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A Description of Phrase Structure in Gurezi Shina

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Abstract

The paper is a descriptive study of phrase structure in Gurezi Shina. The nature and structure of noun phrase, predicate phrase and other phrases has been presented in detail, substantiated by wide ranging examples from the language. Constituents of the phrases and word order within the phrases have also been explained. Agreement patterns in the language have also been presented, with a description of case alignment. Furthermore a account of free and clitic postpositions as part of postpositional phrases have also been presented. The paper is part of the findings of a major research project[1] on Gurezi Shina. The data has been collected from the native speakers of the language during several field trips to Gurez valley, starting from 2011. Charis SIL font has been used for transcription. The nature of the paper is descriptive-analytic.

Keywords: Shina, Phrase Structure, Word Order, Agreement, Case

1. Introduction

In traditional grammar, a typical clause is a grammatical expression consisting of a subject and a predicate as in Mustafa Slept, where Mustafa is the subject and slept is the predicate. Based on the predicate, a clause may have a third item which serves as compliment of the predicate as in Mustafa eats mangoes, in which Mustafa is the subject, eat, the predicate and mangoes is the compliment of the predicate. Mustafa and mangoes are referred to as arguments of the predicate eat. Besides, a clause can have other elements that serve to provide additional information as in Mustafa eats mangoes in the garden, in which the expression in the garden provides information about the place of activity performed by the subject. Such expressions that serve to provide information about place, time, manner or purpose of the activity being described by the predicate are labeled as adjuncts.

A simple sentence consists of a single clause having a subject and predicate or a subject, predicate and one or more compliments or a subject, predicate, one or more compliments and adjunct. In this way all the following would be simple sentences:

Mustafa slept
Mustafa eats mangoes
Mustafa eats mangoes in the garden
Mustafa gave a book to Sajid

Sentences can be based on more than one clause in which one of the clauses serve as main clause and the rest are subordinate as in *Sajida knows Mustafa sleeps.* The main clause is *knows* clause and the subordinate clause is *sleeps* clause. The subject of *sleeps* clause is *Mustafa* and the subject of main clause is *Sajida*. The complement of *knows* is the whole of *sleeps* clause and

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as such is called as complement clause. Such sentences having more than one clause are called as complex sentences. Similarly, in the sentence *Wajida knows the man who helped Mustafa*, there are two clauses, the main *knows* clause and the subordinate *helped* clause. The relative pronoun *who* refers back to *the man* in the main clause and these clauses are called relative clauses.

In complex sentences, subordinate clauses usually act as a noun or an adjective or an adverb and are referred to as noun clauses, adjective clauses and adverb clauses respectively. In the sentence, *Mustafa knows what Sajida has seen*, the subordinate clause *what Sajida has seen*, functions as a noun and is called as noun clause. In the sentence, *Sajida consoled the boy who was weeping*, the subordinate clause *who was weeping* functions as an adjective as such is called as an adjective clause. Adverbial clauses function like adverbs and adds information regarding time, manner, place etc to the verb as in *Sajida had left before Mustafa reached.*

Sentences and clauses are composed of lower units called as phrases. A clause or a sentence may contain several phrases and each phrase may be comprised of more than one word. Phrases are thus constituents of clauses, lacking the subject-predicate structure typical of clauses and are usually labeled in terms of categories as noun phrase, verb phrase, adjective phrase etc. The category of a phrase is determined by the important word or head word among the words constituting a phrase. The constituent *the dark horse* is a noun phrase for its head is the noun *horse.* In a sentence *Mustafa should forget the past*, the constituent *forget the past* is a verb phrase as its head word is the verb *forget.* Head word determines semantic as well as grammatical property of a phrase. In the phrase *in the garden*, the head word is the preposition *in* and as such it is a prepositional phrase. Of all the words in a phrase, the head word is obligatory than the rest.

2. Noun Phrase

Gurezi Shina is a verb final language like many Indo-Aryan languages; the default or unmarked word order is SOV. In a simple declarative sentence, the subject is followed by object, which is followed by verb. The auxiliary occupies the final position in such sentences. This is unlike Kashmiri which is a verb second (V2) language.

Like many other languages, a typical clause in Gurezi consists of a subject noun phrase followed by verb phrase. Noun phrases can be based on a pronoun, a head noun with or without modifiers or a whole nominalized clause in sentences having multiple phrases.

