A Descriptive Grammar of Gurezi Shina

Musavir Ahmed
A Descriptive Grammar of Gurezi Shina

Musavir Ahmed
Contents

Foreword
Note on Data Collection and Methodology
Acknowledgments
Abbreviations

1 Introduction
1.1 The area
1.2 The word Gurez
1.3 The people
1.4 Folklore
1.5 The language

2 Sound System
2.1 Vowel phonemes
   2.1.1 Basic vowels
   2.1.2 Long vowels
   2.1.3 Nasalized short vowels
   2.1.4 Nasalized long vowels
   2.1.5 Ultra-short vowels
   2.1.6 Vowel space

2.2 Consonants
   2.2.1 Plosives and flaps
      2.2.1.1 Voiceless versus voiced
      2.2.1.2 Voiceless versus voiceless aspirated
      2.2.1.3 Dental versus retroflex
      2.2.1.4 Plosives /d/ versus flap /ɽ/
      2.2.1.5 Distribution of plosives and flaps
   2.2.2 Affricates and fricatives
      2.2.2.1 Voiceless versus voiced
      2.2.2.2 Voiceless versus voiceless aspirated
      2.2.2.3 Retroflex versus non-retroflex
      2.2.2.4 Other affricates and fricatives
      2.2.2.5 Distribution of affricates and fricatives
   2.2.3 Nasals, lateral and glides
      2.2.3.1 Nasals
      2.2.3.2 Lateral and glides
      2.2.3.3 Distribution of nasals, laterals and glides
   2.2.4 Palatalization

2.3 Pitch accent
   2.3.1 Pitch accent in Shina
   2.3.2 Syllable and mora
   2.3.3 Pitch-accent contrast
   2.3.4 Pitch-accent graphs

3 Morphology
3.1 Nouns
   3.1.1 Gender
   3.1.2 Pluralization
3.1.3 Case
3.1.3.1 Introduction
3.1.3.2 Nominative
3.1.3.3 Oblique
3.1.3.4 Agentive
3.1.3.5 Genitive
3.1.3.6 Dative

3.2 Pronouns
3.2.1 Personal pronouns
3.2.1.1 First person
3.2.1.2 Second person
3.2.1.3 Third person
3.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns
3.2.3 Reflexive pronoun
3.2.4 Interrogative and relative pronouns

3.3 Adjectives

3.4 Numerals

3.5 Postpositions
3.5.1 Clitic postpositions
3.5.2 Free postpositions
3.5.3 Clitic postpositions and pronouns

3.6 Verbs
3.6.1 Infinitive
3.6.2 Conjunctive participle
3.6.3 Present and perfective participle
3.6.4 Adverbial participle of manner
3.6.5 The auxiliary
3.6.6 Aspect
3.6.6.1 Imperfective aspect
3.6.6.2 Perfective aspect
3.6.7 The fusion process

3.7 Adverbs
3.7.1 Adverbs of place
3.7.2 Adverbs of time
3.7.3 Adverbs of frequency
3.7.4 Adverbs of manner

3.8 Conjunctions

3.9 Interjections

4 Derivation
4.1 Introduction
4.2 Nominalization
4.3 Verbalization
4.4 Compound verbs
4.5 Adjectivization
4.6 Adverbialization

5 Syntax
5.1 Noun phrase
5.1.1 Noun phrase constituents
5.1.2 Word order within noun phrase
5.1.3 Agreement within noun phrase

5.2 Predicate phrase
5.2.1 Verb phrase
5.2.2 Copular predicates
5.3 Grammatical relations
   5.3.1 Case alignment
   5.3.2 Subject-verb agreement

5.4 Modifying phrases
   5.4.1 Indirect noun phrase objects
   5.4.2 Postpositional phrase objects
   5.4.3 Postpositional phrases
   5.4.4 Other modifying phrases

5.5 Phrase order restrictions

5.6 Subordinate, relative and conditional clauses
   5.6.1 Subordinate clauses
   5.6.2 Relative clauses
   5.6.3 Conditional clauses

6 Script

6.1 Introduction

6.2 Graphemes for consonants
   6.2.1 Unmodified Perso-Arabic graphemes
   6.2.2 Modified Perso-Arabic graphemes

6.3 Graphemes for vowels

6.4 Arabic graphemes

6.5 Writing exercises

References
Foreword

The Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) comprises of three administrative divisions; the southern Jammu, the northern Kashmir and eastern Ladakh. Jammu division comprises of ten districts. Kashmir division also has ten districts and Ladakh division comprises of two districts.

Kashmir division also called as Kashmir valley is predominantly inhabited by Kashmiri speaking people. Besides Kashmiri, the Kashmir valley is home to a number of diverse small languages most of which have remained undocumented or underdocumented. J&K state does not have an independent agency for the promotion and development of these undocumented minority languages.

Shina is one such undocumented language of J&K state. It is spoken in Gurez valley of the northern district of Bandipora in Kashmir division and Drass valley of district Kargil of J&K. The language is, however, spoken in a wide belt stretching through most of the mountainous parts of northern Pakistan; notable areas are Gilgit, Astor, Tangir-Darel and Chilas. The present study is focused on the Shina spoken in Gurez.

Gurez is a narrow river valley roughly around 90 kilometers long towards the extreme north of the Kashmir division. It forms one of the tehsils of district Bandipora and its central village Dawar is around 80 kilometers from Bandipora district headquarters.

Gurezi Shina lacks an exclusive descriptive grammar of its own and as such the fundamental aim of the work has been to understand the variety of Shina and produce a basic reference document. The grammar is a beginning towards further documentation of the language. The work is intended to corroborate the efforts of the conscious citizens of Gurez in the preservation of their language.

Since the language lacked a standardized script for writing, an attempt towards the development of the same has also been made as part of the work. The script has been developed by modifying some of the graphemes of Perso-Arabic script used for writing Urdu to represent specific Shina sounds, while many of the graphemes were retained to represent common sounds of the two languages. However, the script may need further modifications after it is put in practice.

The work is a step towards the promotion of the language and hopefully it will serve as a benchmark towards future attempts in this regard. The work offered a link to the Shina-speaking community of Gurez and attempts were made to sensitize the community members about the vital need to preserve their language and culture. In the face of the migration of community members from Gurez to other areas of district Bandipora and Srinagar, there is an urgent need to give more attention to the preservation and development of the language.
Note on Data Collection and Methodology

The work is the outcome of a major research project undertaken in the department of Linguistics, University of Kashmir entitled Description Documentation and Preservation of Shina. The project was funded by University Grants commission (UGC), New Delhi. It was sanctioned in March 2011 and the effective date of its implementation was June 2011. The duration of the project was two years and it was later granted an extension of six months. A comprehensive report of the project was submitted to UGC in November 2013.

The data for the study was collected in several phases. In the first phase, data was elicited from Shina speakers by means of a word list and a sentence list prepared beforehand and recorded through a voice-recorder. For this phase a number of volunteers in various villages of Gurez were identified by the principal and teachers of government higher secondary school, Dawar. Each of these volunteers contributed to the word list and the sentence list in many individual sittings with data elicited from one volunteer in one session. Such sittings took place either at Dak Bungalow, Dawar or many of the government schools in various villages or the homes of volunteers. The list of words contained words of various grammatical categories. The words were related to geography, flora and fauna, kinship, body parts and conditions, human emotions, house and its parts, agricultural practices, food and food practices, ornaments, religion, time etc. Besides nouns, the word list contained verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The sentence list contained different types of sentences: simple, complex, compound, imperative, interrogative etc. The word and sentence lists were based on standardized lists provided by Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL) Mysore for documentation of endangered and under-documented languages. Urdu language, the official language of J&K, was the primary language of interaction with Shina speakers especially in the initial stages. Many Shina speakers can freely communicate in Kashmiri as well, especially the older members of the community and at times Kashmiri was also used during interactions.

After this data was transcribed and subsequently analysed, a rudimentary understanding of the phonology and morphology was developed. Most ambiguities and doubts in the data were cleared up by Shina speakers admitted as students in many departments of Kashmir University, who by then had started coming to the department of Linguistics offering their voluntary services for the work.

The second phase of data collection focused on minimal pairs, noun declensions and verb inflections. This was done in groups where interaction with three, four or more Shina speakers would take place at each session. Such interactions were arranged by Mr. Sheikh Mustafa in any of the villages at Gurez or his second home at Sonarwani Bandipora. Most of the participants in these interactions were his colleagues from School Education department. Such interactions would often result in long discussion which at times would continue till midnight. In Srinagar such interactions would take place at the home of Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad at Kralpora who would readily call his relatives or friends to participate in the interactions. These interactions took place in 2012, 2013 and 2014. It was in these interactions that detailed paradigms of nouns, pronouns and verbal tense systems were developed. Framing complete sets of minimal pairs, including those that contrast on pitch accent took considerable time and effort and the contribution of Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad was far more than any other consultant. The entire proceedings of these interactions would be recorded and later analysed.

The script that the work offers was finalized in a ten-day long workshop ‘Standardization of Shina Script’ organized by Department of Linguistics, University of Kashmir, March 20—29, 2017. The workshop was sponsored by University of Kashmir. As many as fifty Shina speakers participated in it. The school education department, Kashmir deputed 20 officers, teachers and lecturers to participate in the workshop. Several students and social workers from Gurez also participated.

During analysis of the data recorded in these interactions, missing links or insufficiencies for generalizations would be identified and communicated to either Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad or Mr. Sheikh Mustafa who would arrange a discussion around such features or properties. Even though random narratives were recorded from the initial phase and transcribed, planned exercises where topics of discussion were identified beforehand contributed more to the work. Narratives of elderly Shina speakers helped in confirming many grammatical features and paradigms.
Work on sentence structure was started late, after other things were almost finalized. The work was initially conceived without a chapter on sentence structure, but it was added on the suggestions of one of the reviewers at SIL International. So an understanding of internal structure of various types of sentences was initiated even though a large number of various types of transcribed sentences recorded in the initial phase were available. Again it was through these group interactions that a clear understanding of the sentence structure of Shina was gained.

The data was recorded primarily through a tape recorder. Simultaneously notes were taken during all stages of the data collection. Video recording of many interactions was also done particularly those with older members of the speech community at various villages in Gurez.

The data has been transcribed in Unicode Charis SIL and presented in the work as such. Mostly IPA symbols are used except for a few adjustments. Long vowels have been shown using double symbol placed one after another like /aa/ for a long /a/. This adjustment was necessary for the placement of pitch accent to indicate the mora that is the accent-bearing unit. Below the transcribed form of the data the morpheme glossing is given and an approximate English translation follows. Mainly, Shina is a pitch-accented language and the diacritic for accent has been placed below the vowels to prevent it from being illegible in case of nasalized vowels for which a diacritic is placed above the vowel. For acoustic analysis of pitch accent, software PRAAT and Speech Analyzer have been used. The software Goldwave has been used for sound editing.
Acknowledgments

With gratitude I would like to thank the UGC, New Delhi for their financial support to carry out the research work. The work would not have moved beyond the conception stage had it not been funded by UGC.

I owe a deep sense of gratitude to all the language consultants at Gurez and Srinagar who contributed to the study. I would have faced much difficulty, had these people not lent me their cooperation and support. I am highly indebted to Mr. Sheikh Mustafa Gurezi of Markot village of Gurez, for his help day in and day out. Mr. Mustafa Gurezi, a lecturer in School Education department would not only be my local guide and one of the principal consultants but he facilitated my stay at the place and arranged a number of interactions with Shina speakers at Gurez and Bandipora. I appreciate his efforts in the culmination of the work. I am grateful to Mr. Mushtaq Ahmed of Gurez presently at Kralpora Srinagar, the other principal consultant for the study, for the interactions and detailed discussions we had at his home. These interactions and discussions helped me a lot in understanding the grammatical structure of Gurezi. A learned man and an officer in Education department of Kashmir, Mr. Mushtaq’s explanations of features of Gurezi exposed me to the finer nuances of the language. I also wish to express my thankfulness to Mr. Mohamad Mumtaz Sheikh, Mr. Riyaz Ahmad, Mr. Huraib, Mr. Dawood, Mr. Iqbal Baba and Mr. Iqbal Samoon of Gurez. I express my gratitude to all the Shina speakers at Gurez, Bandipora and Srinagar who contributed to the study in one or the other form.

I am highly grateful to my teacher Professor Nazir Ahmad Dhar for motivating me to undertake the work. His contribution towards making me understand several aspects of Shina is highly appreciated. I thank Professor Adil Amin Kak and Professor Aejaz Mohammad Sheikh my teachers and colleagues at the department of Linguistics for their support. I also thank my dear teacher Professor Nazir Ahmad Malik for his encouragement.

I highly appreciate the role of the project fellows Mr. Javaid Ahmad Farash and Adil Ahmad in carrying out the research work. The duo worked very hard during the various stages of the work.

I thank my friends Ubaid, Shabir, Afaq and Zahid for their support especially with regard to my visits to the Gurez valley.

I express gratefulness to my publisher SIL International and the various ones who provided many hours of invaluable assistance. These include Dr. Henk Courtz and an anonymous specialist. I am indebted to Dr. George Huttar, for his excellent grammatical assistance and personal encouragement.

Finally, I express my gratefulness to my family, especially my mother, for their support and help.

Musavir Ahmed
Srinagar
Map 1. Map of the Gurez Valley

(Courtesy: Department of Geography and Regional Development, University of Kashmir, Srinagar)
Map 2. Map of Kashmir

(Courtesy: Department of Geography and Regional Development, University of Kashmir, Srinagar)
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abl</td>
<td>Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adv</td>
<td>Adjectival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agn I</td>
<td>Agentive Imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agn P</td>
<td>Agentive Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conj</td>
<td>Conjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Clitic Postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>Dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fut</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gil</td>
<td>Gilgiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gur</td>
<td>Gurezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impf</td>
<td>Imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kash</td>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koh</td>
<td>Kohistani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part</td>
<td>Participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per</td>
<td>Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plu</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prt</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soc</td>
<td>Sociative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>First person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Third person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Introduction

1.1 The area

The valley of Gurez lies at extreme north of Indian Kashmir in Bandipora district. It lies between the coordinates 34.6333N, 74.8333E and 34.5329N, 75.2749E at an elevation of 2580 metres (8460 feet) (see Map of Gurez Valley, above). On its northern side the valley is demarcated from the areas under the administrative control of Pakistan, through concertina wires signifying the Line of Control (LOC). The river Kishenganga with its principal stream originating from the high altitude Gangbal Lake, nestled in Harmukh Mountains, flows in east-west direction through middle of the valley. The river known by the name of Neelum in Pakistan serves as LOC towards lower areas of Gurez. The valley is around 95 kilometers long and in few places a kilometer wide at the most. The rest of it is very narrow with sloping mountains on either side of the river giving it a characteristic V-shaped appearance. The villages are inhabited over flat pieces of land on either side of the river. The place becomes very scenic in summers, owing to sparkling water of Kishenganga, the tall mountains that are partly naked and partly green and the optimal temperature that ranges between twenty to thirty degrees. In all, the valley has forty-nine small and big villages which are connected by a motorable road running along the river bank. The names of the villages are Koregbal, Kanzalwan, Nayee Basti, Choontiwari, Izmarg, Bagtore, Dasi, Banjran, Tarbal, Badwan, Wanpora, Khandiyal, Khopri, Shahpora, Dawar, Mastan, Markot, Achoora, Chorwan, Barnai, Kashpot, Kilshei, Tatri Kilshei, Sudi Kilshei, Zedgai, Purana Tuleil, Dnagithal, Sheikhpora, Jurniyal, Jurniyal Datt, Dasi (Tiliel), Neeru, Tewas, Safaidaab, Badugam, Gratnala, Saridaab, Khoteren, Buglinder, Gund Gul Sheikh, Hasangam, Malangam, Baduaab, Angaikot, Gujran, Dangidaar, Abdullan, Chakwali, Wazinthal.

Gurez is connected to the district headquarters of Bandipora though a treacherous road that passes over the 11,672 feet high Razdaan pass and enters the valley through its south-western side. The total distance from the Bandipora headquarters to Gurez is 80 kilometers and it takes around five hours to reach there by a light motor vehicle. The road remains open for around six months from April to September or October. For rest of the months it remains closed due to heavy snowfall. From the last village of Tiliel, the onward road towards the Drass area of Kargil district of Ladakh division of J&K has been blocked by Army for public movement. On an average the valley receives around twelve to fifteen feet of snow in winters. Occasionally, the government arranges helicopter services for people including government officials for moving out or into the valley during winters. Because the area falls along the LOC, there is a heavy presence of Indian Army throughout.

Gurez has status of a tehsil and for administrative purposes the department of education has divided it into three sectors, the western sector of Bakhtor, the central Dawar and the eastern Tiliel. The road coming from district headquarters of Bandipora meets Bakhtor first, and then it passes through Dawar towards the eastern part of Tiliel. Dawar is administrative centre of the valley. Various tehsil offices including a court of sub-judge, police station, a government Dak bungalow and hospital are located in Dawar. The network of government run schools is well established in Gurez. For a population of around thirty-three thousand people, there are sufficient number of primary, secondary and high schools even in remote Tiliel.

The people of Bakhtor and Dawar are connected to Bandipora for their needs, while those of Tiliel are more affiliated to the Kangan area of eastern district of Ganderbal of Kashmir division. Even though there is no concrete road connecting Tiliel with Kangan, but due to their geographical proximity, many Tilieli people prefer to travel by foot to Kangan, rather than travel to Bandipora. The state government is planning to develop a concrete road between the two areas.

The Gurez tehsil constitutes one assembly constituently and sends one representative to the state legislative assembly. Lately the place has seen hectic activity due to the construction of 300MW Kishenganga Hydro-power project by National Hydro-Power Corporation of India (NHPC). The project envisages taking water from Kishenganga River at a point some 15 kilometers below Dawar to Bankote near Bandipore through a 23.50 kms-long tunnel to generate energy. This will divert the water of Kishanganga into Wullar Lake through Bunar Madumati Nullah, a tributary of Jhelum River, almost 100
kms ahead of its natural confluence with Jhelum in the outskirts of Muzaffarbad in Pakistan Administered Kashmir. Initially, the project was meant to be a storage project, but given the massive inundation and displacement of several villages of Gurez valley and the spiraling costs for rehabilitation, the dam height was reduced from 77 meters to 37 meters.

1.2 The word Gurez

The word Gurez is pronounced as goraj in Shina; Gurez seems to be the Urdu adaptation of the name as Urdu is the official language of J&K. As regards the origin of the word, there is no agreement among members of the community. The dominant view is that goraj comprises of two words: go meaning cow and haraj meaning a temporary cattle shed created by fencing a piece of land by wooden poles. The explanation seems plausible, as Gurez is a place bound by hills and mountains on its sides and serves as a pasture for cattle in summers. However, one of my consultants objected to the explanation, by arguing that haraj is used to keep sheep and not cows and how is it possible that go and haraj have been combined when the latter are not kept in the former. He has provided me with two explanations of the term goraj. The first is that the actual word is gorajrej comprising of goraj meaning a milkman and rej, the local word for Silver Fir (Abies pindrow). According to him, since the road to Gilgit and Askardu passes through Gurez, people travelling across would often rest at a place where a milkman would sell milk, near a big Silver Fir tree. In the course of time the place came to be known as goraj. Another hypothesis forwarded by him links the name Gurez to a wailing woman with goiter. The word garuj in Shina means a person with goiter and rej means a wailing woman. People who would travel through the area would often hear the wails of a woman with goiter, and the place came to be known as garujrej which became goraj in the course of time. Another consultant opined that the word Gurez has been named after a Hindu hermit who had made this place his abode of worship. Hindu Hermit is called goor in Kashmiri as well as Shina.

However, most of the people believe that term goraj has been derived from goharaj meaning ‘cowshed’ and this explanation is more plausible than the rest.

1.3 The people

The people of the area are followers of Sunni Islam and like to call themselves by the name of Dardi, Dard or Dard Shina as told to the author by the community members. As regards the origin of Shina-speaking Dards of Gurez, members of the communities have many viewpoints to offer. Some elders believe that they have been living in Gurez since time immemorial and they have not migrated from any other place. Several people believe that they have migrated from a place known by the name of shina kaj, literally meaning ‘the field of Shina’. It is probably the name of a certain village in Pakistan-administered area across the Burzil pass. Still others believe that they were actually the inhabitants of northern areas (presently under Pakistani control) and have migrated sometime in the past. One of the elders recalled that he has heard from his grandfather that the people of Gurez have migrated from Astor area. Interestingly many Shina speaking families also trace their origin to one or the other localities of Srinagar city, the capital of Kashmir. These families believe that they have migrated from Srinagar and actually refer to specific areas of Srinagar as their place of origin.

The centrality of the Kishenganga valley or Gurez in the ancient Dard kingdom (Daradadesa) originally mentioned in the Rajatarangini (Stein 1961:435) has been upheld by Jettmar (1989:418) and Schmidt (2004:52). According to Jettmar, “At an earlier stage, Shina must have undergone a powerful expansion. It was perhaps the language of the Darada Empire that has been mentioned in the chronicles of Kashmir (the Rajatarangini)”. Schmidt while referring to the presence of archaic linguistic features in Gurezi Shina also maintains the centrality of the Gurez in the ancient Dard kingdom.1

---

1 For an exhaustive discussion on Dard, Dardic and Dard Kingdom see ‘Dards, Dardistan, and Dardic: an Ethnographic, Geographic, and Linguistic Conundrum’ by John Mock (http://www.mockandoneil.com/dard.html)
The people of Gurez have been designated as a tribal community by State Government like the Gujjar community of the state. However, no prominent tribal characteristics were found among the community, except that people generally prefer to marry among members of the community. Traditionally the people would engage in farming and cattle rearing in summers. Important cultivated crops included barley locally called pinga and buckwheat locally called trumba. Pinga, usually taken along with curd was the staple diet of the people up to the recent past and trumba flour was used for making bread. Now people have taken over to rice that is made sufficiently available through government-controlled ration shops. Cattle primarily include sheep and cows.

In winters people would mostly keep indoors, due to the extreme climate. Weaving of woolen cloth on home looms was another activity of the people. The cloth was used to make garments of different types especially the ones used in winters, including pheran (the overall ankle-length robe worn by both males and females) and caps, besides using it in the form of blankets. Pheran is common to both Gurezi and Kashmiri people.

There is a well-developed village structure in Gurez and families are known by surnames (castes), like that in Kashmir. Most of the castes are those of Kashmiri origin. These include Lone, Sheikh, Magray, Akhoon, Mtr, Bhat, Wani, Shungru, Athutu, Maath, Nasir, Mapnu, Khan, Ganai, Chopan, Dar, Shah, Malik, Lone, Hajam, Pintu, Samoon and Chakath. Except for Chakath, Pintu, Mapnu, Nasir, Maath, Athutu and Samoon, the rest of the caste names seem to have been borrowed from Kashmiri. The Lones are in majority in the whole of Gurez. It is very difficult to explain as to how and why Gurezi people have borrowed the surnames from Kashmiri. Many of the families having the Kashmiri surnames trace their ancestral links to one or the other part of the valley and it seems that these people may have migrated to Gurez at one or other point of time in past. Other families like those of Akhoons of Markot village believe that their ancestor had migrated from Qamri village across the Burzil pass in Pakistan-controlled territory. All the inhabitants of Gurez follow the Hanafi sect of Sunni Islam.

People of Gurez are followers of Sunni Islam and believe that they were Buddhists in the past and ascribe their conversion to Islam to two saints, Baba Razak Saheb and Baba Darwesh Saheb, whose mausoleums are in Shahpura village also named as Fakirpora. The Shahs (residents with Shah caste) of the village are the caretakers of the two shrines and people of Gurez have great regard for the two saints and often visit these shrines. The Shahs confined to this village only, seem to be the Kashmiri followers who had accompanied the saints to Gurez in past and these trace their links to certain place in mainland valley. The chief pukhans as well as the other inhabitants of Gurez follow the Hanafi sect of Sunni Islam.

Besides the Islamic festivals of two Eidds, Gurezi people used to celebrate the end of winter after the 21st of March every year. The festival locally called Shishri Luuni is marked by the distribution of clarified butter and feeding of salt to cattle. People would invite relatives and friends for a feast prepared over clarified butter and also distribute the same among neighbours and relatives. During one of the field trips, an elder in Markot village informed us that in past a group of four households would kill a bullock at the outset of the winter and distribute it equally among themselves. While the beef was consumed during the tough winter, the fat obtained was converted into clarified butter, which was later distributed among neighbours and relatives to celebrate the onset of spring. On the day every household would feed their cattle salt, which were kept indoors for the entire winter. Another occasion of social nature is called Macha Khairaat. On this day locally grown peas are cooked and eaten as well as distributed among relatives and neighbours.

Traditionally the houses were constructed out of wood, mud and stone, because of the abundant availability of these locally. Now due to the better road connectivity, houses and other structures are made of cement, brick and steel; tin roofing has replaced the grass thatch but the latter can still be seen in Tiliel sector.

Marriages in Gurez are mostly endogamous, however there are no preferential forms of marriage. The community members prefer to marry among their own people, but due to migration of a large

---

2 Akhoon is a Persian term borrowed into Kashmiri meaning ‘teacher’. It is one of the caste groups in Kashmir and historically people of this caste were associated with teaching.

3 şirri is one of the terms for ‘frost’ and luuṇi stands for ‘salt’.

4 maṭṭa means ‘peas’ and k’aïraat is the Urdu term for ‘alms’
section of community to other places in Kashmir, and opening of the place to outside influence, exogamous marriages have started taking up. Marriages are usually arranged by elders and no caste hierarchy is maintained among the various castes. Families are joint in nature and married sons live with their married and unmarried siblings and parents; girls after marriage move to live in their husband’s household. Strong familial relations are maintained among the extended kin and are based on respect and love. Elders in general are given much respect. Marriage ceremonies used to be quite simple; everyone in village was invited and mostly offered ghee and bread. Food was also distributed among the village households irrespective of the familial relation. Now due to the contact with dominant ethnic Kashmiri community, people have started to follow customs of the latter. Grand feasts cooked by professional cooks that are typical of Kashmiri marriages can be found among ethnic Shina-speaking Gurezi people. During marriages, a palanquin would be sent from bridegroom’s home to bride’s place, and kept there overnight. Inside the palanquin would be placed a sheep’s leg. On the next day the bridegroom riding on a horse and accompanied by his relatives and friends would visit the bride’s home where they would be served a feast. The custom which people believe was a remnant of their Buddhist past is no longer seen among the community. Now cars have replaced both the bridegroom’s horse and the bride’s palanquin.

1.4 Folklore

As per the older people of Gurez, the community had a rich tradition of telling stories of past heroes and legends, especially during winters. Usually the youth would assemble in the house of a village elder, where an elder would tell stories. This was accompanied by the distribution of ghee and bread among the assembled youth. These assemblies would serve an important function in the socialization of the youth. Even though the nature of these assemblies is not that of youth dormitories, these would play significant role in socialization of younger members of the community. Mostly these stories had a mythic character. An interesting folktale is about an old widow who lived in a dilapidated hut on village outskirts.

On a cold winter night, when the whole village was asleep, the old lady was awake with a lighted lamp by her side. Suddenly somebody knocks at her door. Upon opening the door, she finds four deities who had been assigned the job of causing avalanches. The deities who were hungry due to hard labour of pulling the avalanches, asked for some ghee. The old lady gives them ghee which they eat hurriedly. When they are satiated to their full, they go away taking the margins of the avalanches in their hands and happily singing a song that translates as ‘pull away from the old lady’s cottage’. In the morning the avalanches had buried the whole village under snow except for the old lady’s hut.

What is interesting about the story is that the song sung by the deities is in Kashmiri language. The members of the community even speak out what the deities sang and believe that they were Kashmiri-speaking. People in general believe that due to the coming of cable TV, the tradition of these assemblies has become extinct. There is a rich repository of proverbs in Gurezi Shina, which people use in their day-to-day lives. Because the language lacks a script, there has been no attempt to document several genres of folklore that still exist but are fast becoming extinct, due to the permanent as well as seasonal migration of a large section of society.

1.5 The language

Shina, locally pronounced as /ʃiŋã/ or /ʃiŋã/, is the language of the people scattered over a vast mountainous region stretching from northern areas of J&K in the east through the territories in Gilgit-Baltistan province of Pakistan into the north-eastern parts of Afghanistan. According to Kohistani and Schmidt (2006) the Shina-speaking areas under the administration of Pakistan include Gilgit, lower Hunza, Tangir-Darel, Astor and Chilas valleys and areas in Indus Kohistan, whereas India administers the Shina-speaking areas in the Neelam (Kishenganga) drainage, the Gurez and Tiliel valleys, the Drass plain and Ladakh. More specifically, Shina is spoken in Gurez valley of district Bandipora of Kashmir division
and Drass area of Kargil district in Ladakh division in J&K state of India. The two varieties of Shina spoken in J&K have been named after the regions these are being spoken in; Gurezi (Gurez) and Drassi (Drass). Sometimes scholars refer to a third variety called Tilieli Shina, spoken in the Tiliel valley of Gurez in Bandipora district of J&K. However, Tiliel being part of the broader valley of Gurez is mostly subsumed under Gurezi variety.

Radloff (1999) puts the number of Shina speakers in Pakistan at around 500,000. Kohistani and Schmidt (2006) citing various sources report that the total number of Shina speakers in Pakistan is 1,123,874, including those who have migrated to other areas of Pakistan. The population of Gurez, J&K, as per the 2001 census of India was 30,144, out of which approximately some 25,000 will be native Shina speakers. The remaining are native Kashmiri speakers. The total number of Shina speakers in J&K as per the same census is 34,390.

The first linguistic classification of the languages of the northern territories from Kashmir to the northern parts of Afghanistan was offered by George A. Grierson (1919) in his monumental work Linguistic Survey of India published in the early twentieth century. The languages named by Grierson as ‘Dardic’ included Kashmiri and Shina.

According to Grierson (1919:2), Dardic as a separate branch of Indo-Iranian, comprises of three groups:

- The Kafir group
- The Khowar group
- The Dard group proper

The Dard group proper includes Shina, Kashmiri and Kohistani.

However, the linguistic basis of Grierson’s classification of Dardic languages has been challenged following the works of George Morgenstierne (1919, 1932, 1961). In the first instance, Morgenstierne (1932) dissociated the languages of Kafir5 group from Dardic family of languages. Subsequent works of Morgenstierne were able to establish that the languages classified by Grierson as Dardic, except those of the Kafir group, are in fact Indo-Aryan languages.

“there is not a single common feature distinguishing Dardic, as a whole, from the rest of the IA languages....Dardic is simply a convenient term to denote a bundle of aberrant IA hill languages, which in their relative isolation have been in a varying degree sheltered against the expanding influence of IA midland (Madhyadesha) innovations being left free to develop on their own” (Morgenstierne 1961:139, cited in Petersen, 2006:22).

Grierson’s use of the term Dardic as an umbrella term for the languages spoken in the mountainous belt spanning from Kashmir to northern Afghanistan has been attributed to Leitner's (1893) use of the term Dardistan.

