

Noun Morphology of Kashtawari: A Descriptive Study

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By

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**Under the Supervision of
Dr Aejaz Mohammed Sheikh**



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The dissertation entitled 'Noun Morphology of Kashtawari: A Descriptive Study' submitted by Sameer Ahmad Kuchay for the Award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Linguistics is his original piece of work done under my supervision and guidance.

The candidate has fulfilled all the statutory requirements for the submission of the dissertation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1 st	first person
2 nd	second person
3 rd	third person
abl	ablative
asp	aspirative
dat	dative
erg	ergative
fem	feminine
fu	future
gen	genitive
hon	honorific
imp	imperative
imperf	imperfective
inst	instrumental
loc	locatives
m	masculine
neg	negative
nom	nominative
NP	noun phrase
pl	plural
pp	postposition

pr	present
prog	progressive
pst	past
R	remote
rel	relative
sg	singular
soc	sociative
vl	voiceless
vd	voiced
unasp	unaspirated

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1.1. Kashtawar (Geographical and Historical Overview)

Kashtawar is an upland valley lying to the south-east of the valley of Kashmir on the upper Chinab. It is nestled among the beautiful folds of Pir-Panchal and Great Himalyan Ranges between 33.32°N and 75.77°E , having an average elevation of 1638 meters (5374 feet). Kashtawar is located at a distance of 280 kilometers from Srinagar, 229 kilometers from Jammu and 59 kilometers from Doda. It has lofty mountains and sloppy hills all around it. It is bordered on the south by Bhaderwah, on the east and north- east by the valley of Zanskar and on the west by a hilly terrain separating Jammu from Kashmir. Kashtawar branches off into three valleys of Marwa Warwan, Paddar and Chatru with their terminal at Kashtawar town. There is no other vehicular road link to these valleys except from the Kashtawar terminal. The Gateway to Dachan is Ekhala and Hanzal to Marwa Warwan valley whereas Lidrari is Gateway to Paddar valley and Dadpath to Chatru valley. Another valley is Bawanjwah valley which start from Dunadi some 6 Km ahead of Thathri. Thus Kashtawar is a vast sprawling district branching out in three directions interspersed with high mountainous ranges. Mariev Sudher or Marwa River divides Marwa-Warwan-Dachan valley with scattered population on both sides whereas Chatru Nala bisects Chingam-Chatru-Dadpath valley with population on both sides. Paddar valley parts into two valleys of Atholi – Machail valley and Atholi – Sohal -Ishtihari valley with population on other side of Bhot Nala and Chandra Bhaga respectively. Atholi is the chief place of Paddar. It has the widest opening in the whole tract. It is on an alluvial plateau 6360 feet (1938.2 M) above the sea level. Many other streams come down to Chandra Bhaga from very great heights. Warwan valley is the most beautiful. Some of the

grandest scenery is found on the route from Marwah to Warwan upto Margan pass as the river Marwa flows through the valley. Villages are spotted on either side of the river (Sharma, 2008:4).

Historians have called Kashtawar by many names like Samarth Garh, Gowardan Sar, Kashyap Vyas, Lohit Mandal etc. However the nomenclature of Kashtawar recorded in the revenue department is as follows:

“The real name is Kathward, which slowly became Kashtawar. In Hindi language wood is called Kath. Ward or Wardi is the Hindi name for place, that means the cultivation of wood. Since this village was at the centre of the area this particular village is called as Kashtawar.” (Aseer, 2006:819).

The erstwhile state of Kashtawar was usurped by Maharaja Gulab Singh, the Dogra ruler of Jammu, in the year 1821 A.D. and downgraded it to the status of a province under a governor. In 1875 A.D. Maharaja Ranbir Singh further downgraded it to the status of a district, in 1909 A.D. Maharaja Partap Singh made it a tehsil of Udhampur district. Kashtawar was finally approved for district status on July 6, 2006 by the state cabinet headed by Ghulam Nabi Azad, then Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State.

1.2. Socio-Cultural Perspective

Society and culture are an integral part of an individual's identity. They shape the cognition and understanding of the person, social customs, beliefs, values deeply influence the person's identity and reality. Language can't be kept immune to this impact. Therefore it seems pertinent to give an account of few basic social parameters of Kashtawar society.

1.2.1. Dress and Diet of People

The dress and diet of the people of Kashtawar in old days was an admixture of Dogri and Pahari cultures. The dress included Kurta (shirt), Pyjama (trousers), Kantop (cap covering head and ears), Dupatta (head gear), Coat, Pulhor (grass shoes), Leather shoes, etc. In olden days when sewing machines were not available people used to wear a hand sewed loose type of garment made of Pattu (woolen cloth) with a girdle of the same cloth throughout the year. Only few people of some consequence, together with the king and his courtiers, wore both cotton and woolen clothes during summer and winter seasons, respectively. Since the dawn of independence and more so after the construction of motorable roads that link Kashtawar with other places and towns, things have undergone a great change. Now people put on both cotton and woolen clothes properly sewed by tailors. These include pant, coat and shirt for gents and kamiz, shalwar dupatta and in some cases blouse and saari for ladies. Moreover, shoes, sandals, canvas shoes, plastic shoes and chapels are also worn by both men and women. Ladies wear gold and silver ornaments according to their status. These include necklace, bracelets, rings, ear rings, etc. The eatables of the people of Kishtwar include wheat, barley, maize, pulses and vegetables grown locally. In remote areas and higher reaches people use forest products such as mushrooms, etc. At some places paddy is also grown and rice forms the staple food. People are very fond of apricot widely grown which forms their principal fruit. Besides, wild grapes, peaches quince, apples, walnuts, pears, pomegranates are also liberally taken by the people as fruit. Saffron is also grown here. People also use Ghee (clarified butter), honey, whey and milk. Agriculture was the main occupation of the people.

1.2.2. Fairs and Festivals

Kashtawaris have their peculiar type of fairs, festivals, tivhars or melas. These fairs and festivals have historical, social, religious and seasonal background. These fairs and melas are held at various places on different fixed days where folk dance and folk music entertain the public. Before 1947 A.D. These were part and parcel of the life of Kashtawaris. They invited their friends and relatives to feasting. Processions were taken out and days celebrated with fervor and gaiety. At times ‘Yajnas’ and ‘Hawans’ were also performed. Some of these fairs and festivals are still observed such as ‘ Samsar’ (first day of the new year according to lunar year), Ramnavmi, Bisou (Baisakhi), Urs Shah Farid-ud-Din, Bhot Turo (offering to a meta physical being), Phalgun Purnima (now Lohri), Gori Tritya, Nine day Tihars in the month of Phalgun and Halwanzan bah (12th bright moon of Phalgun). Besides, national festivals such as Janam Ashtami, Id-ul-Fitr, Diwali, Dussehra, Id-ul-Zuha, Lohri, Id Milad-u-Nabi, Shab-i-Baraat, Shab-i-Meraj, Independence Day and Republic Day are also celebrated.

1.3. Kashtawari

Kashtawari language is spoken by the people of Kashtawar valley, which is the part of Jammu and Kashmir state. Kashtwar is the land of harmonious culture and variety of spoken languages and dialects. Both educated and uneducated speak the same language. Geographically, culturally, racially, linguistically and ethnically erstwhile Kashtawar state and the present Kashtawar District was not a homogeneous unit. It is a multilingual district. People speak Kashtawari-Kashmiri, Pahari, Gojri, Paddari and Saroori languages. Hindus of Kashtawar, Marwa and Chatru tehsils speak Kashtawari whereas Paddari is spoken by all communities in

paddar Tehsil. Hindus of Saroor Pargana and Bawanjwah speak Saroori-a variant of Bhaderwahi. Kashtawari language, though unwritten, has many varieties of its own in Dachan, Udil, Nagseni, Kontwara, Trigam, Thakarie, Keshwan, Palmar, Chingam, Pogal, Paristan, Dessa and Siraz. Grierson, (1919:342) while adapting the scale of linguistic correspondences between speech forms of Kashmiri, when spoken outside Kashmir valley on the South-East border across Pir Panchal range, developed the following scheme for dialect classification of Kashmiri language, “Kashmiri has one true dialect – Kashtawari spoken in the valley of Kashtawar lying to the South-East of the valley of Kashmir. Kashmiri also overflowed the Pir Panchal range into the Jammu Province of the state, and in the valley between the southern hills of the range between the water shed and the valley of Chenab, there are a number of mixed dialects such as Poguli, Siraji of Doda and Rambani. The first of these two represents Kashmiri merging into Dogri. Further east, over the great part of Riasi, District of the state, there are more of the mixed dialects, about which nothing certain is known except that the mixture between Kashmiri and Chibhati form of Lahanda”. Grierson (1919:342) further states that “it (Kashtawari) is a dialect of Kashmiri but is more corrupted by Pahari and Lahanda spoken to its south and south-east. On the other hand it retains one or two Dardic forms (such as word - *thu* ‘he is’) which has disappeared in standard Kashmiri”. Grierson’s analysis of Kashtawari morphology like declension of nouns for gender, number and case, the state of post position, adjectives and pronominalizations, the conjugation of verbs, concord patterns etc; follow the paradigm that corresponds with standard Kashmiri with marginal differences, e.g. Kashtawari differs from Kashmiri in the grammatical domain of certain postposition as “the postposition *huta* and *niš* both

meaning *from* govern the dative, and not, as we might expect of *from* the analogy of Kashmiri, the ablative”. In the form of genitive case the difference is summed up as follows: “unlike standard Kashmiri *-sun* is not only used with animate but also with inanimate nouns so that Kishtwari has *asma:n -sun*, while Kashmiri has *asmanuk: mala - sun* ‘of the property’. Kashtwari would have *maulk: mulka - sun* ‘of the country’, while Kashmiri would have *mulukuk*”. The second pronoun *tu:* and *tse* are frequently used in Kashtawari and *tu:* ascertain the influence of western Pahari while as *tse* connects Kashtawari with Kashmiri. Turning to phonological aspect, it was being noticed by Grierson that Kishtwari, inspite of similarities in its phonological system with Kashmiri, shows differences at large scale (Koul et al., 2012:78).

