

## KASHMIRI OR KÖSHIRÜ.

The Kāshmiri<sup>1</sup> language is the language of the Valley of Kashmir. In a dialectic form it has spread south-west into the Valley of Kashtawār (Kishtwar), and to the south it has flowed over the Pir Pāntṣāl Range into the lower hills lying north of the River Chināb, where it reappears in a number of mixed dialects.

Where spoken.

The word 'Kāshmiri' (كشميري) is Persian or Hindī, and is derived from the Sanskrit *Kāśmīrikā*. It is not the name used by the people of Kashmir itself. There the country is called *Kashir*<sup>2</sup>, and the language *Kōshir*<sup>2</sup>. This word itself is an excellent example of the fact that the language belongs to the Dardic sub-family, for in India the change of *śm* to *ś* or *sh* would be impossible.

Name of Language.

Kāshmiri is bounded on the north by the *Shinā* language of the Dard group of the Dardic sub-family. On the west it is bounded by the *Chibhālī*<sup>3</sup> and *Punchī* dialects of *Lahndā*, a language belonging to the North-Western group of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars, but strongly affected by Dardic influence. To its south it has, on the west, the *Ḍōgrī* dialect of *Pañjābī*; and, to the east of *Ḍōgrī*, the *Bhadrawāhī* dialect of Western *Pahāri*. *Ḍōgrī* (see Vol. IX, Pt. i, p. 637) is a real dialect of *Pañjābī*, but *Bhadrawāhī* is a transitional form of speech between Western *Pahāri* and *Kāshmiri*,—leaning more to the former than to the latter,—and therefore classed under the former (see Vol. IX, Part iv, pp. 888ff.). To the south-east of *Kāshmiri* we find *Pādari*, another Western *Pahāri* dialect of a character similar to that of *Bhadrawāhī* (Vol. IX, Part iv, pp. 903ff.). On the rest of the eastern side of *Kāshmiri*, and also a little to its north-east, going northwards on the east of *Shinā*, lie a series of Tibeto-Burman dialects, *Purik* (Vol. III, Part i, pp. 42ff.), *Ladakhī* (pp. 51ff.), and *Baltī* (pp. 32ff.), all separated from the Kashmir Valley by inhospitable ranges of mountains and in no way affecting its language.

Linguistic Boundaries.

Kāshmiri has one true dialect,—*Kashtawāri*, spoken in the Valley of *Kashtawār* (commonly known as *Kishtwar*), lying to the south-east of the Valley of Kashmir. *Kāshmiri* has also overflowed the Pir Pāntṣāl Range into the Jammu Province of the State, and in the valleys between the southern hills of the range, between the water-shed and the valley of the *Chināb*, there are a number of mixed dialects, such as *Pōguli*, *Sirāji* of *Ḍōdā*, and *Rāmbanī*. The first two of these represent *Kāshmiri* merging into Western *Pahāri*, while the third rather represents *Kāshmiri* merging into *Ḍōgrī*. 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 *Kāshmiri* and the *Chibhālī* form of *Lahndā*. Grammars are given below of *Kashtawāri*, *Pōguli*, *Sirāji*, and *Rāmbanī*; but no materials are available for these *Riasi* dialects.

Dialects.

<sup>1</sup> According to the system of transliteration followed in this Survey, the word should properly be spelt 'Kāshmiri,' with a ligature under the 'ś.' But the word is of such frequent occurrence that I have here dropped the ligature as an unnecessary complication. The 'ś,' however, is not to be considered as therefore the same as the Sanskrit ś (श). It is rather the same as the Sanskrit śa (शा) or the Persian *shān* (ش).

<sup>2</sup> Printed 'Chhibhālī' in the map. See the remarks on p. 505 of Part I of this Volume.

In the standard Kāshmirī of the Valley, there are minor differences of language, which, however, are not sufficient to entitle us to divide it into further separate dialects. For instance, the Kāshmirī spoken by Musalmāns differs from that spoken by Hindūs. Not only is the vocabulary of the former more filled with words borrowed from Persian, but also there are slight differences of pronunciation.<sup>1</sup> Again, there is, as in all countries, the distinction between town and village talk. In villages a few old forms have been preserved that have disappeared in towns, and there are also variations of pronunciation.<sup>2</sup> Finally, there is the language between the language of prose and that of poetry. As in other languages, the latter preserves many forms that have disappeared in the modern prose speech.

Returning to the dialects of the Musalmāns and of the Hindūs, it should be remarked that there are more than nine Musalmāns in the Valley to each Hindū. As already stated, the Musalmān dialect borrows freely from the Persian vocabulary. On the other hand, the Hindūs borrow from Sanskrit, but not to the same extent, and, although the speech of a minority of the population, their dialect is much purer Kāshmirī than that of their Musalmān brethren.

The figures, based on the Census of 1891, originally returned in the earlier operations of this Survey were incomplete for Kāshmirī, and I therefore give the population figures for Kāshmirī spoken in its proper home as recorded in the Census of 1911 :—

Number of Speakers.

Standard Kāshmirī spoken in Kashmir itself . . . . .	1,039,964
Kashtawāri . . . . .	7,464
Pōguli . . . . .	8,158
Sirāji of Dōdā . . . . .	14,732
Rāmbani . . . . .	2,174
Mixed Dialect of Riasi . . . . .	20,252
Total Number of Speakers of Kāshmirī at Home . . . . .	<u>1,092,744</u>

In addition to the above there were recorded 95,013 speakers of Kāshmirī in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, who did not reside in that part of the country of which it was the vernacular.

Kāshmirī is also spoken by emigrants from Kashmir to other parts of India. The figures are as follows :—

N.-W. Frontier Province . . . . .	533
Panjab . . . . .	6,480
Panjab States . . . . .	710
Other Provinces . . . . .	422
TOTAL . . . . .	<u>8,145</u>

<sup>1</sup> The principal is the Musalmān tendency to shorten final vowels. Thus, for 'what' the Musalmāns say *kya* and the Hindūs *kyā* or *kyāh*; for 'I should have struck,' the former say *maraha*, and the latter *mārahō*. The Musalmāns also have a Dardic preference for dropping an *r*. Thus, they say *bōnṭh*, before, while the Hindūs say *brōnṭh*; *gāngal*, distraction, where the Hindūs prefer *grāngal*.

<sup>2</sup> For differences of forms we may quote as an example the village *wanamōw*, instead of the city *wandōw*, we shall tell you. In pronunciation, we may quote the frequent interchange of *ḍ* and *r*, as in *kūḍ*, for *kūr*, a girl; *moḍ*, for *mor*, a body. Also, in villages the Dardic confusion between cerebrals and dentals is much more marked. This also occurs in city talk, as in *wōthun*, to arise, as compared with the Hindī *uṭhūnā*, but in villages it is extremely common.

The total number of speakers of Kāshmirī is therefore as follows :—

At Home . . . . .	1,092,744
Elsewhere in Jammu and Kashmir State . . . . .	95,013
Elsewhere in India . . . . .	8,145
TOTAL . . . . .	<u>1,195,902</u>

These figures differ from the total given in the Indian census tables (1,180,632), owing to differences of classification of some of the mixed dialects.

