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JAMMU AND KASHMIR BURUSHASKI:
LANGUAGE, LANGUAGE CONTACT, AND CHANGE

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JAMMU AND KASHMIR BURUSHASKI:
LANGUAGE, LANGUAGE CONTACT, AND CHANGE

by

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Dedication

To the speakers of J & K Burushaski

To my parents, Abul Hassan and Syeda

And to Tasaduq

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The region stretching along the Kashmir province of the state of Jammu & Kashmir in India and the Northern Areas region of Pakistan is home to great ethno-linguistic diversity. The impetus for conducting a study on the Burushaski language in the valley of Kashmir came from the realization that the community, although invisible (roughly 300 speakers) within the broad Kashmiri society (over 4 million speakers), has succeeded in maintaining a separate identity – social and linguistic. Having lived in Srinagar for over a century, Jammu & Kashmir Burushos have very well stood the pressures of linguistic assimilation and language loss. No study has been carried on the language of the Jammu & Kashmir Burushos so far.

This study provides a structural description of Jammu & Kashmir Burushaski - an undocumented variety of Burushaski, and analyzes the various forms of linguistic interference since its split from the parent dialects in Pakistan. It covers the various linguistic consequences of contact such as: borrowing, innovation, and simplification of

linguistic features characterizing Jammu & Kashmir Burushaski. Changes are studied at lexical, phonological, and morpho-syntactic level. My synchronic description of the grammar is concerned with the structural properties of the language. Grammatical description is preceded by an introduction of various speech forms in context which emphasizes the importance of a discourse-centered approach followed in this study. My approach to the study of contact-induced change is based on an analytical framework following Thomason & Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (2001). The study also discusses some theoretical implications of the research outcomes. It presents a unique situation in which linguistic outcomes of contact are reflected via a complex interplay of various factors involving simultaneous contact with two languages viz., Kashmiri and Urdu, each affecting the language in a specific way – lexical borrowing from Urdu and structural borrowing from Kashmiri. This is explained in terms of two important factors: (i) language ideology in terms of a "native language" versus an "extra-native MATRIX", and (ii) within the non-native matrix, a hierarchy of social prestige associated with each of the two non-native languages.

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PART I: PRELIMINARIES

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 OPENING REMARKS

It is not always a painless task to find a topic for your doctoral dissertation. During the first year of my doctoral program at the University of Texas at Austin, my research interests lay in the historical development of Kashmiri. This had taken its roots during my Master of Philosophy program in Linguistics (1999-2001) at the University of Delhi in India when I was conducting a diachronic study on Kashmiri. Familiar with the Indo-Aryan language family to which it belongs,[1] being a native speaker of Kashmiri, in addition to being a fluent speaker of Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu),[2] the *lingua franca* of a large part of South Asia (especially northern India and most part of Pakistan), was an advantage in conducting such research. In subsequent years, however, I also started developing a strong interest in *documentary linguistics*, which has emerged as a separate

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[1] Kashmiri is classified along with a number of languages grouped under the title "Dardic". Dardic languages are spoken in the extreme north of India, northwestern Pakistan, and extend into Afghanistan. Their origin has been much debated in literature in terms of whether they are a third branch of the Indo-Iranian language family (the other two being Indo-Aryan/Indic and Iranian) or are of pure Indo-Aryan origin. They have not only preserved many archaic Indo-Iranian features lost in modern Indo-Aryan languages, but have also developed features unique to them. Other languages in the group include Shina, Khowar, Kalasha, Kohistāni, Torwali, Gawarbati, and many others (See Bashir 2003, and Munshi 2006a and b).

[2] Urdu and Hindi are often argued to be one language by linguists, and from a linguistic point of view, have been called two varieties of what is refered to as "Hindustani". But they are necessarily two languages from a political and ideological viewpoint. They also are different in terms of their borrowing strategies. While Urdu borrows from Persian and Arabic, Hindi has mostly borrowed from Sanskrit. Therefore, I use the term "Urdu" in this study to refer to the variety mainly spoken by the Muslims of Pakistan and Jammu & Kashmir state in India. The term "Hindustani" is used here because the author speaks and understands both the varieties with equal proficiency.

branch of linguistics in the last two decades and aims at "making and keeping of records of the world's languages and their patterns of use" (Woodbury, 2003). I was impressed by the idea of documentation and description of world's languages for it is foundational both for linguistic theory and functional aspects of language study. I began hunting for "endangered" and undocumented/poorly-documented languages spoken in the state of Jammu & Kashmir in India – the place of my birth, and an area which has been adversely affected by political unrest due to the over fifty-seven year old conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir.

The region stretching along the Kashmir province of the state of Jammu & Kashmir in India and the Northern Areas region of Pakistan has been a relatively less studied area, especially in terms of its ethno-linguistic diversity.[3] A long history of language contact has often obscured the original linguistic differences between various languages spoken in the region, and sometimes it is almost impossible to tell which language has affected which language. As is the case in other parts of the subcontinent, multilingualism is a norm in this region.[4]

The language that I initially chose for documentation and research was Brokskat - a dialect of the Dardic Shina spoken in Kargil and Ladakh districts of the state of Jammu & Kashmir (Refer to Map 1 and Map 5). After a series of preparatory events, which included literature surveys, reading books about the Shins (i.e., speakers of Shina; speakers of Brokskat are referred to as "Brokpa" or "Dokpa" by their Balti and Ladakhi neighbors)[5] and other basics, when I finally decided to go for my first field-trip to Kargil in June of 2002, I was strongly discouraged by my friends based on reports of firing[6]

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[3] Unless otherwise specified I use the term "Kashmir" to refer to the Indian side of Kashmir and "Jammu & Kashmir" for the Indian administered part of Jammu & Kashmir.

[4] Depending on various factors, different types and degrees of multilingualism are observed.

[5] Balti and Ladakhi belong to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family.

[6] Such gestures are a part of the political discourse between the two neighbors over the unresolved question of Kashmir.

across the Line of Control (LOC)[7] between India and Pakistan. Kargil is situated just by the LOC. I gave up any immediate plans to go.

Only after a week or so when I was visiting Tasaduq, my husband, in Iran, I met his friend Raja Majid, also a native of Kashmir like us, who was studying medicine in the Shiraz Medical School with him. I had known Majid for a while in Kashmir and during that meeting with him at the hostel apartment it just struck my mind that Majid's first language was not Kashmiri and that his language was very different from any of the languages spoken in and around the state of Jammu & Kashmir that I was even distantly familiar with. I asked him, "Which language do you speak at home?" and after some deliberations he replied, "I think it is called Gilgiti. I am not sure". A dialect of Shina spoken in Gilgit, Pakistan (Refer to Map 3), is sometimes referred to as "Gilgiti" (or "Gilgiti Shina"). I was glad that I found a speaker of a dialect of the language I had long wanted to work on but I was also a little skeptical for I had never heard of Shina speakers in Srinagar (the capital of Jammu & Kashmir where Majid and other members of his speech community are settled).[8] I also knew that the language they spoke was considerably different from Kashmiri and that it could not be Shina, which is a close relative of Kashmiri, both belonging to the Dardic group of Indo-Aryan languages. After a little while, in August 2002 when I was back at school in the United States, I telephoned my father in Srinagar and asked him to talk to any of his friends or acquaintances living in the same locality as Majid's home and pass me some basic information about their language. Although he could not help me with the name of their

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[7] "LOC" refers to the military control line between India and Pakistan in the province of Kashmir. Originally known as the "Ceasefire Line", it was redesignated the "Line of Control" after the Shimla Agreement, which was formalized in December 1972. The Indians refer to their portion of the territory as *Jammu and Kashmir*, while the Pakistanis refer to the Indian portion as *Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK)*. The Pakistanis refer to their portion of the territory as *Azad (Free)Jammu and Kashmir*; in turn, the Indians refer to it as *Pakistani Occupied Kashmir (POK)*. The terms *Pakistan Administered Kashmir* and *Indian Administered Kashmir* are often used by some news media.

[8] See Map 1 and Map 2 for the location of Srinagar.

native tongue, my father had collected a list of vocabulary -- numerals from 'one' to 'ten' and some "basic vocabulary" items. I had read some literature on Burushaski when I was in Delhi University (late 1990's) and was a little familiar with its numeral system. With utmost surprise, I exclaimed, "It is Burushaski!"

Burushaski has been a language of great fascination for many linguists and scholars across the world. Never had I imagined discovering speakers of this unique language in the city of my birth. Despite being a relatively small number of speakers, the Burushos (members of the Burushaski speech community) that I discovered in Jammu & Kashmir constitute a sociolinguistic community who fulfill all contemporary definitions of a "speech community". These Burushos have lived in Srinagar for a long time speaking a language which different Kashmiris would know by different "incorrect" names, including "Bota" ('Tibetan' in Kashmiri) language, "Tibati" ('Tibetan' in some Indic/Indo-Aryan language), and sometimes even Pashto by people little familiar with the community. Having lost contact with their parent community in Pakistan over a century ago, their language has undergone several changes which make it systematically different from other dialects of Burushaski spoken in Pakistan. The impetus for conducting a study on the Burushaski language in the valley of Kashmir came from the realization that the community, admittedly invisible (roughly 300 speakers) within the broad Kashmiri society which has over 4 million speakers, had succeeded in maintaining a separate identity – social and linguistic, over a long period of time. Having lived in Srinagar for over a century and being an integral part of the Kashmiri society, especially in the social hierarchy of the Shiite Muslims of the valley, Jammu & Kashmir Burushos have very well stood the pressures of linguistic assimilation and successfully overcome the danger of language loss. No study has been carried on the language of the Jammu & Kashmir Burushos so far.

1.1 BACKGROUND ON BURUSHASKI

1.1.1 Demographic and Ethnographic Information

Burushaski is mainly spoken in Hunza, Nagar, and Yasin in Pakistan. Hunza, Nagar and Yasin valleys are situated in the Gilgit District towards north of Gilgit in northern Pakistan (See Map 3 and Map 4) – a region between South and Central Asia. There is disagreement about the total number of Burushaski speakers. Based on the government census figures of 1981, Backstrom (1992) estimates the total number of Burushaski speakers in all areas of Pakistan to be 55,000-60,000 (18-22,000 in Hunza, probably slightly more than that in Nagar, and about 15,000 or more in Yasin; Backstrom 1992: 36-37). Similar figures have been given by Anderson (1997: 1022) also, i.e., approximately 50-60,000 Burushos. However, Berger (1990: 567) estimates about 90,000 Burushaski speakers, of which as many as 80,000 are reported to live in Hunza and Nagar, and about 10,000 in Yasin.[9] The *Ethnologue* (2005) reports 87,049 speakers of Burushaski in Pakistan.

There are dialectal differences between the Yasin variety (also known as Werchikwar)[10] on the one hand, and Hunza and Nagar on the other, the latter two have been claimed to be the sub-dialects of one variety referred to as the Hunza variety or dialect (See Varma 1941: 133-157). The population of the two regions is neither linguistically nor ethnically homogenous. Burushaski is spoken in a region which is home to speakers of several language families: Indo-Iranian (on the south, north and west), Tibeto-Burman (on the east), and Altaic (slightly farther to the north). The Indo-Iranian

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[9] Cited from Čašule (1998:3). According to Nasir-ud-din Nasir Hunzai, a native speaker of Hunza Burushaski in Pakistan, the total number of Burushos is close to 100,000 (p.c.).

[10] The name "Werchikwar" is originally from Khowar [wʌrćikwar] which breaks down into wʌrć- = 'buruś' plus the Khowar suffixes -ik- 'place of' + -war 'language', as also [kʰowar] < kʰo-+-war 'the language of Kho' (See Anderson 1997: 1021).

neighbors of Burushaski further fall into two groups or sub-families, viz., Iranian and Indo-Aryan/Indic. It has been greatly influenced by languages such as Persian, Urdu, Khowar, Shina, Wakhi, and Balti. Alternate names of the language used in literature are Brushaski, Burucaski, Burushaki, Burucaki, Burushki, Biltum, Khajuna, and Kunjut (*Ethnologue*, 2005).[11] Most Burushaski speakers are bilingual in their native language and at least one of the other regional languages (e.g., the Indo-Aryan Urdu, Shina, and Khowar, and the Tibeto-Burman Balti). The term Khajuna (pronounced as [k^{h}ajuna]) is generally used by the Burushos of Nagar to refer to their language.

The J & K Burushos – speakers of the variety of Burushaski spoken in Jammu & Kashmir (henceforth "JKB") in India – are settled in and around a small locality by the foothills of Hari Parbat Fort in Srinagar, the capital of the state of Jammu & Kashmir (henceforth "J & K"). They constitute a small linguistic community situated in a more or less isolated pocket in the heart of the city. The locality is often referred to by the name given to the community by Kashmiris (*bota rajan hund*, i.e., literally, '(the locality) of the Bota Rajas'). J & K Burushos are also reported to live in Batamalu – another locality in Srinagar but away from that of the main Burusho group. These Burushos reportedly do not speak Burushaski any more, the only Burushaski speaking member of the family having died while this study was in progress. Another family of the Burushaski community lived in Tral (a village in the Kashmir valley) during the time of this study. Only one member, the head of the family,[12] is a fluent speaker of Burushaski and the rest of the family members speak Urdu and Kashmiri. A handful of Burushaski speakers from

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[11] Another alternate name, Boorishki, is given in Čašule (1998:3)

[12] His name is Raja Aźdar Khan. I had a single opportunity to meet with him. It was a chance meeting with the help of Raja Safdar Ali Khan one day when Aźdar Khan happened to be visiting a relation in the neighborhood.

the Srinagar community live in other parts of India, traveling back and forth, owing to their occupational constraints and in view of seeking education.[13]

Some members of the JKB speech community (especially older males) refer to their language as Khajuna and some, especially younger generation, do not know the popular name of their language (i.e., "Burushaski"). Older speakers often use the term *miśa:ski* 'our language' (i.e., *mi-* 'our' + *-śa:ski* 'language') to refer to their language when talking among themselves. Information about the exact number of Burushaski speakers in J & K is not available, possibly because census surveys in India are often unable to recognize certain radical linguistic distinctions which tend to be masked by multilingualism. The Burushos of Srinagar are often mistaken as Kashmiris, especially because they live in the middle of a Kashmiri majority and many speak fluent Kashmiri in addition to Burushaski. The *Ethnologue* (2005) mentions Burushaski speakers in India but does not provide specific information about the number of speakers and their exact location. According to the members of the speech community, 300 or more Burushos live in Srinagar.

1.1.2. Genetic Classification: Unclassified

Burushaski is a "language isolate" sometimes referred to as the "South Asian Basque". It is an unclassified language, unrelated to any known language/family. Other languages designated as so-called "language-isolates" are Basque, the language of Yenesian Kets, the Niwch and the Yukaghir language. Almost all these language-isolates are in regions of "linguo-ecological risk…..They have come to a threshold from where the perspective of language death can be perceived" (Neroznak, 1997 in his foreword to

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[13] This information is based on secondary sources.

Čašule, 1998). Several attempts to establish areal, genetic, and typological links between these language isolates and the languages of known linguistic families have been carried out in comparative linguistic studies and studies on contact linguistics.

The linguistic classification and genetic affiliations of Burushaski have been much debated. Many studies have attempted to explain the linguistic origins of Burushaski comparing it with different languages but no fully convincing relationship has been established so far. According to Bengtson (1991-1998), Burushaski would belong to a "Macro-Caucasian" (or "Sino-Caucasian") phylum of languages under the proposed "Dene-Caucasian" macrophylum - a proposed, transcontinental branch (Bengston 1991; Bengston 1998), consisting of Basque, languages spoken in Daghestan, North-West Caucasian languages, and Burushaski itself. Starostin (1984, 1991) proposed the establishment of a macrophylum linking Sino-Tibetan, Yeneseian, and Caucasian languages. Čašule (1998-2004) has attempted to derive links between Indo-European, more specifically its Paleo-Balkanic branch, and Burushaski. He proposes that Burushaski is either related to or influenced by a non-Indo-Aryan "Southern" subgroup of Indo-European which he claims to include Phrygian and Thracian, and by Balto-Slavic. Recently, George van Driem has attempted to revive links "between Burushaski and Yeniseian in a family he calls *Karasuk*. He believes the Burusho were part of the migration out of Central Asia that resulted in the Indo-European conquest of India" (quoted from *Wikipedia* 2006). Tuite (1998: 467) "argues for 'quasi-genetic resemblances' between Burushaski and the Northeast Caucasian languages" (quoted from Bashir, 2000: 1). None of these studies provides conclusive evidence for a genetic relationship between Burushaski and an existing language. The etymologies provided by these studies are not supported by full reconstructions.[14]

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[14] The analogies offered by these studies could possibly be attributed to a relatively recent approach to the genetic classification of languages based on the "Nostratic" reconstruction which argues for a common

1.1.3 Available Literature

Available literature on Burushaski deals only with Burushaski language and society in Pakistan. Some of the synchronic studies on Burushaski grammar and lexicon are Lorimer (1935-38) on Hunza Burushaski, Berger (1974) on Yasin Burushaski, Tiffou and Pesot (1989) on Yasin Burushaski, and Berger (1998) on Hunza and Nagar Burushaski. Lorimer's work (1935-38), one of the greatest and earliest contributions to the studies on Burushaski, remained the only definitive authority on the language for a long time despite many inaccuracies from a broad linguistic point of view. The study is mainly based on the Hunza dialect of Burushaski although some notes on Nagar Burushaski are also included. Berger (1998), however, has replaced Lorimer's work as a standard work of reference on the two sub-dialects of Hunza Burushaski. It follows the same pattern as Lorimer (1935-38) dividing the work into three parts: Burushaski grammar, vocabulary, and texts (Volumes I, II, and III respectively). Biddulph (1880; reprinted in 1971 and 1977) and Leitner (1889) represent the earliest attempts to describe the language.[15] Both studies were primarily based on the Nagar dialect. Zarubin (1927) is a description of Yasin Burushaski. Varma (1941) provides a comparative analysis of Hunza and Nagar sub-dialects, perhaps the first and only piece of work on Burushaski dialectology. Backstrom (1992) is a general account on the knowledge and history of Burushaski language and people and the sociolinguistic position of Burushos with respect to other social and linguistic groups in Pakistan. It also contains information on dialect variation based on studying the relationship by word list comparison.[16] Tiffou's 1997

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linguistic base for language families as diverse as Indo-European, Kartvelian, Altaic, Uralic, Dravidian, Afro-asiatic, and perhaps some other language groups. "Nostratic" is the name given to a language hypothesized to be the common ancestor of all these languages families (Salmons & Joseph 1998: 1-11).

[15] Biddulph's description includes a brief grammatical sketch of Nagar dialect. There are several inaccuracies in his description. Linguistic transcription is largely based on English spelling conventions which are not always phonetically accurate. Some morphological paradigms are also incorrect.

[16] A standard list of 210 words was elicited from several locations in Hunza, Nagar, and Yasin valleys. The same list was also used by Backstrom for some other languages in northern Pakistan.

book provides a huge corpus of Hunza proverbs preceded by a very brief introductory chapter on the grammar of Burushaski. Anderson (1997) is a description of Burushaski phonology. Grune (1998) provides a brief account of Burushaski grammar based on the Yasin dialect.[17]

1.1.4 Linguistic Features Characteristic of Burushaski

As a result of strong external influences, a large number of words in the present-day Burushaski are of foreign origin (especially Shina, Khowar, Urdu, and Balti). Many of its structural features also resemble its linguistic neighbors. Some linguistic features that characterize Burushaski as a unique language in the region despite several structural similarities with its neighboring languages are:

a.   Presence of a very rich inventory of *retroflex* consonants (consonants pronounced with the tip of the tongue curled up) such as ċ, ċ^h, ṣ, ż, and y̱, and uvular stop and fricative consonants such as q and γ. Some, but not all, of these sounds are found in its neighboring languages, such as Dardic[18] Khowar, Shina, Kohistani; these consonants are absent in Urdu, Hindi, Kashmiri, Punjabi, and many Indo-Aryan/Indic languages spoken further south and east.

b.   A huge number of different plural marking suffixes (as many as 60 or more).

c.   A very rich agreement system; agreement features for Ergative as well as Absolutive arguments simultaneously expressed on the verb when both are present in a sentence.

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[17] There are some inaccuracies in Grune's work. The phonemic inventory is incomplete. For example, ć vs. ć^h, c vs. c^h, and ċ vs. ċ^h distinctions are missing, and the pairs have been collapsed into ć, c, and ċ respectively.

[18] The term Dardic is used for a group of languages of Indo-Iranian origin spoken in Northern Areas of Pakistan and northwest of Jammu & Kashmir in India – the entire region is sometimes called "Dardistan". The languages in this group share features with Indic as well as Iranian languages. Languages in this group include: Khowar, Shina, Kohistani, Kashmiri, and others.

d. Distinction into inherently possessed as opposed to non-inherently possessed nouns, such as body parts and kinship terms.

e. A four-fold classification of nouns: [+human] vs. [-human]; among humans, [male] vs. [female]; and among non-humans, [+concrete] vs. [-concrete]. These are differently expressed in nouns and verbs for agreement patterns.

f. A unique way of signifying kinship terms, very different from the neighboring languages and cultures.

It is the presence and retention of these and many other features, as well as the lack of systematic phonological and morphological correspondences of its lexicon with the lexicon of other languages that make Burushaski a unique language, different enough to be considered a language-isolate. Yet, centuries of intense contact with its neighbors have resulted in various structural and typological similarities between Burushaski and its neighboring languages. Changes have variously affected the different dialects of the language.

1.1.5 Conclusion

In his preface to Lorimer's (1935-38) masterpiece work on Burushaski, George Morgenstierne writes:

It belongs to a small and remote community, which has never played any role in history, nor contributed anything to the development of civilization.

(Morgenstierne, 1935; quoted from Lorimer, 1935: vol. I, p. vii)

Yet, several linguists have attempted to recognize the importance of preserving this relic language of the past, which not only opens doors for exploring the linguistic history of Asia, but also raises various questions of great historical importance for scholars of linguistics, history and anthropology. Studies on establishing areal and

genetic links between several language isolates and the languages of known linguistic families are of great importance in establishing the ethnic history of the peoples, languages and cultures of the world separated by time and space. An assumption about the origin of Burushaski is that before the advent of the Aryans (Indic and Iranian people) into the sub-continent, Burushaski might have extended over a larger territory. As to where Burushaski stood in that context, and whether there was any relationship between Burushaski and Dravidian, or between Burushaski and Caucasian for that matter, are open questions. There is a possibility that the language existed in the region for several centuries before Aryans took over, and perhaps continued to develop besides Dravidian (and perhaps other languages) over a considerable period of time, may be thousands of years. Extensive research needs to be done in order to answer such questions.

1.2 BURUSHASKI IN CONTACT

Burushaski as a whole has been greatly influenced by contact with neighboring languages especially since the end of the 19th century. It was this time period when the ancestors of the speakers of J & K Burushaski – the focus of this study – were brought to Srinagar (in present-day India). The Burushaski dialects spoken in Pakistan are surrounded by Indo-European, Tibeto-Burman, and Altaic languages (Anderson 1997: 1021). Some of the languages in contact with these dialects are Urdu, Khowar, Shina, Wakhi, and Balti. Of these, Urdu, Shina and Khowar are Indo-Aryan, Wakhi is Iranian, and Balti is Tibeto-Burman. Among all these languages, Urdu has a special status in that it is the present-day *lingua franca* of the region. With the opening of the old Silk Road in 1980s that the Pakistani Burushos were introduced to greater means of mobility and travel opportunities. An important thing to note here is that the two populations have been influenced by contact with Urdu and other languages independently. The J & K

variety, separated by political and geographical boundaries from the main dialects, has been in contact with Indo-Aryan Urdu and Kashmiri. Many changes have taken place in the different dialects of Burushaski as a result of isolation from each other and contact with other ethno-linguistic populations. Very few studies have been conducted on these contact situations. Further, while Pakistani varieties of Burushaski have been well-documented (Leitner 1889, Zarubin 1927, Lorimer 1935-8, Berger 1974 and 1998, Tiffou 1999, Willson 1999b), no documentation has been carried on the J & K variety. This variety of Burushaski is interesting both from a linguistic as well as a sociolinguistic point of view. Because it has been in isolation from the mainstream Burushaski community for about 115 years, JKB has developed divergent linguistic features which make it systematically different from the varieties spoken in Pakistan. These features can be at least partially explained in terms of contact. In addition, given the fact that the number of speakers of JKB is small, it is threatened by socio-economic pressures which could lead to language shift. Therefore, it is very important to describe this sub-dialect and document the changes it has undergone or is currently going through.

1.2.1 Emergence of J & K Burushaski: Socio-history and Linguistic Change

This section deals with the emergence of J & K Burushaski (JKB) as an independent dialect of Burushaski. Here, I will talk about the sociolinguistic history of the speakers of this sub-dialect and provide a brief summary of the linguistic changes that it has undergone during its course of development.

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1.2.1.1 The J & K Burushaski Community

The members of the Burushaski community in Srinagar form a tightly-knit subculture within the broader Kashmiri society. Almost all Burushos are related to each other. The only religion practiced by these Burushos is Shiite Islam. They are, therefore, socially more closely associated with the Shiite Muslims of Jammu & Kashmir. Socio-economically, the community represents a middle-class suburban society. Many adult members of the community work in government offices. Women, when they choose to work, often tend to seek jobs in the educational field as school teachers (mainly in elementary and high schools) while men work in different spheres (such as, business, education, banking, and civil services). Education of children is highly encouraged in the community.

The term commonly used for the Burushos by Kashmiris is "Botɨ Rajɨ". In Kashmiri "Rajɨ" means 'king(s)' and is used perhaps because most members of the community are the descendants of a tribal king who was originally from Nagar in Pakistan. [19] It is for this reason that some members of the community claim to ascribe to a "higher" social status in terms of lineage, thus, belonging to the *ra:ja tʰamo* '(the) king dynasty' while the rest are considered of a non-royal descent by this sub-group.[20] The forefathers of the community, who included Raja Uzar Khan,[21] the crown prince of the Gilgit Agency (now in north-west Pakistan) who was originally from Nagar, were arrested in 1891-2 by a combined force of British and Kashmir troops under the Dogra rule. Raja Uzar Khan, along with his entourage, was dispatched to Srinagar and kept under arrest in the Hari Parbat Fort (Hassnain, 1978: 75-80). J & K Burushos of the

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[19] Kashmiri *ra:jɨ* can be compared with *ra:ja* in other Indo-Aryan languages.

[20] It is interesting that names of male members of the community almost always start with Raja 'king' – a (sort of) title used for people of royal ancestry. Khan is the family name (last name) used by these Burushos.

[21] Pronounced as [azur xa:n] by the J & K Burushos.

present day include some members who were originally from Hunza and probably migrated at a later stage. "Bota" is a colloquial umbrella term used by Kashmiris for people of Mongoloid features which is often misused for people of various ethno-linguistic identities, such as Dards/Shins (Indo-Aryan, non-Tibetan), Ladakhis, Baltis, and Tibetans.[22] It perhaps comes from "Bhotiya", the term for 'Tibetans' living in the trans-Himalayan region that divides India from Tibet. "Bhotiya", in turn, derives from Tibetan *bod* which means 'Tibet'. Along the border of the same Hariparbat hill is situated another immigrant population who are of Tibetan origin and speak Tibetan. The latter live as a secluded community considerably separated from the mainstream Kashmiri population in terms of social contact. Perhaps it is owing to this reason that members of the Burushaski community in Srinagar are sometimes mistaken for being of Tibetan origin and quite incorrectly assumed to speak a Tibetan language by some Kashmiris. While Burushos enjoy a state domicile and have recently been offered a Scheduled Tribe status by the Government of India, the immigrant Tibetan population has not yet been offered a resident status ("state-subject" status) in the state of Jammu & Kashmir.[23] Despite being a subculture in itself, Burushos are a part of the broader Kashmiri society in social and political terms, but Tibetans are not. This is why their separate linguistic origin is sometimes unnoticed even by the Kashmiris.

J & K Burushos have specific terms to refer to the non-Burusho (largely Kashmiri) population, and also for people of various religious affiliations in the Kashmir region. For example, the term used to refer to Kashmiris is *gia*. There is also a secret vocabulary to refer to people of different religions, e.g., *ḍoy* and *ɣay* for 'Shiite' and 'Sunni' Muslims respectively. The two terms come from *ḍoy* 'right' and *ɣay* 'left'. Shiites

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[22] These include people mostly from Leh, Ladakh, and Kargil.
[23] Scheduled Tribes are some minority communities in India which enjoy certain privileges and special treatment within various domains, e.g., in terms of employment and educational opportunities.

are called *ḏoy* 'right' perhaps because the J & K Burushos themselves identify with them in terms of religious sub-divisions and socio-cultural relations.

1.2.1.2 Multilingualism

In context of the state of Jammu & Kashmir, Urdu is the most commonly used language in public domain, especially in educational institutions, government offices and media. It is the state official language and is used for various official purposes besides English. Urdu is also the main language of the state media such as radio, television, and newspapers. Very few native speakers of Urdu, if any, live in the state of Jammu & Kashmir. Kashmiri is the majority language spoken in Kashmir valley and some other regions of the state (total number of Kashmiri speakers is about 4.4 million in India of which 4.37 million are reported to live in Kashmir; *Ethnologue* 2005). It is also the majority language spoken in Srinagar (the capital of J & K) where J & K Burushos are settled. Most of the state radio and television programs, including daily news, are conducted in Urdu and Kashmiri. A small number of programs in other local languages, such as Dogri (an Indo-Aryan language closely related to Punjabi spoken chiefly in the Jammu region but also in parts of Kashmir and some other states of India),[24] and Ladakhi (predominant language in the Ladakh region of Jammu & Kashmir and closely related to Tibetan)[25] are also occasionally broadcast on state radio/television.

Languages spoken by the J & K Burusho community are Burushaski, Urdu and Kashmiri. With respect to second language proficiency in Urdu and Kashmiri, there are varying degrees of multilingualism among Burushos based on various social factors.

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[24] Total number of Dogri speakers is about 2.1 million in India (*Ethnologue* 2005).
[25] Total number of Ladakhi speakers is about one million in India (*Ethnologue* 2005) and about 12,000 in the Tibet region of China (*Wikipedia* 2005; See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ladakhi_language).

Most of the speakers are multilingual in Kashmiri, the majority language, and Urdu, the state official language. Many educated speakers, including the school-going children and college-going youth, therefore, are more proficient in Urdu than they are in Kashmiri. Educated Burushos also know English, which is a common language of communication for official and business purposes in India. Some members also speak some amount of Balti, a Tibetan language of the Sino-Tibetan language family, and very few Shina, a language belonging to the Dardic group of the Indo-Aryan language family.[26] These mostly include people who immigrated at later stages than the rest (e.g., as a result of matrimonial relationships with people from Gilgit in Pakistan or from Kargil in India).

Languages spoken at home among family members are mainly Burushaski, Urdu, and Kashmiri. Of these, Burushaski is the main language while Urdu and Kashmiri are used with varying degrees determined in terms of linguistic proficiency and social context. Languages spoken with members of Kashmiri community are Urdu and Kashmiri. A few families, however, that have chosen to live amongst the majority community and away from the Burushaski speech community have more or less shifted to Kashmiri, the majority language, speaking Burushaski only in special circumstances (such as during family visits to the main Burushaski community, and other social gatherings). Speakers often switch between Burushaski and Urdu, as well as between Burushaski and Kashmiri.

Linguistic influence from Urdu on JKB is primarily via second language speakers of Urdu. This is because Urdu is the second language of the people of the state of Jammu & Kashmir. On the other hand, linguistic contact with Kashmiri is mediated through first language or native speakers of Kashmiri. In addition to language contact via spoken interaction, contact with Urdu is also mediated through local media and television.

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[26] Dardic group of Indo-Aryan languages includes languages such as Kashmiri, Shina, Brokskat, Khowar, Kohistani, and Pashai (See Grierson 1919; Kachru 1969; Bashir 2003; Munshi 2005a).

Television is also a source of linguistic influence from Hindi, which is very close to Urdu.[27]

Because of their proficiency in Kashmiri as well as Urdu, and the use of Urdu in the public domain, the separate linguistic identity of J & K Burushos is sometimes unnoticed by the majority Kashmiri community. Despite the varying degrees of multilingualism and language change, however, J & K Burushos as a whole have successfully maintained their native language through several generations during their course of stay in the Indian-administered state of Jammu & Kashmir. Language of older generation males, especially in formal speech, and orally preserved religious poems, is heavily loaded with Persian words. This is because the forefathers of the community separated from Pakistani Burushaski at a point when the language of the elite class as well as that of administration was Persian. Persian was an integral part of the socio-cultural life of South Asia, especially northern India (i.e., the India of pre-1947 era, which included Pakistan) between the twelfth and the nineteenth centuries (See Alam 2003: 131). Being largely the language of the descendents of a royal family, this social dialect was, therefore, initially heavily influenced by Persian. This is revealed in orally preserved texts, especially religious poems (some recordings of which were made available by native speakers), and data from studies on Burushaski (e.g., Lorimer 1935-8 which provides several texts by a Hunza king collected in Hunza, presently in Pakistan). It is, therefore, assumed that the dialect was originally spoken by people of royal descent in Nagar as well as Hunza. In a sense, this variety could be argued to be a (hypothetical) "Standard Hunza/Nagar" variety in the conventional sense of the term "Standard" which is generally associated with the group of higher social status.

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[27] With the popularization of television, films, and other media in India, Urdu and Hindi are converging to a large extent.

The JKB variety is much closer to the Nagar dialect than to the Hunza dialect of Burushaski in several respects. Despite the fact that ancestors of many speakers of JKB were from Hunza, the Nagar variety is perceived as the "high" variety by many J & K Burushos because initially, among the J & K Burushos, the Nagar dialect was spoken by people of royal descent who had once ruled Hunza and Nagar and constituted the majority of the ancestral community. The Nagar forms of speech are, therefore, perceived to be the prestige forms in the community. This kind of language ideology is even more strikingly revealed in speakers whose ancestors had originally migrated from Hunza and whose speech is particularly "Nagar-like" in terms of retaining some of the archaic features lost in the parent dialect(s).

1.2.1.3. Linguistic Outcomes of Contact: A Brief Summary

As a result of community division and migration, Burushaski has differently evolved in different regions. Owing to intense contact with Indo-Aryan Kashmiri and Urdu, and isolation from the parent community in Pakistan for about 115 years, JKB has developed various linguistic features which make it systematically different from other dialects of Burushaski. Linguistic outcomes of contact in JKB are manifested in the form of changes affecting the various sub-systems of the language, viz., phonology, lexicon, morphology and syntax. Some of the changes include:

a.   Vowel syncopation: a sequence of open syllables of the type CV adjacent to each other (i.e., CV.CV.CV..) are replaced by closed syllables of the type (C)VC in JKB,

b.   Re-establishment of lexical borrowings through re-borrowing of lexical items originally phonologically nativized in Burushaski,

c.   Development of lexical differences with respect to other dialects,

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d.   Loss of certain grammatical features (for example, distinction between class features in terms of [+/-concrete] is in the process of being lost in nouns as well as verbs), and

e.   Innovation of linguistic features and structural convergence through contact (such as formation of tag questions and calques).

Many of these changes are analyzed and discussed at length in the later chapters of this study.

1.3 OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

1.3.1 Purpose of this study

The primary objective of the study is to provide a structural description of JKB – an undocumented variety of Burushaski, and to analyze the various forms of linguistic interference since its split from the major dialects of Burushaski spoken in Pakistan. It covers the various linguistic consequences of contact including the phenomena of borrowing, innovation, restructuring and simplification of linguistic features characterizing this particular sub-dialect of Burushaski. Changes are studied at lexical, phonological, and morpho-syntactic level.

My synchronic description of the grammar is concerned with the structural properties of the language. To some extent, the grammatical description is "functional" in the sense that it works its way down from larger to smaller structures. Grammatical description is preceded by the introduction of various speech forms in context. Forms of sentences (syntax) are studied before the forms of words (morphology). Because syntax and morphology are so interdependent, the term "morpho-syntax" is used instead of

"syntax" in this study. The grammatical analyses are based on data recorded in J & K in the form of natural conversations, stories, oral poetry, and elicited words and sentences.

My approach to the study of language contact and contact influence is based on an analytical framework following Thomason & Kaufman (1988). Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 35) argue that "it is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language change". For them, purely linguistic considerations, although highly relevant, are "strictly secondary" because linguistic interference "is conditioned in the first instance by social factors, not linguistic ones" (ibid.). They further maintain that "both the direction of interference and the extent of interference are socially determined; so, to a considerable degree, are the kinds of features transferred from one language to another" (ibid.). I agree with Thomason & Kaufman's claim in this regard and present the case of JKB as additional evidence to support their claim. In the chapters dedicated to the study of contact-induced change we will see that although linguistic factors may be the cause for some kinds of change in the affected language (JKB), social factors play a key role not only in determining the direction and extent of change, they also play a major role in determining the types of change in the target language as well as the kinds of features transferred from the source language into its grammar/structure. This is revealed by JKB borrowing strategy and structural interference phenomena discussed in Part III of this study.

1.3.2 Data and Methodology

The primary research method employed in this study is recording, transcription, and translation of naturally occurring discourse, including conversations, story-telling

and other verbal behavior, as well as elicitation of words and sentences. The study follows a discourse-centered approach (Urban, 1991; Sherzer 1987) which focuses on observing how and for what purposes the native speakers actually use their language in everyday life. Such an approach is aimed at deepening the understanding of the language-culture-society relationship. The nature of this sort of research requires the investigator not only to observe and analyze the various linguistic practices of the community but also to participate in as many different aspects of their life as possible.

The database mainly consists of naturally occurring conversations, story-telling sessions, and other verbal behavior in JKB, as well as elicited words, sentences and field notes from participant observation. Several recordings were made in different social settings and from different age groups. This was done by asking the consultants to narrate oral traditions describing the history of the community, their cultural and linguistic practices as well as recording naturally occurring conversations and other oral/verbal performances. The data were primarily digitally recorded on audio-discs. In an effort to obtain a more thorough analysis and understanding of the language, supplementary, duplicate copies of the data were also recorded on audiotapes and videotapes.[28] Many of the audio and video recordings were made in absence of the investigator (author) with the help of a native speaker to combat the *observer's paradox*. These recordings are an integral part of the author's pursuits in language documentation and analyses for the present study and will also be an important source of information for any future research in relation or in continuation to this study. Many recordings will be made available for documentation and archiving at a point in near future.[29]

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[28] Members of the community, especially women, were hesitant to be video-recorded although audio recordings were quite easy to obtain. Following the request of native speakers, some of the recordings will be exclusively kept as the author's personal possessions.

[29] A few recordings were requested to be kept only by the investigator for linguistic research purposes. These recordings may not be made available for use by other individuals and will be destroyed after use by the investigator.

A large portion of the data was transcribed and translated with the help of native speakers while some data was also independently transcribed by the author. Translations are based on native speaker consultations. However, the author solely accepts the responsibility of any errors or mistakes. The texts were prepared in two formats: (i) text only, without any translation, and (ii) breakdown of the first format into clauses with detailed grammatical information for linguistic purposes at one level and translation into English at a second level. The author is committed to make the written material obtained through this project available to the Burushaski speech community in Srinagar by offering them copies of the research outcomes.

The study attempts to provide explanation of possible influences and their evaluation based on comparing the data collected by the author in India with that of the available literature on the Pakistani varieties of Burushaski as well as direct information gathered with the help of some native speakers of Pakistani varieties settled in the United States.[30] To identify the contact-induced changes in JKB the study relies on many different sources of information: (i) the available literature on Burushaski, viz., Lorimer (1935-8), Berger (1959-98), Biddulph (1977, latest edition; original work appeared in 1880), Leitner (1889), Morgenstierne (1945), Tiffou (1982-2000), Backstrom (1992), and others which provide a huge corpus of data and texts based on the Pakistani Burushaski, (ii) the available historical literature on the contact languages, viz., Grierson (1909-1919), Masica (1976-1992), Bubenik (1996), Morgenstierne (1941-1947), Turner (1966), Munshi (2001a & b, unpublished), and others, and (iii) the data collected by the author

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[30] The latter include Dr. Nasir-ud-din Nasir Hunzai, his associates and family members, viz., Mrs. Shahnaz Hunzai, Mr. Amin-ud-Din Hunzai, and Mrs. Ruhi Hunzai. Dr. Hunzai is a native speaker of Hunza Burushaski and is settled in Austin, Texas, along with his family members who are also native speakers of Burushaski. He has collaborated with Tiffou (1993) on his work on *Burushaski Proverbs*, and with Berger on the first Burushaski-German dictionary compiled in 1998. He is also the chief patron of the Burushaski Research Academy, which was established in Pakistan in 1980s to promote research on Burushaski language and its survival. Mrs. Shahnaz Hunzai is a research associate at the Burushaski Research Academy who constantly visits the United States.

mainly in India and also in the United States which gave her first-hand knowledge on the language and its grammar, and her linguistic research and knowledge of the languages in contact. The principal languages of interaction employed in the study were Kashmiri and Urdu, which the author is a native (and near-native) speaker of. English was sometimes used with educated speakers.

The study has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board in accordance with federal regulations for review of research protocols under an "Expedited" category (IRB Approval-IRB Protocol #2003-04-0053; date of approval: 04/24/03).[31]

1.3.3 Transcription Code

Many symbols that I have used in transcribing the data in this study correspond to the symbols (or their close correspondents) used for describing Burushaski phonology by different authors and in books attempted at developing a standardized orthography for Burushaski. These are close to the symbols used in the International Phonetic Alphabet in general but with a few modifications in some cases because of limitations in the availability of particular fonts on my computer.

The following is a summary of symbols or abbreviations some of which may be deviations from the IPA or from the previous conventions for representing Burushaski:

i.   A tooth-shaped diacritic mark " " under a consonant is used to represent a dental stop (as opposed to alveolar without such a tooth).

ii.   *j* is used to represent palatal voiced affricate.

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[31] The study has received renewed approvals every year since the initial date of approval.

iii.   *c* and *cʰ* represent voiceless dental affricates, *ć* and *ćʰ* represent voiceless palatal affricates, while *ċ* and *ċʰ* represent retroflex affricates (non-aspirated and aspirated respectively in each pair).

iv.   *ṣ* and *ż* represent voiceless and voiced retroflex fricatives respectively.

v.   *ɽ* represents voiced retroflex approximant/glide.

1.3.4 Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into three main parts: Part I (Preliminaries) includes this introductory chapter (Chapter 1) which talks about the preliminaries to this study. Chapter 2 – "Speech Forms in Context", aims at walking the reader through the language as it is actually spoken in J & K. The second major purpose of this chapter is to focus on the importance of discourse centered approach.

Part II (Linguistic Description) includes chapters 3 to 6. Chapter 3 (Phonology) deals with the JKB word-level phonology. It provides an account of the JKB phonemic inventory and phonemic analysis, a description and analysis of the syllable structure and JKB phonotactics, an account of the basic stress patterns, and a description of some of the major phonological processes. Chapter 4 (Morpho-Syntax) provides a description of the constituent order typology (which includes an account of the basic phrase structure), grammatical relations and case marking, agreement patterns, and clause combination (e.g., complementation. relativization, coordination, and adverbial clause formation). Chapter 5 (Morphology) is divided into two main sections - inflectional morphology and derivational morphology. The section on inflectional morphology describes nouns and noun inflection, verbs and verb inflection, and modifiers. Derivational morphology is briefly discussed especially because derivation is only semi- productive in Burushaski. Chapter 6 (Dialectal Comparison) discusses some phonological, morphological, lexical,

and grammatical differences between the various dialects of Burushaski, viz., Yasin, Hunza, Nagar, and JKB. The main focus of this chapter are the differences between JKB and other dialects.

Part III (Language Contact and Change) includes three chapters (Chapter 7, 8 and 9) and covers the various linguistic consequences of contact including the phenomena of borrowing, innovation, restructuring and simplification of linguistic features characterizing this particular sub-dialect of Burushaski. Chapter 7 describes and analyzes lexical borrowings in JKB. It discusses the adaptation and integration of lexical borrowings, attested patterns and innovations. Chapter 8 studies various structural consequences of contact including contact-induced phonological change (e.g., vowel syncopation), impacts on morpho-syntax (e.g., phrasal correspondences, new verb formations, structural innovations), and structural simplification (e.g., loss of features) in JKB. Chapter 9 (Theoretical Implications) is the concluding chapter which discusses the theoretical implications of the study in terms of language contact and its importance in the broader framework of contact linguistics.

Chapter 2: Speech Forms in Context

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I introduce through discourse, some features of the language that are the focus of this study. This is done in order to achieve two important goals. The main purpose is to acquaint the reader with the fundamental aspects of the language, discussed at a detail later in this study. This, in turn, will be a basis to achieve the second objective which is to highlight the importance of the methodology employed in this study, that is, the discourse-centered approach (Urban, 1991).

Both text and elicited data are essential components in describing various aspects a language and each has its own advantages and disadvantages. By "text" here, I mean a real, non-hypothetical sample of language used by the native speaker to accomplish a communicative task. The term "elicitation" refers to hypothetical or synthesized samples of language which are produced by the native speaker to achieve a communicative task specified, say, for instance, by a linguist studying one or more aspects of that language (See Payne 1997:366). This is generally achieved via a common language shared between the native speaker and the linguist (e.g., Kashmiri, Urdu or English in the present case) to fulfill a metalinguistic request on the part of the linguist. For example, in this study the author would request the native speaker to tell her: how he/she would say "X", "Y", or "Z" in his/her language; what other possibilities, if any, were available to him/her to say the same thing; how would another person "A", "B", or "C" say "X", "Y", or "Z" in a different context; and so on. Elicitation is important where certain minute details cannot likely or possibly be achieved through natural discourse or through preserved texts, however huge the corpus may be. It is especially helpful with respect to

the more or less systematically controlled and rule-governed parts of the grammar such as:

a. Construction and completion of phonemic inventory (e.g. by means of minimal or near minimal pairs);

b. Forming paradigms in the inflectional morphology (e.g., Person, Number and Gender marking patterns and Case inventories);

c. Derivational inventories (e.g., noun formation patterns (nominalization));

d. Morphophonemic analyses;

e. Lexical inventories for certain noun classes (e.g. words for numerals, days of the week, body parts, kinship terms, and various other so-called "basic" vocabulary items, and culturally specific things and activities).

While elicitation is employed as a tool to fill various gaps, especially in the area of grammatical description in terms of completion of paradigms and formation of inventories, texts and discourse are used as a foundation towards the broader aims of this study. This is because the more pragmatic, semantic and subtle aspects of a language are best analyzed through text data and discourse. For instance, it could be very difficult and perhaps impossible to obtain complete information on such aspects of language through elicitation as:

a. Stress and intonation;

b. Constituent order typology;

c. Determining the functions of morphemes in inflectional and derivational morphology;

d. Occurrence and usage of sentence-level particles (e.g., infinitive, evidential, etc.);

e.   Subordination and clause combining (e.g., relativization, coordination, complementation, and adverbial clause formation);

f.   Poetic structure of the verbal message (e.g., pause structure, turn-taking, repetition, and use of discourse markers);

g.   Analysis of sociolinguistic details (such as politeness strategies, forms/patterns of address, and language attitudes);

h.   Language phenomena such as lexical borrowing and codeswitching

The present study relies on text and discourse as a foundation to the major aims of the project while elicitation is used as a supplementary tool to achieve specific goals in terms of getting minute details, completing the paradigms, and filling in gaps (as mentioned earlier). In the following sections I attempt to walk the reader through samples of J & K Burushaski as it is actually spoken and analyze some basic features of the language otherwise hidden in a pure elicitation method. This is very important towards an understanding of the importance of discourse-centered approach and its many formal facets. I will present a variety of forms of JKB discourse along with various ways of representation, translation and analysis. I will make samples from the following three types of genre as the basis for my discussion: (a) narrative, (b) everyday speech, and (c) poetry.

Despite the linguistically-oriented goals of this study, in this chapter the readers will be able to see how such an approach provides valuable information and knowledge which cuts across several distinct disciplines. On the basis of each of these texts I will briefly point out some linguistic, sociolinguistic and cultural/historical features of importance which might otherwise be missed through elicitation method. The texts are

provided in order to understand their linguistic complexity and sense the richness of their content.

2.1 NARRATIVE

Often narratives provide a large corpus of data which offers different kinds of information on a language – linguistic, ethnographic, cultural, as well as historical. Many narratives and stories were recorded during this project. Each of these recordings is unique in its own way depending on the age, profession and gender of the native speaker, as well as in terms of the content or topic of the narrative. From children's stories and personal accounts, to historical legends and religious stories, these narratives are foundational to understanding the many different aspects of the JKB society, its language, history and culture.

Some of the best story-tellers in the JKB community were: Raja Jamsheed Ali Khan (or "Jamsheed Sahab"), Raja Safdar Ali Khan (or "Masterji", the principle language consultant of this study), Raja Mehboob Ali Khan[32] (or "Mehboob Lala"), and Raja Tasleem Khan among men, and "Mimi", and Gulzar Auntie among women. Excerpts from two of my favorite narratives are provided in the following sections.

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[32] Mehboob Lala offered some important information about the migration. According to him Raja Azur (Uzar in earlier literature) Khan and his entourage were all from Nagar. His (Mehboob Lala's) father was Raja Mohammad Akbar Khan. Akbar Khan's father was Raja Saadat Ali Khan. The latter's father was Raja Reihan Ali Shah, brother of Raja Salim Khan and Raja (?) Khan. The latter's son, Ghazanfar Ali(?) Khan was the "waali" of Hunza. He also had migrated to Kashmir. It is not known at this point whether Ghazanfar Ali (?) Khan's descendants lived elsewhere or within the same community.

2.1.1 Text I: The Story of Shiri Badat

The Story of Shiri Badat: narrated by Raja Jamsheed Ali Khan[33]

This story was narrated by Raja Jamsheed Ali Khan ("Jamsheed Sahab", a 65-year old male). According to Jamsheed Sahab, the narrative is an actual historical account about the origin of his community (presumably the JKB community who more or less descended from the same family, but he could have very well meant many other people who are currently in Pakistan). [34] The narrative is about an hour long with rich historical, geographical and socio-cultural details. The story, as per narrator, has been passed on from generation to generation, and is believed to be based on actual, historical events. Part of the legend, however, appears to be semi-mythical or fictionized given that one of the main characters, Shiri Badat, is depicted as a semi-human figure who had a "body made of iron" (<c^humar-e $idim$; where c^humar means 'iron' and $idim$ 'his body) , and a "heart made of vegetable oil or butter" (*maḻṭaś* 'vegetable oil/butter').[35]

Shiri Badat is portrayed as a very strong and cruel person (perhaps a demon, or *ḍeva:ku* in Burushaski) who ought to be killed because "he had started eating young children for his meals". The story talks about a plot contrived by Shiri Badat's ministers to get him killed with the help of a Persian prince who had traveled to the native land of

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[33] I am using the unconventional spelling "Shiri" for the more conventional term "Shri" owing to the way it was pronounced by the narrator ("Shri" comes from Indo-Aryan *ṣ.ṭi* which has acquired various meanings in such as 'mister, sir, etc.').

[34] I am using the term "Sahab" with the first name (Jamsheed) following the common practice in the region as well as trying to avoid any confusion in terms of various consultants given that the family names of all the speakers are the same (X/Y/Z Khan, and starting with the family title "Raja"). "Sahab" is an address term of respect used for males and is widely used in South Asia (India and Pakistan), especially in Muslims but, also among non-Muslims. So, "Jamsheed Sahab" will be translated into English as 'Mr. Jamsheed'. Notice the use of first name (Jamsheed) and not the family name (Raja or Khan) which is again a very common practice in South Asia. First, Last/Family or even the middle name of a person can be used to address that person.

[35] Jamsheed Sahab also used the Persian term *ro:yi:n-ṯan* for him which he translated as 'iron-body'. The native speaker who helped me with the translation was unable to tell whether Jamsheed Sahab said *eṣ* 'his neck' or *es* 'his heart' in context with Sri Badat. Both of us, however, agreed on the possibility of it being *es* 'his heart'.

Burushos (currently in Pakistan) from Iran several centuries ago (The prince was probably wanting to seek refuge from the invading Arab/Islamic forces according to the story, as maintained by Jamsheed Sahab). According to the narrative, Shiri Badat's daughter and the Persian prince (who is claimed to have descended from a Persian king named "Naushervan-e Adil", i.e., 'Adil of Naushervan') fell in love, and married each other. As per this story, it is the progeny of this marriage that constituted the ancestors of the J & K Burushos and perhaps some other people currently living in Pakistan. The proposed approximate date of occurrence of the events, however, conflicts with attested historical facts. In the narrative Jamsheed Sahab claims that the event took place fourteen or fifteen hundred years ago and before the advent of Islam in Iran when people in the (present-day) Iran were still Zoroastrians by religion. But the fact that "Adil" (< Arabic *?a:ḏil* 'one who does justice') is an Arabic Muslim name is a counterargument to the authenticity of this claim. It is very likely that the event (in the case that the story were true, and there actually was a king named "Shiri Badat" in the region), took place at a period (immediately) after the advent of Islam in the Persian lands when Persian influence on the South Asian region had not yet begun. However, in absence of access to any external evidence, nothing can be said with certainty.[36] Jamsheed Sahab himself was skeptical of the authenticity of Shiri Badat, given the claims about his "body made of iron and heart made of vegetable oil". It could also be possible that some references were entirely figurative (or metaphorical) and that the events, or some series of events somehow linked to these now mystic ones, did take place in reality.

In the following section I introduce some excerpts from this very long and interesting narrative. I start with some sociolinguistic background and contextual information.

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[36] Arabic conquest of Iran was roughly in the 7th century, which was soon followed by the region's inhabitants' conversion to Islam, rapidly in the urban and fairly slowly in the rural areas.

2.1.1.1 Sociolinguistic Information

The primary audience during the entire performance was Jamsheed Sahab's 25 years old daughter, Salma. The narrative was recorded by Salma at the author's request. At the onset of the narrative-telling session, the author was also present. One or two other people also visited for short intervals but they did not play any significant role and left shortly after entering the room. Languages shared between the author of this study and the native speakers of JKB are Urdu and Kashmiri. Kashmiri is the author's native language while Urdu is a second language of all three.

Jamsheed Sahab starts the narrative in Urdu, giving some background information to the author and then shifts to Burushaski. After a few minutes the author leaves the event with Salma as the only audience. The actual narrative is about an hour or more long, roughly thirty pages of transcribed text in the database.

2.1.1.2 Text with broad English translation

Translation in English is placed next to an utterance. JKB forms are in a regular Times font. Words in **bold** letters are in **Urdu**, those underlined are in Kashmiri, and those in ***bold italics*** are from ***English***. Words highlighted in Gray are emphasized by the speaker with a certain intonation. Dots "…." indicate a short pause whereas a longer pause is designated in English as "(Pause)". All metalinguistic information is given in *Italics*. Similar conventions will be followed in other data sets that follow in this chapter unless specified otherwise.

Part I

Jamsheed Sahab, the narrator, addressing the author, begins with some historical background of the long narrative he is about to narrate.

JAMSHEED:

ćauḍa:n panḍra:n sav sa:l,	**Fourteen, fifteen hundred years,**	(1)
us se pehle ka: bʰi: hæ,	**(It is of) even before that,**	(2)
le:kin bas…..*(Pause)*	**But just**…..*(Pause)*	(3)
ek a:ḍmi t̪ʰa:….	**(There) was a man….**	(4)
laḍa:kʰ ke kisi: ra:je ka: ladka:….	**Son of some king of Ladakh…**	(5)
t̪amis o:s "kisar" na:v.	His name was "Kisar"	(6)

SADAF:

ummm…	*ummm…*	(7)

JAMSHEED:

aćʰa! us-ke ba:ḍ us ka: ladka:…..	**Alright! After that/him, his son….**	(8)
(Long pause) …...."bugar t̪ʰam",	*(Long pause)* **…...**"Bugar Tham (King)",	(9)
us-ke ba:ḍ us ka: ladka:….	**After that/him, his son….**	(10)
(Pause)……. "agur t̪ʰam",	*(Pause)*……. "Agur Tham (King)",	(11)
us-ke ba:ḍ us ka: ladka:	**After that/him, his son….**	(12)
us ka na:m t̪ʰa:…	**His name was….**	(13)
jis ka:… jis ka: t̪a:ri:x mein..*(Pause)*	**Of him**…. **of him, in history**..*(Pause)*	(14)
t̪ʰoda vaza:haṭ ke sa:t̪ʰ hæ…..	**a little detailed account is (there)**	(15)
zya:ḍa vaza:haṭ nahi: …bas…	**Not with much detail**….**just**….	(16)
un[37] ka: na:m t̪ʰa:.. "śiri: baḍaṭ" …	**His name was …. "Shri Badaṭ"**	(17)
	………(Story continues as Part II below)	

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Part II

Salma asks a question regarding the origin of the community.

SALMA:

ẹte **maṭlab** mi: asli:..	Its **meaning** (is) we originally..	(18)
amis mi: **śuru**…..	that our **beginning**….	(19)
es lada:kʰ-cum biya-a?	that is from Ladakh?	(20)

JAMSHEED:

ẹt(e) **zama:na**-lu muːṭu,	In that **period** (and) now,	(21)
alag-alag *situation* (ḍila)…	there is a **different** *situation* (in each)	(22)
mas(l)an laḍa:kʰ **alag** ḍila *(Pause)*	**For example**, Ladakh is **separate***(Pause)*	(23)
kargil…kargil **alag** ḍila, *aaaa,*	Kargil….Kargil is **separate**, *aaaaa*	(24)
ẹt **hinḍusṭa:n**-e ka:t ḍila,	That is with **Hindustan** (India),	(25)
askarḍu: ḍila, gi:lṭ ḍila, *aaa…*	(There) is Skardu, (there) is Gilgit, *aaa..*	(26)
ẹte **ala:va** jotruko-jotruko ḍiśimiŋ bicaŋ	**Besides** that, are many small places. ...	(27)

(The narrator continues with more background information not included here)

Part III

JAMSHEED:

śiri baḍaṭ but **za:lim** bam	Shri Badat was very **cruel.**	(28)
inṭiha:yi za:lim bam	(He) was **extremely cruel.**	(29)
baḍ‑qirḍa:r insa:n bam	(He) was a **bad charactered human.**	(30)
ṭama:m ri?a:ya: in cum **na:-xuś** bam	**All subjecthood** was **unhappy** with him	(31)

> *(The story continues. The narrator talks about his uncle from whom he heard the story and his strong memory. He then talks about one of his king forefathers (perhaps Raja Azur Khan), and some female ancestors all of whom used to tell this story and passed had thus on the legend. Then he gets back to the story as follows)*

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[37] Note that Jamsheed Sahab used the plural form [un-ka] 'their' in Urdu to refer to Shri Badat here.

