

KASHMIRI : A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

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1. Introduction

1.1. Area and Speakers

The Kashmiri language is called *kA:shur* or *kA:shir zaba:n* by its native speakers. It is primarily spoken in the Kashmir Valley of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India. According to the 1981 census there are 30,76,398 speakers of the language. The census was not conducted in the year 1991. Keep in view the rise of the population over last many years, the current number of its speakers will be around four million. Kashmiri is also spoken by Kashmiris settled in other parts of India, and other countries. The language spoken in and around Srinagar is regarded as the standard variety. It is used in literature, mass media and education.

1.2. Classification and Dialects

There is a general consensus amongst historical linguists that Kashmiri belongs to the Dardic branch of the Indo-Aryan family. Grierson (1919), Morgenstierne (1961), Fussman (1972) classify Kashmiri under Dardic group of Indo-Aryan languages. The term Dardic is stated to be only a geographical convention and not a linguistic expression. The classification of Kashmiri and other Dardic languages has been reviewed in some works (Kachru 1969, Strand 1973, Koul and Schmidt 1984) with different purposes in mind. Kachru points out linguistic characteristics of Kashmiri. Strand presents his observations on Kafir languages. Koul and Schmidt have reviewed the literature on the classification of Dardic languages and have investigated the linguistic characteristics or features of these languages with special reference of Kashmiri and Shina.

Kashmiri is closely related to Shina and some other languages of the North-West frontier. It also shares some morphological features such as pronominal suffixes with Sindhi and Lahan da. However, Kashmiri is different from all other Indo-Aryan languages in certain phonological, morphological and syntactic features. For example, Kashmiri has a set of central vowels /I, I:, A, A:/ which are not found in other Indo-Aryan languages. In a similar way, in Kashmiri the finite verb always occurs in the second position with the exception in relative clause constructions. The word order in Kashmiri, thus, resembles the one in German, Dutch, Icelandic, Yiddish and a few other languages. These languages form a distinct set and are currently known as Verb Second (V-2) languages. Note that the word order generated by V-2 languages is quite different from Verb middle languages such as English. In a V-2 language, any constituent of a sentence can precede the verb. It is worth mentioning here that Kashmiri shows several unique features which are different from the above mentioned other V-2 languages.

Kashmiri has two types of dialects: (a) Regional dialects and (b) Social dialects. Regional dialects are further of two types: (i) those regional dialects or variations which are spoken in the regions inside the valley of Kashmir and (ii) those which are spoken in the regions outside the valley of Kashmir. Kashmiri speaking area in the valley is ethno-semantically divided into three regions: (1) Maraz (southern and south-eastern region), (2) Kamraz (northern and north-western region) and (3) Srinagar and its neighbouring areas. There are some minor linguistic variations mainly at the phonological and lexical levels. Kashmiri spoken in the three regions is not only mutually intelligible but quite homogeneous. These dialectal variations can be termed as different styles of the same

speech. Since Kashmiri, spoken in and around Srinagar has gained some social prestige, very frequent 'style switching' takes places from Marazi or Kamrazi styles to that of the style of speech spoken in Srinagar and its neighbouring areas. This phenomena of style switching is very common among the educated speakers of Kashmiri. Kashmiri spoken in Srinagar and surrounding areas continues to hold the prestige of being the standard variety which is used in mass media and literature.

There are two main regional dialects, namely Poguli and Kashtawari spoken outside the valley of Kashmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1984). Poguli is spoken in the Pogul and Paristan valleys bordered on the east by Rambani and Siraji, and on the west by mixed dialects of Lahanda and Pahari. The speakers of Poguli are found mainly to the south, south-east and south-west of Banihal. Poguli shares many linguistic features including 70% vocabulary with Kasmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1984). Literate Poguli speakers of Pogul and Pakistan valleys speak standard Kashmiri as well. Kashtawari is spoken in the Kashtawar valley, lying to the south east of Kashmir. It is bordered on the south by Bhadarwahi, on the west by Chibbali and Punchi, and on the east by Tibetan speaking region of Zanskar. Kashtawari shares most of the linguistic features of standard Kashmiri, but retains some archaic features which have disappeared from the latter. It shares about 80% vocabulary with Kashmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1984).

No detailed sociolinguistic research work has been conducted to study different speech variations of Kashmiri spoken by different communities and speakers who belong to different areas, professions and occupations. In some earlier works beginning with Grierson (1919: 234) distinction has been pointed out in two speech variations of Hindus and Muslims, two major communities who speak Kashmiri natively. Kachru (1969) has used the terms Sanskritized Kashmiri and Persianized Kashmiri to denote the two style differences on the grounds of some variations in pronunciation, morphology and vocabulary common among Hindus and Muslims. It is true that most of the distinct vocabulary used by Hindus is derived from Sanskrit and that used by Muslims is derived from Person-Arabic sources. On considering the phonological and morphological variations (besides vocabulary) between these two dialects, the terms used by Kachru do not appear to be appropriate or adequate enough to represent the two socio-dialectical variations of styles of speech. The dichotomy of these social dialects is not always clear-cut. One can notice a process of style switching between the speakers of these two dialects in terms of different situations and participants. The frequency of this 'style switching' process between the speakers of these two communities mainly depends on different situations and periods of contact between the participants of the two communities at various social, educational and professional levels. Koul (1986) and Dhar (1984) have presented co-relation between certain linguistic and social variations of Kashmiri at different social and regional levels. The sociolinguistic variations of the language deserve a detailed study.

1.3. Script

Various scripts have been used for Kashmiri. The main scripts are: Sharda, Devanagri, Roman and Perso-Arabic. The Sharda script, developed around the 10th century, is the oldest script used for Kashmiri. The script was used for writing Sanskrit by the local scholars at that time. It does not represent all the phonetic characteristics of the Kashmiri language. It is now being used for very restricted purposes (for writing horoscopes) by the priestly class of the Kashmiri Pandit community. The Devanagri script with additional diacritical marks has also been used for Kashmiri and continues to be used by writers and researchers in representing the data from Kashmiri texts in their writings in Hindi related to language, literature and culture. It is being used by two journals namely *Koshur Samachar* and *Kshir Bhawani Times* on regular basis. Certain amount of inconsistency prevails in the use of diacritical signs. There is a scope for its standardisation. The Roman script has also been used for Kashmiri but could not become popular.

The Perso-Arabic script with additional diacritical marks now known as Kashmiri script has been recognized as the official script for Kashmiri by the Jammu and Kashmir Government and is now widely used in publications in the language. It still lacks standardisation (Koul 1996).

2. Phonology

2.1. Segmentals

The inventory of the distinctive segments of Kashmiri is given under Vowels and Consonants below:

2.1.1. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i:	I:	u:
Lower High	i	I	u
Mid	e e:	A A:	o o:
Lower Mid		a	>
Low		a:	

Notice that Kashmiri has two short and two long central vowels (/I/, /I:/, /A/ and /A:/) which are not found in other South Asian languages.

2.1.1.1. Oral vowels

There is a contrast of the position of tongue, height of the tongue and the rounding of lips in the articulation of vowels:

- /i/ (high front unrounded short vowel):
(y)imtiha:n `examination', sir `secret', beni `sister'.
- /i:/ (high front unrounded long vowel):
(y)i:d `Eid' (A Muslim festival), sir `brick', jaldi: `quickly'.
- /e/ (mid front unrounded short vowel):
reh `flame', tre `three'
- /e:/ (mid front unrounded long vowel):
tse:r `late'
- /I/ (high central unrounded short vowel):
akIi `wisdom', gandI `dirty'
- /I:/ (high central unrounded long vowel):
I:Thim `eighth', tI:r `cold'
- /A/ (mid central unrounded short vowel):
Ach `eye', gAr `watch'
- /A:/ (mid central unrounded long vowel):
A:s `mouth', phA:ydi `profit'
- /a/ (low central unrounded short vowel):
az `today', par `read', na `no'
- /a:/ (low central unrounded long vowel):
ar `pity', ga:m `village', sapha: `clean'
- /u/ (high back rounded short vowel):
panun `own', su `that/he'
- /u:/ (high back rounded long vowel):
u:tri `day before yesterday', su:d `interest'
- /o/ (mid back rounded short vowel):
on `blind', son `deep'
- /o:/ (mid back rounded long vowel):

o:l `nest', so:n `our', valo: 'come(imp)'
 />/ (low back rounded short vowel):
 d>d `milk', s> `she'

2.1.1.2. Nasal vowels

Nasalization is phonemic in Kashmiri. All the vowels can be nasalized.

/i:~/ pi:~tsh `a little (f.s.)'
 /e~/ ke~h `some'
 /e:~/ she:~kh `conch'
 /I:~/ kI:~tsh `youngest (f.s.)'
 /A~/ A~z `goose'
 /A:~/ A:~T `stone of a fruit'
 /a~/ a~gre:z `an English man'
 /a:~/ a:~gun `compound'
 /u~/ ku~z `key'
 /u:~/ vu:~Th `camel'
 /o~/ go~d `bouquet'
 /o:~/ go:~d `gum'

2.1.1.3. Distribution of vowels

The vowels /A/, /o/, />:/ do not occur in the word final position. The short vowels /I/, /e/, /u/, and />/ do not occur in the word-initial position. Usually the semi-vowel /y/ is added in the initial position of the words beginning with /i/, /i:/, /e/ and /e:/. Similarly, the semi-vowel /v/ is added to the words beginning with /u/, and /u:/. The following pairs of words are in free variation:

ira:dI/yira:dI	`determination'
ehsa:n/yehsa:n	`kindness'
e:la:n/ye:la:n	`announcement'
uja:DI/vuja:DI	`deserted'
u:~Th/vu:~Th	`camel'

Only some educated persons who are conscious about the original pronunciation of the Hindi-Urdu borrowed words, make efforts to pronounce some of such words without the semi-vowel in the word initial position.

2.1.1.4. Sequences of (syllabic) vowels

Sequences of vowels do not occur in Kashmiri. The combinations of some vowel sequences like /uI/, /u:I/, and /o:A/ can be treated as diphthongs. Their occurrence is restricted to the word initial and medial positions only.

shuIr	`child' (f.s.)
gu:Ir	`milkmaid'
o:Al	`nest'
go:Al	`round'

2. 1. 2. Consonants

Consonants are classified into different groups on the basis of their manner and place of articulation.

2.1.2.1. Inventory of Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops						
vl.unasp	p	t	T		k	
vl.asp	ph	th	Th		kh	
vd.unasp	b	d	D		g	
Affricates						
vl.unasp		ts		c		
vl.asp		tsh		ch		
vd.unasp				j		
Nasal	m	n				
Trill			r			
Lateral			l			
Fricative						
vl.		s		sh		h
vd.				z		
Semi-vowels	v			y		

Examples are given below:

Stops

- /p/ (voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop):
pakh `walk', kapur `cloth', pop `ripe'.
- /ph/ (voiceless aspirated bilabial stop):
phal `fruit', saphe:d `white', pa:ph `sin'
- /b/ (voiced unaspirated bilabial stop):
bar `door', akhba:r `newspaper', nab `sky'
- /t/ (voiceless unaspirated dental stop):
tarun `to cross', katun `to spin', tot `hot'
- /th/ (voiceless aspirated dental stop):
thod `tall', mathun `to rub', sath `seven'
- /d/ (voiced unaspirated dental stop):
dA:r `window', l'odur `yellow', band `close'
- /T/ (voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop):
Tu:kIr `basket', raTun `to catch', hoT `throat'.
- /Th/ (voiceless aspirated retroflex stop):
Thu:l `egg', miThA:y `sweets', zu':Th `tall'
- /D/ (voiced unaspirated retroflex stop):
Du:n `walnut', ganDun `to tie', yaD `belly'
- /k/ (voiceless unaspirated velar stop):
kan `ear', k>kIr `hen', tsok `sour'.
- /kh/ (voiceless aspirated velar stop):
khanun `to dig', kh>khur `hollow', krakh `cry'

/g/ (voiced unaspirated velar stop):
gardan `neck', gagur `rat', rag `vein'

Affricates

/ts/ (voiceless unaspirated dental affricate):
tsa:s `cough' natsun `to dance', slts `tailor'
/tsh/ (voiceless aspirated dental affricate):
tshor `empty', gatshun `to go', latsh `dust'
/c/ (voiceless unaspirated palato-alveolar stop)
co:n `your', necuv `son', koc `unripe/raw'
/ch/ (voiceless aspirated palato-alveolar affricate):
cha:n `carpenter', rachun `to save', mAch `fly'.
/j/ (voiced unaspirated palato-alveolar affricate)
ja:n `good', paji `baskets', ta:j `crown'

Fricatives

/s/ (voiceless alveolar fricative):
sath `seven' sastI `cheap', nas `nose'
/z/ (voiced alveolar fricative):
za:lun `to burn', pazar `truth', az `today'
/sh/ (voiceless palato-alveolar fricative):
shak `suspicion', kAshi:r `Kashmir', pash `roof'
/h/ (voiceless glottal fricative):
hos `elephant', baha:r `spring', reh `flame'

Nasals

/m/ (voiced bilabial nasal):
mas `hair', tsa:man `cheese', kam `less'
/n/ (voiced alveolar nasal):
nam `nail' anun `to bring', son `deep'
/ng/ (voiced velar nasal):
rangun `to dye', zang `leg'.

Trill

/r/ (voiced alveolar trill):
raz `rope', narIm `soft', ta:r `wire'

Lateral

/l/ (voiced alveolar lateral):
lu:kh `people', kalam `pen', za:l `net'

Semi-vowels

/v/ (voiced bilabial semi-vowel) :
van `forest', davun `to run', na:v `boat/name'
/y/ (voiced palatal semi-vowel):

yaD `belly', yakhtiya:r `right', ja:y `place'

2.1.2.2. Palatalization

Palatalization is phonemic in Kashmiri. All the non-palatal consonants in Kashmiri can be palatalized.

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 boast'
dal	`group'	d'al	`bark'
hAT	`piece of wood'	hAT'	`throats'
TA:Th	`dear one (f)'	TA:Th'	`dear ones' (m.p.)
bAD	`big (f.s.)'	bAD'	`big ones' (m.p.)
kath	`story'	k'ath	`in' (something)'
khav	`a ditch'	kh'av	`ate'
ba:gva:n	`gardener'	ba:g'va:n	`lucky'
tsal	`run' (imp)	ts'al	`pressure'
tshoT	`short'	tsh'oT	`polluted'
A:m	`unbaked (f.s.)'	A:m'	`unbaked' (m.p.)
nu:l	`mongoose'	n'u:l	`blue'
gA:s	`gass'	gA:s'	`slothful'
zal	`urine'	z'al	`cream layer'
han	`a piece'	h'an	`to be afraid'
mA:l	`appetite'	mA:l'	`fathers'
parun	`to read'	par'un	`sieve'
vath	`road'	v'ath	`river Vitasta'

2.1.2.3. Phonological changes in loanwords

The voiced aspirated consonant phonemes like /bh/,/dh/,/Dh/,/jh/,and /gh/ are deaspirated as /b/,/d/,/D/,/j/, and /g/ respectively in Kashmiri in the Perso-Arabic and Hindi Urdu borrowed words. Similarly, the Perso-Arabic uvular stop /q/ is replaced by /k/, and fricatives /f/, /x/,and /G/ are replaced by /ph/, /kh/, and /g/ respectively.

