

# Vernacular Stems and Loan Vocabulary in Burushaski: A Cultural Contact with Sanskrit as Expressed by the Names of Head Parts

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## ABSTRACT

Burushaski (Bur) is amongst the languages that has left huge deposits of cultural data with distinctive layers, marking the periods from history. The conception is that, that each layer in Bur distinctively preserve the remote development of vocabulary and loan inspirations from the cultures in contact. This paper aims to unfold these linguistic stratum under two major objectives. Firstly, it attempts to explore the primary layer of vocabulary, on which the Bur words are based in Names of Head Parts (NHP), developed from various stems. Secondly, it tries to find the loan vocabularies in this set of data, with historical references, inspired Bur during the past cultural contacts, mainly with Sanskrit. The following point seeks to understand the degree of impact under the cultural superiority of Gandhāri Prakrit and Sanskrit during the classical period, and with the Old Indian (OInd) or Indo-European (IE) languages. This cultural exchange is appearing to be started from the early second century AD in this mountain area of present Gilgit-Baltistan, as discussed in relation to geography and history in the opening of this paper. Following this, an attempt to present the previous investigations is offered. This is continued by the core data of NHP, exploring the distinctive primary layer, different from the super deposited stratum of loan vocabulary. This data is examined based on their decomposition revealing the words' stems and the sentence structure. This helps us to develop a list of vocabulary of IE origin in the names of head parts, also known from previous studies. However, this study reveals that major vocabulary is based on the vernacular stems and minor on loan vocabulary, not distressing the primary stratum of sentence structure. Thus, the loan vocabulary had adjusted differently in Bur, and continued to survive for a longer period.

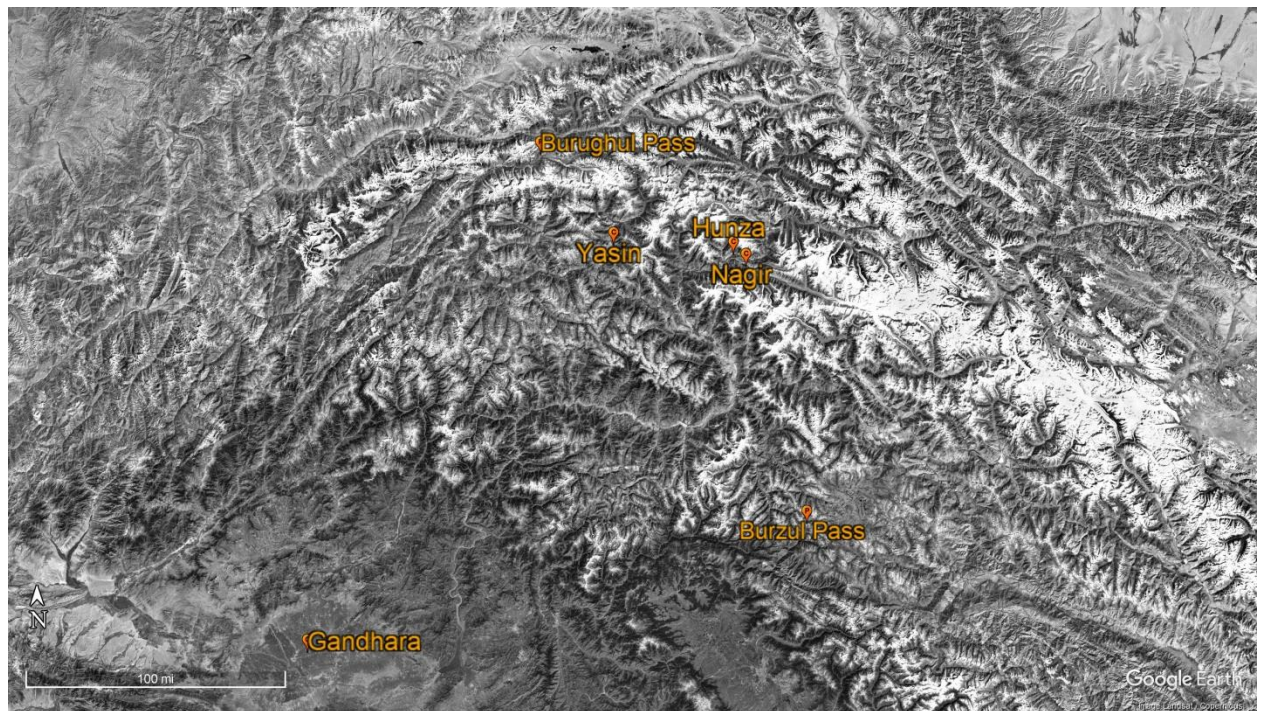
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## 1 Introduction

Burushaski survives in three valleys of Gilgit-Baltistan, located at the eastern limits of the mountain chains of Karakoram above and Hindukush below. These three valleys include Hunza (Hnz), Nagir (Ngr), and Yasin (Ysn) having a population of around 100,000 speakers. On one side Hnz and Ngr are located side by side on the banks of river Hunza, and on the road now called Karakoram Highway (KKH) leading from Gilgit to the Khunjarab pass. On another side, in the extreme inner areas of Ghizer, a different dialect of Bur survives. Geographically, the logical connection between Hnz-Ngr and Ysn cannot be establish without considering the connecting valley of Gilgit<sup>1</sup>, located on the cross-road between all the valleys of Gilgit-Baltistan. This marks the larger geography of Bur, remembered as Greater Burushal of antiquity (Fig. 1).

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<sup>1</sup> A thick population of Bur speakers permanently settled in the vicinities of Gilgit city, mainly migrated from Hnz after 1900 AD, and others from Ngr and Ysn distinctively speaking their own dialects.



**Fig. 1 - Location map of Burushal between the Burzul and Burughul passes (marked on Google Earth).**

The emergence of ancient Indian languages to this region is observable in oral traditions, further confirmed by archaeological evidences. The earliest linguistic contact of this region with the southern languages of Indo-Aryan origin can be traced back to the second (2<sup>nd</sup>) century AD, as epigraphic data from the sites of Hunza-Haldeikiš<sup>2</sup> (Dani 1985, Neelis 2006: 160-161), Alam Bridge (Fussman 1978), Thalpan (Neelis 2002) have collectively revealed. This first contact of the vernaculars with the Gandhāri Prakrit<sup>3</sup>, utilizing Kharoṣṭhī script for writing, should be the first phase of the interaction of Bur with a different set of languages of Indo-Aryan origin. The period earlier than this may be the historical phase of the Greater Burushal<sup>4</sup>, most possibly identified with the land between Burughul and Burzul—located between the passes of Burughul to the west in Ysn gives access to this land from Wakhan and Burzul to the east in Astore from Kashmir (Fig. 1). This interaction was due to the presence of Yuezhi-Kuṣānas in this region, particularly during the Kanishka rule between 127-51 AD, as also marked by several Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from Hunza-Haldeikiš (Neelis 2006: 161), most probably remembered as Kisar (Berger *et. al.* 1996: 169)<sup>5</sup>. New philosophies like Buddhism emerged here with the opening of routes from these rugged mountains, connecting Gandhāra and Central Asia (Bhatia 1976: 423-24). This phase of history should establish a cultural and linguistic contact between the main Buddhist learning centres in Gandhāra with this region. Before this cultural interaction, means before second (2<sup>nd</sup>) century AD, Bur should be the major language of this mountain area.

The change in language here once again appears between third (3<sup>rd</sup>) to fourth (4<sup>th</sup>) centuries AD. During this phase in history, the emergence of Sanskrit is evident from the Brāhmī inscriptions replacing the older Gandhāri

<sup>2</sup> A Burushaski name of maha-kṣatrapa 'Dhoi Hola' (Dani 1985: 21, 27, 28, 66) son of 'Nuusakha' repeats in two kharoṣṭhī inscriptions at Hunza-Haldeikiš is of significant value. As in Bur *dhoi* means 'milk' *bol* is 'army', but Indianised arrangement of Bur words in a name written in kharoṣṭhī script, such as 'Hari-sina', shows the cultural transformation. His name is comparable to a name of village 'Dhoi-kar'. However, his father name 'Nuusakha' gives a different expression than that in Bur. Alongside this, three more names Kaiu, 'Enaḍa' and 'khudu' (Dani 1985: 21) are appearing like a Bur expression of names. These names appear with title maha-kṣatrapa or kṣatrapa means governors of Kushanas during second (2<sup>nd</sup>) century AD.

<sup>3</sup> Ancient local language of Gandhāra, modern Peshawar Valley, located in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan, in the South of Gilgit-Baltistan. Gandhāri was a dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan family, among several other similar dialects spoken in northern and central parts of subcontinent (Salomon 2007: 179-180).

