Notes for Contributors

A Thematic Survey of Burushaski Research*

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Burushaski is spoken in northern Pakistan in the Hunza, Nager, and Yasin valleys by fewer than 100,000 people in two major dialects: the Hunza and Yasin varieties, with the speech of Nager constituting a subdialect of Hunza Burushaski. These forms will be referred to as HB, YB (=Werchikwar/Warshikwar), and NB henceforth. The study of Burushaski has made enormous strides since the early accounts published in 1854 and 1871 by the British explorers Cunningham (1854) and Hayward (1871), and Burushaski can no longer be considered an understudied language. The early stages of research on the language are summarized chronologically in Grierson (1919) and Zarubin (1927), while work until 1970 is summarized in Klimov and Edel'man (1970). Tiffou (1998) discusses more recent work including ethnographical studies. The pre- sent article identifies major themes in Burushaski research and suggests directions for future research, along with providing a comprehensive bibliography.

1. Genetic affiliation. Although Burushaski is still classed as a language isolate, work on establishing its genetic affiliation is proceeding vigorously. Attempts to link it with other languages date to the earliest stages of Burushaski studies. They include compar- isons with Northwest and Northeast Causasian, early contributions to which are Bleichsteiner (1930), critically discussed in Morgenstierne (1935), Bouda (1950a,b; 1954, 1964); and the Yeneseian languages, especially Ket (Toporov 1971). Starostin (1984) argued for the establishment of a macrophylum linking Sino-Tibetan, Yene- seian, and Caucasian languages. Starostin (1991) is an easily accessible English trans- lation of his original 1984 paper. More recently, a Macro-Caucasian phylum, grouping Burushic, Caucasic and Basque under the proposed Dene-Caucasian (=Sino- Caucasian) macro-phylum, has been proposed and developed, notably in the work of Bengston and Blažek (Bengtson 1991, 1992a,b; 1997; 1997 ms; Blažek & Bengtson 1995). The work of other Russian scholars, e.g. Peiros (1988 ms), and the publication of Starostin's proto–North Caucasian reconstructions (1994) has provided continued impetus to this line of research. Tuite (1998:467) argues for "quasi-genetic resem- blances" between Burushaski and the Northeast Caucasian languages.

Most recently, a new proposal, linking Burushaski with Indo-European, especially the pre-Balkanic languages, has been advanced by Čašule (1998), taking his original inspi- ration from Berger (1956). Two other articles (Čašule 1997/1998, Čašule 1999) refer to Burushaski materials to discuss the etymologies of the Macedonian river Vardar and the verb *vrne* 'to rain'.

2. Areal and typological studies. Burushaski is spoken in the region transitional between South and Central Asia. Thus the study of areal and contact phenomena, both historical and synchronic, has been since Lorimer's time an active and productive area of research. Lorimer (1937) discusses local convergence effects between HB and Shina, and YB with Khowar and Wakhi. Benveniste (1948) discusses cultural loanwords common in Burushaski, Shina, Khowar, and Wakhi. Toporov (1965), Edel'man (1968), and Tikkanen (1995b, 1999) analyze the geographical distribution of phonological oppositions, especially those critical to reconstruction of the history of linguistic development in the region. Bashir (1996) discusses and gives examples of complementizer constructions built from the conjunctive participle of the verb 'say' in Burushaski and adjacent languages from an areal perspective. The question of Burushaski as a substrate in the region is discussed in Edel'man (1976, 1980, 1984), Tikkanen (1985b, 1998, 1999), Bashir (1988:392–401, 1997)], and peripherally in Witzel (1999). New findings by Tikkanen (1999 ms) point to probable convergence of the Burushaski aspectual system with those of its Indo-Aryan neighbors Shina and Urdu.

Cultural–linguistic areal complexes are treated in Parkin (1987a,b) and Pfeffer (1984) on kinship patterns and terminologies in the Karakoram. Berger (1983) traces the etymologies of some Burushaski words denoting supernatural beings common to the cultures of the Karakoram and Hindu Kush region. Tuite (1998) finds folklore motifs linking Burushaski with the Caucasus, and Chaolong (1991) discusses cultural links between Burzahom in Kashmir and the Tibetan plateau. Bashir (1997) lists some common literary elements and some place names in Chitral possibly of Burushaski origin. Hussain (1996) discusses paralinguistic politeness signals shared by speakers of Shina and Burushaski

Typological studies include Berger (1992), Toporov (1970), Tikkanen (1988, 1995a), and Klimov & Edel'man (1995).