Gur[2]	Gloss
1. so jaạ.zee	he will walk
he 3rd Sing[3] Mas Nom walk Impf	

Gur	Gloss
2. a.nị ek ki.tạab hj̃ĩ	this is a book

[2] Gur = Gurezi

[3] Abl=Ablative, Add=Addessive, Adv=Adjectival, Agn I=Agentive Imperfective, Agn II=agentive Perfective, CP=Clitic Postposition, Conj=Conjunctive, Dat=Dative, Erg=Ergative, Fem =Feminine, Fut =Future, Gen=Genitive, Gil=Gilgiti, Imp=Imperative, Impf=Imperfective, Inf=Infinitive, Kash=Kashmiri, Koh=Kohistani, Loc=Locative, Mas=Masculine, Nom=Nominative, Obl=Oblique, Part=Participle, Pst=Past, Per=Person, Perf=Perfective, Plu=Plural, Prs=Present, Sing=Singular, Soc=Sociative, 1st=first person, 2nd=second person, 3rd=third person

this Nom a book be Prt

Gur	Gloss
3. mus.ta.pʰạa sụ.tu Mustafa Nom sleep Per	Mustafa slept

Gur	Gloss
4. a.tʃʰụu.ra ek kuj hĩĩ Achuura Nom a village be Prt	Achuura is a village

Gur	Gloss
5. kooj sin gu.rạ.ʒi jạa.ʒe hĩĩ se.sẹt nọom nịi.lam hữũ which river Gurez at CP walk Impf be Prt that Dat name Neelam be prt	that/ which river which passes through Gurez is called Neelam

Besides the above, infinitive forms of verbs that function like English gerundives and participle forms can also form noun phrases in Gurezi.

Gur	Gloss
6. u.tʃoọ.nu ek siị ạa.dat hĩĩ running Inf a good habit be Prt	running is a good habit

Gur	Gloss
7. mẽj ek tom pẹ̣ek pa.ʃạas I Agn P a tree falling Prt Part see Per	I saw a falling tree

2.1 Noun Phrase Constituents

Among the common modifiers in noun phrases are adjectives and determiners. Single adjectives or adjectival phrases precede the head noun which they modify. Adjectives of all types precede the noun in the noun phrase.

Gur	Gloss
8. so ek si.joọ bạal hữũ he Nom a good boy be Prt	he is a good boy

Gur	Gloss
9. thụ.lu napʰạr sụ.tu fat man Nom sleep Per	fat man slept

Gur	Gloss
10. thụ.lu dạ.ŋu napʰạr sụ.tu fat tall man Nom sleep Per	fat, tall man slept

In case a series of adjectives modify the head noun, there is no specific syntactic rule in the ordering of these. The above sentence can be said with the ordering of adjectives reversed without any change in meaning.
Within a noun phrase, an adjective can itself be modified by a quantifier. /laạ/ meaning ‘very’ /ʒẹ̣ek/ meaning ‘some’ /a.pụj/ meaning ‘few’ are the widely used quantifiers.

Gur	Gloss
11. laạ thụ.lu nap^{h}ạr sụ.tu very fat man Nom sleep Per	very fat man slept
12. se.sẹ̃j ʒẹ̣ek si.jẹ̃ẽ̃ mọo.zẹ̣ ra.jạw he AgnP some good Plu talks said Perf	he said some good words
13. woj a.pụj ʧo.wõ̰ hṹũ water Nom little cold be Prt	water is little cold

Determiners and demonstrative pronouns as part of the noun phrase point out to the referent or referents of the head noun, like ‘this man’ or ‘that hillock’.

Gur	Gloss
14. so zẹ̣el that jungle	that jungle
15. ni ga.wẹ these cows	these cows

Likewise genitives and relative clauses as part of the noun phrase modify the head noun by providing certain specifications about it or identifying the referent head noun. Quantifiers including cardinals and kinship terms can be part of the noun phrase in Gurezi.

Gur	Gloss
16. so mjõ k^{h}a ha.tõ̰õ krom hṹũ that me Gen left hand Gen work be Prt	that is my left hand’s work
17. so mjõ laa ʃì.dạa.tu sọomu hṹũ he me Gen very dear friend be Prt	he is my very dear friend

2.2 Word Order within Noun Phrase

Of all the modifiers in the noun phrase, adjectives were found to immediately precede the head noun and are thus closest to it.

Gur	Gloss
18. ts^{h}õ̰õ si.jeẹ̣ ma.nụ.ʒi bi.lẹ̣et hã̰ãt 19. you Plu Mas Nom good man Plu become Per be Prt	you have become good men

20. ʃạa.zja ek si.jeẹ mu.lạj hj̃ĩ Shazia a good girl be Prt	Shazia is a good girl

Other modifiers like genitives, determiners and quantifiers were found to precede the adjective.

Gur	Gloss
21. aạ.sẽj mjo garịib mạa.leţ mạ.dad t^{h}aw he 3rd Sing Mas Agn II I Gen poor father Dat help do Per	he helped my poor father
22. a.nụ mjo nãą̃ gọoş hụ̃ũ this Nom I Gen new house be Prt	this is my new house

Sentences 21 and 22 point to Genitive - Adjective - Headnoun as the word order of these constituents within the noun phrase and it was found to be the default word order.

