

WRITING GOJRI:  
LINGUISTIC AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONSTRAINTS ON A STANDARDIZED  
ORTHOGRAPHY FOR THE GUJARS OF SOUTH ASIA

by

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A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota

December

2002

This thesis, submitted by Wayne E. Losey in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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## ABSTRACT

Gojri belongs to the central group of the Indo-Aryan subfamily of Indo-European languages. Gojri (or Gujari) is spoken by the Gujars (or Gujjars), traditionally nomadic pastoralists, who are scattered widely throughout the northern Subcontinent. While remaining an “oral society” in the classic sense, Gujars in recent decades have begun attending school, organizing politically, and writing poetry and prose in their own language. Today, in part because of government sponsorship, the level of Gojri broadcasting and literary activity is higher than that for other minority languages in the region. To date, however, Gojri lacks an agreed-upon set of writing conventions. Writers and editors tend to write phonetically, and with wildly varying degrees of reference to the conventions of Urdu, the primary language of wider communication and the language of education in most communities.

This study presents descriptions of the phonology and morphology of the two major dialects of Gojri spoken in Pakistan, and compares the analysis of these dialects with the analysis of the Gojri spoken in Punch District of Indian-administered Kashmir (Sharma 1979, 1982). Next, in light of this comparative data and the implications for Gojri-to-Urdu literacy, it evaluates various orthographic conventions currently used by leading writers and institutions. This study explores Urdu-based spellings which are linguistically sound and otherwise conducive to transitional literacy, and which lend themselves to orthographic standardization across the east-west dialect continuum. It also includes an extended treatment of the challenge of representing Gojri tone.

This study will provide a foundation for orthographic decisions that take cross-

dialectal considerations and the reality of a broader Urdu print environment fully into account, potentially enabling Gujars to read the pronunciations of their own dialects from a single text type while maximizing the ease of transfer to and from Urdu. The research presented here will also make the dialects of Gojri spoken in Pakistan accessible to linguists and other scholars, and call attention to the significance of the Western dialect within the greater language community.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Gujars and the Gojri Language

Gojri, or Gujari,<sup>1</sup> is the language of some 1.4 million or more Gujars (or *Gujjars*, in Indian transliteration) living in the mountainous areas of northern Afghanistan, northern Pakistan, the disputed region of Kashmir, and northern India (Grimes 2000:439). The Gojri speakers, along with many more ethnic Gujars of the plains who no longer speak Gojri, are the descendants of the ancient Gurjaras whose origins are widely debated.<sup>2</sup> Gojri-speaking Gujars include nomadic pastoralists who herd sheep and goats or dairy buffalo, settled agriculturalists, and semi-settled agriculturalists who practice seasonal transhumance. The overwhelming majority are Sunni Muslims.

##### 1.1.1 Language Classification

Masica (1991:48), following Grierson (LSI IX:925), states that Gojri's closest relation is the Northeastern Rajasthani language, Mewati. The Rajasthani languages have been classified as belonging to the central group of Indo-Aryan, along with Hindi-Urdu and other languages (Masica 1992:453-456). J.C. Sharma also notes the close relationship between Gojri phonology and that of Punjabi (1982:8-9), the latter's inclusion in the central group being the subject of some dispute (see Shackle 1979). The inner classification of the Indo-Aryan languages including Gojri is by no means settled, and it should be noted that Gojri's stated connections with Rajasthani and Punjabi are made on

the basis of phonological and morphological observations which do not hold in the same way for both of the two main Gojri dialect types.

### 1.1.2 Language Environment

Gojri, being spoken across such a wide swath of the northern part of the South-Asian subcontinent, is in contact with numerous other languages. The focus of this study is the Gojri of the Hazara region of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), where Gojri is in contact primarily with Pashto and Hindko. Throughout the NWFP, Gujars typically live at higher elevations than other more socially dominant ethnic groups who speak these languages. Hazara Gujars therefore use Pashto or Hindko for most types of day-to-day out-group communication, with men showing higher degrees of bilingual proficiency than women (Hallberg & O'Leary 1992:145ff). Many Gujars I have met initially insisted that their mother tongue was Pashto or Hindko, acknowledging Gojri as their language only after I switched from Urdu to Gojri in the conversation.

Pashto is an Iranian language and therefore more distantly related to Gojri. It is the dominant language of wider communication in western Mansehra District and Batagram District of Hazara (see Map 2), and in the area west and southwest of the Indus river that includes Swat, Dir, and much of Afghanistan - an area corresponding roughly longitude-wise to the extent of the Western Gojri dialect type. The highest concentrations of Western dialect Gojri speakers in Hazara reside in the Allai and Batagram tehsils of Batagram District and in northern Mansehra District including Black Mountain (/kālɔ ɖākɔ/), but reliable population figures are not available since the recent Pakistani census did not track ethnicity or minority language affiliation (respondents were asked only to indicate whether they speak Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, Balochi, or 'other' in their

homes). In the mid 1990's, a large population of cow-herding Dir Gujars, who speak a form of Western Gojri along with Pashto, migrated from Dir to Haripur District.

Hindko is closely related to Punjabi, and is the language of wider communication in most other areas of Mansehra District, Abbottabad District, and Haripur District of Hazara (Hallberg & O'Leary 1992), blending gradually into Pahari as one moves eastward into Kashmir and beyond - an area roughly corresponding to that in which Eastern Gojri is spoken. I am told that the highest concentration of Eastern dialect-speaking Gujars in Hazara lives north of Shinkiyari in eastern Mansehra District within the area bounded on the west by the Siran river and on the East by the Kunhar river which runs through the Kaghan Valley. Gujars living above the valley floors in this area typically have very few non-Gujar neighbors, whereas Gujars living on the eastern side of the Kaghan Valley and in eastern Abbottabad District live in an ethnically and linguistically mixed environment dominated by Hindko. While a type of Eastern Gojri is still spoken in the Gujar villages of (Upper) Kakul, Nagakki, and Sarban near Abbottabad, language use among younger persons may be giving way to Hindko as it has in other isolated Gujar villages further east and south of Abbottabad.

Urdu, the national language of Pakistan and a language of wider communication (or first language) for many Muslims in northern India, is used extensively in education, the news media, and political and religious discourse. In Pakistan, 'functional literacy' means the ability to read and write in Urdu. The children of some educated Hazara residents are learning Urdu as their first language. Gujars learn Urdu in school or in cities outside Hazara where they are employed, and use Urdu when speaking to all other Pakistanis not speaking Gojri or the Gujar's second language (normally Pashto or Hindko), including tourists. Proficiency varies greatly, with educated men at one end of the continuum and

uneducated women at the other (Hallberg & O’Leary 1992). Gujars often tell me that their language is closely related to Urdu, if not its very source. English is the official language of Pakistan, and has already left its mark on the Gojri lexicon (via Urdu) like the other languages mentioned to this point. Gujars attach economic value to Urdu and English proficiency, although only the educated elite have any real skill in the latter. Gujars residing in tourist areas may learn to communicate with foreigners using a limited set of English words and phrases.

Gujar men belonging to the nomadic community are often the most multi-lingual, especially the sheep and goat-herding *Bakarwal* Gujars (from /bakarī/ ‘goat’) who range farther than other Gujar pastoralists. *Muhajar* (‘refugee’) *Bakarwal* Gujars, who came from what is now Indian-administered Kashmir in 1947 and migrate seasonally through Hazara, may acquire some Shina for summer use in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, and Potwari or Punjabi proper for winter use in the Punjab. The *Allaiwal Bakarwal*, who identify themselves as emanating from the Allai area of Batagram District, have traditionally summered in Pashto-dominated areas and wintered in Hindko-dominated areas of Haripur District and in Punjabi-speaking areas further south. The *Kaghani Bakarwal* spend the summers in Kaghan and winters as far south as Haripur in Abbottabad District, both of which are Hindko-speaking.

### 1.1.3 Language Development

The movement to develop Gojri literature began after the Pakistan-India war of 1965.<sup>3</sup> Three now well-known Gujar poets, Sabir Afaqi, and brothers Israil Mahjoor and Mohammad Ismail Zabeeh, founded a literary circle in Nawanshahr near Abbottabad in 1966. They began writing Gojri materials using a slightly modified Urdu script. The

Pakistani government started broadcasting some of these materials when it launched the 'Radio Trarkel' program in 1967, after which the Indian government began broadcasting Gojri programming from Srinagar. Today there are several other daily Gojri programs broadcast by each government in addition to these original two. Almost all of the Gujars I meet report listening to such programs on shortwave. Gojri television news is now broadcast daily from Islamabad (Hallberg and O'Leary noted Gojri television broadcasting from Srinagar (1992:101)).

The Gojri Adabi Board (=literary board), chaired by Sabir Afaqi, was founded in 1970 in Pakistan-administered Kashmir. It has published seven Gojri and Gojri-related titles since 1976, primarily works of poetry, but struggles for lack of sponsorship. The Urdu magazine, *Gujar Goonj* occasionally publishes Gujar poetry, but its publishers and those of the *Gujar Gazette* feel that there is no demand for or interest in Gojri writing. These magazines cater primarily to educated ethnic Gujars of the Pakistani Punjab who do not speak Gojri. I am aware of no Gojri literary activities in Hazara or in any other area of Pakistan.

Since its establishment in 1987, the locus of the prolific Gojri literature production in Indian-administered Kashmir has been the Gojri department of the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, which is located in Srinagar and Jammu (Hugoniot & Polster 1997:8). The Academy's 1998 Publications Catalogue (I do not have a more recent one) lists some fifty-five separate titles containing Gojri poetry, prose, and essays on Gujars and Gojri (many of the latter are in Urdu). In addition, such materials are published periodically in their journal, *Gojri Sheeraza*. The Gojri Research Institute of the Gurjar Desh Charitable Trust (GDCT) in Jammu also publishes Gojri

titles, along with the monthly magazine *Awaz-e-Gurjar* featuring articles in English, Hindi, Urdu, and Gojri.

The August, 2000 issue of this magazine reported that a 12-day ‘Workshop on Standardization of the Gojri Script’ had been held at the Trust’s research library beginning on July 10, 2000 (pp. 30-31). The workshop was convened jointly by the Trust and the Indian government’s Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), which was represented by J.C. Sharma, the leading authority on Gojri, along with Dr. I.S. Borkar. Unfortunately, the proceedings of this workshop had not been made available by the time of my last enquiry. Such noteworthy efforts reflect the desire of Gujars, and such non-Gujar stake holders, to standardize the Gojri orthography. In the minds of some, however, the intended beneficiaries of standardization are non-Gujars:

Speaking at the inaugural session of the Workshop Dr. Borkar said that standardization of Gojri Script will facilitate those people who are not conversant of Gojri to read, write and understand Gojri at ease. He recalled that the CIIL, Mysore and GDCT Jammu has already worked out hand-in-glove in organizing two Workshops held at the GDCT, Jammu and CIIL, Mysore to prepare an Intensive Course to teach Gojri as second language to non-Gojri speaking people which bound to go a long way in serving the cause of promotion of Gojri language and literature. (ibid, p. 30; quotation reproduced exactly)

Such comments reinforce my impression that Gojri literary activities to-date are largely by the educated, for the educated.

## 1.2 Socioeconomic Conditions and the Literacy Situation

According to Ahmed, Gujars rank lowest among the four major ethnic groups of Hazara in terms of education level, percentage of dwellings using some cement construction, and land ownership (1986:110-111). There are no reliable estimates of the literacy rate among Gojri-speaking Gujars in Hazara or other parts of Pakistan. In the

two Gujar communities profiled in-depth by Hallberg and O'Leary (both villages are unusual in that they have a school), less than half of Gujar men and boys, and scarcely any women and girls, were found to have received *any* formal education (1992:133-142). Although many government schools were opened in larger villages in Gujar areas of Pakistan during the administration of Benazir Bhutto, the quality of education remains low due to lack of facilities and qualified teachers. Most Gujar children are involved with their parents in subsistence agriculture and/or animal husbandry on marginal tracts of mountainous terrain. Therefore their homes are often a great distance from lower-elevation village schools, making regular attendance difficult, particularly for girls who must comply with cultural notions of modesty. Most boys withdraw before they have acquired basic skills in reading and writing Urdu.

Another factor making functional literacy less accessible to Gujars is that Gujar children, like most other Pakistani children, do not speak Urdu at the time of their enrollment in primary school. From what I am told, the foreign language burden entailed by the Urdu and English curriculum, and a Pashto or Hindko medium of instruction, creates adjustment and motivational problems for many new Gujar students. For this reason and others, Hazara Gujars are very responsive to the suggestion that reading and writing skills could be acquired in their mother tongue and later transferred to Urdu. The idea is new to them because so few Gujars outside of Kashmir have ever seen their language in print, despite the laudable literary activities of an educated elite. Many Hazara Gujars with whom I speak, along with non-Gujar stake holders, value the idea of Gojri literacy and literature to the extent that it is tied to Urdu literacy. Educated Gujars in Pakistan-administered Kashmir, on the other hand, seem to value Gojri literacy and

literature primarily for reasons other than utility, perhaps because Urdu literacy is more accessible in their area (Hallberg & O'Leary 1992:99).

Given the Gujars' poverty and educational access problems in Pakistan proper, and the fact that they are scattered widely and thinly over such a vast area, the success both of Gojri-to-Urdu transitional literacy programming and Gojri literature in general (and ultimately, language vitality) will probably depend to a great extent upon the use of Urdu-based Gojri writing conventions. This perspective accords with what many recognize as true about the necessary impact of dominant regional languages on the orthographies of incipient literary languages.<sup>4</sup> Walker writes (1987:207):

Whatever can be done to make the V[ERNACULAR] L[ANGUAGE] orthography look like the national language orthography will aid VL literacy acceptance. This is especially important in cases where potential VL readers have already learned to read the N[ATIONAL] L[ANGUAGE]. Ideals of producing a purely scientific alphabet must be sacrificed, if need be, for the highest priority of developing an orthography that is accepted by the people and *used*. Since the NL has higher status and more socio-economic power, the prestige of the VL will be enhanced the more that it resembles the NL orthographically.

Referring specifically to the implications for literacy, D'Emilio (1986:22) says that orthography design is

... a task which might seem to be the exclusive role of linguistics - like that of developing an alphabet - should leave the margins of that discipline and consider sociolinguistic and pedagogical factors, like the actual possibilities available to the indigenous populations for becoming literate.

Rather than scientific purism, we should be led by good sense and the practical needs of cultures of oral tradition to deal with a written code.

Urdu-based conventions for Gojri would enhance the 'actual possibilities' for becoming literate, because they lend themselves to a more efficient use of the meager resources at hand; the limited time of working children available for education could be

maximized, as they would not need to learn both Urdu and Gojri spellings for many common cognate pairs; the instructional capacity of those functionally literate in Urdu could also be maximized, as they could use Gojri primers in non-formal settings with minimal prior orientation to written Gojri. Support from non-Gujar stakeholders in Pakistan might also be maximized, including that of some in the education establishment who are otherwise prejudiced against Gojri (see Hallberg & O’Leary 1992:99), as it could be more readily demonstrated that children were learning Urdu while learning Gojri.

These considerations take on added significance in the case of the *Allaiwal*, *Swati* and *Muhajar* Bakarwal nomads, for whom literacy is perhaps least accessible. Their seasonal migration schedules do not allow for school enrollment in either the summer or winter areas. Unlike *Kaghani* Bakarwals who own land and often leave their children in lower Kaghan to attend school, these groups travel as whole family units and cannot normally leave children behind. Their livelihood is being threatened in the traditional winter grazing areas due to increased development and cultivation by sedentary peoples, and the closure of government forest areas to grazing. They know that their children need literacy to survive economically, but feel their only option for acquiring literacy is to sell their animals and settle in urban areas. This community therefore represents an urgent need for non-formal literacy programming, which, as I mentioned, has a greater chance of success if Urdu-based Gojri conventions are taught from the beginning. As we shall see in chapters 2 and 3, the Western-type phonology of these Bakarwals corresponds closely to Urdu phonology at the points most relevant to the orthography issue.

### 1.3 History of Research into Gojri

The earliest investigation into Gojri was made in the greater Murree area of extreme northern Punjab by Bailey, who initially published nine pages of Gojri description

(1903:3-11) and later contributed specimens from two Hazara locations to the ‘Gujari’ section of the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson 1973 (c1903): IX:925-981). The latter work, being comparative in nature, included skeletal grammars and text data from Gojri varieties spoken in Hazara, Swat, and Kashmir. The only substantial linguistic description available to-date, however, is Sharma’s account of the sound system (1979) and grammar (1982) of the Gojri spoken in the Punch district of Indian-administered Kashmir. The former work provides the database for MacEachern’s (1997) investigation of laryngeal cooccurrence restrictions in Gojri. Fragments of the Gojri lexicon, phonology, and grammar are occasionally described in Urdu at a popular level by Gujar scholars such as Sabir Afaqi and the editors of the *Sheeraza*.

Recent scholarship has focused on the broader sociolinguistic situation. Hallberg and O’Leary (1992) published an extensive survey of the Gojri varieties spoken by settled and semi-settled Gujars in Pakistan and Pakistan-administered Kashmir, positing ‘Eastern’ and ‘Western’ dialect clusters on the basis of lexical similarity percentages and intelligibility testing. Hugoniot and Polster (1997) completed a similar survey of the ‘Eastern Gujari’ spoken by the *Dodhi* (from /dúd/ ‘milk’) or dairy buffalo-herding Gujars in Indian-administered Kashmir and the Indian states of Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.

One question that has remained unanswered in the literature is the precise relationship between Gojri and *Bakarwali*, the speech of the Bakarwals, which is thought to be a form of Gojri (Sharma 1982:2). Hallberg and O’Leary write:

There are known to be landless Gujars continuing to pursue a nomadic herding lifestyle, particularly the Bakarwals in Azad Kashmir. The general opinion of settled Gujars in Azad Kashmir was that the Bakarwal Gujari was only slightly different

from their own, the life style being the main difference between the peoples. However no linguistic evidence has been collected to substantiate these opinions (1992:108).

Their survey included data from only one semi-nomadic community, in Swat, which they identified by the respondents' self-designation, *Ajars* (/āj̣aṛī/ 'shepherd'), rather than Bakarwal. Interestingly, Grierson, who to my knowledge never used the term Bakarwal, had reported that *Ajri*, the speech of the sheep-herding *Ajars*, was a distinct sub-dialect but still nearly identical to the *Gujari* spoken by cow-herding Gujars in Swat (1973 (c1903): IX: 941, 948). Hugoniot and Polster, mindful of Hallberg and O'Leary's statement, elicited lexical data from a single Bakarwal group. They note only that the relative dissimilarity of the Bakarwal data to the *Dodhi* data may correspond to small differences in lifestyle and ethnicity (1997:15).

#### 1.4 Current Study

##### 1.4.1 Purpose

The present work describes the phonology and morphology of two varieties of the Bakarwal speech of Hazara, and compares these varieties with each other and with the Punch Gojri described by Sharma (1979, 1982). It also explores Urdu-based orthographic conventions which are linguistically sound and otherwise conducive to transitional literacy, and which lend themselves to orthographic standardization across the east-west dialect continuum. The value of an analysis of Hazara Gojri to the latter concern lies in the fact that no description of any Gojri variety spoken in Pakistan has been published since Grierson and, as it turns out, the term Bakarwal is primarily an occupational distinction such that the two varieties under study correspond to and attest the 'Eastern' and 'Western' dialect types posited by Hallberg and O'Leary (see Losey, forthcoming).<sup>5</sup>

The two varieties presented here are the speech of the *Allaiwal Bakarwal*, approximating ‘Western’ Gojri, and the speech of the *Kaghani Bakarwal*, approximating ‘Eastern’ Gojri. The present study therefore contributes phonological and grammatical data and analysis to Gojri dialectology, a domain which until now has been based exclusively on word lists and intelligibility testing (aside from a few paradigms and comparative notes in Grierson). It also identifies phonological and grammatical phenomena in the Western dialect type which might have bearing on standardization efforts that until now have concerned themselves only with Eastern speech.

This study evaluates various orthographic conventions currently used by leading writers and institutions, in light of the comparative data and the implications for Gojri-to-Urdu literacy. My hope is that this study will provide a foundation for future orthographic decisions that take cross-dialectal considerations and the reality of a broader Urdu print environment fully into account, potentially enabling Gujars to read the pronunciations of their own dialects from a single text type while maximizing the ease of transfer to and from Urdu.

#### 1.4.2 Data Collection and Analysis

The data were collected during the course of my ongoing field work in Hazara which began in May, 1999, following one year of intensive Urdu study in Murree and later Abbottabad, where I also conducted my research in the winters of 1999-2000 and 2000-2001. My initial work in Gojri was in the village of Budgran /budgrā~/ above Kawai in the Kaghan Valley. My family and I have been hosted periodically there and in the summer pastures near Besal by the family of my research assistant, Mohammad Aslam Armani Thikri (/ṭhīkrī/), whose speech is virtually identical to the *Kaghan Gojri*

attested by data from Mittikot in Hallberg and O’Leary’s survey (1992:106). This family was *Kaghani Bakarwal*, until they sold their goats in the early 90’s after my assistant became partially paralyzed in a construction accident and an older brother was killed in a logging accident. My material on Eastern grammar is based on recorded texts given by Mohammad Aslam’s mother, oldest brother, and several men living in the area above Kawai.

I began studying the speech of the *Allaiwal Bakarwal* at Lake Saif-ul-Muluk near Naran in the Kaghan Valley in July of 1999, with help from a family we had met earlier in their winter grazing area near Mang, located between Haripur and Khanpur. That Fall I hired a son of our *Allaiwal* hosts, Mumtaz Ahmad Bania /bāṇīā/, as a second research assistant. My material on Western grammar is based primarily on recorded texts of this man’s speech, which patterns closely with the Western samples reported in Hallberg and O’Leary (1992), particularly with the two from Swat.<sup>6</sup> In a footnote, Hallberg and O’Leary (1992:131) mention Barth’s observation (1956:77) that Swat Gujars claimed their ancestors had immigrated to the area from Allai. As some of Hallberg and O’Leary’s (1992:106) Gilgit and Chitral area respondents claim immigration (presumably subsequent) from Swat, it is most unfortunate their survey did not include a sample from Allai.

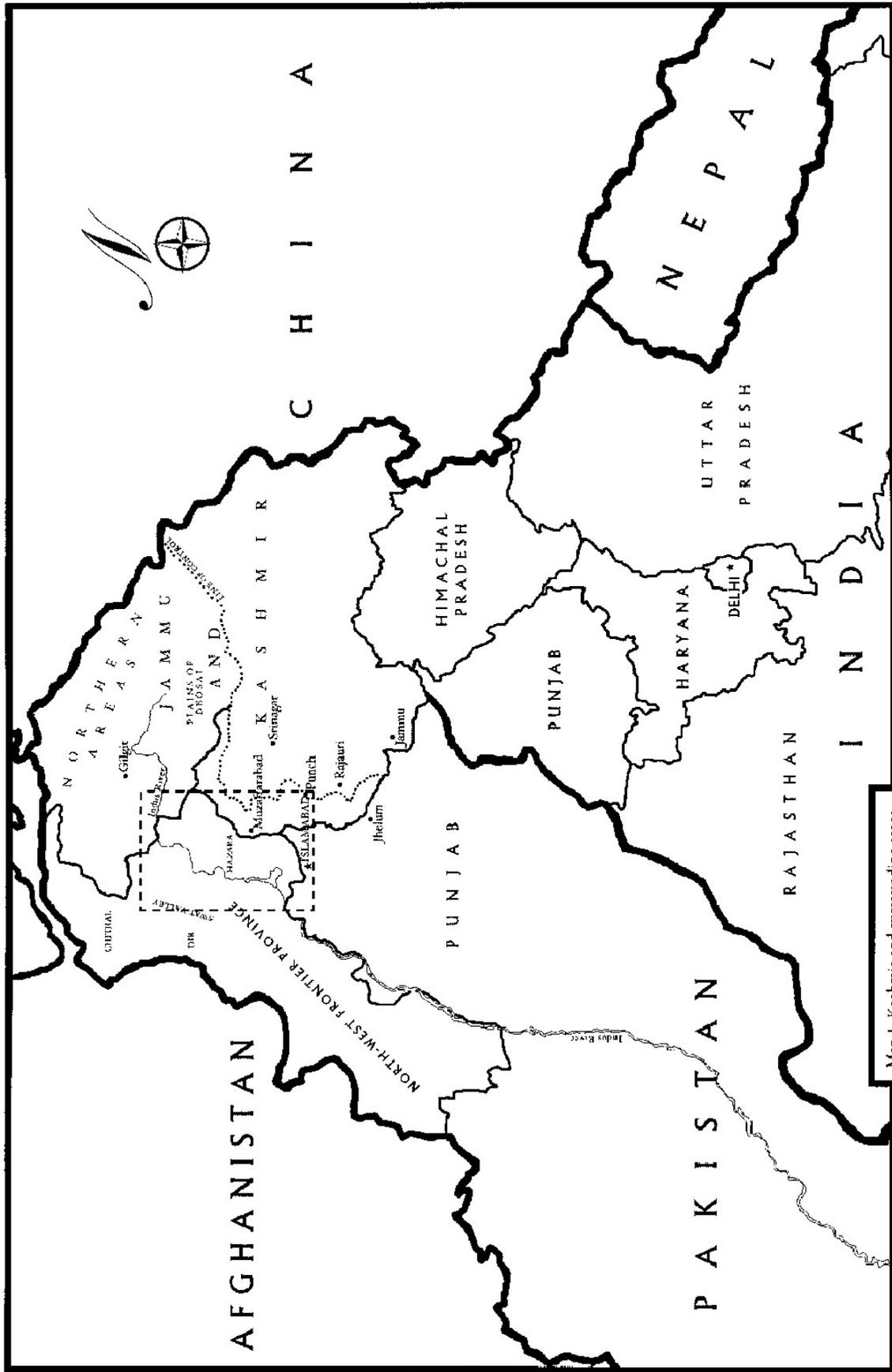
My material on phonology is based on separate Kaghan and Allaiwal word lists which I began compiling in 1999. In Appendix B I have presented some of these words using the standard 210-item list used by Hallberg and O’Leary (1992), so as to facilitate comparison. In addition I have included word lists taken from members of the *Allaiwal Bakarwal Muhajar* and *Kunhari Bakarwal Muhajar* communities. I collected the two

*Muhajar* lists in March, 2002, during a one-month trip to Pakistan (my family and I had been evacuated in September, 2001), but due to the security situation I was not able to elicit a word list from any Gujars settled in the Allai area. While I did manage to check my material on phonology and tone at that time, I was forced to check my grammatical material primarily by telephone during the evacuation period.

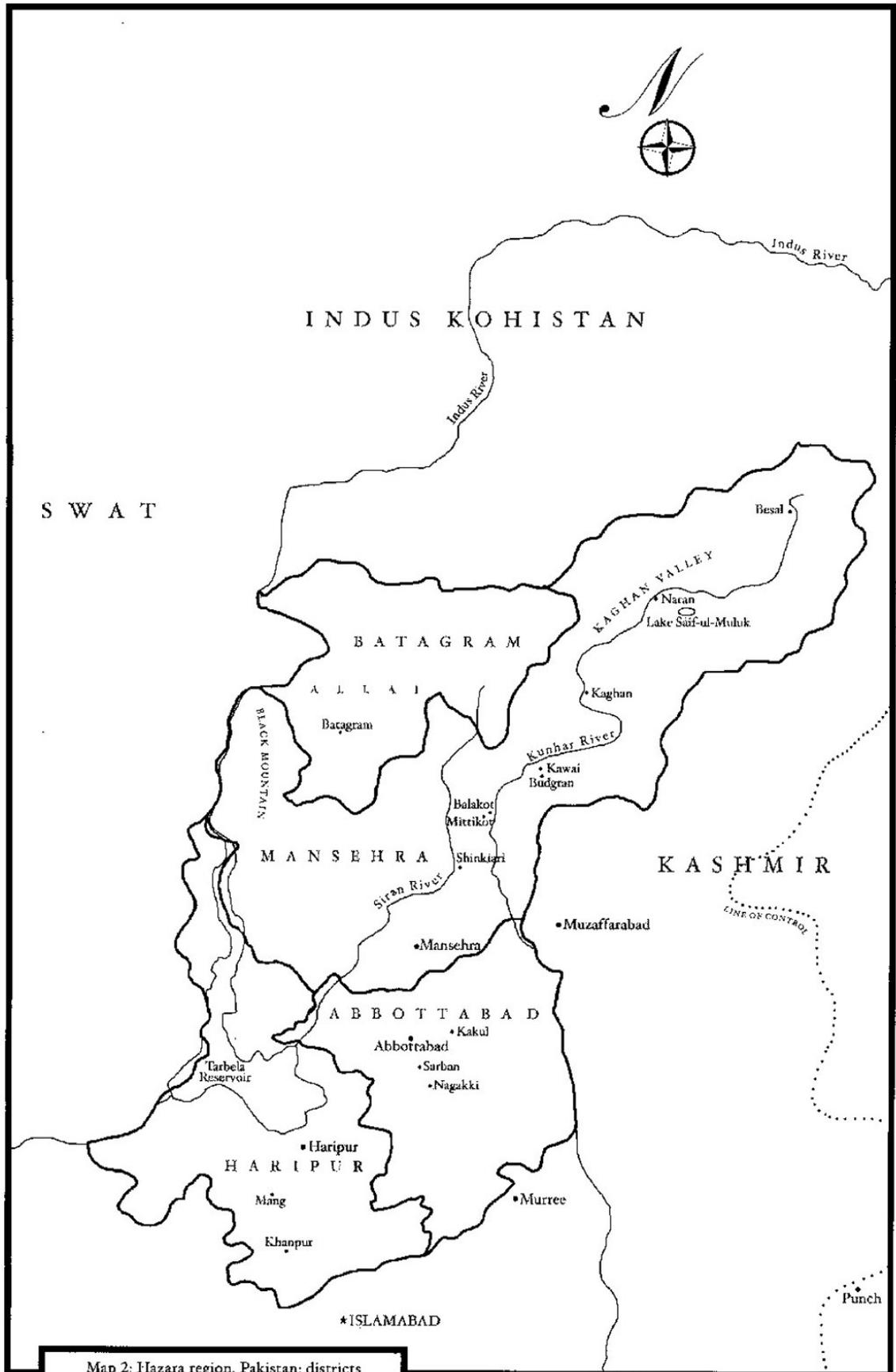
I have attempted to present my analysis, for the most part, according to the organization and linguistic category labels used in Masica's excellent handbook on the Indo-Aryan languages (1991). At other points I follow Payne's guide to morphosyntactic description (1997).

#### 1.4.3 Overview of Remaining Chapters

Chapter 2 presents the phonemes and common phonological processes of Gojri, with attention to salient variation between Eastern and Western varieties, and then explores the representation of these phonemes in the Gojri script. Chapter 3 describes Gojri tonal phenomena and evaluates various solutions to their orthographic representation. Chapter 4 is a comparative study of Gojri morphosyntax that includes extensive illustrative data from both dialects, which is supplemented by additional verb paradigms in Appendix C. Chapter 5 considers the standardization of Gojri and evaluates Gojri spelling conventions in light of the linguistic analysis presented in preceding chapters and current research in related disciplines. Appendix A lists abbreviations and outlines the method of data presentation used throughout this work.



Map 1: Kashmir and surrounding areas, showing inset for Map 2.



Map 2: Hazara region, Pakistan; districts Batagram, Mansehra, Abbottabad, and Haripur.

## CHAPTER II

## COMPARATIVE GOJRI PHONOLOGY AND THE GOJRI SCRIPT

What follows is a preliminary analysis of the basic phonemics of Gojri, with reference to salient variations between the Allaiwal and Kaghani dialects, representing the broader Western and Eastern speech types, respectively. I reference Sharma's more extensive analysis of Punch Gojri (1982) wherever comparison is warranted. For comparison of lexical data within Pakistan I have shown unique Western lexical forms in parentheses where not otherwise introduced. Wherever a Western form is shown in parentheses, the cognate shown immediately to the left or immediately above is uniquely Eastern.

Unmarked forms are pronounced the same for both dialects.

## 2.1 Gojri Consonant Phonemes

The consonant phonemes of Gojri are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Gojri Consonant Phonemes

	<u>Labial</u>	<u>Dental</u>	<u>Retroflex</u>	<u>Palatal</u>	<u>Velar</u>	<u>Glottal</u>
Stop						
aspirated	ph	th	ṭh		kh	
voiceless	p	t	ṭ		k	
voiced	b	d	ḍ		g	
Affricate						
aspirated				čh		
voiceless				č		
voiced				ǰ		

Table 1 cont.

Fricative					
voiceless	f	s		š	x
voiced		z			ʁ
Nasal	m	n	ɳ		
Glide	w			y	
Flap		r	ɾ		
Lateral (approximant)		l	ɭ		

## 2.1.1 Nasals

In Gojri there are three phonemic nasals, the bilabial /m/, the dental /n/, and the retroflex /ɳ/.

## 2.1.1.1 Contrast

## (1) Phonemic nasal contrasts (unique Western forms shown in parentheses)

/m/ vs. /n/	/masīt/	‘mosque’	/nasīt/	‘warning’
	/damɔ/	‘rest’	/danɔ/	‘high place’
	/kam/	‘work’	/čan/	‘moon’
/n/ vs. /ɳ/	/kanī/	‘separate’	/kaɳī/	‘rain drop’
	/danɔ/	‘high place’	/jaɳɔ/	‘man’
	/bán/ E. only	‘tie!’	/báɳ/	‘be made!’
	/zeān/ (/zīān/)	‘damage’	/seāɳ/ (/sīāɳ/)	‘know!’
	/man/	‘obey!’	/jaɳ/	‘give birth!’
	/šān/	‘way, method’	/kāɳ/	‘knot in wood’
	/takrīban/	‘approximately’	/baɳ/	‘forest’

## 2.1.1.2 Distribution

Only /m/ and /n/ may occur in word-initial position. The retroflex nasal /ɳ/, like the retroflex liquids /ɽ/ and /ɻ/, does not occur initially. All three nasal phonemes occur medially and finally.

## (2) Distribution of nasal phonemes in words

	initial		intervocalic		final
/m/	/mačhī/	‘fish’	/māmɔ/	‘maternal uncle’	/thūm/ ‘garlic’
/n/	/nak/	‘nose’	/nānɔ/	‘paternal grandfather’	/jān/ ‘life’
/ɳ/	-----		/dāɳɔ/	‘seed, grain’	/lūɳ/ ‘salt’

## 2.1.1.3 Variation

The nasal phoneme /n/ assimilates in clusters of type /n/ + voiced plosive to the plosive’s point of articulation. Representative examples of this process are shown in (3).

(3)	/n/ is [n] before a voiced dental plosive	[kʌnd]	/kand/	‘wall’
	/n/ is [ɳ] before a voiced post-alveolar plosive	[ʃʌɳʃ]	/ʃanʃ/	‘wedding party’
	/n/ is [ɳ] before a voiced retroflex plosive	[kʌɳɖ]	/kanɖ/	‘back’
	/n/ is [ŋ] before a voiced velar plosive	[khʌŋg]	/khang/	‘cough’

This process does not extend to the labial area, as the cluster [mb] is disallowed in Gojri. Gojri /lamar/ ‘number’, /tamū/ ‘tent’, /dumī/ ‘tail’ and /lamī/ ‘long’ correspond to Urdu /nambar/, /tambū/, /dumbī/ and /lambī/ respectively. The cluster [mp] is heard only in English loans such as ‘pump’ and ‘jump.’ Voiceless examples for other points of articulation are too few at present to establish their identity over and against a more probable analysis of nasalized vowel + consonant. I have taken /n/ as basic because it occurs finally and in a wide range of clusters with other consonants, while [ɳ] does not

otherwise occur in clusters and [ɳ̥] and [ɳ̠] never occur independently of /j/ and /g/, respectively.

The retroflex nasal /ɳ̠/ has the allophone [ɳ̥], a flapped retroflex nasal, medially in normal speech, e.g. [paɳ̥i] /pāɳ̠i/ ‘water.’

### 2.1.2 Laterals and Flaps

Both dialects of Gojri spoken in Pakistan feature the alveolar and retroflex laterals, /l/ and /ɭ/, respectively; and the alveolar and retroflex flaps, /r/ and /ɽ/, respectively.

A geminate retroflex /ɭɭ/ occurs in the Eastern subdialect spoken near Muzaffarabad, but not in the Kaghani or Allaiwal varieties I have studied. It corresponds to the cluster /rɽ/ in Kaghani and Allaiwal Gojri, as shown in (4):

#### (4) Correspondence of Muzaffarabad /ɭɭ/ with Kaghani and Allaiwal /rɽ/

Muzaffarabad	Kaghani and Allaiwal	
/naɭɭi/	/naɽi/	‘throat’
/khaɭɭi/	/khaɽi/	‘goat skin milk bag’
/čùɭɭi/	/čùɽi/ /jùɽi/	‘skin wrinkles’
/kholɭɔ/	/khorɽɔ/	‘mature’ (of trees, people)
/čhiɭɭi/	/čhirɽi/	‘skin of fruit, vegetables, and nuts’
/golɭɔ/	/gorɽɔ/	‘name of a caste’
/šilɭi/	/širɽi/	‘mushroom’
/paɭɭi/	/paɽi/	‘kind of demonic creature’

#### 2.1.2.1 Contrast

##### (5) Phonemic lateral and flap contrasts

/r/ vs. /ɽ/	/čorī/	‘robbery’	/čɔɽī/	‘thigh’
	/bīr/	‘friend’	/bīɽ/	‘lower pastures’

/r/ vs. /l/	/rat/	‘blood’	/lat/	‘lower leg’
	/borī/	‘gunnysack’	/bolī/	‘speech’
	/sir/	‘head’	/sil/	‘rock slab’
/l/ vs. /ʎ/	/pīlɔ/	‘yellow color’	/pīʎɔ/	‘ant’
	/gēlī/	‘log’	/gēʎī/ fem.	‘wide’
	/palɔ/	‘shawl’	/paʎī/	‘dry animal’
	/nāl/	‘horseshoe’	/nāʎ/	‘with’
	/hāl/	‘condition’	/hāʎ/	‘plow’
	/kɔl/	‘promise’	/koʎ/ (/koʎɛ/)	possessive postposition
/r/ vs. /ʎ/	/sārɔ/	‘absence’	/sāʎɔ/	‘wife’s brother’
	/bār/	‘bring inside!’	/bāʎ/	‘ignite!’

The phonemic status of /r/ warrants discussion given that in many related languages it is an allophone of /d/, and the fact that Masica says it is not reported for ‘Gujari’ (1991:97). The latter is surely a mistake since Sharma (1982) is his only cited source for Gojri and Sharma reports both /r/ and /d/ as phonemic (1982:11,19). While contrasts like those in 2.1.4.1 below prove that /r/ is in fact a Gojri phoneme, other comparative data highlight its close relationship with /d/ cross-linguistically:

- (6) /ṭhoḍī/ ‘chin’ vs. Urdu /ṭhoṛī/ ‘chin’  
 /búḍɔ/ ‘old man’ vs. Urdu /buṛhā/ ‘old man’  
 /ḍéḍ/ ‘one and a half’ vs. Urdu /ḍeṛh/ ‘one and a half’  
 /čhoḍ/ ‘leave alone!’ W.only vs. Eastern and Urdu /čhoṛ/ ‘leave alone!’

#### 2.1.2.2 Distribution

The retroflex liquids /r/ and /ʎ/, like retroflex /ŋ/, do not occur in initial position. All Gojri liquids occur medially and finally.

## (7) Distribution of laterals and flaps in words

initial			intervocalic			final	
/r/	/rang/	‘color’	/morɔ/		‘hole’	/čor/	‘thief’
/ṛ/	-----		/baṛī/	fem.	‘large’	/bāṛ/	‘fence’
/l/	/lelɔ/	‘ram’	/polɔ/	fem.	‘soft’	/mul/	‘price’
/ḷ/	-----		/pālɔ/		‘coldness’	/pul/	‘bridge’

## 2.1.2.3 Variation

An intervocalic trill, [r̄], in the phonetic data may represent an underlying geminate /rr/. However, since all of the examples in (8) feature [r̄] between the short vowel /u/ and a gender-number agreement suffix (/ɔ/ or /ī/), it is premature to analyze the gemination as having phonemic status.

## (8) Possible contrasts of medial /r/ and /rr/

[khuṛɔ]	/khuṛɔ/	‘foot print’	vs. /korɔ/ ‘frost, ice’ and /khorɔ/ masc. ‘rough’
[čhuṛɔ]	/čhuṛɔ/	‘big knife’	vs. /pūrɔ/ masc. ‘entire’ and /sur/ ‘happiness’
[tuṛī]	/tuṛī/	‘clove (of garlic)’	vs. /pūrī/ fem. ‘entire’ and /sur/ ‘happiness’

## 2.1.3 Labial Area Consonants

Gojri features a three-way labial stop opposition: /ph/, /p/, /b/; the labial glide /w/, and the labio-dental fricative /f/. Most of the nouns containing /f/ are of foreign origin (see Masica 1991:92).

## 2.1.3.1 Contrast

## (9) Phonemic labial area contrasts

/ph/ vs. /p/	/phul/	‘flower’	/pul/	‘bridge’
	/guphī/	‘hip’	/ṭopī/	‘hat’

/p/ vs. /b/	/pūt/ /kāpī/ /bāp/	‘son’ ‘copy book’ ‘father’	/būt/ /kābū/ /xāb/	‘shoe’ ‘control’ ‘dream’
/b/ vs. /m/	/bačhī/ fem. /dabɔ/ /nasīb/	‘calf’ ‘box’ ‘luck, fate’	/mačhī/ /damɔ/ /taksīm/	‘fish’ ‘rest’ ‘division’
/b/ vs. /w/[v]	/bas/ /čhabī/ /bābɔ/	‘enough!’ / ‘reside!’ ‘twenty-six’ ‘old man’	/was/ [vʌs] /čawī/ [čʌvi] /nāwɔ/ [na:vɔ]	‘resources’ ‘twenty-four’ ‘water spout’
/f/ vs. /w/[v]	/fāyɔ/ /safɔ/	‘benefit’ ‘page’	/wāyɔ/ [va:yɔ] /sāwɔ/ [sa:vɔ]	‘promise’ ‘blue-grey color’
/f/ vs. /ph/	/fazal/  /māfī/	‘grace’  ‘forgiveness’	/phagaŋ/  /guphī/	‘3rd lunar month’ ‘hip’

### 2.1.3.2 Distribution

The labial phonemes occur in all positions with the exception that /ph/ does not occur word-finally in my data. MacEachern’s (1997) laryngeal cooccurrence restriction for Gojri predicts that /ph/ will never cooccur in a word with any aspirated stop but itself (see 2.1.5.1).

The word given for /w/ in final position could alternately be analyzed as /bāū/. The case for medial /w/ is also tentative in that it is attested here and above only by a weakened numeric compound and by words in which it appears to be epenthetic (see discussion below).

## (10) Distribution of labial phonemes in words

	initial		intervocalic		final
/ph/	/phal/ ‘fruit’		/tràphuṛ/ (/dràphuṛ/) ‘skin bumps’	-----	
/p/	/pūt/ ‘son’		/ṭopī/ ‘cap, hat’		/tāp/ ‘fever’
/b/	/būṭə/ ‘tree’		/bābə/ ‘old man’		/jwāb/ ‘answer’
/w/	/wém/ ‘worry’		/dāwə/(/dāwə/) ‘claim’		/bāw/ ‘daughter-in-law’
/f/	/foṭū/ ‘picture’		/dafə/ ‘ordinance, restriction’		/sāf/ ‘clean’

## 2.1.3.3 Variation

/w/ is realized phonetically in some contexts as a labial-velar approximant [w], in other contexts as a labiodental fricative [v], and in yet other contexts as a bilabial fricative [β]. The latter is observed in the speech of many Gujars before the back rounded vowels /o/ and /ɔ/, most notably in the third masculine singular distal nominative pronoun /wó/ [βó] ‘he’ (all other distal nominatives begin with [v]), and epenthetically between verb stems ending in a vowel and the eastern second plural personal concord suffix /ɔ/, e.g. [hòβə kā] ‘you will be.’ In the speech of some eastern Gujars, including that of Dr. Sabir Afaqi, /w/ is altogether absent in these same contexts: /ó/ ‘he’; /hòə kā/ ‘you will be.’ I have also recorded forms such as /hòwə kə/ ‘it will be’ from the eastern variety spoken between the Siran and Kunhar rivers in Mansehra District. The lightly fricated [v] occurs initially and medially before all other vowels, while [w] occurs as labialization of an initial consonant or in Eastern as a glide component of the nucleus as shown in (11):

## (11) [w] as a semi-vowel in some Eastern Gojri nouns

	[sa:wṇ]	‘8th lunar month’
vs.	[sa:βuṇ] / [swa:ṇ]	(Western variant)

	[ča:w!]	‘rice’
vs.	[ča:βu!] / [čwa:!] ]	(Western variant)
	[ta:w!]	‘hurry’
vs.	[ta:βu!]	masc. ‘quickly’

Words beginning with a [C<sup>w</sup>+ V] sequence are presented in (12).

(12) Labialized initial consonants in Gojri

/kwārɔ/	‘unmarried man’	
/šwālɔ/	‘groom’	
/dwā šwā/	‘prayer and such’	
/jwāb/	‘answer’	cf. Urdu /javāb/
/gwā/	‘witness’	cf. Urdu /gavāh/
/dwāy/	‘medicine’	cf. Urdu /davāy/
/swāl/	‘put to sleep’	

Sharma does not report a phonetic [v] for Punch-Rajauri Gojri, nor is it possible to tell which instances of initial and medial [w] in his data might actually be [β] (1979:109).

This is also the case with the Gujari word lists reported in Hallberg’s survey (1992:259-283), where perhaps a decision was made to simply represent the phoneme as /w/ in an otherwise phonetic transcription.

While /b/ and /w/ both have phonemic status in both dialects, there are many examples of cross-dialectal variation in initial position such as those in (13):

(13)	Eastern	Western	
	/wārī/ [va:ri]	/bārī/	‘turn, time’
	/woʈ/ [βo:t]	/boʈ/	‘vote’
	/wiʈ/ [vi:ʈ]	/biʈ/ loc.	‘time, occasion’
	/wī/ [vi:]	/bī/	‘also’ (the Western variant /mī/ is also very common)

In addition, while /ph/ and /f/ are both phonemic in both dialects, there are many examples of cross-dialectal variation such as those in (14):

(14)	Eastern	Western	
	/fir/	/phir/	‘wander!’
	/fulāṇɔ/	/phulāṇɔ/	masc. ‘such and such’
	/xafā/	/xapā/	‘upset’

Various forms in the examples above represent attempts by the Western dialect both to preserve the indigenous segments /b/ and /ph/ while resisting the foreign /f/, whereas Eastern items reveal both the incorporation of /f/ and the weakening of /ph/ and /b/. The difference between the Western and Eastern responses to /f/ and to a lesser extent, /z/, may have something to do with relative degrees of historic Islamicization (Masica 1991:92).

#### 2.1.4 General Dental Area Consonants

Gojri features a three-way opposition between voiceless aspirated, voiceless, and voiced stops in the labial, general dental, and velar areas. Phonemic contrasts in the general dental area further subdivide into those comprised by the dental stops /th/, /t/ and /d/; the post-alveolar affricates /čh/, /č/ and /j/; and the retroflex stops /ṭh/, /ṭ/ and /ḍ/. The dental area fricatives are dental /s/ and /z/ and the post-alveolar /š/. The dental area nasals and liquids contrast alveolar and retroflex articulation: /n/ and /ṅ/, /l/ and /ḷ/, and /r/ and /ṛ/.

Word-initially and word-finally, the palatal glide /y/ - phonetic [j] in the IPA transcription - is roughly equivalent in quality to the close (high) vowel /ī/ (final /y/ in words like /pāy/ (/bāy/) ‘brother’ might also, therefore, be analyzed as diphthongal, e.g.

/p̄āī/ (/b̄āī/)). Medial /y/, however, is equivalent in quality to the vowel /e/ (but shorter in length) and contrasts with geminated /yy/, the latter achieving a higher articulatory target (i.e. that of the IPA [j]) due to its greater length. This transcriptional decision is driven by the need to represent the two glides in question in a manner compatible with Romanized transcriptions of Hindi-Urdu (it is not an issue in the script, see 2.6.1.3), which to my knowledge have not had to accommodate this contrast (even though it may occur phonetically, e.g. [a:<sup>y</sup>a:/ ‘[he] came’ vs. /a:y:e/ ‘please come’). For example, medial /y/ always indicates the lower, shorter glide in the standard transcription of Hindi-Urdu words like /pāyah/ [pa:<sup>y</sup>a:] ‘furniture leg’ (cf. Gojri /pāyā/ [pa:<sup>y</sup>a:] ‘furniture legs’) and /āyā/ [a:<sup>y</sup>a:] ‘he came’ (cf. Gojri /āēā/ [a:<sup>y</sup>a:] ‘[they] came’). Gojri, however, features the higher glide in some lexical stems, e.g. /pāyyo/ [pa:y:ɔ] ‘grazing fee’, necessitating the use of geminated /yy/ to ensure correct interpretation as IPA [j].

#### 2.1.4.1 Contrast

##### (15) Dental area stop, affricate, and fricative phonemic contrasts

/d/ vs. /n/	/das/	‘tell!’	/nas/	‘run away!’
	/kadū/	‘squash’	/janū/	‘knee’
	/sad/	‘call!’	/man/	‘obey!’
/d/ vs. /r/	/dī~/	‘sun’	/rī~/	‘oak tree’
	/sādī/ fem.	‘simple’	/sārī/ fem.	‘entire’
	/yād/	‘memory’	/yār/	‘friend’
/d/ vs. /l/	/de/	‘give!’	/le/	‘take!’
	/udīk/	‘waiting’	/ulī/	‘mold’
	/sād/	‘taste’	/sāl/	‘year’

/ṇ/ vs. /ḍ/	/kaṇī/ /khāṇ/	‘drop’ ‘a mine’	/gaḍī/ /lāḍ/	‘bundle’ also ‘vehicle’ ‘affection’
/ṇ/ vs. /ṛ/	/kaṇī/ /kūṇ/	‘rain drop’ ‘a tilt or lean’	/kaṛī/ /kūr/	‘ceiling beam’ ‘a lie’
/th/ vs. /t/	/tham/ /gutho/ /gith/	‘post, pillar’ ‘big bag’ ‘handspan’	/tam/ pl. /guto/ /it/	‘you’ ‘braid’ ‘here’
/t/ vs. /ḍ/	/tam/ pl. /dātī/  /rāt/	‘you’ ‘sickle’  ‘night’	/dam/ /dādī/  /sād/	‘moment’ ‘paternal grandmother’ ‘taste’
/ṭ/ vs. /ḍ/	/ṭak/ /hàṭī/ /ḍaṭ/	‘stain’ ‘shop, store’ ‘filled’	/ḍak/ trans. /hàḍī/ /ḍaḍ/	‘stop!’ ‘bone’ ‘toad’
/d/ vs. /ḍ/	/dand/ /nadī/ /kand/	‘tooth’ ‘river’ ‘wall’	/ḍand/ /gaḍī/ /kaḍ/	‘voice’ ‘bundle’ also ‘vehicle’ ‘back’
/ḍ/ vs. /ṛ/	/roḍo/ /koḍī/ /ṭhoḍī/ /gaḍī/ /lāḍ/	‘bald man’ ‘shell’ ‘chin’ ‘car; bundle’ ‘affection’	/roṛo/ /koṛī/ fem. /thoṛī/ fem. /kàṛī/ (/gàṛī/) /bāṛ/	‘drought’ ‘sour’ ‘a little’ ‘wrist watch’ ‘fence’
/ḍ/ vs. /ḷ/	/gaḍī/ /lāḍ/	‘car; bundle’ ‘affection’	/gaḷī/ /hāḷ/	‘street’ ‘plow’
/ṛ/ vs. /ḷ/	/sāṛo/ /bāṛ/	‘absence’ ‘bring inside!’	/sāḷo/ /bāḷ/	‘wife’s brother’ ‘ignite!’

