Chapter 44

Burushaski Morphology

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0. Introduction

Burushaski is a language isolate spoken in the Northern Areas region of Pakistan, primarily in communities throughout Hunza, Nagar, and Yasin valleys. There are approximately 50,000–80,000 speakers of Burushaski. The Hunza and Nagar varieties are very similar; both differ in a number of ways from Yasin Burushaski (also known as Werchikwar). In the following sections we discuss Burushaski (henceforth Brsk.) nominal (section 1) and verbal (section 2) morphology, as well as some of the salient dialectal differences distinguishing Yasin Burushaski (YBrsk.) from Hunza Burushaski (HBrsk.)/Nagar Burushaski (NBrsk.) and the Hunza variety from the Nagar variety (section 3).

1. Nominal morphology

1.1. Person and class

The most salient categorization of nouns in Brsk. is the four class or gender agreement groups, consisting of (i) human males (class I, or hm), (ii) human females (class II or hf), (iii) non-human animates and some inanimates (class III or x), and (iv) inanimates/other (class IV or y). Examples include *hir* 'man' (I), *dasín* 'girl' (II), *haɣúr* 'horse' (III) and *ɣaténč* 'sword' (IV). This type of noun-class system is found in various other languages of the world, e.g., Mba (Niger-Kordofanian, esp. Ma, also Zande) or Khinalug (Northeast Caucasian, Daghestanian) (Corbett 1991: 185, 119).[1]

The person (1, 2, 1pl., 2pl.) and class (I, II, III, IV) markers in Burushaski come in four metrical sets, only one of which is unstressed (1). The other three stressed allomorphic sets are distinguished by the grade of the vowel, high/short, mid/short, mid/long (2). Which class of inflections a given stem or stem + affix combination requires must be listed in the lexical entry of the stem.

Note that all four different metrical agreement classes may be found with bound noun stems -*ˈlčin* 'eye' (stressed, type-Ai), -*mé* 'tooth' (unstressed, type-Aii), -*:s* 'heart' (type-B), -*:ški* 'top of head' (type-C) (Berger 1998: 44).

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1. Mba (Niger-Kordofanian) pronouns: I = male human; II = female human; III = animals; IV = inanimates (Corbett 1991: 185). Khinalug agreement classes: I = male rational; II = female rational; III = animates, some inanimates; IV= residue (Corbett 1991: 119).

(1) Person/Class Markers[a]

	Ai	Aii	B	C
1	á-	a-	á-	áa-
2	gú-/-kú-	gu-	gó-/-kó-	góo-/-kóo-
I	í-	i-	é-	ée-
II	mú-	mu-	mó-	móo-
III	í-	i-	é-	ée-
IV.SG/PL	í-	i-	é-	ée-
1PL	mí-	mi-	mé-	mée-
2PL	má-	ma-	má-	máa-
I/II/III.PL	ú-	u-	ó-	óo-

a. Berger 1998: 91.

(2) Pronominal/Class Markers Metrical Sets

Ai	Aii	B	C	
+	–	+	+	stress
+	+	–	–	high
–	–	–	+	long

A large number of different plural suffixes are found in Brsk. (3). Some of these have limited distribution (e.g., *-ǰo. -oŋo*) while others are relatively common but restricted to nouns of a particular class (4). Note that the common plural suffix *-o* causes a palatalization of the preceding stem-final consonant, suggesting it comes from something like **-(y)o* historically.

(3) *tin*   *tin-ǰó*   'bone'
    hal   *hal-ǰó*   'fox'
    ǰíip   *ǰíip-uc*   'jeeps'
    ɣus   *ɣuš-oŋo*   'earthen clumps'
    gus   *guš-iŋanc*   'women' (cf. NBrsk. *gušíanc*)   (Berger 1998: 51–53)

(4) *-tiŋ* (I/II), *-iŋ* (IV)
    ašaáto   *ašaátu-tiŋ*   'weak(ling)'
    daraɣá   *daraɣá-tiŋ*   'canal-guard'   (Berger 1998: 48)

    čonč   *čonč-iŋ*   'summit, peak'
    -ɣarum   *-ɣarum-iŋ*   'part'
              (~ *ɣarim-iŋ*)   (Berger 1998: 54)

    gírkis   *girkič-o*   'rats'
    tʰérkiš   *tʰérkiš-o*   'dirty'
    ɣurkun   *ɣurkuɣ-o*   'frogs' (NB ɣurkuc > ɣurkuč-o)
    daman   *damay-o*   'owners'   (Berger 1998: 49–50)

Some nouns seem to have a lexicalized suffix in the singular, which occupies the same position as the plural marker, with which it alternates (5).

(5) *ɣat-enč*   *ɣat-aŋ*   'swords'
    baki-nč   *baki-eŋ*   'razors'
    təri-š   *təri-aŋ*   'holes'
    síndi-ş   *sínd-áanc*   'geese'
    -uṭis 'foot'   *-úṭi-ŋ*   'feet'   (Berger 1998: 52)

Some Brsk. nouns may show variant plural forms even within the speech of one and the same speaker, with no apparent difference in meaning (6).

(6) *ǰoṭis*   *pʰut-e ǰóṭ-išo ~ pʰut-e ǰóṭ-umuc*   'the children of the phut'
    nana   *nána-caro ~ nán-ku*   'uncles'
    raaǰi   *raaǰi-ku-yo ~ raaǰi-ku-yanc*   'protective spirit'
    (Berger 1998: 46, 50–51)

The variant forms may be between a plural form and doubly-marked plural form (7).

(7) *lili   lili-miŋ~ lili-o-mičiŋ*   'violets'   (Klimov and Edel'man 1970)

The plural article is *-ik*; it follows the plural suffix. The corresponding indefinite article used in the singular is *-an* (8).

(8) *balaš-ū-ik*   *guš-iŋ-enc-ik*
    bird-PL-PL.ART   woman-PL-PL.ART
    'some birds'   'some women'
    (Klimov and Edel'man 1970: 38)   (Klimov and Edel'man 1970: 38)

    baɣərk-išo hir-ik   *harált-iŋ-ik*
    nasty-PL man-PL.ART   rain-PL-PL.ART
    'nasty men'   '(some) rain-showers'
    (Klimov and Edel'man 1970: 45)   (Berger 1998: 43)

    gus-an   *hir-an*   *haɣur-an*   *ɣatenč-an*
    woman-SG.ART   man-SG.ART   horse-SG.ART   sword-SG.ART
    'a woman'   'a man'   'a horse'   'a sword'

Certain adjectives may show plural agreement with nouns in Brsk. (9). With many adjectives, nouns of one class take one plural suffix, while nouns of a different class take another plural suffix (10).

(9) *burúm* 'white' > *-išo* (III.PL)   *-íŋ* (IV.PL)
     qʰu-ş 'empty' > *qʰuá-anc* (III.PL)   *qʰuá-aŋ* (IV.PL)
     (Berger 1998: 47)

(10) *čʰu čʰo-oŋu-miŋ*   'ears (of corn), spikes'
     asqur > asqur-iŋ(-čiŋ)   'flowers'
     kʰané-ŋ-ičiŋ (NBrsk. *kʰané-ŋ-čaŋ*)   'roasted grain/corn'
     (Berger 1998: 43)

1.2. Case marking

One of the salient characteristics of Brsk. is its highly developed system of case. There are several different types of cases in Brsk., roughly, grammatical (motivated structurally, or by verbal argument subcategorization, e.g., ERG, GEN, DAT [< ALL]), local-directional (LOC, INES, SUPERES, ALL[-II], ABL [< AD-ABL], INABL, ILL, SUPERABL, SUPERLAT, ADES, ADES-II, AD-LAT, etc.), two types of instrumentals (the *k*-indstrumental and the *aŋe*-instrumental, the comitative (an original auxiliary noun construction, see also 1.3 below), and various lexicalized or lexically restricted local-directional and instrumental cases. In addition to these, a further range of local case categories can be formed by combining various case elements with so-called relational nouns discussed in section 1.3.

Case forms in Brsk. nouns attach to the oblique stem, which for all classes but class II nouns is identical to the unmarked stem; the oblique stem of class II nouns is identical to the GEN case (11).

(11)

	'man'	'woman'	'horse'	'sword'
NOM/ABS	hir	gus	haɣur	ɣatenč
ERG	hir-e	gus-e	haɣur-e	ɣatenč-e
GEN	hir-e	gus-mu	haɣur-e	ɣatenč-e
OBL.stem	hir-	gusmu-	haɣur-	ɣatenč-
DAT	hir-ar	gusmo-r	haɣur-ar	ɣatenč-ar
ABL	hir-cum	gusmucum	haɣurcum	ɣatenč-cum
class	I	II	III	IV

The ergative case marks the subject (agent) of transitive verbs (12).

(12) a. *hilés-e dasín-mo-r toofá mu-ú-m-i*
   boy-ERG girl-OBL-DAT gift II-give-AP-I
   'the boy gave the gift to the girl'   (Willson 1990: 5)

   b. *ún-e iskí-ulum i-í-ar ǰame-e káa hunc ɣ-u-úm-a*
   you-ERG three-ORD I-son-DAT bow-GEN with arrow I-give-AP-2
   'you gave his third son a bow and arrow'   (Tikkanen 1995: 488)

   c. *girkič-u-we čʰumar-iŋ še-č-iyen sen-aṭe bačik u-man-aš-o tʰam-o*
   rat-PL-ERG iron(-PL) eat-DUR-PL say-SUPERES believer I.PL-AUX.ITR-
       INF-PL king-PL
   'if you tell kings that mice eat iron, they will believe it'
   (Tiffou 1993: 33)

   d. *hilés-e dasín-mo-cum toofá yán-im-i*
   boy-ERG girl-OBL-ABL gift take-AP-I
   'the boy took the gift from the girl'   (Willson 1990: 5)

   e. *dasen-e hir park-ule del-u*
   girl-ERG man park-LOC hit-II
   'the girl hit the man in the park'   (field notes; YBrsk. dialect)

   With the future (and sometimes the present), the nominative/absolutive case of the agent may be found instead of the ergative for some speakers in certain contexts—a so-called tense/aspect-based split-ergative system (cf. 13a vs. 13b–d).

(13) a. *ún-e in mu-cú-č-áa*
   you-ERG s/he II-marry.DUR-2
   'you marry her'
   (Tiffou and Morin 1982: 88)

   b. *un in mu-cú-č-um-a*
   you s/he II-marry.DUR-2
   'you will marry her'
   (Tiffou and Morin 1982: 88)

   c. *un hurú-š-áa*
   you sit.DUR-2
   'you sit'
   (Tiffou and Morin 1982: 88)

   d. *in hurúš-ubó*
   s/he sit.DUR-II
   'she sits'
   (Tiffou and Morin 1982: 88)

   In conjoined sentences with a transitive and an intransitive predicate, the use or lack of the ergative case is dependent on whether the subject belongs structurally to the clause with the transitive verb or not (14).

(14) a. *in(-e) d-í-tal šapík ši-m-i*
   s/he-(ERG) D-I-wake.up bread eat-AP-I
   'having woken up, he ate the bread'   (Tikkanen 1995: 496)

   b. *ǰe ǰímale d-áa-n ún-e káa duró é-č-a-m*
   I tomorrow D-1-CVB you-GEN with work AUX.TR-DUR-1-ST
   'I will come tomorrow and work with you'   (Tikkanen 1995: 507)

   c. *ún-e ǰímale du-kóo-n ǰá-a káa duró é-č-um-a-a*
   you-ERG tomorrow D-2-CVB I-GEN with work AUX.TR-DUR-AP-2-Q
   'Will you come tomorrow and work with me?'
   (Tikkanen 1995: 507)

   d. *in-(e) čái-ulo bayú n-ét-an-in min-íš ay-ée-mai bá-i*
   you-ERG tea-(GEN) inside salt CVB-do-CVB-CVB drink-OPT/SUP
      NEG-I-be.able.DUR AUX-I
   'he can't drink tea with salt'   (Tikkanen 1995: 514)

The genitive case in Brsk. marks possessors (15).

(15) a. *sís-e ú-lči-muc-acum matʰán*
   people-GEN I.PL-eye-PL-ABL far
   'far from the eyes of people'
   (Berger 1998: 75)

   b. *čin-e multan gir-iš*
   sparrow-GEN blood dye-OPT/SUP
   'let it dye like sparrow's blood'
   (Tiffou 1993: 100)

   The dative in Brsk. marks many of the same categories commonly associated with this case in the languages of the world. For example, it marks animate recipients, experiencer subjects of certain types, and sometimes motion towards an object as well (16; but see below).

