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New Burushaski etymologies and the origin of the ethnonym Burúśo, Burúśaski, Brugaski and Miśáski

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Abstract

The etymological analysis of fourty-five new lexical correspondences between Burushaski and Indo-European that have come to light since the publication of the *Burushaski etymological dictionary of the inherited Indo-European lexicon* in 2017 (with 507 entries and as many derivatives) confirms the earlier stratification of the Burushaski Indo-European vocabulary. Most of the Burushaski correlations are with stems with wider IE representation, but a significant number constitute unique isoglosses with Slavic, South Slavic and the Balkan languages. The etymologies involve words that belong to the core and basic vocabulary that could not be borrowings. It is significant that there are 10 basic independent verbs. The phonematic correspondences are fully consistent with the material in the 2017 dictionary and the semantics is precise and direct. The correlation with 30 unique Phrygian isoglosses and 32 unique Slavic isoglosses and the Balkan material is explained tentatively as the result of a symbiosis between these two groups in deep antiquity in the make up of the likely Balkan ancestor of Burushaski.

In a separate section the etymology of *Burúśo, Burúśaski, Brugaski and Miśáski* is discussed extensively and a connection is found between *Brugaski* (from which the term *Burúśaski* is derived), and the Phrygian ethnonym and endonym *Bruges, Brugoi*.[1]

Keywords: Burushaski, etymology, Indo-European, *Brugaski*, lexical correspondences.

1 Introduction. Assessment of the Burushaski Indo-European hypothesis

The etymologies analysed in this paper complement the extensive research on the Indo-European (but not Indo-Aryan or Iranian) origin of the Burushaski language.[2] This is evidenced in some 507 Burushaski Indo-European etymologies with as many derivatives analysed in our etymological dictionary (Čašule 2017a). All specific studies (e.g. on the shepherd vocabulary (over 30 correspondences, 10

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[1] For easier reference, we reproduce Berger's (1998 I: 13) table of the phonological system of Hz Ng Burushaski, which is essentially valid for the Ys dialect as well. Yasin Burushaski does not have the phoneme *çh* – for Ys Burushaski, see Tiffou-Pesot (1989: 7-9):

							ṣ	ś	s	
e	o		qh	kh	ṭh	th	çh	ćh	ċh	ph
i		u	q	k	ṭ	t	ç	ć	ċ	p
					ḍ	d	j	j	z	b
					ṅ	n				m

a (top left), y h l r (bottom left)

Notes: 1. All five vowels can be phonetically long, but for phonological and prosodical reasons Berger marks them as double (two component) vowels, in order to mark the position of the stress. This notation system was developed by Buddruss and Berger to indicate the pitch contours, which they consider as a result of first- or second-mora stress (Bashir p.c.). 2. Retroflex consonants are marked with an underdot. 3. *w* and *y* are allophones of *u* and *i*. 4. *c* = *ts* in Lorimer and *c* in Tiffou-Pesot (1989). 5. *g* = *γ* in Lorimer and Tiffou-Pesot (1989). It is a voiced fricative velar /γ/. 6. *ṅ* = [ŋ] or [ng] [nk]. 7. The posterior *q* is similar to the Arabic *qāf*. (Berger I: 2.26). 8. The aspirated posterior *qh* is found only in Hz Ng. In Yasin to the latter corresponds a voiceless velar fricative *x*, similar to the German *ch*, as in *Bach*. 9. *y* is a retroflex, articulated somewhere between a "*r* grasséyé and a *γ* or rather a fricative *r* with the tongue in a retroflex position" (Morgenstierne 1945: 68-9). 10. A hyphen before a word indicates that it is used only with the pronominal prefixes.

[2] For a brief overview of the other theories of the origin of Burshaski, see Čašule (2017b: 3-4).

of which with the Balkan languages) (Čašule 2009), on the anatomical parts (over 70 correspondences), the kinship terms (close to 30) (Čašule 2014a), the names of plants of Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean origin (Čašule 2014b), on the Macedonian and South Slavic correspondences (Čašule 2012b) and especially on the grammatical correspondences in the demonstrative and personal pronouns, case and plural endings, all adjectival suffixes, verbal endings, prefixes and suffixes, all the non-finite forms of the verb (Čašule 2012a, in an issue in *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* dedicated to our theory) are collected in Čašule (2016). The marked correspondences of the laryngeals are studied in Čašule (2003). Most recently, in Čašule (2017b) twenty six etymologies are analysed where there is a firm and direct correspondence between Burushaski and unique Slavic lexemes, which indicate at the very least language contact. The correlation between Burushaski and Slavic is well represented throughout the etymological dictionary.

Most importantly, in all these studies the phonematic correspondences are regular and systematic and the semantics impeccable. The etymologies have been sifted carefully to exclude any possible Indo-Aryan borrowings.

The main hypothesis is that Burushaski descends from North-Western Indo-European, ultimately from an Ancient Balkan language. More specifically it is at its core closest to the Ancient Balkan language Phrygian (possibly the Balkan substratum) with which it shares over 30 mostly unique and specific isoglosses and over 30 personal names. Importantly Burushaski and Phrygian also share grammatical traits – the *e-* augment in the verbs, and the formations in *-menos* (the latter additionally only found in IE in Greek [see Čašule 2017a: 65-77; 2004, 2014c]).

Over the years our research has been received favourably by many linguists. Our early work (Čašule 1998) was assessed positively by the Balkanologist Emil Vrabie (2000), particularly in regard to the Balkan correlations and by the Kalasha, Urdu and Burushaski specialist Elena Bashir (1999). The distinguished Burushaski scholars Georgij Klimov, a major authority in Caucasian studies, and Džoi Edel'man, an eminent Iranist, praised our initial findings and more recently Edel'man (2004: 151) reiterates her positive assessment.