/t/ vs. /th/	/tok/	‘interrupt!’	/thok/	‘pound!’
	/miṭī/	‘soil’	/miṭhī/ fem.	‘sweet’
	/kuṭ/	‘hit!’	/uṭh/	‘get up!’
/t/ vs. /t/	/tāp/	‘fever’	/tāp/	‘slipper’
	/netə/	‘churning rope’	/netə/	‘a set date or time’
	/it/	‘here’	/iṭ/	‘brick’
/th/ vs. /th/	/tham/	‘post, pillar’	/thamthokə/	‘woodpecker’
	/čothī/ fem.	‘fourth’	/koṭhī/	‘dwelling’
	/hāth/	‘hand’	/gaṭh/	‘knot’
/s/ vs. /z/	/seāṇ/(/sīāṇ/)	‘know!’	/zeān/(/zīān/)	‘loss, damage’
	/bastī/	‘a settlement’	/beztī/	‘a dishonor’
	/das/	‘10’	/daz daz/	‘bang! bang!’
/z/ vs. /d/	/zātī/ fem.	‘very own’	/dātī/	‘sickle’
	/mazə/	‘enjoyment’	/mudə/	‘period of time’
	/wāz/	‘voice’	/sād/	‘taste’
/čh/ vs. /č/	/čhaṭī/	‘a wind’	/čaṭī/	‘loss, damage’
	/bačhə/	‘calf’	/bačə/ masc.	‘child’
	/mučh/	‘moustache’	/muč/	‘much, many’
/č/ vs. /j/	/čam/	‘hide (of cattle)’	/jam/	‘be born!’
	/bačā/	‘save!’	/baĵā/	‘play instrument!’
	/baṇ bič/	‘in the forest’	/baṇ biĵ/	‘lightning bolt’
/č/ vs. /š/	/čak/	‘taste’	/šak/	‘guess, doubt’
	/bačə/ masc.	‘child’	/našə/	‘drug’
	/lačkə/	‘womens’ cap’	/laškε/	‘lightning flashes’
	/ka āč/	‘cubit’	/lāš/	‘corpse’
/s/ vs. /š/	/sar/	‘lake’	/šar/	‘public matter’
	/nasāṇə/	‘chasing, to chase’	/našāṇə/	‘aim’
	/mās/	‘meat’	/bidmāš/	‘criminal’

/ǰ/ vs. /z/	/guǰar/ /bāǰī/ /dāǰ/ /ǰān/ /aǰā~/ /dāǰ/	‘Gujar’ title for men ‘dowry’	/guzar/ /rāzī/ /bāz/ /dānd/ /addā/ /imdād/	‘pass!’ ‘happy’ ‘butterfly’ also ‘eagle’ ‘ox’ ‘Father!’ ‘help’
/ǰ/ vs. /d/	/ǰāl/ /dāǰ/	‘net’ ‘dowry’	/yār/ /nāy/	‘friend’ ‘barber’
/y/ vs. /yy/	/pāyɔ/ [pa:yɔ] /sāyɔ/ [sa:yɔ]	‘furniture leg’ ‘shadow’	/pāyyɔ/ [pa:y:ɔ] /māyyɔ/ [ma:y:ɔ]	‘grazing fee’ ‘kind of song’

#### 2.1.4.2 Distribution

There are no general restrictions on the distribution of the dental area stops, affricates, and fricatives (but note MacEachern’s (1997) restriction for aspirated stops in 2.1.5.1).

Initial sequences of consonant + /y/ (represented as Cy) are realized as phonetic

palatalization; e.g. /kyū~/ ‘why.’ Sequences of this type are extremely rare in Gojri (see also 2.3.3).

#### (16) Distribution of dental area stops, affricates, and fricatives

	initial		intervocalic		final
/th/	/thūm/	‘garlic’	/mathɔ/	‘forehead’	/hàth/ ‘hand’
/t/	/tis/	‘thirst’	/bātī/	‘paper charm’	/rāt/ ‘night’
/d/	/dúd/	‘milk’	/dādī/	‘paternal grandmother’	/trand/ ‘flock’
/ṭh/	/ṭhamṭhokɔ/	‘woodpecker’	/puṭhɔ/	masc. ‘opposite’	/aṭh/ ‘eight’
/ṭ/	/ṭang/	‘leg’	/būṭɔ/	‘tree’	/čhaṭ/ ‘saddle bag’
/ḍ/	/ḍand/	‘voice, call’	/ḍāḍī/	fem. ‘strong’	/ḍaḍ/ ‘toad’

/čh/	/čhurrī/	‘knife’	/bačho/	‘calf’	/pučh/ ‘ask!’
/č/	/čīṛā/	‘clothes’	/bačɔ/	masc. ‘child’	/beč/ ‘sell!’
/j/	/jandarɔ/	‘lock’	/bājɔ/	‘guitar’	/aǰ/ ‘today’
/s/	/sap/	‘snake’	/sasū/	‘mother-in-law’	/pīs/ ‘grind!’
/š/	/šak/	‘doubt’	/tamāšɔ/	‘a show’	/xuš/ ‘happy’
/z/	/zarī/	‘a little’	/mazɔ/	‘enjoyment’	/bāz/ ‘butterfly’
/y/	/yād/	‘memory’	/bakāyɔ/ [bʌka:ʏɔ]	‘remainder’	/pāy/ (/bāy/) ‘brother’

#### 2.1.4.3 Variation

Often the Western cognates of Eastern words featuring medial or final /z/ are instead pronounced with /ǰ/:

#### (17) Correspondence of Western /ǰ/ to Eastern /z/

Eastern	Western	
/peāz/	/pīāǰ/	‘onion’
/rozɔ/	/roǰɔ/	‘ritual fast’
/gaz/	/gaǰ/	‘one meter’

One interesting counterexample to this pattern is the Western pronunciation of the Kashmiri city of Rajauri, /razɔrī/, which Eastern speakers pronounce as /raǰɔrī/.

#### 2.1.5 Velar Area Stops and Fricatives

The characteristic three-way opposition noted earlier is attested in the velar area by /kh/, /k/, and /g/. The velar fricatives /x/ and /ɣ/ are of foreign origin but by no means rare. The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is always associated with low tone on the following vowel. It contrasts in initial position with words beginning with glottal stop [ʔ] followed by a vowel.

## 2.1.5.1 Contrast

## (18) Velar area phonemic contrasts

/kh/ vs. /k/	/kham/ ‘feather’ /likh/ ‘write!’	/kam/ ‘work’ /lik/ ‘lap up (water or milk)!’
/k/ vs. /g/	/korɔ/ ‘frost’ /čɔk/ ‘intersection’	/gorɔ/ ‘white man’ /čɔg/ ‘bird food (regurgitated)’
/g/ vs. /ɣ/	/gam/ ‘deep crevasse’ /nāg/ ‘cobra’	/ɣam/ ‘worry, care’ /bāɣ/ ‘garden’
/ɣ/ vs. /x/	/ɣer/ ‘other, strange’ /šuyal/ ‘fun’	/xer/ ‘it’s OK’ /buxārī/ ‘chimney’
/x/ vs. /kh/	/xān/ ‘Khan’ (a title) /mex/ ‘nail’	/khān/ ‘a mine’ /dekh/ ‘look!’
/h/ vs. ∅	/hàḍī/ ‘bone’ /hàḇḍī/ ‘clay pot’ /hāḷ/ ‘plow’	/aḍī/ [ʔʌḍi] ‘heel’ /anḍī/ [ʔʌḇḍi] ‘physique’ /āḷɔ/ [ʔa:ḷɔ] ‘one who ...’

## 2.1.5.2 Distribution

The fricative /h/ occurs only in initial position. The other velar area phonemes have no general distributional restrictions, although MacEachern (1997:58) finds that, while initial /h/ may cooccur with aspirated stops in words, ‘there is only one aspirated stop per word, unless the aspirated stops are identical.’ Thus /kh/ may occur with /h/ or another /kh/, but not with /ph/, /th/, /čh/, or /ṭh/. I have not found any counterexamples in my own data.



	/dabbɔ/	masc. ‘spotted’
vs.	/dabɔ/	‘box’
	/addɔ/	‘Father’
vs.	/ádɔ/	masc. ‘half’
	/allā/	‘Allah’
vs.	/hàlā/	‘Oh! Wow!’

Other words featuring geminated consonants include /annɔ/ ‘blind man’, /čhakkor/ ‘bread basket’, and /čhittar/ ‘kind of shoe’.

## 2.2 Gojri Vowel Phonemes

Both the Kaghani and Allaiwal dialects of Gojri have ten vowel phonemes, which are equivalent to those of Urdu and Punjabi. Gojri /e/ is lower than the [e:] of well-enunciated Urdu. An eleventh vowel, the marginal [æ], occurs rarely in English loans such as [kæmp] ‘camp’ and [bæg] ‘duffel bag’.

### Oral Vowels

The oral vowel phonemes of Gojri are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Gojri Oral Vowel Phonemes

	front	central	back
close	ī		ū
	i		u
close-mid	e		o
		a	
open-mid	ε		ɔ
open		ā	

Six vowel phonemes comprise three ‘short/long’ vowel pairs: /a/ [ʌ] and /ā/ [a:], /i/ [ɪ] and /ī/ [i:], /u/ [ʊ] and /ū/ [u:]. The close back vowels /u/ and /ū/ differ only in length, while the members of the other pairs are distinguished primarily by differences in length but also by quality differences. The remaining vowel phonemes are all phonologically long: /e/ [e:], /ɛ/ [ɛ:], /o/ [o:], and /ɔ/ [ɔ:].

The vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ correspond to the monophthongized diphthongs transcribed for Hindi-Urdu as /ai/ and /au/, respectively (Masica 1991:110-111). The latter representations are problematic for Gojri, however. The distribution of /ɛ/ is not limited to lexical roots as in Urdu, but rather extends to key grammatical morphemes such as the locative case marker and third person singular agreement marker (where Urdu has /e/). Using /ai/ would falsely imply that these markers had a historical diphthongal connection when in fact they are cognate with /e/. Likewise, while Gojri /ɔ/ occurs in many of the same roots where it occurs in Urdu, it also figures prominently as the nominative masculine singular agreement marker within the noun phrase and as a verbal suffix for certain stems ending in a vowel. Using /au/ to represent /ɔ/ in such cases would be both misleading and awkward.<sup>1</sup> These decisions have no bearing on the Gojri representations of these vowels, which are identical to their representations in Urdu.

The ten phonemic Gojri vowels contrast in monosyllables beginning with /m/ and closing with the liquids /l/, /l̥/ or /ɾ/ as shown in (21):

(21) Phonemic vowel contrasts

/a/	/mal/	‘rub!’	/ā/	/māl/	‘wealth’
/i/	/mil/	‘meet!’	/a/	/mīl/	‘mile’

/ɛ/	/mɛl/	‘filth’	/e/	/mɛl/	‘milk!’
/u/	/mul/	‘price’	/ū/	/mūl/	‘value’
/ɔ/	/mɔl/	‘be healed!’	/o/	/moɾ/	trans. ‘return!’

The contrast between /o/ and /ɔ/ is particularly difficult to hear, especially in the Western dialect where /ɔ/ is less open than in Eastern. Some helpful contrasts are shown in (22).

(22) Differentiation of /o/ and /ɔ/

/do sɔ do/	‘two hundred two’
/do so réā/ (/do so rīā/)	‘two [men] went to sleep’
/sɔdɔ/	‘groceries’
/us kɔ do sɔ rupáyɔ/	‘his two hundred rupees’
/kɔ/	‘slaughter!’
/kɔ/	‘say!’

In addition, each of the seven Gojri long vowels has a phonemic nasalized long vowel counterpart. Where nasalized short vowels are noted in the phonetic data, their nasality is always due to environmental conditioning. This accords with Ohala’s (1983) analysis for Hindi, endorsed by Masica (1991:117). The nasalized long vowels often occur in grammatical morphemes, as we shall see in Chapter 4.

Nasalized Vowels

The nasalized vowel phonemes of Gojri are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Gojri Nasalized Vowel Phonemes

	front	central	back
close	ī~		ū~
close-mid	e~		o~
open-mid	ɛ~		ɔ~
open		ā~	

The contrast between /e~/ and /ɛ~/ in my data is very tentative. It seems that /e/ might be lowered to /ɛ/ due to the effects of nasalization. For this reason it is difficult to tell even if the ergative postposition should be transcribed as /nɛ/ (Sharma 1982) or as /ne/ per the standard Urdu transcription.

### 2.2.1 Contrast

#### (23) Short versus long vowels

/a/ vs. /ā/	/rat/ ‘blood’	/rāt/ ‘night’
	/kaṛ/ ‘wood pile’	/kāṛ/ ‘rocky place’
/i/ vs. /ī/	/giṭh/ ‘handspan’	/gīt/ (/gīd/) ‘song’
	/biḷ/ ‘lightning bolt’	/bīḷ/ ‘seed’
/u/ vs. /ū/	/čup/ ‘hush!’	/čūp/ ‘suck!’
	/pučh/ ‘ask!’	/pūčh/ ‘clean!’

#### (24) Contrasts between qualitatively adjacent vowels

/a/ vs. /i/	/nač/ ‘dance!’	/ničh/ ‘sneeze!’
	/lasī/ ‘buttermilk’	/lisī/ fem. ‘weak’
/a/ vs. /ɛ/	/bas/ ‘enough!’ ‘dwell!’	/bes/ ‘sit!’
	/hāl/ intrans. ‘shake!’	/hèl/ ‘get used to!’
/o/ vs. /u/	/mɔl/ ‘be healed’	/mul/ ‘price’
	/póč/ ‘arrive!’	/pučh/ ‘ask [question]!’
/a/ vs. /u/	/mandrī/ fem. ‘low’	/mundrī/ ‘earring’
/e/ vs. /ī/	/jéb/ (/jeb/) ‘pocket’	/jīb/ ‘tongue’
/o/ vs. /u/	/ṭor/ ‘drive [cattle]!’	/ṭur/ ‘walk!’
	/moṛ/ trans. ‘return!’	/muṛ/ intrans. ‘return!’
/o/ vs. /ū/	/čorī/ ‘stealing’	/čūrī/ ‘dipping bread in oil’

/ɛ/ vs. /e/	/kɛ/ locative postposition/ conjunctive participle	/ke/ ‘what?’ / complementizer ‘that’
	/tɛ/ ‘and’	/te/ ablative postposition
	/mɛrɔ/ ‘big field’	/merɔ/ masc. ‘my’
/ɔ/ vs. /o/	/kɔ/ ‘say!’	/kó/ ‘slaughter!’
	/sɔ/ ‘one hundred’	/so/ ‘sleep!’
	/bótɔ/ ‘security’	/bótɪ/ ‘bride’

## (25) Oral versus nasalized vowels

/ā/ vs. /ā~/	/dā/ ‘method’	/dā~/ ‘please’	E. only
	/terā/ masc.sg. ‘your’	/terā~/ ‘thirteen’	
/ī/ vs. /ī~/	/lasī/ ‘buttermilk’	/sī~/ ‘lion’	
/e/ vs. /e~/	/ise/ ‘this very one’	/ise~/ ‘this one did’	W. only
	/peš/ a vowel diacritic	/nasāpe~/ ‘suddenly’	
		/eš/ ‘enjoyment’	
/ɛ/ vs. /ɛ~/	/čalɛ/ ‘he goes’	/čalɛ~/ ‘they go’	E. only
	/tɛ/ ‘and’	/tɛ~/ sg. ‘you did’	
/ū/ vs. /ū~/	/jū/ ‘fodder’	/jū~/ ‘lice’	
/o/ vs. /o~/	/nǐ hòsɛ/ ‘won’t be’	/hòs/ ‘interest’	
/ɔ/ vs. /ɔ~/	/xɔf/ ‘fear’	/sɔf/ ‘anise’	

## 2.2.2 Distribution

The only restriction on vowel occurrence is that there is generally no phonemic contrast between short/long pairs in final position, i.e. /i/ and /u/ do not occur word-finally and /a/ occurs word-finally only in the third person feminine singular pronouns.

## (26) Distribution of vowels in words

Initial			Medial		Final	
/a/	/ammā/	‘Mother’	/sad/	‘call’	/wá/	‘she, that’
/ā/	/ādmī/	‘person’	/bāp/	‘father’	/wā/	‘bravo!’
/i/	/it/	‘here’	/jit/	‘wherever’	-----	
/ī/	/īd/	‘Eid’	/bīr/	‘friend’	/jī/	‘Sir’
/ε/	/εr/	‘scare crow’	/čet/	‘4th lunar month’	/tε/	‘and’
/e/	/ek/	‘one’	/merī/	fem. ‘my’	/le/	‘take!’
/u/	/ut/	‘there’	/tʉr/	‘walk!’	-----	
/ū/	/ūr/	‘a thorny bush’	/dūjī/	fem. ‘second’	/utū/	‘from there’
/o/	/oṛī/	‘log’	/morɔ/	‘hole’	/so/	‘sleep!’
/ɔ/	/ɔṛ/	‘idiot’	/mɔt/	‘death’	/sɔ/	‘one hundred’

## 2.2.3 Variation

In unstressed syllables of disyllabic words lacking suffixation, the short vowels /a/ [ə] and /u/ [ʊ] are in free variation. Most often this involves words ending in the liquids /r/, /ṛ/, and /l/. Vowel harmony may play a role in determining which variant will occur most often for a given word. In phonemic representation, /a/ is tentatively preferred. This is another decision that has no impact on Gojri spellings, since unstressed stem vowels are not normally written.

## (27) Variation of /u/ and /a/ in unstressed syllables

/kukaṛ/	‘chicken’	[ <sup>1</sup> kukʊṛ]	or	[ <sup>1</sup> kukəṛ]
/šukaṛ/	‘thanks’	[ <sup>1</sup> sukʊṛ]	or	[ <sup>1</sup> šukəṛ]
/čɔkaṛ/	‘cattle’	[ <sup>1</sup> čɔ:kʊṛ]	or	[ <sup>1</sup> čɔ:kəṛ]
/apaṛ/	‘above’	[ <sup>1</sup> ʌpʊṛ]	or	[ <sup>1</sup> ʌpəṛ]
/brābar/	‘equal’	[ <sup>1</sup> bra:bʊṛ]	or	[ <sup>1</sup> bra:bəṛ]
/gidaṛ/	‘jackal’	[ <sup>1</sup> gɪdʊṛ]	or	[ <sup>1</sup> gɪdəṛ]
/mačhar/	‘mosquito’	[ <sup>1</sup> mʌčhʊṛ]	or	[ <sup>1</sup> mʌčhəṛ]
/jʉsam/	‘body’	[ <sup>1</sup> jʉsʊm]	or	[ <sup>1</sup> jʉsəm]

/badal/ ‘rain’      [ˈbaduɫ]      or [ˈbadəl]  
 /čittar/ ‘kind of shoe’ [ˈčit:ʊr]      or [ˈčit:ər]

For certain words like the Perso-Arabic loan /hâfâzat/ ‘protection’, an /u/ pronunciation in the final syllable is incorrect.

Utterance-final vowels, along with any consonants immediately preceding them, are frequently devoiced. Most often these are vowel suffixes on nouns and verbs. For example, in perfective constructions involving transitive verbs the auxiliary verb /čhur/ ‘drop’, along with any inflectional endings, is often completely devoiced. In feminine nouns, the effect of this devoicing can be the production of a voiceless palatal fricative, [ç̥] in the IPA transcription, at the point where the feminine suffix /ī/ devoices.

Any vowel immediately following a nasal consonant will also become nasalized. This generalization does not extend to vowels following the so-called ‘nasal clusters.’

## 2.3 Phonotactics

### 2.3.1 Syllable Types

The most basic Gojri syllable type consists of a consonantal onset (C) and a short-vowel nucleus (V), and is represented abstractly as CV. This type of syllable rarely occurs as a word by itself, i.e. as a monosyllabic word. One example is the proximate third singular feminine pronoun /yá/ ‘she, this.’ A syllable consisting only of a short-vowel nucleus (V) may also occur, but only in polysyllabic words like /ugãṛī/ fem.

‘naked’ shown in (29) below. Monosyllabic words featuring a consonantal onset (C) and a long-vowel nucleus (VV), represented as CVV, are quite common. Some examples of such CVV monosyllables are the number /do/ [do:] ‘two’, and the verb /pī/ ‘drink!’ In a very few cases, a long-vowel nucleus monosyllable occurs without an onset. The only

two examples of such VV monosyllables in my database are the vocative interjection /ɔ/ [ɔ:] ‘Oh’, and the distal third masculine singular variant /ó/ [ô:] ‘he, that.’

Two other syllable types, CVC and CVVC, feature both an onset and consonantal coda (C) after the vowel nucleus. Syllables having a coda are called ‘closed’, while those lacking a coda are called ‘open’ (a term relevant to the following discussion of verb stems). Some examples of CVC monosyllables are /bič/ ‘in’ and /kam/ ‘work.’ Some examples of CVVC monosyllables are /lūṇ/ ‘salt’ and /mès/ [mě:s] ‘buffalo.’ Examples of closed monosyllables include the VC /it/ ‘here’ and /ut/ ‘there’, and the VVC /ek/ [e:k] ‘one’ and /ɔɾ/ [ɔ:ɾ] ‘idiot.’

Sequences of two consonants may also occur in the onset and coda of syllables, without any intervening vowel. Such onsets and codas, represented as CC, expand the inventory of syllable types to include those shown in (28).

(28) Syllable Types Featuring CC Sequences

CCVCC	/trand/ ‘flock’	/kranḍ/ ‘silo’
CCVC	/sraḍ/ ‘hay’	/prat/ ‘turn over!’
CCVV	/grā~/ ‘village’	/kyū~/ ‘why’
CCVVC	/khwā!/ ‘feed!’	/troɾ/ ‘break off!’
CVCC	/bast/ ‘jewelry’	/dand/ ‘tooth’
CVVCC	/dānd/ ‘ox’	/šārk/ ‘mina bird’

The types CCV and CCVVCC are not attested in my data.

All polysyllabic Gojri words may be analyzed as combinations of the syllable types described above. A partial list of possible syllable patterns is shown in (29).

## (29) Syllable patterns in polysyllabic words

V.CVV	/itār/ ‘Sunday’
V.CVV.CVV	/ugārī/ fem. ‘naked’
VC.CVV	/ačbī/ ‘exhaustion, discomfort’
VC.CVVC	/absos/ ‘sadness’
CV.CV.CVV	/kìgarə/ (/gìgarə/) ‘a kind of frock’
CV.CVV	/tùnī/ (/dùnī/) ‘navel’
CV.CVV.VV	/babúo/ ‘spider’
CV.CVV.VC	/maleàp/ ‘worm’
CV.CVV.VVC	/pìgeār/ (/bìgīār/) ‘wolf’
CV.CVV.CVV	/kasīī/ ‘crawling’
CV.CVC	/mazab/ ‘religion’
CV.CVVC	/paṛās/ (/baṛās/) ‘steam’
CVV.VV	/pīε/ ‘(s)he drinks’
CVV.CVC	/kàbar/ (/gàbar/) ‘be fearful!’
CVV.CVV	/mīno/ ‘month’
CVV.CVV.VVC	/dādeā!/ ‘paternal relatives’
CVV.CVVC	/dopāir/ (/dopār/) ‘noon’
CVV.CCVV	/kàbrā/ (/gàbrā/) ‘cause to worry!’
CCVV.CVV	/swàgā/ ‘ashes’
CVC.CVV	/baṛkā/ trans. ‘boil!’
CVC.CVC	/čhittar/ ‘kind of shoe’
CVC.CVVC	/budwār/ ‘Wednesday’
CVC.CVV.CVV	/hāmzo!o/ masc. ‘age mate’

The syllable structure of a word can be altered through inflection. In words structured 'CV.CVC (or similarly), the unstressed vowel of the CVC syllable elides upon the addition of an inflectional affix (cf. Masica 1991:227) and the result is a word of type CVC.CVV. For example, when affixed with the plural oblique before a postposition, /āfas/ ‘office’ becomes /āfsā~ (mā)/ ‘(in) offices’ and /jatak/ ‘child’ becomes /jatkā~ (nā)/ ‘(to) children.’ The same elision is observed for the addition of the causative suffix /-ā/. Compare /(bāl) katar/ ‘cut (hair)!’ to /(bāl) katrā/ ‘get someone to cut (hair)!’

### 2.3.2 Consonant Clusters

In Gojri words, two consonants may occur together in sequence or ‘cluster’ without any intervening vowel. Initial clusters are relatively uncommon. Only the consonants /r/, /w/, /y/ and /l/ (e.g. /blādrī/ ‘clan’) can occur as the second member of an initial cluster, although due to loans like /skūl/ ‘school’ this set may be slightly expanded (but note the variant [sʌku:l]). Consonants which cannot occur as the first member of an initial cluster are /r/, /w/, /y/, /h/ and the non-initial retroflexes /ŋ/, /ɽ/, and /ɻ/. My database contains words in which the following occur as the first member of initial clusters: /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /ɖ/, /k/, /kh/, /g/, /j/, /s/, /š/, /x/, /n/ (possibly disallowed in Western) and /l/ (e.g. /lwā/ ‘dress (someone else)!’). In addition, Gujars have no trouble pronouncing the name of the Perso-Arabic letter /zwād/. Presumably other stops, fricatives, and affricates may also occur as the first member, although it seems unlikely that many examples could be found for /f/ and the nasal /m/.

Final consonant clusters are only slightly more common, the difference being due to the frequency of nasal clusters (which do not occur initially). Generally speaking, the first member of a final cluster must be a nasal (other than /m/) or a continuant, and the second member must be a stop, fricative, or affricate (provided it otherwise occurs word-finally). The fricatives /f/, /s/, and /š/ may therefore occur in either position.

Except for those clusters which also occur word-initially, medial clusters, including nasal clusters, occur across syllable boundaries.

### 2.3.3 Vowel Sequences (Hiatus)

Vowel sequences involving two syllables within Gojri lexical roots are the exception. Two such sequences, /oā/ and /eo/, are attested by one word each in my database: /roāj/

‘custom’ and /reɔɾ/ ‘spruce.’ A third sequence, /eā/ (/īā/), is much more frequent. Some examples are /dèāɾɔ/ (/dīāɾɔ/) ‘day’, /seāl/ (/seāl/) ‘winter’, and /bideā/ (/bidīā/) ‘a farewell.’ The /eā/ (/īā/) sequence sounds like a Cy sequence in rapid speech (especially in Western), but in deliberate speech sounds quite different from a true Cy sequence such as that in the word /kyū~/ ‘why’, i.e. it is syllabified, and there is a clear /e/ vs. /ī/ quality contrast between the Eastern and Western varieties. In longer words like /pìgēār/ (/bìgīār/) ‘wolf’, /e/ (/ī/) and /ā/ are more clearly pronounced in separate syllables.

A large number of vowel sequences may occur across morpheme boundaries.

Normally these involve two syllables; however, the suffixes /ī/, /ū~/, or /e/ may result in monosyllabic sequences. What is claimed in (30) and below for any level-tone oral vowel is also true for any nasalized or high-tone counterpart.

(30) Vowel sequences across morpheme boundaries (the second vowel is suffixal)

Sequence	Example		Number of syllables pronounced
/aī/	/gaī/		‘she went’ one
/āū~/	/āū~/		‘I come’ one
/āī/	/āī/		‘she came’ one
/āe/	/kāe/		indef.fem.sg. pronoun one
/āε/ W. only	/āε/		‘(s)he comes’ two
/āɔ~/ W. only	/āɔ~/		‘you (pl.) come!’ two
/ūī/	/sūī/		‘needle’ two
/ūɔ/	/mūɔ/	masc.sg.	‘dead’ two
/ūā/	/mūā/	masc.pl.	‘dead’ two
/īɔ/	/līɔ/	masc.sg.	‘took’ two
/īā~/	/pīā/	masc.pl.	‘drank’ two
/īū/	/pīū~/		‘I drink’ two
/īε/	/pīε/		‘(s)he drinks’ two
/īe/	/āīe/ (/āī~e)/ fut.		‘come!’ two
/oā~/	/soā~/		‘we sleep’ two

/oε/	/doε/		‘both’	two
/oī/	/koī/	fem.sg.	‘slaughtered’	one
/oε/	/soε/		‘(s)he sleeps’	two
/oɔ/	/noɔ/	masc.sg.	‘new’	two
/oū~/	/soū~/		‘I sleep’	two
/eā~/	E. only /leā~/		‘we take’	two
/eε/	E. only /leε/		‘(s)he takes’	two
/eɔ/	E. only /deɔ/		‘you pl. give!’	two
/εε/	/trεε/		‘all three’	one

Certain cases of hiatus are resolved by epenthesis. The examples in (31) show an epenthetic /w/ [v] coming between a root-final vowel /ā/ and the masculine singular and plural agreement suffixes, /-ɔ/ and /-ā/ (feminine forms of these examples do not exist).

(31) /w/ epenthesis for vowel sequence /ā/ + /ɔ/, /ā/

root	masculine singular (+ /-ɔ/)		masculine plural (+ /-ā/)	
/nā-/	/nāwɔ/	‘spout’	/nāwā/	‘spouts’
/dā-/	/dāwɔ/	‘claim’	/dāwā/	‘claims’
/kalā-/	/kalāwɔ/	‘arm clutch’	/kalāwā/	‘arm clutches’

The Western form /dīwɔ/ ‘lamp’ (Eastern /dīɔ/) suggests that /w/ epenthesis may occur in Western between /ī/ and these agreement suffixes. Unfortunately I have no other examples or counterexamples. All remaining cases of hiatus involve suffixation, and are resolved by either epenthesis or stem vowel modification as explained in 2.4.

## 2.4 Morphophonemic Vowel Changes

### 2.4.1 Vowel Changes with Verbal Suffixation

Significant morphophonemic processes operate when verb stems that end in a vowel are inflected by vowel suffixes, as is evident from the verb paradigms presented in

Appendix C. All such processes issue from phonotactic constraints, including the need to resolve hiatus of a disallowed vowel sequence.

#### 2.4.1.1 Vowel Changes with the Causative Suffix /-ā/

The addition of the causative suffix /-ā/ can result in reduction of the root vowel in roots which end in a consonant. An example is /jāg/ ‘wake up!’, /jaqā/ ‘wake [someone] up!’ This particular reduction process rarely applies, because there are few long-vowel roots that take the causative suffix.

In roots ending in a vowel, addition of the causative suffix /-ā/ (or /-ā!/) can result in the resolution of hiatus via labialization, and deletion of the original stem vowel. Some common examples are shown in (32).

#### (32) Labialization in causative verbs ending in a vowel

Verb Root	Synthesized Causative Stem
/lā/ ‘put on [article of clothing]!’	/lwā/ ‘dress [someone]!’
/lā́/ ‘remove [article of clothing]!’	/lwā́/ ‘get [someone]to remove [article of clothing]!’
/khā/ ‘eat!’	/khwā!/ ‘feed!’
/so/ ‘sleep’	/swā!/ ‘put to sleep’

The derivation of /lwā/ ‘dress [someone]!’ from /lā/ ‘put on!’ shown in (33) - (35) illustrates this process. First, the inherently stressed causative suffix is added to the underlying verb root:

(33) /lā-/ + /-ā/

Next, as the sequence /ā/ + /ā/ is generally disallowed in Gojri, an epenthetic /w/ is inserted between the suffix and the root vowel:

(34) lā + w + ā > lā'wā

Finally, the original stem vowel - now unstressed due to the shift of stress to the syllable containing the causative suffix - is deleted, resulting in the synthesized form:

(35)  $lā^l wā > lwā$

#### 2.4.1.2 Vowel Changes with Vocalic Tense, Aspect, and Agreement Suffixes

The perfective suffix /-e/ (/̄-ī/) and a following feminine agreement marker (/̄-ī/ or /̄-ī~/, the latter is Eastern only) always coalesce to /̄-ī/.

Verb stems may end in the long vowels /o/, /ā/, /e/, /ī/, and /ε/. Stems ending in /ī/ show no variation other than the absorption of any immediately following suffixed /̄-ī/. The feminine singular perfective /p̄ī/ ‘[he] drank [it [fem.]]’ is thus the product of /p̄ī-/ ‘drink’, the perfective suffix /-ē/(/̄-ī/), and the feminine singular suffix /-ī/.

Stems ending in /e/ like ‘give’ and ‘take’ raise to /ī/ before the first singular suffix /ū~/.

Thus, /dīū~/ ‘I give’ is the product of /de-/ ‘give’ and /-ū~/.

In the Western dialect, stems ending in /e/ will also raise to /ī/ before any suffixed /ā/, /ɔ/, or /ε/. In the Eastern dialect, stems ending in /e/ will absorb the /ε/ while acquiring the nasality of the suffix /-ε~/.

Such stems also reduce from /e/ to /a/ before any suffixed /̄-ī/.

Stems ending in /o/ absorb any suffixed /ɔ/ in the Western dialect. The Eastern dialect inserts an epenthetic /w/ between the verb /hò-/ ‘to be’ and any suffixed /ā/, /ε/ or /ɔ/, but does not do this for other stems ending in /o/.

For stems ending in /ā/ such as /ā-/ ‘come’, the Eastern dialect inserts an epenthetic /w/ between the stem vowel /ā/ and any suffixed /ā/, /ε/, or /ɔ/. This epenthetic /w/ is in free variation with the absence of epenthetic /w/ in the speech of some Western speakers.

When the ‘vector’ verb and passive formative /jā-/ ‘go’ is immediately followed by the

future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/), the two roots will contract without any epenthetic /w/ such that any suffixed /ε/ raises to /ī/. In the Western dialect, this contraction applies to any verb ending in /ā/, although it alternates with the epenthesis process in the speech of some persons. For example, the Western contraction /āīgɔ/ ‘he will come’ may alternate with the uncontracted and epenthesized /āwε gɔ/.

For stems ending in /ε/ like the defective modal verb /pε-/ ‘fall’, the stem vowel changes to /o/ before any suffixed /ε/ in the Eastern dialect, but coalesces with the suffixed /ε/ in the Western dialect. For masculine perfective forms, the stem vowel /ε/ is absorbed by the perfective suffix /-e/ (/ī/), whereas for feminine forms it is reduced to /a/ before the perfective suffix.

Stems ending in the high-tone /é/ are particularly subject to morphophonemic change. For verbs such as /ké/ ‘say’ and /ré/ ‘stay’, the stem vowel remains unchanged before a vowel suffix only when coalescing with another suffixed /ε/, and before the future imperative suffix /-ī~/ in the Western dialect. In both dialects it reduces to /á/ before /ū/ and before all remaining cases of suffixed /ī/. Before a suffixed /ɔ/ it raises to /e/ in Eastern and to /ī/ in Western. In all cases the resulting suffix carries the high tone from the original stem vowel. The inflections of /ré/ ‘stay’ given in Table 4 below attest these changes.

For verb stems ending in vowels, irregular suppletive forms abound - especially in the irregular perfectives, as is evident in Appendix C (see also 4.2.1.1.3 on the old -ita participle in Gojri).

Table 4. Morphophonemic Changes for Stems Ending in /é/: /ré/ ‘stay’  
(unique Western forms are in parentheses)

		Stem	(Tense)	Agreement	Full form
Unspecified	1sg.	ré-		-ū~	ráū~
	1pl.	ré-		-ā~	rā~
	2/3sg.	ré-		-ε	ré
	2pl.	ré-		-ɔ (-ε)	ró (ré)
	3pl.	ré-		-ε~ (-ε)	ré~ (ré)
Present Imperative	2sg.	ró-		∅	ró
	2pl.	ré-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	ró (rɔ~)
Future Imperative	2sg.	ré-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	ráīe (réī~e)
	2pl.	ré-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	ráīɔ (réī~ɔ~)
		Stem	Aspect	Agreement	Full form
Perfective	m.sg.	ré-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	réo (río)
	m.pl.	ré-	-e (-ī)	-ā	réā (ríā)
	f.sg.	ré-	-e (-ī)	-ī	ráī
	f.pl.	ré-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	ráī~ (ráī)

#### 2.4.2 Vowel Changes with Nominal Suffixation

Nominal and adjectival roots ending in /o/ [o:] reduce to /u/ [u] in the speech of some Gujars when suffixed by the masculine agreement markers /-ɔ/ and /-ā/. The phenomenon seems to be a matter of idiolect rather than dialect, as persons from the same household often differ with respect to it. Some examples are given in (36).

#### (36) Reduction of nominal root vowel /o/ [o:] to /u/ [u]

root		reduced masc. variant	unreduced variant	feminine singular (or diminutive)
/to-/	‘roti pan’	[tuɔ:]	[to:ɔ:]	[to:i:] E. only
/go-/	‘manure’	[guɔ:]	[go:ɔ:]	[go:i:]

/lɔ-/	‘metal’	[lɔ:]	[lɔ:]	-----
/no-/	‘new’	[nɔ:]	[no:]	[no:]

Another idiolectal feature occurring with nominal suffixation is the use of an epenthetic glide between the oblique plural marker /-ā~/ and monosyllabic noun stems ending in the vowels /ā~/ and /ā/. This epenthesis is in free variation with the absence of epenthesis, in which case the oblique plural marker simply coalesces with these nominal stem vowels (the resulting words are phonetically longer than their uninflected forms). Some examples from Eastern speech are provided in (37). Such forms are typical of my Eastern associate, but not of his mother and older brother.

(37) Epenthesis with inflected nouns ending in a vowel (only Eastern forms shown)

/is grā~ mā/	‘in this village’	/ínā~ grā~yā~ mā/	‘in these villages’
/is jā mā/	‘in this place’	/ínā~ jāyā~ mā/	‘in these places’
/is rā mā/	‘in this path’	/ínā~ rāyā~ mā/	‘in these paths’

The same kind of epenthesis occurs in Western speech, although with the geminated /yy/ glide, as in /gā~yyā~ (kɔ dúd)/ ‘cows’ (milk).’ This form is typical of the speech of my Western associate’s mother, whereas my Western associate simply says /gā~ (kɔ dúd)/ ‘cow(s) (milk)’ which is formally ambiguous in number. Such epenthesis is not noted for polysyllabic stems, e.g. Eastern /(únā~) pèñā~ (nā)/ ‘(to those) women’ vs. /(us) pèñā (nā)/ ‘(to that) woman.’ At least one instance of (presumably) obligatory epenthesis occurs in an idiom common to both dialects: /mā~yā~ bāpā~ kɔ ke hāl hè/ ‘How are [your] parents?’ (Eastern). Here epenthesis occurs between the first word, /mā~/ ‘mother’, and the oblique plural marker /-ā~/, creating /mā~yā~/ in Eastern speech and /mā~yyā~/ in Western.

## 2.5 Other Processes

### 2.5.1 Assimilation of /l/ and /l̥/

The retroflex /l̥/ becomes dental /l/ in clusters before any dental area consonant. For example, phonemic /baɭtɔ rɛ́/ ‘keeps burning’ becomes phonetic [baɭtɔ rɛ́] after the /l̥/ of the root assimilates to the point of articulation for the imperfective suffix /-t/. Similarly, dental /l/ becomes retroflexed before a retroflex consonant as in /bāl̥ɭī/ [baɭɭī] ‘bucket.’ This process is not noted for consonants other than /l̥/ and /l/.

Similarly, dental /l/ becomes retroflexed before a retroflex consonant as in /bāl̥ɭī/ [baɭɭī] ‘bucket.’ This process is not noted for consonants other than /l̥/ and /l/.

### 2.5.2 Assimilation of the Dative Postposition /nā/ to the Infinitive

When the dative postposition /nā/ inflects an infinitive in a purpose clause in normal speech, the postposition and infinitive contract such that the initial /n/ assimilates to the retroflex point of articulation of the infinitive suffix /ŋ/. For example, phonemic /māruŋ nā/ ‘for hitting’ becomes phonetic [māruŋŋā] in pronunciation.

### 2.5.3 Avoidance of Cluster /mn/ by Replacement of /n/

Eastern Gojri disallows the cluster /mn/, such that the co-location of /m/ and /n/ at morpheme boundaries is resolved via replacement of /n/ with /ŋ/. This process is most readily observable in the first and second plural dative and agentive pronominal forms. The following replacements/contractions are obligatory when first and second plural pronouns are followed by the postpositions /nā/ (dative case) and /ne/ (agentive case) without any intervening words:

(38) Cluster /mn/ avoidance via replacement of /n/ with /ŋ/ in Eastern pronominal forms

/hàm ne/ [hλmŋe:~] ‘we did’	vs. [hλm lo:ka:~ ne:~] ‘we people did’
/hàm nā/ [hλmŋa:~] ‘to us’	vs. [hλm lo:ka:~ na:~] ‘to us people’

/tam ne/ [tʌmne:~] ‘you did’      vs. [tʌm lo:ka:~ ne:~] ‘you people did’  
 /tam nā/ [tʌmna:~] ‘to you’      vs. [tʌm lo:ka:~ na:~] ‘to you people’

#### 2.5.4 Replacement of the Infinitive Suffix /-ŋ/ with /-n/

When the infinitive suffix /-ŋ/ is affixed to verb stems ending in a retroflex sonorant, articulatory difficulty is resolved through the replacement of /ŋ/ with /n/. Some examples and counterexamples are shown in (39).

#### (39) Replacement of infinitive suffix /-ŋ/ with /n/ following retroflex sonorants

/āŋŋə/ [a:ŋəŋə] ‘to bring’  
 /bāŋŋə/ [ba:ŋəŋə] ‘to bring inside’  
 /pāŋŋə/ [pa:ŋəŋə] ‘to tend (animals or children)’  
 /káŋŋə/ [kʌŋəŋə] ‘to remove’

/uŋŋə/ [uŋəŋə] ‘to rise’ (no replacement following non-sonorant)  
 /miŋŋə/ [miŋəŋə] ‘to fit’ (no replacement following non-sonorant)

#### 2.5.5 Voicing Assimilation of the Genitive Postposition /k-/

In the speech of many Western dialect speakers, the genitive postposition /k-/ becomes [g-] following any nasalized vowel or nasal consonant. Compare the examples in (40).

#### (40) Voicing of genitive postposition /k-/

/ún kā (ɖerā)/ [ún ga: (ɖe:ra:)] ‘their (houses)’  
 /ún lokā~ kā (ɖerā)/ [ún lo:ka:~ ga: (ɖe:ra:)] ‘those people’s (houses)’  
 /us kə (ɖerə)/ [us kə: (ɖe:rə:)] ‘his (house)’

#### 2.5.6 Perseveratory Nasalization

All oral vowels become nasalized when immediately following a nasal consonant. As in other languages, the degree of phonetic nasalization in Gojri is directly related to vowel

height and length, with lower long vowels becoming the most nasalized (due to lowering of the velum during production of low vowels). For example, the effect is profound for /ā/ and negligible for /i/. Other than /ā/, the nasality of long vowels so nasalized is less than that of corresponding phonemic nasal vowels. Thus, the locative and dative postpositions, /mā/ and /nā/, respectively, are phonetically identical to /mā~/ ‘mother’ and /nā~/ ‘name’, the nasalized vowels of which are both underlying. Such nasality does not ‘persevere’ into a second vowel, nor does that of the so-called ‘nasal clusters’ extend through the non-nasal consonant to a following vowel. Some other words which attest this process and its scope are shown in (41).

(41) Nasalization of vowels following nasal consonants

nasalization realized on a final vowel due to immediately preceding nasal consonant	nasalization not realized on a final vowel due to segment intervening after the nasal	
/mām̄ɔ/ [ma:~m̄ɔ:] ‘mother’s brother’	/noɔ/ [no:~ɔ:]	masc. ‘new’
/nānī/ [na:~ni:] ‘maternal grandmother’	/mūɔ (wɔ)/ [mu:~ɔ: (vɔ:)]	masc. ‘dead’
/pakhnū/ [pʌk <sup>h</sup> nu:~] ‘large bird’	/kandɔ/ [kʌŋɔ:]	‘thorn’
/pāṇī/ [pa:~ṇi:] ‘water’	/angār/ [ʌŋga:r]	‘coal’

## 2.6 Representation of Gojri Phonemes in the Gojri Script

### 2.6.1 Representation of Consonant Phonemes

With the exception of the unique retroflexes /ŋ/ and /l/, Gojri consonant phonemes may be readily represented as per the representation of the equivalent consonants in Urdu. Geminated consonants should be marked as Urdu geminates are marked; i.e. with the superscript diacritic, *tashdeed* (or *shad*, /šad/). In the case of the phonemes /t/, /h/, /s/, /z/, and /k/, one or more additional graphemes from the Perso-Arabic inventory is

required to preserve the original spellings of the loan words in which they occur (this convention applies in Urdu as well). Original pronunciations are seldom applicable, although educated speakers may read [q] rather than the usual (Gojri-ized) [k] in words bearing the letter ق (e.g. many names including [qura:n] ‘Qur’an’).

Masica notes that attempts to remove the redundant loan-word graphemes in the writing of other Indo-Aryan languages have generally failed to catch on, given the religious significance of the Arabic language (1991:151). Their removal from Gojri would constitute a significant obstacle to successful transitional literacy by requiring the reader to learn multiple spellings of the same words: original spellings for Urdu texts and one-phoneme-one-grapheme spellings for Gojri texts (per the approach recommended by Sharma 1979:148-149). In practice, Gujar writers almost always use the original spellings.

#### 2.6.1.1 Representation of the Gojri Retroflexes /ŋ/ and /ɳ/

A variety of techniques has been used for representing the Gojri retroflexes /ŋ/ and /ɳ/. Some writers, whether for lack of an alternative or due to an incorrect belief that these segments are merely allophones of /n/ and /l/, simply write them as /n/ and /l/ (ن and ل, respectively). This approach, by ignoring the phonemic status of these segments, introduces a measure of ambiguity that is potentially detrimental to new readers. It also deprives written Gojri of its best opportunity for a distinctive appearance, something that many Gujarars desire. Recognizing a real need to differentiate retroflex /ŋ/ and /ɳ/ from their dental counterparts (and that the retroflex-marking diacritic ٺ, or *toe*, was ineligible

due to certain confusion between the writing of /ṭ/ and /l/ in medial contexts), Sabir Afaqi in 1976 proposed unique graphemes in the introduction to his *Phul Kheli*, a book of Gojri poetry; suggesting ڄ for /ṇ/ and ڄ̇ for /l/.

These representations have since been utilized by Professor Afaqi and several of his associates in Pakistan and Pakistan-administered Kashmir. While the former has also become the convention of choice on the eastern side, the latter has been rejected there in favor of ڄ̇. This is not surprising, given the potential for confusing ڄ̇ with the nasality grapheme ڄ̇ (nun gunno). Professor Afaqi says that he avoided the possibility of ڄ̇ due to concern that it would be confused with ڄ̇ if the latter's center *nuqtah* ('dot') was inadvertently omitted (2002: personal communication).

It is questionable, however whether an orthographic convention ought to be decided by considerations of error, especially considering how many pairs of letters in Urdu and English are distinguished by a single graphic feature. There is also the fact that most of the Gojri text that Gujars will read in the future will likely be published with the aid of computers (which generally preclude intra-graphemic errors).

The use of ڄ̇ and ڄ̇ for /ṇ/ and /l/, respectively, has the following advantages: (1) it differentiates these segments from their dental counterparts, but by a single and consistent feature, namely, the inverted wedge, or /puṭhə aṭh/ as it is called in Gojri; (2) on account of its promotion by the Jammu & Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture &

Languages it enjoys greater current acceptance than any other alternative (albeit mainly in Indian-administered Kashmir); (3) it enables readers to tell by a simple glance that a page of text is Gojri rather than Urdu (or some other regional language); and (4) the inverted wedge character is supported by the widely available InPage 2000 desktop publishing software for the Perso-Arabic script type (perhaps owing to the use of this convention in some Punjabi writing). I believe, therefore, that these graphemes represent the best opportunity for Gujars to standardize the representation of /ŋ/ and /l/. The adoption of ج̣ in Pakistan would not be significantly hindered by the past use of ج̂, since relatively few Pakistani Gujars have ever seen their language in print. The adoption of any new representations by Gujars in the eastern area would seem considerably more complicated.

For sake of completeness we should note that the graphemes for /ŋ/ and /l/ designed and forwarded by Sharma (1979:150,163,167) are not to my knowledge in use by Gujar writers in any quarter and for that reason do not warrant consideration at the present time.

#### 2.6.1.2 Representation of the Geminated Retroflex Lateral /l̥/

Sabir Afaqi has designed and proposed a special grapheme to represent the geminated retroflex lateral /l̥/ (1976). Since this character is not supported by any word processing software, the segment might be written more simply by using the retroflex lam marked with the tashdeed or shad diacritic to show the gemination; i.e. ج̣̣. This would also avoid the introduction of a new alphabet letter, potentially simplifying the literacy task.

Writers from the other Pakistani Gojri dialects can readily represent the cognate cluster

/r̥/ as ر̥. Words like ‘throat’ could thus be spelled نَلِيّ per the Muzaffarabad pronunciation /nal̥i/, and alternately as نَرِيّ per the Kaghani and Allaiwal pronunciation /nar̥i/.

### 2.6.1.3 Representation of the Glides /w/ and /y/

Fortunately, none of the allophonic variation for /w/ noted above (in 2.1.3.3) presents a serious orthographic challenge, since the Perso-Arabic و , *vaw*, does duty for phonetic [v], [w], and [o]. Epenthetic /w/ can be written with *vaw* before the second plural suffix /-o/, also written with *vaw*, even though it only occurs in some Eastern varieties:

هووکا /hòwɔ k̄ā/ ‘you pl. will be.’ Readers lacking this epenthetic /w/ in their own speech can read the first *vaw* as /o/ right along with the second *vaw*, and at worst the /o/ is read as longer than it is actually pronounced. This solution should be tested against one omitting the epenthetic *vaw* with readers from a variety of pronunciation types. The contrastive variation of initial /w/ (Eastern) and /b/ (Western) cannot be neutralized by the script, and can only be written according to the author’s pronunciation.