Part IV

JAMSHEED:

in śiri baḍaṭe **vazi:r**iśu ke buṭ **taŋ ḍu:** bam,	Shri Badat' **minister**s were very **annoyed,**	(32)
bes ke sis uṣuċu bam.	because he used to eat humans.	(33)
sis pʰaṣ maya:r ḍu:man….	The population started to be finished...	(34)
…ḍa: java:yu!	…. And (that too) young (people)!	(35)
magar, oselu au baliċi bim,	**But**, it was not comprehensible to them	(36)
kʰinare besen eċan.	(as to) what to do with him.	(37)
but **kośiś** eṭuman ke,	They made strong **effort,**	(38)
magar inare śaṭ ayeṭuman	**but** they could not overpower him	(39)
in muṭu **ira:ni: śahza:ḍa** ele-i amin bam	Now, that **Persian prince** was here only,	(40)
ke...ine hin **vazi:r**an………	so.. a **minister** of him…….	(41)
ine i:k ḍilum, seya ba:n, jataylo:tu.	His name was, they say, Jataylotu	(42)

Broad English Translation

Part I

JAMSHEED: About fourteen or fifteen hundred years ago, or even before that, there was a man named Kisar. He was the son of a king of Ladakh. After him, was his son, Bugar Tham (=King Bugar), and after him, was his son, Agur Tham (=King Agur). After that was his son about whom there is some mention in the literature and his name was Shri Badat.

Part II

SALMA: It means we were originally from Ladakh, isn't it?

JAMSHEED: There is a difference between the (geographical) situation of the present time and of that period. For example, Ladakh and Kargil are separate now (but earlier they were not). They are with Hindustan (India). Then we have Skardu

and Gilgit.[38] In addition, we also have various other small places (which were not there at that time).

Part III

JAMSHEED: Shri Badat was extremely very cruel. He was a bad-charactered man. All his subjects were unhappy with him.

Part IV

JAMSHEED: Shri Badat's ministers were annoyed because he ate humans, especially youths, and, thus, the population was decreasing. They did not know what to do with him (or how to stop/fight him). Despite their strong efforts, they could not overpower him. At this point, that Persian prince (whose mention was made at a different occasion in the narrative) was here (in Shri Badat's territory). One of Shri Badat's ministers, whose name, they say, was Jataylotu.

2.1.1.3 Preliminary Analysis

Taking a very quick look at the excerpts of the story above, we can make a few broad generalizations about language use in the community. As is typical of most multilingual situations, language use and code selection is sensitive to the sociolinguistic context of the utterance. In the beginning (Part I), the narrator provides some background information in a language to which everyone in the room is familiar with, i.e., Urdu. Another reason to use Urdu in the beginning is that the context is still very formal and the narrator has not reached a comfort level at which he would speak in only Burushaski as requested by the author. There is also an instance of a Kashmiri sentence (Line (6))- perhaps a token of respect for the author's first language (Kashmiri), which implies that the narrator is taking into consideration the native language of the investigator while in the rest of the introduction he is addressing two types of audience: native Burushaski

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[38] While Skardu is in India, Gilgit is in Pakistan at present.

(Salma) and native Kashmiri (Sadaf) speakers who share Urdu, the more prestigious language, and Kashmiri. The story-teller then shifts to Burushaski (Part II) and continues the story in the same language throughout (in Part II, Part III, and Part IV). This section of the story above represents the language (i.e., JKB) as it is spoken in actual Burushaski contexts.

The data provides some historically important information about Burushaski. For instance, names of the kings are an important clue towards investigating issues about the history of Burushaski language and its development. Thus "Kisar", "Bugar" and "Agur" (in Line (6), (9), and (11) respectively) may be argued to be old Burushaski names, being the names of kings who ruled at a very early stage. Notice that names of these kings are followed by *tʰam*, the Burushaski term for 'king'. However, the name of a king who presumably ruled at a comparatively later stage starts with "Shri" which comes from *ṣri* - an Indo-Aryan term for respect when addressing a male. This could possibly have been a period of Indo-Aryan, and was perhaps followed by later Iranian, influence. Another old Burushaski name mentioned in the text is that of the minister "Jataylotu", no longer used among modern Burushos.

Analyzing the excerpt from a linguistic point of view we can make a few broad generalizations about the language. In terms of bilingualism and language contact, an interesting thing to note at the very first glance is the presence of words from Urdu interspersed throughout a Burushaski matrix. These include **nouns** (such as, *śuru* 'beginning', *zama:na* 'time/period', *maṭlab* 'meaning',[39] *insa:n* 'human', *ri?a:ya:* 'subjecthood'), **adjectives** (such as, *alag* 'separate', *za:lim* 'cruel', *baḍqirḍa:r* 'bad charactered', *na:xuś* 'unhappy'), **adverbs** (such as, *inṭiha:yi* 'extremely'), as well as **quantifiers** (such as, *ṭama:m* 'entire; all'). By simply reading the above text, we can also

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[39] *maṭlab* is also a very common areal discourse marker borrowed from Arabic (perhaps via Persian)

make some basic guesses about the phonological system and phonemic inventory of Burushaski such as: presence of voiced as opposed to voiceless consonants (e.g., *t* and *d* in Line 21), presence of retroflex as opposed to dental consonants (e.g., *s* and *ṣ* in Line 33), presence of aspirated as opposed to unaspirated stop consonants (e.g., *kʰ* and *k* in Line 37 and Line 38 respectively), presence of dental as opposed to palatal affricates (e.g., *c* in Line 20 and *ć* in Line 36), vowel length (e.g., *a* in *bam* in Line 28 and *a:* in *ka:t* in Line 25), and, closed as opposed to open syllable structure (e.g., *bam* in Line 28 and *ḍi.la* in Line 25), etc.

In order to have a better and deeper understanding of the language and its grammar, we need another way of representation which will provide us detailed information on different systems of the language, its phonology, morphology and syntax. A morpheme-to-morpheme translation of parts of the text provided in the following section is more linguistically oriented.

2.1.1.4 Linguistic Transcription of Selected Sections of the Text

Following is a morpheme-to-morpheme linguistic transcription and translation of some sections of the story of Shri Badat. Transcription of some sentences includes parallel translation into Urdu. This is done in order to illustrate the presence of a one-to-one typological correspondence between Burushaski and Urdu. Thus, in each such set in the following data, the first and second line is the utterance in JKB transcribed according to linguistic conventions and its morphemic translation respectively; third and fourth line is the corresponding form of the utterance in Urdu and its morphemic translation respectively; and fifth line constitutes an approximate English translation. Elsewhere (where an Urdu parallel is not provided) English translation is given in the third line.

Note that the data set is not necessarily a continuous string. Sentences from various sections of the story of Shri Badat are provided. The main focus here is the analysis of broad typological and linguistic features of the language.

a. śiri   baḍaṭ   but   **za:lim** bam   [JKB]
    Shri   Badat   very   cruel   be.Past.[+h]   (Morpheme gloss)
    śiri   baḍaṭ   bahut za:lim tʰa: [URDU parallel]
    Shri   Badat   very   cruel   be.Past.SgM   (Morpheme gloss)
    'Shri Badat was very cruel'   (English translation)

b. **ṭama:m**   ri?a:ya: in-cum   **na:xuś**   bam
    entire   subjecthood.Abs   3SgM-from   unhappy   be.Past.[+h]
    ṭama:m   ri?a:ya: us-se   na:xuś   tʰi:
    entire   subjecthood.Abs (F) 3Sg.Obl-from unhappy   was. SgF.
    'Entire subjecthood was unhappy with/because of him'

c. mi: uyum big nana,   um-e-re   go-s-ete   au   meimi
    our   big uncle, 2Sg-Gen-Dat 2Sg-remembrabce-on Neg   exist.Fut.
    hama:ra bada: ma:ma:, tujʰ-e   ya:ḍ   nahi: hoga:
    our   big uncle, 2Sg. Gen-Dat. remembrance   Neg   exist.Fut.SgM.
    'Our elder uncle….You won't remember'

d. ama:lu **ma:ma**-a   y-u:
    Amaalu uncle-Gen 3Sg-father.QI
    ama:lu **ma:ma**-ka ba:p.QI
    Amaalu uncle-Gen father.QI
    '(Is it) Amaalu Uncle's father?'

e.   ama:lu **ma:ma**-a   y-u: be
        Amaalu uncle-Gen   3Sg-father NEG
        ama:lu **ma:ma**-ka ba:p   nahi
        Amaalu uncle-Gen father   NEG
       '(No), not Amaalu Uncle's father,

        kʰin,   ali maḏaṯ   ke   ḏavlaṯ-e   bapa
        this.[+h] Ali Madat and   Daulat-Gen grandfather
        yeh,   ali maḏaṯ   aur   ḏaulaṯ-ka   ḏa:ḏa:/na:na:
        this   Ali Madat   and   Daulat-Gen grandfather
       '…..This, Ali Madat and Daulat's grandfather'

f.   mi: śiri baḏaṯ-e   **nasɨl**-ucum   ba:n   **na**
        1Pl Shri Badat-Gen.[-F]   progeny-from   be.Pres.Pl NEG.QI
        ham śiri baḏaṯ ki: nasɨl-se   hæ̃   **na**
        1Pl Shri Badat Gen.SgF progeny(F)-from   be.Pres.Pl NEG.QI
       'We are from Shri Badat's progeny, no?'

g.   śiri baḏaṯ-e   **nasɨl**-ucum   a-   pa:n….
        Shri Badat-Gen.[-F] progeny-from   NEG- be.Pres.Pl
        śiri baḏaṯ-ki   **nasɨl**-se   nahi: hæ̃ ….
        Shri Badat-Gen.SgF progeny(F)-from   NEG   be.Pres.Pl
       '(We) are not from Shri Badat's progeny….

h.   ….mi ba:n   śiri baḏaṯ-e   e-y-mo   **nasɨl** -ucum
         1Pl be.Pres.Pl Shri Badat-Gen.[-F]   3SgM-daughter-Gen.FSg progeny-from
        ….ham hæ̃   śiri baḏaṯ-ki   beti-ki   **nasɨl** -se
         1Pl. be.Pres.Pl Shri Badat-Gen.SgF   daughter- Gen.SgF   progeny(F)-from
       '…. We are from Shri Badat's daughter's progeny'

Linguistic Analysis

Based on the above representations some basic and important generalizations about the language and its grammar can be made. For example, JKB is a head final language with an SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) word order as is evident from examples in Lines (a), (b), (c), and (d) above. It possesses postpositions. Word order is not strictly fixed as is observed in the example in Line (h) above where inflected verb is moved to second position in the sentence. It is typologically very close to Urdu, and perhaps other areal languages, with an almost one-to-one word order correspondence. Negation and Tag Question formation strategies also resemble that of Urdu (and presumably other areal languages). Consider examples (c) and (g) above for Negation, and example (f) for Tag Question formation. Even the Case system seems to be very similar in the two languages at the very first glance. Yes-No Questions are also similarly formed with a Question Intonation (QI) at the end of the clause (See (f) above for example).

If we take a closer look in terms of morphology, we observe that JKB possesses pronominal prefixes in certain nouns. Thus, words for nouns such as 'memory', 'father', and 'daughter' are literally 'your memory', 'his father' and 'his daughter" respectively, with pronominal prefix agreeing with the Possessor (noun/pronoun). We will see in Chapter 5 (Morphology) that Burushaski makes a distinction between inherently possessed as opposed to non-inherently possessed nouns. It is the inherently possessed nouns which contain pronominal prefixes. Another interesting observation based on the data above is that Genitive Case ending also agrees in Gender with the Possessor in Burushaski. In Urdu, on the other hand, the Genitive ending agrees with the Possessee – a typical Indo-Aryan feature. Thus, in examples (f), (g), and (h) above the Genitive ending –*e* agrees with 'Shri Badat', the possessor noun (Masculine) while the Urdu –*ki* agrees with the possessed noun 'progeny' (Feminine). In (c) we note that the Dative case is

preceded by a Genitive ending in JKB, and, in Urdu, the Dative case appears on the Oblique form of the NP. We will see later in Chapter 5 (Morphology) that Genitive ending also behaves like an Oblique case in Burushaski.

We also observe some morphophonological processes taking place in the data, for example, hardening of consonants after negation. Thus, we have *ba:n ~ -pa:n* variants for 'be.Pres.Pl' in examples (f) and (g) (Note *a-pa:n* is derived from *au* 'NEG' + *ba:n* 'be.Pres.Pl').

2.1.2 Text II: The Story of an Old Man and a King

ȶʰam ke mapʰe:r '(the) king and (the) old man': a story by Master-Ji

Two stories were narrated by Raja Safdar Ali Khan[40] or "Master-Ji": *loi ke bi:ro* '(the) fox and (the) cock', and *ȶʰam ke mapʰe:r* '(the) king and (the) old man'. In this section, I will analyze sections of the story *ȶʰam ke mapʰe:r*.

2.1.2.1 Sociolinguistic Information

Following is an excerpt from *ȶʰam ke mapʰe:r* '(the) king and (the) old man' narrated by Masterji (Raja Safdar Ali Khan). The primary audience during the entire performance was the author. Masterji was trying to speak in an all-Burushaski linguistic code. Again, JKB forms are in a regular Times font. Words in **bold** letters are from **Urdu**. Dots "…." indicate a short pause whereas a longer pause is indicated in English as "*(Pause)*". Translation in English is given next to the utterance.

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[40] Most of the male names end in Khan.

2.1.2.2 Text with broad English translation
Part I

mapʰe:rere le:l apim	The old man didn't know	(1)
ke in̪ t̪ʰam bai, nusenin.	that he is the king, having said.	(2)
ke menen śua sisan….	That some noble man….	(3)
śua gatoŋik nupelin ye:cum kʰene,	After seeing the man wearing nice clothes,	(4)
"śua sisan maimi", nusenin.	"(He) may be a nice man", having said	(5)
t̪ʰame inere ju: etimi.	The king greeted him.	(6)
ju: e̪tas xa: ke,	After doing the greeting,	(7)
mapʰere ine ju: pʰar e̪timi.	the old man greeted him back.	(8)
ine d̪uɣarusimi…	He asked him….	(9)
xe:r-xe:riya̪t d̪uɣarusimi.	He asked about his **welfare/well-being**.	(10)
d̪uɣarusin, i:mo d̪uro:lu girimi.	Having asked, he got back to his work.	(11)
d̪a: girmin t̪ʰame d̪eɣurusimi	Again (???) the king asked,	(12)
"le mapʰe:r!	"Hey old man!	(13)
ume kʰo̪t t̪um e:gicu ba?	You are planting this tree?	(14)
d̪a ke besik bu:tik e:gicu ba?	And that you are planting so many?	(15)
ume ja:re sena:,	You tell me,	(16)
kʰoke t̪umicaŋ ne:gin, ese…	having planted these trees, these…	(17)
beśal esere **pʰal**o yeimi	When will these yield **fruit**s	(18)
ke ese **me:va t̪aya:r** maimi	or its **fruit** will be **ready**	(19)
ke ume şicuma?	and you will eat?	(20)
um….	You….	(21)
gui akʰo:rma:n **umur**an d̪eśxal̪ti bi?	How much of your life is left?	(22)
but aśa̪:to gumanu ba.	You are so weak.	(23)
umare **umi:d̪** d̪ila:	Do you have **expectation**	(24)
ke ume ese **pʰal**o şicuma? "	that you will eat its **fruit**s?"	(25)

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Broad English Translation

'The old man did not know that he was the king, having said (DM). He thought that he was some noble man. After seeing him wearing nice clothes, he (the old man) thought that he might be some nice/noble man, having said (DM). The king greeted him. After the king's greeting, the old man greeted him back. He asked about his (the king's) welfare and well-being. After asking about the king's welfare, the old man got back to his work. After that the king asked him, "O old man! You are planting this tree? And you are planting so many (of them)? Tell me, having planted all these trees, when will they yield fruits? When will their fruits ripen and you will eat? How much of your life is left? You look so weak. Do you expect that you will (live long enough to) eat its fruits?"

2.1.2.3 Preliminary Analysis

There are fewer foreign words in this text as compared to the previous narrative which was recorded in less formal conditions. The only Urdu loans used in this sample are: *xe:r-xe:riya̱t* 'welfare, wellbeing', *pʰal* and *me:va* for 'fruit' (mostly cultural borrowings), and *t̪aya:r* 'ready'. It is important to note here that the narrator in this case deliberately tried to use as less "corrupted" a form of Burushaski as possible. Nevertheless, the complete sample contains many foreign words. After having listened to his own story, Master-Ji said, "This is not good. I will do it again". He wanted to do it again because he thought there were many "mistakes" by which he meant that there were several foreign words. Recognizing the importance of describing the language, Masterji was particularly careful to provide the author with as "pure" a form of his language as possible.

Just like before, some very broad and surface level linguistic generalizations can be made by looking at this text. In terms of phonology we can make some more guesses

in addition to what we did in the previous text, such as: presence of velar as opposed to dental and bilabial nasals (e.g., *-ŋ-* in *gatuŋik* in Line (4), *-n-* in *nusenin* in Line (2), and *–m-* in *meimi* in Line (5)); presence of voiceless as opposed to voiced uvular fricative (e.g., *x* in *xa:* in Line (7) and *ḍeśxaḻṭi* in Line (22) as opposed to *γ* in *ḍuγarusimi* in Line (9) and Line (10)), etc.

In order to look at other linguistic details more closely, we need a representation with morpheme-to-morpheme linguistic translation. This is given in the following section.

2.1.2.4 Linguistic Transcription of Selected Sections of the Text

Following is a morpheme-to-morpheme linguistic transcription and translation of sections of the story "the king and the old man". The main focus here is the analysis of important typological and linguistic features of the language.

a.   map^{h}e:r-e-re   le:l   a-pim   ke
    old man-Gen-Dat   knowledge   Neg-be.Pst.3[-h] that
    in   ṭ^{h}am bai,   nusenin[41]
    3sg king be.Pst.3SgM, having said (DM)
    'The old man didn't know that he was the king, *having said.*'

b.   ke men-an   śua sis-an,   śua gato-ŋ-ik   nu-pel-in
    that someone-Indef   good man-Indef., good dress-Pl-Indef.Pl   PPL-wear-PPL
    ye:cum   k^{h}ene   śua   sis-an   me-imi,   nu-sen(-in),
    see.Past3Sg   after that/then   good   man-Indef. exist-Past.3SgM PPL-say-PPL
    'That some nice/noble person…. Having seen him wearing good clothes, (the old man thought/understood that) he might be some nice man…..'

c. ‗tʰam-e   in-e-re   ju: et̮-imi,
    king-Erg   3SgM-Gen-Dat greeting do-Past.3SgM
    'The king greeted him'

d. ju: et̮-as   xa: ke,
    greeting do-Inf. afterwards   that,

    mapʰer-e   in-e   ju: pʰar   et̮-imi
    old man-Erg   3SgM-Gen   greeting back   do-Past.3SgM
    'After (king's) doing the greeting, the old man returned his greeting'

e. in-e   d̮uɣarus-imi,   **xe:r-xe:riyat̮**   d̮uɣarusimi,
    3SgM-Erg   ask-Past.SgM, welfare-wellbeing   ask-Past.SgM
    'He asked….he asked (his) welfare/ well-being,'

f. d̮uɣarus-in   i:mo   d̮uro-ulu   gir-imi
    ask-PPL   his own work-in   get back(?)-Past.3SgM
    'Having asked, he (the old man) got back to his own work'

g. ‗tʰam-e d̮eɣurus-imi   "le mapʰe:r! um-e   kʰot̮   ‗tum   e:git̮u
    king-Erg ask-Past.3SgM "O oldman! 2Sg-Erg   this[-c] tree   sow.Hab

    ba,   d̮a   ke   bes-ik   but-ik   e:git̮u   ba?
    be.Pres.2Sg,   and   also   how-Indef.Pl   many- Indef.Pl sow.Hab be.Pres.2Sg?
    'The king asked (the oldman), "Hey old man! You are sowing this tree, and then you are
    sowing so many (of them)?'

h. um-e   ja-a-re   sen   (n)a: kʰoke   ‗tum-ićaŋ   ne-eg-in
    2Sg-Erg   1Sg-Gen-Dat   tell.Imp NEG   these[-c] tree-Pl   PPL-sow-PPL
    es-e   beśal   ese-e-re   pʰal-o   ye:y-imi,
    this[+c]-gen when   this[+c]-Gen-Dat fruit-Pl   come-Past3Sg,

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ke	es-e	**me:va ṭaya:r**	meimi	ke	um-e şiċ-um-a
and	this[+c]-Gen	fruit(s) ready	exist-Past3Sg	that	2Sg-Erg eat.Fut2Sg-Q

'You tell me, (won't you), having sowed these trees, when will its fruits come, (and) when will its fruit ripen that you will eat?

i.

um-e	gu-i	akʰo:rma:n	**umur**-an	deśxaḻti	bi
2Sg-Gen	your-only	how much	age-Indef.	remain.Hab	be.Pres.3Sg

'How much of your (own) age is left?'

j.

um-e-re	**umi:ḍ**	ḍila-a
2Sg-Gen-Dat	expectation	be.Pres[-c]-Q

ke	um-e	es-e	**pʰal**-o şiċum-a
that	2Sg-Erg	this[+c]-Gen	fruit-Pl eat.Fut2Sg-Q

'Do you have expectation that you will eat its fruit?'

Linguistic Analysis

Based on the above representations we can make some generalizations about the language and its grammar besides those in the previous text. In morphology, for example, we see that the verb 'be' has at least two distinct forms in the present tense, viz., *bi* and *ḍila* (e.g., *bi* in Line (i) and *ḍila* in Line (j)) which may have different (syntactic) functions. There is more than one plural marking suffix in the language (e.g., *-ŋ-* in *gatu-ŋ-ik* 'dresses' in Line (b), *-o* in *pʰal-o* 'fruit-P in Line (j), and – *iċaŋ* in *ṭum-iċaŋ* 'trees' in Line (h)). We will see later that Burushaski has a large number of plural marking suffixes, some of which are phonologically conditioned although many are not. The suffix for indefiniteness is also marked for Number. Thus, we have *-an* for singular and *–ik* for plural (e.g., *sis-an* 'a man' in Line (b), and *but-ik* 'many' in Line (g)). Syntactically, we observe that experiencer or goal arguments are inflected for Dative case and the Dative case suffix is preceded by a Genitive

ending. We will see in Chapter 5 on Morphology that in Burushaski this Genitive ending behaves like as Oblique case (The latter is a characteristic typological feature in the region). Participial formation possibly involves prefixation as well as suffixation (*nu-~ ne-* prefix and *–in* suffix in *nu-pel-in* in Line (b) and in *ne-eg-in* in Line (h) above). There is a functional category *ke* which seems to have many grammatical functions. Thus *ke* is used as: a complementizer 'that' in Line (a), as a coordinating conjunction 'and' in Line (h), and as an adverb 'also' in Line (g).

2.2 EVERYDAY SPEECH

A discourse-centered approach analyzes discourse in its context. Sitting among the Burushos for hours and hours, and watching them talk while learning their language, I observed some important facts about their language and society which would not have been revealed otherwise. Observing the social and linguistic interplay of at least three different languages at the same time – Burushaski, Kashmiri, and Urdu (and sometimes four, when English was also involved), it was sometimes difficult for even the native speakers to tell which word came from where. This was especially true of informal speech where people used vocabulary from all three languages. What is interesting to note is that while Kashmiri words are frequently used in informal speech, linguistic discourse in case of formal contexts is loaded with borrowings from the higher prestige Urdu and Kashmiri loans are rarely found in such context. Consider data in (1) to (3) as follows (Kashmiri words <u>underlined</u>):

(1)   Urging her toddler niece to urinate, a young woman in mid twenties addresses her as:

<u>pʰiś</u>   eṭi,   <u>pʰiś</u>   eṭi,   <u>pʰiś</u>   eṭi!

urine   do.Imper.   urine   do.Imper.   urine   do.Imper.

'Pee, pee, pee!'

(2)   At a different occasion, while expressing her love for her newly born nephew, the same

        young woman says:

        ja-a   jigar-an   men-an   bai?

        1Sg-Gen   liver-Indef.   who-Indef.   be.Pres.3SgM

        ja-a   śu:ś-an   men-an   bai?

        1Sg-Gen   liver-Indef.   who-Indef.   be.Pres.3SgM

        ja-a   pu:ṭ-an   men-an   bai?

        1Sg-Gen   young one-Indef.   who-Indef.   be.Pres.3SgM

        'Who is my liver (dear one)? Who is my liver (dear one)? Who is my (little) child?'

(3)   Addressing her young daughter, Mimi, a middle-aged woman says:

        baṭ-e-re   ḍam   ḍi: bi-a

        rice-Gen-Dat   steam come   be.Pres.3Sg-QM

        'Is the rice cooked/ready?'

        Loanwords such as K. p^hiś for 'urine; piss (usually of a child)' instead of Bu. *har*

(or Urdu *peśa:b* 'urine'), K. *jigar* and *śu:ś* meaning 'liver' for Bu.-*kin,* K. *baṭ* for 'cooked

rice' instead of Bu. *biriv* 'rice' and *ṣapik* 'food' (or Urdu *ća:val* 'rice' or *k^ha:na* 'food'),

K. *jigar* for 'loved one' (lit. 'liver'), etc., are clear examples of cultural contact with

Kashmiri. These cultural loans are used only in informal speech and are heard here and

there in short speech samples every day. Kashmiri, *p^hiś* 'urine' is an informal term used

mainly for children. The terms *jigar* and *śu:ś* meaning 'liver' are very commonly used to

mean 'dear/loved one'. The word for 'liver' has similar social connotation in Kashmiri as

'heart' does in many other languages. Similarly, *baṭ* (<*baṭɨ*) is a Kashmiri term for

'cooked rice' which is commonly used to mean 'food/meal'. This term is also very

common among the J & K Burushos despite the fact that they have a term for 'rice' (i.e., *biriv*) as well as for 'food' (i.e., *ṣapik*).

While Kashmiri words are frequently heard in the informal situation, in formal situations on the other hand, use of more and more Urdu loans is the norm. The following sample of speech was recorded in a relatively formal context.

(4)   On author's request, Masterji (S) invited Jamsheed Sahab (J) to his house and asked him to say something about their language - Burushaski. The topic of discussion was the poverty of vocabulary in their language and the use of foreign words by poets in composing Burushaski verse. Notice words from Urdu are in **bold** face, those in English are in ***bold italics,*** and those in JKB are in regular Times font.

S: **magar śa:yiri: vaqṭ**ulu **qalam**i: ga:rśi bi, **ḍarbaḍar** imai bi. **lafz** amiṭ gucʰarći, amiṭ **lafz**

        fit ećam, amiṭ **lafz** ja: kʰole elṭaćam. manum kʰene **ke**, eṭ **ći:z**-ere barenin, fa:rsi **ya:** ṭʰum

        alṭo:lum **zaba:n**e **lafz**….. **śa:yiri:**...... uyum bar api. mi: **a:m** ba:ś-ulu, **ke** kʰos-e but **asar**

        ḍila. eṭe **muṭalaq** besen seya ba?

J: **bilkul** cʰan senuma. ume amiṭ bar senuma **ke** cʰan senuma. **har śa:yiri:**lu, mene **ke**

        śa:yarane **śa:r** senimi, **ke**, **amu:man** esulu **ba:qi** ba:śe **lafz**iŋ **ke** mei bi. **ću:ŋki** mi: ba:ś

        kʰole **bilkul hi:** fa:lis ḍuva:si bi….but fa:lis ḍuva:si bi, eṭe gene mi: mene **ke** akʰil

        juvanan **maḍah**miŋ senu ba:n **ke**…u **majbu:r** umanuman. bu:tik **lafz**iŋ iṭikʰiṭum

        ḍicuman

Translation in English

S: **But** at the **time** of (writing) **poetry**, (it is) only (the) **pen** (that) runs, it becomes a **wanderer**…Any **word** that works, I will ***fit*** (=insert) that **word**, I will insert that **word** here. **So** having happened, after having seen such a **thing**, **word**(s) from Farsi **or** another **language**….(in) **poetry**… (that) is not a big concern. In our **common** language, (**that**) this has a strong **effect**. What do you say **regarding** that?

J: You have said **absolutely** right. Whatever you (just) said, (**that**) you said (it) right. In **every** (instance of) **poetry**, which**ever poet** has said **verses, (so)**, **generally**, (there) are **word**s of **other** languages in that **also**. **Since** our language has (remained) **extremely very** (?) little…(It) has (remained) very little, therefore, **if** any of us says/composes **Madah**s like this, **then**……they were **helpless**. (So) they brought several **word**s from here and there.

This conversation is important in many ways. It gives important sociolinguistic information about Farsi being apparently perceived as a prestige language and a language used by the forefathers of the community in poetry writing. During various other meetings with J & K Burushos, many older male speakers often claimed to have learnt Farsi (Persian). This is a historically important piece of information since it gives us an idea of the linguistic situation at the time of the initial migration in the 1890's and also some insight into earlier contact influence on the dialect. If we analyze this piece of conversation from a contact linguistic point of view, we can make a case for intense Urdu influence. Notice that thirty-eight out of a hundred and five (38/105) words in this text are from Urdu (and, therefore, ultimately of Persian and/or Arabic) origin. Nouns, adjectives, quantifiers, and many function words from Urdu are used and the frequency of use of borrowings is apparently very high. In fact, most function words are from Urdu (or Farsi, for that matter). Taking a look at this and the other data sets (narratives) that we discussed in the previous sections in this chapter, an important question that we are faced with at this point is: What is left of Burushaski? It is a question open for further investigation.

2.3 POETRY

Composing poetry in Burushaski has been fairly recent. Not many songs in Burushaski are known to J & K Burushos. At social and cultural gatherings, such as marriages and other ceremonies, Urdu (mostly) and Kashmiri songs are sung by the J & K Burushos. Nevertheless, within the small community of Burushos, the author was able to discover several poets and artists who have composed poetry in their native language (as well as in Urdu). After persistent requests some poems and verses in JKB were collected and recorded.[42] Most of these were religious.

Many religious poems have been composed by the forefathers of the J& K Burushos. These are orally preserved and sometimes written down in (a locally modified form of) Urdu script. Because this script is not sufficient to designate all the phonological details, speakers sometimes make mistakes in reading them. The poems are very popular among the community and are generally recited during the holy month of Muharram (the first month of the Islamic calendar which is of special importance to the Shiite Muslims) as part of a religious ritual (a mourning event/ritual commemorating the sacrifices of various important religious figures in Shiite Islam).

Recording poetry was quite an exercise. The speakers were very hesitant and shy, and often postponed it to as later a point of time as possible. After listening to their own recordings, the consultants would sometimes say, "No, it is not correct. Let me do this again". Recitals were done in a fixed meter and rhythm, in a musical fashion.

Following is an excerpt form a *Madah* – a religious poem, composed by late Alif Khan several years ago. Alif Khan was the grandfather of one of the language consultants

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[42] A few of these poems and verses were written by Raja Ayub Khan, the grandfather of Raja Tasleem Khan who was one of the primary consultants for this study. Tasleem (in his thirties) claimed to have composed some poetry in Burushaski (and in Urdu) during his college days but hesitated to read it to the author.

for this study. Words in **bold** letters are from **Urdu** and **Farsi** and the ones which are **underlined** are from **Arabic** origin. Each couplet is composed two verses which are written in four lines here. Thus, every two lines in the following poem make a verse. The second verse of each couplet was recited twice by the native speaker performing the poem.

2.3.1 Poetry Sample with broad English translation

1.	**dast̪-e xud̪a** ?ali bai	Ali is the **hand of God**
2.	**śe:r-e xud̪a** ?ali bai	Ali is the **lion of God**
3.	**sir-e xud̪a** ?ali bai	Ali is the **secret of God**
4.	<u>**ya: mazharul ?aja:γib**</u>	<u>**O revealer of miracles!**</u>
5.	um **śa:n-e** <u>hal-?at̪a:</u>[43] ba	You are the pride of **human observation**
6.	**vasi: -ye mus̪t̪afa:** ba	You are **the one who Mustafa**[44] **looked after**
7.	<u>**vaś-śamsu va-zuha:**</u> ba	You are **the sun and the afore-noon**[45]
8.	<u>**ya: mazharul ?aja:γib**</u>	<u>**O witness of miracles!**</u>
9.	**har** ga:lanare **d̪ava:** ba	You are (a) **medicine** for **every** sick (person)
10.	**har fikr**anare **śafa:** ba	You are (a) **remedy** for **every** worry
11.	**ranjor**-iśo-re **d̪uva:** ba	You are a **blessing** for the **miserable** (people)
12.	<u>**ya: mazharul ?aja:γib**</u>	<u>**O witness of miracles!**</u>
13.	men apa mener <u>**vasi:l**</u> ba	You are **hope** for the hopeless
14.	**γurba:**re um <u>**kafi:l**</u> ba	You the **helper** of the poor (people)
15.	**us̪t̪a:d̪-e jibra?i:l** ba	You are the **teacher of Gabriel (the angel)**
16.	<u>**ya: mazharul ?aja:γib**</u>	<u>**O witness of miracles!**</u>
17.	**damsa:z-e ?i:sa** um bam	You were the **aide of Jesus**

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[43] A native speaker of Arabic translated this as 'does a human observe'
[44] Prophet Mohammad
[45] *z^wuha* in Arabic culture is a time division between sunrise and noon, perhaps a time to eat breakfast.

18.	**hamra:z-e-mu:sa** um bam	You were the **confidante of Moses**
19.	**ya:var ba-nu:h** um bam	You were the **assistant with Noah**
20.	**ya: mazharul ?aja:ɣib**	**O witness of miracles!**
21.	t̪ʰari-iśo **ɣam**-iŋ śeyas ba	You take[46] the sorrows of the orphans
22.	**ha:ja:t̪**-iŋ d̪o:cʰanas ba	You are the fulfiller of wishes
23.	**muśkil**-iŋ **hal** e̪tas ba	You are the solver of problems
24.	**ya: mazharul ?aja:ɣib**	**O witness of miracles!**
25.	ja **?a:si pur-guna:h** ba	I am a sinner full of sins
26.	**pur-jurm-o-pur-xa̪ta:** ba	(I) am full of crimes and wrongdoings
27.	**xʷa:hã: ?afu a̪ta:** ba	You offer forgiveness for the desiring/seeking
28.	**ya: mazharul ?aja:ɣib**	**O witness of miracles!**
29.	umere buya̪t eća ba	To you I am requesting
30.	**java:b**-e **mun̪tazir** ba	I am **waiting** for (your) **answer**
31.	ja ume hiŋe hukan ba	I am a dog at your door
32.	**ya: mazharul ?aja:ɣib**	**O witness of miracles!**
33.	ume hiŋ qaci alif xa:n	At your door, Alif Khan
34.	**d̪ur-e mura:d̪**-e **joya:n**	**Seeker** of **the pearls of desire**
35.	**pur kun zi lu̪tf-e d̪a:ma:n**	**Fulfil with the blessing of (your) garment**
36.	**ya: mazharul ?aja:ɣib**	**O witness of miracles!**

2.3.2 Brief Analysis

Poems such as the one in provided above are an important cue to the linguistic practices among the ancestors of J & K Burushos who were educated in Farsi and perhaps also in Arabic. They also reveal the importance afforded to the verses of Quran and the role of Arabic and Farsi in the day-to-day life of their ancestors. The poems also

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[46] Literally, [t̪ʰari-iśo **ɣam**-iŋ śeyas ba] means "you are the eater of sorrows of orphans"

reveal the knowledge of the composer/poet about the history of their religion (Islam), familiarity with important figures in Islamic history, etc. (Notice the use of metaphors such as "lion of God", "hand of God", "*mazhar-ul-?aja:yib*", etc for Ali, the cousin of Prophet Mohammad and a very important figure in Shiite religious history).

2.3 CONCLUSION

By walking the reader through discourse, we are now acquainted with some fundamental aspects of the JKB speech community in terms of linguistic, historical and socio-cultural information. We have made some basic guesses about its linguistic structure and have observed some features of the language which are of primary importance to this study. For instance, typologically, we now know that J & K Burushaski is a verb-final language and it has some resemblances with the areal languages, such as Urdu. Phonologically, it possesses voiced versus voiceless consonants, aspirated versus unaspirated consonants, and it also has retroflex consonants. In terms of morpho-syntax, we have seen that the case system, negation, question formation strategies, etc. also resemble its areal neighbors in some respects. Despite many similarities we have also observed certain linguistic features which are probably unique to the language. For example, use of pronominal prefixes in certain nouns which are perceived as inherently possessed as opposed to others which are not, agreement pattern of the verb are also interesting. Presence of such features and perhaps many others make this language fairly different from the other languages spoken in the linguistic area (South Asia) and are, therefore, a motivation for further research and investigation which might lead us to more important historical information regarding the origin and development of this language.

PART II: LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION

Chapter 3: Phonology

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter mainly deals with JKB word-level phonology. I begin with a description of the phonemic inventory and phonemics of consonants and vowels in Section 3.1. This is followed by an account of syllable structure in Section 3.2. A brief section on phonological processes is discussed in Section 3.3.

3.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Several attempts have been made to give an overall account of the phonological inventory of the language (Lorimer 1935-8, Tiffou 1993, Anderson 1997, Berger 1964-98, and others). The phonological system of Burushaski is very rich, although not unique. It resembles the basic pattern of the phonological system of some of its neighboring languages in many respects, especially Dardic languages, such as, Shina, Khowar, and Kashmiri. A detailed analysis, however, reveals certain features characteristic of the phonology of the language. The phonemic analysis presented in the following section focuses on describing sound contrasts based on the distribution of phonemes and allophones in JKB.

3.1.1 Consonants and phonemics of consonants

The distinctive phonemic inventory of consonants in JKB is given in Table 3.1 as follows:

Table 3.1: JKB Consonantal Phonemes

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Voicing	Vl Vd	Vl Vd	Vl Vd		Vl Vd	VlVd	Vl Vd	Vl Vd
Stops	p b pʰ	ṭ ḍ ṭʰ	t d tʰ			k g kʰ	q	
Affricates		c cʰ		ċ ċʰ	ć j ćʰ			
Nasals	m	n				ŋ		
Fricatives	(f) v	s z		ṣ ż	ś		x γ	h
Laterals		l						
Vibrants		r						
Glides				ɭ	y			

In the following sections I provide a detailed description and classification of JKB consonantal system. For an analysis of various phonemic contrasts, I provide suitable data which illustrate the distribution of phonemes. Where minimal pairs are not available, I have attempted to find contrasts in analogous environments.

3.1.1.1 Stops and Affricates

The basic stop positions in Burushaski resemble those of the basic stop positions of Indo-Aryan languages in terms of labial, dental, "alveolar", palatal, and velar

positions. There are thirteen stop consonants in JKB. The phonemic contrasts are observed with respect to voiced unaspirated, voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated stops. In addition to the typical stop positions found in its areal neighbors, Burushaski articulatory phonology also includes uvular stop position. A classification of JKB stop consonants is given in Table 3.2 as follows:

Table 3.2: JKB Stop Consonants

	Voiced	Voiceless Unaspirated	Voiceless Aspirated
Labials	b	p	p^h
Dentals	ḏ	ṯ	$ṯ^h$
"Alveolars"	d	t	t^h
Velars	g	k	k^h
Uvulars		q	

The position designated as "Alveolars" in Table 3.2 above may either simply involve retraction of the tongue so that it sounds like an alveolar sound, or retroflexion with a slight curling back of the tongue. Phonetic retroflexion of stop consonants is only observed inter-vocalically in JKB. Generally, in an intervocalic environment, /t, t^h, d/ surface as retroflex sounds [ṭ, $ṭ^h$, ḍ] and as alveolar [t, t^h, d] elsewhere.

Among the stops, labials are classified as: voiced, unaspirated /b/; voiceless unaspirated /p/; and voiceless aspirated /p^h/. Consider examples in (1) as follows:

(1)   Labials: /b/, /p/ and / p^h/
a.   /b/~ /p/ ~ / p^h/ contrast   b.   /b/ ~ /p/ ~ /p^h/ contrast
        pari 'fairy' p^holo 'raw mulberries'
        bar 'talk (n.)'   purmo 'long ago'
        p^har 'change/turn'   bula 'Polo'

c.   /p/ ~ /b/ contrast

       pre:ś 'preparation'

       praq 'clapping'

       braspuṭ 'Thursday'

Note that the contrasts in (1) above are shown in analogous environments, i.e., minimal and near minimal pairs (The same is true of other phonemic contrasts which follow in the chapter).

Dental stops in JKB are classified as: voiced, unaspirated /d̪/; voiceless unaspirated /t̪/; and voiceless aspirated /t̪ʰ/. Consider examples in (2) illustrating /d̪/, /t̪/, and /t̪ʰ/ contrasts as follows:

(2)   Dental stops: /d̪/, /t̪/ and /t̪ʰ/

a.   /d̪/~/t̪/ contrast   b.   /t̪/~/t̪ʰ/ contrast

       d̪iś 'land'   t̪am 'bath, swimming'

       t̪iş 'wind'   t̪ʰam 'king'

c.   /t̪/~/t̪ʰ/ contrast

       t̪um 'plant/tree'

       t̪ʰum 'certain kind of, another'

Alveolar stops in JKB are classified as: voiced, unaspirated /d/; voiceless unaspirated /t/; and voiceless aspirated /tʰ/. Consider examples in (3) illustrating /d/, /t/, and /tʰ/ contrasts as follows:

(3) "Alveolar" stops: /d/, /t/ and /tʰ/

a. /d/~/t/ contrast   b. /d/~/tʰ/ contrast

dadaŋ 'drum'   tutaŋ 'dark'

tutaŋ 'dark'   tʰumuk 'meeting'

For Dental versus Alveolar contrast in JKB, consider examples in (4) as follows:

(4) Dental vs. "Alveolar" contrast

a. /d̪/~/d/ contrast   b. /t̪ʰ/~/tʰ/ contrast

d̪aŋ 'sleep (n.)   t̪ʰam 'king'

daŋ 'hard'   tʰam 'broom'

Velar stops in JKB are classified as: voiced, unaspirated /g/; voiceless unaspirated /k/; and voiceless aspirated /kʰ/. For illustration of contrasts among various velar stop consonants, consider examples in (5) as follows:

(5) Velar stops: /g/, /k/, and /kʰ/

a. /g/~/k/~/kʰ/ contrasts   b. /g/~/k/~/kʰ/ contrasts

gan 'road'   garum 'warm/hot'

kaman 'a little'   kʰarati 'basket'

kʰan 'fort'   kare:lu 'sheep'

There is only one uvular stop consonant in JKB, viz., voiceless, unaspirated /q/. Examples in (6) below illustrate contrasts between velar and uvular stop consonants:

(6) Velar and Uvular contrasts

a. /q/~/g/~/k/ contrast   b. /q/~/k/ contrast

qarun 'miserly'   qav 'call (n.)'

garum 'warm/hot'   kantei 'eagle'

kare:lu 'sheep'

Burushaski is very rich in affricate consonants. It distinguishes among dental, retroflex, and palatal affricates. A classification of JKB affricate consonants is given in Table 3.3 as follows:

Table 3.3: JKB Affricates Consonants

	Voiced	Voiceless Unaspirated	Voiceless Aspirated
Palatal	j	ć	ć^h
Dental		c	c^h
Retroflex		ċ	ċ^h

As seen in Table 3.3 above, based on different places of articulation, affricates in JKB are classified as: palatal, dental, and retroflex. While palatal and dental affricates are also typical of most (if not all) Dardic languages spoken in the Burushaski neighborhood, retroflex affricates are perhaps only found in its closest areal neighbors in Pakistan (See Bashir 2003). As is the case with stops, phonemic contrasts in affricates too are observed with respect to voiced unaspirated, voiceless unaspirated, and voiceless aspirated.

Palatal affricates in JKB are classified as: voiced unaspirated /j/; voiceless unaspirated /ć/; and voiceless aspirated /ć^h/. Consider examples in (7) as follows illustrating phonemic contrasts for different palatal affricates in JKB:

(7)   Palatal affricates: /j/, /ć/, and /ć^h/ contrast
a.   /j/ ~ /ć/ ~ /ć^h/ contrast
       jot 'small, young'
       ćoq 'just now, recently'
       ć^{h}ot 'child'

Dental affricates are classified as: voiceless unaspirated /c/; and voiceless aspirated /cʰ/. Consider examples in (8) illustrating contrasts for dental affricates in JKB:

(8)   Dental affricates: /c/ ~ /cʰ/ contrast
        capi(n) 'sandles'
        cʰan 'truth'

Retroflex affricate consonants are classified as: voiceless unaspirated /ċ/; and voiceless aspirated /ċʰ/. Consider examples in (9) as follows illustrating phonemic contrasts for retroflex affricates in JKB:

(9)   Retroflex affricates: /ċ/ ~ /ċʰ/ contrast
        ċaċaq 'beating of clothes (in washing)'
        ċʰam 'hunger'

Examples in (10) below illustrate phonemic contrasts for affricates in terms of different places and manners of articulation:

(10)   Affricates: Other contrasts
a.   Palatal vs. Retroflex
i.   /ćʰ/ ~ /ċʰ/ contrast   ii.   /ć/ ~ /ćʰ/ ~ /ċ/ contrast
        ćʰumu 'fish'   qaċi 'at/near'
        ċʰur 'knife' [47]   ḍaćʰi 'give. Imp.'
                                               paći 'cloth'

iii.   /ćʰ/ ~ ċʰ/ contrast
        ćʰap 'meat'
        ċʰam 'hunger'

---

[47] Cf. Hindi/Urdu *ćʰuri:* 'knife'.

b.   Dental vs. Retroflex affricates

i.   /cʰ/ ~ /c̣ʰ/ contrast   ii.   /c/ ~ /c̣/

        cʰil 'water'   capi '?'

        c̣ʰiv 'sparrows'   c̣ac̣aq 'noise from hand-washing clothes'

        cʰan 'truth'

        c̣ʰam 'hunger'

c.   Dental vs. Palatal contrasts: /cʰ/ ~ /ćʰ/ contrast

        cʰan 'true'

        ćʰap 'meat'

Neutralization in stops and affricates

        There are no attested cases where a distinction into voiced, aspirated voiceless
and unaspirated voiceless consonants is observed in word-final position. Consider data in
(11) for illustration as follows:

(11)   Word-final neutralization of stops: Occurrence of stops in various environments:

a.   Labials:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/b/	bu(v)a 'cow'	baba 'father'	-
/p/	paysa 'money'	girpa 'sorrow'	ćʰap 'meat'
	purmo 'long ago'	cʰupuş 'sorrow'	lip 'down'
/pʰ/	pʰolo 'raw mulberries'	mapʰe:r 'old'	-
	pʰu 'blow (of air)'		-

b.   Dentals:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/d̪/	d̪asin 'girl'	śad̪i 'monkey'	-
	d̪u 'young goat'	sind̪iş 'swan'	-
/t̪/	t̪iş 'wind'	al̪tac 'two'	ba:l̪t̪ 'apple'
		put̪kiş 'mad'	
/t̪ʰ/	t̪ʰavun 'coriander'	mat̪ʰan 'far away'	-

c.   "Alveolars":

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/d/	dadaŋ 'drum'	dadaŋ 'drum'	-
/t/	tutaŋ 'dark'	butar 'goat/sheep'	jot 'small/young'
/tʰ/	tʰari 'ball'		-
	tʰumuk 'meeting'		

d.   Velars:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/g/	ga:rcas 'to run'	śugulu 'friend'	-
	gus 'woman'		-
/k/	kuc 'old'	hukay 'dogs'	huk 'dog'
			bask 'more'
/kʰ/	kʰole 'here'	akʰar 'myself'	-
	kʰajuna 'Burushaski'		-

e.   Uvulars:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/q/	quŋquru 'cock'	qarqa:muc 'hens'	tʰraq 'tear into pieces'
	qav 'call (noun)'		praq 'to clap together'

Thus, based on the data in (11) above we can argue that phonemic distinction of stops into voiced, aspirated voiceless, and unaspirated voiceless consonants is not observed in word-final position. Similar is the case with affricate consonants. Consider data in (12) for illustration as follows:

(12) Word-final neutralization of affricates: Occurrence of affricates in various environments:

a.   Palatal:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/j/	jot 'small/young'	ɣajam et̯- 'to dig'	-
/ć/	ćaɣa:mi 'talk (n.)	ćućut 'breast'[48]	ɣatenć 'sword'
/ćʰ/	ćʰayi 'key'	d̯aćʰi 'give. Imp.'[49]	-

b.   Dental:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/c/	capin 'sandle'	ga:rc-as 'to chase'	amic 'which[-h'
/cʰ/	cʰil 'water'	gucʰarimi '(he) went'	-

---

[48] Confer Sh. ćući 'breast', Sk. ćući, ćući 'breast'.

[49] Note that d̯acʰi 'give' is used only when the direct object is a liquid, like 'tea', 'water', 'milk'. It is also used when the direct object is 'sword', 'chisel', 'axe', or any other similar tool used for digging, etc.

c.   Retroflex:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
/ċ/	ċaċak 'beating	aċo 'my brother'	guċ 'gorge'
	(of clothes in washing)'	haliċi 'turmeric'[50]	ḍuċ 'sorrow'
/ċʰ/	ċʰamni 'hunger'	maċʰi 'honey'[51]	-

Notice in (11) and (12) above voiced and aspirated stops/affricates only occur in word-initial and intervocalic positions. Also notice that only voiceless, unaspirated stops/affricates occur in syllable-final position (e.g. *puṭkiṣ* 'mad' in (11) above). There are no instances of word-final or syllable-final voiced or aspirated stops/affricates so far. This leads us to claim that phonemic contrasts based on voice and aspiration are neutralized in syllable-final position in stops/affricates. We will see later that phonemic contrasts based on voice are also neutralized in fricatives in similar environments.

3.1.1.2 Nasals

JKB has three nasals: labial /m/, dental /n/, and velar /ŋ/. Phonemic contrast of /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ is revealed by data in (13) as follows:

(13)   Nasals: phonemic contrast

a.   /ŋ/ ~ /n/ contrast

i.   hiŋ 'door'   ii.   ḍan 'stone'

        hin 'one; [-human]'   ḍaŋ 'sleep (n.)'

b.   /n/ ~ /m/ contrast

i.   ni 'go. Imp'   ii.   nimi '(he) went'
        mi 'we'   mimi 'our mother'

---

[50] Cf. H./Ur. halḍi: 'turmeric'.
[51] Cf. K. ma:ċʰ 'honey'.

While dental nasal /n/ and labial nasal /m/ occur in different position, occurrence of phonemic /ŋ/ is restricted to word-final and inter-vocalical positions. Consider data in (14) as follows for illustration:

(14)   Occurrence of nasals in different environments:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
Labial /m/:	miśinḑo 'sixteen'	mumi '(her) mother'	t̪ʰa:num 'high, tall'
	mak(u)ćim 'middle'	kam-an 'a little'	bim 'was; 3Sg.[-h]'
Dental /n/:	nimas 'story'	ću:ni 'wood'	ḑasin 'girl'
			bun 'rock'
Velar /ŋ/:	-	hiŋ-ićaŋ 'doors'	hiŋ 'door'
		śaŋali '(door) chain'	t̪ʰatiŋ 'cold'

3.1.1.3 Fricatives

JKB possesses at least eight fricative consonants. See Table 3.5 as follows:

Table 3.4: JKB Fricative Consonants

	Voiced	Voiceless
Labials	-	(f)
Dentals	z	s
Retroflex	ż	ş
Palatals	-	ś
Velars	γ	x
Uvulars	-	h

A characteristic feature of the phonological system of Burushaski is the presence of retroflex fricatives /ş/ and /ż/. These two fricatives are also found in some Dardic neighbors of Burushaski such as Khowar, Indus Kohistani, and Shina have both /ş/ and /ż/ (Cf. Bashir 2003, pp. 818-894). In JKB, the fricatives [f] and [x] often alternate with the corresponding aspirated stops [pʰ] and [kʰ]. Distinction between corresponding stop and fricative in a pair may/may not be observed in some speakers. For example, JKB *mafe:r ~ mapʰe:r* 'old', *fa:lis ~ pʰa:lis* 'little/small (quantity)', *rax ~ rakʰ* 'wish, desire', and so on. In Hunza Burushaski, they may even surface as [p] and [k] respectively in intervocalic positions. For instance, HB *mapʰe:r ~ mape:r* 'old'.

The present study treats [pʰ] vs. [f] as variants/allophones of /pʰ/ in JKB, but /x/ and /kʰ/ are treated as separate phonemes. Phonemic /f/ is generally present in only Persian/Arabic borrowings and is often replaced by [pʰ]. The same is true of phonemic /x/ which is also often replaced by [kʰ]. Whether [f] is a separate phoneme in JKB as opposed to [pʰ] is not yet clear to me. So far, [f] and [pʰ] are treated as variants/allophones of /pʰ/ in the present study. However, [x] and [kʰ] do not appear to be allophones of a single phoneme. Both *kʰ* and *x* occur intervocalically in phonemic contrast in analogous environments. For example, in words such as, *a-kʰar* (*a-xar*) 'my voice' and *kʰan* (*xan*) 'fort', as opposed to *a-xaṭ* (*a-kʰaṭ*) 'my face/mouth' and *xa:śiŋ* 'until' (*kʰa:śiŋ*), there is a clear distinction between [kʰ] of *a-kʰar* or *kʰan* and [x] of *a-xaṭ* or *xa:śiŋ*.[52]

Examples to illustrate phonemic contrast of different fricatives are provided in (15) as follows:

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[52] Note that Berger (1998) also maintains a distinction between *kʰ* and *qʰ* (latter represented as *x* in the present study) in his phonemic inventory of Burushaski.

(15)   Fricatives: phonemic contrasts

a.   Voicing contrast in dental fricatives: /s/ ~ /z/

        besen 'what'

        beze:le 'how'

b.   Dental vs. palatal contrast: /s/ ~ /ś/

        besen 'what'

        beśel 'when'

c.   Dental vs. Palatal vs.Retroflex contrast: /s/ ~ /ş/ ~ /ś/

i.   yas '(his) sister'   ii.   gus 'woman'

        aş 'his heart'   bupuş 'a type of squash'

        ayeś 'sky; climate'   buś 'cat'

d.   Dental vs. Retroflex vs. Velar vs. Uvular contrast:/s/ ~ /ş/ ~ /γ/ ~ /h/

        sar 'thread'

        şar 'anger'

        γar 'song'

        har 'ox'

Phonemic contrast between voiced velar fricative /γ/ and voiced velar stop /g/ is illustrated in the following minimal pair in (16):

(16)   Phonemic contrast between /γ/ and /g/

        γar 'song'

        gar 'marriage'

Phonemic contrast between voiceless retroflex fricative /ş/ and voiceless retroflex aspirated stop /ċʰ/ is illustrated in the following minimal pair in (17):

(17)   Phonemic contrast between retroflex fricative /ʂ/ and stop /ċʰ/

        ʂaŋ⁵³   'ally, small street'
        ċʰaŋ   'thorn'

Neutralization in fricatives

        There are no attested cases where a distinction into voiced and voiceless fricative

consonants is observed word-finally. Consider data in (18) for illustration as follows:

(18) Word-final neutralization of fricatives: Occurrence of fricatives in different environments

		Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
Dental:				
	/s/	siliżin 'lady (polite)'	ḍasin 'girl'	hilas '(a) boy'
			asqur 'flower'	as 'my heart'
	/z/	zizi 'mother; address term'	bezele 'how'	-
Palatal:				
	/ś/	śapik 'food'	buśoŋo 'cats; (m.)'	buś 'cat'
			guśpur 'prince'	yaś 'sky; climate'
Retroflex:				
	/ʂ/	ʂiyas 'to eat'	buʂai 'cultivated land'	aʂ 'my neck'
		ʂaqal 'bee'	aʂċiŋ '(my) back'	
	/ż/	ż uk 'kidney'	sileżin 'lady'	-
		żayiṭ 'goat'		
Velar:				
	/x/	xuḍa 'god'	duxarca 'for asking'	rax 'desire'
		xurxamaś 'garbage'	xa: 'an adverb'	
	/ɣ/	ɣalɣu 'insect'	ćaɣa 'talk/story'	-
		ɣuru:ru 'heron'	haɣur 'horse'	

---

⁵³ Used variously. Also used for 'mountainous hills'.

Notice in (18) above, only voiceless fricatives occur in word-final position. Also notice that only voiceless fricatives occur in syllable-final positions other than word-finally (e.g., *asqur* 'flower', *guśpur* 'prince', and *aṣċiŋ* '(my) back' in (18) above). From data in (18) and previous analyses on stops and affricates based on (11) and (12) above, we can claim that just like stops and affricates, occurrence of voiced fricatives is restricted to word-initial and intervocalic positions. Thus, in JKB phonemic contrasts based on voice and aspiration are neutralized in syllable-final positions in stops, affricates, and fricatives. In loan words, however, this is not the case. For example, Urdu loans *ya:ḍ* 'memory', *ra:z* 'secret', *cira:ɣ* 'candle' (but *ciraq* in Hunza Burushaski), etc. where final voiced stops and fricatives (and most likely affricates as well) are possible.

3.1.1.4 Semivowels/Glides, Laterals and Vibrants

Semivowels/glides (approximants) in JKB are classified as: labial /v/, palatal /y/, and retroflex /ɻ/. Labio-dental [v] and slightly more labialized [w] are allophonic variants of /v/ in JKB. The distinction is very slight or marginal. The allophonic variant [w] (which is probably slightly less rounded than a regular bilabial [w] in English [wu:l] 'wool', for example) may appear in contiguity with (i.e., either before or after) a round vowel. For example, [gawu] 'bird species', and [buwa] 'cow'.

Phonemic contrasts between different semivowels are illustrated in analogous environments in (19) as follows:

(19)   Phonemic contrasts between semivowels: /v/ ~ /y/ ~ /ɻ/

         varc 'right (side)'

         yar 'early'

         ɻaɻ 'fast'

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The occurrence of voiced retroflex glide /ɻ/ is very rare. Semivowels generally are restricted to pre- and post-vocalic positions. Consider data in (20) for illustration of occurrence of different semivowels in different environments:

(20)   Occurrence of semivowels/glides in different environments:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
Labial /v/	vaxt̪ 'time'	buwa 'cow'	pʰiv 'flies (n.)'
		gawu 'bird species'	
		ava 'yes'	
Palatal /y/	ye:cimi 'he saw'	ayeś 'sky'	loy 'fox'
	ya 'beer'	żayi̪t̪ 'male goat'	
	ya:re 'below/under'	uyum 'big'	
Retroflex /ɻ/	ɻaɻ 'fast'	yu:ɻas '(for it) to dry'	ɻaɻ 'fast'

Liquids include lateral /l/ and vibrant /r/. Phonemic contrast of liquids /l/ and /r/ is shown in (21) as follows:

(21)   Liquids: phonemic contrast between /l/ and /r/
i.   pʰul 'cup'   ii.   cʰil 'water'
        pʰur 'flight'   cʰir 'line'

iii.   malaq (mana:s) 'fall/roll down'
        maraq (e̪tas) 'twist (something)'

Liquids occur in all different positions, viz., word-initial, word-medial, and word-final. Consider data in (22) for illustration as follows:

(22)   Occurrence of liquids in different environments:

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
Lateral /l/:	le:l 'knowledge'	pʰul-ainc 'cups'	pʰul 'cup'
	loy 'fox'	halanc 'crescent'	mal 'field'
Vibrant /r/:	ram-ram 'flap wings; Onom.'	śuriya:r 'happiness' kʰarati 'basket'	jatur 'quince' haɣur 'horse'

3.1.2 Vowels and phonemics of vowels

Vowels in JKB are classified into short vowels /i, e, u, (o), a/ and long vowels /i:, e:, u:, o:, a:/.[54]

Table 3.5: JKB Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i, i:		u, u:
Mid	e, e:		(o), o:
Low		a, a:	

In the phonemic inventory of Burushaski provided by Tiffou (1993), long vowels are represented as /aa, ee, ii, oo, uu/. In JKB, the difference between short [i] and [e], and between short [u] and [o], especially in the word-final position, is very subtle so that sometimes it is unrecognizable. The short vowels [e] and [o] in JKB are phonetically closer to the corresponding lower mid vowels generally designated as [ɛ] and [ɔ](respectively) in literature. Note that /i, i:, e:, a, a:, o:, u, u:/ are also found in many

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[54] Notice that "o" is kept in parenthesis. This is because it is not yet clear to me whether /o/ is a separate phoneme in JKB or that [o] is an allophonic variant of /u/.

areal languages (e.g., Indo-Aryan Hindustani, Punjabi, etc.), while the short vowels e and o are characteristic of Dardic languages such as Shina, Khowar, and Kashmiri.

