

## Grammar of Natural Forces and Natural Processes in Kashmiri<sup>1</sup>

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The seed for this chapter was sown by an effort to understand expressions like the following:

- (1) ... *yelyi sani 1489 tas manz ath hyotu-n naar*  
when year 1489 it in it.Dat took-3sE fire.Nom  
'... when in 1489 it (= Jamia Masjid) caught fire.'

(Kashmiri Reader 4, page 23)

In (1) the inanimate dative pronoun *ath* 'to it, at it' shows up simultaneously with a postpositional phrase *tas manz* 'in that' which refers to the specific location of a fire (a natural force). Furthermore, the finite verb *naar hyotu-n* 'X took fire' has a third person singular agential suffix *-n* which normally would cross-reference a nominal in the ergative case but which in (1) has no referent. Example (1), then, has morphological indications of four noun phrases. But speakers are able to identify only

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter was first drafted in 1985 in O.N. Koul's ancestral home in Bugam, Dist. Anantnag, Kashmir. The authors are indebted to his family and to the family of Mr. Ghulam Nabi Nazir of Yaripora for grammaticality judgements and other assistance, and to the American Institute of Indian Studies for the research support that enabled Hook to come to Kashmir. Some of the data discussed here were presented in 1986 at the twenty-second regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society in a study of impersonal constructions in Russian and Kashmiri and appeared in *CLS* 22, pp. 179-194.

two of them. The other two are non-referential. This paper is an attempt to explore and explain the grammatical properties of these and similar "empty" morphemes in Kashmiri.

Compared to other Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi-Urdu or Punjabi, Kashmiri gives a distinctly less important role to one-place or monovalent predication. For starters it lacks the productive system found in Hindi-Urdu or Punjabi for deriving monovalent verbs from bivalent ones. For instance, Hindi-Urdu *dhul* 'be washed' < *dho* 'wash':

(2a) *dhoban kapRe kab dho-egii?*  
washerwoman clothes when wash-Fut.F3sg  
'When will the washerwoman wash the clothes?'

(2b) *kapRe kab dhul-ēge?*  
clothes when wash-Fut.M3pl  
'When will the clothes be washed?'

(A similar derivational relation exists for *put* 'be painted' and *pot* 'paint', *sīk* 'become warm' and *sēk* 'heat', and many hundreds of other such pairs: see Hook 1993). Monovalent predicates also figure in the expression of incapacity, as in this example from Panjabi:

(3a) *māi tho e naī ho sukdaa*  
me from this not be can.3sg  
'I will not be able to do this.' (Lit: 'From me this cannot be.')

These, too, are not typical of Kashmiri usage<sup>2</sup>:

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<sup>2</sup> There does exist a monovalent equivalent of this sentence in Kashmiri (P.N. Pushp, personal communication):

(1) *mye pak-yi-m-ni kyēh yi*  
me.Dat walk-Fut3sg-1sD-not at.all this  
'I won't be able to do this.'

But this expression, while current, is an isolated idiom.

(3b)

*bi hyek-i-ni yi ker-yith*  
 I can-FutIs-not this do-CP  
 'I won't be able to do this.'

Another reflection of the relatively lesser importance of monovalency in Kashmiri is in the expression of natural forces (like the weather) and physiological events (such as the status of one's health). For these, where other Indo-Aryan languages tend to use monovalent expressions, there is the option in Kashmiri of using bivalent predicates. Compare (4a) with its monovalent predicate *vas* 'descend, come down' to (4b) with the corresponding bivalent predicate *vaal* 'bring down; throw down':

(4a) *ethy siithy hyatsa-n ruudi-šraani vas-inyi*  
 this with began.Fpl-3sE rain-torrents(Fpl) come.down-  
 Inf.Fpl

'With this the rain began to come down in torrents.' (Talashi 1998:87)

(4b) *ruudi-tsaadiri hyatsa-n vaal-inyi*  
 (null agent)  
 rain-sheets(Fpl) began.Fpl-3sE throw.down-Inf.Fpl  
 'The rain began coming down in sheets.' (Azad 1985)

In most cases only one of the valents in expressions like that in (4b) is capable of being developed into a full NP. The other remains lexically and referentially null. As we shall see in the following discussion, this does not prevent the assignment of morphosyntactic properties to it.

### I. Health expressions.

As in other Indo-Aryan languages these may be intransitive with the dative of experiencer:

(5a) *temyischi pyeeych yivaan*  
him.Dat are cramps coming  
'He has stomach cramps.'

(5b) *mye che drwakh aa-mits*  
me.Dat is vomit(Fsg) come-PP.Fsg  
'I've thrown up.'

Compare parallel expressions in Hindi-Urdu:

(6a) *us-ko maroRe aa-rahe hāī*  
him-Dat cramps com-ing are  
'He has stomach cramps.'

(6b) *mujhe ulTii aaii hai*  
me.Dat vomit come is  
'I've thrown up.'

Kashmiri has bivalent alternates to (5a) and (5b):

(7a) *temyis keryi-n pyeeych*  
him.Dat did.Mpl-3sE cramps(Mpl)  
'He has got stomach cramps.'

(7b) *mye che-n drwakh ker-mits*  
me.Dat is-3sE vomit(Fsg) do-PP.Fsg  
'I've thrown up.'

While it is true that Hindi, too, has a bivalent alternative to *ulTii aa* [see (8)] there is a notable difference in the two languages' constructions:

(8) *māī-ne ulTii kii hai*  
I-Erg vomit done is  
'I've thrown up.' [cf. (6b)]

In Hindi's bivalent construction in tenses based on the past participle [ie, the simple past and the perfect tenses] we find ergative of experiencer [*māī-ne* in (8)], while in Kashmiri the corresponding noun phrase is in the dative [*mye* in (7b)]. Furthermore, the finite form of the verb in Kashmiri contains the third person singular ergative suffix *-n*<sup>3</sup>. This suffix remains in its singular form even when the contained noun (for instance, *pyeeych* 'cramps' in (7a) is plural. Thus, the structure of a bivalent physiological expression in Hindi is homologous to an agent-centered action ('I did the vomiting.') while bivalent physiological expressions in Kashmiri are homologous to actions involving recipients ('X did the vomiting to me.')

The identity of X, the third person singular subject signalled by the pronominal suffix *-n*, is not known to speakers of Kashmiri of the present day. They either smile or look confused if confronted by the question in (9):

- |     |                          |             |             |                               |
|-----|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| (9) | <i>temyis</i>            | <i>kemy</i> | <i>kery</i> | <i>pyeeych</i>                |
|     | him.Dat                  | who.Erg     | did.Mpl     | cramps(Mpl)                   |
|     | 'Who did cramps to him?' |             |             | ('Who made him have cramps?') |

Other examples of bivalent health expressions with their monovalent equivalents:

- |       |                       |                  |                                   |
|-------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (10a) | <i>taakath</i>        | <i>nyuu-n-am</i> | (bivalent)                        |
|       | strength(Msg)         | took.Msg-3sE-1sD |                                   |
|       | 'I lost my strength.' |                  | (Lit: 'X took away my strength.') |

- |       |                                       |                |              |
|-------|---------------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| (10b) | <i>taakath</i>                        | <i>draa-m</i>  | (monovalent) |
|       | strength(Msg)                         | exited.Msg-1sD |              |
|       | 'I lost my strength.'                 |                |              |
|       | (Lit: 'Strength departed (from) me.') |                |              |

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<sup>3</sup> For an introduction to the pronominal suffixing systems of Kashmiri, see Grierson 1911, Hook 1984, Hook and Koul 1984b.

