A STUDY ON MORPHOLOGICAL CASE IN GUREZI SHINA

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Summary: Gurezi Shina is spoken by 25,000 ethnic Dards in the Gurez valley of Kashmir in India. Among the Dardic languages, now referred to as North-West Indo-Aryan languages, Shina has a very rich morphological case system. This paper is an in-depth study on the morphological case system in Gurezi Shina. Various morphological cases found in the language include one oblique form, two forms of agentive, and eight other forms. The work is based on original data collected from native speakers of the language in Gurez during three field trips.

1. Introduction

In many languages, case is conceived as a system of inflections carried by nouns; these inflections mark certain relationships between the inflected noun and other parts of the clause or phrase. According to Blake, «case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. Traditionally, the term refers to inflectional marking, and, typically, case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another noun at the phrase level» [Blake 2004: 1].

Generally, verbs are considered to be heads that assign case, whereas nouns are dependent and receive case. The inflections carried by nouns as a realization of case are called case markers and the inflected nominal forms are referred to as case forms. In certain languages, also adjectives and determiners can carry case inflections, just as cases can be governed by prepositions and postpositions [ibid: 2, 5].

Labels like nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, ablative, locative, sociative etc. are used for the different cases. Predominantly, nominative is used for the case of the single argument (S) of an intransitive clause and also of the agent (A) as argument of a transitive clause. In many languages, accusative is used for the patient (P) as argument of a transitive clause. Dative is generally used for the indirect object. Genitive is used for the possessor argument. Ablative usually indicates the source, while locative signals location. Besides these, there are many case labels that are associated with specific cases in different languages.

Apart from how these cases are expressed, they encode certain syntactic and semantic relations. In syntactic relations, case can be a syntactic phenomenon, whereas semantic relations indicate that it is a semantic phenomenon. In the assignment of case, the use of terms like subject and object reflects the underlying syntactic relations, while terms like location, source etc. express semantic relations. However, syntactic and semantic relations can often appear diffuse because they may overlap. Blake [2004: 32] puts it as follows: «…it is common for a syntactic case to encode a semantic relation or role that lies outside of whatever syntactic relation it expresses. […] On the other hand, there are situations where the so-called semantic cases encode a purely syntactic relation».

Based on these two types of relations, a distinction is made between grammatical/ syntactic/ abstract and semantic/ concrete cases. According to Blake [2004], nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, and ergative should be taken as grammatical cases, as they primarily express syntactic/ grammatical relations. The other cases are semantic phenomena because they are based on semantic relations.

Another distinction maintained since ancient Greek times is the one between the oblique case and nominative. Oblique refers to all cases other than the nominative; the latter also being referred to as direct. But, as Blake [2004] explains, «in some languages there is a formal distinction between the nominative and the oblique cases inasmuch as there is a special stem for the obliques» [Blake 2004: 30].

Further distinction maintained by Blake [2004: 32] is the one between core and peripheral cases. According to him, nominative and accusative cases which «encode the compliments of typical one-place and two-place transitive verbs» are core cases. The rest of the cases is considered peripheral.

Languages, in which the single argument (S) of an intransitive clause and the agent (A) acting as an argument of a transitive clause take the same case opposing to the patient (P) acting as an argument of a transitive clause, are considered to follow an accusative pattern (S A/ P). In these languages, (S) and (A) take the nominative case and (P) takes the accusative. In those languages, which are claimed to follow an ergative pattern (S P/ A), (S) and (P) have the same case, namely absolutive, opposing to (A). In most languages having an accusative pattern, the nominative is inflectionally unmarked, while in an ergative pattern, the absolutive is unmarked.

2. Present Study

The present study reports the findings of a major research project[1] on Gurezi Shina. The data have been collected from native speakers of Gurezi Shina in 2011 and 2012, they was elicited and recorded from the consultants primarily by means of a pre-formulated set of sentences and words. They were later transcribed using the font SILDoulas IPA93 for analysis. The nature of the paper is descriptive: Different cases have been described with regard to the morphological case markers as well as the function they serve in the language. Examples of complete case paradigms found in the language have also been provided. Examples from Kashmiri and Urdu have been incorporated in several places in order to present a comparative perspective on case in these languages. The case description of Gurezi Shina is preceded by an introduction to the language and area where it is spoken.

