

An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri

Braj B Kachru

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Braj B. Kachru

A Basic Course and Reference Manual for
Learning and Teaching Kashmiri as a Second Language

PART I



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PREFACE

In writing a pedagogically-oriented manual for learning a language, it is claimed that an author generally has a specific type of consumer in mind. These consumers are defined, for example, according to their age group or first language identification, or in terms of their goals for specialization in a particular second language. If one is guided by the latter category in planning a textbook, such a textbook is termed a “register-oriented” textbook. However, the producer of pedagogically-oriented materials soon learns that a pedagogue’s partiality for particular types of language learning materials is a very personal matter. It is like one’s preference for a particular vintage of wine or a pinch of special spice in a curry. Perhaps that explains why there still is no agreement on a theory of materials production. This may also be the reason that there is not a generally acceptable theory of mother-tongue or second language teaching. It is, therefore, not surprising that even now the following words of Henry Sweet, written in 1899, continue to be true:

In fact, things are altogether unsettled both as regards methods and textbooks. This is a good sign: it gives a promise of survival of the fittest. Anything is better than artificial uniformity enforced from without. (*The Practical Study of Languages: A Guide for Teachers and Learners*, [London, Dent, 1899], p.3)

There are innumerable manuals and textbooks for teaching of western languages (e.g., English), yet, the urge to produce more—both for the western and non-western consumer—is unlimited. One reason for this ever increasing production of textbooks is that every intelligent teacher and student has his own ideas of what makes an ideal textbook. (If there is a general agreement on a textbook, that is an accomplishment for the author.) Thus, the field of textbook writing continues to be very individualistic.

The tentative and exaggerated nature of contemporary theories, methods and techniques of textbook writing has not helped the situation. It seems to us that the primary reason for this state of the art is that we still have not gained meaningful answers to the basic theoretical and applied questions which are relevant to the textbook writing. For example, there are such questions as: What are the processes which are involved in the first (or second) language acquisition? or, What are the theoretical prerequisites for producing a satisfactory textbook for various types of learners?

We started with the above digression in order to point out that this manual has been produced for that consumer who is primarily interested in learning the Kashmiri language as a tool of cultural interaction in typically Kashmiri situations. The age group, the individuals specialization, or the learner’s particular first language, did not play a serious role in the planning. The book is, however, written for the non-Kashmiris who are not familiar with either the Kashmiri language or the distinct culture of the Kashmiris.

In teaching the western languages, a teacher and a learner has, at least, a wide choice in selection of the materials, since the tradition of the textbook writing in these languages is very old. The situation in the teaching materials for the non-western languages, especially those of South Asia, is very discouraging, in terms of both their quality and their availability. Among the non-western

languages, Kashmiri presents a unique problem: there are practically no teaching materials available for this language. This manual is, therefore, the first attempt to initiate pedagogical material for it.

This book has been written with a very modest goal in mind: that of presenting the language materials for Kashmiri in Kashmiri cultural settings. We have not attempted to present a new approach to the teaching of a non-western language, far from it. If any such approach emerges out of this book, that is unintentional. The general organization of this book has been discussed in the section entitled “Notes on the plan of this manual.”

The lack of any previous tradition of pedagogical materials for Kashmiri - for learning it as a first or second language - has made the author’s job particularly difficult. In Kashmir where Kashmiri is natively spoken by about two million people, Kashmiri has not attained any serious status in the educational system of the state. It is the only state in India in which a non-native language has been recognized by the legislature of the state as the state language.

This manual may be used either for classroom teaching or for those wanting a self-instructional course. In the bibliography we have included a list of the supplementary materials which a teacher and/or a learner might find useful. *An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri* has developed out of an ongoing research project on the Kashmiri language at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. We are circulating this preliminary edition to interested scholars in Kashmir and elsewhere, with the hope that their comments will help us in revising it in order to provide a better manual in the future. These materials have all the limitations and inadequacies which such language materials have that have not been tried for a prolonged period in the actual classroom situation. We propose to use this manual at the University of Illinois in a course entitled “Introduction to Kashmiri” to be offered in the Summer 1973. We will be pleased if this manual initiates interest in the teaching and research in Kashmiri in Kashmir and elsewhere; subhastu te panthanah santu.

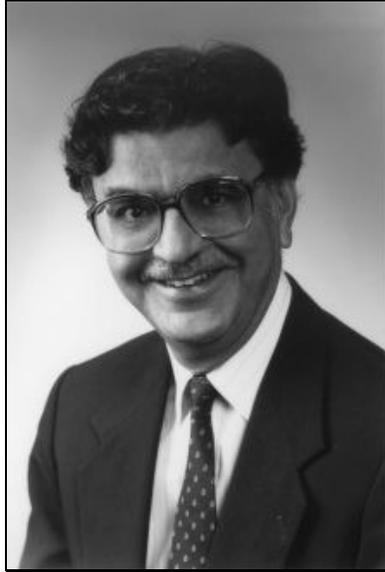
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In writing this manual the author has derived great benefit from the comments, criticisms and, at times, persistent disagreements of several colleagues and students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Onkar N. Pandit deserves special mention for his assistance on this project almost since its inception. In his own quiet way, he evaluated each lesson and provided insightful criticism. His help was valuable for another reason, also; for a long time he was the only other native speaker of the Kashmiri language on this campus, with whom the author could converse in Kashmiri.

The author also owes special gratitude to Mohan Raina for drawing the original illustrations; to Tej K. Bhatia for commenting on several lessons from a non-native learner's point of view; to Jeanne Kriechbaum for patiently typing a complex manuscript, written mostly in a language that she did not understand; to Chin-chuan Cheng, Yamuna Kachru, Maria Keen and Girdhari L. Tikku, whose brains were picked very frequently with all types of questions, and who provided constructive suggestions on one or more sections of this book concerning presentation, style, content and translation; to Josephine Wilcock for looking after the administrative details of this project; to Lynne Hellmer and Sue Dennis for their secretarial help; to the Center for International Comparative Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for a grant for fieldwork; to the Institute of International Studies, United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for their support of this project.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



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Professor Braj B. Kachru is the Director of the Centre for Advanced Study at the University of Illinois, Champaign, USA. He is the world's leading scholar in the field of world Englishes; he has pioneered, shaped, and defined the linguistic, socio-cultural and pedagogical dimensions of cross-cultural diffusion of English.

Professor Kachru is author or editor of 20 books, including the prize-winning *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions and Models of Non-Native Englishes*, associate editor of the acclaimed *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* and Contributor to the *Cambridge History of the English Language*. In addition, he has written over 100 research papers, review articles and reviews on Kashmiri and Hindi languages and literatures, and theoretical and applied aspects of language in society. Kachru sits on the editorial boards of eight scholarly journals, and is founder and co-editor of the journal *World Englishes*. He has chaired many national and international committees and led several organisations, including the American Association for Applied Linguistics. Among his many awards is the Duke of Edinburgh Award (1987).

Professor Kachru holds appointments in linguistics, education, comparative literature and English as an international language. He is a Jubilee Professor of Liberal Arts and Sciences and was head of the Department of Linguistics for 11 years, director of English as an International Language for six years, and director of the Linguistic Institute of the Linguistic Society of America (1978). He has had fellowships from the British Council, the East-West Centre and the American Institute of Indian Studies. He has held visiting professorships in Canada, Singapore and India.

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

[]	phonetic transcription
//	phonemic transcription
:	(following a vowel) shows that a vowel is long, e.g. a:va:z ‘sound’. In certain cases we have also used - above a vowel to indicate vowel length, e.g. na:n
‘	(following a consonant) shows palatalization of a consonant, e.g., t’ol ‘jealousy’, kh’an ‘food’
.	(below a consonant) shows retroflexion, e.g., po:t ‘fine silk thread’
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
conj.	conjunction
emph.	emphatic
f.	feminine
hon.	honorific
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
int.	intransitive
inter.	interrogative
m.	masculine
n.	noun
plu.	plural
pro.	pronoun
sing.	singular
v.	verb
<u>HJ</u>	<u>Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, London, 1886, reprinted 1968.</u>
<u>RGK</u>	<u>A Reference Grammar of Kashmiri, Braj B. Kachru, Urbana, 1969.</u>

NOTES ON THE PLAN OF THIS MANUAL

An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri is a manual for learning spoken Kashmiri of Srinagar, the summer capital of the Jammu and Kashmir state in India. The basic assumptions behind both the planning of this book and its structure are discussed below. We hope that the following notes will provide a guide to the users of this manual.