<sup>4</sup> Later Tibetan sources of the 8th century A.D., let us know about Buruza, as a centre of Bonism. It also mentions the marriage between the royals of Tibet and Buruza, and from this place several Bon priests used to visit Tibet (Hoffmann 1950: 212, Chakravarti 1954: 230, Hakal 2015: 13)

<sup>5</sup> Is usually confused with Fromo Kesaro (Harmatta 1996: 372), however, Kisar can be identified with Kanishka (Hakal 2018: 68), who constructed a canal in Altit Hunza known as Kisar-e-dala, which needs further investigations.

language and Kharoṣṭhī script, as also evident from Gandhāra (Salomon 1996: 375). This appeared in the transitional phase of the decline of later Kidāra-Kuṣānas (Neelis 2006: 165-166) and/or along the emergence of Palola/Paṭōla Śāhis (Hinüber 1985, 2004, 2010, Neelis 2006: 166), can be occurred somewhere between fourth (4<sup>th</sup>) to fifth (5<sup>th</sup>) centuries AD. The inscriptions in Gupta Brāhmī from Upper Indus Valley are the evidences of this phase, which worked for the calligraphic evolution of Proto-Śāradā of Gilgit Manuscripts (Sander 1985: 69-75). Therefore, in this region, we have several ancient inscriptions of the period of Paṭōlas, of them forty one (41) documented and studied by Hinüber (1985: 67, 2004 12-83), marking the survival of the Sanskrit language in this mountain area, alongside the development of Proto-Śāradā script. Such inscriptions giving a transition from Gupta Brāhmī to Śāradā include, Gilgit Manuscripts, Hatun Inscription of Paṭōla Śahī, Danyore Inscription of the same dynasty are the major findings of philological significance. Similarly, several small and large inscriptions in Gupta Brāhmī, Proto-Śāradā, and Śāradā scripts, counted in thousands from Shatial, Thalpan, Chilas, Hudur, Alam Bridge, Pratab Pul, Hunza-Haldeikiṣ and several from other sites in Diamir and Baltistan region, and bronze sculptures are the supportive pieces of evidence to the core archaeological findings. Thus, the survival of written Classical Sanskrit, in this mountain area, is marked by the epigraphic data, can more broadly dated between the fifth (5<sup>th</sup>) to eighth (8<sup>th</sup>) century AD.

Along with the Sino-Tibetan conflicts in 747 AD in this region (Stein 1922), the decline of Greater Paṭōlas is noticeable (Hinüber 2004: 98-99), or possibly continued as several lesser localised dynasties. This absence of patronage for the elite language, during this transition and the emergence of localise rule, may also localise the languages. In this scenario, one can imagine the co-existence of the classical language of Sanskrit, as a dialect of the elites, with the dialects of common subjects under the patronage of Śāhis earlier may intermix in this later phase of history. This interaction may cause the emergence of Śinā language, probably after eighth (8<sup>th</sup>) century AD.<sup>6</sup> The interactions of local dialects with Sanskrit may have created several varieties of Śinā, such as that of Kohistan, Tangir, Darel, Chilas, Astore, Gilgit, Punyal, lower Hunza and lower Nagir, broadly classified into three major groups—Gilgiti, Astori and Kohistani (Schmidt 1985: 17-26). The Gilgiti dialects are having a huge vocabulary portion of Bur origin. Bur names of several villages, now populated with Śinā speakers and this vocabulary in Gilgiti Śinā suggest that this variant has developed based on the interaction of Sanskrit, Bur and unknown others, work to emerge Śinā as a language with distinctive features. The name of this developed language is generally associated with the Śin or Šeen tribe of this area, and assumed to be ancient migrants from the south (?) or emerged in Gilgit (Schmidt 1985: 18). However, this word is comparable to ‘Sin’ means Indus or ‘Sina’ means Army in Sanskrit. Therefore, the influence of the superior Sanskrit is visible here as it is in Bur, however, in Śinā the distortion of both Sanskrit and Bur is noticeable<sup>7</sup>.

It seems that the localised patronage after the decline of Palolas protected Bur to survive among the people of three isolated areas of Ysn, Hnz and Ngr in two major dialects in two different valleys during the medieval and post medieval periods, which is the most obscured part of the history of this region. This is the visible gap of more than five centuries, noticeable till the emergence of Islam from three different directions<sup>8</sup> into this land during fifteenth (15<sup>th</sup>) and sixteenth (16<sup>th</sup>) century AD. With the preaching of Islam, Perso-Arabic vocabulary is noticeable in Bur. This phase appears to be connected to the expansion of Islam from three different directions, introducing Persian literature alongside Arabic text of religious significance into this land. Latest in the history, after the extension of the Dogra Empire of Kashmir and the emergence of British Colonial Power to this area, the introduction Urdu and English languages is evident after mid nineteenth (19<sup>th</sup>) century AD, and continued to inspire the local languages, and the process is still active.

Therefore, this research looks back into the ancient impact of the OInd languages, particularly Sanskrit upon Bur, during the Buddhist period, before the emergence of localised rule, or before eighth (8<sup>th</sup>) century AD. With this object, this study focuses upon the vocabulary of NHP and compares it with the Grammar of the Bur. Beside this we are only trying to understand how Bur reacted in dealing the loan vocabulary, during the historical contact, from Sanskrit and others. Beside this, a detailed work on Bur stems and affixes is offered for the readership.

## 2 Previous Investigations

Nearly seventeen decades of research on Burushaski (Bur), disputed the opinions on the subject of its origin, or as a better choice considered a language-isolate. The earliest phase of Bur documentation is along with the extension of Dogra rule from Kashmir to Gilgit after mid nineteenth (19<sup>th</sup>) century AD. In this connection, Cunningham (1854: 38, 398-418, Čašule 2020) only mentions about the language of Khajona spoken in Hnz and Ngr and

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<sup>6</sup> Jettmar (1975: 20-21) marks the date of transition to second half of first millennium AD. However, to me, it seems after the localisation of the greater Paṭōlas.

<sup>7</sup> Further researches are in need to explore the distortion of Sanskrit and Bur in Śinā.

<sup>8</sup> Suni interpretation of Islam reached from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, to the south, Shia Imāmi Ismaili tradition of Islam from Badhakshan to the west, and Shia Imāmi Ithnā’ashari Islām came from Kashmir to the east, and inspired the people of connected areas (Dani 1989) after sixteenth century (Hakal 2015, 2019: 182-83).

provides a short list of words, expressing its uniqueness among the surrounding languages. He collected this information from the Vazirs of Gilgit and Nagir, attending the Dogra Darbar of Ghulab Singh in Kashmir. More to this initial information was added by Hayward (1871), visited Ysn two times, but unfortunately murdered in Darkut on 18<sup>th</sup> July 1870 and later buried in Gilgit, provide a comparative list of more than 350 Bur words of Hnz-Ngr and Ysn dialects separately, also comparing with other local languages in the surroundings. Further documentation of Biddulph (1880: iii-xxxix) offers a thorough study of this language under Boorishki, and attempts to explore its grammar based on Ngr dialect and a list of vocabulary, where he extensively offers the connected expressions of the subject-object relationship in Bur personal nouns. Furthering this work, Leitner's (1889) handbook on Bur compares the dialects of Hnz and Ngr, helps to get the dialectal differences and similarities. This work becomes a base for developing the idea of its different "non-Aryan" origin (Grierson 1919: 551), which was tentatively suggested (Barbour 1921) to be the earliest language of South Asian aboriginals. The work of this phase is significantly added by the Zarubin's (1927) contribution on grammars and vocabularies of Ysn dialect (Lorimer 1928).

In the second phase of systematic documentation, after 1930, Lorimer for the first time produces three extensive volumes on Hnz-Ngr (1935-1938) and Ysn (1962) Bur. Lorimer's work even having some linguistics issues is appearing to be an inspiration for later contributions. In this connection, Morgenstierne (1945) for the first time felt the Sanskrit inspirations in Bur. After a long gap, Edel'man-Klimov's (1970, 1997) description is furthering previous tentative researches. Besides this, a premier and short Grammar on Bur in Urdu by Qudratullah Beg (1980) is an addition to the literature. Moreover, Tiffou-Pesot's (1989a, 1989b) vocabularies are the major contributions in Ysn Worshikwar. Alongside this, after 1950s, two contemporary poets Nasiruddin Hunzai and Ghulamuddin Hunzai regularly presented their Sufi poetry in Bur, related Ismaili tradition based on medieval period Persian model. This poetry with huge Persian inspirations, for the first time presented in written form inspired the Bur speakers intensively, and continued throughout the later phase also.

In the third phase of detailed studies on various aspects of Bur, such as more dictionaries, more work on grammar, translation, vocabulary and morphological analysis, appears after 1990. In this phase, the major and the authoritative contribution is of Berger (1998), linguistically trained scholar in Indology, placed an extensive contribution on Hnz-Ngr dialect, dealing in grammar, texts and Burushaski-German dictionary. This efficient linguistic attempt based on the original work as well as on secondary data, letting us more to understand the historic loans in Bur from Sanskrit. His contemporary, Anderson's (1997, 2007) contributions help us to better understand Bur phonology, morphology and syntax (Anderson-Eggert 2001). In addition to this, Willson's (1999) basic Burushaski vocabulary gives a better guideline for exploring this language. However, oral texts and expressions from Hispar (Ngr), with the transcription, translation and annotation by Skyhawk (2003) is an addition to the anthropological studies on Bur. Burushaski-Urdu dictionary by Nasiruddin (2006) and the Burushaski translation of Holy Quran (2007) Ghulamuddin are the major additions of Bur speaking contributors. From a perspective of the historical phonology and morphology of Bur and its internal reconstruction Berger's (2008) later contribution is the major addition. A long and extensive thirty years of research work of Ilija Čašule (1998, 2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2012a, 2012b) provides a detailed etymological analysis Bur vocabulary of different semantic fields like body-parts, rituals, shepherd vocabulary, numerals with object to trace its Indo-European connections, especially to ancient Phrygian language, with reference to its origin. His etymological dictionary is supporting us in exploring the stems and roots of the words in comparison to other IE languages. This work is in continuity of that Čašule produced, and proposes the same vocabulary he (2003) utilised with a historical approach of understanding in dealing the interaction of Bur with IE languages.