Vowel length is phonemic in JKB. However, short vowels are more common than long vowels. Contrast for length is easily revealed in high vowels /i/ and /u/, and central vowel /a/, but in case of mid vowels, short vowels [e] and [o] are often in free variation with [i] and [o] so that it is sometimes hard to determine whether *e* vs. *i* and *o* vs. *u* are allophones of /i/ and /u/ or separate phonemes (i.e., /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/). Phonemic contrast for length in analogous environments is illustrated in (23) as follows:

(23)   Phonemic contrast for vowel length in high vowels

a.   High Front: /i/ ~ /i:/ contrast

i.   mi 'we'   ii.   ɣaniş 'gold'

    mi: 'our'   ɣali:s 'sick'

                        pʰa:lis 'little'

iii.   hir 'man'

    asi:r 'near'

b.   High back: /u/ ~ /u:/ contrast

i.   juk 'touch'   ii.   guśpur 'prince'

    ju:k 'grief'   sabu:r 'tomorrow'

iii.   u 'they'

    u: 'their'

c.   Central: /a/ ~ /a:/ contrast

i.   ɣar 'song'   ii.   śaṭ 'strength'

    ɣa:n 'crow'   sa:ti 'a day before yesterday'

d.   Mid front: /e/ ~ /e:/

i.   śe 'eat; Imp'   ii.   ḍen 'year'

         śe: 'wool'   ḍe:lum 'seen; PPL.'

iii.   besen 'what'
         beze:le 'how'

We do not have sufficient evidence to show phonemic contrast between /o/ and /o:/. It seems /o:/ is a separate phoneme but [o] is an allophonic variant of /u/. [o] and [u] are in free variation in certain positions. Many speakers do not make a distinction between [u] and [o], and between [i] and [e] in certain positions. For example, in post-consonantal position in open syllables, there are varations such as [ḍonimi] ~ [ḍunimi] '(he) caught (somebody)', [hileśo] ~ [hileśu] 'men', and [ṣe] ~ [ṣi] 'eat; Imp.'.

Most vowels can occur in various different positions, viz., initial syllable, medial syllable and final syllable. Consider examples in (24) for illustration as follows:

(24)   Distribution of different vowels in different positions in a word
a.   Front vowels: /i/, /i:/, /e/, and /e:/

	Initial syllable	Medial syllable	Final syllable
/i/	mi 'we'	hirikanc 'men'	akʰil 'such/like'
	hir 'man'	ḍasivanc 'girls'	pʰa:lis 'less, little'
/i:/	mi: 'our'	diśi:mi '(it) opens'	asi:r 'near'
/e/	beśal 'where'	umere 'to you'	ume 'your; you-Erg'
	eṭi 'do; Imp.'		
/e:/	ye:cimi 'he saw'	ḍiye:yas 'to wake up'	mapʰe:r 'old man'
	ḍe:lum 'seen; PPL.'	mapʰe:ri 'old woman'	

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b.   Back vowels: /u/, /u:/ and /o:/

	Initial syllable	Medial syllable	Final syllable
/u/	ḍunimi '(he) opened (it)'		qarqa:muc 'hens'
	cʰupuş 'sorrow'	ququru:ću	mo:mu:puş '(her) nose'
	u 'they'	'cuckuruckoo; (Onom.)'	
	osqanimi '(he) killed (her)'		qarqa:mućo 'hens'
	oḷṭalik 'both'	balogan 'egg plant'	he:va:yo 'animals'
	ḍoro 'work'		
/u:/	u: 'their'	ququru:cu	sabu:r 'tomorrow'
/o:/	o:ɣaṭanas 'teacher'		uyo:n 'all'
	ḍo:nimi '(he) caught (it)'		

c.   Central vowels: /a/ and /a:/

	Initial syllable	Medial syllable	Final syllable
/a/	ja 'I'	o:ɣaṭanas 'teacher'	ḍila 'be.Pres. 3Sg[-c]'
	han 'one [+h]'		o:ɣaṭanas 'teacher'
/a:/	ja: 'my'	qarqa:mućo 'hens'	
	ha: 'house/home'		mana:s 'to happen'

Long vowels are often shortened in rapid speech. This is especially true of polysyllabic words. Some examples are: *gupaḷṭiŋ ~ gupa:ḷṭiŋ* 'trouser', *ḍo:nimi ~ ḍonimi* '(he) caught (it)', etc. Like other dialects of Burushaski, in JKB long vs. short distinction of vowels is often lost in word-final position.

3.2 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

JKB syllable structure follows the basic pattern observed in other dialects of Burushaski. Most of the phonological limitations are shared with the sister dialects. In the following sections I will discuss the different types of syllables found in JKB and provide a description of JKB phonotactic constraints in terms of limitations on the distribution of sound sequences, viz., consonants and vowels.

3.2.1. Types of Syllables

Both open and closed syllables are permitted in JKB. An inventory of possible syllables in JKB is provided in (25) as follows alongwith examples for illustration (The syllable boundary is represented by a dot "." and syllables under discussion are in **bold** type face):

(25)   Different types of syllables in JKB
a.   (C)V syllables

      e.ṭ as   'to do/be'

      a.mis   'which [-h]'

      ha.ɣu.r-i.śu   'horses'

b.   (C)VC syllables

      buś   'cat'

      ha.**ɣur**   'horse'

      aṣ   'my neck'

      as.**qur**   'flower'

      in   'he/she'

c.   (C)VV syllables

    u: 'they; Ergative'

    a-u.lus   'my brother (when possessor is feminine)'

    ḍa:.ri̥   'window'

    ḍe:ri   'spread; send in X (a male); Imperative'

    ja.**va:**.ni   'youth' (< Urdu ja.va:.ni 'youth')

d.   (C)VVC syllables

    a:m   'mango' (< Ur. a:m 'mango')

    a.**si:r**   'near'

    śu.ri.**ya:r**   'happiness'

e.   (C)VC$_1$C$_2$ syllables

    bask   'a lot'

    urk   'wolf'

    varc   'in proper order; right'

    da.si.**vanc**   'girls'

    hi.ri.**kanc**   'men'

f.   (C)VVC$_1$C$_2$ syllables

    gi:l̥ṭ   'Gilgit'

    ba:l̥ṭ   'apple'

    bu.**ś-ainc**   'cats; (F)'

    bu.**n-ainc**   'rocks'

g.   (C$_1$)C$_2$V syllables

    t̬ʰra.t̬ʰraq   'tearing into many pieces'

h.   (C$_1$)C$_2$VC syllables

    rakʰ   'desire/wish'

    t̬ʰraq   'tearing (into two pieces)'

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Thus, from examples in (25) above we observe different types of syllables in JKB, viz., (C)V, (C)VC, (C)VV, (C)VVC, (C)VC$_1$C$_2$, (C)VVC$_1$C$_2$, C$_1$C$_2$V, and C$_1$C$_2$VC. Among these, C$_2$ in the last two types (i.e., C$_1$C$_2$V and C$_1$C$_2$VC) is so far only represented by *r*. Thus, we have (C)rV and (C)rVC as the syllable types with possible initial clusters.

Monosyllabic as well as polysyllabic words are found in JKB. Consider examples in (26) for illustration as follows:

(26)   Mono-, di-, and polysyllabic words in JKB

a.   Monosyllabic words

u   'they'

sa   'sun'

aş   'my neck'

in   'he/she'

buś   'cat'

pʰin   'fly (insect)'

ṭum   'tree'

b.   Disyllabic words

jo.tu   'small'

ha.ɣur   'horse'

as.qur   'flower'

ḍiś.miŋ   'places'

ha.lanc   'crescent'

c.   Polysyllabic words

hi.la.śu   'boys'

śu.ri.ya:r   'happiness'

hi.ri.kanc   'men'

qar.qa:.mu.ćo   'cocks/hens'

qar.qa:.mu.ćo.yik 'cocks/hens (Indefinite Plural)'

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Thus, in (26) above, we see upto five syllables in a word. Longer words with more syllables may also be possible but are not attested so far in the present corpus.

3.2.2 Phonotactics

Various phonotactic restrictions are observed in JKB which permit certain sequences of consonants and vowels but not others. In this section, I describe the structure of the various possible sound sequences attested in JKB. I will begin with consonant clusters followed by vowels.

3.2.2.1 Consonant Clusters

Biconsonantal clusters are quite common in JKB. However, tri-consonantal clusters are rarely found. The occurrence of clusters is restricted in that only specific consonants can form a cluster in a certain position. Initial clusters are restricted to the type Cr-.[55] Although many of these clusters occur in borrowings, there are various native instances. The first consonant of a word-initial cluster is always a stop as far as the present evidence is concerned. Consider examples from JKB in (27) as follows:

(27)   Initial Clusters in JKB: [stop + r]

      praq   'clapping together' (praq etas 'to clap') (< Hunza Bur.)

      t̪rap   'clapping together' (< Nagar Bur.)

      t̪ʰraq   'to tear (into two pieces)'

      gra:.mar   'grammar' [56] (borrowing)

      bras.pu̪t̪   'Thursday'[57]

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[55] A typical areal feature. This is also true of Kashmiri, Hindi/Urdu, and many other modern Indo-Aryan languages.

[56] Cf. K.,Ur. gra:mar < Indian English græmər 'grammar'.

The consonant clusters of the type [sibilant+ r], [sibilant+ l] or [stop + sibilant] in the initial position are not attested in JKB.[58] Anderson (1997) argues for a very limited number of initial Cy- clusters in words such as *ćyu* 'chirping; Onom.', *q(i)yu* 'shout; Onom.', and *pyu(wan)* 'a little' based on the Pakistan varieties of Burushaski. He further claims that initial clusters are not found in any Burushaski verb-root (Anderson, 1997). Based on evidence from JKB I assume that clusters of the type Cy- are absent and that a vowel occurs between the initial consonant and the semivowel. Examples to support this argument include forms such as JKB. *qiv-piv* 'shouting; Onom.' (*qyu-pyu*), which corresponds to, or, at least, is very similar to, the forms *q(i)yu* 'shout; Onom.', and *pyu(wan)* 'a little' as discussed by Anderson (1997).

Initial [sibilant + stop] and initial [stop + l] clusters are not attested in JKB. This claim is further strengthened by examples in (28) and (29) given below where the borrowed forms undergo epenthesis (vowel insertion):

(28)   No initial [sibilant + stop] clusters: English loanwords in JKB
        so.ku:l/su.ku:l   'school' (Cf. E. sku:l)[59]
        si.ki:m   'scheme' (Cf. E. ski:m)[60]

(29)   No initial [stop + l] clusters: English loanwords in JKB

        ku.la:t̪ʰ   ˈcloth' (Cf. E. kla:θ 'cloth')

        ku.lo:z   'close' (Cf. E. klo:z 'close')

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[57] Cf. Sh. **br**aspu̱t 'Thursday'.
[58] Initial clusters of the type śr- are present in Kashmiri and Hindi. For example, K. śra:d 'name of a religious ritual among Hindus', K. śra:n 'bath (n.)', K. śrap-un '(of food) to get digested', H. śra:p 'a bad curse'. Note that the sibilant in these cases is always the voiceless palatal fricative [ś].
[59] Cf. P., K. so.ku:l or suk.u:l, Ur. is.ku:l.
[60] Cf. K. si.ki:m, Ur. is.ki:m. Also, there are no initial [stop + l] clusters in Burushaski. For instance, Bur. ka.la:s 'class' (< E. klæs).

Word-final clusters are mainly restricted to [nasal + stop/affricate] (where the two consonants share the place of articulation), [lateral + stop/affricate], and [sibilant + stop].[61] However, final [sibilant + stop] clusters are very rare. Consider examples of word-final clusters in JKB in (30) as follows:

(30)   Final clusters in JKB
a.   [nasal + affricate]
        gunc   'day'

        ḓasi.-va**nc**   'girls'

        ha.la**nc**   'crescent'

b.   [liquid + stop/affricate]
        u**rk**   'wolf'
        γu**lk**   'well (n.)'

        gi:**l̥ṭ**   'Gilgit'

        ba:**l̥ṭ**   'apple'

        va**rc**   'in proper order; right'
        bisa**rċ**   'sickle'

c.   [sibilant + stop]
        ba**sk**   'more'

Thus, in (30)-a above we have word-final [nasal + affricate] in *gunc* 'day/daily', *ḓasivanc* 'girls', and *halanc* 'crescent'. Notice that the nasal preceding the obstruent is a homorganic nasal. That is, it shares the place of articulation with the following consonant – a phonological feature typical of natural languages. In (30)-b we have word-final [liquid + stop] in *urk* 'wolf', *gi:l̥ṭ* 'Gilgit' and *ba:l̥ṭ* 'apple', and [liquid + affricate] in

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[61] I am using the term "obstruent" to include stops and affricates only.

varc 'in proper order/right', and *bisarċ* 'sickle'. And in (30)-c, we have final [sibilant + stop] cluster in *bask* 'more'. [62] The occurrence of the latter type is very rare and only one instance was found in the corpus.

There are no final [nasal + sibilant] clusters in JKB. This is illustrated by borrowed words in (31) as follows:

(31)   No final [nasal + sibilant] clusters
        sai.**nas**   'science' (*sai∂ns; cf. E. sai∂ns 'science')

Thus, we have JKB *sainas* 'science' where the cluster –*ns*] in the original English word *sains* 'science' is broken by the insertion of a vowel (***sains* < E. *sai∂ns* 'science'; cf. K. *sainas* 'science').

All attested word-final clusters as mentioned above are possible candidates for word-medial clusters in JKB. In fact, medial clusters have a larger inventory than final clusters and include certain clusters not usually found in word-final position. However, the only attested word-initial consonant cluster [stop + r] is not found in medial positions. Consider examples in (32) for illustration of different possible word-medial consonant clusters in JKB as follows:

(32)   Medial clusters in JKB
a.   [nasal + stop/affricate]

        i**nḍ**il   'his chest'

        si**nḍ**iş   'swan'

        ka**nt**ei   'kite'

        qu**ŋq**ucu:ću   'cook-u-ruckoo; Onom.'

        gu**nc**iŋ   'days'

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[62] Anderson (1997) reports final -śk] in *ṭi:śk* 'dagger' from Pakistani dialects of Burushaski.

b.	[sibilant + stop/affricate]

	i**sk**in	'three'

	a**sq**ur	'flower'

	a**sk**arḏu:	'Skardu'

	ḏus̱ṯak	'pot'

	y-a**s-ḏ**aro	'(his) sister(s)'

	i-no:**śk**i	'(his) pillow'

	a-ṣ**ċ**iŋ	'(my) back'

c.	[liquid + stop]

	ol̥talik	'both

	ḏal̥ṯas	'beautiful/good'

	al̥ṯambo	'eight'

	al̥ṯo	'two'

	ba:l̥ṯiśu	'apples'

	u**rk**ainc	'wolves'

	qa**rq**a:.muc	'cock/hen/bird'

d.	[liquid + nasal]
	gi**rm**inum	'(that which is) written'

Thus, we have [nasal + obstruent], [sibilant + stop], [liquid + stop], and [liquid + nasal] clusters in medial position. Notice in (32) above, in addition to the clusters which are attested in word-final position as observed in (30) before, medial clusters also include [r + nasal] sequence (e.g., *-rm-* in *girminum* in (32)-d above) which is not attested word-finally.

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There are also some medial clusters of the type [stop + stop] in JKB such as *-ṭk-* in *pʰuṭkiṣ* 'mad' where the two adjacent consonants share the voice quality.

Note that in case of medial clusters, the syllable boundary always falls between the two consonants next to each other.

Neither medial nor final [C + sibilant] clusters are attested in JKB. This claim is further strengthened by examples in (34) as follows where plural forms of words ending in consonants either undergo epenthesis (vowel insertion) or consonantal deletion to avoid such a cluster after the addition of the plural marking suffix *-śu*:

(34)   No medial [C + sibilant] clusters in JKB

a.   qalam 'pen'   qalam-iśu 'pens'

       kʰapun 'spoon'   kʰapun-iśu 'spoons'
       ba:l̪t 'apple'   ba:l̪t-iśu 'apples'

       a:m 'mango'   a:m-iśu 'mangoes'

       haɣur 'horse'   haɣur-iśu 'horses'

b.   hilas 'boy'   hila-śu 'boys'

       belis 'ewe'   beli-śu 'ewes'

       pʰariṣ 'duck'   pʰari-śu 'ducks'

Thus, in (34)-a above, plural forms of words ending in stops, nasals, and liquids undergo epenthesis, while in (34)-b, plural forms of words ending in sibilants undergo deletion of final consonant of the base form when followed by another sibilant in the plural form. There is a general tendency to avoid cross-morphemic clusters (candidates for medial positions) in the language. Thus, often in words ending in consonants, the plural forms may undergo consonantal deletion (of the final consonant of the base) or epenthesis (vowel insertion between two consonants coming in contact) after the addition

of a plural marking suffix which begins in a consonant. This is not only evident from examples in (34) above but also in some other cases where medial clusters do not violate attested patters. Consider examples in (35) for illustration as follows:

(35)   Avoidance of medial clusters: Epenthesis
        hir 'man' + -kanc 'Pl' > hirikanc 'men'

Thus, in (35) above, an otherwise attested cluster *-rk-* is avoided by vowel epenthesis.

Geminate clusters of the type C_1C_1 are not permitted in JKB except for some Arabic borrowings (e.g., *muṭallaq* 'about (something)'). This is also true of many languages spoken in the region which are influenced by Arabic (through Islam). It should be noted that such geminates are only used by speakers who have, at least, good reading knowledge of Arabic.

3.2.2.2 Vowel Clusters

Some of the many possible vowel clusters found in JKB are [ai], [au], and [ui]. A sequence of two vowels next to each other, V_1V_2, is generally, but not always, cross-morphemic. Consider examples in (36) for illustration as follows:

(36)   Cross-morphemic vowel sequences
        [a-u]: a-u 'my father' (= '1Sg-father')
                ma-ul 'your (Pl.) stomach' (= '2Pl-stomach')
        [u-i]: u-iruman 'they died (='3Pl.-died.Pl ')
                gu-iruma 'you died' (= '2Sg-die.Past.2Sg')

There are also instances of morpheme-internal V_1V_2 sequences in some roots and affixes. These include: sequences such as [au] and [ai]. Consider examples in (37) for illustration as follows:

(37) Morpheme-internal sequences

    [au]:   baum 'mare'

    [ai]:   buśai 'land'
            huk-ainc 'dogs' (= 'dog-Pl.')
            ma-s-ainc 'our hearts' (='1Pl-heart-Pl.')
            urk-ainc 'wolves' (= 'wolf-Pl')
            buś-ainc 'cats' (= 'cat-Pl.')

Note that there are inter-speaker variations and more than one pronunciation is available for some cases. For example, in some speakers, the plural marking suffix –*ainc* surfaces as –*e:nc* (possible monophthongization). Thus, we have variations such as *huk-ainc ~ huk-e:nc* 'dog-Pl.', *urk-ainc ~ urk-e:nc* 'wolf-Pl.', *buś-ainc ~ buś-e:nc* 'cat-Pl.', etc. across different speakers of JKB.

According to Anderson (1997), there is a phonotactic restriction in Burushaski which prevents homorganic sequences of glide + vowel so that phonemic sequences *yi- and *vu- (*wu- in Anderson 1997) are "not tolerated" in the language. The sequences *yi-* and *wu-* do not contrast with *i-* and *u-* in word-initial position. Word-initial high front vowel *i* is often replaced by the palatal glide [y] when followed by a high back vowel. Consider (38) for example:

(38) Word-initial *i* > *y* when followed by high back vowel

    yu:yas 'to give (him)' < *i-* '3Sg.' + *-u:y-as* 'give-Inf'

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3.3 BASIC STRESS PATTERN

Based on the present analyses, the distribution of stress in JKB appears to be sensitive to quantitative (syllable weight), positional (position of the syllable in the overall word) and (perhaps) rhythmic (distance between stressed, or between unstressed, syllables) constraints. Every content word in JKB is stressed. Stress is iambic and iterative. It is also sensitive to the morphological make-up of a word. [63]

Basic Stress Generalizations

Some of the basic generalizations about the stress pattern of JKB are provided as follows:

(a) Heavy syllables are always stressed. By "heavy", we mean closed syllables and syllables with long vowels (i.e., (C)VC and (C)VV(C) syllables respectively).

(b) The rightmost heavy syllable gets primary stress. In case of two stressed syllables next to each other, the second syllable gets primary stress (iambic feet).

(c) Final CV syllables are never stressed

(d) In a sequence of CV syllables, second syllable is stressed if it is non-final. In case of di-syllabic words with two CV syllables adjacent to each other, stress falls on the first syllable.

(e) In case of inflected verbs, stress is determined by the verb stem. Pronominal prefixes, if any, are part of the verb stem in terms of the stress domain.

(f) Pronominal prefixes are always stressed in inherently possessed nouns and, thus, behave like independent words for stress purposes.

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[63] Stress pattern in JKB resembles that of Kashmiri in some, but not all, respects.

Stress falls on every syllable which contains a long vowel. This is true irrespective of the position of the syllable. Consider data in (39) for illustration as follows (Note that stressed syllables are in **bold** type face and the syllable boundary is designated by a dot ".". Same representations are followed in other sets of examples in this section):

(39)   Stress on every syllable containing a long vowel

       ḏe:.ri   'spread; send in X (male); Imperative'

       ha:.ri   'sparrow(s)'

       qar.**qa:.**muc   'cock/hen/bird'

       ja.**va:.**yu   'youths, young people'

       ja.**va:.ni:**   'youth'

       sa.**bu:r**   'tomorrow'

       a.**si:r**   'near'

       hu.**k-e:nc**   'dogs'

       bu.**ś-e:nc**   'cats'

Thus, as observed in (39) above, a syllable containing a long vowel is stressed in initial position as in *ḏe:ri* 'spread; send in X (male); Imperative', *ha:ri* 'sparrow', etc. It is stressed in word-medial position in *qarqa:muc* 'bird', and *java:yu* 'youths'. It is also stressed in word-final position in *java:ni:* 'youth', *sabu:r* 'tomorrow', *asi:r* 'near', *huke:nc* 'dogs', and *buśe:nc* 'cats', etc.

Stress falls on every closed, i.e., (C)VC, syllable. This is also true irrespective of the position of the syllable. Consider examples in (40) for illustration as follows:

(40)   Stress on every closed syllable

   huk   'dog'

   hu.**k-enc**   'dogs'

   ha.**ɣur**   'horse'

   ma.**liŋ**   'fields'

   ću.**ruk**.ne   'having cut'

   as.qur   'flower'

   guś.pur   'prince'

   bras.pu̪ṭ   'Thursday'

   gra:.mar   'grammar'

   ba.lo.**gan** 'egg plant'

Notice every closed syllable is stressed in (40) leading to stress clash in certain cases such as words for 'flower', 'prince', 'Thursday', etc.

Every final CV syllable is unstressed. Consider data in (41) for illustration as follows:

(41)   Final CVs unstressed in polysyllabic words

   pa.ći   'cloth'

   śa.**ŋa.**li   'door chain'

   ću.**ruk**.ne   'having cut'

   ja.**va:.**yu   'youths, young people'

   i.**ḍe**.li.mi   'he beat him'

   mu.**ḍe.**li.mi 'he beat her'

   ha.**ɣu.**ri.**śu** 'horses'

Note that the only exception where final CV syllables are stressed are monosyllabic content words. This is because every content word is stressed in JKB.

If a word contains a sequence of CV syllables next to each other, the second syllable of the word is stressed if it is non-final. If a word contains only two syllables and both of them are CV syllables, then the first syllable is stressed. Consider data in (42) for illustration as follows:

(42)   Stress pattern in words containing a sequence of CV syllables

        pa.ći   'cloth'

        qa.ċi   'at/near (something'

        śa.**ŋa.**li   'door chain'

        ha.**ɣu.**ri.śu   'horses'

Thus, in di-syllabic words such as *pa.ći* 'cloth', and *qa.ċi* 'near' in (42) above, the first syllable is stressed. In words with more than two syllables, the second syllable is stressed as in *śa.ŋa.li* 'door chain', and *ha.ɣu.ri.śu* 'horses'.

There is no stress on an initial CV syllable followed by a closed syllable, a syllable containing a long vowel, or a non-final CV syllable. That is, no stress falls on an initial CV syllable followed by a stressed syllable. Consider data in (43) as follows:

(43)   No stress on a CV syllable in initial position when followed by a stressed syllable

        ha.**ɣur**   'horse'

        ću.**ruk**.ne   'having cut'

        a.**si:r**   'near'

        ja.**va:.**yu   'youths'

        hi.**ri.-kanc**   'man-Pl'

Stress is sensitive to inflectional morphology. In case of inflected verbs, stress is determined by the verb stem. Consider following examples where the verb stem gets stress in spite of being ineligible to get stress should above-mentioned generalizations apply everywhere:

(44)   Stress on the verb stem in inflected verbs

e̤t-as   'do-Inf' (and not *e̤**t-as;** where e̤t- 'do' is the verb stem)

se.n-i.mi   'say-Past.3SgM' (and not *se.**n-i.**mi, where sen- 'say' is the verb stem)

d̤u.n-i.mi   'he opened it' (and not *d̤u.**n-i.**mi, where sen- 'say' is the verb stem)

Thus, in examples in (44) above, initial CV syllable of the verb stem is stressed in spite of the presence of a following, otherwise stress-eligible, syllable in the inflectional suffix.

In case of inflected verbs with prefixes (generally pronominal prefixes), the stress domain is constituted of the verb stem plus prefix. Thus, primary stress falls on the verb stem containing the prefix. Consider examples in (46) for illustration as follows:

(46)   Stress patterns in inflected verbs with prefixes

a.   i.**d̤e.**li.mi

i-d̤el-umi

3SgM-hit-Past.3SgM

'he hit him'

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b.   mu.**ḏe.**li.mi

mu-ḏel-umi

3SgF-hit-Past.3SgM

'he hit her'

c.   u.**ḏe.**li.mi

u-ḏel-umi

3Pl-hit-Past.3SgM

'he hit them'

d.   **os.**qa.nu.man

u-sqan-uman

3Pl-kill-Past.3Pl

'they killed them'

e.   ḏu.**quś.qal.**tu.ma

ḏu-qu-śqaḻt-uma

d-Prefix-2Sg-reach-Past.2Sg

'you reached'

f.   **ḏe:ś.qal.**ti.mi

ḏu-i-śqaḻt-umi

 '*d*-Prefix-3Sg-reach-Past.3Sg

'he reached'

Thus, in ***o-s.qa.n-u.man*** 'they killed them' in (46)-d above, the prefix *o-* '3Pl' (< *u-*) forming a closed syllable with the initial consonant *s-* of the verb root *–sqan-* 'kill', receives stress while there is no stress on the inflectional suffix *–uman* containing a closed syllable. In *ḏu-**qu-ś.qal̠ṭ-u.ma*** 'you reached' (in (46)-e above), the pronominal prefix *–qu-*'2Sg' (<*gu-*) receives stress after forming a closed syllable with the following consonant of the verb root. Similarly, in ***ḏe-e-ś.qal̠ṭ-i.mi*** 'he reached' (in (46)-e above), the *d*-prefix receives stress in initial position.[64]

In case of nouns with pronominal prefixes, the pronominal prefixes always receive stress. Pronominal prefixes appear in inherently-possessed nouns (as discussed in Chapter 5 Morphology). Consider examples in (47) for illustration as follows:

(47)   Stress patterns in nouns with pronominal prefixes (inherently possessed nouns)
       a- .**ċu**   '1Sg-brother (of a male); (my) brother'
       a- .**ćʰar**   '1Sg-voice; (my) voice'
       i- .**ćʰar**   '3Sg-voice; (his) voice'
       a- .**sat**   '1Sg-memory; (my) memory'
       i- .**xaṭ**   '3Sg-face; (his) face'
       mu-ri.ŋ-i.**ćaŋ**   '3SgF-hand-Pl; (her) hands'

Notice in (47) above, pronominal prefixes containing open syllables in initial position are always stressed. Stress also appears on the noun stem as a separate stress domain consistent with the generalized patterns described above. Thus, in ***mu-ri.ŋ-i.ćaŋ*** '(her) hands', for examples, ***mu-*** and *-ri.ŋ-i.**ćaŋ*** apparently behave like independent words for stress purposes. Same is true of other examples in (47) above.

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[64] *d*-Prefix verbs and verbs with pronominal prefixes are discussed in Chapter 5 Morphology.

3.4 PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

Understanding the various phonological processes is very important in tracing the development of a language. It helps in understanding the linguistic reconstruction, internal development of the language, and also in detecting loanwords. Various types of phonological operations are observed in JKB. Some of the very frequently observed phonological changes include: assimilation, devoicing of consonants, vowel deletion or elision, *svarabhakti* or epenthesis (vowel insertion), devocalization of vowels, vowel harmony, etc. While many of these changes are purely phonological, some are morphologically motivated. Some of these processes are discussed here.

3.4.1. Consonantal Assimilation

Various types of assimilation processes are observed in JKB in which one sound becomes similar to another in terms of one or more features. Both contact assimilation (where the affected sound is in contact with the sound inducing change) and distant assimilation (where the affected sound is not in direct contact with the sound inducing change). Assimilation can be regressive (i.e., in a sequence of two sounds AB, A becomes more like B) or progressive (i.e., in a sequence of two sounds A....B, B becomes more like A) in nature. Some of the common sound changing resulting from assimilation in consonants are: palatalization, retroflexion, voicing assimilation, and nasal assimilation.

3.4.1.1. Palatalization

Palatalization assimilation in consonants is regressive in nature and is often accompanied by deletion. It is a result of contact assimilation. Consider examples in (48) for illustration as follows:

(48)   Palatalization accompanied by deletion: $C_1 + C_{2[+Palatal]} > C_{[+Palatal]}$

a.   n + ć > y

       Example: manimi 'he became' ~ mayimi 'he will become'

       man-   'become' + -ć '[-Perf]' > may- 'become. [-Perf]'

       Cf. gucʰarimi 'he walked' ~ gucʰarćimi 'he will walk'

       gucʰar- 'walk' + -ć '[-Perf]' > gucʰarć-

b.   ṭ + ć > ć

       Example: eṭimi 'he did' ~ ećimi 'he will do'

       eṭ- 'do'+ -ć '[-Perf]'   > eć- 'do.[-Perf]'

c.   c + ć > ś

       Example: ga:rcimi 'he ran' ~ ga:rśimi 'he will run'

       ga:rc-   'run' + -ć '[-Perf]'   > ga:rś- 'run. [-Perf]'

d.   ṭ + ć > ś

       Example: giraṭimi 'he ran' ~ giraśimi 'he will run'

       giraṭ-'dance' + -ć '[-Perf]'   > giraś- 'dance.[-Perf]'

       This kind of palatalization is apparently induced by palatal consonants. Evidence to support this argument are examples such as *vaḽti* 'four [-h]', *ba:ḽtiśu* 'apples', etc., where a following high front vowel (which is [+Palatal]), does not result into palatalization of the preceding consonant.

3.4.1.2. Retroflexion

In case of retroflexion assimilation, when a retroflex sibilant is followed by an affricate, the latter is assimilated so that it surfaces as a retroflex affricate. Consider examples in (49) as follows:

(49)   Retroflexion assimilation (distant)

a.   ş....ć > ş....ċ

Example: şiyam 'I ate' vs. şiċam 'I will eat'

şi- 'eat' + -ć '[-Perf]'   > şiċ- 'eat.[-Perf]'

Compare: guc^harimi 'he walked/passed' vs. guc^harćimi 'he will walk'

b.   ż....ć > ż....ċ

Example: żuyam 'I came' vs. żuċam 'I will come'

żu- 'come' + -ć '[-Perf]'> żuċ- 'come.[-Perf]'

Notice the examples in (49) above are cases of distant assimilation where a sibilant and a following (non-contiguous) affricate share the place of articulation. The change is progressive in nature. Evidence to support this claim are examples like *so:ċi* 'female (of an animal)', where a sibilant and a following (non-contiguous) affricate do not share the place of articulation (the following affricate being a retroflex consonant). Retroflexion assimilation is also observed when a sibilant is immediately followed by an affricate. Thus, a [sibilant + affricate] share the place of articulation for retroflexion when the two are contiguous. For example, *aşċiŋ* 'my back' – a very common type contact of assimilation cross-linguistically.

3.4.1.3. Uvularization

Another example of distant assimilation is uvularization of velar consonants under the influence of a uvular fricative. This occurs when a velar stop is preceded by a uvular fricative. Thus, the following velar stop is uvularized when preceded by a (non-contiguous) uvular fricative. Consider example(s) in (50) for illustration as follows:

(50)   Uvularization assimilation

γuna**q**iş 'bad' < γuna-kiş 'badness-AdjM'

γa**q**ay 'bitter'

γus**q**i 'dough'

Thus, in (50) above, velar *k* is assimilated and changed to uvular *q* by the preceding (non-contiguous) uvular *γ*. That the underlying form is a velar *k* in *γunaqiş* is evident from other cases where the same adjective marking suffix *-kiş* occurs such as *maṭukiş* 'wise' (<*maṭu + -kiş* = 'wisdom + AdjM'), *bayukiş* 'salty' (< *bayu + -kiş* = 'salt + AdjM'), etc. There are no attested cases where [k] follows [γ] in a word in JKB. On this basis, we can assume that *k* is the underlying form in other two examples also in (51) above.

3.4.1.4. Nasal Assimilation

In JKB, a nasal consonant in a medial or final cluster of the type [nasal + stop] or [nasal + affricate] is assimilated by the following consonant such that the two share their place of articulation. In other words, the nasal component in the cluster is homorganic with the consonant. Consider examples in (51) for illustration as follows:

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(51)   Nasal assimilation

        a**nḏ**il   'my chest'

        si**nḏ**iṣ   'swan'

        ka**nt**ei   'kite'

        hirika**nc**   'men'

        qu**ŋq**uru:ću   'cook-u-ruckoo; Onom.'

This kind of nasal assimilation is extremely common across languages. Notice that these examples are morpheme internal. We do not have evidence to show what the underlying forms are in these examples.

3.4.2 *Sandhi* (Vowel Assimilation)

Assimilation also affects vowels resulting in different changes in vowels in contact. Several vowel changes are observed in JKB which result from assimilation (*Sandhi*). Consider examples in (52) for illustration as follows:

(52)   Some vowel changes in JKB

a.   o: + e > o:

        m**o:**ṭimi 'he caused her to do'   < m**o:**- '3FSg' + **e**ṭimi 'he did; do.Past.3SgM'

        m**o:**ṭam 'I caused her to do'   < m**o:**- '3FSg'+ **e**ṭam 'I did; do-Past.1Sg'

b.   u + e > o:

        o:ṭimi 'he caused them to do' < **u**- '3Pl' + **e**ṭimi 'do-Past.3SgM'

c.   o: + u > o:

        ḏum**o:**mo 'she came' < ḏu-m**o:-u**mo 'come-3SgF-Past.3SgF'

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Thus, in (53)-a and (53)-b, a pronominal prefix containing a back, round vowel is followed by a front, unround, non-high vowel in the root, and the latter is assimilated by the former for the feature [round]. In (53)-c, a mid, back, round vowel, followed by a high, back, round vowel, assimilates the latter. Interestingly, we also have other cases with similar phonological environments but change(s) with different results. For example, a sequence of [u + e] changes to [e:] in *ne:t̪in* 'having done' (<*nu-et̪in* 'PPL-do.PPL'), *ne:gin* 'having sowed' (<*nu-egin* 'PPL-sow.PPL'), etc. where the following [-low,-high] (mid) vowel *e* assimilates the back, high, round vowel *u*.

3.4.3. Devocalization of Vowels

A semivowel/glide *y* or *v* is introduced between two vowels which do not share the feature [+/-high] or [+/-low]. Thus, a labial glide *v* is inserted if the preceding vowel is a [+back, +round] vowel while the following vowel is [-back], and a palatal glide *y* is inserted elsewhere (i.e., if the preceding vowel is [-back]). Some examples to illustrate this are given in (54) as follows:

(54)

a.   i + a > iya

       pʰit**i** 'bread' + **-a**n 'Indef.'   **>** pʰit**iya**n 'a/one bread'

       ga:d**i** 'bus' **+ -a**n 'Indef.'   > ga:d**iya**n 'a/one bus'

b.   u + a > uva

       śuɣul**u** 'friend' + **-a**n 'Indef.'   > śuɣul**uva**n 'a friend'

       gat**u** 'dress' + **-a**n 'Indef.'   > gat**uva**n 'a dress'

       d̪**u** 'baby goat' + **-a**nc 'Pl'   > d̪**uva**nc 'baby goats'

c.   a + e > aye

       a- 'Neg' + **e**t̪i 'do.Imp.' > **aye**t̪i 'don't do'

Thus, in (54)-a and (54)-b, the suffix -*an* (for Indefinite Article) surfaces as -*yan* after a stem ending in a high front vowel (-*i*) and as -*van* after a stem ending in a high back vowel (-*u*). Similarly, In (54)-c, *y* is inserted between central low vowel *a* and front, [-low] vowel *e*. This does not happen when a morpheme ending in *a* is followed by a morpheme beginning in *a*. Consider examples in (55) for illustration as follows:

(55)   śahza:ḍa 'prince'+ -an 'Indef.' > śahza:ḍa-an 'a/one prince'

Thus, in (55) above, when an *a*-initial suffix follows an *a*-final root or another morpheme, only vowel lengthening takes place.

3.4.4 Vowel Harmony

A high back round vowel, i.e., *u*, is fronted when followed by a high front vowel (i.e., -*i*) in the following syllable. The harmony is regressive in nature in that its direction is from right to left. Harmony travels all the way to the left if more eligible targets are available (i.e., high back round vowels in the underlying form). This process is morphologically motivated and the change only occurs in cross-morphemic environments in inflected verbs. Consider examples in (56) for illustration as follows (Vowels under consideration are in **bold** face):

(56)   Vowel harmony in JKB
a.   Harmony induced by a high vowel in the suffix
         gucʰar**imi**   'he walked'   < gucʰar-**u**m-**i**   'walk-Past-3SgM'

         muḍel**imi**   'he hit her'   < mu-ḍel-**u**m-**i**   '3SgF-beat-Past-3SgM'

         yal**imi**   'he broke it'   < yal-**u**m-**i**   'break-Past.3SgM'

         ḍiy**imi**   'he came'   < ḍu-**i**-**u**m-**i**   'come-3SgM-Past-3SgM'

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Compare,

a'.   No harmony when a high vowel is followed by a non-high vowel

gucʰarumo   'she walked'   <gucʰar-**u**m-**o**   'walk-Past-3SgF

muḏel**u**m**a**n   'they hit her'   < mu-ḏel-**u**m-**a**n '3SgF-hit-Past-3Pl'

yal**u**m**a**   'I broke it'   < yal-**u**m-**a**   'break-Past-1Sg'

ḏu:man   'they came'   < ḏ**u-u**m-an 'come-3Pl-Past-3Pl'

b.   Harmony induced by a high vowel in the root

n**i**k**i**rmin   'having written'< n**u**-g**i**rmin   'PPL-write'

n**i**m**i**n   'having drunk' < n**u**-m**i**n   'PPL-drink'

Compare,

b'.   No harmony when a high vowel is followed by a non-high vowel

n**u**man   'having become' < n**u**-man   'PPL-become'

n**u**ka:rc   'having run'   < n**u**-ga:rc   'PPL-run'

n**u**sen   'having said'   < n**u**-sen   'PPL-say'

Thus, in (56) above, an underlying *u* changes to [i] when followed by *i* in the following syllable. Harmony is induced by a high front vowel in the suffix in (56)-a, and by a high front vowel in the root in (56)-b. Forms in (a') and (b') reveal that vowel harmony is not induced in other environments.

So far as evidence from JKB is concerned, vowel harmony is not observed in nouns. Thus, we have examples such as *ću:ni* 'wood', *ʈumićaŋ* 'trees' (< *ʈum-ićaŋ* 'tree-Pl'), *umi* '(their) mother' (< *u-mi* '3Pl-mother'), etc. where a high back round vowel *u* is followed by a high front vowel *i* but no harmony is triggered in such cases.

3.4.5 Devoicing of Consonants

There is a cross-morphemic operation in JKB by which a morpheme-initial consonant is devoiced (hardened) when prefixed by a morpheme ending in a vowel. Consider examples in (57) for illustration as follows:

(57)   Hardening triggered by prefixation
a.   [p]~[b] alternation

a-pi   '(it) isn't'   < a- 'Neg' +   bi   '(it) is'
a-pa   'I am not/You are not'   < a- 'Neg' +   ba   'I am/You are'
a-pa:n   '(we/they) are not'   < a- 'Neg' +   ba:n   '(we/they) are'

b.   [p]~[v] alternation

a-parc   'left/wrong side'   < a- 'Neg' + varc 'right side'
(Exception: aval- 'Neg-fall')

c.   [k] ~ [g] alternation

nu-ka:rc 'having run'   < nu- 'PPL' + ga:rc 'run; Imp'
ni-kirmin 'having written'[65]   < nu- 'PPL' + girmin 'write; Imp'

Thus, in (57) above, prefixation results in hardening/devoicing of intervocalic *–b-*, *-v-,* and *-g-* in (a), (b), and (c) respectively. This kind of change is not observed in morpheme-internal environments. Thus, we have examples such as *e:gi-* 'sow' with an intervocalic *-g-* which is voiced.

3.5 CONCLUSION

When we look at the phonological system of JKB and that of other dialects of Burushaski and compare them with the phonological systems of various other neighboring languages spoken in the region, we find various similarities across the

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[65] nu- ~ ni- variation is a result of vowel harmony.

languages. Yet there are some noteworthy differences. The consonantal system of JKB resembles that of the neighboring Indo-Aryan Urdu/Hindi, Kashmiri as well as Shina (and possibly some other contact languages) as far as stops, nasals, affricates and glides are concerned. The differences are observed with respect to retroflex consonants and fricatives. Aspirated voiced consonants are absent in all dialects of Burushaski. This is also true of Dardic group of Indo-Aryan languages, the closest geographical neighbors of Burushaski, as well as Iranian languages situated further west.

An interesting feature of the consonantal system of Burushaski is the presence of retroflex consonants, such as ċ, ċʰ, ṣ and ż, also found in Dardic Khowar, Shina, Kohistani and some other surrounding languages but absent in Urdu or Kashmiri. It is not clear whether these consonant sounds are inherent to Burushaski or that they are a result of a very early contact-induced phenomenon. It should be noted that Dravidian languages, widely believed to have been spoken in the region before the advent of Aryans into the subcontinent, also possess retroflex sounds. The retroflex affricates found in the phonological inventories of some Dardic languages have been argued to be an innovation in the latter having developed from OIA clusters which maintained and reinforced them under aerial influences (Tikkanen 1995). It could be tentatively argued that these languages might have acquired these sounds/features under Burushaski influence. On the other hand, it is also possible that Burushaski developed these retroflex sounds as a result of contact.

The language reveals some interesting phonotactic similarities as well as differences with the areal languages. For example, some of the very common consonant clusters found in JKB and presumably other dialects of Burushaski, such as final –rk, -ḷt, -sk, etc., are absent in many areal languages including modern Indo-Aryan (although Old Indo-Aryan does have some of these clusters) while others such as [nasal + stop/affricate]

are common cross-linguistically. Initial clusters as attested in JKB are also found in other areal languages such as Indo-Aryan languages (Of course, Indo-Aryan languages have some clusters which are absent in JKB).

Some phonological processes typical of the region are devocalization of vowels (insertion of a semivowel between two contiguous vowels) in contact with other vowels, vowel harmony, and various assimilation processes. Insertion of semivowels between two contiguous vowels is a cross-linguistic phenomenon. However, certain types of consonantal assimilation (such as palatalization and uvularization) as observed in JKB are presumably language-internal and these do not have exact parallels in other languages in the region. Interestingly, the kind of vowel harmony observed in JKB (and other Burushaski dialects) is very similar to that found in Kashmiri. It is not known at this point whether there is a correlation between the two or that they have developed entirely independently in the two languages.

Chapter 4: Morpho-Syntax

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the various components of the JKB clause and their relations within the clause. It discusses topics such as constituent order typology, grammatical relations and case, and clause combining. Because of the difficulty of separating syntax from the categorial aspects of morphology the term "morpho-syntax" is used in the present study instead of the more conventional term "syntax". Forms of sentences are examined before the forms of words. Using a top-down view of morpho-syntax, I start with syntactic constituency working down to the details.

4.1 CONSTITUENT ORDER TYPOLOGY

A JKB clause can have, at the most, three NPs, designated as "Ergative", "Absolutive", and "Oblique" in this study. All NPs precede the verb in an unmarked clause. A simplified account of JKB Phrase Structure in terms of syntactic constituents within the clause is given in the form of Phrase Structure Rules in (1) as follows:

(1)   Phrase Structure Rules

        Sentence = ([Ergative NP])   ([Oblique NP]) [Absolutive NP]   [V]

        [V] = V   (AUX)

        V = (Pronominal Prefix)-Verb Stem-(Agreement)

        AUX = Auxiliary Verb-Agreement

        [NP] = (Specifier)   (Modifier/Adjective)   [N]

        [N] = (Pronominal Prefix)-Noun-Number-Case

In (1) above, "Ergative" represents the most Agent-like argument of a transitive clause, and "Absolutive" the only argument of an intransitive or the least agent-like (or most patient-like) argument of a transitive clause. An "Oblique" NP may be represented by a "Dative" argument or a Postpositional Phrase. A sentence contains at least one NP which precedes the inflected verb. The category designated as "[V]" is the inflected verb component and "V" is the main verb. Formal details of NP arguments and verb agreement are provided in Section 4.2.

4.1.1 Word Order in Main Clauses

Basic contituent order in a JKB clause is S-V in an intransitive and A-P-V in a transitive clause, where, "S" is the only argument of an intransitive clause, "A" is the most agent-like argument of a transitive clause, and "P" is the other argument of a transitive clause . Consider data in (2) and (3) for illustration as follows:

(2)   Typology of an intransitive clause

a.   hiles   i:rimi   (S-V)

        hiles-Ø   i-ir-imi

        boy-Abs.   3SgM-die-Past.3SgM.

        'The boy died'

b.   ume   śugulu   ḍumo:mo   (S-V)

        ume-e   śugulu-Ø   ḍV-mo-omo

        2Sg-Gen. friend-Abs.   come-3SgF-Past.3SgF.

        'Your (female) friend came'

(3)   Typology of a transitive clause

a.   ine   bi:ro   ʂimi   (A-P-V)

       ine-e   bi:ro-Ø   ʂi-imi

       3Sg-Erg   cock-Nom   eat-Past.3SgM

       'He ate the cock/chicken'

b.   teriza: sali:m   i̯delumo   (A-P-V)

       teriza:-e   sali:m-Ø   i-d̯el-umo

       Teresa-Erg.   Salim-Abs.   3SgM-hit-Past. 3SgF

       'Teresa(F) hit Salim (M)'

In case of clauses traditionally designated as "di-transitive", although the linear order of the (so-called) "Direct Object" and "Indirect Object" (the latter designated as "Oblique" in this study) is not strictly fixed and scrambling is possible, a subtle difference in meaning results with word-order changes. In an unmarked three-argument (di-transitive) clause, the word-order is: [Ergative-Oblique-Absolutive-Verb]. However, depending on the Focus of the sentence, different word-order configurations are possible. Consider data in (4) for illustration as follows:

(4)   Word Order in ditransitive clauses

i).   Sentence I: 'You poured water into the bucket'

a.   ume   ba:lti:lu   **cʰil**   ʈʰima

       ume-e   ba:lti-ulu   cʰil-Ø   ʈʰi-ma

       2Sg-Erg   bucket-in   water-Abs   pour.Past.2Sg

       'You poured **water** into the bucket' (with 'water' as Focus)

       Or,

       'It was water that you poured into the bucket'

b.	ume	cʰil	**ba:lti:lu**	t̪ʰima

ume-e	cʰil-Ø	ba:lti-ulu	t̪ʰi-ma

You-Erg	water-Abs	bucket-in	pour.Past.2Sg

'You poured water into the **bucket**' (with 'bucket' as Focus)
Or,
'It was the bucket that you poured into'

c.	ba:lti:lu	cʰil	**ume**	t̪ʰima

ba:lti-ulu	cʰil-Ø	ume-e	t̪ʰi-ma

bucket-in	water-Abs	You-Erg	pour.Past.2Sg

'**You** poured water into the bucket' (with 'you' as Focus)
Or,
'It was you who poured water into the bucket'

ii).	Sentence II: 'Mushtaq put the pot on the stove'

a.	muśt̪a:qe	śi:te	**d̪uṣṭak**	o:simi

muśt̪a:q-e	śi-i-te	d̪uṣṭak-Ø	o:s-imi

Mushtaq-Erg	stove-Gen-on	pot- Abs	put.Past.SgM

'Mushtaq put the **pot** on the stove'	(With 'pot' as Focus)
Or,
'It was the pot that Mushtaq put on the stove'

b.	muśt̪a:qe	d̪uṣṭak	**śi:te**	o:simi

muśt̪a:q-e	d̪uṣṭak-Ø	śi-i-te	o:s-imi

Mushtaq-Erg	pot-Abs	stove-Gen-on	put-Past.SgM

'Mushtaq put the pot on the **stove**'	(With 'stove' as Focus)
Or,
'It was on the stove that Mushtaq put the pot'

c. śi:te   d̤us̤ṭak   **muśṭa:qe**   o:simi

śi-i-te   d̤us̤ṭak-Ø   muśṭa:q-e   o:s-imi

stove-Gen-on   pot-Abs   Mushtaq-Erg   put-Past.SgM

'**Mushtaq** put the pot on the stove'[66]   (With 'Mushtaq' as Focus)

Or,

'It was Mushtaq who put the pot on the stove'

iii).   Sentence III: 'Majid put the fruits on the table'

a. ma:jid̤e   mezete   **meva**   o:simi

ma:jid̤-e   mez-e-te   meva-Ø   o:s-imi

Majid-Erg   table-Gen-on   fruit(s)-Abs   put-Past.SgM

'Majid put the **fruits** on the table'   (With 'fruit' as Focus)

Or,

'It was the fruits that Majid put on the table'

b. ma:jid̤e   meva   **mezete**   o:simi

ma:jid̤-e   meva-Ø   mez-e-te   o:s-imi

Majid-Erg   fruit(s)-Abs   table-Gen-on   put-Past.SgM

'Majid put the fruits on the **table**'   (With 'table' as Focus)

Or,

'It was on the table that Majid put the fruit'

c. mezete   meva   **ma:jid̤e**   o:simi

mez-e-te   meva-Ø   ma:jid̤-e   o:s-imi

table-Gen-on   fruit(s)-Abs   Majid-Erg   put-Past.SgM

'**Majid** put the fruits on the table'   (With 'Majid' as Focus)

Or,

'It was Majid who put the fruits on the table'

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[66] An echo question fot this statement will be: 'Mushtaq put what on the stove?'

According to the primary language consultant of this study (Master-Ji), in examples in (4) above, when Focus (or "emphasis" in native speaker's terms) is on the Absolutive NP c^hil 'water', *ḏusṭak* 'pot, or *meva* 'fruit' (in (4)-i, (4)-ii, and (4)-iii above), the latter occurs immediately before the verb (and after the Oblique NP *ba:lti* 'bucket', *śi* 'stove', or *mez* 'table', respectively; See examples (4)-i-a, (4)-ii-a, and (4)-iii-a above). Thus, in answer to a question such as: 'What did Mushtaq keep/put on the table?', the word order in (4)-iii-a is preferred; and, in answer to a question such as 'Where did Mushtaq put the fruits?', the word-order in (4)-iii-b is preferred. When Focus is on the Oblique NP, the latter appears immediately before the Verb (i.e., (4)-i-b, (4)-ii-b, and (4)-iii-b above). Similarly, when the Focus is on Ergative, the latter appears immediately before the Verb (i.e., (4)-i-c, (4)-ii-c, and (4)-iii-c above where the word-order is [Oblique-Absolutive-Ergative-Verb] and not [Ergative-Oblique-Absolutive-Verb] which is the unmarked word-order).

Although the Focus normally appears immediately before the verb, it is also expressed by means of clausal stress. Thus, irrespective of the word-order, the NP which bears clausal stress is the Focus in marked constructions.

4.1.2 Typology of the Verb Component

The inflected verb component (designated as "[V]" in (1) above) in JKB always occurs at the sentence-final position in unmarked utterances. The verb carries the inflectional information for Person, Number and Gender features of the NP argument(s) marked as "Ergative" and/or "Absolutive". It also carries information for Tense and Aspect features. Structure of the JKB verb component is given in Figure 4.1 as follows (hyphen represents the morpheme boundary and parentheses represent optionality):

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Verb Component

```
              Verb Component
       /        |        |        \
(Pronominal Prefix)- Verb Stem   (AUX)   - Tense, Ergative/Absolutive
```
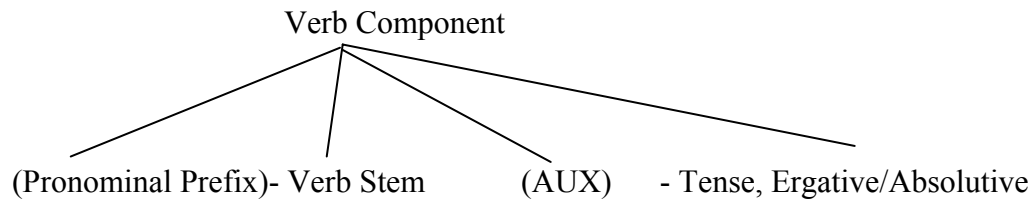
Fig. 4.1 Structure of the Verb Component

The inflected verb consists of a verb stem which contains a verb root and Aspect information, and a suffix bearing information on Tense and nominal agreement for Ergative or Absolutive (Subject). The inflected verb may also possess a pronominal prefix preceding the verb stem which agrees an NP argument.[67] Consider examples in (5) and (6) for verbs 'sit/stay' and 'die' respectively as follows:

(5)   No prefix verbs: Morphosyntax of an intransitive verb *hurut-* 'sit'

a.   in   hurutumo
        in-Ø   hurut-umo
        3Sg-Abs   sit-Past.3SgF
        'She sat/stayed'

b.   u   hurutuman
        u-Ø   hurut-uman
        3Pl-Abs   sit-Past.3Pl
        'They sat/stayed'

c.   ja   huruśam
        ja-Ø   huruś-am
        1Sg-Abs   sit.[-Perf]-Fut.1SgF
        'I will sit/stay'

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[67] The presence/absence of the pronominal prefix is determined by the grammatical role of the NP and the semantic content of the verb. See Section 4.2 for details.

(6)   Prefix verbs: Morphosyntax of an intransitive verb -*ir*- 'die' with pronominal prefix

a.   in   hilas   i:rimi

        ine-Ø   hilas   i-ir-umi

        3Sg-Abs   boy   3SgM-die-Past.3SgM

        'That/The boy died'

b.   alta   hileśu   uiruman

        alta-Ø   hilas-iśu   u-ir-uman

        two-Abs   boy-Pl   3Pl-die-Past.3SgM

        'Two boys died'

Notice the inflected verb –*ir*- 'die' in (6) above possesses a pronominal prefix agreeing with the Absolutive NP whereas in case of *hurut*- sit' it (5) does not. We will see later why this is so.

Aspect information appears on the verb stem. The auxiliary verb (AUX), if present, follows the main verb, and is inflected for Tense and nominal agreement. It forms a syntactic component with the main verb in that no syntactic material can occur between the main verb and the auxiliary. Aspect information is carried by the verb stem. Note that, "[-Perf]" stands for Imperfective Aspect in this study and while Perfective Aspect is not marked. Consider data in (7) as follows:

(7)   Morphosyntax of auxiliary verb

a.   in   gunc   **ga:rśu**   **bai**

        in-Ø   gunc   ga:rś-u   bai

        3Sg-Abs   daily   run.Hab[68]-3Sg be.Pres.3SgM.

        'He runs daily'

        Schematic representation: [Sentence [Abs in] ([Adv gunc]) [V [MV ga:rśu] [AUX bai]]]

---

[68] Habitual Aspect is expressed by [-Perf] verb stem. We will see later that each verb has two stems, viz. "base stem" and "derived stem". The latter represents actions which are not complete (designated as "[-Perf]" and can refer to Habitial/Continuous Aspect. This stem is also used for Future Tense).

a'.   *in   **ga:rśu** gunc   **bai**
         Schematic representation: [Sentence [Abs in] [MV ga:rśu] [Adv gunc] [AUX bai]]

b.   in   gunc   **ga:rśu**   **bo**
         ine-Ø   gunc   ga:rś-u   bo
         3Sg-Abs   daily   run.Hab-3Sg   be.Pres.3SgF.
         'She runs daily'
         Schematic representation: [Sentence [Abs in] ([Adv gunc]) [V [MV ga:rśu] [AUX bo]]]

b'.   *in   **ga:rśu** gunc   **bo**
         Schematic representation: [Sentence [Abs in] [MV ga:rśu] [Adv gunc] [AUX bo]]

        The ungrammaticality (designated by asterisk "*") of (a') and (b') in (7) above is

evidence for the argument that the main verb (MV) and auxiliary verb (AUX) form a

syntactic component in which the AUX always follows the MV with no syntactic

material in between. This is also true of a predicate nominal clause (i.e., a clause where

the semantic content of the predication is expressed by a noun; See Payne 1997:111)

where the verbal component (e.g., verb 'be') follows the predicate nominal. Consider

examples in (8) for illustration as follows:

(8)   Morphosyntax of predicate nominal clauses

a.   in   oɣaṭanasan   bai

        in-Ø   oɣaṭanas-an   bai

        3Sg-Abs   teacher-Indef.Sg   be.Pres.3SgM
        'He is (a) teacher'
        Schematic representation: [Sentence [Abs in] [Predicate [Pred.Nom. (hin) oɣaṭanas-an] [Verb bai]]

b. in   oɣaṭanasan   bo

    in-Ø   oɣaṭanas-an   bo
    3Sg-Abs   teacher-Indef.Sg   be.Pres.3SgF
    'She is (a) teacher'

    Schematic representation: [Sentence [Abs in] [Predicate [Pred.Nom. (hin) oɣaṭanas-an] [Verb bai]]

c. ja   (hin)   ḍasinan   ba

    ja-Ø   (hin)   ḍasin-an   ba
    1Sg-Abs.   (one)   girl-Indef.   be.Pres.1Sg.
    'I am a girl'

    Schematic representation: [Sentence [Abs ja] [Predicate [Pred.Nom. (hin) ḍasin-an] [Verb ba]]

d. u   śua   sisik   ba:n
    u-Ø   śua   sis-ik   ba:n
    3Pl-Abs.   good   people-Pl. be.Pres.Pl.
    'They are good people'
    Schematic representation: [Sentence [Abs u] [Predicate [Pred.Nom. śua   sis-ik] [Verb ba:n]]

In case of sentences with transitive verbs, the inflected verb component consists of a verb stem (carrying Aspect information), and a suffix bearing agreement features for the Ergative argument and Tense features. The verb stem may also possess a pronominal prefix agreeing with the Absolutive argument (or Dative argument in certain cases. See Section 4.2 for details). Consider examples in (9) and (10) for illustration as follows:

(9)   Morphosyntax of transitive verb: 'to eat (X)'

a. ja: şapik   şeyam
    ja-a   şapik-Ø   şe-y-am
    3Sg-Erg.   food-Abs   eat-Perf-Past.1Sg
    'I ate food'

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b.   mi: şapik   şeyan

           mi-i   şapik-Ø   şe-y-an

           1Pl-Erg.   food-Abs   eat-Perf-Past.1Pl

           'We ate food'

Schematic representation: [$_{Sentence}$ [$_{Erg}$ NP] [$_{Abs}$ NP] [$_{Verb}$ eat-Suffix$_{Erg}$]]

(10)   Typology of transitive verb: 'to kill (X)'

a.   in   sis   ɣayine   esqanimi

           in   sis-Ø   ɣayin-e   e-sqan-umi

           that   person-Abs   thief-Erg   3SgM $_{Abs}$-kill-Past.3SgM $_{Erg}$

           'The thief killed this person'

b.   in   ḍasin   ɣayine   mosqanimi

           in   ḍasin-Ø   ɣayin-e   mo-sqan-umi

           that   girl-Abs   thief-Erg   3SgF $_{Abs}$-kill-Past.3SgM $_{Erg}$

           'The thief killed this girl'

Schematic representation: [$_{Sentence}$ [$_{Erg}$ NP] [$_{Abs}$ NP] [$_{Verb}$ Prefix$_{Abs}$-kill -Suffix $_{Erg}$]]

The presence/absence of the pronominal prefix is determined by the semantic content of the verb and [+/-animacy] feature of the NP (See section 4.2 for details). Causative verbs also possess a pronominal prefix (See section 5.1.2 for a detailed account of verb morphology).