Structure of the Book

The book is divided into eight sections. The first section provides a very brief socio-linguistic profile of the Kashmiri language. The second section describes the sounds of Kashmiri, and provides some material for pronunciation practice. The third section introduces sixteen *functional conversations* (Lessons 1 through 16). By a functional conversation is meant a situation-oriented short conversation in which the participants are primarily using repetitive language. The fourth section comprises fifteen lessons (Lessons 17 through 31). These are termed *conversations*. The aim of these conversations is to use language for discussing Kashmir-oriented topics in a semi-formal relationship between the participants. The participants are a Kashmiri and a non-Kashmiri. These conversations are longer than the ones presented in the previous section. A majority of the lessons in this section discuss the topics about Kashmir, the Kashmiris, and the important places in Kashmir. There are also two lessons about the Kashmiri firepot and the Kashmiri shawl merchant. The fifth section, entitled *Notes on advanced grammar*, provides a skeleton description of some topics on grammar which have not been discussed in the previous sections. This section may be consulted by a learner at any stage, depending on his interest and his background. The sixth section includes twelve *review exercises* that emphasize grammar, comprehension, and translation. In the Table of Contents of this book, the focus of each exercise is given to help the teacher and the learner in selecting the exercises. We have also included hints for working on the exercises. These hints should be consulted with reluctance, but, preferably not until after the answers to the exercises have been attempted. The seventh section (Lessons 32 through 45) includes fourteen *narrative texts*. These lessons discuss the following types of themes. The legend about Kashmir; the places of interest in Kashmir; a Kashmiri folk tale; some historical characters; typical Kashmiri objects; the saints, some earlier poets of Kashmir, and three modern poets of Kashmir. The last section includes specimens of Kashmiri *poetry*. These poems are by the same poets who are included in the previous section, namely, Lal Ded, Habba Khatun, Zinda Koul ‘Masterji’, Gulam Ahmad ‘Mahjoor’ and Dina Nath ‘Nadim’.

Structure of Each Lesson

The lessons 1 through 31 have been structured in the following way. At the beginning of each lesson, there is an introduction to the lesson. This is divided into three brief subsections, namely, the contextual focus, the grammatical focus, and the lexical focus. After this the main lesson starts. There is at least one illustration in a majority of the lessons, drawn by a native Kashmiri artist, which provides some visual aid for understanding the lesson. In each lesson, the lexical meaning of all the new words is given before presenting a Kashmiri sentence in which the word(s) occur. The Kashmiri sentence is then followed by a free translation into English. The translation does not necessarily provide a one-to-one correspondence with the Kashmiri sentence. Each lesson is followed by a detailed section which includes notes on cultural matter,

or other contextually relevant information, grammar, vocabulary, drills and exercises. It is up to the instructor or the learners to determine how much of this section is to be used in the class. It is also up to the instructor to determine whether the drills are to be used only for the oral practice in the class or also as take-home assignments. In the lessons 32 through 50 we have provided no notes; we have only provided ‘equivalents’ of important lexical items.

Style of Speech

The variety of Kashmiri presented in this book is my idiolect, with serious input from Onkar N. Pandit. If we use George Grierson’s terms, our variety of Kashmiri may be termed “Hindu Kashmiri” though I personally do not like this term. However, we have made a serious attempt to neutralize the Sanskrit elements in our speech at the lexical level. In the narrative texts (Lessons 32 through 45), it has not always been possible to avoid the Sanskrit items. The tradition of prose writing is still very recent in Kashmiri, and the present prose is either Persianized as that of Radio Kashmir or Sanskritized. Radio Kashmir has developed a very stilted prose style which sounds like servile translations of English or Urdu news releases. We feel that in grammar and pronunciation the difference has been substantially neutralized.

Variant Forms

In a few cases, a learner will find in this text the variant forms of the same lexical items. At the beginning, this may be a little confusing. It is, however, good to learn that human languages have a component of variation, too.

Culture Notes

The notes given in this book on Kashmiri culture are very brief. We have attempted to cover all those points which are crucial for the understanding of the text. A learner who is interested in a more detailed treatment of either the Kashmiri culture or the literature will find the suggested reading list useful.

Grammar

In the Introduction to each lesson, the subsection entitled “Grammatical focus” gives some indication of what follows in the lesson. The grammar section which follows each lesson does not necessarily form a part of the lesson. However, we have attempted to incorporate those grammatical points in the discussion which we think are relevant to the text. It is important that an instructor and the learner do serious shunting back and forth to make those sections meaningful.

The aim of the grammatical notes is not to present a complete grammar of the Kashmiri language in this manual. These are merely skeleton notes and are not complete or exhaustive. We suggest that the author’s *A Reference Grammar of Kashmiri (RGK)* be used as a companion volume to this book. The author recommends the *RGK* with hesitation since it needs serious revisions. In a revised version of it, ideally speaking, the author would like to retain only its title. A Kashmiri-knowing instructor should be able to draw a learner’s attention to its weak points as well as to its strong points. In the grammar section, we have presented several tense forms in one place. This

has been done for the sake of convenience actually, such material may be presented to students in smaller sections at various stages.

Grading of Materials

In the contemporary language pedagogy, it is fashionable to use the term “grading”. A word on that might not be out of place here. The materials presented here have been “graded” intuitively. We have not used any statistical techniques for the vocabulary control or for grading the structures. We propose to prepare such supplementary materials in the near future.

Translations

The translation of lexical items or of constructions does not represent a formal equivalence. At places, it was difficult to establish even lexical equivalence between Kashmiri and English lexical items. For example, Kashmiri *tsot* is not English ‘bread’ or Hindi-Urdu *chapati*. It is a Kashmiri version of Persian *na:n*, which is eaten as snack with Kashmiri tea. The translation of Kashmiri *tsa:man* as English ‘cheese’ also shows arbitrary equivalence.

All translations of the poems in section VIII have been done by the author, except for four *va:ks* of Lal Ded for which we have used the translations of George Grierson or Richard Temple.

Vocabulary and Glossary

In the introduction to each lesson (up to Lesson 32) there is a subsection entitled lexical focus. Under this subsection we have provided contextually determined lexical sets. After each lesson there is a list of useful vocabulary items. In Part II of *An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri* there is also a glossary.

Contents of Part II

This manual has a companion volume (Part II). It includes a glossary which is divided into three parts. The first part gives English equivalents for Kashmiri words. The second part gives Kashmiri equivalents for English words. The third part includes a partial list of English borrowings in Kashmiri. In addition, it also includes a glossary of selected terms used in this manual and, suggestions for further reading.

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Book II
GLOSSARY (Book II)

I. INTRODUCTION

A Sociolinguistic Profile of Kashmiri

Introduction

The research on the linguistic aspects of the Kashmiri language is very inadequate and fragmentary; therefore, a clear sociolinguistic profile of the language has not emerged as yet. There are several reasons for this lack of research on Kashmiri. Consider the following 1 observation (Kachru, 1969) [1].

The last two decades, especially after 1955, have been of substantial linguistic activity on the Indian sub-continent. A large number of Indic languages have been analyzed for the first time, and new analyses of many languages have been worked out following contemporary linguistic models. By and large, this linguistic interest has left Kashmiri and other Dardic languages untouched. There are two main reasons for this neglect of the Dardic languages. First, politically, the task is difficult since the Dardic language area spreads over three political boundaries and involves three countries (i.e. Afghanistan, sections of the western part of Pakistan, and the northern part of India). Second, geographically, the terrain is not easily accessible. Thus there continues to be a great shortage of reliable and detailed linguistic literature on the Dardic language family.

In the following pages, some basic information is presented which should be of interest as a background for the study of Kashmiri, to someone who is studying the language.

At present, the area-defined varieties of Kashmiri are very tentatively classified; and, for most of these, we do not have any descriptions or lexicons available (see Grierson, 1915; and Kachru, 1969).