Kāshmirī belongs to the Dard group of the Dardic languages. It is most nearly related to Shinā. It has, however, for many centuries been subject to Indian influence, and its vocabulary includes a large number of words derived from India. Its speakers hence maintain that it is of Sanskritic origin, but a close examination reveals the fact that, illustrious as was the literary history of Kashmīr, and learned as have been its Sanskrit Paṇḍits, this claim of Sanskrit origin cannot be sustained for the vernacular of the latter.<sup>1</sup> Kāshmirī is a very old language. Three words in it are quoted by Kalhana (*circa*. 1150 A.D.) in his *Rājataranginī*, and these are not very different from the language of the present day.<sup>2</sup>

To the philologist Kāshmirī is a language of great importance, as it is the only example of an Aryan language in the condition of being converted from an analytic to a synthetic language. The oldest known form of Indian speech is Vedic Sanskrit. This was highly synthetic, with a system of declension of nouns and of conjugation of verbs as complicated as in Latin or Greek. In process of time this, or a kindred and similar language, developed into, say, Western Hindī, a language as analytic as English or French, in which nouns have, at most, only two cases and are declined with the aid of postpositions, while only one or two tenses of the verb have survived, the rest being made up with the help of auxiliary verbs. For instance, in Sanskrit 'a house' is *grihah*, and in Latin *mansio*, and 'of a house' is, respectively, '*grihasya*' and *mansionis*, in both of which the change of case-meaning is indicated by a change in the form of the word. This is synthetic declension. But in Hindī 'a house' is *ghar* and in French it is *une maison*, and 'of a house' is, respectively, *ghar-kā* and *d'une maison*, in which the change of case-meaning is indicated by suffixing or prefixing a post- or pre-position. The word itself undergoes no change. This is analytic declension. Again, 'he speaks' is in Sanskrit *kathayati*, and 'to speak' was in Mediæval Latin *parabolare* (from the Latin *parabola*, a parable). 'He will speak' is respectively *kathayishyati* and *parabolabit*. Here the change of tense-meaning is indicated by a change in the form of the word, and we have an example of synthetic conjugation. But in Hindī 'he will speak' is *kahē-gā*, literally 'he is gone (*gā*) that he may speak (*kahē*, which is merely a corrupted form of the Sanskrit *kathayati*),' and in French it is *parler-a*, literally, 'he has (*a*) to speak (*parler*, which is a corrupted form of *parabolare* as if we said "*parabolare habet*").' In Hindī and French the change of tense meaning is not indicated by a change in the form of the word, but by the addition of the auxiliaries *gā* and *a*

<sup>1</sup> This question is dealt with at length in an Appendix to this introduction. See pp. 241f.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir Aurel Stein's note in his translation of E. T. v. 397. The words are *Rangassa Helu dinna*, which in modern Kāshmirī would be *Rangas Helu dyun*, (the village of) Helu is to be given to Rang.

respectively. Here we have instances of analytic conjugation, as compared with the synthetic conjugations of Sanskrit and Latin.

Now, Kāshmirī illustrates a further stage in the development of language. The declension of nouns is in the main analytic. There are a few survivals of the ancient synthetic cases, but in the main cases are differentiated by postpositions, as in Hindi. Thus, we have *gara*, a house, and *garuk\** (for *gara-k\**), of a house. But note, here, that the *k\** has become attached to the *gara*, and is no longer a separate word like the Hindi *kā*. *Garuk\** is now as much one word, and a word in the genitive case, as the Sanskrit *grīhāśya* or the Latin *mansionis*. In other words the declension is again becoming synthetic, and the process has been 'first analytic (*gara-k\**) and then again synthetic (*garuk\**). But in other cases the declension remains analytic, as in *gara-manza*, from the house, in which the noun and the postposition are still two entirely distinct words and as yet show no signs of becoming amalgamated into one.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the conjugation of the Kāshmirī verb *may* be analytic. The word for the past participle 'said' is *dop\**, and for the past tense, 'I said,' we may have (as in the Hindi *māñ-nē kahā*) *mē dop\**, literally, 'by-me said.' But we may also add a suffix meaning 'by-me' to *dop\**, so that the two become one word,—thus, *dopum*, I said. Here we have a synthetic method of conjugation in optional course of formation. We may have *dopum*, I said; *doputh*, thou saidst; *dopun*, he said, and so on, which is just as synthetic as the Latin *dixi*, *dixisti*, *dixit*, with this difference, that in the case of Kāshmirī, we know exactly how these synthetic forms came into existence.

If, now, we return to India, and take languages of the Outer Circle, like Bengali or Marāṭhī, we find again a state of affairs similar to that of Kāshmirī, but more advanced. In Kāshmirī, the synthetic conjugation is optional. We may use either the analytic *mē dop\** or the synthetic *dopum*. But Bengali or Marāṭhī have gone a step further. The analytic conjugation has been abandoned and only the synthetic conjugation is now employed. It is no longer optional, but is now compulsory. We have *only* the Bengali *kahilām*, and *only* the Marāṭhī *mhanilō*, for 'I said,' from the past participles *kahilā-* and *mhanil-*, respectively. From these examples, we see the importance of Kāshmirī to the philologist. It is a language caught, so to speak, in the act of changing its nature from analytic to synthetic, and thus shows how the synthetic conjugation of Indian languages of the Outer Circle, such as Bengali and Marāṭhī, has arisen. Hitherto there have been many speculations on the subject, which we now see were all wide of the mark.<sup>2</sup> Kāshmirī substitutes certainty for speculation. We can now watch Indian speech in its developments from birth to birth. First synthetic; then, as in Hindi, analytic; then, as in Kāshmirī, agglutinative or semi-synthetic; and then, as in Bengali and Marāṭhī, again synthetic; and so, as in the Indian belief as to the fate of the soul, the chain of *samsāra*, or weary round of transmigration, goes on perpetually 'ohne Hast, aber ohne Rast.' In future ages future philologists will, if they have a language like Kāshmirī to guide them, observe the same series of changes occurring over and over again, synthetic to analytic, analytic to agglutinative, and agglutinative back again to synthetic.

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that we can see similar instances of the development of analytic declension into synthetic occasionally occurring in Pañjabī. Thus, the Pañjabī for 'in a house' is either the analytic *ghar-vichēk* or the synthetic *gharichēk*.

<sup>2</sup> The usual, but incorrect explanation is that the terminations of *kahilā n*, *mhanilō*, etc., are relics of an old verb substantive.

