



A Sketch of Pahari Grammar

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to present a short sketch of the basic grammatical features of Pahari, a hitherto undocumented South Asian language. The analysis presented in this study is based on the data collected from Pahari speakers between 2013-2016. The data consists of word lists and recorded texts which were recorded and transcribed from ten Pahari speakers. This work has established that Pahari has distinctive grammatical properties. Pahari has both inflected and uninflected words. Pahari distinguishes two genders and two numbers. It uses suffixes on verbal and nominal categories to provide information about tense gender, and number. Pahari personal pronouns do not inflect for gender rather gender is marked on verb. It marks a distinction between personal pronouns in degree of respect / familiarity in the 2nd person pronoun, and for distance from the speaker in the 3rd person pronoun. The pronouns are marked for the case in the same way as Pahari nouns. When the pronouns are not followed by a postposition and they function as the subject of a verb, they take direct or nominative case, and they are marked with oblique case when they are followed by a postposition. The study further identified adjectives in Pahari agree with the nouns they modify in gender and number.

Keywords: Pahari, Grammar, Inflected, Non-inflected, Gender, Number

Introduction

Pahari is an unwritten Indo Aryan language spoken along the Pir Panchal range of mountains in Jammu & Kashmir. It is spoken in the Azad State of Jammu & Kashmir (henceforth AJ&K), Pakistan, in the northern areas of Pakistan (Pothwari), especially in the Murree and Hazara districts as well as in the hilly areas of Nepal, Himalaya region, a northern Indian province Himachal Pradesh, and in the Indian controlled Kashmir (Grierson (1917). Estimates of the number of Pahari speakers in AJ&K vary depending on the source. The 1998 census report states that there are 2.973 million Pahari speakers in the state of AJ&K which is estimated to have risen to around 4.059 million by the year

2011 (Sarwar, 2014). The following section covers a detail description of the morphology of noun, pronouns and adjectives, verbs and adverbs in Pahari.

1.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Pahari nouns can be classified by the morphosyntactic categories like number, gender and case. Nouns in Pahari, like in many South Asian languages inflect for gender, number and case. Pahari distinguishes two genders (masculine, feminine), two numbers (singular and plural), and seven morphologically distinct cases. The nouns in Pahari usually inflect by the addition of suffix or sometimes there can be some internal phonological change. The following sections will discuss the morphological attributes of Pahari nouns.

1.1.1 Gender Marking in Pahari

Pahari nouns can be subcategorized into two genders, masculine and feminine. The data for this study does not exhibit a single example of three-gender system were found though it is a common feature of the old Indo Arya languages and it is still present in some Western New Indo Aryan Languages (Masica 1991). Pahari follows semantics and morphological rules for gender categorization. Some morphological as well as semantic clues, by which gender in Pahari can be distinguished, are discussed in the following section.

1.1.1.1 Semantic Gender Assignment

In some languages the meanings of nouns are sufficient to determine their gender. Corbett (1991) refers this phenomenon as semantic gender assignment. This type of gender assignment is found in Kannada (Sridhar 1990), Mithili (Yadav, 1996), Turwali (Lunsford, 2001), Hindi (Koul, 2008), Palula (Liljegren, 2008). Following other Indo-Aryan languages the semantic notion of sex and animacy play a significant role in gender assignment in Pahari. In Pahari the gender assignment to the animate nouns is based on natural gender. Pahari gender assigning system is reliant on natural gender. Specifically, animate nouns are assigned gender according to their natural gender. Data in the following table illustrates:

Table 1: Nouns marked with semantic gender

Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
pr:la:	male aunt	pr:li:	female aunt
kwɔʈur	pidgin	kwɔʈri:	female pidgin
kukɔʈ	cock	kukɔʈri:	hen
ko:ɾa:	horse	ko:ɾi:	mare
ka:ka:	baby boy	ka:ki:	baby girl

The nouns in column one are all biologically masculine, so grammatically their gender is also masculine. The same is true for the inherently feminine nouns in column two.

Gender assignment in Pahari inanimate nouns is related to the size of the referents. This phenomenon is confined to only inanimate nouns ending with /a:/ and /i:/. The /a:/ ending inanimate nouns generally represent large objects and they are treated as masculine, while their smaller counterparts ending in diminutive suffix /i: denote feminine gender. Consider the data in the following table:

Table 2: Gender assignment in inanimate nouns

Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
baksɑ:	big box	baksi:	small box
ɑ:ra:	big saw	ɑ:ri:	small saw
gi:ta:	big pebbal	gi:ti:	small pebble
k ^h ɑ:ra:	big basket	k ^h ɑ:ri:	small basket

The nouns in column 1 refer to large entities and they are masculine while in column 2, their smaller counterparts are treated as feminine. The literal meaning of diminutive feminine is basically small size. It can be seen that diminutive forms are derived by replacing masculine ending /ɑ:/ with feminine ending /i:/.

1.1.1.2 Overt Gender Marking in Pahari

The relationship between phonology and gender marking is very common in the Indo Aryan Languages (Masica 1991). Pahari being an Indo Aryan language shows a similarity to its sister languages. A large set of the Pahari nouns can be categorised either as feminine or masculine by looking at their ending sounds. Very often the nouns ending in /ɑ:/ are masculine and words ending in /i:/ are feminine. These two groups of nouns are morphologically interrelated. The /ɑ:/ ending masculine nouns regularly form their feminine counterparts by replacing /ɑ:/ with /i:/ in corresponding feminine nouns. Most of such nouns refer to kinship relations or animals.

Table .3: Nouns with overt gender marking

Masculine	Gloss	Feminine	Gloss
po:trɑ:	son's son	po:tri:	son's daughter
pā:ja:	sister's son	pā:ji:	sister's daughter
sɑ:lɑ:	wife's brother	sɑ:li:	wife's sister
k ^h o:ta:	donkey	k ^h o:ti:	female donkey
kɑtɑ:	calf	kɑti:	female calf

Although this derivation of diminutives is parallel to the masculine singular pairs in table 1 yet there is difference between these two sets of data. The pairs of the nouns in the above table have the pure masculine feminine relation but in table 2 diminutive feminine nouns are not the feminine counterparts of the masculine instead the feminine gender is used to indicate smallness of the object.

