 'what'

Possessor	Head noun			
	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
(Exceptional inanimates)	kam'uk	kamik'	kamic	kamici
Singular	kəm'sund	kəm'sɨnd'	kəm'sɨnz	kəm'sɨnzɨ
Plural	kɨmanhund	kɨmanhɨnd'	kɨmanhɨnz	kɨmanhɨnzɨ
	or kuhund	kɨhɨnd'	kɨhɨnz	kɨhɨnzɨ

2.1.2.6.2 Other question words

Other question words are: *kati* 'where', *kapə:r'* 'which direction', *kithɨ kɨn'* 'how/which manner', *ko:ta:h* 'how much', etc. These form a set with the corresponding demonstrative noted above. Some of them have their alternate forms as well.

(15a)

Question word	Proximate	Remote *(within sight)*	Remote *(out of sight)*
kati	yeti	hoti	tati
'where'	'here'	'there'	'there'
katen	yeten	hoten	taten
'which sight'	'at this sight'	'at that sight'	'at that sight'

katinas	yetinas	hotinas	tatinas
'where'	'here'	'there'	'there'

kateth	yeteth	hoteth	tateth
'from where'	'from here'	'from there'	'from there'

kapə:r'	yepə:r'	hɔpə:r'	tapə:r'
'on which side'	'from this side'	'from that side'	'on that side'

kithɨ kɨn'	yithɨkɨn'	huthɨkɨn'	tithɨkɨn'
'what manner'	'in this manner'	'that manner'	'that manner'

ku:ta:h	yu:ta:h	hu:ta:h	t'u:ta:h
'how much'	'this much'	'that much'	'that much'

The question words *k'uth, ku:t* 'of what type, how much', representing quality and quantity, show variation with the gender number of the object they modify. The question words for quality and quantity, namely *k'uth* 'of what type' and *ku:t* 'how much' show variation with the gender number and case of the object they modify.

(15b)   Paradigm for *k'uth* 'what type'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nom.	k'uth	kith'	kitsh	kitshɨ
Dat.	kithis	kith'an	kitshi	kitshan
Erg.	kith'	kith' av	kitshi	kitshav

(15c)   Paradigm for *ku:t* 'how much'

Case	Masuline		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nom.	ku:t	kɨ:t'	kɨ:ts	kɨ:tsɨ
Dat.	kɨ:tis	kɨ:ten	kɨ:tsi	kɨ:tsan
Erg.	kɨ:t'	kɨ:tev	kɨ:tsi	kɨ:tsav

The question words *kus h'uv* 'which one', *kar* 'when', *k'a:zi* 'why', do not show any such variations.

2.1.2.7   Relative pronouns and other relative words

2.1.2.7.1   Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns form a distinct set and pair themselves with the correlatives (see 1.1.2.3). The following represents the relative correlative paradigms.

(16a) Animate masculine relative/correlative forms

Case	Masculine			
	Singular		*Plural*	
	rel.	cor.	rel.	cor.
Nom.	yus	su	yim	tim
Dat.	yəmis~yas	təmis	yiman	timan
Erg.	yem'	təm'	yimav	timav
Gen.	yəm'sund	təm'sund	yimanhund	timan-hund

(16b) Animate feminine relative/correlative forms

Case	Feminine			
	Singular		*Plural*	
	rel.	cor.	rel.	cor.
Nom.	yɔsɨ	sɔ	yimɨ	timɨ
Dat.	yəmis~ yas	təmis	yiman	timan
Erg.	yem'	təm'	yimav	timav
Gen.	yəm'sɨnz	təm'-sɨnz	yiman-hɨnz	timan-hɨnz

(16c) Inanimate masculine relative/correlative forms

Case	Masculine			
	Singular		*Plural*	
	rel.	cor.	rel.	cor.
Nom.	yi	ti	yim	tim
Dat.	yath	tath	yiman	timan
Erg.	yem'	təm'	yimav	timav
Gen.	yem'uk	tam'uk	yimanhund	timan-hund

(16d) Inanimate feminine relative/correlative forms

Case	Feminine			
	Singular		*Plural*	
	rel.	cor.	rel.	cor.
Nom.	yi	ti	yim	tim
Dat.	yath	tath	yiman	timan
Erg.	yemi	tami	yimav	timav
Gen.	yem'uk	tam'uk	yiman-hsɨnz	timanhɨnz

2.1.2.7.2 Other relative words

(17) Adjectives of comparison referring to quality

(17a) Masculine forms

Case	Masculine Singular rel.	cor.	Plural rel.	cor.
Nom	yuth	t'uth	yith'	tith'
Dat.	yithis	tithis	yith'an	tith'an
Erg.	yith'	tith'	yith'av	tith'av
Abl.	yithi	tithi	yith'av	tith'av
Gen.	yith'sund/tith' sund	yith'an hund	tith' anhund	yith'uk

(17b) Feminine forms

Case	Feminine Singular rel.	cor.	Plural rel.	cor.
Nom.	yitsh	titsh	yitshɨ	titshɨ
Dat.	yitshi	titshi	yitshan	titshan
Erg.	yitshi	titshi	yitshav	titshav
Abl.	yitshi	titshi	yitshav	titshav
Gen.	yitshi- hund	titshi- hund	yitshan-hund	titshan-hund

(18) Adjectives of comparison in terms of quantity

(18a) Masculine forms

Case	Masculine Singular rel.	cor.	Plural rel.	cor.
Nom.	yu:t	t'u:t	yi:t'	ti:t'
Dat.	yi:tis	ti:tis	yi:t'an	ti:t'an
Erg.	yi:t'	ti:t'	yi:tav	ti:tav
Gen.	yi:t'uk	ti:ʈ'uk	yi:t'an hund	ti:t'anhund

(18b) Feminine forms

Case	Feminine Singular rel.	cor.	Plural. rel.	cor.
Nom.	yi:ts	ti:ts	yi:tsɨ	ti:tsɨ
Dat.	yi:tsi	ti:tsi	yi:tsan	ti:tsan
Agen.	yi:tsi	ti:tsi	yi:tsav	ti:tsav
Gen.	yi:tic	ti:tic	yi:tsanhund	ti:tsan-hund

2.1.3 Verb morphology

2.1.3.1 Voice

2.1.3.1.1 Passive

2.1.3.1.1.1 Personal passive

The personal passive is formed with the ablative form of the infinitive plus the auxiliary verb *yun* 'to come'. The direct object assumes the subject function and is marked nominative. This is clearly exemplified in structures with reversed person hierarchy, where the direct object of the active is in the dative, as in (1a). In the corresponding passive, this object is marked nominative and agrees with *yun*. This case change is not visible in the perfective and other nonperfective constructions since their direct objects in the active are unmarked (see 2.1.1.2.4). The demoted subject is marked genitive, followed by the ablative marker, which is further followed by the postposition *zəriyi* or *dəs'* 'by'. The demoted subject is frequently dropped.

(1a) su   kariy   tse   me   hava:lɨ.
      he-nom   do-fut-2sgps   you-dat   me-dat   handover
      'He will handover you to me.'

(1b) tsɨ   yikh   me   hava:lɨ   karnɨ.
      you-nom   come-fut-2sgps-pass   me-dat   handover   do-inf-abl
        təm'sɨndi   dəs'.
        he-gen-   by
      'You will be handed over to me by him.'

(1c) tami   korus   bɨ   puli:s-as   hava:lɨ.
      she-erg   do-pst-1sgps   me-nom   police-dat   handover
      'She handed over me to the police.'

(1d) bɨ   a:s   puli:sas   hava:lɨ   karnɨ.
      I-nom   come-pst-pass   police-dat   hand-over   do-inf-abl
        təm'sɨndi   zəriyi.
        him-gen   by
      'I was handed over to the police by him/her.'

It should be noted here that in some idiolects the passive subject, as in (1f), is optionally marked dative. (See Raina 1991.)

(1e) su   chu   me   parɨna:va:n.
      he-nom   is   I-dat   teaching
      'He is teaching me.'

(1f) me   chu   yiva:n   təm'sɨndi dəs'   parɨna:vnɨ.
      I-dat   is   come-pass   him-gen-by   teach-inf-abl
      'I am being taught by him.'

In a similar vein, the indirect object also retains its dative case in the passive. The indirect object cannot surface in the nominative form. In these constructions, the direct object controls the agreement, as exemplified in (2b). On the basis of these two criteria (i.e., dative case and agreement), some linguists have argued that the indirect object does not promote to the subject position. (See Hook and Koul 1984).

(2a) aslaman   dits   mohnas   kəmi:z.
     Aslam-erg gave-fsg Mohan-dat   shirt
     'Aslam gave a shirt to Mohan.'

(2b) kəmi:z   a:yi   aslam-ni   zəriyi mohnas
     shirt-fsg-nom   came-fsg-pass   Aslam-gen-abl by   Mohan-dat
        dinɨ.
        give-abl.'
     'The shirt was given by Aslam to Mohan.'

(2c) *mohnɨ   aav   aslamni   zəriyi kəmi:z dinɨ.
     Mohan-nom   come-msg   Aslam-gen-abl by   shirt   give-inf-abl
     'Mohan was given a shirt by Aslam.'

2.1.3.1.1.2 Impersonal passive

Kashmiri impersonal passive encodes a capability sense and requires a negative or interrogative context. It employes the personal passive mophology, but unlike the personal passive, it can be formed from both intransitive and transitive verbs. The transitive impersonal passive is identical in construction to the personal passive, giving rise to an ambiguous interpretation, as exemplified in (3b, 3c, and 3d). The problem of determining the subject status of the promoted object in the capability passive again remains unresolved, though some arguments can be found in Kachru, Kachru, and Bhatia (1976), and Pandharipande (1981), to that extent. (See Rosen and Wali 1989 for a formal analysis of the two passives in Marathi.) The capability passive is found without the by-phrase agent also, as shown in (3d and 3e). (See Kachru (1973: 353.) Note that in the absence of the by-phrase agent the indirect object gets interpreted as the experiencer, as is clear from (3e).

(3a) təm'sɨndi   zəriyi a:v   nɨ   to:r   gatshnɨ.
     he-gen-abl   by   come-pass   neg   there go-inf-abl
     'He was not able to go there.'
     (He couldn't go there.)

(3b) təm'sɨndi   zəriyi a:yi   nɨ   kita:b parnɨ.
     he-gen-abl   by   came-fsg   neg   book   read-pass
     'He was not able to read the book.'
     or 'The book was not read by him.'

(3c) kəmi:z   a:yi-nɨ   aslam-ni   zəriyi   mohnas
     shirt-fsg-nom came-fsg-pass-not Aslam-gen-abl by   Mohan-dat
       dinɨ.
       give-abl
     'Aslam was not able to give the shirt to Mohan.'
     or 'The shirt was not given by Aslam to Mohan.'

(3d) kita:b   a:yi   nɨ   parnɨ.
     book   came-fsg neg read-pass
     'The book was not read.'
     or 'The book couldn't be read.'

(3e) me   yiyi   nɨ   ciṭh'   le:khnɨ   angri:ziyas
     I-dat come-fut-pass not letter write-abl English
       manz. (Kachru 1973: 353)
       in
     'I will not be able to write the letter in English.'

(3f) to:r a:v   nɨ   gatshnɨ.
     there came   neg go-pass
     'No one could go there.'

It should also be noted here that the passive forms are often utilized to express notions like 'It is said, it is heard...' (See Sahuq 1982.)

(4a) yi   a:v   vuchɨnɨ zi /vuchɨnɨ   a:v   zi----
     it   come-pass seen   that/seen   come-pass that
     'It is seen that...'

(4b) yi a:v vanɨnɨ zi.../vanɨnɨ a:v zi...
     'It is said that...'

2.1.3.1.2.1–2 Means of decreasing the valency of a verb

In Kashmiri, there is no morphological process that decreases the valency of a verb in a productive sense, as is the case with Hindi verbs (see Masica 1976). The process is found in a few Hindi borrowings such as *cha:pa:n* 'print', *chapa:n* 'be printed', *bana:n/bana:va:n* 'get made/make'.

(5a) prasɨvo:l   chu kita:b   cha:pa:n.
     printer   is   book   printing
     'The printer is printing the book.'

(5b) kita:b   cha chapa:n.
     'The book is being printed.'

Similarly, the derivation of certain intransitives from transitives—*mar/ma:r* 'die/kill', *gal/ga:l* 'melt/make melt'—that may count as instances of valency decrease is doubtful. Traditionally, such intransitive transitive pairs have been absorbed into the much more productive causative pattern. The intransitive is taken as basic and the transitive/causative is derived from it. (See Hook and Koul 1984a.)

2.1.3.1.3 *Means of increasing the valency of a verb*

The valency of a verb is increased by causativization. A causative verb is derived by means of a suffix added to the verb, which may be intransitive, transitive, double transitive, or affective, also known as ingestive. The suffix may be added repeatedly to derive extended causatives. Each suffix increases the valency of the verb by one. The status of the added argument is determined by the valency of the source verb. A comprehensive account of Kashmiri causatives is found in Hook and Koul (1984a), Syeed (1985), and Hook and A. Koul (1987). Syeed has argued that causatives in Kashmiri are lexical in nature, while Hook and A. Koul provide evidence for causatives being biclausal.

2.1.3.1.3.1.1 Causativization of intransitives

Causative stems of intransitives are derived by suffixation, vowel change, or suppletive forms (see Hook and Koul 1984a for an extensive list).

(6a) Causativization by suffixation

Suffix	Intransitive		Causative	
a:v	ruk	'stop'	ruka:v	'stop/make stop'
	haṭ	'go away'	haṭa:v	'drive away'
	phas	'get stuck'	phasa:v	'entrap'
ɨna:v/ira:v	as	'laugh'	asɨna:v	'make laugh'
	beh	'sit'	behɨna:v	'make sit'
	vuḍ	'fly'	vuḍɨna:v	'cause to fly'
	grak	'boil'	grakɨna:v	'cause to boil'
	phaṭ	'drown'	phaṭːɨna:v	'sink'
	zev	'be born'	zevɨra:v	'give birth'

(6b) Causativization by vocalic change

tar	'cross'	ta:r	'make cross'
mar	'die'	ma:r	'kill'
gal	'melt'	ga:l	'melt'
ḍal	'move'	ḍa:l	'move'

(6c) Causativization by suppletion

pe	'fall'	tra:v	'make fall'
yi	'come'	an	'bring'

2.1.3.1.3.1.2–3 Causativization of transitives

Both simple and ditransitive verbs are causativized by means of the suffix *a:v* or *ɪna:v*. The choice of suffix is phonologically determined. Roots ending in a vowel and a few others with a consonantal ending are suffixed with *a:v*, while the rest are suffixed with *ɪna:v*.

(7)

i) Suffix: *a:v*

	Transitve		Causative
a:v	hæ	'buy'	h'a:v
	di	'give'	d'a:v
	ni	'take'	n'a: v
	pe'	'fall'	pa:v

ii) Suffix: *ɪna:v*

kar	'do'	karɪna:v
to:l	'weigh'	to:lɪna:v
le:kh	'write'	le:kɪhɪna:v
par	'read'	parɪna:v

2.1.3.1.3.1.4 Causativization of affective verbs

The affective or ingestive verbs, such as *eat, drink, see, hear, learn, read,* comprise a subclass of the transitive group. Causatives of these verbs are formed in the same way as the transitive group. The stems ending in a vowel are marked with the suffix *a:v*, while other stems take the suffix *ɪna:v*. Suppletion is practically absent in this group, with the exception of the verb *khe* 'eat'.

(8)

i) Suffix: *a:v*

Transitve	*Causative*
khe 'eat'	kh'a:v/a:pɪr 'feed'
ce 'drink'	ca:v 'give to drink'
samɪj 'understand'	samja:v 'explain'

ii) Suffix: *ɪna:v*

par 'study'	parɪna:v 'teach'
bo:z 'listen'	bo:zɪna:v 'cause to listen'
le:kh 'write'	le:khɪna:v 'cause to write'

iii) Suffix: zero

tshun 'wear'	tshun 'dress'

2.1.3.1.3.1.5 Extended causatives

Extended causatives are derived by adding the suffix *ɨna:v* to all transitives—
basic as well as derived causative types. These derived causatives may be further
extended by re-adding the suffix *ɨna:v*.

2.1.3.1.3.2.1 The intransitive causee

The causee of intransitives always emerges as a direct object and the case
marking is governed by the familiar transitive pattern, namely, the person
hierarchy in the imperfective, and the ergativity in the perfective.

   (8) Inanimate and animate causee/patient

   (8a) po:n'   chu   graka:n
           water   is   boil-prp
           ˈThe water is boiling.'

   (8b) bI chus po:n'   grakɨna:va:n
           I am   water boil-caus-prp
           'I am boiling water.'

   (8c) me   grakɨno:v po:n'
           I-erg boiled   water
           ˈI boiled the water.'

   (8d) aslam   chu   asa:n.
           Aslam-nom be   laugh-prp
           'Aslam is laughing.'

   (8e) bɨ   chus   aslam   asɨna:va:n. (I ˃ III)
           I   am-1sg-ps Aslam-nom laugh-caus-prp
           'I am making Aslam laugh.'

   (8f) mohnɨ   chu   aslam-as asna:va:n.
           Mohan-nom be   Aslam-dat laugh-caus-prp
           'Mohan is making Aslam laugh.'

   (8g) me   asɨno:v   aslam. (perfective)
           I-erg laugh-caus-pst Aslam-abs
           'I made Aslam laugh.'

2.1.3.1.3.2.2 The transitive causee

The case of the causee of simple transitives appears to have two options, say A
and B. In option A, the case of the causee follows the familiar transitive pattern

of person hierarchy in the imperfective and the ergativity in the perfective noted above for the intransitives. Note that this pattern gives rise to DO doubling pattern. In (9a) and (9c), for example, both the causee and the original direct object—'potatoes'—are marked nominative/absolutive.

(9a) bI   chusan   su   o:lav   ranɨna:va:n. (I > III)
     I   am-1sgps-3sgps he-nom potatoes-nom cook-caus-prp
     'I am making him cook potatoes.'

(9b) su   chu   təmis o:lav   ranɨna:va:n. (III > III)
     he is   he-dat potatoes-nom cook-caus-prp
     'He is making him cook potatoes.'

(9c) me   ranɨna:vɨno:v su   o:lav. (perfective)
     I-erg cook-caus-pst he-abs potatoes
     'I made him cook potatoes.'

In option B, the causee is marked in an oblique form by means of certain postpositions in both nonperfective and perfectives aspects. (Compare (9a-c) with (9d-e).)

(9d) bI   chus təmis athi o:lav   ranɨna:va:n. (imperfective I > III)
     I   am   he-dat by   potatoes-nom cook-caus-prp
     'I am making him cook potatoes.'
     (I am getting potatoes cooked by him.)

(9e) me   ranɨna:vɨnə:v' təmis athi o:lav. (perfective)
     I-erg cook-caus-pst he-dat by   potatoes-nom
     'I made him cook potatoes.'
     (I had the potatoes cooked by him.)

The causee of the double object transitives is also patterned after the causee of the simple transitives—option A and B—as exemplified below. The causee is realized as nominative/absolutive or dative, as in (9f-j). All these various cases of the causee may be replaced by the oblique forms, as shown in (9h-9m). Note that in (9h) both the causee and the indirect object have been marked dative, thus generating what is known as double IO pattern. (For a semantic implication of these various case forms, see Syeed 1985.)

(9f) me   dits   mohn-as   kita:b.
     I-erg gave-fsg Mohan-dat book-fsg
     'I gave a book to Mohan.'

(9g) bɨ   d'a:vɨna:van   su   mohnas   kita:b. (I > III)
     I   give-caus-fut   he-nom Mohan-dat book-fsg
     'I will make him give a book to Mohan.'

(9h) su   d'a:vɨna:vi   me   mohnas   kita:b. (III › III)
      he   gave-caus-fut   me-dat   Mohan-dat   book-fg
      'He will make me give a book to Mohan.'

(9i) me   d'a:vɨno:v   su   mohnas   kita:b. (perfective)
      I-erg gave-caus-ms he-abs   Mohan-dat   book-fsg
      'I made him give a book to Mohan.'

(9j) təm' d'a:vɨno:vus   bɨ   mohnas   kita:b.
      he-erg gave-caus-pst-1sg-ps I-abs Mohan-dat book-fsg
      'He made me give a book to Mohan.'

      Oblique causee

(9k) bɨ   d'a:vɨna:vɨ   təmis athi mohnas   kita:b.
      I-nom gave-caus-fut he-dat by   Mohan-dat book-fsg
      'I will make him give a book to Mohan.'
      'I will have a book given to Mohan through him.'

(9l) su   d'a:vɨna:vi   me   athi   mohnas   kita:b. (III › III)
      he   gave-caus-fut   me-dat   by   Mohan-dat   book-fsg
      'He will make me give a book to Mohan.'
      (He will have a book given to Mohan through me.)

(9m) me   d'a:vɨnə:v   təmis athi mohnas   kita:b. (perfective)
      I   gave-caus-msg   he-dat by   Mohan-dat book-fsg
      'I made him give a book to Mohan.'
      (I had the book given to Mohan through him.)

(9n) təm' d'a:vɨnə:v   me   athi   mohnas   kita:b. (perfective)
      he-erg gave-caus-pas me-dat by   Mohan-dat   book-fsg
      'He made me give a book to Mohan.'
      (He had the book given to Mohan through me.)

It is worth noting here that the Kashmiri nonoblique causee pattern is not found in the neighboring Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages, though it is not uncommon by any means in non–Indo-Aryan languages. (See Comrie 1976b for a cross language perspective on causees and causatives in general.)

2.1.3.1.3.2.3 The affective causee

A special property of affective verbs is that their causee must not appear in the oblique form. In the nonperfective, the causee follows the person hierarchy pattern—nom/dat—as exemplified in (10b-c). In the perfective, the causee may

be marked absolutive or dative, as shown in (10d-e). Note that the nominative causee in the imperfective does not surface in the dative case form, as shown in (10f).

(10a) me   hech   dangal.
      I-erg   learn-ps   wrestling
      'I learnt wrestling.'

(10b) bI   chu-s-an   su   dangal   hechɨna:va:n. (I › III)
      I-nom   am-1sgps-3sgps   he   wrestling   teach-prp
      'I am teaching him wrestling.'
      'I am causing him to learn wrestling.'

(10c) su   chu   təmis   dangal   hechɨna:va:n. (III › III)
      he-nom   is   him-to   wrestling   teach-prp
      'He is teaching him wrestling.'

(10d) me   hechɨno:v   aslam   /   *aslamas-athi   dangal.
      I-erg   taught-3msg   Aslam-nom/   Aslam-by   wrestling-fem
      'I taught Aslam wrestling.'

(10e) me   hechɨnə:v   aslamas   /*aslamas-athi   dangal.
      I-erg   taught-fem   Aslam-dat/   Aslam-by   wrestling-fem
      'I taught wrestling to Aslam.'

(10f) *bI   chu-s   təm-is   dangal   hechɨna:va:n
      I   am-1sg-ps   he-dat   wrestling   teach-prp
      'I am teaching wrestling to him.'

It is worth noting here that verbs like *le:khun* 'to write' are at times used in the affective pattern besides the regular transitive causative pattern. The affective causee of *le:khun*, however, has a different semantic nuance from the oblique causee. Compare, for example, (10g), the affective causee pattern, with (10h), the transitive oblique causee pattern. (See Syeed 1985 for an excellent analysis of these constructions.)

(10g) me   le:khɨnə:v   aslam-as   ciṭh'. (agr with letter)
      I-erg   write-cause-fsg   Aslam-dat   letter-fsg
      'I dictated a letter to Aslam'

(10h) me   le:khɨnə:v   aslam-as-athi   ciṭh'. (agr with letter)
      I-erg   write-cause-fsg   Aslam-dat-by   letter-fsg
      'I had a letter written by Aslam/through Aslam.'

2.1.3.1.3.2.4 Status of causees in extended causatives

The causee of extended causatives is usually oblique. (See Wali 1980, 1981 for the order amongst these causees.)

(11) Derived transitives

(11a) təm' behno:vus bɨ.
  he sit-caus I-abs
  'He made me sit.'

(12) Extended causative

(12a) təm' behno:vus bɨ ra:mni zəriyi (raj-as athi).
  he sit-caus I-abs Ram-dat- by Raj-dat by
  'He made me sit through/by Ram through Raj.'

(13) Basic transitive

(13a) ra:jan chəl' palav.
  Raj-erg wash clothes
  'Raj washed clothes.'

(14) First causative

(14a) me chəlɨnə:v' ra:j-as athi palav.
  I-erg wash-caus Raj-dat by clothes
  'I made Raja wash the clothes.'
  'I had the clothes washed by Raj.'

(15) Extended causative

(15a) me chalɨnə:v'/chalɨna:vɨnə:v' ra:mni zəriyi raj-as
  I-erg wash-caus   Ram-gen by Raj-dat
   athi palav.
   by clothes
  'I got clothes washed by Raj through Ram.'

(16) The affective causative

(16a) me hechɨnə:v aslamas dangal.
  I-erg taught-fem Aslam-dat wrestling-fem
  'I taught wrestling to Aslam.'

(17) Extended causative

(17a) me hechɨnə:v aslamas dangal   raj-as-athi.
  I-erg taught-fem Aslam-dat wrestling-fem Raj-dat-by
  'I taught wrestling to Aslam through Raj.'

The following table exemplifies the status of the causee with various verb types.

(18) Causee table:

Embedded verb	causee one	causee two	causee three
Intransitive	DO/*OBL	OBL	OBL
Affective	DO/IO	OBL	OBL
Transitive	DO/OBL	OBL	OBL

2.1.3.1.3.3 Causee deletion

Direct object causees may not be deleted. Causees that are marked oblique or as dative indirect objects may be optionally deleted.

(19a) aslaman   /təm'   le:kh<del></del>no:vus   b<del></del>   cith'.
 Aslam-erg/he-erg   wrote-caus   me-abs   letter-nom
 'Aslam/he made me write a letter.'

(19b) *aslaman/təm'   le:kh<del></del>no:vus   cith'.
 Aslam-erg/he-erg   wrote-caus   letter-nom
 'Aslam/he made write a letter.'

(20) Deletion of oblique causee

(20a) aslaman   le:kh<del></del>nə:v   təmis-athi/las-as-athi   cith'.
 Aslam-erg   wrote-caus   him-dat-by/Lasa dat-by-   letter-nom
 'Aslam had him/Lasa write a letter.'

(20b) aslaman   le:kh<del></del>nə:v   cith'.
 Aslam-erg   wrote-caus   letter-nom
 'Aslam had a letter written.'

(21) Deletion of IO causee

(21a) me   hech<del></del>nə:v   aslam-as   dangal.
 I-erg   taught-fem   Aslam-dat   wrestling-fem
 'I taught wrestling to Aslam.'

(21b) me   hech<del></del>nə:v   dangal.
 I-erg   taught-fem   wrestling-fem
 'I taught wrestling.'

2.1.3.1.4 Reflexive and reciprocal forms

There are no special reflexive or reciprocal verb forms.

2.1.3.2 Tense

2.1.3.2.1 Formal distinctions

In Kashmiri, all the absolute tensesə—the present, the past, and the future—are formally distinguished from each other. In the present tense, the main verb occurs in its present participial form and the tense is marked on the present form *chu* of the auxiliary *asun* 'be'. The past and the future tenses are marked on the verb itself. The past tense subdivides into proximate, indefinite, and remote past, all of which are again formally distinguished. The proximate past refers to an act in the near past. The indefinite past is vague and does not refer to any specific past time. The remote past indicates the narrative/ historic past.

All tensual markings are further modified by agreement features described in 2.1.3.6.3. The gender-number features always precede the person-number features. The gender-number features are linked only with the nominative/ absolutive arguments in certain tenses, as described below. In contrast, the person-number features—known as pronominal suffixes (i.e., clitics)—are cued to the ergative, the dative, and the nominative/absolutive cases. Both the subject and the direct object may be marked with the nominative/absolutive case. All indirect objects are in the dative case. Some direct objects also appear in the dative case. Note that the form of the pronominal suffixes is solely defined by the surface case and not by the grammatical functions of their coreferents. The distribution of pronominal suffixes and their links with the various cases have been described in 2.1.3.6.3. Here we provide their respective paradigms. These are essential to understand the tensual variations. They have been glossed as 'ps' in all the examples.

(1) Pronominal suffixes as defined by the surface case:

Person	Nominative/Absolutive		Ergative		Dative	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	s	∅	m	∅	m	∅
II	kh	v(i)	th	v(i)	y	v(i)
III	(n)	(kh)	n	kh	s	kh

2.1.3.2.1.1 Universal truths

All time universal truths—past, present, and future—are expressed in the present tense.

(2a) yinsa:n chu khɔdgaraz.
man is selfish
'Man is selfish.'

(2b) pha:rsiyas manz chi 'gul' van-a:n po:shas.
Persian in is gul say-prp flower
'In Persian 'gul' means 'flower'.'

(2c) kɔng   chu   vihis   manz khas-aːn.
     saffron is   Vih-dat   in   grow-prp
     'Saffron grows in Vih.'

2.1.3.2.1.2 Present tense

The present tense is formed by means of the present participle—[verb + *aːn*]—plus the auxiliary *chu* 'be', which is placed in the second position. The auxiliary inflects for gender, number, and person of the nominative subject, as shown in (3). The participle does not inflect and may move next to the auxiliary or stay in the final position.

(3) *Person* Masculine   Feminine
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
I	chu-s	chi	cha-s	cha
II	chu-kh	chi-v	cha-kh	cha-vɨ
III	chu	chi	chi	cha

Note that in the following examples the pronominal suffixes shown above in (1) are attached to the auxiliary in the final position.

(4a) bɨ   chu-s   baːzar   gatshaːn.
     I   am-ms-1sgps   market   go-prp
     'I am going to the market./I go to the market.'

(4b) tsɨ   chu-kh   akhbaːr   paraːn.
     you-erg be-2sgps   newspaper read-prp
     'You are reading a newspaper.'

The verb does not agree with dative subjects. Instead it shows agreement with the theme that is marked nominative/absolutive.

(4c) me   cha-kh   tsɨ   asɨl   lagaːn.
     I-dat   be-fsg-2ps   you-fsg-abs good   feels
     'I like you.'

For the copular sentences in the present tense, see 1.2.1.1.

2.1.3.2.1.3 Past tense

All the three past tense forms exhibit the ergative pattern. In all these tenses, transitive subjects are overtly marked for the ergative case. Intransitive subjects and transitive direct objects are marked nominative/absolutive and control the agreement. (See 2.1.3.6 for details.) A few exceptional intransitives, such as *vadun* 'to cry', *asun* 'to laugh', *natsun* 'to dance', *tsuvun/laḍun* 'to quarrel', *zosun* 'to caugh', and *voːrun* 'to chatter', also take an ergative subject. These intransitives are traditionally known as impersonals. The gender-number suffixes of the subjects of these intransitive subject are neutralized, and the verb shows

ergative pronominal suffixes noted in (1). Similarly, a few exceptional transitives mark their direct objects in the dative case and the verb inflects accordingly (i.e., shows dative pronominal suffixes). The subjects of exceptional transitives are marked ergative as usual. The past tense does not affect the dative subject construction. The following table gives the markings of the three past tenses.

(5)

Tense	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Proximate	-v	-yi	-yi	-yi
Indefinite	-yoːv	-(y)eːyi	-(y)eːyi	-(y)eːyi
Remote	-(y)eːyoːv	-(ye)ːyeːyi	-(y)eːyeːyi	-(y)eːyeːyi

2.1.3.2.1.3.1 Proximate past

The proximate past is formed by an infix *v/y* noted in (5). This infix affects the verb stems of most transitives, impersonal intransitives, and a small group of intransitives, which we have classified as group two intransitives. The infix brings about various vocalic and consonantal changes, which are generally controlled, as in (a-c). The majority of intransitive stems—our group one—are not subject to these changes.

  (a) Both masculine singular and plural forms change their stem vowels
       (e.g., *ə, a --› o, aː --› oː*). The vowel *u* remains invarient.

  (b) Feminine singular forms also change their stem vowels (e.g., *i --› yu*),
       with the exception of *u*. In addition to vocalic changes, there is also a
       softening of final consonants according to the rules noted in (3.4.1.3.5–7).

  (c) Feminine plural forms do not change the stem vowels, but they do
       soften the final consonants, as is the case with the feminine singulars.

  These changes are reflected in the following paradigm representing the third person. The exceptional predicates have been noted in their respective section. The proximate past inflects for intransitive nominative subjects and transitive absolutive objects. The verb is further suffixed by the absolutive pronominal suffixes shown in (1).

2.1.3.2.1.3.1.1 Transitive verbs in the proximate past

Most transitive verbs ending in a consonant follow the general rules noted above. There are five transitive verbs that have a vocalic ending, all of which have been listed below. Two of these—*di* 'give', and *he* 'take'—show irregular past tense forms.

