

A descriptive study of Pahari verb morphology

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Received: December 11, 2021

Accepted: March 1, 2022

Published: March 20, 2022

Abstract

This work is an attempt to present a descriptive analysis of the morphosyntactic properties of Pahari verbs. The study identifies that the verbal forms in Pahari are regular and inflect for tense, mood, aspect, gender, and number. Majority of the verb roots in Pahari are intransitive. Transitive verbs in Pahari are formed from the Intransitive verb root through vowel modification and affixation. Causative verbs in Pahari can be derived through vowel modification and suffixation. Indirect causatives formation is a two-step process. First, the direct causatives are formed from the intransitive verbal root and then the indirect causative verbs are formed from these direct causative verbal roots simply by adding the suffix /a:/. Suffixation is the most common process for the derivation of direct causatives. The infinitive suffix /na:/ is added to a verb root to form infinitives in Pahari. Furthermore, Pahari verb morphology indicates the use of three participles: perfective, imperfective and conjunctive. These participles function either as adverbs or adjectives. Pahari Double verbs are formed by combining an inflected verb with a non-inflected verb while conjunct verbs consist of two words: an inflected verb with another word-either a noun or an adjective.

Keywords: Pahari, verb, descriptive linguistics, morpho-syntactic, causative, conjunct infinitive, participle, suffixation.

How to Cite:

Khalique, S., Bukhari, N. H., Jabeen, T., & Khwaja, A. (2022). A descriptive study of Pahari verb morphology. *Journal of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences (JHSMS)*, 3(1), 100-116. <https://doi.org/10.47264/idea.jhsms/3.1.8>

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1. Introduction

Pahari belongs to one of the sub-groups of Indo-Aryan subfamilies spoken in both India and Pakistan. Grierson (1917) glossed the term Pahari as the language of people who live on mountains. He used this term to classify the languages of the Himalayan and adjoining ranges that spread from Kashmir to East Nepal. Pahari is classified by Grierson (1917) with some other Indo-Aryan languages in a group called 'Lahnda'. He classifies Pahari languages into three main groups. The first group is the Western Pahari that is spoken in Shimla Hills and Western Kashmir. He called second group Eastern Pahari this includes only one language, Nepali and he named third group of Pahari the central Pahari languages that include languages like Garhwali and Kumaoni spoken in India.

Estimates of the number of Pahari speakers in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K), Pakistan varies 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 (Shakil, 2011). Pahari is also spoken by the immigrants to the UK from Pakistan held state of Azad Kashmir. In fact, Pahari being spoken by a large majority of the immigrant from Pahari speaking areas of Azad Kashmir is considered the largest South Asian language in UK. According to Lothers and Lothers (2013), no of Pahari speakers in UK is about 0.6 million. Adalat (2014) is of the view that 80% to 90% of immigrants from Pakistan are in fact of Kashmiri origin. According to him nearly all of the people immigrated to the to UK are from the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan, speak Pahari. This arguably makes Pahari the largest language in Britain after English.

Although the number of Pahari speaker constitutes millions it is one of the non-scheduled languages spoken in the state of AJ&K, Pakistan. Pahari does not have its own script. Shakil (2004) assert that Pahari was written in Sharda script which was developed by Buddhist monks. This script was given this name on the name of valley 'Sharda' a place situated in Neelum Valley, Muzaffarabad, AJ&K. According to Shakil (2004) Pahari was initially written in Landa script which is a form of Sharda which was invented by Buddhists.

This study tried to achieve the objectives: a) to explore the morphosyntactic properties of Pahari verb; and b) to highlight the process of non-finite verbs formation in Pahari. Moreover, in order to achieve the mentioned research objectives, the present study aims to answer the research questions: a) what are the morphosyntactic properties of Pahari verb? and b) what is the process to form the non-finite verbs in Pahari?

2. Literature review

Pahari is a lesser studied endangered language. Recently few studies have been conducted to document some of the aspects of the language. Among these studies, Ahmad (2002) presented a comparative study of English and Pahari. Niazi (2003) presented a phonological analysis of the Pahari language focusing on its sounds inventory. He reports that Pahari has 38 consonants and 22 vowels and there are no diphthongs in Pahari. Lothers and Lothers (2010) conducted a sociolinguistic survey of the Pahari and Pothwari language. Primarily two districts from Pakistan i.e., Rawalpindi and Abbottabad were considered in this survey while they included just three districts out of ten districts from AJ&K in their survey i.e., Muzaffarabad, Bagh, and Mirpur as they claim that it was difficult to obtain information about this area. So, the survey

by Lothers and Lothers (2010) cannot be considered a comprehensive survey of Pahari language spoken in AJ&K.