4.1.3 Noun Phrase

Numerals and Modifiers precede the Noun (head of the phrase) occupying the "Specifier/Determiner" position of the Noun Phrase. The immediate constituents of the Noun Phrase are represented in Figure 4.2 as follows:

Noun Phrase

(Specifier/Determiner)   (Modifier/AP)   Noun
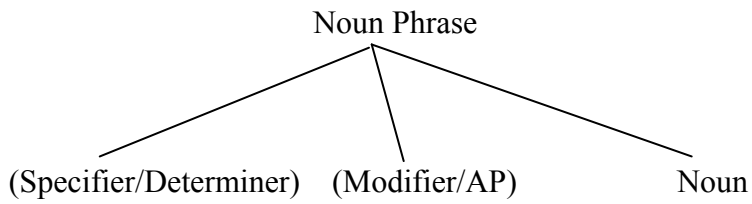
Fig. 4.2 Structure of Noun Phrase

The "Specifier/Determiner" position can be occupied by Demonstrative Pronoun, Possessor Pronoun, Relative Pronoun, Quantifier, etc. The "Modifier" (or AP-Adjectival Phrase) position may be occupied by one or more modifier(s), as is also true of many natural languages. Some examples to illustrate JKB Noun Phrase are given in (11) and (12) as follows:

(11)   Noun Phrase: Specifier/Determiner + Noun

a.   ḍasin

         girl

         '(The) girl'

b.   kʰin   ḍasin

         this   girl

         'This girl'

c. amin hilas ....
    Rel.Pro boy
    'The boy who…'

d. uyo:n ḍasi-vanc
    all   girl-Pl
    'All girls'

e. but huk-ayo
    many dog-Pl
    'Many dogs'

(12) Noun Phrase: Adjective + Noun

a. mạṭum buś
    black   cat
    '(The) black cat'

b. mi: uyum   nana
    our older/big   uncle
    'Our elder/older uncle'

c. (han) śua hilas-an
    one good boy-Indef
    'A good boy'

Thus, in (11) the NP is composed of a specifier/determiner and a noun, and in (12) the NP is composed of an adjective and a noun.

Within the AP (Adjectival Phrase), there may be one or more adjectives which may be preceded by a Specifier (optional). Consider examples in (13) as follows:

(13)   Noun Phrase: Specifier/Determiner + Adjective(s)/Modifier(s) + Noun

a.   (han)   but   śua   hilas-an

        one   very   good   boy-Indef

        'A very good boy'

b.   (han)   but   śua   buruśo   hilas-an

        one   very   good   Burusho   boy-Indef

        'A very good Burusho boy'

In case of NPs, Case and/or Indefinite Article (if any) follow the noun. The head of the NP, "Noun", is composed of the following components (hyphen represents the morpheme boundary):

Noun = (Pronominal Prefix)-Noun Stem-Number-Case (or Indefinite Article)

This is schematically represented in Figure 4.3 as follows:

N
(Pronominal - Noun - Number -   Case (or Indefinite Article)
    Prefix)   Stem
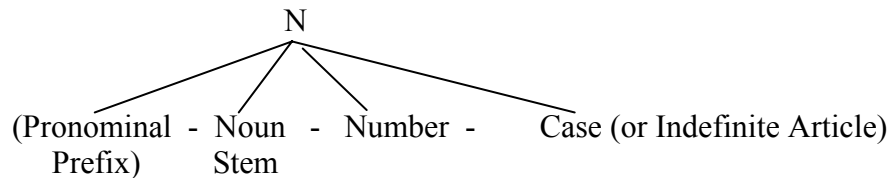
Fig. 4.3 Structure of Noun

The Pronominal Prefix is present in case of inherently possessed nouns. Consider nouns such as –yik 'name' and –soγoci 'pocket' in (14) and (15) for illustration as follows:

(14)   Morphosyntax of the noun 'name'

a.   (ja:)   a-yik

        (1Sg.Gen)   1Sg-name

        '(my) name'

b.   (ume)   gu-yik

           (2Sg.Gen)   2Sg-name

           '(your) name'

(15)   Morphosyntax of the noun 'pocket'

a.   (ja:)   a-soɣoći

           (1Sg.Gen)   1Sg-pocket

           'my pocket'

b.   (ine)   i-soɣoći

           (3SgM.Gen)   3SgM-pocket

           'his pocket'

Note that the possessor pronouns (i.e., *ja:* 'my', *ume* 'your', *ine* 'his') preceding the nouns in (14) and (15) above are optional.

The "Case" position (in Fig. 4.3 above) is occupied by grammatical Case which may or may not be overtly realized depending on the grammatical relations of the NPs within the clause. Consider examples in (16) as follows:

(16)   Case syntax

a.   kʰin   ḍasin

          kʰin   ḍasin-Ø

          this   girl-Abs

          'this girl (A/P)'

b.   ḍasine

          ḍasin-e

          girl-Erg

          '(the) girl (A)'

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c.   ḍasinmore

        ḍasin-mo-re
        girl- Gen.F-Dat
        'to the girl'

When the NP is not specified, a suffix for Indefinite Article may be attached to the noun stem. This is *-an* 'a/any' for singular and *-ik* for plural nouns. Consider examples in (17) as follows:

(17)   Indefinite Article

a.   ḍasin-an
        girl-Indef.Sg
        'a/some girl'

b.   hilas-an
        boy-Indef.Sg
        'a/some boy'

c.   gato-ŋ-ik
        dress-Pl-Indef.Pl
        '(any/some) dresses'

This kind of overt Indefinite Article is not reported in other South Asian languages (except, perhaps, Kashmiri, which possesses an equivalent morpheme *–ah* meaning 'a/any/some', possibly a relic form for Indefinite Singular in nouns suffixed to the noun stem, just like *–an* in JKB). [69]

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[69] For example, K. *ladɨk-ah* 'boy-Indef' = 'a/some boy', *ku:r-ah* 'girl-Indef' = 'a/some girl', etc.

4.1.4 Postpositional Phrase

JKB only has postpositions. It does not have prepositions. The structure of a Postpositional Phrase (PP) is schematically represented in Figure 4.4 as follows:

.
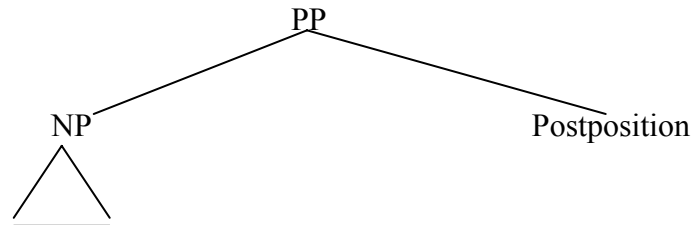
Fig. 4.4 Structure of Postpositional Phrase

Some of the typical postpositions used in the adverbials of time and space are: *mucum ~ cum* 'since', *mo* 'during/in' (Time), *ulu* 'in' (Location), *ulum* 'from', *ya:re* 'under', *ḏal* 'out of', *iŋi* 'in front', etc. Consider data from JKB in (18) for illustration:

(18)   Postpositional Phrases (in angled brackets "[PP]")
a.   ja: in   [PPsabu:r   mucum] au   ye:cam
         ja-a   in-Ø   [PPsabu:r   mucum] au   i-e:c-am
         1Sg.-Erg 3Sg-Abs   [PP yesterday since]   Neg. 3SgM-see.Past.1Sg
         'I did not see him since yesterday'
         Or
         'I have not seen him since yesterday'

b.   [PPece   bariŋ cum]   ixare   bexabar   hurutas śua   api
         [PPece   bar-iŋ   cum] i-xar-e   bexabar   hurut-as śua   a-pi
         [PP3Pl[-c] talk-Pl. from] 3Sg-self-Gen unaware be-Inf.   good   Neg-be.Pres.3Sg[-h]
         '(For oneself) to be unaware of such things is not good'

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c.   u   [PP suku:l ulum] (pʰarne)   d̪u:man

u-Ø   [PP suku:l ulum] (pʰarne)   d̪u:-man

3Pl-Abs   [PP school from   (back)   come-Past.Pl

'They came (back) from school'

                                      (Location in terms of Direction)

e.   u: in   [PP γulk ulum] d̪ivsuman

u-u   in-Ø   [PP γulk ulum] d̪ivs-uman

3Pl.-Erg 3Sg-Abs   [PP well from]   take-Past.3Pl

'They took him from/out of the well'

                                      (Location in terms of Direction)

f.   [PP bay   mo]   [PP d̪ra:s ulu] but   cʰaγurum mayi   bi

[PP bay   mo]   [PP d̪ra:s ulu] but   cʰaγurum may-i   bi

[PP winter during] [PP Dras in]   very   cold   exist-Hab.3Sg[-h]   be.Pres.3Sg[-h]

'During/In winter, (it) is very cold in Dras.'

                                    (Time and Location respectively)

g.   ine   xurcxamaś   [PP d̪ari   d̪al]   lip   e̪t̪umo

in-e   xurc-xamaś-Ø   [PP d̪ari   d̪al]   lip   e̪t̪−umo

3SgM-Erg   dust-garbage-Abs   [PP window out of]   throw   do-Past.3SgF

'She threw garbage through/out of the window'

                                    (Location in terms of Direction)

h.   mi: harkon   [PP miya:rki   ya:re][70] ḍe:luman

       mi-i   harkon-Ø   [PP mi-a:rki   ya:re]   ḍe:lu-man

       1Pl-Erg ornaments-Abs   [PP1.Pl-bed   under]   hide-Past.Pl

       'We hid the ornaments under the bed'

                                             (Location in terms of Direction)

Some other frequently used postpositions are: *ka:* 'by/with', *gane ~ gene* 'for', *ye:kal* 'towards', etc. Consider examples in (19) as follows:

(19)

a.   guc^haras   [PP jiye   gane]   śua   ḍila

       guc^har-as   [PP ji-e   gane]   śua   ḍila

       walk-Inf.   [PP life-Gen. for]   good   be.Pres.[-c]

       'Walking is good for health'

b.   ja   [suku:le   ye:kal]   nića   ba

       ja-Ø   [suku:l-e   ye:kal]   nića   ba

       1Sg-Abs   [school-Gen. towards]   go.Hab.1Sg   be.Pres.1Sg.

       'I am going towards the school'

                                             (Location in terms of Direction)

c.   [PP ṭiṣe   ka:]   hiŋ   ḍiśi   nimi

       [PP ṭiṣ-e   ka:]   hiŋ-Ø   ḍiśi   n-imi

       [PP wind-Gen. with]   door-Abs   open   go-Past.3Sg.[-F]

       'The door opened by/due to the wind'   (Instrument/Force)

---

[70] *ya:re* 'under' can be used individually as well as along with possessive marker like, *aya:re* 'under me', *guya:re* 'under you (Sg)' and so on. Similarly, *yete* 'on' and *ayate* 'on me', *miyate* 'on us', *iyete* 'on it' and so on.

d.   ja: [PP čʰure   ka:]   ba:ḷṯ   curuk   eṯam

      ja-a   [PP čʰur-e   ka:]   ba:ḷṯ-Ø   curuk   eṯ-am

      1Sg-Erg   knife-Gen   with]   apple-Abs   cut   do-Past.1Sg
      'I cut the apple with the knife'   (Instrument/Force)

e.   mi: [PP śuguluvane   ka:]   baza:r   niman

      mi-Ø   [PP śugulu-an-e   ka:]   baza:r   ni-man

      1Pl-Nom [PP friend- Indef.Sg-Gen with] market go-Past.Pl.

      'We went to the market with a friend'

4.2 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS, CASE, AND AGREEMENT

Grammatical relations in JKB are interrelated with the semantic content of the verb and [+/-animacy] feature of the NP arguments. In order to understand the grammatical relations, case assignment, and agreement patterns, it is important to know the distinctions among various verb classes.

4.2.1 Verb Classes and Agreement Patterns

Based on their semantic content and argument structure verbs fall into various groups. This has implications on the agreement patterns observed in the language. Verbs can be classified into, at least, following five groups:

Group I: This group includes intransitive verbs which involve some kind of volition and require a single argument designated as "Absolutive". **Absolutive** is the unmarked or **Ø-case** (null case). Some of the verbs falling in this category are listed in (20) as follows:

(20)   Verbs of Group I

hurut- 'sit'

ni-   'go'

gucʰar- 'walk'

ga:rc- 'run'

girat- 'dance/play'

guĆʰe- 'sleep'

Group II: Intransitive verbs which do not involve volition and require a single Absolutive argument. These verbs may possess a pronominal prefix agreeing with the NP. Some of the verbs falling in this category are listed in (21) as follows:

(21)   Verbs of Group II

-man-   'exist/become'

-val-   'fall'

-ir-   'die'

Group III: Verbs which require one Experiencer argument designated as "Dative" and one Absolutive argument. Under this category fall intransitive verbs which require a predicate nominal as well as some transitive verbs which require a clausal complement or an Absolutive NP. Many verbs in this group are of the form "(X) ḏil-" (or 'have (X)'. Some of the verbs in this category are listed in (22) as follows:

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(22)   Verbs of Group III

　　　　śuriya:r ḍil-　　'be happy; have happiness'

　　　　-sat ḍil-　　　　'remember; have memory'

　　　　le:l ḍil-　　　　 'know; have knowledge'

　　　　xaya:l ḍil-　　　'think; have imagination'

　　　　X ɣana-　　　　 'feel (X)' (e.g., śua ɣana- 'like (X); good + feel')

Group IV: 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. Some verbs in this group are listed in (23) as follows:

(23)   Verbs of Group IV

　　　　-ye:c-　　　　　'see'

　　　　-ḍel-　　　　　　 'hit'

　　　　şi-　　　　　　　'eat'

　　　　sen-　　　　　　 'say'

　　　　baren-　　　　　'look at/watch'

　　　　mina-　　　　　　'drink'

　　　　girmin-　　　　　'write'

　　　　balṭ-　　　　　　 'wash'

Group V: Di-transitive verbs with three arguments 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]

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or "Oblique" when [-animate]. Verbs in this category may take a pronominal prefix agreeing with the Dative/Absolutive argument. Some of the verbs in this category are listed in (24) as follows:

(24)   Verbs of Type V

-uy-   'give'

-c^{h}u-   'take/bring'

o:s-   'put/keep'

Based on the grammatical relations of arguments, verb class, and [+/-animacy] feature of the NP argument(s), at least, five different agreement patterns are observed in JKB which are described as follows:

Pattern I: This involves intransitive verbs of Group I. The verb carries a suffix agreement for the Absolutive NP. A schematic representation of this pattern is provided in (25) as follows:

(25)   Pattern I with Group I verbs: Only suffix agreement with Absolutive NP

[$_{Sentence}$ Absolutive NP   VERB-Abs]
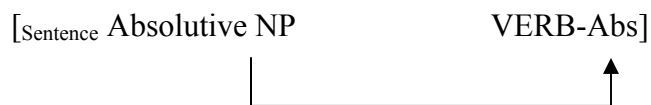
As noted earlier, these are intransitive verbs which involve some kind of volition and require a single Absolutive argument. Consider examples in (26) for illustration as follows:

(26)   Pattern I with verbs of Group I: Absolutive agreement, only one overt argument

a.   ja   hurutam

        ja-Ø   hurut-am

        1Sg-Abs   sit/stay-Past.1Sg$_{Abs}$

        'I sat/stayed'

b.   ume   śugulu   ni:mi

        um-e   śugulu-Ø   ni-umi

        2Sg-Gen   friend-Abs   go-Past.3SgF$_{Abs}$

        'Your (female) friend went/left'

c.   ume   śugulu   ga:rcimi

        um-e   śugulu-Ø   ga:rc-umi

        2Sg-Gen   friend-Abs.   run-Past.3SgM$_{Abs}$

        'Your (male) friend ran'

d.   u   guc^{h}aruman

        u-Ø   guc^{h}ar-uman

        3Pl-Abs.   walk-Past.1Pl$_{Abs}$

        'They walked/passed away'

Pattern II: This pattern involves intransitive verbs of Group II. The verb carries a suffix
agreement for the Absolutive NP and also a (pronominal) prefix agreement when the NP
is [+animate]. A schematic representation of this pattern is provided in (27) as follows:

(27)   Pattern II with intransitive verbs of Group II: Suffix and (animate) prefix
        agreement with Absolutive NP

        [$_{Sentence}$ Absolutive NP   (Abs animate)-VERB-Abs

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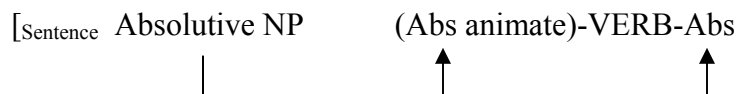
The prefix agreement is expressed in the form of a pronominal prefix for human nouns and a zero or no prefix for non-human, inanimate nouns. Consider examples in (28) for illustration as follows:

(28)   Pattern II: Group II verbs with prefix and suffix agreement
a)   *-man-* 'become/happen/exist'
i.   Prefix agreement with animate NP

        ja   t̪ʰa̪ṭiŋ   amanam

        ja   t̪ʰa̪ṭiŋ   a-man-am
        1Sg-Abs   cold   1Sg_SAbs-become-Pres.1Sg_Abs
        'I am cold'
        Or 'I became cold'

        han gunc-ulu   es (loy)   čʰamni   imanimi
        han gunc-ulu   es (loy)   čʰamni   i-man-umi
        one day-Loc   that.[-h] (fox)   hungry   3Sg_Abs-become-Pst.3MSg_Abs
        'One day, it (fox) became hungry'

ii.   Zero/No prefix agreement with [-animate] NP
        γada-γadaŋ   manimi
        γada-γadaŋ   man-umi
        thunderstorm   become-Past.3Sg[-h]_Abs
        'There was a thunderstorm'
        Or, 'A thunderstorm happened'

b)   *-val-* 'fall'
i.   Prefix agreement with [+animate] NP
        in   ivalimi
        in-Ø   i-val-umi
        3Sg-Abs   3SgM_Abs-fall-Past.3SgM_Abs
        'He fell down'

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in   muvalumo

in-Ø   mu-val-umo

3Sg-Abs   3SgF _{Abs} -fall-Past.3SgF _{Abs}

'She fell down'

ii.   Zero/No prefix agreement with [-animate] NP

        sa   valimi

        sa-Ø   val-umi

        sun-Abs   fall-Past.3Sg[-h] _{Abs}

        'The sun set'

        Or, 'The sun fell down/sank'

        ba:l̥t̪   valimi

        ba:l̥t̪-Ø   val-umi

        apple-Abs   fall-Past.3Sg[-h] _{Abs}

        'The apple fell down'

c)   -ir- 'die': Only [+animate] NP with both prefix and suffix agreement

        hin   hilas   i-ir-imi

        one[+h]boy   3SgM_{Abs}-die-Past3SgM_{Abs}

        '(the) boy died'

        al̥t̪a-n   hile-śu   u-ir-uman

        two[+h]boy-Pl   3Pl_{Abs}-die-Past.Pl_{Abs}

        'two boys died'

In (28) above, prefix agreement is observed when the Absolutive argument is
[+animate]. Such pronominal prefixes are not found in case of inanimate Absolutive
arguments of Group II verbs. Thus, we have (28a)-ii and (28b)-ii with no pronominal

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prefix for the Absolutive arguments of the verb *man-* 'become/exist' and *val-* 'fall' as opposed to other cases where we have a pronominal prefix for a [+human] argument.

Pattern III: This involves verbs of Group III. The verb carries a suffix agreement for the Absolutive NP. The Dative Experiencer argument in this case does not trigger verb agreement. A schematic representation of this pattern is provided in (29) as follows:

(29)   Pattern III with verbs of Group III: only suffix agreement with Absolutive

[Sentence Dative NP   Absolutive NP   VERB-Abs]

Consider examples in (30) for illustration as follows:

(30)   Dative Experiencer: No agreement
a)   śua   γan- 'like; feel good'
i.   ja: re   in   śua   γanimi
         ja-e-re   in-Ø   śua   γan-umi
         1Sg-Gen-Dat   3Sg-Abs   good feel-Past3SgM_{Abs}
         'I liked him.' Or, 'He appeared/felt good to me'

ii.   ja:re   in   śua   γanumo
         ja-e-re   in-Ø   śua   γan-umo
         1Sg-Gen-Dat   3Sg -Abs   good feel-Past.3SgF_{Abs}
         'I liked her.' Or 'She appeared/felt good to me'

b)   ḍil- 'have'

i.   ja:re   ṯam   ḍila

        ja-e-re   ṯam-Ø   ḍila
        1Sg-Gen-Dat   swimming-Abs be.Pres.3Sg.[-c] Abs
        'I know swimming,' Or, 'To me swimming is.' Or, 'I have swimming'

ii.   mi: re   ṯam   ḍila

        mi-e-re   ṯam-Ø   ḍila
        1Pl-Gen-Dat   swimming-Abs be.Pres.3Sg.[-c] Abs
        'We know swimming.' Or, 'To us swimming is.' Or, 'We have swimming'

iii.   ja:re   asat   ḍila   (XP)

        ja:-re   a-sat-Ø   ḍila   (XP)
        1Sg-Dat   1Sg-memory-Abs   be.Pres.3Sg.[-c] Abs   (XP)
        'I remember (XP).....' Or, 'To me, memory is (XP...).' Or, 'I have memory (that..XP..)'

iv.   ja:re   śuriya:r   ḍila

        ja:-re   śuriya:r -Ø   ḍila
        1Sg-Dat   happiness-Abs be.Pres.3Sg.[-c] Abs
        'I am happy.' Or, 'To me, happiness is (XP).' Or, 'I have happiness.'

Pattern IV: This involves transitive verbs of Type IV. The verb carries a suffix agreement with the Ergative NP and a prefix agreement with an Absolutive NP if the latter is [+animate]. If the Absolutive NP, however, is [-animate], there is a zero or no prefix agreement. A schematic representation of this pattern is provided in (31) as follows:

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(31)   Pattern IV with transitive verbs of Group IV: Suffix and prefix agreement

a.   Prefix agreement with [+animate] Absolutive

[Sentence Ergative NP   Absolutive NP (animate)   Abs -VERB-Erg]

b.   No prefix agreement with [-animate] Absolutive

[Sentence Ergative NP   Absolutive NP (inanimate)   VERB-Erg]
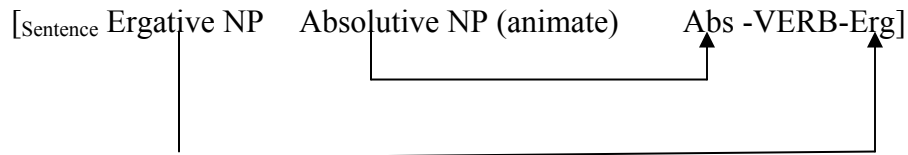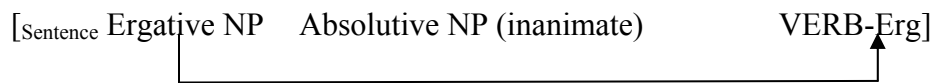
Consider examples in (32) and (33) for illustration as follows:

(32)   Ergative and Absolutive agreement: Two overt animate arguments

a)   -ye:c- 'see'

i.   teriza:-Ø   sali:m-Ø   i-ye:c-umo
      Teresa-Erg. Salim-Abs   3SgM$_{Abs}$-see-Past.3SgF$_{Erg}$
      'Teresa(F) saw Salim (M)'

ii.   Salim-e   huma-Ø   mu-ye:c-imi
      Salim-Erg. Huma-Abs   3SgF$_{Abs}$-see-Past.3SgM$_{Erg}$
      'Salim (M) saw Huma (F)'

b)   -ḏel-/-ṯel- 'hit'

i.   salim-e   um-Ø   gu-ṯel-imi
      Salim-Erg 2Sg-Abs   2Sg$_{Abs}$-beat.Past.3SgM$_{Erg}$
      'Salim hit you'

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ii. teriza: sali:m   iḍelumo

     teriza-a   sali:m-Ø   i-ḍel-umo

     Teresa-Erg.   Salim-Abs   3SgM_{Abs}-beat.Past. 3SgF _{Erg}

     'Teresa(F) hit Salim(M)'

c) -şi- 'eat'

     mu:̯tu   ume   ja   aşiċu   ba

     mu:̯tu um-e   ja-Ø   a-şi-ċu   ba

     now   2Sg-Erg.   1Sg-Abs   1Sg_{Abs}-eat-Hab be.Pres.2Sg_{Erg}

     'Now (that) you are going to eat me ….'
     Or, 'Now (that) you are eating me...'

(33) No prefix agreement with [-animate] Absolutive NP

a) şi- 'eat'

i. mi: pʰiti   şiman

     mi-e   pʰiti-Ø   şi-uman

     1Pl.-Erg.   bread-Abs. eat-Past.Pl. _{Erg}

     'We ate bread'

ii. ja: han   pʰitiyan   śiyam

     ja-e   han   pʰiti-yan   śi-am

     1Sg-Erg.   one   bread-Indef.Sg.   eat.Sg- Past.1Sg_{Erg}

     'I ate one bread'

iii. ja: aḻtac   pʰitimuc   śuy-am

     ja-e   aḻtac   pʰiti-muc   śuy-am

     1Sg-Erg.   two   bread-Pl.   eat.Pl- Past.1Sg_{Erg}

     'I ate two breads'

b)   mina- 'drink'

i.   ja: cʰil   mina:m

        ja-e   cʰil-Ø   mina-am

        1Sg-Erg.   water-Abs   drink- Past.1Sg_Erg

         'I drank water'

ii.   u: mamu   minuman

        u-e   mamu-Ø   min-uman

        3Pl-Erg.   milk-Abs   drink- Past.3Pl_Erg

         'They drank milk'

Notice, in certain verbs, such as 'eat' in (33) above, the Absolutive agreement for Number with a [-animate] NP is expressed in the verb root. This distinction is perhaps lexical.

        There are some exceptions in Group IV verbs where a verb does not exhibit prefix agreement even if the Absolutive NP is [+animate]/[+human]. Consider examples with the verb *bare*- 'look at/watch' in (34) for illustration as follows:

(34)   Exceptions: verb *bare*- 'look at/watch'

a.   ja: hilasan   bareyam

        ja-a   hilas-an   bare-am

        1Sg-Erg   boy-Indef.   see-Past.1Sg_Erg

        'I saw a boy'

b.   ja: balacan   bareyam

        ja-a   balac-an   bare-am

        1Sg-Erg   bird-Indef.   see-Past.1Sg_Erg

        'I saw a bird'

c.   ja: giraman   bareyam

ja-a   giram-an   bare-am

1Sg-Erg   village-Indef.   see-Past.1Sg$_{Erg}$

'I saw a village'

The Object of the verb *bare*- 'look at' in (34) above involves an Indefinite NP which does not receive a case. In fact, *bare*- usually involves an inanimate object and is used in expressions such as 'Look here', 'Look at this', etc.

Pattern V: This involves di-transitive verbs of Group V. The verb carries a suffix agreement with the Ergative and a prefix agreement with the Dative, if present. If, however, there is no animate argument besides Ergative, only Ergative (suffix) agreement is observed. A schematic representation of this pattern is provided in (35) as follows:

(35)   Pattern V with Group V verbs

a.   Suffix agreement with Ergative and prefix agreement with Dative

[$_{Sentence}$ Ergative NP   Dative NP   Absolutive NP   Dat-VERB-Erg]
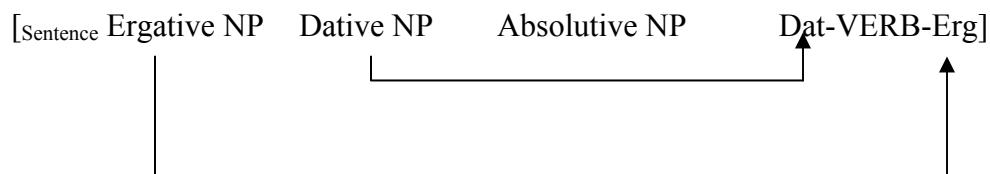
b.   Suffix agreement with Ergative and no prefix agreement with inanimate
        Absolutive

[$_{Sentence}$ Ergative NP   Absolutive NP   Oblique NP   VERB-Erg

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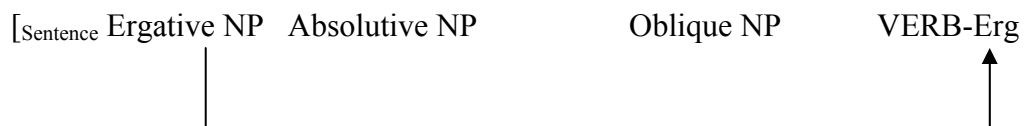
Pattern V is, in fact, same as Pattern IV, except that the prefix agreement in the former (Pattern V) is with the Dative argument while in case of the latter (Pattern IV) prefix agreement is with the (animate) Absolutive NP. Consider examples in (36) for illustration of Pattern V as follows:

(36)   Verb of Type V: Multi-argument clauses with one Ergative, one Absolutive, and one Dative/Oblique argument

a)   Ergative and Dative agreement: No Absolutive agreement
i.   mi: inere   ba:rjoko   yu:ćan
         mi-e   in-e-re   ba:rjoko-Ø   i-u:ć-an
         1Pl-Erg 3Sg-Gen-Dat   money-Abs   3SgM$_{Dat}$-give -Past.3Pl$_{Erg}$
         'We gave him money'

ii.   ine   inmore   kiṭa:ban   mo:ćumo

         in-e   in-mo-re   kiṭa:b-an   mo-uć-umo
         3Sg-Erg   3Sg-Gen-Dat   book-Indef   3SgF$_{Dat}$-give- Past .3SgF$_{Erg}$
         'She gave her a book'

iii.   ine   inere   kiṭa:ban   e:ćumo

         in-e   in-e-re   kiṭa:b-an   e-uć-umo
         3Sg-Erg   3Sg-Gen-Dat   book-Indef   3SgM$_{Dat}$-give- Past .3SgF$_{Erg}$
         'She gave him a book'

iv.   (u:)   (inmore)   suku:l   muc^{h}uman
         (u-e)   (in-mo-re)   suku:l-Ø   mu-uc^h-uman
         3Pl-Erg 3Sg-Gen.F-Dat school-Abs   3SgF$_{Dat}$-take-Past.Pl$_{Erg}$
         'They took/brought her to the school'

b)   Only Ergative agreement: No agreement with [-animate] Oblique/Absolutive NP

i.   ma:jiḍe   meze   te   me:va   o:simi

        ma:jiḍ-e   mez-e   te   me:va-Ø   o:s-umi

        Majid-Erg.   table-Gen   on   fruit -Abs   put-Past.3SgM_{Erg}
        'Majid put the fruit(s) on the table'

ii.   ume   qalam   ku:ṭolu   o:suma

        um-e   qalam-Ø   ku:ṭo-lu   o:s-uma

        2Sg-Erg   pen-Abs   pocket-in   put-Past.2Sg_{Erg}
        'You put/kept the pen in the pocket'

iii.   ume   paysa   gupaći   o:suma
        um-e   paysa -Ø   gu-paći   o:s-uma
        2Sg-Erg   money-Abs   2Sg-near   put-Past.2Sg_{Erg}
        'You kept the money with yourself'

Notice in (36) above, prefix agreement is only observed with a [+animate] (Dative) argument.

Based on the patterns discussed above, a schematic representation of the inflected verb with affixes for Tense and nominal agreement is provided in (37) as follows:

(37)   Schematic representation of the inflected verb:

        (AFFIX 1[Abs/Dat])-VERB STEM-AFFIX 2 [Tense and Erg/Abs Agreement]

AFFIX 2 contains agreement features for an Ergative NP in transitive constructions or Absolutive NP in intransitive clauses. It also contains agreement markers for Tense (Aspect is expressed in the verb stem. See Section 5.1 in Chapter 5 for details).

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AFFIX 1 represents the agreement features for animate Absolutive Experiencer in intransitive clauses, animate Absolutive Patient in mono-transitive clauses, and Dative Recipient (animate) in di-transitive clauses. Thus, prefix agreement is only observed with animate NPs.[71]

4.2.2 Postpositions and Oblique NPs

Nominals lacking a definite grammatical relation to some predicate have been described as "Oblique" in literature. For example, in Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi/Urdu, Kashmiri, Gujarati, etc., if a noun phrase is followed by a postposition it surfaces in a distinct form termed as "Oblique". In JKB many postpositions, such as, *te* 'on', *ka:* 'with', and *gene* 'for', assign a **Genitive Case** to the preceding NP. In a way, therefore, these postpositions behave like NPs governing NPs and assigning a Genitive case to these complement NPs. This Genitive Case is represented by the same ending as the possessive marking suffix for nouns which agrees with the head noun in Person, Number, and Gender features.

The difference between Oblique NPs in JKB and the Indo-Aryan Oblique NPs is that in IA languages the Oblique argument appears in a distinct form which is different than the unmarked NP while in JKB (and other dialects of Burushaski), the Oblique feature is realized by the addition of a case ending – Genitive – to the unmarked NP. A noun plus Genitive Case ending in these arguments, therefore, is argued to be the Oblique form of the noun in this study. Consider data in (38) for illustration as follows:

---

[71] Pronominal prefixes are also found in causative verbs. The latter are discussed in a separate section in Chapter 5. Also, there is a group of verbs called *d*-prefix verbs which behave differently. These are also discussed in Chapter 5.

(38)   NPs in Oblique form (designated as "Genitive")

a.   [ṭiṣ-e   ka:]   hiŋ-Ø   ḍiśinimi

        [wind-Gen   with/by]   door-Abs   open.Pst.3Sg.[-h]

        'The door opened by the wind' (Instrument/Force)

b.   ja-a   [ċʰur-e   ka:]   ba:ḷt-Ø   curuk eṭam

        1Sg.-Erg   [knife- Gen   with]   apple-Abs cut   do.Past.1Sg

        'I cut the apple with a/the knife' (Instrument)

c.   ja-a   [cʰayi-i   ka:]   ɣun-Ø   ḍiśinam

        1Sg-Erg. [key- Gen   with   lock-Abs   open.Past.1Sg

        'I opened the lock with the key' (Instrument)

d.   mi-Ø   [śugulu-van-e   ka:]   baza:r   nivan

        1Pl-Abs   [friend-Indef-Gen   with]   market go.Past.1Pl

        'We went to the market with a friend' (Commutative)

e.   ma:jiḍ-e   [mez-e   te]   me:va   o:simi

        Majid-Erg.   [table- Gen   on] fruit   put.Past.3SgM

        'Majid put the fruits on the table'

f.   muṣ́ta:q-e   [śi-i   te] duṣṭak-Ø   o:simi

        Mushtaq-Erg. [stove- Gen   on] pot-Nom.   put.Past.3SgM

        'Mushtaq put the pot on the stove'

g.   but   ho:yaśo/ho:yas[72] [sadek-e   te] biyom

        many   sheep.Pl   [road-Gen. on] be.Past.Pl.[-h]

        'Many sheep were on the road'

---

[72] *hoyas* is used for a herd of cattle, like sheep, goats, etc. For instance, *hoyas-buwa* means '(a herd of) cows'.

h.   varziś-Ø   [ji(y)-e gane] śua   ḍila

          exercise-Abs. [life-Gen. for]   good   be.Pres.3Sg[-c]

          'Exercise is good for health'

Not all postpositions, however, assign Genitive Case to their complement NPs. These include postpositions such as *mucum ~ cum* 'since/from/with' (Ablative), *(u)lum* '(away) from' (Location), *ḍal* 'out of/through', *mo* 'during', *ya:re* 'under', etc. It may be argued that these postpositions themselves simply behave like other case markers for functions such as "Ablative", "Location", "Duration", etc.

Note that the Dative suffix always attaches to a Genitive ending. In this sense Dative case behaves like some postpositions which attach to an NP in the so-called "Oblique" form.

4.2.4 Summary

Based on the preceding discussions we can argue that two overlapping systems, viz., Case and Agreement, are working in the syntactic system of the language at the same time. The language exhibits a kind of split in terms of case marking and agreement which is indicated by the fact that there is a sort of "Subject" agreement with Ergative and Absolutive arguments which is expressed in the form of suffix agreement. What is interesting about Ergativity in this language is that the Ergative case is always expressed irrespective of Tense or Aspect features while in many of the areal neighbors Ergativity is only observed in Perfective Aspect (the latter is termed "Split Ergativity" in literature). Consider examples in (39) and (40) as follows:

(39)   Ergative case marked in the Perfective Aspect

a.   salim-e   in   iḏe:limi

       salim-e   in-Ø   i-ḏe:l-umi
       Salim-Erg 3SgM-Abs.   3SgM-beat-Past.3SgM.
       'Salim beat them'

b.   mi: pʰiti   şiman
       mi-e   pʰiti-Ø   şi-uman
       1Pl.-Erg.   bread-Abs. eat-Past.Pl.
       'We ate bread'

d.   ja: inere   paysa   yu:vam
       ja-a   in-e-re   paysa-Ø   i-u:v-am
       1Sg.-Erg   3Sg.M-Gen.-Dat.   money-Abs   3SgM-give-Pres.1Sg.
       'I gave him money'

(40)   Ergative case marked in the Imperfective Aspect

a.   ine   şapik   şiċi
       in-e   şapik -Ø   şiċ-i
       3Sg-Erg.   food-Abs.   eat.Fut-3SgM.
       'He will eat food'

b.   u: ćaγa: ećan
       u-e   ćaγa:-Ø   eć-an
       3Pl.-Erg   talk-Abs   do.Hab-Pres.Pl
       'They talk' (Lit. 'They do talking')

c.   mi: girmiya   ba:n
       mi-e   girmiya   ba:n
       1Pl.-Erg write.Hab.   be.Pres.1Pl.
       'We write'

We also have prefix agreement which is indicative of a sort of Accusative pattern and is expressed by Absolutive or Dative agreement. Thus, in case of intransitive clauses, the only Absolutive NP (or "Subject") always agrees with the verb. In case of transitive clauses, the Ergative NP (or "Subject") always agrees with the verb, and an Absolutive NP may also agree if it is animate. The latter kind of agreement is also observed in ditransitive constructions in which the agreeing NP is a Dative (Recipient).

4.3 QUESTION FORMATION

Question formation in J & K Burushaski is representative of its areal typology in that *wh*-questions are formed *in situ* and no word order changes or inversions are involved.[73] Formation of Yes/No-questions as well as *wh*-questions follows the areal typology of the language.

4.3.1 Yes-No Questions

Yes-No Questions are formed by the addition of a suffix *–a* to the inflected verb in phrase-final position. Consider data in (41) for illustration as follows:

(41)   Yes-No Questions

a.   (ume)   ra:haṭ   ba: (Y/N Question)

      (ume-Ø)   ra:haṭ   ba-a

       (2Sg-Abs)   comfortable   be.Pres.2Sg-QM.QI

      'Are you fine/comfortable?' (= 'How are you?')

---

[73] Kashmiri is perhaps the only exception in the region in that question formation typically involves movement of the wh-phrase to the sentence-second position, following the V-2 syntax of the language.

(ja)   ra:hat   ba   (Statement)

(ja-Ø)   ra:ha̱ṭ   ba

(1Sg-Abs)   comfort   be.Pres.1Sg

'(I) am fine'

b.   (ume)   śua   ba: (Y/N Question)

         (ume-Ø)   śua   ba-a

         (2Sg-Abs)   good   be.Pres.2Sg-QM.QI

         'Are you good?' (= 'How are you?')

         (ja)   śua   ba   (Statement)

         (ja-Ø)   śua   ba

         (1Sg-Abs)   good   be.Pres.1Sg

         '(I) am good'

c.   ume   kʰo̱ṭ   e̱tas   gumayama (Y/N Question)

         ume-Ø   kʰo̱ṭ   e̱t-as   gu-may-am-a

         2Sg-Abs   this[-c]   do-Inf 2Sg- exist.Fut-2Sg-QM.QI

         'Can you do this?' (Or 'Will you be able to do this?')

         ume   kʰo̱ṭ   e̱tas   amayam   (Statement)

         ume-Ø   kʰo̱ṭ   e̱t-as   a-may-am

         2Sg-Abs   this[-c] do-Inf   1Sg- exist.Fut-1Sg

         'You can do this' (Or 'You will be able to do this')

d.   ine   kʰot   e̱tas   emayimiya   (Y/N Question)

         ine   kʰot   e̱t-as   i-may-imi-a

         3Sg.   this[-con.] do-Inf 3SgM-exist.Fut-3SgM-QM.QI

         'Can he do this?' (Or 'Will he be able to do this?')

         ine kʰot   e̱tas   e-mayimi   (Statement)

ine kʰot　　　　eṭ-as　　i-may-imi

　　　　3Sg. this[-con.] to do　3SgM-exist.Fut-3SgM

　　　　'He can do this' (Or 'He will be able to do this')

e.　　　nićama　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Y/N Question)

　　　　nić-am-a

　　　　go.Fut-1Sg-QM.QI

　　　　'Shall I go?'

　　　　nićam　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Statement)

　　　　nić-am

　　　　go.Fut-1Sg

　　　　'I will go' (It also means 'I am going')

f.　　　um-e　　　　　şima-a　　　　　　　　(Y/N Question)

　　　　2Sg-Erg　　　　eat.Past.2Sg-QM.QI

　　　　'Did you eat?'

g.　　　mamo-lu śakar guma-a　　　　　　　(Y/N Question)

　　　　milk-in　sugar　put.Past.2Sg-QM.QI

　　　　'Did you add sugar to the milk?'

Note that Yes-No questions are also characterized by the presence of a specific question intonation (designated as "QI" above) in the phrase-final position. While the presence of the question-forming suffix is optional, presence of final question intonation is obligatory. This is also a typical areal feature.

4.3.2 Wh-Questions

Wh-questions in JKB are very straightforward. Most of the question words start with *b-*, such as *besen* 'what', *bes* 'why', *bezele* 'how; in what way', *beśal* 'when', *bene* 'how; in what manner', *bo:rma:n* 'how much', etc. For human nouns the question word

is *men-* 'who'. Word order is determined by the Focus of the question phrase. Thus, Focus of the sentence occurs immediately before the inflected verb. Consider examples in (42) and (43) as follows (The question word/Focus of the sentence is designated in **bold** letters):

(42)   *What* questions

a.   um-e   gu-yik   **besen**   ḓila

       2Sg-Gen   2Sg-name   what   be.Pres.3Sg[-c]

       'What is your name?'

       ja-a   a-yik   **saḓaf**   ḓila

       1Sg-Gen   1Sg-name   Sadaf   be.Pres.3Sg[-c]

       'My name is Sadaf'

b.   alma:ri-lu   **besen**   bi

       cupboard-in   what   be.Pres.3Sg[+c]

       'What is in the cupboard?'

       alma:ri-lu   **me:va:** bi

       almirah-in   fruit(s) be.Pres.3Sg[+c]

       'There are fruits in the cupboard'

(43)   *Who* questions

a.   in-Ø   **men-e**   e-sqan-imi

       3Sg-Abs   who-Erg   3SgM$_{Abs}$-kill-Past.3SgM$_{Erg}$

       'Who killed him?'

       Or 'Which man killed this man?'

b.   ine   **men-an**   e-sqan-imi

       3Sg-Erg   who-Indef.   3SgM$_{Abs}$-kill-Past.3SgM$_{Erg}$

       'Whom did he kill?'

       Or 'Which man did this man kill?'

In case of "How" and "Why" questions, the question-forming suffix –a is also added in the phrase-final position. Consider examples in (44) and (45) as follows (The question word/Focus of the sentence is designated in **bold** letters):

(44)   *How* questions

a.   um-e   kʰot̪-Ø   **bene**   d̪usum-a

        2Sg-Erg   this[-c]-Abs   how   bring.[-c] ₐᵦₛ - Past.2Sg ₑᵣg -QM

        'How did you bring this (liquid or some [-concrete/solid] thing)?'

        ja-a   kʰot̪-Ø   **ba:lti-lu**   d̪usum

        1Sg.-Erg   this[-c]-Abs   bucket-in   bring.[-c]ₐᵦₛ- Past.2Sgₑᵣg

        'I brought this (liquid etc.) in the bucket'

b.   kʰos   ba:l̪t̪-Ø   um-e   **bene**   d̪icum-a

        this[+c] apple-Abs   2Sg-Erg   how   bring.[+c] ₐᵦₛ- Past.2Sgₑᵣg -QM

        'How did you bring this apple?'

        kʰos   ba:l̪t̪-Ø   ja-a   **to:kri:-lu**   d̪icum

        this[+c] apple-Abs   1Sg.-Erg   basket-in   bring.[+c] ₐᵦₛ - Past.2Sgₑᵣg

         'I brought this apple in the basket'

(45)   *Why* questions

a.   um-e   kʰot̪   **bes**   d̪usum-a

        2Sg.-Erg   this[-c] why   bring.[-c] ₐᵦₛ- Past.2Sgₑᵣg -QM

        'Why did you bring this ([-concrete] thing)?'

b.   kʰos   ba:l̪t̪   um-e   **bes**   d̪icum-a

        this[+c] apple   2Sg.-Erg   why   bring.[+c] ₐᵦₛ- Past.2Sgₑᵣg -QM

        'Why did you bring this apple?'

c.   um-Ø   kʰole   **bes**   huruta ba

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2Sg-Abs	here	why	sit.Hab. be.Pres.2Sg

'Why are you sitting here?'

Some other question words are: *beśal* 'when', *beze:le* 'what kind/type (of)', etc. Consider examples in (46) as follows:

(46)   Other questions (*beśal* 'when', *beze:le* 'how (what type of)', etc.

a.

insa:n-e	amiṭ vaxt-ulu	**beze:le**	ḍoro	eṭ-as	ava:ji
human-Erg	which time-Loc.	what kind	work	do-Inf	should-QI

'What kind of work should human(s) do at what time?' (From *loi ke bi:ro*)

b.

um-e	gu-u	**beze:le**	bam
2Sg-Gen	2Sg-father	what kind	be.Pst.3Sg.[+h]

'What type (of a person) was your father?'

4.4 CLAUSE COMBINATION

Different strategies are used in JKB to make complex sentences. One thing that is common in different types of complex sentences, however, is the use of a functional category *ke* designated as "COMP" in this study. *ke* has many different syntactic functions. It is used as a coordinating conjunction 'and' in coordinated clauses. It is also used as a subordinating conjunction in other complex sentences which include complementation , relative clause formation, and different types of adverbial clauses.

4.4.1 Coordination

In coordinating clauses, the COMP *ke* (translated as 'and' in coordination) is inserted between the two clauses. The structure of a coordinated clause with two clauses is given in Fig. 4.5 as follows:

Coordinating Clauses

```
         Coordinating Clauses
                  /|\
                 / | \
               S₁  ke  S₂
```
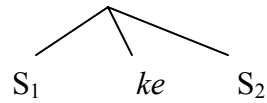
Fig. 4.5 Structure of Coordinating Clauses

Note that S₁ and S₂ may either be simple or complex clauses. Consider examples in (47) as follows:

(47)   *ke* as a coordinating conjunction

a.   han gunc-ulu   es   ċʰamni imanimi   **ke,**   i:mu,   besen, şapik-an,
        one day-Loc   that[+c] hungry feel.Past.3SgM and,   his ,   something , food-Indef
        şeyas-mina:s-an   yeguċumene   gucʰarimi
        eat.Inf.-drink.Inf.-Indef (while) searching   walk.Past.3SgM
        'One day he felt hungry and he went searching his……some food, some food/drink'

b.   ye:cimi   han giram-an ḍilum   **ke**   ese maliŋ-ulu   ye:cimi   qarqa:muco-yik
        saw.3SgM. one village   be.Past.[-con] and that village-Loc. saw.3SgM. hens-Indef.Pl
        bu:tik biyom.
        many be.Past.[-h]
        '(He) saw (that) there was a village and in that village he saw (there) were many hens'

Notice in (47-b) both coordination and complementation is involved. Any number or type of clauses can be coordinated in this way by placing the clauses next to each other with an optional *ke* 'and' in between.

4.4.2 Complementation

Complementation in JKB is observed by optionally inserting Complementizer *ke* (~*ki*) in front of an embedded clause. This is schematically represented in Fig. 4.8 below:
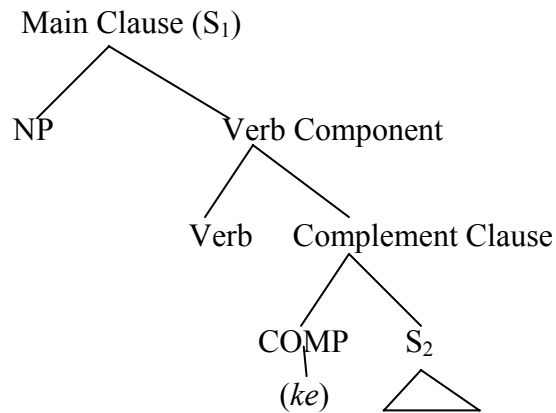
Fig. 4.6   Structure of a complementizer clause

Consider data in (48) for illustration as follows:

(48)   *ke* as a complementizer

a.   ja-a   senam   (ke)   ja-a   aċu[74]   ha:-le   bai
      1Sg.-Erg. said.1Sg. (COMP) 1Sg.Poss. brother (of male) home-Loc. be.Pres.3SgM.
      'I said that my brother is at home'

b.   um-e   senuma   (ke)   ja   γali:s   ba:
      2Sg-Erg. said.2Sg. (COMP) 1Sg. ill   be.Pres.2Sg.
      'You said that you were ill (Lit. '….*that* I am ill')'

c.   um-e   ja-a-re   senuma
      2Sg.-Erg 1Sg-Gen-Dat. said.2Sg.

      (ke)   in-mo   mu:-yar   o:γaṭanis-an   bai
      (COMP) 3Sg.-Gen.F. 3SgF-spouse teacher-Indef. be.Pres.3SgM.
      'You told (said to) me that her husband is a teacher'

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d.   ye:cimi   (ke)   han giram-an d̩ilum   ke ese maliŋi-lu   ye:cimi

     saw.3SgM. (COMP)   one village   be.Past.[-con] and this village-in   saw.3SgM.

     (ke)   qarqa:mucoyik bu:tik biyom.

     (COMP)   cocks/hens many be.Past.Pl[+c]

     '(He) saw (that) there was a village there and in this village he saw (that there) were

     many cocks/hens'

(From *loi ke bi:ro*)

   Notice in (50-d) above, *ke* is used both for complementation (translated as 'COMP') as well as coordination (translated as 'and').

4.4.3 Relative Clause Formation

   Relative clauses are formed by a **Relative-Correlative** construction with a pre-nominal *relative pronoun* (i.e., preceding the relativized NP) in the modifying/relative clause and a *correlative pronoun* in the correlative clause which follows the relative clause. As in the case of complementation, for relativization also, *ke* is added in a way like a conjunctive, i.e., before a complete clause. Thus, relative clause formation in JKB is composed of a relative clause and a correlative. Such a construction is schematically represented in Figure 4.7 as follows:

---

[74] *ac̣u* means 'my brother' when the possessor is masculine. See "kinship terms" in Chapter 5 for details.

Main Clause (S)

Relative Clause (S₁)   Complementizer Clause

COMP   Correlative Clause (S₂)

Rel.Pro. NP$_i$…

(*ke*)   *Cor. Pro*$_i$……….
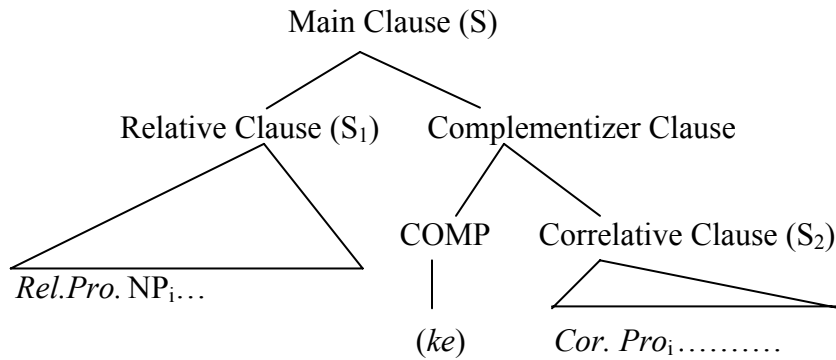
Fig. 4.7 Structure of a relative-correlative construction

The "correlative clause" contains the correlative pronoun for the relativized NP present in the "relative clause", and, therefore, a "relative-correlative" construction. The language uses different relative pronouns based on noun class and number (discussed in Chapter 5). For instance, in a complex construction with a relativized [+human] NP, the relative pronoun *amin* is used for Singular and *menik* for Plural nouns. Consider examples in (49) as follows:

(49)   Relative clauses with relativized [+human] NPs

a.   **amin**   hiles sabu:r   kʰole ḍi̶:   bam
       which.Sg[+h]   boy   yesterday here come.Perf. be.Past
       ke   **in**   ja-a   a-yi   bai
       COMP 3Sg. 1Sg.-Gen 1Sg-offspring   be.Pres.3SgM.
       'The boy who came here yesterday (*that* he) is my son'

b.   **amin**   ḍasin-e gula:bi: gatoŋ belu   bo
       which.Sg[+h] girl-Erg pink   dress wearing be.Pres.3SgF.
       ke   **in**   ja: ayi   bo
       COMP 3Sg. my   offspring be.Pres.3SgF.
       'The girl who is wearing pink dress (*that* she) is my daughter'

c. **menik**   hileśu kamra-ulu ba:n   **ke**   **u**   ja: śuɣulu-muc   ba:n
    which.Pl [+h] boys   room-Loc. be.Pres.Pl. COMP 3Pl. my friend-Pl.   be.Pres.Pl.
    'The boys who are in the room (*that* they) are my friends'

d. in(e)   siliżin **amin-e**   um-e-re   ki̠ta:b gucʰi-mo
    3Sg   lady   **Rel.Pro.-Erg.[+h]** you-Gen-Dat book gave-3SgF.

    ke **in**   manejar   bo
    that **3Sg.** manager   be.Pres.3SgF.
    'That lady **who** gave you that book (*that* **she**) is (the) manager'

e. **amin**   sis vot-ulu   bai   *ke* in   kʰo̠te suku:l-e   prinsipal bam
    Rel.Pro. man corridor-in be.3SgM. *that* 3Sg. this   school-Gen principal be.Past
    'The man **who** is in the hallway/corridor (*that* **he**) was the principal of this school'

For [-human] nouns, the relative pronoun *amis* is used for Singular and *amic* for
Plural nouns that are [+concrete]. Consider examples in (50) as follows:

(50)   Relative clauses with relativized [-human] NPs
a. **amis**   daba: mez-e   ya:re bi
    which.Sg[+c] box   table-Gen under be.Pres.3Sg.[+c]
    ke   **es**   ja: bi
    COMP 3Sg.[+c] my   be.Pres.3Sg.[+c]
    'The box which is under the table (*that* it) is mine'

b. **amic**   ke:la-muc kʰarati:-lu biyo   **ke**   **ec**   oɣasi   biyo
    which.Pl[+c] banana-Pl   basket-in be. Pl[+c] COMP 3Pl.[+c] spoilt   be.Pres.3Pl[+c]
    'The bananas which are in the basket (*that* they) are spoilt'

A similar strategy is also followed in the areal neighbors of the language such as Indo-Aryan Urdu/Hindi, Kashmiri, etc.[75] It will be interesting to check if it is possible to have any syntactic material between *ke* and the "correlative" pronoun. For example, in cases where the Patient NP is relativized. Thus, in a sentence like (51-c) ('**The boys** who are in the room, the teacher punished **them**'), if some syntactic material can appear between *ke* and the correlative pronoun, then it may be argued that the two do not constitute a syntactic unit. If, however, no syntactic material occurs in between *ke* and the correlative pronoun, then the two together constitute a syntactic unit which can be designated as the *correlative* element. So far, we do not have data that will provide evidence to support or disprove this argument, and it is, therefore, something to be studied in future.

4.4.4 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses such as "If (X)……then (Y)", "When(X)……then (Y)", "Since/Because (X)……then (Y)", etc., are also formed with the help of *ke*. A schematic representation of a typical adverbial clause is given in Fig. 4.8 as follows:

---

[75] In a typical Indo-Aryan relative clause, the Relative-Correlative construction is composed of a relative pronoun preceding the subordinate clause and the subject of the main clause acting as a "correlative" pronoun. Consider the following relative-correlative construction in Hindi/Urdu:

a. **jo** ladka: kal yaha: a:ya: tʰa: **voh** me:ra: be:ta: hai
   Rel Pro. boy yesterday here come.Pfv. be.Past.FSg **3Sg.** 1Sg.-GenM. son be.Pres.3Sg.
   'The boy **who** came here yesterday **(he)** is my son'

b. **jab** mi:na a:yi: tʰi: **tab** tum kaha:n tʰi:
   when Mina come.Pfv. be.Past.SgF. **then** 2Sg. where be.Past.FSg.
   '**When** Mina had come where were you **(then)**?'

The only difference here is that there is no COMP in between the two clauses.