(6) *Transitive stem*

		Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
par	'read'	por	pər'	pər	pari
chal	'wash'	chol	chəl'	chəj	chaji
an	'bring'	on	ən'	ən'	əni
le:kh	'write'	l'u:kh	li:kh'	li:ch	le:chi
vuch	'to see'	vuch	vuch	vuch/vɨch	vuchi/vɨchi
khe	'eat'	kh'av/khev	kheyi	kheyi	kheyi
œ	'drink'	c'av	ceyi	ceyi	ceyi
he	'take'	h'ot	het'	hets	hetsa
ni	'take'	n'uv	niyi	niyi	niyi
di	'give'	d'ut	dit'	dits	ditsɨ

(7) Perfective absolutive object agreement

(7a) aslam-an   por   akhba:r.
     Aslam-erg   read-msg   newspaper-abs-msg
     'Aslam read the newspaper.'

(7b) mi:ra:yi   vuchu--kh   tsɨ.
     Mira-fsg-erg   saw-msg-2ps   you-msg-abs
     'Mira saw you.'

Note that the person and number features of the second-person ergative subjects are obligatorily marked on the verb. The features of the first- and third-person ergative subjects are marked only optionally and are subject to certain restrictions noted below in 2.1.3.6.3. The gender-number features of the direct object precede the ergative pronominal suffixes.

(7c) tse   khey-ath   tse:rɨ.
     you-erg   ate-fpl-2ps   apricots-fpl
     'You ate apricots.'

(7d) tɔhi   əni-vɨ   nəv'   palav.
     you-pl   brought-mpl-2plps   new   clothes-mpl
     'You brought new clothes.'

A further interesting fact that should be noted here is that while the gender-number features of the object are incorporated in the verb, its pronominal suffixes/clitics follow the ergative pronominal suffixes/clitics, as shown in (7e). (See 2.1.3.6.3 for details and examples.)

(7e) tse   vɨch-i-th-as   bɨ.
     you-erg   saw-fsg-2ps-1ps   me-fsg-abs
     'You saw me (feminine).'

Agreemental composition of the transitive verb in the proximate past may be abstracted, as follows :

(8) V + object's gender number + (ergative pronominal suffix) + object pronominal suffix.

2.1.3.2.1.3.1.2 Intransitive verbs in the proximate past

Most intransitive verbs take nominative subjects, which agree with the verb for gender, number, and person, as already noted The intransitives divide into two groups. In group one, which forms the majority of the intransitives, the proximate past is formed by simple suffixation noted in (9). The suffix does not induce any change in the stem vowel or final consonants noted above for transitive verbs. The following paradigms indicate the third-person forms. These are further inflected by the person suffixes noted above in (1) in 2.1.3.2 to derive the appropriate first- and second-person forms, as exemplified in (9c) for *yun* 'to come'.

(9)

Tense	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Proximate	-(o)v	-e:yi	-e:yi	-e:yi

(9a) (Group one)

Inransitive stem		Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
bɔḍ	'sink'	buḍ'o:v	buḍe:yi	buḍe:yi	buḍe:yi
yir	'float'	yir'o:v	yire:yi	yire:yi	yire:yi
khu:l	'open'	khul'o:v	khule:yi	khule:yi	khule:yi
yi	'come'	a:v	a:yi	a:yi	a:yi
pe	'fall'	p'av	peyi	peyi	peyi
ze/zi	'be born'	z'a:v	za:yi	za:yi	za:yi

(9b) Intransitives with suppletive forms

ne:r	'to come out'	dra:v	dra:yi	dra:yi	dra:yi
gatsh	'to go'	gav	gəyi	gəyi	gəyi
atsun	'to enter'	tsa:v	tsa:yi	tsa:yi	tsa:yi

(9c) Verb forms of *yun* 'come' with person inflections

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	a:s	a:yi	a:yas	a:yi
II	a:kh	a:yivɨ	a:yakh	a:yivɨ
III	a:v	a:yi	a:yi	a:yi

Group two intransitives, nearly sixty seven in number (see Grierson 1899a), form their proximate past in a manner similar to the transitives. The verb stems of these intransitives undergo changes listed in (a-c) in 2.13.2.1.3.1.

(10a) (Group two)

Inransitive stem		Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
pak	'to walk'	pok	pək'	pɔc	paci
tag	'be possible'	tog	təg'	təj	taji
hek	'can'	h'ok	hek'	hec	heci
phut	'break'	phuṭ	phuṭ'	phuṭ	phuci
tra:v	'leave'	tro:v	trə:v'	trə:v	tra:vi

(10b) Group two exceptional intransitives

vas	'descend'	voth	vəth'	vətsh	vatshɨ
khas	'climb'	khot	khət'	khəts	khatsɨ

(10c) Verb forms of *gatsh, pak* 'go, walk' with person inflections

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	go:-s	gəyi	gəy-as	gəyi
	pok-us	pək'	pəcis	paci
II	go:kh	gəyivɨ	gəyakh	gəyivɨ
	pokukh	pəkivɨ	pəcɨkh	pacivi
III	gav	gəyi	gəyi	gəyi
	pok	pək'	pɔc	paci

Group two also includes intransitives that take ergative subjects (i.e., the impersonals noted above). The proximate past of these impersonals does not inflect for gender or number. It shows the neutral inflection, which is the same as the third-masculine singular form.

(11) Group two ergative/impersonal intransitives

vad	'cry'	vod	vod	vod	vod
as	'laugh'	os	os	os	os

The pronominal suffixes for the first and third person are used only if the pronouns are absent. These suffixes are obligatory for second person, as noted earlier.

(11a) me   vod/os.   vod-u-m/os-u-m.
        I-erg   cry/laugh.   cry-Isg-ps/laugh-Isgps
        'I cried/I laughed.'

(11b) tse   vodu-th/os-u-th
        you-erg   cry-2-ps/laugh-2sg-ps
        'You cried/laughed.'

(11c) təm'   vod/os.   vod-un/os-un.
      he-erg   cry/laugh.   cry-3sg-ps/laugh-3sg-ps
      'He cried/laughed.'

Finally, it should be noted here that our classification scheme differs slightly from the one given in Grierson (1899a, 1911, 1919). According to Grierson, verb stems divide into three conjugations. The first conjugation includes all transitives and the impersonal intransitives. The second conjugation includes our group two intransitives, and the third conjugation includes predicates of our group one.

2.1.3.2.1.3.1.3 Indefinite and remote past

The indefinite past is marked directly on the verb stem by the suffixes noted in (5) in 2.1.3.2.1.3. The remote/historic past is formed simply by prefixing *(y)e:* to the indefinite past. These are then followed by the pronominal suffixes noted in (1). The verbal inflection is cued to the transitive nominative/absolutive object and the intransitive nominative subject, as is the case with the proximate past. The following paradigm in (12a) shows the forms of some transitives in both indefinite and remote past. The forms include the second-person ergative inflections, which follow the nominative/absolutive gender-number inflections of the object.

(12a)   Indefinite and remote past paradigm for *par, ni, di* 'read, take, give'

		Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I/III		par'o:v	pare:yi	pare:yi	pare:yi
		pare:yo:v	pare:ya:yi	pare:ya:yi	pare:ya:yi
		niyo:v	niye:yi	niye:yi	niye:yi
		niye:yo:v	niye:ya:yi	niye:ya:yi	niye:ya:yi
		ditso:v	ditsa:yi	ditsa:yi	ditsa:yi
		ditsa:yo:v	ditsa:ya:yi	ditsa:ya:yi	ditsa:ya:yi
IIsg		par'o:th	pare:yath	pare:yath	pare:yath
		pare:yo:th	pare:yath	pare:yath	pare:yath
		niyo:th	niye:yath	niye:yath	niye:yath
		niye:yo:th	niye:yath	niye:yath	niye:yath
		ditso:th	ditsa:yath	ditsa:yath	ditsa:yath
		ditsa:yo:th	ditsa:yath	ditsa:yath	ditsa:yath
IIpl		par'o:vɨ	pare:yvɨ	pare:yvɨ	pare:yvɨ
		pare:yo:vɨ	pare:ye:yvɨ	pare:ye:yvɨ	pare:ye:yvɨ
		niyo:vɨ	niye:yvɨ	niye:yvɨ	niye:yvɨ
		niye:yo:vɨ	niye:yvɨ	niye:yvɨ	niye:yvɨ
		ditso:vɨ	ditsa:yvɨ	ditsa:yvɨ	ditsa:yvɨ
		ditsa:yo:vɨ	ditsa:ye:yvɨ	ditsa:ye:yvɨ	ditsa:ye:yvɨ

The following suffixes are added to the proximate past of the intransitive verbs to derive their indefinite and remote past forms. The suffixes include the gender, number, and person forms of the nominative subject.

(12b)

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	-yo:s	-e:yi	-e:yas	-e:yi
	e:yo:s	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yas	-e:ye:yi
II	-yo:kh	-e:yvɨ	-e:yakh	-e:yvɨ
	ye:yo:kh	-e:yvɨ	-e:yakh	-e:yvɨ
III	-yo:v	-e:yi	-e:yi	-e:yi
	e:yo:v	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi

(The second- and third-person masculine plural forms are used for the honorific singulars as well.)

(12c) su   a:yo:v   /a:ye:yo:v   vakhtas   peʈh   magar   bas   ə:s
      he   came-i-pst/came-r-pst   time-dat   on   but   bus   was-fsg
        nɨ   tati.
        neg   there
      'He came on time, but there was no bus.'

(12d) əs'   gəye:yi   dili   magar   kə:m   hec   nɨ   kərith.
      we-nom   went-i-pst-1pl   Delhi   but   work   could   neg   do-cp
      'We went to Delhi but could not do the work.'

(12e) tsɨ   khatsa:yo:kh   kulis   magar   bɨ   h'okus   nɨ.
      you-nom   climbed-i-pst -2sg-ps   tree-dat   but   I   could-1sg   neg
      'You climbed on the tree, but I couldn't.'

2.1.3.2.1.3.2 The pluperfect (i.e., the relative past) is denoted by the aspectual past perfect noted below in 2.1.3.3.1.2.

2.1.3.2.1.4 Future

The future tense is marked by two types of endings. The gender distinctions are absent in both types. However, both types are marked for the subject's person and number features. These features are affected in an intricate way by the presence of the direct and the indirect object, as described below.
    Type one suffixes are cued to the person and number of the nominative subject. Intransitive verbs with consonantal stems take suffixes in set (1a) noted below in (13). Transitive verbs with consonantal stems also take suffixes in set (1a), as in 15 f-g, provided the stems are not marked for inanimate objects. Transitive verbs that are marked for objects take a different set of suffixes, as noted below. Suffixes in set (1b) are used for all verb stems with a vocalic ending (e.g., *yi, pe, khe, ce, he, ni, di* 'come, fall, eat, drink, buy, take, give').

(13)   Set (1a)   Set (1b)

	Masculine/Feminine		Masculine/Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	-ɨ	-av	-mɨ	-mav
II	-a-kh	-iv	-kh	-yiv
III	-i	-an	-yi	-n

(14a) Intransitive verbs

    bɨ   yi-mɨ   vakht-as   peṭh.
    I   come-fut-1sg   time-dat   on
    'I will come on time.'

(14b) su   yiyi   vakht-as   peṭh.
       he-nom come-fut-3sg time-dat   on
       'He will come on time.'

(14c) tsɨ   gatsh-a-kh gaṛɨ.
       you-nom   go-fut-2ps   home
       'You will go home.'

(14d) mohn-ɨ   shɔng-i.
       Mohan-nom sleep-fut-3sg
       'Mohan will sleep.'

(15) Transitive verbs

(15a) bɨ   di-mɨ   pɔ̃:sɨ.
       I   give-fut-1sg   money
       'I will pay money.'

(15b) tsɨ   di-kh   kita:b   pa:n-ay.
      you   give-fut-2sg book   self-emph
      'You will give the book yourself.'

(15c) toh'   hey-iv   maka:n.
      you   buy-fut-2ps   house
      'You will buy a house.'

(15d) tim   khe-n   batɨ.
      they eat-fut-3pl food
      'They will eat food.'

(15e) su   ani   kita:b.
      he   bring-fut-3sg book
      'He will bring the book.'

(15f) bɨ   kar-ɨ   yi   kə:m.
      I   do-fut-1sg   this work
      'I'll do this work.'

(15g) əs'   par-av   akhba:r.
      we   read-fut-1pl   newspaper
      'We will read the newspaper.'

Type two suffixes come into play when the future is marked for animate pronominal objects and also for inanimate objects. Note that the case of the animate direct object is conditioned by what is known as person hierarchy. (See Hook and Kaul 1987, Wali and Koul 1994). The animate direct object is marked zero case (i.e., bare/nominative) just in case the subject is in a higher person (i.e., I › II › III; II › III). These bare objects obligatorily mark the verb with the ergative pronominal suffixes noted above in (1). The addition of the object suffixes affects the subject's suffixes in set (1a) and (1b), and gives rise to type two subject suffixes noted as set two in (16). Some grammarians list these as future two suffixes (see Bhat 1987).

(16) Set two suffixes

	Subject suffixes		Bare object suffixes	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	-a	-ɨho	-	-
II	-ɨh	-ɨha	-th	-vɨ
III	-y	-ɨn	-an/-s	-akh

(17a) bɨ   vuch-a-th   tsɨ.
      I-nom   see-1sg-2sgps   you-acc
      'I will see you.'

(17b) bɨ   vuch-an   su.
      I-nom   see-1sg-3sgps   he-acc
      'I will see him.'

(17c) tsɨ   vuch-ɨh-an   su.
      you-nom   see-2sgps-3sgps   he-acc
      'You will see him.'

The direct object is marked dative if the subject is in a lower person than the object—II › I ; III › II, I—or of equal rank—III › III. These dative-marked objects do not alter the subject suffixes in set (1a) and (1b), as exemplified below.

(18a) tsɨ   vuch-a-kh   me   /*bɨ.
      you   see-fut-2ps me-dat/I-nom
      'You will see me.'

(18b) su   vuch-i   təmis/*su.
       he   see-fut   he-dat/*he-nom
       'He will see him.'

It is worth noting here that the verb obligatorily inflects for dative objects in the second person. The verb may also inflect for dative objects in the first and third person. However, this inflection requires the deletion of first- and third-person pronominal objects. In contrast, the dative object in the second person may optionally stay overt. (See 2.1.3.6.3.) Interestingly, the addition of dative object suffixes again brings set two subject suffixes in (16) into play. Compare, for example, (18a and 18b) with (19a and 19b).

(19a) tsɨ   vuch-ɨh-am.
       you   see-2sgps-1ps
       'You will see me.'

(19b) su   vuch-as.
       he   see-3sg-3sgps
       'He will see him.'

(19c) su   vuch-i-y   (tse).
       he   see-3sg-2ps   you-dat
       'He will see you.'

It is clear from the above data that the subject suffixes in set one—(1a) and (1b) in (13) immediately above—represent the basic future and that the subject suffixes in set two are merely their morphophonemic variations. They come into play in the context of object pronominal suffixes and as such belong to a rule of morphology. This is further evidenced by the fact that suffixes in set two come into play when the third-person object suffixes are employed for inanimate objects, as exemplified in (20a) and(20b).

(20a) bɨ   chal-an   kəmi:z.
       I   wash-fut-3sg   shirt-3sg
       'I will wash the shirt.'

(20b) bɨ   chal-akh   kəmi:zɨ.
       I   wash-fut-3pl   shirts-3pl
       'I will wash shirts.'

The marking of the inanimate-number feature is optional. Some grammarians believe that these features add specificity to the animate objects.

It should be noted here that the case variations dictated by the person hierarchy are operative in the present tense also. However, these variations in the present do not necessarily lead to morphophonemic changes except in the case of second person, as noted in 2.1.3.6.3. The nonpast agreemental pattern thus sharply contrasts with the agreemental pattern in the past where the direct object

must appear only in the absolute case, with the exception of a few exceptional predicates noted above. (See Wali and Koul 1994 for formal implications of this asymmetrical agreement pattern.)

2.1.3.2.1.4.1–2 The future tense is not marked for the degree of remoteness. However, it does at times indicate immediate present without any special marking.

    (21a) bɨ   yimɨ   vun'.
             I   come-fut   now-emp
             'I come right away.' (lit. 'I'll come right away.')

2.1.3.2.1.4.3 The future perfect (i.e., past relative to future) has been described in the aspectual construction noted in 2.1.3.3.1.2.

2.1.3.2.2 Tense distinctions in modals and nonfinite forms

2.1.3.2.2.1 For tense variations in modals see 2.1.3.4.

2.1.3.2.2.2 The infinitive does not inflect for the tense as such. (See subordinate clause section 1.1.2.)

    (22a) me   cha   kita:b   parɨn'.
             I-dat have book-fsg   read-inf-fsg
             'I have to read the book.'

2.1.3.2.3 Relative vs. absolute tenses

In the absolute tense, the reference point for the location of a situation is the present moment. (See Comrie 1985). Under this definition, simple finite clauses denote the absolute tense. Note that all the three past variations are absolutive since their reference point is present moment.

    In the relative tense, the reference point for location of a situation is some point in time given by the context and not necessarily the present moment. The relative tense is found in aspectual constructions noted in (2.1.3.3).

2.1.3.3 Aspect

2.1.3.3.1 Perfect aspect

2.1.3.3.1.1 Forms of perfect aspect

The aspectual perfect, referring to the past action with present relevance, is indicated by the suffix *mut* added to the main verb's past tense stem. The suffix varies with the gender number of the nominative/absolutive argument— intransitive subjects, and transitive absolutive objects, as is the case with the

past tense. The exceptional intransitives and the transitives noted in 2.1.3.2.1.3 block the agreement and the suffix assumes a neutral form (i.e., *mut* the third-masculine singular form).

(1)

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
mut	mɨt'	mɨts	mɨtsɨ

2.1.3.3.1.2 Tenses of the perfect aspect

The three tenses of the perfect—present, past, and future—are marked on the auxiliary *a:sun*. These forms inflect for person, gender, and number, as well as the pronominal suffixes elaborated in 2.1.3.6. These inflections follow the pattern of the past tense. The agreement is with the subject in the intransitives and with the absolutive object in the transitives. The following tables show forms of the auxiliary that link to nominative/absolutive arguments in various tenses. For pronominal suffixes, specially those of the second person, which are obligatory, see 2.1.3.2.1.3.

(2a) Present perfect forms of 'X has gone (X = Ist, IInd, and IIIrd person)'

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
bɨ chus go:mut	əs' chi gəmɨt'	bɨ chas gəmɨts	əs' chi gəmɨtsɨ
tsɨ chu-kh go:mut	toh' chiv gəmɨt'	tsɨ chakh gəmɨts	toh' chavɨ gəmɨtsɨ
su chu go:mut	tim chi gəmɨt'	sɔ cha gəmɨts	timɨ cha gəmɨtsɨ

(2b) Past perfect forms of 'X had gone'

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
bɨ o:sus go:mut	əs' ə:s' gəmɨt'	bɨ ə:sɨs gəmɨts	əs' a:sɨ gəmɨtsɨ
tsɨ o:sukh go:mut	toh' ə:siv gəmɨt'	tsɨ ə:sɨkh gəmɨts	toh' a:sɨvɨ gəmɨtsɨ
su o:s go:mut	tim ə:s' gəmɨt'	sɔ ə:s gəmɨts timɨ	a:sɨ gəmɨtsɨ

(2c) Future perfect forms of 'X will have gone'

Masculine/Feminine	
Singular	*Plural*
bɨ a:sɨ go:mut	əs' a:sav gəmɨt'
tsɨ a:sakh go:mut	toh' a:siv gəmɨt'
su a:si go:mut	tim a:san gəmɨt'

(3) Present perfect agreeing with the absolutive object

(3a) me/təm'   chu   batɨ   kh'o:mut.
I/he/-erg   be-3msg food-msg eat-pp-msg
'I/he have eaten the food.'

(3b) tse   cha-th   kəmi:z   hetsmɨts.
you-erg aux-fsg-2ps shirt-fsg buy-pp-fsg
'You have bought a shirt.'

(4) Past perfect agreeing with the absolutive object

(4a) me/təm'   o:s   akhba:r   por-mut.
I/he/-erg aux-pst-msg newspaper -msg   read-psp-msg
'I/he had read the newspaper.'

(4b) tse   ə:sɨ-th   kita:b   ənimɨts.
you-erg aux-pst-fsg- 2ps book-fsg   brought-fsg
'You had brought the book.'

(5) Future perfect agreeing with the absolutive object

(5a) me/təm'   a:si   na:ṭakh   vuchɨmut.
I/he/-erg aux-fut play -msg see-psp-msg
'I/he will have seen the play.'

(5b) tse   a:sna-th   palav   het'mɨt'.
you-erg aux-fut-2ps clothes-mpl bought-pp-mpl
'You will have bought clothes.'

2.1.3.3.1.3 Situations indicated by the perfect aspect

The perfect aspect generally expresses present result of a past situation, one time situation with present relevance, or a situation that began in the past and is still continuing.

(6a) me   chu kashmi:rashabda:mrta pormut.
I-erg be   Kashmi:rashabda:mrta   read
'I have read Kashmi:rashabda:mrta.'

(6b) me   ə:s   li:chmɨts   mi:ra:yi   ciṭh'.
I-erg had written   Mira-dat   letter
'I had written a letter to Mira.'

(6c) tami chu tren   gaṇṭan   laga:ta:r   notsmut.
she-erg has three-dat hours-dat continuously dance-psp
'She has danced for three hours continuously.'

(6d) bɨ   chus pra:r'o:mut   ja:hzas   dɔn   dɔhan.
     I-nom   have wait-psp   plane-dat   two-dat days-dat
     'I have waited/been waiting for the plane for two days.'

2.1.3.3.1.4 Perfect and recent past

Although perfect and recent past formally differ from each other it is interesting to note that they have the same argument structure. Also, in many situations requiring the perfect, one may substitute the simple past to convey the sense of the present perfect.

(7a) aslam   gav   vɔn'.
     Aslam   went   now
     'Aslam went (=has gone) now.'

(7b) toh'   gəyiva: zã: kəshi:ri   vandas   manz?
     you-pl   went-2pl-Q ever Kashmir-dat   winter-dat   in
     'Did you ever go to Kashmir during winter?'
     (Have you ever gone to Kashmir?)

2.1.3.3.2 The duration of a situation marked on the aspect

2.1.3.3.2.1.1 Perfective aspect

The perfective aspect is used to express the sense of completion—viewing the situation in its totality without distinguishing beginning, middle, and end. In Kashmiri, this aspect is expressed by means of the indefinite past and what is known as compound verbs. The compound consists of the conjunctive participial form of the main verb and explicator verbs such as *gatsh* 'lit. to go', *ni* 'lit. take' *pe* 'lit. fall', *di* 'give', *tshun* 'lit. throw'. (See 2.2.6.3.3.2 for a detail list). Note that in Kashmiri the compound verb is not frequently used as it is in Hindi and some other neighboring languages, and secondly, unlike Hindi, it may always be replaced by the simple indefinite past tense of the verb. (See Hook and Koul 1992b.)

(8a) su gav   yakdam   thod vəthith.
     he went   suddenly   up   rise-cp
     'He suddenly got up.'

(8b) su   voth   thod yakdam.
     He   rise-pst up   suddenly
     'He rose suddenly.'

(8c) su   pev saykalɨ   peṭhɨ   vəsith.
     he-nom   fell cycle-abl from   descend-cp
     'He fell down from the cycle.'

(8d) su   voth   saykalɨ   peṭhɨ.
     he   descend-pst   cycle-abl   from
     'He fell down from the cycle.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.2 Imperfective aspect

The imperfective, in the sense of explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, is marked on the verb's present participial *a:n*. It is accompanied by the auxiliary *a:sun*, which carries the tense, as in the perfect aspect noted above. The present, past, and future forms of the auxiliary are the same, as noted in (2) above. (See appendix III (7–9) for paradigmatic details.)

2.1.3.3.2.1.3–5 Habitual/Continuous/Progressive aspect

Both the habitual and the progressive aspect use the imperfective aspectual form to indicate their respective nuances.

(9a) bɨ   chus   dɔhay   ba:zar   gatsha:n.
     I   am   daily   market   going
     'I go to the market daily.'

(9b) su   o:s   suli   garɨ   yiva:n.
     he   was   early   home   coming
     'He used to come home early.'

(9c) aslam   chu   kita:b   par-a:n.
     Aslam   is   book   reading
     'Aslam is reading a book.'

(9d) mohnɨ   o:s   ba:zar   gatsh-a:n.
     Mohan   was   market   going
     'Mohan was going to the market.'

(9e) shi:lɨ   a:si   philim   vucha:n.
     Sheila   be-fut   film   watching
     'Sheila will be watching a film.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.6 Ingressive aspect

The ingressive/inceptive aspect is not directly marked on the verb. It is formed by employing the verbs *lagun* 'lit. to stick' or *h'on* 'lit. to take' as auxiliaries with the oblique infinitive. The auxiliary is marked for tense, gender, and number of the relevant argument.

(10a) aslam   log   ciṭh'   le:khni.
       Aslam-nom began letter   write-inf-obl
       'Aslam began to write a letter.'

(10b) tami   hets   ciṭh'   par-ɨn'.
       she-erg began letter read-inf-obl
       'She began to read the letter.'

(10c) su   heyi   pakun.
       he   begin-fut walk-inf
       'He will begin to walk.'

(10d) me   lə:j   kə:m karɨn'.
       I-erg began work doing
       'I began/started to work.'

(10e) me hets kə:m   shoru: karɨn'.
       I-erg began work-fsg began do-inf-fsg
       'I began to do my work.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.7 Terminative aspect

The terminative aspect is expressed by combining the explicator *thavun* 'lit. to keep' with the conjunctive participial form of the main verb.

(11a) me   thəv kə:m   kərith.
       I-erg kept work   do-cp
       'I completed the work.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.8 Iterative aspect

The iterative aspect is not marked on the verb as such. The notion is conveyed by using the frequentative participial at times. (See 1.1.2.4.2.4.)

(12a) su chu   kita:bɨ pər' pər' thaka:n.
       he is   books read read tire-prp
       'He tires himself by repeated reading of books.'

(12b) ma:ji cha ku:r lə:y lə:y khara:b kərmɨts.
       mother has girl beat beat spoil   do-psp
       'Mother has spoiled the girl by repeated beating.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.1.9–10 Semelfactive and punctual aspect

There is no special form to express semelfactive or punctual aspect.

2.1.3.3.2.1.11 Durative aspect

The durative aspect is marked by the explicator *ro:z* 'lit. remain'. The main verb is put in the the imperfective form. The explicator is inflected for tense and agreement markers.

(13a) su   ro:zi   kita:b   para:n.
      he   remain-fut book   reading
      'He will go on reading the book.'

(13b) so   ru:z   philim   vucha:n.
      she   remained   film   watching
      'She kept on watching the film.'

2.1.3.3.2.1.12–14 Simultaneous aspect

There are no special aspect markers to express simultaneous actions. These are expressed by using participial forms as adverbs of the matrix verb. The participial forms are duplicated.

(14) me   bu:z   re:diyo   bati   kh'ava:n   kh'ava:n.
      I-erg   listen-pst radio   food   eating   eating
      'I listened to the radio while eating food.'

2.1.3.3.2.2.1 Combination of aspectual values

The perfective expressed as indefinite past is compatible with the perfect aspect, as already noted. The imperfective is compatible with the progressive and the habitual. Both the perfective and the imperfective extend their aspectual value by employing the explicators.

2.1.3.3.2.2.2 Aspectuals across voice, tense, mood, and nonfiniteness

All the primary aspects—the perfect, the perfective, and the imperfective—can be carried over to the passive voice. Notice, however, that the explicator constructions impose their own constraints and usually do not allow passivization and negative context. Aspectual values, with the exception of conditionals, are also not compatible with either the modals or the infinitives.

2.1.3.4 Mood

The primary modal categories are indicative, conditional, and imperative. The indicative mood is unmarked. The conditional and the imperative are directly expressed on the verb. The imperative third-person forms are used to express the optative mood. Other modal categories—obligative, debitive, potential, etc.—employ explicators in tandem with the infinitive or the conjunctive participial.

2.1.3.4.1 Indicative mood

The indicative mood has no special form. It is an inherent mood of a declarative sentence. Its unmarked form contrasts with the overtly marked conditional and the imperative mood.

2.1.3.4.2 Conditional mood

Conditional expresses either a likelihood of an event or dependency. It is directly marked on the verb or on the auxiliary *a:sun* 'to be' if the verb is in its participial form. The conditional thus formally resembles the aspectuals. This is further confirmed by its aspectual-like agreement pattern. The agreement in the conditional follows the familiar nominative/ergative paradigm noted in 2.1.3.6. The conditional also shows both the regular agreement and the one cued to the pronouns. The agreement pattern of the conditional is exemplified below.

(1a) The nominative/absolutive agreement
       Masculine/Feminine

	Singular	*Plural*
I	ɨhə:	ɨhə:v
II	ɨhə:kh	ɨhɨ:v
III	ɨhe:	ɨhə:n

(2) Subject agreement with the conditional form of the verb

(2a) bɨ   parɨhə: kita:b   magar—
      I-nom   read-cond-1sg book   but
      'I would read the book but—'

(2b) tsɨ   khe-hə:-kh   batɨ   magar—
      you-nom   eat-cond-2sg-ps food   but
      'You would eat the food but—'

(2c) su   vuchihe: philim   magar—
      he-nom   see-cond-3sg film   but
      'He would see the film but—'

(3) Subject agreement with the auxiliary

(3a) bɨ   a:sɨ-hə: par-a:n.
      I-nom   be-cond-1sg   reading
      'I would have been reading.'

(4) Intransitive subject agreement with the perfect participle

(4a) bɨ   a:sɨhə: go:-mut.
     I-msg-nom   be-cond-1sg   go-psp-msg
     'I would have gone.'

(4b) toh'   ə:sihi:v   gə:mɨt'.
     you-pl   be-cond-2pl   go-psp-pl
     'You would have gone.'

In the transitive context, the subject is marked ergative and the conditional agrees with the absolutive object. The second person obligatorily marks the verb for ergative pronominal suffixes. The first- and third-person ergative agreement shows up only when they are deleted (see 2.1.3.6). In short, the conditional agreement behaves exactly like the one noticed for the perfective aspect.

(5) Paradigm for absolutive object agreement

	Singular	*Plural*
I	ihe:	ɨhə:n
II	ihe:th	ihe:vɨ
III	ihe:	ɨhe:n

(5a) me   a:si-he: por-mut   akhba:r.
     I-erg   be-cond-3msg   read-psp-3msg   nespaper-3msg
     'I would have read the newspaper.'

(5b) tse   a:si-he:th   por-mut   akhba:r.
     you-erg be-cond-3msg-2sg   read-psp-3msg   nespaper-msg
     'You would have read the newspaper.'

It is worth noting here that the conditional sense may be conveyed by the future tense alone in all its aspectual variations of the imperfect as well as the perfect, without adding the conditional markers to the verb.

(6a) su   a:si   kita:b   le:kha:n.
     he   be-fut   book   writing
     'He may be writing a book'
     'He will be writing a book.'

(7a) təm'   a:si   kita:b   li:chmɨts.
     he-erg be-fut   book   write-psp
     'He must have written the book.'
     'He will have written the book.'

2.1.3.4.3 Imperative

See 1.1.1.3 for the imperative forms and their uses.

2.1.3.4.4 Optative/Subjunctive

2.1.3.4.4.1 Optative

The optative, used to express a wish or a desire, is marked on the verb by the suffixes -*in/iv* (singular/plural)/*tan* (polite). In traditional grammars, these suffixes have been listed as third-person imperative forms (see Grierson 1919: 294). Note that these suffixes are also used with verbs of wishing for the embedded third-person subject generating the sense of subjunctive. However, if the embedded subject is second or first person, the verb is inflected for the regular nominative suffixes, as exemplified in (8d).

    (8a) su   kər-in   panɨn'   kə:m.
            he-nom do-opt-3sg self's   work
            'Let him do his own work.'
            (Allow him to do his work/may he do his work.)

    (8b) su   pər'tan   akhba:r.
            he-nom read-opt-polite   newspaper
            'Let him read the newspaper.'

    (8c) bɨ   chus   yatsha:n   zi   su   yiy-in
            I   am   desire-prp that he   come-opt-3sg
            'I wish that he comes.'

    (8d) bɨ   chus yatsha:n   zi   tsɨ   yikh.
            I   am   desire-prp that you-nom come-2sgps
            'I wish that you come.'

2.1.3.4.4.2 Subjunctive

Subjunctive is formally marked in Hindi and some other neighboring languages. (See Grierson 1919, also Hook and Koul 1985.) to express a range of attitudes, such as vagueness, uncertainity, or tentativeness. In Kashmiri, the subjunctive is not formally marked on the verb. In simple clauses, at times the future itself is subjunctively interpreted, as in (9a). In the subordinate clause, the function of the subjunctive is fulfilled by the modal *gatshun* 'lit. to go'

    (9a) bɨ   yimɨ   vun'.
            I   come-1sg-fut now
            'Here I come/ I come now.'

    (9b) bi   chus   yatsha:n (zi) su   gotsh   gatsh-un.
            I   be-1sg   wishing   that he   should-pst go-inf
            'I wish/want that he go/he should go.'

The difference between Kashmiri and Hindi can be seen by comparing (9b) with the Hindi example in (9c).

(9c) mãi cha:hta: hũ: ki vo ja:-ye.
I wish be that he go-subj
'I wish that he go. '

Note that the conditional also acquires subjunctive interpretation when embedded under the wishing verbs, as noted in Shauq (1983).