(16) a. *ǰáa-r madat a-čʰí*
I.OBL-DAT help 1-give
'help me'
(Berger 1998: 69)

b. *ǰáa-r á-š-um-a*
I. OBL-DAT 1-say.DUR-2
'you will tell me'
(Berger 1998: 69)

c. *ǰáa-r áa-r leel bilá*
I-DAT 1-DAT known be.IV
'this is known to me'
(Berger 1998: 69)

d. *mí-ma-r mée-r leél a-pím*
we-OBL-DAT 1PL-DAT known NEG-be.IV
'we didn't know that'
(Berger 1998: 87)

e. *dasin-mo-r han gitaap-an awaaji bila*
girl-OBL-DAT one.IV book-SG.ART need be.IV
'the girl needs a book'   (Wilson 1990: 5)

f. *Húnzu-ar ni-a-m*
Hunza-DAT/ALL go-1-AP
'I went to Hunza'
(Berger 1998: 70)

g. *ǰe d-áa-y-a-m kʰól-ar*
I D-1-come-1-AP here-DAT/ALL
'I came here'
(Berger 1998: 70)

The ablative case marks direction away from (71a–b). It also marks the comparandum (i.e., the item to which comparison is made) in comparative constructions (17c).

(17) a. *čʰiš-cum čʰiš-car hal dél-ǰ-ái*
mountain-ABL mountain-ALL hop AUX-DUR-I
'he hops from mountain to mountain'   (Berger 1998: 75)

b. *sís-e ú-lči-muc-acum matʰán*
people-GEN -PL-ABL far
'far from the eyes of people'   (Berger 1998: 75)

c. *ǰâ hághoor ǰâ á-choo-é hághoor-tsùm hùmalk-ùm-un bi*
I.GEN horse I.GEN 1-brother-GEN horse-ABL swift-ADJ-SG.ART be.III
'my horse is swifter than my brother's horse' (Biddulph 1884: 22)

Note that case forms come after the article suffixes and plural suffixes as well (18).

(18) a. *gus-an-mo*
woman-SG.ART-GEN
'a woman's'   (Klimov and Edel'man 1970: 38)

b. *belis-an-cum*
sheep-SG.ART-ABL
'from a sheep'
(Klimov and Edel'man 1970: 38)

c. *biláš-oo-cum*
witch-PL-ABL
'from the witches'
(Berger 1998: 61)

In addition to the above case forms in Brsk, there is an additional subsystem of case marking that can be called complex local case forms. These consist of three primary directional/locational elements (19), marking locative, ablative, and allative.

(19) *-e* LOC   *-um* ABL   *-ar* ALL   (Berger 1998: 92)

These combine with the following directional elements to form complex local case semantics. The directionals have relatively loose semantics, but the following seem to be typical: *-ul-* 'in-', *-al-* 'ad-', 'near', 'at', *-aṭ-* 'super-', (note also the form *-c-*, the unmarked element found in the ablative *-cum* (< *-c-um*) *-c-e, -c-ar* with adessive and allative semantics). Note the combination *-ul-e* is preserved as such generally only in YBrsk. and lexicalized in adverbs like *kʰole* 'here'; elsewhere it tends to be realized as *-ulo* (20).

(20) a. *men-an-mu-le*
who-SG.ART-II.OBL-ADES
'at whose (fem.) place, near who'
(Berger 1998: 81)

   b. *Burúšaski-lo*
Brsk-INES
'in Brsk.'
(Berger 1998: 73)

Examples of complex local case formations in Brsk. include the following:

(21) a. *kʰóle di-mée-m-an*
here-LOC D-1PL-AP-PL
'we came here'
(Berger 1998: 70)

   b. *Tʰam-alar di-mée-n*
prince-ALL D-1PL-CVB
'after we came to the prince'
(Berger 1998: 74)

   c. *han ǰakun-an dán-an-ce ṭak maí bi*
one donkey-SG.ART rock-SG.ART-LOC tie AUX.ITR-DUR AUX-III
'a donkey is tied to a rock'　(Berger 1998: 74)

   d. *čʰiw-ale huruṭ*
bird-PL-ADES sit
'sit by the birds'
(Berger 1998: 74)

   e. *saa-ce*
sun-SUBES/ADES.B
'in the sun'
(Berger 1998: 74)

   f. *yás-aṭe < yaṭis-aṭe*
head-SUPERES
'on the head'
(Berger 1998: 60)

   g. *gus-mu-ṭe*
woman-II.OBL-SUPERES
'on the woman'
(Berger 1998: 60)

   h. *ǰakun un-ale bi-m*
donkey you-ADES be-III-AP
'the donkey was near you'
(Tiffou 1993: 103)

   i. *e-š-aṭum*
i-neck-SUPERABL
'from on his neck'
(Tiffou 1993: 11)

   j. *dan-ce yam gu-uṭis*
rock-LOC.B strike 2-foot
'that foot of yours which strikes a stone'　(Tiffou 1993: 16)

   k. *cʰá-aṭe oó-ruṭ-as huk*
post-SUPERES NEG-sit-INF dog
'a dog which doesn't sit at its post'　(Tiffou 1993: 16)

The complex local cases probably represent the historical fusing of original relational noun constructions (see below). Other, lexicalized local case forms may also found in modern Brsk, e.g., *-či* 'in(side)' (22).

(22) a. *hála-či*   b. *-ltúmal-či*   c. *-qʰá(t)-čí*
  goal-INES.B   ear-INES.B   mouth-INES.B
  'in the goal'   'in/on the ear'   'in the mouth'
  (Berger 1998: 62)

In addition to the simplex and complex local and grammatical cases, Brsk. has a number of case forms with instrumental semantics. Certain ones of these are restricted to limited subsets of lexemes (23).

(23) a. *uskó yáṭ-umuc-aŋe hin jinzaat-an*
  three head-PL-INSTR.B one.I demon-SG.ART
  'a three-headed demon'   (Berger 1998: 76)

  b. *isé tol . . . matum raŋ-aŋe bi*   c. *day-o-k d-l*
  this.III black color-INSTR.B be.III   stone-PL-INSTR hit
  'this snake is of a dark color'   'pelt with stones'
  (Berger 1998: 76)   (Berger 1998: 61)

  d. *-me-ke gaṭ-*   e. *ǰamé-k d-l*   f. *ǰamé-k-aṭe bišá-*
  tooth-INSTR bite   bow-INSTR hit   bow-INSTR-SUPERES throw
  'bite with teeth'   'shoot with bow'   'shoot with bow'
  (Berger 1998: 61)   (Berger 1998: 61)   (Berger 1998: 61)

  Note also *ǰamé-eṭe* 'with a bow' (Berger 1998: 60)

Note that various local cases can function as instrumentals of some type with certain nominals, e.g., *-ce* or *-aṭe* (24).

(24) a. *má-ma-ce ǰe ǰap a-yá-may-am*
  y'all-RDPL-INSTR.C I leave NEG-1-AUX.ITR.DUR-1-AP
  'I won't leave (it) with you'   (Berger 1998: 75)

  b. *čʰap-ce ḍáuḍo*
  meat-INSTR.C stew
  'stew with meat'   (Berger 1998: 75)

  c. *ɣatenč-aṭe yaṭis čarap é-e-č-i*
  sword-INSTR.D head cut.off III-AFF-AUX.TR-DUR-I
  'he will cut its (cat's) head off with a sword'   (Berger 1998: 72)

  d. *hin-mu-ce Gulzaazí parí (mu-ík) bil-úm*
  one-II.OBL-INSTR.B G fairy (II-name) be.IV-AP
  'one was (named) Fairy Gulzaazi'   (Berger 1998: 75)

The productive comitative-instrumental pattern is with a quasi-case or a relational noun construction in *-e kaa* (lit., -GEN 'with') (25).

(25) a. *ǰe ǰímale d-áa-n ún-e káa duró é-č-a-m*
  I tomorrow D-1-CVB you-GEN with work AUX.TR-DUR-1-ST
  'I will come tomorrow and work with you'   (Tikkanen 1995: 507)

b. *ún-e ǰímale du-kóo-n ǰá-a káa duró é-č-um-a-a*
  you-ERG tomorrow D-2-CVB I-GEN with work AUX.TR-DUR-AP-2-Q
  'Will you come tomorrow and work with me?'
  (Tikkanen 1995: 507)

1.3. Relational nouns

Like many languages of Inner Asia (e.g., Turkic, Mongol), Brsk. makes use of a complex system of *relational* nouns. These perform the same kind of function that local-directional postpositions do, but are of a formally different type. These are nouns that either appear in a bound form, or appear in an *izafet* construction, with the preceding noun in the genitive case. The relational nouns themselves may take primary local case endings to mark complex case semantics (26).

(26) *-yá(a)r(e)* 'in front of' *-yakal* 'in direction of' *-yánči* 'against'
  -yóon 'over' *-číaṭe/-ar* 'behind, after' (Berger 1998: 97)

a. *šen gu-lǰi waši-a ke tiliaŋ-ar ɣašap e-č-i*
  Shina 2-behind throw-DUR-2 if saddle-DAT steal AUX.TR-DUR-I
  'if you put a Shina behind you (on a horse), he'll steal the saddle'
  (Tiffou 1993: 72)

b. *hiŋ-e ulo² ke sam-e hole*
  door-GEN inside and smoke.hole-GEN outside-LOC
  'in through the door, out through the smoke-hole'
  (Tiffou 1993: 47)

As mentioned above, the complex local cases often have clear connections with an auxiliary noun still active in the language; for example the superessive series of case forms (27).

(27) *yaṭ-e* 'above' cf. *-aṭe* SUPERES
  yaṭ-um 'from above, over-' cf. *-aṭum* SUPERABL 'super-'
  yaṭ-ar 'to above' cf. *-aṭar* SUPERALL
  yaṭ 'over, above'
  (Berger 1998: 92)

(dal)	*dal-um*	*dálar*	'up'
hol-e	*hol-um*	*(hol ne, hole)*	'out'
kaaṭ-e	*kaaṭ-um*	*kaaṭ-ar*	'together, with'
úl-o	*úl-um*	*(úlo)*	'inside'
(yáar)	*yár-um*	*yar-ar* (=NBsk.)	'before, earlier' (*yar ne* = HBrsk.)
(ílǰi)	*ílǰ-um*	*ílǰi-n-ar*	'behind, after'
(qʰa[ṭ])	*qʰaṭ-um*	*qʰaṭ-ar*	'under' (Berger 1998: 93)

a-yaáre qʰurk čʰooṭ a-ye
1-before-LOC straw piling.up NEG-AUX.TR
'don't pile up straw in front of me'   (Tiffou 1993: 82)

2. It is quite likely that the locative relational noun construction in this form *-e ulo* is the historical antecedent of the locative case forms in YBrsk. and H/NBrsk.

1.4. Nominal derivation

While Brsk. lacks the rich derivational machinery characteristic of many Inner Asian languages (e.g., Turkic or Mongol), it nevertheless has several productive derivational affixes, as well as numerous lexical items and alternate forms which suggest that a number of such affixes were formerly used in the language, at one point perhaps productively.

One lexicalized derivational process that was possibly active formerly in Brsk. is an alternation between the presence and lack of class marking as in the pairs in (28). The original semantics of such a process remain unclear.

(28) a. *baṭ*   *-wáṭ*   cf. NBrsk. *baṭ ~ -waṭ*
'skin'   'body, person'   'skin'

b. *baṭoó*   *-pʰáṭ*
'gizzard, stomach of birds'   'bird innards'

c. *buúri*   *-úri*
'summit, peak'   'summit, peak'; 'fingernail'

d. *gus*   *-us*
'woman'   'wife'   (Berger 1998: 45)

Like most languages of South Asia (and Inner Asia), Brsk. utilizes a system of expressive reduplication to create forms meaning 'X and the like', 'X and such' (29). This type of expressive formation may even be found with nominal forms of verbs. This usually consists of a copy of the word with a change to its initial sound, frequently replacing it with *m-* (29).[3]

(29) a. *cʰilmíl*
water-*m*-VC.RDPL
'water and such'
(Berger 1998: 224)

b. *čʰarmár*
mountain-*m*- VC.RDPL
'mountains and the like'
(Berger 1998: 224)

c. *tinǰo-minǰo*
bone-PL-*m*-VCCV.RDPL
'bones and such'
(Berger 1998: 224)

d. *gúsan-músan*
woman-SG.ART-*m*-VCVC.RDPL
'such and such a woman'
(Berger 1998: 224)

e. *hilésan-milésan*
boy-sg.art-*m*-VCVCVC.RDPL
'such and such a boy'
(Berger 1998: 224)

f. *dasín-masínan*
girl-*m*-VCVC.RDPL-SG.ART
'such and such a girl'
(Berger 1998: 224)

g. *nésqaan-mésqaan*
CVB-I-kill-*m*-VCCVVC.RDPL
'after he was killed'
(Berger 1998: 224)

h. *dukóon-mukóon*
D-2-CVB-*m*-VCVVC.RDPL
'after you came'
(Berger 1998: 224)

3. Sometimes other initial consonants are encountered in these expressive formations with certain lexemes and more extensive restructurings are found, e.g., *okši-rakši, šalda-qulda* (Berger 1998: 224).

i. *mamú-šamu*
milk-*š*-VCV.RDPL
'milk and such'
(Berger 1998: 224)

j. *máari-čaari*
tribute-*č*-VVCV.RDPL
'tribute and the like'
(Berger 1998: 224)

k. *kabáapan étimi, ékin-mékinan nušeninin*
kabap-SG.ART do-AP-I liver-*m*-RDPL-SG.ART CVB-eat-CVB-CVB-CVB
'he made kabab(s), having eaten the liver (of the mountain goat)'
(Berger 1998: 223)

Other expressive reduplications may be encountered in spontaneous discourse and narratives (30).