### 3 Methodology

The data is based on personal vocabulary of the author, as a native speaker, with additional support of interviews from the speakers of the other dialects, and confirmed in comparison to the previous contributions. In this connection, twenty five [1-25] NHP have been selected. First, the subject-object relationship in these personal nouns is analysed, which completes the meaning of words NHP. For this analysis a table (1) is extracted from the data, elaborating twenty [1-20] names with their qualification as first person, second and third person. First person and second person were further classified into singular and plural and third person into singular and plural dealing differently in three genders. In singular third person Masculine (M) and Neuter (N) genders are dealing with same word, therefore, placed in one column; and in plural case both genders of M and Feminine (F) are same in dealing, but N is different. Therefore, columns are made accordingly. However, remaining five [21-25] are different in grammatical settings and in subject-object relationship. These words in table (2), different to above, always in need of pronoun to be attached, and also appears differently in the dealing with singular gender of third person. However, in plural case, it is same to above table (1). This difference was the first evidence of different origin in the selected set of data.

Further, in order to analyse all words morphologically, another table (3) is extracted from the data by decomposing word semantic basis for the analysis. Where all twenty five [25] words are again separately decomposed to the

semantic limits, and compared internally within Bur, which help us in exploring the stems of these words<sup>9</sup>. Therefore, minimum with three examples from Bur are compared internally, which reveal the same meaning in the construction of these other words, marking the stems with appealing similar semantic results. Thus, from this work of internal morphological and etymological analysis, the meaning of every stem is extracted. Further, Vowel (V) Consonant (C) relationship is presented in a table 4 and Graph 1 and a descriptive study is offered alongside this representation. Therefore, this work is revealing the similar result in the analysis of Bur words. Thus, again, this system is not followed by the above identified five (5) examples [21-25], majority revealing their meanings in relation to OInd languages.

Writing Bur needs a standard script, which was not available in this language. Therefore, we searched for the common script adopted by several researchers. Here, it revealed that Bur writing started along with the inception of documentation. In the first phase of documentation, colonial scholars adopted roman characters with different standards for writing the unique phonology, which initially not following the phonetic standards. In second phase systematic recording, Lorimer also used his own designed unique standard in 1930s, having similar issues. After 1950s, two local poets Nasiruddin and Ghulamuddin with their training Perso-Arabic script attempted to write in their own styles. Therefore, two different standards of this script evolved, by adding different diacritical additions differently to the characters of Perso-Arabic script, which constantly appeared in their publications since the decade 1950s. However, beside this, utilisation of roman script continued side by side, used by foreign researchers on Bur. The major contribution is of Hermann Berger, worked on Bur phonology and proposed again his own standard. In the third phase of research, as commonly accepted reference, the Berger's (1998, I: 13) table of the phonological system of Hnz-Ngr Bur has been adopted by several researchers of the field. Majority of recent contributors adopted Roman script by excluding the complexities in his technical drafting of this language, along with the addition by Tiffou-Pesot (1989: 7-9) of *ch* in Ysn dialect. The most recent development is of Burusho Maraka<sup>10</sup>, attempting to consider all previous contributors and uniform the script. The proposed script of Burusho Maraka, mainly based on Berger's model for Roman script, and Ghulamuddin's contribution with some improvements for Perso-Arabic (not utilised here). Therefore, for this research we adopted Berger's model keeping his orthography expressing the Bur NHP, excluding some complexities.

#### 4 Names of Head Parts: the selected data

The terminologies used for different parts of head (NHP) with first person expression as subject include: [1] 'head' is *a-yatis*, [2] 'face' is *a-skil*, [3] 'eye' is *a-lcin*, [4] 'forehead' is *a-phati*, [5] 'mouth' is *a-qhat*, [6] 'ear' is *a-ltumul*, [7] 'nose' is *a-mupus*, [8] 'nostrils' are *a-multar*, [9] 'cin' is *a-san*, [10] 'teeth' is *a-me*, [11] 'tongue' is *oo-mus*, [12] 'eyebrow' is *a-liaani*, [13] 'eyelash' is *a-lpur* [14] 'hair' are *a-gunyañ*, [15] 'lip' *e-il* [16] 'cheek' is *a-moqis*, [17] 'jaw' is *a-melç*, [18] 'neck' is *a-s*, [19] 'vertex or tip of the head' is *a-than*, [20] 'jawbone' are *a-vaskicañ*, [21] 'soft palate (upper cavity of mouth)' is *tal*, [22] *gapal* / *kapal* is 'the skull', [23] *salat* (Hnz) *phuni* (Ngr) or differently *melming* (Ysn) is used for 'moustaches', [24] *mato* is for 'brain', and [25] *buk* is for 'throat' in Bur.

#### 5 Morphological decomposition based on semantic properties

##### *The relationship of subject and object*

The relationship of subject and object is unique in personal nouns (see Table 1). Only a prefix of single Vowel (V) *a* or *oo* or *e*, represents the subject of the first person's personal nouns. Again, a Consonant (C) *gu* works in place of the subject in second person. However, V *i* in third person M/N and *mu* in F cases. The following paragraphs discuss this relationship with the help of different examples from NHP.

First of all, as the subject, in the case of first person singular, V *a* or *oo* or *e* appear in Bur as suffixes, attached with the 'noun' as prefix, such as *a-lcin* 'my eye' or *oo-mus* 'my tongue' or *e-il* 'my lip'. The subject in the case of first person plural, the noun turns into plural, following the above subject of *a* or *oo* or *e* as prefix, such as *a-ltumulin* 'my ears' or *oo-tin* 'my feet' or *e-ilin* 'my lips'. The subject in the case of second person singular, the guttural *ga* with the medial V *u* becomes to be *gu*, with the object, such as *gu-me* 'your's teeth' or *gu-qhat* 'your's mouth' or *gu-il* 'your's lip'. The subject in the case of second person plural, labial *ma* is followed by plural word, such as *ma-vaskicing* 'your jaws'. The subject in case of third person singular, in both states of genders of M or N: V *i* is followed by the stem, such as *i-me* 'his teeth' or *i-chañras* 'his back of the head' or semi V *ya* with long V *uu* qualifies the word, such as *yuu-mus* 'his tongue'. The subject in the case of third person singular in a state of F gender, labial *ma* with long or short V *uu* or *u*, is followed by the stem such as *muu-mus* 'her tongue' or *mu-ltumul* 'her ear'. Finally, the subject in the case of third person plural in all three states *u* is followed by the plural name, such as *u-phatimuc* 'theirs' foreheads'.

<sup>9</sup> The scope of this work only focusses on internal analysis of morphology to understand the difference of loan and actual words of Bur origin. However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to have a comparable analysis of correspondences with the languages of different origins.

<sup>10</sup> Burusho Maraka is a platform of Burushaski speaking writers, attempting to propose a uniform and standard script in both Perso-Arabic script and Roman characters.



