8

Pronominal Variation in the Dialects of Kashmiri

Maharaj K. Koul
Irshad Ahmad Naikoo
Parvaiz Ahmad Ganai

Introduction: Syntactically, pronouns function as subjects, direct objects, indirect objects or objects of a postposition as is the case with the nouns. However, pronouns have no independent reference of their own and require an antecedent. They sub classify as reflexives, indefinites, interrogatives, relatives and personal pronouns. Personal pronouns vary according to the gender and number of their antecedent. The case inflections of these personal pronouns are different from the nouns. Crucially, both verbs and auxiliaries show inflections for person-number features of these pronouns in all the tenses. They may also delete in argument positions, in contrast to nouns (see Wali and Koul 1994). Reflexives do not show any inflection on the auxiliary or the verb. Bare reflexives, though not possessives, are excluded in the subject position. Reflexives occur in the same clause as their antecedents.

Pronouns have various forms according to their inflection. The nominative singular form (pronominal root) is the base to which other elements like number and case suffixes are added i.e., Pr. R. ± Pl. ± Case. However, some pronoun forms are derived by suppletion .e.g.; bɨ > me.

Morphologically the pronouns are of two types. 1) Simple- contains only one morphological element (bɨ, yi) = root and 2) Complex contains more than one element (əs', yim-an) = root + Pl ± Case.

Pronominal Suffixes: Pronominal suffixes are a typical and very interesting characteristic of the Kashmiri language. They are also a well-known feature of Persian and have also been established for some dialects of central/western Pakistan i.e. Sirailai, Northern Lahanda etc. Pronominal suffixes corresponding to the personal suffixes are fused with finite verb forms to indicate the agent and the object and/or the indirect object of the verb. The use of such forms is very frequent in both written and spoken Kashmiri.

Pronominal suffixes are controlled by the pronominal cases-absolutive/nominative, ergative and dative. Pronominal suffixes encoding information about person, number, case and case relation of associated nominals onto the finite element of the word are a characteristic feature of a number of north-western Indo-Aryan languages: Sindhi (Khubchandani 1962, Varyani 1977), Siraiki (Shackle 1976) Lahanda (Bhatia 1974), Hindko (Shackle 1980) etc. of these, Kashmiri seems to have the most complex systems of all, a system which defied two early attempts to give a traditional viayakaranik analysis by sutra (Kaula 1898, Grierson 1898)). Later Grierson presented a brief account by paradigms .

Arguments Coded in the Verb:

The Coding of the Subject: All nominative subjects must be coded in the verb in the form of agreement and pronominal suffixes. All second person subjects, whether unmarked or overtly case marked must also be coded. The ergative case marked first and third person pronominal subjects are coded in the verb if the pronouns are overtly absent, the overt absence being interpreted as null/pro pronominal forms here and throughout the text. Notice, however, the coding may take place even when the pronouns are overtly present. This coding is contextually determined. For example, overtly present first- and third-person ergative subjects often induce coding in the context of certain verbs.

The Coding of the Direct Object: All unmarked direct objects, whatever their origin, must also be coded in the verb. Second- person objects, whatever their case- nominative, absolutive, dative-must also be coded. Overtly present dative-cased first- and third-person pronouns must not be coded in the verb. The dative- cased first- third-person pronominal objects are obligatorily omitted when they are coded in the

verb. Third-person pronominal animate objects in the nominative/absolutive case may be optionally marked on the verb only if its ergative subject is second person.

The Coding of the Indirect Object: Indirect objects are always marked dative. Non pronominal indirect objects are not coded in the verb. The pronominal indirect objects may be coded in the verb with certain provisions. The second-person indirect object must be marked on the verb. The second person itself may be overtly present or absent. The first- and third person pronominal indirect objects can be coded only if these pronouns are not overtly present. In short, overt presence of first and third pronominals blocks their coding in the verb.

In some instances, in Kashmiri, the coding of the major arguments is controlled by their case by features and, more crucially, by category of the person they belong to. For example, the second person must be coded in the verb in all cases, in all tenses and in all arguments roles. This is clearly language specific feature and shows that second person is a highly marked category in this language (Wali and Koul, 1997).

The Coding of Other Nominals: The indirect objects interpreted as benefactives may also be coded in the verb .No other nominal is ever marked in the verb. They all have adverbial status and are so marked by their respective postpositions.