3. Internal reconstruction. The time depth of Burushaski materials available for study is shallow. The earliest materials available are the single sentences or fragments dating from the middle to late 19th century recorded in Cunningham (1854), Hayward (1871), Biddulph (1884), Leitner (1877, 1889), and Grierson (1919). The first text of any length appears in Biddulph (1884). Poucha (1960) considers the question of whether the "Bruša" language, fragments of which are found in a first century text, can be identified with old Burushaski, concluding that this is not likely to be the case.

Although Morgenstierne (1935a:xix) voiced pessimism about the possibility of reconstructing earlier forms of the language, a considerable body of work toward this end has been done. Vogt (1945) analyzes the distribution of the numerous plural suffixes and deduces earlier forms. Borgstrøm (1945) attempts reconstruction of the earlier semantic gender/class system. Berger (1959) discusses apparent Burushaski loans in Romani, with the aim of obtaining glimpses of some older Burushaski forms. Dyachok (1988), however, finds only two of the words offered as parallels in Berger (1959) to

be probable Burushaski loans in Romani. Klimov & Edel'man (1972) discuss the relict pattern appearing in terms for some paired body parts, which prefixes a form of the numeral 'two', e.g. -ltu-mal '(both) ears'. Tiffou & Morin (1982a) reconstruct a five-element color term system for proto-Burushaski, offering interesting scope for comparison with the color systems of neighboring languages. Berger (1992) discusses reconstruction using typological criteria, and Berger (1994) demonstrates employing documented sound changes to deduce older forms or changed class membership of certain words. An important paper by Klimov and Edel'man (1995) discusses possibilities for internal reconstruction employing typological insights and verification by observation of areal configurations. Tuite (1998) compares Burushaski and Northeast Caucasian forms which he considers to provide evidence of early contact with Northeast Caucasian languages. In addition to these articles specifically addressed to the problem of internal reconstruction, the comprehensive works of Lorimer, Berger, and Tiffou contain numerous suggested historical antecedents for specific forms.

Comprehensive synchronic works covering grammar and lexicon and including a selection of texts are Zarubin (1927) for YB, Lorimer (1935a,b; 1938) on HB, Berger (1974) on YB, Tiffou & Pesot (1989) on YB, Berger (1998) on HB and NB. Tiffou (1999) is a semi-pedagogical work covering the essential grammar and phonology of both HB and YB. Tikkanen (1991b) gives an English introduction to Tiffou & Pesot (1989) and Morin, Pesot & Tiffou (1979); Tikkanen (2000 to appear) provides an English orientation to Berger (1998).

4. Lexicographical studies. The earliest articles on Burushaski consist mainly of word lists. Zarubin (1927) contains a complete summary of earlier work, including little-known Russian sources, and also the fullest description of YB until Berger (1974). Lorimer (1938) is a major contribution to the lexical study of HB, while Lorimer (1962) and Berger (1974) are major contributions to YB lexicography. Morin, Pesot & Tiffou (1979) adds to Lorimer and Berger's work on YB. Morin, Tiffou, & Berger (1989) includes the materials in the previously mentioned article as well as additional new material. Berger (1998, Vol. 3) is the most recent major contribution on HB lexicography.

Loanwords in Burushaski are examined in Lorimer (1937), Berger (1966, 1990), and Parkin (1987b). Morin & Tiffou (1989:5) note that a large part of the contemporary YB lexicon consists of loanwords.