Although, the views of various researchers like prof Gh Mohidin Hajni, Dr Margoob Banihali, O.N. Koul. M.K. Koul are in conformity with Grierson’s views, there is a sizable number of population which doesn’t subscribe to these views. They consider it as an independent language, the origin of which is Prakrit and is highly influenced by Sanskrit language.

1.4. Other Languages Spoken in Kashtawar

1.4.1. Paddari

Paddari is a Pahari dialect spoken by the Hindus of Paddar. Muslims settled in Paddar also speak Paddari although their mother tongue is Kashmiri. Paddar, at present, is a tehsil of Kashtawar district. It has very little been influenced by the common speech of people living in her neighbourhood viz. Ladakh, Tibet, Himachal Pradesh, Bhandarwah,

Bhalesa and Nagsani area of Kashtawar district. It is also an off-shoot of Indo-Aryan group of languages.

1.4.2. Ladakhi

The Bhots of Paddar living in Hango, Haloti, Sancham, Lussani, Kabban and Tun villages of Bhot Nala and Gandhari Nala of Paddar speak Ladakhi dialect which is quite different from paddari, these Bhots have migrated from Zanskar via Umasi La and settled in the above mentioned villages. They have preserved their own language but has been influenced by Paddari.

1.4.3. Gojri

Kashtawar district, of late has been inhabited by Gujjars also. They have settle down to agriculture in Chatru, Udil, Keshwan, Palmar, Cheerji, Nagseni etc. Durring summer they move to greener pastures on the upper reaches along with their cows and buffaloes. They speak a language which is called Gojri, Parimu or Hinki. This language is akin to western Punjabi.

1.4.4. Saroori and Bawanjwali

Saroori and Bawanjwali are tehsils (earlier Parganas) of Kashtawar district. These have, ever since the rule of Kashtawar Rajas, remained part of Kashtawar State. The people of these areas speak Saroori in Saroor and Bawanjwali in Bawanjwal area, which have close affinity with Bhaderwahi- a Pahari language. These are dialects of Bhaderwahi language but in a degenerated form. The accent and speech vary to a great extent in these dialects. Bhaderwahi has no script of its own but its literature is being developed in Devnagri script as also in Persian script.



Source: <http://www.jammukashmir.nic.in> (online)

Map of Kishtwar District

1.5. Field areas

Kashtawar is a vast sprawling district, where people speak different languages. This study has been carried out by collecting languages samples from all the important areas of the district. The various areas from where the data for the study has been collected from are:

1.5.1. Chatru

The present tehsil Chatru comprising Chingam, Singpur, Chatru, Durbeel, Kuchhal, Inderwal, Sigdi, Mulchetar, Rahalthal, Horna and Udil Gojran revenue villages was called Rajmandal in ancient times. It is

situated on the south-eastern extremity of Kashmir and on the northwestern extremity of Kashtawar. Chatru is situated between latitude $33^{\circ} 30'$ and longitude $75^{\circ} 31'$. It links singpur with Gadol in Kashmir valley. Another pass linking Chingam with Daksum village of Kashmir is called Synthan pass which is 3784 metres above sea level. Pogal Paristan in Banihal tehsil of Ramban district is linked through Sambole village of Chatru tehsil by Nandmarg pass situated at a height of 4110 metres above sea level. Marwa valley is also linked with Chingam via Bonda but the route is all along very tough and no foot path has emerged for pedestrians. Chatru Nala which rises from Bonda Mountains and joined by other Nalas coming from Khawara and Singpur side divides the valley into two with population on either side.

1.5.2. Paddar

Paddar, the land of sapphire, is a tehsil of Kashtawar district. It was raised to the status of tehsil in 2005. It is bounded by Zanskar on the north, Pangi on the east, Bhalesa on the south and Nagseni Pargana on the west. The boundary of Paddar lays through Lidrari Nala, the gateway to Paddar, and crosses river Chander Bhaga separating Chicha from Sazar. Atholi, the headquarter of Atholi tehsil, is on an alluvial plateau, 6360 feet (1938.5 metre) above sea level. It has widest opening and is the chief place in Paddar about 200 feet above the river. On the opposite bank is a wide plain called Gulabgarh which with the passage of time has emerged into a township. Many government offices have been established at this place. According to census 2001 the population of Paddar was 19,399 including 1869 scheduled caste and 2,332 scheduled tribe people which may have gone to 25,100 including 2,418 as scheduled caste and 3018 as scheduled tribe on 31-12-2006 as per decadal growth rate of 29.04%.

Atholi tehsil consists of 32 revenue villages namely Sazar, Kidru, Jar, Kadail, Afani, Atholi, Hamori, Ladar, Massu, Mati, Layee, Ligri Pandail, Kundal, Palali, Chashoti, Hangu, Machail, Losaini, Garh, Leondi, Gulabgarh, Kaban, Sohal, Ongai, Tun, Muthal, Chag, Batwas, Ishtihari, Tiyari, & Chitto. Paddar is famous for Sapphire mines, Zera (cuminseed), edible pine seed called Chilgoza and Thangi (forest apricot). Paddar forests abound in some of the finest quality of Deodar, Kail, Chir, Spruce, etc. On mountain tops Birch trees are also found. Forests of Paddar are also a source of medicinal herbs, spices, etc. Kuth, Zera, Guchi and Dhoop are found in these forests.

1.5.3. Marwa – Warwan

Marwa – Warwan is a long narrow valley lying to the south-east of Kashmir and north-west of Kashtawar. It is separated by loft range of mountains. It is about 60 km in length and 1½ km in breadth. The sides on either side of Marwa River, locally called Mariev Sudher are very steep. The upper portion of the valley is called Warwan and the lower portion is called Marwa. Marwa – Warwan is linked with Anantnag district of Kashmir by Margan and Hukhsar passes at a height of about 4470 meters and 4300 meters respectively above sea level. Marwa – Warwan has 21 revenue villages. Large area of Marwa and Warwan is covered with thick forests of pine and spruce trees whereas deodar is rare. These forests on hilly slopes of this valley are infested with wild animals like Stage, Ibex (Kail), Thar (Mountain goat), Kras, Lion, Leopard, Tiger, Porcupine, etc. People have domesticated horses, cows, buffaloes, bulls, sheep, goats, dogs, etc. In forests medicinal herbs and herbal plants are found in plenty. People collect these products for sale and earn their livelihood. Crops like paddy, wheat, buck, maize, etc. are produced in

this valley. Beans (Rajmash), Walnut, and Ambri apples of this pargana are famous and are exported to other parts of the state. Climate of Marwa – Warwan valley is rigorous and at places it is temperate in summer months. This valley experiences heavy snowfall during winter months. People have built their houses in such a manner that snowfall has no effect on them. They store eatables and other items of daily consumption in advance of the advent of winter.

Dachhan

The tract from Ekhala to Hanzal is known as Dachhan. It is a land locked area quite independent of either Marwa or Kashtawar although it has been a part of Marwa tehsil. On the up gradation of Marwa Niabat as tehsil in the year 2005, Dachhan was given the status of a Niabat under Marwa tehsil. The Mariev Sudher river bisects the valley into two with half of population on left side. It joins Chandra Bhaga at Bhandarkut. Dachhan branches out in three ‘Nalaas’ called Nath Nala, Kibber Nala and Kiyar Nala. All these Nalaas have habitations on higher reaches. Kibber Nala which branches off near Sonder village is famous for its antiquity. Nath Nala is a highly revered valley as the holy sacred places like Brahmsar, Kaikut wooden temple, Trisandhya, Hud Mata and Bathastal cave are located in this valley. Brahmsar, a small lake of icy cold water, is surrounded by all the peaks of Brahma Mountain. Pilgrims come to this place for having a dip in its water during summer months for their purification. Some people get a chance to bathe in the stream and some return disappointed. On their way to Brahmsar pilgrims offer their prayers in the temples of Hud Mata and Kaikut.

1.5.4. Thatri

Thathri is one of the tehsils of Doda district of Jammu and Kashmir State. It is almost 195 Kms from the Jammu, winter capital of the Jammu and Kashmir State and almost 147 Kms from the Srinagar, the summer capital of the Jammu and Kashmir State. Thathri is the last station of Doda district. Thereafter starts the Kashtawar district. It is 35 Km. away from Kishtwar. The weather is just like that of Doda, a touch warmer. The river Chenab flows through Thathri and bisects it into two. The people of Thathri speak a good number of languages or dialects like Kashmiri, Kashtawari, Siraji, Bhaderwahi, Gojri and Pahari etc. Language contact situation is seen in this area as different speech communities live in close contact. Urdu, the official language of the Jammu and Kashmir State, is used as a link language by the people to communicate with each other. The Kashmiri speakers of Thathri are competent enough to understand Kashtawari and Siraji but are less competent to understand Bhaderwahi. Drabshalla, Kandni etc. are the neighbouring areas that fall in the Kashtawar district.

1.6. Objectives of the study

Although linguistic studies of Kashmiri began in the 19th century, but no linguistically oriented investigation has been undertaken to study its dialects particularly Kashtawari. According to Grierson (1919:342) Kashtawari is the only true dialect of Kashmiri, but this dialect is still unexplored on the modern descriptive model. This dialect shows interesting and significant variations from Kashmiri in phonology, morphology and vocabulary but linguistic research on these aspects of the dialect is inadequate and fragmentary. No clear morphological profile of Kashtawari Nouns has emerged as yet. In the light of this fact a need was

felt to initiate the hitherto unexplored study of the Nouns of this dialect morphological framework which has been done in the present study. This study aims to provide a detailed description of the Kashtawari Nouns. It aims to give a complete account of the morphological features of Kashtawari Nouns viz., Number, Gender and Case.