Main Clause (S)
Adv-Clause (S₁)   Complementizer Clause
.....Adverbial Phraseᵢ...   COMP   S₂
'If' , 'When', 'Because'....   (*ke*)   ...(Cor. Adv)ᵢ.......
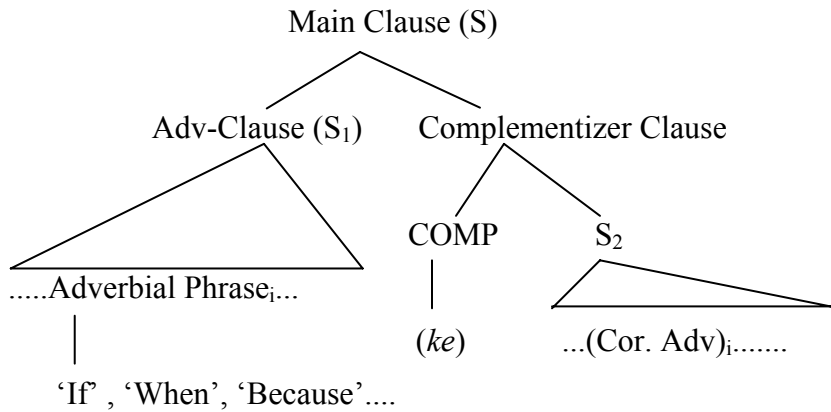
Fig. 4.8 Structure of a typical adverbial clause

Notice in Fig. 4.8 above, the Adverbial Phrase may or may not occur sentence-initially in the Adverbial Clause but *ke* always occurs immediately before the embedded clause in the "Complementizer" Clause. There may be an optional "correlative" adverbial phrase present in the embedded clause (designated as "Cor. Adv." above). S_1 and S_2 are structurally similar. Consider some examples in (51) for illustration as follows:

(51)

a. **amiṯ-uluᵢ**   qarqa:mućo: loi-Ø   ye:cimi,
    3Sg[-c]-in   hens/cocks-Erg   fox-Nom   see.Past.3SgM
    ke   Øᵢ   o-s   gusumiyo
    COMP then 3Pl-heart be afraid-Past.Pl[-h]
    'When/As the hens/cocks saw the fox, their hearts were afraid'

b. ese   **amiṯulu** ququru:cu   eci   bim
    that-Erg   when   cuckuruckoo do.Hab.[-h] be.Pst.3sg[-h]
    ja:-re (**eṯe   vax̱ṯ−ulu)** but   śua γayici   bim,
    1Sg-Dat (that[-c] time-Loc) very good feel.Hab.[-h] be.Pst.3sg[-h]
    'When it/that (cock) used to do the cuckuruckoo, I used to feel very good then'

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4.5 CONCLUSION

Typologically, JKB resembles its areal neighbors in many ways. It is a verb-final language: that is, it places the verb at the end of a clause. In terms of other constituents also, it exhibits a head-final syntax with function words occurring in the phrase-final position. A noun heads a Noun Phrase, a postposition heads a Postpositional Phrase, etc. Case marking is also postpositional in the sense that a case-ending appears as a suffix on the noun. Specifiers and modifiers precede the noun in an NP. In terms of constituent order typology, therefore, JKB is very consistent with the constituent order type designated as "OV" in literature (See Greenberg 1963). All these features are also typically found in other areal languages spoken in the region. There are, however, certain interesting aspects of its morpho-syntax which differ from those of its areal neighbors. For example, the language exhibits the presence of an overt Indefinite Article which is possibly not found in other South Asian languages (except perhaps Kashmiri, which possesses a corresponding form expressing Indefiniteness in Singular nouns. This, however, is not taken to mean that the two are related). The language has certain postpositions which do not necessarily have exact parallels in its neighbors. Thus, it has different postpositions for the adverbials of Time and Space such as *mucum ~ cum* 'since' and *mo* 'during/in' for Time as opposed to *ulum* 'from' and *ulu* 'in' for Space (Location). It will be interesting to see if any of its neighbors make such distinctions. As far as some of the widely spoken languages of the region are concerned, these distinctions are not observed (e.g., many Indo-Aryan languages including Kashmiri, Hindi/Urdu). Thus, 'from' and 'in' are used for both Time and Space designations in these languages. Verb agreement patterns differ from some of its areal neighbors in certain important ways. For example, Ergative, Absolutive, as well as Dative agreement is possible in this language.

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On the other hand, Ergativity in many South Asian languages is not reported to trigger agreement with the verb. Similarly, Dative case also does not trigger agreement in other areal languages but in JKB, Dative case triggers agreement in certain environments. Also, Ergative case is expressed irrespective of Tense/Aspect features. This is also true of Shina, one of the Indo-Aryan languages with close and long-standing contact with Burushaski. In many Indo-Aryan languages Ergativity is only observed in Perfective Aspect.

Chapter 5: Morphology

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Burushaski as a whole has a very rich and complex morphological system, especially its verb morphology. Inflectional processes involve both suffixation and prefixation. Suffixes and prefixes may appear on nouns as well as verbs performing different grammatical functions. Some grammatical categories, such as NEG (or "Neg" = "negation"), may function as clitics holding on phonologically to some other element (or word; the "host"). Derivational processes, on the other hand, are much less complicated and generally involve suffixation.

Despite many studies on the linguistic description of Burushaski, several important aspects of its morphological system present various problems which need further investigation and explanation. This chapter provides a basic description, as well as description of some important aspects, of the morphological system of JKB. Since inflectional morphology is a vast subject in itself, inflection is the central concern of this chapter. Derivational morphology is only semi-productive in the language, and, therefore, only a brief account of JKB derivational morphology is presented in this chapter.

5.1 INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

This section deals with functional or grammatical categories within NPs (Noun Phrases) and S (Sentence). These include: nouns, verbs, modifiers (adjectives and numerals), and quantifiers. Like other dialects of Burushaski, noun inflection in JKB is sensitive to noun class, possessability of nouns, as well as grammatical relations between noun(s) and the verb in a clause. Verb inflection is sensitive to argument structure and

class features of the arguments as well as Tense and Aspect. Modifiers and quantifiers are inflected for noun class and Number.

5.1.1 Nominals and Nominal Inflection

Nominals are traditionally classified into nouns and modifiers. Modifiers generally include simple descriptive adjectives, numerals, and specifiers (such as demonstrative pronouns and relative pronouns). Of the various nominal elements, nouns and noun inflection are one of the most interesting and important areas of investigation. Nouns are categorized into different classes based on certain features. Such classification of nouns has implications on nominal as well as verbal morphology discussed in the following sections.

5.1.1.1 Nouns and Noun Classes

Nouns in Burushaski have been traditionally classified into four classes (See Berger 1998, Willson 1996, Lorimer 1935-37): hm (human male), hf (human female), x, and y. The distinction between the "x" and "y" class nouns is sometimes not very clear. According to Willson (1996: 8), nouns designated as "x" are non-human count nouns and those designated as "y" are mass nouns. This classification, however, does not include an important distinction between concrete and abstract nouns which is observed in the language and affects both noun and verb morphology. The classification provided in Berger (1998) follows Lorimer's (1935-37) account in which nouns designated as "x" include "animates and some inanimate objects", and nouns designated as "y" include "abstrata, liquids, and remaining non-living objects" (Berger 1998:33; Lorimer 1935-37:

14-26).[76] This study uses a slightly modified terminology for Burushaski noun classes. Based on data from JKB, I assume a four-fold classification of nouns as follows:

```
                              Nouns
                               / \
                              /   \
                             /     \
                   Human [+h]       Non-human [-h]
                      / \               / \
                     /   \             /   \
                    /     \           /     \
           Male (M)   Female (F)  [+Concrete]    "[-Concrete]"
                                  Animates       Abstract nouns
                                  Tangible objects  Proper nouns
                                                 Liquids & gases
                                                 Intangible nouns
                                                 Substances….
```
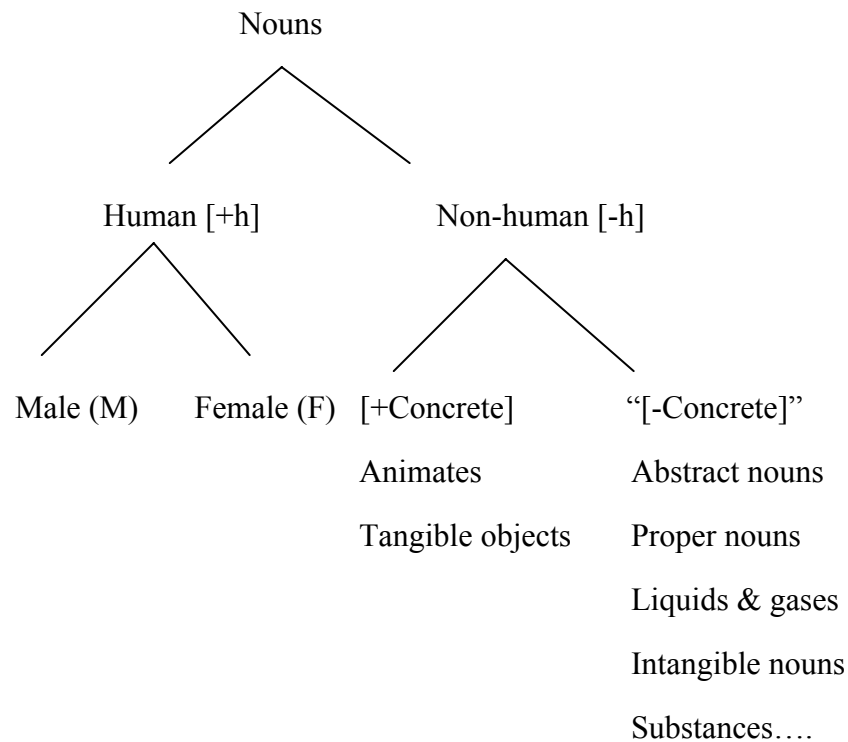
Figure 5.1 Classification of Nouns

Thus, we have a broad distinction into human or [+h] and non-human or [-h] nouns. Human nouns are classified into human male (M) and human female (F). Among non-humans, we have [+concrete] and "[-concrete]" nouns. Non-human [+concrete] nouns include animate and inanimate countable nouns, and solid substances. Under the class designated as "[-concrete]" nouns, are names for intangible substances including abstract nouns, liquids and gaseous substances, proper names, and, sometimes amorphous solids. Thus, JKB nouns are classified into four categories provided in (1) as follows:

---

[76] Translations for Berger (1998:33) are a result of my personal efforts with the help of some friends who speak German. I take the resposibility of any errors.

(1)

      i.   Human masculine nouns (M)

      ii.   Human feminine nouns (F)

      iii.   Non-human concrete nouns designated as [+c]

      iv.   Abstract and amorphous nouns designated as [-c]

Nouns conventionally designated as "mass" nouns may behave like [+concrete] or [-concrete] for agreement purposes. For example, nouns for 'stone', 'apple', 'apricot', 'tree', etc. may fall under countable as well as mass nouns. Amorphous solids may fall under [+concrete] or [-concrete] class depending on speakers' perception in terms of the semantic feature "formlessness/shapelessness". Thus, the class of [-concrete] nouns includes liquids (e.g., *cʰil* 'water', *mamu* 'milk', etc.), abstract nouns (e.g., *xaya:l* 'idea', -*sat* 'memory', etc.), proper names (e.g., names of individuals, place names, etc.), etc.

Class features of nouns/pronouns are expressed in the form of specific class suffixes which may appear on modifiers (e.g., relative pronouns, demonstratives) which carry these suffixes characteristic of the noun class to which the head noun belongs. Class distinction is also expressed in verb inflection in terms of agreement with the subcategorized nouns (i.e., grammatical arguments). In verb agreement, however, all distinctions are not expressed. Data in (2) below present some examples to illustrate noun-endings for various nouns belonging to the major class [+human].

(2)   Relative pronouns and demonstratives in [+human] nouns

a.   kʰin/in   ḍasin   bo
       this/that[+h]   girl   be.Pres.3SgF
       'This is (a/the) girl'

b.	kʰuː/uː	menan	e-sqan-uman
	these/those.[+h]-Erg	who.Sg.[+h]	3SgM-kill-Past.Pl.
	'Whom (human male) did these/those (people) kill?'

c.	kʰuː	menik	o-sqan-uman
	these.[+h]-Erg who.Pl.[+h]	3Pl-kill-Past.3Pl.
	'Which people (humans) did these (people) kill?'

d.	amin	hiles sabuːr	kʰole d̥iː	bam	*ke*	in	jaː a-yi	bai
	who.Sg-[+h] boy	yesterday here	come be.Past *that* 3Sg.[+h] my my-son	be.Pres. 3SgM.
	'The boy who had come here yesterday is my son'

e.	menik	hileśu kamra-ulu baːn	*ke*	u	jaː śuɣulu-muc	baːn
	Rel.Pro.[+h].Pl. boys	room-in.	be.Pres.Pl[+h] *that* they my friend-Pl.	be.Pres.Pl.[+h]
	'The boys who are in the room are my friends'

As mentioned earlier, [-human] nouns are classified as [+concrete] and [-concrete]. Specific class endings are used to express such distinctions. Consider examples in (3) and (4) for illustration as follows:

(3)	[-human], [+concrete] noun endings in relative pronouns
a.	ami**s**	dabaː mez-e	yaːre bi
	Rel.Pro-[+c] box	table-Gen. under be.Pres.3Sg[+c]
	ke	e-s	jaː bi
	COMP 3Sg.[+c] my	be.Pres.3Sg[+c]
	'The box which/that is under the table is mine'

b.	kʰo**s**	loi amis	bim,	ke	e**s**	mapʰeːr bim
	this[+c] fox Rel.Pro.[+c]	be.Past.Sg [+c],	COMP 3Sg.[+c] old	be.Past. Sg [+c]
	'This fox who was, that was old'

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c.   amic   ke:la muc kʰarati:-lu biyo

Rel.Pro.Pl.[+c] banana-Pl basket-in   be.Pres.Pl[+c]

ke   ec   oɣasi   biyu

COMP 3Pl.[+c] spoilt   be.Past. Pl.[+c]

'The bananas that are in the basket are spoilt'

e.   kʰos   bayu

this[+c]   salt

'this salt'

(4)   [-human], [-concrete] noun endings:

a.   kʰoṭ(e)   ba:ś

this.Sg[-c]   language

'this language'

b.   kʰok(e)   ba:śiŋ

this.Pl[-c]   languages

'these languages'

c.   um-e   kʰoṭ(e)   bene eṭum-a

2Sg.-Erg.   this.Sg[-c] how   did-QM

'How did you do this (abstract thing)?'

d.   um-e   kʰok(e)   bene ḍusum-a

2Sg.-Erg.   this-Pl[-c]   how bring[-c].Past. -QM.

'How did you bring these ([-concrete] things)?'

e.   eke   diśimiŋ   maśhu:r   bicaŋ

those[-c] places   famous   be.Past.Pl[-c]

'Those places were famous'

f.   amiṭ   vaxṭ-ulu   in   ḍiyimi....

        Rel.Pro.Sg[-c]   time-in   he   come.Past.3SgM

        'When he came....

Notice in (3) and (4) above, different pronouns and demonstratives are used for [+human] and [-human] nouns, and distintions into [+concrete] and [-concrete] are observed in the latter. Thus, demonstrative pronouns for [+human] nouns are $k^h in$ 'this'/*in* 'that' and $k^h u$ 'these'/*u* 'those'. For [+concrete] nouns the corresponding forms are $k^h os(e)$ 'this'/*es(e)* 'that' and $k^h oc(e)$ 'these'/*ec(e)* 'those'. And for [-concrete] nouns the corresponding demonstrative pronouns are $k^h ot(e)$ 'this'/*et(e)* 'that' and $k^h ok(e)$ 'these'/*ek(e)* 'those'. Notice that verb agreement is also sensitive to class features of nouns subcategorized by the verb. Similar distinctions are also observed in case of relative pronouns. Thus, we have relative pronouns *amin*, *amis*, and *amiṭ* for [+h], [+c], and [-c] singular nouns and respectively (A list of all relative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns is provided in Table 5.4 in Section 5.1.1.5 below).

There are some exceptions which either fall under the class of [+concrete] or under [-concrete] nouns , viz., 'tree', 'book', 'clothes', 'house', 'field', etc. Thus, ere may also be inter-speaker variations with respect to this group. Consider examples in (5) for illustration as follows:

(5) Exceptions: nouns such as 'tree', 'book', 'sand', etc.

a.   um-e k^hoṭe   ṭum e:giċu ba-a,

        2Sg-Erg. this-[-c] tree sow.Hab be.Pres.2Sg-QM,

        ḍa: ke   bes-ik,   bu:t-ik   e:giċu   ba

        and COMP how much-Indef.Pl, lot of-Indef.Pl   sow.Hab be.Pres.2Sg,

        'You are sowing this tree, and then you are sowing so many of these?'

b. kʰoke̤   ṭum-ićaŋ

    these[-c]   tree-Pl

    'these trees'

c. kʰoke   ki̤ta:b-iŋ

    these[-c]   book-Pl

    'these books'

d. sadak-e   han paċi ṭʰilan sav   bicum

    road-Gen one side some sand   be.Past.Pl [-c]

    'Some/A little sand was lying on one side of the road'

e. sadak-ete but-an sav ḍincʰir   bicum

    road-on lot-Ind. sand scattered   be.Past.Pl [-c]

     'A lot of sand was scattered on the road'

Notice in (5) above, 'tree', 'book', and 'sand' behave like a [-concrete] nouns.

5.1.1.2 Number

Nouns and noun phrases are marked by various endings for Number. A large number of plural marking endings are found in Burushaski. Tiffou (1993) claims there are almost fifty such suffixes in Burushaski. The plural morphology is complex and the distribution of the different plural forming suffixes is sometimes inconsistent. While in certain cases, the patterns are fixed with specific plural marking suffixes, in others, they do not always follow a specific pattern. Some of the very common plural marking suffixes used in JKB are: *-vanc*, *-ikanc*, *-ainc*, *-nc*, *-aiŋ*, *-iŋo*, *-oŋo*, *-ŋo*, *-ićaŋ*, *-muc*, *-iśu*, *-ayo*, *-yo*, *-o*. Many of them, however, are sets of allomorphs.

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Some of the plural marking suffixes are phonologically conditioned. For instance, the plural ending *-muc* only occurs in nouns where the singular form ends in a vowel. However, not all nouns ending in a vowel get *–muc* as the plural marking suffix. Consider examples in (6) for illustrations as follows:

(6)　　Singular　　　Plural　　　　　　　Gloss

　　　　ɣuru:ru　　　ɣuru:ru-muc　　　　'heron'

　　　　ku̱to　　　　ku̱to-muc　　　　　'bag'

　　　　kʰarati　　　kʰarati-muc　　　　'basket'

　　　　rediyo　　　rediyo-muc　　　　　'radio'

Plural endings *–(i)śu* occur only in nouns ending in consonants in the singular form, but not all nouns ending in a consonant get these plural marking suffixes. Consider data in (7) as follows:

(7)　　Singular　　　Plural　　　　　　Gloss

　　　　qalam　　　　qalam-iśu　　　　'pen'

　　　　kʰapun　　　kʰapun-iśu　　　　'spoon'

　　　　ba:l̪t　　　　ba:l̪t-iśu　　　　　'apple'

　　　　a:m　　　　　a:m-iśu　　　　　'mango'

　　　　hilas　　　　hila-śu　　　　　'boy'

It could be argued in (7) above that the plural marker is *–śu* and that *i* is epenthesized between two consonants to avoid a medial cluster (syllabification). Presence of *hilaśu* instead of *hilasiśu, which would be expected if the plural marker were *–iśu*, is evidence that *–śu* is the underlying form here (Notice in *hilaśu* 'boys', in the underlying

form two sibilants would be next to each other, a sequence not permitted in the language, and , hence, deletion of *s* of the singular base before *ś* of the suffix)

There are some other cases which involve the same plural ending with some variations. For example, - *ćo* ~ -*yo* in (8) and (9) as follows:

(8)   Singular   Plural   Gloss
         girkic   girkićo   'rat/mouse'
         qarqa:muc   qarqa:mućo   'hen'
         γurkuc   γurkućo   'frog'

         id̪umus   id̪umućo   '(his) knee'
         t̪ol   t̪oljo   'snake'

(9)   Singular   Plural   Gloss
         he:va:n   he:va:yo   'animal'

         śahin   śahiyo   'royal falcon'

         d̪an   d̪ayo(k)   'stone'

Notice in (8) and (9) above the final consonant of the singular form does not surface in the plural form in some cases. Thus, final –*c*, -*s*, and -*n* do not surface in the plural form of *girkic* 'rat', *id̪umus* '(his) knee', and *he:va:n* 'animal' while the final –*l* does in t̪*oljo* 'snakes'.

Some nouns ending in -*n* make plural forms by other morphophonological changes. For instance, -*n* vs. -*v* endings in singular and plural forms respectively in (10) as follows:

(10)   Singular   Plural   Gloss
         ċʰin   ċʰiv   'sparrow'
         pʰin   pʰiv   'fly'

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Other commonly used plural markers are –iŋ and -oŋo. Occurrence of - iŋ is restricted to consonant-ending words, but, as we have seen above, not all consonant-ending nouns take this plural marker. Occurrence of -oŋo does not seem to be very predictable. Also, there is another allomorph –iŋo used in some cases. Consider examples in (11) and (12) for illustration as follows:

(11)
Singular	Plural	Gloss
asqur	asqur-iŋ	'flower'
ki̱ta:b	ki̱ta:b-iŋ	'book'
mal	mal-iŋ	'field'
‚trap	‚trap-iŋ	'clap (n.)'
a-nd̯il	mi-nd̯il-iŋ	'my chest/our chests'

(12)
Singular	Plural	Gloss
pʰiċo	pʰiċ-oŋo	'mosquito'
buś	buś-oŋo	'cat'
gus	guś-iŋo	'woman'

There is another frequently occurring plural ending with several allomorphs, such as, -anc, -vanc, -kanc, -ainc, –nc, etc. Consider data in (13) as follows:

(13)   Plural ending –anc (or some allomorph of it)
Singular	Plural	Gloss
sind̯iṣ	sind̯i-anc	'swan'
d̯asin	d̯asi-vanc/anc	'girl'
d̯u	d̯u-vanc	'young one (of a goat)'
pʰul	pʰul-ainc/e:nc	'cup'
muk	muk- ainc/e:nc	'pearl'
hir	hir-ikanc	'man'

Note that there are inter-speaker variations in some cases in (13) above such that some speakers use one form and others another form (e.g., in 'cups, 'pearls', etc. above). The various allomorphs of this plural ending are presumably phonologically conditioned.

There are many other plural marking suffixes and variations of the above mentioned suffixes regarding which no sensible generalizations have been made at this point. Consider examples in (14) as follows:

(14)   Singular   Plural   Gloss
        har   har-o   'bull/ox'
        huk   huk-ayo   'dog'
        yu:tis   yu:tiŋ   '(his) leg'
        iriŋ   iriŋ-(i)ćaŋ   '(his) hand'

Because so many different plural marking suffixes are available to native speakers both inter-speaker and intra-speaker variations are observed with respect to the use of plural markers. Often speakers are inconsistent and may disagree with each other on the use of "correct" plural endings. Consider examples in (15) for illustration as follows:

(15)   Singular   Plural   Gloss
        buś   buś-iŋo/buś-ianc   'cat'

        gus   guś-iŋo/guś-ianc   'woman'

        kantei   kantei-śu/-muc   'kite'

        d̤uṣṭak   d̤uṣṭak(-iŋ/ iśu)[77]   'pot'

        d̤asin   d̤asivanc/ d̤asi(y)anc   'girl'

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[77] *d̤uṣṭak* 'pots' is commonly used, *d̤uṣṭak-iŋ* 'pots' is used to refer to 'different kinds of pots' (something like different kinds of fishes), and *d̤uṣṭak- iśu*, although grammatically correct, is not normally used.

Thus, we find inter-speaker variations, such as those in those in (15) above with different speakers using different plural markers for same words.

Nouns like 'plum', 'apricot', 'pear', etc., can both be treated as mass as well as count nouns. When treated as count nouns they normally take a zero morpheme as a plural marker.

5.1.1.3 Case Morphology

Three basic cases are discussed in this study with respect to JKB. These are: Absolutive, Ergative, and Dative.

Absolutive case – the unmarked or **null case** – is expressed by a zero-morpheme (-Ø). Consider examples in (16) for illustration as follows:

(16)   Absolutive case: Null/Unmarked case

a.   ja   hurutam
      ja-Ø   hurut-am
      1Sg-Abs   sit/stay-Past.1Sg
      'I sat/stayed'

b.   varziś   jiye   gane   śua   ḍila

      varziś-Ø   ji-e   gane   śua   ḍila

      exercise-Abs   life-Gen   for   good   be.Pres.3Sg[-c]
      'Exercise is good for body/life'

Ergative case – the grammatical case borne by the most agent-like argument of a clause – is expressed by the addition of a suffix –*e* to the NP. Consider examples in (17) for illustration as follows:

(17)   Ergative case ending
a.   in-e   ɣar   eću   bai

3Sg-Erg song.   do.Hab.   be. Pres.3SgM~Erg~

'He sings'

Or 'He is singing'

b.   hilas-e   dasin-Ø   mo-ye:c-imi

boy-Erg.   girl-Abs   3SgF-see-Past.3SgM

'The boy saw the girl'

In case of nouns ending in a short vowel, Ergative case is phonologically expressed by vowel lengthening. Consider examples in (18) for illustration as follows:

(18)   Ergative case: Nouns ending in short vowels
a.   ja-a   pʰiti   śiy-am

ja-e   pʰiti-Ø   śiy-am

1Sg-Erg.   bread-Abs   eat.Sg- Past.1Sg

 'I ate bread'

b.   mi-i   pʰiti -Ø śiy-an

mi-e   pʰiti -Ø śiy-an

1Pl-Erg.   bread-Indef.Sg.   eat.Sg- Past.1Pl

 'We ate bread'

c.   u-u   ćaɣa:-miŋ   eć-an

u-e   ćaɣa:-miŋ-Ø   eć-an

3Pl-Erg conversation-Pl -Abs   do.Hab.Pres-Pl

'They talk' (Lit. = 'They do/are doing conversations')

d.   ma-a   ćaɣa:-miŋ   eć-an

ma-e   ćaɣa:-miŋ-Ø   eć-an

2Pl-Erg   conversation-Pl -Abs do.Hab.Pres-Pl

'You (PL) talk' (Lit. = 'You (Pl) do/are doing conversations')
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In case of nouns ending in a long vowel, Ergative case is phonologically expressed by a zero-morpheme (-Ø). Consider examples in (19) for illustration as follows:

(19)   Ergative case: Nouns ending in short vowels
a.   hasina: pʰiti   śiy-am
        hasina:-e   pʰiti-Ø   śiy-am
        1Sg-Erg.   bread-Abs   eat.Sg- Past.1Sg
         'I ate bread'

b.   a:si: pʰiti   śumo
        a:si:-e   pʰiti -Ø   śiy-umo
        1Pl-Erg.   bread-Abs.   eat.Sg- Past.3SgF
         'Aasi ate bread'

Dative case – the grammatical case borne by Experiencer/Recipient/Goal arguments – is expressed by the addition of the Dative suffix -*re* to the Genitive form of the NP which is –*e* for all nouns except human female singular nouns for the Genitive ending is -*mo* ("Genitive" is discussed in Section 5.1.1.4 which follows). For illustration, consider examples in (20) as follows:

(20)   Dative case ending
a.   ja:re   t̪am   d̪ila
        ja-e-re   t̪am-Ø   d̪ila
        1Sg-Gen-Dat   swimming-Abs   be.Pres.3Sg.[-c] Abs
        'I know swimming' (Lit. 'To me swimming is')

b.   ine   inmore   ki̯ta:ban   mo:ćumo

        in-e   in-mo-re   ki̯ta:b-an   mo-uć-umo

        3Sg-Erg   3Sg-Gen.F-Dat book-Indef   3SgF-give-3SgF

        'She gave her a book'

5.1.1.4 Personal Pronouns

JKB Personal Pronouns and their corresponding Personal Possessor Pronouns (or Possessive Adjective) for [+human] nouns are listed in the following table:

Table 5.1: Personal Pronouns and Personal Possessor Pronouns in JKB

		Personal Pronoun		Possessor Pronoun	
I.	Sg.	ja	'I'	ja-a	'my'
	Pl.	mi	'we'	mi-i	'our'
II.	Sg.	um(e)	'you'	um-e	'your'
	Pl.	ma	'you (Pl.)	ma-a	'your'
III	Sg.	in(e)	'he/she'	in-e	'his'
				in-mo	'her'
	Pl.	u	'they'	u-u	'their'

Possession is marked by adding the possessor suffix on the possessor noun or pronoun which is designated as "Genitive". The possessor suffix for consonant ending (pro)nouns is *-e* and for (pro)nouns ending in vowels it is represented by vowel lengthening. This is true of both [+human] and [-human] nouns. The only exception is the possessor suffix for Third Person Singular human females, which is *-mo*.

5.1.1.5 Possessability of Nouns

Burushaski makes a distinction between inherently possessed and optionally possessed nouns. Possessability is perhaps related with animacy and is expressed by a personal pronominal prefix attached to the inherently possessed noun. For example, *gu-(y)i:k* 'your-name', *a-(y)i:k* 'my-name', *i-dim* 'his/its-body', and so on. Various pronominal prefixes are listed in Table 5.2 as follows:

Table 5.2: Pronominal prefixes for inherently possessed nouns

		Pronominal Prefix	Example
I.	Sg.	a-	a-kʰar 'my voice'
	Pl.	mi-	mi-u 'our father'
II.	Sg.	gu-	gu-mi 'your mother'
	Pl.	ma-	ma-mi 'your (Pl.) mother'
III.	Sg.M.	i- e-, y-	i-mi 'his mother', e-ċo 'his brother'
			y-as 'his sister'
	Sg.F.	mu-, mo-	mu-mi 'her mother', mo-ċo 'her sister'
	Pl.	u-	u-mi 'their mother'

Note that the pronominal prefix for third person singular is used for human masculine as well as non-human nouns.

Based on data from JKB, there are various classes of inherently possessed nouns in the language which include:

i.   Body parts

ii.   Kinship terms

iii. Personal belongings such as '(X's) name', '(X's) voice', '(X's) bed', etc.

iv.   Things or concepts closely related/affiliated/associated with humans, such as, '(X's) memory', '(X's) imagination', etc.

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Body Parts

As a general rule, body parts are inherently possessed in Burushaski. Names of most body parts have obligatory pronominal prefixes. For example, JKB *-xaṭ* 'mouth', *-u:l* 'stomach', *-nḍil* 'chest', *-s* 'heart', *-ṣ* 'neck', *-ḷṭumal* 'ear', *-tis/-tiŋ* 'foot/feet (leg/legs)', *-ṣċiŋ* 'back', *-dim* 'body', and so on. Paradigms for JKB words for 'chest' and 'feet' are presented in (21) and (22) as follows:

(21)   JKB words for 'chest'

        a-nḍil   'my chest'

        mi-nḍil-iŋ   'our chests'

        gu-nḍil   'you(Sg.)r chest'

        ma-nḍil-iŋ   'you(Pl.)r chests'

        mu-nḍil   'her chest'

        i-nḍil   'his chest'

        u-nḍil-iŋ[78]   'their chests'

(22)   JKB words for 'feet/legs'

        a-tiŋ   'my feet/legs'

        mi-tiŋ   'our feet/legs'

        gu-tiŋ   'your (Sg.) feet/legs'

        ma-tiŋ   'your (Pl.) feet/legs'

        mu-tiŋ   'her feet/legs'

        i-tiŋ   'his feet/legs'

        u-tiŋ   'their feet/legs'

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[78] Note that *-nḍil* is also used for 'breast' in polite form. For 'chests' in case of non-humans (e'g', animals or birds), *inḍiliśu* 'their [-h] chests' is perhaps used in the plural form. Although semantically absurd, in a figurative form, words like 'our heart', with the possessed noun as singular and the possessor as plural, are also possible. For example, *me-s-ainc* means 'our hearts' while *me-s* is 'our heart', *ma-s* 'your (Pl) heart' and *ma-s-ainc* 'your (Pl.) hearts'.

Not all body parts are inherently possessed, however. Names for some of the body parts are free morphemes and occur independently as against the above cases where the morphemes are bound and necessarily occur with the pronominal possessive markers. These are presumably borrowed from other languages which would explain the deviation from the norm. Consider examples in (23) below:

(23)   Words for body parts without pronominal prefixes
        bac^hin   'thigh'
        ćućtu   'breast'
        żuk   'kidney'
        buk   'throat'
        gapal   '(fore)head'

Thus, words for 'breast' and 'forehead' in (23) are of Indo-Aryan origin (Sh. *ćućtu* 'breast', Sh. *gapal* 'head'). Origin of other words in the list is not known to the author. It could be possible that all of these are borrowings.

Kinship Terms

Like body parts, nouns for close kinship terms are also inherently possessed.[79] Thus, nouns such as *-ċu* '(same sex) sibling', *-yas* '(opposite sex) sibling', *-yi* 'offspring (son/daughter)', *-mi* 'mother', *-u* 'father', etc. are inherently possessed and are preceded by pronominal prefixes for the possessor. There are, however, some kinship terms used in JKB which are borrowed from other languages, and, therefore, do not possess pronominal prefixes. Paradigms for JKB words for 'sibling' and 'offspring' are given in (24) and (25) as follows:

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[79] Note that kinship titles or address terms in Burushaski should not be confused for the basic kinship terms. While the latter are inherently possessed, the address terms and titles are not.

(24)   JKB terms for 'sibling'

Singular	Plural	Gloss
e-ċu	e-ċu-kon	'(his) brother(s)'
mo-ċu	mo-ċu- kon	'(her) sister(s)'
go- ċu	go-ċu- kon	'your (same sex) sibling'
mu-ulus	mu-ulus-ḍaro	'(her) brother(s)'
y-as	y-as- ḍaro	'(his) sister(s)'
a-ulus	a-ulus-ḍaro	'(my) brother(s)' (when possessor is feminine)
gu-ulus	gu-ulus-ḍaro	'your(Sg.) brothers' (when possessor is feminine)

(25)   JKB terms for 'offspring'

a-yi	'my offspring'
gu-yi	'your offspring'
i-yi	'his offspring'
mu-yi	'her offspring'
ma-yi	'your (possessor plural) offspring'
u-yi	'their offspring'

Notice in (25) above that plural markers on kinship terms are: *-kon* when both the possessor and the possessed are of same gender, and *-ḍaro* when the possessor and the possessed are of different genders.

Inherently possessed nouns may also be preceded by optional possessor pronouns. Consider (26) for example:

(26)   Optional possessor pronouns preceding inherently possessed noun

(ja-a)	a-u	'(my) 1Sg-father' or 'my father'
(mi-i)	mi-u	'(our) 2Pl-father' or 'our father'
(um-e)	gu-u	'(your) 2Sg-father' or 'your father'
(um-e)	gu-ulus	'(your) 2Sg-brother'
		or 'your (Sg.) brothers; when possessor is feminine'
(ja-a)	a-ulus	'(my) 1Sg-brother' or 'my brother; when possessor is feminine'

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Other inherently possessed nouns

Some other inherently possessed nouns are -*ćʰar* 'voice', -*sat* 'memory', -*no:śki* 'pillow', etc. Consider data in (27) for illustration as follows:

(27)   Other inherently possessed nouns:

a-ćʰar	'(my) voice'
i-ćʰar	'(his) voice'
a-sat	'(my) memory'
gu-sat	'(your) memory'
o-sat	'(their) memory'
i-no:śki	'(his) pillow'
o-no:śki	'(their) pillow'
i-mo:s	'(his) anger'
a-mo:s	'(my) anger'

These are usually nouns closely associated with a person (the possessor).

5.1.1.6 Modifiers

Modifiers, such as, specifiers, adjectives, numerals and quantifiers, precede the head noun. Some modifiers possess certain endings specifying features such as Number, noun class, etc.

Adjectives

Adjectives always precede the modified noun in JKB. Most adjectives are bare, i.e., without inflectional endings. Thus, no distinction can be made on the basis of Number, Gender, or class features. Consider examples in (28) as follows:

(28)   Adjectives not inflected for Number or other features

Singular   Plural   Gloss

śua sis   śua sisik   'good man/men'

śua ḏiś   śua ḏiśmiŋ   'beautiful/good place(s)'

ḏaḻtas gus   ḏaḻtas guśianc   'beautiful woman/women'

ɣunaqiṣ hilis   ɣunaqiṣ hiliśu   'bad boy(s)'

ma̱tum gatu   ma̱tum gatuŋ   'black dress(es)'

Some adjectives, however, are inflected for Number. Consider examples in (29) for illustration as follows:

(29)   Adjectives inflected for Number

Singular   Plural   Gloss

uyum daba: uyu-kurćuku daba:-muc   'big box(es)'

jot daba   jot-ukurćuku daba-muc   'small box(es)'

uyum sanḏu:q   uyu-kurćuku sanḏu:q-iśu   'big box(es)/container(s)'

Thus, in (29) above, plural forms of the adjectives *uyum* 'big' and *jot* 'small' consist of a suffix *-ukurćuku*. Notice in case of *uyum* 'big', the final consonant *-m* does not surface in the plural form.

Numerals

Like other modifiers, numerals in JKB precede the head noun. Numerals may possess a class ending or suffix based on [+human]/[-human] and [+concrete]/[-concrete] distinction of the modified noun. Such distinction is only observed in the first few numerals. Some of these endings correspond with pronominal endings used to designate class features in pronouns. Table 5.3 below lists JKB numerals from 'one' to 'ten' showing class distinction suffixes with some dialectal variations:

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Table 5.3 JKB numerals based on different noun classes

Numeral	[Human]	[+Concrete]	[-Concrete]
1	hin	han	hik
2	al̪tan	al̪tac	al̪to
3	isken	usko	iski
	NgB. iske		
	HB. isken		
4	val̪to		val̪ti
5	cʰun̪d̪o		cʰin̪d̪i,
			HB. cʰun̪d̪i
6	miśin̪d̪o		miśin̪d̪i
7	̪tʰalo		̪tʰale,
			HB. ̪tʰali
8.	al̪tambo		al̪tambi
	NgB. al̪tʰambo		
9	hunco		hunti
10	̪to:rmo		̪to:rmi
	H-Ng. ̪to:rumo		H-Ng. ̪to:rumo

JKB paradigms for numerals 'one', 'two', 'three', and 'four', modifying words for different noun classes are given in (30) as follows:

(30)   JKB paradigms for numerals 'one' to 'four'

a.   'one X'

    hin hilas   'one boy'

    han ba:ḷṭ   'one apple'

    hik gunc   'one day'[80]

    hik sa   'one month'

b.   'two Xs'

    aḷṭan hileśu   'two boys'

    aḷṭac ba:ḷṭiśu   'two apples'

    aḷṭul kuc   'two days'

c.   'three Xs'

    isken hileśu   'three boys'

    usko ba:ḷṭiśu   'three apples'

    iski kuc   'three days'

d.   'four Xs'

    vaḷto hileśu   'four boys'

    vaḷti ḍen   'four years'

    val kuc   'four days' (<vaḷti kuc)

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[80] Note that in *han gunc*, the modifier *han* is translated as 'one day', where –(a)n refers to an indefinite article (in the sense of 'some day')

Demonstratives and relative pronouns

Based on the class features of the head noun, demonstrative pronouns and relative pronouns take different endings. Table 5.4 provides paradigms for singular and plural forms of demonstrative pronouns 'this' and 'that', and relative pronoun 'which' with respect to different noun classes as they appear in JKB:

Table 5.4 JKB demonstratives and relative pronouns

Human		Non-human			
		[+Concrete]		[-Concrete]	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
-n(e)	**-Ø(-), -k(e)**	**-s(e)**	**-c(e)**	**-ṭ(e)**	**-k(e)**
kʰin(e) 'this'	kʰu 'these'	kʰos(e) 'this'	kʰoc(e) 'these'	kʰoṭ(e) 'this'	kʰok(e) 'these'
in(e) 'he/she'	u 'they'	es(e) 'that'	ec(e) 'those'	eṭ(e) 'that'	ek(e) 'these'
amin 'which' (Relative pronoun)	amik 'which' (Relative pronoun)	amis 'which' (Relative pronoun)	amic 'which' (Relative pronoun)	amiṭ 'which' (Relative pronoun)	amik 'which' (Relative pronoun)

See Section 5.1.1.1 for examples illustrating the use of the above demonstrative and relative pronouns in JKB.

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5.1.2 Verbs and Verb Morphology

The verb component may be composed of a main verb (simple verbs), a main verb plus an auxiliary verb (complex verbs), or a noun plus verb complex (compound verbs). This is consistent with the areal typology of the language. Verbs such as *ẹt-as* 'to do', *mana-as* 'to exist/be/happen', *a-man-as* '1Sg.-feel-Inf.' as well as *bV-/ḍil-* 'to be [+concrete]/[-concrete]' may behave like main verbs or auxiliary verbs.

The verb has more than one stem form. Grunes (1998) argues for three stems in the Burushaski verb – a past stem, a present stem and a consecutive stem. The past stem, according to him, is "the unadorned root of the verb" which is "used for the past tenses but also for other purposes, for instance, for the imperative, and, with the directional ending –a = *towards*, for a kind of infinitive of purpose: ẹta = *in order to do it*" (Grunes, 1998). The present stem, Grunes argues, is "in principle, derived from the root (past stem) by suffixing –ć: biśá-= *to throw away a y object* has biśáć- for present stem".[81] Grunes' description of the consecutive stem is not very clear, which, according to his analysis, is "equal to the root, except that its initial consonant is hardened". Based on the present analysis, I argue that Grunes' account does not exactly fit into the verb conjugations found in JKB. Based on data from JKB, the verb can be argued to have following two stems:

(i)   The base stem or "root' used in the Infinitive form. This stem is used for actions which are completed. These include: Simple Past, Present Perfect, and Past Perfect, etc.

(ii)   The derived stem, used for actions not completed. This includes Present/Past Habitual, Present/Past Continuous, and Future. It is formed by adding the suffix –ć to the root.

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[81] Where "y object" in Grunes' description refers to "materials and abstrata".

Most of the verbs have regular inflectional paradigms. JKB stems for some common verbs, such as, 'do', 'become', 'walk', 'eat', 'dance', 'go', and 'run' are given in Table 5.5 as follows:

Table 5.5: JKB verb stems

Base Stem				Derived Stem			
Infinitive form	Present Perfect stem	Past Perfect stem	Simple Past stem	Present Habitual stem	Present Continuous stem	Past Continuous stem	Future stem
e̱t-as 'to do'	e̱t-	e̱t-	e̱t-	eć-	eć-	eć-	eć-
mana-as 'to become'	man-	man-	man-	may-	may-	may-	may-
gucʰar-as 'to walk'	gucʰar-	gucʰar-	gucʰar-	gucʰarć-	gucʰarć-	gucʰarć-	gucʰarć-
ṣi-(y)as 'to eat'	ṣi-	ṣi-	ṣi-	ṣiċ-	ṣiċ-	ṣiċ-	ṣiċ-
ga:rc-as 'to run'	ga:rc-	ga:rc-	ga:rc-	ga:rś-	ga:rś-	ga:rś-	ga:rś-
gira̱t-as 'to dance'	gira̱t-	gira̱t-	gira̱t-	gireś-	gireś-	gireś-	gireś-
ni-(y)as 'to go'	ni-	ni-	ni-	nić-	nić-	nić-	nić-
żu-(y)as 'to come'	żu-	żu-	żu-	żuċ-	żuċ-	żuċ-	żuċ-
girmin-as 'to write'	girmin-	girmin-	girmin-	girmiy-	girmiy-	girmiy-	girmiy-
d̠V-yil-[82] 'to listen'	d̠V-yil-	d̠V-yil-	d̠V-yil-	d̠V-yilj-	d̠V-yilj-	d̠V-yilj-	d̠V-yilj-

Notice that the derived stem may involve further phonological changes depending on whether the root ends in a consonant or a vowel leading to variations across different verbs.

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[82] This belongs to the class of *d*-prefix verbs. See section 5.1.1.2 for formal details.

Paradigms for verbs 'work' and 'run' are provided in (31) and (32) as follows:

(31)   Paradigm for verb ḏoro ẹṭ- 'work' (Lit. 'work + do')
a.   Simple Past: 'X worked' OR 'X did the work'

1Sg.	ja	ḏoro	ẹṭam
2 Sg.	ume	ḏoro	ẹṭama
3SgM.	in	ḏoro	ẹṭimi
3SgF.	in	ḏoro	ẹṭumo
1Pl.	mi	ḏoro	ẹṭan
2 Pl.	ma	ḏoro	ẹṭan
3Pl	u	ḏoro	ẹṭan

b.   Past Perfect: 'X had worked'

1Sg.	ja	ḏoro	ẹṭa	bam
2 Sg.	um	ḏoro	ẹṭu	bam
3SgM.	in	ḏoro	ẹṭu	bam
3SgF.	in	ḏoro	ẹṭu	bom
1Pl.	mi	ḏoro	ẹṭu	bam
2 Pl.	ma	ḏoro	ẹṭu	bam
3Pl	u	ḏoro	ẹṭu	bam

c.   Present Habitual: 'X works'

1Sg.	ja	ḏoro	eća	ba
2 Sg.	ume	ḏoro	eću	ba
3SgM.	in	ḏoro	eću	bai
3SgF.	in	ḏoro	eću	bo
1Pl.	mi	ḏoro	eću	ba:n
2 Pl.	ma	ḏoro	eću	ba:n
3Pl	u	ḏoro	eću	ba:n

d.   Past Habitual: 'X used to work'

1Sg.	ja	ḏoro	eća	bam
2 Sg.	ume	ḏoro	eću	bam
3SgM.	in	ḏoro	eću	bam
3SgF.	in	ḏoro	eću	bom (~bam)
1Pl.	mi	ḏoro	ећu	bam
2 Pl./3Pl	ma/u	ḏoro	eću	bam

e.   Past Progressive/Continuous: 'X was working' (Also 'X was in the state of working')[83]

1Sg.	ja	ḍoro	ećumene	bam
2 Sg.	ume	ḍoro	ećumene	bam
3SgM.	in	ḍoro	ećumene	bam
3SgF.	in	ḍoro	ećumene	bom
1Pl.	mi	ḍoro	ećumene	bam
2 Pl.	ma	ḍoro	ećumene	bam
3Pl	u	ḍoro	ećumene	bam

f.   Future : 'X will work'

1Sg.	ja	ḍoro	ećam
2 Sg.	ume	ḍoro	ećuma
3SgM.	in	ḍoro	ećimi
3SgF.	in	ḍoro	ećumo
1Pl.	mi	ḍoro	ećan
2 Pl.	ma	ḍoro	ećan
3Pl	u	ḍoro	ećan

(32)   Paradigm for verb 'run':
a.   Simple Past : 'X ran'

1Sg.	ja	ga:rcam
2 Sg.	ume	ga:rcama
3SgM.	in	ga:rcimi
3SgF.	in	ga:rcumo
1Pl.	mi	ga:rcuman
2 Pl.	ma	ga:rcuman
3Pl	u	ga:rcuman

b.   Present Habitual: 'X runs'

1Sg.	ja	ga:rśa	ba
2 Sg.	ume	ga:rśu	ba
3SgM.	in	ga:rśu	bai
3SgF.	in	ga:rśu	bo
1Pl.	mi	ga:rśu	ba:n
2 Pl.	ma	ga:rśu	ba:n
3Pl	u	ga:rśu	ba:n

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[83] Consider the following example:

| *ja* | *guc^har-ć-umene* | *nića* | *bam* |
| 1Sg-Abs | walk-[-Perf]-Cont | go.[-Perf].Hab.1Sg | be.Past. |

'I go (while) walking' (= 'I go on foot')

c.   Past Habitual: 'X used to run'
        1Sg.   ja   ga:rśa   bam
        2 Sg.   um   ga:rśu   bam
        3SgM.   in   ga:rśu   bam
        3SgF.   in   ga:rśu   bom
        1Pl.   mi   ga:rśu   bam
        2 Pl.   ma   ga:rśu   bam
        3Pl   u   ga:rśu   bam

d.   Past Progressive/Continuous: 'X was running' (Also 'X was in the state of running')
        1Sg.   ja   ga:rśumene   bam
        2 Sg.   ume   ga:rśumene   bam
        3SgM.   in   ga:rśumene   bam
        3SgF.   in   ga:rśumene   bom
        1Pl.   mi   ga:rśumene   bam
        2 Pl.   ma   ga:rśumene   bam
        3Pl   u   ga:rśumene   bam

e.   Future : 'X will run'
        1Sg.   ja   ga:rśam
        2 Sg.   ume   ga:rśuma
        3SgM.   in   ga:rśimi
        3SgF.   in   ga:rśumo
        1Pl.   mi   ga:rśan
        2 Pl.   ma   ga:rśan
        3Pl   u   ga:rśan

5.1.2.1 Verb 'to be'

The stem of the verb 'to be' in JKB is some form of *bV-* or *ḍil-* (Present Tense stems), depending on the class features of the NP argument. For [+concrete] nouns, the base of the auxiliary verb is *bV-* 'to be; [+c]' and for "[-concrete]" nouns it is *ḍil-* 'to be; [-c]'. Table 5.6 presents a paradigm for Present and Past Tense forms of JKB verb ' to be' in terms of different noun classes with which the verb agreement is observed:

Table 5.6 Present and Past Tense forms for verb 'to be'

(a) Verb 'be' NP [+human]

	Singular				Plural
	I	II	III Male	III Female	I, II, and III
Present	ba	ba	bai	bo	ba:n
Past	bam	bam	bam	bom	bam

(b) Verb 'be' with NP [-human]

'be'	[+Concrete]		"[-Concrete]"	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Present	bi	biyo	ḏila	bicaŋ
Past	bim	biyom	ḏilum	bicum

Examples in (33) below illustrate different forms of verb 'be' when the verb agrees with a [+human] NP:

(33)   Morphology of the verb 'be': agreement with [+human] NPs

a.   je/um   (hin)   hilas-an   **ba**

         1Sg/2Sg (one.[+h])   boy-Indef. be.Pres.1/2Sg [+h]

         'I/You am/are (a) boy'

b.   je/um   (hin) ḏasin-an   **ba**

         1Sg/2Sg (one) girl-Indef. be.Pres. 1/2Sg. [+h]

         'I/You am/are (a) girl'

c. mi/ma/u   śua sis   **ba:n**
    1Pl/2Pl/3Pl. good people be.1/2/3Pl.[+h]
    'We/You (Pl.)/They are good people'

d. in (hin) oɣaṭanas-an   **bai**
    3Sg (one) teacher-Indef.Sg.   be.Pres.3SgM.[+h]
    'He is (a) teacher'

e. in (hin) oɣaṭanas-an   **bo**
    3Sg (one) teacher-Indef. Sg.   be.Pres.3SgF.[+h]
    'She is (a) teacher'

Examples in (34) below illustrate different forms of verb 'be' when the verb agrees with a [-human] NP:

(34)   Morphology of the verb 'to be': agreement with [-human] NPs
a. amis   daba: mez-e   ya:re **bi**   ke   es   ja: **bi**
    RPro.[+c] box table-Gen. under be.Pres.3Sg.[+c] COMP 3Sg[+c] my be.Pres.3Sg.[+c]
    'The box which/that is under the table is mine'

b. amic   ke   sanḍuq-iśo ele **biyom**,
    RPro.Pl[+c] COMP box-Pl   there be.Past. 3Pl. [+c],
    ke   oyo:n ću:ni   **biyom**
    COMP all   wooden be.Past. 3Pl.[+c]
    'All/whichever boxes that were there that (they) were made of wood'

c. um-e   gu-yik   besan **ḍila**
    2Sg.-Gen. 2Sg.-name[-c] what   be.Pres.3Sg. [-c]
    'What is your name?'

d.   eṭ-e   ala:va jotruko-jotruko diś-miŋ   **bicaŋ**

       this[-c]-Gen apart small-small   place-Pl.[-c] be.Pres. Pl. [-c]

       'Apart from this, (there) are many small places'

e.   but-pa lafz-iŋ, balki murakab lafz-iŋ,   xa:skar   fa:rsi **bicaŋ**

       many word-Pl, rather compound word-Pl, especially Farsi be.Pres. Pl. [-c]

       'Many words, rather compound words, especially are Farsi'

f.   oyo:n ći:z-iŋ   in-e-re   e-sat(e)   **bicum**

       all   thing-Pl. 3MSg-Gen-Dat. 3MSg-memory   be.Past. Pl. [-c]

        'All things were in his memory' (= 'He remembered everything')

g.   sadak-e   han paċi ̯tʰilan sav   **bicum**

       road-Gen one side some sand   be.Past. [-c]

       'Some/A little sand was lying on one side of the road'

h.   sadak-ete but-an sav ḍincʰir   **bicum**

       road-on lot-Ind. sand scattered   be.Past. [-c]

        'A lot of sand was scattered on the road'

In case of compound verbs consisting of a main verb followed by verb 'be', the latter is almost always represented by *bV-* form irrespective of the class of the qualified noun. Consider examples in (35) as follows:

(35)   Morphology of verb 'be' as an AUX

a.   in hilas-e   i-ik   **mei**   **bi** kana:n

       3Sg boy-Gen 3MSg-name[-c] happen.Hab   is Kanaan

       'That boy's name happens to be Kanaan'

b. eṭe vax̱t-ulu-i: ̱tiş **żuċu**   **bim**, ɣada-ɣadaŋ   **mei**   **bim**

that time-Loc.-Emph. wind[-c]come.Hab. be.Pst., thunderstorm[-c] happen.Hab.   was

'Then (that time) only wind used to come, thunderstorm used to happen'

c. hikuḻtu ̱te-i   **mei**   **bi**

once such[-c]-only happen.Hab.   is

butar-an   şim   kʰene ke   in-e-re   but maza **żuċu**   **bi**

goat-Indef. eat.PPL after COMP he-Gen-Dat much taste[-c] come.Hab. is

'Once, what happens, after having eaten a goat, he finds it very tasty'

Thus, in examples in (35) above, *bV-* form occurs instead of the *ḏil-* form otherwise expected with [-concrete] nouns such as 'name', 'wind', etc. However, when the main verb is not inflected, *ḏil-* form occurs. In other words, when the complement of the verb 'be' is an infinitive, it (the verb 'be') behaves as the main verb. Consider examples in (36) as follows:

(36)   Morphology of verb 'be' with an uninflected verb as its complement

a. kʰo̱t **mana-as**   **ḏilum**,

this[-c] happen-Inf   was[-c],

eṭe-i: ke   u   maśhu:r umanu bam

that[-c]-Emph. COMP they famous become were[+h]

'It was to happen like this, and they had become famous like that'

b. ja:-re   **niyas** **ḏila**

1Sg-Dat   go-Inf be.Pres.[-conc]

'I have to go'

The uninflected verb in (36) above behaves like a [-concrete] noun with which the verb 'be' agrees.

5.1.2.2 D-Prefix Verbs

There is a class of verbs in which begin with a peculiar prefix which occupies the leftmost position in the inflected verb. Verbs in this class start with *ḍ-* and have been called "*d*-prefix verbs" in literature. Some examples of *ḍ*-prefix verbs are: *ḍ-yal-* 'hear/listen', *ḍ-ṣqaḻṭ-* 'reach', *ḍ-V-* 'come', *ḍ-maṭal-* 'yawn', *ḍ-ɣun-* 'ripen', *ḍ-sil-* 'soak', *ḍ-ɣaras-* 'ask', *ḍ-c/s-* 'bring', *ḍ-sV-* 'pull (out)' etc. Based on the argument structure of the verb, a schematic representation of an inflected *ḍ*-prefix verb is given in (37) as follows:

(37)   Schematic representation of the inflected *d*-prefix verb:

ḍ-Prefix-(AFFIX 1[Abs/Dat])-VERB STEM -AFFIX 2 [Tense and Erg/Abs Agreement]

Syntactic status of AFFIX 1 and AFFIX 2 has already been discussed in Chapter 4 (Refer to the schematic representation of inflected verb in (42) Section 4.3). As mentioned earlier, AFFIX 1 is the pronominal prefix for Absolutive Experiencer in intransitive clauses, Absolutive Patient in mono-transitive clauses, and Dative Recipient (animate) in di-transitive clauses. AFFIX 2 contains agreement features for Ergative in transitive constructions or Absolutive in intransitive clauses. Consider examples in (38), (39), and (40) for *ḍ*-prefix verbs *ḍV-* 'come', *ḍV-ṣqaḻṭ-* 'reach', and *ḍ-iyil-* 'hear/listen (for Third Person)' as follows:

(38)   ḍu- 'come'

a.   ume   śugulu   ḍumo:mo

        um-e   śugulu-Ø   ḍV-mo-umo

        2Sg-Gen   friend-Abs   come-3SgF-Past.3SgF
        'Your (female) friend came'

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b.	ume	śugulu	ḍiyi:mi

um-e	śugulu-Ø	ḍV-i-umi

2Sg-Gen	friend-Abs	come-3SgM-Past.3SgM

'Your (male) friend came'

c.	ja	ḍa:yam

ja-Ø	ḍV-a-am

1Sg-Abs	come-1Sg-Past.1Sg

'I came'

d.	ma	ḍama:n

ma-Ø	ḍV-ma-an

2Pl-Abs	come-2Pl-Past.2Pl

'You (Pl) came'

e.	u	ḍu:man

u-Ø	ḍV-u-uman

3Pl-Abs	come-3Pl-Past.3Pl

'They came'

(39)	ḍ-ṣqalṭ- 'reach'

a.	(ja)	ḍ-a-ṣqalṭ-am

(1Sg)	ḍ *prefix*-1Sg-reach-Past.1Sg

'I reached'

b.	(um) ḍu-qu-ṣqalṭ-uma

(2Sg) ḍ *prefix*-2Sg$_{Exp}$-ask-Past.2Sg$_{Abs}$

'You reached'

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c. (in) ḍu-mo-ṣqal̪t-umo

(3Sg) ḍ *prefix*-3SgF-reach-Past.3SgF

'She reached'

d. (in) ḍ-e-ṣqal̪t-imi

(3Sg) ḍ *prefix*-3SgM-reach-Past.3SgM

'He reached'

e. (mi) ḍi-mi-ṣqal̪t-uman

(3Sg) ḍ *prefix*-1Pl-reach -Past.Pl

'We reached'

(40) ḍV-yil- 'hear/listen'

a. ami̪t   vax̪t-ulu   ḍu-mo-oyilj-o

which[-c]   time-in   ḍ *prefix*-3SgF-hear.[-Perf]-Fut.3SgF

'When she will hear...'

b. kʰose-i: ɣariŋ ḍa-ayalj-a   ba

here-only songs ḍ *prefix*-1Sg-hear.[-Perf]-1Sg   be.Pres.1Sg

'I listen to songs here (only)'

c. ḍu-ko-oyal

ḍ *prefix*-2Sg-hear

'Listen; Imperative'

It is not clear so far as to what the semantic or morphological status of the *d*-prefix is. It could possibly be a remnant of a historically important morphological unit

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which was perhaps lost in other verbs. Notice in (38) above, the verb element for 'come' is really the *d*-prefix. There is no additional verb root present in this case as opposed to other *d*-prefix verbs where we see a verb root as well as the *d*-prefix. It is possible that the other *d*-prefix verbs are derived from the verb 'come'. However, until further investigation and suitable evidence to support this argument, nothing can be said for sure at this point.

