A Grammatical Sketch of Hunza Burushaski

(This is a work in progress)

Sadaf Munshi (Ph.D.)

University of North Texas

In collaboration with

Piar Karim

University of North Texas

A Grammatical Sketch of Hunza Burushaski[1]

Table of Contents

---

[1] This is a work in progress. Any mistakes – factual, typographic, or otherwise, are regretted and will be addressed in the final version.

Symbols and Abbreviations in the Gloss

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
+h	Human
(-h,I)	Animate non-human, and solid inanimate
(-h,II)	Liquids and soft inanimate
ABL	Ablative (Case)
ABS	Absolutive (Case)
ADJ	Adjective
CAUS	Causative
COMP	Complimentizer
COM	Comitative
DAT	Dative
EMPH	Emphatic
ERG	Ergative
F	(Human) Female
GEN	Genitive (Case)
HAB	Habitual
IMPER	Imperative
IPFV	Imperfective (Aspect)
INDF	Indefinite (Article)

INF	Infinitive
LOC	Locative
M	(Human) Male
NEG	Negation, Negative
OBJ	Object
OPT	Optative
PL	Plural
PRES	Present
PROG	Progressive
PST	Past
PTC	Particle
PTCP	Participle
Q	Question (particle/marker)
SG	Singular
SUBJ	Subject
V	Verb
VOC	Vocative
NMLZ	Nominalizer

Languages

Bur	Burushaski
E	English
SB	Sirinagar Burushaski
HB	Hunza Burushaski
HB-NB	Hunza and Nagar Burushaski
IA	Indo-Aryan
K	Kashmiri
NB	Nagar Burushaski
Sh	Shina
Ur	Urdu
YB	Yasin Burushaski

Chapter 1: Phonology

1.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at Burushaski Phonology. It provides the phonemic inventory of consonants in section 1.1 and vowels in section 1.2[2]

1.1 Consonantal Inventory

Burushaski consonantal inventory is provided in Table 1.1

Table 1.1: Burushaski consonantal inventory

Place → Manner ↓	Bilabial		Labio-Dental		Dental		Alveolar /Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p	b			ṭ	ḍ	t	d			k	g	q	
	pʰ				ṭʰ		tʰ				kʰ			
Affricates					c		ç		č	ǰ				
					cʰ		çʰ		čʰ					
Fricatives			f	v	s	z	ṣ	ẓ	š		x		ɣ	h
Nasal	m				n						ŋ			
Liquid					l				r					
Glide	w						ɻ		y					

---

[2] The data for this grammatical sketch are based on the Hunza dialect of Burushaski. The data were mainly provided by Piar Karim, a native speaker of Hunza Burushaski and a research assistant for the Burushaski Language Documentation Project.

1.1.1 Contrastive Distribution of Consonants

The contrastive distribution of the obstruents in the same environment with a change in meaning is provided with minimal pairs below. We have seen that Burushaski has 29 obstruents. There are a small number of occurrences of [f] and [v] [+labiodental, +fricative] in the recently borrowed loan words from English and Urdu. We will briefly look at the contrastive distribution of plosives, affricates, fricatives and sonorants in Table 1.2 below.

Table: 1.2: Contrastive Distribution of Plosives, Affricates and Fricatives

Plosives					
Consonants	Phonetic form	Gloss	Consonants	Phonetic form	Gloss
p	[pal]	'long sleep'	kʰ	[kʰareti]	'basket'
b	[bal]	'wall'	ṭ	[ṭal]	'ceiling'
pʰ	[pʰal]	'throw'	ḍ	[ḍal]	'north'
t	[tak]	'button'	ṭʰ	[ṭʰaal]	'plate'
d	[dak]	'knock'	ḍ	[ḍaal]	'elevated'
tʰ	[tʰak]	'flap'	q	[qam]	'pit'
k	[kar]	'wander'	qʰ	[qʰam]	'curry'
g	[gar]	'wedding'			
Affricates					
c	[car]	'tear'	ċ	[ċam]	'dig'
cʰ	[cʰar]	'splash'	ċʰ	[ċʰam]	'extreme
č	[čak]	'hit'	ǰ	[ǰal]	'scatter'
čʰ	[čʰak]	'hunger'	č	[čal]	'fight'
Fricatives					
f	[fan]	'fan'	ṣ	[ṣaw]	'hit'
v	[van]	'van'	ẓ	[ẓaw]	'dislike'
s	[sar]	'thread'	ɣ	[ɣaṣ]	'soap bubble'
z	[zar]	'jolt'	h	[han]	'one'

Liquids					
Consonants	Phonetic form	Gloss	Consonants	Phonetic form	Gloss
l	[laq]	'naked'	r	[raq]	'desire'
Nasals					
m	[d̪am]	'steam'	n	[d̪an]	'stone'
n	[d̪an]	'stone'	ŋ	[d̪aŋ]	'sleep'
Glides					
ɻ	[aɻa]	'father'	w	[waʂ]	'bend'
y	[ayas]	'sister'	m	[maʂ]	'boil'

Note that the nasal sound [ŋ] [＋nasal, ＋velar] and retroflex glide [ɻ] are not permitted in the word-initial position but both sounds appear in the word-medial (intervocalic) and word-final position.

1.2 Burushaski Vowel Inventory

There are five basic vowels in Burushaski /i, e, u, o. a/ and their long counterparts /ii, ee, uu, oo, aa/. The surface vowel inventory in provided in Table 1.3

Table 1.3: Burushaski vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back/Round
High	[i] [ii]		[u] [uu]
Med	[e] [ee]		[o][oo]
Low		[a][aa]	

1.2.1 Contrastive Distribution of Vowels

In the Table 1.4 below, the contrastive distribution of the vowels in the same environment (i.e.

minimal pairs or near minimal pairs) with change in meaning is provided.

Table: 1.4: Contrastive distribution of short vowels

Vowel	Phonetic Form	Gloss	Vowel	Phonetic Form	Gloss
i	[bis]	'fat'	e	[bes]	'why'
i	[hin]	'door'	a	[han]	'one'
u	[gus]	'woman'	o	[gos]	'your heart'
e	[mel]	'wine'	a	[mal]	'field'
o	[ṭol]	'snake'	a	[ṭal]	'pegon'

In the Table 1.5 below, the contrastive distribution of short and long vowels is provided.

Table 1.5: Contrastive Distribution of short and long vowels

V(short)	Example	Gloss	V: (long)	Example	Gloss
i	[bik]	'scared'	ii	[biik]	'tree'
u	[bur]	'hair'	uu	[buur]	'sun set'
e	[men]	'who'	ee	[meen]	'worn out'
o	[mos]	'flood'	oo	[moos]	'you.pl wife'
a	[gar]	'wedding'	aa	[gaar]	'trance'

Chapter 2 Morpho-syntax

2.1 Constituent order Typology

Burushaski is a S(ubject)-O(bject)-V(erb) language. Thus, the verb occurs in the sentence final position. The (S)OV word order is also reflected in other constituents orders. Thus, the language is postpositional, and not prepositional in terms of word order. The noun follows the relative clause (RelN). The nouns follow adjectives (AN) and the Genitive (GN). These constituent orders make Burushaski a "head final language". This tendency is very regular in Burushaski with a very few exceptions. Let us look at the constituent order in the following sentences:

2.1.1 Main Clause (S)OV

(1) Intransitive Sentence:

hiles   guсʰar-imi

boy   walk-3MSG

'The boy walked'

(2) Transitive Sentence:

ǰa-a   kiṭap   i-riin-ar   i-čʰiy-am

1SG-ERG book[-h,II]   3MSG-hand-DAT   3MSG-give-1SG

'I gave the book into his hand'.

2.1.2 Adpositional Phrase (Postpositional Phrase)

The word order in an Adpositional Phrase is also head-final. Consider (3) for illustration:

(3) Postpositional Phrase

a) raanuma **alṭiṭ cum** balṭiṭ-a-r   ziboon-mo   kaa   gucʰar-umo

raanuma blṭiṭ from balṭiṭ-GEN-DAT ziboon-F.GEN with   walk-3F

'Rahnuma walked **from Altit** to Baltit with Ziboon'

b) in   haal-a-r   mu-ulus-e   kaa   nimo

3F   home-GEN-DAT   3F-brother-GEN   with   go-3F

'She went to the house with her brother'

2.1.3 Adjectives and Noun (AN)

Adjectives precede the qualified Noun in Burushaski. Consider (4) for illustration:

(4) a) ḍalṭas   giyaas-an

beautiful   baby-SG.IND

'A beautiful baby'

b) burum   balas-an

white   bird-SG.IND

'A white bird'

2.1.4 Possessor Noun (GN)

The Possessor noun, which takes the Genitive case, precedes the Possessed noun. Consider examples in (5) for illustration:

(5) a. hurmaṭ-e   oṣçum

hurmaṭ-GEN   waist band

'The waist band of Hurmat' or 'Hurmat's waist band'

2.2 Typology of the Verb Component

The inflected verb occurs mostly in the final position of the sentence. The inflected verb carries information for Person, Number, and Gender of the Noun Phrase arguments in the sentence. It also carries the information about (Tense and) Aspect. The template for a highly inflected Burushaski verb is given in (6) below:

(6) NEG-D.prefix-Object/Subject-TRASITIVE-root-Subject/Number/Gender-Q

   //a-ḍ-ugu-s-ḍaal-umuw-a//

   [a-ṭ-uku-s-ṭal-umuw-a]

   'NEG-D.prefix-2SG-TR-wake-3F-Q'

   'Didn't she wake you?

The verb root is optionally preceded by four prefixes, the negative prefix, the pre-verb prefix d-, and followed by subject suffix, various pronominal subject or object markers, transitive maker. The root is followed by subject and number suffix, and question marker. The inflected verb consists of a verb stem which contains a verb root and information on Aspect. Below we will look at the morpho-syntax of intransitive verbs with and without a pronominal prefix (section 2.2.1), auxiliary verb (section 2.2.2), and transitive verb (section 2.2.3).

2.2.1 Intransitive Clause (with or without pronominal prefix)

(7) Intransitive Verb with pronominal prefix

   a) ine   hiles   i-waal-imi

      DEM boy   3SG-lost-3SG

      'That boy lost'

b) uwe hilešo   u-waal-uman

   DEM boy.PL   3PL-lost-3PL

   'Those boys lost'

(8) Intransitive verb without pronominal prefix

a) in   gucʰar-imi

   3M   walk-3M

   'He walked'

The inflected verb stem [-wal-] 'lose' in sentences (7) a & b above possesses a pronominal prefix agreeing with the Absolutive NP whereas the inflected verb stem [gucʰar-] in sentence (8) a & b does not.

