

Case-Marked Clausal Subordination in Burushaski Complex Sentence Structure ⁱ

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1 Case Marking and Case Marked Predicates in Burushaski

Burushaski is a language isolate spoken in the Northern Areas, Pakistan. Among the most salient features of the language is its highly developed case system. In addition to the grammatical ergative and genitive cases, which contrast only for class-II or human female nouns, a range of other case forms are actively used in Burushaski. These include a set of three basic local-directional cases (lative-dative, ablative, and the mostly archaic locative) and a further set of complex local-directional cases, viz. superessive, superlative, superablative, inessive, illative, inablative, adessive, allative, (ad-)ablative, etc. There are two instrumental cases (the *k*-instrumental and the *aŋe*-instrumental), various lexicalized or lexically restricted local-directional and instrumental case forms, as well as a comitative case construction. A representative set of Burushaski case functions with (pro)nominals may be found in (1).

(1)

a. *dasen-e hir park-ule del-u*

girl-ERG man park-LOC hit-II
the girl hit the man in the park'

[Field notes; Yasin Burushaski dialect]

b. *ǰáa-r á-š-um-a*

I.OBLQ-DAT 1-say-DUR-AP-2

'you will tell me'

[Berger 1998: 69; Hunza/Nagar Burushaski]

c. *gute č^hap hir-e ya gus-mu dul-um*

this.IV meat man-I.GEN/OBLQ or woman-II.OBLQ/GEN bc.IV.-AP

'this meat was the man's or the woman's'

[Field notes; Yasin Burushaski dialect]

d. *ǰa balt hir ka gu-mu-cum yan-a*

I apple man and woman-II.OBLQ-ABL take-1SG

'I took the apple from the man and the woman'

[Field notes, 1998]

e. *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]

f. *gus-mu-ŋe*

woman-II.OBLQ-SUPERESS

'on the woman'

[Berger 1998: 60]

g. *ǰakun un-ale bi-m*

donkey you-ADESS be-III-AP

'the donkey was near you'

[Tiffou 1993: 103]

h. *e-š-aŋum*

I-neck-SUPERABL

'from on his neck'

[Tiffou 1993: 11]

Case marking is not limited to nominal forms alone in this language. One of the defining characteristics of complex sentence formation in Burushaski is the presence of case-marking on verbal predicates in subordinate clauses. A wide range of cases function in the system of Burushaski complex sentence formation. Which specific case is found on the verbal predicate is motivated by the functional type of the subordinate clause. These functions include, but are not limited to, temporal, causal, purposive, and conditional

subordinate clauses. Note that while bearing overt case like a nominal form, the verbs discussed below maintain their internal verbal morphosyntax, assigning ergative case to transitive agents, absolutive case to intransitive subjects and transitive objects, or various oblique cases to additional (pro)nominal arguments or adjuncts, as well as preserve subject and object, (and tense) morphology, etc. in the verbal word.

1.1 Dative Case-Marked Predicates

One common case found on subordinate clause predicates in Burushaski is the dative case in *-ar*. This is frequently found attached to an aorist participle, an infinitive, or a durative marked stem. Dative case-marked clauses express temporally subordinate clauses of the ‘when’-type as in (2)–(3), conditional clauses as in (4), and purposive clauses as in (5), the last mentioned with durative stems.

(2) *barén-a-m-ar*
look-1-AP-DAT
‘when I looked’
[Berger 1998: 190]

(3) *sén-as-ar*
say-INF-DAT
‘when he said’
[Berger 1998: 190]

(4) *gani-yar* *tom-e* *sen-im-i* *ke* “*ĵaa* *a-rriŋ*
axe-DAT tree-ERG say-AP-III/IV COMP I.GEN 1-hand

gu-čʰi -y-a-m-ar *a-skar-š-a-a*”
2-give-DUR-1-ST-DAT 1-cut-DUR-2-Q
‘the tree said to the axe “if I give you my hand, will you cut it off”’
[Tiffou 1993: 99]

(5) a. *sú-č-ar* b. *gay-ar* c. *may-aár*
bring-DUR-DAT take.DUR-DAT become.DUR-DAT
‘in order to bring’ ‘in order to take’ ‘in order to become’
[Berger 1998: 140-1]

1.2 Ablative Case-Marked Predicates (± postposition)

Another case commonly found in Burushaski complex sentence formation is the ablative in *-cum*. This primarily marks temporally subordinate clauses of the ‘after’-type, as in (6). The ablative case-marked predicate may also occur with an accompanying postposition as well, doubling the function expressed elsewhere by the case alone (6b). Note that the ablative-case generally attaches to either the aorist participial or infinitival form of the verb.

