

Modern Kashmiri Grammar

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Preface

Modern Kashmiri Grammar aims at providing basic yet extensive information on various aspects of Kashmiri phonology, morphology, and syntax along with its unique features and historical background. It is pedagogically oriented. The need for such a grammar is imminent at present. First and foremost it will fulfill the need of a large number of Kashmiris that have taken refuge in different parts of India and abroad as a result of continued disturbance in the Kashmir valley in the last fifteen years. They are fast losing contact with their mother tongue in the absence of its use in various domains of day-to-day life. They are looking for suitable language learning materials, including pedagogically oriented grammars, for maintaining the language amongst their children.

Note that some of the existing grammars mentioned in the introduction are either too old, too sketchy, or too detailed and scholarly and do not fulfill the need of the second language learners or those native speakers who want to maintain the language in an alien atmosphere. For example, Grierson's grammar based on Ishwar Kaula (1890) is almost outdated. Kachru's (1969) grammar is rather sketchy and is available only in mimeographed form. Similarly, the recent Kashmiri grammar by Wali and Koul (1997) is too detailed and scholarly. Moreover, it is based on a prescribed Lingua format required by the editors. It has no pedagogical value as such.

This grammar will be of value to linguists and general readers also. There is an increased interest among linguists and general readers due to certain special characteristics of Kashmiri, such as its place in the Indo-Aryan family, its unique verb second word order, and many other grammatical peculiarities. Our grammar will be helpful in satisfying their interest to a certain extent.

In *Modern Kashmiri Grammar* we have utilized simple terminology, and provided suitable description with tables for grammatical categories, phrases, and sentence types. The Introduction gives a survey of the dialectal variations in the language, history of literature and grammar, and more crucially, the status of Kashmiri in the home state itself.

The Phonology section describes segmental phonemes, suprasegmentals, and morphophonology.

The Morphology provides a description of the nominal and pronominal system, their inflection, gender, number, case, and special agreement features including pronominal clitics. Special attention is paid to the intricate conjugation of verbs.

The Syntax describes the structure of phrases, sentence types, complex and compound constructions, special word order variations, and other intricate syntactic features.

The Lexicon presents a list of classified vocabulary which is useful for students and teachers of Kashmiri as well as general readers.

This grammar emphasizes special features of Kashmiri that sets it apart from other Indo-Aryan languages. In short, it will fulfill the need of the basic language learner as well as provide useful information for the linguist and general reader.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Thomas Creamer, Director, Language Research Center (a division of McNeil Technologies) for motivating us to write this grammar and for deciding to publish it.

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Kashi Wali

Abbreviations

1 st /I /I	first person	msg	masculine singular
2 nd /2/II	second person	neg	negative
3 rd /3/III	third person	nom	nominative
abl	ablative case	pass	passive
adv	adverb	pol	polite
asp	aspiration	poss	possessive
caus	causative	postp	postposition
cond	conditional	prox	proximate
cor	correlative	pl	plural
cp	conjunctive participle	pr	present participle
dat	dative	ps	pronominal suffix
emp	emphatic marker	pst.ptc	past participle
erg	ergative	ptc	participle
fpl	feminine plural	Q	question particle
fsg	feminine singular	R.I	remote I
hon	honorific	R.II	remote II
imp	imperative	refl	reflexive
impf	imperfective	rel	relative
indef	indefinite	RP	remote past
inf	infinitive	sg	singular
inter	interrogative	vd	voiced
IP	indefinite past	vl	voiceless
loc	locative	voc	vocative
		mpl	masculine plural

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1. Introduction

1.1. Area and Speakers

The Kashmiri language is called *kə:šur* or *kə:šir zaba:n* by its native speakers. It is primarily spoken in the Kashmir Valley part of the Jammu and Kashmir State in India. It 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. According to the 1981 census there are 30,76,398 speakers of the language. However, the census was not conducted again in 1991 or 2001. Keeping in view the rise of the population over the last two decades, the current number of its speakers should be around four million.

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. (See Grierson 1919, Morgenstierne 1961, and Fussman 1972.) The classification of Kashmiri and other Dardic languages have been reviewed in works such as Kachru (1969), Strand (1973), and 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 to Kashmiri and Shina.

Kashmiri speech shows regional and social variations. The Kashmiri speaking area in the valley is ethno-semantically divided into (1) *mara:z* (southern and south-eastern region); (2) *kamra:z* (northern and north-western region); and (3) *yamra:z* (Srinagar and the neighboring area). The variations are mostly at the phonological and lexical levels. Kashmiri spoken in the three regions is not only mutually intelligible but also quite homogeneous. The speech variations thus can be termed as different styles of speech. Since Kashmiri spoken in and around Srinagar has gained social prestige, 'style switching' takes place very frequently, especially among the educated speakers. Kashmiri spoken in Srinagar and the surrounding

areas is also regarded as the standard variety and is used in mass media and literature.

Two other regional dialects - Poguli and Kashtawari - are spoken outside the Kashmir valley. Poguli is spoken in Pogul and Paristan. It is bordered on the east by Rambani and Siraji, and on the west by mixed dialects of Lahanda and Pahari. Poguli shares many linguistic features including 70% vocabulary, with Kashmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1984). Literate Poguli speakers speak standard Kashmiri. Kashtawari is spoken in the Kashtawar valley, the southeast part of Kashmir. It is bordered on the south by Bhadarwahi, on the west by Chibbali and Punchi, and on the east by the 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 on the 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), a distinction has been pointed out in speech variations of Hindus and Muslims, both native speakers of Kashmiri. 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 Perso-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 variation of the language deserves a detailed study.

1.3. Unique Characteristics

Kashmiri has several unique features amongst the Indo-Aryan languages. These include existence of central vowels /i, i:, ə, ə:/; insertion of epenthetic vowels, absence of gemination and voiced aspirates, presence of an indefinite article, and a three way distinction in the pronominal and past tense system. In a similar way, in Kashmiri the verb always occurs in the second position in a finite clause excepting the relative 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. It is worth mentioning here that Kashmiri shows several features, which are different even from the above mentioned 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 for example, any constituent of a sentence can precede the verb. In a V-middle language only restricted constituents may precede the verb.

1.4. Script

Various scripts such as Sharda, Devanagari, Roman, and Perso-Arabic have been used for Kashmiri. The Sharda script, developed around the 10th century, is the oldest script. It was not developed for writing Kashmiri. It was primarily used for writing Sanskrit by the local scholars at that time. A large number of Sanskrit literary works, and old Kashmiri works were written in this script. The script was not adequate to represent all the phonetic characteristics of the Kashmiri language. It is now being used for very restricted purposes such as writing horoscopes by the priestly class of the Kashmiri Pundit community. The Devanagari script with additional diacritical marks is used by writers and researchers for representing the Kashmiri text related to language, literature, and culture in Hindi. It is also used as an additional script (besides Perso-Arabic) or alternate script in certain literary works and religious material written by Hindu writers outside the Kashmir valley after their migration. A few journals such as *Koshur Samachar*, *Kshir Bhawani Times*, *Vitasta*, and *Milchar* also tend to use Devanagari. As usual, a certain inconsistency prevails in the use of diacritic signs. The

diacritic signs for writing Kashmiri in this script have recently been standardized and the computer software is available for it. It is not yet used in all the publications. The Roman script with phonetic diacritic signs is used in the linguistic and literary works related to the Kashmiri language and literature written in English. It is also used in instructional materials for teaching or learning Kashmiri as a second/foreign language through the medium of English. However, there is no uniformity in the diacritic signs used.

The Perso-Arabic script with added diacritics, now called Kashmiri script, has been recognized as the official script by the Jammu and Kashmir government. It is widely used in publications. It still lacks standardization (Koul 1996). The computer software is available for writing Kashmiri in this script.

1.5. Status of Kashmiri

Kashmiri, though spoken by the dominant majority of people in the valley, has never been used as an official language in its home state i.e., Jammu and Kashmir. Persian was introduced as the official language during the Muslim rule beginning in the 14th Century. It was later replaced by Urdu, another non-native language, in 1907, which continues as the official language even after independence. Keeping in view the multilingual character of the State, the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir recognizes seven languages: Kashmiri, Dogri, Ladakhi, Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi and Gojri. Kashmiri, though spoken by the majority in the state, is not even made an associate official language. There has been a strong movement in favor of the use of Kashmiri in administration in the valley at all the lower levels (Koul and Schmidt 1983).

Kashmiri has a limited role even in education. Immediately after the independence of India, it was introduced as a subject of study in primary schools in the Kashmir valley, but its teaching was discontinued in 1953. It is taught as an optional subject at the secondary school level, as a subject of study in a few colleges in the valley, and at the University of Kashmir at post-graduate level. People favor its use as a medium of instruction in elementary schools, and the teaching of Kashmiri as a subject right from the primary to the University level (Koul and Schmidt 1983). Kashmiri is taught as a second language at the Northern Regional Language

Centre (Central Institute of Indian Languages, Government of India) Patiala since 1971. The Central Institute of Indian Languages has published necessary instructional materials for teaching Kashmiri as a second/foreign language.

Kashmiri has a limited role in mass media. It is used as a medium of entertainment (radio plays, songs), news events, and feature broadcasts on Radio Kashmir. The local TV (Srinagar Doordarshan) and Kashir Channel of Doordarshan have enhanced the role of Kashmiri in the electronic media. There is a need to improve the quality of the TV programs in this language. Kashmiri is used in a limited way in the print mass media. No daily newspaper is published in the language. Some weekly newspapers keep on appearing periodically and disappearing after a short while. A few periodicals like *Praagaash.*, *Sheeraza*, *Anhaar*, *Baavath*, *Aalove*, etc. are published from the Kashmir valley. A few journals as mentioned above published outside the valley have Kashmiri sections (in Devanagari script). The technical vocabulary used in broadcasts/telecasts and other technical writings is primarily based on Urdu.

1.6. Literature

The earliest use of Kashmiri as a written medium is found in commentaries interpolated in Sanskrit texts of Kashmiri Shavism written in the 12th and 13th centuries. Shitikanth's *Mahanaya-Prakash* (c.1250) is the first complete text written in Kashmiri. Kashmiri was adopted by the Shaivite and Sufi saints as the vehicle for expressing their mystical poetry. Lalded (1335-1376) wrote verses in the *va:kh* style (four-line stanzas). Sheikh Noor-ul-Din, a mystic Muslim saint, adopted the *shruk* style. Their compositions have become proverbial wisdom quoted by Hindus and Muslims alike even today. The *va:kh-shruk* period was followed by the narrative verse.

The Early Middle Period (1500-1700) is marked by the genres of love and devotional lyrics originated in folk poetry called *vatsun* (a poem of six to ten lines) expressing a single mood. Haba Khatoon (16th century) is the prominent poet of this period. Her poems express love for her beloved and pangs of sorrow and separation from him. In the absence of patronage at the hands of the alien

rulers, who supported Persian, most of the Kashmiri poetry of this period is lost.

The Late Middle Period (1750-1900) is marked by two parallel genres and styles of Kashmiri literary compositions: (i.) devotional lyrics based on Puranic legends and local folk traditions were composed by Hindu poets, and (ii) themes of love and religious texts based on Persian legends were adopted by Muslim poets. Both types were dominated by Persian narrative literary style. The theme of *bhakti* (devotion) was expressed in two types of genres: lyrics and narratives. They were written by Sahib Koul (c.1709), Prakash Ram (18th century), Parmanand (1791-1879), Krishenjoo Razdan (1851-1926) and some others. Prakash Ram composed the *Ramayana* with a large number of innovations in the legend. Parmanand chose the legends of Krishna. Krishenjoo Razdan wrote in the Persian narrative style on legends of lord Shiva. During this period, *rov vatsan* (songs which accompany Kashmiri folk dance) by Mahmood Gami (1759-1855), Shamas Faqir (1843-1904), Maqbool Shah Kralvari (d.1875), and some others dominated. Whereas *lila:yi vatsan* is inspired by Hindu motifs, the genre of mystical lyrics or *su:fiya:ni vastan* draws its themes from Muslim Sufi tradition. Kashmiri also borrowed the genre of narrative verse called *masnavi* from Persian and elaborated it with certain innovations. Not only some famous Persian *masnavis* were translated into Kashmiri, a few local themes were also chosen. There were also borrowings from the genres of *marsi:* (elegy), *na:t* (addressed to the Prophet), *nazam* (rhymed couplets with a connected theme), and *ghazal* (independent rhymed couplets) from Persian. These were enriched by the use of local similes and metaphors. Rasul Mir (1810-1870) was a prominent poet who enriched the genre of *nazm* with his compositions. Mahmood Gami (19th century) is considered the first poet of *ghazal* in Kashmiri.

The Modern Period (1900-) has witnessed new developments in Kashmiri literature. Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor (1885-1952) and Abdul Ahad Azad (1906-1948) have ushered in the concept of modernity by expressing the feelings of the people, their sorrows, pains and expectations. Instead of singing divine lore, or love songs, the poets gave expressions to the hard realities of life. Both are characterized as revolutionary poets of Kashmir. They sang songs of independence and expressed the feelings and doubts of the people who appeared to be helpless and overtaken by agony and doubts.

Mastar Zinda Kaul (1886-1966) was primarily a mystical poet, but some of his poems represent the mind's struggle between modernity and tradition. The progressive movement had a great effect in the poetry. The poets who were influenced by this movement were Dina Nath Nadim (1916-1990), Ghulam Hassan Beg Arif (b.1910-2000), Rahman Rahi (b. 1925), Amin Kamil (b.1924), Ghulam Rasool Santosh (1929-1997), and a few others. Other prominent poets who were deeply influenced by the contemporary socio-economic and political problems include Nur Mohammad Roshan (1919-1997), Prem Nath Koul Arpan (1919-1997), Shamboo Nath Bhat Halim (b.1921), Arjan Dev Majboor (b.1926), Ghulam Nabi Firaq (b.1922), Vasudev Reh (1926-2002) etc. The contemporary Kashmiri poets have taken up all the themes prevalent in other modern Indian languages. They include Motilal Saqi (1936-1999), Ghulam Nabi Nazir (b.1930), Muzaffar Azim (b.1934), Ghulam Nabi Khayal (b.1936), Mohan Lal Ash, Shafi Shouq (b.1951), Rafiq Raz (b.1952), Brij Nath Betab (b. 1955), etc. Prominent female poets include Bimla Raina (b. 1947), Nasim Shafai, Sunita Raina etc.

The modern period is marked by the beginning of prose in Kashmiri. Different genres of prose, such as the short story, drama, the essay, the novel, travelogues, and literary criticism, has developed during this period. Short stories and other forms of fiction are characterized by the imaginative exploration of the surroundings: the distinct Kashmiri environment, temperament and socio-cultural patterns of the society. Prominent short story writers are Akhtar Mohi-ul-Din (1928-2001), Amin Kamil (b.1924), G.R.Santosh (1929-1997), Bansi Nirdosh (1930-2002), Hari Krishen Kaul (b.1935), H. K. Bharati (b.1937), Ratanlal Shant (b.1938), Bashir Akhtar, M.L. Pandita (b.1940), R.K. Bhat (b.1954), Mehfooza Jan etc.

Most of the plays written in Kashmiri are radio-plays and plays written in the style of folk theater. Prominent playwrights are Ali Mohammad Lone, Pushkar Bhan (b. 1925), Motilal Kemmu (b. 1934), who have made certain innovations in the genre. There are hardly a dozen novels written in the language so far. Novelists include Akhtar Mohi-ul-Din, Ali Mohammad Lone, G.N. Gauhar, Bansi Nirdosh, Amar Malmohi etc. The literary criticism, essays and travelogues written in the language has contributed in the strengthening of prose writings in Kashmiri.

1.7. Grammars in Kashmiri

The first complete descriptive grammar of Kashmiri was written in Sanskrit in 1879 by Pandit Ishwar Kaula. The book contains chapters on the rules of sandhi, the declension of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and the extensive conjugation of verbs. He also provided a valuable and extensive list of verbs. Kaula's grammar was translated by Grierson as essays for the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1896-98). At that time Grierson also wrote an elaborate article on the Kashmiri vowel system. In 1911 Grierson wrote the *Standard Manual of the Kashmiri Language* and compiled a Kashmiri-English dictionary. Kachru (1969b), Bhat (1980), Bhatt (1999), and Wali and Koul (1997) represent more recent works on Kashmiri. There are also some dissertations and several theoretically oriented articles written by scholars as noted in references. In spite of these efforts, the language remains enigmatic and mysterious even today.

The present grammar emphasizes special features of Kashmiri that sets it apart from other Indo-Aryan languages. It will fulfill the need of the basic language learner as well as provide useful information for the linguist and general reader.

It utilizes simple terminology, and provides suitable description with tables for grammatical categories, phrases, and sentence types. The Phonology describes segmental phonemes, suprasegmentals, and morphophonology. The Morphology provides a description of the nominal and pronominal system, their inflection, gender, number, case, and special agreement features including pronominal clitics. Special attention is paid to the intricate conjugation of verbs. The Syntax describes the structure of phrases, sentence types, complex and compound constructions, special word order variations, and other intricate syntactic features. The Lexicon presents a list of classified vocabulary which is useful for students and teachers of Kashmiri as well as general readers.

2. Phonology

The phonological description given here is simple and brief. It provides phonetic and phonological characteristics of Kashmiri. This chapter is divided into four sections: segmentals, suprasegmentals, phonotactics and morphophonology. Segmentals provide inventory and articulation of vowels, contrast between oral and nasal vowels, and inventory and articulation of consonants and their palatalization. Suprasegmentals indicate length, stress, and intonation. Phonotactics present distribution of vowels, vowel sequences, and phonological changes in loanwords, consonant clusters, and syllable structure. Morphophonology indicates alternations, deletion and insertion, and allomorphs.

2.1. Segmentals

The Inventory of the distinctive segments of Kashmiri is given in table 1.

2.1.1. Vowels

Kashmiri has oral and nasal vowels. It has two short and two long central vowels (/i/, /i:/, /ə/ and /ə:/) which are not found in other South Asian languages.

2.1.1.1. Articulation of Vowels

Articulation of vowels involves contrast of tongue position, tongue height, and the rounding of lips as noted below.

/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)
	si:r	brick
	jaldi:	quickly
/e/	(mid front unrounded short vowel)	
	reh	flame
	tre	three

/e:/	(mid front unrounded long vowel)	
	tse:r	late

Table 1: Kashmiri Phonemes

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i:	ɨ:	u:
Lower High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e e:	ə ə:	o o:
Lower Mid		a	ɔ ɔ:
Low		a:	

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal Stops
vl. unasp	p	t	ʈ		k	
vl. Asp	ph	th	ʈh		kh	
vd. unasp	b	d	ɖ		g	
Affricates						
vl.unas		ts		c		
vl.asp		tsh		ch		
vd.unas				j		
Nasal	m	n			ŋ	
Trill		r				
Lateral		l				
Fricative						
vl.		s		ʃ		h
vd.		z				
Semi-vowels	v			y		

/i/	(high central unrounded short vowel)	
	akil	wisdom
	gandi	dirty
/i:/	(high central unrounded long vowel)	
	i:thim	eighth
	ti:r	cold
/ə/	(mid central unrounded short vowel)	
	əch	eye
	gər	watch

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/ə:/	(mid central unrounded long vowel)	
	ə:s	mouth
	phə:ydi	profit
/a/	(low central unrounded short vowel)	
	az	today
	par	read
	na	no
/ɑ:/	(low central unrounded long vowel)	
	a:r	pity
	gɑ:m	village
	sɑ:phɑ:	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.)
/ɔ/	(low back rounded short vowel)	
	dɔd	milk
	sɔ	She
/ɔ:/	(low back rounded long vowel)	
	sɔ:d	one and a quarter

Note that there are seven pairs of short and long vowels. The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrast in length of these vowels:

sir	secret	si:r	brick
zen	mud	ze:n	win (imp.)
tir	a piece of cloth	ti:r	cold
lɜr	house	lɜ:r	cucumber
nar	male	na:r	fire
kun	alone	ku:n	corner
son	deep	so:n	our

2.1.1.2. Nasal Vowels

All the vowels have a nasal counterpart. Nasalization is phonemic in Kashmiri.

/ī:/	pī:tsh	a little	pi:r	a Muslim priest
/ē/	kēh	some	reh	flame
/ē:/	šē:kh	conch	še:kh	a surname
/ī:/	kī:tsh	youngest	ki:ts	how much (f.s.)
/ə/	əz	goose	pəz	true
/ā:/	ā:t	stone of a fruit	ə:th	eight
/ā/	āgre:z	an English man	agar	if
/ā:/	ā:gun	compound	a:gur	source of river
/ū/	kūz	key	kun	alone
/ū:/	vū:th	camel	pu:r	East
/ō/	gōd	bouquet	god	hole
/ō:/	gō:d	gum	go:r	a Hindu priest

2.1.2. Consonants

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

2.1.2.1. Articulation of Consonants

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

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	tot	Hot
/th/	(voiceless aspirated dental stop)	
	thod	tall
	mathun	to rub
	sath	seven
/d/	(voiced unaspirated dental stop)	
	də:r	window
	l'odur	yellow
	band	close
/ɽ/	(voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop)	
	tu:kɨr	basket
	raɽun	to catch
	hoɽ	throat
/tʰ/	(voiceless aspirated retroflex stop)	
	tu:l	egg
	miɽə:y	sweets
	zu':tʰ	tall
/ɽ̄/	(voiced unaspirated retroflex stop)	
	du:n	walnut
	gandun	to tie
	yad	belly
/k/	(voiceless unaspirated velar stop)	
	kan	ear
	kəkɨr	hen
	tsok	sour
/kh/	(voiceless aspirated velar stop)	
	khanun	to dig
	khəkɨr	hollow
	krakh	cry
/g/	(voiced unaspirated velar stop)	
	gardan	neck
	gagur	rat
	rag	vein

Affricates		
/ts/	(voiceless unaspirated dental affricate)	
	tʰsa:s	cough
	natsun	to dance
	sits	tailor
/tʰʃ/	(voiceless aspirated dental affricate)	
	tʰʃor	empty
	gatʃun	to go
	latʃ	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
	məch	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
/ʃ/	(voiceless palato-alveolar fricative)	
	šakh	suspicion
	kə ši:r	Kashmir
	paš	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
/ŋ/	(voiced velar nasal):	
	raŋun	to dye
	zaŋ	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 of a tree
hət	piece of wood	hət'	Throats
tə:th	dear one (f.)	tə:th'	dear ones (m.p.)
bəd	big (f.s.)	bəd'	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'oʃ	polluted
ə:m	unbaked (f.s.)	ə:m'	unbaked (m.p.)

nu:l	mongoose	n'u:l	blue
gə:s	gas	gə:s'	slothful
zal	urine	z'al	cream layer
han	a piece	h'an	to be afraid
mə:l	appetite	mə:l'	fathers
parun	to read	par'un	sieve
vath	road	v'ath	river Vitasta

2.2. Suprasegmentals

2.2.1. Length

There are eight pairs of short and long vowels. The length of vowels is phonemic as follows:

2.2.2. Stress

Stress is not a distinctive feature. However, since Kashmiri is 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.pr
	He is reading a book.			

2.	palav	chini	me:zas	pəθ
	clothes	are.neg	table.dat	on
	The clothes are not on the table.			

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

3.	su	a:va:	ra:θ
	he	came.Q	yesterday
	Did he come yesterday?		

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4.	su	gav	dili	gav	na:
	he	went	Delhi.loc	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	gəyivi	ba:zar
	you.pl	when	went-2pl	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 the 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 emphasized 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 unbolding different elements:

7.a.	toh'	gətshiv	dili
	you.2pl	go.fu.2pl	Delhi.loc
b.	toh'	gətshiv	dili
c.	toh'	gətshiv	dili

You will go to Delhi.

2.3. Phonotactics

2.3.1. Distribution of Vowels

Vowels /ə/, /o/, /ɔ:/ do not occur in the word final position. The short vowels /i/, /e/, /u/, and /ɔ/ 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
ũ:t	vũ:t	camel

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

2.3.2. Vowel Sequences

Vowel sequences usually do not occur in Kashmiri. The combinations of some vowel sequences like /**ui**/, /**u:i**/, and /**o:ə**/ are to be treated as diphthongs. Their occurrence is restricted to the word initial and medial positions only.

šuir	child (f.s)
gu:ir	milkmaid
o:əl	nest
go:əl	round

2.3.3. Phonological Changes in Loanwords

The voiced aspirated consonant phonemes like /**bh**/, /**dh**/, /**ḍh**/, /**jh**/, and /**gh**/ are unaspirated, as /**b**/, /**d**/, /**ḍ**/, /**j**/, and /**g**/ respectively in Kashmiri in words borrowed from Perso-Arabic and Hindi-Urdu. 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**/, /**t̪**/, 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:t̪	coat	ko:th
pa:k	pure	pa:kh

2.3.4. Consonant Clusters

2.3.4.1. 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 occurs in the initial position is always /r/. The first consonant is a stop, 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
/ḍr/	ḍram	drum
/kr/	krakh	cry
/khr/	khra:v	a wooden footwear
/gr/	gra:kh	a customer
/tshr/	tshrath	mischief
/sr/	srod	joint, common
/šr/	šra:n	bath

2.3.4.2. Word-medial Consonant Cluster

Consonant clusters in the medial position are frequent. Most of these clusters are formed across syllable or morpheme boundaries. Some of them are broken optionally by the insertion of the vowel /i/. Note that the formation of consonant clusters is restricted. For example: (i) two aspirated consonants may not form a cluster, (ii) /ch/ may not form a consonant cluster, (iii) /ḍ/ may not occur as the second member of a consonant cluster. Some examples of the consonant clusters are given below

pt	kapta:n	captain
bn	šabnam	dew
thk	kithkin'	how
dph	adphar	fragrance
ḍp	tadpun	to suffer in pain
kt	maktab	school
gr	rangre:z	dyer
ck	ackan	a long button-up coat

jl	khəjli:	insult
mṭh	tsamṭhun	to shrink
nt	zanti	as if
šm	dušman	enemy
lb	albə:n'	plough
rb	gurbath	poverty
zm	azma:vun	to try
hb	rəhbar	guide

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

ndr	əndrim	internal
ndk	andka:r	darkness
ndg	bandgi:	worship
nzr	gənzrun	to count

2.3.4.3. Word-final Consonant Cluster

Word final consonant clusters are less frequent. The first member of the consonant cluster is one of the two nasal consonants /m, n/ or fricatives /s, š/. The second consonant is any of the stops.

/mp/	lamp	lamp
/mb/	amb	mango
/nd/	dand	teeth
/nḍ/	khand	sugar
/nk/	bank	bank
/nkh/	šankh	conch
/st/	mast	carefree
/št/	gašt	round
/šṭ/	kašt	trouble

2.3.5. 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	+	ši	map
mən	+	zil	destination
kis	+	mat	fate

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

2.4. Morphophonology

2.4.1. Alternations

The back vowels /u/, /u:/, /o/, and /o:/ change to /i/, /i:/, /ə/, and /ə:/ when the suffixes beginning with **-i** or **-y** are added to them, e.g.,

latshul	broom	latshul + y = latshilʹ	brooms
ru:n	husband	ru:n + y = ri::nʹ	husbands
on	blind	on + is = ənis	to the blind
mo:l	father	mo:l + is = mə:lis	to the father

The second vowel /u/ of the disyllabic masculine nouns of the CVCVC structure changes to /a/ when the plural forming suffix /ø/ is added to them, e.g.,

gagur	rat	gagur + ø = gagar	rats
batukh	duck	batukh + ø = batak	ducks

The stem final retroflex /t/, /th/ and /d/ feminine nouns and adjectives change to /c/, /ch/, and /j/ palatals when the plural forming suffix **-i** is added to them, e.g.,

zəʈ	rag	zəʈ + i = zaci	rag
kuth	grain store	kuth + i = kuchi	grain stores
bəḍ	big	bəḍ + i = baji	big ones

The dental stops /t/, /th/, and /d/ change to affricates /ts/ and /tsh/, and to the fricative /z/ respectively when the feminine forming suffix /ø/ is added to them, e.g.,

mot	mad (m)	mot + ø = məts	mad (f)
voth	got up (m)	voth + ø = vətsh	got up (f)
thod	tall (m)	thod + ø = thəz	tall (f)

The velar stops /k/, /kh/, and /g/ of the masculine words change to palatals /c/, /ch/, and retroflex /ɖ/ respectively when the feminine forming suffix -ø is added to them.

pok	he walked	pok + ø = pəc	she walked
hokh	dry (m)	hokh + ø = hoch	dry (f)
long	lame (m)	long + ø = lənd	lame (f)

The stem final lateral /l/ changes to the palatal /j/ when the feminine forming suffix -ø is added, e.g.,

hol	twisted (m)	hol + ø = həj	twisted (f)
gol	melted (m)	gol + ø = gəj	melted (f)

Stem final aspirated voiceless stops are deaspirated when vowel initial suffixes are added to them, e.g.,

pa:ph	sin	pa:ph + as = pa:pas	to the sin
vath	road	vath + i = vati	on the road
kath	ram	kath + as = kaʈas	to the ram
akh	one	akh + is = əkis	to one

2.4.2. Deletion and Insertion

The stem-final vowel is deleted when a vowel initial suffix is added to it, e.g.,

kali	head	kali + as = kalas	to the head
mohni	Mohan	mohni + un = mohnun	Mohan's

The second vowel of a disyllabic stem is deleted when a vowel initial suffix is added to it, e.g.,

ga:ʈul	wise	ga:ʈul + is = ga:ʈlis	to the wise
sha:har	city	sha:har + i = sha:hri	in the city

/y/ is inserted between a stem that ends in a front vowel and a vowel /i/ initial suffix, e.g.,

ce	drink	ce + iv = ceyiv	drink (pol.)
khe	eat	khe + iv = kheyiv	eat (pol.)

/v/ is inserted between a stem that ends in a back vowel and a vowel /a/ initial suffix, e.g.,

di	give	di + a:n = diva:n	giving
ni	take	ni + a:n = niva:n	taking

/m/ is inserted between a verb stem that ends in a front vowel and the suffix /i/ or /a/ used to derive first person future forms, e.g.,

ni	take	ni + i = nimi	I'll take
khe	eat	khe + av = khemav	we'll eat

/i/ is added as a linking morpheme between a stem that ends in a consonant and another stem that begins with a consonant in the derivation of compounds, e.g.,

nu:n	salt	də:n'	pot	=	nu:nidə:n'	salt pot
ca:y	tea	də:n'	pot	=	ca:yidə:n'	tea pot

2.4.3. Allomorphs

Various allomorphs related to numerals are employed to derive different forms related to numbers. Allomorphs of the cardinal numbers one to ten are given below:

akh	one	tre	three
aki-vuh	twenty-one	tre-yim	third
əki-m	first	tru-va:h	thirteen
ok-doh	first day	tro-vuh	twenty-three
zi	two	teyi-trih	thirty-three
zi-to-vuh	twenty two	tso:r	four
do-yim	second	tsu:r-im	fourth
dəyi-trih	twenty-three	tso-da:h	fourteen
du-namath	ninety-two	tso-vuh	twenty-four

pā:tsh	five
pī:ts-im	fifth
pā:ts-am	fifth day
pan-da:h	fifteen
pā:ts-trih	thirty-five
še	six
še-yim	sixth
šu-ra:h	sixteen
šati-vuh	twenty-six
šeyi-trih	thirty-six
sath	seven
sət-im	seventh
sad-a:h	seventeen
sati- ši:th	eighty-seven

sato: -vuh	twenty-seven
ə:th	eight
ì:th-im	eighth
atho:-vuh	twenty-eight
ari-da:h	eighteen
nav	nine
nə-yim	ninth
nami-namath	ninety-nine
nəh-li	card number
nine	
dəh/da:h	ten
dəh-im	tenth
dov	ten in number

3. Morphology

Traditional grammarians classify morphological structures into four broad groups: isolating, agglutinating, (in)flexional and polysynthetic. An isolating language, such as Vietnamese, is completely devoid of morphology. In contrast, an agglutinating language, such as Turkish, consists of polymorphemic words in which each morpheme corresponds to a single lexical meaning or grammatical function. In an inflectional language, like Latin, the words are polymorphemic, as is the case with agglutination, but the lexical meanings and grammatical functions are at times fused together. A polysynthetic language tends to have incorporation processes. It is important to know that, in this framework, Kashmiri is a mix of both the agglutinating and inflectional type. It shows both types of morphemic processes across most lexical categories such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. This section includes the pertinent morphology of nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives (including the numerals and quantifiers), and adverbs.

3.1. Nouns

Nouns in Kashmiri broadly classify as proper, common--count, mass, and abstract. The distinction is grammatically significant. For example, proper nouns count as a different category for ergative and possessive marking. The gender may be inherent or grammatical. Masculine forms count as basic for deriving other gender forms. Nouns control the verbal and adjectival inflection. More importantly they have independent reference and function as arguments of their predicates.

Nouns are not marked for being definite. There is an optional indefinite marker **-a:h**, as in (1). Generic qualities are expressed by the plural form (2).

1.	ja:n	pa:han	kita:ba:h	ha:v.
	good	one	book.indef	show-imp
	Show me a good book.			

2.	ko:ri	cha	da:na:.
	girls	are	wise

(The) girls are wise.

3.1.1. Gender

Both animate and inanimate nouns are divided into two classes: masculine and feminine. Animates follow the natural gender system. Gender of a large number of inanimate nouns is predictable from their endings. However, in general, inanimate gender is unpredictable. Most gender formation processes involve (i) suffixation, (ii) vocalic and consonantal changes, and (iii) suppletion. Many of the phonological and morphological changes are regular.

Suffixation

The following suffixes are added to nouns to derive masculine forms: **-da:r**, **-dar**, **-vo:l**, **-ul**, and **-ur**. The suffixes incur certain morphophonemic changes., e.g.,

3.	Masculine		Suffix		
	duka:n	shop	+	da:r	duka:nda:r shopkeeper
	the:ki	contract	+	dar	the:kidar contractor
	dɔd	milk	+	vo:l	dɔdivo:l milkman
	ga:ti	wisdom	+	ul	ga:tul wise man
	sa:l	feast	+	ur	sa:lur guest
	po:n'	water	+	ur	pa:n'ur water man

The feminine forms are derived by adding **-en'**, **-in'**, **-ə:n'**, **-ba:y**, **-ir**, **-va:jen'** suffixes to the basic or derived nouns. The last suffix is the feminine form of **vo:l**. Note that some stems stay invariant but some undergo phonemic changes such as: penultimate vowel deletion, vowel change, addition of vowel **i**, in the stem as noted below:

4.	Masculine	Feminine	
	dā:dur	dā:dren'	vegetable seller
	khar	khərin'	an ass
	gujur	gujrə:n'	Gujar
	ma:star	ma:starba:y	teacher
	votsh	vatshir	calf
	ga:divo:l	ga:dīva:jen'	cart driver
	maka:nivo:l	maka:nīva:jen'	house owner

The feminine forms are derived by palatalization of the final

consonant as well, e.g.,

5.	Masculine	Feminine	
	on	ən'	blind
	zon	zən'	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 of the same height in their feminine forms, e.g.,

6.	Masculine		Feminine	
	ʃur	child	ʃuir	
	gu:r	milkman	gu:ir	
	gob	heavy	goəb	
	kot	boy	kət	girl

(ii) The penultimate vowel /**u**/ of the CVCVC structure masculine nouns is replaced by /**i**/, e.g.,

7.	Masculine		Feminine	
	ko:tur	pigeon	ko:ətir	
	kəkur	cock	kəkir	hen

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

8.	Masculine		Feminine	
	mɔ:l	father	mə:j	mother
	ga:tul	wise	ga:tij	
	tsok	sour	tsoc	
	hokh	dry	hoch	
	tot	hot	təts	
	long	lame	lənd	

Suppletion

Some feminine nouns present examples of suppletion as follows:

9.	Masculine		Feminine	
	dā: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 into 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.

