

REMARKS ON SHINA LOANS IN BURUSHASKI

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Burushaski is full of words borrowed from the Gilgit dialect of the neighbouring Shina, but only a part of them are found in Bailey's description of this language.¹ In his dictionary of Burushaski, Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer gives Shina correspondences of quite a number of Burushaski words not recurrent in Bailey's grammar. As long as no further field notes on Shina vocabulary are collected or published, Lorimer's work constitutes a valuable source of Shina lexicography. The present paper, in a restricted compass, aims to discuss several words alleged in Lorimer's dictionary or detected in my own notes.³ As the occurrence of a Burushaski word in Shina does not stringently imply that it has been borrowed from Shina into Burushaski - there are also numerous instances the other way round - I have exclusively selected words for which a Sanskrit etymology could be traced. In a few cases where even Lorimer does not adduce a Shina correspondence, the Indo-Aryan origin can be inferred solely from etymology or from morphological peculiarities. Apart from recent Shina loans that are in nowise or only in a small degree phonetically changed, Burushaski has some older borrowings from Indo-Aryan, of which correspondences are missing in present-day Shina. Whether they have been transferred from a dialect different from Shina, or whether those words are no longer extant in later Shina or not yet recorded by chance, cannot be decided. A few examples of this type are communicated at the end of this paper, together with some other loans of interest belonging to none of the two types.

1. Burushaski kōor 'cave (in earth or rock cliff), shelter under overhanging cliff' < Shina kōer (L235 b)

< Sanskrit Koṭara 'the hollow of a tree; cave, cavity'. In Shina simple ṭ is lost between vowels cf. gài 'earthen pot'
 < Skt. Ghaṭikā. Skt. koṭara is also preserved in Hindi khodar, Oriya korara a. o., Turner IA 3496. Bur. kóori 'boot' Sh. kōāre (L235 B) seems to be derived from the same word.

2. Bur. rùu (with low rising tone) 'healing of wound, joining of edges of cut' Sh. rū waiōiki 'to close, come together, of a wound' (L 304 b, waiōiki 'to come') < Skt roha 'rising mounting; growth, increase', for the meaning cf. kṣataro-hana 'healing or closing of a wound'. The low rising tone in Bur. points to the loss of h, cf. my article WZKSOA V (1961), p 54. It is certainly to be assumed in the Sh. word too, but as usual not marked by Lorimer.

3. Bur. yom 'match, pair, duplicate; proper for, fitting for' (L385b) < Sh. *yom? Skt. yugma 'adj. even (as opp. to 'odd'); n. a pair, couple, brace; twins'. Lorimer gives no Sh. equivalent, but the derivation from an older *yomma is evident, cf. Prakrit jumma < yugma. y is retained in Sh. and not changed into j as in the languages of the peninsula.

4. Bur. -yoq 'toilet, titivating (includes washing and cleaning oneself and dressing up)' < Sh. yuk thoiki 'to swagger in new clothes etc.', Khovar yuq korik id. (L392b), < Skt. yogyā 'useful, proper, fit for, etc.', or yogyā 'preparation, exercise, practice.'

5. Bur. jigā 'long, for a long time' (Sh. jigo 'long', jiga 'for a long time' (L 392 b) < *driggho, by Dardic metathesis < Skt. dīrgha 'long'. Bur. jèek 'extended, stretched out, prostrate, lying down' < Sh. jèk (GB 169, L 217 b) is apparently related, but the details are not clear; Morgenstierne derives it from Skt. drāghita 'lengthened', but simple -gh- is not retained in Sh.

6. Bur. kái 'soup' < Sh. kai (L 230 b) < Skt. kāñjika, -kā 'sour gruel, water of boiled rice in a state of spontaneous fermentation', which itself is borrowed from Dravidian, cf.

Tam. kañci, Kanar. gañji etc. 'rice-water, gruel', Burrow-Emeneau DED 927. For the treatment of ñc cf. poi '5' < pañca.

7. Bur. kalamúto 'base of external ear, flesh of ear' (L 227 a). Lorimer has no equivalent in Sh., but it may have been dissimilated from *kanamúto, i. e. *kañéi múto, 'thick of the ear', from koṇ, gen. koñéi 'ear' (older *kaṇ) and a word corresponding to Hindi moṭa, Panjabi moṭṭā, etc. 'fat, stout, thick'. Sh. *móto or *muto 'fat' is perhaps also preserved in Bur. móṭis 'very fat (said of small cattle)'; for the ending cf. yarípis 'poor fellow' from yariip 'poor' (< Urdu yarīb).

8. Bur. biim 'fright, threat, intimidation' < Sh. *bīm (not in L) < Skt. bhīma 'fearful, terrific'. From the same stem also Bur. bik 'afraid, alarmed; fear, fright'; with a secondary k-suffix.