2.2.2 Auxiliary Verb

The auxiliary verb always follows the main verb with no syntactic material between them. The ungrammatical sentence (9b) (with an asterisk "*" mark) illustrates that the main verb and auxiliary verb form a syntactic component.

(9) Word order with Auxiliary verb

a) in-e   gunc   sabaq   ɣaṭay   bay

   3M-ERG   every.day   lesson   read.IPFV   be.PRES.3M

   'He is reading lesson every day.'

   * in-e   gunc   ɣaṭay   sabaq   bo

     3F-ERG   every.day   read.IPFV   lesson   be.PRES.3F

2.2.3 Transitive Verb

The mono-transitive inflected verb in sentence (10a) below consists of a verb stem and a suffix which agrees with the subject and a pronominal prefix agreeing with object. But, the sentence (10b) does not have a pronominal prefix. The presence/absence of pronominal prefix is determined by the [+/- animacy] feature of the NP.

(10)   Transitive sentence

a) in-e   hiles   i-ḍel-umo

3SG-ERG   boy   3MSG-hit-3FSG

'She hit the boy'

b) in-e   mu-riin   ḍel-umo

3SG-ERG   3F-hand   hit-3FSG

'She hurt her hand'

2.3 Noun Phrase

The noun phrase in Burushaski consists minimally of a noun and optional modifiers preceding the head noun schematically represented as follows (The elements within the parentheses are optional):

(Dem/Relative pronoun/Possessor Pronoun/Quantifiers) (Modifiers) (Adjective(s)){Noun}

Consider examples for illustration in (11) Demonstrative and Noun, (12) Possessor Pronoun and Noun (13) Quantifier and Noun to (14) Adjective below:

(11)   amin   hiles

       which boy

       'Which boy'

(12)   in-e   laqpis

       3SG-GEN   handkerchief

       'His handkerchief'

(13)   hin   hiles-an

       one   boy-SG.IND

       'One boy'

(14)   maṭum   buš-an

       black   cat-SG.IND

       'A black cat'

Based on the examples in (11) to (14) above, a generalized structure for the Burushaski Noun

Phrase can be given as:

(Specifier)-(Adverb)-(Adjective)-Noun

   (A) khine hin but ḍalṭas ḍasinan

       DEM one very beautiful girl

       'This is one beautiful girl'

2.4 Postpositions

Burushaski postpositions represent a large class of words which functions like English prepositions but they follow rather than precede the object NP. There are different kinds of postpositions in Burushaski: locational, temporal, other postpositions, and postpositions with pronominal prefixes.

2.4.1 Locational Postpositions

Table 2.1 gives the list of location postpositions in Burushaski. Examples in sentences (15-21) illustrate the use of postpositions in the list respectively.

Table 2.1: Locational Postpositions

Burushaski	Gloss	Burushaski	Gloss
yaare	'under'	yoonḍal	'above'
yate	'on'	haraŋ	'middle'
yatisate	'on the top of'	apači	'near or next to'
ulo	'in'	yakal	'toward'

(15)   [yaare] 'below' or 'under'

   a) birkíş   ṭik   **yaare**   bila

       treasure   ground   **below**   be.PRES.

       'The treasure is below the ground'

   b) buš   miiz **yaare** b-i

       cat   table **under** be.PRES.3

       'The cat is under the table'

(16)　　[yate] 'on' and [yatis-ate] 'on the top'

  a) keemrá　　　teebal-**ate**　　bila

     Camera　　　table-**on**　　　be.PRES.3

     'Camera is on the table'

  b) naziir čʰar-e　　　　　yatis-**ate**　　bay

     Nazir mountain-GEN　　head-**on**　　be.PRES.3

     'Nazir is on the top of the mountain.'

(17)　　[ulo] 'in'

  a) huyes ṭer-**ulo**　　biyen

     cattel pasture-in　　be.3PL[-h,I]

     'The cattle are in pasture'

(18)　　[yoonḍal] 'above'

  a) huk　bal-e　　　　**yoonḍal**　　　hal　ḍel-imi

     dog　wall-GEN　　**above**　　　jump　hit-3SG

     'The dog jumped above the wall'

(19)　　[haraŋ] 'among' and [haraŋulo] 'in the midst'

  a) minaš-in　　**haraŋ**　　cum　guṭe　　　minas e-č-am

     story-PL　　**among**　　from　this[-h,II]　story　3-do.IPFV-1

     'Among stories, I will do this'

  b) mi-i　　　　**haraŋ-ulo**　čal　e-ṭ-as　　šuwa　a-pi

     1PL-GEN　　**middle-in**　fight　3-do-INF　good　NEG-be.PRES.3

     'It is not good to fight with each other'

(20)   [apači] 'with me'

  a) ǰaa   a-**pači**   rupaya   a-piyen

     1-GEN   1-**with**   money   NEG-be.PRES.PL

     'I don't have money'

(21)   [ayakal] 'towards me'

  a) ise   pen   a-**yakal**   pʰal   e-ṭ-iya

     that[-h,I]   Pen   1-**towards**   throw 3-do-IMP

     'Throw that pen towards me'

2.4.2 Temporal Postpositions

Table 2.2 below gives the list of temporal postposition. Examples (22-26) provide sentences to illustrate the temporal postposition in the list respectively:

Table 2.2: Temporal Postpositions

Burushaski	Gloss	Burushaski	Gloss
duuŋ	'while'	i-ciyate	'after it'
xaa	'until'	yar	'before'

(22)   [aciyate] 'after me'

  a) in   ǰe   a-**ciyate**   bay

     3MSG 1SG   1-**after**   be.PRES.3MSG

      'He is after me'

(23)   [yar] 'before'

  a) ǰe   in   cum   **yar**   kʰolar ḍaaya   bayam

     1SG   3MSG from   **before** here   come.1SG   be.PST.1SG

'I came here before him'

(24)   [duuŋ] 'while'

   a) un   kʰole duuŋ   huro

      2SG   here   while   stay.IMP

      'You stay here for a while'

(25)   [xaa] 'until' [xaaṣinar] 'to until'

   a) mi   elar   ni-ṣ   **xaa**   u   ele   a-pam

      1PL   there   go-INF **until** 3PL   there   NEG-be.PRES.3SG

      'They were not there until we went there'

2.4.3 Other Postpositions

There are several other postpositions which also appear as case marking with nouns. Table 2.3 provides the list of other postpositions. Examples in sentences (26-30) provide an illustration of these postpositions.

Table 2.3: Other Postpositions

Burushaski	Gloss	Burushaski	Gloss
-ate	'on'	kaa	'with'
cum	'than' or 'from'	ce	'at'
-ar	'to', 'for'		

(26)   [ate] 'with'

   a) mu-uri   cʰur-ate   thic   e-ṭ-umo

      3F-nail   knife-with   cut   3-do-3F

      'She cut her finger nail with the knife'.

b) ise pen   teebal-**ate**   bi

    that   pen   table-**on**   be.PRES.3

    'That pen is on the table'

(27)   [cum] 'than' or 'from'

  a) in   ǰa-a   **cum**   alṭo   den-e   uyum bo

      3FSG 1-GEN   **from**   two   year-GEN   older be.PRES.3F

      'She is two years older than me'

(28)   [-ar] 'to' or 'for'

  a) in   haal-**a-r**   ni-mi

      3MSG   home-GEN-**DAT**   go-3MSG

      'He went **to** home'

  b) ǰa-a   ɣaṭay-**a-r**   ite   kiṭap-an   gan-am

      1-ERG   read.IPFV-GEN-**for**   that[-h,II]   book-SG.IND buy-1SG

      'I bought that book for reading.'

(29)   [kaa] 'with'

  a) ǰe   ine   kaa   ḍuro e-ṭ-am

      1SG   3MSG-GEN with   work 3-do-1SG

      'I worked with him.'

(30)   [ce] 'at'

  a) in   ha-a   hin   ce   bay.

      3MSG home-GEN   door   at   be.PRES.3

      'He is at the door of the home'

2.4.4 Postpositions with pronominal prefixes

Most of the postpositions discussed above are attached to the pronominal prefixes. Table 2.4 provides a detailed list of postpositions attached to pronominal prefixes. Examples in sentences (31-40) below illustrate these postpositions.

Table 2.4: Postpositions with Pronominal Prefixes

Burushaski	Gloss	1 [a-]	2 [gu-]	3M [i-]	3F [mu-]	1PL[mi-]	2PL[ma-]	3PL[u-]
yare	under	ayaare	guyaare	iyaare	muyaare	miyaare	mayaare	uyaare
yaarar	to under	ayaarar	guyaarar	iyaarar	muyaarar	miyaarar	mayaarar	uyaarar
yarum	from under	ayaarum	guyaarum	iyaarum	muyaarum	miyaarum	mayaarum	uyaarum
yate	on/above	ayate	guyate	iyate	muyate	miyate	mayate	uyate
yatar	to above	ayatar	guyatar	iyatar	muyatar	miyatar	mayatar	uyatar
yatum	from above	ayatum	guyatum	iyatum	muyatum	miyatum	mayatum	uyatum
yakal	towards	ayakal	guyakal	iyakal	muyakal	miyakal	mayakal	uyakal
yakalar	to towards	ayakalar	guyakalar	iyakalar	muyakalar	miyakalar	mayakalar	uyakalar
lǰi	behind	alǰi	gulǰi	ilǰi	mulǰi	milǰi	malǰi	ulǰi
lǰikan	behind	alǰikan	gulǰikan	ilǰikan	mulǰikan	milǰikan	malǰikan	ulǰikan
lǰikanar	to behind	alǰikanar	gulǰikanar	ilǰikanar	mulǰikanar	milǰikanar	malǰikanar	ulǰikanar
ijikanum	from behind	alǰikanum	gulǰikanum	ilǰikanum	mulǰikanum	milǰikanum	malǰikanum	ulǰikanum
yar	before	ayar	guyar	yar	muyar	miyar	mayar	uyar
yarum	from before	ayarum	guyarum	yarum	muyarum	miyarum	mayarum	uyarum
ciyate	after	aciyate	guciyate	iciyate	muciyate	miciyate	maciyate	uciyate
pači	near	apači	gopači	epači	mopači	mepači	mapači	opači
pačiyar	to near	apačiyar	gopačiyar	epačiyar	mopačiyar	mepačiyar	mapačiyar	opačiyar
ci	of or with	aci	guci	ici	muci	mici	maci	uci

(31)   [ayaare] or [ayaarar] or [ayaarum]'under me'

   a) pen   **a-yaare**   bi

       pen   **1SG-under**   be.PRES.3SG

       'The pen is under me'

   b) in-e   **a-yaar-ar**   pen   waš-imi

       3SG-ERG   **1SG-under-DAT**   pen   throw-3SG

       'He threw the pen under me'

   c) in-e   **a-yaar-um**   pen   cʰu-mi

       3SG-ERG   1SG-under-from   pen   take-3SG

       'He took the pen from me'