5.1.2.3 Causative Verbs

Many causative verbs are formed by means of adding a pronominal prefix in front of the verb which acts like a CAUSATIVE-forming morpheme. A schematic representation of an inflected **Causative** verb is given in (41) as follows:

(41)   Schematic representation of CAUSATIVE verbs:

AFFIX 1(CAUS Prefix) -VERB STEM-AFFIX 2 (Tense and nominal agreement)

Thus, verbs like *e̱t-* 'do', *hurut-* 'sit/stay/live', *her-* 'cry', *min-* 'drink', etc. can be causitivized by adding a pronominal prefix for the Patient argument. Consider examples in (42)-(45) for illustration as follows:

(42)   'do' vs. 'cause to do'

a.   ja: cʰil   şek   e̱tam

ja-e   cʰil-Ø   şek   e̱t-am

1Sg-Erg   water-Abs   fill   do-Past.1Sg.
'I collected water'

b.   ja: a:si   cʰil   şek   mo-o̱t-am

ja-e   a:si-Ø   cʰil-Ø   şek   mo-o̱t-am

1Sg-Erg   Aasi-Abs   water-Abs   fill   3SgF-do-Past.1Sg.
'I made Aasi collect water'

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(43)   'sit/stay/live' vs. 'cause to sit/stay/live'

a.   dasivanc   ulu   hurutuman

        dasi-vanc-Ø   ulu   hurut-uman

        girl-Pl- Abs   in(side)   sit-Past.3Pl

        'The girls sat/stayed inside'

b.   mi: dasivancere   ulu   uhurutuman

        mi-i   dasi-vanc-e-re   ulu   u-hurut-uman

        1Sg.Pl-Erg   girl-Pl-Gen-Dat   in(side)   3Pl-sit-Past.Pl

        'We made the girls sit/stay in(side)'

(44)   'cry' vs. 'cause to cry'

a.   ma:hi   herću   bo

        Mahi   cry[-Perf]   be.Pres.3SgF.

        'Mahi is crying/Mahi cries'

b.   hasi:na: ma:hi   moherumo

        hasi:na-e   ma:hi-Ø   mo-her-umo

        Hasina-Erg   Mahi-Abs   3SgF-cry-Past.3SgF

        'Hasina made Mahi cry'

(45)   'drink' vs. 'cause to drink'

a.   mahi-i   mamu-Ø   min-umo

        Mahi-Erg   milk-Abs   drink-Past.SgF.

        'Mahi drank milk'

b.   u-mi-i   jotu-muc-e-re   mamu-Ø   o:-miy   bo

        3Pl-mother-Erg child-Pl-Gen-Dat   milk-ABs   3Pl-drink.[-Perf] be.Pres.3SgF

        'Mother feeds/is feeding milk to (her) children'

c.   in-e   es-e-re   mui-mo   mamu e:-miy   bo

        3Sg-Erg   3Sg.[+c]-Gen -Dat   3Sg.self-Gen   milk   3Sg-drink[-Perf] be.Pres.3SgF

        'She used to feed it (young one of a goat) her own milk' (From the story of *Shiri Badat*)

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Notice in the above examples, the verb agreement follows the same pattern in Causative verbs as in other verbs. Thus, in AFFIX 1 we have a pronominal prefix for Absolutive in (42-b) and (44-b), and for Dative in (43-b), (45-b) and (45-c) above. There are some causative verbs of the same morphological make-up as represented in (41) above but these no longer have an attested corresponding simple form with the same verb stem. One such example is the causative verb CAUSE-c^her- 'feed; cause (somebody) to eat', where the simple verb for 'eat' is şi- and not c^her-. Consider data in (46) for illustration as follows:

(46)   şi-/şe- 'eat' vs. CAUSE-c^her- 'cause to eat'

a.   ja: şapik   şeyam

     ja-a   şapik-Ø   şey-am

     1Sg-Erg   food-Abs   eat-Past.1Sg.

     'I ate food'

b.   ja: ma:himore   şapik   moc^{h}eram

     ja-a   ma:hi-mo-re   şapik-Ø   mo-c^{h}er-am

     1Sg-Erg Mahi-Gen.F-Dat   food-Abs   3SgF-eat(CAUS)-Past.1Sg/

     'I made/caused Mahi eat food' (Or 'I fed Mahi')

c.   ja-a   jari-i-re   şapik   e:-c^{h}er-am

     1Sg-Erg Jari-SgM-Dat   food   3SgM-eat(CAUS)-Past.1Sg

     'I made Jari eat food' (Or 'I fed Jari')

It is can be assumed on the basis of examples in (46) above that the causative verb CAUSE-c^her- 'feed; cause (somebody) to eat' might have come from c^her-, meaning 'eat', which was perhaps lost in view of availability of another verb to express the same meaning, i.e., şi- 'eat', or that the two have come from some common source, but there is no data so far to support or disprove any of these claims.

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5.1.2.4 Negatives

Negatives are formed by inserting the Negative morpheme *au* 'NEG' before the inflected verb. In certain phonological environments the Negative marker *au* surfaces as *a-* and the following voiced consonant is devoiced (consonant hardening; See Chapter 3 for details). Consider data in (47) and (48) as follows:

(47)   Negation with verb 'be'

a.   in   ha:-le   a-pam

    3Sg.Abs   home-Loc   NEG-be.Past.[h]

    'He was not at home'

b.   śiri   badạt-e   nasl-ucum   a-pa:n

    Shiri   Badat-Gen   progeny-from   NEG-be.Pres.Pl

    '(We/They) are not from Shiri Badat's progeny'

    Or '(We?They) have not descended from Shiri Badat's family'

(48)   Negation with other verbs
a.   ja-a   şapik   au   şe-yam

    1Sg-Erg   food   NEG   eat-Past.1Sg.

    'I did not eat food'

b.   ja-a-re   in   śua   au   γan-imi

    1Sg-Gen-Dat   3Sg   good NEG   feel-Past3SgM

    'I did not like him'

Notice in (47) and (48) above, negation of the verb 'be' is apparently a negative clitic which involves devoicing of the initial *b*, while as in verbs such as 'eat', and 'feel' the negation morpheme is a free morpheme.

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5.1.2.5 *Imperatives and Prohibitives*

Imperatives are formed by adding an Imperative forming suffix to the base/underived verb stem. This is represented by *–i* for 'Second Person Singular' and *–i:n* for 'Second Person Plural' for certain verbs such as *ẹṭ-* 'do', *-čʰi-*'sleep', *ḍi-*'stand', *man-* 'become/exist', etc. Consider data in (49) as follows:

(49)

a.   ḍoro   eṭ-i
       work   do-Imp.Sg
       'Work; Imperative'

b.   caɣa: eṭ-i
       talk   do-Imp.Sg
       'Talk; Imperative' (Lit. 'Do talking')

c.   um   gu-ymo   ḍoro eṭ-i
       2Sg 2Sg-Reflexive   work do-Imp.Sg
       'You (Sg) do your work; Imperative'

d.   ma: ma-ymo   ḍoro eṭ-in
       2Pl 2pl-Reflexive   work do-Imp.Pl.
       'You (Pl) do your work; Imperative'

e.   kʰin-e   gene   pʰul-an   ḍicu-i
       this[+h]-Gen   for   cup-Indef.   bring-Imp.Sg
       'Bring a cup for her/him; Imperative'

f.   ća:y   ḍaćʰ-i[84]

        tea   give-Imp.Sg

        'Give (me/us) tea; Imperative'

g.   ma-yo:n   gati   mani-in

        2Pl-all   together   become-Imp.Pl.

        'All of you come/get together; Imperative'

In verbs such as *ga:rc-* 'run', *hurut-*'sit/stay', the Imperative is represented by as a null or zero morpheme after the underived verb stem. Consider data in (50) as follows:

(50)   Verbs with a null morpheme expressing 'Imperative'

a.   ga:rc-Ø

        run-Imp.

        'Run; Imperative'

b.   hurut-Ø

        sit-Imp.

        'Sit/Stay; Imperative'

c.   ḍu-ko-yil-Ø

        d Prefix-2Sg-listen-Imp.

        'Listen; Imperative'

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[84] ḍachi 'Give; Imperative' occurs with liquids, e.g., water, tea, milk, curry, etc., and certain exceptional solids, weapons in general, viz., sword, chisel, axe, spade and some digging instruments (but for ċhur 'knife', jo is used. Thus, ċʰur jo 'Give knife'). jo 'Give; Imperative' occurs when the DO refers to solids others than those in the previous case. jaɣon 'Give; Imperative' occurs when the DO refers to powdered things like, sugar, powdered salt, etc. For 'salt', therefore, bayu jo 'Give salt (when solid, but is sometimes used for powder also, perhaps because the concept of 'salt' in this speech community is a solid thing)', and baju jaɣon 'Give salt (when powdered)'.

d.   giraṭ-Ø

       dance-Imp.

       'Dance; Imperative'

e.   i-sark-Ø

       3SgM-hit-Imp.

       'Hit him; Imperative'

       Imperative function is sometimes also expressed by means of an infinitive ending.

Consider examples in (51) as follows:

(51)

a.   alma:ri:-lu   besen   ke   bi   lip   eṭ-i/-as

       cupboard-in   what   COMP   be.Pres.3Sg[-h]   throw   do-Imp.Sg/Inf.

       'Whatever be in the cupboard, throw it away; Imperative'

b.   pʰulu-ulu   ća:y   ṭʰi-i/-as

       cup-in   tea   pour-Imp.Sg/-Inf

       'Pour the tea into the cup'

       Negative Imperatives (Imperatives of Prohibition) follow the same pattern.

Consider data in (52) as follows:

(52)   Negative Imperatives

a.   au-   ga:rc-Ø

       NEG-   run-Imp.

       'Don't run'

b.   kʰole   au-   hurut-Ø
       here   NEG-   sit-Imp.
       'Don't sit/stay here'

c.   ̯taɣay-ulu   au-   hurut-Ø
       mud-in   NEG-   sit-Imp.
       'Don't sit/stay in the mud'

d.   ̯tʰi   au-   sen-Ø
       lie(n.) NEG-   speak-Imp
       'Don't speak/tell (a) lie'

e.   gu-um-iśu   ay-   e̯t-i
       2Sg-lies-Pl   NEG-   do-Imp
       'Don't lie'

5.1.2.6 Participial Forms

Conjunctive Participial constructions are formed by adding the Participial prefix -*nu- ~ ni- ~ ne- ~ n-* to the underived verb stem (the vowel features are determined by the vowel of the first syllable of the following verb stem). For example, *nu-kucar* 'having walked' (= 'PPL-walk'), *no-squl* 'having burnt' (= 'PPL-burn'), etc. In some verbs, an additional suffix –*in* is also inserted after the underived verb stem. For example, *ne-egi-in* 'having sowed', *ni-yi-in* 'having gone', *ne-e̯t-in* 'having done', *nu-sen-in* 'having said', *nu-pel-in* 'having worn', etc. The latter is sometimes optionally deleted in some cases (but not all). It is not clear what the grammatical function of this suffix exactly is or why it is optional in some cases and not in others. Consider examples in (53) as follows:

(53)   *nu- ~ ni- ~ ne-* prefix for Participial formation

a.   but-an   **nu**-kucar   hi̠ta-an(e)   ye:cu-man

   much-Indef.   PPL-walk   place-Indef   see.Past.3Pl.

   'Having walked a lot, they saw a place'

b.   in-e-re   ̠tum-icaŋ e:gi-yas   **ni**-ye̠t−in

   3SgM-Gen-Dat tree-Pl   sow-Inf.   PPL-see-PPL

   tʰam …(*pause*). in-e-re   beftan ɣanimi

   king……   3S-Gen-Dat   strange feel.Past.3SgM

   'Having seen him sowing trees, the king……, he felt strange'

c.   ̠tei   **nu**-sen(-**in**)   vazi:r-e   bar-e-re   "ava" au

   thus   PPL-speak(-PPL)   minister-Gen   talk(n.)-Gen-Dat "yes"NEG

   nu-sen(-**in**)…   nimi   ̠tʰam   mapʰe:r-e   pici

   PPL-speak(-PPL)   go.Past.3SgM   king   old man-Gen   near

   'Having said so, not having said "yes" to the minister's talk,

   the king went near the old man'

d.   ke   men-an śua sis-an,   śua gatoŋik **nu**-pel-**in**   bam ye:cum

   COMP who-Indef good man-Indef., good clothes PPL- wear-PPL was see.Past.3Sg

   kʰene   śua   sis-an   ma-imi,   **nu**-sen(-**in**)

   after   good   man-Indef.   exist-Fut.SgM, PPL-say-PPL

   tʰam-e   inere   ju: e̠timi,

   king-Erg 3SM-Gen-Dat greeting do.Past.3SgM

   '*That* some good man……Having seen the old man wearing good clothes, having

   understood that he may be some nice man, the king greeted him'

e.   meharba:ni   **ne**-e̠t-**in**

   obligation   PPL-do-PPL

   'Having obliged' (= 'Please') (Sentences (a) to (e) from the story 'Old man and the king')

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f. **no**-squl, żuċu ba:n
PPL-burn, come.Hab. be.Pres.Pl
'Having burnt (him), they come (back)'

g. yu:tiŋ ćuruk **nu**-man ḏiy-imi
leg-Pl cut PPL-exist/become come-Past.3SgM
'His legs being cut, he came (back)'

h. cʰigir-an, amis insa:n-e mamu ni-min may-imi
goat-Indef, who[-h] human-Gen milk PPL-drink become/exist-Past3SgM
'A goat (which/who) having drunk human milk'

(Sentences (f) to (h) from the story of "Shiri Badat")

i. ma-yo:n gati **nu**-man ha:-le żuy-in
2Pl-all together PPL-become home-Loc come-Pl.Imp.
'You all get together, and come home'

Notice that in (53) above -*in* is optionally deleted in some cases (e.g., *nu-sen-(in)* 'having said') but not in others (e.g., *nu-pel-in* 'having worn').

In *d*-prefix verbs, only the suffix –*in* is observed in participial form. For instance, *ḏuɣarus-in* 'having asked', *ḏiyi-in* 'having stood', *ḏu:s-in* 'having gone out', etc. Consider data in (54) for illustration as follows:

(54) *in*- suffix for Participial formation
a. ḏuɣarus-**in**, i:mo ḏuro:lu girimi,
ask-PPL, his own work-in engage-Past3SgM
'(After) having asked (that), he got back to his own work'

b   d̯iy-**in**

stand-PPL

'(After) having stood'

c.   d̯u:s-**in**

go out-PPL

'(After) having gone (out)'

It is not yet clear whether this kind of usage of the participal suffix is purely lexical. It is possible that the *d*-prefix verbs behave differently because of their morphological make-up. However, unless the status of this *d*-prefix is known, which needs further investigation, we cannot make a conclusive argument here.

5.1.2.7 Optatives

In many languages, **optative** is defined as a grammatical category of Mood which expresses hopes, wishes, or desires (See Crystal 1994: 278). Some people have used the term "**desirative**" in literature to designate this function. In JKB optatives (desiratives) are formed by adding a suffix –*iş* to the underived verb. Consider examples in (55):

(55)   Optative/Desirative expressed by use of -*iş*

a.   xud̯aye   u: xoś   o:hurutiş

xud̯a-e   u:-Ø   xoś   u:-hurut-iş

God-Erg   3Pl-Abs   happy   3Pl-stay-OPT

'May God keep them happy'

b.   xud̯aye   umere   śua   e:t̯iş

xud̯a-e   um-e-re   śua   i-e̯t-iş

God-Erg   3Pl-Abs   happy   3SgM-do-OPT

'May God make you healthy'

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c. | xuḍa | nusen | um | cʰo:r | śua | gumaniş |

    xuḍa-Ø   nu-sen   um-Ø   cʰo:r   śua   gu-man-iş

    God-Abs   PPL-say   2Sg-Abs   soon   good   2Sg-become-OPT

    'May God wish that you recover soon' (Or 'By God's wish, may you recover soon)

d.   i:riş

    i-ir-iş

    3SgM-die-OPT

    'May he die'

e.   mo:riş

    mo-ir-iş

    3SgF-die-OPT

    'May she die'

5.1.2.8 Verbs in Presumptive and/or Potential Mood

Presumptive Mood expresses presupposition or hypothesis relating a fact denoted by the verb, as well as other similar functions, such as, doubt, curiosity, etc. **Potential Mood** expresses a mood of probability of an action expressed by the verb. In JKB, Potential Mood is expressed by the addition of a suffix –*ce* (designated as "POT") to the verb inflected for Future. Consider examples in (56) as follows:

(56)   Potential Mood expressed by use of -*ce*

    ele   ke   maṭ   mayamce   daṣtu:r

    ele   ke   maṭ   may-am-ce   daṣtu:r

    there   also   NEG_Tag   exist[-Perf]-Fut3Sg-POT   tradition

    'It would not have been a tradition there as well, would it?'

Presumptive Mood is represented by the addition of an auxiliary verb inflected for Past after the Participial form of the main verb. Consider examples in (57) as follows:

(57)   Potential Mood: Mood of probability

a.   in   śa:m   xa:śiŋ   ha:-le   ḍi-yi-in   may-imi

        3Sg   evening until   home-Loc   come-3SgM-PPL   exist[-Perf]-Fut.3SgM

        'He will have come home by the evening'

b.   in   śa:m   xa:śiŋ   ha:-le   ḍi-mo-on   may-umo

        3Sg   evening until   home-Loc   come-3SgF-PPL   exist[-Perf]-Fut.3SgF

        'She will have come home by the evening'

5.1.2.9 Dubitative Mood

Dubitative sentences, where the speaker is uncertain or doubtful of the truth of the event denoted by the verb are expressed in different ways in JKB. For example, one way is in the form of embedded clauses of the type 'I think/believe ....X......' in which *heyam* which means 'I think/understand/believe/learn' is added at the end of the clause. A similar way is to add a loan adverb *śa:yaḍ* meaning 'perhaps'(from Urdu; also used in Kashmiri) clause-finally. Consider examples in (58) for illustration as follows:

(58)   Dubitative sentences

a.   huma: ṭam   ḍelu   bo   heyam

        Huma.Erg   bath   take.Perf.   be.Pres.3SF   think.Past1S

        'Huma may have taken a bath' (Lit. 'I think Huma has taken a bath')

a'. huma: ˌtam ḍelu bo śa:yaḍ

Huma.Erg bath take.Perf. be.Pres.3SF probably

'Huma may have taken a bath' (Lit. 'Huma has taken a bath perhaps')

b. huma: şapik şi bo heyam

Huma.Erg food eat.Perf. be.Pres.3SF think.Past1S

'Huma may have eaten food' (Lit. 'I think Huma has eaten food')

b'. huma: şapik şi bo śa:yaḍ

Huma.Erg food eat.Perf. be.Pres.3SF probably

'Huma may have eaten food' (Lit. 'Huma has eaten food perhaps')

c. ine gra:mar girminu bai heyam

3SM.Erg grammar write.Perf be.Pres.3SF think.Past1S

'He may have written the grammar' (Lit. 'I think he has written the grammar')

c'. ine gra:mar girminu bai śa:yaḍ

3SM.Erg grammar write.Perf be.Pres.3SF probably

'He may have written the grammar' (Lit. 'He has written the grammar perhaps')

There are other possible ways to express Dubitative mood but these are not discussed here.

5.2 DERIVATIONAL PROCESSES

Some of the productive derivational processes in JKB include: compounding, suffixation, and reduplication. Both nominal and verb compounds are found in JKB. Suffixation is employed in the formation of nouns, adjectives as well as adverbs. Reduplication is very productive in JKB.

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5.2.1 Nominal Formation Processes

In this section, derivational processes for nouns, adjectives, and adverbs are discussed. The processes described are: compounding, suffixation, and reduplication.

5.2.1.1 Compounding

Various types of compound nouns and adjectives are found in JKB. Most frequently found noun compounds are formed by compounding of: (i) nouns and nouns, (ii) adjectives and nouns, and (iii) verbs and nouns, where the preceding verb in infinitive form acts like a noun (gerund) which modifies the head noun. The head noun occupies the phrase-final position.

In the formation of [noun + noun] compounds (represented as "[Noun₁ + **Noun₂**]" below, where **Noun₂** is the head of the phrase), a Genitive case ending –*e* is suffixed to the modifying noun (i.e., Noun₁) which functions as a morphological "glue" in the formation of the compound noun (See Payne 1997: 93). The qualifying/modifying noun (Noun₁) and the Genitive ending –*e* together function like a modifier (designated as "modifier" with a lower case "m"). Consider examples in (59) for illustration as follows:

(59)   Compound nouns: [Noun₁ + **Noun₂**]

a.   ṯila-a   ḏoro
        silk-Gen   work
        'silk(thread)-work'

b.   gu:ru   mu-lćin-e   dasin
        blue   3SgF-eye-Gen   girl
        'the blue-eyed girl'/ 'the girl with blue eyes'

c. usku   y-uːt-iŋ-e   haɣur

three.[-h]   3Sg[-f]-leg-Gen horse

'the horse with three legs'

Example in (59-a) above is a typical [noun + noun] compound noun which involves two nouns. A schematic representation of a compound noun like this is provided in Figure 5.2 as follows:

Noun

"modifier"

Noun₁   -Gen   Noun₂

t̪ila   -a   d̪oro

silk   -Gen   work

'silk(thread)-work'
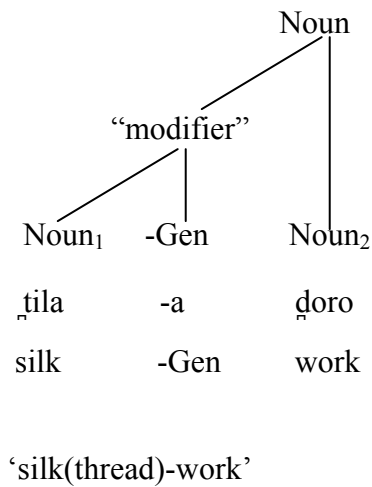
Figure 5.2 Structure of a typical [Noun + Noun] compound noun

Example in (59-b) and (59-c) involve compounding of a Noun Phrase and another noun, the latter acting as the head of the new compound. The modifying NP, in turn, contains a modifier (Adjective) and a head noun (i.e., Noun₁). This is a slightly more complex compound noun than the one in (59-a). A schematic representation of the compound noun in (59-b) is provided in Figure 5.3 as follows:

```
                          Noun
                    ╱              ╲
             "modifier"            │
            ╱          │           │
        NP             │           │
      ╱    │           │           │
   Adj     Noun₁      -Gen       Noun₂

   gu:ru   mu-lćin    -e          ḍasin

   blue    3SgF-eye-Gen           girl

        'the blue-eyed girl'/ 'the girl with blue eyes'
```
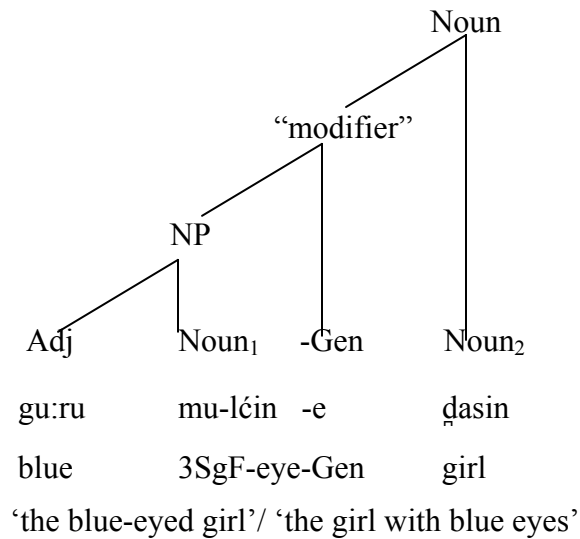
Figure 5.3 Structure of a complex [Noun + Noun] compound noun

There are different types of [Adjective + **Noun**] compounds in JKB some of which are simple while others complicated. One such case of [Adjective + **Noun**] compounds is where a modifying adjective itself may be an outcome of a derivational process whereby an adjective is derived from a verb by suffixation. The latter involves addition of an adjective marking suffix –*um*, designated as "Adj.Mkr" below. Thus, the compound nouns in the following examples in (60) are modified by Adjectival Phrases (APs) containing an NPs and Adjectives (the latter, in turn, derived from verbs):

(60)   Compound nouns: [Adjective + **Noun**]

a.   ni-m   ḍen
       go-Adj.Mkr   year
       'last year' OR 'the year which is gone'

b.   ṭila-a   ḍoro   eṭ-um   gatu
       silk-Gen   work   do-Adj.Mkr   dress
       'the dress with silk(thread)-work'

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c.　　　mạṭum gatu　　y-o:l-um　　　　　　　hiles

　　　　black　dress　3Sg-wear-Adj.Mkr　　boy

　　　　'the boy in black dress'

A schematic representation of (60-b) is given in Figure 5.4 as follows:

```
                                  Noun
                                 /    \
                            AP          \
                           /   \          \
                      NP        \          \
                     /   \       \          \
              "modifier"   Adj       \
              /      \     /   \       \
          Noun   -Gen  Noun Verb  Adj. Mkr      Noun
```

Noun　　　-Gen　　　Noun　Verb　　Adj. Mkr　　　　Noun

ṭila　　　　-a　　　ḍoro　eṭ-　　　　-um　　　　　gatu

silk　　　-Gen　　work　do-　　　　-Adj.Mkr　　　dress

'the silk-worked dress' (Or 'the dress with silk(thread)-work')
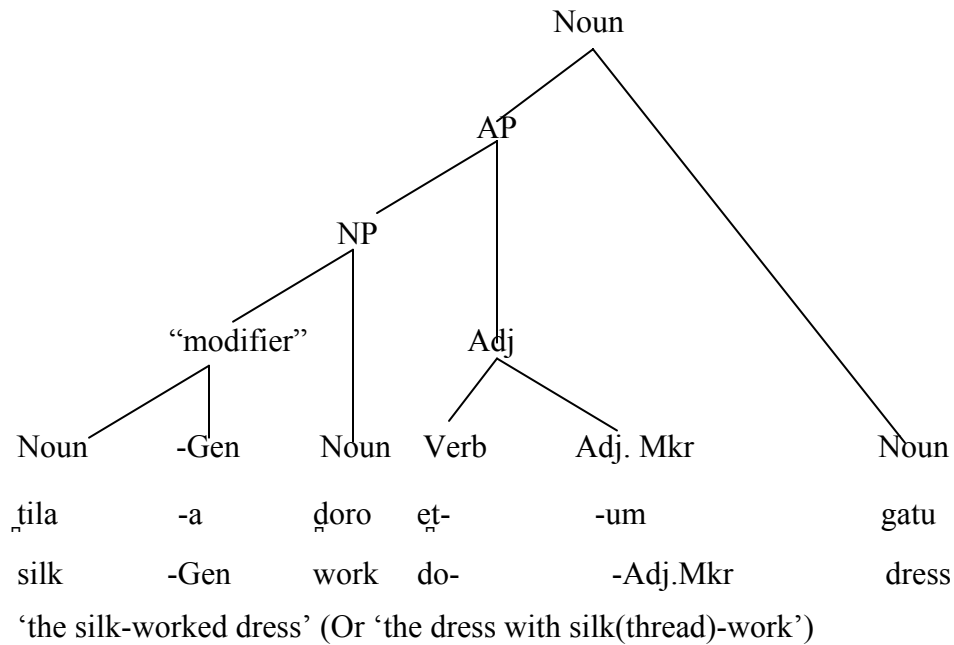
Figure 5.4 Structure of a complex [Adjective + Noun] compound noun

JKB also employs borrowed strategies for the formation of [Adjective + **Noun**] compounds. Consider examples in (61) below:

(61)　　Borrowed [Adjective + **Noun**] compounds in JKB

a.　　**baɣaire**ɣaśarum　　　　mamu

　　　without sweet　　　　　milk

　　　'sugarless milk' OR 'the milk without sugar'

b.　　mạṭum gatu　**va:la:**　　hilas

　　black dress Adj.Mkr　boy

　　'the black-dressed boy' OR 'the boy in black dress'

In (61-a), a modifying adjective is preceded by a borrowed preposition *baɣaire* 'without' and the two together function like a modifier to the head noun *mamu* 'milk'. In (61-b), *va:la:*, which is a very common adjective-forming free morpheme in Urdu/Hindi, is used on a borrowed pattern to form a modifying adjective. Thus, the NP *mạṭum gatu* 'black dress' is first made into an adjective by the addition of the adjective-forming morpheme *va:la:*. This derived adjective modifies *hilas* 'boy', the head of the compound noun. A schematic representation of this is given in Figure 5.5 as follows:

　　mạṭum　　gatu　**va:la:**　　hilas

　　black　　dress　the one　boy

　　'the black-dressed boy' OR 'the boy in black dress'
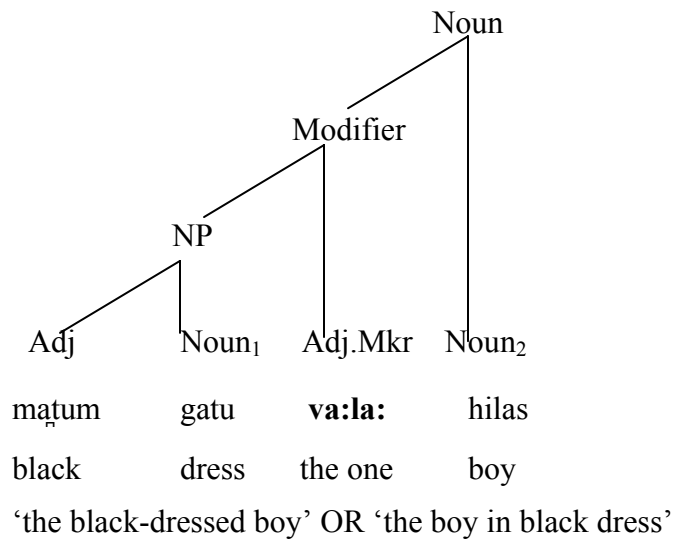
Figure 5.5 Structure of a complex [Noun + Noun] compound noun

JKB also forms compound nouns of the type [Verb + Noun]. These are formed by preposing a verb in infinitival form to the head noun. The verb in infinitive form acts like a modifier to the head noun. Consider examples in (62) as follows:

(62)   [Verb + Noun] Nominal Compounds

a.   żuy-as   ḍen

      come-Inf   year

      'coming year'

b.   pʰur ḍel-as balac

      flight fill.Inf bird

      'flying bird; a bird able to fly'

c.   pʰur   au   ḍel-as   balac

      flight   NEG   fill.Inf bird

      'a not-flying bird' OR 'a bird unable to fly'

Both simple and compound verbs can be used in such compounds. Thus, we have a simple verb such as *żuy-as* 'come-Inf; coming' in (62-a), and a compound verb such as *pʰur (au) ḍel-as* 'flight + (NEG +) fill-Inf.; to (not) fly; (not-)flying' in (62-b) and (62-c).

There are some [Verb + Verb] nominal compounds which behave like nouns in that they take an Indefinite article *–an* (used for Indefinite Singular nouns) which is otherwise only used for nouns. Consider examples in (63) as follows:

(63)   [Verb + Verb] Nominal Compounds
a.   niyas-żuyas-an

      go.Inf-come.Inf-Indef.Sg.

      'coming and going; visiting in general'

b.   ṣiyas-minaas-an

      eat.Inf.-drink.Inf.-Indef.Sg.

      'food and drink; food in general'

Compound nouns like those in (63) above are also found in Kashmiri and Urdu.[85]

5.2.1.2 Nominal Formation by Suffixation

Suffixation is employed in the formation of nouns, adjectives as well as adverbs. Many abstract nouns are formed by adding the suffix *–kuş* to a base adjective. Consider examples in (64) as follows:

(64)   Adjective > Noun formation: *-kuş* suffixation

Base Adjective	Derived Abstract Noun
jotu 'young (child)'	jotu-kuş 'childhood'
ćʰat 'dwarf'	ćʰat-kuş 'dwarfness'(rarely used)
tutaŋ 'dark'	tutaŋ-kuş 'darkness'
ḍaɣanum 'fat, thick'	ḍaɣanum-kuş 'fatness'
garu:m 'hot/warm'	garu:m-kuş 'heat'

Another less frequently occurring abstract noun forming suffix is *–ayi*. This involves addition of the abstract noun forming suffix to a base noun. Consider (65), for examples:

(65)   Noun > Noun formation: *-ayi* suffixation

Base noun	Derived noun
śuɣulu 'friend'	śuɣul-ayi 'friendship' [86]

A derivational suffix *–kiş* is added to a noun "X" forming an adjective which means '(something/somebody) with (feature) X'. Consider data in (66) for example:

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[85] For instance, K. *yun-gachun* 'coming-going', U. *a:na-ja:na* 'coming-going', etc.

[86] Note that Urdu has a similar pattern in the word ḍosṭ-i: 'friendship' from ḍo:sṭ 'friend'

(66)   Noun > Adjective formation: -*kiş* suffixation

Base noun	Derived Adjective
bayu 'salt'	bayu-kiş 'salty'
mamu 'milk'	mamu-kiş 'milky'
mạto 'wisdom'	mạto-kiş 'wise'
pʰụṭ 'madness (?)'	pʰụṭ- kiş 'mad'

A very productive derivational process in the formation of adjectives is the suffixation of –*um*. This is a frequently used adjective-forming suffix (designated as "Adj.Mkr" elsewhere) found in most of the adjectives and is probably the basic adjective-forming suffix in Burushaski. Consider examples in (67) for illustration as follows:

(67)   Adjective formation: -*um* suffixation

uy-um	'big'
gaśar-um	'sweet'
ṣuqur-um	'sour'
babar-um	'spicy/hot'
ṭʰa:n-um	'tall, high'
ḍaγan-um	'fat; thick'
biyan-um	'slim/thin'
eir-um	'dear (one)'

While it is not known as to what is the syntactic status of the base forms of the adjectives in (67) above is, there are many instances of adjective formation which involve addition of some form of the suffix –*um* to a known base. It is, therefore, plausible to assume that –*um* is the basic adjective forming suffix in the language. Consider examples in (68) as follows where adverbs and verbs are nominalized into adjectives:

(68)   Other examples of –*um* suffixation in Adjective formation

Base (Syntactic Category)   Derived adjective

yar 'early'(Adv.)   yar-um 'earlier (one)'

d̪- yal- 'hear'(Verb)   d̪ayal-um 'that has been heard'

Ordinal numerals are formed by adding the suffix –*ulum* to the cardinal base. Consider examples in (69) as follows:

(69)   Formation of Ordinal Numerals: -*ulum* suffixation

Cardinal Base   Derived Ordinal Numerals

hik 'one'   -

-                       aval-um 'first' (<Ur. aval 'first')

al̪ta- 'two'   al̪to-ulum 'second' (~al̪to:lum)

iski 'three'   iski-ulum 'third'

valti 'four'   valto-ulum 'fourth'

Notice in (69) above, the derived ordinal numeral *aval-um* 'first' has the borrowed *aval* 'one' as the base form and uses –*um* as the adjective-forming suffix. This could be because of some phonological considerations not discussed in this study. We could also assume that –*um* and –*ulum* are related to a common morphological base.

5.2.1.3 Nominal Reduplication

Reduplication is very productive in JKB. Reduplication of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, postpositions, and even verbs is possible. Both complete reduplication and partial reduplication is observed. There are also some cases of complex reduplication which involve various phonological processes in addition to reduplication.

Some of the very commonly occurring nominal forms (nouns, adjectives, and adverbs) involving complete reduplication attested in JKB are given in (70)-(72) as follows (the reduplicated form is designated as "RED"):

(70)   Complete Reduplication: Nouns

a.   t̪ʰap-t̪ʰap   (e.g., in t̪ʰap-t̪ʰap-mo 'night-night-Loc; for entire night, every night')
       night-RED
       'every night, the entire night'

b.   bar-bar
       utterance -RED
       'each and every utterance'

c.   ram-ram (et̪-as)
       flap-RED (do-Inf.)
       'flapping (of wings)'

d.   menan-menan
       who[+h]-RED
       'whoever' OR 'who all'

e.   besan-besan
       what-RED
       'whatever' OR 'what all'

(71)   Complete Reduplication: Adjectives
a.   jotruko-jotruko
       small-RED
       'fairly small'

b.   uyum-uyum
        big-RED
        'fairly big'

(72)   Complete Reduplication: Adverbs
a.   ilji-ilji
        behind- RED
        'continuously behind'

b.   ‚tʰala:-‚tʰala:
        slowly-RED
        'fairly slowly/gradually'

c.   du:m-du:m
        turn(n.)- RED
        'again and again'

d.   ka:-ka: [87]
        with- RED
        'fairly close together'

e.   beśal- beśal
        when-RED
        'when and how many times'

---

[87] Compare Bur. ka:-ka: with Ur. sa:tʰ sa:tʰ 'alongside/with'. For example,
        sind-a   ka: - ka:
        darya-ke   sa:tʰ-sa:tʰ
        river-Gen with-with
        'Close to/by/along the river'

Notice in examples in (70)-(72) above, there is a certain semantic consistency involved in the derivations.

Partial reduplication of different types is found in JKB where the first consonant of the reduplicated form (RED) is different from the base. Consider examples in (73) as follows:

(73)   Partial Reduplication: Nouns

a.   ̱tam-lam.
         thunder-RED
         'thunder and lightning, etc.'

b.   ̱tiş- miş
         wind-RED
         'wind, etc.'

c.   qiriv-piriv
         Onom-RED
         'noise (of birds), etc.'

d.   li:ki-ċi:ki[88]
         nonsense(?)-RED
         'unimportant things, etc.' OR 'this and that (nonsense)'

There are some cases of adjective reduplication which are slightly more complicated and less productive. One such case is of the form [X-Preposition-X] (or [X-Preposition -X]) where "X" is an adjective. Consider examples in (74) as follows:

---

[88] It was not clear to the native speaker what each component individually meant.

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(74)   Complex Reduplication of Adjectives

a.   lot-kaː-lot

         (head) naked -with-RED

         'with head completely naked'

b.   ćʰu-kaː- ćʰu

         (feet) naked -with-RED

         'with feet completely naked'

c.   han-kaː-han

         one-with-RED

         'one and only one (all alone)'

        Another form of nominal reduplication very common in JKB is based on an established pattern in other areal languages. Here reduplication takes place by copying the base (generally a noun), deleting the initial consonant if any, and inserting *v-* in the beginning of the reduplicated form. Consider examples in (75) as follows:

(75)   Partial Reduplication in nouns based on an areal pattern

a.   gatum-vatum

         clothes-RED

         'clothes and the like'

b.   ṣapik-vapik

         food-RED

         'food and the like'

c.   ɣaṭaːŋ- vaṭaːŋ

         swords-RED

         'swords and the like'

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d.   ćaγa-an- vaγa-an

         talk(n.)-Indef.-RED

         'conversations/stories and the like'

         Notice in (75-d) above, the base noun is reduplicated along with the Indefinite
Article –*an*.

         Many reduplicated forms (nouns as well as adjectives) commonly used in JKB are
direct borrowings from Kashmiri and Urdu. Consider examples in (76) as follows:

(76)   Borrowed reduplicated forms

a.   alag-alag   (Borrowed from Urdu/Kashmiri; Complete reduplication)

         separate-RED

         'each separately'

b.   baṭ-vaṭ   (Borrowed from Kashmiri; Partial reduplication)

         rice-RED

         'rice, etc.'

c.   qism-aː-qism   (Borrowed from Urdu/Kashmiri)

         type-?-RED

         'of many different types'

5.2.2 Verb Formation Processes

         Verb formation processes are not as productive as noun and adjective formation
processes are. A brief discussion of verb formation processes is, therefore, provided in
the following sections.

5.2.2.1 Compound Verbs

Compound verbs are formed of a [Noun + Verb] complex. Most of these involve a light verb such as 'do', 'become/exist', etc. To this verb is added a modifying noun which adds to the semantic content of the verb, thus, forming an action verb. Consider examples in (77) for instance:

(77)   Light Verb Compounds: [Noun + Verb]

a.   ḍoro eṯ-as

     work do-Inf

     'to work'

b.   rax   eṯ-as

     desire do-Inf.

     'to want/wish'

c.   lip   eṯ-as

     throw do-Inf.

     'to throw (away)'

d.   ḍa:l   eṯ-as

     up(side)   do-Inf

     'to lift (something)'

e.   pʰar mana:s

     back become

     'to return; to be back'

f.   ṯam   ḍel-as

     dive (n.)   fill-Inf

     'to swim; to take a bath; to dive'

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g.	pʰur	d̪el-as

flight (Onom.) fill.Inf

'to fly'

This kind of [Noun + (Light) Verb] compounds are very common cross-linguistically.

5.2.2.2 Verb Reduplication

Almost any verb can be reduplicated to mean a state of "continuity" of a particular action. Only complete reduplication is observed in verbs. Consider (78) for example:

(78)	Verb Reduplication

a.	e:gićumane-e:gićumane

e:giću-mane-RED

sow[-Perf]-while-RED

'(while) sowing continuously'

b.	ye:ćumane-ye:ćumane

ye:ću-mane-RED

see[-Perf]-while-RED

'(while) seeing continuously'

5.3 CONCLUSION

Nominal inflection is one of the most interesting aspects of the language and this is why Burushaski noun inflection has received special focus of many scholars who have studied the language. Both nominal and verbal morphology of the language are very different from most of the neighboring languages. As we have seen in the preceding

sections, the language has a unique way of distinguishing inherently possessed nouns by means of pronominal prefixes as opposed to those which are not perceived as inherently possessed. This kind of specification is not found in other areal languages. Similarly, classification of nouns into [+/-human] and [+/-concrete] is (apparently) not observed in other areal languages. An interesting aspect of such classification of nouns into various classes is that it is also reflected in the verb morphology of the language. Thus, we have agreement markers which specify the noun class of the nominal(s) agreeing with the verb. Inflectional processes such as causativization of verbs involve prefixation in this language while in many areal Indo-Aryan languages causativization involves suffixation. Causativization is also sensitive to the Person/Number features of the Absolutive argument and is expressed by simply adding a pronominal prefix to the verb root to be causativized. On the other hand, in most neighboring Indo-Aryan languages (such as Urdu and Kashmiri) causativization is expressed by adding a specific suffix to the verb root to be causativized. Compound noun formation is also very interesting in the language in that a Genitive ending can act as an adjective marker when added to a (modifying) noun (preceding the head noun). In most areal languages, on the other hand, a specific adjective forming suffix (such as *va:la* in Urdu, and *vo:l* in Kashmiri) is added to the modifying noun. This suffix has no other syntactic function in these languages. Another feature characteristic of the language is that infinitive forms of verbs, which may function as gerunds in certain environments, are also used as modifiers in nominal derivation in compound nouns constituted of [verb + noun]. Morphological parallels for such a construction are absent in other areal languages. Some derivational processes in JKB, however, are very similar to other areal languages, especially Urdu and Kashmiri. These include reduplication of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, compounding of verbs, etc.

Chapter 6: Dialectal Comparison

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Although many independent studies on the different dialects of Burushaski have been undertaken, detailed studies on Burushaski dialectology are yet to be conducted. Varma (1941) is perhaps the only resource on Burushaski dialectology which focuses on dialectal differences between the Hunza and the Nagar varieties. This chapter focuses on the dialectal differences between JKB and other dialects of Burushaski (mainly Hunza and Nagar Burushaski). Many differences are phonological and lexical in nature. There are, however, some differences in terms of morpho-syntax as well.

For the comparison of forms in the different dialects and the investigation of dialectal differences, main sources of data for the Pakistani varieties of Burushaski used in this study are: Lorimer (1935-38; mainly Hunza variety), Varma (1941; Hunza and Nagar varieties), Berger (1974-1998; Hunza, Nagar, and Yasin varieties), Skyhawk (2003; Nagar variety), Tiffou *et al* (1993; Hunza variety), and Grunes (1998; Yasin variety). Data from Lorimer (1935-38) were especially helpful in investigating the older forms – forms that were used at a time close to the point of separation of JKB from other dialects. Data from relatively recent studies helped in investigating the current variations across the dialects. Some comparisons were also made with the help of native speakers of Hunza dialect.[89] The JKB data come from the corpus of this study which includes

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[89] This was done in a few meetings and telephonic conversations with Ruhi Hunzai, Dr. Nasir-ud-Din Nasir Hunzai, and Amin-ud-Din Hunzai – speakers of Hunza Burushaski. Ruhi Hunzai has been especially helpful in pointing out some major dialectal differences between JKB and Hunza dialects. Dr. Nasir Hunzai helped in providing some information about features typical of the Nagar dialect. In addition, my primary language consultant, Masterji, has been a rich source on providing information about the forms used in different dialects.

samples of audio- and video-recordings of natural speech, narratives, story-telling and poetry. The generalizations, therefore, are based only on the present corpus and texts and data from Lorimer (1935-38), Berger (1974-1998), Skyhawk (2003), Tiffou *et al* (1993), and Grunes (1998).

6.1 PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

Some of the most pronounced phonological differences between the various dialects are discussed in the following sections. I begin with phonological differences between Yasin and other dialects.

6.1.1 Phonological differences between Yasin and other dialects

Among vowel, there is an [e] ~ [i] variation between Yasin and other dialects in certain phonological environments. Thus, in post-consonantal positions the Yasin dialect has an [e] as opposed to [i] in other dialects. Consider data in (1) for illustration as follows:

(1)   [e] ~ [i] variation in Yasin and other dialects

Yasin	Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
hen	hin	hin	hin	'one'
cel	cʰil	cʰil	cʰil	'water'
cer	cʰir	cʰir	cʰir	'line, queue'
ḍasen	ḍasin	ḍasin	ḍasin	'girl'
i-ren	i-ri:ŋ	i-ri:ŋ	iriŋ	'his hand; 3SgM-hand'
kʰen-e	kʰin-e	kʰin-e	kʰin-e	'this (man)-Gen'

There are also some other phonological differences in vowels between Yasin and other dialects for which sufficient data are not available at this point. For instance, [i] ~

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[u] and [u] ~ [i] variation between Yasin and other dialects in (2-a) and (2-b) respectively in the following examples:

(2)   Other phonological differences in vowels
a.   [i] ~ [u] variation

Yasin	Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
bia	bua	bua	bua	'cow'

b.   [u] ~ [i] variation

Yasin	Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
kʰu-mo	kʰin-mo	kʰin-mo	kʰin-mo	'this (woman)-Gen'

Among consonants, aspirated voiceless affricates in Hunza, Nagar, and JKB are observed as unaspirated in the Yasin dialect. Thus, a [C] ~ [Cʰ] variation in voiceless affricates is observed between Yasin and the other dialects. Consider data in (3) for illustration as follows:

(3)   [C] ~ [Cʰ] variation in affricates in Yasin and other dialects

Yasin	Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
cel	cʰil	cʰil	cʰil	'water'
cer	cʰir	cʰir	cʰir	'line, queue'
co:r	cʰo:r	cʰo:r	cʰo:r	'soon, quickly'
cigir	cʰi(y)ir	cʰigir	cʰigir	'female goat (ibex)'
gucar-	gucʰar-	gucʰar-	gucʰar-	'walk'
ćaɣurum	ćʰaɣurum	ćʰaɣurum	ćʰaɣurum	'cold'
ćat	ćʰat	ćʰat	ćʰat	'small'
ċin	ċʰin	ċʰin	ċʰin	'bird'
ċur	ċʰur	ċʰur	ċʰur	'knife'
maċi:	maċʰi:	maċʰi:	maċʰi	'honey'

This kind of variation is not found in voiceless stops, however. Thus, aspirated voiceless stops in Hunza, Nagar, and JKB are also aspirated in the Yasin dialect. Consider data in (4) for illustration as follows:

(4)   No [C] ~ [Cʰ] variation in voiceless stops

Yasin	Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
kʰan	kʰan	kʰan	kʰan	'fort'
kʰapun	kʰapun	kʰapun	(kʰapun)	'spoon'
kʰaći	kʰaći	kʰaći	kʰaći	'bucket'
akʰi, akʰil	akʰil	akʰil	akʰil	'like this [-c]'
pʰareş	pʰariş	pʰariş	pʰariş	'duck'
pʰalo	pʰalo	pʰalo	pʰalo	'fruit'
t̪ʰam	t̪ʰam	t̪ʰam	t̪ʰam	'king'

6.1.2 Phonological differences between Hunza and Nagar/JKB dialects

There are many phonological differences between Hunza and Nagar dialects. Most of the Nagar forms are retained in the JKB variety.

Among vowels, there is an [o] ~ [u] variation between Hunza and Nagar/JKB forms in unstressed final vowels, but [u] ~ [o] variation between Hunza and Nagar/JKB forms in unstressed non-final vowels. Consider examples in (5)-a and (5)-b respectively for illustration as follows:

(5)   Vowel Alterations between Hunza and Nagar/JKB
a.   [o] ~ [u] variation in unstressed final vowels

Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
mu:t̪o	mu:t̪u	mu:t̪u	'now'
hikul̪t̪o	hikul̪t̪u	hikul̪t̪u	'one day'
bara:-ulo	bara:-ulu	bara:-lu	'in concern with/regarding'
zama:na:-ulo	zama:na:-ulu	zama:na:-lu	'during (a certain time/period)'

b.   [u] ~ [o] variation in unstressed non-final vowels

Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
ḍuro:	ḍoro:	ḍoro:	'work'
uyo:n	oyo:n	oyo:n	'all/entire'
in-mu-r	[in-mo-re]	in-mo-re	'to her; 3Sg-Gen.F-Dat'
gus-mu-r	[gus-mo-re]	gus-mo-re	'to the woman; woman-Gen.F-Dat'

The forms in square brackets "[]" above are the expected/hypothetical forms (created by the author on the basis of other comparisons) and not necessarily attested. The same strategy is followed elsewhere in the chapter. There are inter-speaker variations among each dialect and such variations as listed in (5) above are based on frequency of occurrence. Thus, we also find forms such as Ng. *kam(a)ra:-ulo* 'in the room' and *manzil-ulo* 'in the storey' (Skyhawk 2003: 385, 386) as opposed to JKB. *kamra:-lu* 'in the room' and *manzil-ulo* 'in the storey'.

Vowel sequences [au] and [ei] are monophthongized into [o:] and [e:] in the Hunza dialect, but are retained in JKB. Consider examples in (6) and (7) as follows:

(6)   Monophthongization in Hunza dialect

Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
o-oyar	a-uyar	a-uyar	'my husband'
o-otis	a-utis	a-utis	'my foot'
o-olus	a-ulus	a-ulus	'my (woman's) brother'
o:-ni	au-ni	au-ni	'don't go'
o:-sen	au-sen	au-sen	'don't speak'
o:-manimi	au-manimi	au-manimi	'didn't happen/become'
ṭe:lar	ṭeilar	ṭeilare	'there/thither'

(Hunza and Nagar forms based on data from Varma 1941)

(7)   Monophthongization in Nagar dialect

a.   NgB: o:-   mayi   bi

          Neg-   happen.Hab.   be.Pres.3Sg.[+c]

          '(it) does not happen'   (Berger 1988, vol. 2: 196)

      JKB: au-   mayi   bi

          Neg-   happen.Hab   be.Pres.3Sg.[+c]

          '(it) does not happen'

b.   NgB: o:-   ḍumo   bom

          Neg-   come.Past.3Sg.F   be.Past

          'She had not come'   (Berger 1998, vol. 2: 198)

      JKB: ruqsa:na   au-   ḍumomo

          Ruqsana   Neg-   come.Past.3Sg.F

          'Ruqsana did not come'

c.   NgB: ma-s   o:-   gusi:n

          2Pl-heart   Neg-   lose.Imper.Pl

          'Don't lose (your) heart'

                              (Berger 1998, vol. 2: 270)

      JKB: gu-s   au-   gusi:n

          2Sg-heart   Neg-   lose.Imper.Pl

          'Don't lose (your) heart' OR 'Don't be afraid'

                              (From the story *loi ke bi:ro*)

Data from Varma (1941) in (6) above show that Nagar dialect has also retained the vowel sequences, at least, until some point of time after the separation of JKB from its parent dialect. Data from Berger (1998) in (7), however, reveal that such vowel contractions are also observed in the speech of, at least some, Nagar Burushos.

Other examples from Nagar in Berger (1998, vol. 2) are: *o:-ḍuva:si biyo* '(they; [-c]) do not remain (?)', *o:-may bila* '(it [-c]) does not happen', *o:-śemo* '(she) did not eat',

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etc.[90] It is important to note here that the texts in Berger (1998), claimed to be from Nagar speakers, also reveal some features which are typical of the Hunza dialect. For instance, use of *bila* 'be.Pres.[-c]', *un* 'you (Sg)', etc. instead of *ḍila* 'be.Pres.[-c]', *um* 'you (Sg)', etc., the latter being characteristic of the Nagar dialect (See Varma 1941; Berger 1998, vol. 3: 456). Data from Skyhawk (2003), based on the Nagar dialect, also include the *o:-* forms. Given the fact that data in Varma (1941) are much older than Berger (1998), it could be the case that the change has affected the Nagar dialect after the Hunza dialect. The *o:-* forms were not attested in the given corpus of JKB while *au-* forms are very frequently used. No inter- or intra-speaker variation was found.

Some medial stop consonants are deleted in the Hunza dialect but not in the Nagar and JKB dialects, while others are retained in Hunza and Yasin but deleted in Nagar and JKB. Consider examples in (8) and (9) for illustration as follows:

(8)   Medial Consonant Deletion in the Hunza dialect

Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Yasin	Gloss
c^{h}i:r	c^{h}igir	c^{h}igir	cigir	'goat'

(9)   Medial Consonant Deletion in the Nagar and JKB dialects

Yasin	Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
girgir	girgir	gigir	gigir	'goat'

Thus, in (8) above the intervocalic [g] is deleted in the Hunza dialect, and in (9) the syllable-final, pre-consonantal [r] is deleted in the Nagar and JKB dialects. We can assume so far that this kind of consonantal deletion is probably lexical because we do not have additional evidence to claim a generalized phonological change. Besides, we also

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[90] The English translations for data from Berger (1998) are done by the author. Berger's original translations are in German. Any errors in translations, therefore, are entirely due to the author.

have examples such as Ng. *girgin*, HB. *gilgin* 'bucket (?)' as counterevidence for claiming such a phonological change.

There is a [p] vs. [pʰ] variation in Hunza as opposed to Nagar and JKB in intervocalic positions. Consider examples in (10) for illustration as follows:

(10)　　[p] ~ [pʰ] variation between Hunza and Nagar-JKB

Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
mape:r	mapʰe:r	mapʰe:r (~mafe:r)	'old man'

Notice in (10) above, we also have a [f] variant in JKB which may or may not be available in the Nagar variety.

6.1.3 Phonological differences between JKB and other dialects

As a result of language contact and change, JKB has developed various phonological differences with the other dialects. For example, medial vowel syncope in sequences of open syllables of the type CV (or CVV). Consider data in (11) for illustration as follows (syllable boundary is designated by a dot "."):

(11)　　Medial Vowel Syncope in JKB

JKB	Nagar	Hunza	Gloss
bur.śa:s.ki	bu.ru.śas.ki	bu.ru.śas.ki	'Burushaski'
tʰap.-mo	tʰa.pu.-mo	tʰa.pu.-mo	'at night'
ċʰam.ni	ċʰa.mi.ni	ċʰa.mi.ne	'hungry'
am.li	a.mu.li	a.mu.li	'where'
mak.ćim	ma.ku.ćim	ma.ku.ćim	'middle (one)'
ba.ra:.-l(u)	ba.ra:.-u.lu	ba.ra:.-u.lu	'in concern with'
be:r.ma:n	beu.ru.ma:n	beu.rum	'how much'
akʰo:r.ma:n	akʰu:.ru.ma:n	akʰu:.ru.ma:n	'so much'
ᶦto:r.mo	ᶦto:.ru.mo	ᶦto:.ru.mo	'ten'

Notice in examples in (11) above, the vowel syncopated in JKB forms is an unstressed [u]. Forms in square brackets "[]" above are hypothetical (reconstructed by the author on the basis of comparisons across dialects; same strategy is followed everywhere in this chapter).

Certain vowel sequences which are monophthongized in JKB may or may not be so in the Nagar dialect. Such monophthongization may also be found in the Hunza dialect but these may/may not be independent. Consider data in (12) for illustration as follows:

(12)   Monophthongization of vowel sequences [eu], [oa] and [au] in JKB

JKB	Nagar	Hunza	Gloss
his**a**:lu	[his**a-u**lu]	his**a-u**lu	'in one month'
c̣ʰişk**o**:te	[c̣ʰişk**o-a**te]	c̣ʰişk**o-a**te	'on the mountain'
be**:**r.ma:n,	b**eu**.ru.ma:n,	b**eu**.rum,	'how much'
~b**o:**r.ma:n	~b**e:**.ru.man,	~b**e:**.rum	'how much'
	~b**o:**.ru.ma:n		
̱t**o:**r.ma:n,	̱t**eu**.ru.ma:n	̱t**eu**.ru.ma:n	'this/that/as much'
~̱t**o:**.ra:n	~̱t**e:**.rum	~̱t**e:**.ru.m(a:n)	

Thus, in (12) above we have JKB *be:rma:n* (~ *bo:r.ma:n*), *̱to:rma:n* (~ *̱to:ra:n*), etc., as opposed to Ng. *beuruma:n* (~ *bo:r.ma:n*), *̱teuruma:n,* etc. where the vowel sequence [eu] is monophthongized into [e:] and [o:] in JKB. This kind of monophthongization is also observed in the Hunza and Nagar forms but other forms where monophthongization has not taken place are also available in these dialects (inter-speaker variation). In JKB, however, only the monophthongized forms are available. It is not clear whether these monophthongizations are independent or existed in the older forms.

Some other dialectal differences of interest are the different ways of phonological nativization of lexical borrowings. For examples, final [a] of Urdu loans may surface as [o] in some cases (but not all) in the Hunza and Nagar dialects. Consider examples in (13) as follows:

(13)   [o] ~ [a] variation in loanwords from Urdu

Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Urdu	Gloss
ja:lo	ja:lo	ja:la	ja:la	'cobweb'
[~ja:la]	[~ja:la]			
ayino	ayino	ayina	a:yi:na	'mirror'
[~ayina]	[~ayina]			

Notice in (13) above, we have two variants, [o] and [a], for each word in Hunza and Nagar dialects. The [a] forms in square brackets are very likely attested assuming various degrees of bilingualism in Urdu among Burushaski speakers, and, therefore, expected as a result. The [o] forms are assumed to be old lexical borrowings which were phonologically integrated at a very early stage and these never occurred in the corpus from JKB. These loanwords were probably (re-)borrowed at a later stage in JKB without nativization.

There is a [p] ~ [b] variation in lexical borrowings in Hunza-Nagar and JKB varieties. Consider examples in (14) as follows:

(14)   [p] ~ [b] variation in lexical borrowings

Hunza-Nagar	JKB	Urdu	Gloss
xara:p [~xara:b]	xara:b	xara:b	'bad'
xupsuraṯ [~xubsuraṯ]	xubsuraṯ	xu:bsu:raṯ	'beautiful'
asba:p [~asba:b]	asba:b	asba:b	'reasons'

aḍap[~aḍab]	aḍab	aḍab	'respect'
nasi:p [~nasi:b]	nasi:b	nasi:b	'luck'
ḍarpaḍar [~ḍarbaḍar]	ḍarbɨḍar	ḍarbaḍar	'wandering ' (Cf. K. ḍarbɨḍar)

Thus, intervocalic and word-final /b/ in lexical borrowings from Urdu (or Persian) surfaces as [p] in Hunza and Nagar, but as [b] in JKB. Besides the [p] forms, [b] forms are also available in some speakers of Hunza-Nagar Burushaski. Thus, in (14) above forms in angled bracket with [b] variants are also listed. These are assumed to be the prestige forms used in formal speech of people of higher social status or educated class. There are some examples (very few) in JKB also where [b] ~ [p] forms co-occur. Consider examples in (15) as follows:

(15)   Co-occurrence of [p] ~ [b] forms in lexical borrowings

Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
bapo	bapo	bapo, babo	'(grand)father'(Ur. ba:ba:)
		baba	
kita:p	kita:p	kita:p~ kita:b	'book' (Ur. kita:b)

Such cases are assumed to be the lexical borrowings which were nativized at an earlier stage but are being re-established in JKB through renewed contact.