Quantifiers like ‘very’, ‘few’, ‘some’ or cardinals and numbers precede the adjectives but follow the genitives like in 23 and 24.

Gur	Gloss
23. ạa.sõõ dụ.mu.gu nãą̃ gọoş he Gen second new house Nom	his second new house
24. so mjõ laa ʃi.dạa.tu sọomu hụ̃ũ he me Gen very dear friend be Prt	he is my very dear friend

So the word order within a noun phrase works out to be Genitive – Quantifier/Cardinal – Adjective – Headnoun.
With regard to the relative position of determiner and genitive, the data indicates that in such noun phrases, the determiner precedes the genitive as in 25.

Gur	Gloss
25. so mjõ laa ʃi.dạa.tu sọomu bạ.dụ ap^{h}sar hụ̃ũ he me Gen very dear friend elder officer be Prt	(that) my very dear friend is a senior officer

For the five constituents of a noun phrase discussed above, the word order would be as below if all of these are present in a single noun phrase:

Determiner - Genitive – Quantifier/Cardinal – Adjective – Headnoun

2.3 Agreement within Noun Phrase

Adjectives in Gurezi inflect for number and gender and as such are in agreement with the head noun which they modify like in the following sentences:

Gur	Gloss
26. so ek si.joọ bạal hụ̃ũ he Nom a good Mas Sing boy be Prt	he is a good boy
27. se ek si.jị mulạj hj̃ĩ	she is a good girl

she Nom good Fem Sing girl be Prt

28. se si.jeẹ ba.lẹ hậãs — they are good boys
they Nom good Mas plu boy Plu e Prt

29. sạa si.jeẹ mu.la.jẹe hẽẽs — they are good girls
they Nom good Fem Plu girl Plu be Prt

/si.joọ/ and /si.jị/ meaning 'good' agree with the head nouns 'boy' and girl' respectively and /si.jeẹ/ doesn't inflect for gender and is used for masculine and feminine plural head nouns.

Gur	Gloss
30. mjõ bạ.dụ ba.lẽj kuj.tʃộõt moọs ba.gạw me Gen elder child AgnP villagers Dat mutton distribute Perf	my elder child distributed mutton among the villagers
31. mjõ bạ.dụ bạal.se ʃì.nậãs sam rạ.ʒe hụ̃ũ me Gen elder son Agn I Shina fluently speak Imp be Prt	my elder son speaks Shina fluently
32. mẽj bạ.dị mu.laj.se zẹe.lõõ kạa.te wa.lạj hj̃ĩ me Gen elder daughter AgnI jungle Gen wood Plu fetch Impf be Prt	my elder daughter fetches wood from jungle

Sentences 30 and 31 have /bạal/ 'child' as the head noun, however in the former it has agentive perfective case and in the latter it has agentive imperfective. The genitive /mjõ/ agrees with the head noun. In Gurezi third person pronouns that act as determiners also inflect for number and gender and as such in a noun phrase these are in agreement with the head noun in both number and gender. Only in case of third person masculine (remote), no distinction is maintained between singular and plural. In 32 above, the head noun /mu.lạj/ 'girl' is feminine and the adjective /bạ.dị/ is inflected for gender and number and so is the genitive /mẽj/. This indicates that adjectives agree with head noun in number and gender only and regardless of the case on the latter.

3 Predicate Phrase

3.1 Verb Phrase

The simple declarative sentences in Gurezi have a subject followed by an object, which is followed by a verb. The auxiliary occupies the final position in such sentences. This is unlike Kashmiri which is a verb second (V2) language.

A verb phrase in Gurezi consists of an intransitive verb, a transitive verb preceded by a noun phrase, a verb preceded by a noun phrase and/ or an adjectival, prepositional or an adverbial phrase. Consider the following examples:

Gur	Gloss
33. mus.ta.p^{h}ạa sụ.tu Mustafa Nom sleep Perf	Mustafa slept

34. sạa mu.jẹ — they died
they Fem Plu die Perf

Verbs like sleep, die, sit, stand, agree, beg, freeze etc in Gurezi are intransitive and as such go with a single subject noun phrase which is mostly in nominative case and without a direct object. A typical transitive verb in Gurezi has an agentive subject and a direct object in oblique or dative case.