Leitner’s Dardistan, in its broadest sense, became the basis for the classification of the languages in the north-west of Indo-Aryan (IA) linguistic area (which includes the present day Afghanistan, northern Pakistan and Kashmir) (Mock 1997).

Subsequent linguistic works, some of them based on extensive field work in the area, further substantiated Morgenstierne’s viewpoint. Prominent among these works are Fussman (1972), Strand (1973), Masica (1991), Radloff (1992), Bashir (2003), Zoller (2005), Schmidt and Kohistani (2008) and Liljegren (2016).

According to Bashir (2003:821) “the designation 'Dardic' neither implies ethnic unity among the speakers of these languages nor that they can all be traced to a single Stammbaum-model node”.

However, a certain amount of uniformity among these languages seems to be sufficiently strong enough to prevent the scholars to avoid the use of the term Dardic, although it may be in the geographical sense only.

---

5 These languages have been renamed by Strand (1973) as Nuristani languages.
“Dardic is a geographical cover term for those Northwest Indo-Aryan languages which because of their isolation in the mountains of Hindu Kush, Swat and Indus Kohistan, the Karakorams and Western Himalayas have retained ancient and developed new characteristics different from the IA languages of the Indo-Gangetic Plain.” (Bashir 2003:821-822)

As far as the uniformity among these languages is concerned, she notes that these “languages on the whole underwent fewer of the major MIA phonological and morphological developments than plains IA” (ibid.).

Radloff refers to the languages “clustered in the mountainous areas of northern Pakistan and stretch into Kashmir on the east and Afghanistan on the west” as Dardic (Radloff 1999:4).

Zoller also makes use of the term Dardic and believes that these languages are “the modern successors of Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), Gandhari and other unknown MIA languages” (Zoller 2005:10). He upholds that the Dardic languages developed from “Proto-Dardic” that branched off “at a post OIA stage from the rest of the Indic” (ibid.).

Bailey (1924:xiii-xiv) has classified Shina into three main dialect groups. These are

a) Gilgit
b) Astor
   Astori, Gurezi and Drasi
c) Kohistani
   Kohistani and Chilasi

Bailey considers Gilgit as the real home of the Shina language and reports that the Shina country includes Gurez and Tiliel valleys of upper Kishenganga, Burzil valley, and the districts of Astor, Gilgit, Chilas and Kohistan. He further notes that the people of Gurez and Tiliel are bilingual and speak Kashmiri as well (ibid). However, the field surveys undertaken for the present study revealed that only some of the inhabitants of Gurez are bilingual, while the rest of the people speak only Shina. Many people in Gurez proper do understand Kashmiri but their fluency in the language is limited. People of Tiliel are monolingual and speak only Shina. The author of the present study tried to communicate with people of the area in Kashmiri but it turned out that these people aren’t able to communicate in Kashmiri.

Strand (2001) bases his classification of Shina around two main groups: Chilasi and Gilgit.

According to him, “the dialect around Chilas in the east-west portion of the Indus valley above Indus Kohistan is probably the source of the speech that spread upstream along the Indus basin to form the Eastern Shina dialects and downstream to form the Kohistyo dialect of Indus Kohistan. Another dialect centers on Gilgit, with an outlying Tibetanized offshoot (Brokshat) in Ladakh”.

Bashir (2003:824-825) has classified Shina into the following four sub-groups:

a. Kohistan
   1. Kohistyo (dialects of Palas, Jalkot, Koli)
   2. Ushojo
   3. Tangir-Darel
   4. Chilasi

b. Astor
   Astori
   Drasi
   Gurezi
   Gultari

c. Gilgit
   Gilgiti
   Hunza-Nagari
   Punyali
   Brokskat (Dokskat, Kyango)

d. Palula (Dangarik (war), Phalura, Palola)
   Sawi, Sauji

According to her, the present day Dardic languages were spoken in a much wider area than they are presently and differential change has resulted in the formation of the above six language groups.
2 Sound System

2.1 Vowel phonemes

The vowel system of Gurezi is based on five vowels with length and nasalization being distinctive. All the five short oral vowels have longer and nasalized counterparts. This puts the number of vowels in Gurezi at twenty. The long vowels have been transcribed by means of double symbol placed one after another to show the placement of accent, like /aa/ for a long /a/. The database shows some very short vowels; however these have been categorized with short vowels, as these were not found in sufficient contexts for the formation of minimal pairs. Diphthongs have been found to be absent in Gurezi. Radloff (1999:16-19) has reported the presence of five vowels in Gilgiti Shina with length and nasalization being distinctive making the number of vowels in Gilgiti as twenty. Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:15-18) report the presence of an extra low front vowel, besides the above, which the authors believe is present in the loan words in Kohistani Shina. According to Rajapurohit (1983:15-20), Drasi Shina has fourteen vowels with nasalization being non-distinctive. He also reports the presence of seven diphthongs in Drasi.

Following is presented an overview of the vowel phonemes found in Gurezi Shina.

2.1.1 Basic vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) /i/ vs /e/

/dō.d̥/ leg /dō.d̥e/ handle
/ku.lij/ stone of a fruit /ku.le̞/ grains

(2) /e/ vs /a/

/bej/ happen (Fut) /baj/ food/rice
/le̞j/ torchlight wood /la̞j/ much

(3) /i/ vs /a/

/fil/ lower stone of grinder /f̥al/ hundred
/sin/ river /san/ burglary

(4) /u/ vs /o/

/mu.t̥j/ next (Mas) /mo.tu̞/ brain
/sum/ dry clay /som/ sleep

(5) /i/ vs /u/

/mu.t̥i̞/ next (Fem) /mu.t̥u̞/ next (Mas)
/ka.j̥t̥i̞/ ordinary (Fem) /ka.j̥tu̞/ ordinary (Mas)

There are very few words in which both nasalized and non-nasalized vowels occur. Nasalization is treated here as a feature of individual vowels, although further research may verify that vowel nasalization is a word-level feature.
(6) /i/ vs /o/ 
/i/ sew (Imp)  /o/ he (Mas) 
/i/ urinate  /o/ I 

(7) /e/ vs /u/ 
/bej/ happen (Fut)  /buj/ labour 
/qu.łu.ɾu/ round (Plu)  /qu.łu.ɾu/ round (Sing) 

(8) /e/ vs /o/ 
/bej/ happen (Fut)  /boj/ sleeve 
/se/ they (Mas)  /so/ he 

(9) /a/ vs /u/ 
/baj/ food/rice  /buj/ labour 
/ka.ʈu̇/ tail-docked  /ku.ʈu̇/ knee animal 

(10) /a/ vs /o/ 
/baj/ food/rice  /boj/ sleeve 
/pan/ to say in detail  /pon/ way 

2.1.2 Long vowels 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) /a/ vs /aa/ 
/ʃa/ hundred  /ʃa/ shivering 
/baj/ cooked rice  /baʃ/ twelve 
/kʰaʃ/ to sweep  /kʰaʃ/ to polish 
/ʃʰa/ fearing  /ʃʰa/ goat’s kid 
/was/ come down  /waʃ/ open surface 
/sas/ sister  /saʃ/ thousand 

(12) /e/ vs /ee/ 
/e/ come (request)  /ɛ/ after coming 
/ke/ why  /kɛ/ crows 
/tʰe/ do it  /tʰe/ after doing 
/ʃe/ fix it  /ʃe/ engaged 

(13) /i/ vs /ii/ 
/i/ to sew  /i/ fine girl 
/li/ to uproot  /li/ calling a girl 
/mi/ urinate  /mi/ fat
(14) /o/ vs. /oo/

/o/ that /so/ illegitimate male child
/zo/ he/ that /z0/ nephew

(15) /u/ vs. /uu/

/u/ knee /ku tu/ deaf
/mu tu/ next /mu tu/ after death

2.1.3 Nasalized short vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>ï</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ë</td>
<td>õ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td>à</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(16) /a/ vs. /ã/

/raj/ plant /râj/ canal turn
disease
/traj/ window /trâj/ sound of slap
/jaj/ hope /jâj/ colliding sound

(17) /e/ vs. /ẽ/

/bej/ happen /bêj/ willow tree
to weep /rêj/ silver fir

(18) /i/ vs. /ĩ/

/si.jo/ beautiful /sî.jô/ while sewing
/tb.aj/ bolt (fabric) /tba.nî/ butter

(19) /o/ vs. /õ/

/mo tu/ brain /mô.tû/ I had (already)
/no te/ play (Fut) /nô.tê/ devastated

(20) /u/ vs. /ũ/

/mo tu/ brain /mô tû/ I had (already)

2.1.4 Nasalized long vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>ïï</td>
<td>üü</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ëë</td>
<td>õõ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td>ââ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(21) /aa/ vs. /ãã/

/maaj/ mother /mâaj/ laziness
/kâ.ri/ for /kâ.ri/ coal
/bâaj/ twelve /bâaj/ shuttle (weaving)
2.1.5 Ultra-short vowels

Gurezi has some very short vowels found at word-final positions. There seems to be no vowel present at times but sometimes a very short vowel is perceived in these contexts. In certain contexts, these word-final short vowels are accented, if the word doesn’t contain a long vowel.

(25) /tı.kı/ bread
/mu.ɲı/ turnip
/pu.ʃı/ cat
/ba.tı/ stone

Nouns ending in consonants and short vowels take the plural marker /-e/ which can be accented, if the word doesn’t contain a long vowel.

(26) /to.me/ trees
/kı.ле/ deer (Plu)
/aj.pe/ horses
/na.ve/ boats

In those contexts where these are unaccented, the vowels are barely noticeable, like the final vowel /u/ in the infinitive forms of the verbs ending in /-oonu/. These ultra-short vowels may be associated with the release of the obstruction associated with the nasal or a plosive.

(27) /ja.309.nu/ to walk
/wa.309.nu/ to open
/ți3i.nj09.nu/ to cut
/bu.309.nu/ to weave

Schmidt and Kohistani (2008) have reported the presence of word-final accented extra short vowels. The authors have been able to demonstrate the contrast by means of minimal pairs.

2.1.6 Vowel space

A vowel space diagram for the five vowels of Gurezi Shina, based on actual frequencies recorded for these vowels is presented below. The twin values of F1 and F2 for each vowel were recorded and plotted in a simple X versus Y scatter plot. F1 was plotted on X axis and F2 on Y axis. Microsoft Excel has been used for drawing the scatter plot. The values of F1 and F2 were drawn from the analysis of recordings of five adult male Gurezi Shina speakers and the final value of F1 and F2 for each vowel has been obtained from the average of frequencies obtained from the five consultants. The five points obtained on the scatter plot have been joined to give an impression of the vowel space.
2.2 Consonants

Thirty-four consonant phonemes are found to be distinctive in Gurezi Shina. These include twelve plosives, seven affricates, six fricatives, four nasals, two glides, one lateral and two flaps. The unique feature of Gurezi phonology is the presence of many retroflex sounds.

Radloff (1999:21) has proposed thirty-four consonant phonemes for Gilgiti Shina. Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:16–23) have mentioned some additional phonemes for Kohistani Shina, besides the above thirty-four. These additional sounds are mostly the aspirated ones, including /bʰ/, /dʰ/ ɖʰ/, /gʰ/, /mʰ/, /lʰ/. Besides these the authors have also reported the presence of both voiced and voiceless velar fricatives /x/ and /χ/ and post-velar plosive /q/ in Kohistani Shina. Rajapurohit (1983:21) has reported thirty-six consonant phonemes for Drassi Shina. The author has mentioned the presence of velar fricatives /x/ and /χ/ in Drasi, but doesn’t mention the voiceless retroflex fricative /ʂ/ and the labial glide /w/. Besides, the author also reports the presence of alveo-palatal fricative /ʃ/ in Drassi. As many as nine retroflex sounds were found to be present in Gurezi. They are /ʈ/, /ʈʰ/, /ɖ/, /ʈʃ/, /ʈʃʰ/, /ʂ/, /ʐ/, /ɳ/ and /ɽ/. A similar number has been reported by Radloff in Gilgiti (1999:23–31).

Aspiration is distinctive in Gurezi Shina; aspirated consonants are separate phonemes and contrast with non-aspirated ones. However, aspiration is restricted to voiceless consonants only as found in Kashmiri also.

As far as their distribution in the words is concerned, all the above retroflex sounds were found to be present word-initially, word-medially and word-finally except for the sound /ɽ/ for which no example was found in word-initial position.
Following is presented a description of the consonants in terms of contrast, followed by their distribution in words:

### 2.2.1 Plosives and flaps

Plosives and flaps have been treated together in the work, for the two differ in duration of contact only.

#### 2.2.1.1 Voiceless versus voiced

(28) /p/ vs. /b/

- /puŋr/ storey
- /puŋri/ complete
- /pɔŋ/ five
- /poŋ/ husk
- /pan/ to say in
detail
- /puŋri/ sunset
- /buŋri/ peak
- /bɔŋ/ log
- /boŋ/ sleeve
- /ban/ joint

(29) /t/ vs. /d/

- /toŋ.mu/ mine
- /taŋ/ to bend
- /tar/ bud
- /toŋŋi/ bottom
- /doo.mu/ thread
- /dap/ to be silent
- /dar/ door
- /doŋŋi/ leg

(30) /ʈ/ vs. /ɖ/

- /ʈim/ punch
- /baʈi/ handful
- /muʈu/ bush
- /dim/ body
- /baɖi/ big
- /muɖu/ timid

(31) /ʈ/ vs. /ʈᵊ/

- /mɔʈu/ water block
- /mɔʈu/ lifeless/dead body
(32) /k/ vs. /g/
/kɔe/  crows  /ge/  having gone
/ba.ɛ.ɾu/  slaughtering  /ba.ɡe.ɾu/  harsh voiced animal
/ka.ɾu/  without tail  /ga.ɾu/  translucent
/kon/  ear  /ɡon/  knot

2.2.1.2 Voiceless versus voiceless aspirated

(33) /p/ vs. /pʰ/
/paʃ/  wool  /pʰaʃ/  finish
/pu.ʂu/  flower  /pʰu.ʂu/  empty
/pu.ɾu/  complete  /pʰu.ɾu/  light snow
/pooɭ/  embroidered  /pʰoɭ/  to bring land under cultivation
/pu.ɾu/  full  /pʰu.ɾu/  maize stakes

(34) /t/ vs. /tʰ/
/tar/  bud  /tʰar/  startled
/tap/  bend/fold  /tʰap/  darkness

(35) /t/ vs. /tʰ/
/tam/  falling  /tʰam/  sweeping
/tar/  log/lie  /tʰar/  peeling/weathering
/taak/  to fix  /tʰaak/  prohibit temporarily

(36) /k/ vs. /kʰ/
/kɔor/  rock  /kʰɔor/  horse shoe
/ku.ɾu/  hard  /kʰu.ɾu/  lame
/kom/  a species of flower  /kʰom/  to eat
/kɔj/  peas  /kʰɔj/  hat
/kon/  ear  /kʰon/  high mountain pass

2.2.1.3 Dental versus retroflex

(37) /t/ vs. /tʰ/
/kʰa.ɾu/  he climbed  /kʰa.ɾu/  lid
/kʰa.ɾi/  she climbed  /kʰa.ɾi/  firepot on top of hubble-bubble
/ʃa.ɾi/  engaged/caught (fem)  /ʃa.ɾi/  long stick
/ʃo.ɾi/  nose  /ʃo.ɾi/  lost/female dancing
/bo.ɾi/  lazy  /bo.ɾi/  hornless
(38) /tʰ/ vs. /ʈʰ/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sound</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>sound</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tʰar/</td>
<td>startled</td>
<td>/ʈʰar/</td>
<td>peeling/weathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰap/</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>/ʈʰap/</td>
<td>quiet/stuck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰu.kj/</td>
<td>saliva</td>
<td>/ʈʰu.kj/</td>
<td>small swelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰam/</td>
<td>to reach</td>
<td>/ʈʰam/</td>
<td>sweeping</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

suddenly

(39) /d/ vs. /ɖ/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sound</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>sound</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dam/</td>
<td>silence</td>
<td>/ɖam/</td>
<td>knocking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/diis/</td>
<td>dumping hole for storing vegetables/grains</td>
<td>/ɖiis/</td>
<td>obese (fatty)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(40) /d/ vs. /ʈ/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sound</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>sound</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hod/</td>
<td>ditch</td>
<td>/ʈ/</td>
<td>obduracy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(41) /ʈ/ vs. /ʈʰ/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sound</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>sound</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/or/</td>
<td>rice (type)</td>
<td>/ɔɾ/</td>
<td>half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/par/</td>
<td>last year</td>
<td>/pəɾ/</td>
<td>wooden hammer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1.4 Plosives /ɖ/ versus flap /ʈʰ/

As already mentioned /ɖ/ and /ʈʰ/ are separate phonemes in Gurezi. Some examples of the contrast between the two phonemes in analogous environment are shown in (42):

(42) /ɖ/ versus /ʈʰ/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sound</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>sound</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/mu.ɖũ/</td>
<td>silly</td>
<td>/ma.ʈũ/</td>
<td>dead body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰe̅nd/</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>/kʰoɾ/</td>
<td>hill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1.5 Distribution of plosives and flaps

The examples below present the distribution of the Gurezi Shina plosive and flap consonant phonemes in three basic positions in the word, initial, intervocalic and word-final positions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sound</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>sound</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/pon/</td>
<td>way</td>
<td>/tʃa.pɛ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pra.ny/</td>
<td>moth</td>
<td>/tʃa.pəti/</td>
<td>slap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zaap/</td>
<td>unconscious</td>
<td>/ɾo̞.pu/</td>
<td>silver</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(43) Initial | Intervocalic | Final |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pʰ/</td>
<td>/pʰu.ny/</td>
<td>sliced maize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰu.ru/</td>
<td>light snow</td>
<td>/na.pʰuɾ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰu.tu.ʂu/</td>
<td>half burnt</td>
<td>/a.pʰu.ru/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(44)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>/b/</th>
<th>/baʃl/</th>
<th>boy</th>
<th>/gra.baʃl/</th>
<th>excreta of new-born cattle</th>
<th>/daɡb/</th>
<th>attic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(46)</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/tu.ken/</td>
<td>by you</td>
<td>/pa.ta.nʊo/</td>
<td>later on</td>
<td>/dʊt/</td>
<td>milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/tom/</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>/sa.tʊ/</td>
<td>raised land</td>
<td>/hijt/</td>
<td>excuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/tuŋ/</td>
<td>navel</td>
<td>/ma.tʊ/</td>
<td>hermit</td>
<td>/jaat/</td>
<td>gait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>/tʰ/</td>
<td>/tʰap/</td>
<td>darkness</td>
<td>/ba.tʰa.ru/</td>
<td>bedding</td>
<td>/hatʰ/</td>
<td>Hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/tʰu.kj/</td>
<td>saliva</td>
<td>/sɑtʰ.ra.ʒi/</td>
<td>mat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/tʰu.ru/</td>
<td>heel</td>
<td>/sɑ.tʰeɾ/</td>
<td>line</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/tu.kʊ.ri/</td>
<td>basket</td>
<td>/a.tjoŋ.nu/</td>
<td>to bring</td>
<td>/laʈ/</td>
<td>sudden uneasiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/tu.pi/</td>
<td>cap</td>
<td>/pʰo.tʊŋ.ŋi/</td>
<td>a wild seed</td>
<td>/sɑʈ/</td>
<td>to beat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/tʊ.o.kar/</td>
<td>grasshopper</td>
<td>bi.ʈa.kə.ʈu</td>
<td>Obscure vision</td>
<td>/moʈ/</td>
<td>me (care)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(49)</td>
<td>/tʰ/</td>
<td>/tʰam/</td>
<td>sweep</td>
<td>/pa.tʰaŋ/</td>
<td>brave</td>
<td>/ʃoɡətʰ/</td>
<td>wild fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(50)</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/dɔm/</td>
<td>slope</td>
<td>/ba.ɖu/</td>
<td>big/elder</td>
<td>/brand/</td>
<td>fall down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(51)</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/dɑ.a.ɗu/</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>/sa.ɗu/</td>
<td>saint</td>
<td>/raɑd/</td>
<td>stump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/dɔ.o.nu/</td>
<td>ox</td>
<td>/ba.ʁa.ɡa/</td>
<td>bad habit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(52)</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/kʊŋ.u.tu/</td>
<td>/kʊŋ/</td>
<td>deaf ears</td>
<td>/pʰu.ʈu/</td>
<td>basket</td>
<td>/ʃuŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/pʰu.ʈu/</td>
<td>basket</td>
<td>snow storm</td>
<td>/pʰu.uk/</td>
<td>piece</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(53)</td>
<td>/kʰ/</td>
<td>/kʰu.ʃu/</td>
<td>left hander</td>
<td>/pʰu.kʰeŋ/</td>
<td>evening</td>
<td>/mukʰ/</td>
<td>face tea time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/kʰi.ŋi.ru/</td>
<td>bent/twisted</td>
<td>/sɑkʰ.rej/</td>
<td>to stop</td>
<td>/ʃakʰ/</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(54)</td>
<td>/ɡ/</td>
<td>/ɡaʃw/</td>
<td>cow</td>
<td>/mu.ɡr/</td>
<td>bowl</td>
<td>/daɡ/</td>
<td>pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ɡon/</td>
<td>knot</td>
<td>/ba.ɡe.ru/</td>
<td>harsh voiced</td>
<td>/draɡ/</td>
<td>famine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.2  Affricates and fricatives

Gurezi Shina has following affricate and fricative consonant phonemes:

/ts/, /tsʰ/, /ʃ/, /ʃʰ/, /tʃ/, /tʃʰ/, /ʒ/, /s/, /sʰ/, /ʂ/, /z/, /ʐ/, /h/  

Following are presented the affricates and fricatives of Gurezi Shina contrasted for voice, aspiration and retraction. Retraction is an important feature of sounds in Gurezi Shina and as such there are a number of retroflex fricatives and affricates.

2.2.2.1  Voiceless versus voiced

(57)  /tʃ/ vs. /ʒ/  
/tʃuk/  silence  
/tʃal/  early  
/ʒuk/  whole  
/ʒal/  to shake

(58)  /tʃʰ/ vs. /ʒ/  
/tʃʰač/  to feed animals  
/ʃʰak/  ill feeling  
/ʃʰal/  to be afraid  
/ʒak/  animal meant for sacrifice  
/ʒač/  muscle pull  
/ʒal/  to shake

(59)  /ʃ/ vs. /ʒ/  
/ʃok/  liking  
/ʃap/  shrink  
/ʒok/  what  
/ʒap/  assemble

(60)  /s/ vs. /z/  
/ʃak/  collar  
/ʃač/  threads  
/ʃok/  to push harshly  
/ʒač/  brothers

(61)  /s/ vs. /z/  
/san/  dacoity  
/sas/  sister  
/ʃan/  if  
/ʃas/  sudden movement

(62)  /ʃ/ vs. /ʒ/  
/ʃeč/  cold  
/ʃoj/  thirteen  
/ʒe/  that  
/ʒoč/  brother’s daughter

2.2.2.2  Voiceless versus voiceless aspirated

(63)  /ts/ vs. /tsʰ/  
/tsik/  play  
/ʃtsik/  lighten  
/tsep/  to take responsibility  
/ʃtsep/  hiding

(64)  /s/ vs. /sʰ/  
/sar/  pond  
/ʃsar/  milking  
/ʃan/  light  
/ʃan/  to kill and eat
2.2.2.3 Retroflex versus non-retroflex

(65) /tʃ/ vs. /tʃʰ/  /tʃom/ skin /tʃʰom/ dust
 /tʃok/  stand /tʃʰok/ churning
(66) /ʃ/ vs. /tʃʰ/  /paʃ/ wool /paʃʰ/ season
(67) /ʃ/ vs. /tʃʰ/  /ʃar/ tear /tʃʰar/ sense

2.2.2.4 Other affricates and fricatives

Following is presented the contrast for some other affricates and fricatives not included in the above:

(73) /ts/ vs. /tʃ/  /tsap/ touch /tʃap/ stealing
(74) /ts/ vs. /s/  /tsar/ cutting/ tears /sar/ pond
(75) /h/ vs. /s/  /har/ take away /sar/ lake/pond
 /hat/ hand /sat/ seven
(76) /tʃ/ vs. /ʃ/  /tʃaʂ/ straight /ʃar/ misfortune

2.2.2.5 Distribution of affricates and fricatives

The distribution of the affricate and fricative consonant phonemes in word-initial, intervocalic and word-final positions is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Intervocalic</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(77)</td>
<td>/ts/</td>
<td>/tsiŋ/ burnt</td>
<td>/u.tsaiŋ/ spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(78)</td>
<td>/tsʰ/</td>
<td>/tsʰo̞/</td>
<td>/tsʰar/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to milk</td>
<td>/kr̚.tsʰu̞/</td>
<td>instruct</td>
<td>/ratsʰ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(79)</td>
<td>/tʃ/</td>
<td>/tʃom/</td>
<td>/tʃuk/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silence</td>
<td>/ka.tʃa̞akʰ/</td>
<td>how much</td>
<td>/atʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(80)</td>
<td>/tʃʰ/</td>
<td>/tʃʰom/</td>
<td>dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(81)</td>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
<td>/ʒo̞k/</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʒeel/</td>
<td>jungle</td>
<td>/bo.ʒo̞k/</td>
<td>to go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(82)</td>
<td>/tʃ/</td>
<td>/tʃəj/</td>
<td>/tʃen/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a local tree</td>
<td>/a.tʃʰi j/</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>/jatʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(83)</td>
<td>/tʃʰ/</td>
<td>/tʃʰil.kʰo̞j/</td>
<td>/tʃʰi ri/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udder</td>
<td>/a.tʃʰe j/</td>
<td>walnut</td>
<td>/itʃʰ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(84)</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/so.mu̞/</td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/si.jo̞/</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>/ra.ʒa.ru̞/</td>
<td>hot water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(85)</td>
<td>/tʃ/</td>
<td>/zap/</td>
<td>/za.ŋar/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rust</td>
<td>/wʒa.zu̞/</td>
<td>downward slope</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(86)</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>/ʃa.ʃo̞o/</td>
<td>autumn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(87)</td>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
<td>/ʒi.ŋaj/</td>
<td>wild rose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horn</td>
<td>/la.ʃij/</td>
<td>distribution of bread and meat</td>
<td>/paʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(88)</td>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
<td>/ʒu̞ŋ/</td>
<td>a farming tool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wooden tub</td>
<td>/mo.zu̞/</td>
<td>talks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(89)</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>/hin/</td>
<td>/ha.ŋo̞o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ba.haŋk/</td>
<td>hut</td>
<td>/gaŋh/</td>
<td>stream</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.3 Nasals, lateral and glides

Gurezi Shina has the following nasal, lateral and glide consonants:

/m, n, ŋ, η, l, w, j/.

Following is presented the contrast among nasals followed by the contrast among laterals and then contrast among glides:

### 2.2.3.1 Nasals

(90) /m/ vs. /n/ /mor/ peacock /nor/ tiny part
(91) /m/ vs. /ŋ/ /sam/ right /saŋ/ light
(92) /n/ vs. /ŋ/ /pon/ way /ponŋ/ leaves
(93) /ŋ/ vs. /ŋ/ /braŋ/ to fell down /braŋ/ lightened
(94) /n/ vs. /ŋ/ /pon/ way /ponŋ/ loosely bound

In Gurezi Shina velar nasal and retroflex nasal have separate phonemic identities as is shown in (90) to (94).

### 2.2.3.2 Lateral and glides

(95) /r/ vs. /l/ /bar/ width /bal/ grinding stone
(96) /n/ vs. /l/ /bon/ wear /bol/ socks for leg
(97) /w/ vs. /j/ /wa.ʒo̞o̞.nu/ to come down /ja.ʒo̞o̞.nu/ to walk
(98) /w/ vs. /b/ /waṛr/ convenience /baṛr/ turn
(99) /j/ vs. /l/ /gaj.ʒi̞i̞/ sharpened /gal.ʒi̞i̞/ vanished due to wear and tear
(100) /j/ vs. /ʃ/ /buʃ/ labour /buʃ/ wake up
(101) /j/ vs. /ʒ/ /ja̞t̞/ tremor /ʒal/ level field

### 2.2.3.3 Distribution of nasals, laterals and glides

The nasal /ŋ/ doesn’t occur in word initial positions as no example could be found in this regard. Distribution of the nasal, lateral and glide consonant phoneme in word-initial, intervocalic and word-final positions is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Intervocalic</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(102)</td>
<td>/m/ /mu.ʃo̞o̞t̞/ ahead/in front</td>
<td>/ʃo̞.mu/ friend</td>
<td>/rəam/ will tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(103)</td>
<td>/n/ /no.τy/ lost</td>
<td>/no.nu/ bare</td>
<td>/bon/ wear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.4 Palatalization

Gurezi does not make distinctive use of palatalization\(^7\) on a large scale. Except in case of auxiliaries, where palatalization seems to mark gender in plural forms, palatalization has been found to be effective in a small number of contexts, especially in the infinitive form of the verbs and some adjectives and certain pronouns. Mainly plosives, nasals, laterals and affricates seem to attract this feature.

Consider the example of auxiliary ‘be’ in plural forms, in (109), where it was found that the feminine plural is marked by palatalization to contrast it with the masculine plural. However, these cannot be taken as minimal pair of words, because the contexts are severely restricted and palatalization can be considered as lexical in nature.

\[
\begin{array}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\text{Plu} & \text{Gloss} \\
\hline
1\text{st per mas} & \text{be asi.}\text{lées/lees} & \text{we were} \\
1\text{st per fem} & \text{bijaa asi.}\text{lées/lées} & \text{we were} \\
2\text{nd per mas} & \text{tsʰōj jaa.zäät lëet} & \text{we used to} \\
2\text{nd per fem} & \text{tsʰāj jaa.zäät lëet} & \text{we used to} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

Consider the following examples of infinitive forms of verbs:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{Root} & \text{Gur} & \text{Gloss} \\
\hline
/raṯ/ & /ra.ṭ'oq.nu/ & \text{to catch} \\
/aṭ/ & /a.ṭ'oq.nu/ & \text{to bring} \\
/daṭt/ & /da[.ṭ'oq.nu/ & \text{to know} \\
/tʃʰin/ & /tʃʰi.n'oq.nu/ & \text{to cut} \\
/likt⁶/ & /li.kʰ'oq.nu/ & \text{to write} \\
/prik/ & /pri.ki.d'oq.nu/ & \text{to fly} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

As seen in (110), the final consonant of the root gets palatalized before taking the suffix /oŋnu/ to form infinitives.

Some other words with palatalized consonants are given in (111).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Gur} & \text{Gloss} \\
\hline
/pʰi.pʰaaj/ & \text{of father’s sister} \\
/mʰaaj.kel/ & \text{urine} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

Like Gurezi Shina, palatalization is non-distinctive in Gilgiti. According to Radloff (1999:36), palatalized sounds “only occur word-finally in certain adverbs and suffixes” (ibid). However, at times it seems that rather than a palatalized consonant, a complete palatal approximant follows the consonant and as such for the present study a seemingly palatalized consonant has been treated as consonant plus a palatal approximant combination. So a seemingly /l/ has been treated as /lʃ/, /pʰ/ as /pj/, mʰ/ as /mj/ and so on.