3. The Language

Shina, locally pronounced /ʃiɳãã/,, is the language of the people scattered over a vast mountainous region stretching from northern areas of Jammu and Kashmir

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(J&K) in India to the areas in Gilgit-Baltistan and the Kohistan province of Pakistan. Shina-speaking areas under the administration of Pakistan include Gilgit, lower Hunza, Tangir-Darel, Astor, and the Chilas valleys as well as certain areas in Indus Kohistan. In the northern state of Jammu and Kashmir of India, Shina is spoken in the Gurez valley of Bandipora, a district of the Kashmir division, and in the Drass area of Kargil, a district of the Ladakh division. The variety of Shina spoken in Gurez is known as Gurezi Shina and the one spoken in Drass is called Drassi Shina. George A.Grierson in his monumental work *Linguistic Survey of India* [1919] named the languages spoken in the entire northern region «Dardic»; this term included Kashmiri and Shina.

According to Grierson [1919: 2], Dardic, as a separate branch of Indo-Iranian, comprises three groups:

- The Kafir group (renamed later by Strand [1973] to Nuristani languages),
- The Khowar group,
- The Dard group (includes Shina, Kashmiri, and Kohistani).

However, the linguistic basis of Grierson's classification of Dardic languages has been challenged following the works of Georg Morgenstierne [1926, 1932, 1961]. These works were able to establish that the languages classified by Grierson as Dardic, except the Kafir group, are in fact Indo-Aryan languages. Grierson's use of the term «Dardic» as an umbrella term for the languages spoken in the mountainous belt spanning from Kashmir to northern Afghanistan has been attributed to Leitner's [1880] use of the term «Dardistan».

Subsequent linguistic works, some of them based on extensive field work in the area, further substantiated Morgenstierne's viewpoint. Prominent among these works are Bashir [2003], Fussman [1972], Liljegren [2008], Masica [1991], Radloff [1992], Schmidt and Kohistani [2008], Strand [1973], and Zoller [2005].

According to Bashir, «the designation 'Dardic' neither implies ethnic unity among the speakers of these languages nor that they can all be traced to a single Stammbaum-model node» [2003: 822]. As far as the uniformity among these languages is concerned, she notes that these «languages on the whole underwent fewer of the major MIA phonological and morphological developments than plains IA».

However, the term «Dardic» continues to be frequently used in the literature. Radloff [1999: 4] refers to the languages «clustered in the mountainous areas of northern Pakistan and stretched into Kashmir on the east and Afghanistan on the west» as Dardic. Zoller [2005] also makes use of the term «Dardic» and states that these languages are «the modern successors of Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), Gandhari, and other unknown MIA languages». He upholds that the Dardic languages developed from «Proto-Dardic» that branched off «at a post OIA stage from the rest of the Indic» [Zoller 2005: 10].

Bailey [1924] has subdivided Shina into three main dialect groups. These are:

- Gilgiti,
- Astori:
  - Astori, Gurezi, and Drassi,

- Kohistani:
  - Kohistani and Chilasi.

Bailey considers Gilgit the real home of the Shina language and reports that the Shina country includes the Gurez valleys of upper Kishenganga, Burzil valley, and the districts of Astor, Gilgit, Chilas, and Kohistan.

Bashir [2003: 824-825] has proposed a detailed classification of the Dardic languages. She has subdivided the Dardic into the following six major groups: Pashai, Kunar, Chitral, Kohistan, Kashmiri, and Shina. Then, she divides Shina into four sub-groups that include:

- Kohistan: Kohistyo (dialects of Palas, Jalkot, Koli), Ushojo, Tangir-Darel, Chilasi,
- Astor: Astori, Drassi, Gurezi, Gultari,
- Gilgit: Gilgiti, Hunza-Nagari, Punyali, Brokskat (Dokskat, Kyango),
- Palula: Palula (Phalura, Palola), Sawi (Sauji).

