A Grammatical Sketch of Hunza Burushaski

(This is a work in progress)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>First person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ h</td>
<td>Human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-h, I)</td>
<td>Animate non-human, and solid inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-h, II)</td>
<td>Liquids and soft inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>Ablative (Case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Absolutive (Case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>Complimentizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>Comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>Dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>Emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>(Human) Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Genitive (Case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>Habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPER</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>Imperfective (Aspect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDF</td>
<td>Indefinite (Article)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>(Human) Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negation, Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>Optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTC</td>
<td>Particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTCP</td>
<td>Participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Question (particle/marker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>Vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMLZ</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bur</td>
<td>Burushaski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>Sirinagar Burushaski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB</td>
<td>Hunza Burushaski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB-NB</td>
<td>Hunza and Nagar Burushaski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IA</td>
<td>Indo-Aryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NB</td>
<td>Nagar Burushaski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>Shina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ur</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YB</td>
<td>Yasin Burushaski</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1: Phonology

1.0 Introduction

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

1.1 Consonantal Inventory

Burushaski consonantal inventory is provided in Table 1.1

Table 1.1: Burushaski consonantal inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-Dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>ķ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cʰ</td>
<td>čʰ</td>
<td>ċʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosives</th>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Phonetic form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Phonetic form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>[pal]</td>
<td>‘long sleep’</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>[kʰareti]</td>
<td>‘basket’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>[bal]</td>
<td>‘wall’</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>[tal]</td>
<td>‘ceiling’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>[pʰal]</td>
<td>‘throw’</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>[dal]</td>
<td>‘north’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>[tak]</td>
<td>‘button’</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>[tʰaal]</td>
<td>‘plate’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>[dak]</td>
<td>‘knock’</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>[daal]</td>
<td>‘elevated’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>[tʰak]</td>
<td>‘flap’</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>[qam]</td>
<td>‘pit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>[kar]</td>
<td>‘wander’</td>
<td>qʰ</td>
<td>[qʰam]</td>
<td>‘curry’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>[gar]</td>
<td>‘wedding’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricates</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>[car]</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>[čam]</td>
<td>‘dig’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cʰ</td>
<td>[cʰar]</td>
<td>‘splash’</td>
<td>čʰ</td>
<td>[čʰam]</td>
<td>‘extreme’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>[čak]</td>
<td>‘hit’</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>[jal]</td>
<td>‘scatter’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čʰ</td>
<td>[čʰak]</td>
<td>‘hunger’</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>[čal]</td>
<td>‘fight’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>[fan]</td>
<td>‘fan’</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>[šaw]</td>
<td>‘hit’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>[van]</td>
<td>‘van’</td>
<td>z,</td>
<td>[zaw]</td>
<td>‘dislike’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>[sar]</td>
<td>‘thread’</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>[yaş]</td>
<td>‘soap bubble’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>[zar]</td>
<td>‘jolt’</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>[han]</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Liquids

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Phonetic form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Phonetic form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>[laq]</td>
<td>‘naked’</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>[raq]</td>
<td>‘desire’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nasals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Phonetic form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>[ɗam]</td>
<td>‘steam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>[ɗan]</td>
<td>‘stone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Glides

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Phonetic form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɻ</td>
<td>[aɻa]</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>[ayas]</td>
<td>‘sister’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

1.2 Burushaski Vowel Inventory

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

Table 1.3: Burushaski vowel inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back/Round</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong></td>
<td>[i] [ii]</td>
<td>[u] [uu]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Med</strong></td>
<td>[e] [ee]</td>
<td>[o][oo]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong></td>
<td>[a][aa]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2.1 Contrastive Distribution of Vowels

In the Table 1.4 below, the contrastive distribution of the vowels in the same environment (i.e. minimal pairs or near minimal pairs) with change in meaning is provided.

Table: 1.4: Contrastive distribution of short vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Phonetic Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Phonetic Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>[bis]</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>[bes]</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>[hin]</td>
<td>‘door’</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>[han]</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>[gus]</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>[gos]</td>
<td>‘your heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>[mel]</td>
<td>‘wine’</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>[mal]</td>
<td>‘field’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>[tol]</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>[tal]</td>
<td>‘pegon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 1.5: Contrastive Distribution of short and long vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V(short)</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>V: (long)</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>[bik]</td>
<td>‘scared’</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>[biik]</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>[bur]</td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>[buur]</td>
<td>‘sun set’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>[men]</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>[meen]</td>
<td>‘worn out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>[mos]</td>
<td>‘flood’</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>[moos]</td>
<td>‘you.pl wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>[gar]</td>
<td>‘wedding’</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>[gaar]</td>
<td>‘trance’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2 Morpho-syntax

2.1 Constituent order Typology

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

2.1.1 Main Clause (S)OV

(1) Intransitive Sentence:
   
   hiles  gučʰar-imi
   boy  walk-3MSG

   ‘The boy walked’

(2) Transitive Sentence:
   
   ǰa-a  kiṭap i-riin-ar i-čʰiy-am
   1SG-ERG book[-h,II] 3MSG-hand-DAT 3MSG-give-1SG

   ‘I gave the book into his hand’.

2.1.2 Adpositional Phrase (Postpositional Phrase)

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


(3) Postpositional Phrase

a) raanuma alt it um balt it - a - r
raanuma bliṭ from bliṭ-GEN-DAT ziboonda-F.GEN with walk-3F
‘Rahnuma walked from Altit to Baltit with Ziboon’

b) in haal-a-r mu ulus-e kaa nimo
3F home-GEN-DAT 3F-brother-GEN with go-3F
‘She went to the house with her brother’

2.1.3 Adjectives and Noun (AN)

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

(4) a) daḷṭas giyaas-a
beautiful baby-SG.IND
‘A beautiful baby’

b) burum balas-a
white bird-SG.IND
‘A white bird’

2.1.4 Possessor Noun (GN)

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

(5) a. hurmaṭ-e oṣçum
hurmaṭ-GEN waist band
‘The waist band of Hurmat’ or ‘Hurmat’s waist band’
2.2 Typology of the Verb Component

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

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

/a-d-ugu-s- đaal-umuw-a/

[a-ţ-uku-s-ţal-umuw-a]

‘NEG-D.prefix-2SG-TR-wake-3F-Q’

‘Didn’t she wake you?’

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

2.2.1 Intransitive Clause (with or without pronominal prefix)

(7) Intransitive Verb with pronominal prefix

a) ine hiles i-waal-imi

DEM boy 3SG-lost-3SG

‘That boy lost’
b) uwe hilešo u-waal-uman
   DEM boy.PL 3PL-lost-3PL

   ‘Those boys lost’

(8) Intransitive verb without pronominal prefix

   a) in gučʰar-imi
      3M walk-3M

      ‘He walked’

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

2.2.2 Auxiliary Verb

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

(9) Word order with Auxiliary verb

   a) in-e gunc sabaq yatay bay
      3M-ERG every.day lesson read.IPFV be.PRES.3M

      ‘He is reading lesson every day.’