The prominent Phrygian and Ancient Balkan specialist Vladimir P. Neroznak (1998: ix-xiii), noted that the phonematic

correspondences are remarkable and that there is semantic compactness and no semantic latitude, as well as that "…the lexical parallels [and material and structural correspondences] proposed by the author between Burushaski and Phrygian…are highly convincing". The eminent Danish Indo-Europeanist Jens Elmegaard Rasmussen (p.c.) in 1997, also acknowledged the value of an important number of correspondences.

For a detailed appraisal of our evidence, see Alonso de la Fuente (2006), who has accepted our findings to that date. The renowned Indo-Europeanist Paul Friedrich (2011, p.c. to E. Bashir) considers that "Čašule's analysis [of the Indo-European origin of Burushaski] is conclusive."

Leschber (2009) in a belated but extensive review of Čašule (1998), our earliest work, is skeptical of the correlation with Phrygian and Indo-European, but does find merit in some of the examples and believes in a tentative deep relationship.

The findings (in regard to the Phrygian and Paleobalkanic connection) have made their way into linguistic encyclopaedias, such as Strazny (2013: 164) or Brown and Ogilvie (2009: 179), note also Tiffou's brief skeptical comment (in Hock and Bashir [2016: 165]).

Most recently in Lyle Campbell's (2017) capital volume *Language isolates*, Alexander Smith (2017: 17) considers that the exact nature of the Indo-European correlation should be clarified and concludes that "the proposals [for the origin of Burushaski] involving Indo-European (IE) merit serious consideration".

The most important endorsement and strong support of our research on the Indo-European origin of Burushaski has come from Eric P. Hamp, the doyen of Indo-European (and Balkan) linguistics.

Initially his appraisal was expressed in his review of our article on the unique correlations between Burushaski and substratal and archaic Modern Macedonian and Balkan Slavic vocabulary (Čašule 2012b). Hamp, in his assessment of this article, based on the full body of evidence, and in support of our work, stated: "Burushaski is *at bottom* Indo-European [italics EH] – more correctly in relation to Indo-European or Indo-Hittite, maybe (needs more proof) IB[uru]" and further conjectures: "I have wondered if Burushaski is a creolized derivative; now I ask (Čašule 2009a) is it a shepherd creole? (as in ancient Britain)". This statement goes hand in hand with our tentative conclusion that Burushaski might be "a language that has been

transformed typologically at some stage of its development through language contact." (Čašule 2010: 70).

The 2012 (spring/summer) issue of *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* was dedicated to the discussion of this article, with responses by Eric Hamp, Martin Huld and John Bengtson and Václav Blažek. The latter two (2012: 156-160) argue the position that Burushaski belongs to Sino-Caucasian. Importantly, however there is little to no overlap of our material with their comparative data. Huld (2012: 163) is skeptical in regard to the possibility of a genetic relationship, but he accepts nonetheless the notion that Burushaski has borrowed from IE, with possibilities for a closer correlation in future studies.

Hamp is very supportive of the Indo-European hypothesis and correlation, although he argues for a relationship deeper in time. He concludes that [there is] "some form of genetic relationship between Indo-European and Burushaski" of deep antiquity (Hamp 2012: 155). He also notes a number of outstanding examples.[3] In Hamp (2013) in his genetic tree of Indo-European, he postulates a correlation of Burushaski with Indo-Hittite in an assured sister relationship.

While we have vacillated at times between the two positions (sister relationship with Indo-Hittite vs. North-West Indo-European) we choose in the final analysis the position whereby Burushaski should be seen as an Indo-European Ancient Balkan language, very likely Phrygian or a language related to it, which has preserved very well the core IE vocabulary and a large section of its grammar and which developed through creolization[4] (mostly reflected in non-core lexis and some grammatical structures) with a language yet to be uncovered. Note e.g. that of the 110 lexical units on the Swadesh list, 80 of them are shared between Burushaski and Indo-European (see the analysis in Čašule 2017: 261-275) which argues for a very close relationship.[5]

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[3] In the manuscript of that article, E. Hamp marked every etymology as to its viability, and found that he was mostly in agreement with our analysis.

[4] Hamp (2013: 8) marks Burushaski within the correlation with Indo-Hittite as "creolistic".

[5] The only negative reception of our work has been by linguists who are pursuing questionable theories of their own on the origin of Burushaski, e.g. like Bengtson and Blažek (2011) with their hypothesis of Dene-Caucasian origin (for our response, see Čašule [2012c]) and Holst (2017: 33-36) with his hypothesis of Kartvelian provenance. In both cases the criticism is atomistic, selective, imbalanced and highly

2 Overview of phonological correspondences between Burushaski and Indo-European

We reproduce the summary of phonological correspondences between Indo-European and Burushaski (Čašule 2010: 11-12):

IE *a* > Bur *a*; IE *e* > Bur *e* : Hz, Ng *i;* IE *e* (unstr.) > Bur *a*; IE *ē* > Bur *ée*; IE *o* > Bur *ó*
IE *o* (unstr.) > Bur *a, u*; IE *ō* **>** Bur *oó, óo*; IE *i* > Bur *i:u*; IE *u* > Bur *u:i*
IE *ai, ei, oi; eu* > Bur *a*; IE *au, ou* > Bur *u*

PIE *h₁-* > Bur *h-*; PIE *h₁e-* > Bur *he-*; PIE *h₁u̯er-* > Bur *har-* : *-war-* : *her-*
PIE *h₂-* > Bur *h-*; PIE *h₂e-* > Bur *ha-*; PIE *h₂u̯e-* > Bur *-we-* : *-wa-*
PIE *hₐ-* > Bur *h-*; PIE *hₐe-* > *hₐa-* > Bur *ha-*; PIE *h₄-* > Bur *h-*; PIE *h₄e-* > *h₄a-* > Bur *ha-*
PIE *h₃-* > Bur *h-*; PIE *h₃e-* > *h₃o-* > Bur *ho-*; PIE *hₓ-* > Bur *h-*; PIE *h₁/₂i* > Bur *i-*