S.no	NHP	First person		Second Person		Third Person			
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular		Plural	
						M/N	F	M/F	N
1.	<i>yatis</i>	<i>a-yatis</i>	-	<i>guyatis/ mayatis</i>	<i>mayatimuc</i>	<i>iyatis</i>	<i>muyatis</i>	<i>uyatimuc</i>	<i>iyatimuc</i>
2.	<i>-skil</i>	<i>a-skil</i>	-	<i>gu-skil/ ma-skil</i>	<i>ma-skiln</i>	<i>i-skil</i>	<i>mu-skil</i>	<i>u-skiln</i>	<i>i-skiln</i>
3.	<i>-lċin</i>	<i>a-lċin</i>	<i>a-lċumuc</i>	<i>gu-lċin/ malkċin</i>	<i>ma-lċumuc</i>	<i>i-lċin</i>	<i>mu-lċin</i>	<i>u-lċumuc/</i>	<i>i-lċumuc</i>
4.	<i>-phati</i>	<i>a-phati</i>	-	<i>gu-phati/ ma-phati</i>	<i>ma-phatimuc</i>	<i>i-phati</i>	<i>mu-phati</i>	<i>u-phatimuc</i>	<i>i-phatimuc</i>
5.	<i>-qhat</i>	<i>a-qhat</i>	-	<i>gukhat/ makhat</i>	<i>makhat</i>	<i>i-khat</i>	<i>mu-khat</i>	<i>u-khatin</i>	<i>i-khatin</i>
6.	<i>-ltumal</i>	<i>a-ltumal</i>	<i>altumalin</i>	<i>gu-ltumal/ ma-ltumal</i>	<i>ma-ltumalin</i>	<i>i-ltumal</i>	<i>mu-ltumal</i>	<i>u-ltumalin</i>	<i>i-ltumalin</i>
7.	<i>-mupus</i>	<i>a-mupus</i>	-	<i>gu-mupus/ mamupus</i>	-	<i>i-mupus</i>	<i>mumupus</i>	<i>u-mupuyanċ</i>	-
8.	<i>-multar</i>	<i>a-multar</i>	<i>a-multarin</i>	<i>gu-multar</i>	<i>gu-multarin</i>	<i>i-multar</i>	<i>mu-multar</i>	<i>u-multarin</i>	<i>i-multarin</i>
9.	<i>-asan</i>	<i>a-san</i>	-	<i>gu-san/ masan</i>	-	<i>i-san</i>	<i>mu-san</i>	-	-
10.	<i>-me</i>	<i>a-me</i>	<i>a-me</i>	<i>gu-me/ mame</i>	<i>ma-me</i>	<i>i-me</i>	<i>mu-me</i>	<i>u-me</i>	<i>i-me</i>
11.	<i>-mus</i>	<i>oo-mus</i>	-	<i>gu-mus/ moo-mus</i>	<i>moo-muso</i>	<i>yu-mus</i>	<i>mu-mus</i>	<i>uu-moso</i>	<i>yu-moso</i>
12.	<i>-ltaanċ</i>	<i>a-ltaanċ</i>	<i>a-ltaanċ</i>	<i>gu-ltaanċ</i>	<i>ma-ltaanċ</i>	<i>i-ltaanċ</i>	<i>mu-ltaanċ</i>	<i>u-ltaanċ</i>	<i>i-ltaanċ</i>
13.	<i>-lpur</i>	<i>a-lpur</i>	<i>a-lpuraċ</i>	<i>gu-lpur</i>	<i>gu-lpuraċ</i>	<i>i-lpur</i>	<i>mu-lpur</i>	<i>u-lpuraċ</i>	<i>i-lpuraċ</i>
14.	<i>ġuyan</i>	-	<i>á-ġuyan</i>	<i>gu-ġuyan</i>	<i>gu-ġuyan</i>	<i>i-ġuyan</i>	<i>mu-ġuyan</i>	<i>u-ġuyan</i>	<i>i-ġuyan</i>
15.	<i>-il</i>	<i>e-il</i>	<i>e-ilin</i>	<i>gu-il</i>	<i>gu-ilin</i>	<i>i-il</i>	<i>mu-il</i>	<i>u-ilin</i>	<i>i-il</i>
16.	<i>-moqis</i>	<i>a-moqis</i>	<i>a-moqiaċ</i>	<i>gu-moqis</i>	<i>gu-moqiaċ</i>	<i>i-moqis</i>	<i>mu-moqis</i>	<i>u-moqiaċ</i>	<i>i-moqiaċ</i>
17.	<i>-melċ</i>	<i>a-melċ</i>	<i>á-melcaċ</i>	<i>gu-melċ</i>	<i>gu-melcaċ</i>	<i>i-melċ</i>	<i>mu-melċ</i>	<i>u-melcaċ</i>	<i>i-melcaċ</i>
18.	<i>aš</i>	<i>aš</i>	-	<i>goš/ maš</i>	-	<i>eš</i>	<i>eš</i>	<i>o-šomuc</i>	<i>o-šomuc</i>
19.	<i>-than</i>	<i>a-than</i>	-	<i>gu-than</i>	-	<i>i-thán</i>	<i>mu-than</i>	<i>u-than</i>	<i>i-thayo</i>
20.	<i>-vaškicaċ</i>	-	<i>a-vaškicaċ</i>	-	<i>gu-vaškicaċ</i>	<i>i-vaškicaċ</i>	<i>mu-vaškicaċ</i>	<i>u-vaškicaċ</i>	<i>i-vaškicaċ</i>

**Table 1 - Names of Bur origin head parts, dealing first, second and third person.**

If we examine word *yatis* in the light of above arrangement of prefixes, we find the same system working. In the case of first person singular becomes *a-yatis* works with applied usage. In the case of second person singular, it becomes *gu-yatis* or *ma-yatis* (gestures respect), in case of second person plural it becomes *ma-yatimuc*, in case third person singular it becomes *i-yatis* (in both genders of M and N of third person singular). However, *mu-yatis* is particular for F gender; and in third person plural case, *u-yatimuc* is used for both M, F but for N *i-yatimuc*.

Similarly, for noun *a-lċin* 'my eye' becomes meaningful with the subject *a* qualifies *-lċin*, apparently a meaningless word, it is the case of first person singular. This forms *a-lċumuc* in case of first person plural. Formation of *gu-lċin* or *ma-lċin* is in the case of second person singular. Composition of *ma-lċumuc* is used as the second person plural. This word becomes *i-lċin* in the case of third person M or N genders. However, *mu-lċin* is in the same case, but specific for F gender. In case of third person plural, the both genders including M and F it becomes *u-lċumuc* but with N gender *i-lċumuc* is used.

On the same grounds, the system repeats in every case, such as *a-phati*, *a-khat*, *a-ltumal*, *a-mupus*, *a-asan*, *a-me*, *oo-mus*, *a-š*, *e-il* etc. However, few NHP do not fit into this setup; include *kapal*, *tal*, *mato*, *salat*, *buk* and etc.

In Bur, *a-khat* simply means 'my mouth', but in case of *kapal*, we need a separate subject *jaa* to add the meaning of *kapal* in case of first person singular, forms *jaa-kapal*; *mii kapaliso* is in case of first person plural, *une kapal* second person singular, *uee kapaliso* second person plural, *inee M / isee N kapal* third person singular, *iee N kapaliso* and *uee M/F kapaliso* third person plural. Thus, this structure to bring a special subject to qualify the meaning of object is applicable for all loan words in Bur, in similar for non-vernacular borrowed vocabulary (Čašule 2003: 18-19). More to the above analysis, some more names from body parts (NBP) includes *bada* 'foot impression' more comparable to *pada* of Sanskrit (Morgenstierne 1945: 92, Čašule 2003: 19), and *pini* 'leg below knee' (Čašule 2003, 19).

S.no	NHP	First person		Second Person		Third Person				
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	She	it	Plural	it
21.	<i>kapal</i>	<i>jaa kapal</i>	<i>mii kapaliso</i>	<i>une kapal</i>	<i>maa kapaliso</i>	<i>inee kapal</i>	<i>inmo kapal</i>	<i>isee kapal</i>	<i>uee kapaliso</i>	<i>iee kapaliso</i>
22.	<i>tal</i> ( <i>akbate</i> )	<i>jaa tal</i>	<i>mii talmin</i>	<i>une tal</i>	<i>maa talming</i>	<i>ine tal</i>	<i>inmo tal</i>	<i>isee tal</i>	<i>uee talmin</i>	<i>iee talmin</i>

23.	<i>buk</i>	<i>jaa buk</i>	<i>mii bukani</i>	<i>une buk</i>	<i>maa bukani</i>	<i>inee buk</i>	<i>inmo</i>	<i>isee buk</i>	<i>uve bukani</i>	<i>icee bukani</i>
24.	<i>salat</i>	<i>jaa salat</i>	<i>mii salat</i>	<i>une salat</i>	<i>maa salat</i>	<i>inee salat</i>	-	<i>isee salat</i>	<i>uve salat</i>	<i>icee salat</i>
25.	<i>mato</i>	<i>jaa mato</i>	<i>mii matomiñ</i>	<i>une mato</i>	<i>maa matomiñ</i>	<i>inee mato</i>	<i>inmo mato</i>	<i>isee mato</i>	<i>uve matomiñ</i>	<i>icee matomiñ</i>

Table 2- Names of non-Bur origin head parts, dealing first, second and third person.

### Internal morphological and etymological analysis

In Bur the formation of every word is composed of a stem, or more than two stems, attached with affixes (see Table 3). These stems are deeply rooted in the linguistic history of human being. Here, we are going to decompose the words in a morphological context with object to understand its semantic properties, expressing the meaning in Bur, and marking the features of stems and affixes. In order to make the meaning complete in Bur, these stems are attached with different arrangement of affixes. These affixes are always arranged as prefixes, infixes and suffixes along the key stem, or composition of two or more stems, revealing the relevant meaningful results. Here these stems and affixes are decomposed, and compared with other words, keeping in view its single utilisation revealing a common meaning in Bur. However, again, the study of roots of these stems is beyond the scope of this paper.

[1] 'Head' in Bur is *-yatis* (Hnz-Ngr) / *-yates* (Ysn). Word *yatis* is rooted in Bur word *ya* and *-ate* collectively *yate* means 'above', dealt differently in Bur. The prefix *ya* literally means 'no' as also in case of prefix *a-* or *e-* or *oo-*, but giving the meaning of 'before' in *yar*, as in *yar-ne*, *yar-pa*, *yar-kamas*, *yar-mus*, etc. all mean for something 'before'. The following *-ate* is also utilised in many Bur words, such as *bal-ate*, *bal* means 'wall' and *-ate* gives the meaning of 'at' or 'on' or 'upon', *gan-ate* means 'on the way', *phu-ate* 'on the fire' etc. Therefore, the composition of *ya* and *ate* is completing itself in every analysis and gives the meaning of 'upon the before'. However, attached suffix *-i-s* to the composition of two stems *yate* means 'up' gives the expression of 'something' in meaning connected to upper part. Suffix *-i-s* can be seen in many words such as *guut-i-s* means your foot, *bon-i-s*, rounded dough, *s-i-s* people *th-i-s* mistake etc. As result of this comparison '*yatis*' reveals the meaning of 'something upon the before' identifying the head, and also utilised in Bur with similar meaning, as revealed also by another comparative analysis of Čašule (2003: 20-21).