(6) a. *in-é* *mi-rüŋ-e* *wál-um-cum*

he-ERG 1PL-hand-PL fall-AP-ABL
 ‘after he fell into our hands’
 [Berger 1998: 75]

- b. *her-as-cum yar*
 cry-INF-ABL before
 ‘after crying’
 [Tikkanen 1995: 493]

1.3 Inessive Case-Marked Predicates

The inessive case in *-ulo* in Burushaski likewise plays a role in complex sentence formation. The most common function of this construction is temporally subordinate clauses of the ‘when’-type as in (7) and (8). On occasion, these are more properly rendered in English with a temporally subordinate clause of the ‘after’-type (9). As with the ablative and dative, the inessive case may attach to either a participial or infinitival form of the verb.

- (7) *du-ús-as-ulo*
 D-come.out-INF-INESS
 ‘when he came out’
 [Berger 1998: 190]

- (8) *yaliz bay-a-m-ulu K^hudá-e-re duá et-a-m*
 ill be-1.PST-LOC God-(GEN/OBLQ)-DAT prayer AUX.TR-1.PST
 ‘when I was ill I prayed to God’
 [Leitner 1889: 216]

- (9) *dí-i-m-ulo*
 D-IV-AP-INESS
 ‘after it came (to her)’
 [Berger 1998: 190]

1.4 Locative (or Ergative) Case-Marked Predicates

The mostly archaic locative case in *-e* (grammaticalized as an ergative case marker in the modern language) similarly plays a role in Burushaski complex sentence formation. The primary function of this is to mark a subordinate clause in which the action is performed simultaneous to the action of the main clause, that is, ‘while Vbing’. As such, it is hardly surprising that this case attaches to the durative form of the verb. See (10)-(12). With the negative, the function often translates as ‘without Vbing’; see (11). Not infrequently, the locative marked durative form of the verb appears in a doubled construction (12).

- (10) *k^hos c^hígír-an-e i-súmal p^híp^híl éč-um-e*
 this.III goat-SG.ARTCL-ERG III-tail wag AUX.TR-AP-LOC/ERG

a-yár man-ím-i
1-side become-AP-III

‘the goat came before me wagging its tail’
[Berger 1998: 171]

- (11) *duró ay-éč-um-e*
work NEG-do.DUR-AP-LOC/ERG
‘without doing the work’
[Berger 1998: 172]

- (12) *šapik ší-č-um-e- ší-č-um-e*
bread cat-DUR-AP-LOC cat-DUR-AP-LOC/ERG
‘while eating his bread’
[Berger 1998: 172]

A range of formations with a lexical verbal predicate in the durative stem form in the locative (or ergative) case may be used in combination with various auxiliary verb constructions in Burushaski. These constructions create (past) continuative or durative forms. See the examples in (13) and (14).

- (13) a. *γur-ó giá-č-um-e ní-m-ie* b. *p^hu bal-íč-um-e ní-m-i*
stone-PL fall-DUR-AP-LOC/ERG AUX-AP-III.PL fire burn-DUR-AP-LOC/ERG AUX-AP-IV
‘the stones kept falling’ ‘the fire kept burning’
[Berger 1998: 172] [Berger 1998: 172]
- c. *hiγ yakal baréi-m-e ba-m*
door toward look.DUR-AP-LOC/ERG AUX-AP
‘he was looking at the door’
[Berger 1998: 172]
- d. *in yágu-č-um-e hurúṭ-um-o* e. *harált di-áar-š-um-e hurúṭ-im-i*
s/he I.search-DUR-AP-GEN AUX-AP-II rain D-rain-DUR-AP-GEN AUX-AP-IV
‘she kept searching for him’ ‘it kept raining’
[Berger 1998: 172] [Berger 1998: 172]
- (14) *d-í-t^hal-ǰ-um-e ǰu-č-ii ke*
D-I-wake.up-DUR-AP-GEN AUX-DUR-I COMP/SUBORD
‘as soon as he woke up’
[Berger 1998: 172]

1.5 Superessive Case-Marked Predicates

One of the most characteristic and commonly used cases in Burushaski complex sentence formation is the superessive case in *-ate*. Its primary functions in the clausal subordination system are to form temporally subordinate clauses of the ‘when’- or ‘before’-type; see (15). With the negative, this frequently corresponds to ‘without having Vbed’ as in (16), in other words, a past version of the locative-marked clause given in (11).