The voiceless unaspirated stops /p/,/t/,/T/,and /k/ in the borrowed words are aspirated in the word final position in Kashmiri:

Hindi-Urdu		Kashmiri
pa:p	`sin'	pa:ph
ra:t	`night'	ra:th
ko:T	`coat'	ko:Th
pa:k	`pure'	pa:kh

2.1.2.4. Consonant Clusters

2.1.2.4.1. Word-initial Consonant Cluster

Word initial consonant clusters are not as frequent as the word medial consonant clusters. The second member of a consonant cluster which occur in the initial position is always /t/. The first consonant is

astop, affricate or a fricative.

/pr/	prasun	`to give birth'
/phr/	phras	`poplar tree'
/br/	bram	`illusion'
/tr/	tre	`three'
/dr/	drog	`expensive'
/Tr/	Trak	`truck'
/Dr/	Dram	`drum'
/kr/	krakh	`cry'
/khr/	khra:v	`a wooden footwear'
/gr/	gra:kh	`a customer'
/tshr/	tshraTh	`mischief'
/sr/	srod	`joint', 'common'
/shr/	shra:n	`bath'

2.1.2.4.2. Word-medial consonant cluster

There is a very frequent occurrence of consonant clusters in the medial position. Most of these clusters are formed across syllable or morpheme boundaries. Some of them are broken optionally by the insertion of the vowel /I/. There are some restrictions in the formation of consonant clusters as follows: (i) two aspirated consonants do not combine to form a consonant cluster, (ii) /ch/ is not combined to form a consonant cluster, (iii) /D/ does not occur as the second member of a consonant cluster. Examples of the consonant clusters are given below

pt	kapta:n	`captain'
bn	shabnam	'dew'
thk	kithkIn'	`how'
dph	adphar	`fragrance'
Dp	taDpun	`to suffer in pain'
kt	maktab	`school'
Gr	rangre:z	`dyer'
ck	ackan	'a long button- up coat'
jl	khAjli:	`insult'
mTh	tsamThun	`to shrink'
nt	zantI	`as if'
shm	dushman	'enemy'
lb	albA:n'	`plough'
rb	gurbath	`poverty'
zm	azma:vun	`to try'
hb	rAhbar	`guide'

There are only a limited number of consonant clusters of three consonants possible in Kashmiri. In all such instances the first consonant is nasal /n/.

ndr	Andrim	`internal'
ndk	andka:r	`darkness'
ndg	bandgi:	`worship'
nzr	gAnzrun	`to count'

2.1.2.4.3. Word-final consonant cluster

There is a less frequency of the occurrence of the consonant clusters in the word final position. The first member of the consonant cluster is any of the two nasal consonants /m,n/, or fricatives /s,sh/. The second consonant is any of the stops.

/mp/	lamp	`lamp'
/mb/	amb	`mango'
/nd/	dand	`teeth'
/nD/	khanD	`sugar'
/nk/	bank	`bank'
/nsh/	shankh	`conch'
/ng/	rang	`colour'
/st/	mast	`carefree'
/sht/	gasht	`round'
/shT/	kashT	`trouble'

2.1.2.5. Syllable structure

Kashmiri has (C)(C)V(C)(C) syllable structure. Vowel initial syllables are found only in the initial position of the words. The first consonant of the 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 boundary is marked with [+] sign.

nak+shi	`map'
mAn+zil	`destination'
kIs+mat	`fate'

The assignment of the medial units to syllables does not depend on morphological structure.

2. 2. Suprasegmentals

2.2.1. Length

There are seven pairs of short and long vowels: The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrast in the length of these vowels:

sir	`secret'	si:r	`brick'
zen	`mud'	ze:n	`win' (imp)
tIr	`a piece of cloth'	tI:r	`cold'
lAr	`house'	lA:r	`cucumber'
nar	`male'	na:r	`fire'
kun	`alone'	ku:n	`corner'
son	`deep'	so:n	`our'

Consonants do not contrast in length.

2.2.2. Stress

Stress is not a distinctive feature of Kashmiri. It is not in phonemic contrast. Kashmiri being a syllable-

timed language, sometimes individual words are stressed for emphasis.

2.2.3. Intonation

There are four major types of intonational patterns: (1) High - fall, (2) High - rise, (3) Rise & fall, (4) Mid - level. Intonations have syntactic rather than emotional content. Statements have 'High - fall' intonation pattern. Intonation peaks are generally positioned on the penultimate word or on the negative particle, if any.

1. su chu kita:b para:n
 he is book read-p
 `He is reading a book.'
2. palav chinI me:zas peTh
 cothes are-neg table-on dat
 `The books are not on the table.'

Yes-no questions and tag questions have a 'High-rise' intonation.

3. su a:va: ra:th
 he came-qm yesterday
 `Did he come yesterday?'
4. su gav dili, gav na:
 he went Delhi-ab went neg-q
 `He went to Delhi. Didn't he?'

Information questions have 'Rise and fall' intonation. The rise in intonation is registered on the question word and fall is attained gradually.

5. toh' kar gAyivI ba:zar
 you when went market
 `When did you go to the market?'

Commands generally follow the mid-level intonational pattern.

6. darva:zI kar band
 door do close
 `Close the door.'

The contrastive and emphatic intonations are same as they employ more than the average stress on the constituents of a sentence. The element to be contrasted carries slightly higher stress than the emphasised segment. For example, any of the elements can be emphasized in the following sentence depending on the degree of emphasis. The emphasis is represented by the use of italicizing different elements

- 7.a *toh'* gAtshiv dili
 you go-fu-2p Delhi
 `You will go to Delhi.'
- b. toh' gAtshiv dili
- c. toh' gAtshiv *dili*

2.3 Morphophonology

2.3.1. Alternations

There are two types of alternations: (1) Alternations between vowel segments, and (2) Alternations between consonant segments.

In the (1) alternation between vowel segments, the vowel of monosyllabic and the second vowel of the disyllabic stems undergo ablaut changes when inflectional suffixes are added to them. There are three types of vowel changes: (i) lowering of a vowel, (ii) raising of a vowel, and (iii) centralization of a vowel.

2.3.1.1. Lowering of a vowel

The vowels /A/, /A:/ and /u:/ of the monosyllabic stems change to /a/, /a:/ and /o:/ respectively when the plural forming suffixes -I or -I are added to them.

GAr	`watch'	+ I	gari	`watches'
NAr	`arm'	+ i	nari	`arms'
gA:D	`fish'	+ I	ga:DI	`fish' (pl)
ku:r	`girl'	+ i	ko:ri	`girls'

2.3.1.2. Raising of a vowel

The vowels /a/ and /a:/ in the CVC stems change to /A/ and /A:/ respectively when a suffix beginning with -i is added to them.

kar	`do'	+ iv	kAriv	`do' (imp. pl)
na:g	`spring'	+ in	nA:gin	`small spring'

2.3.1.3. Centralization of a vowel

The back vowels /u/, /u:/, /o/, and /o:/ of the monosyllabic or the second vowel of the disyllabic stems change to /I/, /I:/, /A/, and /A:/ respectively when suffixes beginning with -i, or -y are added to them.

ga:Tul	`wise'	+ y	ga:TII'	`wise (pl)
kru:r	`well'	+ y	krI:r'	`wells'
ru:n	`husband'	+y	rI:n'	`husbands'
koT	`boy'	+ is	kATis	`to the boy'
on	`blind'	+ is	Anis	`to the blind'
mo:l	`father'	+ y	mA:I'	`fathers'

The second vowel /u/ of the disyllabic words of the CVCVC structure changes to the central vowel /a/ when the plural forming suffix -o is added to them.

batukh	`duck'	+ 0	batakh	`ducks'
gagur	`rat'	+ 0	gagar	`rats'
k>kur	`cock'	+0	k>kar	`ducks'
va:tul	`cobbler'	+0	va:tal	`cobblers'

In the alternation of consonant segments the different types of consonant changes as well as some vowel change take place as a result of adding suffixes to stems. Notice that some vowel changes also take place in the stems.

The retroflex consonants /ɽ/, /ʈ/ and /ɖ/ occurring in the feminine singular stems change to affricates /tʃ/, /tʃh/ and /dʒ/ respectively, when the plural forming suffix is added to them.

zAT	`rag'	+ I	zaci	`rags
m>Th	`handful'	+ I	m>chi	`handfulls'
bAD	`big (f)'	+ I	baji	`big ones'

The word final dental stops /t/, /th/, /d/ change to affricates /ts/, /tsh/ and fricative /z/ respectively when the feminine forming suffix -0 is added to them.

Masculine			Feminine	
mot	`mad'	+ 0	mAts	`mad'
yuth	`this type'	+ 0	yitsh	`this type'
thod	`tall'	+ 0	thAz	`tall'

The velar stops /k/, /kh/, and /g/ change to affricates /c/, /ch/ and /j/ respectively when the feminine forming suffix -0 is added to them.

Masculine			Feminine	
tsok	`sour'	+ 0	tsoc	`sour'
hokh	`dry'	+ 0	hoch	`dry'
lang	`branch'	+ 0	lAnD	`branch'

The lateral consonant /l/ in the final position changes to the affricate /j/ as a result of adding the feminine suffix -0 to it.

Masculine			Feminine	
kol	`dumb'	+ 0	kAj	`dumb'
hol	`twisted'	+ 0	hAj	`twisted'

The stem final aspirated voiceless stops are deaspirated when the suffixes beginning with vowels are added to them.

ta:ph	`sunny'	+ as	ta:pas	`in the sun'
sath	`seven'	+ im	sAtim	`seventh'
raTh	`hold'	+ un	raTun	`to hold'

2.3.2. Deletion and Insertion

2.3.2.1. Deletion

The CVCV stem final /l/ is deleted when a vowel initial suffix is added to it.

kaIl	`head'	+ as	kalas	`to the head'
ra:mI	`Ram'	+ un	ra:mun	`Ram's'

The vowel /u/, or /I/ of the second syllable of the CVCVC stem is deleted when a vowel initial suffix is added to it.

gobur	`son'	+ is	gobris	`to the son'
g>gIj	`turnip'	+ i	g>gji	`to the turnip'
nAgIr	`town'	+ as	nAgras	`to the town'

2.3.2.2. Insertion

/y/ is inserted between the front vowel ending stem and the suffix beginning with /-i/.

khe	`eat'	+ iv	kheyiv	`eat' (imp. pl)
di	`give'	+ iv	diyiv	`give' (imp.pl)

/v/ is inserted between the back vowel ending stem and the suffix beginning with /a/.

ce	`drink'	+ a:n	ceva:n	`drinking'
di	`give'	+ a:n	diva:n	`giving'

/m/ is inserted between the front vowel ending verb stems and the suffixes /i/ or /a/ for deriving first person future forms.

ni	`take'	+ I	nimI	`I'll take'
khe	`eat'	+ av	khemav	`we'll eat'

/I/ is added as a linking morpheme between a consonant ending stem and a consonant beginning stem in the derivation of compounds.

nu:n	`salt'	dA:n'	`pot'	nu:nI dA:n'	`salt pot'
ca:y	`tea'	dA:n'	`pot'	ca:yI dA:n'	`tea pot'

3. Morphology

3.1. Nominal Morphology

Nouns in Kashmiri follow the traditional classification scheme of (i) Proper (human animate, non-human animate, and inanimate) nouns, and (ii) Common (count, mass) nouns. Nouns are not formally distinguished for being definite or indefinite. The demonstrative adjectives may optionally be used as a means to indicate the definiteness. The forms of *vo:l* and genitive phrases modifying a noun also express definiteness. Indefiniteness is expressed either by the use of indefinite numerals or qualifiers or markers. The marking of definiteness or indefiniteness in a noun phrase is not obligatory and can be inferred from the context also.

3.1.1. Noun Inflection

Nouns are inflected for gender, number and case.

3.1.1.1. Gender

Nouns are divided into two classes : Masculine and feminine. Animates follow the natural gender system. Gender of a large number of inanimate nouns can be predicted by their endings. Gender formation processes from masculine to feminine or vice versa are irregular. Main gender formation processes

involve (i) suffixation, (ii) changes in vowels and consonants, and (iii) suppletion. Most of the phonological and morphological changes are regular.

Suffixation

The following suffixes added to nouns indicate their masculine formation: -da:r, -dar -vo:l, -ul, and -ur. As a result of adding of these suffixes certain morphophonemic changes take place.

duka:n	`shop'	duka:nda:r	`shopkeeper'
The:kI	`contract'	The:kIdar	`contractor'
d>d	`milk'	d>dIvo:l	`milkman'
ga:TI	`wisdom'	ga:Tul	`wise man'
sa:l	`feast'	sa:lur	`guest'

The following suffixes added to nouns indicate their feminine formation: -en', -In', -A:n', -ba:y, -Ir.

Masculine	Feminine	
da:~dur	da:~dren'	`vegetable seller'
khar	khArin'	`an ass'
gujur	gujrA:n'	'Gujar'
ma:sTar	ma:sTarba:y	`teacher'
votsh	vatshIr	`calf'

The feminine forms are derived by palatalization of the final consonant as well

on	An'	`blind'
zon	zAn'	`person'

Vowel and consonant change

(i) The vowels /u,u:,o,o:/ in the CVC structure of masculine nouns are diphthongized or are replaced by the central vowels at the same height in their feminine forms.

Masculine	Feminine		
shur	`child'	shuIr	
gu:r	`milkman'	gu:Ir	
gob	`heavy'	goAb	
koT	`boy'	kAT	`girl'

(ii) The penultimate vowel /u/ of the CVCVC structure masculine nouns is replaced by /I/

ko:tur	`pigeon'	ko:AtIr	
k>kur	`cock'	k>kIr	`hen'

(iii) The word final consonants / l, k, kh, t, and g / are replaced by / j, c, ch, ts, and D / respectively.

mo:l	`father'	mA:j	`mother'
ga:Tul	`wise'	ga:TIj	
tsok	`sour'	tsoc	

hokh	`dry'	hoch
tot	`hot'	tAts
long	`lame'	lAnD

Suppletion

Some feminine nouns present examples of suppletion as follows:

Masculine		Feminine	
da:~d	`bull'	ga:v	`cow'
marId	`man'	zana:n	`woman'
necuv	`son'	ku:r	`daughter'

Gender marking of foreign words

Kashmiri borrows words from Perso-Arabic, Sanskrit, Hindi Urdu and English. Nativized loans from these languages fall in two genders: masculine and feminine. It is interesting to note that a large number of words borrowed from Hindi-Urdu have different genders from their sources (see for details Koul 1983). A few examples are given below.