[2] Word *-skil* (Hnz) is in Bur stems *ski-* and *-il* collectively form *-ski-il* means face. The complex stem *ski* gives meaning of 'alike' or 'that similar to' or 'the grown out of that'. The Bur word *skil* also means 'the wrong favour'. Also in *i-ski* means 'three (3)' (Čašule 2009: 170), can possibly be a ligature of *ise* and *ski*, making *ise-ski* to *iski* can be 'the child one (1) and two (2)'. Similar expression is *isk* or *isko* 'baby or child' (Čašule BED: 223), gives the meaning of the third from couple. However, its utilisation is very much extensive as a suffix, e.g. in *misha-ski* means 'like us', *burusha-ski* 'like burusha', *hiri-ski* 'like men', *ioni-ski* 'like a slave' etc. Following it, the attached suffix *-il* appearing with several words in NHP, *il* itself means 'the opening or tip of canal', another examples *ji-il* 'the rise (of sun)', *e-il* 'my lip', *chi-il* 'water', connected to it *des-il* 'to make wet', *nu-il* 'to dip into water', *me-il* wine, *a-ndi-il* means chest or breast etc. As result of this decomposed comparison *ski-il* reveals the meaning of 'alike the opening' or 'appearing in opening' or simply 'the third in opening' between two shoulders, identifying the face. This word is also used for the face of animal e.g. *bua-a iskil* 'cow's face', *jakun-e iskil* 'donkey's face' etc. or used for prominent things or people in metaphor e.g. *thaañ-e iskil*, 'the frontal elevation of fort, means façade', *Nager-e iskilatūm ghanumišo sis* 'the prominent figures of Nagir'. Therefore, this word is used also to express the front, as antonym to *ivaldas* 'back'.

[3] Word *-līn* is rooted in Bur word *-l-ī-* and *-in* collectively *-l-ī-in* means 'eye'. The first *-l-* after the prefix of subject looks a short form of *il* 'the opening' (see [2]) *-ī-* literally means 'at' or 'on' e.g. *Bul-ī-* name of village in Bagrot of Bur origin means 'at the spring', *gal-ī-* 'on the turn', *Har-ī-* name of place 'on the ravine' between Altit and Baltit, *Mal-ī-* name of place in Ishkoman means 'on the field' etc. The composition of stems of *il* and *ī-* are followed by the suffix *-in* appearing with many words in Bur means 'that' as also in *in* or *in-e* 'that person', *kbi-in* 'this person' *in-gi* 'that in front of something' etc. As a result of this comparison *-l-ī-in* reveals the meaning of 'that on the opening' might be marking towards the opening of the eyes. A different analysis is offered by Klimov-Edel'man (1972:161) and Čašule (2003: 21-22).

[4] Word *-phaṭi* is composed of Bur stem *-pha-* and *-ṭi* collectively *-pha-ṭi* means forehead (Čašule 2003: 31). The first stem *pha* gives a meaning of 'open' in *pha-ri* means 'open pool', *pha-mol* 'fruit', *pha-ṭaṇ* 'to open' (Čašule 2003: 31, BED: 199), *pha-r-iat* means to turn over, *pha-l* 'to throw', *pha-lii* 'the product of grains inside the grain head' etc. Following it, the suffix *-ṭi* appears with many words in Bur such as *pha-ṭ* 'flat edge (of axe or knife etc)', *ga-ṭ* 'knot' or *ga-ṭi* 'to gather', *ṭi-r* 'that unarranged, unorganised, looking straight up' *ṭi-n* 'erected', *ṭi-m* 'loud sound', *ṭi-s* 'a ditch', *ṭi-q* 'a small sound' etc. As result of this comparison of stem *pha* and suffix *ṭi* reveals the meaning of 'open-flat/straight' might be marking towards the shape of open and flat area without hair, is identifying the forehead of human.

[5] Word *a-qbat* is rooted in Bur stem *-qba-* and suffix *-at* collectively *-qbat* means 'mouth'. The first *-qba-* literally means 'lower' or 'down' (Čašule BED: 13, 58, 173) e.g. *qba-t-ne* 'towards down areas', *qba-va-las* 'recede or drop down', *qba-s* lesser issue, *qba-ri* clap, etc. Following it, the suffix *-at* appearing with many words in Bur such as *pha-at* 'open down without control', *r-at* 'flat area'. This comparison reveals *-qbat* in the meaning of 'down- open' marking towards the function of mouth only opening down, is identifying the mouth of anything. However, Čašule's (2003: 26) different approach of analysing correspondences to IE gives a different result.

[6] Word *a-ltumul* is rooted in Bur word *-il-*, *tul-* and *-mal* collectively form *-ltumul* means ear. The first *-il* literally means 'opening' see [2] and [3] above. The second *tul* means 'cavity', e.g. word *tul* itself means 'hole' (Čašule BED: 241), cavity, *tus* 'grave', short form of *tul-s* etc. The third, the suffix *-mal* itself means field in Bur e.g. *bi-diro-mal* 'a round field' etc. This decomposed comparison of *-ltumul* reveals the meaning of 'opening-cavity-field' marking towards the shape of ear looking like a field with open cavity, is identifying the ear of human, animal and of anything. Čašule's (2003: 26) internal study with *tho-mal* is also useful understand the meaning.

[7] Word *a-mupus* (Hnz-Ngr) *a-mus* (Ysn) is composed of stems *-mus-* and *-phus-* collectively in short as *-mupus* means nose (Čašule BED: 264). The first *-mus-* literally means 'end' see [1] e.g. *il-ji-mus* means 'the back end' and *gas-ke-mus* means 'the end of rope'. The second *phus* literally means 'empty space, hollow, and a cavity within something', e.g. word *phu-aanc* 'things empty within', *phu-l* 'bowl, marks a cavity within' etc. As a result of this analysis of *-mupus* means of 'end with hollows' marking towards the shape of nose, is identifying the nose.

[8] Word *a-multariñ* is rooted in Bur word *-mus-*, *-il-*, *-tar* and *-iñ-* collectively *-mu-l-tar-iñ* means nostrils. The first *-mus-* literally means 'end' see [1] and [7]. The second *-il-* means 'opening' see [2], [3] and [6] above. The third *tar* means 'broken, split, sound of breaking the piece of cloth', also appears in *tar-bet* 'wide open', *tar-ke* 'structure for animals, not elegantly constructed', *tar-iñ* 'leather bag for carrying water or liquids'. The fourth, suffix *iñ* is making the meaning of 'several [3] such as *gal-iñ* means steps, 'broken in several'. This internal analysis of *-mu-l-tar-iñ* reveals the meaning of 'end broken into more than one' marking towards the shape of nostrils, is identifying the nostrils of human and animal.

[9] Word *-san* is rooted in Bur word *-sa-* and suffix *-an-* collectively in short as *-sa-an* means 'chin'. The first *-sa-* marks about 'a movement, or to appear', literally means the sun, also in the examples such as *sap*, 'horseshoe', *sa-bur* 'the last day', *sa-thap* 'the day and night', *sa-gam* 'skylight', *ma-sa-as* 'to reach', *du-sa-as* 'to come out', *ba-sa-as*, 'to move down', *ba-sa* 'to stay' etc. The second *-an* seems to be connected to 'one', such as *b-an* means 'one', *bar-an* 'one word', *ghar-an* 'a song', *gar-an* 'a marriage etc. see also below [16]. Therefore, *-san* gives the meaning of 'appearing-one'.

[10] Word *-me* is rooted in Bur means tooth or teeth. *-me-* appear to mean 'press' also used in *ja-me* 'bow', *juu-mee* 'to insist humbly', *ti-me-es* 'to bear something difficult' etc. Therefore, this reveals the meaning of *-me* as 'press' marking towards the work of teeth, can identifying it with its function.

[11] Word *oo-mus* (Hnz/Ngr) *yuunus* (Ysn) is rooted in Bur word *-mus* (Čašule 2003: 52) appears also in *oo-mus-o* with sound *í*, means 'me to lie' is giving the meaning of tongue. Here *-mus-* or *-mus-* speaks about its meaning as 'end' see also [1], [7] and [8] above, marks about the ending shape of tongue, or the ending tip of tongue.

[12] Word *-l-ta-añc* rooted in Bur word *-l-ta-añc-* collectively means eyebrows. The first *-l-* should be short form of *-il-* as we have also notice in *a-l-tu-mal* etc. see above [2], [3], [6], [7] and [8] literally means 'the opening'. The second *-ta-* means to follow, as also appear in *alta* 'two' revealing the meaning 'following the beginning'. This word *-ta-* appears in many words, such as *el-ta* 'make him follow', *ta-liš* 'the cloth for covering babies', *ta* 'snow leopard'. The third word is *-añc* appears to mean of 'as many as' such as used in *gať-añc* means 'many knots', *thu-va-añc* 'many new people' etc. Thus, this internal comparison of *-l-ta-añc-* reveals the meaning of 'as many as two' marking towards the composition of many hairs in two sets above the eyes. However, Čašule (2003: 22) studies under the heading of eyelashes, in Bur *-l-pur-añ* as mentioned under [13] below.

[13] Word *-l-pur-añ* is rooted in Bur word *-l-pur-añ-* or *-il-bur-yañ-* collectively means 'eyelashes' (Čašule 2003: 22). The first *-l-* should be short form of *-il-* as we have also notice in *a-ltumul* etc. see above [2], [3], [6], [7] [8] and [12] literally means 'the opening'. The second *-bur-* literally means 'single hair' (Čašule 2003: 22). The third word is *-yañ* appears to means 'several' such as *bur-yañ* 'several hairs', *es-pur-añ* 'mane' (Čašule 2003: 22) etc. Thus, this study of *-l-pur-añ-* reveals the meaning of 'several hairs to front' marking eyelashes.