10.	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)	rəpay (f)	rupee
	ruma:l (m)	ruma:l (f)	handkerchief

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

Finally, it is interesting to note that feminine forms are used to denote smallness, artificiality, similarity, and special meanings (Grierson 1898a).

3.1.2. Number

There are two numbers: singular and plural. The singular forms are basic. Plurals are formed from singular forms by suffixation, palatalization, and vowel changes. The plural forms vary with gender but no distinction is made between animates and inanimates. Mass nouns use singular forms only. Nouns referring to parts of the body, borrowed English and Hindi nouns with a final consonant, and also several other nouns have the same singular and plural forms.

Masculine plurals

The main rules for masculine plural formation are as follows:

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

11.	Singular		Plural	
	mɔ:l	father	mə:l'	fathers
	kot	boy	kət'	boys
	kul	tree	kul'	trees
	gur	horse	gur'	horses
	ɖu:n	walnut	ɖu:n'	walnuts

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

12.	Singular		Plural	
	ga:ɖul	wise	ga:ɖil'	wise
	latshul	broom	latshil'	brooms

(iii) The penultimate vowel /u/ of (C)VCVC nouns changes to /a/, e.g.,

13.	Singular		Plural	
	gagur	mouse	gagar	mice
	ko:tur	pigeon	ko:tar	pigeons
	o:luv	potato	o:lav	potatoes

(iv) Masculine nouns with similar singular and plural forms.

(a) Masculine nouns ending in /i/:

gila:si 'glass,' **maka:ni** 'house,' **ba:ni** 'utensil,' **nalki** 'tap,' **kamri** 'room,' **darva:zi** 'door,' etc.

(b) CVC nouns with a central vowel /a/:

khar 'donkey,' **va:l** 'hair,' **ma:m** 'maternal uncle,' **sih** 'lion' etc.

(c) Consonant ending borrowed nouns from Hindi-Urdu and English:

bema:r ‘sick,’ **gə:ri:b** ‘poor,’ **mo:zu:r** ‘labourer,’ **ho:ʈal** ‘hotel,’ **saykal** ‘cycle’ etc. (They, however, undergo phonological changes.)

Feminine plurals

Most feminine plurals employ the suffix **-i** with added vocalic and consonantal changes. The consonant changes are significant and play an important role in the aspectual past. Feminine plurals are also formed by adding the suffix **-i** or by final consonantal and stem vowel changes. Some forms remain unchanged in plural. The plural formation rules are as follows:

a. Addition of the suffix **-i**

(i) All the vowels of the CVC(C) forms are lowered, e.g.,

14.	Singular		Plural	
	nə:r	hand	nəri	hands
	də:r	window	dəri	windoows
	gə:r	watch	gəri	watches
	ku:r	girl	kəri	girls

(ii) In addition, final retroflex consonants **/ʈ/**, **/ʑ/**, and **/ɖ/** change to palatals **/ç/**, **/çj/**, and **/j/** respectively, e.g.,

15.	Singular		Plural	
	ləʈ	tail	laci	tails
	zəʑ	rag	zaci	rags
	ləɖ	branch	lanji	branches
	kuʑ	grain store	kuchi	grain stores

(iii) The penultimate vowel **/i/** of CVCVC structure is dropped, e.g.,

16.	Singular		Plural	
	gagir	rat	gagri	rats
	gəgij	turnip	gəgji	turnips
	patij	grass mat	patji	grass mats
	vəzij	red	vəzji	red

b. Some nouns add the suffix **-i** instead of **-i**, e.g.,

17.	Singular		Plural	
	kath	story	kathi	stories
	na:v	boat	na:vi	boats
	dɔs	wall	dɔsi	walls
	bas	bus	basi	buses
	mə:ʃ	buffalo	mə:ʃi	buffaloes
	lej	earthen pot	leji	earthen pots
	vath	road	vati	roads
	məts	mad	matsi	mad
	kəmi:z	shirt	kəmi:zi	shirts

c. The final consonant **/th/** changes to **/ts/** and the preceding vowel is raised in height, e.g.,

18.	Singular		Plural	
	ra:th	night	rə:ts	nights
	za:th	caste	zə:ts	castes

d. A few feminine nouns do not change in their plural form, e.g.,
əch eye / eyes

3.1.3. Case

Primary cases in Kashmiri are nominative, ergative, absolutive, and dative. Case marking of subjects and objects is determined by the aspectual value of the verb. In the nonpast tenses--imperfective, future, etc., both intransitive and transitive subjects, are marked nominative. In the past and perfective tenses, most intransitives are marked nominative. However, the subject of all transitives and a few select intransitives is overtly marked by what is currently known as ergative case. Direct objects in the imperfective may take a dative suffix under certain context. In contrast the direct object in the perfective is always in the absolutive case. In short, Kashmiri exhibits two types of case systems--nominative accusative and ergative absolutive. Kashmiri is like Hindi, Marathi, Punjabi, and some other Indo-Aryan languages. It belongs to a family of a split ergative case system (see Wali & Koul 1997).

In the traditional Kashmiri grammars, ergative is often referred to as an agentive case and no distinction is drawn between the nominative and the absolutive since both are unmarked (see Grierson 1911, Kachru 1969a). It should be noted here that though there is no overt suffix that distinguishes nominative from absolutive, these two cases show different agreements (see 3.4.7., also Wali and Koul 1997).

The dative case is used to mark subjects of experiencer verbs, indirect objects, and also animate direct objects in the imperfective just in case the subject is in a lower person than the object. (see 3.4.7).

The following table represents the core case system in Kashmiri.

1. Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nominative	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
Absolutive	-∅	-∅	-∅	-∅
Ergative	-an / C'	-av	-i / an	-av
Dative	-as / -is	-an	-i /	-an
Ablative	-i / -i	-av	-i	-av

The ergative suffix **-C'**, and the dative suffix **-is**, are used in a special context. The masculine singular forms that form their plurals by palatalization, **-mo:l** 'father,' **mə:l'** 'fathers,' use the palatalized plural forms as ergative singular forms. This complexity is represented by the ergative marker **C'**. The palatalized plural masculine forms are used as a base for the dative case also. These forms use the suffix **-is**/ (i.e., **mo:l mə:lis**). The ergative suffix **-an** and the dative **-is** is used with feminine proper nouns ending in **/i**. Note that most case forms use the same plural forms for both genders. Note that both the dative and ablative cases are used to mark the nouns in the context of possessive and other postpositions. The dative in Kashmiri thus serves a dual function. It marks the core grammatical functions, such as subjects, and objects, but it is also used to mark nouns before certain postpositions (see 3.1.4.).

2. Case	Noun + Marker					
	Sg.		Pl.	Sg.		Pl.
Nom.	ləḍki	boy	ləḍki	ku:r	girl	ko:ri
	mo:l	father	mə:l'			

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	ši:li	Shiela				
Erg.	ləḍkan		ləḍkav	ko:ri		ko:rev
	mə:l'		ma:l'av			
	ši:lan					
Dat.	ləḍkas		ləḍkan	ko:ri		ko:ren
	mə:lis		ma:len			
	ši:las					

For a full illustration of the above case forms in various subject and object functions see the section on agreement. These examples show the case and agreement linking across various verb classes and tenses.

Possessive Markings

The possessive relation in Kashmiri is expressed by three distinct suffixes -UN, UK, H/S-UND. Each suffix is cued to some feature of the possessor. What is interesting is that the possessors do not show any natural feature for being thus classified. The suffix -UN, for example, is used for human proper nouns only. It divides proper nouns against all others and adds a rare grammatical significance to a proper noun. The suffix -UK is used for masculine singular inanimate nouns only. The third suffix, H/S-UND, is used for the rest of the nouns. It includes all plural nouns, all feminine nouns, and all animate masculine singular common nouns. The possessor is marked ablative for Type I and II. It is marked dative for Type III.

Classification of Possessive Suffixes:

3.	Type	Suffix	Case marker	Class of Possessor
	I	UN	ablative	Proper Nouns
	II	UK	ablative	Inanimates (masculine singular)
	III	H/S-UND	dative	All other nouns (all feminine forms, all plural forms, all animate masculine singulars)

Note that the H/S-UND suffix is also added to proper nouns ending in noncentral vowels **varma:**, **rə:na:**, and also added to names of some gods, such as **brhma:** and **višnu**. -SUND is also added to certain inanimate nouns to indicate the sense of 'made of' (Grierson 1985: 919).

4.	varma:sund maka:n	Verma's house.
	soni-sund chatir	an umbrella made of gold
	ropi-sund chatir	an umbrella made of silver

Both ablative and dative case markers precede the possessive suffixes and vary according to the gender and number of the possessor.

5.	Case	Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
	Dat.	-as / -is	-an	-i	-an
	Abl.	-i / -i	-av	-i	-av

Note that there is a morphological complexity with respect to both dative and ablative masculine singular forms. The suffix “assumes the form” in the context of masculine singular nouns that end in high central vowel **-i** or in a palatalized consonant.

The ablative is used only with type I and II suffixes (i.e., -UN and -UK). These are confined to proper nouns and masculine singular inanimates. All other categories use the dative case. Thus only the masculine singular forms of the ablative are used. The plural and the feminine forms of the ablative never come into play. Clearly the ablative singular form **-i / -i** could be listed as a suppletive form of the dative singular **/-as, -is/**. (For other analyses of this morphological complexity see Grierson 1911, Bhat 1987, and Payne 1995.)

Possessive suffixes further decline according to the gender and number of the possessed noun. The suffixes also copy the overt cases - ergative, dative - of the possessed noun. If the possessed noun takes a postposition, then the suffixes are marked simply dative without the postposition. The addition of case suffixes changes the morphological forms of the suffixes as shown below.

Forms of the suffixes:

Head noun in the nominative case:

Possessor suffix Possessed / head noun

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6.	Type		Masculine		Feminine	
			Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
	I	UN	-un	-in'	-in'	-ini
	II	UK	-uk	-ik'	-ic	-ici
	III a.	HUND	-hund	-hind'	-hinz	-hinzi
	b.	SUND	-sund	-sind'	-sinz	-sinzi

Head noun in the ergative case:

7.	Type		Masculine		Feminine	
			Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
	I	UN	-in'	-in'av	-ini	-in'av
	II	UK	-ik'	-ik'av	-ici	-icav
	III a.	HUND	-hind'	-hind'av	-hinzi	-hinzav
	b.	SUND	-sind'	-sind'av	-sinzi	-sinzav

Head noun in the dative case:

8.	Type		Masculine		Feminine	
			Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
	I	UN	-inis	-in'an	-ini	-in'an
	II	UK	-ikis	-ik'an	-ici	-ican
	III a.	HUND	-hindis	-hind'an	-hinzi	-hinzan
	b.	SUND	-sindis	-sind'an	-sinzi	-sinzan

Possessive forms of UN varying with gender and number of the head noun:

9.	Nom.	mohn-un bə:y	Mohan's brother
		mohn-in' bə:y	Mohan's brothers
		mohn-in' beni	Mohan's sister
		mohn-ini beni	Mohan's sisters

Possessive forms of UN (Type I) varying with case of the head noun:

10.	Erg.	mohn-in'	mə:l'	vod.
		Mohan-msg-erg	father-msg-erg	cried
		Mohan's father cried.		

11.	Dat.	me	dits mohninis	necvis	kita:b.
		I-dat	gave Mohan.msg.dat	son.dat	book
		I gave a book to Mohan's son.			

12.	Dat.	me	niyi mohninis	necvis	niši	kita:b
		I-erg	took Mohan-msg-dat	son-dat	from	book
		I took a book from Mohan's son.				

Possessive forms of UK varying with case and gender of the head noun:

13.	Nom.	duka:nuk mə:likh	shop's owner
		duka:nik' mə:likh	shop's owners
		duka:nic də:r	shop's window
		duka:nici da:ri	shop's windows

Possessive forms of UK varying with case and postposition of the head noun:

14.	Erg.	maka:nik'	mə:likan	vod.
		house.poss.msg.erg	owner.msg.erg	cried
		The owner of the house cried.		

15.	Dat.	me	kun	akhba:r	garikis	mə:likas
		I.erg	sold	newspaper	house.poss.msg.dat	owner-msg-dat
		I sold the newspaper to the owner of the house.				

16.	Postp.	me	niyi	garikis	mə:likas	nish	kita:b
		I.erg	took.fs	house.poss.dat	owner.dat	near	book.fs
		I took a book to the owner of the house.					

Possessive forms of hund / sund varying with case and postposition of the head noun:

17.	Nominative forms of -HUND					
	ko:ri hund bo:y	girl's brother				
	ko:ri hind' bə:y	girl's brothers				
	ko:ri hinz kita:b	girl's book.fsg				
	ko:ri hinzi kita:bi	girl's books.fpl				

Note the following morphological changes:

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ku:r	+	i	+	hund / h̄ind' / h̄inz / h̄inzi	=	ko:ri hund / h̄ind' / h̄inz / h̄inzi
kita:b	+	i	+	hund / h̄ind' / h̄inz / h̄inzi	=	kita:bi hund / h̄ind' / h̄inz / h̄inzi
beni	+	i	+	hund / h̄ind' / h̄inz / h̄inzi	=	beni hund / h̄ind' / h̄inz / h̄inzi

18. Nominative forms of -SUND

l̄ɔ̄ki sund kalam	boy's pen.msg
l̄ɔ̄ki sind' kalam	boy's pens.mpl
l̄ɔ̄ki s̄inz kursi:	boy's chair.fsg
l̄ɔ̄ki s̄inzi kursi:yi	boy's chairs.fpl

Note the following morphological changes:

l̄ɔ̄ki	+	as	+	hund / h̄ind' / h̄inz / h̄inzi	=	l̄ɔ̄ki sund / sind' / s̄inz / s̄inzi
bo:y	+	is	+	hund / h̄ind' / h̄inz / h̄inzi	=	b̄o:y sund / sind' / s̄inz / s̄inzi
m̄o:l	+	is	+	hund / h̄ind' / h̄inz / h̄inzi	=	m̄o:l' sund / sind' / s̄inz / s̄inzi

19. Possessor in the plural

l̄ɔ̄kan / ko:ren hund ma:s̄tar	boys' / girls' teacher.msg
l̄ɔ̄kan / ko:ren h̄ind' ma:s̄tar	boys' / girls' teachers.mpl
l̄ɔ̄kan / ko:ren h̄inz m̄ə:j	boys' / girls' mother.fsg
l̄ɔ̄kan / ko:ren h̄inzi ma:ji	boys' / girls' mothers.fpl

Ergative and dative forms:

20.	ko:ri-h̄ind'	m̄ə:l'	p̄ər	kita:b.
	girl.fsg.dat.poss.msg.erg	father.erg	read.fs	book.fs
	The girl's father read the book.			

21.	tse	ɖitsɪθ	kɔ:riɦɪndɪs	mə:lɪs	kɪtə:b.
	you.erg	gave.fsg	girl.dat.poss.msg.dat	father.dat	book.fsg
	You gave a book to the girl's father.				

Ergative and dative forms:

22.	lɔɖkɪsɪnd'	do:stɪn	pər	kɪtə:b.
	boy.msg.poss.msg.erg	friend.erg	read.fsg	book.fsg
	The friend of the boy read the book.			

23.	tse	ɖitsɪθ	lɔɖkɪsɪndɪs	do:stɪs	kɪtə:b.
	you-erg	gave.fsg	boy.poss.msg.dat	friend.dat	book
	You gave a book to the friend of the boy.				

Possessive and Double Case Marking

Double case marking involves marking of a nominal with an extra case besides its own case. For example, in certain languages the possessor is marked not only for the possessive case but also for the case, and at times number and gender, of the head noun. This has been described as an instance of double case marking in traditional descriptive grammars. (See Plank 1995 for an extensive account of double case marking.)

Since the possessive suffix in Kashmiri is marked for the gender, number, and case of the head noun, it seems to satisfy the definition of double case marking. However, double case marking in Kashmiri is controversial, as noted in Wali, Koul, and Koul 2002.

Vocative case:

Vocative suffix varies in gender and number with the addressee:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
-a:	-av	-iy	-av

Besides these vocative markers there is a large vocabulary of informal address terms that optionally precede the nouns. These terms vary along a social scale indicating informality, social status and various degrees of politeness. Tables (24) and (25) illustrate the

formal and informal terms. The informal terms show gender and number distinctions. (For details see Koul 1984.)

Formal terms:

24.	Polite	Formal / honorific
	he:	hatihaz
	hasə:	hatima:hra:
	hatisə:	hatijina:b
	talisə:	talihaz / talima:hra: / talijina:b

The polite forms express affection, and are used in addressing youngsters or the persons of the same age group. Formal or honorific terms express respect, and are used in formal situations.

Informal terms:

25.	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
	haya:	hayo:	haye:	haye:
	hata:	hato:	hatay	hatay
	hayo:	hayo:	hə:y	hə:y
	hatiba:	hatiba:	hatibi:	hatibi:
	tala:v	talav	talay	talay

Examples of the informal vocative form /**haya:**/:

26.	Nominative		Vocative	
	ləḍki	boy	haya: ləḍka:	O boy
	ləḍki	boys	hayo: ləḍkav	O boys
	ku:r	girl	haye: ku:ri:y	O girl
	kə:ri	girls	haye: kə:rev	O girls

3.1.4. Postpositions

Postpositions, unlike case markings, have specific semantic content such as benefaction, manner, or location. In Kashmiri, postpositions divide into three types:

Type I: Postpositions governing the dative case

peth	on, upon
andar	in / inside
manz	in
keth	in
k'uth	for
nishi	near
sa:n	with, together with
si:th'	with, together with
si:t'an	with, together with
tal	under

Type II: Postpositions governing the ablative case

pethi	from
əndri	from within, from among
kin'	by, owing to
niši	from, near
sa:n	with
si:th'	with, by means of
si:t'an	with, by means of
khə:tri	for
ba:path	for
tali	from under

Type III: Postpositions governing both dative and ablative cases

sa:n	with
niši	near
si:th'	with
si:t'an	with, by means of

The meaning of the postposition **sa:n** in both cases remains unchanged, but other postpositions change their meanings according to the case they govern. Dative case, for example, indicates committative sense while the ablative imparts instrumental meaning.

3.1.4.1. Functions of Postpositions

a. Benefaction:

Benefaction is expressed by postpositions such as **k'uth** / **k'ut**, **khə:tri**, **ba:path**, all glossed as 'for.' The postposition **k'uth** marks the noun with a dative case; the postpositions **khə:tri**, and **ba:path** mark it in ablative case. The postposition **k'uth** inflects for the number and gender of the head noun. It is the only postposition that shows inflection for its head. It thus resembles the possessive noted above.

Inflections of **k'uth**:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
k'uth	kith'	kitsh	kitshi

Benefactor+dat+k'uth+head

13.	ra:jan	ən'	mohnas	kitsh	kəmi:z.
	Raja.erg	brought.fsg	Mohan.dat	for.fsg	shirt.fsg
	Raja brought a shirt for Mohan.				

14.	ra:jan	ani	mohnas	kitshi	kəmi:zi.
	Raja.erg	brought.fpl	Mohan.dat	for.fpl	shirt.fpl
	Raja brought shirts for Mohan.				

15.	aslaman	su:z'	palav	səli:mni	khə:tri
	Aslam.erg	sent	clothes	Salim.poss.abl	for
	Aslam sent clothes for Salim.				

16.	aslam	a:v	səli:mni	ba:path	yo:r
	Aslam	came	Salim.gen.abl	for	here
	Aslam came here for the sake of Salim.				

Sometimes the dative case alone conveys the benefaction, e.g.,

17.	təm'	dits	paninis	šuris	kita:b
	he.erg	gave.fsg	self's.dat	child.dat	book.fsg

	He gave a book to his child.
--	------------------------------

The postpositions **khə:tri** and **ba:path** are also used to express purpose with the infinitive form of the verb, e.g.,

18.	su	gav	duka:nas	peṭh	dəd	anini	ba:path / khə:tri
	he	went	shop.dat	on	milk	bring.inf.abl	for
	He went to the market to bring milk.						

b. Source:

Postpositions **peṭhi** ‘from,’ **əndri / manzi** ‘from within’ express the notion of the source.

19.	yi	khabar	mi:j	re:ḍiyo:	peṭhi
	this	news	got-fs	radio	from
	(We) got this news from the radio.				

20.	su	dra:v	kamri	əndri / manzi
	he	came out	room.abl	from / within
	He came out of the room.			

The possessive marker -UK is also employed to indicate the source, e.g.,

21.	yi	kurti	chu	lakhnavuk
	this	shirt.msg	is	Lucknow.poss
	This shirt is from Lucknow.			

The phrase **lakhnavuk** can be further reduced into its adjectival counterpart **lakhnavi**: which also indicates its source.

c. Instrumentality:

Instrumentality is expressed by means of **si:th'** / **si:t'an** ‘with,’ and **zəriyi** ‘by.’ The former two are also used to express the commitative relation, e.g.,

22.	mohnan	tsot	ka:kaz	šra:pci	si:th'
	Mohan.erg	cut.nsg	paper.msg	knife.msg.abl	with
	Mohan cut the paper with a knife.				

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23.	šur'	l'u:kh	bo:das	peth	ca:ki	si:th' / si:t'an
	child.erg	wrote.msg	board-dat	on	chalk.abl	with
	The child wrote on the board with a piece of chalk.					

24.	təm'	su:z	šech	ta:ri hindi	zəriyi
	he.erg	sent	message	telegram.fs.dat.poss.abl	by
	He sent the message by telegram.				

25.	təm'	su:z	šech	aslamni	zəriyi
	he.erg	sent	message	Aslam.poss.abl	by
	He sent the message through Aslam.				

26.	bi	go:s	aslamas	si:th' / si:t'an	cakras
	I	went	Aslam.dat	with	walk.dat
	I went for a walk with Aslam.				

Negative instrumentality and committative relations are expressed by either **bagə:r** or **varə:y** 'without' which follow the noun. These mark the noun with ablative / dative, e.g.,

27.	me	phu:tro:v	du:n	kani	bagə:r
	I.er	broke.ms	walnut	stone.abl	without
	I broke a walnut without using a stone.				

28.	təm'	pər	ci:th'	ə:nki	varə:y
	he-er	read	letter	glasses-abl	without
	He read the letter without using glasses.				

29.	bi	go:s	aslamas	varə:y / bagə:r	ga:m
	I	went	Aslam-dat	without	village
	I went to the village without Aslam.				

d. Cause:

Cause is expressed by **si:th' / si:ten**. It is also expressed by **vajah kin'** 'for the reason of' **tarphi** 'side,' e.g.,

30.	bunili	si:th' / si:ten	pev	maka:n
	earthquake-abl	with	fell-ms	house
	The house fell down because of the earthquake.			

31.	təm'sindi	vaja:h	kin'	pev	me	ga:ti
	he.gen.abl	reason	for	fell	I.dat	loss
	I had to undergo loss because of him.					

32.	təm'sindi	tarphi	m'u:l	ni	me	səkh	zā:h
	he-gen-abl	side	got-ms	neg	me-dat	comfort	never
	I have never got comfort on his account.						

e. Purpose:

Purpose is expressed by **khə:tri**, **ba:path** 'for.'

33.	su	gav	ba:zar	sabzi:	anini	khə:tri
	he	went	market	vegetables	bring.inf.abl	for
	He went to the market for bringing vegetables.					

34.	su	gav	duka:nas	pəth	dəd
	he	went	shop.dat	on	milk
	anini		ba:path / khə:tri		
	hring.inf.abl / bring.abl		for		
	He went to the market to bring the milk.				

f. Manner:

Manner is expressed by means of **sa:n** 'with / way.'

35.	m'o:n	do:s	chu	a:ra:mi	sa:n	kə:m	kara:n
	my-ms	friend	is	leisure.abl	with	work	do.pr
	My friend works leisurely.						

36.	sabri	sa:n	kəriv	kə:m
	patience.abl	with	do.imp.2pl	work
	(Please) work with patience.			

Negative manner is either expressed by adding the preverbal negative particles **varə:y** / **bagə:r** 'without' or the emphatic negative marker **nay** to the verb, e.g.,

37.	asni	varə:y / bagə:r	von	nəsi:man
	laugh.inf.abl	without	said	Nasim.erg
	Nasim said without laughing.			

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38.	su	chuni	sabri	sa:n	kə:m	kara:n
	he	is.neg	patience.abl	with	work	do.pr
He does not work with patience.						

39.	su	dra:v	šara:rti	sa:n	kə:m	karnay
	he	left	anger.abl	with	work	do.neg.emp
He left in anger without doing the work.						

g. Locative:

Locative functions may be expressed by dative or ablative cases alone or by employing postpositions **manz** 'in / at rest,' \emptyset [zero] / **kun** 'motion to,' **peṭhi** 'motion from,' **mənz'** 'motion through past,' and **ta:m** 'motion up to' which follow the case marks.

Locative with ablative / dative case:

40.	su	chu	mumbyi	ro:za:n
	he	is	Mumbai.abl	live.pr
He lives in Mumbai.				

41.	su	gav	ra:th	a:gra:
	he	went	yesterday	Agra
He went to Agra yesterday.				

Locative with postpositions:

42.	su	dra:v	ga:mas	kun
	he	set out	village.dat	toward
He set out toward the village.				

43.	bi	a:s	ra:th	dili	peṭhi
	I	came	yesterday	Delhi.abl	from
I came from Delhi yesterday.					

44.	bas	cha	ga:mi	mənz'	gatsha:n
	bus.fsg	is.fsg	village.abl	through	go.pr
The bus goes through the village.					

45.	bi	gatshi	paga:h	ba:zar	ta:m
	I	go.fut	tomorrow	market	up to
I will go up to the market tomorrow.					

h. Proximate location:

The postpositions **nəzdi:kh**, **kəri:b**, **niši** ‘near,’ express proximate location. They mark the noun with a dative suffix. The postposition **manzi** ‘from within’ takes the ablative case.

46.	maka:nas	nəzdi:kh	chu	duka:n
	house.dat	near	is-msg	shop.msg
	The shop is near the house.			

47.	su	vo:t	daphtaras	nəzdi:kh	ta:m
	he	reached	office.dat	near	up to
	He reached up to near the house.				

48.	šur'sinz	a:va:z	a:yi	gari	manzi
	child.gen.abl	voice-fsg	came.fsg	house-abl	from within
	The child's voice came from within the house.				

i. Interior location:

Interior location is expressed by **andar** / **manz** ‘inside of’ preceded by the dative suffixes. The postposition **əndri** ‘from inside’ takes the ablative case suffix.

49.	yath	maka:nas	andar / manz	chu	ni	kā:h	ro:za:n
	this-dat	house.dat	inside	is	neg	anyone	live.pr
	No one lives inside this house.						

50.	šur	dra:v	kamri	əndri
	child	came out	room.abl	from
	The child came out of the house.			

j. Exterior location:

Exterior location is denoted by the postposition **nebar** ‘outside of’ preceded by the dative or ablative case.

51.	su	chu	ga:mas	nebar	ro:za:n
	he	is	village.dat	outside	live.pr
	He lives outside the village.				

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52.	su	chu	ga:mi	nebar	ro:za:n
	he	is	village.abl	outside	live.pr
	He lives outside the village.				

53.	su	dra:v	ga:mas	nebar	ta:m
	he	set out	village.dat	outside	up to
	He came up to outer side the village.				

54.	ga:mi	neb̄ir'	kin'	cha	akh
	village.abl	outside.abl	toward	is	a
	saḍakh	bane:m̄its			
	road	made.pst.ptc			
	A road is built outside the village.				

k. Anterior location:

Anterior location is expressed by the postposition **br̄oh kani** 'in front of' preceded by the dative case suffixes.

55.	soku:las	br̄oh kani	chu	akh ba:g
	school.dat	in front of	is	a garden
	There is a garden in front of the school.			

56.	soku:las	br̄oh kani	peṭhi	cha	bas	ne:ra:n
	school.dat	in front of	from	is	bus	start.pr
	A bus starts from in front of the school.					

57.	soku:li	br̄oh kin'	cha	akh	bas	paka:n
	school.abl	in front of	is.fsg	one	bus.fsg	run.pr
	A bus runs past in front of the school.					

58.	soku:las	br̄oh kani	ta:m	cha	saḍakh
	school.dat	in front of	up to	is.fsg	road.fsg
	There is a road up to in front of the school.				

l. Posterior location:

Posterior location is denoted by the **pati kani** 'in the back of' preceded by the dative case, e.g.,

59.	soku:las	pati kani	chu	akh	duka:n
	school.dat	behind.abl	is.msg	one	shop.msg
	There is a shop behind the school.				

60.	soku:las	pat̄i kani	pethi	yot	ta:m
	school.dat	behind.abl	from	here	up to
	chi	sa:s	mi:tar		
	are	thousand	meter		
	There is a distance of one thousand meters from behind the school to this place.				

61.	soku:li	pət' kin'	cha	bas	paka:n
	school.abl	behind.abl	is.fsg	bus.fsg	run.pr

62.	soku:las	pat̄i kani	ta:m	cha	bas	yiva:n
	school.dat	behind.abl	up to	is.fsg	bus.fsg	come.pr

m. Superior location:

Superior location is denoted by the use of the postpositions **peth'**, **peth' kin'** 'above,' preceded by the ablative case, e.g.,

63.	maka:ni	peth' / peth' kin'	chi	ja:nvar	vuph-a:n
	house.abl	on /above.abl	are	birds	fly-pr
	The birds fly above the (top of the) house.				

n. Medial location:

Medial location is expressed by **manzas** 'in the middle,' **semanzas** 'in the center' or **darmiya:n** 'middle' preceded by the nouns in the dative case. Notice that the dative suffix -as is added to the simple postpositions **manz** 'in,' **semanz** 'center' for deriving the first two forms. The dative suffix can also be added to **darmiya:n** as well. For distinguishing 'between' and 'among,' expressions such as **dɔn** 'of the two,' and **tren** 'of the three' **sa:rivi:y** 'of all' can also be added along with the dative suffixes.

64.	m'o:n	maka:n	chu	ba:zras	manzas / semanzas
	my.poss	house.msg	is.msg	market.dat	middle.dat /center.dat
	My house is in the middle /center of the market.				

65.	yi	duka:n	chu	dɔn	saḍkan	manzas
	this	shop.msg	is.msg	two.dat	roads.dat	middle.dat
	This shop is between the two roads.					

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66.	ga:mas	darmiya:n	cha	akh	məši:d
	village.dat	middle	is.fsg	one	mosque.fsg
	There is a mosque in the middle of the village.				

67.	ga:mi	mənz'	cha	akh	səḍakh	ne:ra:n
	village.abl	middle.abl	is.fsg	one	road.fsg	come out.pr
	A road comes out through the middle of the village.					

68.	ga:mas	manzas	ta:m	chu	po:n'	va:ta:n
	village.dat	center.dat	up to	is.msg	water.msg	reach.pr
	Water reaches up to the middle of the village.					

o. Superior-contact / Surface location:

Superior-contact / surface location is denoted by the postposition **pəṭh** 'on' preceded by the dative case suffixes. It can be followed by the use of **ta:m** 'up to'.

69.	me:zas	pəṭh	cha	kita:b
	table.dat	on	is.fsg	book.fsg
	The book is on the table.			

70.	ma:zas	pəṭh	ta:m	chi	palav	vəhrith
	table.dat	on	up to	are	clothes	spread.cp
	The clothes are spread out up to the table.					

p. Inferior location:

Inferior location is indicated by the postposition **tal** 'under, below,' **tali** 'from under,' **təl' təl'** 'through / past under' and **tal ta:m** 'up to under' preceded by the case suffixes added to nouns.

71.	zəmi:ni	tal	chu	po:n'
	ground.abl	under	is.msg	water.msg
	There is water under the ground.			

72.	zəmi:ni	tali	dra:v	po:n'
	ground.abl	under.abl	came out	water.fsg
	Water appeared from under the ground.			

73.	zəmi:ni	təl'	təl'	chu	po:n'	paka:n
	ground-abl	under-abl	under-abl	is	water	run-pr
	Water is passing through under the ground.					

74.	zəmi:nas	tal	ta:m	vo:t	po:n'
	ground.dat	under	up to	reached.msg	water.msg
	Water reached up to under the ground.				

q. Lateral location:

Lateral and lateral-contact locations are expressed by the postpositions **si:th'** / **si:ten** 'in the company of / besides' preceded by the dative case suffixes added to the nouns. The duplicated form of **si:th'** can be used in the sense of 'past beside.'

75.	aslam	b'u:th	səli:mas	si:th' / si:ten
	Aslam	sat	Salim.dat	with
	Aslam sat besides Salim.			

76.	mohni	dra:v	deva:ras	si:th'	si:th'	nebar
	Mohan	set out	wall.dat	with	with	outside
	Mohan came out past beside the wall.					

r. Circumferential location:

Circumferential location is denoted by adding **ənd' ənd'** 'around,' **tsəpə:r'** 'on all sides' preceded by the dative suffixes added to the nouns.

77.	yath	ba:gas	ənd' ənd'	cha	dəs
	this.dat	garden.dat	around	is-fsg	wall.fsg
	There is a wall around this garden.				

78.	puli:s	chu	bankas	tsəpə:r'	yista:di
	police	is	bank.dat	on all sides	standing
	The police are standing on all the sides of the bank.				

3.2. Pronouns

3.2.1. Personal Pronouns

Pronouns have distinct forms for first, second, and third person. They are inflected for gender, number, and case. There is no gender distinction in the first and second person. Third person pronouns exhibit a three-term distinction, namely - proximate, remote I (R.I within sight) and remote II (R.II out of sight). The distinction refers to the participants in the speech act. Second and third person plural forms are used for honorific singulars as well. Although the case system of pronouns is essentially the same as that of nouns, pronouns have more case forms than nouns.