Both the palatal glide /y/ and all occurrences of the vowel /e/ are represented by various allographs of the letter *ye* in the Perso-Arabic script. Medially, /yy/ can be distinguished from /y/ (=e/) by means of the superscript diacritic, *hamza* (Gojri /hàmzɔ/), which indicates the juncture of two vowels, but when written above medial *ye* can also be understood to indicate a higher point of articulation than the absence of

*hamza*. In final position, /e/ is written with *bari ye*, عے . Final /y/, approximating in quality the vowel /ī/, is written with *hamza* above a *choti ye* (Gojri /nikī ye/), ئی, whereas final vocalic /ī/ is written without any *hamza* owing to the absence of any preceding vowel. Some sample spellings are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Orthographic Differentiation of Medial /y/ and /yy/, Final /y/ and /e/

	initial and final /y/, medial /yy/	medial /y/ and final /e/
initial	یاد /yād/ ‘memory’	-----
medial	پائیو /pāyyɔ/ ‘grazing fee’	پایو /pāyɔ/ ‘[bed] leg’
	آئیو /āīɔ/ (/āī~ɔ/) fut. ‘you pl. come!’	آیو /āyɔ/ ‘he came’
final	بھائی /pāy/ (/bāy/) ‘brother’	کآے /kāe/ ‘someone, something’

#### 2.6.1.4 Representation of Nasalized Vowels and Nasal Clusters

In the writing of nasal clusters, the nasal phoneme is represented by a constant /n/ in a phonemic orientalist transcription, and by a constant *nun gunno* /nun ɣunno/, ن or ن̣, in the script, regardless of actual phonetic shape. Nasalized vowels are written with a *nun gunno* after the oral vowel, and all nasal clusters are thus represented as nasalized vowels followed by a consonant. This linguistically sound convention is followed in Gojri as in Urdu. Representing this segment by /n/ in the script, that is by ن or *nun*, is contrary to regional orthographic conventions in which /n/ is rejected even when the

following consonant is alveolar, e.g. the word for ‘ox’ is spelled in script as /dā~d/ ‘ox’ rather than /dānd/. Similarly, if the following consonant is retroflex and the nasality is realized as phonetic [ŋ], a spelling that uses the Gojri character for /ŋ/ is rejected outright. Exceptions include words that have a historic /n/, such as /sūntī/ ‘circumcision’ from /sunat/ ‘apostolic precedent’, /dukāndār/ ‘shop keeper’ from /dukān/ ‘shop’, and /mint/ [mɪŋʈ] from the English ‘minute.’ For all such words *nun*, rather than *nun gunno*, is mandatory in the spelling.

#### 2.6.1.5 Phoneme/Grapheme Associations for Gojri Consonants

The complete inventory of Gojri consonant graphemes is presented in Table 6. Only the independent or un-joined form of each grapheme is shown. Aspirated consonants consist of digraphs, the second grapheme being the aspirate **ھ**, or *do chasmi he*. For phonemes associated with multiple monographs, the ‘redundant’ Arabic letters are shown to the right of the indigenous letter in order of decreasing frequency.

Table 6. Phoneme/Grapheme Associations for Gojri Consonants

/m/	م	/n/	ن	/ŋ/	ڻ
/r/	ر	/r̥/	ڑ		
/l/	ل	/l̥/	لّ		
/ph/	پھ	/p/	پ	/b/	ب

Table 6 cont.

/w/	و	/f/	ف							
/th/	تھ	/t/	ت	ط	/d/	د				
/ṭh/	ٹھ	/ṭ/	ٹ		/ḍ/	ḍ				
/čh/	چھ	/č/	چ		/j/	ج				
/s/	س	ص	ث	/š/	ش	/z/	ز	ظ	ض	ذ
/kh/	کھ			/k/	ک	ق	/g/	گ		
/y/	غ			/x/	خ		/h/	ہ		
non-final /y/	ی	final /y/	ئی			/yy/	ئی			

### 2.6.2 Representation of Vowel Phonemes

Since the ten vowel phonemes correspond to those for Urdu, there is every reason to write them as they are written in Urdu. Although the Perso-Arabic script is notoriously ill-suited for the vowel distinctions made in Indo-Aryan languages (Masica 1991:151), this under-representation may actually work to the advantage of Gojri standardization since many words that have different vowels cross-dialectally can be written in a uniform fashion if the diacritics are omitted. For example, minus the diacritics, Eastern /sanéɔ/ ‘message’ and its Western counterpart /sinǎɔ/ can both be written as a constant سنیہو rather than separately as سنیہو and سنیہو respectively.

The independent forms of the vowel graphemes for Urdu and Gojri are summarized in Table 7. The reader is referred to instructional Urdu materials for further detail about the writing of vowels (e.g. Mathews 1999:ix-xxxii).

Table 7. Phoneme/Grapheme Associations for Gojri Vowels

/a/	اَ	/ā/	آ
/i/	اِ	/ī/	ای
/ɛ/	اَے	/ē/	اے
/u/	اُ	/ū/	اُو
/ɔ/	اَو	/ō/	او

### CHAPTER III

#### GOJRI TONE AND ITS REPRESENTATION

The representation of tonal phenomena constitutes a significant challenge to Gojri orthography standardization. The complications issue naturally from the lack of tonal phenomena in the languages historically accommodated by the Perso-Arabic script, especially Urdu, the language of wider communication for most Gujars. Motivating an Urdu-based solution to this challenge is the fact that literate Gujars are literate in Urdu, a fact which has obvious implications for literature development and transitional literacy programming. Making such a solution at least potentially feasible is the regular, albeit incomplete correspondence of Gojri tonal phenomena to Urdu aspiration phenomena.

A complete analysis of Gojri prosody is a study I have not yet undertaken. My purpose here is to present a preliminary analysis of Gojri lexical tone, and then explore a consistent orthographic representation of Gojri tone in an Urdu milieu. At points the data is organized with reference to Urdu correspondences, as these correspondences are weighted heavily in the evaluation of orthographic solutions.

#### 3.1 Gojri Tonal Phenomena

##### 3.1.1 Phonetic Pitch Contrasts

Sharma describes a three-way tone or pitch contrast for Punch Gojri (1979:110-113; 1982:12). This observation also holds for Kaghani and Allaiwal Gojri. Phonetically, the contrasting pitches consist of a level high pitch (level tone or ‘mid tone’<sup>1</sup>) which is not marked in transcription, a high-falling pitch contour (or ‘high tone’) marked with ( ´ )

above the vowel in my phonemic transcription, and a low-rising pitch contour (or ‘low tone’) marked with (˘) above the vowel. The high-falling contour commences at an extra-high pitch relative to that of the level high pitch and glides to a mid pitch that is lower relative to that of the level high pitch. When another syllable follows the stressed syllable within the word, the stressed syllable will have the extra-high pitch and the larger part of the fall to the mid pitch occurs on the following syllable. In phonetic transcriptions, this is indicated by writing [ˈ] on the stressed syllable and [˘] on the following syllable, whereas a glide fully executed on the stressed syllable is indicated by [ˆ]. The low-rising contour commences at an extra-low pitch relative to that of the level high pitch and glides to a mid pitch that is lower than the level high pitch. When another syllable follows the stressed syllable within the word, the stressed syllable will have the extra-low pitch and the larger part of the rise to a mid pitch occurs on the following syllable. In phonetic transcriptions, this is indicated by [˘] on the stressed syllable and [ˈ] on the following syllable, whereas a glide fully executed on the stressed syllable is indicated by [˘̃].

Concomitant with the initial extra-low pitch of the low-rising contour is creaky voice, in which the vocal cords are more tense than in normal voicing and therefore produce a creaking sound. In many words of the Eastern dialect, the low-rising contour follows a voiceless initial plosive (as is also the case in Punjabi, see Masica 1991:205). This voiceless plosive corresponds to a voiced plosive at the same point of articulation in the Western dialect, and to a breathy-voiced plosive at the same point of articulation in Urdu cognates. For example, the word ‘horse’ is /kòṛɔ/ in Eastern, /gòṛɔ/ in Western, /kòṛā/ in Punjabi, and /ghoṛā/ in Urdu. For some words of this type, a level low pitch, higher

than the ‘extra-low’ pitch of the low-rising contour but still marked [˘] phonetically, occurs with creaky voice on any syllables preceding a low-rising contour. Both contour tones are extremely common, and there do not seem to be any general constraints on the kinds of consonants, vowels, or syllable patterns with which either may occur. In words with level high pitch, there is no conspicuous pitch rise or pitch fall; however, the pitch of the stressed syllable is somewhat higher than the mid pitch of the other, unstressed syllables, but lower than the ‘extra-high’ pitch of the high-falling contour.

Thus, there are at least five phonetic pitches in Gojri: ‘extra-low’, the initial pitch of the low-rising contour; ‘low’, the pitch occurring with creaky voice prior to the low-rising contour in some low-tone words; ‘high’, the pitch of stressed syllables in level-tone words; ‘extra-high’, the initial pitch of the high-falling contour; and ‘mid’, the pitch on which both of the gliding pitches terminate, and the pitch of unstressed syllables in level-tone words and of unstressed syllables preceding non-initial low-rising contours. Careful acoustic analysis may ultimately show that there are multiple non-contrastive phonetic pitches within what I am now calling ‘mid’ pitch.

Contrasts between the three phonetic pitch melodies serve to differentiate lexical items such as those in (42), but do not function morphosyntactically.

(42) Contrasts of high-falling, level, and low-rising pitch melodies

/sǎ̃rɔ/ [ˈsá:rɔ̃]	(phonetic high-falling pitch)	masc. ‘flat’
/sārɔ/ [ˈsa:rɔ]	(phonetic level high pitch)	masc. ‘entire’
/sà̃rɔ/ [ˈsà:rɔ̃]	(phonetic low-rising pitch)	‘assistance’
/lǎ̃/ [lâ:]	(phonetic high-falling pitch)	‘take off [article of clothing]!’
/lā/ [la:]	(phonetic level high pitch)	‘put on [article of clothing]!’
/lǎ̃l/ (/hìˈlā̃l/) [lǎ̃:l]	(phonetic low-rising pitch)	‘slay!’

/čâr/	[čâr]	(phonetic high-falling pitch)	‘climb!’
/čar/	[čar]	(phonetic level high pitch)	‘bed bug’
/čâr/ (/jâr/)	[čâr]	(phonetic low-rising pitch)	‘fall!’ also ‘cloud’
/bês/	[bê:s]	(phonetic high-falling pitch)	‘argument’
/bes/	[be:s]	(phonetic level high pitch)	‘sit!’
/pès/ (/bès/)	[pě:s]	(phonetic low-rising pitch)	‘apparel’

### 3.1.2 Analysis of Gojri Tone

#### 3.1.2.1 Tone and the Stressed Syllable

Lexical pitch is associated with the stressed syllable in Gojri words (meaning Gojri is more like Swedish than Mandarin or other truly tonal languages where every syllable is tonally marked). The level tone occurs only on the stressed syllable. In monosyllabic words, contour tones are realized within a single syllable, which in the absence of any other syllable receives stress by default. In polysyllabic words, the contour tones typically commence at their pitch targets on the stressed syllable and conclude at a mid pitch in any following syllable, often a gender-number agreement marker.

Foundational to any discussion of the underlying nature of these phonetic pitch contrasts in Gojri is the topic of lexical stress assignment. The assumption is that, within a morpheme, the location of stress can be predicted by syllable weight. Syllable weight, in turn, is determined by the number of segments, or *moras* ( $\mu$ ), in the ‘rhyme’, where the rhyme of a syllable consists of the vowel nucleus plus any trailing consonants, and where a long vowel counts as two moras. Distinctions can therefore be made between light (where the rhyme consists of V), heavy (where the rhyme consists of VV or VC), and superheavy syllables (where the rhyme consists of VVC or VCC). There have been several studies of stress placement in Hindi-Urdu (e.g. Dyruud 2001, Hussain 1997). If

the final segment of a word is considered to be extra-metrical (not counted with respect to determination of syllable weight), then stress rules for Hindi-Urdu can be summarized as follows: the last heavy syllable in a word is stressed; if there is no heavy syllable (i.e. if the word consists of light syllables only), the penultimate syllable is stressed.

These same stress assignment rules operate in Gojri. For example, the word /j̥isam/ [ʃ̥isəm] ‘body’ is stressed on the first syllable because, once the word-final mora, [m], is excluded, what remains are two equally weighted CV syllables of which the penultimate is stressed (remember that short vowels consist of one mora, V; long vowels consist of two, represented as VV). In the word /as'māṇ/ [ʌs'ma:ṇ] ‘sky’, the second syllable receives the stress by the same assignment process. Segmented into syllables and moras, the word yields |as.maaṇ|. With or without the required exclusion of the final mora [ṇ], the second syllable is the last heavy syllable and therefore the one to receive stress. In morphologically complex words, morphological rules may supersede the normal stress placement rules. For example, in verb stems formed with the causative suffix, the suffix is always stressed, superseding stress placement based on syllable weight.

Throughout this chapter I have included stress marking in the phonemic representations, despite the predictability of stress, so that the reader will not have to determine the location of stress for each example.

### 3.1.2.2 Composition of Contour Tones

It is useful to think of the two contour tones as combinations of two level tones, one ‘high’ and one ‘low.’ In abstract terms, the high-falling contour is thus a combination of a relatively high pitch, H, and a relatively low pitch, L. Phonetically, an underlying HL combination is realized as an extra-high pitch resolving in a mid pitch on a subsequent

mora, and an underlying LH combination is realized as an extra-low pitch resolving in a mid pitch on a subsequent mora. I will assume that the presence of any H in a contour melody is by default, i.e. H is assigned to all stressed syllables. The presence of any L in a contour melody is lexical, i.e. it is part of the specification of the phonological form of a word in the lexicon. When a stressed syllable receives an H by default, and no underlying L is present in the word, the phonetic result is a level high pitch.

Diachronically, the genesis of this low pitch (L) in the lexicon is related to a word-initial /h/, or to the loss of aspiration, /h/, or /s/ at an earlier linguistic stage (cf. Masica 1991:119-120). Such evolution is attested even by dialectical variants such as the Eastern /hàk-/ ‘be able’ and the older, Western (and Urdu) cognate /sak-/ ‘be able.’ Many of the older word forms are attested by Urdu cognates of Gojri words (cf. Masica’s discussion of Punjabi tonogenesis; 1991:205). The location of lexical L in a root corresponds roughly to the location of the earlier segment that has disappeared. What determines whether the L is ultimately realized within a high-falling melody or a low-rising melody is its location with respect to the nucleus of the word’s stressed syllable. If it precedes the stressed nucleus, the result is LH (low-rising). If it follows the stressed nucleus, the realization is HL (high-falling).

### 3.1.2.3 Low-Tone Causatives of High-Tone Verbs

The clearest evidence of the existence of lexical L in Gojri and its participation in falling and rising tones is seen in a number of causative and non-causative pairs of verbs. For many verbal roots, the addition of the suffix /-ā/ yields a new causative verb stem. A classic example that holds for other area languages as well as for Gojri is the root /pak-/ [pʌk-] ‘ripen, be cooked’ and its causative counterpart, /pa<sup>h</sup>kā-/ [pʌ<sup>h</sup>ka:-] ‘cook.’ Since

there is no lexical L associated with the root, only default H applies. As a result, the high pitch is realized on the stressed syllables of both forms and the mid pitch is realized on the unstressed first syllable of /pa'kā-/ (note the shift of stress to the causative suffix; see 4.2.1.5 for other examples of causative/non-causative verb pairs with constant level pitch melodies). However, when a lexical L is associated with the latter part of the verb root, its phonetic realization in all inflections of the root will be high-falling. Again, this is because H is assigned by default to the stressed mono-syllabic root, the nucleus of which precedes lexical L in the vicinity of the coda; thus HL. Whenever the inherently stressed causative suffix is added to make a new stem, the stress shifts from the verb root to the causative suffix such that default H then follows lexical L; thus LH. Consider the examples in (43).

(43) Non-causative and causative manifestations of lexical low pitch (L)

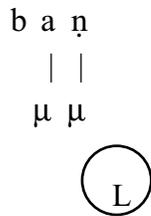
Verb stem consisting of root (showing high-falling tone)	Verb stem consisting of root + causative suffix /-ā/ (showing low-rising tone)
/báŋ/ ‘become!’	/ba'ŋā/ ‘make!’
/páṛ/ ‘read!’	/pa'ṛā/ ‘teach!’
/bán/ ‘tie!’	/ba'nā/ ‘get someone to tie!’
/bád/ ‘grow!’ also ‘tie!’	/ba'dā/ ‘let grow!’ also ‘get someone to tie’
/láng/ ‘pass by!’	/lan'gā/ ‘shoot!’
/sámĵ/ ‘understand!’	/sam'ĵā/ ‘give constructive criticism!’
/káḍ/ ‘remove!’	/ka'ḍā/ ‘get someone to remove!’

It is on the basis of such examples that we can posit the existence of a lexical L in the vicinity of the root coda. This hypothesis is of course supported by the existence of aspiration at the root coda in many Urdu cognates. I will assume that, in Gojri, an L tone that is historically due to a de-aspirated voiced consonant is underlyingly associated with

the mora that immediately follows the de-aspirated consonant. Should there be no following mora; i.e. if the de-aspirated consonant is word-final, then L can be said to be ‘floating’ in the underlying form of the word.

The process described above by which verb roots such as those in (43) alternately feature high-falling and low-rising melodies is represented with greater precision in (44)-(45) for the root /báŋ/ ‘become!’. In (44), a ‘floating’ L (circled) is shown as being part of the word’s underlying form:<sup>2</sup>

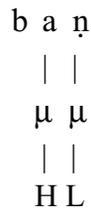
(44) The underlying form of /báŋ/ ‘become!’



In the absence of a following mora, the floating L docks on the final mora of the root.

Next, default H is associated with the remaining empty mora, creating the HL sequence shown in (45). The HL sequence then precipitates a high-falling melody commencing at an extra-high pitch on the first mora and resolving in a mid pitch on the second mora.

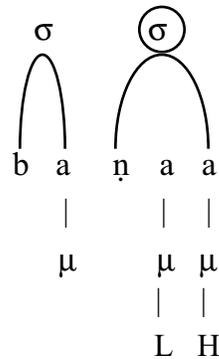
(45) The surface form of /báŋ/ ‘become!’



With the addition of the inherently stressed causative suffix /-ā/, floating lexical L docks on the mora immediately to the right of the de-aspirated consonant, as shown in

(46). H is then assigned to the remaining mora of the stressed second syllable, creating an LH sequence. The underlying LH sequence precipitates a low-rising melody on the second syllable, which commences at an extra-low pitch on the first mora and resolves in a mid pitch on the second mora. Since there is no L or H in the unstressed syllable, the phonetic result is a mid pitch on that syllable.

(46) The surface form of /ba'ṅā/ 'make!' ( $\sigma$  = syllable; stressed syllable is circled)



#### 3.1.2.4 Low Tone Related to Loss of Initial Aspiration

Perhaps the most striking phonological difference between Eastern and Western varieties of Gojri is the variation in voicing which is concomitant with low-rising tone. The variation involves word-initial plosives at all five points of articulation: /p/ (/b/), /t/ (/d/), /č/ (/j/), /tʃ/ (/ḍ/), and /k/ (/g/). These are cognate with the Urdu initial voiced aspirates: /bh/, /dh/, /jh/, /ḍh/ and /gh/, respectively. Eastern forms reflect both the de-aspiration and devoicing of these older initial voiced aspirates, or 'breathy voiced stops' (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996:57-63). Western forms are also de-aspirated but remain voiced. For example, the Gojri word for 'horse', /<sup>l</sup>kòṛɔ/ (/<sup>l</sup>gòṛɔ/), is cognate with the Urdu /<sup>l</sup>ghoṛā/. I have found that, in pronouncing words of this type in conversation with both Eastern and Western speakers, correct production of the low-rising tone, rather than

correct voicing, is more critical to being understood. These segments remain voiced in both dialects in medial position (where they are rare), e.g. /u<sup>1</sup>gàṛī/ fem. ‘naked’, /ka<sup>1</sup>ḍā/ ‘get [someone] to remove!’

Low-tone words attesting the East-West initial voicing distinction are shown in (47) for each of the five points of articulation.

(47) Low-tone words involving East-West initial voicing distinction

Articulation East-West correspondences (Western forms are shown in parentheses)

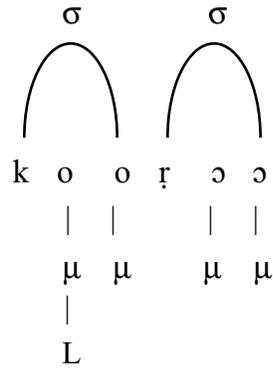
/p/ (/b/)	/ <sup>1</sup> pābī/ (/ <sup>1</sup> bābī/) ‘brother’s wife’	/ <sup>1</sup> pārū/ (/ <sup>1</sup> bārū/) ‘sheep and goats’
/t/ (/d/)	/tār/ (/dār/) ‘set down!’	/tìk/ (/dìk/) ‘push!’
/ṭ/ (/ḍ/)	/ṭāk/ (/ḍāk/) ‘cover!’	/ṭākɔ/ (/ḍākɔ/) ‘mountain’
/č/ (/ǰ/)	/ <sup>1</sup> čòṭɔ/ (/ <sup>1</sup> ǰòṭɔ/) ‘male buffalo’	/ <sup>1</sup> čāṅṭhī/ (/ <sup>1</sup> ǰāṅṭhī/) ‘stick’
/k/ (/g/)	/kāl/ (/gāl/) ‘pour!’	/kā/ (/gā/) ‘grass’

For all words attesting the initial voicing distinction between dialects, I assume that L is linked with the mora immediately following the historically de-aspirated consonant. This is the place in the lexical structure that was previously characterized by the lowering of pitch following breathy voicing. The derivation of surface tone for such words is shown in (48) below.

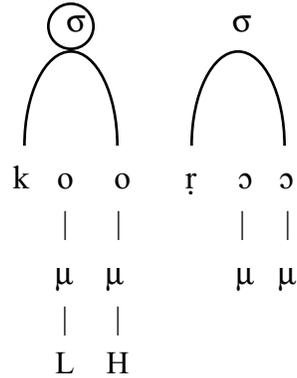
When the first syllable of such a word is stressed, the assignment of H on the second mora creates an LH sequence. The LH sequence precipitates a low-rising melody that commences at an extra-low pitch on the first mora and resolves in a mid pitch on the second mora.

(48) Derivation for /'kòɾɔ/ (/ˈgòɾɔ/) ‘horse’

a) Location of underlying L



b) Results of H-assignment



When such words are stressed on a subsequent syllable, the low-rising melody occurs on that syllable and a level low pitch occurs on all preceding syllables. Some examples are shown in (49).

(49) Cross-dialectal voice variation for words featuring non-initial low-rising tone

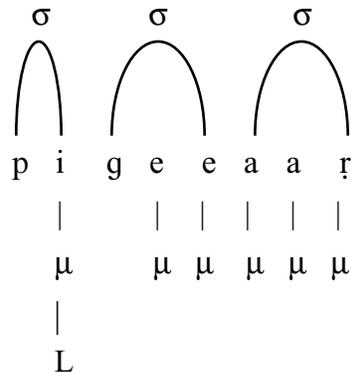
Eastern	E. Phonetic	Western	Gloss
/pìgē'ār/	[pìgè:'ǎ:ɾ]	/bìgī'ār/	‘wolf’
/pù'kam/	[pù'kǎm]	/bà'kham/	‘earthquake’
		(the Allaiwal Muhajar variant has no aspiration)	
/pà'ṛās/	[pà'ṛǎ:s]	/bà'ṛās/	‘steam’
/pà'ṛāī/	[pà'ṛǎ:y]	/bà'ṛāy/	‘miller’s share’
/pà'tījɔ/	[pà'ti:jɔ]	/bà'tījɔ/	‘nephew’
/dè'ārɔ/ or /tè'ārɔ/	[dè:'à:ɾɔ]	/dī'ārɔ/	‘day’

The level low pitch preceding the low-rising contour is readily observed in the contrast between /pà'ṛās/[pà'ṛǎ:s] ‘steam’ and /pa'ṛǎ/[pà'ṛǎ:] ‘teach!’

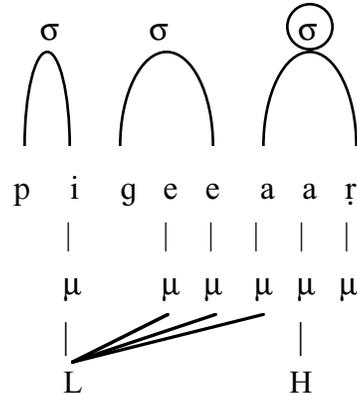
The derivation for the surface tones of /pìge'ār/ (/bìgī'ār/) 'wolf' is shown in (50).

(50) Derivation for /pìge'ār/ (/bìgī'ār/) 'wolf' (L-spread indicated by diagonal lines)

a) Location of underlying L



b) Results of L-spread and H-assignment



In (50)a, L is shown as being pre-linked in the lexicon to the first mora, the vowel /i/. In (50)b, the third syllable (the last 'heavy' syllable) is shown as being stressed. L spreads right-ward from its lexical location to a point up to and including the first mora of the stressed third syllable. Next, H is assigned to the remaining mora of the stressed syllable, resulting in an LH sequence in the stressed syllable. On moras preceding the stressed syllable, the spread of L produces a phonetic level low pitch. In the stressed syllable, the LH sequence precipitates a low-rising surface melody which commences at an extra-low pitch on the first mora and resolves in a mid pitch on the second mora. For words like /pà'tījɔ/ (/bà'tījɔ/) 'nephew' and /dè'ārɔ/ (/dī'ārɔ/) 'day', the stressed syllable is penultimate and so the low-rising melody resolves in the suffixal ultima, i.e. [pλ'tì:ǰɔ], [dè:'à:ɾɔ].

### 3.1.2.5 Summary of Analysis

The analysis that has been presented so far can be summarized as follows.

#### (1) Stress Placement:

- The last heavy syllable of the word is stressed; if there is no heavy syllable, the penultimate syllable is stressed; the last segment of the word is disregarded in the determination of syllable weight.
- The causative suffix is always stressed; this fact overrides stress placement based on syllable structure.
- There is only one stress per word, no matter whether the word is monomorphemic or morphologically complex.

#### (2) Lexical L:

- In a root, one mora may be pre-associated in the lexicon with an L tone; some roots in the lexicon carry an L tone that is 'floating', i.e. it is underlyingly not associated with a specific mora. (Usually, an L tone occurs on the mora that immediately follows an historical voiced aspirate or /h/; if there is no following mora in the root, then the L tone floats.)

#### (3) L-spread:

- An L tone spreads right-ward from its underlying position in the word, up to and including the first mora of the stressed syllable. (By implication, this rule does not apply to an L tone that does not precede the stressed syllable.)

#### (4) L-docking:

- A floating L docks on the first mora of a following morpheme; if there is no following morpheme, a floating L docks on the final mora of the root.

## (5) Default H:

- H is associated with any empty mora in the stressed syllable; if there is no empty mora in the stressed syllable, then H is associated with the immediately following mora.

These basic rules account for the derivation of surface tonal melodies for all types of tone-bearing words in Gojri.

## 3.1.2.6 Other Low-Tone Words

In this section I describe low tone which is associated with initial /h/ and low tone related to the loss of medial /h/.

Low Tone Associated with Initial /h/

As noted in 2.1.5, low tone is concomitant with the glottal fricative /h/. This is most readily observed in the grammatical monosyllables /hàm/ ‘we’, /hũ~/ ‘I’, and the Eastern present auxiliaries /hè/ ‘is’ and /hè~/ ‘are’ (cf. Western /ε/ ‘is/are’). Such words attest the linkage of lexical L with the mora following initial /h/. When a word beginning with /h/ is stressed on the first syllable, the frication is audible and the derivation of surface tone is identical to that shown for /<sup>l</sup>kòɾɔ/ (/<sup>l</sup>gòɾɔ/) ‘horse’ in (48).

However, when a word beginning with /h/ is stressed on a subsequent syllable, there is no friction and level low pitch occurs with every syllable preceding the low-rising pitch contour commencing on the stressed syllable. The phonetic differences attending change of stress from the first syllable to a subsequent syllable are most clearly shown by comparison of causative and non-causative forms of verbs beginning with /h/. Some examples are shown in (51).

(51) Causative and non-causative pairs of verbs beginning with /h/

verb stem consisting of root    verb stem consisting of root + causative suffix /-ā/

/hà!/ [hʌ!]	‘shake!’	/hà!ā/ [ʌ!ā:]	trans. ‘shake!’
/hàg/ [hʌg]	‘defecate!’	/hà!gā/ [ʌ!gā:]	‘get [someone]to defecate!’
/hàʔ/ [hʌʔ]	‘move!’	/hà!ʔā/ [ʌ!ʔā:]	trans. ‘move!’

Some examples with polysyllabic stems are given in (52). For all these words and the causative verbs in (51) above, the derivation of surface tone (via L-spread) is identical to that shown for /pìge'āɾ/ (/bìgī'āɾ/) ‘wolf’ in (50).

(52) Words beginning with /h/ that are stressed on a non-initial syllable.

/hà'sāb/	[ʌ'sā:b]	‘account’	cf. Urdu /hi'sāb/
/hà'zār/	[ʌ'zā:r]	‘thousand’	cf. Urdu /ha'zār/
/hà'mešā~/	[ʌ'mè:šā~]	‘always’	cf. Urdu /ha'mešā/
/hàm'zoʎo/	[ʌm'zò:ʎo]	‘age mate (masc.)’	
/hà'rīɾ/	[ʌ'rīɾ]	‘a medicinal herb’	

There is evidence suggesting that the unstressed, low-pitch first syllables of words like those in (52) (which also lack a phonetic onset) are vulnerable to elision and loss. For example, some speakers pronounce /hà'vā/ ‘wind’ as monosyllabic [vā:]. Such loss also accounts for the difference between the Eastern /lāl/ ‘slay!’ and the Western cognate /hì'lāl/. The process is also attested by Western copular forms like /wè ɔo/ ‘(he) will be’ (Eastern /'hòwe kɔ/), in which lexical L is all that survives of the verb stem /hò/ ‘be’ and presumably epenthetic /w/ has become word-initial (Western /wèɲo/ ‘to be;’ cf. Marwari /vheɲo/ ‘to be’, Masica 1991:104). Likewise, the genitival first plural pronoun /'mārò/ ‘our’ surely represents the loss of a weakened first syllable from an older form attested

by the Urdu cognate, /ha'mārā/, with retention of the L tone which was associated with that syllable.

Low Tone Related to Loss of Medial /h/

A large number of Gojri words feature the low-rising pitch contour in a first syllable consisting of consonant + long vowel in which the consonant is constant cross-dialectally. These words are cognate with Urdu words in which /h/ occurs between a first-syllable short vowel and a second-syllable long vowel. The origin of the low tone for such words cannot be the de-aspiration of old initial voiced aspirates, since there is no East-West voicing variation for the initial consonant and the set of initial consonants is not limited to just stops. Rather, it appears that the historic erosion of medial /h/ and related loss of preceding short vowels has left a trace in the form of an L tone associated with the initial mora. The derivation of surface tones for such words is therefore identical to that noted for words like /'kòɽɔ/ ('gòɽɔ/) 'horse' shown in (48).

(53) Low-tone words attesting loss of medial /h/ before long-vowel

Gojri word	Gloss	Urdu cognate (or source in most cases)
/māl/	'Mahal, palace'	/ma'hāl/
/'kāṇī/ ('gāṇī/)	'story'	/ka'hānī/
/pāɽ/	'mountain'	/pa'hāɽ/
/jāz/	'ship'	/ja'hāz/
/'swāgā/	'ashes'	/su'hāge/
/'mīṇɔ/	'month'	/ma'hīnā/
/'bādar/	'brave'	/ba'hādar/
/jād/	'jihad'	/ji'hād/
/'mājar/	'refugee'	/mu'hājir/
/sāl/	'diarrhea'	/sa'hāl/
/lòr/	'Lahore'	/la'hor/
/'bāno/	'excuse'	/ba'hānā/

For a small number of words, stress falls on a non-initial syllable and surface tones attest a medial, rather than initial, lexical L. Examples include /dāde'āḷ/ [da:de'ā:ḷ] 'paternal relatives' (cf. /'dādo/ 'paternal grandfather' and /'āḷā/ (/hāḷā/) 'ones of ...'), and /male'āp/ [māle'āp] 'worm.' For the latter example, it is not clear why stress and the low-rising tone occur on the short-vowel ultima.

### 3.1.2.7 Other High-Tone Words

Whereas low tone almost always derives from initial lexical L, high tone derives from medial or final lexical L. The historical source of lexical L in a given word is generally less transparent than it is for the various kinds of low-tone words described above.

In addition to the high-tone verbs described in 3.1.2.3, there are other high-tone words for which high tone is associated with the loss of aspiration in a non-initial voiced aspirate. Some examples are shown in (54). The de-aspirated consonants remain voiced in both dialects. There are no Gojri words featuring a high-falling tone with a short vowel preceding a final voiceless consonant.

(54) High-tone words associated with de-aspiration of non-initial voiced aspirates

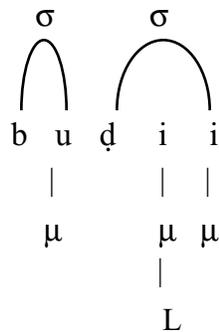
/dúḍ/	'milk'	cf. Urdu /dudh/
/'čóḍrī/	'Choudhry'	cf. Urdu /'čodharī/, title taken by prominent Gujars
/kúḷ/	'some'	cf. Urdu /kučh/
/'búḍī/	'old woman'	cf. Urdu /'buḥī/
/'dāḥī/	'beard'	cf. Urdu /'dāḥī/
/rúḥ/	'roll'	
/'káḥī/	'boiled buttermilk'	

For all such monosyllables, L is floating in the underlying form of the word, and the derivation of surface tones is identical to that shown above for /bāḥ/ 'become!' in (47)-(48). For all such two-syllable words, L is pre-linked in the lexicon with the mora

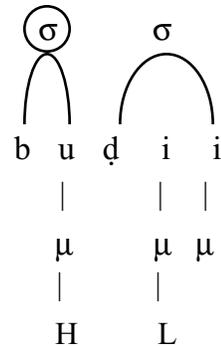
following the de-aspirated consonant. Default H tone is then assigned to the single mora of the stressed first syllable, creating an HL sequence that is realized phonetically as a high-falling melody spread over the two syllables. The underlying and derived forms of /<sup>l</sup>búḍī/ ‘old woman’ are shown in (55).

(55) Derivation for /<sup>l</sup>búḍī/ ‘old woman’

a) Location of underlying L



b) Results of H-assignment



Almost all other indigenous high-tone words involve lexical L following a medial or final long vowel. The sources of lexical L include loss of /s/ (e.g. /bī/ ‘twenty’ vs. Urdu /bīs/) and loss of /h/ (e.g. /čǎ/ ‘want’ vs. Urdu /čāh/). Many high-tone stems such as /gāk/ ‘customer’ (Urdu /<sup>l</sup>gāhuk/) represent the loss of medial /h/ after a long vowel along with loss of the following unstressed short-vowel syllable and subsequent association of L with the end of the long vowel. Some examples of high-tone words attesting medial or final L are shown in (56).

(56) Contrast between high-falling and level tonal melodies

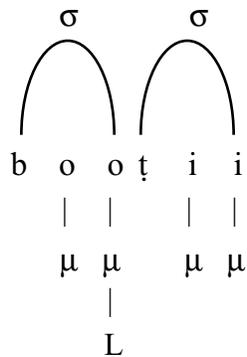
/ <sup>l</sup> ḍóḷɔ/	‘upper arm’	/ <sup>l</sup> ḍoḷɔ/	‘large water pot’
/ <sup>l</sup> sāyɔ/	‘rabbit’	/ <sup>l</sup> sāyɔ/	‘shadow’
/ <sup>l</sup> mānjī/	‘one who tends buffalo’	/ <sup>l</sup> mānjī/	‘bride’s guests’
/mā/	‘2nd month of lunar calendar’	/mā/	‘mother’
/ <sup>l</sup> bóṭī/	‘bride’	/ <sup>l</sup> boṭī/	‘piece of meat, kabob’

/čǎ́/	‘want!’	/čā/	‘lift!’
/zǎ́r/	‘poison, saliva’	/zār/	‘Darling’
/bǎ́/	‘arm’	/bā/ E.only	‘water hole, dam’

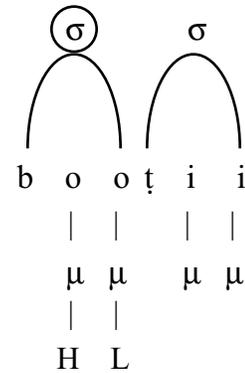
The derivation of surface tone for such words is shown in (57) for /<sup>l</sup>bóṭī/ ‘bride.’

(57) Derivation for /<sup>l</sup>bóṭī/ ‘bride’ (stressed syllable is circled)

a) Location of underlying L



b) Results of H-assignment



In (57)b, an HL sequence is created by the assignment of H to the first mora of the stressed syllable, the mora which immediately precedes lexical L. The HL sequence precipitates a high-falling melody which commences on the stressed syllable and resolves in the following suffixal syllable. For monosyllabic words like /bǎ́/ ‘arm’, the high-falling melody commences on the first mora and resolves on the second mora of the root vowel. I have not investigated the historical antecedents of lexical L for these words, nor is such information needed to determine the location of L within words.

### 3.1.2.8 Low Tone Co-occurring with Aspiration

For a few words such as those in (58), low tone co-occurs with aspiration. In my research to date, all instances noted involve the segment /th/.

## (58) Co-occurrence of low tone and aspiration

/ʰthāṅɔ/ [ʰtʰa:ŋɔ] ‘to be found’

/ʰthārɔ/ [ʰtʰà:rɔ:] pl ‘your’

/ʰthòṛī/ [ʰtʰò:rí:] ‘hammer’ (Eastern) cf. Western /hà'thoṛī/ Urdu /ha'thoṛī/

/ʰthāraf/ [ʰtʰà:ráf] ‘introduction’ cf. Urdu /tāraf/

/ma'thāj/ [mə'tʰǎ:j] ‘deprivation, lack’ cf. Urdu /mɔ'tāj/

Only for the Eastern word /ʰthòṛī/ ‘hammer’ is the origin of lexical L transparent (from comparison with cognates retaining an initial /h/). Further research is likely to reveal the source of L for the other examples shown here. Words showing that low tone is not automatic with /th/ include /'thoṛī/ ‘a little (fem.)’ and /'thānɔ/ ‘police station.’

Elsewhere, low tone and aspiration contrast. Some examples include /ʰtāṅḍ/ ‘still water’ vs. /ʰthāṅḍ/ ‘cold’, /kāl/ ‘pour!’ vs. /khal/ ‘stop, wait!’, and /'čātī (‘mārṇī)/ ‘(playing) peek-a-boo’ vs. /'čhātī/ ‘chest, upper torso.’ This contrast is limited to the Eastern dialect, since the initial consonants of the corresponding low-tone words in the Western dialect are voiced rather than voiceless.

## 3.2 Representation of Gojri Tone

## 3.2.1 Tone Marking in Orthography Design

While the literature on tone marking is not extensive, recent empirical studies in African tonal languages by Bird and others he cites (1997) demonstrate that exhaustive marking of surface tone is detrimental to fluent reading, as is ‘zero marking’ - ignoring tone altogether. The former extreme is born of the traditional compulsion to represent every phonemic contrast in the orthography, but often results in solutions that are cumbersome and notoriously difficult for mother-tongue readers to master. The latter extreme rightly acknowledges the ability of readers to identify words based on contextual

and other clues, but in many languages leaves readers to ‘stumble and guess unnecessarily’ (Bird 1996, citing Nida 1964:27). The compromise approach advocated by Bird (1996) on theoretical and experimental grounds involves representing the underlying or ‘lexical’ tone elements while maintaining a constant word image, given that ‘post-lexical’ spell-out is phonologically predictable and presumably automatic for linguistically naive mother-tongue readers. Such an approach has the added advantage of tending to minimize dialect differences (Bird 1996:25), and is even more promising for languages like Gojri in which the tone pattern of each word remains basically constant (i.e. is not very sensitive to phrasal influences).

A fourth approach would mark tone only when necessary for disambiguation, much as Urdu diacritics indicating vowel quality are normally employed only to distinguish ambiguous pairs. This would necessarily involve special tone diacritics, as optional writing of tone graphemes (letters) in a linear and cursive Perso-Arabic representation would largely preclude maintenance of fixed word images. Marking tone with diacritics would avoid this problem, allowing for optionality in books and complete tone marking in primary literacy materials. In my opinion, however, a diacritic solution is inferior to that suggested by the correspondence of Gojri lexical L with Urdu /h/ and aspiration (with voiced consonants). Given the influence of Urdu and literate Gujars’ familiarity with Urdu spellings, a representation that maintains fixed word images between Gojri and Urdu cognates has the greatest potential to facilitate transitional literacy and the acceptance of Gujar literature among Urdu-literate Gujars. The challenge then is to achieve a solution that utilizes Urdu-based spellings in a consistent representation of underlying rather than surface Gojri tonal facts.

### 3.2.2 Evaluation of Conventions In-Use

Orthographic solutions to date have all attempted, whether consciously or unconsciously, to represent Gojri tones as per the representation of their cognate segments in Urdu: by means of *do chashmi he*, ه, denoting aspiration, and *choti he*, ہ, (rendered /nikī hè/ in Gojri) denoting the voiceless glottal fricative /h/. One common pattern is for literate Gujars to slavishly write Gojri as they write Urdu, with no awareness of Gojri tonal phenomena. In writing of this type, tone is usually only represented, albeit accidentally, in tonal words that have known Urdu cognates. Tone is usually ignored in words that are uniquely Gojri, because writers are both unaware of tone and lacking any technique for transcribing it. Some literate Gujars intuitively identify tone as aspiration, and by analogy to known Gojri-Urdu cognate relationships will write this ‘aspiration’ on uniquely Gojri words (their pronunciation of Urdu may reflect this identification, i.e. they convert instances of Urdu /h/ and aspiration into low-rising and high-falling tone melodies). In my experience, the writing produced by both types of literates is highly idiosyncratic and inconsistent from one occurrence of a word to the next. High tones occurring with medial long vowels tend to get particularly ignored, since cognate relationships of such words with Urdu words are comparatively less transparent.

Among the few who are aware of tone and consciously reflect on how to write it, some, in keeping with the default tendency to write words the way they sound, attempt to represent all of the surface tonal contrasts. (An additional motivation, that of making the representation phonetically transparent for learners of Gojri as a second language (Sharma 1979:150), is minimized here because, as we shall see, it is at odds with the Gujars’ own needs for a representation that potentially works for both dialects and that

maximizes ease of reading skill transfer to and from Urdu.) The difficulty with writing surface tones lies in determining which of the two Urdu letters should represent which tonal pattern in a given context. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that even for Urdu their employment has only recently been standardized, with *do chashmi he* now prescribed for all aspiration and *choti he* for all instances of /h/ (Mathews 1999:xxvi). It should be evident from the variety of tone phenomena described above, however, particularly from that shown in 3.1.2.3, that the traditional ideal of consistently representing one toneme with one grapheme while maintaining constant shape of lexical roots is not achievable for Gojri (e.g. the addition of the causative suffix turns a high tone verbal root into a low tone stem). Furthermore, since the mapping of Gojri toneme to Urdu phoneme/grapheme is not one-to-one, at some point a surface representation must compromise in favor of either the Urdu spellings or tonemic-graphemic correspondence.

### 3.2.2.1 Writing of Low Tone Occurring with Initial /h/ in Monosyllables

If there is any ‘given’ or non-negotiable convention which can be taken as a starting point for either an underlying or surface approach to tone marking (aside from leaving the level tone unmarked), it is the representation of word-initial low-rising tones, concomitant with /h/ in monosyllables, with *choti he*. This decision is largely unconscious and is based on the spelling of Urdu cognates. The practice is nearly universal in Gojri writing. Since initial /h/ in Gojri monosyllables is always followed by the low-rising tone, this decision would tentatively associate *choti he* with the low toneme or lexical L, depending upon one’s perspective. Thus, the first person pronouns and present auxiliaries, together the highest frequency words involving tone of any kind, remain constant between the two languages:

(59) Uniform spellings for Gojri and Urdu first person pronouns and present auxiliaries

Gojri /hàm/ [hǎm] ‘we’	vs. Urdu /ham/ [hʌm] ‘we’	ہم
Gojri /hũ~/ [hũ:~] ‘I’ also ‘am’ (Eastern only)	vs. Urdu /hū~/ [hu:~] ‘am’	ہوں
Gojri /hð/ [hð:] 2pl. ‘are’ (Eastern only)	vs. Urdu /ho/ [ho:] 2pl. ‘are’	ہو
Gojri /hè/ [hè:][[ɛ:]] ‘is’ (in Western, also ‘am, are’)	vs. Urdu /hai/ [hɛ:] ‘is’	ہے
Gojri /hè~/ [hè:~] ‘are’ (Eastern only)	vs. Urdu /he~/ [he:~] ‘are’	ہیں

### 3.2.2.2 Surface Approach to Low Tone Related to Loss of Initial Aspiration

Extending the association of *choti he* with low tone here to the possibility of its representation of low tone everywhere leads next to an evaluation of its suitability for low tones resulting from the de-aspiration of initial voiced aspirates (see 3.1.2.4 above), e.g. writing /kâ/ (/gâ/) ‘grass’ as کھا. Such an approach is advocated by Sharma (1979:150; 2001: personal communication) and has been utilized in Pakistan by Sabir Afaqi and his associates. The impetus behind this convention is the desire to represent the initial consonant as de-voiced, per its Eastern pronunciation, while avoiding the intolerable ambiguity with voiceless aspirated segments that would result from using *do chashmi he* for the following low-tone vowel. For example, /kâ/ (/gâ/) ‘grass’ and /khâ/ ‘eat!’ would both be written as کھا.

Unfortunately this approach has its own problems. First and most obviously, since the segments in question remain voiced in the Western dialect, the use of *choti he* in these contexts unnecessarily precludes the possibility of a single representation for both dialects. This problem by itself may not be of great concern to Eastern writers, who are

seldom if ever exposed to Western speech. It can be demonstrated, however, that the approach is problematic even for the Eastern phonology because it creates unnecessary ambiguity between certain low-rising and high-falling pairs of tonal words; for example, /kà/ (/gā/) ‘grass’ is written as کھا , while /kã~/ ‘we say’ is written as کہاں . Such ambiguity is particularly evident wherever low-rising and high-falling tones contrast within syllables featuring short (or written as short, as in the case of /ε/) vowels. A few such ambiguous examples are shown in (60).

(60) Ambiguous Eastern low-tone/high-tone pairs

/kàt/	‘few’	کھٹ
/'kétɔ/	‘he (doesn’t) say’	کہتو
/'kànī/	fem. ‘many’	کہنی
/'kénī/	fem. ‘to say’	کہنی
/'pālā/	masc.pl. ‘excellent’	پہلا
/'pélā~/	‘before’	پہلان
/'tùnī/	‘navel’	تہنی
/'túmat/	‘slander’	تہمت

Granted, such ambiguities are few in number and would scarcely present any difficulty for Gujar literates, but the larger pattern they represent could be a serious challenge for new readers. The ambiguity issues from the fact that all Gujar writers have

continued writing the verbs /kɛ́-/ ‘say’ and /rɛ́-/ ‘stay’ as per their Urdu spellings, i.e. with the initial consonant joined to *choti he*, but without writing the vowel /ɛ/ (Urdu /ah/, approximating but shorter than /ai/ + /h/). By itself, representing the Gojri segment /ɛ́/ with *choti he* is good, since morphophonemic changes alter /ɛ́/ in a majority of contexts anyway, and this practice allows the lexical roots to remain constant in writing before any suffixed vowel. Furthermore, it also maintains a constant word shape between the two languages. For example, Urdu /ra'ho/ and Gojri /rɔ́/, ‘stay!’ can both be represented by رھو; Urdu /ka'ho/ and Gojri /kɔ́/, ‘say!’ can both be represented by کہو (cf. 5.2).

This convention, however, together with using *choti he* for low tones resulting from the de-aspiration of initial voiced aspirates, perpetuates an ambiguous system in which, given the unusually high frequencies of /kɛ́-/ ‘say’ and /rɛ́-/ ‘stay’ in Gojri text (the latter being an important grammatical morpheme), the new reader has to memorize which instances of *choti he* indicate which type of tone. And of course the transitional reader must learn two spellings (Gojri and Urdu) for a great many pairs of cognates like those for ‘mare’: /kòr̥ī/ کہوڑی and /ghor̥ī/ گھوڑی (respectively). This disadvantage, along with the introduction of ambiguity between representations of high-tone and low-tone short vowels, constitutes compelling grounds to consider better orthographic solutions - even for the Eastern phonology.<sup>3</sup>

## 3.2.2.3 Writing of /é/

The preceding discussion, however, may be enough to establish a second orthographic ‘given’, namely, that the segment /é/ - cognate with Urdu /ah/ - is well represented by a *choti he* per the Urdu spelling convention (note: reducing ambiguity by writing the vowel /é/ would preclude a morphophonemic representation, since /é/ is always altered before vowel suffixes). This convention is followed in all Gojri writing. Some examples are shown in (61).

(61) /é/ written with *choti he* and no other vowel letter

/réŋɔ/	‘to stay’	رہنؤ
/kéŋɔ/	‘to say’	کہنؤ
/léɾ/	‘anger’	لہر
/béŋ/	‘sister’	بہن
/méndī/	‘henna’	مہندی
/bék/	‘a roost’	بہک

Particularly from the perspective of surface tone marking, this practice may appear to contradict the first given, by which *choti he* is associated with initial low tones. Against any charge of ambiguity, however, is the fact that the distributions of initial and non-initial *choti he* are constrained such that no ambiguous spellings can be adduced. But if the approach that marks only underlying lexical L is adopted, there is no contradiction between these two ‘givens.’ The former can be seen as marking lexical L initially, which after L-spread and the assignment of H on the second mora of the stressed syllable will invariably precipitate the low-rising pitch contour. The latter can be seen as marking

lexical L root-finally (it is lexically linked with the second mora of /ε/), which after the assignment of H to the first mora of the stressed syllable (i.e. the root nucleus) will invariably precipitate the high-falling pitch contour. For the lexical tone-marking approach, then, *choti he* and *do chashmi he* do not represent two distinct tonemes; rather, they are allographs representing lexical L, and their distributions are constrained by Urdu spelling patterns rather than by surface tonal contrasts.

#### 3.2.2.4 Iconic Approach to Low Tone Related to Loss of Initial Aspiration

Returning to the representation of low tones resulting from the de-aspiration of initial voiced aspirates, we now consider the remaining alternative, that of preserving the Urdu voiced aspirate spellings which consist of the voiced consonants joined to *do chashmi he*. For Eastern Gojri, such a solution is iconic rather than phonemic (cf. Bird 1996:35), since the consonants are voiceless in initial position. It has been adopted for Punjabi (Parvez 1996:47-54), the phonology of which is identical in this respect to that of Eastern Gojri. The leading proponents of this technique for Gojri have been the (Eastern-speaking) Gujar scholars associated with the Jammu & Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture & Languages. In the introduction to their *Gojri Dictionary* (1985) the editors explain that they have utilized the Urdu orthography, and that the Urdu digraphs for initial /bh/, /dh/, /ḡh/, /jh/, and /gh/ are pronounced in Gojri (Eastern) as /p̣ʰ/, /ṭʰ/, /ṭʰʰ/, /č̣ʰ/, and /ḳʰ/, respectively. These scholars have applied this approach more or less consistently in their many Gojri publications. Its advantages should be clear by now, namely, that it offers a uniform representation for both dialects while maintaining a constant word image with Urdu and avoiding the ambiguities created by writing the consonants as voiceless (whether joined with *choti he* or *do chashmi he*). Consider the sample spellings in (62):

## (62) Spellings for low-tone words related to loss of initial aspiration

word	iconic spelling	alternative phonemic spelling (E.only)
/'pāṇḍā/ (/'bāṇḍā/) 'pots and dishes'	بہانڈا	پہانڈا
/'çòṭɔ/ (/'jòṭɔ/) 'male buffalo'	جھوٹو	چھوٹو
/'tāgɔ/ (/'dāgɔ/) 'thread'	دھاگو	تھاگو
/'ṭākɔ/ (/'ḍākɔ/) 'mountain'	ڈھاگو	ٹھاگو
/'kòṛɔ/ (/'gòṛɔ/) 'horse'	گھوڑو	کھوڑو
/pìge'ār/ (/bìgī'ār/) 'wolf'	بھگیاڑ	پگیاڑ or پھگیاڑ
/pà'ṛās/ (/'bà'ṛās/) 'steam'	بھڑاس	پڑاس or پھڑاس
/pà'tījɔ/ (/bà'tījɔ/) 'nephew'	بھتیجو	پھتیجو or پھتیجیو

In my experience, Eastern literates in Pakistan (who have never seen their language in print) often reject this iconic solution upon initial exposure. They feel it is contrary to their distinct pronunciation, and say that the Western dialect doesn't concern them. However, Eastern speakers need not think that the iconic solution is based on the low-prestige Western dialect, but rather on Urdu, the high-prestige language of wider communication for Muslim Gujars in all locations. Thus, when presented with the ambiguities created by the alternative and the considerations for Urdu transitional literacy, their impression becomes favorable. The counter-intuitive nature of this solution thus underscores the need for orthography promotion, and for orthographic explanation in the introductions to Gojri publications and literacy materials.