(9d) sɔ cha dapa:n (bɨ) shɔgɨhə:.
she be says I sleep-cond
'She wishes that she (would) sleep.'

2.1.3.4.5 Intentionality

Intention is directly expressed by verbs such as *yira:dɨ a:sun* 'to have intention', *ra:y a:sɨn'* 'to have hope'.

(10a) me chu yera:dɨ dili gatshnuk.
I-dat have intension Delhi go-inf-gen
'I intend to go to Delhi.'

(10b) me cha ra:y zi bɨ dimi yimtiha:n.
I-dat have intention that I give-fut examination
'I intend that I give the exam.'
(I intend to appear for the exam.)

2.1.3.4.6 Debitive (obligative modality)

The obligative modality in its various degrees is expressed by a rich system of explicators such as *a:sun* 'be', *p'on* 'lit. to fall', *pazun* 'lit. to be proper, true', *lagun* 'lit. to stick', and *gatshun* 'lit. to go'. The main verb occurs in the infinitive and the subject is marked dative. A few deviations in the pattern are noted in the appropriate sections. (See 2.1.3.4.6.4 and 2.1.3.4.7.1). The obligative pattern has been extensively discussed in Hook and Koul (1985).

2.1.3.4.6.1 The modal use of *a:sun*

The obligation may be expressed simply by using the infinitive with the auxiliary *a:sun* 'to be' across all tenses (see Andrabi 1983). The subject is marked dative.

(11a) me chu/o:s/a:si vad-un.
I-dat be/was/will weep-inf
'I have to/had to/will have to weep.'

In certain contexts, this obligative form may connote desire or intention of the speaker (See Hook and Koul 1985: 272).

2.1.3.4.6.2 The modal use of *pe*

The modal *pe* 'lit. to fall' expresses the ultimate degree of obligation. It occurs in every tense.

(12a) me   peyi   paga:h   dili   gatsh-un.
       I-dat   have-fut tomorrow   Delhi   go-inf
       'I will have to/must go to Delhi tomorrow.'

(12b) təmis   chu   peva:n   parɨna:vun.
       he-dat   be   has-prp   teach-inf
       'He has to teach.'

(12c) timan   p'o:-s   bɨ   garɨ   an-un.
       they-dat had-pst-1sg   1sg   home   bring-inf
       'They had to bring me home.'

2.1.3.4.6.3 Modals *pazun* and *lagun*

Although both *pazun* 'to be true, proper' and *lagun* 'lit. to stick' are used to express moral obligations, *lagun* is mostly used in the negative context. Note that both forms are excluded in the past tense.

(13a) təmis   pazi   poz   van-un.
       he-dat   should   truth   say-inf
       'He must tell the truth.'

(13b) tse   lagi-y   nɨ   bakva:s   karun.
       you-dat   should-2ps-not nonsense   do-inf
       'You should not talk nonsense.'

2.1.3.4.6.4 The modal *gatshun*

gatshun 'lit. to go' is the most interesting of all the modals. It expresses necessity as well as possibility. The main verb may be either in the infinitive or in the perfective (see Andrabi 1983). The infinitive requires the subject to be in the nominative and conveys the sense of should. The modal itself is put in the past or future form, but it conveys present relevance. This construction has a subjunctive flavor.

(14a) bɨ   gotshus/gatshɨ   to:r   gatshun.
       I-nom   should-pst/fut   there   go-inf
       'I should go there.'

Note, however, that participials are the principal carriers of the aspect that is cued to present, past, and future time. Infinitives often function as nouns.

2.1.3.5.1 Infinitives

Infinitives are derived by adding the marker *UN* to the verb stem. The stems ending in vowels undergo certain morphophonemic changes (e.g., i › ø ; e › o).

(1a)
Stem		Infinitive
par	'read'	par-un
kar	'do'	kar-un
vuch	'see'	vuch-un
yi	'come'	y-un
di	'give'	d'-un
pe	'fall'	p'-on
he	'buy'	h'-on'

The infinitive is used with several modals (see 2.1.3.4) and also in nonfinite subordinate noun clauses (see 1.1.2.1.2). The infinitive marker agrees with the number and gender of intransitive subjects and transitive objects just in case they are in the nominative/absolutive case.

(1b)
Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
un	ɨn'	ɨn'	ɨni

2.1.3.5.2 Participle

2.1.3.5.2.1 Present/Imperfective participle

The present participle marker is *a:n*. It immediately follows the verb stem. Stems ending in vowels are appended with the glide *v* before the marker. In the root clause, the participle form is always used with the auxiliary. The auxiliary is inflected for tense and agreement markers, but the participle remains uninflected.

(2a)
Verb stem		*Present participle*
par	'read'	par-a:n
kar	'do'	kar-a:n
mar	'die'	mar-a:n
pe	'fall'	pe-v-a:n
di	'give'	di-v-a:n

(2b)
bɨ	chus	kita:b	para:n.
I	be-1sgps	book	read-prp

'I am reading a book.'

(2c) su   o:s   gaɾɨ   yiva:n.
      he   was home coming
      'He was coming home.'

The present participle signals various aspects, such as present imperfective, habitual, continuous, durative, and progressive. (See 2.1.3.3.2.1.1.) The duplicated form of the participle is used as a frequentative adverbial. (See 1.1.2.4.2.4.) It is also used to derive adjectival forms, such as dancing girls. (See 2.2.3.2.)

2.1.3.5.2.2 Perfect participle

The perfect participle marker is *mut*. It is added to the simple past form of the verb to form present, past, and future perfect forms. The marker agrees with the subject if the verb is intransitive and with the absolutive object if the verb is transitive. The forms of *mut* are shown in (3a). (See 2.1.3.3.1.1 for details of agreement.)

(3a)

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
mut	mɨt'	mɨts	mɨtsɨ

(3b) me   chu   por-mut   akhba:r.
      I-erg aux read-pst-msg-psp   newspaper-msg
      'I have read a newspaper.'

(3c) me   cha   pər-mɨts   kita:b.
      I-erg aux read-pst-fsg-psp-fsg book-fsg
      'I have read a book.'

The perfect participle is also used to derive adjectives such as 'washed jeans, dead person'. (See 2.2.3.2.)

2.1.3.5.2.3 Conjunctive participle

The conjunctive participle, also known as absolutive, is formed by adding the invariable marker *ith* to the verbal stem. Note that the negative conjunctive is formed by means of the negative marker *nay* 'not/without'.

(4a)

Verb stem		*Conjunctive participle*		*Negative conjunctive participle*	
kar	'do'	kərith	'having done'	kar-a-nay	'not having done'
bo:z	'hear'	bu:zith	'having heard'	buz-a-nay	'not having heard'
vuch	'see'	vuchith	'having seen'	vuch-a-nay	'not having seen'
ni	'take'	nith	'having taken'	ni-nay	'not having taken'
di	'give'	dith	'having given'	di-nay	'not having given'
yi	'come'	'yith'	'having come'	yi-nay	'not having come'

The conjunctive participle essentially forms an adverbial clause. It connects/ conjoins two clauses. The conjunctive clause is used to express an act that precedes the act mentioned in the main clause. The conjunctive may impart a causal connection to the two events. The conjunctive is often used with explicators, such as *gatshun* 'lit. to go', *tshunun* 'lit. to throw', *tra:vun* 'lit. to release', *yun* 'lit. to come', *p'on* 'lit. to fall' (see 2.2.6.3.3.2); and also with the verb *hekun* 'be able/can'.

(4b) əs'   gatshav   yikɨvatɨ   daphtar-ɨ   yi-th.
     we   go-fut-1pl toghether   office-abl   come-cp
     'We will go together after coming from the office.'

(4c) su   gav   kursi-yi   pethɨ   vəthi-th.
     he   went   chair-abl   from   rise-cp
     'He got up from the chair.'

(4d) bɨ   chus   heka:n   yi-th.
     I   am-1sgps can   come-cp
     'I can/am able to come.'

2.1.3.6 Agreement

2.1.3.6.1 Arguments coded in the verb

2.1.3.6.1.1 The coding of the subject

All nominative subjects must be coded in the verb in the form of agreement and pronominal suffixes. All second-person subjects, whether unmarked or overtly case-marked must also be coded. The ergative case-marked first- and third-person pronominal subjects are coded in the verb if the pronouns are overtly absent, the overt absence being interpreted as null/pro pronominal forms here and throughout the text. Notice, however, the coding may take place even when the pronouns are overtly present. This coding is contextually determined. For example, overtly present first- and third-person ergative subjects often induce coding in the context of certain verbs, as noted below. (See Andrabi 1984.)

2.1.3.6.1.2 The coding of the direct object

All unmarked direct objects, whatever their origin, must also be coded in the verb. Second-person objects, whatever their case—nominative, absolutive, dative—must also be coded. Overtly present dative-cased first- and third-person pronouns must not be coded in the verb. The dative-cased first- and third-person pronominal objects are obligatorily omitted when they are coded in the verb. Third-person pronominal animate objects in the nominative/absolutive case may be optionally marked on the verb only if its ergative subject is second person, as explained below in 2.1.3.6.2.1.1.

2.1.3.6.1.3 The coding of the indirect object

Indirect objects are always marked dative. Nonpronominal indirect objects are not coded in the verb. The pronominal indirect objects may be coded in the verb with certain provisions. The second-person indirect object must be marked on the verb. The second person itself may be overtly present or absent. The first- and third-person pronominal indirect objects can be coded only if these pronouns are not overtly present. In short, overt presence of first and third pronominals blocks their coding in the verb.

In sum, in Kashmiri, the coding of the major arguments is controlled by their case features and, more crucially, by the category of the person they belong to. For example, the second person must be coded in the verb in all cases, in all tenses and in all its argument roles. This is clearly a language-specific feature and shows that second person is a highly marked category in this language. (See Wali and Koul 1994.)

2.1.3.6.1.4–5 The coding of other nominals

The indirect objects interpreted as benefactives may also be coded in the verb. (See Hook and Koul 1984b.) No other nominal is ever marked on the verb. They all have adverbial status and are so marked by their respective postpositions.

2.1.3.6.2 Verb agreement

The verb is marked for two types of agreements. The first type may be called the core agreement. The second type is cued to pronouns and is traditionally known as pronominal suffixation. The suffixes may refer to subjects, objects, or indirect objects. (See Grierson 1911, Hook and Koul 1984b, Bhat 1987. For a different perspective, see Wali and Koul 1994). Both the agreement and the pronominal suffixes are controlled by the morphological case of their respective arguments and not so much by their grammatical function, though it also plays a major role, as noted below in 2.1.3.6.3.

2.1.3.6.2.1 The core agreement

The basic primary agreement is obligatory. It is strictly controlled by the nominative/absolutive case of the argument and not by its grammatical function. These arguments include (i) subjects of present and future actives, (ii) passive subjects, (iii) subjects of past intransitives, (iv) absolutive direct objects of past transitives, and (v) the thematic objects in dative subject constructions. The primary agreement mostly encodes (gender), number and person features. The gender distinctions are absent in the future tenses. The person features of the first plural and that of the third person are not overtly realized.

2.1.3.6.2.1.1 Verb-markings

(1a) Core agreement paradigm for present and past tenses

	Masculine		*Feminine*	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	u-s	-i-ø	-a-s	-a-ø
II	u-kh	-v(i)	-a-kh	-a-vɨ
III	-u-ø	-i-ø	-i-ø	-a-ø

The vocalic part of the inflection is cued to the argument's gender-number features. The consonants, which follow, are cued to the person number, as shown in (1b) immediately below.

(1b) Core person-number nominative/absolutive pronominal paradigm

	Singular	*Plural*
I	s	ø
II	kh	v(i)
III	ø /(n)	ø /(kh)

For future inflections, see 2.1.3.2.1.4; for copula, see 2.3.3.1.2.

(2) Agreement with nominative subjects

(2a) tsɨ   chu-kh   kita:b para:n.
you-nom be-2ps   book   reading
'You are reading a book.'

(2b) bɨ   go-s.
I-nom go-past-msg-1ps
'I went.'

(3) Agreement with absolutive objects

(3a) aslam-an   vuch-u-kh   tsɨ.
aslam-erg   saw-msg-2ps you-abs-msg
'Aslam saw you.'

(3b) aslam-an   por   akhba:r.
Aslam-erg read-msg   newspaper-abs-msg
'Aslam read the newspaper.'

It should be noted here that the inflection *n/kh* shown in (1b) for absolutive third-person animate pronominal objects is realized just in case the verb shows inflection for the ergative subject, as is possible with the second person. Note that this object inflection is only optional and not obligatory.

(3c) tse   vɨchi-th-(an)   sɔ.
     you-erg saw-3fsg-2ps-3ps her-abs
     'You saw her.'

Notice also that the gender-number features of the absolutive object *sɔ* are marked on the verb as *i* and precede the ergative second-person marker *th*. The third-person pronominal suffix *n* follows the ergative marker and is separated from the gender-number feature for reasons explained in (2.1.3.6.3).

(4) Agreement with the theme in dative constructions

(4a) me   cha   bɔchi   ləj-mɨts.
     I-dat aux-fsg hunger-nom-fsg come-psp-fsg
     'I am hungry.'

(4b) me   cha-kh   tsɨ   pasand.
     I-dat aux-2fsg-2ps you-abs-fsg like
     'I like you.'

(4c) me   o:s-u-kh   tsɨ   pasand.
     I-dat aux-pst-2msg-2ps you-abs-msg like
     'I liked you.'

The primary agreement is neutralized if the argument is oblique. The verb then takes the third-person masculine singular form ø. This is clearly seen in the contrast between (5a) and (5b).

(5a) aslaman   vuch/vɨch   su   /sɔ.
     Aslam-erg saw-3sg   -msg /3sg-fm him-nom/her-nom
     'Aslam saw him/her.'

(5b) aslaman   lo:y   təmis.
     Aslam   beat-3s-msg her/him-dat
     'Aslam beat her/him.'

Note also that the arguments may be optionally absent/null without affecting the agreement.

(6) Null/'pro' subjects

(6a) para:n   chus.
     reading be-1ps
     'I am reading.'

(7) Null/'pro' objects

(7a) mohn-an   roț-us.
     Mohan-erg caught-1sg-ps
     'Mohan caught me.'

2.1.3.6.2.2 Pronominal suffixes

Pronominal suffixes are controlled by the pronominal cases—absolutive/ nominative, ergative, and dative. Pronominal suffixes controlled by the nominative/absolutive case have already been indicated in (1b) above. Pronominal suffixes referring to the ergative and the dative case forms are noted in (8) and (13) below. It is interesting to note that the ergative pronominal suffixes are shared by the ergative subjects and the nonperfective nominative objects that surface as a result of person hierarchy.

2.1.3.6.2.2.1 Ergative pronominal suffixes

(8) Person	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	m	Ø
II	th	v(i)
III	n	kh

2.1.3.6.2.2.1.1 Pronominal suffixes of ergative subjects

First- and third-person ergative suffixes need not be marked on the verb if their subjects are overtly present. However, they must be marked if the subjects are 'pro'/null. The second-person suffixes must be marked on the verb, but the pronoun itself may be absent. In short, a pronoun may always be absent/null form if the suffix is present. Note that third-person suffixes may have lexical animate as well as inanimate subjects. (See Andrabi 1984, Wali and Koul 1994). It should also be noted here that ergative suffixes immediately follow the gender-number suffix (i.e., V + gender-number suffix + ergative suffix)

(9) Pronominal agreement with ergative subjects

(9a) tse   vod-u-th.
     you-erg   cry--2ps
     'You cried.'

(9b) tse   von-u-th   timan   apuz.
     you-erg   told-msg-2ps   them-dat   lie-abs-msg
     'You told them a lie.'

(9c) va:v-an   d'ut-n-am   dakɨ to:r.
     wind-erg   gave-3ps-1sgps   push there
     'The wind pushed me there.'

2.1.3.6.2.2.1.2 Nonperfective nominative objects

Nominative objects in the nonperfective are conditioned by a person hierarchy. (See 2.1.3.2.1.4.2.) These bare pronominal objects obligatorily mark the verb

for their suffixes (i.e., ergative suffixes). The pronouns themselves may be null or overt, as shown in (10b, 11b, and 12b) counterparts. For a complete listing of these variations, see Bhat (1987).

(10a) bɨ   chu-s-ath   tsɨ   parɨna:va:n. (I ⟩ II)
       I-nom am-msg-1sgps-2sgps you-nom   teaching
       'I am teaching you.'

(10b) parɨna:va:n   chu-s-ath.

(11a) bɨ   chu-s-an   sɔ   parɨna:va:n. (I ⟩ III)
       I-nom am-msg-1ps-3sgps her-nom   teaching
       'I am teaching her.'

(11b) parɨna:va:n   chu- s- an.

(12a) tsɨ   chi-h-an   su   parɨna:va:n. (II ⟩ III)
       you-nom-fsg are-fsg-2sgps-3sgps he-nom   teaching
       'You are teaching him.'

(12b) parɨna:va:n chi-h-an.

For examples in future, see 2.1.3.2.4.1.

2.1.3.6.2.2.2 Dative pronominal suffixes

Dative pronominal suffixes occur with arguments marked dative irrespective of their grammatical function. They include (i) dative subjects, (ii) indirect objects, (iii) dative-marked objects of exceptional transitives. and (iv) dative-marked direct objects in the nonpast, which are realized when the person hierarchy is reversed or is absent, as mentioned in 2.1.3.2.1.4. The presence of the pronominal suffix deletes first- and third-person pronominal coreferent. The second person obligatorily marks the verb as usual. The second-person pronoun may be optionally deleted.

(13) Dative pronominal suffixes

(13a) Person *Singular* *Plural*
       I   m   Ø
       II   y   v(i)
       III   s   kh

(14) Pronominal suffixes with dative subjects

(14a) me   a:v   asun.
       me-dat   came   laugh-inf

(14b) ? a:-m   asun.   /asun a:-m.
       came-1sgps laughing/laughing come-Isgps
       'I was laughing.' (to me laughter came)

(15) Pronominal suffixes with nonperfective direct object

(15a) tsɨ   chu-kh   me   yo:r ana:n. (II › I)
       you-nom be-msg-2ps I-dat here bringing
       'You are bringing me here.'

(15b) tsɨ chu-h-am yo:r ana:n.

(16a) su   vuch-i   təmis. (III = III)
       he-nom see-3sg-fut he-dat
       'He will see him.'

(16b) su vuch-as.

(17) Pronominal suffixes with exceptional dative objects

(17a) me   lo:y təmis.
       I-erg beat him-dat
       'I beat him.'

(17b) me   lo:y-us.
       I-erg beat-3sgps

(18) Pronominal suffixes with the indirect object

(18a) bɨ   chu-s   təm-is   kita:b diva:n.
       I-nom be-1sgps her-dat book   giving
       'I am giving her/him a book.'

(18b) bɨ   chu-s- as   kita:b diva:n.
       I-nom am-1sgps-3sgps book   giving
       'I am giving her/him a book.'

(18c) me   dits təmis   kita:b.
       I-erg gave her/him-dat book
       'I gave her a book.'

(18d) me   dits-ɨs   kita:b.
       I-erg gave-3sgps book
       'I gave her a book.'

2.1.3.6.3–4 Conditioning factors

Both the core agreement and the pronominal suffixes are crucially conditioned by the morphological case of their coreferent nominal. The pronominal suffixes are further conditioned by the category of person. However, the agreement and the pronominal suffixes are crucially ordered amongst themselves. The core gender-number agreement must precede the pronominal suffixes, as in (19a). The pronominal suffixes follow a hierarchical order as determined by the grammatical function of the argument, as shown in (19b). (See Wali and Koul 1994 for a formal analysis of this order within the generative theory.) The core agreement as well as the pronominal suffixes are not affected by word-order changes.

(19a) V + (gender) number + pronominal suffixes

(19b) Ordering of pronominal suffixes:
ps. referring to the subject › ps. referring to the object ›
ps. referring to the indirect object

(20) Subject suffix › object suffix

(20a) tse   vɨchi-th-(as)   bɨ.
you-erg saw-fsg--2sg-erg-1sg   me-nom-fsg
'You saw me.'

(21) Subject suffix › object suffix › indirect object suffix

(21a) bɨ   chu-s-an-ay   su   tse   hava:lɨ   kara:n.
I-nom   be-1sgps-3sgps -2sgps   he-acc you-dat hand over doing
'I am handing over him to you.'

Note that the suffixes in the dative subject construction follow a different order. Here the dative subject suffix follows the absolutive theme suffix, as exemplified by the version of (22a) in (22b).

(22a) me   o:su-kh   tsɨ   seṭha: pasand.
I-dat   be-2sgps   you-abs   very   like
'I liked you very much.'

(22b) tsɨ   o:su-h-am   seṭha: pasand.
you   be-2sgps-1sgps   very   like
'I liked you very much.'

2.1.3.6.5.1 Discrepancies between syntactic and semantic features

Both the agreement and the pronominal suffixes are oblivious to the discrepancies between syntactic and semantic features of their arguments, as is quite clear from the above account. However, the syntactic semantic harmony is

found in the order of the pronominal suffixes. Here the grammatical functions and the semantic/theta roles are synchronised.

2.1.3.6.5.2 Agreement across coordinate noun phrases

The verb shows plural agreement in the case of proper nouns and pronominals. The verb agrees with the closest nominal in the case of common nouns. The rule is strictly followed in the case of inanimates. The animate nouns may at times show a plural agreement.

(23a) mohnɨ   tɨ   mi:ra: chi   ginda:n nisha:tas manz.
       Mohan-nom and Miraa-nom   are-pl playing Nishat   in
       'Mohan and Miraa are playing in the Nishat garden.'

(23b) Variation on (23a)

       nisha:tas manz chi ginda:n mohnɨ tɨ mi:ra:

(23c) bɨ   tɨ   tsɨ   chi-n   su   vɨcha:n.
       I-nom-msg and   you-nom-msg   are-mpl-3sgps he-nom   seeing
       'I and you are looking at him.'

(23d) bɨ   tɨ   tsɨ   cha-n   su   vɨcha:n.
       I-nom-fsg and   you-nom-fsg   are-fpl-3sgps he-nom seeing
       'I and you are looking at him.'

(23e) Variation on (23d)

       su cha-n bɨ tɨ tsɨ vɨcha:n.

(23f) su   tɨ   tsɨ   chi-n   su   vicha:n.
       he-nom-msg and   you-nom-msg   are-mpl-3sgps he-nom seeing
       'He and you are looking at him.'

(23g) aslaman   pɔr   kita:b   tɨ   akhba:r.
       Aslam-erg read-fsg   book-abs-fsg   and   newspaper-abs-msg
       'Aslam read the book and the newspaper.'

(23h) aslaman   por   akhba:r   tɨ   kita:b.
       Aslam-erg read-msg   newspaper-abs-msg   and   book-abs-fsg
       'Aslam read the book and the newspaper.'

(23i) ko:tur   tɨ   kukil   cha/chi   yiva:n.
       pigeon-nom-msg   and   cuckoo   is-fsg/are-pl coming
       'A pigeon and a cuckoo are coming.'

2.1.3.6.6 Agreement across voice, tense, aspect, mood, and finiteness

2.1.3.6.6.1 The agreement system discussed above operates across voice, aspect, and mood alike. Passive subjects, for example, follow the core agreement pattern.

(24a) bɨ   a:-s   vuchnɨ.
      I-nom   come-1ps   seen
      'I was seen.'

The infinitive and the past participial are also subject to the gender-number agreement, as has already been stated. Note, however, that the pronominal suffixes do not attach themselves to nonfinite verbs. Instead, these pronominal suffixes of the embedded argument move to the matrix verb. (See Hook and Kaul 1989).

(24b) bɨ   yatsh-a-n   [su   vuchun].
      I-nom   wish-fut-3sgps   [he-nom   see-inf]
      'I shall want to see him.'

2.1.3.6.7 Identity between subjects of different verbs

Identity or nonidentity between subjects of different verbs is not coded in any of the verbs.

2.1.3.6.8–9 Reflexive and reciprocal forms

The verb does not encode reflexivity or reciprocity.

2.1.3.6.10 Marking of actions involving motion

Motion towards or away from the speaker is not marked on the verb.

2.1.3.6.11 Modes of body orientation

No distinction is made between different modes of body orientation.

2.1.3.6.12 Incorporation of other constituents of sentence in verb

There is no direct noun or any other constituent incorporation in the verb. In addition to the agreement and the pronominal suffixes, the verb is suffixed for the yes-no question particle and the negative particle.

2.1.3.7 Change or loss of features in string of verbs

In compound verbs, tense, mood, aspectual, and agreement information is indicated by the explicator rather than the main verb (see 2.2.6.3.3.2.). The main verb is put in a nonfinite form.

2.1.4 Adjectives

2.1.4-1–3 Adjectives may be simple or derived types. Simple adjectives are further divided into two categories: (i) those that are inflected for number, gender, and case of the nouns they modify, and (ii) those that stay invarient. The inflection of the adjectives is shown below in (1) and (2). An extensive account of derived adjectives has been given in section 2.2.3.

(1) Gender and number inflection of adjectives

Masculine		Feminine		
Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*	
vɔzul	vɔzɨl'	vɔzɨj	vɔzɨji	'red'
n'u:l	ni:l'	ni:j	ni:ji	'blue'
kruhun	krɨhɨn'	krɨhɨn'	krɨhɨni	'black'
boḍ	bəḍ'	bəḍ	baji	'big'
thod	thəd'	thəz	thazɨ	'tall'
zu':ṭh	zi:ṭh'	zi:ṭh	ze:chi	'long'
lot	lot'	lots	lotsɨ	'light'
rut	rɨt'	rɨts	rɨtsɨ	'good'
ga:ṭul	ga:ṭɨl'	ga:ṭɨj	ga:ṭɨji	'wise', etc.

(1a) yi   chu   vɔzul   po:sh.
    this   is   red-msg   flower-msg
    'This is a red flower.'

(1b) yim   chi   vɔzɨl'   po:sh.
    these   are   red-mpl   flowers-mpl
    'These are red flowers.'

(1c) yi   cha   vɔzɨj   kəmi:z.
    this   is   red-fsg   shirt-fsg
    'This is a red shirt.'

(1d) yimɨ   cha   vɔzɨji   kəmi:zɨ.
    these   are   red-fpl   shirts-fpl
    'These are red shirts.'

(2) Case inflections of adjectives, as exemplified by *boḍ* 'big'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nom.	boḍ	bəḍ'	bəḍ	baji
Dat.	bəḍis	baḍen	baji	bajen
Agt.	bəḍ	baḍav	baji	bajav
Abl.	baḍi	bad'av	baji	bajav

(2a) bəḍis   shuris   pazi   nɨ   vad-un.
     big-dat   child-dat   should   neg   cry-inf
     'A big child should not cry.'

Note that if an adjective of this class is in agreement with two nouns of different genders, it is usually put in the masculine plural form.

(3) Invarient adjectives:

saphe:d 'white', *sabɨz* 'green', *ja:n* 'good', *khɔsh* 'happy', *khu:bsu:rath* 'beautiful', *ca:la:kh* 'clever', *da:na:* 'wise', *be:kɨl* 'stupid', *mə:lɨ* 'dirty', *sa:ph* 'clean', etc.

(3a) —ja:n   lədkɨ/ku:r—
         good   boy/girl

(3b) —saphe:d   ko:ṭh   /kəmi:z —
         white   coat-msg/shirt-fsg

The adjectives follow the attributive pattern when used predicatively or in a small clause (compare (4a-b) with (1a-b), and (5a-b) with (3b).

(4a) yi   po:sh   chu   vɔzul.
     this   flower-msg   is   red-msg
     'This flower is red.'

(4b) yim   po:sh   chi   vɔzɨl'.
     these flowers-mpl   are   red-mpl
     'These flowers are red.'

(5a) yi   kəmi:z   cha   saphe:d.
     this   shirt-fsg   is   white
     'This shirt is white.'

(5b) yi   ko:ṭh   chu   saphe:d.
     this   coat-msg is   white
     'This coat is white.'

(6) Adjectives in small clause
       bɨ   chu-s-an   su   kruhan   /sɔ   krɨhɨn'   ma:na:n.
       I-nom   be-1sg-3sg   he   black-msg/her   black-fsg consider-prp
       'I consider him/her black.'

2.1.4.4 There are no special morphological forms for comparatives or superlatives. These are expressed by the oblique forms of the genitive of the nouns with which the comparison is made. The standard of comparison is followed by *khɔtɨ*. (See 1.8 for details.)

(7a) shi:lɨ   cha   nəsi:mni   khɔtɨ   ga:ʈɨj.
      Sheila is   Nasim-gen-abl   than   wise
      'Sheila is wiser than Nasim.'

(7b) mohnɨ chu   kala:sas   manz sa:rivɨy-hɨndi khɔtɨ z'u:ʈh.
      Mohan is   class-dat   in   all-gen-abl   than   tall
      'Mohan is tallest in the class.'

2.1.5 Postpositions

Kashmiri postpositions do not show any morphological features as such. However, they dictate their nouns to be in a certain case (i.e., dative/ablative), as noted in 1.2.4. These postpositions do not incorporate with personal pronouns or the articles of the noun phrase. A few postpositions show inflection for the gender, number, and case of their complement.

2.1.5.1 Postpositions governing the dative case

Postpositions that govern the dative case are as follows:

> *peṭh* 'on', *manz* 'in', *andar* 'in', *nish* 'near', *k'ath* 'in, inside', *sɨ:t'* 'with', *sɨ:tin* 'with', *sa:n* 'with, along with', *tal* 'under', *bagə:r* 'without', etc.

(1a) kalam chu   me:zas   peṭh.
      pen   is   table-dat on
      'The pen is on the table.'

(1b) kita:bi manz/andar   cha   shakal.
      book-dat in   is   picture
      'There is a picture in the book.'

(1c) kita:b   cha   me:z-as   tal/nish.
      book   is   table-dat under/near
      'The book is under/near the table.'

(1d) p'a:las k'ath an   po:n'.
      cup-dat in   bring water
      'Bring water in the cup.'

(1e) aslamas   sa:n   yin   tso:r naphar.
      Aslam-dat along-with come-fu   four members
      'Four persons will come, including Aslam.'

(1f) mohnas   bagə:r   a:yi   sə:ri: vakhtas   peṭh.
      Mohan-dat without   came   all   time-dat on
      'All except Mohan came on time.'

2.1.5.2 Postpositions governing the ablative case

Postpositions govering the ablative case are as follows: *pethɨ* 'from', *manzɨ* 'from within', *əndrɨ* 'from inside', *nishɨ'* 'than/instead', *talɨ* 'from under', *sa:n* 'with', etc.

(2a) ba:zrɨ   pethɨ   garɨ   ta:m   chi   zɨ   mi:l.
     market-abl from   home   upto   are   two   mi:l
     'The distance from the market to home is two miles.'

(2b) sondu:kɨ manzɨ   kaḍ   palav.
     box-abl   from   inside   take-out   clothes
     'Take out the clothes from the box.'

(2c) su   dra:v   sho:r   bu:z-ith   garɨ   əndrɨ.
     he   came-out   noise   hear-cp   house-abl   from-inside
     'On hearing the noise, he came out of the house.'

(2c) tami   maka:nɨ   nishi   chu   yi   maka:n   boḍ.
     that-abl house-abl   than   is   this   house   big
     'This house is bigger than that house.'

(2d) yemi   kathi   talɨ   chu   nana:n   zi   təmis   chu   taksi:r.
     this-abl story-abl   from   is   clear   that he-dat   is   fault
     'It is clear from this story that he is at fault.'

Note that the postposition *k'uth* 'for'—at times used optionally with the dative case (see Kachru 1973: 94) and classified as Dat 1 by Grierson (1898a)—declines with the following nouns for gender and number, as shown in (3) below.

(3) Masculine   Feminine
    Singular   *Plural*   *Singular*   *Plural*
    k'uth   kith'   kitsh   kitshɨ

(3a) —mohn-as   kitsh   ca:y—
     Mohan-dat   for-fsg   tea-fsg
     —tea for Mohan—

(3b) —mohn-as   k'uth   garɨ—
     Mohan-dat   for-msg   house-msg
     —house for Mohan—

2.1.6 Numerals/Quantifiers

2.1.6.1 *Forms of numerals*

The cardinal numerals are as follows:

(1) Numerals from 1 to 10

1	akh
2	zɨ
3	tre
4	tso:r
5	pã:tsh
6	she
7	sath
8	ə:ṭh
9	nav
10	dəh/da:h

In traditional businesses, the first measure or count is always referred to as *barkat* 'abundance/prosperity' (May there be abundance/prosperity in earnings) and then the counting proceeds with two, three, etc. Numeral forms from eleven to eighteen appear irregular. They are formed by adding *-a:h* to the diminutive forms of the first eight numerals. The suffix *-a:h* shows the trace of the word *da:h* 'ten'. The first numerals are added to the words for tens (twenty, thirty, etc.). Various morphophonemic changes take place in deriving the numerals.