Hindi-Urdu		Kashmiri		Gloss
a:dat	(f)	a:dath	(m)	`habit'
ki:mat	(f)	kI:math	(m)	`price'
dava:	(f)	dava:	(m)	`medicine'
kismat	(f)	kIsmath	(m)	`luck'
ta:r	(m)	ta:r	(f)	`telegram'
rupaya:	(m)	r>pay	(f)	`rupee'
ruma:l	(m)	ruma:l	(f)	`handkerchief'

A large number of other nouns which are not derived from common sources but they have different genders in Hindi-Urdu and Kashmiri. For example, days of a week (except juma:h `Friday') are masculine in Hindi-Urdu, but they are feminine in Kashmiri.

3.1.1.2. Number

There are two numbers: singular and plural. Most count nouns form their plurals from singular form. Some count nouns have the same form for both numbers. Mass nouns do not show number distinction. Plurals are formed from singulars by suffixation, palatalization and vowel changes.

3.1.1.2.1. Masculine plural forms

Main rules for the formation of masculine plural forms are as follows:

- (i) The mid back vowel /o/ of the CVC structure nouns changes to a central vowel and the final consonant is palatalized. The high back vowels /u/ and /u:/ remain unchanged.

Singular		Plural	
mo:l	`father'	mA:l'	`fathers'
koT	`boy'	kAT'	`boys'
kul	`tree'	kul'	`trees'
gur	`horse'	gur'	`horses'

Du:n `walnut' Du:n' `walnuts'

(ii) The second vowel of the CVCVC structure nouns changes to a central vowel and the final consonant is palatalized.

ga:Tul `wise' ga:TII' `wise'
latshul `broom' latshII' `brooms'

(iii) The penultimate vowel /u/ of (C)VCVC structure nouns changes to /a/

gagur `mouse' gagar `mice'
ko:tu:r `pigeon' ko:ta:r `pigeons'
o:lu:v `potato' o:la:v `potatoes'

(iv) Masculine nouns ending in the vowel /I/ do not change in their plural form : gila:sI `glass', maka:nI `house', ba:nI `utensil', nalkI `tap', kamrI `room', darva:zI `door' etc.

(v) The CVC structure nouns with a central vowel do not change in their plural form: khar `donkey', va:l `hair', ma:m `maternal uncle', sIh `lion' etc.

(vi) Consonant ending masculine nouns borrowed from Hindi Urdu and English do not change in their plural form: bema:r `sick', gAri:b `poor', mozu:r `labourer', ho:TaI `hotel', saykal `cycle' etc. (They, however, undergo phonological changes.)

3.1.1.2.2. Feminine plural form

Main rules for the formation of feminine plural forms are as follows:

(i) The vowel of the CVC(C) structure nouns is lowered and /i/ is added at the end.

Singular	Plural
nAr `arm'	nari `arms'
dA:r `window'	da:ri `windows'
vA:j `ring'	va:ji `rings'
ku:r `girl'	ko:ri `girls'

The retroflex consonants /T/, /Th/, /D/ change into palatals /c/, /ch/ and /j/ respectively.

IAT `tail'	laci `tails'
IAnD `branch'	lanji `branches'
kuTh `grain store'	kuchi `grain stores'

The penultimate vowel /I/ of CVCVC structure is dropped, before the plural suffix /i/ is added.

gagIr `rat'	gagri `rats'
g>gIj `turnip'	g>gji `turnips'

(ii) The plural marker /I/ is added to the feminine nouns of CVC structure having a low vowel.

kath	`story'	kathI	`stories'
na:v	`boat'	na:vI	`boats'
d>s	`wall'	d>sI	`walls'

(iii) The final consonant /th/ changes to /ts/ and the vowel preceding to it is raised in height.

ra:th	`night'	rA:ts	`nights'
za:th	`caste'	zA:ts	`castes'

(iv) A few feminine nouns do not change in their plural form, e.g. Ach `eye'.

3.1.1.3. Case

Case suffixes added to nouns/noun phrases occur as bound morphemes. Following table gives the case suffixes added to the nouns agreeing in number and gender.

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
Nominative	-0	-0	-0	-0
Dative	-as/is	-an	-i	-an
Ergative	-an	-av	-i	-av
Locative	-as/is	-an	-i	-av
Ablative	-I	-av	-i	-an
Instrumental	-I	-av	-i	-av
Genitive I	as	-an	-i	-an
II	-I	-av	-i	-av
Vocative	-a:	-av	-iy	-av

Notice that dative and locative case suffixes are same. Similarly, the case suffixes of ablative and instrumental are identical. Since they take different postpositions, they have been listed separately. Note that there is a complexity in the masculine singular forms in both ergative and dative cases. Masculine nouns that form their plurals by palatization (i.e., mo:l, mA:l' `father, fathers' use the palatalized plural forms as ergative singular forms. Thus the form mA: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. Similarly, the feminine proper nouns that end in I take the masculine singular ergative and dative suffix in place of the prescribed i.

The genitive case suffixes are of two types. First is identical with the dative form and the second with the ablative. The vocative case suffixes as given above are added to the nouns, which are preceded by various informal vocative markers as follows:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
haya:	hayo:	haye:	haye:
hata:	hato:	hatay	hata:
hayo:	hayo:	hA:y	hA:y

3.1.1.4. Postpositions

There are two major types of postpositions: (a) those which govern the dative case, and (b) those which govern the ablative. There are a few postpositions which govern both. Examples of these postpositions are given below.

- (a) Postpositions governing the dative case : peTh `on, upon', andar `in/inside', manz `in', keth `in', k'uth `for', nishi `near', hund/sund `of' `sa:n', sI:th/ , sI:t'an `with, together with'
- (b) Postpositions governing the ablative case: peThI `from', AndrI `from within, from among', kin' `by, owing to' nishi `from near', uk `of', un `of' sa:n `with', sI:th' sI:tin `with, by means of'

The postpositions sa:n, nishi, sI:th', sI:t'an govern both cases. The meaning of the postposition sa:n in both cases remains unchanged, but the other postpositions change their meanings according to the case they govern.

The role of case suffixes and postpositions is explained in the paradigms of lADkI `boy' and kur: `girl' given below.

Case	Noun + Marker				Postposition
	Masculine		Feminine		
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl	
Nom	lADkI	lADkI	kur	ko:ri	0
Dat	lADkas	lADkan	ko:ri	ko:ren	(k'uth)
Erg	lADkan	lADkav	ko:ri	ko:rev	0
Loc	lADkas	lADkan	ko:ri	ko:ren	peTh/nish/tal
Abl	lADkI	lADkav	ko:ri	ko:rev	peTh
Ins	lADkI	lADkav	ko:ri	ko:rev	sI:th'
Gen	lADkI	lADkan	ko:ri	ko:ren	und/Ind'/Inz/InzI
Voc	haya: lADka:	`O boy!'	haye: ku:ri:	`O girl!'	
	haya: lADkav	`O boys'	haye: ko:rev	`O girls!'	

The genitive postpositions are like adjectives and they agree with the governing noun in gender, number and case. There are three types of these postpositions. The forms of all the three types of these postpositions are as follows:

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
Type I	-uk	-Ik'	-Ic	-Ici
Type II	-un	-In'	-In'	-Ini
Type III	-und	-Ind'	-Inz	-Inz

The Type I and II postpositions are governed by ablative case, and the Type III by dative case

Type I postpositions are used with inanimate nouns:

duka:nuk darva:zI	`the door of the shop'
duka:nIk' darva:zI	`the owners of the shop'
duka:nIc dA:r	'the window of the shop'
duka:nIci da:ri	`the windows of the shop'

Type II postpositions are used with animate human proper nouns:

mohnun bo:y	`Mohan's brother'
mohnIn' bA:y	`Mohan's brothers'
mohnIn' beni	`Mohan's sister'
mohnIni beni	`Mohan's sisters.'

Type III postpositions are used with the rest. Notice that /s/ or /h/ phonemes are added in the initial position of these postpositions depending on the structure of the subject nouns along with their case suffixes. The phoneme /h/ is added to the postpositions of all the plurals and feminine singular subject nouns. The phoneme /s/ is added to the postpositions following the singular masculine nouns ending with dative case suffixes. Adding of case suffixes result in certain morphophonemic changes in the stem nouns. The case relations are expressed by the use of the case suffixes as well as the postpositions which undergo certain changes. Examples of the use of these postpositions are given as follows:

ku:r	+ i	+ und/Ind'/Inz/InzI	=	ko:ri	hund/hInd'/hInz/hInzI
lADkI	+ as	+ und/Ind'/Inz/InzI	=	lADkI	sund/sInd'/sInz/sInzI
bo:y	+ is	+ und/Ind'/Inz/InzI	=	bA:y	sund/sInd'/sInz/sInzI
ko:ri	+ an	+ und/Ind'/Inz/InzI	=	ko:ren	hund/hInd'/hInz/hInzI
lADkI	+ an	+ und/Ind'/Inz/InzI	=	lADkan	hund/hInd'/hInz/hInzI

ko:ri	hund	bo:y	`girl's brother'	
ko:ri	hInd'	bA:y	`girl's brothers'	
ko:ri	hInz	kita:b	`girl's book'	
ko:ri	hInzI	kita:bi	`girl's books'	
lADkI	sund	kalam	`boy's pen'	
lADkI	sInd'	kalam	`boy's pens'	
lADkI	sInz	kursi:	`boy's chair'	
lADkI	sInzI	kursiyi	`boy's chairs'	
lADkan	ko:ren	hund	ma:sTar	'boys'/girls' teacher'
lADkan	ko:ren	hInd'	ma:sTar	`boys'/girls' teachers'
lADkan	ko:ren	hInz	mA:j	`boys'/girls' mother'
lADkan	ko:ren	hInzI	ma:ji	`boys'/girls' mothers'

3.1.2 Pronouns

3.1.2.1. Personal Pronoun

Pronouns are inflected for gender, number and case. Pronominals in Kashmiri do not make a distinction between inclusion and exclusion. Third person pronouns exhibit three-term - proximate, remote (within sight) and remote (out of sight) - distinction of the participants in speech acts.

There is a three-term set of pronouns in Kashmiri. Although the case system of pronouns is essentially the same as that of nouns, pronouns have more case forms than nouns. Notice that there is no gender distinction in the first and second person personal pronouns. Second and third person plural forms are used for honorific singulars as well.

Case	Person	Deixis	Gender and Number			
			Masculine		Feminine	
			Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	First		bi	As'	bi	As'
	Second		tsI	toh'	tsI	toh'

	Third	Proximate	yi	yim	yi	yim
		Remote (within sight)	hu	hum	h>	humI
		Remote (out of sight)	su	tim	s>	timI
Case	Person	Deixis	Gender and Number			
			Masculine		Feminine	
			Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Dative						
	First		me	asi	me	asi
	Second		tse	t>hi	tse	t>hi
	Third	Proximate	yemis	yiman	yemis	yiman
		Remote 1	homis	human	homis	human
		Remote 2	tAmis	timan	tAmis	timan
Case	Person	Deixis	Gender and Number			
			Masculine		Feminine	
			Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Ablative						
	First		me	asi	me	asi
	Second		tse	t>hi	tse	t>hi
	Third	Proximate	yemi	yimav	yemi	yimav
		Remote 1	homi	humav	homi	humav
		Remote 2	tami	timav	tami	timav
Case	Person	Deixis	Gender and Number			
			Masculine		Feminine	
			Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
	First		me	asi	me	asi
	Second		tse	t>hi	tse	t>hi
	Third	Proximate	yem'	yimav	yemi	yimav
		Remote 1	hom'	humav	homi	humav
		Remote 2	tAm'	timav	tami	timav

Genitive/Possessive

Following are the forms of pronouns in genitive case agreeing with the complement/modifiee in number and gender and with the modifier in person and number:

Modifier			Complement			
Person	Deixis		Gender and Number			
		Masculine			Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st Sg.		m'o:n	me:n'	me:n'	me:n'	m'a:ni
1st Pl.		so:n	sA:n'	sA:n'	sA:n'	sa:ni
2nd Sg.		co:n	cA:n'	cA:n'	cA:n'	ca:ni
2nd Pl.		tuhund	tuhInd'	tuhInz	tuhInz	tuhInzI
3rd Sg.	Prox.	yem'sund	yem'sInd'	yem'sInz	yem'sInz	yem'sInzI
3rd Pl.	Prox.	yihund	yihInd'	yihInz	yihInz	yihanzI
3rd Sg.	Remo.1	hom'sund	hom'sInd'	hom'sInz	hom'sInz	hom'sInzI
3rd Pl.	Remo.1	huhund	huhInd'	huhInz	huhInz	huhInzI
3rd Sg.	Remo.2	tAm'sund	tAm'sInd'	tAm'sInz	tAm'sInz	tAm'sInzI

3rd Pl Remo.2 tihund tihInd' tihInz tihInzI

All pronouns are free. They occur in all positions. They can be dropped if they are traceable from the verb or from the context. Kashmiri has a system of pronominal suffixes/clitics, which are added to the verbs to refer to the subject, object, and indirect object. (See Hook and Koul 1984: 123-135, Wali and Koul 1994, Wali and Koul 1997)

Emphatic forms of pronouns are formed by adding emphatic particle -Iy to the pronouns in all cases. When this particle is added as a suffix to the pronoun, certain phonological changes take place. The emphatic forms in nominative are given below.

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
First	bIy	Asiy	bIy	Asiy
Second	tsIy	tohiy	tsIy	tohiy
Third	Proximate	yihoy	yihA:y	yimay
	Remote-1	hohay	y>hA:y	humay
	Remote-2	suy	s>y	timay

3.12.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns have the same forms as the personal third person pronouns. There are, however, some additional demonstrative pronouns such as *ti* 'that (out of sight)' that is used with inanimate nouns. Its dative form is *tath*. The demonstrative pronouns are used as demonstrative adjectives also.

The status distinction is indicated by using the plural pronominal forms instead of singular forms. Occasionally, honorific titles *ma:hra:*, *haz* and *jina:b* 'sir' may also be used after the second person plural form used for honorific singular subjects. The honorific *ma:hra:* is used with Hindus, *haz* with Muslims and *jina:b* is a neutral term used for any person.