4. The Area

The valley of Gurez lies at the extreme north of Indian Kashmir in the Bandipora district. On its northern side, the valley is demarcated from the areas falling under the control of Pakistan through concertina wires signifying the Line of Control (LOC). The river Kishenganga with its principal stream originating from the high altitude Gangbal lake, nestled in the Harmukh mountains, flows in east-west direction and runs through the middle of the valley. The river, known by the name of Neelum in Pakistan, serves as LOC towards the lower areas of Gurez. The valley is approximately 95 kilometers long and at few places half a kilometer wide at the most. The population of Gurez, J&K, was 34,390 according to 2011 census in India, out of which approximately 25,000 are native Shina speakers. The remaining are native Kashmiri speakers. The native Shina-speaking people of the valley call themselves Dards or Dard-shins.

5. Cases in Gurezi Shina

Schmidt and Koul [2010: 197] have identified six cases in Gurezi. These include nominative, agentive, genitive, dative, ablative, and locative. Besides these, the authors have mentioned the presence of an oblique case in certain nouns followed by postpositions. In contrast, the current study has observed the presence of ten morphologically well defined cases. These include:

- Nominative,
- Oblique,
- Agentive:
  - Agentive Imperfective,
  - Agentive Perfective,
- Dative,
- Genitive,
- Ablative,
- Adessive,
- Sociative,
- Locative.

Except for nominative, all cases are morphologically marked. Before the cases are explained individually, a paradigm for two regularly inflected nouns is presented below:

Gur[2]	Gloss	Gend
/ɡooʂ/	house	Mas

Case	Sing	Plu
Nominative	/ɡooʂ/	/ɡoozɨ/
Oblique	/ɡoozɨ/	/ɡoozɨ̃õ/
Agentive I	/ɡooʂse/	/ɡoozɨs/
Agentive II	/ɡoozɨ̃i/	/ɡoozɨs/
Genitive	/ɡoozɨ̃õ/	/ɡoozɨ̃õ/
Dative	/ɡoozɨʈ/	/ɡoozɨ̃õʈ/
Ablative	/ɡoozɨʒõ̃/	/ɡoozɨ̃ʒõ̃/
Adessive	/ɡoozɨkatʃ/	/ɡoozɨ̃katʃ/
Sociative	/ɡoozɨsẽ̃i/	/ɡoozɨ̃sẽ̃i/
Locative	/ɡoozɨʒi/	/ɡoozɨ̃ʒi/

Gur	Gloss	Gend
/ʈiki/	bread	Fem

Case	Sing	Plu
Nominative	/ʈiki/	/ʈikje/
Oblique	/ʈiki/	/ʈikjõ̃/
Agentive I	/ʈikjis/	/ʈikjees/
Agentive II	/ʈikjõ̃/	/ʈikjees/
Genitive	/ʈikjõ̃/	/ʈikjõ̃/
Dative	/ʈikeʈ/	/ʈikjõ̃ʈ/
Ablative	/ʈikiʒõ̃/	/ʈikjõʒõ̃/
Adessive	/ʈikikatʃ/	/ʈikjõkatʃ/
Sociative	/ʈikisẽ̃i/	/ʈikjõsẽ̃i/
Locative	/ʈikiʒi/	/ʈikjõʒi/

5.1. Nominative

Schmidt and Kohistani [2008: 40] have reported the presence of two layers of inflectional suffixes in Kohistani Shina; the first layer represents the singular-plural and nominative-oblique distinction, whereas the rest of the cases constitutes second layer inflections. The viewpoint has originally been put forward by Masica [1991: 230-48]. The nominative is taken by the single argument/ subject of an intransitive clause and is morphologically unmarked. Subjects of all simple copular sentences also take the nominative case. Nouns carrying nominative