Area and Speakers

The Kashmiri language and its dialects are spoken by 1,959,115 people in the Valley of Kashmir and surrounding areas. The language area covers approximately 10,000 square miles in the Jammu and Kashmir State. [2] The natives of Kashmir call their land *kəʃi:r* and their language *kəʃur*. In Hindi-Urdu the terms *kašmi:ri* or *ka:šmi:ri* are used for the language.[3]

Origin of Kashmiri

The question of the linguistic origin of Kashmiri, and its relation, on the one hand, to the Dardic group of languages and, on the other hand to the Indo-Aryan group of languages, continues to be discussed. The question was originally raised in a serious sense by Grierson. [4] He claimed that, linguistically, Kashmiri holds a peculiar position because it has some formal features which show its Dardic characteristics and many other features which it shares with the Indo-Aryan languages. There are basically the following two views on the origin of Kashmiri. The first view is that Kashmiri developed like other Indo-Aryan languages, (e.g., Hindi and Punjabi) out of the

Indo-European family of languages and thus, may be considered a branch of Indo-Aryan. Chatterjee argues that

... Kashmiri, in spite of a Dardic substratum in its people and its speech, became a part of the Sanskritic culture-world of India. The Indo-Aryan Prakrits and Apabhramsa from the Midland and from Northern Panjab profoundly modified the Dardic bases of Kashmiri, so that one might say that the Kashmiri language is a result of a very large over-laying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan elements. [5]

The second view is that Kashmiri belongs to a separate group—within the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European - called the Dardic (or the) group of languages, the other two members of the group being Indo-Aryan and Iranian. Grierson suggests that

... the Pišācha languages, which include the Shina-Khowar group, occupy a position intermediate between the Sanskritic languages of India proper and Eranian languages farther to their west. They thus possess many features that are common to them and to the Sanskritic languages. But they also possess features peculiar to themselves, and others in which they agree rather with languages of the Eranian family.... That language [Kashmiri] possesses nearly all the features that are peculiar to Pišācha, and also those in which Pišācha agrees with Eranian. [6]

Three language groups are included in the Dardic family: the **Kafiri** Group, the **Khowar** Group, and the **Dard** Group. It is rather difficult to give the exact number of speakers of these three groups because political and geographical factors have made it impossible to secure any reliable figures. Often the number of speakers and the name of a language varies from study to study. Traditionally, the above three groups have further been sub-classified according to the languages and/or dialects in each group. In three available studies [7], one finds extreme differences and confusions in both the names and number of languages listed under these three groups. These lists, according to Morgenstern [8], are partially correct. Morgenstern has also pointed out other inconsistencies pertaining to the names of languages and/or dialects as they appear in these studies.

<u>Table Showing the Speakers of Dardic Languages [9]</u> Language (or Group)	Number of Speakers
Kifiri Group	1
Khowar Group	3
Shina	856
Brokpa	544
Chilasi	82
Gilgiti	76
Siraji	19,978

Out of the languages of the Dardic Group, Kashmiri came under the direct influence of Sanskrit and later Prakrits, and much later under Persian and Arabic.

Dialects of Kashmiri

There has been no serious dialect research on Kashmiri. The outdated and rather tentative dialect classification of Kashmiri by Grierson continues to be used in current literature. Adopting the same framework, the dialects of Kashmiri may be grouped along two dimensions: (a) those dialects which are area-defined, and (b) those dialects which are defined in terms of the user.

The list of area-defined dialects given in Grierson and in the Census of India 1961 are not identical. In the latter, the following dialects are listed: Bunjwali (550); Kishtwari (11,633); Poguli (9,508); Shiraji-Kashmiri (19,978); Kaghani (152); and Kohistani (81). Grierson, on the other hand, claims that Kashmiri has “only one true dialect—Kashtawari” and “a number of mixed dialects such as Poguli, Siraji of Doda and Rambani Farther east, over the greater part of the Riasi District of the State, there are more of these mixed dialects, about which nothing certain is known, except that the mixture is rather between Kashmiri and the Chibhali form of Lahanda.” [10]

There has been no linguistically-oriented field work on the dialects of Kashmiri. The above classifications, determined by both Grierson and the Census of India, 1961, seem to be arbitrary and subjective. Perhaps further investigation may show that Kashtawari is the only dialect of Kashmiri, as is claimed by Grierson, and that the other varieties are (a) those based on the variations of village speech, (b) those based on Sanskrit and Persian/Arabic influences, and (c) those based on professions and occupations of speakers.

In some studies, the above (b) have been termed the religious dialects of Kashmiri (i.e., Hindu Kashmiri and Muslim Kashmiri).

Geographical Dialects

In current literature, the following are generally treated as the area-defined dialects of Kashmiri:

1. Kashtawari : This is spoken in the Valley of Kashtawār which lies on the southeast of Kashmir, on the upper Chinab River. It shows the deep influence of the Pahāri and the Lahandā dialects, and is written in the Takri characters.
2. Pogulī: This is spoken in the valleys of Pogul, Paristan and Sar. These valleys lie to the west of Kashtawar and to the south of the Pir Pantsal (Panchal) range. Bailey has used the cover-term Poguli for the language of this area. It is mixed with the Pahari and Lahanda dialects.

3. Siraji : This is spoken in the town of Doda on the River Chinab. Whether or not it is a dialect of Kashmiri is still debated. Grierson thinks that it can, with almost “equal correctness, be classed as a dialect of Kashmiri... because it possesses certain Dardic characteristics which are absent in Western Pahari. [11]
4. Rāmbani: This is spoken in a small area that lies between Srinagar and Jammu. It is a mixture of Siraji and Dogri, and shares features with both Kashmiri and Dogri.

In the literature, the Kashmiri Speech Community has traditionally been divided into the following area-defined dialects:

- (a) mara:z (in the southern and southeastern region),
- (b) kamra:z (in the northern and northwestern region), and
- (c) yamra:z (in Srinagar and some of its surrounding areas).

On the basis of this grouping, it is believed that the Kashmiri spoken in the mara:z area is highly Sanskritized and the variety spoken in the kamra:z area has had a deep Dardic influence. Note that further research on the dialect situation of Kashmiri may show that, in addition to village dialects (and perhaps religious dialects), Kashtawari is the only dialect of Kashmiri outside of the valley, and that the other dialects discussed above are only partially influenced by Kashmiri, since they are spoken in transition zones.

Sanskritized and Persianized Dialects

In earlier and current literature, it has been claimed that in terms of the users there are two dialects of Kashmiri: Hindu Kashmiri, and Muslim Kashmiri [12] The evidence presented for this religious dichotomy is that Hindu Kashmiri has borrowings from Sanskrit sources, and Muslim Kashmiri has borrowings from Persian (and Arabic) sources. It turns out that the situation is not as clear cut as has been presented by Grierson and Zinda Koul ‘Masterji’, for example. The religious dichotomy applies, to some extent, to Srinagar Kashmiri, but it presents an erroneous picture of the overall dialect situation of the language. We shall, therefore, use rather neutral terms, i.e., Sanskritized Kashmiri (SK) and Persianized Kashmiri (PK).

The differences at the phonetic/phonological levels between the two communities may be explained in terms of distribution and frequency of certain phonemes. The sub-system of borrowed phonological features also is shared by the educated speakers of the two communities (e.g., /f/ and /q/). The other differences are mainly lexical and, in a very few cases, morphological. Lexically, SK has borrowed from Sanskrit sources and PK from Persian and Arabic sources. This aspect of Kashmiri, however, needs further research.

In village Kashmiri, the religion-marking phonetic/phonological and morphological features merge into one, though in Srinagar Kashmiri, as stated earlier, they mark the two communities as separate. In recent years, with the spread of education, the religious differences have been slowly disappearing. In earlier studies, the observations made on the religious dialects of Kashmiri are mainly based on lexical evidence, and whatever phonetic/phonological evidence is presented is from Srinagar Kashmiri. Consider, for example, the sound alternations in the following section.