Many lexical borrowings have been nativized differently in Pakistani dialects. Consider examples in (12-a) and (12-b) as follows where we have [l]~[r] and [b]~[m] variation for /r/ and /m/ respectively in the lexical borrowings:

(12)   Lexical borrowings: Other differences between JKB and Hunza-Nagar
a.   [l] ~ [r] variation

| Hunza-Nagar | JKB | Gloss |
| zaru:laṭ (~zaru:rat) | zaru:raṭ 'need' (Cf. K., Ur. zaru:rat) |

b.   [b]~[m] variation
         Hunza-Nagar   JKB   Gloss

         t̠aba:m (~t̠ama:m)   t̠ama:m   'all, entire' (Cf. Ur., K. t̠ama:m)

         buba:rak (~muba:rak)   muba:rak   'congratulation' (Cf. K., Ur. muba:rak)

Notice in (12-a) above, both [r] and [l] forms are available in Hunza and Nagar, while only [r] forms are attested in JKB. Similarly, both [m] and [b] forms are available in Hunza and Nagar, while only [m] forms are attested in JKB.

6.1.4 Morphophonological differences

In personal pronouns and demonstratives, deletion of initial vowel has taken place in the Yasin dialect. In the Hunza dialect, deletion of final vowel has taken place in the corresponding lexical items. In the Nagar dialect and JKB, both initial and final vowels are retained. There are inter-speaker variations, however, in that some Nagar and JKB speakers retain the final vowels while others do not. Consider data in (14) as follows:

(14)   Vowel deletions: Personal Pronouns in Nominative Case
         Yasin   Hunza   Nagar   JKB   Gloss
         ne   in   in(e)   in(e)   'he'
         se   es   ise, es(e)   es(e)   'that; [+c]'
         ce   ec   ec(e)   ec(e)   'those; [+c]'
         t̠e   et̠   it̠(e), et̠(e) et̠(e)   'that; [-c]'
         ke   ek   ek(e)   ek(e)   'those; [-c]'

Final vowels are also deleted in nominals in Dative case in the Hunza dialect but retained in Nagar and JKB. Some speakers of Nagar dialect also delete final vowels in Dative case as observed in data from Berger (1998, vol. 2). In case of JKB, however, such deletions are very infrequent. Consider examples in (15) for illustration of

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phonological variations in Dative case as observed in data from Berger (1998) and Skyhawk (2003) for Hunza and Nagar dialects, and the present corpus for JKB as follows:

(15)   Final Vowel Deletion in Hunza: {-r} ~ {-re} variation in Dative Case

Hunza	(Nagar)	JKB	Gloss
a-a-r	ja-a-r(e)	ja-a-re	'to me; 1Sg- Gen-Dat'
mi(y)-(a-r)	mi-i-re	mi-i-re	'to us; 1Pl- Gen-Dat'
go-o-(r)	um-a-r(e)	um-a-re	'to you(Sg.); 2Sg-Gen-Dat'
ma-a(r)	ma-a-re	ma-a-re	'to you (Pl.); 2Pl- Gen -Dat'
e-e-(r)	in-a-re	in-a-re	'to him; 3SgM- Gen -Dat'
m-o-o(r)	in-mo-re	in-mo-re	'to her' (3SgF-Gen-Dat)
u(v)-a-r	u-u-re	u-u-re	'to them' (3Pl-Gen-Dat)

Note that forms for Hunza dialect in (15) above are based on data from Berger (1998) and Willson (1999: 57) while those for Nagar dialect are based on data from Berger (1998) and Skyhawk (2003). Notice the {a-}~ {ja}variation for '1Sg' between Hunza as opposed to Nagar and JKB in first person singular pronoun in dative case (i.e., *a-a-r* vs. *ja-a-r(e)* 'to me; 1Sg-Gen-Dat' respectively). In third person singular feminine pronoun, there is a *m-o-or* ~ *in-mo-or* variation in Hunza as opposed to Nagar and JKB. Also, notice {un}, {uŋ}, and {um} variation in the second person singular pronoun.

There is a [g] vs. [kʰ] variation in demonstrative pronouns between Hunza and Nagar. JKB has retained the Nagar form. Consider data in (16) as follows:

(16)   [g] ~ [kʰ] variation in demonstrative pronouns

Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
guṭ(e)	kʰoṭ(e)	kʰoṭ(e)	'this [-c]'
guk(e)	kʰok(e)	kʰok(e)	'these [-c]'
gus(e)	kʰos(e)	kʰos(e)	'this [+c]'
guṭepa	kʰoṭ(e)pa	kʰoṭ(e)pa	'towards this [-c]'

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Also notice the [o] ~ [u] variation between Hunza and Nagar-JKB dialects in (16) above. Both [g] and [kʰ] forms are available in the Yasin dialect. Such [g] ~ [kʰ] variation is not found in other lexical items where we see parallels across the dialects in terms of the two different phonemes /g/ ~ /kʰ/. Consider examples in (17) as follows:

(17)   No [g] ~ [kʰ] variation in other morphological environments

Yasin	Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
gar	gar	gar	gar	'marriage'
gan	gan	gan	gan	'?'
kʰan	kʰan	kʰan	kʰan	'fort'
kʰapun	kʰapun	kʰapun	(kʰapun)	'spoon'
kʰaći	kʰaći	kʰaći	kʰaći	'bucket'

There is a [b] ~ [d] variation in the verb 'be' (in Singular forms) in case of [-concrete] nouns. Thus, while Yasin and Hunza have the [b] form, Nagar and JKB have the [d] form. Consider data in (18) as follows:

(18)   Verb 'be; [-c]'

Yasin	Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
bila	bila	dila	dila	'be.Pres.3Sg[-c]'
bilum	bilum	dilum	dilum	'be.Past.3Sg[-c]'

We will see in Chapter 8 that [d] forms of verb 'be', used for [-concrete] nouns, are in the process of merging with [b] forms used for [+concrete] nouns in JKB, thus, making things even more interesting for further investigation of dialectal differences and comparisons.

6.2 LEXICAL DIFFERENCES

Many lexical differences have resulted between JKB and Hunza-Nagar Burushaski. In JKB, many Burushaski forms are no longer used. Many of the corresponding items are borrowed from Urdu. Consider examples in (19) for illustration as follows:

(19)   Lexical differences between Hunza-Nagar and JKB

Hunza-Nagar	JKB	Contact Language	Gloss
ja:m	riṣṭeḏa:r	Ur./K. riṣṭeḏa:r	'relatives'
pʰariṣ	baṭek	Ur. baṭax, K. baṭak	'duck'
kʰaći, ba:lti	ba:lti	Ur. ba:lti, K. ba:lti:n	'bucket'
kʰapun	camac	Ur.,K. camac	'spoon'
sar	xargo:ś	Ur., K. xargo:ś	'rabbit'
po:ṭ	śa:r	Ur. śe:r , K. śa:r	'verse'

Note that some of the native forms in (19) above such as *ja:m, kʰaći, kʰapun*, etc. are recognized by the older generation of JKB speakers, but these forms are no longer used in the community. Usage of *kʰapun* is a taboo in JKB because a homophonouns word in Kashmiri, *kʰap-un* (v.), is a low prestige, slang term meaning 'have sexual intercourse with (X)'. Given this situation, it is not surprising that J & K Burushos avoid using it, and use *ćamća* instead for 'spoon' (Cf. Urdu *ćammać* and Kashmiri *ćamćɨ*).

6.3 MORPHO-SYNTACTIC DIFFERENCES

Although morpho-syntax does not present any striking differences among the various dialects of Burushaski, there are certain noteworthy differences which are discussed in the following sections. These include differences in inflectional patterns

(e.g., nominal inflection, verbal inflection), derivational morphology (e.g., compounding and reduplication strategies), and some syntactic differences (e.g., clause combination strategies).

6.3.1 Nominal Inflection

Different plural marking suffixes are used in different dialects for certain nouns. One reason for this may be the availability of a large number of plural marking suffix. Consider examples in (20) as follows:

(20)   Variations in plural marking suffix

	Yasin	Hunza	Nagar	JKB	Gloss
a.	iren	iri:ŋ	iri:ŋ	iriŋ	'his hand'
	ire-iŋ	iri:ŋ-ćiŋ	iri:ŋ-ćaŋ	iriŋ-ćaŋ	'his hands'
b.	gus	gus	gus	gus	'woman'
	guś-iŋa	guś-iŋanc	guś-ianc	guś-ianc/-iŋo	'women'
c.	haɣur	haɣur	haɣur	haɣur	'horses'
	haɣur-a	haɣur-iśo	haɣur-iśo	haɣur-iśo	'horses'
d.	?	urk	urk	urk	'wolf'
	?	urk-ai	urk-anc	urk-ainc/-iśo	'wolves'

Thus, for 'his hands' plural marker {- iŋ} is used in Yasin, {-ćiŋ} in Hunza, and {-ćaŋ} in Nagar and JKB. For 'women', plural marker {-iŋa} is used in Yasin, {-iŋanc} in Hunza, {- ianc } in Nagar, and {- ianc } as well as {-iŋo} in JKB (the latter two being a case of inter-speaker variation within JKB). Similarly, for 'horses' the plural marker is {-a} is used in Yasin and {- iśo} is used in other dialects.

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6.3.2 Verbal Inflection

There is a morpho-syntactic variation between Hunza-Nagar and JKB dialects in terms of some verbal inflection patterns. Thus, verb inflection patterns for verb 'be' in case of Hunza and Nagar make a distinction between agreement markers for [-concrete] and [+concrete] nouns. This distinction is no longer made in the JKB dialect in certain syntactic environments. Consider data in (21) as follows:

(21)   Variations in verbal inflection
        Hunza- Nagar   JKB
a.   mai bi   mai bi
        '(it; [+c]) exists/ become'   '(it; [+c]) exists/ becomes'

        mai bila   mai bi
        '(it; [-c]) happens/exists'   '(it; [-c]) happens/exists'

b.   mai bim   mai bim
        '(it; [+c]) used to exist/become'   '(it; [-c]) used to exist/become'

        mai bilum   mai bim
        '(it; [-c]) used to happen/exist'   '(it; [-c]) used to happen/exist/be'

c.   γayićilum   γayići bim
        '(it) used to feel (to them)'   '(it) used to feel (to them)'

Thus, in JKB, when the subject is [-concrete] the *ḍil*-form for the verb 'be' is no longer used when the verb 'be' is part of a complex verb (Main Verb + AUX). Consider examples from across different dialects in (22) for illustration as follows:

(22)   Dialectal differences in verbal inflection

a.   Verb 'happen'

NgB: buś-e   surat$_i$ **mai**   **bila**$_i$

   cat-Gen   face   exist.Hab   be.Pres.3Sg

   'Its countenance happens to be like (that) of a cat'

                                                  (Berger 1998 vol.2: 184)

JKB: in-e   i-ik   **mai**   **bi**   kana:n

      3Sg-Gen   3Sg-name   exist.Hab   be.Pres.3Sg[-h] Kanaan

      'His name happens to be Kanaan'

      (From the story of *hazrat adam ke zizi hava* 'Adam and Eve' by Gulzar Auntie)

b.   Verb 'feel'

HB: u:-re   kʰoṭ   **ɣayićilum**

      3Sg-Dat   this[-c] feel.Hab.Past.[-c]

      'He used to feel this'

      OR 'It used to feel to him (like this)'

                                          (From the speech of Ruhi Hunzai)

JKB: kʰoṭ   eṭas   in-e-re

      3Sg.Abs   do-Inf   3Sg-Gen-Dat

      but   śua   **ɣayići**   **bim**

      very good   feel.Hab   be.Past.[-h]

      'He used to like doing this'

      OR 'Doing this used to please (feel good) to him'

                                          (From a narrative by Master-Ji)

Thus, based on examples in (22) above, it can be assumed that JKB has possibly undergone a syntactic change after its separation from the parent dialect(s) in Pakistan. This argument is further strengthened by data from Lorimer (1935-38) where we find similar forms as attested in the texts from Hunza and Nagar in Berger (1998) and

Skyhawk (2003). One such case is HB. *żuċila* '(it; [-c]) comes' (Lorimer 1935-38; vol.2:176). The corresponding form in JKB is *żuċi bi* '(it; [+/-c]) comes'.

6.3.3 Compounds

Some compound constructions attested in Pakistani dialects of Burushaski, especially older forms, are no longer attested in JKB. Data from Lorimer (1935-38) and Berger (1998) contains forms which are not found in JKB. Consider examples in (23) for illustration as follows:

(23)   Word order variations in compounds

a.

Hunza-Nagar   JKB

nasi:p$_{Noun}$-śua$_{Adj}$ xuś$_{Adj}$-nasi:b$_{Noun}$

luck-good   happy -luck

'lucky; good fortuned'   'lucky; good fortuned'

Examples:

NgB: um   but   **nasi:p-śua**   bam

you   very   luck-good   be.Past.2Sg

'You were very lucky'   (From Berger 1998 vol.2: 188)

JKB: ine   but   **xuś-nasi:b**   bam

he   very   happy-luck   be.Past.3Sg

'He was very lucky'

b.   'white X'

Hunza-Nagar   JKB

ḍi:v$_{Noun}$-safi:ḍ$_{Adj}$ safe:ḍ$_{Adj}$-gatu$_{Noun}$

ghost-white   white -dress

'white ghost'   'white dress'

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Thus, in (32) above, in compound adjectives (32-a) and compound nouns (32-b) different word orders are observed across dialects. Word-orders in JKB are also attested in other dialects but not vice versa.

6.3.4 Variation in Reduplication Strategies

Pakistani dialects of Burushaski use a number of different reduplication strategies many of which are not attested in JKB. Patterns found in JKB are similar to those in areal languages, especially Kashmiri and Urdu. On the other hands, Pakistani dialects also have certain other patterns which are fairly different from other areal languages. Thus, reduplicated forms such as those in (24) below are found in Pakistani dialects of Burushaski but not in JKB:

(24)   Reduplicated forms attested in Hunza-Nagar but not in JKB
a.   RED with an initial *m-* in place of an initial consonant in the root
        hilesan-milesan
        boy.Indef-RED
        'a/some boy and the like'

        gusan-musan
        woman.Indef-RED
        'a/some woman and the like

        ḍasin-masin-an
        girl-RED-Indef.
        'a girl, and the like'

b.   RED with an extra initial syllable *ma*

ż:żao-mażi:żao

rivalry-RED

'rivalry, and the like'

laq-malaq   man-   (< laq man- 'to shake')

shake-RED   become

'shake badly' (Intransitive)

In addition to the above forms, there are a large number of other complex forms which are no longer found in JKB.

6.3.5 Dialectal differences in Clause Combination

Clause combining in Burushaski employs a functional category which is generally introduced in front of the embedded clause or between coordinated clauses. There are more than one such functional categories in the Pakistani dialects of Burushaski. Thus, *kuli*, a subordinating conjunction (and, thus, a functional category), which functions like a particle, is used to form certain subordinating constructions in the Hunza Burushaski. In Nagar Burushaski a slightly modified variant *kulo* is used. This form is no longer attested in JKB. The corresponding functional category in the latter is *ke*, probably a borrowing from Persian, which is also attested in other dialects of Burushaski in addition to *kuli*. Consider examples from Hunza Burushaski in (25) for illustration as follows:

(25)   Dialectal variation in clause combinations: Examples from Hunza Burushaski

i.   han guncan   cʰo:r   ḍu:suma   kuli   gu-irća

         one day.Indef.   soon   bring.Past.2Sg   COMP   2Sg-die.Fut.2Sg

         'Will you die f you brought (it) quicker one single day?'

         Or, 'If you brought it quicker one day, would you die?'

ii.   hinḍu   bai   kuli   kʰaś   eća   ba:n

         Hindu be.Pres.3SgM   COMP   slit/cut do.[-Perf]   be.Pres.Pl

         musalma:n   bai   kuli   kʰaś   eća   ba:n

         Muslim be.Pres.3SgM   COMP   slit/cut   do.[-Perf]   be.Pres.Pl

         'If one is a Hindu, they will slit him. If one is a Muslim, they will slit (kill) him'

iii.   **agar**   une   pariṭiŋ uye:cas-ar   rai   eṭa   ke,

         if   you.   fairies see-for   desire   do.Past.1Sg   COMP

         to   akʰi   ṭari:qa:-te   u-ye:śuma   ke....

         then   thus   mannser-on   3Pl-see.[-Perf].Fut.1Sg COMP

         'If you wished to see fairies, then you will see them thus (in this manner)'

                                        (Data in (i) - (iii) from Berger 1998, vol.1:195)

         Thus, both *kuli* and *ke*, functional categories used for subordination and clause

combination, are attested in Pakistani dialects. In JKB, only *ke* is attested. Notice in (26)-

iii above, [*agar*. .X......ṭo....Y] 'If...X...then...Y' construction in conditionals is available

in Pakistani dialects. Note that *agar* 'if' and ṭo 'then' are functional categories borrowed

from Urdu. In JKB, only [*agar*...X......*ke*....Y] construction is available but not

[*agar*....X.....ṭo....Y]. Urdu ṭo 'then' is not attested in JKB.

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Similarly Burushaski *haza:re* 'if' is attested in Pakistani dialects and is used in the formation of conditional clauses while only *agar* 'if' (borrowing from Urdu/Persian) is attested in JKB.

6.4 CONCLUSION

In terms of dialectal differences, Yasin variety (Werchikwar) is the most distant variety. Thus, dialectal differences between the Yasin variety on the one hand, and Hunza and Nagar on the other are more pronounced than those between Hunza and Nagar varieties. The latter two have, therefore, truly been claimed to be the sub-dialects of one variety (sometimes referred to as the Hunza variety or dialect; Varma 1941: 133-157). Since JKB owes its origin to the Nagar and Hunza dialects, it shares many commonalities with these two dialects. Nevertheless, it has developed various new features as a result of independent evolution during its short history in Jammu & Kashmir and, therefore, differs from all other dialects in different ways. While the Yasin dialect is the most distant variety, JKB is closest to the Nagar dialect of Burushaski in terms of its phonology. The Hunza dialect has been argued to be "preeminently a dialect of contractions" (Varma 1941: 135). Thus, the Nagar dialect has arguably preserved the "relics of older forms" (ibid.). While JKB also has maintained many of these older forms, it has undergone some independent changes which make it different from both Hunza and Nagar varieties. Similarly, in terms of morpho-syntax, data from different dialects reveal certain interesting differences between JKB and other dialects. Such differences can only be explained in context of its independent development and contact with other languages which is the focus of the following chapters in Part III of this dissertation.

PART III CONTACT-INDUCED CHANGE

Chapter 7: Linguistic Contact: Lexical Adoptions

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, contact-induced language change has been broadly categorized into: (a) Direct transfer of linguistic forms and (b) Structural convergence. *Structural convergence*, also called *pattern transfer* or *calque*, involves the rearrangement of inherited material by diffusion through interference. Direct transfer of linguistic forms includes lexical adoption, or "lexical borrowing" in the conventional sense of the use of this term, and codeswitching. This chapter deals with lexical borrowings in JKB. Codeswitching is not discussed this study, especially because codeswitching in principle involves the alternate use of two distinct languages.

7.1 LEXICAL ADOPTIONS IN BURUSHASKI: AN OVERVIEW

Borrowing (or adoption) of foreign words is the most common specific type of cross-linguistic influence in natural languages and few languages have resisted this phenomenon. Following Myers-Scotton (1993) and others, I consider single-word switching, i.e., "nonce-borrowing", and borrowing as essentially similar processes falling into a continuum based on different degrees of integration. Thus, occurrences of single-word (phrase) switching between JKB and **Urdu**/<u>Kashmiri</u> in (1) below are considered as lexical borrowings in the present study:

(1)   Single-word (phrase) switching in JKB

a.   **magar** u: yas-mu:luse   gar   aye̤tu   bam

        magar u-e   y-as-mu-ulus-e   gar   a-ye̤tu   bam

        but   3Pl-Gen 3SgM-sister-3SgF-brother-Gen marriage Neg-do.Hab be.Past.
        'But their…marriage between siblings wasn't done'

b.   **ṭama:m**   **ria:ya**   incum   **na:xuś**   bam

        ṭama:m   ria:ya   in-cum   na:xuś   bam

        entire   subjecthood   3Sg-from   unhappy   be.Past
        'The entire subjecthood was unhappy because of him'

c.   <u>zanṭɨ</u> mene   <u>ḍa:lne</u>   <u>kaś</u>   ḍivsimi

        <u>zanṭɨ</u> men-e   <u>ḍa:l-ne</u>   <u>kaś</u>   ḍivs-umi

        as if   someone-Erg lift-PPL   throw(n.)   throw-Past.3SgM
        'As if someone struck/gave a quick throw' (Approximate translation)

I am using the term "borrowing" in its conventional sense because, literally speaking, the term is somewhat misplaced, given the assumption that when you borrow something, you are expected to return it. A better term, therefore, is "lexical adoptions".

Burushaski as a whole has heavily borrowed from Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Shina and Balti. Its vocabulary provides unquestionable evidence of an intense and longstanding contact with Indo-Aryan languages, especially Shina and Khowar which belong to the Dardic group of Indo-Aryan language family. It has borrowed immensely from these Dardic languages, especially Shina. Examples in (2) and (3) below constitute some of the very basic vocabulary items from Shina in the different dialects of Burushaski (Indo-Aryan cognates are also provided):

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(2)   Shina loans for names of days of the week

Burushaski		Shina	(Old) Indo-Aryan	
a:ḍiṭ	'Sunday'	a:ḍiṭ	a:ḍitya	'sun'
canḍura[91]	'Monday'	canḍura	ćanḍra	'moon'
aŋga:ru	'Tuesday'	aŋga:ru	aŋga:r-	'fire'
			mangal	'Tuesday'
bo:ḍu	'Wednesday'	bo:ḍu	budʰ-(va:r)	'Wednesday'
braspuṭ	'Thursday'	braspuṭ	brhaspaṭi-(va:r)	'Thursday'
śukru	'Friday'	śukru	śukra(-va:r)	'Friday'
śimśer	'Saturday'	śimśer	śanaiśćara	'Saturday'

(3)   Other basic vocabulary items from Shina

Burushaski		Shina	(Old) Indo-Aryan	
gapal	'head'	kapa:lo	kapala	'head'
ji:	'life'	ji:no	ji:van	'life, soul, etc.'
sa:s	'1000'	sa:s	sa:s	'1000'
			(Dardic sa:s '1000')	
ba:ṣ	'language'	ba:ṣ	bʰa:ṣa:	'language'
ćućo	'breast'	ćućo	ćićo	'breast'
ćanḍa	'pocket'	ćanḍa	?	

Many of the lexical items in (2) and (3) have parallels in various Indo-Aryan languages. Some examples from Kashmiri are: *a:ṭ‒va:r* 'Sunday', *cənḍɨr-va:r* 'Monday', *boḍ-va:r* 'Wednesday', *bres-va:r* 'Thursday', *kalɨ* 'head', *zuv* 'life', *sa:s* 'thousand', *ćanḍɨ* 'pocket', etc. Note that many of the examples in (2) and (3) are basic

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[91] Notice IA *ć* > *c*. In several northwestern MIA dialects OIA *ć* > *c*. Note also, Kashmiri *canḍɨr-va:r* 'Monday'.

vocabulary items. These loanwords presumably entered the Burushaski vocabulary at a very early period and have been nativized lexically as well as phonologically.

Burushaski has also heavily borrowed from Persian and Urdu. Persian origin borrowings in most varieties of Burushaski, as well as many other languages spoken in the region, have been adopted in two ways: through direct contact with Persian at a an earlier period when the latter was the language of the court and of the literate higher class people in the region, and later through Urdu when the latter became the *lingua franca* of the region, which is approximately since the second half of the 19th century.[92] These lexical borrowings have been integrated into the vocabulary of Burushaski to varying degrees and are generally shared with several other languages spoken in Pakistan as well as in northern India. Being a prestige language, Urdu is the main local source of lexical borrowings in Pakistan as well as in the Muslim-dominant parts of India, including the Jammu & Kashmir state.[93]

In JKB the most frequently and widely borrowed vocabulary items are nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and conjunctives, typically borrowed from the high prestige Urdu. This is also a common areal feature. Among the frequently borrowed Urdu nouns in JKB are: kinship terms, names of items for everyday use, abstract nouns and concepts, etc. Some frequently borrowed Urdu kinship terms in JKB are *ća:ća:* 'father's brother', *ma:ma:* 'mother's brother', *ḍa:ḍa:*, 'father's father', *ḍa:ḍi:* 'father's mother', *na:na:* 'mother's father', *na:ni:* 'mother's mother', etc. Burushaski counterparts of these kinship terms are less frequently used. Use of Urdu kinship terms is much more popular among the younger generation. In fact, at the time of this study, many youngsters did not know the Burushaski terms for some of the basic relationships, such as 'brother', 'sister', etc.

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[92] Persian flourished in northeren South Asia, especially northern India of the pre-1947 era, for several centuries – roughly between 12th and 19th centuries (See Alam 2003: 131).

[93] Besides Urdu, English is another source of lexical borrowings which is getting more and more popular with the spread of higher education and modern means of communication.

A large number of nouns have been borrowed from Urdu in JKB. Consider examples in (4) for illustration as follows:

(4)   Urdu nouns in JKB shared with Kashmiri
       ḍuniya: 'world'

       vaxt̲   'time'

       zama:na   '(a period of) time'
       zaba:n   'language'

       mat̲lab   'meaning'

       daba   'box' (K. dabɨ)

       kit̲a:b   'book'

       asma:n   'sky'

       fariśt̲a   'angel'

       rupya   'Rupee(s); money' (K. ropyi)
       paha:d   'mountain'

       t̲a:li:m   'education' (K. t̲ə:li:m)

       t̲akli:f   'misery, illness, problem'

       t̲araqi: 'progress', (K. tarki:)

       ilm   'knowledge, education' (<Ur. ?ilm; cf. K. əlim)
       mazhab   'religion'
       xaya:l   'thought, imagination'

       fa:yiḍa   'profit, gain'

       ḍuśman   'enemy'

       avla:ḍ   'progeny, offspring' (Ur. aula:ḍ)
       soć   'thinking'
       śa:yir   'poet'

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Almost all of the lexical items in (3) are shared with Kashmiri, with some phonological adaptations in certain cases as indicated in parentheses. These loans are presumably also found in the vocabulary of Pakistani dialects of Burushaski.

Among adjectives and modifiers, the most frequently borrowed items of Urdu origin in JKB are: color terms, numerals, and some other adjectives. There is a very high frequency of use of the Urdu words for numerals in JKB. Thus, numerals from Urdu are often used in context of expressing dates/time, age, money, or any other quantified material/noun. Consider data in (5) for illustration as follows (words in **bold** face are from Urdu):

(5)   Use of Urdu numerals

a.   eṭ-cum   ici:te   **ṭaqri:ban**   **ḍo**   ganta lage manimi
        that[-c]-from   after   about   two   hours
        'After that, it took about two hours'

b.   ye   **pã:ć- pã:ć**   **minat**-cum   mi: ṭam   ḍelja   ba:n
        ?   five-five   minute-from   we   bath   take.Hab   Be.Pres.Pl
        '...we take a bath every five minutes'

c.   **ḍas, ba:ra:n, ćauḍa:n**   **sa:l**-e   bam
        ten, twelve, fourteen   year-Gen   be.Past.
        ke   in-e   **majlis**-ulu   in   huruśu   bam
        COMP   3Sg-Gen   assembly-in   3SgM   sit.Hab   be.Past.
        'He$_x$ was ten, twelve or fourteen years old when he$_x$ used to sit in his$_y$ assembly (religious service)'

This is somewhat different from the borrowing strategy in Kashmiri, the primary contact language of JKB. Consider a translation of (5-a) and (5-c) in (6-a) and (6-b) as follows with Urdu words in **bold** face:

(6) Use of Urdu numerals ungrammatical in Kashmiri
a. 'After that, it took about two hours'
i.

ˌtami	pəˌtɨ	ləg'	ˌtaqri:ban	zɨ	gantɨ
that.Obl(?)	after	took	about	two	hours

ii.

*ˌtami	pəˌtɨ	ləg'	ˌtaqri:ban	**ḍo**	gantɨ
that.Obl(?)	after	took	about	two	hours

b. 'He was ten or fourteen years old when he used to attend the (religious) service'
i.

ḍah, bah	vuhur	o:s	yeli	**majlis**-i	gacʰa:n o:s
ten, twelve,	year old	was.M	when	assembly-Loc	go.Hab. be.Past.M

ii.

* **ḍas, bara:n**	vuhur	o:s	yeli	**majlis-**i	gacʰa:n o:s
ten, twelve,	year old	was.M	when	assembly-Loc	go.Hab. be.Past.M

Thus, while sentences with Urdu loans such as *majlis* 'religious service' are acceptable in Kashmiri (i.e., (6-a-i) and (6-b-i) above), sentences with numerals from Urdu numerals are not (and, hence, the ungrammaticality/unacceptability of (6-a)-ii and (6-b-ii) above (Ungrammaticality/Unacceptability is designated by an asterisk "*"). It is interesting to note that despite its higher prestige Kashmiri speakers tend not to borrow numerals from Urdu, a genetically related language to Kashmiri.

JKB has also borrowed adjectives and modifiers from Urdu. Some frequently used Urdu adjectives and modifiers in JKB are listed in (7) as follows:

(7)   Urdu adjectives in JKB

safe:ḍ   'while'

pu:ra   'entire' (K. pu:rɨ)
xa:li: 'empty, only' (K. xə:li:)
xa:s   'special, uncommon'
a:m   'common' (<Ur.ʔa:m)
ilmi: 'educational' (< Ur. ʔilmi:),
pare:śa:n   'sad, worried'
aji:b   'strange' (< Ur. ʔji:b)

All of these adjectives are shared with Kashmiri, of course, with some phonological adaptations in certain cases characteristic of the language (as indicated in parentheses in (7) above).

In addition to nominals, a very important contact outcome is the borrowing of function words. Most extra-sentential function words in JKB are of Urdu origin. These are also shared with Kashmiri. Some of the frequently used Urdu function words in JKB and Kashmiri are given in (7) as follows:

(7)   Urdu functions words in JKB shared with Kashmiri

agar   'if'
magar   'but'
ću:nki   'because'
baharha:l   'nevertheless'
leha:za   'therefore'
aćʰa   'okay; well; alright' (DM)
ɣaraz   'as a result'

śa:yaḏ	'probably'	
ha:~	'yes'	
balki	'on the contrary'	
ya:	'or'	
filha:l	'for the time being'	
maslan[94]	'for instance'	
har	'every'	
ṭama:m	'all/entire'	
ba:qi:[95]	'remaining/rest (of the X)'	
ṭa:ki	'so that'	
albaṭa	'however'	

Direct lexical borrowing from Kashmiri is not very common in JKB. Nevertheless, some cultural loans and a few very popular discourse markers have been borrowed from Kashmiri. These are phonologically nativized in JKB and are mostly used in informal speech. Consider examples in (8) and (9) as follows:

(8)   Kashmiri loans in JKB [96]

JKB	Kashmiri	Gloss
baṭ	baṭɨ	'cooked rice'
pʰiś	pʰiś	'urine (usually of a child)' (Bu. har 'urine')
nafar	nafar	'person'
kamal	kamal	'blanket' (Cf. Ur. kambal)
kuḏraṭi:	koḏraṭi:[97]	'naturally' (Cf. Ur. quḏraṭi:)

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[94] *misa:l* 'for instance' is frequently used in Pakistani dialects.
[95] E.g., [ba:qi toq gatoŋ] 'all remaining/other dressed/clothes' (used by Huma, a native speaker of JKB)
[96] The examples in this section were obtained from the speech of people of different age groups.

niśa:ni:	niśə:ñ	'engagement'
bohri:	buhur'	'gunny bag'
asal[98]	asɨl	'good'
ma:n-ma:n	ma:n-ma:n	'competition; sort of rivalry'
masah-masah	masah-masah	'with great difficulty'

(9) Kashmiri functions words in JKB

muxsar	'in short; DM'
aḍɨ-k'ah	'okay; alright; DM' (Literally 'then-what')
zan-ṭɨ	'as if'
ṭɨ	'and'

Note that *muxsar* in (9) may originally have come from Ur. *muxṭasar*. However, in Urdu *muxṭasar* is generally used as an adjective meaning 'precise, brief'. It may possibly also be used as a discourse marker to mean 'precise(ly); in short'. In Kashmiri, both *muxṭasar* and (the nativized form) *muxsar* are attested. While *muxsar*, which is the nativized short form of *muxṭasar*, is only used as a discourse marker, *muxṭasar* can be used as an adjective in formal speech to mean 'precise, brief'. Thus, it has undergone a sort of semantic extension in Kashmiri which is also borrowed by JKB. Similarly, *niśa:ni* in Urdu means 'souvenir' but in Kashmiri it has undergone a semantic extension to mean 'engagement (ceremony)'. Since these loanwords in JKB share a Kashmiri semantics and not Urdu, it is, therefore, plausible to argue that they have entered JKB through Kashmiri rather than from Urdu. Function words *aḍɨ-k'ah* (which literally means 'so/then what'),

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[97] Cf. Urdu/Persian/Arabic *qudraṭ* 'nature'. In Urdu *qudraṭi:* means 'natural' while in Kashmiri it has undergone semantic extension to also mean 'naturally' and is often used as an extra-sentential discourse marker.

[98] Note that *asal* could also be argued to have come from Urdu rather than from Kashmiri. However, JKB *asal* does not have a lexico-semantic correspondence with Urdu *asal* which means 'original'.

muxsar 'in short' in (9) above are very frequently used (*aḏɨ-k'ah* normally appears at the end of sentences, and *muxsar* at the beginning). Adverb *zan-ṯɨ* 'as if' appeared in the speech of some college girls and *ṯɨ* was also attested in the speech of a few speakers. There were a few other cases of Kashmiri function words but these were less frequently occurring and possibly idiolectal.

7.2 INTEGRATION OF LEXICAL BORROWINGS: ATTESTED ADAPTATION PATTERNS

As is the case with other dialects of Burushaski, lexical borrowings in JKB are adapted in terms of phonology as well as morphology.

7.2.1 Phonological adaptation of lexical borrowings

Phonologically, Persian/Arabic/Urdu labio-dental and velar fricative sounds *f* and *x* were replaced by corresponding aspirated stops p^h (labial) and k^h (velar) in Burushaski – also an areal feature.[99] In JKB this pattern is possibly being re-established via Kashmiri. Consider examples in (10) and (11) as follows:

(10)	Hunza Burushaski	Urdu	Gloss
	śap^{h}a	śafa:	'resumption from illness; a Muslim name'
	p^{h}ala:ni:[100]	fala:ni:	'so and so (person/thing)'
	p^{h}araq	faraq	'difference'
	sap^{h}ar	safar	'journey, travel'

---

[99] Arabic origin borrowings have entered the Burushaski lexicon through Persian and also through Urdu. This is similar to several other languages spoken in the region (including Kashmiri).
[100] From Berger (1998)

(11)	JKB[101]	Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
	pʰaːrsiː	pʰaːrsiː	faːrsiː	'Farsi/Persian'
	pʰoːj	pʰoːj	foːj	'army (personnel)'
	pʰaraq	pʰaraq	farq	'difference'
	pʰalaːniː	pʰaləːn'	falaːniː	'so and so (person/thing)'
	pʰaːyiḍa	pʰəːyiḍɨ	faːyiḍa	'profit'
	sapʰar	sapʰar	safar	'journey/travel'

Notice the parallels in JKB and Kashmiri in (11) above. The fact that Burushaski does not possess labio-dental fricative *f* as a separate phonemic sound as opposed to bilabial stop p^h, could be an internal motivation for the change ($f > p^h$). Because such a change has also been observed in Kashmiri at a very early stage, and because the words in which this change is taking place are shared with Kashmiri, an external contact-induced explanation cannot be ruled out in addition to an internal one. Another reason why a contact-motivation is a better explanation comes from the case of *x* vs. k^h variation. Despite the fact that Burushaski possesses phonemic *x*, in JKB we have examples such as k^h*uḍa*, k^h*aya:l*, k^h*a:nḍa:n*, and k^h*abar* in JKB, which correspond with Kashmiri forms, and not with the Ur. forms *xuda, xaya:l, xa:nda:n, xabar* in (12) as follows:

(12)	JKB	Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
	kʰuḍa [102]	kʰoḍa	xuḍa	'God'
	kʰayaːl	kʰayaːl	xayaːl	'imagination, thought'
	kʰaːndaːn	kʰaːndaːn	xaːndaːn	'family'
	kʰabar	kʰabar	xabar	'news, knowledge'

---

[101] Examples have been extracted from natural speech of several speakers of JKB.

[102] Interestingly, JKB speakers often use both the fricative (*f*/*x*) as well as the obstruent (p^h/k^h) forms, generally depending on the social context. Thus, in case of a formal situation (educated) speakers tend to use the prestige variant (*f*/*x*) while in an informal setting the less prestige form (p^h/k^h) is used.

Borrowings from English follow a similar trajectory in both these languages. Consider data in (13), for instance:

(13) | JKB | Kashmiri | English | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| pʰeːliyar | pʰeːliyar | feːliɚ | 'failure' |
| pʰoːtuː | pʰoːtuː | foːtoː | 'photo' |
| pʰaːḍar | pʰaːḍar | faːðɚ | 'father' |
| pʰail | pʰail | fail | 'file' |

Not, however, that the correspondences could also be attributed to a broader areal feature rather than influence from Kashmiri exclusively. However, we have some strong evidence to support the argument about contact influence from Kashmiri for above-mentioned cases. Consider data in (14) as follows where we have other phonological correspondences which can only be explained through contact-influence from Kashmiri:

(14) Vowel correspondences in loan words

JKB	Kashmiri	Hunza-Nagar	Urdu	Gloss
umeːḍ	umeːḍ	umiːḍ	ummiːḍ	'hope'
umeːḍvaːr	umeːḍvaːr	umiːḍvaːr	ummiːḍvaːr	'one who expects'
beːmaːr	beːmaːr	biːmaːr	biːmaːr	'sick'
avlaːḍ[103]	**av**laːḍ	**au**laːṭ	**au**laːḍ	'offspring(s)'

In (14) above, although the borrowings in JKB are shared with Kashmiri as well as Hunza and Nagar Burushaski, one-to-one phonological correspondences are observed only between JKB and Kashmiri. Thus, we have *e:* and *av* in JKB and Kashmiri for *i:* and

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[103] Note that aulaːḍ surfaces as aulaːṭ in the Hunza dialect of Burushaski (See Berger 1998, vol.3: 24).

au in Hunza-Nagar and Urdu respectively. Thus, although these Urdu loans are also present in other Burushaski dialects, they may have entered JKB independently or re-borrowed through contact with Kashmiri. This is a plausible explanation given the history of its isolation from other dialects.

7.2.1.1 From nativization to re-establishment in JKB

An initial contact-induced phenomenon, in which phonemic sound /b/ surfaces as voiceless [p] in word-final and word-medial positions, is possibly reversed in JKB where Urdu borrowings which were initially nativized in Burushaski through phonological adaptation are re-borrowed. The change is motivated by a new and independent situation of increased bilingualism in Urdu and contact with Kashmiri. Both earlier and later forms are available in some cases. Consider examples in (15) for illustration as follows:

(15)	Burushaski (Earlier loans)	JKB (Later loans)	Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
	kiṭa:p	kiṭa:b	kiṭa:b	kiṭa:b	'book'
	bapo	babo	bab	ba:ba:	'(grand)father'
	xara:p	xara:b	xara:b	xara:b	'bad'
	xupsuraṭ	xubsuraṭ	xu:bsu:raṭ	xu:bsu:rat	'beautiful'
	aḍap	aḍab	aḍab	aḍab	'respect'
	sa:p	sa:hab	sahab	sa:hab	'Sir'
	asba:p	asba:b	asba:b	asba:b	'reasons/causes'

Notice in (15) above that two forms are available for some cases in JKB. For example, [babo] ~ [bapo], and [kita:b] ~ [kita:p]. Examples for Pakistani dialects are mainly taken from texts in Berger (1998) and Skyhawk *et al* (2003).

Similarly, we have [t̯] vs. [ḍ] variation as in Hz-Ng. *aula:t̯* vs. JKB., K. *avla:ḍ* (<Ur. *aula:d* 'offspring), [l] vs. [r] variation as in Hz-Ng. *zaru:lat̯* vs. JKB., K. *zaru:rat̯* (<Ur. *zaru:rat̯* 'necessity'), and [m] vs. [b] variation in Hz-Ng. *t̯aba:m* vs. JKB., K. *t̯ama:m* (<Ur. *t̯ama:m* 'entire'). On the basis of these examples also, we can make a case for Kashmiri contact influence. Thus, it is very likely that the borrowings have re-entered JKB through contact with Kashmiri and re-established in the JKB lexicon.

7.2.1.2 Contact-induced morphophonological change in lexical adoptions

An interesting contact-motivated change in Burushaski, retained in JKB, involves vowel shortening and vowel deletion in lexical adoptions (borrowings). This change is part of a morphophonological operation given that it is lexically specific and not "phonological" because the latter would affect the phonological system as a whole. The change is observed despite the fact that Burushaski possesses long vs. short vowel distinction.[104] Consider examples in (16) and (17) below where the long vowels *a:/i:* are replaced by short *a/i*. The change is so far only observed in polysyllabic loanwords.

(16)	Burushaski	Urdu	Gloss
	al-buxara[105]	a:lu-buxa:ra:	'plum'
	śahin	śa:hi:n	'royal falcon'

(17)	JKB	Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
	hari(-muc)	ha:ri		'sparrows-Pl' (Cf. Shina ha:ri)
	kaŋgdi	ka:ŋgɨr	ka:ŋgdi:	'a traditional Kashmiri fire-pot'

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[104] Word-final vowel deletion has also been observed in Kashmiri at a very early stage (See Turner 1966).

[105] Here, the word-final *u* is also deleted in the Burushaski word for 'plum' which is a compound.

Notice the phonological correspondence between the JKB and Urdu form in *kaŋdi* (17) above. It can be argued that *kaŋdi,* a Kashmiri cultural loan in JKB, may have entered JKB through the medium of Urdu as a second language (Ur. *ka:ŋgdi:* is a loan from Kashmiri phonologically nativized in Urdu).

7.2.2 Morphological adaptation of lexical borrowings

Normally foreign words are morphologically integrated into the inflectional system of a borrowing language by substitution of inflectional morphemes. Burushaski does not have grammatical Gender while Urdu does. Thus, any noun in Urdu, human or non-human, animate or inanimate, is either masculine or feminine. This is represented by specific agreement markers. Adjectives modifying the nouns also agree with the head noun in grammatical gender. In JKB, Urdu nouns and adjectives are adopted in the unmarked (Nominative) Singular Masculine form. Thus, a noun or an adjective is adopted along with the suffix which marks Singular, Masculine, and Nominative features. This acts as a base or stem to which are added Burushaski inflectional morphemes for Number, Case, etc. Consider data in (18) for example:

(18) Urdu loans in JKB adopted along with suffixes

a.　　JKB:　uyum　　　**ku:na**

　　　　　　big　　　　corner. Abs

　　　　　　'big corner'

　　　Urdu:　bad-a　　　ko:n-a

　　　　　　big-SgM　　corner-SgM.Abs

　　　　　　'big corner'

b. JKB: uyum   **ku:na**-muc
                big   corner-Pl. Abs
                'big corners'

    Urdu: bad-e   ko:n-e
                big-Pl.M   corner-Pl.M.Abs
                'big corners'

c. JKB: **ku:na**-a-te
                corner-Obl-on
                'on/in the corner'

    Urdu: ko:n-e- mẽ
                corner-SgM.Obl-in
                'in the corner'

Thus, in (18) above, *ku:na:* 'corner' is adopted along with the masculine singular marking suffix –*a*. In (18b), we observe that the Burushaski plural marking suffix –*muc* is added after the Urdu singular masculine suffix in *ku:na-muc* 'corners'. Other examples of this sort are *ganta* and *baja:* from Ur. *gʰant-a* 'hour-SgM.Abs', *baj-a* 'strike-SgM.Abs' which are borrowed along with –*a*, the suffix for Singular, Masculine form. Consider examples in (19) and (20) as follows:

(19) Other examples
        Urdu: ek   gʰant-a
                    ek   hour-SgM
                    'One hour'
        Urdu: ṭi:n   gʰant-e
                    three   hour-Pl
                    'Three hours'

JKB: iski   **ganta-**muc

        three   hour-Pl

        'three hours'

(20)   Urdu   k'a   <u>baj-a</u>

        what   strike-Past.SgM.QI

        'What is time?'

Urdu: ga:di: ća:r   <u>baj-e</u>   a:yi

         bus   four   strike-Obl   come.Past.3SgF

         'The bus came at four (o'clock)'

JKB: **ga:di: ća:r   baja-**a   ḍiy-imi

        bus   four   strike-Obl   come-Past.3Sg

        'The bus came at four (o'clock)'

Note that in (19) and (20) above Urdu loans in JKB examples are in **bold** type face and corresponding forms in examples in Urdu are <u>underlined</u>. Thus, we have *ganta-muc* 'hour-Pl' in JKB as opposed to *gant-e* 'hour-Pl' in Urdu (in (19) above) and *baja-a* 'strike-Obl' in JKB as opposed to *baj-e* 'strike-at' in Urdu (in (20) above).

In case of a particular class of Urdu nouns, both the singular as well as the plural forms of a noun are adopted. These are an exceptional class of Urdu nouns where the plurals are formed on an Arabic plural forming pattern initially adopted in Urdu. These are a class of Arabic nouns which were originally borrowed from Arabic into Persian, and from Persian into Urdu. The plural forms of these nouns end in a suffix *–a:t*. In JKB, an additional native plural marking suffix *–iŋ* is attached to the already plural form of the noun, thus resulting in double plurals such as *ha:ja-a̤t-iŋ* 'desire-Pl-Pl', *ha:la-a̤t-iŋ* 'condition-Pl_Ur.-Pl _JKB_', *ix̱tila:f-a:̱t-iŋ* 'disagreement- Pl_Ur._-Pl _JKB_', etc. in (21) as follows:

(21)   Double Plurals   in JKB

		Singular	Plural
a.	Urdu:	ha:jaṭ	ha:ja-aṭ
	JKB:	ha:jaṭ	ha:ja-aṭ-iŋ
	Hz-Ng:	ha:jaṭ	ha:jaṭ-iŋ
		'wish'	'wishes'

b.	Urdu:	ha:laṭ	ha:la-aṭ
	JKB:	ha:laṭ	ha:la-aṭ-iŋ
	Hz-Ng:	ha:laṭ	ha:la-at, ha:la-aṭ-ićiŋ
		'condition'	'conditions'

c.	Urdu:	ixṭila:f	ixṭila:f-a:ṭ
	JKB:	ixṭila:f	ixṭila:f-a:ṭ-iŋ
		'disagreement'	'disagreements'

Notice that in (21-a) and (21-b) above although the Hunza-Nagar counterparts follow a similar pattern and double plurals are possible there as well, there is no one-to-one correspondence across dialects in terms of choosing particular plural marking suffixes. Thus, we have a zero (-Ø) additional morpheme in *ha:la:ṭ* in both JKB and Hz-Ng, an additional native Plural suffix *-iŋ* in JKB. *ha:la:ṭ -iŋ* and *-ićiŋ* in Hz-Ng. *ha:la:ṭ-ićiŋ*). Thus the patterns seem to be differently established in different dialects in terms of choice of plural marking suffix.

7.3 VERB BORROWING: ATTESTED PATTERNS AND INNOVATIONS

Borrowing of verbs is common where languages involved are typologically similar and where the verbal structures between the languages in contact resemble each other. Burushaski is typologically very close to its neighbors and like most of these, consists of compound verbs formed of noun plus verb complexes. Many of these correspond in form across languages. Consider examples in (22) as follows:

(22)   Compound verbs in Burushaski with corresponding forms in Urdu and Kashmiri

a.   'to work'

Burushaski: ḍoro   eṭ-as

Urdu: ka:m   kar-na:

Kashmiri: kə:m   kar-ɨɲ

                    work   do-Inf.

b.   'to marry'

Burushaski: gar   eṭ-as

Urdu: śa:ḍi   kar-na:

Kashmiri: xa:nḍar   kar-un

                    marriage   do-Inf.

Examples in (22) above could be possible results of contact. There are also cases where corresponding forms between Burushaski and other languages are not available. consider examples in (23) as follows:

(23)   Compound verbs in Burushaski with no corresponding forms in Urdu/Kashmiri

a.   'to sing'

         Burushaski: γar   e̯t-as

                          song   Do-Inf.

But

         Urdu: ga:-na

         Kashmiri: gev-un

                          sing-Inf.

b.   'to lift (up)'

         Burushaski: da:l   e̯t-as

                          lift   do-Inf.

But

         Urdu: utʰa:-na

         Kashmiri: ʈul-un

                          lift-Inf.

Thus, examples in (22) and (23) above indicate that Burushaski follows a specific areal pattern in verb formation. However, the correspondences may not be a hundred percent across various languages.

7.3.1 Borrowing from Compound Verbs

When borrowing involves compound verbs, it is the nominal part of the compound which is borrowed. This is part of a common borrowing strategy followed in the languages of the region. Some such verbs from JKB are given in (24) followed by examples in (25) as follows:

(24)   Borrowing from compound verbs

a.   'to be silent'

    JKB loan: **ćup**   e̤t-as

    Urdu Base: ćup   kar-na:

        silence do-Inf.

b.   'to annoy'

    JKB loan: **ṭaŋ**   e̤t-as

    Urdu Base: ṭaŋ   kar-na:

        tight   do-Inf.

c.   'to praise'

    JKB loan: **ṭa:ri:f**   e̤t-as

    Urdu Base: ṭa:ri:f   kar-na:

        appreciation   do-Inf.

(25)   Examples from natural speech in JKB

a.   **ćup**   e̤ti

    silence do.Imp.
    'Be quiet! (Imperative)'

b.   pʰiv-e   **ṭaŋ**   mee̤timi

    flies-Erg   tight   1Pl.do.Past.3Sg
    'The flies have annoyed us'

c.   ine   ine   but   **ṭa:ri:f**   e̤timi

    3Sg.Erg   3Sg.Gen   a lot   appreciation   do.Past.3SgM
    'He appreciated him a lot'
    Or 'He did a strong appreciation of him'

Thus, in (24) and (25) above, *ćup* 'silence' (a noun), *ṭaŋ* 'tight' (an adjective, and, therefore, a nominal), and *ṭa:ri:f* (a noun) are borrowed from Urdu and nativized as verbs by adding a Burushaski auxiliary/helping verb such as *eṭ-* 'do'.

7.3.2 Borrowing from Simple Verbs

A peculiar kind of morpho-syntactic strategy has developed in JKB when simple verbs are borrowed. Like other areal languages, it involves the use of a borrowed verb from the contact language followed by an auxiliary, such as *eṭ-as* 'to do', or *mana-as* 'to happen/exist', etc. What is interesting about this syntactic construction is that a specific innovative suffix *–(y)i* is attached to the bare stem. The borrowed verb stem plus suffix behaves like a gerund or a participial. This gerundive/participial form is then followed by a helping verb from Burushaski. The result is a new compound verb construction consistent with the areal typology of Burushaski but using an innovative suffix unique to the sub-dialect. A schematic representation is provided in (26).

(26)   Schematic representation:

LOAN VERB-INNOVATIVE SUFFIX (y)i + eṭ- 'DO'/man- 'EXIST/HAPPEN'

Some of these innovative constructions in JKB are listed in (27) as follows:

(27) List of some innovative verbs in JKB

JKB Innovation			Urdu Base	Kashmiri parallel
bana:-yi e̠t-		'make/create'	bana:-	bana:-
mana:-yi e̠t-		'persuade'	mana:-	mana:-
mana:-yi e̠t-		'celebrate'	mana:-	mana:-
ma:n-i e̠t-		'accept'	ma:n-	ma:n-
baća:-yi e̠t-		'save/rescue'	baća:-	baća:-
ji:̠t−i e̠t-		'win'	ji:̠t-	ze:n-
ba̠dal mana-		'change'	ba̠dal-	ba̠d̩l-
pʰehl-i mana-		'spread'	pʰehel-	pʰəhl-
d̠am gut-i mana-		'suffocate'	(d̠am) gʰut-[106]	-

Notice the parallels between the three languages in (27) above. The lexical correspondences between Urdu and Kashmiri are genetic while those between JKB and the other two languages are a result of contact. Consider some examples from JKB natural speech in (28) with as follows (Urdu loans are in **bold** face):

(28) Borrowing from simple verbs

a.
janvari:-lu	in-mo	*bərde*:	**mana:-**yi	ećan
january-in	3Sg-3SgFGen	birthday	celebrate-IS	do.Fut.Pl

'In January, we will celebrate her birthday'

(From the speech of an 8/9 year old)

b.
al̠to	d̠en	yar	mucum śa:r	but	**ba̠dal**-Ø	i-mani	bi
two	years	early	since city	very	change-IS	happen	be.Pres.3Sg[-h]

'The city has changed a lot since (last) two years'

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[106] This construction is not so well established and was observed in the speech of only one individual.

c. gar-ne   u:-cum   **nasal**   **pʰehl**-i   mei   bi[107]

marriage-PPL   3Pl-from   family/tribe   spread-IS happen be.Pres.3Sg[-h]

'Having married, the family/tribe spreads through them'

d. va:ji̤ḍ seya   bam   ja: **ḍam- gut**-i   mei bi [108]

Wajid   say.Hab be.Past my   breath- suffocate-IS happen be.Pres.3Sg[-c]

'Wajid was saying that he got suffocated'

Many such examples were found in the speech of all three generations although the frequency of use was higher in the younger generation and in women.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The motivations for and extent of borrowing is determined largely my social factors, such as linguistic "prestige" associated with a particular language and "need" to designate new concepts, or things. Apart from some of the older borrowings which have more likely entered JKB (or its parent dialect which was spoken mainly by people of higher social status) directly from Persian, many linguistic elements of Urdu origin in JKB as well as in Kashmiri are assumed to have entered via a common path and are being exchanged through linguistic, social, and cultural contact between the native speakers of Kashmiri and Burushaski whose second language is Urdu. It is Urdu rather than Kashmiri which the speakers of JKB are looking up to as a prestige language, and, therefore, the primary source for most lexical borrowings. This is especially evident in certain cases

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[107] Example taken from the story *Hazrat Adam ke Zizi Hava* narrated by Gulzar Chachi, a middle aged woman.

[108] According to another speaker, the "correct" counterpart of the above sentence is: *va:ji̤ḍ sey bam ja:*

mṳṣ ḍicʰi̤ći̱ bi (= Ur. *va:jid-ne kaha: meri sa:ns banḍ huyi hæ*).

such as Ur. *ka:ŋgdi* versus K. *ka:ŋgɨr* (in (15) above) and Ur. *ji̤:ʈ*− versus K. *ze:n-* (in (25) above) where phonological differences are more pronounced and strikingly characteristic of a particular language than in others such as Ur. *ummi:ḍ*, *bi:ma:r*, *aula:ḍ*, etc., as opposed to K. *ume:ḍ*, *be:ma:r*, *avla:ḍ,* etc. in (12) above where the differences are often unnoticed. However, cultural loans from Kashmiri, such as, *pʰiś* 'urine; piss' (Bu. *har*), *jigar* 'loved one' (Lit. 'lever'), etc. are also used. But these are only confined to informal speech.

Chapter 8: Structural Consequences of Language Contact

8.0 INTRODUCTION

Structural consequences of language contact are manifested in a language in the form of changes affecting its phonology, morphology, and syntax. This chapter describes and analyzes the effects of language contact on the various sub-systems of J & K Burushaski. Changes are observed in terms of structural convergence as well as structural innovation.

8.1. CHANGES AFFECTING THE PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

Various interesting phonological changes are observed in JKB as a result of language contact which may have an overall implication on the phonology of this dialect of Burushaski. Some of these changes are discussed in the following sub-sections.

8.1.1 Syncope (Or Syncopation)

A contact-induced change affecting the JKB phonology is vowel syncopation (medial vowel loss). Both open and closed syllables are permitted in Burushaski. In JKB, in polysyllabic words with a sequence of CV syllables adjacent to each other, speakers often syncopate the medial vowels in favor of a closed syllable structure. This is also a typical feature in Kashmiri phonotactics and is related to Kashmiri supra-segmental features and stress pattern. JKB stress pattern has undergone some changes under Kashmiri influence. This was also pointed out to the author by speakers of Pakistani

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dialects of Burushaski).[109] Some examples of vowel syncopation in JKB are provided in (1) as follows (Syncopating vowels <u>underlined</u> in base forms):

(1)   Medial vowel syncope in CV.CV.CV sequences
         Proto Forms   JKB   Gloss
         ma.ku̱.ćim   >   mak.ćim   '(the) middle (one)'
         a.mu̱.li   >   am.li   'where'

         ̱ta.ma̱.śa   >   ̱tam.śa   'show/play; (n.)'
         beu.ru̱.ma:n   >   be:r.ma:n   'how much'
         ̱teu.ru̱.ma:n   >   ̱te:r.ma:n   'as much'

         Notice in (1) above, medial *u* and *a* are deleted in open syllables in unstressed positions. Such a change is not observed in other dialects of Burushaski where corresponding medial vowels are retained. Medial vowels are also syncopated in open syllables in Kashmiri when they appear in unstressed positions (Munshi and Crowhurst 2006, ms.).

8.1.2. Towards a possible loss of retroflexion

         A gradual loss of retroflex sounds and their merger with the corresponding palatals is currently in progress in JKB. Thus, retroflex fricatives *ş, ż*, the retroflex affricate *ċ*, and retroflex glide *ɽ*, are replaced by *ś, ź, ć*, and *y* respectively. While some speakers still maintain a distinction between the retroflex and palatal counterparts, many do not. Thus, both retroflex and palatal forms are available at the same time. Consider examples in (2) as follows:

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[109] A possible stress shift to the word-initial syllable in JKB is observed based on a Kashmiri stress pattern

(2)   Possible loss of retroflex sounds: ṣ, ċ, ż, ɻ ~ ś, ć, ź, y variation

JKB	Hz-Ng	Gloss
ṣi- ~ śi-	ṣi-	'eat'
pʰu̱ṭkiṣ~ pʰu̱ṭkiś	pʰu̱ṭkiṣ	'mad (person)'
ɣażam ~ ɣaźam	ɣażam	'holes' (< ɣażam e̱ṭ- 'make holes')
aṣċiŋ ~ aśćiŋ	aṣċiŋ	'my back'
paċi ~ paći	paċi	'cloth/fabric'
żu- ~ źu-	żu-	'come'
la:y~ la:ɻ	la: ɻ	'cucumber'
d̪oy	d̪oɻ	'right (side)'
d̪oypa	d̪oɻpa	'towards right (side)'
ɣay	ɣaɻ	'left (side)'
ɣaypa	ɣaɻpa	'towards left (side)'

Notice in (2) above, while two variants (retroflex and palatal) were attested for some words (inter-speaker variation) while only one variant (palatal) was attested for others in JKB. We could argue for an internal motivation for this change in terms of the frequency of presence of certain sounds across languages. Given that ṣ, ż, ċ, and ɻ are less frequently occurring sounds (or "more marked") than ś, ź, ć, and y sounds, one may argue that such sounds tend to give their way in favor of the closest counterparts which occur more frequently (or are "less marked"). An external motivation for the change, which is equally appealing, is that these retroflex sounds are absent in both the contact languages, Urdu and Kashmiri, and, hence, more likely to be lost under linguistic contact.