[14] *-guyañ* means 'hair' composed of *-gun-yañ*. The first *gun* means 'locks' or 'cuffs', appears also in *gun-e-kiš*, means 'bad', however, *gu* means 'to step into', therefore, *gu-sa-num* means 'long', *gu-wa* 'black dark night', *gu-raš*, 'faeces', *gu-s* 'lump of soil', *gu-to* 'smell'. Whereas, the following *yañ* means 'several or uncountable'. Thus, we can infer the meaning of *-guyañ* 'several to tie'. Whereas, Čašule (2003: 23) rightly compares with *pulgun*, in connection to *-guyañ*, of Bur means feather.

[15] *-il* means 'lip' composed of stem *il* literally means 'the tip or end or opening' also appears in above [2], [3], [6], [7], [8], [12] and [13]. However, internal analysis is missing in Čašule's (2003: 26) work but focus is only upon external analysis with other languages of different origins.

[16] Word *-moqiš* means cheeks with the stem *moq* means to swell (Čašule 2003: 23-24, BED: 15), which is added by suffix *-š*, seen as suffix in many words, such as *ga-š* 'to sell', *pha-š* 'to end', *te-š* 'to swore', *me-š* 'a tree', *be-š* 'informed', *la-š* 'to lick', *ta-š* 'to slip' etc. All these words help us to understand the meaning of *-š* giving a sense of 'something in related to or to'. Therefore, it will mean 'related to swelling'.



[17] Word *-melç* is developed in Bur means jaw. Word *-melç* can be decomposed as *-me-*, *-il-* and *-ç* collectively making the word to complete the meaning. The first *-me-* also used to mean ‘press’ in *a-mé* means my teeth or my tooth, see above [10]. The second, *-il-* shows the opening tip or edging end, see also [2], [2], [3], [6], [7], [8], [12], [13] and [15]. Whereas, the third, *-ç* can also noticed in *il-ç* means ‘amniotic-sac’, a thin layer which keeps the animal within it before birth, *be-l-ç* means ‘something bad to happen or in a sense of nothingness’ as well, *ra-aç* ‘to protect’ and other relevant words as *ra-aç-i* ‘protecting spirit or soul’, *raačkuyō* a plural of *raači* etc. helping us to extract a meaning of holder or keeper. Thus *-melç* reveals the meaning of ‘teeth holder’. However, previous studies (Čašule 2003: 24) have differently proposed the stem as *mel* in comparison to the *melmelin* [25] of Ysn.

[18] Word *-š* is developed in Bur means my neck. Word *-š* can be seen as suffix in many words, such as *ga-š* etc. see also [16]. The above words also help us to understand the meaning of *-š* giving a sense of ‘something in connection to or in relation to’. The comparison with its utilisation with the same meaning of collar and external comparison is offered in previous studies (Čašule 2003: 28-29).

[19] ‘Vertex’ (Čašule 2003: 29) or tip of the head is *a-than*, can be decomposed as *-tha-an*. The first *-tha-* means hundred or a complete number, or a top, e.g. *tha-a-num*, means ‘on a height’, *tha-m* means ‘King’, *thaañ* means ‘the royal residence’. The second *-an* appears to be connected to ‘one’ see also above [9]. Therefore, as result of this decomposition and comparison *-than* reveals the meaning of ‘top-one’ marking the position of vertex.

[20] ‘Jawbones’ are called *a-vaškičan*, might be composed of *-vaš-ski-čaq-añ*. The first *-vaš-* means ‘the pressed’ or ‘distorted shape’, such as, *kha-vaš* ‘sac’, *vaš-kiš* ‘distorted one’. Following it, *-ski-* appearing with many words in Bur revealing meaning of ‘like’ such as *gušaa-ski* means ‘like you’ see also [2]. The third is *-čaq-* means *čaq* ‘to chew’, also in *čaq-ga* ‘to speak’ showing a meaning of process. The fourth *-añ-* or *-yañ* gives a sense of ‘several’. As a result of this comparison *-vaš-ki-čan* reveals the meaning of ‘pressing area of many thing’ marks the function of jawbones.

NHP	No.	stem	example	meaning	example	meaning	example	meaning	extracted meaning
<i>yačis</i>	1.1	<b><i>ya(r)</i><sup>11</sup></b>	<i>yar</i>	First	<i>yar-pa</i>	front	<i>yar-muš</i>	first and top	first
	1.2	<b><i>-ačē</i></b>	<i>bal-ačē</i>	upon the wall	<i>gan-ačē</i>	on the way	<i>čhil-ačē</i>	on the water	upon
	1.3	<b><i>-i-s</i></b>	<i>guč-is</i>	your foot	<i>bon-i-s</i>	rounded dough	<i>th-i-s</i>	mistake	something
<b><i>-skil</i></b>	2.1	<b><i>-ski</i></b>	<i>i-ski</i>	Three	<i>i-skē</i>	baby	<i>hiri-ski</i>	like men	third/alike
	2.2	<b><i>-il</i></b>	<i>il-ji-muš</i>	back end	<i>ji-il</i>	the rise (of sun)	<i>e-il</i>	my lip	opening
<b><i>-l-ci-in</i></b>	3.1	<b><i>-il</i></b>	<i>il</i>	the opening of canal	<i>üil-i-muš-e</i>	around	(see 2.2)		opening
	3.2	<b><i>-či</i></b>	<i>Bul-či</i>	on the spring	<i>har-či</i>	on the ravine	<i>mal-či</i>	on the field	on
	3.3	<b><i>-in</i></b>	<i>in</i>	that person	<i>kb-in</i>	this person	<i>in-gi</i>	front	that
<b><i>-phači</i></b>	4.1	<b><i>-pha-</i></b>	<i>pha-vu</i>	broken stalk	<i>pha-ri</i>	open pool	<i>pha-čañ</i>	to open	open
	4.2	<b><i>-či</i></b>	<i>či-n</i>	straight up	<i>či-m</i>	loud sound	<i>či-s</i>	ditch	straight
<b><i>-qhat</i></b>	5.1	<b><i>-qha-</i></b>	<i>qha-t-ne</i>	lower places	<i>qha-č</i>	clap	<i>qha-s</i>	no-issue	lower
	5.2	<b><i>-at</i></b>	<i>pha-at</i>	open down without control	<i>r-at</i>	plain area	<i>b-at</i>	Stone plank	plain
<b><i>-ltumal</i></b>	6.1	<b><i>-il-</i></b>	<i>il-tal-tar</i>	Frontal limbs of animal	(see 2.2 and 3.1)				opening
	6.2	<b><i>-tul-</i></b>	<i>ni-il-tul</i>	filled hole	<i>tu(l)s</i>	grave	<i>phul /pha-tul</i>	bowl	hole
	6.3	<b><i>-mal</i></b>	<i>mal</i>	Field	<i>bi-diro-mal</i>	round field	<i>tho-mal</i>	burning incense	field
<b><i>-mupuš</i></b>	7.1	<b><i>-muš-</i></b>	<i>gaš-ke-muš</i>	end of rope	<i>tal-muši</i>	end of the roof	<i>qbač-muš</i>	lower end	tip
	7.2	<b><i>-phuš</i></b>	<i>phuš</i>	Hollow	<i>phuškiš</i>	Something empty within	<i>phu-aani</i>	empty things	hollow

<sup>11</sup> Bold stems are new, and can repeat.