(2) Numerals from 11 to 40

11 ka:h	21 akɨvuh	31 akɨtrɨh
12 ba:h	22 zɨto:vuh	32 dɔyitrɨh
13 truva:h	23 trovuh	33 teyitrɨh
14 tsɔda:h	24 tsovuh	34 tsɔyitrɨh
15 panda:h	25 pɨntsɨh	35 pã:tsɨtrɨh
16 shura:h	26 shatɨvuh	36 sheyitrɨh
17 sada:h	27 sato:vuh	37 satɨtrɨh
18 arda:h	28 aṭho:vuh	38 arɨtrɨh
19 kunɨvuh	29 kunɨtrɨh	39 kunɨtə:ji:
20 vuh	30 trɨh	40 tsatji:

(3) Numerals from 41 to 70

41 akɨtə:ji:	51 akɨvanza:h	61 akɨhə:ṭh
42 dɔyitə:ji:	52 duvanza:h	62 duhə:ṭh
43 teyitə:ji:	53 truvanza:h	63 truhə:ṭh
44 tsɔyitə:ji:	54 tsuvanza:h	64 tsuhə:ṭh
45 pã:tsɨtə:ji:	55 pã:tsɨvanza:h	65 pã:tsɨhə:ṭh
46 sheyitə:ji:	56 shuvanza:h	66 shuhə:ṭh
47 satɨtə:ji:	57 satɨvanza:h	67 satɨhə:ṭh
48 arɨtə:ji:	58 arɨvanza:h	68 arɨhə:ṭh

49 kunɨvanza:h   59 kunɨhə:ṭh   69 kunɨsatath
50 pantsa:h   60 she:ṭh   70 satath

(4) Numerals from 71 to 99

71 akɨsatath   81 akɨshi:th   91 akɨnamath
72 dusatath   82 dɔyishi:th   92 dunamath
73 trusatath   83 treyishi:th   93 trunamath
74 tsusatath   84 tsɔyishi:th   94 tsunamath
75 pã:tsɨsatath   85 pã:tsɨshi:th   95 pã:tsɨnamath
76 shusatath   86 sheyishi:th   96 shunamath
77 satɨsatath   87 satɨshi:th   97 satɨnamath
78 arɨsatath   88 arɨshi:th   98 arɨnamath
79 kunɨshi:th   89 kunɨnamath   99 namɨnamath

(5) Numerals from 100 to 900

Notice that *hath* 'hundred' is used along with the first seven numerals; it is replaced by *sheth* from the eighth numeral onwards:

100 hath
200 zɨ hath
300 tre hath
400 tso:r hath
500 pã:ts hath
600 she hath
700 sath hath
800 ə:ṭh sheth
900 nav sheth
101 akh hath tɨ akh
102 akh hath tɨ zɨ
803 ə:ṭh sheth tɨ tre, etc.

(6) Numerals from 1000 up to 100,000

1000 sa:s
1001 akh sa:s tɨ akh
1101 akh sa:s akh hath tɨ akh
10,000 dəh sa:s
20,000 vuh sa:s
30,205 trɨh sa:s zɨ hath tɨ pã:ts
40,954 tsatji: sa:s nav sheth tsuvanza:h
100,000 lach

100,000s up to 100,000,00 are:
1,000,000 dəh lach

2,000,000 vuh lach
100,000,000 karo:r

Other numerals higher than *karo:r* are: *arab* (1,000,000,000) and *kharab* (100,000, 000,000).

From the data, it is clear that numerals from 11 to 18 are 'n + 10'. The word for 19 is *kunɨ-vuh* (lit. less twenty/one less than twenty). Similarly, 29 is one less than 30, 39 is one less than forty, 49 is one less than 50, and so on. These numbers are formed by adding *kun-* 'less' to the corresponding numerals for tens; numerals for tens being fixed words. Multiples of 10 from 20 to 90 are 'n x 10'. Multiples of 100 from 100 to 900 are 'n x 100'. Multiples of 1000 are 'n x 1000' and so on.

It is interesting to note that villagers employ the base unit of *dov* 'unit of ten' and its plural form *dəv'* 'units of ten' for counting in rural areas:

(6) akh dov 'one unit of ten' or 'ten'
 zɨ dəv' 'two units of ten' or 'twenty'
 tre dəv' 'three units of ten' or 'thirty', etc.

The numerals 1 to 9 are also added to these units by using *tɨ* 'and':

tso:r dəv' tɨ zɨ 'four tens and two' (i.e., forty-two)
she dəv' tɨ pã:ts 'six tens and five' (i.e., sixty-five)

2.1.6.2 *Cardinal numerals as attributes*

All the numeral forms given above can be used as attributes. The attributes decline for case, as shown below for numerals one to ten.

Numeral	*Nominative*	*Dative*	*Ergative*	*Ablative*
'one'	akh	əkis	ək'	aki
'two'	zɨ	dɔn	dɔyav	dɔyi
'three'	tre	tren	treyav	treyi
'four'	tso:r	tsɔn	tso:rav	tso:ri
'five'	pã:ts	pã:tsan	pã:tsav	pã:tsi
'six'	she	shen	sheyav	sheyi
'seven'	sath	satan	satav	sati
'eight'	ə:th	ə:than	ə:thav	ə:thi
'nine'	nav	navan	navav	navi
'ten'	dəh	dəhan	dəhav	dəhi

The word signifying 'a pair' is *ju:r'*, as in *mɔkhtɨ ju:r'*, *du:rɨ ju:r'* 'a pair of pearls, a pair of earrings'.

2.1.6.3   Counting different kinds of objects

The counting system described above in 2.1.6.1 is used for all types of objects without any distinction. In short, there are no special classifiers that distinguish between different types of objects.

2.1.6.4–5   Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by the suffix *im* added to the cardinals. The ordinal *əkim* 'first' has an alternative suppletive form *gɔḍɨn'uk*.

(7)   Examples of ordinals are:

əkim/gɔḍɨn'uk	'first'
doyim	'second'
treyim	'third'
tsu:rim	'fourth'
pɨ:tsim	'fifth'
sheyim	'sixth'
sətim	'seventh'
ɨ:ṭhim	'eighth'
nəvim	'ninth'
dəhim	'tenth'
vuhim	'twentieth'
trɨhim	'thirtieth'
hətim	'hundredth'
sə:sim	'thousandth', etc.

Notice that the suffixation results in certain morphophonemic changes in the cardinals. For example, the cardinal *zi* 'two' is changed to *do*. Secondly, the glide *y* is inserted before the ordinal suffix to words ending in vowels, as in *sheyim* 'sixth'.

Ordinals above hundred are marked by adding the conjunctive *tɨ* 'and'.

(8)   akh hath tɨ əkim 'one hundred and the first'
       akh sa:s tɨ sheyim 'one thousand and the sixth', etc.

The ordinals when used as attributes, behave like adjectives and are inflected for the case of the noun they modify:

(9)   doyimis   naphras   di   kita:b.
       second-dat person-dat give book
       'Give the book to the second person.'

(10)   treyimi   ko:ri   li:ch   ciṭh'.
        third-erg   girl-erg   wrote   letter
        'The third girl wrote the letter.'

2.1.6.6 Quantifiers

Most common quantifiers are as follows: *kĕh* some', *kam* 'a little', *ratsh* 'a little', *va:riya:h* 'many', *prath* 'each/every', *sə:ri:* 'all', etc. Aggregative quantifiers are derived by the addition of -*nɨvay*/-*shvay* to the cardinal numerals. Any of the two can be added to 'two', 'three', and 'four', *nɨvay* or *vay* are added from 'five' onwards:

(11) *Numeral   aggregative quantifier*

zɨ	dɔnɨvay/dɔshvay	'both'
tre	trenɨvay/treshvay	'all the three'
tso:r	tsɔnɨvay/tsɔshvay	'all the four'
pã:ts	pã:tsɨvay	'all the five'
she	shenɨvay	'all the six'
sath	satɨvay	'all the seven'
ə:th	ə:thɨvay	'all the eight'
nav	navɨvay	'all the nine'
dəh	dəhvay	'all the ten', etc.

There are no negation incorporated quantifiers, as is the case with the English 'no one, never, nobody', etc. (See 1.4.2 on constituent negation).

2.1.6.6.1–2 Quantifier compounds and other means of expressing quantification

A number of quatifiers are compounded in the following manner:

(i) quantifier plus numeral: *prath* 'every' + *akh* 'one' = *prathakh* 'everyone'.

(ii) relative pronoun plus indefinite pronoun : *yus* 'who' (relative) + *kā:h* 'someone'/*kĕh* 'some' = *yus kā:h* 'whoever'/*yus kĕh* 'whatever'.

(iii) reduplication: numerals, quantifiers, indefinite pronouns, and nouns are reduplicated to express exhaustive, sequential, and distributive meaning:

(12) akh   akh   kərith   kər-iv   shra:n.
one   one   do-pp   do-2p'pss   bath
'Take bath one by one.'

(13) kā:h   kā̃:h   kə:m   kər-iv   pa:nɨ.
some   some   work   do-2plps   self
'Do certain things yourself.'

(14) shuris   shuris   chu   yi   ya:d   zɨ   a:zə:di: kar   mi:j.
child-dat   child-dat   is   this   memory   that   freedom   when   got-fsg
'Every child remembers when independence was obtained.'

(iv) reduplicative quantifiers with intervening *natı* 'neg': *kā:h natı kā:h* 'someone or other', *kēh natı kēh* 'something or other'.

2.1.7 Adverbs

See sections 1.2.1.3, 1.8, and 1.9.

2.1.8 Clitics and particles

For clitics, see 2.1.3.6. For particles, see 1.11.1.

2.2 DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Derivation of words takes place by adding various prefixes or suffixes to simple or derived stems of major word classes. Infixes are rarely used. Most of the prefixes are of Persian or Sanskrit origin and have been nativized. Many of the suffixes are also Sanskrit-based and are freely used along with the native suffixes. The topic of suffixation has been extensively treated by Ishvara Kaula, as noted in Grierson (1898c). Suffixation is more predominant than prefixation. Most of the derivation is noniterative, except in certain cases of reduplication and causativization.

2.2.1 Derivation of nouns

2.2.1.1 Nouns from nouns

Nouns are derived from nouns by using both prefixes and suffixes. Most of these prefixes are borrowed from Persian or Sanskrit. In most cases, Persian prefixes are used with nouns of Persian origin. The same is true of Sanskrit prefixes. Some of the prefixes are also used with native words. It is interesting to note that most of these prefixes have a negative connotation.

(1) *be-, bila:-* 'without'

The prefix *be* is of Persian origin and is very productive. It is used with both indigenous and borrowed Persian words.

sharım	'shame'	besharım	'shameless'
yi:ma:n	'faith'	beyi:ma:n	'dishonest'
vəti:r	'manner'	bevəti:r	'mannerless'
patsh	'faith'	bepatsh	'untrustworthy'
zuv	'life'	bezuv	'lifeless'
matlab	'aim'	bematlab/bila:matlab	'aimless'

(2) *bad-* 'bad'

This is a less-productive prefix and is used with words of Persian origin only.

za:th	'character'	badza:th	'bad character'
miza:j	'temperament'	badmiza:j	'bad temperament'

(3) *bar-* 'on'

This Persian prefix conveys the meaning of the 'exactness' in time.

vakhɨt 'time' barvakhɨt 'on time'

(4) *na:-* 'not'

This prefix is attached mostly to Persian-borrowed words.

pasand 'like' na:pasand 'dislike'

(5) *ap-* 'opposite connotation'

This Sanskrit prefix is used with words of Sanskrit origin.

| ma:n | 'honour' | apma:n | 'insult' |
| shabɨd | 'word' | apshabɨd | 'bad words' |

(6) *dɔr-* (Sanskrit *dur'*) 'bad'

This is a less-productive prefix.

| dasha: | 'condition' | dɔrdasha: | 'bad condition' |
| gath | 'position' | dɔrgath | 'bad position' |

(7) *kɔ-* (Sanskrit *ku-*) 'bad'

This prefix is used with both native words and Sanskrit borrowings.

| karɨm | 'deed' | kɔkarɨm | 'bad deeds' |
| pu:t | 'child' | kɔpu:t | 'disobedient son' |

(8) *ner* (Sanskrit *nir*) 'without'

This prefix is used mostly with Sanskrit-borrowed words.

| a:dar | 'honour' | nera:dar | 'insult' |
| du:sh | 'fault' | nerdu:sh | 'innocent' |

(9) *-al/lad, -vo:l, -gor, -gar, -kho:r, -da:r, -ci:*

These suffixes are used to form nouns of possession, agency, and occupation. The first three are of native origin, while the rest are borrowed from Persian. The suffix *-al /lad* is restricted mostly to inalienable possession.

dɔ:r	'beard'	da:rel	'bearded'
kath	'talk'	kathal	'talkative'
dra:g	'famine'	dra:glad	'afflicted with famine'

dɔkh	'pain'	dɔkhlad	'pained'
ga:ɖɨ	'fish'	ga:ɖɨvo:l	'fisherman'
sabzi:	'vegetable'	sabzi:vo:l	'vegetable-seller'
ṭo:pi	'caps'	ṭo:pigor	'one who makes caps'
laɖə:y	'quarrel'	laɖa:yigor	'one who quarrels'
soda:	'things'	so:da:gar	'merchant'
ja:du:	'magic'	ja:du:gar	'magician'
su:d	'interest'	su:dkho:r	'money lender'
cugɨl'	'back-biting'	cugɨl'kho:r	'back-biter'
zəmi:n	'land'	zəmi:nda:r	'landlord'
kha:nɨ	'family'	kha:nɨda:r	'head of a family'
khaza:nɨ	'treasure'	khaza:nci:	'cashier'
əphi:m	'opium'	əphi:mci:	'opium addict'

(10) *-band* 'lit. bound' (Persian origin)

| kamar | 'waist' | kamarband | 'belt' |
| bistar | 'bedding' | bistarband | 'hold all' |

(11) *-kh'ol* (nouns of aggregation)

| ti:r' | 'sheep' | ti:r'kh'ol | 'a flock of sheep' |
| shur' | 'children' | shur'kh'ol | 'a group of children' |

(12) *-manḍi:, -ga:ṭh* 'market, locality'

da:ni	'paddy'	da:n'manḍi:	'paddy market'
z'un	'wood'	zin'manḍi:	'firewood depot'
dob'	'washermen'	dob'ga:ṭh	'washing deck'
shumsha:n	'cremation'	shumsha:nga:ṭh	'cremation ground'

(13) *-en', -in', -ə:n', -ba:y, -ɨr, -y*

These suffixes are used to form feminine nouns.

Masculine	Feminine	
dã:dur	dã:dren'	'vegetable-seller'
karɨzda:r	karɨzda:ren'	'borrower of money'
mozu:r	mozren'	'labourer'
khar	khərin'	'ass'
gujur	gujrə:n'	'Gujar'
pənḍit	pənḍitə:n'	'Pandit, learned person'
ma:sṭar	ma:sṭarba:y	'a teacher'
phot	photɨr	'basket'
mond	mondɨr	'log of wood'
on	ən'	'blind man'
zon	zən'	'person'
hu:n	hu:n'	'dog'

(14) *-i:, -a:nɨ* and *-iyath, -to:n, -us*

These suffixes are employed to form abstract nouns.

no:kar	'servant'	no:kri:	'job'
nazar	'sight'	nazra:nɨ	'gift'
jurɨm	'guilt'	jurma:nɨ	'penalty/fine'
yinsa:n	'human'	yinsə:niyath	'humanity'
shakhɨs	'person'	shakhsiyath	'individuality'
mo:l	'father'	mə:l'to:n	'fatherhood'
ves	'girlfriend'	vesɨ to:n	'friendship/hood'
bo:y	'brother'	bə:yto:n	'brotherhood'
mɔnḍ	'widow'	mɔnḍus	'widowhood'

(15) *-a:t*

The suffix *-a:t* is used to form collective nouns from inanimate and abstract nouns.

Inanimate nouns		Collective nouns	
ka:gaz	'paper'	ka:gza:t	'a bunch of papers'
khaya:l	'idea'	khaya:la:th	'a number of ideas'

(16) *-da:n* 'container', *-kha:nɨ* 'house of'

Both these suffixes are of Persian origin.

kalam	'pen'	kalamda:n	'pen holder'
ro:shan	'light'	ro:shanda:n	'window'
ka:r	'work'	ka:rkha:nɨ	'factory'
shara:b	'liquor'	shara:bkha:nɨ	'bar'

(17) *pu:t, koṭ*

These suffixes signify the relation 'son/child' and are used with generic nouns only. The suffix *pu:t* is also used to signify the young ones of certain animals. The suffix *koṭ* may signify a praise or its semantic opposite—a derogatory connotation. (e.g., kɔ koṭ 'a bad son').

dar	'caste name'	darɨ pu:t	'the son of a Dar'
ko:l	'caste name'	ko:lɨ pu:t	'the son of a Kaul'
ka:v	'crow'	kav:ɨ pu:t	'a baby crow'
kɔkar	'chicken'	kɔkar pu:t	'a baby chicken'
baṭɨ	'Brahmin'	baṭɨ koṭ	'a son of a Kashmiri Brahmin'
kra:l	'potter'	kra:lɨ koṭ	'a son of a potter'
tsu:r	'thief'	tsu:rɨ koṭ	'son of a thief (derogatory use)'

2.2.1.2 Nouns from verbs

The most productive suffix used for deriving nouns from verbs is the infinitive marker *-un*. The marker induces morphophonemic changes when added to verbs ending in vowels.

(1) *-un*

Verb stem		Gerundive noun	
yi	'come'	yun	'arrival'
di	'give'	d'un	'giving'
pe	'fall'	p'on	'fall'
le:kh	'write'	le:khun	'writing'
gatsh	'go'	gatshun	'going'

(2) *-an* 'abstract nouns'

Stem		Abstract noun	
daḍak	'throb'	daḍkan	'throbing'
lag	'be attached'	lagan	'devotion'

(3) *-ath* 'abstract nouns'

Stem		Abstract noun	
bac	'be saved'	bacath	'saving/profit'
hek	'be capable'	hekath	'capability'

(4) *-ṭ:, -ə:y, -aṭh* 'abstract nouns'

The suffixes *-a:, -ə:y,* and *-ath* are productive suffixes.

ge:r	'surround'	ge:rɨ	'cirle'
jo:r	'add'	jo:rɨ	'a pair'
laḍ	'quarrel'	laḍə:y	'quarrel'
le:kh	'write'	likhə:y	'writing'
bana:v	'make'	bana:vaṭh	'shape'
saja:v	'decorate'	saja:vaṭh	'decoration'
thak	'tired'	thaka:vaṭh	'tiredness'

(5) *-∅*

A putative zero suffix is used to derive certain agent, or patient, or abstract nouns.

Verb		Agent noun	
ṭhag	'cheat'	ṭhag	'cheat/thug'

		Patient noun	
cha:p	'print'	cha:p	'imprint'

		Abstract noun	
cha:p	'print'	cha:p	'impression'
dɔ:r	'run'	dɔ:r	'race'
samɨj	'understand'	samɨj	'understanding'
ma:r	'beat'	ma:r '	beating'
mang	'demand'	mang	'demand'
mo:ḍ	'turn'	mo:ḍ	'turn'
me:l	'meet'	me:l	'meeting'

2.2.1.2.1 Syntax of deverbal nouns

The syntax of deverbal nouns is similar to that of nonderived nouns with respect to gender, number, and case-marking.

2.2.1.3 Nouns from adjectives

The most productive suffixes used for deriving abstract nouns from adjectives are -i:, -ar, -ə:yi:, -a:s, -iyath.

(1) *-i:*

Adjective		Abstract noun	
sarɨd	'cold'	sardi:	'cold'
garɨm	'hot'	garmi:	'hot'
narɨm	'soft'	narmi:	'softness'
ne:k	'noble'	ni:ki:	'nobility'
khara:b	'bad'	kharə:bi:	'defect'
khɔsh	'happy'	khoshi:	'happiness'
be:vku:ph	'stupid'	be:vku:phi:	'stupidity'

(2) *- er /- ar*

Adjective		Abstract noun	
ja:n	'good'	ja:ner	'goodness'
vushun	'warm'	vushne:r	'warmness'
modur	'sweet'	mədre:r	'sweetness'
tsok	'sour'	tsɔker	'sourness'
mot	'mad'	matsar	'madness'
tot	'hot'	tatsar	'hotness'
lot	'light'	lɔtsar	'lightness'
gosh	'lazy'	gashar	'laziness'
mot	'fat'	mɔcar	'fatness'
t'oth	'bitter'	techar	'bitterness'
kol	'dumb'	kajar	'dumbness'
drog	'expensive'	drɔjar	'expensive'

(3) *-ə:yi:*

Adjective		Abstract noun	
sa:ph	'clean'	saphə:yi:	'cleanliness'
buɾɨ	'bad'	burə:yi:	'badness'

(4) *-a:s*

Adjective		Abstract noun	
miṭhɨ	'sweet'	miṭha:s	'sweetness'
khaṭɨ	'sour'	khaṭa:s	'sourness'

(5) *-iyath*

Adjective		Abstract noun	
asli:	'real'	asliyath	'reality'
kha:s	'special'	khə:siyath	'speciality'

2.2.1.4 Nouns from adverbs

The suffix *-ath* is added to form nouns from certain adverbs.

Adverb		Abstract noun	
zaru:r	'certainly'	zaru:rath	'necessity'

2.2.1.5 Nouns from other categories

2.2.1.5.1 Nouns from postpositions

Postpositions are rarely used to derive nouns. However, the suffix *vo:l,* which is used to derive possessive nouns, may be treated as a quasi-postpositional form since it induces ablative case on the nouns to which it is attached. The suffix varies for the gender and number of the possessor.

(1)

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
vo:l	və:l'	va:jen'	va:jini

(1a)

shur'-vo:l (masc-sg)	'one having children'
shur'-va:jen' (fem-sg)	'a woman having children'
maka:nɨ və:l' (masc-pl)	'owners of a house'

Note that agentive, experiencer, and instrumental nouns are very frequently formed by means of *vo:l* added to the oblique infinitive form of the verb. The suffix agrees with the number and gender of the head noun.

Infinitive verb		*Oblique form*	*Agentive nouns*	
kɪnun	'to sell'	kɪnan	kɪnan vo:l	'seller'
vanun	'to say'	vanan	vanan vo:l	'teller'
kh'on	'to eat'	khenɪ	khenɪ vo:l	'eater'

2.2.1.5.2 Nouns from pronouns

Nouns are rarely derived from pronouns. Only the reflexive pronoun is used to form a few abstract nouns.

> pa:nɪ 'self'   pa:nɪn'a:r 'intimacy'

2.2.2 Derivation of verbs

2.2.2.1 *Verbs from nouns*

(1) Conjunct/nominal verbs

Conjunct verbs, originally known as nominal verbs, are composed of a noun and a small set of verbs. It is a very productive process of verb formation. The noun is fully incorporated in the verb, and the combination behaves like a verbal element. (See 2.2.6.3.3.1 for details.) Only a negative particle can be inserted between the noun and the verb (e.g., *java:b nɪ d'un* 'reply not give').

(2) Verbs are derived from nouns by means of the infinitive marker *-un/-a:vun.*

Noun		*Verb*	
mandach	'shame'	mandchun	'to be bashful'
ṭhag	'dacoit'	ṭhagun	'to rob'
kə:m	'work'	kama:vun	'to earn'
bram	'doubt'	bramun	'to be in doubt'

2.2.2.2 *Verbs from verbs*

(1) Transitive/causative suffixes

Causativization, which includes transitive verb formation, is one of the most productive processes of verb formation. The causative suffixes *-a:v* and *ɪna:v* and their suppletive forms have been discussed in detail in 2.1.3.1.3.1. Causativization is an iterative process, and extended causatives are formed by readdition of the causative marker.

ban	'be made'
bana:v	'make'
bana:vɪna:v	'cause someone to make'
pe	'fall'

pa:v   'make someone fall'
pa:vɨna:v   'cause someone to make someone fall'

2.2.2.3–5 Verbs from other categories

(1) Verbs from adjectives

Some verbs are formed from adjectives by using the suffix -un.

Adjective		Verb	
long	'lame'	langun	'to limp'
kol	'dumb'	kalun	'to be dumb'
tot	'hot'	tatun	'to become hot'
shuhul	'cold'	shehlun	'to become cold'
garɨm	'hot'	garmun	'to become hot'
narɨm	'soft'	narmun	'to become soft'

(2) Verbs from pronouns, adjectives, adverbs

Besides nouns, conjunct verbs also are formed from pronouns, adverbials, and adjectives, though not as frequently (see 2.2.6.3.3.1 for details).

2.2.3 Derivation of adjectives

2.2.3.1 Adjectives from nouns

Adjectives are derived from nouns by using both suffixes and prefixes, most of which are of Persian origin.

2.2.3.1.1 Suffixes

The most common suffixes are -(y)i:, -ɨ,-hot, a:nɨ, -lu:, -i:n, -i:lɨ, -var/-a:var, -ba:z, -ga:r, -na:kh , etc.

(1) -(y)i: (pertaining to)

Noun		Adjective	
sarka:r	'government'	sarkə:ri:	'governmental'
arab	'Arab'	arbi:	'Arabic'
hemat	'courage'	hemati:	'courageous'
jisɨm	'body'	jismə:ni:	'bodily'

In a number of words, the addition of y reduces the final long vowel a: to ə: and the final consonant is palatalized.

Noun		Adjective	
asma:n	'sky'	asmə:n'	'sky colour'
gula:b	'rose'	gulə:b'	'rosy'

shara:b	'wine'	sharə:b'	'drunkard'
nepa:l	'Nepal'	nepə:l'	'Nepalese'
panja:b	'Punjab'	panjə:b'	'Punja:bi'
madra:s	'Madras'	madrə:s'	'Madrasi'

(2) *-ɨ*

Noun		Adjective	
gand	'dirt'	gandɨ	'dirty'
mal	'dirt'	mə:lɨ	'dirty'
ṭhanḍ	'cold'	ṭhanḍɨ	'cold'

(3) *-hot* (pertaining to psychological experiences)

Noun		Adjective	
bɔchi	'hunger'	bɔchihot	'hungry'
tre:sh	'thirst'	tre:shihot	'thirsty'
kru:d	'anger'	kru:dɨhot	'angry'
a:r	'pity'	a:rɨhot	'pitiful'

(4) *-a:nɨ*

Noun		Adjective	
do:st	'friend'	do:sta:nɨ	'friendly'
ya:r	'friend'	ya:ra:nɨ	'friendly'
marɨd	'man'	marda:nɨ	'manly'

(5) *a:lu:*

Noun		Adjective	
daya:	'kindness'	daya:lu:	'kind'
krapa:	'kindness'	krapa:lu:	'kind'
jagdɨ	'quarrel'	jagḍa:lu:	'quarrelsome'

(6) *-i:n*

This suffix is used mostly with Hindi-Urdu–borrowed words.

Noun		Adjective	
rang	'colour'	rəngi:n	'colourful'
sho:k	'fondness'	sho:ki:n	'fond of x'

(7) *-da:r* (possession)

Noun		Adjective	
nu:n	'salt'	nu:nɨda:r	'salty'
rang	'colour'	rangɨda:r	'colourful'

masa:lɨ 'spices' masa:lɨda:r 'spicy'
khabar 'news' khabarda:r 'alert'

(8) *-i:lɨ* (possession)

This suffix is used mostly with words borrowed from Persian.

Noun		Adjective	
zaha:r	'poison'	zəhri:lɨ	'poisonous'
camak	'shine'	camki:lɨ	'shining'
nɔ:k	'point/edge'	nuki:lɨ	'pointed'

(9) *-i:, -var, -a:var*

Noun		Adjective	
ta:kat	'strength'	ta:kti:	'strong'
jurat	'courage'	jurti:	'courageous'
bakhɨt	'fortune'	bakhta:var	'fortunate'
zo:r	'power'	zo:ra:var	'powerful'

(10) *-ba:z* (habitual agency)

Noun		Adjective	
dɔ:khɨ	'cheating'	dɔ:khɨba:z	'one who betrays'
ca:l	'cheating'	ca:lba:z	'cheat'
nakshɨ	'map'	nakshɨba:z	'crafty'

(11) *-ga:r*

This Persian-borrowed suffix is used with Persian-borrowed words.

Noun		Adjective	
madad	'help'	madadga:r	'helper'
gɔna:h	'sin/guilt'	gɔna:hga:r	'guilty'

(12) *-na:kh*

This suffix is also used with words of Persian origin.

Noun		Adjective	
darɨd	'pain'	darɨdna:kh	'painful'
sharɨm	'shame'	sharɨmna:kh	'shameful'
khɔ:ph	'fear'	khɔphna:kh	'dreadful'

2.2.3.1.2 Prefixes

The most common prefixes are *be-, bad-, na:-, la:-, bad-, ba:-, ner-, kam-*, etc.

(13) *be:-*

Noun		Adjective	
zuv	'life'	be:zuv	'lifeless'
ho:sh	'consciousness'	be:ho:sh	'unconscious'
ce:n	'comfort'	be:ce:n	'uncomfortable'
kasu:r	'fault'	be:kasu:r	'innocent'
sabɨr	'patience'	be:sabɨr	'impatient'
buniya:d	'foundation'	be:buniya:d	'baseless'
khabar	'news'	be:khabar	'unaware'
ka:r	'job'	be:ka:r	'unemployed'

(14) *bad-*

Noun		Adjective	
kɨsmat	'fate'	badkɨsmat	'unlucky'
bakhɨt	'fortune'	badbakhɨt	'unlucky'

(15) *na:-*

Noun		Adjective	
vɔme:d	'hope'	na:vɔme:d	'hopeless'
pasand	'choice'	na:pasand	'dislike'

(16) *la:-* 'without'

Noun		Adjective	
vǝ:ris	'heir'	la:vǝ:ris	'without heir'
parva:	'care'	la:parva:	'careless'

(17) *ba:-* 'with'

Noun		Adjective	
yezath	'respect'	ba:yezath	'with respect'

(18) *ner-* 'without'

mal	'dirt'	nermal	'clean'
du:sh	'guilt'	nerdu:sh	'innocent'

(19) *kam-* 'insufficient'

Noun		Adjective	
zo:r	'force/power'	kamzo:r	'weak'
bakhɨt	'fortune'	kambakhɨt	'unfortunate'

(20) khɔsh-

The Persian-borrowed adjective *khɔsh/khush* if used as a prefix generates adjectives from nouns.

Noun		Adjective	
kɪsmat	'luck'	khɔshkɪsmat	'fortunate'
miza:j	'nature'	khɔshmiza:j	'good natured'

2.2.3.2 Adjectives from verbs

The two major participial constructions—present and past—function as modifiers. The following table represents the present and past participial suffixes added to verbs for deriving adjectives:

(1)	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Present participle	vun	-vɪn'	-vɪn'	-vɪni
Past participial	mut	-mɪt'	-mɪts	-matsɪ

The participles show agreement with the following noun.

(2)	*Verb*		*Adjectival phrase*	
	nats	'dance'	natsɪvun lədkɪ	'dancing boy'
			natsɪvɪn' lədkɪ	'dancing boys'
			natsɪvɪn' ku:r	'dancing girl'
			natsɪvɪni ko:ri	'dancing girls'

(3)	chal	'wash'	cholmut kapur	'the washed cloth'
			chəl'mɪt'palav	'the washed clothes'
			chəjimɪts ṭu:p'	'the washed cap'
			chajimatsɪ ṭo:pi	'the washed caps'

These participial adjectives take all the case markers of the following noun.

(4) natsɪvɪnis   lədkas   chi   nɪ   ja:n   palav.
dance-ppl-dat   boy-dat   are   not   good   clothes
'The dancing boy does not have good clothes.'

(5) natsɪvɪni   ko:ri   chu   kalas   do:d.
dance-ppl-dat   girl-dat   has   head-dat   sickness
'The dancing girl has a headache.'

(6) chəl'mɪtis   kapras   kar   kund'.
washed-ppl-dat   cloth-dat   do   iron
'Iron the washed cloth.'

(7) chəjimɨts   kəmi:z   cha   nɨ   sa:ph.
washed-ppl-dat   shirt   is   not   clean
'The washed shirt is not clean.'

Certain Hindi-Urdu adjectives derived from verbs are borrowed in Kashmiri as such. The verbs are not used in Kashmiri but the derived adjectives are. The adjectives in Hindi-Urdu are formed by adding the suffixes *-vu:, -akaḍ, -a:ku:, -iyal*, etc. Hindi-Urdu verb forms are given in their original form below.

Verb stem		*Agentive Adjective*	
kha:	'eat'	kha:vu:	'eater'
kama:	'earn'	kama:vu:	'earner'
pi:	'drink'	piykaḍ	'drunkard'
bhu:l	'forget'	bulakaḍ	'forgetful person'
laḍ	'fight'	laḍa:ku:	'fighter'

		Experiencer Adjective	
bik	'be sold'	bika:vu:	'for sale'
mar	'die'	məriyal	'dead/weak'

2.2.3.3 Adjectives from adjectives

Ordinal adjectives, collective adjectives, and indefinite adjectives are derived from adjectives by adding the following respective suffixes: *-(y)im, -(n)ɨvay/ -shɨvay, -bəd'*.

(1) *-(y)im*

Adjective		*Ordinal adjective*	
tre	'three'	treyim	'third'
tso:r	'four'	tsu:rim	'fourth'
pã:ts	'five'	pɨ:tsim	'fifth'
she	'six'	sheyim	'sixth'
sath	'seven'	sətim	'seventh'
ə:th	'eight'	ɨ:thim	'eighth'
nav	'nine'	nəvim	'ninth'
dəh	'ten'	dəhim	'tenth', etc.

