

- (3a) *ki-b* *b-uge-b* *boroH?* *Dida* *b-atana* *Got`oda* *zani-b*
 where-3 3-is-3 snake I.Loc 3-found tree.Obl in-3

Where is the snake?'

'I found (it) in a tree.'

In a number of Indo-Aryan² languages spoken in the western and northern portions of India and Pakistan are found adverbs and postpositions which show gender and number concord with some noun in their vicinity. For instance, in Gujarati adverbs of manner [such as *saar@* 'well' in (1)] or quantity [*thoD@* 'little, not much' in (2)] may agree with a direct object in the same clause:

- (4) *Aa* *chokro* *kathaa* *saar-i* *sambhaL.aa.ve* *che*
 This boy story(Fsg) well-Fsg Narrates is

'This boy tells a story well.'

- (5) *mě* *devalbaa-ne* *bahu* *thoD-i* *j* *diTh-i*
 I-Erg³ Devalba(Fsg)-Dat very little-Fsg Emp saw-Fsg

² The transcription used in this paper for Indo-Aryan is based on the one usually found in the linguistics literature on NIA languages. In that system reduplicating a symbol denotes contrastive length. The voiceless palatal fricative and alveolar affricate are indicated with the digraphs /sh/ and /ts/; retroflex sounds, by /S/, /T/, /Th/, /D/, /Dh/, /L/ and /N/. In addition our transcription of Kashmiri uses /i/ to denote a high central back unrounded vowel and /e/ for a mid central unrounded vowel, both of which are fronted by a preceding palatal sound (/y, sh, c, ch/), and uses /y/ to indicate the palatalization of consonants. The character -@ stands for the variable vocalic segment which in con-cordant adjectives and adverbs shows agreement with nouns.

³ Abbreviations include the following:

<i>Erg</i>	<i>ergative</i>	<i>Nom</i>	<i>nominative</i>
<i>Abl</i>	<i>ablative</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>feminine</i>
<i>Acc</i>	<i>accusative</i>	<i>Obl</i>	<i>oblique</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>conjunctive participle</i>	<i>Fut</i>	<i>future</i>
<i>CTF</i>	<i>counter-to-fact</i>	<i>pl</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>Dat</i>	<i>dative</i>	<i>Gen</i>	<i>genitive</i>
<i>Def</i>	<i>default</i>	<i>Imper</i>	<i>imperative</i>
		<i>Inf</i>	<i>infinitive</i>
		<i>M</i>	<i>masculine</i>
		<i>Pres</i>	<i>present tense</i>
		<i>Pst</i>	<i>past tense</i>
		<i>QM</i>	<i>question marker</i>
		<i>sg</i>	<i>singular</i>

'I saw very little of Devalba.'

(Meghani 1981:52)

whereas the sentence adverb *khar-@* 'really' agrees with the subject of the clause:

- (6) *Tū ghar ane moTar vēc-she khar-o ?*
 you(Msg) house(Nsg) and car(Fsg) sell-Fut.2sg true-Msg

'Are you really going to sell your house and car?'

While adverbs of manner and quantity in Marathi generally show the same pattern of concord as they do in Gujarati, the Marathi counterpart of *khar-@* may agree with the direct object:

- (7) *to gaayakaan-ci shaili hubehub utsalto khar-i paN tyaan.ci nakkal karat naahi*
 he singers-Gen style(Fsg) exactly picks.up.M true-Fsg but their copy does Neg

'Indeed he picks up singers' style exactly but he doesn't copy them (= the singers).'

(sanjopraav.wordpress.com/2006/09/29)

Gujarati has a number of postpositions which agree with the direct object:

- (8) *chokri-ne maar-aa bheg-i mokaL-i do*
 girl-Dat my-Obl with-Fsg send-CP give

'Send the girl with me.'

Emp.....*emphatic particle* *N*.....*neuter* *Voc*.....*vocative*

whereas contemporary Marathi (for most speakers) does not. (There were quite a few of them in Old Marathi, however: See Master 1964:154-7.)

(9p) *as baapaer tyurhu pyaen-ma-n* (Poguli)
 we merchant(Msg) there.Msg send-Fut1pl-3sg
 'We'll send the merchant there.' (Manzoor text, sentence 11)

(10p) *as dweeby tyerhi pyaen-ma-n*
 we washerwoman(Fsg) there.Fsg send-Fut1pl-3sg
 'We'll send the washerwoman there.' (1989 field notes)

(11p) *tu [gi worhu] kyebala aa-s?*
 you(Msg) home from.Msg what-time came-2sg
 'When did you come from home?'

(12p) *tyen raziya [kashiir werhi] aan-t-i*
 he.Erg Raziya(Fsg) Kashmir from.Fsg bring-Pst-Fsg
 'He brought Raziya from Kashmir.'

Thus, concord in adverbs and occasionally in postpositions is a feature shared by a number of western Indo-Aryan languages yet one which varies in its specifics from one language to the next. With the ultimate goal in mind of finding some general pattern in the distribution and behaviour of concordant adverbs and postpositions in

Indo-Aryan (and other⁴) languages, we present here what facts we have been able to uncover for Kashmiri. The data from Kashmiri have an important role to play in such cross-linguistic studies because, in comparison to what we find in Marathi, Gujarati, Marwari and other westerly languages, concord phenomena in Kashmiri are distinctly less productive and less entrenched and may give us some insight as to which parts of such systems are the essential ones, the parts that are the antecedents of other parts. We examine the Kashmiri data under three headings: A. overt concord in adverbs and postpositions, B. covert concord, and C. discordant adjectives. In Part D we present some comparative data from other Indic languages.