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[2] Gur = Gurezi, Gen = Gender, Mas = Masculine, Fem = Feminine, Sing = Singular, Plu = Plural

case occur in the root form (nouns ending in consonants) or with a gender suffix. All other cases except nominative are morphologically marked, as can be seen in the examples above. Some examples of nominative are presented below:

Gur	**Gloss**
mustafa sutu	Mustafa slept.
Mustafa Nom sleep Pst Per	
ʃũũ baaʃi hũũ	Dog barks.
dog Nom bark be Prt Imp	
ʃũvi baaʃin haa	Dogs bark.
dog Plu Nom bark be Prt Imp	
so jaazee	He will walk.
he 3ʳᵈ Sing Mas Nom walk Impf	
anu ek ɠooṣ hũũ	This is a house.
this Nom a house be Prt	

5.2. Oblique

In Gurezi Shina, direct and indirect objects take an oblique case (non-nominative). Bailey [1924] has not mentioned the presence of oblique in Gurezi. For Kohistani Shina, Schmidt and Kohistani [2008: 40] consider oblique to be one of the basic cases, the other being nominative. In Gurezi Shina, the oblique case in singular form is generally realized by attaching /-e/ to the root; in many incidents, the suffix -/i/ or /-a/ is also used. In the plural, the case is generally realized by attaching /-õõ/ to the root. Nouns ending in vowels, however, behave differently than those ending in consonants. Consider the following examples:

Gur	**Root**	**Gloss**	**Gend**
/don/	/don/	tooth	Mas

Case	**Sing**	**Plu**
Nominative	/don/	/doni/
Oblique	/done/	/donõõ/

Gur	**Root**	**Gloss**	**Gend**
/z̪aa/	/z̪aa/	brother	Mas

Case	**Sing**	**Plu**
Nominative	/z̪aa/	/z̪aari/
Oblique	/z̪awa/	/z̪aarõõ/

In the former example, the root /don/ takes /-e/ for oblique singular and /-õõ/ for plural. However, in the latter case, the root undergoes a certain change before the oblique suffix is attached. In order to prevent assimilation, the vowel of the root is shortened and /w/ is inserted before the attachment of the oblique

suffix in the singular form. The oblique plural seems to be formed by inserting /r/ before the addition of /-õ͂õ/, similar to the formation of nominative plural, in which case it is /i/. The same pattern can be found in the example below, with the only difference that a lateral is inserted rather than a glide.

Gur	Root	Gloss	Gend
/maa/	/maa/	mother	Fem

Case	Sing	Plu
Nominative	/maa/	/malaari/
Oblique	/mala/	/malaarõ͂õ/

The following examples demonstrate the use of the oblique case in sentences:

Gur	Gloss
mustafaas rijaz-e paʃov	Mustafa saw Riyaz.
Mustafa AgnP Riyaz Obl see Per	
mẽi z̤aw-a paʃaas	I saw brother.
I AgnP brother Obl saw Per	
mẽi z̤aar-õ͂õ paʃaas	I saw brothers.
I AgnP brother Plur Obl saw Per	
mẽi rijaz-e gooz̤-e aʈaas	I took Riyaz home.
I AgnP riyaz Obl home Obl arrive Cas Per	
don-e nee hilave	Don't move your tooth.
tooth Obl not move Imp	
mẽi tʃun-**e** kuʈaas	I beat the child.
I AgnP child Obl beat Per	

Schmidt and Koul [2010: 200] have claimed that oblique in Gurezi is found in nouns followed by postpositions, which is not correct according to my observation. There is no postposition in the above examples of the use of the oblique case.

The use of the oblique case in Gurezi, however, seems to be restricted in usage. Not all instances of direct and indirect objects possess the case. This may be due to the fact that the use of oblique is disappearing from the language. In certain instances, it was found that oblique is taken by objects in sentences having an [+human] subject. Consider the following two sentences:

Gur	Gloss
baalsẽi aʃip-**e** preʃaʈdoo	The boy kicked the horse.
child Agn P horse Obl kick Per	
aʃipsẽi bala-ʈ preʃaʈdoo	The horse kicked the boy.
horse Agn P child Dat kick Per	

Both sentences have a similar structure, but the subject of the former, boy, which is [+human] may be responsible for triggering the oblique on the object. In the latter, the object carries the dative case, rather than the oblique.