Gur	Gloss
35. mẽj ʧu.nẹ ku.ʈạas I AgnP child Obl beat Perf	I beat the child
36. mẽj ek pụ.ʃì a.ʈạas I AgnP a cat brought Per	I brought a cat
37. sos ʃì.nậãs sam rạ.ʒe hʮ̃ũ he AgnI Shina fluently speak Imp be Prt	He speaks Shina fluently
38. se.sẽj don k^{h}a.law he AgnP extract Perf	he extracted the tooth
39. aạ.sẽj mjõ mạa.leʈ mạ.dad t^{h}aw he AgnP I Gen father Dat help do Perf	he helped my father
40. ba.lẽj ạʃ.pe pre.ʃaʈ.dọo Child AgnP horse Obl kick Per	The boy kicked the horse
41. ạʃ.pẽj ba.lạʈ pre.ʃaʈ.dọo horse AgnP child Dat kick Per	The horse kicked the boy

Other transitive verbs in Gurezi include drink, eat, kill, extinguish, crush, bind, build, catch, receive, hear, measure etc. All these verbs require an object noun phrase.

3.2 Non-verbal Predicates

In Gurezi clauses without a main verb like equative, attributive, locative or possessive always contain the linking verb ‘to be’ /a.soọ.nu/. This linking verb /a.soọ.nu/ ‘to be’, the only one present in Gurezi always agree with the subject in number, gender and person like a regular verb.

Gur	Gloss
42. a.nị ek ki.tạab hʮ̃ĩ this Nom a book Nom be Prt	this is a book
43. a.nụ ek gọoʂ hʮ̃ũ this Nom a house be Prt	this is a house

In sentences 42 and 43 /a.nị/ and /a.nụ/, the 1st person singular feminine and masculine demonstrative pronouns agree with the objects /ki.tạab/ (feminine gender) and /gọoʂ/ (masculine

gender) respectively. The auxiliary 'be' agrees with the subject and takes the form /hi̯ĩ/ with feminine singular and /hą̃ã/ with masculine singular subjects. As in clauses with a regular verb, /a.soọ.nu/ follows the predicate noun or adjective or adverb in a clause. Following are presented some more examples of the simple copular sentences.

Gur	Gloss
44. mo daakʈar hõõs I Nom Doctor Nom be Prt	I am a doctor
45. ʐe khi.la.di̯i si.jeę hą̃ã those Nom players Nom Plu good be Prt	those players are good.
46. si.nu̯.ʒi na.vę hę̃ẽ river in CP boat Plur be Prt	boats are in the river (there are boats in the river)
47. me.har.bą̣a.ni.theę moʈ kʰalal ne thę mo a.ką̣a.jiʒ họ̃õs please do Conj Part I Gen disturb not do Imp I Nom busy be Prt	Please don't disturb me, I am busy

In the indication of possession, temporary or permanent, copular clauses can have dative subjects like in Urdu or Kashmiri.

Gur	Gloss
48. ba.laʈ bu.kʰą̣ar hũũ boy Dat fever be Per	The boy has fever.
49. ʒa.rę̣ʈ laj daw.lą̣t hi̯ĩ old lady Dat much wealth be Prt	The old lady has much wealth

4 Grammatical Relations

4.1 Case Alignment

The three core cases in Gurezi Shina − nominative, oblique, and agentive − behave differently from what has been reported in the literature about most of the languages; they conform neither to the accusative pattern, nor to the ergative alignment. It is not possible in Gurezi Shina to group S[4] with A or with O. Consider the following comparison between Urdu, Kashmiri, and Gurezi Shina. Urdu and Kashmiri display ergative pattern, although only partially

[4] S is the single argument of an intransitive clause, A is an agent argument of a transitive clause and P is patient argument of a transitive clause. Languages, in which the single argument (S) of an intransitive clause and the agent (A) acting as an argument of a transitive clause take the same case opposing to the patient (P) acting as an argument of a transitive clause, are considered to follow an accusative pattern (S A/ P). In these languages, (S) and (A) take the nominative case and (P) takes the accusative. In those languages, which are claimed to follow an ergative pattern (S P/ A), (S) and (P) have the same case, namely absolutive, opposing to (A). In most languages having an accusative pattern, the nominative is inflectionally unmarked, while in an ergative pattern, the absolutive is unmarked.

50a. mẽj na.pʰạ.raṭ pa.lọo dịi — I gave (the) man an apple
I AgnP man Dat give Per

50b. me ne aadmi ko seeb diya — I gave (the) man an apple
I Erg man Dat apple give Per

50c. mʲe dʲut napʰras tsũũṭʰ — I gave (the) man an apple
I Erg give Per man Dat apple

The sentences 50a, 50b and 50c are from Gurezi Shina, Urdu, and Kashmiri respectively. Seemingly, the three languages have similar case alignment, but Gurezi Shina takes agentive while as Urdu and Kashmiri take the ergative for the subject. Consider some more examples from Shina (51a), Urdu (51b), and Kashmiri (51c):