Case

Nominative					
Person		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st		bɪ	əs'	bɪ	əs'
2 nd		tsɪ	tɔh'	tsɪ	tɔh'
3 rd	Prox.	yi	yim	yi	yim
	R.I	hu	hum	hɔ	humɪ
	R.II	su	tim	sɔ	timɪ

Dative					
Person		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st		me	asi	me	asi
2 nd		tse	tɔhi	tse	tɔhi
3 rd	Prox.	yemis	yiman	yemis	yiman
	R.I	homis	human	homis	human
	R.II	təmis	timan	təmis	timan

Ablative					
Person		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st		me	asi	me	asi
2 nd		tse	tɔhi	tse	tɔhi
3 rd	Prox.	yemi	yimav	yemi	yimav
	R.I	homi	humav	homi	humav

	R.II	tami	timav	tami	timav
--	------	-------------	--------------	-------------	--------------

Ergative					
Person		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st		me	asi	me	asi
2 nd		tse	tōhi	tse	tōhi
3 rd	Prox.	yem'	yimav	yemi	yimav
	R.I	hom'	humav	homi	humav
	R.II	təm'	timav	tami	timav

Genitive / Possessive

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

Modifier Deixis	Gender and Number			
	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st Sg.	m'o:n	me:n'	me:n'	m'a:ni
1 st Pl.	so:n	sə:n'	sə:n'	sa:ni
2 nd Sg.	co:n	cə:n'	cə:n'	ca:ni
2 nd Pl.	tuhund	tuhind'	tuhinz	tuhinzi
3 rd Sg. (Prox.)	yem'sund	yem'sind'	yem'sinz	yem'sinzi
3 rd Pl. (Prox.)	yihund	yihind'	yihinz	yihanzi
3 rd Sg. (R.I)	hom'sund	hom'sind'	hom'sinz	hom'sinzi
3 rd Pl. (R.I)	huhund	huhind'	huhinz	huhinzi
3 rd Sg. (R.II)	təm'sund	təm'sind'	təm'sinz	təm'sinzi
3 rd Pl. (R.II)	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 pronouns

Emphatic pronouns are formed by adding emphatic particle **-iy** to the

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pronouns in all cases. Note that the emphatic particle induces certain phonological changes. The initial vowel of the particle is elided when it is added to the vowel ending or palatalized consonant ending pronouns. However, the initial vowel of the particle changes to a when it is added to consonant ending pronouns. **bi** + **iy** = **biy** ‘I myself,’ **əs** + **iy** = **əsiy** ‘we ourselves’ **tsi** + **iy** = **tsiy** ‘thou thyself,’ **toh** + **iy** = **tohiy** ‘you yourself,’ **su** + **iy** = **suy** ‘he himself,’ **sɔ** + **iy** = **sɔy** ‘she herself,’ **tim** + **iy** = **timay** ‘they themselves.’

The pronominal emphatic forms in the nominative are given below:

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st	biy	əsiy	biy	əsiy
2 nd	tsiy	tohiy	tsiy	tohiy
3 rd	Prox. yihoy	yimay	yihə:y	yimay
	R.I hohay	humay	yɔhə:y	humay
	R.II suy	timay	sɔy	timay

The pronominal case forms are also modified: **me** + **iy** = **mey**, **tse** + **iy** = **tsey**, **tɔhi** + **iy** = **tɔhiy**, **təmis** + **iy** = **təm’siy**, **yi** + **iy** = **yi** or **yih** + **iy** = **yihay**, etc. Notice that some other phonological changes too, take place: **kēh** + **iy** = **kē:tsay** ‘hardly a few,’ **kha:liy** **kā:h** ‘hardly anyone.’

Null pronouns

Null pronouns usually result when the verb is inflected for pronominal suffixes as explained in Hook and Koul (1984:123-135). Note that currently these suffixes are referred to as clitics (Wali and A. Koul 1994, Wali and Koul 1997). Pronominal suffixes / clitics form a sub agreement system of their own. The paradigmatic details of suffixation have been noted in section (3.4.7). The properties of these suffixes may be summarized as follows:

- a. The suffixes occur with all three persons. They vary with the person and number of the pronoun. They do not show any gender distinctions.
- b. The suffixes occur only with pronouns in argument positions such as subject, direct object and indirect object.

c. The suffix form is cued to the pronoun's case form, which may be nominative / absolutive, ergative, or dative. The possessive forms do not show any suffixation.

d. The suffixation for second person is obligatory in all its case forms and argument positions. The second person pronoun itself may be overtly present or optionally deleted.

e. The suffixation for ergative marked first and third person subjects is obligatory only if the pronouns are in their null forms (i.e., absent). The suffixation is optional in the presence of the pronouns.

f. The suffixation for dative marked first and third person pronouns obligatorily deletes the pronouns. The overt forms of pronouns are in complementary distribution with the suffixes.

In short, the presence of the pronominal suffixes allows a pronoun to delete. The pronoun then takes a null form. Null pronouns are predominant in a discourse context as shown below.

1.	mohni	voth	nendri	subihan	šeyi	baji
	Mohan	got up.msg	sleep.abl	morning.loc	six.abl	o'clock
	Mohan got up at six o'clock in the morning.					

2.	athi	buth	cholun.	šra:n	korun
	hands	face	wash.3ps	bath	did.3ps
	He washed his hands and face. He took a bath.				

3.	ca:y	ceyan	ti	kərin	soku:lic	kə:m
	tea	drank.3ps	and	did.3ps	school.gen	work.fsg
	He drank tea and completed his school assignment.					

4.	do:s	a:s	na:das	ti	dra:yi	dəšvay	soku:l
	friend	came.3ps	call.dat	and	set out	both	school
	His friend came to call on him and both of them went to school.						

3.2.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns have the same forms as the third person pronouns noted above. There are, however, an additional demonstrative pronoun *ti* 'that (out of sight)' is used with inanimate

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nouns. Its dative form is tath. The demonstrative pronouns are used as demonstrative adjectives also.

5.	ti	o:s	ni	kə:phi:
	that	was	neg	enough
	That was not enough.			

6	tat h	ba:ga s	man z	ch u	du:n'	ku l
	that -dat	garde n	in	is	walnut s	tre e
	There is a walnut tree in that garden.					

Status distinction

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 / madam' 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.

3.2.3. Indefinite Pronouns

There are no special indefinite pronouns. The indefiniteness is expressed in different ways: (i) by means of second person pronoun; (ii) by omitting third person pronouns; (iii) by using generic nouns such as **yinsa:n**, **manuš** 'man / human being;' and (iv) by using indefinite quantifiers such as **kā:h** 'someone / anyone / something / anything.' An alternate form **kē:htshah** (plural) is also in use. It does not decline for case. Declension of **kā:h** is given below:

Case	Masculine / Feminine	
	Sg	Pl.
Nom.	kā:h	kēh
Dat.	kā:si	kē:tsan
Erg.	kā:si	kē:tsav

Abl.	kā:si	kē:tsav
------	--------------	----------------

7.	prath kā:si	pazi	mə:lis ma:ji hund	ma:nun
	everyone.dat	should	parents.dat.gen	accept.inf
	Everyone should obey their parents.			

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8.	vanini	chu	yiva:n	prath kã:h	chu	apiz'o:r
	say.inf.abl	is	come.pass	everyone	is	liar
It is said everyone is a liar.						

9.	kã:h	cha:	yithi kin'	kath	kara:n?	
	any	is.Q	like this	talk	do.pr	
Does anyone talk like this?						

10.	təmis	cha:	kēh	kita:bi?
	he.dat	is.Q	any	books
Does he have any books?				

11.	yi	kə:m	heki	kã:tsha:h	ti	kəri:h
	this	work	can	anyone	emp	do.cp
This work can be done by anyone?						

3.2.4. Relative Pronouns

The relative pronoun **yus** 'who, which, that' is inflected for gender, number, and case as shown below.

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	yus	yim	yəs	yimi
Dat.	yemis	yiman	yemis	yiman
Abl.	yemi	yimav	yemi	yimav
Erg.	yem'	yimav	yemi	yimav
Gen.	yem'sund	yihund	yem'sinz	yehnzi

There is an elaborate set of relative and correlative pronouns as noted below.

(a) Animate masculine relative / correlative forms:

Case	Singular		Plural	
	Rel.	Cor.	Rel.	Cor.
Nom.	yus	su	yim	tim
Dat.	yəmis / yas	təmis / tas	yiman	timan
Erg.	yem'	təm'	yimav	timav
Gen.	yem'sund	tam'sund	yimanhund	timanhund

(b) Animate feminine relative / correlative forms:

Case	Singular		Plural	
	Rel.	Cor.	Rel.	Cor.
Nom.	yəsi	sə	yimi	timi
Dat.	yəmis / yas	təmis / tas	yiman	timan
Erg.	yemi	tami	yimav	timav
Gen.	yem'sinz	təm'sinz	yimanhinz	timanhinz

(c) Inanimate masculine relative / corelative forms:

Case	Singular		Plural	
	Rel.	Cor.	Rel.	Cor.
Nom.	yi	ti	yim	tim
Dat.	yath	tath	yiman	timan
Erg.	yem'	təm'	yimav	timav
Gen.	yem'uk	tam'uk	yimanhund	timanhund

(d) Inanimate feminine relative / correlative forms:

Case	Singular		Plural	
	Rel.	Cor.	Rel.	Cor.
Nom.	yi	ti	yim	tim
Dat.	yath	tath	yiman	timan
Erg.	yemi	tami	yimav	timav
Gen.	yemic	tamic	yimanhinz	timanhinz

3.2.4.1. Other Relative Words

Adjectives of comparison referring to quality

(a) Masculine forms:

Case	Singular		Plural	
	Rel.	Cor.	Rel.	Cor.
Nom.	yuth	t'uth	yith'	tith'
Dat.	yithis	tithis	yith'an	tith'an
Erg.	yith'	tith'	yith'av	tith'av
Abl.	yithi	tithi	yith'av	tith'av
Gen.	yith'sund	tith'sund	yith'anhund	tith'anhund

(b) Feminine forms:

Case	Singular		Plural	
	Rel.	Cor.	Rel.	Cor.
Nom.	yitsh	titsh	yitshi	titshi
Dat.	yitshi	titshi	yitshan	titshan
Erg.	yitshi	titshi	yitshav	titshav
Abl.	yitshi	titshi	yitshav	titshav
Gen.	yem'uk	tam'uk	yimanhund	timanhund

Adjectives of comparison referring to quantity

(a) Masculine forms:

Case	Singular		Plural	
	Rel.	Cor.	Rel.	Cor.
Nom.	yu:t	t'u:t	yi:t'	ti:t'
Dat.	yi:tis	ti:tis	yi:t'an	ti:t'an
Erg.	yi:t'	ti:t'	yi:t'av	ti:t'av
Gen.	yi:t'uk	ti:t'uk	yi:t'anhund	ti:t'anhund

(b) Feminine forms:

Case	Singular		Plural	
	Rel.	Cor.	Rel.	Cor.
Nom.	yi:ts	ti:ts	yi:tsi	ti:tsi
Dat.	yi:tsi	ti:tsi	yi:tsan	ti:tsan
Agen.	yi:tsi	ti:tsi	yi:tsav	ti:tsav
Gen.	yi:tic	ti:tic	yi:tsanhund	ti:tsanhund

3.2.5. Reflexive Pronouns

The main reflexive in Kashmiri is **pa:n** 'self.' The compound form **panun pa:n** compares with Hindi-Urdu **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'	panini
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: **pə:n' pa:ni** ‘only by self’ and **pa:nay** ‘self.’

3.2.6. Reciprocals

The basic reciprocal form is **akh əkis** ‘to one another.’ It is a compound of the cardinal **akh** ‘one’ and its dative form **əkis**. There is no distinct nominative / absolute reciprocal form. One uses the dative form in place of nominative / absolute. The distributive form is **pa:nivə:n'** ‘mutual.’ The case forms of **akh əkis** are noted below.

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	akh ək'sund	akh ək'sind'	akh ək'sinz	akh ək'sinzi
Dat.	akh ək'sindis	akh ək'sinden	akh ək'sinzi	akh ək'sinzan
Erg.	akh ək'sind'	akh ək'sindev	akh ək'sinzi	akh ək'sinzav

3.2.7. 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	kəs	kami

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Dat.	kəmis / kas	kiman	kəmis / kas	kiman
Abl.	kami	kimav	kami	kimav
Erg.	kəm'	kimav	kami	kimav
Gen. Sg.	kəm'sund	kəm'sind'	kəm'sinz	kəm'sinzi
Pl.	kimanhund	kimanhind'	kimanhinz	kimanhinzi
	kuhund	kihind'	kihinz	kihinz

Interrogative **k'a:** 'what'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	k'a:	k'a:	k'a:	k'a:
Dat.	kath	kiman	kath	kiman
Abl.	kami	kimav	kami	kimav
Gen.	kam'uk	kamik'	kamic	kamici

Other question words also begin with **k**. 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,' **kapə: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 I	Remote II	
yeti	here	hoti	tati	there
yeten		hoten	taten	
yetinas		hotinas	tatinas	
yeteth		hoteth	tateth	

kapə:r' which direction

Prox.		Re.I / Re.II	
yapə:r'	this direction	həpə:r' / tapə:r'	in that direction

kithi kin' in what manner

Prox.		Re.I / Re.II	
yithikin'	this manner	huthikin' / tithikin'	that manner

ku:ta:h how much

Prox.		Re.I / Re.II	
yu:ta:h	this much	hu:ta:h / t'u:ta:h	that much

k'uth what type

Prox.		Re.I / Re.II	
yuth	this type	huth / t'uth	that type

ku:t how much

Prox.		Re.I / Re.II	
yu:t	this much	hu:t / t'u:t	that much

3.2.8. Compound Pronouns

Two, or more than two, pronouns may be compounded, or the same repeated, to convey various shades of meanings. Following are some important compound pronouns:

pə:n' pa:nay	by oneself
yus kā:h	who(so)ever
yi kēh	what(so)ever
yi yi	whoever / whatever
kā:h kā:h	some, a few
prath kā:h	all, everybody
kā:h natī kā:h	someone or the other
kā:h ... kā:h	one ... another
kēh ... kēh	some ... others
kēh nī kēh	something or the other
kath k'a:h	something different from expected
prath kēh	everything
va:riya:h kēh	a great deal
kēh kēh	somewhat, a little
beyi kā:h	someone else
kā:h b'a:kh	someone else
kēh beyi	something else, a little more
beyi kēh	something else
kēh ... kēh	some ... some (Conjunctive)
kā:h tī	anything, something
kus h'uh	which one

kus kus	which persons / ones
kam kam	which persons / ones
k'a:h k'a:h	which things
kati k'a:h	something contrary to expectations
kha:l kã:h	hardly anyone

3.3. Adjectives

There are two types of adjectives: (i) Simple, and (ii) Derived. Derived adjectives are formed from nominal, verbal, and other adjectival bases by adding certain suffixes. Examples are given below:

Base		Suffix	Derived	
mal	dirt	-i	mə:lɪ	dirty
gula:b	rose	-C'	gulə:b'	pink
də:r	beard	-al	da:r'al	bearded
mazi	taste	-da:r	mazida:r	tasty
madad	help	-ga:r	madadga:r	helpful
kɪ:math	price	-i:	kɪ:mti:	expensive

Simple adjectives further divide into two classes: (i) those which are inflected for gender, number, 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

Case	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 kəmi:z	blue shirt
ni:ji kəmi:zi	blue shirts

Other adjectives which fall under this category are: **vɔ:zul** ‘red,’ **kruhun** ‘black,’ **ga:ʈul** ‘wise,’ **tshot** ‘short / dwarf,’ **z'u:ʈh** ‘tall,’ etc.

The adjectives like **sa:ph** ‘clean,’ **mə: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.msg
sa:ph palav	clean clothes.mpl
sa:ph kursi:	clean chair.fsg
sa:ph kursiyi	clean chairs.fpl

Adjectives can either be qualitative or quantitative. Qualitative adjectives constitute a large class. All the modifiers of quality like different colors (**vɔ: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,’ **zə:v'ul** ‘slim’ etc.), qualities of taste (**modur** ‘sweet,’ **tsok** ‘sour,’ **t'oth** ‘bitter,’ etc.) fall under this category.

The quantitative category includes numerals (cardinals, ordinals, fractions, multiplicatives), intensifiers (**kēh** ‘some,’ **sə:ri:** ‘all,’ **seʈha:** ‘many / very,’ **kam** ‘little’), demonstrative adjectives (**yu:t** ‘this much,’ **t'u:t** ‘that much’), etc. (For further details see Wali and Koul 1997.)

3.3.1. Numerals / Quantifiers

Numerals are divided into cardinals and ordinals.

Cardinals

Cardinals from one to one hundred, and patterns above a hundred are given below:

1.	akh	2.	zi	3.	tre
4.	tsor	5.	pā:tsh	6.	še
7.	sath	8.	ə:ʈh	9.	nav
10.	dəh	11.	ka:h	12.	ba:h

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13.	truva:h	14.	tsɔvda:h	15.	panda:h
16.	šura:h	17.	sada:h	18.	arda:h
19.	kunivuh	20.	vuh	21.	akivuh
22.	zito:vuh	23.	trovuh	24.	tso:vuh
25.	pītsih	26.	šativuh	27.	sato:vuh
28.	aθo:vuh	29.	kunītrih	30.	trih
31.	akītrih	32.	doyītrih	33.	teyītrih
34.	tsoyītrih	35.	pā:tsītrih	36.	šeyītrih
37.	satītrih	38.	arītrih	39.	kunītə:ji:
40.	tsatji:	41.	akitə:ji:	42.	doyītə:ji:
43.	teyītə:ji:	44.	tsoyītə:ji:	45.	pā:tstə:ji:
46.	šeyītə:ji:	47.	satītə:ji:	48.	arītə:ji:
49.	kunivanza:h	50.	pantsa:h	51.	akivanza:h
52.	duvanza:h	53.	truvanza:h	54.	tsuvanza:h
55.	pā:tsivanza:h	56.	šuvanza:h	57.	sativanza:h
58.	arivanza:h	59.	kunihə:θh	60.	še:θh
61.	akihə:θh	62.	duhə:θh	63.	truhə:θh
64.	tsuhə:θh	65.	pā:tsihə:θh	66.	šuhə:θh
67.	satihə:θh	68.	arihə:θh	69.	kunīsatath
70.	satath	71.	akīsatath	72.	dusatath
73.	trusatath	74.	tsusatath	75.	pā:tsīsatath
76.	šusatath	78.	arisatath	79.	kunīši:th
80.	ši:th	81.	akīši:th	82.	doyīši:th
83.	teyi: ši:th	84.	tsoyīši:th	85.	pā:tsīši:th
86.	šeyīši:th	87.	satiši:th	88.	ariši:th
89.	kunīnamath	90.	namath	91.	akīnamath
92.	dunamath	93.	trunamath	94.	tsunamath
95.	pā:tsīnamath	96.	šunamath	97.	satinamath
98.	arinamath	99.	naminamath	100.	hath

The above hundred numerals follow the following pattern:

101.	akh hath tī akh
102.	akh hath tī zī
103.	akh hath tī tre
200.	zī hath
201.	zī hath tī akh
202.	zī hath tī zī
1000.	sa:s
1001.	akh sa:s akh
1002.	akh sa:s zī

Numerals of a thousand and above are as follows:

akh sa:s	one thousand
dəh sa:s	ten thousand
lach	hundred thousand
dəh lach	million
karor	ten million
arab	thousand million (billion)
kharab	hundred billion

Ordinals

The suffix **-im** is added to the cardinals for forming ordinals. This results in certain phonological changes:

akh	+	-im	=	əkim	first
zi	+	-im	=	doyim	second
tre	+	-im	=	treyim	third
tso:r	+	-im	=	tsu:rim	fourth
pā:tsh	+	-im	=	pī:tsim	fifth
še	+	-im	=	šeyim	sixth
sath	+	-im	=	sətim	seventh
ə:th	+	-im	=	i:thim	eighth
nav	+	-im	=	nəvim	ninth
dəh	+	-im	=	dəhim	tenth, etc.

3.3.1.1. Aggregatives

Aggregative forms are made by adding the aggregative suffix **-vay**. This results in certain phonological changes as follows:

zi	+	-vay	=	dəšvay	both
tre	+	-vay	=	trešvay	all the three
tso:r	+	-vay	=	tsəšvay	all the four
pā:tsh	+	-vay	=	pā:tsivay	all the five
še	+	-vay	=	šenivay	all the six
sath	+	-vay	=	sativay	all the seven
ə:th	+	-vay	=	ə:thivay	all the eight
nav	+	-vay	=	navivay	all the nine
dəh	+	-vay	=	dəhvay	all the ten, etc.

3.3.1.2. Fractions

Fractions are used as follows:

sɔ:d / sɔ:d akh	one and one quarter
sɔ:di zi	two and one quarter / quarter past two
du:n / du:n akh	quarter to one
du:ni zi	quarter to two
du:ni tre	quarter to three
oɖ	half
ɖoɖ	one and one half
ɖa:yi	two and one half
sa:di tre	three and one half / half past three
sa:di tso:r	four and one half / half past four

Note that **du:ni** is added to any numeral from two onwards to indicate ‘less by one quarter,’ **sɔ:di** is added to all the numerals beginning with two to indicate ‘and quarter,’ and **sa:di** is added to all the numerals beginning with three to indicate ‘and half.’

3.3.1.3. Multiplicatives

The multiplicative numerals are formed by adding the term **-gon** to the cardinal numerals. This results in certain phonological changes as follows:

zi	+	-gon	=	dogun	two times / fold
tre	+	-gon	=	trogun	three times / fold
tso:r	+	-gon	=	tsogun	four times
pā:tsh	+	-gon	=	pā:tsigon	five times
še	+	-gon	=	šugon	six times
sath	+	-gon	=	satigon	seven times
ə:th	+	-gon	=	ə:thigon	eight times
nav	+	-gon	=	navigon	nine times
dəh	+	-gon	=	dəhgon	ten times

3.3.1.4. Quantifiers

Quantifiers in kilograms are counted in singular, e.g.,

akh kilo	one kilogram
-----------------	--------------

ḍa:y kilo	two and half kilograms
du:n še kilo	quarter to six kilograms, etc.

3.3.1.5. Approximation

Approximation is expressed in counting in succession, e.g.,

akh zi	one or two
zi tso:r	two to four, about four
pā:ts še	five or six, about six
dəh vuh	about ten to twenty, etc.

Approximation is also expressed by adding the particle **mari** ‘about’ to certain numerals, e.g.,

dəh mari	about ten
vuh mari	about twenty

3.3.1.6. Emphatic forms

The suffix **-y** is added to the numerals to form emphatic forms. This results in certain phonological changes, e.g.,

akh	+	-y	=	akuy	only one
zi	+	-y	=	ziy	only two
tre	+	-y	=	trey	only three
pā:ts	+	-y	=	pā:tsay	only five

3.4. Verbs

3.4.1. Verb Stems

Verb stems in Kashmiri end either in a vowel or a consonant. Vowel ending stems are only seven in number. They are all of CV type and end in either **-e** or **-i**, e.g.,

khe-	eat
ce-	drink
pe-	fall
he-	buy,
ni-	take
di-	give
yi-	come

Consonant ending stems may be of VC, VCVC, CVC, CCVC, CVCC, or CVCVC type, e.g.,

(i) **as-** ‘laugh,’ **an-** ‘bring’; (ii) **a:par** ‘feed’; **a:dath** ‘habit’; (iii) **lekh** ‘write,’ **par** ‘read’; (iv) **pra:r** ‘wait’; **mang** ‘demand’; (v) **cala:v** ‘drive,’ **rala:v** ‘mix,’ etc.

3.4.2. Classification of Verbs

Traditionally verbs are classified as intransitive, transitive, causative, dative, conjunct, or compound, with further subdivisions as noted in their particular section.

3.4.2.1. Intransitives

Most intransitives mark their subjects in the nominative across all tenses. A few intransitives mark their subjects in the ergative in the past tense as is the case with transitives.

1.	bì	go:s	gari
	I.msg.nom	went.msg	home
	I went home.		

2.	su	chu	do:ra:n
	he.nom	be.msg	run.pr
	He is running.		

The verb **natsun** ‘to dance’ allows both nominative and ergative subjects, e.g.,

3.	bì	notsus /	me	nots
	I.msg.nom.	danced.1ps /	I.erg	danced
	I danced.			

4.	tsì	notsukh /	tse	nots-uth
	you.msg.nom	danced-2ps /	you-erg	danced-2ps
	You danced.			

An interesting facet of Kashmiri intransitives is that they show three types of conjugation in the past tense. Intransitives with ergative subjects are classified as belonging to first conjugation along with the transitives. A second group, nearly sixty seven in number, imitates the transitive conjugation though their subject is in the nominative. The third group does not undergo any of these changes. It belongs to third conjugation. Clearly, the intransitive distinction is cued to semantics and not to phonology (see Wali and Koul 1997).

Current classification

Note that the third group includes predicates belonging to existence, happenings, aspectual, duratives, inchoatives, predicates such as burn, fall, sink, tremble, roll, etc. Currently these have been classified as unaccusatives. In contrast, the intransitives that describe volitional acts such as work, play, skate, and jump, are classified as unergative predicates. These again divide into two groups: (i) unergatives with ergative subjects are named active unergatives. In Kashmiri, these predicates have been classified as belonging to first conjugation. The unergatives with nominative subjects are called covertly active unergatives. In Kashmiri, the former have been put into first conjugation, and the latter as belonging to second conjugation. In short the traditional classification is in agreement with the current view (see Wali and Koul 2002).

3.4.2.2. Transitives

Transitive subjects are marked nominative in the nonperfective. Direct objects are marked nominative or dative as dictated by the person hierarchy (see 3.4.7). In the perfective, transitive subjects are marked ergative. Direct objects are in the nominative with the exception of **la:yun** 'to beat.' **la:yun** marks its direct object in the dative (6).

Transitive verbs may be basic or derived from intransitives. Basic transitives are only few. They may be simple or ditransitive. All ditransitives are basic.

Basic transitives

(i) Simple:

par	read
kar	do
khe	eat
ce	drink
ni	take
la:y	beat

Simple transitives take a direct object. It may be marked nominative or dative depending on the context noted above.

5.	aslam.an	khev	bati.
	Aslam.erg	ate	food
	Aslam ate food.		

6.	aslam.an	lo:y	mohan.as.
	Aslam.erg	beat	Mohan.dat
	Aslam beat Mohan.		

(ii) Ditransitives:

di	give
van	tell
le:kh	write

Ditransitives take two objects: direct, and indirect. Direct objects follow the pattern in the simple transitive. Indirect objects are marked in the dative.

7.	aslam.an	d'ut	mohn.as	akhba:r
	Aslam.erg	gave.msg	Mohan.dat	newspaper.msg.nom
	Aslam gave a newspaper to Mohan.			

8.	aslam	vaniy	tse	kath.
	Aslam	tell.fut.2ps	you.dat	story.nom
	Aslam will tell you a story.			

Derived transitives / causatives

Most transitives are derived from intransitives. The derivation uses vocalic changes, suffixation, or suppletion, as noted below.

(a) Vocalic changes:

Intransitive		Transitive	
tar	cross	ta:r	take across
mar	die	ma:r	kill
gal	melt	ga:l	cause to melt
dal	move	da:l	move

(b) Suffixation:

pe	fall		pa:v	to make fall
zev	be born		zevra:v	to give birth to x
di	give		d'a:v	cause to give

(c) Suppletion:

pe	fall		tra:v	make fall
yi	come		an	bring
khas	climb		kha:r	to take upwards

In some works derived transitives are classified as causatives. For some differences between derived transitives and causatives, see Hook and Koul (1984).

3.4.2.3. Causatives

Causatives may be derived from intransitives, transitives, or ditransitives. The derived causatives may be further extended to form extended causatives. All causatives are transitives in nature though not all transitives are causatives, as is the case with basic transitives.

Causatives from Intransitives

Causatives derived from intransitives mostly employ suffixation. Those ending in vowels, and a few consonant ending roots, take a:v. Some others are formed by lengthening the stem vowel or by suppletion.

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Most other intransitives employ the suffixes **-ira:v** and **-ina:v**. The **-ira:v** / **-ina:v** distinction is closely related to unaccusative and unergative difference, though the line is not clear-cut.

a. Vocalic length:

Intransitive		Transitive / Causative	
tar	cross	ta:r	make cross
mar	die	ma:r	kill
gal	melt	ga:l	make x melt
dal	move	da:l	make x move
chap	be printed	cha:p	to print

b. Suffixation:

(i) -a:v

Intransitive		Transitive / Causative	
pe	fall	pa:v	to make someone fall
vɔzal	blush	vɔzila:v	make x red
ruk	stop	ruka:v	stop x
hat	go away	hata:v	drive x away
tambal	be attracted	tambila:v	attract x
phas	get struck	phasa:v	entrap x

(ii) -ira:v

Intransitive		Transitive / Causative	
mɔt	be fat	mɔtira:v	make x fat
buɖ	be old	buɖira:v	make x old
te:z	be sharp	te:zira:v	make x sharp
gal	melt	gəlıra:v	make x melt
gaɖ	become dim	gətira:v	darken x
mat	go wild	mətsira:v	make x wild
chat	turn grey	chətsira:v	make x grey
lot	become light	lotsira:v	make x lighter
thad	become tall	thəzira:v	make x grow tall
dar	be stable	derira:v	stabilize x
al	move	əlira:v	make x move
tsal	run away	tsalira:v	chase x away
zev	be born	zevira:v	give birth to x

phut	break	phutira:v	make x break
bal	get better	bəlıra:v	make x get better
veth	become fat	vethira:v	fatten x
hots	rot	hotsira:v	make x rot

(iii) **-ina:v**

Intransitives		Transitive / Causative	
as	laugh	asina:v	make x laugh
gal	melt	galina:v	make x melt
do:r	run	do:rına:v	make x run
vad	cry	vadına:v	make x weep
nats	dance	natsina:v	make x dance
vud	fly	vudına:v	make x fly
yi:r	float	yi:rına:v	make x float
beh	sit down	behina:v	seat x
grak	boil	grakina:v	make x boil
va:t	arrive	va:tına:v	deliver x
həkh	dry	həkhina:v	make x dry
kho:ts	be afraid	kho:tsina:v	frighten x

c. Suppletive forms:

Intransitive		Transitive / Causative	
khas	climb	kha:r/kha:rına:v	lift x, raise x
vas	descend	va:l/va:lına:v	bring x down; lower x
daz	burn	za:l/za:lına:v	burn x
ne:r	exit	kađ/ kađına:v	take / bring x out
ats	enter	tsa:n/tsa:nına:v	insert x; make x go in
yi	come	an/anına:v	bring x
šg	sleep	sa:v/sa:vına:v	put x to sleep
tshyen	break apart	tsať/ tsaťına:v	cut x apart

Causatives derived from intransitives are often classified as derived transitives due to their semantic nuance. They share many features with the basic transitives. For example, the case of the causee is similar to the object / patient. Secondly, the causee is not necessarily the agent / doer of the embedded verb.

Causativization of Transitives

Transitives also use **-a:v** and **-ina:v** to form the causative stems. The condition governing the choice of suffix is the same as in the case of the intransitives noted above. In fact these two suffixes are the basic causative forming suffixes. Causal II are formed by adding **-ina:v** to the Causal I forms as given below.

(i) **-a:v**

Transitive		Causative	
khē	eat	kh'a:v	to feed
dī	give	d'a:v	to make x give
nī	take	n'a:v	to make x take
ce	drink	ca:v	to give to drink

(ii) **-ina:v**

Transitive		Causative	
kar	do	karina:v	cause to do
ran	cook	ranina:v	cause to cook
par	read	parina:v	to teach
bo:z	listen	bo:zina:v	cause to listen
to:l	weigh	to:lina:v	make to weigh
kha:r	lift x	kha:rina:v	make x lift
va:l	bring down	va:lina:v	make x bring down
za:l	burn x	za:lina:v	make x burn
tra:v	drop x	tra:vina:v	make x drop
kaḍ	take x out	kaḍina:v	make x take out
an	bring x	anina:v	make x bring
sa:v	put x to sleep	sa:vina:v	make x to sleep
tsaṭ	cut x apart	tsaṭina:v	make x cut
kh'a:v	feed x	kh'a:vina:v	make x eat
le:kh	write	le:khina:v	make x write
chal	wash	chalina:v	make x wash
kha:r	raise x	kha:rina:v	make x raise
ca:v	make x drink	ca:vina:v	make x drink
a:pra:v	feed x	a:pra:vina:v	make x feed

Extended Causatives

Causal II or extended causatives are formed by adding **-ina:v** to the Causal I forms. The causee of the extended causatives is put in the oblique.

Causative I	Causative II	
kh'a:vina:v	kh'a:vina:vina:v	make x eat
h'a:vina:v	h'a:vina:vina:v	make x buy
chalina:v	chalina:vina:v	make x wash
n'a:vina:v	n'a:vina:vina:v	make x take
parina:v	parina:vina:v	make x read
le:khina:v	le:khina:vina:v	make x write
ca:vina:v	ca:vina:vina:v	make x drink
karina:v	karina:vina:v	make x do
ranina:v	ranina:vina:v	make x cook
bo:zina:v	bo:zina:vina:v	cause to listen
to:lina:v	to:lina:vina:v	make x to weigh y
za:lina:v	za:lina:vina:v	make x burn
tra:vina:v	tra:vina:vina:v	make x to give up
anina:v	anina:vina:v	make x bring

9.	me	kh'a:vino:v	mohni	dach
	I.erg	eat.caus.3ps.sg	Mohan	grapes
	I made Mohan eat grapes.			

10.	me	kh'a:vina:vino:v	ra:jas	athi	mohni	dach
	I-erg	eat.causII.3sg	Raja.dat.	by	Mohan	grapes
	I made Mohan eat grapes through Raja.					

11.	ma:ji	chalina:v'	ši:las	athi	palav
	mother.erg	wash.causI.pl	Shiela.dat	by	clothes
	Mother made Shiela wash clothes.				

12.	ma:ji	chalina:vina:v'	ra:mni
	mother-erg	wash-caus.II.pl	Ram.inf.abl
	zəriyi	ši:las	athi palav
	through	Shiela.dat	by clothes
	Mother made Shiela wash clothes through Ram.		

13.	me	karino:v	kamri	sa:ph
	I.erg	do.caus.I.msg	room.msg	clean
	I got the room cleaned.			

13a.	me	karina:vinov	no:kras	athi	kamri	sa:ph
	I.erg	do.caus.II.msg	servant.dat	by	room	clean
	I got the room cleaned by the servant.					

3.4.2.4. Ingestive Verbs

A group of verbs like **khe**, **ce**, **vuch**, **par** 'eat, drink, see, read' are often classified as ingestive or affective verbs. A difference between these and other causatives shows up in the treatment of their causees. The case of the causee of an affective verb is never oblique. It may be nominative or dative. (See Wali and Koul 1997 for details.) The case of the causee of a nonaffective causative may be oblique or dative as shown.

(i) Ingestive verbs

14.	me	ca:vinov	mohni	dod
	I.erg	drink.caus.I.3ps	Mohan.nom	milk
	I made Mohan drink milk.			

15.	me	ha:vinov	aslamas	philim
	I.erg	show.caus.I.fs	Aslam.dat	film.fsg
	I had Aslam watch the film.			

16.	me	parina:vinov	ra:ji	akhba:r
	I.erg	read.cause.II.3ps.fsg	Raja.fsg	newspaper.ms
	I had Raja to read the newspaper.			

(ii) Other verbs

17.	me	d'a:vinov	təmis	athi	mohnas	akhba:r
	I-erg	give.caus.3sg.pst	he.dat	by	Mohan.dat	newspaper
	I made him give a newspaper to Mohan.					

18.	bi	so:zina:vi	ši:las	athi	mohnas	kita:b
	I-erg	send.caus.fut	Shiela.dat	by	Mohan.dat	book
	I will have the book sent to Mohan by Shiela.					

3.4.2.5. Dative Verbs

Dative or psyche verbs, as they are often called, form a special class by themselves. Their subject is marked dative in all tenses and aspects. The thematic object, if any, is marked nominative and shows agreement with the verb. The class is mostly comprised of verbs of perception, knowledge, belief, and mental or physical state as noted below:

banun	to be able to get
ba:sun	to feel
nanun	to know
tagun	to know
yun	to know how to (read / write, etc.)
lagun	to feel (hunger / pleasure, etc.)
tsetas p'on	to recall
mo:lu:m sapdun	to learn
bre:ʰhun	to be senile
kã:chun	to yearn
tsa:lun	to bear / tolerate
za:gun	to watch (with evil intent)
ḍē: šun	to see
yatshun	to desire

19.	me	chu	urdu:	yiva:n
	I.dat	is.msg	Urdu.msg.nom	know.pr
	I know Urdu.			