Khan and Bukhari (2011) worked on the phonological adaptation of English loan words in Pahari language. “Phonology of Pahari: Segmental and Supra Segmental Features” by Khan (2012) is a doctoral dissertation that gives a detail description of Pahari phonology. The primary contribution of this work lies in its documentation of phonemes in the language. He gives a basic overview of Pahari phonology as spoken in district Bagh and reports 30 consonants, 12 oral vowels, 4 nasal vowels and 6 diphthongs in Pahari. Khalique (2012) investigated the basic word order of Pahari and its clause structure in the theoretical framework ‘Minimalist Program’ by Chomsky. She claims that the unmarked word order in Pahari is SOV. According to her, apart from SOV word order, there can be different word orders in Pahari for different pragmatic functions.

A study on Pahari language shift 10 was conducted by Sarwar (2014). In his study, he has looked into the current status of Pahari language in and around the vicinity of Rwalakot in the district Poonch AJ&K. He asserts that there is a language shift in the use of younger generation of Pahari native speakers due to the subdued status compared to Urdu and English. According to Khalique (2018) Pahari shares many of the typological features of South-Asian languages. It is basically SOV word order language in which noun is followed by postposition, the noun as a head is preceded by pronominal adjective, the adverb always precedes the verb, and the main verb is followed by the auxiliary.

The review of the existing literature on language shows that no research has yet been conducted to investigate the verb morphology of Pahari. In order to fill this gap, the present study is an attempt to describe Pahari verb morphology.

3. Methodology

This study used a qualitative approach with the descriptive research design and is based on primary data obtained through field visit from the Pahari speakers living in district Sudhnoti AJ&K. The primary source of data for this work was consisted of audio recordings, from ten Pahari speakers, both male and female, ranging in age from thirty to about seventy. The bulk of the corpus was consisted of personal and traditional narratives, folklores and myths and a list of vocabulary. Though there is no doubt that naturally occurring speech proves to be the best data for any research, such data alone will not be enough for a comprehensive study. As such, the researcher had to rely on some elicitation tactics. The audio corpus was supplemented by field notes, and targeted elicitations were also conducted in order to fill in patterns and complete information. A judgment test was also conducted to verify the acceptability and the grammaticality of some constructions.

4. Analysis and discussion

4.1. Verb in Pahari

Lyons (1968) defines the verb as a part of speech that shows inflections for tense, mood, person, and number but not for case. According to Dixon (2010) cross linguistically verb is the words class that always includes words that denote actions. The verb in Pahari has four forms: an unmarked form or the root, and marked forms that are perfective, imperfective and

infinitive respectively. These forms of verb in Pahari are regular and inflect for tense, mood, aspect, gender and number. The root form can be either transitive or intransitive. The direct and indirect causatives and infinitives are formed from the root by suffixation. The following section discusses the inflectional and morphological properties of Pahari non-finite verbs.

4.2. The verb root in Pahari

Simple root is the part of verb, which remains when all elements indicating person and number have been discarded (Barjasteh, 2003). The form of the verb which may be termed as the root in Pahari is the imperative in the second person singular. Most verbal roots in Pahari are monosyllabic, but as the table-1 shows, other verb roots structures are also found in Pahari. A large majority of Pahari verb root has the monosyllabic CVC structure. The root verbs are listed together with their structures in table-1. The majority of verb roots are monosyllabic in the data. The most frequent structure is CVC followed by CV in the data. The Bisyllabic stems are not common in Pahari. They make up a small proportion of all verbs. Trisyllabic roots were not found in the corpus. The roots can also undergo a process called causativisation in which suffixes are added as part of the stem to increase the valency of the verb.

Table-1: Simple verb root

Verb Root	Structure	Meanings
ɑ:	V	come
la:	CV	wear/attach
tʃa:	CV	lift
pʌn	CVC	break
hɪn	CVC	buy
po:ɾ	CVC	catch
kʌdʒ	CVC	cover
tʃʌvɑ:	CVCV	conceal
tʃɪtʃla:	CVCCV	cry
tʌri:k	CVCVC	drag
sʊdʊr	CVCVC	be correct
ʊdʊr	VCVC	fly

4.3. Verb sub-classes

Verbs in a language can be divided into subclasses according to the number of arguments they require in a clause (Payne, 1997). The simple verb root in Pahari can be classified into three classes: transitive, ditransitive and intransitive.

4.3.1. Transitive verbs

A transitive verb states a relation between two participants in a construction such that one of the participants acts upon or towards the other. Strictly speaking, transitive verbs always appear in a transitive clause with at least two arguments. Out of these two arguments one functions as the subject and the other as the direct object (Payne, 1997). The objects of transitive verbs in Pahari generally play the semantic role of patient. It may be marked nominative or accusative depending on the context. In the perfective aspect, a transitive verb takes a nominative object and the subject is marked for ergative case. The verb in the clause agrees with its object.