   * in-e gunc yatay sabaq bo
      3F-ERG every.day read.IPFV lesson be.PRES.3F
2.2.3 Transitive Verb

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

(10) Transitive sentence

a) in-e hiles i-del-umo
   3SG-ERG boy 3MSG-hit-3FSG
   ‘She hit the boy’

b) in-e mu-riin del-umo
   3SG-ERG 3F-hand hit-3FSG
   ‘She hurt her hand’

2.3 Noun Phrase

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

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

Consider examples for illustration in (11) Demonstrative and Noun, (12) Possessor Pronoun and Noun (13) Quantifier and Noun to (14) Adjective below:
Based on the examples in (11) to (14) above, a generalized structure for the Burushaski Noun Phrase can be given as:

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

(A) khine hin but ḏalṭas ḏasinan
   DEM one very beautiful girl
   ‘This is one beautiful girl’
2.4 Postpositions

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

2.4.1 Locational Postpositions

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

Table 2.1: Locational Postpositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burushaski</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Burushaski</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaare</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
<td>yoonďal</td>
<td>‘above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yate</td>
<td>‘on’</td>
<td>haraŋ</td>
<td>‘middle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yatisate</td>
<td>‘on the top of’</td>
<td>apači</td>
<td>‘near or next to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulo</td>
<td>‘in’</td>
<td>yakal</td>
<td>‘toward’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(15) [yaare] ‘below’ or ‘under’

a) birkîş  āt̪ik  yaare bila
   treasure   ground   below   be.PRES.
   ‘The treasure is below the ground’

b) buš  miiz  yaare  b-i
   cat   table  under   be.PRES.3
   ‘The cat is under the table’
(16)  [yate] ‘on’ and [yatis-ate] ‘on the top’
   a) keemrá  tẹẹbal-ate  bila
       Camera  table-on  be.PRES.3
       ‘Camera is on the table’
   b) naziir  čʰar-e  yatis-ate  bay
       Nazir mountain-GEN  head-on  be.PRES.3
       ‘Nazir is on the top of the mountain.’

(17)  [ulo] ‘in’
   a) huyes  tẹr-ulo  biyen
       cattel  pasture-in  be.3PL[-h,1]
       ‘The cattle are in pasture’

(18)  [yoonďal] ‘above’
   a) huk  bal-e  yoonďal  hal  čel-imi
       dog  wall-GEN  above  jump  hit-3SG
       ‘The dog jumped above the wall’

(19)  [haran] ‘among’ and [haranulo] ‘in the midst’
   a) minaš-in  haran  cum  guṭe  minas e-č-am
       story-PL  among  from  this[-h,1]  story  3-do.IPFV-1
       ‘Among stories, I will do this’
   b) mi-i  haran-ulo  čal  e-ṭ-as  šuwa  a-pi
       1PL-GEN  middle-in  fight  3-do-INF  good  NEG-be.PRES.3
       ‘It is not good to fight with each other’
(20) [apači] ‘with me’

a) Žaa a-\text{pači} rupaya a-piyen

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

‘I don’t have money’

(21) [ayakal] ‘towards me’

a) ise pen a-\text{yakal} pʰal e-yiya

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

‘Throw that pen towards me’

2.4.2 Temporal Postpositions

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

Table 2.2: Temporal Postpositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burushaski</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Burushaski</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duuŋ</td>
<td>‘while’</td>
<td>i-ciye</td>
<td>‘after it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaa</td>
<td>‘until’</td>
<td>yar</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(22) [aciyecte] ‘after me’

a) in Že a-\text{ciyecte} bay

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

‘He is after me’

(23) [yar] ‘before’

a) Že in cum yar kʰolar čaaya bayam

1SG 3MSG from before here come.1SG be.PST.1SG
‘I came here before him’

(24) [duŋŋ] ‘while’

a) un kʰole duŋŋ huro

2SG here while stay.IMP

‘You stay here for a while’

(25) [xaa] ‘until’ [xaaʃinar] ‘to until’

a) mi elar ni-ʂ xaa u ele a-pam

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

‘They were not there until we went there’

2.4.3 Other Postpositions

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

Table 2.3: Other Postpositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burushaski</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Burushaski</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ate</td>
<td>‘on’</td>
<td>kaa</td>
<td>‘with’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cum</td>
<td>‘than’ or ‘from’</td>
<td>ce</td>
<td>‘at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ar</td>
<td>‘to’, ‘for’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(26) [ate] ‘with’

a) mu-uri čʰur-ate thic e-ʈ-umo

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

‘She cut her finger nail with the knife’.
b) ise pen      teebal-ate    bi
                             that   pen table-on    be.PRES.3

‘That pen is on the table’
(27)    [cum] ‘than’ or ‘from’

a) in    ţa-a    cum    alţo    den-e    uyum    bo
           3FSG  1-GEN    from    two    year-GEN    older    be.PRES.3F

‘She is two years older than me’
(28)    [-ar] ‘to’ or ‘for’

a) in    haal-a-r    ni-mi
           3MSG  home-GEN-DAT    go-3MSG

‘He went to home’

b) ţa-a    yaţay-a-r    iţe    kiţap-an    gan-am
            1-ERG    read.IPFV-GEN-for    that[-h,II]    book-SG.IND    buy-1SG

‘I bought that book for reading.’
(29)    [kaa] ‘with’

a) ţe    ine    kaa    duţo    e-ţ-am
          1SG    3MSG-GEN    with    work    3-do-1SG

‘I worked with him.’
(30)    [ce] ‘at’

a) in    ha-a    hin    ce    bay.
           3MSG  home-GEN    door    at    be.PRES.3

‘He is at the door of the home’
2.4.4 Postpositions with pronominal prefixes

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

Table 2.4: Postpositions with Pronominal Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burushaski</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>1 [a-]</th>
<th>2 [gu-]</th>
<th>3M [i-]</th>
<th>3F [mu-]</th>
<th>1PL[mi-]</th>
<th>2PL[ma-]</th>
<th>3PL[u-]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yare</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>ayaare</td>
<td>guyare</td>
<td>iyaare</td>
<td>muyaare</td>
<td>miyaare</td>
<td>mayaare</td>
<td>uyaare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaarar</td>
<td>to under</td>
<td>ayaarar</td>
<td>guyaarar</td>
<td>iyaarar</td>
<td>muyaarar</td>
<td>miyaarar</td>
<td>mayaarar</td>
<td>uyaarar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarum</td>
<td>from under</td>
<td>ayaarum</td>
<td>guyaarum</td>
<td>iyaarum</td>
<td>muyaarum</td>
<td>miyaarum</td>
<td>mayaarum</td>
<td>uyaarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yate</td>
<td>on/above</td>
<td>ayate</td>
<td>guyate</td>
<td>iyate</td>
<td>muyate</td>
<td>miyate</td>
<td>mayate</td>
<td>uyate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yatar</td>
<td>to above</td>
<td>ayatar</td>
<td>guyatar</td>
<td>iyatar</td>
<td>muyatar</td>
<td>miyatar</td>
<td>mayatar</td>
<td>uyatar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaturn</td>
<td>from above</td>
<td>ayaturn</td>
<td>guyaturn</td>
<td>iyaturn</td>
<td>muyaturn</td>
<td>miyaturn</td>
<td>mayaturn</td>
<td>uyaturn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakal</td>
<td>towards</td>
<td>ayakal</td>
<td>guyakal</td>
<td>iyakal</td>
<td>muyakal</td>
<td>miyakal</td>
<td>mayakal</td>
<td>uyakal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakalar</td>
<td>to towards</td>
<td>ayakalar</td>
<td>guyakalar</td>
<td>iyakalar</td>
<td>muyakalar</td>
<td>miyakalar</td>
<td>mayakalar</td>
<td>uyakalar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iji</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>alji</td>
<td>gulji</td>
<td>ilji</td>
<td>mulji</td>
<td>milji</td>
<td>malji</td>
<td>ulji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ijikan</td>
<td>behind</td>
<td>aljikan</td>
<td>guljikan</td>
<td>iljikan</td>
<td>muljikan</td>
<td>miljikan</td>
<td>maljikan</td>
<td>uljikan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ijikanar</td>
<td>to behind</td>
<td>aljikanar</td>
<td>guljikanar</td>
<td>iljikanar</td>
<td>muljikanar</td>
<td>miljikanar</td>
<td>maljikanar</td>
<td>uljikanar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ijikanum</td>
<td>from behind</td>
<td>aljikanum</td>
<td>guljikanum</td>
<td>iljikanum</td>
<td>muljikanum</td>
<td>miljikanum</td>
<td>maljikanum</td>
<td>uljikanum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yar</td>
<td>before</td>
<td>ayar</td>
<td>guyar</td>
<td>yar</td>
<td>muyar</td>
<td>miyar</td>
<td>mayar</td>
<td>uyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarum</td>
<td>from before</td>
<td>ayarum</td>
<td>guyarum</td>
<td>yarum</td>
<td>muyarum</td>
<td>miyarum</td>
<td>mayarum</td>
<td>uyarum</td>
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<tr>
<td>ciyate</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>aciyate</td>
<td>guciyate</td>
<td>iciyate</td>
<td>muciyate</td>
<td>miciyate</td>
<td>maciyate</td>
<td>uciyate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pachi</td>
<td>near</td>
<td>apači</td>
<td>gopači</td>
<td>epači</td>
<td>mopači</td>
<td>mepači</td>
<td>mapači</td>
<td>opači</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pačiyar</td>
<td>to near</td>
<td>apačiyar</td>
<td>gopačiyar</td>
<td>epačiyar</td>
<td>mopačiyar</td>
<td>mepačiyar</td>
<td>mapačiyar</td>
<td>opačiyar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci</td>
<td>of or with</td>
<td>aci</td>
<td>guci</td>
<td>ici</td>
<td>mucı</td>
<td>mici</td>
<td>maci</td>
<td>uci</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(31) [ayaare] or [ayaarar] or [ayaarum] ‘under me’
   a) pen  a-yaare   bi
       pen  1SG-under  be.PRES.3SG
   ‘The pen is under me’
   b) in-e a-yaar-ar pen waš-im'i
       3SG-ERG  1SG-under-DAT  pen  throw-3SG
   ‘He threw the pen under me’
   c) in-e a-yaar-um pen cʰu-mi
       3SG-ERG  1SG-under-from  pen  take-3SG
   ‘He took the pen from me’