9. Bur. çhur 'knife' < *çhur (L 102 a wrongly çūr) 'small knife' < Skt. kṣura.

10. Bur. sújo 'pure, sacred, holy' < Sh. sujo (L 317 b) < Skt. sujāta 'well born, noble, fine, beautiful', cf. ájō 'bad' in the Yas. dialect, formally < Skt. ajāta 'unborn,' but with changed meaning contrary to sújo. In the Hz. dialect perhaps in ájō 'an exclamation of pain, groan' with exclamatory vowel lengthening.

11. Bur. akáš 'misfortune, calamity', sukáš 'good fortune, success' (not in L) < Sh. ? Another pair with the Sanskrit prefixes su- and a-. -káṣ can be phonetically derived from Skt. karṣa 'drawing, dragging, ploughing'; thus sukáš, akáš might be possibly terms of agriculture originally 'easy (or difficult) to plough'.

12. Bur. abás 'difficulty, trouble, hardship, calamity, misfortune; difficult etc.' < Sh. abaś (L 7 b), Bur. subás 'what is easy, propitious, favourable' (L 317 a) < Skt. vaśya 'subdued, tamed, humbled; dutiful, docile, humble' + prefixes a- and su-.

13. Bur. açéemo, fem. -i 'mischievous, dishonest person; rascal, villain, dangerous person' (l 8 b), from which açuméi < *açeméi, and Bur. suçéemo 'honest, of good character' (L 317 b), < Skt. kṣema 'habitable, giving rest or ease or security; n.m. safety, tranquillity, rest, etc.' + prefixes a- and su-. sukṣema is attested in Skt., but only as a noun with the meaning 'great prosperity or comfort or peacefulness', whereas the Sh. word points to an adjective of the bahuvrihi type. As kṣ results in çh in Sh., * suchéemo would be expected. Perhaps Bur. açéemo was influenced by açuméi, where the loss of aspiration was regular due to the shift of the accent, and ç in Sh. is a mishearing for çh (cf. Lorimer's çūr 'knife' for * çhur, > Bur. çhur in Nr. 9).

14. Bur. śañ 'awake, aware,; care, heed, attention' < Sh. śoñ, śuñ, ś¹añ (L 322 a, śoñ also GB) < Skt. śankā 'apprehension, care, fear, suspicion, doubt'. The form śañ, of which Lorimer's ś¹añ seems to be but a mishearing for a strong palatalisation of ś, retains the original vowel; the o of GB remains unexplained, but it is found again in the derivative Bur. aśaño (my own notes), aśuño (L) 'by chance' < Sh. aśiñá, aśiñayo 'unexpectedly, accidentally' (with privative a-, L 31 b), where the same variation of vowel qualities is found.

15. Bur. páayo 'wedge' < Sh. * paḍo < Skt. paṭaka 'a splitter, divider' from pāṭayat 'to split, cleave, tear etc.' Sg. *ḍ, which was omitted between vowels only in recent times, is represented by l in Yas. Bur., and preserved as ṛ in Phalura, a close relative of Sh. spoken in Chitral, cf. Sh. khái 'shield' < *khetikā (Skt. khetaka), but Phal. Khēr. f. id. and Yas. khilí 'shield'; here Hz Bur. has already borrowed the later form without ḍ (khii 'shield'). For Hz. páayo, Yas. has pālo 'wedge'.

16. Bur. miná 'remains of kernels (after the oil has been extracted from them), oil-cake' > Sh pino (L 266 a) < Skt. piṇyāka 'oil-cake'. Initial stop in non-stressed syllables is voiced in Bur., cf. giṣii 'line' < Skt. Kṛṣi 'ploughing',

Bur. baṣá 'turban' < Sh. paṣò < Skt. praśna id., etc. Interchange of m and b is very common in Bur.; it seems that originally m was only a variant of b before a nasal in the same word, cf. e. g. be 'what' against men 'who' for *be-n.

17. Bur. dúṣço man' 'to envy, bear ill-will to' (not in L) < Sh. *dúṣṭo < Skt. duṣṭa 'spoil, corrupted, bad, wicked, inimical, offensive, etc.'. Modern Sh. shows both retention and assimilation of ṣṭ, cf. miṣṭu 'good' < Skt. miṣṭa, but tútu 'full of stomach' < Skt. tuṣṭa. ṣṭ and ṣṭ become sč and ṣč in Bur. cf. diṣčik 'brick' < Skt. iṣṭakā, d-aścāl- besides d-astal-, causative of d-tal-.