(30) a. *cʰóraa cʰor*
long.ago-*aa*-long.ago
'long, long ago'
(Berger 1998: 224)

b. *dálaa dal*
high-*aa*-high
'higher and higher'
(Berger 1998: 224)

c. *bírbir*
full-RDPL
'full to the brim'
(Berger 1998: 223)

A relatively restricted means of forming new nominals in Brsk. is through the use of compounding. In some instances, both elements of the compound are transparent, just their particular combination lexicalized (31a–b). In others, the first element is unknown (31c–d).

(31) a. *tik biranč*
'strawberry'
(earth mulberry)
(Berger 1998: 219)

b. *harált čʰin*
'small bird species'
(rain bird)
(Berger 1998: 219)

c. *báldan*
'whetstone'
(?? stone)
(Berger 1998: 221)

d. *báitin*
'collarbone'
(?? bone)
(Berger 1998: 221)

One of the most common elements used to form new modifiers are the suffixes -*um* and -*mo*. In some forms, these are in free variation (32a), while in others, only one form may occur (32b–c). These attach to adverbs and nouns in various forms to create adjectives. The suffix -*um* is particularly common with the INES case, i.e., -*ul-um* (which contrasts in meaning with the homophonous INABL [32d–e]). Finally, new adverbial forms can be created from derived forms in -*mo* (32f–i).

(32) a. *cʰor-mo ~ cʰor-um*
long.ago-ADJ
'early'   (Berger 1998: 207)

b. *yár-mu-cum*
before-ADJ-ABL
'from early on'
(Berger 1998: 207)

c. *awál-mu-cum*
beginning-ADJ-ABL
'from the beginning'
(Berger 1998: 207)

 d. *cʰil tar-iŋ-ulum du-úši-lá*
  water tube/pipe(-PL)-INABL D-come.out-DUR-(AUX)-IV
  'the water is coming out of the tube/pipe'   (Berger 1998: 208)

 e. *tar-iŋ-ul-um cʰil*
  tube/pipe(-PL)-INES-ADJ water
  'the water in the tube/pipe'   (Berger 1998: 208)

 f. *kʰúultu-mo < kʰúulto* g. *doγpa-mo*
  'today('s)'   '(located on the) right side'
  (Berger 1998: 207)   (Berger 1998: 95)

 h. *bái-mo*   i. *hísan-mo*
  'winter(y)'   'after one month'
  (Berger 1998: 207)   (Berger 1998: 207)

A variety of other nominal formants may be found in various Brsk. lex-
emes. Some of these form nouns of a particular class (e.g., I/II or IV) (33).

(33) a. *-kuš* deA N or deN N
  i-wár-um-kuš *bár-či-kuš* *-ír-as-kuš*
  'his tiredness' 'obedience' 'death'
  (Berger 1998: 203–4)

 b. *-ki*
  -:pi-ki *tʰoš-(i)ki* *ǰu-ki* *har-ki*
  'ancestral' 'new, fresh' 'chain-' 'plough'

  haláal-iki *qʰačiki*
  'allowed food' 'opening' < mouth-LOC.2-NF
  (Berger 1998: 205)

 c. *-(i/a)ski* '(lg.) of X', 'like X'
  Buruš-aski *Guíski/Guyúski* *hir-íski* *guš-íski*
  'Brsk. language' 'Wakhi language' 'man('s)-' 'woman('s)-'

  ǰame-k-iski *šéen-iski* *mi-š-aski*
  'w/ a bow-' 'Shina language' 'our language = Brsk.'
  (Berger 1998: 205)   (Tiffou 1993: 1)

 d. *-c*
  Balóo-c *Guíc* *Tarcé-c*
  'Balti' 'Wakhi' 'Afghani person'

 e. *-kuin/ -gúin* (PL *-kuyo/-gúyo*) (class I only)
  haγúr-kuin *naṭ-úskuin*
  'horseman' 'dancer'   (Berger 1998: 205–8)

 f. *-kus*
  bái ~ bái-kus
  'winter'

g. *-kuc*

    Nagér-kuc   *Nazarali-kuc*   *Hunzu-kuc*

    'one from Nager'   'descendant of N. A.' 'one from Hunuzu'

h. *kʰuṭ-kus*   *dén-kus*

    'small field'   '-year old'   (Berger 1998: 206)

Other formants create adjectives (34) or adverbials (35).

(34) a. *-kiš* deN A

    bar-iŋ-kiš   *qʰurc-kiš*

    'talkative'   'dusty'

    (Berger 1998: 204)

b. *-kum, -iskum*

    úṭ-kum   *húk-iskum*   *yáar-kum*   *-ʾljiskum*

    'camel-' (adj.) 'dog-'   'from under' 'from behind'

    (Berger 1998: 206)

(35) a. *daal-qiš*   *yaar-qiš*   *ilǰa-qiš*

    'upwards'   'forwards'   'backwards'   (Berger 1998: 94)

b. *hol ne / holpa* *qʰaṭpa*   c. *hol-ele*   *qʰaṭ-éle*

    'outwards'   'downwards'   'out there' 'under there'

    (Berger 1998: 94–95)   (Berger 1998: 94)

d. *gán-tali*   *tʰáp-tali*   e. *datú-ko*[4]   *datú-ki-mo* *datú-mo*

    'on the road' 'at night'   'fall-'   'fall-'   'fall-'

    (Berger 1998: 95)   (Berger 1998: 207)

Various lexicalized affixes are found in certain common nouns, e.g., *-us, -is,* etc. (36).

(36) *daɣanus*   *ɣusanus*   *yaṭ-is* *-úṭ-is* *ɣaríp-is*

    'pig'   'snake'   'head' 'foot' 'poor devil'

    (cf. *daɣanum* 'fat') (cf. *ɣusanum* 'long')   (Berger 1998: 77)

Loaned affixes, particularly from Urdu, Shina, Khowar, or even Turkic are found in a restricted set of lexemes.

(37) a. *ḍaámal-či* (< Turkic) *ḍaḍaŋ-či*

    'kettle-drummer'   'big-drummer'   (Berger 1998: 209)

b. *burúm-o* (< Shina) *háhak-o*   *bušo*

    'albino'   'stutterer' 'cat-eyed' (Berger 1998: 209)

c. *bót-o bót-i* (< Urdu) *šugúl-o/-i*

    'really ugly'   'friend' (Berger 1998: 210)

Other formants are found in various Brsk. lexemes as well, e.g., *-ei* or *-aar*: *šugúl-éi* 'friendship', *garum-éi* 'warmth'; *ɣames-aár* 'wealth, riches' (Berger 1998: 211).

    4. Note also *Giɣa-ko* 'Kashmir'.

Note that for certain pronominals there are actually two different oblique stems in Brsk., one used with the dative and the comitative/instrumental forms, the other with the ergative, inessive/adessive, and ablative cases. The declension of the pronouns is as follows:

(38)

	1	2	1PL	2PL
ABS	ǰe	un/uŋ (NBrsk. *um*)	mi	ma
ERG/GEN	ǰa-a	un-e	mí-i (~ mé-e)	má-ma
LOC	ǰaa-le	mí-ma-le	má-ma-le	
ABL[a]	ǰaa-cum	mí-ma-cum	má-ma-cum	

	1	2	1PL	2PL
COM/INS	áa=káa	góo=káa	míi=kaa	máa=kaa
DAT	áar	góor	méer	máar

(39)

	I/III(IV)	II	I/II/III.PL
ABS	in(e)	in(e)	ué
ERG	in-é	in-é	u-é
GEN	iné-e	inémo	ué-e
ABL	ine-cum	ine-mu-cum	ue-cum

	I/III(IV)	II	I/II/III.PL
COM/INS	ée=káa	móo=káa	óo=káa
DAT	éer	móor	óor

(Berger 1998: 79–80)

a. Note Aliabad Hunza *míi-cum, -máacum*.

Proximal and distal demonstrative show forms for all four noun classes in both the singular and the plural (40).

(40)   Proximal demonstrative

	I	II	III	IV	I.PL	II.PL	III.PL	IV.PL
ABS[a]	*kʰin(é)*	*kʰin(é)*	*gusé*	*guté*	*kʰu(e)*	*kʰu(e)*	*guce*	*guke*
GEN	*kʰin-e*	*kʰine-mo*	*kʰu-e*	*kʰu-e*				

Distal demonstrative

	I	II	III	IV	I.PL	II.PL	III.PL	IV.PL
ABS	*in(é)*	*in(é)*	*isé, es*	*ité, et*	*u(e)*	*u(e)*	*ice, ec*	*ike, ek*
GEN	*in-e*	*ine-mo*			*u-e*	*u-e*		

e.g.,   *kʰin hin ǰaa o-os b-o*   *ǰa kʰine e-ei*
        this.II one.II I.GEN 1-wife be-II   I-GEN this.I 1-son
        'this one is my wife'   'this son of mine'
                                          (Klimov and Edel'man 1970: 52)

a. NBrsk. has *kʰos(é), kʰot(é), kʰóc(e), kʰok(e)* variants for the proximal absolutive forms.

Adjectives in Brsk. may show number agreement (41a). As mentioned above (1.2), in comparative constructions the comparandum (i.e., the item to which comparison is made) is in the ablative case (41b). A superlative form can be formed by a use of the adjective preceded by *uyoncum*, the ABL

of the pronoun 'all' (41c). Full reduplication may also be found to express an augmentative degree (41d).

(41) a. *ǰot-išo čiṣ-ko*
       small-PL mountain-PL
       'small hills, mountains'
       (Klimov and Edel'man 1970: 44)

    b. *uŋ-cum ǰe kam a-p-a*
       you-ABL I small NEG-be-1
       'I am not smaller/less than you'

    c. *uyon-cum šua haɣur*
       all-ABL good horse
       'the best horse (of all)'
       (Klimov and Edel'man 1970: 46)

    d. *mariŋ mariŋ*
       REDPL beautiful
       'very beautiful'

2. Verbal morphology

There are two basic aspectual series (or *screeves*[5]) of finite indicative verbal forms in Brsk, the past/perfective and non-past/durative. Each of these screeves consists of a set of tense forms, both of which consist of simplex forms and forms consisting of a lexical verb in combination with an auxiliary verb.

The maximal template of the Brsk. simplex verb is given by Tikkanen (1995: 91) as follow:

NEG-D-PERSON-CAUS-√-PL.SUBJ-DUR-1SG.SUBJ-ST-OPT/COND/AUX-SUBJ.SFX-Q

A stem (√) is optionally preceded by at most four prefixes, the negative (position-class −4), the mostly lexicalized prefix or preverb *d-* (−3), various pronominal subject/object markers (−2), and the causative/benefactive (−1). The stem (0) is followed by: the optional plural/distributed action marker (+1); the durative/non-past marker (+2); the first singular subject marker (+3); the aorist participle form, the infinitive, the optative, conditional, (+4); followed by subject suffixes (also the imperative markers and fused auxiliary forms) (+5); and finally, the interrogative (+6).[6] A relatively expanded form of this template represented in a single word may be seen in (42). Note that positions +3 and +5 are mutually exclusive and hence all the slots cannot be filled in a single word.

(42) *a-tí-mi-s-man-u-w-á-i-a*
       NEG-D-1PL-CAUS-become-AP-CNCTV-AUX-I-Q
       (−4–3–2–1-0+4a+5[=0]+5+6)
       'Has he not given birth to us?'
       (Tikkanen 1995: 491)

    a-tú-ku-man-um-a
       NEG-D-2-be.born-AP-2
       (−4–3–2–4-0+4+5)
       'you weren't born'
       (Berger 1998: 91)

5. The term *screeve*—borrowed from the Georgian linguistic tradition (cf. Aronson 1982)—is used to describe sets of related tense-aspect sets. As Brsk. indicative finite verb forms seem to fall into two basic sets of forms, the term seems appropriate in this context.

6. Berger (1998: 103) gives the following template:

−4	−3	−2	−1	0	1	2	3	4		5

NEG-D//ABS-P//C-s.CAUS-√-ya.PL.ACT.-NPST-V/a.1-m.PRTCPL//n.ABS//(á)as.INF//ṣ̌.NOM/MOD//áa.OPT-P//IMP//AUX

2.1. *Negative*

The negative occupies position −4 in the Brsk. verb template, that is, the outermost prefixal position (43). The negative is marked either by the prefix *a-* (HBrsk., YBrsk.) or the pro-clitic *óo=* (NBrsk.). The prefix causes devoicing (and deaspiration) of a following voiced (or aspirated) obstruent, and a stress shift to the syllable immediately following the negative prefix, while the clitic does not trigger these.