**Literature.** Kāshmirī has a small, but respectable, list of literary works, about which not much is known. So far as I am aware, the oldest author was a woman named Lallā or Lāl Dēd. She probably lived in the 14th century A.D. Hundreds of her verses are quoted all over the Valley and are in everyone's mouth, and MS. collections of them have from time to time been made under the Sanskrit title of *Lallāvākyāni*. She is said to have been a holy woman, and to have been accustomed to wander about the country in an almost nude condition, her excuse being that he only was a man who feared God, and that there were very few such men about.<sup>1</sup> Her verses are all religious and are strongly tinged with Śaiva philosophy. The first poem that can be dated is the *Bāṇāsurovadha*, the name of the author of which is unknown to me. It is in the Hindū dialect, and was written in the reign of Sulṭān Zainu'l-'ābidīn (1417-1469 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> Other poems of which the approximate dates are known are the following :—Dēvākara Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa was alive during the eight years of the reign of the Hindū king Sukhajivana Simha, who came to the throne in 1786 A.D. He lived in the Gōjawār (Sanskrit, Gulikāvāṭikā) quarter of Śrinagar, and wrote a history of Rāma entitled the *Rāmāvatāracharita*, with a sequel entitled the *Lavakuśacharita*. Both of these are highly poetical works in pure Kāshmirī. They are specially interesting as containing many legends not found in any Indian version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with which I am acquainted.<sup>3</sup> Paramānanda of Mārtaṇḍa is said to have died in 1822 A.D. at the age of 68 years. He wrote a history of Kṛishṇa entitled the *Kṛishṇāvatāralilā*, a work which follows the Indian tradition much more closely. These three works are all excellent specimens of the Kāshmirī language, and, though in the Hindū dialect, are not too highly Sanskritized. With a much fuller Sanskrit vocabulary is a history of the circumstances connected with Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī, entitled the *Śivaparinaya*, written by Kṛishṇa Rāzdān, or Rājanaka, who was alive as an old man at the end of the last century. He lived at Vanpuh (Sanskrit, Vanapōsha) in the Anatnāg Pargana, and his poem is much admired by Kāshmirī Paṇḍits. It is full of Śaiva philosophy.<sup>4</sup> The late Professor Bühler, in the *Report* (pp. 1ff.) referred to below in the List of Authorities, mentions the following Hindū works of which he obtained MSS. I have not seen any of them :—

Name of Author.	Name of Work.
Gaṇakaprasāsta.	<i>Samsāramāyāmōhajalasukhadubhkhacharita.</i>
Sāhib Kaul.	<i>Kṛishṇāvatāra.</i>
Anonymous.	The Sanskrit <i>Amarakōsha</i> , with a Kāshmirī explanation.
"	<i>Janmacharita.</i>
"	<i>Nirvāṇadēśasloktava.</i>
"	<i>Rāmāvatāra</i> (perhaps the work already mentioned).
"	<i>Śivalaṅnavarṇana.</i>

Of writers in the Musalmān style the best known is Maḥmūd, or Muḥammad, Gāmī, who died in the year 1855 A.D. He wrote a *Yūsuf Zulaikhā*, a *Lailā wa Majnūn*,

<sup>1</sup> See Hinton Knowles, *Kāshmirī Proverbs*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, *Report*, etc., p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> As a sample, in these poems Sītā, the wife of Rāma, is said to have been the daughter of Mandōdari, who abandoned her immediately after birth and subsequently married Rāvaṇa.

<sup>4</sup> An edition is in course of publication by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

and a *Shirīn o Khōsrau*, all on familiar Persian models. An edition of the first-named, with a partial translation, has been prepared by the late K. F. Burkhard, regarding which particulars will be found in the List of Authorities. Other works in the Musalmān dialect mentioned by Bühler, and which I have not seen, are :—

Name of Author.	Name of Work.
Saifu'd-dīn.	<i>Vāmik-ujra.</i>
Sūmty Paṇḍit.	<i>Nisāb.</i>
Anonymous.	<i>Amilla</i> (a poem).
„	<i>Hārūn Rashīd.</i>
„	<i>Mahmūd-i-Ghaznavī.</i>
„	<i>Shēkh Sannā.</i>

The Serampore Missionaries published a version of the New Testament in 1821. This was printed from type in the Śāradā character.<sup>1</sup> Similar editions were issued at Serampore of the Pentateuch (1827) and of Joshua-Kings (1832), but the Bible was not completed. The British and Foreign Bible Society published a version of the New Testament in 1884, and of the Old Testament with a revised version of the New Testament in 1899, all in the Persian character.

In the year 1879 A.D. the late Paṇḍit Ísvāra Kaula completed an excellent grammar of Kāshmirī, in the Sanskrit language and entitled the *Kāshmirāśabdāmṛita*. This has been edited by the present writer, and was published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1898. The same author was engaged on a Kāshmirī-Sanskrit Dictionary at the date of his death in 1893. The materials collected by him for this purpose were subsequently made over to the present writer, and from them and other sources a Kāshmirī-English Dictionary is now in course of preparation.

Connected with formal literature, though not a part of it, are the subjects of folktales and proverbs. Kashmir is a land of proverbs, and common speech is profusely interlarded with them. A valuable collection of Kāshmirī proverbs has been made by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, particulars regarding which will be found in the List of Authorities. This should be in the hands of every student of the language. It is full of information regarding the customs and the character of the people. Kashmir is also celebrated for its folktales. Not only are some familiar in every home, but there are also professional *rāwis*, or reciters, who make a living by telling fairy-tales worthy of the Arabian Nights. These men recite with astonishing verbal accuracy stories that have been handed down to them by their predecessors, now and then containing words that have fallen out of use, and with the meaning of which they are now unacquainted. Sir Aurel Stein has made a collection of such tales, as dictated by one of these men, which he has handed over to the present writer for translation and publication. Long after they had been recorded it was found necessary to check the texts, and Sir Aurel found the man again, and had him recite again the doubtful passages. They were given by him in exactly the same words as those recorded some sixteen years previously. An interesting illustration of the way in which they have been handed down is given by their form. Every now and then the narrative is broken by the phrase '*dapān wustād,*' i.e. '(and my) master says (as follows).' An excellent collection of Kāshmirī folktales

<sup>1</sup> Some years ago, having occasion to print something in this character, I made enquiries in Calcutta regarding this type. I found that it, and the punches, had long disappeared, having been sold as waste metal. It is the only Śāradā type that has been cast.

in English has been collected by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, and published under the title of 'Folktales of Kashmir' (second edition, London, 1893).

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## APPENDIX.

### THE LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF KĀSHMIRĪ.

In the Kashmir Census Report for 1911 (p. 179) the following remarks are made regarding the classification of Kāshmirī :—‘ Kāshmirī used to be hitherto treated as of Sanskritic origin. It has this time been grouped with Shiṇā-Khō-wār according to the revised system of classification, but the claim locally urged that it is essentially a Sanskritic language persists, and in view of the historical fact that the Valley of Kashmir, before its conversion to Islām, was wholly populated by Brāhmins with their *shastric* lore, that claim might merit reconsideration.’ As this point has thus been raised in an official publication of the Kashmir State, it is advisable to discuss the question of the correct classification of the Kāshmirī language in some detail.

In the first place, questions of sentiment, however much we may sympathize with them, must be put altogether to one side in dealing with a purely scientific question. No one values the contributions of Kashmir Paṇḍits to Sanskrit literature more highly than the present writer. For upwards of two thousand years Kashmir has been a home of Sanskrit learning, and from this small valley have issued masterpieces of history, poetry, romance, fable, and philosophy. Kāshmirīs are proud, and justly proud, of the literary glories of their land. During all these centuries, Kashmir has been subjected to the civilization of India proper. The Pisācha tribes to its north and north-west remained a hostile and barbarous people, devoid of Indian culture and with no literary history of their own. Kāshmirīs themselves maintain that their country was formerly inhabited by Pisāchas, who were ultimately overcome by Aryan immigrants from India, and this tradition is borne out by the features presented by their language. That the literary activity of the country and the imported Indian culture should not have reacted on the vernacular speech of the inhabitants is impossible. It has reacted most powerfully, and under that influence the language has become deeply imbued with forms and idioms derived from the languages of India proper. But all the time the basis,—the old speech of the original Pisācha inhabitants,—has, as will be shown in the following pages, remained firmly established, and it is upon this basis that linguistic science demands that classification be founded. It in no way follows from this that the Brāhmin inhabitants of Kashmir are of Pisācha origin. The contrary is almost certainly the case. Tradition, ethnology, and linguistics unite in asserting that they are representatives of an early immigration from India.