This study has been carried out using descriptive analytic approach of language analysis. The methodology of which can be discussed under the following two headings:

- 1) Field work Methodology.
- 2) Theoretical model of Morphological analysis.

2.1. Fieldwork Methodology

Intensive fieldwork has been carried out to collect language samples from the various areas of Kashtawar. The researcher developed a questionnaire consisting of words and sentences focused on the nouns of Kashtawari language. The data was elicited from the informants by direct questioning. The corpus was developed by recording the responses of the native speakers of different age groups and varied educational backgrounds. The researcher made room recordings of the data by using highly sophisticated voice-recorders. The data was then transcribed and analysed. The analysis was carried out by the following theoretical methodology.

2.2. Theoretical model of Morphological analysis

2.2.1. Key concepts in Morphology

Morphology is the study of morphemes and their arrangements in forming words: Morphemes are the minimal meaningful units, which may constitute words or parts of words: e.g. re-, de-, un-, -ly, -ceive, -mand, tie, boy and like in the combinations receive, demand, untie, boyish, likely. The morpheme arrangements which are treated under the morphology of a language include all combinations that form words or parts of words. Words are at the interface between phonology, syntax and semantics.

Although, there are no effective mechanical procedure for discovering the grammatical structure of a language in general or, in our case, the structure of its words, there exist reasonably reliable and widely accepted techniques that have been evolved by linguists working on morphology.

The main principle used in the analysis of words is the principle of contrast. We contrast forms that differ: (i) in phonological shape due to the sounds used; and (ii) in meaning, broadly defined to cover both lexical meaning and grammatical function. Thus, the phonological difference between /bɔ:y / and /gə:l/ correlates with a semantic difference. The difference in meaning between the two sentences *The boy plays* and *The girl plays* is attributable to the difference in lexical meaning between / bɔ:y/ and / gə:l/. Likewise, the difference in grammatical function between *play-s* (present tense) and *play-ed* (past tense) is responsible for the difference in meaning between *The girl plays* and *The girl played*.

The morpheme is the smallest difference in the shape of a word that correlates with the smallest difference in word or sentence meaning or in grammatical structure.

The analysis of words into morphemes begins with the isolation of morphs. A morph is a physical form representing some morphemes in a language. It is a recurrent distinctive sound (phoneme) or sequence of sounds (phonemes). Each morph represents a separate morpheme, but this is not always the case. Sometimes different morphs may represent the same morpheme. For instance, the past tense of regular verbs in English which is spelled *-ed* is realized in speech by /ɪd/, /d/ or /t/. The phonological property of the last segment of the verb to which it is attached determines the choice:

It is realized as:

a. /ɪd/ if the verb ends in /D/ or /T/

e.g. /mɛnD/~ /mɛnDɪd / /pe:nT/~ /pe:ntɪD/

‘mend’ ‘mended’ ‘paint’ ‘painted’

b. /D/ after a verb ending in any voiced sound except /D/

e.g. /kli:n/ ~ /kli:nD/ /we:y/ ~ /we:D/

‘clean’ ‘cleaned’ ‘weigh’ ‘weighed’

c. /T/ after a verb ending in any voiceless consonant other than

/T/.

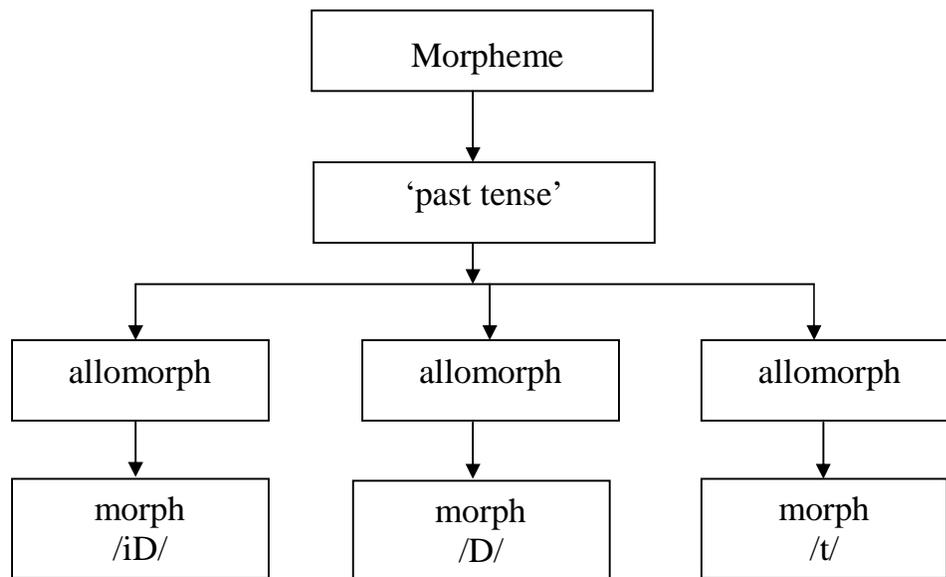
e.g. /pa:k/~ /pa:kT/ /mɪs/~ /mɪsT/

‘park’ ‘parked’ ‘miss’ ‘missed’

If different morphs represent the same morpheme, they are grouped together and they are called allomorphs of that morpheme. So, /iD/, /D/and /T/ are grouped together as allomorphs of the past tense morpheme in English.

The relationship between morphemes, allomorphs and morphs can be represented using a diagram in the following way:

English



We can say that: (i) /iD/, /D/and /T/ are English morphs; and (ii) we can group all these three morphs together as allomorphs of the past tense morpheme.

The central technique used in the identification of morpheme is based on the notion of distribution, that is, the total set of contexts in which a particular linguistic form occurs. We classify a set of morphs as allomorphs of the same morpheme if they are in complementary distribution. Morphs are said to be in complementary distribution if: (i)

they represent the same meaning or serve the same grammatical function; and (ii) they are never found in identical contexts. So, the three morphs /iD/, /D/and /T/ which represent the English regular past tense morpheme are in complementary distribution. Each morph is restricted to the contexts specified. Hence, they are allomorphs of the same morpheme .

2.2.2. Morphological Operations: Inflection and Derivation

Traditional grammarians usually distinguished between two main types of morphological operations, inflection (or inflexion) and derivation. The first we see for example when we say that *goes* is ‘the third person singular present indicative of the verb *go*’ or that *saw* is ‘the past tense of the verb *see*’. Since inflected forms are just variants of one and the same word, inflecting a word shouldn’t cause it to change its category. Moreover, even when a word can belong to more than one category, such as the innumerable English words which are both nouns and verbs, we inflect the word either as a noun or as a verb. For some theories it is a definition of inflection that it cannot cause a word to change its syntactic category.

The second type of operation is derivation. Let’s take a straightforward example from English. The verb *institute* forms a noun *institution* by suffixation of *-ion*. From this we can form the adjective *institutional* which in turn yields a verb *institutionalize*. We have come in a spiral rather than a circle because the verb *institutionalize* doesn’t mean the same as the verb *institute*. We can continue by deriving *institutionalization*. We can also say *institutionalizational*, another adjective, and, from this, form the adverb *institutionalizationally*. Now, there is no sense in which *institutionalizationally* is a ‘form’ of the word *institute*. We are dealing here with the creation of new words from the old

words, ‘word formation’ in a literal sense. As can be seen from the example, derivation typically (though not necessarily) induces a change in syntactic category.

Put in these simple terms, it is not difficult to see why people might believe that inflectional morphology is the result of applying processes to words, while derivational morphology is the result of concatenating morphemes.

There are two important notions associated with inflectional morphology: that of ‘morphological class’ and that of ‘paradigm’.

If we look at languages that exhibit rich inflection (which excludes English) then we typically see that words of a given syntactic class don’t necessarily all have the same inflections. Sometimes, the words fall into more or less arbitrary groupings which are associated with different sets of inflections. Such a grouping is called morphological class.

There are many languages in which the sole motivation for membership of a class is morphological: some words take one set of inflections and other words take another set. Often, this sort of system cuts across gender or other syntactically based sub classifications. When it happens in nouns we traditionally speak of declensional classes or declensions; with verbs we speak of conjugational classes or conjugations.

The second notion connected with inflection is that of paradigm. A paradigm is the set of all the inflected forms which an individual word assumes. Sometimes the term refers to some specifiable subpart of the total paradigm.

2.2.3. Morphological principles of language analysis

There are six principles which may apply in isolating and identifying morphemes. None of the principles is complete in itself; each is supplementary to the basic definition and must be considered so. If each were interpreted as being exclusive of all situations not specifically noted in the principle, the statements would be contradictory (Nida, 1949:4)

Principle 1

Forms which have common semantic distinctiveness and an identical phonemic form in all their occurrences constitute a single morpheme.

It means that such a form as –er added to verbs in such constructions as ‘worker’, ‘dancer’, ‘runner’, ‘walker’, and ‘flier’ is a morpheme. It always has the same phonetic form, and always has essentially the same meaning, namely, that of ‘the doer of the action’ (also called ‘agentive’). The principle used the phrase “common semantic distinctiveness” as a way of indicating that the meaning which is in common to all the occurrences of the suffix –er contrasts with (or is distinctively set off from) the meaning of all other similar forms. In the definition of the morpheme and in the statement of this first principle we were very careful to indicate that the meaning of –er in all these positions is not necessarily identical. In fact, no science has made available to us the tools by which we can test degrees of difference in meaning. It is necessary, however, for us to make certain distinctions between types of meaning. For example, in English there is another suffixal morpheme with the form –er, that is, the –er in comparative adjectives such as ‘wider’, ‘broader’, ‘smaller’, ‘deeper’, ‘cleaner’. But there is no common semantic distinctiveness in the series of suffixal forms occurring in ‘worker’, ‘dancer’, and ‘runner’, ‘wider’,

‘broader’, and ‘smaller’. Despite, therefore, an identity of forms, we may distinguish two morpheme on the basis of meaning.