As for pedagogical method, the five segments in question, along with the five voiceless aspirates, must be taught iconically as digraphs, i.e. as single alphabetic units. For

example, new Eastern readers using the *Gojri Alphabet Primer* (Thikri & Losey 2001) in Pakistan readily learn to associate the /gh/ digraph گھ with the segment /k`/ by looking at the pictured horse, /kòṛɔ/. Similarly, they learn to associate the /kh/ digraph کھ with the segment /kh/ by looking at the pictured donkey, /khotɔ/. Eastern speakers already literate in Urdu need only a concise orthographic ‘key’, such as that contained in the *Gojri Dictionary*, when transitioning to Gojri text.

The solution detailed immediately above, then, is superior to its leading alternative, the phonemic solution proposed by Sharma (1979:150). To summarize, the problems with the phonemic solution are that it ‘splits’ the Eastern and Western dialects, complicates transitional literacy by precluding consistency of word images with Urdu, introduces ambiguities for short vowels even within the Eastern dialect, and at present enjoys comparatively little use. Furthermore, the phonemic solution is ill-equipped to represent the effects of L-spread on words like /pà'tījɔ/ (/bà'tījɔ/) ‘nephew’ and /pà'ṛās/ (/bà'ṛās/) ‘steam.’ To be consistently phonemic, awkward spellings like those on the farthest right in (62) would be needed to indicate that the first unstressed syllables also bear low tone (and are tonally distinct from words like /na'tījɔ/ ‘result’ and /pa'ṛā/ ‘teach!’). The iconic solution, by representing lexical L only (via familiar Urdu-ized spellings), enables readers to correctly interpret low tone from the beginning of the word through to the low-rising pitch contour on the stressed syllable, based on their innate awareness of stress. Given intrinsic merits such as this and the pervasive influence of the Academy’s publications, the adoption in Pakistan and Pakistan-administered Kashmir of

the iconic solution promoted by the Academy represents the best opportunity for the broader Gojri movement to achieve a standard, internally consistent representation.

### 3.2.2.5 Writing of High-Tone Words (Other than /é/ - Type)

The remaining orthographic matters pertaining to tone have received relatively little attention to date, with writers typically defaulting to the Urdu spellings or, when words lack an Urdu cognate, often ignoring the tone entirely. This is probably because the remaining tonal phenomena occur less frequently and are more problematic than those considered thus far in this section. Sharma (1979:151) proposes that the high tone be represented by *do chashmi he* written immediately after the vowel bearing high tone. This, however, would put the *do chashmi he* immediately after a consonant whenever the vowel was short (or perceived as short), given the practice of not writing high-tone (or otherwise) short vowels. This in turn would create many ambiguities with voiceless aspirates and low-tone segments, the latter rightly consisting of a (voiced) consonant followed by *do chashmi he*. Any related proposal (I know of none) for explicitly writing the short vowels and /é/ would be problematic in view of the widely accepted practice of ignoring them or of writing /é/ simply as *choti he*. Representing the short vowels with the appropriate diacritics would not reduce the ambiguities created by Sharma's proposal, since the consonants would still get joined to *do chashmi he*.

An Urdu-ized solution to the writing of high-tone words is suggested by two different spelling patterns for Urdu cognates. Both patterns are used for Gojri high-tone words when the spellings of such words are known from Urdu. These patterns are not, however, consistently applied to uniquely Gojri words.

Writing of High Tone Associated with Loss of Medial /h/

The first and most common spelling pattern features *choti he* or *bari he*, ح, (in the Arabic ‘gentleman’ and ‘wedding ceremony’ below) written after the high-tone long vowel, as shown in (63). It corresponds to the words shown in (56) in 3.1.2.7.

(63) High-tone words written with post-vocalic *he*, per spelling of Urdu cognates

Word	Gloss	Urdu(-ized) Spelling	Urdu Cognate	(original spelling, if different)
/sāb/	‘gentleman’	صاحب	/sāhib/	
/gāk/	‘customer’	گاہک	/gāhuk/	
/sónī/ fem.	‘beautiful’	سوینی	/sohanī/	
/māir/ (/mār/)	‘expert’	ماہر	/māhir/	
/čā/	‘want!’	چاہ	/čāh/	
/bād’sā/ (/bā’čā/)	‘king’	بادشاہ	/bād’sā/	
/ni’kā/	‘wedding ceremony’	نکاح	/ni’kā/	
/’čū/	‘rat’	چُوہو	/’čūhā/	(چُوہا)

Uncommon in Gojri are high-tone medial short vowels having Urdu cognates other than the kind shown below in (64). Words featuring high-tone medial short vowels but lacking such cognates can be written with *choti he* after the vowel diacritic, by extension of this pattern and the pattern noted earlier for /é/, e.g. /túmat/ ‘slander’ تُہمت.

Writing of High-Tone Associated with De-aspiration

The second, lower-frequency spelling pattern features *do chashmi he* after a voiced consonant, as shown in (64). It corresponds to the words shown in (54) in 3.1.2.7 and to the non-causative verbs presented in 3.1.2.3.

(64) High-tone words written with final *do chashmi he*, per spelling of Urdu cognates

Word	Gloss	Urdu(-ized) Spelling	Urdu Cognate	(original spelling, if different)
/kúj/	‘some’	كُجھ	/kučh/	(كُچھ)
/dúd/	‘milk’	دُدھ	/dudh/	
/'dārī/	‘beard’	داڑھی	/'dārḥī/	
/'búḍī/	‘old woman’	بُڈھی	/'buḥhī/	(بُڑھی)
/'čódrī/	‘Choudhry’	چودھری	/'čodharī/	
/pār/	‘read!’	پڑھ	/paḥh/	
/sámj/	‘understand!’	سمجھ	/'samaḥh/	

The Urdu-ized spellings presented above for both patterns are superior to any surface spellings of high-tone words, despite variation in position and appearance. By representing the location of lexical L, whether by a post-vocalic *choti he* or final *do chashmi he*, such spellings clearly indicate the high-falling pitch contour to mother-tongue readers. Furthermore, these spellings maintain a relatively constant word image between Gojri and Urdu. The greatest advantage to adopting both patterns for Gojri, however, is that writing *do chashmi he* after formerly aspirated voiced consonants maintains a constant word image for many non-causative and causative pairs of Gojri verbs like those

in (65). Any surface representation (whether representing the high toneme everywhere with post-vocalic *do chashmi he* or, better, with post-vocalic *choti he* everywhere given its prior association via /kÉ-/ ‘say’ and /rÉ-/ ‘stay’) must resort to two surface spellings: one for the high-tone root and another for the low-tone causative. However, the Urdu-ized representation of lexical L by means of post-consonantal *do chashmi he* enables readers to interpret high tone and, alternately, low tone from a single spelling of the root. Consider these examples:

(65) Spellings for high-tone root and low-tone causative pairs of verbs

verb pairs		Urdu-ized spellings	alternate surface spellings
/páɾ/	‘read!’	پڑھ	پہڑ or پھڑ
/paˈɾà/	‘teach!’	پڑھا	پڑہا
/láŋg/	‘pass by!’	لنگھ	لمہنگ or لہگ
/lanˈgà/	‘shoot!’	لنگھا	لنگہا
/báɳ/	‘become!’	بئھ	بہن or بھن
/baˈɳà/	‘make!’	بئھا	بئہا
/ˈbáɾak/ intrans.	‘boil!’	بڑھک	بہڑک or بھڑک
/baɾˈkà/ trans.	‘boil!’	بڑکھا	بڑکہا or بھکھا

The final pair in (65) is unique in that it shows the effect of L-spreading through an intervening root-final consonant and onto the stressed causative suffix. Only the Urdu-based representation allows for correct indication of surface tones while avoiding

awkward spellings which all but completely obscure any relationship between the two stems. An analysis mistakenly linking lexical L with root-final /k/ rather than with /r/ would lead to the spelling shown to the far right of the bottom line in (65), the final syllable of which is ambiguous with the aspirated level tone /khā/ ‘eat!’

A similar pair of verbs are /pɔ̃č/ ‘arrive!’ and /pɔ̃čā/ ‘deliver!’ As indicated by its voicelessness, the root-final consonant has not been de-aspirated like those presented above. Rather, the root is a contraction of an older form attested by the Urdu cognate /pa'hunč/ ‘arrive!’ Writing lexical L with *choti he* after the vowel and before the final consonant accounts for L-spread through that consonant and onto the stressed causative suffix, while avoiding a spelling ambiguous with the aspirated level tone sequence /čhā/ (cf. /čhā~/ ‘shade’). The spellings which correctly indicate surface tones are thus پوچچ ‘arrive!’ and پوچچا ‘deliver!’ Again, any other analysis and related spellings would complicate the interpretation of surface tones.

### 3.2.2.6 Writing of Other Low-Tone Words

Three remaining kinds of low-tone words warrant discussion, the first two involving a small number of words and the third constituting a much broader pattern.

#### Writing of Polysyllabic Words Beginning with /h/

The tone and spelling issues related to words like /pà'tījɔ/ (/bà'tījɔ/) ‘nephew’ and /pà'rās/ (/bà'rās/) ‘steam’ are similar to those for words like /hà'mešā~/ ‘always’ which were presented in 3.1.2.6. The latter begin with /h/ but are stressed on a non-initial syllable, and like the former words bear low tone on all syllables preceding the stressed

syllable, followed by a low-rising pitch on the stressed syllable. Most Gujar writers simply write these words with initial *choti he* (e.g. ہمیشاں /hà'mešā~/ ‘always’), per their familiarity with the spellings of Urdu cognates (e.g. ہمیشہ /ha'mešā/ ‘always’). This practice actually constitutes a ‘shallow’ orthographic solution and is often followed even by those normally advocating a phonetic approach to spelling. A surface representation would mark the low-rising tone where it is heard on the stressed syllable, and begin with a vowel since /h/ is not phonetically realized (e.g. أمیشاں [à'mè:šā~] ‘always’, in which the first-syllable low tone still remains unwritten). A natural application of this approach would spell the intransitive verb /hà!/ [hǎ!] ‘shake!’ as ہل , and its transitive (i.e. causative) counterpart /hà!ā/ [à!ǎ:] trans. ‘shake!’ as آلہا . Such spellings preclude a constant image of the Gojri root, as well as precluding a constant word image between Gojri and Urdu. The Urdu-ized practice of simply writing initial lexical L with initial *choti he* is the best solution for all words of this type.

#### Writing Low Tone in Words Featuring Initial Aspiration

Words in which low tone and aspiration co-occur (see 3.1.2.8) are most commonly written with reference only to aspiration. Thus, /'thā̀rɔ/ [t<sup>h</sup>à:rɔ:] pl. ‘your’ is spelled تھارو and /'thā̀ɳɔ/ [t<sup>h</sup>a:ɳɔ] ‘to be found’ is spelled تھائو . An alternative phonemic approach representing both low tone and aspiration would yield awkward spellings for /thā̀rɔ/: تھارو or worse, تھارو . Ignoring the tone altogether is the best solution for such words, since only a handful are truly indigenous and lack accepted Urdu spellings. The interpretation of indigenous words like the two spelled above is greatly assisted by

contextual clues (given the unique semantics of these two words), and I have not yet encountered any ambiguities between such words and aspirated level-tone words.

Writing Low Tone not Associated with Loss of Aspiration

This category includes all words with Urdu cognates featuring medial /h/ before a long vowel (see (53) in 3.1.2.6), as well as many which do not. The fact that Urdu medial /h/ corresponds to both Gojri high tone (3.1.2.7) and low tone (3.1.2.6) means that any phonemic spelling approach which values compatibility with Urdu is forced either to promote some spellings which are contrary to Urdu or to accept ambiguity in the interpretation of *choti he*. Since most Gojri words of the type corresponding to medial /h/ before a long vowel in Urdu are in fact Perso-Arabic loans whose spellings are well-known to literate Gujars, there is little warrant for promoting unique Gojri spellings (although diacritics representing Urdu first-syllable short vowels must be omitted for Gojri). Examples of such loans are shown in (66).

(66) Spellings of Perso-Arabic loans pronounced with low tone in Gojri.

Word	Gloss	Urdu Pronunciation	Urdu Spelling
/māl/	‘palace’	/ma'hāl/	مَحَل (with <i>bari he</i> )
/jāz/	‘ship’	/ja'hāz/	جَهَاز
/jād/	‘jihad’	/ji'hād/	جِهَاد
/'mājar/	‘refugee’	/mu'hājir/	مُهَاجِر

Along with such borrowed spellings, some Gujar writers, including the editors of the Academy dictionary, have been writing indigenous words of this type using *do chashmi he* by analogy with Urdu-ized spellings for low tones resulting from de-aspiration (see

3.2.2.4). Others write all such words with *choti he*, consistent with their writing of low tones resulting from de-aspiration (by analogy with the spellings of loans like those in (66)). Some common words for which such alternate spellings are used are shown in (67).

(67) Alternate spellings for indigenous low-tone words not related to de-aspiration

word	gloss	with <i>do chashmi he</i>	with <i>choti he</i>
/m̄arɔ/	‘our’	مہارو	مہارو
/m̄ɛs/	‘dairy buffalo’	مہیس	مہیس
/male'ap/	‘worm’	ملیہپ	ملیہپ
/lw̄ã/	‘get [someone]	لُوها	لُوبا
to remove [article of clothing]!’		cf. لاه /lã/	‘remove [article of clothing]!’

In between the words which are clearly loans and those which are truly indigenous are many more words which are not thought of as loans (and which might be indigenous) but whose Urdu cognates do have known spellings. For a small number of words like /k̄ãṇī/ (/ḡãṇī/) ‘story’ the Urdu medial-/h/ spelling گہانی (/ka'hānī/) might be abandoned in favor of گہائی, so that both dialects can be represented by a single form. Conversely, words beginning with any of the plosives /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /č/, /j/, /t̄/, /d̄/, /k/, and /g/ but not showing the initial voicing variation between dialects should always be written with the Urdu spellings to avoid confusion about voicing, e.g. بہادر /b̄adar/ ‘brave’ (Urdu /ba'hādar/) and پہاڑ /p̄ar/ ‘rocky crag’ (Urdu /pa'hār/ ‘mountain’). For words beginning with any other consonant (i.e. any lacking a homorganic voiceless or voiced counterpart), there is no reason to promote a unique Gojri spelling (aside from unique

Gojri endings), given the frequency of medial-/h/ loan spellings in the lexicon. In practice such words are typically written with Urdu spellings, but the *do chashmi he* spellings are also possible. Some examples of this variation are shown in (68).

(68) Alternate spellings for Gojri low-tone words cognate with Urdu medial-/h/ words

<i>do chashmi he</i> Spelling		Urdu Spelling (with <i>choti he</i> )
/nā/ ‘bathe!’	نہا	نہا /nu'hā/
/swāgā/ ‘ashes’	سُوہاگا	سُوہاگو /su'hāgā/ ‘ash’
/mīnā/ ‘months’	مہینا	مہینہ /ma'hīnā/ ‘month’
/sāl/ ‘diarrhea’	سہال	سہال /sa'hāl/

The remaining problem, then, is that there are two competing representations for unique Gojri low-tone words not resulting from de-aspiration. Since there are no low-tone roots featuring initial short vowels which are not the result of de-aspiration, neither *choti he* nor *do chashmi he* written before a long vowel create any ambiguities with high-tone roots (assuming rejection of the ambiguous practice of writing *choti he* for low-tone short vowels associated with de-aspiration, see 3.2.2.2). This is because both letters accurately represent the pre-vocalic location of lexical L (whereas *choti he* represents post-vocalic lexical L in high-tone words, provided it is consistently written after any explicit vowel). Therefore, since both representations rightly represent lexical L unambiguously and enjoy current use for large numbers of other Gojri words (assuming validation of the iconic representation for low tones resulting from de-aspiration), the

spelling of uniquely indigenous words like those in (67) must be determined with reference to other criteria.

Two possible solutions are (1) to simply spell all low-tone words of this type with *choti he*, or (2) to spell with *do chashmi he* all such Gojri words for which transparent Urdu cognates are not found in modern Urdu dictionaries. Either solution is preferable to subjectively determining the spelling of each word on a case-by-case basis. The first solution may be preferable from the standpoint of maintaining constant word images between Gojri and Urdu, but its adoption is somewhat complicated by the proliferation of spellings like *مہارو* /màro/ ‘our’ in the Gojri literature of Indian-administered Kashmir.<sup>4</sup> The second solution would afford an overall representation of low tone that is more uniform within Gojri itself, especially for text material that utilizes fewer non-indigenous words (i.e. it would strengthen rather than dilute the association of *do chashmi he* with the low toneme). Testing of both spelling patterns with new readers is needed to determine which potential ambiguity poses the greater problem: (1) the confusion of such *do chashmi he* spellings with spellings of words featuring initial voiceless aspiration; or (2) the confusion of such *choti he* spellings with spellings of high-tone words, especially those involving stems ending in /é/ and a long-vowel suffix (e.g. *کہاں* /kã~/ ‘we say’).

### 3.2.3 Evaluation Summary

The evaluation presented above obviously reflects my own conviction that a tone representation which ‘joins’ the dialects and maximizes ease of transfer between Gojri and Urdu is better than a representation that ‘splits’ the dialects and promotes unique Gojri spellings. I have extensively documented the claim that a consistent one-to-one mapping of grapheme to toneme is impossible for any representation that values compatibility

with Urdu. A surface representation for Gojri must admit high functional loads (and conflicting functions) for the letters *do chashmi he* and *choti he*, while still failing to represent all of the contrastive surface phenomena (most notably, any level low tone preceding a low-rising tone in words like /pìge'āṛ/ (/bìgī'āṛ/) ‘wolf’).

The documentation demonstrates, however, that Urdu-based conventions in use by some Gujar writers approximate a consistent representation of underlying lexical L. In this view, *do chashmi he* and *choti he* are allographs of lexical L, and their distributions are dictated by Urdu spelling patterns rather than by surface contrasts. Such Urdu-based spellings correctly indicate the interpretation of surface tones while maintaining consistency of word image within Gojri and between Gojri and Urdu.

The full range of Urdu-based conventions for the representation of Gojri tonal words is presented in summary form in Table 8 below. The forms included in Table 8 are representative of the broader spelling patterns which I believe are suitable for standardization. I have not included any of the exceptional spellings noted elsewhere above, for which only one or two examples exist in my present database. While all of the spellings in Table 8 are in use in some quarter, neither they nor the patterns they represent are applied consistently across-the-board.

It remains then for Gujar writers to decide together which conventions should be standardized, and which kinds of tonal words should be spelled according to each convention. The success of such decision-making will depend upon many factors, including broad-based participation (geographically and dialectically), the linguistic facts, and the testing of alternate solutions for representative tonal words like /'mārɔ/ ‘our’ (مهاريو vs. مہارو).

Table 8. Urdu-based Conventions for Representing Lexical L in Gojri

	1st $\sigma$ stressed	2nd $\sigma$ stressed	3rd $\sigma$ stressed
<u>Pre-vocalic lexical L (corresponding to surface low tone) is represented by:</u>			
-initial <i>choti he</i>	ہم ‘we’ /həm/ [hɔ̃m]	ہمیشاں ‘always’ /hə'mešā~/ [ɔ̃'mè:šá~]	ہتھیار ‘tools’ /həthe'ār/ [ɔ̃t <sup>h</sup> è'ă:r]
-do <i>chashmi he</i>	گھوڑو ‘horse’ /kòɾɔ/ [kò:ɾó]	بھڑاس ‘steam’ /pà'ɾās/ [pə'ɾă:s]	بھگیاڑ ‘wolf’ /pìge'ār/ [pìgè'ă:r]
after initial vd. consonant	(/gòɾɔ/ [gò:ɾó])	(/bà'ɾās/ [bə'ɾă:s])	(/bìgī'ār/ [bìgì'ă:r])
-do <i>chashmi he</i> after non-initial vd. consonant		پڑھا ‘teach!’ /pa'ɾā/ [pə'ɾă:]	
- <i>choti he</i>	جہاز ‘ship’ /jāz/ [jă:z]		
after initial consonant in loans			
-no marking (with aspiration)	تھاڙو pl. ‘your’ /thāɾɔ/ [t <sup>h</sup> à:ɾó]		

Post-vocalic lexical L (corresponding to surface high tone) is represented by:

- <i>choti he</i>	بہن ‘sister’ /béɳ/ [bê:ɳ]
indicating /é/	
- <i>choti he</i>	تہمت ‘slander’ /túmat/ [túmət]
with vowel diacritic	

Table 8 cont.

<i>-choti he</i>	چوبو 'rat'	بادشاه 'king'	گمراه 'unbeliever'
after explicit vowel	/čũɔ/ [čũ:ɔ]	/bād'sā/ [ba:d'sâ:]	guma'rā [gumə'râ:]
(only loans for 2nd and 3rd columns)		(/bāč'ā/ [ba:'čâ:])	
<i>-do chashmi he</i>	پڑھ 'read!'		
after vd. consonant	/pâr/ [pâr]		

CHAPTER IV  
COMPARATIVE GOJRI MORPHOSYNTAX

What follows is only a preliminary statement of Gojri morphosyntax. I have necessarily limited myself to those topics which have a bearing on orthography and dialectal variation. I have attempted to exhaust the morphological phenomena in my data, while describing only those syntactic phenomena which are essential to understanding the morphological data and about which something unique can be said with respect to Gojri. Anyone having a basic familiarity with Indo-Aryan syntax should not be hindered by the resulting gaps in my analysis. Throughout I have utilized Masica's (1991) labels and analytic categories to simplify cross-linguistic comparison. I have made no attempt, however, to reconcile my analysis with that of Sharma for Punch-Rajauri Gojri (1982), although I do point out descriptive differences involving the shape of the morphemes themselves.

4.1 Noun-Phrase Constituents and Operations

4.1.1 The Structure of Nouns and Noun Phrases

4.1.1.1 Marked and Unmarked Nouns

From the perspective of their morphological structure, two subclasses of nouns can be distinguished in Gojri. Some nouns bear an overt marker that encodes gender (masculine vs. feminine), number (singular vs. plural), and case (nominative vs. general oblique vs. general locative). Here, following common practice in Indo-Aryan linguistics, such nouns are called 'marked'.

Other nouns do not bear an overt marker for these categories. Such nouns are called ‘unmarked’. (The oblique plural marker /-ā~/ does not participate in this scheme of things. It attaches to both marked and unmarked nouns. The same is true for the vocative case marker in most of its forms.)

The stems of marked nouns are ‘bound’ elements in the sense that they cannot occur on their own, without the inflectional marker. The structure of marked nouns can be described as follows:

(69) STEM - INFL1 - (INFL2)

INFL1 is the obligatory marker for gender, number, and case. INFL2 is a slot for an additional inflectional marker. This slot can be occupied by the oblique plural marker /-ā~/ and by most forms of the vocative case marker. For example, consider the suffixes in (70):

(70)E.    o    mer-e-ā                      lāyk bač-e-ā  
           VOC 1s.GEN-M.SG-VOC.M.SG    smart child-M.SG-VOC.M.SG  
           ‘Oh my smart [boy] child!’

The structure of unmarked nouns is shown in (71):

(71) STEM - (INFL2)

As stated above, unmarked nouns do not take the gender-number-case markers that occur in the INFL1 slot of marked nouns. However, unmarked nouns do combine with the INFL2 type of suffixes. For example consider the attachment of the oblique plural marker /-ā~/ to the unmarked noun /rič/ ‘bear’ in (72):

(72)    rič-ā~ (nā)            ‘(to) [the] bears’

In addition to taking the oblique plural marker /-ā~/ and vocative case markers, certain stems of this class of nouns can also take an ablative case marker.

The stems of nouns from both categories may be further analyzed into roots and derivational suffixes. The reader interested in Gojri derivational morphology should refer to Sharma (1982), as I have not attempted any description of that topic here.

#### 4.1.1.2 The Noun Phrase

The basic structure of the Gojri noun phrase is not distinct from that described by Masica for Indo-Aryan generally (1991:373). The noun is the right-most element in the phrase, with optional modifiers occurring to the left. While the order of these modifiers is not rigid, it may be generalized as follows:

(73) (Gen P) / (Dem) (Quant) (Adj P)\* (Gen P) + N

(The asterisk (\*) indicates that more than one such constituent may occur in the specified location.)

That is, a noun phrase consists of a noun, preceded by an optional genitive phrase, one or more optional adjective phrases, an optional quantifier, and an optional demonstrative or genitive phrase. A genitive phrase consists of another noun and the genitive postposition /k-/ ‘of’, and may indicate possession (e.g. /mumtāz kī/ ‘Mumtaz’s [feminine noun]’) or quality (e.g. /makaī kī/ ‘of corn’). An adjective phrase usually consists of an adjective, optionally preceded by an adverb of degree, e.g. /muč lāyk/ ‘very intelligent’.

The relative order of these constituents is shown in examples (74)-(76):

(74) kāyān k-ā            tre    baṛ-ā            šōṇ-ā            sar  
 Kaghan GEN-NOM.M.PL three big-NOM.M.PL beautiful-NOM.M.PL lake  
 ‘Kaghan’s three very beautiful lakes’

- (75) wé do lam-ā kāblī jaṇ-ā  
 3pl.DIST.NOM.M two long-NOM.M.PL Afghani man-NOM.M.PL  
 ‘those two tall Afghani men’
- (76) ayūb k-ā do baṛ-ā sóṇ-ā lakaṛī k-ā  
 Ayub GEN-NOM.M.PL two big-NOM.M.PL beautiful-NOM.M.PL wood GEN-F.S  
 sandūk  
 chest  
 ‘Ayub’s two very beautiful wooden chests’

Noun phrases which are more complex may include a relative clause:<sup>1</sup>

- (77)E. koe jír-ɔ swātī th-ɔ, (ó nōkrī  
 INDEF.NOM.M.SG REL-NOM.M.SG Swati PAST-M.SG 3sg.DIST wage.labor  
 kar-t-ɔ)  
 do-IMPFV-M.SG  
 ‘The one who was a Swati, (he would be doing wage labor).’
- (78)W. jír-ā jaṇ-ā ne mer-ī yá baks-ī khol-θ-ī,  
 REL-OBL.M.SG man-OBL.M.SG AG 1s.GEN-F 3sg.PROX.NOM.F box-F open-PERF-F  
 (hū~ us jaṇ-ā nā lī-ū~ g-ī)  
 1s.NOM 3sg.DIST.OBL man-OBL.M.SG DAT take-1s FUT-F  
 ‘Whichever man opens this box of mine, (that man I will take).’

#### 4.1.2 Gender and Number

Unmarked nouns have inherent gender, while their number in a given context will be coded elsewhere in the noun phrase. Marked nouns are inflected to distinguish masculine from feminine and plural from singular (the latter not in all instances) within a single suffix. Table 9 shows the inventory of these gender-number agreement suffixes:

Table 9. Gender-Number Agreement Suffixes

	Eastern	Western
m.sg.	-ɔ	-ɔ
m.pl.	-ā	-ā
f.sg.	-ī	-ī
f.pl.	-ī~	-ī

Masica uses the term ‘adjectival concord’ (AC) (1991:260) for suffixes of this type. In addition to marking nouns and adjectives, these AC suffixes occur widely within the verb phrase. Within the noun phrase these suffixes denote unmarked or nominative case.

Note that feminine singular and feminine plural are collapsed in the Western dialect. Since singular and plural number are also often collapsed in the verbal morphology of this dialect, number can only be distinguished for feminine nouns by means of a quantifier, by context, or by the number of a pronoun. The distinction between feminine singular and feminine plural is maintained in the Eastern dialect only on marked nouns (optionally - and normally omitted in nominative if clear from a quantifier or pronoun), the relative pronoun, verbs, and auxiliaries. Adjectives, the genitive postposition, and other modifiers in the noun phrase take the feminine singular suffix for agreement with feminine plural nouns. Compare the Eastern and Western sentences in (79), noting the distribution of the feminine plural suffix /ī~/:

- (79)E.    us            k-ī        nik-ī        t̃-ī~            ĵír-ī~    th-ī~  
           3sg.DIST.OBL GEN-F.SG    small-F.SG daughter-F.PL REL-F.PL    PAST-F.PL  
           te wé            roṭ-ī~        ún-ā~                            ĵug-ī    th-ī~  
           and 3pl.DIST.NOM bread-F.PL 3pl/HON.DIST.OBL-PL.OBL for-F.SG PAST-F.PL

‘His little daughters that were, those breads were for them.’

W. us k-ī nik-ī ḍ-ī ĵír-ī th-ī  
 3sg.DIST.OBL GEN-F small-F daughter-F REL-F PAST-F  
 tɛ wé rōṭ-ī ún ĵug-ī th-ī  
 and 3pl.DIST.NOM bread-F 3pl/HON.DIST.OBL for-F PAST-F

‘His little daughters that were, those breads were for them.’

#### 4.1.3 Case and Postpositions

Case relations in Gojri are encoded by means of three inflectional categories, representing three degrees of proximity to the noun stem. Masica organizes these categories as follows for Indo-Aryan languages: Layer I, consisting of suffixes; Layer II, consisting of morphemes whose attachment is mediated by a Layer I suffix; and Layer III, consisting of morphemes mediated by a Layer II element (1991:231-234). Nominative or ‘direct’ case is unmarked in Gojri; stems bearing adjectival concord function as subject in a wide variety of constructions and as ‘patient’ in ergative constructions.

##### 4.1.3.1 Layer I: Case-Marking Suffixes

Most of the case-marking suffixes occur in the INFL1 slot of the Gojri noun (and therefore do not occur on unmarked nouns), while some of them occur in the INFL2 slot.

**/-ā/ oblique masculine singular:** attaches in the INFL1 slot to indicate that a postposition further specifying case will follow a marked masculine singular noun. It cannot occur without a following postposition.

**/-ā~/ oblique plural:** attaches in the INFL2 slot to indicate that a postposition further specifying case will follow a plural noun. It attaches after feminine AC suffixes on marked nouns, but deletes the AC vowel /ā/ when attaching to a marked masculine plural. When affixed to an unmarked noun, this suffix may be the only morphological indication of plurality. In the Eastern dialect only, other constituents of the noun phrase,

including numerals and possessive adjectives, normally take this oblique plural suffix to show agreement with a head noun so marked. It cannot occur without a following postposition.

**/-ε/ locative singular:** attaches in the INFL1 slot of marked masculine singular inanimate nouns and to the stems of various possessive adjectives, postpositions, and adverbs to indicate abstract location. (Location is expressed for other types of nouns by means of postpositions such as /mā/ ‘in’.) Nouns and postpositions which have nothing to do with locative or temporal notions cannot be so marked.

(80)W. ek dīāṛ-ε ek búḍ-ī ā ga-θ-ī, us  
 one day-LOC one old-F come go-PERF-F 3sg.DIST.OBL  
 ḍèn-ī k-ε ḍer-ε.  
 woman-F GEN-LOC home-LOC

‘One day an old woman came to that woman’s home.’

**/-ε~/ locative plural:** attaches in the INFL1 slot of inanimate marked masculine plural nouns to indicate abstract location. It may also attach to plural possessive adjectives and to the plural demonstrative stems /ín-/ and /ún-/. This morpheme occurs only in the Eastern dialect, and Sharma (1982) does not report it for Punch-Rajauri Gojri. Unlike the locative singular it cannot occur with the genitive postposition (\*/kε~/).

(81)E. hū~ thār-ε~ ḍer-ε~ čal-ū~ k-ɔ  
 1s.NOM 2pl/HON.OBL-LOC.PL home-LOC.PL go-1sg FUT-M.SG.NOM

‘I will go to your homes.’

**/-ū/ ablative case:** attaches in the INFL2 slot of select unmarked singular nouns to form adverbs indicating abstract point of origin:

- (82)      sir-ū      ‘completely’ (lit. ‘from the head’)  
             mund-ū    ‘from the beginning’ (lit. ‘from the trunk’)

Eastern speakers from the Muzaffarabad area have the variant /-ū~/ in their speech, as do speakers of the Punch-Rajauri dialect (Sharma 1982:92). Some Western speakers have the variant /-o~/ in their speech.

**/-ā/ vocative masculine singular:** this and other vocative case suffixes mark the addressee. The vocative masculine singular suffix is phonetically identical to the oblique masculine singular, but unlike the oblique, it can attach to unmarked nouns and cannot be followed by a postposition. On marked masculine nouns and modifiers in the Eastern dialect, the attachment of this suffix in the INFL2 slot changes the masculine singular AC marker in the INFL1 slot from /-ɔ/ to /-e/ as shown in (83).

- (83)      merɔ + ā > mereā

It attaches in the INFL2 slot of all unmarked masculine nouns, but does not attach to unmarked modifiers. Note the marking on the marked adjective /nik-/ ‘little’ and the unmarked noun /pūt/ ‘son’ in (84)a. Note the marking on the marked noun /bač-/ ‘child’ and the lack of marking on the unmarked adjective /lāyk/ ‘smart’ in (84)b.

- (84)E.a.    ɔ      mer-e-ā                      nik-e-ā                      pūt-ā  
                  VOC 1sg.GEN-M.SG-VOC.M.SG    little-M.SG-VOC.M.SG    son-VOC.M.SG

‘Oh my little son!’

- b.    ɔ      mer-e-ā                      lāyk bač-e-ā  
                  VOC 1sg.GEN-M.SG-VOC.M.SG    smart child-M.SG-VOC.M.SG

‘Oh my smart [boy] child!’



In the Western dialect, the vocative is unmarked for all feminine singular nouns and associated modifiers:

- (87)W.    ɔ    mer-ī    ḍ-ī  
           VOC 1sg.GEN-F    daughter-F  
           ‘Oh my daughter!’

*/-ɔ/ (/~ɔ~/)* **vocative plural**: attaches to the stem of unmarked nouns and after the AC suffix on marked feminine nouns and modifiers. Its Eastern form is identical in shape to the vocative interjection */ɔ/* ‘Oh!’ In (88), note its attachment to the marked modifiers */mer-/* ‘my’ and */nik-/* ‘little’, and to the marked noun */ṭī/ (/ḍī/)* ‘daughter.’

- (88)E.    ɔ    mer-ī-ɔ                    nik-ī-ɔ                    ṭ-ī-ɔ  
           VOC 1sg.GEN-F.SG-VOC.PL    little-F.SG-VOC.PL    daughter-F.SG-VOC.PL  
           ‘Oh my little daughters!’

- W.    ɔ    mer-ī-ɔ~                    nik-ī-ɔ~                    ḍ-ī-ɔ~  
           VOC 1sg.GEN-F-VOC.PL    little-F-VOC.PL    daughter-F.SG-VOC.PL  
           ‘Oh my little daughters!’

In the Eastern dialect it attaches to marked masculine nouns and modifiers after the AC suffix, changing the AC vowel from */ā/* to */e/* as shown in (89):

- (89)E.    merā + ɔ > mereɔ

In the Western dialect it attaches directly to the stem of marked masculine nouns. The vocative plural does not attach to unmarked modifiers in the Eastern dialect, or to any modifiers in the Western dialect. Consider examples (90)-(91).

- (90)E.    ɔ    mer-e-ɔ                    lāyk    pūt-ɔ  
           VOC 1sg.GEN-M.PL-VOC.PL    smart    son-VOC.PL  
           ‘Oh my smart sons!’

- W.    ɔ    mer-ā            lāyk   pūt-ɔ̃  
       VOC 1sg.GEN-M.PL   smart   son-VOC.PL  
       ‘Oh my smart sons!’
- (91)E.    allā   k-e-ɔ            band-e-ɔ  
       Allah GEN-M.PL-VOC.PL   man-M.PL-VOC.PL  
       ‘Men of Allah!’
- W.    allā   k-ā            band-ɔ̃  
       Allah   GEN-M.PL   man-VOC.PL  
       ‘Men of Allah!’

As noted for the vocative masculine singular, so here the plural suffix attaches directly to the stem of marked nouns denoting seniority:

- (92)E.    ɔ    mer-e-ɔ            kāk-ɔ!  
       VOC 1sg.GEN-M.PL-VOC.PL   paternal.uncle-VOC.PL  
       ‘Oh my uncles!’
- W.    ɔ    mer-ā            kāk-ɔ̃  
       VOC 1sg.GEN-M.PL   paternal.uncle-VOC.PL  
       ‘Oh my uncles!’

### Nominal Paradigms

Tables 10-12 present the regular inflections for marked animate nouns, marked inanimate nouns, and unmarked animate nouns, respectively; summarizing the distributions and attachments of the Layer I suffixes.

Table 10. Inflection of Marked Animate Nouns: /bač-/ ‘child’

		Nom sg.	Nom pl.	Obl sg.	Obl pl.	Voc sg.	Voc pl.
masc.	E	bačɔ	bačā	bačā	bačā~	bačeā	bačeɔ
	W	"	"	"	"	bačā	bačɔ~
fem.	E	bačī	bačī~	bačī	bačī~ā~	bačīe	bačīɔ
	W	"	bačī	"	bačīā~	bačī	bačīɔ~

Table 11. Inflection of Marked Inanimate Nouns: /dèār-/ (/dīār-/) ‘day’  
(Kashmir variant is /tèār-/)

		Nom sg.	Nom pl.	Obl sg.	Obl pl.	Loc sg.	Loc pl.
masc.	E	dèārɔ	dèārā	dèārā	dèārā~	dèāre	dèāre~
	W	dīārɔ	dīārā	dīārā	dīārā~	dīāre	-----
fem.	E	dèārī	dèārī~	dèārī	dèārī~ā~	-----	-----
	W	dīārī	dīārī	dīārī	dīārīā~	-----	-----

Table 12. Inflection of Unmarked Animate Nouns: /pūt/ ‘son’, /béᅇ/ ‘sister’

		Nom sg.	Nom pl.	Obl sg.	Obl pl.	Voc sg.	Voc pl.
masc.	E	pūt	pūt	pūt	pūtā~	pūtā	pūtɔ
	W	"	"	"	"	pūt	pūtɔ~
fem.	E	béᅇ	béᅇ	béᅇ	béᅇā~	béᅇ	béᅇɔ
	W	"	"	"	"	"	béᅇɔ~

Unmarked inanimate nouns are inflected identically to those in Table 12, but only for nominative and oblique cases as they cannot take vocative suffixes.

## 4.1.3.2 Layer II: Postpositions Mediated by Oblique Case

## 4.1.3.2.1 Primary or Case-Marking Postpositions

Case-marking postpositions follow oblique-case nouns and pronouns.

**/ne/ agentive case:** marks the agent of an ergative construction. In addition to the marking of agents with /ne/, ergative constructions in Gojri feature the perfective ‘participle’ of a transitive verb (see 4.2.1.1), the nominative agreement (~AC) of which is always with the grammatical object rather than with the agent/subject:

- (93)E.    us            ʃaṇ-ā            ne wá            beṭk-ī    hēr-θ-ī  
               3sg.DIST.OBL man-OBL.M.SG AG 3sg.DIST.NOM.F girl-F.SG see-PERF-F.SG  
               ‘That man saw the girl.’

- (94)W.    bāčǎ ne k-ī-ɔ,            is            dèṇ-ī ne hũ~  
               king AG say-PERF-M.SG 3sg.PROX.OBL woman-F AG 1sg.NOM  
               bač-ā-e-ɔ  
               save-CAUS-PERF-M.SG  
               ‘The king said, ‘This woman saved me.’

The most common use of /ne/ in discourse is with verbs of speaking like that in the first clause of (94). In such contexts where there is no expressed object, the agreement of the perfective form of the verb defaults to masculine singular.

In constructions where an indirect object is marked with dative case, /ne/ may mark the subject. Compare (95) with (96) and (97):

- (95)E.    ʃawed nā    peš-ā            de-ṇ-ā            hẽ~  
               Javed DAT money-NOM.M.PL give-INF-NOM.M.PL 3pl.PRES  
               ‘Javed needs to give money.’

- (96)E.    ǰawed ne ašrif nā pēs-ā            de-ŋ-ā            hè~  
 Javed AG Ashrif DAT money-NOM.M.PL give-INF-NOM.M.PL 3pl.PRES  
 ‘Javed needs to give Ashrif money.’
- (97)W.    hàm ne apan-ī bèḍ-ā~            nā dwā-ī        de-ŋ-ī ε  
 1p.NOM AG REFL-F sheep-OBL.PL DAT medicine-F give-INF-F PRES  
 ‘We need to give medicine to our sheep.’

The agentive postposition is reduced to /ε~/ or /e~/ in certain pronominal forms, particularly in the Western dialect (see 4.1.4).

**/te/ ablative case:** most commonly marks source or origin (cf. English ‘from’) as in (98), and the undergoer of verbs of asking as in (99):

- (98)       is            ǰel te hū~        kis-šāne        nas-ū~  
 3sg.PROX.OBL jail from 1sg.NOM INDEF.OBL-way run.away-1sg  
 ‘How shall I escape from this jail?’
- (99)E.       us            ne nikaḥ-ī        te pučh-e-ᵛ  
 3sg.DIST.OBL AG smallest-F.SG from ask-PERF-M.SG  
 ‘He asked the smallest [girl].’

It may have an instrumental sense, as in (100):

- (100)W.    sat-ā~        mú-ā~        te wá            khā-ε th-ī.  
 seven-OBL.PL mouth-OBL.PL from 3sg.DIST.NOM.F eat-2/3 PAST-F  
 ‘She ate with seven mouths.’

It may also indicate the agent in certain passive constructions (cf. English ‘by’):

- (101)       wé            us            te xuš        hò-e-ā  
 3pl.DIST.NOM 3sg.DIST.OBL from happy be-PERF-M.PL  
 ‘They were gladdened by him.’

/te/ is also used in comparatives (cf. English ‘than’):

- (102)W. mer-ε      te    ḍāḍ-ᵛ                      ṣaṇ-ᵛ                      be    kāe      ε  
 1sg.OBL-LOC from powerful-M.SG.NOM man-M.SG.NOM also INDEF.SG PRES  
 ‘Is there anyone stronger than I?’

The Western sentence in (102) shows /te/ following locative case, as it may follow either oblique or locative case in that dialect. In Eastern it may occur only with oblique case.

Dr. Sabir Afaqi tells me that the variant /tū~/ is in his own speech (recall the ablative suffix variant /-ū~/) and that /te~/ is used in other parts of Kashmir. Sharma reports the forms /dū~/ and /tū~/ for Punch-Rajauri Gojri (1982:192). The Kunhari Muhajar Bakarwals from whom I elicited the word list in Appendix B have the variant /de/.

**/k-/ genitive case:** normally indicates that there is a relationship between two nominal elements, particularly one of association or possession (cf. English ‘of’):

- (103)E. us                      k-ā                      pes-ā                      wī muk    g-ī-ā  
 3sg.DIST.OBL GEN-M.PL.NOM money-M.PL.NOM also finish go-PERF-M.PL.NOM  
 ‘His money ran out too.’

- (104)W. yó                      kāk-ā                      k-ᵛ                      gòṛ-ᵛ                      ε  
 3sg.PROX.NOM.M paternal.uncle-OBL.M.SG GEN-NOM.M.SG horse-NOM.M.SG PRES  
 ‘This is Uncle’s horse.’

Like other marked nouns and modifiers, the genitive postposition takes the full complement of nominative AC endings (save the feminine plural in Western) along with whatever locative, oblique, and vocative suffixes are allowed for marked words in a given dialect. When occurring in the nominative with a single noun, it indicates reference (akin to the English ‘concerning’, ‘about’, ‘with respect to’):

(105)W. us-e~ de k-ɔ nā́ k̄-ī-ɔ,  
 3sg.DIST.OBL-AG giant GEN-NOM.M.SG NEG say-PERF-M.SG

‘He didn’t speak about the giant.’

Sharma reports /g-/ as the genitive postposition for Punch-Rajauri (1982:121). This form is sometimes heard following nasals in Pakistan, particularly in Western varieties (see 2.5.5). In some Western varieties it also occurs in contexts like /lakaṛī go (sandūk)/ ‘wooden (chest)’ (lit. ‘chest of wood’). Further research is needed to establish the distribution of this variant.

**/nā/ dative case:** marks direct and indirect objects as in (106) and (107), respectively, the direction (‘to’) or purpose of (‘for’) the verbal action as in (108) and (109), respectively, and the experiencer subject in any ‘dative subject’ construction (Masica 1991:346) like that in (110):

(106)W. tam ke kar-ε rič nā  
 2pl.NOM what do-2/3 bear DAT

‘What shall you do to the bear?’

(107)W. hām nā rozī xudā dī-ε  
 1p. DAT daily.wage God give-2/3

‘God gives us [our] livelihood.’

(108)E. pāy jā r-é-ɔ baṇ nā  
 brother go stay-PERF-M.SG forest DAT

‘The brother left for the forest.’

(109)E. hū~ ter-ε nā! béā kar-uṇ nā ā-e-ɔ hū~  
 1sg.NOM 2sg.OBL-LOCwith marriage do-INF.OBL DAT come-PERF-M.SG.NOM 1sg.PRES

‘I have come to marry you.’

- (110)E. bādšā nā lér čár-θ-ī  
king DAT anger climb-PERF-F.SG

‘The king got angry.’ (lit. ‘Anger climbed the king.’)

In the Western dialect, the dative postposition is reduced to /-ā~/ in third person singular pronominal forms.

#### 4.1.3.2.2 Other Layer II Postpositions

These postpositions occur with locative or oblique case. In Western there may be less precision about whether locative or oblique case is required for a given use of a postposition.

**/dar/ (/tā/)** **showing directionality**: specifies direction of the verbal action. It overlaps somewhat with the dative postposition /nā/ but is not used for experiencer constructions. The distributions of this postposition are not identical for both dialects.

In Eastern it follows locative case:

- (111)E. ter-ε dar xat likh ke ʔor-ū~  
2sg.GEN-LOC toward letter write CP send-1sg

‘Shall I write you a letter and send it?’

The Western variant follows oblique case:

- (112)W. is jaṇ-ā ne čaʔ mār-ī-ɔ būṭ-ā tā  
2sg.PROX.OBL man-OBL.M.SG AG grabbing hit-PERF-M.SG tree-OBL.M.SG toward  
nap-uṇ tā  
catch-INF.OBL toward

‘This man grabbed at the tree to catch hold of it.’

**/mā/ ‘in’:** occurs with oblique case:

- (113)W. wó                      ḍāk-ā~                      mā čhap g-ī-ᵛ.  
 2sg.M.DIST.NOM mountain-PL.OBL in hide go-PERF-M.SG.NOM  
 ‘He hid in the mountains.’

**/tak/ showing extent or limit - ‘as far as, until’:** occurs with oblique case in  
 adverbials of place and time:

- (114) wó                      is                      hath tak saxī th-ᵛ  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M 3sg.PROX.OBL hand until generous PAST-M.SG  
 ‘He was generous to this extent, ...’

- (115)W. hòṇ tak yé                      ṭhand-ī hò jā-t-ī.  
 now until 3pl.PROX.NOM cold-F be go-IMPFV-F  
 ‘These would have cooled off by now.’

**/tūṛī/ (/tūṇī/) showing extent or limit - ‘as far as, until’:** occurs with oblique case  
 in adverbials of place and time:

- (116)E. aṣā~ tūṛī min-nā xat ní mil-e-ᵛ  
 now until 1sg.OBL-DAT letter NEG meet-PERF-M.SG  
 ‘Until now I have not received a letter.’

- (117)E. bālākot te budgrā~ tūṛi ek jīp āṇ-ᵛ-ī th-ī  
 Balakot from Budgran until one jeep bring-PERF-F.SG PAST-F.SG  
 ‘[We] brought a jeep from Balakot to Budgran.’

**/wāstē/ showing benefaction or purpose -‘for’:** occurs with oblique case, marking  
 the indirect object or indicating purpose (a use in which it overlaps with with /nā/ and  
 /dar/ (/tā/)):

(118)W. āpaṅ-ā wāste bandūkh be l-ī~ᵛ  
REFL-OBL.M.SG for gun also take-FUT.IMP-2pl

‘Choose guns for yourselves.’

(119)E. is gal wāste me~ yé čal-ā-e-ā  
3sg.PROX.OBL word for 1sg.AG 3pl.PROX.NOM go-CAUS-PERF-M.PL.NOM

‘[It was] for this matter [that] I sent these [people].’

**/ǰug-/ showing benefaction -‘for’:** occurs with oblique case. Agreement is with head noun in Eastern, where it takes the full complement of AC endings minus the feminine plural.

(120)E. yé do roṭ-ī~ ter-a ǰug-ī hē~  
3pl.PROX.NOM two bread-F.PL 2sg.GEN-OBL.M.SG for-F.SG 3pl.PRES

‘These two pieces of bread are for you.’

My Western-speaking research associate reports that in his dialect the feminine ending works for head nouns of both genders, but the masculine endings only work when the head noun is also masculine:

(121)W.a. gòṛ-ᵛ ter-ā ǰug-ī ε  
horse-NOM.M.SG 2sg.GEN-OBL.M.SG for-F PRES

‘The horse is for you.’

b. \*yá čá ter-ā ǰug-ᵛ ε  
3sg.PROX.NOM.F tea 2sg.GEN-OBL.M.SG for-NOM.M.SG PRES

\*‘This tea is for you.’ (ungrammatical)

**/lāyk/:** approximates /wāste/ in meaning. It occurs with locative case in the idiom shown in (122).

(122)E. mer-ε lāyk kāe xizmat hè  
 1sg.GEN-LOC from INDEF.M service 2/3sg.PRES

‘Is there anything I can do for you?’ (lit. ‘From me is [there] any service?’)

**/samēt/ showing inclusion:** occurs with oblique case:

(123)W. bas roṭ-ī khā-ṇ k-ā šer ε, mer-ε samet  
 stop bread-F eat-INF.OBL GEN-M.PL.NOM lion PRES 1sg.GEN-LOC together

‘[They] are lions only of food-eating, myself included.’

#### 4.1.3.3 Layer III Postpositions

This final category includes all remaining postpositions. These are optionally or necessarily mediated by the genitive /k-/ or ablative /te/ postpositions from Layer II. Most of the stems involved may also occur as adverbs, a use distinguished by placement in a position other than post-nominal together with the lack of a Layer II mediating postposition.

##### 4.1.3.3.1 Postpositions Mediated by the Genitive-Locative Postposition /kε/

Postpositions of this type occur optionally with the genitive postposition inflected for locative case, i.e. /kε/ or with the locative form of a possessive adjective (see 4.1.4). With or without /kε/, the modified noun must be in the oblique case. Those adverbs which are formed by adding the ablative suffix /-ū/ to postpositions of this type cannot occur with /kε/, but rather occur with an oblique-case noun phrase.