It has been previously pointed out that the Dardic or Pisācha languages occupy a position intermediate between the Sanskritic languages of India proper and the 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. It is unnecessary to discuss here those common to them and to Sanskritic languages, but, as regards the others, we shall see that they are also to be found in Kāshmirī.<sup>1</sup> That

<sup>1</sup> For further details, see *The Pisācha Languages of North-Western India*, by G. A. Grierson, published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1906.

Bsh. *byōh*, a brother ; Sh. *dōnō*, a bull ; Bsh. *kōr*, Kl. *kuṛō*, Sh. *kōn*, an ear, and many others, *a* or *ā* has become *u* or *o*. Many more examples could be quoted, but the above are sufficient to show that Kāshmirī shares its tendency to epenthesis with all the Dardic languages.

In Kāshmirī, when a word ends in one of the letters *k*, *ch*, *ts*, *t*, or *p*, that letter is aspirated, and becomes *kh*, *chh*, *tsh*, *th*, *ph*, respectively. There is nothing like this in India, but it certainly also occurs in V., and probably in other Dardic languages. Thus, the Ksh. *krak-*, noise, becomes *krakh*, and similarly the V. *masek-*, moon, becomes *masekh*.

In the introduction to the section on Lahndā (pp. 237ff. of Part I of this Volume) it was pointed out that when a Prakrit word contained a double letter, this letter was, in the modern languages of India proper, either retained unchanged, or else reduced to a single letter with a lengthening of the preceding vowel in compensation. Thus, the Pr. *bhatta-*, boiled rice, becomes the Pañjābī *bhatt*, and the H. *bhāt*. It was also pointed out that in Ksh., and in Lahndā and Sindhī (two languages much subjected to Dardic influence) the vowel was *not* lengthened, although the double consonant was reduced to a single one. Thus, the same Sanskrit word becomes *bhut* in Sindhī and *bata* in Ksh. It also, perhaps, reappears in the Bsh. *bita*, meat. There are hundreds of similar examples in Ksh. which it is unnecessary to repeat here. Several will be found in the table given on the pages above referred to. Here we may quote a few from Bsh. to show how typical this is of Dardic generally :—Pr. *uchcha-*, high, H. *ūchā*, but Bsh. *ucha-sth*, to raise ; Pr. *chamma-*, skin, H. *chām*, Bsh. *cham* ; Pr. *kaṭṭēi*, he cuts, H. *kāṭē*, but Bsh. *katā*, a knife ; Pr. *piṭṭhī*, the back, H. *piṭh*, Bsh. *pti* (for *pitī*). Similarly for the other Dardic languages.

So far we have dealt with general phonetic rules, but when we consider letters in detail the connexion between Kāshmirī and Dardic is equally manifest. Thus :—

In the Dard group of Dardic languages an initial *k* sometimes becomes *g*, as in My. *gī*, what ? The same occasionally happens in Ksh. *gāsh*, light, as compared with the Skr. *kāśa-*.

In India, when the letter *v* in Sanskrit forms the latter member of a compound consonant, the first member of which is a mute, it is elided in Prakrit, and the first member is doubled. Thus, Skr. *pakva-*, ripe, Pr. *pakka-*, H. *pakkā*. In the Dardic languages, including Ksh., exactly the reverse process is followed. It is the first member that is elided, while the *v* is retained and is hardened to *p*. Thus, the Skr. *pakva-* becomes the Ksh. *pop*. There is very little like this in the modern Indian languages, but in Dardic we have cases like Bsh. *psūr*, a father-in-law (Skr. *svasura-*) ; V. *pseh*, what ?, derived from a word akin to Av. *chvant-*. It will be observed that in these the sibilant is preserved as well as the hardened *v*, and the same is the case in the Kh. *ispusār*, a sister, connected with the Skr. *svasār-*. In Indian languages this only occurred in Apabhraṃśa Prakrit, where we find such forms as *paī* for Skr. *tvam*, thou, and other cases of the change of *tv* to *pp*, but no other compound, with *v* for the second member, became *p*.

In Indian languages an original *t* between two vowels is as a rule dropped, as in Skr. *kṛita-*, done, H. *kiā* ; Skr. *pitā*, a father, H. *piu* ; Skr. *śata-*, a hundred, H. *sau*.

In Pāisāchī Prakrit this *t* was, on the contrary, preserved, and this rule is followed with great consistency in the modern Dardic languages, as well as in Kāshmirī. Thus, from the Pahlavi *katak*, a house, we have Kh. *khatan*; Skr. *tata-*, a father, Bsh. *tot*, Wai. *tata*, and so others; Skr. *kṛita-*, Bsh. *kutt*, done, Ksh. *kyut*" (i.e. *kit*"), for; Skr. *śata-*, a hundred, Bsh. *sher* (with change of *t* to *r*), Ksh. *hat-* (with change of *ś* to *h*); Skr. *bhūta-*, become, Ksh. (Sirājī) *butō*, was.

In India an original *ty* becomes *ch*, as in H. *sach*, true, from Skr. *satya-*. In Dardic and Ksh., on the other hand, *ty* often becomes *t*, as in Ksh. *sat-*, true. So, corresponding to the Skr. *nrityati*, he dances, we have the Bsh. root *nāt-* and the Sh. root *nat*, but H. *nāch*.

In India a Skr. *tr* becomes *t*, as in Skr. *putra-*, a son, H. *pūt*; Skr. *gotra-*, a clan, H. *gōt*, and so on. In the Dardic languages and in Ksh. it may remain unchanged, as in Wai. *piutr*, Kl. *pūtr*, Ksh. *pōtr*, a son; Skr. *trīni*, three, H. *tīn*, while, compared with the Av. *thrāyō*, three, we have Bsh., Kl., Ksh. *trēh*, Wai., Sh. *trē*, Kh. *troi*.

We have seen that in the Dardic languages *tr* usually remains unchanged. Often, however, in the Dard group it is, as already stated, changed to *ch* or *sh*. Thus, we have the Sh. root *chak* or *trak*, see; the Skr. *gōtra-*, a clan, becomes *gōt* or *gōsh*, in Sh. The Skr. *putra-*, a son, is *push* in Sh. and *pūch* in Grw.; the Skr. *strī*, a woman, is *chei* in Sh. Similarly, in the Rāmbanī dialect of Ksh., we have *chēi* or *trai*, three, corresponding to the Sh. *chē*, V. *chhī*, and My. *chā*. It may be noted that a similar change occurs in the neighbouring Eranian Ghilchah languages, as in Wakhī *pōtr*, Sariqōli *pōts*, a son.