(11a) *zuv chu-n-as koD-mut* (bivalent)  
 life(Msg) is-3sE-3sD drawn-PP.Msg  
 'She has died/lost courage.' (Lit: 'X has pulled out the  
 life from her.')

(11b) *zuv chu-s draa-mut* (monovalent)  
 life(Msg) is-3sD exited-PP.Msg  
 'She has died/lost spirit.' (Lit: 'Life has departed her.')

(12a) *zuv chu-n-as byeyi tsoon-mut* (bivalent)  
 life(Msg) is-3sE-3sD again inserted-PP.Msg  
 'She has come back to life again.' (Lit: 'X has again put life  
 into her.')

(12b) *zuv chu-s byeyi tsaa-mut* (monovalent)  
 life(Msg) is-3sD again entered-PP.Msg  
 'Life has entered into her again.'

(13) *dwad chu-n-as roT-mut* (bivalent)  
 milk(Msg) is-3sE-3sD stopped-PP.Msg  
 'He can't take milk.' (Lit: 'X stopped him  
 milk.')

Nearly all of the bivalent health expressions that we have encountered are adversative in meaning<sup>5</sup>. With the preponderantly negative meaning of

<sup>4</sup> Note, however, that *raT*-expressions such as that in (13) can only be used with a limited set of conventional nouns (*bati* 'food', *khyen* 'eating', *cyen* 'drinking', *meel* 'appetite', etc.). If other, more precise nouns are introduced, then the expression as a whole loses its idiomatic force and receives a literal interpretation:

(a) *isüüThy chi-n-as reTy-mity*  
 apples are-3sE-3sD stop-PP  
 'Someone (for example, his doctor) has forbidden him apples.'

<sup>5</sup> A possible exception [in addition to (12a)] is:

(a) *bi oosu-s byemaar, rwany koru-n-am yehsaan*  
 I was-1sN sick now did-3sE-1sD grace

bivalent health expressions, it is perhaps not surprising to find them used as curses and imprecations:

(14) *kooli šeeytani! myoon moonu-th-ni! tapeely enyi-n-ay!*

brat devil my obey-2sE-not fevers(Fpl)  
brought.Fpl-3sE-2sD

'You little brat. You didn't obey me. The plague take you!'  
(Lit: '...X brought you fevers!')

(15) *tsi kyaaazyichukh-ni keem karaan? tshraTh chi-n-ay-aa kery-mity*

you why are-not work doing fidgets(M) are-3sE-2sD-QM done-PP.Mpl

'Why aren't you working? Have you got the fidgets?' (Lit: 'Did X do the fidgets to you?')

(16) *swa che-ni seeny kath boozaan. matsar onu-n-as!*

she is-not our thing listening madness brought-3sE-3sD

'She won't listen to what we say. Damn her.'  
(Lit: '...X brought her madness!')

(17) *tyiman che-n šikas tshuny-mits en-yith*

them-Dat is-3sE sloth(Fsg) thrown-PP.Fsg bring-CP

'The lazy devils!' (Lit: 'X has brought sloth and thrown it on them.')

'I was sick; now I am well.'

('Now X did grace to me.')

However, it seems likely that this is an idiomatic equivalent of 'by God's grace, I am well now,' and as such belongs to a different category. For one thing, the expression *yehsaan kar-* makes no direct reference to the state of one's health. Secondly, in contrast to the other expressions it is possible to mention 'God' directly in this one:

(b) *bi oosus hyemaar. vwanj koru-m khwadaa-yan yehsaan*

I was sick now did-1sD God-Erg grace

'I was sick. Now God has done me kindness.'

## II. Weather expressions.

Perhaps an even larger class of expressions in which Kashmiri may have a bivalent verb, while most of its Indo-Aryan congeners have a monovalent one, are those denoting meteorological and other natural phenomena such as flood and fire:<sup>6</sup>

(18) *obur kar-y-as*  
 cloud do-Fut-3sD  
 'It will cloud over.' (Lit: 'X will do cloud to it.')

(19a) *seelaab an-yi daryaab-as*  
 flood bring-Fut3sg river-Dat  
 'The river will flood.' (Lit: 'X will bring flood to the river.')

Many of these do have monovalent counterparts, such as:

(19b) *seelaab yi-yi daryaab-as*  
 Flood come-Fut3sg river-Dat  
 'The river will flood.'

Nevertheless, expression with a bivalent predicate is more idiomatic.

(19c) *seelaab omu-n daryaab-as*  
 flood brought-3sE river-Dat  
 'The river has flooded.'

(20) *šurah agasT 1973 pyeTha-y loogu-n tshad-i rusitu-y ruid*  
 16 August 1973 from-Emp applied-3sE halt  
 without rain

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<sup>6</sup> To be compared to these meteorological expressions in Kashmiri are intransitive uses in English of normally transitive predicates? 'The fog lifted; the wind picked up; the rain set in ...'



'From the 16th of August it rained without a break.'

(Pompur 1986:69)

In addition to the *-n* pronominal suffix that appears with these in ergative tenses there is often a third person singular dative suffix in *-s* as well:

(21) *obur koru-n-as*  
cloud did-3sE-3sD

'It has gotten cloudy.'

(Lit: 'X did cloud to Y.')

In these instances Kashmiri speakers are sometimes able to provide full NP's in the dative case. In the presence of these, the dative suffix in *-s* does not occur<sup>7</sup>:

(22) *obur koru-n (\*-as) nab-as*  
cloud did-3sE-3sD sky-Dat

'The sky has clouded over.'

(23a) *vuzimali karyi-n-as*  
bolts did-3sE-3sD

'There have been bolts of lightning.'

(Lit: 'X did lightning bolts to Y.')

(23b) *vuzimali karyi-n (\*-as) asmaan-as*  
bolts did-3sE-3sD sky-Dat

'There has been lightning in the sky.'

Other times, however, the referent of the *-s* suffix cannot be discovered:

(24) *pagah maa dyiy-as ruud deer-yith*  
tomorrow lest give.Fut-3sD rain throw-CP

<sup>7</sup> Unlike the dative suffixes of the first and second persons those of the third person are in complementary distribution with coreferential NPs. See Hook and Koul (1984b:127).

'It might rain tomorrow.'

(Lit: 'X may throw the rain to Y tomorrow.')

However, there is one overt dative noun phrase which speakers agree may replace the dative pronominal suffix. That is the dative singular inanimate pronoun *yath* (or its alternant form *ath*). This pronominal form (from *yi* 'this') acts as a "dummy" or ambient locus for the effects of certain natural environmental phenomena: weather, floods, fire, etc.

(25) *yath*        *koru-n*        *obur*  
           this.Dat    did-3sE        cloud

'It has clouded over.'

[Compare (21) and (22)]

(26) *yath*        *maa*        *dvi-yi*        *pagah*        *ruud*        *deer-yith*  
           this.Dat    lest        give-Fut    tomorrow    rain        throw-CP

'It might rain tomorrow.'