20.	tōhi	chav	sa:rey	kathi	mo:lu:m sapda:n
	you.dat	have.2ps	all.fpl	things.nom	learn.pr
	You come to know all things.				

21.	təmis	chi	ka:rība:ras	manz	ja:n	pā:si	bana:n
	he.dat	is.pl	business.dat	in	good	money.nom	get.pr
	He makes good money in business.						

22.	təmis	chu	panun	pa:n	ga:ʰul	ba:sa:n
	he.dat	is.msg	self.gen	self	wise.msg	feel.pr
	He considers himself wise.					

3.4.2.6. Conjunct Verbs

Conjunct verbs are derived by adding a certain set of verbs to nouns, adjectives, or adverbs. The members of the set are often referred to as vectors. These vectors belong to a small group: **a:sun** ‘to be,’ **ro:zun** ‘to remain,’ **khasun** ‘to climb,’ **d'un** ‘to give,’ **karun** ‘to do,’ **yun** ‘come,’ **p'on** ‘to fall,’ etc. The vector carries the verbal inflection and is placed in the second position. It does not incur any change in the associated nominal, adjective or adverb.

a.	Noun +verb:	
	sala:h d'un	
	advice give.inf.msg	to give an advice
	kə:m karin'	
	work do.inf.fsg	to work
	ya:d a:sun	
	memory be.inf.msg	to remember

23.	aslaman	d'ut	mohnas	ja:n	sala:h
	Aslam.erg	gave.msg	Mohan.dat	good	advice.msg
	Aslam gave a good advice to Mohan.				

b.	Adjective +verb:	
	thi:kh karun	
	right do-inf.msg	to set it right
	khōš karun	
	happy do.inf.msg	to make someone happy

24.	me	a:yi	uma:	pasand
	I.erg	came.fsg	Uma	like
	I liked Uma.			

25.	mohnan	kər	ni	ka:r	thi:kh
	Mohan.erg	did.fsg	neg	car.fsg	right
	Mohan did not fix the car.				

c.	Adverb +verb:	
	jaldi: karin'	
	hurry do.inf-fsg	to hurry
	va:ri va:ri pakun	
	slowly walk.inf.msg	to walk slowly

26.	təm'	kər	jaldi:	tī	gav	gari
	he.erg	did	hurry	and	went.msg	home
	He hurried and went home.					

3.4.2.7. Compound Verbs

Compound verbs are also formed by adding certain auxiliary verbs to the conjunctive participle of the main verb. The auxiliaries are called explicators / operators. The list varies with the authors (see Grierson 1911, Kachru 1969, Hook and Koul 1992). The original meaning of the explicator is lost. The present consensus is that they add certain aspectual values such as completion of an action, benefaction, or intensification, to the main verb. The explicator is placed in the second position while the conjunctive participle of the verb occupies the last position. It may also be placed next to the explicator. Note that a compound verb may often be replaced by the main verb itself, a possibility that is excluded with a conjunct verb (see Hook and Koul 1992).

Explicators

Verb		Aspectual values
yun	to come	change of state from within
n'un	to take	action for or toward others
p'on	to fall	action for or towards self
du'n	to give	change of state, suddenness
gatshun	to go	direction away, simple completion
tshinun	to throw	speed, recklessness, relief, completion
tra:vun	to release	psychological separation, relief
thavun	to put / keep	proactiveness, future use in view
tsalun	to flee	unexpectedness, lack of control

Examples:

27.	su	a:v	du:rith.
	he	came.msg	ran.cp
	He came running.		

28.	təm'	niyi	tse:r	kheth.
	he.erg	took-fsg	apricot-fsg	eat.cp
	He ate an apricot.			

29.	kuli	pethi	pev	pan	vəsith.
	from.abl	from	fell	leaves	down.cp
	The leaves fell down from the tree.				

30.	tami	dits	kita:b	me:zas	peth	də:rith.
	she.erg	gave.fsg	book.fsg	table.dat	on	throw.cp
	She threw the book on the table.					

31.	su	gav	yakdam	vəthith.
	he	went	suddenly	stand up.cp
	He got up suddenly.			

32.	təm'	tshun'	prə:n'	palav	trə:vith.
	he-erg	threw	old	clothes	leave.cp
	He threw away old clothes.				

33.	təm'	trə:v	kita:b	pərith
	he.erg	left.fsg	book.fsg	read.cp.
	He completed reading the book.			

34.	ši:lan	thəv'	palav	chəlith
	Shiela.erg	put	clothes	wash.cp.
	Shiela completed washing clothes.			

35.	su	tsol	kita:b	heth
	he.nom	fled.msg	book.fsg	take.cp
	He fled with the book.			

3.4.2.8. Modal Verbs

The modality is expressed by the explicators **a:sun** ‘to be,’ **p'on** ‘to fall,’ **pazun** ‘to be proper,’ **lagun** ‘to stick,’ and **gatshun** ‘to go.’ The explicators take all the gender, number, tense, and case markers. The main verb occurs in the infinitive, and the subject is marked dative.

36.	me	chu	dili	gatshun.
	I.dat	have	Delhi.abl	go.inf
	I have to go to Delhi.			

37.	təmis	o:s	šuren	parina:vun.
	he.dat	had	children.dat	teach.inf
	He had to teach the children.			

The modal explicator **p'on** expresses the ultimate degree of obligation, e.g.,

38.	me	peyi	yi	kita:b	parin'.
	I.dat	fell.fut	this	book.fsg	read.inf.fsg
	I will have to read this book.				

39.	mohnas	pev	panun	maka:n	kinun.
	Mohan.dat	fell.pst	self's	house	sell.inf
	Mohan had to sell his house.				

The modals **pazun** and **lagun** express moral obligation. The modal **lagun** is mostly used in the negative context. These modals are not used in the past tense, e.g.,

40.	asi	pazi	hame:ši	poz	vanun
	we.dat	should	always	true	say.inf
	We should always tell the truth.				

41.	šuren	lagi	ni	šo:r	karun
	children.dat	should	neg	noise	do.inf
	The children should not make noise.				

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The modal **gatshun** expresses necessity as well as possibility. The main verb may either be in infinitive or in the perfective. The infinitive requires the subject to be in the nominative and convey the sense of ‘should.’ The modal may be put in the past or future, e.g.,

42.	su	gotsh / gatshi	yo:r	yun
	he.nom	should.pst / fut	here	come.inf
	He should come here.			

If this modal verb is used with the verb **a:sun** ‘be’ in the infinitive, it provides the sense of ‘should have,’ e.g.,

43.	bi	gatshi	a:sun	yo:r	a:mut
	I.nom	should	b.inf	here	come.pst.ptc
	I should have reached here.				

Physical capability is expressed by the modal **hekun** ‘can / able.’ This modal verb requires the occurrence of the main verb as a conjunctive participial. The modal itself takes all the tense and aspectual inflections, e.g.,

44.	bi	heki	ni	dili	gətshith
	I.nom	can.fut	neg	Delhi.abl	go.cp
	I cannot go to Delhi.				

45.	tim	hekan	yi	kita:b	pəriθ
	he.hon.nom	can.3ps.fut	this	book	read.cp
	He can read this book.				

3.4.3. Tense

There are three tenses - present, past and future. All of them show a complex case and agreement pattern which is essential to understand the tense morphology. The primary agreement consists of gender-number features. It is linked to a nominative subject or a nominative direct object, i.e., an unmarked noun in general. In addition, the verb also shows a pronominal agreement. This agreement is linked to nominative, ergative and dative cases. The agreement pattern has been fully described in section 3.4.7. Here we mention some of these suffixes since they are essential in understanding the verbal complex. The pronominal suffixes always follow the basic gender-number suffixes.

Pronominal suffixes as defined by case:

Nominative		
Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	s	∅
2 nd	kh	v(i)
3 rd	(n)	(kh)

Ergative		
Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	m	∅
2 nd	th	v(i)
3 rd	n	kh

Dative		
Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	m	∅
2 nd	y	v(i)
3 rd	s	kh

3.4.3.1. Present Tense

Present tense is indicated by the auxiliary **chu** 'be,' and the present participle form of the verb: **v+a:n**. The auxiliary agrees with the nominative subject for number, gender, and person, and is placed in the second position, maintaining the verb second order. The participle does not inflect. The verb may be placed after the auxiliary or in the final position.

Nominative case				
Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st	chu-s	chi	cha-s	cha
2 nd	chu-kh	chi-v	cha-kh	cha-vi
3 rd	chu	chi	cha	cha

The masculine plural forms **chiv** and **chi** may be used as honorific / respect forms in second and third person respectively.

1.	bi chus / chas	ba:zar	gatsha:n.
	I.nom be.1msg / be.1fsg	market	go.pr

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I am going to the market.

2.	tsi chukh / chakh	kita:b	para:n.
	you.nom be.2msg / be.2fsg	book	read.pr
You are reading a book.			

3.	toh' chiv / chavi	batı	kheva:n.
	you.pl be.mpl / be.fpl	food	eat.pr
You are eating your meals.			

4.	su chu / sə cha	ca:y	ceva:n.
	he.nom be.msg / she.nom be.fsg	tea	drink.pr
He / she is drinking tea.			

5.	əs' / tim chi	död	kina:n.
	we.nom / they.nom are	milk	sell.pr
We / they are selling milk.			

6.	timi	cha	nəv'	palav	suva:n.
	they.fpl.nom	are	new	clothes	stitch.pr
They are stitching new clothes.					

Dative subjects

In dative construction the verb agrees with the nominative theme, if any. In addition, the second person subject shows a person marking along the usual familiar / honorific distinction. The verb does not agree with first and third person subjects.

Dative subjects				
Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st / 3 rd	chu	chi	cha	cha
2 nd (fam)	chu-y	chi-y	cha-y	cha-y
2 nd (hon)	chu-vi	chivi	chavi	chavi

7.	me / asi	chu	yi	rang	pasand.
	I.dat / we.dat	is	this	color	like
I / we like this color.					

8.	təmis / timan	cha	va:riya:h	kə:m.
	he.dat / they.dat	has.fsg	lot	work.fsg

	He / they have a lot of work.
--	-------------------------------

9.	tse	chay	subihan	jalid	bochi	laga:n
	you.dat	be.3fsg	morning.loc	soon	hunger.3fsg	struck.pr
	You get hungry early in the morning.					

10.	tse	chuy	do:s	ya:d	kara:n.
	you.dat	is.2ps	friend.3msg	remember	do.pr
	Your friend remembers you.				

Present tense forms are used to denote universal truths, and also progressive and habitual aspects of the verb.

11.	zami:n	cha	siriyas	ənd' ənd'	phe:ra:n.
	earth.fsg.nom	is.fsg	sun.dat	around	revolve.pr
	The earth revolves around the sun.				

12.	prath	kā:h	chu	panun	baça:v	kara:n.
	every	one	is	self.gen	protection	do.pr
	Everyone protects himself / herself.					

13.	ra:ji	cha	soku:l	gatsha:n.
	Raj.nom	is.fsg	school	go.pr
	Raj is going to school.			

14.	ru:bi:	cha	batı	kheva:n.
	Ruby.nom	is.fsg	food	eat.pr
	Ruby is eating her food.			

15.	mohni	chu	dohay	daphtar	gatsha:n.
	Mohan.nom	is	daily	office	go-pr
	Mohan goes to the office daily.				

16.	aslam	chu	hame:ši	ca:y	cava:n
	Aslam.nom	is	always	tea	drink.pr
	Aslam drinks tea all the time.				

3.4.3.2. Past Tense

Morphologically, past tense divides into three distinct forms, namely; proximate, indefinite, and remote. Proximate past (PP), also called simple past, refers to near past. In contrast, the indefinite past

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(IP) is vague and does not refer to any specific past time as such. The remote past (RP) indicates narrative or historic past.

Three forms of past tense:

Tns	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
PP	-v	-yi	-yi	-yi
IP	-yo:v	-e:yi	-e:yi	-e:yi
RP	-e:yo:v	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi

Most intransitives do not morphologically distinguish between PP and IP. They use IP morphology to denote both PP and IP. They are, however, marked for RP. All transitives and certain special intransitives are marked for PP, IP, and RP, as noted below.

Case Marking

In all the three past tenses, transitive subjects are marked ergative and direct objects in the nominative / absolutive, with the exception of the direct object of **la:yun** 'to beat' which marks its direct object in the dative. Most intransitive subjects are marked nominative. A few intransitives take ergative subjects. Ergative subjects show a complex pronominal suffixation on the verb, as explained in the agreement section 3.4.7. Nominatives, whether subjects or direct objects, control the gender, number, and person agreement on the verb. Past tenses do not affect the case marking or the agreement pattern of the dative predicates.

Conjugation System

All past forms affect the verb stems of transitives, ergative intransitives, and a small group of special intransitives. The changes are uniform across the verbs. They may be vocalic or consonantal. Traditional grammarians classify transitives and ergative intransitives as belonging to first conjugation. These share the ergative subjects. Special intransitives belong to second conjugation. These affect the verb stems. Regular intransitives belong to the third conjugation. Most of these are not subject to any changes. More crucially, they do not draw any distinction between PP and IP forms. (See Grierson 1899 for details.)

I Conjugation	II Conjugation	III Conjugation
Transitives	Special intransitives	Regular intransitives
Erg. intransitives		

Proximate Past

First and Second Conjugation

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1st / 3rd	-v	-yi	-yi	-yi
2nd (familiar)	-yo:th	-e:yath	-e:yath	-e:yath
2nd (hon.)	-yo:vi	-e:yvi	-e:yvi	-e:yvi

As noted above, proximate past brings about vocalic and consonantal changes in the verb stem of the transitives, ergative intransitives, and the special intransitives. The changes are cued to the gender-number features of the transitive nominative objects and intransitive nominative subjects.

Transitives, ergative intransitives, and special intransitives

Masculine Singular

Vocalic	Consonantal
a, a: => o, o:	None
ə, ə: => i, i:	
i, i: => o, o:	
e, e: => e, e:	
u, u: => u, u:	

Masculine Plural: same as Masculine Singular

Feminine Singular:

i => yu	t, k => c	th, kh => ch	g, l, ɫ => j
-------------------	---------------------	------------------------	------------------------

Feminine Plural: No change same as above

First Conjugation**(i) Transitives**

First and third person ergative subjects do not affect the agreement. Following shows the first and third person verb forms agreeing with the nominative object in gender and number. (Note: **di**, 'give,' **he** 'take' show irregular forms.)

Verb					
		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
par	read	pər	pər'	pər	pari
chal	wash	chəl	chəl'	chəj	chaji
an	bring	ən	ən'	ən'	ani
ha:v	show	hə:v	hə:v'	hə:v	ha:vi
le:kh	write	l'u:kh	li:kh'	li:ch	le:chi
rath	catch	rət	raci	rət	raci
khe	eat	khev	kheyi	kheyi	kheyi
ni	take	n'uv	niyi	niyi	niyi
ce	drink	cav	ceyi	ceyi	ceyi
Irregular verbs					
di	give	d'ut	dit'	dits	ditsi
he	take	h'ot	het'	hets	hetsi

As already noted verbs obligatorily inflect for second person irrespective of case. In the past, second person ergative subjects mark the verb with **-th** / **-ov** (sg. / pl.). These suffixes follow the gender-number suffixes of the nominative object. Following personal suffixes are added to the above inflected forms (i.e., 1st / 3rd person forms) for deriving the second person familiar and honorific forms.

Two types of suffixes are added to the consonant ending and vowel ending verb stems for deriving familiar forms as follows:

Verb stems				
	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Consonant ending	-uth	-ith	-ith	-yath
Vowel ending	-o:th	-yath	-yath	-yath

Verb		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
par	read	poruth	pəriθ	pəriθ	par'ath
chal	wash	choluth	chəlith	chəjith	chajath
an	bring	onuth	ənith	ənith	an'ath
lekh	write	l'u:khuth	li:khith	li:chith	le:chath
ha:v	show	hə:vuth	hə:vith	hə:vith	ha:veth
khe	eat	kh'o:th	kheyath	kheyath	kheyath
ce	drink	co:th	ceyath	ceyath	ceyath
ni	take	n'u:th	niyath	niyath	niyath
di	give	dituth	diθith	ditsith	ditsath
he	take	h'otuth	diθith	ditsith	ditasath

Honorific forms are derived by adding **-vi** to first and third person forms noted above.

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
porvi	pərivi	pərivi	parivi
cholvi	chəlivi	chəjivi	chajivi
onvi	ənivi	ənivi	anivi
l'u:khvi	li:khivi	li:chivi	le:chivi
kh'o:vi	kheyvi	kheyivi	kheyivi
co:vi	ceyivi	ceyivi	ceyivi
n'uvi	niyivi	niyivi	niyivi
d'utivi	diθivi	ditsiivi	ditsivi
h'otivi	hetiivi	h'ətsiivi	hetsivi

ii) Ergative intransitives

Ergative intransitives include verbs such as: **asun** ‘to laugh’ **kašun** ‘to itch,’ **guzar** ‘to pass time,’ **jo:run** ‘to join,’ **jakhun** ‘to work,’ **za:gun** ‘be watchful,’ **chakun** ‘to sprinkle,’ **ta:lun** ‘to avoid,’ **natsun** ‘to dance,’ **vadun** ‘to cry,’ **va:yun** ‘to blow,’ **vo:hvun** ‘to curse,’ **laḍun** ‘to fight’ **vo:run** ‘to shout, to babble’ **gindun** ‘to play.’ Ergative intransitives show neutral agreement for first and third person but inflect for the second person as noted above.

Per. Verb	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
as laugh				
1 st / 3 rd	os	os	os	os
2 nd	osuth	osivi	osuth	osivi
vad cry				
1 st / 3 rd	vod	vod	vod	vod
2 nd	voduth	vodivi	voduth	vodivi
nats dance				
1 st / 3 rd	nots	nots	nots	nots
2 nd	notsuth	notsivi	notsuth	notsivi
gind play				
1 st / 3 rd	g'und	g'und	g'und	g'und
2 nd	g'unduth	giundvi	g'unduth	g'undvi

Second Conjugation

This group includes nearly sixty-seven special intransitives. The subject is in the nominative and the verb agrees with the subject for gender-number and person. The verb stem undergoes vocalic and consonantal changes noted above for the first conjugation. A partial list of these verbs and the conjugation pattern is shown below:

kits	wet	ḍal	move, pass over
khar	be disliked	ḍo:l	to roll, be unused
kho:ts	fear, be afraid	tag	be possible
khas	mount	tar	cross
gatsh	be proper	thak	be weary
gal	melt	daz	to be burnt
tsal	flee / escape	pak	walk

pats trust with a loan
pray be pleased
po:š be competent
phaʈ split
phuʈ be broken
phar be stolen
pher go round
phal bear fruit
phol expand of a flower
phas be caught
bəʈ sink
bas dwell
beh sit
mar die
me:l meet
maš forget
ro:z stop
ra:v be lost
ro:š be angry

lag be fit
lav be worth
las live long
lo:s be weary
va:t arrive
vəth to get up
vup burn inside
vay suit, suitable
vas come down
šrap evaporate
samakh meet
sapad be complete
həkh become dry
həts decay
palaz be useful
pun come true of a curse
pra:r to wait
ba:s to feel, etc.

Verb	Per	Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
gatsh go					
	1 st	go:s	gəyi	gəyas	gəyi
	2 nd	go:kh	gəyivi	gəyakh	gəyvi
	3 rd	gav	gəyi	gəyi	gəyi
pak walk					
	1 st	pokus	pək'	pəcis	paci
	2 nd	pokukh	pək'vi	pəcikh	pacivi
	3 rd	pok	pək'	pəc	paci
samakh meet					
	1 st	samkhus	samikh'	samchis	samchi
	2 nd	samkhukh	samkhivi	samchikh	samikhivi
	3 rd	samukh	samikh'	samich	samichvi
həkh dry					
	1 st	hokhus	həkh'	hochis	həchi
	2 nd	hokhukh	həkhivi	hochivi	həchivi
	3 rd	hokh	həkh'	hoch	həchi
phuʈ break					
	1 st	phuʈus	phuʈ'	phuʈis	phuci
	2 nd	phuʈukh	phuʈivi	phuʈikh	phucvi
	3 rd	phuʈ	phuʈ'	phuʈ	phuci

tsal go away					
	1 st	tsolus	tsəl'	tsəjis	tsaji
	2 nd	tsolukh	tsəlivi	tsəjikh	tsajiv
	3 rd	tsol	tsəl'	tsəj	tsaji

Irregular verbs

vas descend					
	1 st	vothus	vəth'	vətshis	vatshi
	2 nd	vothukh	vəthivi	vətshikh	vatshivi
	3 rd	voth	vəth'	vətsh	vatshi
khas climb					
	1 st	khotus	khət'	khətsis	khatsi
	2 nd	khotukh	khətivi	khətsikh	khatsivi
	3 rd	khot	khət'	khəts	khatsi
bihun to sit					
	1 st	b'u:thus	bi:th'	bi:th'is	be:chi
	2 nd	b'u:th:kh	bi:thivi	bi:thik	be:chi:vi
	3 rd	b'u:th	bi:th'	bi:th	be:chi
marun to die					
	1 st	mu:dus	mu:d'	məyas	məyi
	2 nd	mu:dukh	məye:yivi	məyakh	məyivi
	3 rd	mu:d	məyi	məyi	məyi
mašun to forget					
	1 st	moṭh	moṭh	moṭh	moṭh
	2 nd	moṭhuy	moṭhivi	mošiy	moṭhivi
	3 rd	moṭh	moṭh	moṭh	moṭh
rukun to stop					
	1 st	ruk'o:s	ruke:yi	ruke:yas	ruke:yi
	2 nd	ruko':kh	ruke:yi	ruke:yas	ruke:yi
	3 rd	ruk'o:v	ruke:yivi	ruke:yi	ruke:yi

Third Conjugation

Most intransitives belong to this group. The group does not morphologically distinguish between the proximate and the indefinite past. The suffixes of the indefinite are used as the proximate past, as noted in the next section.

3.4.3.2.1. Indefinite and Remote Past

The indefinite and remote past does not affect the stem vowels of the verbs of the first and second conjugations. They do affect the final vowels of the third conjugation. They also affect the final consonants of the verbs of both first and second conjugation. The consonantal changes are similar to the changes noted above for PP. However unlike PP, the changes affect both masculine and feminine forms.

Tns	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
IP	-(y)o:v	-e:yi	-e:yi	-e:yi
RP	-e:yo:v	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi	-e:ye:yi

First conjugation

Transitives					
Verb	Per	Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
par read	1 st / 3 rd				
	IP	par'o:v	pare:yi	pare:yi	pare:yi
	RP	pare:yo:v	pare:ya:yi	pare:ya:yi	pare:ya:yi
	2 nd fam.				
	IP	par'o:th	pare:yath	pare:yath	pare:yath
	RP	pare:yo:th	pare:ye:yath	pare:ye:yath	pare:ye:yath
	2 nd hon.				
	IP	par'o:vi	pare:yvi	pare:yvi	pare:yvi
RP	pare:yo:vi	are:ye:yvi	pare:ye:yvi	pare:ye:yvi	
ni take	1 st / 3 rd				
	IP	niyo:v	niye:yi	niye:yi	niye:yi
	RP	niye:yo:v	niye:ya:yi	niye:ya:yi	niye:ya:yi
	2 nd fam.				
	IP	niyo:th	niye:yath	niye:yath	niye:yath
	RP	niye:yo:th	niye:ye:yath	niye:ye:yath	niye:ye:yath
	2 nd hon.				
	IP	niyo:vi	niye:yvi	niye:yvi	niye:yvi
RP	niye:yo:vi	niye:ye:yvi	niye:ye:yvi	niye:ye:yvi	

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chal wash	1 st / 3 rd				
	IP	chajo:v	chaje:yi	chaje:yi	chaje:yi
	RP	chaje:yo:v	chaje:ye:yi	chaje:ya:yi	chaje:ye:yi
	2 nd fam.				
	IP	chajo:th	chaje:yath	chaje:yath	chaje:yath
	RP	chaje:yo:th	chaje:ye:yath	chaje:ya:yath	chaje:ye:yath
	2 nd hon.				
	IP	chajo:vi	chaje:yvi	chaje:yvi	chaje:yvi
	RP	chaje:yo:vi	chaje:ye:yvi	chaje:ye:yvi	chaje:ye:yvi
di give	1 st / 3 rd				
	IP	ditso:v	ditsa:yi	ditsa:yi	ditsa:yi
	RP	ditsa:yo:v	ditsa:ya:yi	ditsa:ya:yi	ditsa:ya:yi
	2 nd fam.				
	IP	ditso:th	ditsa:yath	ditsa:yath	ditsa:yath
	RP	ditsa:yo:th	ditsa:ye:yath	ditsa:ye:yath	ditsa:ye:yath
	2 nd hon.				
	IP	ditso:vi	ditsa:yvi	ditsa:yvi	ditsa:yvi
	RP	ditsa:yo:vi	ditsa:ye:yvi	ditsa:ye:yvi	ditsa:ye:yvi
he take	1 st / 3 rd				
	IP	hetso:v	hetsa:yi	hetsa:yi	hetsa:yi
	RP	heitsa:yo:v	hetsa:ya:yi	hetsa:ya:yi	hetsa:ya:yi
	2 nd fam.				
	IP	hetso:th	hetsa:yath	hetsa:yath	hetsa:yath
	RP	hetsa:yo:th	hetsa:ye:yath	hetsa:ye:yath	hetsa:ye:yath
	2 nd hon.				
	IP	hetso:vi	hetsa:yvi	hetsa:yvi	hetsa:yvi
	RP	hetsa:yo:vi	hetsa:ye:yvi	hetsa:ye:yvi	hetsa:ye:yvi

(Note: In certain verbs RP forms are different only for masculine singulars.)

Ergative transitives

16.	PP	me	por	akhba:r
		I.erg	read.msg.PP	newspaper.msg
		I read a newspaper.		

17.	IP	me	par'o:v	akbba:r
		I.erg	read.msg.IP	newspaper.msg
		I read the newspaper some time ago.		

18.	RP	me	pare:yo:v	akhba:r
		I.erg	read.msg.RP	newspaper.msg
		I read the newspaper a long time ago.		

Ergative intransitives

19.	PP	təm'	vod
		he.erg	cried.PP
		He cried.	

20.	IP	təm'	vad'a:v
		he.erg	cried.IP
		He cried.	

21.	RP	təm'	vade:yo:v
		he.erg	cried.RP
		He cried.	

Second Conjugation

Special intransitives

Tns	Per	Masculine		Feminine	
		Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
bihun to sit					
PP	1 st	b'u:thus	bi:th'	bi:this	be:chi
IP		be:cha:s	be:che:yi	be:cha:yas	be:cha:yi
RP		be:cha:ya:s	be:che:ya:yi	be:cha:ya:yas	be:cha:ya:yi
PP	2 nd	b'u:th:kh	bi:thivi	bi:thik	be:chi:vi
IP		be:cha:kh	be:che:yvi	be:cha:yakh	be:cha:yivi
RP		be:cha:kh	be:che:yvi	be:cha:yakh	be:cha:yivi

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PP	3 rd	b'u:th	bi:th'	bi:th	be:chi
IP		be:cha:v	be:che:yi	be:cha:yi	be:cha:yi
RP		be:che:yo:v	be:che:ye:yi	be:che:ya:yi	be:cha:ya:yi
marun to die					
PP	1 st	mu:dus	mu:d'	mɔyas	mɔyi
IP		mɔyo::s	mɔye:yi	mɔye:yas	mɔye:yi
RP		mɔye:yo:s	mɔye:ya:yi	mɔye:ya:yas	mɔye:ya:yi
PP	2 nd	mu:dukh	mɔye:yivi	mɔyakh	mɔyivi
IP		mɔya:kh	mɔye:yivi	mɔye:yakh	mɔye:yivi
RP		mɔye:ya:kh	mɔye:ya:vi	mɔye:ya:yakh	mɔye:ya:yivi
PP	3 rd	mu:d	mɔyi	mɔyi	mɔyi
IP		mɔya:v	mɔye:yi	mɔye:y	mɔye:yi
RP		mɔye:ya:v	mɔye:ya:yi	mɔye:ya:yi	mɔye:ya:yi
mašun to forget					
PP	1 st / 3 rd	moθh	moθh	moθh	moθh
IP		mašo:v	maše:yi	mašo:v	maše:yi
RP		maše:yo:v	maše:ya:yi	maše:yo:v	maše:ya:yi
PP	2 nd	moθhuy	moθhivi	moši:y	moθhivi
IP		mašo:y	mašo:vi	maše:yi:y	maše:yivi
RP		maše:yo:v	maše:ya:yi	maše:yo:v	maše:ya:yi
rukun to stop					
PP	1 st	ruk'o:s	ruke:yi	ruke:yas	ruke:yi
IP		ruke:yo:s	ruke:ye:yi	ruke:ye:yas	ruke:ye:yi
RP		ruke:ye:yo:s	ruke:ye:yi	ruke:ye:yas	ruke:ye:yi
PP	2 nd	ruko':kh	ruke:yi	ruke:yas	ruke:yi
IP		ruke:yo:s	ruke:ye:yi	ruke:yakh	ruke:ye:vi
RP		ruke:ye:ya:kh	ruke:ye:yivi	ruke:ye:ya:kh	ruke:ye:yivi
PP	3 rd	ruk'o:v	ruke:yi	ruke:yi	ruke:yi
IP		ruke:yo:v	ruke:ye:yi	ruke:ye:yi	ruke:ye:yi
RP		ruke:ye:yo:v	ruke:ye:yi	ruke:ye:yi	ruke:ye:yi

22.	IP	su	gayo:v	dili
		he.nom	went.IP	Delhi.abl
		He went to Delhi.		

23.	RP	su	gaye:yo:v	dili	magar	va:pas	a:v ni
		he.nom	went.RP	Delhi.abl	but	return	came.neg
		He went to Delhi but did not return.					

24.	IP	bi	paca:s	gari	kun
		I.nom	walked.IP	home.abl	toward
		I walked toward home.			

25.	RP	bi	pace:yo:s	va:ri	va:ri
		I.nom	walked.PP	slowly	slowly
		I walked slowly.			

26.	PP	su	khot	kulis (peth)
		he.nom	climbed.PP	tree.dat (on)
		He climbed up the tree.		

27.	IP	su	khatso:v	kulis
		he.nom	climbed.IP	tree.dat
		He climbed up the tree.		

28.	RP	su	khatsa:yo:v	kul-is
		he.nom	climbed.RP	tree.dat
		He climbed up the tree.		

Third Conjugation

Intransitives of the third group have three verbs with stem final vowels, namely, **ze-** 'be born,' **yi-** 'come' , and **pe-** 'fall.' The rest end in consonants. Vocalic stems show changes noted below. The stems final consonants do not change. These use the IP form as simple past. A partial list of these verbs is given below. (See Grierson 1898 for a complete list.)

a:s be
chan falling from a mass
ats enter, be finished
yi:r be whirled afloat
kup be angry
atsh be weak
adir be wet
kal be dumb

krihan become black
gan become thick
garim be hot
gob be heavy
chat be grey
grak boil over
camak shine
chak sprinkle, etc.

3. MORPHOLOGY

The subject of these intransitives is in the nominative and the verb agrees with it. Clearly the difference between the intransitives of the third and the second conjugation is not cued to phonology. The difference is semantic. The intransitives of the second group are unergative or active ergatives as they are currently called. These relate more to transitives and are active. The intransitives of the third conjugation belong to what is called unaccusatives. These contain stative verbs expressed by adjectives such as ‘be red,’ ‘be fat,’ ‘be old,’ predicates of existence and happenings, and verbs such as ‘fall,’ ‘sink,’ ‘shake,’ etc. Some of these are listed below. (See Wali and Koul 2002 for a detailed analysis.)

Verb	Per		Masculine		Feminine	
			Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
pe fall						
	1 st	IP	peya:s	peye:yi	peye:yas	peye:yi
		RP	peye:ya:s	peye:yi	peye:yas	peye:yi
	2 nd	IP	peya:kh	peye:yvi	peye:yakh	peye:yvi
		RP	peye:yakh	peye:yvi	peye:yakh	peye:yvi
	3 rd	IP	peyo:v	peye:yi	peye:yi	peye:yi
		RP	peye:yo:v	peye:yi	peye:ya:yi	peye:yi
yi come						
	1 st	IP	a:ya:s	a:ye:yi	a:ye:yas	a:ye:yi
		RP	a:ye:ya:s	a:ye:yi	a:ye:yas	a:ye:yi
	2 nd	IP	a:ya:kh	a:ye:yvi	a:ye:yakh	a:ye:yvi
		RP	a:ye:yakh	a:ye:yvi	a:ye:yakh	a:ye:yvi
	3 rd	IP	a:yo:v	a:ye:yi	a:ye:yi	a:ye:yi
		RP	a:ye:yo:v	a:ye:yi	a:ye:ya:yi	a:ye:yi
bəḍ drown						
	1 st	IP	bəḍ'o:s	bəḍe:yi	bəḍe:yas	bəḍe:yi
		PP	bəḍe:yo:s	bəḍe:ya:yi	bəḍe:yas	bəḍe:yi
	2 nd	IP	bəḍe:yo:kh	bəḍe:yivi	bəḍe:yvi	bəḍe:yvi
		PP	bəḍe:yivi	bəḍe:yivi	bəḍe:yvi	bəḍe:yvi
	3 rd	IP	bəḍ'o:v	bəḍe:yi	bəḍe:yi	bəḍe:yi
		PP	bəḍe:yo:v	bəḍe:ya:yi	bəḍe:yi	bəḍe:yi

29.	PP	aslam	pev	kuli	pethi	bən
		Aslam.nom	fell.PP	tree.abl	from	down
		Aslam fell down from the tree.				

30.	IP	aslam	peyo:v	kuli	pethi	bɔn
		Aslam.nom	fell.IP	tree.abl	from	down
		Aslam fell down from the tree.				

31.	RP	aslam	peye:yo:v	kuli	pethi	bɔn
		Aslam.nom	fell.RP	tree.abl	from	down
		Aslam fell down from the tree.				

Forms of some Irregular Intransitives

Verb	Per		Masculine		Feminine	
			Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
ne:r come out						
	1 st	IP	dra:ya:s	dra:ye:yi	dra:ye:yas	dra:ye:yi
		RP	dra:ye:ya:s	dra:ye:yi	dra:ye:yas	dra:ye:yi
	2 nd	IP	dra:ya:kh	dra:ye:yvi	dra:ye:yvi	dra:ye:yvi
		RP	dra:ye:yvi	dra:ye:yvi	dra:ye:yvi	dra:ye:yvi
	3 rd	IP	dra:ya:v	dra:ye:yi	dra:ye:yi	dra:ye:yi
		RP	dra:ye:yo:v	dra:yeyi	dra:ye:yi	dra:ye:yi
ats enter						
	1 st	IP	tsa:ya:s	tsa:ye:yi	tsa:ye:yas	tsa:ye:yi
		RP	tsa:ye:ya:s	tsa:ye:yi	tsa:ye:yas	tsa:ye:yi
	2 nd	IP	tsa:ya:kh	tsa:ye:yvi	tsa:ye:yvi	tsa:ye:yvi
		RP	tsa:ye:yvi	tsa:ye:yvi	tsa:ye:yvi	tsa:ye:yvi
	3 rd	IP	tsa:ya:v	tsa:ye:yi	tsa:ye:yi	tsa:ye:yi
		RP	tsa:ye:yo:v	tsa:yeyi	tsa:ye:yi	tstra:ye:yi
gatsh go						
	1 st	IP	ga:ya:s	gaye:yi	gaye:yas	gaye:yi
		RP	gaye:ya:s	gaye:yi	gaye:yas	gaye:yi
	2 nd	IP	gaya:kh	gaye:yvi	gaye:yvi	gaye:yvi
		RP	gaye:yvi	gaye:yvi	gaye:yvi	gaye:yvi
	3 rd	IP	gaya:v	gaye:yi	gaye:yi	gaye:yi
		RP	gaye:yo:v	gaye:yi	gaye:yi	gaye:yi

32.	PP	puni:t	gav	gari	ša:man	tsi:r'
		Puneet.nom	went.PP	home	evening.loc	late.abl
		Puneet went to home late in the evening.				

