

## Kashmiri

Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Dardic, spoken in Kashmir.

### 0 Morphosyntactic features relevant to syncretism

#### 0.1 Repertory of morphosyntactic features

##### Number

sg	singular
pl	plural

##### Case

abs	absolutive
erg	ergative
abl	ablative
dat	dative

##### Gender

masc	masculine
fem	feminine

##### Person

1	first
2	second
3	third

##### Tense<sup>1</sup>

prog pres	progressive present
prog past	progressive past
past prox	past proximate
past indef	past indefinite
past remote	past remote
fut	future
perf pres	perfect present
perf past	perfect past
perf fut	perfect future

#### 0.2 Distribution of morphosyntactic features

Nouns, 1st and 2nd person pronouns

sg abs
sg abl
sg erg
sg dat
sg voc*
pl abs
pl abl
pl erg
pl dat
pl voc*

Adjectives, other pronouns

sg abs masc/fem
sg abl masc/fem
sg erg masc/fem
sg dat masc/fem
pl abs masc/fem
pl abl masc/fem
pl erg masc/fem
pl dat masc/fem

\* animate *nouns* only

<sup>1</sup> Note that, although the names here have been taken from Wali and Koul (1996), the order of compound names has been switched to facilitate generalizations (e.g. proximate past → past proximate).

Verbs

Future, perfect future

1sg
2sg
3sg
1pl
2pl
3pl

Prog pres, prog past

1sg masc/fem
2sg masc/fem
3sg masc/fem
1pl masc/fem
2pl masc/fem
3pl masc/fem

Past prox, past ind, past rem, perf pres, perf past

1sg	1sg–sg masc/fem	1sg–pl masc/fem
2sg	2sg–sg masc/fem	2sg–pl masc/fem
3sg	3sg–sg masc/fem	3sg–pl masc/fem
1pl	1pl–sg masc/fem	1pl–pl masc/fem
2pl	2pl–sg masc/fem	2pl–pl masc/fem
3pl	3pl–sg masc/fem	3pl–pl masc/fem

**1 Nouns**

**1.1 Declension classes**

Inflectional class and gender largely correspond. I declension I and II declension are masculine, the latter being distinguished by forming its plural stem through palatalization, and by the form of the ergative singular. Feminine nouns comprise III declension.

Declension I + II (masculine nouns)

	declension I						declension II	
	pl vowel alternation			no pl stem alternation				
	'child'		'ass'		stems in -i* 'onion'			
	sg	pl	sg	pl	sg	pl		
abs	gobur	gobar	khar		gandi		kul	kul'an
dat	gobras	gobran	kharas	kharan	gandas	gandan	kulis	kul'av
abl	gobri	gobrav	kharī	kharav	=abs	gandav	kuli	kul'av
erg	gobran		kharan		gandan		= pl abs	

\* Feminine proper nouns that end in -i, e.g. *ši:/i* 'Sheila', follow this pattern (Wali and Koul 1997:152; presumably singularia tantum); note in 'onion' there's a dot under the d.

### Exceptional masculine types

The ‘judge’ type represents a few borrowed nouns ending in a palatalized consonant or *-i*. The ‘goose’ type is represented by a few nouns.<sup>2</sup>

	declension I ‘goose’		declension II ‘judge’	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
abs	ənz		kə:zʰ	
dat	ənzɪs	ənzɪm	kə:zʰɪs	kə:zʰɪm
abl	= abs	ənzɪw	= abs	kə:zʰaw
erg	ənzɪm			

*These are cited by Grierson and by Zaxarin and Edel’man, but not in any other source. They are given in the transcription used by Zaxarin and Edel’man (1971), which does not quite correspond to that of Wali and Koul (1997), employed elsewhere in this report.*

### Declension III (feminine nouns)

	default type ‘mare’		stems in <i>-i</i> ‘sister’	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
abs	gur	guri	beni	
dat	= pl abs	gur’an		ben’an
abl		gur’av		ben’av
erg				

## 1.2 Vocative

Wali and Koul (1997) report that there is a vocative case used with human referents, of the following shape:

	sg	pl
masc (I, II decl)	-a:	-av
fem (III decl)	-i :	

Thus the singular forms are always distinct, while the plural form is the same as the ablative and ergative.