Though most of the nouns in Pahari can be distinguished as masculine and feminine by following /ɑ:/ ending nouns as masculine and /i:/ ending nouns as feminine rule, yet this rule is not consistent and shows some exceptions. Since there are some masculine nouns having endings identical to the feminine nouns' endings and some feminine nouns have endings identical to the masculine nouns' endings. For example, the words like tʃɑ: 'tea', ma 'mother', sla: 'opinion' ra: 'path' are feminine nouns, even though these nouns end with the masculine marker /ɑ:/. Similarly, some masculine nouns like mo:tʃi: 'shoe maker' and tɛ:li: 'oil smith', sāgi: 'friend' end in /i:/ which often marks feminine nouns. However the deviations do not exist in large numbers.

In addition to the above mention rules, there are also some nouns used for animals that have one grammatical gender, but are used to refer to both the genders; for example, sɑ:to:la: meaning either a male or female 'lizard'. Similarly tʃu:wɑ: 'mouse', which is masculine, but can refer to either female or male. Both tʃu:wɑ: and sɑ:to:la: have their feminine counterparts as well that are used when gender distinction is required.

1.1.2 Pluralisation

Pahari nouns also inflect for numbers. Number can be either singular or plural. The plural forms of nouns in Pahari can be determined by the gender of those nouns to a greater extent. Plural is formed depending on the gender and ending of the noun. It has been discussed above that the /i:/ and /a:/ are the major gender markers for feminine and masculine respectively. Masculine nouns ending with /a:/ take the plural marker /e:/ while the feminine nouns that end in /i:/, replace their final vowel with /iã/ to form their plurals counterparts. The data in the following table demonstrates the plural marking in Pahari:

Table 5: Plural marking on nouns

Masculine	Gloss	Masculine Plural	feminine singular	Gloss	Feminine Plural
kʌɽo:la:	Pumpkin	kʌɽo:le:	ɖʌɽa:ti:	sickle	ɖʌɽa:tiã
ɦɪɳɖwa:na:	water million	ɦɳɖwa:ne:	ɖʌvəri:	window	ɖʌva:rĩã
tʃɪpra:	head dress	tʃʰɪpre:	bɑ:ri:	broom	barĩã
pʊrkʰa:	Abaya	pʊrkʰe:	kʌkɽi:	cucumber	kʌkɽĩã

This is the most productive process of plural formation in Pahari. A large number of nouns follow this process however; a small number of nouns show the deviation from this pattern. Nouns like da: ‘cheat’, pra: ‘brother’ and ka: ‘grass’ are all masculine ending with a: but these nouns do not undergo any change for plural formation. Their plural forms remain the same. Number agreement provides the most convenient way to identify the number of these nouns. The following example illustrates this phenomenon:

1. a. tʃwa:ɽa: pra: kʰã: ɖa:
 your brother.NOM.M.SG where be.PRES.M.SG
 ‘Where is your brother?’
- b. tʃwa:ɽe: pra: kʰã: ɖe:
 your brother.NOM.M.PL where be.PRES.M.PL
 ‘Where are your brothers?’

In 1(a) pra: agrees with the verb /ɖa:/ ‘is’ that is singular and in (1b) it agrees with the plural verb /ɖe/ ‘are’. This agreement shows that the noun /pra:/ in (1a) is singular while it is used as plural in (1b). Only /a:/ ending masculine nouns are affected by the regular pluralisation of masculine nouns i.e by replacing /a:/ with /e:/. All other masculine nouns, that end in a consonant or a vowel other than /a:/ remains unchanged. This phenomenon can be seen in the following table:

Table 6: Invariable nouns in terms of number

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss

nã:	Nail	nã:	nails
nʌk	Nose	nʌk	noses
ḍʌnd	Tooth	ḍʌnd	Teeth
piṭ	Door	piṭ	Doors
ku:ɽ	Lie	ku:ɽ	Lies
k ^h ʊr	Hoof	k ^h ʊr	Hooves

The above given masculine nouns, remain unchanged in their plural forms. This is due to the fact that /nã:/ 'nail' does not end in /a:/ and the other nouns have no vowel ending. An interesting fact about these nouns is that they show singular plural distinction when they are followed by a postposition.

- 2 a. miṣṭrie: piṭ rēgi: ʃo:ɽiɑ
carpenter. ERG.M.SG. door.NOM.M.SG. colour. leave.PERF.M.SG
'The carpenter has coloured the door.'
- b. miṣṭrie: piṭ rēgi: ʃo:ɽe:
carpenter.ERG.M.SG. door.NOM.M.PL colour. leave.PERF.M.PL
'The carpenter has painted the door.'
- c. miṣṭri: piṭe ki: rēg la:na:
carpenter. ERG.M.SG door.ACC.M.SG colour. attach.IMPF..M.SG
'The carpenter is painting the door.'
- d. miṣṭri: piṭē: ki: rēg la:na:
carpenter. M.SG.ERG. door.M.PL.ACC. colour. attach. IMPF.M.SG.
'The carpenter is painting the doors.'

The noun /piṭ/ 'door' in (2a) and (3b) is in nominative case, so the same form of the noun /piṭ/ functions as singular in (2a) and plural in (2b). Whereas in 2(c) and (2d) /piṭ/ is followed by accusative postposition /ki/. In (2c) the /piṭ/ inflects on the pattern of singular noun inflection for oblique case while in (2d) it inflects like a plural noun.

Majority of feminine nouns ending in vowel /i:/ in the data form their plurals by replacing final vowel /i:/ with /iã/, yet the feminine nouns ending in vowel /a:/ or consonants do not conform this pattern. These feminine nouns take /ĩ:/ as plural marker. The list of these nouns is given below:

Table 7: Number marking on feminine nouns ending with /a:/ and consonants

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
ba:	fountain	baĩ:	fountains
hʌwa:	air	hʌwaĩ:	Airs
mēḍʒ	buffalo	mēḍʒĩ:	Buffalos
a:k ^h	eye	a:k ^h ĩ:	Eyes

Apart from the general plural formation rule related to gender, Pahari plurals are also formed by vowel change. The plurals of bisyllabic masculine nouns that end with consonant are formed by the modification of vowel in the second syllable. The following table illustrates the patterns:

Table 8: Nouns pluralized through vowel modification

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
kukur	cock	kukar	cocks
putur	son	putar	Sons
plur	stone	plur	stones
dāgur	animal	dāgar	animals
sutar	thread	sutar	threads
fu:ghul	fun/joke	fu:gal	fun/ jokes

It is interesting to note that all singular masculine nouns have back vowel /u/ as the peak in their second syllable that is replaced by /ʌ/ in their plural counterparts. Therefore, a broader generalization can be made that two syllabic masculine nouns that end with a consonant /l/ and /r/ having u as the peak in the second syllable, form their plural counterpart by replacing vowel /u/ with /ʌ/, in their second syllable.