- (15) a. *gu-ír-um-aṭe*
 2-die-AP-SUPERESS
 ‘when you die, before you die’
 [Tiffou 1993: 16]
- b. *laḍai éč-um-aṭe*
 fight AUX.TR.DUR-AP-SUPERESS
 ‘when he fought’
 [Berger 1998: 171]
- (16) *oó-ar-um-aṭe*
 NEG-cry-AP-SUPERESS
 ‘without crying, having cried’
 [Tikkanen 1995: 493]

In addition to attaching to an aorist participle or durative form of the verb, the superessive case may attach directly to a fully inflected or stem form of the verb (17).

- (17) a. *barén-a b-á-ṭe*
 see-1 AUX-1-SUPERESS
 ‘when I saw’
 [Berger 1998: 140]
- b. *sen-a bá-ṭe*
 say-1 AUX-1-SUPERESS
 ‘upon my having said’
 [Tikkanen 1995: 493]
- c. *ma ma-ír-áṭe ṣe taṣ a-máy-a-m*
 y’all 2PL-die-SUPERESS I sad 1-become.DUR-1-AP
 ‘when you all die I will be sad’
 [Berger 1998: 140]

1.6 Adessive Case-Marked Predicates

The adessive case in *-ce* may also be found in the system of Burushaski complex sentence formation. This marks either ‘when’-clauses, or conditional clauses, the latter etymologically in the guise of the so-called ‘conditional’ inflection (Berger 1998). See the examples in (18) and (19).

- (18) *á-yan-a-m-ce*
 1-fall.asleep-1-AP-ADESS
 ‘when I fell asleep’
 [Berger 1998: 191]
- (19) *a-mé b-ičance p^hiti a-t-áa-ṣurk-am,* *p^hiti 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]

1.7 Comitative Case-Marked Predicates

The comitative case construction also has a function in Burushaski clausal subordination. Etymologically the comitative case is an auxiliary noun construction, with the complement in the genitive case followed by the auxiliary noun *kaa(t)* ‘with’. This marks an action either simultaneous to, or immediately preceding, the action of the main

clause. Like many of the case forms mentioned above, this may attach to a durative or aorist participle or infinitive form of the verb. See (20).

- (20) a. *her-um-e káa* b. *her-as-e káa* c. *in yar éč-um-e káa girát-im-i*
 cry-AP-COMIT cry-AP-COMIT he song AUX.TR.DUR-AP-COMIT dance-AP-I
 ‘on, after crying’ ‘on, after crying’ ‘he danced singing’
 [Tikkanen 1995: 493] [Tikkanen 1995: 493] [Berger 1998: 172]

That the *kaa(t)* element of the comitative case construction is to be considered an auxiliary noun rather than a postposition is shown by the fact that this element may itself take further local/directional case affixes, as shown in (21) and (22).

- (21) a. *ní-a-m-e káaṭ-e* b. *móo-ltir-as-e káaṭ-e*
 go-1-AP=COMIT-LOC II-show-INF=COMIT-LOC
 ‘after I went’ [Berger 1998: 190-1] ‘after he showed it to her’
 [Berger 1998: 190-1] [Berger 1998: 191]
- (22) *d-ó-şqalt-as-e káaṭ-ar*
 D-I/II.PL-arrive-INF-COMIT-LAT
 ‘after they arrived’ [Berger 1998: 191]

1.8 Variation in formal means of marking functionally motivated case marked clausal subordination

As alluded to throughout the preceding discussion, there is great variation with respect to the formal means of expressing a given functional type of subordinate clause in Burushaski. One example will suffice to demonstrate the at times dizzying variability attested in this fascinating isolate language of northern Pakistan.

Temporally subordinate clauses of the ‘after’-type can be expressed in at least *eighteen* (!) formally different ways in various Burushaski texts. These are not all in actual variation with each other. Some of these occur primarily or exclusively in different subject constructions, while others are found in same subject constructions.ⁱⁱ A list of these is offered in (23) and representative sentences of these types may be found in (24).