5.3. Agentive

The agentive in Gurezi has two forms called agentive imperfective (I) and agentive perfective (P). The form of the agentive is determined by the verbal aspect; Gurezi has two aspects: perfective and imperfective. The former is taken by subjects of transitive verbs with imperfective tense and the latter by subjects of transitive verbs in perfective tense. Bailey [1924: 211] has mentioned the presence of two forms of agentive case in Gurezi. According to him, the suffix /-ĕĭ/ is used with past tense of transitive verbs and /-sŭ/ is used with the rest of the tenses of transitive verbs. The data collected for the present study indicates that in the singular form, /-se/ is added to the root to indicate agentive imperfective in nouns ending in consonants, and /-as/ and /-s/ in nouns ending in vowels. The suffix /-ĕĭ/ is used for perfective. In nouns ending in long vowels, agentive perfective is denoted by /-õõ/. As claimed by Schmidt and Kohistani [2008: 40], layer II suffixes are attached to the layer I rather than directly to the root, with nominative-oblique and singular-plural falling into the latter category. However, it seems that in the singular form, agentive I is related to nominative, while agentive P is derived from oblique. In the example below, /-ĕĭ/ is added to /gooz̧/, while /-se/ is attached to /gooṣ/. The plural forms of both agentive I and agentive P seem to be derived from nominative plural.

Gur	Root	Gloss	Gend
/baal/	baal	boy/child	Mas

Case	Sing	Plu
Nominative	/baal/	/bale/
Oblique	/bale/	/gooz̧õõ/
Agentive I	/baal-se/	/balee-s/
Agentive P	/bal-ĕĭ/	/balee-s/

Gur	Root	Gloss	Gend
/mulai/	mul	girl/ daughter	Mas

Case	Sing	Plu
Nominative	/mulai/	/mulees/
Oblique	/gooz̧e/	/gooz̧õõ/
Agentive I	/mulai-se/	/mulee-s/
Agentive P	/mulai-õõ/	/mulee-s/

Gur	Gloss
raʃiid-se moṯ gizaa dee hũũ	Rashid gives me food.
Rashid AgnI I Dat food give Imp be	

bal-ẽĩ kuitʃõõʈ moos bagaw

child AgnP villagers Dat mutton
distribute Per

The boy distributed mutton among the
villagers.

The use of agentive perfective is on the decline and most of the younger
speakers of the community use only agentive imperfective for both aspects.

5.4. Dative

The dative case in Gurezi is quite prominent. Both singular and plural forms of
dative are derived by adding /-ʈ/ to the oblique singular and plural respectively.
Datives primarily mark the indirect object, but dative subjects are not uncom-
mon. According to Bailey [1924: 11], the dative suffixes in Gilgiti are /-eʈ/,
/-aʈ/, /-oʈ/, and /-ooʈ/. However, for Gurezi, the author mentions /-ʈa/ and
/-ʈe/ as dative markers, which to my understanding may not be correct.

Gur	Root	Gloss	Gend
/aʃip/	/aʃip/	horse	Mas

Case	Sing	Plu
Nominative	/aʃip/	/aʃpi/
Oblique	/aʃpe/	/aʃpõõ/
Dative	/aʃpe-ʈ/	/aʃp-õõʈ/

Gur	Gloss
ɱulaja-ʈ tʃʰulkoi diee	Give clothes to girl.
girl Dat clothes give Impf	

daawudsẽĩ iqbaala-ʈ kitaab doo	Dawood gave book to Iqbal.
Dawood AgnP Iqbal Dat book give Per	

Like Urdu, Gurezi Shina can have dative subjects, as in the example below:

Gur	Gloss
bala-ʈ bukʰaar hũũ	The boy has fever.
boy Dat fever be Per	

5.5. Genitive

The genitive case in Gurezi seems to be derived from oblique rather than from
nominative. In the singular, the vowel at the end of the oblique is deleted and
/õõ/ is added in order to indicate genitive. In the plural, it takes the same form
as the oblique plural.