33.	IP	puni:t	gaya:v	gari	ša:man	tsi:r'
		Puneet.nom	went.IP	home	evening.loc	late.abl
		Puneet went to home late in the evening.				

34.	RP	puni:t	gaye:ya:v	gari	ša:man	tsi:r'
		Puneet.nom	went.IP	home	evening.loc	late.abl
		Puneet went to home late in the evening.				

3.4.3.3. Future Tense

Future is not marked for gender distinctions. It shows two types of suffixes. Type I agrees with the subject for person and number. Type II shows agreement with both subject and object in a complex manner as noted below.

Type I

Type I suffixes indicate the basic future. They are conditioned by verb stems. Stems ending in vowels take different suffixes than the stems ending in consonants. Suffixes agree with the nominative subject. The object does not show any agreement.

a) Vocalic endings: **khe** 'eat,' **ce** 'drink,' **ni** 'take,' **di** 'give,' **pe** 'fall,' **yi** 'come':

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

35.	bɪ	khemɪ	ɪ	tse:r
	I.nom	eat.fut.1sg	this	apricot
	I will eat this apricot.			

36.	əs'	yimav	paga:h	
	we.nom	come.fut.1pl	tomorrow	
	We will come tomorrow.			

b) Consonantal endings: **gatsh** 'go,' **par** 'read,' **chal** 'wash' etc.:

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	-i	-av
2 nd	-akh	-i
3 rd	-i	-an

37.	bi	gatshi	gari
	I.nom	go.fut.1sg	home
	I will go home		

38.	bi	pari	yi	kita:b
	I.nom	read.fut.1sg	this	book
	I will read this book.			

39.	so	chali	palav
	she.nom	wash.fut.2sg	clothes
	She will wash clothes.		

Type II

Type II suffixes are confined to transitive verbs only. The suffixes are cued to both subjects and direct objects in a complex fashion. Suffixes are conditioned by (i) inanimate direct objects, and (ii) pronominal objects, as noted below.

Inanimate Direct Objects

Inanimate direct objects optionally mark the verb for number. According to some grammarians the marking adds the feature specificity / definiteness to the object. (See Bhat 1987.) Object marking follows the subject marking.

Subject suffixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	-a	-iho
2 nd	ih	-iha
3 rd	-y	-in

Subject + Inanimate Direct Objects

Person	Object	
	Sg.	Pl.
1 st sg	-an	-akh
1 st pl	-iho:n	-iho:kh
2 nd sg	-ihə:n	-ihə:kh
2 nd pl	-ihu:n	-ihu:kh
3 rd sg	-yas	-yakh
3 rd pl	-inas	-inakh

40.	bi	paran	yi	kita:b
	I.nom	read.1ps.fut.3sg	this	book.fsg
	I will read this book.			

41.	bi	kheman	yi	tse:r
	I.nom	eat.1sg.fut.3sg	this	apricot
	I will eat this apricot.			

Animate Pronominal Direct Objects

Pronominal direct objects mark the verb with pronominal suffixes as noted above. These pronominal suffixes are conditioned by their overt case. In the future, and nonperfective tenses in general, the case of the object is conditioned by the person hierarchy. The animate direct object is marked nominative / absolutive just in case the subject is in a higher person (i.e., 1st > 2nd > 3rd). The animate direct object is marked dative in the absence of person hierarchy (2nd > 1st; 3rd > 2nd or 1st; 3rd > 3rd). (See 3.4.7. for details.) The suffixes accompanying these two case markings are shown below. Note that the dative object suffixes require the deletion of the dative object.

	Nominative Object Suffixes		Dative Object Suffixes	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st	---	---	-m	---
2 nd	-th	-v(i)	-y	-v(i)
3 rd	-n	-kh	-s	-kh

1 st > 2 nd			
42.	bi	parina:vath	tsi
	I.nom	teach.fut.1sg.ps.2ps	you.nom
	I will teach you.		

1 st > 3 rd			
43.	əs'	parina:vo:n	su
	we.nom	teach.fut.1pl.ps.3sg.ps	he.nom
	We will teach him.		

2 nd > 3 rd			
44.	tōh'	parinə:v'u:kh	tim
	you.pl.nom	teach.fut.2pl.ps.3pl.ps	them.dat
	You will teach them.		

3 rd > 1 st			
45a.	su	parina:vi	me
	he.nom	teach.fut.3sg.ps	I.dat
	He will teach me.		

45b.	su	parina:vem
	he.nom	teach.fut.3ps.1sg.ps

2 nd > 1 st			
46a.	tsi	parina:vakh	me
	you.nom	teach.fut.2sg.ps	I.dat
	You will teach me.		

46b.	tsi	parina:viham
	you.nom	teach.fut.2sg.ps.1sg.ps
	You will teach me.	

Future tense is used to indicate probability. It does not have any modal or aspectual value.

47.	yi	chu	mumkin	zi	su	iyi
	this	is.msg	possible	that	he.nom	come.fut
	It is possible that he will come.					

3.4.4. Aspect

There are two aspects: perfective and imperfective.

3.4.4.1. Perfective Aspect

The perfective aspect employs the auxiliary **a:sun** 'be' and the past participle form of the verb in **-mut**, agreeing in gender and number with nominative transitive objects, and with nominative intransitive subjects. The transitive subject is in the ergative. The forms of the past participle suffixes are as follows:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
-mut	-mit'	-mits	-matsi

The perfective aspect occurs in all the three tenses giving rise to present perfect, past perfect and future perfect, marked by present, past, and future forms of the auxiliary respectively. The present, past, and future forms of the auxiliary in the nominative and ergative cases are as given below.

Present forms of **a:sun**

a. Nominative case:

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

1.	sə	cha	gə:mits
	she.nom	is.fsg	go.pst.ptc.fsg
	She has gone.		

b. Ergative case:

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st / 3 rd	chu	chi	cha	cha

2 nd sg.	chuth	chith	chath	chath
2 nd hon.	chuvi	chivi	chavi	chavi

2.	me/asi	chu	pormut	akhba:r.
	I.erg /we.erg	have	read.pst.ptc.msg	newspaper.msg
	I /We have read the newspaper.			

3.	tōhi	chavi	pərmits	kita:b.
	you.pl.erg	have	read.pst.ptc.fsg	book.fsg
	You have read the book.			

Past forms of **a:sun**

a. Nominative case:

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
1 st	o:sus	ə:s'	ə:sis	a:si
2 nd	o:sukh	ə:sivi	ə:sikh	a:sivi
3 rd	o:s	ə:s'	ə:s	a:si

4.	bi	o:sus	go:mut	ba:zar
	I.nom	had	go.pst.ptc.msg	market
	I had gone to the market.			

b. Ergative case:

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl
1 st	o:s	o:s	ə:s	a:si
2 nd	o:suth	o:sivi	ə:sivi	a:sivi
3 rd	o:s	ə:s'	ə:s	a:si

5.	me	o:s	pormut	akhba:r
	I.erg	had	read.pst.ptc.msg	newspaper.msg
	I had read the newspaper.			

6.	me	ə:s	kita:b	vuchimits
	I-erg	had	book.fsg	see.pst.ptc.fsg
	I had seen the book.			

Future forms of **a:sun**

a. Nominative case:

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st	a:si	a:sav	a:si	a:sav
2 nd	a:sakh	ə:siv	a:sakh	ə:sivi
3 rd	asi	a:san	a:si	a:san

7.	bi	a:si	go:mut	ba:zar
	I-nom	be-fut	go-pst.ptc-ms	market
	I will be gone to the market.			

b. Ergative case:

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st / 3 rd	a:si	a:san	a:si	a:san
2 nd sg.	a:seth	a:snath	a:seth	a:snath
2 nd pl.	a:sivi	a:sinav	a:sivi	a:sinav

8.	me / təm'	a:si	kə:m	kərmits
	I.erg / he.erg	be.fut	work.fsg	did.pst.ptc.fsg
	I / We will have done the work.			

3.4.4.2. Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect is formed by adding **-a:n** to the main verb. It employs the forms of **chu** 'be' noted above in the past perfective to denote present, past, and future imperfectives.

Present Imperfective

The present imperfective denotes simple present, present progressive, habitual, and universal truths, as already noted above.

9.	bi	chus	gari	gatsh.a:n
----	-----------	-------------	-------------	------------------

	I.nom	am	home	go.pr
	I am going home. or I go home.			

10.	aslam	chu	kita:b	para:n
	Aslam.nom	is	book	read.pr
	Aslam is reading a book. or			
	Aslam reads a book.			

Past imperfective

11.	tim	əs'	sə:ras	gatsha:n
	they.nom	were	walk.dat	go.pr
	They were going for a walk. or			
	They used to go for a walk.			

12.	aslam	o:s	kita:b	para:n
	Aslam.nom	was	book	read.pr
	Aslam was reading a book.			

Future imperfective

13.	mohni	a:si	kita:b	para:n
	Mohan.nom	be.fut	book	read.pr
	Mohan will be reading a book.			

14.	bi	a:si	school	gatsha:n
	I.nom	be.fut	school	go.pr
	I will be going to school.			

Iterative aspect

The iterative is expressed by doubling the imperfective aspectual form. It is used to express simultaneous events.

15.	sə	cha	asa:n	a:sa:n
	she.nom	is.fsg	laugh.pr	be.pr
	She laughs frequently.			

16.	mohni	chu	asa:n	asa:n	kathi	kara:n
	Mohan.nom	is.msg	laugh.pr	laugh.pr	talk	do.pr
	Mohan talks smilingly.					

3.4.5. Mood

The primary moods are indicative, imperative and conditional. The indicative is unmarked. The imperative will be treated in the syntax. The conditional is noted below.

3.4.5.1. Conditional

Conditional markers may be added directly to the verb, or to the auxiliary **a:sun** 'to be.' The latter is followed by the verb in its aspectual form. Progressive and future conditionals use verb + **a:n** while the past conditional uses verb + **mut**.

The markers agree with the subject when the verb is intransitive or is in its present participial form. The agreement is with the object if the verb is transitive with an ergative subject. The markers also decline for pronominal suffixes mentioned earlier for present and past forms. (See 3.4.7. for details.)

Subjectival Agreement

Person	Sg.	Pl.
1 st	-ihə:	-ihə:v
2 nd	-ihə:kh	-ihə:v
3 rd	-ihe:	-ihə:n

Conditional with the auxiliary **a:s** 'be'

1.	bi	a:sihə:	gari	go:mut
	I.nom	be.cond.1sg	home	go.pst.ptc.msg
	I would have gone home.			

2.	bi	a:sihə:	para:n	kita:b
	I.nom	be.cond.1sg	read.pr	book
	I would have been reading the book.			

Conditional without the auxiliary in subjectival agreement

3.	bi	gatshihə:	gari	magar	tse:r	gav
	I.nom	go.cond.1sg	home.abl	but	late	went
	I would have gone home but it was late.					

4.	əs'	yimihə:v	va:pas	magar	bas	mi:j	ni
	we.nom	come.cond.1pl.ps	return	but	bus	get.pst	neg
	We would have returned but could not get the bus.						

5.	bi	parihə:	kita:b	magar	me	mi:j	ni
	I.nom	read.cond.1sg	book	but	I.dat	get.pst.fsg	neg
	I would have read the book but I couldn't get it.						

6.	tɪm	le:kh.ihə:n	kita:b	magar	vakhɪt	m'u:lukh	ni
	he.hon.nom	write.cond.3sg	book	but	time	got-3sg	neg
	He would have written a book but couldn't get time.						

Objectival Agreement

Person	Sg.	Pl.
1 st / 3 rd	-ihə:	-ihə:n
2 nd	-ihə:th	-ihə:vi
2 nd hon.	-ihə:vi	-ihə:nəv

7.	me	a:sihə:	təmis	kita:b	ditsmits
	I.erg	be.cond.1sg	he.dat	book	give.pst.ptc.fsg
	magar	me	ə:s	ni	
	but	I.dat	was	neg	
	I would have given the book to him but I didn't have it.				

8.	təhi	a:sihə:vi	kəmi:z	chəjmits
	you.hon.erg	be.cond.2sg	shirt.fsg	wash.pst.ptc.fsg
	magar	sa:ban	ə:svi	ni
	but	soap	was.2sg	neg
	You would have washed the shirt but there was no soap.			

3.4.6. Non-finite Verb Forms

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

3.4.6.1. Infinitive

Infinitives are derived by adding forms of -UN to the verb stem. The stems ending in vowels undergo morphophonemic changes. The infinitive agrees with the gender-number of nominative subjects, and

transitive nominative objects. There is no agreement with the case marked arguments.

Infinitive agreement

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl.
-un	-in'	-in'	-ini

di	give	d'un	din'	din'	dini
ni	take	n'un	nin'	nin'	nini
ce	drink	con	cen'	cen'	ceni
khe	eat	kh'on	khen'	khen'	kheni
pe	fall	p'on	pen'	pen'	peni
par	read	parun	parin'	parin'	parini
vuch	see	vuchun	vuchin'	vuchin'	vuchini
le:kh	write	le:khun	le:khin'	le:khini	le:khini
an	bring	anun	anin'	anini	anini
gal	melt	galun	galin'	galini	galini

1.	me / təmis	chu	dəd	con
	I.dat / he.dat	have / has	milk	drink.inf
	I have / he has to drink milk.			

2.	tse	chay	ca:y	cen'
	you.dat	have	tea.f	drink.inf.f
	You have to drink tea.			

3.4.6.2. Participles

3.4.6.2.1. Present Participle

The present participle marker is **-a:n**. It is used to form the imperfective forms of verb as noted earlier. A glide **-v-** is inserted if the verb stem ends in a vowel. The participle does not inflect for gender, number, or person.

ce-v	+	a:n	=	ceva:n
khe-v	+	a:n	=	kheva:n
ni-v	+	a:n	=	niva:n
di-v	+	a:n	=	diva:n
le:kh	+	a:n	=	le:kha:n

3.4.6.2.2. Perfect Participle

The perfect participle marker is -MUT. It indicates perfective forms of present, past and future. The marker agrees in gender-number with the intransitive nominative subject, and with the nominative transitive direct object, as noted above and repeated below.

Gender-number forms:

Verb	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
	-mut	-mìt'	-mìts	-matsì
par- read				
	pormut	pər'mit'	pərmits	parimatsì
le:kh- write				
	l'u:khmut	li:kh'mit'	li:chmìts	le:chimatsì
di- give				
	du'tmut	dit'mit'	ditsmìts	ditsimatsì
ce- drink				
	co:mut	cemit'	cemìts	cemitsì

3.4.6.2.3. Conjunctive Participle

The conjunctive participle functions as an adverbial clause and is used to express an act that precedes the act in the main clause. The conjunctive suffix is **-ith**. It does not inflect for gender-number-person. The negative conjunctive participle uses **nay** 'not / without.'

1.	təm'	ceyi	ca:y	akhba:r	pəriθ
	he.erg	drank	tea	newspaper	read.cp
	He drank tea after reading the newspaper.				

2.	su	gav	ba:zar	bati	kheth
	he	went	market	food	eat.cp
	He went to market after eating his meals.				

3.	bi	go:s	cakras	šra:n	karinay
	I.nom	went	walk.dat	bath	do.without
	I went for a walk without taking a bath.				

3.4.7. Agreement

Verbs in Kashmiri show a complex agreement pattern. The primary agreement is obligatory. It is marked on the auxiliary if one is present, otherwise it is marked on the verb itself. The primary agreement is cued mostly to gender, number and person of the nominative case. Gender features are absent in the future tense. The nominative case is controlled by:

- (i) subjects of (a) present and future tenses, (b) past intransitives, and (c) passives;
- (ii) nominative / absolutive direct objects of past and perfective tenses, and
- (iii) thematic objects of dative / psyche verbs.

Primary agreement for nom / abs in present and past tenses. (See 3.4.3.3 for future paradigm.)

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1 st	-us	-i	-as	-a
2 nd	-ukh	-v(i)	-akh	-avi
3 rd	-u	-i	-i	-a

Note that the vocalic part of the inflection refers to the gender number features. The consonantal part represents the person features. The person features are absent in 1st plural and 3rd person.

Nominative pronominal subjects

1.	bi	chus	dili	gatsha:n
	I.nom	am	Delhi.abl	go.pr
	I am going to Delhi.			

2.	tsi	chukh	ra:jas	kita:b	diva:n
	you.nom	are	Raja.dat	book	give.pr
	You are giving a book to Raj.				

3.	bi	go:s	dili
	I	went	Delhi.abl
	I went to Delhi.		

Nominative / Absolutive pronominal objects

4.	ašo:kan	vuchukh	tsi
	Ashok.erg	saw.2sg	you.nom
	Ashok saw you.		

5.	ra:man	vuch	sə
	Ram.erg	saw	her
	Ram saw her.		

6.	ra:jan	dits	me	kita:b
	Raj.erg	gave	me.dat	book
	Raj gave me a book.			

The agreement is neutralized if both arguments are oblique as is the case with **la:yun** 'to beat' in the past tense.

7.	aslaman	lo:y	təmis
	Aslam.erg	beat.neut	he.dat
	Aslam beat him.		

Pronominal suffixes / Clitics

In addition to primary suffixes noted above, verbs in Kashmiri are inflected for pronominal suffixes, also called clitics. These pronominal suffixes are governed by pronominal cases which may be nominative / absolutive, ergative or dative. The nominative / absolutive suffixes are shown above. The ergative and dative suffixes are shown below.

Ergative pronominal suffixes

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	m	∅
2 nd	th	v (i)
3 rd	n	kh

Distribution

As already stated, second person suffixes are obligatory in all cases. The pronoun itself may be optionally deleted. First and third person ergative suffixes need not be marked on the verb if their subjects are overt. The ergative suffixes follow the gender number suffixes of the absolutive object, if any. The ergative subject may be animate or inanimate.

8.	tse	por-u-th
	you.erg	read.2ps
	You read.	

9.	t̥hi	bu:zvi	ni	təm'sund	mašvari
	you-erg	listened.2ps	neg	his	advice
	You didn't listen to his advice.				

10.	təm'	ənim	ni	kita:b
	he.erg	brought.3ps.1sg.ps	neg	book
	He didn't bring the book for me.			

The third person features are optionally realized just in case the verb shows inflection for the ergative subject, e.g.,

11.	tse	vuchithan	sə
	you.erg	saw.3fsg.2sg.3fsg	her.abs
	You saw her.		

12.	mohnan	vuchukh	tsi
	Mohan.erg	saw.msg.2ps	you
	Mohan saw you.		

Ergative suffixes are also cued to the nominative objects in the nonperfective (i.e., present and future). These objects are conditioned by a person hierarchy and come into play only if the subject is in a higher person than the object. These nominative object suffixes are obligatory. The pronouns may be optionally deleted as exemplified below.

1 st > 2 nd				
13a.	bi	chusath	tsi	parina:va:n
	I.nom	am.msg.1sgps.2sgps	you.nom	teach.pr

	I am teaching you.
13b.	parina:va:n chusath

1 st > 3 rd				
14a.	bɨ	chusan	sɔ	parina:va:n
	I.nom	am.msg.1ps.3sgps	she.nom	teach.pr
	I am teaching her.			
14b.	parina:va:n chusan			

2 nd > 3 rd				
15a.	tsi	chihan	su	parina:va:n
	you.nom.sg	are.2sg.ps.3sg.ps	he.nom	teach.pr
	You are teaching him.			
15b.	parina:va:n chihan			

Dative pronominal suffixes

a.	Person	Singular	Plural
	1 st	m	∅
	2 nd	y	v(i)
	3 rd	s	kh

Dative pronominal suffixes are cued to dative cased arguments, such as dative subjects, indirect objects, and dative direct objects that come into play in the reverse person hierarchy. The first and third person coreferents are obligatorily deleted in the presence of suffix.

The second person pronouns may be optionally deleted.

Pronominal suffixes with dative

16a.	təmis	a:v	asun
	he.dat	came	laugh.inf
	He laughed.		

16b.	asun	a:s
	laughing	came.3sg.ps
	He laughed. (To him laughter came.)	

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Pronominal suffixes with a nonperfective direct object

17a.	tsi	chukh	me	parina:va:n	(2 nd > 1 st)
	you.nom	be.msg.2ps	I.dat	teach.pr	
	You are teaching me.				

17b.	parina:va:n	chihə:m
	teach.pr	be.2ps.1sg.ps
	You are teaching me.	

18a.	su	parina:vi	təmis	(3 rd > 3 rd)
	he.nom	teach.3sg.fut	he.dat	
	He will teach him.			

18b.	su	parina:ves
	he.nom	teach.3sg.ps
	He will teach him.	

Pronominal suffixes with exceptional dative objects

19a.	me	lo:y	təmis	(1 st > 3 rd)
	I.erg	beat	he.dat	
	I beat him.			

19b.	me	lo:yus
	I.erg	beat.3sg.ps
	I beat him.	

19c.	lo:ymas
	beat.1sgps.3sg.ps
	I beat him.

Pronominal suffixes with indirect objects

20a.	bi	chus	təmis	kath	vana:n
	I.nom	be.msg.1sg	he / she.dat	story	tell.pr
	I am telling him / her a story.				

20b.	bi	chusas	kath	vana:n
	I.nom	be.1sg.ps.3sg.ps	story	telling
	I am telling him / her a story.			

20c.	me	vən'	təmis	kath
	I.erg	told	him / her	story
	I told him / her a story.			

20d.	me	vənis	kath
	I.erg	told.1sgps.3sgps	story
	I told him / her a story.		

20e.	kath	vən'mas
	story	told.1sgps.3sgps
	I told him / her a story.	

3.5. Adverbs

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

Basic adverbs are either pure adverbs like **az** 'today,' **hame:š̄i** '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 / -tinās**: **yeti / yeten / yetinas** 'here,' **hoti / hoten / hotinas** 'there,' **tati / taten / tatinas** 'there,' **kati / katen / katinas** 'where.' The directional adverbs are marked by the suffix **-pə:r'**: **yepə:r'** 'in this direction,' **hopə:r'** 'in that direction' (remote I), **tapər'** 'in that direction' (remote II), **kapə:r'** 'in which direction.' The manner adverbs are formed by adding the suffixes **-thikin' /-pə:th': yithikin' / yithipə:th'** 'in this manner.'

huthikin' / huthipə:th'	in that manner	(remote I)
tithikin' / tithipə:th'	in that manner	(remote II)
kithikin' / kithipə:th'	in which manner	

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

a.	treyi	reti	pati
	three.obl	month.obl	after
	after three months		

b.	parni	bröh
	read.inf.abl	before
	before reading	

c.	duka:nas	pati	kani
	shop.dat	back	side
	in the backside of the shop		

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. Reduplicated adverbs may be separated by negative particles such as **nati** as in the phrases **kuni nati kuni vizi** ‘sometime or other.’ This category of adverbials expresses indefiniteness. The emphatic particle **iy (yo:t)** can co-occur with an adverb or a noun to render adverbial reading: **vakhitiy yo:t** ‘only / merely time,’ **asلاميy 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, **subihas** ‘in the morning,’ **de:va:ras peth** ‘on the wall,’ **gari pethi** ‘from the house,’ **šra:pici 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,’ **subihan** ‘in the morning,’ etc.,

(b) adverbs of place or direction: **andar** ‘in / inside,’ **nebar** ‘out / outside,’ etc.,

(c) adverbs of manner: **a:sə:ni: sa:n** ‘easily,’ **va:ri va:ri** ‘slowly,’ etc.,

(d) adverbs of reason: **gəri:bi: kin** ‘for the reason of poverty,’

kamzu:ri kin' 'for the reason of weakness,' etc.,

(e) adverbs of instrument: **kalmi si:t'** 'with pen,' **šra:pci si:t'** 'with knife,' etc.,

(f) adverbs of purpose: **parni khə:tri** 'for reading,' **ka:mi khə:tri** 'for work,' etc.,

(g) comitative adverbs: x **-as si:t'** 'with / in the company of x,' and

(h) adverbs of degree / intensity: **setha:** 'very,' **kə:phi:** 'enough,' **kha:l kã:h** '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.

3.5.1. Expressions for Time

3.5.1.1. General Time Expressions

General time expressions employ nouns in the nominative, dative, or ablative cases. The dative plural suffix **-an** is used with expressions such as **subuh** 'morning,' **dupihə:r** 'afternoon,' and **ša:m** 'evening.' The plural marker may be substituted by a singular one. Other general time expressions include **az** 'today,' **paga:h** 'tomorrow,' **ra:th** 'yesterday,' **u:tri** 'day before yesterday,' **kə:l'keth** 'day after tomorrow,' **azkal** 'now-a-days,' **vɔn'** 'now,' **zama:ni** 'age / long time age.' These adverbials may be further modified by **pətim** 'last,' **ə:khri:** 'last,' **brōhkun** 'next,' etc. The participial forms of the verb **yun** 'to come,' **guzrun** 'to be over' are also used for 'next' and 'last' respectively.

Time expressions with cases and postpositions:

Nominative

1.	su	iyi	paga:h / kə:l'keth
	he	come.futt.3s	tomorrow / day after tomorrow
	He will come tomorrow / the day after tomorrow.		

Dative

2.	su	gatshi	še baje / šeyi baji
	he	go.fut.3sg	six.nom o'clock / six.dat o'clock.dat
	He will go at six o'clock.		

3.	aslam	yi	subihan / dupihə:ran / ša:man
	Aslam	come.fut	morning.loc / afternoon.loc / evening.loc
	Aslam will come in the morning / afternoon / evening.		

Postpositions

4.	təm'sindi	yini	brōh / pati	go:s	bi	daphtar
	he.gen.abl	come.inf.abl	before / after	went	I	office
	I went to the office before / after he came.					

3.5.1.2. Time of Day

The time of day is expressed by **baje**, the past participial of **bajun** 'to strike.' It is used in reporting time and not in the expressions such as 'after one hour.' In such instances **gantī** 'hour' is used followed by a case suffix.

5.	su	a:v	sath baje: /	sati baji
	he	came	seven o'clock /	seven.dat o'clock.dat
	He came at seven o'clock.			

The element used to express 'quarter,' 'three quarter,' and 'half' hours precedes the numeral.

6.	bi	a:s	du:n / sva:d / sa:di	tre	baje:
	I	came	quarter to / quarter past / half past	three	o'clock
	I came at quarter to / quarter past / half past three.				

7.	bi	a:s	du:ni / sva:di / sa:di	treyi	baji
	I	came	quarter / quarter past / half past.dat	three.dat	o'clock.abl
	I came at quarter to / quarter past / half past three.				

Special expressions:

dəd 1:30 **da:yi** 2:30

8.	su	yiyi	dədi /	da:yi	baji
	he	come.fut	half past one.dat /	half past two.dat	o'clock.dat
	He will come at 2:30.				

Expressions indicating the minutes after the hour employ the conjunctive participle **bəjith**.

9.	su	a:v	tso:r	bəjith	dəh	minəth
	he.nom	came	four	strike.cp	ten	minutes
	He came at ten minutes past four.					

Expressions indicating minutes before the hour add the dative suffix to the infinitive of the verb followed by the postposition **manz** 'in.' One may also use the expression **kam** 'less.' Note the word order in both.

10.	su	a:v	tso:r	bajnas	manz	dəh	minəth
	he	came	four	strike.inf.dat	in	ten	minutes
	He came at ten minutes to four.						

11.	su	a:v	dəhi	miniṭi	kam	tso:ri	(baji)
	he	came	ten.dat	minute.abl	less	four.dat	(strike.abl)
	He came at ten minutes to four (o'clock).						

Most frequent ways of asking for the time are as follows:

12a.	vakhit	k'a:	a:v?
	time	what	came
	What time is it?		
12b.	kəts	baje:yi?	
	how much / many.fsg	strike.pst.fsg	
	What time is it?		
12c.	baje:yi	kəts	
	What time is it?		

3.5.1.3. Period of Day

Periods of the day are usually expressed by various nouns. These are further modified by dative singular or plural forms, emphatic particles, postpositions, and adverbial expressions.

subihan	in the morning
subihə:y	early in the morning
subihə:y subihə:y	early in the morning
subihan suli	early in the morning
dupihə:ras / dupihə:ran	in the afternoon
ša:mas / ša:man	in the evening
dohli	during the night
ra:th k'uth	during the night
dohas manz	during the day
ra:tas manz	during the night

Expressions **suli** 'early' and **tsi:r'** 'late' can be added at the end of **subihan**, **dupihə:ran**, **ša:man**.

13.	aslam	yiyi	subihan	suli / tsi:r'
	Aslam	come.fut	morning.dat	early / late
	Aslam will come early / late in the morning.			

Additional ethenic expressions related to times of prayers:

sahar	dawn	sa:hnan	at dawn
digar	afternoon	digran	in the afternoon
pešin	late afternoon	pešnan	in the late afternoon
praba:th	dawn	praba:tan	at dawn
sand'a:	dusk	sand'a:han	at dusk

3.5.1.4. Days of the Week

The days of the week are:

tsəndirva:r	Monday
bomva:r	Tuesday
bodva:r	Wednesday
brasva:r	Thursday

šokirva:r / juma:h	Friday
bativa:r	Saturday
a:thiva:r	Sunday

Note that the end element **va:r** in all these names, except **juma:h**, literally means ‘day.’ It is used as an independent lexical item.

14.	az	kəs	va:r	cha?
	today	what.fsg	day.fsg	is.fsg
	What day is today?			

The days of the week employ suitable case suffixes, such as dative or ablative.

15.	bi	gatshi	a:thiva:ri	(doh)
	I	go.fut	Sunday.abl	(day)
	I will go on Sunday.			

3.5.1.5. Months of the Year

Months are expressed in both indigenous and English forms. English forms are nativized in pronunciation.

Kashmiri months:

vayakh	April-May
ze:th	May-June
ha:r	June-July
šra:vun	July-August)
bə:dir	August-September
ə:šid	September-October
ka:rtikh	October-November
mənjihə:r	November-December
poh	December-January
ma:g	January-February
pha:gun	February-March
tsithir	March-April

English nativized versions: **janvari:**, **pharvari:**, **ma:rich**, **april**, **me:**, **ju:n**, **julay**, **agast**, **sitambar**, **okto:bar**, **navambar**, **disambar**.

Expressions for the date of the months:

Month's name + genitive marker + date in ordinal + dative + dat

16.	su	a:v	aprilki	dəhimi	tə:ri:ki
	he	came	April.gen.dat	tenth.dat	date.abl
	He came on the 10th date of April.				

3.5.1.6. Year

Reference to a year is usually to the year AD called **yi:svi:** in Kashmiri. Hindus refer to their indigenous calendar as **bikrami** or **ša:k**, and Muslims as **hijiri:**. The term **san** is used before the Christian year, which is optionally followed by **i:svi:** at the end. Similarly, an indigenous year starts with **samvat** before the year and ends with **bikrami**.

17a.	san	kunivuh	shath	še:ṭh	i:svi:	manz
	year	nineteen	hundred	sixty	Christian era	in
	in the year 1960 AD					

17b.	san	kunivuh	šath	še:ṭhas	manz
	year	nineteen	hundred	sixty.dat	in
	in the year 1960				

18.	samvat	zi	sa:s	še:ṭh	bikrami:	manz
	year	two	thousand	sixty	Vikrami	in
	in the year 2060 Vikrami					

The terms **i:sa: brōh** 'before Christ' is used to denote BC.

19.	i:sa:	brōh	še	hath	vəri:
	Christ	before	six	hundred	years
	six hundred years before Christ				

3.5.1.7. Seasons

There are four major seasons in Kashmiri:

vandī	winter
sō:th	spring
retiko:l	summer
harud	autumn

These can be used either alone or followed by **mu:sim** ‘season’ with or without a dative / ablative postposition.

20.	vandī / sō:th / retiko:l / harud (mu:sim)	chu	ja:n
	winter / spring / summer / autumn (season)	is	good
	The winter / spring / summer / autumn (season) is good.		

21.	kəši:ri	cha	vandas / sō:tas	manz	ti:r	a:sa:n
	Kashmir.dat	is.fs	winter.dat / spring.dat	in	cold	be.pr
	It is cold during winter / spring in Kashmir.					

22.	jemis	manz	chu	retikə:lis / hardas	garim	a:sa:n
	Jammu.dat	in	is	summer.dat / autumn.dat	hot	be.pr
	It is hot in Jammu during summer / autumn.					

3.5.2. Frequentative

Frequentative expressions employ reduplication, emphatic particle or **prath** ‘every’ preceding a time expression.

dohay dohay / prath doh	every day
ganṭi ganṭi / prath ganṭi	every hour
ra:th ra:th / prath ra:th	every night

23.	su	chu	dohay dohay / prath dohi	ka:lej	gatshan
	he	is	daily / every day	college	go.pr
	He goes to college daily.				

4. Syntax

4.1. Typology

4.1.1. Word Order

It is important to note that the word order in Kashmiri is very different than other Indo-Aryan languages such as Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi and Sindhi. The unmarked word order in these languages is SOV (subject object and verb). These are known as verb final languages. In Kashmiri the verb final order, i.e., SOV, is found mostly in conditionals, alternative questions, nonfinite and relative clauses. In all other clauses – declaratives, imperatives, yes-no questions, and finite subordinates, except interrogatives, the verb occurs in the second position. Kashmiri is thus a verb second language. In interrogatives, the verb is preceded by the question word, which itself may be preceded by other sentential constituents, thus producing a V-3 order.

In a verb second clause the first position is usually occupied by the subject (1), but it may also be occupied by other constituents such as objects, and adverbial phrases, as in (1a-1c).

1.	aslaman	dits	kita:b	mohnas	ra:mini
	Aslam.erg	gave.fsg	book.fsg	Mohan.dat	Ram.inf.abl
	khə:tri	ra:th	gari		
	for	yesterday	home.abl		
	Aslam gave Mohan a book for Ram yesterday at home.				

1a.	mohnas	dits	aslaman	kita:b	ra:mini
	Mohan.dat	gave	Aslam.erg	book	Ram.inf.abl
	khə:tri	ra:th	gari		
	for	yesterday	home.abl		
	Aslam gave Mohan a book for Ram yesterday at home.				

1b.	ra:th	dits	aslaman	gari	kita:b
	yesterday	gave.fs	Aslam.erg	home.abl	book
	mohnas	ra:mini	khə:tri		
	Mohan.dat	Ram.inf.abl	for		
	Aslam gave Mohan a book for Ram yesterday at home.				

1c.	gari	dits	aslaman	ra:th	mohanas
	home.abl	gave	Aslam.erg	yesterday	Mohan.dat
	kita:b	ra:mini	khə:trɪ		
	book	Ram.inf.abl	for		
	Aslam gave Mohan a book for Ram yesterday at home.				