[Compare (24)]

In earlier research (Hook 1976; Hook and Manaster-Ramer 1985) it was stated that unlike other verb-second languages such as those of northwestern Europe (Old French, German, Dutch, etc.), Kashmiri manages to avoid having a dummy subject with weather verbs. Thus, for 'It's raining' Kashmiri has *ruud chu pyevaan*, literally: 'Rain is falling.' That statement will have to be revised somewhat in the light of constructions like those in (1), (25), and (26). While Kashmiri does not have a dummy subject in weather expressions, it can maintain verb-second order in them with a dummy indirect object. Unlike dummy subjects in northwest European languages, *yath* is not obligatory in weather expressions as a place-holder: see (24). But like the distal deictics *su swa*, *nyim*, 'he, she, they' that sometimes appears in presentative contexts:

(27a) *su*            *oos*        *akh*        *raaji...*  
           that(Msg) was    one        king

'There was a king...'

(27b) *akh*        *oos*        (\**su*)        *raaji...*

one was that king  
'There was a king...'

*yath* is not subject to permutation [unless by using it the speaker intends a specific referent (28c)]:

(28a) *yath troovu-n ruud*  
this-Dat released-3sE rain  
'It rained.'

(28b) \**ruud troovu-n yath*  
rain released-3sE this-Dat  
'It rained.'

(28c) *ruud troovu-n yath*  
rain released-3sE this-Dat  
'It rained on this.'

Furthermore the presence of locative adverbs seems to exclude the general ambient sense<sup>8</sup> of *yath*:

(29) *yath troovu-n ruud yatyi*  
this.Dat released-3sE rain here  
'This (thing) got rained on here.'

The abstract locus is (in weather expressions) a grammatical feature whose presence or absence is independent of the choice between bivalent and monovalent predicates. So is the use of *yath*:

(30a) *ruud chu-s pyevaan*  
rain is-3sD falling  
'It's raining.'

<sup>8</sup> For discussion of the residual "ambient" sense of the so-called "dummy" pronoun, see Bolinger (1973).

- (30b) *yath pyav ruud byool aav-ni vav-ini*  
this.Dat fell rain. seed came-not sow-Inf  
'It rained. The seed could not be sown.'

While a bivalent weather expression in a past tense form may refer to past time (*rath korunas ruud* 'It rained yesterday'), the unmarked use of such past tense forms is to refer to a meteorological event that has begun in the recent past and is still continuing. In contrast, the unmarked use of the same forms of monovalent weather verbs is to indicate events that are no longer continuing at the moment of speaking:

- (31) *vuch see ruud pyoo-s*  
look sir rain fell-3sD  
'Look, Sir, it has rained.'

Thus, if a speaker wishes to direct someone's attention to the fact that it has begun to rain, he may either use a bivalent expression in the past tense or a monovalent one in the present tense:

- (32a) *vuch see ruud chu-s pyev-aan*  
look sir rain is-3sD fall-ing  
'Look, Sir, it's raining.'

- (32b) *vuch see ruud koru-n-as*  
look sir rain did-3sE-3sD  
'Look, Sir, it's raining.' (Lit: 'X did rain to Y.')

There is at least one pair of bivalent weather expressions in which the cases assigned to the two valents alternate in a manner reminiscent of the alternation found with English "spray-paint" verbs:<sup>9</sup>

- (33a) *obur cooru-n asmaan-as*

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<sup>9</sup> Compare (33a) with 'She sprayed paint on the wall.' and (33b) with 'She sprayed the wall with paint.'

cloud.Nom spread-3sE sky-Dat

'The sky has clouded over.'

(Lit: 'X fastened cloud to sky.')

(33b) *asmaan cooru-n oburi-siity*

sky.Nom spread-3sE sky-with

'The sky has clouded over.'

(Lit: 'X fastened sky with cloud.')

The range of bivalent weather verbs appears restricted to unpredictable natural events. As can be seen from (34b), the predictable motions of the sun, moon, stars, and other natural bodies are not included (but see section IV below):

(34a) *obur khoodu-n nab-as*

cloud lifted-3sE sky-Dat

'Clouds appeared in the sky.'

(Lit: 'X raised cloud to sky.')

(34b) \**aaftaab khoodu-n nab-as*

sun lifted-3sE sky-Dat

'The sun rose in the sky.'

(Lit: 'X raised sun to sky.')

<sup>10</sup> The case regime in (33b), rare in Kashmiri, resembles that found in Russian impersonal constructions:

(a) *grjaznoj taloj vodoj zatopi-l-o ulitsu*

[[mreporter.ru/reports/10936](http://mreporter.ru/reports/10936)]

dirty.Instr melt.Instr water.Instr flood-Pst-Nsg(Def) road-Acc

'Dirty meltwater flooded the road.' (Lit: 'X flooded the road with dirty meltwater.')

(b) *чёрной мглой покрыло небо*

[[sakural3.beon.ru/2.html](http://sakural3.beon.ru/2.html)]

black.Instr mist.Instr cover-Pst-Nsg(Def) sky.Acc

'Cold black mist covered the sky.' (Lit: 'X covered the sky with cold black mist.')

Another impersonal in Kashmiri of the Russian type is *asmaan horu-n oburi-siity* 'X filled the sky with cloud.'

In such cases a monovalent verb must be used:

- (34c) *aaftaab khot nab-as*  
 sun rose sky-Dat  
 'The sun rose in the sky.'

In contrast to health verbs, the third person singular agent suffix *-n* of weather verbs seems to suggest a possible referent, at least to some speakers of Kashmiri. They interpret the *-n* as referring to God and even provide examples which have full noun phrases referring to the Almighty together with finite forms of the verb from which the *-n* is absent:

- (35a) *az troovii-n-as ruud*  
 today released-3sE-3sD rain  
 'It has been raining.'

(Lit: 'Today X released rain to Y.')

- (35b) *az troovii-s khwadaa-yan ruud*  
 today released-3sD God-Erg rain  
 'It has been raining today.'

(Lit: 'Today God dropped rain on Y.')

However, rather than reflecting the conceptual world of the contemporary Kashmiri speech community, it seems more likely that usages like that seen in (35b) are attempts by a few individuals to make sense for themselves of a construction in which the relation between form and meaning is opaque even to native speakers. The overt mention of God is rejected outright by other individuals who state flatly that the agent<sup>11</sup> of the bivalent weather verbs is "abstract".

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<sup>11</sup> However, it is worth recalling the Sanskrit usage cited by the *Kāśikā* as an example to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 2.3.10:

(a) *ā pātaliputrād vṛṣṭo devah*  
 up.to Pataliputra.Abl rained God  
 'God (*aka* It) has rained (all the way) up to Pataliputra.'

Languages such as Poguli, Shina, and Balti spoken in areas adjacent Kashmir also show some parallels to these bivalent weather expressions. In Upper Poguli (Neel Valley) we find:

### III. Expressions of Possession.

Speakers' uncertainty about the identity of the abstract agent in health and weather expressions disappears when they are asked about a third set of impersonal bivalent predicates. These are expressions of psychic possession which are usually used to indicate that someone is out of his senses or will not listen to reason:

(36) *emyis zan chu-n hoov-mut*  
 him.Dat as-if is-3sE shown-PP  
 'He is as if possessed.'

(37) *tsi kyaazyi chukh-ni paniny keem karaan? roTu-n-akh-aa?*  
 you why are-not your work doing seized-3sE-2sN-QM  
 'Why aren't you working? Did X possess/catch you?'

(38) *thaph ker-n-as-aa? swa kyaazyi chi laDaayi karaan?*  
 hold made-3sE-3sD-QM she why is quarrels making  
 'What's got into her! Why is she fighting (over this)?'