(32) [ayate] or [ayatar] or [ayatum] ‘on me’
   a) kamalo  a-yate   bi
       blanket  1SG-on  be.PRES.3SG
   ‘The blanket is on me’
   b) kamalo  a-yat-ar  aa-waši-im'i
       blanket  1SG-on-DAT  1SG-put-3SG
   ‘He put the blanket on me’
   c) kamalo  a-yat-um  cʰu-mi
       blanket  1SG-on-from  take-3SG
   ‘He took the blanket from me’
(33) [ayakal] and [ayakalar] ‘towards me’

a) in ğe a-yakal pʰar man-imí

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

‘He moved towards me’

b) in a-yakal-ar d-ii-mí

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

‘He came towards me’

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

a) in a-lǰi/*alǰikan bay

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

‘He is behind me’ (not physically present)

b) in *alǰi/alǰikan nuuro bay

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

‘He is sitting behind me’ (physically present)

c) in *alǰiyar/a-lǰikan-ar ġii bay

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

‘He has come behind me’

d) ine kiṫaap *alǰim/alǰikan-um eʰu-mí

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

‘He took the book from behind me’
(35)  [ayar] and [ayarum] ‘before me’

a) in a-\text{yar} bay
   3SG 1-ahead be.PRES.3SG
   ‘He is ahead of me’

b) un a-\text{yar-um} daal mane
   2SG 1SG-before-from stand become-IMP
   ‘You stand from ahead of me’

(36)  [aci\text{yate}] ‘after me’

a) in a-\text{ciyate} dii bay
   3SG 1SG-after come be.PRES.3SG
   ‘He has come after me’

(37)  [apa\text{\textc{c}i}] and [apa\text{"c}iyar] ‘with me’

a) in kʰole a-pa\text{\textc{c}i} bay
   3SG here 1SG-with be.PRES.3SG
   ‘He is here with me’

b) in a-pa\text{\textc{c}i}y-ar a-\text{\textc{c}t-imi}
   3SG 1SG-with-DAT NEG-do-3SG
   ‘He did not come to me’

(38)  [a-ci] ‘after or of me’

a) hiles a-ci ṭa-mi
   boy 1-after follow-3MSG
   ‘The boy came after me.’
2.5 Grammatical Relations, Case and Agreement

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

2.5.1 Verb Classes and Agreement Patterns

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

Class 1: Intransitive verb which requires an absolutive argument.

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

(39) Intransitive verb for Absolutive NP

a) Ḑe-∅ hurut-am
   1SG-ABS sit-1SG
   ‘I sat.’

b) un-e go-ço-∅ gučʰa-mi
   2SG-GEN 2SG-brother-ABS sleep-2SG
   ‘Your brother slept.’
Class 2: Intransitive verb which requires double marking of the Subject NP

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

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

a) giyaas-∅ ḏ-ee-yas-imi
   baby x-3MSG-laugh-3MSG
   ‘The baby laughed’

b) giyaas e-yan-imi
   baby 3MSG-sleep-3MSG
   ‘The baby slept’

c) giyaas i-war-imi
   baby 3MSG-tired-3MSG
   ‘The baby got tired’

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

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

a) hamal-e ḏarbeṣ i-cʰarkan-uman
neighbor-ERG ḏarbes 3M-beat-3PL

‘The neighbors beat Darbes’

Class 4: Transitive verb [-human] Absolutive NPs

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

(42) Transitive Verb [-human] Absolutive NPs

a) ǰa-a ᶠapik ḥ-iy-am
1SG-ERG bread eat-3SG-1SG

‘I ate a bread (Sg.)’

b) ǰa-a ᶠapik-uc ḥ-uw-am
1SG-ERG bread-PL eat-PL-1SG

‘I ate bread (Pl)’

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

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

a) ja-a in-mo-r laqpišan mu-čʰiy-am
   1SG-ERG 3F-GEN-DAT handkerchief 3FSG-give-1SG
   ‘I gave a handkerchief to her’

b) ja-a uw-a-r laqpiš-iŋ u-yun-am
   1SG-ERG 3PL-GEN-DAT handkerchief-PL 3PL-give-1SG
   ‘I gave a handkerchief to her’
2.6 Question Formation

2.6.1 Wh-Questions

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

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

a) Base form: Subject-Object-Verb

\[
\text{nasreen-e } \text{baaljan} \quad \text{şi-mo}
\]
\[
\text{nasreen-ERG apple eat-3F}
\]

‘Nasreen ate an apple’

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

\[
\text{nasreen-e besan} \quad \text{şi-mo}
\]
\[
\text{nasreen-ERG what eat-3FSG}
\]

‘What did Nasreen eat?’

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

Table 2.5: List of Interrogative Lexemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burushaski</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Burushaski</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amular</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
<td>amin</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bešal</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
<td>bes</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beeruman</td>
<td>‘how much/how many’</td>
<td>besan</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belate</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
<td>aminer</td>
<td>for whom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amik</td>
<td>‘which.PL[-h,II]’</td>
<td>amit\textsuperscript{7}</td>
<td>‘which.SG[-h,II]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amic</td>
<td>‘which.PL[-h,I]’</td>
<td>amis\textsuperscript{7}</td>
<td>‘which.SG[-h,I]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(45) Base form and Wh-Question with [amular] ‘where’

a) Base form: S-O-V

api yasinar ni-mo
grandmother yasin-DAT go-3SG

Grandmother went to Yasin.

b) Question form: S-\textit{wh}-word-V

api amular ni-mo?
grandmother where go-3F?

Where did the grandmother go?

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

a) Base form

\textit{je} kariim baa

1SG karim be.PRES.3SG

‘I am Karim.’

b) Question form

un amin baa?

2SG who be.PRES.2SG?

‘Who are you?’

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

a) Base form

\textit{je} gatoŋ gay-ar bazaar-ar niya bay-am

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

‘I went to bazar to buy clothes.’
b) Question form

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

‘Where did you go to buy clothes?’

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

a) Base form

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

‘I went to the market to buy some clothes.’

b) Question form

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

‘Why did you go to market?’