1. a. kəie peɖ ko:əi:
man.ERG. M.SG. sheep. NOM.F.SG. slaughter. PST.F.SG.
'The man slaughtered the sheep.'
- b. kɔɽia ka: kaɽia
girl. ERG. F.SG. grass. NOM.M.SG. cut. PERF.M.SG.
'The girl cut the grass.'

In the imperfective aspect, both the subject and the object appear as nominative and the transitive verb agrees with the subject, as shown in example (2).

2. a. kəia kaɽɽi: tʃʰɪɭna:
man.NOM. M.SG. cucumber.NOM.F.SG. peel.IMP.M.SG.
'The man is peeling cucumber.'
- b. kɔɽi: ka: kaɽni:
girl.NOM.F.SG. grass.NOM.M.SG. cut.IMP.F.SG.
'The girl is cutting the grass.'

In the above example the verbs tʃʰɪɭna: 'peel' and kaɽni: 'cut' show the gender-number agreement with the nominative subjects kəia: 'man' and kɔɽi: 'girl' rather than the objects.

A. Transitive verb derivation

Pahari exhibits most of the intransitive verbal roots. A great number of transitive verbs are derived from the Intransitive verb root through vowel modification and affixation processes. In Pahari the monosyllabic verb roots ending in /l/, /r/, and /ɽ/ having /ʌ/ as peak are transitivised through the vowel gradation process. The mid short vowel /ʌ/ in the root is replaced with the low long vowel /a:/. Compare the verbal roots with the derived transitives in the table 2:

Table-2: Transitive verb derived through vowel modification

Intransitive Root	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
bʌl	be burn	ba:l	burn
gaɭ	be melt	ga:l	melt
kaɽ	be boil	ka:r	boil
maɽ	die	ma:r	beat/kill
paɭ	be bring up	pa:l	bring up

Another set of transitive verbs is derived from the intransitive roots by adding the suffix a: to the root. The simple verbal root *baɭ* in (3a), means 'make oneself' or 'become'. In example (3b) the transitive verb *baɭa:* that is derived from the root *baɭ*, means 'make someone or something' or 'create something'.

Table-3: Transitive verbs derived through suffixation

Intransitive Roots	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
sʊk	be dry	soka:	dry
pek	be cook	peka:	cook
baɭ	become	baɭa:	make

3. a. ʃʌŋga: bānda: bʌn
 good.M.SG. man.M.SG. become.
 ‘Be a good man.’
- b. mʌstre mē-ki ʃʌŋga: bānda: bʌnʃa:
 teacher-M.SG me-ACC good.M.SG man.M.SG Made
 ‘The teacher made me a good man.’

4.3.2. Intransitive verbs

Payne (1997) defines an intransitive verb as a verb that describes a property, situation or state involving only one participant. In Pahari, like other languages, the intransitive verb functions as the predicate of verbal clause with one argument that grammatically functions as the subject. In the perfective and imperfective aspects, the subject of an intransitive verb is never marked for agentive case rather intransitive verb displays a subject marked with absolutive case and the intransitive verb agrees with subject.

4. a. kʊtə: sʊtəne:
 dog. NOM.M.PL. sleep.IMP.M.PL.
 ‘The dogs are sleeping.’
- b. kʰʊtʌ: nʌsna:
 donkey.NOM.M.SG. run.IMP.M.SG.
 ‘The donkey is running.’

The sentences in (4a-b) contain intransitive verbs sʊtəne: ‘to sleep’ and nʌsna: ‘to run’. As intransitive verbs, they take one argument, kʊtə: ‘dogs’ and kʰʊtʌ: ‘donkey’ respectively.

4.3.3. Ditransitive verbs

Di-transitive verb takes a subject and two core arguments that are often termed as direct and indirect objects respectively (Dryer, 2007). Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000) call di-transitive verbs ‘extended transitive’ as a core argument is added to a transitive clause. Di-transitive clauses are common in Pahari due to the wide-range semantic functions carried out by the indirect object. Examples of di-transitive verbs in Pahari are given in example (5).

5. a. abe mē-ki Pese dɪtə
 father.ERG.M.SG. me.DAT. money.NOM. M.PL. give.PST.M.PL.
 ‘The father gave me money.’
- b. ammĩ: mʌndʒi:-ki: ka: baja:
 mother. ERG. buffalo.DAT.F.SG. money. M.SG. put. PERF.M.SG
 F.SG.
 ‘The mother gave grass to the buffalo.’

Sometimes, in di-transitive constructions the speakers drop one of the objects when the object is implicit from the context.

6. a. mē dʌka:ndʌre-ki: pese dɪtə
 I.ERG.SG. shopkeeper.DAT. money.NOM. give. PERF.M.PL.
 ‘I gave money to the shopkeeper.’