1.4 PRONOUNS

Seven classes of pronouns have been identified from the Pahari data. The following section discusses different types of pronouns and their inflection.

1.4.1. Personal Pronouns

In Pahari, there are two personal pronouns for first person, two for second person, and two for third person. Pahari marks a distinction between personal pronouns in degree of respect / familiarity in the 2nd person pronoun, and for distance from the speaker in the 3rd person pronoun. Pahari personal pronouns do not inflect for gender rather gender is marked on verb. Pahari does not exhibit specific pronouns for the third person. Instead the demonstrative pronouns /e/ /o:/ are used for third persons. This feature of Pahari is corresponding to many closely related languages such as Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi.

The following section will discuss and illustrate the nature of Pahari Personal pronouns:

Table 11: Personal pronouns

Pronouns		Masculine	Feminine
1st Person Singular		mē:	mē:
1st Person Plural		ʌs	ʌs
2nd Person Singular		tū:	tū:
2nd Person Plural		tus	tus
3rd Person Singular	Prox.	e	e
	Dis.	o:	o:
3rd Person Plural	Prox.	e	e
	Dis.	o:	o:

As the table demonstrates that unlike their English equivalents, Pahari pronouns do not carry gender information. The same pronoun is used for masculine and feminine. For first and second persons the singular and plural numbers are distinguished, but the singular and plural forms of the third person are identical. The number distinction is maintained in marking on the verb. The third person personal pronoun has two forms; /e/ and /o:/ for proximity. The near form /e/ is used to refer a person or a

thing that is within the vicinity of the speaker, whereas the far form /o:/ is used for referring to a person or thing that is away from the speaker or that is not present. These pronouns do not distinguish gender and number and can mean him, her, it, them, this, or that. It is the verb that determines for which these pronouns stand for in a particular context.

Second person singular is used to address to a single person, subordinates, close friends and the addressee younger than the addresser. Additionally, the second person singular is used to address even the elder persons in abusive language. Second person plural is normally used while addressing more than one person but as Pahari exhibits no honorific pronouns, the second person plural is also used when addressing the persons high in rank, the strangers and elder persons, in order to show respect. When a plural pronoun is used for a singular referent, the verb is likewise marked in the plural.

3. a. $\text{t}\ddot{u}$: $\text{k}\ddot{i}\text{t}\ddot{a}\text{v}$ $\text{p}\ddot{a}\text{r}\text{s}\ddot{e}$:
 you.SG. book.NOM.SG.F. read.SG.FUT
 ‘Will you read a/the book?’
- b. $\text{l}\ddot{a}\text{l}\ddot{a}$ $\text{t}\ddot{u}\text{s}$ $\text{k}\ddot{i}\text{t}\ddot{a}\text{v}$ $\text{p}\ddot{a}\text{r}\text{s}\ddot{a}$:
 brother you.PL. book.NOM.SG.F. read.FUT.PL.
 ‘Brother will you (SG.hon.) read a/the book?’
- c. * $\text{t}\ddot{u}\text{s}$ $\text{k}\ddot{i}\text{t}\ddot{a}\text{v}$ $\text{p}\ddot{a}\text{r}\text{s}\ddot{e}$:
 you.PL. book.NOM.SG.F. read.FUT. SG.
 ‘Will you (SG. hon.) read a/the book?’

In (3b) the second person plural pronoun $\text{t}\ddot{u}\text{s}$ ‘you’ is used as an honorifics to address the elder brother. The verb $\text{p}\ddot{a}\text{r}\text{s}\ddot{a}$: ‘read’ agrees with the pronoun $\text{t}\ddot{u}\text{s}$ ‘you’ in number. The singular marking on the verb with plural honorific pronoun in (3c) results in the ungrammaticality of the sentence.

Along with the second person pronoun, the third person also has two degrees of familiarity. Although the distinction is not similar to those of the second person, but it is noted that when the person referred to is a stranger, elder in age or higher in profession, it is quite impolite to refer to him or her with a singular form. Since the pronoun /e/ ‘this’ and /o:/ ‘that’ do not specify number, the plural form of verb is used to show respect.

1.4.1.1 Case Marking on Personal Pronouns

The pronouns are marked for the case in the same way as Pahari nouns. When the pronouns are not followed by a postposition and they function as the subject of a verb, they take direct or nominative case, and they are marked with oblique case when they are followed by a postposition. The 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular pronouns retain their direct case forms in ergative case. Case marking on pronouns in Pahari has been illustrated in the following table:

Table 12: Case marking on personal pronouns

Case	1 st Person Singular	1 st Person Plural	2 nd Person Singular	2 nd Person Plural	3 rd Person Singular	3 rd Person Plural

Nom. (M)	mē:	Δs	tū:	tus	e, o:,	e, o:
(F)	mē:	Δs	tū:	tus	e, o:,	e, o:
Erg. (M)	mē:	Δsē:	tū:	tusē:	es, us	enē: , unē:
(F)	mē:	Δsē:	tū:	tusē:	es, us	enē: , unē:
Acc. (M)	mē:-ki:	Δsē:-ki:	tū:-ki:	tusē:-ki:	es-ki/ us-ki:	enē:/ unē:-ki:
(F)	mē:-ki:	Δsē:-ki:	tū:-ki:	tusē:-ki:	es-ki/ us-ki:	enē:/ unē:-ki:
Dat. (M)	mē:-ki:	Δsē:-ki:	tū:-ki:	tusē:-ki:	es/oski:-ki:	enē: /unē:-ki:
(F)	mē:-ki:	Δsē:-ki:	tū:-ki:	tusē:-ki:	es/oski:-ki:	enē: /unē:-ki:
Gen. (M)	mΔrɑ:/	Δsē:-nā:	tʷΔrɑ:	tusē:-nā:	es/us-nā:	enē:/unē:-nā:
(F)	mΔri:	Δsē:-nī:	tʷΔri:	tusē:-nī:	es/us-nī:	enē: /unē:-nī:
(M)	mΔre/	Δsē:-ne	tʷΔre	tusē:-ne	es/us -ne	enē: /unē:-ne
(F)	mΔriā	Δsē:-niā	tʷΔriā	tusē:-niā	es/us -niā	enē:/unē:-niā

