Part I – GRAMMAR

THE SOUND SYSTEM

In this chapter I will describe the sound system of Burushaski. Fortunately, all the dialects of the Eastern Burushaski language are phonologically identical. Therefore I treat and present it as the common phonology of the Eastern dialects here.

1.1. **Inventory of phonemes**

Here I will list up all phonemes of Burushaski and it will serve as the model for my notation. In this dissertation, the original notation will not be changed for examples from previous studies. The notations of principal scholars, I have shown it with a chart "Table of notations" at page xv above.

1.1.1. Consonants

There are 36 consonants in the language. In Table 6 below, I list the inventory of the sounds, sorted by their characteristics. Note that they are not ordered rigidly by articulatory positions. For this reason, I do not label the columns in Table 6.

Table 6. Consonants

Plosive	**vl.**	/p/	/t/[t̪]		/ṭ/[ʈ]	/k/	/q/	
	asp.	/ph/[pʰ]	/th/[t̪ʰ]		/ṭh/[ʈʰ]	/kh/[kʰ]	/qh/[qʰ]	
	vd.	/b/	/d/[d̪]		/ḍ/[ɖ]	/g/[g]		
Affricate	**vl.**		/c/[ʦ]	/č/[ʧ]	/ç/[ʈʂ]			
	asp.		/ch/[ʦʰ]	/čh/[ʧʰ]	/çh/[ʈʂʰ]			
	vd.			/j/[ʤ]	/j̣/[ɖʐ]			
Fricative	**vl.**		/s/	/š/[ʃ]	/ṣ/[ʂ]			/h/
	vd.		/z/			/ɣ/[ɣ]		
Approximant		/w/	/y/[j]		/y̰/[ɥ̈]			
Nasal		/m/	/n/			/ŋ/		
Rhotic			/r/[ɾ]					
Lateral Approximant			/l/					

There is normally a three-way contrast between voiceless unaspirated, voiced, and aspirated for plosives and affricates. Alternations caused by the morphophonological environment are always within each set, see §1.5.2 also. And exceptionally, a fricative consonant /ɣ/ belongs to the set of /q/ and /qh/.

Similar to most of the other Indian languages, in Burushaski, plosives /t/, /d/, and /th/ are pronounced as dental. But they change into alveolar sounds when they come after /l/; the consonant cluster /lt/ is common, and /ld/ and /lth/ are occasionally seen (more frequently in the Nager dialect); hence they are realised as [lt], [ld], and [lt^{h}], respectively.

In the third column of Table 6, there are four consonants. Though the three symbols are transcribed with a háček (ˇ) and the rest one is without it, this distinction is made just for convenience's sake. Contrary to the representations, these sounds are commonly coarticulated as alveolo-palatal, e.g., /č/[tɕ].

The phoneme /ph/ has the allophone [f] in addition to [p^{h}], and /qh/ has the allophone [x] in addition to [q^{h}]. These allophones [f] and [x], however, occur only in loan words.

There are three central (not lateral) approximant consonants in Burushaski; these sounds are placed at the positions for bilabial, dental/alveolar, and retroflex in the above table, but these positions are not strictly accurate. Approximant /w/ is pronounced as a labialized velar [w], /y/ is palatal [j], and /y̰/ is an advanced velar [ɥ̟]. Although these approximants are articulated in such ways, they pattern the same as /b/, /n/, and /ç/, respectively, rather than others.[†4] In particular, /y̰/ is not retroflex but shows a retroflex feature in morphophonological processes (that is why here I use an underdot to indicate this sound as well as other retroflex consonants), (26). Some researchers, such as Munshi (2006) and Čašule (2010), insist that this consonant is in fact retroflex as [ɻ]. However, I have confirmed with consultants in Hunza and Nager by asking thier self-examinations and chacking my pronunciations that they do not bend up the tip of their tongue in pronunciation of this phoneme but rather raise the body of tongue towards the palate.

From Table 6, we can see several asymmetries of the distribution of components.

[†4] On the other hand, in Western Burushaski which no longer retains the consonant /y̰/, zero corresponds to /y̰/ in most words, but rhere are a few words in which /k/ corresponds to /y̰/ (observed in Eastern Burushaski). In the former case, since the trace (zero correspondence) still holds the retroflex feature of /y̰/, sometimes /ç/ appears in a position where /č/ is MORPHOPHONOLOGICALLY predicted. And in the latter, we can assume that the /k/ sound ought to PHONOLOGICALLY reflect the velar characteristic of /y̰/.

Certainly, the 2 "recent" voiced fricative sounds /z/ [z] and /ɣ/ [ɣ] are, historically, descendent from "missing" sounds similar to them, i.e. voiced alveolar affricate [ʣ] and voiced uvular plosive [ɢ]. This supposition may be proven morphophonologically, and I will briefly discuss it later in the following chapter (see §1.2.1). If these correspondences were true, then the distribution of Burusahski consonants would be more symmetric.

1.1.2. Vowels

Burushaski has 5 short vowels, here written with /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/; all of which are the primary cardinal vowels. There are also corresponding bimoraic long vowels: /ii/, /ee/, /aa/, /oo/, and /uu/ (As to long vowels, see also §1.2.2). These sounds can be classified with the three articulatory heights, high–mid–low, and three levels of tongue backness, front–central–back. There are illustrated as follows, Table 7:

Table 7. Vowels

High	/i/	/u/	/ii/	/uu/
Mid	/e/	/o/	/ee/	/oo/
Low	/a/		/aa/	

In Burushaski, back vowels are always rounded. The most frequent vowel is /a/, and /e/ without an accent is remarkably rare.

We can find some phenomena associating with both the highness/midness and frontness/backness of vowels, e.g., vowel reductions in the verbal morphology and a trigrade ablaut system for the personal prefix. The ablaut system contains 3 grades as "high", "mid", and "mid-long"; in Burushaski study, these are usually called "Type-I", "II", and "III" respectively (see §§3.4, 6.3.2, *et passim*).

Here, (1) shows a minimal quintet with the short vowels:

(1) *íi* "himself/itself"
éi "his/its daughter"
ái "my daughter"
ói "their daughter"
úi "themselves"

1.2. **Phonotactics**

1.2.1. Syllable structure

The syllable structure of Burushaski is illustrated as $(C_1(C_2))V(C_3(C_4))$.

The vowel of a given syllable can be either unimoraic and bimoraic. But bimoraic ones cannot include different vowel qualities, i.e. they have to keep a single sound value from the beginning to the end for 2 morae (see also §1.2.2).

C_1: All consonants are attested in medial position of a word but neither /ŋ/ nor /y̰/ appear in the initial syllable. C_2: Only /r/ is available when C_1 is any of /p/, /b/, /ph/, /t/, /d/, /th/, or /g/. But the initial consonant cluster Cr (C_1C_2) occurs only in loan words and onomatopoeia. C_3: All consonants except approximants /w/ and /y/. C_4: 7 consonants: /t/, /k/, /ṣ/, /š/, /c/, /ç/, and /č/. All of them can appear when C_3 is a sonorant. If C_3 is a fricative, then only /k/ is available. The restriction of C_3C_4 clusters in loan words is less strict than the one in indigenous words: e.g., *qulp* 'lock' < UR *qufl* (قفل) 'id.'.

Moreover, when the final consonant of a word is a voiced obstruent, then the consonant is almost always devoiced in neutralization. Similarly, when an aspirated plosive/affricate consonant occurs at the end of a word, then it becomes unaspirated. These phenomena are proven by the facts that there are few examples of words with final voiced/aspirated consonant, few with a free alternation between voiceless and voiced at the word final position: (2), and a few which show either a voiceless–voiced or unaspirated–aspirated alternative when a vowel-initial suffix is attached: (3). The first fact is reflected in that there are many loanwords losing the voicedness of the final voiced consonant: (4). (Whereas some loanwords such as examples in (2) may retain the original voicedness at the word final position.)

(2) a. *tées* ~ *téec* ~ *téez* 'sharp'
b. *riwáač* ~ *riwáaj* 'custom'

(3)	a.	*taadáat*	'number'	—	*taadáad-e*	'of number'	(-e : GEN)
	b.	*qhuráap*	'gold dust'	—	*qhuraab-gúin*	'gold panner'	(-gúin[†5]: 'doer')
	c.	*qulp*	'lock'	—	*qulph-ánc*	'locks'	(-anc : PL.X)

[†5] This suffix is used to make a personal noun like as English suffix *-er*, and there are 2 allomorphs of this suffix: *-kuin* and *-gúin*. It seems as if they are conditioned by whether the preceding sound is voiceless or voiced, but their distribution is in fact conditioned by whether the accent of the base is in the stem or not. For example, in (3b), *qhuráap* has no accent in its stem (but the accent must occur on the final syllable because there must be a surface accent in a word and in such case it falls there), so the allomorph *-gúin*

(4)	a.	*šaayát*	'perhaps'	<	UR *šāed* (شائد)
	b.	*róoṭ*	'road'	<	EN *road*
	c.	*qulp*	'lock'	<	UR *qufl* (قفل)[†6]

Note that the example (2a) shows evidence for the supposition of the voiced fricative /z/ mentioned above (see §1.1.1). In (2a), concerning the voiceless correspondence for /z/, there are both fricative /s/ and affricate /c/. It can be thought that the latter case is a reflection of the fact that there was a voiced alveolar affricate [ʣ] in Burushaski at one time, that this word was borrowed in that time, and the affricate was devoiced to /c/ [ʦ]. The form with /s/ can be considered as a shape borrowed again in Burushaski more recently.

In the following list (5), I list the logically possible syllable types in Burushaski with examples for each type. Regarding the CCVCC type of syllable, I have not found an adequate example yet.

(5)	V	*u*	'they (DIST)'
	VC	*áar*	'to me'
	VCC	*urk*	'wolf'
	CV	*phu*	'fire'
	CVC	*khiẏ*	'dead leaf'
	CVCC	*lóonc*	'loophole'
	CCV	*gra*	'gra; an imaginary animal which draws the solar and lunar eclipse'
	CCVC	*práaq*	'sunrise, the rising sun'
	CCVCC	N/A	

1.2.2. Vowel clusters

In transcriptions, frequently we can find vowel clusters here and there. See the following examples in (6):

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is chosen by the absence of the accent. Therefore, there is not any correlation between the final consonant of the underlying stem *qhuráab* and the voicedness of the initial consonant of *-gúin*.

[†6] Here, through borrowing from Urdu, metathesis has happened at the coda of the word. And the [f] sound in the origin language generally correspondent with /ph/ in Burushaski. So the form has realized by changing as *qufl* (UR) > *qulf/quphl > *qulph* (> *qulp*; phonetic devoicing process).

(6) a. *níironaaŋ* ‘rainbow’
b. *iík* ‘his/its name’
c. *biénum* ‘thin’
d. *biái* ‘disease’

(6a) and (6b) have vowels which appear as long vowels: [íi], [aa], and [ií]. There is a vowel which seems to be a diphthong in (6c), and a triphthong in (6d).

Bimoraic vowels (2μ-V) represented with a pair of vowels can be interpreted in two ways: as long vowels, or as vowel sequence. Strictly speaking, the former is one vowel for a syllable, and the latter is two vowels for two syllables. When a 2μ-V has a VV́ accent, then the 2μ-V must be a vowel sequence since I consider that there is no rising tonal accent in the language (As for the accent system, it is dealt in at §1.3 below). But when a 2μ-V has a V́V accent or does not have an accent, then the vowel cannot be interpreted clearly either as long vowel or as vowel sequence. In the case that an accent proceeding has been morphologically invoked in a word and its accent detached from an accented 2μ-V, if the vowel becomes short, then the 2μ-V is a long vowel: e.g. *gáarcimi* ‘he ran’ vs *éeskarcimi* ‘he made it run’ (compare the wavily underlined parts). Berger considers all 2μ-Vs as diphthong whichever accent pattern they have. But his analysis seems to be harder to explain the shortening phenomenon of V́V. Why does accent shift cause a V́V diphthong to become a single vowel despite that the shortening is not seen with the other kinds of diphthongs? Practically, 2μ-Vs, however, offer less material for interpretation, so I do not aim to make strict distinction between the kinds of 2μ-Vs now.

Most of the sequences of both the same sound and different sound vowels, and possibly some of long vowels also, in Burushaski originate from both morphological and diachronic causes[†7].

1.2.3. Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters can occur in three types: the first one is the cluster of C_1C_2 at the onset of a word initial syllable; the second one is of C_3C_4 at the coda of a primary word final syllable; and the third one is an intersyllabic cluster.

[†7] Some of the diachronic causes are proven by comparison with Western Burushaski (or another subdialect of Eastern Burushaski also). For examples, the Eastern Burushaski noun *biái* ‘disease’ in (6d) corresponds to the Western form *bihái*, the Eastern verbal stem *do-óq-* ‘to swell’ to the Western *do-hóq-*, &c. At least in this point, Western Burushaski seems to keep older sound forms on /h/.

The C_1C_2 clusters in a word initial syllable are restricted to nine patterns (here bracketed the numbers of the entry word in Berger (1998c) which have the concerned cluster and are not derived from the other one): pr- (8), br- (8), phr- (1), tr- (12), dr- (5), thr- (1), ḍr- (1), kr- (1), and gr- (1). Furthermore, I have observed that these clusters may occur in loanwords; no previous researcher has pointed this out yet. In the word list of Berger (1998c), among the 38 words with the initial C_1C_2 cluster, 29 have their resembrances in the other languages, i.e. Shina, Khowar, English, etc. Particularly, according to Berger, all of the br-, thr-, ḍr-, kr-, and gr-initial 12 words are such ones precisely. There are, however, such a small number of examples about the C_1C_2 cluster, so that I refrain from concluding on it here.

On the other hand, the C_3C_4 clusters in a word final syllable are, also, restricted. In general, the C_3 in the cluster can only be voiceless fricatives or sonorants. The C_4 can only be /t/, /k/, /ṣ/, /š/, /c/, /ç/, or /č/, and it must be /k/ when the preceding C_3 is any fricative. But there are a few irregularities in loanwords. For examples, the loanword *taqt* ‘throne’ from Urdu *taxt* (تخت) ‘id.’ has the exceptional C_3C_4 cluster -qt; and *zaŋs* ‘a kind of metal vessel’ in the Nagel dialect from Tibetan *zaŋs* (ཟངས་) ‘copper pot’ has -ŋs. As mentioned above, the C_3C_4 cluster appears in the final syllable of a free word. What I want to say in using the term free word is the full form able to occur in text freely and a possible target for derivation. Hence, there are so many instances of the derived words exhibiting a word inner sequence with 3 consonants; e.g., the plural form of the Nagel noun *thenc* ‘fifteen days, two weeks’ become *thencmíŋ*, which contains the 3 consonants’ sequence -ncm-.

As for the intersyllable consonant clusters, there are no restrictions but a tendency for adjacency. Previous studies have not referred to the point that Burushaski shows a positive tendency to avoid sequences of identical consonants. See the examples in (7):

(7)	a.	*hik*	‘one’	+ *-kum*	=>	*híkum*	‘one group’	(**híkkum*)
	b.	*jaák*	‘sympathetic’	+ *-kuṣ*	=>	*jaákuṣ*	‘sympathy’	(**jaákkuṣ*)
	c.	*ámit*	‘which’	+ *-tali*	=>	*ámitali*	‘somehow’	(**ámittali*)
	d.	*baγárk*	‘nasty’	+ *-kuṣ*	=>	*baγárkkuṣ*	‘evil, vice’	(**baγárkuṣ*)

(7a) and (7b) exemplify the tendency to avoid the expected sequence -kk-, whereas (7d) has it. This tendency is not limited for -kk-, so I alsp prepared the example (7c) with the avoidance of -tt- sequence.

1.3. **Prosody**

Burushaski has a distinctive pitch accent system, as in (8). All vowels are either high pitched or accentless. There must be a high pitch accent within a word (or strictly, a word stem). I use an acute accent sign (´) to mean a high pitched vowel; but I do not do it for monosyllabic word in which the vowel is unimoraic because there is only one position which can be accented. Such a word necessarily makes the accent fall on the only short vowel. Whereas I omit the accent sign for monosyllabic words with a short vowel, for ones with a bimoraic vowel I always denote the position of its high pitched vowel overtly. Therefore it is useful to interpret that a bimoraic vowel might be either a long vowel or a vowel sequence (in detail, see §1.2.2). Verbal complex forms consist of a verb and an auxiliary copula, some negative forms in Nager dialect, and few words include two or more accents in a word: (9).

(8) a. *íne* 'his (DIST)'
b. *iné* 'that (person)'

(9)	a.	*níčái* (Hz)	'he goes'	verbal complex form
	b.	*aúgirášubái* (Ng)	'he does not dance'	negative form
	c.	*éc̣ukóon*	'his brothers'	plural form of *éc̣o* 'his brother'

Most of prefixes in Burushaski causes an accent shift. These prefixes attract accent position in the word ahead as bringing about several morphophonological changes (§1.5.2). Besides them, type-II and III personal prefixes (§4.2) fix the accent position on themselves (as causing the same morphophonological changes).

Some roots hold the default position of accent not within but just after themselves. If a nominal root of such kind is affixed for stem derivation, then its accent will be neatly realised within the stem: 10a). On the contrary, If such a root is not extended by derivational affixation, then its accent will be put on the vowel of the root final syllable as shifting ahead: 10b).

(10) a. huk 'dog' + -ai 'PL' (derivational suffix) => *hukái* 'the dogs'
(will be written as " huḱ-ai " at the gloss)
b. huk 'dog' + -an 'INDEF.SG' (declensional suffix) => *húkan* 'a dog'
(will be written as " huḱ-an " at the gloss)

In the same way as nominals, if a verbal root of such kind is derived by affixation, then

its accent will be inside the stem: (11a). And a negative prefix can make the effect as well as derivational prefixes in the end: (11b). If such a root is not affixed so, then the stem keeps the accent position just after itself (and will be realised on an conjugational suffix or an epenthetic vowel occurs between the stem and a suffix): (11c). I show each verb stem with framing in (11).

(11) a. bal 'fall' + -č 'IPFV' (derivational suffix) => *balíč-* 'fall:IPFV'
(will be written as " baĺ-č- " at the gloss)
b. bal 'fall' + a- 'NEG' (prefix) => *apál-* 'not fall'
(will be written as " a-baĺ- " at the gloss)
c. bal 'fall' + nothing => *baĺ-* 'fall:PFV'
(will be written as " baĺ- " at the gloss)

As noted at the second line of each example, such roots and verbal stems holding the position of accent just after themselves are shown with a following " ́ - " symbol in the dissertation.

1.4. **Peripheral sounds**

Besides the phonemes described at the foregoing section §1.1 (see Table 6 and Table 7), sometimes we encounter phonemes and features only used for loanwords and as part of onomatopoeia.

Nasal vowels appear in loanwords from Shina and onomatopoeia, e.g., *ṣűũ ét-* 'to smell' < SH *ṣũ/ṣűũ th-* 'id.', and HZ *thíãũ ét-/@-mán-* and NG *thíũ @̈t-* 'to sneeze'.

A voiceless labio-dental fricative [f] can be observed in loanwords from different languages, but it is frequently replaced with the sound [p^h], which is found even in the supposedly original vocabulary, also: e.g., *sírup/síruf* 'only' < UR *sirf* (صرف) 'id.', and *phíniš/fíniš* 'finish' < EN *finish*. In addition, note that there are some exceptions for the order of consonants in the available cluster from loanwords (in detail see §1.2.3).

1.5. **Phonological rules**

1.5.1. Vowel changes

There seem to be no restriction on vowel sequence; but certain sequences change their own sounds almost regularly, so some sequences cannot be observed on the surface forms.

It is broadly observed that, when the vowel sequences /ai/ and /au/ has got a VV́

accent, then their sounds change into [eé] and [oó], respectively. For the time being, I show an example (12) for the case that a VV́ accent vowel sequence ([oó]) suffers the vowel change into [au] by an accent arising from the negative prefix *a-*:

(12) a. *khólar isé γaṣép boómi.* 'The megpie sat here.'
b. *khólar isé γaṣép apáumi.* 'The megpie did not sit here.'

The root of the verb in (12) is √baú, hence it occurs actually in the form *boó-* as long as there is no prefix attached to the stem.[†8] On the other hand, the vowel sequences /ai/ and /au/ do not change their sounds and are pronounced straightforwardly in Nager dialect; e.g., *aúgirátimi* [aú-girát-m-i || NEG-dance-NPRS-3SG.HM] 'he didn't dance'.

We can observe some more vowel changes which occur in morphophonological situations.

1.5.2. Morphophonology

There are several morphophonological phenomena in Burusahski, some of which are caused by certain affixes and some of which are caused purely by phonological conditions produced by the morphological process.

Devoicing is a phenomenon which changes one or more following voiced consonants into voiceless consonants, see (13). This phenomenon is regularly invoked by a negative prefix *a-*, the causative prefix *s-*, the telic prefix *d-*, and the prefix *n-*.

(13) Devoicing sound changes

/b/	+ devoicing	→ /p/	: (14)
/d/		→ /t/	
/ḍ/		→ /ṭ/	
/g/		→ /k/	: (15)
/j/		→ /ç/	
/γ/		→ /q/	: see also (21)

[†8] As using two styles (upright and oblique) for Burushaski forms here, I distinguish two levels of structural phases in writing the dissertation. I assume three levels of structural phases, that is, a base level for roots and affixes, a middle level for stems and affixes at where accent shift and morphophonological process have been passed, and a surface level at where speakers utter with actual sound. I show the base level with upright style, and the latter two level with oblique style together. The middle level and the surface level are seldom presented in my explanations at once.

(14) /b/ → /p/
apáa
a-bá-a-Ø
NEG-COP-1SG-PRS
'I am not'

(15) /g/ → /k/
áaskarcumo
aː̈s-gáarc-m-o
1SG:III-CAUS-run-NPRS-3SG.HF
'she made me run'

Whereas these voiced consonants are affected by the devoicing process, the voiced affricate /j/ is, at any position[†9], not devoiced by any invoker as in (16) and (17), which is based on the only verb root with the initial /j/, i.e. *jáli* 'scatter'.[†10]

(16) /j/ in a conjunctive participle
nujál(in)
n-jáli-n
CP-scatter-CP
'having scattered' (Berger 1998c: 221)

(17) /j/ in a telic stem
du-jáli-
d-jáli-
TEL-scatter-
'to spread' (Berger 1998c: 221)

Unaspirating makes aspirated consonants alternate with their unaspirated counterparts, see (18). Unaspirating for a consonant is caused by verbal derivational prefixes on the condition that accent attraction forwards by them moves the accent over to former than the consonant (see §1.3).

(18) Unaspirating sound changes

/ph/	+ unaspirating	→ /p/	
/th/		→ /t/	
/ṭh/		→ /ṭ/	
/kh/		→ /k/	
/qh/		→ /q/	: (19)
/ch/		→ /c/	: (20)
/čh/		→ /č/	
/ẹh/		→ /ẹ/	

[†9] Though in fact all word-internal /j/ phonemes in verb forms are immediately behind a sonorant, that is they are always either /nj/ or /lj/, so it may be simply considered as not to be devoiced by the environment.
[†10] It may be on the ground that this verb root is a loan morpheme from Shina √jal (Berger 1998c: 221).

(19) /qh/ → /q/
góqučam
gu̓-qhú-č-a-m
2SG:II-be.lucky-IPFV-1SG-NPRS
'I will make you lucky'

(20) /ch/ → /c/
nícun
n-i-chú-n
CP-3SG.HM:I-bring.away-CP
'bring him away and'

Closing changes one or more following fricatives and an approximant into plosives, see (21). This phenomenon is often[†11] verified by a negative prefix *a-*, the causative prefix *s-*, the conjunctive participial prefix *n-*, and so on. It is often realised when the accent of the verb form outstrips a target consonant by morphological operations.

(21) Closing sound changes

/ɣ/		→ /q/	: (22); see also (13)
/h/	+ closing	→ /kh/	: (23)
/w/		→ /p/	: see also (13)

(22) /ɣ/ → /q/
óostaqami
u̓̈-s-daɣá-m-i
3PL.X:III-CAUS-hide-NPRS-3SG.HM
'he sheltered them (animals)'

(23) /h/ → /kh/
akhénuman
a-hén-m-an
NEG-know-NPRS-1PL
'we did not know'

Contrary to closing, opening serves to make a following stop (or fricative) consonant alternate with an approximant or be eliminated. It seems however no strict rule of pairs between a stop and an approximant or elimination. Or it may be conditioned by the phonetic environment. Both (24) and (25) are examples for alternation with an approximant consonant.

(24) /b/ → /w/
duwáaltimi
d-báalt-m-i
TEL-wash-NPRS-3SG.Y
'it was washed'

(25) /g/ → /y/
uyánam
u-gán-a-m
3PL.X:I-take-1SG-NPRS
'I took them'

[†11] It is a strong tendency but there are some exceptions, too. Any condition for the exceptional cases has not been clarified yet.

/č/ invokes several sound changes with an immediately preceding consonant or consonants, see (26). Such sound changes are mainly seen either with the imperfective suffix for verbs *-č*, with a plural suffix *-čo* and *-čuko*, or the inessive case suffix *-či* for nominals. In examples, I indicate the parts in question with a frame, and the results with a waved underline.

(26) Sound changes with /č/

/t/	+ /č/	→ /č/	
/ṭ/		→ /š/	
/c/		→ /š/	
/s/		→ /š/	
/y̨/		→ /ç/	: (27)
/n/		→ /y/	: (28)
/l/		→ /lj/	
/rk/		→ /rš/	

(27) *séy̨am*
sé[n-č]-a-m
say-IPFV-1SG-NPRS
'I will say'

(28) *táljo*
tá[l-č]o
pigeon-PL
'pigeons'

/y/ may also change an immediately preceding consonant, see (29). This phenomenon can be observed only in the case of the stem derivation for the plurality of a subject in an intransitive clause or an object in a transitive clause (see also §6.3.5 for details).

(29) Sound changes with /y/

/t/	+ /y/	→ /č/	
/c/		→ /č/	
/ṭ/		→ /č/	: (30)
/s/		→ /š/	
/y̨/		→ /y/	: (31)

(30) *hurúčaman*
hurúṭ-ya-m-an
sit-PL-NPRS-3PL.H
'they sat'

(31) *giámišo*
gíy̱-ya-um-išo
let.down-PL-ADJVLZ-PL
'those who are let in'

Epenthesis with /y/ can be seen between consecutive /a/ phonemes or between a mid vowel and the /a/ of a conjugative affix and a verbal stem. In (32) and (33), I show the boundary between the stem derivational and the conjugative suffix with " ┤ " in analysis and gloss lines and underline epenthetic /y/ for convenience's sake.

(32) *ay̱áyayam*
a┤a˙-yan-č┤a-m
NEG┤1SG:II-sleep-IPFV┤1SG-NPRS
'I will not sleep'

(33) *báy̱am*
bá-a┤a-m
COP-1SG┤1SG-NPRS
'(I) was'

Aphesis of /l/ always happens at the stem-initial syllable with /lt/ or /lth/ cluster in C_1C_2, see (34). These clusters are rather familiar in Burushaski and seem to be single consonants.

(34) a. *talén-* 'change intentionally' — *@-ltálan-* 'change spontaneously' < √ltalén
b. *tá-* 'follow' — *@˙-lta-* 'make follow' < √ltá
c. *tin* 'born' — *@-ltín* 'born'

I will note irregular forms, including ones produced by the morphophonological rules which I have accounted here, of each entry in the appendix vocabulary.

DESCRIPTIVE PRELIMINARIES

2.1. **Descriptive units**

I deal with each descrptive units in the Burushaski language, which I use in this dissertation: §2.1.1 for words, affix, and clitic, §2.1.2 for phrase, and §2.1.3 for clause and sentence.

2.1.1. Word, affix, and clitics

The word is the minimal unit which can be independently used in utterances and freely alternated with any different item, which is either a word or a phrase (§2.1.2), at the identical syntactic slot. Some words are composed of multiple morphemes, i.e. affix and root, while some other words contain only a single morpheme: e.g., Hz *atésqanḍarčám* [a-d-i̱-s-ɣanḍér-č+bá-a-m || NEG-TEL-3SG.X:II-CAUS-bend-IPFV+COP-2SG-NPRS] 'you were not bending it' versus *awá* [awá || yes] 'yes'. If a word includes different roots, it is called a compound word (§7.1). There are also some words without even one root, that is, personal prefixes (§4.2) sometimes take case suffixes directly and then the resulting words will have no root inside: e.g., *áar* [a̱-ar || 1SG:II-DAT] 'to me'. Any word must have at least one accent, and some words have two or three accents: e.g., *éc̣ukóon* 'his brothers' is a word with two accents versus NG *aúbaréibái* 'he does not look' a (compound) word with three accents (about complex finite forms, see §6.4.3).

There is only one clitic in Burushaski as the polar interrogative marker *=a* (§8.5.2), which can be used at the syntactically fixed position, clause final. So that it can follow a word of any word class, and this is the crucial difference between a clitic and an affix.

Affixes are not independently uttered in speech but accompany a base belonging to specific word class(es), or occasionally an affix, to form a word. An affix carries a grammatical function such as case, agreement, or derivation, rather than a concrete meaning. There are prefixes and suffixes in Burushaski, and suffixes are richer than prefixes in number.

2.1.2. Phrase

Phrases are syntactic units which contain one word or more than one words and which construct clauses. A single word can be the minimal part of a phrase, and a phrase can be the minimal part of a clause. Phrases within a clause are distributed into the hierarchic construction of the clause, and then, the same level phrases receive the same

treatment regardless of how many words they contain and can replace one another. Each phrase has a head or multiple heads which belong to an identical word class and thus, a phrase also belongs to the same word class as its head(s). For nominal phrases and predicate (verbal) phrases, see §8.1.

2.1.3. Clause and sentence

The clause and the sentence are units difficult to distinguish, but roughly speaking, a sentence can include clauses and a clause cannot include sentences. A clause always includes a predicate, a verb or a copula, either finite or nonfinite in my definition (§8.2), however, sometimes the predicate may be omitted to all appearances if the context allows it. Even in these cases, the covert predicate should be invariably restored. There are some kinds of sentences which do not include any clause; for example, an interjection can become an exclamatory sentence such as *léei!* 'Hey man!', while it has no predicate and thus it cannot be considered a clause. Comparatively a clause holds an intonation but an intonational unit can be sustained over a few clauses on occasions, in particular when the successive clauses are sufficiently short. As phrases show hierarchic order, clauses are also organized into several levels and the system is usually explained with the terms coordination and subordination (§8.9). Pragmatically a clause has a topic and a comment and it can be the minimal unit for polar question, which is realised by taking the polar interrogative enclitic *=a* at the final position (§8.5.2), or, very seldomly, changing its own intonation.

2.2. **Word classes**

There are 8 word classes in Burushaski: noun, pronoun, adjective, numeral, verb, copula, conjunction, and interjection. See Figure 7 for the word classes.

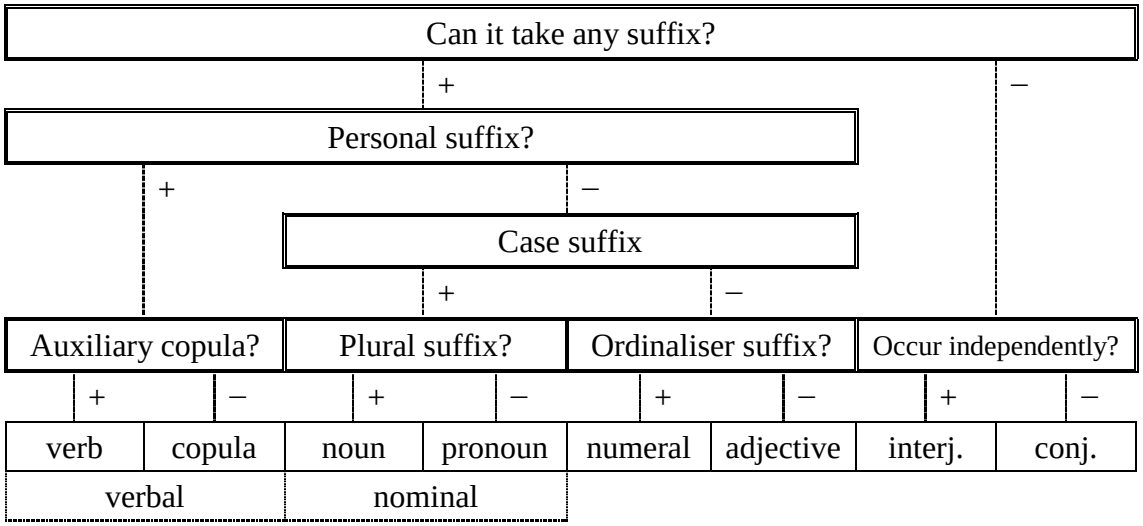

Figure 7. Word classes and the criteria of word classes in Burushaski

Berger (1998) ambiguously or equivocally uses the following labels of word classes or the like in his grammar: Nomen, Adjektiv, Pronomen, Pronominaladjektiv, Adverb, Postposition, Zahlwort, Verbum, Partikel, Konjunktion, and Interjektion. But they are not treated systematically and he does not mention clearly how he has classified them each other.

2.2.1. Nominal: Noun and pronoun

A nominal in Burushaski is a word able to function as a head of a nominal phrase. Nominals can take case markers (§3.5). They consist of nouns and pronouns, and nouns consist of free and bound ones. Bound nouns are either inalienable nouns (kin terms, body parts, emotions, etc.) or positional nouns and always need a personal prefix to indicate the possessor or the reference point (§3.2.1).

Nominals and adjectives in fact morphologically have some similarity each other. Nouns are easily used in the same way of adjectives to modify, and adjectives and numerals are often used just like nouns. Thus there would be no problem with grouping them together, say, as labelling “substantive”. But I feel it is not necessary in particular here.

2.2.2. Adjective and numeral

An adjective can modify a noun with its bare form as well as a numeral. Some adjectives take one of the plural suffixes when they modify a noun referring to plural entities. Numerals of small numbers, from 1 to 10, have more than one form corresponding to the nominal class (§2.3) to which the numeral refers to. And there are

several bound nominal morphemes able to attach only to numerals to make up quantified nouns (§5.2.3): e.g., *-kuc* ‘day’ in *iskí-kuc* ‘three days’ and *tóorimi-kuc* ‘ten days’.

2.2.3. Verbal: Verb and copula

Verbals consist of verbs and copulas. Verbs in Burushaski can serve independently as a predicate of a clause, while a nominal, an adjective and a numeral need a copula to predicate. Copulas are not the same as verbs in morphology, they take fewer functional categories than verbs. There are two copular roots in Hunza, √bá- is for H-class and √b- is for X- and Y-classes, and three roots in Nager, √bá- is for H-class, √b- for X-class, and √d- for Y-class (see §2.3 for nominal classes).

2.2.4. Other word classes

Besides those classes already mentioned, there are conjunctions (§8.9.2) and interjections in Burushaski; no morpheme can be attached to them to form new declined or conjugated forms. Interjections are used independently although conjunctions are used inside a clause or between clauses.

2.3. **Nominal classes**

Nominals in Burushaski show four agreement classes (HM, HF, X, and Y) like genders; a nominal can belong to any of these classes. These classes syntactically function as a feature for agreement. Roughly speaking, the extension of HM-class is human male, HF is human female, X is concrete object including animals and fruits, Y is abstract object including liquids, trees, and notions. Every noun cannot be classified by its phonological form, but plural suffixes tend to show the class of host nouns, especially distinguish between Y-class and the other classes.

In description, in addition to these four classes, I employ one more class named Z-class. This is a subclass of Y-class and has been previously introduced by Lorimer (1935–38). Numerals have Z-forms either for non-referential counting or modifying temporal nouns.

2.3.1. H-class: HM and HF

HM-class and HF-class are classes for human beings in general.[†12] These classes are neutralised when the referent is plural, and then it is referred to as H-class for the

[†12] But also *qhudáa* ‘God, god’ belongs to HM-class. They seem to consider God as like a man.

sake of convenience.

Many personal nouns which inherently indicate no gender can refer to both males and females, e.g., *ápi* ‘my grandparent: HM/HF’, but there are some nouns limited to be used for either males or females and alter their ending vowel if the referent is male, then the ending vowel is *-o*, or female, *-i*, which are mostly loaned from Shina, e.g., *sómo* ‘male friend: HM’ and *sómi* ‘female friend: HF’. Of course, the classification into HM-class or HF-class accords with the actual gender of referents, *oóyar* ‘my husband’ belongs to HM-class and *oós* ‘my wife’ to HF-class.

The difference between HM- and HF-class is observed in the singular personal affixes and the oblique case marker *-mu* for HF-class singular.

2.3.2. X-class

The extent of X-class consists of animals, concrete things, fruits, etc. It is quite difficult to delineate the boundary with Y-class.

X-class is a class showing intermediate characteristics between H- and Y-classes. Regarding the personal prefix and the plural suffixes for example, X-class is similar to H-class, in particular HM-class, though it has the same copular root in Hunza and a shares a lot of nouns jointly with Y-class.

2.3.3. Y-class (including Z-class)

The referents belong to Y-class are abstract notions, buildings, trees. liquids, etc., and time, place, and number which are categorised into Z-class. Most of fruit plant nouns, belong to both X- and of Y-classes, referring their fruits and trees, respectively: *báalt* ‘apple fruit: X; apple tree: Y’.

Y-class nouns may be less connectted with the notion of plurality because they show a common tendency to be less concrete, so that the personal prefix of Y-class singular and plural are the same (§4.2 *et passim*) and the plural optative form lacks the reconstructed plural marker *-an (§6.6).

Z-class is a subclass of Y-class. It behaves in basically the same way as Y-class, but differs from Y-class in the means of agreement on numerals (§5.2.1) and genitive marking, where Z-class employs the oblique case marker *mu-* common to HF-class (§3.5).

NOUNS

In this chapter I discuss the nominal morphology of Burushaski. Here, I use the term "nominal" to refer to the categories of both noun and pronoun. Though the pronoun morphology is narrower than that of the nouns, pronoun declensions corresponding nominal declensions. Therefore, I will describe the nominal morphology using nouns as representative of all nominals and will provide examples of pronoun declensions when warranted.

The most important difference between the previous studies of Burushaski and this dissertation is the point that I employ zero morphemes for the nominal and verbal morphologies: the absolutive case marker (§3.5.1) and the present mood marker (§6.4). The former will be dealt with in this chapter.

3.1. **Template**

Figure 8 below illustrates the template for nouns. Note that, when referencing morphological templates, I use a square bracket ([ ]) to indicate a particular slot of a template, and a small-capital superscript added to the bracket to indicate a particular template, e.g., $[+2]^{N}$ is the second suffix slot of the noun template.

(−1)	0	(+1)	(+2)	(+3)	(+4)	+5
PERSON	BASE	PL	NUMBER	OBLIQUE	POSITION	CASE

Figure 8. Template for nouns

−1: @-/@̇-/@̈- person
0: base
+1: -caro/-išo/-čiŋ/... plural
+2: -an indefinite singular,
-ik indefinite plural
+3: -mu/-e oblique
+4: -al/-ul locative, -aṭ instrumental,
-c adessive, -či inessive
+5: -Ø absolutive, -e ergative, -e genitive,
-e essive, -ar dative, -um ablative

Here, the signs − and + designate the relative positioning to the base (numbered as 0), indicating that the elements appearing in each slot are prefixes and suffixes, respectively. The numbers in this template relate the relative distance from the base. If the number has a round bracket, the element is optional. Otherwise, it is obligatory.

The enclosed part of the template indicates the stem, within which an accent must be placed. The concept of stem has not been clearly used in previous studies on Burushaski but it is significant to account for accent position simply.

It should be noted that the template for pronoun lacks the [−1], [+1], and [+2] slots found in the noun template. Additionally, the pronoun root ([0]) is always filled by any of the pronominal roots (§4.2).

The slots from [+3] to [+5] are used for cases. Suffixes at the slot [+4] are always followed by any case suffix at the slot [+5]. The slot [+3] is for the oblique case marker, which is used with case markers at the slots [+4] and [+5] in certain conditions.

Nominal word formations (derivation and declension) will be dealt in in the following sections. First, I will discuss on stem formation at the slots from [−1] to [+1] in §3.2. Second, §3.3 will deal in number system concerning to the slots [+1] and [+2], and then, §3.4 in personal agreement at the slot [−1]. I will discuss on the case marking system in Burushaski in §3.5.

3.2. **Stem formations**

Typically each word in Burushaski has only one accent which falls on a syllable inside the stem.

Nominal stems are formed by two kinds of affixes; the first one is a personal prefix (§3.2.1), and the other is a plural suffix (§3.2.2).

3.2.1. Inalienable possession marking

Burushaski partly distinguishes between inalienable and alienable possession by employing either the personal prefix or not.[†13] That is, a noun referring to an entity which is always inalienably possessed by anyone must take a personal prefix at the slot [−1]. This prefix must always agree in parameters (number and class) with the possessor.

There are three types of personal prefixes, which are differentiated by the vowel quality, see Table 8 – Table 10. For nouns, types are fixed according to their roots and no condition can explain this accordance well. Unlike verbs (§6.3.2), personally prefixed nouns do not have alternative prefix types. I use a symbol "@" to indicate a blank, i.e. unagreed, personal prefix slot and three kinds of hyphens " - / ˙- / ¨- " for the personal prefix to indicate type-I, II, and III, respectively.[†14]

[†13] Tiffou clearly makes use of the notion of alienability whereas Berger does not. Tiffou (1999: 169) simply says that affixed to a noun, the personal prefixe marks the inalienable possession, on the one hand. Berger (1998a: 46) modestly states that the personal prefixes are used with substantives referring bodyparts, relatives, and things or states with which we feel strong relation in particular, on the other.

[†14] When stems with type-I personal prefixes get the accent at the prefix position through morphophonological procedure, then the stems are shown with "@˝- ".

Table 8. Type-I personal prefixes (@-)

		SG	PL
1		*a-/ja-/je-*[†15]	*mi-*
2		*gu-*	*ma-*
3	HM	*i-*	*u-*
	HF	*mu-*	
	X	*i-*	*u-*
	Y	*i-*	*i-*

Table 9. Type-II personal prefixes (@˙-)

		SG	PL
1		*á-*	*mé-*
2		*gó-*	*má-*
3	HM	*é-*	*ó-*
	HF	*mó-*	
	X	*é-*	*ó-*
	Y	*é-*	*é-*

Table 10. Type-III personal prefixes (@¨-)

		SG	PL
1		*áa-*	*mée-*
2		*góo-*	*máa-*
3	HM	*ée-*	*óo-*
	HF	*móo-*	
	X	*ée-*	*óo-*
	Y	*ée-*	*ée-*

All of these types can be found with inalienable nouns but nouns with type-III prefixes are quite rare. Berger (1998a: 44) states that there are approximately 150 substantives[†16] with the personal prefix (5 substantives are with type-III, 24 are with type-II, and all the rest are with type-I personal prefixes).

The inalienably possessed entities in Burushaski include the following categories: kin (35), body parts (36), products (37), positions (38), and some other incidental things (39).

(35) a. *@-́mi* ‘mother’ b. *@-̇i* ‘daughter’ c. *@-́sk* ‘offspring’
(36) a. *@-súmal* ‘tail’ b. *@-̇s* ‘heart’ c. *@-súi* ‘navel’
(37) a. *@-móos* ‘anger’ b. *@-ú* ‘tear’ c. *@-čhár* ‘voice, sound’
(38) a. *@-́ŋgi* ‘in front of’ b. *@-́lji* ‘behind of’ c. *@-cí* ‘against’
(39) a. *@-úlji* ‘dream’ b. *@-úlgis* ‘nest’ c. *@-ík* ‘name’

Note that not all the entities of such categories are inalienable. Some of the entities of such categories may be loan words since, it seems, loan words are not marked for inalienableness by adding the personal prefix, see (40).

(40) a. *buk* ‘throat’ (< KH *buk*)

[†15] With a few words, the normal prefix *a-* is not used but the special prefix *je-/ja-* is employed for the first person: e.g., *jéi* ‘myself’ (not **ái*) of *@-́i*, and *joóas* [ja-ú-as] ‘giving me’ (not **oóas*) of *@-ú-* ‘to give s.t.(X)’.

[†16] As mentioned once in §2.2, Berger uses the term “substantive” to indicate nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and numerals in this dissertation. Therefore there are a few instances of the words belonging to any other classes than noun in the number.

b. *rúu* ‘spirit’ (< UR *rūh* (روح))
c. *kaáko* ‘brother’ (< SH *kaáko*; cf. *@-́ço* ‘sibling of the same sex’)

The original languages of the loan words, Khowar, Urdu, and Shina here, have no strategy to show the inalienable possession.

Additionally, it can be observed that some nouns are losing or have lost the personal prefix, see (41). Currently, this change is not wide spread and seems to be in its early stages.

(41) a. ‘hair’: *γuyáŋ* (HZ 2008[†17], NG 2008)
vs. *@-γúyaŋ* (HZ 2005a)
b. ‘born’: *tin* (HZ 2005a, 2008, NG 2008; Berger 1998), *ten* (WB[YS] 2007)
vs. *@-ltín* (Lorimer 1935–38, Berger 1998)
c. ‘horn’: *tur* (NG 2008, WB[YS] 2007)
vs. *@-ltúr* / *@-ltúri* (HZ 2005a, 2008)

These variations are, positively, not based on the alienability of possession, rather on the diversity of each speaker, dialect, or generation. Berger (1998c) records both forms of the words as seen in example (41).

The type-I personal prefix for third person HM/X/Y-class singular *i-* morphophonologically alters its realised sound into *yu-* before /ú/. This is exemplified in *yuúl* ‘his belly’ from the noun *@-úl* ‘belly’, and the verb finite form *yuúmo* ‘she gave something X-class to him’ from the verb *@-ú-* ‘give (X-class object)’ with third person HM-class singular prefix *i-*. The type-I first person plural prefix *mi-*, however, does not behave in the same way, e.g. *miúl* ‘our belly’ and *miúmo* ‘she gave somthing X-class us’, instead of **myuúl* and **myuúmo*.

There are two special pronouns which need the personal prefix. The first is the so-called “emphatic pronoun” (Willson 1999a: 174) *@-́i* or the more emphasised form *@-@-́i* ‘own’. The second is the reflexive pronoun *@-khár* ‘oneself’. *@-́i*/*@-@-́i* always appears with the genitive case for ‘one’s own’, as in (42). However, it takes no case

[†17] The data of each survey are as follows (see also §0.6 for the latter two consultants):
HZ 2005a: Amir Khan, male, born in 1976, Hunza (Karimabad) dialect;
WB[YS] 2007: Arshad Ali, male, born in 1989, Western Burushaski Yasin (Ghojalti) dialect;
HZ 2008: Mussa Baig, Hunza (Ganish) dialect;
NG 2008: Ainur Xayat, Nager (Hopar) dialect.

marker when used as an adverb (‘by oneself’). *@-khár* usually occurs with the absolutive case as a direct object, as in (43), or the dative case as an indirect object in a transitive clause. Sometimes *@-khár* will occur with other cases in some expressions represented by a peripheral case such as *@-khár-e* ‘for oneself’ which takes the essive or complex case as in (44).

(42)

to̲rumʌnər	*mʊˈsaphɪrɛ*	*imo*	*khòṭ*
toór-um-an-ar	musáaphir-e	i-í-mu-e	khóoṭ-Ø
such-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG-DAT	traveler-ERG	3SG.H:I-self-OBL-GEN	coat-ABS

hʊˈmʌlkʊm	*dɪùsɪmi …*
humálk-um	d-i-gús-m-i
light-ADJVLZ	TEL-3SG.X:I-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘Thus the travelar took off his coat (to be light)’ (Lorimer 1935a, *Story of the North Wind and the Sun*: #8)

(43)

ćap	*numá,*	*gućhámi,*	*amaná*	*γamgíin*
čáp	n-man	gučhá-m-i	amaná	γamgíin
hidden	CP-become	lie-NPRS-3SG.HM	thereupon	sad

ikhár	*étimi.*
i-khaŕ-Ø	i-t́-m-i
3SG.HM:I-REFL.PRN-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘He went hiding to sleep, but he felt sad [lit. made himself sad][†18].’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #304)

(44)

áskumuc,	*guté*	*khéen*	*bilá*	*ke*	*máa*
a-sḱ-muc	guté-Ø	khéen-Ø	bʹ-ilʹ-Ø	ké	má-e
1SG:I-child-PL	this:Y-ABS	period-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	LINK	you-GEN

hóle	*duwášase*	*óor*	*duniáa*	*yeécase.*	*óor*
hól-e	d-gús-ya-as-e	óor	duniáa-Ø	i-icʹ-as-e	óor
outside-ESS	TEL-go.out-PL-INF-GEN	and	world-ABS	3SG.Y:I-see-INF-GEN	and

[†18] In quotation from previous studies, I will use square brackets [ ] for my annotations.

makháre	*gáne*	*han*	*háan*
ma-khar-́e	gan-́e	hán	ha-́an-Ø
2PL:I-REFL.PRN-GEN	way-ESS	one:Y	house-INDEF.SG-ABS

désmanín.
d-i-̓s-man-́in
TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-become-IMP.PL

‘My children, it is time for you to go out into the world. Go and build a house for yourselves.’ (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #2)

Concerning the details of the usages of each case, see §3.5 on case declensions. For the actual forms of each pronouns with respect to person, class, and number agreement, see Table 26 – Table 28 in §4.2.

3.2.2. Plurality

Plurality is marked by a plural suffix or two plural suffixes at the slots [+1] and [+2] selected from several types according to the stem which the suffix attaches to. When a noun takes just a plural suffix, unless it is the general (indefinite) plural suffix *-ik*, the suffix is always put at slot [+1]; that is, basically, the slot [+1] takes precedence over the slot [+2] for plural suffixes and the slot [+2] is used for a plural marker only when the noun needs to be doubly pluralised (§3.3). Double plural forms are quite low in frequency, and most plural forms only occur with a plural suffix at the slot [+1].

Though the plural slot, [+1], is inside a range of a stem while the slot [+2] is not, the plural suffixes at both slots function identically. Plural suffixes are used for countable nouns to mean that the represented entities are not single, (45). Uncountable nouns are pluralised to suggest either the overwhelming amount of the entities or the plethora of kinds of entities, (46). Such pluralisation for uncountable nouns has the same purpose as double pluralisation for countable nouns (see §3.3). Each of (45a) and (46a) has an accent within the root whereas each of (45b) and (46b) does not. The first syllable of the plural suffix takes an accent in (45b) and (46b).

(45) a. hunzé ‘arrow’ + -muc ‘PL’ => *hunzémuc* ‘arrows’
b. huk ‘dog’ + -ai ‘PL’ => *hukái* ‘dogs’

(46) a. multán ‘blood’ + -iŋ ‘PL’ => *multáiŋ* ‘bloods’
b. chil ‘water’ + -miŋ ‘PL’ => *chilmíŋ* ‘waters’

Some countable nouns show the same form for both singular and plural number. Additionally, the countable noun *sis* ‘person, people’ solely cannot take any plural suffix at the slot [+1] to distinguish between singular and plural.

Table 11. Three morphological groups of countable nouns with *búṭan* ‘many’

	without PL		with PL	
α	**búṭan huk*	–	*búṭan hukái*	‘many dogs’
	**búṭan ha*	–	*búṭan hakíčaŋ*	‘many houses’
β	*búṭan báalt*	–	*búṭan báaltišo*	‘many apple fruit
	búṭan juú	–	*búṭan joóŋ*	‘many apricot trees’
γ	*búṭan sis*	–	N/A	‘many people’

Normally, as indicated with α in Table 11, countable nouns typically take a plural suffix with the adjective *búṭan* ‘many’; However, group-β, which mainly consists of the nouns referring to fruits and/or trees, can be formed either with or without the plural suffixes, therefore both forms of group-β appearing on the right and left side of the dash on Table 11 are equally grammatical (shown with no asterisk). The last one, group-γ, includes the only candidate *sis* ‘person, people’ which has no appropriate plural suffix. *sis* can, however, take two kinds of general number suffixes always employed at the slot [+2] to clearly distinguish the number in a marked manner: singular *-an* and plural *-ik* (see §3.3 for details).

This differentiation of plural forms is the case only for countable nouns. Uncountable nouns, on the other hand, show no change with respect to the difference between singular and normal plural number. Hence, if they are overtly marked with a plural suffix, it indicates that the interpretation of the referents should be the same as with double pluralisation: e.g., *čhúmo* ‘fish (SG/PL)’ vs. *čhúmo-muc* [fish-PL] ‘a quite large number of fish; fishes’.

Minutely counting each different morphophonological shape as different forms, the number of plural forms reaches approximately a hundred. Table 12 shows the relation between nominal classes and the major types of plural suffixes. Note that there are many plural suffixes for H- and X-classes beyond the major types included here.

Table 12. Distribution of the major types of plural suffixes

<table>
<tr><td>classes</td><td colspan="3">plural suffix types</td></tr>
<tr><td>H</td><td>CARO, TIŋ</td><td rowspan="2">MUC, NC, O</td><td rowspan="3">óŋo</td></tr>
<tr><td>X</td><td colspan="2">ŋ</td></tr>
<tr><td>Y</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
</table>

representative examples of each type:

CARO: *-aro, -caro, -taro, -daro*

TIŋ: *-tiŋ*

MUC: *-c, -uc, -muc, -umuc*

NC: *-inc, -nc, -anc, -ónc, -ianc ...*

O: *-čo, -išo, -ko, -iko, -čuko, -ú, -úu ...*

ŋ: *-iŋ, -éŋ, -miŋ, -čiŋ/-čaŋ*[†19], *-mičiŋ, -ŋ, -aŋ, -óŋ ...*

óŋo: *-óŋo, -ómo, -óno*

There is not any strict rule that determines which plural suffix attaches to which noun stem, so the speakers ultimately have to memorize all the combinations between the stems and the suffixes in order to use the nouns correctly. Some tendencies can be observed, however. For example, the combinations may be partially conditioned by the position of the accent, the stem final sound, the semantic category of the referent entity, or the length of the host word. These tendencies hold even with loan words. (47) provides an example of native or inherent word and (48) shows the loan word pattern.