(2) *-(n)ɨvay/-shɨvay*

Adjective		*Collective adjective*	
tre	'three'	trenɨvay/treshɨvay	'all the three'
tso:r	'four'	tsonɨvay/tsoshɨvay	'all the four'
pã:ts	'five'	pã:tsɨvay	'all the five'
she	'six'	shenɨvay	'all the six'
sath	'seven'	satɨvay	'all the seven'
ə:th	'eight'	ə:thɨvay	'all the eight'

nav	'nine'	navɨvay	'all the nine'
dəh	'ten'	dəhvay	'all the ten'

(3) *-bəd'*

Adjective		Indefinite adjective	
hath	'hundred'	hatɨbəd'	'hundreds/many'
sa:s	'thousand'	sa:sɨbəd'	'thousands/many'

2.2.3.4 Adjectives from adverbs

The suffix *-im* is added to certain adverbs for deriving adjectives.

Adverb		Adjective	
peṭh	'above'	peṭhim	'extra/superficial'
nebar	'outside'	nebrim	'external'
andar	'inside'	əndrim	'internal'
tal	'under'	təlim	'underneath'

2.2.4 Derivation of adverbs

2.2.4.1 Adverbs from nouns

Addition of a postposition or a suffix is the most productive way of deriving adverbs from nouns. (See 1.2.1.3 for derivation of temporal and other adverbs.)

(1)

Noun	Adverb	
kita:b	kita:b-i-sɨ:t'	'with the book'
maka:n	maka:n-av-əndrɨ	'from inside the houses'
ga:m	ga:m-ɨ-p'aṭhɨ	'from the village'

(2) *-an*

Noun		Adverb	
anda:z	'esti nate'	anda:zan	'by estimate'
kəri:b	'approximate'	kəri:ban	'approximately'
a:dat	'habit'	a:dɨtan	'habitually'
ko:nu:n	'law'	ko:nu:nan	'as per law'

(3) *-va:r*

Noun		Adverb	
nambar	'number/turn'	nambarva:r	'by turn'
tarti:b	'system/order'	tarti:bva:r	'in order'

2.2.4.2 Adverbs from verbs

There are no suffixes that convert verbs into adverbs. However, both present and past participial forms of verbs function as adverbs.

(1) tami   g'av natsa:n   natsa:n.
    she-erg sang dance-prp   dance-prp
    'She sang (while) dancing.'

(2) me   vuch to:tɨ   mu:ɖɨmut.
    I-erg saw   parrot dead-psp
    'I saw the parrot dead (in the state of).'

2.2.4.3 *Adverbs from adjectives*

Adverbs can be derived from adjectives by adding the suffixes *-an, -kar*.

(1) *-an*

Adjective		Adverb	
majbu:r	'helpless'	majbu:ran	'by compulsion'
jabar	'force'	jabran	'by force'
kəri:b	'about'	kəri:ban	'approximately'

(2) *-kar*

Adjective	Adverb
kha:s	kha:skar

   Adjectives of quantity and quality syntactically function as adverbs when they follow the verb.

(3) *Adjective/adverb*

ja:n	'good'
bad	'bad'
kam	'less'
z'a:dɨ	'more'

(5) tsɨ   pərizi   ja:n
    you study-modal good
    'You should study well.'

2.2.4.4 *Adverbs from adverbs*

(1) *-a:nɨ*

ro:z 'daily'   ro:za:nɨ 'daily'

(2) *-an*

saha:r	'dawn'	sa:hran	'at dawn'
subuh	'morning'	subɨhan	'in the morning'

sha:m	'evening'	sha:man	'in the evening'
dupɨhə:r	'noon'	dupɨhə:ran	'at noon'

(3) *-y*

dɔh	'day	dɔhay	'daily'

(4) *-as*

ra:th	'night'	ra:tas	'during the night'
dɔh	'day'	dɔhas	'during the day'

(5) *-i*

sul	'early'	suli	'early'
dɔh	'day'	dɔhli	'during the day'

(6) *-ɨ/-ɨkani*

bɔn	'below'	bɔnɨ/bɔnɨkani	'below'
ho'r	'above'	herɨ/herɨkani	'above'

(7) *-kun*

yo:r	'here'	yo:rkun	'this direction'
ho:r	'there'	ho:rkun	'that direction'
ko:r	'where'	ko:rkun	'which direction'

(8) *-en/-th/enas*

kati	'where'	katen/kateth/katinas	'which place'

2.2.4.5 Adverbs from other categories

2.2.4.5.1 Pronouns

Different types of adverbs are derived from pronouns by suffixation: *-ti/-ten/-teth/-tinas*, *-ɨ*, *-o:r*, *-pə:r'*, *vizi*.

(1) *-ti/-ten/-teth/-tinas* 'locative adverbs'

Pronoun		Adverb	
yi	'this'	yeti/yeten/yeteth/yetinas	'here'
hu	'that'	hoti/hoten/hoteth/hotinas	'there'
su	'that'	tati/taten/tateth/tatinas	'there'

(2) *-ot/-o:r/-pə:r'* 'directional adverbs'

Pronoun		Adverb	
yi	'this'	yot/yo:r/yepə:r'	'here'
hu	'that'	hot/ho:r/hɔpə:r'	'there'
ti	'that'	tot/to:r/tapə:r'	'there'

(3) *-vizi* 'temporal adverbs'

Pronoun		Adverb	
yemi	'this'	yemivizi	'at this time'
tami	'that'	tamivizi	'at that time'

(4) *-thɨ pə:ṭh'* 'manner adverbs'

Pronoun		Adverb	
yi	'this'	yithɨpə:ṭh'	'like this'
hu	'that'	huthɨpə:ṭh'	'like that'
ti	'that'	tithɨpə:ṭh'	'like that'

2.2.4.5.2 Compound adverbs

Compound adverbs are formed by reduplication, compounding, or affixation.

(1) Reduplication

dɔhay dɔhay	'daily'
ja:yi ja:yi	'everywhere'

(2) Compounding

herɨ bɔnɨ	'up and down'
patɨ brõ:ṭhɨ	'back and front'

(3) Affixation

prath dɔh	'every day/daily'
dɔh patɨ dɔh	'day after day'
dɔhɨ-liy	'during the day itself'

(4) Postpositions

ja:n	'good'	ja:n pə:ṭh'	'in good manner'
rut	'good'	rɨt' pə:ṭh'	'in good manner'
yuth	'this type'	yithɨ pə:ṭh'	'in this manner'
		yithɨ kɨn'	'in this manner'

2.2.5   Other   possibilities

We are not aware of other compounding possibilities at present.

2.2.6   Derivation   of   postpositions

2.2.6.1 Complex postpositions

Complex postpositions are of two types. One type is derived by suffixing -y to
the simple postposition. The final consonant is palatalized in the presence of -y.

Simple postposition		Complex postposition	
manz	'in/inside'	mənz'	'from inside'
tal	'under'	təl'	'from under'
brŏ:ṭh	'in front'	brū:ṭh'	'from front side'

The other type involves genitive case markers used with nouns.

—ra:mɨnis   muka:balas   manz—
  Ram-gen-dat comparison-dat in
'—in comparison with Ram—'

2.2.6.2 Other derived postpositions

2.2.6.2.1 Denominal

A number of postpositions are derived from nouns either by the addition of a
case marker or by incorporating a postposition:

Noun		Derived postposition	
dəchun	'right'	dəchin'(kin')	'to the right'
kho:vur	'left'	khɔ:vɨr' (kin')	'to the left'

2.2.6.2.2 Deverbal

A few postpositions are derived by the deverbal process.

Verb		Derived Postposition	
ral	'meet'	ralə:vith	'together'
rala:v	'cause to meet'	ralə:vith	'including'
tra:v	'leave'	trə:vith	'excepting'

2.2.6.2.3 Deadverbial

Adverbs frequently function as postpositions:

Adverb/Postposition			
peṭh	'above'	tal	'under'
andar	'inside'	brŏ:h	'in front'
path	'behind'	nish	'near'

2.2.6.3 *Compound morphology*

Though compound words are used freely in Kashmiri, there is very little information available about them except what has been written in Kaula (1898) and Grierson (1898a), which is mostly based on Kaula's account. Some information is also found in Kachru (1969b). Kaula's classification of compounds is based on the framework of Sanskrit 'samasa'. Our classification follows the guidelines of the *Lingua* questionnaire. (See Comrie and Smith 1977.) We will refer to the traditional terminology where relevant.

Kashmiri compound words are made up of two constituents, each belonging to one of the categories: Noun, Adjective, Verb, or Postposition. The compound itself may belong to the category Noun, Adjective, or Verb. The category of the compound is usually determined by its head. Note that a compound may be endocentric (i.e., there is a definable head inside the group that has the same distribution as the compound as a whole) or exocentric (i.e., there is no definable head that relates to the compound as a whole).

2.2.6.3.1 Nouns

Compounds belonging to the noun category are headed by a noun, which is a final member of the group. The first member may be a noun, an adjective, or a participle. A morphological characteristic of Kashmiri compounds is that a postposition is attached only to the final member. The first member may be declined for gender, number, and case (e.g., possessive in attributive compounds) or put in an oblique form.

2.2.6.3.1.1 Noun-noun compounds

Noun-noun compounds divide into several subgroups usually based on semantic criteria. Some of these are exemplified below.

(1) Copulative compounds

Copulative compounds, also known as co-compounds or 'dvandva' (Skt.), are composed of semantically related nouns. Each noun behaves as an independent constituent in the sense that each may be separately inflected for gender and number though not for a postposition. The postposition or case is attached only to the final member. Note that a copulative compound divides into further subgroups, depending upon the semanticity of the members (e.g., synonyms, antinyms, hyponyms, etc.) Members of some compounds occur in a fixed order.

mo:l mə:j	'father and mother'	*mə:j mo:l
beni bo:y	'sister and brother'	?bo:y beni
sɔkh dɔkh	'happiness and sorrow'	dɔkh sɔkh
h'or bɔn	'high or low'	*bɔn h'or
sarɨd garɨm	'cold or hot'	?garɨm sarɨd
pa:ph pɔn'	'sin or good deeds'	*pɔn' pa:ph

(2) Reduplicated compounds

Reduplicated noun-noun compounds express exhaustive meaning.

garɨ garɨ	(house-house)	'every house'
shur' shur'	(child-child)	'every child'
pɔ̃:sɨ pɔ̃:sɨ	(penny-penny)	'every penny/penny by penny'

(3) Partially duplicated compounds

In partial duplication, the second member is formed by changing the initial letter of the first member. The initial /v/ is changed to /p/; all other initial consonants or consonant clusters are replaced by /v/. The meaning of these compounds extends well beyond their members. The compounds are representative of similar/associative things.

(a)
və:j pə:j	'ring and the like'
vath path	'road and the like'

(b)
kən' vən'	'stone and the likes'
ca:y va:y	'tea and associated things that are served with it'
jom vom	'Jammu and the likes'
ta:j va:j	'crown, etc.'
dɔd vɔd	'milk and the like'
shi:n vi:n	'snow and the likes'
gra:kh va:kh	'customers and others'
pras vas	'press, etc.'

(4) Superordinate compounds

Superordinate compounds (Skt. 'bahuvrihi') are enigmatic in the sense that the meaning projected by the members does not in any way relate to the meaning of the compound as a whole. These compounds are clearly exocentric since neither member acts as a head. Such compounds abound in Kashmiri, some of which are exemplified below.

athɨ khɔr	(hand-feet)	'body'
kə:m ka:r	(work-work)	'job'
khen cen	(eating-drinking)	'lifestyle'
a:b hava:	(water-air)	'climate'
tre:sh tamo:k	(water-tobacco)	'livelihood'
nu:n ti:l	(salt-oil)	'spices'

(5) Complex compounds

Complex compounds involving three or more nouns are not very frequent. Only a few borrowed ones can be found.

tan man dan	(body-mind-money)	'devotion'

(6) Hybrid compounds

In hybrid compounds, one member is usually borrowed from some other language and the second is a Kashmiri noun.

shur' bə:ts	(children-family members)	'family'
sa:d sant	(saint-saint [Skt.])	'saint'
palav posha:k	(clothes-dress [Persian])	'dress'
ma:y mohbath	(love [Skt.] -love [Persian])	'affection'
ḍabal tsoṭ	(ḍabal [Eng.] -bread)	'bread'
re:l gə:ḍ'	(tracks [Eng.] -vehicle)	'train'
dihi: kami:ṭi:	(rural-committee [Eng.])	'rural committee'
ko:ṭh patɨlu:n	(coat [Eng.] -pant [Eng.])	'coat and pants'

(7) Adjective-noun compounds

A subclass of superordinate compound is composed of an adjective followed by a noun.

za:mut dɔd	(sour-milk)	'yogurt'
o:m dɔd	(raw-milk)	'milk'
kruhun marɨts	(black- pepper)	'pepper'
sabɨz ə:lɨ	(green-cardamom)	'a variety of cardamom'
hə:ri: parbat	(Hari-mountain)	'a mountain named Hari Parbat'

(8) Genitive-noun compounds

In genitive-noun compounds, classified as 'tatpurusha' in Sanskrit and Indian languages, the first member is marked with genitive or locative and acts like a modifier of its head. The second member is a noun.

tsɨn-i tsu:r	(charcoal-of-thief)	'charcoal stealer'
cand-ɨ tsu:r	(pocket-of-thief)	'pickpocket'
cã:d-i gila:s	(silver-of-glass)	'a silver glass'
dɔd-ɨ vã:gan	(milk-in-eggplant)	'eggplant cooked in milk'
dã:d-ɨ gə:ḍ'	(ox-of-cart)	'ox/bullock cart'

Note that the word *po:ṇ'* 'water' is changed to *vo:ṇ'* if it is the last member of the compound, and it is changed to *pã:* when it is the first member.

(a) gang-ɨ vo:ṇ'	(Ganges-water)	'water of Ganges'
shi:n-ɨ vo:ṇ'	(snow-water)	'water from snow'

(b) pã:- noṭ	(water-bucket)	'bucket for water'

(9) Past participial compounds

Past participial form of verbs are used as first members of the compound.

hokh haːkh   'dried vegetables'
hɔchɨ gaːɖɨ   'dried fish'

2.2.6.3.2 Adjectives

2.2.6.3.2.1 Noun-adjective compound

Noun-adjective compounds, classified as 'bahuvrihi' by Ishvara Kaula, are composed of a noun followed by an adjective. The compound is used as an adjective as decided by its head. Note that these are clearly exocentric. For example, *yaḍ bəḍ* indicates a person with a big belly and does not imply a stomach that is big. Compare English exocentric compound such as 'redhead, longlegs, dimwit'.

yəḍ boḍ   (belly big)   'big bellied'
daːri z'uːṭh   (beard long)   'long bearded'

2.2.6.3.2.2 Adjective-adjective

Adjective-adjective compounds are mostly formed by reduplication. These usually modify plural nouns.

jaːn jaːn   'good ones'
lɔkɨt' lɔkɨt'   'little ones'
tot tot   'hot'
z'uːṭh z'uːṭh   'the tall ones'
sabɨz sabɨz   'green ones'
vɔzul vɔzul   'red ones'

One of the members of a reduplicated adjective may function like an intensifier.

modur m'uːṭh (sweet-sweet)   'very sweet'
kam kəliːl   (less-less)   'much less'

Partial duplication expresses closely related/associated adjectival qualities. Compare noun-noun compounds in 2.2.6.3.1 (3) above.

n'uːl v'uːl   'blue and the like'
galath valath   'wrong and the like'

Antonyms also participate in adjective-adjective compounds. They yield either conjunctive or disjunctive meaning, as is the case with noun-noun compounds.

sɔkh dɔkh   'happiness and/or sorrow'
tsok modur   'sour and/or sweet'

2.2.6.3.2.3 Past participle adjective compounds

nas tsoṭ   (nose deformed)   'one with deformed nose'
kaḻ tsoṭ   (devil dared)   'a daredevil'

2.2.6.3.2.4 Numeral-adjective compounds

tru r'ot   'third monthly/of three months'
shu r'ot   'six monthly/of six months'

The numerals *tru* and *shu* are morphological variations of the corresponding numerals *tre* 'three' and *she* 'six' respectively.

2.2.6.3.3 Verbs

2.2.6.3.3.1 Conjunct verbs (noun-verb compounds)

Conjunct verbs are derived by compounding nouns, adjectives (less frequently), and adverbs (rarely) with certain verbs, known as vectors or explicators. The participating nouns, adjectives and adverbs are the principal carriers of the meaning. The verbs used in the formation of conjunct verbs belong to a small class, as listed below. The inherent meaning of these verbs is suppressed. They are however, inflected for tense and agreement markers and depending on their inherent quality they impart their transitivity/intransitivity/inchoativity to the compound. These verbs are placed in the second position in the sentence, and the nouns, the adjectives, and the adverbs usually occupy the last position.

Noun	*Verb/Explicators*		
sala:h	dun	(advise give)	'to advise'
java:b	d'un	(answer give)	'to answer'
kə:m	karɨn'	(work doing)	'to do the work/working'
p'a:r	karun	(love do)	'to love'
ya:d	karun	(memory do)	'to remember'
ya:d	a:sun	(memory have)	'to remember' (intransitive)
ya:d	p'on	(memory fall)	'to remember' (intransitive)
pasand	yun	(like come)	'to like' (inchoative)

Adjective	*Verb/Explicators*		
ṭhi:k	karun	(right do)	'to set right'
ṭhi:k	a:sun	(right is)	'to be right'
khɔsh	karun	(please do)	'to please/to make happy'
khɔsh	a:sun	(please be)	'be pleased'

Adverb	*Verb/Explicators*		
jaldi:	karɨn'	(hurry do)	'to make haste'
jaldi:	a:sɨn'	(hurry be)	'to be in a hurry'

Some examples of conjunct verbs are given below.

(a) aslaman   kor maka:n pasand.
    Aslam-erg did house   choice
    'Aslam liked the house.'

(b) aslamas   a:v   maka:n pasand.
    Aslam-dar came   house   like
    'Aslam liked the house.'

(c) aslaman   kor re:ḍiyo ṭhi:kh.
    Aslam-erg did radio   right
    'Aslam fixed the radio.'

(d) re:ḍiyo o:s/gav   ṭhi:kh.
    radio   was/became alright
    'Radio was/became alright.'

(e) təm' kər jaldi: tɨ   vo:t   vakhtas peṭh.
    he-erg did hurry   and reached time-dat on
    'He hurried and reached on time.'

(f) təmis ə:s jaldi: amikin' ru:d nɨ yeti.
    he-erg had hurry therefore stayed not here
    'He was in hurry therefore did not stay here.'

2.2.6.3.3.2 Compound verbs

Compound verbs primarily consist of a main verb, and the so called explicator/ vector—auxiliary—verb. The explicators form a closed set of verbs listed below. (The list is based on Hook and Koul 1992.). The original meaning of these explicators is suppressed. Their main function is to add certain aspectual values, such as completion, intensification, or benefaction, to the main verb. The explicators are placed in the second position and are inflected for tense and agreement. The main verb occurs in its conjunctive participial form, *(y)th,* and is usually placed in the final position in the sentence. It may also be moved next to the explicator.

Verb	*Aspectual nuances*
gatsh	'go', direction away, simple completion
ni	'take', action for or toward others
pe	'fall', action for or towards self
di	'give', change of state, suddenness
tshun	'throw', speed, recklessness, relief
tra:v	'release', psychological separation; relief
thav	'put/keep', proactiveness, future use in view

> yi   'come', change of state from within
> tsal   'flee', unexpectedness, lack of control

Of these nine explicators, the first five are the most frequently used. Some of these explicators are the same as those used with conjunct verbs. Note, however, that the verbal compound can be replaced by the main verb without loss of meaning, as noted in Hook and Koul 1992. The noun in the conjunct verb has no such possibility. Some examples of compound verbs have been noted below.

(a) su   gav   kursiyi   peṭhɨ   thod   vəthith.
    he   went   chair-abl   from   up   rise-cp
    'He got up from the chair.'

(b) təm'   n'uv   yakdam   batɨ   kheth.
    he-erg   took   quickly   food   eat-cp
    'He ate food quickly.'

(c) su   pev   saykalɨ   peṭhɨ   vəsith.
    he   fell   cycle-abl   from   descend-cp
    'He fell from the cycle.'

(d) me   tshun'   prə:n'   palav   trə:vith.
    I-erg   threw   old   clothes   release-cp
    'I threw away the old clothes.'

2.2.6.3.3.3 Verb-verb compounds

Another class of verbal compounds consists of verbs that are semantically related. The members may be homonyms, synonyms, or antonyms.

> she:run pə:run   'to decorate'
> vadun rivun   'to cry and the like '
> karun kra:vun   'to do and the like'
> ralun me:lun   'to mix up'
> lasun basun   'to live, etc.'
> vuchun karun   'to see/to examine'
> h'on d'on   'to take and give'
> chalun chukun   'to wash and the like'

(a) ma:hren'   cha   panun   pa:n   she:ra:n   pə:ra:n.
    bride   is   self's   body   decorate-pr   decorate-pr
    'The bride is decorating herself.'

(b) shur   chu   dɔhay   saku:l   gatshnɨ   brõh   vada:n   riva:n.
    child   is   daily   school   go-inf-abl   before   cry-pr   cry-pr
    'The child cries before going to school daily.'

(c) su   chu   nɨ   kɔ̀:si   sɨ:t'   rala:n   me:la:n.
      he   is   not   anyone-abl   with   mix-up-pr   meet-pr
      'He does not mix up with anyone.'

2.2.6.3.3.4 Partially reduplicated verb compounds

Echo-verbal compounds undergo same consonantal changes—all initial consonants become /v/ except /v/, which is replaced by /p/—that govern the noun-noun compounds noted in 2.2.6.3.1.1 (3).

       vadun padun   'crying and the like'
       vuchun puchun   'to see and the like'

(a) vədith   pədith   k'a: ne:ri.
      cry-cp   what   come   out
      'What will come out of crying and shouting, etc.?'

      ro:zun vo:zun   'to live and the like'
      sajun vajun   'to be decorated'
      natsun vatsun   'to dance and the like'

(b) shi:las   cha: taga:n   natsun   vatsun?
      Sheila-dat   be-Q know-how   dance   and like
      'Does Sheila know how to dance, sing, etc.?'

3 PHONOLOGY

3.1 PHONOLOGICAL UNITS (SEGMENTAL)

Pulmonic egressive airstream mechanism is involved in the production of all phonetic segments of the language.

3.1.1 Distinctive segments

Distinctive phonological segments of Kashmiri have been described in various ways, and there is no standard guide for describing these segments even today. Grierson (1911), Baily (1937), Firth (1939), and Morgenstierne (1943) represent an attempt to describe the sounds of Kashmiri on phonetic grounds.[5] Kelkar and Trisal (1964), Trisal (1964), Kachru (1969), Zakharyin (1974, 1975), Kelkar (1984), and Bhat (1987) represent an attempt to describe the sounds on a phonological basis. Here we closely follow Bhat (1987) in our description of some core aspects of Kashmiri phonology and morphology. It should be noted here that our phonological description is not as formal as the one described in Kelkar (1984).

3.1.1.1 *The inventory of distinctive segments*

(Abbreviations: vls (voiceless); vcd (voiced); asp (aspirated); unasp (unaspirated).)

(1a) Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar-dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop						
vls unasp	p	t	ṭ		k	
vls asp	ph	th	ṭh		kh	
vcd unsap	b	d	ḍ		g	
Affricate						
vls unasp		ts		c		
vls asp		tsh		ch		
vcd unasp				j		
Nasal						
vcd	m	n				
Fricative						
vls		s		sh		h
vcd		z				
Lateral		l				
Trill		r				
Semivowels		v		y		
vcd						

Palatalization is phonemic in Kashmiri. Nonpalatal consonants are palatalized and are contrastive. We have represented palatalization by the apostrophe sign /'/ placed after the consonants. Notice that there are no voiced aspirated consonant phonemes. The voiced aspirated consonant phonemes like, /bh/, /dh/, /ḍh/, /jh/, and /gh/ found in Hindi-Urdu words, are deaspirated respectively as /b/, /d/, /ḍ/, /j/, and /g/ in the native vocabulary. Similarly, the Perso-Arabic uvular stop /q/ is replaced by /k/, and the fricatives /f/, /x/, and /G/ are replaced by their closest respective corresponding sounds /ph/, /kh/, and /g/.

Note that our transcription is based on Koul (1977, 1987). Our affricate symbols differ slightly from those used by both Bhat and Kachru. Our symbols /c, ch, sh/ correspond to /č, čh, š/ used by both Bhat and Kachru. Our affricate symbols /ts, tsh/ have been used by Kachru also, but Bhat has represented these as /c, ch/.

(1b) Vowels

	Front unrounded	Central unrounded	Back rounded
High	i i:	ɨ ɨ:	u u:
Mid	e e:	ə ə:	o o:
Low	a a:	a a:	ɔ ɔ:

Both length and nasalization are phonemic. The colon sign /:/ represents the vocalic length. The sign /˜/ placed on the vowel represents nasalization. The vowel /ɔ/ is found only in a few words. There is some dispute about the

existance of the vowel /ɔ:/. According to Kachru (1969) and Handoo (1973) the vowel is found in the word /sɔ:d/ 'one and a half quarter'. However, according to Bhat (1987) /sɔ:d/ should be spelled as /sɔa:d/, thus avoiding the necessity of positing /ɔ:/ as an extra phoneme.

Note that Kashmiri has four central vowels (i.e., /ɨ/, /ɨ:/, /ə/, and /ə:/) that are not found in any other South Asian languages.

3.1.2 Description of distinctive segments

3.1.2.1 Nonsyllabics (consonants)

3.1.2.1.1 Stops and affricates

The stops include both voiced and voiceless unaspirates, besides voiceless aspirates of the labial, apicodental, retroflex, and velar series. Stops occur in initial, medial, and final positions of words.

/p/:[p]	(voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop), e.g., *pakh* 'walk', *kapur* 'cloth', *pop* 'ripe'.
/ph/:[ph, f]	(voiceless aspirated bilabial stop. It varies freely with [f] in affected speech.], e.g., *phaṭun* 'to drown', *saphe:d* 'white', *pa:ph* 'sin'.
/b/:[b]	(voiced unaspirated bilabial stop), e.g., *bar* 'door', *kabar* 'grave', *gob* 'heavy'.
/t/:[t]	(voiceless unaspirated dental stop), e.g., *tarun* 'to cross', *katun* 'to spin', *tot* 'hot'.
/th/:[th]	(voiceless aspirated dental stop), e.g., *thod* 'tall', *mathun* 'to rub', *sath* 'seven'.
/d/:[d]	(voiced unaspirated dental stop), e.g., *də:r* 'beard', *modur* 'sweet', *band* 'close'.
/ṭ/:[ṭ]	(voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop), e.g., *ṭu:kɨr* 'basket', *raṭun* 'to catch', *hoṭ* 'throat'.
/ṭh/:[ṭh]	(voiceless aspirated retroflex stop), e.g., *ṭhu:l* 'egg', *miṭhə:y* 'sweets', *z'u:ṭh* 'tall'.
/ḍ/:[ḍ, D]	(voiced unaspirated retroflex stop. It becomes lenis [D] and flap-like finally or before a retroflex consonant. (See Kelkar and Trisal 1964.), e.g., *ḍu:n* 'walnut', *ganḍun* 'to tie', *yaḍ* [yaD] 'belly', *gɔḍni:* 'at first'.
/k/:[k]	(voiceless unaspirated velar stop), e.g., *kan* 'wear', *kɔkɨr* 'hen', *tsok* 'sour'.
/kh/:[kh]	(voiceless aspirated velar stop), e.g., *khanun* 'to dig', *khɔkhur* 'hollow', *krakh* 'cry'.

/g/:[g] (voiced unaspirated velar stop), e.g., *gardan* 'neck', *gagur* 'rat', *rag* 'vein'.

The affricates /ts, tsh/ can be produced anywhere between the alveolar and the dental region, while the affricates /c, ch, j/ are produced from the palatal region. Affricates are found in all three positions—initial, medial, and final.

/ts/:[ts] (voiceless unaspirated dental affricate), e.g.,*tsa:s* 'cough', *natsun* 'to dance', *sɪts* 'tailor'.

/tsh/:[tsh] (voiceless aspirated dental affricate), e.g., *tshor* 'empty', *gatshun* 'to go', *latsh* 'dust'.

/c/:[c] (voiceless unaspirated palato-alveolar stop), e.g., *co:n* 'your', *necuv* 'son', *koc* 'unripe/raw'.

/ch/:[ch] (voiceless aspirated palato-alveolar affricate), e.g., *cha:n* 'carpenter', *rachun* 'to save', *mɔch* 'fly'.

/j/:[j] (voiced unaspirated palato-alveolar affricate), e.g., *ja:n* 'good', *paji* 'baskets', *ta:j* 'crown'.

3.1.2.1.2 Fricatives

There are three types of fricatives—alveolar, palato-alveolar, and glottal. They occur in all positions.

/s/:[s] (voiceless alveolar fricative), e.g., *sath* 'seven', *sastɪ* 'cheap', *nas* 'nose'.

/z/:[z] (voiced alveolar fricative), e.g., *za:lun* 'to burn', *pazar* 'truth', *az* 'today'.

/sh/:[sh] (voiceless palato-alveolar fricative), e.g., *shakh* 'suspicion', *kɔshi:r* 'Kashmir', *pash* 'roof'.

/h/:[h, H] (voiceless glottal fricative. It is very lenis between a vowel and a consonant or finally after a vowel. (See Kelkar and Trisal 1964.), e.g., *hos* 'elephant', *baha:r* 'spring', *reh* [reH] 'flame'.

3.1.2.1.3 Nasals

There are two basic nasals: the bilabial /m/ and the alveolar /n/. The alveolar /n/ is assimilated with the following palatal, velar, and retroflex consonants.

/m/:[m] (voiced bilabial nasal), e.g., *mas* 'hair', *tsa:man* 'cheese', *kam* 'less'.

/n/:[n] (voiced alveolar nasal), e.g., *nam* 'nail', *anun* 'to bring', *son* 'deep'.

[ñ] (voiced velar nasal), e.g., *rangun* [rañgun] 'to dye', *zang* [zañg ʃ'leg'].

[ŋ]   (voiced retroflex nasal), e.g., *moṇḍ* [moṇḍ] 'widow', *gaṇḍ* [gaṇḍ] 'knot'.

3.1.2.1.4 Trill

The voiced alveolar trill /r/ occurs in all positions. Bhat (1987) notes that there is a flap varient /ɾ/, as in /aɾɪ/ 'bus stop', /baɾ/ 'go (imp.)'. The flap variety is found mostly in rural areas. According to Kelkar and Trisal (1964), the contrast /ɾ, and ḍ/ is substandard. They note that the consonant /ḍ/ is rather lenis and flap-like but never as much as say, Hindi /ɾ/.

/r/   (voiced alveolar trill), e.g., *raz* 'rope', *naɾm* 'soft', *ta:r* 'wire'.

3.1.2.1.5 Lateral

The voiced alveolar lateral /l/ also occurs in all positions.

/l/   (voiced alveolar lateral), e.g., *lu:kh* 'people', *kalam* 'pen', *za:l* 'net'.

3.1.2.1.6 Palatalization

Palatalization is contrastive in consonants. All nonpalatal consonant phonemes occur as palatalized. The contrast is absent in the inherent palatals. Palatalization occurs in initial, medial, and final positions.

/pan/	'thread'	/p'an/	'(they) will fall'
/phal/	'fruit'	/ph'al/	'boil'
/bon/	'heap'	/b'on/	'separate'
/tal/	'under'	/t'al/	'a piece'
/thakun/	'to be tired'	/th'akun/	'to exaggerate'
/dal/	'group'	/d'al/	'bark'
/həṭ/	'piece of wood'	/həṭ'/	'throats'
/ṭə:th/	'dear one (f)'	/ṭə:th'/	'dear ones (mpl)'
/bəḍ/	'big (f.s.)'	/bəḍ'/	'big ones (mpl)'
/kath/	'story'	/k'ath/	'in (something)'
/khav/	'a ditch'	/kh'av/	'ate'
/ba:gva:n/	'gardener'	/ba:g'va:n/	'lucky'
/tsal/	'run away (imp)'	/ts'al/	'pressure'
/tshoṭ/	'short'	/tsh'oṭ/	'polluted'
/ə:m/	'unbaked (f.s.)'	/ə:m'/	'unbaked (m.p.)'
/nu:l/	'mongoose'	/n'u:l/	'blue'
/gə:s/	'gas'	/gə:s'/	'slothful'

/zal/	'urine'	/z'al/	'cream layer'
/han/	'a piece'	/h'an/	'to teach a lesson'
/mə:l/	'appetite'	/mə:l'/	'fathers'
/parun/	'to read'	/par'un/	'sieve'
/vath/	'road'	/v'ath/	'river Vitasta'

3.1.2.1.7 Semivowels (glides)

/v/   (voiced bilabial semivowel) e.g., *van* 'forest', *davun* 'to run', *na:v* 'boat/name'.