(23) Ways of marking temporal subordination of the ‘after’-type

- | | |
|---|--|
| (I) AP-ABL | (II) INF-ABL |
| (iii) AP-ABL + postposition _α | (iv) AP-ABL + postposition _β |
| (v) INF-DAT + postposition _α | (vi) AP-GEN aux.noun _α -SUPERESS |
| (vii) INF-GEN aux.noun _α -SUPERESS | (viii) INF-GEN aux.noun _α -SUPERLAT |
| (ix) non-final (same-subject) converb | (x) AP aux.noun _β -ALL |
| (xi) AP aux.noun _β -LOC | (xii) INF |
| (xiii) AP-DAT SUBORD/COMP | (xiv) INF (aux)noun-INESS |
| (xv) AP aux.noun _γ -SUPERESS | (xvi) AP aux.noun _γ -ALL2 |
| (xvii) AP-SUPERESS | (xviii) INF-SUPERESS |

- (24) a. *iné mi-ríiŋ-e wál-um-cum*
 he 1PL-hand.PL fall-AP-ABL
 ‘after he fell into our hands’
 [Berger 1998: 75]
- b. *buŋ k^héen ní-as-cum*
 much time go-INF-ABL
 ‘after much time had passed’
 [Berger 1998: 190]
- c. *še-m-cum iciáŋe*
 eat-(I)-AP-ABL PP
 ‘after he ate it’
 [Berger 1998: 190]
- d. *iné i-ír-um-cum ilji*
 he I-die-AP-ABL PP
 ‘after he died’
 [Berger 1998: 190]
- e. *č^hiš yákal gáarcasar iciáŋe*
 mountain toward run-INF-DAT PP
 ‘after he ran off towards the mountain’
 [Berger 1998: 190]
- f. *ní-a-m-e káaŋ-e*
 go-I-AP-COMIT-LOC
 ‘after I went’
 [Berger 1998: 190-1]
- g. *móo-ltir-as-e káaŋ-e*
 II-show-INF-COMIT-LOC
 ‘after he showed it to her’
 [Berger 1998: 191]
- h. *d-ó-šqalt-as-e káaŋ-ar*
 D-I/II.PL-arrive-INF-COMIT-LAT
 ‘after they arrived’
 [Berger 1998: 191]
- i. *mūi-mo háa-lar di-mée-n-in*
 1PL-GEN house-ILLAT D-1PL-NF-NF
 ‘after we came into our house’
 [Berger 1998: 185]
- j. *sén-um k^héen-ar*
 speak-AP AN-LAT
 ‘when/after he had spoken’
 [Berger 1998: 191]
- k. *sén-um k^héen-e*
 speak-AP AN-LOC
 ‘when/after he had spoken’
 [Berger 1998: 191]
- l. *gáar-č-as*
 run-PL.ACT-INF
 ‘after they ran away’
 [Berger 1998: 191]
- m. *je gir-á-m-ar ke in ní-m-i*
 I arrive-I-AP-DAT SUBORD he go-AP-I
 ‘after I arrived (in the village) he went’
 [Berger 1998: 191]
- n. *juas wáqt-ulo*
 come-INF time-INESS
 ‘after (they) came’
 [Berger 1998: 191]
- o. *zaq ó-t-um múš-aŋe*
 injure I/II.PL-AUX.TR-AP AN-SUPERESS
 ‘when/after we hurt them’
 [Berger 1998: 191]
- p. *ši-m múš-car*
 eat(IV)-AP AN-ALL
 ‘after (they) had eaten it’
 [Berger 1998: 191]

- b. *kε-ye-ʔ-ille sa-ʔrik kε-ghem*
 2-laugh-SUBORD very 2-suit
 ‘you are handsome when you laugh’
 [van Driem 1987: 231]
- c. *hεkke kε-ba-tt-u-m-ille a-niŋ lε? lε?*
 like.that 2-speak-3PAT-PL.AGT-SUBORD 1-ire REDPL. unleash
 ‘if you are going to talk like that, I’ll get fed up’
 [van Driem 1987: 231]

2.3 Turkic Languages

However, while these Austroasiatic and Tibeto-Burman languages of South Asia and the Himalayas make relatively limited use of the case-marked clausal subordination strategy, certain other Eurasian languages make extensive use of these constructions, equal to or even greater than those found in Burushaski. For example, this particular clausal subordination strategy is a characteristic feature of Turkic interclausal morphosyntax. In Xakas, a Turkic language of south central Siberia, case-marked subordinate clause predicates are frequently attested. See in this regard the selection offered in (28)-(35).