(32)   [ayate] or [ayatar] or [ayatum] 'on me'

   a) kamalo   **a-yate**   bi

       blanket   **1SG-on**   be.PRES.3SG

       'The blanket is on me'

   b) kamalo   a-yat-ar   aa-waši-imi

       blanket   1SG-on-DAT 1SG-put-3SG

       'He put the planket on me'

   c) kamalo   **a-yat-um**   cʰu-mi

       blanket   **1SG-on-from** take-3SG

       'He took the blanket from me'

(33)   [ayakal] and [ayakalar] 'towards me'

   a) in   ǰe   **a-yakal**   pʰar   man-imi

      3SG   1SG   **1SG-towards**   move   become-3SG

      'He moved towards me'

   b) in   **a-yakal-ar**   ḍ-ii-mi

      3SG   **1SG-towards-DAT**   x-3SG-come-3SG

      'He came towards me'

(34)   [alǰi], [alǰikan], [alǰikanar] and [alǰikanum] 'behind me'

   a) in   **a-lǰi/*alǰikan**   bay

      3SG   **1SG-behind**   be.PRES.3SG

      'He is behind me' (not physically present)

   b) in ***alǰi/alǰikan**   nuuro bay

      3SG **1SG-behind**   sit   be.PRES.3Sg

      'He is sitting behind me' (physically present)

   c) in   ***alǰiyar/a-lǰikan-ar**   ḍii   bay

      3SG   **1SG-behind-DAT**   come   be.PRES.3SG

      'He has come behind me'

   d) ine   kiṭaap ***alǰim/alǰikan-um**   cʰu-mi

      3SG-ERG   book   **1SG-behind-from**   take-3SG

      'He took the book from behind me'

(35)   [ayar] and [ayarum] 'before me'

  a) in   **a-yar**   bay

     3SG   **1-ahead**   be.PRES.3SG

     'He is ahead of me'

  b) un   **a-yar-um**   daal   mane

     2SG   **1SG-before-from**   stand   become-IMP

     'You stand from ahead of me'

(36)   [aciyate] 'after me'

  a) in   **a-ciyate**   ḍii   bay

     3SG   **1SG-after**   come   be.PRES.3SG

     'He has come after me'

(37)   [apači] and [apačiyar] 'with me'

  a) in   kʰole   a-pači   bay

     3SG   here   1SG-with   be.PRES.3SG

     'He is here with me'

  b) in   a-pačiy-ar   a-ṭ-imi

     3SG   1SG-with-DAT   NEG-do-3SG

     'He did not come to me'

(38)   [a-ci] 'after or of me'

  a) hiles   a-ci   ṭa-mi

     boy   **1-after**   follow-3MSG

     'The boy came after me.'

2.5 Grammatical Relations, Case and Agreement

Grammatical/syntactic relations in Burushaski correlate with the semantic content of the verb, and animacy hierarchy of the NP argument. The distinction of the various verb classes helps to understand the grammatical relation, case marking and agreement patterns.

2.5.1 Verb Classes and Agreement Patterns

Verbs can be classified into five classes on the basis of their semantic content and argument structure. This has implication on the agreement pattern.

Class 1: Intransitive verb which requires an absolutive argument.

This group includes intransitive verbs which involve some kind of volition and require a single argument designated as "Absolutive". The Absolutive argument is unmarked and the verb carries a suffix agreement for the Absolutive NP. The sentences in (39) below are provided for an illustration.

(39)   Intransitive verb for Absolutive NP

    a) ǰe-∅   hurut-am

       1SG-ABS   sit-1SG

       'I sat.'

    b) un-e   go-ço-∅   guč^ha-mi

       2SG-GEN   2SG-brother-ABS   sleep-2SG

       'Your brother slept.'

Class 2: Intransitive verb which requires double marking of the Subject NP

This includes intransitive verbs which require a single Absolutive argument. The subject of these intransitive verbs is also an experiencer/undergoer of an action. The verb carries a suffix agreement for the Absolutive NP and also a (pronominal) prefix agreement for an animate NP, thus, being double marked for agreement (pronominal prefix and suffix). The sentences in(40) a, b, and c below provide an illustration for this class of verbs.

(40)   Intransitive Verb Clause of subject of experiencer/under-goer

    a) giẏaas-∅   ḍ-ee-ɣas-imi

       baby   x-3MSG-laugh-3MSG

       'The baby laughed'

    b) giyaas   e-yan-imi

       baby   3MSG-sleep-3MSG

       'The baby slept'

    c) giyaas i-war-imi

       baby   3MSG-tired-3MSG

       'The baby got tired'

Class 3: Transitive verb [+human] Agent and Patient

This class includes transitive verbs which require one Agent-like argument designated as "Ergative" and one Patient/Theme-like Absolutive argument. Verbs in this category may take a pronominal prefix agreeing with the Absolutive argument. Both Agent and Patient are animate in the following examples (41).

(41) Transitive verb [+human]

a) hamal-e   ḍarbeṣ   i-cʰarkan-uman

neighbor-ERG   ḍarbes   3M-beat-3PL

'The neighbors beat Darbes'

Class 4: Transitive verb [-human] Absolutive NPs

If the Absolutive participant of an event is inanimate then the transitive verb does not get pronominal prefix agreement, but the agreement marking for subject and object is in the suffix position.

(42) Transitive Verb [-human] Absolutive NPs

a) ǰa-a   ṣapik   ṣ-iy-am

1SG-ERG   bread   eat-3SG-1SG

'I ate a bread (Sg.)'

b) ǰa-a   ṣapik-uc   ṣ-uw-am

1SG-ERG   bread-PL   eat-PL-1SG

'I ate bread (Pl)'

Class 5: Di-transitive verbs which require one Agent-like (Ergative) argument, one Patient-like (Absolutive) argument, and one Recipient/Beneficiary/Goal argument which is designated as "Dative" when [+animate] or "Oblique" when [-animate].

The pronominal prefix agrees with the Dative and the suffix agrees with the Ergative (Agent or syntactic Subject). Consider example (43) below:

(43)   Transitive verb with multi-argument

   a) ǰa-a   in-mo-r   laqpisan   mu-čʰiy-am

       1SG-ERG   3F-GEN-DAT   handkerchief   3FSG-give-1SG

       'I gave a handkerchief to her'

   b) ǰa-a   uw-a-r   laqpiš-iŋ   u-ɣun-am

       1SG-ERG   3PL-GEN-DAT   handkerchief-PL   3PL-give-1SG

       'I gave a handkerchief to her'

2.6 Question Formation

2.6.1 Wh-Questions

In Burushaski, *wh* Questions are formed *in situ* as illustrated in the example in (44) below.

(44)   Question formation with [besan] 'what' in the Object position:

    a) Base form: Subject-**Object**-Verb

        nasreen-e   **baalṭan**   ṣi-mo

        nasreen-ERG **apple**   eat-3F

        'Nasreen ate an apple'

    b) Subject-*wh*-**word**-Object

        nasreen-e   **besan** ṣi-mo

        nasreen-ERG **what**   eat-3FSG

        'What did Nasreen eat?'

The list of interrogative lexemes for Wh-Questions is provided in Table 2.5 below. This is followed by examples in (45)-(53) with base forms and question forms.

Table 2.5: List of Interrogative Lexemes

Burushaski	Gloss	Burushaski	Gloss
amular	'where'	amin	'who'
bešal	'when'	bes	'why'
beeruman	'how much/how many'	besan	'what'
belate	'how'	aminar	for whom
amik	'which.PL[-h,II]'	amiṭ	'which.SG[-h,II]'
amic	'which.PL[-h,I]'	amis	'which.SG[-h,I]'

(45) Base form and Wh-Question with [amular] 'where'

a) Base form: S-O-V

api   yasinar   ni-mo

grandmother   yasin-DAT   go-3SG

Grandmother went to Yasin.

b) Question form: S-*wh*-word-V

api   **amular**   ni-mo?

grandmother   **where**   go-3F?

Where did the grandmother go?

(46) Base form and Wh-Question with [amin] 'who'

a) Base form

ǰe   **kariim** baa

1SG   **karim** be.PRES.3SG

'I am Karim.'

b) Question form

un   **amin** baa?

2SG   **who** be.PRES.2SG?

'Who are you?'

(47) Base form and Wh-Question with [amular] 'where'

a) Base form

ǰe   gatoŋ gay-ar bazaar-ar   niya   bay-am

1SG   clothes buy-DAT   market   go-1   be.PST-1SG

'I went to bazar to buy clothes.'

b) Question form

un	gatoŋ	gay-ar	**amul-ar**	ni bam?
2SG	clothes	buy-DAT	**where-DAT**	go be.PST.2SG

'Where did you go to buy clothes?'

(48)   Base form and Wh-Question [bes] 'why'

a) Base form

ǰe	bazaar-ar	čap	gay-ar	niya	bayam?
1SG	market-DAT	meat	buy-DAT	go.1SG	be.PST.1SG

'I went to the market to buy some clothes.'

b) Question form

un	bazaar-ar	**bes**	ni	bam?
2SG	market-DAT	**why**	go	be.PAST.2SG?

'Why did you go to market?'

(49)   Base form and Wh-Question [beerumar] 'how much'

a) Base form

guṭe	kiṭap	ṭoorumo	rupay-aar	gan-am
this[-h,II]	book	ten	rupee-DAT	buy-1SG.

'I bought this book for ten rupees.'

b) Question form

guṭe	kiṭaap	**beeruman-ar**	gan-uman?
this[-h,II]	book	**how.much-DAT**	buy-2PL?

'How much did you buy this book for?'

(50)　Base form and Wh-Question [beerum] 'how many times'

　a)　Base form

　　ǰe　　alṭo　　dam　　amirikaar　　niya　　　baa

　　1SG　two　　times　amirika-DAT　go-1SG　　be.PST.1SG

　　'I went to America two times.'

　b)　Question form

　　un　　**beerum**　　dam　　amirika-ar　　ni　　baa

　　2SG　**how.many**　times　america-DAT　go　be.PST.1SG

　　'How many times did you go to America?'

(51)　Base form and Wh-Question [besan] 'what'

　a)　Base form

　　ǰa-a　　　　kʰole　go-or　　　biraqič-a　　　　baa

　　1SG-ERG　　here　2SG-DAT　dig.IPFV-1SG　　be.PRES.1SG

　　'I am digging (a grave) for you'

　b)　Question form

　　un-e　ele　**besan**　e-č-aa?

　　2-ERG　there　**what**　3SG-do,IPFV-2SG?

　　'What are you doing there?'