---

\(^7\) The neighbouring Kashmiri makes an elaborate and distinctive use of palatalization and most of the consonants can be palatalized to form another set of distinctive sounds.
2.3 Pitch accent

Accent is often conceived as the prominence that a syllable in a word receives in comparison to other syllables of the same word. Pitch accent refers to the phenomenon in which pitch change attributes prominence to certain syllable of a word as against other syllables of that word and is usually associated with a local high and low pitch (Ladd 1996:46, 59). In pitch accented languages each word has one and only one prominent or accented syllable. This accent or prominence is fixed for all words of the language, whether simple or complex, thus making it a lexical feature.

2.3.1 Pitch accent in Shina

Varieties of Shina have been reported to be pitch accented. These observations have been made with reference to Gilgiti (Bailey 1924, Radloff 1999), Kohistani (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008) and Palula (Liljegren 2016) varieties. It means every word in these varieties of Shina has one syllable that is accented or prominent in comparison to the rest of the syllables. This is true of all the grammatical categories of words (Radloff 1999:57).

Accent is carried by both short and long vowels. In syllables with long vowels, the accent is carried by either the first part of the vowel or the second part (Radloff 1999:58). Thus the accent-bearing unit is the mora (Liljegren 2016:72).

Pitch accent in Gurezi Shina was found to behave in the same manner as in Gilgiti, Kohistani and Palula. Every word in Gurezi has one and only one accented syllable, irrespective of whether the word is monosyllabic or polysyllabic. Complex words comprising of a root morpheme and one or more suffixes can have the accented syllable either in its root morpheme or the affixed bound morpheme. Thus as in other varieties of Shina, pitch accent in Gurezi is a lexical feature.

Accent in Gurezi, much like Gilgiti Shina as reported by Radloff (1999:57-63), is reflected as high pitch, and lack of accent as comparative low pitch. This high pitch is always local, relative to the other syllables of the word and is unaffected by normal declination over the course of an utterance. However, the high pitch of the accented syllable may not be heard as a level pitch, rather there is always a kind of associated contour. It may be a rise from an unaccented syllabic mora to an accented syllabic mora or a fall from an accented syllabic mora to an unaccented one. As in other varieties of Shina, it has been found that syllables having a long vowel always carry the accent, irrespective of their position in a word.

Hypothetically for tri-syllabic words where each syllable has only one mora, the pitch accent can be placed on either of three syllables, represented as below:

```
(a) ______  (b) ______  (c) ______
    ______        ______        ______
```

In (a) the first syllable receives accent, while in (b) the second syllable receives accent while the third possibility in (c) is that is has accent placed on the final syllable.

2.3.2 Syllable and mora

Syllables have generally been categorized into heavy and light (Hyman 1985:5) as an indication of their weight. Syllables having a long vowel and/or a coda are considered as heavy syllables, while syllables having only a short vowel are treated as light. Syllable weight has been explained in terms of the weight-bearing units called mora. A short vowel is considered to be as one mora and a long vowel as two moras (Hayes 1989). A coda following a short vowel in a syllable is also taken as one mora. However, this is only true of some languages; many languages treat CVC pattern as comprising of a single mora (ibid.). Diagrammatically the syllable, mora and syllable weight are shown in the following manner.
The present study will take a long vowel as consisting of two moras. As already stated, a long vowel always attracts accent and this can be placed on either of the two moras.

In words given in (112); the vowel/mora with the subscript /, / indicates the accent.

(112)

Gur | Gloss
---|---
/tʃaː/ | brother
/siː/ | sewed
/i, j/ | air
/a.zʃ/ | clouds
/jjuːn/ | moon
/paːj/ | cave
/tʃi.ki/ | bread
/tʃa.tʃ/ | heat
/pʰʃʃiʃ/ | foam
/muʃ.jal/ | earthquake
/aʃiːp/ | horse
/hɑ.nːəɡ/ | egg
/tʃʰiː.ju/ | fish
/boŋ/ | utensils

2.3.3 Pitch-accent contrast

Following are presented some minimal pair of words contrasted for pitch accent.

(113)

Gur | Gloss | Gur | Gloss
---|---|---|---
/jiː.lu/ | loose | /ʃiːl/ | a wild vegetable
/daʃal/ | ashes | /daʃal/ | carefree walk
/pʰʃʃaː/ | tip of plough-share | /pʰʃʃaː/ | hint
/siː/ | beautiful | /siː/ | sewed
/tʃεːn/ | a local tree | /tʃεːn/ | send (imp)
/baʃi/ | twelve | /baʃi/ | after recovering from illness
/lii/ | after cutting | /lii/ | addressing a girl
/laʃi/ | hiding | /laʃi/ | addressing an elder woman
2.3.4 Pitch-accent graphs

Following are presented the waveform and the pitch graph of some of the words of Gurezi Shina. Since the pitch accent is easily perceptible on long vowels, words having long vowels have been chosen to show the rise and fall in the pitch pattern. As already mentioned above, the rise and fall in the pitch pattern makes either of the two moras accented; if there is a rise in the pitch then the second mora of the long vowel is accented and if there is a fall, then the first mora is accented. In the figures below, the superscript /́/ is used to indicate the pitch accent, while in the text, the subscript /̗/ is used. This was to prevent the latter's coalescence with the superscript for nasalization /̃/ in the text, whereas in case of figures there was no such problem.

(114) Gur  Gloss  
/ʐaa/  brother

(115) Gur  Gloss  
/baʃʃ/  lungs

Figure 1.
In figure 1, the spectrograph and the pitch curve of Gurezi word /z̃ḁa/ meaning ‘brother’ is shown. As is clear from the pitch curve, during the course of long vowel /aa/ there is a fall of pitch from the first mora to the second mora. As such the first mora is accented in comparison to the second mora, which is unaccented.

Figure 2 presents the pitch curve and spectrograph of the word / b̃aʃ̃/ meaning ‘lungs’ in which there is rise from the first mora of the long vowel to the second mora that is accented.

(116) Gur   Gloss
/tʰu̥.ŋe/    tethering pegs

(117) Gur   Gloss
/pʰi̥.pi/    father’s sister
Figure 3 and figure 4 together show two disyllabic words with a long vowel in the first syllable. As already mentioned, long vowels always carry accent; there is a rise from the first mora to the second mora of the long vowel in the former and a fall from the first mora to the second mora in the latter.

(118) Gur  Gloss  Gur  Gloss  
/pʰa̗al/  tip of ploughshare  /pʰa̗al/  hint

Figure 5 presents the pitch-accent pattern of a minimal pair of words that are contrasted on the basis of pitch accent. In the figure read from left to right, the first pattern reflects the pitch accent in the word /pʰa̗al/ that rises from first mora to the second mora of the long vowel. The next pattern is that of the word /pʰa̗al/ where the pitch falls from the first mora to second mora making the former accented.

(119) Gur  Gloss  Gur  Gloss  
/wa̗aj/  contraction of body muscles  /wa̗aj/  expression of grief
(120) Gur   Gloss
/ɡə  bə.₃a.t kɾi̯w də/    call that boy

(121) Gur   Gloss
/mo̯ ₃õ̯ s gura.₃tʃi/    I am from Gurez
Figure 8.

Figure 7 and figure 8 present the pitch pattern of two complete sentences. In Fig 7 there is a series of falls and rises in the pitch pattern over the course of the sentence /qa ba,laṭ krīw de/. As can be seen, the first word has a long vowel and the pitch accent falls on the first mora, in the second word the accent falls on the vowel of the ultimate syllable. Both the third and fourth words are monosyllabic, and also monomoraic. In the third word, the pitch falls rapidly after the accented vowel; in the fourth word, the pitch continues falling on the accented vowel.

Likewise in figure 7 there is a series of rises and falls; there are two long vowels, one in the second word /hōo/ and the other in the final word /gu.ra,tʃi/. In the former, the pitch accent falls on the first mora and in the latter word it falls on the second mora.
3  Morphology

3.1  Nouns

3.1.1  Gender

Based on the agreement pattern, a noun in Gurezi Shina can be either masculine or feminine in gender; masculine nouns trigger different agreement patterns than those triggered by feminine nouns. Semantically, gender of nouns is based on notion of biological sex; some nouns are seen as masculine and others feminine. In that sense gender is lexical in Gurezi like many South Asian languages. Only a small number of derived nouns seem to have neuter gender. In many instances gender of the nouns can be depicted from their endings.

(1)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gur</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/iʃi/</td>
<td>air</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phaʈwaːli/</td>
<td>wing (bird)</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/diː/</td>
<td>leopard</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/puʃi/</td>
<td>cat</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʈi/k/</td>
<td>bread</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the examples in (1), it emerges that nouns ending in /i/ and /ii/ are feminine. However, this is not always the case. Feminine nouns can occur without these gender markers as given in (2).

(2)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gur</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʈʃʰiʃ/</td>
<td>hill/raised land</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/muːjal/</td>
<td>earthquake</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hoj/</td>
<td>cave</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aj/</td>
<td>she-goat</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kokɔj/</td>
<td>hen</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/juŋ/</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dʒut/</td>
<td>swamp</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jaʃ/</td>
<td>rivulet</td>
<td>Fem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Likewise many nouns carry specific endings that indicate their masculine gender:

(3)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gur</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/zaː/</td>
<td>brother</td>
<td>Mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hanɔːo/</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td>Mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kokɔo/</td>
<td>rooster</td>
<td>Mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰuku/</td>
<td>hillock</td>
<td>Mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰyu/</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>Mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/azy/</td>
<td>rain</td>
<td>Mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃarʾu/</td>
<td>star</td>
<td>Mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃʰimy/</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>Mas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in (3) show that nouns ending in /a/, /aa/, /o/, /oo/, /u/, and /uu/ are indicative of their masculine gender. However, many nouns don’t carry these endings, but are still masculine, as in (4):

(4)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gur</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/sinʃel/</td>
<td>barren</td>
<td>Mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kriv/</td>
<td>loud cry</td>
<td>Mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sin/</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>Mas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/huːʃ/</td>
<td>river bank</td>
<td>Mas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is another category of masculine nouns that end in /aːr/. All these nouns are actually derived from adjectives and are recognized from the ending. Some of the nouns of this category are given in (5):

(5) Noun    Gloss
/ʃijjaːr/  bitterness
/ʃukṣaːr/  dryness
/āwṛjaːr/  heaviness
/badjaːr/  bigness
/tapṣaːr/  hotness
/tjirkaːr/  sourness
/morjaːr/  sweetness
/lokjaːr/  lightness

It was found that gender marking, /i/ and /ii/ for feminine and /a/, /aa/, /o/, /oo/, /u/, and /uu/ for masculine, is present in approximately half of the nouns, while the rest, which end in consonants, are without any such overt marking.

3.1.2 Pluralization

For pluralization, nouns in Gurezi take two types of markers in the nominative case. In general, nouns ending in a consonant or a short vowel take /e/ and /i/ to indicate plural. The two markers are attached to nouns regardless of their gender. In a few cases, the palatal approximant /j/ is added before the plural marker.

(6) Gur  Plu  Gloss  Gender
/tom/  /tome/  tree(s)  Mas
/kil/  /kili/  deer(s)  Fem
/ʃipi/  /ʃipi/  horse(s)  Mas
/naːv/  /naːv/  boat(s)  Fem
/ʃaroːy/  /ʃaroːe/  ram(s)  Mas
/muːŋ/  /muːŋ/  turnip(s)  Fem
/muːzʊ/  /muːzə/  rat(s)  Mas
/maːŋuk/  /maːŋuk/  frog(s)  Fem
/jiŋu/  /jiŋe/  horn(s)  Mas
/puːʃi/  /puːʃe/  cat(s)  Fem
/tiŋ/  /tiŋe/  bread(s)  Fem

Nouns ending in long vowels take /ee/ and those ending in palatal approximant /j/ take /e/ as plural marker, as shown in (7).

(7) Gur  Plu  Gloss  Gender
/lam.ʈʃoː/  /lam.ʈʃeː/  tail(s)  Mas
/a.tʃʊi/  /a.tʃoːe/  eye(s)  Fem
/ba.tsʰoː/  /ba.tsʰeː/  calf/calves  Mas
/oʃ.piː/  /oʃ.piːe/  hawk(s)  Fem
/tsu.tsuj/  /tsu.tsu.je/  beak(s)  Fem
/ɡu.i/  /ɡu.je/  flame(s)  Fem

In many instances, the suffix /re/ is added to indicate pluralization and is an exception to the general rules of pluralization. In many of these instances, the base form undergoes a change in structure before the plural marker is added. Following are some of the examples of this pattern of pluralization.
3.1.3 Case

3.1.3.1 Introduction

Gurezi has an elaborate case system with distinct case markers. As many as six cases with distinct markers are found in Gurezi. These are nominative, oblique, two forms of agentive, genitive and dative. The two forms of agentive are agentive imperfective (I) and agentive perfective (P). Schmidt and Kaul (2010:197) have also identified six cases in Gurezi.

Case markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of noun</th>
<th>Plural Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nouns ending in short vowel or consonant</td>
<td>/-i/, /-e/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns ending in long vowel</td>
<td>/-ee/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before the cases are explained separately, a paradigm of some regularly case declined nouns is presented below in (9), (10), (11) and (12).

(9) Gur Gloss Gend
/gooʂ/ home Mas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/gooʂ/</td>
<td>/gooʒi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>/gooze/</td>
<td>/gooʒo̞o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive I</td>
<td>/gooʃse/</td>
<td>/gooʃes/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive P</td>
<td>/gooʃe̞j/</td>
<td>/gooʃes/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>/gooʒo̞o/</td>
<td>/gooʒo̞o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>/gooʃe̞t/</td>
<td>/gooʃo̞o̞t/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.3.2 Nominative

Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:40) have reported the presence of two layers of inflectional suffixes in Kohistani Shina; the first layer represents the singular-plural and nominative-oblique distinctions. The rest of the cases constitute second-layer inflection. The viewpoint was originally put forward by Masica (1991:230-248).

Nominative case in Gurezi is taken by the subject of intransitive verbs and is morphologically unmarked. Nouns carrying nominative case occur in the root form (nouns ending in consonants) or with gender marker. All other cases except nominative are morphologically marked.

(13) mustapʰa告诉记者 ʃi-ʃeetʃi-ʒi sutɨ Mustafa.Nom today field-in.CP sleep.Perf
‘Mustafa slept in the field today.’

goraj-ʒi ʒak ʃal seen hãhã Gurez-in.CP people.Nom early sleep.Impf be.Prt
‘People sleep early in Gurez.’

hamsaj-ʃũ ʃũ ŋuk ɾatjø̞o bãaqi hũhũ neighbor-Gen dog.Nom whole night.Obl bark be.Prt
‘The neighbor’s dog barks through the night.’
halaatj-ôô rojôô ʒak pareʃan hââ
conditions-Gen because of people.Nom worry.Impf be.Prt
‘People are worried because of the conditions.’

3.1.3.3 Oblique

Oblique in Gurezi is used to indicate direct and indirect objects. Bailey (1924) hasn’t mentioned the presence of oblique in Gurezi. Schmidt and Kaul (2010:200) have reported that oblique case in Gurezi is attested in a very small number of nouns when these are followed by postpositions. The present study found that Gurezi has a well attested oblique case. The presence of a postposition is not mandatory for a noun to have oblique case. The opinion of Schmidt and Kaul (ibid.) may be based on the analysis of limited data. However, for Kohistani Shina, Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:40) considers oblique to be one of the basic cases, the other being nominative. In singular form it is generally realized by /-e/ attached to root; the oblique marker is much shortened and reduced and at times it seems to be /i/. Nouns ending in vowels however, behave differently than those ending in consonants and in a few examples the suffix /-a/ is used, when the root ends in a long vowel. In plural form, the oblique is generally realized by /-õõ/ attached to root. Consider the following examples:

(14) Gur Root Gloss Gend
/don/ /don/ tooth Mas
Case Sing Plu
Nominative /don/ /do.ni/
Oblique /do.n/ /do.nõõ/

(15) Gur Root Gloss Gend
/zǎa/ /zǎa/ brother Mas
Case Sing Plu
Nominative /zǎa/ /zǎa.ri/
Oblique /zǎ.w/ /zǎa.õõ/

In (14), the root /don/ takes /e/ for oblique singular and /-õõ/ for plural. However in (15), the root undergoes a certain change before the oblique suffix is attached. To prevent assimilation, the vowel of the root is shortened and /w/ is inserted before attachment of oblique suffix in singular form. The oblique plural seems to be formed by inserting /r/ before the addition of /-õõ/, much similar to the formation of nominative plural, in which case it is /i/. The same pattern can be found in (17), with the only difference that /l/ is inserted in place of /w/.

(16) Gur Root Gloss Gend
/aʃip/ /aʃip/ horse Mas
Case Sing Plu
Nominative /aʃip/ /aʃ.pi/
Oblique /aʃ.pe/ /aʃ.põõ/

Some examples of use of Oblique case in sentences are presented in (18) below.
(18) mustapʰa̗-s rijaaz-e aʒoon-se ʒeel-eɾ boʒoŋn paʃaw
Mustafa-Agn P Riyaz-Obl stranger-Obl forest-Dat go.Impf see.Perf
‘Mustafa saw Riyaz with a stranger heading towards the forest.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tʰo̗} & \text{ tʃun-ə ke kuṭa̗a} \\
\text{you.Agn P child-Obl why beat.Perf}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Why did you beat the child?’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mēj tʰo̗} & \text{ zaar-őo ʃahrə-ʒi ləa dəezi geə paʃaas} \\
\text{I.Agn P you.Gen brothers-Obl city-in.CP many days after going.ConjPart saw.Perf}
\end{align*}
\]
‘I saw your brothers in the city after a long time.’

At times it seems that oblique is taken by objects of sentences having a (+human) subject. Consider the following two sentences in (19):

(19) bal-ɛj aʃp-e preʃaɾ daw
child-Agn P horse-Obl kick give.Perf
‘The boy kicked the horse.’

aʃp-ɛj bal-əɾ preʃaɾ daw
horse-Agn P child-Dat kick give.Perf
‘The horse kicked the boy.’

Both the sentences in (19) have similar strucutre; however the subject of the former, ‘boy’, which is (+human) may be responsible for triggering oblique on the object. In the latter the object has a dative case, rather than oblique.

However this is not always the scenario as is evident from the example in (20):

(20) bal-ɛj aʃp-e braɾ tʰaɾ
child-Agn P horse-Obl knock down do.Perf
‘The boy knocked down the horse.’

aʃp-ɛj bal-əɾ braɾ tʰaɾ
horse-Agn P child-Obl knock down do.Perf
‘The horse knocked down the boy.’

In the two sentences in (20), both horse and child in the object position take oblique, when one has a (+human) subject and the other has a (–human) subject.

3.1.3.4 Agentive

Agentive in Gurezi has two forms, called agentive imperfective (I) and agentive perfective (P). The former is taken by subjects of transitive verbs with imperfective tense and the latter by subjects of transitive verbs in perfective tense. Bailey (1924:211) has mentioned the presence of two forms of agentive case in Gurezi. According to him the suffix /-/eĩ/ is used with past tense of transitive verbs and /-/sũ/ is used with rest of the tenses of transitive verbs. It was found that in singular form /-/se/ added to
the root is used to indicate agentive imperfective in nouns ending in consonants and /-as/ and /-s/ in nouns ending in vowels and palatal approximant. The suffix /-ẽ̃/ or /-j/ is used to indicate agentive perfective. In nouns ending with long vowels or palatal approximant, the agentive perfective is denoted by /-õõ/. As maintained by Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:40), layer II suffixes are attached to layer I rather than directly to the root, with nominative, oblique, singular and-plural falling into the latter category. In singular form, agentive imperfective seems to be derived from nominative, but agentive perfective from an oblique base.

(21) Gur Root Gloss Gend
/goose/ /goose/ home Mas
Case Sing Plu
Nominative /goose/ /goose/ /goose /
Oblique /goose/ /goose/ /goose /
Agentive I /goose./ /goose/ /goose /
Agentive P /goose./ /goose/ /goose /

(22) Gur Root Gloss Gend
/baal/ /baal/ boy/child Mas
Case Sing Plu
Nominative /baal/ /baal/ /baal/
Oblique /baal/ /baal/ /baal/
Agentive I /baal/ /baal/ /baal/
Agentive P /baal/ /baal/ /baal/

(23) Gur Root Gloss Gend
/dar/ /dar/ door Mas
Case Sing Plu
Nominative /dar/ /dar/ /dar/
Oblique /dar/ /dar/ /dar/
Agentive I /dar/ /dar/ /dar/
Agentive P /dar/ /dar/ /dar/

(24) Gur Root Gloss Gend
/mu.laj/ /mu.laj/ girl/daughter Mas
Case Sing Plu
Nominative /mu.laj/ /mu.laj/ /mu.laj/
Oblique /mu.laj/ /mu.laj/ /mu.laj/
Agentive I /mu.laj./ /mu.laj/ /mu.laj/
Agentive P /mu.laj./ /mu.laj/ /mu.laj/

In the examples given in (21) to (24), /-se/ is attached to /goose/, /baal/, /dar/ and /mu.laj/ to indicate agentive imperfective and for agentive imperfective /mu.laj/ in example (24) takes /-õõ/ while as the rest take /-ẽ̃/. Plural of both agentive imperfective and agentive perfective is indicated by /-ees/.

(25) raʃjid-se garjib guraj-õõ tʃunõ-õt sabak de ẽ hũũ
Rashid-Agn I poor Gurez-Gen children-Dat lessons give-Impf be-Prt
‘Rashid gives free lessons to poor children of Gurez.’

bal-ẽ kuiʃʃow-õ tʃiʌt moɔs bagaw
child-Agn P villagers-Dat Eid-Dat mutton distribute.Perf
‘The boy distributed mutton among villagers on Eid.’
3.1.3.5 Genitive

Genitive case in Gurezi is quite prominent. It seems to be derived from the oblique rather than nominative. In singular, the vowel at the end of the oblique is deleted and /õõ/ is added to indicate genitive. In the plural it takes the same form as that of oblique plural.

(26) Gur Root Gloss Gend
/z̄āa/ /z̄āa/ brother Mas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/z̄āa/</td>
<td>/z̄āa.re/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>/z̄a.wa/</td>
<td>/z̄a.rõõ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>/z̄a.wõõ/</td>
<td>/z̄a.rõõ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(27) Gur Root Gloss Gend
/pu.ʃj/ /puʃ/ cat Fem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/pu.ʃj/</td>
<td>/pu.ʃe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>/pu.ʃe/</td>
<td>/pu.ʃõõ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>/pu.ʃjõõ/</td>
<td>/pu.ʃõõ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(28) asēj kirkatēj khiladji sijeeg hāā
we.Gen cricket.Gen players good be.Prt
‘Our cricket players are good.’

mustapʰa guraj-ōō höō ge ūahid ūahr-ōō höō
‘Mustafa is from Gurez and Shahid is from the city.’

mj̄o baal navambar-ʒi ʒaalu hūū
I.Gen child November-in.CP born.Perf be.Prt
‘My son was born in November.’

tilel-ōō guum woj joʒjʒ pegen hāā
Tiliel- Gen wheat water mill grind-Impf be.Prt
‘In Tiliel, wheat is ground in watermills.’

3.1.3.6 Dative

Like genitive, dative case in Gurezi is also prominent. Both singular and plural forms of dative are derived by adding /-ʈ/ to oblique singular and plural respectively. According to Bailey (1924:11) the dative suffix in Gilgiti is /-eʈ/, /-aʈ/, /-oʈ/ and /-ooʈ/.

(29) Gur Root Gloss Gend
/aʃjip/ /aʃʃip/ horse Mas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/aʃjip/</td>
<td>/aʃʃip/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>/aʃʃip/</td>
<td>/aʃʃip/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>/aʃʃip/</td>
<td>/aʃʃip/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 Pronouns

3.2.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns in Gurezi decline for number, gender, person and case. In the third person, distinct forms are used for proximate and remote. The neighboring Kashmiri also has two distinct forms for third person. The case system in pronouns is essentially same as that of the nouns and the suffixes denoting all the cases are quite visible on the personal pronouns.

The distinction between nominative and oblique is visible only in first person plural and third person singular and plural. In Kohistani Shina as reported by Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:82), the nominative-oblique distinction is restricted to first and third person plural.

3.2.1.1 First person

In the first person singular, there is no distinction between masculine and feminine forms. In plural forms the only visible distinction along gender lines is in nominative and agentive. The nominative-oblique distinction is maintained only in plural forms in both the genders. In first person plural, except for agentive imperfective and agentive perfective, the rest of the cases, in both the genders seem to be derived from oblique.

(32) Masculine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/mo/</td>
<td>/be/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>/mo/</td>
<td>/asõ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive I</td>
<td>/mos/</td>
<td>/bes/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive P</td>
<td>/mõj/</td>
<td>/bes/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>/mjõ/</td>
<td>/asõõ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>/mot/</td>
<td>/asõt/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.1.2 Second person

In the second person, unlike the first person, no distinction is found between nominative and oblique, hence either of the two cases can function as base to the rest of the cases. Like in first person, there is no difference between masculine and feminine forms in singular. The difference between masculine and feminine in second person plural is quite distinct.

3.2.1.3 Third person

Third person pronouns make a distinction between proximate (visible in the field of sight) and remote (not visible in the line of sight). In singular and plural of both proximate and remote, nominative-oblique distinction is maintained in both the genders. Except for agentive I, case markings are added to the oblique in both singular and plural.

3.2.1.3.1 Proximate

(36) Masculine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/ŋa/</td>
<td>/ŋa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>/ŋa.se/</td>
<td>/aŋanŋo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive I</td>
<td>/ŋas/</td>
<td>/zes/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive P</td>
<td>/ŋa.səj/</td>
<td>/aŋənəŋj/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.1.3.2 Remote

The distinction in third person remote and proximate pronouns in Gurezi is much similar to the neighbouring Kashmiri.

(38) Masculine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/so/</td>
<td>/se/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>/se.se/</td>
<td>/se.no/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive I</td>
<td>/so/</td>
<td>/se/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive P</td>
<td>/se.sēj/</td>
<td>/se.nēj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>/so/</td>
<td>/se.no/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>/se.seń/</td>
<td>/se.nēť/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(39) Feminine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/sa/</td>
<td>/sąa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>/se.se/</td>
<td>/sa.no/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive I</td>
<td>/so/</td>
<td>/sa.no/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive P</td>
<td>/se.sēj/</td>
<td>/sa.nēj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>/so/</td>
<td>/sa.no/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>/se.seń/</td>
<td>/sa.nēť/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

/nu/, meaning ‘this’ and /zø/, meaning ‘that’ are the two demonstrative pronouns used for non-human things in Gurezi. There are no further spatial differentiations in Gurezi except for ‘this’ and ‘that’. /nu/ has a variant /anų/, used by many speakers of Gurezi Shina, with the same meaning. /anų/ seems to be the older form, and /nu/ is its shortened version. With regard to number and case inflections, there is no difference between the two. These were found to be used for humans as well.

Except for first person of /nu/ ‘this’, the two demonstratives are neutral with regard to gender but are inflected for number and case. It was found that /anų/ is used for first person feminine singular and /anjaa/ or /njaa/ is used for first person feminine plural. While for first person masculine, it’s /ąnu/ or /nu/ for singular, and /ąni/ or /ni/ for plural.
### Case Markers

In the above paradigm (40) for demonstrative /nu/ ‘this’, all the case markers except for agentive imperfective are added to the oblique base. The same is true for the demonstrative pronoun /zo/ ‘that’, the paradigm for which is given in (41).

### Reflexive Pronoun

Gurezi Shina has only one reflexive pronoun /akij/, meaning ‘self’. The pronoun doesn’t inflect for number, gender or person and as such is used to refer to ‘myself’, ‘ourselves’, ‘yourself’, ‘yourselves’, ‘himself’ and ‘themselves’. Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:90) have also mentioned the presence of reflexive /akeé/ in Kohistani Shina. Even though examples of case-inflected forms of the pronoun are very little used, still its paradigm could be developed with the help of older speakers of the community.

### Interrogative and Relative Pronouns

One of the frequently employed interrogative pronouns in Gurezi is /koj/ sometimes pronounced as /koj/. The interrogative is used in many senses; ‘who’, ‘which’ and the indefinite ‘someone’ or ‘anyone’. It is also used as a relative pronoun. The presence of interrogative /koé/ with above meanings has been reported by Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:91) in Kohistani Shina. The interrogative doesn’t inflect for number, gender or person; however, its various case forms are available:

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/nu/</td>
<td>/ni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>/nisè/</td>
<td>/ninò/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive I</td>
<td>/nus/</td>
<td>/nis/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive P</td>
<td>/nisèj/</td>
<td>/ninèj/, /nis/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>/nisòò/</td>
<td>/ninòò/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>/nisèt/</td>
<td>/ninòt/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/zo/</td>
<td>/ze/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>/zeò/</td>
<td>/zenò/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive I</td>
<td>/zes/</td>
<td>/zes/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive P</td>
<td>/zesèj/</td>
<td>/zenèj/, /zes/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>/zesòò/</td>
<td>/zenòò/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>/zesèt/</td>
<td>/zenòt/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Agentive I</th>
<th>Agentive P</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/akij/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>/akòò/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive I</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agentive P</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
<td>/akïj/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Case
Nominative /koọj/
Oblique /koọjse/
Agentive I /koọjsōõ/
Agentive P /koọjsēj/
Genitive /koọjsōõ/
Dative /koọjset/

As interrogative
nu baŋl koọj-sōõ hũũ
this child.Nom who-Gen be.Prt
‘Whose child is this?’

anjaa gogoọe koọj-set djoone hēē
these potatoes who-Dat give-Impf be.Prt
‘Who are these potatoes for?’

koọj-sēj krom thaw hũũ
who-Agn P work do.Per be.Prt
‘Who has done the work?’

tʰōō koọj-set paṭu ḍāa
You.Agn P who-Dat Cloth give.Perf
‘To whom have you given the woolen cloth?’

koọj-es gogoọe ṭsak tʰej hũũ
who-Agn P potatoes tend do.Perf be.Prt
‘Who has tended to the potatoes?’

mumtaaz-se koọj-se gooz-e harew
Mumtaz-Agn P who-Obl home-Obl take.Perf
‘Whom did Mumtaz take home?’

As relative pronoun
ãa napʰâr koọj ḗalu mjō sōmu hũũ
‘The man who has come is my friend.’

Other interrogatives found in Gurezi are given in (45) and use of some of these are given in (46).