Pronunciation

The following variations are, essentially, the substitution of different phonemes in individual lexical items. It seems that the two communities share one overall phonological system; In Srinagar Kashmiri [ɾ] alternates with [r] in the speech of Muslims. This feature is again shared by both communities in village Kashmiri, (e.g., PK gur 'horse', yo:ɾ 'here', ho:ɾ 'there' ; SK gur, yo:r, ho:r). Note also, among others, the following differences:

VOWELS

- (i) central vowel -> front vowel (SK rikh 'line', ɽikh 'run', khin 'nasal mucus'; PK ritkh, ɽikh, khin')
- (ii) high central vowel -> low central vowel (SK gə:ɽh 'eagle', 'eagle', dəh 'ten', kəhvɪ 'tea'; PK rikh, ɽikh, khin')
- (iii) central vowel---> back vowel (SK mə:ɽ 'mother'; PK mo:ɽ)
- (iv) initial back vowel--> central vowel (SK o:lav 'potatoes'; PK ə:lav)

CONSONANTS

- (i) v-> ph (SK kh(h) vur 'left', ho(h)vur 'wife's parents'; PK khophur, hophur)
- (ii) initial or --> c' (SK bro:r 'cat' kru:r 'well'; PK b'o:r, k'u:r)
- (iii) r—ɾ (SK gur 'horse', yo:r 'here', ho:r 'there'; PK gur, yo:ɾ, ho:ɾ)

Lexis

The lexical variation between SK and PK is based on the sources of lexical items. In SK there is a high frequency of Sanskrit items, while in PK there are Persian and Arabic borrowings. On the other hand, a number of registers (e.g., legal or business) have a high frequency of Persio-Arabic borrowings that are shared by both the communities. Note that the dichotomy of SK and PK does not always hold with reference to the use of Sanskritized words by the Hindus and Persianized words by the Muslims. There are several examples where Muslims use SK and Hindus use PK, for example, tsəndir 'moon' has a high frequency among Muslims. Consider the following two sets of lexical items.

Sanskritized:

athɪ ɧhalun 'to wash hands', bagba:n 'God',
bohgun 'cooking vessel', ɧa:y 'tea', darim 'religion',
ganɧun 'betrothal', gəso:n 'a holyman', havah 'wind',
kho:s 'cup', kru:d 'anger', mədre:r 'augar', mahra: 'sir',
mɪθɪr 'urine', marid 'a man', mo:l 'father', neni 'meat',
namaska:r 'greeting', pə:n 'water', pa:ph 'sin', pən
'good deed', pə:ɽa:mɪ 'trousers', pra:n 'soul', rəɧh 'amulet',
šokirva:r 'Friday', siri: 'sun', sərig 'paradise' səpun 'dream',
tha:l 'dish', vurivbal 'kitchen for a feast', zuka:m 'influenza',

The Persianized forms of these are given below.

Persianized: abhī pəθhrun, khōda:, pəti:li,

kəhvī, di:n, nišə:n', pəki:r va:v,

p'a :li, gəsi, khand,haz, idra :r, mohn'uv, bab na :ti (or ma :z),

sala :m, a :b, gənah, sava :b, ye :za:ri, ruh, tə:vi:zi,

ʃumah, akhta:b, ʃanath, kha:b, trə:m', va:zi:va:n nəzli.

Morphology

The morphological differences are of two types: those which differ in the source (see above), and those which show the presence of an item in one community which is now absent in the speech of the other community.

Note, for example, that in PK hargah has been preserved as a conjunction, but in SK it is fast disappearing, at least in Srinagar SK. In Srinagar agar is used more frequently (this is a loan from Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi). This also applies to the item məkhi (e.g., ami məkhi, go:s ni bi tot, 'I did not go there for this reason.') which is restricted to PK. The use of the following declensions is also restricted to Muslims in Srinagar Kashmiri, although it is shared by both communities in the villages:

nəm (fem. nəmī), nəmanhund, nəman, nəmav.

Standard Kashmiri

It is customary to consider Kashmiri, as spoken in Srinagar, as the standard form of the language. The attitude-denoting such terms as ga:mī, kə:ʃur 'village Kashmiri' and ʃahri kə:ʃur 'city Kashmiri' are frequently used to mark speakers. The administrative and educational uses of Kashmiri are still very restricted. Therefore, the process of standardization is very slow. In recent years, especially since 1947, Kashmiri has been used for various forms of creative writing. This has helped in developing various literary styles.

The Writing Systems of Kashmiri

The aim of this manual is not to introduce a learner to the writing system of Kashmiri. We have, therefore, used a modified version of the Roman script, with some diacritical marks added. There were several reasons for this decision. The main reason is that there is no uniformity in the use of scripts for Kashmiri. In recent years, Kashmiri has been written in more than one script. The reasons for this lack of uniformity are both socio-religious and political. The following scripts are used for Kashmiri and some of its dialects.

The Shārdā Script

Developed around the 10th century, this is the oldest script known to Kashmiris. It is now used for restricted purposes by a small group among the Kashmiri Pandit community (e.g., for religious purposes or horoscope writing). In formation, the symbols are different from the

Devanagari symbols and every letter of the alphabet has a name.

The Devanāgarī Script

This was used by Kashmiri Hindus for writing Kashmiri literature until 1947, and is still in use today. It was made popular particularly by Zinda Koul ‘Masterji’ and S. K. Toshkhani.

The Persio-Arabic Script

This cuts across religious boundaries and is now used by both the Pandits and the Muslims. It has also been recognized as the official script for Kashmiri by the Jammu and Kashmir government.

The Roman Script

This, too, has been used by a very small number of Kashmiris (see J. L. Kaul, Kashmiri Lyrics).

The Ṭakri script

This is used in the Kashtawar area for Kashtawari.

Literary Tradition

In the Dardic group, Kashmiri is the only language which has a literary tradition. The earliest literary text of Kashmiri has been placed between 1200 and 1500 A.D. The tradition of literary writing, however, was not continuous, and there have been many significant interruptions. We may divide the history of Kashmiri literature, on the basis of the language features and content of the texts, into the following tentative periods: the Early Period (up to 1500 A.D.), the Early Middle Period (1500 to 1800 A.D.), the Late Middle Period (up to 1900 A.D.), the Modern Period (1900-1946), the Contemporary Period (1947-).

Mahānaya-Prakāsha, a work on Tantric worship, is considered to be the first extant manuscript written in the Sharda script (cf. 5.0.). Little is known about its author Sitikanta Acharya. Grierson assigns it to the 15th century, but Chatterji and some other scholars [13] are of the opinion that it was composed around the 13th century. Another work, Chumma-Sampradāya, is comprised of seventy-four verses belongs to the same period. The development of prose forms of literature (e.g., novels, short stories, drama) is very recent in Kashmiri. In this book we have written brief notes on five poets of Kashmiri. These include two poetesses, Lal Ded and Habba Khatun, and three poets, Zinda Koul ‘Masterji’, Gulam Ahmad ‘Mahjoor’, and Dina Nath ‘Nadim’. We have also included some of their poems (see Lessons 46 through 50).

Influences on Kashmiri

In general, the languages of the Dardic-group show a large number of lexical items which have been preserved from Vedic Sanskrit and which are rarely found in other Indian languages. The Kashmiri language and literature had two major influences. First, the earliest phase of Kashmiri shows the impact of Sanskrit on Kashmiri. The second phase began after the invasions of the

Muslims and the large scale conversion to Islam. This phase led to Persian (and Arabic) influences. The impact of the West on Kashmiri literature is recent.

kə:šur in Kashmir

In the current language planning of Kashmir, kə:šur does not play an important role. Kashmir is the only State of India in which a non-native language was introduced as the state language after the Independence. Thus, Kashmiri, which is the first language of 1,959,115 speakers, is not now in the language planning of the state. Though Kashmiri is the medium of instruction in the primary schools, the teachers have inadequate teaching materials and no motivation for teaching their own language. In this connection, the following observation continues to be true (see Kachru, 1969).

The University of Jammu and Kashmir has so far shown no interest in research in Kashmiri and/or other Dardic languages. One can count many reasons for this attitude (e.g., political, educational), but the main reason is the language-attitude of Kashmiris toward their own language. This attitude has developed over hundreds of years under varied foreign political and cultural domination and, in spite of the recent cultural upsurge, the attitude toward the language has not changed. Perhaps this is why the Government and other educational institutions [14] do not seriously consider [kə:šur] under their academic domain.