51a. mẽj ri.jạa.ze pa.ʃạw — I saw Riyaz
I AgnP Riyaz Obl see Per

51b. me ne riyaz ko dekha — I saw Riyaz
I Erg Riyaz Dat see Per

51c. mʲe wuch rijaz — I saw Riyaz
I Erg see Per Riyaz

In 51, both Urdu and Kashmiri have ergative subjects, and Shina has Agentive perfective but the direct object takes the oblique in Shina, the dative in Urdu, and no case marker in Kashmiri. There is another difference in the imperfective aspect in the following three sentences:

52a. mos ri.jạa.ze ku.ṭẹm — I will beat Riyaz
I AgnI riyaz Obl beat Fut Impf

52b. me rijaz ko marũũga — I will beat Riyaz
I Nom riyaz Dat beat Fut Impf

52c. bI laaji rijazas — I will beat Riyaz
I Nom beat Fut Impf riyaz Dat

In the future imperfective, both Urdu and Kashmiri have subjects in the nominative, but Gurezi Shina has an agentive subject. In Kashmiri and Urdu, there is an aspect-driven ergativity, whereas in Shina, the aspect determines the form of the agentive case.
Thus, in Gurezi Shina, the unmarked nominative goes with the single argument of intransitives, patient-like objects take the oblique in many instances, and the agentive is different from both oblique and unmarked nominative. This alignment is labeled as S/ A/ P and is very rare [Blake 2004: 136].
In Gurezi, the verb always agrees with subject in number, gender and person. Consider the examples of intransitive verb /ja.ʒoọ.nu/ ‘to walk’ in 1st person:

Gur	Gloss
53. mo jaa.tọos	I walked

I Mas Sing Nom walk Perf

54. be jaa.tẹ̣es — we walked
we Mas Plu Nom walk Perf

55. mo jaa.tẹ̣es — I walked
I Fem Sing Nom walk Perf

56. bjạa jaa.tjẹ̣es — we walked
we Fem Plu Nom walk Perf

All the above four sentences have the verb /ja.ʒoọ.nu/ 'to walk' in perfective aspect and in each of these, the verb takes a form to show agreement with the subject; however 1st person masculine singular has the same form as 1st person feminine plural. This is true of all intransitive verbs in perfective aspect. Like main verbs, auxiliaries following these also agree with the subject in number, gender and person.

Gur	Gloss
57. mo jaa.tọ̣os họ̃õs	I have walked
I Mas Sing Nom walk Perf	
58. be jaa.tẹ̣es hạ̃ãs	we have walked
we Mas Plu Nom walk Perf	
59. mo jaa.tẹ̣es hẹ̃ẽs	I have walked
I Fem Sing Nom walk Perf	
60. bjạa jaa.tjẹ̣es hẹ̃ẽs	we have walked
we Fem Plu Nom walk Perf	

The verb 'be' /a.soọ.nu/ in Gurezi agrees in number, gender and person with the subject with or without a preceding main verb. The only exception is 1st person feminine in which both singular and plural has the same form.

Gur	Gloss
61. mo jạa.zem	I will walk
I Mas Sing Nom walk Impf	
62. be jạa.zoon	we will walk
we Mas Plu Nom walk Impf	
63. mo jạa.zem	I will walk
I Fem Sing Nom walk Impf	
64. bjạa jạa.zoon	we will walk
we Fem Plu Nom walk Impf	

In the above four sentences, the verb /ja.ʒoọ.nu/ 'to walk' is in imperfective aspect and there are only two verbal forms; one for 1st person singular and another for 1st person plural without

distinction of gender. This is true of 2nd and 3rd person as well. Like in perfective aspect, if an auxiliary follows the main verb in imperfective, it also agrees with subject in number, gender and person.

4.2 Subject-verb agreement

Like in many other Indo-Aryan languages, subject-verb agreement in Gurezi is complex. The elaborate case system taken together with the verbal aspect renders the subject verb relation more complex. Gurezi has two forms of agentive subjects; agentive perfective and agentive imperfective. Agentive perfective is in agreement with transitive verbs in perfective tenses and agentive imperfective, in imperfective tenses. Perfective tenses here include past, present perfect and past perfect and, imperfective include present simple/continuous, past imperfect, subjunctive and future.

Gur	Gloss
65. aạ.sẽj mjo mạa.leţ mạ.dad tʰaw he AgnP I Gen father Dat help do Perf	he helped my father
66. ba.lẽj kuj.ʧõõţ moọs ba.gạw child AgnP villagers Dat mutton distribute Perf	the boy distributed the mutton among the villagers
67. ạa.sẽj maʃ.dị.ʒi ri.jạa.ze pa.ʃạw He AgnP mosque in CP Riyaz Obl see Perf	he saw Riyaz in the mosque
68. kọj.geţ mo gọo.ʐe gạas mẽj baj kʰjạas as soon as I Nom home Obl I Agn P go Perf food eat Perf	as soon as I reached home I ate food
69. mus.ta.pʰaạs ʧʰẹe.ʧi.ʒi ek tom ʧʰi.nạw hữũ Mustafa AgnP forest in CP a tree cut Perf be Prt	Mustafa has cut a tree in the field.
70. sa.nõõ ka.ʧạak to.mẹ ʧʰi.njẽẽ hẽẽ they Plu Fem AgnP tree Plu cut Perf be Prt	how many trees have they cut?