This kind of word order is characteristic of what is known as verb second or V-2 languages. Prime examples of V-2 languages are: German, Yiddish and Icelandic. However, Kashmiri differs in several respects from German and other V-2 languages. For example, in a finite subordinate clause the verb occupies a final position in German, though not in Kashmiri. (See Bhatt 1999.) It is worth noting here that English is not a V-2 language, though the verb is placed in the second position. In English the object, or other constituent may not precede the verb (see 2a-2b).

2a.	John kicked the ball.
2b.	*the ball kicked John.

4.2. Phrase Types

There are four major phrase types in Kashmiri: (a) a noun phrase, (b) an adjective / adjectival phrase, (c) an adverbial phrase, and (d) a postpositional phrase. Phrases form a smaller syntactic unit than a clause. They lack the subject predicate structure of a clause. Phrases may be headed or headless. In a headed phrase, the head determines the category of the phrase. The category of a headless phrase is determined by its function. For example, 'similar to her mother' is an adjective phrase headed by the adjective 'similar,' while 'his newly married...' is a headless adjectival phrase which may form a constituent in a noun phrase.

4.2.1. Noun Phrases

A simple noun phrase may consist of a noun, pronoun, or a nonfinite sentential clause. A complex noun phrase may consist of a relative clause or a complex noun phrase. A noun phrase may function as a subject, an object, and a complement of a postposition or a predicate nominal of a copula. In Kashmiri, unlike English, French or Italian, articles are not an obligatory part of a noun phrase, though a demonstrative pronoun does at times function as a definite article. It precedes the nominal. There is also an indefinite article **a:** / **a:h**, which is suffixed to the noun. A noun phrase may be modified by an

adjective or a relative clause. Adjectives, and possessives precede the noun. A relative clause, as well as a complex noun phrase is preceded by a noun head. Note however that correlatives have a different structure of their own. Some examples follow:

Definite

3a.	hu	lɔ̀dki
	that	boy

Indefinite

3b.	akh	lɔ̀dka:h
	one	boy.indef
	some boy	

Adjective plus noun

3c.	nəv	kita:b
	new	book

Relative clause

3d.	su	ko:θ	yus	tse	h'otuth	chu	ja:n.
	the	coat	which	you.erg	bought	that is	good
	The coat which you bought is good.						

Complex noun phrase

3e.	yi	aphva:	zi	mohni	chu	əmi:r	cha	apiz
	this	rumor	that	Mohan	is	rich	is	false
	The rumor that Mohan is rich is false.							

4.2.2. Adjective / Adjectival Phrases

Adjectives usually function as attributes of nouns. They can occur within a noun phrase or post verbal predicative position. An adjective phrase should be distinguished from an adjectival phrase. The former is headed by an adjective as in (4). An adjectival phrase subsumes adjectives in all other functions, such as attributive, predicative, possessive and participles as in (5, 6, and 7). Adjectives may be modified by adverbs and form part of the adjectival phrase (8).

4.	yi	chu	seṭha:	əji:b.
	this	is	very	strange
	This is very strange.			

5.	yi	bəḍ	kita:b
	this	big	book

6.	hum	tre	bəḍ'	me:z
	those	three	big	tables

7.	yos	kita:b	tami	ən'	sə
	that	book	she.erg	brought.fs	that.fs
	the book which she brought				

Adjectives modified by adverbs

8.	yi	chu	seṭha:	bəḍ	kul
	this	is	very	big	tree
	This is a very big tree.				

In (4) the adjective **əji:b** is the head of the adjective phrase **seṭha: əji:b**. In (9) this same phrase becomes adjectival since it is headed by the noun **kul**.

9.	yi	chu	seṭha:	əji:b	kul
	this	is	very	strange	tree.
	This is a very strange tree.				

4.2.3. Adverbial Phrases

Adverbial phrases may consist of simple or derived adverbs, postpositional phrases, or a string of adverbs (10, 11). Adverb phrases are rare because adverbs rarely head a phrase.

10.	šur	chu	te:z	do:ra:n
	child	is	fast	run.pr
	The child runs very fast.			

11.	su	chu	seṭha:	zo:ri zo:ri	kathi	kara:n
	he	be	very	loudly	talk	do.pr
	He talks very loudly.					

4.2.4. Postpositional Phrases

Basic postpositional phrases consist of a noun phrase followed by a postposition. Postpositions divide into two major types: those governing a dative case on the head noun, and those governing an ablative case. Some postpositions may govern both the cases (see 3.1.4). A few postpositions acting as adverbials do not mark their nominals with any case: **pati-kani** ‘behind,’ **ra:t-as** ‘during the night.’

12.	kita:b	cha	me:zas	peth
	book	is	table.dat	on
The book is on the table.				

13.	me	ən'	nəv'	palav	šur'an	kith'
	I.erg	brought	new	clothes	children.dat	for
I brought new clothes for children.						

14.	təm'	kaji	kəmi:zi	sondu:ki	manzi
	he.erg	took out.fp.	shirts	box.abl	from
He took out shirts from a box.					

15.	su	a:v	gari	pethi
	he	came	home.abl	from
He came from (his) home.				

Certain postpositions, such as **nay**, **varə:y**, **badli** ‘without / instead’ modify verbs as in (16,17), or infinitives as in (18,19).

16.	su	chu	šra:n	karinay	daphtar	gatsha:n
	he	is	bath	do.without	office	go.pr
He goes to office without taking his bath.						

17.	su	a:v	va:pas	ciḥ'	ha:vinay
	he	came	back	letter	show.without
He came back without showing the letter.					

18.	su	pari	ni	soku:l	gatshni	varə:y
	he	read.fut	neg	school	go.inf.abl	without
He won't study without going to school.						

19.	su	ceyi	dɔd	ca:y	ceɳi	badli
	he	drink.fut	milk	tea	drink.inf.abl	instead
	He will drink milk instead of tea.					

4.3. Sentence Types

Major sentence types in Kashmiri are either copular or verbal. The latter include indicatives, interrogatives, and imperatives. Minor sentence types are interjective and exclamatory. Complex sentence types involve subordination, relativization, and adverbials. Coordination gives rise to compound sentence types.

4.3.1. Simple Sentences

4.3.1.1. Copular Sentences

A copula is a linking verb. It has no independent meaning of its own, unlike other verbs such as **khe** 'eat,' and **ce** 'drink.' The main copula is **a:sun**, with suppletive **chu** as its present tense form (see 3.4.). The complement of **a:sun** may be a predicate noun, predicate adjective, or a predicate adverb.

Predicate noun

1.	su	chu	da:kɽar
	he	is	doctor
	He is a doctor.		

Predicate adjective

2.	sɔ	cha	zi:ɽh
	she	is	tall
	She is tall.		

Predicate adverb

3.	ca:y	cha	taya:r.
	tea	is	ready
	Tea is ready.		

a:sun / **chu** is obligatory in both affirmative and negative sentences. In coordinate structures, it is optionally deleted under identity, as in (7, 8).

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	neg	doctor
	Aslam is not a doctor.			

6.	aslam	ti	mohni	chi	da:ktar
	Aslam	and	Mohan	are	doctors
	Aslam and Mohan are doctors.				

7.	aslam	chu	da:ktar	ti	mohni	ti
	Aslam	is	doctor	and	Mohan	also
	Aslam is a doctor and so is Mohan.					

8.	na	chu	aslam	vaki:l	ti	na	mohni
	not	is	Aslam	lawyer	and	not	Mohan
	Neither Aslam nor Mohan are lawyers.						

Uses of **a:sun**

(a) **a:sun** is used to express existence, universal truths, definition, identity, etc. **a:sun** always takes a complement. In (9), for example, though the complement does not appear on the surface, it is understood as **poz** 'true,' **mu:ju:d** 'present,' **prath ja:yi** 'every where,' etc.

Existence

9.	khoda:	chu
	God	is
	God exists.	

Universal truths

10.	nəsi:b	chu	panun	panun
	luck	is	self	self
	One is born with his / her own luck.			

11.	poz	chu	paza:n
	truth	is	reveal.pr
	Truth reveals itself ./ Truth cannot be hidden.		

Definition

12.	zi	ti	zi	gəyi	tso:r
	two	and	two	went	four
	Two and two make four.				

Identity

13.	ašo:k	chu	la:l
	Ashok	is	ruby
	Ashok is a a gem.		

(b) **a:sun** is employed with certain verbs such as **khasun / gatshun / sapdun** 'climb / go / find' to render the meaning 'to become.'

14.	azkal	chu	siriyi	jalid	khasa:n
	nowadays	is	sun	quick	climb.pr
	These days the sun rises early.				

15.	doh	khoti	doh	chu	gatsha:n	vakhit	kru:th
	day	more	day	is	go.pr	time	difficult
	The time is becoming difficult day by day.						

16.	azkal	cha	sapda:n	suli:	anigati
	nowadays	is.fsg	become.pr	early	dark.fsg
	It becomes dark early these days.				

(c) It is interesting to note that in Kashmiri the copula is used to indicate possession as is the case in Hindi, Marathi and some other Indic languages. The possession may be alienable, inalienable, permanent, or temporary. The copular subject is marked dative or with a postposition. The copula itself agrees with the possessed element. Possessors may be animate or inanimate.

a. Inalienable possession:

(i) Temporary feelings

Temporary possessions refer to feelings, sensations, sickness, etc. Possessors are marked dative without a postposition, e.g.,

17.	təmis	chu	kali do:d
	she.dat	has	headache
	She has a headache.		

18.	təhi	chav	šara:rath
	you.dat	have	anger
	You are angry.		

19.	aslam	chu	khəš
	Aslalm	is	happy
	Aslam is happy.		

(ii) Inherent qualities

When the items of possession are inherent qualities or emotions, the dative case is optionally followed by the postposition ‘**manz**’ (20 and 21).

20.	mohnas	(manz)	cha	tsed
	Mohan.dat	(in)	is.fsg	patience.fsg
	Mohan has patience.			

21.	təmis	(manz)	cha	akil
	she.dat	(in)	is.fsg	wisdom.fsg
	She has wisdom.			

b. Alienable possession:

Alienable possessions refer to nonessential or temporary possession of objects. The construction is similar to the inalienable possessions. The possessor is marked dative and is followed by postpositions like **nīši** ‘near,’ **athi** ‘with.’ The dative case of the subject varies for gender and number of the possessor.

Dative case variations

Masuline		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
-as / -is	-an	-i	-an

22.	təmis	(niši)	chi	sə:riy	pə:si
	he.dat	(near)	has	all	money
	He has all the money.				

23.	ši:las	(athi)	cha	va:riya:h	kita:bi
	Shiela.dat	(with)	has.fsg	many	books.fsg
	Shiela has many books.				

24.	darva:zas	chu	kuluph
	door.dat	has.msg	lock.msg
	The door has a lock.		

4.3.1.2. Indicative Sentences

Order of Constituents

In indicative / declarative sentences the finite predicate, which may be an 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, as noted in the beginning. Constituents following the predicate also show a considerable freedom of movement. (See 4.1.1.) The example (1) is repeated here for ready reference.

1.	aslaman dits kita:b mohnas ra:mni khə:tri ra:th gari
	Aslam gave Mohan a book for Ram yesterday at home.
1a.	mohanas dits aslaman kita:b ra:mini khə:tri ra:th gari
	Aslam gave Mohan a book for Ram yesterday at home.
1b.	ra:th dits aslaman gari kita:b mohnas ra:mini khə:tri
	Aslam gave Mohan a book for Ram yesterday at home.
1c.	gari dits aslaman ra:th mohanas kita:b ra:mini khə:tri
	Aslam gave Mohan a book for Ram yesterday at home.

Classification

Indicative sentences can be grouped into three categories on the basis of the classification of verbs: intransitives, transitives, and datives.

a. Subjects

Subjects of a declarative sentence may be realized as agents, experiencers (i.e., dative subjects), themes (i.e., passive subjects), or expletive forms. Subjects of most transitives and a few intransitives are marked ergative in the perfective aspect. Subjects are marked dative in the context of a dative predicate. All other subjects are marked nominative.

Nominative subjects

2.	su	chu	kita:b	para:n
	he	is	book	read.pr
	He is reading a book.			

3.	su	pari	kita:b
	he	read.fut	book
	He will read a book.		

4.	mohni	a:v	ra:th
	Mohan	came	yesterday
	Mohan came yesterday.		

Theme / passive subject in the nominative

5.	palav	a:yi	ni	mi:nini	zəriyi	chalni
	clothes	came.pass	neg	Meena.inf.abl	by	wash.inf.abl
	The clothes were not washed by Meena.					

Ergative subjects

6.	mohnan	d'ut	nəsi:mas	kalam
	Mohan.erg	gave	Nasim.dat	pen
	Mohan gave a pen to Nasim.			

Note that a few intransitives, such as **asun** 'to laugh,' **vadun** 'to cry,' **ladun** 'to quarrel' take ergative subjects in the past tense. (For a list and conjugation of these verbs see 3.4.3.2.)

7.	me / asi / təm' / tami / timav	os / vod / lođ
	I / we / he / she / they.erg	laughed / wept / quarreled
	I / We / He / She / They laughed / wept / quarreled.	

8.	tse	osuth / voduth / lođuth
	you.sg.erg	laughed / wept / quarreled
	You laughed / wept / quarreled.	

9.	tchi	osuvi / vodivi / lođivi
	you.pl / hon.sg.erg	laughed / wept / quarreled
	You laughed / wept / quarreled.	

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

10a.	bi	notsus
	I.nom	danced
	I danced.	

10b.	əs'	nəts'
	we.nom	danced
	We danced.	

10c.	me / asi	nots
	I.erg / we .erg	danced
	I / We danced.	

Dative subjects

11.	me	a:kh	tsi	pasand
	I.dat	came	you.nom	like
	I liked you.			

Null subjects

12.	kita:b	pərim
	book	read.1sg.ps.
	I read a book.	

13.	tse:ri	kheyān
	apricots	ate.3sg.ps.
	He / She ate apricots.	

b. Direct objects:

The case of the direct object is conditioned by tense and aspect. In the perfective the direct object, which may be animate or inanimate, is marked nominative / absolutive. In the non-perfective the case of the direct object is decided by person hierarchy. The object is marked nominative if the subject is in a higher person. In all other contexts it is marked dative. The transitive direct object may be overt or null.

Nominative / absolutive overt direct object

14.	səli:man	roʈus	bi
	Salim.erg	caught.1sg.ps	I.nom
	Salim caught me.		

Null object in the perfective

14a.	səliman	roʈus
	Salim.erg	caught.1msg.ps
	Salim caught me.	

Imperfective Person hierarchy

Overt and null direct object in the nominative

$1^{st} > 2^{nd}$

15a.	bi	chusath	tsi	parina:va:n
	I.nom	am.2sg.ps	you.nom	teach.pr
	I am teaching you./ I teach you.			
15b.	bi	chusath	parina:va:n	

$1^{st} > 3^{rd}$

16a.	bi	chusan	su	parina:va:n
	I	am.1sg.3sg.ps	he.nom	teach.pr
	I am teaching him./ I teach him.			
16b.	bi	chusan	parina:va:n	

2nd > 3rd

17a.	tsi	chuhan	su	parina:va:n
	you	are	he	teach.pr
	You are teaching him./ you teach him.			
17b.	tsi	chuhan	parina:va:n	

Overt and null direct object (b) in the dative

3rd > 1st

18a.	su	chu	me	parina:va:n.
	he	is	me	teach.pr
	He is teaching me./ He teaches me.			
18b.	su	chum	parina:va:n.	

3rd > 3rd

19a.	su	chu	təmis	parina:va:n
	he	is	him.dat	teach.pr
	He is teaching him / her./ He teaches him/her.			
19b.	su	chus	parina:va:n.	

c. Indirect objects:

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

Overt indirect objects

20a.	təm'	d'ut	me / təmis	akhba:r
	he.erg	gave	me.dat / him.dat	newspaper
	He gave me / him a newspaper.			

Null indirect objects

20b.	təm'	d'utnam / d'utnas	akhba:r
	he.erg	gave.3sg.ps.1sg.ps / gave.3sg.ps.3sgp	newspaper
	He gave me / him a newspaper.		

Overt indirect object -- Second person

21a.	təm'	d'utuy	tse	akhba:r.
	he.erg	gave.2sgps	you.dat	newspaper
	He gave you a newspaper.			

Null indirect object -- Second person

21b.	təm'	d'utuy	akhba:r.
	he.erg	gave.2sg.ps	newspaper
	He gave you a newspaper.		

Weather Expressions

Weather expressions in Kashmiri do not have any expletive subject like English 'it.' They fall into two categories. The first type does not have any agreement suffix. The second type carries the third person singular pronominal suffix on the verb.

22a.	ru:d	p'av.
	rain	fell
	Rain fell.	
22b.	ru:d	p'o:s.
	rain	fell.3sg.ps
	It rained.	

23a.	obur	khot.
	clouds	rose
	It has clouded over.	
23b.	obur	khorun.
	clouds	rose.3sg.ps
	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.)

4.3.1.3. Imperative Sentences

(a) Simple Imperatives:

Imperative forms may be simple or polite. The simple imperative verb is expressed in its unmarked / root form in the singular. Imperative forms inflect for number. The plural forms are used to express honorific status.

Verb stem		Addressee	
		Sg.	Pl./Honorific
par	read	par	pəriv
an	bring	an	əniv
di	give	di	diyiv
khe	eat	khe	kheyiv

1.	cith'	par / pəriv
	letter	read.imp.sg / read.pl. hon
	Read the letter./Please read the letter.	

2.	šuris	di / diyiv	mithə:y
	child.dat	give.imp.sg/ give.imp.pl.hon	sweets
	Give sweets to the child./ Please give sweets to the child.		

In the above examples, the imperative is preceded by a topic element. However, 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)			
	1 st per		3 rd per	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Sg.	-um	-	-us	-ukh
Pl.	-v'u:m	-	-v'u:s	-hu:kh

3.	ha:vum
	show.1sg.ps
	Show me.

3a.	hə:v'u:m
	show.1sg.ps
	Please show me.

(b) Polite Imperative:

The polite imperative is expressed by a suffix **-ti** / **-tav** (sg / pl) as exemplified below.

4.	ciθ'	parti
	letter	read.imp.2sg.
	Read the letter.	
4a.	ciθ'	pər'tav
	letter	read.imp.2pl
	Please read the letter.	

(c) Obligative Imperative:

The obligative imperative expressing moral obligation and duties is formed by the suffix **-izi** / **-izev** (sg / pl) as shown below.

5.	ci θ'	li:khizi / li:khizev
	letter	write.2sg.imp.obl / write.2pl.imp.obl
	You should write a letter.	

6.	poz	vən'zi / vən'zev
	truth	tell.2sg.imp.obl / tell.2pl.imp.obl
	You should tell the truth.	

(d) Negative Imperatives:

Imperatives are negated by using the particle **mi** (familiar) / **mati** (polite). The particle precedes the verb as noted below.

7.	po:š	mi	tsath
	flowers	not	pluck.imp
	Don't pluck the flowers.		

8.	tse:r	mati	karti
	delay	not.imp	do.imp
	Don't be late.		

4.3.1.4. Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative sentences fall into two broad categories: (a) Yes-no questions, and (b) Question- word questions. Both types are discussed below.

(a) Yes-no Questions:

Yes-no questions fall into three major categories: (i) neutral, (ii) leading, or (iii) alternative, as cued to the answer sought by the interrogator.

(i) Neutral Questions

Neutral yes-no questions are generally marked by the question marker **a:**. It is added to the finite predicate at the end of all inflections. An optional question marker **k'a:** may also be added to these constructions. **k'a:** usually occurs in the sentence initial position and throws the verb in the third position.

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

2.	(k'a:) tsi	le:khikha:	az	cith'
	you	write.fut.Q	today	letter
	Will you write the letter today?			

Note that Kashmiri maintains its verb second order in yes-no questions when not preceded by **k'a:**. Most V-2 languages do not allow verb second order in such constructions.

In negative yes-no questions the negative **ni** is prefixed to the question marker **a:**(3a).

3.	tsi	ne:rakh	ni	az
	you	leave.fut	not	today
	You will not leave today.			
3a.	(k'a:) tsi	ne:rakh	na:	az?
	(Q)	you	leave.fut	neg.Q
	Won't you leave today?			

4. SYNTAX

4.	tsi	yikh	na:	paga:h	daphtar?
	you	come.fut	neg.Q	tomorrow	office
Won't you come to the office tomorrow?					

The prohibitive imperative marker **mi** is placed in the pre-verbal position and is attached with the question marker **a:** as in (5a, 6a).

5.	tsi	mi	gatsh	paga:h	ba:zar
	you	neg.Q	go.imp	tomorrow	market
Don't go to the market tomorrow.					
5a.	tsi	ma:	gatshakh	paga:h	ba:zar
	you	neg.Q	go.fut.2sg.ps	tomorrow	market
Are you not going to the market tomorrow?					

6.	tsi	mi	ne:r	az	
	you	not	leave.imp	today	
Don't leave today.					
6a.	(k'a:)	tsi	ma:	ne:rakh	az?
	(Q)	you	neg.Q	leave.fut.2sg.ps	today
Aren't you leaving today?					

(ii) Leading Questions

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	chani	garmi:,	cha:?
	today	is.neg	hot	is.Q
It is not hot today, is it?				

8a.	na.	az	chani	(garmi:)
	no	today	is.neg	
	No, it is not (hot).			

(iii) Alternative Questions

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 to the office or not?				

Alternative questions are used in the finite subordinate clauses embedded under verbs of knowledge as in (11). Note that in these clauses the verb may be placed in the final position (11a) before the alternative marker.

11.	me	chu	ni	pata:	(zi/ki)	su	ceya:
	I	be	not	know	that	he	drink.fut.Q
	dɔd	ya:	na				
	milk	or	not				
	I don't know whether he will take milk (or not)?						
11a.	me chu ni pata: (zi/ki) su dwad ceya: ya: na						

(b) Question-Word Questions:

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

12.	kəm'	li:ch	cɪh'	ra:th	daphtaras	manz?
	who.erg	wrote	letter	yesterday	office.dat	in
	Who wrote a letter yesterday in the office?					

4. SYNTAX

12a.	mohnan	kəmis	li:ch	ciθ'	ra:th
	Mohan.erg	who.dat	wrote	letter	yesterday
	daphtaras	manz?			
	office.dat	in			
	Who did Mohan write a letter to in the office yesterday?				

12b.	mohnan	kati	li:ch	ciθ'	ra:th?
	Mohan.erg	where.loc	wrote	letter	yesterday
	Where did Mohan write a letter yesterday?				

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.	kəm'	kəmis	k'a:	d'ut	ba:gas	manz?
	who.erg	who.dat	what	gave	garden.dat	in
	Who gave what to whom in the garden?					

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.	kəm'	d'ut	kəmis	k'a:	ba:gas	manz?
	who.erg	gave	who.dat	what	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	vəriyi	kus	kus	iyi	yo:r?
	next.abl	year.abl	who	who	come.fut	here
	Next year who will come here?					

16.	mohnan	k'a: k'a:	h'ot	šuren h̄indi	khə:tri
	Mohan.erg	what	bought	children.poss	for
	What are the items Mohan bought for his children?				

17.	dili	kos kos	ja:y	vuchivi	t̄hi?
	Delhi.abl	which	place	saw	you.erg
	Which places did you see in Delhi?				

4.3.1.5. Minor Sentences

There are three types of minor sentences, namely, exclamatory, vocative, and interjection type.

(a) Exclamatory Sentences:

Exclamatory sentences are marked by strong intonation or are preceded by exclamatory words.

1.	az	kə:ta:h	ja:n	dəh	chu!
	today	how	good	day	is
	What a pleasant day it is!				

2.	kə:tsa:h	ʃəri:ph	ku:r!
	how.fsg	gentle	girl
	What a gentle girl!		

3.	va:h,	k'a:	bə:th!
	oh	what	song
	Oh, what a song!		

(b) Vocative Expressions:

Vocatives are placed in the sentence initial position. The basic vocatives are **he:**, **hasə:**, **hati**, **hatisə:**, **tali**, and **talisə:**. These are followed by various kinship or address terms which are inflected by **-a:**, **-i**, **-av** (msg, fsg, pl), or other polite forms such as **hatihaz**, **hatima:hara:**, **hatijina:b**, etc. Vocatives vary for gender and number (4-5). (For details see Wali and Koul 1997.)

4.	hayo:	nəzi:ra:!
	oh.msg	Nazir.voc
	O Nazir!	

5.	haye:	ku:ri: /	beni: /	vesi:!
	oh.fsg	girl.voc,	sister.voc,	friend.voc
	Hey girl / sister / friend!			

6.	he:	də:sta: / ba:ya: / bə:y sə:ba: / tə:th'a:
	oh.msg	friend / brother / brother.hon / dear one
	O friend / brother / dear one!	

(c) Interjections:

Interjections are usually one word emotive utterances, such as **ah**, **aha:**, **oh**, **ša:ba:š**, **va:h va:h**, etc. They express surprise, delight, etc.

4.3.2. Subordinate Clauses

4.3.2.1. Finite Subordinate Clauses

Finite subordinate clauses are linked to the main clause by the subordinator **ki / zi**, which follows the main verb. The word order in the finite subordinate clause follows the root clause V 2 pattern. The verb is placed in the second position and may be preceded by any constituent of the subordinate clause as shown in (1, 1a). The subordinator **ki / zi** is not counted as the first element of the clause. Elements of the subordinate clause may not be moved to the main clause.

Order of constituents

1.	me	chu	pata:	ki/zi	təm'	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
	I.dat	is	knowledge	that	market.abl	bought
	təm'	nov	ko:th			
	he	new	coat			
	I know that he bought a new coat in the market.					

Movement of elements to the main clause

1b.	*me	chu	pata:	təm'	ki/zi	h'ot	ba:zri	nov	ko:th
1c.	*me	chu	pata:	təm'	ki/zi	ba:zri	h'ot	nov	ko:th.

Finite subordinate clauses may be subjects, objects, or complements of the main predicate.

a. Finite Subject Clauses:

Finite subject clauses usually occur as complements of adjectival predicates and follow the main clause.

2.	yi	chu	poz	ki / zi	mohni	gav	ba:zar
	this	is	true	that	Mohan	went	market
It is true that Mohan went to market.							

3.	yi	chu	sa:ph	ba:sa:n	ki / zi	su	chu
	this	is	clear	appear.pr	that	he	is
	musi:batas	manz					
	trouble.dat	in					
It seems clear that he is in trouble.							

b. Finite Object Clauses:

Finite object clauses follow a transitive or a ditransitive verb. Verbs pertaining to knowledge, but not belief optionally allow elements such as **yi / yi kath** 'this, this story.' Verbs of wishing and wanting require a subjunctive mode.

4.	təmis	cha	yi	kath	pata:	ki / zi
	he.dat	is	this	story	know	that
	mohni	iyi	ni			
	Mohan	come.fut	neg			
He knows this that Mohan will not come.						

5.	təhi	korvi	me	si:t'	va:dı	ki / zi /
	you.erg	did.2pl.ps	I.dat	with	promise	that
	toh'	iyiv				
	you.nom	come.fut				
You promised me that you will visit me.						

6.	təmis	cha	ra:y	ki / zi	mohni	o:s	gari
	he.dat	is	belief	that	Mohan	was	home.abl
He believes that Mohan was at home.							

7.	me	bu:z	ki / zi	nasi:man	niyi	gər	tsu:ri
	I.dat	heard	that	Nasim.erg	took	watchi	stole.abl
I heard that Nasim stole the watch.							

c. Complex Noun Clauses:

Complex noun clauses are formed when the **zi / ki** clause modifies nouns such as **kath, khabar, or aphva:** 'story, news, rumor.' The

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complex noun phrase may function as a subject (8), or an object (9) of the main verb.

8.	yi	aphva:	zi / ki	nasi:man	kor	kha:ndar
	this	rumor	that	Nasim.erg	did	marriage
	cha	galath				
	is	wrong				
	The rumor that Nasim got married is false.					

9.	me	bu:z	yi	khabar	ki / zi	mohnas	mi:j	no:kri:
	I.erg	heard	this	news	that	Mohan.dat	got	job
	I heard the news that Mohan got a job.							

d. Question Words in the Subordinate Clause:

Question words in the finite subordinate clause form indirect questions. Indirect questions are formed in the same way as the direct questions.

10.	me	chani	pata:	ki / zi	səli:man
	I.dat	is neg	knowledge	that	Salim.erg
	kas	dits	kita:b		
	who.dat	gave	book		
	I don't know to whom Salim gave the book.				

11.	me	chu	ni	pata:	zi / ki	sali:m
	I.dat	is	neg	knowledge	that	Salim
	kot	gav	ra:th			
	where	went	yesterday			
	I don't know where Salim went yesterday.					

e. Negative Words in the Subordinate Clause:

Negative words in the finite subordinate clause usually negate the subordinate clause only as in (12). The main clause negation requires the negative to be placed with the main verb as in (13). However, when the main clause predicates are verbs of belief, or wishing, the negative in the main clause may have scope over the subordinate clause and vice versa. In short, the negative words have the scope over the entire clause irrespective of their position. This is shown in (14a and 14b). Both these sentences express the same belief.

12.	me	chu	pata:	ki / zi	nasi:mi
	me.dat	is	knowledge	that	Nasim
	gəyi	ni	jom.		
	went	neg	Jammu		
	I know that Nasim did not go to Jammu.				

13.	me	chuni	pata:	ki / zi	nasi:mi
	me.dat	is.neg	knowledge	that	Nasim.nom
	gəya:	jom?			
	went.Q	Jammu			
	I don't know if Nasim went to Jammu.				

14a.	me	chu	ni	ba:sa:n	zi / ki	mohni	yiya	az.
	I.dat	be	neg	think	that	Mohan	come.fut	today
	I don't think that Mohan will come today.							

14b.	me	chu	ba:sa:n	zi / ki	mohni	yiya	ni	az.
	I.dat	be	think	that	Mohan	come.fut	neg	today
	I think that Mohan will not come today.							

4.3.2.2. Non-finite Subordinate Clauses

Nonfinite subordinate clauses in the infinitive mostly function as objects of the main verb.

The infinitive **-UN** is inflected for gender, and number, and is placed in the final position. The subject of the infinitive is deleted under identity with the matrix subject (15a). In the ditransitive verbs the object controls the subject of the infinitive (15b).

Inflections for **-UN**

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
-un	-in'	-in'	-ini

15a.	bi	chus	yatsha:n	mohnas	samkhun
	I	am	want.pr	Mohan.dat	meet.inf.msg
	I want to meet Mohan.				

15b.	me	von	tas	niša:t	ba:g	gatshni	khə:tri.
	I.erg	told	he-dat	Nishat	garden	go.inf.abl	for

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	I told him to go to Nishat garden.
--	------------------------------------

(a) Nominalization:

In the nominalized version of the infinitive, the subject is marked possessive. The infinitive may be marked by a case followed by a postposition (17). The nominalized version acts like a subject of the main verb.

16.	təm'sund	dili	gatshun	chu	mumkin.
	he.gen	Delhi	go.inf	is	possible
	His going to Delhi is possible.				

17.	təm'sindis	nə:kri:	me:lnas	pəθ	go:s	bi	khəʃ.
	he.gen.dat	job	get.inf.dat	on	went	I	happy
	I was happy on his finding a job.						

(b) Question Words in the Infinitive Clause:

Question words in the infinitives and nonfinites in general have a scope over the entire sentence and form a direct question only. The question word is usually placed before the main verb. Alternatively, the whole nonfinite clause containing the question word may be moved to the initial position as in (18b). All overt elements in the infinitive clause may be questioned.

18.	səli:mas	kəmis	gəyi	kita:b	din'	məʃiθ?
	Salim.dat	who.dat	was	book	give.inf.fsg	forget.cp
	To whom did Salim forget to give the book?					

18a.	kas	gəyi	səli:mas	kita:b	din'	məʃiθ?
	who.dat	did	Salim.dat	book	give.inf.fsg	forgot.cp
18b.	kəmis	kita:b	din'	gəyi	məʃiθ	səli:mas?

(c) Negative Words in the Infinitive:

Negative words are placed before the infinitive and have a scope over the subordinate clause only. A negative in the main clause follows the main verb and has scope over the main clause only, as in (19b).

19a.	ʃi:lan	von	mohnas	nəsi:mas	si:t'
	Shiela.erg	told	Mohan.dat	Nasim.dat	with

	kath	na	karni	khə:tri		
	talk	neg	do.inf.abl	for		
	Shiela told Mohan not to talk to Nasim.					
19b.	ši:lan	von	ni	mohnas	nəsi:mas	si:tʻ
	Shiela.erg	told	neg	Mohan.dat	Nasim.dat	with
	kath	karni	khə:tri			
	talk	do.inf.abl	for			
	Shiela did not ask / tell Mohan to talk with Nasim.					

4.3.3. Relative Clauses

4.3.3.1. Finite Restrictive Relative Clauses

Finite restrictive relative clauses may be correlative as in Urdu and Hindi, or headed type, in which the head noun precedes the relative clause as in English and French. Both the correlative and the headed relatives are marked by the relative pronoun **yus** ‘who, which’ declining for gender, number and case and distinguishing animate from inanimate nouns. The pronominal correlative form is **su** / **ti** (direct / oblique). Both **su** and **ti** also decline for gender, number and case (see 3.2.4). Note that in both relative types the verb is in the second position in the main clause and in the final position in the relative clause.

(a) Correlative Structure:

In the correlative, the matrix clause follows the relative clause. Both the relative and the correlative pronouns may be followed by a lexical noun as shown in (1a, 1b).

1a.	yos	ku:r	dili	cha	ro:za:n	sə	cha	zə:vij.
	rel	girl	Delhi.abl	is	live.pr	cor	is	slim
	The girl who lives in Delhi is slim.							

1b.	yos	dili	cha	ro:za:n	sə	ku:r	cha	zə:vij.
	rel	Delhi.abl	is	live.pr	cor	girl	is	slim
	The girl who lives in Delhi is slim.							

Note that the correlative pronoun **su** / **ti** usually follows the relative clause and is placed in the beginning of the matrix clause, as in (1a) and (2a), but it may also occupy other positions in the matrix clause, as (2b) shows. Similarly, the head noun usually follows the relative clause but it may also occupy other positions (compare (2a, 2b)).

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2a.	[yɔs	ku:r	tse	pasand	chay]	sɔ	ku:r
	rel	girl	you.dat	like	is	cor	girl
	cha	me	ti	pasand.			
	is	me.dat	too	like			
	The girl you like, I like her too.						

2b.	[yɔs	ku:r	tse	pasand	chay]	me	ti
	rel	girl	you	like	is	me	also
	cha	sɔ	ku:r	pasand.			
	is	cor	girl	like			
	The girl who you like, I like her too.						

(b) Headed Relative Clauses:

In the headed relative clause, the head noun immediately precedes the relative clause

3a.	sɔ	ku:r	[yɔs	dili	cha	ro:za:n]	cha	zi:th.
	rel	girl	cor	Delhi.loc	is	live.pr	is	tall
	The girl who lives in Delhi is tall.							

Unlike the correlative, the headed relative clause does not allow the lexical noun to be placed after the relative pronoun (3b).

3b. *sɔ ku:r [yɔs ku:r dili cha ro:za:n] cha zi:th.

(c) Position of the Negative Marker:

Unlike all other clauses, the negative in a relative clause may be placed before the verb.