3.1.2.3. Indefinite pronoun

There are no special indefinite pronouns. The indefiniteness is expressed in different ways: (i) by using the second person pronoun; (ii) by omitting third person pronouns; (iii) by using generic nouns such as *yinsa:n*, *manush* 'man/human'; and (iv) by using indefinite quantifiers such as *ka:~h* 'someone'.

3.1.2.4. Relative pronouns

The relative pronoun *yus* 'who, which, that' is inflected for number, gender and case. Forms are as follows:

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom	yus	yim	y>s	yim
Dat	yemis	yiman	yemis	yiman
Abl	yemi	yimav	yemi	yimav
Erg	yem'	yimav	yemi	yimav
Gen	yem'sund	yihund	yem'sInz	yehnzI

3.1.2.5. Reflexive pronouns

The main reflexive in Kashmiri is *pa:n* 'self'. The compound form *panun pa:n* 'compares with Hindi

apne a:p. The case forms of *pa:n* are as follows:

Nominative	pa:n
Dative	pa:nas
Ablative	pa:nI
Ergative	pa:nan

In possessive structures, the reflexive form *panun* 'self' is used in place of personal possessive pronouns. The possessive *panun* agrees with the following noun in number and gender as shown below:

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	panun	panIn'	panIn'	panIn'
Dat.	panInis	panIn'an	panIni	panIn'an
Abl.	panIni	panIn'av	panIni	panIn'av
Erg.	panIn'	panIn'av	panIni	panIn'av
Gen.	panIn'sund	panIn'sInd'	panIn'sInz	panIn'sInzI

The genitive forms are used in idiomatic contexts only. The emphatic forms are: *pa:n'* *pa:nI* 'only by self' and *pa:nay* 'self'.

The reciprocal form is *akh Akis* 'to one another'. It is a compound of the cardinal *akh* 'one' and its dative case form *Akis*. The distributive form is *pa:nIvA:n'* 'mutual'. The case forms of reciprocal are as follows: dative *akh Akis*; genitive *akh Ak'sund* (msg) *akh Ak'sInd'* (mpl) *akh Ak'sInz* (fsg), *akh Ak'sInzI* (fpl). There is no nominative/absolute form of the reciprocal and the dative form is used where nominative/absolute is required.

3.1.2.6. Interrogative pronouns

There are two main interrogative forms: *kus* 'who', and *ki* 'what'. The case forms of interrogatives *kus* 'who' and *k'a:* 'what' are given below.

Interrogative *kus* 'who'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	kus	kam	k>s	kamI
Dative	kAmis/kas	kIman	kAmis/kas	kIman
Ablative	kami	kImav	kami	kImav
Ergative	kAm'	kImav	kami	kImav
Genitive	kAm'sund	kAm'sInd'	kAm'sInz	kAm'sInzI
	kIman hund	kImanhInd'	kIman hInz	kIman hInzI
	kuhund	klhInd'	klhInz	klhInzI

Interrogative *k'a:* 'what'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	k'a:	k'a:	k'a:	k'a:
Dative	kath	kIman	kath	kIman

Ablative	kami	kImav	kami	kImav
Genitive	kam'uk	kamik'	kamic	kamici

Other question words also begin with the question element *k* sound. These question words include adverbs, qualifiers and interrogative adjectives. The question words are : *kus h'uv* `which one', *kar* `when', *k'a:zi* `why', *kati* `where', *kapA:r'* `which direction', *kithI kIn'* `how/which manner', *ko:ta:h* `how much' etc. Some of them have their alternate forms as well. Their forms along with their demonstrative forms are given below.

kati/katen/katinas/kateth `where

Proximate	Remote (within sight)	Remote(out of sight)
yeti	hoti	tati
yeten	hoten	taten
yetinas	hotinas	tatinas
yeteth	hoteth	tateth

kapA:r' `which direction'

<i>yapA:r'</i>	<i>h>pA:r'</i>	<i>tapA:r'</i>
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kithI kIn' `in what manner'

<i>yithIkIn'</i>	<i>huthIkIn'</i>	<i>tithIkIn'</i>
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ku:ta:h `how much'

<i>yu:ta:h</i>	<i>hu:ta:h</i>	<i>t'u:ta:</i>
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3.1.3 Adjectives

There are two types of adjectives: (i) Base adjectives and (ii) Derived adjectives. The base adjectives are inherent in nature and are not derived from any other grammatical category. The derived adjectives are those which are formed from nominal, verbal and other adjectival bases by adding certain suffixes. Examples are given below

Base	Suffix	Derived
<i>mal</i> `dirt'	-I	<i>mA:I</i> `dirty'
<i>gula:b</i> `rose'	-C'	<i>gulA:b'</i> `pink'
<i>dA:r</i> `beard'	-al	<i>da:r'al</i> `bearded'
<i>mazI</i> `taste'	-da:r	<i>mazIda:r</i> `tasty'
<i>madad</i> `help'	-ga:r	<i>madadga:r</i> `helpful'
<i>kI:math</i> `price'	-i:	<i>kI:mti:</i> `expensive'

Adjectives can be further divided into two classes (i) those which are inflected for number, gender and case of the noun they modify and (ii) those which are not. Examples of the first category of adjectives are given below along with their inflected forms:

n'u:l `blue

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg	Pl	Sg.	Pl.
Nom	n'u:l	ni:l'	ni:j	ni:ji
Dat	ni:lis	ni:len	ni:ji	ni:jan
Abl	ni:li	ni:l'av	ni:ji	ni:jav
Erg	ni:l'	ni:l'av	ni:ji	ni:jav
Examples:	n'u:l ko:Th	`blue coat'	ni:l' ko:Th	`blue coats'
	ni:j kAmi:z	`blue shirt'	ni:ji kAmi:zI	`blue shirts'

Other adjectives which fall under this category are: *v>zul* `red', *kruhun* black *ga:Tul* `wise', *tshoT* `short/dwarf', *z'u:Th* `tall' etc.

The adjectives like *sa:ph* `clean', *mA:lI* `dirty' *ja:n* `good', *da:na:* `wise' *sabIz* `green', *saphe:d* `white', etc, fall in the second category.

Examples:

sa:ph kamrI	`clean room'	sa:ph palav	`clean clothes'
sa:ph kursi:	`clean chair'	sa:ph kursiyi	`clean chairs'

Adjectives can either be qualitative or quantitative. The qualitative constitutes a large class. All the modifiers of quality like different colours (*v>zul* `red', *n'u:l* `blue', *saphe:d* `white' etc), personal qualities (*ca:la:kh* `clever', *da:na:* `wise' *buzdil* `coward' etc), physical qualities (*thod* `tall', *tshoT* `short', *v'oTh* `fat', *zA:v'ul* `slim' etc), qualities of taste (*modur* `sweet', *tsok* `sour', *T'oTh* `bitter'etc.) fall under this category.

The quantitative category includes the numerals (cardinals, ordinals, fractions, multiplicatives), intensifiers (*ke~h* `some', *sA:ri:* `all', *seTha:* `many/very', *kam* `little'), demonstrative adjectives (*yu:t* `this much', *t'u:t* `that much') etc.

3.2. Verb Morphology

Verbs are classified as intransitives, transitives, and causatives, with further subclassification such as statives and actives. There is also a special group of verbs that require their subject to be in the dative. Some of these dative verbs have a thematic argument, which is marked nominative.

3.2.1. Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs, stative or active, carry only one argument, namely the subject. The subject of most intransitives is marked with the nominative case across all tenses. A few exceptional intransitives like *natsun* `to dance', *vadun* `to cry': take ergative subjects in the past tense.

1. bI notsus/ me nots
I-nom danced-1/ I-erg dance
'I danced.'
2. tAm' vod
he-erg wept
'He wept.'

3.2.2. Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs may carry two or three arguments. The arguments may be subject, direct object, and

indirect object. In the past tense these verbs take ergative case invariably. The verbs which take only a direct object are known as monotonatives, and the verbs which take direct as well as indirect objects are called double or ditransitives. Examples are given below:

3. aslaman khev batI
Aslam-erg ate food
'Aslam ate food.'
4. aslaman d'ut mohnas akhba:r
Aslam-erg gave Mohan-dat newspaper
'Aslam gave a newspaper to Mohan.'

Certain transitive verbs may be derived from intransitive verbs by vowel changes:

Intransitive	Transitive
tar `cross'	ta:r `take across'
mar `die'	ma:r `kill'
gal `melt'	ga:l `melt'
Dal `move'	Da:l `move'

3.2.3. Dative verbs

Dative verbs form a special class, known as psychological predicates. The subject of these predicates is marked dative in all tenses and aspects. Some of these verbs may also take a second argument, and so called thematic object. This object is marked nominative. The class is mostly comprised of verbs of perception, knowledge, belief, mental and physical state, and verbs of desire etc.

3.2.4. Causative verbs

Causative verbs are formed from intransitive, transitive and di-transitive verbs by a productive process of suffixation. Two causative suffixes (i) -a:v/-Ina:v (called the first causative suffix) and (ii) -na:vIna:v (called second causative suffix) are added before the infinitive marker -un. All the vowel ending roots and a few consonant ending verb stems take -a:v as a first causal suffix, while all others take -Ina:v. Some vowel ending stems take any of the two suffixes. The second causative suffix -Ina:vIna:v is added to all the consonant ending verb stems directly, it is added after the first causal suffixes in the vowel ending stems.

Stem	Causative I	Causative II
khe `eat'	kh'a:v	kh'a:vIna:v/kh'a:vIna:vIna:v
he `buy'	h'a:v	h'a:vIna:v/h'a:vIna:vIna:v
di `give'	d'a:v	d'a:vIna:v/d'a:vIna:vIna:v
ni `take'	n'a:v	n'a:vIna:v/d'a:vIna:vIna:v
mItsar `open'	mItsIra:v	mItsIra:vIna:v
a:par `feed'	a:pra:v	a:pIra:vIna:v
par `read'	pa:rIna:v	pa:rIna:vIna:v

The process of causativization results in certain morphophonemic changes.

There are some verbs which have dual valency. They can be used either transitively or intransitively. Sometimes, the direct object can be dropped to render their corresponding intransitive usage. These verbs are: *parun* 'read, study (in school etc.)', *so:~cun* 'to think', *za:nun* 'to

understand’.

3.2.5. Inflection of Verbs

Verbs are inflected for voice, tense, aspect, mood and person-number-gender. They are briefly discussed below.

3.2.5.1. Voice

Traditionally there are two voices: Active and Passive. The passive formation involves changes not only in the verb form, but also changes in the subject case and addition of explicator/auxiliary verb. The passive involves following changes:

- (i) the subject of the active sentence is followed by the compound postposition *-Ini/Indi zAriyi* ‘by’ (*-Ini/Indi* are the forms of a genitive postposition followed by ablative case),
- (ii) the auxiliary/explicator verb *yun* ‘come’ is employed, and the passive marker *-nI* is added to the main verb root. The explicator receives the tense-aspect agreement endings. The former object is in the nominative and controls the agreement on *yun*.

Passive transitive sentences express both the personal passive as well as the capability meaning. The intransitive passive conveys only the capability meaning. Though agents can be dropped in both the constructions, it is more frequently done in the case of personal passive.

- 1. *kita:b a:yi nI pamI*
book came-fs neg read-pas
‘The book was not read.’
(or ‘The book couldn’t be read.)
- 2. *to:r a:v nI gatshnI*
there came neg go-pas
‘No one could go there.’

Only the direct object is sensitive to passivization and indirect objects cannot be passivized.

3.2.5.2. Tense

3.2.5.2.1. Present Tense

The present indicative tense is formed by using the present form of the auxiliary verb ‘be’ and the imperfective aspectual marker *-a:n*, added to the main verb stem. The auxiliary is placed in the second position and is inflected for number, gender, person and case as follows:

Nominative case

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st	chus	chi	chas	cha
2nd	chukh	chiv	chakh	chavI
3rd	chu	chi	cha	cha

Masculine plural forms of second and third person subjects are used for honorific singulars as well. In case the subject noun is in dative case, following forms of the auxiliary verb 'be' are used:

Dative case Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st/3rd	chu	chi	cha	cha
2nd(sg.)	chuy	chiy	chay	chay
2nd (pl/hon)	chuvI	chivI	chavI	chavI

Note that if the dative verb has a theme, then the verb shows agreement with the theme.

3.2.5.2.2. Past Tense

Morphologically past tense has three forms: proximate/simple, indefinite, and remote. The proximate past forms are derived by means of the infix -v/y. The indefinite and remote past are formed by adding the suffixes to the verb stem, noted in the second and third line respectively. The addition incurs certain morphophonemic changes in the verb stem.

Person		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st/3rd	I	-v	-yi	yi	-yi
	II	-yo:v	-e:yi	-e:yi	-e:yi
	III	-e:yo:v	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi
2nd (sg)		-yo:th	-e:yath	-e:yath	-e:yath
		-ye:yo:th	-e:yath	-e:yath	-e:yath
2nd (pl)		-yo:vI	-e:yvI	-e:yvI	-e:yvI
		-e:yo:vI	-e:ye:yvI	-e:ye:yvI	-e:ye:yvI

The paradigms of intransitive and transitive verbs in the past are different. Note that in the past, the subject of transitives and a few exceptional intransitives is marked ergative and the direct object, which may be animate or inanimate, takes nominative case.

Transitive verbs agree with the absolutive object in gender and number. In case the subject is first or third person, forms of the verbs agreeing with the object in gender and number are given as per the following examples:

Verb		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
par	`read'	por	pAr'	pAr	pari
chal	`wash'	chol	chAl'	chAj	chaji
an	`bring'	on	An'	An'	ani
khe	`eat'	khev	kheyi	kheyi	kheyi
ni	`take'	n'uv	niyi	niyi	niyi

In Kashmiri the second person is a highly marked category. The verb obligatorily inflects for second person pronominal suffixes irrespective of the category of the second person. In the past tense the second person ergative subject marks the verb with -th/ov (sg/pl), in contrast to first and third person. These second person suffixes of the subject follow the gender number suffixes of the absolutive object. The following personal suffixes are added to the above given inflected forms (i.e.1st/3rd person forms) for deriving the second person singular forms.

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
(i)	-uth	-ith	-lth	-yath
(ii)	-o:th	-yath	-yath	-yath

The suffixes in (i) are added to the consonant ending verb forms and those in (ii) are added to the vowel ending verb forms.