(45)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gur</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/zoŋk/</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ke/</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kare/</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/koŋne/</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/keŋsoo/</td>
<td>whom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kadaŋa/</td>
<td>what kind of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kadaŋatʰ/</td>
<td>in what manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kaťja/</td>
<td>how many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katjaŋkāj/</td>
<td>how much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/katʃtaw/</td>
<td>how big</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 Adjectives

Adjectives in Gurezi Shina precede the modified noun and agree with it in number and gender. This is true of adjectives in Kohistani Shina (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008:100) as well as Gilgit Shina (Bailey 1924:63). Most of the adjectives in Gurezi end in vowels that mark these for number and gender. A small set of adjectives which end in consonants don’t inflect for number and gender.

(47) Gur   Gloss
/ɖuɖuɭu/  round/circular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mas</td>
<td>/ɖuɖuɭu/</td>
<td>/ɖuɖuɭre/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem</td>
<td>/ɖuɖuɭri/</td>
<td>/ɖuɖuɭrje/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most of the adjectives in Gurezi are of the above type. The masculine singular ends in /-u/ and the rest of the three forms are inflected for number and gender; /-i/ is used to indicate feminine singular, /-e/ to indicate masculine plural, and /-je/ to indicate feminine plural.

A small number of adjectives end in the long vowel /-oo/ in masculine singular. The feminine of these is indicated by short vowel /-i/, while the plural in both masculine and feminine takes the long vowel /-ee/.

The following adjective presents an isolated case; the masculine forms agree with the adjectives ending in /oo/, the feminine singular takes /ẽj/ and feminine plural /ẽjĩ/.

Another irregularly inflecting adjective is /nãã/ meaning 'new':

Besides the above types, Gurezi has some adjectives that end in consonants /h/ and /j/. These adjectives don’t inflect for number and gender:
Some other adjectives that don’t inflect for number and gender include /maw̃as/ meaning ‘lazy’ /aŋaa̗/ meaning ‘raw’ and /eele/ meaning ‘near’. The adjective /aŋaa̗/ is used only with milk.

In Gurezi the adjective for the word ‘alone’ is /ekalu/. It inflects for number and gender like other adjectives, in contrast to Kohistani Shina. According to Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:102), the adjective /akluu/ meaning ‘alone’ cannot be pluralized; however, it takes the feminine ending /i/ in Kohistani Shina.

The word /laŋ/ meaning ‘much’ ‘many’ ‘very much’ ‘big’ ‘huge’ is used in a variety of contexts, but mostly used as an adjective. It inflects for only gender; /laŋ/ for masculine and /la jakości/ for feminine.

Gurezi has a set of derived adjectives to express the function of English ‘-ish’, ‘like’, ‘able’ etc. These adjectives end in suffixes /-aaw/ and /-aaj/ and are derived from nouns, verbs and adjectives. Some of the examples of these adjectives are given below in (59):

(54) Gur Gloss
/dro̱g̱u̱h/ costly

(55) Gur Gloss
/jala̱h/ open

(56) Gur Gloss
/ekboj/ lonely

(57) Gur Gloss
/awooj/ barren

(58) Gur Gloss
/ekalu/ alone

(59) Adjective Gloss
/zeelajaw/, forest like
/munjajaw/ tuber like
/moorjajaw/ sweetish
/dajajaw/ longish/tallish
/pijoonajaw/ drinkable
/jaŋoŋnajaw/ walkable
These adjectives inflect for gender to agree with the gender of the nouns they modify; adjectives with /-aaw/, /-āj/ are used with masculine nouns and those with /-ēew/, /-ēēj/ with feminine nouns as shown in (60):

(60) Gur     Gloss
k̠uṭ̠jāw bāl  littliss boy
k̠uṭ̠jēw mulaj/ k̠uṭ̠jēēj mulaj  littliss girl
moorāw dut   sweet milk
moorjēw tʃa  sweet tea

Some of the derived adjectives ending in /-aaw/ behave as adverbials like /lookaaw/ meaning ‘quickly’, /hoojǝaw/ meaning ‘carefully’.

3.4 Numerals

Number system in Gurezi has a base of twenty. After every twenty numbers, the conjunctive /gi/ ‘and’ is used till it completes the next twenty. The word for twenty is /bji/ and for twenty-one, it is /bji gi ek/ meaning ‘twenty and one’ and one goes on adding numbers till it reaches forty, for which the word is /dibju/. The process is repeated till /t̠abju/ ‘sixty’. The word for seventy is /t̠abju gi daj/, eighty /t̠arbuju/ and for ninety it is /t̠arbuju gi daj/. Only the word for ‘thirty’ /j̠i̠j/ doesn’t follow the rule of ‘twenty and ten’.

(61)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Cardinal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ek/</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>/bji jɑ/</td>
<td>twenty-six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dju/</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>/bji gi sat/</td>
<td>twenty-seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j̠ee/</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>/bji gi āʃ/</td>
<td>twenty-eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t̠ar/</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>/bji gi n̠o̠o/</td>
<td>twenty-nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/poʃ/</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>/j̠i̠j/</td>
<td>thirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jɑ/</td>
<td>six</td>
<td>/bji gi ak̠aʃ/</td>
<td>thirty-one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sat/</td>
<td>seven</td>
<td>/bji gi bɑʃ/</td>
<td>thirty-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aʃ/ āʃ/</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td>/bji gi j̠o̠j/</td>
<td>thirty-three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n̠o̠o/</td>
<td>nine</td>
<td>/bji gi j̠o̠dɑʃ/</td>
<td>thirty-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/daj/</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>/bji gi pɑ̠z̠uʃaʃ/</td>
<td>thirty-five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ak̠aʃ/</td>
<td>eleven</td>
<td>/bji gi j̠o̠j/</td>
<td>thirty-six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bɑʃ/</td>
<td>twelve</td>
<td>/bji gi sɑ̠t̠aʃ/</td>
<td>thirty-seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t̠oʃ/</td>
<td>thirteen</td>
<td>/bji gi āʃt̠aʃ/</td>
<td>thirty-eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t̠oʃdɑʃ/</td>
<td>fourteen</td>
<td>/bji gi kunʃiʃ/</td>
<td>thirty-nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ek kam dibju/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pɑ̠z̠uʃaʃ/</td>
<td>fifteen</td>
<td>/dibju/</td>
<td>forty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j̠o̠j/</td>
<td>sixteen</td>
<td>/dibju gi ek/</td>
<td>forty-one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sɑ̠t̠aʃaʃ/</td>
<td>seventeen</td>
<td>/dibju gi dju/</td>
<td>forty-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aʃt̠aʃ/</td>
<td>eighteen</td>
<td>/dibju gi j̠e̠e/</td>
<td>forty-three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kunʃiʃ/</td>
<td>nineteen</td>
<td>/dibju gi t̠aʃaʃ/</td>
<td>forty-four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bji/</td>
<td>twenty</td>
<td>/dibju gi p̠oʃ/</td>
<td>forty-five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bji gi ek/</td>
<td>twenty-one</td>
<td>/dibju gi jɑ/</td>
<td>forty-six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bji gi dju/</td>
<td>twenty-two</td>
<td>/dibju gi sat/</td>
<td>forty-seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bji gi j̠e̠e/</td>
<td>twenty-three</td>
<td>/dʒi bju gi āʃ/</td>
<td>forty-eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bji gi t̠aʃaʃ/</td>
<td>twenty-four</td>
<td>/di bju gi n̠o̠o/</td>
<td>forty-nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bji gi p̠oʃ/</td>
<td>twenty-five</td>
<td>/dʒi bju gi daj/</td>
<td>fifty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word for ‘hundred’ is /jɑl/, for ‘thousand’ /s̠̏aʃa/ and for ‘lakh’, it is /l̠aʃ/; the latter two are also used in neighbouring Kashmiri.
Ordinal numbers are formed by adding the suffix /mugu/ to the cardinal number, except for the first ordinal, which has a specific word /ʃʈa̗luku/. The suffix declines for number and gender like regular adjectives.

(62)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʃʈa̗luku/</td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dʊ̗mugu/</td>
<td>second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃʈe̗mugu/</td>
<td>third</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃʈa̗rmugu/</td>
<td>fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʊ̗ʃmugu/</td>
<td>fifth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃʈa̗rmugu/</td>
<td>sixth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sʊ̗tɪmugu/</td>
<td>seventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃʈa̗rmugu/</td>
<td>eighth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nʊ̗mugu/</td>
<td>ninth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃʈa̗rmugu/</td>
<td>tenth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5 Postpositions

Postpositions in Gurezi are of two types: clitic postpositions and free postpositions. Clitic postpositions don’t have an independent existence and hence no pitch-accent of their own. Free postpositions are independent words with an accent of their own.

3.5.1 Clitic postpositions

According to Masica (1991) most modern Indo-Aryan languages have three layers of forms with ‘case-like’ functions and these could either be considered as two layers of affixes and one layer of postpositions or one layer of affixes and two layers of postpositions (231). The clitic postpositions in Gurezi govern the oblique case and thus can be regarded as layer II affixes. The present study analyzes them as clitic postpositions as according to Masica these may have been free words in the past (233). The four clitic postpositions found in Gurezi are given in (63).

(63)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic Postposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/-ʒʊ̗õ̗o/</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-kætʃ/</td>
<td>near to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-sə̗j/</td>
<td>along with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-ʒi/</td>
<td>in/at/on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the four clitic postpositions attach to oblique form of the noun. The clitics are attached to both singular and plural forms of the noun.

(64) Root | Obl Sing | Obl Plu | Gloss |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʃlip/</td>
<td>/ɑ̇ʃpe/</td>
<td>/afpʊ̗o̗/</td>
<td>horse (s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Obl Sing</th>
<th>Obl Plu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/-ʒʊ̗o/</td>
<td>/ɑ̇ʃpeʒʊ̗o/</td>
<td>/afpʊ̗o̗ʒʊ̗o/</td>
<td>from the horse (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-kætʃ/</td>
<td>/ɑ̇ʃpekætʃ/</td>
<td>/afpʊ̗o̗kætʃ/</td>
<td>near the horse (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-sə̗j/</td>
<td>/ɑ̇ʃpeʃə̗j/</td>
<td>/afpʊ̗o̗sə̗j/</td>
<td>along with horse (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-ʒi/</td>
<td>/ɑ̇ʃpeʒi/</td>
<td>/afpʊ̗o̗ʒi/</td>
<td>on the horse (s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5.2 Free postpositions

Free postpositions in Gurezi are independent words carrying their own pitch accent. These were mainly found to follow nominative or oblique forms of noun. Following are presented the frequently employed postpositions in Gurezi.
(70) Gur Gloss
/gi/
with/along with
nōori gi kar na tʰë
nails.Obl with scratch not do.Imp
‘Don’t scratch with nails.’
ţʃʰetʃi-ʒi tikj gi bo
field-in.CP bread.Nom along.with go.Imp
‘Take some bread along with you to the field.’
ʒe̗eli-ʒi mute gi bo
forest-in.CP somebody.Obl along with take.Imp
‘Take somebody along with you to the forest.’

(71) Gur Gloss
/mu.tʃʰõ̗õ/ in front of
gøoژ-e mutʃõ̗õ
home-Obl in front of
‘in front of house’
mutʃõ̗õ mutʃõ̗õ jaas
in.front.of in.front.of walk.Imp
‘walk in front (front)’

(72) Gur Gloss
/patõ̗õ/ behind
tom-ɛ patõ̗õ
tree-Obl behind
‘behind the tree’

(73) Gur Gloss
/hatʃ/ by means of/through
zaw-ə hatʃ pajsaj-i tʃəŋas
brother-Obl through money-Obl send.Impf
‘Send money through my brother.’

(74) Gur Gloss
/kʰarʃ/ under/below
ʃu̗v-ʃ kʰarʃ buʃ-ʃ tʃʰarʃa
staircase-Obl under shoes-Obl put.Imp
‘Put your shoes under the staircase.’

(75) Gur Gloss
/ku̗ule/ under/down
sin kədl-a ku̗ule jaasə hiʃi
river.Nom bridge-Obl below walk.Impf be.Prt
‘The river flows under the bridge.’
(76) **Gur**

/a.ḍa/  

/like/

nu māal-e  adāa  hūū  
this.Nom  father-Obl  like  be.Prt

‘He is like his father.’

/adāa/ meaning ‘like’ is used for proximate things and mostly means ‘like this’. It is in contrast with the distal /sāda/ meaning ‘like that’. There is also a related interrogative form /kāda/ meaning ‘like what?’.

(77) **Gur**

/azōō/  

/inside/

gōoziği  azōō  sațiūn  
home-at.CP  inside  things

‘inside-house things’

(78) **Gur**

/da.rōō/  

/outside/

kuj-ʒōō  darōō  
village-from.CP  outside

‘outside village’

(79) **Gur**

/maʒa/  

/inside/in the middle of/

ʒe̱eli-ʒi  maʒa  
forest-in.CP  inside

‘inside jungle’

ʒak-ʒi  maʒa  
people-in.CP  middle of

‘in the middle of people’

(80) **Gur**

/аʒa/  

/upon/

ʃũ̱vi-ʒi  аʒa  
staircase-at.CP  upon

‘upon staircase’

/аζōō/, /maʒa/ and /аʒa/ follow the clitic postposition /-ʒi/ ‘at’, ‘on’, whereas /darōō/ follows the clitic postposition /-ʒoo/ ‘from’.

(81) **Gur**

/hu.nj/  

/above/over/

ta-l-a  hunj  
roof-Obl  above

‘above the roof’

tu-s  gōozi-e  hunj  phal  tʰe  
you-Agn I  home-Obl  over  throw  do.Imp

‘You throw it over the house.’
3.5.3 Clitic postpositions and pronouns

In Gurezi clitic postpositions are attached to pronouns in the same way as they are attached to regular nouns. All personal pronouns regardless of number, person and gender take the following four clitic postpositions.

There is no distinction of gender in first person. The four clitics are attached to oblique forms of pronouns and have same structure for first person singular and first person plural.

In second person, singular forms for masculine and feminine are same while in plural they are separate. Examples for second person masculine are presented below in (86) followed by second person feminine in (87).
Third person pronouns in Gurezi have distinct forms for indicating remote and proximate. Oblique forms of both take the clitic postpositions. In third person, masculine and feminine forms are same in singular tenses; plural forms are different for masculine and feminine, like second person.

(88) **Masculine (Proximate)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Obl Sing + Clitic</th>
<th>Obl Plu + Clitic</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-3ōō/</td>
<td>/aase3ōō/</td>
<td>/aazenu3ōō/</td>
<td>from him/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-katʃ/</td>
<td>/aasekatʃ/</td>
<td>/aazanukatʃ/</td>
<td>near him/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sēj/</td>
<td>/aaseśēj/</td>
<td>/aazanesēj/</td>
<td>along with him/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʒi/</td>
<td>/aaseʒi/</td>
<td>/aazenuʒi/</td>
<td>on him/them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(89) **Feminine (proximate)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Obl Sing + Clitic</th>
<th>Obl Plu + Clitic</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-3ōō/</td>
<td>/aase3ōō/</td>
<td>/ajazanu3ōō/</td>
<td>from her/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-katʃ/</td>
<td>/aasekatʃ/</td>
<td>/ajazanukatʃ/</td>
<td>near her/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sēj/</td>
<td>/aaseśēj/</td>
<td>/ajazanesēj/</td>
<td>along with her/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʒi/</td>
<td>/aaseʒi/</td>
<td>/ajazanuʒi/</td>
<td>on her/them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(90) **Masculine (remote)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Obl Sing + Clitic</th>
<th>Obl Plu + Clitic</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-3ōō/</td>
<td>/sese3ōō/</td>
<td>/senu3ōō/</td>
<td>from him/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-katʃ/</td>
<td>/sesekatʃ/</td>
<td>/senukatʃ/</td>
<td>near him/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sēj/</td>
<td>/seseśēj/</td>
<td>/senuśēj/</td>
<td>along with him/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʒi/</td>
<td>/seseʒi/</td>
<td>/senuʒi/</td>
<td>on him/them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(91) **Feminine (remote)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Obl Sing + Clitic</th>
<th>Obl Plu + Clitic</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-3ōō/</td>
<td>/sese3ōō/</td>
<td>/sanu3ōō/</td>
<td>from her/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-katʃ/</td>
<td>/sesekatʃ/</td>
<td>/sanukatʃ/</td>
<td>near her/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sēj/</td>
<td>/seseśēj/</td>
<td>/sanuśēj/</td>
<td>along with her/them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʒi/</td>
<td>/seseʒi/</td>
<td>/sanuʒi/</td>
<td>on her/them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like personal pronouns, clitic postpositions are attached to demonstrative, reflexive and interrogative pronouns in a similar pattern. In all these three types of pronouns the clitics are added to the oblique forms. Demonstrative pronouns have separate forms for /nis/ ‘this’ and /ʒes/ ‘that’. Singular and plural forms of the two demonstratives form separate paradigms.

(92) **Demonstrative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Obl Sing + Clitic</th>
<th>Obl Plu + Clitic</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-3ōō/</td>
<td>/nisi3ōō/</td>
<td>/ninō3ōō/</td>
<td>from this/these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-katʃ/</td>
<td>/nisikatʃ/</td>
<td>/ninōkatʃ/</td>
<td>near this/these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sēj/</td>
<td>/nisisēj/</td>
<td>/ninōsēj/</td>
<td>along with this/these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ʒi/</td>
<td>/nisiʒi/</td>
<td>/ninōʒi/</td>
<td>on this/these</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Demonstrative
critic | Obl Sing + Clitic | Obl Plu + Clitic | Gloss
--- | --- | --- | ---
/-zōō/ | /ześiʒōō/ | /zenōʒōō/ | from that/those
/-Katʃ/ | /ześiŋKatʃ/ | /zenōŋKatʃ/ | near that/those
/-sēj/ | /ześiŋsēj/ | /zenōŋsēj/ | along with that/those
/-ʒi/ | /ześiʒi/ | /zenōʒi/ | on that/those

Reflexive and interrogative pronouns don't inflect for number and gender, so each of these has a single paradigm after suffixation of clitics as given in (94).

Reflexive and Interrogative
Obl Reflexive + Clitic | Gloss | Obl Interrogative + Clitic | Gloss
--- | --- | --- | ---
/akōŋʒōō/ | from myself | /koŋjseŋʒōō/ | from whom/what
/akōŋkatʃ/ | near myself | /koŋjsekatʃ/ | near whom/what
/akōŋsēj/ | along with myself | /koŋjsesēj/ | along with whom/what
/akōŋʒi/ | on myself | /koŋjseʒi/ | on whom/what

3.6 Verbs

3.6.1 Infinitive

All verbs in Gurezi have a morphologically distinct infinitive form. These infinitive forms that behave like English gerundives can be identified by the suffix /-oŋnu/. The vowel following the nasal in the suffix is very short and at times is barely noticeable. The infinitive forms can be taken as basic forms for elaboration of the verbal paradigm. The structure of some infinitives in Gurezi is given in (95).

Verbal root | Suffix | Infinitive | Gloss
--- | --- | --- | ---
/uʈʃ/ | /oŋnu/ | /uʈʃoŋnu/ | to run
/aʈ/ | /oŋnu/ | /aʈjoŋnu/ | to bring
/waf/ | /oŋnu/ | /waŋjoŋnu/ | to open
/bij/bej/ | /oŋnu/ | /bejoŋnu/ | to sit
/daŋt/ | /oŋnu/ | /daŋjoŋnu/ | to know
/jaz/jaʒ/jaaz/ | /oŋnu/ | /jaŋjoŋnu/ | to walk
/likʰ/ | /oŋnu/ | /likjoŋnu/ | to write
/pij/ | /oŋnu/ | /pijoŋnu/ | to drink
/kut/ | /oŋnu/ | /kuṭjoŋnu/ | to beat/crush
/tʃʰin/ | /oŋnu/ | /tʃʰjoŋnu/ | to cut

The suffix /-oŋnu/ carries the accent in infinitives and is added to both transitive as well as intransitive verbal roots. Infinitives of borrowed verbs are also formed by addition of /-oŋnu/ like in the case of the verb /likʰjoŋnu/ ‘to write’. As shown in (96), the infinitives behave like English gerundives.

Utʃoŋnu ek siŋ ɡadaŋ hįį
‘Running is a good habit.’
Basku bejoŋnu siŋ ɡadaŋ nįį hįį
‘Excessive sitting is not a good habit.’
Bes tʃʰin-e kuṭjoŋnu nẹẹ boŋoŋ
‘We should not beat children.’
3.6.2 Conjunctive participle

The conjunctive participle is formed by adding the suffix /-ee/ or /-ii/ to the verbal root. Conjunctive participles\(^8\) refer to a state of post-verbal action and for a verb like ‘drink’, it means ‘after drinking’. Use of such suffixes for the formation of conjunctive participle has been reported in Kohistani Shina also by Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:111).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Conj Part</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/jaas/jaaz/</td>
<td>/ii/</td>
<td>/jazi/</td>
<td>after walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pii/</td>
<td>/ii/</td>
<td>/Pij/</td>
<td>after drinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gin/</td>
<td>/ii/</td>
<td>/gi.ñiñ/</td>
<td>after buying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khi/</td>
<td>/ee/</td>
<td>/khee/</td>
<td>after eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/at/</td>
<td>/ee/</td>
<td>/aṭee/</td>
<td>after bringing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lik(^b)/</td>
<td>/ee/</td>
<td>/lik(^b)ee/</td>
<td>after writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ṭin/</td>
<td>/ii/</td>
<td>/ṭininii/</td>
<td>after cutting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(98) sabak lik\(^b\)-ee so baal ɠooz-aṭ gaw lessons writing-ConjPart he boy home-Dat go.Perf

‘After writing the lesson the boy went home.’

b-e ṭ so-s muṭʃ\(^b\)oñu ṭiŋaw sitting-ConjPart he-Agn I talking.Inf start.Perf

‘After sitting, he started talking.’

3.6.3 Present and perfective participle

Present participle in Gurezi is formed by suffixing /-ʒek/, /-ʒak/, /-eek/ or /-ak/ to the verb root as shown in (100):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Prt Part</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/uṭʃ/</td>
<td>/-eek/</td>
<td>/uṭʃeek/</td>
<td>running</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mir/</td>
<td>/-ʒek/</td>
<td>/mirʒek/</td>
<td>dying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/waʃ/</td>
<td>/-ʒek/</td>
<td>/waʃʒek/</td>
<td>opening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/daʒ/</td>
<td>/-ak/</td>
<td>/daʒak/</td>
<td>burning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k(^b)/</td>
<td>/-aak/</td>
<td>/k(^b)aak/</td>
<td>eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/-eek/</td>
<td>/pẹek/</td>
<td>falling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(100) uṭʃ-ŋek \(^b\)iṭʃ\(^b\)

running-PrtPart bear ‘running bear’

daʒ-ak ɠooş burning-PrtPart home ‘burning house’

mēj ek tom pẹ-ek pəjaas I.Agn P a tree falling-PrtPart see.Perf

‘I saw a falling tree.’

Perfective participles of transitive verbs in Gurezi are formed by the addition of suffix /-iil/ to the verb root. Then it takes the adjectival suffix to indicate number and gender. A similar pattern has been found in Kohistani Shina (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008:112).

---

\(^8\) Conjunctive participles in Gurezi function like Urdu ‘verb + kar’ or ‘verb + kar ke’.
In Gurezi perfective participle of intransitive verbs is derived from their perfective stems. The suffix for perfective participle is not directly added to the verbal roots, rather to the stems carrying the perfective aspect markers /t, d, l, tʃ, w, j/. The perfective participle suffix /-uk/ is inflected for number and gender. According to Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:112) perfective participle of intransitive verbs in Kohistani Shina have the same form as that of “perfective stem plus perfective aspect marker” which is then inflected for number and gender.

Consider the examples in (103)

(103) Infinitive Verb root Perf Stem Suffix Perf Part Gloss
/jaʒoŋnu/ /jaaz/, /jaz/ /jaat/ /-uk/ /jaatuk/ walked
/daʒoŋnu/ /daʒ/ /dad/ /-uk/ /daduk/ burnt
/miɾjoŋnu/ /miɾ/ /muw/ /-ak/ /muwak/ died
/uʃʃoŋnu/ /uʃʃit/ /-uk/ /uʃʃituk/ runs
/poŋnu/ /p/ /pool/ /-uk/ /pooluk/ fallen
/bejoŋnu/ /beʃ/ /beŋ/ /-uk/ /beŋuk/ sits

In (103), the roots of /jaʒoŋnu/ and /daʒoŋnu/, /jaaz/ and /daʒ/ loose /z/ and /ʒ/ before taking the perfective aspect marker /t/ and /d/ respectively to form perfective stem /jaat/ and /dad/. The suffix /-uk/ is used to indicate masculine singular and /-ek/ feminine singular. In /miɾjoŋnu/, the verbal root undergoes structural change and takes /w/ to form the perfective stem /muw/. The latter takes the perfective participle /-ak/ to form /muwak/. In /poŋuk/ the perfective aspect marker is /l/, while in case of /beŋuk/, it is /t/. Usage of perfective participle is shown in (104):

(104) beŋ-uk nafar
sit-PerfPart man
‘the man (who) has sat down’

beŋ-ek mulaj
sit-PerfPart girl
‘the girl (who has sat down)’

pool-uk gọọș
fall-PerfPart home
‘the fallen house’
3.6.4 Adverbial participle of manner

Adverbial participle of manner is formed by adding the suffix /-oo/ or /-uu/ to the verb root. In Kohistani this is formed by suffixing /júu/ to the root (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008, 112). The participle behaves like English gerunds and modifies the action of the main verb.

(105) Verb root | Suffix | Adv Part | Gloss
---|---|---|---
/yəʒ/ | /oo/ | /jaʒ00/ | walking
/trak/ | /oo/ | /trakjò̄/ | seeing
/rəʒ/ | /oo/ | /raʒ00/ | talking

(106) jaʒ-ō̄g ālu
walking-AdvbPart came.Perf
'(He) came walking.'

raʒ-ō̄g ālu
talking-AdvbPart came.Perf
'(He) came (while) talking.'

3.6.5 The auxiliary

The two auxiliary verbs in Gurezi are /asो̣0nu/9 ‘to be’ and /bo0nu/10 ‘to become’. Each of the two verbs has its own paradigm. The inflected forms of the auxiliaries occur as independent words and not as bound suffixes. In Kohistani Shina, the verb ‘to be’ with the infinitive form /boón/ is reported to have two paradigms: the “existential” (is, was) and “commencing” (is becoming, was becoming) (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008, 120).

The paradigm of /bo0nu/, sometimes pronounced as /bjo0nu/, is similar to that of any other verb of Gurezi, whereas /as0nu/ has a specific paradigm comprising of present, past and future. A few of my consultants believed that /bo0nu/ and /bjo0nu/ are separate verbs, but since only one paradigm could be obtained for the two, so these have been taken as one. The paradigm for /as0nu/ and /bo0nu/ are presented in (107) and (108), respectively:

(107) Infinitive | Root | Gloss
---|---|---
/as0nu/ | /as/ | to be

(a) Present: I am

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo hō̄s</td>
<td>be hanēs/ hās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo hē̄s</td>
<td>biāa hanēs/ hēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu hō̄</td>
<td>tsō̄0o hāat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu hē̄</td>
<td>tsā̄a hēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so hū̄</td>
<td>se hāa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se hī</td>
<td>sāa hē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 The auxiliary in Gurezi is quite similar to Kashmiri verb ‘be’ /aasun/ ‘to be’.

10 This is also similar to Kashmiri verb /banun/ ‘to become’.
(b) Past: I was

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo asulọs</td>
<td>be asileș</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo asileș</td>
<td>bjaa asileșe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu asulọ</td>
<td>tsʰọọ asilet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu asile/lee</td>
<td>tsʰãã asileget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so asulụ</td>
<td>se asile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se asili</td>
<td>saa asiljçe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Future: I will be

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo ạsem</td>
<td>be aasọọn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo ạsem</td>
<td>bjaa aasọọn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu ạsẹj</td>
<td>tsʰọọ aasągat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu ạsẹj</td>
<td>tsʰãã aasągat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so ạsẹ</td>
<td>se aasẹẹn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se ạsẹ</td>
<td>saa aasẹẹn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the past forms of /asoنو/ given in (107b) were found to be used in shortened forms also. This happens when an auxiliary follows a main verb. However, it varies from speaker to speaker. While some speakers omit the first two syllables of the auxiliary, others omit only the first syllable, while still others use the complete form. So the forms (107b) are also used by Shina speakers as given in (107d).

(d) Past: I was

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo asulọs/oọs/suọs</td>
<td>be asileșes/lęes/sileșes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo asileșes/lęes/sileșes</td>
<td>bjaa asileșes/lęes/sileșes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu asulọ/oọ/suọ</td>
<td>tsʰọọ asilet/lęet/silęet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu asile/lę/silę</td>
<td>tsʰãã asileget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so asulụ/ụ/sulụ</td>
<td>se asile/lęet/silęet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se asili/lí/silỉ</td>
<td>saa asiljçe/ljée/silje</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present work has reported the different forms of /asoنو/ as used by various informants during collection of data.

(108) Infinitive Root Gloss
/boنو/ b to become

(a) Simple Present: I become/ I am becoming

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo ọọm họọs</td>
<td>be bijọọn hanęęs/ hąąs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo ọọm hęęs</td>
<td>bijaa bijọọn hanęęs/ hęęs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu ọọm họọ</td>
<td>tsʰọọ bijąat hąąt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu ọom hęę</td>
<td>tsʰãã bijąat hęęt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so bej hųų</td>
<td>se ęęm hąą</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se bej hįi</td>
<td>saa ęęm hęę</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Imperfect: I was becoming/I used to become

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo ọọm lọos</td>
<td>be bijọọn lęęs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo ọọm lęęs</td>
<td>bjaa bijọọn lęęs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2nd Per Mas  tu bej lụu  tsʰo̞o̞ bijajat ọtet
2nd Per Fem  tu bej læe  tsʰâa̞ bijajat ljẹet
3rd Per Mas  so bej lụu  se bejen læe
3rd Per Fem  se bej lịị  saa bejen ljẹe

(c) Subjunctive: I may become

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo bejem bel</td>
<td>be bijoon bel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo bejem bel</td>
<td>bijaa bijoon bel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu be belże</td>
<td>tsʰo̞o̞ bijajat belet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu be belje</td>
<td>tsʰâa̞ bijajat belet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so bej bel</td>
<td>se bejen beļẹen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se bej bel</td>
<td>saa bejen beļẹen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Future: I will become

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo bejem</td>
<td>be bijoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo bejem</td>
<td>bijaa bijoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu be</td>
<td>tsʰo̞o̞ bijaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu be</td>
<td>tsʰâa̞ bijaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so bej</td>
<td>se bejen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se bej</td>
<td>saa bejen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) Present Perfect: I have become

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo bil'o̞os hōōs</td>
<td>be bila'ees hanėês/ hâa̞s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo bila'ees hēēs</td>
<td>b'aa bila'ees hanėês/ hēēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu bilo̞o hōō</td>
<td>tsʰo̞o̞ biljet hâa̞t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu biljëe hēē</td>
<td>tsʰâa̞ biljet hēēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so bilụ hũũ</td>
<td>se biljë hââ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se bilj ḥị</td>
<td>saa biljë hẹ̄</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(f) Simple Past: I become

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo bil'ōos</td>
<td>be bila'ees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo bila'ees</td>
<td>b'aa bila'ees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu bilo̞o</td>
<td>tsʰo̞o̞ biljet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu biljëe</td>
<td>tsʰâa̞ biljet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so bilụ</td>
<td>se biljë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se bilj</td>
<td>saa biljë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(g) Past Perfect: I had become

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo bil'o̞os lọos</td>
<td>be bila'ees lẹes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo bila'ees lẹes</td>
<td>b'aa bila'ees lẹes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu bilo̞o lụu</td>
<td>tsʰo̞o̞ biljet lẹtet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu biljëe lẹe</td>
<td>tsʰâa̞ biljet lẹtet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so bilụ lụu</td>
<td>se biljë lẹe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se bilj lịị</td>
<td>saa biljë lẹe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6.6 Aspect

Gurezi Shina has a marked distinction of perfective and imperfective verbal aspects. Besides the functional distinction, the two verbal aspects are indicated by separate markers and are derived by independent derivational processes. The four forms in imperfective aspect are simple present, imperfect, subjunctive and simple future. In perfective aspect, Gurezi has past, present perfect and past perfect.