(47) *ẓiŋé* 'sleeve' + *-čiŋ/-čaŋ* / *-miŋ* 'PL' => *ẓiŋéčiŋ/ ẓiŋéčaŋ* / *ẓiŋémiŋ* 'harrows'

(48) *gaaḍí* 'car' + *-inc* / *-muc* 'PL' => *gaaḍénc* / *gaaḍímuc* 'cars'
(< UR *gāṛī* (گاڑی) 'car')

Some noun loan words show more diverse plural forms than the original plural forms in the source language. Such chimaeric words look like doubly pluralised forms, but, in fact, they are simple regular plural forms, constructed out of confusion, see (49) and (50).

[†19] Among a variety of plural suffixes, *-čiŋ* and *-čaŋ* can be considered as dialectal variations between Hunza and Nager, at least, in most cases. Of course there are exceptions to some extent, and *-čiŋ* in Nager is more frequent then *-čaŋ* in Hunza.

(49) PE: *pīr* (پیر) 'saint' => *pīr-ān* (پیران) [saint-PL] 'saints'
EB: *píir* 'saint' => *piiráan + -tiŋ* 'PL' => *piiráantiŋ* 'saints'

(50) UR: *lafz* (لفظ) 'word' => *alfāz* (الفاظ) 'words' (loan word from Arabic)
EB: *laphz* 'word' => *alpháaz* 'words' + *-išo* 'PL' => *alpháazišo* 'words' †20

3.3. **Number**

Grammatical number in Burushaski is limited to either singular or plural. As mentioned in §3.2.2 above, the slots [+1] and [+2] are for number marking. Burushaski speakers employ three kinds of the suffixes which can mark number: varied plural suffixes particular to every noun (as briefly introduced in §3.2.2), the indefinite plural suffix *-ik*, and the indefinite singular suffix *-an*. The indefinite suffixes *-ik* and *-an* are arbitrary.

With respect to number marking, nouns can typically be classified into two types: countable and uncountable. However, it is not always so clear-cut. Group-β nouns in Table 11 show some of these exceptions. "Uncountable nouns", semantically, refer to abstract nouns and mass nouns since the referents of abstract nouns cannot usually be counted, and those of mass nouns, though countable, already imply plurality.

Table 13. Relation between the countability and the function

	functions as	
	simple plural	double plural
countable	-PL *-ik*	-PL-PL -PL-*ik*
uncountable	N/A	-PL *-ik*

Uncountable nouns can be pluralised as shown by Table 13, but the semantic function is not parallel to the similar countable noun forms.

When the referent is not a single entity, then a countable noun must be pluralised with either a varied plural suffix or the general (indefinite) plural suffix, (51). If a noun is uncountable, the identical form is used for both singular and plural, (52), even if the referent is, in fact, countable and not single, (53).

†20 As for (50), Burushaski speakers use both *alpháaz* and *alpháazišo* for the meaning 'words', and they say that there is no semantic difference between the two forms.

(51) Countable nouns

a.	*hin hir*	'a man'	–	*altán hirí*	'two men'
b.	*han huk*	'a dog'	–	*búṭan hukái*	'many dogs'

(52) Uncountable nouns (abstract)

a.	*bras*	'rice'	–	*búṭan bras*	'much rice'
b.	*chil*	'water'	–	*búṭan chil*	'much water'

(53) Uncountable nouns (mass)

a.	*han amé*	'my tooth'	–	*altác amé*	'my two teeth'
b.	*han čúg(u)dar*	'a peach tree'	–	*altó čúg(u)dar*	'two peach trees'

A varied plural suffix at the slot [+2] is used only after a plural suffix at the slot [+1] for double plural marking. It often functions with the stem meanings to indicate implications of "plural intensifier" such as 'enormous amount of', 'many kinds of', or 'sets of the whole of'. But actually it seems that the function may not be effective well (I will explain it later with the example (54)). The use of double pluralisation is infrequent, however, because single pluralisation can, in practice, connote similar expansion in meaning. In the cases of double plurals, varied plural suffixes are restricted to fewer allomorphs than usual. Because the decision of suffixes is served mainly by the phonological environment and the nominal class and not dependant on the lexemes, the varied plural suffixes for double plurals may be within the range of the major types MUC, NC, O, and ŋ shown in Table 12 as found in Berger (1998c).

Double plural forms of countable nouns can also be made with the general indefinite plural marker *-ik* at the slot [+2] as in (54) and (55). This choice appears more often in actual utterances than the double varied plural marking mentioned above. There is no semantic gap between these kinds of double pluralisation.

(54)

hukáikar	*gíẏasar*	*ec*	*hukáie*	*nušén*
huk-ai-ik-ar	gíẏ-as-ar	éc	huk-ai-e	n-šé-n
dog-PL-INDEF.PL-DAT	let.down-INF-DAT	those.ones:X	dog-PL-ERG	CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP

uírien.
u-ir-Ø-ien
3PL.X:I-die-PRS-3PL.X

'Given them to dogs, the dogs ate [the grains] and dieds.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #301)

(55)

úe	*séi báan*	*ke*	*mi*	*ke*	*akhí*
ú-e	sén-č+bá-an-Ø	ké	mí-Ø	ké	akhíl
they:DIST-ERG	say-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS	LINK	we-ABS	LINK	in.this.way

híkum	*guśíńanċik*	*báan,*	*mi*	*be*
hík-kum	gus-iŋanc-ik-Ø	bá-an-Ø	mí-Ø	bé
one:Z-time	woman-PL-INDEF.PL-ABS	COP-3PL.H-PRS	we-ABS	what

méćóo,	*am*	*níćóo*	*khóle*	*ju*
mi-t-č+bá-a-Ø	ám	ní-č+bá-a-Ø	khól-e	jú-i
1PL:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	where	go-IPFV-COP-2SG-PRS	here-ESS	come-IMP.SG

náa	*ćáġan*	*dukóyal*	*nusénin*
náa	čáγa-an-Ø	d-gu-yal-i	n-sén-n
TAG.Q	story-INDEF.SG-ABS	TEL-2SG.II-hear-IMP.SG	CP-say-CP

ópaćar	*qáo*	*éćóon.*
u-pá-či-ar	qáo-Ø	i-t-č+bá-an-Ø
3PL.H:II-place-INE-DAT	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS

‘They say “we are such women, what do you do for us, where do you go, come here now, and listen to us” and call.’ (Berger 1998b: #5.6)

(54) exemplifies the reason why I told it seems that the intensifying function may not be effective. The speaker referred to the dogs with the double plural form *hukáik(ar)* here, and immediately after the utterance, with a simple plural form *hukái(e)* in the example (54). Additionally, the double plural form is used in the preceding sentence, thus it cannot be considered as the form is for indefinite reading here. They use indeed double plural forms to emphasise the plurality, on one hand. But it shows no consistent distribution in discourse, on the other hand.

The general plural suffix can also be utilized for overt plural marking with the nouns which have the identical forms for singular and plural (i.e. the group-γ noun in Table 11). This use constrasts strikingly with the parallel use of the indefinite singular suffix *-an*. Table 14 shows both the singluar and plural forms of *sis* ‘person, people’.

Table 14. *sis* ‘person, people’ with or without a general number suffix

	without suffix	with *-an*	with *-ik*	
SG	*hin sis*	*hin sísan*	N/A	‘a person’
PL	*altán sis*	N/A	*altán sísik*	‘two people’

sis ‘person, people’ allows the readings of both numbers whereas *sísan* ‘person’ and *sísik* ‘people’ do not.

Similar use can be seen with the interrogative pronouns *men* ‘who’ (Table 15) and *bes* ‘what’ (Table 16), but the outcomes of each case are little different:

Table 15. *men* ‘who’ with or without a general number suffix

	without suffix	with *-an*	with *-ik*	
SG	*men*	*ménan*	N/A	‘who’
PL	*men*	N/A	*ménik*	

Table 16. *bes* ‘what’ with or without a general number suffix

	without suffix	with *-an*	with *-ik*	
SG	N/A	*bésan*	N/A	‘what’
PL	N/A	(*bésan*)	*bésik*	

The distribution with *men* ‘who’ is the same as *sis* ‘person, people’. *bes* ‘what’, however, cannot occur in its bare form. Too, one may use the form *bésan* even when it has been estimated that the number of the interrogated object is plural. At least, its reduplicated form can used to plural referents as in (56), though its function could be interpreted as distributive.

(56)

íne	*íimo*	*éimur*
ín-e	i-í-mu-e	i̱-i-mu-ar
s/he:DIST-ERG	3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN	3SG.HM:II-daughter-OBL-DAT

bésan	*bésan*	*móor*	*číiziŋ*
bés-an	bés-an	mu̱-ar	číiz-iŋ-Ø
what-INDEF.SG	what-INDEF.SG	3SG.HF:II-DAT	thing-PL-ABS

éčúm	*ke,*	*móor*	*étas*
i̱-t́-č+bá-i-m	ké	mu̱-ar	i̱-t́-as-Ø
3PL.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	LINK	3SG.HF:II-DAT	3PL.Y:II-do-INF-ABS

ičé	*číiz*	*har*	*han*	*uyóon*	*mu*	*ráḍi*	*ne,*
icé	číiz-Ø	hár	hán	uyóon-Ø	muú	ráḍi	n-i̱-t
those:X	thing-ABS	every	one:Y	all-ABS	now	ready	CP-3PL.Y:II-do

‘For his own daughter, <u>whatever</u> things he was making for her, the things that were to be made for her, all those things he made ready,’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #169)

In (56), *bésan bésan* ‘what(ever)’, the reduplicated form of the singular form *bésan* ‘what’, is indeed modifying the plural noun *číiziŋ* ‘things’.

The singular suffix *-an* is more often employed for a noun which is referring to an indefinite entity, or is non-referential (see §11 for further details). In other words, if a speaker has estimated and judged that a hearer can not accurately identify the referent which the speaker is mentioning, the spreaker attaches the suffix *-an* to the noun in question. Such use, though not obligatory, occurs with reasonably high frequency.

(57)

hin	*<u>baadšáan</u>*	*bam.*	*iné*	*<u>baadšáa</u>*	*čhúmoe*
hín	baadšáa-an-Ø	bá-i-m	iné	baadšáa-e	čhúmo-e
one:H	king-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.HM-PRS	that:H	king-ERG	fish-GEN

čhápaṭe	*naašitáa*	*éčóm.*	*íne*	*<u>baadšáa</u>*
čhaṕ-aṭ-e	naašitáa-Ø	i̱-t́-č+bá-i-m	iné	baadšáa-e
flesh-INS-ESS	breakfast-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	that:H	king-GEN

hin	*<u>jamaaát</u>*	*bom.*	*iné*	*[ué]*	*óltike*
hín	jamaaát-Ø	bá-o-m	iné	[ué]	u̱-ltik-e
one:H	spouse-ABS	COP-3SG.HF-NPRS	that:H	[those:H]	3PL.H:II-both-ERG

subá	*hamiišá*	*subá*	*čhúmoe*	*čhápaṭe*	*naašitáa*
subá	hamiišá	subá	čhúmo-e	čhaṕ-aṭ-e	naašitáa-Ø
morning	always	morning	fish-GEN	flesh-INS-ESS	breakfast-ABS

éčóm.	*úe*	*hin*	*<u>nookáran</u>*
i̱-t́-č+bá-an-m	ú-e	hín	nookár-an-Ø
3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS	they:DIST-GEN	one:H	servant-INDEF.SG-ABS

bam.	*iné*	*nookáre*	*[nookár]*	*síndaṭar*
bá-i-m	iné	nookár-e	[nookár-Ø]	sínda-aṭ-ar
COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	that:H	servant-ERG	[servant-ABS]	river-INS-DAT

níin,	*íne*	*baadšáa*	*atíaṣ*	*qháa*
n-i″n	ín-e	baadšáa-Ø	a-d-e′-ṣ	qháaṣ
go:CP-3SG.HM-CP	s/he:DIST-GEN	king-ABS	NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT	until

súba	*súba*	*síndaṭar*	*níin.*
subá	subá	sínda-aṭ-ar	n-i″n
morning	morning	river-INS-DAT	go:CP-3SG.HM-CP

‘There was a king. The king was taking his breakfast with fish. The king had a wife. Both of them were taking breakfast with fish every morning. They had a servant. The servant went to the riverside every morning before his king wakes up.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #1–6)

In text (57), two new characters out of three (underlined parts) are introduced with *-an*, *baadšáa-n* ‘a king’ and *nookár-an* ‘a servant’, while the last one is not, *jamaaát* ‘a wife’. There is no apparent syntactic gap to differentiate the manner of introduction for *jamaaát* and *nookár*. Therefore the distinction is arbitrary. Once introduced, these no longer take the suffix *-an* (wavily underlined parts).

Additionally, the suffix *-an* can be attached to both numerals and adjectives whereas the suffix *-ik* and the plural suffixes cannot be attached to numerals (§5.1.1).

-an seems to come from the numeral *han* ‘one (XY)’, parallelling similar markers in the surrounding languages: “indefinite particle” *-ek*[†21] from *ek* ‘one’ in Shina (Schmidt and Kohistani 2008: 75), “suffix of singleness” *-ek*/*-aka* from *ek*/*áka* ‘one (M/F)’ in Domaaki (Lorimer 1939: 34), “indefinite article suffix” *-a:*/*-a:h* maybe from *akh* ‘one’ in Kashmiri (Koul 2005: 46), and “indefinite marker” *čik* from or the same as *čik* ‘one’ in Balti (Bashir 2010: 18fn.). Unlike *-an*, there is no marker in these languages which correspond to *-ik* in Burushaski. The origin of *-ik*, in my estimation, is debatable at best. Berger (1998a: 43fn.) claims “Die Endung ist aus der angehängten z-Form *hik* des zahlwortes „eins“ entstanfen, vgl. auch ys. *-ek*, von *hek* „eins“.”, but it is difficult to accept his account because the function and meaning of *-ik* as a plural marker and *hik* meaning ‘one’ is obviously conflicting. Additionally, the correspondence in Yasin

[†21] Or Bashir’s (2010: 40, 46) the indefiniting nominalizer *-Vk*. But it is very often used with nouns, so it seems that her naming is not appropriate for its total function.

(Western Burushaski) can merely be considered as a more general phonological correspondence between /i/ in Eastern Burushaski and /e/ in Western Burushaski, e.g., EB @-*ík* vs. WB @-*yék* ‘name’, EB *chil* vs. WB *cel* ‘water’, and so on.

3.4. **Person**

The nouns related to inalienable possession, mentioned in §3.2.1 above, must be formed with the possessor person agreement by the personal prefix (see the tables reinserted below).

Table 8. Type-I personal prefixes (@-)

		SG	PL
1		*a-/ja-/je-*	*mi-*
2		*gu-*	*ma-*
3	HM	*i-*	*u-*
	HF	*mu-*	
	X	*i-*	*u*
	Y	*i-*	*i-*

Table 9. Type-II personal prefixes (@́-)

		SG	PL
1		*á-*	*mé-*
2		*gó-*	*má-*
3	HM	*é-*	*ó-*
	HF	*mó-*	
	X	*é-*	*ó-*
	Y	*é-*	*é-*

Table 10. Type-III personal prefixes (@̈-)

		SG	PL
1		*áa-*	*mée-*
2		*góo-*	*máa-*
3	HM	*ée-*	*óo-*
	HF	*móo-*	
	X	*ée-*	*óo-*
	Y	*ée-*	*ée-*

Note that personal prefixes agree with the possessor for nouns as well as with the undergoer for verbs (§6.3.2).

For example, the actual forms of the noun of each personal prefix type are as follows, from (58) to (61):

(58) Example with type-I (unaccented) personal prefix
@-*ríŋ* ‘hand’:
aríŋ ‘my hand’, *guríŋ* ‘your (SG) h.’, *iríŋ* ‘his/its h.’, *muríŋ* ‘her h.’;
miríŋ ‘our h.’, *maríŋ* ‘your (PL) h.’, *uríŋ* ‘their (HX) h.’, *iríŋ* ‘their (Y) h.’

(59) Example with type-I (accented) personal prefix
@́-*mi* ‘mother’:
ámi ‘my mother’, *gúmi* ‘your (SG) m.’, *ími* ‘his/its m.’, *múmi* ‘her m.’;
mími ‘our m.’, *mámi* ‘your (PL) m.’, *úmi* ‘their (HX) m.’, *ími* ‘their (Y) m.’

(60) Example with type-II personal prefix
@̈-miṣ ‘finger’:
ámiṣ ‘my finger’, *gómiṣ* ‘your (SG) f.’, *émiṣ* ‘his/its f.’, *mómiṣ* ‘her f.’;
mémiṣ ‘our f.’, *mámiṣ* ‘your (PL) f.’, *ómiṣ* ‘their (HX) f.’, *émiṣ* ‘their (Y) f.’

(61) Example with type-III personal prefix
@̈-stiŋ ‘parents-in-law’:
áastiŋ ‘my p.-in-law’, *góostiŋ* ‘your (SG) p.’, *éestiŋ* ‘his/its p.’, *móostiŋ* ‘her p.’;
méestiŋ ‘our p.’, *máastiŋ* ‘your (PL) p.’, *óostiŋ* ‘their (HX) p.’, *éestiŋ* ‘their (Y) p.’

There are also nouns with the personal prefix which are derived from personally prefixed adjectives or verbs: e.g., *iíras* ‘his dying, his death’, which is the infinitive form of *i-íṛ-* [3SG.HM:I-die-].

3.5. **Case**

Cases in Burushaski are marked by case suffixes put at the slots [+3], [+4], and [+5]. There are 6 simple main cases (absolutive, ergative, genitive, essive, dative, and ablative), and 12 complex locational cases in Burushaski. The simple cases are slotted in the slot [+5], and the complex ones are represented by the combination of a positional case in the slot [+4] (locative, instrumental, adessive, and inessive) and a directional (main) case in the slot [+5] (essive, dative, and ablative). The [+3] slot is for an oblique case which is used depending on the morphological, such as the nominal class, or the morphophonological, such as the syllable weight or the final sound of a stem, situation. The oblique case is then attached to the preceding nominal stem and the following case marker.

Table 17. Case markings with nouns of each class

		hir ‘man’ HM	*gus* ‘woman’ HF	*huk* ‘dog’ X	*dan* ‘stone’ Y
Absolutive	*-Ø*	*hir*	*gus*	*huk*	*dan*
Ergative	*-e*	*híe*	*gúse*	*húke*	*dáne*
Genitive	*-e*	*híre*	*gúsmo*	*húke*	*dáne*
Dative	*-ar*	*hírar*	*gúsmur*	*húkar*	*dánar*
Adhesive	*-aṭ-e*	*hírate*	*gúsmuṭe*	*húkaṭe*	*dánaṭe*
(complex) Ablative	*-c-um*	*hírcum*	*gúsmucum*	*húkcum*	*dáncum*

Table 17 is a chart of case markings with nouns of each class. Forms under the dotted line are examples for complex locational cases which consist of suffixes at the slots [+4] and [+5]. Make sure that the HF-class example shows different shapes for the lower four cases from the other three examples of HM-, X-, and Y-classes.

I will make discussion on cases in the following order: absolutive (§3.5.1), ergative (§3.5.2), genitive (§3.5.3), essive (§3.5.4), dative (§3.5.5), ablative (§3.5.6), and locational cases (§3.5.7). Additionally, I will deal with several case-like expressions in §3.5.8.

3.5.1. Absolutive

Burushaski is an ergative language, so it takes the absolutive and the ergative cases, not the nominal and the accusative cases seen in accusative languages.

The absolutive case marker in Burushaski is *-Ø*, and this case functions as the case for the only participant of intransitive clauses as in (62), the direct object participant of transitives as in (63), or both the subject and the complement of copular clauses as in (64).

(62) The absolutive case in an intransitive clause

ha	*dupháltimi.*
ha-Ø	d-phalt-m-i
house-ABS	TEL-explose-NPRS-3SG.Y

'The house blew up.' (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #35)

(63) The absolutive case in a transitive clause

íne	*isé*	*búše*	*isúmal*	*yeécimi.*
ín-e	isé	buš-e	i-sumál-Ø	i-ic-m-i
s/he:DIST-ERG	that:X	cat-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-ABS	3SG.X:I-see-NPRS-3SG.HM

'He saw the cat's tail.' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #31)

(64) The absolutive case in a copular clause

u	*óltalik*	*húnzue*	*mašúur*	*biṭáyo*
ú-Ø	u-ltalik	húnzo-e	mašúur	biṭán-čo-Ø
they:DIST-ABS	3PL.H:II-both	Hunza-GEN	famous	shaman-PL-ABS

bam.
bá-an-m
COP-3PL.H-NPRS

'They were both famous Bitans [i.e. shamans] in Hunza.' (*šon gukúr*: #2)

It is difficult to distinguish the arguments declined in the absolutive case from the nominals which have no case markers, but among them there are undoubtedly different characteristics in their roles. Thus the disctinction can be accomplished depending on their syntactic characteristics. Those which take no case marker consist of pseudo-object nouns (§8.1.2), nominals before any positional noun (§3.5.8.2), nouns in adjectival use as in (65) and in vocative (or interjectional) use as in (66), and adverbial nouns such as temporals and manners (67).

(65) Noun in adjectival use

toq	*chílan*	*bilúm*	*bar*	*chílan.*
toq	chil'-an-Ø	b'-il'-m	bar	chil'-an-Ø
mud	water-INDEF.SG	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	gulley	water-INDEF.SG-ABS

'It was muddy gulley water.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #54)

(66) Noun in vocative use

icée	*úmie*	*uskó*	*jóṭišo*	*urkái*
icé-e	u-mí-e	uskó	jóṭ-išo	urk'-ai-Ø
those:X-GEN	3PL.X:I-mother-ERG	three:X	small-PL.X	wolf-PL-ABS[†22]

mópačiar	*qáo*	*étumo*	*dáa*
mu'-pá-či-ar	qáo-Ø	i'-t'-m-o	dáa
3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF	again

ósumo:	*"áskumuc,*	*guté*	*khéen*	*bilá*
u'-s'-m-o	a-sk'-muc	guté-Ø	khéen-Ø	b'-il'-Ø
3PL.X:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HF	1SG:I-child-PL	this:Y-ABS	time-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

[†22] This absolutive case may be happened by the reason that this constituent needs to be declined in the dative case but there is another dative case constituent *mópačiar* 'to her side' in this clause, so that the storyteller avoided double dative in a clause and used the absolutive case or it might be caseless.

ke ...
ké
LINK

'The mother called the three little wolves around her and said, "My children, it is time that ...".' (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #2)

(67) Temporal noun without a case

ésquluman,			*nésqul,*	*aksár*	*yaaní*
i-s-γul-m-an			n-i-s-γul	aksár	yaaní
3SG.X:II-CAUS-burn.out-NPRS-3PL.H			CP-3SG.X:II-CAUS-burn.out	often	FIL

híkulto	*altúl*	*éle*	*dúwasuman.*
hík-ul-to	altó-ul	él-e	d-u-bás-m-an
one-day-just	two-day	there-ESS	TEL-3PL.H:I-be.left-NPRS-3PL.H

'They burned it, [and] having burned it, they then remained there for a day or two.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #110)

3.5.2. Ergative

The ergative case marker in Burushaski is *-e*, which is basically the same form as the genitive case marker but they can be distinguished from each other by the usage of the oblique case. In other words, the ergative case marker does not require an oblique case at the slot [+3] whereas the genitive case marker does.

This case marks the agent participants in both monotransitive, (68), and ditransitive clauses, (69).

(68) The ergative case in a monotransitive clause

íne	*isé*	*búše*	*isúmal*	*yeécimi.*
ín-e	isé	buš-e	i-sumál-Ø	i-ic-m-i
s/he:DIST-ERG	that:X	cat-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-ABS	3SG.X:I-see-NPRS-3SG.HM

'He saw the cat's tail.' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #31)

(69) The ergative case in a ditransitive clause

khóle	*jáa*	*baadśaí*	*ke*	*gućhíćam.*
khól-e	jé-e	baadšáa-í-Ø	ké	gu-čhí-č-a-m
here-ESS	I-ERG	king-NMLZ-ABS	LINK	2SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

'Here I'll give you the kingdom, too.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #155)

In some conditions of the person-number and temporality, however, the agent argument in a transitive clase is not marked by the ergative marker but by the absolutive one instead, as in (70); so it is possible to say that Burusahski has a split ergative alignment system. I will go into detail on the split ergativity later in §9.3.

(70) Agent with the absolutive case in a monotransitive clause

qhan	*n*	*wáśiasar,*	*úŋe*	*bes*	*ṣhap*
qháṭ	n-i̇-t	i-bišá-as-ar	úŋ-e	bés	ṣháp
down	CP-3SG.X:II-do	3SG.X:I-throw-INF-DAT	thou-ERG	why	shooting

étám	*khóle,*	*dáa*	*uŋ*	*je*	*ámular*
i̇-t+bá-a-m	khól-e	dáa	úŋ-Ø	jé-Ø	ámul-ar
3SG.Y:II-do+COP-2SG-NPRS	here-ESS	again	thou-ABS	I-ABS	where-DAT

lip	*aćáa?*
líp	ȧ-t́-č+bá-a-Ø
throwing	1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

'On his tossing it down, "Why had you shot here, and where are you throwing me?" ' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #222)

(70) is an example of the absolutive agent with the second person singular in a transitive clause.

Berger (1998a: 64) describes "Für den Erg. steht die endungslose Form in der 1. Sg. des Personalpronomens beim Fut. und Kond. transitiver Verben. ... Mit der 1.sg.präs. steht *je* ['I:ABS'] vereinzelt auch in der futurisch-voluntativen Verwendung des Präsens. In der 2.sg. und pl. ist beim Futur transitiver Verben endungslose Form u n d Ergativ möglich ... in der 1.pl. nur die endungslose Form ... Dieselbe Verteilung gilt beim Konditional. Für den Imp. wurden die endungslosen Formen *un* ['thou:ABS'] und *ma* ['you:ABS'] als Norm angegeben, doch findet sich in den Texten neben ... [*un*] auch ...

[*úne* ‘thou:ERG’]” ([ ] parts are supplementation by me). He does not set the absolutive zero marker, so that he said the “endingless” forms appear in such conditions with transitive verb clauses.

Berger’s description says that the first person tends to lose the ergativity more than the second person, and, in the first person, the singular agent is more apt to lose the ergativity than the plural agent. When a predication refers to an event in the future, which can be expressed by not only future forms but also some present forms and some conditionals, then such its agent argument would lose the ergativity. He comments on cases with the imperative mood as well, but the actor of the command can be considered an “addressee” and not an agent in the clause. That is, the “endingless” pronouns *un* (SG) and *ma* (PL) are just in a vocative status, which has no case ending naturally beyond the immediate discussion.

3.5.3. Genitive

The genitive case marker is *-e*, similarly to the ergative case (§3.5.2), but it requires the oblique case marker *-mu* in the third person singular of HF- or sometimes Z-class nominals to become *-mo* by fusing.[†23] Thus, for example, the ergative and genitive forms of the third person singular H-class distal pronoun *ín* will be two different forms if the referent is a woman: *íne* ‘she (ERG)’ vs. *ínmo* ‘her (GEN)’; though they will be the same form if the referent is a man: *íne* ‘he (ERG)’ vs. *íne* ‘his (GEN)’. On one hand, the ergative and the genitive cases behave in such different manners; on the other hand, the genitive and the essive (§3.5.4) cases are morphologically similar, but they are not the same syntactically (see also the section of the essive case).

The main function of genitive case is indicating the relation, such as possession, to the following noun (see also §8.1.1) as shown in (71) and (72).

(71) Genitive case with X-class noun

isé	*buáa*	*isúmale*	*mujóq*	*burúm*	*bilúm.*
isé	buá-e	i-sumál-e	mujóq-Ø	buŕ-um	b́-iĺ-m
that:X	cow-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-GEN	tassel-ABS	white-ADJVLZ	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘The tassel of the tail of the cow was white.’ (*šon gukúr*: #13)

[†23] Of course, when an HF-class noun will be pluralised, then it will become an H-class plural noun so that the oblique case marker *-mu* can no longer be used with it.

(72) Genitive case with HF-class noun

Ine	*éimo*	*muík*	*Núuri Baanó*
ín-e	i̇-i-mu-e	mu-iḱ-Ø	núuri+baanó-Ø
s/he:DIST-GEN	3SG.HM:II-daughter-OBL-GEN	3SG.HF:I-name-ABS	Nuri.Bano-ABS

bilúm.
b́-iĺ-m
COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

'His daughter's name was Nuri Bano.' (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #18)

Further, genitive case serves a part of certain case-like expressions as in (73) also:

(73) Genitive case in a case-like expression (GEN + *káaṭ* 'with')

ée	*káa*	*han*	*čapátian*	*bim.*
i̇-e	káaṭ	hán	čapatí-an-Ø	b́-i-m
3SG.HM:II-GEN	together	one:X	chapatti-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-NPRS

'He had a chapatti. [lit. There was a chapatti with him]' (*čhúmoe minás*: #112)

For details about such expressions, see §3.5.8.2 below.

3.5.4. Essive

The essive case marker in Burusahski is *-e*, and it may requires the oblique case for Z-class nouns. The morphological behaviour of the essive case is somewhat similar to the one of the genitive case, yet many Z-class nouns may not demand the use of the oblique case marker. This case is employed for two functions. First, a host nominal is the reference time or place at which the event occurs. That is, roughly speaking, in being used with a temporal or spacial noun, it can be translated with 'at' in English, (74) and (75). Second, a host nominal is the manner by which the event is done. That is, with a manner noun or an adjective in nominal use, it can be interpreted as 'in the manner of, as' in English, (76). This case is used only with Z-class, manner nouns, or adjectival words, including participles, without a positional case at the slot [+4] (§3.5.7).

(74) Independent use of the essive case with a place noun

éle	*men*	*ke*	*apám.*
él-e	mén-Ø	ké	a-bá-i-m
there-ESS	who-ABS	LINK	NEG-COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

'No one was there.' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #26)

(75) Independent use of the essive case with a temporal noun

han	*wáqtanulo*	*isé*	*buš*	*han*	*gúnce*	*altó*	*báar*
hán	wáqt-an-ul-e	isé	buš́-Ø	hán	gunć-e	altó	báar
one:Y	time-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS	that:X	cat-ABS	one:X	day-ESS	two:Y	time

jụ́cibí.
jụ́-č+b́-i-Ø
come-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-PRS

'Sometimes the cat comes twice a day.' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #18)

(76) Independent use of the essive case with a manner noun

manímí,	*phat*	*éti,*	*nusén,*	*te*	*záile*
mań-m-i	phát	i-t́-i	n-sén	teíl	záil-e
become-NPRS-3SG.HM	quitting	3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	CP-say	in.that.way	wise-ESS

phat	*étuman.*
phát	i-t́-m-an
quitting	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

' "So, let him be!", [thus] saying they let him be like that.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #81)

The essive case takes some locational complex cases (see §3.5.7).

3.5.5. Dative

As is usual with most languages, dative in Burushaski is used in the widest range of functional categories. On one hand it works for a core argument and, on the other, for a peripheral argument. Sometimes it occurs with deverbal nominals and in complex case marking with a positional case at the slot [+4] (§3.5.7).

The dative marker is *-ar* in Hunza and *-ar(e)* in Nager. When it directly attaches to a nominal stem, all HF-class nominals must take the oblique case marker *-mu*, so that

-mu-ar(e) reduces to *-mur(e)*. In the same way z-class nominals can take the same oblique case marker *-mu*. Some nominals of the other classes may employ the oblique case marker *-e* or optionally change the quality of their stem final vowel.[†24] After /e/, the dative case marker *-ar(e)* tends to become *-er(e)*. Without a positional case at the slot [+4], this case may mark the indirect object participant in ditransitive clauses as in (77), the goal participant of a motion, change, or physical action verb as in (78), the effective recipient of a benefactive or malefactive event, the theme participant of a spontaneous event (expressed by the so-called "dative construction") as in (79), or serve as a part of temporal, converbial, or purposive expressions as in (80).

(77) Dative for an HF-class indirect object participant

uné	*góimur*	*teí*	*móso*	*ke,*
ún-e	gu̱-i-mu-ar	teíl	mu̱-ś-i	ké
thou-GEN	2SG:II-daughter-OBL-DAT	in.that.way	3SG.HF:II-tell-IMP.SG	LINK

'un	*be*	*guúmuskiṣan*	*báa'*	*ke,*
ún-Ø	bé	gu-umús-kiṣ-an	bá-a-Ø	ké
thou-ABS	what	2SG:I-tongue-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG	COP-2SG-PRS	LINK

'guúmušo	*ɣaráasan*	*báa'.*
gu-umús-čo	ɣaŕ-as-an-Ø	bá-a-Ø
2SG:I-tongue-PL	sound-INF-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-2SG-PRS

'Tell <u>your daughter</u> "What a liar you are! You big liar!" ' (*čhúmoe minás*: #168)

[†24] There might be the oblique marker *-e* with the dative form *jáar(e)* in (79). That is, the irregular genitive form of the first person singular pronoun is *jáa* [morphologically jé-e, but not realised with **jée*], and the actual dative form of the pronoun is against the theoretically expected form **jéer(e)* [jé-ar(e)]; hence it might be formed with the oblique form which is identical to the genitive form. A possible dative formation for the first person singular pronoun in two steps is as follows:

jé-e-ar(e)	=>	jáa-ar(e)	=>	*jáar(e)*
I-OBL-DAT		I:OBL-DAT		I:DAT

But I have already accepted a morphophonological irregularity with its genitive form, so there is no validity to deny another irregularity with its dative form now. That is why I analyse such forms without putting in the oblique case marker *-e*.

(78) Dative for a goal participant

dáa	*buš*	*thum*	*hitháanar*	*trak*
dáa	buš́-Ø	th́-um	hík-tháan-ar	trák-Ø
and	cat-ABS	other-ADJVLZ	one:Z-place-DAT	jump-ABS

délimi.
d-i̇-ĺ-Ø-m-i
TEL-3SG.Y:II-hit-NPRS-3SG.X

'The cat jumped aside.' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #35)

(79) Dative for a theme participant in the dative construction

yárum	*jáar*	*amóos*	*bilá.*
i-yár-um	jé-ar	a-mooś-Ø	b́-iĺ-Ø
3SG.Y:I-before-ABL	I-DAT	1SG:I-anger-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'I am angry from before. [lit. My angry is to me from before]' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride* :#479)

(80) Dative in a purposive expression

dáa	*nímo*	*iné*	*baadšáa*	*yuúsmur*	*maaní*
dáa	ní-m-o	iné	baadšáa-e	i-uś-mu-ar	maaní-Ø
again	go-NPRS-3SG.HF	that:H	king-GEN	3SG.HM:I-wife-OBL-DAT	meaning-ABS

éčar	*dumóom*	*iné.*
i̇-t́-č-ar	d-mu̇-um	iné-Ø
3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-DAT	come:PFV-3SG.HF-ADJVLZ	that:H-ABS

'And the woman who came to explain the meaning to the king's wife went out.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #243)

As the goal marking function indicates, the dative case marker *-ar(e)* in Burushaski serves also to function as the lative case marker within locational complex cases, see §3.5.7 for further details.

3.5.6. Ablative

The ablative case marker is *-um*. It is seldom used without a positional case marker at the slot [+4] (§3.5.7), and all the cases in which it can be used alone are with temporal or spacial nouns, (81) and (82). The reason for this infrequency is because, for

the ablative function, the simple ablative case marking *-um* would have been almost exclusively replaced by the complex ablative case which includes the adessive marker as well, i.e. *-c-um*.

-um requires the oblique case marker for z-class nouns *-mu*, and then the sequence of *-mu* and *-um* changes the sound into *-(u)mo* [< *-mu-um*]. Though this form seems the same as the genitive and essive case forms, *-mo*, it can be differentiated from them by functional and syntactic characteristics.[†25]

(81) Ablative case with a temporal noun

yáa	*baadšáa*	*salaamát,*	*jáa*	*gúncmo*	*gunc*	*góor*
yáa	baadšáa	salaamát	jé-e	gunć-mu-um	gunc	gu̱-ar
INTERJ	king	greeting	I-ERG	day-OBL-ABL	day	2SG:II-DAT

čhúmo	*duúšabáyam,*	*akhíle*
čhúmo-Ø	d-gús-č-a+bá-a-a-m	akhíl-e
fish-ABS	TEL-go.out-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS	in.this.way-ESS

číizan	*atáaɣurkabáyam.*
číiz-an-Ø	a-d-a̱-ɣurk-a+bá-a-a-m
thing-INDEF.SG-ABS	NEG-TEL-1SG:III-attain-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

‘Oh, greetings my king, I was taking fish for you everyday [lit. from day to day], but I haven’t acquired such a thing.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #16)

(82) Ablative case with a spacial noun

“Názer!	*Je*	*qhaṭ*	*yákal*	*baa,*	*un*	*dal*
názer	jé-Ø	qháṭ	i-yákal	bá-a-Ø	ún-Ø	dál
master	I-ABS	down	3SG.Y:I-direction	COP-1SG-PRS	thou-ABS	over

yákal,	*ćhil*	*guyákalum*	*qhánne*
i-yákal	chiĺ-Ø	gu-yákal-um	qháṭ+n-i̱-t
3SG.Y:I-direction	water-ABS	2SG:I-direction-ABL	down+CP-3SG.Y:II-do

[†25] As for the expression including an ablative case noun in (81), *gúncmo gunc* ‘everyday’, there is the parallel expression with the complex ablative case *-c-um* which has the identical meaning: *gúncmucum* [gunć-mu-c-um || day-OBL-ADE-ABL] *gunc* (Berger 1998c: 160).

ayákalne	*żúċila,*	*daa*	*jaa*	*bélaṭe*
a-yákal+n-i̱-t	jú̱-č+b-íl-Ø	dáa	jé-e	bélaṭ-e
1SG:I-direction+CP-3SG.Y:II-do	come-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-PRS	again	I-ERG	how-ESS

toq	*goor*	*deeram"?*
toq-Ø	gu̱-ar	d-ï̱-r-a-m
mud-ABS	2SG:II-DAT	TEL-3SG.Y:III-send-1SG-NPRS

'My master! I'm down the river. You are up the river and the water is flowing down from you to me. How could I send you muddy water?' (Hunzai 1999, *ÚRKE YÁṬ*: #4)

This case is more frequent in converbial forms (§8.9) and the complex case marking (§3.5.7), so see each of the sections for other uses of it.

3.5.7. Locational cases

To mark any locational case with a non-spacial nominal, complex case marking with a positional case marker at the slot [+4] and a directional one at the slot [+5] is used.

Positional case markers at the slot [+4] are always accompanied by any directional case marker at the slot [+5]. See Figure 9 for the candidates of positional and directional case and Table 18 for the details of the combinations. Here I reduce the representation of the dative case marker to *-ar* as omitting "*(e)*" at its end for the sake of space (see §3.5.5).

[+4]	form	label	position
	-al/-ul	locative	'at'
	-aṭ	instrumental	'around, by'
	-c	adessive	'on'
	-či	inessive	'in'

×

[+5]	form	label	direction
	-e	essive	no direction
	-ar	dative	'towards, for'
	-um	ablative	'away, from'

Figure 9. Complex case marking system for locationals in Burushaski

Table 18. Details of position-direction combinations

	-e		*-ar*		*-um*	
-al	*-ale*	locative	*-alar*	lative ‘to, into’	*-alum*	elative
/-ul	*/-ulo*	‘at, in’	*/(-ar úlo)*		*/-ulum*	‘from, out from’
-aṭ	*-aṭe*	adhesive ‘around’	*-aṭar*	apudlative ‘for’	*-aṭum*	delative ‘from the side of’
c	*-ce*	adessive ‘on’	*-car*	allative ‘onto’	*-cum*	ablative ‘from’
-či	*-či*	inessive ‘in’	*-čar*	illative ‘into’	*-čim*	exlative ‘out from’

Each label in Table 18 is a makeshift measure to crosslinguistic references in function. Which allomorph of the locative, *-al* or *-ul*, is attached to a nominal is dependent on the nominal stem, not on any phonological condition, (83) and (84). In practice, almost all nominals require *-ul*.

(83) Complex locative case (*-al* locative + essive)

ee,	*in*	*baadšáa*	*nookáre*	*rafíiqar*	*sénimi*	*ke*
ee	ín	baadšáa-e	nookár-e	rafíiq-ar	sén-m-i	ké
FIL	s/he:DIST	king-GEN	servant-ERG	companion-DAT	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK

“úne	*háale*	*ḍaḍáŋ*	*ḍaámal*	*biéna”*
ún-e	haˊ-al-e	ḍaḍáŋ	ḍaámal-Ø	bˊién-Ø=a
thou-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums	timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q

sénimi.
sén-m-i
say-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘The king’s servant said to the companion “Are there drums and timpani in your house?”.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #69)

(84) Complex elative case (*-ul* locative + ablative)

barénasar,	*γéniṣe*	*altó*	*séere*	*akhúrut*	*han*
barén-as-ar	γéniṣ-e	altó	séer-e	akhúrut	hán
look-INF-DAT	gold-GEN	two:Z	ser-GEN	this.weight:Y	one:Y

thóṭian	*isé*	*tól-aśdáre*	*iγúmarulum*
thóṭi-an-Ø	isé	tól+ašdár-e	i-γumár-ul-um
dumpling-INDEF.SG-ABS	that:X	snake+dragon-GEN	3SG.X:I-viscera-LOC-ABL

duúy̱,	*yáare*	*bilúm.*
d-húy̱	i-yáar-e	b-́il-́m
TEL:CP-melt	3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘When they looked, a two-*ser* [appr. 1 kg] lump of gold of this size had melted down from inside the snake-dragon’s intestines.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #112)

Every positional case shows the diversity of its affinity with each kind of noun. The locative *-al/-ul* and the instrumental *-aṭ* are used with relatively many kinds of nouns. The inessive *-či* (at the slot [+4]) is used less often. The complex ablative *-c-um* can occur with every kind of non-spacial noun, whereas the adessive *-c* for the other complex cases is rather infrequent. I show some other example for complex locative cases here, see (85) for the apudlative case, and (86) for the inessive and the adessive cases.

(85) Complex apudlative case (instrumental + dative)

yaaní	*sénimi*	*ke*	*isé*	*isúmal*	*ískilaṭar*
yaaní	sén-m-i	ké	isé	i-sumál-Ø	i-skíl-aṭ-ar
FIL	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	that:X	3SG.X:I-tail-ABS	3SG.X:I-face-INS-DAT

díibí,	*óor*	*isée*	*γalát*
d-i-̋́+b-́i-Ø	óor	isé-e	γalát
come:PFV-3SG.X+COP-3SG.X-PRS	and	that:X-ERG	wrong

dukóomaninin	*burúm*	*ṭíko*	*bi*
d-gu-̈́man-́n-n	bur-́um	ṭíko-Ø	b-́i-Ø
TEL:CP-2SG:III-become-CP-CP	white-ADJVLZ	stain-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS

séibáa.
sén-č+bá-a-Ø
say-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

‘That is, the tail is hanging down over its face, and so you see it like that and are saying so.’ (*šon gukúr*: #9)

(86) Complex inessive cases (inessive + essive) and adessive (adessive + essive)

uyúm	*isé*	*dayánum*	*buš*	*híŋe*	*épači*
uy-́um	isé	dayán-um	buš-́Ø	hiŋ-́e	i̇-pá-či-e
big-ADJVLZ	that:X	fat-ADJVLZ	cat-ABS	door-GEN	3SG.Y:II-side-INE-ESS

díimi	*hameešámo*	*juán,*	*dáa*	*díin*
d-i̇̋-m-i	hamiišá-mu-um	juán	dáa	d-i̇̋-n
come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X	always-OBL-ABL	like	and	come:CP-3SG.X-CP

ité	*híŋce*	*čhináak*	*maními.*
ité	hiŋ-́c-e	čhináak	man-́m-i
that:Y	door-ADE-ESS	leaning	become-NPRS-3SG.X

'The big fat cat came to the door as usual and leaned on it [lit. on the door].' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #54)

For HF-class nominals, the positional case markers always require an oblique case marker at the slot [+3] whereas the other classes only sometimes require it. It seems difficult to predict the necessity of an oblique case marker in the latter case. For example, the complex adessive form of *sa* 'sun' always occurs with the oblique case suffix *-e*, but the plural form does not need it, (87).

(87) a. *sáace* (**sáce*)
sá-e-c-e
sun-OBL-ADE-ESS
'on the sun'

b. *sámucce* (**sámucece*)
sá-muc-c-e
sun-PL-ADE-ESS
'on the suns'

Besides the locational senses, these complex cases may have some other uses with somewhat abstract meanings. The complex adhesive case *-aṭ-e* is also used for marking of instrumental participants as in (88); the complex ablative case *-c-um* also refers to the standard of comparative adjective expressions as in (89); and the complex adessive *-c-e* can mark the material of cooking as in (90).

(88) Complex adhesive case (instrumental + essive) for instrumental marking

dáa	*uskó*	*jóṭišo*	*urkáie*	*uúi*	*icé*
dáa	uskó	jóṭ-išo	urk-́ai-e	RDP-u-í-e	icé
again	three:X	small-PL	wolf-PL-ERG	EMPH-3PL.X:I-self-ERG	those:X

íiṭaṭe	*háan*	*désmanimien.*
íiṭ-aṭ-e	ha-an-Ø	d-i-s-man-m-ien
brick-INS-ESS	house-INDEF.SG-ABS	TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-become-NPRS-3PL.X

'So the three little wolves built themselves a house of bricks.' (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #6)

(89) Complex ablative case (adessive + ablative) for standard in comparative expressions

toɾʊmʌnəɾ	*ˈɪtɛ*	*ˈtɪʂɛ*	*ˈsɐ̨nɪmi*	*kɛ*	*ˈgʊsɛ*
toór-um-an-ar	ité	tíṣ-e	sén-m-i	ké	gusé
that.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG-DAT	that:Y	wind-ERG	say-NPRS-3SG.Y	LINK	this:X

sà	*ɟàɛʊm*	*bʊṭ*	*ˈʃʌtɪɭo*	*bì*	*ˈsɐ̨nɪmi.*
sá-Ø	jé-e-c-um	búṭ	šatílo	b-i-Ø	sén-m-i
sun-ABS	I-OBL-ADE-ABL	much	strong	COP-3SG.X-PRS	say-NPRS-3SG.Y

'Thus the wind said "This sun is quite stronger than me".' (Lorimer 1927, *Story of the North Wind and the Sun*: #8)

(90) Complex adessive case (adessive + essive) for the material of cooking

giːri.ɛ	*biːstsɛ*	*dirʌm*	*pfitimʊts*
girí-e	bis-c-e	dirám	phíṭi-muc-Ø
ibex-GEN	fat-ADE-ESS	germinated.wheat.flour	thick.pancake-PL-ABS

eːr	*oːti.*
i-ar	uːt-i
3SG.HM:II-DAT	3PL.X:II-do-IMP.SG

'make "diram" bread for him with ibex fat.' (Lorimer 1935a: 85)

Some locational complex cases are used for temporal nouns as well as for converbials (§8.9).

3.5.8. Other case-like expressions

Adding to these case markers, there are several case-like expressions in Burushaski. They can be sorted into two kinds: fossilized case markers and postpositional or adjunctive nouns.

3.5.8.1. Fossilized case markers

Some forms may be considered fossilized cases for nominals. According to Berger (1998), there are four such "erstarrten Kasusendungen", *-aŋe* and *-ak*/*-k* as instrumental cases, and *-či*/*-i* and *-kane* as locational ones. Lorimer (1935–38) also counts *-ʌŋɛ*/*-ɛŋɛ* (*-aŋe*) and *-xa*/*-xa·šiŋər* (*qháaṣiŋar(e)*) among these cases, stating: "A few nouns take a suffix -ʌk, -ɛk. Whether this is to be regarded as a case suffix (instrumental) or a substantival suffix is not clear" (Lorimer 1935a: 55).

There appears to be no appropriate reason that Berger strikes *-či* off the "zusammengesetzte Kasusendungen" despite the fact that it shows the directional declension pattern as the other "zusammengesetzte Kasusendungen" do. *-i*, which Berger would likely treat as an allomorph after consonant though he has not directly written anything about the form, can easily be analysed within the morphophonological rules of C+/č/ which I described with (26) in §1.5.2.

With respect to *-kane* 'along', it seems to be a nominaliser suffix because it seldom occurs in recent texts (there are no examples in my corpus) and it seems morphologically to have no difference between other nominaliser suffixes such as *-tali* 'via' (which can be more often observed in texts) as in the example (91).

(91) *ámitali* *nías* *apí.*
ámit-tali ní-as-Ø a-b́-iĺ-Ø
which:Y-via go-INF-ABS NEG-COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'There is no way to go. [lit. By which way there is not to go]' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #431)

Berger calls *-tali* a "reines Adverbialsuffix" (Berger 1998a: 95) or an "Endung in Adverbien" (Berger 1998c: 417) but does not give an interpretation of *-kane*. He shows only a few sporadic instances including the suffix such as *čhíṣkane* 'along the mountain', cf. *čhiṣ* 'mountain', or *kháyḳane* 'along the beach', cf. *khayḳ* 'beach'.

Lorimer's *-xa*/*-xa·šiŋər* (*qháaṣiŋar(e)*) is a case-like word but it is pronounced separately from the host nouns. I will discuss this form in the next section on postpositional or adjunctive nouns.

I propose that only the two forms *-aŋe* and *-ak* are fossilized case markers. It is difficult to conclude which slot they will occupy because there are too few examples of them to sufficiently know their morphological pattern.

-aŋe appears occasionally in texts with the meaning 'by means of, by, with' or the like. The following instances, (92) and (93), from my corpus provide reference for this

suffix, here labelled as instructive case.

(92)

ámulo	*hóle*	*báyamaṭe,*	*ámulo*	*cháne*
ámul-e	hól-e	bá-a-a-um-aṭ-e	ámul-e	chán-e
where-ESS	outside-ESS	COP-1SG-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS	where-ESS	straight-ESS

ke	*cháne,*	*haráltaŋe*	*čhóko*	*étibía.*
ké	chán-e	harált-aŋe	čhóko	i̱-t+b́-i-Ø=a
LINK	straight-ESS	rain-INSTRUCTIVE	breaking.off	3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

zilziláaŋe	*ámulo*	*bésan*	*qeréq*
zilziláa-aŋe	ámul-e	bés-an	qeréq-Ø
earthquake-INSTRUCTIVE	where-ESS	what-INDEF.SG	crack-ABS

éetibía.
ï̱-t+b́-i-Ø=a
3SG.X:III-do+COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

'While I was out [of this house], has any rain or earthquake actually broken [the ridge]? [lit. When I was somewhere outside, in fact, has it been broken off by any rain? Has it cracked by any earthquake anywhere anyhow?]' (*čhúmoe minás*: #135)

(93)

uskó	*jóṭišo*	*urkáie*	*úimo*
uskó	jóṭ-išo	urḱ-ai-e	u-í-mu-e
three:X	small-PL	wolf-PL-ERG	3PL.X:I-self-OBL-GEN

ukháraŋe	*buṭ*	*buṭ*	*phoqtá*	*háan*
u-khaŕ-aŋe	búṭ	búṭ	phoqtá	há-an-Ø
3PL.X:I-REFL.PRN-INSTRUCTIVE	much	much	strong	house-INDEF.SG-ABS

désmanié.
d-i̱-s-man+b́-ién-Ø
TEL-3SG.Y:II-CAUS-become+COP-3PL.X-PRS

'So the three little wolves built an extremely strong house by themselves.' (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #29)

It seems that *-aŋe* has tendencies to occur with certain nominals but is not restricted to them.

The other fossilized case marker is *-ak*, which reduces or loses the initial /a/ sound when it is attached to a vowel final stem. Since this suffix indicates the meaning 'with, by' as an instrument, I labelled it with comitative case (Abbr: COM) for the time being. Berger (1998c: 61) illustrates the parallellism between *j̣amék d-@̈-l-* [j̣amé-ak d-@̈-l- || bow-COM TEL-II-hit-] and *j̣amékaṭe d-@̈-l-* [j̣amé-ak-aṭ-e ... || bow-COM-INS-ESS] stating that both of them mean 'shoot with the bow'. In the latter form, the comitative suffix *-ak* is at the middle of the stem with the case markers following. It seems that this suffix is getting grammaticalised from a case marker to a part of certain stems or is in the progress of becoming a derivational suffix. The following example (94) shows a case where this suffix has appeared before the case markers.

(94)

yáṭpa	*ité*	*paṭáaṭe*	*ɣúrqun*	*yáare*
i-yáṭ+pá	ité	paṭáa-aṭ-e	ɣúrqun-Ø	i-yáar-e
3SG.Y:I-upwards+site	that:Y	board-INS-ESS	frog-ABS	3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS

phátakalée	*phat*	*nétan,*	*duúsimi.*
pháta-ak-ul-e	phát	n-i̇-t̰-n	d-gús-m-i
wooden.bowl-COM-LOC-ESS	quitting	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP	TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.HM

'Leaving it in a wooden bowl there before the frog [who was sitting] up on that board, he went out.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #303)

3.5.8.2. Postpositional or adjunctive nouns

Some nouns are used after other nominals as if they were postpositions to provide some adverbial meaning for the preceding nominals to form adjuncts.

The following list, (95), shows some representatives of such nouns. They may require certain cases on the preceding nominal as indicated before the nouns. If a postpositional noun does not take any case, then its preceding nominal appears in the bare form, not the absolutive form, as briefly mentioned in §3.5.1. The nouns shown with hyphens at their end should be declined with some directional case marker at the slot [+5] in practice. The preceding noun declines in genitive case in (96), whereas the one in (97) does not take any case marker.