A. OVERT CONCORD IN ADVERBS AND POSTPOSITIONS

Kashmiri's concordant adjectives distinguish two genders (masculine and feminine), two numbers (singular and plural), and four cases (nominative, dative, ergative, and ablative; oblique = ergative). There are a number of alternations both in stem vowels and stem-final consonants: The basic stem vowel appears in the feminine plural; the basic stem-final consonant appears in the masculine singular. (See Shackle 1984 for a compact, cogent account.) As an example take *rut* 'good':

(13k)	Kashmiri	Msg:	Mpl:	Fsg:	Fpl:	(13m)	Marathi	Msg:	Mpl:	Fsg:	Fpl:
	'good'						'big'				
	nominative	<i>rut</i>	<i>rity</i>	<i>rits</i>	<i>Ritsi</i>		<i>moTh-</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>
							<i>aa</i>				<i>yaa</i>
	oblique	<i>rity</i>	<i>rityav</i>	<i>ritsyi</i>	<i>Ritsav</i>		<i>moTh-</i>	<i>-yaa</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>
							<i>yaa</i>		<i>yaa</i>	<i>yaa</i>	<i>yaa</i>
	dative	<i>rityis</i>	<i>rityan</i>	<i>ritsyi</i>	<i>Ritsan</i>						
	ablative	<i>rityi</i>	<i>rityav</i>	<i>ritsyi</i>	<i>Ritsav</i>						
	ergative	<i>rity</i>	<i>rityav</i>	<i>ritsyi</i>	<i>Ritsav</i>						

Table I. Gender, number, and case in the Kashmiri and the Marathi adjective

⁴ Concordant adverbs are found in Panjabi, Marwari, Bhitrodi, Thali and other western NIA languages and also in Northeast Caucasian languages. See Kibrik (1979:68, 76), Corbett (2006; 1991:113-5) and Schmidt (2007).

Many adjectives in Kashmiri, ending in consonants or invariable vowels, do not have overt concord:

(7) *Yi kuur cha jarman; hu laDki chu amryiikyii*
 This girl is German; that boy is American

Similarly many adverbs are either invariable, like *jaan* 'well':

(14k) *swa cha beeth jaan gyav-aan (14m) Aai tsaangl-i gaay-ci suddhaa*
 She is songs well sing- Mom well-Fsg sing-Gen too
 ing
 'She sings (songs) well.' 'Mom used to sing well, too.'
 (puladeshpande.net)

or, even if potentially variable, are used with some adverbial suffix, in an invariable oblique form (17k):

(15k) *su chu kaamyi ritsi Kar-inaav-aan*
 he is jobs(Fpl).Nom well.Fpl do-Caus-ing

'He is having the jobs done well.'

However, for the first component of phrasal adverbs like *rity-peeThy* 'well', derived from concordant adjectives, there is an option of concord if the controlling noun is in the nominative case:

(16k) *Su chu ritsi kaamyi kar-inaav-aan*
 He is good.Fpl jobs(Fpl).Nom do-Caus-ing

'He is having good jobs done.'

If the potential controller is in some oblique case, concord is blocked:

(17k) *Su chu kaamyi rit-y-peeTh-y kar-aan*
 He is work(Fpl) good-Obl-manner- Do-ing
 Obl

'He works well.'

An objection that is liable to be raised to our analysis of items like *ritsi* in (10) as belonging to the class of adverbs is that, on the basis of morphology and the existence of homophonous adjectives like *ritsi* in (12) such items should themselves be taken as adjectives:

(12) *Su chu ritsi kaamyi kar-inaav-aan*
 He is good.Fpl jobs(Fpl).Nom do-Caus-ing

'He is having good jobs done.'

One way to counter such an objection is to present concordant items that in meaning and distribution do not overlap with adjectives. For instance in Marathi the word *nukt@-ts* 'just recently' shows concord with nouns yet its meaning and distribution do not allow it to be classed with adjectives:

(19m) *tyaa-ni nukt-i-ts gaaDi Vikl-i* (Marathi)
 they- recently-Fsg- car(Fsg) Sold-
 Erg Emp Fsg

'They just recently sold their car.'

(20m) **hi gaaDi nukti-ts aahe; *maajhi nukti-ts gaaDi...*
 this car recently- is My recently- car
 Emp Emp

'*This car is just recently.'

'*my just recent car...'

The best examples of this kind that we have been able to find for Kashmiri are the coordinate reduplicated adverbs of degree *yuut yuut* 'as; the more' and *tyuut tyuut* 'so; the more':

(21k)	<i>kuur</i>	<i>yiits-yiits</i>	<i>hyetsi-n</i>	<i>bal-iny</i>	<i>tyiits-tyiits</i>	<i>hyetsi-n</i>	<i>tambil-iny</i>
	Girl	as.Fsg-	began-	mend-	so.Fsg-	began-	be.tempted-
		as.Fsg	3sErg	Inf.Fsg	so.Fsg	3sgErg	Inf

'The more the girl recovered, the more eager she became.'