Notes and References

1. Braj B. Kachru, “Kashmiri and Other Dardic Languages” in Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol. 5, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), p. 284.
2. Registrar-General and Census Commissioner of India, Census of India, Vol. 1, Part 2, Language Tables (Delhi: 1965).
3. In English a number of spellings have been used in literature for transliterating the word Kashmiri, e.g., Kaschemiri, Cashmiri, Cashmeeree, Kacmiri.
4. For arguments in favor and against these two views, cf. G.A. Grierson, The Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. 8, Part 2, p. 235 and pp. 241-253; Sunitikumar Chatterji, Indo-Aryan and Hindi, 2nd edition (Calcutta: 1960), pp. 130-131; Languages and Literatures of Modern India (Calcutta: 1963), pp. 33-34; M.S. Namus, “Origin of Shina Language” in Pakistani Linguistics 1962, Lahore, pp. 55-60; Census of India 1961, pp. ccii-cciii; Braj B. Kachru, op. cit.
5. Sunitikumar Chatterji, Languages and Literatures of Modern India (Calcutta: 1963), p. 256.
6. G.A. Grierson, “The Linguistic Classification of Kashmiri”, Indian Antiquary, XLIV, (1915).
7. For sub-classifications of languages/dialects under these three groups see: “The Dardic branch or sub-branch of Indo-European” in the supplement “Languages of the World: Indo-European Fascicle One” of Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. 7, No. 8, Nov. 1965, pp. 284-294; Grierson, G.A., Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. 8, Part 2, p. 2; A. Mitra, Census of India, 1961, Vol. 1, an introductory note on classification by R.C. Nigam, Registrar General, India, (Delhi: 1964), pp. ccii, cciii, ccxxxiv, 216, and 401. The following review article based on the available published literature, presents the same sub-classification as given in the above studies: Braj B. Kachru, “Kashmiri and Other Dardic Languages”, in Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol. 5, pp. 284-306. It seems that if Morgenstern’s observation is correct,

then all the above mentioned studies are misleading. Kachru (*op. cit.*) has referred to this confusion in the available literature on the Dardic languages in his study. Note the following: “We do not have reliable figures even about the number of speakers of these languages. What is worse, in the available studies, there is no uniformity about the number and names of languages which are included under the Dardic group . (Ibid.,p. 286)

The following are some of the important studies on the Dardic group of languages (mainly on the Kafiri and Khowar).

S.A. Burnes “On the Siah-Posh Kafirs: with Specimens of their language and costume” , Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 7, (1838); G. Morgenstierne, “Indo-European K in Kafiri”, NTS, Vol. 13 (1945); “The Personal Pronouns first and second plural in the Dardic and Kafir Languages”, IL, Vol. V (1953); Ernest Trumpp, “On the Language of the So-called Kafirs of the Indian Caucasus”, JRAS, Vol. 29 (1862), (also cf. ZDMG, Vol. 20, 1868).

G. Morgenstierne, “Some Features of Khowar Morphology”, NTS, Vol 24 (1947); “Sanskrit Words in Khowar”, in Felicitation Volume Presented to Professor Sripad Krishna Belvalkar , ed. S. Radhakrishnan, et. al. (Benaras: 1957); D.J.T. O’Brien, Grammar and Vocabulary of the Khowar Dialect (Chitrali), with Introductory Sketch of country and People (Lahore: 1895).

See also footnote 9 for Shina.

8. In a personal communication dated June 1, 1970, Georg Morgenstierne, makes the following points about the classification of the Dardic group of languages:
- a) Wai-ala is identical with Waigali of which Zhonjigali is a sub-dialect;
 - b) Prasun is another name for Wasi-veri;
 - c) the correct form [of Ashkund] is Ashkun;
 - d) Dameli [not mentioned in any of the lists in above mentioned studies (see fn. 7)] “might possibly be included” among the languages in the Kafir group;
 - e) “Gowar-bati, Pashai and Tirahi are not Kafir languages, and Lagman, Deghani (for Dehgani) are neither alternative names for Pashai as a whole, nor well-chosen names for the most important dialects of this extremely split-up language”;
 - f) Bashkarik belongs (together with Torwali and other dialects) to the Kohistani group, “at any rate in the generally accepted meaning of this term”;
 - g) Gujuri is not a Kafiri nor even a Dardic language; under Shina the archaic Phalura (in Chitral) should be mentioned.

In addition to this he has also made certain points about the Khowar group. This communication of Morgenstierne makes it clearer that we still do not have even a definitive or reliable classification of these languages. The three studies mentioned in fn. 7 are therefore to be taken as very tentative and in many cases misleading and incorrect.

9. Cf. The Census of India, 1961 (Delhi: 1964), pp. ccii-cciii. Note that the Census Report makes it clear that “...the Kafir and Khowar groups of speakers have their main concentration outside the Indian territory ...”.
10. The Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. 8, Part 2, p. 233.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 433.
12. Braj B. Kachru, *op. cit.*
13. Sunitikumar Chatterji, Languages and Literatures of Modern India (Calcutta: 1963), pp. 258-259.
14. Kachru, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

II. THE SOUNDS OF KASHMIRI

Introduction

In this section, we shall discuss the sounds of Kashmiri, and provide illustrations to give the learner the basic idea of these sounds. A detailed drill-oriented section, entitled Pronunciation Practice (see.2.0), follows this section. It is expected that both the teacher and the student will concentrate on that section both the teacher and student will concentrate on that section in order to focus on the particular sounds which a learner might find difficult. The only way to learn a non-native sound is to understand its production, and then drill until a native speaker or language is satisfied that it is a close approximation of the sounds.

The sounds of Kashmiri have been divided into two main sections: *vowels* and *consonants*.

Vowels

There are eight vowels in Kashmiri, i.e.

- a) two high vowels, front and back: *i* and *u*
- b) two mid vowels, front and back: *e* and *o*
- c) one lower-mid back vowel: *ɔ*
- d) three central vowels, high, mid, and low: *ɨ*, *ə* and *ɜ*.

All eight vowels have long forms. Note the following.

i) *i* and *i:* are high front unrounded vowels. These are close to Hindi-Urdu *i* as in *milna*: ‘to meet; and *i:* as in *asli*: ‘real’.

They are also like the vowels in English *bit* and *beat*, respectively.

In Kashmiri *i* and *i:* are in free-variation with palatalized glides *yi* and *yi:* in initial position. Consider, for example, *insa:n* *yinsa:n* ‘a man’ and *idra:r* ~ *yidra:r* ‘urine’. In initial position *i* and *i:* are found in the speech of educated Kashmiri speakers, while *yi* and *yi:* have a high frequency in the speech of uneducated Kashmiris. This may be partly due to the influence of Hindi-Urdu.

In learning Kashmiri as a second or foreign language, it may be desirable to focus on *i* and *i:* in initial positions rather than on *yi* and *yi:*

Examples:

<i>i</i>	<i>insa:n</i>	<i>man</i>
	<i>imtiha:n</i>	examination, test
	<i>bihun</i>	to sit down
	<i>khir</i>	rice pudding

i:	i:d	Muslim festival, Id
	či:z	things, articles
	asli:	real
	pi:r	Muslim priest

(ii) u and u: are high-back, rounded vowels. These are similar to the vowels in Hindi-Urdu, duka:n, 'shop' and du:r 'far', or English put and loot.

Examples:

u	su	he
	chu	is
	parun	to read, to study
	vanun	to tell, to say
u:	u:tri	day before yesterday
	tsu:r	their
	nu:n	salt
	gu:r	milkman
	khu:n	blood

(iii) e and e: are min-front, unrounded vowels.

Examples:

e	neni	mutton, meat
	teksi:	taxi-cub
	beni	sister
	heri	upstairs
e:	ne:r	(you) go out (imp.)
	tse:r	delay
	saphe:d	white
	ḍalge:ṭ	Dat gate(place name)

(iv) o and o: are mid-back, rounded vowels. o: is similar to Hindi-Urdu do: 'give' and vo: 'that'.

Examples:

o	obur	clouds
	por	read(past tense)
	poṭ	woolen cloth
	moṭ	fat
	loṭ	tail
o:	o:ṭ	flour
	mo:l	father

	kho:s	Kashmiri cup
	o:s	(he) was

(v) ɔ and ɔ: are lower mid, back vowels.

Examples:

ɔ	sɔdi pɔn' bɔn sɔn ləkuʈ sɔ	simple person good deed down gold small she, that (fem.)
ɔ:	sɔ:d sɔ: hɔ:	one and a quarter she(not withing sight, emphatic) she(within sight, emphatic)

(vi) i and i: are high-central vowels.

Examples:

i	tir bi gandi bati	a piect of rag, paper, etc. I (first person pronoun) dirty food,cooked rice
i:	ti:r kri:r	cold a cruel woman

(vii) ə and ə: are mid-central vowels.

ə	ər kəʃi:r tsər iər	in good condition (fem.) kashmir sparrow house
ə:	ə:r ə:l lə:r kə:ʃur	plum cardamom cucumber the Kashmiri language

(viii) a and a: are low- central vowels. These are cloe to Hindi-Urdu a and a:, as in das ‘ ten’ and na:m, ‘name’ respectively.