(95) Postpositional or adjunctive noun examples

N-GEN *gán-e*	'for, in order to, by way of'	[way-ESS]
N-GEN *káa(ṭ(-e/um))*	'together, with'	[together-ESS/ADJVLZ]
N(-GEN/DAT) *qháa(ṣ(iŋ(-ar(e))))*	'until, up to'	[until-DAT]
N(-GEN) *@-̇pa-či-*	'by the side of, beside'	[II-side-INE-]
N(-GEN) *@-ḍigáari(ṭak)*	'round, around'	
N(-GEN) *@-yákar*	'direction'	
N(-GEN) *@-yáṭ-*	'over, onwards'	
N(-GEN) *@-yáar-*	'under, before'	
N(-GEN/ABL) *@-cí*	'against, for; after (with ABL)'	
N(-GEN/ABL) *@-́ljі-*	'behind, after'	
N(-GEN/ABL) *@-yár-*	'towards, bofore'	

(96)

in	*baadšáa*	*iwárumkuṣe*	*káa*
ín	baadšáa-Ø	i-bar-́um-kuṣ-e	káaṭ
s/he:DIST	king-ABS	3SG.HM:I-get.tired-ADJVLZ-NMLZ-GEN	together

imóosulo	*bam.*
i-moos-́ul-e	bá-i-m
3SG.HM:I-anger-LOC-ESS	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

'The king was angry by reason of his fatigue. [lit. The king was in his angry with his fatigue]' (*čhúmoe minás*: #228)

(97)

qha	*néuro*	*múšaṭe*	*éi*	*mópačiar*
qháṭ	n-i-̇hurúṭ	muš-́aṭ-e	i-̇i	mu-̇pá-či-ar
down	CP-3SG.HM:II-sit	edge-INS-ESS	3SG.HM:II-daughter	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT

nímі.
ní-m-i
go-NPRS-3SG.HM

'As soon as he_i made him_j sit, he_i went to [the side of] his daughter.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #106)

They can be used independently unlike the so-called "postpositions". For example, *káaṭ* 'together' in (96) can appear in texts without any preceding nominal in genitive case as in (98).

(98)

yáake	*nizá*	*íimo*	*díšulo*	*zurúp*	*phat*
yáa+ké	nizá-Ø	i-í-mu-e	diš́-ul-e	zaráp+<u>	phát
or+LINK	spear-ABS	3SG.X:I-self-OBL-GEN	ground-LOC-ESS	sticking:DIM	quitting

éti,	*yáake*	*je*	*káa*	*aċhú!*
i-t́-i	yáa+ké	jé-Ø	káaṭ	a-chú-i
3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	or+LINK	I-ABS	together	1SG:I-bring.away-IMP.SG

‘Either stick the arrow [back] into its own place and leave it there, ot take me [together] with you!’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #227)

Too, there are some expressions that look like the postpositional nouns shown above which are in fact calques from Urdu, see the list (99) and the example (100).

(99) Calques from Urdu

N-GEN *baará-ul-o* ‘with relation to, about’ [relation-LOC-ESS]
< UR *kē bārē mẽ̃* (کے بارے میں) [GEN:M.OBL relation:OBL LOC],
N-GEN *bajáae* ‘instead of, in lieu of’
< UR *kē bajā-e* (کے بجائے) [GEN:M.OBL in.place-LINK],
N-GEN *wája-c-um* ‘by reason of, because of’ [reason-ADE-ABL]
or N-GEN *wája-aṭ-e* ‘by reason of, because of’ [reason-INS-ESS]
< UR *kī waja sē* (کی وجہ سے) [GEN:F reason ABL/INS]

(100)

han	*číizane*	*wajáaṭe*	*ínar*	*buṭ*	*phíkar*
hán	číiz-an-e	wája-aṭ-e	ín-ar	búṭ	phíkar-Ø
one:Y	thing-INDEF.SG-GEN	reason-INS-ESS	s/he:DIST-DAT	much	worry-ABS

bilúm.
b́-iĺ-m
COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘Just one thing is his worry. [lit. Because of a thing, much worry is for him]’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #15)

3.6. **Derivation into nouns**

Several derivational suffixes make or have made new nouns with a specific semantic modification. Some of them are still productive, but the rest of them are losing

or have lost their productivity. Table 19 is a roughly sorted list of the nominaliser suffixes.

Table 19. Nominaliser suffixes (in part)

Suffix	Attaches to	Meaning/Function	Productivity	N. class	Remarks
-as	verbal base	infinitivisation	+ +	(H/X/)Y	
-kuṣ	N, Adj	'abstract nature'	+	Y	
-(g)í	N, Adj	'(the) nature (of)'	+	Y	< UR *-ī*
-éi	N, Adj	'(with the) nature (of)'	−	(H/X/)Y	
-ki	N, Adj, verbal base	'activity'	−	Y	
-áaẏ	personal name	'the son of'	−	H	
-kuc	spacial nominal root	'the people from'	−	H	
-guin	N	'the people of'	− −	H	
-ic	ethnic nominal root	'the people of'	− −	H	
-kus	Adj	'the tool of'	− −	X	
-šal	ethnic nominal root	'the residence of'	− −	Y	
-to	temporal N	'just'	− −	Z	

Here, I use four symbols to represent the degrees of productivity for each suffix: "+ +" is for highly productive suffixes which can be attached to almost all candidates; "+" is for productive ones, and the bases to which they attach are fewer than those of the former ones; "−" is for fossilised ones but they can be observed in more cases than the ones of the next degree; and "− −" is for highly fossilised ones which are admitted only in a few cases.

In this list, the column of the nominal class represents the realised nominal classes of derived nouns by suffixing. The round brackets in this column indicate that when the suffixed nouns function as attributive adjective then it can modify the H- or X-class entities with the possibility of taking a plural suffix for H- or X-class, and thereby their conversed noun can behave as H- or X-class.

I will discuss on each suffix with "+ +" and "+" productivity in the following subsections.

3.6.1. *-as*

-as is the infinitive marker. It attaches to all verbal bases to form the infinitives. Infinitives in Burushaski typically function as Y-class nouns, but sometimes may function as attributive adjectives as well. Their functioning as adjectives, however, may

not be primary and may instead be due to a conversion process. In this way, I categorized it into this nominal derivational suffixation group. *-as* is directly attached to the aspectless form of verbs as in *ní-as* ‘coming’ with *ní-* ‘to come’, *@̈-t-as* ‘doing’ with *@̈-t-* ‘to do’, see (101), which actually takes the personally agreed forms like *ét-as* ‘doing it’ is with the third person singular Y-class prefix *i-*, and *dáar-as* ‘sending me here’ with *d-@̈r-* ‘to send here’ and the first person singular prefix *a-*. If the accent position is after the verb stem, *-as* suffers the vowel lengthening change to become *-áas* as in *man-áas* ‘becoming’ with *man-́* ‘to become’, see (102), *ɣas-áas* ‘laughing’ with *ɣas-́* ‘to laugh’, and *bal-áas* ‘falling’ with *bal-́* ‘to fall’.

(101)

isée	*bilkúl*	*baqhṣíṣ*	*ayétas*	*awaáji.*
isé-e	bilkúl	baqhṣíṣ-Ø	a-i̇-t-́as-Ø	awaáji
that:X-GEN	completely	pardon-ABS	NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-INF-ABS	necessary

‘He will never forgive it. [lit. (He) should not make the pardon for it completely.]’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #23)

(102)

éḍe	*ité*	*dukáane*	*hiŋ*	*khúla*	*manáase*
éḍ-e	ité	dukáan-e	hiŋ-́Ø	khúla	man-́as-e
Ed-ERG	that:Y	shop-GEN	door-ABS	opening	become-INF-GEN

ičhár	*déyalimi.*
i-čhar-́Ø	d-i̇-yal-m-i
3SG.Y:I-sound-ABS	TEL-3SG.HM:II-hear-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘Ed heard the front door open. [lit. Ed heard the sound of the opening of the shop’s (front) door.]’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #24)

The following example (103) is of the *-as* infinitive converted into an attributive adjective, which modifies an X-class plural entity, *urkái* ‘wolves’.

(103)

dádar	*umánašo,*	*ar*	*umánumišo,*
dádar	u-man-́as-čo	ár	u-man-́um-išo
trembling	3PL.X:I-become-INF-PL	fearful	3PL.X:I-become-ADJVLZ-PL

masúmal	*iɣélimišo*	*jóṭišo*	*urkái,*	*je*	*úlo*
ma-sumál-Ø	i-ɣul-́um-išo	jóṭ-išo	urk-́ai	jé-Ø	úl-e
2PL:I-tail-ABS	3SG.X:II-burn-ADJVLZ-PL	small-PL	wolf-PL	I-ABS	inside-ESS

asárkin!
a-sark-in
1SG:I-let.in-IMP.PL

'Little trembling and frigtened wolves with the scorched tails, let me come in!'
(*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #43)

-as shows its infinitivising scope not only for the verbal stems but for the verb phrases as well, excepting the subject arguments. That is, its range extends over relevant verbs, object arguments, oblique arguments, and adverbial elements. For details on *-as*, see also §6.9.

3.6.2. *-kuṣ*

The next, *-kuṣ*, is a nominaliser available with both nouns and adjectives. When this suffix is used with adjective bases, it is semantically non-specific like the suffix *-ness* of *goodness* in English and *-sa* of *yo-sa* 'goodness' (cf. *yo-i* 'good') in Japanese, as in *šuá-kuṣ* 'goodness' from *šuá* 'good', *jóṭ-kuṣ* 'childhood' from *joṭ* 'small, young', and *ašaátu-kuṣ* 'weakness' from *ašaáto* 'weak'. *-kuṣ* with noun bases seems to make them have more specific meanings, and the realised meaning changes by *-kuṣ* are full of variety. So, the semantic modification would not be accomplished primarily by attaching *-kuṣ* but would be made up with expansion of the meanings of the base nouns. For example, *thám-kuṣ* 'kingship, kingdom' from *tham* 'king', *ṭhís-kuṣ* 'sexual unchastity of a girl, bad conduct' from *ṭhis* 'mistake, error', and *nás-kuṣ* 'fragrance, aroma' from *nas* 'smell' (see (105)).

The semantic neutrality of this suffix is reflected in the fact that *-kuṣ* is quite freely used with already derived adjectives and nouns. For example, as for derived adjectives: *sáu-kiṣ-kuṣ* 'the name of the sand hill between the Hunza and Nager Rivers (lit. sandiness)' from *sáu-kiṣ* which consists of the noun *sáu* 'sand' and an adjectivaliser *-kiṣ* (§5.1.3), and *@-wár-um-kuṣ* 'fatigue' from *@-wár-um* which is composed of the verbal stem *@-wár-* 'be tired' and the participliser *-um* (and see *uyámkuṣ* 'sweetness' in (104) and *γuṭúmkuṣ* 'deepness' in (105) also); and as for derived nouns, *kačaar-í-kuṣ* 'great ingratitude' from *kačaar-í* 'id.', consisting of the noun *kačáar* 'id.' and a nominaliser *-(g)í*, and *sateéṣ @-ṭ-as-kuṣ* 'the washing and covering of the corpse (of the one(s) prefixed on @-)' from the infinitive from of the compound verb *sateéṣ+@-ṭ-* 'to put in order, to repair'.

(104)

nuúrućan,	*qhośaamadíid*	*ne,*	*buṭ*	*yaaní*	*hihíne*
n-húruṭ-ya-n	qhošaamadíid-Ø	n-i̇̄-t	búṭ	yaaní	RDP+hín-e
CP-sit-PL-CP	welcome-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	much	FIL	each-GEN

káa	*uyámkuṣ*	*étuman.*
káaṭ	uyá-um-kuṣ-Ø	i̇̄-ṭ́-m-an
together	sweet-ADJVLZ-NMLZ-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H

‘On their having settled down there, they bid them welcome and everybody showed sweetness (= hospitality) to each other.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #48)

(105)

ité	*khéen*	*qháa*	*isée*	*γuṭúmkuṣe*	*káa*	*ṣűũ*
ité	khéen	qháaṣ	isé-e	γuṭ́-um-kuṣ-e	káaṭ	ṣűũ-Ø
that:Y	time	until	that:X-ERG	deep-ADJVLZ-NMLZ-GEN	together	sniff-ABS

éčibím	*ke*	*béšal*	*qháa*	*isée*	*ité*
i̇̄-ṭ́-č+b́-i-m	ké	béšal	qháaṣ	isé-e	ité
3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-NPRS	LINK	when	until	that:X-ERG	that:Y

náskuṣaṭe	*buṭ*	*ése*	*dúljami.*
naś-kuṣ-aṭ-e	búṭ	és-e	d-huljá-m-i
smell-NMLZ-INS-ESS	much	that.one:X-ERG	TEL-fill-NPRS-3SG.X

‘He sniffed deeper and deeper [lit. with depth] until he was quite filled with the fragrant scent.’ (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #47)

3.6.3. *-(g)í*

-(g)í is a nominaliser suffix borrowed from the Urdu nominaliser *-ī* (-ی), which is originally from Persian. In Burushaski, *-í* has an allomorph *-gí* which regularly appears after a vowel, cf. *čarbu-gí* below. This form could be inferred by analogy from Urdu forms such as *zindagī* (زندگی) ‘life’, consisting of the adjective *zindā* (زندہ) ‘alive, living’ and the aforementioned suffix *-ī*. The appearing of [g] in this morphophonological process in Urdu is due to historical sound changes in Persian, so the analogy occurring in the Burushaski morphology is not perfect. Now, however, there is the strict rule for allomorphs of *-(g)í* as mentioned above. The Urdu nominaliser -ī (-ی) does not always add a [g] as in Burushaski, for example, *safāī* (صفائی) ‘cleanliness, clarity’ out of *safā* (صفا) ‘clean’ (recently this adjective is not used usually) will never become **safāgī* (*صفاگی).

This suffix in Burushaski is usually used in loan words from Urdu but may sometimes be used with Burushaski indigenous words also, as in (106). For example, the instance (106b) is used in a text as in (107). (106c) exemplifies the allomorph *-gí* for an indigenous word with the final vowel. Though there is no case of *-gī* after /u/ in Urdu.

(106)

of UR origin	a.	*zabardast-í* 'force'	<	*zabardás(t)* 'powerful'
	b.	*mariam-í* 'chamberlain's post'	<	*mariám* 'chamberlain'
indigenous	c.	*čarbu-gí* 'watchman's post'	<	*čarbú* 'watchman'
	d.	*bualtarc-í* 'pasturing of cows'	<	*buáltarc* 'cowherd'

(107)

daltás	*ne*	*éuru[ṭ]iin* †26	*nusén*	*bésan*
daltás	n-i̱-t	i̱-hurúṭ-in	n-sén	bés-an
beautiful	CP-3SG.HM:II-do	3SG.HM:II-sit-IMP.PL	CP-say	what-INDEF.SG

dúum-dáan	*ne*	*éuru[ṭ]umen,*	*baaḍigáaran*
dúum+dáam	n-i̱-t	i̱-hurúṭ-m-en	baaḍigáar-an-Ø
glorious	CP-3SG.HM:II-do	3SG.HM:II-sit-NPRS-3PL.H	bodyguard-INDEF.SG-ABS

bésan	*mariamían*	*dakhíl*	*eté*	*wáqte*
bés-an	mariám-í-an-Ø	dakhíl	eté	wáqt-e
what-INDEF.SG	chamberlain-NMLZ-INDEF.SG-ABS	in.this.way	that:Y	time-ESS

eké	*bi̱ćúm.*
eké-Ø	b́-icá-m
those:Y-ABS	COP-3PL.Y-NPRS

'They said that make him up gorgeous and put him, and made him glorious and put him into the job of something like guard or chamberlain, which were there in that time.' (van Skyhawk 2006: #12)

†26 There are typos of the regular missing of the letter "ṭ" in the original text of van Skyhawk (2006); [ ] is my supplementation.

DEMONSTRATIVES, PERSONAL PRONOUNS, AND INTERROGATIVES

This chapter explores demonstratives, personal pronouns, and interrogatives. Both the demonstratives and interrogatives consist of adjectives, pronouns, and nouns, while personal reference is constructed with pronouns or prefixes. Since demonstrative, personal, and interrogative categories show, in practice, similar behaviours, it is better that I describe them together in one chapter here.

4.1. **Demonstrative adjectives and interrogatives**

In Burushaski, demonstratives show two distinctions of distance: proximal and distal (see also §8.10.1 for the distinction). There are some phonological gaps among dialects, and so I show the diversity in demonstrative and interrogative adjectives in Table 20. Here, the left form of a tilde is the standard of Hunza dialects and the right form of a tilde is the one of Nager dialects.

Table 20. Demonstrative and interrogative adjectives

	proximal		distal		interrogative	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
H	*khiné*	*khué*	*iné*	*ué*	*ámin*	*ámin*
X	*gusé ~ khosé*	*gucé ~ khocé*	*isé ~ esé*	*icé ~ ecé*	*ámis*	*ámic*
Y	*guté ~ khoté*	*guké ~ khoké*	*ité ~ eté*	*iké ~ eké*	*ámit*	*ámik*

The following are examples for proximal demonstratives, (108), distal demonstratives, (109), and interrogatives, (110).

(108) Proximal demonstractive adjective for X-class singular

eḍ	*gusé*	*búščum*	*buṭ*	*naráaz*	*imánibái.*
éḍ-Ø	gusé	buš́-c-um	búṭ	naaráaz	i-man+bá-i-Ø
Ed-ABS	this:X	cat-ADE-ABL	much	sullen	3SG.HM:I-become+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

‘Ed is very angry at this cat.’ (*uyúm daγánum búšan*: #19)

(109) Distal demonstractive adjective for Y-class singular

to	*eté*	*wáqtulo*	*ee*	*khóle*	*úu*	*gáran*
tó	eté	wáqt-ul-e	ee	khól-e	ú-e	gaŕ-an-Ø
then	that:Y	time-LOC-ESS	FIL	here-ESS	they:DIST-GEN	marriage-INDEF.SG-ABS

tayáar	*maními.*
tayáar	mań-m-i
prepared	become-NPRS-3SG.Y

'Then it was ready for their marriage here at that time.' (*The Story of Hopar*: #4)

(110) Interrogative adjective for H-class singular (in relative use)

íne	*ámin*	*rafíiqan*	*baadšáa*	*nookáre*
ín-e	ámin	rafíiq-an-Ø	baadšáa-e	nookár-e
s/he:DIST-ERG	which:H	companion-INDEF.SG-ABS	king-GEN	servant-GEN

káa	*imánóm*	*ke*	*íne*
káaṭ	i-man+bá-i-m	ké	ín-e
together	3SG.HM:I-become+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	LINK	s/he:DIST-GEN

yuúčim	*húču*	*dúisinin,*
i-uṭ́-či-um	húčo-Ø	d-u-gús-n-n
3SG.HM:I-foot-INE-ABL	leather.high.boot-ABS	TEL:CP-3PL.X:I-go.out-CP-CP

'The companion who is accompanying the king's servant also put out his boots from his legs' (*čhúmoe minás*: #56)

Distal demonstratives are used for anaphora as well (§8.10.2).

Morphologically the demonstrative and interrogative adjectives have been made from the combination of the class-number axis and the demonstrative axis as follows (excepting the H-class plural interrogative *ámin*, however, which shows the same form as the singular one):

Table 21. Morphemes of the class-number axis

	SG	PL
H	in	u
X	s	c
Y	t	k

Table 22. Morphemes, frames and forms of the demonstrative axis in two series

	proximal	distal	interrogative
	kh-	**i-**	**ám-**
place	*khól-/kholéi-*	*él-/eléi-*	*ámul- ~ ámuli-/ámili-*
direction	*khíti*	*íti*	*am*
DEM ADJ	*gu...é ~ kho...é*	*i...é ~ e...é*	*ámi...*
DEM PRON	*khó...*	*é...*	
			men, bes (= *bé...*)
place	*(d)akhól-*	*teél-/toól-*	N/A
manner	*(d)akhíl-*	*teíl-*	*bél-*
quantity	*(d)akhúrum*	*téerum/téurum/toórum*	*béerum/béurum*
weight	*akhúrus, akhúrut* (=*akhúru...*)	?N/A	*béerus, béerut* (= *béeru...*)
time	N/A	N/A	*béšal*
	(d)akh-	**te-**	**be-**

Table 21 shows the morphemes of each class-number which appear in certain demonstratives or interrogatives. The morphemes are inserted in the eliptical, "...", with the demonstratives or interrogatives shown in Table 22. Compare the frames of the demonstrative adjective in Table 22 with their actual forms listed in Table 20, or the frames of the demonstrative pronoun with their forms in Table 25 (§4.2).

Table 22 includes demonstrative and interrogative adjectives/nominals which forms include either of the two series of demonstrative morphemes found in bold type at the top and the bottom of the table. It is not clear whether there is any semantic or functional rule which determines the appropriate series of demonstrative morphemes to form a demonstrative or interrogative word or not. Regardless, there does not seem to be a semantic and functional difference between the series. The following examples (111) – (113) are random samples of words from Table 22:

(111) *íti* 'thither'

íti	*éi*	*mópačiar*	*nímí.*
íti	i̇-i	mu̇-pá-či-ar	ní-m-i
thither	3SG.HM:II-daughter	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT	go-NPRS-3SG.HM

'He went <u>there</u> to his daughter.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #172)

(112) *bél-* ‘how, in what way’

Iné	*móguṣhkibaan*	*ke*	*“Un*
iné-Ø	mu̇-guṣúgin-č+bá-an-Ø	ké	ún-Ø
that:H-ABS	3SG.HF:II-confer-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS	LINK	thou-ABS

dughárus	*‘Bélaṭum*	*guírchaa,*	*bélaṭum*
d-ɣarús-i	bél-aṭ-um	gu-iŕ-č+bá-a-Ø	bél-aṭ-um
TEL-be.straight-IMP.SG	how-INS-ABL	2SG:I-die-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	how-INS-ABL

akúirchaa?’”
a-gu-iŕ-č+bá-a-Ø
NEG-2SG:I-die-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

‘They are instigating her: “Ask: ‘How do you die, how don’t you die?’ !” ’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #27)

(113) *(d)akhúrum* ‘this much’

akhúruman	*śée*	*lúuẏo*	*jáar*	*joó*
akhúr-um-an	šé-e	lúuẏo-Ø	jé-ar	ja-ú-i
this.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG	wool-GEN	tuft-ABS	I-DAT	1SG:I-give:HX.OBJ-IMP.SG

wa,	*sénimi.*
wáa	sén-m-i
INTERJ	say-NPRS-3SG.X

‘ “Give me just a little [lit. this much] tuft of that wool!”, [the frog] said.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #249)

Note that nouns in Burushaski can be syntactically used as adjectives without any morphological process, and vice versa. Therefore, for example, demonstrative adjectives can behave as demonstrative pronouns even to be arguments with a case marker, see (114).

(114) Demonstrative adjective *iné* ‘that (H-class)’ in (pro)nominal use

inéer	*“čáayanar*	*yaṭéle*	*ju”*
iné-ar	čáai-an-ar	i-yáṭ+él-e	jú-i
that:H-DAT	tea-INDEF.SG-DAT	3SG.Y:I-upwards+there-ESS	come-IMP.SG

ésabáṭe,	*“úne*	*háale*	*ḍaḍáŋ*
i̱-ś-a+bá-aṭ-e	ún-e	há-al-e	ḍaḍáŋ
3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG+COP-INS-ESS	thou-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums

ḍaámal	*biéna”*	*ásimi.*
ḍaámal-Ø	b́-ién-Ø=a	a̱-ś-m-i
timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q	1SG:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘At that time I told him “Come on for a cup of tea”, he asked me “Are there drums in your house?”.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #89)

For details on the usage of interrogative words, see also §8.5.1 concerning content interrogative sentences.

4.2. **Pronouns**

The pronoun system includes personal for the first and the second persons, shown in Table 23, and demonstrative and interrogative pronouns for the third person, shown in Table 25 later. They refer to substantive entities instead of nouns.

Table 23. Personal pronouns

	SG	PL
1	*je*	*mi*
2	*un* ~ *um*[†27]	*ma*

There is no practical distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural. To express politeness to an addressee, the second person plural reference is sometimes employed, but it is merely a voluntary regulation, not the ordinary rule.

Personal pronouns with a vowel final sound, i.e. 1SG/PL and 2PL, decline a little irregularly as shown in Table 24.

[†27] *uŋ* form is used in and around Altit, where just Tikkanen (1991) has recorded the story: *The Frog as a Bride*. And further, *uŋgó(oy)* ‘just you, you here’ is used all over the Eastern Burushaski area. This *uŋ* form might be the oldest among these three forms *un*, *um*, and *uŋ*. Compare with that the corresponding personal prefix *gu-* and the ergative/genitive/oblique form in the Western Burushaski *go* (while the absolutive form is *un*) include the velar sound.

Table 24. Declension of personal pronouns (in part)

	1SG	2SG	1PL	2PL
ABS	*je*	*un*	*mi*	*ma*
ERG/GEN	*jáa*	*úne*	*míi*	*máa*
DAT	*jáar(e)*	*únar(e)*	*mímar(e)*	*mámar(e)*
COMPLEX LOC	*jáale*	*únale*	*mímale*	*mámale*
COMPLEX ABL	*jáacum*	*úncum*	*mímacum*	*mámacum*

Irregularities can be observed with the ergative/genitive case and the oblique case. As for the former, the case marker *-e* has reduced and caused the root or stem final vowel to become long. For the latter, though an oblique case marker is in general *-mu* for HF- or Z-classes and *-e* for the other classes, these irregular forms of the first and the second person plural pronouns have taken *-m*, which might be reduplication of each root or *-ma* for marking of oblique case (tentatively I have adopted the former idea for the sake of glossing). They cannot be with the existing case marker *-mu*, since the dative form of 1PL and 2PL would then logically become **mímur(e)* and **mámur(e)*.

Table 25. Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns

	proximal		distal		'so-and-so'		interrogative	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
H	*khin*	*khu*	*in*	*u*	*alín/alés*	*alú/alés(tiŋ)*	*mén(an)*	*mén(ik)*
X	*khos*	*khoc*	*es*	*ec*	*alés*	*aléc/aléstiŋ*	*bésan*	*bésik*
Y	*khot*	*khok*	*et*	*ek*	*alét*	*alék(iŋ)*		

'So-and-so' demonstrative pronouns in Table 25 are not like indefinite pronouns in other languages, such as *someone* in English, which can be expressed with interrogative pronouns in Burushaski. If a speaker wants to refer to a specific (H)X-class entity but neither wants that entity to be identified by the hearer nor knows the appropriate name of the entity, she or he will use the pronoun *alés* to vaguely refer to the entity as in (115).

(115)

hurúṭas	*haráṅċum*	*ke*	*daltáśko*	*ćáġamiṅ*	*méer*
hurúṭ-as	haráŋ-c-um	ké	daltás-ko	čáγa-miŋ-Ø	mi꞉-ar
sit-INF	midst-ADE-ABL	LINK	beautiful-PL	story-PL-ABS	1PL:II-DAT

éti,	*daltáśko*	*duróiṅ*	*éti,*	*men*
i̱-t́-i	daltás-ko	duró-iŋ-Ø	i̱-t́-i	mén
3PL.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	beautiful-PL	work-PL-ABS	3PL.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	who

sáaptiṅ	*báan*	*ke,*	*men*	*alésti̇ṅ*
sáap-tiŋ-Ø	bá-an-Ø	ké	mén	alés-tiŋ-Ø
gentleman-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.H-PRS	LINK	who	so.and.so:HX-PL-ABS

báan	*ke,*	*khuée*	*ćáġamiṅ*	*ke*
bá-an-Ø	ké	khué-e	čáɣa-miŋ-Ø	ké
COP-3PL.H-PRS	LINK	these:H-GEN	story-PL-ABS	LINK

éćuma	*méer.*
i̱-t́-č-m-a	mi̱-ar
3PL.Y:II-do-IPFV-NPRS-2SG	1PL:II-DAT

'You are sitting here with us and it is better that you tell us good stories, serve good for us, in the way how you will tell stories if there were any gentlemen and <u>such and such men</u> here.' (Berger 1998b: #27.8)

There are, further, two kinds of pronouns which require the personal prefix and can be commonly interpretted with an English word 'oneself': the "emphatic pronoun" (Willson 1999a) in Table 26 and the reflexive pronoun in Table 28. "Emphatic pronoun" is sometimes more emphasised by a regressive reduplication of the personal prefix as Table 27 illustrates.

Table 26. "Emphatic" pronoun *@-́i*

		SG	PL
1		*jéi*	*míi*
2		*gúi*	*mái*
3	HM	*íi*	*úi*
	HF	*múi*	
	X	*íi*	*úi*
	Y	*íi*	*íi*

Table 27. More "Emphatic" pronoun *@-@-́i*

		SG	PL
1		*jejéi*	*mimíi*
2		*gugúi*	*mamái*
3	HM	*iíi*	*uúi*
	HF	*mumúi*	
	X	*iíi*	*uúi*
	Y	*iíi*	*iíi*

Table 28. Reflexive pronoun *@-khár*

		SG	PL
1		*akhár*	*mikhár*
2		*gukhár*	*makhár*
3	HM	*ikhár*	*ukhár*
	HF	*mukhár*	
	X	*ikhár*	*ukhár*
	Y	*ikhár*	*ikhár*

For the examples in text and the respective restrictions against cases of these special pronouns, see (42) – (44) in §3.2.1.

I would like to say some more words on the personal prefix here. It is obviously that personal prefixes for the first person singular and plural and the second person plural are morphologically cognate with the personal pronouns, see the tables listed again below.[†28] And it may be the case that the prefixes for each nominal class of the third person singular and the genitive case marking which includes an oblique case marker if necessary, that is, *-e* or *-mo*, have the same source or that the latter, case forms, generated the former, personal prefixes.

Table 8. Type-I personal prefixes

		SG	PL
1		*a-/je-/ja-*	*mi-*
2		*gu-*	*ma-*
3	HM	*i-*	*u-*
	HF	*mu-*	
	X	*i-*	*u-*
	Y	*i-*	*i-*

Table 23. Personal pronouns

	SG	PL
1	*je*	*mi*
2	*un ~ um*	*ma*

As personal and/or demonstrative pronouns do, type-II personal prefixes also can be directly suffixed with case markers. In the case of direct suffixation, what is used for the first person singular is always *a-*, neither *ja-* nor *je-*. Such declension might be realised only with the ergative/genitive case suffix *-e* and the dative suffix *-ar(e)* as shown in Table 29.

Table 29. Declension with personal prefixes

	1SG	2SG	3SG.HMXY/PL.Y	3SG.HF	1PL	2PL	3PL.HX
personal prefix	*á-*	*gó-*	*é-*	*mó-*	*mé-*	*má-*	*ó-*
ERG/GEN	*áa*	*góo*	*ée*	*móo*	*mée*	*máa*	*óo*
DAT	*áar(e)*	*góor(e)*	*éer(e)*	*móor(e)*	*méer(e)*	*máar(e)*	*óor(e)*

These forms do not require oblique case suffixes and show vowel fusions at the morpheme boundary. It is unable to distinguish between the ergative/genitive form *máa* of the pronoun and the prefix for the second person plural because there appears no diversity of sound.

[†28] As for the second person singular, it clearly relate to the Western Burushaski *go* 'thou:GEN/ERG/OBL'. And see a related discussion in †27.

ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

Both adjectives and numerals modify nominals as entrying into a noun phrase and predicates without taking any head noun. Or they can stand in by themselves for nominals so that take case markers to be an argument or adjunct in that case. Their behaviour in nominal use is completely within the range of nominals proper, see §3 for details.

Numeral may be regarded as a subclass of adjective but I deal with them dividing different word classes.

Adjectives include the perfective and imperfective participles derived from verbals which primarily function as modifier for nominals (and secondarily as in nominal status).

5.1. **Adjectives**

5.1.1. Number

Some adjectives take a plural suffix and all adjectives and numerals can take the indefinite singular suffix *-an*.

5.1.1.1. Plurality

Most indigenous adjectives including all im/perfective participles can take a plural suffix when their modifying or referring entities are plural both in modifying and predicative use. Adjectives employ some of the plural markers for nouns, see (116).

(116) Plural suffixes to adjectives for each class
HX: *-ko, -čuko, -čo, -išo, -uiko, -ono, -taro, -anc*; (only for H) *-tiŋ*
Y: *-iŋ, -aŋ*

The use of plural suffixes in Burushaski is not as strict as the number agreement system in Indo-European languages is. Adjectives take plural suffixes in response to the plurality of host nouns, but sometimes plural suffixes are dropped in this language.

(117) is an example for simple adjectives with a plural suffix and (118) is for participles, i.e. deverbal adjectives, with a plural suffix. Sometimes *-ko* and *-čuko* for HX classes are directly attached to the stem with deleting of the neutral adjectiviser *-um*, as

in the example (117) which I exceptionally represent with the deleted *-um* in round brackets at the annotation lines. In participle forming function, *-um* does not tend to be deleted, because the plural suffix *-išo* for HX-classes is preferred to attach to participles.

(117)

hísaṭe	*yaaní*	*guċhárasaṭe*	*guké*	*iŋí*
hík-sa-aṭ-e	yaaní	guchár-as-aṭ-e	guké	i-ŋí-Ø
one-month-INS-ESS	FIL	move-INF-INS-ESS	these:Y	3SG.HM:I-beard-ABS

akhúrćuko	*maníċúm,*	*ɣusáiko*	*numá.*
akhúr-(um)-čuko	man+bí-ićán-m	ɣusán-(um)-ko	n-man
this.weight-(ADJVLZ)-PL	become+COP-3PL.Y-NPRS	long-(ADJVLZ)-PL	CP-become

‘During a month, that is while wandering, this his beard had become big like this, having grown long.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #141)

(118)

Balóie	*tháme,*	*turma-altó*	*thámkuyaṅa e*	*íne*
balói-e	thamí-e	turma-altó	thamí-kuṣ-aŋ-aṭ-e	ín-e
Baltistan-GEN	king-GEN	ten-two:Y	king-NMLZ-PL-INS-ESS	s/he:DIST-GEN

thámkuṣ	*zabardás*	*dilúm.*	*íne*	*záat*
thamí-kuṣ-Ø	zabardást	dí-ilí-m	ín-e	záat-Ø
king-NMLZ-ABS	correct	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	s/he:DIST-GEN	sort-ABS

báan.	*mi*	*Balóium*	*dimèemišo*
bá-an-Ø	mí-Ø	balói-um	d-mï̈-um-išo-Ø
COP-3PL.H-PRS	we-ABS	Baltistan-ABL	come:PFV-1PL-ADJVLZ-PL-ABS

báan.	*dáa*	*bésik*	*máar*	*éćan,*
bá-an-Ø	dáa	bés-ik-Ø	ma̤-ar	i̤-t́-č-an-m
COP-1PL-PRS	again	what-INDEF.PL-ABS	2PL:II-DAT	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1PL-NPRS

ćáġaiṅ.
čáɣa-iŋ-Ø
story-PL-ABS

‘The king of Baltistan [ruled] twenty kingdoms, and his kingdom was upright. We are his descendants. We are immigrants [lit. come ones] from Baltistan. Now, what stories will we tell you any more?’ (van Skyhawk 2006: #24)

Plural marking is not always used even when an adjective able to take a

corresponding plural form modifies a plural entity. For example:

(119)

yar	*ne*	*nímiṅ*	*qhabárićiṅ*	*ke*	*dáa*
i-yár	n-i̱-t	ní-um-iŋ	qhabár-ičiŋ	ké	dáa
3SG.Y:I-forewards	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	go-ADJVLZ-PL	news-PL	LINK	again

yárum	*íljum*	*yárum*
i-yár-um	i-ljí-um	i-yár-um
3SG.Y:I-forewards-ADJVLZ	3SG.Y:I-behind-ADJVLZ	3SG.Y:I-forewards-ADJVLZ

jú̱as	*qhabárićiṅ*	*ke*	*íljum*	*nim*	*uyóon*
jú̱-as	qhabár-ičiŋ	ké	i-ljí-um	ní-um	uyóon
come-INF	news-PL	LINK	3SG.Y:I-behind-ADJVLZ	go-ADJVLZ	all

qhabárićiṅ	*uyóone*	*baaráulo*	*inée*
qhabár-ičiŋ-Ø	uyóon-e	baará-ul-e	iné-e
news-PL-ABS	all-GEN	relation-LOC-ESS	s/he:DIST-ERG

óśói.
u̱-ś-č+bá-i-Ø
3PL.H:II-tell-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

‘He tells all the people all the news, among which something went former may come again after and something come former may go again after.’ (Berger 1998b: #2.12)

In (119), the first participle *nim* ‘gone’ which modifies *qhabáričiŋ* ‘news:PL’ holds a plural marker *-iŋ*, while the second *nim* which also modifies *qhabáričiŋ*, is accompanied with no plural marker. Here we can see the optionality of plural suffixes on adjectives.

5.1.1.2. Singular marking

The indefinite singular marker *-an* is observed with adjectives and numerals as well as nouns, but functions quite differently with each. On the one hand, with nouns, it indicates the indefiniteness and singularity of the nouns to which it attaches (§3.3); on the other hand, with adjectives and numerals, it does not represent such statuses but instead somewhat emphasises the semantic contents of said adjectives/numerals. Therefore, it might be translated into English as the adverbs ‘just’ or ‘so’ as in the translation of (120).

(120)

kámaŋ	*akhúruman*	*báṭiŋ*	*su!*
kám-an	akhúr-um-an	báṭiŋ-Ø	sú-i
little-INDEF.SG	this.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG	dusting.flour-ABS	bring-IMP.SG

‘Bring just a little dusting-flour!’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #302)

This usage of *-an* on adjectives may be used even though that adjective may be modifying substantially plural host nominals (regardless of whether those nominals are countable or uncountable). See (121) for examples of countable nominals and (122) for examples of uncountable ones, noting the occurring adjective forms.

(121)

meherbaaní	*nétanin,*	*ma*	*mímar*	*káman*
meherbaaní-Ø	n-i̇-t́-n-n	má-Ø	mí-RDP-ar	kám-an
kindness-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP	you-ABS	we-OBL-DAT	little-INDEF.SG

asqúriŋ	*miγúnṣ*	*máamaibáana?*
asqúr-iŋ-Ø	mi-γuń-ṣ	ma̤-mań-č+bá-an-Ø=a
flower-PL-ABS	1PL:I-give:Y.PL.OBJ-OPT	2PL:III-become-IPFV+COP-2PL-PRS=Q

‘Please, will you give us some flowers?’ (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #39)

(122)

isée	*búṭan*	*báarčuko*	*ke*	*ṣikárkaro*	*íiṭ*
isé-e	búṭ-an	báard-čuko	ké	ṣikárk-aro	íiṭ-Ø
that:X-ERG	much-INDEF.SG	red-PL	LINK	yellow-PL	brick-ABS

icéer	*uúmi.*
icé-ar	u-ú-m-i
those:X-DAT	3PL.X:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.X

‘It gave them lots of red and yellow bricks.’ (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #5)

The singular marker *-an* for emphasis is frequently observed with adjectives for quantity such as *kam* ‘little’, *buṭ* ‘much’, *akhúrum* ‘this much’, *téerum* ‘that much’, and *béurum*/*béerum* ‘how much’.

Numerals can also be emphasised by employing the indefinite singular suffix *-an* similarly to adjectives. Of course the countable head nouns should take plural suffixes to agree with respect to the number of referents. (123) is an example with a countable head noun and (124) is an example with an uncountable head noun.

(123)

isé	*tootáa*	*ičhónjuṣ*	*yáare*	*uskó*
isé	tootá-e	i-čhonjúṣ	i-yáar-e	uskó
that:X	parrot-ERG	3SG.X:I-beak	3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS	three:Y

wáltoan	*gúre*	*phalóno*	*nuká*	*díimi.*
wálto-an	gur´-e	phal´-ono-Ø	n-gán	d-ï˝m-i
four:Y-INDEF.SG	wheat-GEN	grain-PL-ABS	CP-take	come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X

'The parrot took up some wheat grains by its beak and came.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #272)

(124)

yaaní	*iċíaṭe-iċíaṭe*	*júċu bo.*
yaaní	i-ci´-aṭ-e+RDP	jú-č+bá-o-Ø
FIL	3SG.Y:I-against-INS-ESS+MASS	come-IPFV+COP-3SG.HF-NPRS

yárpaċiar	*niṣ*	*qháaṣiṅar*	*in*	*aqhóne*	*dáa*
i-yár+pá-či-ar	ní-ṣ	qháaṣ-iŋ-ar	ín	aqhón-e	dáa
3SG.Y:I-before+side-INE-DAT	go-OPT	until-PL-DAT	s/he:DIST	priest-ERG	again

uskóan	*qhiẏé*	*dáal*	*nótanin*	*dam*
uskó-an	qhiẏé-Ø	dál	n-u˙-t´-n-n	dám-Ø
three:X-INDEF.SG	pebble-ABS	over	CP-3PL.X:II-do-CP-CP	breath-ABS

éćói.
i˙-t´-č+bá-i-Ø
3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

'She comes closer and closer. Until she come to him, the priest (aqhon) picked up three more pebbles and breaths upon them.' (Berger 1998b: #5.12)

These examples prove that the primary function of the suffix *-an* is no longer an indicator of singularity in such emphasising expressions, at least for numerals other than *hin*/*han*/*hik* '1'.

5.1.2. Person

A few of adjectives proper, i.e. the ones not derived from other word classes, require an agreement with person, class, and number which is coded by a personal prefix of either type-I or II (surely there are no adjectives with type-III personal prefixes). While other almost adjectives (excepting the cases of adjective forming to

personally prefixed words) cannot take a personal prefix.

A personal prefix on adjectives proper functions to represent the referential point of whichever type the prefix belongs to. They are interpretted as the experiencer of evaluational adjectives like *@-̣yarum* ‘like, beloved’ in (125), the object of the universal quantifier adjective *@-yóon* ‘all’ in (126), and so on.

(125)

wáa	*daltás*	*baadšáa*	*éyarum*	*tootáa,*	*úne*
wáa	daltás	baadšáa-e	i-̣yar-um	tootá-ː[†29]	ún-e
INTERJ	beautiful	king-GEN	3SG.HM:II-beloved-ADJVLZ	parrot-VOC	thou-GEN

góc̣ue	*gar*	*bilá.*	*úne*	*joṭ*
gu-̣c̣o-e	gar-́Ø	b-́il-́Ø	ún-e	jóṭ
2SG:II-same.sex.sibling-GEN	marriage-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	thou-GEN	small

góc̣ue	*gar*	*bilá.*	*j̣úc̣uma*
gu-̣c̣o-e	gar-́Ø	b-́il-́Ø	j̣ú-č-m-a
2SG:II-sasme.sex.sibling-GEN	marriage-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	come-IPFV-NPRS-2SG

náa	*sénimi.*
náa	sén-m-i
TAG.Q	say-NPRS-3SG.X

‘[The parrot] said “Oh the king’s beloved beautiful parrot [lit. his beloved beautiful parrot of the king], the wedding celemony of your younger brother is held. You’d better come.” ’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #255)

(126)

“Béeya,	*maa*	*kaa*	*qhaas*	*chaghabáran*
bé+yá	má-e	káaṭ	qháas	čáɣa+bar-́an-Ø
no+INTERJ	you-GEN	together	special	chat-INDEF.SG-ABS

échabaan.	*To*	*itée*	*gáne*
i-̣t-́č-a+bá-an-Ø	tó	ité-e	gan-́e
3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-PRS	then	that:Y-GEN	way-ESS

[†29] To make a noun interjectional, sometimes vowel lengthening (indicating with “ː”) is utilized pragmatically. I label such a process with vocative (abbreviation: VOC) in annotations for the sake of plainness, and it does not mean that there is a vocative CASE as in other languages like Urdu.

béuruman	*ma*	*baan*	*ke,*	*ma-mayóon*
béur-um-an	má-Ø	bá-an-Ø	ké	má-Ø+ma-yoon
how.much-ADJLVZ-INDEF.SG	you-ABS	COP-2PL-PRS	LINK	you-ABS+2PL:I-all

júin"	*sénuman.*
jú-in	sén-m-an
come-IMP.PL	say-NPRS-3PL.H

'They said: "No, we are talking about a special topic with you. Then, how many fellows among you have come here for the talk I say, all of you must come here!" ' (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Diramiting*: #5)

5.1.3. Derivation into adjectives

Some derivational suffixes make adjectives with a specific semantic modification. A part of the adjective forming suffixes are still productive, but the rest are losing or have lost the productivity as shown in Table 30.

Table 30. Adjectivaliser suffixes (in part)

Suffix	Attaches to	Meaning / Function	Productivity	Remarks
-um	verbal base;	participliser;	+ +	
	adjectival root, spatial N	neutral adjectivaliser	+	
-kiṣ	N	'with a character of'	+	
-iski	N (mostly place or ethnic)	'in the style of'	−	
-tali	spatial N	'by way of, via'	− −	
-ki	Adj	'about a thing'	− −	
-kum	N, Adj	'like to'	− −	
-áaṇo/-úuṇo	Adj, N	'contemptously'	− −	

Hereinafter, I discuss the top three adjectivaliser suffixes in Table 30.

5.1.3.1. *-um*

-um functions as an adjectivaliser which is seemingly used two ways. The first is that when it attaches to a verbal base (the form with its sufficiently fulfilled the slots of $[-4]^{V}$ to $[+3]^{V}$ or $[-1]^{COP}$ to $[+3]^{COP}$) it will become a perfective or imperfective participle of the verb according to whether the aspect suffix is or not at the slot $[+2]^{V}$, see (127) for perfective participles, or a participle of the copula, which has no alternation on aspect, see (128). The imperfective participle is, in particular, mainly used in

simultaneous converbial forms such as taking the essive case marker together, a kind of nominal use of participles.

(127) Perfective participle of a verb

qhúuqe	*ganṭí*	*néγarin*	*sénimi:*	*“jóṭišo*	*ar*
qhúuq-e	ganṭí-Ø	n-i-γaŕ-n	sén-m-i	jóṭ-išo	ár
pig-ERG	bell-ABS	CP-3SG.X:II-play-CP	say-NPRS-3SG.X	small-PL	fearful

umánumišo	*urkái,*	*je*	*úlo*	*asárkin!”*
u-mań-um-išo	urḱ-ai	jé-Ø	úl-e	a-sarḱ-in
3PL.X:I-become-ADJVLZ-PL	wolf-PL	I-ABS	inside-ESS	1SG:I-let.in-IMP.PL

‘The pig rang the bell and said, “Little frightened wolves, let me come in!” ’ (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #20)

(128) Participle of a copula

“čaγabáre	*yaáli*	*bilúm*
čaγabár-e	i-yaáli-Ø	b́-iĺ-um
conversation-GEN	3SG.HM:I-technique-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ

sísan	*báia*	*jáa*	*káa”*	*nusénininin,*	*ité*
sís-an-Ø	bá-i-Ø=a	jé-e	káaṭ	n-sén-n-n	ité
people-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q	I-GEN	together	CP-say-CP-CP	that:Y

čáγa	*étimi.*
čáγa-Ø	i-t́-m-i
story-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘ “Is there any fellow to talk with me who has the art of conversation [lit. any fellow, the art of conversation being for him, to talk with me]?” he said and talked.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #155)

The perfect participle in Burushaski has a passive reading, as is true in most languages, while the imperfect participle has only active reading. So the perfect participle is sometimes used to construct a seeming passive expression with a copula as (129).

(129) Seeming passive construction

khóle	*akhí*	*girmínum*	*bilá.*
khól-e	akhíl	girmín-um	b′-il′-Ø
here-ESS	in.this.way	write-ADJVLZ	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'Here it is written thus.'

This construction cannot be thought of as a clause with an actor-subject, but, too, may not by easily regarded as a passive clause in the respect of low frequency, subject restriction for non-human or inanimate, and so on. For now, by thinking of the perfect participle as a modifier in something like (129)′, this expression should be treated as a mere copular predicate clause with some omission which may be reconstructed to an existential clause.

(129)′ Reconstruction of the seeming passive to an existential clause

khóle	*akhí*	*girmínum*	*jumláan*	*bilá.*
khól-e	akhíl	girmín-um	jumlá-an-Ø	b′-il′-Ø
here-ESS	in.this.way	write-ADJVLZ	sentence-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'There is a sentence written in this way here.'

For details on *-um* the participialiser, see also §6.9.

The second use of *-um* occurs when, it is attached to an adjectival root such as *uy* 'big, large' (bound form) or a spatial noun such as *@-yáṭ-* 'top', it forms an adjective as a free form, i.e. *uyúm* 'big, large' (free form) as in (130) and *@-yáṭum* 'upper' as in (131). Many adjectives are formed in the combination of an adjectival root and the adjectivaliser *-um*, while the rest require the other adjectivalisers or do not require any suffix to be a free form.

(130) *-um* with an adjectival root

isé	*buáa*	*isúmale*	*mujóq*	*burúm*	*bilúm.*
isé	buá-e	i-sumál-e	mujóq-Ø	bur′-um	b′-il′-m
that:X	cow-GEN	3SG.X:I-tail-GEN	tassel-ABS	white-ADJVLZ	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

óor	*ískilar*	*kawárd*	*dálum*	*manílúm.*
óor	i-skíl-ar	kawárd	dál-um	man+b′-il′-m
and	3SG.X:I-face-DAT	covered	over-ADJVLZ	become+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

'The tassel of its tail was white and it was hanging down over its face.' (*šon gukúr*: #13)

(131) *-um* with a spatial noun

yáṭum	*gúncar*	*yármo*	*juán*	*uyúm*
i-yáṭ-um	gunc′-ar	i-yár-mu-e	juán	uy′-um
3SG.Y:I-upwards-ADJVLZ	day-DAT	3SG.Y:I-forewards-OBL-GEN	like	big-ADJVLZ

γuníqiṣ	*qhúuq*	*saḍáke*	*káa*	*liṣ*	*numáninin*	*dáa*
γuní-kiṣ	qhúuq-Ø	saḍák-e	káaṭ	líṣ	n-man′-n-n	dáa
mica-ADJVLZ	pig-ABS	road-GEN	together	crawling	CP-become-CP-CP	again

díimi.
d-i″-m-i
come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X

'The next day [lit. the upper day] the big bad pig came prowling along the road as usual.' (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #30)

5.1.3.2. *-kiṣ*

-kiṣ is suffix to make adjectives from nouns with the meaning 'with a character of', broadly speaking. For example, it is used for adjectives referring to a character of a person or it may be used as his/her nickname, e.g., *@-súmal-kiṣ* 'tailed' out of *@-súmal* 'tail', and *@-ŋí-kiṣ* 'bearded' out of *@-ŋí* 'beard', see also (132).

(132)

uné	*góimur*	*teí*	*móso*	*ke,*
ún-e	gu·-i-mu-ar	teíl	mu·-s′-i	ké
thou-GEN	2SG:II-daughter-OBL-DAT	in.that.way	3SG.HF:II-tell-IMP.SG	LINK

"un	*be*	*guúmuskiṣan*	*báa"*	*ke,*
ún-Ø	bé	gu-umús-kiṣ-an	bá-a-Ø	ké
thou-ABS	what	2SG:I-tongue-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG	COP-2SG-PRS	LINK

“guúmušo	*γaráasan*	*báa”.*
gu-umús-čo	γaŕ-as-an-Ø	bá-a-Ø
2SG:I-tongue-PL	sound-INF-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-2SG-PRS

‘Tell your daughter “What a liar you are! You big liar! [lit. You are what a tongued one. You are a multi-tongued speaker]”.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #168)

-kiṣ (and maybe the nominaliser *-kuṣ* (§3.6) also) may change the sound into *-qiṣ* (and *-quṣ*) when the base includes any phoneme of the uvular obstruent consonant set /q, qh, γ/ or finishes with a back vowel. This sound change is just a tendency, however, not a strict rule: *γuní-qiṣ* (or *γuníkiṣ*/*γanáqiṣ*) ‘bad, ugly’ surely out of *γuní* ‘mica; k.o. eye disease’, and *jó-qiṣ* ‘internal organs, dumpy’ (Berger 1998c: 228) from *ju* ‘internal organs of sheep still being with excrement inside’ (*ibid.*, 229), but *sáu-kiṣ* ‘sandy’ from *sáu* ‘sand’.

5.1.3.3. *-iski*

-iski can attach to nouns, particularly ethnic or place names, to make adjectives by adding the common semantic idea ‘in the style of’. *-iski* has some allomorphs such as *-ki*, *-iki*, *-iski*, and *-aski*[†30], but there may not be any conditional rule to decide which allomorph is to be used with any particular base noun. It looks to be selected depending on each lexicon. The *-iski* suffixed adjectives refer to the nature of instrumentals, *guš-íski* ‘for women, ladies-’ made of *gus* ‘woman’ and *hir-íski* ‘for men, mens-’ from *hir* ‘man’, the language name in nominal use, *burúš-aski* ‘the Burushaski language, Burusho style’ made of *burúšo* ‘Burusho people’, *guíc-iski*/*guič-áaski* ‘the Wakhi language’ from *guíc* ‘Wakhi people’, and *húnzu-ski* ‘the Hunza dialect, Hunza style’ from *húnzo* ‘Hunza’, and so forth. An adjective *@-šáaski* ‘in the style of, in the language of’, which is quite frequently used in the form *mišáaski* ‘in our style; (in) Burushaski’, would also include the adjectivaliser *-iski* but its first half **@-š(á)* is a cranberry morpheme. (133) and (134) are examples for the adjectivaliser *-iski*.