In sentences 65 to 70, the transitive verbs are in perfective tense and all of these agree with their subjects with an agentive perfective case. Consider the following sentences with verbs in imperfective tenses:

Gur	Gloss
71. sos ʃi.nạ̃ãs sam rạ.ʒe hữũ he Agn I Shina fluently speak Imp be Prt	He speaks Shina fluently
72. mos ʃi.nạ̃ãạ̃ sin.ʧẹm I AgnI Shina learn Impf	I will learn Shina

73. mos rạam hõõs ma.gạr tus ne pa.ru.ʒẹe hṵu I Agn I talk Impf be Prt but you Nom not listen Impf be Prt	I talk but you are not listening
74. sos zap ham.sạa.jõõţ ma.dạd tʰej hṵũ he AgnI often neighbours Dat help do Impf be Prt	He often helps his neighbours
75. kọj.geţ ma.nịs.ţar goraj i.pʰẽẽ zạk.sẹ se.seţ lạa is.tek.bạal tʰẽẽn as soon as minister gurez reach Impf people AgnI he Dat Gurez people will give him very welcome do Impf	when the minister arrives in grand welcome

As a rule in Gurezi, verbs in imperfective tenses always have subjects in imperfective aspect.

5 Modifying Phrases

5.1 Indirect noun phrase objects

There are a few verbs in Gurezi that require an indirect object noun phrase besides a direct one. The representative of these verbs in Gurezi is /dọo.nu/ ‘to give’. The verb behaves like the English ditransitive verb ‘give’. Consider the following example:

Gur	Gloss
76. da.wụu.dẽj iq.bạa.laţ ki.tạab dạw Dawood AgnP Iqbal Dat book give Per	Dawood gave a book to Iqbal

In 76, /iq.bạa.laţ/ and /ki.tạab/ are the two noun phrase arguments of the verb /dọonu/ ‘to give’. The indirect object /iq.bạa.laţ/ is in dative case while as the direct object /ki.tạab/ is in nominative. Indirect object here is in conformity with the notion of indirect object in traditional meaning wherein it is used to refer to the semantic role of recipient or beneficiary. Consider some more examples of the verb ‘to give’ in Gurezi:

Gur	Gloss
77. ra.hịi.mẽj ga.rii.bộõţ za.kạat dạw rahim AgnP poor Dat alms give Perf	Rahim gave alms to the poor
78. khu.dạas gu.ra.jạţ laj kʰub.suur.tịi daw hụu God AgnP Gurez Dat much beauty give Perf be Prt	God has given much beauty to Gurez

The above three sentences have similar structure in that the perfective tense of verb ‘to give’ takes the subject in agentive perfective, a direct object in nominative and indirect object in dative. This is also the case with sentences having the verb ‘to give’ in imperfective tense like future or present simple.

Gur	Gloss
79. ra.hịim.se zap ga.rịi.bõõţ za.kạat dẹe hṵũ rahim AgnP always poor Dat alms give Impf be Prt	Rahim always gives alms to the poor

80.	mos zɻe.li.ʒi aʃ.pə̰õʈ woj dɻem hə̰õs I AgnI jungle at CP horses Dat give Impf be Prt	I give water to the horse in the jungle

In 80, the verb /doo̱.nu/ ‘to give’ takes another non-obligatory argument /zɻe.li.ʒi/ ‘in the jungle’ to indicate location. Other verbs that behave like /doo̱.nu/ ‘to give’ include /kʰoʒoo̱nu/ ‘to ask’ and /ra.ʒoo̱.nu/ ‘to say’.

	Gur	Gloss
81.	ɑa.sẽj ʈʃunə̰õʈ ʒɻek si.jɻẽ mo̱o.zɻi rajaw he AgnP children Dat some good talks say Perf	he said some good things to children

5.2 Postpositional phrase objects

Many verbs in Gurezi require an indirect object in the form of a postpositional phrase to indicate mostly location. These include verbs that inherently have the meaning of vertical directions like ‘up’ and ‘down’. Presence of such verbs has been reported by Liljegren (2008) in Palula as well.

Consider the example of the verb /har.joo̱nu/ meaning ‘to take’. This verb requires an obligatory postpositional phrase as indirect object in most of the instances as a means to show location.