At times the difficulty of accurately and comprehensively defining the common semantic features of distinctiveness in any set of forms may be very acute. For example, in the series ‘boyish’, ‘girlish’, ‘old-maidish’, ‘mannish’, ‘heathenish’, ‘dampish’, ‘bearish’, ‘slavish’, and ‘bookish’, the morpheme –ish may be said to denote ‘a quantity of.’ Or if we identify the stems as A and the suffix as B, then we may say that B “qualitativizes” A. But that is not all the meaning, for this suffix generally adds an unfavorable connotation to the word. The suffix –ly also identifies a quality, e.g. ‘manly’, ‘friendly’, ‘worldly’, ‘cowardly’, ‘princely’, but there are no unpleasant situations necessarily associated with words having this –ly suffix.

Principle 2

Forms which have common semantic distinctiveness but which differ in phonemic form (i.e. the phonemes or order of the phoneme) may constitute a morpheme provided the distribution of formal differences in phonologically definable.

It means that when we discover forms with some common semantic distinctiveness but with different phonemes or arrangements of phonemes, we can still put these various forms together as a single morpheme provided we can discover phonological conditions which “govern” the occurrence of such phonologically different forms. In English, for example, one negative prefix has more than a single form. Compare ‘intolerable’ and ‘impossible’. The forms in- and im- bear a partial phonetic-semantic resemblance and the positions in which they occur are determined by the type of consonant following. Before alveolar sounds such as [t] and [d], the

alveolar nasal [n] occurs, e.g. ‘intangible’, ‘indecent’. Before a bilabial sound such as [p], the bilabial nasal occurs, e.g. ‘impracticable’, ‘impersonal’. We may say that the form of the word to which the prefix is added “determines” the form of the prefix. This is just another way of saying that the distribution (i.e. positions of occurrence) of in- and im- can be defined by the phonological characteristics of the forms with which they occur.

Principle 3

Forms which have a common semantic distinctiveness but which differ in phonemic form in such a way that their distribution cannot be phonologically defined constitute a single morpheme if the forms are in complementary distribution in accordance with the following restrictions:

- I. Occurrence in the same structural series has precedence over occurrence in different structural series in the determination of morphemic status. We may say that in English the forms ‘roses’, ‘boys’, ‘lips’, ‘oxen’, and ‘sheep’ belong to the same structural series. The formational elements of the plural are not identical, but this series contrasts with all other series in English and exhibits the common feature of having singular nouns as stems and plural formatives consisting of a single allomorphic series. The genitive morpheme /-əz ~ -z ~ -s/ is in a different structural series in that it occurs with both singular and plural nouns, e.g. ‘man’s’ and ‘men’s’.
- II. Complementary distribution in different structural series constitutes a basis for combining possible allomorphs into one morpheme only if there also occurs in these different structural series a morpheme which belongs to the same distribution class as the allomorphic

series in question and which itself has only one allomorph or phonologically defined allomorphs.

- III. Immediate tactical environments have precedence over non immediate tactical environments in determining morphemic status.
- IV. Contrast in identical distributional environments may be treated as sub morphemic if the difference in meaning of the allomorphs reflects the distribution of these forms.

Principle 4

An overt formal difference in a structural series constitutes a morphemic if in any member of such a series, the overt formal difference and a zero structural difference are the only significant features for distinguishing a minimal unit of phonetic - semantic distinctiveness.

- a) “An overt formal difference” means a contrast which is indicated by differences in phonemes or in the order of phonemes. The distinction between ‘foot’ /fut/ and ‘feet’ /fi:t/ is an overt difference, since it consists in a difference of phonemes. The contrast between the singular ‘sheep’ /ʃi:p/ and the plural ‘sheep’ /ʃi:p/ consists of a zero and is covert.
- b) A member of a structural series may occur with a zero structural difference and an overt formal difference. For example, ‘feet’ /fi:t/ as the plural of ‘foot’ /fut/ has a structural zero similar to the zero occurring with ‘sheep’ /ʃi:p/ as the plural of ‘sheep’ /ʃi:p/. This zero consists in a significant absence of the suffix {-əz}, which occurs in the vast majority of plural formations. The overt difference between ‘foot’ and ‘feet’ is the replacement of /u/ by /i:/. According to Principle 4, this replacement acquires the status of a morpheme

because it is the only overt difference between ‘foot’ and ‘feet’. Principle 4 does not mean that there is no zero occurring in the word ‘feet’ /fi:t/, but only that the replacement constitutes a morpheme. We may say that ‘feet’ actually consists of three morphemes:

- i) the stem
- ii) the replacement of /u/ by /i:/, and
- iii) the zero suffix.

If it were not for the occurrence of such forms as ‘sheep’, ‘deer’, ‘grouse’, and ‘salmon’ with structural zeroes and no other overt differences, we should describe ‘feet’ as consists of only two morphemes: the stem and the replacement. The replacement would then constitute an allomorph in the {-əz} series.

Principle 5

Homophonous forms are identifiable as the same or different morphemes on the basis of the following conditions:

- i) Homophonous forms with distinctly different meanings constitute different morpheme.*
- ii) Homophonous forms with related meanings constitute a single morpheme if the meaning classes are paralleled by distributional differences, but they constitute multiple morphemes if the meaning classes are not paralleled by distributional differences.*

There are no simple means of deciding whether forms are “distinctly different” or “related” in meaning. There are, however, some forms which appear to be obviously related, for example, the word ‘run’ in the expressions ‘they run’ and ‘their run’. Even in the phrase ‘the run in her

stocking the form 'run' appears to be related in meaning to the preceding occurrences of this homophonous form. Similarly, 'the fish' and 'to fish' appear to contain a meaningfully similar item, 'fish'. On the other hand, in phrases 'to pare' and 'the pear' there appears to be no meaningful relationship between 'pare' and 'pear'. We may explain such similarities and differences by saying that 'fish' in the phrases 'to fish' and 'the fish' identifies a characteristically associated aspect of a single process, whereas the word 'pare' is not characteristically associated with 'pear'.

Principle 6

A morpheme is isolatable if it occurs under the following conditions:

- i) In isolation.*
- ii) In multiple combinations in at least one of which the unit with which it is combined occurs in isolation or in other combinations.*
- iii) In a single combination provided the element with which it is combined occurs in isolation or in other combinations with non unique constituents.*

On the basis of the first condition of isolatability we may identify as morphemes such forms as 'boy', 'cow', 'run', 'jump', 'up', 'he', 'this', and 'ouch', since it is possible to utter all these forms in isolation.

Certain morphemes never occur in isolation, e.g. the -er in such words as 'dancer', 'worker', 'jumper', and 'provider'. Nevertheless, we can identify -er as a morpheme, since the elements with which it occurs may be found in isolation, e.g. 'dance', 'work', 'jump', and 'provide'. The second condition of isolatability does not require that all combining elements have an independent occurrences, but only that at least one form in any such structural series have the capacity of occurrence in isolation

or in other combinations. The prefix ‘con-’ occurs only in combinations, e.g. ‘conceive’, ‘consume’, ‘contain’, ‘condense’, but the form ‘dense’ occurs in isolation. This provides justification for considering ‘con-’ a morpheme. Added evidence is available in the fact that the stem forms occur in other combinations, e.g. ‘perceive’, ‘resume’, ‘detain’.

There are some morphemes which occur in only one combination, e.g. ‘cran-’ in ‘cranberry’, ‘rasp-’ in ‘raspberry’, and ‘cray-’ in ‘crayfish’.

According to condition 3 for isolatability, the morphemes ‘cran-’, ‘rasp-’, and ‘cray-’ are isolatable because the elements ‘berry’ and ‘fish’ occur in isolation or in other combinations.

There are certain types of structures which Principle 6 specifically excludes from morphemic status:

- constituent parts of such words as ‘hammer’, ‘ladder’, ‘otter’, ‘badger’, ‘under’, ‘linger’, ‘bitter’ and
- phonetic symbolism, e.g. such a series as ‘slide’, ‘slush’, ‘slurp’, ‘slip’, ‘slop’, ‘slime’, ‘slobber’, and ‘slick’.

2.2.4. Morphological Theories

2.2.4.1. Structuralist theories

The three models

As the concept of the morpheme was developed in structuralist theories of language, particularly in America, so word formation came to be viewed as the disposition of morphemes in a word. Morphology came to be dominated by the metaphor of word analysis rather than word formation as linguistic theory sought to provide techniques for decomposing words into their component morphemes. The resulting

approach was dubbed by Hockett (1958) the Item-and-Arrangement (IA) theory.

An overview of morphological phenomena shows that there are many morphological relationships which don't fit neatly into the IA scheme. Hockett discusses a simple case in some more detail, namely the use of ablaut in the formation of strong past tenses in English verbs, as compared with the regular formation consisting of affixation of *-ed* to the basic form (*as bake ~ baked*). He points out that descriptive linguistics up to that time had a variety of means for describing the fact that *took* is the past tense form of *take*, and proceeds to compare them.

Hockett's list (1958:393) goes as follows:

- (1) *took* is a single morpheme < ... >.
- (2) *took* is a portmanteau representation of the two morpheme sequence *take* and */ed/*.
- (3) *took* is an allomorph of the morpheme which appears elsewhere as *take*, plus a zero allomorph of */ed/*.
- (4) *took* is a discontinuous allomorph */t...k/* of *take*, and an infix allomorph */u/* of */ed/*.
- (5) *took* is *take* plus a replacive morph */u/← /ey/* (read '*/u/* replaces */ey/*').