(52)　Base form and Wh-Question [belate] 'how'

　a)　Base form

　　ǰe　　kʰol-ar　　　gucʰarčume　　　ḍ-aa-y-am

　　1SG　here-DAT　　walk.IPFV.PROG　x-1SG-come-1SG

　　'I came here by foot (walking)'

b) Question form

un   kʰolar   **belate**   ḍ-uko-o-uma

2SG   here   **how**   x-2SG-come-2SG

'How did you come here?'

(53)   Base form and Wh-Question [amis] 'which'

a) Base form

ɣeeyil amis   zaq   i-man-imi

baby   finger   hurt   3-become-3

'My baby finger got hurt.'

b) Question form

amis   go-miş   zaq   i-man-imi

which.SG[-h,I]   2-finger   hurt   3-become-3

'Which finger got hurt?'

2.6.2 *Yes/No* Questions:

Yes/No questions are formed by adding a suffix [–a] to the inflected verbs. Base form and

Question form are provided below (54).

(54)   Base form and Yes/No Question

a) Base form

awa, un   ni

yes,   2SG   go

'Yes, you go'

b) Question form

ǰe   nič-am-a

1SG   go.IPFV.1SG-Q

'Shall I go?'

2.6.2 Tag Questions:

Tag questions are formed by adding [bee] 'no' or borrowed word [naa] 'no' at the end of

Yes/No Question. Base form and tag questions in (55) below:

(55)   Base form and Tag question

a) Base form

awa, ǰe   sukuul-ar   niy-a   baym

Yes, 1SG   school-DAT   go-1SG   be.PST.1SG

'Yes, I went to school'

b) Question form

un   sukul-ar   ni   bam-a   bee

2SG   school-DAT   go   be.PRES.2SG-Q,   tag question

'Did you got to school, no?'

2.7 Clause Combination

There are different ways to make complex sentences in Burushaski. We will look at the

different strategies below for forming coordinating clauses, conditional clauses, relative clauses,

and embedded clauses.

2.7.1 Coordinating Clause

There are different coordinating conjunctions to combine two sentences. We will look at the use of [ḍaa] and [ke] 'and', [yaa] 'or' [magam] 'but', and [xaa] 'until' in sentences (56-59) below:

(56)   Coordinating conjunction [ḍaa] and [ke] 'and'

   a) šaapiya-a   ha-a   ḍuro   e-ču   bo   **ḍaa (*ke)**   hurmaṭ-e

      shaapiya-ERG home-GEN   work   3-do   be.PRES.3F   and   hurmaṭ-ERG

      mal   basiy-ar   barey   bay.

      field   garden-DAT   look   be.PRES.3MSG

      'Shapia does the work of home and Hurmat looks after the garden and the field'

(57)   Coordinating Conjunction [yaa] or [hal] 'or'

      mi   nawrooz-ar   hunzuw-ar   **yaa/hal**   gulmiṭ-ar   nič-an

      1PL   Nawroz-DAT   Hunza-DAT   **or**   Gulmit-DAT   go.IPFV-1PL

      We will go to Hunza or Gulmit for Nawroz (new year)

(58)   Coordinating Conjuction [magam] 'but'

      ǰa-a   gašk   but   ǰaaṣ   e-ṭ-am **magam** ḍ-i-c-as   a-ya-man-am

      1-ERG rope   very   pull   3-do-1 **but**   x-3-bring-INF NEG-1-become-1

      'I pulled hard the rope but I could not bring it'

(59)   Coordinating Conjunction [xaa] 'until'

a) šapiya ke   hurmaṭ   gon   man-iṣ   **xaa**

   Šapiya and   Hurmat   morning   become-OPT   **until**

   kaa   hurut-uman

   together   sit-3PL

   'Shapiya and Hurmat stayed together until morning'

b) yuul   i-xoliṣ **xaa**   hurmaṭ-e   ṣi-mi

   3-stomach   3-pain **until**   hurmaṭ-ERG   eat-3MSG

   'Hurmat ate until it hurt his stomach'

2.7.2 Conditional Clauses

Syntactically, the condition is the subordinate clause and the consequence is the main clause.

Burushaski uses a complimentizer [ke] to conjoin these two clauses in conditional sentences.

Examples of the conditional clauses are provided in (60) below:

(60)   Conditional Clauses joined by complementizer [ke]

a) bal   ḍoor-imi   **ke**   gu-yate ḍoorč-i

   wall   fall-3SG   **if**   2-on   fall.IPFV-3

   'If the wall fell down, (then) it will fall on you'

b) haralṭ a-ṭiyarc-imi   **ke**   naltar-ar   nič-an

   rain   NEG-fail-3SG **if**   Nalṭar-DAT   go.IPFV-3PL

   'If it did not rain, (then) we will go to Naltar'

c) himaṭ e-ṭ-uman ke ḍ-ime-ṣqalč-an

   quick 3-do-3PL **if** x-3PL-reach.IPFV-3PL

   'If we walk quickly, (then) we will reach'

d) gan-ulo yeec-am **ke** ṭeey go-s-ay e-š-am

   road-in 3.see-1SG **if** such 2SG-say-3MSG 3MSG-say.IPFV-1SG

   'If I see him on the way, (then) I will tell him your message'

e) un-e e-ṭ-am **ke** sabuur e-č-umce

   2-ERG 3-do-NMLZ **if** yesterday 3-do.IPFV-Cond

   'If you had done, you would have done yesterday'

2.7.3 Relative Clause

Burushaski relative clause construction is externally headed and Prenominal. The head comes after the relative pronoun. We can discuss its syntactic structure in the sentences (61) below:

(61)   Relative Clause Construction

   sadap-e karim-a-r yuu-m ise baalṭ

   sadap-ERG karim-GEN-DAT give-ADJ that[-h,I] baalṭ

   ǰa-a ṣiy-am

   1SG-ERGeat-1SG

   'I ate the apple that Sadaf gave to Karim'

The syntactic structure of Burushaski relative clause differs considerably from its English translation above. The verb for [yuum] 'give' with nominalized suffix [–m] like other non-finite verbs in Burushaski which requires a subject (Sadaf) in ERG. If it was genitive, it would have taken [-mu] not [-e]. The relative particle [ise] precedes the head noun [baalṭ] which makes it prenominal relative clause. Consider more examples of prenominal relative clauses in (62&63)

(62)   chil   min-um   ine   hir

       water   drink-ADJ   Rel   man

       'The man who drank water'

(63)   hir-e   min-um   iṭe   chil

       man-ERG   drink-ADJ   that   water

       'The water that the man drank'

2.7.4 Embedded Clause

An embedded clause is a clause that is structurally surrounded by another clause. For example, in complex sentence *The man that the child kicked in the shin winced in pain*, the matrix clause is 'the man.....winced in pain' and the embedded clause is 'the child kicked in stomach'. The sentences in (64) below provide examples of embedded clauses in Burushaski.

(64)   Embedded Clauses

   a) karim-e   [hin tam   e-ṭ-as]   ṭil   ee-l-imi

      Karim-ERG   door shut   3-do-INF]   forgot   3-do-3MSG

      'Karim forgot to shut the door'

b) ǰa-a   [in-e   e-s-ulo   balič-i]   sen-am

1-ERG [3MSG-GEN 3-heart-in   enter.IPFV-3] say-1SG

'I thought he understands'

c) in-e   [un   gaarc-as]   gu-yeec-imi

3MSG-ERG   [2SG   run-INF]   2SG-see-3MSG

'He saw you running'

d) ǰe   [un   ḍ-uko-ṣqalṭ-a   nu-se]   ḍ-a-yal-a   bayam

1SG   [2SG   x-2SG-arrive-1SG   PTCP-say]   x-1SG-listen-1SG   be.PST.1SG

'I heard that you arrived'

e) ǰa-a   [ine giyaas   a-šak-ate   yan-as-e]   ray

1-ERG [that baby   1-arm-on   carry-INF-GEN]   want

e-č-a   baa

3-do.IPFV-1SG   be.PRES.1SG

'I want to take that boy in my arms'

f) ǰa-a   [kaafi min-aas-e]   ray   a-pi

1-ERG [coffee drink-INF-GEN]   want   NEG-be.PRES-3

'I don't want to drink coffee'

Chapter 3: Morphology

3.1 Inflectional Morphology

The inflectional morphology of Burushaski is rich and complex. Burushaski is an Ergative-Absolutive language and it has direct marking and indirect marking. The participants and events are inflected with suffixes and prefixes. These affixes perform different grammatical functions.

3.1.1 Nominals and Nominal Inflection

Nouns in Burushaski have been classified into four classes in previous literature. These noun classes are: human male, human female, x and y. Munshi, 2006 claims that the distinction between x and y is not clear in the previous literature. She has classified the last unclear classes into 'x' (non-human concrete noun) and 'y' (abstract and amorphous noun). The latter are designated as [-h, I] and [-h, II] (respectively) in the present study.

3.1.1.1 Nouns and Noun Classes

The noun class distinctions as mentioned above are expressed on distinct verb roots or in verbal inflection. The features of these noun classes are also expressed in the form of specific class of modifiers or inflections on modifiers (demonstrative pronoun and relative pronouns). The sentence in (65) provides some examples to show noun-ending for various nouns beloning to the major class [+human]

(65) Demonstrative pronoun [+human]

a) kʰine   hiles   bay

   this[+h]   boy   be.PRES.3MSG

   'This is a boy'

b) ine   hiles   bay

   that[+h]   human be.PRES.3MSG

   'That is a boy'

c) kʰuwe   hile-šo baan

   these[+h]   boy-PL be.PRES.3PL

   'These are boys'

d) uwe   hile-šo

   those[+h]   boy-PL

   'Those boys'

As discussed earlier, [-human] nouns are classified into 'non-human concrete noun or -h, I, and 'abstract and amorphous noun or -h, II'. Such class of nouns is expressed by the specific class endings on demonstrative pronouns and the verb agreement is also different expressing the class feature of these nouns. We can see this in (2) (3) in the sentences below.

(66) Demonstrative pronoun [-h,I]

a) guse   buš   bi

   this[-h,I]   cat   be.PRES.3SG[-h,I]

   'This is a cat'

b) ise   buš   bi

that[-h,I]   cat   be.PRES.3SG[-h,I]

'That is a cat'

(67)   guce   buš-oŋo   biyen

these[-h,1]   cat-PL   be.PRES.3PL[-h,II]

'These are cats'

(68)   ice   buš-oŋo   biyen

those[-h,1] cat-PL   be.PRES.3PL[-h,II]

'these are cats'

(69)   Demonstrative pronoun [-h,II]

a) guṭe   ḍiš   bila

this[-h,II]   place   be.PRES.3SG[-h,II]

'This is the place'

b) guke   ḍiš-miŋ   bican

these[-h,II]   place-PL   be.PRES.3PL[-h,II]

'These are places'

c) iṭe   ḍiš   bila

that[-h, II]   place   be.PRES.3SG

'That is the place'

d) ike   ḍiš-miŋ   bican

those[-h,II]   place-PL   be.PRES.3PL[-h,II]

'Those are the places'

3.1.1.2 Number

Noun and noun phrases carry different kinds of suffix endings for marking number. Tiffou (1993) claimed that there are almost 50 different suffixes for marking plural in Burushaski. Below in Table 3.1 there are some of the very common plural marking suffixes which mark number.