Neither of these can occur as a predicate adjective or an attributive to count nouns like *kuur* 'girl':

(23k)	<i>*kuur</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>tyiits</i>	<i>tyiits</i>	<i>*yi</i>	<i>yiits</i>	<i>yiits</i>	<i>kuur...</i>
	girl	is	so.Fsg	so.Fsg	this	as.Fsg	as.Fsg	girl

'*The girl is the more.'

'*this the more girl...'

When compared with other western Indo-Aryan languages, the set of overtly concordant adverbs in Kashmiri turns out to be not so large as it is in Marathi, Gujarati, or Marwari. In addition to adverbs of manner (*rut*), it includes adverbs expressing resultant state (*dor* 'tight', or 'safely', etc.):

(17)	<i>Duur</i>	<i>gaND-u-n</i>	<i>Der</i>
	string(Fsg)	tie-Imper-3sgAcc	tight.Fsg

'Tie the string tight.'

reduplicated adverbs of degree [*yuut yuut* and *tyuut tyuut* in (15)] and a homophonous non-reduplicated pair of adverbs of quantity *yuut* 'as (much)' and *tyuut* 'so (much)':

(22k)	sw	<i>tyi</i>	<i>ch</i>	tyiits-(iy)	<i>as-</i>	Yiity	<i>Baakyiy</i>	luukh	<i>chi</i>
	a		<i>a</i>		<i>aan</i>				
	sh	to	is	as.much.Fsg	laugh	as.Mp	Other	people(Mp	are
	e	o		-Emp	-ing	I		l)	

'She laughs just as much as the other people do.'

Concordant *tyuut* and *yuut* also function as quantifier adjectives (QAdj's: see Jackendoff 1977) in adverbial phrases. We will examine them in that function in Part B.

Inspection of the data reveals that agreement in most of Kashmiri's concordant adverbs has an absolutive basis. That is, concord is with the direct object of transitive verbs and with the subject of intransitive verbs. [Compare exx. (19) and (20)]:

(24k)	<i>temyisinz</i>	<i>ciThy</i>	<i>veets</i>	<i>Er</i>
	his.Fsg	letter(Fsg)	arrived.Fsg	safe.Fsg

'His letter arrived safe (undamaged).'

(26k)	<i>Bi</i>	<i>vaat-inaav-a-y</i>	tsyeeri	Aryi
	I	arrive-Caus-Fut.1sg-2sgDat	Apricots(Fpl)	safe.Fpl

'I will deliver you the apricots in good shape.'

Unlike that of the finite verb this agreement pattern is not tensually or aspectually split. Thus, in (20) the finite verb agrees (in number and person) with the subject while the adverb *aryi* 'safe' agrees in gender and number with the direct object.

A puzzling restriction on concordant adverbs in Kashmiri is that their use appears to be limited to those cases in which the agreement is with nouns referring to inanimates or at least with those nouns that do not refer to human beings. For example, *or* 'safe' can be used concordantly only if a controlling noun refers to

inanimate entities like letters and apricots. If a person arrives or is delivered 'safely' then the non-concordant form *ery-peeThy* must be used:

(25k) *Su voot ery-peeThy (*or)*
 He arrived.Msg safe.Obl-like.Obl (safe.Msg)

'He arrived safe and sound.' [cf (19)]

(27k) *Bi vaat-inaav-oo-v Tohy Toor ery-peeThy (*aryi)*
 I arrive-Caus- you.Nom(Fpl) There safe.Obl- (safe.Fpl)
 Fut1sg-2plAcc like.Obl

'I will deliver you there safely.'

This restriction may be related to the necessity for human direct objects to assume the dative case if the verb is in a non-ergative tense and the person of the subject does not outrank the person of the object on the person hierarchy. (See Hook and Koul 1984:127-30.) Recall that agreement even with an inanimate controller is not permitted if that (potential) controller is in an oblique case. In such cases an invariable form in *-peeThy* appears, as we saw in (11) [here renumbered (23)]:

(18k) *Su chu kaamy-an rity-peeThy (*ritsi) sambaal-aan*
 He is jobs-Dat well-like (well.Fpl) overseeing

'He looks after the jobs well.'

Besides its small set of concordant adverbs, Kashmiri has at least two concordant postpositions (in addition to the genitive postposition *-sund* and a comparative postposition *-hyuh*⁵). These are *aloond* '(hanging) down from', and *kyuth* 'for'⁶. Both

⁵ We regard *-hund/-sund* and *-hyuh* as belonging to a different set of postpositions than the set to which *kyuth* belongs because *-hund/-sund* and *-hyuh* are usually limited to occurrence inside NPs:

(a) *temyi-sinz kuur...*

of these govern cases in their objects, but agree on an absolutive basis with some other noun in the clause:

(28k)	<i>paninyi</i>	<i>naryi</i>	<i>traavyi-n</i>	<i>emyis</i>	<i>[gardan-</i>	<i>alaanzi]</i>
					<i>yi</i>	
	self's	arms(Fpl)	threw.Fpl- 3sgErg	him.Dat	neck-Abl	down.from.Fpl

'(His mother) embraced him.'
[Lone 1969:19]

In (24) [from the Kashmiri translation of Gorki's *mat'* (*Mother*)] *alaanzi*, the feminine plural form of *aloond*, is in agreement with the word *naryi* 'arms', the direct object of *traav* 'throw'; while its object *gardan* 'neck' is in the ablative case. Thus, the lexical item⁷ *aloond* 'down' is syntactically complex, behaving as a postposition governing the ablative case in its object and at the same time agreeing on an absolutive basis with the direct object or the intransitive subject of the verb in its clause.

	him.Obl-Gen.Fsg	girl(Fsg)	'his daughter...'
(b)	<i>mye-hyivi</i>	<i>luukh</i>	
	me.Dat-like.Mpl	people(Mpl)	'people like me...'

while *kyuth* forms postpositional phrases which are constituents at the level of the sentence. Note the preposability of *twahyi kyitsh* as an independent sentential unit in (c):

(c)	<i>twahyi-kyitsh</i>	<i>banaav-(y)-aa</i>	<i>Caay?</i>
	You.Datpl-for.Fsg	make-Fut.1sg-QM	tea(Fsg)
	'Shall I make tea for you?'		