IE *l, m, n, r* > Bur *l, m, n, r*; IE *u̯* > Bur *-w/-u*; IE *u̯-* > Bur *b-*, also *m-*; IE *i̯* > Bur *y/i*
IE *m̥* > Bur *-um, -am*; IE *n̥* > Bur *-un, -an*; IE *r̥* > Bur *-ur, -ar*; IE *l̥* > Bur *-ul, -al*

IE *p* > Bur *p, ph*, also *b-*; IE *b* > Bur *b*, also *m* (rare); IE *bh* > Bur *b*, also *m* (rare)
IE *t* > Bur *t : th* (rare) : *ṭ* , and *d-*; IE *d* > Bur *d*; IE *dh-* > Bur *d-*; IE *VdhV* > Bur *-t-, -ṭ-*
IE *k* > Bur *k : kh, k : q*; IE *kʷ* > Bur *k;* IE *k̂* > Bur *k : kh, k : q*
IE *g* > Bur *ġ*; IE *gh* > Bur *g*; IE *gʷ* > Bur *ġ*; IE *gʷh* > Bur *ġ*; IE *ĝ* > Bur *g, ġ*; IE *ĝh-* > Bur *g, ġ*
IE *s* > Bur *s* or *s : ċ , ċh*; IE *ks* > Bur *ś*

3 New Burushaski etymologies

The Indo-European etymologies analysed in this paper are not included in our etymological dictionary (Čašule 2017). The great majority of them have come to light after its publication ((with the exception of [26] [27] [30] and [31] which are thoroughly revised entries from Čašule (1998).

Within the Indo-European-Burushaski correspondences, Burushaski continues in many cases old and widespread IE stems, but also displays a marked affinity with the so-called North-Western IE languages: Slavic, Baltic, Thracian, Albanian, Germanic, Tocharian, Phrygian, Italic and Celtic (grouping by Hamp 1990, q. in Mallory-Adams 2006: 74). Burushaski has the largest number of isoglosses with North-Western IE, e.g. this is evident in the close to 70 anatomical terms where there are many important correspondences

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subjective and mostly based on our earlier work. Furthermore, unfortunately the authors cannot see the creolistic nature of Burushaski. Buddruss (2001: 156) in a footnote to his review of Berger (1998) very briefly in passing disagrees with our initial findings.

with Slavic (in particular), Baltic, Germanic, Italic (Latin) and Celtic yet also with Greek (for a full discussion of the stratification of these terms see Čašule 2003a: 56-59). In the vocabulary (141 stems) involving reflexes of Indo-European gutturals, there are 30 stems where Burushaski aligns itself with NWIE (Čašule 2010). This pattern dominates throughout the correspondences. Burushaski has over 30 isoglosses with the Phrygian language (Chapter 2 of Čašule 2017) in words denoting ritual and burial but also in common vocabulary (and in many [30] personal names). The scarce attestation of Phrygian makes these numerous correspondences all the more important. An important layer are the correlations with the Balkan substratum esp. in the shepherd vocabulary but also wider, as manifested in Albanian and Macedonian and Bulgarian.

The correspondences of Burushaski with Slavic are more than several hundred, in many cases also including Baltic, but also with attestations throughout Indo-European. A notable number show a marked affinity with Germanic and Italic. As Čašule (2017b) demonstrates the 26 unique isoglosses between Slavic and Burushaski are indicative of a very close contact or (less likely) a relationship between the two groups. In this data there are a further 6 unique correlations with Slavic + 4 more with South Slavic.

The etymologies which we present here involve both core vocabulary (e.g. the words for 'leaf' [6] and 'to eat' [11], which are in the 110-word Swadesh list) and generally basic and specific vocabulary ('dirty' [1], 'hair, felt' [2], 'to spin' [7], 'to defecate' [9], 'to hide' [13], 'weeding crops' [27], 'shelter under overhanging rock' [30], 'wrinkle' [34], 'water that flows from wound' [35], 'to dive in' [36], 'to dance, to play' [28], 'a bat' [26], 'completely' [12], 'to spread out' [10], 'to agree' [8], 'to drive into' [37], 'to nurture' [5], 'to hunt' [40], 'to wash (clothes), to beat' [41], 'return' [18], 'to blow; pustule', [22] 'grudge, insult' [32]. In some cases we are dealing with possible cultural words, like 'spoon' [29], 'pillow' [3], 'white cheese' [4], 'gate' [14], 'piebald' [31], 'disease in sheep' [33], 'traitor' [39], 'metal jar' [44], 'pail' [16], 'white soil~sand' [21]. The etymology of 'egg' [45] is a very tentative one and the word may not be of Indo-European origin. Grammatically there are 13 verbs (and 6 periphrastic verbal constructions), and 21 nouns, 3 adjectives and 2 adverbials.

We have classified the etymologies in five groups: 1. Correspondences with wider Indo-European representation (25); 2.

Unique correspondences with Slavic (7); 3. Correspondences with South Slavic (mostly the Balkanised Macedonian and Bulgarian) words of possible Balkan substratal origin (9); 4. Correspondences with Phrygian (3). 5. Correspondences with the Balkan languages of possible pre-Indo-European origin (1). The phonematic correlations are consistent with all previous etymologies, and there is no semantic latitude.

We provide as an annex a full discussion of the Indo-European etymology of the ethnonym *Burúśo* and *Burúśaski*, *Brugaski* and *Miśáski*.