Plural marking suffixes Table 3.1

SG: PL	SG	PL	Gloss	SG: PL	SG	PL	Gloss
-s : -šo	hiles	hilešo	'boy'	-Ø : -o	har	haro	'oxen'
	belis	belišo	'sheep'	-Ø : -yaŋ	bul	bulyaŋ	'stream'
-n : -yo	fin	fiyo	'boy'	-Ø : -(a)ync	šun	šunaync	'vine'
	ḍaan	ḍayo	'stone'	-Ø: -ko	finč	finčko	'polo stick'
-o : -(m)uc	toq	toquc	'wood'	-Ø : -(m)iŋ	mel	melmiŋ	'wine'
	sa	samuc	'sunny'		sukuul	sukuuliŋ	'school'
-nc : -aaŋ(n)	manc	maan	'axe'	-Ø : -(m)iŋ	mel	melmiŋ	'wine'
	γaṭenc̣	γaṭaaŋ	'sword'				

3.1.1.3 Case Morphology

The table 3.2 below provides the list of the declension patterns in Burushaski based on Case morphology. In the sentences (70-76) below provides an illustration of these declensions.

Table 3.2 Case Marking

Case	Ending	BSK	Gloss
Absolutive	-∅	giyaas--∅	'baby'
Ergative	-e	hiles-e	'boy'
Genitive	-e	in-e	'his'
Genitive	-mo	in-mo	'her'
Dative	-ar	haal-ar	'to home'
Locative	-ulo	haal-ulo	'in the home'
	-ate	teebal-ate	'on the table'
Instrumental	-ate	cʰur-ate	'with the knife'
Ablative	-um, -cum	in-cum	'from him'
		el-um	'from there'

(70)   **Ergative Case: marked by adding –e to the NP**

a) hiles-**e**   giyaas-∅   yan-imi

boy-**ERG**   baby-**ABS**   carry-3SG

'The boy carried the baby'

b) ḍasin-e   mu-riin-∅   baalṭ-umo

girl-ERG   3F-hand-ABS wash-3FSG

'The girl washed her hand'

c) usṭaaṭ-e   kiṭaap cyamḍa-a-r   bisya-mi

teacher-ERG book   pocket-GEN-DAT   put-3MSG

'The teacher put the book in the pocket'

(71)   Absolutive case: zero ornull case marking

a) giyaas-Ø   her-imi

    baby-ABS   cry-3SG

    'The baby cried'

b) balas-Ø   ḍ-u-wal-imi

    bird-ABS   x-u-fly-3SG

    'The bird flew away'

(72)   Genitive case

a) hiles-e   kiṭaap

    boy-GEN   book

    'The boy's book'

b) ḍasin-mo   kiṭaap

    girl-GEN.F   book

    'The girl's book'

(73)   Dative

a) ǰe   huzuw-ar   niy-am

    1SG   Hunza-DAT   go-1SG

    'I went to Hunza'

b) ǰot-umuc   ṣapik   ṣiċ-ar   ni-man

    boy-PL   food   eat.IPFV-DAT   go-3PL

    'Boys went to have a meal.'

c) ṭʰam   giraš-ar   ḏuun-imi

king   dance-DAT   start-3MSG

'The king started dancing'

(74) **Locative**

a) mi   basy-ulo   baan

1PL   garden-LOC   be.PRES.1PL

'We are in the garden'

b) huyelṭarč-o   ṭer-ulo   hurusy-aan   šini-mo

shepherd-PL   pasture-LOC   stay.IPFV-3PL   summer-in

'Shepards stay in pasture in summer'

(75) **Instrumental**

a) nana   čʰey-ate   hin   ḏoon-imi

uncle   key-INS   door   open-3MSG

'Uncle opened the door with the key'

b) in-e   çʰur-ate   čʰap   čuruk   e-ṭ-imi

3-ERG knife-INS   meat   cut   3-do-3

'He cut the meat with the knife'

c) ǰa-a   a-s-ate   a-pi

1-GEN   1-heart-on   NEG-be.PRES.3

'I don't remember it'

(76)   Ablative

There are more than one morphemes depicting Ablative, viz., *-cum* and *-mu*

a) mi   hunzu-**cum**   ḍ-imee-man

   1PL   Hunza-ABL   x-1PL-come-1PL

   'We came from Hunza'

b) ǰe   hunzu-**mu**   baa

   1SG   Hunza-ABL   be.1SG

   'I am from Hunza'

c) ǰa-a   haa --**cum**   un-e   haal-ar   gaarš-an

   1-GEN   home-from   2-GEN home-DAT   run.IPFV-1PL

   'We will run from your house to my house'

d) ǰa-a   a-riin-**cum**   gilaas pʰaṭ   man-imi

   1-GEN   1-hand-from   glass   drop   become-3

   'The glass dropped from my hand'

e) gu-kʰar-**cum**   ḍ-u-ɣarus

   2-self-from   x-3-ask

   'Ask yourself'

3.1.1.4 Personal Pronouns

Personal Pronouns and their corresponding possessor pronouns are listed in the Table 3.3

below. Possession is marked by adding the possessor (Genitive) suffix *–e* on the possessor noun

or pronoun. The possessor suffix is added to both human and non-human nouns. The only

exception to this is that third person singular human female is marked by *–mo* suffix.

Table 3.3: Personal Pronouns and Possessor Pronouns

Person	SG/PL	Personal Pronouns	Possessive Pronouns
1	SG	ǰe	ǰaa
2		un	une
3M		in	ine
3F		in	inmo
1	PL	mi	mii
2		ma	maa
3		u	uwe

3.1.1.5 Possessability of Nouns

There is a distinction between inherently possessed and optionally possessed nouns.

Possessibility of nouns is expressed by pronominal prefixes attached to the inherently possessed

nouns. The pronominal prefixes are presented in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4: Pronominal Prefixes for inherently possessed nouns

Person	SG/PL	Pronominal Prefixes	Gloss
1	SG	a-, o-	[ašak] 'my arm' , [ool] 'my stomach'
2		gu-, go-	[guxaṯ] 'your mouth' [goqaṯ] 'your armpit'
3M		i-, e-, ∅-	[iriin] 'his hand' [eqaṯ] 'his armpit' [∅-yatis] 'his head'
3F		mu-, mo-	[muriin] 'her hand' [moqaṯ] 'her armpit'
1	PL	mi-, me-	[mixaṯ] 'our mouth' [meqaṯ] 'our armpit'
2		ma-	[mariin] 'you.PL hand'
3		u-, o-	[uxaṯ] 'their mouth' , [oqaṯ] 'their armpit'

The inherently possessed nouns in HB are body parts, kinship terms, and nouns that refer to personal belongings like name, pillow, bedding, shoes, footstep and postpositions with referent to human [+h] nouns

3.1.1.5.1 Body parts

Body parts in Burushaski belong to the class of inherently possessed nouns. Most of thewords for body parts have a pronominal prefix which marks Person and Number (and also Gender in case of Third Person Singular Human nouns). The paradigm for Burushaski words 'arm' and 'stomach' are presented in (77) and (78) below:

(77)   Word for 'arm' is [šak]

    1SG   ašak   'my arm'

    2SG   gušak 'your arm'

    3M   išak   'his arm'

    3F   mušak 'her arm'

    1PL   mišak 'our arm'

    2PL   mašak 'you all arm'

    3PL   ušak   'their arm'

(78)   Word for 'stomach' is [ul]

    1SG   ool   'my stomach'

    2G   guul   'your stomach'

    3M   yuul   'his stomach'

    3F   muul   'her stomach'

    1PL   miyul 'our stomach'

    2PL   mool   'you all stomach'

    3PL   uul   'their stomach'

There are a few (possibly) borrowed words for body parts in Burushaski which are not inherently possessed. For example: [girkis] 'bicep', [čʰarban] 'derriere', [bur] 'hair', [gapal] 'head' (cf. Indo-Aryan/Sanskrit. *kapaala*) and [maṭo] 'brain' (possibly also of Indo-Aryan origin).

3.1.1.5.2 Kinship Terms

Kinship terms, like body parts, are also inherently possessed in Burushaski, except some of the kinship terms which are not inherently possessed. The paradigm for Burushaski words 'brother' and 'daughter in law' are presented in (79) and (80).

(79)   The word for 'brother' or 'sister' (same gender sibling) is [ċo]

1SG	aċo	'my brother' or 'my sister'
2SG	goċo	'your brother' or 'your sister'
3SG	eċo	'his brother'
3FSG	moċo	'her sister'
1PL	meċo	'our brother' or 'our sister'
2PL	maċo	'you all brother' or 'you all sister'
3PL	oċo	'their brother' or 'their sister'

(80)   The word for 'daughter in law' is [xakin]

1SG	axakin	'my daughter in law'
2SG	guxakin	'your daughter in law'
3SG	ixakin	'his daughter in law'
3FSG	muxakin	'her daughter in law'
1PL	mixakin	'our daughter in law'
2PL	maxakin	'you all daughter in law'
3PL	uxakin	'their daughter in law'

There are a few borrowed kinship terms (attested in Hunza as well as Nagar dialects of Burushaski) which are not inherently possessed. For example: [nana] 'maternal uncle' and [mama] 'mother'.