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

a) Base form

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

‘I bought this book for ten rupees.’

b) Question form

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

‘How much did you buy this book for?’
(50) Base form and Wh-Question [beerum] ‘how many times’

a) Base form

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{j} & \text{e \ al} \text{t} \text{o \ dam \ amirikaar \ niya \ baa} \\
1SG & \text{two \ times \ amirika-DAT \ go-1SG \ be.PST.1SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I went to America two times.’

b) Question form

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{un \ beerum \ dam \ amirika-ar \ ni \ baa} \\
2SG & \text{how.many \ times \ america-DAT \ go \ b.e.PST.1SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘How many times did you go to America?’

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

a) Base form

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ja-a \ k}^h \text{ole \ go-or \ biraqi}^c \text{-a \ baa} \\
1SG-ERG & \text{here 2SG-DAT \ dig.IPFV-1SG \ b.e.PRES.1SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I am digging (a grave) for you’

b) Question form

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{un-e \ ele \ besan \ e-}^c \text{-aa?} \\
2-ERG & \text{there \ what \ 3SG-do,IPFV-2SG?}
\end{align*}
\]

‘What are you doing there?’

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

a) Base form

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{je \ k}^h \text{ol-ar \ gue}^h \text{ar}^c \text{ume \ d-aa-y-am} \\
1SG & \text{here-DAT \ walk.IPFV.PROG \ x-1SG-come-1SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I came here by foot (walking)’
b) Question form

un kʰolar belate ɗ-uko-o-uma

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

‘How did you come here?’

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

a) Base form

yeeyil amis zaq i-man-imi
baby finger hurt 3-become-3

‘My baby finger got hurt.’

b) Question form

amis go-miʃ zaq i-man-imi

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

‘Which finger got hurt?’

2.6.2 Yes/No Questions:

Yes/No questions are formed by adding a suffix [-a] to the inflected verbs. Base form and Question form are provided below (54).

(54) Base form and Yes/No Question

a) Base form

awa, un ni

yes, 2SG go

‘Yes, you go’
b) Question form

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{je} & \quad \text{nič-am-a} \\
1SG & \quad \text{go.IPFV.1SG-Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Shall I go?’

2.6.2 Tag Questions:

Tag questions are formed by adding [bee] ‘no’ or borrowed word [naa] ‘no’ at the end of Yes/No Question. Base form and tag questions in (55) below:

(55) Base form and Tag question

a) Base form

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{awa, je} & \quad \text{sukuul-ar} \quad \text{niy-a} \quad \text{baym} \\
\text{1SG} & \quad \text{school-DAT} \quad \text{go-1SG} \quad \text{be.PST.1SG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Yes, I went to school’

b) Question form

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{un} & \quad \text{sukul-ar} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{bam-a} \quad \text{bee} \\
2SG & \quad \text{school-DAT} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{be.PRES.2SG-Q, tag question}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Did you got to school, no?’

2.7 Clause Combination

There are different ways to make complex sentences in Burushaski. We will look at the different strategies below for forming coordinating clauses, conditional clauses, relative clauses, and embedded clauses.
2.7.1 Coordinating Clause

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

(56) Coordinating conjunction [daa] and [ke] ‘and’

a) šaapiya-a ha-a ḏuro e-ču bo daa (*ke) hurmat-e
   shaapiya-ERG home-GEN work 3-do be.PRES.3F and hurmat-ERG
   mal basiy-ar barey bay.
   field garden-DAT look be.PRES.3MSG

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

(57) Coordinating Conjunction [yaa] or [hal] ‘or’

mi nawrooz-ar hunzuw-ar yaa/hal gulmiť-ar nič-an
1PL Nawroz-DAT Hunza-DAT or Gulmit-DAT go.IPFV-1PL

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

(58) Coordinating Conjunction [magam] ‘but’

ja-a gašk but jaš e-č-am magam ḏ-i-c-as a-ya-man-am
1-ERG rope very pull 3-do-1 but x-3-bring-INF NEG-1-become-1

‘I pulled hard the rope but I could not bring it’
(59) Coordinating Conjunction [xaa] ‘until’

a) šapiya ke hurmaṭ gon man-iš xaa
Šapiya and Hurmat morning become-OPT until
kaa hurut-uman
together sit-3PL
‘Šapiya and Hurmat stayed together until morning’

b) yuul i-xoliš xaa hurmaṭ-e şi-mi
3-stomach 3-pain until hurmaṭ-ERG eat-3MSG
‘Hurmat ate until it hurt his stomach’

2.7.2 Conditional Clauses

Syntactically, the condition is the subordinate clause and the consequence is the main clause.
Burushaski uses a complimentizer [ke] to conjoin these two clauses in conditional sentences.
Examples of the conditional clauses are provided in (60) below:

(60) Conditional Clauses joined by complementizer [ke]

a) bal ḍoor-imi ke gu-yate ḍoorč-i
wall fall-3SG if 2-on fall.IPFV-3
‘If the wall fell down, (then) it will fall on you’

b) haralṭ a-ṭiyarc-imi ke nalṭar-ar nič-an
rain NEG-fail-3SG if Naḷṭar-DAT go.IPFV-3PL
‘If it did not rain, (then) we will go to Naltar’
2.7.3 Relative Clause

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

(61) Relative Clause Construction

sadap-e karim-a-r yuu-m ise baałt

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

ja-a šiy-am

1SG-ERG eat-1SG

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

(62) chil min-um ine hir
    water drink-ADJ Rel man
    ‘The man who drank water’

(63) hir-e min-um īte chil
    man-ERG drink-ADJ that water
    ‘The water that the man drank’

2.7.4 Embedded Clause

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

(64) Embedded Clauses

a) karim-e [hin tam e-t-as] ītil ee-l-imi
    Karim-ERG door shut 3-do-INF] forgot 3-do-3MSG
    ‘Karim forgot to shut the door’
b) ǰa-a  [in-e  e-sulo  balič-i]  sen-am

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

‘I thought he understands’

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

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

‘He saw you running’

d) ǰe  [un  ḩ-uko-şqalṭ-a  nu-se]  ḩ-a-yal-a  bayam

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

‘I heard that you arrived’

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

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

e-č-a  baa

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

‘I want to take that boy in my arms’

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

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

‘I don’t want to drink coffee’
Chapter 3: Morphology

3.1 Inflectional Morphology

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

3.1.1 Nominals and Nominal Inflection

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

3.1.1.1 Nouns and Noun Classes

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

a) kʰine hiles bay
   this [+h] boy be.PRES.3MSG
   ‘This is a boy’

b) ine hiles bay
   that [+h] human be.PRES.3MSG
   ‘That is a boy’

c) kʰuwe hile-šo baan
   these [+h] boy-PL be.PRES.3PL
   ‘These are boys’

d) uwe hile-šo
   those [+h] boy-PL
   ‘Those boys’

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

Demonstrative pronoun [-h, I]

a) guse buš bi
   this[-h, I] cat be.PRES.3SG[-h, I]
   ‘This is a cat’
b) ise buš bi

that[-h,1] cat be.PRES.3SG[-h,1]

‘That is a cat’

(67) guce buš-oŋo biyen

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

‘These are cats’

(68) ice buš-oŋo biyen

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

‘these are cats’