## 1.3 Genitive forms

The status of the genitive as a case form is ambiguous. Possession is marked either by a suffix or by a separate word which declines like an adjective, the choice depending on a mixture of semantic, phonological and paradigmatic considerations. The genitive marker agrees in gender and number with the head noun.

	masc		fem	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
proper name	-un	-inʰ	-inʰ	-ini
sg inanimates in -C	-uk	-ikʰ	-ič	-iči
elsewhere	hund / sund	hɪndʰ / sɪndʰ	hɪnz / sɪnz	hɪnzi / sɪnzi

The choice of *h-* or *s-* as the initial vowel of the freestanding genitive marker is phonologically conditioned by the final segment of the dependent noun (*h-* is default).

While the issue of whether to construe the genitive as a case or not does matter much in case of the *-un* and *-uk* series, the behavior of dependent nouns with the freestanding marker is noteworthy: they are in the ergative in the singular and the dative in the plural:

<sup>2</sup> In Grierson these are characterized as ending in a velarized consonant, typical of declension II, but velarization is not regarded as phonemic any more.

The freestanding genitive declines as an adjective (see below, section 2). In addition, in constructions using the freestanding genitive marker, the case of the head noun is marked on all elements, i.e. head noun, possessed noun and possessive marker.

## 2 Adjectives

Agree in gender and number with the noun, and mark the same set of case distinctions. Morphologically they are the same as nouns, with masculine adjectives behaving like masculine II declension nouns, and feminine adjectives behaving like feminine nouns. If the masculine is taken as the base form, feminines are derived from them by palatalization and/or stem vowel alternation. The conditions for these alternations are not always present, leading to potential gender syncretism. There are two types of palatalization, one by which feminines are derived, and another, morphologically predictable one, which occurs in of the sg erg masc and all plural forms of both genders. These two palatalizations are distinct only for stem-final *-l*, *-k*, *-kh*, *-t*, and *-g*; only stems ending in these consonants will maintain the gender distinction in all forms:<sup>3</sup>

'small'	stems in -l, -k, -kh, -t, -g		stems in other -Cs	
	masc	fem	masc	fem
sg abs	n'uk	nič	so:n	sə:n'
sg dat	nikis	niči	sənis	sa:ni
sg abl	niki		sə:n'	
sg erg	nik'			
pl abs				
pl dat	nik'an	ničan	sa:n'an	
pl abl	nik'av	ničav	sa:n'av	
pl erg				

## 3 Pronouns

### Personal pronouns

	1sg	1pl	2sg	2pl
abs	bɪ	əs'	tsɪ	tɔh'
dat	me	asi	tse	tɔhi
abl				
erg				

### 3rd person (demonstrative)

	proximate				distal (near)				distal (far)			
	sg		pl		sg		pl		sg		pl	
	masc	fem	masc	fem	masc	fem	masc	fem	masc	fem	masc	fem
abs	yi		yim	yimɪ	hu	hɔ	hum	humɪ	su	sɔ	sum	sumɪ
dat	yemis		yiman		homis		human		təmis		timan	
abl	yemi		yimav		homi		humav		tami		timav	
erg	yem'	yemi			hom'	homi			təm'	tami		

<sup>3</sup> There may well be other patterns of gender syncretism under other morphophonological conditions, but the sources are stingy with adjective paradigms.

### Indefinite

	indefinite	
	sg	pl
abs	kā:h	kō:h
dat	kō:si	kō:tsan
abl		kō:tsav
erg		

### Interrogative

	'who?'				'what?'	
	sg		pl		sg	pl
	masc	fem	masc	fem		
abs	kus	kōs	kam	kam̩	k'a:	
dat	kōmis/kas		kīman		kath	kīman
abl	kami		kīmav		kami	kīmav
erg	kōm'	kami			-----	

The interrogatives *k'uth* 'what type?' and *ku:t* 'how much?' decline like masculine (palatalizing) or feminine nouns, depending on gender of the referent. Relative pronouns follow a similar pattern, except that the inanimate distinguishes singular absolutive (*yi*) from plural (*yim*).

## 4 Verbs

Intransitive verbs agree with the subject, while the agreement pattern of transitive verbs varies. In the present and past progressive, where the subject is in the absolutive case, the verb agrees with the subject only (but see below on pronominal suffixes). In the other tenses, where the subject is in the ergative case, there is gender and number marking of the object, except in the future, where there is only limited number marking (though, again, see below on pronominal suffixes).