4.	ra:mas	cha	ni	sɔ	ku:r	pasand
	Ram.dat	be	neg	rel	girl	like
	yɔs	ni	mohnas	cha	le:kh-a:n	
	cor	neg	Mohan.dat	be	write.pr	
	Ram dislikes the girl who does not write to Mohan.					

(d) Relativization of Different Constituents

All the constituents of a sentence can be relativized in both headed and correlative type relative clauses. Some examples follow. (For details, see Wali and Koul 1997.)

Relativization of the Subject

5a.	yəs	ku:r	a:yi	sə	gəyi	ba:zar.
	rel	girl	came	cor	went	market
	The girl who came went to the market.					

Relativization of the Object

5b.	yəs	ku:r	me	yə:r	ən'	sə	gəyi	ba:zar.
	rel	girl	I.erg	here	brought	cor	went	market
	The girl whom I brought here went to the market.							

(e) Question formation:

Both the correlative and the headed relative do not allow any of their constituents to be questioned.

4.3.3.2. Appositive Relative Clauses

Appositive relative clauses provide some extra but relevant information about the head noun. The appositive clause follows the head noun. The relative pronoun is marked by **yus**. The head noun is usually a proper noun or some phrase about which some information is given in the relative clause.

6.	i: šar ko:l	yem'	kə:šr'uk	gəđin'uk	grə:mar
	Ishwar Koul	who.erg	Kashmiri.poss	first.poss	grammar
	l'u:kh	o:s	siri:nəgrɪ	ro:za:n.	
	wrote	was	Srinagar.abl	live.pr	
	Ishwar Koul, who was the first grammarian of Kashmiri, lived in Srinagar.				

4.3.3.3. Nonfinite 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 nonfinite form can be used only for subjects.

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	Present Participle		Past Participle	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
Sg.	-vun	-vin'	-mut	-mits
Pl.	-vin'	-vini'	-mit'	-mitsi

7.	vuphivun	ka:v
	fly.ptc	crow
	the flying crow / the crow which is flying	

8.	pašas	peth	khotmut	naphar
	roof.dat	on	climb.pst.ptc	person
	the roof climbed 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	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
vo:l	və:l'	va:jen	va:jini

9.	[jemi	ro:zan	vo:l]	ləḍki	chu	m'o:n	do:s.
	Jammu.abl	live.ptc	agt.msg	boy	is	my	friend
	The boy who lives in Jammu is my friend.						

10.	[ba:zar	gatshan	va:jen']	ku:r	cha	sə:n'	hamsa:yi.
	market	go.inf.abl	agt.fsg	girl	is	our	neighbor
	The girl who goes to market is our neighbor.						

4.3.3.4. Headless Relative Clauses

Headless relatives use the correlative strategy. The relative clause may precede or follow the main clause. Note that the correlative head **su** / **ti** acts like a connector as noted in Shauq (1982).

11.	yi	khəš	yiyakh	ti	chi	kara:n.
	whatever	like	come.fut.3pl	that	are	do.pr
	They do what pleases them.					

12.	yi	tsi	vanakh	bi	kari	tiy
	whatever	you.nom	tell.fut	I.nom	do.fut	that.emp
	Whatever you tell me to do I will do the same.					

4.3.4. Adverbial Clauses

Finite adverbial clauses denoting time, location, manner, and degree resemble the correlative pattern. Subordinate clauses are marked by the particle **yeli** and its various forms, while the main clause is preceded by the connective **teli** and its various forms, as shown below. The concessional and the conditional adverbials also employ a similar connective pair. Other adverb clauses such as purpose and cause employ independent morphemes to mark their onset.

The verb in the adverbial clause is placed in the final position, as seen in the relative clause. The main clause maintains the verb second position. The preferred position of the adverbial clause is before the main clause. However, it may be placed after the main clause.

4.3.4.1. Time Adverbial Clauses

(a) Finite time adverbial clauses:

Clause 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
	rel	I	am	go.pr	cor	is	he	too	go.pr
	When I go, (then) he goes too.								

2.	yeni	su	yo:r	a:v	tani	chi	es'
	since.rel	he	here	came	that time.cor	are	we
	yikivati	kə:m	kara:n				
	together	work	do.pr				
	Since he came here, (from that period) we work together.						

3.	asla:m	a:v	tami	sa:ti	yemi	sa:ti
	Aslam	came	rel	time	cor	time
	Mohan	do:ra:n	o:s.			
	Mohan	run.pr	was			
	Aslam came at the same time Mohan was running.					

Note that the time markers **yeli** or **yani** may not be deleted, however the corresponding correlative markers **teli**, **tani** may be optionally deleted.

(b) Nonfinite Time Adverbial Clauses:

Nonfinite time adverbial clauses are marked by the reduplicated present participle **a:n**, the conjunctive participle **-ith**, or the oblique infinitive with certain postpositions.

i. Present Participial Adverbial Clause

The present participial is reduplicated to express an ongoing (i.e., while) action. It is called a frequentative adverb.

4.	su	a:v	do:ra:n	do:ra:n
	he	came	run.pr	run.pr
	He came (while) running.			

5.	təmis	peyi	nendir	kita:b	para:n	para:n.
	he.dat	fell	sleep	book	read.pr	read.pr
	He fell asleep while reading a book.					

The reduplicated participle suffixed with an emphatic particle expresses simultaneity of events in the subordinate and the main clause.

6.	təm'	vən'	yi	kath	yiva:n	yiva:niy
	he.erg	told	this	story	come.pr	come.pr.emp
	He told this story immediately on coming.					

7.	mohnan	lo:y	bə:yis	beha:n	beha:niy
	Mohan.erg	hit	brother.dat	sit.pr	sit.pr.emp
	Mohan hit his brother as soon as he sat down.				

ii. Conjunctive Participial Adverbial Clauses

The conjunctive participle marker **-ith** expresses sequentiality of events. The event in the conjunctive clause precedes the one in the matrix clause. The conjunctive clause shares the subject with the main clause.

8.	gari	və:tith	kor	tami	teli:pho:n.
	home	reach.cp	did	she.erg	telephone
	She telephoned after reaching home.				

9.	bati	khethiy	gav	su	cakras.
	food	eat.cp.emp	went	he	walk.dat
	He went for a walk immediately after he took his meals.				

iii. Adverbial Clauses with the Infinitive

The temporal sequence such as 'before,' 'after,' 'at the time of,' etc. is often expressed by means of an infinitive plus some postposition.

10.	təm'sindi	yini	bró:h	yiya	ni	kā:h
	he.gen.abl	come.inf.abl	before	come.fut	neg	none
	No one will come before he comes.					

11.	təm'sindi	ne:rni	pati	gatshi	bi
	he.gen.abl	departure.inf.abl	after	go.fut	I
	I'll go after his departure.				

4.3.4.2. Manner Adverbial Clauses

Manner adverbial clauses usually employ relative like participial constructions. The manner markers are **yithi kin**, **tithikin'** 'as / which way / that way.'

12.	yithikin'	bi	vanay	tithikin'	kar
	as.rel	I	tell.fut	same.rel	do.imp.2sg
	Do as I tell you.				

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

12a. **tithikin' kar yithikin' bi vanay**

Nonfinite Manner Clauses

Simple participial constructions impart a manner adverbial reading.

13.	su	a:v	do:ra:n
	he	came	run.pr
	He came running.		

14.	su	a:v	vada:n	vada:n
	he	came	weep.pr	weep.pr
	He came (while) crying.			

15.	təm'	prutsh	kursi:	pəθ	bihith
	he.erg	asked	chair.dat	on	sit.cp
	He asked sitting on the chair.				

16.	təm'	vod	kursi:	pəθ	bihith.
	he.erg	wept	chair.dat	on	sit.cp
	He cried sitting on the chair.				

The negativized participial is formed by adding **i + varə:y**.

17.	təm'	von	asni	varə:y.
	he.erg	said	laugh.inf.abl	without
	He said without smiling.			

Certain infinitival constructions also express the manner reading, e.g.,

18.	təm'sund	natsun	chu	me	pasand.
	(s)he.gen	dance.inf	is	I.dat	like
	I like his / her dance.				
	(I like her / his way of dancing.)				

4.3.4.3. Purpose Adverbial Clauses

Purpose clauses are expressed by means of an infinitive plus the ablative **-i** or by an oblique form plus the postposition **khə:tri** / **ba:path** 'for.'

19.	su	gav	na:takh	vuchini.
	he	went	play	see.inf.abl
	He went to see a play.			

19a.	su	gav	na:takh	vuchni	khə:tri / ba:path.
	he	went	play	see.inf.abl	for
	He went to see a play.				

Notice that in (19a) the postpositional variant is an optional alternate of (19), the non-postpositional form. However, this option is not available in the non-motion verbs. These allow only the postpositional variant, e.g.,

20.	me	von	təmis	kita:b	parni	khə:tri / ba:path
	I.erg	said	him	book	read.inf.abl	for
	I told him to read the book.					

20a. * **me von təmis kita:b parni**

4.3.4.4. Adverbials of Cause / Result

Cause is expressed by means of a finite clause marked by **tik'a:zi** 'because.' The order between cause and effect clauses can be interchanged, e.g.,

21.	su	heki	ni	pəriθ	tik'a:zi	su	chu	muḍi.
	he	able	not	read.cp	because	he	is	illiterate
	He cannot read because he is illiterate.							

21a.	tik'a:zi	su	chu	muḍi	su	heki	ni	pəriθ.
	because	he	is	illiterate,	he	can	not	read

The cause / result is expressed by the pair **tik'a:zi** 'because' and **amikin'** 'therefore.' The cause clause precedes the one with the result.

22.	tik'a:zi	az	o:s	garim	amikin'
	because	today	was	hot	therefore
	go:s	ni	bi	ba:zar.	
	went	neg	I	market	
	Because it was hot, I therefore, couldn't go to market.				

23.	ra:th	o:s	ja:n	mu:sim	amikin'
	yesterday	was	good	weather	therefore
	go:s	bi	cakras.		
	went.1msg	I.msg.nom	walk.dat		
	It was a fine weather yesterday, therefore, I went for a walk.				

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The result clause may also be marked by the infinitive in ablative plus the postposition **ki vaja:h** ‘because of.’

24.	ru:d	peni	ki vaja:h	h'o:kus	ni
	rain	fall.inf.abl	reason	able.1sg	neg
	bi	ba:zar	gətshith		
	I.nom	market	go.cp		
	I could not go to market because of the rain.				

Cause can also be expressed by reduplicated present, past and conjunctive participles, or by an infinitive followed by **si:t** ‘with.’

25.	paka:n	paka:n	thok	su	ti	bu':th	pathar
	walk.pr	walk.pr	tired	he	and	sat	down
	Because of walking (constantly) he was tired and sat down.						

26.	bi	a:s	prə:r'	prə:r'	tang
	I	came	wait.ptc	wait.ptc	tired
	I got sick of waiting.				

27.	dava:	khethiy	gav	su	thi:kh
	medicine	eat.cp.emp	went	he	alright
	Immediately on taking medicine, he recovered (from illness).				

28.	šur' sindi	yini	si:t'	gəyi	sə:ri:	khəš
	child.gen.abl	come.inf.abl	with	went	all	happy
	Because of the arrival of the child, all were happy.					

4.3.4.5. Adverbial Clauses of Condition and Concession

Condition clauses are marked by the conjunction **agar** ‘if.’

29.	agar	ru:d	peyi	teli	bani	ja:n	phasil.
	if	rain	fall.fut	then	get	good	crop
	If it rains, then the crops will be good.						

The adverb sequence in the if clause can be reversed, e.g.,

29a.	teli	bani	ja:n	phasil	agar	ru:d	peyi
	The crop will be good if it rains.						

The conjunction marker **nati** expresses the notion ‘otherwise,’ e.g.,

30.	paga:h	yizi	jalid	nati	gatshi
	tomorrow	come.imp	soon	otherwise	go.fut
	bi	kunuy zon			
	I.nom	alone.emp			
	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.’

31.	agarci / harga:h	so	setha:	əmi:r	cha
	although	she	very	rich	is
	to:ti	cha	kanju:s.		
	still	is	miser		
	Although she is very rich, she is a miser.				

32.	su	k'a:zi	kari	ni	me	za:ripa:ri
	he	why	do.fut	neg	me.dat	request
	bi	gatshi	ni	to:r		
	I.nom	go.fut	neg	there		
	Even if he begs me, I'll not go there.					

4.3.5. Comparison

Comparison involves use of comparative postpositions **khōti**, **niši** ‘than’ or the comparative phrase **muka:balas manz** ‘in comparison with.’ Comparative structures may be phrasal or sentential.

4.3.5.1. Phrasal Comparison

In a phrasal comparison the standard of comparison is assigned a genitive case. The postpositions **khōti** and **niši** require the genitive to be marked with the ablative case; the phrase **muka:balas manz** requires the genitive to be marked dative. In both cases the genitive markers may be optionally deleted.

1.	mohni	chu	[aslamni	khōti]	ga:ṭul
	Mohan	is	Aslam.gen.abl	than	wise
	Mohan is wiser than Aslam.				

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2.	yi	kita:b	cha	homi	kita:bi	niši	ja:n
	this	book	is	that.abl	book.abl	than	good
	This book is better than that book.						

3.	human	dən	koren	h̄indis	muka:balas
	those.dat	two.dat	girls.dat	gen.dat	comparison.dat
	manz	cha	yimi	ko:ri	ja:n ginda:n
	in	are	these	girls	good play.pr
	These girls play better than those two girls.				

4.	aslamas	muka:balī	chu	nəzi:r	parnas	manz	te:z.
	Aslam.dat	comparison	is	Nazir	study.dat	in	sharp
	In comparison to Aslam, Nazir is sharp in his studies.						

Note that comparative phrases obligatorily delete all identical elements including the verb.

5.	aslam	chu	aphsa:n	khōti	z'a:di
	Aslam	is	short stories.abl	than	more
	na:vlī	para:n			
	novels	read.pr			
	Aslam reads more novels than short stories.				

6.	nəsi:man	le:chi	nəzi:rni	niši	kam	ciṭhi
	Nasim.erg	wrote	Nazir.gen.abl	than	less	letters
	Nasim wrote less letters than Mohan.					

4.3.5.2. Sentential Comparison

In a sentential comparison, the comparative clause employs a relative marker **yu:t** and the postposition **khōti** is attached to the correlative **tami** in the ablative.

7.	nəzi:r	yu:t	əmi:r	chu	aslam	chu
	Nazir	rel	rich	is	Aslam	is
	tami	khōti	z'a:di	əmi:r.		
	cor	than.postp	more	rich		
	Aslam is richer than Nazir.					

7a.	yu:t əmi:r nəzi:r chu tami khōti chu aslam z'a:di əmi:r
	Aslam is richer than Nazir.

4.3.6. Superlatives

Superlative phrases employ **sa:riviḃ khoti** ‘out of all,’ **prath kã:si hindi khoti** ‘everyone than’ and **kã:h b’a:kh** ‘anyone else.’

1.	ra:ji	cha	jamə:ts	manz	sa:riviḃ	khoti	ga:tiḃ.
	Raja	is	class.fsg.abl	in	all	than.postp	wise.fsg
	Raja is wisest (of all) in her class.						

2.	mohni	chu	prath	kã:si	hindi	khoti	te:z	do:ra:n.
	Mohan	is	everyone	else	gen.abl	than	fast	run.pr
	Mohan runs faster than anyone / everyone else.							

3.	nəsi:mas	z’u:ṭh	chuni	b’a:kh	kã:h.
	Nasim.dat	tall	is.neg	second	else
	No one is taller than Nasim.				

4.3.7. Equatives

Equatives may be phrasal or correlative type.

4.3.7.1. Phrasal Equatives

Phrasal equatives use adjectives such as **bara:bar / sumb** ‘equal,’ **hiviḃ** (mas) and **hiṣay** (fem) ‘alike’ or **h’uv** (msg), **hiv’** (mpl), **hiṣ** (fsg), and **hishi** (fpl) ‘like’ agreeing with the subject. The adjectives follow the standard of equality, which is assigned to the dative case.

1.	aslam	chu	mohnas	bara:bar / sumb	thod.
	Aslam	is	Mohan.dat	equal	tall
	Aslam is as tall as Mohan.				

2.	uma:	cha	ra:jas	hiṣ	da:na:
	Uma	is	Raj.dat	like.fsg	intelligent
	Uma is as intelligent as Raj.				

3.	yimi	zi	benini	cha	hiṣay
	these	two	sisters	are	alike
	These two sisters are alike.				

4.	hum	zi	ba:ri:n'	chi	hiviy	šakli
	those	two	brothers	are	alike	looks.abl
Those two brothers look alike.						

4.3.7.2. Correlative Equatives

Correlative equatives use the connective correlative pairs as in the case of the comparative. It is expressed by the use of correlative pairs, such as **t'u:t ... yu:t** 'that much ... this much,' **yi ... ti** 'as ... that,' **yuth ... t'uth** 'like x ... like that,' etc.

5.	mohni	chu	t'u:t	da:na:	yu:t
	Mohan	is	that much	wise	as much
	təm'sund	bə:y	(chu).		
	his	brother	(is)		
Mohan is as wise as his brother (is).					

6.	yi:ts	šəri:ph	uma:	cha	tí:ts
	rel	gentle	Uma	is	cor
	cha	təm'sinz	beni	(ti).	
	is	her	sister	(also)	
Uma is as gentle as her sister.					

7.	yi	təm'	bə:yis	kor	ti	korus	bə:y	ti.
	rel	he.erg	brother.dat	did	cor	did.3sg	brother.erg	also
Whatever he did to his brother, his brother paid him back.								

8.	yuth	mo:l	t'uth	necuv.
	rel	father	cor	son
Like father like son.				

4.3.8. Coordination

Main sentence coordinators in Kashmiri are: **tī** 'and,' **magar** 'but,' **ya:** / **natī** / **kinī** 'or,' and **ya: ... ya:** / **natī** 'either ... or' with its negative counterpart **nə ... tī** / **nə** 'neither ... nor.'

4.3.8.1. tī 'and' coordination

In sentential coordination the conjunct **tī** is placed before the last conjunct. Misplacement of **tī** renders the sentence ungrammatical (1a and 2a).

1.	aslam	chu	kita:b	para:n	tī	nəzi:r
	Aslam	is	book	reading	and	Nazir
	chu	cith'	le:kha:n.			
	is	letter	writing			
	Aslam is reading a book and Nazir is writing a letter.					

1a. * **tī aslam chu kita:b para:n nazi:r chu cith' le:kha:n.**

2.	ra:ji	cha	g'ava:n,	uma:	cha	nats-a:n,	tī
	Raja	is	sing.pr	Uma	is	dance.pr	and
	uša:	cha	asa:n.				
	Usha	is	laugh.pr				
	Raja is singing, Uma is dancing, and Usha is laughing.						

2a. * **ra:ji cha g'av-a:n tī uma: cha nats-a:n uša: cha as-a:n.**

The **tī** coordination is used to express contrast, cumulative effect, cause and effect, sequential action, contingency, and a few other functions. The order of conjuncts is interchangeable if the coordination expresses contrasts or cumulative effects (3a, 4a).

3.	yi	ləḍki	chu	da:na:	tī	hu	ləḍki	chu	be:kil.
	this	boy	is	intelligent	and	that	boy	is	stupid
	This boy is intelligent and that boy is stupid.								

3a.	hu	ləḍki	chu	be:kil	tī
	That	boy	is	stupid	and
	yi	ləḍki	chu	da:na:	
	this	boy	is	intelligent.	

4.	su	chu	varziš	kara:n	tī	sə:ras	gatsha:n
	he	is	exercise	do.pr	and	walk.dat	go.pr
	He exercises and goes for a walk.						

4a.	su	chu	sə:ras	gatsha:n	tī	varziš	kara:n.
	He goes for a walk and exercises.						

Sequential coordination

5.	tsu:ras	ləj	gu:l'	tī	su	gav	zakhmi:.
	thief	struck	bullet	and	he	was	injured
	The thief was hit by a bullet and he was injured.						

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6.	toh'	vuchiv	ja:n	ku:r	ti	kəriv	ne:thir.
	you.hon	see.fut	good	girl	and	do.fut.hon	marriage
	You find a good girl and get married.						

Other Syntactic functions of **ti**

Besides conjoining sentences, coordinator **ti** is used to coordinate nouns (7-9a); pronouns (10); verbs (11); adjectives (12); and adverbs (13). Verb shows a plural agreement when the coordinators have a joint reference (7-7a). However, the verb may show agreement with the nearest noun if the reference is disjoint as in (8,8a, 9, 9a). (See Wali and Koul 1997 and Shauq 1982 for details.)

7.	mohni	ti	uma:	chi	akhba:r	para:n.
	Mohan	and	Uma	are	newspaper	read.pr
	Mohan and Uma are reading a newspaper.					

7a.	uma: ti mohni chi akhba:r para:n.					
	Uma and mohan are reading a newspaper.					

8.	kita:b	ti	pho:tu:	chu	me:zas	peth.
	book.fsg	and	photo.msg	be.msg	table.dat	on
	The book and photo are on the table.					

8a.	pho:tu:	ti	kita:b	cha	me:zas	peth.
	photo.msg	and	book.fsg	be.fsg	table.dat	on
	The photo and the book are on the table.					

9.	me	het'	tsū:th'	ti	tse:ri.
	I.erg	bought.mpl	apples.mpl	and	apricots.fpl
	I bought apples and apricots.				

9a.	me	hetsi	tse:ri	ti	tsū:th'.
	I.erg	bought.fpl	apricots.fps	and	apples.mpl
	I bought apricots and apples.				

10.	toh'	ti	bi	gatshav	film	vuchni.
	you	and	I	go.fut	film	see.inf.abl
	You and I will go to a movie.					

11.	ši:li	cha	g'ava:n	ti	natsa:n.
	Shiela	be.fsg	sing.pr	and	dances.pr
	Shiela sings and dances.				

12.	nəsi:mì	cha	khu:bsu:rath	tì	ga:tij	ku:r.
	Nasim	be.fsg	beautiful	and	wise.fsg	girl
	Nasim is a beautiful and wise girl.					

13.	saruph	chu	hol hol	tì	te:z	paka:n.
	snake	is	zigzag	and	fast	walk.pr
	The snake crawls in a zigzag way and fast.					

4.3.8.2. magari 'but' coordination

The coordinator **magar** is placed in the beginning of the second conjunct. It is usually used with adjectives (14,15) and adverbials (16). Semantically it expresses contrast or adversity. In colloquial speech, **vøn'gav** or **bəl'ki** is often used instead of **magar**.

14.	ra:ji	cha	muḍi	magar	sə	cha	seṭha:	da:na:.
	Raja	is	illiterate	but	she	is	very	wise
	Raja is illiterate but she is very wise.							

15.	ši:li	cha	muḍi	magar	ga:tij	ku:r.
	Shiela	is	illiterate	but	wise	girl
	Shiela is an illiterate but a wise girl.					

16.	tami	kər	kath	magar	va:ri va:ri
	she	did	talk	but	slowly
	She talked but in a low voice.				

In adversative conjuncts a negative particle is used preceding or following the adversative conjunct.

17.	aslam	nay	yi:yi	magar	bi	yimi	zaru:r
	Aslam	neg.emp	come.fut	but	I	come.fut	definitely
	Aslam may not come but I'll definitely come.						

18.	ra:mi	chu	ja:n	šur	magar	sohni	chu	ni	(ja:n).
	Ram	is	good	boy	but	Sohan	is	not	(good)
	Ram is a good boy but Sohan is not.								

4.3.8.3. **ya: ‘or’ coordination**

The alternative coordination is expressed by **ya:**, or **nati**. These may substitute for each other in most contexts. They may be used with sentences, nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. In sentential coordination both **ya:** and **nati** are placed immediately before the verb in the second conjunct (20).

19.	majid	ya:	aslam	gatshan	jom
	Majid	or	Aslam	go.fut	Jammu
	Majid or Aslam will go to Jammu.				

20.	tse	pazy	mehnath	karinʹ
	you.dat	should	work hard	do.inf.fsg
	nati	gatshakh	phe:l.	
	otherwise	go.3sg.fut	fail	
	You should work hard otherwise you will fail.			

A special alternative coordinator **kini** is used in case the second conjunct is implied as a question.

21.	tsi	cekha:	ca:y	kini	ka:phi:ʹ
	you	drink.Q	tea	or	coffee
	Would you like to have tea or coffee?				

22.	yi	gur	cha:	tez	paka:n	kini	va:ri	va:ri
	this	horse	is.Q	fast	walk.pr	or	slow	slow
	Does this horse run fast or slow?							

4.3.8.4. **‘Either... or’ coordination**

‘Either ... or’ coordination is expressed by **ya: ... ya: / ya: ... nati** and its negative counterpart ‘neither ... nor’ by **na ... na**. The coordinator **ya:** or **na** is placed in the beginning of the initial conjunct and the corresponding **ya:/nati** or **na** is placed in the beginning of the second conjunct. The verb is placed immediately after the coordinators in both the clauses. Compare (23) with (23a, 23b):

23.	ya:	peyi	az	ru:d	ya:	peyi	az	ši:n
	either	fall.fut	today	rain	or	fall.fut	today	snow
	Either it will rain today or it will snow.							

23a.	az	peyi	ru:d.
	today	fall.fut	rain
	It will rain today.		

23b.	az	peyi	ši:n.
	today	fall.fut	snow
	It will snow today.		

Negative disjunction

24.	na	kheyi	su	pa:ni	na	diyi	me	kheni.
	neither	eat.fut	he	self	nor	give.fut	me.dat	eat.inf.abl
	Neither he will eat himself nor will he let me eat.							

4.4. Other Syntactic Constructions

4.4.1. Passivisation

There are two types of passive constructions in Kashmiri, as is the case in Hindi and Punjabi. One is the regular or standard type. The other known as capability passive, actually indicates inability. There is some syntactic similarity between the two but there are several differences as shown below.

4.4.1.1. Regular / Personal Passive

In the regular / personal passive the transitive verb is put in the infinitive accompanied with the auxiliary **yun** 'to come.' The auxiliary inflects for tense and agreement if any. The passive subject is marked nominative. Certain exceptional verbs, such as **la:yun**, 'to beat,' and **pra:run** 'to wait' that inherently mark their objects in the dative in the active version, retain the dative case on their passive subjects. The passivized 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 **zəriyi / dəs** 'by' (1a). The demoted subject may be deleted (2a).

1.	mohni	chu	səli:mas	par:ina:va:n
	Mohan	is	Salim.dat	teach.pr
	Mohan is teaching Salim./Mohan teaches Salim.			

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1a.	səli:m	chu	yiva:n	parina:vni	mohnini	zəriyi.
	Salim	is	come.pass.pr	teach.inf.abl	Mohan.abl	by
	Salim is being taught by Mohan.					

2.	mohnan	lo:y	səli:mas	lo:ri	si:t'
	Mohan.erg	beat	Salim.dat	stick.abl	with
	Mohan beat Salim with a stick.				

2a.	səlimas	a:v	la:yni	lo:ri	si:t.
	Salim.dat	came.pass	beat.inf.abl	stick.abl	with
	Salim was beaten with a stick.				

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

3.	mohnan	li:ch	ra:da:yi	ci th'
	Mohan.erg	wrote	Radha.dat	letter
	Mohan wrote a letter to Radha.			

3a.	ra:da:yi	a:yi	ci th'
	Radha.dat	came.pass	letter
	le:khi	mohnini	zəriyi
	write.inf.abl	Mohan.inf.abl	by
	A letter was written to Radha by Mohan.		

4.4.1.2. Capability Passive

Capability passive is impersonal in nature. It usually requires a negative or interrogative context. It uses the same verbal morphology as the one in personal passive. However, the capability passive usually retains the postpositional agent (4). Secondly, unlike the regular passive, the agent may be in the dative (4a). Third, this passive ranges over both intransitive (4a) and transitive verbs (5). The sense encoded in capability passive is similar to that conveyed by the modal **hekun** could (7, 7a).

4.	təm'sindi	zəriyi	a:v	ni	pakni.
	he.gen.abl	by	came.pass	neg	walk.inf.abl
	He was not able to walk.				

4a.	təmis	a:v	ni	pakni
	he.dat	came.pass	neg	walk.inf.abl
He was not able to walk.				

5.	təm'sindi	zəriyi	a:v	ni	bə:th	g'avni.
	him.gen.abl	by	came.pass	not	song	sing.inf.abl
He was not able to sing the song.						

5a.	təmis	a:v	ni	bə:th	g'avni
	he.dat	pass	neg	song	sing.inf.abl
He was not able to sing the song.					

6.	kita:b	a:yi	ni	parni
	book	came.pass	neg	read.inf.abl
The book could not be read.				

7.	ši:las	a:v	ni	gari	gatshni
	Shiela.dat	came.pass	neg	home	go.inf.abl
Shiela was not able to go to home.					

7a.	ši:lan	h'ok	ni	gari	gətshith
	shiela.erg	could	neg	home	go.cp
Shiela could not go home.					

4.4.2. Negation

Most sentences are negated by the particle **-ni** added to the finite verb after the agreemental and pronominal suffixes if any (1). The negative precedes the yes-no question marker **a:** (1a). Imperatives employ the negative **mi**. It precedes the verb (1b) (see 4.3.1.3).

1.	bi	chus	ni	akhba:r	para:n.
	I.nom	be.1msg	neg	newspaper	read.pr
I don't read the newspaper.					

1a.	su	pari	na:	akhba:r?
	he	read.fut	neg.Q	newspaper
Will he not read the newspaper?				

1b.	akhba:r	mati	parti.
	newspaper	neg.imp	read.imp
Don't read the newspaper.			

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Constituents are negated by means of suffixes, such as **nay**, **ros**, **bagə:r**, **varə:y**, all meaning ‘without.’ The suffix **-nay** follows the verb stem, while others require the ablative infinitive form of the verb. Suffixes are added directly to the nominal.

2.	mohni	gav	soku:l	batī	khenay
	Mohan	went	school	food	eat.neg.emp
	Mohan went to school without eating food.				

2a.	mohni	gav	soku:l	batī	khenī	ros / varə:y
	Mohan	went	school	food	eat.inf.abl	without
	Mohan went to school without eating food.					

2b.	mohni	gav	soku:l	kita:bav	ros / bagə:r / varə:y
	Mohan	went	school	books.abl	without
	Mohan went to school without his books.				

It is interesting to note that there are no negative quantifiers in Kashmiri. These are generated by employing negative with the indefinite quantifiers such as **kā:h**, **kēh**, **kun**, **zā:h** ‘someone, something, ever.’ The negation in effect generates negative quantifiers such as ‘no one, nothing’ etc. The indefinite quantifiers in this context are usually marked by emphatic particles.

3.	təmis	si:th'	kari	ni	kā:h	kath
	he.dat	with	do.fut	neg	someone	talk
	No one will talk to him.					

4.	su	kari	ni	do:stan	hīndi	khə:tri	kēh
	he	do.fut	neg	friends.dat	gen.abl	for	something
	He will do nothing for his friends.						

5.	təm'	chani	zā:h	zindgi:	manz	ciṭh'	li:chmits
	he.erg	has.not	ever	life.dat	in	letter	write.pst.ptc.fsg
	He has never written a letter in his life.						

6.	ši:lī	gəyi	ni	kun	ra:th
	Shiela	went	neg	anywhere	yesterday
	Shiela went nowhere yesterday.				

4.5. Pronominals

There are four types of pronouns in Kashmiri: (i) reflexives, (ii) reciprocals, (iii) personal pronouns, and (iv) null / zero pronouns. Each of these with their syntactic distribution is noted below in brief. These have been extensively dealt with in Wali and Koul (1997) and also in Wali, Koul, Hook and Koul (2000).

4.5.1. Reflexives

Kashmiri reflexives are simple, emphatic, or possessive. The simple reflexive is **pa:n** 'self.' There is also a compound form **panun pa:n** 'self's self.' The compound form substitutes for the simple form in many contexts. The emphatic reflexive is **pa:ni**. The emphatic suffix **-ay** may be added to it for extra emphasis. The result is **pa:nay**. The reduplicated form **pə:n' pa:ni** also occurs as an emphatic reflexive. The possessive reflexive is **panun**.

4.5.1.1. Simple Reflexive pa:n

Reflexive **pa:n** must be anteceded by a subject. Some dialects allow both subject and object antecedents (2). **pa:n** itself may be a direct or an indirect object, or a postpositional phrase. **pa:n** does not vary with person, gender or number of its antecedent. It does however, inflect for case appropriate to its position. (See 3.2.5.)

Note that **pa:n** must be in the same clause as its antecedent. The clause may be simple, nonfinite or a small clause type. As noted above, in a simple clause the antecedent must be the subject. In a nonfinite and a small clause the antecedents may be a subject or an object of the main clause (6,7). **pa:n** does not control main clause antecedents from a finite subordinate clause position. **pa:n** may precede its antecedent-subject (5).

pa:n as direct object

1.	mohnan	vuch	panun	pa:n	ə:nas	manz.
	Mohan.erg	saw	self's	body	mirror.dat	in
	Mohan saw himself in the mirror.					

pa:n as postpositional phrase

2.	mohnan	von	aslamas	pa:nas	mutalakh.
	Mohan.erg	told	Aslam.dat	self.dat	about
	Mohan told Aslam about himself.				
	(pa:n may refer to both Mohan and Aslam)				

3.	vəki:las	chu	pa:nas	pəth'	baro:si
	advocate.dat	has	self.dat	on	confidence
	The advocate has confidence in himself.				

Dative subject antecedent

4.	aslamas	chu	panun	pa:n	pasand
	Aslam.dat	has	self	like	
	Aslam likes himself.				

pa:n precedes the subject

5.	pa:nas	kor	aslaman	a:ra:m
	refl.dat	did	Aslam.erg	rest
	Aslam rested himself.			

pa:n in a nonfinite and a small clause

6.	aslaman	von	mi:ra:yi	pa:nas	kitsh
	Aslam.erg	told	Mira.dat	self.dat	for
	ca:y	anini	khə:tri.		
	tea	bring.abl	for		
	Aslam told Mira to bring tea for him / herself.				

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

Sentence (6) is ambiguous because the reflexive pronoun is coreferential with the subject of the main, as well as with the subject of the subordinate clause.

Non-occurrence of **pa:n** in a finite subordinate clause

8.	mohnan	von	zi	su / *pa:ni	va:ti	vakhtas	peth.
	Mohan.erg	said	that	he / *refl	reach.fut	time.dat	at
	Mohan (i) said that he (i) would reach in time.						

9.	mohnan	prutsh	ki	təm'sinz / *panin'
	Mohan.erg	asked	that	his /*self's
	zana:n	kar	iyi.	
	wife	when	come.fut	
	Mohan (i) asked when his (i) wife would come.			