**/nāl/ instrumental-sociative postposition** (Masica 1991:235). Consider these examples:

(124)E. mer-ε nāl šādī kar l-ī-e  
 1sg.GEN-LOC with marriage do take-FUT.IMPV-2sg

‘Marry me.’ (more lit. ‘Contract marriage with me.’)

- (125)E. mār-ā mulx mā kà dāt-ī-ā~ nāl kap-ε~  
 1pl.GEN-NOM.M.SG country in grass sickle-F.SG-OBL.PL with cut-3pl  
 ‘In our country grass is cut with sickles.’

With the ablative suffix it forms the adverb /naļū/ which has an ablative-sociative sense:

- (126)E. pes-ā wī aǰ būṭ-ā~ nāl-ū ní kho-t-ā  
 money-NOM.M.PL also today tree-OBL.PL with-ABL NEG pick-IMPV-M.PL  
 ‘And another thing, today money isn’t picked from trees.’

- (127)W. wá mer-ε nāl-ū xapā ε  
 3sgg.DIST.NOM.F 1sg.GEN-LOC with-ABL upset PRES  
 ‘She is upset with me.’

**/bič/ ‘in, into’:**

- (128)E. pāṇī k-ε bič g-ī-ᵛ te bes r-ε k-ᵛ  
 water GEN-LOC in go-PERF-M.SG then sit stay-2/3sg FUT-M.SG  
 ‘When it goes into water it will sit down.’

With the ablative suffix it forms the adverb /bičū/ ‘from out of’.

**/hèṭh/ ‘under’:**

- (129)W. ek būṭ-ā k-ε hèṭh čal ke yó so r-ī-ᵛ  
 one tree-OBL.M.SG GEN-LOC under go CP 3sg.PROX.NOM.M sleep stay-PERF-M.SG  
 ‘Going under a tree he went to sleep.’

With the ablative suffix it forms the adverb /hèṭhū/ ‘from under’.

**/koļ/ (/koļε/)** **showing proximity or possession:** occurs necessarily with /kε/ after unmarked nouns in the Eastern dialect (130), without /kε/ after locative first and second person pronouns (131), and optionally with /kε/ after marked oblique nouns.

- (130)E. nōkar hò-wε mer-ε koḷ  
 servant be-2/3sg 1sg.GEN-LOC by

‘I should have a servant.’ (lit. ‘A servant should be by me.’)

The Western variant reflects addition of the locative case suffix /-ε/:

- (131)W. us k-ε koḷ-ε ek baks-ī th-ī  
 3sg.DIST.OBL GEN-LOC by-LOC one box-F PAST-F

‘She had a little box.’ (lit. ‘By her was a little box.’)

With the ablative suffix it forms the adverb /koḷū/ ‘from near’.

**/andar/ ‘inside of’:**

- (132)E. ek mīn-ā k-ε andar andar xīr-ṓ phuḷ  
 one month-OBL.M.SG GEN-LOC inside inside diamond-NOM.M.SG break  
 jā-ε k-ṓ  
 go-2/3sg FUT-M.SG

‘The diamond will break within one month.’

With the ablative suffix it forms the adverb /andrū/ ‘from out of’.

**/apar/ (/upar/) (/po/) ‘on’:** The form /apar/ (/upar/) is used with or without /kε/,

while an additional Western variant /po/ occurs only without /kε/:

- (133)E. rā apar laṛaz te saxt-ī bī  
 path on trouble and hardship-F.SG also

‘On the way there is trouble and also hardship.’

- (134)W. is rā po čal  
 3sg.DIST.OBL path on go

‘Walk on this path!’

- (135)E. ek angūṭh-ī th-ī hàth k-ε apar  
 one ring-F.SG PAST-F.SG hand GEN-LOC on

‘There was one ring on [her] hand.’

- (136)W. gòṛ-ā k-ε upar laḍ  
 horse-OBL.M.SG GEN-LOC on load

‘Load [it] on the horse!’

In Eastern, /apar/ with the ablative suffix forms the adverb /aprū/ ‘from off of’.

/agε/ ‘**ahead of**, ‘**before**’: consists of the root /ag-/ and the locative suffix /-ε/. It occurs optionally with /kε/ in locative constructions or /te/ in directional constructions:

- (137)E. hàṁ ín-ā~ te ag-ε hī čal-t-ā~ čal-t-ā~  
 1sg.NOM 3pl.DIST.OBL-OBL.PL from ahead-LOC EMPH go-IMPV-ADV go-IMPV-ADV

ǰā r-e-ā apan-ī ǰā apar  
 go stay-PERF-M.PL REFL-F.SG place on

‘Way ahead of them we went on and went on - we went to our own place.’

- (138)W. mār-ā ḍer-ā harīpur k-ε ag-ε ε  
 1pl.GEN-NOM.M.PL home-NOM.M.PL Haripur GEN-LOC ahead.of PRES

‘Our households are beyond Haripur.’

/pičhe/ ‘**behind**’: consists of the root /pičh-/ and the locative suffix /-ε/. It may occur following /kε/ or /te/ depending upon the context, or without any preceding postposition.

- (139)W. kal te pičh-ε tam phir-ε lag-ā rič káḍ  
 yesterday from behind-LOC 2pl.NOM wander-2/3 CONT-M.PL bear after

‘Since yesterday you have been wandering around after the bear.’

/sāmṇɛ/ (/sāmɫɛ/) ‘**across from**’: occurs necessarily with /kɛ/:

- (140)E. allā k-ɛ sāmṇ-ɛ tɛ min-nā ke k'-ɛ  
 Allah GEN-LOC across.from-LOC and 1sg.OBL-DAT what say-2/3sg  
 ‘Before Allah, what should [you] say to me?’

#### 4.1.3.3.2 Postpositions Mediated by the Ablative Postposition /tɛ/

Postpositions of this type occur necessarily with the ablative postposition /tɛ/ after an oblique case noun or pronoun. These include /bād/ ‘after’, /kād/ ‘after’ (synonymous with /bād/), /pār/ ‘across’, /pélā~/ ‘before’ (which when occurring without /tɛ/ is an adverb rather than a postposition), and /swā/ ‘without’.

Those adverbs which are formed by adding the ablative suffix /-ū/ to postpositions of this type occur not with /tɛ/, but with an oblique-case noun phrase. These include /kādū/ ‘afterwards’ and /pārū/ ‘from across’.

#### 4.1.4 Pronouns and Demonstratives

Tables 13-15 below contain the Gojri personal pronouns in their various inflections, of which the third person nominative forms in tables 14 and 15 also function as demonstratives. Indefinite and relative pronouns, along with their corresponding interrogative forms, are shown in tables 16-17. The reflexive pronoun is shown in Table 18.

For the purpose of highlighting variation, I have only shown ditto marks wherever a form in a paradigm is identical to the one directly above. Genitive forms are generally shown only with masculine singular AC suffixes, although all of the suffixation shown for the noun in tables 10 and 11, save the the feminine plural suffix, is equally applicable. Similarly, oblique forms are generally shown only with the dative postposition /nā/,

although the ablative postposition /te/ also occurs with the same set of forms (however, with /te/, the Western singular stems are identical to those shown for Eastern in Table 13; the distribution of other postpositions varies).

### First and Second Person Pronouns

Table 13. First and Second Person Pronouns/Possessive Adjectives

		Nom	Ag	Obl w/Dat	Gen w/masc.sg.
1sg.	E	hũ~	mε~	minnā	merō
	W	"	"	mannā	"
1pl.		hàm	ham ne	hàm nā	màrō
2sg.	E	to~	tε~	tinnā	terō
	W	to	"	tannā	"
2pl.		tam	tam ne	tam nā	thàrō

The ‘genitive’ forms in Table 13 are possessive adjectives in form and function, i.e. their inflection and distribution are identical to that for marked adjectives (cf. Masica 1991:251). Forms shown as fused to postpositions are those which only occur when there are no intervening words between the pronoun and postposition. The postposition is shown as a separate word wherever the shape of both morphemes remains unaltered by intervening words.

As noted in 2.5.3, the Eastern first and second person plural agentive and oblique/dative forms shown here contract when there is no intervening word:

#### (141) Contracted Eastern Agentive and Oblique/Dative Forms

Underlying Form	Pronunciation	Gloss
/hàm ne/	[hλm̩n̩eː~]	‘we [did]’
/tam ne/	[tλm̩n̩eː~]	‘you [did]’

/hām nā/	[hλm̄n̄a:~]	‘to us’
/tam nā/	[tλm̄n̄a:~]	‘to you’

In the Eastern dialect, second person plural pronouns and associated agreement in the verb phrase are used honorifically for singular referents. The Western variety spoken by the Allaiwal Muhajar Bakarwals does the same (see Appendix B, words 203-204), but the Allaiwal Bakarwal variety (my Western reference dialect) does not. This honorific device is reported as normative for addressing elders. However, I have only rarely heard children use it when speaking to their parents or grandparents. It is more commonly used by adults addressing persons of higher social rank, a practice which may be spreading under the influence of Hindko and Urdu.

#### Singular Demonstrative Pronouns

Table 14. Singular Demonstrative Pronouns

	Nom masc	Nom fem	Obl w/Ag	Obl w/Dat	Obl w/Gen
3sg.prox.	yó	yá	is ne	is nā	is kɔ
3sg.dist.	wó / ó	wá / ó	us ne	us nā	us kɔ

In the Western dialect, the third person agentive and dative forms of the oblique shown here normally contract when there is no intervening word:

#### (142) Contracted Western Oblique Forms: Agentive and Dative

underlying form	pronunciation	gloss
/is ne/	[is:e~]	‘he/she/this one [did]’
/us ne/	[us:e~]	‘he/she/that one [did]’
/is nā/	[isa:~]	‘to him/her/this one’
/us nā/	[usa:~]	‘to him/her/that one’

The third singular distal variant /ó/ is used for both genders, and occurs unchanged with all case-marking postpositions when there is an intervening noun. For example, /ó (beṭkī) ne/ ‘that (girl) [did]’ is grammatical, but /\*ó ne/ ‘she [did]’, is not. If there is no intervening noun, then the oblique form /us/ is required.

### Plural Demonstrative Pronouns

Table 15. Plural Demonstrative Pronouns

	Nom	Obl w/Ag	Obl w/Dat	Obl w/Gen
3pl.prox. E	yé	ínā~ ne	ínā~ nā	ín kɔ
variant E	-----	-----	-----	ínā~ kɔ
W	"	ín ne	ín nā	ín kɔ
variant W	-----	-----	-----	íngɔ
3pl.dist. E	wé	únā~ ne	únā~ nā	ún kɔ
variant E	-----	-----	-----	únā~ kɔ
W	"	ún ne	ún nā	ún kɔ
variant W	-----	-----	-----	úngɔ

The high tone on the third oblique plural forms shown in this table is established on such contrasts as that between /ún kɔ (rang)/ ‘their (color)’ and /un kɔ (rang)/ ‘(color) of wool’.

The inter-dialectal and intra-dialectal variation shown in Table 15 consists entirely in the use or non-use of the oblique plural suffix /-ā~/. The suffix does not occur in Western forms, and it is optional with the Eastern genitive forms (its non-use being slightly preferred).

As stated in 2.5.5, the genitive postposition /k-/ becomes [g-] following any nasalized vowel or consonant in the speech of many Western dialect speakers:

(143) Western voicing of the genitive postposition /k-/ following a nasal

underlying form	pronunciation	gloss
/ín kə/	[ínɡɔ:]	‘of these’
/ún kə/	[úńɡɔ:]	‘of them’

Third plural pronouns and associated agreement in the verb phrase may be used honorifically for singular referents, particularly for prophets and other Muslim noteworthies. The application of this honorific device is uneven in discourse, however, but its use may be on the rise under influence from other regional languages and Islamicization.

The extension /hər/, which has grammaticalized from the adjective meaning ‘additional’ or ‘other’, is used with names to denote a larger group of people associated with the named person (cf. the use of the abbreviation ‘et al.’ in English), as in (144) and (145), or honorifically for singular proper nouns in the Eastern dialect as in (146):

(144)E. ašrif hər-ā~ ne makay kap čhuṛ-θ-ī  
Ashrif PL/HON-OBL.PL AG corn cut drop-PERF-F.SG

‘Ashrif and the others cut the corn.’

(145)E. ikbāl hər kad ā-we~ k-ā  
Iqbal PL/HON when come-3pl FUT-M.PL

‘When will Iqbal and everyone come?’

(146)E. jīnā hər-ā~ ne baṛ-ī ménat k-θ-ī  
Jinnah PL/HON-OBL.PL AG big-F.SG hard.work do-PERF-F.SG

‘Jinnah worked very hard.’



The stems /kír-/ and /jír-/ are not reported by Sharma. He reports /jo/ as the nominative relative pronoun for all genders and numbers along with the oblique variants /kɪs/, /jɪs/, /kɪnnā/, and /jɪnnā/ (1982:102; transcriptions his). In Pakistan, the oblique variants may be preferred wherever the relative pronoun occurs without another noun (cf. the same difference between English ‘who?’ and ‘which?’); e.g. /kɪs nā/ ‘to whom?’ vs. /kírā luṛā nā/ ‘to which boy?’

The Reflexive Pronoun /āp/

Table 18. The Reflexive Pronoun /āp/  
(unique Western forms not shown)

Nom	forms used w/Ag	Gen Loc (w/Dat)	Gen w/Nom.masc.sg.	Gen w/Obl.masc.sg.
āp	apaṇe āp / āpe āp	apaṇe (āp nā)	apaṇo	apaṇā

The reflexive pronoun /āp/ ‘self’ is used whenever there is a need to indicate that the subject and not some other agent is acting, or that the subject is acting on the subject’s own behalf or acting with respect to someone or something that is the subject’s own. The analysis presented in Table 18 is only a partial paradigm of Eastern forms. Western dative and agentive forms in my data differ somewhat from those shown. Consider these Eastern examples:

(148)E. hū~ āp čal-ū~ k-ᵛ  
1sg.NOM REFL.NOM go-1sg FUT-M.SG

‘I myself will go.’

(149)E. te~ āpe āp yó kam k-ī-ᵛ hē  
2sg.AG REFL.AG REFL.NOM 3sg.PROX.NOM.M work do-PERF-M.SG 2/3sg.PRES

‘Have you yourself done this?’

(150)E. hũ~ apan-ε ɖer-ε čal-ũ~ k-ɔ  
 1sg.NOM REFL.GEN-LOC home-LOC go-1sg FUT-M.SG

‘I will go to my own home.’

(cf. /\*hũ~ mere ɖere čalũ~ kɔ/ ‘I will go to my house.’)

(151)E. min-nā apan-ε āp nā mand-ɔ lag-ε  
 1sg.OBL-DAT REFL.GEN-LOC REFL.NOM DAT bad-NOM.M.SG attach-2/3sg

‘I dislike myself.’

(152)E. hũ~ apan-ā wāste čal-ũ~ k-ɔ  
 1sg.NOM REFL.GEN-OBL for go-1sg FUT-M.SG

‘I will go for my own sake.’

#### 4.1.5 Adjectives

Adjectives, like nouns, are of two types: unmarked stems, which by definition do not inflect; and marked adjectives which are structured as shown in (153):

(153) STEM - INFL

In other words, marked adjectives consist of a stem followed by a single inflectional suffix; the stem of a marked adjective may not occur by itself.

Gojri adjectives of this type agree with their head nouns in gender (whether inherent or marked on the noun), number and, to a limited extent, in case. Masculine singular adjectives can therefore inflect to show locative and general oblique/vocative case agreement with a head noun so marked. In the Western dialect adjectives never take the oblique plural suffix, whereas in the Eastern dialect the oblique plural suffix is optional. Note example (154), in which the adjective (but not the possessive adjective) is marked with the oblique suffix; and (155), in which every stem in the noun phrase except the adjective is inflected with the oblique plural suffix /-ā~/:

- (154)E. ter-ī      peār-ī-ā~      peār-ī-ā~      tī-ā~      k-ɔ  
 2sg.GEN-F.SG dear-F.SG-OBL.PL    dear-F.SG-OBL.PL daughter-OBL.PL GEN-NOM.M.SG  
 ke    hāl      hè  
 what condition 2/3sg.PRES

‘How are your beloved daughters?’

- (155)E. ún-ā~                  tro-ā~      baṛ-ā      būṭ-ā~      nā    kap    čhuṛ  
 3pl.DIST.OBL-OBL.PL three-OBL.PL big-NOM.M.SG tree-OBL.PL DAT cut drop

‘Cut down those three big trees!’

Adjectives may occur as substantives, that is, they may substitute for a full noun phrase as /búḍī/ ‘old’ does for /búḍī māī/ ‘old woman’ in (156):

- (156)W. ek    dīār-ε    ek    búḍ-ī    ā    ga-θ-ī,    us  
 one day-LOC one old-F come go-PERF-F 3sg.DIST.OBL  
 ḍèn-ī    k-ε    ḍer-ε.  
 woman-F GEN-LOC home-LOC

‘One day an old woman came to that woman’s home.’

Adjectives also serve as the predicate in stative constructions:

- (157)    ḵaṇ-ɔ                  maṇḍ-ɔ      th-ɔ  
 man-NOM.M.SG bad-NOM.M.SG PAST-M.SG

‘The man was evil.’

The Specifier /āḷ-/ (/hāl-/)

/āḷ-/ combines with oblique nouns and adjectives, the oblique infinitive, and adverbs to specify a noun by its relation to another word. It agrees in gender, number, and case with the noun it modifies. It may be used as a substantive where the subject is understood. Consider example (158):

- (158) /((ḍer-ā) āḷ-ᵋ/ ((ḍer-ā) hāḷ-ᵋ/) ‘husband’ (lit. ‘the one (of the house)’)  
 /((ḍer-ā) āḷ-ī/ ((ḍer-ā) hāḷ-ī/) ‘wife’ (lit. ‘the one (of the house)’)

The Adjective Intensifier /j-/ ~ /ja-/ ‘very’

/j-/ ~ /ja-/ ‘very’ follows the adjective it modifies and agrees with it in gender, number, and case. It most frequently occurs in contexts where the head noun is in nominative case and focus position:

- (159)E. čhipaḥ-ī mand-ī ja-ī te wá hāzār rupay-ā  
 scarf-F.SG bad-F.SG very-F.SG and 3sg.DIST.NOM.F thousand rupee-NOM.M.PL  
 nā dī-ε  
 DAT give-2/3sg  
 ‘A very ugly scarf - she sells it for a thousand rupees.’

- (160)E. xarč-ᵋ thoḥ-ᵋ j-ᵋ hò-e-ᵋ nā,  
 expense-NOM.M.SG a.little-NOM.M.SG very-NOM.M.SG be-PERF-M.SG NEG  
 ṭur jā-ε~ k-ā  
 walk go-3pl FUT-M.PL  
 ‘Once [they earn] even a little expense money, they will move on.’

Interrogative, Relative, and Demonstrative Adjective Sets

Table 19. Interrogative, Relative, and Demonstrative Adjective Sets

	Interrogative	Relative	Demonstrative
of quantity	kitnā	jitnā	itnā
of quality E	keḷᵋ	jeḷᵋ	eḷᵋ
W	kisᵋ	jisᵋ	isᵋ

#### 4.1.6 Numerals

According to Sharma (1982:143) and my research assistants, the traditional Gojri numeral system is a base-twenty, or *vigesimal*, system (cf. Baart 1999:57-59 for Kalami). This system is in flux, however, with Urdu multiples of five and ten entering into counting and replacing the traditional multiples of five, ten, and twenty (cf. old English ‘3 score’ = 60). In addition, numeric designations formed by subtracting the numbers one through five from the next multiple of ten (e.g. ‘3 less than 40’ = 37), and adding the last multiple of ten to the numbers one through five (e.g. ‘30 onto 3’ = 33), are in common use. These reflect a shift to a *decimal* or base-ten system. Among educated persons a standard decimal system is used, which remains distinct from the Urdu system at many points. It is not identical with Hindko or Punjabi, but may represent a Gojri pronunciation of that system. The addition/subtraction method may be a transitional method for those who are familiar only with multiples of ten from the standard decimal system.

The variety of counting techniques is illustrated by the variants for ‘twenty-five’, all of which are perfectly acceptable: /panj te bī/ (‘5 and 20’, vigesimal), /panjā~ apar bī/ (‘20 onto 5’, addition), /panjā~ kàṭ trī/ (‘5 less [than] 30’, subtraction), and /panjī/ (‘25,’ decimal). As I have yet to get any two informants to count fluently to one hundred in exactly the same fashion, I cannot report with confidence any series of numerals greater than forty that is distinctively Gojri. All three methods are shown in (161).

## (161) Gojri cardinal numbers 1-40

Vigesimal Method	Addition/Subtraction Method (mainly in my Eastern data)	Decimal Method
1. /ek/, /ik/	/ek/, /ik/	/ek/, /ik/
2. /do/	/do/	/do/
3. /trɛ/	/trɛ/	/trɛ/
4. /čār/	/čār/	/čār/
5. /panǰ/	/panǰ/	/panǰ/
6. /če/	/če/	/če/
7. /sat/	/sat/	/sat/
8. /aṭh/	/aṭh/	/aṭh/
9. /nɔ/	/nɔ/	/nɔ/
10. /das/ (/dǎ/)	/das/	/das/ (/dǎ/)
11. /yārā~/	/yārā~/	/yārā~/
12. /bārā~/	/bārā~/	/bārā~/
13. /terā~/	/terā~/	/terā~/
14. /čōdā~/	/čōdā~/	/čōdā~/
15. /pandarā~/	/pandarā~/	/pandarā~/
16. /solā~/	/solā~/	/solā~/
17. /satārā~/	/satārā~/	/satārā~/
18. /aṭhārā~/	/aṭhārā~/	/aṭhārā~/
19. /unī/	/unī/	/unī/
20. /bī/	/bī/	/bī/
21. /ek tɛ bī/	/ekuṇ apar bī/	/ikī/
22. /do tɛ bī/	/doā~ apar bī/	/bāī/
23. /trɛ tɛ bī/	/troā~ apar bī/	/trɛī/
24. /čār tɛ bī/	/čoā~ apar bī/	/čawī/
25. /panǰ tɛ bī/	/panǰā~ apar bī/, /panǰā~ kàṭ trī/	/panǰī/
26. /če tɛ bī/	/čoā~ kàṭ trī/	/čhabī/
27. /sat tɛ bī/	/troā~ kàṭ trī/	/satāī/
28. /aṭh tɛ bī/	/doā~ kàṭ trī/	/aṭhāī/
29. /nɔ tɛ bī/	/ekuṇ kàṭ trī/	/unatī/, /unatrī/
30. /das tɛ bī/ (/dǎ tɛ bī/)	/trī/	/trī/

31. /yārā~ te bī/	/ekuṇ apar trī/	/ikatī/, /ikatrī/
32. /bārā~ te bī/	/doā~ apar trī/	/batī/, /batrī/
33. /terā~ te bī/	/troā~ apar trī/	/te~tī/, /te~trī/
34. /čodā~ te bī/	/čoā~ apar trī/	/čō~tī/, /čō~trī/
35. /pandarā~ te bī/	/panjā~ apar trī/ /panjā~ kàṭ čālī/	/pentī/, /pentrī/
36. /sōlā~ te bī/	/čoā~ kàṭ čālī/	/čhatī/, /čhatrī/
37. /satārā~ te bī/	/troā~ kàṭ čālī/	/se~tī/, /satatrī/
38. /aṭhārā~ te bī/	/doā~ kàṭ čālī/	/aṭhatī/, /aṭhatrī/
39. /unī te bī/	/ekuṇ kàṭ čālī/ (/ek gàṭ čālī/)	/untālī/
40. /do bī/	/čālī/	/čālī/

The variant /ik/ ‘one’ or ‘a’ (approximating an indefinite article; cf. Masica 1991:370) is used as a quantifier but never in counting. Counting beyond forty with the traditional method follows the pattern shown in (161), adding the cardinals one through nineteen to subsequent multiples of twenty (/tre bī/ ‘sixty’, /čār bī/ ‘eighty’), etc. Again, these multiples are frequently replaced with decimal system numerals. For example, a speaker will use the traditional numerals shown in (161) up to the number forty, at which point he or she may insert /čālī/ ‘forty’ and then form subsequent numbers by addition to /čālī/ rather than to /do bī/ ‘two score.’

The remaining decimal system numbers through one hundred are shown in (162).

(162) Decimal system numbers 41-100 (cf. Sharma 1982:136-143)

41. /iktālī/	42. /betālī/	43. /tartālī/	44. /čurtālī/	45. /pentālī/
46. /čhetālī/	47. /satālī/	48. /aṭhtālī/	49. /unwanjā/	50. /panjā/
51. /ikwanjā/	52. /bawanjā/	53. /tarwanjā/	54. /čarwanjā/	55. /pačwanjā/
56. /čhewanjā/	57. /satwanjā/	58. /aṭhwanjā/	59. /unāṭh/	60. /saṭh/
61. /ikāṭh/	62. /bāṭh/	63. /tre~ṭh/	64. /čō~ṭh/	65. /pentṭh/
66. /čeāṭh/	67. /satāṭh/	68. /aṭhāṭh/	69. /unattar/	70. /sattar/
71. /ikattar/	72. /battar/	73. /trattar/	74. /čarattar/	75. /pačattar/
76. /čeattar/	77. /satattar/	78. /aṭhatar/	79. /unāsī/	80. /asī/
81. /ikāsī/	82. /bāsī/	83. /trāsī/	84. /čurāsī/	85. /pačāsī/



example, the Eastern locative form /tījɛ dèāɾɛ/ ‘on the third day.’ My research assistants tell me that ordinals above /ikīmɔ/ ‘twenty first’ are not used.

(164) Gojri ordinals 1-20 (shown with masculine AC)

- |                      |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. /pélɔ/ ‘first’    | 11. /yārmɔ/ ‘eleventh’      |
| 2. /dūjɔ/ ‘second’   | 12. /bārmɔ/ ‘twelfth’       |
| 3. /tījɔ/ ‘third’    | 13. /termɔ/ ‘thirteenth’    |
| 4. /čɔthɔ/ ‘fourth’  | 14. /čɔdmɔ/ ‘fourteenth’    |
| 5. /panjɔ/ ‘fifth’   | 15. /pandarmɔ/ ‘fifteenth’  |
| 6. /čhemɔ/ ‘sixth’   | 16. /sɔlmɔ/ ‘sixteenth’     |
| 7. /satmɔ/ ‘seventh’ | 17. /satārmɔ/ ‘seventeenth’ |
| 8. /aṭhmɔ/ ‘eighth’  | 18. /aṭhārmɔ/ ‘eighteenth’  |
| 9. /nɔmɔ/ ‘ninth’    | 19. /unīmɔ/ ‘nineteenth’    |
| 10. /dasmɔ/ ‘tenth’  | 20. /bīmɔ/ ‘twentieth’      |

A few small numbers may be suffixed with /-e/ to indicate inclusion of all subjects: /ika/ (/ikoe/) ‘just one, a single’, /doe/ ‘both’, and /trēē / ‘all three.’ It is possible that the Eastern indefinite masculine singular pronoun /kāe/ ‘any’ bears this same suffix, as it is most unusual for stems to end in /e/.

## 4.2 Verb-Phrase Constituents and Operations

### 4.2.1 Verbal Forms and Categories

#### 4.2.1.1 Structure of Gojri Finite Verbal Constructions

For Gojri, the term ‘finite verbal construction’ is more useful than the term ‘finite verb’, which for other languages usually denotes the verb form bearing tense and agreement features. In Gojri, however, tense and aspect are not necessarily marked, and agreement may be marked on more than one element. Furthermore, verb forms which might be called ‘participles’ on account of their formal structure often function as the main verb, blurring the traditional distinction between ‘finite’ and ‘non-finite’ (dependent)

forms. The term ‘finite verbal construction’, then, allows for reference to units that consist of more than one word, while avoiding the confusion created by associating participial forms with the category of ‘finite verb.’

Gojri is polysynthetic to a degree, relying heavily on various verbal auxiliaries in addition to suffixation of the verb stem. The Gojri finite verbal constructions always include a main verb (which carries the lexical meaning and may also be marked for agreement features and tense or aspect), and they may include one or more auxiliaries. The auxiliaries always occur to the right of the main verb. They add tense, aspectual, and modal meanings to the whole construction.

#### Structure of the Main Verb

The main verb in most Gojri finite verbal constructions is structured according to the two basic patterns shown in (165):

(165) STEM + PERSON-NUMBER AGREEMENT

or

STEM + ASPECT + GENDER-NUMBER AGREEMENT

That is: stem, followed by a suffixed marker of person-number agreement (‘personal concord, PC’); or stem, followed by a suffixed marker of aspect, followed by a suffixed marker of gender-number agreement (‘adjectival concord’, AC). Verbs structured according to the first pattern are therefore unmarked for aspect and feature personal concord (PC; see Table 23). Verbs structured according to the second pattern are participial forms (see Table 24), marked for imperfective or perfective aspect and, like nouns and adjectives, featuring adjectival concord (AC).

Among verbs which are unmarked for aspect, there are two exceptions to the basic structural pattern: the Negated Future and the Future Imperative. Each of these forms

features a unique future tense suffix between the verb stem and the PC suffix. The distribution of these suffixes is limited to specific forms and does not correlate with the future tense generally. Likewise, the slot in which they occur does not function generally for tense. Rather, tense is generally marked by auxiliaries.

The basic structure of the Gojri verb phrase is not distinct from that which Masica describes for NIA languages in general (1991:373-374). The Gojri verb phrase (VP) may consist of an adverb and one or more object and/or direction-specifying noun phrases (NP) to the left of the main verb (V), optionally followed by an adverb (rarely) and/or modal verb and as many as three tense/aspect auxiliaries. Any tense/aspect auxiliary is normally the final element. Negative particles are immediately to the left of the main verb, and their use is often accompanied by radical changes in the forms of other verb phrase constituents. This basic structure is summarized in (166).

(166) VP = (NP)\* (Adv) (Neg) + V (Adv) (MODAL) (Aux)\*

(The asterisk (\*) indicates that more than one such constituent may occur in the specified location.)

### Concord Suffixes

Table 20. Personal Concord Suffixes (PC)

	Eastern	Western
1sg.	-ū~	-ū~
1pl.	-ā~	-ā~
2/3sg.	-ε	-ε
2pl.	-ɔ	-ε
3pl.	-ε~	-ε

In the Western dialect, the second and third person distinctions found in Eastern are collapsed. The one exception is in the Western plural imperative, which has /-ɔ~/ where we might expect /-ε/ or /-ε~/ . Sharma's paradigm is basically the same as that shown here for Eastern, except that he reports /-e~/ rather than /-ɔ~/ as the second person plural suffix (1982:167).

Table 21. Adjectival Concord Suffixes (AC)

	Eastern	Western
m.sg.	-ɔ	-ɔ
m.pl.	-ā	-ā
f.sg.	-ī	-ī
f.pl.	-ī~	-ī

As noted earlier (4.1.2), Western Gojri does not distinguish feminine plural from feminine singular. Otherwise the AC suffix inventory is identical for both dialects.

#### 4.2.1.2 Tense, Aspect, Mood, and Finite Verbal Constructions

In this section I describe, in turn, the form and function of the primary finite verbal constructions. Table 22 summarizes the structure of each construction, excluding the imperatives and several dialect-specific constructions. I have included in this section only those combinations of morphemes which have been clearly grammaticalized for a unique tense/aspect/mood interpretation and which, except for the marginal Present Continuous II construction, involve only one verb. Later we shall see that further aspectual distinctions can be made through employment of a second verb. Throughout I have utilized Masica's terminology to facilitate ready comparison with his paradigms for Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi (1991:291-296). That Gojri encodes more distinctions than these related languages points to the age of its forms. Associated with this proliferation of

Table 22. Primary Verbal Constructions (Eastern only)

Tense/Aspect/Mood	Structure	Example	Translation
Unspecified Habitual - Contingent Future	V-PC	čal-ū~	'I go'; 'I may go'
Past Unspecified	V-PC PAST-AC	čal-ū~ th-ɔ	'I used to go'
Definite Future	V-PC FUT-AC	čal-ū~ k-ɔ	'I will go'
Present Continuous	V-PC /lag/-AC (/w/-AC)	čal-ū~ lag-ɔ (w-ɔ)	'I am going'
Past Continuous	V-PC PAST-AC /lag/-AC (/w/-AC)	čal-ū~ th-ɔ lag-ɔ (w-ɔ)	'I was going'
Present Habitual	V-PC /ho/-PC	bɛs-ū~ hò-ū~	'I sit (repeatedly)'
Past Habitual	V-PC /ho/-PC PAST-AC	sad-ū~ hò-ū~ th-ɔ	'I called (repeatedly)'
Negated Future	V-/s/-PC	čal-s-ū~	'I will not go'
Habitual (Negated) - Contrafactive	V-IMPV-AC	čal-t-ɔ	'he doesn't go'; 'he would go'
Subjunctive Habitual	V-IMPV-AC /ho/-PC	ā-t-ɔ hò-wɛ	'(perhaps) he comes'
Presumptive Habitual	V-IMPV-AC /ho/-PC FUT-AC	ā-t-ɔ hò-wɛ k-ɔ	'he (probably) comes'
Contrafactive Habitual	V-IMPV-AC /ho/-IMPV-AC	bɛs-t-ɔ hò-t-ɔ	'if he had sat regularly'
Unspecified Perfective	V-PERF-AC	sad-e-ɔ	'he called'
Present Perfective	V-PERF-AC PRES-PC	sad-e-ɔ h`ɛ	'he has called'
Past Perfective	V-PERF-AC PAST-AC	sad-e-ɔ th-ɔ	'he had called'
Presumptive Perfective	V-PERF-AC (/w/-AC) /ho/-PC FUT-AC	g-ī-ɔ (w-ɔ) hò-wɛ k-ɔ	'he must have gone'
Contrafactive Perfective	V-PERF-AC /ho/-IMPV-AC	ā-e-ɔ hò-t-ɔ	'if he had come'

formal and functional distinctions is the issue of negation, which for several tense/aspect/mood distinctions requires morphology that in no way resembles that required by these same distinctions in the positive.

Gojri distinguishes present, past, and future tense. Present actions or events are indicated by the unspecified verb (stem + PC), and elsewhere by a present auxiliary form of /hò-/ ‘be’ (see 4.2.1.1.5). There are two strategies for indicating past actions or events: the perfective form of the verb (stem + /-e/ (/̄-ī/) + AC) with no tense auxiliary indicates past time (in simple clause structures), while the past auxiliary /th-/ explicitly specifies past time. There are three markers of future tense: the future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-) for positive constructions, the suffix /-s/ for negative constructions, and the suffix /-ī/ (/̄-ī~/) for imperatives. Various aspectual distinctions possible with past and present time are neutralized in the future.

Aspectually, the primary formal distinction in the Gojri finite verb is between forms marked for aspect and those which are unmarked for aspect, variously taking AC and PC suffixes, respectively. The basic aspectual distinction is between perfective and imperfective aspect. Perfective aspect, which views the verbal event as a whole, is indicated by the suffix /-e/ (/̄-ī/) in main verbs bearing AC agreement. This suffix coalesces with the feminine AC suffixes /-ī/ and /-ī~/ such that it is not phonetically realized in feminine forms (it is therefore shown as /-∅/ before feminine suffixes in the examples). An older perfective suffix, /-eā/ (/̄-īā/), from which the modern perfective suffix evolved and which is itself the remnant of an earlier Sanskrit /-ita/ suffix (Masica 1991:269), still survives in one type of compound imperative (see discussion of /kar-/ ‘do’ in 4.2.2.3) and in one Eastern contrafactive form (see 4.2.1.3). It attaches directly to

the verb stem and does not take an AC suffix, nor does it itself agree with any noun (it only appears to agree with the masculine plural).

Imperfective aspect, which views the verbal event as incomplete, is further subdivided into distinctions of unspecified, habitual, and continuous aspect. Unspecified imperfective aspect is unmarked, i.e. it is indicated by the verb stem and AC suffix without any other marker. Habitual aspect is indicated variously by the suffix /-t/ in main verbs bearing AC agreement and in participles, and by the auxiliary /hò-/ ‘be’.

Continuous aspect is marked by the auxiliary /lag-/ followed by the perfective participle marker /w-/ (Eastern only), and by the auxiliary /rĕ-/ ‘stay’ in certain Eastern constructions.

Mood (or ‘mode’) ‘describes the speaker’s attitude toward a situation, including the speaker’s belief in its reality, or likelihood’ (Payne 1997:244). Gojri, like some other NIA languages including Kalami (Baart 1999:113), lacks any morphological marking of mood, although important functional distinctions are indicated by intonation patterns and/or combinations of tense and aspect marking. Actual or ‘real’ verbal events are described by *realis* mood, a broad category that in Gojri includes many imperfectives and all perfectives other than those occurring in conditionals. All instances of *realis* mood are negated by the negative particle /nĭ/ (the converse doesn’t hold).

Events which are potential rather than actual from the speaker’s standpoint are described by *irrealis* mood. The *irrealis* interpretations occurring in Gojri apart from any marker of aspect include the following for the Eastern verb / (tam) čal-ɔ / ‘(you pl.) go’ (note that all are associated with the same form): (1) imperative mood (‘You pl. go!’), with extra stress on the verb stem; (2) interrogative mood (‘You go?’), with rising

intonation that peaks utterance-finally; and (3) subjunctive mood ('You should go.'). with unmarked intonation identical to that for the Unspecified Habitual ('You go.'). such that the two meanings are distinguished only by context. Two irrealis interpretations occurring with a marker of aspect are contrafactive mood and presumptive mood (e.g. 'you don't go', 'you will have gone;') respectively). All Gojri verb forms negated by the particle /nǎ/ are *irrealis* mood (the converse doesn't hold).

#### 4.2.1.2.1 Finite Verbal Constructions Based on Forms Unmarked for Aspect

The **Unspecified Habitual - Contingent Future** consists of the verb stem with PC suffix, without any marker of tense or aspect. This form represents a retention of the 'Old Present' parallel to that surviving in Sindhi (Masica 1991:274).

- (167)    hũ~      čal-ũ~  
           1sg.NOM go-1  
           'I go.'

The Contingent Future, or 'subjunctive', is distinguished from the Unspecified Habitual only by context and, when occurring as it frequently does with the interrogative, by rising intonation. The Unspecified Habitual refers to habitual action rather than to any specific event (cf. Payne 1997:240), while the Contingent Future normally expresses advisability, permissibility, or desireability of a specific action ('I should go.' / 'May I go?'), including such expressions in conditional clauses ('If I go ...') (Masica 1991:281-282). Compare

(168) with (169):

- (168)    hām      bazār nā    čal-ā~  
           1pl.NOM bazaar DAT go-1pl  
           'We go to the bazaar.' / 'We should go to the bazaar.'

(169)E. hám kade bazār nā čal-ā~ te to~ wī čal-ε k-ɔ  
 1pl.NOM if bazaar DAT go-1pl then 2sg.NOM also go-2/3sg FUT-M.SG

‘If we go to the bazaar, will you go too?’

Unspecified Habitual verbs can only be negated as such (i.e. without change in form) in the presence of another negated verb, and then only by the negative particle /nǎ/ placed ahead of the verb. Such constructions are similar to the English ‘... neither V1 ... nor V2’ and ‘... not V1 ... nor V2.’ The former is illustrated in (170) and (171) and the latter in (172):

(170)E. wó nǎ pākistān nā man-ε nǎ kābal nā man-ε  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M NEG Pakistan DAT obey-2/3sg NEG Kabul DAT obey-2/3sg

‘It obeys neither Pakistan nor Kabul.’

(171)W. roǰ-ā mā hám dīār-ī nǎ pāṇī pī-ā~ te nǎ čǎ pī-ā~  
 fast-OBL.M.SG in 1sg.NOM day-F NEG water drink-1pl and NEG tea drink-1pl

‘During the fast we neither drink water during the day, nor do we drink tea.’

Negative habitual notions occurring without another negated verb in constructions unmarked for tense, or occurring in constructions of the type ‘... not V’ such as that in (172), can only be expressed by means of the imperfective form of the verb preceded by the negative /nǎ/, as in /nǎ čaltɔ/ ‘[he] does not go’ (see Habitual (Negated) - Unspecified Contrafactive below).

(172)W. roǰ-ā mā hám dīār-ī pāṇī nǎ pī-t-ā te nǎ  
 fast-OBL.M.SG in 1sg.NOM day-F water NEG drink-IMPV-M.PL and NEG

čǎ pī-ā~  
 tea drink-1sg

‘During the fast we don’t drink water during the day, neither do we drink tea.’

Contingent future verbs may also be negated only by a preceding /nǎ́/.

- (173)W. gòr-ɔ                    be is-ɔ                    w̃-ε,    yerā    ke    jír-ɔ  
 horse-NOM.M.SG    also such-NOM.M.SG    be-2/3    namely that    REL-NOM.M.SG  
 doṛ    nǎ́    hàk-ε  
 run    NEG    be.able-2/3

‘The horse should be such, namely, one that won’t be able to run.’

The **Negated Future** consists of the verb stem with future tense suffix /-s/ and a PC suffix, preceded by the negative particle /nǎ́/:

- (174)    hũ~        nǎ́    čal-s-ũ~  
 1sg.NOM    NEG    go-FUT-1sg

‘I will not go.’

In the Western dialect only, this form may also occur with the future auxiliary /g-/:

- (175)W.    wó                    nǎ́    čal-s-ε        g-ɔ  
 2sg.DIST.NOM.M    NEG    go-FUT-2/3    FUT-M.SG

‘He will not go.’

The **Present Imperative** consists of the verb stem alone in the singular, while the plural is formed by adding the second person PC suffix /-ɔ/ (/ɔ~/) to the verb stem (note that the Western second person PC suffix is /-ε/ everywhere else):

- (176)E.    to~    čal!    ‘You (sg.) go now!’    tam    čalɔ!    ‘You (pl.) go now!’  
 W.    to    čal!    ‘You (sg.) go now!’    tam    čalɔ~!    ‘You (pl.) go now!’

The Present Imperative is negated by the particle /nǎ́/.

The **Future Imperative** is formed by adding the future suffix /-ī/ (/ī~/) and the second person singular /-e/ and plural /-ɔ/ (/ɔ~/) PC suffixes to the verb stem:

- (177)E. to~ čalīe! ‘You (sg.) go!’      tam čalīo! ‘You (pl.) go!’  
 W. to čalī~e! ‘You (sg.) go!’      tam čalī~o! ‘You (pl.) go!’

The nasality of the Western Future Imperative suffix formally distinguishes such forms as the plural Future Imperative, /āī~o~/ ‘You come (later)!’, from the masculine singular perfect, /āīo/ ‘I/You/He came.’ Vowel quality alone distinguishes these in Eastern speech: /āīo/ ‘You come (later!)’ vs. /āeo/ ‘I/You/He came.’

Occasionally the Future Imperative may be used in the present for politeness, possibly due to influence from Urdu. Politeness is normally expressed in the Eastern dialect by adding the request particle /dā~/ ‘please’ after the imperative (whether present or future):

- (178)E. zarī apan-ā      xat mā likh-ī-e      dā~  
 a.little REFL-OBL.M.SG letter in write-FUT-2sg please  
 ‘Please write a little [about it] in your letter.’

In the Western singular form of the future imperative, the personal concord suffix /-e/, which normally follows the future imperative suffix, may elide in normal speech:

- (179)W. mer-o      xyāl      kar-ī~  
 1sg.GEN-NOM.M.SG thought do-FUT.IMPV  
 ‘Think about me.’

The Future Imperative is also negated by the particle /nā́/.

#### 4.2.1.2.2 Finite Verbal Constructions Based on Forms Marked for Aspect

The **Habitual (Negated) - Unspecified Contrafactive** consists of the imperfective form of the verb (stem + imperfective suffix /-t/ + AC suffix). The most common use of this construction is for Present Habitual verbs negated by the particle /nī́/. Like the

Unspecified Habitual-Contingent Future (see 4.2.1.2.1), it is capable of both habitual and contingent future interpretations:

- (180) hũ~ ní čal-t-ɔ  
 1sg.NOM NEG go-IMPV-F  
 ‘I do not go.’ / ‘I will not go.’

In conditional clauses negated by /ní/, the interpretation is always contingent future:

- (181) wó kade ní čal-t-ɔ te hũ ní čal-t-ɔ  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M if NEG go-IMPV-F then 1sg.NOM NEG go-IMPV-F  
 ‘If he will not go, then I will not go.’

When preceded or followed by the negative /ná/, the imperfective form of the verb has a simple contrafactive meaning. Compare the negated present habitual in (182)a. with the contrafactuals in (182)b., (182)c., and (183):

- (182)E.a. to~ ní pakā-t-ɔ  
 2sg.NOM NEG cook-IMPV-F  
 ‘You do not cook.’
- b. to~ pakā-t-ɔ ná  
 2sg.NOM cook-IMPV-F NEG  
 ‘You should have cooked.’
- c. to~ ná pakā-t-ɔ  
 2sg.NOM NEG cook-IMPV-F  
 ‘You shouldn’t have cooked.’

- (183)W. to pēlā pakā-t-ɔ, ke hòṇ tak yé t̥hand-ī  
 1sg.NOM earlier IMPV-F that now until 3pl.PROX.NOM cold-F  
 hò jā-t-ī  
 be go-IMPV-F

‘You should have cooked earlier, so that these could have cooled off by now.’

The Habitual (Negated) - Unspecified Contrafactive also occurs in contrafactive conditional constructions (see 4.2.1.3).

The **Unspecified Perfective** consists of the perfective form of the verb (stem + perfective suffix /-e/ (/̄-ī/) + AC suffix). This form presents the verbal action as a completed whole, without reference to its timing. Most often it correlates with simple past tense as in (184) and (185), but future interpretations are also abundant in conditionals like those in (186) and (187):

(184) hū̄~ g-ī-ᵛ  
1sg.NOM go-PERF-M.SG  
'I went.'

(185)E. us ne akram sad-e-ᵛ  
3sg.DIST.OBL AG Akram call-PERF-M.SG  
'He/she called Akram.'

(186)E. ḡad mē~ pēs-ā ter-ā muk-ā-e-ā  
when 1sg.AG money-NOM.M.PL 2sg.GEN-NOM.M.PL finish-CAUS-PERF-M.PL  
te fir hū̄~ apaṇ-ī angūṭh-ī moṛ le čal-ū~ k-ī  
then then 1sg.NOM REFL-F ring-F return take go-1sg GEN-F  
'When I finish [paying off] your money then I will take back my ring and go.'

(187)W. ḡīṛ-ā ḡaṇ-ā ne mer-ī yá baks-ī khol-ᵛ-ī,  
REL-OBL.M.SG man-OBL.M.SG AG 1sg.GEN-F 3sg.PROX.NOM.F box-F open-PERF-F  
hū̄~ us ḡaṇ-ā nā lī-ū~ g-ī  
1sg.NOM 3sg.DIST.OBL man-OBL.M.SG DAT take-1sg FUT-F  
'Whichever man opens this box of mine, that man I will take.'

A number of common irregular (unspecified) perfective forms attest the Sanskrit /-ita/ suffix: /dittᵛ/ 'given', /ḡiṭṭhᵛ/ 'seen', /naṭṭhᵛ/ 'ran away', /beṭhᵛ/ 'seated', and /suttᵛ/

‘slept’. Some such forms are instances of pure suppletion, while others at least feature the expected initial consonant. All take the regular AC suffixes (the examples shown feature masculine singular agreement).

#### 4.2.1.2.3 Verbal Inflections

The paradigms in tables 23 and 24 present formal distinctions only; functional distinctions are explained further below. Here the forms are labeled according to whatever function each has in isolation, even though the same forms may have other functions when occurring in combination with another verb or verbal auxiliary. Paradigms for representative verbs ending in vowels are given in Appendix C.

Table 23. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in Consonant: /sad-/ ‘call’ (unique Western forms are in parentheses)

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	sad-		-ū~	sadū~
	1pl.	sad-		-ā~	sadā~
	2/3sg.	sad-		-ε	sadε
	2pl.	sad-		-ɔ (-ε)	sadɔ (sadε)
	3pl.	sad-		-ε~ (-ε)	sadε~ (sadε)
Negated Future	1sg.	sad-	-s	-ū~	sadsū~
	1pl.	sad-	-s	-ā~	sadsā~
	2/3sg.	sad-	-s	-ε	sadse
	2pl.	sad-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	sadsɔ (sadse)
	3pl.	sad-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	sadse~ (sadse)
Present Imperative	2sg.	sad-		∅	sad
	2pl.	sad-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	sadɔ (sadɔ~)
Future Imperative	2sg.	sad-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	sadīe (sadī~e)
	2pl.	sad-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	sadīɔ (sadī~ɔ~)

Table 24. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in Consonant: /sad-/ ‘call’  
(unique Western forms are in parentheses)

		Stem	Asp	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	sad-	-t	-ɔ	sadtɔ
	m.pl.	sad-	-t	-ā	sadtā
	f.sg.	sad-	-t	-ī	sadtī
	f.pl.	sad-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	sadtī~ (sadtī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	sad-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	sadeɔ (sadīɔ)
	m.pl.	sad-	-e (-ī)	-ā	sadeā (sadīā)
	f.sg.	sad-	-e (-ī)	-ī	sadī
	f.pl.	sad-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	sadī~ (sadī)

#### 4.2.1.2.4 Finite Verbal Constructions Involving Tense Auxiliaries

##### Constructions Involving the Present Auxiliary /h-/ (/ɛ/)

The present auxiliary specifies present time. In the Eastern dialect the present auxiliary paradigm consists of the full inventory of PC suffixes attached to a stem, /h-/ (a reduction of the verb /hò-/ ‘be’), while in the Western dialect the paradigm has collapsed down to the second and third singular, and that without any vestige of the verb stem.

Table 25. Present Auxiliary

	Eastern	Western
1 sg.	hũ~	ɛ
1 pl.	hã~	ɛ
2/3 sg.	hè	ɛ
2 pl.	hð	ɛ
3 pl.	hè~	ɛ

The variation shown in Table 25 constitutes one of the more salient differences between the dialects. Sharma’s paradigm is basically the same as that given here for the

Eastern dialect, only with the 2pl and 3pl forms collapsed as /hè~/ (1982:176,100). He reports the variant /hâ~/ for first singular, giving the example /hû~ ḏākṭar hâ~/ ‘I am a doctor’ (1982:176-177; transcriptions mine). While this sentence is ungrammatical in the speech of my Eastern and Western research assistants, the auxiliary variant itself is familiar from Hindko and certain Eastern contrafactive constructions (see 4.2.1.3).

The present auxiliary is the right-most constituent of the constructions in which it occurs. In negation, the present auxiliary is replaced with the negative particle /nī̇/. When occurring by itself without any other verb, it is the copula, linking a noun phrase subject with some specifying static quality or identification in present time, or merely indicating the existence of a noun phrase subject. For example, /hû~ ḏākṭar hû~/ (/hû~ ḏākṭar ε/) ‘I am a doctor.’

The **Present Perfective** consists of the perfective form of the verb followed by the present auxiliary /h-/ (/ε/). It signifies that the verbal action ‘has been’ completed with respect to the present.

(188)E. us ne akram sad-e-ṣ hè  
 3sg.DIST.OBL AG Akram call-PERF-M.SG 2/3sg.PRES  
 ‘He/she has called Akram [and he’s not here yet].’

(189)E. mε~ roṭ-ī khā d-ṭ-ī hè  
 1sg.AG bread-F.SG eat give-PERF-F.SG 2/3sg.PRES  
 ‘I have eaten.’

(190)W. mε~ te hòṇ allā k-ā hùkam nāl šarū kar-ṭ-ī ε  
 1sg.AG and now Allah GEN-OBL.M.SG command with start do-PERF-F PRES  
 ‘Now by Allah’s command I have made a start.’