(133)	*níin,*	*téelum*	*duγárusimi,*	*béśki*
	n-i″n	teél-um	d-γarús-m-i	bé-iski
	go:CP-3SG.HM-CP	that.place-ABL	TEL-be.straight-NPRS-3SG.HM	what-in.style

[†30] Berger (1998) has adopted *-áaski* instead of the *-aski* allomorph, but it can be considered an accented variant of *-aski*, while he has given the allomorphs without accent, *-ki*, *-iki*, and *-iski*, together.

be	*bilá,*	*khólum*	*salaasír*	*parí*	*mópaćar*
bé	b-íl-Ø	khól-um	salaasír	parí-Ø	mu-pá-či-ar
what	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	here-ABL	Salasir	fairy-ABS	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT

níase	*gáne*	*hazáar*	*gan*	*ámitali*	*nías*
ní-as-e	gán-e	hazáar	gán-Ø	ámit-tali	ní-as-Ø
go-INF-GEN	way-ESS	possibly	way-ABS	which:Y-via	go-INF-ABS

biláa,	*be*	*biláa,*	*be*	*apí?*
b-íl-Ø=a	bé	b-íl-Ø=a	bé	a-b-íl-Ø
COP-3SG.Y-PRS=Q	what	COP-3SG.Y-PRS=Q	what	NEG-COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘Having gone there, he asked: “How is it, is there perchance a road somehow to go from here to Salaasir the fairy, or is there not?”’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #449)

(134)

Ine	*hólne*	*barénasulo,*
ín-e	hól+n-i-t	barén-as-ul-e
s/he:DIST-ERG	ouside+CP-3SG.Y:II-do	look-INF-LOC-ESS

“Iljiskum	*ṭháng*	*éti”*	*nusén,*
i-ljí-iski-um	ṭháŋ	i-t-i	n-sén
3SG.HM:I-behind-in.style-ABL	pushing	3SG.HM:II-do-IMP.SG	CP-say

ei	*numóguṣhkin,*	*móoram.*
i-í-Ø	n-mu-guṣúgin	mu-r-a-m
3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS	CP-3SG.HM:II-confer	3SG.HM:III-send-1SG-NPRS

‘When he looked outside, I said “Push him from behind”, incited his daughter, and brought her.’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #40)

5.2. **Numerals**

The number system in Burushaski is vigesimal up to 100 just as the systems in the surrounding languages are. Digits are grouped every two over 1,000 as is the Indian subcontinental convention: *hazáar* ‘thousand’, *láakh* ‘hundred thousand’ (= 100 *hazáar*), *karóor* ‘ten million’ (= 100 *láakh*), *aráb* ‘a billion’ (= 100 *karóor*).[†31]

[†31] All of these units are loanwords from Urdu: *hazār* (ہزار) ‘thousand’, *lākh* (لاکھ) ‘hundred thousand’, *karōṛ* (کروڑ) ‘ten million’, and *arab* (ارب) ‘billion’.

5.2.1. Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numeral is a typical numeral which takes a position different from other adjectives and is simply represented by "numeral" later in (218) in §8.1.1, the basic constituent order of a noun phrase.

Numerals for numbers from 1 to 10 have more than one form according to nominal classes as shown in Table 31. z-class forms are used in simply counting the number or with temporal units such as *den* 'year', *gunc* 'day', and *minát* 'minute'.

Table 31. Cardinal numerals

	h	x	y	z
1	*hin*	*han*		*hik*
2	*altán*	*altá(c)*	*altó*	
3	*iskén*	*uskó*		*iskí*
4	*wálto*			*wálti*
5	*chundó*			*chindí*
6	*mišíndo*			*mišíndi*
7	*thaló*			*thalé*
8	*áltambo ~ álthambo*			*alt(h)ámbi*
9	*hunčó*			*hunți*
10	*tóorumo*			*tóorimi*

	z
11	*turmahík*
12	*turma-altó*[†32]
20	*áltar ~ álthar*
30	*ált(h)ar tóorimi*
40	*altó ált(h)ar*
60	*iskí ált(h)ar*
100	*hik tha*
101	*hik tha ke hik*
200	*altó tha*
1000	*hik hazáar*

(135) and (136) are examples for numerals.

(135) *sirph* *hik* *ḍámane,* *isé* *búše* *híŋce* *ašaáto ašaáto*
sírph hík ḍám-an-e isé buš́-e hiŋ́-c-e ašaáto+RDP
only one:Z time-INDEF.SG-ESS that:X cat-ERG door-ADE-ESS weak+MANNER

qarqár *étimi.*
RDP-qár i-t́-m-i
MASS-scratch:ONO 3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X

'Just once [lit. one time], the cat scratched the door weakly.' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #84)

[†32] *turma-altó* is pronounced /turma.altó/, not /turma:ltó/; so that I always use a hyphen between the morphemes *turma-* 'ten, -teen' and *altó* 'two' for it and *turma-alt(h)ámbi* 'eighteen' unlike to the others such as *turmahík* 'eleven'.

(136)

íne	*ooláatcum*	*wálti*	*álthar*	*hakíčaŋ*	*muúto*
ín-e	ooláat-c-um	wálti	álthar	há-kičaŋ-Ø	muú-to
s/he:DIST-GEN	generation-ADE-ABL	four:Z	twenty	house-PL-ABS	now-just

maujúud	*bicán.*
maujúud	b́-icán-Ø
present	COP-3PL.Y-PRS

'There still exist eighty houses from his generation.' (*The Story of Hopar*: #28)

5.2.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinalisation, or adjectival derivation, is performed only with numerals in Z-class forms and the suffix chunk *-ulum*.

-ulum is analysed as the locative case marker *-ul* and the adjectiviser suffix *-um*, but there is no use outside of the *-ul-um* combination with numerals. Therefore I describe it here as if it were a simplex unit. Each ordinal numeral form are as in Table 32.

Table 32. Ordinal numerals

1	*híkulum*	11	*turmahíkulum*
2	*altóulum*	12	*turma-altóulum*
3	*iskíulum*	20	*ált(h)arulum*
4	*wálti(u)lum*	30	*ált(h)ar tóorimi(u)lum*
5	*chindíulum*	40	*altó ált(h)arulum*
6	*mišíndi(u)lum*	60	*iskí ált(h)arulum*
7	*thaléulum*	100	*hik tháulum*
8	*alt(h)ámbi(u)lum*	101	*hik tha ke híkulum*
9	*hunṭíulum*	200	*altó tháulum*
10	*tóorimi(u)lum*	1000	*hik hazáarulum*

As indicated here with round brackets, the initial [u] sound of *-ulum* is sometimes omitted after an accentless /i/ vowel seen in small odd numbers.

This ordinalisation is not used with quantifiers such as *béurum*/*béerum* 'how many, how much', *@-yóon* 'all', or *kam* 'little, a few'. The quasi-numeral adjective *traŋ* 'half', however, can be ordinalised when it is used in number expressions such as *hik tha ke traŋ* '150 [lit. one hundred and a half]', and then it will become *hik tha ke tráŋulum* 'the 150th'.

5.2.3. Classified numerals

There are a small number of classifier suffixes in Burushaski as listed in Table 33.

Table 33.Classifier suffixes for numerals

Suffix	Meaning	Attaches to/Productivity	N. class	Remarks
-kuc	day	3 to ∞, interr. root	Z	cf. *-ul* also
-ul	day	1 or 2, DEM root, etc.	Z	cf. *-kuc* also
-sa	month	1 to ∞	Z	with *uskó-* '3'
-kum	group	1 to ∞	Y	
-čuq	k.o. unit of corn weight	1 to 4 or more?	Y?	about 10 or 11 kg
-pare	k.o. unit of corn weight	1	Y?	1/4 of *-čuq*
-čuṭi	k.o. unit of corn weight	1	Y?	1/2 of *-pare*

Having attached these suffixes to numeral roots, they are derived into temporal or unit nouns. Numeral roots in Table 34 typically have the same forms as the cardinal numerals though some may have shortened length by cutting off at the end of forms.

Table 34. Numeral roots

1	*hík-*	6	*mišín-*	20	*ált(h)ar-*
2	*altó-*	7	*thalé-*	100	*thá-*
3	*uskó-, iskí-*	8	*alt(h)ám-*	1000	*hazáar-*
4	*wál-*	9	*hunṭí-*		
5	*chindí-*	10	*tóorimi-*	how many	*béeru(m)-/béuru(m)-*

-kuc and *-ul* are classification suffixes meaning 'day' which show a complementary distribution as in Table 35.

Table 35. Classified numeral nouns '*n* day(s)'

a day	*híkulto*	6 days	*mišíŋuc*	20 days	*ált(h)arkuc*
2 days	*altúl*	7 days	*thalékuc*	100 days	*thákuc*
3 days	*iskíkuc*	8 days	*alt(h)áaŋuc*	101 days	*tha ke hí(k)kuc*
4 days	*wálkuc*	9 days	*hunṭíkuc*	1000 days	*hazáarkuc*
5 days	*chindíkuc*	10 days	*tóorimikuc*	how many days	*béeru(m)kuc*

Generally speaking the 'day' number nouns are derived with the *-kuc* suffix, while the

-ul suffix, whose meaning may not show any difference from *-kuc*, is attachable only to two numeral roots *hík-* '1' and *altó-* '2', the approximate demonstrative root *khú-*, and some unidentified base elements. *híkulto* 'a day, some day [lit. just one day]' contains three parts, *hík-* '1', *-ul* 'day', and a derivational suffix *-to* 'just', also observed in *muú-to* 'just now' which contrast with *muú* 'now', and the nouns indicating a specific day. The combination of *-ul* 'day', the approximate demonstrative root *khú-*, and *-to* 'just' makes the word *khúulto* 'today [lit. just this day]'. Additionally, the following are several nouns which indicate specific days: *hípulto* 'the day after tomorrow', *máalto* 'three days from today', *číilto* 'four days from today', and HZ *píilto* / NG *píilto* 'five days from today'. While all their elements have not been analysed yet, these names are collected in Karimabad and such day names vary greatly across villages or narrower areas. The numerals larger than two are attached with *-kuc* to make 'day' nouns. Of course, *turma-hík* '11' is larger than two and therefore it does not take *-ul* but *-kuc* as *turma-hí(k)kuc* '11 days' while the root *hík-* '1' is not formed **hí(k)kuc* by itself. (137) is an example for *-kuc*.

(137)	*nukúćan,*	*qaríib*	*altáaŋuċ*	*tóorimikućan*	*hurúṭimi.*
	n-gučhá-n	qaríib	altám-kuc	tóorimi-kuc-an	hurúṭ-m-i
	CP-lie-CP	near	eight-day	ten-day-INDEF.SG	sit-NPRS-3SG.HM

'Having slept, he stayed there for nearly eight or ten days.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #386)

-sa 'month' is a living suffix like *-kuc* 'day', see (138), but its usage seems to be decreasing and changing into the alternative analytic expression by using a free word *hísa(-miŋ)* 'month(-s)', which is originally made of *hík-* '1' and *-sa* 'month'.

(138)	*uskósa*	*manímí,*	*mi*	*miwáalja báan.*
	uskó-sa-Ø	manˊ-m-i	mí-Ø	mi-balúu-č-a+bá-an-Ø
	three-month-ABS	become-NPRS-3PL.Y	we-ABS	1PL:I-lose-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-PRS

'Three months have passed [that] we are lost [i.e. without anybody knowing our whereabouts].' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #53)

The word *hísa(-miŋ)* 'month(-s)' has almost become so free a word that it can take a plural suffix and be modified by a numeral despite tha latent numeral *hík-* '1' in the word itself. This change is still in progress so that *hísa* 'month' is only used with a

numeral *hán* ‘1’ in (139) and the classifier suffix *-sa* ‘month’ is still used with the other numbers, i.e. *altósa* ‘two months’ and *wálsa* ‘four months’.

(139)

mí	*jụ́asaṭe*	*han*	*hísa*	*ni bilá,*	*khóle*
mí-e	jụ́-as-aṭ-e	hán	hík-sa-Ø	ní+b́-iĺ-Ø	khól-e
we-GEN	come-INF-INS-ESS	one:Y	one-month-ABS	go+COP-3SG.Y-PRS	here-ESS

altósa	*dimíwasuman,*	*dáa*	*níasaṭe*	*han*
altó-sa-Ø	d-mi-bás-m-an	dáa	ní-as-aṭ-e	hán
two-month-ABS	TEL-1PL:I-be.left-NPRS-1PL	again	go-INF-INS-ESS	one:Y

hísa,	*wálsa*	*nícílá.*
hík-sa-Ø	wál-sa-Ø	ní-č+b́-iĺ-Ø
one-month-ABS	four-month-ABS	go-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘We have spent one month coming [lit. month has passed on coming for us], here we have remained two months, and one month for going, [altogether] four months [will] pass.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #164)

-kum ‘group’ is mainly used in the form with *hík-* ‘1’, that is, *híkum* ‘(in) a group, (in) a pair, united’. Berger (1998a: 102) shows the examples *mišíŋkum* ‘6 pairs’ and *althámkum* ‘8 pairs’ but my corpus only has examples of *híkum* as in (140).

(140)

u	*ke*	*baadšáa*	*híkum*	*nookártiŋ*	*u*	*pačáas*
ú	ké	baadšáa-e	hík-kum	nookár-tiŋ	ú-Ø	pačáas
they:DIST	LINK	king-ERG	one-group	servant-PL	they:DIST-ABS	fifty

ke	*nósqan*	*zindáanulo*	*gódariŋ*
ké	n-u̯-s-ɣan	zindá-an-ul-e	gódar-iŋ-Ø
LINK	CP-3PL.H:II-CAUS-be.finished	living-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS	thick.wall-PL-ABS

ótimi.
u̯-t́-m-i
3PL.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘[Since] the king killed the fifty servants at once and built a big wall with them as human sacrifices.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #350)

-čuq, *-pare*, and *-čuṭi* are the suffixes of counting units of corn weight, but their

frequencies in daily conversations have been getting lower. My informants have said that there is no longer any cases with numerals larger than four, for example ?**chindíčuq* '5 chuqs'. There are, however, recorded forms of them as in (141) below.

(141) *A·lto tʌlɛčʊqiŋ* *xʌmʌli.ɛr,* *tsindi čʊqʌn* *šərbʌtər,*
altó-thalé-čuq-iŋ-Ø qhamáli-ar chindí-čúq-an-Ø šarbát-ar
two-seven-chuq-PL-ABS thin.bread-DAT five-chuq-INDEF.SG-ABS sharbat-DAT

gʊl *kɛ* *ɛčʊko·nər*
gul-Ø ké i-ço-kóon-ar
marriage.relative-ABS LINK 3SG.HM:II-same.sex.sibling-PL-DAT

do·rčai.i.
d-u-r-č+bá-i-Ø
TEL-3PL.H:III-send-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

'He sends 14 chuqs (of wheat) for thin pancake and 5 chuqs for wheat porridge to his wife's family and his own brothers.' (Lorimer 1935b: 300)

Too, there are some classified numeral nouns which are most likely fully-fossilised such as *hitháan* 'a place [hík-tháan || one-place]' and *altóman* '2 maunds (about 80kg) [altó-mán || two-maund]' existing by the side of *tháan* 'place' and *man* 'maund (k.o. unit of wight; about 40kg)'.

Furthermore, numerals for small numbers except '1' can take the plural personal prefix to express how many persons are indicated. For example, *álto* '2' is personalised, taking the general indefinite plural suffix *-ik* and losing the ability for indefiniteness marking, for example: *@-ltik* (also *@-ltaik* and *@-ltalik* in Nager) 'two of, both': *méltik* 'we two, both of us', *máltik* 'you two, both of you', *óltik* 'they two, both of them', and *éltik* 'those (Y-class) two, both of them (Y-class)'. In the same way, after the numeral *iskí* '3', they will take the personal prefix of type-I accented series as *@-iski* 'three of', see (142) also.

(142) *muú* *aaqhér* *qhatará* *oó-jús* *ke* *úiski*
muú aaqhér qhatará-Ø aú-jú-as-Ø ké u-iskí-Ø
now end danger-ABS NEG-come-INF-ABS LINK 3PL.H:I-three:Z-ABS

dúumen.
d-u̎-m-en
come:PFV-3PL.H-NPRS-3PL.H

‘Now, when such coming danger had ceased, then they three came.’ (van Skyhawk 2006, *Híspare Śajirá*: #5)

Of all these forms, *@̇-ltik*/*@̇-ltaik*/*@̇-ltalik* ‘two of, both’ is the most frequent one. For numerals more than ‘2’, I could not find out the upper limit of this personalising derivation, but it can be pointed out that there seems to be a tendency that the closer the referent number of a numeral is to ‘2’, the more its personalised form appears. Notice that, on one hand, this tendency may be based on morphological reasons, but, on the other hand, it may also be due to the words’ frequencies, that is, *@̇-ltik*/*@̇-ltaik*/*@̇-ltalik* ‘two of, both’ is more needed in texts than the others, and *@́-iski* ‘three of’ is needed more than the ones for larger numbers, and so forth.

VERBALS

I employ the term verbal to indicate a category including both verbs and copulas. That is, verbal is the name of a class that includes both, just as nominal is the name of a class consisting of nouns and pronouns.

A verbal can, by itself, be a predicate of a clause with conjugation, or can get another status, nominal or adjectival, in a clause through any deverbal morphological process. Deverbal forms include such as infinitives (§3.6.1), participles (§5.1.3.1), and converbs (§8.9.3). I describe here the forms and use of verbal conjugation.

First, I will show morphological templates for verbs and copulas in §6.1, and then stem formation of copulas (§6.2) and verbs (§6.3). §§6.4 – 6.7 will deal with finite forms in each mood (whereas syntactic modal expressions will be discussed later in §8.6), and §6.8 with negative forms. Finally, I will devote §6.9 to the deverbal morphological strategies.

6.1. **Templates**

First of all, I illustrate templates for verbal morphology. See the following templates in Figure 10 for copulas, in Figure 11 for verbs, and in Figure 12 for auxiliary copulas which are always used with verbs.

As I have mentioned in §3.1 earlier, in the description of morphologies, I use a square bracket ([ ]) to indicate a slot from either template, and a superscript in small-capitals added to the bracket to indicate from what kind of template the slot originates.

(−1)	0	+1	(+2)	(+3)	+4	(+5)
NEG	ROOT	PERS	ASP	PERS	MOD	PERS/COND

Figure 10. Template for copula

−1: a- negative
0: root
+1: person
+2: -č imperfective
+3: first person
+4: -Ø present, -m non-present, -ṣ optative, -an conditional
+5: optative person, -ce counterfactual

(−4)	(−3)	(−2)	(−1)	0	(+1)	(+2)	(+3)	+4	(+5)
NEG	TEL	PERS	CAUS	ROOT	PL	ASP	PERS	MOD/AUX	PERS/COND

Figure 11. Template for verb

−4: a-/oó-/aú- negative
−3: d- telic, n- conjunctive participle
−2: @-/@̇-/@̈- person
−1: s- causative
0: root
+1: -ya plural
+2: -č imperfective
+3: first person
+4: -Ø present, -m non-present,
-i/-in imperative (SG/PL), -ṣ optative,
auxiliary copula (Figure 12)
+5: indicative person, optative person,
-ce counterfactual,
-á reminding

0	+1	(+3)	+4
ROOT	PERS	PERS	MOD

Figure 12. Template for auxiliary copula

0: root
+1: person
+3: first person
+4: -Ø present, -m non-present

For each slot, if the number is enclosed in round brackets, then the element in that slot is optional. If the number has no round brackets, however, the element in that slot is obligatory.

There are enclosed ranges of slots, from [0: root]^{COP} to [+2: aspect]^{COP} in Figure 10, from [−3: telicity]^{V} to [+2: aspect]^{V} in Figure 11, and from [0: root]^{AUX} to [+1: person]^{AUX} in Figure 12. These are for what I want to call the range of the verbal stem after this; §6.3 is the section for further details on stem formation. The template of the verb has two slots for personal suffixes at the slots [+3]^{V} and [+5]^{V}. But it does not mean that these two slots have different functions; rather it means that they serve the same function whereas they show supplementary distribution, relatively with the slot [+4]^{V}. So do the slots [+3]^{COP} and [+5]^{COP}.

The reason why the slot number in Figure 12 lacks "+2" is that the template for auxiliary copula is considered a chipped variation of the one for the copula, shown in Figure 10, and thus I have adjusted the numbers of both templates to match each other. The relation between Figure 11 and Figure 12 is that in some conjugations, verbs take a complex form with an auxiliary copula (§6.4.3), illustrated by Figure 12, which occurs in the slot [+4]^{V} of Figure 11 (at the time [+5]^{V} cannot function). Auxiliary copulas always occur inside the template for verbs, for the reason I regard the complex forms which consist of a verb and an auxiliary copula as a single word, despite the fact that

they tend to have more than one accents.

Deverbal suffixes appears in $[+4]^{V}$, therefore elements in the slot morphologically decide whether a form is finite or nonfinite.

Most studies have built the templates for the verbal using *$[+6]^{V}$, *$[+6]^{COP}$, or *$[+5]^{AUX}$ slot for the interrogative; e.g., see Anderson and Eggert (2001) and Anderson (2007). And Berger (1998a: 104) lists the elements to construct verbs as including "die Fragepartikel *-a*", too. This interrogative morpheme *-a* is, however, not just a verbal element but a clause final particle that can follow any type of word. Regarding this analysis and reform, refer to Yoshioka (2010) discussing the matter in detail.

6.2. **Stem formation of copulas**

The copula root exhibits supplementary alternation according to class-number and polarity. See Table 36 below for detailed inventories.

The root of the auxiliary copula appears at the [+4] slot of verbs when the verb should be expressed in a complex tense-aspect construction, e.g., present, imperfect, present-perfect, and past-perfect; or in the structure of a kind of quasi-converbs or declined finite verbs (Tikkanen 1995: 493) such as *sénáṭe* (contracted form of **sén báṭe* in Hunza) 'upon your/his/their having said'. Unlike the free copula, the auxiliary copula in Nager has only two roots that are the same as in Hunza. While, in Yasin, the same set of three roots is used both for the free and the auxiliary copulas.

Table 36. The supplementary alternation of the copula root in the three major dialects

	Eastern		Western
	Hunza	Nager	Yasin
H	√bá	√bá	√bá
X / Y.PL / Y.SG.NEG/NONFINITE	√b	√b	√b
Y.SG.AFF.FINITE		√d	√d[†33]

These roots combine with each personal suffix at [+1] shown with Table 37 below to build copular stems, including auxiliary ones, except the one for both conditional mood and concessive expression that requires the imperfective aspect suffix *-č* at $[+2]^{COP}$.

[†33] In Western Burushaski, the Y-class singular copula forms always include *du-* actually as in *duá* '(it) is' and *dulúm* '(it) was', but these may be a result of diachronic change and could be reconstructed as the same forms as those in the Nager dialect: **dilá* and **dilúm*, respectively.

Table 37. Basic personal suffixes for copula

		SG	PL	
1		*-a*	*-an*	
2		*-a*	*-an*	
3	HM	*-i*	*-an*	
	HF	*-o*		
	X	*-i*	*-ié(n) ~ -ió*	(< *-i-an*)
	Y	*-il*	*-icá(n)*	(< *-ic-an*)

The plural suffixes of the X- and Y-classes are fundamentally divided into *-*an*, which may be the original plural marker, and can be seen with H-class also, and *-*i* of X-class or *-*ic* of Y-class further; i.e. X.PL *-*i-an* > *-ien*/*-io*, Y.PL *-*ic-an* > *-ican*. It is not clear what the difference between *-il* in Y-class singular and *-ic* in Y-class plural is. And as it can be observed in several conjugated forms shown later, the element *-*an* tends to be eliminated or weakened by attaching a suffix with a sound at [+4]$^{COP/AUX}$, but *-*o* as its completely changed part in the Nager form does not budge an inch in this situation (but see §§6.7 and 8.6.2): e.g. the imperfective stem of X.PL in Hunza bʹ-ién-č > *bíč-* versus that in Nager bʹ-ió-č > *bióč-* (see Table 39).

On the other hand, after attaching the personal suffix, H-class singular forms also undergo contraction into one mora by non-zero suffixation, e.g. bá-a-m > *bam* ‘you (SG) were’, not **báam*. But the third person HF-class singular form fuses the vowels of the root and the suffix, i.e. bá-o > *bó*, so it will not lose the vowel.

The majority of the conjugated or derived forms of the copula is based on the stem which merely consists of a root and a personal suffix, as in Table 38. The round-bracketed parts are realised when [+4] is filled by a soundless morpheme, that is, a zero morpheme. Compare the actual forms listed in §6.4.1.

Table 38. Basic stems of copula

		SG	PL
1		*bá(a)-*	*bá(an)-*
2		*bá(a)-*	*bá(an)-*
3	HM	*bá(i)-*	*bá(an)-*
	HF	*bó-*	
	X	*bí-*	*bi(én)- ~ bió-*
	Y	*biĺ- ~ diĺ-*	*bic(án)-*

Like verbs, the copula can also take the imperfective aspect marker *-č* inside the stem. But use of this marker is quite rare, limited to conditional forms (§6.7) and concessive expressions (§8.6.2). In this case, the root of the third person Y-class singular in Nager will be neutralized into √b. The imperfective stem has the following forms shown in Table 39.

Table 39. Imperfective stems of copula

		SG	PL
1		*báč-*	*báč-*
2		*báč-*	*báč-*
3	HM	*báč-*	*báč-*
	HF	*bóč-*	
	X	*bíč-*	*bíč- ~ bióč-*
	Y	*bilíč-*	*bicíč-*

6.3. **Stem formation of verbs**

In Burushaski, a verb root can be modified with derivational affixes to build several kinds of stems containing information on telicity, voice, aspect, and sometimes the plurality of a certain participant and the nominal class of an object participant. And then, the verb root, whether derived or non-derived, needs to be attached to the conjugational affix to appear in utterances. That is, every root of verbs and copulas is a bound morpheme. I explain the elements for stem formation in order according to their slots from the front end [−3: telicity] to the rear end [+2: aspect]; among these, those which influence the valency of verb stems are the first three slots [−3: telicity] to [−1: causation].

In all the dialects of Burushaski (not only Eastern but also Western), there are two irregular verbs, √ju̇ ‘come’ and √ní ‘go’, which alter whole the form of the root, or the

stem, basically according to aspect (§6.3.4). In Hunza and Nager, the former root changes or reduces into the irregular stem *d-@-* for the perfective or the conjunctive participial stem, while the perfective stem is normally made of a root itself. And the latter root reduces into *n-@-* only when it is used as a conjunctive participle, while other roots are normally prefixed with *n-* at the slot [−3]. In Nager there is also the prospective forms with the supplementary root √gal for √ní.[†34] The rest of the verb roots do not alter beyond the range brought about by derivational affixes.

Here I give an outline of verbal stem formations in Burushaski in the following order: formations related to telicity (§6.3.1), personal (prefixation) (§6.3.2), causative (§6.3.3), root (§6.3.4), plural (§6.3.5), and aspect (§6.3.6). The theoretical background of the *d-* prefix will be discussed and concluded later in §10.

6.3.1. Telicity

The [−3: telicity] slot of verb can be filled by either *n-* or *d-*. These two morphemes are functionally somewhat similar, and morphologically very different from each other.

Apparently, *d-* has a wider function than *n-*, because in the case of a conflict between *d-* and *n-*, only *d-* remains, at least, at the surface level. Also, *d-* serves the function *n-* usually does independently. But the opposite is not the case. On the one hand, *n-* might seem to be a prefix for conjugation; but, on the other hand, *d-* is undoubtedly a prefix for derivation. Thus, I describe the conjugational prefix *n-* also in this section, though this section is labelled for derivational affixes.

6.3.1.1. *n-*

This prefix always appears in the same-subject anterior converb of verbs without *d-* (§8.9.3), which is called the "conjunctive participle"[†35] in South-Asian linguistics generally. Conjunctive participle forms with verbs not having *d-* can be briefly formulated as follows: $n\text{-}V_{STEM}$ / $n\text{-}V_{STEM}\text{-}n$ (strictly speaking, *n-* [−3] + perfective stem (+ *-n* [+4])).

[†34] In Yasin dialect (i.e. Western Burushaski), these roots alter supplementarily with the different ones: √jó ~ √cúr ~ *d-@-(a)* 'come: aspectless ~ imperfective ~ perfective'; √né ~ √cré ~ √gal ~ *n-@-* 'go: aspectless ~ imperfective ~ perfective ~ conjunctive participial'.

[†35] For example, Urdu conjunctive participle (Schmidt 2004: 108, *et passim*), which consists of a verb stem + *kar*/*kē* (کر/کے). There have been several alternative names for conjunctive participle called by Burushaski researchers, such as "Absolutiv" (Berger 1998), "converb proper" (Tikkanen 1995), "consecutive" (Grune 1998), or "past participle active" (Lorimer 1935–38).

Conjunctive participles express the meaning of ‘after V-ing, having V-ed’. The meaning may represent that the prefix *n-* is expressing something telic, because the smallest construction of converbs, even those that semantically include the terminus of an action, are morphologically formed by only two elements, i.e. *n-* and a verb root. Still, there is a difficulty in that the prefix *n-* and the suffix *-n* co-occur in high frequency; or, perhaps the absence of *-n* is caused by its disappearing after formation, at all times, and so the functions of the two can not be separately comprehended. Berger (1998a: 143) says that the suffix *-n* occurs facultatively only in Hunza and does not appear in Nager. But the occurrence of it is surely observed also in Nager, though the frequency is indeed lower than in Hunza, see (143). That is, it can occur from one to several times in Hunza or only one time in Nager in a converb with no semantic difference from the corresponding suffixless form: e.g., both *nétanininin* and *net* means ‘after doing it’ (< *@ɨ́-t-* ‘to do’). It looks that this *-n* repetition in Hunza is applied to the regulation of locutional rhythm in discourse.

(143)

taí	*ne*	*núya*	*níi*	*ámit*
teíl	n-iɨ-t	n-u-gán	n-iʺ-	ámit
in.that.way	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	CP-3PL.H:I-take	go:CP-3SG.HM	which:Y

díšan	*muqarár*	*étu bam*	*ke*	*eléi*
diš́-an-Ø	muqarár	iɨ-t+bá-an-m	ké	eléi
ground-INDEF.SG-ABS	continuous	3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3PL.H-NPRS	LINK	there

nutáġan	*hurú[t]umen.*
n-daɣá-n	hurúṭ-m-en
CP-hide-CP	sit-NPRS-3PL.H

‘In this way he took them to the place where they would lurk and stay [to wait for his order].’ (van Skyhawk 2006, *Híspare Śajirá*: #17)

Anyway, both my analysis and the other researchers’ analyses consider the prefix *n-* and the telic prefix *d-* as the alternative elements for the [−3] slot (as for *d-*, see the next subsection). For the reasons above, I call this morpheme *n-* a conjunctive participial prefix for now; and *-n* at [+4] is a conjunctive participial suffix in the same way.

The conjunctive participial prefix *n-* seems etymologically to have developed from a verb root √ní ‘go’ or its reduced form **n-*, which is seen in the conjunctive participial form of √ní today.

Finally with respect to the morphophonology, *n-* occasionally causes an accent shift, devoicing, consonant closing, and/or consonant unaspirating (§1.5.2) as *d-* and a negative prefix *a-* (§6.8) do as well: an accent shift and devoicing of /d/ are seen in the conjunctive perticiple *nutáɣan* [< n-daɣá-n] in (143) above.

6.3.1.2. *d-*

d- for [−3] is a derivational prefix to add the sense of telic aktionsart. But the actual function varies according to the original meanings of the roots. The function of the *d-* prefix will be closely discussed in §10. Here, I briefly explain its function and morphophonology with viewing the previous studies.

The origin of *d-* is surely a verb root √jú ‘come’, cf. its irregular conjunctive participial form *d-@¨n*/*d-@″n*.[†36] Now *d-* has entirely lost productivity; That is, it has lexicalized for at all the actual *d*-verbs, and there is also just one case where most native speakers have lost track of the existence of *d-* and reanalysed the conjugated stem as a new root: *d-@́l-* ‘hit’ (from the root √l) > *dél-* ‘hit him/it’ >> *@-dél-* ‘hit’ (the root is being considered as √dél through reanalysis).

None of the preceding studies have been able to solve what the function of *d-* is yet. As, for example, Berger (1998a: 110) says, “Die in diesen Paaren durch das *d*-Präfix bewirkten Bedeutungsveränderungen lassen synchronisch gesehen kaum noch einen gemeinsamen Gesichtspunkt erkennen. Bei allen anderen *d*-Verben, denen keine *d*-lose Variante zur Seite steht, ist *d-* ein bedeutungsloser, an bestimmte Verbalstämme gebundener Zusatz”, to clarify the essential function of *d-* is quite difficult. The latest well-organized study on the function of *d-* is presented by Bashir (2004): “Les développements sémantiques des verbes en *d-* ont entraîné des fonctions qui ont été étudiées dans diverses rubriques; (...) le parfait, le résultatif ou l’ingressif; (...) la voie moyenne, le passif ou l’anticausatif; (...) la télicité; (...) le point de vue. Néanmoins le préfixe *d-* ne s’accommode pas simplement d’une seule de ces catégories”. But this view still seems like a superficial description, because Bashir has tried to analyse it with the grammaticalisation scheme of “come” advocated by Lichtenberk (1991) as a principle for the analysis of the function of *d-*. That is, Bashir set about her study with an attitude of treating the individual functions in which the essential function of *d-* has emerged after conspiring with the semantics of the verbal base.

[†36] I use a symbol @″ only for *d-@″*, the conjunctive participle or perfective stem of √jú ‘come’, and *n-@″*, the conjunctive participle stem of √ní ‘go’, to indicate an equivalent to the long variation of the type-I personal prefix @́. These stems are irregular.

I had thought the fundamental function of *d-* could be summarized in the venitive meaning, which Bashir (2004) also already listed as the one of functions of *d-* with a term "le point de vue" (for further detail see §10.2 the section devoted to *d-* prefix). Actual functions of the prefix are summarised with five specific functions: *d-* derives a venitive, fientive, stative, resultative, or anticausative stem. But all of these functions commonly have a characteristic of telicity, so I put the functions together in the term "telic" for the sake of convenience.

d- behaves the same as both the negative prefix *a-* and the conjunctive participle prefix *n-* in morphophonology; i.e. they commonly show the ability of an accent shift and a change in the stem consonant into the corresponding voiceless unaspirated plosive.

6.3.2. Personal

Some of the verb stems in Burushaski need a personal prefix at [−2] for undergoer agreement (see §3.2.1 for details on the personal prefix). Among these stems, there are both transitive and intransitive verbs.[†37]

There are three types of personal suffix as I mentioned in §3.2.1. Here I show the forms of each type with Table 8 to Table 10 again. I use a symbol "@" to indicate a blank, i.e. unagreed, personal prefix slot and three kinds of hyphens " - / ˙- / ¨- " for the personal prefix to indicate type-I, II, and III, respectively.

Table 8. Type-I personal prefixes (@-)

		SG	PL
1		*a-/ja-/je-*	*mi-*
2		*gu-*	*ma-*
3	HM	*i-*	*u-*
	HF	*mu-*	
	X	*i-*	*u-*
	Y	*i-*	*i-*

Table 9. Type-II personal prefixes (@˙-)

		SG	PL
1		*á-*	*mé-*
2		*gó-*	*má-*
3	HM	*é-*	*ó-*
	HF	*mó-*	
	X	*é-*	*ó-*
	Y	*é-*	*é-*

Table 10. Type-III personal prefixes (@¨-)

		SG	PL
1		*áa-*	*mée-*
2		*góo-*	*máa-*
3	HM	*ée-*	*óo-*
	HF	*móo-*	
	X	*ée-*	*óo-*
	Y	*ée-*	*ée-*

The DERIVATIONAL function of the personal prefix (type-I, II, and III) seems quite complex. In simple words, derivation with personal prefixes controls the transitivity of

[†37] Personal prefixes are used with both nouns and adjectives as well. They show agreement with the possessor of inalienable possession with nouns (§3.2.1), and the experiencer of emotional adjectives (§5.1.2).

stems. that is, the larger the number of the label of personal prefix type is (here, derivation with no personal prefix is considered as type-zero), the more transitive the derived stem tends to be. In Table 40, I illustrate an extremely brief explanation of the relation between the roots and the stems. Verb stems with personal prefixes will CONJUGATE in agreeing with the person-number-class of the undergoer argument.

Table 40. Relation between the features of roots and the transitivity of stems

Root		Stem				abb.
Valency	Volitionality	Ø	I	II	III	
1	+ ~ −	Intransitive	([− Volitional]) Intransitive	([− Volitional]) In/transitive	([− Volitional]) In/transitive	V_{1v}
1	+/−	Intransitive	Transitive	Transitive	Di/transitive	V_1
2		(lesser) Transitive	Transitive	Transitive	Di/transitive	V_2
3			Ditransitive	Ditransitive	Ditransitive	V_3

The blank cell in the bottom line of the table indicates the lack of an adapted example.

Notice that every root cannot be derived with all the types of personal prefix. That is, I indicate that the variable volitional univalent verbal root (V_{1v}) can take every type of personal prefix for derivation in Table 40. This chart means that when the V_{1v} root is actually derived with, for example, the type-I personal prefix, then it almost always becomes a spontaneous (= non-volitional) intransitive stem. There is the lexically fixed combination for each verb root that which root is derived with (or without) which type(s) of personal prefix. (For the sake of convenience, I will abbreviate stems with no personal prefixes as "Ø-stems", and those with type-I personal prefixes as "I-stems". So do "II-stems" and "III-stems".)

Adding to this, the volitionality is, basically, related to the animacy of subject, so when the subject of a V_{1v} is a Y-class nominal, then its intransitive stem may be, however does not have to be, derived with no personal prefix as a Ø-stem (not a non-volitional one) in Table 40 above. On this point, compare the following example pair in (144).

(144) a. *ité* *wáqtulo* *guté* *mulk* *dumánimi.*
ité wáqt-ul-e guté múlk-Ø d-manˊ-m-i
that:Y time-LOC-ESS this:Y country-ABS TEL-become-NPRS-3SG.Y

'At that time this country was born.'

b. *ité* *wáqtulo* *gusé* *huk* *dímanimi.*
ité wáqt-ul-e gusé hukˊ-Ø d-i-manˊ-m-i
that:Y time-LOC-ESS this:X dog-ABS TEL-3SG.X:I-become-NPRS-3SG.X

'At that time this dog was born.'

In such cases, the type-I personal prefix as in (144b) is employed to indicate the lower volitionality of the HX-class subject which is able to be volitional positively. As for (144b), if the dog was born voluntarily, the sentence will alter as in (144c).

(144) c. *ité* *wáqtulo* *gusé* *huk* *dumánimi.*
ité wáqt-ul-e gusé hukˊ-Ø d-manˊ-m-i
that:Y time-LOC-ESS this:X dog-ABS TEL-become-NPRS-3SG.X

'At that time this dog was born (of its own accord).'

There are many inanimate referents in X-class (e.g. fruits, mountains, etc.), but all the X-class subjects of the V_{1v} intransitive need the stem derived with the type-I personal prefix to express the absence of volitionality; see (144d) below.

(144) d. *búṭan* *báaltišo* *dúmanuman.*
búṭ-an báalt-išo-Ø d-u-manˊ-m-an
much-INDEF.SG apple-PL-ABS TEL-3PL.X:I-become-NPRS-3PL.X

'So many apple fruits were born.'

Fruits such as the apple should not be volitional, but the spontaneity must be apparently expressed in the example (144d).

Roughly speaking, the type-III personal prefix is used for the extended correspondent to either the type-I or II stem; e.g., the type-III stem *@¨ˊt-* 'to make s.b. do' takes one more argument than the corresponding type-II stem *@¨ˊt-* 'to do'. For this reason, the stems with the type-III prefix are almost always either mono- or di-transitive; this fact is obvious in Table 40.

Because of the function of the type-III prefix as a derivational affix for extension, I cannot understand what the basic meaning is of roots which have only the stems derived with the type-III personal prefix; For example, as for *@-ú-* 'to give', the meaning of the root √u must be something reduced, at least, for one valency from 'to give'.

6.3.3. Causative

Here I call *s-* the causative marker which can appear at the [−1] slot. Nonetheless, as I have mentioned a bit in §6.3.2 above, this affix is just an overt causative marker, and there must be other elements, @̈- and @̈:, with the marker, which have functions including or substituting for the causative function that *s-* marking indicates overtly. In other words, these personal prefixes do not positively prove that the verb stem that is derived using one of them has a causative meaning, but the prefix *s-* is positive evidence for causative meaning.

s- and the *s*-less type-II or III personal prefix sometimes share the same root, and sometimes monopolise certain roots from each other.

(145) a. *guté* *baáŋ* *dukhíkinilá.*
guté baáŋ-Ø d-khukín+b́-iĺ-Ø
this:Y marijuana-ABS TEL-bulge+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'This pot has ignited.'

b. *inée* *guté* *baáŋ* *déekukinubó*
iné-e guté baáŋ-Ø d-ï̈:khukín+bá-o-Ø
that:H-ERG this:Y marijuana-ABS TEL-3SG.Y:III-bulge+COP-3SG.HF-PRS

/ déeskukinubó.
d-ï̈:s-khukín+bá-o-Ø
TEL-3SG.Y:III-CAUS-bulge+COP-3SG.HF-PRS

'She has ignited this pot.'

In the example pair (145), there is an intransitive stem *dukhíkin-* 'to thin, to bulge out; to ignite (INTR)' in (145a) and the two types of its transitive correspondents *d-@̈:kukin-* and *d-@̈:s-kukin-* 'to thin, to bulge over; to ignite (TR)' in (145b).

In cases of verb roots which have one causative stem, unlike to the example of two causative stems above. The pair in (146) indicates that the root √bápay̰ can be derived as the causative stem only with *s-*.

(146) a. *ité* *mamú* *bápay̰imi.*
ité mamú-Ø bápay̰-m-i
that:Y milk-ABS ferment-NPRS-3SG.Y

'That milk fermented.'

b. *jáa* *ité* *mamú* *éspapay̰am*
jé-e ité mamú-Ø i̵-s-bápay̰-a-m
I-ERG that:Y milk-ABS 3SG.Y:II-CAUS-ferment-1SG-NPRS

/ **épapay̰am.*
i̵-bápay̰-a-m
3SG.Y:II-ferment-1SG-NPRS

'I fermented that milk.'

On the contrary, the examples in (147) show that only the *s*-less causative stem can occur with the root √t.

(147) a. *gúmie* *un* *čap* *gótumo.*
gu-mí-e ún-Ø čáp gu̵-t́-m-o
2SG:I-mother-ERG thou:SG-ABS hidden 2SG:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

'Your mother sheltered you.'

b. *gúmie* *únar* *je* *čap* *góotumo*
gu-mí-e ún-ar jé-Ø čáp gü̵-t́-m-o
2SG:I-mother-ERG thou:SG-DAT I-ABS hidden 2SG:III-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

/ **góostumo.*
gü̵-s-t́-m-o
2SG:III-CAUS-do-NPRS-3SG.HF

'Your mother made you shelter me.'

The rule discerning which causative stems occur with which roots has not been clarified yet. The *s*- prefix can attach only to roots having an inactive intransitive stem, but not all the roots with an inactive intransitive stem take *s*-.

Morphophonologically, *s*- usually changes the consonant immediately succeeding

it into the corresponding voiceless unaspirated stop sound, see also §1.5.2. There are several stems of uncertain construction that may be judged as *s*-causatives, but they have no morphologically corresponding *s*-less form; e.g., the stem *@-́sqan-* 'to beautify' derived either from $^{?}\sqrt{}$sqan with only a type-II personal prefix or from $^{?}\sqrt{}$qan/$^{?}\sqrt{}$ɣan/$^{?}\sqrt{}$qhan with prefixes *s-* and type-II, because there seems to be nothing else derived from the same root.

6.3.4. Root

There are about 300 verb roots in Burushaski, which probably constitute a CLOSED category. Any verb form contains a single verb root and some affixes.

Most of the verb roots may alter their sounds partially by affixation, but do not change beyond what happens through morphophonological rules (§1.5.2); whereas it is also the case that there are a few stem pairs which obviously substitute their roots in the pair according to the nominal class of the object as stems which are shown in Table 41, instead of organizing the stem by means of affixation.

Table 41. Suppletive distribution of stems for 'give' and 'eat'

object is	HX.SG	HX.PL	Y.SG	Y.PL
'give'	*@-ú-*		*@-́čhi-*	*@-ɣún-*
'eat'	*ṣí-*	*(@-)ṣú-*	*šé-*	

As for *ṣí-* and *(@-)ṣú-* of 'eat (HX.OBJ)', they can be unified as **ṣ-́* and be explained by proposing that the vowel in each stem has come from a lost or present personal prefix before the stem, *i-* for singular, except for HF-class, and *u-* for plural: *ṣí-* < (**iṣí-* <) **i-ṣ-́*, and *ṣú-* < (**uṣú-* <) **u-ṣ-́*, respectively.[†38]

The verbs 'come' and 'go' substitute their roots in a different way, that is with respect to the temporal/aspectual difference as in Table 42,

[†38] There is some other verbs which show somewhat similar vowel changes, such as *@-yeéc-* 'to see (maily with HX.SG and Y objects)' versus *@-yoóc-* 'to see (with HX.PL objects)'.

Table 42. Suppletive distribution of stems for ‘come’ and ‘go’

stem for		CP	prospective	PFV	IPFV
‘come’		*d-@-*			*jú-*
‘go’	HZ	*n-@-*		*ní-*	
	NG	*n-@-*	*gál-*	*ní-*	
(regular verbs for comparison)					
‘bring’		*nusú-*	*sú-*		*súč-*
‘do’		*n-@̇-t-*	*@̇-t-*		*@̇-č-*

The forms *d-@-* and *n-@-* are quite strange in the following points: 1) these stems only consist of the two elements in the slots [−3] and [−2], that is these stems substantially have no roots, and 2) these include personal prefixes despite the fact that their meanings are volitional intransitive (personal suffixes for the subjects, of course, will be attached to these stems). These forms surely relate to the elements of telicity, i.e. in the slot $[-3]^{V}$ (§6.3.1).

6.3.5. Plural

There are only fifteen verbal roots that can take the suffix *-ya* in the largest word list, i.e. Berger (1998c). Because of such a constraint, I think of this suffix as a fossilised derivational one rather than a conjugational one, from a synchronic point of view.

I basically discuss the suffix *-ya* according to the description of Berger (1998). For the 21 “plural stems”, which are derived from the fifteen roots, given by Berger (1998c), explanations are given for some stems about whether the target argument of each is the subject or the object, see Table 43 below. Adding to his comments, for two stems, *@̇-spuya-* and *@̈-gia-*, I give actual examples from text, (148) and (149), respectively, after Table 43. Berger (1998) shows no sentence examples of the suffix.

Table 43. “Plural stems” (extracted from Berger 1998c)

root	SG stem	PL stem	meaning	PL argument
√búy̰	*búy̰-*	*buyá-*	‘dry up’	SUBJ
	@-úy̰-	*@-úya-*		SUBJ
	@̈-spiy̰-	*@̈-spuya-*	‘make dry up’	(148)
√gáarc	*gáarc-*	*gáarča-*	‘run, gallop; escape, retreat, flee; charge’	SUBJ
√girát	*girát-*	*giráča-*	‘dance’	(150)
√gíy̰	*gíy̰-*	*giá-*	‘enter, go into, ride, fall into; attack, raid’	SUBJ
	@̈-giy̰-	*@̈-gia-*	‘make enter; plant; put on’	(149)
√gíy̰	*gíy̰-*	*giá-*	‘overdo, build (bridge); scatter (flour, grain)’	OBJ
		di-gía-	‘(grain) be ground down’	SUBJ
√gus	*du-ús-*	*du-wáša-*	‘go out, flow out; go away; appear; escape’	SUBJ
√ɣas	*ɣaś-*	*ɣašá-*	‘rot, decay, get stink’	SUBJ
√ɣaṭ	*du-ɣáaṭ-*	*du-ɣáača-*	‘be chosen, be selected; (offence, case) be settled’	
√ɣurc	*ɣurć-*	*ɣurčá-*	‘sink; (volitionally) submerge oneself’	
√hurúṭ	*hurúṭ-*	*hurúča-*	‘sit down, sit; stay; wait; become pregnant’	SUBJ
√huy̰	*du-úy̰-*	*du-úya-*	‘(butter, snow, sugar) melt’	
√khúṭ	*d-@́-kuṭ-*	*d-@́-kuča-*	‘become thin, be diluted, become poor’	
√ltapú	*du-ltápu-*	*du-ltápuya-*	‘wither, (vegetation, fruit, person) dry up’	SUBJ
√pus	*puś-*	*puša-*	‘bind, tie up, fasten, put (shin guards); (shaman)	
	@-phús-	*@-phúša-*	“bind” with a iron bracelet; make (agreement)’	
	@̈-pus-	*@̈-puša-*	‘tie up’	OBJ
√phirc	*di-phírc-*	*di-phírča-*	‘come out; be out of joint; escape, run away’	SUBJ

In (148), the verb in question, *@̈-spuya-* ‘make dry up’, appears as a conjunctive participle, being attached with *n-* (§6.3.1.1) and the type-II personal prefix *é-* according to either the third person HM/X/Y-class singular or Y-class plural. Here, there is not any HM/X/Y-class singular participant but a Y-class plural participant in *gaṭóŋ* ‘the clothes’, so the prefix must agree with this.

(148)	*úe*	*es*	*rúṅćum*	*es*	*yárum*
	ú-e	és	ruŋ́-c-um	és	i-yár-um
	they:DIST-ERG	that.one:X	meadow-ADE-ABL	that.one:X	3SG.Y:I-before-ADJVLZ

esé	*rúṅar*	*dóori*	*ćúuniṅ*	*nuká*
esé	ruŋ́-ar	d-u̇́-r	čúuni-ŋ-Ø	n-gán
that:X	meadow-DAT	TEL:CP-3PL.H:III-send	firewood-PL-ABS	CP-take

núu	*phu*	*nétin*	*gaṭóṅ*	*néspuya*
n-u̇̋	phú-Ø	n-i̇-ṫ́-n	gaṭú-ŋ-Ø	n-i̇-s-búẏ-ya
go:CP-3PL.H	fire-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP	cloth-PL-ABS	CP-3PL.Y:II-CAUS-dry-PL

nupél	*iċíaṭe*	*ẏaṣ*	*manúmen.*
n-bél	i-cí-aṭ-e	ẏáṣ	mań-m-en
CP-bear	3SG.HM:I-against-INS-ESS	drawing	become-NPRS-3PL.H

‘They sent back (their servant) from this meadow to before the last meadow, procured firewood, went, made a fire, had the clothes dried, put them on again and chased him.’(Berger, Jettmar und van Skyhawk 1996: #252)

The referent participant of the plural suffix *-ya* in the verb stem *@̇-spuya-* ‘make dry up’ can be, then, judged as the object (*gaṭóŋ* ‘the clothes’; wavy-lined). But the subject argument (*úe* ‘they’; double-lined) could also be agreed with by this suffix.

(149)

ćhap	*babár*	*néti*	*śéman,*	*nuśé*
čhaṕ-Ø	babár	n-i̇-ṫ́-n	šé-m-an	n-šé
flesh-ABS	equal	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP	eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3PL.H	CP-eat:Y.OBJ

múśaṭe	*tinjó*	*jáma*	*ótuman.*	*tinjó*
muš́-aṭ-e	tiń-čo-Ø	jáma	u̇-ṫ́-m-an	tiń-čo-Ø
edge-INS-ESS	bone-PL-ABS	gathering	3PL.X:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H	bone-PL-ABS

jáma	*nóti*	*íimo*	*iċé*	*jóoḍulo*
jáma	n-u̇-ṫ́-n	i-í-mo	icé	jóoṭ-ul-e
gathering	CP-3PL.X:II-do-CP	3SG.X:I-self-GEN	those:X	joint-LOC-ESS

tinjó	*óogiaman.*	*nóogia*	*han*
tiń-čo-Ø	u̇-gíẏ-ya-m-an	n-u̇-gíẏ-ya	hán
bone-PL-ABS	3PL.X:III-enter-PL-NPRS-3PL.H	CP-3PL.X:III-enter-PL	one:Y

yaálmunan	*kam*	*manímí.*
i-yaalmún-an-Ø	kám	mań-m-i
3SG.X:I-rib-INDEF.SG-ABS	little	become-NPRS-3SG.Y

‘After dividing the meat, they ate it and gathered its bones together beside them. After gathering the bones together, they joined up the bones at the joint. After joining them up, there was the shortage of a rib.’ (Berger 1998b: #50.18)

On the other hand, the stem *@̈gia-* ‘make enter’ in (149) is formed as a finite in the simple past tense. The subject of it is an H-class plural participant as the subject personal suffix *-an* shows; the object of it is also a plural participant because the personal prefix *óo-* is for agreement with an HX-class plural. Here it is *tinjó* ‘bones; X-class’. Therefore, I cannot perceive which participant is referred to by the plural suffix *-ya* in this example.

If the verbs in question are intransitive, then the referent participant must be the subject as in (150).

(150)

ṣapík	*nóos,*	*u*	*ṣapík-mapík*	*ṣíman,*
ṣapík-Ø	n-óos	ú-Ø	ṣapík+ECHO-Ø	ṣí-m-an
food-ABS	CP-put	they:DIST-ABS	food:MASS-ABS	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-NPRS-3PL.H

dáa	*tamaaśá*	*étuman,*	*giráćaman.*
dáa	tamaašá-Ø	i-t́-m-an	girát-ya-m-an
again	festival-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H	dance-PL-NPRS-3PL.H

‘When [they] had served food for them, they ate bread and all kinds of food, and then they amused themselves [and] danced.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #72)

There are two problematic points with the plural suffix *-ya*: the first one is the actual rarity of this suffix; and the second one, which is probably an important reason for the first issue, is the optionality of this suffix. It can be inferred from the following examples that the latter point makes it burdensome for us to collect enough data. The following examples parallel each other: both use the same subject[†39] and the same

[†39] The subject argument in (152), however, shows a different form, which is declined in the dative case, from the typical subjects. Since this clause can be understood as an irregular combination of two different clauses: *mímar hísa (níbilá)* ‘one month (has passed) on us’ and *(béšal mi) khóle hurúṭuman* ‘(while we) stayed here’. However both (underlined) predicates in (151) and (152) are used for parallel situations, i.e. ‘we

tense-aspect, the simple past. On the one hand, the former (151) is with the plural suffix *-ya*, but on the other hand, the latter (152) does not employ it.