Functionally motivated case-marked clausal subordination sub-types in Xakas

(28) locative → ‘when’

sala čayınna-an-da sıray-čüz-ı körın-ıbıs-ken
 a.little come.near-PAST.PRTCPL-LOC face-3 be.visible-PERF-PAST
 ‘when he got a little closer, his face became visible’
 [Anderson 1998: 78]

(29) locative → ‘because’

naŋmır čaa-p sıx-xan-da, min kil pol-ba-a-m
 rain precipitate-CV INCH-PAST-LOC I come CAP-NEG-PAST-1
 ‘because it (started to) rain(ed), I couldn’t come’
 [Anderson 1998: 78]

(30) locative → ‘before’

čılııy past-ır-da min-ı sür sıx-xan-nar
 meeting begin-FUT-LOC I-ACC drive.away INCH-PAST-PL
 ‘before the meeting began, they drove me away’
 [Anderson 1998: 78]

(31) ablative → ‘after’, ‘since’ (usually + postposition/auxiliary noun)

timır čol püdırıl-gen-neŋ peer gorod öz-ıbıs-ken
 railroad be.built-PAST-ABL since/after city grow-PERF-PAST
 ‘the city began to grow after the railroad was built’
 [Anderson 1998: 80]

(32) dative → ‘before’

- a. *min kil-er-ge pes odın sal*
 I come-FUT-DAT stove firewood put
 ‘stoke the stove-fire before I come’
 [Anderson 1998: 74]
- b. *xınnıy tus-tar pıs töre-elek-ke irt par-yan-nar*
 interesting time-PL we be.born-UNACMPL-DAT pass PRFV.II-PAST-PL
 ‘there were interesting times before we were born’
 [Anderson 1998: 76]

(33) prosecutive-equative → ‘until’, ‘while’

- a. *min arıy ara-zın-da kır par-yan-ja, čooxta-bas-sın, kör*
 I forest between-3-LOC enter TLOC-PAST-P/E speak-NEG.FUT-2 see
 ‘you will not talk, (but rather) watch until I have entered the forest’
 [Anderson 1998: 79]
- b. *peer čit-ken-im-je ügre-m soo-p par-ča*
 to.here reach-PAST-1-P/E soup-1 cool.down-CV PRFV.II-PRES
 ‘my soup was cooling while I was getting here’
 [Anderson 1998: 79]

(34) circumstantial-causalis → ‘because’

- püün nañmırlıy kün pol-yan-nañar pıs palıxt-ırıya par-ba-a-bıs*
 today rainy day be-PAST-CIR we fish-INF go-NEG-PAST-1PL
 ‘because it was rainy we didn’t go fishing’
 [Anderson 1998: 79]

(35) instrumental (possessive instrumental) → ‘as soon as’

- direktor kır-er-ı-neñ ol tur kil-gen*
 director enter-FUT-3-INS he stand CLOC-PAST
 ‘as soon as the director entered, he stood up’
 [Anderson 1998: 81]

In addition to Xakas, case marked clausal subordination is found in many different Turkic languages, both non-Siberian ones as in (36) and especially in Turkic languages of Siberia, as in (37). In Siberian Turkic languages case marked clausal subordination is found primarily in different subject constructions, to a lesser extent so in non-Siberian Turkic languages.

(36) a. Chuvash

- i. *kay-nă-ran-pa* ii. *kě-ně-ren-pe*
 leave-PRTCPL-ABL-INS enter- PRTCPL-ABL-INS
 ‘since he left’ ‘since she entered’
 [Andreev 1966: 56]

b. Azeri

çoban *çok* *ol-an-da* *goyun-u* *gurd* *ye-yär*
 shepherd many be-PRTCPL-LOC sheep- ACC wolf eat- AOR
 'when there are many shepherds, the wolf will eat the sheep'
 [Gadzhieva 1966: 82]

c. Crimean Tatar

geže *ol-yan-da* *Kose-Bay* *usul-nen* *aranči-ya* *kir-gen*
 night be-PAST-LOC K-B care-INS barn-DAT enter-PAST
 'when it became night, Kose-Bay carefully entered the barn'
 [Sevortyan 1966: 256]

d. Saryg Uyгур

Lan'žou-ya *ye't-ken-de* *Lanžou šuñtu yakšï* *kör-gen-dro*
 L.-DAT reach- PAST-LOC L. leader well see- PAST-ASSRTV.3
 'when we reached Lanzhou, the Lanzhou leader received us well'
 [Tennishev 1966: 37]

e. Uzbek

i. *biz* *kül-ga* *kel-gan-da,* *kül-dan* *ördak uç-ib* *ket-di*
 we lake-DAT come-PAST-LOC lake-ABL duck fly-CV TLOC-PAST
 'when we got to the lake, the ducks flew off'
 [Reshetov 1966: 358]

or

ii. *biz* *kül-ga* *kel-gan-imiz-da,* *kül-dan* *ördak* *uç-ib* *ket-di*
 we lake-DAT come-PAST-1PL-LOC lake-ABL duck fly-CV TLOC-PAST
 'when we got to the lake, the ducks flew off'
 [Reshetov 1966: 358]