4.4. Causatives

Causativisation is the process through which the valency of a root verb can be increased (Comrie, 1985; Kachru, 2006). There are different ways in which causation is indicated in different languages. Pahari exhibits the phenomenon of derivational or morphological causatives with two subclasses; direct causative and indirect causative. Pahari indicates causation with the help of suffixation and vowel modification.

4.4.1. Direct causatives

Pahari employs different derivational processes to form direct causatives. Among the the most commonly used derivational process is suffixation.

A. Direct causative derived through suffixation

The root of a majority of the direct causative can be formed by adding the suffix /a:/ with intransitive verb root. When the causative suffix /a:/ is added to the intransitive root, the tone shifts to the second syllable in derived causative. For illustration consider the data in the shown in table-4.

Table-4: Direct causative derived through suffixation

Root	Gloss	Direct Causative	Gloss
bo:l	say	bo:la:	make x to say
budʒ	listen	budʒa:	make x to listen
hʌs	Laugh	hʌsa:	make x laugh
nʌs	Run	nʌsa:	make x to run

The direct causatives are usually formed from an inherently intransitive verb root as it can be observed in the above given data. An intransitive verb becomes transitive when the causative suffix is added to the root. Just like inherently transitive verbs, they also need two arguments. Examples of intransitive verbs and their causative counterparts, used in sentences, can be seen in table-7. Grammatically, the verb in (7a) is intransitive whereas the causative verb in (7b), behaves as transitive verb, with the causer *koʃa*: ‘dog’ in the role of subject, and the causee *bili*: ‘cat’ in the role of direct object.

7. a. dʒʌldi: nʌs
 quickly run
 ‘Run quickly.’
- b. koʃe biliʌ-ki: nʌsa:ya:
 dog.ERG. M.SG. cat.ACC.F.SG. run.CAUS.PST.
 ‘The dog made the cat to run.’

B. Direct causative derived through vowel modification

The derivation of some of the direct causative verbs involves the vowel alternation. The /l/ and /r/ ending monosyllabic intransitive verb roots having /ʊ/ as peak derive their causatives by replacing /ʊ/ with /o:/ in the derived causative root. Some examples are shown in table-5 below.

Table-5: Direct causative derived through vowel modification

Verb Root	Gloss	Direct Causative	Gloss
dzol	Go	dzo:l	cause x to go
tor	Move	to:r	cause x to move
moɾ	come back	mo:ɾ	cause x to come back

C. Direct causative derived from vowel final roots

The vowel final monosyllabic roots form their causative with the addition of suffix /va:l/ to the root. The use of the suffix /va:l/ results into the deletion of the stem final vowel in the derived causative root. The data given below refers to the direct causative formation from vowel final monosyllabic roots.

Table-6: Direct Causative derived from vowel final roots

Verb Root	Gloss	Direct Causative	Gloss
se ^h	Sleep	sva:l	cause x to sleep
na ^h :	take bath	nva:l	cause x to take bath
k ^h a:	Eat	k ^h va:l	cause x to eat

In verb roots ending in vowel /i:/ and /e/ , the suffix /ja:l/ is added to derive the first causal verbal roots. On adding suffix /ja:l/ the long vowel of *pi:* is shortened while in *be^h* the /h/ sound is deleted. This process of causative derivation is not so productive, just two examples were found in the data that are given in the table-7 below.

Table-7: Causative derived from roots ending in long vowel

Root	Gloss	Direct Causatives	Gloss
pi:	drink	pija:l	cause x to drink
be ^h :	Sit	be ^h ja:l	cause x to sit

4.4.2. Indirect causative

In Pahari, both transitive and intransitive verbs can be causativized. The indirect causatives are formed from intransitive verbal roots in two-steps. First the direct causatives are formed from the intransitive verbal root and then suffix /a:/ is added with these direct causative verbal roots to form indirect causative verbs. Majority of direct causative roots ending in consonants, form their indirect causative counterparts in this fashion. See the table-8 below.

Table-8: Indirect causatives derived from intransitive roots with suffix /a:/

Transitive Roots	Direct Causatives	Indirect Causatives	Gloss
tor	to:r	to:ra:	have someone to make x to move
moɾ	mo:ɾ	mo:ɾa:	have someone to make x to come back
se ^h	sva:l	sva:la:	have someone to make x to sleep
na ^h :	nva:l	nva:la:	have someone to make x to take bath
k ^h a:	k ^h va:l	k ^h vala:	have someone to make x to eat
pi:	pija:l	pija:la:	have someone to make x to drink
be ^h	bija:l	bija:la:	have someone to make x to sit

In order to causativize monosyllabic verb roots ending in /l/, /r/, /ʈ/ and /t/ having /a/ as peak, first these intransitive roots are transitivised by replacing mid short vowel /a/ in the root with the low long vowel a: These transitivized verbs then take causative suffix /a:/. Consequently, an indirect causative verb form is derived. Compare the verb roots with the derived causative in the below table-9.