Examples:

a	anun andar agar asun amarna:th	to bring inside if to laugh Amarnath (proper name)
a:	a:va:z duka:n sapha: a:rti:	sound shop clean (adj.) Hindu mass devotional singing

Nasalized Vowels

In section 2.1. we presented sixteen vowels of Kashmiri. There are eight pairs which are distinguished on the basis of length. That is, one member of the pair is a short vowel and the other member is a long vowel. In Kashmiri, the vowel length is distinctive, and therefore, crucial for intelligibility.

The other important characteristic of Kashmiri vowels is that they may be nasalized or non-nasalized. This characteristic gives us another distinctive category of Kashmiri vowels. We shall present these vowels again in pairs of nasalized and non-nasalized so that the contrast becomes clearer.

Nasalized Long Vowels

The following long vowels are nasalized:

(i) \tilde{i} : and i

ri:th	tradition
$\tilde{r}i:h$	incessant cry

(ii) \tilde{e} : and e:

$\check{s}e:kh$	a Muslim surname
$\check{s}:k\check{h}e$	a conch
re:ʈ	rate, price
ts \tilde{e} :th	somer sault

(iii) \tilde{a} : and \tilde{a} :

$\tilde{a}:th$	eight
$\tilde{a}:\tilde{h}$	the stone or a fruit
t \tilde{a} :th	dear (fem.)
t \check{a} :th	a thick or viscous sustance
b \tilde{a} :th	song
b \tilde{a} :t \check{h}	bamboo

(iv) ũ: and u

pu:ʈh	strong
vũ:ʈh	camel
lu:ʈh	loot
lũ:ʈh	side of corner of a piece of cloth
tsũ:ʈh	apple

(v) ǒ: and o

čǒ:ʈh	bruise(noun)
čǒ:ʈh	mouth
vo:t	(he) arrived
vǒ:t(h)	depth

Nasalized Short Vowels

The following short vowels are nasalized.

(i) ě and e

reh	flame
kěh	some, any

(ii) ǒ and o

god	hole
gǒd	bouquet

(iii) ə and ǎ

əz	a Kashmiri Muslim name
ǎž	goose
pəz	truthful(fem.)
pǎž	monkey(fem.)

(iv) a and ǎ

kah	eleven
ħka	someone, anyone

Consonants

There are twenty-seven consonants in Kashmiri. They may be grouped into the following categories: 12 stops, 5 affricates, 2 nasals, 4 fricatives, 1 lateral, 1 trill, and 2 glides. A brief description of these is given below.

Stops

These are pronounced with a complete closure in the same way as in Hindi-Urdu and English. The air pressure builds up behind the closure and is released with a mild explosion. The stop sounds are of the following three types: (1)the voiceless unaspirated p t ʈ k,(2)voiceless aspirated ph th ʈh kh, and (3)voiced unaspirated b, d, ɖ g.

On the basis of place of articulation, these may be further be grouped into four types.

(i) Bilabial

The two lips are the primary articulators, and these are completely closed. The p, ph, and b are bilabial stops. They are pronounced in the same way as p, ph, and b in such Hindi-Urdu words as pa:ni: ‘water’, phu:l ‘flower’ and bartan ‘utensil’. The Kashmiri p is not aspirated, as in English put, it is like p in spin. The b is pronounced the same way as the b in English bull or body.

p	palav	clothes
	parun	to read
	pa:lakh	spinach
ph	pharun	to steal
	phal	fruit
	pəph	father’s sister
	phaʈun	to be drowned
b	baʈi	Kashmiri Pandi
	bati	food, cooked rice
	sabzi:	vegetables
	bah	twelve
	bab	breast(woman’s)

(ii) Dental

The tongue tip articulates with the upper teeth. The t, th and d are dental stops. They are pronounced in the same way as the comparable stops in Hindi-Urdu ta:l ‘rhythmic beat’, tha:na: ‘police station’, and dard ‘pain’.

t	tal	under
	tulun	to lift
	vati	roads
th	thavun	to keep
	thod	tall (mas., sing.)
	kath	story
d	ɖɖ	milk
	kad	height
	bɖd	wisdom

(iii) Retroflex

The tongue tip is curled back. It articulates with the hard palate. The ʈ, ʈh, and ɖ are retroflex stops. These sounds are similar to the initial sounds of the Hindi-Urdu words ʈa:ʈ ‘gunny bag’, ʈhanɖ ‘cold’ ɖar ‘fear’, respectively.

ʈ	ʈḡa	pear
	koʈ	boy
	o:ʈ	flour
ʈh	ʈhi:kh	all right, good
	ə:ʈh	eight
	ʈhu:l	egg(s)
ɖ	ɖəʃ	stretcher
	oɖ	half (mas.)
	boɖ	big (mas., sing.)

(iv) Velar

The back of the tongue articulates with soft palates; k, kh and g are velar stops. These sounds are similar to initial sounds in the Hindi-Urdu words ka:m ‘work’, kha:na: ‘food’ and ga:na ‘song’ respectively.

k	kus	who
	kan	ear
	pakun	to walk
	kul	tree
kh	khan	(you) dig
	khasun	to climb
	li:khun	to write
	akh	one (numeral)
g	ga:ɖ	fish
	kã:gir	Kashmiri firepot
	rag	vein
	gɔph	cave
	gari	home

Affricates

Affricates, as well as stops, are produced by a complete closure of the vocal tract at some point. However, the release of the closure of an affricate is slow, compared with that of a stop. There

are three types of affricates: (1) the voiceless unaspirated ts and č, (2) voiceless aspirated tsh and čh and (3) voiced unaspirated ʃ. These are further divided into the following groups, on the basis of the place or articulation.

(i) Alveolar

tip of the tongue touches the upper teeth. The ts and tsh are alveolar affricates.

ts	tso:r	four
	bə:ts	member(s) of a family
	kəts	how many
	tser	sparrow
tah	˜tsha	to search
	dətah	to handful
	prishun	to ask

(ii) Palato-alveolar

These are produced by touching the blade of the tongue to the front part of hard palate. The release is very gradual. These sounds are similar to the initial sounds in the Hindi-Urdu čha:l ‘gait’, čha:l ‘skin’, and ja:l ‘net’.

č	čon	to drink
	tsəči	bread, chaptis
	ko:či	lane
	koč	raw(mas.sing)
čh	čhapa:vun	to print
	čhu	is
	pačh	a fortnight, two weeks
	lačh	one hundred thousands
	ačhibal	Achabal (place name)
ʃ	ʃa:n	good
	ʃarni	stream
	ʃa:pa:n	Japan
	bīʃli:	electricity
	ʃāʃ	judge(of a court)

Nasals

At the phonetic level, there are four nasals in Kashmiri: m, n, n', and η . In the phonological descriptions of the language, these have been reduced to only two, /m/ and /n/. The η occurs only

before homorganic stops in medial and final positions, e.g., laŋg ‘thigh’ and roŋg ‘clove’. In phonological descriptions, the ŋ is treated as an allophone of the /n/ which occurs before velar stops. The palatal nasal is treated as a combination of n + palatalization. This seems desirable since almost all consonants have a palatalized counterpart. We shall, however, discuss m, n, and ŋ below.

The m is a bilabial nasal, produced as the m is in the English man or in the Hindi-Urdu ma:ma: ‘mother’s brother’. The n is an alveolar nasal. It is produced as the English n is in now; in the Kashmiri n, however, the tongue is pressed against the upper teeth. It is also similar to the Hindi-Urdu n, as in na:ta ‘short-sized’. The velar ŋ is produced by the back of the tongue touching the soft palate. It is similar to the English ng in sing or ring, or the Hindi-Urdu raŋg ‘color’ or saŋg ‘in company with’.

m	ma:m	mother’s brother
	lamun	to pull
	kə:m	work
	mal	dirt
n	nas	nose
	pa:n	body
	nalki	water tap
	na:rji:l	coconut
	na:r	fire
	pan	thread
ŋ	baŋgi	Indian hemp
	laŋg	thigh
	ɖaŋg	style
	meŋg	temple (part of the body)
	roŋg	clove
	maŋgun	to ask, to demand
	loŋgun	a traditional wooden pot used for measuring food items.