Free Pronouns: Free pronouns occur in all positions that are occupied by nouns which may be subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, complements of postpositions, comparatives and others. The presence of pronouns in argument positions is determined by the category of the person and more crucially by pronominal clitics, traditionally known as pronominal suffixes. In Kashmiri, the second-person pronoun is a highly marked category with respect to clitics/suffixes. The verb must inflect for the second person in all its argument roles- subject, object and indirect object. The pronoun itself may be overt or null. In contrast the verb must not inflect in the presence of first-and third person dative cased objects. These two pronouns must be null in the presence of dative clitics/suffixes. All the three pronouns may be optionally present in the context of ergative and absolutiveclitics/suffixes. It should also be noted here that the verb also shows a gender number agreement in all tenses. The gender number agreement is obligatory and is distinct from the pronominal clitics. The gender number agreement is controlled by both subjects and direct objects just in case they are in the nominative/absolutive case. The combination of gender number agreement and pronominal clitics/suffixes generates an abundance of null/pro forms in Kashmiri and it is not unusual to find a verb with a string of gender number agreement and pronominal clitics/suffixes as sole representative of the sentence e.g.

os-m-ay
laugh-1sg.ps-2sg.ps
I laughed at you.

os-mʲ-as
laugh-1sg.ps-3sg.ps
I laughed at him/her

The personal pronouns can be divided into two classes a) true personal pronouns b) non-true personal pronouns i.e. demonstrative pronouns.

    a) True personal pronouns: The 1st and 2nd true personal pronouns do not differentiate in gender while as they do so in number and case. The 3rd person true personal pronouns which are originally demonstrative pronouns differ in gender also.

    b) Non-true personal pronouns (demonstrative pronouns): These are inflected for number, gender and case. Demonstrative pronouns can be proximate and remote. Remote can further be divided into two types; within sight and out of sight. Therefore a three term system of demonstrative pronouns is found in Kashmiri. The same system is also found in Russian. All the demonstrative pronouns ti can be used as true personal pronouns (i.e. with animate subjects) also, but ti is strictly used for the inanimate subjects. In speech demonstrative pronouns are often accompanied with gesture i.e. 'pointing out'.

    yi   'this' is used with an object which is within sight(Proximate)
    hu 'that' is used with an object which is within sight(Remote)
    su 'that'   is used with an object which is away from sight(Remote)
    ti   'that' is used with an inanimate object only which is away
    from sight (Remote).

Kashmiri Pronominals: In pronominals not much dialectal difference was witnessed but all the differences both intra-district and inter-district were recorded and they ones following a paradigm are shown as per structural dialectological schemas as below:

$$\text{Sgr-Bar} \ // \ o \approx \text{Sgr} \ \underline{\ o \sim o: \ } \ u \ //$$
$$\text{Bar} \quad u \sim u:$$

The schema shows that Srinagar and Baramulla varieties have [o] and [u] with their long forms in common but the words that have [o] and [o:] in Srinagar variety have [u] and [u:] in Baramulla variety. For example;

homis	/ humis	(To him/her)
hom^j	/ hum^j	(He-agn)
m^jo:n	/ m^ju:n	(My)
čo:n	/ ču:n	(Yours)
so:n	/ su:n	(Ours)

Sgr-Bar // ə ≈ Sgr ___ə___ e //
                              Bar   e

Here the Srinagar and Baramulla varieties have [ə] and [e] as common vowel sounds but there are cases where the Srinagar [ə] corresponds to Baramulla [e] as shown below;

təmis	/ temis	(To him) Remote
təm^j	/ tem^j	(He/She)

Sgr-Bar // i ≈ Sgr ___i___ u //
                              Bar   u

Here the Srinagar [i] corresponds to Baramulla [u], both the vowels being common to the two varieties. For example;

tihund	/ t^juhund	(Their) Remote
yihund	/ yuhund	(Their)
timav	/ tumov	(They)

Sgr-Ptn // o ≈ Sgr ___o___ e //
                              Ptn   e

Here the Srinagar [o] corresponds to Pattan (Baramulla) [e] though both possess the two vowels. For example;

hom^jsund	/ hem^jsund	(His/Her)
homis	/ hemis	(To him)

hom^j   /   hem^j   (He/She)