Table-9: Indirect casuatives derived from intransitive through vowel modification

Verb Root	Gloss	Transitive	Indirect Causative	Gloss
pʌl	be bring up	pɑ:l	pɑ:la:	make someone to bring up x
bʌl	be burn	bɑ:l	bɑ:la:	make someone to burn x
gʌl	be melt	gɑ:l	gɑ:la:	make someone to melt x
kʌʈ	be boil	kɑ:ʈ	kɑ:ʈa:	make someone to boil x
tʃʌr	ascend	tʃɑ:r	tʃɑ:ra:	make someone to ascend x
sʌʈ	Burn	sɑ:ʈ	sɑ:ʈa:	make someone to burn x
mʌr	Die	mɑ:r	mɑ:ra:	make someone to kill/beat x

Some of the indirect causatives are derived from the direct causative verb roots ending in vowels by adding /va:/. See the data in the below table-10.

Table-10: Indirect causative derived through infixation

Direct Causative	Indirect Causatives	Gloss
k ^h la:	k ^h la:va:	have someone to cause x to stand
bʌna:	bʌna:va	have someone to make
soka:	soka:va:	have someone to make x dry
peka:	peka:va:	have someone to cause x to cook
ta:h	tahva:	have someone to cause x to fall
pi:	pi:va	have someone to cause x to grind

The derivation of indirect causative verbs from the inherently transitive verb roots is a straightforward process. The inherently transitive roots form only the indirect causatives with the addition of the suffix /a:/. Consider the data in the table-11 below where both the transitive and the indirect causatives forms are found, but not the direct causative.

Table-11: Indirect causatives derived from transitive roots

Transitive Roots	Gloss	Indirect Causatives	Gloss
kʊt	beat	kʊta:	make x to beat y
kʌp	cut	kʌpɑ:	cause x to cut y
hin	buy	hina:	cause x to buy y
po:ndʒ	clean	po:ndʒa:	cause x to clean y
pəʈ	catch	pəʈa:	cause x to catch y
k ^h ʌn	Dig	k ^h ʌna:	cause x to dig y
kʌs	Rub	kʌsa:	cause x to rub y

While a transitive clause has a subject and an object, their derived indirect causative counterparts introduce a new argument in the causer or the agent of the action. Examples of such indirect causatives are given in the following sentences.

8. a. $tʃa:tʃe$ $kʊkʃi:$ $ko:əi:$
 uncle.ERG. M.SG. hen. NOM.F.SG. slaughter. PST.F.SG.
 ‘The uncle slaughtered the hen.’
- b. $tʃa:tʃe$ $dʒʌŋtʃe$ $ko:la:$ $kʊkʃi:$ $ko:vai$
 uncle. boy.M.SG.INST. hen.NOM. slaughter.F.SG.CAUS.
 ERG.M.SG.
 ‘The uncle got the boy to slaughter the hen.’

The example shows the transitive perfective verb with direct object in (8a) and the causative verb with both direct object and the indirect object in (8b). In (8b), $tʃa:tʃa:$ ‘the uncle’ is the causer subject, $dʒʌŋtʃe$ ‘the boy’ is the causee and $kʊkʃi:$ ‘hen’ is the affected entity.

4.5. Complex verbs in Pahari

The main component of Pahari verb phrase is the root verb. Most of the verbs used in Pahari sentences are simple consisting of single word, but there are some verbs that need other words in the construction to represent a state of being or an activity. There are verbs that are composed of two words such as N+V, Adj+V and V1+V2. These classes of verbs are termed as ‘complex predicates’ in the literature. Complex predicates are defined as predicates that are comprised of more than one grammatical element; each of the elements contributes its part of the information related with a head (Sharma, 1982; Butt, 1995). The following section discusses the types of complex verbal constructions in Pahari.

4.5.1. Conjunct verbs

The main component of Pahari verb phrase is the root verb. Most of the verbs used in Pahari are simple consisting of single word, but Pahari also has complex verbs that consist of two words such as conjunct verbs and double verbs. An inflected verb is combined with a non-inflected verb to form Double verbs while conjunct verbs are composed of an inflected verb and another word-either an adjective or a noun. The conjunct verbal construction makes a verbal form out of a noun or an adjective. The verbs such as $karna:$ ‘to do’, $la:na:$ ‘to attach’, $ʌʃna:$ ‘to come’ $bāna:$ ‘to put/ to tell’, $lʌyna:$ ‘to attach’ are the most frequently used verbs in conjunct verbal constructions in Pahari. These verbs take all the verbal inflections. Conjunct verbs in Pahari have the following structure:

Noun/Adjective + Verb (Verbalizer)

Table-9: Conjunct verbs

Adj/Noun+verb	Derived Conjunct Verb	Gloss
$beizʃi: + karna:$	$beizʃi: karna:$	to insult
$rʌŋ + lā:na:$	$rʌŋ lā:na:$	to colour
$kʌm + ʌʃna:$	$kʌm ʌʃna:$	to help
$tʃʌŋga: + lʌyna:$	$tʃʌŋga: lʌyna:$	to like

9. a. us $maʃi:$ $beizʃi:$ $kʃi:$
 he-ERG. my.F.SG. insult.F.SG. do. PST.F.SG.
 ‘He insulted me.’