18. Bur. garòono 'bridegroom', garòoni 'bride' < Sh. garòno, garòni (L 161 b and 162 a) < *gharaṇako, *gharaṇikā, cf. Pali gharaṇī 'housewife' from ghara 'house'. The intermediate stages were *garhaṇi and an analogical *garhaṇo with metathesis of h which can be inferred from the low rising tone in Bur. (cf. Nr. 2); the o of the second syllable is due to umlaut in the masculine form (*garhano > *garhono, cf. Nr. 25). From this derivation it becomes clear that Sh. gar 'marriage' (> Bur. gar id.) is MIA ghara 'house', Sh. gar thoiki (Bur. gar ét-) meaning 'to make a (new) house (hold)'.
 19. Bur. jomanačó 'without warning, suddenly' < Sh. jomanučó (L 393 b) 'dangerous, risky' by reduplicative repetition of the first syllable as in other words (e. g. čhoraáčhór 'once upon a time' from čhor 'early') < *jomano < *drommanaso < Skt. daurmanasya 'dejectedness, melancholy, despair' from durmanas 'in bad or low spirits, sad'. There is some difference in meaning, but as manas in Skt. also means 'thought, imagination', a meaning 'out of thought, hardly to imagine' for durmanas and its vṛddhi form is quite presumable.

20. Bur. jáalo 'raft of inflated skin' < Sh. jālo (L 212 a) < Skt. jālaka 'net, woven texture, web' from jāla 'net'. The specialized meaning shows that the Sg. word is independently derived from Skt. and not from Urdu jālā as Bur. jāal 'net' < Urdu jāl.

21. Bur. tan, táno, tanéelo 'bastard, base-born' (L 344 a, 345 a) < Sh? < Skt. tanaya 'family, race, offspring, child' with pejorative meaning. Sh. origin is cogently advocated by the doublet tanéelo which looks like a past participle from a verbal stem *tan- corresponding to Skt. tanoti 'to extend etc.', also 'to propagate'.

22. Bur. quśál- 'to go wrong, be spoilt, become ruined' < Sh. kuśúlo, kuśelo 'broken, damaged' (L 300 b), a past participle in -lo (cf. Nr. 21) from a Sh. verbal stem *kuś- < Skt. kusyate from kusnati 'to tear asunder, to pinch, to force or draw out, to extract'.

23. Bur. gunéeco 'understanding, intelligent, competent, reflective' < Sh. guneco, according to Lorimer (173 b) 'a regular agent form' of gunoiki 'to think' < Skt. gunayati 'to multiply', perhaps influenced in meaning by ganayati 'to count, number, reckon; consider, regard as etc.'. It is interesting not only because of its stem but also because of the ending -co, apparently from Skt. -tr or -trka of which no trace is found in GB's grammar.

24. Bur. Hz. paśòo, Nag. paśùu 'the man who sees in a dream when the female demons kill a man by slaughtering a goat'(not in L) from Sh. stem paś- 'see' < Skt. paśyati and a curious termination -òo, which is also found in Sh. pasoo 'turban' (GB p. 156, > Bur. basá L 73 a) < *paśròo (?) < Skt. praśna id., and in aśunòo from san, see Nr. 14. From the verbal noun in -an (< Skt. -ana, cf. e.g. Sh. maran 'death' < Skt. marana) and the same ending -òo also paśanòo (not in L), in Yas. Bur. 'row, uproar' (for the meaning cf. German colloquial špektakel show; row, uproar' < French spectacle).

25. Bur. mòon 'envy, jealousy' < Sh.? < Skt. mana 'opinion, notion, conception, idea; purpose, wish, design; self-conceit, arrogance, pride; consideration, regard, respect, honour; a wounded sense of honour, anger or indignation excited by jealousy (especially in women), caprice, sulking'. Umlaut with subsequent loss of final

-o is regular in a-stems, cf. Sh. kon 'ear' < Skt. karno, don 'tooth' < *dondo < Skt. danto, etc.

26. Bur. niironaan 'rainbow' < Sh. naron (L 277 a). The Sh. word has been derived from Skt. indrathanus already by Turner IA 1577, but it has not been discovered as yet that also Bur. Nag. bijoon 'rainbow' < Sh. bijon (L ib., GB 133) goes back to the same word. Its development was first: indrathanus > *indrahanu > *nidrahanu > *nijoon, then in Hunza the j of *nijoon underwent the regular change to r, whereas in the Nag. dialect there was a double dissimilation of the first to n to m, later also to b. -an in niironaan is a common plural ending in Bur., but the length of the vowels of both -aan and ni- is not definite. ə in Sh. naron seems to be but a phonetic variant of i.

Loanwords which have been borrowed from an older stage of Sh. or some other Indo-Aryan language.

27. Bur. barc 'lightening; intense cold' (L 70 b) < Skt. vajra 'thunderbolt; diamond'. The metathesis or r would be typical Dardic, but the word is not recorded in Sh., and it is difficult to say whether it would have undergone further phonetic changes in the modern stage, for other examples of the consonantal group -jr- are missing in this language.