Kashmiri's concordant NP-internal postpositions are discussed by Payne (1995) and Wali, Koul & Koul (2002).

⁶ Grierson (1973:2.149) lists another concordant postposition *sost* (Fsg. *setsh*) 'affected by' or 'endowed with'. Like the genitive suffix *-hund/-sund* (fn. 5) this postposition appears to be limited in its occurrence to the interior of noun phrases. We were unable to find speakers of contemporary Kashmiri who use *sost*.

⁷ This lexeme also functions as a concordant adverb of direction:

(a)	<i>kyij-pyeTh</i>	<i>tshun</i>	<i>kunzi</i>	<i>Alaanzi</i>
	nail-on	put.Imper	keys(Fpl)	downward.Fpl
	'Hang the keys on the nail.'			(Grierson 1973: vol I.109, ex. 838)

Like *aloond* the concordant postposition *kyuth*⁸ 'for' shows an absolutive pattern of agreement:

(29k) *tsi hyek-akh-aa yim Cyiiz [mye kyithy] en-yith*
 you can-Fut2sg- these things(Mpl) me.Dat for.Mpl bring-CP
 QM

'Can you bring these things for me?' (Grierson 1973:1.151)

(30k) *Bi banaav-(y)-aa [twahyi kyitsh] caay?*
 I make-Fut-QM you(pl).Dat for.Fsg tea(Fsg)

'Shall I make tea for you?'

Like concordant adverbs, postposition *kyuth* exhibits a restriction on its use to instances where the

controller is inanimate:

(27a) *mye kor saal tayaar khaandir-as kyuth*
 I.Erg made feast(Msg) ready wedding-Dat for.Msg

'I prepared the feast for the wedding.'

If the potential controller refers to a human the postposition *kyuth* is replaced by an invariable synonym *kheetri* (27b): [Note that *saal* 'feast' (Masc) and *saal* 'sister-in-law' (Fem) are homonyms.]

(27b) *mye ker Saal tayaar khaandir-i kheetri*
 I.Erg made wife's.sister ready wedding-Abl for

⁸ For some reason Grierson lists this word as *kyut* (1973:1.35, § 24). When consonant-final this form would acquire an [h] by the automatic rule of final stop or affricate aspiration, but in the feminine plural it would give *kyitsi* instead of the correct *kyitshi*.

'I prepared sister-in-law for the wedding.'

However, if *kyuth* governs an infinitive then: 1.) the infinitive is in the dative (28a) or the nominative (28b) and, 2.) *kyuth* agrees in number and gender with the object of the infinitive:

(28a) *yimi kwakiryi chi maar-n-as kyitshi*
 these hens(Fpl) are kill-Inf-Dat for.Fpl

'These hens are to be killed.'

yimi kwakiryi chi maar-n-yi kyitshi

(28b)

these hens(Fpl) are kill-Inf-Fpl for.Fpl

'These hens are to be killed.'

If the infinitive governed by *kyuth* is in the nominative, the prohibition against human controllers disappears:

(31k) *bi nyi-m-ath Tsi [tyim-an haav-iny kyitsh]*
 I take-Fut1sg- you.Nom(Fsg) Them- show- for.Fsg
 2sgAcc Dat Inf.Nom.Fsg

'I will take you (in order) to show you to them.'

In this use⁹ *kyuth* seems to be functioning as the morphological extension of an infinitive which itself exhibits concord on an absolutive basis. Compare:

⁹ *kyuth* is a very versatile lexical item. It functions as the interrogative member of a lexical set in *-uth*: *yuth* 'this kind of', *tyuth* 'that kind of', *kyuth* 'what kind of; how' (Grierson 1973:1.41, § 37):

(a) *Yim kyithy poosh chi?*
 these what.kind.of.Mpl flowers are

'What kinds of flowers are these?'

(Grierson 1973:1.104, ex. 743)

- (30) *Bi chus-ath tsi yatsh-aan tyim-an haav-iny*
 I(Msg) am-2sgAcc you.Nom(Fsg) want-ing them-Dat show-Inf.Fsg

'I want to show you to them.' [cf (29)]

- (31) *yimi kwakiryi cha maar-n-yi*
 these hens are kill-Inf-Fpl

'These hens are to be killed.' [cf (28)]

For further remarks, see Grierson 1973, vol. 2, p. 90.