3.1. Correspondences with wider Indo-European representation

[1] Bur[6] *thér*, Ng *therk* and *thérkiṣ* (the latter in Ys used for animates, Tiff: 311), Ys *ther* 'dirty, soiled; dirt on clothing', (Will 111) (Sh *thrik*) (B 439) (L 351), also *tharká* and *thará* 'strip of dirt on face' (B 438). Can be compared with derivations from IE **(s)terk̂-* (from IE **(s)ter-*[8] 'dirty water, mud, smear'): semantically direct esp. with Lith *teršiù* 'make dirty', (and from **(s)terg-* > MHG *drec* 'dirt'), but also Lat *stercus* 'excrement, dung', *sterculinum* 'heap of manure', Cymr

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[6] Abbreviations of languages and dialects: *Alb* - Albanian, *Arm* - Armenian, *Av* - Avestan, *Balt* - Baltic, *Blg* - Bulgarian, *Blt-Sl* - Balto-Slavic, *Bur* - Burushaski, *Byruss* - Byelorussian, *Celt* - Celtic, *Croat* - Croatian, *Cymr* - Cymric, *Cz* - Czech, *Dan* - Danish, *Eng* - English, *Gaul* - Gaulic, *Gk* - Greek, *Goth* - Gothic, *Grg* - Georgian, *Grm* - German, *Grmc* - Germanic, *H* - Hindi, *Hitt* - Hittite, *Hz* - Hunza dialect of Burushaski, *IA* - Indo-Aryan, *IE* - Indo-European, *Ind* - Indian, *Ir* - Irish, *Irn* - Iranian, *Itl* - Italic, *JB* - Javeed Burushin, native speaker of Bur, *Khw* - Khowar, *Ksh* - Kashmiri, *Lat* - Latin, *Lett* - Lettish, *Lith* - Lithuanian, *LSorb* - Lower Sorbian, *Mcd* - Macedonian, *MCymr* - Middle Cymric, *MEng* - Middle English, *MGk* - Modern Greek, *MHG* - Middle High German, *MIr* - Middle Irish, *MLG* - Middle Low German, *MWels* - Middle Welsh, *Ng* - Nager dialect of Burushaski, *NH* - Nasiruddin Hunzai, Berger's Burushaski informant, *NPers* - New Persian, *NWIE* - North-Western Indo-European, *OChSl* - Old Church Slavonic, *OEng* - Old English, *OHG* - Old High German, *OIcl* - Old Icelandic, *OInd* - Old Indian, *OIr* - Old Irish, *ON* - Old Norse, *OPers* - Old Persian, *OPl* - Old Polish, *OPruss* - Old Prussian, *OSax* - Old Saxon, *OSl* - Old Slavic, *Osset* - Ossetian, *OWels* - Old Welsh, *Panj* - Panjābī, *Pers* - Persian, *PGrmc* - Proto-Germanic, *Phrg* - Phrygian, *PIE* - Proto-Indo-European, *Pk* - Prakrit, *Pl* - Polish, *PSl* - Proto-Slavic, *Rom* - Romanian, *Russ* - Russian, *RussChSl* - Russian Church Slavonic, *Sh* - Shina, *Si* - Sinhalese, *Skt* - Sanskrit, *Sl* - Slavic, *Slk* - Slovak, *Sln* - Slovenian, *Srb* - Serbian, *SrbChSl* - Serbian Church Slavonic, *SSl* - South Slavic, *Thrac* - Thracian, *Tib* - Tibetan, *TochA* - Tocharian A, *TochB* - Tocharian B, *U* - Urdu, *Ukr* - Ukrainian, *USorb* - Upper Sorbian, *VLat* - Vulgar Latin, *Wels* - Welsh, *Ys* - Yasin dialect of Burushaski.

trwnc 'urine, yeast', from the bare stem **(s)ter-* : Av *star* 'stain', Arm *t'arax* 'pus' (IEW 1031-1032).

[2] Bur Ys *-múś-píl*, and in more limited use: *-múś-púl* and *-múś-púr* 'nose hair' (*-múś* 'nose', 'snot, nasal mucus'[7]).Tiffou (Tiff 220) explains that the second element probably means 'hair' and comments on the semantic difficulty in relating it to the second element of *-múr-pil* 'eyelid' (Tiff 219) and suggests a metaphorical use. Maybe in this last example it originally meant 'eyelash' and then this was extended to the eyelid. Berger (2008: 19.25) in his otherwise questionable etymology of these words seems to suggest that the original form was **-́lpil* with the meaning of 'eyebrow'.

Consider further Hz Ng *-phíliṣ* 'mop of hair [Haarschopf] which one leaves in the place of the fontanelle (if one has only a daughter and wants a son, one cuts the youngest daughter's hair and leaves this mop of hair stand)' (B 329).

Taking into account all the forms and their frequency we can establish that the form *-pil* : *-phil-* is the primary one.

There is a close correspondence with IE **pilos* with a variant **pulos* '(a single) hair (of the human body) : Lat *pilus* '(a single) hair (of the human body)', which obtained the meaning of 'felt' in IE, e.g. Gk *pilos* 'felt', OChSl *plъstь* 'felt'. From **pulos* there is OInd *pulakās* 'bristling hairs of the body', *pulastin* 'wearing the hair straight or smooth' (which we haven't been able to find in Turner 1966), Kurd *pūr* 'hair', MIr *ur* 'beard' (M-A 251).

It is remarkable that Burushaski retains both variant forms and semantically they correspond well with IE.

Under one interpretation, Bur *philám* 'woollen home-spun cloth' (L 290) (B 329) could also belong here, matching the IE meaning of 'felt', i.e. 'a kind of cloth made by rolling and pressing wool or another suitable textile accompanied by the application of moisture or heat'. For a different etymology, see Čašule (2017: 209). In Burushaski there is a widespread alternation *p-* : *ph-*.[8] This example rules out borrowing from Old Indian, where this meaning is not found.

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[7] Also of IE origin < IE **meug-s-* 'slimy, slippery', e.g. Gk *apomusso* 'wipe nose', see Čašule (2017: 199).