(b) *rood laag-tw-in*  
 rain apply-Pst-3sE 'It's begun to rain.' (Lit: 'X applied the rain.')

Bailey (1924:252-272) lists at least five bivalent weather expressions in which the subject is "God" understood for Guresi and Kohistani Shina: 'to cloud' *azu wyonu* ('to insert cloud'); 'to rain' *azu valyonu* ('to bring down cloud'); 'to snow' *hinn valyoni* ('to bring down snow'); 'to hail' *oyen valyonu*; 'to pink cloud' (= 'to glow red [at sunset])?' *lazi dayonu* (for *dayoni*?) ('to burn [Tr] cloud'). [Abstract subjects are common in Gilgiti: See Appendix.] Balti, a western form of Tibetan, has:

(c) *charpha mala tangma-med amargun-la khaa tanged*  
 rain never throw-Neg but winter-Dat snow throws  
 'It never rains but in winter it snows.' (Read 1934:81)

Compare the parallel Kashmiri expressions in *traav* 'let go, drop; throw away' in examples (28abc), (35ab).

In these expressions, although the agent is not for most speakers a real being, his or her identity is quite definite: some kind of evil demon, jinn, or *raahcook* 'crossroad spirit' that takes possession of the mind of its victim and leads him astray. The seizure is indicated by the expression *thaph kar* 'make a grab at; seize (someone)': see (38). Once in control the spirit overpowers his victim's senses and "shows him" (*haav*), ie, makes him see things that are not there. The technical term for such a possessing spirit is *tasruph.daar* and there is an expression *tasruph kar* 'possess' which can be used as a synonym for *haav* (36), *raT* (37), and *thaph kar* (38):

- (39)    *ẓev*            *che-n-ay*            *reT-mits*, *tasruph*    *koru-n-ay-aa?*  
           tongue        is-3sE-3sD        caught-PP possession did-3sE-3sD-QM  
           'What's wrong? Cat got your tongue?'            ('Have you been possessed?')

When these expressions occur in non-ergative tenses, they agree in person and number with their abstract agents. Note the third person singular future tense affix *-yi* in *raT-yi-y-aa* in (40):

- (40)    *tsi*        *agar*    *puamay*    *keem*    *karakh*    *tsye*        *raT-yi-y-aa?*  
           you    if        yourself    work    will-do    you.Dat    catch-  
           Fut3sg-2sD-QM  
           'If you do the work yourself, will X grab you?'

The significance of this fact will become clear in the next section.

#### IV. Expressions of Natural Processes.

Yet another set of expressions in which abstract agents figure is that denoting the progression of a gradable change. Examples:

- (41) *tiir-yi*    *siity*    *ywazil-ooyu-n-as*    *buth*  
           cold-Dat with    redden-Tr-3sE-3sD    face



'Her face (has) reddened with the cold.'  
[*vwazul* = 'red']

(Lit: '...X has reddened her the face.')

(42) *su chu-ni vwan̄y šur. gōḍtshi tyi che-n-as chyats.ir-*  
*aayi-matsi*

he is-not now child moustaches even are-3sE-3sD greyed-  
Tr-PP(fp)

'He is no spring chicken. Even his moustaches have gone grey.'  
[*chot* = 'gray']

(Lit: '...X has greyed him the moustaches.')

(43) *byemaaryi siity zōgir-eevi-n swa*  
illness with rust-TR.Pst-3sE she.Nom

'She wasted away from illness.' [zanguar.

m. = 'rust, corrosion']

(Lit: '...X has rusted her away.')

At first glance, it may seem as if this set of expressions is simply an extension of the set of weather expressions to all kinds of natural changes that proceed over time without the intervention of any particular causal agent. But in fact, there are syntactic differences that these expressions from expressions of weather and of health. The latter, even when they contain bivalent verbs such as *kar-* 'do' or *an-* 'bring', are syntactically intransitive. This is not clear in preterite or perfect tenses where, as in many Indo-Aryan languages, the Kashmiri verb, if intransitive, agrees in gender and number with the subject; and if transitive, with the direct object. Thus, from preterite forms, it is not possible to tell whether expressions with abstract agents are transitive or intransitive. The word *pyeeych* 'cramps' in (44a) or the word *vuzimali* 'bolts' in (44b) could equally well be direct objects in a transitive clause or subjects in an intransitive clause (in which case *kar* would mean 'happen' or 'occur' with *n* having no function other than to mark *kar*'s valency class):

(44a) *temyis keryi-n pyeeych*  
him.Dat did-3sE cramps

'He's got cramps.'

- (44b) *vuzimali karyi-n-as*  
 bolts made-3sE-3sD  
 'It's been lightening.'

The ambiguity is resolved by looking at the future tense, where we find that the finite verb agrees in number not with the abstract agent (which is always singular<sup>12</sup>) but with *pyeeych* and *vuzimali* (which are both plural nouns):

- (44a') *temyis kar-an (not kar-yi) pyeeych*  
 him.Dat do-Fut3pl do-Fut3sg cramps  
 'He will get cramps.'

- (44b') *vuzimali kar-an-as (not kar-y-as)*  
 bolts do-Fut3pl-3sD do-Fut3sg-3sD  
 'It will lighten.'

In contrast, expressions of natural processes (and of possession) show agreement in number (and, where possible, in gender) with the abstract agent in non-ergative tenses:

- (45) *gōōtshi tyi chats.ir-aav-y-as (not chats.ir-aav-an-as)*  
 moustaches even grey-Tr-Fut3sg-3sD grey-Tr-Fut3p-3sD

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<sup>12</sup> In (a), an example from literature, the appearance of the feminine plural form of the dependent infinitive *vaal-inyi* is further evidence that the noun phrase is functioning as the subject of an intransitive rather than as the object of a transitive even though the stem *vaal-* 'throw down' is usually a lexical transitive. See discussion in Hook and Koul 1987:201ff.

- (a) *ruudi-tsaadiri hyatsa-n vaal-inyi. (\*ruudi-tsaadirav hyot*  
*vaal-im)*  
 rain-sheets(Fpl) began-3sE throw.down-Inf.Fpl rain-sheets.Erg began  
 throw-Inf.Def  
 'The rain began coming down in sheets.'  
 ("Azad" 1985:87)

'Even his moustaches will turn grey.'

(Lit: '...X will grey him the moustaches.')

(46) *yatyī chu-s-ni* (not *che-s-ni*) *apryeel-as taam šiini-maanyī*  
*galir-aav-aan*  
 here is-3sD-not are-3sD-not April-Dat until snow-blocks  
 melt-Tr-ing

'Here the blocks of snow do not melt until April.'

(47a) *taarakh keDyi-n-as neny*  
 stars drew-3sE-3sD bright

'The stars came out bright.'

(47b) *taarakh kaD-y-as* (not *kaD-an-as*) *neny*  
 stars draw-Fut3sg-3sD draw-Fut3p-3sD bright

'The stars will come out bright.' [compare (47b)']

This suggests that the full lexical NPs in these expressions (*taarakh* 'stars', etc.) are not the subjects, but rather the direct objects of transitive predicates, and as such are syntactically to be distinguished from the nouns in health and weather expressions.

Further evidence for this distinction is to be found in the behavior of these expressions in conjunction. Weather expressions, which are syntactically intransitive, allow conjunction of forms having dummy agents with ordinary monovalent forms:

(48) *gwaDi karyi-n-as syeThaa vuzimali ti pati gey-as kam*  
 first did-3sE-3sD many bolts and then went-3sD less

'At first there was a lot of lightning and then less.'