Verb forms of the second person

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
poruth	pArith	pArIth	par'ath
choluth	chAlith	chAjith	chajath
onuth	Anith	Anith	an'ath
kh'o:th	kheyath	kheyath	kheyath
n'u:th	niyath	niyath	niyath

The suffix -vI is added to the inflected forms given above for the 1st/3rd person forms for the second person plural subjects. These forms are used for honorific singulars as well

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
porvI	pArivI	pArIvI	parivI
cholvI	chAlivI	chAjivI	chajivI
onvI	AnivI	AnivI	anivI
kh'o:vI	kheyvI	kheyivI	kheyIvI
n'uvI	niyvI	niyvI	niyivi

Most intransitive verbs, with few exceptions noted below, agree in person, gender and number with the subject, which is in the nominative case. Some intransitives undergo transitive type morphophonemic changes others do not change. The forms of the intransitive verbs used with the first person subject are given below:

Verb	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
gatsh `go'	go:s	gAyi	gAyas	gAyi
yi `come'	a:s	a:yi	a:yas	a:yi
pak `walk'	pokus	pAk'	pAcis	paci
vas `descend'	vothus	vAth'	vAtshIs	vatshI
khas `climb'	khotus	khAt'	khAtsIs	khatsI

In case the subject is second person non honorific singular, following suffixes are added to the verb stems

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
	-kh	-ivI	-akh	-ivI
Examples:	go:kh	gAyivI	gAyakh	gAyivI

a:kh	a:yIvI	a:yakh	a:yivI
pokukh	pAkivI	pAcIkh	pacivI
vothukh	vAthivI	vAtshIkh	vatshIvI
khotukh	khAtivI	khAtsIkh	khatsIvI

The exceptional intransitives like *asun* 'to laugh', *natsun* 'to dance' and *vadun* 'weep', mark their subject in ergative case and show neutral agreement. The forms are as follows

Person	Verb	Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st/3 rd	<i>asun</i>	os	os	os	os
2 nd		osuth	osIvI	osuth	osIvI
1st/3 rd	<i>vadun</i>	vod	vod	vod	vod
2 nd		voduth	vodIvI	voduth	voduvI
1st/3 rd	<i>natsun</i>	nots	nots	nots	nots
2 nd		notsuth	notsIvI	notsuth	notsIvI

Remote past

Morphologically, past tense is subclassified according to the degree of remoteness also. There are two degrees of remoteness: Remote I and Remote II. They are indicated by adding the following suffixes to the verb roots agreeing with the object in gender and number, and with the subject in the second person as shown below. Adding of the above suffixes result in different morphophonemic changes. Examples of their use are given below

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1/3	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
2sg	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
2pl	par'o:vI	pare:yvI	pare:yvI	pare:yvI
	pare:yo:vI	pare:ye:yvI	pare:ye:yvI	pare:ye:yvI
	niyo:vI	niye:yvI	niye:yvI	niye:yvI
	niye:yo:vI	niye:yvI	niye:yvI	niye:yvI

Notice that Remote II forms are different for masculine singulars only in the case of certain verbs. The following suffixes are added to the intransitive verbs in the simple past for deriving their remote forms.

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st	-yo:s	-e:yi	-e:yas	-e:yi
	-e:yo:s	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yas	-e:ye:yi
2 nd	-yo:kh	-e:yvI	-e:yakh	-e:yvI
	-ye:yo:kh	-e:yvI	-e:yakh	-e:yvI
3 rd	-yo:v	-e:yi	-e:yi	-e:yi
	-e:yo:v	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi

3.2.5.2.3. Future tense

The future tense is formed by adding two types of suffixes: (i) agreeing with the subject in person and number, and (ii) agreeing with the subject in person and number and with the object in number. The gender distinctions are absent in both types. The first type of future is formed by adding the following suffixes to consonant ending verb stems agreeing with the subject in number and person.

Person	Singular	Plura
1st	-I	-a
2nd	-akh	-I
3rd	-i	-an

The following suffixes are added to the vowel ending verb stems:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-mI	-mav
2nd	-kh	-yi
3rd	-yi	-n

The second type of suffixes indicate the person and number of the subject as well as the number of the object.

Person		Singular	Plural
1st	sg	-an	-akh
1st	pl	-lho:n	-lho:kh
2nd	sg	-lhA:n	-lhA:kh
2nd	pl	-ihu:n	-ihu:kh
3rd	sg	-yas	-yakh
3rd	pl	-Inas	-Inakh

Since the subject noun can be indicated by the suffixes, it can be optionally dropped. In that case the word order of the sentence undergoes a change as exemplified below.

1. tsI parakh dAh kita:bI > dAh kita:bI parakh
 you read-fu ten book
 `You will read ten books.

2. tsI vuchakh philim > philim vuchakh
 you see-fu fil
 `You will watch a movie.'

Future tense is used to indicate not only future time but all probability. Morphologically, future is neither subdivided according to the degree in remoteness nor does it have any modal or aspectual value. The future perfect is formed by using the past participial form of the main verb and the future form of the auxiliary verb `be'.

3.2.5.3. Aspect

3.2.5.3.1. Perfective

The perfective aspect is formed by the use of auxiliary verbs and by adding the following suffixes to the past inflected forms of the main verb stems agreeing with the object in gender and number in case of transitive verbs, and with the subject in case of intransitive verbs

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
-mut	-mIt'	-mIts	-matsI

The perfective aspect occurs in three tenses: present perfect, past perfect and future perfect, marked by present, past and future copular forms respectively. The present, past and future forms of the copular verb in the ergative case are as follows:

Present tense

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
1st/3rd	chu	chi	cha	cha
2nd sg	chuth	chith	chath	chath
2nd pl	chuvI	chivI	chavI	chavI

Past tense

Person	Masculine		Feminin	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
1st/3rd	o:s	A:s'	A:s	a:sI
2nd sg	o:suth	A:sith	A:sIth	a:sath
2nd pl	o:sIvI	A:sivI	A:sIvI	a:sIvI

Future tense

Person	Masculine		Feminin	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
1st/3rd	a:si	a:san	a:si	a:san
2nd sg	a:seth	a:snath	a:seth	a:snath
2nd pl	a:sivI	a:sInav	a:sivI	a:sInav

The subject noun/pronoun is used in ergative case. The perfective aspect can be used in the present, past and future reference. Perfective can be used to indicate the situation which has taken place previously leading to the present. Perfective can be used to indicate the result of a past situation.

3.2.5.3.2. Imperfective

The imperfective aspect marker -a:n is added to the main verb stems and the auxiliary verb is inflected for tense, gender, number, person and case. The imperfective aspect reflects progressive present, universal a habitual act. Stative verbs can also be used in the imperfective aspect.

3.2.5.3.3. Progressive

The progressive aspect is expressed by the aspect marker -a:n added to main verb stem. The auxiliary verb is inflected by the tense, gender, number, person and case markers. Notice that the aspect markers for progressive and imperfect aspect are identical.

1. aslam chu kita:b para:n
Aslam is book read-p
'Aslam is reading a book'.

The progressive aspect is used with active verbs alone. Stative verbs are not used in the progressive aspect. Kashmiri makes a distinction between regular and intermittent habituality (frequentatives). Frequentatives are expressed by compound verb constructions involving perfective or imperfective aspect

Main verb Explicator

stem + imperfect -a:n a:s 'be' + imperfect -a: s

2. s> cha asa:n a:sa:n
she is laugh-imp be-i
'She laugh frequently'.

There are no special aspect markers to express simultaneous aspect. It is expressed by using participial forms as adverbs of the matrix verb. The participial forms are duplicated

3. aslam chu asa:n asa:n kathI kara:n
Aslam is laugh-pr laugh-pr talk do-pr
'Aslam talks smiling'.

The aspectual system is subject to certain formal and grammatical constraints. The aspectual imperfective/progressive markers are suffixed to the verb stems. The copular verb 'be' is inflected for tense, person, gender and number. The inflected forms of perfective are derived as a result of adding perfective 0 marker to the verb stems. Wherever main verbs and explicators are used, there are co-restrictions on their use. There are other restrictions on grammatical and semantic grounds on the combinations of various aspectual combinations. For example the following combinations will result in ungrammatical sentences:

Habitual + completive, Completive + iterative, Progressive + stative verbs, Durative + iterative etc.

3.2.5.4. *Mood*

Mood is associated with the manner of action indicated by the verb. Moods can be expressed by means of modal verbs and /or auxiliaries. There is no special marking for the indicative mood. It is obligatorily present in simple declarative sentences. It contrasts with other moods such as imperative, and conditional, which are overtly marked.

3.2.5.4.1. Conditional

The conditional markers are added to the auxiliary stem a:s 'be'. In the absence of the auxiliary they are added to the main verb. The markers are used along with the aspectual forms of main verbs. The conditional markers are as follows agreeing with the subject in person and number in case of subjunctive constructions using intransitive verbs, and also with the object in objective constructions using transitive verbs (Koul 1977:37):

Person	Subjectival		Objectiva	
	sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st	-lhA:	-lhA:v	-ihe:	-lhA:v
2nd	-lhA:kh	-lhI:v	-ihe:th	-ihe:v
3rd	-ihe:	-lhA:n	-ihe:	-lhA:n

Conditional with the auxiliary a:s `be':

1. bI a:sIhA: go:mut
I be-con go-pas
'I would have gone'.

Conditional without the auxiliari

2. bI parIhA: kita:b magar me miiġ nI
read-con book but I-dat get-fs neg
'I would have read the book but I couldn't get it'.

but Notice that conditional imperfect/perfect/progressive sentences can be formed without adding the conditional markers to the copular verb, but the sentences become ambiguous between the conditional and the future meaning.

3. su a:si kita:b le:kha:n
he be-con book write-im
'He may be writing a book'
'He will be writing a book'.

3.2.6. Non-finite verb forms

The non finite verb forms are of two types: infinitives and participles.

3.2.6.1. Infinitive

Infinitives are derived by means of the marker UN added to the verb stem. The stems ending in vowels undergo certain morpho phonemic changes. The infinitive marker agrees with the gender and number of intransitive subjects and transitive objects just in case they are in the nominative case. The infinitive does not agree with the oblique arguments. The forms of the marker are as follows:

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	P
	-un	-In'	-In'	-Ini
Examples:				
par-	parun	parIn'	parIn'	parIni
vuch-	vuchun	vuchIn'	vuchIn'	vuchIni
di-	d'un	din'	din'	dini
pe-	p'on	pen'	pen'	peni

3.2.6.2. Participles

3.2.6.2.1. Present Participle

The present participle is marked by the suffix a:n added to the verb stem. A glide v is inserted if the stem ends in a vowel. The participle does not inflect for gender and number. These markers are carried by the auxiliary which always accompanies the participle in the root clause.

le:kh + a:n = le:kha:n
 ce + va:n + ceva:n

3.2.6.2.2. Perfect Participle

The perfect participle is marked by the suffix mut. It is used to form present, past and future perfect forms of the verb. The marker agrees with the intransitive nominative subject, and with the nominative transitive direct object. The forms of the marker are as follows

	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
	-mut	-mIt'	-mIts	-matsI
Examples:				
	pormut	pAr'mIt'	pArmIts	parimatsI
	l'ukhmut	ki:kh'mIt'	li:chmIts	le:chimatsI
	du'tmut	dit'mIt'	ditsmIts	ditsImatsI
	co:mut	cemIt'	cemIts	cemItsI

3.2.6.2.3. Conjunctive Participle

The conjunctive takes the suffix ith. The suffix stays invariant, unlike the past participle and the infinitive. The negative conjunctive participle is formed by the negative suffix nay 'not/without'

1. tAm'ceyi ca:y akhba:r pArith
 he-erg drank tea newspaper read-ptc
 'He drank tea after reading the newspaper'.

The conjunctive participle functions as an adverbial clause and is used to express an act that precedes the main clause act. It should be noted here that the non-finite verbal forms are not sensitive to tense, voice, aspect and mood. The past and present participial forms maintain their aspectual reference.

3.3. Adverbs

Adverbs may be classified into various subgroups: (a) basic adverbs, (b) derived adverbs, (c) phrasal adverbs, (d) reduplicated adverbs, and (e) particles.

The basic adverbs are either pure adverbs like az 'today', hame:shI 'always' or noun/adjective adverbs. Derived adverbs such as locatives and directional, are formed by adding certain adverbial suffixes to the base form of the demonstrative, relative, correlative, and interrogative pronouns.

The locative adverbs are marked by suffixes such as -ti/-ten/-tinas : yeti/yeten/yetinas 'here', hoti/hoten/hotinas 'there', tati/taten/tatinas 'there', kati/katen/katinas 'where'. The directional adverbs are marked by the suffix -pA:r': yepA:r' 'in this direction', hopA:r' 'in that direction' (remote I), tapAr' 'in that direction' (remote II), kapA:r' 'in which direction'. The manner adverbs are formed by adding the suffixes -thIkIn'/-pA:Th': yithIkIn'/yithIpA:Th' 'in this manner'

huthIkIn/huthIpATh' `in that manner' (Remote I),
 tithIkIn/tithIpA:Th`in that manner' (Remote II)
 kithIkIn,kithIpA:Th' in which manner'.

The phrasal adverbs are formed by adding a simple or a compound postposition to a noun, as follows

1. ---tre yi retI patI--
 three-obl month-obl after
 `---after three months---
2. ---parnI bro~h--
 read-inf-obl before
 `---before reading---
3. ---duka:nas patI kani--
 sh p-dat back side
 `---in the backside of the shop---

The adverbs are reduplicated for showing the intensity and distribution as follows: *te:z te:z* `fast', *va:rI va:rI* `slow', *kot kot* `where', *kar kar* `when', *kuni kuni* `sometimes' etc. The reduplicated adverbs may be separated by the negative particles *natI* as in the phrases *kuni natI kuni vizi* `sometime or other'. This category of adverbials express indefiniteness. The emphatic particle *-Iy (yo:t)* can occur with an adverb or a noun to render adverbial reading : *vakhItIy yo:t* `only/merely time', *aslamIy yo:t'* `only Aslam' etc

Various overt cases and postpositions such as dative, locative, ablative and instrumental are employed with a noun to render adverbial reading. For example, *sublhas* `in the morning', *de:va:ras peTh* `on the wall', *gari peThI* `from the house', *shra:pci sI:t'* `with the knife' etc.

Adverbs may also be grouped by their functional use :

- (a) adverbs of time/duration: *az* `today', *ra:th* `yesterday' *sublhan* `in the morning' etc.,
- (b) adverbs of place or direction: *andar* `in/inside', *nebar* `out/outside',
- (c) adverbs of manner: *a:sA:ni sa:n* `easily', *va:rI va:rI* `slowly', etc.,
- (d) adverbs of reason: *gAri:bi kin* `for the reason of poverty', *kamzu:ri kin* `for the reason of weakness',
- (e) adverbs of instrument: *kalmI sI:t'* `with pen', *shra:pci sI:t'* `with knife' etc.,
- (f) adverbs of purpose: *parnI khA:trI* `for reading', *ka:mi khA:trI* `for work',
- (g) comitative adverbs: *X -as sIt'* `with/ in the company of X', and
- (h) adverbs of degree/intensity: *seTha:* `very', *kA:phi:* `enough', *kha:l ka:Nh* `hardly any' *lagbag* `approximately'

Note that adverbs may be placed in preverbal or postverbal position in a simple clause. They are always optional and do not occupy any fixed position.