5. Phonology. Lorimer was least confident in the area of phonology, and his pioneering 1935–38 work notes many areas of uncertainty, particularly with regard to vowel qualities. He does, however, in a separate paper (Lorimer 1936), discuss syntactic and affective effects of vowel lengthening. The exact consonant inventory, and the nature of length, stress and tone and their morphological roles were not well understood until the time of Berger (1966, 1974). Since then, the analysis of both HB and YB phonology has been greatly refined by Berger (1974, 1998) and Tiffou, especially

Tiffou & Pesot (1989:4–14), in their comprehensive studies of the language. Specific phonological studies include Morgenstierne (1945), a description of synchronic and historical phonology based on materials available at the time; Toporov (1970) on the phonology of Burushaski in a typological and areal context; Morin (1975; 1976a,b) on morphophonemic constraints and historical considerations motivated by them; Marchal, Tiffou & Warren (1977), an instrumental investigation of voice onset time, which finds its role to be not significant in Burushaski phonology; and Anderson (1997) which includes a descriptive summary and discussion of phonotactics and root structure. Morin & Dagenais (1977) is a study of phonological developments in Urdu loans in YB. Still, there remain fewer studies of phonology than of synchronic morphology, semantics and syntax.

6. Morphology and syntax. Burushaski's complex morphology has engaged researchers from the beginning. Features like the four nominal classes, the numerous plural markers, personal prefixes, the complex ergative system different from that of any of its neighboring languages, and the *d-* prefix are among the topics to first receive detailed attention. Barbour (1921) contains an early description of pronominal morphology and the vigesimal numeral system. Later morphological studies include Vogt (1945) on the distribution of nominal and adjectival pluralizing morphemes; Borgstrøm (1945) on the categories of person, number, and class; Benveniste (1947–8) on nominal classification; Bashir (1985) on the semantic categories morphologized in the use of the personal prefixes and the *d*-prefix in HB; and Tiffou & Morin (1993) on the *d*-prefix in YB. Tiffou (1977), and Tiffou & Morin (1982b) describe the split ergative system, which is considerably different from the typical IA pattern known from Hindi or Urdu. Tikkanen (1995a) focuses on the synchronic function, historical development, and areal patterning of "converbs", which largely overlaps the class of conjunctive participles in South Asian languages. Morin & Tiffou (1983, 1988) discuss the nature of Burushaski passive and passive-like "pathetive" constructions. Willson (1996) analyzes verb agreement and case marking in the framework of relational grammar.

Recently a series of major studies of YB by Tiffou and Patry at Montreal based on the texts in Tiffou & Pesot (1989) have appeared. Tiffou (1995a) discusses the aspectual system of YB and the expression of anteriority and posteriority. Tiffou & Patry (1995a, 1995 ms) deal with the morphological expression of multiple action, which is distinct from multiple actors or agents, in YB. Tiffou & Patry (1995b) describe the syntax of relative clauses in YB. Tiffou & Patry (1998) analyze the semantics of double causative constructions in YB. Tiffou & Patry (1993) and Patry & Tiffou (1998, forthcoming) discuss mechanisms of text coherence and discourse structure.

7. Texts. A considerable body of textual material has by now been published. Most of it is found in scholarly publications by and for linguists, but recently materials have begun to appear which are addressed to Burushaski speakers, notably the writings of Nasiruddin Hunzai (e.g. Hunzai 1977; 1991b,c,d; 1992). Some of his works have been translated into Urdu and English. A series of short texts in Roman transcription has been prepared by Willson (1994a,b,c,d,e). Frémont (1987) discusses a text (not yet published) written by a spiritual son of Nasiruddin Hunzai in Burushaski about his mother tongue.

Table 1 lists published texts chronologically by publication date, indicating the type of text(s), approximate length in lines, and language variety.

Table 1. Published Burushaski texts

Pub.	No. of texts	Approx. total lines	Text type	Dialect	Notes on text
Biddulph (1884)	3 + 19 sents.	46 + 19	Realistic narratives (hunting, hawking, fighting).	NB (?)	
Grierson (1919)	1	38	"Prodigal Son".	HB	Text from 1899.
	1	37	"Prodigal Son".	YB	Text from 1898.
Zarubin (1927)	2	55	1 version of "Prodigal Son", 1 humorous tale.	YB	Includes a discussion of "Prodigal Son" in Grierson (1919).
Varma (1931)	11	101 words 93 words	Folk tale. Folk tale.	HB NB	"North Wind and the Sun" in both dialects.
Lorimer (1932)	1	41	Local tale (Muunulum Daado).	HB	Republished in Lorimer (1935b).
Lorimer (1935b)	47	3,337	4 foreign tales; 28 local tales and legends, 11 texts on local customs, 2 poems, 2 translations, 45 proverbs.	HB	Recorded in 1923–4.
Lorimer (1935b)	3	122	2 fairy tales; 1 translation.	YB	Recorded in 1923–4.
Lorimer (1962)	7	621	6: traditional tales, lore; 1 conversational sample.	YB	Recorded in 1923–4, 1935.
Berger (1974)	18	757	Folk tales, legends, local lore.	YB	
Frémont (1982)	19	873	Traditional local lore and tales, 1 love poem, several texts based on modern life.	HB	Recorded from one informant, 1977–79.
Tiffou & Pesot (1989)	18	431 (5,568 words)	Tales (humorous, moral, local folklore, fairytales, true anecdote).	YB	Recorded in 1979.
Tikkanen (1991a)	1	507	Folk tale.	HB	Recorded in 1989. Includes comparative folkloristic analysis.