The pronouns do not inflect for gender. The same form is used for masculine and feminine except in genitive case. The genitive forms of first person singular and second person singular pronouns as shown in the table inflect for number and gender to indicate agreement with the object. In accusative, dative and genitive cases, the pronouns take the same case markers that are used to mark the nouns. In other cases the oblique forms of pronouns are formed differently.

The sister languages of Pahari, Hindi and Urdu, have a highly vigorous system of ergative marking as any agent of transitive clause in perfective aspect, whether pronominal or nominal, must be ergative marked. Pahari differs from its sister languages in that the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular pronouns do not take ergative postposition while their plural counterparts are marked with ergative postpositions.

1.4.2 Demonstrative pronouns

There are two demonstrative pronouns in Pahari. Each of them is used according to the distance between the address and the referent. The proximate demonstrative pronoun /e/ 'this, these' is used to refer to the object or person which is within sight and near whereas the distal demonstrative pronoun /o:/ 'that, those' refers to the object or person which is either far and in sight or which is out of sight. Demonstrative pronouns do not inflect for number and gender but they do inflect for case. The demonstrative pronouns are listed in the table 13 and they are illustrated in example (4) below:

Table 13: Demonstrative pronouns

Case	Proximal Singular M/F	Proximal Plural M/F	Distal Singular M/F	Distal Plural M/F
Nom.	e	E	O:	O:

Erg.	es	enē:	us	enē:
Acc.	es-ki:	enē:-ki:	us-ki:	unē:-ki:
Dat.	es-ki:	enē:-ki:	us-ki:	unē:-ki:
Gen. M	es-nā:	enē:-nā:	us-nā:	unē:-nā:
F	es-nī:	enē:-nī:	us-nī:	unē:-nī:
M.PL	es-nē:	enē:-nē:	us-nē:	unē:-nē:
F.PL	es-niā	enē- niā	us-niā	unē:-niā

4. a. e dʒrɑ:v ko:si: ɖi:
this sock.NOM.SG.F. warm.NOM.SG.F. be.PRES.F.SG.
‘This sock is warm’
- b. e dʒrɑ:və̃ ko:siā ɖiā
this sock.NOM.F.PL. warm.NOM.PL.F. be.PRES.F.PL.
‘These socks are warm’
- c. o: kus-nā: ɪ^hɾɑ: ɖɑ:
that whose.M.SG. alf.NOM.M.SG. be.PRES.M.SG.
‘Whose calf is that?’
- d. o: kus-nē: be^hɾe ɖe
that whose calf.NOM.M.PL. be.PRES.M.PL.
‘Whose calves are those?’

The example illustrates that the demonstrative pronouns do not inflect for number and gender. The same form is used for all singular plural and masculine feminine. It has already been mentioned above that there are no third person pronouns in Pahari. Instead Pahari demonstrative pronouns are used to indicate the third persons.

2.4.3 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are words like ‘what, who, where, when’ etc. that are used to inquire about something (Schachter & Shopen 2007). Three interrogative pronouns have been identified from Pahari data. All the Pahari interrogative pronouns begin with /k/. These pronouns, like in other languages, are used to ask questions about a person, place and time. For example, kun ‘who’, ke^h ‘what’, keɾɑ: ‘which one’. These are similar to ‘Wh’ words in English i.e. what, which, who, whom etc.

Table 14: Interrogative pronouns

	NOM.	Gloss	DAT/ ACC Whom	GEN. Whose	INST.	
Personal SG	kun	Who	kus-ki:	kus-nā:	kus-saŋg	with whom

Personal PL	kun	Who	kunē:-ki:	kunē:-nā:	kunē:-sληg	with whom
Impersonal SG/PL	ke ^h	What	kis-ki:	kis-nā:	kis-sληg	with which
Duel SG .M.	keɾa:	Which	keɾe-ki:	keɾe-nā:	keɾe-sληg	with whom
Duel SG .F.	keɾi:	Which	keɾia-ki:	keɾia-nā:	keɾia-sληg	with whom
Duel.PL .M.	keɾeã	Which	keɾeã-ki:	keɾeã nā:	keɾiã-sληg	with whom
Duel PL .F.	keɾiã	Which	keɾiã: ki:	keɾiã: nā:	keɾiã:-sληg	with whom

Depending upon the class of referents, the interrogative pronouns can be divided into three types, personal, impersonal and duel. kun ‘who’ is used for human referents, it can be regarded as personal interrogative pronoun. ke^h ‘what’ is an impersonal interrogative pronoun as it refers to non-human referents. The third type of interrogative pronouns keɾa: ‘which one’ is used to indicate a particular entity from a group and its dual as its can be used for both human and nonhuman. The Interrogative pronouns kun and ke^h do not inflect for gender and number while the duel pronoun ‘keɾa: do inflect for gender and number. The following example illustrates the phenomenon:

5. a. keɾi: kɔɾi: ku:le-ɪʃ jɔl si:
 which.F.SG. girl.F.SG. school-LOC. go be.FUT.SG.
 ‘Which girl will go to the school?’
- b. keɾa: dzəgut sku:le-ɪʃ jɔl si:
 which.M.SG boy.M.SG. school-LOC. go be.FUT.SG.
 ‘Which boy will go to the school?’
- c. keɾiã kɔɾiã sku:le-ɪʃ jɔl sē:n
 which.F.PL. Girl.F.PL. school-LOC. go be.FUT.F.PL.
 ‘Which girls will go to the school?’
- d. keɾe: dzəgɒʃ sku:le-ɪʃ jɔl sē:n
 which.M.PL boy.M.PL. school-LOC. go be.FUT.M.PL.
 ‘Which boys will go to the school?’