4. Syntax

In this section various phrases and sentence types are described. Phrases are described as constituents of different sentences.

4.1. Phrases

There are four major types of phrases in Kashmiri: (a) noun phrase, (b) adjective phrase, (c) adverb phrase, and (d) postpositional phrase. The structure of these phrases is described below.

4.1.1. Noun phrases

A simple noun phrase may consist of a noun, pronoun, or a nonfinite sentential clause. The complex may consist of relative clauses or complex noun phrases. A noun phrase may function as subject, object, or indirect object. It also occurs as a complement of a postposition or as a predicate nominal of a copula. There are no articles in Kashmiri. However, a demonstrative pronoun does at times function as a definite article. There is also an indefinite article suffix a:/a:h. A noun phrase is modified by an adjective, or a relative clause. Some examples have been given below.

Definite

hu lADkI
that boy

Indefinite

akh lADka:h
one boy-indef
some boy

Adjective plus noun

nAv kita:b
new book

Relative clause plus noun

yus ko:Th tse h'otuth su
rel coat you-erg bought that
the coat which you bought

4.1.2. Adjective phrases

An adjective phrase is part of a noun phrase. The adjective phrase may consist of an adjective itself or may expand as a relative clause.

1. yi bAD kita:b
this big book
2. hum tre bAD' me:z
those three big tables
3. y>s kita:b tami An' s>
that book she-er me-dat brought-fs that-fs
'the book which she brought'

Adjectives may be modified by adverbs.

4. yi chu seTha: boD kul
this is very big tree
'This is a very big tree'.

4.1.3. Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases may consist of simple or derived adverbs, postpositional phrases, or a string of adverbs as exemplified below.

5. shur chu te:z do:ra:n
child is fast run-pr
'The child runs very fast'.
6. su chu seTha: zo:rI zo:rI kathI kara:n
'He talks very loudly'.

4.1.4. Postpositional phrase

A postpositional phrase consists of a noun phrase followed by a postposition. Postpositions can be divided into three types: postpositions that require a dative case on their noun phrase, postpositions that require an ablative case, and those that require no case. Postpositional phrases usually function as adverbs.

7. kita:b cha me:zas peTh
book is table-dat on
'The book is on the table'.
8. tavliya: cha ba:ITi:nas manz
towel is bucket-dat in
'The towel is in the bucket'.
9. me An' nAv' palav shuren kith'
I brought new clothes children-dat for
'I brought new clothes for children'.
10. su a:v gari peThI
he came home-abl from
'He came from his home'.

It is worth noting here that certain postpositions such as a:snay, varA:y, badII 'without/instead' modify verbs and infinitives.

11. su chu shra:n karInay daphtar gatsha:n
he is bath do-without office go-pr
'He goes to office without taking his bath'.
12. su a:v va:pas ciTh' ha:vInay
he came back letter show -without
'He came back without showing the letter.'

4.2. Sentence Types

This section describes simple, complex and compound sentence types. Major simple sentence types are: copular, declarative, imperative, and interrogative. The complex constructions involve subordinate

clause(s). The formation of compound sentence is only through coordination

4.2.1. Simple Constructions

4.2.1.1..Copular sentences

The verb a:sun 'to be' is employed in the copular sentences. The copula may take a predicate noun, predicate adjective, or a predicate adverb as a complement. Examples:

1. su chu Da:kTar
he is doctor
'He is a doctor'
2. s> cha zi:Th
she is tall
'She is tall'.
3. tAm'sInz a:va:z cha mAdIr
his/her voice is sweet
'His/Her voice is sweet'.

The copular verb is obligatorily retained in both affirmative as well as negative sentences. In the case of coordinate structures, it is optionally deleted under identity

4. mohnI chu vaki:l / * mohnI vaki:l
Mohan is lawyer
'Mohan is a lawyer'.
5. aslam chu nI Da:kTar / * aslam nI Da:kTar
Aslam is not doctor
'Aslam is not a doctor'.
6. aslam tI mohnI chi Da:kTar
'Aslam and Mohan are doctors'.
- 6a. aslam chu Da:kTar tI mohnI ti
Aslam is doctor and Mohan also
'Aslam is a doctor and so is Mohan'.
- 6b. na chu aslam vAki:l tI na mohnI
not is Aslam lawyer and not Mohan
'Neither Aslam nor Mohan are lawyers'.

The copula is used for universal truths, existence, definition, identity etc.

7. kh>da: chu
God is
'God exists'.
8. nAsi:b chu panun panun
luck is self self

‘One is born with his/her own luck’.

9. poz chu paza:n
 truth is revealed
 ‘The truth (eventually) comes out.’ or ‘The truth cannot be hidden’.

The copula verb always takes a complement. In the sentence (7) the complement does not appear at the surface and is understood as poz ‘true’, mu:ju:d ‘present’ prath ja:yi ‘every where’ etc.

The copula is also used as a member in the compound verb sequence a:s ‘be’ + khasun/gatshun/sapdun ‘climb/go/become’ which renders the meaning of ‘to become’.

10. azkal chu siriya jalId khasa:n
 nowadays is sun quick climb-indef
 ‘The sun rises early in the morning these days’.
11. d>h kh>tI d>h chu gatsha:n vakhIt kru:Th
 day more day is go-ing time difficult
 ‘The time is becoming difficult day by day’.
12. azkal cha sapda:n suli: anigaTI
 nowadays is becoming early dark
 ‘It becomes dark early (in the evening) these days.’

4.2.1.2 .Declarative Sentences

In declaratives the finite predicate (auxiliary or a verb) occupies the second position. The first position is usually occupied by a subject but it may also be occupied by other constituents of the sentence best known as topic in a V-2 language.

1. aslaman dits kita:b mohnas ra:mInI khA:trI
 Aslam-erg gave-fs book Mohan-dat Ram-dat for ra:th gari yesterday home-abl
 ‘Aslam gave Mohan a book for Ram yesterday at home’.
- 1a. mohanas dits aslaman kita:b ra:mInI khA:trI ra:th gari
1b. ra:th dits aslaman gari kita:b mohnas ra:mInI khA:trI
1c. gari dits aslaman ra:th mohanas kita:b ra:mInI khA:trI

The constituents following the predicate show a considerable freedom of movement Declarative sentences can be grouped into three categories on the basis of the classification of verbs: intransitive, transitive, and dative. The subjects may be realized as agents, experiencers (i.e., dative subjects), themes (i.e., passive subjects) or expletive forms. The subjects of most transitives and a few intransitives are marked ergative in the past tense. The subjects are marked dative in the context of a dative predicate. All other subjects are marked nominative.

2. mohnI a:v ra:th
 Mohan came yesterday
 ‘Mohan came yesterday.’
3. mohnan d'ut nAsi:mas kalam
 Mohan-erg gave Nasim-dat pen
 ‘Mohan gave a pen to Nasim.’

4. me a:kh tsI pasand
I-dat came you-nom like
'I liked you'.
5. palav a:yi ni mi:nIni zAriyi chalnI
clothers came-pass neg Meena by wash-in
'The clothes were not washed by Meena'.
6. kita:b pArIm
book read- Is
'I read a book.'
- 7.. kita:b ditsnas
book gave-3sg-3s
'He gave her/him a book.'

Note that a few intransitives such as *asun* 'to laugh', *vadun* 'to weep', *laDun* 'to quarrel' take ergative subjects in the past tense (for details of their forms see Koul 1977:43-44)

8. me/asi/tAm'/tami/timav os/vod/loD
I/we/he/she/they-er laughed/wept/quarreled
'I/we/he/she/they laughed/wept/quarreled'.
9. tse osuth/voduth/loDuth
you-s-er laughed/wept/quarreled
10. t>hi osuvI/vodIvI/loDIvI
you-p-erlaughed/wept/quarreled

The intransitive verb *natsun* 'to dance' takes ergative as well as nominative subject

11. bI notsus
I-Nom danced-1
- 11a. As' nAts'
we-Nom dance
- 11b. me/asi/tAm'/tami nots

I/we/he/she-er danced
'I/we/he/she danced.'

The transitive direct object may also be overt or 'pro' form. In the perfective the direct object is marked with *nomi* native case. In the nonperfective the case of the pronominal direct object is decided by person hierarchy.

12. sAli:man roTus bI
Salim-erg caught me-ab
'Salim caught me'.

Perfective 'pro' object

13. sAliman roTus
Salim-erg caught-1sg
'Salim caught me'.

Direct object in the nominative.

14. bI chusath tsI parIna:va:n
I am you teach-pr
'I am teaching you/him'.

- 14a. parIna:va:n chusath

15. bI chusan su parIna:va:n
I am he teach-pr
'I am teaching him'.

- 15a. parIna:va:n chusan

16. tsI chuhan su parIna:va:n
you are he teach-pr
'You are teaching him'.

- 16a. parIna:va:n chuhan

Direct object in the dative

17. su chu me parIna:va:n
he is me teach-pr
'He is teaching me'.

- 17a. parIna:va:n chum

18. su chu tAmis parIna:va:n
he is him-dat teach-pr
'He is teaching him/her'.

- 18a. parIna:va:n chus

The indirect object is always marked dative. The verb inflects for first and third person only if the pronouns are not overtly present. The verb obligatorily inflects for the second person pronoun, which may be optionally deleted.

19. tAm' d'ut me /tAmis akhba:r
he-erg gave me-dat/him-dat newspaper
'He gave me/him a newspaper.'

- 19a. akhba:r d'utnam/d'utnas
newspaper gave-3sgps-1sgps/gave-3sgps-3sgp
'He gave me/him a newspaper.'

It is worth mentioning here that weather expressions in Kashmiri fall into two categories. The first type does not have any expletive subject as in

20. ru:d p'av
rain fel
'Rain fell'.

The second type carries the third person singular pronominal suffix on the verb.

Regular weather expression alternative for

21. obur khot
clouds rose
'It has clouded over'.
- 21a. obur khoru-n
clouds rose-3s
'X has raised the clouds.'

Note that the third singular suffix n is also found in some other expressions such as natural processes, natural forces, expressions of health etc. (See Hook and Koul 1987 for details).

4.2.1.3. Imperative Sentences

The basic imperative is expressed in the unmarked form. There is also a polite form known as precative. Both the forms inflect for number. The plural forms are used to express honorific status. The unmarked form is expressed by the verb stem itself.

Verb stem	Addressee	
	Singular	Plural/Honorific
par 'read'	par	pAriv
an 'bring'	an	Aniv
di 'give'	di	diyiv
khe 'eat'	khe	kheyiv

1. ciTh' par/pAriv
letter read/read-hon
'Read the letter'.
2. shuris di/diyiv miThA:y
child-dat give sweets
'Give sweets to the child'.

In the above examples the imperative is preceded by a topic element. The verb may stand alone if it is flanked by pronominal objects. The presence of the pronominal objects is indicated by the pronominal suffixes.

Subject	Object(dative)			
	Ist person		3 rd person	
2nd person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Singular	-um	-	-us	-ukh

1. mohnan li:cha: ciTh'?'
Mohan-erg wrote-Q letter
'Did Mohan write a letter?'

Kashmiri maintains its verb second order in yes-no questions, provided k'a: is not counted as the first element. Most V-2 languages do not allow verb second order in such constructions.

2. (k'a:) tsI le:khIkha: az ciTh'
you write-fut today letter
'Will you write the letter today?'

The negative marker precedes the question marker.

3. tsI yikh na: paga:h daphtar?
you come-fut neg-Q tomorrow office
'Won't you come to office tomorrow?'

The prohibitive imperative marker *mI* is placed in the pre-verbal position and is attached with the question marker *a:*.

4. tsI mI gatsh paga:h ba:zar
you neg-Q go-fut tomorrow marker
'Don't go to the market tomorrow.'
- 4a. tsI ma: gatshakh paga:h ba:zar
you neg-Q go-fut tomorrow marker
'Are you going to go to the market tomorrow?'
- 5a. tsI ne:rakh nI az
you leave-fut not today
'You will not leave today.'
- 5b. (k'a:) tsI ne:rakh na: az?
Q you leave-fut not-Q today
'Won't you leave today.'?
- 6a. tsI mI ne:r az
you not leave-fut today
'Don't leave today.'
- 6b. (k'a:) tsI ma: ne:rakh az?
(Q) you neg-Q leave-fut today
'Aren't you leaving today?'

Leading questions are followed by a negative tag if the expected answer is positive. If the expected answer is negative, the main statement is expressed in the negative form and the tag takes the positive shape.

7. az cha garmi:, cha na:
today is hot is neg-Q

`It is hot today. isn't it'?

- 7a. a: , az cha garmi:
yes today is hot
`Yes, it is hot today'.
8. az cha nI garmi:, cha:?
today is neg hot is-Q
`It is not hot today, is it'?
- 8a. na. az cha nI (garmi:)
no today is not
`No, it is not (hot).

In alternative questions, a special marker *kinI* is placed between the alternative elements, and the verb is suffixed with *a:*.

9. tsI yikha: az kinI paga:h?
you come-fut-Q today or tomorrow
`Will you come today or tomorrow'?
10. tsI gatshkha: daphtar kinI na?
you go-fut-Q office or neg
`Will you go office or not'?

Alternative questions can be used in the finite subordinate clauses which result in the placement of the verb at the end of the clause.

11. me chu nI pata: (zi/ki) su ceya: d>d ya: na
I be not know that he drink-fut-Q milk or not
`I don't know whether he will take milk (or not)'?

In question word questions, the question words such as *kus*, *k'a:*, *k'a:zi* 'who, what, why' are placed immediately before the finite predicate. Question words may be immediately preceded by a subject or other sentence constituents. Note that no constituent can be placed between a question word and the predicate/verb. The question word may be preceded by one constituent only. All the constituents of a sentence may be questioned:

12. mohnan kAmis li:ch ciTh' ra:th daphtaras manz?
Mohan-erg who-dat wrote letter yesterday office-dat in
`Who did mohan write a letter in the office yesterday'?
- 12a. kAm' li:ch ciTh' ra:th daphtaras manz?
who-erg wrote letter yesterday office in
`Who wrote a letter yesterday in the office'?

In order to question more than one constituent two types of strategies are employed. In the first type all the question words are moved before the finite predicate.

13. mohnan kAmis k'a: d'ut ba:gas manz?
Mohan-erg who-dat what gave garden-dat in

- 13a. kAm' kAmis k'a: d'ut ba:gas manz?
 who-erg who-dat what gave garden-dat in

In the second type the question words may be left in - situ. However, it is obligatory to move at least one question word before the finite predicate:

14. kAm' kAmis k'a: dits ba:gas manz?
 who-erg who-dat what gave garden-dat in
 `Who gave what to whom in the garden?