This citation is self-explanatory except for the term portmanteau, which in this context means type of fusion of two morphemes into one.

Hockett objects to solution (5) because it appeals to the idea of a morpheme which consists of a process of replacement, and this is foreign to the IA approach by definition. On the other hand, the maximally simple

solution (1) is unsatisfactory because, in effect, it fails to capture the fact that *took* is the past tense form of *take* just as *backed* is the past tense form of *bake*. The second solution is able to capture this but has the disadvantage that it fails to distinguish ablaut from total suppletion of the kind *go~went*. Solution (3) attempts to force the ablaut forms into an agglutinating strait-jacket by equivocation over the notions of ‘morpheme’ and ‘allomorph’. This solution, in effect, likens the *took~take* alternation to the stem allomorphy found in *electric~electricity*, except that the phonological alternation is caused by an allomorph which has no physical realization. Hockett therefore rejects this solution, too.

The option Hockett seems to prefer is that of (4), though he explicitly denies that, this means that the form *take* is comprised of /t...k/ plus an infix /ey/. However, this preference is relative to IA theory. As Hockett points out, in a different theoretical framework we would expect different solutions to be favoured. Hockett mentions one other approach in passing, the Word-and-Paradigm theory, and devotes much of his discussion to what he sees as the main alternative to IA, the Item-and-Process (IP) theory.

In an IP account we would distinguish between basic or underlying forms of a morpheme and forms derived after the application of certain processes. Thus, we would say that *bake* and *take* were underlying forms and that two distinct processes applied to them in the formation of the past tense. In the first, the process is affixation of *-ed* (or perhaps of the allomorph /t/); in the second the process is phonological in that the vowel of *take* is replaced by, or changed into, /u/. This solution to the ‘*took*’ problem is reminiscent of the fifth of Hockett’s IA analyses, which he rejected because of its processual underpinnings.

The IP approach historically precedes the IA approach described by Hockett. Hockett has a number of quibbles about what exactly is meant by ‘process’, but on the whole he seems to believe that both theories could handle these data and similar problems equally well.

There remains a class of phenomena which neither IA nor IP seem well equipped to handle and that are the fusional nature of inflectional systems. The problem is that both IA and IP are fundamentally agglutinating theories. In IA, in which there is no distinction between underlying forms and surface forms, all morphology is essentially agglutinative. Thus, even a form such as *took* consists of two morphemes whose allomorphs are /t...k/ and /u/ and word formation consists of combining these. In IP word structure need not necessarily look agglutinative on the surface, but it is assumed to be agglutinative at the underlying level. Thus, *took* is formed from *take* plus the ablaut process, and this can be thought of as a base morpheme plus a past tense process, whose ‘combination’ results in the change in vowel quality. The difficulty becomes apparent when we ask how the IA or IP theories would handle the problem posed by Russian adjectival forms such as *bol’šomu* ‘big (masc. /neut. dat. sg. adjective)’. Here we have four morphemes all realized by a single portmanteau morph, as below:

LARGE	MASC/NEUT	DAT	SG	ADJ
	\	/	/	/
<i>bol’š</i>	<i>omu</i>			

The problem is made more acute by the fact that Russian nouns and adjectives never distinguish masculine from neuter gender in oblique cases. It is quite unclear how even a version of Hockett’s solution (4)

could cope with this in a principled fashion within the IA framework. But it is equally implausible that we would find a set of processes operating over underlying forms to express the separate categories of masculine/neuter, dative, singular and adjective.

In a portmanteau morph, then, several categories are realized by one surface formative, an instance of a one-many correspondence between form and function. In addition, we often find situations in which a single category is realized in more than one way within a word, that is, when there is many-one correspondence between form and function. This has been referred to as extended or overlapping exponence. English strong verbs provide a simple of this. Most such verbs end in *-en* in the past participle. However, many of them also show ablaut, and in certain cases the vowel of the stem is unique to the past participle form, for instance: *write, wrote* but *written*.

It might be open to the IA (or IP) theorist to say that we have a phonological process of vowel change triggered by the *-en* affix here.

Word-and-Paradigm (WP) approach to inflectional morphology, first presented in an articulated form in Robins (1959), and defended meticulously within a generative framework by Matthews (1972). Robins pointed out that there are certain generalizations which can only really be stated at the level of whole word. He also pointed out that the notion of ‘inflectional paradigm’ seems to play some role in grammatical organization.

The key to the WP approach is notion of the morphosyntactic word. Each inflected forms has (at least) one morphosyntactic description (for example ‘past tense form’ or ‘dative singular of the masculine/neuter adjectival form’) and the grammar then makes available paradigms that

specify the formative which correspond to these categories. In an agglutinating system the correspondence rules will be rather simple, amounting to one morphosyntactic category per formative and one formative per category. But there is no necessity for the categories and the morphological elements which express those categories to be in a one-one correspondence, as there is in the IA theory.

2.2.5. Morphophonemics

The structuralists linked morphological structure to allomorphic variation. This connects morphological theory with phonological theory (what is known in structuralism as ‘phonemics’), and for certain schools of structuralism the result was an intermediate *morphophonemic* level.

Morphemes may appear in different phonological shapes because of the effects of general phonological processes. The English regular plural suffix is an example of this. This involves a number of phonological complications, so to illustrate how structuralist theories approached phonologically conditioned variation in its simplest form, let’s begin with a relatively unproblematic example from Russian. The word for ‘foam’ in the nom. sg. is pronounced [p’ɔnə], where the apostrophe represents palatalization of the consonant. In the dative the word is pronounced [p’en’ə], with palatalization of the [n] and a raising of the stem vowel from [ɔ] to [e]. In other words, [e] is an allophone, or variant, or the e-phoneme which occurs whenever the phoneme is both preceded and followed by a palatalized consonant. This is an example of an automatic alternation, governed solely by the phonological form of the word concerned, and applying to every word of the appropriate form in the language. Moreover, the e/ɔ distinction is never by itself contrastive in Russian, that is, there can be no pair of words which differ solely in that

one has /e/ where the other has /ɔ/. In contemporary generative phonology a situation like this would be handled by taking the /ɔ/ allophone as basic and postulating a raising rule applying in the environment of palatalized consonants. In the tradition of structuralist phonemics we would say that the two allophones of the e-phoneme occurs in complimentary distribution: that is, there is one set of environments where /e/ occurs and another entirely distinct set of environments where /ɔ/ occurs.

The situation is a little more complex in the next example, where we see the genitive singular form (ending *-a*) of the three Russian masculine nouns:

- a) luka ‘onion-gen.’
- b) luka ‘bow-gen.’
- c) luga ‘meadow-gen.’

Notice that *luka* means both ‘of an onion’ and ‘of a bow’. This means that we have a case of homonymy, rather like the homonymy we find in the English word *case* (as in *suitcase*, *court case*, or *genitive case*).

Matters get more interesting when we look on the next example, the nominative/accusative forms of these three words:

- a) luk ‘onion’
- b) luk ‘bow’
- c) luk ‘meadow’

Now we seem to have three homonyms (just as with English *case*). However, the *luk* case is different from the *case* case. This is because the sudden appearance of a /k/ sound at the end of the word for ‘meadow’ is the automatic consequence of a general rule of Russian phonology. There

are no voiced obstruents in word final position in Russian. The second sequence [lug] would therefore, be an unpronounceable word in Russian, so where we might expect [lug] we actually hear [luk].

In contemporary (and also in European structuralist) parlance the g/k alternation illustrated is a case of neutralization of a phonemic contrast. Neutralizations pose problems for certain IA approaches to morphology. In the post-Bloomfieldian tradition represented by, for example, Hockett's statements about morphemes have to be kept distinct from statements about phonemes. The reasons for this are to do with controversial assumptions about the way linguistic analysis has to proceed and about the nature of phonological representations. In the American structuralist tradition it was thought that a full phonemic analysis had to precede a morphological analysis (which in turn had to precede a syntactic analysis). It was also thought that the phonemic representation of a word should be deducible directly from its phonetic representation, the so called biuniqueness requirement (sometimes encapsulated in a slogan, 'once a phoneme, always a phoneme').

In the case of [p'ɔnə/ p'en'ə] there is no problem. Since [e] is a phonologically conditioned allophone of the /ɔ/ phoneme, we can write the two forms in phonemic transcription as /p'ɔnə/ and /p'ɔn'ə/, on the understanding that purely phonological principles of allophony will tell us the precise pronunciation of each vowel. In the case of [lug~luk] alternation we have a problem. The two variants consist of different phonemes and the type of entities that consist of different phonemes, are morphs, for example, allomorphs of a single morpheme. Hence, morphologists must set up the two forms /luk/ and /lug/ of the stem for 'meadow' and note that the former occurs when there is no suffix, and the

latter when there is. The big problem here is that the k/g alternation is just as automatic as the o/e alternation and so it should really be handled by means of a phonological statement, not a morphological one. In other words, we have a case which is essentially allophony, but we are forced by theoretical assumptions to treat it as allomorphy.

A solution favored by post-Bloomfieldian structuralists was to set up a further level, intermediate between that of phonemes and morphemes. This was the morphophonemic level and its elements were morphophonemes. Some of these would bear a direct correspondence to phonemes, namely those which didn't ever alternate, or those which failed to alternate in a particular word. Others would have an indirect relation to the phonemes which realized them, and these would represent the alternating sounds. The word 'meadow', ending in an alternating consonant, would be given representations along the lines given below, in which the G represents the alternating morpheme:

luG 'meadow'

On the other hand, words such as *luk*, as well as words such as *gul* 'rumble' and *kul* 'type of bag' containing k/g sounds which never alternate, would have representations as below, with *k* and *g* morphophonemes which are distinct from the G morphophoneme:

- a) luk 'onion/bow'
- b) gul 'rumble'
- c) kul' 'type of bag'

Special rules would then state that G corresponds to the phoneme /g/ in some contexts and to /k/ in others.