3.6.6.1 Imperfective aspect

In imperfective aspect, forms of verbs for first person singular in Gurezi have a distinct marker /m/. Formation of imperfective aspect for first person singular of some verbs in Gurezi is presented in (110):

(109) Infinitive        Verb root        Impf stem  Impf Marker       Imperfective        Gloss
    /jaʒo̞nu/          /jaʒ/           /jaže/  /m/           /jaže̞m/           to walk
    /uʈʃo̞nu/          /uʈʃ/          /uʈʃe/  /m/           /uʈʃe̞m/           to run
    /ʈʃinjo̞nu/        /ʈʃin/         /ʈʃine/  /m/           /ʈʃine̞m/           to cut
    /bujjo̞nu/         /buj/           /buje/  /m/           /bujëm/           to weave
    /likjo̞nu/         /likh/          /likhe/  /m/           /likëm/           to write
    /kuʃjo̞nu/         /kuʃ/           /kuᵲe/  /m/           /kuᵲëm/           to crush

The examples in (109) indicate that both transitive and intransitive verbs take the suffix /m/ to indicate imperfective aspect. The rule for the formation of imperfective aspect of first person singular, in both transitive and intransitive verbs will be as below:

verbal root + a/e/i + m

The four imperfective forms of /jaʒo̞nu/ ‘to walk’ and /ʈʃinjo̞nu/ ‘to cut’ for 1st person singular are given in (110 and (111) below.

(110) Infinitive        Verb root        Impf stem  Impf Marker       Imperfective        Gloss
    /jaʒo̞nu/          /jaʒ/           /jaže/  /-m/          /jaže̞m/           to walk
    Simple present     mo jaże̞m hोs     mo jaże̞m hës       I walk/ I am walking
    Imperfect          mo jaže̞m lọs    mo jaže̞m lës       I used to walk
    Subjunctive         mo jaže̞m bel   mo jaže̞m bel       I may walk
    Future              mo jažem         mo jažem              I will walk

(111) Infinitive        Verb root        Impf stem  Impf Marker       Imperfective        Gloss
    /ʈʃinjo̞nu/        /ʈʃin/          /ʈʃine/  /-m/          /ʈʃine̞m/           to cut
    Simple present     mos ṭʃine̞m họs     mos ṭʃine̞m hës       I cut/ I am cutting
    Imperfect          mos ṭʃine̞m lọs    mos ṭʃine̞m lës       I used to cut
    Subjunctive         mos ṭʃine̞m bel   mos ṭʃine̞m bel       I may cut
    Future              mos ṭʃine̞m         mos ṭʃine̞m            I will cut

According to Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:114), the subjunctive in Kohistani Shina comprises of the verbal root plus suffixes denoting person, number and gender agreement, which serve “as the simple present in Gurezi and the future in Gilgitii”. The present study has found that all four forms in imperfective tense, simple present, imperfect, subjunctive and simple future comprise of the verbal root plus a vowel and the imperfective marker /m/ (for 1st person singular). An auxiliary inflected for number, gender and person always follows in any use of imperfective forms of simple present, imperfect and subjunctive. Simple future is indicated by main verb alone without an auxiliary following it. So the above observation of Schmidt and Kohistani that the subjunctive of Kohistani Shina serves simple present in Gurezi Shina doesn’t seem to hold true. What
seems to be the case is that the subjunctive of Kohistani Shina has same form as that of future in Gurezi Shina.

In the use of simple present, the verb is followed by auxiliary ‘be’ in its present form and the imperfect is followed by auxiliary ‘be’ in past form. In case of subjunctive in Gurezi, the verb is always followed by /bel/ meaning ‘may’. /bel/ that occurs as free form inflects like the auxiliary ‘be’ to indicate number and person. The forms of the subjunctive indicator /bel/ are shown in (112):

\[(112)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per</td>
<td>/bel/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per</td>
<td>/beļe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per</td>
<td>/beļen/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Complete paradigms of the four imperfective forms of verbs /jaʒoŋnu/ ‘to walk’ and /ʈʃʰinoonu/ are given in (113) and (114):

\[(113)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/jaʒoŋnu/</td>
<td>/jaʒ/jaaz/ to walk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Simple Present: I walk/ I am walking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo jażem hōos be jażoon hāās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo jażem hēēs bja jażoon hēēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu jażee hōō tsʰōō jażaat hāāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu jażee hēē tsʰāā jażaat hēēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so jażee hūū se jażen hāā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se jażee hīī saa jażen hēē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Imperfect: I used to walk/ I was walking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo jażem lōos be jażoon lēēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo jażem lēēs bja jażoon lēēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu jażee lōō tsʰōō jażaat lēēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu jażee lēē tsʰāā jażaat lēēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so jażu lēū se jażen lēē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se jażi līī saa jażen lēē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Subjunctive: I may walk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo jażem bel be jażoon bel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo jażem bel bja jażoon bel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu jażee belē tsʰōō jażaat belēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu jażee belē tsʰāā jażaat belēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so jażi bel se jażen belēē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se jażi bel saa jażen belēē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Simple future: I will walk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo jażem be jażoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mo jażem bja jażoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu jażee tsʰōō jażaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tu jażee tsʰāā jażaat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so jażee se jażen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>se jażee saa jażen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be made out from paradigms of above two verbs, imperfective tenses in transitive and intransitive verbs are formed in a similar manner. The verb /jaʒoŋu/ being intransitive and /ʈʃʰinoŋu/, transitive, inflect in a similar manner for all the four imperfective forms, with the only difference being that intransitive imperfective take subject nouns and pronouns in the nominative case, and transitive imperfective in the agentive imperfective.

3.6.6.2 Perfective aspect

In contrast to imperfective aspect, the perfective aspect is marked differently in intransitive and transitive verbs. As stated in §3.6.3. with regard to perfective participles, perfective aspect in intransitive verbs is indicated by the markers /t, d, l, ŋ, w, j/ added to the perfective stems that are different from the
verbal roots. The three perfective forms; present perfect, past and past perfect of intransitive verb /jaʒo̞o̞nu/ ‘to walk’ are given in (115) below:

(115)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive Verb root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/jaʒo̞o̞nu/</td>
<td>/jaʒ/jaaz/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Present Perfect: I have walked

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>Plu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas mo jaat̬o̞os hõo̞s</td>
<td>be jaat̬e̠es hãa̠s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem mo jaat̬e̠es hê̠es</td>
<td>bja̠a jaat̬e̠es hê̠es</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas tu jaat̬o̞o hõo̞</td>
<td>tsʰõ̞o̞ jaat̬e̠et hãa̠t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem tu jaat̬e̠e̠ hê̠</td>
<td>tsʰã̠a jaat̬e̠et hê̠et</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas so jaat̬u hûu</td>
<td>se jaat̬e̠e̠ hãa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem se jaat̬i hîi</td>
<td>sã̠a jaat̬e̠e̠ hê̠e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Past: I walked

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>Plu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas mo jaat̬o̞os</td>
<td>be jaat̬e̠es</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem mo jaat̬e̠es</td>
<td>bja̠a jaat̬e̠es</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas tu jaat̬o̞o</td>
<td>tsʰõ̞o̞ jaat̬e̠et</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem tu jaat̬e̠e̠</td>
<td>tsʰã̠a jaat̬e̠et</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas so jaat̬u lûu</td>
<td>se jaat̬e̠e̠ lê̠</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem se jaat̬i lîi</td>
<td>sã̠a jaat̬e̠e̠ lê̠</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Past Perfect: I had walked

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>Plu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas mo jaat̬o̞os lõo̞s</td>
<td>be jaat̬e̠es lê̠es</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem mo jaat̬e̠es lê̠es</td>
<td>bja̠a jaat̬e̠es lê̠es</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas tu jaat̬o̞o lûu</td>
<td>tsʰõ̞o̞ jaat̬e̠et lê̠et</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem tu jaat̬e̠e̠ lê̠</td>
<td>tsʰã̠a jaat̬e̠et lê̠et</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas so jaat̬u lûu</td>
<td>se jaat̬e̠e̠ lê̠</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem se jaat̬i lîi</td>
<td>sã̠a jaat̬e̠e̠ lê̠</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides the above, Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:130) have mentioned /tʰ/ also as perfective aspect marker in Kohistani Shina. The paradigm for two intransitive verbs, /bejo̞o̞nu/ ‘to sit’ and /mirjo̞o̞nu/ ‘to die’ is presented below. In the case of /mirjo̞o̞nu/, the markers /w,j/ are used to indicate perfective aspect. Intransitive perfective verbs have nominative case for the subject nouns and pronouns.

(116)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive Verb root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bejo̞o̞nu/</td>
<td>/bej/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Present Perfect: I have sat

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>Plu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas mo bee̠to̞os hõo̞s</td>
<td>be bee̠te̠es hãa̠s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem mo bee̠te̠es hê̠es</td>
<td>bja̠a bee̠te̠es hê̠es</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas tu bee̠to̞o hõo̞</td>
<td>tsʰõ̞o̞ bee̠te̠et hãa̠t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem tu bee̠te̠e̠ hê̠</td>
<td>tsʰã̠a bee̠te̠et hê̠et</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas so bee̠t̬u hûu</td>
<td>se bee̠te̠ hãa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem se bee̠t̬i hîi</td>
<td>sã̠a bee̠t̬e̠ hê̠e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) Past: I sat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo beeʔos</td>
<td>be beeʔeš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Fem</td>
<td>mo beeqeš</td>
<td>bʃa beeqeš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu beeqoo</td>
<td>tʃo̓o beeqeʃt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Fem</td>
<td>tu beeqe</td>
<td>tʃa beeqeʃet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so beequ</td>
<td>se beeqe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Fem</td>
<td>se beeqi</td>
<td>sʔa beeqje</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Past Perfect: I had sat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo beeʔos lʊos</td>
<td>be beeʔeš lěes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Fem</td>
<td>mo beeqeš lěes</td>
<td>bʃa beeqeš lěes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu beeqoo lʊu</td>
<td>tʃo̓o beeqeʃet lěet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Fem</td>
<td>tu beeqe lěe</td>
<td>tʃa beeqeʃet lěet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so beequ lʊu</td>
<td>se beeqe lěe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Fem</td>
<td>se beeqi lɪɨ</td>
<td>sʔa beeqje lěe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(117) Infinitive Verb root Gloss
/mirjoʊnʊ/ /mir/ to die

(a) Present Perfect: I have died

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo muwʊos hʊʊs</td>
<td>be muješ hãaś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Fem</td>
<td>mo muweʃe hẽes</td>
<td>bʃa muweʃe hẽes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu muwʊo hʊʊ</td>
<td>tʃo̓o muweʃet hãat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Fem</td>
<td>tu mujeqe hẽe</td>
<td>tʃa muweʃet hẽet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so muju hũũ</td>
<td>se muju hãa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Fem</td>
<td>se muj hũɨ</td>
<td>sʔa mujeqe hẽe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Past: I died

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo muwʊos</td>
<td>be mujeqe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Fem</td>
<td>mo muweʃes</td>
<td>bʃa muweʃes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu muwʊo</td>
<td>tʃo̓o muweʃet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Fem</td>
<td>tu mujeqe</td>
<td>tʃa muweʃet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so muju</td>
<td>se muju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Fem</td>
<td>se muj</td>
<td>sʔa mujeq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Past Perfect: I had died

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mo muwʊos lʊos</td>
<td>be muweʃes lěes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Fem</td>
<td>mo muweʃes lěes</td>
<td>bʃa muweʃes lěes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tu muwʊo lʊu</td>
<td>tʃo̓o muweʃet lěet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Fem</td>
<td>tu mujeqe lẽe</td>
<td>tʃa muweʃet lẽet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>so muju lũũ</td>
<td>so muju lẽe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Fem</td>
<td>se muj lɪɨ</td>
<td>saa mujeqe lẽe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In simple past of perfective forms as in (116) and (117), the main verb doesn’t require an auxiliary to follow, while present perfect takes present form of verb ‘be’ and past perfect takes the past form. Both auxiliary and the main verb agree with the subject.

To indicate perfective aspect in transitives in Gurezi, the set of suffixes given in (118) is added to verb root:
The above set of suffixes is a generalized one and small variations in these occur for different verbs. In all three plural feminine forms, a palatal approximant is inserted between the final consonant of the root and the perfective marker.

The paradigm of the transitive verbs /əʈjono/, ‘to bring’ and /tʃʰinono/ ‘to cut’ is presented in (119) and (120) below.

(119) Infinitive  Verb root  Gloss
/əʈjono/  /aʈ/  to bring

(a) Present Perfect: I have brought

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mɛj aʈaas hõõs</td>
<td>bja aʈeəs hããs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mɛj aʈeəs hẽẽs</td>
<td>bjaas atjees hẽẽs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tʰõõ aʈa hõõ</td>
<td>tʃʰaj atjeet hããt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tʰõõ aʈe hẽẽ</td>
<td>tʃʰanəj atjeet hẽẽt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>əasəj aʈaw hũũ</td>
<td>əazənɛj aʈe hãã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>əasəj aʈi hĩi</td>
<td>ajaæənɛj aʈe hẽẽ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Past: I brought

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mɛj aʈaas</td>
<td>bja aʈeəs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mɛj aʈeəs</td>
<td>bjaas atjees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tʰõõ aʈa</td>
<td>tʃʰaj atjeet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tʰõõ aʈe</td>
<td>tʃʰanəj atjeet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>əasəj aʈaw</td>
<td>əazənɛj aʈe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>əasəj aʈi</td>
<td>ajaæənɛj aʈe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Past Perfect: I had brought

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mɛj aʈaas lõõs</td>
<td>bja aʈeəs lẽes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mɛj aʈeəs lẽẽs</td>
<td>bjaas atjees lẽes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tʰõõ aʈa lu</td>
<td>tʃʰaj atjeet leet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tʰõõ aʈe lẽ</td>
<td>tʃʰanəj atjeet lẽet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>əasəj aʈaw lu</td>
<td>əazənɛj aʈe lẽe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>əasəj aʈi li</td>
<td>ajaæənɛj aʈe lẽe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(120) Infinitive  Verb root  Gloss
/tʃʰinono/  /tʃʰin/  to cut

(a) Present Perfect: I have cut

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mɛj tʃʰınəs hõõs</td>
<td>bja tʃʰinəs hããs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mɛj tʃʰinəs hẽẽs</td>
<td>bjaas tʃʰinəs hẽẽs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regarding the formation of perfective aspect of transitive verbs in Kohistani Shina, Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:131-132) have reported the following:

“Transitive perfective tenses are elaborated from the transitive conjunctive participle (root + ee), plus the grammaticalized forms of the past tense of /bojoön/ ‘to go’…. The resulting perfective aspect marker for transitive: -ee has been reduced to most Kohistani Shina forms, through loss of -g- and vowel reduction leaving a jumble of alternate forms of the aspect marker –ee: ~ aá ~ ée ~ e”.

Before considering the above explanation for the formation of transitive perfective forms in Gurezi, formation of conjunctive participle of verb /tʰjɔ̄nu/ ‘to do’ and past forms of verb /boʒōnu/ ‘to go’ is presented below.

(121) Infinitive Verb root Suffix Conj Part Gloss
/tʰjɔ̄nu/ /th/ /-ee/ /tʰee̗/ after doing

(122) Root Infinitive Gloss
/bɔz̥/ /boʒōnu/ to go

Past: I went

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing</th>
<th>Plu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Per Mas</td>
<td>mɛj tʰiŋās l̥os</td>
<td>bj̥a tʰiŋēs l̥es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per Fem</td>
<td>mɛj tʰiŋēs ̥es</td>
<td>bj̥ãs tʰiŋēs ̥es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Per Mas</td>
<td>tʰɔ̄ tiŋāa</td>
<td>tˢ̥ēj tʰiŋāt ̥ēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per Fem</td>
<td>tʰɔ̄ tiŋē</td>
<td>tˢ̥ãn̥ēj tʰiŋēt ̥ēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Per Mas</td>
<td>ɡās̥j tʰiŋaw ̥u</td>
<td>ɡāz̥ēn̥ēj tʰiŋēe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per Fem</td>
<td>ɡās̥j tʰiŋi</td>
<td>ajāz̥ēn̥ēj tʰiŋēe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The formation of perfective aspect of transitive verb /tʰjɔ̄nu/ ‘to do’ in 1st person singular in Gurezi according to the above explanation would be as below in (123). The correct forms are shown at the end.
Complete paradigm of perfective forms of /tʰjoŋu/ 'to do' compared with Kohistani and Gilgiti Shina are given in (124). Kohistani and Gilgiti examples have been reported by Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:133).

(124)

1st Per Sing Mas
Gil theé + gaa → *theégaas > theégas
Koh theé + gjáas → *theegjáas > *thejáas > tháas
Gur tʰe̱e̱ + gaa → *tʰee̱gaas > *tʰegaaas > tʰa̱as

1st Per Sing Fem
Gil theé + geis → *theégeis > theégis
Koh theé + gjéees → *theegjées > *thejées > thées
Gur tʰe̱e̱ + gees → *tʰee̱gees > *tʰegees > tʰēes

1st Per Plu Mas
Gil theé + geis → *theégees > theéges
Koh theé + gjéees → *theegjées > *thejées > thées
Gur tʰe̱e̱ + gees → *tʰee̱gees > *tʰegees > tʰēes

1st Per Plu Fem
Gil theé + geis → *theégees > theéges
Koh theé + gjéees → *theegjées > *thejées > thées
Gur tʰe̱e̱ + gees → *tʰee̱gees > *tʰegees > tʰēes

2nd Per Sing Mas
Gil theé + gáa → *theegáa
Koh theé + gjáae → *theegjáae > thejáae > tháae
Gur tʰe̱e̱ + gaa → *tʰee̱gáa > *tʰegáa > tʰa̱a

2nd Per Sing Fem
Gil theé + gíee → theégeiie
Koh theé + gjíi → *theégjee
Gur tʰe̱e̱ + ge → *tʰee̱ge > *tʰegge > tʰe̱e

2nd Per Plu Mas
Gil theé + gáet → theégaet > theéget
Koh theé + gjéet → *theegjéet > *thejéet > *théet
Gur tʰe̱e̱ + gëet → *tʰee̱gëet > *tʰegëet > tʰëet

2nd Per Plu Fem
Gil theé + gáet → theégaet > theéget
Koh theé + gjéet → *theegjéet > *thejéet > *théet
Gur tʰe̱e̱ + gëet → *tʰee̱gëet > tʰëgëet > tʰëet

3rd Per Sing Mas
Gil theé + gáu → *theégau > theégu
Koh theé + gjáao → *theegjáao > thejáao > tháao
Gur tʰe̱e̱ + gaw → *tʰee̱gaw > *tʰegaw > tʰaw
3rd Per Sing Fem
Gil theé + géi → *theégei > theégi
Koh theé + gjéi → *theégi > theégi
Gur t’ee > *t’eege > t’eege > t’ée > t’ji

3rd Per Plu Mas
Gil theé + gée→ *theége > theége
Koh theé + *gé > *theége > theéga
Gur t’ee + gée→ *t’eege > t’eege > t’ée > t’ée

3rd Per Plu Fem
Gil theé + gée → *theége > theége
Koh theé + *gé > *theége > theéga
Gur t’ee + gée → *t’eege > *t’eege > *t’ée > t’ée

While the observation of Schmidt and Kohistani (2008:131-132) seems to be a plausible explanation in case of Gilgit Shina, the long vowel of the conjunctive stem /the/ and /g/ of the past form /gaas/ of the verb /boʒoŋnu/ ‘to go’ is not visible in any of the above perfective forms of the verb /t’joŋnu/ ‘to do’ in Gurezi.

3.6.7 The fusion process

A unique feature of fusion between the main verb and the auxiliary in present form of imperfective tenses was found in Gurezi. This fusion process was found to be prevalent among Shina speakers inhabiting the eastern part of Gurez valley and not among the central and western parts. The fusion takes place between imperfective forms of the verbs ending in /m/ and /n/ and the present form of auxiliary /həos/, resulting in a form where the /h/ of the auxiliary is dropped and the main verb and the auxiliary become a single entity.

(125) Infinitive Verb root Impf stem Impf Marker Gloss
/ja.ʒoŋnu/ /jaʒ/ /jaa.ze/ m to walk

(a) Simple Present: I walk/ I am walking

Normal
1st Per Mas mo jaazem bəos mo jaazeməos
1st Per Fem mo jaazem həəs mo jaazeməəs

Fusion

After the fusion, main verb and the auxiliary become a single unit as the entire unit has only one accented syllable. There is a re-syllabication and it was found that accent is retained by auxiliary. The fusion process is also found in plural forms of 1st person as in (125b) below.

(b) Simple Present: we walk/ we are walking

Normal
1st Per Mas bes tʃinən həəs bes tʃinənəəs
1st Per Fem bjaas tʃinən həəs bjaas tʃinənəəs

Fusion

In plural forms also the auxiliary retains its original accent after re-syllabication. However the fusion process is restricted to forms of 1st person in present simple/present continuous only. Forms for 2nd person and 3rd person don’t display any such process.

(126) Infinitive Verb root Impf stem Impf Marker Gloss
/tʃi.njoŋnu/ /tʃi/ /tʃi.nə/ /m/ to cut
(a) Simple Present (Singular): I cut/ I am cutting

Normal | Fusion
---|---
1st Per Mas | mos tʃʰinem hõõs | mos tʃʰinemõõs
1st per Fem | mos tʃʰinem hêês | mos tʃʰinemõês

(b) Simple Present (Plural): We cut/ We are cutting

Normal | Fusion
---|---
1st Per Mas | bes tʃʰinõn hâãs | bes tʃʰinonããs
1st per Fem | bjãas tʃʰinõn hêês | bjãas tʃʰinonõês

3.7 Adverbs

Most of the adverbs in Gurezi are independent words carrying their own pitch accent. Many adverbs are inflected for gentive and dative cases. Some postpositions also function as adverbs independently, particularly as adverbs of place like /azõõ/ meaning ‘inside’, /darõõ/ ‘outside’, /mutʃʰõõ/ ‘front’.

3.7.1. Adverbs of place

Commonly found adverbs of place in Gurezi indicating contrast for proximate and remote are given in (127). The last of these, /duuɾ/ ‘far’, is a borrowed word taken from either Kashmiri or Urdu.

(127) Adverb | Gloss
---|---
/nadē/ | here
/azõõ/ | inside
/mutʃõõ/ | front
/elegē/ | near
/mazā/ | middle
/sadē/ | there
/darõõ/ | outside
/patõõ/ | behind
/duuɾ/ | far

(128) elegē kuj
near village
‘a near-by village’

sadẽ apūj žak asile
there few people be.Plu.Pst
‘Some people were there.’

gooz-e azõõ tatų hũũ
home-Obl inside hot be.Prt
‘It is hot inside house.’

/nadẽ tʃowoo hũũ sadẽ kadaa hũũ
here cold be.Prt there how be.Prt
‘It’s cold here; how is it there?’

/kʰon-j patõõ diis waljẽs hâãs
back.yard-Obl behind ditch dug.Perf be.Prt
‘A ditch has been dug in the backyard.’

All the adverbs in (127) inflect for dative and gentive as shown in (129):
Like nouns the adverbs /sadẽ/ ‘here’ and /nadẽ/ ‘there’ take clitic postpositions to indicate location as shown in (130):

(130) mẽj sade-ʒõõ ɡ90z-õõ samũun ɑtɑs
I.Agn P there-from.CP home-Gen things bring.Perf
‘I brought household things from there.’

mo lõo[tẽj nadẽ-zi jɑaz-em hõõs
I.Nom morning here-at.CP walk-Impf be.Prt
‘I walk up to here in the morning.’

nade-ʒõõ sade mõosam ʃjowọ hũũ
here-from.CP there wood take-Impf be.Prt
‘This work is my left hand’s job.’

darõõ-ʃ kafịrị ʃunj-õõ tã tẹɛɛn hαā
outside-Dat Kashmiri children-Dat harass do.Perf be.Prt
‘Kashmiri children are harassed outside the state.’

tʃarwąaj eège-ʃ ałe hαā
animals near-Dat come.Perf be.Prt
‘The animals have come near.’

The adverbs in (127) were found to usually follow nouns suffixed with the clitic postpositions in phrases as given in (131):

(131) ɡ90z-zi ɑzõõ daj kismɔɔ razɛ aasɛɛn hαα
home-in.CP inside ten types secrets be.Fut be.Prt
‘There are ten types of secrets inside home.’

ɡ90z-zi ɑzõõ samũun
home-in.CP inside things
‘inside-home things’

Other adverbs of place found in Gurezi are given in (132):

(132) Adverb       Gloss
/ekɛɻ/, /ekɛɻw/ somewhere
/kʰarj/ under/below
/kuɻule/ under/down
/hunj/ above/over
/kʰiɲ/ towards/near
The adverbs of place given in (132) inflect for dative and gentive as shown in (134):

(134) muzu$\text{-}z\text{-}u$ yule-$\text{t}$ gaw
rat.Agn P down-Dat go.Perf
‘The rat went under.’

mâaster-$\text{-}a$ $\text{t}$un-$\text{-}t$ ra$\text{a}$w pon-$\text{t}$ k$\text{a}$i$\text{-}n$-öö$t$ jaaze
teacher-Agn P children-Dat say-Perf road-Dat side-Dat walk.Impf
‘The teacher told the children to walk on road side.’

Apart from the above, Gurezi has at least four adverbs of place which are derived from free postpositions with the suffixation of clitic postposition $\text{-}zi$/ ‘at’, to indicate location.

(135) Adverb Gloss
/înda$\text{-}zi$/ from here
/adâa$\text{-}zi$/ from there (proximate)
/sada$\text{-}zi$/ from there (remote)
/kada$\text{-}zi$/ from where

/sada$\text{-}zi$/ and /adâa$\text{-}zi$/ are derived from the adverb /sa$\text{-}d\text{e}$/ ‘here’ and the postposition /adâa$/ ‘like’, respectively. /kada$\text{-}zi$/ with the interrogative marker /k/ is their interrogative counterpart. /înda$\text{-}zi$/ seems to be derived from /na$\text{-}d\text{e}$/ ‘here’ as no other explanation could be found.

(136) tu kadâa$\text{-}zi$ âalu?
You.Nom where-in.CP come.Perf
‘Where did you come from?’

adâa$\text{-}zi$ ni$\text{-}f$ sadâa$\text{-}zi$
here-in.CP not here-in.CP
‘not from there but from there (remote)’

3.7.2 Adverbs of time

Like adverbs of place, adverbs of time are also independent words in Gurezi. Commonly used adverbs of time in Gurezi are given in (137):

(137) Adverb Gloss
/patan$\text{-}ô$/ later
/kô$/ now
/t$fe$/ now
/l$o$ô$t$/ tomorrow
/bela$/ yesterday
/af$/ today
/t$jai$/ early
/he$\text{-}e$/ri$/$ soon/quickly

(138) mo-s krom patan$\text{-}ô$ te$\text{-}em
I-Agn I work later do.Impf
‘I will work later.’
‘Tomorrow is examination day.’

‘I came just now.’

‘Karim was married yesterday.’

From the adverb /loʃʈ/ ‘tomorrow’ is derived /loʃʈẽ/, the adverb meaning ‘morning’ but it doesn’t follow any general rule.

‘An earthquake has come at early morning.’

Other adverbs of time include /tʃiɾi/ for ‘day after tomorrow’ and /bjaale/ for ‘day before yesterday’.

3.7.3 Adverbs of frequency

Commonly occurring adverbs of frequency in Gurezi are given in (141) below.

(141) Adverb     Gloss
         /dẹeskaj/     always
         /mazanõõ/     at times
         /ʒeekdãm/     sometimes
         /zaatnẽé/     never
         /deezõõ/     daily
         /mõõzõõ/     daily
         /zaatkaal/    sometimes
         /harãm/      always

(142) parvez tu asõõ-ʒi zaatnẽé اقل Parvez you we.Gen-at.CP never come.Perf
    ‘Parvez, you never came to ours (our place).’
/zaatnē̄/ meaning ‘never’ is derived by combining /zaat/ and /nē̄/ ‘not’. While /nē̄/ ‘not’ is the negative marker, /zaat/ wasn’t found to be used independently. It is used in combination with other forms like /zaatkāl/ meaning ‘sometimes’. /kaal/ in Gurezi is used in the sense of ‘time’. /zaatnē̄/ is also used as /zaatgenē̄/ meaning ‘never ever’ with the conjunction /ge/ ‘and’ inserted between /zaat/ and /nē̄/.\(^{13}\)

Sentence (142) can be equally used with the adverbial /zaatgenē̄/ in place of /zaatnē̄/ without any change in meaning as in (143).

(143) parvez tu asō̄-ʒi zaatgenē̄ ālu Parvez you we.Gen-at.CP never ever come.Perf ‘Parvez, you never came to ours (our place).’

Use of some of the adverbs in (141) is presented below:

(144) mo dēeskāj sokūli-ʒi bōʒe-m hō̄s I.Nom daily school-in.CP go-Impf be.Prt ‘I go to school daily.’
zaatkāl asō̄-ʒi e bilī sometimes we.Gen-in.CP come.Impf become ‘Sometime come to ours (our place).’
mo deezō̄ zgel-ē jəaze-m lō̄s I.Nom daily jungle-Dat walk-Impf be.Pst ‘I used to go to jungle daily.’
3ēkd̈am mɑaster-se tʃunō̄i kʊ̄taj hū̄ sometimes teacher-Agn I children beat.Impf be.Prt ‘Sometimes the teacher beats the children.’