Multiple reduplicated question words are used in the distributive sense. These follow the single word question word question pattern. The paired elements are always treated as a single unit

15. doyimi vAriyi kus kus yiyi yo:r?
 next year-abl who who come-fut here
 `Next year who will come here?'
16. mohnan k'a: k'a: h'ot shuren hIndi khA:trI
 Mohan-erg what what bought children for
 `What are the items Mohan bought for his children?'
17. dili k>s k>s ja:y vuchivI t>hi?
 Delhi-abl which which place saw you-erg
 `Which places did you see in Delhi?'

4.2.1.5. Minor sentence types

Apart from the above mentioned four types of simple sentences there are some minor sentence constructions may be of exclamatory, vocative, and interjection types. Exclamatory sentences are marked by strong intonation or are preceded by exclamatory question words as exemplified below

1. az ko:ta:h ja:n d>h chu !
 today how good day is
 `What a pleasant day it is!'
2. kA:tsa:h shAri:ph ku:r !
 how'fs gentle girl
 `What a gentle girl!'
3. va:h k'a: bA:th !
 Oh what song
 `What a song it is!'

Vocative expressions consist of address terms as follows:

4. hayo: nazi:ra:!
 Oh-msg Nazir-voc
 `O Nazir!'
5. haye: ku:ri:!

oh-fsh girl-voc
'O girl!'

4. he: do:sta:/ba:ya:/bA:y sA:ba:/Ta:Th'a:
oh-msg friend/brother/brother-hon/dearone
'O friend/brother/dearone!'

Interjections are usually one word emotive utterances, which express surprise, delight etc. The expressions are: *ah, aha:, oh, sha:ba:sh, va:h, va:h* etc.

4. 2. 2. Complex and Compound Constructions

4. 2.2.1. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences are formed with the help of one or more subordinate clauses which may be either finite or non-finite. The finite and the non-finite subordinate clauses are described below. Some of the complex constructions involving relative and adverbial clauses are also discussed.

Finite subordinate clauses are linked to the main clause by the subordinator *zi/ki* which follows the main verb. The word order in the finite subordinate clause follows the root clause V 2 pattern.

1. me chu pata: ki/zi tAm' h'ot nov ko:Th ba:zrI
I-dat is knowledge that he-erg bought new coat market
'I know that he bought a new coat in the market.'
- 1a. me chu pata: ki/zi ba:zrI h'ot tAm' nov ko:Th
I-dat is knowledge that market-dat bought he new coat
'I know that he bought a new coat in the market.'

The elements of the subordinate may not be moved to the main clause.

- 1b. * me chu pata: tAm' ki/zi h'ot ba:zrI nov ko:Th
1c. * me chu pata: tAm' ki/zi ba:zrI h'ot nov ko:Th.

Finite subordinate clauses may be subjects, objects, or complements of predicates.

Nonfinite subordinate clauses as in the infinitive also function as subjects and objects. The infinitive is inflected for gender, number, and case and is placed in the final position. Infinitival object complements omit the subject of the embedded clause, which is the same as the matrix subject

2. bI chus yatsh:m mohnas samkhun
I am want-pres Mohan-dat meet-in
'I want to see Mohan.'

The subject is marked possessive just in case the infinitive is nominalized.

3. tAm'sund dili gatshun chu mumkin.
his Delhi go-inf is possible
'His going to Delhi is possible.'

Question words in the infinitives and nonfinites in general have a scope over the entire sentence

and form a direct question. All overt elements of the infinitival clause may be questioned

4. kAmis gAyi sAli:mas kita:b din' mAshith?
who-dat did Salim-dat book give-inf forgot-past ptcpl
- 4a. sAli:mas kAmis gAyi kita:b din' mAshith
Salim-dat who-dat was book give-inf forget-past ptcpl
'Who did Salim forget to give the book?'

4.2.2.2. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses may be finite or nonfinite. Finite clauses may be correlative or headed type. They are marked by the relative pronoun yus, and correlative form su which decline for gender, number and case and show different forms for animate and inanimate nouns.

1. y>s ku:r dili cha ro:za:n s> cha zA:vij
rel girl Delhi-abl is live-prp cor is slim
'The girl who lives in Delhi is slim.'
2. dili (manz) ro:zan va:jen' ku:r cha zA:vij
Delhi-dat in live-inf girl is very slim
'The girl who lives in Delhi is very slim.'

In the correlative the matrix clause follows the relative clause. The head noun usually follows the relative clause but it may also occupy other positions as shown below

- 3a. y>s ku:r tse pasand chay s> ku:r cha me ti pasand
rel girl you-dat like is cor girl is me too like
- 3b. [y>s ku:r tse pasand chay] me ti cha s> ku:r pasand
rel girl you like is me also is she girl like
'The girl who you like, I like her too.'

In the headed relative the head noun immediately precedes the relative clause. In both the correlative and the headed clause, pronouns may be followed by a full lexical noun as exemplified below.

4. s> ku:r [y>s tse pasand chay] cha me ti pasand
cor girl rel you-to like is is me-to also like
'The girl who you like, I like her too.'
- 4a. [y>s ku:r tse pasand chay] s> cha me ti pasand
rel girl you-dat like is cor girl is me too like

All the constituents of a sentence can be relativized in both headed and correlative type relative clauses. In the nonfinite relative clause, the verb is marked with the present participle vun or the past participle mut. Both the participles inflect for gender and number. The non-finite form can be used only for subjects.

Present Participle

Past Participle

	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	-vun	-vIn'	-mut	-mIts
Plural	-vIn'	-vIni'	-mIt'	-mItsi

9. vuphIvun ka:v
fly-prp crow
'The crow which is flying.'
10. pashas peTh khotmut naphar
roof-dat on climb-ppsp person
'The person who climbed the roof.'

An agentive suffix vo:l is used to form nouns of agency. The suffix varies with gender and number as follows

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
vo:l	vA:l'	va:jen	va:jini

11. [jemi ro:zan vo:l] lADkI chu m'o:n do:s
Jammu-abl live-ptcp-msg boy is my friend
'The boy who lives in jammu is my friend.'

4.2.2.3...Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses may be finite or non-finite. Finite adverbial clauses may be placed before or after the main clause. The adverbial clause places the verb in the final position. The main clause maintains the verb second order. Finite adverbial clauses of time are marked with relative clause time markers

yeli	teli	'when---then'
yeli yeli	teli teli	'whenever'
yanI peThI	tanI peThI	'since'
ya:n'	ta:n'	'as soon as'
yuthuy	tithuy	'as soon as---that very time'
yota:m	tota:m	'as long as'
yami sa:tI	tami sa:tI	'the moment'

1. yeli bI chus gatsha:n teli chu su ti gatsha:n
when I am go-prs then is he too go-pres
'When I go, (then) he goes too.'
2. yenI su yor a:v tanI chi As' yikIvaTI kA:m kara:n
since he here came from are we together work doing
'Since he came here, (from that period) we work together.'

It is important to note that the time markers yeli or yenI do not undergo deletion though the corelative markers teli, tanI may do so optionally. The participial constructions also act as time

adverbials.

3. su a:v do:ra:n
he came run-pres ptcpl
'He came running.'
4. tAm' prutsh kursii peTh bihih
he-er asked chair-obl on sit-past ptcpl
'He asked sitting on the chair.'
5. gaI vA:tith kor tami Teli:pho:n
home reach-pp did she-erg telephone
'She telephoned after reaching home.'

A present participle expresses ongoing action or process. It takes progressive aspect in the subordinate clause

- 6a. su a:v tami sa:tI yemi sa:tI su do:ra:n o:s
he came at that time when he run-ple was
'He came at that time when he was running.'
- 6b. su a:v do:ra:n do:ra:n
'He came (while) running.'

A verbal noun followed by bro: h 'before', patI 'after', peTh 'on' results in the reading of a time adverbial

7. tAm'sIndi yinI bro:~ h yi:yi nI ka:~h
he-gen-obl come-inf-obl before come-fu-neg none
'No one will come before he comes.'
8. tAm'sIndi ne:rni patI gatshI bI
he-gen-obl departure after go-fu I
'I'll go after his departure.'

Manner adverbial clauses usually employ relative like participial constructions. The finite manner markers are yithI kIn' yithIpA:Th 'as/which way

9. yithkIn' bI vanay tithkIn' kar
as-rel I tell-you the same way-rel do
'Do as I tell you.'

The word order of the relative manner clause and correlative manner clause can be altered.

- 9a. tithkIn' kar yithkIn' bI vanay

The participial constructions express a manner reading.

10. su a:v vada:n vada:n
he came weep-ple weep-pl
'He came (while) crying.'

11. tAm' vod kursii peTh bihih
 he-er wept chair-obl on sit-past ptcpl
 'He cried sitting on the cot.'

The negativized participial form is formed by adding nI + varA:y.

12. tAm' von asnI varA:y
 he-Er said laugh-pm without
 'He said without smiling.'

The sentences of infinitival/gerundive construction also express the manner reading

13. tAm'sund natsun chu me pasand
 (s)he-gen dance-inf is I-dat like
 'I like his/her dance.'

Purpose clauses may be expressed in two ways: (a) infinitival form followed by the ablative marker i or the oblique form plus the postposition khA:trI/ba:paθ 'for' and (b) the particle tik'a:zi 'because' and amikin 'therefore'. Consider the following examples:

14. su gav na:Takh vuchini
 he went play see-inf-abl for
 'He went to see a play.'
- 14a. su gav na:Takh vuchnI khA:trI/ba:paθ
 he went film see-inf-obl for
 'He went to see a play.'

Notice that in (14) the ablative marker i is added to the infinitive form of the verb which expresses the meaning of 'for'. In (14a) the ablative marker -I is added before the postposition khA:trI/ba:paθ 'for'. In the above construction, there is an option between the two. In case the verb is not a motion verb the use of ablative marker and the use of postposition is obligatory.

15. me von tAmis kita:b parnI khA:trI/ba:paθ
 I-erg said him book read-inf-abl for
 'I told him to read the book.'

- 15a. * me von tsAmis kita:b parnI

The coreferential phrases tik'a:zi 'because' and amikin 'therefore' can also be used.

16. tik'a:zi az o:s garIm amikin' go:s nI bI ba:zar
 because today was hot therefore went not I market
 'Because it was hot, I therefore, couldn't go to market.'

Cause is expressed by means of finite clauses marked by tik'a:zi 'because'. The cause and effect clauses can be used in interchangeable order

17. su heki nI pArith tik'a:zi su chu muDI
 he able not read-pp because he is illiterate

'He cannot read, because he is illiterate.'

- 17a. tik'a:zi su chu muDI su heki nI pArith
'Because he is illiterate, he cannot read.'

The cause can be expressed by reduplicated present, past and conjunctive participles

18. paka:n paka:n thok su tI bu':Th pathar
walk-ple walk-ple tired he and sat down
'Because of walking (constantly) he was tired and sat down.'
19. bI a:s prA:r' prA:r' tang
I came wait-pp wait-pp sick
'I got sick of waiting.'
20. dava: khethIy gav su Thi:kh
medicine eat-pp-emp went he alright
'Immediately on taking medicine, he recovered (from illness).'

Cause can be expressed by means of an infinitive followed by the postposition sI:t' 'with'

21. shur' sIndi yinI sI:t' gAyi sA:ri: kh>sh
child-obl gen come-inf-obl with went all happy
'Because of the arrival of the child, all were happy.'

Condition clauses are marked by the conjunction agar 'if'.

22. agar ru:d peyi, teli bani ja:n phasII
if rain fall-fu then get good crop
'If it rains, then the crops will be good.'

The sequence of 'if - then' clause can be reversed as given below.

- 22a. teli bani ja:n phasal agar ru:d peyi
'The crop will be good, if it rains.'

The conjunction marker natI 'otherwise' also is used in the condition clauses

23. paga:h yizi jaII natI gatshI bI kunuy zon
tomorrow come-mod-imp soon otherwise go - fu I alone
'Come early tomorrow, otherwise I will go alone.'

A concession clause is marked by subordinate conjunction markers such as *agarci/yodvay* 'although', *harga:h ---to:ti* 'even if', *k'a:zi---nI*, 'why, not'

24. agarci/harga:h s> seTha: Ami:r cha, to:ti cha kanju:s
although she very rich is still is miser
'Although she is very rich, she is a miser.'
25. su k'a:zi kari nI me za:rIpa:rI, bI gatshI nI to:r

he why do not me beg I go-fu not there
 `Even if he begs me, I'll not go to there.'

The result clause is marked by an oblique infinitive followed by the postposition *ki vaja:h*. In a sentence sequence, the cause is usually given in the first sentence which is followed by another giving the result of it. The second sentence is marked by a phrase *amikin'* `therefore'.

26. ru:d penI ki vaja:h h'o:kus nI bI ba:zar gAtshith
 rain fall-inf-obl reason able-1s not I market go-pp
 `I could not go to market because of the rain.'
27. ra:th o:s ja:n mu:sim, ami kin' go:s bI cakras
 yesterday was good weather therefore went-1s I walk-dat
 `It was a fine weather yesterday, therefore, I went for a walk.'

4.2.2.4. Coordination

Sentence coordination is marked mainly by the morphemes *tI* `and', and *magar* `but'

1. bI go:s dili tI m'o:n do:s gav jom
 I went Delhi and my friend went Jammu
 `I went to Delhi and my friend went to Jammu.'
2. sohnI gav tuhund garI magar toh' A:sivI nI gari
 Sohan went your home but you were not home-ab
 `Sohan went to your home but you were not at home.'

The conjunction marker *tI* `and' can optionally be followed by another morpheme *ti* `also'.

3. aslam gatshi paga:h dili tI mohnI ti gatshi
 Aslam go-fu tomorrow Delhi and Mohan also go-fut
 `Aslam will go to Delhi tomorrow and Mohan will also go.'

The alternative conjunction morphemes *ya:---ya:* `either --- or' are used as in the example below

4. ya: peyi az ru:d ya: peyi az shi:n
 or fall-fu today rain or fall-fu today snow
 `Either it rains today or it will snow.'

Notice that the word order of the constituent sentences undergo a change. The verb is placed immediately after the coordinators (Compare sentence (4) with the source sentences (4a) and (4b))

- 4a. az peyi ru:d
 `It will rain today.'
- 4b. az peyi shi:n
 `It will snow today.'

4.2.2.4.1. *tI* `and' coordination

`And' coordination is used to conjoin two or more sentences or phrases. The conjunction

morpheme occurs before the last conjunct.