In contrast, bivalent natural process verbs allow conjunction only with other bivalent natural process verbs:<sup>13</sup>

(49a) *gwaDi keryi-n-as taarakh geeb ti pati keDyi-n-as byeyi ne*  
 first did-3sE-3sD stars hidden and then drew-3sE-  
 sD again clear

'First the stars disappeared and then/came out bright again.'

(49b) \**gwaDi keryi-n-as taarakh geeb ti pati draay-*  
*byeyi neny*  
 first did-3sE-3sD stars hidden and then  
 emerged-3sD again clear

(49c) *gwaDi gey-as taarakh geeb ti pati draay-as*  
*byeyi neny*  
 first went-3sD stars hidden and then emerged-3sD  
 again clear

'First the stars disappeared and then/came out bright again.'

Although *vuzimali* 'lightning bolts' in (48) is lexically the patient of the verb *kar* 'do, make', it is syntactically the subject of its clause and as such can be interpreted as the subject of a following clause (*ti pati geyas kam* 'and then became less'). The noun phrase *taarakh* 'stars' is also lexically the patient of its verb *geeb kar* 'make disappear', but in (50a) since it is syntactically the direct object (not the subject) of its clause, it cannot be interpreted as the subject of the following clause (*ti pati draayas byeyi neny* 'and then came out bright again'). To understand the significance of (49abc) we must bear in mind that if a following transitive clause is missing a lexical direct object, then the direct object of the first clause is interpreted as the direct object of the second clause, too: Thus, *kyitaab*

In Kashmiri's subordinating conjunction [using the conjunctive participle affixes *-yith* and *-y*] the distinction between natural force constructions and natural process constructions disappears:

(a) *ruud treev-yith adir-oovu-nos bi*      (b) *ruud pye-th adir-*

'book', the direct object of *mely hye* 'buy' in (50) is interpreted as the direct object in the following clause (*ti pati perin* 'and then read (it)'):

- (50) *sajaad-an hyets kyitaab mely ti pati peri-n*  
 Sajad-Erg took book price and then read-3sE  
 'Sajad bought a book and then read (it).'

In the same way *taurakh* is interpretable as the direct object of the following clause (*ti pati keDyinas byeyi neny*) in (49a).

Further evidence that the noun phrase in natural process expressions is a direct object comes from the alternation of case and of coreferential pronominal suffixes with tense. In Kashmiri, second person direct objects acted upon by third person subjects receive the dative case when the tense is not an ergative one. At the same time if they are singular they are registered on the finite verb by the dative pronominal suffix *-y*:

- (51a) *sajaad sooz-yi-y tsye jom*  
 Sajad.Nom send-Fut3sg-2sD you.Dat Jammu  
 'Sajad will send you to Jammu.'

In ergative (ie. completive) tenses, however, the direct object is in the nominative case and, if second person singular, it is coreferenced on the finite verb by the second person nominative suffix *-kh*:

- (51b) *sajaad-an suuzu-kh-aa tsi jom*  
 Sajad-Erg sent-2sN-QM you.Nom Jammu  
 'Did Sajad send you to Jammu?'

The noun phrase in bivalent natural process expressions has the same alternations in case and coreferential suffix as direct objects in ordinary transitive clauses:

- (52a) *vakht-i brōḍTh buD.ir-aav-yi-y tsye*  
 time-Abl before age-Tr-Fut3sg-2sD you.Dat

'You will age before your time!'

[compare (51a)]

(52b) *vakht-i*      *brōōTh*      *huD.ir-oovu-n-akh*      *tsi*  
 time-Abl    before      age-Tr.Pst3sg-3sF-2sN    you.Nom  
 'You      have      aged      before      your      time!'

[compare (51b)]

It is axiomatic to our analysis that while a noun phrase may be both subject and patient at the same time, it cannot simultaneously be both subject and direct object (at least, not with respect to the same predicate). Thus, showing that they are direct objects is to show that they are not subjects.

We present here two more tests for subjecthood that serve to distinguish both health and weather expressions from bivalent natural process expressions. The first of them involves verbs of perception ('see', 'hear', etc.). In Kashmiri, as in many languages, the patient of such verbs must be the subject of any non-finite dependent:

(53a) *mye*    *boozi*    *tyimi*      *maar*      *khyev-aan*      (*\*pyev-aan*)  
 I.Erg    heard    they(Fpl)    beating    eat-ing      fall-ing  
 'I heard them getting a beating.'

(53b) *mye*    *huuz*    *tyiman*      *maar*      *pyev-aan*      (*\*khyev-aan*)  
 I.Erg    heard    them.Dat    beating    fall-ing      eat-ing  
 'I heard them getting a beating.'

In (53a) *tyimi* 'they' is the syntactic subject of *khyevaam* 'eating' and *boozi* 'heard' is feminine plural to agree. In (53b) the noun *maar* 'beating' is the syntactic subject of the non-finite *pyevaam* 'falling' and *huuz* 'heard' is masculine singular to agree. It is to be noted that the non-finite *khyevaam* in (53a) has a direct object *maar* of its own with which the primary *boozi* cannot agree.

When we compare bivalent weather expressions with bivalent natural process expressions we find that the former can appear as dependents of perception verbs; the latter, cannot:

(54a) *vuzimali vuchya-m karaan* / (54b) *vuzimali vuchya-*  
*m gatshaan* bolts saw-1sE doing bolts saw-1sE  
 going  
 'I saw it lightening.'

(55a) *taarakh vuchyi-m geeb gatshaan* / (55b) \**taarakh vuchyi-m*  
*geeb karaan* stars saw-1sE hidden going stars saw-1sE  
 hidden doing  
 'I saw the stars disappear.'

In fact, *taarakh vuchyim geeb karaan* is acceptable but only in the surrealist meaning 'I saw (some persons) making the stars disappear.'

The second test gives a parallel result. It involves the expression *mumkyin aas-* ['be possible'] that takes the subject of an intransitive infinitive or the direct object of a transitive infinitive as its own subject:

(56a) *pēēsi yi-ny chi mumkyin az*  
 money(Mpl) come-Inf.Mpl are possible today  
 'The money may come today.'

(56b) *pēēsi geeb kar-ny chi mumkyin vwanv*  
 money(Mpl) hidden do-Inf.Mpl are possible now  
 'Now the money can be made to disappear.'

The forms *yiny* and *kariny* are infinitives inflected for the gender and number for their subject and direct object, respectively. When the direct object of a transitive infinitive serves as the subject of *mumkyin aas-* 'be

possible (to V)', the subject of the infinitive, if overt, occurs as a genitive which agrees in gender and number with the direct object:

- (57) *seen-y chi vwan̄y pēēsi geeb kar-iny*  
*mumkyin*  
 our-Mpl are now money(Mpl) hidden do-Inf.Mpl  
 possible

'It is possible now for us to make the money disappear.'

If a subject of the infinitive is not overt, it is nevertheless felt to be present, albeit unspecified. It is the felt presence of such a covert subject [as in (56b)] which distinguishes bivalent natural process expressions from health and weather expressions when they are dependents of *mumkyin aas-*:

- (58a) *vuzimali kar-nȳi chi mumkyin az*  
 bolts(Fpl) do-Inf.Fpl are possible today  
 'There may be lightning today.'