3.7.4 Adverbs of manner

Adverbs of manner in Gurezi can be categorized into two kinds; the first comprises of independent words like other types of adverbs and the second category contains adverbs which are derived from adjectives. These are actually derived adjectives but have adverbial function also. Some of the commonly used adverbs of first category are given in (145):

(145) Adverb       Gloss
/hērį/       fast/quickly
/tʃʰut/       slowly/late
/jōboj/       together
/hagįgi/      really
/ękboj/       alone

---

\(^{11}\)/zaatnē̄/ translates as Urdu /kabi nahi/

\(^{12}\)/zaatgenē̄/ is equivalent to Urdu /kabi bʰi nahi/

\(^{13}\)There is a similarly derived form in neighbouring Kashmiri with the same adverbial function. It is a combination of /zāh/ meaning ‘once’ and /nI/ ‘not’, together used as /zāhnI/ meaning ‘never’. The derived adverb in Kashmiri also takes conjunction /ti/ ‘and’ in between /zāh/ and /nI/ to from /zāhtinI/ ‘never ever’.

/hagigi/ meaning ‘really’ or ‘in reality’ has another form /hakazigi/ with same meaning and both are in use in Gurezi. It seems /hagigi/ is the shortened form of /hakazigi/ which has been derived from the noun /hak/ meaning ‘reality’, ‘truth’, borrowed from either Urdu or Kashmiri. /gi/ ‘at’, ‘in’ is the clitic postposition and /gi/ is the free postposition meaning ‘along’. The base noun /hak/ takes the oblique case. /heqri/ ‘fast’ and /tʃut/ ‘slowly’ are used as an opposite pair of ‘quickly’, hastily’ or ‘fast’ versus ‘slowly’ or ‘late’. These two adverbs are sometimes used in reduplicated form as in (146):

(146) heqri heqri ne tʰe
    haste haste not do.Imp
    ‘Don’t do hastily.’

əas-əj krom tʰaw tʃut tʃutəj
he-Agn P work do.Perf slowly slowly
‘He worked slowly.’

be ʒəeλi-ʒi jəboj jaazoon hæəs
we.Nom jungle-in.CP together walk.Impf be.Prt
‘We go to jungle together.’

mo ʔəkboj ne bɔʒe-m
I.Nom alone not go-Impf
‘I won’t go alone.’

It was found that /hagigi/ or /hakazigi/ ‘really’ is used as a means of confirmation both in statements as well as questions as in (147) below.

(147) muʃtaak-se hakazigi razə hũũ
    Mushtaq-Agn I really say.Impf be.Prt
    ‘Mushtaq really says (so).’

hagigi meetʃ zeŋaʔ daʔ pakistanaʔ-sʔ?
    really match win.Perf Yes-No marker Pakistan-Agn P
    ‘Has Pakistan really won the match?’

Among the derived adverbs of manner, commonly used ones are/anətʰ/ ‘in this manner’, /adətʰ/ ‘in that (proximate) manner’ and /sadətʰ/ meaning ‘in that (remote) manner’. The three have a related interrogative form /kədətʰ/ meaning ‘in what manner’. /kədətʰ/ functions as the relative pronoun ‘that manner’ or ‘the manner’ as well as the interrogative ‘in which manner’.

(148) guraj kadətʰ ʔaʃu / kadətʰ tus aalʔo sadətʰ ʔaʃus
    Gurez in what manner come.Perf / in what manner you come.Perf that manner come.Perf
    ‘How did you come to Gurez? / I came in the same manner in which you came.’

kədətʰ məj raʃaʔ sadətʰ likʰe
    that manner I.Agn P say.Perf that manner write.Imp
    ‘Write like I showed you.’

Derived adjectives formed by suffixing /-ãaw/ or /-ãaj/ to nouns, verbs, adjectives or adverbs also function as adverbs. The noun /hoʃʃ/ meaning ‘attention’ or ‘care’ has a verbal counterpart /hoʃʃɪɭʃoonu/ ‘to be careful’ or ‘to be attentive’. The adjectival particle, when suffixed to the noun, forms /hoʃʃãaw/ meaning ‘a bit careful’ or ‘carefully’. The adjective is frequently used in Gurezi with the meaning of ‘carefully’, ‘attentively’, ‘thoughfully’, ‘meticulously’ etc. as in (149):

14 /hakazigi/ translates as Urdu /haqiiqat mɛ/. Kashmiri also uses a similar form /hakeekatas manz/ meaning ‘in reality’.
15 /hoʃʃãaw/ translates as Urdu /zara hooʃ see/.
(149) pon sii niʃ hooʃãw tʰe jaas
way good not carefully do.Imp walk.Imp
‘The road isn’t good, walk carefully.’

Adjectives /prajilãw/ meaning ‘a bit clean’ and /lookãw/ meaning ‘quickly’, ‘immediately’, ‘swiftly’ etc. were found to be frequently used in Gurezi as seen below:

(150) brjim prajilãw tʰe
rice clean do.Imp
‘Clean (a bit) the rice.’

mo jaaze-m tus lookãw tʰe
I.Nom walk-Impf you.Agn I quickly do.Imp
‘I will leave, you do (it) quickly.’

baj lookãw lookãw kʰe
food quickly quickly eat.Imp
‘Eat quickly.’

Other derived adjectives with a meaning of ‘a bit’ include /tʃaalãw/ ‘a bit early’ and /heerjãw/ ‘a bit quickly’.

(151) tʃu̗nut ne tʰe tʃaalãw e
late not do.Imp early come.Imp
‘Don’t be late, come early.’

heerjãw heerjãw jaas
quickly quickly walk.Imp
‘Walk quickly.’

3.8 Conjunctions

Among the coordinating conjunctive words or coordinators found in Gurezi, /ge/ used in the sense of ‘and’, ‘also’, ‘too’ is the most frequently employed one. Uses of the /ge/ is shown in (152) below.

(152) ʒe̗ek nã hã̗a ge ʒe̗ek prõõne hã̗a
some new be.Prt and some old be.Prt
‘Some are new, and some are old.’

mustapʰaa̗ guraj-õo hõo ge jaahid jahr-õo hõo
Mustafa Gurez-Gen be.Prt and Shahid city-Gen be.Prt
‘Mustafa is from Gurez and Shahid is from city.’

tʃu̗ne ge ba̗de sooj hã̗a
‘Children as well as adults are sleeping.’

Use of multiple /ge/16 in the sense of ‘too’ in a single sentence was also found in Gurezi:

(153) raʃid-ãas baj ge kʰjaw tʃa ge pijaw
Rashid-Agn P rice too eat.Perf tea too drink.Perf
‘Rashid ate rice and drank tea too.’

16 Sentences with multiple use of ‘too’ are perfectly grammatical in Urdu as well as Kashmiri. The example sentence means /raʃiid ne kʰana bi kʰaya tʃaaj bi pii/ in Urdu and /raʃiidan kʰjow batI ti tʃaaj ti tʃejan/ in Kashmiri.
Gurezi has two more words which are used in the sense of ‘and’. These are /pʰiri̗/ and /baɖu̗/.

(154) mēj ʈʃʰu̗lu̗ pʰiri̗ banjaan bonjaas  
I.Agn P chulu and sweater wear.Per  
‘I wore chulu and sweater too.’  
raʃid-ɡaas baj ge kʰjaw baɖu tʃa ge pijaw  
Rashid-Agn P rice too eat.Per and tea too drink.Per  
‘Rashid ate rice and drank tea too.’

/magaɾ/ meaning ‘but’, a borrowed word from Urdu or Kashmiri, was found to be frequently used by the Shina speakers of Gurez.

(155) mo ɡaɬos ɭos magaɾ so ne aʂulu  
I.Nom go.Perf be.Pst but he.Nom not be.Pst  
‘I had gone but he was not there.’  
mo-s raɬam hōos magaɾ tu-s ne paruʒe ʰu̗u  
I-Agn I talk.Impf be.Prt but you-Agn I not listen.Impf be.Prt  
‘I am talking but you are not listening.’

Another often used borrowed conjunctive word is /jə/17 meaning ‘or’:

(156) so maʃdiː-zi aqse jəa gəoziː-zi  
he.Nom mosque-in.CP be.Impf or home-in.CP  
‘He will be either in mosque or in home.’

Another subordinating conjunction borrowed from Urdu or Kashmiri is /ki/ meaning ‘that’:

(157) nu hak hūu ki raʃjid kaʃra-t gaw hūu  
this truth be.Prt that Rashid.Nom Kashmir-Dat go.Perf be.Prt  
‘This is true that Rashid has gone to Kashmir.’

ses-e tʃa ʰiʃ ki məʃ banka-ʒi ɭoŋ ʃkʰaɬas hōos  
he-Dat know be.Prt that I.Agn P bank-from.CP loan take.Perf be.Prt  
‘He knows that I have taken loan from bank.’

The ‘neither-nor’ coordination in Gurezi makes use of /na/, the frequently employed negative marker in the language:

(158) na mo-t tʃa boʒe na mo-t woj  
not I-Dat tea need.Impf not I-Dat water  
‘I want neither tea nor water.’

Some speakers were found to use /natu/ for ‘neither’:

(159) natu raʃjid ɡalu na karjim  
‘Neither Rashid came nor Karim.’

The word for ‘although’ in Gurezi is /halɡaɬi/, borrowed from Urdu or Kashmiri.

17 Both /maɡaɾ/ and /jə/ are also found in neighbouring Kashmiri and both the languages have borrowed these words from Urdu.
Although they had told me not to go, even then I went.

The word /te\etu/ meaning ‘even then’ is frequently used as a subordinating coordinator in Gurezi. The coordinator is sometimes used with /ge/ ‘and’, ‘also’ as in (160) above.

Other subordinating conjunctions found in Gurezi are given in (162) below.

Conjunction   Gloss
/k\e\etu/ because
/k\o\o.n\ej\da\ng/ as far as
/k\o\oj.get/ as soon as
/i.si\i.ji/ so
/so.t\e\gi/ even then

dar li\f t\e k\e\etu dar\o\o j\u\u h\u\u door close do.Imp because outside dog be.Prt

so l\oo\f\t ne \e k\e\etu su jila\a h\u\u he.Nom tomorrow not come.Impf because he.Nom ill be.Prt

k\o\o\ej\da\ng mo-s d\a\jte-m so sijo\q b\a\l nij as far as I.Agn I know.Impf he.Nom good boy not

As far as I know he is not a good boy.

k\o\oj.get mo go\oz.e g\a\a m\e\j b\a\j k\u\jaas as soon as I.Nom home-Obl go.Perf I.Agn P rice eat.Per

As soon as I reached home I ate food.

k\a\j\i\ri-\zi hal\a\a ti k\a\r\a\q as\u isij\zi raji\j-a\t k\a\j ne\e b\i\u Kashmir-in.CP conditions bad be.Pst that’s why Rashid-Dat marriage not become

The conditions in Kashmir were bad, so Rashid’s marriage didn’t happen.

Although it was raining, even then they were working.

3.9 Interjections

Interjection words were found to be quite few in number in Gurezi. The following four interjections were found to be in use in Gurezi Shina.

Adverb   Gloss
/up\o/ expression for grief, disappointment, pain
/haj/, /haj h\e/ expression for loss, grief, frustration
/wa\a/ expression of pain, desire
/hu\u\u/ expression of happiness, excitement

Kashmiri has a similar coordinator /tu\a\j\i/ with the same meaning.
(165) upʰ so sam neţ bej
  alas he.Nom cured not become
  ‘Alas he won’t be cured.’

haj ḫeţe sadê pʰu ᵗaṭe asulũ
  alas there fire breakPerf be.Pst
  ‘Alas there was a fire.’

waţaj kajjiri-zi tʃuŋ miriʒeŋ hāa
  alas Kashmir-in.CP children die.Impf be.Prt
  ‘Alas children are dying in Kashmir.’

hu ḫu tu paas bilje
  hurrah you.Nom pass become.Fem.Perf
  ‘Hurrah you have passed (examination).’

hu ḫu be-s kabaʤI meʃeʒ zenjees
  hurrah we-Agn P Kabadi match win.Per
  ‘Hurrah we won the Kabadi match.’
4 Derivations

4.1 Introduction

Derivational Morphology isn’t much elaborate in Gurezi. Regular processes of word-formation were found to be very few in Gurezi. This is true of word-formations within a grammatical category as well as across them. As such a small number of derivational affixes were found to be present in the language.

4.2 Nominalization

Most nouns in Gurezi seem to have been derived from Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA). Schmidt and Kaul (2008) have given some noun cognates in Shina and Kashmiri, besides some other languages and dialects along with their MIA forms. Some nouns in Gurezi have been borrowed from Persian19, Urdu and English. It is equally possible that Gurezi may have borrowed these from neighbouring Kashmiri rather than directly from other languages like Persian and Urdu, given the extensive contact between the two languages. Persian nouns mostly referring to religious affairs may have been borrowed after Shina speakers of Gurez valley embraced Islam. Along with Persian have come Arabic nouns as well. Borrowing seems to be the single major source of new nouns in Gurezi.

Some of the nouns of Persian origin are given in (1) below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nimāz/</td>
<td>prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/duwāa/</td>
<td>prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰuḍāa/</td>
<td>God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ḥadjis/</td>
<td>sayings of Prophet Muhammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rọza/</td>
<td>fasting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zakāt/</td>
<td>alms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wozuţu/</td>
<td>ablution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/minaɾar/</td>
<td>minaret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kobuul/</td>
<td>agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nikaḥah/</td>
<td>marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mehaɾ/</td>
<td>bride money</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lately Gurezi has borrowed a number of Urdu and English nouns. This is like other languages of the region, because Urdu is the official language of the J&K state and serves as a lingua franca for people of diverse linguistic backgrounds, and English is the language of education. Some of the nouns borrowed from Urdu and English are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kɑjaʃida/</td>
<td>school primer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kalam/</td>
<td>pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kitʃab/</td>
<td>book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lafiz/</td>
<td>word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/haraf/</td>
<td>alphabet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dawţa/</td>
<td>medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pijir/</td>
<td>peer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sahɛb/</td>
<td>honorific term for men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰaʃana/</td>
<td>police station</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

19 Persian has been the official language of Kashmir for many centuries in past. It replaced Sanskrit as the official language in around the fifteenth century after majority of the people embraced Islam. Persian was replaced by Urdu as official language towards the end of nineteenth century.
/daftar/  office
/ap̩s̩ar/  officer
/ri̱t̪a/  family relation
/p̩oon/  phone
/jamp̩u̱/  shampoo
/gil̪as̩/  glass
/kuk̪ar/  cooker
/pan̩t̪/  pants
/kirk̪a̱ʈ̪/  cricket
/kap̩h̪i/  coffee

Derivational process for noun formation in Gurezi isn’t much productive. Only a small number of nouns were found to have a derivational relationship with adjectives. In some of these cases, there is derivation of a corresponding verb, forming an adjective-noun-verb sequence. The nouns derived in this way end in /a̱ar/ as shown in examples presented in (3) below. The derivation of corresponding verbs from roots in (3) have been shown in (7) below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tʃi̱.t̪/</td>
<td>/tʃi̱t̪/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/tʃi̱.t̪ja̱r/</td>
<td>bitter/bitterness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jʊ.ku̱/</td>
<td>/jʊk̪/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/jʊk̪.a̱r/</td>
<td>dry/dryness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/á.wu̱.ru̱/</td>
<td>/áw̪ru̱/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/áw̪.ja̱r/</td>
<td>heavy/heaviness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ba.d̪u̱/</td>
<td>/ba̱d̪/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/ba̱.ja̱r/</td>
<td>big/bigness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ta.tu̱/</td>
<td>/ta̱t̪/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/ta̱.ja̱r/</td>
<td>hot/hotness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃi̱.rku̱/</td>
<td>/ʃi̱r̪k̪/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/ʃi̱r̪.ja̱r/</td>
<td>sour/sourness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mo̱.ru̱/</td>
<td>/mo̱r̪u̱/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/mo̱.ja̱r/</td>
<td>sweet/sweetness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lo̱.ku̱/</td>
<td>/lo̱k̪u̱/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/lo̱.ja̱r/</td>
<td>light/lightness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kri̱.d̪u̱/</td>
<td>/kri̱d̪/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/kri̱.ja̱r/</td>
<td>bitter/bitterness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zi̱.ɡu̱/</td>
<td>/zi̱ɡ/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/zi̱.ja̱r/</td>
<td>dry/dryness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wa̱.zu̱/</td>
<td>/wa̱s̩/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/wa̱.ja̱r/</td>
<td>descending descent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃi̱.mu̱/</td>
<td>/ʃi̱im̪/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/ʃi̱.ja̱r/</td>
<td>thick/thickness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mi̱.tu/</td>
<td>/mi̱st̪/</td>
<td>-/a̱ar/</td>
<td>/mi̱.ja̱r/</td>
<td>well/wellbeing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the examples given in (3), the root undergoes a change with the insertion of /j̪/ or /ʒ/, before the suffix /-a̱ar/ is added.

In a few examples, nouns are formed from adjectives by suffixation of /-a̱ʃ/ rather than /-a̱ar/ as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tʃe.ru̱/</td>
<td>/tʃe̱.t̪er/</td>
<td>-/a̱ʃ/</td>
<td>/tʃe̱.rja̱ʃ/</td>
<td>cross-eyed/cross-eyedness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k⁵i̱.nij.ru̱/</td>
<td>/k⁵i̱n̪/</td>
<td>-/a̱ʃ/</td>
<td>/k⁵i̱n̪.ja̱ʃ/</td>
<td>twisted/twist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Very few nouns were found to have been derived from borrowed adjectives by the addition of /-a̱ar/ like the example below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/n̪a̱.rim̪/</td>
<td>/n̪ar.ja̱ʃ/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a very few instances, nouns are derived from verbs as in the following example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ja̱.ʒo̱.nu/</td>
<td>/jaaz̪/</td>
<td>/ja̱at̪/</td>
<td>to walk/gait or manner of walking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3 Verbalization

The scope of verbalization has been found to be very limited in Gurezi. Except for the examples given below in (7), where verbs are derived from adjectives, nothing substantial with regard to derivation of verbs has been found.

(7) Adjective Root Suffix Verb Gloss
/kri.dʒ/ /kridʒ/ /-oonu/ /kri.ʒoŋ.nu/ bitter/ to become bitter
/zj.gu/ /zgiatanu/ /-oonu/ /zj.gjoo.nu/ dry/ to become dry
/wa.ʒu/ /wa.ʒu/ /-oonu/ /wa.ʒoŋ.nu/ descending/ to descend
/tʃi.i mu/ /tʃiim/ /-oonu/ /tʃi.miŋ.nu/ thick/ to become thick
/mi.ʃu/ /miʃt/ /-oonu/ /mi.ʃtu.onu/ well/ to become well
/tʃi.tu/ /tʃit/ /-oonu/ /tʃi.tʃonu/ bitter/ to become bitter
/ju.ku/ /juk/ /-oonu/ /juk.ʒoŋ.nu/ dry/ to become dry
/ɑ.wu.ʒu/ /awr/ /-oonu/ /aw.rjoŋ.nu/ heavy/ to become heavy
/ba.ʒu/ /badʒ/ /-oonu/ /ba.dʒoŋ.nu/ big/ to become big
/tə.tu/ /tat/ /-oonu/ /tap.ʒoŋ.nu/ hot/ to become hot
/tʃi.rku/ /tʃirk/ /-oonu/ /tʃi.rkoŋ.nu/ sour/ to become sour
/mo.ŋu/ /moor/mor/ /-oonu/ /mo.roŋ.nu/ sweet/ to become sweet
/lo.ŋu/ /look/ /-oonu/ /lo.ŋoŋ.nu/ light/ to become light
/te.ŋu/ /teer/ /-oonu/ /te.ŋoŋ.nu/ cross-eyed/ to become cross-eyed
/kʰi.ʃiŋu/ /kiʃiŋ/ /-oonu/ /kʰiʃiŋ.rjoŋ.nu/ twisted/ to become twisted

Gurezi has borrowed some verbs like ‘to read’, ‘to write’ etc. from Urdu. These borrowed verbs are used independently as well as compound forms (see section 4.4 below). Some of the borrowed verbs in Gurezi are given in (8) below:

(8) Verb Gloss
/likjʊŋu/ to write
/pajʊŋu/ to read
/sajʊŋu/ to decorate
/bunjoŋu/ to knit
/manajʊŋu/ to celebrate
/badlawjoŋu/ to change

4.4 Compound verbs

Gurezi Shina has a considerable number of verbs comprising of a non-verbal element and an operator verb together functioning as a single unit. These verbs have been called as conjunct verbs. In these verbs, unlike double verbs, there is a preverbal element (usually a noun or an adjective) and an operator verb that inflects like other verbs, together forming a single unit. Most of these conjunct verbs take the operator verb /tʰjoŋu/ ‘to do’. Other operator verbs include /bjoŋu/ ‘to be’, /djoŋu/ ‘to give’ and /hjoŋu/ ‘to take’. Schmidt and Kohistani (2008: 206) have reported the use of operator verbs /thoŋ/ ‘to do’ and /boon/ ‘to be’ in Kohistani Shina. Some of the conjunct verbs are presented below.

(9) Noun/Adjective Operator Verb Conjunct verb Gloss
/kro.m/ /tʰjoŋ.nu/ /kro.m.tʰjoŋ.nu/ to work
/da.ɾjʒ/ /tʰjoŋ.nu/ /da.ɾjʒ.tʰjoŋ.nu/ to admit
/pʰat/ /tʰjoŋ.nu/ /pʰa.tʰjoŋ.nu/ to avoid
/na.sji.jat/ /tʰjoŋ.nu/ /na.sji.jat.tʰjoŋ.nu/ to advise
/ba.ʒu/ /bjoŋ.nu/ /ba.ʒu.bjoŋ.nu/ to extend/ enlarge
/a.tsʰakʃu/ /bjoŋ.nu/ /a.tsʰa.kʃu.bjoŋ.nu/ to spoil
/kol/ /bjoŋ.nu/ /kol.bjoŋ.nu/ to bow
Many of the preverbal elements in the conjunct verbs given in (9) are borrowed from Urdu\(^{20}\), like /ilʒaam/ ‘accusation’, /ʒaw̃aab/ ‘answer’, /nas̃ĩihat/ ‘advice’ etc. It may be possible that Gurezi has borrowed the complete conjunct verbs and then replaced the operator verb /karna/ ‘to do’ of Urdu with /t̃jõnu/ ‘to do’ of Gurezi.

4.5 Adjectivization

Unlike other word categories, derivation of adjectives from words of other grammatical categories is comparatively productive. A number of affixes were found in Gurezi which are used to derive adjectives from other categories of words.

Borrowing has been a source of new adjectives in Gurezi. Some of the borrowed adjectives from Urdu are given in (10):

(10) Adjective Gloss
/t̃jõnu/ to accuse
/saat/ to accompany
/ʒa.w̃ãab/ to respond/answer
/ma.ñat̃h/ to adopt
/s̃ã/ to breathe

Borrowing has been a source of new adjectives in Gurezi. Some of the borrowed adjectives from Urdu are given in (10):

(10) Adjective Gloss
/b̃eg̃am/ carefree
/j̃ãl̃ak/ clever
/k̃ãl̃/ empty
/m̃ãh̃ur/ famous
/t̃ãʒã/ fresh
/ñr̃im/ kind
/s̃ap̃h/ clean
/gar̃ĩb/ poor
/am̃ĩr/ rich
/t̃ãʒar/ ready
/b̃ẽk̃/ foolish

To express the function of ‘ish’, ‘like’, ‘able’ etc., Gurezi has a set of derived adjectives formed by suffixing /-ããw/, /-ããj/ to nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. These derived adjectives convey a wide ranging meaning. For example, when the adjectives are derived from nouns, these generally convey the meaning of ‘like’ as exemplified in (11):

(11) Noun Gloss Adjective Gloss
/z̃ẽel/ forest /z̃ẽ.l̃ãw/, /z̃ẽ.l̃ãj/ forest like
/g̃oõs/ home /g̃oõ.z̃ãw/ home like
/m̃ũ.z̃u/ rat /m̃ũ.z̃ãw/ rat like
/m̃ũ.ñj/ tuber /m̃ũ.ñãw/ tuber like

Nouns ending in vowels lose their gender marker as in /m̃ũzu/ and /m̃ũnj/ above.

When the adjective is derived from an already existing adjective, the suffix /-ããw/ adds the meaning of English ‘ish’ to it as shown below. The adjective loses its gender marker /u/, /i/ and /e/ before taking the suffix.

---

\(^{20}\) The conjunct verbs in Gurezi are quite similar to conjunct verbs in Urdu. For example /dariʒt̃hjõnu/ is similar to Urdu /dariʒkarna/, both meaning ‘to admit’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/moøru/</td>
<td>sweet</td>
<td>/moorãaw /moorjẽew/</td>
<td>sweetish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thulu/</td>
<td>fat</td>
<td>/thulãaw /thuljẽew/</td>
<td>fattish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃiimu/</td>
<td>viscous</td>
<td>/tʃimjãaw /tʃimjẽew/</td>
<td>viscous like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dæŋuru/</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>/dæŋurãaw /dæŋurjẽew/</td>
<td>round like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dæŋu/</td>
<td>long/tall</td>
<td>/dæŋãaw /dæŋjẽew/</td>
<td>longish/tallish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These derived adjectives inflect for gender to agree with the gender of the nouns they modify; adjectives with /-ããw/, /-ããj/ are used with masculine nouns and those with /-ẽẽw/, /-ẽẽj/ with feminine nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gur</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰuʈãaw bстал</td>
<td>littlish boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰuʈjẽew mulaj/ kʰuʈjẽej mulaj</td>
<td>littlish girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dæŋãaw pahãaq</td>
<td>tallish mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dæŋjẽew tʃiʃ</td>
<td>tallish peak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When derived from verbs, the adjectives have a meaning of English ‘-able’. For instance, when /-ããw/ is suffixed to the verb /pijoonu/ ‘to drink’, it translates as English ‘drinkable’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pijoonu/</td>
<td>to drink</td>
<td>/pijoonãaw/</td>
<td>drinkable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kutjoonu/</td>
<td>to beat</td>
<td>/kutjoonãaw/</td>
<td>beatable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/waʃoɔnû/</td>
<td>to open</td>
<td>/waʃoɔnãaw/</td>
<td>openable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bejoonu/</td>
<td>to sit</td>
<td>/bejoonãaw/</td>
<td>sitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jaʃoɔnû/</td>
<td>to walk</td>
<td>/jaʃoɔnãaw/</td>
<td>walkable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/likjoonu/</td>
<td>to write</td>
<td>/likjoonãaw/</td>
<td>writable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes the derived adjectives function as adverbials rather than adjectives. For example, the adjective /hooʃãaw/ derived from the noun /hɔoʃ/ ‘attention’ translates as ‘carefully’. Similarly, the adjective /lookãaw/ ‘quickly’ derived from the adjective /loŋku/ ‘quick’ functions as adverb.

In a few cases the adjectives derived form verbs convey a sense of ‘just’, ‘as soon as’ as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>şas-ɛj</th>
<th>galti</th>
<th>hĩi</th>
<th>qa</th>
<th>hũũ</th>
<th>kutjoonãaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he-Gen</td>
<td>fault</td>
<td>be.Prt</td>
<td>he.Nom</td>
<td>be.Prt</td>
<td>beatable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He is at fault, he is worth beating.’

nu woj ispã hũũ nu hũũ pijooãaw

this.Nom water sweet be.Prt this be.Prt drinkable

‘This milk is sweet, it is drinkable.’

Another set of adjectives was found to be derived from nouns, which reflect the quality of the noun. These are derived by suffixing /-ẽlu/ to the root as shown in (11) below. In nouns ending in vowels, the final vowel which is the gender marker is dropped to form the root; and in nouns ending in consonants, the final consonant and the vowel immediately preceding it are dropped to form the root. In monosyllabic nouns with a long vowel and ending in consonants, the root is formed by shortening the vowel.
In Gurezi, a small number of adjectives could be derived from postpositions. These postpositions are actually deictic terms and the derived adjectives are attributes of these deictic terms.

Some adjectives in Gurezi were found to be having the suffix /-lad/. The suffix is widely used in Kashmiri for formation of adjectives from nouns. There are two possibilities of the presence of adjectives ending in /-lad/ in Gurezi; either it has borrowed the complete adjectives from Kashmiri or only the suffix. The latter seems to be more probable because Gurezi has a fewer adjectives ending in /-lad/ that in Kashmiri. Some of the examples are below:

4.6 Adverbialization

Gurezi has a few adverbs which are derived from other adverbs or postpositions; however the process is quite limited in scope. These include /adatʰ/ ‘in that (proximate) manner’ and /sadatʰ/ meaning ‘in that (remote) manner’. /adatʰ/ is derived by suffixing the root /tʰ/ of the verb /tʰjoŋu/ ‘to do’ to the postposition /adɑ/ meaning ‘like’ or ‘this type of’, and /sadatʰ/ is derived by suffixing the root to the adverb of place /sade/ ‘there’. The two have a related interrogative form /kadatʰ/ meaning ‘in what manner’.

Another adverb /anatʰ/ ‘in this way’ is derived by suffixing root /tʰ/ of the verb /tʰjoŋu/ ‘to do’ to the demonstrative pronoun /an/, ‘this’.

/k-/ is the interrogative marker in Gurezi and is added to many postpositions and adverbs, like in the formation of /kadɑ/ ‘what type of’, from /adɑ/, and /kadatʰ/ ‘in what manner’ from /kadɑ/.

As discussed in §4.5 above, a few adverbials are found to be derived from nouns, adjectives or adverbs by the addition of the adjectival participle /-ããw/ or /-ããj/. The adverbs derived in this manner are /hoofãaw/ ‘carefully’ derived from the noun /hooʃ/, ‘attention’, /lookãaw/ from /looʃu/, ‘fast’ or ‘light’, which has a wide use in Gurezi with a range of meanings like ‘quickly’, ‘immediately’, ‘swiftly’ etc. /tʃaãaw/ ‘a bit early’ derives from the adverb /tʃal/ ‘early’ and /heerjãaw/ ‘a bit quickly’ from adverb /heerĩ/ ‘quickly’.
5 Syntax

5.1 Noun phrase

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

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

(1) so jąże
    he.Nom walk.Impf
    ‘He will walk.’

(2) rafjīd-ej gąaw muj
    Rashid-Gen cow die.Perf
    ‘Rashid's cow died.’

(3) mustap’hąa sūtu
    Mustafa.Nom sleep.Perf
    ‘Mustafa slept.’

(4) goraj-zi ʒak tʃal seen hąa
    Gurez-in.CP people.Nom early sleep.Impf be.Prt
    ‘People sleep early in Gurez.’

(5) kɔɔj zẹl kuj-e patöö-t asulułu dadu
    that forest village-Obl behind-Dat be.Pst burn.Perf
    ‘The forest which was behind the village burned.’

Besides, infinitive forms of verbs that function like English gerundives also form noun phrases in Gurezi in sentences with verb ‘be’.