(43) a. *oó-minimi*
  NEG-drink-AP-I
  'he didn't drink (it)'
  (Berger 1998: 106)

  b. *oó-man-um-an*
  NEG.PL-become-AP-PL
  'they didn't become'
  (Berger 1998: 106)

  c. *a-túru-m-i*   vs.
  NEG-work-AP-I
  'he didn't work'
  (Berger 1998: 105)

  d. *duróo-m-i*
  work-AP-I
  'he worked'
  (Berger 1998: 105)

  e. *a-mí-kač-ič-a-i*   vs.
  NEG-1PL-enclose-DUR-AUX-I
  'he doesn't enclose us'
  (Berger 1998: 105)

  f. *mi-kʰáč-ič-a-i*
  1PL-enclose-DUR-AUX-I
  'he encloses us'
  (Berger 1998: 105)

  g. *a-tu-ququ-m-i*   vs.
  NEG-D-be.confused-AP-I
  'he was not confused'
  (Berger 1998: 105)

  h. *du-qʰóqu-m-i*
  D-be.confused-AP-I
  'he was confused'
  (Berger 1998: 105)

  i. *a-kírat < girát*
  NEG-dance
  'not dance'
  (Berger 1998: 106)

  j. *a-pál-im-i < balími*
  NEG-fall-AP-I
  'he didn't fall'
  (Berger 1998: 106)

  k. *a-čú-č̣-á-i < j̣učái*
  NEG-come-DUR-AUX-I
  'he isn't coming'
  (Berger 1998: 106)

  l. *a-kʰén < hén*
  NEG-know
  'not know'
  (Berger 1998: 106)

With a few stems, the negative effects a loss of an initial *h-* with a consequent vowel coalesence (44).

(44) *huruṭ → oóruṭ   hulj̣a → oólj̣a   her → óoar*   cf.   *hí → oóhi*
  (Berger 1998: 107)

2.2. *The D-prefix*

One of the noteworthy complexities of Brsk. morphology is the prefix *d-*, which appears with an epenthetic, harmonically conditioned vowel. The D-prefix or preverb is a lexicalized, often discontinuous, part of the stem's lexical entry. It occupies position −3 in the Brsk. verb template. In a small number of cases, there are minimal pairs of verbs, one of which either lacks the D-prefix while the other has it or has a non-alternating prefix without person or class markers, while the other has an alternating prefix and per-

son/class markers. The semantics of the D-prefix in these pairs range from a clear cislocative meaning, to vaguely (de-)transitivizing functions, to actor/subject focus (Bashir 1985), to various indiosyncratic, sometimes opaque semantic nuances. Verbs with the D-prefix can be both transitive and intransitive (45).

(45) a. *di-yaraẏ*   *d-´ẏuraẏ*   *d-:s-karaẏ*
        'be hot'   'make hot'   'heat'   (Berger 1998: 107)

   b. *-·r > d-·r*
        'send', 'send here'   (Berger 1998: 110)

   c. *-·squl*   *d-·squl*
        'roast'   'roast (veggies, onions)'   (Berger 1998: 110)

   d. *di-s-íl (~ di-íl)*   *du-s-úlǰa (~ d-úlǰa)*
        'become wet'   'satisfy, sate'   (Berger 1998: 109)

Note also the following sets of transitive forms that have a lexicalized D-prefix, but which preserve a semi-grammatical distribution of class markers with respect to the number of the object (46).[7]

(46) a. *dél*   *dól*   b. *dit-th-uss*   *doot-th-uss*
        'hit.sg'   'hit.pl'   'to bring.sg'   'to bring.pl'
        = *d-é-l*   = *d-ó-l*   (-*uss* = INF)
        (Berger 1998: 108)   (Biddulph 1884: 18)

   c. *dinser-uss*   *doonser-us*
        'to open.sg'   'to open.pl'   (Biddulph 1884: 18)

The verb 'come' has a large number of forms that consist of a zero-stem allomorph with a D-prefix (47).

(47) *Past*   *Negative Past*

	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	dáayam	diméeman	atáayam	atímiman
2	dukóoma	damáaman	atúkuma	atúmaman
I	díimi	dúuman	atíimi	atúuman
II	dumóomo	dúuman	atúmumo	atúuman
III	díimi	dúumie(n); dúumio	atíimi	atúumie(n)
IV	díimi	díimi	atíimi	atíimi

(Berger 1998: 149)

7. This internal marking is only partly lexicalized. It is found only with class I/III (and perhaps IV) and plural as well. With 1/2 or class II objects, the singular form is found to which the person/class prefixes are attached. In other words, the order is normal for class I/III and plural (*d-e-l* and *d-o-l*, respectively) with root -*l* in position 0, the agreement marker in position –2 and the D-prefix in position –3. However, with other objects (II, 1, 2), the entire sequence *del* is treated as the stem in position 0 to which the agreement prefixes attach in position –2. Thus, we find *mu-del* (II-hit), *gu-del* (2-hit) not **du-mu-l* or **du-ku-l*, etc., as might be expected based on such forms as *du-ku-man-um-a* 'you were born' or *du-mu-man-um-o* 'she was born'. Therefore, these types of verbs form a separate subset of partly internally and partly externally marked stems.

Perfect

	SG	PL
1	dáaya báa	dimée báan
2	dukóowáa	damáa báan
I	díi bái	dúuwáan
II	dumóo bo	dúuwáan
III	díi bi	dúu bié(n); dúu bío (NBrsk.)
IV	díi bilá	díi bicá(n)

(Berger 1998: 151)

As alluded to above, the D-prefix triggers devoicing of a following ob-
struent (48).

(48)   *du-kóo-n*
       D-2-CVB
       'you having come'   (Berger 1998: 134)

The N-prefix form of the converb (as in *n(u)-del-in*; see 2.10 below) oc-
cupies the same position on the verb template as the D-prefix, so these are
mutually exclusive, e.g., *du-kóo-n* (D-2-CVB) 'you having come' (Berger
1998: 134), not **nu-du-kóo-n* or **du-nu-kóo-n*

2.3. Referent categories (person, number, and class)

In position –2 of the Brsk. verb template, appears person/number/class
prefixes (49). These are the same prefixes as are used with nouns (see 1.1
above; see also 2.14 below).

(49)

	Ai	Aii	B	C
1	á-	a-	á-	áa-
2	gú-/-kú-	gu-	gó-/-kó-	góo-/-kóo-
I	í-	i-	é-	ée-
II	mú-	mu-	mó-	móo-
III	í-	i-	é-	ée-
IV.SG/PL	í-	i-	é-	ée-
1PL	mí-	mi-	mé-	mée-
2PL	má-	ma-	má-	máa-
I/II/III.PL	ú-	u-	ó-	óo-

(Berger 1998: 90)

Position class –2 prefixes mark the person/number/class categories of a
verbal actant, argument, or referent high in discourse salience, including
agents, patients, subjects, objects, possessors, causees, and beneficiaries
(Anderson and Eggert 2001; cf. Anderson 1997b). For transitive verbs, the
prefixes generally index the object (direct, indirect/primary, or even bene-
ficiary/causee, depending on the particular stem). Subject marking is found
with various intransitive verbs (see below), as well as some experiencer sub-
jects of semantically transitive verbs like 'hear', and optionally under the
conditions of subject-affective agreement (Bashir 1985). Note that one and
the same verb stem may show more than one type of agreement pattern

with regard to the element indexed by the person/number/class prefixes, e.g., both "subject-affective" and "object-affective" agreement; see (50f–g). Also, class IV nouns do not show prefixal agreement.

(50) a. *hilés-e dasín mu-yeéc-im-i*
boy-ERG girl II-see-AP-I
'the boy saw the girl'
(Willson 1990: 4)

    b. *mo ǰa a-pʰús-u*
she I 1-tie.up-II
'she tied me up'
(Berger 1974: 49)

    c. *ǰaa u dáfa ó-t-a-m*
I.ERG they drive.out PL-AUX.TR-1-AP
'I drove them out'   (Willson 1990: 46)

    d. *hilés-e dasín taswíir móo-ltir-im-i*
boy-ERG girl picture II-show-AP-I
'the boy showed the girl the picture'   (Willson 1990: 6)

    e. *qʰus goo-č-ila*
cough 2-AUX.TR-IV
'you have a cough, are coughing'   (Bashir 1985: 17)

    f. *til   áa-la   bá-ya-m*
forget.. 1-..forget AUX-1-AP
'I forgot'   (Berger 1998: 121)

    g. *áa-lǰi du-kóo-şqəlč-um-a*
1-behind D-2-overtake.DUR-AP-2
'you will overtake me'   (Bashir 1985: 15)

    h. *d-ée-şqʌl-car ʌsiír mʌn-um-o*
D-I-overtake-ALL.2 near AUX.INTR-AP-II
'she came near to overtaking him'   (Bashir 1985: 15)

    i. *baldá pus-ím-i*
load tie.up-AP-I
'he tied up the load'
(Berger 1998: 118)

    j. *hir i-pʰús-im-i*
man I-tie.up-AP-I
'he tied up the man'

A range of Brsk. verb stems obligatorily double-mark the person/class of the subject through the use of the class-marker prefixes and the subject suffixes (51). According to Tikkanen (1995: 492), some volitional and most non-volitional (non-active) intransitive verbs show this pattern, e.g., *man* 'become, (volitional)' *-mán* '(non-volitional)'. As with the forms in (50h–j) above, class IV nouns do not trigger prefixal agreement. The doubly marked subject construction occurs when the subject is not in "control" of the action described by the verb. The inanimate (or inactive) class IV nouns are canonically never in "control" of the action, and thus this lack of double-marking is to be expected (52).[8]

8. That class III inanimates trigger this double-marking suggests that the distribution is now grammatical or morpholexical rather than semantic in nature in present-day Brsk.

(51) a. *ɣurc-ím-i*   b. *i-ɣúrc-im-i*
  sink-AP-I   I-sink-AP-I
  'he dove under'   'he sank'

  c. *ha ɣulú-m-i*   d. *hun i-ɣúl-im-i*
   house burn-AP-IV   wood III-burn-AP-III
   'the house burned'   'the wood burned'
   (Berger 1998: 118)

(52)[9] *dasín háa-le huruṭ-um-o* vs. *dasín háa-le mó-yen-um-o*
  girl house-ADES sit-II   girl house-ADES II-sleep-AP-II
  'the girl sat in the house' 'the girl slept in the house'
  (Willson 1990: 4)   (Willson 1990: 4)

Double-marking of subject is also obligatory in most verb forms marked with auxiliary verbs in Brsk, at least with personal (1/2 ±pl.) or class II subjects (53).[10]

(53) a. *dasín redyo du-mó-yel-umo* b. *dasín háa-le mó-yen-um-o*
  girl radio D-II-hear-II   girl house-ADES II-sleep-PAST-II
  'the girl heard the radio'   'the girl slept in the house'
  (Wilson 1990: 5)   (Wilson 1990: 4)

  c. *haa-la giç-um ɣaré-ya nu-mú-del mó-sqan-u*
   house-ALL enter.DUR-AP as.soon.as GER-II-SG.hit II-kill-II
   'as soon as (she) came into the house, she struck her dead'
   (Berger 1974: 116)

As alluded to above, Brsk. speakers also use possessor-raising constructions (Anderson 1995, 1997), where the person of a possessor of a bound noun is marked as the verb's argument, rather than the logical semantic argument itself. With transitive verbs, these additionally require the causative/benefactive/affective marker, or at least take series-C inflections, the series used with **-a-* causative stems (54).

(54) a. *ǰâ ai-yetis á-khol-j-ibi*
  I-GEN 1-head 1-ache-.DUR-IV
  'my head aches' (Biddulph 1884: 4)

  b. *kʰakʰáay-umuc pʰaš mée-t-aa*
   walnut-PL gobble.up 1PL-AUX-2
   'you gobbled up our walnuts' (Berger 1998: 162)

  9. The nature of inflection in Brsk. auxiliary verb constructions follows several complicated patterns, some of which have been synchronically univerbated into massive, multiply marked complexes. For more on doubled and split marking in Brsk. auxiliary verb constructions and typologically related phenomena, see Anderson 2006.
  10. A small number of stems show unusual stem allomorphy in the prefixed (person/class-marked) forms, e.g., *huruṭ* > *-:uruṭ; hákin* 'learn' > *-:ikin* (NBrsk. *-ikʰin*) (Berger 1998: 115).

   c. *gu-yetis nu-koo-skərc*
       2-head CV-2-cut
       'cutting off your head'   (Lorimer 1935: 231; Anderson 1995: 7)

   d. *hiles-e dasin-mo mo-miş moo-skarc-im-i*
       boy-ERG girl-GEN II-finger II-cut-AP-I
       'the boy cut off the girl's finger'   (Wilson 1990: 8)

2.4. Causative/benefactive/affective

Related to the phenomenon immediately above, position −1 in the Brsk. verbal template is occupied by the causative/benefactive/affective (or "applicative") affix. This comes in several different allomorphs, primarily *-as-*, *-s-*, *-a-*, and -: (lengthening of the preceding vowel). This is found in a variety of derived transitive stems, marking causee, beneficiary, affected possessor of the logical object (or less commonly subject), etc.