In the Prague School tradition of structuralism, which followed the ideas of Trubetskoy and Jakobson, the G of above example would have particular properties, in that it would be regarded as a bundle of distinctive features characterizing velar plosives, but not marked for the voicing feature. This feature would then be specified as a function of its position (whether word final or not). A partially specified phonological element of this sort is called an archiphoneme. It codes in a rather direct way the idea that an otherwise distinctive opposition is suspended or neutralized in certain circumstances.

The American concept of morphophonemics was somewhat different from this, however. The biuniqueness requirement meant that phonemes were not allowed to change into other phonemes. Hence, the concept of neutralization as such was not the part of the theory. Consequently, the concept of neutralization could not be formalized by appeal to the archiphoneme, and the G element represented above is not intended as a phonetic intermediary between /k/ and /g/- it can only be interpreted as an entirely separate entity.

The derivational format allows us to capture allomorphic variation which is phonologically (or phonetically) motivated. In effect, we allow the phonological rules to 'interfere' with the phonological forms of morphemes. This type of grammatical organization allows us to dispense with interlevels such as the morphophonemic level, and the concept of the morphophoneme (though in generative phonology the concept of the archiphoneme plays an important role).

3.1. Nouns

Noun in a language is generally a word used to name a thing, person, place or even an abstract idea. So is it in Kashtawari language. For example: june:d ‘person’s name,’ cina:b ‘river’s name,’ mayso:r ‘place name,’ etc. Syntactically, a noun functions as a subject, object or complement of a verb. Morphologically, it takes grammatical categories of number, gender and case and can also take some other kinds of markers for the specificity of the noun.

Morphologically there are three grammatical categories of nouns of Kashtawari each of which is described in detail, below:

1. Number
2. Gender
3. Case

3.1.1. Number

Kashtawari has a two-tier number system, i.e., singular and plural. Plurals are formed from singular stems by suffixation, vowel change and palatalisation. A number of forms remain same both in singular and plural forms. Kashtawari employs different rules for plural formation of masculine and feminine nouns.

The various rules that govern the change of number in Kashtawari are described below:

3.1.1.1. Formation of feminine plurals

A central high short vowel [ɪ] is added to the CVC base structure to obtain its feminine plural form.

Examples

tɔs (sg)	→	tɔsi (pl)	‘wall’
ra:t (sg)	→	ra:ti (pl)	‘night’
mačh (sg)	→	mačhi (pl)	‘house fly’
ga:v (sg)	→	ga:vi (pl)	‘cow’
še:R (sg)	→	še:Ri (pl)	‘ladder’

In the CVC base structures if the vowel is high, [e] is added to the stem and the vowel is lowered. Lowering of vowel takes place as per the following pattern.

i	→	e
u	→	ɔ
ə	→	a

Examples

tshi:lʲ (sg)	→	tʃhe:le (pl)	‘goat’
ki:R (sg)	→	ke:Re (pl)	‘watch’
khu:tʲ (sg)	→	khɔte (pl)	‘she ass’
mu:lʲ (sg)	→	mɔle (pl)	‘raddish’
lu:Rʲ (sg)	→	lo:Re (pl)	‘stick’
tə:Rʲ (sg)	→	ta:Re (pl)	‘beard’
gəɾʲ (sg)	→	gare (pl)	‘cocunut’

A central low long vowel [a:] is added to the CVC base structure as a plural marker.

Examples

me:š (sg)	→	me:ša: (pl)	‘buffalo’
ga:D (sg)	→	ga:Da: (pl)	‘fish’
zãg (sg)	→	zãga: (pl)	‘leg’
nas (sg)	→	nasa: (pl)	‘nose’
zev (sg)	→	zeva: (pl)	‘tongue’
raz (sg)	→	raza: (pl)	‘rope’

In the CVCVC structure, the first vowel is lowered and the penultimate vowel is dropped and a plural marking suffix [e] is added to it.

Examples

kukiR (sg)	→	kəkRe (pl)	‘hen’
mə:rinj (sg)	→	ma:rne (pl)	‘bride’
tshipiR (sg)	→	tshepRe (pl)	‘basket’
gəgiR (sg)	→	gagRe (pl)	‘mice’

A front mid short vowel [e] is added to the CVCVC structure as a plural marking suffix without changing the rest of the sequence.

Examples

və:til (sg)	→	və:tile (pl)	‘cobbler’
bidilj (sg)	→	bidile (pl)	‘ant’
kã:kij (sg)	→	kã:kije (pl)	‘lizard’
pipilj (sg)	→	pipile (pl)	‘chilly’
gabizj (sg)	→	gabize (pl)	‘ewe’

3.1.1.2. Formation of Masculine Plurals

In the CVC base structure the vowels [o] and [a] are changed to [ə] and the final consonant is palatalised to obtain the plural form.

Examples

co:k (sg)	→	cə:kʲ (pl)	‘knife’
ma:R (sg)	→	mə:Rʲ (pl)	‘logofwood’
no:R (sg)	→	nə:Rʲ (pl)	‘big pipe’
mo:l (sg)	→	mə:lʲ (pl)	‘father’
tsok (sg)	→	tsəkʲ (pl)	‘bitter’

Final consonant of the CVC structure is palatalised without changing the rest of the sequence.

Examples

kul (sg)	→	kulʲ (pl)	‘tree’
chu:R (sg)	→	chu:Rʲ (pl)	‘walnut’
tsũ:Th (sg)	→	tsũ:Thʲ (pl)	‘apple’
kuR (sg)	→	kuRʲ (pl)	‘horse’
koTh (sg)	→	koThʲ (pl)	‘knee’

The final consonant of the CVCVC structure is palatalised for pluralisation. The rest of the sequence remains unchanged.

Examples

tseDul (sg)	→	tseDulʲ (pl)	‘he goat’
biju:R (sg)	→	biju:Rʲ (pl)	‘insect’

A central high short vowel [i] is added to the CCVC base structure as a plural marking affix.

Examples

bro:R (sg) → bro:Ri (pl) 'he cat'

The penultimate vowel [u] of CVCVC structure changes to [i] and the final consonant is palatalised.

Examples

gə:muR (sg) → gə:miR^j (pl) 'male parrow'

kā:duR (sg) → kā:diR^j (pl) 'baker'

gabuD (sg) → gabiD^j (pl) 'ram'

bəkut (sg) → bəkⁱt^j (pl) 'boy'

A lot of masculine nouns have the same form in the plural also.

Examples

ma:rə:n^j (sg/pl) 'bridegroom'

bra:g (sg/pl) 'lion'

tez (sg/pl) 'deer'

šə:l^j (sg/pl) 'fox'

gɔgal (sg/pl) 'turnip'

ka:v (sg/pl) 'crow'

zami:ndu:z (sg/pl) 'earthworm'

3.1.2. Gender

Nouns in Kashtawari are divided into two classes on the basis of the gender, i.e., masculine and feminine. Animate objects follow the

natural gender, males being the masculine and females being the feminine. While as the gender of in-animate words is recognized by various word endings. The main gender forming processes in Kashtawari are suffixation, vowel change and suppletion.

3.1.2.1 Suffixation

Below are the various suffixes/markers which are added to the stems of a particular gender.

3.1.2.1.1 Masculine Forming Suffixes

-da:r	kariz-da:r	'borrower'
	duka:n-da:r	'shopkeeper'
	tha:n-da:r	'inspector'
	The:ke:-da:r	'contractor'
-vo:l	a:nca:r-vo:l	'pickle seller'
	kud ⁱ -vo:l	'horse owner'
	maka:n-vo:l	'house owner'
	re:di-vo:l	'cart puller'

3.1.2.1.2 Feminine Forming Suffixes

-sī:	kha:r	kha:r -sī:	'blacksmith's wife'
	tob	tob -sī:	'washerwoman'
	pi:r	pi:r- sī:	'muslim priest's wife'

-ə:nʲ	pənDith	pəndith- ə:nʲ	‘pandit woman’
	DakTar	DakTar- ə:nʲ	‘lady doctor’
	mastar	mastar- ə:nʲ	‘lady teacher’
	gujur	gujur ə:nʲ	‘gujar woman’
-in	saruf	saruf-in	‘fem. Snake’
	na:g	nag-in	‘a type of snake’
	kā:dur	kā:dur-in	‘baker’s wife’
	bra:g	bra:g-in	‘lioness’

From the above examples it is clear that in Kashtawari, masculine forms (stems) are taken as base and feminine forms are derived from them. Besides suffixation the various phenomenon that govern the change of gender in Kashtawari are discussed below:

3.1.2.1.3 Vowel Change

In the CCVC structure, the vowel is raised and the final consonant is palatalized.

Examples

kra:l	‘potter’	krə:lʲ	‘potter’s wife’
bro:R	‘he cat’	brə:Rʲ	‘she cat’

3.1.2.1.4 Suppletion

Suppletion is the replacement of one stem with another, resulting in an allomorph of a morpheme which has no phonological similarity to the other allomorphs.

Examples

tsi:R ^j	‘male sparrow’	gə:muR	‘sparrow’
dā:d	‘bull’	ga:v	‘cow’
bəkut	‘boy’	ku:R ^j	‘girl’
mo:n	‘man’	zana:n	‘woman’

3.1.3. Cases

Case is a grammatical category of a noun in a language which establishes various kinds of relationships between the noun phrases in the sentence by virtue of the semantic value of the verb. It is a morphosyntactic property of noun phrases. The basic purpose of the case is to encode function of a noun phrases in a sentence. In simple words its function is to find out whether a noun phrase is a subject or an object.

According to the case inflection, nouns of Kashtawari can be divided into three groups.

- a) Nouns in which the case is not marked, i.e., they function without any case marker or post position.
- b) Nouns which take an optional post position i.e., depending on the context of the sentence.
- c) Nouns with which a postposition is obligatory.