- b. mē pṛṭe-ki: rāṇ la:ja:
 I.ERG. door-DAT.M.SG. colour.M.SG. attach.PST.M.SG.
 ‘I painted the door.’

In example (9a) *beizṭi:* ‘insult’ is a noun which is combined with the verb *karna:* ‘to do’ to make the conjunct verb *beizṭi: karna:* ‘to insult’. In example (9b), conjunct verb is *rāṇ la:na:* ‘to colour’ that is composed of the noun *rāṇ* ‘colour’ and the verb *la:na:*

Besides nouns adjectives can also precede the verb in conjunct verb construction. For example:

10. a. masi: kaṛ sa:f kaṛni:
 aunt. NOM.F.SG. house.M.SG. clean do.IMP. F.SG.
 The aunt is cleaning the house.’
 b. e koṛṭi: mē ki: tʃaṅgi: lyṇi:
 This shirt.F.SG. I.DAT. good.F.SG. attch. IMPF.F.SG.
 ‘I like this shirt.’

The adjective for “clean” in Pahari is ‘sa:f’ however, when the adjective *sa:f* ‘clean’ is combined the verb *karna:* ‘to do’ it forms the conjunct verb ‘*sa:f karna:*’ that gives the meanings “to clean.”

The meaning of verb in conjunct construction depends upon the noun or adjective which precedes the verb. The same verb has different meaning with different nouns. As the following example (11) demonstrates.

11. a. koṛje mēndzi: ki: ka: ba:ja:
 man.ERG M.SG. buffalo. DAT.F.SG. grass put.PST.M.SG
 The man gave grass to the buffalo.’
 b. Tu mē ki: ki: b a:ja:
 you I.DAT. something tell.PST.M.SG
 ‘You told me something.’

The typical meaning of the verb *bāna:* in Pahari is ‘to put’. But as it can be seen in example (11a-b) that verb *ba:na:* gives different meanings in the environment of different nouns. In (11a), it is used in the sense of ‘give’ whereas in (11b) it gives the meaning of ‘tell’.

4.5.2. Compound verbs

The second type of complex verbs is referred to as compound verbs in South Asian literature. A compound verb is the complex predicate, having sequence V1V2 that functions as a single finite verb and where V2 adds some aspectual meanings only, so does not contribute its lexical meanings (Sharma,1982). The semantics of the compound verb is derived from the main or polar verb. The second verb of the sequence often termed as vector verb is semantically relexicalized. The vector verb does not retain its lexical meaning and functions as an auxiliary verb. It, however, plays an important role in replicating the meaning of the polar or main verb. Furthermore, it is the vector verb that bears inflectional markers. Pahari makes use of the following light verbs in compound verb constructions as shown table-13.

Table-13: Compound verbs in Pahari

V2(light verbs)	V1 + V2	Compound verbs	Gloss
ɑ:	hɪni: + ɑ:	hɪni: ɑ:	Bring
ʃo:ɾ	kʌri: + ʃo:ɾ	kʌri: ʃo:ɾ	Do
dɪtɑ:	hɪni: + dɪtɑ:	hɪni: dɪtɑ:	Get
rʌɪ	kʰɑɪ + rʌɪ	kʰɑɪ rʌɪ	Ate
kʰʌɭtɪ:	sʌɪ + kʰʌɭtɪ:	sʌɪ kʰʌɭtɪ:	Slept

Each of the light verbs given in the above table-13 can be combined with a variety of verbs to add extra details to the core meaning of that verb.

12. a. ʊs ʌm kʰʌɪ ʃo:ɾɪɑ:
 he mango.M.SG. eat. leave.PST.M.SG.
 ‘He has eaten mango’
- b. mē ɑpna: kʌm kʌri: ʃo:ɾɪja:
 I own work do leave.PST.M.SG.
 ‘I have done my work’

The above examples demonstrate that a compound verb is formed with a sequence of V1 and V2 in which V1 that is the main verb, exclusively contributes to the meanings of the compound verbs, while the V2 i.e., the light verb gets semantically delexicalized and functions as an auxiliary in the complex predicate and carries all the grammatical information. Despite the fact that there are two verbs present in these examples, yet they refer to one event, namely ‘eating’, ‘doing’ and ‘bringing’.