B. COVERT CONCORD

The relative poverty of data showing overt concord in Kashmiri adverbs stands in contrast to the abundance of evidence indicating that adverbs, adverbial phrases, and postpositions are often in covert agreement with the transitive objects or intransitive subjects of their clauses. Let us look at a few examples of covert agreement in adverbs and postpositions. (Adverbial phrases present special problems which we shall deal with separately in Part C):

- (32k) *swa vwetsh-ni [tyiits sulyi] yuut Bi (vothu-s)*
 she got.up.Fsg-Neg as.Fsg Early as.Msg I(Msg) (got.up-1sgNom)

-
- (b) *Su kyuth chu panin-yan gar-ik-yan Parvaryish kar-aan?*
 He how.Msg is self's-Dat house-Gen-Dat support(Fsg) do-ing

'How does he support his family?' (Grierson 1973:1.151, ex. 1755)

Possibly related to this item is the noun *kyuth* 'difficulty; problem of life'?

- (c) *Su kor kyithav Paryeeshaan*
 He made.Msg worries.Erg Upset

'The problems of living have got him down.'

'She didn't get up as early as I did.'

While *sulyi* 'early' in (32) is invariable, its modifiers *tyuut* 'so (much)' and *yuut* 'as (much)' show agreement in both gender and number with the subjects of their respective clauses. Another instance:

(33k) *mye eny swa gari [tyiits Kam] zyi Këësyi tyi gav-ni shakh*
 I.Erg brought she home so.Fsg Less that any.one.Dat also went-Neg doubt
 'I brought her home so rarely that no-one suspected.'

In (33) we see that the restriction against concord with nouns referring to human beings that we saw in Part A does not apply to covert concord. Even in non-ergative tenses it does not apply:

(34k) *tyim Kyaazyi byeh-aan-ni [tyiity nazdyikh tsye]?*
 they(Mpl) Why sat-CTF.3pl-Neg so.Mpl near you.Dat

'Why wouldn't they sit so close to you?'

Covert agreement may extend even to those adverbs which have special invariant suffixes:

(35k) *mye hyec-ni yi keem [tyiits rity-peeThy] ker-yith*
 I.Erg could-Neg this job(Fsg) So.Fsg well-like do-CP

'I was not able to do this job so well...' [cf ex. (9)]

(36k) *tyimi vaatsi [tyiitsi ery- yiity esy (veety)*
peeThy]
 they(Fpl) arrived.Fpl so.Fpl safe.Obl- as.Mpl we.Mpl (arrived.Mpl)
 like.Obl

'They arrived as safe and sound as we did.' [cf ex. (21)]

In all of these examples concord of *tyuut* and *yuut* with the transitive object and the intransitive subject is an option which alternates with use of the masculine singular default:

- (37k) *swa vwetsh-ni tyuut sulyi yuut Bi (vothu-s)*
 she got.up.Fsg-Neg as.Def early as.Def I.Nom (got.up-1sgNom)

'She didn't get up so early as I did.' [cf ex. (32k)]

- (38) *mye eny swa gari Tyuut Kam Zyi kēēsyi tyi gav-ni shakh*
 I.Erg brought she home so.Def Less That any.Dat also went-Neg doubt
 'I brought her home so rarely that no-one suspected.' [cf ex. (33)]

- (39) *tyim kyaazyi byeh-aan-ni tyuut nazdyiikh tsye?*
 they(Mpl) why sat-CTF.3pl-Neg so.Def Near you.Dat

'Why wouldn't they sit so close to you?' [cf ex. (34)]

- (40) *mye hyec-ni yi keem tyuut rity-peeThy ker-yith*
 I.Erg could-Neg this job(Fsg) So.Def well-like do-CP

'I was not able to do this job so well.' [cf ex. (35)]

- (38k) *tyimi vaatsi tyuut ery- yuut esy (veety)*
peeThy
 they(Fpl) arrived.Fpl so.Def safe.Obl-like.Obl as.Def we.Mpl (arrived.Mpl)

'They arrived as safe and sound as we did.' [cf ex. (36k)]

The masculine singular default is obligatory if a potential controller is not in the nominative case:

- (42) *Su chu-ni kaamy-an tyuut (*tyiitsi) rity-peeThy sambaal-aan*
 He is-Neg jobs-Dat so.Def (so.Fpl) well-like oversee-ing

'He's not looking after the jobs so well.'

[cf ex (11)]

To explain these facts we propose regarding adverbs or postpositions as being able to receive an abstract index of gender and number from intransitive subjects or transitive objects provided that these are in the nominative case. The index can then be passed on (optionally) to the concordant quantitative modifier (aka QAdj) of an adverb. In (43) the symbol "+" indicates an inherent or independent value; "%", a dependent but covert value; and "@", a dependent overt value.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| | | | | |
| (39k) | <i>(swa)_{NP}</i> | <i>((vwetsh ni)_V</i> | <i>((tyiits)_{QAdj}</i> | <i>(sulyi)_{Adv} AdvP)_{VP}</i> |
| | [+fem] | | [@fem] | [%gndr] |
| | [+sing] | | [@sing] | [%nubr] |
| | [+Nom] | | | |

'She didn't get up so early.'

Some consequences of this analysis for adverbial phrases which have noun phrases as constituent parts are examined in Part C.

C. DISCORDANT ADJECTIVES

In example (40k) there is discord between an adjective and the noun it modifies:

- (40k) *temy keri-s [yitsh zoor-i] Thaph kyi su pyav ni pathar*
he.Erg did.Fsg-3sgDat such.Fsg force-Abl grasp(Fsg) that it fell Neg down
'He held onto it with such force that it didn't fall down.'