After analyzing the data, eight case forms have been established in Kashtawari which are discussed below.

3.1.3.1 Nominative

The case of a noun functioning as the performer or doer of the action of the verb is the nominative case. i.e., it marks the subject of the verb in a sentence. Nouns of Kashtawari don't employ any distinguishing signs to express this case. They are used in their basic unmodified form without any case- markers or post- positions. Nominative in Kashtawari is therefore un marked and it occupies subject or direct object position in a clause.

Example

june:d thu səku:l gatsha:n

Junaid-m-sg-nom be-pr school go-prg

Junaid is going to school.

ra:biya: the ka:r kara:n

Rabiya-fem-sg-nom be-pr work do-prg

'Rabiya is doing work.'

ra:m thu jɔ:n bokut

Ram-m-sg-nom be-pr good boy

'Ram is a good boy.'

yi thu vaki:l

he-m-sg-nom be-pr lawyer

'He is a lawyer.'

3.1.3.2 Ergative

The ergative case is the grammatical case of the noun that identifies the subject of a transitive verb in ergative–absolutive languages. Kashtawari has the following ergative case markers:

m.sg	fem.sg	pl(m/fem)
- an	-I	-ev
-in		

Nouns take ergative markers when the verb is transitive and in past tense. If the verb is transitive and not in past tense the subject generally remains unchanged.

Example

june:dan pəDɪn kita:b

Junaid-m-sg-erg read-pst book

‘junaid read the book.’

baši:ran mə:rɪn tʃi:l

Basher-m-sg-erg kill-pst goat

‘Basher killed the goat.’

mə:lin khe:y mōj

father-m-sg- erg eat-pst food

‘The father ate food.’

ko:Rev korukh ka:r

girl-fem-pl-erg do-pst work

‘Girls did work.’

ko:Ri korun ka:r

girl-fem-sg-erg do-pst work

‘The girl did work.’

bəktev korukh šo:r^j

boy-m-pl-erg make-pst noise

‘The boys made noise.’

3.1.3.3 Dative

The dative case is generally used to indicate the noun to which something is given, thus it is the case of indirect object of the verb. The expression of dative case in Kashtawari involves the usage of following case markers:

m.sg	fem.sg	pl(m/fem)
-is	-I	-an
-as		

These markers are added to the noun argument.

Example

bəktis khə:tri iyiv palav

child-m-sg-dat for buy-imp cloths

‘Buy clothes for the child.’

baši:ras khə:tri o:n mōj

Basher-m-sg-dat for bring-imp food

“Bring food for Basher”

ma:li div tsū:Th

mother-fem-sg-dat give-imp apple

‘Give an apple to mother.’

me:lis div ki:D

father-m-sg-dat give watch

‘Give the watch to father.’

bəktis div sabakh

boy-m-sg-dat give-imp lesson

‘Give lesson to the boy.’

ko:Den ha:v tsiD

girls-fem-pl-dat show-imp basket

‘Show the basket to girls.’

3.1.3.4 Ablative

The ablative case indicates separation of something from its source or movement away from something.

Case markers: yethni, mǎz, etc.

These case markers are added after inflected forms of the subject, i.e., the source nouns take the case suffixes which are inflected for number and gender and then takes any of the above mentioned case markers. The suffixes are as follows:

m.sg	f.s	m.pl	fem.pl
-i	-i	-av	-ev

Examples

mayso:ri yethni a:y tre:nj

Mysore-abl from come-pst train

‘Train came from Mysore.’

ši:ri yethni peyi TupiD

head-abl from fall-pst cap

‘Cap fell down from head.’

tshipiDi manz dra:v saruph

basket-abl from come-pst snake

‘Snake came out of the basket.’

kəši:ri yethni a:y ciTh

Kashmir-abl from come-pst letter

‘letter came from Kashmir.’

ga:mav yethni a:y mə:nj

village-pl-abl from come-pst people

‘people came from villages.’

Da:lev yethni peyi patar

Branch-pl-abl from fall-pst leaves

‘Leaves fell from the branches.’

3.1.3.4.1 Distribution of ‘yethni’

a) Seperation

kuli yethni tsoD patar

‘the leaf fell from the tree.’

b) Place, time

saDak the ga:mi yethni vara du:r

‘the road is away from the village.’

june:d thu tso:ran do:san yethni bema:r

‘junaid is ill from four days.’

c) Duration

su o:s va:ren varyan yethni yeti: reva:n

‘he was staying here from last many years.’

3.1.3.5. Locative

The case of the noun functioning as the locus of the object in order to show where it has to be located as indicated by the verbs is called a locative case. Kashtawari uses various post positions like pa:n, guTh , niš, andar etc., to show the location. However, these post positions generally occur after the nouns, which take case suffixes like –as, -is, -i, as bound morphemes.

Examples

kursi: the kamras andar

chair be-pr room -loc inside-pp

‘Chair is inside the room.’

kalam thu Teblas pa:n

Pen be-pr table-loc on-pp

‘Pen is on the table.’

bre:R the unis niš

cat be-pr dog-loc near-pp

‘Cat is near the dog.’

bo thus kari guTh

I be-pr home-loc outside-pp

‘I am outside my house.’

3.1.3.6 Genitive

The case of the noun which shows possessive relation with a noun or pronoun in a sentence is called genitive.

Case markers: su:n, u:n, un, etc

These markers are generally used after the noun takes a case suffix as a bound morpheme. However, that is not true for all nouns, e.g. no case suffix is used with the person’s name to show possession.

The various case suffixes generally used with the nouns before the above mentioned markers are:

m/fem. sg

m/fem. pl

-i

-en

-i

Examples

bəkti su:n kari

boy-m-sg-gen of home

‘Home of the boy.’

ko:Ren u:n sku:l

Girl-fem-pl-gen of school

‘School of the girls.’

soni su:n kalam

gold-gen of pen

‘Pen of the gold.’

kulen u:n me:vi

tree-pl-gen of fruits

‘Fruits of trees.’

june:d su:n kalam

Junaid-m-sg-gen of pen

‘Junaid’s pen.’

3.1.3.6.1 Distribution of Genitive

Ownership:	ramsū:n	kheDo:n
	Ram's	toy
Relationship (Kinship):	ši:la:un	b ɔkut
	Sheela's	son
Made of something:	zansū:n	pa:n i
	of clay	pot
	“pot of clay”	
Extract or Essence:	puysū:n	mušak
	Of flower	fragrance
	“Fragrance of the flower”	

3.1.3.7 Sociative and Instrumental

The sociative case in a language is used to express companionship. instrumental case marker is put to the noun which is used as instruments by the agent to perform the action denoted by the verb.

Case marker: sī:tj

Whenever the case marker sī:tj is added as a post position to govern the dative form of NP, the case formed is ‘Sociative’ and if it is added to govern the ergative form of NP the case formed is ‘Instrumental’.

Examples

ra:mas sī:tʰ a:v june:d

Ram- m-sg-soc along came junaid

‘Junaid came along with Ram.’

ma:nen sī:tʰ gəy u:nʰ

people-pl-soc along went dogs

‘dogs went along with people’

jue:dan Thondun rondʰ sī:tʰ kulaph

June:d-m-sg-inst break-ps stone with lock

‘Junaid broke the lock with stone.’

raman tsoti: mo:ki: sī:tʰ kul

ram-m-sg-inst cut-pst axe with tree

‘Ram cut the tree with axe.’

3.1.4 PRONOUNS

Kashtawari pronouns share the common characteristics of nouns and are syntactically substitutable for them. They have distinct forms for first, second and third person. They are inflected for number, gender and case and possess a category of persons also.

Pronouns take different forms viz-a-viz their inflection. Most of the pronoun forms are obtained by adding elements like number and case suffixes to the pronominal root (the nominative singular form). However, some forms are derived by suppletion as well e.g. su -tim.

The pronouns of Kashtawari can be classified into six main classes viz., personal, reflexive, relative, possessive, indefinite and interrogative.

3.1.4.1 Personal Pronouns

These are inflected for number, gender and case. There is no gender distinction in the first and second person. The third person pronouns exhibit a two term distinction viz remote 1(within sight) and remote 2(out of sight).

Person	singular	plural
1 st	bɔ (m/fem)	əsj (m/fem)
2 nd	tu (m/fem)	tus ^j (m/fem)
3 rd		
Remote1	yi (m/fem)	yim (m/fem)
Remote2	su (m)	tim (m)
	se (fem)	tim (fem)

Examples

bɔ thus DakTar

‘I am a doctor.’

bɔ thes Da:kTrə:nj

‘I am a lady doctor.’

əsj thi Da:kTar

‘we are doctors.’

tu thukh kašmi:ri	‘you(m.sg) are a kashmiri.’
tu thekh kašmi:ri	‘you(fem.sg) are a kashmiri.’
tus ^j thiv kašmi:ri	‘you (m.pl) are kašmi:ri.’
tus ^j thev kašmi:ri	‘you (fem.pl) are kashmiri.’
yi thu tob	‘he is a washerman.’
su thi tob	‘he is a washerman.’
se thi tobsĩ:	‘she is a washerwoman.’
yi the tobsĩ:	‘she is a washerwoman.’
yim/tim thi tob ^j	‘they are washerman.’
yim/tim the tobsĩ:	‘they are washerwoman.’

3.1.4.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns have the same form as the third person personal pronouns noted above.