(151)

mi	*khot*	*uskó san*	*wálsan*	*hurúćaman.*
mí-Ø	khót	uskó-sa-an	wál-sa-an	hurúṭ-ya-m-an
we-ABS	this:Y	three-month-INDEF.SG	four-month-INDEF.SG	sit-PL-NPRS-1PL

'We stayed (here) for these three, four months.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #477)

(152)

kaafí	*gunćíŋ*	*manímiː*	*hísa*	*júasaṭe*
kaaphí	gunć-iŋ-Ø	man-m-i	hík-sa-Ø	jú-as-aṭ-e
enough	day-PL-ABS	become-NPRS-3PL.Y	one-month-ABS	come-INF-INS-ESS

gáne	*níbilá,*	*hísa*	*dáa*	*nías*	*gáne*
gán-e	ní+b-il-Ø	hík-sa-Ø	dáa	ní-as-Ø	gan-e
way-ESS	go+COP-3SG.Y-PRS	one-month-ABS	again	go-INF-ABS	way-ESS

níći,	*mímar*	*hísa*	*khóle*	*hurúṭuman.*
ní-č-m-i	mí-RDP-ar	hík-sa-Ø	khól-e	hurúṭ-m-an
go-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.Y	we-OBL-DAT[†40]	one-month-ABS	here-ESS	sit-NPRS-1PL

'Quite a few days have passed: one month has passed on the way coming, one month will pass on the way going, one month we stayed here.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #52)

Now, it can be said that the suffix *-ya* is optionally, with considerable frequency, employed when the absolutive participant in an intransitive or monotransitive clause is plural and the root is one of the permitted ones. There is no example of the suffix *-ya* in ditransitive clauses.

6.3.6. Aspect

Except for the irregular verb √ní 'go', Burushaski verbs show the dichotomous aspect opposition between perfective and imperfective. To build an imperfective stem

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stayed'.

[†40] I have no idea on the reason why the dative case is employed here. It might be considered that it indicates some special nuance such as adversative affect, but it is still unclear.

they use the imperfective suffix *-č* at [+2], while there is no marker for a perfective stem, so that perfective aspect is regarded as the default value.

-č causes kinds of sound change with the preceding consonant regularly as illustrated in §1.5.2. And *-č* changes its sound into /ʂ/ after the root √jú 'come' beyond the regular morphophonological rules: jú-č > *júʂ-*, not **júč-* which regular rules predict.

6.4. **Indicative**

The two preceding sections dealed with the stem formation of verbals, then I discuss the conjugation of verbals from this section to §6.7

There is no tense marker in Burushaski, and the temporality of the indicative verb predicate is expressed by a complex system of aspect (perfective or imperfective), mood (present or non-present), and the auxiliary copula. And the temporality of the copula can be distinguished only by mood. And Burushaski finite predicates must show person-number-class agreement, all of which are marked with a single fused marker; for example *-o* marks the third person, singular, and HF-class at the same time. As for the details of the agreement system, see §8.4 (the section for grammatical relations). The indicative major mood in Burushaski consists of two minor moods, present and non-present.

Present mood is used for descriptions of present events that are actually observed by the speaker's cognition in the present. So this mood marker functions correspondingly with what is called the present tense marker in other languages. But it is also used for prospective events, which have not happened yet in the present, because the inceptions of these events can be evidently sensed now. For the reason, it can be said that the present mood (and the non-present mood) functions for a kind of evidentiality.

The pair to present mood is, of course, non-present mood (or it may be called absent mood). This mood functions almost like a tense for both past and future predicates (see the following subsections for each form of copulas and verbs). If an event was present but has gone now, the event is absent; and if an event will certainly be present but has not been yet now, the event is absent, too. For these events, the non-present mood marker must be used. Unlike the so-called irrealis mood in other languages, non-present mood in Burushaski is also used for past events that the speaker considers as ones that have happened in reality.

Scholars use some labels for the suffix *-m* and they do not employ zero morpheme. I list the labels of *-m* which are used in previous studies in Table 44. In this chart, the scholars under a dotted line do not analyse *-m* separate from personal suffixes (at the slots [+3] or [+5]).

Table 44. Labelling by each scholar for *-m*

	-Ø	*-m*
this dissertation	present	non-present
Anderson (2007)	---	aorist participle
Berger (1998)	---	participle
Munshi (2006)	---	past, future
Bashir (2004)	present	past, future
Willson (1996)	present	past, future

The personal suffixes for verb indicative forms at the slots [+3] or [+5], which agree with the subject argument, are as in Table 45. These are essentially incidental suffixes to the indicative mood suffixes, present mood *-Ø* or non-present mood *-m*, at the slot [+4].

Table 45. Indicative personal suffixes for verbs

		SG	PL
1		*-a* [+3]	*-an* [+3/+5]
2		*-a*	*-an*
3	HM	*-i*	*-an*
	HF	*-o*	
	X	*-i*	*-ie(n)* ~ *-io*
	Y	*-i*	*-i*

The first person plural suffix appears at the slot [+3] with an imperfective stem or at the slot [+5] with a perfective stem. In Nager, lengthened variation of most suffixes at the slot [+5] is used for the future and the prospective forms, which are simple forms constructed with the present mood, see the respective tables in §6.4.2.

These personal suffixes are similar to the basic personal suffix for the copula listed in Table 37, repeated below.

Table 37. Basic personal suffixes for copula

		SG	PL
1		*-a*	*-an*
2		*-a*	*-an*
3	HM	*-i*	*-an*
	HF	*-o*	
	X	*-i*	*-ié(n) ~ -ió*
	Y	*-il*	*-icá(n)*

Copulas have already included the personal marking in their stems, so that they will not take a personal suffix for the indicative forms, but the first person singular alone will take a personal suffix *-a* at the slot [+3], once again for non-present mood in the same way as verb forms do. This exception happens because the non-present mood always requires the first person singular suffix *-a*, in the slot [+3] , to precede it: 1SG past *báyam* < bá [0] -a [+1] -a [+3] -m [+4], compare with 2SG past *bam* < bá [0] -a [+1] -m [+4].

Indicative copulas are classified into two temporal categories: present and past (§6.4.1); while indicative verbs conjugate in seven temporal references: future, simple past, and prospective, with simple forms (§6.4.2); and present, past imperfect, present perfect, and past perfect, with complex forms (§6.4.3).

6.4.1. Finite forms of copula

Copulas in the indicative mood have only present and past forms. There are no future forms of copulas. These forms are used in a simple way; that is, present forms refer to present states and past forms refer to past states.

A present form is constructed with a stem and a present mood suffix *-Ø* at the slot [+4]. It is either the same or just a little longer than its stem, owing to the fact that it is complemented with an open vowel at the accented stem-final position of the third person Y-class singular stem. See Table 46 for present forms of copula.

Table 46. Present forms of copula

		SG	PL
1		*báa*	*báan*
2		*báa*	*báan*
3	HM	*bái*	*báan*
	HF	*bo*	
	X	*bi*	*bié(n) ~ bió*
	Y	*bilá ~ dilá*	*bicán*

The following are example for affirmatives, (153), and for negatives, (154). (For negative forms, see also §6.8.)

(153) *yárum* *jáar* *amóos* *bilá.*
i-yár-um jé-ar a-mooś-Ø b́-iĺ-Ø
3SG.Y:I-before-ABL I-DAT 1SG:I-anger-ABS COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'I am angry from before. [lit. There is my anger for me from before]' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #479)

(154) *bée* *yái* *ịu* *jáa* *háale* *ḍaḍáŋ*
bé yá ịú-i jé-e há-al-e ḍaḍáŋ
no INTERJ come-IMP.SG I-GEN house-LOC-ESS large.drums

ḍaámalik *apíe.* *je* *bérican*
ḍaámal-ik-Ø a-b́-ién-Ø jé-Ø béric-an-Ø
timpani-INDEF.PL-ABS NEG-COP-3PL.X-PRS I-ABS Dom.person-INDEF.SG-ABS

apáa
a-bá-a-Ø
NEG-COP-1SG-PRS

'No, you, there're no drums and timpani in my house. I'm not a Dom' (*čhúmoe minás*: #73)

A past form of the copula is formed with a stem and a non-present mood suffix *-m* at the slot [+4], and a personal suffix only for the first person singular. Some of the stems, which have round brackets included in Table 38, are shortened to become indicative past forms because they are followed by a suffix with a sound: the 1PL stem

bá(an)- conjugates *báan* [< *bá(an)-Ø*] for present whereas *bam* [< *bá(an)-m*] for past in the Hunza dialect. And the /a/ in the stem is changed into /o/ by the following *-m* in Nager. Thus, the actual forms are as in Table 47 (dialectal variations: Hunza ~ Nager) below.

Table 47. Past forms of copula

		SG	PL
1		*báyam*	*bam ~ bom*
2		*bam ~ bom*	*bam ~ bom*
3	HM	*bam ~ bom*	*bam ~ bom*
	HF	*bom*	
	X	*bim*	*bim ~ bióm*
	Y	*bilúm ~ dilúm*	*bicúm*

(155) is an example for affirmative past forms of copula, and (156) is for negative past forms. (For negative forms, see also §6.8.)

(155)

yáare	*hirúmišo*	*dayó*	*bíma?*
i-yáar-e	hiŕ-um-išo	dań-čo-Ø	b́-ién-m=a
3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS	sharp-ADJVLZ-PL	stone-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q

ek	*booṭále*	*čurúkičiŋ*	*bicúma?*	*simánc*
ék-Ø	booṭál-e	čurúk-ičiŋ-Ø	b́-ićán-m=a	siḿ-anc-Ø
those.ones:Y-ABS	bottle-GEN	fragment-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.Y-NPRS=Q	wire-PL-ABS

bíma?
b́-ién-m=a
COP-3PL.X-NPRS=Q

‘Were there sharp stones at our feet? Were those the fragments of bottles? Or [were those] wires?’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #57)

(156)

yáare	*khutó*	*hóparo*	*ee*	*hóparulo*	*ee*	*sis*
i-yár-e	khuté	hópar-e	ee	hópar-ul-e	ee	sís-Ø
3SG.Y:I-before-ESS	this:Y	Hopar-ESS	FIL	Hopar-LOC-ESS	FIL	people-ABS

apóm.
a-bá-an-m
NEG-COP-3PL.H-NPRS

'There lived no one in Hopar before. [lit. There were not people in Hopar before.]' (*The Story of Hopar*: #1)

These indicative forms of the copula, except for the forms with √d root in Nager (Table 36 in §6.2), are employed in the complex finite forms of the verb, too, as the auxiliary copula.

6.4.2. Simple finite forms of verb

Simple finite forms of the verb in the indicative mood include the temporalities future, simple past, and prospective, as in Table 48.

Table 48. Functions of simple finite forms of verb in indicative

[+4]^{v} [+2]^{v}	perfective aspect (w/o suf.)	imperfective aspect: *-č*
present mood: *-ø*	prospective	N/A
non-present mood: *-m*	simple past	future

Table 49 shows the third person HF-class singular forms of *še-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'for instance.

Table 49. Simple finite forms of *še-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)': 3SG.HF

[+4]^{v} [+2]^{v}	perfective aspect (w/o suf.)	imperfective aspect: *-č*
present mood: *-ø*	*šéo*	N/A
non-present mood: *-m*	*šémo*	*šéčumo*

6.4.2.1. Future

The future form is made of the imperfective (*-č*) stem and a non-present mood suffix *-m* with a personal suffix. But, if the stem final sound is not a vowel (nor semivowel), at all the third person forms and the second person plural form, the non-present suffix *-m*, on the surface, is always or almost always elided. In Nager and the hillside area in Hunza, while it is retained in the riverfront area in Hunza around the confluence of the Hunza and the Nager river (see §0.3 for details of the areas). But in the same case, all the dialects tend to elide *-m* with the third person X-class plural. The

non-present suffix *-m*, furthermore, loses its sound after the first person plural suffix *-an*; that is, *-an-m* > *-an*. The Nager forms include the lengthened personal suffix, and *-an* is regularly lengthened to *-een*.

Table 50 is a list of the future forms of *šé-* 'to eat (something Y-class)' for a consonant-final stem example (imperfective stem *šéč-*), and Table 51 shows the example *girmín-* 'to write' for a (semi)vowel-final stem (IPFV stem *girmíy-*; see §1.5.2 (26) for the morphophonological process). The variations between dialects are shown in the order: Hunza (HS ~ RF) ~ Nager.

Table 50. Future forms of *šé-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'

		SG	PL
1		*šéčam*	*šéčan*
2		*šéčuma*	*šéčuman ~ šéčeen*
3	HM	*šéči ~ šéčimi ~ šéčii*	*šéčuman ~ šéčeen*
	HF	*šéčo ~ šéčumo ~ šéčoo*	
	X	*šéči ~ šéčimi ~ šéčii*	*šéčie(n) ~ šéčio*
	Y	*šéči ~ šéčimi ~ šéčii*	*šéči ~ šéčimi ~ šéčii*

When combining the stem and the conjugative suffix in the slot [+4] creates a consonant sequence, then an epenthetic vowel occurs between them. The epenthetic vowel is either of the high vowels, /i/ or /u/, and the choice is determined by whether the next vowel is front or not, respectively: 2SG *šéčuma* (epenthetic vowel) < šé-č-m-a [eat-IPFV-NPRS-2SG].

Table 51. Future forms of *girmín-* 'to write'

		SG	PL
1		*girmíyam*	*girmíyan*
2		*girmíima*	*girmíiman*
3	HM	*girmíimi*	*girmíiman*
	HF	*girmíimo*	
	X	*girmíimi*	*girmíimie(n) ~ girmíimio*
	Y	*girmíimi*	*girmíimi*

And when a stem has an accent after it, the personal suffixes of the first person at the slot [+3] get longer. See Table 52 for *man-́* 'to become' (IPFV stem *may-́*).

Table 52. Future forms of *man-́* 'to become'

		SG	PL
1		*mayáam*	*mayáan*
2		*maíma*	*maíman*
3	HM	*maími*	*maíman*
	HF	*maímo*	
	X	*maími*	*maímie(n) ~ maímio*
	Y	*maími*	*maími*

Now I discuss the function of future forms. These forms are used for events which will happen in the future even though they are hypothetical. These events include both volitional actions, (157), and spontaneous phenomena, (158).

(157)

ye	*gucé*	*hukái*	*góo*	*káa*	*jú̱cie.*
yé	gucé	huk-́ai-Ø	gu̱-e	káaṭ	jú̱-č-m-ien
INTERJ	these:X	dog-PL-ABS	2SG:II-GEN	together	come-IPFV-NPRS-3PL.X

'Now, these dogs will come with you.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #440)

(158)

Lee	*mapéer,*	*un*	*guwárchuma!*	*Ye*	*jaar*
léi	mapéer	ún-Ø	gu-bar-́č-m-a	yé	jé-ar
INTERJ:HM.OBJ	aged	thou-ABS	2SG:I-get.tired-IPFV-NPRS-2SG	INTERJ	I-DAT

aar	*phat*	*e,*	*ke*	*je*	*goor*
a̱-ar	phát	i̱-t-́i	ké	jé-Ø	gu̱-ar
1SG:II-DAT	quitting	3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	LINK	I-ABS	2SG:II-DAT

halagoónan	*tshir*	*díusham.*
halagoón-an	chir-́Ø	d-i-gús-č-a-m
furrow-INDEF.SG	line-ABS	TEL-3SG.Y:I-go.out-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

Teéruman	*qhaa*	*nukóonin,*	*yesháan*	*tshil*
teúr-um-an	qháaṣ	n-gü̱-n-n	yašáan	chil-Ø
that.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG	until	go:CP-2SG-CP-CP	a.little	water-ABS

su.
sú-i
bring-IMP.SG

'Hey old man, you would be tired out! So stop your work and bring me, then I will make the furrow line for you. And you will go as far as I made the furrow and irrigate onto it with a little water.' (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #47)

Cohortative expressions are also served by the future form of the first person plural (or with the polar interrogative, see §8.5.2) as in (159).

(159) Cohortative expression

"isé	*ṣíçan*	*ye*	*qha*	*hurú"*	*nusé*
isé-Ø	ṣí-č-an-m	yé	qháṭ	hurúṭ-i	n-sén
that:X-ABS	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-IPFV-1PL-NPRS	INTERJ	down	sit-IMP.SG	CP-say

hitháane	*yálanulo*	*ámulo*	*qha*
hík-tháan-e	i-yál-an-ul-e	ámul-e	qháṭ
one-place-ESS	3SG.Y:I-shadow-INDEF.SG-LOC-ESS	where-ESS	down

nuúruṭinininin.
n-hurúṭ-n-n-n-n
CP-sit-CP-CP-CP-CP

' "Let's eat it, sit down" said [the servant] and they sat down there in the shade.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #48)

6.4.2.2. Simple past

Simple past forms are made of a perfect stem, and a non-present mood suffix *-m* with a personal suffix. Unlike the future form, they do not precipitate the elision of *-m* at all. Simple past forms are based on the perfective stem so that the first person plural suffix is attached at the slot [+5], not [+3], see Table 53 – Table 55.

Table 53. Simple past forms of *šé-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'

		SG	PL
1		*šéyam*	*šéman*
2		*šéma*	*šéman*
3	HM	*šémi*	*šéman*
	HF	*šémo*	
	X	*šémi*	*šémie(n) ~ šémio*
	Y	*šémi*	*šémi*

Table 54. Simple past forms of *girmín-* 'to write'

		SG	PL
1		*girmínam*	*girmínuman*
2		*girmínuma*	*girmínuman*
3	HM	*girmínimi*	*girmínuman*
	HF	*girmínumo*	
	X	*girmínimi*	*girmínimie(n) ~ girmínimio*
	Y	*girmínimi*	*girmínimi*

Table 55. Simple past forms of *man-́* 'to become'

		SG	PL
1		*manáam*	*manúman*
2		*manúma*	*manúman*
3	HM	*manímí*	*manúman*
	HF	*manúmo*	
	X	*manímí*	*manímie(n) ~ manímio*
	Y	*manímí*	*manímí*

Except for the third person X-class plural forms, simple past forms show no diversity among dialects, even accross valleys within Eastern Burushaski. While the future forms of consonanl-final stems show the dialectal gaps (see Table 50 above).

As I have mentioned in §6.3.4, √jụ́ 'come' requires a supplementary root to make the perfective stem, and the simple past forms become as in Table 56.

Table 56. Simple past forms of *jú-* ‘to come’

		SG	PL
1		*dáayam*	*diméeman*
2		*dukóoma*	*damáaman*
3	HM	*díimi*	*dúuman*
	HF	*dumóomo*	
	X	*díimi*	*dúumie(n) ~ dúumio*
	Y	*díimi*	*díimi*

These forms are made of either the stem either *d-@̈* for the first and second persons or the stem *d-@̋* for the third persons, and the non-present marker *-m* with a personal suffix. In Hunza, when the simple past forms of √j̣ú ‘come’ have the negative marker *a-* and the accent has shifted forwards onto the epenthetic vowel between /d/ and @ if there is one, then the long vowel after @ becomes short and as high as that of the corresponding type-I personal prefix; for example, 2.SG *atúkuma* and 2.PL *atámaman*, but 1.SG *atáayam*. On the other hand, in Nager, the negative marker *a-* that causes accent shift is not used. Instead, the other negative marker *aú-*, which allows double accent, is used, so that such sound change will not happen there; for example, 1.SG *aúdáayam*. Regarding the differences of negative marking between the Hunza and Nager dialects, see §6.8 for details.

Simple past forms are used for predicating events that happened once or many times, not habitually, and these events cannot be related to the present time through cause and effect or anything of the like. (160) and (161) are examples for simple past forms.

(160) *isé* *buš* *ité* *saásaṭe* *díi* *dáa* *dubaará*
isé buš́-Ø ité saás-aṭ-e d-ī̋ dáa dubaará
that:X cat-ABS that:Y evening-INS-ESS come:CP-3SG.X again again

dúimi.
d-ī̋m-i
come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X

‘The cat came again that evening.’ (*uyúm daɣánum búšan*: #68)

(161) *óltalike* *bée* *ya.* *óltalik*
u̱-ltalik-e bé yá u̱-ltalik-Ø
3PL.H:II-both-ERG no INTERJ 3PL.H:II-both-ABS

atúmaẏman.
a-d-u-maaẏ́-m-an
NEG-TEL-3PL.H:I-be.peaceful-NPRS-3PL.H

'Both of them [say] "No". The two disagreed.' (*šon gukúr*: #10)

6.4.2.3. Prospective

Prospective forms are constructed by a perfective stem, and a present mood suffix -Ø with a personal suffix. Just like future forms, prospectives also take longer suffixes in Nager. See Table 57 – Table 59 for prospective forms of each kind of stems.

Table 57. Prospective forms of *šé-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'

		SG	PL
1		*šéya*	*šéyan*
2		*šéya*	*šéyan*
3	HM	*šéi*	*šéyan*
	HF	*šéo*	
	X	*šéi*	*šéie(n) ~ šéio*
	Y	*šéi*	*šéi*

Table 58. Prospective forms of *girmín-* 'to write'

		SG	PL
1		*girmína ~ girmínaa*	*girmínan ~ girmíneen*
2		*girmína ~ girmínaa*	*girmínan ~ girmíneen*
3	HM	*girmíni ~ girmínii*	*girmínan ~ girmíneen*
	HF	*girmíno ~ girmínoo*	
	X	*girmíni ~ girmínii*	*girmínie(n) ~ girmínio*
	Y	*girmíni ~ girmínii*	*girmíni ~ girmínii*

Table 59. Prospective forms of *man-́* 'to become'

		SG	PL
1		*manáa*	*manáan ~ manéen*
2		*manáa*	*manáan ~ manéen*
3	HM	*maníi*	*manáan ~ manée*
	HF	*manóo*	
	X	*maníi*	*maníe/maníin ~ manío*
	Y	*maníi*	*maníi*

Like the simple past forms, √jú 'come' gets the following forms with the perfective stem, see Table 60. The vowel length of the stems becomes shorter before a vowel brought by the personal suffix.

Table 60. Prospective forms of *jú-* 'to come'

		SG	PL
1		*dáaya*	*diméyan*
2		*dukóya*	*daméyan*
3	HM	*día/díi*	*dúan*
	HF	*dumóyo*	
	X	*día/díi*	*dúie(n) ~ dúio*
	Y	*día/díi*	*día*

Prospective forms are used with low frequency and refer to events that are going to happen, or were going to happen, or will be going to happen. (162) – (164) are examples for prospectives.

(162)

iné	*múuy̰*	*éi*	*mópačiar*
iné	mu-úy̰-Ø	i̯-i	mu̯-pá-či-ar
that:H	3SG.HF:I-father-ABS	3SG.HM:II-daughter	3SG.HF:II-side-INE-DAT

níin	*saamáan*	*phaṭ*	*nétaninin,*
n-i″n	saamáan-Ø	phát	n-i̯-ṭ́-n-n-n
go:CP-3SG.HM-CP	baggage-ABS	quitting	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP-CP-CP

“mehemáane	*be*	*sénia*	*baábo”*	*sénase*	*káa.*
mehemáan-e	bé	sén-Ø-i=a	baábo	sén-as-e	káaṭ
guest-ERG	what	say-PRS-3SG.HM=Q	dad	say-INF-GEN	together

‘The father went to his daughter and tossed the baggage while she was saying “What was he going to say, father?” ’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #173)

(163)

iphóiŋaṭum	*báaz*	*ɣaȷ́ám*	*ne*
i-phoíŋ-aṭ-um	báaz-Ø	ɣaȷ́ám	n-i̇̀-t
3SG.HM:I-shoulder-INS-ABL	hawk-ABS	snatching	CP-3SG.X:II-do

dícum	*ésulo*	*duún*	*maráaq*
d-i-sú-um	i̇̀-ś-ul-e	d-gún	maráq-<:>
TEL-3SG.X:I-bring-ADJVLZ	3SG.X:II-neck-LOC-ESS	TEL:CP-pack	bending-EMPH

ne	*ɕaṭ*	*ne*	*lip*	*étimi*
n-i̇̀-t	ɕáṭ	n-i̇̀-t	líp	i̇̀-t́-m-i
CP-3SG.X:II-do	crack	CP-3SG.X:II-do	dumping	3SG.X:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM

báas.	*lip*	*éti.*
báaz-Ø	líp	i̇̀-t́-Ø-i
hawk-ABS	dumping	3SG.X:II-do-PRS-3SG.HM

‘He snatched the hawk from his shoulder, bent its neck, plucked it off, and threw it away. Almost threw it away.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #234–35)

(164)

ése	*ikhár*	*niimaráaq*	*étimi*
és-e	i-khaŕ-Ø	niimaráaq	i̇̀-t́-m-i
that.one:X-ERG	3SG.X:I-REFL.PRN-ABS	twisting:ONO	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X

leekín	*éḍe*	*iríiŋčiŋcum*	*duúsiṣ*
leekín	éḍ-e	i-riiŋ́-čiŋ-c-um	d-gús-ṣ
but	Ed-GEN	3SG.HM:I-hand-PL-ADE-ABL	TEL-go.out-OPT

ayéemani.
a-i̇̀-mań-Ø-i
NEG-3SG.X:III-become-PRS-3SG.X

‘It wiggled but stayed in Ed’s hands. [lit. It wiggled but could not be going to escape from Ed’s hands.]’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #119)

This form can refer to either the starting point, as in (165), or the end point, as in (166), of continuous events, and it should be interpreted in context.

(165)

thaláa thaláa	*ɣaré,*	*iné*	*déyali.*
thaláa+RDP	ɣaŕ-i	iné-Ø	d-i̱-yal-Ø-i
slow+MANNER	sound-IMP.SG	that:H-ABS	TEL-3SG.HM:II-hear-PRS-3SG.HM

'Sing slowly, and he is going to hear.'

(166)

muúto	*míi*	*ṣían.*
muú-to	mí-e	ṣí-Ø-an
now-just	we-ERG	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-PRS-1PL

'We have almost eaten it up now. / We are going to finish to eat it now.'

With a punctual event, the prospective can be interpreted such that the event is ready to happen, as in (167).

(167)

ye	*chor chor*	*duró*	*e,*	*jáa*	*duró*
yé	chór+RDP	duró-Ø	i̱-t́-i	jé-e	duró-Ø
INTERJ	early+MANNER	work-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG	I-ERG	work-ABS

phaṣ	*éta.*
pháṣ	i̱-t́-a-Ø
finishing	3SG.Y:II-do-1SG-PRS

'Now, do the work faster! I have almost finished it.'

Hunza people prefer to use the expression in (168) for greeting, while Nager people use the expression in (169).

(168)

am	*duúsa?*
ám	d-gús-Ø-a
where	TEL-go.out-PRS-2SG

'Where are you going?'

(169) *am* *galáa?*
ám gal-Ø-a
where go-PRS-2SG
'Where are you going?'

The form √gal is a suppelementary alternative root for the prospective forms of √ní 'go' in (169). Its conjugation is as in Table 61.

Table 61. Prospective forms of *ní-* 'to go' in Nager

		SG	PL
1		*galáa*	*galéen*
2		*galáa*	*galéen*
3	HM	*galíi*	*galéen*
	HF	*galóo*	
	X	*galíi*	*galío*
	Y	*galíi*	*galíi*

6.4.3. Complex finite forms of verb

Verbs require an auxiliary copula at the [+4] slot to conjugate for four categories of temporality in the indicative: present, past imperfect, present perfect, and past perfect. In these cases a verb stem, which may be combined with a first person suffix, makes up a compound with an auxiliary copula, so that I call these complex finite forms. Four kinds of complex finite forms are cross-classified simply as in Table 62.

Table 62. Functions of complex finite forms of verb in indicative

[+4]COP / [+2]V	perfective aspect (w/o suf.)	imperfective aspect: *-č*
present mood: *-Ø*	present perfect	present
non-present mood: *-m*	past perfect	past imperfect

Table 63 shows the third person HF-class singular forms of *še-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'for instance.

Table 63. Complex finite forms of *še-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)': 3SG.HF

[+4]^{V} [+2]^{V}	perfective aspect (w/o suf.)	imperfective aspect: *-č*
present mood: *-Ø*	*šébó*	*šéčubó*
non-present mood: *-m*	*šébóm*	*šéčubóm*

If a complex finite form must be negated, a negative prefix will be attached before the verb stem.

6.4.3.1. Present

Present forms are composed of an imperfective stem with or without a first person suffix, and an auxiliary copula with the present mood suffix *-Ø*. Unlike the simple copula, the auxiliary copula uses the root √b even for the Y-class singular.

Before an auxiliary copula, the first person plural suffix *-an* undergoes an apocope to become *-a*. Even in a consonant sequence between the verb stem and the auxiliary copula, an epenthetic vowel occurs, as it does in the middle of a consonant sequence within a single word. Complex forms with both 1) a consonant-final stem without an accent after it, and 2) a polymoraic-stemmed auxiliary copula, are mainly contracted in Hunza, e.g., **šéčubáa* > *šéčáa*, or **šéčibilá* > *šéčilá*. And the /a/ of an auxiliary copula changes into /o/ through the contraction, especially in or around Ganish (RF dialects). Berger (1998) evasively remarks that the contraction between a stem and an auxiliary is "nur im Hz.-Dialekt, sonst in Hz. und Ng. gleich", but it can now be observed in the Nager valley, at least in the Qhái and the Centre of Uyum Nager. The present forms of each verb are as shown in Table 64 – Table 66 below.

Table 64. Present forms of *šé-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'

		SG	PL
1		*šéčabáa*	*šéčabáan*
2		*šéčáa ~ šéčóo ~ šéčubáa*	*šéčáan ~ šéčóon ~ šéčubáan*
3	HM	*šéčái ~ šéčói ~ šéčubái*	*šéčáan ~ šéčóon ~ šéčubáan*
	HF	*šéčubó*	
	X	*šéčibí*	*šéčié(n) ~ šéčibió*
	Y	*šéčilá ~ šéčibilá*	*šéčicá(n) ~ šéčibicán*

Table 65. Present forms of *girmín-* 'to write'

		SG	PL
1		*girmíyabáa*	*girmíyabáan*
2		*girmíibáa*	*girmíibáan*
3	HM	*girmíibái*	*girmíibáan*
	HF	*girmíibó*	
	X	*girmíibí*	*girmíibié(n) ~ girmíibió*
	Y	*girmíibilá*	*girmíibicá(n)*

Table 66. Present forms of *maṉ́-* 'to become'

		SG	PL
1		*mayáabáa*	*mayáabáan*
2		*maíbáa*	*maíbáan*
3	HM	*maíbái*	*maíbáan*
	HF	*maíbó*	
	X	*maíbí*	*maíbié(n) ~ maíbió*
	Y	*maíbilá*	*maíbicá(n)*

Present forms are used to refer to events that happen, as in (170), or are happening in the present, as in (171), and logical propositions or unchanging truths remarked as timeless, as in (172).

(170)

síse	*káaṭe*	*kholé*	*hurú.*	*dáa*	*Nagér*	*aabáad*
sís-e	káaṭ-e	kholéi	hurúṭ-i	dáa	nagér-Ø	aabáad
people-GEN	together-ESS	here	sit-IMP.SG	again	Nager-ABS	resident

apím	*díšan.*	*bes*	*hurúšu báa*
a-ḍ́-iĺ-um	diš́-an-Ø	bés	hurúṭ-č+bá-a-Ø
NEG-COP-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ	ground-INDEF.SG-ABS	why	sit-IPFV-COP-2SG-PRS

'Live in here with other people. Nager is an uninhabited place. Why do you stay [there]?' (van Skyhawk 2006, *Híspare Śajirá*: #19)

(171)

khué	*tha*	*nookártiŋ*	*kam*	*umánumana*	*ke*
khué	thá	nookár-tiŋ-Ø	kám	u-maṉ́-m-an=a	ké
these:H	hundred	servant-PL-ABS	little	3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H=Q	LINK

dáa	*je*	*ke*	*ṭesṭ*	*áčóo,*	*híran*
dáa	jé-Ø	ké	ṭésṭ	a̓-t́-č+bá-a-Ø	hiŕ-an-Ø
again	I-ABS	LINK	test	1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS	man-INDEF.SG-ABS

bía	*gúsan*	*bía*
b́-i-Ø=a	guś-an-Ø	b́-i-Ø=a
COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q	woman-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS=Q

phaúanaṭe	*íti*	*phaláaṭ*	*khíti*	*phaláat*
phay̨ú-an-aṭ-e	íti	phaláṭ-<ː>	khíti	phaláṭ-<ː>
small.wood.peg-INDEF.SG-INS-ESS	thither	spinning-EMPH	hither	spinning-EMPH

áčóo.
a̓-t́-č+bá-a-Ø
1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

‘These hundred servants decreased so that you <u>are checking</u> me for whether I am male or female by stroking me all over with a stick.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #345)

(172)

Gutsé	*mamúshumutse*	*chháptsum*	*insáane*	*chhap*	*uyám*
gucé	mamúšo-muc-e	čhaṕ-c-um	insáan-e	čhaṕ-Ø	uyá-um
these:X	he.lamb-PL-GEN	flesh-ADE-ABL	human-GEN	flesh-ABS	sweet-ADJVLZ

meíbila,	*qheéran!*
mań-č+b́-iĺ-Ø	qhéer-an
become-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-PRS	sacrifice-INDEF.SG

‘the flesh of human being <u>should be</u> more tasty than the flesh of lambs’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #10)

6.4.3.2. Past imperfect

Past imperfect forms are made of an imperfect stem (with a first person suffix), and an auxiliary copula in the non-present mood. See Table 67 and Table 68 for actual forms.

Table 67. Past imperfect forms of *šé-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'

		SG	PL
1		*šéčabáyam*	*šéčabám ~ šéčabóm*
2		*šéčám ~ šéčóm ~ šéčubóm*	*šéčám ~ šéčóm ~ šéčubóm*
3	HM	*šéčám ~ šéčóm ~ šéčubóm*	*šéčám ~ šéčóm ~ šéčubóm*
	HF	*šéčubóm*	
	X	*šéčibím*	*šéčibím ~ šéčibióm*
	Y	*šéčilúm ~ šéčibilúm*	*šéčicúm ~ šéčibicúm*

Table 68. Past imperfect forms of *girmín-* 'to write'

		SG	PL
1		*girmíyabáyam*	*girmíyabám ~ girmíyabóm*
2		*girmíibám ~ girmíibóm*	*girmíibám ~ girmíibóm*
3	HM	*girmíibám ~ girmíibóm*	*girmíibám ~ girmíibóm*
	HF	*girmíibóm*	
	X	*girmíibím*	*girmíibím ~ girmíibióm*
	Y	*girmíibilúm*	*girmíibicúm*

A past imperfect form is used for an event that used to happen, as in (173), or was happening at a point in time, as in (174). If an event happened at many different points in time but there seemed to be no continuity among the individual instances, then that event would be predicated with the simple past.

(173)

óltalik	*nuúruṭin*	*bam,*	*óltalik,*	*karagáḍie*
u̇-ltalik-Ø	n-hurúṭ-n	bá-an-m	u̇-ltalik	karagáḍi-e
3PL.H:II-both-ABS	CP-sit-CP	COP-3PL.H-NPRS	3PL.H:II-both	Karagadimuts-GEN

káa	*han*	*baṭá*	*buáan*	*ju̇́cibím.*
káaṭ	hán	baṭá	buá-an-Ø	ju̇́-č+b́-i-m
together	one:X	bald	cow-INDEF.SG-ABS	come-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-NPRS

'The two of them were sitting when a piebald cow came down from Baltit by the Karagadimuts people.' (*šon gukúr*: #4)

(174)

Duúsas	*khéene,*	*éle*	*ité*	*wáqchi*	*hin*
d-gús-as	khéen-e	él-e	ité	wáqt-či-e	hín
TEL-go.out-INF	period-ESS	there-ESS	that:Y	time-INE-ESS	one:H

mapéerane	*hárki*	*écham.*
mapéer-an-e	hárki-Ø	i-t-č+bá-i-m
aged-INDEF.SG-ERG	cultivation-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

'In the time of going out, there was an old man working on a farm [lit. an old man who was working on a farm].' (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #46)

6.4.3.3. Present perfect

Present perfect forms are composed of a perfective stem with the first person singular suffix, if necessary, and a present auxiliary copula. Perfective stems in complex finite forms cannot take the first person plural suffix at the slot $[+3]^{V}$, which differs the personal suffixing of perfective stems from that of imperfective stems. Table 69 and Table 70 are examples for the present perfect forms of stems which will take the accent inside themselves.

Table 69. Present perfect forms of *šé-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'

		SG	PL
1		*šéyabáa*	*šébáan*
2		*šébáa*	*šébáan*
3	HM	*šébái*	*šébáan*
	HF	*šébó*	
	X	*šébí*	*šébié(n) ~ šébió*
	Y	*šébilá*	*šébicá(n)*

Table 70. Present perfect forms of *girmín-* 'to write'

		SG	PL
1		*girmínabáa*	*girmínáan ~ girmínóon ~ girmínubáan*
2		*girmínáa ~ girmínóo ~ girmínubáa*	*girmínáan ~ girmínóon ~ girmínubáan*
3	HM	*girmínái ~ girmínói ~ girmínubái*	*girmínáan ~ girmínóon ~ girmínubáan*
	HF	*girmínubó*	
	X	*girmínibí*	*girmínié(n) ~ girmínibió*
	Y	*girmínilá ~ girmínibilá*	*girmínicá(n) ~ girmínibicán*

An accent after the stem obstructs most contractions between the consonant-final stem and the polymoraic-stemmed auxiliary copula, because the accents of a verb stem and an auxiliary copula should differ. This conditioning still allows the contracted forms of the third person X-class singular and Y-class singular and plural, whose copulas have an accent on the second syllable, see Table 71.

Table 71. Present perfect forms of *man-́* 'to become'

		SG	PL
1		*manáabáa*	*manúbáan*
2		*manúbáa*	*manúbáan*
3	HM	*manúbái*	*manúbáan*
	HF	*manúbó*	
	X	*maníbí*	*maníé(n) ~ maníbió*
	Y	*manílá ~ maníbilá*	*manícá(n) ~ maníbicán*

The present perfect and past perfect forms of √j̇ú 'come' are realised with a supplementary root as in Table 72.

Table 72. Present perfect forms of *jú-* 'to come'

		SG	PL
1		*dáayabáa*	*diméebáan*
2		*dukóobáa*	*damáabáan*
3	HM	*díibái*	*dúubáan*
	HF	*dumóobó*	
	X	*díibí*	*dúubié(n) ~ dúubió*
	Y	*díibilá*	*díibicá(n)*

A present perfect form is used to refer to an event that has happened before, but whose resultant effect still remains, see the examples (175) – (177). So, the present perfect can be used in the answer portion of the following greeting exchange in (175), because the answerer is on the spot.

(175) – *dukóoma.*
d-gu̇̄m-a
come:PFV-2SG-NPRS-2SG

'You are welcome! [lit. Just you came.]'

– *dáayabáa.*
d-ā̤a+bá-a-Ø
come:PFV-1SG-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

'I've arrived.'

(176)

baadšáa	*jamaaáte*	*γánise*	*mumóos*	*dusúninin*
baadšáa-e	jamaaát-e	γéniṣ-e	mu-mooś-Ø	d-sú-n-n-n
king-GEN	spouse-GEN	queen-ERG	3SG.HF:I-anger-ABS	TEL:CP-bring-CP-CP

"khos,	*je*	*ayákal*	*bes*	*dée̤yasibí?*
khós-Ø	jé	a-yakál	bés	d-ï̤̄-γas+b́-i-Ø
this.one:X-ABS	I	1SG:I-direction	why	TEL-3SG.X:III-laugh+COP-3SG.X-PRS

'The king's queen got angry and said "Why has this fish laughed at me?".' (*čhúmoe minás*: #24)

(177)

yar	*ámine*	*gárar*	*ke*
i-yár	ámin-e	gaŕ-ar	ké
3SG.Y:I-before	which:H-GEN	marriage-DAT	LINK

atíibái,	*yaaní*	*joṭ*	*laanetí*
a-d-í"+bá-i-Ø	yaaní	jóṭ	laanét-í
NEG-come:PFV-3SG.HM+COP-3SG.HM-PRS	FIL	small	curse-ADJVLZ

aí,	*hazáar*	*jṳ́ca̤ia?*
a-í́-Ø	hazáar	jú-č+bá-i-Ø=a
1SG:I-son-ABS	perhaps	come-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q

'The one who has not come even to the wedding before, that is to say that little accursed son of mine, perhaps he comes now?' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #183)

6.4.3.4. Past perfect

Finally, past perfect forms are constructed out of a perfective stem with or without the first person singular suffix, and a non-present, past, auxiliary copula, see Table 73 – Table 75.

Table 73. Past perfect forms of *šé-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'

		SG	PL
1		*šéyabáyam*	*šébám ~ šébóm*
2		*šébám ~ šébóm*	*šébám ~ šébóm*
3	HM	*šébám ~ šébóm*	*šébám ~ šébóm*
	HF	*šébóm*	
	X	*šébím*	*šébím ~ šébióm*
	Y	*šébilúm*	*šébicúm*

Table 74. Past perfect forms of *girmín-* 'to write'

		SG	PL
1		*girmínabáyam*	*girmínám ~ girmínóm ~ girmínubóm*
2		*girmínám ~ girmínóm ~ girmínubóm*	*girmínám ~ girmínóm ~ girmínubóm*
3	HM	*girmínám ~ girmínóm ~ girmínubóm*	*girmínám ~ girmínóm ~ girmínubóm*
	HF	*girmínubóm*	
	X	*girmínibím*	*girmínibím ~ girmínibióm*
	Y	*girmínilúm ~ girmínibilúm*	*girmínicúm ~ girmínibicúm*

Table 75. Past perfect forms of *man-́* 'to become'

		SG	PL
1		*manáabáyam*	*manúbám ~ manúbóm*
2		*manúbám ~ manúbóm*	*manúbám ~ manúbóm*
3	HM	*manúbám ~ manúbóm*	*manúbám ~ manúbóm*
	HF	*manúbóm*	
	X	*maníbím*	*maníbím ~ maníbióm*
	Y	*manílúm ~ maníbilúm*	*manícúm ~ maníbicúm*

Past perfect is used for a past event that should be predicated by a present perfect if the reference time were the present. That is to say, past perfect refers to an event that had continuing relevance to a past time, see (178) and (179) for example.

(178)

goroóno	*dúu,*	*aččháa*	*háale*	*ité*	*khité*
garoóno-Ø	d-u″-	aččháa	ha′-al-e	íti	khíti
bride.and.groom-ABS	come:CP-3PL.H	good	house-LOC-ESS	thither	hither

ité	*wáqtulo,*	*hin*	*ee*	*maphéer*	*ee*	*sísan,*
ité	wáqt-ul-e	hín	ee	maphéer	ee	sís-an-Ø
that:Y	time-LOC-ESS	one:H	FIL	aged	FIL	people-INDEF.SG-ABS

híŋulo	*gučhábóm.*
hiŋ′-ul-e	gučhá+bá-i-m
door-LOC-ESS	lie+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

'When the bride and the bride groom came and [entered] the house, then an old man had been lying inside the door.' (*The Story of Hopar*: #7)

(179)

éḍar	*ité*	*leél*	*manímí*	*ke*	*isé*	*buš*
éḍ-ar	ité	leél-Ø	man′-m-i	ké	isé	buš′-Ø
Ed-DAT	that:Y	knowing-ABS	become-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	that:X	cat-ABS

joṭ	*imánibím.*
jóṭ	i-man+b′-i-m
small	3SG.X:I-become+COP-3SG.X-NPRS

'Ed noticed that the cat was smaller [lit. had become smaller].' (*uyúm daɣánum búšan*: #81)

6.5. **Imperative**

The imperative forms are only used for verbs. The copula cannot be formed in imperative mood. The nearest senses are expressed with the imperative forms of the verb *man′* 'to become'.

There are only two forms for the imperative mood, the singular and plural forms, and they are both based on a perfective stem. The singular imperative is made with the suffix *-i*, which is realised with a variety of vowels, according to the circumstances, circumstances which include the position pf the accent. The plural is made with *-in*, which can vary in the length of its vowel because of an effect from the accent position. But all imperative forms of stems which have an accent on a syllable inside them tend to shorten from their final sounds, particularly vowels, even though the sound is a part of an imperative suffix (see the singular imperative form in Table 76). Some verbs regularly show an apocope after the accent position in the singular: e.g., *hurú(ṭ)* 'sit!' <

hurúṭ- ‘to sit’, *gá(n)* ‘take!’ < *gán-* ‘to take’, or *é(ti)* ‘do it!’ < *ét-* ‘to do it’, on the other hand. Compare the two series of imperative forms shown in Table 76 and Table 77 below; the former has the fixed accent inside of the stem, and the latter needs an accent just after the stem.

Table 76. Imperative forms of *girmín-* ‘to write’

	SG	PL
2	*girmín* [girmín-i]	*girmínin* [girmín-in]

Table 77. Imperative forms of *man-́* ‘to become’

	SG	PL
2	*mané* [man-́i]	*maníin* [man-́in]

The following (180) is an example for singular imperatives and (181) is for plural imperatives.

(180) *“máma, un befíkar hurú. míi ésar*
máma ún-Ø bephíkar hurúṭ-Ø mí-e és-ar
mum thou-ABS not.anxious sit-IMP.SG we-ERG that.one:X-DAT

baréyan,” uskó jóṭišo urkáie sénié.
barén-č-an-m uskó jóṭ-išo urk-́ai-e sén+b-ién-Ø
look-IPFV-1PL-NPRS three:X small-PL wolf-PL-ERG say+COP-3PL.X-PRS

‘ “Don’t worry [Stay without anxiety], Mother, we will watch out for him,” said the three little wolves.’ (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #3)

(181) *kholéi jáa mámar bésan qhidmátan*
kholéi jé-e má-RDP-ar bés-an qhidmát-an-Ø
here I-ERG you-OBL-DAT what-INDEF.SG service-INDEF.SG-ABS

étas oólaya báa. qhaṭ hópar
i-́t-́as-Ø a-ulán-č-a+bá-a-Ø qháṭ hópar-Ø
3SG.Y:II-do-INF-ABS NEG-be.able.to-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS down Hopar-ABS

ne	*han*	*díśan*	*dilá,*	*eté*	*aabáad*
n-i̱-t	hán	diš́-an-Ø	d́-iĺ-Ø	eté-Ø	aabáad
CP-3SG.Y:II-do	one:Y	ground-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	that:Y-ABS	resident

dilá.	*eléyare*	*níin*
d́-iĺ-Ø	eléi-are	ní-in
COP-3SG.Y-PRS	there-DAT	go-IMP.PL

‘I cannot do anything for you here. There is a resident place Hopar down there. Go there!’ (van Skyhawk 2006, *Híspare Śajirá*: #7)

To call special attention to or to remind of the order, or to lay stress on the order, one can use the suffix *-á* in the slot [+5] with imperative forms, regardless of whether singular or plural, when the listener is almost equal to, or inferior to, the speaker in status. The imperative example in (182) is used for the order of sons to their father, but the sons have no respectful manner against the father (on the contrary, they have attempted to kill him). At least, the sons have no respect so that they do not address the father with the second person plural pronoun *ma*, but with the singular pronoun *un* (see §4.2 for the honorific expression).

(182)

uírase	*káa,*	*‘ohóo*	*ye*	*baréná,*	*un*
u-iŕ-as-e	káaṭ	ohóo	yé	barén-i-á	ún-Ø
3PL.X:I-die-INF-GEN	together	INTERJ	INTERJ	look-IMP.SG-RMND	thou-ABS

ke	*gósqanibím*	*ke*	*be*
ké	gu̱-s-ɣan+b́-i-m	ké	bé
LINK	2SG:II-CAUS-be.finished+COP-3SG.X-NPRS	LINK	what

éčóm’	*ésuman.*
i̱-t́-č+bá-a-m	i̱-ś-m-an
3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-NPRS	3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3PL.H

‘For that [the dogs] died, the sons asked the father “My Heaven, look this, if [the venom] killed you also, then how was you doing?” ’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #302)

6.6. **Optative**

The optative forms are made from a perfective stem and the optative mood suffix *-ṣ* in the slot [+4]$^{V/COP}$, and may take a personal suffix to make the optative finite. Personal suffixes for optative mood are not the same as the ones for indicative, and always occur

at the slot [+5]$^{V/COP}$. Verbs have the optative form for all persons as in Table 78, while copulas have the forms only for the third person in Eastern Burushaski as in Table 79.[†41]

Table 78. Optative personal suffixes for verbs

		SG	PL
1		*-a*	*-an*
2		*-Ø*	*-an*
3	HM	*-Ø*	*-an*
	HF	*-Ø*	
	X	*-Ø*	*-an ~ -o*
	Y	*-Ø*	*-Ø*

Table 79. Optative personal suffixes for copulas

		SG	PL
3	HM	*-Ø*	*-an*
	HF	*-Ø*	
	X	*-Ø*	*-an ~ -an/-Ø*
	Y	*-Ø*	*-Ø/-an*

As for the free alternation in Table 79, the former form tends to be used more than the latter one. Table 80 shows the actual forms for optative finite of *šé-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'.

Table 80. Optative finite forms of *šé-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)'

		SG	PL
1		*šéṣa*	*šéṣan*
2		*šeṣ*	*šéṣan*
3	HM	*šeṣ*	*šéṣan*
	HF	*šeṣ*	
	X	*šeṣ*	*šéṣan ~ šéṣo*
	Y	*šeṣ*	*šeṣ*

After a sonorant, *-ṣ* directly attaches to the preceding perfective stem when there is

[†41] There are also copular optative forms for the first and second persons in Western Burushaski, and the forms have more functions than the ones in EB. For example, the expression of necessity is served by them in WB, whereas the same notion is expressed by using a word *awaáji* 'being necessary' loaned from Shina in EB.

not an accent after the stem, as shown in Table 81. If there is an accent after the stem, the suffix requires an epenthetic vowel /i/, which may be conditioned by the characteristics of *-ṣ*, as shown in Table 82.

Table 81. Optative finite forms of *girmín-* 'to write'

		SG	PL
1		*girmínṣa*	*girmínṣan*
2		*girmínṣ*	*girmínṣan*
3	HM	*girmínṣ*	*girmínṣan*
	HF	*girmínṣ*	
	X	*girmínṣ*	*girmínṣan ~ girmínṣo*
	Y	*girmínṣ*	*girmínṣ*

Table 82. Optative finite forms of *man-́* 'to become'

		SG	PL
1		*maníṣa*	*maníṣan*
2		*maníṣ*	*maníṣan*
3	HM	*maníṣ*	*maníṣan*
	HF	*maníṣ*	
	X	*maníṣ*	*maníṣan ~ maníṣo*
	Y	*maníṣ*	*maníṣ*

The conditioned epenthetic vowel /i/ can also be observed in the forms of the copula for the Y-class, see Table 83.

Table 83. Optative finite forms of copula

		SG	PL
3	HM	*baṣ*	*báṣan*
	HF	*boṣ*	
	X	*biṣ*	*bíṣan ~ bióṣ(an)*
	Y	*bilíṣ ~ dilíṣ*	*bicíṣ(an)*

These forms occur for desirous (183) – (184), intentional (185), and presumptive (186) expressions.

(183)

‘Kot	*akeˑya baˑn*		*kɛ*	*koˑlɛ*
khót-Ø	a-hén-č-an+bá-an-Ø		ké	khól-e
this.one:Y-ABS	NEG-know-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-PRS		LINK	here-ESS

biliš,’	*nʊsɛ,*	*fʌt*	*ɛtʌm.*
b′-il′-ṣ-Ø	n-sén	phát	i̇-t′-Ø-a-m
COP-3SG.Y-OPT-3SG.Y	CP-say	quitting	3SG.Y:II-do-PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS

‘He left it behind saying: “As we do not understand it, let it remain here.” ’ (Lorimer 1935b: 70–71)

(184)

dáal	*nétan,*	*íne*	*ésulo*	*niyát*	*ité*
dál	n-i̇-t′-n	ín-e	i̇-s′-ul-e	niát-Ø	ité
over	CP-3SG.X:II-do-CP	s/he:DIST-ERG	3SG.HM:II-heart-LOC-ESS	oath-ABS	that:Y

étimi	*ke:*	*akbér*	*baadśáa*	*éi*
i̇-t′-m-i	ké	akbér	baadšáa-e	i̇-i-Ø
3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	Akber	king-GEN	3SG.HM:II-daughter-ABS

áar	*mumáṇṣ.*
ȧ-ar	mu-man′-ṣ-Ø
1SG:II-DAT	3SG.HF:I-become-OPT-3SG.HF

‘Having lifted it up, he decided this in his heart that: “May king Akbar’s daughter become mine!” ’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #14)

(185)

hin	*aqhónanar*	*qáo*	*étuman,*	*táake*
hín	aqhón-an-ar	qáo-Ø	i̇-t′-Ø-m-an,	táake
one:H	mullah-INDEF.SG-DAT	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-PFV-NPRS-3PL.H	for.that

tumáran	*bésan*	*nétan*	*guté*	*ráfa*
tumár-an-Ø	bés-an-Ø	n-i̇-t′-n	guté-Ø	ráfa
amulet-INDEF.SG-ABS	what-INDEF.SG-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP	this:Y-ABS	removal

étiṣ	*nusé.*
i̇-t′-ṣ-Ø	n-sén
3SG.Y:II-do-OPT-3SG.HM	CP-say

‘When they called a priest, then he said that he will make a talisman or the like and get rid of this one.’ (Berger 1998b: #1.9)

(186)

muú	*méne*	*itibáar*	*étiṣan*	*yáa*	*itibáar*
muú	mén-e	itibáar-Ø	i̱-t́-ṣ-an	yáa	itibáar-Ø
now	who-ERG	trust-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-OPT-3PL.H	or	trust-ABS

ayétiṣan	*úe*	*iqtiáar.*
a-i̱-t́-ṣ-an	ú-e	iqtiáar-Ø
NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-OPT-3PL.H	they:DIST-GEN	choice-ABS

‘Now, who may or may not trust me; it should be under their wills.’ (Berger 1998b: #1.13)

And when the intentional use co-occurs with the interrogative clitic, the sentence can express a request for a permission as in (187).