Sgr-Ptn // u, ɨ ≈ Sgr _____u_____ ə //
                           Ptn   ɨ ~ ə

Here the Srinagar [u] corresponds to [ɨ] or [ə] of Pattan. It may be noted that all the three vowels are present both in Srinagar as well as Pattan speech. Examples are given as under;

tuhɨnd^j   /   tɨhɨnd^j   (Your-pl.)
huhunz   /   həhɨnz   (Their-Prox.)
tuhunz   /   təhɨnz   (Their) Remote

Here it was seen that palatalization was retained everywhere vowel changes happened and deleted nowhere. But it may be noted that at one instance palatalization is seen to happen as;

tihund   /   t^juhund   (Their) Remote

Here the palatalization of the consonant seems inevitable because if the consonant is not palatalized in the Baramulla speech it would connote different meaning that of 2nd person singular honorific or 2nd person plural.

Sgr-Haj // y, n ≈ Sgr y+e ~ y+i _____ i, u, ɨ //
                          Haj   n+e ~ n+u ~ n+ɨ

The Srinagar and Hajin speech have the consonants [y] and [n] in common along with the vowel sounds [i], [u] and [ɨ], however, the Srinagar [y] followed by front vowels [i] or [e] corresponds to [n] which may be accompanied by vowel change from [e] and [i] to [e], [u] or [ɨ].

yemis   /   nemis
yemsund   /   nemsund
yihund   /   nuhund
yihindis /   nɨhɨndis
yihɨnd^j   /   nɨhɨnd^j

/tas/ 'to him/her' is used in Anantnag/Baramulla etc. which, however, is not seen in Srinagar speech- which has /təmis/ to denote the same. At least no previous research

work has shown the occurrence of it in Srinagar speech./um/, /umov/, /uman/ are used in Baramulla for /yim/, /yimov/ and /yiman/ used to connote 'these-nom', 'these-erg' and 'these-dat' respectively which are used in Srinagar and elsewhere. Here it is noteworthy to see that the vowel variation rules devised are followed as; [i] of Srinagar corresponds to [u] of Baramulla.

Conclusion: Though a lot of work has been carried out on different aspects of Kashmiri, dialect studies remain one of the interesting and challenging field of study with regard to Kashmiri. Most of the researchers have worked on the phonological, lexical and other aspects of dialects of Kashmiri yet there has been less work on the dialectal variations in pronominals of Kashmiri. It was in this regard that the current paper was written based on voice recordings from different areas of Kashmir to see the variations in the pronominals of Kashmiri. The paper is simply an attempt to pave way for further research on pronominals within the dialectological framework.

References:

Bailey, T. Grahame. 1935. The Fourfold Consonant System in Kashmiri. *Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress of Phonetic Sciences.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Bailey, T. Grahame. 1937. *The Pronunciation of Kashmiri.* London: The Royal Asiatic Society.

Bhaskararao et. al. 2009. A Phonetic Study of Kashmiri Palatalization.In Minegishi, M. et al (ed.). *Field Research, Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Informatics.*Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. 1-17.

Bhat, Raj Nath. 2008. Palatalization: A Note on Kashmiri Morphophonology. *Indian Linguistics* 69: 43-50.

Bhat, Roopkrishen. 1987. *A Descriptive Study of Kashmiri.* Delhi: Amar Prakashan.

Dhar, Nazir A.1984. *A Sociolinguistic Study of Kamraz Dialect of Kashmiri*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Poona.

Grierson, G.A. 1911. *Standard Manual of the Kashmiri Language. Vol.1: Grammar and Phrase-Book.* Oxford .Reprint by: Light & Life Publications : Jammu. 1973.

Handoo, Jawaharlal. 1973. *Kashmiri Phonetic Reader.* Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.

Kachru, Braj B. 1969. *A Reference Grammar of Kashmiri.* Urbana, Illinois: Dept of Linguistics, University of Illinois.

Kelkar, A.R., etal.1964. Kashmiri Word Phonology : A First Sketch. *Anthropological Linguistics.* 6:1. 13-22.

Koul, Maharaj K. 1986. *A Sociolinguistic study of Kashmiri*. Patiala: Indian Institute of Language Studies.

Koul, Omkar N. 1987. *Spoken Kashmiri -- A Language Course.* Delhi: Indian Institute of Language Studies.

Morgenstierne, George 1943. The Phonology of Kashmiri. *Acta Orientalia* 19. 79-99

Wali,Kashi and Omkar N. Koul 1997. *Kashmiri: a cognitive-descriptive grammar.* London and New York: Routledge.

❑❑❑