4.6. Participles

There are of three types of participles in Pahari: perfective, imperfective and conjunctive. These participles’ function either as adjectives or adverbs and. The following section elaborates the formation and the function of participles in Pahari:

4.6.1. Conjunctive participle

The conjunctive participle is formed with the past form of verb plus the conjunction /te/ ‘and’. It frequently functions as an adverb and used in linked sentences in which two verbs having the same subject express an action happening before one another. From these sequential actions, the first action is expressed with a conjunctive participle.

13. a. ʊs kʌr ɑ:tʰi: te ro:tti: kʰɑ:di:
 he/she. home come. And beard.NOM .F.S. eat.PERF F.SG.
 ‘He/she took meal after coming home.’

Occasionally, the conjunction /te/ can be dropped, and the verb stem can be used as a conjunctive participle.

14. a. o: ʈʊsẽ dek^{hi}: nʌsi:ei
 she you.HON. seeing run.
 ‘Upon seeing you, she has run away.’
 b. o: mẽ ki: dek^{hi}: ro:ne lʌyi:
 she Me Seeing weep.IMPF attach.IMPF.
 ‘Upon seeing me, she began to weep.’

4.6.2. Perfective participles

The suffixes /a:/, /i:/, /e/ and /ĩ/ are added to the verbal stem to form a perfective participle. These suffix mark number and gender agreement with the noun. Table-14 shows the patterns for the verb *pʌdʒ* ‘break’

Table-14: Perfect participles suffixes

Number	Gender	Perfect Participle
Singular	Masculine	pʌdʒa:
Plural	Masculine	pʌdʒe
Singular	Feminine	pʌdʒi:
Plural	Feminine	pʌdʒĩ

A few verbs given in the table-15 below form the perfect participles in an irregular way. Irregular verbs will maintain the /a:/, /i:/, /e/ and /ĩ/ suffixes but the root of the verb shows internal modifications.

Table-15: Formation of perfect participle from irregular verbs

Verbs	Gloss	Perfective Participles			
		M.SG.	F.SG.	M.PL.	F.PL.
k ^h a:	eat	k ^h a:da:	k ^h a:di:	k ^h a:de	k ^h a:diĩ
pi:	drink	pi:ta:	pi:ti:	pi:te	pi:tiĩ
na:	take bath	na:ta:	na:ti:	na:te	na:tiĩ
hm	take	hmda:	hmdĩ:	hinde	hmdĩĩ

The Perfective participle is often followed by the empathetic particle /na:/. The addition of /na:/ explicitly expresses a state. The particle /na:/ agrees with the main participle in number and gender. For instance, consider the following sentence:

15. a. dʒʌngʊʈ bedʒia na:
 boy.NOM.M.SG. sit.PERF.M.SG.
 ‘The boy is seated.’

Perfect participle can be used as predicative and attributive adjectives. Like regular adjectives, the perfect participle can be used to assign a state to a noun in the structure. The perfective participles agree with the modified noun in number, gender, and case:

16. mẽ uʋi: bedʒia-nia kuʈia-ki kiʈa:b dei ʃo:ʈi:
 I there seated.F.SG. girl.DAT. book.F.SG. give leave.F.SG.
 ‘I have given the book to the girl who was sitting there.’

Along with the adjectival use the perfect participles in Pahari can also be used adverbially. When perfect participles are used adverbially, generally they assume the singular masculine oblique form. Adverbial perfective participles can modify the verb of a clause as shown in the following example:

17. Mẽ ethi kʰɒlʈe niã ʊski: dekʰja: sa:
I. here standing.M.PL. him.DAT. see.M.SG. be.M.SG.PST
'Standing here, I saw him.'

A masculine plural oblique perfect participle followed by the postposition 'beyer' 'without' is also used in Pahari. It gives the sense of 'without doing something'.

18. o: kʰa:ɖe beyer gia th̃i:
she eat.M.PL. without go.PST F.SG. be.PERF.
'She has gone without eating.'

The reduplicated forms of perfect participles are used to indicate the duration of some past events which results in an extended state:

19. o: t̪ja:ɽi: nɒsi nɒsi kati gei
she day.F.SG. Running tired. PERF.F.SG go.PERF.M.SG.
'Running around all day, she became tired.'

4.6.3. Imperfective participles

Imperfective participles in Pahari can be used to modify nominal word in a sentence. They can be used as adjectives and adverbs. Their formation depends on their function. When they act as adjectives, they are formed with the addition of the suffixes /ni:/ /na:/ /niã/ and /ne/ for feminine singular, masculine singular, feminine plural and masculine plural respectively to the verbal root. Table-16 summarises the forms of imperfective participles for the verb *nɒs* 'run'.