One of the most persistent consonants in India is the letter *n*. In the modern languages it almost always survives, but in the Dardic languages and in Ksh. it is liable to elision. Thus, Skr. *manusha-*, a man, is Kl. *mōch*, V., Sh. *mush*. In Ksh. we have the corresponding word *mōts*, which is said to be the word for 'man' used by demons, the ordinary word being *manōsh*, which is borrowed direct from Skr. In other words, the original Dard term has been discarded as vulgar in favour of the high-flown borrowed Skr. word. Another important example is the Ksh. word *dyār*, money, which, strange to say, is a corruption of the Latin *denarii*, come to Kashmīr through Greek and Sanskrit, or through Greek direct. The Skr. form of the word is *dinārāh*.

The Hindū Prakrit grammarians noted as a peculiar fact that in Pāisāchī Prakrit *ny* became *ñ*. This is not the case in India, where *ny* became *n*, as in Skr. *dhānya-*, H. *dhān*, paddy; Skr. *anya-*, H. *ān*, another. But Ksh. exactly follows the Pāisāchī Prakrit rule. It has *dāñē*, paddy, and several other similar words.

In modern Dardic languages *r*, when standing alone, is frequently elided. Thus, we have the Sh. root *mīr*, but Grw. root *mī*, die; Pash. *karam* or *kam*, I do; Bsh. *shei*, the head, as compared with the Skr. *śiras*; Bsh. *dāo*, wood (Skr. *dāru-*); Kl. *chau*, four (H. *chār*). So in Ksh. we have *bōs*, a kind of almanac, derived from the Skr. *bhāskarī*; *grāngal* or *gāngal*, distraction; *grōṅṅ*" or *gōṅṅ*", a leg; and *brōṅṅh* or *bōṅṅh*, before. So, in the Kashṭawāri dialect of Ksh. we have *nyit* for *nirit*, having emerged; and in the Sirājī dialect *ichchh* for *richchh*, a bear, and many others.

In India, when *r* originally preceded another consonant, it is usually dropped, as in H. *sah*, all, from Skr. *sarva-*; but in the Dardic languages and in Kāshmirī the *r* is

usually retained, and if any consonant is dropped it is the second one. Thus, corresponding to the Skr. *karna-*, an ear, we have Bsh. *kōr*, Kh., Wai. *kār*, Kl. *kuṛō*; to the Skr. *gardabha-*, an ass, we have Kl. *gardōk*, Kh. *gurdōq̄h*; to Skr. *sūrya-*, the sun, we have Kl. *sūri*, Gwr. *suri*, Kh. *sūrī*, My. *swīr*, and Ksh. *sirī*; and to Skr. *sarva-*, all, Ksh. *sōr*<sup>u</sup>.

In India, a sibilant now and then becomes *h*, as in Skr. *ēkasaptati-*, H. *ikhattar*, seventy-one. This change is, however, rare except in Lahndā and Sindhī, which are under strong Dardic influence. On the other hand, in the Dard group, including Ksh., this change is very common, and is subject to the rule that it is mainly confined to an original *ś* or *sh*, *s* being rarely changed. Moreover, the sibilant is retained before certain vowels. A good example of this latter point is the Ksh. *hih*<sup>u</sup> (pronounced *hyuh*<sup>u</sup>), like, derived from an older \**hiśu*. But the feminine of *hih*<sup>u</sup> is *hish*<sup>u</sup>, even in the modern language, because a sibilant does not become *h* when followed by *ü-mātrā*. Other examples of this change are:—

Skr. *upaviśati*, he sits down, Ksh. *bēhi*, and so other Dard languages; Skr. *viśati-*, twenty, Sh. *bēh*, Ksh. *wuh*; Skr. *daśa-*, ten, Ksh. *dah*; Skr. *sata-*, a hundred, Ksh. *hat-*; Av. *kṣēvaś*, six, Gwr. *shoh*, My., Kl. *shōh*, Ksh. *shēh*; Skr. *śiras-*, a head, Ksh. *hīr*; Skr. *śava-*, a corpse, Ksh. *hap-*; Skr. *visha-*, poison, Ksh. *vēh*, and many others. It should be observed that this obtains almost exclusively in the Dard group. For instance, in the Kāfir Dardic dialects we have Bsh. *viṭṭi*, twenty; *dīṭṭi*, ten; *shai*, a head; and *wish*, poison.

The compound consonants *shp* and *śm* of Skr. sometimes become a simple *sh* in Dardic. Thus, Skr. *pushpa-*, a flower, becomes Kl. *pūsh-ik*, Ksh. *pōsh*; and the Skr. *Kaśmīra-*, Kashmir, becomes *Kashīr*<sup>u</sup> in Ksh. Similarly, *sk* becomes *s* in *bōs*<sup>u</sup> for Skr. *bhāskarī*, a kind of almanac. There is nothing like this in India.

It has been stated that the Dardic languages often show changes peculiar to Eranian, especially East Eranian, languages, and which are not found, or are rare, in India. A few of these may be mentioned here, as they are noticeable in Ksh.:—

In East Eranian the change of *ch* to *ṭṣ* is common. So also in modern Dardic and Ksh. The same change occurs in the Indian Marāṭhī, but only before certain vowels. Here it occurs before all vowels. Thus, while Kl. and Pash. have *kuch*, the belly, Wai. has *kiuts*. Compare H. *chār*, four, with Gwr. *ṭṣūr*, Ksh. *ṭṣōr*; H. *pāch*, five, with Gwr. *pānts*, Ksh. *pānts*; Burushaski *chōmar* with Gwr. *ṭṣimar*, iron; Skr. *chhāgala-* with Ksh. *ṭṣhāwul*<sup>u</sup>, a goat.

Another very similar change,—that of *j* to *z*,—is frequent in Eranian. It is very common in Ksh. One example will suffice. Compare Skr. *jīva-*, life, with Gwr. *zien*, alive, Ksh. *zuv*, life. There is a similar change on the Indian Marāṭhī, but not before *i*.

The change of *d* to *l* is regular in East Eranian. It is common in the Dardic Veron, and is also found in other Dardic dialects. An interesting example is the Prs. *mādar*, a mother, which corresponds to the Sh. *mālī*. In Ksh. *l*, but not *d*, becomes *j* before *ü-mātrā*, so that we get *mōj*<sup>u</sup>, a mother. From Sh. *mālī*, a secondary masculine is formed, viz. *mālō*, a he-mother, i.e. a father, the Ksh. form of which is *mōi*<sup>u</sup>.

In Eastern Eranian *sh* is frequently changed to *t*. So, in Dardic and Ksh., the Prs. *pusht*, the back, becomes Bsh. *pti*, Sh. *patō*, Gwr., Ksh. *pata*, behind, and so on in others, just as in the East Eranian Balōchī it becomes *phut*.

In modern Indian languages, the *sh* of the Skr., *shaṭ*, six, becomes *chh*, as in the H. *chha*, Bengali *chhay*, Pañjābī *chhē*. The Dardic languages, including Ksh., follow the Eranian method of changing the initial *khśv* of the Av. *khśvaś*, six, to *sh*, instead of using the Indian *chh*. Thus we have Bsh. *sho*, Wai. *shū*, V. *ushu*, Pash. *sh<sup>a</sup>*, Kl. *shōh*, and so on, which agree with the Ksh. *shēh*. There is nothing like this in India.