- (58b) *temyis chi pyeeych kar-iny mumkyin*  
 him.Dat are cramps(Mpl) do-Inf.Mpl possible  
 'It's possible that he will get cramps.'

- (58c) *taarakh geeb gatsh-iny (\*kar-iny ) chi mumkyin*  
 stars(Mpl) hidden go-Inf.Mpl do-Inf.Mpl are possible  
 'The stars may disappear.'

The bivalent *kariny* may occur in (58c) but then, unlike in (58a) and (58b), the presence of a real (non-abstract) subject-agent is palpable: 'It's possible for someone to make the stars disappear.' [Compare (55b).] Thus, the noun *taarakh* in the phrase *taarakh geeb kariny* in (58c) is to be regarded as a direct object of a transitive predicate, like *pēēsi* in (56b); while *vuzimali* in (58a) and *pyeeych* in (58b) are to be compared with *pēēsi* in (56a) as subjects of intransitives.



**V. Some Implications.**

When we began our study we first thought an investigation of these (typologically) rare types of constructions might provide a glimpse into the conceptual world of the Kashmiri speech community. But as our investigation proceeded we found that the only abstract agent for which there was a definite conceptual counterpart was the one which figures in the rather limited set of expressions of possession. Furthermore, while everyone could identify the conceptual referent of the abstract agent in these expressions, not one of the Kashmiris we spoke with about the *tasruphdaar* 'possessing demon' personally believed in the existence of such a being. These expressions are perhaps a relic of earlier beliefs, but even then one wonders whether all their users ever subscribed completely and equally to the ideas on which they might be based.

The non-referential agents in other sets of expressions were deeper mysteries to native speakers as well as to us. Several individuals stated flatly that they were 'abstract'. It is perhaps to be expected that native speakers might not themselves be consciously aware of the particular conceptual structuring of the world which a given feature of their language might reflect. But this is the kind of objection that prevents any hypothesis about the relation between linguistic structure and conceptual worlds from being refuted (or confirmed for that matter). Is there, then, nothing more to be said? We think that there is.

In our comparison of health and weather expressions with natural process expressions we were able to distinguish two kinds of abstract agent on syntactic grounds. At first glance it is hard to make sense of the distribution of predicate types with respect to the two types of agent. The flashing of lightning and the drowning of stars in the increasing light of morning seem equally natural and equally impersonal events. But on reflection there does seem to be a consistent difference in the meanings of health and weather expressions as opposed to expressions of natural processes that justifies subjecthood of participant nouns in the first set and objecthood of their counterparts in the second. Conditions of health and weather events share a certain unpredictability that is absent in natural processes like the melting of snow in the month of April (59), the

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withering or drying up of plants from lack of rain (60), the darkening of the sky at dusk (61):

(59) *apryeelas-manz goolu-n-as šiin*  
 April.Dat- in melt.Pst-3sE-3sD snow  
 'The snow melted in April.'

(60) *ruud na pyeni siity zaz.ir-oovu-n-as haakh*  
 rain not falling with wither-Tr.Pst-3sE-3sD greens  
 'The greens have dried up for lack of rain.'

(61) *juum-as manz chu-s yetyi anyigaTi eeThyi baji pati kar-  
 aan*  
 June-Dat in is-3sD here darkness eight o'clock after do-  
 ing  
 'In June it gets dark here after eight o'clock.'

Many if not all of the expressions of natural processes we have examined so far alternate with intransitives with which they closely correspond in meaning and with whom they have a transparent morphological resemblance:

(59') *apryeelas-manz gulu-s šiin*  
 April.Dat-in melt(Intr).Pst-3sD snow  
 'The snow melted in April.'  
 [*gal-* 'melt' (intr.)]

(60') *ruud na pyeni siity zazir-yoov haakh*  
 rain not falling with wither(Intr)-Pst greens  
 'The greens have dried up for lack of rain.' [*zazir-*  
 'wilt' (Intr.) < *zazur* 'wilted']

(61) *obur-i siity geT.ir-oovu-n-as gaaš*  
 cloud-Abl with dim-Tr.Pst-3sE-3sD light  
 'The light dimmed from the clouds.' [*geT.ir-* 'get  
 dark' < *gaTi* (f.pl.) 'darkness']

- (62) *tsi kootah chu-n-akh lyodir-oov-mut!*  
 you.Nom how.much is-3sE-2sN yellow-Tr.Pst-PP.Msg  
 'How pale you have gotten!' [lyodir-  
 'turn yellow' < *lyodur* 'yellow']

Exceptions include the recurring suppletive relation between *kar-* and *gatsh-*:<sup>14</sup>

- (63) *juun-as manz chu-s yetyi anyigaTi eeThyi baji pati kar-*  
*aan*  
 June-Dat in is-3sD here darkness eight o'clock after do-  
 ing  
 'In June it gets dark here after eight o'clock.'

- (63') *juun-as manz chi-s yetyi anyigaTi eeThyi baji pati*  
*gatsh-aan*  
 June-Dat in is-3sD here darkness eight o'clock after go-  
 ing  
 'In June it gets dark here after eight o'clock.'

Often an event that is the direct cause of the process described is overtly mentioned: (60), (64), (65):

- (64) *hamaam-as manz tsyeer-taam byih-yith vušinoov-n-as*  
*bi*  
 hamam-Dat in long.time-until sit-CP heat.Pst-3sE-1sN  
 I.Nom  
 'In the bath I got hot.'  
 [*vuš-* 'get hot' < *vušin* 'hot']

<sup>14</sup> On this point Kashmiri differs from most other Indo-Aryan languages in which *kar-* alternates with some form of *ho-* < OIA *bhu-* 'become'. It would seem that *bov-*, the reflex of *bhu-*, has nearly disappeared from the modern language [see Grierson 1932: 151] to be replaced by the vectorial element of the extinct compound verb *\*buvyith gatsh-* 'become'.

- (65) *tamyisund dwakh bunz-yith kumil-oovu-n-am dyil*  
 her sorrow hear.CP soften-TR.Pst-3sE-1sD heart.Nom  
 'Hearing her tale of woe, my heart melted.'

In contrast to these natural process expressions, in health and weather expression we find no occurrence of a transitivizing affix and no overt mention of the cause of the phenomena denoted. The untrained speakers of Kashmiri (or for that matter, of any language) know the connection between cloud cover and the dimming of light or between cold and the reddening of flesh, but they might not know the natural causes of *pyeeych* 'cramps', *matsar* 'madness', *ruud* 'rain' or *vuzimali* 'lightning'. That is why these phenomena are presented as relatively autonomous, not as agents of transitive predicates (for that would endow them with the volitionality of animate beings<sup>15</sup>, but as subject-patients of semantically intransitive but lexically bivalent ('patient-governing') verbs: whereas the noun phrases that figure in expressions of natural processes are both patients and direct objects of their predicates<sup>16</sup>. In this way speakers of Kashmiri have found a way to distinguish volitional and autonomous entities (66a) from non-

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<sup>15</sup> Other South Asian languages endow natural forces with animacy. In the Munda language Santali, for instance, words for sun, moon, stars, wind, rain, etc. when subjects in a clause get the agreement particles reserved for animate beings:

- (a) *dak?-ked-a-e*  
 rain-Pst-Indic-he 'It rained.' (Lit: 'He rained.')
- (b) *ipil-e nel-ok?-kam-a*  
 star-he see-Mid-Pres-Indic 'The star is visible.' (Lit: 'The star, he is visible.')(MacPhail 1973:58)

In Kashmiri, the special treatment of such noun phrases is more fluid, depending more on the nature of the event which they participate in, less on their referential identity.