/y/   (voiced palatal semivowel) e.g., *yaḍ* 'belly', *yakhtiya:r* 'right', *ja:y* 'place'.

It should be noted here that Kelkar and Trisal (1964) have posited a third mid nonfront unrounded glide—say /ʒ/—distinct from /y/. However, they note the following:

> The reader should perhaps be warned at this point that for a non-native listener it is rather difficult to hear /-C/ and /-Cʒ/ apart, and that more work in the field and the laboratory is called for in order to investigate the three way contrast /-C, -Cy, -Cʒ/. (A two-way pair test was administered to the two informants and the results left no doubt that the contrast exists.) Traditionally, /y/, /ʒ/, and also /v/ in their syllabic allophones (as extra-short vowels) have been called ma:tra: vowels.[6]

They also state that the syllabic /v/ does not survive in the variety described in their paper. (For more on ma:tra: vowels and their present status, see Bhat 1987: 18 and also Shackle 1984.) Needless to say, we have not taken these ma:tra: vowels into consideration in our transcription according to the current convention as set up by Kachru (1969), Koul (1977), and Bhat (1987). The 'ma:tra:' vowels do not present a phonemic contrast as such.[7]

3.1.2.2 *Syllabics*

3.1.2.2.1 *Vowels*

3.1.2.2.1.1 Oral vowels

The oral vowels show contrast in the tongue position, the tongue height, and the rounding of the lips.

/i/: [i, yi]   (high front unrounded short vowel, freely varies with /yi/ in initial position), e.g., *(y)imtiha:n* 'examination', *sir* 'secret', *beni* 'sister'.

/i:/: [i:]   (high front unrounded long vowel, freely varies with /yi:/ in
              initial position), e.g., *(y)i:d* 'Eid (a Muslim festival)', *si:r* 'brick',
              jaldi: 'quickly'.

/e/: [e]   (mid front unrounded short vowel), e.g., *reh* 'flame', *tre* ' three'.

/e:/: [e:]   (mid front unrounded long vowel), e.g., *tse:r* 'late'.

/ɨ/: [˙ɨ]   (high central unrounded short vowel), e.g., *akɨl* 'wisdom',
              gandɨ 'dirty'.

/ɨ:/: [ɨ:]   (high central unrounded long vowel), e.g., *ɨ:thim* 'eighth',
              tɨ:r 'cold'.

/ə/: [ə]   (mid central unrounded short vowel), e.g., *əch* 'eye', *gər* 'watch',
              behsə 'please sit'.

/ə:/: [ə:]   (mid central unrounded long vowel), e.g., *ə:s* 'mouth',
              phə:ydɨ 'profit'.

/a/: [a]   (low central unrounded short vowel), e.g., *az* 'today', *par* 'read',
              na 'no'.

/a:/: [a:]   (low central unrounded long vowel), e.g., *a:r* 'pity', *ga:m* 'village',
              sapha: 'clean'.

/u/: [u]   (high back rounded short vowel), e.g., *panun* 'own', *su* 'that/he'.

/u:/: [u:]   (high back rounded long vowel), e.g., *u:trɨ* 'day before yesterday',
              su:d 'interest'.

/o/: [o]   (mid back rounded short vowel), e.g., *on* 'blind', *son* 'deep'.

/o:/: [o:]   (mid back rounded long vowel), e.g., *o:l* 'nest', *so:n* 'our',
              valo: 'come (imp)'.

/ɔ/: [ɔ]   (low back rounded short vowel), e.g., *dɔd* 'milk', *sɔ* 'she'.

/ɔ:/: [ɔ:]   (low back rounded long vowel), e.g., *sɔ:d* 'one and a quarter'.

3.1.2.2.1.2 Nasal vowels

Nasalization is phonemic for both long and short vowels except for /i, ɨ, and
ɔ:/. Kachru (1973) also excludes /ɔ, ɨ:, and a:/ from the list of nasalized
vowels. For both Bhat (1987) and Handoo (1973), these vowels have a nasalized
counterpart. Their examples have been included below.

    Seven long nasalized vowels and their contrasts

/ĩ:/: [ĩ:]   *pĩ:tsh* 'a little', *pi:r* 'a Muslim priest'

/ẽ:/: [ẽ:]   *shẽ:kh* 'conch', *she:kh* 'a surname'

/ɪ̃:/: [ɪ̃:]   *kɪ̃:tsh* 'youngest', *krɪ̃:l* 'insect'

/ɜ̃:/: [ɜ̃:]   *ɜ̃:ṭh* 'pit', *ə:ṭh* 'eight'

/ã: /: [ã:]   *ã:gun* 'compound', *a:g'a:* 'permission'

/õ:/: [õ:]   *gõ:d* 'gum', *so:n* 'our'

/ũ:/: [ũ:]   *(v) ũ:ṭh* 'camel', *pu:ṭh* 'strong'

   Five short nasalized vowels

/ɜ̃/: [ɜ̃]   *pɜ̃z* 'monkey', *pəz* 'truth'

,/ɛ̃/: [ɛ̃:]   *kɛ̃h* 'some', *sed* 'prove'

/ã /: [ã]   *ãgre:z* 'an Englishman', *az* 'today

/ũ/: [ũ]   *kũz* 'key', *kun* 'alone'

/õ/: [õ]   *gõd* 'bouquet', *kol* 'dumb'

/ɔ̃/: [ɔ̃]   *ṭɔ̃gur* 'a digging tool', *dɔd* 'milk'

3.1.2.3 *Vowels and consonants occuring in loanwords*

Vowels and consonants occurring in English, Hindi-Urdu, and Perso-Arabic loan words are usually replaced by the closest corresponding sounds in Kashmiri. For example, the Hindi-Urdu voiced aspirates /bh, dh, ḍh, gh, jh, ṛh/ are replaced by the corresponding unaspirates /b, d, ḍ, g, j, ḍ/. Similarly, the Perso-Arabic /q, f, x, G, Z/ are replaced by the Kashmiri correlates /k, ph, kh, g, j/. Note that educated people tend to use the Perso-Arabic sounds more frequently.

3.2 PHONOTACTICS

3.2.1 Distribution of nonsyllabic segments

3.2.1.1 *Word-final consonants*

All consonants can occur in word-final position. Grierson (1897) notes that as a general rule unaspirated word-final consonants are not tolerated. His remarks seem to hold in many Hindi-Urdu–, as well as Persian–borrowed words. Final deaspirates from these languages are aspirated in Kashmiri.

Hindi-Urdu	Kashmiri
pa:p 'sin'	pa:ph
ra:t 'night'	ra:th

Persian
na:zuk 'delicate'   no:zukh
maza:k 'joke'   maza:kh
pa:k 'pure'   pa:kh

English/Hindi version
ko:ṭ 'coat'   ko:ṭh
bu:ṭ 'boot'   bu:ṭh
no:ṭ 'note'   no:ṭh

Note, however, that this rule does not exclude final unaspirated consonants, as exemplified by several words in Kashmiri. It should also be noted that there is a current tendency to slightly deaspirate the final aspirated voiceless stops (i.e., ph, th, ṭh). (Bhat 1987: 29, also Kelkar and Trisal 1964.)

/sa:ph ~ sa:p/   'clean'
/taph ~ tap/   'fever'

Clearly, the current tendency to deaspirate the final stops might change the borrowed words to their original status. See, for example, /ra:th ~ ra:t/ variation noted in Bhat. Bhat also notes that the final /h/ is not stable and is elided in rapid speech. (See also Kelkar and Trisal 1964.)

3.2.1.2 Word-initial consonants

All consonant phonemes occur word initially except the flap /ṛ/ mentioned earlier.

3.2.1.3 Consonant allophones

The consonant /ph/ varies with /f/ in all positions in the speech of educated people, as noted above.

/phəzu:l ~ fəzu:l/   'useless'
/naphah ~ nafah/   'profit'
/insa:ph -insa:f/   'justice'

The consonants /q, x/ are replaced by /k, kh/, respectively.

Persian   *Kashmiri*
/qad/   /kad/   'height'
/qalam/   /kalam/   'pen'
/xa:rish/   /khə:rish/   'itch'
/xa:k/   /kha:kh/   'dust'

All the consonants, in particular the velars, are labialized in the context of a back vowel.

/gur ~ g^wur/   'horse'
/khɔr ~ kh^wɔr/   'foot'

3.2.2 Consonant clusters

3.2.2.1 Distribution of consonant clusters

Kashmiri does not have any consonant geminates. Other consonant clusters can occur in all positions. Initial and final consonant clusters are far less frequent than the medial ones. Three consonant clusters are rare.

3.2.2.1.1 Word-initial consonant clusters

The second member of an initial consonant cluster is always /r/. The first member may be a stop, an affricate, or a fricative.

/pr/	/prasun/	'to give birth'
/phr/	/phras/	'poplar tree'
/br/	/bram/	'illusion'
/tr/	/tre/	'three'
/dr/	/drog/	'expensive'
/ʈr/	/ʈrak/	'truck'
/ɖr/	/ɖram/	'drum'
/kr/	/krakh/	'cry'
/khr/	/khra:v/	'a wooden sole, clog'
/gr/	/gra:kh/	'a customer'
/tshr/	/tshraʈh/	'mischief'
/sr/	/srod/	'joint'
/shr/	/shra:n/	'bath'
/zr/	/zro:r/	'a piece of land'

3.2.2.1.2 Word-final consonant clusters

The first member of the final consonant cluster may be a nasal /m, n/, or the fricative /s, sh/. The second member is always a stop. The nasals become homorganic with the following consonants, as already noted.

/mp/	/lamp/	'lamp'
/mb/	/amb/	'mango'
/nd/	/dand/	'teeth'
/nɖ/	/khanɖ/	'sugar'
/nk/	/bank/	'bank'
/nkh/	/shankh/	'conch'
/ng/	/rang/	'colour'
/st/	/mast/	'carefree'

/sht/	/gasht/	'round'
/sht̪/	/kasht̪/	'trouble'

3.2.2.1.3 Word-medial consonant clusters

Word-medial consonant clusters are found in abundance. Any consonant can appear as first or second member. Most clusters are formed across syllable or morpheme boundaries. The restrictions on the cluster formation have been noted in Bhat (1987) as follows: (i) two aspirated consonants do not combine to form a consonant cluster; (ii) consonants /tsh, r/ do not participate in cluster formation; (iii) consonants /ḍ, ch/ do not occur as the second member of a consonant cluster; (iv) consonants /t̪h, v/ do not occur as the first member of a cluster. Examples of the medial consonant clusters are given below:

/bz/	/sabzi:/	'vegetable'
/tm/	/a:tma:/	'soul'
/thk/	/kithkɨn'/	'how'
/dph/	/adphar/	'fragrance'
/dt/	/badtar/	'very bad'
/dm/	/badma:sh/	'rogue'
/ḍp/	/taḍpun/	'to suffer in pain'
/kb/	/makbu:l/	'popular'
/kt/	/maktab/	'school'
/kt̪/	/akt̪ar/	'actor'
/kd/	/hakda:r/	'one who has right'
/kc/	/lɔkca:r/	'childhood'
/kj/	/mɔkja:r/	'leisure'
/kr/	/yakra:r/	'acceptance'
/kht/	/mɔkht̪/	'pearls'
/khs/	/nɔkhsa:n/	'loss'
/gr/	/rangre:z/	'dyer'
/gv/	bagva:n/	'God'
/ck/	/ackan/	'a long button-up coat'
/chd/	/rə:chdar/	'guard'
/jl/	/khəjli:/	'insult'
/mb/	/kambar/	'waist'
/md/	/namdɨ/	'a carpet'
/mt̪h/	/tsamt̪hun/	'to shrink'
/mj/	/samjun/	'to understand'
/mv/	/hamva:r/	'smooth'
/nt/	/zantɨ/	'as if'
/nd/	/əndram/	'intestines'
/nt̪/	/gant̪ɨ/	'an hour'
/nḍ/	/kənḍ/	'crust'
nkh/	/pankhɨ/	'fan'

/nj/	/rənjish/	'anger'
/ns/	/yinsa:ph/	'justice'
/nz/	/mənzil/	'destination'
/nv/	/ja:nvar/	'bird'
/sp/	/haspata:l/	'hospital'
/sph/	/tasphi:/	'compromise'
/sb/	/kasbɨ/	'town'
/st/	/sastɨ/	'cheap'
/sd/	/hasdi:/	'jealous'
/sg/	/dasgi:r/	'God'
/sr/	/hasrath/	'deep desire'
/sl/	/maslɨ/	'problem'
/sv/	/tasvi:r/	'picture'
/sht/	/kushti:/	'wrestling'
/shṭ/	/ma:shṭar/	'master'
/shm/	/dushman/	'enemy'
/shv/	/rishvath/	'bribe'
/lb/	/albə:n'/	'plough'
/lt/	/galti:/	'mistake'
/lṭ/	/vulṭɨ/	'opposite'
/lk/	/halkɨ/	'an area'
/lm/	/philmi:/	'related to film'
/ls/	/a:lsi:/	'lethargic'
/lz/	/mulzim/	'accused'
/rb/	/gurbath/	'poverty'
/rd/	/gardan/	'neck'
/rk/	/harkath/	'movement'
/rkh/	/ka:rkha:nɨ/	'factory'
/rz/	/marzi:/	'consent'
/rh/	/sarhad/	'frontier'
/rv/	/darva:zɨ/	'door'
/zm/	/azma:vun/	'to try'
/hb/	/rəhbar/	'guide'
/ht/	/mɔhta:j/	'dependent'
/hn/	/ja:hnam/	'hell'
/hs/	/təhsi:l/	'tehsil'
/hl/	/məhlɨ/	'mohalla'
/yd/	/pa:yda:r/	'strong'
/ys/	/maysar/	'available'
/ysh/	/nayshakar/	'sugarcane'
/yv/	/payvand/	'grafting'

There are only a limited number of three consonant clusters. In all such instances, the first consonant is always /n/. It is followed by a stop or a fricative.

/ndr/	/əndrim/	'internal'
/ndk/	/andka:r/	'darkness'
/ndg/	/bandgi:/	'worship'
/nzr/	/gənzrun/	'to count'

3.2.3 Distribution of vowels

3.2.3.1 Word-final vowels

The vowels /ɨ:, ə:, u:, o, ɔ, and ɔ:/ do not occur in word-final positions. The vowel /e:/ is listed as occuring in the final position of one word only, namely /he:/, which is an address form.

3.2.3.2 Word-initial vowels

The vowels /ɨ, ɔ, and ɔ:/ do not occur in the word-initial position. The vowels /i, i:, e, e:, u, u:/ are usually in free variation with /yi, yi:, ye, ye:, vu, v:u/, respectively. However, a few contrasts have been noted (e.g., *istari:* 'flat iron' vs. *yi* 'you come' *eckan* 'Nehru coat, vs. *yeti* 'here'). The following examples represent the pair of words in free variation.

/ira:dɨ/yira:dɨ/	'determination'
/i:d/yi:d/	'Eid'
/ehsa:n/yehsa:n/	'kindness'
/e:la:n/ye:la:n/	'announcement'
/utun/vutun/	'twist in foot'
/uja:ɖɨ/vuja:ɖɨ/	'deserted'
/ʊ:ʈh/vʊ:ʈh/	'camel'

3.2.3.3 Word-medial vowels

There are no restrictions on the occurrence of vowels in the medial position.

3.2.3.4 Sequences of (syllabic) vowels

Vowel sequences are usually avoided by the insertion of the glides /y, v/.

/khe-iv	›	khe-y-iv/	'you eat (imperative)'
/ni-iv	›	ni-y-iv/	'you take (imperative)'
/khe-a:n	›	khe-v-a:n/	'eating'
/di-a:n	›	di-v-a:n/	'giving'

There is no uniform opinion among linguists with regard to diphthongization. Kelkar (1984), for example, refers to sequences such as /ay, av, yu, yu:, va, va:/ as diphthongs. However, according to Bhat (1987: 18), only /uɨ, u:ɨ, oə, ɔa:/ are to be regarded as true diphthongs. According to Bhat, these diphthongs contrast with /u, u:, o, ɔ/; occur only in word medial

positions; and are mostly confined to the feminine forms. Recently, /o:ə/ has also been added to the glide list. (See Raina 1990: 29). The following list is based on Bhat. (See 3.1.1.1 for dispute over /ɔ:/ and /ɔa:/.)

Masculine forms	*Feminine forms*
/shur/	/shuɪr/ 'child' (fsg)
/gu:r/	/gu:ɪr/ 'milkmaid'
/moʈ/	/moəʈ/ 'thick'
/sɔd/ 'simple'	/sɔa:d/ 'one and a quarter'
	/o: əluv/ 'potato' (Raina 1990)

3.2.4 Correspondence between the structure of lexical morphemes and word structure

The structure of a lexical morpheme usually corresponds with that of a possible word structure. However, the word structure does not necessarily conform to the lexical structure. For example, at the lexical level there is no contrast between a nasalized vowel and a vowel + n before a stop. But this contrast may show up at the word level, as in /kã:gɪr/ 'Kashmiri fire pot' and /ra:shan + ga:ʈh/ 'ration store.'

3.2.5 Syllables

3.2.5.1 Assignment of medial clusters to syllables

The first consonant of a medial cluster is assigned to the preceding syllable and the remaining elements of the unit to the following syllable. In the following examples, the syllable boundry is marked with [+] sign: *nak + shi* 'map', *mən + zil* 'destination', *kɪs + mat* 'fate'.

3.2.5.2 Canonical syllable type

A minimal syllable consists of a vowel, which forms the nucleus of the syllable. The canonical syllable type is (C)(C)V(C)(C) (e.g., *a:* 'yes', *sɔ* 'she', *tre* 'three', *ə:r* 'plum', *son* 'deep', *srog* 'cheap', *phamb* 'cotton', *kranz* 'skelton').

3.2.6 Restrictions on consonants and vowels

Restrictions on the occurrence of consonants and vowels have been already noted above in their respective sections.

3.3 SUPRASEGMENTALS

3.3.1 Length

There are eight pairs of short and long vowels: /i/ and /i:/; /e/ and /e:/; /ɨ/ and /ɨ:/; /ə/ and /ə:/; /a/ and /a:/; /u/ and /u:/; /o/ and /o:/; /ɔ/ and /ɔ:/. The

following minimal pairs illustrate the contrast in the length of these vowels. Note that nasalization in vowels is also contrastive. These include /ɛ̃, õ, ɔ̃, ã, ĩ:, ɛ̃:, ɔ̃:, ũ:, õ:). Length is not contrastive in consonants.

/i, i:/	/sir/	'secret'	/si:r/	'brick'
/e, e:/	/zen/	'mud'	/ze:n/	'win (imp)'
/ɨ, ɨ:/	/tɨr/	'a piece of cloth'	/tɨ:r/	'cold'
/ə, ə:/	/lər/	'house'	/lə:r/	'cucumber'
/a, a:/	/nar/	'male'	/na:r/	'fire'
/u, u:/	/kun/	'alone'	/ku:n/	'corner'
/o, o:/	/son/	'deep'	/so:n/	'our'
/ɔ, ɔ:/	/dɔkh/	'grief'	/dɔ:khɨ/	'fraud'

3.3.2 Stress

Kashmiri is a syllable-timed language, and the stress does not play any function in the language.

3.3.3 Pitch

Pitch is not distinctive in the language.

3.3.4 Intonation

At present, there is no information available on the intonation pattern in Kashmiri. In the following examples, we note a few intonation patterns that we have observed.

Yes-no questions and tag questions have a final rising intonation.

(1) su   a:va: ra:th?
    he   came-Q   yesterday
    'Did he come yesterday?'

(2) su   gav   dili,   gav   na:?
    he   went   Delhi-abl   went neg-Q
    'He went to Delhi, didn't he?'

Information questions have a kind of a rise and fall intonation pattern. The rise in intonation is registered on the question word, and fall is attained gradually.

(3) toh'   kar   gəyivɨ   ba:zar?
    you   when   went   market
    'When did you go to the market?'

(4) mohnɨ kəmis samkh'o:v?
Mohan who-dat met-3sg
'Who did Mohan meet?'

Commands generally follow a mid-level intonational pattern.

(5) darva:zɨ kar band.
door do close
'Close the door.'

Finally, note that any constituent of the sentence can be emphasized by employing a higher stress/intonation. In the following examples, the emphasized element is shown in italics.

(6a) *toh'* gətshiv dili.
you go-fut-2ps Delhi'
'You will go to Delhi.'

(6b) toh' *gətshiv* dili.

(6c) toh' gətshiv *dili.*

3.4 MORPHOPHONOLOGY (SEGMENTAL)

Morphophonological changes have been noted in Grierson (1911), Kelkar (1984), Shackle (1984), Bhat (1987), and Sar (1970). Sar provides his account within the distinctive feature framework. Here, we closely follow Bhat, since it is the most comprehensive account currently available. (See also Shackle 1984 for a slightly different style of classification of monosyllabic stems.)

3.4.1 Alternations

3.4.1.1 Assimilatory processes

Assimilatory processes are found both in the case of vowel harmony and softening of consonants, noted below in their respective sections 3.4.1.3.3 and 3.4.1.4.

3.4.1.2 Dissimilatory processes

There are no dissimilatory processes in the language.

3.4.1.3 Alternation between segments

Kashmiri shows both vocalic and consonantal alternations. Vocalic changes involve lowering, raising, and centralization of vowels. Consonantal changes involve softening of retroflex, dental, and velar stops.

3.4.1.3.1 Vowel-lowering

The vowels /ə/, /ə:/, and /u:/ of the monosyllabic stems change to /a/, /a:/, and /o:/, respectively, in the presence of the plural suffixes -i or -ɨ.

gər	'watch'	gər	+ i	›	gari	'watches'
nər	'arm'	nər	+ i	›	nari	'arms'
pə:r	'hut'	pə:r	+ i	›	pa:ri	'huts'
gə:ḍ	'fish'	gə:ḍ	+ ɨ	›	ga:ḍɨ	'fish' (pl)
ku:r	'girl'	ku:r	+ i	›	ko:ri	'girls'
lu:r	'stick'	lu:r	+ i	›	lo:ri	'sticks'

3.4.1.3.2 Vowel-raising

The vowels /a/ and /a:/ of the monosyllabic stems respectively raise to /ə/ and /ə:/ when a suffix begining with -i is added to them.

kar	'do'	kar	+ iv	›	kəriv	'do (imp pl)'
par	'read'	par	+ in	›	pərin	'let him read'
na:g	'spring'	na:g	+ in	›	nə:gin	'small spring'
ka:v	'crow'	ka:v	+ in'	›	kə:vin'	'crow (f)'

3.4.1.3.3 Centralization of vowels

The back vowels /u/, /u:/, /o/, and /o:/ of both the monosyllabic and the disyllabic stems—nominals, adjectivals, verbals—change to /ɨ/, /ɨ:/, /ə/, and /ə:/, respectively, when suffixes beginning with -i or -y are added to them.

ga:ṭul	'wise'	ga:ṭul	+ y ›	ga:ṭɨl'	'wise (pl)'
latshul	'broom'	latshul	+ y ›	latshɨl'	'brooms'
kru:r	'well'	kru:r	+ y ›	krɨ:r'	'wells'
ru:n	'husband'	ru:n	+ y ›	rɨ:n'	'husbands'
mo:l	'father'	mo:l	+ y ›	mə:l'	'fathers'
mo:l	'father'	mo:l	+ is ›	mə:lis	'to the father'
kot	'boy'	koṭ	+ is ›	kəṭis	'to the boy'
on	'blind'	on	+ is ›	ənis	'to the blind'
bro:r	'cat'	bro:r	+ is ›	brə:ris	'to the cat'

The second vowel /u/ of the disyllabic words of the CVCVC structure is changed to the central vowel /a/ when the putative plural forming suffix /ø/ is added to them.

batukh	'duck'	batukh +	ø ›	batakh	'ducks'
gagur	'rat'	gagur +	ø ›	gagar	'rats'
kɔkur	'cock'	kɔkur +	ø ›	kɔkar	'ducks'
va:tul	'cobbler'	va:tul +	ø ›	va:tal	'cobblers'

3.4.1.3.4 Retroflex to affricates

The stem-final retroflex /ṭ/, /ṭh/, and /ḍ/ is changed to /c/, /ch/, and /j/ affricates, respectively, when the plural suffix /i/ is added to nouns and adjectives.

zǝṭ	'rag'	zǝṭ	+	i	›	zaci	'rags'
kǝṭ	'girl'	kǝṭ	+	i	›	kaci	'girls'
mɔṭh	'handful'	mɔṭh	+	i	›	mɔchi	'handfuls'
kuṭh	'grain store'	kuṭh	+	i	›	kuchi	'grain stores'
bǝḍ	'big (f)'	bǝḍ	+	i	›	baji	'big ones'
lǝnḍ (f)	'branch'	lǝnḍ	+	i	›	lanji	'branches'

3.4.1.3.5 Dental stops to affricates and fricatives

The stem-final dental stops /t/, /th/, /d/ change to affricates /ts/, /tsh/, and to the fricative /z/, respectively, when the putative feminine forming suffix /ø/ is added to them.

Masculine						Feminine	
mot	'mad'	mot	+	ø	›	mǝts	'mad'
kot	'spun'	kot	+	ø	›	kǝts	'spun'
yuth	'this type'	yuth	+	ø	›	yitsh	'this type'
moth	'rubbed'	moth	+	ø	›	mǝtsh	'rubbed'
thod	'tall'	thod	+	ø	›	thǝz	'tall'
ru:d	'stayed'	ru:d	+	ø	›	ru:z	'stayed'

3.4.1.3.6 Velar stops to affricates

The velar stops /k/, /kh/, and /g/ change to affricates /c/, /ch/, and /ḑ/, respectively, when the feminine forming suffix /ø/ is added to them.

Masculine						Feminine	
tsok	'sour'	tsok	+	ø	›	tsoc	'sour'
pok	'he walked'	pok	+	ø	›	pǝc	'she walked'
hokh	'dry'	hokh	+	ø	›	hoch	'dry'
lang	'branch'	lang	+	ø	›	lǝnḑ	'branch'
long	'lame'	long	+	ø	›	lǝnḑ	'lame'

3.4.1.3.7 Lateral to affricates

The stem-final lateral /l/ changes to the affricate /j/ as a result of adding the feminine suffix /ø/.

Masculine						Feminine	
kol	'dumb'	kol	+	ø	›	kǝj	'dumb'
hol	'twisted'	hol	+	ø	›	hǝj	'twisted'

3.4.1.3.8 Deaspiration of stops

Stem-final aspirated voiceless stops are deaspirated when the suffixes beginning with vowels are added to them.

ta:ph	'sunny'	ta:ph	+	as	›	ta:pas	'in the sun'
pa:ph	'sin'	pa:ph	+	as	›	pa:pas	'to the sin'
sath	'seven'	sath	+	im	›	sətim	'seventh'
vath	'road'	vath	+	i	›	vati	'on the road'
raṭh	'hold'	raṭh	+	un	›	raṭun	'to hold'
kaṭh	'ram'	kaṭh	+	as	›	kaṭas	'to the ram'
pakh	'walk'	pakh	+	un	›	pakun	'to walk'
akh	'one'	akh	+	is	›	əkis	'to one'

3.4.2 Metathesis

There are no regular metathesis processes in Kashmiri.

3.4.3 Coalescence and split

There are no major instances of phonological split and processes of coalescence in Kashmiri.

3.4.4 Deletion and insertion

3.4.4.1 Vowel deletion

Fnal /ɨ/ of a monosyllabic stem and the second vowel /u/, /u:/, or /ɨ/ of a disyllabic stem are deleted in the presence of a suffix that begins with a vowel.

ləḍkɨ	'boy'	ləḍkɨ	+	an	›	ləḍkan	(erg form)
kalɨ	'head'	kalɨ	+	as	›	kalas	(dative form)
ra:mɨ	'Ram'	ramɨ	+	un	›	ramun	(of Ram)
shi:lɨ	'Sheila'	shi:lɨ	+	un	›	shi:lun	(of Sheila)
gobur	'son'	gobur	+	is	›	gobris	'to the son'
ga:ṭul	'wise'	ga:ṭul	+	yav	›	ga:ṭl'av	'wise (pl erg)'
gɔgɨj	'turnip'	gɔgɨj	+	i	›	gɔgji	'to the turnip'
nəgɨr	'town'	nəgɨr	+	as	›	nəgras	'to the town'

3.4.4.2 Insertion

/y/ is inserted between a stem that ends in a front vowel and a suffix that begins with /i/.

khe	'eat'	khe	+	iv	›	kheyiv	'eat (imp pl)'
di	'give'	di	+	iv	›	diyiv	'give (imp pl)'

/v/ is inserted between the stem that ends in a back vowel and a suffix that begins with /a/.

> œ   'drink'   œ + a:n › ceva:n 'drinking'
> di   'give'   di + a:n › diva:n 'giving'

/m/ is inserted between a verb stem that ends in a front vowel and the suffixes /i/ or /a/ that are used to derive first-person future forms.

> ni   'take'   ni + ɨ › nimɨ 'I'll take'
> khe   'eat'   khe + av › khemav 'we'll eat'

/ɨ/ is added as a linking morpheme between a stem that ends in a consonant and another stem that begins with a consonant in the derivation of compounds.

> nu:n 'salt'   də:n' 'pot'   nu:nɨdə:n' 'salt pot'
> ca:y 'tea'   də:n' 'pot'   ca:yɨdə:n' 'tea pot'

3.4.5 Reduplication

See 2.2.4.5.3 and 2.2.6.3.1.1.

3.4.6 Other processes

It is interesting to note that many numerals exhibit various allomorphs, which show lexical conditioning. (See Bhat 1987: 58).

Allomorphs of:

/akh/ 'one': /akɨ-vuh/ 'twenty-one'; /ək-im/ 'first'; /ok-doh/ 'first day'.

/zɨ/ 'two': /zɨ-to:-vuh/ 'twenty-two/; /dɔyɨ:trɨh/ 'thirty-two'; /do-yim/ 'second'; /du-namath/ 'ninety-two'.

/tre/ 'three': /tre-yim/ 'third'; /tro-vuh/ 'twenty-three'; /teyɨ-trɨh/ 'thirty-three'; /tru-vah/ 'thirteen'.

/tso:r/ 'four': /tsu:rim/ 'fourth'; /tsɔ:vuh/ 'twenty-four'; /tsɔy-dah/ 'fourteen'.

/pã:tsh/ 'five': /pɨ:tsim/ 'fifth'; /pə̃:tsam/ 'fifth day'; /pan-dah/ 'fifteen'.

/she/ 'six': /shu-rah/ 'sixteen'; /shatɨ-vuh/ 'twenty-six'; /sheyɨ-trɨh/ 'thirty-six'.

/sath/ 'seven': /sa-dah/ 'seventeen'; /satɨ -hə:ṭh/ 'sixty-seven'; /sato:-vuh/ 'twenty-seven'.

/ə:ṭh/ 'eight': /aṭho:-vuh/ 'twenty-eight'; /arɨ-dah/ 'eighteen'.

/nav/ 'nine': /namɨ -namath/ 'ninety-nine'; /nəh-lɨ/ 'nine of cards'

/dah/ 'ten': /dəh-im/ 'tenth'; /dov/ 'ten in number'.

3.5 MORPHOPHONOLOGY (SUPRASEGMENTAL)

As mentioned above, stress is used only for extra emphasis. Stress is constant under morphological processes. Kashmiri does not have tones. The intonational patterns have been described in 3.3.3.

4 IDEOPHONES AND INTERJECTIONS

4.1 IDEOPHONES

baḍ baḍa:vun	'to babble'
bishtɨ bishtɨ	'sound of driving away of cats'
caṭa:kh	'sound of slap'
ci:riv ci:riv	'twitter of birds'
dam dam	'thumping sound'
dɨrɨ dɨrɨ	'sound of driving away of dogs'
gaṭ gaṭ	'sound of drinking water or liquid'
gɨ:gɨra:y	'sound of spinning wheel'
gura:vun	'to growl'
hin'	'sound of horse neighing'
hohra:y	'sound of deep breath'
hudi hudi	'sound of driving away of cattle'
kaḍ kaḍka:vun	'sound of crackling'
kɨr	'a creeping sound of furniture'
kuḍun	'to grumble'
ma:h	'sound of kiss'
mẽv mẽv	'sound of cat's mewing'
phaṭa: phaṭ	'quickly'
phisra:y	'whisper'
phu: phu:	'sound of blowing the fire'
si: si:	'sound of the wind'
ṭan ṭan	'sound of bell'
ṭa:v ṭa:v	'sound of crows'
thã:thrun	'to shiver'
thar	'shiver'
truk truk	'sound of chewing raw vegetables'
tu:t' tu:t'	'sound for calling chicken'
ṭə:sɨra:y	'sound of waterfall or of utensils'
tshɨr	'sound of frying'
vɔphɨra:y	'barking of dogs'
vɔphun	'to bark'

4.2 INTERJECTIONS

aha:! acha:! va:h!	'Surprise oh!'
he: bagva:n!	'Oh God'
ha:y! uph!	'Sorrow/distress'
khabarda:r!	'Warning'
sha:ba:sh!	'Applause'
thu: thu:! la:nath!	'Contempt'
va:h!	'Joy'
va:h! khu:b! marhaba:!	'Applause'
vuchav!	'We will see'
ya: khɔda:!/dasgi:r!/raba:	'Oh God'

5   LEXICON

5.1 STRUCTURED SEMANTIC FIELDS

5.1.1 Kinship terminology

The kinship terminology shows regional and religious variations. We will list the most common terminology that is in use.