In modern Eranian dialects, an original *ś* sometimes changes to *ch*, as in the Kashānī *chūm* for the standard Prs. *shām*, evening. This, also, is not uncommon in Dardic and in Ksh. Thus, the Av. *āśi*, an eye, is represented by Bsh., Wai. *achē*, Kl. *ēch*, Ksh. *achhī*. So Skr. *śūnya*-, empty, becomes Ksh. *chhon*\*; Skr. root *paś*, see, is represented by the Sh. *pach*; Skr. *āśru*-, a tear, is *osh*\* in Ksh., but *achu* in Bsh.; Skr. *śveta*-, white, Ksh. *chhot*\*. In India, the reverse is the case, *chh* often becoming *s*, and the change from *ś* or *sh* to *chh*, as in the H. *chha*, is very rare.

Finally, Ksh. has certain phonetic changes of its own that are quite foreign to India. In India, *dm* becomes *dd*, as in the Bengali *pōddo*, from Skr. *padma*-, a lotus. In Ksh. this becomes *m*, as in the word *pam-pōsh*, a lotus-flower. Again, in Ksh. *ld* becomes *l* (a thoroughly un-Indian change), as in *gal*, a shout, connected with the vedic Skr. *galda*-, and with the Bsh. *gijjī*, speech. This word is also heard, under the form *gall*, in Pañjābī and Lahndā, which are, as we know, strongly influenced by Dardic. Sanskrit itself in post-vedic times borrowed it from Prakrit in the form *gāli*-, from which there is a series of modern Indian derivatives meaning 'abuse.'

**Accidence.**—Turning now to accidence, in the first place it should be noticed that, like Eranian languages, Kāshmīrī possesses a suffix with the force of the indefinite article, equivalent to the Persian *yā-ē wahdat*. Just as in Persian *i* (ancient *ē*) is suffixed, so, in Kāshmīrī, *ā* is suffixed. Thus, Prs. *yak-i*, Ksh. *akh-ā*, a certain one, a. It is hardly necessary to point out that there is nothing like this in India; but the same phenomenon is presented by Bsh., as in *palē-i*, a servant.

The main principles of the declension of nouns is very similar in Indian languages, in Eranian languages, and in Dardic. We may, however, point out that there are some important differences of detail between Ksh. and Indian languages. Thus, in all the languages of northern India, strong masculine nouns, such as *ghōṛā*, a horse, end in the nominative singular in *ā*, and in the nominative plural in *ē* (*ghōṛē*). In Ksh., the corresponding nouns end in *v-mātrā* in the singular, and in *i-mātrā* in the plural, as in *gur*\*, a horse, plural *gurī*. Moreover, all masculine nouns have, in Ksh., a dative singular ending in *s* (as in *tsūras*, to a thief, *guris*, to a horse), and a dative plural in *n* (as in *tsūran*, to thieves, *gurēn*, to horses). In some Indian dialects there are oblique plurals in *n*, but there is nothing like the Kāshmīrī dative singular in *s* till we reach Marāṭhī, far to the south. Further, Ksh. has cases of the agent (as in *gurī*, by a horse) and ablative (as in *guri*, from a horse), to which there is nothing corresponding in India. The *s*-dative is not peculiar to Ksh., but also exists in Kl. and Pash., and also perhaps in Sh., where it has the force of the agent.

To add definiteness to the meaning of the cases, postpositions are employed in Indian and prepositions in Eranian languages. In the Dardic languages both are used, though Ksh. prefers the former. Of the postpositions, one or two only remind one of India, the rest being peculiar to Dardic. The Ksh. postpositions of the genitive, *sond*\*, *uk*\*, and *un*\*, all have parallels in India,—a relative of *sond*\* being found in the Mārwāṇī *handō*, of *uk*\* in the H. *kā*, and of *un*\* in the Gujarāṭī *nō*. Similarly, it is possible to compare *manz*, in, with the H. *māñjh*, but it more nearly resembles the Dardic V. *munj* and the My. *maz*. But the other postpositions are either quite peculiar to Dardic or are borrowed from Persian. As Dardic examples, we may quote *kyut*\* (an adjective), for ; *putshy*, for ; *pēth*, on ; *kēth*, in ; and *pētha*, from.

Ordinary adjectives here call for no remarks, but the Ksh. numerals are so decidedly Dardic and so distinct from the forms current in India that some attention must be paid to them. Thus:—

One. This is *ak*-. It may be either Indian, Eranian, or Dardic, but is more like Prs. and Gwr. *yak* than Indian *ēk*.

Two, *z<sup>h</sup>*. In Ksh. *di* becomes *z*, so that the word is connected with the Bsh. *diu* and the Kh. *jū*, rather than with the Indian *dō*.

Three, *trēh*. This is regular Dardic. Cf. Bsh. Kl. *treh*, Wai.—*trē*, Sh. *tré*, Kh. *troi*, and so on. India has *tṣn*, and the like.

Four, *tsōr*. The *ō* is Dardic, as in Kh., Grw. *chōr*, Gwr. *tsur*, Sh. *chorr*. India has *ā*, as in *chār*.

Five, *pānts*. This may be Indian, Eranian, or Dardic.

Six, *shēh*. This is Dardic, as in Bsh. *sho*, Wai. *shū*, V. *ushu*, Pash. *sh*\*, Gwr. *shoh*, Kl. *shōh*, Sh. *shah*, and so on.

Seven, *sat*-. This, with the short *a*, is Dardic, as in Pash., Gwr., Kl., Grw. *sat*, Sh. *satt*, and so others. India has *sāt*.

Eight, *ōth* or *aith*. This may be Indian or Dardic, but the vowel is not Indian.

Nine, *nav*. This may be Indian, Eranian, or Dardic.

Ten, *dah*. This is Dardic, with the typical change of *ś* to *h*.

Twenty, *wuh*. The same remarks apply.

Hundred, *hat*-. The same remarks apply.

From the above we see that all the first ten numerals *may* be of Dardic origin, and that some of them *must* be. Some are distinctly not Indian.

The first two personal pronouns may be shown as follows:—

I,	<i>bōh</i>	thou,	<i>ts<sup>h</sup></i> .
me,	<i>me</i>	thee,	<i>tsē</i> .
my,	<i>myōn</i> *	thy,	<i>chyōn</i> *
we,	<i>as</i>	ye,	<i>tōh</i> '.
us,	<i>asē</i>	you,	<i>tōhē</i> .
our,	<i>sōn</i> *	your,	<i>tuhon</i> *

It will at once be seen that not one of these forms agrees with the corresponding Indian pronouns.

Similarly for the demonstrative pronouns we have :—

	This.	That (near).	That (far).
Sing. Nom.	<i>yih</i>	<i>huh</i>	<i>suh.</i>
Dat. (animate)	<i>yimis</i>	<i>humis, amis</i>	<i>tamis.</i>
Dat. (inanimate)	<i>yith</i>	<i>huth, ath</i>	<i>tath.</i>
Plur. Nom.	<i>tim</i>	<i>hum, -am</i>	<i>tim.</i>
Dat.	<i>timan</i>	<i>human, aman</i>	<i>timan.</i>

Again it is not necessary to draw attention to the various points of difference between this and the Indian forms. It may be especially pointed out that India has nothing corresponding to the distinction between the proximate and remote demonstrative pronouns, although it once existed in Sanskrit.