(6) uʃjoɔnu ek sįj ɬadat hųi
    running.Inf a good habit be.Prt
    ‘Running is a good habit.’

(7) zamẹen tʃak t’jоɔnu jamoɔnu hųu
    land till do.Inf tiring.Infv be.Pa?rt
    ‘Tilling is tiresome.’

5.1.1 Noun phrase constituents

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

(8) so ek sįjoɔ bąal hųu
    he.Nom a good boy be.Prt
    ‘He is a good boy.’
The fat man slept.

The fat tall man slept.

In case a series of adjectives modify the head noun, there is no specific syntactic rule in the ordering of these. Sentence (10) can be said with the ordering of adjectives reversed without any change in meaning:

The fat tall man slept.

Within a noun phrase, an adjective can itself be modified by a quantifier. /la/ meaning ‘very’, /ʒe̱k/ meaning ‘some’ and /apu̱j/ meaning ‘few’ are the widely used quantifiers.

The very fat man slept.

He said some good words.

The water is little cold.

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

That jungle

That jungle

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

That is my left hand’s work.

He is my very dear friend.
5.1.2 Word order within noun phrase

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

(19) se mē-j dũ prōŋe kalme lip biju
Those.Nom I-Gen two old pen.Plus lost become
‘Those two old pens of mine are lost.’

(20) ŋazja ek sijeŋ mulaj hĩi
Shazia.Nom a good girl be.Prt
‘Shazia is a good girl.’

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

(21) aasē-j mjo garjib malaŋ madaŋ tʰaw
he-Agn P I-Gen poor father-Dat help do-Perf
‘He helped my poor father.’

(22) anv mjõ nã gãoŋ hũũ
this.Nom I-Gen new home be.Prt
‘This is my new house.’

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

Quantifiers like ‘few’, ‘some’ or ordinal and cardinal numbers precede the adjectives but follow the genitives like in (21) and (22).

(23) aas-oŋ dumugu nã gãoŋ he-Gen second new home.Nom
‘his second new house’

so mjõ baŋpan-ŋoŋ ʃiŋaŋu ʃoomu goraj ʃaŋu hũũ
he.Nom I-Gen childhood-Gen dear friend gurez come.Perf be.Prt
‘That dear childhood friend of mine has come to Gurez.’

So the word order within a noun phrase works out to be Genitive – Quantifier – Adjective – Headnoun.

With regard to the relative position of determiner and genitive, it was found that in such noun phrases the determiner precedes the genitive.

(24) so mjõ laa ʃiŋaŋu ʃoomu ʃaŋu apʰsar hũũ
he.Nom I-Gen very dear friend big officer be.Prt
‘That very dear friend of mine is a senior officer.’

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

**Determiner - Genitive – Quantifier – Adjective – Headnoun**

5.1.3 Agreement within noun phrase

As already discussed in §3.3, most of the adjectives inflect for number and gender and as such are in agreement with the head noun which they modify:
5.2 Predicate phrase

5.2.1 Verb phrase

The simple declarative sentences in Gurezi have a subject followed by an object, which is followed by a verb. The auxiliary occupies the final position in such sentences.

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

(32) mustapʰa sутu
    Mustafa.Nom sleep.Perf
    ‘Mustafa slept.’
Verbs like 'sleep', 'die', 'sit', 'stand', 'agree', 'beg', 'freeze' etc. in Gurezi are intransitive verbs and as such go with a single subject noun phrase which is mostly in nominative case, as exemplified in (32) and (33). A typical transitive verb in Gurezi has an agentive subject and a direct object in oblique or dative case, as shown in (34) to (40) below:

(34) mēj tjun-e kuṭas
    I.Agn P child-obl beat-perf
    'I beat the child.'

(35) mēj ek puʃi aṭasas
    I.Agn P a cat brought-perf
    'I brought a cat.'

(36) so-s ṣiṅgūs sam raṣe hūū
    he-agn I Shina fluently speak.imp be.prt
    'He speaks Shina fluently.'

(37) sesē-j don kʰalaw
    he-agn P tooth extract-perf
    'He extracted a tooth.'

(38) aṣ-ṣe-j mjō maal-eṭ mādad tʰaw
    he-agn P I.Gen father-dat help do.perf
    'He helped my father.'

(39) raʃid-se zap hamsqajōo-ṭ mādad tʰej hūū
    he-agn I often neighbours-dat help do.impf be.prt
    'Rashid often helps his neighbours.'

(40) aʃp-ŋ pala-ṭ preʃaṭ daw
    horse-agn P child-dat kick give-perf
    'The horse kicked the boy.'

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

5.2.2 Copular predicates

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

(41) anj ek kitaqāb hūū
    this.nom a book.nom be.prt
    'This is a book.'

(42) anu ek ggoṣ hūū
    this.nom a home.nom be.prt
    'This is a house.'

/anj/ and /anu/, the 1st person singular feminine and masculine demonstrative pronouns, agree with the objects /kitaqāb/ (feminine gender) and /ggoṣ/ (masculine gender), respectively. The auxiliary 'be' agrees with the subject and takes the form /hūū/ with feminine singular and /hūū/ with masculine
singular subjects. As in clauses with a regular verb, /aso nú/ follows the predicate noun or adjective or adverb in a clause. Following are presented some more examples of the simple copular sentences.

(43) mo guraj-õõ dard hõõs
    I.Nom Gurez-Gen Dard be.Prt
    ‘I am a Dard from Gurez.’

(44) ze khiladii sije hāā
    those.Nom players.Nom good be.Prt
    ‘Those players are good.’

(45) sinu-ʒi nave hēē
    river-in.CP boats be.Prt
    ‘There are boats in the river.’

(46) meharbānī theq mo k̩alal ne theq mo akāajī hõõs
    please do.ConjPart I.Dat disturb not do.Imp I.Nom busy be.Prt
    ‘Please don’t disturb me, I am busy.’

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

(47) balɑ̃-ʈ buk̩ær hũũ
    boy-Dat fever be.Prt
    ‘The boy has fever.’

(48) ʒar-ʈ laj dawl̩at hũũ
    old lady-Dat much wealth be.Prt
    ‘The old lady has much wealth.’

5.3 Grammatical relations

5.3.1 Case alignment

The three core cases in Gurezi Shina—nominative, oblique, and agentive—behave differently from what has been reported in the literature about most of the languages; they conform neither to the accusative pattern, nor to the ergative alignment. It is not possible in Gurezi Shina to group S21 with A or with O. Consider the following comparison between Gurezi Shina, Urdu, and Kashmiri. Urdu and Kashmiri display ergative pattern, although only partially.

(49)

(a) (Gurezi Shina)
    mēj balɑ̃ paluo dēes
    I.Agn P man-Dat apples give.Perf
    ‘I gave the child an apple.’

---

21 S is the single argument of an intransitive clause, A is an agent argument of a transitive clause and P is patient argument of a transitive clause. Languages, in which the single argument (S) of an intransitive clause and the agent (A) acting as an argument of a transitive clause take the same case opposing to the patient (P) acting as an argument of a transitive clause, are considered to follow an accusative pattern (S A/ P). In these languages, (S) and (A) take the nominative case and (P) takes the accusative. In those languages, which are claimed to follow an ergative pattern (S P/ A), (S) and (P) have the same case, namely absolutive, opposing to (A). In most languages having an accusative pattern, the nominative is inflectionally unmarked, while in an ergative pattern, the absolutive is unmarked.
(b) (Urdu)
me-ne batje-ko seeb dija
I-Erg Child-Dat apple give.Perf
‘I gave the child an apple.’

(c) (Kashmiri)
mʃe-ko seeb dija
I-Erg Child-Dat apple give.Perf
‘I gave the child an apple.’

As noted, the sentences (a), (b) and (c) in (49) are from Gurezi Shina, Urdu, and Kashmiri, respectively. Seemingly, the three languages have similar case alignment, but Gurezi Shina takes the agentive while Urdu and Kashmiri take ergative for the subject. Consider some more examples from the three languages.

(50)

(a) (Gurezi Shina)
mʃe rijaz-e tʃi-ʒe paʃas
I.Agn P Riyaz-Obl field-in.CP see.Perf
‘I saw Riyaz in the field.’

(b) (Urdu)
me-ne riyaz-ko kʰet mʃe dekha
I-Erg Riyaz-Dat field in see.Perf
‘I saw Riyaz in the field.’

(c) (Kashmiri)
mʃe wuch rijaz zamiin-as petʰ
I.Erg see.Perf Riyaz field-Dat on
‘I saw Riyaz in the field.’

In (50), both Urdu (b) and Kashmiri (c) have ergative subjects, while Gurezi has agentive perfective. The direct object takes oblique in Shina, dative in Urdu, and no case marker in Kashmiri. There is yet another difference in the imperfective tenses in the three languages.

(51)

(a) (Gurezi Shina)
mo-s rijaz-e kuṭe-m so ʃalut
‘I will beat Riyaz when he comes.’

(b) (Urdu)
me riyaz-ko marūga jab wo aayeiga
I.Nom riyaz-Dat beat.Fut.Impf when he come.Fut
‘I will beat Riyaz when he comes.’

(c) (Kashmiri)
bl laaji riyaz-as jeli su yii
I.Nom beat.Fut.Impf riyaz-Dat when he come.Fut
‘I will beat Riyaz when he comes.’

In the future imperfective depicted in (51), both Urdu (b) and Kashmiri (c) have subjects in nominative, but Gurezi Shina has an agentive subject. In Kashmiri and Urdu, there is an aspect-driven ergativity, whereas in Shina, the aspect determines the form of the agentive case.
Thus, in Gurezi Shina, the unmarked nominative goes with the single argument of intransitives, patient-like objects take the oblique in many instances, and the agentive, encoding subject of transitive verbs, is different from both oblique and unmarked nominative. This alignment is labeled as S/A/P and is very rare (Blake 2004:136).

In Gurezi, the verb always agrees with subject in number, gender and person. Consider the examples of use of intransitive verb /jaʒoŋnu/ ‘to walk’ in 1st person below.

(52) mo jaatəs hawakəj
I.Mas.Sing.Nom walk.Perf some distance
‘I walked some distance.’

(53) be jaatees əʃən
we.Mas.Plu.Nom walk.Perf lot
‘We walked a lot.’

(54) mo jaatees miil-kʰanə
I.Fem.Sing.Nom walk.Perf mile-almost
‘I walked almost a mile.’

(55) bjaa jaatjəs ʒuk suurjoo
we.Fem.Plu.Nom walk.Perf whole day
‘We walked the whole day.’

Sentences (52) to (55) have the verb /jaʒoŋnu/ ‘to walk’ in perfective aspect and in each of these, the verb takes a form to show agreement with the subject; however, in first person there is no distinction of gender. This is true of all intransitive verbs in perfective aspect. Auxiliaries following the main verbs also agree with the subject in number, gender and person.

(56) mo umra-ʒi jaatəs həøs
I.Mas.Sing.Nom lefe-in walk.Perf be.Prt
‘I have walked all my life.’

(57) be ze pone-t jaatees həəs
we.Mas.Plu.Nom that way.Dat walk.Perf be.Prt
‘We have walked that way.’

(58) mo ʒuk suurjoo jaatees həəs
I.Fem.Sing.Nom whole day walk.Perf be.Prt
‘I have walked the whole day.’

(59) bjaa nala jaatjəs həəs
we.Fem.Plu.Nom together walk.Perf be.Prt
‘We have walked together.’

The verb ‘be’ in Gurezi /asoŋnu/ agrees in number, gender and person with the subject with or without a preceding main verb. The only exception is first person feminine in which both singular and plural have the same form.

(60) mo jaazem miil-kʰanə
I.Mas.Sing.Nom walk.Impf mile-almost
‘I will walk a mile.’

(61) be nala jaazoon
we.Mas.Plu.Nom together walk.Impf
‘We will walk together.’
90

(62) mo jąazem ękboj
I.Fem.Sing.Nom walk.Impf alone
‘I will walk alone.’

(63) bjaa jąazoon pahar-ek beę
‘We will walk after a while.’

Sentences (60) to (63) have the verb /jažoŋu/ ‘to walk’ in imperfective aspect and there are only two verbal forms; one for first person singular and another for first person plural without distinction of gender. This is true of second and third person as well. As in perfective aspect, if an auxiliary follows the main verb in imperfective, it also agrees with subject in number, gender and person.

5.3.2 Subject-verb agreement

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

(64) aą-sēj mjo māle-ʈ mādad tʰaw
he-Agn P I.Gen father-Dat help do.Perf
‘He helped my father.’

(65) bal-ēj kujtəū-ʈ mōs bagaw
child-Agn P villagers-Dat mutton distribute-Perf
‘The boy distributed the mutton among the villagers.’

(66) aą-sēj maʃdi-ʒi riiʒə-e pajaw
he-Agn P mosque-in.CP Riyaz-Obl see.Perf
‘He saw Riyaz in the mosque.’

(67) kōjəŋ mo gōoz-e gaas mēj baj kʰjaas
as soon as I.Nom home-Obl go-Perf I.Agn P food eat.Perf
‘As soon as I reached home I ate food.’

(68) mustapʰaaj̃-s tʃʰetʃi-ʒi ek tom tʃʰinaʃ hįų
Mustafa-Agn P field-in.CP on tree cut.Perf be.Prt
‘Mustafa has cut a tree in the field.’

(69) sanəů katʃaak tomę tʃʰiŋʒe hęę
they.Agn P how many trees cut-Perf be.Prt
‘How many trees have they cut?’

In sentences (64) to (69), the transitive verbs are in perfective tense and all of these agree with their subjects which take the agentive perfective case. The sentences (70) to (74) below have verbs in imperfective tenses.

(70) so-s jıŋaas sam raʃe hįų
he-Agn I Shina fluently speak.Imp be.Prt
‘He speaks Shina fluently.’

(71) mo-s jıŋaas sintʃəm
I-Agn I Shina learn-Impf
‘I will learn Shina.’
(72) mo-s r̃ãm h̃õs mãg̃ar tus ne pũs̃e h̃ụ́
I-Agn I talk-Impf be-Prt but you.Nom not listen-Impf be.Prt
‘I talk but you are not listening.’

(73) so-s zap hamsãjãõt̃ mad̃ãd̃ t̃ẽj h̃ụ́
he-Agn I often neighbours-Dat help do.Impf be.Prt
‘He often helps his neighbours.’

(74) kojõt̃ manĩs̃t̃ar goraj ĩp̃ăng descargar-jẽ sese-t̃ l̃ã istẽk̃bãl̃ t̃ẽ̃ng
as soon as minister gurẽz reach.Impf people-Agn I he-Dat very welcome do-Impf
‘When the minister arrives in Gurez, people will give him grand welcome.’

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

5.4 Modifying phrases

5.4.1 Indirect noun phrase objects

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

(75) daw̃jũd̃-ę̃ ĩq̃bãl̃-ãt̃ kĩbãl̃ d̃aw
Dawood-Agn P Iqbal-Dat book give.Per
‘Dawood gave a book to Iqbal.’

In (75), /iqbaalat/ and /kitab/ are the two noun phrase arguments of the verb /doonu/ ‘to give’. The indirect object /iqbaalat/ is in dative case while the direct object /kitab/ is in nominative. Indirect object here refers to the indirect object as defined in traditional meaning wherein it is used to refer to the semantic role of recipient or beneficiary.

(76) rah̃im̃-ę̃ garĩb̃õ-t̃ zak̃ãt d̃aw
Rahim-Agn P poor-Dat alms give.Perf
‘Rahim gave alms to the poor.’

(77) khud̃ãã-se guraj-ãt laj k̃ũbs̃urtji daw h̃ũ
God-Agn P Gurez-Dat much beauty give.Perf be.Prt
‘God has given much beauty to Gurez.’

Sentences (75) to (76) have similar structure in that the perfective tense of verb ‘to give’ takes the subject in agentive perfective, a direct object in nominative and indirect object in dative. This is also the case with sentences having the verb ‘to give’ in imperfective tense like future or present simple.

(78) rah̃im̃-se zap garĩb̃õ-t̃ zak̃ãt d̃ę̃ h̃ũ
Rahim-Agn I always poor-Dat alms give.Impf be.Prt
‘Rahim always gives alms to the poor.’

(79) mo-s zgeli-zi asp̃õ-t̃ woj d̃ę̃m h̃õs
I-Agn I jungle-in.CP horses-Dat water give.Impf be.Prt
‘I give water to the horse in the jungle.’

In (79), the verb /doonu/ takes another non-obligatory argument to indicate location. Other verbs that behave like /doonu/ ‘to give’ are /k̃õzõnu/ ‘to ask’ and /rãzõnu/ ‘to say’.
Verbs that require a postpositional indirect object shall be discussed in section 5.4.2 below

5.4.2 Postpositional phrase objects

Many verbs in Gurezi require an oblique object in the form of a postpositional phrase to indicate location. These include verbs that inherently have the meaning of vertical directions like ‘up’ and ‘down’. Presence of such verbs has been reported by Liljegren (2016) in Palula as well.

Consider the example of the verb /hərʃənu/ ‘to take’ in (81) and (82). This verb requires an obligatory postpositional phrase as oblique object in most of the instances as a means to show location.

(81) pʰikiri ne tʰe mej tʃunũ sokuylɛ-zi hərʃənas
    worry not do.Imp I.Agŋ P child school-at.CP take.Perf
    ‘Don’t worry, I took the child to school.’

(82) ali-s mo-ʒo’ kitɑbre həɾe hũũ
    Ali-Agn I me-from.CP books take.Impf be.Prt
    ‘Ali takes books from me.’

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

(83) mo-s tom-e-zi palɛe walem hũũs
    I-Agn I tree-Obl-at.CP apples bring.down-Impf be.Prt
    ‘I bring down apples from tree.’

(84) mulaj-se ɯstį-ʒo woj kʰale hũũ
    girl-Agn I well-from.CP water bring.up.Impf be.Prt
    ‘The girl takes up water from the well.’

5.4.3 Postpositional phrases

As already mentioned in §§3.5.2 and 3.5.3, postpositions in Gurezi can be either free with independent pitch accent or as clitics. The clitic postpositions are attached to a base noun/pronoun that carries an oblique case much like regular affixes. The clitic-base combination acts as a single unit of pitch accent.

Consider the example of /goos/ ‘home/house’ suffixed with the four clitic postpositions below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic Postposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/-ʒo/</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-katʃ/</td>
<td>near to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-sɛj/</td>
<td>along with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-zi/</td>
<td>in/at/on</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consider the example of /goos/ ‘home/house’ suffixed with the four clitic postpositions below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gur</th>
<th>Obl Sing</th>
<th>Obl Plu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/goos/</td>
<td>/gooze/</td>
<td>/goozʊɑ/</td>
<td>home (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clitic</td>
<td>Obl Sing + Clitic</td>
<td>Obl Plu + Clitic</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-ʒo/</td>
<td>/goozʊɑɢo/</td>
<td>/goozʊɑɡo/</td>
<td>from the home (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-katʃ/</td>
<td>/goozʊɑkɑtʃ/</td>
<td>/goozʊɑɡo kɑtʃ/</td>
<td>near the home (s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A typical postpositional phrase in Gurezi comprises of a noun or pronoun suffixed with a postpositional clitic or a noun or pronoun followed by a free postposition. The clitic postpositions in Gurezi govern the oblique case and are attached to both singular and plural forms of the noun.

(87) mẽ `/gooz-e-ʒi/ pale ŋa̗as
I.Agn P home- Obl-from.CP apples bring.Perf
‘I brought apples from home.’

(88) mo-s `/gooz-õõ/ ɭo̗n ɭarəm
I.Agn I bank-from.CP loan take.Impf
‘I will take loan from bank.’

(89) ŋũ `/gooz-eʃ'/ ɭe̗ ɭũ ŋũ
dog tree-Obl-near.CP sit.Impf be.Prt
‘The dog is sitting near the tree.’

(90) ko̗o `/gooz-eʃ'/ ŋe̗ ŋo-s ɭo̗r ɭe̗ ɭũ ŋũ
that person shade-in.CP sit-Impf be.Prt he-Agn I Gurez work do be.Prt
‘The person who is sitting in the shade works in Gurez.’

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

(91) Clitic Obl Sing + Clitic Obl Plu + Clitic Gloss
/-ʒi/ `/gooz-õõ/ /asõ-ʒi/ from me/us
/-katʃ/ `/gooz-eʃi/ /asõk-ʃi/ near me/us
/-sẽ/ `/gooz-eʃ/ /asõ-sẽ/ along with me/us
/-ʒi/ `/gooz-ʒi/ /asõ-ʒi/ on me/us

(92) aḷi-s /mɔ-ʒo’/ ɭi̗a̗ba ɭarə ŋũ
Ali-Agn I me-from.CP books take.Impf be.Prt
‘Ali takes books from me.’

(93) muʃtaq `/gooz-eʃ/ ɭa̗ləs
Mushtaq I.Obl-along.CP come.Perf
‘Mushtaq came with me.’

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

(94) ṇo̗rĩ `/gooz-ʒi/ ɭe̗ ɭe̗ ɭi̗e
nails.Obl with scratch do.Imp
‘Scratch with the nails.’

(95) sin `/gooz-ʒi/ ɭe̗ ɭe̗ ɭi̗e
river.Nom bridge.Obl below walk.Impf be.Prt
‘The river flows under the bridge.’

(96) `/gooz-ʃi/ ɭe̗ ɭe̗ ɭi̗e
home-Obl front kitchen garden be.Prt
‘The kitchen garden is in front of the house.’
Clitic postpositions rarely follow a noun with a case other than oblique. However, in few instances free postpositions do follow nouns or pronouns with other cases like those below:

(97) sazu-ʈ səti jaqs
sister-Dat with walk.Imp
‘Walk with your sister.’

(98) kuj-ʒo̞ darō-ʈ napʰar
village-from.CP outside-Dat Person
‘a person from outside village’

(99) mēj daʈʰiŋŋi kʰiŋ
I.Gen right towards
‘towards my right’

In many instances it was observed that a clitic postposition suffixed to a noun is followed by a free postposition in a single postpositional phrase. This is particularly used to indicate location. The three free postpositions /aʐo̞/, ‘inside’, /maʒa/ ‘middle of’ and /aʒa/, ‘upon’ mostly follow the clitic postposition /-ʒi/ ‘at’, ‘in’, ‘on’, while /darō/ ‘outside’ follows the clitic postposition /-ʒo̞/ ‘from’.

(100) ggo̞o-ʒi aʐo̞ daj kismə razə aasəŋ hāā
home-Obl-in.CP inside ten types secrets be.Fut be.Prt
‘There are ten types of secrets inside home.’

(101) tom-ŋ pʰutɕi aʒa
tree-Obl top.Obl upon
‘upon tree top’

Literally /ggo̞ozjɪ̞ aʐo̞/ would translate as ‘in inside home’ or ‘of inside home’ in English. So in these cases there seems to be a kind of double means of showing location and this is a rule in Gurezi. Actually the postposition /-ʒi/ has purely a locational value, while the free postposition /aʐo̞/ also serves as an adverb of place. Most of the free postpositions in fact serve as adverbs independently. In (101), there isn’t a clitic postposition suffixed to the preceding noun. The free postposition /aʒa/ ‘upon’ follows the noun in oblique.

Similarly the clitic postposition /-ʒo̞/ ‘from’ serves to show location from a certain place or point as in (102) below.

(102) ʃar-ʒo̞ tʃarwaaj kuj-ʒo̞ darō-ʈ aasəŋ hāā
winter-Gen cattle village-from.CP outside-Dat be.Fut be.Prt
‘The cattle remain outside (of) village during winter.’

The postposition / darō/ ‘outside’ in (102) has the dative case to indicate ‘outside of’. Other free postpositions can also take dative case in much the same manner.

(103) ggo̞o-ʒi aʐo̞-ʈ samuŋun
home-Obl-in.CP inside.Dat things
‘inside-home things’

5.4.4 Other modifying phrases

Adverbials and conjunctions rarely form phrases in Gurezi. In case of adjectives, such phrases are usually based on a sequence of two or more adjectives both in attributive and predicative types.

22 The sentence would translate in Urdu as /sardiyu me tʃarwaajɪ gaawun se bahar hote he/, which is perfectly acceptable.
(104) laŋ thūlu napʰär sytu
very fat man Nom sleep.Perf
‘The very fat man slept.’

(105) sesė-j ʒeek sijeɭ mőozə rajaw
he-Agn P some good.Plu talks said.Perf
‘He said some good words.’

(106) so mjő kʰa hat-ɡō krom hūū
that.Nom I.Gen left hand-Gen work be.Prt
‘That is my left hand’s work.’

(107) so mjő lāa jīdɡatu sōomu hūū
he.Nom I.Gen very dear friend be.Prt
‘He is my very dear friend.’

/laŋ/ meaning ‘much’, ‘very’ is the frequent quantifier or intensifier that precedes adjectives in the
formation of phrases.
Adverbials inflected for dative case also function as adjectives and in sequence with nouns suffixed
with clitic postpositions can form an adjectival phrase as in the following sentences.

(108) kuj-ʒōo ʃar ʃu̗tu
village-from.CP outside-Dat man
‘outside-village person (a person from outside village)’

(109) kuj-ʒōo ʃar tʰulu napʰär sytu
village-from.CP outside-Dat fat man sleep.Perf
‘The fat person from outside village slept.’

(110) mēj daʃʰinə kʰin-oʃ tʃunə mjő sōomu hūū
‘The boy towards my right is my friend.’

(111) daj kismọ ɡo̱-ziʃi azōo-ʃi razē
ten types home-Obl-in.CP inside-Dat secrets
‘ten types of inside-home secrets’

In (111), the sequence /daj kismọ ɡo̱-ziʃi azōo-ʃi/ ‘ten types of inside-home’ form an adjectival
phrase. While sentences (108) to (111) exemplify attributive adjectival phrases, sequencing of adjectives
can also be found in phrases used predicatively (conjoined by the addition of ge ‘and’ before the last
adjective):

(112) guraj-ɡo ʃatū ɔwūōru ge droguh hūū
Gurezi woolen cloth warm heavy and costly be.Prt
‘Gurezi woolen cloth is warm, heavy and costly.’

(113) woʃ ge ʃowōo hūū
water.Nom sweet and cold be.Prt
‘The water is sweet and cold.’

(114) zə khiladiji tēədi ɡatəli ge ʃoɡdu hāā
those.Nom players.Nom intelligent skillful and healthy be.Prt
‘Those players are intelligent, skillful and healthy.’

Adverbial sequences can also be found in certain other instances, but can’t be strictly considered as
phrases. The quantifier or intensifier /laŋ/ is frequently used with adverbials like adjectives.
In Gurezi it seems difficult to draw a clear cut line between adjectives, postpositions and adverbials. Postpositions inflected for case serve as adjectives and functionally most of the postpositional phrases are adverbial phrases. These include clitics as well as free postpositions. For example, consider the postpositional /kʰiŋ/ meaning ‘towards’ or ‘near’ or ‘beside’. The free postposition is most of the times used along with a word for direction like left or right to form a phrase like /datʃʰiŋ kʰiŋ/ meaning ‘towards my right’, which functionally is also an adverbial phrase as in (116).

(116) be̱g mĕj datʃʰiŋ kʰiŋ
sit.Imp I.Gen right towards
‘Sit towards my right.’

If the same phrase has the postposition /kʰiŋ/ inflected for dative, the whole phrase acts as adjectival phrase like in (114) below.

(116) mĕj datʃʰiŋ kʰiŋ-oʈ tʃunų mjö soomu hũũ
‘The boy towards my right is my friend.’

/mĕj datʃʰiŋ kʰiŋ-oʈ/ meaning ‘towards my right side’ translates as Urdu /meri dããji taraf ka/ where the adverbial /kʰiŋ-oʈ/ has taken the dative case actually is an adjective, because the whole phrase can be replaced by a single adjective as in the following:

(117) tʰulu tʃunų mjö soomu hũũ
fat boy.Nom I.Gen friend be.Prt
‘The fat boy is my friend.’

However, the phrase /mĕj datʃʰiŋ kʰiŋ-oʈ/ can be represented only by an adverbial clause in English.

5.5 Phrase order restrictions

Like many Indo-Aryan languages, there is considerable freedom in the ordering of phrases in sentences in Gurezi. Without disturbing their internal structure, phrases can be moved in a sentence without any syntactic changes. However, such word order changes have been reported to be motivated by discourse factors in languages like Urdu, even though the differing orders are syntactically neutral (Butt and King 1996).

(118)

(a) mĕj raʃid-ˁt kalam dgas
I.Agn P Rashid-Dat pen give.Perf
‘I gave a pen to Rashid.’

Sentence (118a) has a typical ordering of the three obligatory noun phrases in a sentence with a ditransitive verb. The subject noun phrase is followed by indirect object, followed by the direct object and finally the verb phrase.

The two noun phrases, the subject /mĕj/ ‘I’ and indirect object /raʃid-ˁt/ ‘Rasheed’ can interchange position without causing any change in meaning:

(b) raʃid-ˁt mĕj kalam dgas
Rashid-Dat I.Agn P pen give.Perf
‘I gave a pen to Rashid.’
The position of direct and indirect objects can also be interchanged.

(c)  mój kalam raʃjīd-āt ḍāas
I.Agn P pen Rashid-Dat give.Perf
‘I gave a pen to Rashid.’

The verb which normally takes the final position in a clause can be moved before the direct or indirect objects or even can be placed before both of the two immediately after the subject:

(d)  mój raʃjīd-āt ḍāas kalam
I.Agn P Rashid-Dat give.Perf pen
‘I gave a pen to Rashid.’

(e)  mój ḍāas raʃjīd-āt kalam
I.Agn P give.Perf Rashid-Dat pen
‘I gave a pen to Rashid.’

The subject-object inversion is possible in Gurezi with both dative and oblique objects as in sentences with a transitive verb as in (119):

(119)
(a)  mój tʃun-ē kuṭāas
I.Agn P child-Obl beat.Perf
‘I beat the child.’

(b)  tʃun-ē mój kuṭāas
child-Obl I.Agn P beat.Perf
‘I beat the child.’

Of all the phrases, postpositional phrases are most amenable to movement. These can be moved to any position within a sentence.

(120)
(a)  mój raʃjīd-āt kalāası-ʒi kalam ḍāas
I.Agn P Rashid-Dat class-in.CP pen give.Perf
‘I gave Rashid a pen in the class.’

(b)  kalāası-ʒi mój raʃjīd-āt kalam ḍāas
class-in.CP I.Agn P Rashid-Dat pen give.Perf
‘I gave Rashid a pen in the class.’

(c)  mój raʃjīd-āt kalam kalāası-ʒi ḍāas
I.Agn P Rashid-Dat pen class-in.CP give.Perf
‘I gave Rashid a pen in the class.’

(d)  mój raʃjīd-āt kalam ḍāas kalāası-ʒi
I.Agn P Rashid-Dat pen give.Perf class-in.CP
‘I gave Rashid a pen in the class.’