Constructions Involving the Past Auxiliary /th-/

The past auxiliary, which specifies past time, consists of a root, /th-/, and an AC suffix. It occurs to the right of the main verb, with or without one or more intervening auxiliaries or other grammatical words, and serves as the copula in past stative constructions:

- (191)    ó            is            ilāk-ā            k-ǝ            mālik th-ǝ  
                  3sg.DIST   3sg.DIST.OBL area-OBL.M.SG GEN-NOM.M.SG owner PAST-M.SG  
                  ‘He was the owner of this area.’

The **Past Unspecified** consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the past auxiliary /th-/:

- (192)    hū~            čal-ū~ th-ǝ  
                  1sg.NOM go-1sg PAST-M.SG  
                  ‘I used to go.’

- (193)W.    wó            muč    ɖar-ε    th-ǝ            laṛā-ī te  
                  3s.DIST.NOM.M very fear-2/3 PAST-M.SG fight-F from  
                  ‘He was very afraid of battle.’

- (194)W.    agl-ā            lok    muč    ɖáɖ-ā            w̄-ε    th-ā  
                  former-NOM.M.PL people very strong-NOM.M.PL be-2/3 PAST-M.PL  
                  ‘The people of old were very tough.’

This form is negated by the particle /nǐ/ without inducing any morphological change:

- (195)    hū~            nǐ    čal-ū~ th-ǝ  
                  1sg.NOM NEG go-1sg PAST-M.SG  
                  ‘I used to not go.’

The **Past Perfective** consists of the perfective form of the verb followed by the past auxiliary /th-/. It signifies that the verbal action was completed at an earlier time:

(196) hũ~ g-ī-ǝ th-ǝ  
1sg.NOM go-PERF-M.SG PAST.M.SG

‘I went [at an earlier time].’

(197)E. us ne akram sad-e-ǝ th-ǝ  
3sg.DIST.OBL AG Akram call-PERF-M.SG PAST-M.SG

‘I called Akram [at an earlier time].’

#### Constructions Involving the Future Auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/)

The future auxiliary, specifying future time, consists of a root, /k-/ (/g-/), and an AC suffix. Normally it occurs immediately to the right of the main verb as shown in (198), but the root is not fully suffixed as it has become in Urdu and Punjabi (cf. Masica 1991:288-289). Rarely, as in (199), the adverb /wī/ (/bī̃/, /be/) ‘also’ may intervene between the main verb and future auxiliary.

(198)W. ras-ǝ saṭ te hām čār-ā~ g-ī  
rope-NOM.M.SG throw and 1pl.NOM climb.1pl FUT-F

‘Throw the rope and we will climb [out]!’

(199)E. angūr khā-ū~ k-ǝ, beč-ū~ vī k-ǝ, lok-ā~ nā  
grapes eat-1sg FUT-M.SG sell-1sg also FUT-M.SG people-OBL.PL DAT

dī-ū~ k-ǝ  
give-1sg GEN-M.SG

‘I will eat the grapes. I will also sell [them]. I will give [them] to people.’

The **Definite Future** consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/):

(200)E. hũ~ čal-ũ~ k-ɔ  
 1sg.NOM go-1sg FUT-NOM.M.SG

‘I will go.’

W. hũ~ čal-ũ~ g-ɔ  
 1sg.NOM go-1sg FUT-NOM.M.SG

‘I will go.’

This form cannot be used with a negative of any type.

#### 4.2.1.2.5 Finite Verbal Constructions Involving Other Auxiliaries

##### Constructions Involving /hò-/ ‘be’

The verb /hò-/ serves as an important auxiliary in many verbal constructions (cf. Masica 1991:285-286). In its unspecified form it can also be used as a main verb in the present or past to express habitual aspect, indicating that a particular state of affairs usually holds, as in (201), or typically held, as in (202):<sup>2</sup>

(201) aĵkal hũ~ padār hò-ũ~  
 nowadays 1sg.NOM busy be-1sg

‘Nowadays I am busy.’

(202) pélā~ hũ~ padār hò-ũ~ th-ɔ  
 before 1sg.NOM busy be-1sg PAST-NOM.M.SG

‘I used to be busy.’ (lit. ‘Before, I was busy.’)

With the future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/), the unspecified form of /hò-/ indicates that a particular state of affairs will hold in the future (cf. the Definite Future in 4.2.1.2.4), without specifying habitual aspect:

- (203)E. panj baǰ-ε hũ~ padār hò-ũ~ k-ɔ  
 five o'clock-LOC 1sg.NOM busy be-1sg FUT-NOM.M.SG  
 'At five o'clock I will be busy.'

Some important inflections of /hò-/ are shown in Table 26 (its full paradigm is given in Appendix C).

Table 26. Inflections of /hò-/ 'be'

		Eastern	Western
unspecified	1sg.	hò-ũ~	hò-ũ~
	1pl.	hò-wā~	w̃-ā~
	2/3sg.	hò-wε	w̃-ε
	2pl.	hò-wɔ	w̃-ε
	3pl.	hò-wε~	w̃-ε
imperfective	m.sg.	hò-t-ɔ	hò-t-ɔ
	m.pl.	hò-t-ā	hò-t-ā
	f.sg.	hò-t-ī	hò-t-ī
	f.pl.	hò-t-ī~	hò-t-ī

In Western, /hò-/ has been lost in all unspecified forms except the first singular, leaving formerly epenthetic /w/ (and a low-rising tone) as the verb stem. In this respect the Western form has evolved exactly opposite from the direction noted for Hindi-Urdu, where the subjunctive /ho/ is now preferred to the older /hove/ (Masica 1991:293; transcription his). In between the Kaghani (Eastern) and Allaiwal (Western) forms reported here are a range of transitional forms that may be heard in the speech of other Gujars.

The **Present Habitual** consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the unspecified form of /hò-/ ‘be’. It describes a verbal action performed repeatedly over an indefinite period of time which includes the present. While the ‘unspecified’ constructions normally indicate habitual interpretations, the addition of /hò-/ marks habitual aspect explicitly. This construction cannot as such be negated; rather, its negative counterpart is the Contrafactive Habitual:

- (204)E. subā subā nā hū~ čat apar bes-ū~ hò-ū~  
 morning morning DAT 1sg.NOM roof on sit-1sg be-1sg  
 ‘I sit on the roof every morning.’

- (205)W. roz roz hū~ geḍ nā kol-ū~ hò-ū~  
 day day 1sg.NOM gate DAT open-1sg be-1sg  
 ‘I open the gate every morning.’

The **Past Habitual** consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the unspecified form of /hò-/ ‘be’ and the past auxiliary /th-/. It describes a habitual verbal action performed over an indefinite period of past time:

- (206)E. hū~ akram nā sad-ū~ hò-ū~ th-ᵛ  
 1sg.NOM Akram DAT call-1sg be-1sg PAST-M.SG  
 ‘I used to call Akram on a regular basis.’

- (207)W. mer-ᵛ nān-ᵛ timrī mā  
 1sg.GEN-NOM.M.SG maternal.grandfather Timri in  
 r̄-ε w̄-ε th-ᵛ  
 stay-2/3 be-2/3 PAST-M.SG  
 ‘My grandfather used to live in Timri.’

The Past Habitual is negated simply by inserting the particle /nī/ before the main verb:

- (208)E. hũ~ akram nā nī sadũ~ hòũ~ tho  
 ‘I didn’t used to call Akram on a regular basis.’

The **Subjunctive Habitual** consists of the imperfective form of the verb followed by the unspecified form of /hò-/ ‘be’. It describes a verbal action which the speaker views as possible. This form is comparatively rare, and in my data occurs only with the idiom /ke pattɔ/ ‘perhaps’, ‘who knows?’

- (209)E. ke patt-ɔ akram ā-t-ɔ hò-wε  
 what information-NOM.M.SG Akram come-IMPV-F be-2/3sg  
 ‘Perhaps Akram will come.’

- (210)W. ke pat-ɔ mār-ī bèḍ ut čug-t-ī w̄-ε  
 what information-NOM.M.SG 1pl.GEN-F sheep there graze-IMPV-F be-2/3  
 ‘Perhaps our sheep will graze there.’

The **Presumptive Habitual** consists of the imperfective form of the verb followed by the unspecified form of /hò-/ ‘be’ and future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/). It describes probable future actions or actions assumed to be in progress:

- (211)E. wó ā-t-ɔ hò-wε k-ɔ  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M come-IMPV-F be-2/3sg FUT-M.SG  
 ‘He will be coming.’

- W. wó ā-t-ɔ w̄-ε g-ɔ  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M come-IMPV-F be-2/3 FUT-M.SG  
 ‘He will be coming.’

Replacing imperfective forms with ones involving the continuous auxiliary /lag-/ (see below) results in ungrammatical constructions (cf. the Urdu Presumptive Continuous; Masica 1991:293).

The **Contrafactive Habitual** consists of the negative /nǐ/ or /nǎ/ and the imperfective form of the main verb followed by the imperfective form of /hò-/ ‘be’. Its functions include simple negations of the Present Habitual, as in (212), and describing verbal actions like that in (213) which could have but did not (or do not) transpire.

(212) hũ~ nǐ bɛs-t-ɔ hò-t-ɔ  
 1sg.NOM NEG sit-IMPV-M.SG be-IMPV-M.SG  
 ‘I don’t usually sit.’

(213)E. hũ~ kade it nǎ bɛs-t-ɔ hò-t-ɔ tɛ min-nā  
 1sg.NOM if here NEG sit-IMPV-M.SG be-IMPV-M.SG then 1sg.OBL-DAT  
 selānī sáī nǎ hò-t-ā  
 tourist be.seen NEG be-IMPV-M.SG  
 ‘If I didn’t always sit here then I wouldn’t see the tourists.’

The **Presumptive Perfective** consists of the perfective form of the verb followed by the unspecified form of /hò-/ ‘be’ and the future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/). In the Eastern dialect, the perfective participle marker /w-/ occurs optionally after the perfective form of the verb. I know of no difference in meaning between the examples in (214):

(214)E.a. wó g-ī-ɔ w-ɔ hò-wɛ k-ɔ  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M go-PERF-M.SG PFP-M.SG be-2/3sg FUT-M.SG  
 ‘He must have gone.’

b. wó g-ī-ɔ hò-wɛ k-ɔ  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M go-PERF-M.SG be-2/3sg FUT-M.SG  
 ‘He must have gone.’

W. wó g-ī-ɔ w̃-ɛ g-ɔ  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M go-PERF-M.SG be-2/3 FUT-M.SG  
 ‘He must have gone.’

The **Contrafactive Perfective** consists of the perfective form of the main verb and the imperfective form of /hò-/ ‘be’. It describes perfective verbal actions which, had they occurred, would have resulted in some other verbal action that did not occur. It is used only in the condition clause of conditional constructions:

- (215)E. seāl mā min-nā ek xat mil-e-ᵛ hò-t-ᵛ  
 winter in 1sg.OBL-DAT one letter meet-PERF-M.SG be-IMPV-F.M.SG  
 ᵛ min-nā ter-ā hāl k-ᵛ pat-ᵛ  
 then 1sg.OBL-DAT 2sg.GEN-OBL.M.SG condition GEN-NOM.M.SG information  
 lag jā-t-ᵛ  
 attach go-IMPV-F.M.SG

‘If I had received one letter during the winter, then I would have found out about your condition.’

- (216)E. to~ kade īd apar ā-e-ᵛ hò-t-ᵛ  
 2sg.NOM if Eid on come-PERF-M.SG be-IMPV-F.M.SG  
 ᵛ ter-ī ᵛ us k-ī mulākāt hò-t-ī  
 then 2sg.GEN-F.SG and 3sg.DIST.OBL GEN-F.SG meeting be-IMPV-F.SG

‘If you had come for Eid, you and he/she would have met.’

- (217)W. hū~ kade skūl mā páṛ-ī-ᵛ hò-t-ᵛ ᵛ hū~  
 1sg.NOM if school in read-PERF-M.SG be-IMPV-F.M.SG then 1sg.NOM  
 kite nōkar hò-t-ᵛ  
 somewhere employee be-IMPV-F.M.SG

‘If I had studied in a school, I would be an employee somewhere.’

All such condition clauses can also be formed by the Unspecified Contrafactive (see 4.2.1.2.2) without change in meaning.

Constructions Involving the Continuous Auxiliary /lag-/

The continuous auxiliary consists of a stem, /lag-/, and an AC suffix. Continuous aspect indicates that a specific verbal event has commenced and is ongoing at a specified past or present time. The stem of the continuous auxiliary, /lag-/, is the perfective form of the verb ‘attach’ (an original lexical meaning not applicable in many contexts). This form is irregular because it lacks the perfective aspect suffix /-e/ (/̄-ī/). In Eastern, the continuous auxiliary often occurs in combination with the perfective participle marker /w- / (see 4.2.1.7).<sup>3</sup> This /w-/ formative is normally omitted in Western (especially after /lag-/), and is optional in Eastern following /lag-/.

The **Present Continuous** consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the continuous auxiliary /lag-/, the perfective participle marker /w-/ (in the Eastern dialect only), and optionally by the present auxiliary. It describes the verbal action as being in progress at the present time. Present Continuous verbal constructions cannot as such be negated. The negative counterpart of this construction is the Habitual (Negated) - Unspecified Contrafactive (4.2.1.2.2).

(218)E. wó                    bazār nā    čal-ε    lag-ɔ        w-ɔ  
3sg.DIST.NOM.M    bazaar DAT    go-2/3sg    CONT-M.SG    PFP-M.SG

‘He is going to the bazaar.’

W.    wó                    bazār nā    čal-ε    lag-ɔ  
3sg.DIST.NOM.M    bazaar DAT    go-2/3sg    CONT-M.SG

‘He is going to the bazaar.’

- (219)E. hũ~ apan-ā nasīb nāl khā-ũ~ lag-ī w-ī  
 1sg.NOM REFL.OBL.M.SG fortune with eat-1sg CONT-F.SG PFP-F.SG

‘I am eating by means of my own [good]fortune.’

- (220)W. giduṛ age te kǎḍ rič ε, ā-we lag-ā  
 jackal ahead and behind bear PRES come-2/3 CONT-M.PL

‘They are coming; the jackal in front and the bear behind [him].’

The **Past Continuous** consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the past auxiliary /th-/ , the continuous auxiliary /lag-/ and the perfective participle marker /w-/ (in the Eastern dialect only). It describes the verbal action as being in progress simultaneous with another past verbal action in the discourse:

- (221) hũ~ čal-ũ~ th-ɔ lag-ɔ (w-ɔ)  
 1sg.NOM go-1sg PAST-M.SG CONT-M.SG (PFP-M.SG)

‘I was going [at that moment].’

- (222)E. tɛ~ j̃is waxt fon k-ī-ɔ te hām roṭ-ī  
 2sg.AG RELOBL.SG time phone do-PERF-M.SG and 1pl.NOM bread-F.SG  
 kh-ā~ th-ā lag-ā w-ā  
 eat-1pl PAST-M.PL CONT-M.PL PFP-M.PL

‘When you phoned we were eating.’

- (223)W. (nān-ɔ mer-ɔ šinkīārī nā  
 maternal.grandfather-NOM.M.SG 1sg.GEN-NOM.M.SG Shinkiari DAT  
 ā-e-ɔ.) kite taṇā te khū po muč dèṇ-ī  
 come-PERF-M.SG somewhere downhill and well on many woman-F  
 bàr-ε th-ī lag-ī  
 fill-2/3 PAST-F CONT-F

(‘My grandfather came to Shinkiari.) Somewhere below lots of women were filling water [vessels] at a well.’

In the above examples, movement of the past auxiliary to the position following /lag- (w-)/ is possible but unusual in discourse.

#### 4.2.1.3 Dialect-specific Finite Verbal Constructions

The **Contrafactive Conditional** (Eastern only) is an alternative to the Unspecified Contrafactive in conditional constructions involving singular subjects (see the form of the Habitual (Negated) - Unspecified Contrafactive in 4.2.1.2.2). For first person singular, the Contrafactive Conditional consists of the unspecified form of the verb followed by the present auxiliary variant /hã~/ . It is used in both the condition and result clauses of the conditional construction. Compare its use in (224) with that of the Unspecified Contrafactive in (225) (the latter is obligatory for all contrafactive conditionals in Western):

(224)E. hũ~ kade sabar kar-ũ~ hã~ te hũ~ kãg nã  
 1sg.NOM if patience do-IMPV-1sg 1sg.PRES then 1sg.NOM crow DAT  
 mār lī-ũ~ hã~  
 hit take-1sg 1sg.PRES  
 ‘Had I been patient, I would have killed the crow.’

(225) hũ~ kade sabar kar-t-ɔ te hũ~ kãg nã  
 1sg.NOM if patience do-IMPV-M.SG then 1sg.NOM crow DAT  
 mār le-t-ɔ  
 hit take-IMPV-M.SG  
 ‘Had I been patient, I would have killed the crow.’

For second and third person singular subjects, the result clause (only) may feature a perfective form of the verb consisting of the verb stem and the ‘old’ perfective suffix /-eã/. Compare its employment in (226) with that of the Unspecified Contrafactive in (227):

(226)E. koe            ĵír-ǝ            swātī th-ǝ,            ó            nōkrī            kar-eā  
 INDEF.NOM.M.SG REL-NOM.M.SG Swati PAST-M.SG 3sg.DIST wage.labor do-PERF

‘The one who was a Swati, he would be doing wage labor.’

(227)E. koe            ĵír-ǝ            swātī th-ǝ,            ó            nōkrī  
 INDEF.NOM.M.SG REL-NOM.M.SG Swati PAST-M.SG 3sg.DIST wage.labor

kar-t-ǝ  
 do-IMPFV-M.SG

‘The one who was a Swati, he would be doing wage labor.’

The **Present Continuous II** (Eastern only) consists of the verb stem followed by the ‘continuous II’ auxiliary (itself the perfective form of /ré-/ ‘stay’) and the present auxiliary /h-/ (/ε/). This construction describes intransitive verbal events and situations that are ongoing over an indefinite period of time that includes the present. It occurs only with select intransitive verbs including /hò-/ ‘be’ /guzar-/ ‘pass’, and /čal-/ ‘go’. Although it is structurally identical to the Urdu and Punjabi present continuous constructions (and may represent a borrowing of the same), the function thereby achieved in those languages is achieved in Gojri by the Present Continuous (formed with /lag-/).

Consider these examples:

(228)E. ún-ā~            kī            gal    kaṭh    hò rá-ǝ-ī            hē  
 3pl.DIST.OBL-OBL.PL GEN-F.SG word stream be stay-PERF-F.SG 2/3sg.PRES

‘They are engaged in discussions.’ (lit. ‘Their conversation is ongoing.’)

(229)E. roz-ā            keĵ-ā            guzar r-e-ā            hē~  
 fast-NOM.M.PL how-NOM.M.PL pass stay-PERF-M.PL 3pl.PRES

‘How are the fasts going?’



The verb phrase in the first clause of (233) encodes a composite of the verbal notions expressed in (234):

(234)E.a. wó āwε lagɔ wɔ ‘He is coming.’

b. wó nǐ ātɔ ‘He isn’t coming.’ / ‘He doesn’t come.’

The **Present Unspecified** (Western only) consists of the verb stem with PC suffix followed by the present auxiliary /h-/ (/ε/). Use of this form typically indicates that the subject is about to commence upon a course of action. It occurs only with first singular subjects in my data:

(235)W. hũ~ čal-ũ~ ε  
1sg.NOM go-1sg PRES

‘I am going.’

(236)W. (akhe nas-ε lag-ɔ) akhe hũ~ nas-ũ~ ε  
QUOT run.away-2/3 CONT-M.SG QUOT 1sg.NOM run.away-1sg PRES

‘(Are [you] escaping?)’ ‘[Yes,]I am going to escape.’

In (237), however, the meaning is different than in the above examples:

(237)W. hũ~ muč ɖar-ũ~ ε  
1sg.NOM very fear-1sg PRES

‘I am very afraid.’

The Present Unspecified does not occur in the Eastern dialect, at least not in that spoken in Pakistan proper. This may be due to the correspondence of the Eastern present auxiliary vowels with the PC vowels on the verb. Sharma, however, reports such a construction for Punch-Rajauri Gojri: /tũ kit ré ɛ/ ‘Where do you live?’ (1982:100; transcription his).

Instead, Eastern Gojri approximates the function of the Western Present Unspecified by means of a little-employed strategy involving the perfective form of the verb and an optional present auxiliary:

(238)E. hũ~ pāṇī lā-uṇ nā čal-e-ɔ (hũ~)  
 1sg.NOM water put.on-INF.OBL DAT go-PERF-M.SG (1sg.NOM)

‘I am going to water [the fields].’

Example (238) is a translation of one of Sharma’s examples, /hũ paṇi laṇ čəlyo ă/ (1982:191; transcription and English gloss his). My research assistants say that the nuance is identical to that in examples (235) and (236) above.

#### 4.2.1.4 Passives

There are several means of forming passive constructions in Gojri. The most common strategy employs /jā-/ ‘go’ as the conjugational base, together with the perfective form of the active verb. The latter agrees with the patient in gender and number. This type of construction occurs with or without an agent marked by the ablative postposition /te/:

(239)E. gojārī kāyān mā bol-θ-ī jā-ε  
 Gojri Kaghan in speak-PERF-F.SG go-2/3sg

‘Gojri is spoken in Kaghan.’

(240)W. ajaṛī te bəḍ katr-θ-ī jā-ε th-ī  
 shepherd from sheep shear-PERF-F go-2/3 PAST-F

‘The sheep were sheared by the shepherd.’

In passive constructions of this type, select verbs including /mār-/ ‘kill’ and /khā-/ ‘eat’ necessarily feature the passive suffix /-e/ (/ -ī/) on the active verb in place of the usual perfective aspect and AC suffixes. This passive suffix is indistinguishable from the perfective aspect suffix, although it derives from a separate source (Masica 1991:316).

Evidence that the suffix is invariable for all genders and numbers is shown in (241)-(243).

(241)E. ek lel-ɔ khā-e g-ī-ɔ  
 one lamb-NOM.M.SG eat-PASS go-PERF-M.SG

‘One ram was eaten.’ (cf. the ungrammatical equivalent /\*ek lelɔ khāeɔ gīɔ/)

(242)E. do jaŋ-ā mār-e g-ī-ā  
 two man-NOM.M.PL kill-PASS go-PERF-M.PL

‘Two men were killed.’

(243)E. ek beṭk-ī mār-e ga-θ-ī  
 one girl-F.SG kill-PASS go-PERF-F.SG

‘One girl was killed.’

In the above examples, replacing the verb and passive suffix with the perfective form of the verb results in ungrammatical forms.

Another passive strategy features the unspecified form of /hò-/ ‘be’ as the conjugational base, following the oblique infinitive of the active verb and an agent marked by the ablative postposition /te/:

(244)E. min-te do roṭ-ī~ aḡl-ī nī́ khā-uṇ hò-we~ th-ī~  
 1sg.OBL-ABL two bread-F.PL former-F.SG NEG eat-INF.OBL be-3pl PAST-F.PL

‘Weren’t two pieces of bread being eaten by me before?’

A third strategy, which should perhaps be called an impersonal construction rather than a true passive, employs the third person plural Unspecified Habitual of the active verb (cf. 4.2.1.2.1) with no expressed agent:

(245)E. is še nā ke k-ε~  
 3sg.PROX.OBL thing DAT what say-3pl

‘What is this thing called?’

- (246)E. mār-ā mulx mā kà dāt-ī-ā~ nāl kap-ε~  
 1pl.GEN-NOM.M.SG country in grass sickle-F.SG-OBL.PL with cut-3pl

‘In our country grass is cut with sickles.’

- (247)W. čāwal dáī naḷ khā-ε  
 rice yogurt with eat-2/3

‘Rice is eaten with yogurt.’

#### 4.2.1.5 Causatives

Causative verbal stems are produced by adding the causative suffix /-ā/ to verbal roots. We may therefore summarize the structure of the Gojri verbal stem as follows:

- (248) ROOT - (CAUS)

That is, a stem may consist of a root plus an optional causative suffix. Some examples of bare root/causative verbal pairs are shown in (249):

- |       |          |                   |   |          |                        |
|-------|----------|-------------------|---|----------|------------------------|
| (249) | /badal-/ | intrans. ‘change’ | > | /badlā-/ | trans. ‘change’        |
|       | /jī-/    | ‘live’            | > | /jīā-/   | ‘resurrect’            |
|       | /pak-/   | ‘ripen’           | > | /pakā-/  | ‘cook’                 |
|       | /kar-/   | ‘do’              | > | /karā-/  | ‘make<br>arrangements’ |
|       | /suṇ-/   | ‘listen’          | > | /suṇā-/  | ‘tell’                 |
|       | /čal-/   | ‘go’              | > | /čalā-/  | ‘send’                 |

A variant of the causal suffix, /-āḷ/, occurs with the causative member of the pairs in

(250).

- |       |        |         |   |                    |                     |
|-------|--------|---------|---|--------------------|---------------------|
| (250) | /bes-/ | ‘sit’   | > | /besīāḷ-/(/besāḷ/) | ‘seat’              |
|       | /so-/  | ‘sleep’ | > | /swaḷ-/            | ‘put down to sleep’ |

/khā-/	‘eat’	>	/khwāl-/	trans.	‘feed’
/pī-/	‘drink’	>	/pīāl-/		‘give to drink’

Causative verbs are also formed by lengthening the short vowel of another verb. Some representative examples are given in (251):

(251)	/muṛ-/	intrans.	‘return’	>	/moṛ-/	trans.	‘return’
	/ṭur-/		‘walk’	>	/ṭor-/		‘drive [livestock]’
	/kaṛ-/	intrans.	‘boil’	>	/kāṛ-/	trans.	‘boil’
	/čimur-/		‘cling to’	>	/čimer-/		‘place against’
	/mar-/		‘die’	>	/mār-/		‘kill, hit’
	/nikhaṛ-/	intrans.	‘separate’	>	/nikheṛ-/	trans.	‘separate’

While Sharma reports for Punch-Rajauri Gojri numerous second causatives formed by adding another /-ā/ suffix to a causative stem already suffixed with /-ā/ (resulting necessarily in the suffix /-wā/ after hiatus resolution), my research assistants insist that they are not used in any form of Gojri with which they are familiar. I do, however, have examples of second causatives involving pairs of stems related like those in (252) with the transitive (or causative) member taking the causative suffix:

(252)a.	/čár-/	‘be built’
	/čár-/	‘build’
	/čaṛā-/	‘have built’ (i.e. ‘arrange for the construction of’)
b.	/mar-/	‘die’
	/mār-/	‘hit, attack, kill’
	/marā-/	‘kill’ (i.e. ‘arrange for the death of’)

#### 4.2.1.6 Conjunct Verbs

Gojri has produced numerous verbs by joining a noun or adjective with a semantically empty or weakened verb which serves as the conjugational base. Stems most commonly employed in such compounds include /kar-/ ‘do’, /hò-/ ‘be’, /mār-/ ‘hit’, /le-/ ‘take’, /de-/ ‘give’, /ā-/ ‘come’, and /lā-/ ‘put on’. Some examples are /bāz ā-/ ‘repent’, /čuyī mār-/ ‘start a fight’, and /gal kar-/ ‘talk’. Conjunct verbs involving the verb stems /le-/ ‘take’ and /de-/ ‘give’ are more likely to retain more of the verb’s independent semantic content. For example, consider /bādī le-/ ‘take bribes’ and /nāto de-/ ‘give in marriage’.

Many transitive and intransitive pairs of Gojri verbs feature a constant noun or adjective conjoined to /kar-/ ‘do’ and /hò-/ ‘be’, respectively. Examples include /baṭlā hò-/ ‘be gathered’ and /baṭlā kar-/ ‘gather’, and /bideā hò-/ ‘be bidden farewell’ and /bideā kar-/ ‘bid farewell’ (Western forms have /bidīā/ ‘farewell’).

All Gojri conjunct verbs are lexicalized; i.e. the combinations are fixed and must be memorized, and attempts to substitute for either constituent result in ungrammatical forms.

#### 4.2.1.7 Non-finite Verb Forms

Prototypical non-finite or dependent verb forms are those verbs which modify the main verb and are not fully inflected such that they can stand alone in discourse. Payne (1997:306) states that verbs are dependent to various degrees, or conversely, that they are finite to various degrees. Understanding finiteness as a continuum is particularly useful in the case of Gojri and other Indo-Aryan languages, where originally non-finite forms like the imperfective and perfective participles have been incorporated fully into the finite verbal paradigm (Masica 1991:321). Gojri participles are not fully inflected (i.e. they

lack PC suffixes), yet in certain constructions they can stand alone as the main verb (see 4.2.1.1). In other constructions, as we shall now see, they serve as dependent modifiers of another main verb.

The structure of the non-finite verb is shown in (253):

(253) STEM - SUFFIX - (CONCORD)

In other words, a non-finite verb consists of a verbal stem with suffix, followed optionally by a concord suffix.

Non-finite forms in Gojri perform a wide range of nominal, adjectival, and adverbial functions (Masica 1991:321). I now describe infinitives, adjectival participles, adverbial participles, and conjunctive participles.

Infinitives > V-ing / to V

Gojri infinitives perform a variety of nominal functions. They are formed by adding an infinitive suffix to the verb stem. Nominative case infinitives consist of a verb stem followed by the suffix /-ŋ/ and an AC suffix. The infinitive suffix /-ŋ/ changes to /-n/ when attached to verbs ending in a retroflex consonant. The nominative case infinitive may function as the subject of experiencer constructions like (254) or of predicate nominal constructions like (255). It agrees in gender and number with the associated noun. Infinitives are always masculine singular when there isn't an associated noun:

(254)W. sel kar-ŋ-ɔ man-nā čang-ɔ lag-ε  
outing do-INF-NOM.M.SG 1sg.OBL-DAT nice-NOM.M.SG attach-2/3

‘I like to travel.’

(255)E. angrēzī pāṛ-n-ī baṛ-ī ɔkh-ī hē  
English read-INF-F.SG big-F.SG difficult-F.SG 2/3sg.PRES

‘Reading English is very difficult.’

Oblique case infinitives consist of a verb stem followed by the suffix /-uŋ/ with no AC suffix. The oblique infinitive is used adjectivally with the genitive to modify nouns, ascribing to the noun the characteristic of agency:

- (256)W. bas roṭ-ī khā-ŋ k-ā šer ε, mer-ε samet  
 stop bread-F eat-INF.OBL GEN-M.PL.NOM lion PRES 1sg.GEN-LOC together  
 ‘[They] are only lionhearted when it comes to dining, myself included.’  
 (lit. ‘[They] are lions only of food-eating, myself included.’)

The oblique infinitive is also used with the postpositions /nā/, /dar/ (/tā/) and /wāstε/ in purpose clauses:

- (257)W. is jaŋ-ā ne čaṭ mār-ī-ᵛ būṭ-ā tā  
 2sg.PROX.OBL man-OBL.M.SG AG grabbing hit-PERF-M.SG tree-OBL.M.SG toward  
 nap-uŋ tā  
 catch-INF.OBL toward  
 ‘This man grabbed at the tree to catch hold of it.’

Sometimes the postposition is omitted from the purpose clause without any change in meaning:

- (258)E. čal-ε jā-ū~, kúj khā-uŋ pī-uŋ  
 go-2/3sg go-1sg INDEF.NOM.PL eat-INF.OBL drink-INF.OBL  
 ‘I should go eat and drink a little.’

The remaining uses of the infinitive are described in 4.1.5 and 4.2.2.2.

#### Perfective Adjectival Participle > has been V-ed

Perfective participles consist of the verb stem followed by the perfective aspect suffix /-e/ (/ -ī/) and an AC suffix. In the Eastern dialect they are commonly marked by a following /w-/ formative (= ‘perfective participle marker’), which takes an AC suffix.

The nominative perfective participle functions adjectivally, ascribing to the modified noun a characteristic which has resulted from a prior verbal action. It is therefore the semantic equivalent of the English perfect ‘tense’. Most commonly it occurs in simple attributive clauses, and it agrees with the modified noun:

(259)E. pāṇī tap-e-ᵛ            w-ᵛ        hè  
 water warm-PERF-M.SG PFP-M.SG 2/3sg.PRES

‘The water is heated.’

W. pāṇī tap-ī-ᵛ            ε  
 water warm-PERF-M.SG PRES

‘The water is heated.’

(260)E. wó                    beṭh-ᵛ            w-ᵛ        hè  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M sit.PERF-M.SG PFP-M.SG 2/3sg.PRES

‘He is seated.’

W. wó                    beṭh-ᵛ            ε  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M sit.PERF-M.SG PRES

‘He is seated.’

(261)E. wá                    ga-ᵛ-ī            w-ī        hè  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.F go-PERF-F.SG PFP-F.SG 2/3sg.PRES

‘She is gone.’ (cf. /wá gaī/ ‘She went.’)

W. wá                    ga-ᵛ-ī            ε  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.F go-PERF-F PRES

‘She is gone.’ (cf. /wá gaī/ ‘She went.’)

Perfective adjectival participles can also convey important nuances of meaning in sentences like those in (262)-(264):

(262)E. to~ p̣ār čā-e-ɔ w-ɔ kī~ā čal-ε  
 2sg.NOM load lift-PERF-M.SG PFP-M.SG to.where go-2/3sg

‘Where are you going with that load you are carrying?’

(263)E. mε~ to~ it ā-e-ɔ w-ɔ hēr-e-ɔ  
 1sg.AG 2sg.NOM here come-PERF-M.SG PFP-M.SG see-PERF-M.SG

‘I saw you [after you had] arrived.’

(264)E. mε~ akram sad-e-ɔ w-ɔ hē  
 1sg.AG Akram call-PERF-M.SG PFP-M.SG 2/3sg.PRES

‘I have called Akram [and he has arrived].’ (cf. the Present Perfective in (188))

Perfective Adverbial Participle > since V-ing ...

Perfective participles inflected for oblique case preceding the dative postposition /nā/ are used to indicate that a period of time has elapsed since an earlier action or event. Note that the Western example employs the perfect participle marker /w-/, which is omitted elsewhere in that dialect:

(265)E. min-nā it ā-e-ā w-ā nā do kàṅ-ā  
 1sg.OBL-DAT here come-PERF-OBL.M.SG PFP-OBL.M.SG DAT two hour-NOM.M.PL  
 lag g-ī-ā  
 attach go-PERF-M.PL

‘Two hours have passed since I arrived here.’

(266)E. xat kâl-e-ā w-ā nā ek mìn-ɔ  
 letter pour-PERF-OBL.M.SG PFP-OBL.M.SG DAT one month-NOM.M.SG  
 hò g-ī-ɔ  
 be go-PERF NOM.M.SG

‘A month has passed since the letter was mailed.’

- (267)W. bəd̥ su-θ-ī w-ī nā xās-ɔ šeb-ɔ hò g-ī-ɔ  
 sheep give.birth-PERF-F PFP-F DAT special-NOM.M.SG period be go-PERF-M.SG  
 ‘It has been quite a while since the sheep gave birth.’

Imperfective Adjectival Participles > V-ing ...

Imperfective participles consist of the verb stem followed by the imperfective aspect suffix /-t/ and another suffix, most commonly an AC suffix.

Imperfective participles taking the nominative AC suffixes are adjectival. They agree in gender and number with the modified nominative subject (as in (268)) or object (in ergative constructions like (269) and (270)):

- (268) hū~ doṛ-t-ɔ čal-ū~  
 1sg.NOM run-IMPV-M.SG go-1sg  
 ‘I go running.’ (i.e. ‘I run as I go.’)

- (269)E. mε~ to~ kam kar-t-ɔ hēr-e-ɔ  
 1sg.AG 2sg.NOM work do-IMPV-M.SG see-PERF-M.SG  
 ‘I saw you working.’

- (270)W. ún beṭk-ī-ā~ ne nolakhīɔ taɛ lá-t-ɔ  
 3pl.DIST.OBL girl-F-OBL.PL AG Nolakhio down descend-IMPV-M.SG  
 dekh-ī-ɔ  
 see-PERF-M.SG  
 ‘Those girls saw Nolakhio going down.’

Imperfective Adverbial Participles > while V-ing, etc.

Imperfective participles inflected for oblique case preceding a postposition function adverbially.

When preceding the dative postposition /nā/, they describe circumstances or actions attending the main verbal action:

- (271)E. hū~ tin-nā kam kar-t-ā nā hēr-ū~  
 1sg.NOM 2sg.OBL-DAT work do-IMPFV-OBL.M.SG DAT see-1sg  
 lag-ɔ w-ɔ  
 CONT-M.SG PFP-M.SG

‘I am watching you while you are working.’

If the participle in (271) was not so inflected by /nā/ (i.e. if the form was /kar-t-ɔ/), then the meaning would be ‘I am watching you while I am working.’

When preceding the locative postposition /mā/ ‘in’, imperfective adverbial participles indicate an action within the progression of which the main verb transpires:

- (272)E. mer-ā it ā-t-ā mā do kànt-ā  
 1s.GEN-OBL.M.SG here come-IMPFV-OBL.M.SG in two hour-NOM.M.PL  
 lag g-ī-ā  
 attach go-PERF-M.PL

‘Just now it took two hours for me to get here.’

- (273)W. man-nā kitāb pář-t-ā mā bař-ɔ maz-ɔ  
 1sg.OBL-DAT book read-IMPFV-OBL.M.SG in big-NOM.M.SG enjoyment-NOM.M.SG  
 ā-e-ɔ  
 come-PERF-M.SG

‘I really enjoyed reading the book.’

Imperfective adverbial participles inflected for locative case also describe the timing of the main verb with reference to another verbal action:

- (274) nāte waxt ‘at bathing time’  
 čalte waxt ‘when it is time to go’  
 khāte waxt ‘at meal time’  
 milte waxt ‘when meeting’

Repeated Adverbial Participles

Imperfective adverbial participles may also be formed with the suffix /-ā~/ (/e~/), which is invariable for all genders and numbers. A common use of this type of adverbial participle is to describe continuous and repeated action associated with the main verb. In such cases the participle is always repeated at least once:

- (275)E. hū~ pář-t-ā~ pář-t-ā~ sāyfal malūk k-ī kân-ī  
 1sg.NOM read-IMPV-ADV read-IMPV-ADV Saiful Maluk GEN-F.SG story-F.SG  
 tuřī póčh g-ī-ǝ  
 up.to arrive go-PERF-M.SG

‘I read and read and [finally] got to the story of Saiful Maluk.’

- (276)E. thoř-ǝ thoř-ǝ kam kar-t-ā~ kar-t-ā~ te  
 a.little-NOM.M.SG a.little-NOM.M.SG work do-IMPV-ADV do-IMPV-ADV and  
 ham-ŋe kořh-ā k-ǝ kam muk-ā l-ī-ǝ  
 1pl-AG house-OBL.M.SG GEN-NOM.M.SG work finish-CAUS take-PERF-M.SG

‘We did a little work here and did a little work there and finally we finished the work on the house.’

- (277)W. mār-t-e~ mār-t-e~ de nā mār ke mōr-ā mā  
 hit-IMPV-ADV hit-IMPV-ADV giant DAT hit CP hole-OBL.M.SG in  
 ā g-ī-ǝ  
 come go-PERF-M.SG

‘Striking and striking, he killed the giant and came into the cavern.’

Such participles of the verbs ‘go’ and ‘do’ often occur without any other verb to describe continuous and repeated action (traveling or effort of some kind, respectively) performed over an indefinitely long period of time:

(278)W. čār hò g-ī-ā.      čal-t-e~      čal-t-e~      čal-t-e~      čal-t-e~  
 four be go-PERF-M.PL go-IMPV-ADV go-IMPV-ADV go-IMPV-ADV go-IMPV-ADV

‘Then there were four. (They) traveled and traveled and traveled and traveled.’

A participle so formed may contract with the emphatic particle /h̃/ to express an attendant action simultaneous to the main verb:

(279)E. rustam ne tavīz h̃er-t-āī~      us      k̄ā      hath te  
 Rustam AG amulet see-IMPV-ADV.EMPH 3sg.DIST.OBL GEN-OBL.M.SG hand from  
 talvār čàṛ ga-θ-ī.  
 sword fall go-PERF-F.SG

‘Right when Rustam saw the amulet, his sword fell out of his hand.’

The contraction of this suffix /-ā~/ with /h̃/ causes the low-tone inducing initial /h/ to become a high-tone inducing final /h/, with the nasalization of the suffix extending through the remaining vowel /ī/. The Western variant of the participle in (279) is /h̃ertēī~/ per the same contraction process, and the Urdu equivalent is /dekhte hī/. This contraction is obligatory, but speakers are capable of detaching the emphatic particle when asked to do so, in which case its pronunciation is /h̃/ with low tone, as elsewhere.

Identical in function but formally unique are Eastern adverbial participles formed with the suffix /-ī~/ joined directly to the verb stem. This suffix remains unchanged for all persons and numbers, but may have grammaticalized from the feminine plural perfective participle. In (280), the sequence /laī~ laī~/ ‘taking and taking’ is equal in meaning to /le čaltā~ le čaltā~/:

(280)E. pày le ke jā r'e-ɔ baŋ nā, la-ī le ke te bas  
brother take CP go stay-PERF-M.SG forest DAT take-PERF-ADV take CP and well

la-ī~ la-ī~ le ke  
take-ADV take-ADV take CP

‘The brother took [her] and left for the forest, taking [her] and well, took [her] on and on ...’

(281)E. mε~ bāngī čā-ī~ čā-ī~ čā-ī~ čā-ī~ it  
1sg.AG rooster lift-ADV lift-ADV lift-ADV lift-IMPV here

āŋ ke čhoḡ ditt-ɔ  
bring CP leave give.PERF-M.SG

‘I carried and carried the rooster - brought it here and left it.’

Western Gojri uses the repeated perfective participle in ergative constructions like that in (282). Note that the participles agree with the nominative object:

(282)W. mε~ bāngī čā-e-ɔ čā-e-ɔ čā-e-ɔ  
1sg.AG rooster lift-PERF-M.SG lift-PERF-M.SG lift-PERF-M.SG

čā-e-ɔ it āŋ ke čhoḡ dītt-ɔ.  
lift-PERF-M.SG here bring CP leave give.PERF-M.SG

‘I carried and carried the rooster - brought it here and left it.’

(283)W. mε~ kukaḡ-ī čā-ŋ-ī čā-ŋ-ī čā-ŋ-ī čā-ŋ-ī  
1sg.AG chicken-F lift-PERF-F lift-PERF-F lift-PERF-F lift-PERF-F

it āŋ ke čhoḡ ditt-ī.  
here bring CP leave give.PERF-F

‘I carried and carried the chicken - brought it here and left it.’

My Eastern-speaking research assistant says that sometimes the suffix is /-ī/ rather than /-ī~/ in speech of his type.

Conjunctive Participle > having V-ed ...

The conjunctive participle consists of the verb stem followed by the particle /kε/ (which happens to be phonetically identical with the locative postposition). Against the analysis of /kε/ as a suffix is the fact that, although it always and only occurs immediately following a verb stem, it never undergoes phonological change in any environment and it attaches only to the final verb stem in a series of verb stems (including echo-formatives beginning with /š-/ ‘and the like’, which elsewhere receive the same inflection as the main verb):

- (284)    ṭur ṭur kε                    ‘having walked and walked ...’  
           mang (šang) kε               ‘having begged (and such) ...’  
           udīk kar kar kε            ‘having waited and waited ...’

The conjunctive participle immediately precedes the main verb phrase and describes an action completed immediately prior to the main verb.

- (285)    khā kε    čal  
           eat   CP   go  
           ‘Having eaten, go!’ / ‘Eat and then go!’

In common idioms meaning ‘give’ and ‘take with/away’, /kε/ is omitted. The absence of /kε/ after the first verb stem in (286) and (287) makes these stem-on-stem constructions look like the vector constructions described in 4.2.2.1:

- (286)    kāk-ā                        nā   pēs-ā                    čā dé  
           paternal.uncle-OBL.M.SG   DAT   money-NOM.M.PL   lift give  
           ‘Give the money to Uncle!’ (lit. ‘Lifting the money, give it to Uncle.’)



They may also be preferred for aesthetic reasons. As noted by Masica for other Indo-Aryan languages, Gojri vectors also occur most commonly in perfective and imperative constructions, and less commonly with the future (1991:327). I now consider each of the vector verbs in turn.

*/jā-/ ‘go’* occurs with select intransitive verbs including *come, sit, sleep, be made, become, be, and open*. This verb is irregular in the perfective, where the stem is */g-/* (see Appendix C). Its use conveys a nuance of completeness:

(290)    bəs jā  
          sit    go

‘Sit down!’

(291)    rič ā    g-ī-ɔ  
          bear come go-PERF-M.SG

‘A bear came.’

(292)    wó                    ʈhīk hò g-ī-ɔ  
          3sg.DIST.NOM.M well be go-PERF-M.SG

‘He got better.’

(293)E.    hət lā-ū~    tɛ    ʃandar-ɔ    lug-ɔ    khūl jā-ɛ  
          hand put.on-1sg then lock-NOM.M.SG free-NOM.M.SG open go-2/3sg

‘When I put my hand on, the lock opens by itself.’

(294)W.    wó                    amīr bāṇ    jā-ɛ    g-ɔ  
          3sg.DIST.NOM.M wealthy be.made go-2/3 FUT-M.SG

‘He’ll become a wealthy man.’

*/rē-/ ‘stay’* occurs with select intransitive verbs including *come, go, sit, and sleep*, and conveys a nuance of completeness similar to that noted for */jā-/ ‘go’*. The two vectors

are apparently interchangeable in (295) and (296), but not in (297) and (298) or in (299) and (300) (where /jā-/ ‘go’ is not a vector):

(295)E. wó                   so    r̄-e-ɔ  
3sg.DIST.NOM.M sleep stay-PERF-M.SG

‘He went to sleep.’

(296) wó                   so    g-ī-ɔ  
3sg.DIST.NOM.M sleep go-PERF-M.SG

‘He went to sleep.’

(297)E. wó                   ā     r̄-e-ɔ  
3sg.DIST.NOM.M come stay-PERF-M.SG

‘He has now come.’ (cf. /wó āeɔ wɔ hɛ/ ‘He has come.’)

(298) wó                   ā     g-ī-ɔ  
3sg.DIST.NOM.M come go-PERF-M.SG

‘He came.’

(299)E. wó                   jā   r̄-e-ɔ  
3sg.DIST.NOM.M go stay-PERF-M.SG

‘He left.’

(300) wó                   g-ī-ɔ  
3sg.DIST.NOM.M go-PERF-M.SG

‘He went.’

A common idiom meaning ‘will depart’ uses this kind of construction, but with the imperfective form of the second verb. In (301) the structure would predict habitual aspect (see 4.2.2.3 below), but the meaning is clearly not habitual here (perhaps by analogy to (299) above). Compare the construction in (301) with an ordinary use of this vector in the future in (302):

- (301)E. akram čal-t-ɔ      ř-ε      k-ɔ  
 Akram go-IMPFV-M.SG stay-2/3sg FUT-M.SG  
 ‘Akram will leave [for an indefinitely long period].’

- (302)E. pāṇī ke      bič      g-ī-ɔ      tε      bεs ř-ε      k-ɔ  
 water GEN-LOC in go-PERF-M.SG then sit stay-2/3sg FUT-M.SG  
 ‘When it goes into water it will sit down.’

/čhuṛ-/ ‘**drop**’ occurs with transitive verbs. This common vector occurs with most transitive verbs in certain contexts, but not with an as-yet-undefined class of verbs that includes ‘deceive’ and ‘take care of’. The use of this vector may be preferred for aesthetic reasons to the regular endings of /kar-/ ‘do’ in the perfective. Although its original lexical meaning is ‘drop’ (intransitive), it might be glossed as ‘do completely’, a nuance that seems more fitting in some contexts than others:

- (303)E. mε~      apan-ī~      bakar-ī~      beč      čhuṛ-θ-ī~  
 1sg.AG REFL-NOM.M.SG goat-F.PL sell drop-PERF-F.PL  
 ‘I sold my goats.’

- (304)W. hũ~      gīd      gā      čhuṛ-ū~  
 1sg.NOM song sing drop-1sg  
 ‘Should I sing a song?’

/le-/ ‘**take**’ occurs with transitive verbs, conveying a nuance of completion:

- (305)E. mε~      roṭ-ī      khā      la-θ-ī  
 1sg.AG bread-F.SG eat take-PERF-F.SG  
 ‘I already ate.’

- (306)E. ham-ṇe      koṭh-ā      k-ɔ      kam      muk-ā      l-ī-ɔ  
 1pl-AG house-OBL.M.SG GEN-NOM.M.SG work finish-CAUS take-PERF-M.SG  
 ‘We finished the work on the house.’

/de-/ ‘give’ occurs with transitive verbs, conveying a nuance of completion:

- (307) mε~ roṭ-ī khā d-ṭ-ī  
 1sg.AG bread-F.SG eat give-PERF-F.SG  
 ‘I ate.’ (cf. the ungrammatical /\*mε~ roṭī khāī/ ‘I ate.’)

- (308)W. dīnā duḷ-ṭ choḍ ditt-ṭ  
 tomorrow second-NOM.M.SG leave give.PERF-M.SG  
 ‘The next day [they] left the second one.’

Note that example (307) contains a variant of the perfective form of /de-/ ‘give’, whereas (308) contains the usual form (i.e. that attesting the Sanskrit /-ita/ suffix).

/saṭ-/ ‘throw’ occurs with transitive verbs, especially with ‘give’:

- (309)E. bādśā nē apan-ī jān kurbānī wāstē de saṭ-ṭ-ī  
 king AG REFL-F.SG life sacrifice for give throw-PERF-F.SG  
 ‘The king gave his life as a sacrifice.’

#### 4.2.2.2 Modals

Gojri uses a small number of verbs in modal constructions which modify the sense of the main verb without affecting its lexical content. These modals express notions which cannot occur in isolation, i.e. they require a verbal complement to make any sense (Masica 1991:374). Each requires the main verb to be in a particular morphological shape, with the ‘modal’ verb receiving whatever inflection the main verb would otherwise take. I discuss them in turn.

#### /hāk-/ /sak-/ ‘be able’ > be able to V

/hāk-/ /sak-/ occurs with the bare stem of the main verb, expressing the capacity of the agent to perform the main verb:

(310)E. hũ~      čal hāk-ũ~  
 1sg.NOM go able-1sg  
 ‘I am able to go.’

(311)W. mε~      kúj      ná páṛ hāk-ī-ᵋ  
 1sg.AG INDEF.NOM.PL NEG read able-PERF-M.SG  
 ‘I wasn’t able to study at all.’

The two forms of this verb are in free variation in both of these dialects, but my research assistants believe that /sak-/ is preferred in Kashmir.

/čǎ-/ ‘want’ with the infinitive > want to V

/čǎ-/ occurs with the infinitive of the main verb, expressing the agent’s desire to perform the action of the main verb.

(312)      hũ~      čal-ṅ-ᵋ      čǎ-ũ~  
 1sg.NOM go-INF-NOM.M.SG want-1sg  
 ‘I want to go.’

/pε-/ ‘fall’ with the infinitive > must V

/pε-/ occurs in experiencer constructions (i.e. where the subject is marked by dative case) with the infinitive of the main verb, expressing obligation or constraint to act from a source outside the agent (Masica 1991:380).<sup>4</sup> The use of /pε-/ ‘fall’ to express this nuance is similar to the the English, ‘It fell to me to present the report.’ This verb has irregular forms which differ between the two dialects (see Appendix C):

(313)E.      min-nā      čal-ṅ-ᵋ      pᵋ-ε  
 1sg.OBL-DAT go-INF-NOM.M.SG fall-2/3sg  
 ‘I am obligated to go.’