	Gur	Gloss
82.	pʰi.kɻr ne tʰe mẽj ʈʃu.nɻ so.kɻu.le.ʒi ha.rjɑas worry not do Imp I AgnP child school in CP take Perf	don’t worry, I took the child to school
83.	a.lɻis mo.ʒə̰o’ ki.tɑa.be ha.rɻe hʊ̰ũ Ali AgnI me from CP books take Impf be Prt	Ali takes books from me.

Gurezi has at least two verbs that carry the meaning of ‘bringing’ from a vertical direction. /wa.ljoo̱.nu/ means ‘bringing or taking from a position that is vertically upwards’ and /kʰa.ljoo̱.nu/ meaning ‘bringing or taking from a downward position’. These two verbs also require an obligatory postpositional indirect object to indicate location as in 84 and 85.

	Gur	Gloss
84.	mos to.me.ʒi pa.lɻe wa.lɻm hə̰õs I AgnI tree Obl at CP apples bring down Impf be Prt	I bring down apples from tree
85.	mulajse u.sti.ʒə̰o woj kʰalee hɻĩ girl AgnI well from CP water bring up Impf be Prt	the girl takes up water from the well

5.3 Postpositional phrases

Postpositions in Gurezi can be either free with independent pitch accent or as clitics. The clitic postpositions are attached to a base noun/pronoun that carries an oblique case much like regular affixes. The clitic-base combination acts as a single unit of pitch accent.

A typical postpositional phrase in Gurezi comprises of a noun or pronoun with a suffixed postpositional clitic or a noun or pronoun followed by a free postposition. The clitic postpositions in Gurezi govern the oblique case and are attached to both singular and plural forms of the noun. The four clitic postpositions are:

Clitic Postposition	Gloss
/-ʒõõ/	from
/-katʃ/	near to
/-sẽj/	along with
/-ʒi/	in/at/on

Consider the following example of /gọọʂ/ meaning ‘home/house’:

Gur	Obl Sing	Obl Plu	Gloss
/gọọʂ/	/gọo.zẹ/	/gọo.zẹ̃õ/	house (s)

clitic	Obl Sing + Clitic	Obl Plu + Clitic	Gloss
/-ʒõõ/	/gọo.zẹ.ʒõõ/	/gọo.zẹ̃õ.ʒõõ/	from the house (s)
/-katʃ/	/gọo.zẹ.katʃ/	/gọo.zẹ̃õ.katʃ/	near the house (s)
/-sẽj/	/gọo.zẹ.sẽj/	/gọo.zẹ̃õ.sẽj/	along with house (s)
/-ʒi/	/gọo.zẹ.ʒi/	/gọo.zẹ̃õ.ʒi/	in/on/at the house (s)

Gur	Gloss
86. mẽj gọo.zẹ.ʒõõ pa.lẹe aṭaas I AgnP home from CP apples bring Perf	I brought apples from home
87. mos ban.ka.ʒ̣õõ lọon ha.rẹm I AgnI bank from CP loan take Impf	I will take loan from bank
88. ʃ̃ụ̃ũ to.mẹ.katʃ bej hụ̃ũ dog tree near CP sit Impf be Prt	the dog is sitting near the house
89. kọoj na.p^{h}ạr ʃeh.li.ʒi bej hụ̃ũ, sos gu.rạj krom t^{h}ej hụ̃ũ that person shade in CP be Prt he AgnI gurez work do	the person who is sitting in shade works in Gurez

Similar pattern as above is found in case of pronouns. The four clitic postpositions can be suffixed to all types of pronouns including personal, demonstrative, reflexive and interrogative. Consider the following examples for first person singular and plural. In the first person, masculine and feminine forms have similar structure. All the four clitics are attached to the oblique forms of pronouns.

Clitic	Obl Sing + Clitic	Obl Plu + Clitic	Gloss
/-ʒõõ/	/mo.ʒ̣õ/	/a.sõ.ʒ̣õ/	from me/us
/-katʃ/	/mo.katʃ/	/a.sọ̃.katʃ/	near me/us
/-sẽj/	/mọ.sẽj/	/a.sọ̃.sẽj/	along with me/us
/-ʒi/	/mọ.ʒi/	/a.sọ̃.ʒi/	on me/us

Gur	Gloss
90. a.lịis mo.ʒ̣õ’ ki.tạa.be ha.rẹe hụ̃ũ Ali AgnI me from CP books take Impf be Prt	Ali takes books from me.

91. mo zạ.wa.sẹ̃j ạa.lus I Nom brother along with CP come Perf	I came along with brother

Free postpositions follow a noun or pronoun in a similar manner as above except for their own pitch accent. Also the noun or pronoun preceding free postpositions can take other cases also but most of the times it was found to be oblique.