(187)

ju̱ˑša	*goˑr*	*sʌlaˑm*	*ɛčo?*
jú-ṣ-Ø=a	gu̱-ar	saláam-Ø	i̱-t́-č-m-o
come-OPT-3SG.HF=Q	2SG:II-DAT	greeting-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HF

‘May she have an audience with you? [lit. Will she come and greet you?]’ (Lorimer 1935a: 325)

Or these forms can be used as infinitives in certain situations without taking a personal suffix. This use is mainly employed for either the potential expressions with *@̈man-* ‘can’ as in (188) or *ulán-* ‘be able to, be possible’, or the expression with *qháaṣ* ‘until’ (see also §3.5.8.2) as in (189).

(188)

dáa	*duró*	*étaṣ*	*ayéemanimi.*
dáa	duró-Ø	i̱-t́-ṣ	a-i̱-mań-m-i
again	work-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-OPT	TEL-3SG.HM:III-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘He could not work.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #93)

(189)

baadšáa	*ke*	*zizí*	*ɣániṣ*	*atíaṣ*	*qháa*	*síndacar*
baadšáa	ké	zizí	ɣéniṣ-Ø	a-d-é-ṣ	qháaṣ	sínda-c-ar
king	LINK	mother	queen-ABS	NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT	until	river-ADE-DAT

náan	*čhúmo*	*dúcuninin*	*óor*	*naašitáa*
n-ä̤-n	čhúmo-Ø	d-u-sú-n-n-n	óor	naašitáa-Ø
go:CP-1SG-CP	fish-ABS	TEL-3PL.X:I-bring-CP-CP-CP	and	breakfast-ABS

tayáar	*éčabáyam.*
tayáar	í̤-t́-č-a+bá-a-a-m
ready	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

‘Before the king and his queen woke up, I used to go to a river to catch fish and prepare breakfast.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #38)

Such optative forms freely alternate with bare infinitives for the expression of possibility as in (184), or dative or genitive declined infinitives for *qháaṣ* ‘until’ as in (185) (see also §3.5.8.2).

6.7. **Conditional**

There is a conditional form for both copula and verb. But the functions are somewhat different from each other.

Conditional forms of verbs are composed of: 1) an imperfective stem with or without a first person suffix common to the indicative at the slot [+3], 2) the non-present suffix *-m* at the slot [+4], and 3) the effective marker for the conditional mood *-ce ~ -ceq* at the slot [+5]. Therefore, all the forms of the second and third persons do not differ morphologically, see Table 84 and Table 85.

Table 84. Conditional forms of *šé-* ‘to eat (Y.OBJ)’

		SG	PL
1		*šéčamce ~ šéčamceq*	*šéčance ~ šéčanceq*
2		*šéčumce ~ šéčumceq*	*šéčumce ~ šéčumceq*
3	HM	*šéčumce ~ šéčumceq*	*šéčumce ~ šéčumceq*
	HF	*šéčumce ~ šéčumceq*	
	X	*šéčumce ~ šéčumceq*	*šéčumce ~ šéčumceq*
	Y	*šéčumce ~ šéčumceq*	*šéčumce ~ šéčumceq*

Table 85. Conditional forms of *girmín-* 'to write'

		SG	PL
1		*girmíyamce ~ girmíyamceq*	*girmíyance ~ girmíyanceq*
2		*girmíimce ~ girmíimceq*	*girmíimce ~ girmíimceq*
3	HM	*girmíimce ~ girmíimceq*	*girmíimce ~ girmíimceq*
	HF	*girmíimce ~ girmíimceq*	
	X	*girmíimce ~ girmíimceq*	*girmíimce ~ girmíimceq*
	Y	*girmíimce ~ girmíimceq*	*girmíimce ~ girmíimceq*

The functions of the conditional forms are not the same for verbs and the copula. The conditional forms of verbs always express, in a main clause, counterfactual meanings, as in (190) and (191), or suspicious meanings, as in (192).

(190) *áy̯a* *máma* *apáma,* *je* *khóle*
a-úy̯ máma-Ø a-bá-an-m=a jé-Ø khól-e
1SG:I-father mum-ABS NEG-COP-3PL.H-NPRS=Q I-ABS here-ESS

hurúśamċe.
hurúṭ-č-a-m-ce
sit-IPFV-1SG-NPRS-CF

'If I did not have a father and a mother, I would stay here.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #159)

(191) *Iˑne* *ikˈərɛŋɛ* *seibai.i:* *"Ja*
ín-e i-khaŕ-aŋe sén-č+bá-i-Ø jé-e
s/he:DIST-ERG 3SG.HM:I-REFL.PRN-INSTRUCTIVE say-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS I-ERG

hik *bišaiya baiyʌm* *hʌn* *ɣʊmʊr* *maimtsɛ,*
hík biš́a-a+bá-a-a-m hán ɣumór-Ø mań-č-m-ce
one:Z throw-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS one:Y hole-ABS become-IPFV-NPRS-CF

kok *aˑlto* *ɣʊmoˑriŋ* *bitsa."*
khók-Ø altó ɣumór-iŋ-Ø b́-icán-Ø
these.ones:Y-ABS two:Y hole-PL-ABS COP-3PL.Y-NPRS

'He said to himself: "I fired only once, there should be only one hole, but here are two holes." ' (Lorimer 1935b: 102–103)

(192) *Amálċum* *isé* *guu* *yaa* *góẓo*
a-malć-um isé-Ø gu-úy̰-Ø yáa gu̓-ẓo-Ø
1SG:I-abuse-ADJVLZ that:X-ABS 2SG:I-father-ABS or 2SG:II-same.sex.sibling-ABS

méeymċe,
mań-č-m-ce
become-IPFV-NPRS-CF

'That which abused me ought to be your father or brother.' (Hunzai 1999, *ÚRKE YÁṬ*: #10)

With copulas, the conditional forms require not only the non-present modal suffix *-m* that is employed commonly with verbs, but also a suffix *-an* that is labelled as the conditional suffix, and is ambiguous in function. For the conditional form, the third person Y-class singular employs the √b root. Table 86 shows the conditional forms for the copula.

Table 86. Conditional forms of the copula

		SG	PL
1		*báčamce(q)*	*báčance(q)*
2		*báčumce(q)/báčance(q)*	*báčumce(q)/báčance(q)*
3	HM	*báčumce(q)/báčance(q)*	*báčumce(q)/báčance(q)*
	HF	*bóčumce(q)/bóčance(q)*	
	X	*bíčumce(q)/bíčance(q)*	*bíčumce(q)/bíčance(q)*
	Y	*bilíčumce(q)/bilíčance(q)*	*bicíčumce(q)/bicíčance(q)*

While the conditional forms of verbs are used for counterfactual expressions, the wquivalent forms of copulas have no such meaning at all, altough I label *-ce(q)* the counterfactual marker. These copula forms are used only for the conditional function, i.e. the causal condition or the assumptive precondition. For example, (193) shows the causal function, and the preconditional function can be seen in (194).

(193) *muú* *in* *khóle* *bóčance*
muú ín-Ø khól-e bá-o-č-an-ce
now s/he:DIST-ABS here-ESS COP-3SG.HF-IPFV-COND-CF

awárumkuṣ	*ṣaq*	*díusas*
a-bár-a-um-kuṣ-Ø	ṣáq	d-i-guś-as
1SG:I-get.tired-1SG-ADJVLZ-NMLZ-ABS	smoothness	TEL-3SG.Y:I-go.out-INF

ayáamayabáa.
a-a̋-mań-č-a+bá-a-Ø
NEG-1SG:III-become-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

'I cannot talk about how I am tired because she is here now.'

(194)

Da	*hʌn*	*iˑsə*	*bʌlʌsɛ*	*seˑibiː*	*ʻNuˑširwaˑn*
dáa	hán	isé	balás-e	sén-č+b́-i-Ø	nuširwán-Ø
again	one:X	that:X	bird-ERG	say-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-PRS	Nushirwan-ABS

tʌxtʌtɛ	*bʌčʌntsɛ,*	*Bʌxtɛkʌlɛ*	*wʌziˑri*
táqt-aṭ-e	bá-i-č-an-ce	baqtek-al-e	waziirí-Ø
throne-INS-ESS	COP-3SG.HM-IPFV-COND-CF	Bakhtek-LOC-ESS	wazirship-ABS

biličʌntsɛ,	*turma walto*	*xəraˑb*	*mʌnaˑšo*
b́-iĺ-č-an-ce	turma-wálto	qharáap	mań-as-čo-Ø
COP-3SG.Y-IPFV-COND-CF	ten-four:Z	bad	become-INF-PL-ABS

bitša, …'
b́-ican-Ø
COP-3PL.Y-PRS

'Then the first bird says: "Owing to Nushīrwān's being on the throne and to the Wazīrship's being in the hands of Bakhtek, fourteen (more cities) will be destroyed. ..." ' (Lorimer 1935b: 96–97)

6.8. **Negative**

The language uses a prefix in the slot $[-4]^{V}$ (and $[-1]^{COP}$) to express the negation of predicates. There is only one slot for the negative formative in each template, so anything like a double negation can never be expressed only by a form of a verb.

Negation on the copula is achieved by an allomorph *a-* of the negative prefix in both dialects. This prefix always devoices the initial consonant /b/ of each copula form into /p/. And negation on the copula neutralizes the distinction among X-class singular, and Y-class singular and plural; in the other words. Table 87 and Table 88 show negative indicative forms of copulas, which parallel to the charts of affirmative forms, Table 46

and Table 47 in §6.4.1.

Table 87. Negative present forms of copula

		SG	PL
1		*apáa*	*apáan*
2		*apáa*	*apáan*
3	HM	*apái*	*apáan*
	HF	*apó*	
	X	*apí*	*apíe(n) ~ apío*
	Y	*apí*	*apí*

Table 88. Negative past forms of copula

		SG	PL
1		*apáyam*	*apám ~ apóm*
2		*apám ~ apóm*	*apám ~ apóm*
3	HM	*apám ~ apóm*	*apám ~ apóm*
	HF	*apóm*	
	X	*apím*	*apím ~ apíom*
	Y	*apím*	*apím*

The auxiliary copula is never negated, because negation on temporal complex predicates is always realised at the initial position of the complex predicate, i.e. on the main verb.

The negative prefixes' appearances with verbs vary in the dialects of Hunza and Nager, but previous studies do not deal with the characteristics of the variations. Therefore I describe them separately in the subsections below. The Nager dialect shows more diverse allomorphs and more diffusive distribution of them than Hunza, which is why I introduce Nager first.

6.8.1. Negative morphemes for verbs in Nager

There are two main allomorphs of the negative prefix for verbs in Nager: *a-* and *aú-*.

Basically, *a-* is used for copulas and verbs initialized with any formative having an accent on the [−2: person] position, i.e. the personally prefixed verbs (§6.3.2) which have an accent at the [−2] position without the telic prefix *d-* in the slot [−3]. Other than these cases with *a-*, *aú-* is almost always used for negation. And a few verbs require the use of other allomorphs, but I have not yet found any coherent rule concerning how the verbs are grouped. The following list, which is exemplified from my own fieldwork data from collecting basic words, represents the correspondence between the negative prefixes and the simple verbal stems.

We can find from Table 89 that *aú-* presents a complicated problem because of its ability to shift the accent of the stems. From my data, there are 45 stems which prefer to *aú-* for negation. Among them, with respect to 21 stems (46.7%), it cannot be understood whether the *aú-* shifts the accent of the verb forward or not, because the

accents of the stems are either absolutely fixed or already in the initial position. Among the rest, in 18 cases (40.0%) the negative prefix does not attract an accent, and on the other hand, in 6 cases (13.3%), it does. It seems that there is some negative preference for *aú-* to cause the accent shift, but also, I cannot let the counterevidence pass by without making a protest.

Table 89. The distribution of the negative morpheme in Nager

Allomorph	Accent shift	Followed by	Example			Number of stems	Subtotal	Total	%age
			Affirmative	Negative	Meaning				
a-	unable	COP	*bá-*	*a-pá-*	'be'		3	14	21.5
	unable	Accented @	*@ˊ-s-*	*a-@ˊ-s-*	'tell'	9	10		
	yes	Accentless @	*@-cí-*	*a-@ˊ-ci-*	'push'	1			
	unable	other	*óos-*	*ay-óos-*	'put'		1		
aú-	no	Accentless @	*@-čhí-*	*aú-@-čhí-*	'grant'	13	16	45	69.2
	yes		*@-ú-*	*aú-@ˊ-u-*	'give	3			
	no	other	*girát-*	*aú-girát-*	'dance'	5	9		
			hurúṭ-[†42]	*aú-hurúṭ-*	'sit'				
	unable		*ju̇́-*	*aú-ju̇́-*	'come'	21			
	yes		*girmín-*	*aú-gírmin-*	'write'	3			
oó-	unable	other	*d-@ˊ-ša-*	*oó-d-@ˊ-ša-*	'grasp'	1	2	2	3.1
	yes		*manˊ-*	*oó-mán-*	'become'	1			
oú-	no	other	*hurúṭ-*[†42]	*oú-hurúṭ-*	'sit'	2	2	2	3.1
			gučhá-	*oú-gučhá-*	'move'				
oí-	unable	Accentless @	*@-γás-*	*oí-@-γás-*	'rot'	1	1	1	1.5
ó-	unable	Accentless @	*@-pháṭak-*	*ó-@-pháṭak-*	'peel'	1	1	1	1.5
Total								65	100.0

Morphophonologically, *a-* always attempts to attract the accent of the stem closer to just after it (that is why I represent it with an acute accent mark on the hyphen, immediately after its *a* sound, in the gloss). And it may cause consonants in the stem to change into the corresponding voiceless unaspirated plosives.

On the one hand, *aú-* does not regularly show the same characteristics as *a-*. As

[†42] *hurúṭ-* 'sit' wavers on its property to prefer *aú-* or *oú-* (which have come out from even an individual). In a sense, this fact tells that a minor allomorph *oú-* is just a phonological variant of the major allomorph *aú-*.

mentioned above, sometimes it attracts the accent of the stem in the same way that *a-* does. But *aú-* cannot cause the sound change in the stem, like when *a-* devoiced the /g/ in the example illustrated just now; e.g. *jú-* 'come' is not caused to change into **aúçú-*, but *aújú-* with no altering, compare with the negative form *apá-* of the copula stem for H-class *bá-*. There is, however, an interesting matter observed with *aú-*. It is that I, and most other researchers also, define the word in Burushaski such that every word must have only one accent, at least. Under the existing circumstances, this definition is not impeccable but fairly useful. But, the negative forms with *aú-* and the others listed under it in Table 89 can take more than one accent.

6.8.2. Negative morphemes for verbs in Hunza

There are two main allomorphs of the negative prefix for verbs in Hunza also: *a-* and *oó-*.

Predominantly, the Hunza dialect uses *a-* to express negation for any verbals regardless of whether anything is in the slot [−2] as the initial position or not. Only four verbs from my data (see Table 90 below) need *oó-* instead of *a-*, but those verbs show no strong relationship to each other, since the number of examples is not high enough yet. Now I suggest that the nasality (or sonority) of the succeeding consonant may be a condition for the appearance of *oó-*. Anyway, there are fewer stems with the initial nasal among the basic verbs and also fewer ones with the *oó-* negative form, so any inference from so little evidence cannot be adequate for persuasion.

Table 90. The distribution of the negative morpheme in Hunza

Allomorph	Accent shift	Followed by	Example			Number of stems	Subtotal	Total	%age
			Affirmative	Negative	Meaning				
a-	unable	COP	*bá-*	*a-pá-*	'be'	2		70	90.9
	unable	Accented @	*@́-s-*	*a-@́-s-*	'tell'	10	30		
	yes	Accentless @	*@-yeén-*	*a-@́yan-*	'know'	20			
	unable	other	*óos-*	*ay-óos-*	'put'	17	38		
	yes		*jú-*	*a-çú-*	'come'	21			
			hurúṭ-[†43]	*o-óruṭ-*	'sit'				
oó-	unable	other	*maní-*	*oó-man-*	'become'	4	4	4	5.2
			ní-	*oó-ni-*	'go'				
			mín-	*oó-min-*	'drink'				
			hér-	*oó-ar-*	'weep'				
o-	yes	other	*hurúṭ-*[†43]	*o-úruṭ-*	'sit'	1	1	1	1.3
ée-	unable	Accentless @	*ṣí-*	*ée-ṣi-*	'eat: HX.OBJ'	1	1	1	1.3
óo-	unable	Accentless @	*šé-*	*óo-še-*	'eat: Y.OBJ'	1	1	1	1.3
Total								77	100.0

It stands to reason that the major allomorph *aú-* in Nager cannot be found in Hunza, because the vowel cluster /a/ + /ú/ is always realised as *oó* in Hunza (see §1.5.1). That is, it is because the allomorph *oó-* in Hunza is essentially equal to the allomorph *aú-* in Nager.

The *a-* in Hunza shows the exact same characteristics as the one in Nager morphophonologically. But their occurrences are not identical. Hunza speakers employ *a-* for negation in general, while Nager speakers principally use it just before copulas or accented personal prefixes. Unlike in Nager, the negative prefixes with an inherent accent like *oó-* in Hunza have an ability to delete the original accent of the stem. So such cases in Hunza do not conflict with the definition of the word in Burushaski at all.

6.9. **Deverbal derivation**

Verbals can be changed into either nouns or adjectives through any derivational process, and the deverbal forms are basically called infinitive or participle (Table 91

[†43] From the field research in Hunza also, *hurúṭ-* 'sit' wavers on its property to prefer *a-* or *o-*, parallelling the Nager example. Apparently *o-* is a variant of the predominant allomorph *a-*. But the informant precisely pronounced the negative form of *hurúṭ-* as *oúruṭ-*, not *oóruṭ-* by rule, once in a compound predicate including *hurúṭ-*.

below for each form). Roughly speaking, there are two kinds of infinitives for verbs and copulas, the (general) infinitive derived by using *-as* (§3.6.1), which is broadly used, or the optative one made by using *-ṣ* (§6.6), which is only for certain constructions. There are three kinds of participles for verbs, the perfective and imperfective, both of which are derived by adding *-um* (§5.1.3.1), and the conjunctive, which is composed with *n-* and frequently *-n* (this suffix *-n* can be repeated up to about five times to regulate a locutional rhythm in discourse) (§8.9.3). Concerning the copular participle, there is not a conjunctive one. And also two forms have been left out above: the one is the so-called finalis form for verbs and copulas such as *šéčar* 'for eating' (§8.9.3), and the other is the complex converbial form only used for verbs such as *šéyabáṭe* 'when I ate, on/against that I ate' (§8.9.4).

Table 91 shows the non-finite forms of verbs. Note that they are the most common forms and the complex converbial forms are represented with the Nager forms, which have not contracted. The conjunctive participles of *ní-* 'go', the perfective participles and conjunctive participles of *j́ú-* 'come' will be listed in other tables, from Table 92 to Table 94.

Table 91. Non-finite forms of verbs ("V" indicates verb stem before the slot [+2] here)

	INF	OPT.INF	PFV.P	IPFV.P	CP	finalis	complex CVB
	V-as	V-ṣ	V-um	V-č-um	n-V(-n)	V-č-ar	V+COP-aṭ-e
šé- 'eat (Y.OBJ)'	*šéyas*	*šeṣ*	*šem*	*šéčum*	*nušé(n)*	*šéčar*	*šébáṭe*
girmín- 'write'	*girmínas*	*girmíṇṣ*	*girmínum*	*girmíim*	*nukírmin*	*girmíyar*	*girmínubáṭe*
ét- 'do it'	*étas*	*étiṣ*	*étum*	*éčum*	*nét(an)*	*éčar*	*étubáṭe*
man-́ 'become'	*manáas*	*maníṣ*	*manúum*	*maím*	*numán*	*maníar*	*manúbáṭe*
ní- 'go'	*nías*	*niṣ*	*nim*	*níčum*	Table 92	*níčar*	*níbáṭe*
j́ú- 'come'	*j́úas*	*j́uṣ*	Table 93	*j́účum*	Table 94	*j́účar*	*j́úbáṭe*

Adding to Table 91, there are different forms for the 1SG perfective participle *šéyam* < *šé-* 'to eat (Y.OBJ)', the 1SG/PL imperfective participle *šéčam*/*šéčan*, and the 1SG complex converb *šéyabáṭe*. And like the complex finite forms, complex converbial forms with a consonant-final stem and without an accent after the stem show contraction in Hunza, i.e. HZ.HS *girmínáṭe* ~ HZ.RF *girmínóṭe* ~ NG *girmínubáṭe*. *ní-* 'to go' and *j́ú-* 'to come' have irregular non-finite forms that agree with person-number-class, see the following three tables.

Table 92. Conjunctive participle forms of *ní-* 'to go'

		SG	PL
1		*náa(n)*	*nimée(n)*
2		*nukóo(n)*	*namáa(n)*
3	HM	*níi(n)*	*núu(n)*
	HF	*numóo(n)*	
	X	*níi(n)*	*núu(n)*
	Y	*níi(n)*	*níi(n)*

Table 93. Perfective participle forms of *jú-* 'to come'

		SG	PL
1		*dáayam*	*d méem*
2		*dukóom*	*damáam*
3	HM	*díim*	*dúum*
	HF	*dumóom*	
	X	*díim*	*dúum*
	Y	*díim*	*díim*

Table 94. Conjunctive participle forms of *jú-* 'to come'

		SG	PL
1		*dáa(n)*	*dimée(n)*
2		*dukóo(n)*	*damáa(n)*
3	HM	*díi(n)*	*dúu(n)*
	HF	*dumóo(n)*	
	X	*dí (n)*	*dúu(n)*
	Y	*díi(n)*	*díi(n)*

All of them can be used as converbs with or without a case marker. Whereas, only the general infinitive, the perfective participle, and the imperfective participle can become arguments like nominals, or modifiers of nominals like adjectives (§3.6.1 for infinitives and §5.1.3.1 for participles). What grammatical category each converb belongs to is not an important topic, even though since most of them have some case marker, they can of course be regarded as in the category of noun (§8.9.3 for details). It is rather significant that these non-finite forms have lost their inherent predicativity as verbal, whereas they do not lose their syntactic status as verbal (such as the valency and case government).

Some verbs require a non-finite verb for their unique constructions: *duún-* ‘to pack, to catch’ has a construction with a finalis converb to express ‘to begin V-ing [lit. to package for V-ing]’ as in (195); the potential idea ‘can, able to’ is expressed by verbs like *@̈man-* or *úlan-* with a general or optative infinitive as in (188) on §6.6 (given again here), and (195) below; a case-like adjunctive noun *qháaṣ* ‘until, up to’ often requires an optative infinitive as in (189) on §6.6 (given again here); and the necessity concept ‘must, should be’ is also expressed by a modal word *awaáji* with a general or optative infinitive as in §8.6.1.

(188)

dáa	*duró*	*étaṣ*	*ayéemanimi.*
dáa	duró-Ø	ï-t́-ṣ	a-ï̈-maṉ́-m-i
again	work-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-OPT	TEL-3SG.HM:III-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘He could not work.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #93)

(189)

baadšáa	*ke*	*zizí*	*γániṣ*	*atíaṣ*	*qháa*	*síndacar*
baadšáa	ké	zizí	γéniṣ-Ø	a-d-é-ṣ	qháaṣ	sínda-c-ar
king	LINK	mother	queen-ABS	NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT	until	river-ADE-DAT

náan	*čhúmo*	*dúcuninin*	*óor*	*naašitáa*
n-aï̈-n	čhúmo-Ø	d-u-sú-n-n-n	óor	naašitáa-Ø
go:CP-1SG-CP	fish-ABS	TEL-3PL.X:I-bring-CP-CP-CP	and	breakfast-ABS

tayáar	*éčabáyam.*
tayáar	ï-t́-č-a+bá-a-a-m
ready	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

‘Before the king and his queen woke up, I used to go to a river to catch fish and prepare breakfast.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #38)

(195) The finalis converb in ‘to begin, to start’ construction and the general infinitive in potential expression

hiŋ	*dóonas*	*ayéemanumaṭe*	*híŋce*
hiŋ́-Ø	d-gón-as	a-ï̈-maṉ́-um-aṭ-e	hiŋ́-c-e
door-ABS	TEL-open-INF	NEG-3SG.X:III-become-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS	door-ADE-ESS

qar qar qar	*éčar*	*duúnimi*
qár+RDP+RDP-Ø	i-t́-č-ar	d-gún-m-i
scratch:ONO+MASS-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-DAT	TEL-pack-NPRS-3SG.X

'On it could not open the door, the cat started scratching the door.' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #60)

Berger (1998a: 156) shows only the third person singular HM-, HF-, and X-class infinitives for the copula, but my consultant Mussa Baig has given me the whole set of infinitives for all person-number-classes as shown in Table 95.

Table 95. (General) infinitve forms of copula

		SG	PL
1		*báyas*	*báyas*
2		*báyas*	*báyas*
3	HM	*báyas*	*báyas*
	HF	*bóyas*	
	X	*bías*	*bías*
	Y	*bilías*	*bicías*

There is an example of the copula infinitive for first person singular *báyas* in (196), which is a concessive sentence (§8.6.2).

(196) *je* *jaapaaníi* *báyas* *báa,* *karaaṭée*
jé-Ø jaapaaníi-Ø bá-a-as bá-a-Ø karaaṭée-Ø
I-ABS Japanese-ABS COP-1SG-INF COP-1SG-PRS karate-ABS

ayéčabáa.
a-i-t́-č-a+bá-a-Ø
NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

'I ám Japanese, but I do not practice karate.'

Perfective participle forms are entirely the same as the past finite forms, see Table 96.

Table 96. Perfective participle forms of copula

		SG	PL
1		*báyam*	*bam ~ bom*
2		*bam ~ bom*	*bam ~ bom*
3	HM	*bam ~ bom*	*bam ~ bom*
	HF	*bom*	
	X	*bim*	*bim ~ bióm*
	Y	*bilúm ~ dilúm*	*bicúm*

There are imperfective participles only for the third person in Burushaski as in Table 97.

Table 97. Imperfective participle forms of copula

		SG	PL
3	HM	*báčum*	*báčum*
	HF	*bóčum*	
	X	*bíčum*	*bíčum*
	Y	*bilíčum*	*bicíčum*

And finalis forms may also be limited to the third person, see Table 98.

Table 98. Finalis forms of copula

		SG	PL
3	HM	*báčar*	*báčar*
	HF	*bóčar*	
	X	*bíčar*	*bíčar*
	Y	*bilíčar*	*bicíčar*

And see also §§3.6 (Derivation into nouns), 8.6.1 (Obligation and necessity), and 8.6.2 (Concession) for the general infinitive, §5.1.3 (Derivation into adjectives) for the perfective and imperfective participles, §8.6.2 also for the imperfective participle and the finalis of the copula, §8.9 (Clause combining) for all converbials which concern general infinitives, participles, finalis forms, and complex converbial forms.

OTHER MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

I have covered the inner morphology of words in the preceding four chapters. And now in this chapter, I discuss the outer morphology that creates a new clausal constituent, which is either one word or more.

Roughly speaking, there are two types of devices here; the first is compounding, and the second is a set of reduplicational processes including simple reduplication, echo formation, and expressive formation.

7.1. **Compounding**

Compounding refers to the process whereby language forms new words by combining old words. The new constitutes produced through this process are always single words, although a similar effect may be performed by the juxtaposing of two words. That is, the examples in (197) are regarded as compounded words but those in (198) are not.

(197) compounding

a.	*harbuá* ‘cattle’	<=	*har* ‘ox, bull’	+	*buá* ‘cow’
b.	*satháp* ‘day and night, many an hour’	<=	*sa* ‘sun, daytime’	+	*thap* ‘night’
c.	*yárpa* ‘before, forwards’	<=	*yar* ‘before’	+	*pa* ‘side, place’

(198) not compounding (idiomatic or set phrases)

a.	*phuk burúm* ‘dazzling white’	<=	*phuk* ‘grain’	+	*burúm* ‘white’
b.	*tíke tik* ‘dirty’	<=	*tík-e* ‘of soil’	+	*tik* ‘soil’
c.	*khéel @̇-t-* ‘to play’	<=	*khéel* ‘game, play’	+	*@̇-t-* ‘to do’

Note that set verbal phrases such as (198c) are often utilized in Burushaski to make new verbal expressions because the verb is a closed grammatical category. I call the former word of such set verbal phrases, like *khéel* of (198c), a pseudo-object noun; see also (221) in §8.1.2.

Burushaski is not rich in compound formation, at least, in the present, but there are many compounding nouns made of two words, including cranberry morphemes. However, new compounds are not often created any more. Burushaski does not seem to have compounding adjectivals, nor compounding verbals.

7.2. **Simple reduplication**

Simple reduplication is the process that repeats a free word fully without any phonological modification, such as phoneme alternation, vowel lengthening, phoneme augmentation, and so forth. Therefore a new constitute formed by simple reduplication is always a set of words, but this set does not allow any outside element to be inside it.

Simple reduplication does not make an entirely new meaning, but creates some pragmatic effects. For example, it is used with the aim of semantic emphasis in (199), and for limitting an adjective to adverbial use in (200).

(199)

ke	*yárum*	*zamaanáulo*	*béuruman-béuruman*
ké	i-yár-um	zamaaná-ul-e	béur-um-an+RDP
LINK	3SG.Y:I-before-ADJVLZ	era-LOC-ESS	how.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG+EMPH

darúće	*buṭ*	*mathán-mathán*	*diśmíṅċum*
darúc-e	búṭ	mathán+RDP	diš́-miŋ-c-um
hunter-ERG	much	far+EMPH	place-PL-ADE-ABL

yeéśóon	*nusén*	*akhīīl*	*ćáġa*
i-ić-č+bá-an-Ø	n-sén	akhíl-<:>	čáγa-Ø
3SG.X:I-see-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS	CP-say	in.this.way-EMPH	story-ABS

bilá.
b́-iĺ-Ø
COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘And there is such a story that quite many hunters saw it [= the dragon] from very far spots in the old days.’ (Berger 1998c: #15.4)

(200)

thaláa thaláa	*in*	*buṭ*	*mayóos*	*imánimi.*
thaláa+RDP	ín-Ø	búṭ	maayúus	i-mań-m-i
slow+MANNER	s/he:DIST-ABS	much	disappointed	3SG.HM:I-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘Gradually, he became very upset.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #98)

Simple reduplication can be used for predicates to add a repetitive meaning, as in (201), and for manner nouns to emphasise motion or the like, as in (202).

(201)

hóo	*báadulo*	*thaláa thaláa*	*se*	*γámu*
hó	báad-ul-e	thaláa+RDP	esé	γámu-Ø
then	following.time-LOC-ESS	slow+MANNER	that:X	ice-ABS

dóočumo dóočumo dóočumo dóočumo	*qhátum*	*manímí*	*oo*
d-u̇́-sú-um-e+RDP+RDP+RDP	qhátum	mań-m-i	oo
TEL-3PL.HX:III-bring-ADJVLZ-ESS+CONTINUOUS	finish	become-NPRS-3SG.X	FIL

qhátum	*manáas*	*ke*	*dobaaráa*	*sis*	*dúo.*
qhátum	mań-as	ké	dubaaráa	sís-Ø	d-u̎-Ø-an
finished	become-INF	LINK	twice	people-ABS	come:PFV-3PL.H-PRS-3PL.H

'And then, the glacier had been dragging out in retreating slowly and disappeared, after that people were going to come again.' (*The Story of Hopar*: #25)

(202)

dumóon	*khíti,*	*íne*	*kaa*	*chágha*
d-mu̇́-n	khíti	ín-e	káaṭ	čáγa-Ø
come:CP-3SG.HF-CP	hither	s/he:DIST-GEN	together	story-ABS

étumo	*ke*	*"Béeya,*	*íne*	*akhí-akhí*
i̇́-ṫ́-m-o	ké	bée+yá	ín-e	akhíl+RDP
3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.HF	LINK	no+INTERJ	s/he:DIST-ERG	in.this.way+MASS

séibai."
sén-č+bá-i-Ø
say-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

'she came to here and talked with him "No, he says such and such".' (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #31)

7.3. **Echo-formation**

Echo-formation, or fixed segment reduplication, is considered the kind of reduplication that fully copies a base unit while partially altering the sound of the copied part, mostly at its initial syllable. Echo-formation is widely distributed over and around the Indian Subcontinent under the name "echo-word", but not only can it apply to words, but also to phrases and clauses, so I call it echo-formation here.

Echo-formation is mainly applied to nouns as in (203), and seldom to adjectives and verbs, even though there are some examples like (204) and (205), respectively.

(203) *ɣamú mamú* < *ɣamú* 'ice'

(204) *ašaáto kušaáto* < *ašaáto* 'weak'

(205) *nésqan mésqan* < *nésqan* 'after having killed him' (Berger 1998a: 224)

The function of echo-formation is vague; almost always echo-formation adds the meaning 'and/or the like' to the original meaning of a base noun, and sometimes gives the meaning 'a good number of'. When it is applied to an adjective, it semantically emphasises the meaning of the adjective. And in all cases, echo-formation implies an informal or casual nuance. Owing to this nuance, echo-formation is not used in dialogues with speakers' superiors in status, but well used with friends.

I define the terminology for echo-formation here with Figure 13 below:

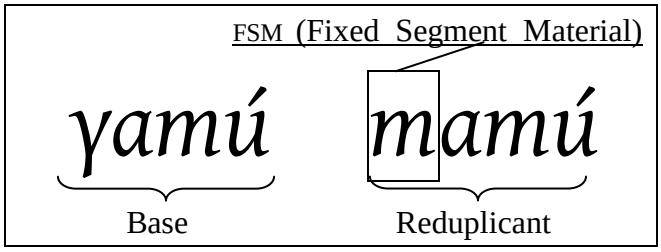

Figure 13. Terminology for echo-formation

And the characteristics of echo-formation can be defined as in (206), which is basically established according to previous studies such as Emeneau (1938), Apte (1968), Abbi (1994), and Yip (1998). Note that it is not a strict definition.

(206) The characteristics of echo-formations

Morphologically: The base word is followed by a reduplicated form and is thus partially replaced or padded out with a fixed segment material;

Functionally: The base meaning is extended by adding an informal nuance as well as possibly the meaning 'and/or the like'.

There are varieties of the usage of echo-formation in the sound patterns, and the extent for application depend on each individual. At the looser end, one can apply

echo-formation even to a clause, as shown in (207).

(207) a. Word: *chil mil* < *chil* 'water'
b. Phrase: *mamúe čái šamúe čái* < *mamúe čái* 'milk tea'
c. Clause: *ámular níčáa? gómular níčáa?* < *ámular níčáa?* 'Where are you going?'

In general, echo-formation has one or some FSMs to regularly make echoed reduplicants, and every language has its own particular FSM(s). For example, the primary FSM is /w/ in Urdu and /š/ in Shina. If a language has more than one FSM, there must be an order of priority for choosing among them.

In Burushaski, /m/ (sometimes /b/ or /p/, which seem to be considered random variations), is the primary FSM. This FSM appears in the greatest number, as is seen in (208), while /š/ is the secondary FSM, which may be applied when a base has a labial consonant at its initial position as in (209).

(208) a. *urk murk* < *urk* 'wolf'
b. *phéṣo méṣo* < *phéṣo* 'pear'

(209) a. *makái šakái* < *makái* 'corn'
b. *bépaẏ šépaẏ* < *bépaẏ* 'yak'

I have met three types of speakers in Hunza with respect to the echo-formation of personally prefixed nouns: the first type is those who employ /š/ as the only FSM for these nouns as shown in Table 100; the second type is those who use both FSMs /š/ and /m/ for personally prefixed nouns in the same way as for the other nouns, as shown in Table 101; and the third type do not use echo formation with these nouns. Compare with Table 99 as the base forms.

Table 99. Paradigm of *@-ríiŋ* 'hand' with personal prefix

		SG	PL
1		*aríiŋ*	*miríiŋ*
2		*guríiŋ*	*maríiŋ*
3	HM	*iríiŋ*	*uríiŋ*
	HF	*muríiŋ*	
	X	*iríiŋ*	*uríiŋ*
	Y	*iríiŋ*	*iríiŋ*

Table 100. Echo-forms of *@-ríiŋ* 'hand' only with /š/ FSM

		SG	PL
1		*aríiŋ šaríiŋ*	*miríiŋ širíiŋ*
2		*guríiŋ šuríiŋ*	*maríiŋ šaríiŋ*
3	HM	*iríiŋ širíiŋ*	*uríiŋ šuríiŋ*
	HF	*muríiŋ šuríiŋ*	
	X	*iríiŋ širíiŋ*	*uríiŋ šuríiŋ*
	Y	*iríiŋ širíiŋ*	*iríiŋ širíiŋ*

Table 101. Echo-forms of *@-ríiŋ* 'hand' with /š/ and /m/ FSMs

		SG	PL
1		*aríiŋ maríiŋ*	*miríiŋ širíiŋ*
2		*guríiŋ muríiŋ*	*maríiŋ šaríiŋ*
3	HM	*iríiŋ miríiŋ*	*uríiŋ muríiŋ*
	HF	*muríiŋ šuríiŋ*	
	X	*iríiŋ miríiŋ*	*uríiŋ muríiŋ*
	Y	*iríiŋ miríiŋ*	*iríiŋ miríiŋ*

As (206) indicates, there are some morphological patterns in echo-formation. There are thus two major patterns in Burushaski also: sound alteration and sound augmentation. The former includes alteration with an FSM, but it refers to a wider notion, that is, this pattern alters the initial syllable of a base to become a reduplicant to some extent, at only the consonant (210a, b), at only the vowel (210c), or at whole the syllable (210d).[†44] There are a variety of minor FSMs and patterns in Burushaski as well

[† 44] There is no pattern to change sounds over a syllable border. And thus, echo-formation can be the certifier of a consonant /ỹ/ unique to the noun *ỹa* 'bear', which might be **uyá* by comparison with two adjectives between Eastern and Western Burushaski (see Table A).

Table A. Three words comparison between Burushaskis

	EB	WB
'big'	*uyúm*	*nyu*
'tasty, sweet'	*uyám*	*nyam*
'bear'	*ỹa*	*nya*

If 'bear' in Eastern Burushaski were **uyá*, or **yã* which Berger (1998c: 467) produces, then the echo-formation would be as (A), but the actual form is (B):

(see Yoshioka 2007); the range of possible FSMs cannot be entirely clarified.

(210) a. *huk muk* < *huk* 'dog'
b. *asiímuc masiímuc* < *asií-muc* 'stars' [star-PL]
c. *ṣóko ṣaáko* < *ṣóko* 'clippled, paralysed' (Berger 1998c: 105)
d. *jóṭis páṭis* 'children' < *jóṭis* 'child'

And the latter morphological pattern, sound augmentation, adds a syllable before a base to make an echo reduplicant as in (211); this pattern is less seen in Burushaski.

(211) *maltáṣ tamaltáṣ* < *maltáṣ* 'butter'

There is no functional difference between these patterns, and recent speakers seem to extend the more common pattern in order to make the number of apparently irregular echo-forms decrease. For example, the augmented echo-form of (211) is getting replaced with an alternative form that uses the FSM /š/ as in (211)′.

(211)′ *maltáṣ šaltáṣ* < *maltáṣ* 'butter'

Consonant alteration using an FSM in Burushaski treats a consonant cluster like a single consonant, as in (212).

(212) a. *tráko máko* < *tráko* 'grasshopper'
b. *bras mas* < *bras* 'rice'

A reduplicant in echo-formation basically comes after a base, but sometimes it appears before a base, and both orders seem to have the same function. Compare the two examples (213) and (214), which are sampled from the same text, Tikkanen (1991).

(A) a. **uyá muyá* < **uyá*
b. **yã mã* < **yã*

(B) *ỹa ma* < *ỹa* 'bear'

And Berger also produces a form **ya*, but my consultant Essa Karim and others have laid emphasis on the point that prononciation of *ỹa* has to be given with a nasal voice whereas the voice is no longer needed at the echo-reduplicant /ma/.

(213)

ináamiŋ	*uγúnimi,*	*ménar*	*hayúr*
ináam-iŋ-Ø	u-γuń-m-i	mén-ar	hayúr-Ø
gift-PL-ABS	3PL.H:I-give:Y.PL.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM	who-DAT	horse-ABS

uúmi,	*ménar*	*har*
u-ú-m-i	mén-ar	haŕ-Ø
3PL.H:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM	who-DAT	bull-ABS

uúmi,	*ménar*	*yaaní*	*maal-háal*
u-ú-m-i	mén-ar	yaaní	máal+ECHO-Ø
3PL.H:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM	who-DAT	FIL	possession:MASS-ABS

uúmi,	*ménar*	*rupiá*
u-ú-m-i	mén-ar	rupiá-Ø
3PL.H:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM	who-DAT	money-ABS

uúmi.
u-ú-m-i
3PL.H:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘He gave them gifts, to some he gave a horse, to some he gave a bull, to some he gave, as it were, [other kinds of] possessions, to some he gave money.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #76)

(214)

nímišué	*garóniar*	*ménar*	*hayúr*
ní-um-išo+ué	garóni-ar	mén-ar	hayúr-Ø
go-ADJVLZ-PL+those:H	bridal-DAT	who-DAT	horse-ABS

uúmi,	*ménar*	*ćapán*
u-ú-m-i	mén-ar	čapán-Ø
3PL.H:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM	who-DAT	long.robe-ABS

ućhími,	*ménar*	*yaaní*	*thum*
u-čhí-m-i	mén-ar	yaaní	th́-um
3PL.H:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM	who-DAT	FIL	other-ADJVLZ

haal-máal	*uúmi.*
ECHO+máal-Ø	u-uˊ-m-i
possession:MASS-ABS	3PL.H:I-give:HX.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM

'to [the members of] that bridal party, which was now leaving, [Akbar] gave some a horse, to some he gave a long robe, to some he gave other [kinds of] possessions.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #57)

Good story-tellers often and appropriately use echo-formation in story-telling to make long stories more attractive, and not boring. Such a tendency looks similar to the tendency towards the multiple use of the conjunctive participle suffix *-n* in Hunza, also seen in (215), since both of these tendencies are fairly preferred by good story-tellers for aesthetic reasons.

(215)

óor	*iláaj piláaj*	*nétan*	*dáa*	*húču*
óor	iláaj+ECHO-Ø	n-i-tˊ-n	dáa	húčo-Ø
and	remedy:MASS-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP	again	leather.high.boot-ABS

nóotanininin	*dáa*	*diméeman.*
n-u-tˊ-n-n-n-n	dáa	d-mï-m-an
CP-3PL.X:III-do-CP-CP-CP-CP	again	come:PFV-1PL-NPRS-1PL

'And I had some treatment and put on the boots again, and then we restarted to come.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #122)

7.4. **Onomatopoeia and expressive words**

Onomatopoetic and expressive words have been created from actual sounds and manners while obeying some phonological constraints, and through sound symbolism. But the phonological constraints on onomatopoeias are not as strict on the restriction of the word initial consonant cluster (C_1C_2) and nasal vowel as they are on other words, see examples in (216).

(216) Examples of onomatopoeia (for sounds or voices) and expressives (for manners)

sound

a. *šaráŋ* sound of metal or glass pieces hitting each other

b. *čãã* sound of a small high-tone pipe or whistle

voice

c. *qamqurúučo*/*qumqurúučo* voice of a chicken

d. *miaóo/myáao* voice of a cat

manner

e. *maráaq* manner of idle lying about

f. *filifilíṭ/philiphilíṭ* manner of a tattered thing

Both an onomatopoeia and an expressive word behave as a noun or an adjective in a clause, and they are usually accompanied by either light verb, *@ˈ-t-* 'to do' or *man-́* 'to become'. (217) is an exmple of nominal use, where the onomatopoeia *qarqár* (sound of scratch) is used as the object of the predication.

(217)

sirph	*hik*	*ḍámane,*	*isé*	*búše*	*híŋce*	*ašaáto ašaáto*
sírph	hík	ḍám-an-e	isé	buš-́e	hiŋ-́c-e	ašaáto+RDP
only	one:Z	time-INDEF.SG-ESS	that:X	cat-ERG	door-ADE-ESS	weak+MANNER

qarqár	*étimi.*
RDP-qár-Ø	iˈt-́m-i
MASS-scratch:ONO-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X

'Just once, the cat scratched [did "scratch-scratch"] the door weakly.' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #98)

What I mean by the term "sound symbolism" includes vowel change/selection, vowel lengthening, and reduplication with or without sound alteration.

Vowel change/selection shows some positive tendencies of correlation between vowels in onomatopoeias and the quality and quantity of actual sounds, and correlation between vowels in expressives and the degree of actual manner.

Table 102. Correlation between vowels and degrees

strong-big	<= =>	weak-small	sound or manner of
šaráŋ		*širíŋ*	hitting of metal or glass pieces
šaráq		*širíq*	slamming of a door
ḍam	*ḍum*	*ḍim*	stepping
qáo ~ qháo		*qío*	shouting, screaming
ɣarzáp	*ɣurzóp*	*ɣirzíp*	sinking into
qarqár	*(qor)*	*qirqír*	scratching
lalám		*lilím*	glitterring

Briefly speaking, the inclination of vowels in onomatopoeias and expressives from /a/ (via /o ~ u/) to /i/ is going along the degree continuum from the stronger-bigger end to the weaker-smaller end as shown in Table 102. Functionally, /o ~ u/ rather leans to the /i/ side. /a/ is more available among onomatopoeias and expressives that have no cognate pair.

Vowel lengthening is an iconic device to add a continuous nuance or greater degree to the original meaning of an onomatopoeia or expressive, see Table 103. As for greater degree nuance, the opposition of short and long vowel is somewhat similar to the one of /i/ and /a/ mentioned above.

Table 103. Function of vowel lengthening

short	long	added nuance	sound or manner of
myáao	*myáaaao*	long	cat's voice
laŋ	*láaŋ*	going with one's body swinging	swaying, dangling
ɣipɣíp	*ɣiipɣíip*	with sound	drinking
qhaqhár	*qhaaqháar*	for long and well	frying, roasting
ṣaq	*ṣáaq*	strong and well	stroking, dragging

Reduplication is used for a function similar to vowel lengthening. If there is any difference between these two processes, as their iconicity suggests, it may be that vowel lengthening is mainly used for onomatopoeias or expressives of atelic motions or voices, while reduplication is preferred for those of telic motions. This device is sometimes used with vowel change, and then the nuance of augmentation by /a/ and diminution by /i/ would be neutralized and become some generic meaning. The width over which the reduplicating process ranges is full or partial, and a reduplicated onomatopoeia or expressive can be either a single word or multiple words with respect to the accent. Some seemingly reduplicated onomatopoeias or expressives do not have a corresponding unreduplicated form as a free word. Table 104 shows some examples of, at least seemingly, reduplicated onomatopoeias or expressives.

Table 104. Function of reduplication

simplex	multiplex	sound or manner of
ḍim	*ḍiḍím*	stepping
maláaq	*malamaláaq*	idle lying about; devouring (with *malamaláaq*)
ram (?)	*ararám*/*ramrám*	rattling
ɣaráu	*ɣaráɣarau*	thunder
širíŋ/*šaráŋ*	*širišaráŋ*	hitting of metal or glass pieces
širíq/*šaráq*	*širíq šaráq*	closing of a door or window
khaṣ	*khiṣkháṣ*	creeping, crawling
háo	*haojáo*/*háo ɣáo*	voices of arguments or discussions
N/A	*ruq šuq*	munching
N/A	*čhiṭ čhuṭ*	sprinkling of (rain)drops
N/A	*ṭiṭ ṭaṭ*	creaking (from coitus in particular)
N/A	*qíqit*/*qotoqóto*	tickling

The most significant difference between the reduplicated onomatopoeias/expressives such as *ruq šuq* and the words of echo-fomation such as *ɣamú mamú* is that the former have no base word that is able to occur in a clause freely, but the latter are necessarily based on free words.

SYNTAX

8.1. **Basic constituent order in phrases**

8.1.1. Noun phrase

The basic order in noun phrases is, in general, as follows:

(218) Noun phrase
demonstrative adjective – numeral – adjective – head noun

(219)

gucé	*uskó*	*jóṭišo*	*urkái*
gucé	uskó	jóṭ-išo	urḱ-ai
these:X	three:X	small-PL	wolf-PL
DEMONSTRATIVE	NUMERAL	ADJECTIVE	HEAD NOUN

'these three little wolves'

In the possessive structure, the possessor nominals precede the possessed nouns. We can say that Burushaski shows the tendency for both dependent-marking and double-marking in noun phrases, see (220). The former is observed in alienable possession, and the latter is in inalienable possession (but the possessor nouns and pronouns are sometimes omitted).

(220) Possessive structure

a.

híre	*ha*	(Dependent-Marking)
hir-́e	ha	
man-GEN	house	

'The house of the man'

b.

híre	*iríŋ*	(Double-Marking)
hir-́e	i-riiŋ	
man-GEN	3SG.HM:I-hand	

'The hand of the man'

c. **hír iríiŋ* (*Head-Marking)
hir i-riiŋ
man 3SG.HM:I-hand

8.1.2. Predicate phrase

Predicate phrases in Burushaski generally can be simplified as follows:

(221) The predicate phrase
object noun – adverbial noun/adjective – pseudo-object noun – verb/copula

I use the term 'pseudo-object nouns' for the nouns that are compounded with verbs to make new verbal stems: e.g., *khéel* 'sport, game' + *@̈-t-* 'to do' > *khéel @̈-t-* 'to play (vt.)'; see (222).

(222)

joókheel	*káa*	*khéel*	*éčabáan*
joókheel-Ø	káaṭ	khéel	ï-t́-č-an+bá-an-Ø
hopscotch-ABS	together	game	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1PL+COP-1PL-NPRS
OBJECT N	ADV. N	P-OBJ.	VERB

'we are playing hopscotch together'

As mentioned in §6.9, the verb *@̈man-* 'to be able' in (223) requires the verbal expressions being in either the infinitive or the optative non-finite form.

(223)

mi	*joókheel*	*káa*	*khéel*	*étiṣ*	*méemanuman*
mí-Ø	joókheel-Ø	káaṭ	khéel	ï-t́-ṣ	mï̈-mań-m-an
we-ABS	hopscotch-ABS	together	game	3SG.Y:II-do-OPT	1PL:III-become-NPRS-1PL
	OBJECT N	ADV. N	P-OBJ.	VERB	
		ADV. N			VERB
SUBJ. N		PREDICATE PHRASE			

'we play hopscotch together'

While *duún-* 'to begin' shows an association with the verbs declined in the dative or adessive cases of their infinitive forms, or the finalis ones, which consist of imperfective stem with the dative case suffix, as in (224).

(224)	*íne*	*éle*	*dérgiyar*	*duúnumo.*
	ín-e	él-e	d-ï̈-rgín-č-ar	d-gún-m-o
	s/he:DIST-ERG	there-ESS	TEL-3SG.X:II-spin-IPFV-DAT	TEL-pack-NPRS-3SG.HF

'she started to spin there.' (Tikkanen 1991: #257)

8.2. **Syntagms in clauses**

To describe the syntactic status of all the Burushaski sentences, the units being treated in the clausal syntax are needed. The units are called syntagms. I will discuss the following syntagms, at least for Burushaski, in this section: Predicate in §8.2.1, Core argument in §8.2.2, and then Peripheral argument in §8.2.3.

8.2.1. Predicate

The most important syntagm is a predicate. There must be a predicate in a clause, which is the unit of propositions, even though it may, on rare occasion, be omitted. Each predicate always comprises either a verb or a copula as the head, but clauses do not always have a verbal or copular nature. Instead, they often take such a nominal nature by derivational processes. Deverbal predicates, however, retain the case frames which the base verbs have, and for the reason these predicates can be still regarded as to hold their predicativity.

I explain the details of syntagms with a simple sentence example (225) and a complex sentence example (226):

(225)	*insáane*	*gáne*	*moojizáa*	*bicán.*
	insáan-e	gan-́e	moojizáa-Ø	b-́ icán-Ø
	human-GEN	way-ESS	miracle-ABS	COP-3PL.Y-PRS

'These are miracle drugs for human beings.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #276)

(226)	*síndaṭum*	*čhúmo*	*díusase*	*iné*	*nookáre*
	sínda-aṭ-um	čhúmo-Ø	d-i-gús-as-e	iné	nookár-e
	river-INS-ABL	fish-ABS	TEL-3SG.X:I-go.out-INF-GEN	that:H	servant-GEN

dipṭí *bilúm.*
dipṭí-Ø b-́il-́m
duty-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

'The duty of the servant is catching fish from the river. [lit. There is the servant's duty of catching fish from the river.]' (*čhúmoe minás*: #7)

These sentences (225) and (226) can be coded with the predicate syntagms as in (225)′ and (226)′ below. The square brackets ([ ]) in this coding indicate the unit size of clauses, and the underline in this coding shows the unit size of the syntagms in question.

(225)′ *insáane gáne moojizáa bicán.*
[PRED]

(226)′ *síndaṭum čhúmo díusase iné nookáre dipṭí bilúm.*
[[PRED] PRED]

The first predicate is the genitive infinitive form of the verb *d-@-́us-* 'to catch', and the second predicate is the third person Y-class past copula.

8.2.2. Core argument

What I call the core argument is simply the nominal unit whose syntagm fulfills any grammatical slot being required by a predicate. A grammatical slot of predicates must contains a core argument, and a core argument must be in such a slot. Core arguments include not only nominal phrases, but also nominalised clauses as complement clauses.

Every core argument works as a subject, an agent, or an object for the dominant predicate, including a complement for the copular predicate, in the same clause. The description about the basic constituent orders, which will be in §8.3, is based on the core argument and the predicate syntagms.