(314)W. hār ādmī nā laṛāy po ā-ṅ-ṅ p-ε g-ṅ  
 every person DAT fight on come-INF-M.SG fall-2/3 FUT-M.SG

‘Every man will be obligated to come to the battle.’

/čāyε/ with the infinitive > ought to V (Urdu, not used in female speech)

/čāyε/ occurs in experiencer constructions with the infinitive of the main verb, expressing the advisability of acting but without any sense of compulsion:

(315)E. min-nā čal-ṅ-ṅ čāyε  
 1sg.OBL-DAT go-INF-NOM.M.SG is.needed

‘I ought to go.’

The infinitive in this and the preceding two constructions represents what Masica has analyzed as the Unspecified (or ‘future’) Passive Participle (1991:322-324).

/de-/ ‘give’ with oblique infinitive > allow to V

/de-/ occurs with the oblique infinitive of the main verb, expressing the willingness of the nominative agent to allow another party (the dative indirect object) to act:

(316)E. wó min-nā čal-uṅ dī-ε  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M 1sg.OBL-DAT go-INF.OBL give-2/3sg

‘He allows me to go.’

#### 4.2.2.3 Secondary Aspectuals

Gojri uses a small number of verbs to further specify the aspect of the main verb. I consider them in turn.

/rē-/ ‘stay’ > finish V-ing / have already V-ed

/rē-/ occurs with the bare stem of the main verb, expressing the completion of a verbal action prior to the present time and situation. Since /rē-/ ‘stay’ is inherently intransitive, it can never occur with agentive case in an ergative construction (even though its lexical

meaning is lost in this type of construction). Compare (317) with its ergative counterpart in (318):

(317)E. hũ~ akram nā sad r̄-e-ɔ hũ~  
1sg.NOM Akram DAT call stay-PERF-M.SG 1sg.NOM

‘I have already called Akram [he hasn’t come].’

(318)E. mε~ akram sad-e-ɔ hè  
1sg.AG Akram call-PERF-M.SG 2/3sg.PRES

‘I have called Akram [he has arrived].’

/lag-/ ‘attach’ with oblique infinitive > begin to V

/lag-/ occurs with the oblique infinitive of the main verb, expressing inceptive aspect.

Inceptive aspect describes the beginning (‘inception’) of a verbal action. Examples (319)-

(321) illustrate the basic use of the inceptive:

(319)E. wá mer-ε dar kùl-uṅ lag ga-θ-ī  
3sg.DIST.NOM.F 1sg.GEN-LOC direction fight-INF.OBL attach go-PERF.F.S

‘She started arguing with me.’

(320)W. ek ɽem sap čár-un lag-θ-ɔ ún bačh-ā~  
one time snake climb-INF.OBL attach-PERF-M.SG 3pl.DIST.OBL animal.baby-OBL.PL

tā khā-uṅ nā.  
direction eat-INF.OBL DAT

‘At some [point in] time, a snake started climbing to eat those chicks.’

(321)W. us-ā~ ðùṅ-uṅ lag g-ī-ā  
3sg.DIST.OBL-DAT search-INF.OBL attach go-PERF-M.PL

‘They started looking for him.’

In narrative, the inceptive with /ké-/ ‘say’ is the preferred formula for introducing reported speech, particularly at the beginning of conversations or where the speech

consists of single statements. While a literal translation of this formula would be ‘started to say’, a more accurate rendering would require perfective or habitual aspect per parallels in English discourse:

- (322) wó us nā ké-uṇ lag-θ-ᵛ  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M 3sg.DIST.OBL DAT say-IMPV.OBL attach-PERF-M.SG  
 ‘He said to him, ...’ / ‘He says to him, ...’

Like its Indo-Aryan relations (Masica 1991:384), Gojri uses the verbs *stay*, *go*, and *do* in combination with a participial form of the main verb to further specify imperfective aspect:

/rɛ-/ ‘stay’ > keep on V-ing

/rɛ-/ occurs in any tense with the imperfective participle, adding a nuance of continuation to the habitual aspect. /rɛ-/ receives whatever inflection would otherwise be associated with the main verb. In (323) the addition of /rɛ-/ connotes the subject’s effort to sit every morning, whereas the Present Habitual in (324) merely states the subject’s habit without implying his or her deliberate continuation in it:

- (323)E. subā subā nā hū~ čat apar bes-t-ᵛ rá-ū~  
 morning morning DAT 1sg.NOM roof on sit-IMPV-M.SG stay-1sg

‘I keep sitting on the roof every morning.’

- (324)E. subā subā nā hū~ čat apar bes-ū~ hò-ū~  
 morning morning DAT 1sg.NOM roof on sit-1sg be-1sg

‘I sit on the roof every morning.’

- (325)W. tam rāt ke kar-t-ā r̄-ī-ā ε  
 2pl.NOM night what do-IMPV-M.PL stay-PERF-M.PL PRES

‘What have you kept on doing all night?’

Since the Gojri habitual cannot occur with the future tense (cf. 4.2.1.2.5), any future habitual notion must be expressed by the future of /rɛ-/ with the imperfective form of the main verb (such usage approaches grammaticalization). In such cases the sense of continuance may survive in addition to the broader habitual denotation. Compare examples (326)-(327):

(326)E. hũ~ akram nā sad-t-ɔ rá-ũ~ k-ɔ  
 1sg.NOM Akram DAT call-IMPV-M.SG stay-1sg FUT-M.SG

‘I will keep calling Akram.’

(327)E. hũ~ akram nā sad-t-ɔ hò-ũ~ k-ɔ  
 1sg.NOM Akram DAT call-IMPV-M.SG be-1sg FUT-M.SG

‘I will be calling Akram [at a given time].’

(cf. the ungrammatical /\*hũ~ akram nā sadũ~ hòũ~ kɔ/)

(328)W. do-ā~ dīāṛ-ā~ te bād mār-ā ɖer-ā  
 two-OBL.PL day-OBL.PL from after 1pl.GEN-NOM.M.PL home-NOM.M.PL  
 čal-t-ā r̄-ε g-ā  
 go-IMPV-M.PL stay-2/3 FUT-M.PL

‘After two days our households will be departing.’

There is one common idiom in my data in which this construction contains the perfective rather than imperfective form of the main verb /ɖik-/ ‘stay’:

(329)E. wó māl-ī apar ɖik-e-ɔ  
 3sg.DIST.NOM.M high.pasture on stay-PERF-M.SG  
 r̄-ε k-ɔ  
 stay-2/3sg FUT-M.SG

‘He will stay at the high pasture.’

/čal-/ ‘go’ > go on V-ing

/čal-/ occurs with the imperfective participle in imperatives, expressing a type of ‘progressive aspect’ that indicates continuation despite some kind of resistance or limitation (Masica 1991:269). It receives whatever inflection would otherwise be associated with the main verb. The verb /čal-/ ‘go’ is irregular in the perfective, where its stem is /g-/. My research assistants say that /čal-/ could be replaced with /rĕ-/ without change in meaning in the following examples:

- (330) mer-ɔ                    ustāz xerāzrī            kar-t-ɔ            g-ī-ɔ            tɛ  
 1sg.GEN-NOM.M.SG teacher absenteeism do-IMPV-M.SG go-PERF-M.SG and  
 hū~            likh-t-ɔ                    g-ī-ɔ  
 1sg.NOM write-IMPV-M.SG go-PERF-M.SG

‘My teacher went on absenting himself and I went on writing.’

- (331)E. tārā us                    dāḷ-ī            nā le    kɛ mār-t-ɔ            g-ī-ɔ,  
 Tara 3sg.DIST.OBL bar-FEM.SG DAT take CP kill-IMPV-M.SG go-PERF-M.SG  
 mār-t-ɔ            g-ī-ō,            mār-t-ɔ            g-ī-ɔ  
 kill-IMPV-M.SG go-PERF-M.SG kill-IMPV-M.SG go-PERF-M.SG  
 us            bādšā́ k-ī            takrīban            ád-ī    fɔǰ    jír-ī    th-ī  
 3sg.DIST.OBL king    GEN-F.SG approximately half-F.SG army REL-F.SG PAST-F.SG  
 us            ne wá                    muk-ā            čhuṛ-ŏ-ī  
 3sg.DIST.OBL AG 3sg.DIST.NOM.F finish-CAUS drop-PERF-F.SG

‘Tara, taking the branch, kept on killing and killing and killing. He finished off almost half of the army that the king had.’

/kar-/ ‘do’ > make a habit of V-ing

/kar-/ occurs only in compound imperatives, with the main verb stem taking the ‘older’ invariant perfective suffix /-eā/ (/ -īā/). It expresses future habitual action. There

are no marked future imperative forms of this construction, as the notion of future time is inherent. Note the compounded variant in (332)b.:

(332)E.a. pāṇī pī-ā kar-ᵛ  
water drink-PERF do-2p

‘Always drink water!’

b. pāṇī pī-ā kar-eā kar-ᵛ  
water drink-PERF do-PERF do-2p

‘Always drink water!’

(333)W. dwā kar-īā kar  
prayer do-PERF do

‘Always pray!’

#### 4.2.3 Adverbs

Gojri adverbs are those words which convey adverbial notions all by themselves, notions that might otherwise be conveyed by a multi-word phrase. Gojri adverbs therefore specify some property of the verbal event or situation, or of an adjective or other adverb. Adverbs occur outside of noun phrases almost anywhere prior to the verb, and a few adverbs like /wī/ (/bī/, /be/) ‘also’ may be allowed between the verb and a following auxiliary.

Morphologically related sets of adverbs are shown in Table 27 below. I then list other examples of the several classes of Gojri adverbs in 4.2.3.1-5. The few Gojri adverbs which inflect for agreement with the subject are shown in 4.2.3.1-5 as stems, with the hyphen indicating that an AC marker is required.

Table 27. Interrogative/Relative/Proximate/Distal Adverb Sets

Adverb Type	Interrogative	REL	PROX	DIST
of place: 'Where?'	kit	žit	it	ut
of place (w/locative):	(kite)*	žite	ite	ute
of origin (w/ablative): 'Whence?'	kitū	žitū	itū	utū
of direction: 'Whither?' E	kī~ā	žī~ā	ī~ā	u~ā
W	kingā	žingā	ingā	ungā
of degree: 'To what degree?'	kitno	žitno	itno	utno
of time: 'When?'	kad	žad	is -	us -
of time: 'When?'	kičar	žičar	ičar	učar
of cause: 'Why?'	kyū~	-----	-----	-----
of manner: 'In what manner?' E	kis tareā~	žis tareā~	is tareā~	us tareā~
W	kis tariā~	žis tariā~	is tariā~	us tariā~
of manner: 'In what manner?'	kišāne	žišāne	išāne	ušāne
" " (w/ablative)	kenū	ženū	enū	-----

The form \*/kite/ is not an interrogative. Rather it is an indefinite adverb meaning 'somewhere, somewhat, sometimes.' The interrogative adverb /kyū~/ 'Why?' is answered by /kyū~ ke/ or /kyū~ je/ 'because.'

#### 4.2.3.1 Other Adverbs of Manner

/ī~e/ (/ā~yɔ/) 'otherwise', /bél-/ 'quickly', /čirk-/ 'late', /faʔ/ 'immediately', /jaltī/ 'quickly', /jəb/ 'quickly' (W. only), /hòle/ 'slowly', /jī/ 'at that moment', /lug-/ 'freely', /mat/ 'never' (in prohibitions), /nakūk/ 'deeply' (of sleep), /nasāpe~/ 'suddenly', /núī/ 'anyway, regardless', /sanganā!/ 'in partnership', /tāwa!-/ 'quickly', /tìngī mùngī/ 'for no reason' (E. only), /wī/ (/bī/, /be/) 'also'

#### 4.2.3.2 Other Adverbs of Time

/aĵā~/ ‘at the moment, right now’ (occurs in negative constructions), /age~re~/ ‘several weeks ago’, /aj/ ‘today’, /ajkal/ ‘nowadays’, /ate/ ‘then’, /bič bázε/ ‘sometimes’, /dèāṛī/ (/dīāṛī/) ‘daily’, /dīnā/ ‘tomorrow’, /fir/ (/phir/, /mī/) ‘then, again’, /hàmešā~/ ‘always’, /hòṇ/ ‘now’, /itnā bičū/ ‘meanwhile’, /kade kade/ ‘occasionally’, /kǎḍū/ ‘afterwards’, /mundū/ ‘from the beginning’, /par/ ‘last year’, /parār/ ‘two years ago’, /sabel/ ‘early in the morning’, /tade/ ‘a little earlier, a short time ago’, /terā~/ ‘this year’, /waxtī/ ‘early in the morning’ (W.only)

#### 4.2.3.3 Other Adverbs of Place and Direction

Many adverbs of this class feature a directional suffix /-ā~/ which resembles the dative case-marking postposition /nā/ in many ways. Others feature the ablative suffix /-ū/.

Examples of this class include:

/afrā~/ ‘upwards’, /agā~/ ‘up ahead’, /andrū/ ‘from out of’, /aprū/ ‘from off of, from out of’ (E. only), /āmṇe sāmṇe/ ‘opposite one another’, /bār/ ‘outside, abroad’, /bičū/ ‘from out of’, /biṛε/ ‘outside’, /čārčoferī/ (/čarčhiperī/) ‘all the way around’, /hèṭhū/ ‘from under’, /kǎḍ/ ‘behind’, /koḷū/ ‘from near’, /parā~/ ‘in that direction’, /parū/ ‘from across’, /parlūte/ ‘across and down’, /parūte/ ‘next door’, /pičhā~/ ‘in the mountains, toward the mountains’, /taḷε/ ‘down’, /taṇā/ ‘in the plains, toward the plains’, /taū te/ ‘from below’, /tā~/ ‘toward the low lands’, /té/ ‘down’, /upar/ ‘above’, /urā~/ ‘in this direction’, /urā~ parā~/ ‘every which way’, /urūte/ ‘from adjacent location.’

## 4.2.3.4 Other Adverbs of Degree

/baṛ-/ ‘very’, /bilkul/ ‘completely, totally’, /kúj/ ‘somewhat’, /muč/ ‘very’, /sirf/ ‘only’ (Urdu, rare in female speech), /sirū/ ‘completely, totally’, /takrīban/ ‘approximately’ (Urdu, rare in female speech), /thoṛ-/ ‘a little’, /zarī/ ‘slightly, a little’

## 4.2.3.5 Epistemic Adverbs

Adverbs of this class ‘indicate the degree to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the clause’ (Payne 1997:70). The most common such Gojri adverb has grammaticalized from the perfective of the verb /pɛ-/ ‘fall’ and denotes the speaker’s positive disposition toward the verbal clause, rather than his or her commitment to its truth, per se. This adverb agrees with the subject in gender and number, although there is no marked feminine plural form. Translations include ‘surely’, ‘certainly’, and ‘go ahead’.

Consider examples (334)-(335):

(334)E. wé                      beṭk-ī~ pa-θ-ī                      čal-ε~  
3pl.DIST.NOM girl-F.PL fall-PERF-F.SG go

‘Sure those girls can go.’

(335)W. man-nā      p-ī-ɔ                      mār-ε  
1sg.OBL-DAT fall-PERF-M.SG hit-2/3

‘Let him attack me.’ / ‘I don’t care if he attacks me.’

Other examples of this small class of adverbs include /bilkul/ ‘absolutely’, /lāzmī/

‘surely’, /xās kar/ ‘especially’, and /zarūr/ ‘certainly’.

## CHAPTER V

## TOWARD STANDARDIZED GOJRI SPELLINGS AND LITERATURE

## 5.1 Dialectal Variation and the Standardization of Gojri

The intelligibility testing conducted by Hallberg and O’Leary demonstrated empirically that Gujars are justified in believing that Gojri is a single language with regional variance (1992:126). In my opinion, the phonological and morphological variation noted above between Eastern and Western forms of Gojri speech is relatively limited and should not therefore constitute a major obstacle to the emergence of a unified literary standard. The nature of the dialectal differences may provide a partial explanation for Hallberg and O’Leary’s tentative observation that Western speakers are better able to understand the speech of Eastern Gujars than the other way around (1992:127). They had speculated that Eastern Gojri might be an older form of the language that facilitated a latent receptive competence among Western speakers, or that the greater similarity of Eastern Gojri to Urdu and Punjabi (observed via word list comparisons and attitude surveys) might make Western Gujars who are exposed to those languages more likely to understand Eastern Gojri.

While I believe that the ability of Western speakers to understand Eastern speech lies primarily in their greater exposure to Eastern Gojri (and Urdu), the comparative morphological data do suggest that Eastern Gojri retains older forms. Various inflectional distinctions made in Eastern are collapsed in Western, and those distinctions also correspond - formally in some cases - to those made in Urdu and Punjabi. Related to this

is the fact that many Eastern-speaking Gujars with whom I have contact regard the Western dialect, if they are even exposed to it, as having a corrupted or otherwise incorrect grammar (citing missing inflections), and therefore unworthy of attention. On the other hand, Western Gujars take a high view of the Eastern Gojri they enjoy on the radio, regarding it only as slightly ‘different’ from their own speech. They seem to take it as a given that any literature development, like radio programming, will emanate from Kashmir, where Gujars and Gojri are more influential than in Pakistan’s North-West Frontier Province.

Despite this apparent willingness of Western-speaking Gujars to follow the lead of Eastern speakers in language development, I believe that they should be encouraged to produce a limited literature and develop primary literacy programming in their own dialect. Early on in the pilot literacy project which I conducted together with my research assistants, it became clear that, beyond a common alphabet book, they and other literate Gujar stake-holders wanted separate Eastern and Western reading primers. Their enthusiasm for ‘mother-tongue literacy’ is tied to the materials being written in their own mother tongue (i.e. not in someone else’s mother tongue). A small example of such attitudes involves the future auxiliary /k-/ (/g-/), for which some Eastern speakers resist an Urdu-based /g-/ spelling, complaining, ‘we don’t say that!’

The morphological and lexical differences, limited as they are, still affect almost every line of written text, such that new readers working with materials from the other dialect end up memorizing some lesson content by rote rather than merely decoding what is familiar (I have experimented in both directions). Pushing Eastern Gojri primers or hybrid Gojri primers onto the Western dialect community might discourage broad-based

involvement in non-formal literacy programs. Development of Western Gojri at this minimal level might also raise the profile of the dialect sufficiently for it to be taken more seriously by Eastern developers, who in any case should see the Western community - including Allaiwal Bakarwals living in Indian-administered Kashmir - as a way to emphasize the geographic breadth and numeric strength of the Gojri language in their campaign for wider recognition and support (not to mention maximizing their own audience).

After gaining initial skills in their own dialect, Western students can proceed with the Urdu curriculum in either a government school or non-formal literacy program. Through Urdu, then, Western students will learn the spellings for such Eastern forms as the present auxiliary /he~/, the feminine plural AC marker /-ī~/, and the second and third person plural PC markers, /-ɔ/ and /-e~/ (Urdu /-e~/), respectively. Such a program would leave very little in Eastern-dialect publications to appear foreign to the Western reader, because the ‘gain’ of inflectional information and spellings would have been largely achieved via Urdu. For female students, the non-formal curriculum could be structured for direct progression to Eastern Gojri materials, since female Gujars are less likely to learn spoken Urdu outside of a formal setting. Materials could also be developed in Eastern Gojri to teach Urdu as a foreign language to monolingual speakers from both dialects.

## 5.2 Approaches to Spelling: Theoretical Considerations

The traditional taxonomy of orthography types distinguishes two broad spelling approaches for alphabetic writing systems: the phonemic or ‘shallow’ representation which generally corresponds to pronunciation, and the morphophonemic or ‘deep’

representation of underlying forms. The product of the former should also be distinguished from phonetic spellings which represent predictable allophonic detail.

There are advantages and disadvantages to each approach.

### 5.2.1 From Phonology

Since its advent in the early to mid-80's, the theory of Lexical Phonology has provided a strong endorsement for a 'shallow' or phonemic orthographic representation. Mohanan argues that an orthography should represent the 'lexical alphabet', which approximates the phonemic inventory of a language (1986:194,176-177). In his discussion of the psycholinguistic perceptions of a language's speakers, Mohanan provides the basis for understanding why phonemic spellings are generally superior to phonetic or morphophonemic spellings:

Speakers of a language can be trained in a matter of hours to interpret 'phonemic' transcriptions (those using the lexical alphabet), and then learn the pronunciations of unfamiliar words from a pronouncing dictionary. All that one needs for this purpose is the key for the symbols, with a few examples. Equally simple is training in producing lexical phonemic transcriptions: my informal experiments show that speakers of the same dialect come up with the same phonemic transcriptions for a given set of spoken nonce forms.

In contrast to the ease with which one can train naive speakers to read and write lexical phonemic transcriptions, it is nearly impossible to train an average speaker to read and write phonetic transcriptions: this would require a great deal of training in articulatory phonetics ... Equally laborious is training in reading and writing underlying representations, which would require special training in the phonological analysis of the language involved. What I am saying, in other words, is that all speakers of a language have direct conscious access to representations in terms of the lexical alphabet by virtue of knowing the language. Only a few have conscious access to underlying representations and phonetic representations, since conscious access to these two levels is provided through specialized training in phonetics and phonology. (1986:194)

He goes on to summarize the implications for spelling and literacy:

It is not an accident that many languages have based their orthographic systems on the lexical alphabet. The orthographic system of Malayalam ... is a syllabary that is phonemic. As a result, it has the property that speakers do not have to learn the pronunciations of unfamiliar words by listening to the spoken form or consulting a pronouncing dictionary: the orthographic representation of a word conveys everything that a speaker needs to know in order to pronounce the word. Thus, literacy in Malayalam is achieved by merely learning the regular correspondences between letters and sounds.

This structural property has a behavioural correlate: given unfamiliar words in the written form, literate speakers pronounce them ‘correctly’ (i.e. the way they are pronounced by others), and given unfamiliar words in the spoken form, they assign ‘correct’ written representations to what they hear.

In contrast, literate speakers of English need to check the correspondence between spelling and pronunciation for every new word that they come across. Clearly, this is related to the fact that the orthographic system is not lexical phonemic in English ...’ (1986:195)

By advocating a ‘shallow’ orthography, Lexical Phonology provides unqualified support for the approach to tone representation explored for Gojri in 3.2, because it sees tone spreading like that in Gojri as a post-lexical process (Pulleyblank 1986). Stated another way, the results of tone spread in Gojri are phonetic or allophonic in nature, rather than contrastive/phonemic, and do not need to be written (Bird 1996:32). Bird’s (1997) documentation illustrates for surface tones what Mohanan avers about surface detail in general: training a native speaker to accurately read and transcribe it is virtually impossible.

### 5.2.2 From Reading Theory

The findings of recent reading studies support the implications of Lexical Phonology for orthography design, while providing additional insight about how readers process text. Adams finds that, prior to the development of a large sight vocabulary, ‘the connections between orthography and phonology are extremely important for the young reader; as for the skillful reader, however, the importance of phonological processing is as a means or

support system' (1990:215). Contradicting the long-held notion of many linguists and educators that 'deep' etymological spellings enable readers to bypass phonological processing in word recognition, she cites research by Ehri and Wilce (1986) indicating that 'the morphemic structure of a word does not influence learners' image of its phonological structure or, by extension, its spelling. Instead their results invite the converse explanation: that morphemic appreciation derives from our knowledge of words' spellings and our image of their phonological structures' (1990:400).

A related finding with major implications for orthography design is that readers recognize words by automatically parsing words into syllables, not into morphemes (Adams 1990:121-124). This parsing is dependent upon the reader's knowledge of spelling patterns, which consists of associative connections between letters that are learned via phonological processing. One consequence for the cursive Arabic script, I believe, is that such parsing may be complicated by the existence of several allographs for the same pronounced syllable. Where there are no other constraints, the avoidance of longer, joined spellings might simplify the syllabification component of word recognition.

Adam's conclusions about the reading process do not contradict what cross-cultural literacy practitioners have advocated about orthography design; her entire discussion assumes standardized English spellings. Two general principles continue to guide the development of spelling conventions where they have not been standardized: consistent representation of morphological affixes (Walter 1995), and maintenance of 'fixed word-images' based on the isolation form of the word (Voorhoeve 1964:130-131, cited with reference to tone orthographies in Bird 1996:12-23). It is possible that syllabification is also complicated by allophonic-level spellings, which multiply the number of visual images associated with morphemes subject to minor surface variations. To my

knowledge, however, the case for maintaining the visual consistency of words and grammatical morphemes has not been established through comparable research.

### 5.2.3 Simons' Principles of Multidialectal Orthography Design

Simons (1994) outlines seven principles for designing an orthography that enables readers of phonologically divergent dialects to read their own pronunciations from a single representation while maximizing the political and economic benefits of 'joining'. A multidialectal orthography represents 'levels of phonological structure at which skewed phonemic systems converge. By lifting an insistence on 'phonemic' orthographies, we may be able to discover a solution at a phonetic, morphophonemic, or fast speech level which finds agreement between all dialects, whereas the phonemic solution would find disagreement' (1994:16). Such an orthography stands in contrast to a unidialectal orthography which corresponds only to the phonology of the most socially acceptable dialect of a language (Gudschinsky 1973). The English orthography is a prime example; its morphophonemic, deep etymological spellings unite in one representation a host of spoken varieties, some of them mutually unintelligible.

Simons proposes that, in evaluating alternative solutions in the design of a multidialectal orthography, that solution is to be preferred which (1) is the most socially acceptable; (2) is the most psycholinguistically acceptable (psychologically 'real' to speakers); (3) minimizes potential ambiguity; (4) minimizes the number of symbolized contrasts; (5) finds a level of phonological structure at which skewed systems converge; (6) symbolizes (in the unified orthography) a given phonemic contrast in one dialect when ease of reading warrants top consideration, or symbolizes another dialect's neutralization of that contrast when ease of writing warrants top consideration; and (7) entails the overall least effort for illiterates to become fluent readers:

The greater the overall effort required to master an orthography, the greater is the overall cost of conducting a literacy program. This cost is realized in at least two ways: the cost of losing students and thus failing to produce readers, and the actual expense in terms of time, teachers, and equipment required for conducting the program. The cost in terms of losing students is the more serious. Ability to succeed in becoming a fluent reader is largely governed by motivation. In a very real way, the effort required to learn can affect one's motivation. Difficulties and long periods without any seeming progress can lead to frustration and discouragement. These in turn may lead to loss of motivation and giving up. The less time and effort required to gain mastery, the greater the chances that the individual student will succeed. (Simons 1994:27)

As the phonemic inventories of Eastern and Western Gojri are virtually identical, Gojri is clearly not a classic case of the situation Simons addresses. Still, these principles might be extended to the representation of morphological differences and sub-phonemic variation. For example, I am convinced that the ‘iconic’, etymological solution considered in 3.2.2.4 for the representation of low tones resulting from the de-aspiration of initial voiced aspirates is preferable to other solutions in terms of all seven criteria. Furthermore, this and other Urdu-based solutions make sense if the principles, particularly the seventh, are applied beyond the dialect differences to the broader language environment in which Urdu predominates - that is, if Gojri and Urdu are seen as sister dialects. In that light, the ‘cost’ of producing Urdu-literate Gujars via confidence and skill-building primary literacy in their mother-tongue is minimized to the extent that the Gojri orthography resembles Urdu. Departures from Urdu conventions add to the student’s total learning task, without adding to the resources available. While the governments and economies of English-speaking countries are able to support a literacy task that is protracted due to its orthography, South Asian governments and Gujars themselves have no such luxury.

### 5.3 Gojri Spellings

What follows is only a partial listing of spelling-related issues not already addressed in 2.6 and 3.2.2. I have not, for instance, taken time to treat each of the post-lexical processes reported in 2.5 in light of a phonemic spelling approach. The discussion below does, however, provide considerable documentation as to the scope of orthographic variation in Gojri. My purpose is to report and evaluate spelling patterns which have a bearing on the spelling of many words, and on that basis advance the discussion of the spelling of select high-frequency grammatical words. The uniquely Western spellings presented below are in use, to my knowledge, only by myself and those Western speakers who are associated with the literacy project and are not therefore indicative of any truly indigenous activity in that dialect.

#### 5.3.1 Basing a Word's Spelling on its Isolation Form

This principle can be illustrated via application to the Gojri verb 'give', which is often written with high tone as  $\text{دییہ}$  per the pronunciation of the 'bare' singular imperative form, /dɛ́/, and a perceived contrast with the Urdu imperative form as well as with the Gojri /de/ 'giant'. Writers are confused, though, when writing suffixed forms of 'give', since inflected forms alternate between low and level tone (see the paradigm for 'give' in Appendix C). The imperative, however, is not the isolation form of the Gojri verb, as it receives additional stress. The isolation form of the verb is, rather, that which occurs in the conjunctive participle construction (4.2.1.7), as is shown in (336):

(336) de de kɛ g-ī-ɔ  
giant give CP go-PERF-NOM.M.SG

'The giant gave [it to them] and went.'

Here there is no tone contrast between ‘give’ and ‘giant’; they are homophones. The approach advocated by Bird (1996), then, would spell the stem /de-/ ‘give’ as دے in all of its forms.

### 5.3.2 Consistent Representation of Morphological Affixes

An application of the consistent representation of morphological affixes involves a post-lexical process for the infinitive suffix /-ŋ/, which is replaced with /-n/ following any retroflex sonorant (see 2.5.4). A phonetic spelling of /āŋŋɔ/ [a:ŋɔŋɔ] ‘to bring’, therefore, is آڻو, reflecting this replacement. A decision to represent suffixes consistently, however, would write the infinitive suffix as retroflex in all environments, e.g. ڻوآ ‘to bring’.

### 5.3.3 Words Involving Perseveratory Nasalization

Since nasalization of vowels is predictable following a nasal consonant (cf. 2.5.6), there is no need to write nasality thereby produced. This convention seems to be selectively applied in Urdu, e.g. nasality is written for /me/ ‘in’ but not for the ergative postposition /ne/. For example, the Gojri dative postposition /nā/ [na:~] and the postposition /mā/ [ma:~] ‘in’ could be written without *nun gunno*, ن , as نا and ما , respectively, rather than phonetically as ناں and ماں . (At present, ماں is used universally, and the two spellings of /nā/ are in free variation in Indian-administered Kashmir while only ناں occurs in publications on the Pakistan side.)

Words like /nā~/ [na:~] ‘name’ and /mā~/ [ma:~] ‘mother’, which feature underlying nasality stemming from the erosion of a historic nasal consonant, should continue to be

written with *nun gunno* after the vowel: as **نان** and **مان**, respectively. The underlying nasality of suffixes such as the oblique plural /-ā~/ and the feminine plural /-ī~/ (Eastern only) should not be mistaken for cases of perseveratory nasalization when following a nasal consonant - and thus written without *nun gunno*. Rather, they should be written with *nun gunno* regardless of the environment.

#### 5.3.4 Stems Ending in Nasalized Vowels

As another application of a commitment to consistently represent morphological affixes, stems ending in nasalized vowels would be written with *nun gunno* prior to any suffix, even if the nasality extends through a suffixed vowel in the speech of some. Two examples involving the nominative masculine singular AC suffix /-ɔ/ are shown in (337).

(337) Spellings of stems ending in a nasalized vowel (note medial form of *nun gunno*)

	consistent-suffix spelling	phonetic spelling
/tũ̃ɔ/ (/dũ̃ɔ/) ‘smoke’	دھونو	دھوؤں
/t̪hũ̃ɔ/ ‘scorpion’	ٹھونو	ٹھوؤں

#### 5.3.5 Constraints on the Employment of Vowel Diacritics

In Gojri writing, as in Urdu, the use of vowel diacritics is normally limited to the differentiation of otherwise ambiguous spellings. There is simply no need, for example, to specify that the pronunciation of the second and third person singular PC suffix is /-ɛ/ rather than /-e/ by means of the superscript diacritic, *zabbar*. On the other hand, it may be desirable to write *zabbar* to distinguish such grammatical words as **کے** /ke/ ‘what?’ and **کے** /kɛ/, the genitive-locative postposition, particularly in primary literacy materials.

The nominative masculine singular AC suffix /-ɔ/ is universally written without a superscript *zabbar*, thus neutralizing the contrast between /ɔ/ and /o/. This practice simplifies reading and writing without introducing any ambiguities.

The neutralization of dialectal variation may be achieved through the omission of vowel diacritics in some contexts. For example, while the difference between the Eastern perfective suffix /-e/ and its Western counterpart /-ī/ could be represented by writing a subscript diacritic *zer* for Western forms, omitting the *zer* simplifies both standardization and literacy.

### 5.3.6 Constraints on the Adoption of Urdu Spellings

The notion of an ‘Urdu-based’ approach to writing Gojri does not mean that every Gojri word should be spelled according to the spelling of its Urdu cognate. In the practice of conscientious, development-minded Gujar writers, Urdu spellings are generally adopted only for stems whose pronunciations approximate those of their Urdu counterparts. Differences in pronunciation consisting of one or more phonetic features are intentionally represented in unique Gojri spellings. Some common examples are shown in (338).

#### (338) Unique Gojri spellings for words with transparent Urdu cognates

Urdu pronunciation	Urdu spelling	Gojri pronunciation	Gojri spelling	
/kām/	کام	/kam/	کم	‘work’
/ačhā/	اچھا	/hàčhɔ/	ہچھو	‘good’ masc. sg.
/āǰ/	آج	/aǰ/	اج	‘today’
/kučh/	کچھ	/kúǰ/	کُجھ	‘some’

/kālī/	کالی	/kālī/	کالی	‘black’ fem.
/ɔr/	آور	/hòr/	ہور	‘more’
/sun/	سُن	/suṇ/	سُن	‘listen!’

There are exceptions to this general rule. The spellings of a few indigenous tonal words are taken from Urdu, even though they do not map precisely to Gojri pronunciations. One common example is the negative particle /nī̃/, for which the Urdu spelling *نہیں* (Urdu /nahī̃/) is utilized in Indian-administered Kashmir. The variant spelling advocated by Sabir Afaqi and utilized in Pakistan and Pakistan-administered Kashmir is *نیہہ*, which precisely maps to the Gojri pronunciation (i.e. it indicates one rather than two syllables, marks high tone with *choti he* placed after the vowel, and does not mark the underlying final nasality of the Urdu form). Similarly, the Gojri negative particles /nā́/ and /na/ [nʌʔ] are both written with the Urdu spelling, *نہ*, which would indicate the pronunciation /nā́/ if decoded alphabetically. The complementizer /ke/ occurs frequently in Gojri literature, although its Urdu spelling *کہ* does not indicate the level-tone, long-vowel pronunciation. I am uncertain whether the word itself is indigenous, however, as the allomorph /ʃe/ is more common in spoken Gojri.

While the exceptions noted above stand outside of a strict sound-symbol correspondence, they support the maintenance of fixed word images between Gojri and Urdu and thus simplify the transitional literacy task. If the Urdu spellings of these and other such words remain standard, they should be taught as sight words in Gojri primary literacy materials.

### 5.3.7 Pronouns and Demonstratives

The standardization of pronominal and demonstrative spellings, like the standardization of tone representation, constitutes an important first step toward the establishment of a Gojri written standard. For these words, dialectal differences are surprisingly minimal, and the obstacles to standardization seem to lie exclusively between members of the Eastern-speaking community.

The spellings of Gojri pronouns and demonstratives are influenced, to varying degrees, by the spellings of Urdu pronouns. The Urdu spellings referenced below are given in Schmidt (1999:15-24).

#### Nominative Forms

The spellings for first and second person nominative pronouns are shown in Table 28.

Table 28. Spellings for First and Second Person Nominative Pronouns

	spelling	pronunciation	
1sg.	ہوں	/hũ~/	‘I’
1pl.	ہم	/hãm/	‘we’
2sg.	توں	/to~/ (/to/)	‘you’ (cf. Urdu /tũ/ ‘you’)
2pl.	تم	/tam/	‘you’ (cf. Urdu /tum/ ‘you’)

The spellings shown in Table 28 are used invariably. The first person spellings have been appropriated directly from Urdu (the singular is taken from the Urdu present auxiliary for first person singular), while the second person spellings have been slightly adapted to reflect slight differences in pronunciation from their Urdu equivalents.

In primary literacy materials for the Western dialect, the spelling **تو** might be utilized for the second singular, as it is identical to the Urdu.

The spellings for third person nominative demonstrative pronouns are shown in Table 29.

Table 29. Spellings for Third Person Nominative Demonstrative Pronouns

	dominant	variant	pronunciation	
masc. sg. prox.	يوه	يو	/yó/	‘he, this’
fem. sg. prox.	ياه	يه	/yá/	‘she, this’
masc. sg. dist.	وه		/wó/	‘he, that’
fem. sg. dist.	واه	وه	/wá/	‘she, that’
sg. dist. variant	اوه		/ó/	‘he, she, that’
pl. prox.	يه		/yé/	‘they, these’
pl. dist.	ويه	وه	/wé/	‘they, those’

Whereas Gojri distinguishes six third person nominative forms, Urdu distinguishes only two (distal and proximate). This partially explains why the Gojri spellings are standard for only three forms: the singular distal variant /ó/, the singular distal masculine /wó/ (appropriated from the Urdu distal), and the plural proximate /yé/ (appropriated from the Urdu proximate). A secondary explanation is geopolitical: the Kashmir conflict has precluded productive discourse and collaboration between Gojri developers on opposite

sides of Kashmir. Thus, the dominant forms shown for the four remaining pronominal distinctions in Table 29 are in use in Indian-administered Kashmir, while the variants mainly occur in literature produced on the Pakistan side (except for the plural distal variant, which is a secondary form in both areas).

In my opinion, the dominant forms in Table 29 are all excellent candidates for standardization. As a set they have a rough visual symmetry corresponding to the symmetry of their pronunciations, that is, the spellings differ somewhat predictably from one another with respect to the representation of their initial, spatial-marking consonants and their gender and number-marking high-tone vowels. The feminine variants are not visually distinct enough: the singular proximate feminine is too similar to the plural proximate, and the singular distal feminine is too similar to its masculine counterpart, especially given the frequency with which diacritics are omitted. Likewise, the singular proximate masculine variant is identical to the digraph often representing the final syllable of the perfective masculine singular (cf. آيو , ‘he came’) and the plural distal variant is identical to the common sequence /wɛ/ which occurs in many verbal forms (cf. the Eastern آوے , ‘he comes’).

#### First and Second Singular Agentive Forms

The first and second singular agentive pronominal spellings are shown in Table 30.

Table 30. Spellings for First and Second Person Singular Agentive Pronouns

	spelling	pronunciation
1sg.	میں	/mɛ~/ ‘I [did]’
2sg.	تیں	/tɛ~/ ‘you [did]’

The spellings in Table 30 are used invariably. The first person singular is appropriated from the homophonic Urdu first singular nominative, and the second person singular is spelled on the same pattern.

The nasality of the first person singular form appears to be underlying. That the nasality of both forms is likely a reduction of the agentive postposition /ne/ is suggested by the non-occurrence of /ne/ with these forms and by the free variation observed for the Western third singular forms /is ne/ and /us ne/ and their contracted allomorphs, /ise~/ and /use~/, respectively.

#### First and Second Person Plural Agentive and Dative Forms

The spellings for first and second person plural agentive and dative forms are shown in Table 31.

Table 31. Spellings for First and Second Person Plural Agentive and Dative

	non-fused forms	fused forms	phonetic transcription
1pl. ag.	ہم نے		[hλm̩ne:~] ([hλm̩ ne:~]) ‘we [did]’
2pl. ag.	تم نے		[tλm̩ne:~] ([tλm̩ ne:~]) ‘you [did]’
1pl. dat.	ہم نا	ہم نا ہمنا ہمنان	[hλm̩na:~] (hλm̩ na:~) ‘to us’
2pl. dat.	تم نا	تم نا تمنا تمنان	[tλm̩na:~] ([tλm̩ na:~]) ‘to you’

The agentive forms shown in Table 31 are standard per the spellings of their Urdu equivalents. All eight of the dative spellings shown are possible in materials produced in

Indian-administered Kashmir, while in Pakistan and Pakistan-held Kashmir the two right-most spellings are prescribed and employed by Sabir Afaqi (1995:155). The total variation for each of the first and second persons derives from connecting the dative postposition /nā/ to the pronoun versus writing it separately, and writing /nā/ with *nun gunno* versus writing it without *nun gunno*.

Standardization of dative spellings depends, then, both on the standardization of a spelling for /nā/ and a decision about whether to join or separate /nā/ and the pronoun. Against joining is the fact that it introduces additional forms without conveying anything that is not already conveyed by the separated spellings which must be used whenever other words intervene. The forms thus introduced are not so readily ‘syllabified’ by the new reader/writer. In other words, joining complicates the literacy task without contributing any corresponding benefit.

In favor of joining is the possibility that it might provide a visual clue that assists Eastern readers in interpreting their own unique pronunciation, itself a contraction of sorts (cf. 2.5.3), without steering Western readers away from their own pronunciation. The latter might happen if Eastern phonetic spellings involving retroflex *nun* were standardized; fortunately such spellings are not in use. The potential of any such benefit for Eastern readers is diminished, however, by the existence of standard, non-fused spellings for the first and second person plural agentive forms, which involve the same pronunciation issues (note the phonetic transcriptions in Table 31).

### Singular Oblique Forms

The spellings for singular oblique pronominal forms are shown in Table 32.

Table 32. Spellings for Singular Oblique Pronouns  
(first and second person are shown with dative case)

	dominant	variant	pronunciation
1sg.	مِنَّا	مِنَّا	/minnā/ (/mannā/) ‘to me’
2sg.	تِنَّا	تِنَّا	/tinnā/ (/tannā/) ‘to you’
3sg. prox.	اِس		/is/
3sg. dist.	اُس		/us/

The first and second person singular forms shown in Table 32 are written as fused, because the stems /min-/ (/man-/) and /tin-/ (/tan-/) cannot occur in isolation. The spellings shown for these stems achieve neutralization of variation between Western and Eastern pronunciations (through omission of *zabbar* and *zer*, respectively). The third person singular forms shown in Table 32 are standard in Gojri per their Urdu spellings.

The spelling variation observed for the first and second person singular forms reflects the two spellings of the dative postposition /nā/ (see 5.3.3). Standardizing نَا for the spelling of /nā/ would entail adoption of the variants in Table 32, given a commitment to consistently represent morphological affixes. This would have the added advantage of avoiding the visual ambiguity between the inherently nasal oblique plural suffix /-ā~/ and the final two letters of the dominant spellings.

In Western literacy materials, the contracted third singular dative forms, /isā~/ and /usā~/, and agentive forms, /ise~/ and /use~/, can be written as fused according to their pronunciations to reflect the suffixation of these postposition allomorphs; intervening words are not allowed.

The first and second singular oblique stems /min-/ and /tin-/ also occur with the ablative postposition /te/ in both forms of Hazara Gojri. This postposition, however, is normally written تیں /te~/ per its pronunciation in Kashmir. Gujars in Pakistan proper could use the spelling تے /te/, and thus مینتے /minte/ ‘from me’ and تینتے /tinte/ ‘from you’, in their own primary literacy materials. The former spelling, which is the better candidate for standardization, has the advantage of dissimilarity with the high-frequency particle تے /te/ ‘and, then’, and the disadvantage of being identical with the second singular agentive تیں /te~/, whereas the situation is exactly opposite for a Hazara spelling (less the *zabbar* on /te/).

### Third Person Plural Oblique Forms

The spellings for third person plural oblique pronominal forms are shown in Table 33.

Table 33. Spellings for Third Person Plural Oblique Forms

	bare	suffixed (dominant)	suffixed (variant)	pronunciation
3pl. prox.	اِن	اِنہاں	اِنہاں	/ín/ /ínā~/
3pl. dist.	اُن	اُنہاں	اُنہاں	/ún/ /únā~/

In Table 33, the suffixed forms show the oblique plural suffix /-ā~/ . The spellings for the bare or non-suffixed third person plural oblique forms are identical to those for their Urdu equivalents and are therefore used universally in Gojri. The variation evident for the suffixed forms is due to variation in Urdu, where the *choti he* spelling is preferred to the *do chasmi he* spelling despite the fact that the latter ‘reflects the phonology more accurately’ (Schmidt 1999:22). The same could be said for Gojri, since *do chasmi he* following a voiced consonant normally indicates high tone on the preceding short vowel (cf. 3.2.2.5.2), whereas the *choti he* spelling does not so correspond to the pronunciation. Both spellings occur in materials produced in Indian-administered Kashmir, while only the dominant spelling is used on the Pakistan side. If the *choti he* spelling should become standardized on account of its dominance in Urdu, it would need to be treated as a sight word in primary Gojri literacy materials.

#### First and Second Person Possessive Adjectives

The spellings for first and second person possessive adjectives are shown in Table 34.

Table 34. Spellings for First and Second Person Possessive Adjectives  
(shown with nominative masculine singular agreement)

	dominant	variant	pronunciation
1sg.	ميرو		/merɔ/ ‘my’
2sg.	تيرو		/terɔ/ ‘your’
1pl.	مهاريو	مهاريو	/mārɔ/ ‘our’
2pl.	تهاريو		/thārɔ/ ‘your’

The spellings for the singular forms in Table 34 are appropriated from spellings of their identical Urdu stems, and are used universally. The second person plural spelling is also universal, and its under-representation of low tone does not seem to create any ambiguity.

The first person plural has two common spellings. The dominant spelling represents low tone with *do chasmi he*, per the way most low-tone words beginning with stops are written in the Urdu-based approach advocated by the Cultural Academy in Srinagar. This offers the added benefit of symmetry with the second person plural spelling. The variant spelling represents low tone with *choti he*, consistent with the approach of those in Pakistan and Pakistan-administered Kashmir. The standardization of the spelling of this form hinges on resolution of the broader problem of indigenous low-tone words not related to de-aspiration, for which both *do chasmi he* and *choti he* can unambiguously represent underlying low tone (‘lexical L’; see the third subsection in 3.2.2.6).

### 5.3.8 Western Present Auxiliary and Inflections of /hò-/ ‘be’

I recommend that the Western present auxiliary, /ɛ/, which is constant for all persons and numbers (cf. 4.2.1.1.5), be written as ہے and learned as a sight word per the Urdu and Eastern Gojri singular form, rather than spelled according to its own pronunciation, which would yield هے.

The spelling of the Western form of the verb *be* is more complicated, since the stem /hò-/ ‘to be’ survives only in the lower-frequency first singular. There are at least five possible spellings for the second and third person form, /wè / [vɛ:] (the first person plural spellings would be identical save for the PC suffix):

(1) وہے, a phonemic spelling by analogy with the way most low-tone words are written in an Urdu-based approach to Gojri (other than those beginning with /h/);

- (2) ہوئے , the Eastern spelling of the full verb form, which could be taught as a sight word in which the first two letters are ‘silent’;
- (3) وبے , the spelling of the Eastern contracted form that occurs in some Academy literature (presumably its pronunciation is also [vĕ:], as in Kaghani Gojri);
- (4) وے , which is written without any tone marking so as to match the second syllable of the Eastern form (giving the appearance of a contraction); and
- (5) ہوئے , in which *choti he* indicates low tone and the first two characters correspond to the spelling of the historic (and Eastern and Urdu) stem /hò-/ ‘to be’, albeit with a different phonetic interpretation.

In my opinion, maintenance of word shape is primary and tone marking is secondary. At some point a body of literate Western stake-holders can commit to a solution that best accords with their own objectives, but perhaps adopting whatever form is standardized for the homophonous Eastern contracted form would be best (I believe that the third and fourth spellings are presently in use).

### 5.3.9 Treatment of Loan Words

All Persian and Arabic roots that retain some resemblance to their basic phonetic shape in spoken Gojri are written as per their spellings in Urdu, regardless of conformity to Gojri conventions (the same is true of English loans, regardless of their phonetic shape in Gojri). Two examples reflecting non-conformance to Gojri spelling patterns are شہاد /šād/ ‘witness’ (contra the pattern documented in 3.2.2.5.1) and بے عزتی /beztī/ ‘insult’ (cf. Urdu /be izatī/).

This practice is universal, to my knowledge, since such spellings are familiar to writers and make Gojri text readily accessible to Urdu-literate Gujars. Unique Gojri spellings for loan vocabulary would significantly complicate the transitional literacy task, as students would be required to learn two spellings for every loan word.

A minor caveat to the above is the replacement of the *choti he* endings of masculine Perso-Arabic nouns (and Urdu, cf. Schmidt 1999:3) with Gojri AC and case-marking suffixes, regardless of homophony between Gojri plural and original singular forms. Thus, the Gojri spellings of the Perso-Arabic قاعدہ (/qāyda/ in Urdu) ‘primer’ are قاعدو /kāydo/ ‘primer’ and قاعدا /kāydā/ ‘primers’. Similarly, the Gojri spellings of the Perso-Arabic قصہ (/qissa/ in Urdu) ‘story’ are قصو /kisso/ ‘story’ and قصا /kissā/ ‘stories’. The replacement rule does not apply when the Urdu pronunciation is retained in the Gojri nominative, for example, بادشاه /bādšā/ (/bāčā/) ‘king’. This convention, while followed inconsistently at present, may reduce the potential for ambiguous interpretations.

#### 5.4 Concluding Reflections

When weighed in total, the linguistic and sociolinguistic obstacles to the standardization of Gojri are minimal, while the political barriers remain formidable. At present, printed Gojri materials do not even cross the Line of Control separating Indian-administered Kashmir from Pakistan-administered Kashmir, and thus the goal of developing a literary standard seems of little consequence. But political situations change, and Gujars will benefit by taking a long-term view. Meanwhile, the goal of universal literacy can be pursued aggressively on both sides. I have argued, in accord with the

majority of Gujar language developers, that an Urdu-based orthography for Gojri, one slightly favoring Western pronunciation and Eastern grammar, is a key to achieving both of these goals.

It remains for all alternative orthographic solutions to be tested with new readers and Urdu-literates alike in representative locations. Ideally, such testing would be conducted by decision-makers who could translate their findings into sound proposals that will meet with acceptance. The prospects for coordinating this or any other effort between communities on both sides of the Line of Control are bleak at the moment, as cross-border travel is banned and developers fear that cross-border correspondence might raise suspicions of collaboration with the enemy. New channels of communication could be developed over the Internet, however, between the elites of both areas. From the standpoint of both the standardization and literacy goals, the truly urgent communication matter is to promote Gojri writing among Urdu literates at the grass-roots level, not to fix spellings in the short term. My hope is that awareness of foreign interest in Gojri writing, rather than producing a paralyzing consciousness of incorrect spelling, will stimulate Gujars to take a greater interest in writing their own language - an emerging literary language in South Asia.