<sup>16</sup> This difference in conceptualization may explain why introducing an adverb like *paamay* 'by oneself' seems redundant with nouns like *vuzimali* 'lightning' but adds information to clauses with nouns like *taarakh* 'stars':

- (a) *obur khot ti vuzimali geyi (\*paamay)*  
 cloud rose and bolts went (by.themselves)  
 'Clouds gathered and lightning flashed (?by itself).'
- (b) *gaas aav ti taarakh geyi paamay geeb*  
 light came and stars went by.themselves hidden  
 'The dawn came and the stars went out by themselves.'

volitional autonomous ones (66b) and these in turn from non-autonomous ones (66c):

- (66a) [+volitional], [+agent], *sajaad tsol*  
 [+autonomous] [+subject] Sajad fled 'Sajad fled.'
- (66b) [-volitional], [+patient], *šiin troov-n-as*  
 [±autonomous] [+subject] snow threw-3sE-3sD 'It is snowing.'
- (66c) [-volitional], [+patient], *šiin gool-n-as*  
 [-autonomous] [+object] snow melted-3sE-3sD 'The snow melted.'

However, the impersonal expressions in (66b) and (66c) do not have exclusive rights. They alternate (compete?) with typical unaccusative intransitives as in (66d) and (66e):

- (66d) [-volitional], [+patient], *šiin chu-s pyev-aan*  
 [±autonomous] [+subject] snow is-3sD snow-ing 'It is snowing.'
- (66e) [-volitional], [+patient], *šiin golu-s*  
 [-autonomous] [+object] snow melted-3sD 'The snow melted.'

Initially we thought of Kashmiri's impersonal expressions as constituting an enumerable set of idioms. While natural force expressions may well constitute such a delimitable set, the abundance and range of natural process expressions may force a reconsideration of their status as idioms. Perhaps they are rather to be seen as representing a constructional option, limited to certain semantic fields, but not to be exhaustively listed.

The question may be asked: Why does Kashmiri have these extra, far from cross-linguistically universal choices in construction types? Why

have impersonal constructions persisted in Kashmiri even after the pantheistic beliefs that may have once underlain them have now largely disappeared? One [partial] possible explanation is that their continuing presence reflects the ‘pressure’ of other grammatical constraints. For instance, subordinate clause conjunction via the conjunctive participle in Kashmiri requires coreferentiality in the subjects of the clauses that are conjoined:

(67a) *kanyi kheer-yith vaaje-n dušman.as-pyaTh*  
 stones lift-CP throw.Pst-3sE enemies-on  
 ‘Bringing up stones he threw them down on the enemy.’

(67b) *\*/swa/ kanyi kheer-yith vaaje-n dušman.as-pyaTh*  
 she stones lift-CP throw.Pst-3sE enemies-on  
 ‘She bringing up stones he threw them down on the enemy.’

The presence of an empty subject marker allows the conjunction of a sequence of clauses expressing different natural forces to satisfy this grammatical constraint. While (68a) is not ungrammatical, (68b) expresses the same idea in a more felicitous way:

(68a) *?obur khes-yith vothu-s ruud*  
 cloud rise-CP descend-3sD rain  
 ‘The sky becoming overcast rain descended.’

(68b) *obur kheer-yith voolu-n-as ruud*  
 cloud lift-CP threw.down-3sE-3sD rain  
 ‘The sky becoming overcast rain descended.’ [Lit: ‘X brought up clouds and threw down rain.’]

But other Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi-Urdu and Marathi also have a strong preference for the coreferentiality of subjects in conjunctive participial constructions yet do not have impersonals of the Kashmiri type. Therefore, invoking the pressure of this particular grammatical constraint to explain the continuing presence in Kashmiri of impersonals featuring abstract subjects cannot take us very far.

## Appendix: Natural Forces and Processes in Kashmiri and Shina of Gilgit

Subsequent to the research reported on in the preceding sections of this chapter, it became clearer that impersonal expressions of the kinds discussed here are not limited to Kashmiri and its dialect Poguli. A partly overlapping repertoire (reported on in Hook and Zia [2005]) exists in Shina of Gilgit. However, the impersonal causative expressions (ICE's) of Gilgiti Shina differ from their Kashmiri counterparts in featuring a feminine singular subject (as indicated by the agreement suffixes on the finite verb). They seem also less likely than their Kashmiri counterparts to be used figuratively. We list them here together with their intransitive alternants and [when available] their closest Kashmiri parallels.

### A. Gilgiti Shina impersonal causative expressions (ICEs) of sensation or emotion:

1. *arr tharoóiky* 'be startled'. *arr boóiky*.

2. *bijaroóiky* 'feel afraid'. *ma TuTanger bijareégi* 'I felt afraid in the dark.'  
*bijoóiky*

Kashmiri: *vyesir-* 'feel terror' > *vyesiraav-* 'terrify': *krakh buuz-yith*  
*vyesir.oov-n-as bi*

scream hear-CP

terrified-3sE-1sN I.Nom

'Hearing a scream

I was struck with terror.'

3. *bóor tharoóiky* 'feel bored'.

4. *cang tharoóiky* 'become cloyed with or numb to taste of something'.  
*šakar bodi kheé kheé ma cang thareégin* 'I have eaten so much sugar I  
can't taste it anymore.' *cang boóiky*

5. *Cáa tharoóiky* 'feel cold'. *Cáa boóiky*. Listed as equivalents in Bailey  
(1924:134, 177).

Kashmiri: *su oos šraan ker-yith nyebri.kanyi gyindaan ti sakh*  
*tiir kheeri-n-as*

he was bath do-CP outside playing and extreme cold raised-3sE-3sD

'He was playing outdoors (just) after taking a bath and got extremely cold.'

6. *gaár valaroóiky* (with Gen of experiencer) 'feel dizzy'. *gaár vayooóiky* (with Gen of experiencer). There is also a *gaár valoóiky* with Erg of experiencer: *jaháazer mas gaár valeégas* 'I threw up on board'.

7. *giSumaroóiky* 'become restless' Urdu: '*beqaraar honaa*'. Also functions as in B below. *giSumijoóiky*(?).

8. *laš tharoóiky* 'feel ashamed'. *laš boóiky*

Kashmiri: *mandich-* > *mandichaav-*: *candas manz pēēsi na vuuc-yith mandich-oovu-n-as bi*

pocket in money not see-CP  
shame-TR.Pst-3sE-1sN I.Nom

'I was deeply ashamed to find my pockets were empty.'

9. *šidayaroóiky* 'lose courage' ?

10. *Somaroóiky* 'feel tired/exhausted'. *ma kitáap paReé paReé Somareégin* 'I am tired of reading this book.' *Somoóiky*

11. *taáti tharoóiky* 'feel hot'. (*taáto*) *boóiky*

12. *taparoóiky* 'feel hot'. *baál laai tapareégin leél bin* 'The boy seems to be feeling very hot.'

Kashmiri: *vuš-* 'get hot' > *vušinaav-* 'heat': *hamaam-as manz vuš-inoov-n-as bi*

hamam-Dat in  
heat.Pst-3sE-1sN I.Nom

'In the bath I got hot.'

13. *tušaroóiky* (with Abl of Y) 'become sick of Y': Urdu: '*Y se dil bhar jaanaa*'. *ma tu jo tušareégin* 'I'm fed up with you.' *tušoóiky*. *ma tu jo tuTumus* 'ditto'.