[8] For the widespread *p* : *ph* alternation, note e.g. *purká : phurqá : burká : burqá* 'morsel tasted by the cook' (B 337), *-phált-* 'to break' : *-́-palt-* 'to cause to break' (B 207), Ys *pupúr : bupúr : buphúr* 'fluff, fine wool' (B 63), *-́pat*, Ng: *-́phat*, Ys: *-́pat, -́phat* 'side (flank) of the body, part under the shoulder; beside, close to', also *-́patki*,

[3] Bur -úṣki / -́uṣki, L -ṣki, also L -wéṣki 'cushion, pillow', -úṣki ét- 'make the bed' and further -́ṣkiṣ, -uṣkiṣ 'pillow' (Tiff 321) (B 409).

Possibly derivable from IE *h$_a$óus-, gen. *h$_a$éus-s or *h$_a$usós 'ear', e.g. Lat auris 'ear', ON eyra 'ear', Eng ear, Lith ausìs 'ear', Lett àuss 'ear', OChSl uxo 'ear', historically dual > plural uši, Av uši (dual) 'ears', Arm unkn, Dor Gk ō̂s, Attic Gk õus, Alb vesh all 'ear' (M-A 173) (G 651). Not found in Indic.

For the semantic development 'ear' > 'pillow', cp. e.g. with French oreille 'ear' > oreiller 'pillow', or under one etymological interpretation Russ poduška 'pillow' < *pod-uš-ka ('under-ear') (Preobraženskij apud Orel 2011: III 66).

The Burushaski words fit well. Most likely ss > ṣ. The Bur -ki suffix corresponds directly with the Slavic suffixation. The identical phonological development of the alternative Burushaski form provided by Lorimer with Albanian is very curious, and Orel (1998: 501) notes that the prothetic v- in Albanian is not quite regular and explained by Pedersen (apud Orel "as a hiatus filler".

[4] Bur Ys haménç pl. haméha 'cheese, esp. white cheese' (Tiff 133), in BYs (150), also 'quark, curd cheese' [similar to yoghurt cheese]. Can be compared to IE *h$_2$omós 'raw, uncooked' in Wat (60) 'raw, sharp-tasting', possibly here Lat amārus 'bitter tasting', and further OInd āmá 'raw, uncooked', H ambat 'sour', OIr om 'raw', Gk ōmós 'raw, uncooked', Arm hum 'raw' (M-A 478). The Ys plural form allows us to reconstruct a root *ham-, and the semantics, while not direct, corresponds as the white cheese in question is sharp tasting or sour as in the Balkans. The root is also found in Afrasiatic with meanings 'to be sharp, sour, acid, yoghurt (< 'sour milk'), salt' (Bomhard II: 656).

[5] Bur -uśa- (B 458) (L 56, also -ūśai-, -uśe-) 'to rear, to nurture, foster, cherish; to fatten, feed up (animals in winter)', 'to raise or watch over animals; a fattened animal used as winter meat' (Will 127). Berger (2008: 117) states that -uśa- should be derived from an earlier *-us-ia, which could mean that -ia- continues the IE causative -eĭo- [see e.g. balúuyas (B 35), bišaiyas (L 83), bisháyas (Will 24) or

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Ng: -́phatki 'side part of a door' (B 313), -phús- : pus-́ (B 337), -pháṭar- : n-́paṭar- (B 327), partí : phartí (B 312), d-́pirċ- : de-phérċ- (Tiff 238), Ys pirphíṭ : Ng phirpít (Tiff 238),Ys paṭí : Hz Ng also phaṭí < U paṭṭī, d-́-pirkan- : d-́-phirkan- (Ys 238), Ys puṣbánd : Hz Ng phuṣbán (Tiff 240), púṣṭik : phúṣṭik (Tiff 240), etc.

duróoyas (B 126).] Compare with the zero-grade of IE **ụes-* 'graze' (in IEW 1171 'feast'): OIr *fei(s)- ~ fess* 'food', Wels *gwest* 'feast', ON *vist* 'food', OEng *wesan* 'feast, cause to graze', Hitt *wesiya* 'graze', *westara* 'herdsman', Av *vāstra* 'food', Lett *ṿeṣẹls* 'healthy, whole', OChSl *veselъ* 'joyful', TochA *wäsri* 'grassy area, pasture' (M-A 198-199, under the heading *feed*). The semantic correlation 'nurture' : 'feed' is a common and straightforward one, and as with 'graze', the Burushaski word appears to refer mainly to animals.

[6] Bur *tap* 'leaflet, petal; leaf, page (of book)' (L 345) (B 420). Can be compared with developments from the very productive IE **stíb(h)-, *stḗib(h)-, *stṓib(h)-* 'pole, stick; stiff' (also **steip-*, G 579, Wat 85), esp. OInd *stíbhi-* 'panicle, tuft' and further PSlav **stъblъ* 'stalk, stem': Russ *stebelъ* 'stem, stalk', Blg *steblo* 'same, also branch', Mcd *steblo* 'stem, stalk; trunk', Srb and Croat *stablo* 'stem, stalk', Sln *stebel* 'stem, stalk, trunk', dial. also 'vegetables; straw', Cz *steblo* 'stem, stalk', Slk *steblo*, LSorb *spło*, Pl *ździebło*, Ukr *stebelъ*, Byrs *scjablo* 'same', Lith *stíebas* 'pole, trunk, stem', Lett *stiba* 'stick, twig' (Orel 2011 III: 290), and further Lat *stipula* 'stalk, straw' (BER VII: 518-519) > Eng *stipule* 'a small leaf-like appendage to a leaf, typically borne in pairs at the base of the leaf stalk' (IEW 1015-1016, traced to IE **stāi-* 'to stand', represented in Bur *d-stay-*, Ys *d-sta-* 'to prop up, to stay' (B 469) and analysed in Čašule (2017: 233). From this root Burushaski also has *tom* 'tree' (L 355) (B 428) from IE **stéh2mōn-* 'what stands' (IEW 1007-1008: **stā-men-*) cp. with TochA *ṣtām* 'tree' (for the vocalism see Čašule 2017: 244).