There are other nouns which are inherently possessed are like personal belongings, [aaṣki] 'my pillow', and non-concrete [ačʰar] 'my voice' and [asate] 'my memory'

3.1.1.6 Modifiers

It was established earlier that Burushaski is a head final language. Thus, modifiers like adjectives, numerals, and demonstrative pronouns always precede the head noun. Here are a few examples:

3.1.1.6.1 Adjectives

Adjectives in Burushaski always come before nouns in Burushaski. Adjectives are non-inflected which modify singular nouns. But most of the adjectives which modify plural nouns are inflected for number and they take plural suffixes. Examples are provided in (15) below:

(81)   Adjective precedes Noun (AN)

SG	PL	Gloss
šuwa sisan	šuwa sisik	'good person/people'
šuwa ḍišan	šuwa dišminik	'good place'
ḍalṭas ḍasinan	ḍalṭaško ḍasiwancik	'beautiful girl'
naas hilesan	naašo hilešuyik	'bad boy'
uyum haan	uyonko hakičan	'big house'
uyum gocilan	uonko gocilišo	'big stream'

3.1.1.6.2 Numerals

The Numeral system of Burushaski is vigesimal or base 20. And just like other modifiers, the numeral precedes the head noun. Numerals may carry a class ending based on the noun class of the modified noun. This distinction is maintained in the first few numerals when they modify [+human] and [-human, I] nouns; however, the distinction is very regular with respect to the [-human, II] noun class. Table 3.5 below lists numerals from 1-10 showing class distinction:

Table 3.5: Numerals based on different noun classes

English	(+h) male/female	(-h, I)	(-h, II)
One	hin	han	hik
Two	alṭan	alṭa	alṭo
Three	isken	usko	iski
Four	walṭo	walṭo	walṭi
Five	cʰunḍo	cʰunḍo	cʰinḍi
Six	mišinḍo	mišinḍo	mišinḍi
Seven	ṭʰalo	ṭʰalo	ṭʰale
Eight	alṭambo	alṭambo	alṭambi
Nine	hunčo	hunčo	hunti
Ten	ṭoorumo	ṭoorumo	ṭoorimi

The paradigm for numerals 'one', 'two', 'three' and 'four' are provided in (82) below:

(82)   Paradigm for numeral

   a) 'one X'

      hin hilesan   'one boy'

      han ḍanan   'one stone'

      hik gilaas cʰil   'one glass of water'

b) 'two X'

alṭan hilešo   'two boys'

alṭa ḍayo   'two stones'

alṭo gilaas cʰil '   two glasses of water'

alṭo ɣarum   'two o' clock'

c) 'three X'

isken hilešo   'three boys'

iski gilaas cʰil 'three glasses of water'

iski ɣarum   'three o' clock'

d) 'four X'

walṭo hilešo   'four boys'

walṭo ḍayo   'four stones'

walṭi gilaas cʰil   'four glasses of water'

walṭi ɣarum   'four o' clock'

3.1.1.7 Numerals with Pronominal Prefixes

Numerals in Burushaski can also occur with pronominal prefixes in certain constructions such as 'both of us', 'both of you', 'three of you', etc.. Examples for numerals with pronominal prefix are provided below in (83) below:

(83)   Numerals with pronominal prefixes

a) me-lṭal-ik

1PL-two-PL.IND

'Both of us'

b) ma-lṭal-ik

2PL-two-PL.IND

'Both of you'

c) o-lṭal-ik

3PL-two-PL.IND

'Both of them'

d) mi-iskiy-an

1PL-three-SG.IND

'Three of us

3.1.1.8 Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numerals in Burushaski are formed from numerals by adding the suffix [–ulum]. The
ordinal numbers for 'first' [acʰamanum] is the only exception in this case. Table 3.6 provides
the list of ordinal numers from 'first to tenth'

Table 3.6: List of ordinal numbers

acʰamanum	'first'
alṭolum	'second'
iskiulum	'third'
walṭilum	'fourth'
cʰinḍiwlum	'fifth'
mišinḍiwlum	'sixth'
ṭʰalewlum	'seventh'
huntiwlum	'ninth'

Ordinal numbers also precede head nouns in Burushaski. Consider example in (84) for illustration:

(84)　Ordinal numbers with head nouns

a)　acʰamnum　　　e-yi

　　　first　　　　　　1SG-child

　　　'My first child'

b)　alṭolum　　　　gunc-ar

　　　second　　　　day-DAT

　　　'On the second day'

3.1.1.9 Demonstrative and Relative Pronoun

Burushaski demonstrative pronouns have different endings depending on the class feature of the head noun. Like other modifiers and specifiers, demonstrative pronouns also precede head noun. Table 3.7 provides the paradigm for singular and plural forms of demonstrative pronouns with respect to different noun classes.

Table 3.7: Demonstrative Pronouns

[deictic]	[+human]		[-h,I]		[-h,II]	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
Proximal	kʰine	kʰuwe	guse	guce	guṭe	guke
Distal (that)	ine	uwe	ise	ice	iṭe	ike
Interrogative	menan/amin	menik	amis	amic	amiṭ	amik

See section 3.1.1.1 example (1) and (2) for an illustration of these demonstrative pronouns.

3.1.2 Verbs and Verb Morphology

The Burushaski verb component consists of a main verb (in simple verbs), a main verb with an auxilary verb, or a noun with a (light) verb. Each verb typically has two stems – the base stem and the derived stem. The base stem expresses a complete action (perfective form) and the derived stem expresses an incomplete action (imperfective form).

Burushaski verb is highly inflected. The final element is invariably a suffix, in finite forms referring to the agent/subject of the verb; the imperative often has a zero suffix. The stem is in many verbs preceded by a person-marking prefix of the set *a-*, *gu-*, *i-*, *mu-*, *mi-*, *ma-* and *u-* (the referent of these prefixes is usually the object, or sometimes what one might rather call the Experiencer of the verbal action). This, finally, is preceded by the *ḍ*-prefix in a large number of verbs.

Most of the verbs have regular inflectional paradigms. The base stem and the derived stem for verbs 'do', 'walk', 'eat', 'run', 'dance', 'go' and 'cry' are given in Table 3.8 below:

Table 3.8: Verb Paradigm

Base stem			Derived stem
Gloss	Infinitive	Perfective	Imperfective
'to do'	e-ṭ-as	-ṭ-	-č-
'to walk'	gucʰar-as	gucʰar-	gucʰarč-
'to eat'	ṣ-iy-as	ṣ-i	ṣ-i-c̣
'to run'	gaarc-as	gaarc-	gaarš
'to dance'	giraṭ-as	giraṭ-	giraš-
'to go'	ni(y)-as	ni-	nič-
'to cry'	her-as	her-	herč-

The paradigm for inflected verbs 'work' and 'cry' are provided in (19) and (20) below:

(85)   Inflectional paradigms for verb 'work' [d̪uro -t̪-] lit: 'work + do'

a) Simple Past: 'X worked' or X did the work'

Person	sentence 'x did the work'
1SG	ǰa-a d̪uro e-t̪-am
2SG	un-e d̪uro e-t̪-uma
3MSG	in-e d̪uro e-t̪-imi
3FSG	in-e d̪uro e-t̪-umo
1PL	mi-i d̪uro e-t̪-uman
2PL	ma-a d̪uro e-t̪-uman
3PL	uw-e d̪uro e-t̪-uman

b) Present Perfect: 'X has worked' or 'X has done'

	sentence 'x have done the work'
1SG	ǰa-a d̪uro e-t̪-a baa
2SG	un-e d̪uro e-t̪-aa
3MSG	in-e d̪uro e-t̪-ay
3FSG	in-e d̪uro e-t̪-u bo
1PL	mi-i d̪uro e-t̪-aan
2PL	ma-a d̪uro e-t̪-aan
3PL	uw-e d̪uro e-t̪-aan

c) Past Perfect 'X had done the work'

Person	sentence 'X had done the work'
1SG	ǰa-a d̪uro e-t̪-a bayam
2SG	un-e d̪uro e-t̪-am
3MSG	in-e d̪uro e-t̪-am
3FSG	in-e d̪uro e-t̪-u bom
1PL	mi-i d̪uro e-t̪-am
2PL	ma-a d̪uro e-t̪-am
3PL	uw-e d̪uro e-t̪-am

d) Future Tense: 'x will do the work'

Person	sentence 'x will do the work'
1SG	ǰe d̪uro e-č-am
2SG	un-e d̪uro e-č-uma
3MSG	in-e d̪uro e-č-i
3FSG	in-e d̪uro e-č-o
1PL	mi-i d̪uro e-č-an
2PL	ma-a d̪uro e-č-uman
3PL	uw-e d̪uro e-č-uman

e) Present Progressive 'x works'

Person	sentence 'x is doing work'
1SG	ǰa-a d̪uro e-č-a baa
2SG	un-e d̪uro e-č-aa
3MSG	in-e d̪uro e-č-ay
3FSG	in-e d̪uro e-č-u bo
1PL	mi-i d̪uro e-č-a baan
2PL	ma-a d̪uro e-č-aan
3PL	uw-e d̪uro e-č-aan

f) Present Perfect Continuous: 'x has been doing the work'

Person	sentence 'x has been doing the work'
1SG	ǰa-a d̪uro e-č-ume baa
2SG	un-e d̪uro e-č-ume baa
3MSG	in-e d̪uro e-č-ume bay
3FSG	in-e d̪uro e-č-ume baa
1PL	mi-i d̪uro e-č-ume baan
2PL	ma-a d̪uro e-č-ume baan
3PL	uw-e d̪uro e-č-ume baan

g) Past Progressive 'x used to do the work'

Person	sentence 'x used to do the work'
1SG	ǰa-a ḏuro e-č-a bayam
2SG	un-e ḏuro e-č-am
3MSG	in-e ḏuro e-č-am
3FSG	in-e ḏuro e-č-u bom
1PL	mi-i ḏuro e-č-a bam
2PL	ma-a ḏuro e-č-am
3PL	uw-e ḏuro e-č-am

(86)   Inflectional paradigms for verb 'run' [gaarc]

a) Simple Past: 'X ran'

Person	sentence 'x ran'
1SG	ǰe gaarcam
2SG	un gaarcuma
3MSG	in gaarcimi
3FSG	in gaarcumo
1PL	mi gaarcuman
2PL	ma gaarcuman
3PL	u gaarcuman

b) Past Perfect 'X had run'

Person	sentence 'X had run'
1SG	ǰe gaarca bayam
2SG	un gaarcam
3MSG	in gaarcam
3FSG	in gaarcu bom
1PL	mi gaarcam
2PL	ma gaarcam
3PL	u gaarcam

c) Future Tense: 'x will run'

Person	sentence 'x will run'
1SG	ǰe gaaršam
2SG	un gaaršuma
3MSG	in gaarši
3FSG	in gaaršo
1PL	mi gaaršan
2PL	ma gaaršuman
3PL	u gaaršuman

d) Present Progressive 'x runs'

Person	sentence 'x is runing'
1SG	ǰe garša baa
2SG	un gaaršaa
3MSG	in gaaršay
3FSG	in gaaršu bo
1PL	mi gaarša baan
2PL	ma gaaršaan
3PL	u gaaršaan

e) Present Perfect Continuous: 'x has been running'

Person	sentence 'x has been running'
1SG	ǰe gaaršume baa
2SG	un gaayrsume baa
3MSG	in gaaršume bay
3FSG	in gaaršume bo
1PL	mi gaaršme baan
2PL	ma gaaršume baan
3PL	u gaaršume baan

f) Past Progressive 'x used to run'

Person	sentence 'x used to run'
1SG	ǰe gaarša bayam
2SG	un gaaryam
3MSG	in gaaršam
3FSG	in gaaršu bom
1PL	mi gaarša bam
2PL	ma gaaršam
3PL	u gaaršam

3.1.2.1 Verb 'to be' in Burushaski

The stem of the verb 'to be' in Hunza Burushaski is [b] to which the suffix for Number and Gender are added; its surface form also depends on the class feature of the NP argument. Table 3.9 presents a paradigm for Present and Past forms of the verb 'to be' in HB with respect to different noun classes.