(55) a. *a-yó-o-č-i*   b. *ǰaa in é-s-kʰar-a-m*
       NEG-PL-CAUS-do.DUR-I   I.ERG s/he I-CAUS-late-1-AP
       'he will not make them do (it)'   'I made him late'
       (Wilson 1990: 34)

      c. *hiles-e dasin-mo mo-miş moo-skarc-im-i*
         boy-ERG girl-GEN II-finger II-cut-AP-I
         'the boy cut off the girl's finger'   (Wilson 1990: 5)

(56) *é-e-guškin-im-i*   *é-guškin-im-i*   *gušúgin-im-i*
     I-CAUS-provoke-AP-I   I-pronoke-AP-I   deliberate-AP-I
     'he made him provoke/   'he instigated, provoked' 'he deliberated'
       instigate'
     (Berger 1998: 116)

According to Bashir (1985: 9), the *a*-causative is used with active transitives to form transitive-causative and transitive-benefactive stems. With intransitve stems, all the *s*-causative forms in Brsk. isolated from Lorimer's lexical materials are used with verbs belonging to the "non-active" class (non-controlled motion, statives, inchoatives, etc.). Thus causative stems appear to make reference to an "active" or "non-active" categorization of the verbal semantics, and this parameter determines the selection of the two causative morphemes in HBrsk., unlike in YBrsk., where the crucial criterion governing the selection of one causative morpheme over the other, according to Berger (1974: 29), is the presence or absence of a *d-* prefix (with a few lexical exceptions).[11]

2.5. Verb stem

The verb stem occupies position class 0 in the verb template. It may be a bare root, or may be morphologically complex. The range of affixes within

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11. She does note, however (1985: 9), that certain non-active intransitives form their causative with the *a*-causative as well.

the verb stem template include lexicalized prefixes from positions –3 and –2, causative/benefactive (or affective) prefixes in position –1, the plural action marker in position +1, etc. Position classes –3 through +1 thus constitute the *verb theme*, to which non-finite, tense/aspect, and subject suffixes, and the negative prefix/proclitic and the interrogative suffix/enclitic attach to form the maximal verb word.

Some transitive verb stems subcategorize for an object of a particular noun-class. Thus for example, the verb meaning 'give' has several different stems, depending on what the class (or class/number) of the thing given is; the formal object agreement in position –2, as in many languages of the world, is with the animate recipient. Thus, if the object given is class IV.SG, the stem is *čʰí-*; if the object is IV.PL, the stem is *ɣun-*; while if the object is animate (i.e., belongs to class I, II,or III), the stem is *ú-* (Berger 1998: 121). Note that the different stems must each be used in conjunctive (or disjunctive) constructions:

(57) YBrsk.
    báp-a séni: hek hazáran rupayá go-ɣóy-am, gusé ǰa-ɣa a-ú, séni
    old.man-DAT say-I one.PL thousand rupee 2-give.DUR-1 this.III I-dat 1-give say-I
    'he said to the old man: I will give you 1000 rupees, give it to me'
    (Berger 1974: 120)

Note H/NBrsk. *ɣun-* (DUR *ɣuy-*) is *ɣon/ɣ—*in YBrsk.

Note the following pairs of related stems. As mentioned above, in each instance there appears to be a frozen plural marker found within the stem: *d**i**t-thuss* 'bring (one)' vs. *d**oo**t-thuss* 'bring (many)'; *d**i**nseruss* 'open (one)' vs. *d**oo**nserus* 'open (many)'; *d**e**llus* 'hit (one)' vs. *d**ô**luss* 'hit (many)'; also *ɣ**é**tsuss* 'see (one)' vs. *ɣ**o**tsuss* 'see (many)' (Biddulph 1884: 18).

There are a small number of transitive stems in Brsk. which appear to bear some derivational relationship among themselves, where the primary formations are consonant alternation and presence/lack of class marking. Note that these include both alternations within a single stem (morphophonologically conditioned allomorphs) (58a) and stems subcategorized for objects of various individual classes (58b).

(58) a. *gišá-* > *-yáši* 'weave'   *gámi-* > *-yámi* 'pay'
      biša > *-wáši* 'throw'   *bel-* > *-yóol* 'put on'
      báalt- > *-yáalt* 'wash'   *hén* > *-yeén* 'know'
      gukór > *-kʰókur-* (cf. NBrsk. *kʰukʰór-*) 'scrape off'
        (Berger 1998: 113)

    b. *gán-im-i*   *u-yán-im-i*
      take-AP-I   PL-take-AP-I
      'he took it/them (IV)'   'he took them (I, II, III)' (Berger 1998: 115)

      bal-ím-i   *i-wál-im-i*
      fall-AP-IV   I/III-fall-AP-I/III
      'it (IV) fell'   'he (I), it (III) fell'   (Berger 1998: 115)

2.6. PLURAL ACTION → PLURAL SUBJECT/DISTRIBUTIVE

The plural/distributive action marker appears in position class +1. This marks action performed by or simultaneously distributed among a number of actors/subjects. This is used relatively infrequently. Formerly it may have been something like *-ya-*, synchronically realized in a number of different ways, frequently as palatalization of the stem-final consonant (59).

(59) *di-pʰírč-a* (< *c-*)   *giráča*   *hurúča-* *ɣašá-*
    D-uprooted/exterminated-PL.ACT dance-PL.ACT sit-PL.ACT laugh-PL.ACT
    'be uprooted, exterminated'   'dance'   'sit'   'laugh'
    (Berger 1998: 129)

2.7. *Durative/non-past*

The marker of durative/non-past in the Brsk. verb is found in position +2. It comes in a number of different allomorphs which undoubtedly stand in some historical relationship with each other, the specifics of which have yet to be understood. It seems that the original element may have been *-y-* or some palatalizing element. Depending on the formal stem-type, the durative marker may appear as *-č-, -ǰ-, -ič, -č̣*, etc (60). Certain stem-final consonants undergo mutation or softening/palatalization. Thus, one finds such alternations as *-t/-k ~ -š, -ṭ- ~ -č̣, -n ~ -ɣ* (< *-ñ).

(60) *hér-č̣*   *daɣa-č̣*   *-waš-č̣-*   *d-yal-ǰ*   *gaṭ-íč̣*   *gíɣ > gič̣*   *(b)-uč̣*   *ǰuč̣*
    'cry'   'hide'   'throw'   'hear'   'bite'   'enter'   'dry'   'come'

    girat > giraš-   *ɣark > ɣarš*   *huruṭ > huruš*   *hakin > hakii bai*
    'dance'   'plough'   'sit'   'he is learning'
    (Berger 1998: 130–31)

The tense-aspect sets belonging to the durative/non-past screeve are formed on the basis of the durative marked stem. The forms of the durative/non-past screeve include the present, future, and imperfect (61).

(61) a. *iné hir há-ale hurú-š-á-i dáa ín-e šapík ši-č-á-i*
      that man house-LOC sit-DUR-AUX-I and he-ERG bread eat-DUR-AUX-I
      'the man sits in the house and eats bread'
      (Tikkanen 1995: 489)

    b. *iné gus ha-ale hurú-š-u b-o dáa híre mu-yeéš-á-i*
      that woman house-LOC sit-DUR-II AUX-II and man-ERG II-see-DUR-
        AUX-I
      'the woman sits in the house and the man sees her'
      (Tikkanen 1995: 489)

    c. *ún-e in mu-cú-č-áa*   d. *un in mu-cúč-um-a*[12]
      you-ERG s/he II-marry.DUR-2   you s/he II-marry.DUR-2
      'you marry her'   'you will marry her'

12. The nominative in the future alternates with the ergative, so the system is not as neat as Tiffou and Morin believe.

e. *un hurúš-áa*
you sit.DUR-2
'you sit'
(Tiffou and Morin 1982: 88)

f. *in hurúš-ubó*
s/he sit.DUR-II
'she sits'

2.8. First-singular subject

The first-singular subject marker *-a-/-aa-/-ya-* occupies postion class +3 in the Brsk. verb template. It appears in finite and non-finite forms alike, preceding the aorist participle (62).

(62) a. *kʰaẏ-ulo d-á-may-a bá-a*
riverbank-INES D-1-be.born.DUR-1 AUX-1
'I want to/will be born on the riverbank'   (Berger 1998: 159)

b. *muúto ǰe kʰiné ši-č̣-a-m*
now I this eat-DUR-1-AP
'I want to eat this now'   (Berger 1998: 160)

First-person-singular subject forms generally appear with a subject marker before the aorist participle. This even occasionally applies to perfect forms consisting of the aorist participle and an inflected auxiliary (63).

(63) *báalt-a-m*   *gaṭ-áa-m*   *gučʰá-ya-m*
    wash-1-AP   bite-1-AP   lie.down-1-AP
    'I washed'   'I bit'   'I lay down'   (Berger 1998: 132)

ǰe á-yan-um   or   *ǰe á-yan-a-m bá-ya-m*
I 1-sleep-AP   I 1-sleep-1-AP AUX-1-AP   (Berger 1998: 133)
'I fell asleep'

2.9. Positon +4: Participle, converb, infinitive, optative/supine

Position +4 in the Brsk. verb has the most occupants. These are predominantly (originally) non-finite markers, some having developed into modal uses. The affixes found in this position include the (aorist) participle in *-m-*, found in most finite verbs and in non-finite/subordinate/relative-type clauses. This position also includes the optative/supine, the conditional, the infinitive, and the suffixal part of the converb circumfix *n-. . .-n* (the prefixal part co-occupying position –3 with the D-prefix).

The aorist participle in Brsk. appears in all the finite verb forms except the relatively infrequent *Konativ* (past/perfective screeve) and the present (non-past/durative screeve). It appears as *-m*, often with an epenthetic vowel *-u-* or *-i-* (the latter preceding *-i* in the following syllable). It may be found in modificational functions as well as the finite verbal functions mentioned above. In the former function it nevertheless retains its internal morphosyntax, e.g., subject/object marking in position-class –2, ergative case assigned to a transitive subject, etc. In addition to the aorist participle in *-m*, position +4 is also occupied by the optative/supine in *-iš* and the infinitive in *-as*. The optative/supine has a range of functions, primarily modal, less frequently the formation of certain kinds of subordinate

clauses. The infintive functions both as an infinitive and as a subordinate clause predicate. The conditional—historically a complex of forms—synchronically occupies position +4 as well. For more on the functions of these elements, see 2.13 below.

(64) a. *mi-i-mo mi-u kaš ó-t-iš a-méi-maiy-an*
we-GEN-EMPH.POSS.ADJ 1PL-son kill I.PL-AUX-OPT/SUP NEG-1PL-CAP.DUR-PL
'we won't be able to kill our own sons'
(Klimov and Edel'man 1970: 34)

b. *qʰudáay-e ún-ar gó-or šikáar manzúur ét-iš*
God-ERG you-DAT 2.OBL-DAT hunt grant AUX.TR-OPT/SUP
'may God grant/provide you (with) a (lucky/successful) hunt'
(Berger 1998: 87)

c. *mi-man-š-an*   d. *a-tí-mi-s-man-as-ar*
1PL-become-OPT/SUP-1PL   NEG-D-1PL-CAUS-become-INF-DAT
'would that we become'   '(upon) not giving birth to us'
(Berger 1998: 135)   (Tikkanen 1995: 491)

e. *hir-an i-man-š ke ɣatenč-aṭe y-áṭis čaráp e-éč-i*
man-SG.ART I-become-OPT/SUP SUBORD sword-INS.C I-head slice.off I-AFF.TR.AUX.DUR-I
'would that he become a man, so that we may cut his head off with a sword'
(Berger 1998: 163)

f. *a-mé b-ičance pʰiṭi a-t-áa-ɣurk-am, pʰiṭi b-ičance a-mé a-pí*
1-tooth be-COND food NEG-D-1-find-1-AP food be-NOM-COND 1-tooth NEG-be.III
'when I have teeth, I have no food; when I have food, I have no teeth'
(Tiffou 1993: 20)

One of the characteristic forms of Brsk. non-finite morphosyntax is the converb (or conjunctive participle) in *(n-). . .-n*, which comes in prefixal, suffixal, and circumfixal allomorphs. As mentioned above the converb prefixal part occupies the same position as the D-preverb/prefix, i.e., position −3, with which it is mutually exclusive. The suffixal (or post-stem circumfixal) part of the converb occupies position class +4 in the Brsk. verb template. Its function is mostly to mark same-subject clauses, temporally preceding the following clause. Thus it is similar in function to conjunctive participles in Indo-Aryan languages or converbs of various types in Turkic (see Hapelsmath and König 1995): it primarily marks same-subject clauses where the converb-marked action temporally precedes the action of the main verb. Note, however, that these Brsk. forms may mark the person (or class) of the subject or object in the form of a position-class −2 referent marker. All D-forms lack the prefix *n-*, but the suffixal element may also be present in forms bearing the *n*-prefix.