(69) Demonstrative pronoun [-h,II]

a) guţe diš bila

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

‘This is the place’

b) guke diš-miŋ bican

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

‘These are places’

c) ître diš bila

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

‘That is the place’

d) ike diš-miŋ bican

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

‘Those are the places’
3.1.1.2 Number

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

Plural marking suffixes Table 3.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG: PL</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>SG: PL</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-s : -šo</td>
<td>hiles</td>
<td>hilešo</td>
<td>‘boy’</td>
<td>-Ø : -o</td>
<td>har</td>
<td>haro</td>
<td>‘oxen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belis</td>
<td>belišo</td>
<td>‘sheep’</td>
<td>-Ø : -yaŋ</td>
<td>bul</td>
<td>bulyaŋ</td>
<td>‘stream’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n : -yo</td>
<td>fin</td>
<td>fiyo</td>
<td>‘boy’</td>
<td>-Ø : -(a)ync</td>
<td>šun</td>
<td>šunaync</td>
<td>‘vine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>đaan</td>
<td>đayo</td>
<td>‘stone’</td>
<td>-Ø: -ko</td>
<td>finč</td>
<td>finčko</td>
<td>‘polo stick’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o : -(m)uc</td>
<td>toq</td>
<td>toqc</td>
<td>‘wood’</td>
<td>-Ø : -(m)iŋ</td>
<td>mel</td>
<td>melmiŋ</td>
<td>‘wine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa</td>
<td>samuc</td>
<td>‘sunny’</td>
<td>sukuul</td>
<td>sukuulŋ</td>
<td>‘school’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nc : -aŋ(n)</td>
<td>manc</td>
<td>maan</td>
<td>‘axe’</td>
<td>-Ø : -(m)iŋ</td>
<td>mel</td>
<td>melmiŋ</td>
<td>‘wine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yašenç</td>
<td>yašaŋ</td>
<td>‘sword’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1.3 Case Morphology

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>BSK</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>giyaas-∅</td>
<td>‘baby’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>hiles-e</td>
<td>‘boy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>in-e</td>
<td>‘his’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-mo</td>
<td>in-mo</td>
<td>‘her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-ar</td>
<td>haal-ar</td>
<td>‘to home’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-ulo</td>
<td>haal-ulo</td>
<td>‘in the home’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ate</td>
<td>teebal-ate</td>
<td>‘on the table’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-ate</td>
<td>cʰur-ate</td>
<td>‘with the knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-um, -cum</td>
<td>in-cum</td>
<td>‘from him’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>el-um</td>
<td>‘from there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

a) hiles-e     giyaas-∅   yan-imi
   boy-ERG  baby-ABS  carry-3SG
   ‘The boy carried the baby’

b) ɗasin-e     mu-riin-∅  baalṭ-umo
   girl-ERG  3F-hand-ABS  wash-3FSG
   ‘The girl washed her hand’

c) usṭaat-e    kiṭaap  cyamda-a-r  bisya-mi
   teacher-ERG  book  pocket-GEN-DAT  put-3MSG
   ‘The teacher put the book in the pocket’
(71) **Absolutive case: zero or null case marking**

a) giyaas-∅ her-imi
baby-ABS cry-3SG
‘The baby cried’

b) balas-∅ ժ-u-wal-imi
bird-ABS x-u-fly-3SG
‘The bird flew away’

(72) **Genitive case**

a) hiles-e kiṭaap
boy-GEN book
‘The boy’s book’

b) ḏasin-mo kiṭaap
girl-GEN.F book
‘The girl’s book’

(73) **Dative**

a) Ḷe huzuw-ar niy-am
1SG Hunza-DAT go-1SG
‘I went to Hunza’

b) ṣot-umuc ṣapik ʂić-ar ni-man
boy-PL food eat.IPFW-DAT go-3PL
‘Boys went to have a meal.’
c) ḗam giraš-ar ḷuun-im
  king dance-DAT start-3MSG
  ‘The king started dancing’

(74) **Locative**

a) mi basy-ulo baan
   1PL garden-LOC be.PRES.1PL
   ‘We are in the garden’

b) hueltar-č-o ūr-ulo hurusy-aan šini-mo
   shepherd-PL pasture-LOC stay.IPFV-3PL summer-in
   ‘Shepard stay in pasture in summer’

(75) **Instrumental**

a) nana čʰey-ate hín ḷoon-im
   uncle key-INS door open-3MSG
   ‘Uncle opened the door with the key’

b) in-e čʰur-ate čʰap čuruk e-ṭ-im
   3-ERG knife-INS meat cut 3-do-3
   ‘He cut the meat with the knife’

c) ja-a a-s-ate a-pi
   1-GEN 1-heart-on NEG-be.PRES.3
   ‘I don’t remember it’
Ablative

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

a) mi hunzu-cum ɖ-imee-man
   1PL Hunza-ABL x-1PL-come-1PL
   ‘We came from Hunza’

b) ñe hunzu-mu baa
   1SG Hunza-ABL be.1SG
   ‘I am from Hunza’

c) ña-a haa --cum un-e haal-ar gaarš-an
   1-GEN home-from 2-GEN home-DAT run.IPFV-1PL
   ‘We will run from your house to my house’

d) ña-a a-riin-cum gilaas pʰaṭ man-imi
   1-GEN 1-hand-from glass drop become-3
   ‘The glass dropped from my hand’

e) gu-kʰar-cum ɖ-u-yarus
   2-self-from x-3-ask
   ‘Ask yourself’

3.1.1.4 Personal Pronouns

Personal Pronouns and their corresponding possessor pronouns are listed in the Table 3.3 below. Possession is marked by adding the possessor (Genitive) suffix –e on the possessor noun or pronoun. The possessor suffix is added to both human and non-human nouns. The only exception to this is that third person singular human female is marked by –mo suffix.
Table 3.3: Personal Pronouns and Possessor Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>SG/PL</th>
<th>Personal Pronouns</th>
<th>Possessive Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>ğe</td>
<td>ğaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>un</td>
<td>une</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td></td>
<td>in</td>
<td>ine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td></td>
<td>in</td>
<td>inmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>mii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>maa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
<td>uwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1.5 Possessability of Nouns

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

Possessibility of nouns is expressed by pronominal prefixes attached to the inherently possessed nouns. The pronominal prefixes are presented in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4: Pronominal Prefixes for inherently possessed nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>SG/PL</th>
<th>Pronominal Prefixes</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>a-, o-</td>
<td>[ašak] ‘my arm’, [ool] ‘my stomach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>gu-, go-</td>
<td>[guxat] ‘your mouth’ [goqat] ‘your armpit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td></td>
<td>i-, e-, ∅-</td>
<td>[iriin] ‘his hand’ [eqat] ‘his armpit’ [∅-yatis] ‘his head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td></td>
<td>mu-, mo-</td>
<td>[muriin] ‘her hand’ [moqat] ‘her armpit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>mi-, me-</td>
<td>[mixat] ‘our mouth’ [meqat] ‘our armpit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>[mariin] ‘you.PL hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>u-, o-</td>
<td>[uxat] ‘their mouth’, [oqat] ‘their armpit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The inherently possessed nouns in HB are body parts, kinship terms, and nouns that refer to personal belongings like name, pillow, bedding, shoes, footstep and postpositions with referent to human [+h] nouns

3.1.1.5.1 Body parts

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

(77) Word for ‘arm’ is [šak]

1SG ašak ‘my arm’
2SG gušak ‘your arm’
3M išak ‘his arm’
3F mušak ‘her arm’
1PL mišak ‘our arm’
2PL mašak ‘you all arm’
3PL ušak ‘their arm’

(78) Word for ‘stomach’ is [ul]

1SG ool ‘my stomach’
2G guul ‘your stomach’
3M yuul ‘his stomach’
3F muul ‘her stomach’
1PL miyul ‘our stomach’
2PL mool ‘you all stomach’
3PL uul ‘their stomach’

### 3.1.1.5.2 Kinship Terms

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

**(79)** The word for ‘brother’ or ‘sister’ (same gender sibling) is [ço]

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>aĉo</td>
<td>‘my brother’ or ‘my sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>goĉo</td>
<td>‘your brother’ or ‘your sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>eĉo</td>
<td>‘his brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>moĉo</td>
<td>‘her sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>meĉo</td>
<td>‘our brother’ or ‘our sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>maĉo</td>
<td>‘you all brother’ or ‘you all sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>oĉo</td>
<td>‘their brother’ or ‘their sister’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**(80)** The word for ‘daughter in law’ is [xakin]

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>axakin</td>
<td>‘my daughter in law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>guxakin</td>
<td>‘your daughter in law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>ixakin</td>
<td>‘his daughter in law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>muxakin</td>
<td>‘her daughter in law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mixakin</td>
<td>‘our daughter in law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>maxakin</td>
<td>‘you all daughter in law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>uxakin</td>
<td>‘their daughter in law’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are a few borrowed kinship terms (attested in Hunza as well as Nagar dialects of Burushaski) which are not inherently possessed. For example: [nana] ‘maternal uncle’ and [mama] ‘mother’.