28. Bur. thomal (L 355 a), Nag. thoman (not in L) 'smoke of burning juniper twigs inhaled by soothsayers' < old Sh. *dhuman, cf. modern Sh. duum 'smoke' and Skt. dhumana 'the obscuration (of a planet)', also dhumayana 'smoking, heat, fever'. Substitution of n by l in the Hz. dialect is due to dissimilation.

29. Bur. Hz. remizil 'stone-marten' (L 303 b), Nag. michir (not in L), Yas. menzir 'a kind of fur animal (similar to a cat)' (not in L), from a NIA form derived from Prakrit mamjara, mamjara 'cat' < Skt. marjara. Old Sh. ? Modern Sh. busu 'cat' (Bur. bus) is a recent formation of an onomatopoeic type common to many languages, cf. English puss, pussy. The re- of the Hz. word is probably derived from Skt. rohita 'red';

reddish; a red or chestnut horse'. In remízil there has been also dissimilation of the second r (< *re-mízir), and also of the second nasal (< *re-minzir).

30. Bur. tişk 'dagger' < Skt. tikṣṇa 'sharp, hot pungent, acid', with lexicographers also 'iron; any weapon'. If from Sh., which has to-day tiṇu, 'sharp (knife, scissors, razor), bright, clever', it must have been borrowed at a very early time. šk for Skt. kṣ instead of the later Dardic development çh also in bişkín- 'to beg' from Skt. bhikṣā, çhişkin- 'to complain, to bring an accusation against' < Skt. śikṣā, cf. G. Morgenstierne, NTS XIII (1942), p. 93.

Other loans of interest.

31. Bur. hórko 'plain, simple (of men), simpleton' (not in L) < Khovar horsk 'right, straight, true' < Iranian, cf. Yidgha urzuṣid. < Avest. ərəzu, cf. Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages II, p. 192. It is interesting to find the same word as a loan nearly unchanged in Finno-Ugrian, cf. Finnish hurskas 'righteous, pious', > Lappish hurskes 'fastidious, honest', cf. Schlachter, MSS Beiheft A, p. 45.

32. Bur. bismān ét- 'to circumcise' < Sh. bismūn (L 83 a), bismón (GB) 'circumcision', perhaps < Urdu bismillāh 'in the name of God', cf. Bur. bismillāa ét- 'to say 'bismillāh' (preparatory to doing something)' and Yas. Bur. besmél ét- 'to slaughter'.

33. Bur. buyát 'representation, petition', Sh. buyát 'entreaty, petition, request' (L 90 b, GB). If < Pers. firyād, faryād 'an exclamation, cry for help or redress; complaint' (cf. firyādī 'a complainant, plaintiff'), it must have been borrowed from Bur. into Sh., because the voicing of stops in non-stressed initial syllables is typical for Bur. (cf. Nr. 16) and not found in Sh.

NOTES

1. Grammar of the Shina (Ṣipā) Language; consisting of a full grammar, with texts and vocabulary of the main or Gilgiti dialect and briefer grammars (with vocabularies and texts) of the Kohistani, Guresi and Drasi dialects, by T. Grahame Bailey, London, 1924.

2. Lt. Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, The Burushaski Language, Vol. III: Vocabularies and Index, Oslo, 1938.

3. Cf. my two reports Anthropos Vol. 55 (1960) pp. 657-664, and Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research, No. 5, 1962, pp. 42-44. As Lorimer's transcription of Bur. words is inaccurate and unreliable, I shall use my own phonemic writing. (ˆ above double vowels signifies the low rising tone, as in mḍon 'jealousy', not noticed by L, ʈ is Lorimer's ts); the transcriptions of Shina words of both Bailey and Lorimer have been considerably simplified, because they contain many distinctions which are purely phonetic; vowel length is only marked if it is found in Bailey's grammar, for L is extremely unreliable on this point. (˘ marks the low rising tone).

Abbreviations:

- Bur. = Burushaski (Hunza dialect, if not specified otherwise)
 GB = T. Grahame Bailey's Shina Grammar, see N. 1.
 Hz. = the Hunza dialect of Burushaski.
 L = Lorimer's Dictionary of Bur., see N. 2.
 MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan.
 Nag. = the Nagari dialect of Burushaski.
 Sh. = Shina.
 Skt. = Sanskrit.
 Turner IA = R. L. Turner, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages.

Turner Nep. = A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language.

Yas. = the Yasin dialect of Burushaski, also called Werchikwar.

4. Notes on Phalūṛa, an unknown Dardic Language of Chitral, Oslo, 1941 s. v. dhrēg (p. 34).