(65) a. *iné garoóni nu-mú-cu-n daɣóaŋ du-mó-sku-n móo-dil-um-an*
   that bride CVB-II-take-CVB flour D-II-CAUS.lower-CVB II.BEN-throw-
   AP-PL
   'taking the bride along, they threw flour on her, having helped her
   down (from the horse)'   (Tikkanen 1995: 494)

   b. *nu-kú-či-n*
   CVB-2-give-CVB
   'having given it to you'
   (Tikkanen 1995: 492)

   c. *nu-mú-ic mu-yákal gáarc-im-i*
   CVB-II-see II-direction run-AP-I
   'after he saw her, he ran towards her'
   (Berger 1998: 165)

Note that in HBrsk. there is no negative of the converb; a negative form
of the *-m-* (aorist) participle is used:

(66) a. *a-y-ét-um*
   NEG-do-AP
   'after not having done it'   (Berger 1998: 165)

   b. *mén-an d-íi mí-ma-r oó-ni-m-íi (<-u) íi-šu-č-u bá-i*
   who-SG.ART D-I we-OBL-DAT NEG-CVB-AP-I I-eat.PL-DUR-(AP) AUX-I
   'someone come and eats without giving us (any)'
   (Berger 1998: 165)

Certain stems have multiple marking of the CVB; expressive repetition
of the converb may also be found.

(67) a. *d-é-yal-in-in*
   D-I-hear-CVB-CVB
   'after he heard'
   (Berger 1998: 133)

   b. *n-íi-n-in-in-in*
   CVB-I-CVB-CVB-CVB-CVB
   'after he went'

2.10. Subject markers

A non-first-singular subject is marked by one of the person/class subject
suffixes occupying position +5 in the verb template of Brsk. As mentioned
above, the first-singular subject marker occupies position +3 of the tem-
plate. The subject suffixes of Brsk. are as follows:

(68)

	sg.	pl.	
1		-an/-en	
2	-a	-en	
I	-i	-en	
II	-u/o	-en	
III	-i	-ie(n)	(~ *-io* = NBrsk.)
IV	-i	-i	

Note that both person/class prefixes and subject markers may appear in
a single verb in Brsk. This is the doubly-marked, (primarily "out-of-con-
trol") intransitive stem-class.

(69) a. *a-tú-ku-man-um-a*
   NEG-D-2-be.born-PST-2
   'you weren't born'   (Berger 1998: 91)

b. *dasen-e   hir   park-ule   del-u*
   girl-ERG man park-LOC hit-II
   'the girl hit the man in the park' (Anderson and Eggert 2001: 236)

c. *un in mu-cú-č-um-a*   d. *hilés-e dasin mu-yeéc-im-i*
   you s/he II-marry-DUR-AP-2   boy-ERG girl II-see-AP-I
   'you will marry her'   'the boy saw the girl'
   (Tiffou and Morin 1982: 88)   (Willson 1990: 4)

cf. e. *ǰaa u dáfa ó-t-a-m*
    I.ERG they drive.out PL-AUX.TR-1-AP
    'I drove them out'   (Willson 1990: 46)

The plural imperative marker is *-in*. It also occupies position +5 in the Brsk. verb template.

(70) a. *sén-in*   b. *min-íin*   c. *oó-ši-in*   d. *huruč-a-in*
     say-PL.IMP   drink-PL.IMP   NEG-eat-PL.IMP   sit-PL.ACT-PL.IMP
     'say (it)'   'drink it'   'don't eat it'   'sit, y'all'
     (Berger 1998: 138)

2.11. Interrogative

The final element in the Brsk. verbal template is the interrogative in *-a*. This occupies position +6.

(71) *a-tí-mi-s-man-u-w-á-i-a*
     NEG-D-1PL-CAUS-become-AP-CNCTV-AUX-I-Q
     'has he not given birth to us?'   (Tikkanen 1995: 491)

This may also be used as a polite imperative suffix.

(72) a. *kʰaní tʰílan áa-r ét-i-a*   b. *kʰole ǰu-a*
     roast.grain 1SG.OBL-DAT make-IMP-POL.IMP   here come-POL.IMP
     'make me a few roasted grains'   'come here (please)'
     (Berger 1998: 163)

2.12 Verbal form classes and verb derivation

As alluded to above, there are a number of different formal verb-stem classes in Brsk. Verb derivation is extremely limited in Brsk. In general, any nominal word can be used with the auxiliary verb *et-* (or *man-* for some intransitives) to form an inflectable verb stem. Modern spoken Brsk. is filled with such formations where the first element is borrowed from Urdu, Khowar, or Shina, depending on locale.

No other productive means of verb derivation is really used, with the exception of the lexicalized derivational uses of class marking (position –2) and D-prefixation (position –3) deducible from the comparison of various stem couplets, and the quasi-derivational use of the causative/benefactive/affective markers (position –1) discussed above.[13]

13. Other lexicalized derivational elements may have enjoyed greater productivity in earlier forms of Brsk. For example, there appears to be an element *-en* found in various stems, but it is lacking other forms of the same root. Resolving this issue in Brsk. must await further research.

2.13. *More on non-finite forms and the morphosyntax of the complex sentence*

Brsk. uses various morphological markings for subordination. The most common of these are the non-final converb prefix/suffix/circumfix *n-. . .-in* (73), aorist participle *-(u)m* (74), and the "infinitive" *-as* (75). The prefixal part of the non-final converb appears in position –3, the same as the D-prefix, with which it is mutually exclusive. In conversation the converb usually appears in conjoined action, same-subject constructions. In narratives, it is a common sentence-linking "resumptive" device that consists of an almost mechanical repetition of the finite verb of the preceding clause; this type of narrative device, head-to-tail linkage, is common in South Asian languages. The suffixal part of the converb, on the other hand, along with the infinitive and participial forms appear in position class +4 in the Brsk. verb template. The function of these latter two forms is mostly the same, corresponding to relative and complement clauses in many European languages and, in the case of the infinitive, to infinitive clauses as well.

(73) a. *iné hir-é d-í-tal-in šapik ši-m-i*
         that man-ERG D-I-stand-CVB bread eat-AP-I
         'after the man stood up, he ate the bread'   (Berger 1998: 134)

or   b. *iné hir d-í-tal-in šapik ši-m-i*
         that man D-I-stand-CVB bread eat-AP-I
         'after the man stood up, he ate the bread'   (Berger 1998: 134)

     c. *n-áa-n*
         CVB-1-CVB
         'I having gone, I went and . . .'   (Berger 1998: 134)

     d. *nu-kóo-n*
         CVB-2-CVB
         'you having gone, you went and . . .'   (Berger 1998: 134)

     e. *d-áa-n*
         D-1-CVB
         'I having come, I came and . . .'   (Berger 1998: 133)

     f. *du-kóo-n*
         D-2-CVB
         'you having come, you came and . . .'   (Berger 1998: 133)

(74) a. *d-á-yal-um čáɣa*   b. *d-á-yal-a-m čáɣa*
         D-1-hear-AP story   D-1-hear-1-AP story
         'the story I heard'   'the story I heard'
         (Berger 1998: 133)   (Berger 1998: 133)

     c. *mú-mi a-póm tʰarés dasín*
         II-mother NEG-be.II orphan girl
         'motherless orphan-girl'   (Berger 1998: 167)

    d. *i-ŋí burúm man-úm mapéer-an*
      I-beard white be(come)-AP elder-SG.ART
      'an old man with a white beard'   (Berger 1998: 167)

(75) *cʰá-aṭe oó-ruṭ-as huk*
    post-SUPERES NEG-sit-INF dog
    'a dog which doesn't sit at its post'   (Tiffou 1993: 16)

A subordinate clause may appear in the optative/supine form in *-(i)š* governed by the clausal postposition *qʰaa* (or related forms) to create a temporally subordinate expression of the 'until'-type. This construction may appear in an overtly negative construction, without negative scope over the action of the verb, i.e., it is formally but not semantically/notionally negative. This creates temporally subordinate clauses of the 'before'-type.

(76) a. *her-iš qʰaa*   b. *ǰe ǰu-š qʰaa*
      cry-SUPINE until   I come-OPT/SUP until
      'until, before crying'   'until I come again'
      (Tikkanen 1995: 493)   (Berger 1998: 173)

    c. *un warc gu-mán-š qʰáašiŋ-ar*
      you healthy 2-become-OPT/SUP until-ALL/DAT
      'until you are healthy'   (Berger 1998: 173)

    d. *mú-mi a-kúča-š qʰáa*
      II-mother NEG-come.down-OPT/SUP before
      'before her mother comes down'   (Berger 1998: 173)

    e. *mí-i mé-pi-caro kʰóle abáat oó-man-íš qʰáa*
      1PL-GEN 1PL-ancestor-PL here settle NEG-AUX.ITR-OPT/SUP before
      'before our ancestors settled here'   (Berger 1998: 173)

In addition, a wide range of case-marked participial and infinitive forms are used to mark a large number of other clausal subordination types (77), e.g., temporally subordinate clause of the 'when' (or 'while') type. For more on this construction, see Anderson 2002.

(77) a. *barén-a-m-ar*
      look-1-AP-DAT
      'when I looked' (Berger 1998: 190)

    b. *iné mi-ríiŋ-e wál-um-cum*
      he-ERG 1PL-hand-PL fall-AP-ABL
      'after he fell into our hands' (Berger 1998: 75)

    c. *ɣaliz bay-a-m-ulu Kʰudá-e-re duá et-a-m*
      ill be-1.PST-LOC God-(GEN/OBL)-DAT prayer AUX.TR-1.PST
      'when I was ill I prayed to God' (Leitner 1889: 216)

d. *kʰos cʰigír-an-e i-súmal pʰípʰil éč-um-e a-yár man-ím-i*
   this.III goat-SG.ART-ERG III-tail wag AUX.TR-AP-LOC 1-side become/
     come.before-AP-III
   'the goat came before me wagging its tail' (Berger 1998: 171)

e. *gu-ír-um-aṭe*
   2-die-AP-SUPERES
   'when you die, before you die' (Tiffou 1993: 16)

f. *á-yan-a-m-ce*
   1-fall.asleep-1-AP-ADES
   'when I fell asleep' (Berger 1998: 191)

g. *a-mé b-ičance p}iṭi a-t-áa-ɣurk-am, p}iṭi b-ičance a-mé a-pí*
   1-tooth be-COND food NEG-D-1-find-1-AP food be-NOM-COND 1-
     tooth NEG-be.III
   'when I have teeth, I have no food; when I have food, I have no
     teeth' (Tiffou 1993: 20)

2.14. *Sample paradigms* (Berger 1998a: 144–58)

(78) *ét-/éč-* 'do' (root-stressed); transitive auxiliary verb

	Hunza Aorist		Nagar Aorist		Hunza Future		Nagar Future	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	éta	étan	étaa	éteen	éčam	éčan	éčam	éčan
2	éta	étan	étaa	éteen	éčuma	éčeen	éčuma	éčeen
I	éti	étan	étii	éteen	éč(im)i	éčeen	éčii	éčeen
II	éto	étan	étoo	éteen	éč(um)o	éčeen	éčoo	éčeen
III	éti	étie(n)	étii	étio	éč(im)i	éčie(n)	éčii	éčio
IV	éti	éti	ét-ii	étii	éč(im)i	éč(im)i	éčii	éčii

	Past/Preterite		Hunza Perfect		Nagar Perfect	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	étam	étuman	éta báa	étáan, étóon	éta báa	étu báan
2	étuma	étuman	étáa, étóo	étáan, étóon	étu báa	étu báan
I	étimi	étuman	étái, étói	étáan, étóon	étu bai	étu báan
II	étumo	étuman	étu bo	étáan, étóon	étu bo	étu báan
III	étimi	étimie, étimio (NBrsk.)	éti bi	éti bié(n), étié(n)	éti bi	éti bió
IV	étimi	étimi	étilá, éti bilá	éticá(n), éti bicá(n)	éti bilá	éti bicá

	Hunza Present		Nagar Present	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	éča báa	éča báan	éča báa	éča báan
2	éčáa, éčóo	éčáan, éčóon	éču báa	éču báan
I	éčái, éčói	éčáan, éčóon	éču bai	éču báan
II	éču bo	éčáan, éčóon	éču bo	éču báan
III	éči bi	éči bié(n), éčié(n)	éči bi	éči bió
IV	éčilá, éči bilá	éčicá(n), éči bicá(n)	éči bilá	éči bicá