In (40k) the finite verb *keri-s* agrees in gender and number with its grammatical object *thaph*, a feminine singular noun meaning 'grasp; grip'. Notice that the quantifier adjective *yitsh* 'such' in the adverbial phrase *yitsh zoori* 'with such force' also agrees in gender and number with *thaph*, even though it modifies the masculine singular noun *zoori* 'strength' [which in (40k) is in the ablative case]. In fact agreement with *zoori* is not acceptable to Kashmiri speakers.

(41k) **temy keris yithyi zoor-i thaph kyi ...*
 He did-3sgDat such.Abl force-Abl grasp that

'He held onto it with such force that ...'

Another example of discord, this between the adjective of quantity *yuut* 'so much' and the masculine singular ablative noun *dyil-i* 'heart':

(42k) *Su chu [yiits dyil-i saan] keem karaan zy*
 He is so.much.Fsg.Nom heart- with work(Fsg) doing that
 Abl
mool meej gatsh-an-as syeThah Khwash
 father mother go-Fut3pl-Dat Very Happy

'He is working with so much devotion that his parents will be very happy with him.'

In (42k) the form *yiits* must be feminine singular to agree with the direct object *keem* 'work'. It must not agree in gender, number, or case with the noun which it modifies:

(43k) **su chu yiityi dyil-i Saan keem karaan ...*
 He is so.much.Msg.Abl heart(Msg)-Abl With work doing

'He is working with so much devotion that ...'

Making different lexical choices can change this concord pattern:

(44k) *Su chu [yiityi (?*yiits) sabar-i siity]*
 He is so.much.Msg.Abl (so.much.Fsg.Nom) patience(Msg)- with
 Abl

<i>keem</i>	<i>karaan</i>	<i>zyi</i>	<i>mool</i>	<i>Meej</i>	<i>gatsh-an-as</i>	<i>syeThah</i>	<i>khwash</i>
work	doing	that	father	Mother	Go-Fut3pl-	very	happy
					Dat		

'He is working with so much patience that that his parents will be very happy with him.'

In (44k) two changes have been made in the adverb phrase: 1. *sabar* 'patience', a noun less idiomatic (but more abstract) than *dyil* 'heart' has been chosen, and, 2. the instrumental postposition *siity* 'with' has been used instead of the more limited *saan* 'with' (which is limited in its occurrence to certain established adverbial phrases of manner). The resulting phrase *sabari siity* 'with patience' is one which is less common, less idiomatic in the language. It would seem then that the more an adverbial phrase functions as a single semantic unit, the more likely are its adjuncts (*yuth / tyuth* 'such', *yuut / tyuut* 'so much') to agree with a noun (be this subject or direct object) that is outside the phrase.

This difference could be captured (or at least roughly simulated) in a formalistic grammar by regarding a postpositional phrase like *dyili saan* 'with heart' as a single, unanalyzable lexical adverb meaning 'sincerely' and making it opaque to the normal rules of adjective-noun agreement. Its adjuncts would then agree on the same absolutive basis that we have already seen for the adjuncts of clearly monomorphemic adverbs like *sulyi* 'early', *kam* 'rarely', etc.

Such a solution fails, however, to account for the concord behavior of the quantifier *yoot* 'only' (? < *yāvant*- T 10475) which functions as an optional reinforcer of the emphatic / exclusionary particle *-(i)y*:

(45k)	<i>shumaar</i>	<i>hyek-</i> <i>an</i>	<i>baaTyinyii-</i> <i>hindy</i>	<i>telyib.elyim-</i> <i>iy</i>	<i>yeety</i>	<i>pyeesh.ker-</i> <i>yith</i>
	number	can- Fut	botany- Gen(Mpl)	Students- Emph	only.Mpl	present-CP

'Only students of botany are able to present an (exact figure) ...'
(Ansari 1988:84)

Like an adjective *yoot* has four forms¹⁰ which show agreement in gender and number:

(46k)	Msg:	<i>bi-y</i>	<i>Yoot</i>	<i>gatshi</i>	'Only I will go.'
	Fsg:	<i>swa-y</i>	<i>y'eets</i>	<i>gatshyi</i>	'Only she will go.'
	Mpl:	<i>esy-iy</i>	<i>yeety</i>	<i>gatshav</i>	'Only we will go.'
	Fpl:	<i>tyima-y</i>	<i>yaatsi</i>	<i>gatshan</i>	'Only they will go.'

Unlike adjectives *yoot* only has forms in the nominative case [compare the paradigm of *rut* in (6)].

The facts that *yoot* follows rather than precedes the noun that it modifies and that it has no non-nominative forms might lead one to believe that it is an adverb, not an adjective, since all (attributive) adjectives precede their nouns and have forms for oblique cases. But the fact that the finite verbs in (47k) always follow *yoot* can be explained only if we assume *yoot* to form a single constituent with the noun or pronoun that it follows. That is, NP + *yoot* must count as one constituent¹¹ in calculating the position of the finite verb which, in declarative matrix or complement clauses, comes second:

(47k)	<i>*bi-y</i>	<i>gatshi</i>	<i>yoot</i>
	<i>*swa-y</i>	<i>gatshyi</i>	<i>y'eets</i>
	<i>*esy-iy</i>	<i>gatshav</i>	<i>yeety</i>
	<i>*tyima-y</i>	<i>gatshan</i>	<i>yaatsi</i>

¹⁰ For the vowel and final consonant alternations in these forms see Zakharyin (1974) and Shackle (1984: 50-55).

