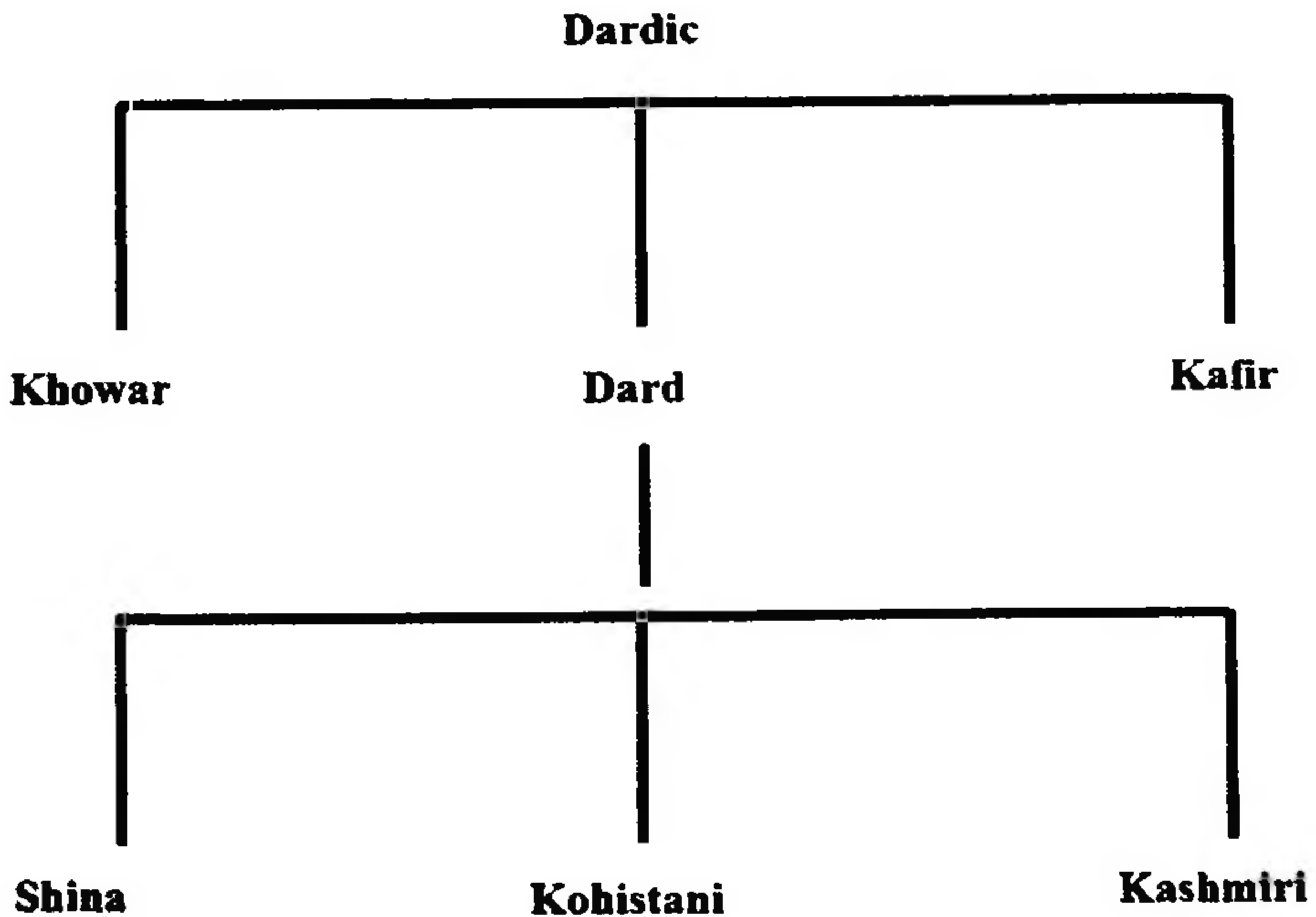


Number and Gender in Kohistani

*Parvaiz Ahmad Ganai**

Kohistani includes several Dard dialects or languages spoken in the Panjkora, Swat and Indus Kohistans. Gārwī is spoken in the Swat Kohistan, Tōrwalī in the Swat and Panjkora Kohistans lower down than Gārwī, and Maiyā in the Indus Kohistan. The only person who has hitherto described them is Colonel Biddulph. (Grierson 1919:507)

Grierson has put Kohistani under the Dardic branch of the Indo-Aryan family.