Gur	Root	Gloss	Gend
/ẓaa/	/ẓaa/	brother	Mas

Case	Sing	Plu
Nominative	/ẓaa/	/ẓaari/
Oblique	/ẓawa/	/ẓarõõ/

Genitive	/ẓaw-õ̃õ/	/ẓar-õ̃õ/

Gur	**Gloss**
as-õ̃õ khiladi sijee hãã	Our players are good.
we Gen player Plu good be Prt	
mustapʰa gurai-õ̃õ hõõ ge ʃahid	Mustafa is from Gurez
ʃahr-õ̃õ hõõ Mustafa Gurez Gen be Prt	and Shahid is from the city.
and Shahid city Gen be Prt	
m-ʲõ baal navambaraȝi ȝaalu	My son was born in
I Gen child November Loc born Per	November.

5.6. Ablative

The ablative suffix in Gurezi is /-ȝõ̃õ/, in the singular as well as in the plural, added to the oblique singular and plural respectively. In the case of the ablative singular, the /-e/ of the oblique singular is raised to /-i/ before the addition of /-ȝõ̃õ/. For ablative plural, the long vowel /-õ̃õ/ of the oblique plural is short-ened to /-õ/ before the suffix /-ȝõ̃õ/ is attached.

Gur	**Root**	**Gloss**	**Gend**
/tʃʰeetʃ/	/tʃʰeetʃ/	field (agriculture)	Mas

Case	**Sing**	**Plu**
Nominative	/tʃʰeetʃ/	/tʃʰeetʃi/
Oblique	/tʃʰeetʃe/	/tʃʰeetʃõ̃õ/
Ablative	/tʃʰeetʃi-ȝõ̃õ/	/tʃʰeetʃõ-ȝõ̃õ/

Ablative in Gurezi Shina is primarily used to indicate a movement away from something.

Gur	**Gloss**
ẓawa-ȝõ̃õ aṭaas	took from brother
brother Abl take Per	
loʃti-ȝõ̃õ ʃamaṭ	from morning to evening
morning Abl evening Dat	
tomi-ȝõ̃õ	from the tree
tree Abl	

5.7. Adessive

The adessive case in Gurezi is signaled by the suffix /-kaṭʃ/ in the singular and /-kaṭʃõ̃õ/ in the plural. Many speakers, however, use /-kaṭʃ/ for both singular and plural. Adessive in Gurezi denotes nearness to something or a movement towards something. Again, for both singular and plural forms of the case, the suffixes are added to the oblique base. In the singular, /-kaṭʃ/ is added to the

oblique singular after its vowel /-e/ is raised to /-i/. The use of the adessive case is also on the decline.

Gur	Root	Gloss	Gend
/dʒut/	/dʒut/	swamp	Fem

Case	Sing	Plu
Nominative	/dʒut/	/dʒutee/
Oblique	/dʒuti/	/dʒutõõ/
Adessive	/dʒutikatʃ/	/dʒutõkatʃ/

Gur	Gloss
puʃi ʃũ̃-katʃ eeli hĩ̃	The cat is near the dog.
cat Nom Dog Add near be	

5.8. Sociative

The sociative case in Gurezi, denoted by /sẽ̆i/ in both singular and plural, is used to indicate the state of being along with something or somebody.

Gur	Root	Gloss	Gend
/aʃip/	/aʃip/	horse	Mas

Case	Sing	Plu
Nominative	/aʃip/	/aʃpi/
Oblique	/aʃpe/	/aʃpõõ/
Sociative	/aʃpe-sẽ̆i/	/aʃpõ-sẽ̆i/

The database shows that many speakers make use of the postposition /nala/ 'along with' besides the sociative marker /-sẽ̆i/ to indicate the state of being along with something or somebody.