(37) a. Shor

orta *çol-ga* *çet-keleg-im-de,* *nagbur* *çibre-p* *şik-ti*
 middle road-DAT reach-UNACCMPL-1- LOC rain drop-CV INCH- PAST
 'when I hadn't yet reached the middle of the road, the rain began to drop'
 [Efremov 1984: 69]

b. Quu-kiži [Chalkan, N. Altai]

eki kiz-i *par-iyen-de* *Karatu-Kan üçinçi kiz-in-a* *ayt-piin* *par-tir*
 2 daughter-3 go- PST.PRTCPL-LOC K.-K. third daughter-3- DAT speak-NEG AUX-EVID. PAST
 'when his (first) two daughters got married, Karatu-Kan stopped speaking to his 3rd
 daughter'
 [Baskakov 1958: 93]

c. Altai-kiži [S. Altai]

ene-si *kol lo* *ber-er-de,* *uul-i kol-in* *d'apas-ıp* *kat(t)ap* *sura-di*
 mother-3 hand EMPH give-P/F-LOC son-3 hand-3.ACC squeeze-CV again ask- PAST

ada-m kayda?

father-1 where

'when the mother offered her hand, the son squeezed her hand and again asked "where is my father?"'

[Baskakov 1958: 77]

d. Tuvan [aka Tuvinian, Tyvan, Soyon, Soyot, Uryangxai, etc.]

i. *čed-ip kel-gen-im-de*

arrive-CV CLOC-PST.PRTCPL-1-LOC

'when I arrived (here)'

[Anderson & Harrison 1999: 73]

ii. *ottu-p ke-er-im-ge, kezek kara bulut kel čoraan*

wake-CV CLOC-P/F-1-DAT piece black cloud come IMPF-PAST

'when I woke up, a dark cloud was approaching'

[Sat 1966: 399]

e. Yakut [Saxa]

xotu učaastak jon-o kel-betex-ter-i-tten uopsay muññax buol-batax

north district people-3 come-NEG.PAST-PL-3-ABL general meeting be-NEG.PAST

'because people from the northern district didn't come, there wasn't a general meeting'

[Korkina et al. 1982: 231]

f. Baraba Tatar

kön-när-niñ pir kön-in-dä yıraq kötmiş-kä ket-kän-dä,

day-PL-GEN one day-3-LOC far hunt-DAT go-PAST-LOC

'when one day (they) set off on a far-off hunt...'

[Dmitrieva 1981: 95]

2.4 Other Languages

The case-marked clausal subordination strategy is also found in various other (non-Turkic) Eurasian languages, though not as frequently as in the Turkic languages just discussed. Thus, it may be found throughout the native languages of Siberia (46) where it appears as a macro-areal feature, in the isolate language Basque (47), and even off the Eurasian continent in the Papuan language Yimas (48), far afield from Burushaski and the Siberian languages. Note that in Siberian languages, the cases attach to a participial form of the verb, directly to the tense/person inflected verb, or even to a verb stem.

(46) Languages of Siberia

a. Mansi (Ob-Ugric, Uralic)

juw joxt-um-um-t xo:təl-as

house arrive-PRTCPL-1-LOC day.dawn-PST

'when I arrived home, the day had (already) dawned'

[Rombandeeva 1993: 299]

b. Buryat (Mongolic, Altaic?)

xele-xe-de-m *üinenše-xe-güy*
tell-FUT-LOC/DAT-1 believe-FUT-NEG
'when I tell (my friends), they won't believe it'
[Cheremisina et al. 1984: 156]

c. Negidal (Tungusic, Altaic?)