Gur	Gloss
92. nọo.ri gi kart^{h}ẹ nails Obl with scratch do Imp	scratch with the nails
93. sin kạd.la kụu.li jạa.ʒi hịi river Nom bridge Obl below walk be Prt	the river flows below the bridge
94. gọo.zẹ mu.ʧ^{h}ọ̃õ ʃa.ŋj̃ĩ hj̃ĩ home Obl in front of kitchen garden be Prt	kitchen garden is in front of the house

Clitic postpositions rarely follow a noun with a case other than oblique. However in a very few instances free postpositions can take other cases as well like in 95 to 97.

Gur	Gloss
95. sạ.zuʈ sạa.ti jaạs sister Dat with walk Imp	walk with sister
96. kuj.ʒọ̃õ da.rõọ̃ʈ na.p^{h}ạr village from CP outside Gen Person	person from outside village
97. mẽj da.ʧ^{h}ịi.nị k^{h}iŋ I Gen right towards	towards my right

In many instances, it has been observed that, a clitic postposition suffixed to a noun is followed by a free postposition in a single postpositional phrase. This is particularly used to indicate location. The three free postpositions /a.zọ̃ọ̃/, /ma.ʒạ/ and /aʒạ/ meaning ‘inside’, ‘middle of’ and ‘upon’ respectively mostly follow the clitic postposition /ʒi/ meaning ‘at’/ ‘in’/‘on’, while as /da.rõọ̃/ meaning ‘outside’ follow the clitic postposition /ʒõõ/ ‘from’.

Gur	Gloss
98. gọo.zị.ʒi a.zọ̃ọ̃ daj kis.mọ ra.zẹ aa.sẹ̃ẽn hãã home Obl in CP inside ten types secrets be Fut be Prt	there are ten types of secrets inside home
99. to.mẹ p^{h}u.ʈj aʒạ tree Obl top Obl upon	upon tree top

Literally /gọo.zị.ʒi a.zọ̃ọ̃/ would translate as ‘in inside home’ in English and in Urdu it means /ghar ke andar/. So in these cases there seems to be a kind of double means of showing location and this is a rule in Gurezi and not an exception. Actually the postposition /ʒi/ has purely a locational value, while as the free postposition /a.zọ̃ọ̃/ also serves as an adverb of place. Most of the free postpositions infact serve as adverbs independently. In the second of the above

sentences, there isn't a clitic postposition suffixed to the preceding noun. The free postposition /aʒạ/ 'upon' follows the noun in oblique.
Similarly the clitic postposition /ʒ̣õ/ serves to show location from a certain place or point as in 100.

Gur	Gloss
100. ʃa.rọ̃õ tʃar.wạaj kuj.ʒ̣õ da.rọ̃t aa.sẹ̃ẽn hãã	the animals remain outside
winter Gen animals village from CP outside	(of) village during winter
Dat be Fut be Prt	

The above sentence would translate in Urdu as /sardiyu me tʃarwaaji gaawun se bahar hote he/, which is perfectly acceptable. The postpostion / da.rọ̃/ 'outside' has taken the dative case to indicate 'outside of' in the above sentence. Other free postpositions can also take dative in much the same manner.

Gur	Gloss
101.gọo.zị.ʒi a.zọ̃ t sa.mụun	inside-home things
home Obl in CP inside Dat things	

6. Discussion

Shina is an under-reported language, particularly the varieties spoken in Drass and Gurez areas of J&K state of India. Apart from certain retroflex sounds, unique to the language, the language has a series of grammatical features not generally found in other Indo-Aryan languages of Indian subcontinent. This includes presence of an oblique case that serves as a base to other cases. As shown in the paper, the clitic postpostions found in the language are attached to the oblique base. This is besides the presence of free postpositions in the language. The language has two forms of agentive case, agentive perfective and agentive Imperfective. Agentive imperfective is in agreement with imperfective tenses, while as agentive perfective goes with perfective tenses. However, it was found that the use of agentive perfective is on decline and the younger generations prefer to use only agentive imperfective with both perfective and imperfective tenses. Unlike Kashmiri which language spoken in its immediate neighbourhood, the case alignment in Shina is labeled as S/ A/ P and according to Blake (2004), it is very rare. In this pattern, the unmarked nominative goes with a single argument of intransitives, patient-like objects take the oblique in many instances, and the agentive is different from both oblique and unmarked nominative. The structure of phrases is much like Urdu with regard to the freedom in the movement of the internal constituents. The use of double markers to indicate location is also specific to the language. Besides a clitic postposition, use of a free postposition to indicate location is quite common in the language.
Comprehensive grammars of the language spoken in Gilgit and Kohistan areas of Pakistan have been published, however a full descriptive grammar of Gurezi and Drassi varieties of Shina is still awaited.

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