Personal interrogative pronouns make a distinction between singular and plural. Consider the example:

6. a. kɒɾe kus-ki: ɖɪjā:
 clothes whom.SG give.SUBJN.1.M.SG.
 ‘To whom I may give clothes?’
- b. kɒɾe kune-ki: ɖɪjā:
 clothes whom.PL. give.SUBJN.1.M.SG.
 ‘To whom I may give clothes?’
- c. ʈū: kus-sληg gesē
 you with whom.SG. go.FUT.1.M.SG.
 ‘Whom will you go with?’
- d. ʈū: kune-sληg gesē
 you with whom.PL. go.FUT.1.M.SG.
 ‘Whom will you go with?’

The example justifies that the interrogative pronouns make a distinction between singular and plural only with the personal pronouns for ‘whom’, ‘whose’ and ‘with whom’. In (6a) the personal pronoun kus ki ‘whom’ is used to enquire about a single entity and in (6b) the pronoun kune ki ‘whom’ is used

to ask about a plural entity. Same is the case with (6c) where the personal pronoun *kus-saŋg* and *kune-saŋg* ‘with whom’ are used for singular and plural entities respectively.

1.4.4 Possessive Pronouns

According to Trask (1993) a possessive pronoun acts as the marker of possession that indicates a person who owns a particular person or object. Pahari has possessive pronouns for the first person singular, first person plural, and the second person singular. There are no possessive pronouns for second person plural and third person. The possessive pronouns for first person plural, second person plural and third persons in Pahari are morphologically indicated by the genitive postposition /*na:*/ following the personal pronouns in oblique form. The possessive pronouns for all the persons are given in the following table:

Table 15: Possessive pronouns

Person	Gender	SG.	PL.	Gloss
1 st person Singular	M	<i>maɽa:</i>	<i>maɽe</i>	my
	F	<i>maɽi:</i>	<i>maɽiã</i>	my
1 st person Plural	M	<i>saɽa:</i> <i>ʌsē:-nã:</i>	<i>saɽe</i> <i>ʌsē:-ne</i>	our
	F	<i>saɽi:</i> <i>ʌsē:-ni:</i>	<i>saɽiã</i> <i>ʌsē:-niã</i>	our
2 nd Person Singular	M	<i>ɽwaɽa:</i>	<i>ɽwaɽe</i>	yours
	F	<i>ɽwaɽi:</i>	<i>ɽwaɽiã</i>	yours
2 nd person Plural	M	<i>ɽusē:-naʔ</i>	<i>ɽusē:-ne</i>	yours
	F	<i>ɽusē:-naʔ</i>	<i>ɽusē:niã</i>	yours
3 rd Person Singular	M	<i>usnã:</i>	<i>usne:</i>	his/ her
	F	<i>usni:</i>	<i>usniã</i>	his/ her
3 rd Person Plural	M	<i>unē nã:</i>	<i>unē ne:</i>	their
	F	<i>unē ni:</i>	<i>unē iã</i>	Their

For the first person and second person plural the possessive function is carried out by the personal pronouns in the oblique case, followed by inflected forms of genitive postposition /*naʔ*/. Whereas, for the third persons, the demonstrative pronouns in their oblique case, followed by the genitive postposition /*naʔ*/ carry out this function. The postposition /*naʔ*/ agrees in gender, number, and case with the head noun. Consider the examples:

7. a. *kuɽia-naʔ* *kukuɽ* *maɽiɽia*
 girl.GEN.M.SG. cock.NOM.M.SG. died.PERF.M.SG.
 ‘The girl’s cock has died.’

- b. kʊɾiɑ-nĩ: kʊkɾi: mɑɾiɣɑi
 girl.GEN.F.SG. hen.NOM.F.SG. died.PERF.F.SG.
 'The girl's hen has died.'
- c. kʊɾiɑ-nē: kʊkɑɾ mɑɾiɣe
 girl.GEN.M.PL. cock.NOM.M.PL. died.PERF.M.PL.
 'The girl's cocks have died.'
- d. kʊɾiɑ-nĩã kʊkɾĩã mɑɾiɣɑijã
 girl.GEN.F.PL. hen.NOM. F.PL. died.PERF.F.PL.
 'The girl's hens have died.'

The above examples illustrate the inflection of genitive postposition /nɑ:/, for masculine singular, feminine singular, masculine plural, and feminine plural respectively.

1.4.5 Relative Pronouns

The only relative pronoun dʒɑɾɑ: functions with the meaning 'who, which, that' in Pahari. It represents someone or something to be defined in the same statement and inflects for person number and case. In addition to the singular and plural forms, the relative pronoun dʒɑɾɑ: has oblique forms dʒɪs for singular and dʒɪnē for plural before dative, accusative genitive and instrumental postposition /ki:/, /nɑ:/ and sɑŋg respectively. The oblique forms of the relative pronouns along with the case postpositions are as follows:

Table 16: Relative Pronouns

Case	Singular		Plural	
	M	F	M	F
NOM	dʒɑɾɑ:	dʒɑɾi:	dʒɑɾe	dʒɑɾĩã
DAT	dʒɪs ki:	dʒɪs ki:	dʒɪnē ki:	dʒɪnē ki:
ACC	dʒɪs ki:	dʒɪs ki:	dʒɪnē ki:	dʒɪnē ki:
GEN.	dʒɪs nã:	dʒɪs nĩ:	dʒɪnē nã:	dʒɪnē nĩ:
INST.	dʒɪs sɑŋg	dʒɪs sɑŋg	dʒɪnē sɑŋg	dʒɪnē sɑŋg

1.4.6 Reflexive pronouns

"Reflexive are the expressions which are prototypically used to indicate that a non-subject argument of a transitive predicate is co-referential with the subject" (Siemund & König, 2005). Following this definition of the reflexive pronouns, Pahari makes use of reflexive pronouns ʌpʊn and api with the meaning of 'him/ herself' and a compound reflexive pronoun ʌpne ɑ:pe 'himself, herself, itself'. The reflexive pronoun ʌpʊn and api has no inflected forms. It means that the possessor is identical with the subject of the sentence. Pahari reflexive pronouns do not show number and gender distinction. The reflexive pronoun /ʌpneɑ:pe/ is always followed by the relative case marker. The use of reflexive pronouns is illustrated below:

8. a. o: ʌpne ɑ:pe kɪ kʊĩã Kæp si:
 he. NOM.M.SG. i himself ACC. how cut. be. FUT.SG.
 'How will he cut himself?'
- b. o: ʌpne ɑ:pe sɑŋg ɡɑĩã: bãni:
 she. NOM. F.SG. herself. INST. talk.F.PL. say. IMPF. F.SG.
 'She is talking to herself.'