Table-16: Imperfective participles form of the verb *nɒs* 'run'

Number	Gender	IMPF. Participle forms
Singular	Masculine	nɒsnɒ:
Plural	Masculine	nɒsne
Singular	Feminine	nɒsni:
Plural	Feminine	nɒsniã

The following example (20) demonstrates the use of imperfective participle in Pahari.

20. a. tʃɒlnɒ: pɒkʰa: kʰɒlʈja:
moving.M.SG. fan.NOM.M.SG. stop. PERF.M.SG.
'The moving fan has stopped.'

Imperfective participle in Pahari can also be used adverbially. The adverbial imperfective participles are derived by adding the suffix /niã/ with the verb root. Adverbial Imperfective participles are used to indicate the manner of the verb.

21. a. kuṛia ro:niã dʌsia
 girl.ERG.F.SG. while weeping tell.PST.M.SG.
 ‘The girl told while she was weeping.’
- b. mẽ us ki: aʃniã dek^hia sa:
 I him while coming see.PST. be.PST.
 I saw him while coming.’

4.7. Infinitives

Infinitives are derived by adding the infinitive suffix /na:/ with a verb root. The below table-17 contains the infinitive forms of *nʌs* ‘run’ as an example.

Table-17: Infinitive formation

Number	Gender	Infinitive
Singular	Masculine	nʌsna:
Plural	Masculine	nʌsne
Singular	Feminine	nʌsni:
Plural	Feminine	nʌsniã

The infinitive is usually used in the masculine singular form. However, masculine plural and the feminine forms are used with the modal *tʃʌma:* ‘should’.

22. a. tu: galĩ: nei dʌniã: tʃʌniãniã
 you.ERG abuse. F.SG. not give.F.PL. should.F.PL.
 ‘You should not abuse.’
- b. tu: nʌwa:z paṛni: ʌʃni: tʃʌni:
 you.ERG prayer.F.SG. read.F.SG. come.F.SG. should.F.SG.
 ‘You should know how to offer prayer.’

In (22a) the object *galĩ:* ‘abuse’ is a plural feminine noun that takes the feminine plural form of infinitive similarly in (22b) the singular feminine object *nʌwa:z* ‘prayer’ take infinitive in singular feminine form. In both the examples the infinitives agree with their respective direct objects because the subjects are in ergative case.

4.7.1. The oblique infinitive

In the oblique case, the infinitive suffix is /ne:/ with the verbs that end in consonant as in *paṛ:ne:* ‘to study’ whereas the verbs that ends with vowels sound are marked for oblique infinitive forms in an irregular way. Consider the examples in the table-18.

Table-18: Oblique forms of infinitive

Verbs	Oblique infinitive forms	Gloss
nʌs	nʌsne:	to run
paṛ:	paṛ:ne:	to read
ro:	ro:ne:	to weep
na:	nane:	to take bath

k ^h a:	k ^h a:de	to eat
pi:	pi:te	to drink
se ^h	so:te	to sleep

The oblique form of infinitive, just like an oblique noun, is employed when the infinitive is the object of a postposition. Thus, the oblique infinitive functions as a gerund. The oblique forms of infinitive are commonly used to complement a verb.

23. a. o: oski: pese: d̥itte: tĩ: gia
 he him money.M.PL give.M.PL for go.PST.M.SG.
 ‘He went to give him money.’
 b. o: k^ha:de: t^hĩ: aja:
 they.NOM.M.SG. eat.M.PL. for come.PST M.SG.
 ‘He came to eat.’

The infinitive *d̥itte*: ‘to give’ in (23a) *k^ha:de*: ‘to eat’ in (23b) complement the verb *tʃa:na*: ‘want’, completing the verb ‘wants to run.’

5. Conclusion

The present study attempted to analyse the morphology of verb in Pahari. It was found that Pahari verb regular forms and majority of the verb roots are intransitive. The transitive verbs in Pahari are derived from intransitive roots. Both transitive and intransitive verbs in Pahari can be causativized. Vowel modification and suffixation are two main processes employed in Pahari for causative formation. The most prominent process for the direct causatives’ derivation is suffixation. Most of direct causatives are also formed either through vowel change or lengthening the stem vowel. Infinitive suffix /na:/ is added to a verb root to form infinitives. Pahari exhibits three types of participles: conjunctive, imperfective and perfective. These participles function as adverbs and adjectives. Double verbs are formed by combining an inflected verb with a non-inflected verb. In compound verb, the main verb (V1) also known as ‘polar verb’ mostly occurs in root/stem form. It conveys the basic meaning of the complex verb form, and it usually does not inflect. Conjunct verbs consist of two words: an inflected verb with another word-either a noun or adjective. The conjunct verb constructions make a verbal form from a noun or an adjective.

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