¹¹ Compare the immobility of *yoot* with the relative freedom of position enjoyed by the *sooruy* 'all; entire':

(a)	<i>esy seery-iy gatshav</i>	'We (M) all will go.'
	<i>tyimi saaryi-y gatshan</i>	'They (F) all will go.'
	<i>tyimav saaryiv-iy os</i>	'They (Erg) all (Erg) laughed.'
(b)	<i>esy gatshav seery-iy</i>	'We will all go.'
	<i>tyimi gatshan saaryi-y</i>	'They will all go.'
	<i>tyimav os saaryiv-iy</i>	'They did all laugh.'

This difference in word order possibilities indicates that, relative to each other, *sooruy* 'all' is more a pronoun; *yoot* 'only', more an adjective. It is also not insignificant that *sooruy* shows all cases; *yoot*, only the nominative.

is left free either to assume a default form or pick up gender and number on an absolutive basis from some other noun or pronoun in its clause.

D. INDIC COMPARISONS

If we compare other western Indo-Aryan languages with Kashmiri we find an increase or intensification in overt concord phenomena in adverbs and adpositions as we move south:

(52) Semantic class	representative item:	syntactic class
of adverb:		(concord pattern):
a. state	Guj: <i>vAAk@cũk@</i> 'crooked'	absolutive
	Mar: <i>vaakaD@</i> 'crooked'	absolutive
	Hindi: <i>TeRh@</i> 'crooked'	absolutive
	Kash: <i>dor</i> 'tight'	absolutive
b. manner	Guj: <i>saar@</i> 'well'	absolutive
	Mar: <i>tSaangL@</i> 'well'	absolutive
	Hindi: <i>acch@</i> 'well'	absolutive
	Kash: <i>rut</i> 'well'	absolutive
c. quantity	Guj: <i>thoD@</i> 'a little'	absolutive
	Mar: <i>phars@</i> 'much'	absolutive
	Hindi: <i>thoR@ bahut</i> 'somewhat'	unaccusative ¹³
	Kash: <i>tyuut</i> 'as much'	absolutive
d. degree	Guj: <i>Thamuk@</i> 'completely'	absolutive
	Mar: <i>jas-jas@</i> 'as'	absolutive
	Hindi: no examples found so far	

¹³ If the predicate is an active monovalent (a) the adverb does not agree. If a stative (b), the adverb may agree:

(a) *un.kii beTiyãã thoR-aa bahut Naac.tii bhii Hãĩ*
 Their daughters little-Def much Dance also Are
 'Their girls dance a little, too.'

(b) *hamẽ hindii-kii filmẽ thoR-ii bahut Pasand thĩĩ*
 us.Dat Hindi-Gen films(Fpl) little-Fpl Much Pleasing were
 'We liked Hindi films a little.'

	Kash:	<i>yuut-yuut</i> 'as'	absolutive
e. direction	Guj:	<i>paach@</i> 'back'	absolutive
	Mar:	no examples found so far	
	Hindi:	<i>siidh@</i> 'straight'	absolutive
	Kash:	<i>aloond</i> 'down, downwards'	absolutive
f. time	Guj:	<i>vaheL@</i> 'early'	fluid
	Mar:	<i>raatri-ts@</i> 'at night'	copy-verb
	Hindi:	no examples found so far	
	Kash:	no examples found so far	
g. tense	Guj:	no examples	
	Mar:	<i>nukt@ ts</i> 'just now'	copy-verb
	Hindi:	<i>kab k@</i> 'long since'	fluid?
	Kash:	no examples found so far	
h. aspectual	Guj:	<i>paach@</i> 'again'	copy-verb
	Mar:	<i>ekdats@</i> 'once and for all'	fluid
	Hindi:	no examples found so far	
	Kash:	no examples found so far	
i. sentential	Guj:	<i>khar@</i> 'really'	copy-verb
	Mar:	<i>khar@</i> 'really'	fluid
	Hindi:	<i>baR@</i> 'sure' (sarcastic)	absolutive
	Kash:	no examples found so far ¹⁴	
j. postpositions	Guj:	<i>X-ni bheg@</i> 'with X'	absolutive
	Mar:	<i>X-cyaa sars@</i> 'with an X'	absolutive
	Hindi:	no examples found so far	
	Kash:	X-Dat <i>kyuth</i> 'for X'	absolutive

¹⁴ Kashmiri has a non-concordant adverb in the ablative case *baDi* 'a lot' (sarcastic 'sure') that corresponds both etymologically and functionally to Hindi-Urdu's *baR@*:

(a) *Temyis cha byenyi baD-i pritsh-* (b) *us.ko bahan baRii puuch.tii hai*
aan
 him.Dat is sister big- ask-ing him sister(Fsg) big.Fsg asks is
 Abl

'Sure his sister looks after him!' (Kashmiri) 'Sure his sister looks after him!' (Hindi-Urdu)

(Note the feminine singular form of the Kashmiri adjective *baD* 'big' is *bej*.)

(53b) *Vau ħaari-e miṭāai khaav-ai-ni par-i* (Bhitrodi)

he.Nom all-Emph candy Eat-3sg-Neg AWAY-Fsg

'(I hope that) he doesn't eat up all the candy.' (Mohabbat Singh Chauhan, p.c.)