Fricatives

In the production of fricatives, air passes out through a narrow passage formed by a constriction in the vocal tract which produces the friction. In Kashmiri, there are four fricatives. Three of these s, š, and h, are voiceless; the fourth, z is voiced. These sounds are similar to those in the following Hindi-Urdu words: sa:th ‘with’, ša:m ‘evening’, ha:th ‘hand’, and za:lim ‘cruel’. The initial sounds in the English words son, shock, hand and zebra are also similar to Kashmiri s, š, h and z respectively.

The fricative sounds occur at the following places of articulation: (alveolar) s and z, (palato-alveolar) š, and (glottal) h.

s	sath sə:r ə:s	seven stroll, walk to laugh
z	az zəru:r bo:zun za:nun zana:nɪ	today certainly to listen to know woman
š	še šikə:r kə:šur paš š:kra:čəa:r	six Hindi-Urdu, shika:ra: a kashmiri (mas.) roof Shankracharya (temple)
h	hath hazratbal habikədal hos h'uhar hke	one hundred Hazratbal(mosque) Habakadal (place name) elephant father-in-law some, way

Lateral

In Kashmiri, there is one alveolar lateral, l. It is produced by touching the teeth ridge with the tip of the tongue, while the air passes out around the sides of the tongue. The pronunciation is similar to that of the Hindi-Urdu l in la:l 'red' or the English 'clear-l' as in luck. It is not a 'dark-l' as in the English well or all.

l	lačh la:ri: tsalun mal ralun	one hundred thousand lorry, bus to runaway, to escape dirt to mix, to mingle
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Trill

There is one trill, r, in Kashmiri. It occurs in the alveolar position, and it is similar to the Hindi-Urdu r in ra:t 'night' or ra:sta: 'way'. It is a tongue trill, produced by mildly tapping the blade of the tongue against the teeth ridge.

r	ra:th	yesterday
---	-------	-----------

ranun	to cook
ra:zi	king, maharaja
parun	to read
garim	warm
lər	house
nər	arm

Glides

The glides, v and y are produced in labio-dental and palatal positions, respectively. The v is similar to the Hindi-Urdu v in vatan ‘country’ or dava: ‘medicine’. The y is similar to the English y in yesterday, or the Hindi-Urdu y in yahā: ‘here.’

v	va:r(i)yah	many, several
	va:n	shop
	vakhit	time
	vatsun	traditional Kashmiri song
	tra:vun	to drop
	davun	to run
	z'av	tongue
y	ya:r	friend
	yakh	cold(adj.),ice
	yakhin	(a Kashmiri dish of lamb cooked in yogurt)
	yapə:r'	this way
	yəndir	spinning wheel
	yəmbirzal	narcissus

Pronunciation Practice

The following section provides lists of words arranged for pronunciation practice of Kashmiri sounds. These may be rearranged by an instructor and/or a student on the basis of the difficulties in acquiring a new sound system. A non-Indian who is studying the language (a speaker of English, for example) will perhaps find it more difficult to master the following in the sound system of Kashmiri.

- I. The aspirated and unaspirated contrasts in the initial position (e.g., p, ph:, and k, kh).
- III. The retroflex sounds (e.g., ṭ, ṭh, ḍ).
- IV. The central vowels, especially i and i: .
- V. The nasalized vowels, especially the central nasalized vowels (e.g., i and i:')
- VI. The contrast between palatal and non-palatal sounds.
- VII. The evenly distributed stress in Kashmiri. Kashmiri, like Hindi-Urdu, is a syllable-timed language, as opposed to English which is a stress-timed language. In Kashmiri, one function of stress is that it is used for emphasis.

It is possible, on the other hand, that the speakers of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian language will have no particular difficulty with several of the above features. Perhaps, they will find it difficult to master the central vowels, especially *i* and its long and nasalized counterparts. It is expected that the users of this Introduction will, therefore, focus on the drills according to the needs of the individual and the class.

ə	əs'	we
	kən'	stone
	tsər	sparrow
	dəh	ten
	məts	mad woman
	əmi:r	rich
	yəndir	spinning wheel
	yəmbirzal	narcissus
ə:	ə:l	cardamom
	ə:ʈh	eight
	kə:m	work
	mə:ʃ	mother
	lə:r	cucumber
	ə:ni	mirror
	kə:phi:	enough
	bə:d' ya:ni	fennel seed
əʒ	əʒ	goose
	pəʒ	monkey(fem.)
ə:ʃ	ə:ʃh	stone inside of a fruit
	ʧə:ʃ	stretcher
	pə:tsʰ	five
	mə:ʒ	myrtle
	lə:tsʰ	eunuch
	hə:ʒ	boatman
a	akh	one
	kath	story
	kah	eleven
	aksar	often
	agar	if
	ʃaʃjal	quickly
	tagun	to know how
	dapun	to say, to tell

	magar	but
	raṭun	to receive, to catch
	lačh	one hundred thousand
a:	a:	yes
	ačha:	all right
	a:ra:m	rest
	kita:b	book
	ba:sun	to seem
	ma:nun	to agree
	s'aṭha:	very, many
	ha:lath	condition
	lipha:phi	envelope, paper sack
	šaka:yath	complaint
	va:ri va:ri	slowly
ã:	kã:h	any, anyone
	tshã:th	swimming
	kã:gir	Kashmiri firepot
	kã:dur	baker
	khã:dar	wedding
	ḍẽ:šun	to look for
	dã:dur	vegetable seller
	vã:gun	eggplant
	gã:darbal	Gandarbal(place name)
i	yi	this
	khir	rice pudding
	čith'	letter
	tım	those
	niš	near
	gindun	to play
	da:ni	paddy
	ĩja:zath	permisson
	intiza:m	arrangement
	tsatĩjih	forty
	aki aki	one by one
	anigaṭi	darkness
i:	i:d	Id (Muslim festival)
	ji:l	lake
	mi:l	mile
	ši:n	snow

	əmi:r	rich
	asli:	actual
	kəʃi:r	Kashmir
	gəri:b	poor
	ʃaldi:	haste
	na:rʃi:l	cocount
	bijli:	electricity
	ʃə:yri:	poetry
ʃi	:tʃpi	little (fem. sing.)
	ʃtriḥ	an incessant cry
i	ti	and
	zi	two
	kini	or
	khəti	than
	ganṭi	hour
	pə:ʃi	money
	pati	afterwards
	akivun	twenty-one
	tsəndirva:r	Monday
i:	kri:r	cruel (fem. sing.)
	gri:sʹ	peasants
	ti:r	cold
	dī:th	demon
	ki:math	price
ʃ:	khi:kḥ	one who speaks through her nose
e	tre	three
	ʃeksi:	taxi cab
	teli	then
	nečuv	son
	neni	meat
	beni	sister
	beyi	also, and
	yeli	when
	geʃ havis	guest house
	pensali	pencil
	ʃelivijan	television

e:	khe:t	field
	khe:l	sport
	ge:t	gate
	tse:r	apricot
	te:z	fast
	re:t(h)	rate
	he:r	staircase
	ze:čhar	length
	te:bił	table
	ne:thir	marriage
	ne:run	to leave
	de:və:li:	Diwali (the Hindu festival of lights)
ě	kěh	something
ě:	krě:kh	stone set in a ring
	t:ě:th	kink
	rě:ph	a small thing
	šě:kh	conch shell
	š:kra:ča:r	Shankracharya (temple)
o	oɖ	half
	kot	where
	koh	mountain
	boɖh	bank
	bod	bunch (classifier)
	voɖ	family room (on the ground floor)
	son	deep (mas.)
	h'on	to buy
	ordu:	Urdu
	bomva:r	Tuesday
	mohbath(n.)	love
	šokirva:r	Friday
o:	kho:s	Kashmiri cup
	mo:l	father
	vo:n'	grocer
	so:n'	our(s)
	o:m dɔd	milk
	o:lav	potatoes
	ko:či	lane
	ko:tur	pigeon
	bo:lun	to speak