There are other nouns which are inherently possessed are like personal belongings, [aashti] ‘my pillow’, and non-concrete [ac'hari] ‘my voice’ and [asat] ‘my memory’

3.1.1.6 Modifiers

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

3.1.1.6.1 Adjectives

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

(81) Adjective precedes Noun (AN)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šuwa sisan</td>
<td>šuwa sisik</td>
<td>‘good person/people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šuwa dišan</td>
<td>šuwa dišminik</td>
<td>‘good place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daltaša dasinan</td>
<td>daltjaško dasiwancik</td>
<td>‘beautiful girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naas hilesan</td>
<td>naašo hilešuyik</td>
<td>‘bad boy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyum haan</td>
<td>uyonko hakičan</td>
<td>‘big house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyum gocilan</td>
<td>uonko gocilišo</td>
<td>‘big stream’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.1.6.2 Numerals

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

**Table 3.5: Numerals based on different noun classes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>(+h) male/female</th>
<th>(-h, I)</th>
<th>(-h, II)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>hin</td>
<td>han</td>
<td>hik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>altan</td>
<td>alta</td>
<td>alto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>isken</td>
<td>usko</td>
<td>iski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td>valto</td>
<td>valto</td>
<td>valti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five</td>
<td>cʰunḍo</td>
<td>cʰunḍo</td>
<td>cʰindį</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six</td>
<td>mišindo</td>
<td>mišindo</td>
<td>mišindį</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>ṭʰalo</td>
<td>ṭʰalo</td>
<td>ṭʰale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>alṭambo</td>
<td>alṭambo</td>
<td>alṭambi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>hunčo</td>
<td>hunčo</td>
<td>hunti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>ṭoorumo</td>
<td>ṭoorumo</td>
<td>ṭoornim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(82) Paradigm for numeral

a) ‘one X’

- hin hilesan ‘one boy’
- han ḡan ‘one stone’
- hik gilaas cʰil ‘one glass of water’
b) ‘two X’
   alţan hilešo  ‘two boys’
   alţa ɖayo  ‘two stones’
   alţo gilaas ʰil  ‘two glasses of water’
   alţo ḋarum  ‘two o’ clock’

c) ‘three X’
   isken hilešo  ‘three boys’
   iski gilaas ʰil  ‘three glasses of water’
   iski ḡarum  ‘three o’ clock’

d) ‘four X’
   waltō hilešo  ‘four boys’
   waltō ɖayo  ‘four stones’
   walti gilaas ʰil  ‘four glasses of water’
   walti ḡarum  ‘four o’ clock’

3.1.1.7 Numerals with Pronominal Prefixes

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

(83) Numerals with pronominal prefixes

a) me-lṭal-ik
   1PL-two-PL.IND
   ‘Both of us’
Ordinal numerals in Burushaski are formed from numerals by adding the suffix [–ulum]. The ordinal numbers for ‘first’ [aʰamanum] is the only exception in this case. Table 3.6 provides the list of ordinal numbers from ‘first to tenth’

Table 3.6: List of ordinal numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burushaski</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aʰamanum</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>altolum</td>
<td>‘second’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iskiulum</td>
<td>‘third’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walṭilum</td>
<td>‘fourth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eʰinḍiwulum</td>
<td>‘fifth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mišinḍiwulum</td>
<td>‘sixth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḋʰalewlum</td>
<td>‘seventh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunṭiwlum</td>
<td>‘ninth’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ordinal numbers also precede head nouns in Burushaski. Consider example in (84) for illustration:

(84) Ordinal numbers with head nouns

   a) aʰamnum e-yi
      first 1SG-child
      ‘My first child’
   b) alṭolum gunc-ar
      second day-DAT
      ‘On the second day’

### 3.1.1.9 Demonstrative and Relative Pronoun

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

Table 3.7: Demonstrative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[deictic]</th>
<th>[ + human]</th>
<th>[-h,I]</th>
<th>[-h,II]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>kʰine</td>
<td>kʰuwe</td>
<td>guse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal (that)</td>
<td>ine</td>
<td>uwe</td>
<td>ise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>menan/amin</td>
<td>menik</td>
<td>amis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

Table 3.8: Verb Paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base stem</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to do’</td>
<td>e- $t$-as</td>
<td>-$t$-</td>
<td>-č-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to walk’</td>
<td>gu$^h$ar-as</td>
<td>gu$^h$ar-</td>
<td>gu$^h$arč-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
<td>ş-iy-as</td>
<td>ş-i</td>
<td>ş-i-ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to run’</td>
<td>gaarc-as</td>
<td>gaarc-</td>
<td>gaarš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to dance’</td>
<td>girat- $a$s</td>
<td>girat-</td>
<td>giraš-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to go’</td>
<td>ni(y)-as</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>nič-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to cry’</td>
<td>her- $a$s</td>
<td>her-</td>
<td>herč-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The paradigm for inflected verbs ‘work’ and ‘cry’ are provided in (19) and (20) below:

(85) Inflectional paradigms for verb ‘work’ [đuro -t-] lit: ‘work + do’

a) Simple Past: ‘X worked’ or X did the work’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sentence ‘x did the work’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ja-a đuro e-t-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un-e đuro e-t-uma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in-e đuro e-t-imi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in-e đuro e-t-umo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi-i đuro e-t-uman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma-a đuro e-t-uman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>uw-e đuro e-t-uman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Present Perfect: ‘X has worked’ or ‘X has done’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sentence ‘x have done the work’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ja-a đuro e-t-a baa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un-e đuro e-t-aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in-e đuro e-t-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in-e đuro e-t-u bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi-i đuro e-t-aan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma-a đuro e-t-aan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>uw-e đuro e-t-aan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c) Past Perfect ‘X had done the work’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sentence ‘X had done the work’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ja-a đuro e-t-a bayam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un-e đuro e-t-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in-e đuro e-t-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in-e đuro e-t-u bom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi-i đuro e-t-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma-a đuro e-t-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>uw-e đuro e-t-am</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
d) Future Tense: ‘x will do the work’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sentence ‘x will do the work’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>je ďuro e-č-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un-e ďuro e-č-uma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in-e ďuro e-č-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in-e ďuro e-č-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi-i ďuro e-č-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma-a ďuro e-č-uman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>uw-e ďuro e-č-uman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e) Present Progressive ‘x works’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sentence ‘x is doing work’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ja-a ďuro e-č-a baa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un-e ďuro e-č-aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in-e ďuro e-č-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in-e ďuro e-č-u bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi-i ďuro e-č-a baan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma-a ďuro e-č-aan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>uw-e ďuro e-č-aan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sentence ‘x has been doing the work’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ja-a ďuro e-č-ume baa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un-e ďuro e-č-ume baa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in-e ďuro e-č-ume bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in-e ďuro e-č-ume baa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi-i ďuro e-č-ume baan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma-a ďuro e-č-ume baan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>uw-e ďuro e-č-ume baan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
g) Past Progressive ‘x used to do the work’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sentence ‘x used to do the work’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ja-a ðuro e-č-a bayam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un-e ðuro e-č-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in-e ðuro e-č-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in-e ðuro e-č-u bom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi-i ðuro e-č-a bam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma-a ðuro e-č-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>uw-e ðuro e-č-am</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(86) Inflectional paradigms for verb ‘run’ [gaarc]

a) Simple Past: ‘X ran’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sentence ‘X ran’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>je gaarcam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un gaarcumah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in gaarcimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in gaarcumo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi gaarcuman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma gaarcuman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>u gaarcuman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Past Perfect ‘X had run’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sentence ‘X had run’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>je gaarca bayam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un gaarcam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in gaarcam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in gaarcu bom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi gaarcam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma gaarcam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>u gaarcam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c) Future Tense: ‘x will run’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sentence ‘x will run’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>je gaaršam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un gaaršuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in gaarši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in gaaršo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi gaaršan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma gaaršuman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>u gaaršuman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d) Present Progressive ‘x runs’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sentence ‘x is runing’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>je garša baa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un gaaršaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in gaaršay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in gaaršu bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi gaarša baan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma gaaršaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>u gaaršaan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e) Present Perfect Continuous: ‘x has been running’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sentence ‘x has been running’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>je gaaršume baa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un gaayrsume baa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in gaaršume bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in gaaršume bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi gaaršme baan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma gaaršume baan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>u gaaršume baan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
f) Past Progressive ‘x used to run’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sentence ‘x used to run’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>je gaarša bayam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>un gaaryam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG</td>
<td>in gaaršam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>in gaaršu bom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>mi gaarša bam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ma gaaršam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>u gaaršam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2.1 Verb ‘to be’ in Burushaski