While none of the above forms are Indian, they all have their cognates on other Dardic languages. This has been fully worked out in my *Pisāca Languages of North-Western India*, and need not be repeated here.

The above remarks also apply to the other pronouns, and space need not here be wasted in considering them. Particulars will be found in the work just mentioned.

As regards verbs, the general principles of conjugation are on the whole the same in Indian, in Iranian, and in Dardic, but a few facts stand out. While the present tense of the verb substantive, based on the participial form *chhuh*, he is, is also to be found in India, the past tense, formed from the root *ās*, sit, in *ōs\**, he was, is not at all used in that sense in that country.<sup>1</sup> This root *ās* is, however, common in Dardic. Thus, for 'he was' we have My. *ās*, Grw. *āsh*, Kh. *āsistai*, Kl. *āsīs*, and so on.

In the conjugation of the ordinary verb, the present participle ends in *ān*, as in *mārān*, striking, a form that does not occur in India, but which has many Dardic relatives, such as Bsh. *vinan*, Gwr. *thlimān*, Kl. *timan*, all meaning 'striking.'

While the Indian verb has only one past participle, Ksh. has three,—one (*mōr\**, struck) indicating past time in the near past, another (*māryōv*) indicating past time indefinitely, and a third (*māryāv*) indicating remote past time. One of these (*māryōv*, for *māryō*) has the same origin as the past tense of India (a Braj *māryau*), but the others have had an independent line of growth. Although we do not yet know enough in regard to the other Dardic languages to distinguish between the meanings of the various forms of the past participle in them, it is certain that Wai., Kh., Sh., and My. have at least each two. Thus, Wai. has *vinā* and *vinasta*, Kh. *ganani* and *ganista*, Sh. *shidō* and *shidēgō*, and My. *kuta* and *kutagal*, all meaning 'struck.'

The Ksh. infinitive is built on the same lines as in Indian languages, i.e. it ends in *un* (*mārūn*), which may be compared with the H. ending in *nā* (*mārṇā*). In most Dardic languages, the infinitive ends in *k*, but in V. it ends in *n* to which *k* is added, as in *pesumti-n-ik*, to strike. The termination is therefore not specially Indian.

In the formation of the tenses Ksh. differs widely from Indian languages. The old present, a tense that survives alike in Indian, Persian, and Dardic, in India generally

<sup>1</sup> It is not the same as *t* as the root *as*, be, which does occur in several Indian languages.

has the force of the present subjunctive, but in Ksh. it is used as a future. In its conjugation it shows little relationship with Indian languages. Thus, to compare Ksh. with H., we have :—

	Ksh.	H.
Sing. 1.	<i>māra</i> , I shall strike	<i>mārē</i> , I may strike.
2.	<i>mārah</i>	<i>mārē</i> .
3.	<i>māri</i>	<i>mārē</i> .
Plur. 1.	<i>mārav</i>	<i>mārē</i> .
2.	<i>mārio</i>	<i>mārō</i> .
3.	<i>māran</i>	<i>mārē</i> .

On the other hand, as shown in the book above referred to, the Ksh. conjugation closely follows that of the other Dardic languages. The same remarks also apply to the imperative.

As regards the participial tenses, they are made in the Dardic languages on the same principles as in India. A present and imperfect are formed from the present participle conjugated with the appropriate tenses of the verb substantive, and a perfect and pluperfect from the past participle conjugated with the same. These call for no remarks.

Ksh. has three past tenses, one corresponding to each of the three past participles. Indian languages, of course, have only one. Some Indian languages form the past tense by adding pronominal suffixes to the past participle, as in the Bengali *mārilā-m*, struck-by-me, *i.e.* I struck. In Ksh. the same procedure is followed, but with the important difference that the suffixes do not form a necessary part of the word. They are removable, and may be used or not as the speaker desires. Thus, he may say either *mōrum*, struck-by-me, or *mē mōr*, by-me struck, for 'I struck.' This affects the whole structure of the language.

**Syntax.**—In the order of words in a sentence, Ksh. differs altogether from Indian languages. In the latter the subject comes first, then the object or predicate, and last of all the verb; but, in ordinary Ksh. the verb precedes the predicate, as in Persian. Thus, in Ksh. they say :—

*suh chhuh gāṭul\* mahanyuv\**,  
he is clever man,

while in H. they say :—

*wōh hōshyār ādmī hai*.  
he clever man is.

Now, the order of words used by a man in speaking indicates the order of his thoughts. Hence, the order of thought in Kashmīr is different from the order of thought in India.

**Prosody.**—In prosody, although the whole literary history of Kashmīr is intimately connected with Sanskrit, modern Kāshmirī has abandoned Indian metres. The metres used are all Eranian, and what may be called the heroic metre of the language, employed even in Hindū epics like the *Rāmāvatāracharita*, is the well-known Persian metre called *Bahrī Hazaj*.



**Vocabulary.**—Finally we come to the question of vocabulary. It is on this that the claim that Kāshmirī is a Sanskritic language is most strongly based, and, if languages were classed according to vocabulary, the claim would be difficult to controvert. But it is well known that vocabulary cannot be used as a basis of linguistic classification. If it were, High Urdū would have to be classed with Persian as an Eranian language, for the great majority of its words are borrowed from Persian. So, if vocabulary were the test, the Kāshmirī spoken by Musalmāns, who form nine-tenths, and more, of the population of the Valley, might be classed as a form of the same language.

As has been stated above, Kashmīr has for at least two thousand years been under Indian literary influence. It is the only one of the Dardic languages that has a written character and that has a literature. For centuries it was the home of great Sanskrit scholars, and at least one great Indian religion, Śaivism, has found some of its most eloquent teachers on the banks of the Vitastā. Some of the greatest Sanskrit poets were born in and wrote in the Valley, and from it has issued in the Sanskrit language a world-famous collection of folklore. Under such circumstances it would be extraordinary if the great bulk of Kāshmirī vocabulary were not closely connected with the vocabularies of the neighbouring Sanskritic languages, and such, indeed, is the fact.

But, nevertheless, some of the commonest words,—words that are retained longest on any language, however mixed, and that are seldom borrowed, such as the earlier numerals, or the words for 'father,' 'mother,' and the like,—are closely allied to the corresponding Shīnā words, and are therefore of Dardic origin. The following is a list of some Shīnā words which have cognate forms in Kāshmirī. Some of these words also occur in Indian languages, but they are also Dardic, and are examples of the same form appearing in both families of Aryan speech.