Coding of (225) and (226) can be as follows:

(225)″ *insáane gáne moojizáa bicán.*
[CORE PRED]

(226)″ *síndaṭum čhúmo díusase iné nookáre dipṭí bilúm.*
[[CORE PRED] CORE PRED]

In the first clause, there is an overt core argument *čhúmo* ‘fish’ as the object, and there has to be an omitted subject argument *iné* ‘he’. And in the second clause, there is, too, an overt core argument *síndaṭum čhúmo díusase iné nookáre dipṭí* ‘the servant’s duty of catching fish from the river’ as the subject for the copular predicate. Any complement argument cannot be reconstructed in both copular clauses (225) and the matrix clause of (226), because these clauses are existential sentences (§8.3.2).

8.2.3. Peripheral argument

Besides the core arguments, there are also nominal syntagms, or arguments, which appear in clauses to modify predications, not simply predicate syntagms. I call these nominal syntagms peripheral arguments; They are used only for expansion of verbals to well define the predicated notions, and I think their functional status is quite different from that of the core arguments, which are included in sentential frames as indispensable elements. Any peripheral argument cannot be obligatorily needed by the predicates, even though there ought to be such a peripheral argument, including a complement argument, in some clauses with certain verbs. The peripheral argument syntagm is called an oblique argument, or simply oblique, by some linguists, but I do not adopt the term in such a way for the sake of avoiding confusion between the “oblique (argument)” and the oblique case (§3.5) with which I only want to refer to a certain case marker used on a nominal stem. I will not mainly treat the peripheral argument in the description on the basic constituent order in clauses in §8.3.

The examples (225) and (226) are finally coded as follows:

(225)‴ *insáane gáne* *moojizáa* *bicán.*
[PERIPHERAL CORE PRED]

(226)‴ *síndaṭum* *čhúmo* *díusase* *iné* *nookáre* *dipṭí* *bilúm.*
[[PERIPHERAL CORE PRED] CORE PRED]

There is a peripheral argument syntagm in each example. On (226), the sentence initial syntagm *síndaṭum* ‘from the river’ is the only peripheral argument, which modifies the predication *čhúmo díusas* ‘catching fish’, which is headed by the predicate *d-@-́us-* ‘to catch’.

8.3. **Basic constituent order in clauses**

The basic constituent order, or syntagm order, in Burushaski clauses is SV/AOV,

but it is not rigid. In the following subsections, I will show examples of each type of clause.

8.3.1. Verbal clause

In intransitive clauses, normally SV order is used as in (227).

(227)

sis	*heiráan*	*umánuman.*
sís-Ø	heiráan	u-manʹ-m-an
people-ABS	surprised	3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H
S		V

‘The people were filled with amazement.’ (*šon gukúr:* #15)

In monotransitive clauses, AOV is the most frequent order as in (228).

(228)

ése	*dáa*	*koošíš*	*étimi.*
és-e	dáa	koošíš-Ø	i-tʹ-m-i
that.one:X-ERG	again	effort-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X
A		O	V

‘It tried again.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #57)

O and V of (228) constitute a predicate phrase as mentioned in §8.1.2 above. An S/A argument and a predicate phrase constitute a clause.

And in ditransitive clauses, too, AOV (ARTV) order is the most preferred, as in (229), though this is an example of a ditransitive converbial clause.

(229)

áya	*máma*	*jáar*	*taklíif*	*náćin,*
áya	máma-e	jé-ar	taklíiph-Ø	n-a-čhiʹ-n
father	mother-ERG	I-DAT	trouble-ABS	CP-1SG:I-give:Y.OBJ-CP
	A	R (=IO)	T (=DO)	V

‘Father and mother gave me a lot of trouble’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #481)

This set of preferred order is why we can say that Burushaski has a tendency to show the accusative alignment system syntactically, even though its case marking system, i.e. the morphological rule, is obviously ergative.

For peripheral arguments, some verbs can take the complement argument as in (230) as well as copulas can (§8.3.2).

(230)	*jaa*	*umr*	*ćok*	*wálsan*	*maníla,*
	jé-e	úmr-Ø	čók	wál-sa-an-Ø	man+b́-iĺ-Ø
	I-GEN	age-ABS	recently	four-month-INDEF.SG-ABS	become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS
		S		COMPLEMENT	V

‘I [lit. my age] have become 4 months old,’ (Hunzai 1999, *ÚRKE YÁṬ*: #8)

8.3.2. Copular clause

Similar to the cases for the intransitive or monotransitive verbal clause, that is, SV or AOV orders, the basic order in colupar clauses is S-COMPLEMENT-COPULA, as in (231).

(231)	*in*	*šatílo*	*híran*	*bam.*
	ín-Ø	šatílo	hiŕ-an-Ø	bá-i-m
	s/he:DIST-ABS	strong	man-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS
	S	COMPLEMENT		COPULA

‘He was a strong man.’ (*The Braying Donkey of Berishal*: #14)

Copular clauses are used for both attributive (i.e. ‘X=Y’), such as (231), and existential (i.e. ‘X exists / there is X’) sentences, such as (232). Of course, copulas constantly agree with the subject arguments despite the types of sentence.

(232)	*hin*	*baadšáan*	*bam.*
	hín	baadšáa-an-Ø	bá-i-m
	one:H	king-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS
	S		COPULA

‘There was a king.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #1)

Attributive copular clauses tend to include two arguments: subject (core) and complement (peripheral); whereas existential copular clauses do not include a complement argument. Both of these types of copular clause can take peripheral arguments other than complement. There is a tendency of existential sentences to take a locational argument as in (233).

(233) *gánu lo* *han* *bar-ċhílan* *bilúm,*
gan´-ul-e hán bár+chil´-an-Ø b´-il´-m
way-LOC-ESS one:Y valley+water-INDEF.SG-ABS COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

'There was a stream on the way.' (Hunzai 1999, *ŻAKÚNE MARÁQ*: #2)

8.4. **Grammatical relations**

Burushaski shows a clear split among the case marking pattern and the two kinds of person indexing petterns. And the core argument(s) are arranged accordingly.

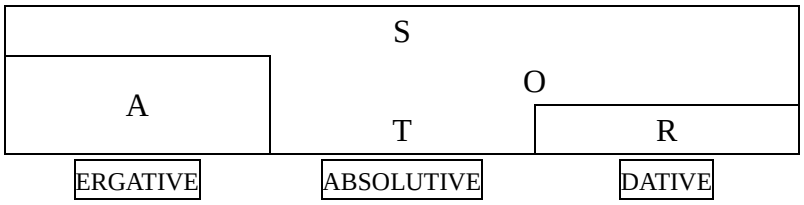

Figure 14. Flagging by the case markers

The marking pattern by the case markers shows the ergative type alignment, as seen in Figure 14. The absolutive case marker *-Ø* indicates the subject of intransitive clauses, the patient of monotransitive clauses, and the theme of ditransitive clauses. The ergative case marker *-e* marks the agent of mono- and di-transitive clauses. And the dative case marker *-ar* is used for the recipient of ditransitive clauses.

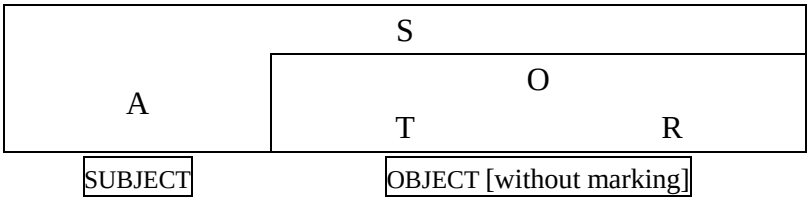

Figure 15. Indexing by the personal suffix

The indexing by the personal suffix on verbs shows which argument is the subject of the clause, because the personal suffix agrees with the subject argument irrespective of transitivity, as seen in Figure 15. That is, if a core argument is agreed with by the personal suffix on the verb as the head of a clause, it must be the only subject of the clause; and if an argument is not agreed with by the personal suffix, then it cannot be the subject, but it can be any kind of object of the clause.

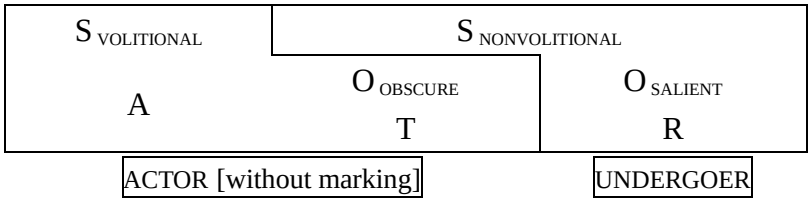

Figure 16. Indexing by the personal prefix

The indexing by the personal prefix on verbs shows the undergoer agreement system, as seen in Figure 16. This marking distinguishes even the subject argument of intransitive clauses into volitional and nonvolitional. The personal prefix on verbs is employed for nonvolitional intransitive, many monotransitive, and all ditransitive predicates. It agrees with the nonvolitional subject argument in intransitive clauses, the salient object in monotransitive clauses, and the recipient (indirect object) in ditransitive clauses. The obscure object in monotransitive clauses, surely, and the theme (direct object) argument in ditransitive clauses are not agreed with by the prefix. So there may be some hierarchy of undergoerhood, or patienthood or objecthood, of arguments, and the employment of the personal prefix is quite sensitive to the hierarchy. For the details of these parameters are dealt with in §9.

8.5. **Interrogative**

Interrogative sentences can be classified into two types. One is the content type expressed by interrogative words having the same syntactic order as the indicative ones; the other is the polar interrogative, which is indicated by the clause-final clitic *=a*.

8.5.1. Content interrogative

Briefly speaking, content interrogative sentences are easily produced from indicative sentences by adding an interrogative word to a clause or putting an interrpgative word into a syntactic argument slot.

There are two morphological series of interrogative words in Burushaski: the *be* and *am* series as listed in Table 22 in §4.1. Roughly classifying them by semantics, the former may be used for interrogatives asking about individual reference, and the latter may be used for interrogatives rather asking about selection of choices from sets that are considerably smaller than the ones within which the *be* series interrogatives range over.

be ‘how / what’ is used almost always immediately before predicates which are mainly light verbs, such as *@-t-* ‘to do’ and *man-* ‘to become’. In (234), *be* ‘how / what’ is followed by the predicate *étuman* ‘they were doing it’. Here I indicate the interrogative word with a frame and the predicates with an underline.

(234)	*Pasán*	*nétan,*	*"Be*	*étuman?"*	*sénumar, ...*
	pasánd	n-ï-t′-n	bé	ï-t′-m-an	sén-um-ar
	favorite	CP-3SG.HM:II-do-CP	what	3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3PL.H	say-ADJVLZ-DAT

'She liked him and asked "What were they doing?", and ...' (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #21)

There is a quite conventionalised greeting in Burushaski to ask the adressee's health condition as (235). In this case also, the interrogative word *be* is just before the predicate *gumái báa* 'you are / you become'.

(235)	*be*	*gumáibáa?*
	bé	gu-man′-č+bá-a-Ø
	what	2SG:I-become-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

'How are you?'

And there is an alternative phrase of (235), too, in each dialect, which is shown in (236). The Nager form (236a) is a rare case of the appearance of *be* at a position not before a predicate, but attributive to a noun; it differs from the Hunza form (236b) where *be* is compounded with the following noun, to become a completement argument. Thus, as a result of the compounding, the interrogative word including *be*, that is, *béhal* 'how/what condition' lies just before the predicate by rule. It is uncertain whether this has emerged from the motivation for retaining the rule or if it just happened by chance.

(236) a. Nager dialect

be	*hal*	*dilá?*
bé	hál-Ø	d′-il′-Ø
what	condition-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'How is your condition?'

b. Hunza dialect

béhal	*bilá?*
bé+hál-Ø	b′-il′-Ø
what+condition-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'How is your condition? [lit. How condition is it?]'

The following example (237) is a case in which an interrogative word is functioning as a core argument.

(237)

To	*tshórdimo*	*ḍámaṭe*	*duúsin,*	*hóle*
tó	chórdin-mu-e	ḍám-aṭ-e	d-gús-n	hól-e
then	morning-OBL-GEN	time-INS-ESS	TEL:CP-go.out-CP	outside-ESS

barénasar,	*in*	*shékar*	*wálimi,*	*“Muú*
barén-as-ar	ín-Ø	šek-́ar	i-bal-́m-i	muú
look-INF-DAT	s/he:DIST-ABS	doubt-DAT	3SG.HM:I-fall-NPRS-3SG.HM	now

bésan	*meími,*	*bésan*
bés-an-Ø	man-́č-m-i	bés-an-Ø
what-INDEF.SG-ABS	become-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.Y	what-INDEF.SG-ABS

oómaimi?”	*nusén.*
aú-man-́č-m-i	n-sén
NEG-become-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.Y	CP-say

‘After that he went out at morning, looked outside, and wondered as saying “Now, what is happened and what isn’t happened?” ’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #39)

Both of the two interrogative words *bésan* ‘what’ are used in the subject positions for each predeicate, *maími* (represented in the original text as *meími*) ‘it will become’ and *oómaimi* ‘it will not become’, respectively.

Contrary to the preceding example, the following (238) exemplifies a case of the peripheral argument use of interrogative words.

(238)

“Bésantse	*yuúshabom*	*ke*	*gusée*
bés-an-c-e	i-ušá+bá-o-m	ké	gusé-e
what-INDEF.SG-ADE-ESS	3SG.X:I-raise+COP-3SG.HF-NPRS	LINK	this:X-GEN

akhúruman	*uyám*	*chhap*	*maníla?”*
akhúr-um-an	uyá-um	čhap-́Ø	man+b-́il-́Ø
this.much-ADJVLZ-INDEF.SG	sweet-ADJVLZ	flesh-ABS	become+COP-3SG.Y-PRS

sénaṭe, *ínmotsum*
sén+bá-aṭ-e ín-mu-c-um
say+COP-INS-ESS s/he:DIST-OBL-ADE-ABL

dumóghurushaan.
d-mu̇-ɣarús-č+bá-an-Ø
TEL-3SG.HF:II-be.straight-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-PRS

‘ “With what (food) did she raise it to make the flesh so tasty like this?” said so, they asked her.’ (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #8)

Here, the interrogative word *bésance* (spelled as *bésantse*) ‘on/by/with what’, which asks the material of cooking, is the adessive form of *bésan* ‘what’ and is modifying the predicate *yuúshabom* ‘she was raising / raised it’ for expansion.

8.5.2. Polar interrogative

In Burushaski, polar interrogative expression is encoded by the clause-final clitic *=a*. To attach the interrogative particle to an indicative clause does not change the syntagm order from the original clause.

(239) *khot* *jáar* *ité* *aćí* *ɣasíćar* *guté*
khót-Ø jé-ar ité-Ø a-ci̍-e ɣas̍-č-ar guté-Ø
this.one:Y-ABS I-DAT that:Y-ABS 1SG:I-behind-ESS laugh-IPFV-DAT this:Y-ABS

étáia
i̇-t+bá-i-Ø=a
3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.HM-PRS=Q

‘Has he done this just to make fun of me?’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #339)

This polar interrogative clause (239) corresponds to the following indicative clause (239)′, in which the interrogative clitic *=a* has been deleted from (239).

(239)′ *khot* *jáar* *ité* *aćí* *ɣasíćar* *guté*
khót-Ø jé-ar ité-Ø a-ci̍-e ɣas̍-č-ar guté-Ø
this.one:Y-ABS I-DAT that:Y-ABS 1SG:I-behind-ESS laugh-IPFV-DAT this:Y-ABS

étái
i-t+bá-i-Ø
3SG.Y:II-do+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

'He has done this just to make fun of me'

In this way, there is no necessity to change the syntagm order to alter indicative mood with the polar interrogative.

Such polar interrogative clauses, however, represent specific intonation patterns; when one wants to ask about a whole proposition, then s/he has to pronounce a polar interrogative clause marked by *=a* while putting the highest intonation in the clause on its head predicate (to which *=a* is directly attached in general, because Burushaski needs a predicate at the end of each clause). When a head predicate forms a complex predicate, which consists of a main verb and an auxiliary copula, for certain temporality, then the highest intonation is put on the auxiliary copula. In the following examples, (240) and (241), the intonational peaks are on the underlined parts, which will be the interrogated focus; Compare the correlations between the intonations and the translations of them.

(240)	*ué*	*hirí*	*pešaahúrcum*	*dúubáana?*
	ué	hir-i-Ø	pešaahúr-c-um	d-u-+bá-an-Ø=a
	those:H	man-PL-ABS	Peshawar-ADE-ABL	come:PFV-3PL.H+COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q

'Have those men come from Peshawar?'

(241)	*ué*	*hirí*	*pešaahúrcum*	*dúubáana?*
	ué	hir-i-Ø	pešaahúr-c-um	d-u-+bá-an-Ø=a
	those:H	man-PL-ABS	Peshawar-ADE-ABL	come:PFV-3PL.H+COP-3PL.H-PRS=Q

'Is it Peshawar that those men have come from?'

And then the clitic *=a* must be pronounced with low intonation, see the underline in (240) attentively.

Generally the previous studies say that this interrogative element *-*a*, in temporary representation, is just a suffix of verbals and can be in the last verbal suffix slot, i.e. after the personal suffix slot [+5] in my description. Certainly they think that this element always appears as attaching to predicates at the end of fully stated sentences. This pattern looks true because the element *-*a* comes at the final position of clauses, and every predicate syntagm normally occurs clause-finally, thus almost always *-*a* is

directly adhered to a predicate syntagm as an ending would be. Whereas, particularly in conversations, one can omit any syntagms when context allows, therefore the element *-*a*, in fact, also occurs with elements other than predicates. For this reason, I consider the element a clitic *=a* as noted above. (And it can also be said that the equivalent interrogative elements, e.g. *=a*'s, of the surrounding languages Domaaki, Shina, Khowar, and Wakhi, behave similarly, although there is some diversity between the types of elements they will attach to.[†45])

(242) *un* *jaapaaníia?*
ún-Ø jaapaaníi-Ø=a
thou-ABS Japanese-ABS=Q
'(Are) you Japanese?'

(243) *básа?*
bás=a
enough=Q
'Enough?'

(244) *hoṭélaṭara?*
hoṭél-aṭ-ar=a
hotel-INS-DAT=Q
'To around the hotel?'

The polar interrogative examples (242) – (244) have no overt predicates in the clauses and the interrogative clitic is pronounced with the clause final words, which are not verbals but nouns and an adjective, here. For more details about this issue, see Yoshioka (2010).

8.6. **Syntactic modal expressions**

In this section, I will describe non-morphologic modal expressions, which may be called modalities, in Burushaski: obligation and necessity, concession, and tag questions. As for morphological modal expressions, see §§6.4 – 6.7.

8.6.1. Obligation and necessity

Expressions for necessity as to what must be or what is necessary are accomplished through two methods. The first one is a construction coded with an infinitive and a copula. This construction is used for both deontic and epistemic predications, as in (245) and (246), respectively.

[†45] As to *=a* in Wakhi, I am grateful to Koji Kamioka and Satoko Yoshie who informed me of it. Whereas *=a*'s in the other languages are founded on my own field research.

(245)

iné	*yáarum*	*díwasum*	*isé*
iné	i-yáar-um	d-i-bás-um	isé-Ø
that:H	3SG.HM:I-downwards-ABS	TEL-3SG.X:I-be.left-ADJVLZ	that:X-ABS

inée	*níṣin,*	*díwasum*	*isé*
iné-e	n-i-ṣí-n	d-i-bás-um	isé-Ø
that:H-ERG	CP-3SG.X:I-eat:HX.SG.OBJ-CP	TEL-3SG.X:I-be.left-ADJVLZ	that:X-ABS

un	*ṣías*	*bilúm.*
ún-Ø	ṣí-as-Ø	b′-il′-m
thou-ABS	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-INF-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘When he ate what was left before him, then you had to eat what was left.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #178)

(246)

to	*khúule*	*qhudáaye*	*taráfcum*	*γazáb*
tó	khú-al-e	qhudáa-e	taráph-c-um	γazáb-Ø
so	they:PROX-LOC-ESS	god-GEN	direction-ADE-ABL	misfortune-ABS

óor	*j̣úas*	*dilá.*
u̯-ar	j̣ú-as-Ø	d′-il′-Ø
3PL.H:II-DAT	come-INF-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘Thus, regarding them, misfortune must come from the God for them.’ (*The Story of Hopar*: #17)

In these clauses, in principle, the agent is represented as the subject in ergative case for transitive verbs or absolutive case for intransitive verbs, which is the same as in the indicative clauses. Whereas the ergativity may tend to fade away when the agent *un* ‘you (SG)’ is in fact expressed with the absolutive case in (245).

This construction is always used with verbal predicates, and is not used with copulas. The similar construction of an infinitive of the copula plus a finite copula is used for concessive expressions, as mentioned in §8.6.2.

The other construction uses a modal predicative adjective *awaáji*. This adjective *awaáji* always appears in the predicative function with a copula whether it is overtly pronounced or not, and is a loan word from Shina *awaájei* ‘he/it will be necessary’, being an conjugated form of the verb *awajoók* ‘to be necessary’.

This construction *(N-DAT +) awaáji + COP* literally means ‘be necessary (for N)’ and

it functions as meaning ‘should’ / ‘had better’ when there is also a general or optative infinitive preceding the construction, that is *(N-DAT +) INF + awaáji + COP*.

(247)

hʌn	*ʌki·l*	*bʌlkʌn*	*ja·r*	*awa·jɛ*	*bila.*
hán	akhíl	balk´-an-Ø	jé-ar	awaáji	b´-il´-Ø
one:Y	in.this.way	board-INDEF.SG-ABS	I-DAT	necessary	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘I require a plank like this. [lit. A plank like this is necessary to me.]’ (Lorimer 1938: 6)

(248)

khué	*ar*	*oómanum*	*béske*
khué-Ø	ár	a-u-man´-um	bés+ké
these:H-ABS	fearful	NEG-3PL.H:I-become-ADJVLZ	what+LINK

éćáan	*ke,*	*khué*	*ar*
i·t´-č+bá-an-Ø	ké	khué-Ø	ár
3SG.X:II-do-IPFV=COP-3PL.H-PRS	LINK	these:H-ABS	fearful

umánas	*awaáji*	*bilá.*
u-man´-as-Ø	awaáji	b´-il´-Ø
3PL.H:I-become-INF-ABS	necessary	COP-3SG.Y-PRS

‘When these fellows do something without fear, then they should be frightened.’ (Berger 1998b: #27.19; Hunza)

What is needed in (247) is a time-stative referent represented by the noun *balk* ‘board’, while what is obliged in (248) is just an action expressed by the gerund, or nominal infinitive, of the predicate phrase *gáran ét-* ‘to marry’. And thus (248) can be considered a case of the obligative construction. In this necessitative expression, the agent is represented with either the case appropriate for an independent clause or the dative case. The former case marking shows that the agent is in the infinitive clause, while the latter shows that the dative argument is in the main clause predicated by *awaáji + COP*.

(249)

míi	*gáran*	*étas*	*awaáji.*
mí-e	gar´-an-Ø	i·t´-as-Ø	awaáji
we-ERG	marriage-INDEF.SG-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-ABS	necessary

‘It is necessary for us to marry.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #6)

A copula in the construction including *awaáji* is often omitted when it is both affirmative and in the present mood, as in (249). Whereas a copula which is either negative or non-present in this construction cannot be elided, because both negation and non-present mood must be marked by affixes on predicate verbs or copulas. So the corresponding past expression to (249) will be as follows, (249)′:

(249)′	*míi*	*gáran*	*étas*	*awaáji*	**(bilúm).*
	mí-e	gaŕ-an-Ø	i-t́-as-Ø	awaáji	b́-iĺ-m
	we-ERG	marriage-INDEF.SG-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-ABS	necessary	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

‘It was necessary for us to marry.’

Besides these analytic constructions, necessitative expression can also be realised by the optative finite predicates as in (250).

(250)	*in*	*khólar*	*ju̯ṣ.*
	ín-Ø	khól-ar	jú-ṣ-Ø
	s/he:DIST-ABS	here-DAT	come-OPT-3SG

‘He should come here.’

8.6.2. Concession

Roughly speaking, there are two major types of concessive expressions in Burushaski as in (251): (a) One consists of the infinitive form and the finite form of the same predicate verbs or copulas; (b) the other is made of the concessive form and the finite form of copulas.

(251) Two types of concessive expressions:

(a) V-as V-FINITE, or COP-as COP-FINITE
(b) COP-č-um COP-FINITE, or COP-č-ar COP-FINITE

The former type (a) is realised as in the examples for verbs (252) and copulas (253).

(252)

baláas	*balími,*	*leekín*	*til*	*áaljabáa.*
balˊ-as	balˊ-m-i	leekín	tíl	aː̈lˊ-č-a+bá-a-Ø
fall-INF	fall-NPRS-3SG.HM	but	oblivious	1SG:III-insert-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

'He did fall down, but I do not remember it.'

(253)

je	*jaapaaníi*	*báyas*	*báa,*	*karaaṭée*
jé-Ø	jaapaaníi-Ø	bá-a-as	bá-a-Ø	karaaṭée-Ø
I-ABS	Japanese-ABS	COP-1SG-INF	COP-1SG-PRS	karate-ABS

ayéčabáa.
a-iː̈-tˊ-č-a+bá-a-Ø
NEG-3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-PRS

'I ám Japanese, but I do not practice karate.'

Note that, as for verbs, the construction constituted by an infinitive and a finite copula expresses necessity, as mentioned above in §8.6.1, while the seemingly equivalent construction for the copula, that is an infinitive copula and a finite copula, is utilized for concessive expression.

The latter type (b) is only used for the third person and only for the copular predications which purposefully utilize the special forms to build this type of concessive construction. This construction consists of either an imperfective pariticiple (Table 97) or a finalis (Table 98) and a finite form of copula, both of which are conjugated from the same copula stem, i.e. the basic form, with respect to person-number-class.

(254)

waqt	*bilíčar*	*bilá,*	*ịúase*	*rái*
wáqt-Ø	bˊ-ilˊ-č-ar	bˊ-ilˊ-Ø	ịú-as-e	rái-Ø
time-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-IPFV-DAT	COP-3SG.Y-PRS	come-INF-GEN	wish-ABS

apí.
a-bˊ-ilˊ-Ø
NEG-COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'I do have time [lit. There ís time], but do not want to come.'

(255)

sabúur	*gúsan*	*éle*	*<u>bóčum</u>*
sabúur	gús-an-Ø	él-e	bá-o-č-um
yesterday	woman-INDEF.SG-ABS	there-ESS	COP-3SG.HF-IPFV-ADJVLZ

<u>bom,</u>	*(mágar)*	*éle*	*múšaṭe*	*amúicam.*
bá-o-m	mágar	él-e	muš́-aṭ-e	a-mu-ić-a-m
COP-3SG.HF-NPRS	but	there-ESS	edge-INS-ESS	NEG-3SG.HF:I-see-1SG-NPRS

‘Yesterday there wás a woman, but I did not see her there at the time.’

Some informants told me with assurance that there is no semantic difference between instances with finalis forms such as (254) and those with imperfective participles such as (255).

Besides these modal constructions, concessive mode can be easily expressed by using a conjunctive *kúli* ‘though’, which I describe later in §8.9.2.

8.6.3. Tag question

Tag questions are used to make some tentative or confrontational nuance, mostly in conversation. Sometimes they can also be employed to function as leading question markers.

The Burushaski tag question marker *náa* is attached to the end of non-interrogative clauses, and holds rising intonation on its position up to the highest pitch in the base clauses. The following examples are the cases in which the tag question is used with an indicative clause (256), an imperative clause (257), and an obligative-indicative clause (258):

(256)

hunċ	*éer*	*atuúsimi,*	*atúusasar,*
hunć-Ø	i-ar	a-d-gús-m-i	a-d-gús-as-ar
arrow-ABS	3SG.HM:II-DAT	NEG-TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.X	NEG-TEL-go.out-INF-DAT

khos	*jáar*	*atúusimi*	*<u>náa,</u>*	*sénimi.*
khós-Ø	jé-ar	a-d-gús-m-i	náa	sén-m-i
this.one:X-ABS	I-DAT	NEG-TEL-go.out-NPRS-3SG.X	TAG.Q	say-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘The arrow did not come out for him, and on its not coming out, he said: “This did not come out for me, <u>you know</u>”.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #217)

(257)

ni	*na,*	*uŋ*	*gúi*	*nía,*	*nusén,*	*guśpúr*
ní-i	náa	úŋ-Ø	gu-í	ní-i=a	n-sén	gušpúr-Ø
go-IMP.SG	TAG.Q	thou-ABS	2SG:I-self	go-IMP.SG=Q	CP-say	prince-ABS

íi	*éerćái.*
i-í	ï̈-ŕ-č+bá-i-Ø
3SG.HM:I-self	3SG.HM:III-send-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

'Go now [with an urging nuance], go you yourself!", thus saying he sends the prince himself.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #184)

(258)

paśuúare	*ićhías*	*awaáji,*	*náa.*
pašuú-are	i-čhí-as-Ø	awaáji	náa
sacrificing.man-DAT	3SG.HM:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-INF-ABS	necessary	TAG.Q

'He ought to give the sacrifice to the sacrificing man, oughtn't he?' (van Skyhawk 2003: #7.16)

Before the tag question marker *náa*, a short pause may tend to be put in.

8.7. **Complement clause**

A complement clause may appear with or without the linker *ke*[†46]. For complement clauses, the linker *ke* appears in the main clause, and it precedes a complement clasuse, see (259). No word indicates the end of a complement clause, despite the fact that a single complement clause can consist of more than two clauses. Complement clauses are subordinate clauses that always function as core arguments. (259) is an example for complement clauses with the linker *ke*, and (260) is for complement clauses without *ke*.

(259)

yaaní	*sénimi*	*ke,*	*isé*	*isúmal*	*ískilaṭar*
yaaní	sén-m-i	ké	isé	i-sumál-Ø	i-skíl-aṭ-ar
FIL	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	that:X	3SG.X:I-tail-ABS	3SG.X:I-face-INS-DAT

díibí,	*óor*	*isée*	*ɣalát*
d-ï̋+b́-i-Ø	óor	isé-e	ɣalát
come:PFV-3SG.X+COP-3SG.X-PRS	and	that:X-ERG	wrong

[†46] The linker *ke* actually has a wide variety of usages. See also §§8.8 and 8.9.2.

dukóomaninin	*burúm*	*ṭíko*	*bi*
d-gu̇-man-́n-n	bur-́um	ṭíko-Ø	b-́i-Ø
TEL:CP-2SG:III-become-CP-CP	white-ADJVLZ	stain-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS

séibáa.
sén-č+bá-a-Ø
say-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

'[Shon Gukur] said that the tail is hanging down over its face, and so you see it like that and are saying so.' (*šon gukúr*: #9)

(260)

šon gukúre	*húke mamúar*	*ésimi,*
šón+gukúr-e	húke+mamó-ar	i-̇s-́m-i
Shon.Gukur-ERG	Huke.Mamo-DAT	3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM

ískan	*bi,*	*óor*	*akhóle*
i-sk-́an-Ø	b-́i-Ø	óor	akhól-e
3SG.X:I-young-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS	and	here-ESS

iphát̩iat̩e	*burúm*	*péčan,*	*rágan*
i-phat̩í-at̩-e	bur-́um	péč-an-Ø	rag-́an-Ø
3SG.X:I-forehead-INS-ESS	white-ADJVLZ	patch-INDEF.SG-ABS	tint-INDEF.SG-ABS

bilá.
b-́il-́Ø
COP-3SG.Y-PRS

'Shon Gukur said to Huke Mamo, "[This cow] is in calf, and there is a white patch on the fore head of the young one here." ' (*šon gukúr*: #6)

The presence and absence of the linker *ke* makes no difference, either semantically or intonationally; speakers insert an intonational break before a complement clause to divide its intonational unit from that of the main clause.

Locutional verbs *sén-* 'to say' and *@̇-s-* 'to tell' are transitive verbs that almost always take a complement clause as an absolutive object; thus, their subjects are declined in ergative case when said subjects are overtly mentioned, as with *šon gukúre* in (260).

8.8. **Relative clause**

A relative clause consists of a verbal or copular clause and one of the relativisers, which are identical to interrogatives (§4.1). Sometimes the linker *ke* is also included in a relative clause. And the host noun that receives the modification by relative clauses very often requires a distal demonstrative word corresponding to the relativiser in the relative clause. Hence, the appropriate view may be that relative clauses do not modify, but correlate with host nouns. This relationship is just what is called correlative diptych by Lehman (1989) in his paramater of hierarchical downgrading, such that this relationship is on the hierarchical position in the middle between parataxis and hypotaxis.

The typical construction of relative expression can be illustrated as in (261). The position of relativisers in a clause is not different from the corresondent arguments in the basic constituent order, as well as that of interrogatives is.

(261) Typical construction of relative expression

... interrogative ... predicate (*ke*)	distal demonstrative ...
RELATIVE CLAUSE	HOST NOUN

Relatively speaking, relative clauses precede the main clauses as in (262) and (264), whereas these clauses can follow the main clauses with no restriction as in (263).

(262)

ámit	*díśulo*	*nizá*	*ya bim*	*ke*,	*ité*
ámit	diš́-ul-e	nizá-Ø	i-ya+b́-í-m	ké	ité
which:Y	ground-LOC-ESS	spear-ABS	3SG.X:I-get+COP-3SG.X-NPRS	LINK	that:Y

díśulo	*yáare*	*ité*	*γíṭulo,*	*nizá*
diš́-ul-e	i-yáar-e	ité	γiṭ́-ul-e	nizá-Ø
ground-LOC-ESS	3SG.Y:I-downwards-ESS	that:Y	sludge-LOC-ESS	spear-ABS

níyan	*taí*	*záile*	*bim,*
n-i-yá-n	teíl	záil-e	b́-i-m
CP-3SG.X:I-get-CP	in.that.way	wise-ESS	COP-3SG.X-NPRS

‘In whichever place the arrow had landed, in that place, down in that sludge, the arrow was stuck in that way,’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #207)

(263)

unn	*gopachi*	*ja*	*ikay*	*tasveerin*	*bichana?*
ún	guˑpá-či-e	jé-e	iké	tasvíir-iŋ-Ø	bˊicán-Ø=a
thou	2SG:II-side-INE-ESS	I-GEN	those:Y	picture-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.Y-PRS=Q

un	*amik*	*mee*	*hotalatay*	*jaa chum*
ún[-e]	amík-Ø	mí-e	hoṭál-aṭ-e	jé-e-c-um
thou[-ERG]	which:Y.PL-ABS	we-GEN	hotel-INS-ESS	I-OBL-ADE-ABL

divsom	*kay*
d-i-gús+bá-a-m	ké
TEL-3PL.Y:I-go.out+COP-2SG-NPRS	LINK

'Do you have my photos which you were taking at our hotel?' (Liaqat Hussain's message on facebook: 25th of October, 2011; this unusual notation depends on his custom)

(264)

šon gukúr	*biṭáne*	*bésan*	*sénuma*	*ke*	*ité*
šón+gukúr	biṭán-e	bés-an-Ø	sén-um=a	ké	ité-Ø
Shon.Gukur	shaman-ERG	what-INDEF.SG-ABS	say-ADJVLZ=Q	LINK	that:Y-ABS

sahíi	*manímiˊ.*
sahíi	manˊ-m-i
correct	become-NPRS-3SG.Y

'What Shon Gukur had said turned out to be true.' (*šon gukúr*: #14)

And headless relative clause can be seen also, in particular, with the temporal relative expression introduced by *béšal* 'when' as in (265) below.

(265)

Leekín	*síse*	*zéhenulo*	*ité*	*árkuṣh*	*darúm*
leekín	sís-e	zéhen-ul-e	ité	ár-kuṣ-Ø	darˊ-um
but	people-GEN	mind-LOC-ESS	that:Y	fearful-NMLZ-ABS	still-ADJVLZ

bilúm	*ke*	*béshal*	*qámar*	*qhaṭ*	*wáshiman*
bˊ-ilˊ-m	ké	béšal	qamˊ-ar	qháṭ	i-bišá-m-an
COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	LINK	when	hole-DAT	down	3SG.HM:I-throw-NPRS-3PL.H

ke,	*"Zamíine*	*hóle*	*teí*	*úlo*	*Puyáayar*
ké	zamíin-e	hól-e	teíl	úl-e	punyə̃ə̃y-ar
LINK	ground-GEN	outside-ESS	in.that.way	inside-ESS	Punial-DAT

duúsai"	*nusé.*
d-gús+bá-i-Ø	n-sén
TEL-go.out+COP-3SG.HM-PRS	TEL-say

'But in the minds of the people there was still fear for that when they threw him into the hole, then they did it as saying "Such as on the ground, he is going to Punial in the ground".' (Willson [1999b] 2002:*Šíri Badát* #45)

In Burushaski, relative clauses can modify a pronoun as in (266).

(266)

uyáṭumuce	*gódariŋ*	*no,*	*u*	*ámin*
u-yaṭís-muc-e	gódar-iŋ-Ø	n-u̇-t	ú	ámin
3PL.H:I-head-PL-GEN	thick.wall-PL-ABS	CP-3PL.X:II-do	they:DIST	which:H

bičaarámuc	*úi*	*dowášabám*	*ke*
bičaará-muc-Ø	u-í	d-gús-ya+bá-an-m	ké
miserable-PL-ABS	3PL.H:I-self	TEL-go.out-PL+COP-3PL.H-NPRS	LINK

u	*waphaadáarišo*	*ménik*	*bam*	*ke*
ú-Ø	waphaadáar-išo	mén-ik-Ø	bá-an-m	ké
they:DIST-ABS	trusty-PL	who-INDEF.PL-ABS	COP-3PL.H-NPRS	LINK

úar	*čapán*	*baqhṣán*	*nóotan*	*úar*
ú-ar	čapán-Ø	baqhṣán	n-u̇-ṫ́-n	ú-ar
they:DIST-DAT	long.dress-ABS	giving	CP-3PL.H:III-do-CP	they:DIST-DAT

buṭ	*óor*	*izát*	*nétan.*
búṭ	óor	izát-Ø	n-i-ṫ́-n
much	and	grace-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do-CP

'Built a big wall with their heads, they$_i$ graced the miserable fellows who have come out by themselves$_j$ [lit. them$_j$ who are miserable and have come out by themselves$_j$] with long robes by reason that they$_j$ were trusty.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #343)

8.9. **Clause combining**

When two or more clauses are juxtaposed, then they can be regarded as combined if some contextual sequency is recognized. Clause combining is also done overtly through two strategies in Burushaski. The first is by conjunctives, and the second is by converbs.

8.9.1. Juxtaposition

Coordinate clause combining is frequently accomplished by the juxtaposition of two or more clauses, as in (267) and (268).

(267)

biṭáyue	*yeécuman,*	*húke mamúe*	*šon gukúrar*
biṭán-čo-e	i-ić-m-an	húke+mamó-e	šón+gukúr-ar
shaman-PL-ERG	3SG.Y:I-see-NPRS-3PL.H	Huke.Mamo-ERG	Shon.Gukur-DAT

ésimi:
i-ś-m-i
3SG.HM:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM

'The shamans saw it and Huke Mamo said to Shon Gukur:' (*šon gukúr*: #5)

(268)

jap	*ċhími,*	*téele*	*hurúṭimi.*
jáp	chí-m-i	teél-e	hurúṭ-m-i
underneath	descend-NPRS-3SG.HM	that.place-ESS	sit-NPRS-3SG.HM

'He went down and settled there.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #490)

8.9.2. Conjunctive

The following conjunctives are used for coordination: *ke* 'and' at the clause-final position here as in (269), and clause-initial *dáa* 'and then', *óor* 'and' [< UR *aur* (اور) 'and'] as in (270), and *leekín* 'but' [< UR *lēkin* (لیکن) 'but'].

(269)

éḍe	*búšar*	*teí*	*sénimi*	*ke*	*búše*	*myáao*
éḍ-e	buš́-ar	teíl	sén-m-i	ké	buš́-e	myáao-Ø
Ed-ERG	cat-DAT	in.that.way	say-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	cat-ERG	meow:ONO-ABS

étimi.
i-t́-m-i
3SG.Y:II-do-NPRS-3SG.X

'Ed said so <u>and</u> the cat purred.' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #121)

(270)

káman	*guncíŋcum,*	*buá*	*halkíimi*	*<u>óor</u>*
kám-an	gunć-iŋ-c-um	buá-Ø	halḱ-Ø-m-i	óor
little-INDEF.SG	day-PL-ADE-ABL	cow-ABS	bear-PFV-NPRS-3SG.X	and

isk	*désmanimi.*
i-sḱ-Ø	d-i-s-mań-m-i
3SG.X:I-young-ABS	TEL-3SG.X:II-CAUS-become-NPRS-3SG.X

'Some days later the cow gave birth <u>and</u> a calf was born to it.' (*šon gukúr*: #12)

On the other hand, the following conjunctives are usually employed to make subordinate clauses: clause-initial *ágar* 'if' [< PE/UR *agar* (اگر) 'if'] which usually cooccurs with the clause-final linker *ke*, shown in (271), similar to the relativiser *béšal* 'when' shown in (265) in §8.8; while *kúli* 'though' occurs in the clause-final position, as in (272). These conjunctives indicate the subordinate clauses which cannot occur independently from main clause.

(271)

et	*zéhere*	*chil*	*bilúm*	*iné*	*baadšáa*
ét-Ø	záhar-e	chiĺ-Ø	b́-iĺ-m	iné	baadšáa-Ø
that.one:Y-ABS	poison-GEN	water-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	that:H	king-ABS

iírčóm	*<u>agár</u>*	*ité*	*minúwám*	*<u>ke</u>*
i-iŕ-č+bá-i-m	ágar	ité	min+bá-i-m	ké
3SG.HM:I-die-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	if	that:Y	drink+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	LINK

čhémiliŋe	*chil*	*bilúm.*
čhémiliŋ-e	chiĺ-Ø	b́-iĺ-m
poison-GEN	water-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS

'It was such poison water that <u>if</u> he drinks it then the king dies.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #237)

(272)

éḍe	*ɣuyáŋcum*	*darúm*	*qháa*	*íi*	*bluuberíie*	*nas*
éḍ-e	ɣuyáŋ-c-um	daŕ-um	qháaṣ	íi	bluuberíi-e	naś-Ø
Ed-GEN	hair-ADE-ABL	still-ADJVLZ	until	just	blueberry-GEN	smell-ABS

júcilúm,	*altó*	*ḍam*	*yáṭis*
jú-č+b́-iĺ-m	altó	ḍám	i-yaṭís-Ø
come-IPFV+COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	two:Y	time	3SG.HM:I-head-ABS

yáaltóm	*kúli.*
i-báalt+bá-i-m	kúli
3SG.X:I-wash+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS	though

‘Ed’s hair still smelled like blueberry <u>though</u> he had taken two showers.’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #21)

Berger (1998c: 138) says that a conjunctive *éŋuṣe* ‘despite, although’ is always used with either of the two conjunctives *kúli* or *ke*, but my consultant Mussa Baig has given me sentences without employing the following conjunctive as in (273).

(273)

búṭan	*ṣim*	*<u>éŋuṣe</u>*	*khiné*	*hir*	*dayánum*
búṭ-an	ṣí-um	éŋuṣe	khiné	hiŕ-Ø	dayán-um
much	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-ADJVLZ	despite	this:H	man-ABS	thick-ADJVLZ

eémanimi.
a-i-mań-m-i
NEG-3SG.HM-become-NPRS-3SG.HM

‘This man ate so much <u>but</u> did not grow stout.’

For concessive clauses done by kinds of analytic verbal expression, instead of with *kúli*, see §8.6.2.

The linker *ke* can also be used to mark a subordinate clause.

(274)

ménan	*díya*	*<u>ke</u>*	*júci,*
mén-an-Ø	d-i″-Ø-i	ké	jú-č-m-i
who-INDEF.SG-ABS	come:PFV-3SG.HM-PRS-3SG.HM	LINK	come-IPFV-NPRS-3SG.HM

nusé	*mubaarakí*	*muchí bam.*
n-sén	mubaarák-í-Ø	mu-čhi+bá-an-m
CP-say	congratulatory-NMLZ-ABS	3SG.HF:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

‘Whoever comes, may he come!”, [thus] saying they had given her congratulations.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #42)

Here in (274), *ke* cooccurs with the interrogative word *ménan* to build a concessive clause, a type of clause which is regularly expressed in English with “-ever”. Such meaning can be expressed even as a constituent, not necessarily as a clause, see (275).

(275)

leekín	*hiŋ*	*dóonasulo*	*kaamiáab*	*béšal*	*ke*
leekín	hiŋ́-Ø	d́-gón-as-ul-e	kaamiáab	béšal	ké
but	door-ABS	TEL-open-INF-LOC-ESS	successful	when	LINK

ayéemanimi.
a-ï̈-mań-m-i
NEG-3SG.X:III-become-NPRS-3SG.X

‘It never succeeded in opening the door. [lit. Whenever it did not succeed in ...]’ (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #75)

It can be thought that conjunctives are sometimes used in insubordinate sentences as if they were sentence final particles, as in (276).

(276)

oóarimi	*ke?*
aú-hér-m-i	ké
NEG-sob-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK

‘Since he didn’t cry?’

Such an insubordinate clause has no following clause in practice, so that it is not easy to understand the status of this clause in relation to the clause that the clause-final conjunctive suggests. There remain some shades of meaning implied by the type of conditional or event sequential clauses that are usually introduced by *ke*.

8.9.3. Converb

The term “converb” is used for nonfinite verb forms that mark adverbial

subordination. There are a lot of converbs in Burushaski and most of them consist of some locational case marking with any of the following: an infinitive, a perfective participle, or an imperfective participle. They can be categorized into switch-reference, temporal relativity, or other particular adverbial functions.

In this section, first, I will refer to and summarize the previous study of Tikkanen (1995), which is devoted to the issues of converbs. And then, I will discuss converbs and revise the total system of converbs.

Tikkanen (1995: 492–93) lists about 20 (he says 18 but actually he has shown 21 or more forms) converb forms in Burushaski with consecutive numbers, which will be shown in the list (277) again. Here I have sorted out and arranged the classification of converbs according to Tikkanen (1995) in Table 105 but I have changed the stem from *hér-* 'to sob, to cry' into *gáarc-* 'to run', because it conjugates more regularly. For precaution's sake, recall that the perfective participle of *gáarc-* is *gáarcum* and the imperfective participle is *gáaršum*, and that a negative prefix *a-* and the conjunctive participle prefix *n-* cause the devoicing phenomenon.

Table 105. Classification of converbs according to Tikkanen (1995)[†47]

	ANTERIOR	SIMULTANEOUS	PURPOSIVE (FINALIS)
SAME SUBJECT	*nukáarc* (c-1) *gáarcumaṭe* (c-2) *akáarcumaṭe* (c-3)	*gáaršume* (c-10) *gáaršumaṭe* (c-11)	*gáaršar* (c-14) *gáarcasar* (c-7) *gáarcase gáne* (c-15)
OPEN SUBJECT		*gáarcumulo* (c-12) *gáarcasulo* (c-13)	
DIFFERENT SUBJECT	*gáarcumar* (c-4) *gáarcumcum (ílji)* (c-5) *gáarcume káa* (c-6) *gáarcasar* (c-7) *gáarcascum ílji* (c-8) *gáarcase káa* (c-9)		
IMPROPER CONVERBS (PHRASAL CONVERBS; HYBRIDS)			
gáarcum khéenulo/wáqtulo (c-16), *gáarcum ílji/icíaṭe* (c-17), *gáarcascum yar* (c-18), *gáarciṣ qháa* (c-19), *gáarcum juán* (c-20); *gáarcáṭe* (c-21a), *gáarcabáṭe* (c-21b)			

[†47] All with the terminology of Tikkanen (1995) here.

But his classification is not sufficient nor constant. There seem to be different functions in a single class; that is, there are three different kinds of annotations for the forms classified as anterior same-subject converbs. He says nothing about why he does not classify the "improper converbs" with the same criteria as the other converbs. Here I list the converb (including improper ones) in Tikkanen (1995) below, see (277).

(277) 21 converbs in Tikkanen (1995)

	form	construction	gloss
c-1	*nukáarc*	n-V	CP-V
c-2	*gáarcumaṭe*	V-um-aṭ-e	V-ADJ-INS-ESS
c-3	*akáarcumaṭe*	a-V-um-aṭ-e	NEG-V-ADJ INS ESS
c-4	*gáarcumar*	V-um-ar	V-ADJ-DAT
c-5	*gáarcumcum (ílji)*	V-um-c-um (*ílji*)	V-ADJ-ADE-ABL (after)
c-6	*gáarcume káa*	V-um-e *káa(ṭ)*	V-ADJ-GEN with
c-7	*gáarcasar*	V-as-ar	V-INF-DAT
c-8	*gáarcascum ílji*	V-as-c-um *ílji*	V-INF-ADE-ABL after
c-9	*gáarcase káa*	V-as-e *káa(ṭ)*	V-INF-GEN with
c-10	*gáaršume*	V-č-um-e	V-IPFV-ADJ-ESS
c-11	*gáaršumaṭe*	V-č-um-aṭ-e	V-IPFV-ADJ-INS-ESS
c-12	*gáarcumulo*	V-um-ul-e	V-ADJ-LOC-ESS
c-13	*gáarcasulo*	V-as-ul-e	V-INF-LOC-ESS
c-14	*gáaršar*	V-č-ar	V-IPFV-DAT
c-15	*gáarcase gáne*	V-as-e *gáne*	V-INF-GEN for
c-16	*gáarum khéenulo/wáqtulo*	V-um *khéenulo/wáqtulo*	V-ADJ in.the.time
c-17	*gáarcum ílji/icíaṭe*	V-um *ílji/icíaṭe*	V-ADJ after
c-18	*gáarcascum yar*	V-as-c-um *yar*	V-INF-ADE-ABL before
c-19	*gáarciṣ qháa*	V-ṣ *qháa(ṣ)*	V-OPT until
c-20	*gáarcum juán*	V-um *juán*	V-ADJ as
c-21a	*gáarcáṭe*	V+COP-áṭ-e	V+COP-INS-ESS
c-21b	*gáarcabáṭe*	V-a+COP-áṭ-e	V-1SG+COP-INS-ESS

Some of his converbs cannot be regarded as simplex, but rather analytic expressions that do not act as a single unit. I recognise only nonfinite verb forms to be converbs. Some of the converbs listed by him that I do not regard as converbs are constructed with a nonfinite form and a case-like expression (§3.5.8.2) so that later I will account for them separately in a manner similar to how I have divided cases and

case-like expressions previously. And there are some forms in Tikkanen (1995) that are simply made of morphosyntactic combinations of a deverbal adjective and a modified noun with adverbial (locational) case, which can be understood compositionally through their individual meanings or functions.

I discuss the clause-combining functions of converbs here. A conjunctive participle (n-V; c-1) is used for the preceding events of some events if the subject of these events is identical, and there is no need for a statement to specify the eventual relationship between the events, as in (278).

(278) Conjunctive p(artici)p(le). (n-V; c-1): Same-subject Anterior

qhúuqe	*ganṭí*	*néɣarin*	*sénimi …*
qhúuq-e	ganṭí-Ø	n-i̯-ɣar-́n	sén-m-i
pig-ERG	bell-ABS	CP-3SG.X:II-play-CP	say-NPRS-3SG.X

‘The pig rang a doorbell and said …’ (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #20)

[[the pig rang]$_{ANT}$ the pig said]$_{FINITE}$

To make the construction clearer, hereafter I illustrate each clause using square brackets to annotate the functional status of each clause after the lines of free translation. The predicate of anterior converbs is represented with past tense, and those of conditional converbs with present perfect, those of simultaneous converbs with present progressive, and those of purposive converbs with “for V-ing” forms. A symbol “&” means the border of two finite clauses, which may be accompanied by some converbal clauses.

Concerning converbs, Tikkanen (1995: 509–10) says “if the time reference switches explicitly from past to present or future, a finite coordinated clause is preferred (switch from present to future reference is tolerated)” and shows the following examples (279a, b):

(279) a.

Sabúur	*íne*	*gáne*	*jáa*	*qhat*		
sabúur	ín-e	gan-́e	jé-e	qhát-Ø		
yesterday	s/he:DIST-GEN	way-ESS	I-ERG	letter-ABS		
*girmína báyam/*nikírminin*				*khúulto/jímale*	*éer*	
girmín-a+bá-a-a-m/*n-girmín-n				khúulto/jímal-e	i̯-ar	
write-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS/*CP-write-CP				today/tomorrow-ESS	3SG.HM:II-DAT	

óoċučam.
u̯ꜜchú-č-a-m
send.for-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

'Yesterday I wrote a letter to him and today[/tomorrow] I will send it to him.' (Tikkanen 1995: 510)

b. *Khúulto je ínar qhátan*
khúulto jé-Ø ín-ar qhát-an-Ø
today I-ABS s/he:DIST-DAT letter-INDEF.SG-ABS

girmíyam/nikírmin jímale éer
girmín-č-a-m/n-girmín jímal-e i̯-ar
write-IPFV-1SG-NPRS/CP-write tomorrow-ESS 3SG.HM:II-DAT

óoċučam.
u̯ꜜchú-č-a-m
send.for-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

'Today I will write a letter to him and tomorrow I will send it to him.' (*ibid.*)

He says that the conjunctive participle (c-1) is not available in (279a) because it consists of a past and a present or future reference, and (279b) is suited for the conjunctive participle because it is constructed with a present and a future reference. But actually (279b) is made of two future references, and then the conjunctive participle is naturally used there (see also his translation). If the predicates are formally both a present and a future, then the proposition of (279b) will not be expressed with the conjunctive participle *nikírmin* but then only the (complex present) finite form *girmíya báa* will be grammatically accepted as well as (279a) is accepted. The tolerance of the use of the conjunctive participle depends on the formal temporality, not on the interpretational temporality; only if the finite forms are parallel in conjugation, including the subject reference, can the anterior event be predicated with a converb.