* Department of Linguistics, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, India

Indus Kohistani is the main language of District Kohistan, spoken by a total of more than 20,000 people (Hallberg 1992:89). Indus Kohistani is in local contact with Kohistani Shina, Pashto and Urdu.

The valley of Kashmir being ethno linguistically an inordinately complex region has accommodated Kohistani native speakers in its overall linguistic stratification. It has been observed that approximately 5000 speakers comprising 2600 males and 2400 females presently inhabit Jugtiyal Hyhama, Kundnar, Kanibahak and Balhama of Kupwara District, Jammu & Kashmir with the peculiar characteristic of maintaining separate indigenous social and linguistic identity (Ahmad 2009: 7).

The morphology of Indus Kohistani has been already described by Grierson (1919) and Hallberg (1992) to a large extent but the Kohistani spoken in the valley of Kashmir is yet to be taken into consideration. The present paper is an attempt to describe the morphology of Kohistani noun showing its number and gender.

Noun Class

With respect to the meanings which they convey, nouns denote what we call 'entities'. Nouns will thus be regarded as a form, indeed the main but not the only form of nominal word. They may be 'concrete' or 'abstract'. Nouns are usually associated with the ability to inflect (i.e. change their form) for the plural, involving either the addition of a syllable to the end of the word or the modification of a word root. Likewise nouns are inflected for gender and case.

Every language has got certain paradigm by which one can study the morphological phenomenon. Having seen the data of the Kohistani language, it can be said that there are two numbers: singular and plural. Most countable nouns form their plurals from singular form. Some countable nouns have the same form for both numbers (singular & plural). Generally plurals are formed from singulars by suffixation, palatalization and vowel changes but there is an exception where plural is formed by changing the pitch of the word form (singular) from low to high.

Number

Kohistani nouns show two numbers: singular and plural. The different ways of Kohistani nouns to change into plural form is as follows:

Singular	Plural	Gloss
Khakay	khakiya:	Nut
Malay	maliya:	Girl
no:r	no:ri	Nail
ba:k	ba:ki	Ox
Sum	sum ^l	Friend
Ašoy	ašyo:	Nut
Khoy	khyo:	Cap
me:š	me:ši	Buffalo
Tukur	Tuku:r	Basket
šū:	Šæ	Dog
baTāg	baTki:	Pear
muša:	muše:	Man
ləDi:	laDe:	House
palov	palo:y	Apple
bo:T ^l	bo:T ^l	Bride
dunD ^l	dunD ^l	Leg
ba:P ^l	ba:P ^l	Rope

The above data can be interpreted as follows:

1. The singular form of the CVCVC structure in which the second low central short vowel [a] changes to a high front short unrounded vowel [i] with the addition of low central long vowel [a:] at the final position e.g.

khakay (sg) → khakiya: (pl) 'nut'
 malay (sg) → maliya: (pl) 'girl'

2. The addition of high front short vowel [i] at the final position of the CVC structure e.g.

ba:k (sg) → ba:ki (pl) 'ox'
 no:r (sg) → no:ri (pl) 'nail'

3. Palatalization is also used as plural marker in Kohistani.
 sum (sg) → sum^ʰ (pl) 'friend'
4. In certain cases mid back rounded short vowel [o] is dropped with the addition of the mid back rounded long vowel [o:] at the final position e.g.
 ašoy (sg) — ašyo: (pl) 'nut'
 khoy (sg) → khyo: (pl) 'cap'
5. High central unrounded short vowel [i] is added as plural marker at the final position e.g.
 me:š (sg) — me:ši (pl) 'buffalo'
6. In certain cases we see that the final vowel of the CVCVC structure gets lengthened while changing the number e.g.
 Tukur (sg) → Tuku:r (pl) 'basket'
7. The high back long nasalized vowel [ũ:] changes to low front nasalized vowel [æ̃] e.g.
 šũ: (sg) → šæ̃ (pl) 'dog'
8. The second, low central short nasalized vowel [ã] and second consonant voiced unaspirated velar stop is deleted with the addition of voiceless unaspirated velar stop [k] followed by high front unrounded long vowel [i:] e.g.
 baTãg (sg) → baTki: (pl) 'pear'
9. The low central long vowel [a:] changes to mid front unrounded long vowel [e:] e.g.
 muša: (sg) → muše: (pl) 'man'
10. The first, mid central unrounded short vowel [ɔ] changes to low central short vowel [a] while as high front unrounded long vowel [i:] changes to mid front un rounded long vowel [e:] e.g.
 ləDi: (sg) → laDe: (pl) 'house'
11. The mid back rounded short vowel [o] changes to mid back rounded long vowel [o:] and voiced labio-dental frictionless continuant [v] changes to voiced palatal frictionless continuant [y] e.g.
 palov (sg) → palo:y (pl) 'apple'