5.1.1.1–2 Kin related by blood/partial blood

5.1.1.1.1 Own generation

brother	boy
brother elder	boḍ bo:y
brother younger	lɔkuṭ bo:y
father's brother's son	p'utur bo:y
father's sister's son	pɔphtur bo:y
father's brother's daughter	piṭɨr beni
father's sister's daughter	pɔphɨtɨr beni
mother's brother's son	ma:mtur bo:y
mother's brother's daughter	ma:mɨtɨr beni
mother's sister's daughter	ma:sɨtɨr beni
mother's sister's son	ma:stur bo:y
sister	beni
sister elder	bəḍ beni
sister younger	lɔkɨṭ beni

5.1.1.1.2 First-ascending generation

father	mo:l
father's brother	petɨr
father's brother's wife	pecan'
father's sister	pɔph
father's sister's husband	pɔphuv
mother	mə:j
mother's brother	ma:m
mother's sister	ma:s
mother's sister husband	ma:suv

5.1.1.1.3 Second-ascending generation

father's father	budibab
father's father's brother	petri budibab
father's father's brother's wife	petri na:n'
father's mother	na:n'
mother's father	budibab
mother's father's brother	petri budibab
mother father's brother's wife	petri na:n'
mother's mother	na:n'

5.1.1.1.4 Third-ascending generation

father's fathers father	badi budibab
father's father's mother	badi na:n'
mother's father's father	badi budibab
mother's father's father	badi na:n'

5.1.1.1.5 First-descending generation

son	necuv
brother's son	ba:pəthir
sister's son	benthir
daughter	ku:r
brother's daughter	ba:vizi
sister's daughter	benzi

5.1.1.1.6 Second-descending generation

son's son	neciv' sund necuv
son's daughter	neciv' sinz ku:r

5.1.1.3 Kinship by marriage

brother's wife	bəyka:kan'
daughter's husband	za:mitur
husband	ru:n
husband	kha:vand(used by Muslims)
husband	bartha:(used by Hindus)
husband's brother	druy
husband's brother's wife	driyka:kan'
husband's father	h'ohar
husband's mother	hash
husband's sister	za:m
wife	zana:n

wife	kɔlay
wife	kha:nda:ren' (used by Muslims)
wife	tɾɨy (used by Hindus)
wife's brother	həhar
wife's father	h'ohar
wife's mother	hash
wife's sister	sa:l
son's wife	nɔsh
sister's husband	be:mɨ

5.1.1.4 Kinship by adoption/affiliation

adopted son	mangɨtɨ necuv
adopted daughter	mangɨtɨ ku:r
step father	vo:rɨ mo:l
step mother	vo:rɨ mə:j
step brother	vo:rɨ bo:y
step sister	vo:rɨ beni

5.1.2 Color terminology

black	kruhun
blue	n'u:l
blue-green	mɑ̃:gi:
brown	na:sɨvə:r'
golden	sɔnɨhər'
green	sabɨz
grey	su:r'
red	vɔzul
rose color	gulə:b'
sky color	asmə:n'
white	saphe:d
yellow	l'odur

5.1.3 Body parts

ankle	gɔḍ
arm	nər
armpit	katsh
beard	də:r
body	pa:n/jisɨm
body	shəri:r
bone	əḍij
brain	dema:g
brain	kə:ḍ'/magɨz

breast	mɔmɨ
cheek	gal
chest	si:nɨ/vach
chin	hɔ̃ngan'
ear	kan
elbow	khɔnɨvaṭh
eye	əch
eyeball	la:l/əchgu:l
eyebrow	bum
eyelid	ṭo:r
face	buth
finger	ongɨj
finger tip	ongɨji ṭond
little finger	kis
fist	mɔṭh
flesh	ma:z
foot	khɔr
forehead	ḍekɨ
gum	ma:zbe:r
hand	athɨ
left hand	kho:vur athɨ
right hand	dəchun athɨ
hair	mas
head	kalɨ
heart	dil
heel	khu:r
intestines	əndram
knee	koṭh
leg	zang
lips	vuṭh
liver	krəhnɨ ma:z
lung	shush
marrow	vas
mouth	ə:s
mustaches	gõ:tshɨ
nail	nam
navel	tu:n
neck	gardan
nose	nas
nostril	nakɨvo:r
palate	ta:lav
palm	manz athɨ
rib	larɨ kə:n'
shoulder	ph'ok
skin	mɨslɨ

sole of foot	talɨpot
stomach	m'a:dɨ
stomach	yaɖ
teeth	dand
thigh	lang
throat	hoṭ
thumb	neth
tongue	zɛv
vein	nə:r
waist	kamar
wrist	hots

5.1.4 Cooking terminology

5.1.4.1 Methods of cooking

to fry	talun
to roast	buzun
to cook	ranun
to put hot cooking oil on the vegetable	baga:rɨ karun
to grind	pishun
to cut	tsaṭun
to clean	tsa:run
to pound	tse:ṭun
to boil	grakɨna:vun
to boil	sivun
to heat	garɨm karun
to cool	sarɨd karun
to cool	shehla:vun
to knead	mã:ɖun
to stir	khalan karɨn'
to mix	rala:vun
to make balls (of mutton)	meci karɨni

5.1.4.2 Cooking implements

big plate	tha:l
small plate	rikib
small plate	bə:ṭ'
bowl	ṭu:r
cup	kho:s
cup	p'a:lɨ
bowl	kaṭo:rɨ
small bowl	kavɨl'

spoon	camcɨ
big laddle	cŏ:cɨ
small laddle	krətsh
vessel	bohgun/pətilɨ
lid	ḍaknɨ
earthen pot	degul
earthen lid	an'uṭ
big vessel	di:kcɨ
big pot	ḍul
frying pan	kra:y
baking pan	tə:v
pitcher	noṭ
big pitcher	maṭh
rolling base	caklɨ
rolling pin	be:lan
mortar	vɔkhul
pestle	ka:jvaṭh
earthen oven	da:n
single oven	oktso:r
double oven	dutso:r
charcoal oven	ha:ko:l
samovar (used for making tea)	sama:va:r

5.1.4.3 *Typical dishes*

cooked rice	batɨ
bread	tsoṭ
lentil	da:l
meat	ma:z/neni
rice pudding	khir
fried and cooked potatoes in red chillies	damɨ o:lav
kohlrabi fried and cooked in red chillies	damɨ mɔnji
lotus roots cooked in yogurt	nadɨr' yekhɨn'
fried and cooked mutton in red chillies	ro:gan jo:sh
meat balls cooked in red chillies	ristɨ
meat balls cooked in yogurt	gɔshta:b
kidney beans	ra:zma:
turnips boiled and cooked with kidney beans	sɨsɨr' gɔgji
roasted cornbread	maka:yi tsoṭ
sour eggplants	tsok' vã:gan
sweet fried rice	pɔla:v

5.1.5 Agriculture

5.1.5.1 Crops grown in the area

paddy	da:ni
wheat	kɨnɨkh
mustard	tilɨgɔgul
corn	makə:y
potato	o:lav
barley	vɨshkɨ
kidney beans	ra:zma:
pea	maṭar

5.1.5.2 Agricultural implements

land	zəmi:n
plough	alɨbə:n'
yoke'	yipəṭ
plow blade	pha:l
back basket	yəṭ
ox	dã:d
seed	b'o:l
shovel	livan
shovel	bi:lcɨ
sickle	dro:t
hoe	ṭɔngur

5.1.5.3 Agricultural activities

to dig	khanun
to water the field	sag ladun
to level field by breaking earthen blocks	phuṭɨra:vun
to plant seed	b'o:l vavun
to put manure	kha:d tra:vɨn'
to plant	thal karɨn'
weeding	nendɨ karɨni
harvesting of paddy	dã:la:yi

5.2 Basic vocabulary

1.	all	sə:ri:
2.	and	tɨ
3.	animal	hayva:n
4.	ashes	su:r
5.	at	peṭh

6.	back	path
7.	bad	khara:b
8.	bark (of tree)	del
9.	because	tik'a:zi
10.	belly	yaḍ
11.	big	boḍ
12.	bird	ja:nvar
13.	bite	tsop
14.	black	kruhun
15.	blood	rath, khu:n
16.	blow	phɔkh
17.	bone	ədij
18.	breast	si:nɨ
19.	breathe	shah
20.	burn (intr)	dazun
	burn (tr)	za:lun
21.	child	shur
22.	claw	panjɨ
23.	cloud	obur
24.	cold	tɨ:r
25.	come	yi
26.	count	gənzrun
27.	cut	tsaṭh
28.	day	doh
29.	die	mar
30.	dig	khanun
31.	dirty	gandɨ
32.	dog	hu:n
33.	drink	con
34.	dry	khɔshɨkh
35.	dull	sust
36.	dust	garɨd
37.	ear	kan
38.	earth	mets
39.	eat	kh'on
40.	egg	ṭhu:l
41.	eye	əch
42.	fall	p'on
43.	far	du:r
44.	fat	moṭ
45.	father	mo:l
46.	fear	khɔ:ph
47.	feather	ti:r
48.	few	kɐh
49.	fight	laḍə:y

50.	fire	na:r
51.	fish	gə:ḍ
52.	five	pã:tsh
53.	float	yi:run
54.	flow	baha:v
55.	flower	po:sh
56.	fly	məch
57.	fog	zrã:ḍ
58.	foot	khɔr
59.	four	tso:r
60.	freeze	yakh lagun
61.	fruit	phal
62.	full	pu:rɨ
63.	give	d'un
64.	good	ja:n
65.	grass	ga:sɨ
66.	green	sabɨz
67.	guts	hemath
68.	hair	mas
69.	hand	athɨ
70.	he	su
71.	head	kalɨ
72.	hear	bo:zun
73.	heart	dil
74.	heavy	gob
75.	here	yeti
76.	hit	la:yun
77.	hold/take	raṭun
78.	horn (of an animal)	hĕg
79.	how	kithɨkɨn'/kithɨpə:ṭh'
80.	hunt	shika:r
81.	husband	ru:n/kha:vand
82.	I	bɨ
83.	ice	shi:n/tulɨkatur
84.	if	agar
85.	in	andar
86.	kill	ma:run
87.	knee	koṭh
88.	know	za:nun
89.	lake	ta:la:b
90.	laugh	asun
91.	leaf	panɨvəthɨr
92.	left side	khɔ:vur taraph
93.	leg	zang
94.	lie	apuz

95.	live	zindɨ
96.	liver	krəhnɨma:z
97.	long	z'u:ʈh
98.	louse	zɔv
99.	man/male	marɨd
100.	many	va:riya:h
101.	meat/flesh	neni/ma:z/na:ʈɨ
102.	moon	zu:n
103.	mother	mə:j
104.	mountain	ba:l
105.	mouth	ə:s
106.	name	na:v
107.	narrow	tang
108.	near	nəzdi:kh
109.	neck	gardan
110.	new	nov
111.	night	ra:ʈh
112.	nose	nas
113.	not	nɨ
114.	old (animate)	buɖɨ/boɖ
	old (inanimate)	boɖ
115.	one	akh
116.	other	b'a:kh
117.	person	naphar
118.	play	ɖra:ma:/khe:l
119.	pull	lamun
120.	push	dakɨ
121.	rain	ru:d
122.	red	vɔzul
123.	right/correct	ʈhi:kh/rut
124.	right side	dəchun (kun)
125.	river	dəriya:v
126.	road	saɖakh
127.	root	mu:l
128.	rope	raz
129.	rotten	hotɨmut
130.	round	go:l
131.	rub	math
132.	salt	nu:n
133.	sand	sekh
134.	say	van
135.	scratch	zɨl
136.	sea	samandar/sədɨr
137.	see	vuch
138.	seed	b'o:l

139.	sew	suv
140.	sharp	te:z
141.	short (in height)	tshoṭ
142.	sing	gev
143.	sit	beh
144.	skin	mɪslɪ
145.	sky	asma:n
146.	sleep	shɔ̃gun
147.	small	lɔkuṭ
148.	smell	mɪshɪkh
149.	smooth	som/sothur
150.	smoke	dɪh
151.	snake	saruph
152.	snow	shi:n
153.	some	kɛ̃h
154.	spit	thɔkh
155.	split	b'on/alag alag
156.	squeeze	ci:r
157.	stab/pierce	khash/tshenun
	(intransitive)	(approximate equivalent)
	stab/pierce	chur' tshunɪn'
	(transitive)	(approximate equivalent)
158.	stand	thod vɔth
159.	star	ta:rukh
160.	stick	lu:r
161.	stone	kən'
162.	straight	s'od
163.	suck	tsɪh
164.	sun	siriyi/aphta:b
165.	swell	varɪm
166.	swim	tshã:ṭh
167.	tail	loṭ
168.	that	ki/zi
169.	there	hoti/hot'an/tati/tat'an
170.	they	hum/tim
171.	thick	moṭ
172.	thin	zə:v'ul
173.	think	sõ:cun
174.	this	yi
175.	thou	tsɪ
176.	three	tre
177.	throw	la:y
178.	tie	ganḍ
179.	tongue	zev
180.	tooth	dand

181.	tree	kul
182.	turn	və:r'
183.	two	zɨ
184.	vomit	drɔkh
185.	walk (noun)	sə:r
	walk (verb)	pakh
186.	warm	garɨm
187.	wash	chal
188.	water	po:n'/a:b
189.	we	əs'
190.	wet	odur
191.	what	k'a:
192.	when	kar
193.	where	kati
194.	white	saphe:d
195.	who	kus
196.	wide	khulɨ
197.	wife	zana:n/kɔlay/trɨy
198.	wind	hava:
199.	wing	pakh
200.	wipe	vɔthra:v
201.	with	sɨ:th'
202.	woman	zana:n
203.	woods	jangal
204.	worm	k'om
205.	yes	a:/adɨk'a:
206.	year	vəri:
207.	yellow	l'odur

APPENDIX I

NOUNS

Case system

There are four primary cases—nominative/absolutive, ergative, dative, and ablative. The case suffixes vary according to the gender and the number. There is also a vocative case. A number of nouns take either a dative or the ablative case before a postposition. The possessive/genitive case marks the nouns with dative/ablative case suffixes.

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nominative	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Ergative	an/C'	av	i	av
Dative	is/as	an	i	an
Ablative	ɨ/i	av	i	av
Vocative	-aː	-av	-iy	-av

Examples

Case	Masculine		Feminine		Postposition
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*	
Nominative	ləɖkɨ	ləɖkɨ	kuːr	koːri	
Ergative	ləɖkan	ləɖkav	koːri	koːrev	
Dative	ləɖkas	ləɖkan	koːri	koːren	(k'uth)
Ablative	ləɖkɨ	ləɖkav	koːri	koːrev	peṭhɨ
Locative	ləɖkas	ləɖkan	koːri	koːren	peṭh/nish/tal
Instrumental	ləɖkɨ	ləɖkav	koːri	koːrev	sɨːth'
Vocative	haya: ləɖka: 'O boy!'		haye: kuːri: 'O girl!'		
	hayo: ləɖkav 'O boys!'		haye: koːrev 'O girls!'		

(The dative and the ablative share their case-markings with the locative and the instrumental respectively.)

Possessive/Genitive

Possessive suffixes are linked with both the possessor and the head noun. They divide into three distinct types according to the category of the possessor, as

shown below. The possessor is marked dative when Type III suffixes are used. The possessor is marked ablative when Type I and II suffixes are used.

Type	Possessor	Case marker	Suffix
I	proper nouns	ablative	UN
II	singular inanimates *(consonantal stem-ending)*	ablative	UK
III	All other common nouns *(including all plural forms)*	dative	HUND

(Some speakers use HUND/SUND with proper nouns also)

The case markers vary according to the gender and number of the possessor as follows:

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Dative	as/is	an	i	an
Ablative	i/ɨ	av	i	av

Note that the ablative case form is used only with Type I and II forms. Thus, only the singular ablative form *i/ɨ* comes into play. Clearly, this form acts as a suppletive of the dative singular *as/is*.

The suffixes decline according to the gender and number of the head noun. They are further marked for the cases of the head noun.

Type	Possessor suffix	Possessed noun/head noun			
		Masculine		*Feminine*	
		Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	UN	un	ɨn'	ɨn'	ɨni
II	UK	uk	ɨk'	ic /ɨc	ici/ɨci
III	H/SUND	hund	hɨnd'	hɨnz	hɨnzɨ

HUND changes to SUND when the possessor noun has the dative masculine singular suffix *-as/is*.

The major nesting relations of the possessive phrase are as follows:

(Possessor + dat/abl + genitive suffix) possessed noun
$(GN)_i$ + $(GN)_i$ + $(GN + case)_j$ $(GN + case)_j$
(G = gender, N = number)

Note that the gender-number and case features of the possessed noun percolate to the possessive suffix, but the morphological form of the possessive itself is controlled by the category of the possessor noun.

Examples

Proper nouns:

mohnun bo:y	'Mohan's brother'
mohnɨn' bə:y	'Mohan's brothers'
mohnɨn' beni	'Mohan's sister'
mohnɨni beni	'Mohan's sisters'

Inanimate nouns:

duka:nuk mə:likh	'The owner of the shop'
duka:nɨk' mə:likh	'The owners of the shop'
duka:nɨc də:r	'The window of the shop'
duka:nɨci da:ri	'The windows of the shop'

Residual nouns:

ko:ri hund bo:y	'girl's brother'
ko:ri hɨnd' bə:y	'girl's brothers'
ko:ri hɨnz kita:b	'girl's book'
ko:ri hɨnzɨ kita:bɨ	'girl's books'
lədkɨ sund kalam	'boy's pen'
lədkɨ sɨnd' kalam	'boy's pens'
lədkɨ sɨnz kursi:	'boy's chair'
lədkɨ sɨnzɨ kursiyi	'boy's chairs'
lədkan/ko:ren hund ma:sțar	'boys'/girls' teacher'
lədkan/ko:ren hɨnd' ma:sțar	'boys'/girls' teachers'
lədkan/ko:ren hɨnz mə:j	'boys'/girls' mother'
lədkan/ko:ren hɨnzɨ ma:ji	'boys'/girls' mothers'

Gender-marking system

Both animates and inanimates are distinguished for gender. Masculine forms are traditionally taken to be basic. Gender of a large number of inanimate nouns can be predicted by their endings. Primary gender formation involves (i) suffixation, (ii) changes in vowels and consonants, and (iii) suppletion. Most of the phonological and morphological changes are regular, though irregular formations are also often found.

The suffixation pattern

Feminine nouns are formed by adding various suffixes, such as *-en', -ɨn, -ə:n', -ba:y, -ɨr,* to masculine nouns.

Masculine	*Feminine*	
duka:nda:r	duka:nda:r-en'	'shopkeeper'
khar	khər-in'	'an ass'
gujur	gujr-ə:n'	'Gujar'
ma:ṣtar	ma:ṣtar-ba:y	'teacher'
phot	phɔt-ɨr	'basket'

Some of these derivations involve palatalization of the final consonant.

on	ən'	'blind person'
zon	zən'	'person'

The pattern of vocalic and consonantal changes

Vowels /u/, /o/ in CVC masculine nouns are diphthongized or changed to central vowels of the same height in their feminine forms.

Masculine		*Feminine*	
shur	'child'	shuɨr	'child'
gu:r	'milkman'	gu:ɨr	'milkwoman'
koṭ	'boy'	kəṭ	'girl'

The penultimate vowel /u/ of the CVCVC structure is replaced by /ɨ/.

kɔkur	'cock'	kɔkɨr	'hen'
gagur	'mouse'	gagɨr	'she mouse'

The word-final consonants /l, k, kh, t, and g/ are replaced by /j, c, ch, ts, and ḍ/, respectively.

kul	'tree'	kuj	
ga:ṭul	'wise'	ga:ṭɨj	
tsok	'sour'	tsoc	
hokh	'dry'	hoch	
tot	'hot'	təts	
long	'lame man'	lənḍ	'lame woman'

The suppletion pattern

Masculine		*Feminine*	
dã:d	'bull'	ga:v	'cow'
marɨd	'man'	zana:n	'woman', etc.

Some other patterns

Nouns denoting certain species of animals, such as birds and insects, are either only masculine or only feminine. For example: *ja:nvar* (m) 'bird', *ka:v* (m) 'crow', *k'om* (m) 'insect', *kukil* (f) 'cuckoo bird', *mach* (f) 'fly', *gə:ḍ* (f) 'fish'.

Number-marking system

There are two numbers—singular and plural—and two genders—masculine and feminine. Plurals are formed from singular stems by vowel change, palatalization, and suffixation. A few nouns stay invarient. The number-marking is decided on the basis of gender. Masculine plurals are formed differently than the feminine plurals. Inanimate plurals are formed the same way as the animate plurals.

Masculine plurals

Most masculine plural forms palatalize the final consonant with certain vocalic changes, as noted below.

Nouns of CVC types change the final /o/ to /ə/. The final /u/ remains unchanged.

Singular		*Plural*	
mo:l	'father'	mə:l'	'fathers'
koṭ	'boy'	kəṭ'	'boys'
kul	'tree'	kul'	'trees'
gur	'horse'	gur'	'horses'

Exception:
ph'ok	'shoulder'	phek'	'shoulders'

Nouns of CVCVC form change their final /u/ to /ɨ/.

ga:ṭul	'wise'	ga:ṭɨl'	'wise'
latshul	'broom'	latshɨl'	'brooms'

Nouns of (C)VCVC form change the second high back vowel /u/ to /a/. There is no palatalization in this group.

gagur	'mouse'	gagar	'mice'
ko:tur	'pigeon'	ko:tar	'pigeons'
o:luv	'potato'	o:lav	'potatoes'

Masculine nouns do not change for plurality if:

(a) the final vowel is /ɨ/
  gila:sɨ   'glass/glasses'
  maka:nɨ   'house/houses'

(b) the CVC form has a central vowel
  khar 'donkey/donkeys'
  va:l 'hair'
  sɨh 'lion/lions'

(c) the noun is borrowed from Hindi-Urdu and English and ends in a consonant

bema:r 'sick person/persons'
mozu:r 'labourer/labourers'
ho:ṭal 'hotel/hotels'
saykal 'bicycle/bicycles'

(Note that these borrowed items do get nativized and show phonological changes.)

Feminine plurals

Most feminine nouns form their plural by /i/ suffix, with added vocalic and consonantal changes.

Nouns in CVC(C) lower their final vowel unless the final vowel is /u/.

Singular		*Plural*	
nər	'hand'	nari	'hands'
də:r	'window'	da:ri	'windows'
ku:r	'girl'	ko:ri	'girls'
tsoṭ	'bread'	tsɔci	'breads'
muj	'radish'	muji	'radishes'

The final retroflex becomes a palatal.

ləṭ	'tail'	laci	'tails'
lənḍ	'branch'	lanji	'branches'
kuṭh	'grain store'	kuchi	'grain stores'

Nouns in CVCVC form delete the final /ɨ/.

gagɨr	'rat'	gagri	'rats'
gɔgɨj	'turnip'	gɔgji	'turnips'
ðgɨj	'finger'	ðgji	'fingers'

Nouns in ending in CVC forms use the plural suffix /ɨ/ instead of /i/.

kath	'story'	kathɨ	'stories'
na:v	'boat'	na:vɨ	'boats'
dɔs	'wall'	dɔsɨ	'walls'
kis	'little finger'	kisɨ	'little fingers'
ma:zbe:r	'gum'	ma:zbe:rɨ	'gums'

The final consonant /th/ changes to /ts/, and the preceding vowel is raised in height.

ra:th	'night'	rə:ts	'nights'
za:th	'caste'	zə:ts	'castes'

A few feminine nouns do not change for plurality.

     əch   'eye/eyes'
     pa:lakh 'spinach', etc.

APPENDIX II

PRONOUNS

Case system of personal pronouns

Nominative/Absolutive case forms

Person	Deixis	Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I		bɨ	əs'	bɨ	əs'
II		tsɨ	toh'	tsɨ	toh'
III	proximate	yi	yim	yi	yimɨ
III	remote (within sight)	hu	hum	hɔ	humɨ
III	remote (out of sight)	su	tim	sɔ	timɨ
II (HON)		toh'	toh'	toh'	toh'
III (HON)		tim	tim	tim	tim

Ergative/Agentive case forms

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	me	asi	me	asi
II	tse	tɔhi	tse	tɔhi
III-proximate	yem'	yimav	yemi	yimav
III-remote (within sight)	hom'	humav	homi	humav
III-remote (out of sight)	təm'	timav	tami	timav

Dative case forms

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	me	asi	me	asi
II	tse	tɔhi	tse	tɔhi
III-proximate	yemis	yiman	yemis	yiman

III-remote (withinsight)	homis	human	homis	human
III-remote (out of sight)	təmis	timan	təmis	timan

Ablative case forms

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	me	asi	me	asi
II	tse	tɔhi	tse	tɔhi
III-proximate	yemi	yimav	yemi	yimav
III-remote (within sight)	homi	humav	homi	humav
III-remote (out of sight)	tami	timav	tami	timav

Possessive/Genitive

Following are the forms of pronouns in genitive case agreeing with the possessed/head noun in number and gender and with the possessor in person, number, and case:

Nominative case

Possessor	Possesed/head noun (nominative form)			
	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I (sg)	m'o:n	me:n'	me:n'	m'a:ni
I (pl)	so:n	sə:n'	sə:n'	sa:ni
II (sg)	co:n	cə:n'	cə:n'	ca:ni
II (pl)	tuhund	tuhɨnd'	tuhɨnz	tuhɨnzɨ
III (sg) proximate	yem'sund	yem'sɨnd'	yem'sɨnz	yem'sɨnzi
III (pl) proximate	yihund	yihɨnd'	yihɨnz	yihanzɨ
III (sg) remote (within sight)	hom'sund	hom'sɨnd'	hom'sɨnz	hom'sɨnzɨ
III (pl) remote (within of sight)	huhund	huhɨnd'	huhɨnz	huhɨnzɨ
III (sg) remote (out of sight)	təm'sund	təm'sɨnd'	təm'sɨnz	təm'sɨnzɨ
III (pl) remote (out of sight)	tihund	tihɨnd'	tihɨnz	tihɨnzɨ
or	(timanhund)	(timanhɨnd)	(timanhɨnz)	(timanhɨnzɨ)

Dative case

Possessor	Possessed noun			
	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I (sg)	me:nis	m'a:n'an	m'a:ni	m'a:n'an
I (pl)	sə:nis	sa:n'an	sa:ni	sa:n'an
II (sg)	cə:nis	ca:n'an	ca:ni	ca:n'an
II (pl)	tuhɨndis	tuhɨnd'an	tuhɨnzi	tuhɨnzan
III (sg)	təm'sɨndis	təm'sɨnd'an	təm'sɨnzɨ	təm'sɨnzan
III (pl)	tihɨndis	tihɨnd'an	tihɨnzɨ	tihɨnzan

Ergative case

Possessor	Possessed noun			
	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I (sg)	me:n'	m'a:n'av	m'a:ni	m'a:n'av
I (pl)	sə:n'	sa:n'av	sa:ni	sa:n'av
II (sg)	cə:n'	ca:n'av	ca:ni	ca:n'av
II (pl)	tuhɨnd'	tuhɨnd'av	tuhɨnzi	tuhɨnzan
III (sg)	təm'sɨnd'	təm'sɨnd'av	təm'sɨnzi	təmɨsɨnzav
III (hon)	tihɨnd'	tihɨnd'av	tihɨnzi	tihɨnzav

Ablative case

Possessor	Possessed noun			
	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I (sg)	m'a:ni	m'a:n'av	m'a:ni	m'a:n'av
I (pl)	sa:ni	sa:n'av	sa:ni	sa:n'av
II (sg)	ca:ni	ca:n'av	ca:ni	ca:n'av
II (pl)	tuhɨndi	tuhɨnd'av	tuhɨnzi	tuhɨnzan
III (sg)	təm'sɨndi	təm'sɨnd'av	təm'sɨnzɨ	təmɨsɨnzɨ
III (pl)	tihɨndi	tihɨnd'av	tihɨnzi	tɨhɨnzav

Reflexive pronouns

The main reflexive pronoun is *pa:n* 'self'. There is also a compound form *panun pa:n* 'self's self'. These forms do not vary with person or gender, but they do inflect for case, as shown below.

Nominative	Dative	Ablative	Ergative
pa:n	pa:nas	pa:nɨ	pa:nan
panun pa:n	panɨnis pa:nas	panɨni pa:nɨ	panɨn' pa:nan

The reflexive possessive pronoun *panun* 'self' varies with the head noun in gender, number, and case.

Forms of possessive reflexive

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nominative	panun	panɨn'	panɨn'	panɨni
Dative	panɨnis	panɨn'an	panɨni	panɨn'an
Ablative	panɨni	panɨn'av	panɨni	panɨn'av
Ergative	panɨn'	panɨn'av	panɨni	panɨn'av
Genitive	panɨn'sund	panɨn'sɨnd'	panɨn'sɨnz	panɨn'sɨnzɨ

(Note: The genitive form is used only in some rare cases, as in: *panɨnsund ə:b chunɨ ba:sa:n* —self's (close ones) misdeed not appear 'One does not realize the misdeed of someone close to self.')

Reciprocal pronouns

The reciprocal pronoun *akh əkis* 'to one another' does not occur in the nominative form. Its possessive forms in various cases are given below.

Forms of reciprocal

Case	*Masculine/Feminine*
Nominative	akh əkis
Dative	akh əkis

Forms of possessive reciprocal

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nominative	akh ək'sund	akh ək'sɨnd'	akh ək'sɨnz	akh ək'sɨnzɨ
Dative	akh ək'sindis	akh ək'sɨnd'an	akh ək'sɨnzi	akh ək'sɨnzan
Ergative	akh ək'sund	akh ək'sɨndev	akh ək'sɨnz	akh ək'sɨnzav

Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives are identical with the third-person pronominal forms listed above. In addition, there is a special form *ti* used only for inanimate nouns that are out of sight.

Indefinite pronouns

The primary indefinite pronoun/quantifier is *kā:h* 'some (one/thing)'. It declines as follows:

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nominative	kā:h	kĕh	kā:h	kĕh
Dative	kɜ:si	kɜ:tsan	kɜ:si	kɜ:tsan
Ergative	kɜ:si	kɜ:tsav	kɜ:si	kɜ:tsav
Ablative	kɜ:si	kɜ:tsan	kɜ:si	kɜ:tsan

Emphatic pronouns

There are no special emphatic pronouns. Pronouns are made emphatic by the general emphatic suffix *-(ɨ)y*. The following table shows emphatic forms of the pronouns in the nominative.

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	bɨy	əsiy	bɨy	əsiy
II	tsɨy	tohiy	tsɨy	tohiy
III-proximate	yiho:y	yimay	yihə:y	yimay
III-remote (within sight)	hohay	humay	hɔhə:y	humay
III-remote (out of sight)	suy	timay	sɔy	timay

Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns for animates and inanimates are *kus* and *k'a:*, respectively. Both forms inflect for case and number. The animate interrogative form also shows gender distinction.

The animate interrogative kus *'who'*

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nominative	kus	kam	kɔs	kamɨ
Dative	kəmis/kas	kɨman	kəmis/kas	kɨman
Ablative	kami	kɨmav	kami	kɨmav
Ergative	kəm'	kɨmav	kami	kɨmav

Possessive forms

Possessor	Head noun			
	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Singular	kəm'sund	kəm'sɨnd'	kəm'sɨnz	kəm'sɨnzɨ
Plural/Hon.	kɨman hund	kɨmanhɨnd'	kɨman hɨnz	kɨman hɨnzɨ
	or kuhund	kɨhɨnd'	kɨhɨnz	kɨhɨnzɨ

(Note: The plural and honorific forms are in free variation.)

Inanimate interrogative k'a: *'what'*

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nominative	k'a:	k'a:	k'a:	k'a:
Dative	kath	kɨman	kath	kɨman
Ablative	kami	kɨmav	kami	kɨmav

Possessive interogatives of k'a: *'what'*

Possessor	Head noun			
	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
(Exceptional inanimates)	kam'uk	kamik'	kamic	kamici
Singular	kəm'sund	kəm'sɨnd'	kəm'sɨnz	kəm'sɨnzɨ
Plural	kɨmanhund	kɨmanhɨnd'	kɨmanhɨnz	kɨmanhɨnzɨ
	or kuhund	kɨhɨnd'	kɨhɨnz	kɨhɨnzɨ

Other question words

Other question words are: *kati* 'where', *kapə:r'* 'which direction', *kithɨ kɨn'* 'how/which manner', *ko:ta:h* 'how much', etc. These form a set with the corresponding demonstrative noted above. Some of them have their alternate forms as well.