1. aslam chu kita:b para:n tI nazi:r chu ciTh' le:kha:n
Aslam is book reading and Nazir is letter writin
'Aslam is reading a book and Nazir is writing a letter.'
2. ra:jI cha g'ava:n, uma: cha natsa:n tI usha: cha asa:n
Raja is singing Uma is dancing and asa:n is laughing
'Raja is singing, Uma is dancing, and Usha is laughing.'
- 1a. * tI aslam cha kita:b para:n nazi:r chu ciTh' le:kha:n
- 2a. * ra:jI cha g'ava:n tI uma: cha natsa:n usha: cha asa:n

The misplacement of coordination conjunction morpheme tI renders the sentences (1a) and (2a) ungrammatical. Coordination does not merely involve juxtaposition of two or more independent sentences. There are various syntactic and semantic constraints on the construction of coordinate structures. In general, coordinate sentences express contrast, cumulative effect, cause and effect, sequential action etc. The order of the conjuncts is interchangeable if a coordinate sentence expresses contrast or cumulative effect. Consider the following examples of various types of coordinate structures.

3. yi lADkI chu da:na: tI hu lADkI chu be:kII
this boy is intelligent and that boy is stupid
'This boy is intelligent and that boy is stupid.'
- 3a. hu lADkI chu be:kII tI yi lADkI chu da:na:
'That boy is stupid and this boy is intelligent.'
4. su chu varzish kara:n tI sA:ras gatsha:n
he is exercise do-pr and walk-dat go-pr
'He exercises and goes for walk.'
- 4a. su chu sA:ras gatsha:n tI varzish kara:n
5. tsu:ras lAj gu:l' tI su gave zakhmi
thief struck bullet and he was injured
'The thief was hit by a bullet and he was injured.'
- 5a. * tsu:r gav zakhmi: tI tAmis lAj gu:l
'The thief was injured and he was hit by a bullet.'
6. toh' vuchiv ja:n ku:r tI kAriv ne:thIr
you-p see-fu good girl and do marriage
'You find a good girl and get married.'
- 6a. * toh' kAriv ne:thIr tI vuchiv ja:n ku:
'You get married and find a good girl.'

Notice that the sentences (3), and (4) permit the reverse order, but the sentences (5), (6) do not permit it. The coordinate sentences (5) and (6) can be paraphrased to indicate that they are related with subordination process as well.

- 5b. tsu:r gav gu:l' lagnI sI:t' zakhmi:
thief was bullet hit-inf-abl with injured
'The thief was injured by a bullet.'
- 6b. ja:n ku:r vuchith kAriv toh' ne:thIr
good girl find-pp do you marriage
'Please find a good girl and get married.'

In the above sentences the cause and effect, sequential action and contingency is expressed without using the conjunction *mor* phemes. The paraphrases indicate that the first conjuncts of sentences represent adverbial complements of the second conjuncts. The conjunction morpheme *tI* sometimes fulfills the function of a disjunction as well. The sentence (3) can be paraphrased by using the conjunction morpheme *magar* 'but' as in (3b) below

- (3b) yi lADkI chu ga:Tul magar hu lADkI chu be:kIl
'This boy is intelligent but that boy is stupid.'

Besides conjoining sentences, the coordinating conjunction marker *tI* can be used to coordinate nouns (subjects, direct and indirect objects), verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. The coordination of two noun phrases yields a plural noun phrase and therefore the verb agreement is affected. In case of coordinate subjects, the verb takes a masculine plural concord, whereas in the case of coordinate objects, the verb agrees with the nearest object

7. me het' tsu:~Th' tI tse:rI
I-er bought-mp apples-m and appricots-
'I bought apples and appricots.'
- 7a. me hetsI tse:rI tI tsu:~Th'
I-er bought-fp appricots and apples
'I bought appricots and apples'

4.2.2.4.2. *magar* 'but' coordination

The coordinator *magar* is placed in the beginning of the second conjunct

8. ra:jI cha muDI magar s> cha seTha: da:na:
Raja is illiterate, but she is very wise
'Raja is illiterate, but she is very wise.'

Uses of *magar* 'but' coordination 'But' coordination usually is used with adjectives and adverbials.

9. shi:lI cha muDI magar ga:Tij ku:r
Shiela is illiterate but wise girl
'Shiela is an illiterate but a wise girl.'
10. tami kAr kath magar va:rI va:rI
she did talk but slowly
'She talked but in low voice.'

'But' coordination of nouns and verbs may involve a negative particle preceding or following the

adversative conjuncts

11. ra:mI chu ja:n shur magar sohnI chunI (ja:n)
Ram is good boy but Sohan is not (good)
'Ram is a good boy but Sohan is not.'
12. aslam nay yiyi magar bI yimI zaru:r
Aslam neg-em come-fu but I come-fu definitely
'Aslam may not come, but I'll come definitely.'

4.2.2.4.3. *ya:* 'or' Coordination.

The disjunctive marker *ya:* 'or' can precede the first as well as subsequent disjuncts.

13. ya: gatshi su dili, ya: gatshi su a:gra:
either go-fu he Delhi or go-fu he Agra
'Either he will go to Delhi or to Agra.'

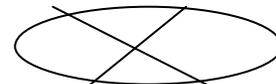
The disjunctive markers *ya:* 'or' *kinI* 'or' are used to conjoin nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs

14. majid ya: aslam gatshan jom
Majid or Aslam go-fu Jammu
'Majid or Aslam will go to Jammu.'

The disjunctive marker *ya:* 'or' can precede any disjoined element or category but not *kinI*

15. ya: gatshi shi:II ya: ra:mI po:sh tsaTIni
either go-fu Shiela or Ram flower pluck-inf-abl
'Either Shiela or Ram will go to pluck flowers.'

- 15a. * kinI gur te:z paka:n kinI va:rI va:rI



Negative disjunction is expressed by substituting a negative particle *na* for *ya:*

16. na kheyi su pa:nI na diyi me khenI
neither eat-fu he himself nor give-fu me eat-inf-abl
'Neither he will eat himself nor will he let me eat.'

There are various structural constraints in coordination. In general the members falling in the same class can be conjoined and not those belonging to different classes

17. *s> cha khu:bsu:rath tI ku:r
she is beautiful and girl
- 17a. s>cha khu:bsu:rath tI ga:Tij ku:r
she is beautiful and intelligent girl
'She is a beautiful and an intelligent girl.'

4.3. Other Syntactic Constructions

4.3.1. Passivisation

There are two categories of passive constructions : (i) Personal passive, and (ii) Capabilitive passive. The Personal passive is marked by the auxiliary *yun* and the ablative form of the infinitive of the main verb. The passive subject of the simple transitive is marked nominative. Certain exceptional verbs such as *la:yun*, *pra:run* 'to beat, to wait' that inherently mark their objects in the dative in the active version, retain the dative case on the passive subjects. The passive nominative subject, but not the dative one, agrees with *yun*. The demoted (i.e., former) subject is marked genitive followed by the ablative suffix and the postposition *zAriyi/dAs* 'by'. The postpositional phrase is often deleted.

1. *su chu/o:s/a:si sAli:mas paIna:va:n*
 he is/was/will be Salim-dat teachin
 `He is/was/will be teaching Salim.'

- 1a. *sAli:m chu yiva:n paIna:vnI*
 Salim is come-pass teach
 `Salim is being taught.'

2. *mohnan lo:y sAli:mas lo:ri sI:t'*
 Mohan-erg beat Salim-dat stick-abl wit
 `Mohan beat Salim with a stick.

- 2a. *sAli:mas a:v la:ynI lo:ri sI:t' sAli:mni zAriyi*
 Salim-dat come-pass beat stick-abl with
 `Salim was beaten by Mohan with a stick..'

In the double transitive construction, the indirect object retains its dative case and the nominative NP (i.e., the former direct object) controls the agreement.

- 3 *mohnan li:ch ra:da:yi ciTh'*
 Moha-erg wrote Radha-dat letter
 `Mohan wrote a letter to Radha.'

- 3a. *ra:da:yi a:yi ciTh' le:khnI*
 Radha-dat pass letter write
 `A letter was written to Radha.
 or `Radha was written a letter.

The capability passive, impersonal in nature, usually requires a negative or an interrogative context. The capability passive usually retains the postpositional agent. The agent is absent in certain constructions as noted below

4. *tAm' hec nI kath kArith*
 he-erg could neg talk do-ptc
 `He could not talk..'

5. *su h'ok nI pAkith*
 he could neg walk-ptc
 `He was not able to walk.'

4.3.2. Negation

Declarative sentences are negated by means of the particle *nI*, which is added to the finite verb after the agreemental and pronominal suffixes

1. *bI chus nI akhba:r para:n*
I am neg newspaper read-ptc
`I don't read the news paper.'

Constituents are also negated by means of suffixes such as *nay*, *ros*, *baga:r*, *varA:y* all meaning 'without'. The suffix *nay* follows the verb stem, while others require the ablative infinitive form of the verb. Alternatively, they may be added directly to the nominal.

2. *mohnI gav soku:l kita:bav ros/bagA:r/varA:y*
Mohan went school books-abl without
`Mohan went to school without his books.'

The indefinite quantifiers such as *ka:~h*, *ke~h*, *kun za:~h* 'someone, something, ever' are negated by the normal sentential negation. The indefinite quantifiers in this context are usually marked by emphatic particles.

3. *tAmis sI:th' kari nI ka:~h kath*
he-dat with do-fut neg someone talk
`No one will talk to him.'
4. *su kari nI do:stan hIndi khA:trI ke~h*
he do-fut neg friends-dat gen for something
`He will do nothing for his friends.'
5. *tAm' chanI za:~h zindgi: manz ciTh' li:chmIts*
he-erg hasn't ever life-dat in letter write-p
`He has never written a letter in his life.'
9. *shi:II gAyI nI kun ra:th*
Shiela went neg anywhere yesterday
`Shiela went nowhere yesterday.'

4.3.3. Pronominalization

Pronominalization includes reflexive, reciprocal, pronominal and deletion strategies.

4.3.3.1. Reflexivization

The main reflexive pronoun is *pa:n*, followed by a postposition takes the oblique form *pa:n'*. The emphatic pronoun is *pa:nI*. The emphatic suffix *-ay-* may be added to it for extra emphasis. The result is *pa:nay*. The reduplicated form *pa:n' pa:nI* also occurs as an emphatic reflexive. The possessive reflexive form is *panun*. The reflexive *pa:n* is usually anteceded by a subject. The reflexive itself may be a direct, indirect object or a postpositional phrase.

1. *mohnan vuch panun pa:n A:nas manz*

Mohan-erg saw self's body mirror-dat in
'Mohan saw himself in the mirror.'

2. mohnan von aslamas pa:nas mutalakh
Mohan-erg told Aslam-dat self-dat about
'Mohan told Aslam about himself.'

3. vAki:las chu pa:nas peTh' baro:sI
advocate has refle-dat on confidence
'The advocate has confidence in himself.'

4. pa:nas kor aslaman a:ra:m
refl-dat did Aslam-er res
'Aslam rested himself.'

The reflexivization may also be controlled by dative subjects

5. aslamas chu panun pa:n pasand
Aslam-dat has self like
'Aslam likes himself.'

The scope of reflexivity is usually restricted to the clause in which it is used

6. mohnan von zi su/* pa:nI va:ti vakhtas peTh
Mohan said that he/*refl reach-fu time-dat at
'Mohan(i) said that he(i) would reach in time.'

7. mohnan prutsh ki tAm'sInz/*panIn' zana:n kar yiyi
Mohan-er asked that his *refl wife when come-f
'Mohan (i) asked when his(i) wife would come.'

The sentences (6) and (7) show that reflexivization does not go down into subordinate clauses. Notice that reflexivization is possible within a nonfinite and a small clause

8. aslaman von sAli:mas pa:nas kitsh ca:y anInI khA:trI
Aslam-erg told Salim-dat self-dat for tea bring-abl for
'Aslam told Salim to bring tea for himself.'

9. aslam chu [mohnas panun dushman] ma:na:n
Aslam is Mohan-dat refl enemy considering
'Aslam(i) considers Mohan(j) his(i,j) enemy.'

Sentence (8) is ambiguous because the reflexive pronoun is co referential with the subject of the main as well as with the subject of the subordinate clause In possessive structures, the reflexive form panun 'self' is used in place of possessive pronouns. It agrees with the following head NP in number and gender. Following are its forms in nominative case

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural

panun panIn' panIn' panIni

10. bI chus panun/*m'o:n kamrI sa:ph kara:n
 I-m am refl/*my room clean do-p
 `I am cleaning my room.'

4.3.3.2. Reciprocals

The primary way of expressing the reciprocal relationship is by means of an expression akh Akis `to one another, which is a combination of cardinal akh `one' and its dative case form (akh +is => Akis). There is no nominative form of the reciprocal and the dative form is used in its place.

The reciprocal forms can occur only within a clause, which may be simple or nonfinite.

1. timav kor akh Akis seTha: madath
 they-er did one another-dat very help
 `They helped each other very much.'

Reciprocals may be used as a direct object, indirect object, postpositional or possessive phrases.

2. tim samIkh' akh Akis va:riya:hi kA:l'
 they-er met one another-dat lot-abl period of time
 `They met each other after a lot of time.'
3. timav dit' akh Akis co:b
 they-er gave one another beating
 `They thrashed each other.'
4. tim chi akh Akis peTh takhsi:r kha:ra:n
 they are one another-dat on blame placing
 `They accuse/blame each other.'
5. As' chi nI akh Ak'sund garI gatsha:n
 we are not one another-poss home go-pr
 `We don't visit each other's house.'

Mutual reciprocity is expressed by the use of pa:nIvA:n' mutual

6. tim chi nI pa:nIvA:n' kath kara:n
 they are not each other talk do-pr
 `They donot talk to each other.'

Personal pronouns may not have their antecedents within the same clause. They occur in all sorts of structures. For example they occur across finite subordinate clauses, adverbial clauses, coordinate structures, discourse structures etc

In adverbial clauses the pronoun may be optionally deleted

7. [yeli /su(i) ba:zar gav] sohnan(i) h'Ats pa:nas kitsh Tu:p'
 rel /he market went Sohan bought-fsg refl-dat for cap

‘When he(i) went to the market, Sohan(i) bought a cap for himself.’

- 7a. [yeli sohan ba:zar gav] 0 pa:nas kitsh hetsIn Tu:p’
bought-3sg
‘When Sohan went to market, (he) bought a cap for himself.’
- 7b. [yeli sohanI ba:zar gav] tAm' hets pa:nas kitsh Tu:p he-er
‘When Sohan went to market, he bought a cap for himself.’

In a narrative text or natural discourse, deletion is used very frequently to refer to a previous coreferent.

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