	ro:zun	to live
	ho:ʈal	hotel
	ro:ganʃo:š	(a Kashmiri meat dish)
ō	kōḍ	thorn
	pōz	monkey
	mōḍ	kohlrabi (sing.)
	ōgij	finger
ō:	čō:ʈh	mouth
	brō:ʈh	before
	vō:ʈh	depth
	šō:ʈh	dried ginger
	pō:par	Pampur (palace name)
	brō:ʈhkun	ahead
	sō:čun	to think
o	dod	milk
	sōn	gold
	tsodah	fourteen
	nōkhsa :n	loss
	pōša :kh	clothing
	bōdva :r	Wednesday
	bōvun	to grow
	rōpay	rupee
	vōzul	red (mas., sing.)
	vōlur	Wular Lake
	vōšlun	to blush
	mōkla:vun	to finish
	mōl	price
	mōkh	face
o:	sō:d	one and a quarter
u	gur	horse
	n'un	to take
	hund	of
	akuy	one (emphatic)
	atsun	to enter
	karun	to do
	ʃangul	forest
	ʃumah	Friday

	truvah	thirteen
	thavun	to keep
	vanun	to say, to tell
	h'akun	to be able to
u:	ku:r	girl, daughter
	gu:r	milkman
	gru:s	peasant (mass.)
	tsu:r	thief
	ʃu:n	June
	tu:n	navel
	nu:n	salt
	hu:n	dog
	ču:k'dar	doorman
	tu:kir	basket
	ḍu:gri:	the Dogri language
	khu:bsu:rat(h)	beautiful
ũ:	kũ:s	younger (mas.)
	khũ:t	kick
	tsũ:th	apple
	lũ :t	corner of a piece of cloth
	vũ:t	camel
	ḍũ:gi	a kind of large boat
	brũ:th kin'	from the front
k	kən'	stone
	kə:m	work
	k'ah	what
	kath	story
	ka:l	time
	kita:b	book
	ki:math	price
	ke:li	banana
	kəñ	some, something
	kot	where
	ko:tah	how much (mas., sing.)
	kun	alone (mas., sing.)
	ku:r	girl, daughter
	akivuh	twenty-one
kh	kha:s	special
	khir	rice pudding

	khe:t	slide(n.)
	kho:s	Kashmiri cup
	kh'on	to eat
	khə:li:	empty
	khasun	to climb
	khi:mi	tent
	khoši:	happiness
	khəti	than
	khuli	open
	khu:bsu:rath	beautiful
č	ča:y	tea
	čith	letter
	či:z	thing
	čon	to drink
	čalun	to move
	če:li	disciple
	ču:k' dar	doorman
	:čäär	pickles
	ko:či	lane
	tsəči	bread
	mo:či	intestines
	koč	unripe
čh	čhapa:vun	to print
	čha:vun	to hit (against a wall, etc.)
	əčhırva:l	eyelash
	ačhibal	Achabal (palce name)
	vučhun	to see
	əčh	eye
	kačh	grass
	dačh	grapes
	pačh	two weeks
	lačh	one hundred thousands
	lo:čh	a warm winter phiran
ts	tsər	sparrow
	tsin'	charcoal (sing)
	tso:r	four
	:t̪s̪uḥ	apple
	t̪sa:man	cheese
	t̪sovuḥ	twenty-four
	t̪s̪odaḥ	fourteen

	tsatĩjih	forty
	tsuvanzah	fifty-four
	atsun	to enter
	natsun	to dance
	vatsun	traditional (Kashmiri) song
	kəts	how many
	məts	an insane woman
	hots	wrist
tsh	tsha:y	shadow
	tshot	short (adj., sing.)
	:đtshəun	to look for
	gatshun	to go
	pritshun	to ask, inquire
	katsh	armpit
	patsh	trust
	matsh	ground meat
	ratsh	a little
t	tə:th	dear (fem., sing.)
	tãg	pear
	təph	caste-mark
	t'ok	horse-carriage
	tikəth	ticket, stamp
	ti:čar	teacher
	təksi:	taxi cab
	tə:bil	table
	tə:kir	basket
	phaʈun	to be drowned
	raʈun	to hold, to catch
	lu:ʈun	to loot
	noʈ	pitcher
	poʈ	warm cloth
	hoʈ	throat
th	thi:kh	correct, fine
	aʈhov:vun	twenty-eight
	ə:th	eight
	ə:ʈh	stone inside a fruit

	koṭh	knee
	kuṭh	room
	gə:ṭh	eagle
	tsūṭh	apple
	z'u:ṭh	long (mas., sing.)
	ṭo:ṭh	dear
	phuṭh	foot (measure of length)
	boṭh	a river bank
	brō:ṭh	before
	vuṭh	lips
t	ti	also
	ti:l	oil
	tī	and
	ti:r	cold weather
	teli	then
	te:z	fast, sharp
	tu:n	navel
	təri:ki	way, method
	tə:ri:kh	date
	tagun	to know how
	ta:zi	fresh
	tomul	rice(uncooked)
	to:lun	to weigh
	to:r	there
	tulun	to lift
th	th'akun	to boast
	thavun	to keep
	tha:l	Indian plate for eating
	thod	tall (mas., sing.)
	a:thi:va:r	Sunday
	athi	hand
	vōthun	to get up
	kath	story
	r'ath	month
	vath	way, road
	sath	seven
	hath	hundred
p	pəz	truthful (fem., sing.)
	pə:tsh	five
	p'aṭh	at, on

	pi:r	saint
	p'ot	tip
	p'on	to fall
	po:n'	water
	puj	butcher
	pə:tsħ	five
	pagah	tomorrow
	pa:lakh	spinach
	pıntsıh	twenty-five
	pəša:kh	clothing
	pu:zah	worship
	pensali	pencil(s)
ph	phoph	stammerer
	ph'or	drop (of liquid)
	phə:sli	distance (also, decision)
	pharikh	differeence
	pha:rsi:	the Persian language
	phikir	worry
	phe:run	to travel (also, to loiter)
	phursath	leisure

The following Kashmiri words may be used to practice palatal and non-palatal consonant sounds.

p and p'	pan p'an tsop tsop'	thread (they) will fall bite bites
ph and ph'	phamb ph'amb phoph phəph'	cotton, wool panting stammerer stammerers
b and b'	ba:kh b'a:kh kob kob'	loud cry another (person, thing) hunchback hunchbacks
t and t'	tal t'al tot tət'	you fry (imp.) a piece (of something) hot (mas. sing.) hot (mas.plu.)
th and th'	thakun th'akun	to get tired to boast

	tath	to that
	təth	to that (emph.)
d and d'	dal	to pound
	d'al	bark or skin
	do:d	disease
	də:d'	diseases
t and t'	tə:k	earthen plate
	t'ok	caste mark
	hoṭ	neck
	həṭ	necks
th and th'	thus	a Kashmiri surname
	th'us	purse
	tə:th	dear(fem.sing.)
	tə:th	dear(mas., plu.)
ḍ and ḍ'	ḍol	he moved
	d'ol	loose (mas., sing.)
	bəḍ	big (fem., sing.)
	bəḍ'	big (mas., plu.)
k and k'	kath	story
	k'ath	in (a receptacle)
	bok	a handful (of something)
	bok'	handfuls (of something)
kh and kh'	khan	you di(imp.)
	kh'an	food
	khi:kḥ	one who speaks with a nasal twang
	khi:kḥ'	those who speak with a nasal twang
g and g'	ga:n	procurer
	g'a:n	knowledge
	šrog	cheap (mas., sing.)
	šrog'	cheap (mas., plu.)
ts and ts'	tsal	you run away
	ts'al	pressure
	hots	wrist
	hots'	wrists

tsh and tsh'	tshot	short
	tsh'ot	polluted
	ətsh	delicate (fem., sing.)
	ətsh'	delicate (mas., plu.)
m and m'	monɖ	dull
	m'onɖ	a mouthful (of solid food)
	ə:m	unripe (fem., sing.)
	ə:m'	unripe (mas., plu.)
n and n'	nu:l	mongoose
	n'u:l	blue
	kun	alone (mas., sing.)
	kun'	alone (fem., sing.)
s and s'	sakh	difficult, hard
	s'akh	sand
	kho:s	Kashmiri teacup
	khə:s'	Kashmiri teacups
z and z'	zon	person
	zən	persons
	az	today
	əz'	today (emp.)
h and h'	hakh	right
	h'akh	you will buy
	toh	chaff
	toh'	you (plu.)
l and l'	lad	you put on (imp.)
	l'ad	horse dung
	mo:l	father
	mə:l'	fathers
r and r'	rath	blood
	r'ath	month
	por	read (sing)
	pər'	read (plu.)
v and v'	vath	road
	v'ath	river
	čav	drank
	čə:v	caused to drink (mas., plu.)

III. FUNCTIONAL CONVERSATIONS