Source			Content	Dialect	Notes
Hunzai (1991a)	256	256	Riddles.	HB	Roman transcription, no analysis, not translated.
Tiffou et al. (1993)	563	563	Proverbs (198), jussive formulas (41), questions and exclamations (48), comparisons (184), phatic phrases (60), riddles (32).	HB	Republishes 45 proverbs from Lorimer (1935b) and 70 from Hunzai et al. (1984).
Willson (1994b)	6	73	Tales, riddles, proverbs.	HB	Primer of Roman Burushaski, intended for local readers.
Willson (1994a)	7	190	Folk tales.	HB	Adapted from Lorimer (1935b).
Willson (1994c)	2	131	Folk tales (Muunulum Daado).	HB	Adapted from Lorimer (1935b).
Willson (1994d)	1	391	Folk tale (Shahzada Bahraam).	HB	Adapted from Lorimer (1935b).
Willson (1994e)	11	271	Informational articles: health, child-rearing.	HB	Addressed to local readers.
Skyhawk & Berger (1996)	1	1,078	Kesar saga.	NB	Includes copious folkloristic and cultural analysis.
Berger (1998)	41 / 26	1,690 / 841	Local lore and legends; many accounts of encounters with supernatural beings.	HB / NB	Recorded prior to 1961.
Tiffou (1999)	3		2 folk tales (excerpts), riddles and proverbs.	HB	Based on previously published materials in Tikkanen (1991a), Skyhawk and Berger (1996), and Tiffou et al. (1993).
Tiffou (1999)	10	182	Conversational texts.	YB	Some constructed for pedagogical purposes; some spontaneous.
Tiffou (1999)	3	38	2 tales, 1 text on polo.	YB	2 tales prev. pub. in Tiffou and Pesot (1989).

The increasing amount of textual material available enables Burushaski study to embark on a new phase of research based on textual analysis. The studies of Tiffou & Patry (1993) and Patry & Tiffou (1998, forthcoming) are pioneering contributions to the application of text linguistic techniques to Burushaski. Frémont (1989) is also based on quantitative text analysis. Similar textual studies of HB and NB are now possible on the wealth of textual material in Berger (1998) and Skyhawk et al. (1996).

8. Writing and script. Until recently, aside from the phonetic transcriptions of scholars, Burushaski was not written. Now, two parallel developments in the writing of Burushaski for local readers are emerging. The first utilizes a modified Perso-Arabic script, used by Nasiruddin Hunzai and other local authors. One version of this is set forth in the publication by the Burushaski Research Committee (1985), which employs both Perso-Arabic and Roman scripts. Beg (1980) presents another version of Perso-Arabic orthography. Standardization of a Perso-Arabic orthography remains in the future. The second development uses Roman transcription, following the schema for representing the relation between stress and tone in long vowel sounds first published in Berger (1960), and standard South Asianist notation for consonants. A variation of Roman Burushaski, designed for ease of reading by persons familiar with Roman script as used in English, modifies the notation for consonant sounds with the aim of minimizing diacritics (Willson 1994b, 1999:3–7).

9. Sociolinguistic studies. Sociolinguistically oriented studies of Burushaski are very recent. Frémont (1989) discusses the use of absolutive clause linking strategies with respect to the variables of gender and literary genre. Backstrom (1992) investigates lexical similarity percentages and mutual intelligibility and language attitudes in nine villages representing YB, HB, and NB. Kreutzmann (1998) investigates the correlations of linguistic groupings with various cultural and ethnic identities including religious denomination. Patry & Tiffou (1997) find that YB may be undergoing a process of relexification under the influence of Urdu; and Berger (1992) points again to the rapidity of linguistic change.