Table 3.9: Present and Past Tense forms for verb 'to be'

	(+human)							(-h, I)		(-h,II)	
	1st Person		2nd Person		3rd Person						
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG.M	SG.F	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
PRES	baa	baan	baa	baan	bay	bo	baan	bi	biye(n)	bila	bica(n)
PAST	bayam	bam	bam	bam	bam	bom	bam	bim	biyum	bilum	bicum

Examples in (87) for present tense and (88) for past tense below illustrate the different forms of verb 'to be' when the verb agrees with [+human] NPs:

(87)   Morphology of the verb 'to be' (Present tense) for [+human] NPs

a) ǰe   hiles   **baa**

    1SG   boy   **be.PRES.1SG**

      'I am a boy'

b) mi   hileš-o   **baan**

    1PL boy-PL   **be.PRES.1PL**

    'We are boys'

c) un   ḍasin **baa.**

    2SG   girl   **be.PRES.2SG**

    'You are a girl'

d) ma   ḍasi-wanc   **baan**

    2PL girl-PL   **be.PRES.2PL**

    'You are girls'

e) in   hiles   **bay**

    3MSG   boy   **be.PRES.3MSG**

    'He is a boy'

f) in   ḍasin **bo**

    3FSG   girl   **be.PRES.3FSG**

    'She is a girl'

g) u   hileš-o   **baan**

    3PL   boy-PL   **be.PRES.3PL**

    'They are boys'

(88) Morphology of the verb 'to be' (Past tense) for [+human] NPs

a) ǰe   γaliis   **bayam**

   1SG sick   **be.PST.1SG**

   'I was sick'

b) iṭe   kʰeen-ulo   mi   maṭʰan   bam

   that[-h,II]   time-LOC   1PL   far   be.PST.1PL

   'We were far that time'

c) un   **γaliis**   **bam**

   2SG sick   be.PST.2SG

   'You were sick'

d) ma   maṭʰan **bam**

   2PL far   **be.PST.2PL**

   'You were far'

e) in   γaliis   **bam**

   3SG sick   **be.PST.3SG**

   'You were sick'

f) in   γalis   **bom**

   3FSG   sick   **be.PST.3FSG**

   'She was sick'

g) u   maṭʰan **bam**

   3PL far   **be.PST.3PL**

   'They were far'

Examples in (89) below and (90) for past tense illustrates different forms of verb 'to be' when the verb agrees with [-human] NPs

(89)   Morphology of verb 'to be' (present tense) agreement with [-human] NPs

   a) guse   čyar   ṭʰaanum   **bi**

       this[-h,I]   mountain   high   **be.PRES.SG**

       'This mountain is high'

   b) guce   čʰar-ko   ṭʰay-ko   **biyen**

       these[-h,I]   mountain-PL   high-PL   **be.PRES.PL**

       'These mountains are high'

   c) guṭe   ḏalṭas   ḏiš-an   **bila**

       this[-h,II]   beautiful   place-SG.INDF   **be.PRES.(-h,II)**

       'This is a beautiful place'

   d) guke   ḏalṭṭaš-ko   dišm-in   **bican**

       these[-h,II] beautiful-PL place-PL   **be.PRES.PL[-h,II]**

       'These are beautiful places'

(90)   Morphology of verb 'to be' (present tense) agreement with [-human] NPs

   a) guse   maɣun teebal-ate   **bim**

       this[-h,I]   pearl   table-LOC   **be.PST.SG**

       'This pearl was on the table'

   b) guce   maɣu-yo   teebal-ate   **biyum**

       these[-h,I]   pearl-PL   table-LOC   **be.PST.PL**

       'These pearls were on the table'

c) iṭe   ḍiš   maṭʰan   **bilum**

    that[-h,II]   place   far   **be.PST.SG**

    'That place was far'

d) ike   ḍiš-min   maṭan **bicum**

    those[-h,11]   place-PL   far   **be.PST.PL**

    'Those places were far away'

The compound verb consists of a main verb and followed by verb 'to be'. Examples in (91) below are provided to illustrate this:

(91)   Morphology of 'be' as an Auxilary

   a) ṭap   çaa   ṭiṣ   mey   bila

      night   all   wind   become   be.PRES.3

      'It blew all night'

   b) in-e   i-moos   ḍii   bila

      3SG-GEN   1SG-anger   come   be.PRES.3

      'He is getting angry'

   c) in   sabuur   mucum   herč-ume   bo

      3SG   yesterday   since   cry.IPFV-PROG   be.3FSG

      'She has been crying yesterday'

3.1.2.2 D-Prefix Verbs

D-prefix is a pre-verbal prefix; the function of this prefix is not clear. The verbs with d-prefix have been called d-prefix verbs in the literature. Some examples of d-prefix verbs are: [ḍ-i-man-imi], '(it) became ready', [ḍ-i-r-imi] '(it) cooked', [ḍ-i-ṭal-imi] 'he woke'. Examples (92), (93), and (94) below provide the use of d-prefix verbs in sentences:

(92)   ḍ-i-man-imi 'he was born'

  a) hiles-an   ḍ-i-man-imi

      boy-SG.IND   x-3-become-3

      'A boy was born.'

(93)   ḍ-i-r-imi 'it cooked'

  a) aalu   ši-ulo   ḍ-i-r-imi

      potato hearth-in   x-3-cook-3

      'Potato cooked in the hearth'

  b) ǰa-a   a-riin   ši-ce   ḍ-i-r-imi

      1SG-EGG   1SG-hand   hearth-with   x-3-burn-3

      'My hand burnt with the hearth'

(94)   [ḍ-i-ṭal-imi] 'he woke up'

  a) giyaas ḍ-i-ṭal-imi

      baby   x-i-woke-3

      'Baby woke up'

3.1.2.3 Causatives

Burushaski has morphological causatives. There are three strategies to form causative construction on inflected verb: 1) [s-] prefix insertion on unaccusative verbs 2) [Ø-] prefix insertion on unergative verbs 3) lengthening of object prefix vowel or vowel lengthening on transitive verbs. Formation of the causative constructions involves an increase the valency of the verb. The causative voice is applied to a verb and its valency increases by one. For example if the original verb is intransitive the causative becomes transitive or if the original verb is transitive the causative verb becomes di-transitive. Many causative verbs in Burushaski are formed by adding a pronominal prefix to the verb. Consider (95) below where the new participant is the subject (Agent) of the causative construction and the old subject of the (non-causative form of the) verb (intransitive) is demoted to be the direct object. The subject marker [-mo] '3FSG' of the inflected intransitive verb 'gučʰa-mo' in suffix position now occupies the position of the pronominal prefix in the derived (causative) form 'mo-guča-mi' 'he put her to sleep' Consider (95a&b) below.

(95)　Intransitive verb changes into transitive (-Ø prefix strategy)

  a) sabrina　　　gučʰa-mo

      sabrina　　　sleep-3FSG

      'Sabrina　　　slept'

  b) saliim-e　　sabrina　　　mo-guča-mi

      saliim-ERG　sabrina　　　3FSG-sleep-3MSG

      'Saleem put/caused Sabrina to sleep'

In the example (96) below the underlying verb stem /-s-man-/ 'make' is transitive and the causative form is di-transitive. The agent of the sentence (96-a) is demoted to direct object. On the derived verb the position of the subject marker on the underlying verb demotes from the suffix to the pronominal prefix position and the vowel coalescence on the derived verb lengthens the vowel. The verb stem remains the same. /ḍ-umu-e-s-man-imi/ becomes //ḍ-umo-o-s-man-imi//.

(96)   Transitive verb changes into di-transitive (vowel lengthening)

  a) sabrina-a   keek   ḍ-e-**s-man**-umo

      sabrina-ERG   cake   x-3$_{cake}$-TR-make-3F

      'Sabrina made the cake'

  b) karim-e   sabrina   keek   ḍ-umo-o-s-man-imi

      karim-ERG   sabrina   cake   x-3F-3$_{cake}$-TR-make-3MSG

      'Karim caused Sabrina to make the cake.

If the verb is intransitive, the causative construction is formed by [s-] prefix insertion. Consider example (97) below.

(97)   Intransitive verb (s-) prefix insertion

  a) hiles   i-war-imi

      boy   3SG-tired-3SG

      'The boy is tired'

  b) ǰa-a   hiles   e-s-par-am

      1SG-ERG   boy   3SG-CAUS-tired-1SG

      'I made the boy tired'

3.1.2.4 Negatives

In HB negation is formed by adding a prefix [a-] 'NEG' before the inflected verb. Consider examples (98), (99), (100) and (101) below for illustration:

(98)   Negation of verb [galimi] 'break-3SG'

   a) gilaas a-kal-imi

      glass   NEG-break-3SG

      'The glass did not break'

(99)   Negation of verb [a-s-imi] 'he told me'. We can see in the examples below that a glide

   [y] is inserted between two vowels to avoid hiatus.

   a) in-e   ǰa-a-r   a-s-imi

      3SG-ERG   1SG-GEN-DAT   1SG-say-3SG

      'He told him'

   b) in-e   ǰa-a-r   ay-a-s-imi

      3SG-ERG   1SG-GEN-DAT   NEG-3MSG-say-1SG

      'I did not tell him'

(100)   Negation of verb [ṣi] 'eat'

   a) ṣapik   ee-ṣi

      bread   NEG-eat

      'Don't eat bread'

(101)   Negation of verb [min-e] 'drink it'

   a) cʰil   oo-min

      water   NEG-drink

      'Dont drink water'

3.1.2.5 Imperative Mood

Imperative in Burushaski is expressed with non-inflected verb. Example (102) expresses direct command.

(102) Direct commands

    a) kʰol-ar   ẓu

       here-DAT   come

       'Come here'

    b) el-ar   ni

       there-DAT   go

       'Go there'

    c) huru

       'sit'

A suffix [-in] is added for politeness or for plural forms. Thus, example (103) expresses a polite request or command; the addressee NP is in the plural form here.

(103) Polite request

    a) ma   kʰolar ẓu-in

       2PL   here   come-PL

       'Come here please'

    b) ma   elar   ni-in

       2PL   there   go-PL

       'Go there you.PL'

3.1.2.6 Conjunctive Participle

Conjunctive participle 'n- -n' appears in HB in the form of prefix, suffix and/or circumfix which is attached to verb stem. This conjunctive participle or co-verb performs many grammatical functions. Examples (104), (105), and (106) below illustrate different grammatical functions. In (104) below, The conjunctive participle expresses the temporal sequence of action. The action expressed by the conjunctive participle comes before the action of the matrix clause.