Sometime /ʌpne/ is dropped from the compound pronouns /ʌpne ɑ:pe/ by the native speakers. The deletion of /ʌpne/ does not influence the meanings of the utterance. It is important to mention that

the form $\alpha:p\ddot{u}$ and $\alpha:pi:$ are interchangeable, as they can be used alternatively without any semantic difference.

9. a. λbe $\alpha:p\ddot{u}$ $k\lambda p\ddot{r}e$ $\text{t}\ddot{o}:\text{t}\ddot{e}:$
 father.M.SG. himself clothes.M.PL. wash.PST.M.PL.
 'The father himself washed the clothes.'
- b. λbe $\alpha:pi:$ $k\lambda p\ddot{r}e$ $\text{t}\ddot{o}:\text{t}\ddot{e}:$
 father.M.SG. himself clothes.M.PL. wash.PST.M.PL.
 'Father himself washed the clothes.'

1.4.7 Indefinite Pronouns

The function of indefinite pronouns is to express indefinite reference (Haspelmath, 1997). There are two indefinite pronouns in Pahari / $k\ddot{o}i$ /'someone, somebody' and / $ki:$ /'something'. Indefinite pronouns change forms with case except in dative and accusative case. Oblique case forms of indefinite pronouns are given in the table.17:

Table 17: Indefinite pronouns

Pronoun	NOM	DAT	ACC	GEN.	INST.	LOC.
$k\ddot{o}i$	$k\ddot{o}i$	$k\ddot{u}se: ki:$	$k\ddot{u}se: ki:$	$k\ddot{u}se:n\ddot{a}:$	$k\ddot{u}se$ $s\lambda\eta g$	$k\ddot{u}se:\text{t}\ddot{s}$
$ki:$	$ki:$	$k\ddot{i}se: ki:$	$k\ddot{i}se: ki:$	$k\ddot{i}se: n\ddot{a}:$	$k\ddot{i}se$ $s\lambda\eta g$	$k\ddot{i}se:\text{t}\ddot{s}$

/ $k\ddot{o}i$ / is used to indicate human referents while / $ki:$ / is used to indicate nonhuman referents. / $k\ddot{o}i$ / and / $ki:$ / are two basic indefinite pronouns and the other indefinite pronouns are formed with the addition of different markers with these two basic forms. when / $k\ddot{o}i$ / and / $ki:$ / are used with empathetic particle / $vi:$ / they refer to 'anyone' and 'anything' respectively. Consider the following example:

10. a. $k\ddot{o}i vi:$ $k^h\alpha i$ $sakna:$
 anyone eat. can.M.SG
 'Anyone can eat.'
- b. $ki: vi:$ $k^h\alpha i$ $sakna:$
 anything eat can.M.SG.
 'Anything can eat.'

When we add the negative particle / $na i$ / with $k\ddot{o}i vi:$ and $ki:vi:$, thenegative indefinite pronouns no one and nothing are formed.

11. a. $k\ddot{o}i vi:$ $na i$ $k^h\alpha i$ $sakna:$
 anyone not eat can.M.SG
 'Nobody can eat.'
- b. $ki: vi:$ $na i$ $k^h\alpha i$ $sakna:$
 anything not eat can.M.SG
 'Nothing can eat.'

In addition to the above mentioned indefinite pronouns,, two other indefinite pronouns can be formed by adding relative pronoun $d\ddot{z}\alpha ra:$ with marker / $vi:$ / and / $ki:$ /. The pronoun $d\ddot{z}\alpha ra:vi:$ refers to 'whoever' and $jera ki:$ is used to refer 'whatever'.

12. a. dʒɑrɑ: vɪ ɑ:ʃne tʃɑ:nɑ: ɑ:ʃ^he
 whoever.M.SG come want.M.SG Come
 'Whoever wants to come, he may come.'
- b. dʒɑrɑ: kɪ lɒbɑ: mē: tʃʊsē: tʃe ðɑ: ʃɑ: ðɑ:
 whatever got I.1.SG. you.2.PL. 'or bring.PST.M.SG.
 'Whatever I got, I brought it for you.'

2.4.8 Reduplicated Pronouns

Another interesting feature noted about Pahari pronouns is that some of the pronouns have their reduplicated counter parts. These reduplicated pronouns convey the meanings of plurality. They are used to indicate a group of entities. The examples of reduplicated pronouns are given in the following table:

Table 18: Reduplicated pronouns

Single Pronoun	Gloss	Reduplicated Pronoun	Gloss
ke ^h	What	ke ^h ke ^h	which things
kun	Who	kun kun	which persons
kʊs	Whom	kʊs kʊs	Whom
kʌrɑ:	Which	kʌrɑ: kʌrɑ:	Which person or thing
dʒʌrɑ:	Who	dʒʌrɑ dʒʌrɑ	Who
dʒɪs	Whom	dʒɪs dʒɪs	Whom
dʒɪnē:	Whom	dʒɪnē: dʒɪnē:	Whom

1.5 ADJECTIVES

Traditionally adjectives are defined as the words that specify some property of the noun in a phrase. In many languages of the world such property concepts can be expressed either by nouns or verbs (Payne 1997). Pahari has a large class of adjectives which is distinguished from both verbs and nouns. There are two categories of adjectives found in the data set; one category of adjective shows gender number and case agreement with the noun it describes, and the second class of adjectives is invariable. Adjectives of this class do not show gender and number agreement.