ηene-čæ:-dukki-sun
leave(for.home)-PRTCPL-ABL-2PL
'since you left'
(Tsintsius 1982: 25)

Enets (Northern Samoyed, Uralic)

sIra? *niñ* *kodia-hað-oñ* *ηo:-ñ* *desuma?*
snow-GEN on sleep-ABL-PX.1Sg leg-1SG get.sick.AOR.3SG
'since I was sleeping on the snow, my leg got sick'
(Künnap 1999a: 35)

Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)

yəme-ytə *nelyə-n* *yəm-nan* *tə-ttʔə-yʔe-n* *əweyočyən*
hang.up-ALL pelt-ABS I-ERG 1SUBJ-knock.over-PERF-3OBJ vessel.ABS
'when I hung up the pelt I knocked over the vessel'
(Kämpfe & Volodin 1995: 106)

f. Yugh (recently extinct Yeniseic)

u *kidagej ku-daχ-diηə:r*
you here 2-live-ABL
'since you lived here'
(Werner 1997: 236)

g. Nivkh [aka Gilyak] (Isolate)

mu *aj-ini-ftox* *čxa* *η-imy-d*
boat make-MOD-NOMLZR-DAT money 1-give-FIN
'he gave me money to make a boat'
(Gruzdeva 1998: 51)

h. Central Siberian Yupik (Eskimo-Aleut)

aghyu-m *naav-uk*
get.old-REL break-IND(3D)
'it (a stove) broke because it is old'
(de Reuse 1994: 36)

(47) a. Basque (Language Isolate)

etxe-ra *irits-i* *n-in-tz-en-ean*
house-ALL arrive-PRF 1A-PAST-AUX.1-(PST)-COMP-LOC
'when I arrived home'
[Saltarelli 1988]

b. Basque (Language Isolate)

azoka-ra *joa-ten* *n-a-iz-en-ean*
 market-ALL go-HAB 1A-PRS-AUX.1-COMP-LOC
 ‘when I go to (the) market’
 [Saltarelli 1988]

(48) Yimas (Lower Sepik, Papuan)

mpu-ŋa-na-tay-nt-imp-in *pu-ka-apan-kit*
 3plA-1G U-now-see-PRES-SEQ-OBLQ 3plU-1A-shoot-RM.FUT
 ‘when they see me, I will shoot them’
 [Foley 1986: 204]

3 Loss of Case Marked Clausal Subordination

While case-marked clausal subordination is a defining and characteristic feature of complex sentence formation in Burushaski, it is not an immutable feature. Increasingly, case marked clausal subordination is being supplemented, where one finds mixed systems, or replaced altogether by subordinators, particularly in the speech of acculturated males.

Thus in (49ai-ii) we have mixed forms with both the case-marked clausal subordination, and a subordinator *ke*, while in (49bi-ii), we find a shift away from the case-marking altogether, instead we find a finite verb followed by the subordinator *ke*.

(49) a. mixed subordination → case marked clausal subordination + subordinator

i. *sén-á-ŋe ke*
 say-2-SUPERESS SUBORD
 ‘on your having said’, ‘when you said’
 [Tikkanen 1995: 493]

ii. *ŋe gir-á-m-ar ke in ní-m-i*
 I arrive-1-AP-DAT SUBORD/COMP he go-AP-I
 ‘after I arrived (in the village) he went’
 [Berger 1998: 191]

b. loss of case marked clausal subordination, subordinator only

i. *iné baré-ím-i ke iné sukúin-an-e buá-an éle yan-ím-i t^háp-ulo*
 he look-AP-I SUBORD he-GEN relative-SG.ARTCL-GEN cow-SG.ARTCL there appear-AP-III night-INESS
 ‘when he looked, (it turned out) his relative’s cow had appeared there during the night’
 [Berger 1998: 192]

ii. *d-í-t^hal-ŋum-e ŋu-č-ii ke*
 D-I-wake.up-DUR-AP-GEN AUX-DUR-I COMP/SUBORD
 ‘as soon as he woke up’
 [Berger 1998: 172]

Similar variation may be found in other languages that make/made extensive use of this clausal subordination strategy as well. Thus, one finds sentences with case marking on the verb alone (50a, 51a), forms with both adverbial subordinators or complementizers in combination with (50b, 51b) or eventually outright replacing (50c, 51c) case-marked subordination in such languages as Abakan Xakas (Turkic) or the isolate (Yeniseic) language Ket.