	Hunza Pluperfect		Nagar Pluperfect	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	éta báyam	étám, étóm	éta báyam, bam	étu bam
2	étám, étóm	étám, étóm	étu bam	étu bam
I	étám, étóm	étám, étóm	étu bam	étu bam
II	étu bom	étám, étóm	étu bom	étu bam
III	éti bim	éti bim	éti bim	éti bióm, bim
IV	étilúm, éti bilúm	éticúm, éti bicúm	éti bilúm	éti bicúm

	Hunza Imperfect		Nagar Imperfect	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	éča báyam	éčá bam	éča báyam, bam	éča bam
2	éčám, éčóm	éčám, éčóm	éču bam	éču bam
I	éčám, éčóm	éčám, éčóm	éču bam	éču bam
II	éču bom	éčám, éčóm	éču bom	éču bam
III	éči bim	éči bim	éči bim	éči bióm, bim
IV	éčilúm, éči bilúm	éčicúm, éči bicúm	éči bilúm	éči bicúm

	Conditional	
	SG	PL
1	éčamce	éčance
2	éčumce	éčumce
I	éčumce	éčumce
II	éčumce	éčumce
III	éčumce	éčumce
IV	éčumce	éčumce

(79) 'be'; compound tense auxiliary verb (note that negative past class IV
SG/PL is *apím* [cf. NEG.PRES *api*])

	Present		Negative Present	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	báa	báan	apáa	apáan
2	báa	báan	apáa	apáan
I	bái	báan	apái	apáan
II	bo	báan	apo	apáan
III	bi	bié(n), bió	api	apíe, apío (NBrsk.)
IV	bila, dila (NBrsk.)	bicá(n) ~ (-ŋ)	api	api

	Past/Preterite		Optative	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	báyam	bam	baša ~ amanša	(bášan)
2	bam	bam	baš ~ gumanš	(bášan)
I	bam	bam	baš	bášan
II	bom	bam	boš	bášan
III	bim	bim, bióm (NBrsk.)	biš	bíšan, bióš(an) (NBrsk.)
IV	bilúm, dilúm (NBrsk.)	bicúm	bilíš, dilíš (NBrsk.)	bicíš(an)

	Conditional	
	SG	PL
1	báčamce	báčance
2	báčance ~ báčumce	báčance ~ báčumce
I	báčance ~ báčumce	báčance ~ báčumce
II	bóčance ~ bóčumce	báčance ~ báčumce
III	bíčance ~ bíčumce	bíčance ~ bíčumce
IV	bilíčance ~ bilíčumce	bicíčance ~ bicíčumce

(80) 'come'; irregular, D-prefix, person/class-prefix, has zero-stem in many forms

	Aorist		Past/Preterite	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	dáaya	diméyan	dáayam	diméeman
2	dukóya	damáyan	dukóoma	damáaman
I	díya/díi	dúyan	díimi	dúuman
II	dumóyo	dúyan	dumóomo	dúuman
III	díya/díi	dúie(n), dúio (NBrsk.)	díimi	dúumie ~ -o (NBrsk.)
IV	díya/díi	díya	díimi	díimi

	Perfect	
	SG	PL
1	dáaya báa	dimée báan
2	dukóowáa	damáa báan
I	díi bái	dúuwáan
II	dumóo bo	dúuwáan
III	díi bi	dúu bié(n), dúu bio (NBrsk.)
IV	díi bila	díi bicá(n)

	Hunza converb/absolutive		Nagar converb/absolutive	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	dáan	diméen	dáa	dimée
2	dukóon	damáan	dukóo	damáa
I	díin	dúun	díi	dúu
II	dumóon	dúun	dumóo	dúu
III	díin	dúun	díi	dúu
IV	díin	díin	díi	díi

3. Morphological characteristics of Burushaski dialects

Brsk. is not a monolithic entity, but rather exhibits some considerable regional variation. The Brsk. spoken in the various villages throughout the Hunza and Nagar valleys show a number of non-trivial differences but are for the most part remarkably similar. The dialect of Brsk. spoken in Yasin Valley (also known as Werchikwar) differs lexically, phonologically, and morphologically from the Hunza and Nagar variants. In the following sections, we outline some of the salient morphological characteristics of

YBrsk. (3.1) and some of the morphological differences between the Hunza and Nagar varieties of Brsk. as well (3.2).

3.1. Hunza versus Yasin morphology

3.1.1. Hunza versus Yasin nominal morphology

The HBrsk./NBrsk. and YBrsk. nominal systems differ in a number of noteworthy respects. First the pronoun system shows a number of particularites, for example the use of *mo* for 'she' instead of *in(e)*. Also, the first and second person singular pronouns no longer contrast the ergative and nominative cases. Rather than being an archaism in YBrsk., as one might expect given the well-known dictum on the nominative-accusative tendencies of first and second person pronouns, this appears to be a secondary neutralization in YBrsk. The first person preserves the old ergative/oblique form, while the second person appears in the historically absolutive form. Note that the oblique stem for the second person singular is *go*(-) in YBrsk.

(81)

	1	2	I	II	III	IV
SG	ǰa	on/go	ne	mo	se	te
PL	mi	ma	ue	ue	ce	(ke)

A number of case forms in YBrsk. appear in a different shape than the corresponding forms in HBrsk./NBrsk. These include the dative in *-(y)a* (or *-e*). The ablative is in *-cum*, and attaches to an oblique stem (for 2nd sg. and 1st and 2nd plural, there is a reduplicated form of the oblique stem).

(82) a. *on kitap ǰa-ɣa ka hir-e či-a*
   you book I-DAT and man-I.OBL give-2SG
   'you gave the book to me and the man'
   (Anderson and Eggert 2001: 244)

   b. *on kitap hir-e ka ǰa-ɣa a-či-a*
   you book man-DAT and I-DAT 1-give-2SG
   'you gave the book to the man and me'
   (Anderson and Eggert 2001: 244)

   c. *ǰa balt dasen ya go-go-cum yan-a*
   I apple girl or you.OBL.RDPL-ABL take-1SG
   'I took the apple from the girl or you'   (field notes, 1998)

   d. *ǰa balt go ya dasen-mu-cum yan-a*
   I apple you.OBL or girl-II.OBL-ABL take-1SG
   'I took the apple from you or the girl'   (field notes, 1998)

The compound case forms of HBrsk./NBrsk. with a secondary directional element (*-c+ar, -aṭ+um*, etc.) have for the most part been replaced by new case forms, e.g., *-yakalca* the Yasin allative form, comes from a fused relational noun form meaning 'direction' in an old allative form (the ALL-B in **-car* > *-ca* in YBrsk.).

(83) *go-go-yakalca ka gus-mu-yakalca*
     you-2OBL -ALL and woman-II.OBL-ALL
     'towards you and the woman'   (Anderson et al. 1998)

The different case forms of YBrsk. show an interesting patterning with respect to use in conjunctive and disjunctive constructions. Thus the ergative in *-e* and the ablative in *-cum* appear to be used phrasally, appearing only on the rightmost (head) noun (83). The dative and genitive, on the other hand (as well as the new allative), appear on both nouns in the conjoined or disjoined noun phrase (84).

(84) a. *hir ka gus-e hales yeec-en*
        man and woman-ERG boy see-PL
        'the man and the woman saw the boy' (<*[*i*]*yeecen*)
        (field notes, 1998)

     b. *gus ya hir-e hales yeec-en*
        woman or man-ERG boy see-PL
        'the woman or the man saw the boy'
        (Anderson and Eggert 2001: 246)

     c. *on ya hire hales yeec-en*
        you or man-ERG boy see-PL
        'you or the man saw the boy'
        (Anderson and Eggert 2001: 246)

     d. *hir ka on hales yeeč-en*
        man and you boy see-PL
        'the man and you saw the boy' (field notes, 1998)

     e. *ǰa balt hir ka gu-mu-cum yan-a*
        I apple man and woman-II.OBL-ABL take-1SG
        'I took the apple from the man and the woman'
        (field notes, 1998)

     f. *ǰa balt gus ka hir-cum yan-a*
        I apple woman and man-ABL take-1SG
        'I took the apple from the woman and the man'
        (field notes, 1998)

     g. ***ǰa balt hir-cum ka gus-mu-cum yan-a*
        I apple man-ABL and woman-II.OBL-ABL take-1SG
        'I took the apple from the man and the woman' (field notes, 1998)

     h. *ǰa balt dasen ya go-go-cum yana*
        I apple girl or you.OBL.RDPL-ABL take-1SG
        'I took the apple from the girl or you'   (field notes, 1998)

     i. *ǰa balt go ya dasen-mu-cum yan-a*
        I apple you.OBL or girl-II.OBL-ABL take-1SG
        'I took the apple from you or the girl'   (Anderson et al. 1998)

(85) a. *on kitap ǰa-ɣa ka hir-e či-a*
you book I-DAT and man-I.OBL give-2
'you gave the book to me and the man'
(Anderson and Eggert 2001: 244)

　　b. *on kitap hir-e ka ǰa-ɣa a-či-a*
you book man-I.OBL and I-DAT-1
'you gave the book to the man and me'
(Anderson and Eggert 2001: 244)

　　c. *gute čʰap hir-e ya gus-mu dul-um*
this.IV meat man-I.GEN/OBL or woman-II.OBL/GEN be.IV.-AP
'this meat was the man's or the woman's'　(field notes, 1998)

　　d. *go-go-yakalca ka gus-mu-yakalca*
you.2OBL-side-ALL and woman-II.OBL-side-ALL
'towards you and the woman'　(field notes, 1998)

In complex sentences in HBrsk. with predicates in the two clauses of differing valency, the case form of the subject noun depends on which sentence it belongs to structurally. Thus, the subject may appear in either the nominative/unmarked form or the ergative, depending on the internal constituency of the individual clauses.

(86) a. *iné hir-é d-í-tal-in šapik ši-m-i*
that man-ERG D-I-stand-CVB bread eat-AP-I

or　b. *iné hir d-í-tal-in šapik ši-m-i*
that man D-I-stand-CVB bread eat-AP-I
'after the man stood up, he ate the bread'　(Berger 1998: 189)

3.1.2. Hunza versus Yasin verbal morphology

Among the salient characteristics of YBrsk. verb morphology is the reduplicated repetitive/habitual. This is used with the past form of the auxiliary verb *b(a)-*.

(87) *hál-a du-ɣares-i ke: un akʰita ǰo-ǰo ba-m, un a-íc-a-a? seni*
fox-DAT D-ask-I COMP you to.here REDPL.come be-AP you NEG-see-2-Q
say-I
'He asked the fox, "You came here again and again; didn't you see anything?"'　(Berger 1974: 104)

The class IV form of the copular verb 'be' in YBrsk. is *dua* corresponding to HBrsk. *bila* (~ *dila* in older forms) and NBrsk. *dila* (Berger 1998: 129). Class II (.PAST) is *bum* in YBrsk. but *bom* in HBrsk.

In YBrsk., the *Konativ* past (the one which lacks the aorist participle and is unmarked instead) is used commonly in YBrsk.

(88) *dasen-e hir park-ule del-u*
girl-ERG man park-LOC hit-II
'the girl hit the man in the park'　(Anderson et al. 1998)

Note also the older inessive/locative case in *-ule* corresponding to HBrsk. *-ulo* in the form in (88).

The conditional appears as a present/durative participial form with the particle *ceq*. The conditional participle appears in three forms, DUR.stem (/-*č*-) *-am* (1sg) *-an* (1pl) and *-um* (everything else).

(89) ečam ceq   ečan ceq
       ečum ceq   ečum ceq
       ečum ceq   ečum ceq
       ečum ceq   ečum ceq
       ečum ceq   ečum ceq
       ečum ceq   ečum ceq   (Berger 1974: 48)

Note the use of *ke* as a complementizer in YBrsk. where one might expect *nuse*. Its form and position in the clause are suggestive that this may reflect a borrowing from a local Indo-European language.

(90) *we d-ó-ɣaruš-um ba-m ke "ma mén-e ríziq ši-č-um ba-n"*
       they D-PL.ask-AP AUX-AP COMP y'all who-GEN bread eat-DUR-AP be-PL
       'He asked them, "Whose bread do you eat?"'   (Berger 1974: 106)

One of the noteworthy aspects of Brsk. morphosyntax in general, and of YBrsk. in particular, is the complex set of factors which interact to determine the nature of verb agreement, combining (hierarchical/linear) syntactic, semantic, and discourse factors (Anderson and Eggert 2001). As discussed previously, Brsk. verbs agree with their subject and object. When coordinated noun phrases occur, case marking is either found only on the head (or rightmost) conjunct or on both, depending on the particular case. When conjunctive or disjunctive objects are found, object agreement is with the closest conjunct. When conjoined subjects are used, agreement is always plural. When disjunctive subject-NP constructions are encountered, on the other hand, agreement with the nearest subject is found with some predicates, while with others, a semantically driven, global agreement (i.e., plural subject marking) is found. For examples, see (90g–m).