<b>-multariñ</b>	8.1	<i>-mu(ś)</i>	<i>muś</i>	end/tip	<i>a-muś</i>	my nasal fluid	(see 7.1)		tip
	8.2	<i>-il</i>	(see 2.2, 3.1, and 6.1)						opening
	8.3	<b>-tar-</b>	<i>tar</i>	Broken	<i>il-tal-tar</i>	frontal limbs of animal	<i>pa-tar-i</i>	to break something into two	broken
	8.4	<b>-iñ/ añ</b>	<i>iñ</i>	Several	<i>gal-iñ</i>	steps	<i>caḡa-mi-iñ</i>	talks	several
<b>-san</b>	9.1	<b>-sa-</b>	<i>sa</i>	Sun	<i>ma-sa-as</i>	to reach	<i>duu-sa-as</i>	to appear	appear
			<i>ba-sa</i>	Stay	<i>ba-sa-as</i>	to decline	<i>sa-m-ba</i>	thinking	
	9.2	<b>-an</b>	<i>b-an</i>	One	<i>b-an-juko</i>	similar	<i>ib-an</i>	straight	one
<b>-me</b>	10.1	<b>-me</b>	<i>ja-me</i>	Bow	<i>juu-mee</i>	insist humbly	<i>ti-me-eś</i>	bear something difficult	press
<b>-mus</b>	11.1	<i>-muś</i>	<i>o-muś-o</i>	me to lie	(see 7.1, and 8.1)				end
<b>-Itaanc</b>	12.1	<i>-il</i>	(see 2.2, 3.1, 6.1, and 8.2)						opening
	12.2	<b>-ta</b>	<i>al-ta/ il-ta</i>	Two or following the beginning	<i>el-ta</i>	make him follow	<i>ta-liṣ</i>	the cloth for covering babies	Following the first
			<i>ta</i>	Leopard	<i>ta-m</i>	swim	<i>ta-ṣ</i>	slip	
	12.3	<b>-anc</b>	<i>gaṭ-anc</i>	many knots	<i>thu-va-anc</i>	new-ones	<i>du-va-anc</i>	several baby goats	several
<b>-I-pur-añ</b>	13.1	<i>il</i>	(see 2.2, 3.1, 6.1, 8.2 and 12.1)						opening
	13.2	<b>-bur-</b>	<i>bur</i>	Hair	<i>bur-yañ</i>	hairs	<i>eś-pur-(y)añ</i>	mane	hair
	13.3	<b>yañ</b>	<i>bur-yañ</i>	several hairs	<i>tul-yañ</i>	many holes	<i>eś-pur-(y)añ</i>	mane	several
<b>-ḡuyañ</b>	14.1	<b>ḡu</b>	<i>ḡun</i>	Cuffs	<i>ḡu</i>	take a step	<i>ḡun-e-kiṣ</i>	bad	lock
	14.2	<b>yañ</b>	(see 12.3)						several
<b>-il</b>	15.1	<i>-il</i>	<i>e-il</i>	my lip	(see 2, 3, 6, 8, 11 and 13.1)				opening
<b>-moq-</b>	16.1	<b>moq</b>	<i>mooq</i>	Smile	<i>mooq</i>	swell	<i>i-moq</i>	pluck it	swelled
<b>-iṣ</b>	16.2	<b>kiṣ</b>	<i>nas-kiṣ</i>	that smells	<i>ṣar-kiṣ</i>	urine bladder	<i>ji-kiṣ</i>	store	that
<b>-melç</b>	17.1	<i>-me-</i>	(see 10)						press
	17.2	<i>-il-</i>	(see 2, 3, 6, 8 and 11)						opening
	17.3	<b>-ç</b>	<i>il-ç</i>	amniotic sac	<i>be-l-ç</i>	nothingness	<i>raaçi</i>	protecting spirit	holder
<b>-ṣ</b>	18.1	<b>-ṣ</b>	<i>ga-ṣ</i>	to sell	<i>pha-ṣ</i>	to end	<i>me-ṣ</i>	a tree	In connection
<b>-than</b>	19.1	<b>-tha-</b>	<i>-tha-</i>	Hundred	<i>tha-anum</i>	height	<i>tham</i>	King	top
	19.2	<i>-an</i>	(see 9.2)						one
<b>-vashkican</b>	20.1	<b>-vaṣ-</b>	<i>keba-vaṣ</i>	Sac	<i>vaṣ-kiṣ</i>	distorted			presses
	20.2	<i>-ski-</i>	<i>guṣaas-ski</i>	like you	(see 2.1)				like
	20.3	<b>-ca-</b>	<i>ca-q</i>	to chew	<i>ca-ḡa</i>	to speak	<i>ca-qo-ṭi</i>	difficult	process
	20.4	<i>-yañ</i>	(see 13.3 and 14.2)						several

**Table 3 – Bur stems and infixes creating the names of head parts (NHP).**

However, in the head parts five names of different origin, became part of Bur as loan vocabulary somewhere during historical contact with mainly with OInd languages. First the soft palate (upper cavity of mouth) is *tal*, second example is of *gapal* / *kapal* means the skull, *salat* is used for moustaches, *mato* is for brain, and *buk* is for throat (Časule 2003: 19-20).

[21] In several Indo-European languages of subcontinent ‘the soft palate (upper cavity of mouth)’ is known with related words of *tal*, such as *talū* in Punjabi, Urdu/Hindi, Pahari etc. also appears in Sanskrit with similar

pronunciation of *tala* तल (Benfey 1866: 358), therefore, the retroflex sounds are called *talāvia*. This word is visibly a loan reached to this along Sanskrit during classical period, surely after fourth (4<sup>th</sup>) century A.D. This word is also known in the neighbouring so-called Dardic Language of Šinā, in which the historical evolution has made *tālo*. In Bur as well as in Šinā it is also used for covered roof of a house is also known with word *tal*.

[22] In Sanskrit *kaṭal* means the 'skull', spoken in Bur as it is or with little alteration as *gapal*. Similarly, it also appears in Sanskrit with similar pronunciation of कपल *kapala* (Benfey 1866: 157). This word is also a visible loan reached Bur during classical period of Sanskrit. This word is also common in the neighbouring Languages of Šinā, Khowār, Kalaṣwār as it is (Čašule 2003: 19).

**Table 4 – Consonant (C) vowel (V) relationship in stems and affixes.**

[23] *mato* is for 'brain', may be developed from *mat* मत or *mad* मद or *mati* मति of Sanskrit (Benfey 1866: 677-

S.no	CVC		VCV	VCC	CCV	VC		CV	C
	a	b	a	a	a	a	b	a	a
1.	<i>yar-</i>		<i>-aṭe</i>						-s
2.					<i>-ski-</i>	<i>-il-</i>			
3.						<i>-il-</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-ci-</i>	
4.					<i>-pha-</i>			<i>-ṭi</i>	
5.					<i>-qba-</i>	<i>-at</i>			
6.	<i>-tul-</i>	<i>-mal-</i>				<i>-il-</i>			
7.	<i>-muś-</i>	<i>-phuṣ-</i>							
8.	<i>-mu(ś)-</i>	<i>-tar-</i>				<i>-il-</i>	<i>-in</i>		
9.							<i>-an</i>	<i>-sa-</i>	
10.								<i>-me-</i>	
11.	<i>-muś</i>								
12.				<i>-anṭ</i>		<i>-il-</i>		<i>-ta-</i>	
13.	<i>-bur-</i>	<i>-yañ</i>				<i>-il-</i>			
14.						<i>-il-</i>			
15.	<i>-yañ</i>							<i>-ḡu-</i>	
16.	<i>-moq-</i>	<i>-keṣ</i>							
17.						<i>-il-</i>		<i>-me-</i>	<i>-ṣ</i>
18.									<i>-ṣ</i>
19.					<i>-tha-</i>	<i>-an</i>			
20.	<i>-vaṣ-</i>	<i>-yañ</i>			<i>-ski-</i>			<i>-ca-</i>	

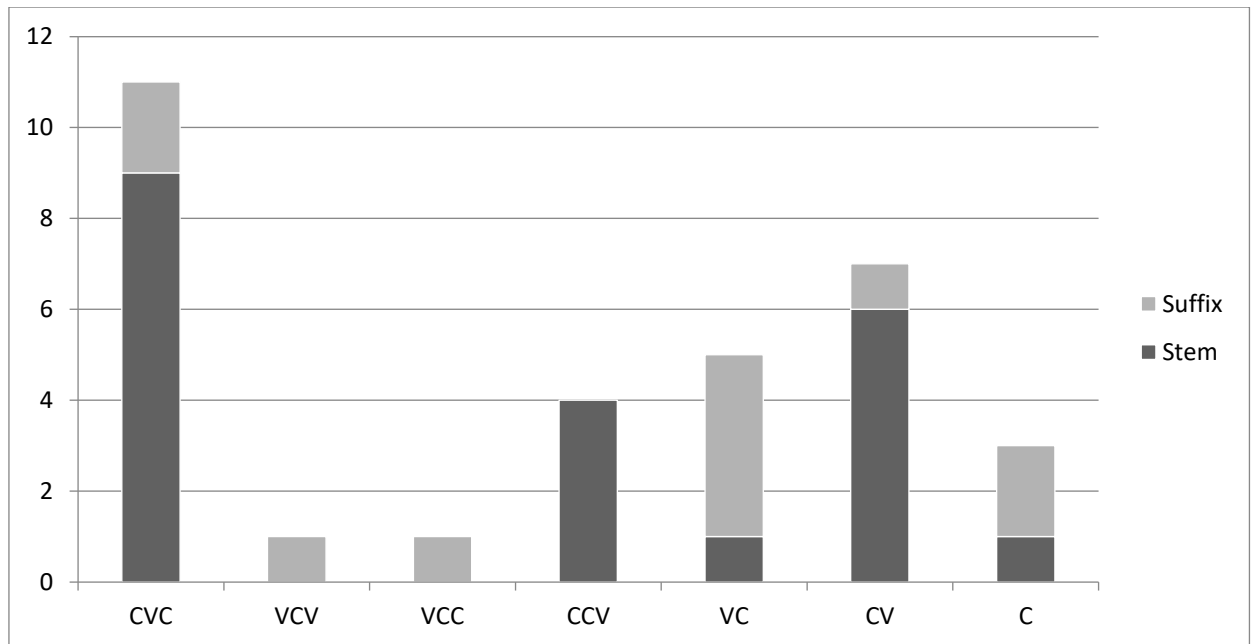
680) have the similar meaning. Also use in Punjabi with same meaning as *math*, and in Urdu with different meaning as *matha* used for forehead. In Šinā, it is same *mato* for brain, might be it is the later Šinā inspiration in Bur (Čašule 2003: 19).

[24] *buk* for 'throat', also in Khowār, also appearing in Sanskrit with a different meaning of 'laughter' relevant to the meanings of sound connection throat but seems a Khowār or IE inspiration (Čašule 2003: 27).

[25] *śālāt* in Hnz-Ngr dialects is used for 'moustaches' looking (?) to be non-Sanskrit by origin on one hand; and different than the structure of vernacular Burushaski phonology, on the other. However, in Ysn dialect *melmilān* is used, can be decomposed as *me-il-mi-il-in*. First, *me* reveals the meaning of press above. Second, *il* means the beginning tip or opening. Third *mi* 'ours' and again *il* mark lips. The last one is *in* means several. The meaning can be something related to 'press around the lips'. However, *phumti* (Ngr) is a visible Šina inspiration.