### 4.1 Subject marking only

Progressive present and progressive past

'read'	prog present		prog past	
1sg masc	chus	para:n	o:sus	para:n
1sg fem	chas	para:n	ə:sis	para:n
3sg masc	chu	para:n	o:s	para:n
3sg fem	cha	para:n	ə:s	para:n
1pl fem			a:sī	para:n
3pl fem				
1pl masc	chi	para:n	ə:s'	para:n
3pl masc				
2sg masc	chukh	para:n	o:sukh	para:n
2sg fem	chakh	para:n	ə:sikh	para:n
2pl masc	chiv	para:n	ə:siv̩	para:n
2pl fem	chav̩	para:n	a:siv̩	para:n

**4.2 Subject and object marking**  
**4.2.1 Simple (synthetic) past tenses**  
**4.2.1.1 Past proximate**

Intransitive

	consonantal stem 'walk'	vocalic stem 'go'
1sg masc	pokus	a:s
1sg fem	pəcis	a:yas
2sg masc	pokukh	a:kh
2sg fem	pəcikh	a:yakh
3sg masc	pok	a:v
3sg fem	pəc	a:yi
1pl masc 3pl masc	pəkʻ	
1pl fem 3pl fem	paci	
2pl masc	pəkivṛ	a:yivṛ
2pl fem	pacivi	

Transitive

	consonantal stem 'read'				vocalic stem 'eat'	
	object				object	
	sg masc	sg fem	pl masc	pl fem	sg masc	sg fem, pl
1, 3	pər	pər	pərʻ	pari	khʻav	kheyi
2sg	poruth	perith	perith	parʻath	kho:th	kheyath
2pl	porvṛ	pərvṛ	pərʻvṛ	parivṛ	<i>kho:vṛ?</i>	<i>kheyvṛ?</i>

See the appendix for some other syncretic patterns.

**4.2.1.2 Past indefinite and past remote tenses**

These are formed with the following suffixes:

indefinite    -yo:v (masc sg), -(y)e:yi (elsewhere)  
 remote        -(y)eyo:v (masc sg), -(y)eye:yi (elsewhere)

The tense suffixes end in a vowel, so these tenses are conjugated just like the vocalic stems of the past proximate; this can be illustrated by the endings of the past indefinite, the past remote displaying an identical pattern:

Past indefinite endings

1sg masc	-yo:s
1sg fem	-e:yas
2sg masc	-yo:kh
2sg fem	-eyakh
3sg masc	-yo:v
3sg fem	-e:yi
1pl masc 3pl masc	
1pl fem 3pl fem	
2pl masc	-e:yvṛ
2pl fem	

### 4.3 Future

In the future the number of object of may be optionally marked, with definiteness as a precondition. In contrast to the other tenses, gender is not marked in the future.

'read'	default	definite object marked	
		sg	pl
1sg	pari	paran	parakh
2sg	parakh	perihan	parihakh
3sg	pari	par'as	par'ahk
1pl	parav	pariho:n	pariho:kh
2pl	pəriv	pər'hu:n	pər'hu:kh
3pl	paran	parinas	parinakh

Note that the shape of the default endings with vocalic stems is slightly different (1sg *-mi*, 1pl *-mav*) from those illustrated above.

### 4.4 Conditional

There is also a set of conditional forms for each tense, but these display the same conjugational patterns as the non-conditional forms.

### 4.5 Perfect tenses

The perfects are formed with the copula/auxiliary plus the perfect participle, which inflects for number and gender. Note that the gender marking of the participle seems to be dependent on the copula/auxiliary: in the future perfect, where the copula/auxiliary does not mark gender, the perfect participle does not either.

#### Intransitive

'go'	perf present	perf past	perf future
1sg masc	chus go:mut	osus go:mut	a:si go:mut
1sg fem	chas gəmits	ə:sis gəmits	
2sg masc	chukh go:mut	osukh go:mut	a:sakh go:mut
2sg fem	chakh gəmits	ə:sikh gəmits	
3sg masc	chu go:mut	o:s go:mut	a:si go:mut
3sg fem	chi gəmits	ə:s gəmits	
1pl masc	chi gəmit'	ə:s' gəmit'	a:sav go:mut
3pl masc			a:san go:mut
1pl fem	cha gəmitsi	a:si gəmitsi	= masc
3pl fem			=masc
2pl masc	chiv gəmits	ə:siv gəmits	a:yivi go:mut
2pl fem	chavi gəmitsi	a:sivi gəmitsi	

#### Transitive

##### Perfect present

'read'	object				
	sg masc	sg fem	pl masc	pl fem	
1, 3	chu pormut	cha permits	chi permit'	cha parimitsi	
2sg	chuth pormut	chath permits	chith permit'	chath parimitsi	
2pl	chuv pormut	chav permits	chiv permit'	chavi parimitsi	