14. *uyanaroóiky* 'feel hungry'. *uyanoóiky*

15. *uyáni tharoóiky* 'feel hungry'. (*uyáno*) *boóiky*

16. *vayaál tharoóiky* 'feel thirsty'. *ma vayaál thareégin* '... am thirsty'. *vayaál boóiky*. *ma vayaál biganus*. 'ditto'. There is also a *vayaál vayooóiky* with dative of experiencer. *maT vayaál vatin* '... am thirsty' (Lit: 'Thirst has come to me').



17. *vayalarooiky* 'feel thirsty'.

18. *ašaati tharooiky* 'feel weak'. *ašaato hoóiky*

Kashmiri: *aavis-* > *aavisaav-* *khyeni-khyeni siity aavis.oova-n-akh-aa?*  
[Cognate to (22)?]

eating-eating with weaken-TR.Pst-

3sE-2sN-QM

'You ate and ate and lost all your strength?'

B. Complementizing frames for the ICE's of sensation or emotion listed in A [See (48) and (49abc)]:

19. *chupuS tharooiky* 'be tormented' Urdu: '*parešaan honaa*': *ma taati thareé chupuS thareégi* 'I'm so hot that I'm about to go crazy!' *chupuS hoóiky*: *ma taato beé chupuS bigas* 'ditto'.

20. *mar(ar)ooiky* 'die'. Used as an ICE *mar(ar)ooiky* is always preceded by another ICE in conjunctive participle form. Alternates with *mirijoóiky* preceded by the conjunctive participle of the corresponding intransitive verb.

21. *hifaá tharooiky* = Urdu: '*Gamgiin honaa*': *ma taati thareé hifaá thareégin* vs. *ma taato beé hifaá biganus*. 'I'm depressed from feeling hot.'

C. Expressions of (ill) health:

22. *awašarooiky* 'become paralyzed'. *awašoóiky*. Cf Urdu's *kisii ko laqvaá / faalij maarnaá*.

23. *šuzharooiky* 'swell up'. *risei haat šuzhareégin*, *pas búlun bei* 'His hand is swollen; there may be an abscess.'

24. *Seyarooiky* 'go blind'. *Seyoóiky*

25. *puSangarooiky* 'be gassy'. *risei Deér puSangareégin* 'He's suffering from gas.' *puSangoóiky*

26. *thularooiky* 'get fat'. *ro thulareégi* 'He got fat.'

27. *thulo tharooiky* 'get fat'. *ma Tiki kheé kheé / thulo // thuli / thareégin* 'I ate and ate and got fat.' Rare.

D. Natural processes:

28. *jararoóiky* 'become old'. *umarejo yaraki tu jarareégin* 'You've aged before your time.' [See (53ab).]

29. *jaro tharoóiky* 'get old'. See *jararoóiky*.

30. *krijaroóiky* 'become rusty'. *krij(ij)ooóiky(?)*

Kashmiri: *zôgir-* > *zôgiraav-*: *byemaaryi siity zôgir-eevi-n swa* [*zangaar*, n. = 'corrosion']

illness with "rust"-TR.Pst-3sE  
she.Nom

'She wasted away from illness.'

[figuratively 'rusted away']

31. *luparoóiky* 'make shine'. *tu lupareégin* 'You're looking good!'  
*lupoóiky*

Kashmiri: *camak-* 'shine' > *camkaav-* 'polish': *kismat camk-oovn-n-ay*

fortune.Nom shine-

TR.Pst-3sE-2sD

'Your luck has

brightened.'

32. *mucaroóiky* 'curdle'. *dut mucareéginaa?* 'Has the milk curdled?'  
*mucóóiky: dut muTu-n-aa?* 'ditto'

E. Weather expressions:

33. *beZi hararoóiky* 'clear up'. *luSTaky beZi hararei yaa?* 'Will it (the weather) clear up tomorrow?'

Kashmiri: *vwath-* 'rise' > *tul-* 'raise': *raath tul-n-as obur*

yesterday lifted-3sE-3sD

cloud

'Yesterday the skies cleared.'

Kashmiri: *dar- > deriraav-: pagah der-iraavy-as-aa*  
*asmaan?*

tomorrow stabilize-TR.Fut-3sD-QM  
 sky

'Will there be good weather tomorrow?'

F. Others in Shina:

34. *dijaroóiky* 'stumble and fall'. *ma ponyer dijareégi* 'I fell on the way.'

35. *jargan tharoóiky* 'stumble; make a misstep or mistake'. *jargan boóiky*

G. Others in Kashmiri:

36. *adir-* 'get wet': *ruudas-manz pakaan-pakaan adr.oovu-n-as bi*  
*puuri-peeThy*

rain.Dat-in walking-walking moistened-3sE-1sN

I.Nom complete-ly

'I got completely soaked walking in the rain.'

37. *gekhir-* 'be dragged': *viTyi-viTi kalaasas-manz phyeel getsh-yith*  
*gekhir-oovu-n su*

time-time class-in fail go-CP drag-

TR.Pst-3sE he.Nom

'Failing in class again and again his prospects

began to fade.'

38. *gaND-* 'tie': *mukaabilic paarTyii cunaav zven-aan geNDi-n*  
*yiktidaar-paarTyiiy ryeh*

opposition's party election gain-ing tied-3sE

governing-party.Dat

flame(Fsg)

'The electoral gains of the opposition have inflamed the  
 ruling party.'

39. *pye-* 'fall': *ryetyi-kaalyi boonyi-šyihilyis byih-yith p-eevi-n-am*  
*(dyilas) šyehilath*

summer-time chinar-shade.Dat sit-CP fall-TR.Pst-3sE-  
 3sD heart-Dat coolness

'Sitting in the shade of the chinar tree in summer time  
 brought me cool joy.'

40. *katir-* 'cut': *temyisindy adaa vuc-yith katir-oovu-n-am*  
*dyil*

her graceful.gestures see-CP cut-Caus.Pst-3sE-  
1sD heart.Nom

'Observing the gracefulness of her movements took my  
breath away.'

41. *khoots-* 'be afraid': *sopnas-manz khoots-inoovu-n-as hi*  
dream-in fear-TR.Pst-3sE-1sN 1.Nom

'I was frightened in a dream.'

42. *tambil-* 'be attracted': *tamyisinz šakil-suurath vuchyith tambil.aavyi-*  
*y tsye*

her face-form see.CP  
captivate.Fut3sg-2sD you.Dat

'She will captivate you with her beauty.'

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Abbreviations include the following:

Neg.....negative	F.....feminine	
Abl.....ablative	Fut.....future	
N(om).....nominative	Acc.....accusative	
Indic.....indicative mood	p(l).....plural	
CP.....conjunctive participle	Instr.....instrumental	
PP.....past participle	Inf.....infinitive	
CTF.....counter-factual	M.....masculine	
QM.....question marker	Mid.....middle voice	
D(at).....dative	N.....neuter	1, 2,
s(g).....singular		
Def.....default		
Tr.....transitivizing affix		
E(rg).....ergative		
3...first, second, third person		

**End Note**

In this chapter what are termed "nominative" (=N) pronominal suffixes correspond to what we have termed "absolute" suffixes in our earlier papers and what we here call "ergative" (=E) correspond to "anti-absolute" there. While there are important conceptual differences informing these terminological ones, they are not relevant to the present discussion.

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