While there is minor semantic latitude, note that in English dictionaries 'leaf' and 'stalk' are considered synonymous (see thesaurus.com under 'leaf'). The Old Indian semantic development is also indicative of this correlation. The cluster *st-* does not occur in Burushaski in the anlaut, i.e. the *s-* is lost, and IE *ai, ei* > Bur *a* (for examples, see Čašule 2017: 16-17).

[7] Bur Ys *gan-́* 'to spin' (Tiff 103), also *ganç* 'spindle, used for spinning thread' (L 160) (B 146). Can be compared with IE **gen-* 'to bend, twist, turn, or tie together' (Bomhard 2008: 433-434) (in IEW 370-373 **gen-* 'to compress into a ball') (Mann 1984-1987 **gnabh-* 'to bend, to twist') (Wat 26: **g(e)n-* 'to compress into a ball') : Gk *gnamptós* 'bent, curved', OIcl *knytja* 'to knit or tie together', OEng *cnyttan* 'to tie with a knot', MLG *knutten* 'to tie'. The semantic correlation 'twist, turn, tie together' > 'spin' is a straightforward one.

[8] Bur *ġarís-*, Ys also *ġarés-* 'to agree, to accept a proposal, consent' (L 180) (B 171: 'zustimmen, einverstanden sein'), which Berger correlates with *du-ġárus-* 'to ask' and *ġarús-* 'to be aligned, useful, suitable', *-·ġurus* 'put in order', *ġarúso*, Ng *ġarús* 'correct, in order, healthy, in agreement' (B 172), perhaps also *garás -ṫ-* 'to tidy up, put in order' (B 147).

Can be compared with derivations from IE *$*g^werh_x$-* 'to praise' (Wat 34: 'to favour'), esp. directly with the semantic development from this stem in Eng *agree* < Lat *ad gratus*, in Lat *grātus* 'pleasing, beloved, agreeable, favourable, thankful' and further Lith *giriú* 'praise', OInd *gṛṇā́ti* 'sings, praises', Av *gar* 'praise', (M-A 449).

Especially relevant is Alb *gërshas* 'to invite' which Orel (1998: 115) derives from PAlb **grisa*, a zero-grade. Hamp (apud Orel) derives it from an IE form enlarged with *-s-* : *$*g^wṛs$-* remarkably as in Burushaski and relates it to Celt **bardos* 'bard'.

The direct semantic correlation with English and the precise phonological correspondence with Albanian (with the *-s-* extension) are very important. The meaning 'to ask' of the Burushaski words, while difficult to analyse and possibly a homonym, appears to relate to the Albanian meaning of 'to invite'.

[9] Bur Ys *d-·serk-* 'run at full speed to satisfy a pressing need, to have diarrhea', *jáa dáaserki* 'I have diarrhea' (Tiff 274). Tiffou notes it should be probably linked with *[1]d-·skar-* 'get the colic' (Ibid 275).

Comparison is possible with PSl **sьrati* 'to defecate', found throughout Slavic: Mcd *sere*, Blg *sera*, Srb, Croat, Sln, Cz *srati*, Slk *srat'*, Russ *srat'*, Pl *srać*, LSorb *sraś*, Ukr *srati* 'to defecate' (G 573), also Mcd, Sln colloq., Srb and Russ *sračka*, Pl colloq. *sraczka* (< **srakъ-ka* ?) 'diarrhea'. There are several etymologies for the Slavic verb. Gluhak puts forward decisively a derivation from IE *$*sk̂er$-* : OInd *śárdhate* 'farts' [note also perhaps the limited OInd *avaskaraḥ* and *apaskaraḥ* 'excrement'], Afgh *sə́ra* 'same', Gk *skȭr* 'excrement, pus, dirty', Lat *mūscerda* 'mouse excrement', OIcl *skarn*, OEng *scearn* 'excrement, pus', Lett *sãrni* 'excrement', Hitt *šakkar* 'excrement, pus'. Mladenov (in BER VI: 614) relates it to OInd *sárati* 'to flow', (note also Skt *sāryate* 'to discharge excrement'), Lat *serum* 'whey'. Orel (III: 283) notes that the Slavic verb is usually compared with Skt *avaśardhayati* 'to break wind', Av *zairya-* 'dung', but posits as Mladenov a connection with IE **ser-* 'to flow'.

It is indicative that the Burushaski examples are fully in line with the first Indo-European etymology and they retain the original *e*-vocalism, which together with the semantics (it would be unusual to borrow a term for 'defecate') precludes an Old Indian origin, which has only prefixed forms. In the case of the second etymology, the Bur *-k-* would be an enlargement (as in *-ġark-* 'to plough with oxen'), cp. with IE **keu-* : **keu-k-* 'curve, bend' or IE **ĝher-* : **ĝhr̥(ə)-k-* 'to scratch, scrape' (see the discussion in Čašule 2017: 136-137). The direct semantic correlation with Slavic is to be noted and in both cases we have verbs.

[10] Bur Hz Ng *di-nċhír-*, *di-nċír-*, Ys *de-nċér-* 'overflow, to spread (out)' (L 130) (B 302), also *d-́nċir-* 'to spread out, strew, scatter, unroll; to extend (the arm when dancing), Ng d-́ċhir- (L 130, 134) (B 302) (Tiff 226).