1.5.1 Non-inflected Adjectives

In Pahari, adjectives agree with the nouns they modify in gender and number. However, there is a small set of adjectives which have a single form that does not inflect for number and gender. The same form of adjective is used to modify masculine and feminine nouns. The list of these adjectives is given in the following table:

Table 19: Non-inflected adjectives

Adjective	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss
ro:ʏi:	sad	bʌdʒʊr	unskilled

gala:vi:	pink	lɔfor	wanderer
mazvi:	religious	sa:rjɔl	jealous
ʃɔyli:	jolly	kʰa:dʊl	a person who eats too much
tʃekri:	cheater	ɖa:ndʊl	a person having large teeth
kʰa:li:	empty	ma:rʊl	Lean

13. a. o: ʃɔyli: ku:ri: ɖi:
she. NOM F.SG. jolly irl.NOM.F.SG. be. PRES.F.SG.
‘She is a jolly girl.’
- b. o: ʃɔyli: ku:riã ɖiã
she. NOM. F.PL. Jolly girl.F.NOM.PL be. PRES. F.PL.
‘They are jolly girls.’
- c. o: ʃɔyli: jãgut ɖa:
he. NOM. M.SG. jolly boy.NOM.M.SG. be. PRES.M.SG.
‘He is a jolly boy.’
- d. o: ʃɔyli: jãget ɖe:
‘hey.NOM.M.PL. jolly boy.M.SG. be. PRES.M.PL.
‘They are jolly boys.’

The above example simply explains the non-inflected nature of Pahari adjectives. The same form of adjective ʃɔyli: ‘jolly’ is modifying the nouns in all the four constructions. While the noun in (13a) is masculine singular, in (13b) feminine singular, in (13c) masculine plural and in (13d) feminine plural. The use of same form of adjectives with all the numbers and gender indicates that invariable adjectives in Pahari do not inflect for number and gender.

1.5.2 Inflected Adjectives

Inflected adjectives qualify nouns in terms of both gender and number, and have four endings, one each for masculine singular, masculine plural, feminine singular, and feminine plural. These adjectives share lots of features with nouns. Masculine singular adjectives end in /a:/. While the rest are formed through vowel modification. For the formation of feminine singular, /a:/ is replaced with /i:/ for masculine plural with /e/ and for feminine plural it is replaced with /iã/. A large majority of adjectives in Pahari are inflected adjectives. As the table illustrates the inflection of adjectives:

Table 20: Inflected adjectives

Masculine		Feminine		Gloss
SG.	PL.	SG.	PL.	
rãta:	rãte:	rãti:	rãtiã	red
mãɖa:	mãɖe:	mãɖi:	mãɖiã	ugly/bad
ku:ra:	ku:re:	ku:ri:	ku:riã	lair

1.5.3 Adjective derivation through suffixes

Apart from the regular inflected and uninflected adjectives as discussed in the above two sections, a great number of adjectives are derived by adding suffixes to nouns, verbs, and other adjectives. Three suffixes /ãa:/, /ãa:/ and /ɖɜia/ are used to derive adjectives from nouns, adjectives, verbs and pronouns.

1.5.3.1 Derivation of Adjectives from Nouns

A large number of adjectives are derived by suffixing /ɽɑ:/ and /ɽnɑ:/ with nouns and the derived adjectives are used in the sense of having something or being full of something. Both suffixes /ɽnɑ:/ and /ɽɑ:/ show gender agreement.

Table 21: Adjectives derived from nouns

Nouns	Gloss	Derived Adjectives	Gloss
mʊʃk	odour	mʊʃkɽnɑ:	smelly
ṭrek	dirt	ṭrekɽnɑ:	dirty
mɽɽʃi	chilli	mɽɽʃiɽɑ:	spicy
lu:n	salt	lu:ne ɽɑ:	salty
gɽɑ:	mud	gɽɽɽɑ:	muddy

In Pahari, another regular way to form an adjectival is to add a genitive marker /nɑ:/ with concrete nouns. The table contains the list of these adjectives:

Table 22: Adjectives derived from nouns with genitive marker /nɑ:/

Noun	Gloss	Derived Adjectives	Gloss
miti:	soil	mitiɑ nɑ:	made of soil
lo:wɑ:	iron	lo:we:nɑ:	made of iron
mek	maiz	maka:nɑ:	made of maize
kāk	corn	kāka nɑ:	made of corn
kɽʃ	glass	kɽʃe nɑ:	made of glass

In this context the meaning of the genitive is broader than just possession. The genitive noun modifies or restricts the meaning of the head noun and defines that there is a relation between the two nouns. The genitive marker added with the nouns agrees with the head noun in gender as shown in the following example:

- 14 a. us-ne kɽmre-ɽʃ lɽe-ni ɽɑ:vari: ɽi:
 he.GEN. room.LOC. ron.GEN.F.SG window.F.SG be.PRES.F.SG
 'There is an iron window in his room.'
- c. us-ne kɽmre-ɽʃ lɽe-nā pit ɽɑ:
 he.GEN. room.LOC. ron.GEN.M.SG door.M.SG be.PRES.M.SG
 'There is an iron door in his room.'
- d. us-ne kɽmre-ɽʃ lɽe-ne pit ɽe
 he.GEN. room.LOC. iron.GEN.M.PL door.M.PL be. PRES.M.PL
 'There are iron doors in his room.'

1.5.3.2 Adjectives Derived from Verbs

The suffix /nɑ:/ productively derives adjectives in Pahari. The verb root first inflects for past tense depending upon the ending. Then adjectives of quality are formed by suffixing /nɑ:/ to this inflected verb root. The data in the following table illustrates the derivation of adjectives from verb by the suffix /nɑ:/:

Table 23: Adjectives derived from verbs

Verbs	Gloss	Derived Adverbs				Gloss
		M.SG.	F.SG.	M.PL.	F.PL.	
kʌs	Rub	kʌsɪana:	kʌsɪni:	kʌsene:	kʌsɪnɪã	rubbed
tʰʌp	Fold	tʰʌpɪana:	tʰʌpɪni:	tʰʌpene:	tʰʌpɪnɪã	folded
pʌdʒ	break	pʌdʒɪana:	pʌdʒɪni:	pʌdʒene:	pʌdʒɪnɪã	broken
si:	stich	si:ʈa:na:	si: ʈa:ni:	si:ʈene:	si:ʈa:nɪã	stitched

It can be seen in the above data that the adjectives derived from verbs reveal an interesting morphological process. First the verb root is changed into past form and then the adjectives are derived by adding /na:/ with the past form of the verb. These derivational adjectives also inflect for number and gender on the pattern of other inflected adjectives.