(104) Sequential Action

je   bazaar-ar   n-aa-n   kiṭaap-an   n-u-kan-i-n

1SG   market-DAT   PTCP-1SG.go.1SG-PTCP   book-SG.IND   PTCP-3-buy-3-PTCP

ẓục-am

come.IPFV-1SG

'I will go to market buy book and come back'

(105) Clause joining

haralṭ-in   n-u-man-i-n   diš   ṣiqam man-imi

rain-PL   PTCP-3PL-become-3PL-PTCP   place   greem become-3SG

'The places become green due to rain.'

(106) Reason Adverb

kaako   ḍii-n   kʰoṭ   e-qušal-imi

brother   come.3-PTCP   this   3-mess-3SG

Having come, brother messed it up.

3.1.2.7 Optative

Optative as a grammatical category of Mood expresses hopes, wishes or curses. In Burushaski optative is formed by adding an optative suffix to the uninflected verb. A suffix [–iṣ] expresses hopes and wishes and [–um] expresses curses . Example (107) illustrates that optative (wishes and hopes) is formed by adding suffix –iṣ and (108) optative (curses) are formed by adding suffix –um.

(107)   Optative(wishes and hopes) expressed by suffix –iṣ

      ḍaman-e   ma   xoš   ma-wrut-iṣ

      lord-ERG   2PL   happy 2PL-stay-OPT

      'May God will keep you happy'

(108)   Optative (curses) expressed by suffix –um

  a) ma-riin   gal-um

      2PL-hand   break-OPT

      'May your hand will break'

  b) gu-riin gal-um

      2-hand break-OPT

      'May your hand will break'

  c) ɣaa-yuw-e   gu-ṣu-um

      crow-PL-ERG   2-eat-OPT

      'May crows will eat you'

  d) gu-ci-mo   pʰaṭ   man-iṣ

      2-COM-GEN drop   become-OPT

      'May it drop from you!'

3.1.2.8 Verbs in Presumptive and Potential Mood

Presumptive mood expresses presupposition or hypothesis relating a fact denoted by the verb as well as other similar functions such as doubt or curiosity. Potential mood expresses probability of an action expressed by the verb. In Burushaski, Potential mood is expressed by adding a suffix –*ce* to the derived verb (the imperfective form). Example (109) below is provided to illustrate this.

(109)   Potential Mood expressed by suffix –ce

    a)   in   nu-ku-yc-in   but   xoš   i-may-mce

         3MSG PTCP-2SG-see-PTCP   very   happy 3MSG-become.IPFV-POT

         'Having seen you, he must have been happy.'

    b)   gu-kʰaran-as-ar   mama goo-kaa   ɣarič-umce

         2SG-late-INF-DAT   mother 2SG-with   scold.IPFV-POT

         'On getting late, mother must have scolded you.'

    c)   pʰiti   ḍ-i-may-mce   akʰurum

         bread x-3-become.IPFV-POT   until.now

         'The bread may be ready by now.'

3.1.2.9 Dubitative Mood

Dubitative Mood in Burushaski is expressed in the form of an embedded clause of the type 'I think/guess/believe.....X....' in which [heyam] 'I learn' and [aaɣayam] 'it appears'. Examples in (110) below are provided to illustrate this:

(110) Dubitative Sentences

a) une   ḓuro   man-imi   hey-am

     2-GEN   work   become-3   learn.IPFV-1SG

     'I guess your work is complete.'

b) u   akʰurum   ḓ-o-ṣqalč-uman   aa-ɣay-am

     3PL   until.now   x-3PL-reach.IPFV-3PL   1SG-appear.IPFV-1SG

     'I guess they would have reached by now.'

3.2.1 Derivational Process

The derivation processes in Burushaski includes: Compounding, Suffixation, and Reduplication. Suffixation is employed in the formation of nouns, adjectives and verbal nouns in Burushaski.

3.2.1.1 Compounding

Compound nouns are formed in Burushaski by adding two nouns [Noun + Noun]. The modifying inflected noun with Genitive suffix –e precedes the head noun. The Genitive ending –e functions like modifier. Examples in (111) are provided for illustration

(111)   Compund Noun (Noun + Noun)

   a) hun-e   ḍuro

       wood-GEN   work

       'Wood work' or 'carpenter'

   b) ḍan-e   ḍuro

       stone-GEN   work

       'Stone work' or 'mason'

Compounds are also formed by adding [Adjective + Noun]. Examples in (112) are provided for illustration:

(112)   Compound Noun [Adjective + Noun]

   a) ni-m   ḍen

       go-ADJ   year

       'The last year'

b) waal-um   hiles

    loose-ADJ   boy

    'The lost boy'

[Verb + Nouns] also form compound nouns. The verb in infinitive form which modifies the head noun precedes the head noun. Examples in (133) are provided to illustrate this:

(113)   Compound Noun [Verb + Noun]

    a) gučʰay-as   ḍiš

      sleep-INF   place

      'Sleeping place' or 'bed'

    b) min-aas   cʰil

      drink-INF   water

      'Drinking water'

4.2.1.2 Suffixation

Suffixation forms nouns, adjectives and adverbs in Burushaki. Abstract nouns are formed by adding the suffix –kuṣ to base adjectives. Examples in (114) are provided to illustrate this:

(114)   Adjective > Noun formation: -kuṣ suffixation

Adjective	Derived Abstract Noun
[uyam] 'sweet'	[uyamkuṣ] 'sweetness'
[ḍalṭas] 'beautiful'	[ḍalṭaskuṣ] 'beauty'
[dutang] 'dark'	[dutangkuṣ] 'darkness'

It can be assumed that –um is the basic adjective forming suffix in Burushaski. Verbs are nominalized into adjectives by adding –um suffix. This is illustrated in (115). Similarly, nouns can be changed into adjectives by the addition of –um, as illustrated in (116).

(115) Verb > Adjective formation : -um suffixation

Verb	Adjective
[hen] 'learn'	[henum ḍuro] 'learned work'
[gučʰa] 'slee'	[gučʰam ḍiš] 'sleeping place'
[ḍukoyal] 'listen'	[ḍukoyalum čaɣa] 'the word you heard'

(116) Noun > Adjective formation

Noun	Adjective
[hunzo] 'Hunza'	[hunzum] 'the inhabitant of Hunza'
[ḍal] 'North'	[ḍalum] 'native to the North'
[xat] 'South'	[xatum] 'native to the South'
[garu] 'Summer'	[garurum] 'hot'
[nager] 'Nagar'	[nagerum] 'the inhabitant of Nagar'

3.2.1.3 Reduplication

Reduplication of verbs, nouns, and adjectives is very common in Burushaski. The root or stem of the word is repeated exactly or with a slight change. Examples of partial reduplication of nouns are given in (117).

(117) Partial Reduplication : Nouns

a) haraḷ cʰu~cʰur   man-imi

    rain   drop~RED   become-3

    'It drizzled'

b) haraḷ   ča~čar   manimi

    rain   pour-RED   become-3

    'It rained heavily'

c) giyaas-e   ǰi~ǰir   e-ṭ-imi

    baby-ERG   cry-RED   3-do-3

    'The baby cried loudly'

d) hiles-e   galṭar   ḍa~ḍal e-ṭ-imi

    boy-ERG   tree branch   RED-drag   3-do-3

    'The boy dragged the tree branch'

e) in   ḍa~dar   i-man-imi

    3SG   RED-shake   3-become-3

    'He shivered'

Complete reduplication of adjectives is illustrated in (118) below:

(118) Complete Reduplication: Adjectives

a) ḍalṭaško~ḍalṭaskyo   baalṭ   ḍosqaṭ-in

    nice~RED   apple   x-3PL-select-PL

    Select nice apples.

b) ǰotišo-ǰotišo

   small~RED

   'fairly small'

Complete reduplication of adverbs is illustrated in (119) below:

(119)   Complete Reduplication: Adverbs

   a.   thala~thala

        slow-RED

        'gradually'

   b.   kaa~kaa

        with-RED

        'close together'

   c.   bešal~bešal

        when~RED

        'sometime'

(120)   Complex reduplication of Adjectives is illustrated in examples below:

   a)   loto-ke-loto

        RED-and-naked

        'no cap on head'

   b)   čʰu-ke-čʰu

        RED-and-naked

        'bare feet'

Chapter 4: Dialectal Comparison

4.1 Phonological Variation

(121) [o] ~ [u] variation

NB	HB	Gloss
d̪oro	d̪uro	'work'
kʰot̪e	gut̪e	'this[-h,II]'
hosen	husun	'beauty'
esulo	esulu	'in his heart'
hiŋulo	hinulo	'in the door'
kʰose	guse	'this[-h,I]'
kʰoke	guke	'these[-h,II]'

(122) [e]~[a] variation

NB	HB	Gloss
[ečen]	[ečan]	'we will do it'
[iner]	[inar]	'for him'
[est̪ʰačer]	[est̪ačer]	'for putting out fire'
[d̪uumen]	[d̪uuman]	'they came'

(123) [e] ~[i] variation

NB	HB	Gloss
[et̪e]	[it̪e]	'that [-h,II]'
[eke]	[ike]	'those [-h,II]'

(124)   [Ch] ~[C] variation

NB	[HB]	Gloss
[esṭʰačer]	[esṭačer]	'for putting out fire'
[cʰapʰayma]	[cʰapayma]	'you will stich'
[d̪ecʰiri]	[d̪eciri]	'you cook/burn it'

4.2 Morphonological Variation

(125)   Verb be

NB	HB	Gloss
d̪ila	bila	'be.PRES.3SG'
d̪ilum	bilum	'be.PST.3SG'
bom	bam	'be.PRES.3MSG'

4.3 Lexical Variation

(126)   Lexical words

NB	HB	Gloss
rau ɣut	ṭraa ɣut	'completely deaf'
cat d̪iyemen	d̪al d̪iyeman	'stood up'

References

Anderson Greg, (1997) 'Burushaski phonology.' In: Phonologies of Asia and Africa (including the Caucasus), ed. Kaye AS, Daniels PT. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns) pp. 1021-41.

Berger, Hermann (1998). Die Burushaski-Sprache von Hunza und Nager. Unter Mitarbeit von Nasiruddin Hunzai. (Neuindische Studien, 13. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz). Teil i: Grammatik. Teil ii: Texte mit Übersetzungen. Teil iii: Wörterbuch Burushaski-Deutsch Deutsch-Burushaski.

Lorimer, David L. R. (1935-1938). The Burushaski Language. I: Introduction and Grammar; II: Texts and Translation; III: Vocabularies and Index. Oslo: Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning.

Munshi, S (2006). Jammu and Kashmir Burushaski language, language contact and change. (PhD Dissertation, University of Texas, Austin) 81-81

Verma. Sidderheshwar. (1941). "Studies in Burushaski dialectology". Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol VIII. 132-178.