3.1.4.3 Relative Pronouns

The relative pronoun *yu* (who, which, that, what) is inflected for number but not for gender. Its forms are as following:

Singular	Plural
<i>yu</i> (m/fem)	<i>yim</i> (m/fem)

Examples

su bökut yu kašmi:ri thu
that boy who is Kashmiri

tim mə:n yim kašmi:ri thi the sōdar

Those people who are Kashmiri are handsome.

se ku:dʲ yu ka:bił the gatshi pa:s

that girl who is efficient will pass

tim ko:Ri yim ka:bił the gatshen pa:s

those girls who are efficient will pass

3.1.4.4 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns of Kashtawari have the following forms

	m		fem	
	Sg	p	sg	pl
1 st p sg.	m'io:n	me:nʲ	m'ie:nʲ	m'ia:ni
Pl.	asũd	asĩdʲ	asĩz	asĩz
2ndp sg.	tusũd/tso:n	tusũdʲ/tso:nʲ	tusũz/tʂə:nʲ	tusũz/tʂə:nʲi
Pl.	tusũd	tusũdʲ	tusũz	tusũz
3 rd p sg.	tisũd	tisĩdʲ	tisĩz	tisĩz
Pl.	timnũd	timnũdʲ	timinz	tinĩz

3.1.4.5 Interrogative Pronoun

There are two types of interrogative pronouns a) which refers to animate nouns while as b) refers to inanimate nouns

- a) it generally has one form kũ: and is not inflected for number and gender

Examples

yi kũ: thi	who is he?
yim kũ: the	who are they(m/fem)?
yi kũ: the	who is she?
kũ: buku ^{tj}	which boys?
kũ: ko:Di	which girls?

- b) Interrogative form /kʲa:/ refers to things both in singular and plural.

yi kʲa: thu	what is this?
yim kʲa: thi	what are these?

/kʲa:/ is used as an exclamatory adjective for denoting surprise.

kʲa: sōdar naza:r thu
 what beautiful scene is
 what a beautiful scene!

3.1.4.6. Reflexive Pronoun

Kashtawari has a reflexive pronoun panun ‘own’ which has the following forms agreeing with object in number and gender:

	m		fem	
sg		pl	sg	pl
panun		panin ^j	pāyi:	Pāyi

Example

panun kalam	‘own pen’
panin ^j kalam	‘own pens’
pāyi: kita:b	‘own book’
pāyi kita:b	‘own books’

Indefinite Pronoun

Kashtawari has two indefinite pronouns, which are used to refer to an unidentified person or thing. They are:

kō: (tha:)	‘some (one)’
kēh (tha:)	‘some (thing)’

Examples

tis thu kō: bōkta:	‘has he any son’?
me thi kēh jō:n ke:de	‘ I have some good watches’
tis thu kō: maka:na	‘is he having some house’?
me di kēh mōj	‘give me some food’

3.1.4.7. Pronouns as honorifics

In Kashtawari the plural forms in the second and third person are used as the honorific singular forms, e.g. tu ‘you’ in the 2nd person and su ‘he’, se ‘she’ in 3rd person are non honorific singular forms and their

plural forms *tusi*, and *tim* respectively can function as honorific singular forms also.

3.1.4.8. Reduplication of pronouns

In Kashtawari reduplication of some pronouns is employed to express various shades of meaning.

Example

kō: kō: ‘a few’

ra:tas thu kō: kō: ka:r kara:n

‘only a few work in the night.’

yu yu ‘who so ever’

yu yu yo:R yi: gatshi pa:s

‘who so ever will come here will pass.’

kʲa: kʲa: ‘which things’

tu kʲa: kʲa: anakh siri:nagri pa:n

‘which things will you bring from Srinagar.’

3.1.5. Kashtawari Numerals

Numerals in Kashtawari are almost similar to Kashmiri at least till forty (40) but after that they tend to be similar to Urdu/ Punjabi.

Kashtawari	Gloss
akh	one
tsi	two
tre	three
tso:r	four
pã:s	five
še	six
sat	seven
e:Th	eight
nov	nine
da:	ten
ka:	eleven
ba:	twelve
truva:	thirteen
tsoda:	fourteen
panda:	fifteen
šuRa:	sixteen
sada:	seventeen
arida:	eighteen

kuniv <u>u</u> :	nineteen
vu:	twenty
akiv <u>u</u> :	twenty one
dov <u>u</u> :	twenty two
triv <u>u</u> :	twenty three
tsuv <u>u</u> :	twenty four
pātsi:	twenty five
šet <u>vu</u> :	twenty six
soto:vu:	twenty seven
aTho:vu:	twenty eight
kuntri:	twenty nine
tri:	thirty
akitri:	thirty one
doytri:	thirty two
treytri:	thirty three
tsoytri:	thirty four
pātsitri:	thirty five
šeytri:	thirty six
satitri:	thirty seven
aThitri:	thirty eight
unta:li:	thirty nine
ča:li:	forty

ikta:li:	forty one
bata:li:	forty two
terta:li:	forty three
čorta:li:	forty four
penta:li:	forty five
pãtsa:	fifty
še:Th	sixty
satar	seventy
əsi:	eighty
nabe:	ninty
so:/ath	hundred
tsi ath	two hundred
tre ath	three hundred
tso:r ath	four hundred
pã:s ath	five hundred
še ath	six hundred
sath ath	seven hundred
e:Th ath	eight hundred
nov ath	nine hundred
sa:s	thousand

3.1.6. Kashtawari Ordinals

Below is given tabulated form of the ordinals of Kashtawari.

Kashtawari	Gloss
gɔDnjuk	first
dogun	second
trigun	third
tso:rum	fourth
põ:tsum	fifth
šogum	sixth
sotum	seventh
e:Thum	eighth
navum	ninth
dovum	tenth
kovum	eleventh
bovum	twelfth
truvo:vum	thirteenth
tsudo:vum	fourteenth
pando:vum	fifteenth
šuRo:vum	sixteenth
sado:vum	seventeenth
aRido:vum	eighteenth
kuno:vum	nineteenth
vuvum	twentieth

Kashtawari forms an important dialect of Kashmiri language. Grierson (1919) in fact talks of it as being the only true dialect of Kashmiri. However the dialect has not been analysed till date within the descriptive framework. The present research work has attempted to provide a descriptive analysis of nouns of Kashtawari. The current chapter provides the summary and conclusions of the research work.

4.1. Summary

The first chapter gives an introduction of Kashtawar, its people, society and culture. It also presents a linguistic profile of the place enumerating the various languages spoken in the area besides Kashtawari.

The second chapter gives an account of the field work methodology involved to carry out the study and also talks about the theoretical model of morphological description, wherein various concepts, principles and theories required for the morphological analysis of a language are discussed in detail.

The third chapter presents a detailed account of the Kashtawari nouns with respect to person, number, gender and case. A brief account of numerals and ordinals is also given.

4.2. Conclusion

Kashtawari has its own noun system which in many ways resembles with the Kashmiri language. Kashtawari nouns are inflected for

number, gender and case. The category of number in Kashtawari is two-tier in nature, i.e., the nouns are either singular or plural. Most count nouns form their plurals from singular form and employ processes like suffixation, palatalisation and vowel change to form plurals. There are nouns in the language that don't change their form in plural. Gender wise the nouns of Kashtawari are also divided into two classes, masculine and feminine. Animates follow the natural gender system. Gender of large number of inanimate nouns can be predicted by their endings. Main gender formation processes are suffixation, vowel change and suppletion. In Kashtawari case suffixes are added to nouns as bound morphemes. They also take post positions, which are free forms but are conditioned, i.e., they always occur after the case suffixes. On the basis of declensions, nouns of Kashtawari can be divided into three groups: masculine singular, feminine singular and plural (both masculine and feminine). The masculine singular nouns show further declension as a result of this they take different suffixes in various case forms (Ergative, Dative, Ablative and Genitive). As per the analysis of data, eight case forms are found in Kashtawari, which are Nominative, Dative, Ergative, Ablative, Genitive, Locative, Sociative and Instrumental.

Nominative in Kashtawari is unmarked and retains its basic unmodified form. Ergative markers occur with the subject of a sentence where the verb is transitive and in past tense. The ergative case markers in Kashtawari are –an, –in for masculine singular nouns, –i for feminine singular nouns and –ev for plural (m/fem) nouns. The dative case markers in Kashtawari are –is, –as for masculine singular nouns, –i for feminine. Singular nouns and –an for plural (m/fem) nouns. Kashtawari uses markers like yethni, māz, etc to express the ablative case. However these

markers are added after the nouns takes certain case suffixes which are *-i* for masculine singular nouns, *-i* for feminine singular nouns and *-av* for plural (m/fem) nouns. Kashtawari uses various post positions like *pa:n*, *guTh*, *niš*, etc. to show the location. The genitive case markers in Kashtawari are *: su:n*, *u:n*, *un*, etc. Case marker: *sĩ:tʃ* is used in Kashtawari to express sociative as well as the instrumental case. Whenever this case marker is added as a post position to govern the dative form of NP, the case formed is 'Sociative' and if it is added to govern the ergative form of NP the case formed is 'Instrumental'.

Pronouns of Kashtawari share the common characteristics of nouns and are syntactically substitutable for them. They are inflected for number, gender and case. The plural forms in the second and third person are used as the honorific singular forms, e.g. *tu* 'you' in the 2nd person and *su* 'he', *se* 'she' in 3rd person are non honorific singular forms and their plural forms *tusʃ*, and *tim* respectively can function as honorific singular forms also There is no gender distinction in the first and second person. Kashtawari has six main types of pronouns, viz. personal, reflexive, relative, possessive, indefinite and interrogative.

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Vowels:

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

CONSONANTS:

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal Stops
vl. Unasp	P	t	T		k	
vl. Asp	ph	th	Th		kh	
vd.	b	d	D		g	
Unasp Affricates						
vl. Unasp		ts		c		
vl. Asp		tsh		č		
vd.				J		
Unasp Nasal	m	n				
Trill		r				
Flap		R				
Lateral Fricative		l				
vl.		s		š		h
vd.		z				
Semi-vowels	v			y		

The above tables show the various vowels and consonants used in Kashtawari language respectively.