1.5.3.3 Adjectives Derived from Adjectives and Pronouns

Another set of adjectives is derived by combining comparative marker dʒɪa ‘like’ with non-inflected adjectives and pronouns. The resulting adjectives have an ‘attenuative’ meaning like approximately, nearly, almost stated as “semantic weakening” (Newman 2000).

Table 24: Adjectives derived from adjectives and pronouns

Adjectives	Gloss	Derived Adjectives	Gloss
ka:la:	black	ka:la: dʒɪa	blackish
ʈɪta:	white	ʈɪta: dʒɪa	whitish
rʌʈa:	red	rʌʈa: dʒɪa	reddish
pi:la:	yellow	pi:la: dʒɪa	yellowish

When the suffix /dʒɪa/ is used with adjectives used for colour, it gives the meanings like the English suffix ‘-ish’ in words such as ‘reddish’, ‘yellowish’ ‘greyish’. And when it is used with other adjectives and pronouns, it expresses the attenuation meanings ‘not exactly’. See the example (15a) where rʌʈa: ‘red’ is combined with suffix dʒɪa results in the derived adjective rʌʈa:dʒɪa ‘reddish’ that has an extenuative meaning, expressing the level of the colour as almost red. And in (15b) ʈwʌʈe dʒɪa the compound form of pronoun ʈwʌʈe ‘your’ and /dʒɪa/ expresses the extenuative meanings ‘not exactly’.

1.5.3.4 Adjectives Derived through Compounding

Some of the Pahari adjectives are juxtaposed to form the compound adjectives that emphasize the meaning of the nouns. These compound adjectives consist of two adjectives having same meanings but they have the status of different words in terms of both morphology and phonology. For example, rʌʈa:su:rkʰ is a compound adjective that is formed by joining two adjectives rʌʈa: ‘red’ and su:rkʰ ‘red’. Both rʌʈa: and su:rkʰ have the same meaning ‘red’ and the resulted compound adjective rʌʈa:su:rkʰ convey the intensified meanings ‘bright red’. Consider the data in the following table:

Table 26: Adjectives derived through compounding

Adjectives	Singular	Plural	Gloss
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	M	F	M	F	
rʌʈa:+ su:rkʰ	rʌʈa: sʊrkʰ	rʌʈi: sʊrkʰ	rʌʈe: sʊrkʰ	rʌʈiã sʊrkʰ	bright red
ka:la:+ ʃa:	ka:la: ʃa:	ka:li: ʃa:	ka:le ʃa:	ka:liã ʃa:	too much black
tʃita:+ ʃife:d	tʃita: ʃife:d	tʃiti: ʃife:d	tʃite ʃife:d	tʃitiã ʃife:d	too mch white
pi:la:+ zʌrd	pi:la: zʌrd	pi:li: zʌrd	pi:le zʌrd	pi:liã zʌrd	too much yellow

1.5.3.5 Reduplicated Adjectives

Adjectives can generally be reduplicated and the outcome of the reduplication is to strengthen the meanings of base word (But & King, 2002). Reduplicated adjectives are simply formed by the repetition of base adjective and the reduplicated form is identical to the base. Almost all the descriptive adjectives are reduplicated to form the emphatic adjectives. Reduplication of adjectives explains degree of intensity. The use of reduplicated adjectives in Pahari is parallel to the use of intensifier very in English.

Table 27: Adjectives derived through reduplication

Adjectives	Gloss	Reduplicated Adjectives	Gloss
sun a:	beautiful	sona: suna:	very beautiful
rʌʈ a:	red	rʌʈ a: rʌʈ a:	very red
mõḍa:	ugly/bad	mõḍa: mõḍa:	very ugly/bad
so:ra:	narrow	so:ra: so:ra:	very narrow

The above given table contains the list of the examples of reduplicated adjectives. All the examples show the total replication of the base form in the reduplicated adjectives.

1.5.3.6 Degrees of Adjectives

Old Indo Aryan Languages exhibit the comparative forms of adjectives (Morgenstierne, 1974), but in modern Indo Aryan Languages the comparison is expressed periphrastically (Henrik, 2008). Pahari does not differ from the common Indo-Aryan model. Adjectives of comparison in Pahari also have no morphological formations rather syntactic devices are employed to mark comparative and superlative adjectives. In order to make a comparative construction, Pahari uses the comparative marker /kɔla:/ 'from' with the positive form of the adjective. See the examples for illustration:

16. a. mʌri: tʃa: twʌriʌ kɔla: mi:ei: ɖi:
 my.F.SG. tea.F.SG. your.F.SG. from sweet.F.SG. PRES. F.SG.
 'My tea is sweeter than yours.'
- b. e kʊri: ʊs kʊriʌ kɔla: suni: ɖi:
 this. girl.F.SG. that girl.F.SG. from beautiful. F.SG be.PRES.F.SG.

‘This girl is more beautiful than that girl.’

As it can be seen in the above example that comparative construction in Pahari is formed by suffixing the postposition to the noun or pronoun with which the comparison is made. In the similar fashion, in superlative constructions, the compound postposition /sariā ko:la:/ ‘than all’ is suffixed, with the noun against which the comparison is made.

Conclusion

This study has highlighted some distinctive grammatical properties in Pahari. It has been identified that the grammatical categories in Pahari have both inflected and uninflected forms. The language distinguishes two genders and two numbers. The grammatical information about tense gender, and number is provided by suffixes on verbal and nominal categories. Personal pronouns in this language do not inflect for gender rather gender is marked on verb. Pahari personal pronouns exhibit a distinction in degree of respect / familiarity in the 2nd person pronoun, and for distance from the speaker in the 3rd person pronoun. The pronouns are marked for the case in the same way as Pahari nouns. When the pronouns are not followed by a postposition and they function as the subject of a verb, they take direct or nominative case, and they are marked with oblique case when they are followed by a postposition. The study further identified adjectives in Pahari agree with the nouns they modify in gender and number.

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