As per the data, it is reported that the singular noun forms having last consonant palatalized either remain same as their plurals e.g.

bo:Tʃ (sg)	→	bo:Tʃ (pl)	'bride'
dunDʃ (sg)	→	dunDʃ (pl)	'leg'
ba:lʃ (sg)	→	ba:lʃ (pl)	'rope'

12. The following suffixes are added to the nouns to derive the plural forms: *a:r, ro:y* e.g.

saz (sg)	→	saza:r (pl)	'sister'
ja: (sg)	→	ja:ro:y (pl)	'brother'

13. The tone (fall and rise) of the word decides whether it is singular or plural e.g.

mu:j (falling tone) (sg)	→	mu:j (rising tone) (pl)	'rat'
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From the above discussion it is clear that the Kohistani shows irregular pattern for the pluralizing the noun.

Gender

Kohistani nouns show two type gender systems i.e. masculine and feminine. Gender formation processes from masculine to feminine or vice versa are irregular. The gender formation processes involve suffixation and change in vowels and consonants. Most of the phonological and morphological changes are irregular.

Some rules of Gender formation are discussed below:

1. The suffixes [-ay] and [-uy] are added to masculine nouns to form feminine form. As a result of adding these suffixes certain morpho-phonemic changes take place.

mulo: (masc)	→	malay (fem)
'boy'		'girl'
kuku: (masc)	→	kukuy (fem)
'cock'		'hen'
čha:l (masc)	→	čha:luy (fem)
'he goat'		'she goat'
sazu: (masc)	→	sazuy (fem)
'nephew'		'niece'

2. The low central long vowel [a:] changes to high front unrounded long vowel [i:] or the high front unrounded long vowel [i:] is added after the final consonant to noun; indicate the feminine formation.

le:la: (masc) → le:li: (fem)
 'he sheep' 'she sheep'

yu:njva:l (masc) → yu:njva:li: (fem)
 'miller' 'miller she'

ma:sDa: (masc) → ma:si: (fem)
 'uncle' 'aunt'

Here it must be reminded that the addition of the vowel [i:] in plural forms results in certain morphophonemic changes like deletion of a consonant, as of [D] in above example.

3. In few cases it is reported that suffix [-æ̃nD] is added to nouns for gender formation e.g.

mā:šTar (masc) → mā:šTræ̃nD (fem)
 'teacher' (m) 'teacher' (f)

ba:dčha: (masc) → ba:dčhæ̃nD (fem)
 'king' 'queen'

piči: (masc) → pitræ̃nD (fem)
 'aunt-paternal' 'uncle-paternal'

4. Some feminine forms are formed by suppletion e.g.

muša: (masc) → čey (fem)
 'man' 'woman'

mavul (masc) → mā:mi: (fem)
 'maternal uncle' 'maternal aunt'

ba:k (masc) → ga:v (fem)
 'ox' 'cow'

ja: (masc) → saz (fem)
 'brother' 'sister'

The above description shows that the Kohistani gender formation processes are irregular and involve vowel and consonant changes. Suppletion and suffixation are also seen.

Conclusion

It is well understood from the above discussion that in Kohistani, most nouns take the number by using the post consonantal vowel, a determinant of number. Kohistani takes vowels: [u:], [e:], [o:], [i], [i:], [ɪ], e.g. 'Tukur' (sg) 'Tuku:r' (pl), 'basket', 'muša:' (sg) 'muše:' (pl), 'man', 'palov' (sg) 'palo:y' (pl), 'apple', 'ba:k' (sg) 'ba:ki' (pl), 'ox', 'baTāg' (sg) 'baTki:' (pl), 'pear', 'me:š' (sg) 'me:ši' (pl), 'buffalo', etc.

The Kohistani masculine forms take [i:], [æɪ], [ay] and [uy] markers to form their genders e.g. 'yu:njva:l' (masc) 'miller', 'yu:njva:li:' (fem), 'mā:šTar' (masc) 'teacher', 'mā:šTrænD' (fem), 'mulo:' (masc) 'boy', 'malay' (fem), 'sazu:' (masc) 'nephew', 'sazuy' (fem).

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