Gur	Gloss
mo z̧awa-sẽ̆i nala aalus	I came along with brother.
I Nom brother Soc along-with come Per	

mo z̧awa-sẽ̆i aalus	I came along with brother.
I Nom brother Soc come Per	

The two sentences above are equally used by Gurezi speakers without any of these being ungrammatical or unacceptable.

5.9. Locative

The locative in Gurezi denotes the state of being inside something. The suffix /-ʒi/ is added to the oblique singular and plural to form locative singular and plural respectively. The database shows that the suffix is also used to indicate the meaning of being upon something.

Gur	Root	Gloss	Gend
/gooş/	/gooş/	house	Mas

Case	Sing	Plu
Nominative	/gooʂ/	/gooz̪e̪/
Oblique	/gooz̪e̪/	/gooz̪õõ/
Locative	/goozi̪-ʒi/	/gooz̪õ-ʒi/

Gur	Gloss
taari aasmaanu-ʒi hã̃ã star Plu sky Loc be Prt	Stars are in the sky.
panzu tomi-ʒi aʒa hũ̃ũ monkey Nom tree Loc upon be Prt	Monkey is on the tree.
panzu tomi-ʒi hũ̃ũ monkey Nom tree Loc be Prt	Monkey is on the tree.

The last two sentences were found to be used by Gurezi speakers without any of these being ungrammatical or unacceptable.

6. Discussion and Conclusions

The three core cases in Gurezi Shina − nominative, oblique, and agentive − behave differently from what has been reported in the literature about most of the languages; they conform neither to the accusative pattern, nor to the ergative alignment. It is not possible in Gurezi Shina to group S with A or with O.

Consider the following comparison between Urdu, Kashmiri, and Gurezi Shina. Urdu and Kashmiri display ergative pattern, although only partially.

1. mẽi nafaraṯ paloo dii   I gave apple to the man.
   I AgnP man Dat give Per
2. me ne aadmi ko seeb diya   I gave apple to the man.
   I Erg man Dat apple give Per
3. me dʲut nafras tsũunth   I gave apple to the man.
   I Erg give Per man Dat apple

The sentences 1, 2, and 3 are from Gurezi Shina, Urdu, and Kashmiri respectively. Seemingly, the three languages have similar case alignment, but Gurezi Shina takes the agentive while Urdu and Kashmiri take the ergative for the subject. Consider some more examples from Shina, Urdu, and Kashmiri:

4. mẽi rijaze paʃaw   I saw Riyaz.
   I AgnP Riyaz Obl see Per
5. me ne rijaz ko dekha   I saw Riyaz.
   I Erg Riyaz Dat see Per
6. mʲe wuch riyaz   I saw Riyaz.
   I Erg see Per Riyaz

In the three sentences above, both Urdu and Kashmiri have ergative subjects, but the direct object takes the oblique in Shina, the dative in Urdu, and no case marker in Kashmiri. There is another difference in the imperfective aspect in the following three sentences:

7. mos rijaze kuṭem   I will beat Riyaz.
   I AgnI riyaz Obl beat Fut Impf
8. me rijaz ko marũnga   I will beat Riyaz.
   I Nom riyaz Dat beat Fut Impf
9. bi laaji riyazas   I will beat Riyaz.
   I Nom beat Fut Impf riyaz Dat

In the future imperfective, both Urdu and Kashmiri have subjects in the nominative, but Gurezi Shina has an agentive subject. In Kashmiri and Urdu, there is an aspect-driven ergativity, whereas in Shina, the aspect determines the form of the agentive case.

Thus, in Gurezi Shina, the unmarked nominative goes with the single argument of intransitives, patient-like objects take the oblique in many instances, and the agentive is different from both oblique and unmarked nominative. This alignment is labeled as S/ A/ P and is very rare [Blake 2004: 136].

Gurezi Shina is losing its rich case morphology; the usage of agentive perfective is severely declining (younger speakers mostly use the agentive imperfective). This problem particularly protrudes with regard to proper names. However, the various case forms of pronouns are quite intact. The only reason for the declining case morphology in Gurezi Shina seems to be the intensive contact with Kashmiri and/ or Urdu.

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