4.5.1.2. Possessive Reflexive

The possessive reflexive **panun** is also clause bound, as is the case with **pa:n**. Antecedents of **panun** must be subjects of the clause, though in some dialects **panun** may refer to a direct object. **panun** does not vary for person, gender, or number of its antecedent, but shows variation for gender, number and case of the head noun it modifies. Nominative forms of **panun** are as follows (for other forms see 3.2.5.):

Masculine		Feminine	
Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
panun	panin'	panin'	panini

panun in a simple clause:

10.	bī	chus	panun	kamri	sa:ph	kara:n
	I.nom	am	refl	room	clean	do.pr
	I am cleaning my room.					

panun in a nonfinite clause:

11.	ra:man	von	ši:las	panini
	Ram.erg	told	Shiela.dat	self's
	kəmi:zi	chalni	khə:tri	
	shirts	wash.inf.abl	for	
	Ram asked Shiela to clean his / her shirts.			

panun in a small clause:

12.	aslam	chu	paninen	do:stan	kanju:s	za:na:n.
	Aslam	is	self's	friends.dat	miser	consider.pr
	Ram considers his friends misers.					

panun as direct object:

13.	tsi	chukh	panin'	kita:b	para:n.
	you	are	self's	book	read.pr
	You are reading your book.				

panun as indirect object:

14.	ši:lan	d'ut	panini	beni	to:phi.
	Shiela.erg	gave	self's	sister	a present
	Shiela gave a present to her sister.				

panun as an adjunct:

15.	mohnan	het'	panini	beni	palav.
	Mohan.erg	bought	self's	sister	clothes
	Mohan bought clothes for his sister.				

16.	ra:man	thəv	tavliya:	paninis	me:zas	niš
	Ram.erg	kept.fsg	towel.fsg	self.dat	table.dat	near
	Ram kept the towel near himself.					

Object antecedents:

17.	aslaman	von	nəsi:mas	paninen	do:stan	mutalakh
	Aslam.erg	told	Nasim.dat	self.dat	friends.dat	about
	Aslam told Nasim about his / her friends.					

Modifier as antecedents:

18.	nəzi:run	bo:y	chu	paninen
	Nazir.gen	brother	is	self's
	do:stan	naphrath	kara:n	
	friends.dat	hate	do.pr	
	Nazir's brother hates his friends.			

(Note that the reflexive here refers only to the brother and not to Nazir.)

Dative subject as antecedent:

19.	ma:hra:zas	a:yi	panin'	ma:hren'	khōš.
	bridegroom.dat	came.fsg	self's	bride	like
The bridegroom liked his bride.					

Dative themes as antecedent:

20.	ma:hren'	a:yi	paninis	ma:hra:zas	khōš.
	bride.nom	came.fsg	self's.dat	bridegroom.dat	like
The bride is liked by her bridegroom.					

It is worth noting here that in Kashmiri, unlike Urdu and Hindi and many other languages that we know of, the possessive reflexive may be used in the subject position to refer to the object as exemplified below. This use is not possible with the simple reflexive **pa:n**.

21.	panin'	neciv'	n'uv	mo:l	hajas
	self's	son.erg	took	father	Haj.dat
His son took the father to the Haj.					

4.5.1.3. Reflexives with null / zero antecedents

Both **pa:n** and **panun** may be employed with null antecedents in contexts such as generic subjects, imperatives, and with verbs that encode pronominal clitics.

22.	panin'	nam	chi	panini	thari	kaša:n.
	self's	nails	are	self's	back.dat	scratch.pr
One's own nails scratch one's own back (self reliance).						

23.	panun	kamri	kar	sa:ph.
	self's	room	do.imp	clean
Clean your room.				

24.	mohabath	chus	pa:nas	kara:n.
	love	be.1msg	self.dat	do.pr
I love myself.				

4.5.1.4. Emphatic Reflexives

The emphatic reflexive forms are **pa:ni**, **pa:nay**, **panini pa:ni**, **pə:n' pa:ni**. The antecedents of emphatics must be subjects.

25.	bī	chus	pa:ni / pa:nay / pə:n' pa:ni	bati	rana:n.
	I	be	self.emp	food	cook.pr
	I cook meals myself.				

26.	əs'	chi	pa:ni / pa:nay / pə:n' pa:ni	palav	chala:n
	we	are	self.emp	clothes	wash.pr
	We wash clothes ourselves.				

4.5.2. Reciprocals

Kashmiri reciprocal **akh əkis** 'to one another' is a combination of cardinal **akh** 'one' and its dative case form (**akh +is = əkis**). There is no nominative form of the reciprocal and the dative form is used in its place. The reciprocal is found in a simple, or a nonfinite, or a small clause as is the case with **pa:n** and **panun**. The reciprocal functions as a direct or an indirect object, postpositional phrase, or possessive.

Direct object

27.	timav	dit'	akh	əkis	co:b
	they.erg	gave	one	another.dat	beating
	They thrashed each other.				

Indirect object

28.	timav	kor	akh	əkis	seṭha:	madath
	they.erg	did	one	another.dat	very	help
	They helped each other very much.					

29.	timav	ditsi	akh	əkis	kita:bi
	they.erg	gave	one	another.dat	books
	They gave books to each other.				

Postpositional phrase

30.	tim	chi	akh	əkis	peth	takhsi:r	kha:ra:n
	they	are	one	another.dat	on	blame	place.pr
They accuse / blame each other.							

Possessive phrase

31.	əs'	chi	ni	akh	ək'sund	gari	gatsha:n.
	we	are	not	one	another.poss	home	go.pr
We don't visit each other's house.							

Nonfinite clause

32.	šur'	chi	akh	əkis	co:b	din'	yatsha:n.
	children	are	one	another.dat	beating	give.inf	want.pr
The children want to beat each other.							

Small clause

33.	ko:ri	cha	akh	əkis	ca:la:kh	za:na:n.
	girls	are	one	another.dat	clever	consider.pr
The girls consider each other to be clever.						

Mutual reciprocity is expressed by **pa:nivə:n'**, e.g.,

34.	tim	chi	ni	pa:nivə:n'	kath	kara:n.
	they	are	not	each other	talk	do.pr
They do not talk amongst themselves.						

35.	šurev	bə:gra:yi	kita:bi	pa:nivə:n'.
	children.erg	distributed.fpl	books.fpl	mutually
Children distributed books among themselves.				

4.5.3. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are in complementary distribution with the reflexives and are usually excluded in the domain of reflexives. Personal pronouns do not have their antecedents in a simple or nonfinite clause. However, there are some contexts where both pronouns and reflexives are acceptable. For example, object antecedents allow both possessive reflexive and possessive

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pronouns. The domain of personal pronouns is very extensive and they are allowed in all sorts of contexts.

(a) Pronouns in a simple clause:

36.	*mohnan	vuch	su
	Mohan.erg	saw	him
	Mohan saw him.		

(Here the personal pronoun **su** may not refer to Mohan; it may refer to somebody else.)

A pronoun, unlike a reflexive, may have a modifier as an antecedent. In (37) the personal pronoun **su** may refer to Aslam.

37.	aslamni	beni	vuch	su
	Aslam's	sister.erg	saw	he
	Aslam's sister saw him.			

A pronoun may not precede its antecedent as in (38). In (38) the pronoun **su** does not refer to Aslam.

38.	*su	vuch	aslamni	beni
	he	saw	Aslam's	sister.erg
	Aslam's sister saw him.			

(b) Pronouns across finite subordinate clauses:

39.	aslaman	von	zi	su	chu	ca:la:kh
	Aslam.erg	said	that	he	is	clever
	Aslam said that he is clever.					

40.	da:ktaran	von	asla:mas	ki	su
	doctor.erg	told	Aslam.dat	that	he
	kheyin	dava:.			
	take.fut.imp	medicine			
	The doctor told Aslam that he should take medicine.				

41.	nəsi:man	von	ši:las	ki	tami
	Nasim.erg	told	Shiela.dat	that	she.erg
	von	səli:mas	təm'sund	gari	na
	told	Salim.dat	her.gen	home	neg
	yini	khə:tri.			
	come.inf.abl	for			
	Nasim told Shiela that she has asked Salim not to come to her (Nasim's / Shiela's) house.				

(c) Pronouns across adverbial clauses:

Note that an adverbial clause may precede or follow the main clause. The pronoun may be in the main or adverbial clause (42, 42a). The pronoun in the preceding adverbial clause may refer to the antecedent in the following main clause (42a). The pronoun in the main clause may be deleted (42b).

Preceding Adverbial clause:

42.	yeli	sohni	ba:zar	gav]	təm'	hets
	when	Sohan	market	went	he	bought
	pa:nas	kitsh	tu:p'.			
	self.dat	for	cap			
	When Sohan went to market, he bought a cap for himself.					

42a.	[yeli	su (i)	ba:zar	gav]	sohnan (i)	h'əts
	when	he	market	went	Sohan	bought.fsg
	pa:nas	kitsh	tu:p'.			
	refl.dat	for	cap			
	When he(i) went to the market, Sohan(i) bought a cap for himself.					

42b.	[yeli sohani ba:zar gav] ø pa:nas kitsh hetsin tu:p'.					
	When Sohan went to market, (he) bought a cap for himself.					

The antecedent must be in the main clause. A pronoun in the main clause may not refer to the antecedent in the adverbial clause (43a).

43.	sohnan (i)	h'əts	pa:nas	kitsh	tu:p'	[yeli
	Sohan.erg	bought	self.dat	for	cap	when
	su (i)	ba:zar	gav].			
	he	market	went]			
	Sohan bought a cap for himself when he went to the market.					

43a.	*su (i)h'əts pɑ:nas kitsh tu:p' [yeli sohan(i) bɑ:zar gav]
	*He bought a cap for himself, when Sohan went to the market.

(d) Pronouns across coordinate structures:

Pronouns in the coordinate clause may refer to the antecedents in the main clause but not the other way around. The pronoun may at times be deleted (45a).

44.	mohni	gav	daphtar	ti	təm'
	Mohan.nom	went	office	and	he.erg
	kər	kə:m	šoru:.		
	did	work	start		
	Mohan went to office and he began to work.				

45.	yi	kita:b	di	səli:mas	nati
	this	book	give.fut.imp	Salim.dat	otherwise
	gatshi	su	na:ra:z.		
	go.fut	he	angry		
	Give this book to Salim otherwise he will be angry.				

45a.	yi kita:b di səli:mas nati gatshi na:ra:z
	Give this book to Salim, otherwise he will be angry.

4.5.4. Null Pronouns

(a) Pronouns across discourse structures:

Pronouns used in narrative structures to refer back to individuals are often deleted. Their identity is revealed through the pronominal suffixes.

46.	mohni	gav	ba:zar.	do:s
	Mohan.nom	went	market	friend
	samkhus.	pa:nas	si:t	onun
	met.pst.1sg.ps	self.dat	with	brought.3sg.ps
	gari	bati	kh'o:kh	yikivati
	home	meals	ate.3pl.ps	together
	Mohan went to market. He met a friend. He brought him home with him. They ate their meals together.			

47.	aki	dohi	vuch	ək'	ra:zan
	one.abl	day.abl	saw	one.erg	king.erg
	akh	tsu:r	məhlas	andar.	
	one	thief	palace.dat	in	
	prutshnas	kus	chukh?		
	asked.1sg.ps.3sg.ps	who	be.2sg.ps		
	Once upon a time, a king saw a thief inside the palace. (He) asked (him) who are you?				

In the above examples, anaphoric subject and object become accessible by means of their respective pronominal suffixes, **-n** and **-as**.

(b) Quasi Pronouns:

Quasi pronouns such as **sə:ri:** 'all,' **gədn'uk** 'first,' and **doyim** 'second' are also used to denote coreference, e.g.,

48.	ra:ji	ti	ši:li	cha	benini.	gəḍnic	cha
	Raj	and	Shiela	are	sisters	first.fsg	is
	ca:la:kh	ti	doyim	cha	s'od		
	clever	and	second	is	simple		
	Raj and Shiela are sisters. The former is clever and the latter is simple.						

4.5.5. Logophoric Pronouns

Logophoric pronouns are a special set of pronouns found only in some languages. The function of these pronouns is to refer back to speakers in a reported speech. They are used to report thoughts and feelings of the individual who is being reported. There are no special logophoric pronouns in Kashmiri. However, in the reported speech, first and second person pronouns are used as logophors. The pattern is confined to verbs of communication, assertion and experience.

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The pronouns refer to the subject and object of the main clause. (For details, see Wali and Koul 1997.)

49.	mohnan	von	ki / zi	bi
	Mohan.erg	said	that	I
	gatshi	ni	az.	
	go.fut	not	today	
	Mohan said that he will not go today.			

50.	mohnan	prutsh	me	ki / zi	bi
	Mohan.erg	asked	me	that	I.nom
	k'a:zi	gatshi	ni	kun	
	why	go	neg	anywhere	
	Mohan asked me (that) why I can't go anywhere.				

51.	ši:li	cha	za:na:n	ki / zi	bi	chas	khu:bsu:rath
	Shiela	be	know.pr	that	I	am.fsg	pretty
	Shiela thinks that she is pretty.						

5. Lexicon

Here we list useful classified English-Kashmiri vocabulary for quick reference. The vocabulary is listed under different sections: (1) animals, birds and insects, (2) flowers, fruits and vegetables, (3) jewels, metals and minerals, (4) miscellaneous items, (5) body parts, (6) occupations, (7) kinship terms, (8) adjectives, (9) verbs, (10) adverbs, (11) conjunctions, and (12) pronouns.

5.1. Animals, birds and insects

animal	hayva:n	hare	khargo:š
ant	rey	hen	kəkir
bear	ha:put	horse	gur
bed-bug	tsar	insect	k'om
bird	ja:nvar	jackal	ša:l
buffalo	mə:š	kite	gə:th
bullock	dā:d	leopard	khari sih
butterfly	panipō:pur	lion	(pa:dar) sih
camel	vū:th	lizard	kē:kilət
cat	bro:r	mare	kha:riṭ, guir
cock	kəkur	monkey	pōz
cockroach	tilik'om	mule	ka:tur
cow	ga:v	owl	ra:timəgul
crow	ka:v	peacock	mō:r
cuckoo	kukil	pig	so:r
deer	ru:s'kəṭ	pigeon	ko:tur
dog	hu:n	rat	gagur
donkey	khār	scorpion	b'uch
eagle	gə:th	sheep	kəth
elephant	hos	snake	saruph
fish	ga:ḍ	sparrow	tsər
fly	məch	squirrel	gilhəri:
fox	pəṭsh'lo:v	swan	əz
frog	mə:n, neni mənḍij	tiger	sih
goat	tsha:vul (m) tsha:vij (f)	wolf	ra:mi hu:n
		worm	k'om

5.2. Flowers, fruits and vegetables

almond	ba:da:m	lichee	li:ci:
apple	tsũ:th	lotus	pampo:š
apricot	tse:r	mango	amb
banana	ke:li	marigold	ja:phir' pø:š
beet root	cukandar	melon	kharbuz
betel leaf	pa:n	mint	puđini
betel nut	supə:r'	mulberry	tul
bitter gourd	kare:li	onion	ganđi
black plum	o:luv bukha:ri	orange	santar
brinjal/egg plant	vā:gan	papaya	papi:ti
cabbage	bandgo:bi:	pea	mařar
carrot	ga:zir	pea nut	mōgi phol
cashew nut	ka:ju:	pear	řang
cauliflower	phu:lgo:bi:	pineapple	ana:na:s
coconut	na:rji:l	pistachio nut	pisti
coriander	dha:nival	plum	ə:r
cucumber(small)	lə:r	pumpkin	pə:rim al
custard apple	šəri:phi	pomegranate	də:n
date	khəzir	potato	o:luv
fig	aŋji:r	raisin(small)	kišmiš
garlic	ruhun	raisin(large)	munki
ginger	adrakh	radish	muj
gourd	(kə:šir) al	raspberry	rasbari:
grape	dach	spinach	pə:lakh
green chillie	n'u:l	sugarcane	gani
	martsivā:gun	sweet lime	mo:smi:
ground nut	mōgi phol	sweet potato	šakarkand
guava	amru:d	tomato	řama:tar, rə:ř
jack fruit	kařihal		vā:gun
jasmine	came:li:	turnip	gogij
lady's finger	binđi:	walnut	đu:n
lemon	n'om	watermelon	hendivend

5.3. Jewels, metals and minerals

aluminum	miskhōra:sa:n	mercury	pa:rud
brass	sartal	nickel	nikal
bronze	lōy	pearl	mu:ti:
copper	tra:m	sapphire	ni:lām
diamond	hi:ri	silver	cō:d'
gem	rətin	steel	si:il
glass	ši:ši	sulfur	gandukh
gold	sōn	tin	ti:n
iron	šeštir	topaz	pukhra:j
jewel	rətin	zinc	zasud

5.4. Miscellaneous items

ashes	su:r	horn	heng
autumn	harud	ice	ši:n, tulikatur
baking pan	tə:v	kidney beans	ra:zma:h
bark(of tree)	d'al	ladle (big)	cō:ci
barley	viški	ladle (small)	krətsh
basket	tu:kir	leaf	panivəthir
bread	tsot	lentil	da:l
charcoal oven	ha:hko:l	lid	ḍakni
child	šur	man/male	marid
cloud	obur	meat	ma:z
cooked rice	bati	mortar	vəkhul
corn	makə:y	moon	zu:n
cup	p'a:li	mountain	ba:l, paha:ḍ
day	doh	name	na:v
dust	garid	night	ra:th
earth	zəmi:n	paddy	da:ni
earthen vessel	degul	person	šakhis, naphar
earthen lid	an'uṭ	pestle	ka:jivath
earthen oven	da:n	pitcher	noṭ
egg	thu:l	plate	pale:t
fear	kho:ph	plough	alibə:n'
feather	pakh	potato	o:luv
frying pan	kra:y	rain	ru:d
fire	na:r	rainy season	vəhra:th
fish	ga:ḍ	rice	tomul
fog	dund, zra:nḍ	rice pudding	khir
grass	ga:si	river	dəriya:v

road	vath	stick	lu:r
root	mu:l	stone	kən'
rope	raz	sugar	mədre:r
salt	nu:n	summer	retiko:l
sand	sekh	sun	aphta:b, siriya
sea	samandar	tail	loʃ
seed	b'o:l	vessel	ba:ni
sickle	dro:t	vomit	drəkh
sky	asma:n	water	a:b, po:n'
smell	mišik	wheat	kinikh
smoke	dih	winter	vandi
snow	ši:n	woman	zana:n
spit	thəkh	woods	jəngal
spoon	camci	year	vəri:
spring	sō:th		
star	ta:rukən		

5.5. Body parts

ankle	gəʃ	foot	khər
arm	nər	forehead	d'aki
armpit	katsh	gum	ma:zbe:r
beard	dər	hand	athi
body	šəri:r / pa:n	left hand	khə:vur athi
bone	əʃij	right hand	dochun athi
brain	dema:g/kə:d' / magiz	hair	mas
breast	məmi	head	kali
cheek	gal	heart	dil
chest	si:ni/vach	heel	khu:r
chin	həngan'	intestines	əndram
ear	kan	knee	koth
elbow	khəniʋəth	leg	zəng
eye	əch	lips	vʋth
eyeball	la:l/əchgu:l	liver	krəhni:ma:z
eyebrow	bum	lung	šuš
eyelid	to:r	marrow	vas
face	buth	mouth	a:s
finger	ōgij	mustaches	gō:tshi
finger tip	ōgjit'onʃ	nail	nam
little finger	kitsh	navel	tu:n
fist	məth	neck	gardan
flesh	ma:z	nose	nas
		nostril	nakivo:r
		palate	ta:lav

palm	manz athi	thigh	lang
rib	lar kə:n'	throat	hoṭ
shoulder	ph'ok	thumb	neṭh
skin	misli	tongue	zev
sole of foot	talipot	vein	nə:r
stomach	m'a:di	waist	kamar
teeth	dand	wrist	hots

5.6. Occupations

accountant	khaza:nci:	lawyer	vəki:l
advocate	vəki:l	maid-servant	nə:krə:n'
actor	aḳtar	mason	dəsil
actress	aḳtras	merchant	bə:pə:r'
artist	kala:ka:r, ada:ka:r	minister	vəzi:r
artisan	kə:r'gar	musician	mu:si:ki:ka:r
barber	nə:yid	nurse	nəris
blacksmith	kha:r	officer	aphsar
boatman	hə:z	optician	ə:nakhvo:l
carpenter	cha:n	peon	caprə:s'
cartman	re:ḍivo:l	photographer	pho:to:gra:phar
clerk	klə:rk	poet	šə:yir
cobbler	va:tul	police	tha:nida:r
confectioner	kā:dur, halvo:y	sub-inspector	
contractor	the:kidar	postman	ḍa:kivo:l
cook	va:zi	prime minister	vazi:r-i-azam
craftsman	kə:r'gar	printer	cha:panvo:l
dentist	dandi da:kṭar	porter	kuli:
doctor	ḍa:kṭar	proprietor	mə:likh
driver	ḍrə:var	publisher	ša:ya: karan vo:l
editor	mədi:r	salesman	kīnan vo:l
employee	mulə:zim	scientist	sainasda:n
engineer	inji:nar	sculptor	mu:rtsigor
farmer	gru:s	servant	nə:kar
gate-keeper	darba:n	shop-keeper	ḍuka:nda:r
gardener	mə:li:	singer	g'avan vo:l
goldsmith	sənur	soldier	sipa:h
grocer	vo:n'	student	tə:lbi əlim
hawker	phe:ri vo:l	supervisor	nigra:n
journalist	akhba:rnavi:s	sweet-seller	halvo:y
judge	jaj	tailor	sits
laborer	məzu:r	teacher	vəsta:d

translator	tarjamika:r
washer man	dob
watch-maker	gədi:sa:z

watchman	cu:k'dar
writer	ədi:b
(petition) writer	arzi nəvi:s

5.7. Kinship terms

5.7.1. Kinship by blood

brother	bo:y
brother, elder	bođ bo:y
brother, younger	lökut bo:y
father's	pitur bo:y
brother's son	
father's sister's son	pəphtur bo:y
father's	pitir beni
brother's	
daughter	
father's sister's daughter	pəphtir beni
mother's	ma:mitur
brother's son	bo:y
mother's	ma:mitir
brother's	beni
daughter	
mother's sister's daughter	ma:sitir beni
mother's sister's son	ma:sutur bo:y
sister	beni
sister, elder	ziṭh/bəđ beni
sister, younger	ki:s/löküt beni
father	mo:l
father's brother	petir
father's	pecan'
brother's wife	
father's sister	pəph
father's sister's	pəphuv
husband	
mother	mə:j
mother's brother	ma:m
mother's sister	ma:s

mother's sister	ma:suv
husband	
father's father	bud'bab
father's father's	petri bud'bab
brother	
father's father's	petri na:n'
brother's wife	
father's mother	na:n'
mother's father	bud'bab
mother's	petribud'bab
father's brother	
mother's	petrina:n'
father's	
brother's wife	
mother's mother	na:n'
father's father's	bađi
father	bud'bab
father's father's	bađi na:n'
mother	
mother's	bađi bu
father's father	q'bab
mother's	bađi na:n'
father's mother	
son	necuv
brother's son	ba:pəthir
sister's son	benithir
daughter	ku:r
brother's	ba:vizi
daughter	
sister's daughter	benzi
son's son	zur
son's daughter	zuir

5.7.2. Kinship by marriage

brother's wife	bəyka:kan'
daughter's husband	za:mitur
husband	ru:n, bartha:, kha:vand
husband's brother	druy
husband's brother's wife	driy ka:kan'
husband's father	h'ohar
husband's mother	haš
husband's sister	za:m
wife	zana:n, kəlay, triy
wife's brother	həhar
wife's father	h'ohar
wife's mother	haš
wife's sister	sa:l
son's wife	nəš
sister's husband	be:mi

5.7.3. Kinship by affiliation

adopted son	mangti necuv
adopted daughter	mangti ku:r
step father	vo:ri mo:l
step mother	vo:ri mə:j
step brother	vo:ri bo:y
step sister	vo:ri beni

5.8. Adjectives

accurate	sahi: / ʔhi:kh	clear	sa:ph
airy	hava:da:r	clever	ca:la:kh / hu:šiya:r / truk
ancient	pro:n	closed	band
bad	bu:ri / khara:b	coarse	moʔ
beautiful	səndar / khu:bsu:rath	cold	ʔhandi, sarid
big	boʔ	complete	pu:ri
bitter	ʔoʔh	correct	səhi:
black	kruhun	costly	drog
blue	n'u:l	cunning	ca:la:kh
broad	khuli	dear	ʔo:ʔh ; drog
brown	na:svə:r'	defective	khara:b
cheap	sasti	dense	gon
clean	sa:ph	difficult	muškil

direct	s'od
dirty	mə:li, gandi
dry	hokh
each	har/prath kã:h
easy	a:sa:n
educated	pornut l'u:khmut
elder	z'uṭh
empty	khə:li:
entire	so:ruy
every	prath kã:h/kēh
fast	te:z
fat	v'oṭh
few	kam/kēh
filthy	gandi
fine	məhi:n, ja:n
final	ə:khri:
foolish	be:vaku:ph
foreign	gə:r mulki:, vide:ši:
free	a:za:d
fresh	ta:zi
greasy	lihun
great	boḍ, maha:n
golden	sənhəri:
good	ja:n
green	sabiz
grey	su:r'
handsome	səndar / khu:bsu:rath
hard	sakhit / muškil
heavy	gob
high	thod
hot	garim
important	kha:s
incomplete	aḍil'ok
independent	a:za:d
inferior	kam pa:yi
intelligent	da:na:, ga:tul
large	boḍ
last	ə:khri:
left	kho:vur
lengthy	z'u:ṭh
less	kam

light	halki
little	lökut
lonely	kun zon
long	z'u:ṭh
loose	d'ol
low	bən
many	va:riya:h
modern	jadi:d
more	va:riya:h, beyi
much	z'a:di
new	nov
old	pro:n
open	khuli
opposite	vultı
peculiar	əji:b
permanent	paki, mustikil
poor	gəri:b
proper	mə:ku:l
pure	šod, khə:lis
raw	koc, n'u:l
red	vəzul
remaining	ba:kiy
rich	əmi:r
right	səhi:, thi:kh
ripe	pop
robust	tagḍi
rose color	gulə:b'
round	go:l
salty	namki:n
several	va:riya:h, bisiya:r
sharp	te:z
short	tshot, lökut
simple	s'od, a:sa:n
single	kun
sky color	asmə:n'
slow	lot
small	lökut
smart	hušiya:r
smooth	hamva:r
soft	mulə:yim, narim
sour	tsok

5. LEXICON

special	kha:s	total	kul
spicy	masa:livo:l	true	poz, sahi:, ṭhi:kh
stale	hundur, ka:luk	unripe	koc, o:m
stopped	band	vacant	khə:li:
straight	s'od	warm	səkhī vušun
strange	əji:b	weak	kamzo:r, dubli
strong	mazbu:t	wet	odur
stupid	be:vaku:ph	wide	khuli
suitable	muvə:phikh	white	saphe:d
sweet	modur	whole	so:ruy
tall	thod, z'u:ṭh	wounded	gə:yil
tasteless	phi:ka:	wrong	galath
temporary	a:rzi:	yellow	l'odur
tender	ə:v'ul	younger	kū:ts, ləkut
thick	moṭ		
thin	ton, patli		

5.9. Verbs

to accept	ma:nun	to catch	raṭun
to admit	ma:nun	to celebrate	mana:vun
to (be) alive	zindi ro:zun, lasun	to chew	tsa:pun
to ask for	mangun	to cleanse	sa:ph karun
to bathe	šra:n karun	to climb	khasun
to be	a:sun	to come	yun
to bear	tsa:lun, barda:š karun	to come out	ne:run
to beat	la:yun	to conceal	khəṭith thavun
to become	banun	to conquer	ze:nun
to bite	tsop h'on	to cook	ranun
to boil	grakina:vun	to cool	šehla:vun
to be born	zevun, pə:di gatshun	to cough	tsa:s karin'
to break	tsaṭun	to count	gəzrun
to breathe	ša:h h'on	to cover	ṭha:ni d'un
to bring	anun	to cry	vadun
to bring up	pa:lun	to cry out	krakh din'
to be broken	phuṭun	to cut	tsaṭun
to build	bana:vun	to decorate	saja:vun
to burn (int.)	dazun	to defeat	ha:r din'
to burn(tr.)	za:lun	to be defeated	ha:run
to buy	məl' h'on	to deposit	jama: karun
to call	a:lav karun	to desire	yatshun
		to die	marun
		to dig	khanun

to distribute	bə:grun	to halt	thəhrun /
to divide	takhsi:m karun, alag alag karun	to happen	rukun
to do	karun	to hear	a:sun
to drag	lamun	to help	bo:zun madath karun
to draw	tasvi:r bana:vin'	to hide	khəθith thavun
to drink	con	to hold	raʔun, samba:lun
to drive	cala:vun	to increase	baða:vun
to drive away	kaʔun	to inform	vanun, ba:vun
to earn	kama:vun	to join	me:lun
to eat	kh'on	to jump	vəθ tulin'
to endure	tsa:lun, barda:š karun	to keep	thavun
to enquire	pata: laga:vun / pritshgə:r karin'	to kill	ma:run
to entrust	hava:li karun	to kiss	ma:h karun
to envy	dazun, rašik karun	to knead	mā:ʔun
to escape	bacun	to know	za:nun
to examine	jā:c karin'	to laugh	asun
to expect	intiza:r karun	to learn	hechun
to expel	kaʔun, kəʔith tshunun	to leave	tra:vun
to fall	p'on	to lie	apuz vanun
to fight	laʔun, har karin'	to lie down	šəʔgun
to flee	tsalun	to lift	tulun
to flow	baha:vun	to like	pasand karun
to fly	vuphun, vuʔun	to listen	bo:zun
to forget	məšra:vun	to live	ro:zun
to fry	talun	to look	vuchun
to get	me:lun	to lose	ra:vun, ra:vira:vun
to get down	vasun	to make	bana:vun, taya:r karun
to get out	ne:run	to meet	samkhun
to get up	vəθhun	to mix	mila:vun
to give	d'un	to occur	sapʔun
to grind	pihun	to open	kho:lun
to grow	baʔun	to be perturbed	kho:tsun, ga:brun
		to place	thavun
		to plant	ruvun
		to plant seed	b'o:l vavun
		to play	gindun
		to pluck	tsaʔun
		to plunder	lu:tun

5. LEXICON

to posses	thavun	to smile	vuṭh
to prepare	bana:vun, taya:r karun		kumila:vin', muskra:vun
to print	chapa:vun	to speak	vanun, dapun
to pound	tse:ṭun	to spend	kharic karun, guza:run
to protect	Baca:vun	to start	ne:run, rava:ni
to pull	lamun		gatshun
to purchase	məl' h'on	to stay	ṭhəhrun
to put manure	kha:d tra:vin'	to steal	tsu:r karin'
to put on	tshunun	to stitch	te:b din'
to quarrel	laḍə:y karin'	to stir	hila:vun
to raise	tulun	to stop	rukun
to reach	va:tun	to stroll	sə:r karun
to read	parun	to study	parun
to reap	lo:nun	to support	athiroṭ karun, madad karun, saha:ri d'un
to receive	va:tun, me:lun	to suppress	daba:vun
to recognise	prazna:vun	to swim	tshā:ṭh va:yin'
to refund	va:pas karun	to take	n'un
to release	tra:vun	to take out	kaḍun
to relax	a:ra:m karun	to teach	hechini:vun, parina:vun
to remit	ada: karun	to tear off	tsaṭun
to reside	ro:zun	to tell	vanun
to return	va:pas karun	to test	jā:cun
to resolve	ənzra:vun	to think	sō:cun
to rise	vəṭhun, nendri vəṭhun	to throw	trə:vith tshunun
to roast	buzun	to tolerate	tsa:lun, barda:š karun
to run	do:run	to touch	athi la:gun
to save	Baca:vun	to travel	saphar karun
to say	vanun	to tremble	kə:pun, thari thari vəṭhin'
to search	tshā:ḍun	to twinkle	camakun
to see	vuchun, ḍə:šun	to understand	samjun, za:nun
to sell	kinun	to wait	pra:run, intiza:r karun
to send	so:zun	to wake up	nədri vəṭhun
to set (as sun)	lo:sun		
to settle down	basun		
to shine	camkun		
to shiver	kə:pun		
to sink	boḍun		
to sing	ge vun		
to sit	bihun		
to sleep	šogun		

to walk	pakun	to welcome	khəʃ a:mdi:d
to wander	phe:run		karun,
to wash	chalun		sva:gat karun
to water the field	sag d'un	to win	ze:nun
to wear	tshunun	to wish	yatshun
to weep	vadun	to work	kə:m karin'
to weigh	to:lun	to worship	yiba:dath / pu:za: karin'
		to write	le:khun

5.10. Adverbs

above	pəth	how	kithikin', kithi pə:th'
abundantly	va:riya:h, dəh dar dəh	immediately	pho:ran, dəsti:
after	pati	in front of	brōh kani
after all	ə:khir	just now	vun'
afterwards	pati, potus	near	nəzdi:kh
ahead	brōh	no	na
alone	kun, kunuy	not	na
also	ti	now	vən'
always	hame:ši	now-a-days	azkal
among	manz	often	aksar
anytime	kuniti sa:ti	of course	be:šak
anywhere	kuniti	only	siriph
at last	ə:khras pəth	out	nebar
away	du:r	outside	nebrikani
because	tik'a:zi	perhaps	ša:yad
before	brōh	probably	ša:yad
behind	pati, pati kani	quickly	jalid
below	bōni	quite	bilkul
between	manz, manzas	silently	tshōpi dōpi pə:th'
certainly	zaru:r	slowly	va:ri va:ri, lōti pə:th'
constantly	bara:bar	sometimes	kuni kuni
continuously	laga:ta:r	somewhere	kuni (ti) ja:yi
day after tomorrow	kə:l'keth	suddenly	yakdam, acha:nakh
day before yesterday	u:tri	today	az
distant	du:r	tomorrow	paga:h
down	bōni	at that direction	hōpə:r'
ever	hame:ši	then	teli
everywhere	prath ja:yi	at this direction	yapə:r'
far off	seṭha: du:r		
generally	aksar		
here	yeti		

5. LEXICON

thus	amikin'
under	tal
undoubtedly	be:šakh
unexpectedly	yakdam, aca:nak
upward	h'or kun
very	va:riya:h, bisiya:r
well	ja:n, khu:b
at which direction	kapə:r'
when (inter)	kar
when (rel)	yeli
where (inter)	kati
where (rel)	kati
whether	ca:he:
wholly	bilkul
yesterday	ra:th

5.11. Conjunctions

although	harga:h, yodvay
again	duba:ri, beyi
and	ti, beyi
but	magar; bəl'ki
hence	amikin', yithikin'
or	ya:
so	amikin', yithikin'
so that	amikin'
that	zi, ki
though	harga:h, ha:lā:ki

5.12. Pronouns

any/anybody	kā:h, kā:h ti
he	hu (prox), su (remote)
I	bi
it	yi (prox.), ti (remote)
my	m'o:n (ms), me:n' (mp), me:n' (fs), m'a:ni (fp)
one's own	panun (ms), panin' (mp), panin' (fs), panini (fp)
our	so:n (ms), sə:n' (mp), sə:n' (fs), sa:ni (fp)
she	sə
some	kəh
somebody	kusta:m
something	kəh
these	yim (m), yimi (f)
they (R.I)	hum (m), humi (f)
they (R.II)	tim (m), timi (f)
this	yi
those	hum (m), humi (f)
thou	tsi
thy	co:n (ms), cə:n' (mp), cə:n' (fs), ca:ni (fp)
you (polite)	təh'
your (familiar)	co:n (ms), cə:n' (mp), cə:n' (fs), ca:ni (fp)
your (polite)	tuhund (ms), tuhınd' (mp), tuhinz (fs), tuhinzı (fp)
we	əs'
what	k'a:
who (intro)	kus (ms), kam (mp), kəs (fs), kami (fp)
who (rel)	yus (ms), yim (mp), yəs (fs), yimi (fp)