## APPENDIX A

## ABBREVIATIONS AND DATA PRESENTATION

## 1. List of Abbreviations and Symbols

∅	null, no phonetic form
1	first person
2	second person
2/3	second and third person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
AC	adjectival concord
Adj P	adjective phrase
ADV	adverbial participle
Adv	adverb
AG, Ag, ag	agentive
Aux	auxiliary
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CONT	continuous
CP	conjunctive participle
DAT, Dat, dat	dative
Dem	demonstrative
DIST, dist	distal
E	Eastern
EMPH	emphatic
F, fem	feminine
FUT, fut	future
GEN, Gen	genitive
Gen P	genitive phrase
H	high (pitch)
HON	honorific
IMPFV	imperfective
INDEF, indef	indefinite
IMPV	imperative

INF	infinitive
INFL	inflectional (marker)
interr	interrogative
intrans	intransitive
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
L	low (pitch)
lit.	literally
LOC, Loc	locative
μ	mora
M, masc	masculine
N	noun
NEG, Neg	negative
NOM, Nom	nominative
NP	noun phrase
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PC	personal concord
PERF	perfective
PFP	perfective participle
PL, pl	plural
PRES	present
PROX, prox	proximate
Quant	quantifier
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
SG, sg	singular
QUOT	verbal quotation marker
σ	syllable
trans	transitive
V	verb
V	vowel
VOC	vocative case marker
VP	verb phrase
vd	voiced
W	Western
w/	with

## 2. Data Presentation

Throughout this work, unique Western-dialect lexical and morphological data are shown in parentheses to the right of Eastern forms. Wherever a single form is given, it is illustrative of both dialects. All grammatical examples not specifically identified with either the Eastern (E.) or Western (W.) dialect are illustrative of both dialects. I have tried to use such examples wherever possible. This has resulted, however, in a disproportionate number of examples with masculine subjects, due to dialect variation in the feminine agreement suffixes. Where an example is identified with one of the dialects, it varies from an equivalent utterance in the other dialect only in ways that have been described in this work, or in the choice of particular lexical items. The absence of an Eastern or Western example for any claim made for the language as a whole, therefore, reflects primarily on the limitations of space and time, not on the actual linguistic situation.

For the most part I have used the ‘Standard Orientalist’ transcriptional conventions for all Gojri and Urdu examples, as these conventions are predominant in the literature on Indo-Aryan (Masica 1991:xv). For phonetic transcriptions of vowels, however, I have followed the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

## APPENDIX B

## ‘BAKARWAL’ GOJRI PHONETIC WORD LISTS

Sub-Group Abbreviations (with respondents’ seasonal locations):

- ABK Allaiwal Bakarwal (respondents winter near Haripur, summer near Naran)  
 AMJ Allaiwal Muhajar Bakarwal (respondents winter near Khanpur, summer in Deosai)  
 KBK Kaghani Bakarwal (respondents winter near Kawai, summer near Besal above Naran)  
 KMJ Kunhari Muhajar Bakarwal (respondents winter near Jhelum, summer in Murree)

	1. body	2. head	3. hair
ABK	but / 'jʊsəm	sɪr	ba:l
AMJ	'bʌdən	sɪr	baɭ
KBK	but / 'jʊsəm	sɪr	ba:l
KMJ	'bʌdən	sɪr	ba:l
	4. face	5. eye	6. ear
ABK	mû~	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌn
AMJ	mû~	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
KBK	mû~	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌn
KMJ	mû~	ʌk <sup>h</sup>	kʌŋ
	7. nose	8. mouth	9. teeth
ABK	nʌk	mû~	dʌnd
AMJ	nʌk	mû~	dʌnd
KBK	nʌk	mû~	dʌnd
KMJ	nʌk	mû~	dʌnd

	10. tongue	11. breast (~chest)	12. belly
ABK	ʃîb	'sinɔ~	děd
AMJ	ʃîb	'sinɔ~	děd
KBK	ʃîb	'sinɔ~	těd
KMJ	ʃîb	'sinɔ~	tĩd
	13. arm	14. elbow	15. palm
ABK	bâ~	'kuɲi~	'tɬɿ
AMJ	bâ~	'kuɲi~	'tɬɿ
KBK	bâ~	'kuɲi~	'tɬɿ
KMJ	bâ~	'kuɲi~	'tɬɿ
	16. finger	17. fingernail	18. leg
ABK	'ɬɲgəɿ	nô~	tɬɲg
AMJ	'ɬɲgəɿ	nô~	tɬɲg / ɬt
KBK	'ɬɲgəɿ	nô~	tɬɲg
KMJ	'ɬɲgəɿ	nû~	ʃɬɲg
	19. skin	20. bone	21. heart
ABK	'čɬməɿi	hɬdɿ	dɿɬ
AMJ	'čɬməɿi	hɬdɿ	dɿɬ
KBK	'čɬməɿi	hɬdɿ	dɿɬ
KMJ	'čɬməɿɔ	hɬdɿ	dɿɬ
	22. blood	23. urine	24. feces
ABK	rɬt	nɪkɔ mut	bɬɿɔ mut / gû~
AMJ	rɬt	nɪkɔ mut	hɬgɬɲ / gû~
KBK	rɬt	nɪkɔ mut	bɬɿɔ mut
KMJ	rɬt	nɪkɔ mut	gû~

	25. village	26. house	27. roof
ABK	gra~	'dɛrɔ	č <sup>h</sup> Λt
AMJ	gra~	'dɛrɔ	č <sup>h</sup> Λt
KBK	gra~	'dɛrɔ	č <sup>h</sup> Λt
KMJ	gra~	'dɛrɔ	č <sup>h</sup> Λt
	28. door	29. firewood	30. broom
ABK	bûɔ	'lΛkəɽi	bàrí
AMJ	bûɔ	'lΛkəɽi	bàrí
KBK	bûɔ	'lΛkəɽi	bàrí
KMJ	bûɔ	'lΛkəɽi	bàrí
	31. mortar	32. pestle (stone/wood)	33. hammer
ABK	'lΛŋgəri	sɪl'aɔ / 'molɔ	sΛɽΛ'kiɔ / λ't <sup>h</sup> ðɽí
AMJ	'lΛŋgəri	sɪl'aɔ / 'muŋglɔ / 'molɔ	λ't <sup>h</sup> ðɽí
KBK	'lΛŋgəri	sɪl'aɔ / 'mulɔ	t <sup>h</sup> ðɽí
KMJ	'lΛŋgəri	sɪl'aɔ / 'muŋglɔ	t <sup>h</sup> ðɽí
	34. knife (pocket/generic)	35. axe	36. rope (generic/of hair)
ABK	'kačɯ / 'č <sup>h</sup> ɯɽi	gwàɽí	'rΛsi / 'seli
AMJ	'čākū / 'č <sup>h</sup> ɯɽi	gwàɽí	'rΛsi / 'seli
KBK	'kačɯ / 'č <sup>h</sup> ɯɽi	kwàɽí	'rΛsi / 'seli
KMJ	'kačɯ / 'č <sup>h</sup> ɯɽi	kwàɽí	'rΛsi / 'seli
	37. thread (singular)	38. needle	39. cloth (cloth/clothing)
ABK	dàgɔ	'sui	'kΛpəɽɔ / 'çiɽΛ
AMJ	dàgɔ	'sui	'kΛpəɽɔ / 'çiɽΛ
KBK	tàgɔ	'sui	'kΛpəɽɔ / 'çiɽΛ
KMJ	tàgɔ	'sui	'kΛpəɽɔ / 'çiɽΛ

	40. ring	41. sun	42. moon
ABK	Λŋ'guɤ <sup>h</sup> i	dî~	čΛn
AMJ	Λŋ'guɤ <sup>h</sup> i	dî~	čΛn
KBK	Λŋ'guɤ <sup>h</sup> i	dî~	čΛn
KMJ	'guɤ <sup>h</sup> i	dî~	čΛn
	43. sky	44. star (singular)	45. rain
ABK	Λs'maŋ	'tarɔ	'barəš / mî~
AMJ	Λs'maŋ	'tarɔ	'bΛdəl
KBK	Λs'maŋ	'tarɔ	'bΛdəl
KMJ	Λs'maŋ	'tarɔ	'bΛdəl
	46. water	47. river (medium-sized)	48. cloud
ABK	'paŋi~	'nΛdi	ǰǰɤ
AMJ	'paŋi~	'nΛdi	ǰǰɤ
KBK	'paŋi~	'nΛdi	čǰɤ
KMJ	'paŋi~	'nΛdi	čǰɤ
	49. lightning	50. rainbow	51. wind (generic/strong)
ABK	'čaɤək / 'lAskε	pîm	λ'vǎ / 'č <sup>h</sup> Λɤi / ǰλk <sup>h</sup> úɤ
AMJ	'čaɤək / 'biǰli / 'lAskε	pîm	λ'vǎ / 'č <sup>h</sup> Λɤi / ǰλk <sup>h</sup> úɤ
KBK	'čaɤək / 'lAskε	pîŋg	λ'vǎ / 'č <sup>h</sup> Λɤi / čλk <sup>h</sup> óɤ
KMJ	'biǰli / biǰ / 'lAskε	pîŋg	ə'vǎ / 'č <sup>h</sup> Λɤi
	52. stone	53. path	54. sand
ABK	'gaɤi	râ	ret
AMJ	'gaɤi	râ	ret
KBK	'bΛɤi	râ	ret
KMJ	'gaɤi / 'bΛɤi	râ	ret

	55. fire	56. smoke	57. ash
ABK	Λg	dù~ó	swàgó
AMJ	Λg	dù~ó	swàgó
KBK	Λg	tù~ó	swàgó / č <sup>h</sup> Λi
KMJ	Λg	tù~ó	swàgó
	58. mud	59. dust (dust/dirt)	60. gold
ABK	'čikəɾɔ / 'garɔ	dùɾ / 'mɪɿ	'sonɔ~
AMJ	'čikəɾɔ	dùɾ / 'mɪɿ	'sonɔ~
KBK	'garɔ	tùɾ / 'mɪɿ	'sonɔ~
KMJ	'garɔ	tùɾ / 'mɪɿ	'sonɔ~
	61. tree (generic/big)	62. leaf	63. root
ABK	'buɿɔ / ruk <sup>h</sup>	'pɒtər	ǰâɾ
AMJ	'buɿɔ / ruk <sup>h</sup>	'pɒtər	ǰâɾ
KBK	'buɿɔ / ruk <sup>h</sup>	'pɒtər	ǰâɾ
KMJ	'buɿɔ / ruk <sup>h</sup>	'pɒtər	ǰâɾ
	64. thorn	65. flower	66. fruit (generic/berries)
ABK	'kɒɳɔ	p <sup>h</sup> ul	p <sup>h</sup> ɒl / 'me~vɔ
AMJ	'kɒɳɔ	p <sup>h</sup> ul	p <sup>h</sup> ɒl / 'me~vɔ
KBK	'kɒɳɔ	p <sup>h</sup> ul	p <sup>h</sup> ɒl / 'me~vɔ
KMJ	'kɒɳɔ	p <sup>h</sup> ul	fruɿ / 'me~vɔ
	67. mango	68. banana	69. wheat (husked)
ABK	Λm	'kelɔ	'kaɳək
AMJ	Λm	'kelɔ	'kaɳək
KBK	Λm	'kelɔ	'kaɳək
KMJ	Λm	'kelɔ	'kaɳək

	70. millet (husked) *unfamiliar to respondents	71. rice (husked)	72. potato
ABK	'baǰəɔ	'čawɔl	'ɫlu
AMJ	'baǰəɔ	'čavɫl	'ɫlu
KBK	'baǰəɔ	'čawɫ	'alu
KMJ	'baǰəɔ	'čavɔl	'alu
	73. eggplant *unfamiliar to respondents	74. groundnut	75. chili
ABK	'beŋgɔŋ	mo~'p <sup>h</sup> ɫli	'mɫɾəč
AMJ	'beŋgəŋ	moŋg 'p <sup>h</sup> ɫli	'mɫɾč
KBK	'beŋgɔŋ	mo~'p <sup>h</sup> ɫli	'mɫɾəč
KMJ	'pɫɪ <sup>h</sup> ɫ	moŋg 'p <sup>h</sup> ɫli	'mɫɾəč
	76. turmeric	77. garlic	78. onion
ABK	hɫɫd	t <sup>h</sup> um	piaz / piaǰ
AMJ	hɫɫd	t <sup>h</sup> um	piaǰ
KBK	hɫɫd	t <sup>h</sup> u:m	peaz
KMJ	hɫɫd	t <sup>h</sup> u:m	piaz / 'gɫŋɔ
	79. cauliflower	80. tomato	81. cabbage
ABK	p <sup>h</sup> ɔl 'gopi	ɬo'maɬəɾ	bɫnd 'gopi
AMJ	'gobi	ɬo'maɬəɾ	bɫnd 'gobi
KBK	p <sup>h</sup> ɔl 'gopi	ɬo'maɬəɾ	bɫnd 'gopi
KMJ	'gobi	ɬo'maɬəɾ	bɫnd 'gobi
	82. oil	83. salt	84. meat
ABK	tel	luŋ	mas
AMJ	tel	luŋ	mas
KBK	tel	luŋ	mas
KMJ	tel	luŋ	mas

	85. fat	86. fish	87. chicken (generic)
ABK	'čʌrbi	'mʌč <sup>h</sup> i	'kʊkʊɾ
AMJ	'čʌrbi	'mʌč <sup>h</sup> i	'kʊkʊɾ
KBK	'čʌrəbi / mînj	'mʌč <sup>h</sup> i	'kʊkʊɾ
KMJ	'čʌrəbi	'mʌč <sup>h</sup> i	'kʊkʊɾ
	88. egg	89. cow	90. buffalo
ABK	'ʌŋtəɾɔ	ga~	měs
AMJ	'ʌŋtəɾɔ	ga~	měs
KBK	'aŋtəɾɔ	ga~	měs
KMJ	'aŋtəɾɔ	ga~	měs
	91. milk	92. horns	93. tail (generic/of sheep)
ABK	dôd	sɛŋg	'dʊmʊɾ
AMJ	dôd	sɛŋg	'dʊmʊɾ
KBK	dôd	sɪŋg	'dʊmʊɾ / 'pʊč <sup>h</sup> əɾi
KMJ	dôd	sɛŋg	'dʊmʊɾ
	94. goat	95. dog	96. snake
ABK	'bʌkəri	'kʊtɔ	sʌp
AMJ	'bʌkəri	'kʊtɔ	sʌp
KBK	'bʌkəri	'kʊtɔ	sʌp
KMJ	'bʌk <sup>h</sup> əɾi	'kʊtɔ	sʌp
	97. monkey	98. mosquito	99. ant
ABK	'buǰəŋɔ~	'mʌč <sup>h</sup> əɾ	píʎð
AMJ	'buǰəŋɔ~	'mʌč <sup>h</sup> əɾ	píʎð
KBK	'buǰəŋɔ~	'mʌč <sup>h</sup> əɾ	píʎð
KMJ	'buǰəŋɔ~	'mʌč <sup>h</sup> əɾ	píʎð

	100. spider	101. name	102. man (man/person)
ABK	ʃɔ'la	na~	'ʃʌŋɔ~ / 'admi~
AMJ	ʃɔ'la	na~	'ʃʌŋɔ~ / 'adəmi~
KBK	bʌ'bîɔ	na~	'ʃʌŋɔ~ / 'aʃmi~
KMJ	bʌ'bûɔ	na~	'ʃʌŋɔ~ / 'adəmi~
	103. woman	104. child	105. father
ABK	dɛŋí~	'ʃatuk / 'bʌčɔ	bap
AMJ	deɛŋí~	'ʃatuk / 'bʌčɔ	bap
KBK	teɛŋí~	'ʃʌtk / 'bʌčɔ	ba:p
KMJ	'beʃki	'ʃatuk / 'bʌčɔ	ba:p
	106. mother	107. older brother (not for address)	108. younger brother (not for address)
ABK	ma~	bʌɾɔ bǎi	nɪkɔ bǎi
AMJ	ma~	bʌɾɔ bǎi	nɪkɔ bǎi
KBK	ma~	bʌɾɔ pǎi	nɪkɔ pǎi
KMJ	ma~	bʌɾɔ pǎi	nɪkɔ pǎi
	109. older sister	110. younger sister	111. son
ABK	bʌɾi bɛŋ	nɪki bɛŋ	put
AMJ	bʌɾi bɛŋ / 'ɪdi	nɪki bɛŋ	put
KBK	bʌɾi bɛŋ	nɪki bɛŋ	pu:t
KMJ	bʌɾi bɛŋ	nɪki bɛŋ	pu:t
	112. daughter	113. husband	114. wife
ABK	dǐ	'ʃʌŋɔ~ / 'dɛrʌ àlɔ	'dɛrʌ àlɪ / dɛŋí
AMJ	dǐ / 'beʃki	'ʃʌŋɔ~	deɛŋí / 'dɛrʌ àlɪ / 'tʌbri
KBK	tǐ	'ʃʌŋɔ~ / 'dɛrʌ aɔ	'dɛrʌ aɔ / teɛŋí~
KMJ	tǐ	'ʃʌŋɔ~	zʌ'nani~ / 'tʌbri

	115. boy	116. girl	117. day (daytime)
ABK	'luɾɔ	'beɽki	diàɾí
AMJ	'luɾɔ	'beɽki	diàɾí
KBK	'luɾɔ	'beɽki	deàɾí
KMJ	'luɾɔ	'beɽki	teàɾí
	118. night	119. morning	120. noon
ABK	rat	'suba	du'pâr
AMJ	rat	niki lɔ	do'pâr
KBK	ra:t	'vɔxti	do'pâr
KMJ	ra:t	niki lɔ	dɔ'pâr
	121. evening	122. yesterday	123. today
ABK	no'ma~šɔ~	kɔl	ɔj
AMJ	no'ma~šɔ~	kɔl	ɔj
KBK	no'ma~šɔ~	kɔl	ɔj
KMJ	šam	kɔl	ɔj
	124. tomorrow	125. week	126. month
ABK	'dinɔ~	hɔftɔ	mìnɔ~
AMJ	'dinɔ~	hɔftɔ	mìnɔ~
KBK	'dinɔ~	hɔftɔ	mìnɔ~
KMJ	'dinɔ~	ɔt <sup>h</sup> teàɾɔ	mìnɔ~
	127. year	128. old	129. new
ABK	sal / 'sɔmɔ~	puɾ'aɾɔ	'no~ɔ
AMJ	sal	puɾ'aɾɔ	'no~ɔ
KBK	sal	puɾ'aɾɔ	'no~ɔ
KMJ	sal	puɾ'aɾɔ	'no~ɔ

	130. good	131. bad	132. wet
ABK	hλč <sup>h</sup> ɔ / 'čΛŋgɔ / sɔŋð~	'mΛndɔ	bìj'íɔ
AMJ	hλč <sup>h</sup> ɔ / 'čΛŋgɔ / sɔŋð~	'mΛndɔ	bìj'íɔ
KBK	hλč <sup>h</sup> ɔ / 'čΛŋgɔ / sɔŋð~	'mΛndɔ	pìj'éɔ
KMJ	hλč <sup>h</sup> ɔ / 'čΛŋgɔ / sɔŋð~	'mΛndɔ	pìj'éɔ
	133. dry	134. long	135. short/little/low
ABK	'sukɔ	'lΛmɔ~	'č <sup>h</sup> ɔtɔ/'nikɔ/'mΛndrɔ
AMJ	'sukɔ	'lΛmɔ~	'č <sup>h</sup> ɔtɔ/'nikɔ/'mΛndəɔ
KBK	'sukɔ	'lΛmɔ~	'č <sup>h</sup> ɔtɔ/'nikɔ/'mΛndrɔ
KMJ	'sukɔ	'lΛmɔ~	'nikɔ/'nikɔ/'mΛndrɔ
	136. hot	137. cold	138. right
ABK	'tΛpiɔ/'tΛtɔ/'gΛrɐm	't <sup>h</sup> Λŋdɔ	'sΛjɔ
AMJ	'tΛti	't <sup>h</sup> Λŋdɔ	'sΛjɔ
KBK	'tΛpeɔ vɔ / 'gΛrɐm	't <sup>h</sup> Λŋdɔ	'sΛjɔ
KMJ	'tΛpeɔ βɔ	't <sup>h</sup> Λŋdɔ	'sΛjɔ
	139. left	140. near	141. far
ABK	'k <sup>h</sup> Λbɔ	'neɣɛ	dur
AMJ	'k <sup>h</sup> Λbɔ	'neɣɛ	dur
KBK	'k <sup>h</sup> Λbɔ	'neɣɛ	dur
KMJ	'k <sup>h</sup> Λbɔ	'neɣɛ	dur
	142. big	143. small	144. heavy
ABK	'bΛɣɔ	'nikɔ	bàrɔ
AMJ	'bΛɣɔ	'nikɔ	bàrɔ
KBK	'bΛɣɔ	'nikɔ	pàrɔ
KMJ	'bΛɣɔ	'nikɔ	pàrɔ

	145. light	146. above	147. below
ABK	hòlś / lô kɔ	'upɔr	tê / 'tɒlɛ / hět <sup>h</sup> / 'tɒnɒ~
AMJ	hòlś	'upɔr	'tɒlɛ / hět <sup>h</sup> / 'tɒnɒ~
KBK	hòlś / lô kɔ	'ɒpɔr	tê / 'tɒlɛ / hět <sup>h</sup> / 'tɒnɒ~
KMJ	hòlś	'ɒpɔr	'tɒlɛ / hět <sup>h</sup> / 'tɒnɒ~
	148. white	149. black	150. red
ABK	'čitɔ	'kaɫɔ	'rɒtɔ
AMJ	'čitɔ	'kaɫɔ	'rɒtɔ
KBK	'čitɔ	'kaɫɔ	'rɒtɔ
KMJ	'čitɔ	'kaɫɔ	'rɒtɔ
	151. one (only the first variant used in counting)	152. two	153. three
ABK	ek / ik	do	trɛ
AMJ	ek	do	trɛ
KBK	ek / ik	do	trɛ
KMJ	ek / ik	do	trɛ
	154. four	155. five	156. six
ABK	čar	pɒnǰ	č <sup>h</sup> e
AMJ	čar	pɒnǰ	č <sup>h</sup> e
KBK	čar	pɒnǰ	č <sup>h</sup> e
KMJ	čar	pɒnǰ	č <sup>h</sup> e
	157. seven	158. eight	159. nine
ABK	sɒt	ɒt <sup>h</sup>	no~
AMJ	sɒt	ɒt <sup>h</sup>	no~
KBK	sɒt	ɒt <sup>h</sup>	no~
KMJ	sɒt	ɒt <sup>h</sup>	no~

	160. ten	161. eleven	162. twelve
ABK	dâ / dΛs	'yarΛ~	'barΛ~
AMJ	dΛs	'yarΛ~	'barΛ~
KBK	dΛs	'yarΛ~	'barΛ~
KMJ	dΛs	'yarΛ~	'barΛ~
	163. twenty	164. one hundred	165. who
ABK	bî	sɔ	kɔŋ
AMJ	bî	sɔ	kɔŋ
KBK	bî	sɔ	kɔŋ
KMJ	bî	sɔ	kɔŋ
	166. what	167. where / to where	168. when
ABK	ke	kɪt / 'kɪŋgΛ	kΛd
AMJ	ke	kɪt / 'kɪŋgΛ	kΛd
KBK	ke	kɪt / 'kɪŋgΛ / kî~Λ	kΛd
KMJ	ke	kɪt / 'kɪŋgΛ	kΛd
	169. how many	170. what thing	171. this (fem./ masc.)
ABK	'kɪtənΛ~	ke šɛ	yâ / yô
AMJ	'kɪtənΛ~	ke šɛ / ke čiz	yâ / yô
KBK	'kɪtənΛ~	ke šɛ	yâ / yô
KMJ	'kɪtənΛ~	ke čiz	yâ / yô
	172. that (fem. / masc.)	173. these	174. those
ABK	vâ / βô (ô)	yê	vê
AMJ	vâ / βô	yê	vê
KBK	vâ / βô (ô)	yê	vê
KMJ	vâ / βô	yê	vê

	175. same	176. different	177. whole (~entire)
ABK	ek rʌŋg / 'brabʊr	'kʌni~ 'kʌni~	'sarɔ/'sabʊt/'salɪm/'pʊrɔ
AMJ	ek šan / 'brabʊr	bʌk bʌk	'sarɔ/'sabʊt/'salɪm/'pʊrɔ
KBK	ek rʌŋg / 'brabʊr	'kʌni~ 'kʌni~	'sarɔ/'salɪm/'pʊrɔ
KMJ	ek rʌŋg / 'brabʊr	'kʌni~ 'kʌni~	'sarɔ/'sabʊt/'pʊrɔ
	178. broken	179. few (~a little)	180. many
ABK	'pʰʊʈɔ	'tʰoʊɔ / gʌʈ	muč
AMJ	'pʰʊʈɔ	'tʰoʊɔ / gʌʈ	muč
KBK	'pʰʊʈɔ vɔ	'tʰoʊɔ / kʌʈ	muč
KMJ	'tʊʈɔ βɔ	'tʰoʊɔ / kʌʈ	muč
	181. all	182. eat!	183. [the dog] bit
ABK	'sarʌ	kʰa	kʰa liɔ / lʌʈ giɔ
AMJ	'sarʌ	kʰa	kʰa liɔ
KBK	'sarʌ	kʰa	kʰa liɔ / lʌʈ giɔ
KMJ	'sarʌ	kʰa	kʰa liɔ
	184. [he is] hungry	185. drink!	186. [he is] thirsty
ABK	bʊkʰɔ	pi	tɪs lʌge
AMJ	bʊkʰɔ	pi	tɪs lʌge / tʌ'sayɔ
KBK	pʊkʰɔ	pi	tɪs lʌge
KMJ	pʊkʰɔ	pi	tɪs lʌge
	187. sleep!	188. lay down!	189. sit!
ABK	so	pɛ rʈ / lʌmɔ~ hɔ	bɛs
AMJ	so rʈ	pɛ rʈ	bɛs rʈ
KBK	so	lʌmɔ~ hɔ	bɛs
KMJ	so rʈ	lʌmɔ~ hɔ	bɛs ʃa

	190. give!	191. burn [wood]!	192. [the man] died
ABK	de	saɾ	maɾ giɔ
AMJ	de	saɾ / baɭ	maɾ giɔ
KBK	dê	saɾ	maɾ giɔ
KMJ	de	baɭ	maɾ giɔ
	193. kill!	194. fly!	195. walk!
ABK	mar	uɖ	ɬur
AMJ	mar	uɖ	ɬur
KBK	mar	uɖ	ɬur
KMJ	mar	uɖ	ɬur
	196. run!	197. go!	198. come!
ABK	dɔɾ	čɿɿ	a / a ʝa
AMJ	dɔɾ	čɿɿ	a
KBK	dɔɾ	čɿɿ	a / a ʝa
KMJ	dɔɾ	čɿɿ	<sup>1</sup> ɿŋga a
	199. speak! / say!	200. listen!	201. look!
ABK	bol / kô	suŋ	dek <sup>h</sup> / hěr
AMJ	bol / kô	suŋ	dek <sup>h</sup> / hěr
KBK	bol / kô	suŋ	hěr / dek <sup>h</sup>
KMJ	bol / kô	suŋ	dek <sup>h</sup>
	202. I	203. you (informal)	204. you (formal)
ABK	hǔ~	to	to
AMJ	hǔ~	to	tɿm
KBK	hǔ~	to~	tɿm
KMJ	hǔ~	tu	tɿm

	205. he (dist/prox)	206. she	207. we (inclusive)
ABK	βô / yô	vâ / yâ	hǎm
AMJ	βô / yô	vâ / yâ	hǎm
KBK	βô / yô ( ô )	vâ / yâ	hǎm
KMJ	βô / yô	vâ / yâ	hǎm
	208. we (exclusive)	209. you (plural)	210. they (dist / prox)
ABK	hǎm	tɔm	vê / yê
AMJ	hǎm	tɔm	vê / yê
KBK	hǎm	tɔm	vê / yê
KMJ	hǎm	tɔm	vê / yê

## APPENDIX C

## GOJRI VERBAL PARADIGMS

Tables 35-50 present one complete verbal paradigm for each of the level-tone and high-tone long vowels in which a verb stem may end (ordered from close to open, with high-tone vowels following their level-tone counterparts): /ī/, /e/, /o/, /ó/, /ε/, /é/, /ā/, and /ǎ/ (for /hò-/ ‘be’, the underlying tone is associated with /h/, not with the vowel). The inflections given for each verb are representative of the regular inflections of other verbs ending in the same vowel as that verb. The regular inflections for each level-tone and high-tone vowel pair are apparently identical, but for reference I have included paradigms for both members of each pair. Stem-final /ε/ is attested in my data only by the irregular verb /pe-/ ‘fall’ given in tables 43 and 44 .

Tables 51-58 present the high-frequency verbs *give*, *be*, *do*, and *give*, whose paradigms show irregular inflections.

For each of the paradigms, unique Western forms are given in parentheses.

Table 35. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ī/: /pī-/ ‘drink’

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	pī-		-ū~	pīū~
	1pl.	pī-		-ā~	pīā~
	2/3sg.	pī-		-ε	pīε
	2pl.	pī-		-ɔ (-ε)	pīɔ (pīε)
	3pl.	pī-		-ε~ (-ε)	pīε~ (pīε)
Negated Future	1sg.	pī-	-s	-ū~	pīsū~
	1pl.	pī-	-s	-ā~	pīsā~
	2/3sg.	pī-	-s	-ε	pīse
	2pl.	pī-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	pīɔɔ (pīse)
	3pl.	pī-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	pīse~ (pīse)
Present Imperative	2sg.	pī-		∅	pī
	2pl.	pī-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	pīɔ (pīɔ~)
Future Imperative	2sg.	pī-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	pīe (pī~e)
	2pl.	pī-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	pīɔ (pī~ɔ~)

Table 36. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ī/: /pī-/ ‘drink’

		Stem	Aspect	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	pī-	-t	-ɔ	pītɔ
	m.pl.	pī-	-t	-ā	pītā
	f.sg.	pī-	-t	-ī	pītī
	f.pl.	pī-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	pītī~ (pītī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	pī-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	pīɔ
	m.pl.	pī-	-e (-ī)	-ā	pīā
	f.sg.	pī-	-e (-ī)	-ī	pī
	f.pl.	pī-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	pī~ (pī)

Table 37. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /e:/ /le/ ‘take’

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	le-		-ū~	līū~
	1pl.	le-		-ā~	leā~ (līā~)
	2/3sg.	le-		-e	leε (līε)
	2pl.	le-		-ɔ (-ε)	leɔ (līε)
	3pl.	le-		-ε~ (-ε)	le~ (līε)
Negated Future	1sg.	le-	-s	-ū~	lesū~
	1pl.	le-	-s	-ā~	lesā~
	2/3sg.	le-	-s	-e	lese
	2pl.	le-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	lesɔ (lese)
	3pl.	le-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	lese~ (lese)
Present Imperative	2sg.	le-		∅	le
	2pl.	le-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	leɔ (līɔ~)
Future Imperative	2sg.	le-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	laīe (laī~e)
	2pl.	le-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	laīɔ (laī~ɔ~)

Table 38: Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /e:/ /le-/ ‘take’

		Stem	Aspect	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	le-	-t	-ɔ	letɔ
	m.pl.	le-	-t	-ā	letā
	f.sg.	le-	-t	-ī	letī
	f.pl.	le-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	letī~ (letī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	le-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	līɔ
	m.pl.	le-	-e (-ī)	-ā	līā
	f.sg.	le-	-e (-ī)	-ī	laī
	f.pl.	le-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	laī~ (laī)

Table 39. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /o/: /kho-/ ‘pick’

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	kho-		-ū~	khoū~
	1pl.	kho-		-ā~	khoā~
	2/3sg.	kho-		-ε	khoε
	2pl.	kho-		-ɔ (-ε)	khoɔ (khoε)
	3pl.	kho-		-ε~ (-ε)	khoε~ (khoε)
Negated Future	1sg.	kho-	-s	-ū~	khosū~
	1pl.	kho-	-s	-ā~	khosā~
	2/3sg.	kho-	-s	-ε	khoεε
	2pl.	kho-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	khoɔɔ (khoεε)
	3pl.	kho-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	khoεε~ (khoεε)
Present Imperative	2sg.	kho-		∅	kho
	2pl.	kho-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	khoɔ (kho~)
Future Imperative	2sg.	kho-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	khoīe (khoī~e)
	2pl.	kho-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	khoīɔ (khoī~ɔ~)

Table 40. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect: Stem Ends in /o/: /kho-/ ‘pick’

		Stem	Aspect	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	kho-	-t	-ɔ	khotɔ
	m.pl.	kho-	-t	-ā	khotā
	f.sg.	kho-	-t	-ī	khotī
	f.pl.	kho-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	khotī~ (khotī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	kho-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	khoεɔ
	m.pl.	kho-	-e (-ī)	-ā	khoεā
	f.sg.	kho-	-e (-ī)	-ī	khoī
	f.pl.	kho-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	khoī~ (khoī)

The inflections shown for /kho-/ in tables 39 and 40 are identical to those for /ro-/

‘cry’ and /so-/ ‘sleep’, except where they show irregular perfects; for example, /rūṇī/ ‘she cried’, /suttī/ ‘she slept’.

Table 41. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ó/: /kó/ ‘slaughter’

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	kó-		-ū~	kóū~
	1pl.	kó-		-ā~	kóā~
	2/3sg.	kó-		-ε	kóε
	2pl.	kó-		-ɔ (-ε)	kóɔ (kóε)
	3pl.	kó-		-ε~ (-ε)	kóε~ (kóε)
Negated Future	1sg.	kó-	-s	-ū~	kósū~
	1pl.	kó-	-s	-ā~	kósā~
	2/3sg.	kó-	-s	-ε	kóσε
	2pl.	kó-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	kóɔɔ (kóσε)
	3pl.	kó-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	kóσε~ (kóσε)
Present Imperative	2sg.	kó-		∅	kó
	2pl.	kó-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	kóɔ (kó~)
Future Imperative	2sg.	kó-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	kóīe (kóī~e)
	2pl.	kó-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	kóīɔ (kóī~ɔ~)

Table 42. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ó/: /kó-/ ‘slaughter’

		Stem	Aspect	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	kó-	-t	-ɔ	kótɔ
	m.pl.	kó-	-t	-ā	kótā
	f.sg.	kó-	-t	-ī	kótī
	f.pl.	kó-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	kótī~ (kótī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	kó-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	kóεɔ
	m.pl.	kó-	-e (-ī)	-ā	kóεā
	f.sg.	kó-	-e (-ī)	-ī	kóī
	f.pl.	kó-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	kóī~ (kóī)

Table 43. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ε/: /pε-/ ‘fall’

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	pε-		-ū~	---
	1pl.	pε-		-ā~	---
	2/3sg.	pε-		-ε	poε (pε)
	2pl.	pε-		-ɔ (-ε)	---
	3pl.	pε-		-ε~ (-ε)	poε~ (pε)
Negated Future	1sg.	pε-	-s	-ū~	---
	1pl.	pε-	-s	-ā~	---
	2/3sg.	pε-	-s	-e	pεse
	2pl.	pε-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	---
	3pl.	pε-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	pεse~ (pεse)
Present Imperative	2sg.	pε-		∅	---
	2pl.	pε-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	---
Future Imperative	2sg.	pε-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	---
	2pl.	pε-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	---

The Eastern Unspecified Habitual forms shown in Table 43 are identical to those for /po-/ ‘bead.’

Table 44. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ε/: /pε-/ ‘fall’

		Stem	Aspect	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	pε-	-t	-ɔ	pεtɔ
	m.pl.	pε-	-t	-ā	pεtā
	f.sg.	pε-	-t	-ī	pεtī
	f.pl.	pε-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	pεtī~ (pεtī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	pε-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	pεɔ (pīɔ)
	m.pl.	pε-	-e (-ī)	-ā	pεā (pīā)
	f.sg.	pε-	-e (-ī)	-ī	pāī
	f.pl.	pε-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	pāī~ (pāī)

The Western masculine perfects shown in Table 44 are identical to those for /pī-/ ‘drink.’

Table 45. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /é/: /ré-/ ‘stay’

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	ré-		-ū~	ráū~
	1pl.	ré-		-ā~	rā~
	2/3sg.	ré-		-ε	ré
	2pl.	ré-		-ɔ (-ε)	ró (ré)
	3pl.	ré-		-ε~ (-ε)	ré~ (ré)
Negated Future	1sg.	ré-	-s	-ū~	résū~
	1pl.	ré-	-s	-ā~	résā~
	2/3sg.	ré-	-s	-ε	rése
	2pl.	ré-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	résɔ (résε)
	3pl.	ré-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	résε~ (résε)
Present Imperative	2sg.	ró-		∅	ró
	2pl.	ré-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	ró (ró~)
Future Imperative	2sg.	ré-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	rāīe (réī~e)
	2pl.	ré-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	rāīɔ (réī~ɔ~)

Table 46. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /é/: /ré-/ ‘stay’

		Stem	Aspect	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	ré-	-t	-ɔ	rétɔ
	m.pl.	ré-	-t	-ā	rētā
	f.sg.	ré-	-t	-ī	rétī
	f.pl.	ré-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	rétī~ (rétī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	ré-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	réo (río)
	m.pl.	ré-	-e (-ī)	-ā	rēā (ríā)
	f.sg.	ré-	-e (-ī)	-ī	rāī
	f.pl.	ré-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	rāī~ (rāī)

The inflections shown above for /rɛ-/ are identical to those for /kɛ-/ ‘say’ and /lɛ-/ ‘get down’ except where the latter shows irregular perfects, e.g. /latthɔ/ ‘(he) got down.’

Table 47. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ā/: /ā-/ ‘come’

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	ā-		-ū~	āū~
	1pl.	ā-		-ā~	āwā~
	2/3sg.	ā-		-ε	āwε (āε)
	2pl.	ā-		-ɔ (-ε)	āwɔ (āε)
	3pl.	ā-		-ε~ (-ε)	āwε~ (āε)
Negated Future	1sg.	ā-	-s	-ū~	āsū~
	1pl.	ā-	-s	-ā~	āsā~
	2/3sg.	ā-	-s	-ε	āse
	2pl.	ā-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	āsɔ (āse)
	3pl.	ā-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	āse~ (āse)
Present Imperative	2sg.	ā-		∅	ā
	2pl.	ā-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	āwɔ (āɔ~)
Future Imperative	2sg.	ā-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	āīe (āī~e)
	2pl.	ā-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	āīɔ (āī~ɔ~)

Table 48. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /ā/: /ā-/ ‘come’

		Stem	Aspect	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	ā-	-t	-ɔ	ātɔ
	m.pl.	ā-	-t	-ā	ātā
	f.sg.	ā-	-t	-ī	ātī
	f.pl.	ā-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	ātī~ (ātī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	ā-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	āeɔ
	m.pl.	ā-	-e (-ī)	-ā	āeā
	f.sg.	ā-	-e (-ī)	-ī	āī
	f.pl.	ā-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	āī~ (āī)

The inflections shown for /ā-/ in tables 47 and 48 are identical to those for /čā-/ ‘lift’ and the defective verb /jā-/ ‘go’ (which is never a main verb in my data).

Table 49. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /á/: /lá-/ ‘take off’

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	lá-		-ū~	láū~
	1pl.	lá-		-ā~	láwā~
	2/3sg.	lá-		-ε	láwε
	2pl.	lá-		-ɔ (-ε)	láwɔ (láε)
	3pl.	lá-		-ε~ (-ε)	láwε~ (láε)
Negated Future	1sg.	lá-	-s	-ū~	lásū~
	1pl.	lá-	-s	-ā~	lásā~
	2/3sg.	lá-	-s	-ε	láσε
	2pl.	lá-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	láɔɔ (láσε)
	3pl.	lá-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	láσε~ (láσε)
Present Imperative	2sg.	lá-		∅	lá
	2pl.	lá-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	láwɔ (láɔ~)
Future Imperative	2sg.	lá-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	láīe (láī~e)
	2pl.	lá-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	láīɔ (láī~ɔ~)

Table 50. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect; Stem Ends in /á/: /lá-/ ‘take off’

		Stem	Aspect	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	lá-	-t	-ɔ	látɔ
	m.pl.	lá-	-t	-ā	látā
	f.sg.	lá-	-t	-ī	látī
	f.pl.	lá-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	látī~ (látī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	lá-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	láeɔ
	m.pl.	lá-	-e (-ī)	-ā	láeā
	f.sg.	lá-	-e (-ī)	-ī	láī
	f.pl.	lá-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	láī~ (láī)

Table 51. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect: /de-/ ‘give’

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	de-		-ū~	dīū~
	1pl.	de-		-ā~	deā~ (dīā~)
	2/3sg.	de-		-ε	deε (dīε)
	2pl.	de-		-ɔ (-ε)	déɔ (dīε)
	3pl.	de-		-ε~ (-ε)	dé~ (dīε)
Negated Future	1sg.	de-	-s	-ū~	desū~
	1pl.	de-	-s	-ā~	desā~
	2/3sg.	de-	-s	-e	dese
	2pl.	de-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	desɔ (desε)
	3pl.	de-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	dese~ (desε)
Present Imperative	2sg.	de-		∅	dé
	2pl.	de-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	déɔ (dīɔ~)
Future Imperative	2sg.	de-	-ī (-ī~)	-ε	dāīe (dāī~e)
	2pl.	de-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	dāīɔ (dāī~ɔ~)

All high tone markings shown in Table 51 are tentative. High tone cannot be lexical for this verb since it never occurs in the bare-stem conjunctive participle (see 5.3.1).

Table 52. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect: /de-/ ‘give’

		Stem	Aspect	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	de-	-t	-ɔ	detɔ
	m.pl.	de-	-t	-ā	detā
	f.sg.	de-	-t	-ī	detī
	f.pl.	de-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	detī~ (detī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	de-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	dittɔ (dīttɔ)
	m.pl.	de-	-e (-ī)	-ā	dittā (dīttā)
	f.sg.	de-	-e (-ī)	-ī	dittī
	f.pl.	de-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	dittī~ (dittī)

Table 53. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect: /hò-/ ‘be’

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	hò-		-ū~	hòū~
	1pl.	hò-		-ā~	hòwā~ (wā~)
	2/3sg.	hò-		-ε	hòwε (wε)
	2pl.	hò-		-ɔ (-ε)	hòwɔ (wε)
	3pl.	hò-		-ε~ (-ε)	hòwε~ (wε)
Negated Future	1sg.	hò-	-s	-ū~	hòsū~
	1pl.	hò-	-s	-ā~	hòsā~
	2/3sg.	hò-	-s	-ε	hòsε
	2pl.	hò-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	hòsɔ (hòsε)
	3pl.	hò-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	hòsε~ (hòsε)
Present Imperative	2sg.	hò-		∅	hò
	2pl.	hò-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	hòwɔ (hò~w)
Future Imperative	2sg.	hò-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	hòīe (hòī~e)
	2pl.	hò-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	hòīɔ (hòī~ɔ~)

Table 54. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect: /hò-/ ‘be’

		Stem	Aspect	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	hò-	-t	-ɔ	hòtɔ
	m.pl.	hò-	-t	-ā	hòtā
	f.sg.	hò-	-t	-ī	hòtī
	f.pl.	hò-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	hòtī~ (hòtī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	hò-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	hòeɔ / hūɔ
	m.pl.	hò-	-e (-ī)	-ā	hòeā / hūā
	f.sg.	hò-	-e (-ī)	-ī	hòī / hūī
	f.pl.	hò-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	hòī~ (hòī)

In Table 54, the right-most perfective variants which are not in parentheses occur only in Eastern speech varieties.

Table 55. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect: /kar/ ‘do’

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	kar-		-ū~	karū~
	1pl.	kar-		-ā~	karā~
	2/3sg.	kar-		-ε	kare
	2pl.	kar-		-ɔ (-ε)	karɔ (kare)
	3pl.	kar-		-ε~ (-ε)	kare~ (kare)
Negated Future	1sg.	kar-	-s	-ū~	karsū~
	1pl.	kar-	-s	-ā~	karsā~
	2/3sg.	kar-	-s	-ε	karse
	2pl.	kar-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	karsɔ (karse)
	3pl.	kar-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	karse~ (karse)
Present Imperative	2sg.	kar-		∅	kar
	2pl.	kar-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	karɔ (karɔ~)
Future Imperative	2sg.	kar-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	karīe (karī~e)
	2pl.	kar-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	karīɔ (karī~ɔ~)

Table 56. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect: /kar-/ ‘do’

		Stem	Aspect	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	kar-	-t	-ɔ	kartɔ
	m.pl.	kar-	-t	-ā	kartā
	f.sg.	kar-	-t	-ī	kartī
	f.pl.	kar-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	kartī~ (kartī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	kar-	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	kareɔ (karīɔ) / kīɔ
	m.pl.	kar-	-e (-ī)	-ā	kareā (karīā) / kīā
	f.sg.	kar-	-e (-ī)	-ī	karī / kī (kaī)
	f.pl.	kar-	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	karī~ (karī) / kī~ (kī) (kaī)

Table 57. Gojri Verb Forms Unmarked for Aspect: /čal-/ ‘go’

		Stem	(Tense)	PC	Full form
Unspecified Habitual	1sg.	čal-		-ū~	čalū~
	1pl.	čal-		-ā~	čalā~
	2/3sg.	čal-		-ε	čalε
	2pl.	čal-		-ɔ (-ε)	čalɔ (čalε)
	3pl.	čal-		-ε~ (-ε)	čalε~ (čalε)
Negated Future	1sg.	čal-	-s	-ū~	čalsū~
	1pl.	čal-	-s	-ā~	čalsā~
	2/3sg.	čal-	-s	-ε	čalse
	2pl.	čal-	-s	-ɔ (-ε)	čalsɔ (čalse)
	3pl.	čal-	-s	-ε~ (-ε)	čalse~ (čalse)
Present Imperative	2sg.	čal-		∅	čal
	2pl.	čal-		-ɔ (-ɔ~)	čalɔ (čalɔ~)
Future Imperative	2sg.	čal-	-ī (-ī~)	-e	čalīe (čalī~e)
	2pl.	čal-	-ī (-ī~)	-ɔ (-ɔ~)	čalīɔ (čalī~ɔ~)

Table 58. Gojri Verb Forms Marked for Aspect: /čal-/ ‘go’

		Stem	Aspect	AC	Full form
Habitual (Negated)	m.sg.	čal-	-t	-ɔ	čaltɔ
	m.pl.	čal-	-t	-ā	čaltā
	f.sg.	čal-	-t	-ī	čaltī
	f.pl.	čal-	-t	-ī~ (-ī)	čaltī~ (čaltī)
Unspecified Perfective	m.sg.	-----	-e (-ī)	-ɔ	gīɔ (gīɔ)
	m.pl.	-----	-e (-ī)	-ā	gīā
	f.sg.	-----	-e (-ī)	-ī	gaī
	f.pl.	-----	-e (-ī)	-ī~ (-ī)	gaī~ (gaī)

## NOTES

Chapter 1

1. The transliteration *Gojri* reflects the Eastern pronunciation /goʃarī/ of Gujar language developers (and so Sharma 1979, 1982) while *Gujari* reflects the Western pronunciation /guʃarī/ (so Grierson 1973 (c1903); most other writers).
2. For example, compare the discussion and references in Hallberg and O'Leary (1992:94-96) to Khatana's conclusions (1992:52-53).
3. My source for this information and Gojri data from the Muzaffarabad area is Professor Sabir Afaqi, Ph.D, whom I interviewed in Abbottabad December 13-15, 2000.
4. Weber (1994) reviews the relevant literature while building a strong case for a Hispanic (Spanish-based) orthography for Quechua. The quotes by Walker and D'Emilio in this section are taken from pages 97 and 96 of the English version of his book, respectively.
5. That the major division within the nomadic Bakarwal community might correlate with a linguistic division that mirrors the East-West dialect division among settled Gujars is a hypothesis suggested when a passage in Kathana is read in light of the sociolinguistic survey conclusions:

... the Gujjar Bakarwals distinguish themselves also as *Kunhari Gujjar Bakarwals* and *Illahiwal Gujjar Bakarwals*. They derive these epithets from the name of the areas to which their ancestors belonged before they migrated to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The *Kunhari* Gujjar Bakarwals claim that their ancestors came from the valley of Kunhar. The Kunhar valley lies in the region of Kagan (Pakistan) consisting of the tributaries of the Kunhar, the Bogarmang, the Konash, and the Saran river valleys ... The *Illahiwal* Gujjar Bakarwals claim that their ancestors came from the region of Illahiwal, consisting of the tributaries of the Nandhar, the Rajawari, the

Kaladhaka, the Kohistan and the Swat (Pakistan) valleys (1992:52; italics and spellings his).

The linguistic evidence supporting this hypothesis includes the fact that the historic voiced aspirates (see 3.1.2.4) remain voiced in the *Allaiwal Bakarwal* subdialect, the *Allaiwal Bakarwal Muhajar* subdialect, and in the Western varieties reported in Hallberg and O’Leary (1992); while these segments are voiceless in the *Kaghani Bakarwal* subdialect, the *Kunhari Bakarwal Muhajar* subdialect, and in the Eastern varieties reported in Hallberg and O’Leary. See the lexical data given in Appendix B for word numbers 12, 35, 37, 48, 56, 59, 107-108, 112, 117, 132, 144, and 179. Words 51 and 103 provide further evidence, albeit by means of partial data sets.

6. In November 2000, this assistant administered a written morphological questionnaire (eliciting translations of select Eastern sentences) to twelve Gujar men in various parts of Swat, the results of which, together with Grierson’s data, confirm that Allaiwal morphology is indeed representative of the broader Western dialect.

## Chapter 2

1. Interestingly, however, some Gojri words containing /ɔ/ like /pɔč/ ‘arrive!’ have an /a/ + /u/ Urdu cognate, i.e. /pahunč/.

## Chapter 3

1. The labels ‘low tone’, ‘high tone’, and ‘mid tone’ are used at points in the present work, per usage by Sharma, Masica (r.e. Punjabi; 1991:118), and those he cites. These tones are marked in my phonemic transcriptions according to the orientalist transcription of Punjabi tone (Masica 1991:205).

2. The analysis here is with reference to the concepts and apparatus of Autosegmental Phonology (for an introduction to this theory, see Goldsmith (1990) and Gussenhoven & Jacobs (1998)).
3. One possible strategy for solving the ambiguities noted here would involve placing a vowel diacritic on *choti he* in the case of words with low-rising pitch, and on the consonant preceding *choti he* in the case of words with high-falling pitch. Even so, the result would be a tone orthography that does not work for the Western dialect, and one that deviates drastically from the ‘iconic’ orthography that most Eastern writers are actually using (further explored in 3.2.2.4).
4. This spelling is partially motivated by a desire for symmetry with *تهارو* /thāro/ pl. ‘your’.

#### Chapter 4

1. I do not discuss the structure of relative clauses in this paper.
2. Compare (201) with the use of the present auxiliary /h-/ in (339) to indicate that a particular state of affairs holds at the time of speaking:

(339)E. aǰ    hū~    padār hū~  
 today 1sg.NOM busy 1sg.PRES  
 ‘Today I am busy.’

- Compare (202) with the use of the past auxiliary /th-/ in (340) to indicate that a particular state of affairs held at some time prior to the time of speaking:

(340) kal    hū~    padār th-ǝ  
 yesterday 1sg.NOM busy PAST-NOM.M.SG  
 ‘Yesterday I was busy.’

3. As explained in 4.2.1.7, the /w-/ formative occurs with the perfective form of the verb (primarily in Eastern) to form perfective adjectival participles. For example, /(tamū) lagɔ wɔ (hè)/ ((tamū) lagɔ (ɛ)/) ‘[The] (tent is) pitched’. The ‘continuous auxiliary’ /lag-/ , together with /w-/ in Eastern, therefore comprises a perfective adjectival participle modifying the subject. Originally, this participle probably denoted that the subject was ‘engaged’ or ‘started’ (to use English participles) with respect to the verbal action (cf. the inceptive use of /lag-/ in 4.2.2.3).

4. The meaning of /pe-/ ‘fall’ in this construction is stronger than that conveyed when the copula is used in the same construction, as the latter expresses the agent’s *internal* compulsion to act. For example, consider the Eastern /minnā čalɔ hə/ ‘I have to go.’

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