Such movement is also possible in sentences where the verb requires an obligatory postposition as in (121):
Adjectives or adjectival phrase preceding a noun which they modify always move with it. The internal sequence of the adjectival phrase remains intact:

Apart from the free movement of adjectives or adjectival phrases used attributively as in (122), adjectival phrases used predicatively can be moved in a sentence with or without the verb as in (123):

Adverbials in Gurezi can also move freely. These can occupy various positions in a sentence without any consequent semantic or syntactic change:

(124)
(125)
(a) loof트 ekząam hũũ
Tomorrow examination be.Prt
‘Tomorrow is examination day.’
(b) ekząam loof트 hũũ
examination tomorrow be.Prt
‘Tomorrow is examination day.’
(c) ekząam hũũ loof트
examination be.Prt tomorrow
‘Tomorrow is examination day.’

(126)
(a) be pɔni-ʒi ʒe̗ek pʰasawɔoŋu haaS
we.Nom way-in.CP sometimes stuck.Inf be.Prt
‘We sometimes get stuck in the way.’
(b) be ʒe̗ek pɔni-ʒi pʰasawɔoŋu haaS
we.Nom sometimes way-in.CP stuck.Inf be.Prt
‘We sometimes get stuck in the way.’
(c) be pɔni-ʒi pʰasawɔoŋu haaS ʒe̗ek
we.Nom way-in.CP stuck.Inf be.Prt sometimes
‘We get stuck in the way sometimes.’

5.6 Subordinate, relative and conditional clauses

5.6.1 Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses in Gurezi can function as nouns, adjectives and adverbials in a sentence. The subordinating conjunction /ki/ ‘that’ was found to be used frequently in such complex constructions.

(127)
(a) ni kʰabær ki goraj-tı ʃaliŋ bili hũĩ ga.laştırma hũĩ
this news that Gurez-Dat shelling become be.Prt wrong be.Prt
‘The news that there has been shelling in Gurez is wrong.’

In (127), the conjunction /ki/ immediately precedes the subordinate clause, which serves as an adjective, since it modifies the noun phrase /kʰabær/ ‘news’. The whole of subordinate clause along with the conjunction can be moved to the front or it can be placed after the main clause.

(b) ki goraj-tı ʃaliŋ bili hũĩ ni kʰabær ga.プラス hũĩ
that Gurez-Dat shelling become be.Prt this news wrong be.Prt
‘That there has been shelling in Gurez, the news is wrong.’

(c) ni kʰabær ga.プラス hũĩ ki goraj-tı ʃaliŋ bili hũĩ
this news wrong be.Prt that Gurez-Dat shelling become be.Prt
‘This news is wrong that there has been shelling in Gurez.’

Subordinate clauses that serve as noun phrases also behave in a similar manner:
(128)
(a) nu hak hũũ ki raʃjīd kaʃraʈ gaw hũũ this truth be.Prt that Rashid Kashmir-Dat go.Perf be.Prt
‘This is true that Rashid has gone to Kashmir.’
(b) ki raʃjīd kaʃraʈ gaw hũũ nu hak hũũ that Rashid Kashmir-Dat go.Perf be.Prt this truth be.Prt
‘That Rashid has gone to Kashmir, is true.’

(129)
(a) seseʈ niʃ pataŋ ki kooj oόnwaalu hũũ he-Dat not know.Impf that who coming be.Prt
‘He doesn’t know (that) who is coming.’
(b) ki kooj oόnwaalu hũũ seseʈ niʃ pataŋ that who coming be.Prt he-Dat not know.Impf
‘(That) who is coming he doesn’t know.’

The dependent noun clause /raʃjīd kaʃraʈ gaw hũũ/ ‘Rashid has gone to Kashmir’ and /kooj oόnwaalu hũũ/ ‘who is coming’ are noun phrase clauses that serve as subject of the main clause in (128a) and (129a), and object of the main clause in (127b) and (128b), respectively. Although the clauses as a whole can be moved in (128) and (129), the constituents of the two clauses can’t be mixed without rendering the sentence ungrammatical.

(130)
(a) so-s adat teŋ hũũ zan so-s jìnāŋ sam daʃteŋ hũũ he-Agn I this way do.Impf be.Prt as if he-Agn I Shina well know-Impf be.Prt
‘He talks as if he knows Shina well.’
(b) zan so-s jìnāŋ sam daʃteŋ hũũ so-s adat teŋ hũũ as if he-Agn I Shina well know-Impf be.Prt he-Agn I this way do.Impf be-Prt
‘He talks as if he knows Shina well.’

In (130), the subordinating conjunction /zan/23 equivalent to English ‘as if’ occurs at the beginning of the adverbial subordinate clause.

Other conjuctions used in sentences with subordinate clauses include /pʰiriŋi/ ‘even then’, /kɛtutu/ ‘because’, /tɛtutu/ ‘even then’, /halǎǎki/ /iʃiʃi/ ‘so’ and others:

(131) sesh-eŋ laj mɛhnat tʰaw pʰiriŋi paas ne bɪ.lu she-Agn P very hard-work do.Perf even-then pass not become
‘She worked very hard, even then she couldn’t pass.’
(132) so-s źabatŋi kʰa hũũ kɛtutu so tʰiŋk niʃ He-Agn I medicine eat.Impf be-Prt because he well not
‘He takes medicines because he isn’t well.’
(133) halǎǎki sɛ-sɛŋ laj kɔʊʃif tʰaw tɛtutu tʃiʃiʃtʰ kʰaʔou nu bɪlụ although he-Agn P very try do.Perf even-then peak-Dat climbing not become
‘Although he tried very hard even then he couldn’t climb the mountain (peak).’

23 The conjunction /zan/ with the same meaning is also found in Kashmiri.
(134) kaʃjiri-zi  halati  kʰarab  asile  iʃjiʃi  raʃjid-ʃ ket  kaf  neq  bilj  Kashmir-in.CP  conditions  bad  be.Prt  so  Rashid-Dat  marriage  not  become  ‘The conditions in Kashmir were bad so Rashid couldn’t marry.’

5.6.2 Relative clauses

Among relative clauses, restrictive and non-restrictive as well as correlative and headed clauses can be found in Gurezi. The relative pronoun /kooʃ/ inflects for case like regular nouns.

(135)
(a) kooʃ-sɛj  kʰabar  aʃaw  so  mjɔ  juuli  hǔɓ  who-AgnP  news  bring.Perf  he.Nom  I.Gen  friend  be.Prt  ‘(The one) who brought the news is my friend.’
(b) kooʃ-sɛj  kʰabar  aʃaw  mjɔ  juuli  hǔɓ  who-AgnP  news  bring.Perf  I.Gen  friend  be.Prt  ‘(The one) who brought the news is my friend.’
(c) so  mjɔ  juuli  hǔɓ  kooʃ-sɛj  kʰabar  aʃaw  he.Nom  I.Gen  friend  be.Prt  who-AgnP  news  bring.Perf  ‘He is my friend (the one) who brought the news.’

Sentences (135) depict examples of correlative and restrictive type of relative clause. The relative pronoun /kooʃsɛj/ is inflected for agentive perfective case and the correlative pronoun /so/ is in nominative. In such sentences, the correlative was found to be omitted by Gurezi Shina speakers (135b). Generally the relative clause precedes the matrix clause; however, the two can interchange their positions without any syntactic consequences and semantically the impact may be that of emphasising the information in the topicalized clause as in (135c).

(136)
(a) kooʃ  sin  guɾa-zi  jaaʃe  hũi  sesɛ-t  noom  niʃlam  hũu  which.Nom  river  Gurez-in.CP  walk.Impf  be.Prt  it-Dat  name  Neelam  be.prt  ‘The river which passes through Gurez is called Neelam.’
(b) sesɛ-t  noom  niʃlam  hũu  kooʃ  sin  guɾa-zi  jaaʃe  hũi  it-Dat  name  Neelam  be.prt  which.Nom  river  Gurez-in.CP  walk.Impf  be  Prt  ‘The river which passes through Gurez is called Neelam.’

The relative pronoun /kooʃ/ in (136) is in nominative and the correlative /sesɛt/ has dative case. In such sentences, the correlative pronoun can’t be dropped as it can in a sentence where it is in nominative case, as in (135b). The relative clause and the matrix clause can, however, change their relative positions as in (136b).

In the headed type clauses, the relative clause follows the head noun much as in English, as in (137):

(137)
(a) so  napʰar  kooʃ  jaʃile  hũu  mjɔ  daadi  hũu  he.Nom  who  tired  be.Prt  I.Gen  grandfather  be.Prt  ‘The man who is tired is my grandfather.’
(b) kooʃ  napʰar  jaʃile  hũu  so  mjɔ  daadi  hũu  who.Nom  who  tired  be.Prt  he  I.Gen  grandfather  be.Prt  ‘The man who is tired is my grandfather.’
In (137a), the head noun /napʰɑr/ lies outside the relative clause and is followed by the relative marker, which is in nominative case. The head noun /napʰɑr/ moves inside the relative clause if the clauses change their relative position, because both the head noun and the relative marker are in nominative case as in (137b).

(138)

(a) so ɓaɬ kʊo̱j-sɛj laɬ mehɳat tʰaw asulu paɬas bilu
he boy.Nom who-Agn P very hard.work do.Perf be.Pst pass become
‘The boy who had worked hard passed.’

(b) *kʊo̱j-sɛj ɓaɬ laɬ mehɳat tʰaw asulu so paɬas bilu
who-Agn P boy.nom very hardwork do.Perf be.Pst he pass become
‘who boy had worked hard passed’

In (138a), the relative marker/kʊo̱j-sɛj/ is in agentive perfective case; the head noun /ɓaɬ/ cannot move inside the relative clause where the relative marker is case-declined as in (138b). However, if the head noun is case marked and preceded by the relative marker, which is nominative, the sentence is grammatical as in (138c):

(c) kʊo̱j ɓaɬ-sɛj laɬ mehɳat tʰaw asulu so paɬas bilu
who boy-Agn P very hardwork do.Perf be.Pst he pass become
‘The boy who had worked hard passed.’

Such a pattern of relative clauses can be found in many Indo-Aryan languages.

As for the non-restrictive relative clauses in Gurezi, these are also quite similar to those found in other Indo-Aryan languages spoken in the subcontinent.

(139) guraj kʊo̱j baɬdæpɔɾi-ɬi hɪɬu ɬaɬ sɪjʊo hɪɬu
Gurez which Bandipora-in.CP be.Prt very beautiful be Prt
‘Gurez, which is in Bandipora, is very beautiful.’

(140) mɛɬ wanɬ-ɬi bej asulʊk napʰɑr kʊo̱j kəʃɪɬ ru tsɬɬu-tɬ goʊɬ-e həɾjɬɑɬs
I.Agn P shop-at.CP sit be.Pst.Part man who Kashmiri tea-Dat home-Obl take.Perf
‘I took the man sitting at the shop, who is a Kashmiri, to home for tea.’

5.6.3 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses in Gurezi use the conditional marker /aɡɑɾ/ which can also be found in many Indo-Aryan languages including Urdu and Kashmiri with similar range of functions.

(141)

(a) mo aɡɑɾ guraj ɡɑs mos jɪnɬɑɬ ʃɪtʃəm
I.Nom if Gurez go.Impf I.Agn I Shina learn-Impf
‘If I go to Gurez, I will learn Shina.’

(b) aɡɑɾ mo guraj ɡɑs mos jɪnɬɑɬ ʃɪtʃəm
If I.Nom Gurez go.Impf I.Agn I Shina learn.Impf
‘If I go to Gurez, I will learn Shina.’

As can be seen in (141), the conditional marker either follows the subject in the conditional clause or precedes it. In either case, the unmarked SOV order is retained in both the conditional clause and the result clause of a conditional sentence.
(142) mo agar kalęzi-3i ęgas ęasem bel
    I.Nom if college-in.CP go.Perf be.Fut may.Subj
    tu mot asal anrezi tagizi ęase bel
    then I.Dat good English know be.Fut may.Subj
    'If I had gone to college then my English would have been good.'

(143) soomu agar gọoz-e ąalu bel tu buṭu
    friend.Nom if home-Obl come.Perf may.Subj then all
    kudurat dżur bej bel
    animosity away become may.Subj
    'If the friend had come to home, all animosities would have gone.'

Sentences (142) and (143) are typical examples of ‘if-then’ clauses in Gurezi. Both the conditional and the main clause contain the subjunctive marker /bel/\(^{24}\). The word /tu/ ‘then,’ equivalent to Urdu /too/, can be omitted in such sentences.

\(^{24}\)The subjunctive marker /bel/ is unique to Gurezi as no such marker or its equivalent can be found in Kashmiri or Urdu.
6 Script

6.1 Introduction

Gurezi Shina doesn’t have a standardized script for writing, and the community members, particularly the educated people, do feel that its absence is hampering the growth and development of their mother tongue. In a study undertaken by the author on the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Shina-speaking Gurezi people who have migrated to other parts of the Kashmir Valley, it was found that the community members consider absence of script as a serious obstacle to the preservation of their language and ethnic identity. The respondents felt that development of the script would greatly help the people in the preservation of their language.

However, some educated members of the community do make attempts now and then to write their language in the Perso-Arabic script used for writing Urdu language. Since Urdu is the official language of J&K state and serves as a lingua-franca for the people of the different regions of the state, most of the Shina-speaking Gurezi people are able to converse in Urdu and the educated people are quite fluent in writing the language as well. However, given the presence of certain sounds especially the retracted (retroflex) sounds in Gurezi, people often face difficulty in writing Shina using Urdu graphemes.

An important contribution towards the development of script for the Drassi Shina has been made by Rajapurohit (Rajapurohit 1983:46-57) in his Shina Phonetic Reader. According to the author, Shina can be written using both Perso-Arabic as well as Devnagari Scripts by modifications of certain graphemes; however, he recommends the use of former. Rajapurohit (ibid.) has suggested modifications to seven graphemes of Perso-Arabic Urdu script to represent the retracted consonant sounds of Shina, besides retaining the original set of graphemes used in writing Urdu. He has also suggested the differential use of dots and the use of Urdu ‘Hamza’ in two forms to represent the vowels in Shina.

As for the development of the script for Gurezi Shina, people regardless of age and educational background believe that it should be based on the Perso-Arabic pattern. The community members believe that since the educated members of the community including the students enrolled in schools and colleges are much acquainted with Urdu language and its script, efforts towards the development of the script for Gurezi should be made towards harmonizing (modification) the Urdu graphemes for the purpose. It was for this observation that the present work has made an attempt to develop a script for Gurezi by basing it on the Perso-Arabic script in consultation with the members of the community. Since there are thirty five consonants and twenty vowels in Gurezi Shina, a series of modifications have been made in the Urdu graphemes to represent the Shina sounds, besides retaining most of the graphemes used for writing the latter.

A ten-day long workshop was organized towards the development of a standardized script for Gurezi Shina. Around fifty Shina speakers, most of whom were from Department of School education, Kashmir participated in it. During the ten days, each of the graphemes modified or otherwise to be used for writing Shina was discussed and writing exercises were undertaken. The graphemes presented here are based on the recommendation of the workshop.

6.2 Graphemes for consonants

Following are presented the Urdu graphemes to represent the Gurezi Shina consonants that don’t need any modification. Their form is same as in the Urdu writing system to represent the consonant sounds.

---

### 6.2.1 Unmodified Perso-Arabic graphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Shina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Voiceless Bilabial Plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>پ</td>
<td>پھ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aspirated Voiceless Bilabial Plosive</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>پھ</td>
<td>پھ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Voiced Bilabial Plosive</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ب</td>
<td>ب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Voiceless Alveolar/Dental Plosive</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ت</td>
<td>ت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Aspirated Voiceless Alveolar/Dental Plosive</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>تھ</td>
<td>تھ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Voiced Alveolar/Dental Plosive</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>د</td>
<td>د</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Voiceless Velar Plosive</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ک</td>
<td>ک</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Aspirated Voiceless Velar Plosive</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>کھ</td>
<td>کھ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Voiced velar Plosive</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>گ</td>
<td>گ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Voiceless Retroflex Plosive</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Aspirated Voiceless Retroflex Plosive</td>
<td>ṭʰ</td>
<td>تُھ</td>
<td>تُھ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Voiced Retroflex Plosive</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>ڈ</td>
<td>ڈ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Voiceless Alveolar/Dental Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>س</td>
<td>س</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Voiced Alveolar/Dental Fricative</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ز</td>
<td>ز</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Shina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Voiceless Palatal Fricative</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ش</td>
<td>ش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Voiceless Alveolar/Dental Affricate</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>رز</td>
<td>رز</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Voiceless Aspirated Alveolar/Dental Affricate</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>رزھ</td>
<td>رزھ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Glottal Fricative</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>حھ</td>
<td>حھ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Voiceless Palatal Affricate</td>
<td>tf</td>
<td>پچ</td>
<td>پچ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Voiceless Aspirated Palatal Affricate</td>
<td>tfʰ</td>
<td>پچھ</td>
<td>پچھ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Voiced Palatal Affricate</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>چھ</td>
<td>چھ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Bilabial Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>م</td>
<td>م</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Alveolar Nasal</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ن</td>
<td>ن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Bilabial Glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>و</td>
<td>و</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Palatal Glide</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ے/یاکھ</td>
<td>ے/یاکھ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ل</td>
<td>ل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Alveolar/Dental Flap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>ر</td>
<td>ر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Retroflex Flap</td>
<td>r̪</td>
<td>ر٨</td>
<td>ر٨</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The twenty-eight consonant sounds of Gurezi Shina can be represented with ease with the help of the Urdu graphemes without any modification and it is thus recommended that the above twenty-eight Urdu graphemes be employed to represent the twenty-six consonant phonemes of Gurezi Shina without any modification. Any Urdu-knowing person would be at quite ease while dealing with the above twenty-six graphemes.

6.2.2 Modified Perso-Arabic graphemes

The remaining six consonant sounds of Gurezi Shina need special symbols, for these don’t exist in Urdu. The superscript /◌/ shall be used to represent a consonant cluster. The following six graphemes to be used for representing the remaining consonants have been modified from the Urdu graphemes. Attempt has been made to modify the Urdu grapheme in such a manner that the modified grapheme represents the Shina sound that is nearest to the Urdu sound.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Nearest Urdu grapheme</th>
<th>Shina grapheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Retroflex Voiceless Fricative</td>
<td>ʂ</td>
<td>ش</td>
<td>ش  ◊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Retroflex Voiced Fricative</td>
<td>ʐ</td>
<td>ج</td>
<td>ج  ◊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Retroflex Voiceless Affricate</td>
<td>ʈʃ</td>
<td>چ</td>
<td>چ  ◊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Retroflex Voiceless Aspirated Affricate</td>
<td>ʈʃʰ</td>
<td>چھ</td>
<td>چھ ◊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Retroflex Nasal</td>
<td>ɳ</td>
<td>ڑ</td>
<td>ڑ  ◊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Velar Nasal</td>
<td>ɳ</td>
<td>گ</td>
<td>گ  ◊</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 6.3 Graphemes for vowels

There are five primary vowels in Gurezi Shina. Taking length and nasalization into consideration, the total number of distinctive vowel phonemes in Shina is twenty. Urdu has several graphemes and superscripts to represent the vowel sounds. Following is presented the graphemes for non-nasalized five short vowels and non-nasalized five long vowels of Gurezi Shina.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Grapheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Close Front (short)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>اِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Close Front (long)</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>اى</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mid Front (short)</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>اےْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mid Front (long)</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>اے</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Central Open (short)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>اَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Central Open (long)</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>اآ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Close Back (short)</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>اُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Close Back (long)</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>اُو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mid Back (short)</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>اَُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mid Back (long)</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>اَو</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ten non-nasalized vowels have been assigned the graphemes using the Urdu graphemes to indicate the vowels besides the superscript. Urdu zabar /۱/zeer /۲/ and peesh /۱/ placed over alif /ا/ have been used to indicate the short vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/ much like Urdu. The longer counterparts of the above three vowels /aa/, /ii/ and /uu/ have been again represented in a manner as represented in Urdu, i.e. by /۱/، /۲/ and /۱/۔. To represent the short vowels /e/ and /o/, the use of superscript /۶/ has been used to indicate shortness. The longer counterparts of these two vowels /ee/ and /oo/ have been represented in the similar manner as represented in Urdu i.e. by means of /۶/ and /۱/۔۔।۔۔。

To indicate nasalization the superscript /۴/ has been employed. The superscript is to be placed over all the ten non-nasalized vowels to indicate nasalization. The representation of the above ten vowels will be same except for this superscript that will indicate nasalized vowel. This will also be used in medial positions to indicate that the underlying vowel is nasalized. To represent the nasalization at the end of the word the Urdu grapheme /ں/ has been used. Following are given the ten nasalized vowels, obtained by placing the superscript /۴/ above ten vowels.
6.4 Arabic graphemes

Any script for Gurezi must be broad enough to have a provision for writing Islamic terminology, otherwise it won’t be acceptable to the people and a script without such provision may have socio-political repercussions. Any script for Gurezi must incorporate those Arabic graphemes which represent some sounds in Quran and Islamic literature and some Persian sounds, even though such sounds are beyond native competence and can be uttered only after proper training. However, in written form there must be graphemes for such sounds. This is true of Kashmiri as well. For example, the word for God in Arabic is Allah and in Persian it is Khuda. Both Gurezi and Kashmiri people use Allah as well as Khuda for God. Both the people pronounce it as /kʰuda/ replacing the original Persian velar fricative /x/ with the aspirated velar plosive /kʰ/ at the beginning of the word. However, in written form it is mandatory to use the Persian grapheme rather than the grapheme for the actual sound uttered by Gurezi or

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Close Front (short)</th>
<th>ī</th>
<th>أی</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Close Front (long)</td>
<td>īī</td>
<td>أَی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mid Front (short)</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>أَع</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mid Front (long)</td>
<td>ēē</td>
<td>أَع</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Central Open (short)</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>أَأ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Central Open (long)</td>
<td>āā</td>
<td>أَأ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Close Back (short)</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>أُأ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Close Back (long)</td>
<td>ūū</td>
<td>أُأ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mid Back (short)</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>أُأ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mid Back (long)</td>
<td>ōō</td>
<td>أُأ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kashmiri people. Using the spoken equivalent like /kʰ/ [کُ] in /kʰuda/ [کُد] in place of the original sound /x/ [خ] in [خدا] has the potential of hurting the sentiments of the communities.

Keeping in view the religious affiliations of the people, the following graphemes from Arabic shall be incorporated into Gurezi script:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Grapheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Velar fricative</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>خ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Labio-dental fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>ف</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Velarized alveolar fricative</td>
<td>sˠ</td>
<td>ص</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Velarized lateral</td>
<td>dˠ</td>
<td>ض</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Pharyngeal fricative</td>
<td>ʕ</td>
<td>ع</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Glottal plosive</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>غ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Uvular Plosive</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>ق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Velarized alveolar plosive</td>
<td>tˠ</td>
<td>ط</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Velarized dental fricative (voiced)</td>
<td>δˠ</td>
<td>ظ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Interdental voiceless fricative</td>
<td>ɵ</td>
<td>ث</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Dental voiced fricative</td>
<td>ɗ</td>
<td>ذ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Glottal plosive</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>ء</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5 Writing exercises

Following are presented some written Gurezi Shina words. The above graphemes have been used for writing these words. Difficulties may be faced when the script will be made public for writing purposes, which hopefully will be taken care of in future course of time. A keyboard compatible with the normal and modified Perso-Arabic graphemes needs to be developed for writing Shina.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Gurezi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>گھوڈا</td>
<td>أَشِبٍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walnut</td>
<td>اَﺧروتَ</td>
<td>أَجهو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud/rain</td>
<td>بادِل/بَارَش</td>
<td>أَیُجُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thin/lean/meagre</td>
<td>دُباَلا</td>
<td>أَشَتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>بِهالو</td>
<td>أَیِجه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tool/implement</td>
<td>دِهَیلے تَوْدِنیے والَا آَلَمُ</td>
<td>أَیِتهمُتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>air</td>
<td>بَوا</td>
<td>اَیِش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clod of earth/lump of clay</td>
<td>مَئِی کا دَهِیلا</td>
<td>أَیِتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stream/brook/rivulet</td>
<td>نَبر</td>
<td>اَیِل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spring</td>
<td>چُشْمَه</td>
<td>اَزُر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chimney</td>
<td>چُمنِی</td>
<td>اَکُم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>debt/loan</td>
<td>قرَضَ</td>
<td>اُوُش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lead off/to launch</td>
<td>آَغازُ</td>
<td>اُوُس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camel</td>
<td>اُونِتُ</td>
<td>اُوُنتَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleet/hailstorm</td>
<td>زَالَہ بَارِی</td>
<td>اُوُنِنُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>بَھیرُ</td>
<td>اَیِش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Gurezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>ایک</td>
<td>ایک</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>آجاؤ</td>
<td>اےْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second floor room</td>
<td>منزل كا کمره دوسری</td>
<td>ایش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wool thread</td>
<td>اون کا دھاگا</td>
<td>ایر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near</td>
<td>نزدیک</td>
<td>ایلےْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calf</td>
<td>بچھرا</td>
<td>بُژھو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boy</td>
<td>لڑکا</td>
<td>بال</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chimney</td>
<td>بُخاری</td>
<td>بُخار</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flower</td>
<td>پھول</td>
<td>پُشْ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple</td>
<td>سیب</td>
<td>پُلو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>بلی</td>
<td>پُشٍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>پیر</td>
<td>با</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>window</td>
<td>کھڑکی</td>
<td>تُرَی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gun</td>
<td>بندوق</td>
<td>تُمَک</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pendant</td>
<td>لتُکن</td>
<td>تُمر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grasshopper</td>
<td>گھاس کا تُدا</td>
<td>ٹوکر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Gurezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket</td>
<td>تُوکری</td>
<td>تُوکرِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomatoes</td>
<td>ثَمَانِر</td>
<td>ثَمَانِر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedada fruit</td>
<td>پُہاودَا</td>
<td>تُونگُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>سانِب</td>
<td>جُون</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>page</td>
<td>کاغذ</td>
<td>جُوش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meadow</td>
<td>گُهاس کا میدان</td>
<td>جُت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>دوائِ</td>
<td>جُبانتِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kidney</td>
<td>گُرِّده</td>
<td>جُوک</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wooden tub</td>
<td>لکُری کا تب</td>
<td>جُونٔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>square/rectangle</td>
<td>چار گُونِى</td>
<td>چَرکُتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>کھال</td>
<td>جوُم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>بچِ</td>
<td>جُنِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sparrow</td>
<td>جِرَیا</td>
<td>جُی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild chinar</td>
<td>جنگلِی چنار</td>
<td>جِین</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>traingle</td>
<td>تین گونِے والا</td>
<td>چیپِکتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oven opening</td>
<td>چوُلے کا اوپری</td>
<td>چھوُل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Gurezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild chinar</td>
<td>جنگلی چنار</td>
<td>چین</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>ثانگ</td>
<td>دوْنِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>دانت</td>
<td>دوْن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ox</td>
<td>بیل</td>
<td>دوْن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sieve</td>
<td>چھلنی</td>
<td>تلیج</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ladle/spoon</td>
<td>کرچھی</td>
<td>ڈور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round</td>
<td>گول</td>
<td>ڈور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td>پیٹ</td>
<td>دیر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musk</td>
<td>کستوری</td>
<td>رو٘ز</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fence</td>
<td>جنگلا</td>
<td>رِت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palanquin</td>
<td>پالکی</td>
<td>زاپان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild ox</td>
<td>جنگلی بیل</td>
<td>زوْئی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooking pot/cauldron</td>
<td>پتیلا</td>
<td>زنگس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earthen lamp</td>
<td>دِیا</td>
<td>زنگ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shalwar/pleated trousers</td>
<td>شلوار</td>
<td>زَلین</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moreover/in addition to</td>
<td>علاوه</td>
<td>زوْل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Gurezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mud</td>
<td>مَنِئَى</td>
<td>سُم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river</td>
<td>درِيَا</td>
<td>سين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>needle</td>
<td>سوِئى</td>
<td>سُو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>كَتَا</td>
<td>شُو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shackles</td>
<td>زنِجِير</td>
<td>شَگَالِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>غِئَا</td>
<td>شُوْتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stream</td>
<td>نَالَا</td>
<td>شَوْنْگ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bud</td>
<td>شِئْوَفْ</td>
<td>سُوْلُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>غِئَا</td>
<td>شُوْتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>كَان</td>
<td>كُوْن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pigeon</td>
<td>كَبُوَئْر</td>
<td>کُنِئْولِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crow</td>
<td>كَوا</td>
<td>کَا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>غِئْر</td>
<td>ڪوٕس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carrot</td>
<td>گَاٮجر</td>
<td>ڪَرٕر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tail</td>
<td>دُم</td>
<td>لُمّو</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt</td>
<td>نمک</td>
<td>لُوٕنٕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Gurezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fox</td>
<td>لومری</td>
<td>لوُری</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>مکھی</td>
<td>مَجِھی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>میندک</td>
<td>مَنْوک</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>چوبا</td>
<td>موجُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>ناک</td>
<td>نوْتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nails</td>
<td>ناخن</td>
<td>نورِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>نو</td>
<td>نْوُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>چاند</td>
<td>یونِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pottery</td>
<td>ظروف</td>
<td>بونُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sky</td>
<td>آسمان</td>
<td>انگائِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dagger</td>
<td>خنجر</td>
<td>کهنگر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>پانی</td>
<td>وویُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger ring</td>
<td>انجھوٹھی</td>
<td>وُجِ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pumpkin</td>
<td>کدو</td>
<td>هوسر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yak</td>
<td>باک</td>
<td>یَاک</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pair</td>
<td>جودا</td>
<td>یُتُ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Gurezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mill</td>
<td>چکی</td>
<td>پہشت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>ثانگ</td>
<td>پہائش</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bald</td>
<td>گنجا</td>
<td>پہت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wing</td>
<td>پر</td>
<td>پہنٹوال</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pillar</td>
<td>ستون</td>
<td>ٹھون</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heel</td>
<td>ایدیہ</td>
<td>ٹھر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fat/obese</td>
<td>موتا</td>
<td>نہل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>گیند</td>
<td>ٹھوک</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hillock/mound</td>
<td>ٹیلا</td>
<td>ٹھک</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kindling</td>
<td>بکری کا بچے</td>
<td>جھال</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>مچھلی</td>
<td>چھم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe</td>
<td>کلہادی</td>
<td>چھدل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>key</td>
<td>چابی</td>
<td>چھابی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pheran</td>
<td>فيرن</td>
<td>چھل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blender</td>
<td>بلینٹر</td>
<td>چھبر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>queue</td>
<td>قطر</td>
<td>زہیر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Gurezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to milk</td>
<td>دودھ دھونا</td>
<td>زَھَر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lid</td>
<td>دُھٽٽٽن</td>
<td>کِھتٽ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cap</td>
<td>توپٽٽی</td>
<td>کِھوٽی</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pea</td>
<td>متُر</td>
<td>کُھٽٽک</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