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(+ human)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

a) je hileš baa
   1SG boy be.PRES.1SG
   ‘I am a boy’

b) mi hileš-o baan
   1PL boy-PL be.PRES.1PL
   ‘We are boys’

c) un ḏasin baa.
   2SG girl be.PRES.2SG
   ‘You are a girl’

d) ma ḏasi-wanc baan
   2PL girl-PL be.PRES.2PL
   ‘You are girls’

e) in hileš bay
   3MSG boy be.PRES.3MSG
   ‘He is a boy’

f) in ḏasin bo
   3FSG girl be.PRES.3FSG
   ‘She is a girl’

g) u hileš-o baan
   3PL boy-PL be.PRES.3PL
   ‘They are boys’
(88) Morphology of the verb ‘to be’ (Past tense) for [+ human] NPs

a) je yaliis bayam
   1SG sick be.PST.1SG
   ‘I was sick’

b) ite kʰeen-ulo mi matʰan bam
   that[-h,II] time-LOC 1PL far be.PST.1PL
   ‘We were far that time’

c) un yaliis bam
   2SG sick be.PST.2SG
   ‘You were sick’

d) ma matʰan bam
   2PL far be.PST.2PL
   ‘You were far’

e) in yaliis bam
   3SG sick be.PST.3SG
   ‘You were sick’

f) in yaliis bom
   3FSG sick be.PST.3FSG
   ‘She was sick’

g) u matʰan bam
   3PL far be.PST.3PL
   ‘They were far’
Examples in (89) below and (90) for past tense illustrates different forms of verb ‘to be’ when
the verb agrees with [-human] NPs

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

a) guse čyar ḫaanum bi
   this[-h,I] mountain high be.PRES.SG
   ‘This mountain is high’

b) guce čʰar-ko ḫay-ko biyen
   these[-h,I] mountain-PL high-PL be.PRES.PL
   ‘These mountains are high’

c) guṭe ḏalṭas ḏiš-an bila
   this[-h,II] beautiful place-SG.INDF be.PRES.(-h,II)
   ‘This is a beautiful place’

d) guke ḏaḷṭaš-ko dišm-in bican
   these[-h,II] beautiful-PL place-PL be.PRES.PL[-h,II]
   ‘These are beautiful places’

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

a) guse maɣun teebal-ate bim
   this[-h,I] pearl table-LOC be.PST.SG
   ‘This pearl was on the table’

b) guce maɣu-yo teebal-ate biyum
   these[-h,I] pearl-PL table-LOC be.PST.PL
   ‘These pearls were on the table’
The compound verb consists of a main verb and followed by verb ‘to be’. Examples in (91) below are provided to illustrate this:

(91)  Morphology of ‘be’ as an Auxiliary

a)  ṭap caa ṭiš mey bila
    night all wind become be.PRES.3
    ‘It blew all night’

b)  in-e i-moos ḏii bila
    3SG-GEN 1SG-anger come be.PRES.3
    ‘He is getting angry’

c)  in sabuur mucum herč-ume bo
    3SG yesterday since cry.IPFV-PROG be.3FSG
    ‘She has been crying yesterday’
3.1.2.2 D-Prefix Verbs

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

(92) d-i-man-imi ‘he was born’
   a) hiles-an d-i-man-imi
      boy-SG.IND x-3-become-3
      ‘A boy was born.’

(93) d-i-r-imi ‘it cooked’
   a) aalu ši-ulō d-i-r-imi
      potato hearth-in x-3-cook-3
      ‘Potato cooked in the hearth’
   b) ja-a a-riin ši-ce d-i-r-imi
      1SG-EGG 1SG-hand hearth-with x-3-burn-3
      ‘My hand burnt with the hearth’

(94) [d-i-ṭal-imi] ‘he woke up’
   a) giyaas d-i-ṭal-imi
      baby x-i-woke-3
      ‘Baby woke up’
3.1.2.3 Causatives

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

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

a) sabrina gučʰa-mo
   sabrina sleep-3FSG
   ‘Sabrina slept’

b) saliim-e sabrina mo-guča-mi
   saliim-ERG sabrina 3FSG-sleep-3MSG
   ‘Saleem put/ caused Sabrina to sleep’
In the example (96) below the underlying verb stem /-s-man-/ ‘make’ is transitive and the causative form is di-transitive. The agent of the sentence (96-a) is demoted to direct object. On the derived verb the position of the subject marker on the underlying verb demotes from the suffix to the pronominal prefix position and the vowel coalescence on the derived verb lengthens the vowel. The verb stem remains the same. /ɖ-umu-e-s-man-imi/ becomes //ɖ-umo-o-s-man-imi//.

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

a) sabrina-a keek ɖ-e-s-man-umo
   sabrina-ERG cake x-3cake-TR-make-3F
   ‘Sabrina made the cake’

b) karim-e sabrina keek ɖ-umo-o-s-man-imi
   karim-ERG sabrina cake x-3F-3cake-TR-make-3MSG
   ‘Karim caused Sabrina to make the cake.

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

(97) Intransitive verb (s-) prefix insertion

a) hiles i-war-imi
   boy 3SG-tired-3SG
   ‘The boy is tired’

b) Ɂa-a hiles e-s-par-am
   1SG-ERG boy 3SG-CAUS-tired-1SG
   ‘I made the boy tired’
3.1.2.4 Negatives

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

(98) Negation of verb [galimi] ‘break-3SG’
   a) gilaas a-kal-imi
      glass NEG-break-3SG
      ‘The glass did not break’

(99) Negation of verb [a-s-imi] ‘he told me’. We can see in the examples below that a glide [y] is inserted between two vowels to avoid hiatus.
   a) in-e ja-a-r a-s-imi
      3SG-ERG 1SG-GEN-DAT 1SG-say-3SG
      ‘He told him’
   b) in-e ja-a-r ay-a-s-imi
      3SG-ERG 1SG-GEN-DAT NEG-3MSG-say-1SG
      ‘I did not tell him’

(100) Negation of verb [ʂi] ‘eat’
   a) şapik ee-ʂi
      bread NEG-eat
      ‘Don’t eat bread’

(101) Negation of verb [min-e] ‘drink it’
   a) eʰil oo-min
      water NEG-drink
      ‘Dont drink water’
3.1.2.5 Imperative Mood

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

(102) Direct commands
   a) kʰol-ar zu
       here-DAT come
       ‘Come here’
   b) el-ar ni
       there-DAT go
       ‘Go there’
   c) huru
       ‘sit’

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

(103) Polite request
   a) ma kʰolar zu-in
       2PL here come-PL
       ‘Come here please’
   b) ma elar ni-in
       2PL there go-PL
       ‘Go there you.PL’
3.1.2.6 *Conjunctive Participle*

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

(104) **Sequential Action**

```
je bazaar-ar n-aa-n kiṭaap-an n-u-kan-i-n
1SG market-DAT PTCP-1SG.go.1SG-PTCP book-SG.IND PTCP-3-buy-3-PTCP
ʐuć-am
come.IPFV-1SG
```

‘I will go to market buy book and come back’

(105) **Clause joining**

```
haralṭ-in n-u-man-i-n diš šiqam man-imi
rain-PL PTCP-3PL-become-3PL-PTCP place greem become-3SG
```

‘The places become green due to rain.’