A correlation is possible with IE **sē-ro* from **sē(i)-²* : **səi-* : **sī-* : **sē-* : **sə-* and **sei-* : **si-* 'to send, throw, let fall, sow, sink' also 'let up' and 'extending the hand' (IEW 889-891) : OIr *sīr* 'long lasting', Lat *sērus* 'late' and particularly Lat *serō (*si-s-ō)*, *-ere, sēvī, sătus* 'sowing, planting, producing', and with various other enlargements: OSax *sīd* 'long, wide, broad', OIr *sīnim* 'stretch out [hand]', Lith *pasėlỹs* 'sowing', Lat *dēsinere* 'to drain', Lett *siet(u)s*, *sietawa* 'deep spot in a river' (Pokorny explains as 'sinking down deep'), OInd *áva-syati*, aor. *a-sāt* 'to stop, close', *prásiti-* f. 'start, rush, throw, projectile', Goth *anasilan* 'to stop'. The meanings of this very productive root within IE vary considerably.

The Burushaski verb with the meanings 'strew' [which is a synonym of 'sow', meaning found in Lithuanian]', 'scatter' [which relates to and is a synonym for 'throw' and is defined as 'throw in various random directions], 'extend arm' corresponds well with the posited IE meanings of 'throw' and 'extend hand' [as in OInd 'sow; throw, extend hand'], also semantically the Latin meaning of 'drain' ('flow out') correlates with the Bur meaning 'overflow'. Further the Bur meaning 'spread out' correlates semantically with Eng *spread out* pple. 'elongated, lengthy, lengthened' (as in OSax), with 'deep' also given as a synonym (note the Lettish example). [For the English synonyms and meanings, see thesaurus.com.] Thus, semantically all the IE meanings of the stem are represented in Burushaski.

Phonologically, in Burushaski, IE $\bar{e} > i$, and we highlight the widespread alternation *s : ċh, ċ*.[9]

The *-n-* in the anlaut of the Bur stem in what is a unique consonantal group, could be the IE nasal infix **n(é)* or a remnant of an older form without the prefix *d-* of a verb with the *n*-prefix (B I: 111) used in absolutive constructions. Note also the Nager form without the nasal which could be older.

Consider perhaps very tentatively further the Bur verb *ċhí-* 'to go down, subside; to catch (of fire)', '(men) sit down, squat' and *-ċi-* 'trample, press, stuff', and *d-ċi-* 'to rein in; stop, end work, close door' and *d-˙-ċi-* 'to press' (B 75-76), which shares with the IE verbs above the meanings 'to go down' : 'to sink', 'stop, end, close' : 'stop, close' and could continue the bare root.

[11] Bur *ṣí-* (*hx* sg) and *ṣú-* (*hx* pl) (L: "this verb occurs in three forms according to the nature of the object eaten"), Hz Ng *śe-*, inf. *śéyas y* sg and pl, 'to eat, eat up, devour; to drink; to enjoy possession or use of, exercise rights over, secure; to suffer, experience; to slaughter, to sacrifice (?); to bite' (L 324, 326-329) (B 393) (Tiff 292).

Can be compared with IE **ĝjēu-* 'to chew' (in M-A 175: **ĝieuh$_x$-*), most directly with TochAB *śuwā* 'to eat' and further Irn **ĵyāw-*, Grmc **k(j)ewwa-*, ON *tyggja* 'to chew, eat', OEng *cēowan*, Eng *chew*, OHG *kiuwan*, Grm *kauen*, PSl **žuti*, all 'chew' (G 715) (IEW 400).

For the Bur change *gj > ś*, note the effect of the present formative **-y-* on the adjacent consonants (see Morgenstierne [L: I.XX]), whereby we obtain the following morphonological alternations: *c : ć, s : ś, n : y, t : ć, l : lj, k : ś* (Edel'man-Klimov 1970: 30, 60-61). Note also our analysis of Bur *láṣu* Ys 'liar' (BYs 161) from IE **lugh-i̯o* 'liar' < **leugh-* 'to lie', e.g. OHG *lugí*, Grm *Lüge* 'a lie', PSl **lъžь / *lъža* 'a lie', Mcd *laško* 'liar' (G 370-371) or Bur *laṣ -˙- i̯-* 'to lick, to feed' from IE **leiĝh-* 'lick' with the IE relational adjectival suffix *-i̯o* (see Čašule 2017: 180).

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[9] For example: *-ċhámanum* : *-sámanum* (B 73), *ċhil* : pl. *siliming*, Ng *samáriṣ* : Ys *ċamáreṣ* (B 373), *d-˙-ċhulġu-* : *du-súlġu-* (B 79), *ċhurmáriṣ* : *surmáyiṣ* (B 80), *ċhu* : in Ys *ċu* and *sú* (B 79), *-sárk-2* : *ċharkín- / -ċhárkin-*, *biċárṣ* : *bisárṣ*, *ċakoó* : *sakoó* (B 68), *d-˙-ċasal-* : *d-˙-sasal-* (B 68), *karúsal* : Ng *gurúċal* (B 243), Hz Ng *haġúċ* : Ys *haġós(t)* (B 185), Ng *balaċ* : Hz *balás* (B 33), Hz *burúċ* : Hz Ng Ys *burús* (B 64), *-dúmus* : *-dúmuċ* (B 125).

Further, IE *ē* > Bur *i*, thus *ĝjēu-* > *śiu-* > Ys *ṣi-* (assimilation to *i*) and *ṣu-* (assimilation to *u*). Note the alternation *ṣ* : *ś* in the Burushaski verb.