## 6 Discussion

Thus, this study let us explore that Bur is a complex language, with a long history of independent development based on vernacular stems, which is super-deposited by foreign vocabulary in different phases of history with their visible features in distinctive stratum. The primary layer marked by the vocabulary formed with the amalgamation of Bur rooted standard stems. Twenty nine stems are explored, working in twenty names of head parts, revealed by the study of twenty five words. Stems include (1) *an* 'one' (2) *añ* 'front', (3) *añc* 'as many as', (4) *at* 'plain', (5) *aṭe* 'upon', (6) *-ṣ* 'holder/possessor' (7) *ca* or *ca* 'process' (8) *ci* 'on/ nearby', (9) *il* 'backend/ beginning', (10) *in* 'that', (11) *in* 'edge' (12) *kba* 'low', (13) *mal* 'field' (14) *me* 'press', (15) *moq* 'to swell', (16) *muś* 'tip/end' (17) *pha* 'open', (18) *phuṣ* 'hollow' from *phuu* means to blow (19) suffix *-s* means 'something', (20) *-ṣ* 'in connection' (21) *sa* 'appear', (22) *-ski* 'like', (23) *ta* 'following/ two', (24) *tar* 'broken into two' (25) *ṭi* 'straight', (26) *tul* 'hole' (27) *tha* 'top/maximum' (28) *vaṣ* 'pressed', (29) *yar* means 'first/front'.



Graph 1 – Quantitative analysis stems and affixes composed of consonants and vowels (based on Table 3).

Among these stems from twenty words, stem *il* repeats in seven names, *muś* repeats three times, *añ* also repeats three times, *ski* repeats two times, and *me* also repeats two times in the selected data. These simple but primary stems are meaningful and their defining compositions are creating other meaningful words. This primary layer of Bur words is needed to be explored further on proper grounds. After establishing this list, a comparative study of these stems with others of known language families will help to resolve the complex academic question of its origin.

Linguistically, majority of the words composed from diverse natures of stems formed from Cs and Vs composition. In Consonant Vowel Consonant (CVC) arrangement there are eleven (11) different examples, as *bur*, *-kiś*, *mal*, *moq*, *muś*, *phuś*, *tar*, *tul*, *vaś*, *-yañ* and *yar*, appears fifteen (15) times in twenty (20) words. These CVC are utilised as the key stems, attached to other stems as well as working as suffixes. In above examples nine (9) *bur*, *mal*, *moq*, *muś*, *phuś*, *tar*, *tul*, *vaś* and *yar* are utilised as the key stems. However, two (2) of them *kiś* and *yañ* appears as suffixes.

Vowel Consonant Vowel (VCV) *-aṭe* and Consonant Consonant Vowels (CCV) *-ani* have one example each from this set of data, utilised here as suffixes. Consonant Consonant Vowels (CCV) are four (4) in number here, as *kha*, *pha*, *ski* and *tha* in five (5) different examples. All of them are used here as the key stems.

Five (5) Vowel Consonant (VC) arrangements *an*, *at*, *il*, *in* and *iñ* appear in thirteen (13) different examples. Unique stem *il* repeatedly appear eight (8) times. Whereas, remaining four (4) VCs *an*, *at*, *in* and *iñ* are only used as suffixes.

The Consonant Vowels (CV) are seven (7) here, appear as *ca*, *ci*, *gu*, *me*, *sa*, *ta*, and *ṭi* in eight (8) examples. Six (6) of total appear as stems, and only one *ṭi* a suffix. Beside this only Consonants (C) are three (3), include, *-s*, *ṣ* and *-ṣ*. However, one example of *-ṣ* is unique, remaining two (2) appear as suffixes. The only example of *-ṣ* appears as a stem in the case first person singular *a-ṣ*.

Thus, in CVC, CCV and CV majority are stems, and VCV VCC and C are suffixes in majority. However, CVC and CV affixes in minority and CCV all of them are stems. Whereas, in cases of VC and C suffix examples are in majority. Beside this, in both VCV and VCC have only suffix examples. (Graph 1)

The second layer is of the super deposited layer of vocabulary, unable to fix itself in the grammar and structure of this language. These are loans mainly from Prakrit and Sanskrit, started to influence since second (2<sup>nd</sup>) century AD. This was during the Buddhist period, reached its climax between fifth (5<sup>th</sup>) to seventh (7<sup>th</sup>) centuries AD, and started to decline in eighth (8<sup>th</sup>) or ninth (9<sup>th</sup>) centuries AD. It is the mature period when Bur can be highly inspired from Classical Sanskrit. The historical contact of Bur with other languages can be maximum possibly expanded between fourth (4<sup>th</sup>) to ninth (9<sup>th</sup>) century AD. Therefore, from this set of twenty five [1-25] Bur words are morphologically decomposed to the semantic limits within Bur and compared its utilisation within the formation of minimum three different words for analysis. As a result, we came to interact with Bur stem words utilised again and again in vocabulary formation. This is revealing a preliminary list of Bur stems works in construction of words.

The remaining five words [21-25] were not fitting themselves in this type of classification of decomposition and majority giving a similar or relevant meaning to Sanskrit. So, all such non-Bur words have different impact upon the word formation and introduce a different system sentence structure comparable to IE. Such as, in vernaculars, *a-*

*khat* simply means my mouth, but in case of *kapal*, we need a separate subject '*jā*' to add the meaning of *kapal* in case of first person singular, forms *jā-kapal*; *mi kapalīśo* is in case of first person plural, *une kapal* second person singular, *uve kapalīśo* second person plural, *inē* (M) / *iśē* (N) *kapal* third person singular, *iē* (N) *kapalīśo* and *uvee* (M/F) *kapalīśo* third person plural. This repeatedly appears in every case of *tal*, *buk*, *salat* and *mato*. From this list, four words were comparable to Sanskrit and only one *salat* (Hnz), used differently in Ysn dialect as *melmiling* is also not adjusting in the analysis structure but not revealing any meaning in Sanskrit also, therefore, this word of Hnz dialect can be an import from any other (?) language of origin. However, *melmiling* of Ysn dialect is appearing to be an original word, but still not fixing in the Bur model of first, second and third person in male gender. Anyhow, after the decline of major centres of Sanskrit learning, Sanskrit started to merge with other local languages. The cultural distinction between Sanskrit of the elite and vernacular languages possibly ended after eighth (8<sup>th</sup>) or ninth (9<sup>th</sup>) centuries AD, and caused *Ṣinā* to emerge in this region. *Ṣinā* corrupts many Sanskrit vocabularies but Bur keeps those previous inspirations in vocabulary as they were.

Persian language reached with the introduction of Islam in sixteenth century or even before, therefore, Bur has Persian inspirations in the loan vocabulary. This inspiration is not visible in names of head parts, which is connected to the emergence of Persian as lingua-franca in Central Asia. Similarly, it is continued by Urdu and English to influence this ancient language, which distinctively marks the loan vocabulary of every age, again this period has not affected the names of head parts. Future investigations on any set of data under this methodology can add the details of terminologies, on their bases of formation and composition, and attempting to find foreign vocabularies reached Bur as a result of social and cultural contact after second (2<sup>nd</sup>) century AD.

## 7 Conclusions

All of the NBP and personal items in Bur appear with prefixes attached to words composed of different stems. Such as, generally, prefix *a-* used in the case of first person singular, *mi-* first person plural; *gu-* second person singular, *ma-* second person plural; and *i-* third person M/N singular, *mu-* F singular, *u-* third person M/F plural, and *i-* again for N. These prefixes, identifying the person, are singularly presented by V or composed of CV arrangement. This unique system was observed even by the earliest investigators on the subject. However, this research explored the stems in NHP composed of CVC, VCV, VCC, CCV, VC, CV and C as stems or affixes. Historically speaking, this formation of words in a systematic way is earlier in model than that introduced by the historical contact of Bur with the languages of different origins. This contact seems to be established after second (2<sup>nd</sup>) century AD, when the Kushana Emperor Kanishka (Kisara)<sup>12</sup> extended his empire to this region, and Gandhāri became a lingua-franca in Central Asia. From epigraphy, it is also evident that Gandhāri was replaced by Sanskrit in this region including Gandhāra, around fourth (4<sup>th</sup>) century AD. Therefore, gradually, Bur started to get the inspirations from such languages; and the major influence on Bur can be seen from the Sanskrit. This effect is vividly visible in the NHP having inspirations from Sanskrit and others IE languages. However, this impact, seems to be mild, was unable to disturb the major structure of words formation in Bur. Such loans are differently handled and adjusted by the speakers of Bur in antiquity, as this study of vernacular and loan vocabulary have revealed. The major part of vocabulary in the NHP is still following the vernacular standards, but there are few borrowing from OInd and others.

## 8 List of Abbreviations

AD	Anno Domini
C	Consonant
CCV	Consonant Consonant Vowel
CV	Consonant Vowel
CVC	Consonant Vowel Consonant
F	Feminine
Hnz	Hunza
IE	Indo-European
KKH	Karakoram Highway
M	Masculine
N	Neuter
Ngr	Nagir
NBP	Names of Body Parts
NHP	Names of Head Parts
OInd	Old Indian Languages
VCV	Vowel Consonant Vowel
VCC	Vowel Consonant Consonant

<sup>12</sup> As expressed himself in various inscriptions.

VC Vowel Consonant  
Ysn Yasin

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