Frembgen (1986) is an important discussion of the settlement of the Nager valley. Tiffou (1995b) is a cultural/ethnographic description of the Yasin Valley, and a discussion and bibliography of ethnographic studies of the Burusho people is to be found in Tiffou (1998). Frémont (1993, 1991) discuss economic history and cultural motifs of the Burusho. Willson (1999), an ethnographic study of the Hunza Valley, includes a nineteen page index of Burushaski cultural terms.

10. Desiderata. Given the rapidity of linguistic and cultural change in the Burushaski-speaking area, the most urgent research task, in this author's opinion, is the collection of texts to build an archive of linguistic material and traditional cultural content at this stage of the language. Life histories, local lore, discussion of traditional medicines, traditional games, descriptions of old settlements, traditional agricultural practices are all potentially fruitful areas. Local researchers could play a central role in this effort. Texts are a rich source not only of cultural and historical information, but of previously unrecorded lexical items, and are a means of enriching the database of contexts

in which previously recorded words occur, particularly verb collocations. Such an archive could be the base of further work toward internal reconstruction, and the eventual compiling of a comparative/etymological dictionary. In this connection, the editing and publication of Lorimer's and Morgenstierne's as yet unpublished materials would be a valuable contribution.

There is a dearth of detailed comparative dialect studies, the need for which is stressed by Klimov and Edel'man (1995). Varma (1931) includes some remarks comparing HB and NB, and Varma (1941) remains a unique contribution. These two papers by Varma and Backstrom (1992) are the only works specifically focused on comparison of the Burushaski dialects. Fussman (1972) maps a standard set of 167 words in the Dardic languages and the YB and HB dialects. Research priorities include dialect mapping and work on the comparative phonology and morphology of the three dialect areas. The Burushaski-speaking region also offers fertile ground for research on multilingualism, child language acquisition in a multilingual environment, and continued work on contact phenomena.

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Current Research in Burushaski: A Survey[*]

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I have already produced, in a recent yearbook dealing with languages of South Asia (1998), a bibliography, which I hope to be almost exhaustive, of books and articles on Burushaski which were published between the years 1989–1996. The number of distinct titles involved—34—is an indication of the interest shown for the subject by the scholarly community, especially if one compares this situation with the one prevailing in comparable areas, such as, for instance, Tibetan languages in the North of India. It is that level of interest and the fact that several substantial works have been published since 1996 that are at the origin of the present paper.

In this brief overview, I intend to take into consideration not only books and articles dealing with the language itself, but also, as I have already done in the *Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics* (Tiffou 1998), books and articles dealing with Burusho society and the very profound changes which it has experienced in the past twenty five years, inasmuch as it does not seem advisable to separate the study of the language from the study of the people who actually speak it. Once this is done, I will also try to indicate the paths which research on Burushaski ought to follow in the foreseeable future.

The Burushaski language is an isolate and, as for every other isolate, questions inevitably arise as to its origins. Although this question may not be answered satisfactorily in the current state of knowledge, it is a legitimate field of research, even if chances of success do not appear, at present, to be very good. D. I. Edel'man (1997), like most paleo-linguists, suggests that Burushaki is included in the Nadene-Caucasic branch. According to J. Bengtson, Burushaski would belong to the Macro-Caucasic family which is made up of Basque, languages spoken in Daghestan, North-West Causcasic languages, and Burushaski itself. Recently, I. Čašule (1998) tried to find some links between Indo-European, more specifically its Paleo-Balkanic-branch, and Burushaski. As the reconstruction of Indo-European has allowed linguists to postulate a language spoken earlier than 6000 BC, we would expect that Čašule's attempt would be based on strict phonological correspondances. This, indeed, is what Čašule has tried to do. However, the correspondances he established are not always self evident and some are open to question. That is the case, for instance, of the connection between lat. *pāscō* and bur. *du-wás-*, for the *-s-* of *pāscō* is one segment of the inchoative suffix

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