(91) a. *hir ka gus-e hales yeec-en* (<*[i]yeecen*)
           man and woman-ERG boy see-PL
           'the man and the woman saw the boy'   (field notes, 1998)

      b. *gus ya hir-e hales yeec-en*
           woman or man-ERG boy see-PL
           'the woman or the man saw the boy'
           (Anderson and Eggert 2001: 246)

      c. *on ya hire hales yeec-en*
           you or man-ERG boy see-PL
           'you or the man saw the boy'   (Anderson and Eggert 2001: 246)

      d. *hir ka on hales yeeč-en*
           man and you boy see-PL
           'the man and you saw the boy'   (field notes, 1998)

e. *on kitap ǰa-ɣa ka hir-e či-a*
you book I-DAT and man-I.OBL give-2SG
'you gave the book to me and the man' (Anderson et al. 1998)

f. *on kitap hir-e ka ǰa-ɣa a-či-a*
you book man-I.OBL and I-DAT 1-give-2SG
'you gave the book to the man and me'
(Anderson and Eggert 2001: 246)

g. *gus ya hir-e dasen a-mu-yeec-en*
woman or man-ERG girl NEG-II-see-PL
'the woman or the man didn't see the girl'
(Anderson and Eggert 2001: 246)

h. *hir ya gus-e dasen a-mu-yeec-en*
man or woman-ERG girl NEG-II-see-PL
'the man or the woman didn't see the girl'
(Anderson and Eggert 2001: 246)

i. *gus hir ya dasen-e mu-del-u*
woman man or girl-ERG II-hit-II
'the woman was hit by the man or the girl' (field notes, 1998)

j. *hir ya dasen-e gus mu-del-u*
man or girl-ERG woman II-hit-II
'the man or the girl hit the woman'   (field notes, 1998)

k. *hir ka dasen-e gus mu-del-en*
man and girl-ERG woman II-hit-PL
'the man and the girl hit the woman'   (field notes, 1998)

l. *gus dasen ya hir-e mu-del-i*
woman girl or man-ERG II-hit-I
'the woman was hit by the girl or the man' (field notes, 1998)

m. *dasen ya hire gus mudeli*
girl or man-ERG woman II-hit-I
'the girl or the man hit the woman'   (field notes, 1998, 1998)

3.1.3. Yasin Burushaski Paradigms

(92) 'be' as auxiliary verb in compound tenses (Berger 1974: 39–47)

	Present		Past/Preterite	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	ba	ban	bam	bam
2	ba	ban	bam	bam
I	bái	ban	bam	bam
II	bu	ban	bum	bam
III	bi	bie(n)	bim	bim, biém
IV	duá	bicá	dulúm	bicúm

The *-asc/-ast* forms < Khowar? *étascimi* and *étum báscimi* 'vague, indefinite, evidential'.

	SG	PL
1	báscam	báscemen
2	báscuma	báscemen
I	báscimi	báscemen
II	búascumu	báscemen
III	bíascimi (~ iá)	biénascimi, L. bia:stimi
IV	dúascimi	bicáscimi L. bia:stimi

Examples:
ét-ét bam 'he used to say, he would say' (root-stressed/"strong"-verbs)
balé-balé bam 'he used to/would fall' (ending-stressed/"weak"-verbs)
ḍaŋ-ét ḍaŋ-ét bam 'he used to/would bury it' (compound transitive verb)
duwál-duwál bim 'it used to/would fly' (D-prefix verb)
(Berger 1974: 41)

	Aorist		Past/Preterite	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	éta	éten	étam	étemen ~ étumen
2	éta	éten	étuma	étemen
I	éti	éten	étimi	étemen
II	étu	éten	étumu	étemen
III	éti	éten	étimi	étimi
IV	éti	éti	étimi	étimi

	Future		Present	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	éčam	éčan	éčam ba	éčam ban
2	éčuma	éčumen ~ éčemen	éčum ba	éčum ban
I	éčimi	éčemen	éčum bái	éčum ban
II	éčumu	éčemen	éčum bu	éčum ban
III	éčimi	éčimi	éčum bi	éčum bién
IV	éčimi	éčimi	éčum duá ~ éčun duá	éčum bicá

	Pluperfect		Imperfect	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	étam bam	étam ~ étum bam	éčam bam	éčam bam
2	étum bam	étum bam	éčum bam	éčum bam
I	étum bam	étum bam	éčum bam	éčum bam
II	étum bum	étum bam	éčum bum	éčum bam
III	étum bim	étum biém	éčum bim	éčum biém
IV	étum dulúm ~ étun dulúm	étum bicúm	éčum dulúm ~ éčun dulúm	éčum bicúm

	Perfect		Reduplicated "Imperfective"	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1	étam ba	étam ba	ét-ét bam	ét-ét bam
2	étum ba	étum ban	ét-ét bam	ét-ét bam
I	étum bái	étum ban	ét-ét bam	ét-ét bam
II	étum bu	étum ban	ét-ét bum	ét-ét bam
III	étum bi	étum bién	ét-ét bim	ét-ét biém
IV	étum duá ~ étun duá	étum bicá	ét-ét dulúm	ét-ét bicúm

	-asc- form	
1	étascam	étascemen ~ étascumen
2	étascuma	étascumen
I	étascimi	étascumen
II	étascumu	étascumen
III	étascimi	étascimien
IV	étascimi	étascimi

also étastam, étastuma, etc.

3.2. Hunza versus Nagar morphology

Generally speaking, the varieties of Brsk. spoken in communities throughout the Hunza and Nagar valleys differ only slightly from each other. To be sure, a range of phonological and lexical features characteristic of each region have been adduced (see Anderson 1997a for more on the comparative phonology of Brsk. dialects). However, various morphophonological, morphological, and morphosyntactic characteristics typical of one or another Brsk. dialect can be enumerated. In terms of morphophonology, NBrsk. has less assimilatory phenomena observable within alternations between singular and plural stems, e.g., from *-ʔlčin* 'eye' one finds *-ʔlči-muc* in NBrsk., rather than *-ʔlču-muc* as in HBrsk. (Berger 1998: 51).

Some of the obvious differences between NBrsk. and HBrsk. in terms of nominal morphology are the variant plural forms of certain individual lexemes found. For example, with certain monosyllabic noun stems, NBrsk. appears to preserve an older plural form with a single marker of plurality, while HBrsk. has innovated a double-marked plural formation:

(93) Sg.	NBrsk.	HBrsk.	Gloss
ha	*háa-n*	*háa-n-an*	'house'
ɣa	*ɣáa-n*	*ɣáa-n-an*	'crow'

(Berger 1998: 39)

In other instances, the forms may simply have different plural formants:

(94) Sg.	NBrsk. Pl.	HBrsk. Pl.	Gloss
hilíl-um	*hilíl-išo*	*hilíl-ǰuko*	'soft'
uy-úm	*uy-óko*	*uy-oŋko*	'big'
kʰuṭ	*kʰuṭ-ú-yarko*	*kʰuṭ-ú-iko*	'short'

(Berger 1998: 50)

Interrogative forms, and case-marked forms of interrogative stems may show variants between HBrsk. and NBrsk. as well. Note in this regard the ablative and allative forms of the interrogative pronoun below.

(95)

HBrsk.	NBrsk.	Gloss
ámulo	*ámuli*[a]	'where'
ámul-um	*ámuli-m*	'from where'
ámul-ar	*ámuli-ire*	'to where'
(Berger 1998: 94)		

    a. Note the final *-i* in this form, which is closer to the purported Ur-form of the inessive **-ule* (cf. YBrsk. forms discussed above).

The allative in NBrsk. is formed by the suffix *-i(i)re* or *-Vre* with most stems, and with a bound relational noun in the allative case *-pači-ire* (lit., to X's side).

(96) *Karačí-ire*   *mé-pači-ire*   *gús-mo-ore* or   *gús-mu-are*
    K-ALL   1PL-SIDE-ALL   woman-II.OBL-ALL   woman-II.OBL-ALL
    'to(wards) K'   'to(wards) us'   'to the woman'   'to the woman'
    (Berger 1998: 60)

In the nineteenth century, Leitner recorded a purportedly Nagar-type dialect of Brsk. Among the noteworthy forms found in this source are an ablative in *-(m)mo* (looking like an ablative + modifier suffix construction) and another allative-type construction consisting of the auxiliary noun *yakkil* preceded by the genitive case of the noun (cf. the YBrsk. allative case form mentioned above).

(97) a. *kolè-mmo Lahore-r-tàng ni-tsh-a-m*
      here-ABL Lahore-DAT-till go.DUR-1-AP
      'I will go from here up to Lahore'   (Leitner 1889: 211)

    b. *Nagèr-e yákkil ni-tsh-a-m*
      Nager-GEN towards go.DUR-1-AP
      'I will go towards Nager'   (Leitner 1889: 211)

Other nineteenth century NBrsk. case and fused relational noun forms include the following enumerated by Leitner. Note the final *-u* in the inessive/locative (cf. HBrsk. *-o*) and the final *-t* in the the comitative/instrumental (cf. long *-aa* in HBrsk.). Based on Leitner's forms, it appears that all of the cases (except the vocative whose status as a case cross-linguistically is somewhat dubious) are secondarily derived on the basis of the genitive case form, or in other words, probably represent grammaticalization of earlier relational noun constructions.

A range of derivational affixes show variation between the forms used in HBrsk. and those found in NBrsk.; e.g., the "equative" or "attributive" *-(i)ski* of HBrsk. corresponds to *-aaski* in NBrsk.

Within the verbal systems, a number of noteworthy differences between HBrsk. and NBrsk. may be adduced. First, the durative/non-past stem of certain individual lexemes differs between the two varieties.

(98) *hirr-è*   *hirr-è-r*   *hirr-e-te*   *hirr-e-lu*
    man-GEN   man-DAT   man-SUPERES   man-LOC

    hirr-e-kat   *hirr-e-ganné*   *hirr-e-tsum*   *lèh hirr*
    man-COM/INS   man-BEN/DES   man-ABL   VOC man
    (Leitner 1889: 212)

(99) a. HBrsk.
      Nagér-iski   *Yasin-iski*   *Húnzu-ski*
      'Nagar language'   'Yasin language'   'Hunza language'

    b. NBrsk.
      Nagar-áaski   *Yasin-áaski*   *Hunz-áaski*
      'Nagar language'   'Yasin language'   'Hunza language'

(100) a. *del/dol > d-l-ǰ = NBrsk. d-ǰ*
      'hit'.NPAST   (Berger 1998: 129)

    b. *bisark > NBrsk. bisar-š- HBrsk. bisark-ič-*
      'harvest, reap'   (Berger 1998: 131)

Another salient difference between the two main Brsk. dialects is the form of the negative. As discussed above, the negative in HBrsk. occupies the initial position in the verb template, i.e., in prefixal position –4. The negative affix triggers both devoicing of a following consonant and a shift in stress. In NBrsk. on the other hand, the negative is generally a preverbal clitic *óo=*, which triggers neither the devoicing nor the stress shift characteristic of HBrsk.

(101) a. NBrsk.
      óo-du-kóo-píršimi   < *du-kú-piršimi*
      NEG-D-2.CAUS-eradicate-I   D-2- eradicate-I
      'he will not let/make you eradicate'   'he will eradicate'

    cf. HBrsk.
      cf. *a-tú-ku-píršimi*
      NEG-D-2.(CAUS)-eradicate-I
      'he will not eradicate'   (Berger 1998: 107)

    b. NBrsk.   HBrsk.
      oó-di-mé-yal-ǰ-an   *a-tí-mi-yal-ǰ-an*
      NEG-D-1PL-hear-DUR-PL   NEG-D-1PL-hear-DUR-PL
      'we won't hear'   'we won't hear'
      (Berger 1998: 107)

In addition to HBrsk. versus NBrsk. correspondences, one may also find intradialectal variation on a micro-scale within HBrsk. Note in this regard both the difference between the univerbated HBrsk. forms and the analytic NBrsk. form, as well as the differing vocalism in the two HBrsk. variants below.

(102)

Ganish	Karimabad	Nagar
délǰóm	*délǰám*	*délju bam*

'he was hitting (it/him)'   (Berger 1998: 139)

A further example of intradialectal variation comes from the Brsk. spoken in and around Aliabad where the categories of causative and benefactive are kept morphologically distinct, unlike most HBrsk. and NBrsk. varieties, where the two are formally identical.

(103) a. *góo-t-a-m*   b. *gó-et-a-m*
        2.CAUS-do-1-AP   2-do-1-AP
        'I caused you to do it'   'I did it for you'   (Bashir 1985: 12)

Compare with other HBrsk./NBrsk. *góo-t-a-m* 'I caused you to do it' and 'I did it for you'.

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