Marathi and Gujarati have concordant adverbs belonging to a wide variety of semantic and syntactic classes. Hindi has fewer. Kashmiri has even fewer concordant adverbs, all belonging to the first five semantic classes, and all displaying an absolutive pattern of agreement¹⁵. Yet when we turn to covert concord phenomena there is very little difference between the four languages: even stems with specifically adverbial (invariant) suffixes turn out to have covert agreement (as manifested by their adjuncts). Hindi-Urdu apart, the other three languages examined display discord phenomena in idiomatic adverbial phrases formed from certain nouns in one or another oblique case. This indicates that the abstract agreement of adverbs, adverbial phrases, and postpositions with some NP in the clause is a common feature in much of (if not all of) western Indo-Aryan¹⁶.

In Part C, we explored discord of a second type, in which the quantifier *yoot* fails to agree in case (as well as gender and number) when it comes on the wrong side of the noun that it modifies. It turns out that Marathi has a similar item: the focus element *nemk@* 'X is the one to V'. When *nemk@* comes to the left of its modifiee it may agree with it (like an adjective) in gender, number, and case:

¹⁵ Poguli, considered by Grierson to be a dialect of Kashmiri, has a wealth of concordant adverbs: *samu* 'right; straight', *gyoh* 'home', *iru* 'here', *teruh* 'there', *koruh* 'where' and at least one concordant postposition *woruh* 'from'. From the data available to us it seems that all of these agree on an absolutive basis.

¹⁶ In Gujarati discord in adjectives is limited to the modifiers of noun phrases which form part of common adverbial phrases [compare (a) with (44) and (46)]:

(a) *E eṭI-o jhaDap thi doDe-che te paD-i ja-she*
 He such-Msg speed(Fsg) with Runs That fall-CP go-Fut.3sg
 'He is running with such speed that he'll fall down.' (Hook and Joshi, 1991)

- (54m) *nemk-yaa* *tyaa-laa* *ti* *Pustaka* *saapaD-l-i*
 exactly-Obl him.Obl-Dat Those books(Npl) turn.up-Pst-Npl

'He was the one to find those books (damn my luck!)

But agreement of *nemk@* with its modifiee is optional. Even when it is on the left it may agree in gender and number in the absolutive pattern we saw for quantitative adjectives like *yuut* and *tyuut*:

- (55m) *nemk-i* *tyaa-laa* *ti* ***Pustaka*** *saapaD-l-i*
 exactly-Npl him.Obl-Dat Those books(Npl) turn.up-Pst-Npl

'He was the one to find those books (damn my luck!)

Like Kashmiri's *yoot* Marathi's *nemk@* may 'float' to the right. When it does float, it must agree on an absolutive basis with some nominative case clause-mate (if there is one). From the right it cannot agree in case, gender, or number with the noun that it modifies if that noun is in the oblique:

- (56m) *tyaa-laa* ***nemk-i*** (**nemk-yaa*) *ti* ***pustaka*** *saapaDli*
 him-Dat exactly-Npl (exactly-Obl) Those Books(Npl) turned.up

'He was the one to find those books.' [also 'He found just those books.' (Hari Damle, p.c.)]

Is lateralization of agreement of modifiers with controllers a general feature of western Indo-Aryan? The answer to this question would seem to be "no". Gujarati (along with Marwari, Thali, Bhitrodi, and some other languages of Rajasthan) allows agreement in gender and number with an oblique noun which is to the left of the concordant item [see ex. (2)]. Kashmiri (and urban Marathi) do not [for Kashmiri see ex. (11)]. It is only in Marathi and Kashmiri (so far) that have come to light concordant elements like *nemk@* and *yoot* that do not agree with the noun which they modify even when that noun is an argument or a required valent of its predicate.

G. ANTECEDENTS OF ADVERBIAL CONCORD

(57v) *yuvam tān Amitrān ha-tam parācah*
 you.Dual those.AccMpl Enemies.AccMpl smite-ImperDual away.AccMpl
 'You (two) strike away those enemies...' (RV 7.85.2cd)

(58rj) *mhāñ-nūū dhartii māñhai-sūū par-aa kaarh-iy-aa*
 us-Dat country in-from away-Mpl expel-Pst-Mpl
 '(He) exiled us from (our) country.' (Naiṛsi ri khyaat 1.264)

G. FUNCTION OF CONCORD

(59e) *Scheele discovered oxygen first (then molybdenum and chlorine / then Priestly and Lavoisier).*

(60r) *макса она так впечатлила, что он ... еѐ первую вспомнил утром.*
maksa ona tak vpečatila čto on jejo pervuju vspomnil utrom
 Max she so impressed that he her.Acc first.Acc recalled morning.Ins
 'She made such an impression on Max that in the morning he thought of her first.'

(61r) *no tot kto jejo pervym zapatentujet tot možet ispol'zovat' jejo v kommerčeskix celjax*
 but that who it.Fsg first.Ins patents that can use.Inf it.Fsg in commercial goals
 'But the one who patents it first can use if for commercial purposes.'

(62g) *kishor ritaa-ne maaraa Kartãã pahel-i bolaav-she*

Kishor Rita(Fsg)-Dat my-Obl Than before-Fsg invite-Fut

'Kishor will invite Rita before (he invites) me.' (Hook and

(63g) *kishor ritaa-ne maaraa Kartãã pahel-o bolaav-she*

Kishor(Msg) Rita-Dat my-Obl Than Before- invite-Fut
Msg

'Kishor will invite Rita before I do.'

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