Perfect past

	object			
	sg masc	sg fem	pl masc	pl fem
1, 3	e:s pormut	ə:s permɪts	ə:s' permɪt'	a:sɪ parimɪtsɪ
2sg	o:suth pormut	ə:sɪth permɪts	ə:sɪth permɪt'	a:sath parimɪtsɪ
2pl	o:sivɪ pormut	ə:sivɪ permɪts	ə:sivɪ permɪt'	a:sivɪ parimɪtsɪ

Perfect future

	object	
	sg	pl
1, 3	a:si pormut	a:san permɪt'
2sg	a:s'ath pormut	a:sɪnath permɪt'
2pl	a:sivɪ pormut	a:sɪnav permɪt'

**4.6 Pronominal suffixes**

**4.6 Subject pronominal suffixes**

In the three past tenses, where the person marking of transitive subjects is syncretic (past proximate, past indefinite and past remote), further differentiation *is* possible by the addition of the so-called pronominal suffixes. These are obligatory where the subject is not overt, optional otherwise. Note that there is also a class of intransitives whose subjects are treated as if they were transitive agents (e.g. 'laugh', 'cry'; Wali and Koul 1996: 224).

Past proximate

	consonantal stem 'read'				vocalic stem 'eat'	
	object				object	
	sg masc	sg fem	pl masc	pl fem	sg masc	sg fem, pl
1pl	por	pər	pər'	pari	kh'av	kheyi
1sg	por <b>-um</b>	pər <b>-im</b>	pər <b>-im</b>	par' <b>-am</b>	kho: <b>-m</b>	khey <b>-am</b>
3sg	por <b>-un</b>	pər <b>-in</b>	pər <b>-in'</b>	par' <b>-an</b>	kho: <b>-n</b>	khey <b>-an</b>
3pl	por <b>-ukh</b>	pər <b>-ikh</b>	pər <b>-ikh</b>	par' <b>-akh</b>	kho: <b>-kh</b>	khey <b>-akh</b>
2sg	poruth	perith	perith	par'ath	kho:th	kheyath
2pl	porvɪ	pərvi	pər'vɪ	parivɪ	kho:vɪ?	kheyvɪ?

**4.6.2 Object pronominal suffixes**

In those tenses where the object induces no agreement, namely the future and the progressive present and progressive past, pronominal suffixes marking the person of the object may be added. They are obligatory only when the object is not overt; otherwise, they are optional. Note that the case of the object, and to some extent the morphological makeup of the forms, depends on the animacy hierarchy: where the subject is higher-ranked than the object (1–2, 1–3 and 2–3), the object is in the absolutive case; otherwise, it is in the dative case. They make the full range of person number distinctions for the object, and seem thus to have no bearing on syncretism.

**4.7 Appendix: other patterns in the past proximate**

Further alternations correlated with gender/number are found with consonantal stems. These depend on the phonology of the stem. Unfortunately none of the sources discuss this explicitly (except for noting the fact that *-u-* does not alternate), so below



I give the examples, without attempting an exhaustive characterization of which stems exhibit such behavior.

#### 4.7.1 Intransitives

Stems in *-u-*, ending in C which doesn't undergo morphophonological palatalization?

'break'	
1sg masc	<i>phuṭus ?</i>
1sg fem	<i>phuṭis ?</i>
2sg masc	<i>phuṭukh ?</i>
2sg fem	<i>phuṭikh ?</i>
3sg masc	phuṭ
3sg fem	
1pl masc	phuṭ'
3pl masc	
1pl fem	phuci
3pl fem	
2pl masc	<i>phuṭivṭ ?</i>
2pl fem	<i>phucivi?</i>

#### 4.7.2 Transitive

Stems in *-on?*

'bring'	object			
	sg masc	sg fem	pl masc	pl fem
1, 3	on	ən'		ani
2sg	onuth	ənith		an'ath
2pl	onvṭ	ən'vṭ		anivṭ

Stems in *-un?*

'wear'	object			
	sg masc	sg fem	pl masc	pl fem
1, 3	chun	chun'		chuni
2sg	chunuth	chunith		chun'ath
2pl	chunvṭ	chun'vṭ		

Stems in *-e(:)r?*

'kill'	object			
	sg masc	sg fem	pl masc	pl fem
1, 3	me:r		mə:r'	ma:ri
2sg	me:ruth	me:rith	me:rith	ma:r'ath
2pl	mo:rvṭ	mə:rvṭ	mə:r'vṭ	ma:rivṭ

'see'	object			
	sg masc	sg fem	pl masc	pl fem
1, 3	vuch			vuchi
2sg	<i>vuchuth</i>	<i>vuchith</i>		<i>vuchath</i>
2pl	<i>vuchivṭ</i>	<i>vuchivṭ</i>		

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