(50) a. Standardized Xakas

ol kil-gen-de obed toozil par-yan
 s/he come-PST.PRTCPL-LOC lunch end PRFV.II-PST
 ‘when he arrived, lunch had ended’
 (Anderson 2000: 224)

b. Abakan Xakas

xajan olar kil-gen-de, min gazeta xiyr-ya-m
 when they come-PST-LOC I newspaper read-PST-1
 ‘when they came, I was reading the newspaper’
 (Anderson 2000: 224)

c. Abakan Xakas

xajan olar kil-gen-ne(r) min xiyr-ya-m
 when they come-PST-PL I read-PST-1
 ‘when they came I was reading’
 (Anderson 2000: 226)

(51)

a. Ket

ətn qət-bes’ dAŋ-ən’ka ətn aslenɛŋ (t)-t-ɔ-l-ɔɣ-in
 we path-PROSEC 1PL-go-LOC we boat(.PL) 1-PV-PST-PRET-see-PL
 ‘when we went along the path, we saw a boat’
 (Werner 1997b: 354)

b. Ket

as’ka t-si:je-n-ka ba-t is-na kəyɣa-n kəma d-e:s-k-a-v-ä
 when I-eat-PL-LOC old.man fish-GEN.PL head-PL away I-up-PV-PRES-INAN-throw/SF
 ‘when they eat, the old man simply throws away the fish heads’
 (Kostjakov 1976: 60)

c. Ket

as’ka bu-d ella-diŋa d-in-bis-in’ xemga dil’ ab-iŋa t-o-b-iñ-giy ‘bot...’
 when s/he-GEN.I door-DAT/ALL I-PST-come-PL Evenki child I-DAT PV-PST-INAN-PRET-tell ‘here is...’
 ‘when they approached his door, the Evenki boy said to me “Here is..”’
 (Kostjakov 1976: 57)

4 Conclusions

Case marked clausal subordination is a common feature of Burushaski complex sentence formation, appearing in many different formal stem-plus-case combinations and

creating subordinate clauses of a wide range of functional types. Similar subordination strategies are found in numerous other languages, particularly SOV languages of Eurasia. In addition, while indeed common in this isolate language of northern Pakistan, it nevertheless appears to vary with non-morphological (i.e. analytic/syntactic) subordination strategies, and to be relatively easily subject to loss, possibly under pressure from local contact languages (Khowar, Shina, Urdu) that lack this means of complex sentence formation; this latter tendency also has parallels in other, high-contact varieties of Eurasian languages (formerly) making use of this subordination strategy. Less likely, this shift away from functionally motivated case marked clausal subordination may be attributable to general typological pressure to eliminate cross-linguistically marked features that are disfavored by apparent differences in perceptual and acquisitional ease or salience (as argued in Slobin (1986) regarding morphological vs. syntactic subordination strategies). Most likely of all is a combination of these formal and functional factors each operating simultaneously to regulate the selection of variable features across a given speech community in space and time.

Abbreviations Used

ABS	Absolutive	ABL	Ablative	ACC	Accusative
ACT	Action	ADESS	Adessive	AGT	Agent
ALL	Allative	AN	Auxiliary noun	AOR	Aorist
AP	Aorist Participle	ARTCL	Article	AUX	Auxiliary (verb)
CAP	Capabilitive	CAUS	Causative	CLOC	Cislocative
CNCTV	Connective	COMP	Complementizer	CV	Converb
D	“D”-prefix/preverb	DAT	Dative	DIR	Directional
DS	Different Subject	DUR	Durative	EMPH	Emphatic
ERG	Ergative	EVID	Evidential	FIN	Finite
FUT, F	Future	G	Goal	GEN	Genitive
HAB	Habitual	I	Class-I	II	Class-II
III	Class-III	ILLAT	Illative	IMP	Imperative
IMPF	Imperfect(ive)	INC	Inclusive	INCH	Inchoative
INF	Infinitive	INS	Instrumental	INTR	Intransitive
IV	Class-IV	LOC	Locative	NEG	Negative
OBJ	Object	OBLQ	Oblique	PAT	Patient
P/E	Prosecutive-Equative	PERF	Perfect	PL	Plural
PRES, P/	Present	PRFV	Perfective	PRTCPL	Participle
Q	Interrogative	REDPL	Reduplication	RM	Remote
SF	Stem-Formant	SG	Singular	SIMULT	Simultaneous
SUBJ	Subject	SUBORD	subordinator	SUP	Supine
SUPERESS	Superessive	SUPERLAT	Superlative	TR	Transitive
U	Undergoer	UNACMPL	Unaccomplished		
1	First Person	2	Second Person	3	3 rd Person

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Notes

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ⁱⁱ Thus, according to Tikkanen (1995), the dative, ablative, or comitative case form of the aorist participle or infinitive are used primarily in different subject constructions.