8.2. IMPACT ON MORPHOLOGY

Some striking changes are observed in JKB affecting its morphological system as a result of contact and independent development. Two important morphological changes in JKB are discussed in the following sections, viz., loss of grammatical features (loss of class distinction features), and morphological innovation through adoption of foreign morphemes.

8.2.1 Loss of grammatical features

A structural change which may lead to syntactic simplification currently in progress and observed in many speakers of JKB is the convergence of class distinction features in [non-human] nouns. As a result of this change, the distinction between plus '+' and minus '-' concrete nouns is in a state of getting dissolved. The change is affecting the inflectional morphology of determiners and pronouns as well as that of the verb 'be' which carries agreement markers for syntactic arguments. What is interesting in this case is that it is the morphological ending for "[–concrete]" nouns which is giving way to the ending originally used to designate "[+concrete]" nouns. Thus, in nouns (and pronouns) -s- ending replaces the –ṭ- ending in Singular, and –c- ending replaces the -k- ending in Plural form. Consider examples in (3) as follows:

(3)   Nominal inflection: Loss of class distinction

a.   **es-**cum (<***eṭ-**cum)   ke   yetne   ni-man

        that-from   COMP above   go-Past.Pl

        'They went higher than that'

b.	valah,	cʰan	seya	ba,	**kʰos (<*kʰoṭ)** rika:d

by God,	truth	say.Hab.	be.Pres.1Sg,	this[-h]	record

	eću	ba:n,	**kʰos (<*kʰoṭ)** ke

	do.Hab.	be.Pres.P	this[-h]	also

	'(I swear) by God, I am telling the truth, (we/they) are recording this, and this
	too.'

c.	ja:-re	**ese (<*eṭe),**	julai-lu niy-as	**bi (<*ḍila)**

	1Sg-Dat	that,	July-in	go-Inf	be.Pres. 3Sg[-h]

	'I have to go in that….July'

d.	kʰole	bere	na,	**ese (<*eṭe)**	eṭi	na	yarne

	here	look.Imp NegTag	that	do.Imp NegTag first

	'Look here, won't you! Do this first, won't you!'

Thus, we observe from examples in (3) that *eṭ* 'that; [-h, -c]' and *es* 'that; [-h, +c]
are merging into *es* 'that; [-h]'. Similarly, *kʰos* 'this; [-h, +c]' and *kʰoṭ* 'this; [-h, -c]' are
merging into *kʰos* 'this; [-h].

A similar change is affecting the morphology of the verb 'be' where *bV-*'be.[-h,
+c]' and *ḍil-* 'be.[-h,-c]' forms are merged into the *bV-* forms. Consider examples in (4) as
follows:

(4)	Verbal inflection: Loss of class distinction
a.	ja:-re	*December*-lu	*final exam*ᵢ	**bi ᵢ (<ḍila)**

	1Sg-Dat.		-in		be.Pres. 3Sg[-h]

	'In December, I am having my final exams'

	(From the speech of an 8/9 year old)

b. [in-mo   mu-yik $_i$]   zulaik^{h}a   **bi $_i$ (< ḍila)**

3Sg-3SgFPoss 3SgFPoss-name   Zulaikha   be.Pres. 3Sg[-h]

'Her name is Zulaikha'   (From the speech of an 8/9 year old girl)

c. um-e   gu-yi:k   besen   **bi (<dila)**

2Sg-Gen 2Sg-name   what   be.Pres. 3Sg[-h]

'What is your name?'   (From the speech of a 65 year old woman)

A schematic representation of the changes is given in (5) as follows:

(5)   Loss of class distinction features: schematic representation

a.   Pronouns/determiners:

   -s [-human, +concrete], -ṭ [-human, -concrete] > -s [-human]

b.   Verb 'be':

   bV- [-human, +concrete], ḍil- [-human, -concrete] > bV- [-human]

The change is in a transition state in the sense that there is speaker-to-speaker variation. Thus, while some speakers maintain the distinction others do not. The change is more common in the younger generation as well as in females of different age groups whose language, the older males would sometimes say was "corrupted" or "incorrect". Sometimes, some speakers would immediately correct themselves. Many older male speakers strictly maintain the distinction [+/-concrete]. Thus, we find inter-speaker variation in the use of two forms. Consider examples in (6) for illustration as follows:

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(6)   Inter- and intra-speaker variation

a.   ja:-re   le:l   **bi (<dila)**,   le:l   **ḍila**   ja:-re
        1Sg-Dat knowledge be.Pres. 3Sg[-h], knowledge be.Pres.3Sg[-c] 1Sg-Dat
        'I have knowledge. Knowledge, do I have…'
                            (From the speech of a 25 year old woman)

b.   in-e-re   ya:ḍa:ṣ̌ṭ$_i$,   in-e   ha:fiza   but   **ḍilum** $_i$
        3Sg-Dat memory $_{i,}$ 3Sg-Gen memory $_{Subj.}$ very   be.Past. 3Sg[-c]$_i$
        'To him memory….His memory was very strong'
                            (From the story of Shiri Badat by Jamsheed Sahab)

Notice the intra-speaker variation in (6-a) above where the same speaker used two variants for the same expression. We also see inter-speaker variation in (6-a) and (6-b).

We have already seen in Chapter 6 (Dialectal Comparison) that compound verbs in JKB consisting of a main verb and verb 'be' as an auxiliary (helping) verb have already lost the distinction between [-h,+c] and [-h,-c] agreement patterns and only *bi* form is used for both. On the other hand *bil-* form is used in such constructions in Hunza and Nagar dialects. Consider following examples from Chapter 6 repeated here as (7):

(7)   Dialectal differences in verbal inflection
a.   Verb 'happen'
        NgB: buṣ-e   surat$_i$ **mai**   **bila**$_i$
            cat-Gen   face   exist.Hab   be.Pres.3Sg
          'Its countenance happens to be like (that) of a cat'
                                            (Berger 1998 vol.2: 184)

        JKB: in-e   i-ik   **mai**   **bi**   kana:n
                3Sg-Gen   3Sg-name   exist.Hab   be.Pres.3Sg[-h] Kanaan
              'His name happens to be Kanaan'
                (From the story of *hazrat adam ke zizi hava* 'Adam and Eve' by Gulzar Auntie)
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b.   Verb 'feel'

HB: u:-re   kʰo̤t   **ɣayićilum**

        3Sg-Dat   this[-c] feel.Hab.Past.[-c]

        'He used to feel this'

        OR 'It used to feel to him (like this)'

                                        (From the speech of Ruhi Hunzai)

JKB: kʰo̤t   e̤tas   in-e-re

        3Sg.Abs   do-Inf 3Sg-Gen-Dat

        but   śua   **ɣayići**   **bim**

        very good   feel.Hab   be.Past.[-h]

        'He used to like doing this'

        OR 'Doing this used to please (feel good) to him'

                                        (From a narrative by Master-Ji)

The above exampls are discussed in Chapter 6. Thus, as maintained earlier also (in Chapter 6), based on examples in (5), (6) and (7) above, it can be assumed that JKB may have undergone a syntactic change in compound verbs whereby [+c] vs. [-c] distinction is lost in verb agreement in case of compound verbs. This change has possibly taken place after its separation from the parent dialect(s) in Pakistan and is now affecting the language in other syntactic environments where verb 'be' is the main verb.

8.2.2 Morphological Innovation: Adoption of foreign morphemes

Although inflectional morphemes are not normally borrowed in JKB, there were many instances where speakers frequently borrowed lexical items from Urdu along with their inflectional morphemes. One such case is the borrowing of Urdu Oblique case ending along with the stem noun or modifier. Consider examples in (8) as follows:

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(8)   Adoption of foreign morphemes

a.   ese-lu   **haza:r-õ,**   **karod-õ**   ba:n,   but   a:lim-iśo

3Sg-in   thousand-Obl   crore-Obl   be.3Pl,   many   pundit-Pl

'There are thousands and "crores" (millions) of them, many pundits'[110]

b.   a:rmi: kʰole   **arb-õ**   **rupay-e**   kama:yi   eći   bi

army   here   arab-Obl   Rupee-Pl   earn   do.Hab. be.Pres.[-h, -c]

'The army is earning "arabs" (billions) of rupees here'[111]

More and more people from the younger generation are using similar forms, and once established this change can have a bearing on the JKB case morphology. Given that the borrowed inflectional morpheme only appears on the borrowed stem, it can be argued that its presence is triggered by the latter. However, it is also important to note that these lexical items are nativized borrowings, and we have seen in most of the other such cases that lexical borrowings are morphologically integrated into the language. Therefore, the examples above are a deviation from an established pattern.

8.3. IMPACT ON MORPHO-SYNTAX: EFFECTS OF CALQUING

When borrowing involves compounds, it is generally observed in the form of loan translations. This is a widely observed phenomenon in most contact-influenced languages. New formations such as these have been termed "pattern transfer" or "calques" in literature. Calquing is also observed at higher levels of syntax. In JKB calquing has led to several structural changes involving lexicosemantic and syntactic correspondences leading to a certain degree of syntactic convergence with contact languages. Two types of such change are worth discussing in this section. First involves

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[110] "Crore" is a numerical term equivalent to ten million or 10^7
[111] "Arab" is a numerical term equivalent to ten billion or 10^{10}

simple loan translations affecting the JKB derivational morphology. The second one is more complicated in that both loan translations as well as lexical borrowings are involved in this case. In the latter constructions, contact influence from both Urdu and Kashmiri is revealed at the same time.

Effects of lexical borrowing and calquing in JKB are manifested in the following different forms:

a. **Loanblends:** These are formed of combinations of native and imported morphemes and can be classified into: *derivational blends*, formed of imported stem and native affix, and *compound blends,* made of imported stem and native stem.

b. **Loanshifts:** These are loan meanings and can be further classified into: *semantic extensions* (or *semantic loans*) which involve shift in the semantics/meaning of a native word under influence of a foreign word, and *loan translations* which involve combination of native morphemes in imitation of foreign pattern

More than one of the above mentioned outcomes may be involved at the same time. A schematic representation of the direction of different kinds of change taking place as a result of lexical borrowing and calquing in JKB under the influence of Urdu and Kashmiri is provided in Figure 1 as follows:
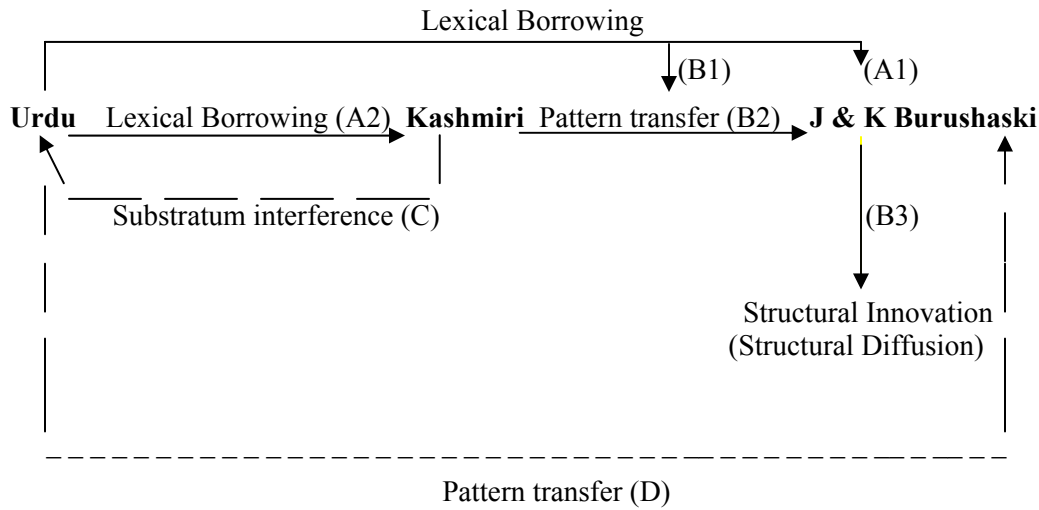
```
                          Lexical Borrowing
                                              ↓(B1)        ↑(A1)
   Urdu    Lexical Borrowing (A2)  Kashmiri  Pattern transfer (B2)   J & K Burushaski

          ‾‾‾ ‾‾‾ ‾‾‾ ‾‾‾
            Substratum interference (C)                              (B3)

                                                            Structural Innovation
                                                            (Structural Diffusion)

   ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾
                          Pattern transfer (D)
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Figure 8.1   Schematic Representation of calquing changes in JKB

In Figure, arrows (A1) and (A2) represent direct lexical borrowing from Urdu to JKB and Kashmiri respectively. These borrowings may be shared between JKB and Kashmiri, and often are. Arrow (B1) represents changes which involve lexical borrowing from Urdu and at the same time pattern transfer from Kashmiri to JKB (the latter being represented by arrow (B2) above). Arrow (C) represents substratum influence from Kashmiri (first language) to Urdu (second language). Finally, arrow (D) represents pattern transfer from Urdu (second language) to JKB (first language).

Some of the most obvious cases involving calquing of different types are described in the following sections.

8.3.1 Calquing/Pattern Transfer in phrasal correspondences

There are many cases of contact influence in the forms of calques where it is ultimately impossible to tell whether they are a result of a recent or an earlier contact. Some of the typical examples involving calquing of compound constructions from Urdu in JKB and possibly also in other dialects of Burushaski are given in (9) as follows:

(9)   Calquing from Urdu

a.   JKB: ‗tʰap‑tʰap‑mo

        Ur: raːt‑raːt‑bʰar
                 night‑night‑during
                 'Every night and the entire night'

b.   JKB: besen‑be‑besen[112]
        Ur: kucʰ‑na‑kucʰ
                 something‑Neg‑something
                 'something or the other'

        Thus, in (9) above, it can be assumed that the JKB forms are calques from Urdu.

        There are also some cases of calquing where it is not possible to tell whether either of the two languages –Urdu or Kashmiri – is the source language or whether the forms have developed independently as a result of an earlier contact. Consider examples in (10) for illustration as follows:

(10)   Other possible cases of calquing
a.   JKB: besen‑besen
        Ur: k'a‑k'a
        K: k'ah‑k'ah
                 what‑what
                 'what all'

b.   JKB: kam‑cum‑kam
        Ur: kam‑se‑kam
        K: kam‑ kʰotɨ‑kam

                 less‑than/from‑less
                 'at least'

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[112] *besen* has more than one meaning in Burushaski. The most frequently used of these is 'what'.

It is very likely that similar forms are also present in the Pakistani dialects of Burushaski and they may or may not have developed independently even if they came from a common source. Further investigation is needed in this regard.

JKB has also calqued from Kashmiri. Some frequently used calques in JKB from Kashmiri are: *gunc-gunc ni-* from Kashmiri *ḍoh ḍoh ne:r-* 'for days to keep passing one after another', *xabarḍa:r ke xabarḍa:r* 'beware (Lit. beware and beware)', *etc.* Consider examples in (11) as follows:

(11)   Calquing from Kashmiri

a.   JKB: gunc gunc   nići   bim
                day day   go-Hab   be.Past.3Sg[-h]
                'Days kept passing'

        K: ḍoh ḍoh   o:s   ne:ra:n
                day day   be.Past.Sg   go.Hab.
                'Days kept passing'

b.   JKB: gunc-an   gunc-an   nimi
                day-Indef.   day-Indef.   go.Past.3SgM
                 'One day went after another'

        K: ḍoh-a   ḍoh-a   gav
                day-Indef.   day-Indef.   go.Past.3SgM
                'One day went after another'

Note that JKB examples in (11) above were taken from the story/narrative of a mad man (or *pʰuṭkiṣ*) narrated by Jamsheed Sahab. Forms in Kashmiri were created by the author.

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8.3.2 Calquing of Compound Verbs

Noun, verb and adverbial phrases from Urdu as well as Kashmiri are calqued into JKB. Several new compound verb formations, composed of [noun + verb] constructions, have resulted in JKB through calquing. These are cases where the meaning of the compound does not correspond with the meaning of its individual components. Semantic correspondence between JKB and Kashmiri is observed at two levels: at the individual component level as well as at the level of the compound as a whole. Some such compound verb constructions are listed in (12) as follows:

(12)   Compound verb constructions involving calquing from Kashmiri

	Compound Verb		Lexical translation	Translation of Compound
a.	JKB: ṯaŋ	ḍici(y)-	'tight + bring'	'to annoy somebody'
	K: ṯaŋg	an-	'tight + bring'	'to annoy somebody'
b.	JKB: ḍam	ḍiy-	'steam +come'	'(of rice) to be cooked'
	K: ḍam	yi-	'steam+ come'	'(of rice) to be cooked'
c.	JKB: pʰo:tu: ḍa:l eṯ-		'photo +lift'	'to shoot (a) photo'
	K: pʰo:tu: ṯul-		'photo + lift'	'to shoot (a) photo'
d.	JKB: mahsu:s mana-		'feel + exist'	'to feel bad/sorry'
	K: mahsu:s gacʰ-		'feel + exist'	'to feel bad/sorry'

Consider examples from natural speech in (13) for illustration as follows:

(13)   Examples from natural speech

a.   JKB: pʰiv-e   taŋ   ḍi:cimi

           flies-Erg   tight   bring.Past.3Sg[-h]
           'Flies have annoyed (us)'

     K: maćʰa   ćʰe   tang ana:n

           flies   be.Pres.Pl.   tight bring.Pres. Pl
           'Flies annoy (us)'

b.   JKB: (ine)   pʰo:tu:-muc   ḍa:l   eṭimi

           (3Sg.-Erg)   photo-Pl.   lift   do.Past.3SgM
           'He shot photographs' (Lit. 'He lifted photographs')

     K: ṭam'   o:s   pʰo:tu: tulmuṭ

           3Sg-Erg   be.Past photo   lift.Past.PPL
           'He had shot the photograph' (Lit. 'He had lifted the photograph')

c.   JKB: baṭ-e-re   ḍam   ḍi: bi-a ?

           rice-Gen-Dat   steam   come   be.Pres.-QM

     K: baṭ-as   cʰa: ḍam a:mut ?

           rice-Dat be.Pres.QI   steam come
           'Is the rice cooked?' (Or 'Has the rice come to a state of being cooked?')

d.   JKB: in-e-re   mahsu:s   mani   bi,   saxṭ

           3Sg-Gen-Dat   feel   exist.Hab.   be.Pres.   very much
           'He feels very bad' (= 'He gets saddened')

     K: am-is   o:s   saxṭ   mahsu:s   go:mut

           3Sg.Obl-Dat   was   very much   feel   exist.Past.
           'He had felt very bad'

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The calqued constructions (underlined) in (13) above are more complicated than they appear at surface level because two phenomena are involved at the same time, i.e., lexical borrowing from Urdu to Kashmiri and pattern transfer from Kashmiri to JKB (See Figure 8.1 again). Note that in the above cases, lexical borrowing is accompanied by semantic shift, or semantic extension, of the native vocabulary. Thus, in JKB *pʰo:tu: ḍa:l eṭ-*, *ḍa:l eṭ-* 'to lift' is used in the sense of meaning 'take/shoot (a picture/photo)'. Similarly, in K. *mahsu:s gacʰ-*, *mahsu:s* which is originally borrowed from Urdu where *mahsu:s kar-* (Lit. 'feel + do') means 'feel', has undergone semantic extension in Kashmiri to mean 'feel bad/sad', and this semantic extension is borrowed by JKB under Kashmiri influence.

Besides JKB *ṭaŋ duc* – 'to annoy', there is a corresponding intransitive construction *ṭaŋ ḍu:-* 'to get annoyed' which has a parallel in Urdu as well as in Kashmiri. Consider examples in (14) as follows:

(14)   Other examples

JKB: śiri-badaṭ-e   vazi:riśu   ke   but   <u>ṭaŋ   ḍu:</u>   bam

     Shri Badat-Gen   ministers   also   very   tight   come   be.Past

Ur: śiri-badat -ke   vazi:r   bahuṭ   <u>ṭaŋg   a:-ye</u>   ṭʰe

   Shri Badat -Gen.Pl ministers   very   tight   come-Perf.Pl.   be.Past.Pl.

K: śiri-badaṭ -sinḍ   vazi:r   ə:s   setʰa <u>ṭaŋg   a:mɨt'</u>

  Shri Badat -Gen.Pl   ministers   be.Past.Pl. very   tight come.Perf.Pl
  'Shri Badat's ministers were very annoyed'

It is difficult to tell whether the medium of transfer in this case is Kashmiri or Urdu. It is also very likely that a corresponding form is also available in Pakistani dialects of Burushaski through Urdu influence.

8.3.3 Structural Innovation: Calquing of Tag Questions

Tag Questions in Burushaski are generally formed by adding *be* 'no' or *na* 'no' (the latter is a loan from Urdu) to the end of a Yes-No question. Consider examples in (15) for illustration as follows:

(15)   Tag questions in Burushaski

a.   ja-a   a-u-e   buronḍu-muc γeniṣ-e   bim-a,   **be**
        1Sg-Gen   1Sg-father-Gen   ring-Pl   gold-Gen be.Past.-QM, Neg_Tag.QI
        'My father's rings were (made) of gold, were they not?'
                                        (From Hunza Burushaski; Lorimer 1935-7: 313)

b.   banḍa-a   cʰap-e   maza   es-ce   o:-maimi,   **na**
        human-Gen   meat-Gen   taste   it-from Neg-exist.Pres.3Sg., Neg_Tag.QI
        'It won't have the taste of human flesh, will it?'
        Or 'It won't have the taste of human flesh, no?'
                                        (From Hunza Burushaski; Lorimer 1935-7: 313)

c.   um-e-re   ja-a   ćuruk-ne   gu:ćam-a,   **be**
        2Sg-Gen-Dat   1Sg-Erg cut-PPL   give.Fut.1Sg-Q,   Neg_Tag.QI
        'I will cut it for you, won't I?'
                                        (From an 8 year old speaker of JKB)

Besides the above constructions in (15), JKB has developed an innovative tag question formation under Kashmiri influence using an Urdu loanword *maṭ*. In Urdu, *maṭ*

is a functional category (NEG) used only in negative commands. Its lexicosemantic equivalent in Kashmiri is *ma* which has two functions. Kashmiri *ma* is used in negative commands and in tag question formation. Consider examples in (16) for illustration as follows:

(16)   Negative commands in Urdu and Kashmiri

a.   Ur: yeh   maṭ   karo

        K: yi   ma   kar

                this   NEG   do.Imp.

                'Don't do this'

b.   Ur: udʰar   maṭ   ja:o

        K: ho:r   ma   gacʰ

                There   NEG   go.Imp.

                'Don't go there'

In JKB, Urdu *maṭ* is used to form tag questions based on a Kashmiri syntactic pattern. This is illustrated in examples in (17) as follows:

(17)   Tag questions in JKB and Kashmiri

a.   JKB: eṭ-ulu   [**maṭ**   meimi]   *cold-drink*

                that-in NEG_Tag.QI   exist.Fut.3Sg[-h]

                'There won't be *cold-drink* then, would there be?'

                                        (From the speech of an 8 year old girl)

        K: ṭami   vizi   [**ma**   a:si]   *cold-drink*

                that   time   NEG_Tag.QI   be.Fut.3Sg

                'There won't be *cold-drink* then, would there be?'

a'. Ur: t̪ab   *cold-drink*   **nahi̤:**   hogi   **na:**

          then   NEG   be.Fut.3SgF   Neg_Tag

          'There won't be *cold-drink* then, would there be?'

b.   JKB: ine-re   [**maʈ**   le:l   ḓilum]

           3MSg.-Dat   NEG_Tag knowledge   be.Past.[-c]

           'He didn't have knowledge, did he?'   (From the story of *Shiri Badat*)

     K: t̪amis   [**ma-a**   ə:s   xabar]

           3Sg.-Dat   NEG_Tag-Q   be.Pst. knowledge

           'He didn't have knowledge, did he?'

b'. Ur: us-ko   ma:lum   **nahi**   t̪ʰa: **na:**

           3Sg.-Dat   knowledge   NEG   be.Pst. Neg_Tag

           'He didn't have knowledge, did he?'

c.   JKB: be   le:l!   kʰole-i: aleʈ   ḓila,

           what   knowledge! here-only   such   be.Pres.3Sg[-c],

           ele   ke   **maʈ**   me:m-ce   ḓasʈu:r

           there COMP NEG_Tag be-Subjunctive   trend

           'Who knows, it happens only here. It wouldn't be a trend there, would it?'

     K: kya   xabar!   yeti   cʰu   yuʈʰ,

           What   knowledge!   Here   is   such,

           t̪aʈi   **ma-a** a:si-he   ḓasʈu:r

           there   NEG-Q be-Subjunctive trend

           'Who knows, it happens only here. It wouldn't be a trend there, would it?'

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d.	JKB:	 ̠ṭe-i	**maṭ**	seyama

that-Emph	NEG_{Tag}.QI	say.Fut.2Sg.

K:	 ̠ṭi-i	**ma**	vanak^h

that-Emph	NEG.QI	say.Fut.2Sg.

'You won't say that, will you?'

d'.	Ur:	vahi:	to	**nahi**	kahogi:	**(na:)**

that-Emph	PTCL	NEG	say.Fut.2Sg.	(Neg_{Tag})

'You won't say that, will you?'

Note that forms in Urdu and Kashmiri (perceived as grammatical) in (17) above are available in author's speech (being a bilingual). Thus, it is evident in (17) that JKB forms have exact parallels in Kashmiri but not in Urdu. What is interesting about the constructions in (17) is that the change in JKB involves lexical borrowing from Urdu and calquing from Kashmiri at the same time. A possible explanation for this is that the change has perhaps entered JKB via L2 speakers of Urdu whose L1 is Kashmiri (This is represented by the broken arrow in Figure 8.1 above). This change also has a bearing on the word order of JKB. Kashmiri is a verb second (V2) language. Thus, inflected verb appears at the sentence second position. In case of tag questions, the inflected verb is preceded by *ma*, the tag question forming functional category which occupies the sentence-second position. In JKB *maṭ*- tag question calques also follow a pattern based on Kashmiri word order. Thus, *maṭ*- (designated as "NEG_{Tag}" above) appears at the sentence-second position followed by inflected verb as opposed to the inherited Burushaski pattern where *be* or *na* (designated as "Neg_{Tag}" above) appears at the end of a complete clause. Secondly, while *be* or *na* is extra-sentential, *maṭ/ma* (in JKB/ Kashmiri tag questions respectively) are a part of the syntactic clause. Therefore, this construction

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can legibly be argued to be a syntactic innovation in the dialect (JKB). A corresponding syntactic construction is ungrammatical in Urdu. Consider examples in (18) below which are less preferred or unacceptable:

(18)   Parallel forms using a Kashmiri pattern less preferred or unacceptable in Urdu

a.   ?? ṯab   maṭ   hogi   *cold-drink*

        then   NEG_Tag.QI   be.Fut.3SgF

        'There won't be *cold-drink* then, would there be?'

b.   ??   us-ko   maṭ   ṯhʰa: ma:lu:m

        3Sg.-Dat   NEG_Tag.QI   be.Past.3SgM   knowledge

        'He didn't have knowledge, did he?'

c.   ??? vaha:n   bʰi: maṭ   hoga   ḍasṭu:r

        there   also   NEG_Tag.QI   exist.Fut.3SgM trend

        'It will not be a trend there as well, will it?'

d.   ??? aisa   hi: maṭ   kah-oge

        that   only   NEG_Tag.QI   say-Fut.2SgM.

        'You won't say that, will you?'

    Some native speakers of Kashmiri, however, use such a construction when speaking in Urdu. This could be attributed to substratum influence from Kashmiri to Urdu (second language).

8.4. CONCLUSION

It has been argued in most studies on language contact and contact-induced change that structural impact on a language is normally preceded by heavy lexical borrowing. In fact many such studies have claimed that heavy lexical borrowing is a "prerequisite for phonological and morphological borrowing" (quoted from Winford 2003: 54). In the preceding chapter we saw that Urdu is the main source language for lexical borrowings in JKB. In this chapter we observed that while both Urdu and Kashmiri have affected the grammatical system of JKB, the effects are manifested in ways which are considerably different from each other. Kashmiri influence is mainly observed in terms of phonological and morpho-syntactic changes. In comparison, Urdu structural influence is less strong and is mainly reflected in lexicon and sometimes morphology.

Chapter 9: Theoretical Implications

9.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses some theoretical implications of this study in relation to the studies of language contact and language change. I begin with a discussion of the importance of some of the widely accepted linguistic constraints on language contact and language change which have been made the basis of some of the commonly accepted claims about borrowability or unborrowability of linguistic features in contact situations. I will also talk about their importance in relation to the present study of contact. In Section 9.2, I will briefly talk about the notion of "predicting the outcomes of contact" and attempt to evaluate the significance of the notion of the so-called "hierarchy of borrowability".

Underlying the studies of language contact is the common belief that languages tend to influence each other in systematic, describable and often predictable ways. Linguistic aspects of language contact are interrelated with the nature of social contact between the groups involved and this, in turn, is determined in terms of various sociocultural details.

My approach to the study of language contact and change is based on an analytical framework proposed by Thomason & Kaufman (1988). In this context Thomason & Kaufman argue that "it is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language change" (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 35). Accordingly, purely linguistic considerations, although relevant, are "strictly secondary" because linguistic interference "is conditioned in the first instance by social factors, not linguistic ones" (ibid.).

Thomason & Kaufman further argue that both "the direction of interference and the extent of interference are socially determined; so, to a considerable degree, are the kinds of features transferred from one language to another" (ibid.). This claim is further strengthened by the linguistic outcomes of language contact in the present situation of contact where the language under consideration, i.e., J & K Burushaski, exhibits different outcomes of contact in relation to the languages with which contact is observed, viz., Kashmiri and Urdu, reflecting, in a way, the differences in the make-up of the socio-cultural relationship with each of these languages. The study provides new evidence in support of Thomason & Kaufman's basic argument from a situation which is unique in its own ways. Although discussion of social factors is not the main focus of this study, a concise account of the J & K Burusho community in Srinagar, its socio-cultural history, and other social factors of importance described in Part I of this study provides an overall sociolinguistic picture of the situation.

9.1 IMPORTANCE OF LINGUISTIC CONSTRAINTS IN LANGUAGE CONTACT

A large number of linguistic constraints on contact-induced language change have been proposed in literature. These are broadly divided into: typological constraints, implicational universal constraints, and constraints based on naturalness.

9.1.1 Typological Constraints

Typological constraints are related to the typological distance between the recipient language (that is, the language under influence of a dominant/majority language or languages) and the contact (target) language(s). Many linguists have argued for a structural resistance to linguistic interference between languages which are not

typologically similar. For example, Meillet (1921: 87) "believed that **grammatical** loans are possible only between very similar systems" (quoted from Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 14). Similar position was taken by several linguists following Miellet, of course, with some modifications. Contact outcomes in many cases of language contact provide counter-evidence to this linguistic constraint. Some of the very noticeable cases come from the linguistic situation of South Asia, an extraordinarily complex linguistic are, where typologically distant languages such as Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, and Austro-Asiatic, have been in contact for centuries and have undergone structural influence as a result of contact. Many of the contact situations in this linguistic area have been studied (although many remain to be a topic of future investigation). A few cases of structural influence in the South Asian linguistic area are cited in Thomason & Kaufman (1988). For example, the development of negative verbs in the Indo-Aryan Bengali and Marathi as a result of contact influence from Dravidian languages; acquisition of the Dravidian exclusive/inclusive 'we' distinction by some Indic languages such as Gujarati; and morpheme/categorial borrowings of plural suffixes in Bengali (Indic language) making [human] versus [non-human] distinctions under Dravidian influence (See Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 15).

Not only does evidence from various studies of language contact disprove such claims as put forth by Miellet and other, their validity raises an important theoretical question in relation to the issue of "typological similarity". We already know that languages spoken in a *Sprachbund* ("linguistic area") are grouped together on the basis of typological similarity and proximity, and not genetic relationship. This kind of typological similarity as observed between distantly related languages such as Burushaski, Dardic, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto-Burman, for example, in itself is an outcome of long-standing contact and linguistic interference

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through transfer of grammatical features at all levels. Had such intense structural interference not taken place in the beginning, we would not have known the concept of *linguistic areas*.

One of the striking differences between Kashmiri and Burushaski is the presence of V2 (verb-second) syntax in Kashmiri as opposed to the verb-final word-order of Burushaski.[113] JKB has developed an innovative syntactic construction for tag questions based on Kashmiri which has implications on its word order typology. Although Burushaski also has a tag question formation strategy, it is quite different from this innovative construction in constituent-order syntax as well as complement structure. A typical Burushaski tag question has a head-final word order in which NEG $_{Tag}$ (or Neg$_{Tag}$, i.e., a tag question forming lexical item, which is usually a Negative) appears post-verbally and at the end of a clause, and is possibly extra-sentential. As against this are the Kashmiri-based tag questions in JKB where NEG $_{Tag}$ appears at second position in the sentence, thus, following a sort of V2 syntax of the kind observed in Kashmiri. Consider data in (1) for example:

(1)   Tag questions

a.   Contact influence in J & K Burushaski

JKB: ⟨te-i   **maṭ**   seyam-a   um   ja-a-re
        such-Emph.   NEG$_{Tag}$.QI   say.Fut.2Sg-Q   2Sg   1Sg-Gen-Dat
        'You won't say that too to me, will you?'

K: ⟨ṭi-i   **ma**   vanak^h cɨ   me
        such-Emph   NEG$_{Tag}$- QI   say.Fut.2Sg   2Sg   1Sg.Dat
        'You won't say that too to me, will you?'

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[113] Verb-second or V2 languages are those languages in which the inflected verb occupies the second position of a finite clause. Typical examples are German and Icelandic among the Germanic languages, and Kashmiri among the Indo-Aryan languages

b.   Tag questions in Pakistani Burushaski

HB: ja-a   a-u-e   burondu-muc γeniş-e   bim-a,   **be**
       1Sg-Gen 1Sg-father-Gen ring-Pl   gold-Gen be.Past.-QM, Neg.QI
       'My father's rings were (made) of gold, were they not?'

                                                              (Lorimer 1935-8: 313)

HB: banḍa-a   ćʰap-e   maza   es-ce   o:-maimi,   **na**
       human-Gen   meat-Gen   taste   it-from Neg-exist.Pres.3Sg., Neg.QI
       'It won't have the taste of human flesh, will it?'
       Or 'It won't have the taste of human flesh, no?'

                                                              (Lorimer 1935-8: 313)

        The same kind of contact influence is also observed in the second language
speakers of Urdu (irrespective of whether their first language is Kashmiri or JKB) where
simple Yes-No questions are also affected. Thus, we have cases like those in (2) below
which are unacceptable to native Urdu speakers.

(2)   Kashmiri influence on L2 Urdu speakers

        L2-Ur: ?? namak   **maṭ**   kam   hæ
                salt   NEG_Tag   insufficient   be.Pres.Sg
              'Is the salt enough (for you)?' = 'Is it salty enough (for you)?'
              Lit. 'Is the salt insufficient (for you)?'
                                                       (From the speech of a JKB speaker)
        K: nu:n   **ma**   ćʰu(y)   kam   (author)
                salt   NEG_Tag   be.Pres(2Sg.BEN)   insufficient
              'Is the salt enough (for you)?' = 'Is it salty enough (for you)?'
              Lit. 'Is the salt insufficient (for you)?'
                                                       (From the speech of author)

        Notice that the examples in (2) above is a case of substratum influence by
Kashmiri speakers on their second language Urdu and contact influence from Kashmiri

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on JKB speakers. Note that Kashmiri *ma* is used in Tag questions or negative Yes-No questions (i.e., questions which have a negative element in them) which are structurally quite different from the typical tag questions as found in English, for example, (and many other languages) where tag questions have an extra-sentential tag phrase normally at the end of the clause (Kashmiri *ma* is an intra-sentential functional category). The latter type are also found in Kashmiri (i.e., of the type [*cʰu na*] 'isn't it') as well as Urdu. Urdu also have a parallel syntactic construction as that in (2) above which is achieved by [*t̪o nahi*] composed of two functional categories *t̪o* 'then, so' and *nahi* 'no', together performing the same function as *ma* in Kashmiri.

Although the above mentioned change does not have a broad impact on the overall word-order typology of JKB so far, it may be a beginning towards a change which will have broader typological implications on the dialect in future.

9.1.2. Implicational Universal Constraints

The two basic types of interference, as mentioned in Chapter 7, are known as **borrowing** and **(substratum) interference**. In a borrowing situation, Thomason & Kaufman argue that the "first foreign elements to enter a borrowing language are words" (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 37). A frequently proposed constraint about the borrowability of linguistic features in contact situations is the presence of an implicational hierarchy: *words first, grammar later*. A different way of putting the same constraint is the widely accepted implicational universal about contact influence: *no structural borrowing without lexical borrowing*. In this context, Thomason (2001) argues that such a hierarchy is "valid in all known cases where the people responsible for the innovations are fluent in the receiving language" (Thomason 2001: 64). She further maintains that such a hierarchy is not expected in cases where "the people responsible for

the innovations are second-language learners of the receiving language….” (ibid). In other words, what she implies is a situation of “substratum interference”. In these cases, Thomason argues, “the first and the most significant interference features are structural, not lexical” (ibid.).[114] While Thomason is making her claim only for cases of substratum influence, we have seen in the present situation of language contact that this claim can also hold true of borrowing situations which involve external influence, i.e., linguistic changes in L1 (first language) due to influence from L2 (second language). Thus, linguistic outcomes may be more interesting and/or complicated in cases where a language A is changing under the influence of more than one majority/dominant language when the latter are placed in a diglossic situation (in the sense of Ferguson 1959) differing in terms of social status with respect to one another. We have seen from evidence in JKB that except for a limited number of cultural loans from Kashmiri, JKB almost always tends to borrow lexical items from the high prestige Urdu. At the same time, however, structural borrowing from Kashmiri is also taking place and is more natural. Most lexical items shared between JKB and Kashmiri are ultimately borrowed from Urdu. There seems to be a certain social resistance in JKB to borrow lexical items of Kashmiri origin as opposed to those of Urdu (or Persian) origin despite the possibility that some of these are indirectly borrowed through Kashmiri. Thus, we have an interplay of two important social factors: (i) language ideology in terms of “native language” versus an “extra-native MATRIX”, and (ii) within the non-native matrix, which is composed of Urdu and Kashmiri, a hierarchy of social prestige associated with each of the two foreign languages. These social factors play a very significant role in determining whether lexical or structural borrowing takes place more naturally (i.e., is more frequent).

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[114] This claim has also been maintained by Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 21) who argue that substratum influence need not be accompanied by extensive lexical transfer.

They also play a key role in determining the type of vocabulary borrowed from the contact languages.

Besides influence from Urdu and Kashmiri on JKB (L2 to L1 influence), another thing that is taking place in the present situation, is the structural influence of Kashmiri on their second language, i.e., Urdu. This kind of structural influence is also observed on the second language (Urdu) of native speakers of Kashmiri. One plausible argument that could be made here on the basis of these observation is that structural influence from Kashmiri to Urdu in native Kashmiri speakers is being transferred to JKB via Urdu in native speakers of JKB. An equally plausible argument is that both Urdu (L2) and JKB (L1) of J & K Burushos is being affected at the same time through contact with Kashmiri. The latter seems to be a more appealing argument in that exposure to all three languages is simultaneous.

An important theoretical question that arises here is: *Does the conventional way of categorizing "first language" as opposed to "second language" always work in the same way?* The fact that many JKB speakers learn Kashmiri side-by-side with Burushaski at home, in both formal and informal contexts, the bilingual proficiency in both the languages in many cases in almost the same, of course, barring a pronounced language attitude and ideology in relation to language use. The status of Urdu as opposed to JKB and Kashmiri is different – that of a high prestige language – because Urdu is the language of educational, political and administrative matters and the "second language" of both Kashmiri and JKB speakers. The situation, thus, presents a linguistic division into a "Native Language" (i.e., JKB) versus an "extra-native MATRIX" (i.e., Urdu and Kashmiri) and not just an extra-native language. At the same time, within the extra-linguistic matrix, there is a diglossic situation preventing or promoting certain kinds of change in a certain context.

9.1.3. Constraints based on Naturalness

Constraints based on naturalness are related to the universal markedness theory and play an important role in the theoretical aspects of studies on language change. The so-called "natural" changes (leading to "less marked" linguistic structures), as maintained by Thomason & Kaufman, "are produced from general principles, while other changes arise in circumstances where they would not be expected" (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 22). According to Thomason (2001: 76), marked features in a target language (i.e., contact language) are less likely to be learned by a shifting group. On the other hand, marked features in the language of the shifting group – recipient language (the one under contact influence) – are more likely to be lost in contact situations. Some of the common effects on the recipient language structure include addition, loss or replacement of features. Note that the present situation is necessarily a situation of language maintenance and the term "language shift" cannot be applied here.

It has been often argued in literature on language change that "many linguistic changes are best seen as simplifications, i.e., as changes from more marked to less marked" given the reservation that "….all other things being equal". This reservation is based on the reason that "a language is not just one system, but a system of systems", and, "a change that simplifies one sub-system is likely to complicate another" (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:23). In Thomason & Kaufman's terms, therefore, a change such as $ṣ$, $ċ$, $ż$, and $ʐ > ś$, $ź$, $ć$, and y in JKB will "simplify" the phonology, but it will also result in creating homophones thus complicating the situation at a morphological level. Consider examples in (3) for illustration as follows:

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(3)   Phonological simplification resulting in homophones

a.   śi-(y)as (<ṣi(y)-as)   'to eat'

        śiyas   'blanket'

b.   śe (<ṣe)   'eat; Imp'

        śe   'thread/needle (check)'

A change such as this can have multiple explanations – both internal as well as contact-based. In terms of universal "markedness", one can argue that retroflex consonants, being more marked than palatals, loss of such consonants is more natural. However, contact influence from Kashmiri/Urdu can very well be argued to act as a trigger to induce such a change which is not yet affected other dialects of Burushaski. We have seen data from Hunza and Nagar dialects in which the feature "retroflex" is retained while the corresponding forms in JKB no more possess this feature. For examples, Hunza-Nagar *ḍoɽ* 'right side', *γaɽ* 'left side', *la:ɽ* 'cucumber' as opposed to JKB *doy* 'right side', *γay* 'left side', *la:y* 'cucumber'.

Similarly, at the level of morphology, JKB is on the verge of losing the class distinction between [+concrete] and [-concrete] non-human nouns, thus, simplifying both nominal and verbal morphology to a certain degree. The change probably began its course affecting the verbal morphology in compound verbs, and later extended its domain over simple verbs (or more specifically verb 'be') and nominal (noun) morphology. Such a change can be explained in terms of both internal and external causations. An internal motivation to this change in an inherent tendency or an urge to have less "marked" features, and, thus, giving away distinctions which are not very common, or, in other words, not "natural". Such an explanation can very well be interrelated with an external motivation coming from language contact. Neither Kashmiri nor Urdu makes a class

distinction on the basis of the feature "[+/-concrete]" in nouns. The contact environment, thus, behaves like a trigger to induce a change in JKB which is not yet attested in the Pakistani dialects but, is, of course, capable of happening there as well.

Concept of "leveling"

Dialect leveling is one of the oldest notions in traditional historical linguistics. In its traditional sense "'leveling' merely refers to change towards greater similarity of dialects of a language and not, as Mühlhäusler's use of the term suggests, to change toward a less marked overall system" (quoted from Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 30; See Mühlhäusler 1980:20). Taking this concept of "dialect leveling" a step further, in cross-linguistic interference also, we can argue that the changes tend to result in greater similarity and not necessarily less markedness. Thus, any of the following three outcomes in (4) is possible:

(4)

      i. $m^> > m^<$ (more marked to less marked)

      ii. $m^< > m^>$ (less marked to more marked)

      iii. $m^x > m^x$ (equally marked or neutral)

                                    (See Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 30)

We have seen in the preceding two chapters (Chapter 7 and Chapter 8) that different kinds of changes have resulted in JKB owing to contact-influence from Urdu and Kashmiri which may fit into any one of the three categories in (4) above. For instance, consider phonological changes such as those in (5) as follows:

(5)   Phonological changes as a result of contact

a.   f > pʰ

JKB	Kashmiri	English	Gloss
pʰoːtuː	pʰoːtuː	foːtoː	'photo'
pʰail	pʰail	fail	'file'

b.   b > p

Hz-Ng	JKB	Kashmiri	Urdu	Gloss
xaraːp	xaraːb	xaraːb	xaraːb	'bad'
xupsuraṭ	xubsuraṭ	xuːbsuːraṭ	xuːbsuːrat	'beautiful'

c.   ṣ, ċ, ż, ɻ ~ ś, ć, ź, y variation

JKB	Hz-Ng	Gloss
paċi ~ paći	paċi	'cloth/fabric'
ṣi- ~ śi-	ṣi-	'eat'
żu- ~ źu-	żu-	'come'
ḍoy	ḍoɻ	'right (side)'

d.   Monophthongization

JKB	Kashmiri	Hz-Ng	Urdu	Gloss
avlaːḍ	avlaːḍ	aulaːṭ	aulaːḍ	'offspring(s)'

e.   Medial vowel syncope

Hz-Ng		JKB	Gloss
ma.ku̱.ćim	>	mak.ćim	'(the) middle (one)'
a.mu̱.li	>	am.li	'where'
̱ta.ma̱.śa	>	̱tam.śa	'show/play; (n.)'

While changes such as those in (5-a), (5-b), (5-c), and (5-d) above can be argued to fit in (4)-iii (i.e., more marked to less marked changes), a change such as (5-e) may not, and can very well be argued to be a less marked to more marked change given that more languages tend to possess open syllables than do closed syllables (Note that changes in (5) above have already been discussed in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8).

Similarly, we have seen in the areas of syntax and morphology that various changes have occurred in JKB which may not necessarily be considered more marked to less marked. For instance, the use of double plurals and formation of innovative verb constructions based on an areal pattern in Chapter 7 (Section 7.2 and Section 7.3 respectively), and calquing of different types in Chapters 8.

9.2 PREDICTING THE OUTCOMES OF CONTACT

Many contact studies have emphasized the ways in which predictions on the outcomes of language contact could be made by analyzing the structure of the languages in contact rather than focusing on the attested adaptation patterns. Thus, attempts were made at predicting which entities are more likely to be borrowed than others, or, more strictly, as to "which linguistic entities could or could not be borrowed" (See Heath 1984: 370). According to the well-known "hierarchy of borrowability" constraint, open class content words, such as nouns and adjectives, are more likely to be borrowed than closed class function words, such as pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, and complementizers. Consider Muysken's (1981b) hierarchy of borrowability in (6) as follows:

(6) Muysken's (1981b) "hierarchy of borrowability"

Nouns > adjectives > verbs > prepositions > co-ordinating conjunctions > quantifiers > determiners > free pronouns > clitic pronouns > subordinating conjunctions

Hierarchies like this offer a very good way to make guesses, but they do not always work universally. For example, it has been observed in contact studies that some communities are more likely to borrow nouns, while some others borrow adjectives more often. Data from JKB provides evidence against the qualitative nature of such a hierarchy. While nouns, adjectives, verbs, connectives/coordinating conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions, and even some quantifiers, are very frequently borrowed in JKB, there is no evidence so far, of postpositions being borrowed which are placed way high in Muysken's borrowability hierarchy (except for certain frozen expressions which are inserted as entire phrases from the source language). Commonly borrowed items in JKB are nouns, adjectives, verbs, coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, and adverbials. Of these, nouns and adjectives are more likely to be borrowed than other lexical items. Conjunctions (coordinating as well as subordinating) are more often borrowed than verbs, adverbials, and other categories. Borrowing of verbs involves nominalization – a common areal feature. Based on their frequency of occurrence in the present corpus a tentative borrowability hierarchy in JKB will, therefore, look somewhat like that in (7) as follows:

(7)   A tentative borrowability hierarchy in JKB
        Nouns, adjectives > adverbials > subordinating conjunctions, co-ordinating conjunctions > verbs > quantifiers > pre-/post-positions ……..determiners …..free pronouns … clitic pronouns

The reason why verbs are placed so low in the list is that verbs are not incorporated as such but as nominalized forms to which specific helping verbs are added, thus, forming new compound verbs. A similar borrowing strategy is observed in Kashmiri. As mentioned earlier, most of the lexical borrowings from Urdu in JKB are

shared with Kashmiri. This observation leads us to make the assumption that in relation to lexical borrowing languages tend to follow certain patterns which are typical of the linguistic area to which they belong, but these may not necessarily followed in other linguistic areas. That stated, languages may even deviate from the attested patterns.

9.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

One of the challenging questions with respect to language contact is: how can we determine whether contact-induced change has really occurred? As Thomason (2001) maintains, "establishing the fact of contact-induced change is usually easy" when focused on lexical borrowings, but it can be "much harder, and often impossible", when structural interference is involved (Thomason 2001: 91). Origin of borrowings/loanwords can often be directly determined by comparative studies involving cognates. However, difficulties associated with efforts to determine whether particular structural features are native or results of contact-induced change are much stronger and complicated. Such difficulties are fairly obvious in the present study of language contact where linguistic interference from two different languages (Urdu and Kashmiri) is taking place at the same time and each language is affecting the various sub-systems of the target language differently. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, recognizing the origin of most of the lexical borrowings in JKB is relatively straightforward and can be done by a comparative method, but it is not necessarily an easy task to realize the presence and/or determine the motivation of certain structural changes in progress.

Despite all the difficulties associated with contact studies, several arguments for and against proposals of contact-induced change are seriously weak and have been attacked by scholars and linguists studying language contact. This position is maintained by Thomason (2001). Thus, she argues that "it is not justifiable" to assume that a contact-

induced change can only be successfully argued "if you fail to find any plausible internal motivation for a particular change" (Thomason 2001: 91). Firstly, "a good solid contact explanation is preferable to a weak internal one" (ibid.). Secondly, "the possibility of multiple causation" should not be ruled out (ibid.). Many linguistic changes may have, and often do have, more than one cause, both internal as well as external. Sometimes, multiple-causation could be the best historical explanation as maintained by Thomason (2001: 91). Very often, "an internal motivation combines with an external motivation to produce a change" (ibid.). A stronger proposal for contact-induced structural change looks at the language as a whole and not simply a specific part of it even if only a particular structural feature is the focus. It looks at shared structural features. This is because "no case for contact-induced structural change will be fully convincing without other instances of structural interference from the same source language in the same receiving language".

Based on various studies on language contact and the failure of some claims and constraints put forward regarding borrowability of linguistic features, it may appear that contact-induced change is sometimes unpredictable. However, a comprehensive and wide ranging understanding of the interaction of the many different factors – social as well as linguistic- is a helpful key in drawing a clearer picture of the contact phenomena in a particular context. As we have seen in this study, social factors play a very important role in determining the direction and extent of linguistic interference, and, to a certain degree, also determine the various kinds of linguistic interference. It is mainly the socio-linguistic situation and different competing social factors in relation to the contact languages which result into changes manifested in different ways in the recipient language. The occurrence of a diglossic situation in J & K where Urdu is a high prestige language as compared to Burushaski as well as Kashmiri can explain why certain items are borrowed and others

not. Urdu is the language of literacy achieved through formal education while speakers are illiterate in Burushaski and Kashmiri. Both borrowing strategies as well as code-switching behavior of the multi-lingual Burushos is defined by social attitude and different degrees of prestige associated with the three languages involved in contact. For example, the J & K Burushos heavily borrow vocabulary from the high-prestige Urdu and often code-switch between Urdu and Burushaski as opposed to code-switching between Burushaski and Kashmiri which is less frequent (present nevertheless) while at the same time structural influence from Kashmiri is more pronounced than, say, Urdu structural influence. In formal situations, Urdu is frequently used even among the Burushos, as well as with educated Kashmiri speakers (who are also bilingual in Urdu). Some speakers, especially the older generation males, whose language is highly loaded with Persian and Urdu loans, proscribed the language of younger generation and that of (many) women as "incorrect" language because the latter used more of the so-called "low-prestige" forms.

Appendix: Maps

Map 1 Map of Jammu & Kashmir (including regions controlled by India, Pakistan and China). Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/kashmir_disputed_2003.jpg

Map 2 Map of India showing the location of Srinagar. Source:
http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia05/india_sm05.gif

Map 3 Map of Pakistan showing the location of Gilgit district in the Northern Areas region. Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/cia05/pakistan_sm05.gif
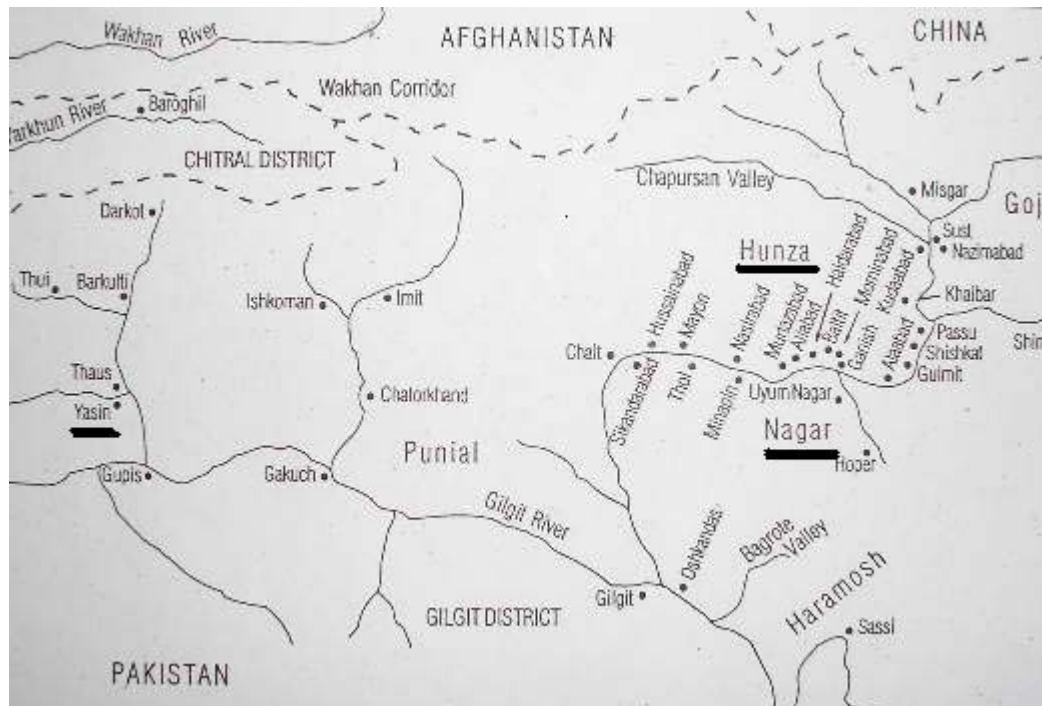
Map 4 Northern Areas (Pakistan) reference map for Gilgit District showing Yasin,
Hunza and Nagar valleys. Source: Backstrom, Peter C and Carla F. Radloff 1992
(underlined by the author).
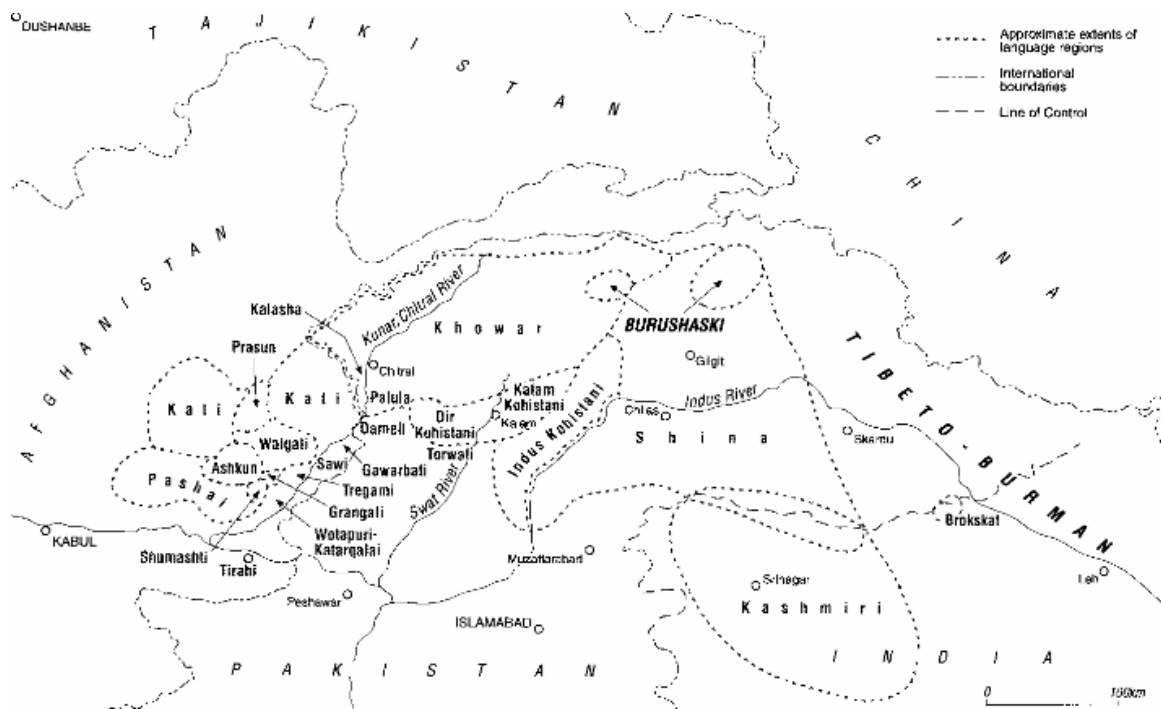
Map 5 Linguistic Map of Northern Areas and parts of Kashmir valley. Source: Cardona, George and Dhanesh Jain (2003: 23).

Symbols and Abbreviations

1/2/3	First/Second/Third Person
'	Diacritic for consonantal palatalization
V~	Nasalized vowel
+/-c	+/- concrete (noun)
+/-h	+/- human (noun)
+/-Perf	+/- Perfective Aspect
Adj.M	Adjective Marker
Adj.Mkr	Adjective Marker
Abs	Absolutive (Case)
BEN	Beneficiary
Cont	Continuous (Aspect)
Dat	Dative (Case)
DM	Discourse Marker
Emph	Emphasis
Erg	Ergative/Agent Case
F	(Human) Female/Feminine
Fut	Future Tense
Gen	Genitive (Case)
Hab	Habitual (Aspect)
Imp(er)	Imperative
Indef	Indefinite Article
Inf	Infinitive
Loc	Locative
M	(Human) Male/Masculine
n	Noun
Neg/NEG	Negation/Negative category
NEG_{Tag}	Tag question froming negative
Neg_{Tag}	Tag question forming negative

OPT	Optative (Mood) = Desirative (Mood)
Past	Past (Tense)
Pl	Plural
PPL	Past Participial
Pres	Present (Tense)
PTCL	Particle
QM	Question Marker
QI	Question Intonation
R.Pro/Rel.Pro	Relative Pronoun
Sg	Singular
v	Verb

Languages

Bur.	Burushaski
E.	English
JKB.	Jammu and Kashmir Burushaski
HB.	Hunza Burushaski
Hz-Ng.	Hunza and Nagar Burushaski
IA.	Indo-Aryan
K.	Kashmiri
NgB	Nagar Burushaski
Sh.	Shina
Ur.	Urdu
YB.	Yasin Burushaski

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