English.	Shīnā.	Kāshmiri.
acid	<i>churko</i>	<i>ṭṣok<sup>u</sup>.</i>
after	<i>phatū</i>	<i>pata.</i>
anger	<i>rōsh</i>	<i>r<sup>u</sup>sh.</i>
army	<i>sī</i>	<i>sīna.</i>
arrow	<i>kon</i>	<i>kān.</i>
aunt (father's sister)	<i>papī</i>	<i>pōph.</i>
aunt (mother's sister)	<i>mā</i>	<i>mās.</i>
autumn	<i>sharō</i>	<i>harud.</i>
bad	<i>kachō</i>	<i>koch<sup>u</sup>.</i>
be	<i>bo-</i>	<i>bōw.</i>
bear (the animal)	<i>ich</i>	<i>ichohh (Sīrājī).</i>
beard	<i>daī</i>	<i>dōr<sup>u</sup>.</i>
between	<i>majja</i>	<i>mans, in.</i>
bite	<i>chup-</i> (verb)	<i>ṭṣop<sup>u</sup> (noun)</i>
blow	<i>phā-</i>	<i>phukh-.</i>
blue	<i>nīlo</i>	<i>nīl<sup>u</sup>.</i>
bone	<i>ati</i>	<i>aḍij<sup>u</sup></i>
be born	<i>jo-</i>	<i>zē.</i>
both	<i>bēys</i>	<i>biyē, a second time.</i>
bow	<i>dānā</i>	<i>dān<sup>u</sup>.</i>
boy	<i>shudār</i>	<i>shur<sup>u</sup>.</i>
break	<i>put-</i>	<i>phuṭ.</i>
breath	<i>shā</i>	<i>shāh.</i>
brown	<i>gūro</i>	<i>guruṭ<sup>u</sup>.</i>
bull	<i>ḍānō</i>	<i>dānā.</i>

English.	Ships.	Kashmiri.
camel	čat	čih.
cold	shidalo	shatil.
cow	go	gōv.
crooked	kōlō	hōl <sup>u</sup> .
crow	kā	kāv.
dance	nat-	natg-
day	des	dōh.
death	māren	māra.
die	mir	mar.
dog	shū	hūn <sup>u</sup> (or, dialectic shūn <sup>u</sup> ).
door	dar	dār.
dry	shuko	hōkh <sup>u</sup> .
ear	kon	kan.
earthquake	būyāl	būhul <sup>u</sup> .
eat	ko-	khh.
eclipse	grā	grōn <sup>u</sup> .
elephant	hasto	hoṣ <sup>u</sup> .
escape	much-	mōhal-
eye	dchi	achh <sup>u</sup> .
face	mukh	mōkh.
far	dūr	dār.
father	mālo, bābo	mōl <sup>u</sup> , bāba.
finger	agūi	ong <sup>u</sup> j <sup>u</sup> .
flour	āt	ōi <sup>u</sup> .
foot	pā	pād.
forget	amush-	mash-
fortnight	pach	pach.
fox	lōy	lōh.
give	dī-	dī-
gold	son	sōn.
grape	jach	dachh.
grass	kach	kach.
great	baddo	boḡ <sup>u</sup> .
hand	hat	at̄ha.
handle	dono	dan.
hot	tāto	tot <sup>u</sup> .
industrious	gresto	grist <sup>u</sup> , a farmer.
kill	mār-	mār-
knee	kutū	kōth <sup>u</sup> .
language	bāsh	bāshē, child's cry
lay down	po-	pōw-
lead (metal)	nāng	nāg.
leaf (of tree)	pāto	pāt <sup>u</sup> r-
learn	sich	hēchh.
lip	ōnti	wuḡh.
little	chōn	chhōn <sup>u</sup> , empty.
man	manusho	māhanyuv <sup>u</sup> .
meat	mos	mās.
milk	dut	dōd.
moon	yūn	sūn.
month	māz	mās.
more	mūis	matā, much.
mother	mālī	mōj <sup>u</sup> (for mōl <sup>u</sup> ).
mouth	āi	ōs (for ās <sup>u</sup> ).
naked	nanno	non <sup>u</sup> .
name	nām	nāv.

English.	Shinā.	Kāshmirī.
new	<i>nowā</i>	<i>now<sup>u</sup>.</i>
night	<i>rāti</i>	<i>rāt<sup>i</sup>.</i>
nose	<i>nāto</i>	<i>nast.</i>
old	<i>pronō</i>	<i>pron<sup>u</sup>.</i>
place	<i>dish</i>	<i>dish.</i>
plough	<i>hal</i>	<i>ala.</i>
pride	<i>badyār</i>	<i>bajēr (for baḍyēr), greatness.</i>
ram	<i>karṣlo</i>	<i>kaṭ<sup>i</sup>.</i>
receive	<i>lay-</i>	<i>lab<sup>i</sup>.</i>
return	<i>far-</i>	<i>phār.</i>
right (not left)	<i>dashino</i>	<i>dachhin<sup>u</sup>.</i>
rise	<i>uth-</i>	<i>uṭh<sup>i</sup>.</i>
sand	<i>sigel</i>	<i>sōk<sup>i</sup>.</i>
scatter	<i>shij-</i>	<i>chhik<sup>i</sup>.</i>
seed	<i>bi</i>	<i>byōl<sup>u</sup>.</i>
shoulder	<i>piow</i>	<i>pyuk<sup>u</sup>.</i>
silver	<i>rūp</i>	<i>rōp.</i>
singing	<i>gai</i>	<i>gēv<sup>i</sup>.</i>
sit	<i>bai-</i>	<i>bāh<sup>i</sup>.</i>
smoke	<i>dām</i>	<i>d<sup>u</sup>h.</i>
smooth	<i>ptchiliko</i>	<i>pishul<sup>u</sup>.</i>
snow	<i>hin</i>	<i>shin.</i>
son	<i>puch</i>	<i>putr<sup>i</sup>.</i>
soul	<i>jil</i>	<i>sā.</i>
spade	<i>bel</i>	<i>bēl.</i>
strength	<i>shat</i>	<i>hēkat<sup>i</sup>.</i>
sun	<i>sūri</i>	<i>siri.</i>
sweet	<i>mōro</i>	<i>mōdur<sup>u</sup>.</i>
take hold	<i>lam-</i>	<i>lam<sup>i</sup>, pull.</i>
tear (vb.)	<i>ṭṭēr-</i>	<i>ṭṭaṭ<sup>i</sup>.</i>
throat	<i>shoto</i>	<i>hoṭ<sup>u</sup>.</i>
today	<i>acho</i>	<i>ās.</i>
tongue	<i>jip</i>	<i>sōv.</i>
tooth	<i>dōn</i>	<i>dand.</i>
vein	<i>nār</i>	<i>nōr<sup>u</sup>.</i>
village	<i>girom</i>	<i>gām.</i>
wall	<i>kut</i>	<i>kuṭh<sup>u</sup>, a room.</i>
weep	<i>ro-</i>	<i>riw<sup>i</sup>.</i>
wife	<i>gren</i>	<i>gariṅ, mistress of a house.</i>
window	<i>darī</i>	<i>dōr<sup>u</sup>.</i>
wine	<i>mo</i>	<i>mas.</i>
with	<i>āṭi</i>	<i>āṭ<sup>i</sup>.</i>
woman	<i>chai</i>	<i>trai.</i>
work	<i>kōm</i>	<i>kōm<sup>u</sup>.</i>
write	<i>lūk-</i>	<i>lūkh<sup>i</sup>.</i>
yes	<i>āwā</i>	<i>awa.</i>

We therefore arrive at the following conclusions. Kāshmirī is a mixed language, having as its basis a language of the Dard group of the Dardic family allied to Shinā. It has been powerfully influenced by Indian culture and literature, and the greater part of its vocabulary is now of Indian origin and is allied to that of the Sanskritic Indo-Aryan languages of Northern India. As, however, its basis,—in other words, its phonetic system, its accent, its syntax, its prosody,—is Dardic, it must be classed as such, and not as a Sanskritic form of speech.

# LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

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