(106) **Reason Adverb**

```
kaako ḏii-n Ḳoṭ e-qušal-imi
brother come.3-PTCP this 3-mess-3SG
```

Having come, brother messed it up.
3.1.2.7 Optative

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

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

đaman-e ma xoş ma-wrutiʂ

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

‘May God will keep you happy’

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

a) ma-riin gal-um

2PL-hand break-OPT

‘May your hand will break’

b) gu-riin gal-um

2-hand break-OPT

‘May your hand will break’

c) ɣaa-yuw-e gu-ʂu-um

crow-PL-ERG 2-eat-OPT

‘May crows will eat you’

d) gu-ci-mo pʰaṭ man-iʂ

2-COM-GEN drop become-OPT

‘May it drop from you!’
3.1.2.8 Verbs in Presumptive and Potential Mood

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

(109) Potential Mood expressed by suffix –ce

a) in nu-ku-yc-in but xoš i-may-mce
   3MSG PTCP-2SG-see-PTCP very happy 3MSG-become.IPFV-POT
   ‘Having seen you, he must have been happy.’

b) gu-kʰaran-as-ar mama goo-kaa yarič-umce
   2SG-late-INF-DAT mother 2SG-with scold.IPFV-POT
   ‘On getting late, mother must have scolded you.’

c) pʰiti d-i-may-mce akʰurum
   bread x-3-become.IPFV-POT until.now
   ‘The bread may be ready by now.’

3.1.2.9 Dubitative Mood

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

a) une ḏuro man-imi hey-am
   2 GEN work become-3 learn.IPFV-1SG
   ‘I guess your work is complete.’

b) u akʰurum ḏ-o-şqalč-uman aa-ɣay-am
   3PL until.now x-3PL-reach.IPFV-3PL 1SG-appear.IPFV-1SG
   ‘I guess they would have reached by now.’
3.2.1 Derivational Process

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

3.2.1.1 Compounding

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

(111)  Compund Noun (Noun + Noun)
   a) hun-e  õuro
doosh-GEN work
   ‘Wood work’ or ‘carpenter’
   b) õan-e  õuro
doon-GEN work
   ‘Stone work’ or ‘mason’

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

(112)  Compound Noun [Adjective + Noun]
   a) ni-m  õen
doog-ADJ year
   ‘The last year’
b) waal-um hiles  
loose-ADJ boy  
‘The lost boy’

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

(113) Compound Noun [Verb + Noun]

a) gučʰay-as diš  
sleep-INF place  
‘Sleeping place’ or ‘bed’

b) min-aas cʰil  
drink-INF water  
‘Drinking water’

4.2.1.2 Suffixation

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

(114) Adjective > Noun formation: -kuš suffixation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Derived Abstract Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[uyam] ‘sweet’</td>
<td>[uyamkuʃ] ‘sweetness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ดาlṭas] ‘beautiful’</td>
<td>[ดาlṭaskuʃ] ‘beauty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dutang] ‘dark’</td>
<td>[dutangkuʃ] ‘darkness’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be assumed that –um is the basic adjective forming suffix in Burushaski. Verbs are nominalized into adjectives by adding –um suffix. This is illustrated in (115). Similarly, nouns can be changed into adjectives by the addition of –um, as illustrated in (116).

(115) Verb > Adjective formation: -um suffixation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[hen] ‘learn’</td>
<td>[henum ɗuro] ‘learned work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[gučʰa] ‘slee’</td>
<td>[gučʰam ɗiʃ] ‘sleeping place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ŋukoyal] ‘listen’</td>
<td>[ŋukoyalum ʧaʃa] ‘the word you heard’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(116) Noun > Adjective formation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[hunzo] ‘Hunza’</td>
<td>[hunzum] ‘the inhabitant of Hunza’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[달] ‘North’</td>
<td>[달um] ‘native to the North’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xat] ‘South’</td>
<td>[xatum] ‘native to the South’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[garu] ‘Summer’</td>
<td>[garurum] ‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[nager] ‘Nagar’</td>
<td>[nagerum] ‘the inhabitant of Nagar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.3 Reduplication

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

a) haralt cʰu~cʰur man-imí
   rain drop~RED become-3
   ‘It drizzled’

b) haralt ča-čar manimi
   rain pour-RED become-3
   ‘It rained heavily’

c) giyaas-e ji-jir e-t-imí
   baby-ERG cry-RED 3-do-3
   ‘The baby cried loudly’

d) hiles-e galṭar ḥa-ḥal e-t-imí
   boy-ERG tree branch RED-drag 3-do-3
   ‘The boy dragged the tree branch’

e) in ḥa-dar i-man-imí
   3SG RED-shake 3-become-3
   ‘He shivered’

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

Complete Reduplication: Adjectives

a) ḥaḷtaško~ḥaḷtaskyo baalṭ ḥosqat-in
   nice~RED apple x-3PL-select-PL

   Select nice apples.
b) jotišo-jotišo

small~RED

‘fairly small’

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

(119) Complete Reduplication: Adverbs

a. thala~thala

slow-RED

‘gradually’

b. kaa~kaa

with-RED

‘close together’

c. bešal~bešal

when~RED

‘sometime’

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

a) loto-ke-loto

RED-and-naked

‘no cap on head’

b) čʰu-ke-čʰu

RED-and-naked

‘bare feet’
Chapter 4: Dialectal Comparison

4.1 Phonological Variation

(121)  [o] ~ [u] variation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NB</th>
<th>HB</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ðoro</td>
<td>ðuro</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰoṭe</td>
<td>guṭe</td>
<td>‘this[-h,II]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hosen</td>
<td>husun</td>
<td>‘beauty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esulo</td>
<td>esulu</td>
<td>‘in his heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiŋulo</td>
<td>hinulo</td>
<td>‘in the door’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰoṣe</td>
<td>guse</td>
<td>‘this[-h,II]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰoķe</td>
<td>guke</td>
<td>‘these[-h,II]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(122)  [e]~[a] variation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NB</th>
<th>HB</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ečen]</td>
<td>[ečan]</td>
<td>‘we will do it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[iner]</td>
<td>[inar]</td>
<td>‘for him’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[esṭʰačer]</td>
<td>[esṭačer]</td>
<td>‘for putting out fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[djumen]</td>
<td>[djuman]</td>
<td>‘they came’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(123)  [e] ~[i] variation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NB</th>
<th>HB</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[eṭe]</td>
<td>[iṭe]</td>
<td>‘that [-h,II]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[eke]</td>
<td>[ike]</td>
<td>‘those [-h,II]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(124) [Ch] ~[C] variation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NB</th>
<th>[HB]</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[esʰačer]</td>
<td>[ešačer]</td>
<td>‘for putting out fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[eʰapʰayma]</td>
<td>[eʰapayma]</td>
<td>‘you will stich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dečʰiri]</td>
<td>[dečiri]</td>
<td>‘you cook/burn it’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Morphonological Variation

(125) Verb be

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NB</th>
<th>[HB]</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʒila</td>
<td>bila</td>
<td>‘be.PRES.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʒilum</td>
<td>bilum</td>
<td>‘be.PST.3SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bom</td>
<td>bam</td>
<td>‘be.PRES.3MSG’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 Lexical Variation

(126) Lexical words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NB</th>
<th>[HB]</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rau ɣut</td>
<td>ʈraa ɣut</td>
<td>‘completely deaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat diyemen</td>
<td>ɖal diyeman</td>
<td>‘stood up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