Whereas if the result of the preceding event is still effective at the time the following event begins, then a conditional converb is used for the predication of the preceding event, as in (280).

(280) Perfective pp. + Adessive (V-um-c-e; c-23): Same-subject Conditional

noború	*éyanumce*	*hérčái.*
noború-Ø	iː-yan-um-c-e	hér-č+bá-i-Ø
Noboru-ABS	3SG.HM:II-sleep-ADJVLZ-ADE-ESS	sob-IPFV+COP-3SG.HM-PRS

'Noboru slept and is shedding tears.'

[[Noboru has slept]$_{COND}$ Noboru is shedding tears]$_{FINITE}$

In (280), the preceding event expressed with a conditional converb means that the change of the subject's physical position or status occurred first, and the following event occurred in the changed position or status, maybe lying down or being asleep.

Converbs, at least the ones of a perfective participle plus the adhesive case marking (c-2), can be made out of copulas also, as in (281). There seems no difference in function between converbs from verbs and those from copulas.

(281) Copular pp. + Adhesive (V-um-aṭ-e; c-2): Open-subject Simultaneous

Nóguṣhkinin,	*in*	*thápe*	*úlo*
n-uː-guṣúgin-n	ín-Ø	thapʹ-e	úl-e
CP-3PL.H:II-confer-CP	s/he:DIST-ABS	night-ESS	inside-ESS

bámaṭe	*iḍigaariṭák*	*biráquman.*
bá-i-um-aṭ-e	i-ḍigaarṭák	biráq-m-an
COP-3SG.HM-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS	3SG.Y:I-around	dig-NPRS-3PL.H

'Informed them and when he was in the house at night then they dug around it' (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #33)

[[he informed them]$_{ANT}$ [he is staying inside at night]$_{SIM}$ they dug around the house]

Now, I show some examples to verify the revisions to Tikkanen (1995):

(282) Infinitive + Adhesive (V-as-aṭ-e; c-24 later): Open-subject Simultaneous
Infinitive + Dative (V-as-ar; c-7): Open-subject Anterior

rafíiq	*óltike*	*čáɣamiŋ*	*éčume*
rafíiq	uː-ltik-e	čáɣa-miŋ-Ø	iː-tʹ-č-um-e
companion	3PL.H:II-both-ERG	story-PL-ABS	3PL.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS

guchárčume	*piadál*	*gánane*	*hóle*
guchár-č-um-e	piaadál	gan-an-e	hól-e
move-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	on.foot	way-INDEF.SG-GEN	outside-ESS

guchárasaṭe,	*hitháanar*	*níasar*	*ṣhámine*
guchár-as-aṭ-e	hík-tháan-ar	ní-as-ar	ṣhámine
move-INF-INS-ESS	one-place-DAT	go-INF-DAT	hungry

umánuman
u-man-m-an
3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H

'The companions both were going along talking and when they reached a place out of a pedestrian way [lit. while moving outside a pedestrian way] then they felt hungry' (*čhúmoe minás*: #47)

[[the companions both are talking]$_{SIM}$ [the companions both are moving]$_{SIM}$ [the companions both are moving outside a pedestrian way]$_{SIM}$ [the companions both went to a place]$_{ANT}$ the companions both felt hungry]$_{FINITE}$

(283) Perfective pp. + Adhesive (V-um-aṭ-e; c-2): Open-subject Conditional

dáa	*khúulto*	*guté*	*neekí*	*díimia*
dáa	khúulto	guté	neekí-Ø	d-i″-m-i=a
again	today	this:Y	luck-ABS	come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y=Q

awáramaṭe,	*huróɣo*	*díimaṭe,*
a-bar-a-um-aṭ-e	huróɣo-Ø	d-i″-um-aṭ-e
1SG:I-get.tired-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS	sweat-ABS	come:PFV-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS

guté	*amóos*	*ke*	*awáramaṭe,*	*chil*
guté	a-moos-Ø	ké	a-bar-a-um-aṭ-e	chil-Ø
this:Y	1SG:I-anger-ABS	LINK	1SG:I-get.tired-1SG-ADJVLZ-INS-ESS	water-ABS

minás	*ayátum*	*úne*	*bes*
min-as-Ø	a-a-t-um	ún-e	bés
drink-INF-ABS	NEG-1SG:II-do-ADJVLZ	thou-ERG	why

déemima
d-ï̈-mi-m-a
TEL-3SG.Y:III-collect-NPRS-2SG

'And today this good luck seems to have come; on the occasion that I had been exhausted and in a sweat [lit. sweat had come out] so that I could not keep even my anger [lit. this my anger also exhausted], why did you collect water despite the fact that you would not let me have it?' (*čhúmoe minás*: #233)

[and today this good luck seems to have come]$_{\text{FINITE}}$ & [[I have been tired]$_{\text{COND}}$ [sweat has come out]$_{\text{COND}}$ [my anger has been tired]$_{\text{COND}}$ why did you collect water despite the fact that you would not let me have it?]$_{\text{FINITE}}$

(284) Complex perfective + Adhesive (V+COP-aṭ-e; c-21): Different-subject Conditional

"čáayanar	*ju"*	*ésabáṭe,*	*"bée*	*ya*
čáai-an-ar	jú-i	i-ś-a+bá-aṭ-e	bée	yá
tea-INDEF.SG-DAT	come-IMP.SG	3SG.HM:II-tell-1SG+COP-INS-ESS	no	INTERJ

úne	*háale*	*ḍaḍáŋ*	*ḍaámal*	*biéna"*
ún-e	há-al-e	ḍaḍáŋ	ḍaámal-Ø	b́-ién-Ø=a
thou-GEN	house-LOC-ESS	large.drums	timpani-ABS	COP-3PL.X-PRS=Q

ásimi.
a-̈ś-m-i
1SG:II-tell-NPRS-3SG.HM

'Upon my telling him "Come on, have a tea", he told me "No, there may be drums in your house".' (*čhúmoe minás*: #130)

[[I have told him " ... "]$_{\text{COND}}$ he told me " ... "]$_{\text{FINITE}}$

In (282), both *guchárasaṭe* 'while moving' (c-24 later) and *níasar* 'after going' (c-7) are used with a superordinate clause without the switching of subject reference, while Tikkanen (1995) remarks that these converbs are of different-subject use. Surely there are cases of these converbs with switch-reference in texts, thus they can be regarded as open-subject converbs. On the contrary, however, with (283) I show that the V-um-aṭ-e converbs (c-2) used in combining the clauses that have different subjects. (284) is the example of the "hybrid" form (c-21) which Tikkanen (1995) does not classify. This converb predicates the conditional event upon which the following event in a

superordinate clause depends. This converb always switches the references between its own and those of the superordinate clause.

From the distributive divergence between participle and infinitive, it is inferred that a converb made of a participle is retaining predicatehood more than one based on an infinitive. The predicatehood can be seen at the fact that participles have a choice of aspect and take a suffix for first person, though infinitives do not. For the following three converbs, their infinitive or participle parts may be functioning rather in a nominal state:

(285) Infinitive + Locative (V-as-ul-e; c-13): Free-subject Simultaneous

in	*éyanasulo*	*zilzilá*
ín-Ø	i̱-gán-as-ul-e	zilzilá-Ø
s/he:DIST-ABS	3SG.HM:II-sleep-INF-LOC-ESS	earthquake-ABS

díimi.
d-i̱″-m-i
come:PFV-3SG.Y-NPRS-3SG.Y

'When he was sleeping, the earthquake came.'

[[he is sleeping]$_{SIM}$ the earthquake came]$_{FINITE}$

(286) Infinitive + Dative case (V-as-ar; c-7): Finalis

phalaaná	*gúncar*	*jáar*	*guté*	*čáaie*	*ṣapíke*	*óor*	*jáar*	*úne*
phalaaná	gunc̱-ar	jé-ar	guté	čáai-e	ṣapík-e	óor	jé-ar	ún-e
so.and.so	day-DAT	I-DAT	this:Y	tea-GEN	food-GEN	and	I-DAT	thou-GEN

káa	*prátulo*	*nuúro,*	*čaɣabár*	*étasar*
káaṭ	prát-ul-e	n-hurúṭ	čaɣabár-Ø	i̱-ṯ-as-ar
together	similarity-LOC-ESS	CP-sit	conversation-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-INF-DAT

áar	*izát*	*ne,*	*áar*	*qáo*	*éti.*
a̱-ar	izát-Ø	n-i̱-t	a̱-ar	qáo-Ø	i̱-t́-i
1SG:II-DAT	grace-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	1SG:II-DAT	cry-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IMP.SG

'At such and such day, in deference to me, call me for tea and foods <u>to talk</u> with me.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #208)

[at such and such day, [for having tea and meal]$_{\text{ANACOLUTHON}}$ [[you allowed me to have a seat with you]$_{\text{ANT}}$ for talking with me]$_{\text{PUR}}$ [you gave grace to me]$_{\text{ANT}}$ (you) call me]$_{\text{FINITE}}$

(287) <u>Imperfective pp. + Adessive (V-č-um-c-e; c-25 later): Finalis</u>

Nupíraqinin,	*tshórdimo*	*ḍámaṭe*	*in*
n-biráq-n-n	chórdin-mu-e	ḍám-aṭ-e	ín-Ø
CP-dig-CP-CP	morning-OBL-GEN	time-INS-ESS	s/he:DIST-ABS

hólne	*íimo*	*bésan*	*shayád*
hól+n-i̱-t	i-í-mu-e	bés-an	šaayád
outside+CP-3SG.Y:II-do	3SG.HM:I-self-OBL-GEN	what-INDEF.SG	maybe

<u>ibaadátan</u>	*<u>échumtse</u>*	*bésanar*
ibaadát-an-Ø	i̱-t́-č-um-c-e	bés-an-ar
worship-INDEF.SG-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ADE-ESS	what-INDEF.SG-DAT

majítanar	*níchama,*	*mandáranar*
majít-an-ar	ní-č-a-m=a	mandír-an-ar
mosque-INDEF.SG-DAT	go-IPFV-1SG-NPRS=Q	temple-INDEF.SG-DAT

níchama –	*bésanar*	*nícham*	*ke …*
ní-č-a-m=a	bés-an-ar	ní-č-a-m	ké
go-IPFV-1SG-NPRS=Q	what-INDEF.SG-DAT	go-IPFV-1SG-NPRS	LINK

'They dug and at morning, he went outside to go <u>to say a prayer</u>, maybe to something like a temple' (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #35)

[[they dug]$_{\text{ANT}}$ at morning, he went out side [for something like doing worship]$_{\text{PUR}}$ to somewhere like a masjid or a temple]$_{\text{FINITE}}$

For the former two cases, (285; c-13) and (286; c-7), the reason why it is felt that they are nominal may be owing to the comparison with the participial counterparts that serve

the same function. On the other hand, the converb in question in (287; c-25 later) is a form not mentioned by Tikkanen (1995) and looks to be used for purposive expression. But there appear less examples of this converbal form, and the adhesive case with a nominal can often mean the target point of an action or movement with an implication of the adhesion of some theme to the point. That is, it is not too difficult to imagine the converbal function from the nature of the inifinitive and the adhesive case.

Of course almost all converbs show nominal characteristics to some extent since they include a case marker, and so, viewed by how sufficiently each of them constructs a clause, converbs would be considered like a bridge between finite verbals and nominals in a continuum. And the likelihood of each converb formation may be in inverse proportion to the degree of its functional establishment as a fixed formation. Once a converbal formation has been functionally well established, then it could be more contracted, as the irregularly formed purposive, or finalis, form represented with *gáaršar* (c-14) in Table 105 above, see (288).

(288) Imperfective stem + Dative (V-č-ar; c-14): Finalis

isé	*ašdáre*	*téelum*	*yaaní*	*qhat*
isé	ašdár-e	teél-um	yaaní	i-qhát-Ø
that:X	dragon-ERG	that.place-ABL	FIL	3SG.X:I-mouth-ABS

a	*n,*	*ínaṭar*	*hamalá*
á	n-i̯-t	ín-aṭ-ar	hamalá-Ø
mouth.opening:ONO	CP-3SG.X:II-do	s/he:DIST-INS-DAT	attack-ABS

éćar	*díimi.*
i̯-t́-č-ar	d-i″m-i
3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-DAT	come:PFV-3SG.X-NPRS-3SG.X

‘The dragon then opened its mouth wide and came to attack him.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #97)

[[the dragon opened its mouth wide]$_{ANT}$ the dragon came [for attacking him]$_{PUR}$ to him]$_{FINITE}$

This formation is, unlike the other participial converbs, based on the imperfective stem, while there is no case of a verbal stem taking a case marker for nominal, other than this formation. Hence, this converb appears more fixed and specialised in form than others, and is used more frequently than the formations which in fact serve seemingly the same

function. And the other irregular formation shown in (284) is also considered similar.

Some converbs are also used in somewhat wider constructions. The same-subject simultaneous converb V-č-um-e (c-10) is used also for some expressions with particular aspectual meanings, such as progressive in (289) and (290), and continuous in (291).

(289) Imperfect pp. + Essive (V-č-um-e; c-10) with Copula finite form: Progressive

isé	*búše*	*íne*	*isé*	*bluuberíi*	*šuróce*	*ṣűű*
isé	buš́-e	ín-e	isé	bluuberíi-e	šuró-c-e	ṣűũ-Ø
that:X	cat-ERG	s/he:DIST-GEN	that:X	blueberry-GEN	pie-ADE-ESS	sniff-ABS

éčume	*bim.*
i̇-t́-č-um-e	b́-i-m
3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	COP-3SG.X-NPRS

'The cat was sniffing his blueberry pie.' (*uyúm dayánum búšan*: #32)

(290) Imperfect pp. + Essive (c-10) with *man-́* 'to become' finite form: Progressive

es	*yáṭumpa*	*téele*	*paṭáaṭe*
és-Ø	i-yáṭ-um+pá	teél-e	paṭáa-aṭ-e
that.one:X-ABS	3SG.HM:I-upwards-ABL+side	that.place-ESS	board-INS-ESS

yáṭe,	*taṭṭáaṭe*	*yáṭe,*	*akhíl*	*numá*
i-yáṭ-e	taqhṭáa-aṭ-e	i-yáṭ-e	akhíl	n-man
3SG.X:I-upwards-ESS	plank-INS-ESS	3SG.X:I-upwards-ESS	in.this.way	CP-become

hiṣ	*éćume*	*maí bim,*	*γúrqun.*
híṣ-Ø	i̇-t́-č-um-e	man-́č+b́-i-m	γúrqun-Ø
sigh-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	become-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-NPRS	frog-ABS

'Up there on the board, on the throne, that frog was sighing like this.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #295)

(291) Imperfect pp. + Essive (c-10) with *ní-* 'to go' finite form: Continuous

es	*ṣíčume*	*níman,*
és-Ø	ṣí-č-um-e	ní-m-an
that.one:X-ABS	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	go-NPRS-3PL.H

atíγanimi,	*phaṣ*	*eémanimi.*
a-d-i-γaṅ́-m-i	pháṣ	a-i-maṅ́-m-i
NEG-TEL-3SG.X:I-be.finished-NPRS-3SG.X	finishing	NEG-3SG.X:I-become-NPRS-3SG.X

'They <u>went on eating it</u>, but it did not run out, did not come to an end.' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #348)

Semantically they can be merely analysed as 'be/become + doing' (progressive) and 'go + doing' (continuous), respectively, but look to be getting grammaticalised to become fixed analytic aspectual expressions. In the same way, the analytic perfective, which includes various meanings, is also made with a conjunctive participle n-V (c-1), as in (292) and (293).

(292) <u>Conjunctive pp. (n-V; c-1) with Copula: Perfective (accomplishment)</u>

paṭáanaṭe	*yáṭe*	*taí*	*ne*
paṭáa-an-aṭ-e	i-yáṭ-e	teíl	n-i̇-t
board-INDEF.SG-INS-ESS	3SG.X:I-upwards-ESS	in.that.way	CP-3SG.Y:II-do

íne	*éuruṭimi;*	*<u>néuruṭ</u>*	*<u>bam</u>,*
ín-e	i̇-hurúṭ-m-i	n-i̇-hurúṭ	bá-i-m
s/he:DIST-ERG	3SG.X:II-sit-NPRS-3SG.HM	CP-3SG.X:II-sit	COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

baadšáa	*déyalimi.*
baadšáa-e	d-i̇-yal-m-i
king-ERG	TEL-3SG.X:II-hear-NPRS-3SG.HM

'He seated it up on a board like this; [when] he <u>had seated it</u>, the king heard [of it].' (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #236)

(293) <u>Conjunctive pp. (n-V; c-1) with Copula: Perfective (consequence of a situation)</u>

ámis	*gusé*	*yar*	*gan*	*biláa,*
ámis	gusé-Ø	i-yár	gaṅ́-Ø	b́-iĺ-Ø=a
which:X	this:X-ABS	3SG.Y:I-before	way-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-PRS=Q

apí,	*es*	*be,*	*ité*	*gánulo*	*han*
a-b́-iĺ-Ø	és-Ø	bé	ité	gaṅ́-ul-e	hán
NEG-COP-3SG.Y-PRS	that.one:X-ABS	no	that:Y	way-LOC-ESS	one:X

déu-aśdáran	*nukúća*	*bi.*
déu+ašdár-an-Ø	n-gučhá	b′-i-Ø
demon+dragon-INDEF.SG-ABS	CP-lie	COP-3SG.X-PRS

‘As for there being or not being a road onwards from here, it is not [now], [because] in that road a dragon-demon is lying.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #428)

Hence, I rearranged converbs by separating both converb-like expressions, which are dealt with in the next section §8.9.4, and simple combinations, in Table 106 with the new list (294). In this table, framed forms are changed in their position from Tikkanen’s (1995) classification, and underlined forms (and a category) are newly added. Some converbs listed with parentheses in Table 106 may be regarded as having a more nominal nature.

Table 106. Rearranged converbs

	ANTERIOR	CONDITIONAL	SIMULTANEOUS	PURPOSIVE
SAME SUBJECT	*nukáarc* (c-1)	*gáarcumce* (c-23)	*gáaršume* (c-10) *gáaršumaṭe* (c-11)	*gáaršar* (c-14) *(gáarcasar* (c-7)*)* *(gáaršumce* (c-25)*)*
OPEN SUBJECT	*gáarcasar* (c-7) *akáarcasar* (c-22)	*gáarcumaṭe* (c-2) *akáarcumaṭe* (c-3)	*gáarcasaṭe* (c-24) *gáarcumulo* (c-12) *(gáarcasulo* (c-13)*)*	
DIFFERENT SUBJECT	*gáarcumar* (c-4) *gáarcumcum* (c-5)	*gáarcáṭe/* *gáarcabáṭe* (c-21)		
DIRECTIONAL CASE	ABLATIVE DATIVE	ESSIVE	ESSIVE	DATIVE

(294) 15 converbs in this dissertation (with the common numbers to (277))

	form	construction	gloss
c-1	*nukáarc*	n-V	CP-V
c-2	*gáarcumaṭe*	V-um-aṭ-e	V-ADJ-INS-ESS
c-3	*akáarcumaṭe*	a-V-um-aṭ-e	NEG-V-ADJ INS ESS
c-4	*gáarcumar*	V-um-ar	V-ADJ-DAT
c-5	*gáarcumcum*	V-um-c-um	V-ADJ-ADE-ABL
c-7	*gáarcasar*	V-as-ar	V-INF-DAT

c-10	*gáaršume*	V-č-um-e	V-IPFV-ADJ-ESS
c-11	*gáaršumaṭe*	V-č-um-aṭ-e	V-IPFV-ADJ-INS-ESS
c-12	*gáarcumulo*	V-um-ul-e	V-ADJ-LOC-ESS
c-13	*gáarcasulo*	V-as-ul-e	V-INF-LOC-ESS
c-14	*gáaršar*	V-č-ar	V-IPFV-DAT
c-21	*gáarcáṭe, gáarcabáṭe*	V+COP-aṭ-e	V+COP-INS-ESS
c-22	*akáarcasar*	a-V-as-ar	NEG-V-INF-DAT
c-23	*gáarcumce*	V-um-c-e	V-ADJ-ADE-ESS
c-24	*gáarcasaṭe*	V-as-aṭ-e	V-INF-INS-ESS
c-25	*gáaršumce*	V-č-um-c-e	V-IPFV-ADJ-ADE-ESS

I distinguish anterior and conditional because anterior converbs suggest just that in a sequence of events the converbal clause event precedes the main clause event, and conditional converbs imply that the superordinate clause event happens in response to or as a result of the converbal clause event; therefore, here the term conditional also includes, in practice, causal and instrumental.

As the bottom row "directional case" of indicates, this classification correlates with locational complex case despite the fact that there is a difference between temporal or spatial dimensions. That is, converbs with the essive case marker represent some simultaneity, including perfect, relative to the time indicated by the superordinate clause. On the other hand, relatively distant temporality is expressed with the ablative or dative markers. For the directional cases, see also §§3.5.4 – 3.5.7.

I devote the next section to converbal analytic expressions, and will summarize both converbs and converbal analytic expressions together at the end of the section.

8.9.4. Converbal analytic expressions

Besides converbs, there are several expressions working in functions similar to converbs, but their formations are difficult to regard as single units instead of analytic constructions. So I account for them here with a label "converbal analytic expression". Furthermore there are several expressions that are less grammaticalised than converbal analytic ones, e.g., *hérum khéenulo/wáqtulo* [hér-um khéen/wáqt-ul-e || sob-ADJVLZ period/time-LOC-ESS] 'at the time of crying' from Tikkanen (1995). I do not adopt these because they have not become even set phrases and seem mere plain phrases. Of course, there is a certain breadth of the idiomaticity among converbal analytic expressions, also, as well as the fact that converbs show a diversity of fixed-formness, or as it were, grammaticalisation.

In this section, first, I will show the list of converbal analytic expressions. And then I discuss one of the expressions, which includes finite form unlike the other converbs and converbal expressions. After that I deal with the functions of converbal expressions, which seem to have different function from those on which Tikkanen (1995) described. Finally, I will summarize both converbs and converbal analytic expressions together.

Like Table 106 for converbs, I have arranged converbal analytic expressions with respect to switch reference and temporal relativity in Table 107 and the new list (295) below. Again, framed forms are set at a different position from Tikkanen (1995), or have not been classified in function by him. Underlined forms are the ones which I regard as converbal analytic expressions, but which Tikkanen (1995) does not.

Table 107. Rearranged converbal analytic expressions

	ANTERIOR	CONDITIONAL	PURPOSIVE	POSTERIOR
SAME SUBJ.			*gáarcase gáne* (c-15)	
OPEN SUBJ.	*gáarcascum íljí*/*icíaṭe* (c-8)	*FINITE=a ke* (c-27)		*gáarciṣ qháa* (c-19) *akáarciṣ qháa* (c-26)
DIFFERENT SUBJ.	*gáarcumcum @-́ljí*/*@-cíaṭe* (c-5) *gáarcume káa* (c-6) *gáarcase káa* (c-9)	*gáarcas ke* (c-28)		*gáarcascum yar (ne)* (c-18)

(295) 10 converbal analytic expressions (with the common numbers to (277))

	form	construction	gloss
c-5	*gáarcumcum @-́ljí*/*@-cíaṭe*	V-um-c-um *@-́ljí*/*@-cíaṭe*	V-ADJ-ADE-ABL after
c-6	*gáarcume káa*	V-um-e *káa(ṭ)*	V-ADJ-GEN with
c-8	*gáarcascum íljí*/*icíaṭe*	V-as-c-um *íljí*/*icíaṭe*	V-INF-ADE-ABL after
c-9	*gáarcase káa*	V-as-e *káa(ṭ)*	V-INF-GEN with
c-15	*gáarcase gáne*	V-as-e *gáne*	V-INF-GEN for
c-18	*gáarcascum yar (ne)*	V-as-c-um *yar (ne)*	V-INF-ADE-ABL before
c-19	*gáarciṣ qháaṣ*	V-ṣ *qháa(ṣ)*	V-OPT until
c-26	*akáarciṣ qháaṣ*	a-V-ṣ *qháa(ṣ)*	NEG-V-OPT until
c-27	*FINITE=a ke*	V_{FINITE}=a *ke*	V_{FINITE}=Q that
c-28	*gáarcas ke*	V-as *ke*	V-INF that

It might be better to exclude the form V_{FINITE}=a *ke* (c-27) here; for example, *gáarcama ke* ‘after my running; I run and’ (simple past with the first person) consists of a finite

simple past form, the interrogative clitic, and the linker, though the other converbal expressions do not have a finite form but rather a nonfinite form. See (296) for the form in question with a third person plural H-class subject.

(296) Simple past + Interrogative + Linker (c-27): Open-subject Conditional

khu	*pačáas*	*nookárišo*	*góor*	*hirí*	*kam*
khú	pačáas	nookár-išo-Ø	gu̱-ar	hiŕ-i-Ø	kám
they:PROX	fifty	servant-PL-ABS	2SG:II-DAT	man-PL-ABS	little

umánumana	*ke*	*dáa*	*je*	*ke*	*ṭesṭ*
u-mań-m-an=a	ké	dáa	jé-Ø	ké	ṭésṭ
3PL.H:I-become-NPRS-3PL.H=Q	LINK	again	I-ABS	LINK	test

áčóo
a̱-t́-č+bá-a-Ø
1SG:II-do-IPFV+COP-2SG-PRS

'your fifty serving men decreased and then you are checking me also' (*čhúmoe minás*: #346)

Such expression can certainly be made of all kinds of finite forms as in (297) and (298).

(297) Past imperfect + Interrogative + Linker (c-27): Open-subject Conditional

ué	*válto*	*yuúa*	*iné*	*uú*	*nidíl*
ué	válto	i-í-ua-e	iné	u-uý̨-Ø	n-i-d+i+l
those:H	four:H	3SG.HM:I-son-PL-ERG	that:H	3PL.H:I-father-ABS	CP-3SG.HM:I-hit

iíras	*éčóm.*	*gun*
i-iŕ-as-Ø	i̱-t́-č+bá-an-m	gún-Ø
3SG.HM:I-die-INF-ABS	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS	bow.string-ABS

déljume	*pran*	*ne*	*déljóm.*
d́+i+l-č-um-e	prán	n-i̱-t	d́+i+l-č+bá-an-m
hit-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	blam:ONO	CP-3SG.X:II-do	hit-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS

déljóma	*ke*	*aaqhiríar*	*iné*	*mapéer*
d́+i+l-č+bá-an-m=a	ké	aaqhirí-ar	iné	mapéer-Ø
hit-IPFV+COP-3PL.H-NPRS=Q	LINK	end-DAT	that:H	aged-ABS

déyalin	*ke …*
d-i̇-yal-n	ké
TEL:CP-3SG.HM:II-hear-CP	LINK

‘Those four sons had killed their father by hitting, with a blam of a bow. They hit him and the old man finally heard that ...’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #292–93)

(298) Single imperative + Interrogative + Linker (c-27): Open-subject Conditional

sénaṭe,	*be*	*ya,*	*ye*	*jáar*	*ruqsát*
sén+b́-aṭ-e	bé	yá	yé	jé-ar	ruqsát-Ø
say+COP-INS-ESS	no	INTERJ	look:INTERJ	I-DAT	leaving-ABS

aćhía	*ke!*	*mi*	*khot*	*uskó san*
a-čhí-i=a	ké	mí-Ø	khót	uskó-sa-an
1SG:I-give:Y.SG.OBJ-IMP.SG=Q	LINK	we-ABS	this:Y	three-month-INDEF.SG

wálsan	*hurúćaman.*
wál-sa-an	hurúṭ-ya-m-an
four-month-INDEF.SG	sit-PL-NPRS-1PL

‘On [his] saying [this], [the prince answered:] “No way, just give me leave now! We stayed here for this three months, four months.” ’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #476–77)

They may seem similar to the other anterior converbs or converbal expressions, but may be considered to be the same as coordinate conjunction simply by the conjuntive *ke*. At least, two clauses in this expression are coordinated, so that the clauses before and after *ke* in (298) show different illocutionary forces, and there remains no meaning of interrogative despite the fact that *=a* appears. Broadly speaking, V_{FINITE}=a *ke* (c-27) might be classified as functioning to give a special anterior reading to the predicate, such as ‘as soon as’ (or so-called “after perfect”), which is surely derived from ‘while it is unclear whether the event has happened or not’.

This finite expression somewhat resembles the expression V-as *ke* (c-28), as in (299). But the expression always switches the subject references of the clause it belongs to and the successive superordinate clause.

(299) Infinitive + Linker (V-as *ke*; c-28): Different-subject Conditional

ichúyas	*ke*	*in*	*buṭ*	*taŋ*
i-chú-as	ké	ín-Ø	búṭ	táŋ
3SG.HM:I-bring.out-INF	LINK	s/he:DIST-ABS	much	depressed

díimi.
d-i″m-i
come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

'[They] ejected him and he got quite irritated.' (*The Story of Hopar*: #10)

This sentence can be paraphrased with a converb (c-21) as (299)′:

(299)′

ichúbáṭe	*in*	*buṭ*	*taŋ*
i-chu+bá-aṭ-e	ín-Ø	búṭ	táŋ
3SG.HM:I-bring.out+COP-INS-ESS	s/he:DIST-ABS	much	depressed

díimi.
d-i″m-i
come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

'[They] ejected him and he got quite irritated.'

The converbal form which consists of a perfective participle and the complex ablative case (V-um-c-um) often takes *@-́lji/@-cíaṭe* 'after' without any semantic or functional diversity, that is, the whole analytic expression (c-5) works with the different-subject switch-reference and the anterior temporality as shown in (300).

(300) Perfective pp. + Ablative with *@-́lji/@-cíaṭe* (c-5): Different-subj. Anterior

je	*níamcum*	*álji/acíaṭe*
jé-Ø	ní-a-um-c-um	a-ljí-e/a-cí-aṭ-e
I-ABS	go-1SG-ADJVLZ-ADE-ABL	1SG:I-behind-ESS/1SG:I-against-INS-ESS

in	*díimi.*
ín-Ø	d-i″m-i
s/he:DIST-ABS	come:PFV-3SG.HM-NPRS-3SG.HM

'He came after I went.'

In this expression, on the one hand, the case-like postpositional noun *@-ĺji/@-cíaṭe* will agree with the subject at its personal prefix; On the other hand, the next converbal expression which includes an infinitive with the ablative case and the postpositional noun *@-ĺji/@-cíaṭe* 'after' does not show agreement on the noun with the subject of the clause, but the noun instead always agrees with the third person Y-class singular referent (V-as-c-um *ílji/icíaṭe*; c-8), that is, the infinitive as a gerund, as seen in (301). Therefore, there is a gap in the degree of predicateness, to some extent, between the expressions with a perfective participle and those with an infinitive: the former are more verbal and the latter are more nominal.

(301) Infinitive + Ablative + *ílji/icíaṭe* (c-8): Open-subject Anterior

barénascum	*icíaṭe*	*góšam.*
barén-as-c-um	i-ci-aṭ-e	gu-s-č-a-m
look-INF-ADE-ABL	3SG.Y:I-against-INS-ESS	2SG:II-tell-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

'I will tell you after watching [= I watch].'

This expression can be used for either case, whether the subject reference will switch or not switch.

As mentioned once in §6.6, an expression with an optative infinitive plus a postpositional noun *qháa(ṣ)* 'until' (V-ṣ *qháa(ṣ)*; c-19) functions as a kind of converbal expression, while there is no use of a bare optative infinitive form to modify any nominal.

(302) Optative infinitive + *qháa(ṣ)* (c-19): Open-subject Posterior

baadšáa	*ke*	*zizí*	*γániṣ*	*atíaṣ*	*qháa*	*síndacar*
baadšáa	ké	zizí	γéniṣ-Ø	a-d-e-ṣ	qháaṣ	sínda-c-ar
king	LINK	mother	queen-ABS	NEG-TEL-get.up-OPT	until	river-ADE-DAT

náan	*čhúmo*	*dúcuninin*	*óor*	*naašitáa*
n-a-n	čhúmo-Ø	d-u-sú-n-n-n	óor	naašitáa-Ø
go:CP-1SG-CP	fish-ABS	TEL-3PL.X:I-bring-CP-CP-CP	and	breakfast-ABS

tayáar	*éčabáyam.*
tayáar	i̱-t́-č-a+bá-a-a-m
ready	3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG+COP-1SG-1SG-NPRS

‘Before the king and his queen woke up, I used to go to a river to catch fish and prepare breakfast.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #38)

As in (302), when this converbal analytic expression is used with negation (a-V-ṣ *qháa(ṣ)*; c-26), then it means the limitation of time as ‘before V-ing’, while the corresponding affirmative represents a terminal point of time as ‘until V-ing’, see (303).

(303)

śaríik	*mané,*	*sénasar,*	*śuá*	*nusé,*	*taíl*	*ité*
šaríik	mań-i	sén-as-ar	šuá	n-sén	teíl	ité
joining	become-IMP.SG	say-INF-DAT	good	CP-say	in.that.way	that:Y

gar	*garoóni*	*basíṣ*	*qháa,*	*iné*	*ité*
gaŕ-Ø	garoóni-Ø	baś-ṣ	qháaṣ	iné-Ø	ité
marriage-ABS	bridal-ABS	settle-OPT	until	that:H-ABS	that:Y

háale	*hurúṭimi,*	*joṭ*	*iné*	*ií.*
há-al-e	hurúṭ-m-i	jóṭ	iné	i-í-Ø
house-LOC-ESS	sit-NPRS-3SG.HM	small	that:H	3SG.HM:I-son-ABS

‘On his saying “Take part [in my wedding]!”, [the youngest son] said: “Good!”, and so remained in his house until the completion of the marriage [lit. until disposing of the wedding and bridal party], that little son.’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #199)

An infinitive with the ablative case and *yar (ne)* ‘before, ahead of’ (V-as-c-um *yar (ne)*; c-18) construct a converbal analytic expression ‘before (something else’s) doing’ as in (304). This looks like it has a straightforward meaning from a simple combination of each constituent that appears, but it is in fact restricted to different-subject switch-reference, an unpredictable property.

(304) Infinitive + Ablative + *yar (ne)* (c-18): Different-subject Posterior

uskó	*jóṭišo*	*urkái*	*gucé*	*íiṭišo*	*qha*	*giýáascum*
uskó	jóṭ-išo	urḱ-ai-Ø	gucé	íiṭ-išo-Ø	qháṭ	giý-as-c-um
three:X	small-PL	wolf-PL-ABS	these:X	brick-PL-ABS	down	enter-INF-ADE-ABL

yar	*ne*	*íi*	*gáarcimien,*
i-yár	n-i̇̈-t	íi	gáarc-m-ien
3SG.Y:I-forewards	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	just	run-NPRS-3PL.X

‘The three little wolves only just managed to escape before the bricks crumbled,’ (*uskó jóṭišo urkái*: #13)

By comparison with Tikkanen’s (1995) account shown in Table 105, above, my rearrangement of converbs and converbal analytic expressions is summed up (in disregard of the first person suffix) as Table 108.

Table 108. Converbs and converbal analytic expressions

	ANTERIOR	CONDITIONAL	SIMULTANEOUS	PURPOSIVE	POSTERIOR
SS	*n-V(-n)* (c-1)	*V-um-c-e* (c-23)	*V-č-um-e* (c-10) *V-č-um-aṭ-e* (c-11)	*V-č-ar(e)* (c-14) *V-as-ar(e)* (c-7) *V-as-e gáne* (c-15) *V-č-um-c-e* (c-25)	
OS	*(a-)V-as-ar(e)* (c-7, 22) *V-as-c-um ílji/icíaṭe* (c-8)	*(a-)V-um-aṭ-e* (c-2, 3) V_{FINITE}*=a ke* (c-27)	*V-as-aṭ-e* (c-24) *V-as-ul-e* (c-13) *V-um-ul-e* (c-12)		*(a-)V-ṣ qháaṣ* (c-19, 26)
DS	*V-um-ar(e)* (c-4) *V-um-c-um (@-ílji/@-cíaṭe)* (c-5) *V-um-e káaṭ* (c-6) *V-as-e káaṭ* (c-9)	V_{PFV}*+báṭe* (c-21) *V-as ke* (c-28)			*V-as-c-um yar (ne)* (c-18)

Even if there is no good converb or converbal fixed expression suitable for an idea to be uttered, then one can, of course freely, make further predications by means of periphrastic ways, which include the phrases that Tikkanen (1995) has adopted but that are not in Table 108 here. Such periphrastic expressions ought to be interpretable through a combination of general morphosyntactic analyses.

8.10. **Reference and deixis**

In this section I will describe deictic and anaphoric expressions in Burushaski. First I explain the deixis system, and second I discuss anaphora.

8.10.1. Deixis

Demonstratives (§4) are usually used according to the judgement as to whether the dimensional (or mental) distance of objects from speakers is close (proximal) or distant (distal). This distinction only depends on judgement from the speakers' point of view; thus, even if an object far from a speaker is close to a hearer, the speaker indicates the object to the hearer with the adequate distal demonstrative.

Unlike referring to first and second person, there is no pronoun for referring to third person referents, but these are expressed instead with demonstrative nouns or adjectives as anaphora.

Two half pieces of a chapatti are involved in (305), one of which the speaker ate and the other one of which was eaten by the hearer. The speaker refers to the former one by a proximal demonstrative adjective owing to the closeness of the half piece to him, and indicates the latter one with a distal demonstrative adjective due to the fact that it is not his part.

(305)

ité	*maaní*	*bésan*	*manímí,*	*gusé*
ité	maaní-Ø	bés-an-Ø	man-́m-i	gusé
that:Y	meaning-ABS	what-INDEF.SG-ABS	become-NPRS-3SG.Y	this:X

lap	*jéi*	*ṣíam*	*gusé*	*thi*
láp-Ø	je-í	ṣí-a-m	gusé-Ø	thí
half.part-ABS	1SG:I-self	eat:HX.SG.OBJ-1SG-NPRS	this:X-ABS	empty

nímí,	*iné*	*moomín*	*musalmáan*	*uŋgóoy̱e*
ní-m-i	iné	moomín	musalmáan-Ø	uŋgóoy̱-e
go-NPRS-3SG.X	that:H	pious	muslim-ABS	just.you-ABS

guqháṭar	*nímі*	*isé*	*jáa*	*sawáapar*
gu-qhaṭ́-ar	ní-m-i	isé-Ø	jé-e	sawáap-ar
2SG:I-mouth-DAT	go-NPRS-3SG.X	that:X-ABS	I-GEN	rectitude-DAT

nímі
ní-m-i
go-NPRS-3SG.X

'What I mean is that this half part which I ate by myself became wasted, and that half part which just you, who are a devout muslim, ate became virtue for me.' (*čhúmoe minás*: #141)

Basically, distal references are used in discourse more frequently than proximal. Table 109 is the list of numbers of each deictic words, including the ones in anaphoric use, from the text of Berger (1998b). Table 109 demonstrates the inclination towards distal reference in Burushaski. Two main reasons can be estimated to influence the preference for distal references: i) they are used for the relativised constituent marker (§8.8), and ii) they are also employed for anaphoric use (§8.10.2) so that they are very frequently used in narrative texts.

Table 109. Ratio of distal to proximal reference

			proximal		distal		ratio
demonstrative adjective	singular	H	*khiné*	54	*iné*	541	10.0
		X	*gusé ~ khosé*	81	*isé ~ esé*	451	5.6
		Y	*guté ~ khoté*	218	*ité ~ eté*	643	2.9
	plural	H	*khué*	75	*ué*	198	2.6
		X	*gucé ~ khocé*	45	*icé ~ ecé*	109	2.4
		Y	*guké ~ khoké*	27	*iké ~ eké*	74	2.7
subtotal				500		2016	4.0
demonstrative pronoun	singular	H	*khin*	47	*in*	631	13.4
		X	*khos*	33	*es*[†48]	128	3.9
		Y	*khot*	55	*et*	54	1.0
	plural	H	*khu*	60	*u*	273	4.6
		X	*khoc*	9	*ec*	8	0.9
		Y	*khok*	14	*ek*	8	0.6
subtotal				218		1102	5.1
direction			*khíti*	31	*íti*	43	1.4
place			*khól-/kholéi-*	92	*él-/eléi-*	127	1.4
			(d)akhól-	23	*teél-/toól-*	142	6.2
manner			*(d)akhíl-*	213	*teíl-*	167	0.8
quantity			*(d)akhúr-*	45	*téer-/téur-/toór-*	58	1.3
total				1122		3655	3.3

The items whose distal pair is less frequent than their proximal one are emphasised by framed numbers in Table 109. It seems there is no definite answer for why these items have been reversed, but it may be due to the fact that for demonstrative pronouns, X-class plural and Y-class are not familiar because of how rarely they are needed in discourse and that speakers substitute adjective references for them, and that for the manner nouns the proximal *(d)akhíl-* has an immediately context-referential conjunctive use, i.e. *(d)akhílaṭe* or *(d)akhíl ne* interpreted in 'in this way, so, then', which is often utilized for the progress of the narrative, and then this functional asymmetry can directly and/or indirectly influence the usage ratio. That is, the latter case may be not caused by

[†48] A few, an insignificant number of, homophones, e.g. *es* 'his/its heart' from Berger's (1998) texts might be included, because I have not finished glossing them and have searched by the surface form.

the relatively low frequency of use of the distal pair, but indeed by the exceptionally high rate of appearance of the proximal pair.

8.10.2. Anaphora

The demonstratives listed in §4.1 are also used for anaphoric expressions. Anaphora is mainly represented by the distal series of demonstratives, as seen in (306), but sometimes the proximal demonstratives will be employed in accordance with the mental speaker-oriented dichotomy on deixis, as seen in (307).

(306)

bahaaríi	*ṭáimulo*	*šon gukúr*	*ke*	*húke mamó,*	*áltitar*
bahaarí-e	ṭéem-ul-e	šón+gukúr	ké	húke+mamó-Ø	áltit-ar
spring-GEN	time-LOC-ESS	Shon.Gukur	LINK	Huke.Mamo-ABS	Altit-DAT

dúcám.	*u*	*óltalik*	*húnzue*
d-u-su+bá-an-m	ú-Ø	u̇-ltalik	húnzo-e
TEL-3PL.H:I-bring+COP-3PL.H-NPRS	they:DIST-ABS	3PL.H:II-both	Hunza-GEN

mašúur	*biṭáyo*	*bam.*
mašúur	biṭán-čo-Ø	bá-an-m
famous	shaman-PL-ABS	COP-3PL.H-NPRS

‘In the springtime they had brought Shon Gukur and Huke Mamo to Altit. Both of them were famous in hunza as Bitans.’ (*šon gukúr*: #1–2)

(307)

ésqulasar,	*in*	*yaaní*	*muríiŋćaŋ*
i̇-s-γul̓-as-ar	ín-Ø	yaaní	mu-riiŋ́-čaŋ-Ø
3SG.Y:II-CAUS-burn.out-INF-DAT	s/he:DIST-ABS	FIL	3SG.HF:I-hand-PL-ABS

qharċ	*ne,*	*tar*	*numá,*	*duwálumo.*	*bas*
qhárc-Ø	n-i̇-t	tár-Ø	n-man	d-wal̓-m-o	bás
clapping-ABS	CP-3SG.Y:II-do	flap-ABS	CP-become	TEL-fly-NPRS-3SG.HF	enough

duwálasar,	*in*	*yásaṭe*	*tik*
d-wal̓-as-ar	ín-Ø	i-yaṭís-aṭ-e	tík-Ø
TEL-fly-INF-DAT	s/he:DIST-ABS	3SG.HM:I-head-INS-ESS	soil-ABS

éćume,	*hérćume,*	*thoṣ*	*phar*	*numá,*
i̇-t́-č-um-e	hér-č-um-e	thoṣ	phár	n-man
3SG.X:II-do-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	sob-IPFV-ADJVLZ-ESS	new	turning	CP-become

dúwasimi.	*da*	*khol*	*bé-ećam,*
d-u-bás-m-i	dáa	khól-e	bé+i̇-t́-č-a-m
TEL-3PL.H:I-be.left-NPRS-3SG.HM	again	here-ESS	what+3SG.Y:II-do-IPFV-1SG-NPRS

thuum	*áćar*	*daċáma?*
th́-um-Ø	a-̇či-ar	d-a-sú+bá-a-m=a
other-ADJVLZ-ABS	1SG:II-INE-DAT	TEL-1SG:I-bring+COP-2SG-NPRS=Q

khot	*ja*	*ya*	*jejéimo*	*ɣam*	*ćok*
khót-Ø	jé-e	yá	RDP-je-í-mu-e	ɣám-Ø	čók
this.one:Y-ABS	I-GEN	INTERJ	EMPH-1SG-self-OBL-GEN	sorrow-ABS	recently

khot	*qhudáaye*	*alés*	*étóm.*
khót-Ø	qhudáa-e	alés-Ø	i̇-t+bá-i-m
this.one:Y-ABS	god-ERG	something:X-ABS	3SG.X:II-do+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

‘On his burning it, she clapped her hands, flapped her wings and flew away. Then on her flying away, he put earth on his head and returned again crying to the vizir’s house. “What more shall I do here now, what else did you bring me here for? Oh, this here my own sorrow that God has just bestowed upon me[”].’ (Tikkanen 1991, *The Frog as a Bride*: #373–76)

With respect to the anaphoric usage of a proximal demonstrative in (307), it may be motivated by the grief of the speaker (the prince) for the loss of his wife (the fairy) attracting the sorrowful event to himself, that is the anaphor may be closer for him mentally.

A proximal demonstrative word is usually used for anaphora concerning an immediately preceding reference. This pattern is deeply related to the atypical behaviour of the proximal manner nouns in that the proximal more frequently occurs than its distal counterpart, as mentioned before. As for contextual reference, demonstratives of the distal series are freely used, even under the situation valid for the proximal demonstrative, while the proximal series is limited to any new participant of the immediately preceding sentence.

(308)

ité	*hiŋ*	*ḍáḍam*	*laṭháaq*	*imánum*
ité	hiŋ́-Ø	RDP-ḍám	laṭháq-<:>	i-mań-um
that:Y	door-ABS	EMPH-bam:ONO	swing:ONO-EMPH	3SG.Y:I-become-ADJVLZ

bilúm	*ité*	*díšulo*	*thum*	*šiišáa*
b-íl-um	ité	diš-ul-e	th-um	šiišáa-e
COP-3SG.Y-ADJVLZ	that:Y	ground-LOC-ESS	other-ADJVLZ	glass-GEN

híŋan	*délimi.*	*guté*	*hiŋ*	*dastáaṭe*
hiŋ-an-Ø	d-i-l-m-i	guté	hiŋ-Ø	dastá-aṭ-e
door-INDEF.SG-ABS	TEL-3SG.Y:II-hit-NPRS-3SG.HM	this:Y	door-ABS	knob-INS-ESS

hiŋ	*bilúm.*	*isé*	*buš*	*dáa*	*ité*	*doónas*
hiŋ-Ø	b-íl-m	isé	buš-Ø	dáa	ité-Ø	d-gón-as
door-ABS	COP-3SG.Y-NPRS	that:X	cat-ABS	again	that:Y-ABS	TEL-open-INF

to	*ayéemaibím.*
tó	a-ï-man-č+b-i-m
then	NEG-3SG.X:III-become-IPFV+COP-3SG.X-NPRS

'The shattered swinging door was replaced with a new glass door. This door had a doorknob. The cat could not open it.' (*uyúm daɣánum búšan*: #48–50)

In (308), two anaphoric references for a single referent, *šiišáa hiŋ* 'a glass door', are observed, and they are each expressed by a separate deixis, one proximal and one distal. After the referent is mentioned, the proximal anaphoric reference *guté (hiŋ)* 'this (door)' first appears at the immediately succeeding clause, and then at the next clause the same referent is referred to by the distal expression *ité* 'that'.

8.11. **Information structure**

From an information structure point of view, Burushaski sentences tend to show topics in sentence initial position. And so, topicalisation is mainly accomplished by fronting of the elements which are to be treated as topics.

(309)

Híkulto	*han*	*mamúshiane*	*ámit*	*chhápan*
hík-ul-to	hán	mamúši-an-e	ámit	čhap-an-Ø
one-day-just	one:X	she.lamb-INDEF.SG-GEN	which:Y	flesh-INDEF.SG-ABS

íne	*shémi*	*ke,*	*nushén,*	*itée*	*buṭ*
ín-e	šé-m-i	ké	n-šé-n	ité-e	búṭ
s/he:DIST-ERG	eat:Y.OBJ-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	CP-eat:Y.OBJ-CP	that:Y-GEN	much

mazá	*déetsimi.*	*Inar*	*ité*	*chhápe*
mazá-Ø	d-ï̈-sú-m-i	ín-ar	ité	čhaṕ-e
taste-ABS	TEL-3SG.HM:III-bring-NPRS-3SG.Y	s/he:DIST-DAT	that:Y	flesh-GEN

mazá	*díinin,*	*dughárusimi*	*ke*	*"Gusé*
mazá-Ø	d-i″n-n	d-ɣarús-m-i	ké	gusé
taste-ABS	come:CP-3SG.Y-CP-CP	TEL-be.straight-NPRS-3SG.HM	LINK	this:X

mamúshi	*maa*	*ámulum*	*dítsam?"*
mamúši-Ø	má-e	ámul-um	d-i-sú-m-an
she.lamb-ABS	you-ERG	where-ABL	TEL-3SG.X:I-bring-NPRS-2PL

'One day, he ate the flesh of a lamb and it was so tasty [for him]. After he enjoyed the taste of the flesh, [he] asked "Where did you bring this lamb from?" ' (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #4–5)

In the context of (309), the topic is the framed element '(the taste of) the meat of a lamb', so that this argument appears in every subsequent clause. The other core arguments 'he' as eater of the lamb meat, and 'you' as giver of it, which are underlined here, are not regarded as being the central participants; hence the former argument tends to be mentioned before the latter ones, despite the normal tendencies of core arguments such that the subject argument comes earlier than the object argument as described in §8.3.1 above.

On the contrary, it can be considered that the information of the argument which is not topicalised is more forcused than that of the topicalised argument in a sentence.

(310) a.

khóle	*huk*	*bi.*
khól-e	huḱ-Ø	b́-i-Ø
here-ESS	dog-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS

'Here is the dog.'

b.

huk	*khóle*	*bi.*
huḱ-Ø	khól-e	b́-i-Ø
dog-ABS	here-ESS	COP-3SG.X-PRS

'The dog is here.'

It seems that (310a) is a clause with focusing 'the dog', and (310b) is with focusing

'here'. And then the corresponding interrogative clauses tend to show the same constituent order as in (311).

(311) a.

khóle	*bésan*	*bi.*
khól-e	bés-an-Ø	b′i-Ø
here-ESS	what-INDEF.SG-ABS	COP-3SG.X-PRS

'What (concrete thing) is here?'

b.

huk	*ámulo*	*bi.*
huk′-Ø	ámul-e	b′i-Ø
dog-ABS	where-ESS	COP-3SG.X-PRS

'Where is the dog?'

The questions can be constructed in a different constituent order but sound less natural.

And if need be, topics are obviously expressed by employing the topic marker *to*, or by putting a pause after parts that need to be topicalised.

(312)

In	*to*	*ité*	*díshulo*	*ii*	*iíram,*
ín-Ø	tó	ité	diš′-ul-e	íi	i-ir+bá-i-m
s/he:DIST-ABS	TOP	that:Y	ground-LOC-ESS	just	3SG.HM:I-die+COP-3SG.HM-NPRS

ámit	*díshulo*	*qam*	*diu,*	*leél*
ámit	diš′-ul-e	qam′-Ø	d-i-gús	leél
which:Y	ground-LOC-ESS	hole-ABS	TEL:CP-3SG.Y:I-go.out	knowing

ayéetum	*úlo*	*wáshibam*	*ke.*
a-ï̈-t′-um	úl-e	i-bišá+bá-an-m	ké
NEG-3SG.HM:III-do-ADJVLZ	inside-ESS	3SG.HM:I-throw+COP-3PL.H-NPRS	LINK

'He should die at the place where the hole was dug and without informing him they threw him into it.' (Willson [1999b] 2002, *Šíri Badát*: #49)

This example is of the topic marker *to*, which is a loan word from Urdu *to* (تو). The initial part *in to* in (312) means 'as for him, concerning him', which sets the topic of these clauses. Almost always, this marker *to* ends the intonational unit which it belongs to. Therefore, there is no difference between intonational patterns whether the marker *to* is used or if pause insertion is employed for topicalisation.

Similarly to the general tendencies of languages over the world, the Burushaski language tends to put new information in the predicate. See the following textual example with simplified glosses and informational status of every referential participant:

(313) a. *hin baadšáan* *bam.*
one king was
NEW

b. *iné baadšáa* *čhúmoe čhápaṭe* *naašitáa éčóm.*
the king with fish meat was having breakfast
OLD NEW

c. *íne baadšáa hin jamaaát* *bom.*
a wife of the king was
NEW

d. *iné [ué] óltike* *subá* *hamiišá* *subá* *čhúmoe čhápaṭe* *naašitáa éčóm.*
both of them morning always morning with fish meat were having breakfast
OLD NEW

e. *úe hin nookáran* *bam.*
their servant was
NEW

f. *iné nookáre* *síndaṭar* *níin,*
the servant for a river having gone
OLD NEW

g. *íne* *baadšáa atíaṣ qháa* *súba súba* *síndaṭar* *níin.*
he before the king's waking up every morning for a river having gone
OLD NEW

h. *síndaṭum* *čhúmo díusase iné nookáre dipṭí* *bilúm.*
from a river catching of fish as duty of the servant was
OLD NEW

‘There was a king. // The king was taking his breakfast with fish. // The king had a wife. // Both of them were taking breakfast with fish every morning. // They had a servant. // The servant went to the riverside every morning before his king woke up. // The duty of the servant is catching fish from the river.’ (*čhúmoe minás*: #1–7)

Here, in (313), the difference between old and new information clearly reflects the syntactic position of arguments within clauses. (The line (313g) seems to be a repetition of (313f) with some additional information. For the reason, I interpret *síndaṭar* in (313g) as new information again.)