Question word	Proximate	Remote *(within sight)*	Remote *(out of sight)*
kati 'where'	yeti 'here'	hoti 'there'	tati 'there'
katen 'which sight'	yeten 'at this sight'	hoten 'at that sight'	taten 'at that sight'

katinas	yetinas	hotinas	tatinas
'where'	'here'	'there'	'there'
kateth	yeteth	hoteth	tateth
'from where'	'from here'	'from there'	'from there'
kapə:r'	yepə:r'	hɔpə:r'	tapə:r'
'on which side'	'from this side'	'from that side'	'on that side'
kithɨ kɨn'	yithɨkɨn'	huthɨkɨn'	tithɨkɨn'
'what manner'	'in this manner'	'that manner'	'that manner'
ku:ta:h	yu:ta:h	hu:ta:h	t'u:ta:h
'how much'	'this much'	'that much'	'that much'

The question word for quality and quantity, namely, *k'uth,* 'of what type', and *ku:t* 'how much', show variation with the gender number and case of the object they modify.

Paradigm for k'uth *'what type'*

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nominative	k'uth	kith'	kitsh	kitshɨ
Dative	kithis	kith'an	kitshi	kitshan
Ergative	kith'	kith' av	kitshi	kitshav

Paradigm for ku:t *'how much'*

Case	Masuline		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
Nominative	ku:t'	kɨ:t'	kɨ:ts	kɨ:tsɨ
Dative	kɨ:tis	kɨ:ten	kɨ:tsi	kɨ:tsan
Ergative	kɨ:t'	kɨ:tev	kɨ:tsi	kɨ:tsav

The question words *kus h'uv* 'which one', *kar* 'when', *k'a:zi* 'why' do not show any such variations.

Relative pronouns

Relative pronouns form a distinct set and pair themselves with the correlatives (see 1.1.2.3). The following represents the relative correlative paradigms.

Animate masculine relative/correlative forms

Case	Masculine Singular		Plural	
	rel.	cor.	rel.	cor.
Nominative	yus	su	yim	tim
Dative	yəmis~yas	təmis	yiman	timan
Ergative	yem'	təm'	yimav	timav
Genitive	yəm'sund	təm'sund	yimanhund	timan-hund

Animate feminine relative/correlative forms

Case	Feminine Singular		Plural	
	rel.	cor.	rel.	cor.
Nominative	yɔsɨ	sɔ	yimɨ	timɨ
Dative	yəmis~ yas	təmis	yiman	timan
Ergative	yem'	təm'	yimav	timav
Genitive	yəm'sɨnz	təm'-hɨnz	yiman-sɨnz	timan-hɨnz

Inanimate masculine relative/correlative forms

Case	Masculine Singular		Plural	
	rel.	cor.	rel.	cor.
Nominative	yi	ti	yim	tim
Dative	yath	tath	yiman	timan
Ergative	yem'	təm'	yimav	timav
Genitive	yem'uk	tam'uk	yimanhund	timan-hund

Inanimate feminine relative/correlative forms

Case	Feminine Singular		Plural	
	rel.	cor.	rel.	cor.
Nominative	yi	ti	yim	tim
Dative	yath	tath	yiman	timan
Ergative	yemi	tami	yimav	timav
Genitive	yem'uk	tam'uk	yiman-hɨnz	timanhɨnz

Other relative words

Adjectives of comaparison referring to quality

Masculine forms

Case	Masculine Singular		Plural	
	rel.	cor.	rel.	cor.
Nominative	yuth	t'uth	yith'	tith'
Dative	yithis	tithis	yith'an	tith'an
Ergative	yith'	tith'	yith'av	tith'av
Ablative	yithi	tithi	yith'av	tith'av
Genitive	yith'sund/tith' sund	yith'an hund	tith' anhund	yith'uk

Feminine forms

Case	Feminine Singular		Plural	
	rel.	cor.	rel.	cor.
Nominative	yitsh	titsh	yitshɨ	titshɨ
Dative	yitshi	titshi	yitshan	titshan
Ergative	yitshi	titshi	yitshav	titshav
Ablative	yitshi	titshi	yitshav	titshav
Genitive	yitshi- hund	titshi- hund	yitshan-hund	titshan-hund

Adjectives of comparison in terms of quantity

Masculine forms

Case	Masculine Singular		Plural	
	rel.	cor.	rel.	cor.
Nominative	yu:t	t'u:t	yi:t'	ti:t'
Dative	yi:tis	ti:tis	yi:t'an	ti:t'an
Agentive	yi:t'	ti:t'	yi:t'av	ti:t'av
Genitive	yi:t'uk	ti:t'uk	yi:t'an hund	ti:t'anhund

Feminine forms

Case	Feminine Singular		Plural	
	rel.	cor.	rel.	cor.
Nominative	yi:ts	ti:ts	yi:tsɨ	ti:tsɨ
Dative	yi:tsi	ti:tsi	yi:tsan	ti:tsan
Agentive	yi:tsi	ti:tsi	yi:tsav	ti:tsav
Genitive	yi:tic	ti:tic	yi:tsanhund	ti:tsan-hund

APPENDIX III

VERBS

Causative verbs

Causatives of intransitives

Causative stems of intransitives are derived by suffixation, vowel change, or suppletive forms.

(1) Causativization by suffixation

Suffix	*Intransitive*		*Causative*	
a:v	ruk	'stop'	ruka:v	'stop/make stop'
	haṭ	'go away'	haṭa:v	'drive away'
	phas	'get stuck'	phasa:v	'entrap'
ɪna:v/ira:v	as	'laugh'	asɪna:v	'make laugh'
	beh	'sit'	behɪna:v	'make sit'
	vuḍ	'fly'	vuḍɪna:v	'cause to fly'
	grak	'boil'	grakɪna:v	'cause to boil'
	phaṭ	'drown'	phaṭ:ɪna:v	'sink'
	zev	'be born'	zevɪra:v	'give birth'

(2) Causativization by vocalic change

tar	'cross'	ta:r	'make cross'
mar	'die'	ma:r	'kill'
gal	'melt'	ga:l	'melt'
ḍal	'move'	ḍa:l	'move'

(3) Causativization by suppletion

pe	'fall'	tra:v	'make fall'
yi	'come'	an	'bring'

Causatives of transitives

Both simple and ditransitive verbs are causativized by means of the suffix *a:v* or *ɪna:v*. The choice of suffix is phonologically conditioned. Roots ending in a vowel and a few others with a consonantal ending are suffixed with *a:v*, while the rest are suffixed with *ɪna:v*.

(4) Suffix	Transitve		Causative
a:v	he	'buy'	h'a:v
	di	'give'	d'a:v
	ni	'take'	n'a:v
ɨna:v	kar	'do'	karɨna:v
	to:l	'weigh'	to:lɨna:v
	le:kh	'write'	le:kɨhɨna:v
	par	'read'	parɨna:v

Causatives of affective verbs

The affective or ingestive verbs such as eat, drink, see, hear, learn, read, comprise a subclass of the transitive group. Causatives of these verbs are formed in the same way as the transitive group. The stems ending in a vowel are marked with the suffix *a:v*, while other stems take the suffix *ɨna:v*. Suppletion is practically absent in this group, with the exception of the verb *khe* 'eat'.

(5) Suffix

(i) a:v:

Transitve		*Causative*	
khe	'eat'	kh'a:v/a:pɨr	'feed'
œ	'drink'	ca:v	'give to drink'
samɨj	'understand'	samja:v	'explain'

(ii) ɨna:v:

par	'study'	parɨna:v	'teach'
bo:z	'listen'	bo:zɨna:v	'cause to listen'
le:kh	'write'	le:khɨna:v	'cause to write'

(iii) zero suffix
tshun 'wear'   tshun 'dress'

Extended causatives

Extended causatives are derived by adding the suffix *ɨna:v* to all transitives— basic as well as derived causative types. These derived causatives may be further extended by re-adding the suffix *ɨna:v*.

TENSES OF THE COPULA/VERB

Agreemental pronominal suffixes

The following pronominal suffixes are added to the tense forms of the copula/verb as defined by the surface case of the subject, object, and indirect object.

(6) *Person* Nominative/Absolutive Ergative Dative

	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
I	s	ø	m	ø	m	ø
II	kh	v(i)	th	v(i)	y	v(i)
III	(n)	(kh)	n	kh	s	kh

TENSES OF THE COPULA

Present tense

Note: The following forms include the pronominal suffixes that show up with the nominative/absolutive subjects in the present tense.

(7) Person

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
I	chu-s	chi	cha-s	cha
II (non-hon)	chu-kh	chi-v	cha-kh	cha-vɨ
II (hon)	chiv	chiv	chiv	cha-vɨ
III (non-hon)	chu	chi	chi	cha
III (hon)	chi	chi	cha	cha

Examples:

Masculine

Singular		Plural	
bɨ chu-s	'I (msg) am'	əs' chi	'we (mpl) are'
tsɨ chu-kh	'You (msg) are'	toh' chi-v	'You (mpl) are'
su chu	'He is'	tim chi	'They are'

Feminine

Singular		Plural	
bɨ cha-s	'I (fsg) am'	əs' cha	'we (fpl) are'
tsɨ cha-kh	'You (fsg) are'	toh' cha-vɨ	'You (fpl) are'
sɔ cha	'She is'	timɨ cha	'They (fpl) are'

Past tense

(8) Person

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
I	o:su-s	ə:s'	ə:sɨs	a:sɨ
II (non-hon)	o:su-kh	ə:si-vɨ	ə:sɨkh	a:sɨ-vɨ
II (hon)	ə:sivɨ	ə:sivɨ	ə:sivɨ	a:sɨ-vɨ
III (non-hon)	o:s	ə:s'	ə:s	a:sɨ
III (hon)	ə:s'	ə:s'	ə:s'	a:sɨ

Examples:

Masculine

Singular			*Plural*		
bɨ o:su-s	'I was'		əs' ə:s'	'We were'
tsɨ o:su-kh	'You were'		toh' ə:si-vɨ	'You were'
su o:s	'He was'		tim ə:s'	'They were'

Feminine

Singular			*Plural*		
bɨ ə:sɨs	'I was'		əs' a:sɨ	'We were'
tsɨ ə:sɨ-kh	'You were'		toh' ə:sɨ-vɨ	'You were'
sɔ ə:s	'She was'		timɨ a:sɨ	'They were'

Future tense

(9)

Person	Masculine/Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*
I	a:si	a:sav
II (non-hon)	a:sa-kh	ə:si-v
II (hon)	ə:si-v	ə:si-v
III (non-hon)	a:si	a:san
III (hon)	a:san	a:san

Examples:

bɨ a:si	'I will be'	əs' a:sav	'We will be'
tsɨ a:sa-kh	'You will be'	toh' ə:si-v	'You will be'
su/sɔ a:si	'He/She will be'	tim a:san (m/f)	'They will be'
		timɨ a:san (f)	'They will be'

TENSES OF THE MAIN VERB

Present/present progressive

The present tense of the main verb is same as its present progressive form. Both are expressed by means of the auxiliary forms noted 3.2.2.1 in conjunction with the present participial (i.e., V + a:*n*). The participle does not inflect for gender number.

(10)

Verb stem		Present participle
par	'read'	par-a:n
kar	'do'	kar-a:n
mar	'die'	mar-a:n
pe	'fall'	pe-v-a:n
di	'give'	di-v-a:n

Examples:

bɨ chus para:n 'I am reading./I read.'
tsɨ chu-kh para:n 'You are reading./You read.'
su chu para:n 'He is reading./He reads.'

Past progressive

The past progressive utilizes the past auxiliary forms in (8).

(11) Examples:

bɨ o:sus para:n 'I was reading.'
tsɨ o:su-kh para:n 'You were reading.'
su o:s para:n 'He was reading.'

Simple past

All the three past tenses—the proximate, the indefinite, the remote—exhibit the ergative pattern. The following table gives the markings of the three past tenses.

(12) Tense	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Proximate	-v	-yi	-yi	-yi
Indefinite	-yo:v	-(y)e:yi	-(y)e:yi	-(y)e:yi
Remote	-(y)e:yo:v	-(ye):ye:yi	-(y)e:ye:yi	-(y)e:ye:yi

Proximate past

The proximate past acts like an infix and affects the verb stems of most transitives, impersonal intransitives, and a small group of intransitives. The infix brings about various vocalic and consonantal changes, which are generally controlled, as in (13 a-c). The majority of intransitive stems are not subjected to these changes.

(13)

(a) Both masculine singular and plural forms change their stem vowels except *u (e.g., ə, a --› o, a: --› o:).*

(b) Feminine singular forms also change their stem vowels (e.g., *i --› yu*), with the exception of *u.* In addition to vocalic chnages, there is also a softening of final consonants, as noted in 3.4.1.3.5–7.

(c) Feminine plural forms do not change their stem vowels, but they do soften the final consonants.

These changes are reflected in the following paradigm representing the third person. The exceptional predicates have been noted in their respective section. Note that the proximate past inflects for intransitive nominative/absolutive subjects and transitive absolutive objects. The verb is further suffixed by the absolutive pronominal suffixes shown above in (6).

Most transitive verbs ending in consonants follow the general rules noted above. There are five transitive verbs that have a vocalic ending, all of which have been listed below. Two of these—*di* 'give', and *he* 'take'—show irregular past forms.

(14) *Transitive stem*

		Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
par	'read'	por	pər'	pər	pari
chal	'wash'	chol	chəl'	chəj	chaji
an	'bring'	on	ən'	ən'	əni
le:kh	'write'	l'u:kh	li:kh'	li:ch	le:chi
vuch	'to see'	vuch	vuch	vuch/vɨch	vuchi/vɨchi
khe	'eat'	kh'av/khev	kheyi	kheyi	kheyi
œ	'drink'	c'av	ceyi	ceyi	ceyi
he	'take'	h'ot	het'	hets	hetsa
ni	'take'	n'uv	niyi	niyi	niyi
di	'give'	d'ut	dit'	dits	ditsɨ

Intransitive verbs in the proximate past

The proximate past of most intransitives is formed by suffixes shown in (15). These suffixes do not change the verb stem. The following paradigms indicate the third-person forms. These are further inflected by the person suffixes noted in (6) to derive the appropriate first- and second-person forms.

(15) *Tense*

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Proximate	-(o)v	-e:yi	-e:yi	-e:yi

(16) *Inransitive stem*

		Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
bɔḍ	'sink'	buḍo:v	buḍe:yi	buḍe:yi	buḍe:yi
yir'	'float'	yir'o:v	yire:yi	yire:yi	yire:yi
khu:l	'open'	khul'o:v	khule:yi	khule:yi	khule:yi
yi	'come'	a:v	a:yi	a:yi	a:yi
pi	'fall'	p'av	peyi	peyi	peyi
zɛ/zi	'be born'	z'a:v	za:yi	za:yi	za:yi

Intransitives with suppletive forms

(17)	ne:r	'to come out'	dra:v	dra:yi	dra:yi	dra:yi
	gatsh	'to go'	gav	gəyi	gəyi	gəyi
	atsun	'to enter'	tsa:v	tsa:yi	tsa:yi	tsa:yi

Verb forms of yun *and* gatsh *'come, go' with person inflections*

(18) Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	a:s	a:yi	a:yas	a:yi
	go:-s	gəyi	gəy-as	gəyi
II	a:kh	a:yivɨ	a:yakh	a:yivɨ
	go:kh	gəyivɨ	gəyakh	gəyivɨ
III	a:v	a:yi	a:yi	a:yi
	gav	gəyi	gəyi	gəyi

A small number of intransitives form their proximate past in a manner similar to the transitives. The verb stems of these intransitives undergo changes listed in (13a-c).

(19) *Inransitive stem*		Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
pak	'to walk'	pok	pək'	pɒc	paci
tag	'be possible'	tog	təg'	təj	taji
hek	'can'	h'ok	hek'	hɒc	heci
phuṭ	'break'	phuṭ	phuṭ'	phuṭ	phuci
tra:v	'leave'	tro:v	trə:v'	trə:v	tra:vi

Exceptional intransitives

vas	'descend'	voth	vəth'	vətsh	vatshɨ
khas	'climb'	khot	khət'	khəts	khatsɨ
mar	'die'	mu:d	mɔyi	mɔyi	mɔyi
beh	'sit'	b'u:ṭh	bi:ṭh'	bi:ṭh	be:chi

Verb forms of pak *'walk' with person inflections*

(20) Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	pok-us	pək'	pɒcis	paci
II	pokukh	pəkivɨ	pɒcɨkh	pacivi
III	pok	pək'	pɒc	paci

This group also includes intransitives that take ergative subjects (i.e., the impersonals noted above). The impersonal proximate does not inflect for gender or number. It shows the neutral inflection, which is the same as third masculine singular form.

Ergative intransitives

(21) vad 'cry' vod vod vod vod
  as 'laugh' os os os os

Indefinite and remote past

The indefinite past is marked directly on the verb stem by the suffixes noted in (12). The remote/historic past is formed simply by prefixing *(y)e:* to the indefinite past. These are then followed by the pronominal suffixes noted in (6). The verbal inflection is cued to the transitive nominative/absolutive object, and intranistive nominative subject, as is the case with the proximate past. The following paradigm shows the forms of some transitives in both indefinite and remote past. The forms include the second-person ergative inflections, which follow the nominative/absolutive gender-number inflections of the object.

Indefinite and remote past paradigm for par, ni, di *'read, take, give'*

(22)		Masculine		Feminine	
		Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
	I/III	par'o:v	pare:yi	pare:yi	pare:yi
		pare:yo:v	pare:ya:yi	pare:ya:yi	pare:ya:yi
		niyo:v	niye:yi	niye:yi	niye:yi
		niye:yo:v	niye:ya:yi	niye:ya:yi	niye:ya:yi
		ditso:v	ditsa:yi	ditsa:yi	ditsa:yi
		ditsa:yo:v	ditsa:ya:yi	ditsa:ya:yi	ditsa:ya:yi
	II sg	par'o:th	pare:yath	pare:yath	pare:yath
		pare:yo:th	pare:yath	pare:yath	pare:yath
		niyo:th	niye:yath	niye:yath	niye:yath
		niye:yo:th	niye:yath	niye:yath	niye:yath
		ditso:th	ditsa:yath	ditsa:yath	ditsa:yath
		ditsa:yo:th	ditsa:yath	ditsa:yath	ditsa:yath
	II pl	par'o:vɨ	pare:yvɨ	pare:yvɨ	pare:yvɨ
		pare:yo:vɨ	pare:ye:yvɨ	pare:ye:yvɨ	pare:ye:yvɨ
		niyo:vɨ	niye:yvɨ	niye:yvɨ	niye:yvɨ
		niye:yo:vɨ	niye:yvɨ	niye:yvɨ	niye:yvɨ
		ditso:vɨ	ditsa:yvɨ	ditsa:yvɨ	ditsa:yvɨ
		ditsa:yo:vɨ	ditsa:ye:yvɨ	ditsa:ye:yvɨ	ditsa:ye:yvɨ

The following suffixes are added to the proximate past of the intransitive verbs to derive their indefinite and remote past forms. The suffixes include the gender, number, and person forms of the nominative subject.

(23)

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	-yo:s	-e:yi	-e:yas	-e:yi
	-e:yo:s	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yas	-e:ye:yi
II	-yo:kh	-e:yvɨ	-e:yakh	-e:yvɨ
	-ye:yo:kh	-e:yvɨ	-e:yakh	-e:yvɨ
III	-yo:v	-e:yi	-e:yi	-e:yi
	e:yo:v	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi

(The second- and third-person masculine plural forms are used for the honorific singulars also.)

Future

The future tense is marked by two types of endings. The gender distinctions are absent in both types. Type one suffixes are cued to the person and number of the nominative subject. Intransitive verbs with consonantal stems take suffixes in set (1a) noted below in (24). Transitive verbs with consonantal stems also take suffixes in set (1a), provided they are not marked for inanimate objects. Suffixes in set (1b) are used for all verb stems with a vocalic ending (e.g., *yi, pe, khe, ce, he, ni, dɨ* 'come, fall, eat, drink, buy, take, give').

(24)

	Set (1a)		Set (1b)	
	Masculine/Feminine		Masculine/Feminine	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	-ɨ	-av	-mɨ	-mav
II	-a-kh	-iv	-kh	-yiv
III	-i	-an	-yi	-n

Examples:

bɨ yi-mɨ	'I will come.'
tsɨ yi-kh	'You will come.'
su yiyi	'He will come.'
bɨ di-mɨ	'I will give.'
tsɨ di-kh	'You will give.'
su di-yi	'He will give.'
bɨ kar-ɨ	'I'll do.'
tsɨ karakh	'You will do.'
su/sɔ kari	'He/She will do.'

Type two suffixes come into play when the future is marked for objects, which may be animate pronominal objects or inanimate objects. The case of the

animate direct object is conditioned by what is known as person hierarchy. (See Hook and Kaul 1987, Wali and Koul 1994). The animate direct object is marked zero case (i.e., bare), just in case the subject is in a higher person (i.e., I > II, III; II > III). These bare objects obligatorily mark the verb with the ergative pronominal suffixes noted above in (6). The addition of the object sufixes affects the subject's suffixes in set (1a) and (1b), and gives rise to type two subject suffixes in (25).

(25) Set two suffixes

	Subject suffixes		Bare object suffixes	
	Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
I	-a	-ɨho	-	-
II	-ɨh	-ɨha	-th	-vɨ
III	-y	-ɨn	-an/-s	-akh

Examples:

(26)

   (a) bɨ   vuch-a-th   tsɨ.
       I-nom   see-1sg-2sgps you-acc
       'I will see you.'

   (b) bɨ   vuch-an   su.
       I-nom   see-1sg-3sgps he-acc
       'I will see him.'

   (c) tsɨ   vuch-ɨh-an   su.
       you-nom see-2sgps-3sgps he-acc
       'You will see him.'

The direct object is marked dative if the subject is in a lower person than the object—II > I ; III > II, I. The same holds true for III > III. These dative-marked objects do not alter the subject suffixes in set (1a) and (1b), as exemplified below.

(27)

   (a) tsɨ   vuch-a-kh   me   /*bɨ.
       you see-fut-2ps me-dat/I-nom
       'You will see me.'

   (b) su   vuch-i   təmis/*su.
       he   see-fut he-dat/*he-nom
       'He will see him.'

It is worth noting here that the verb obligatorily inflects for dative objects in the second person. The verb may also inflect for dative objects in first and third person. However, this inflection requires the deletion of first-and third-person pronominal objects. In contrast, the dative object in the second person may optionally stay overt. Interestingly, the addition of dative object suffixes again brings set two subject suffixes in (25) into play. Compare, for example, (27a) and (27b) with (28a) and (28b).

(28)

    (a) tsɨ   vuch-ɨh-am.
        you see-2sgps-1ps
        'You will see me.'

    (b) su   vuch-as.
        he   see-3sg-3sgps
        'He will see him.'

    (c) su   vuch-i-y   (tse).
        he   see-3sg-2ps you-dat
        'He will see you.'

It is clear from the above data that the subject suffixes in set one—(1a) and (1b) in (24)—represent the basic future and that the subject suffixes in set two are merely their morphophonemic variations. They come into play in the context of object pronominal suffixes and as such belong to a rule of morphology. This is further evidenced by the fact that suffixes in set two come into play when the third-person object suffixes are employed for inanimate objects, as exemplified in (29a) and(29b).

(29)

    (a) bɨ   chal-an   kəmiːz.
        I   wash-fut-3sg shirt-3sg
        'I will wash the shirt.'

    (b) bɨ   chal-akh   kəmiːzɨ.
        I   wash-fut-3pl shirts-3pl
        'I will wash shirts.'

The marking of the inanimate number feature is optional. Some grammarians believe that these features add specificity to the animate objects.

PERFECT ASPECT

The aspectual perfect is indicated by the suffix *mut* added to the main verb's past tense stem. The suffix varies with the gender number of the nominative/absolutive argument—intransitive subjects and transitive absolutive objects—as

is the case with the past tense. The exceptional intransitives and the transitives block the agreement, and the suffix assumes a neutral form (i.e., *mut* the third masculine singular form)

(30) Masculine   Feminine

Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
mut	mɨt'	mɨts	mɨtsɨ

The three tenses of the perfect—present, past, and future—are marked on the auxiliary *a:sun*. These forms inflect for person, gender, and number, as well as the pronominal suffixes in (6). These inflections follow the pattern of the past tense. The agreement is with the subject in the intransitives and with the absolutive object in the transitives. The following tables show forms of the auxiliary that link to nominative/absolutive arguments in various tenses.

Present perfect forms of 'X has gone (X = Ist, IInd, and IIIrd person)'

(31) Masculine   Feminine

Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
bɨ chus go:mut	əs' chi gəmɨt'	bɨ chas gəmɨts	əs' chi gəmɨtsɨ
tsɨ chu-kh go:mut	toh' chiv gəmɨt'	tsɨ chakh gəmɨts	toh' chavɨ gəmɨtsɨ
su chu go:mut	tim chi gəmɨt'	sɔ cha gəmɨts	timɨ cha gəmɨtsɨ

Past perfect forms of 'X had gone'

(32) Masculine   Feminine

Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
bɨ o:sus go:mut	əs' ə:s' gəmɨt'	bɨ ə:sɨs gəmɨts	əs' a:sɨ gəmɨtsɨ
tsɨ o:sukh go:mut	toh' ə:siv gəmɨt'	tsɨ ə:sɨkh gəmɨts	toh' a:sɨvɨ gəmɨtsɨ
su o:s go:mut	tim ə:s' gəmɨt'	sɔ ə:s gəmɨts timɨ a:sɨ gəmɨtsɨ	

Future perfect forms of 'X will have gone'

(33) Masculine/Feminine

Singular	*Plural*
bɨ a:sɨ go:mut	əs' a:sav gəmɨt'
tsɨ a:sakh go:mut	toh' ə:siv gəmɨt'
su a:si go:mut	tim a:san gəmɨt'

Present perfect agreeing with the absolutive object

(34)

   (a) me/təm'   chu   batɨ   kh'o:mut.
       I/he/-erg be-3msg food-msg eat-pp-msg
       'I/he/ have eaten the food.'

   (b) tse   cha-th   kəmi:z   hetsmɨts.
       you-erg aux-fsg-2ps shirt-fsg buy-pp-fsg
       'You have bought a shirt.'

Past perfect agreeing with the absolutive object

   (35)

   (a) me/təm'   o:s   akhba:r   por-mut.
       I/he/-erg aux-pst-msg newspaper -msg read-psp-msg
       'I/he/ had read the newspaper.'

   (b) tse   ə:sɨ-th   kita:b   ənimɨts
       you-erg aux-pst-fsg- 2ps book-fsg brought-fsg
       'You had brought the book.'

Future perfect agreeing with the absolutive.object

   (36)

   (a) me/təm'   a:si   na:ṭakh   vuchɨmut.
       I/he/-erg aux-fut play-msg see-psp-msg
       'I/he/ will have seen the play.'

   (b) tse   a:sna-th   palav   het'mɨt'.
       you-erg aux-fut-2ps clothes-mpl bought-pp-mpl
       'You will have bought clothes.'

INFINITIVES

The infinitive suffix *UN* is added to the verb stem. The infinitive suffix varies with the number and gender of intransitive subjects and transitive objects, just in case they are in the nominative/aboslutive case.

   (37) Masculine   Feminine

Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
un	ɨn'	ɨn'	ɨni

    The stems ending in vowels undergo certain morphophonemic changes (e.g., i > ∅ ; e > o).

(38) Stem   Infinitive

     par   'read'   par-un
     kar   'do'   kar-un
     vuch   'see'   vuch-un
     yi   'come'   y-un
     di   'give'   d'-un
     pe   'fall'   p'-on
     he   'buy'   h'-on'

CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE

The conjunctive participle, also called as absolutive, is formed by adding the invariable marker *ith* to the verbal stem. Note that the negative conjunctive is formed by the negative marker *nay* 'not/without'.

(39)

Verb stem		Conjunctive participle		Negative conjunctive participle	
kar	'do	karith	'having done'	kar-a-nay	'not having done'
bo:z	'hear	bu:zith	'having heard'	buz--a-nay	'not having hear'
vush	'see'	vuchith	'having seen'	vuch-a-nay	'not having seen'
ni	'take'	nith	'having taken'	ni-nay	'not having taken'
di	'give'	dith	'having given'	di-nay	'not having given'
yi	'come'	'yith'	'having come'	yi-nay	'not having come'

CONDITIONAL MOOD

The agreement in the conditional follows the familiar nominative/ergative paradigm. The conditional shows both the regular agreement and the one cued to the pronouns. The agreement pattern of the conditional is exemplified below.

The nominative/absolutive agreement

(40)   Masculine/Feminine
           Singular   *Plural*

     I   ɨhə: ɨhə:v
     II   ɨhə:kh   ɨhɨ:v
     III   ɨhe: ɨhə:n

Examples of subject agreement with the conditional form of the verb

(41)

   (a)   bɨ   parɨhə: kita:b   magar—
        I-nom   read-cond-1sg   book   but
        'I would read the book but—'

(b) tsɨ   khe-hə:-kh   batɨ magar—
you-nom   eat-cond-2sg-ps food but
'You would eat the food but—'

(c) su   vuchihe: philim magar—
he-nom see-cond-3sg film   but
'He would see the film but—'

Examples of subject agreement with the auxiliary

(42) bɨ   a:sɨ-hə: par-a:n.
I-nom   be-cond-1sg reading
'I would have been reading.'

Intransitive subject agreement with the perfect participle

(43)

  (a) bɨ   a:sɨhə: go:-mut.
I-msg-nom be-cond-1sg go-psp-msg
'I would have gone.'

  (b) toh'   ə:sihi:v   gə:mɨt'.
you-pl be-cond-2pl go-psp-pl
'You would have gone.'

In the transitive context, the subject is marked ergative and the conditional agrees with the absolutive object. The second person obligatorily marks the verb for ergative pronominal suffixes. The first-and third-person ergative agreement shows up only when they are deleted (see 2.1.3.6).

Paradigm for absolutive object agreement

(44)   *Singular* *Plural*

  I   ihe: ɨhə:n
  II   ihe:th ihe:vɨ
  III ihe: ɨhe:n

Examples:

(45)

  (a) me   a:si-he: por-mut   akhba:r.
I-erg be-cond-3msg read-psp-3msg newspaper-3msg
'I would have read the newspaper.'

(b) tse   a:si-he:th   por-mut   akhba:r.
you-erg be-cond-3msg-2sg   read-psp-3msg newspaper-msg
'You would have read the newspaper.'

ENDNOTES

1.0 Syntax

1. Note that the word-order pattern in Kashmiri yes-no questions is quite distinct from other verb-second languages, such as German, Dutch, and Yiddish. In most of these languages, the verb is obligatorily placed in the initial sentence position to signal the yes-no questions. The verb is not preceded by any other sentence constituent. (See Haider and Prinzhorn 1986 for details.)

2. In the root clause, in most verb-second languages mentioned in note 1, the question word moves to the first position and the verb stays in the second position. In these languages, unlike Kashmiri, the question word may not be preceded by other constituents of the root clause.

3. The imperatives in Kashmiri thus contrast with other verb-second languages, which forbid any constituent to precede the imperative verb. (See Haider and Prinzhorn 1986.)

2.0 Morphology

4. The verb *la:yun* 'to strike' has been analysed as an exceptional transitive since its animate object is marked dative in all contexts, in contrast to all other transitives, which mark their animate objects in the nominative/absolutive. (See Andrabi 1983, Kachru and Pandharipande 1979, Raina 1991). However, according to Hook and Kaul (1989), the animate object has a locative dative, and the real direct object is an inanimate entity (e.g., a stick or a bullet) with which the person is struck. This analysis removes the verb *la:yun* from the list of exceptional transitives and puts it in a category by itself.

    (i) mohnan   lə:y   aslam-as   kalas   lu:r.
         Mohan-erg struck   Aslam-dat   head-dat   stick-abs-fsg
         'Mohan struck/beat Aslam (with) a stick on the head.'

3.0 Phonology

5. Kelkar and Trisal (1964: 21) summarize the findings of these scholars as follows:

Grierson mixes up transliteration of conventional orthographies, phonetic transcription, phonology, and morphophonemics. Baily is the strongest of the four in phonetics and occasionally makes distributional statements. Firth probably ignores some contrasts; even the phonetic identification are not consistent; he says that h and ɦ are distinctive. Morgenstierne has a phonemic approach, but his study is marred by an uncertainty of purpose and an unsure hold over the data in its phonetic and distributional aspects. Altogether none of these studies are easy to interpret. (See also remarks on 'ma:tra:' vowels in Shackle 1984).

6. Note that our /y, ʒ, and v/ correspond to Kelkar and Trisal's /i̦, i̦, and u̦/, in that order. We have taken the liberty to use our symbols in the quote for ease of reference.

7. The following comment by Kachru (1969), as quoted in Bhat (1987), is relevant here:

It seems to me that in Kashmiri a CC combination in initial and final position involves a vocalic release or a glide. The nature of the glide is determined by the environment. Perhaps it is this glide which has been given the status of a ma:tra: vowel in some earlier analyses.

Bhat further adds that the presence of "Very Short" Vowels in the contemporary Kashmiri has become obsolete, if at all it existed at any stage.

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Abbreviations

A O	*Acta Orientalia*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
CIIL	Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore
CLS	Chicago Linguistic Society
CSLI	Center for the Study of Language and Information
IILS	Indian Institute of Language Studies, Patiala
IL	*Indian Linguistics*
ISK	Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Oslo
IULC	Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington
JKAACL	Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture, and Languages
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRASB	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*
NRLC	Northern Regional Language Center, Patiala
NTS	Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap

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