[12] Bur Hz Ng ²*til* 'completely, totally, pure, not different than' (B 426). Perhaps here also Ys *tiltíṅiniṣ* and *tiltíṅkiṣ* 'bellows' (B Ibid) (with partial reduplication of **t-**, or a development **til* +suffix *-t(o)* + the plural ending *-iṅ* + the adjectival and nominal suffix *-kiṣ*) (for widespread reduplication in Burushaski, see Berger I: 223-225) (for the semantics cp. with Eng *bellows* derived from IE **bhelĝh-* 'to swell' [Wat 10]). The Burushaski words can be derived from IE **tū-*, **teu-*, **tou-* (in M-A 560: **teuhₐ-*, in IEW **tēu-*) 'swell (with power), grow fat': Russ *tyju* 'become fat', OInd *tavás* 'strong, powerful', Av *tavah* 'strength, power', corresponding semantically directly with Latin *tōtus* 'whole, complete', esp. (with an *-l-* suffix) OPruss *tūlam* 'a lot', Lith *tūlas* 'many (not one)', also Gk *túlos* 'callus; protrusion; head of nail; knot', PSl **tylŭ* 'back of the head, nape'(throughout Slavic). See also Bur ¹*tul* 'covered canal' and *tus* 'tomb' (Čašule 2017: 245-246) (*i:u/_l*).

[13] Bur *úrk-* '1. to hide, 2. to not follow through' (Tiffou 2014: 320) (BYs 184). Can be compared as a zero-grade of IE **u̯erĝ-*, **u̯reĝ-* 'to close, enclose; pen' : OInd *vrajá-* 'pen, inclosure', Av *varəz-* 'cordon off', Gk Att *eirgō* 'lock in, shut off, stop', MCymr *ach-vre* 'wattled fence' (IEW 1168).

A less viable possibility is that it could be a verbal form with the *-k-* extension and a zero-grade of IE **u̯er-* 'to cover'. From IE **u̯er-* 'to cover, contain', Bur has *wáar-* 'cover, place a lid over', *wáariṣ*, Ys *yáwarkiṣ* 'lid', (B 462), *-waran* 'to place roof joist' (B 462) (perhaps from an older form **u-baar*) : OIr *ferenn* 'girdle, belt', Lat *aperiō* 'open, uncover', ON *verja* 'hinder, forbid', OEng *werian* 'guard, hinder, forbid', Alb *varr* 'grave', Gk *érumai* 'protect' , Hitt *warai-* 'come to aid', Av *aiwuvərənvaiti* 'conceals', OInd *v̥ṇóti* 'covers, surrounds' (M-A 134).

[14] Bur *hiṅ*, pl. *hiṅáṅ* 'door, gate' (L 202) (B 199). There is a semantically sound correlation with Lith *anga* 'opening, entrance', which Fraenkel (apud Illič-Svityč 1976: 105) derived from IE **heng-* [**h₂enk-* : **h₂eng-*] 'bend an object so that it stays bent' (M-A 61) (IEW 45 **ang-*), e.g. Wels *angad* 'grip', ON *angi* 'spine', Av *aka* 'bends', OInd *aṅgam* 'limb, body', ([T 135], *áñcati* 'bends'), TochA *añcal* 'bends', Hitt *hinkzi* 'bows, curtsies', Arm *ankiun*, *angiun*

'angle', Gk *ággos* 'vessel, pail', *ánkylos* 'crooked, curved', Lat *angulus* 'angle', *uncus* 'bent', Eng *ankle*, PSl *$\varrho glъ$ 'angle' (Klein 78) (G 650-651) : from which also Bur *-ṁiṣ*, [-*unush*-] 'finger, toe' (Čašule 2017a: 196-197). In Bur possibly from a lengthened grade -*ē*- (according to Eichner's law [1972: 78]) : "preservation of the timbre of lengthened grade *ē* in the vicinity of *H₂*"), with the same "irregularity" (noted by M-A) as in the Hittite example. A dissimilation could be at play, based on the plural form, which could have been in greater use, i.e. *hiṅáṅ* < *haṅáṅ*.

[15] Bur *phanís* 'chopping block' (B 322) (L 284). From IE *sph_aen-* 'flat-shaped piece of wood': OIr *sonn* 'staff, support', Wels *ffon* 'staff', Lat *sponda* 'bedstead, bed', ON *spānn* 'wood chip', Gk *sphēn* 'wedge' (at least a word of the west and centre of the IE world) (M-A 431). (Note the old nom. ending -*is*, for other examples see Čašule 2017: 50).

[16] Bur *paṇḍá* 'metal pail' (B 311). Can be compared with IE *?*(s)pondh(n)os* 'wooden vessel' (IEW 989: *(s)pondho-*) : ON *spann* 'pail', MDutch *spaen~spân* 'wooden pail', Lett *spa(ñ)nis* 'pail, a kind of wooden container', OChSl *spodъ* 'measure of grain', Arm *p'und* 'pot' (M-A 444).

[17] Bur *suphurá* 'a sheep cooked all over' ('em Schaf im ganzen gekocht') (B 385).

Can be correlated with Ys *phuréś -ṫ-* 'to cook, to slander' (BYs 171) (Tiff 251) which we derive with Bur *phu* 'fire' from IE *pŭr* 'fire'(from an older *peHw-*), with the prefix *su-* 'good, very' of IA provenience (B 383) (T 13445).

[18] Bur Ys -*ẇaltan-* 'return' (Tiff 324). Can be derived from IE *wel-* 'turn, wind, roll' (IEW 1140-1143) (M-A 607), sem. esp. with Lat *volvere* 'return', and with the -*t-* extension as in Middle Dutch *welteren* 'to roll' < Gmc *walt*, and further OChSl *valiti* 'to roll', Alb *vjell* 'vomit', Arm *gelum* 'turn, wind', OInd *válati* 'turns', Gk *eiléō* 'turn, wind', a root highly productive in Burushaski, from which we have derived also Bur *bal-́, -wál-* 'to fall; to find o-self in, land in, turn up in, come down, to be affected by a disease, be beaten; settle down' (B 32) (see the full analysis in Čašule 2017a: 83-84), also Bur *bal* 'wall' and *du-wál-* 'to fly (away)' and Bur *wálgi* 'thin rope' (cp. with Lett *valgs* 'rope, cord') and *balaneéś man-́* 'to writhe, to wallow' The -*t-* extension precludes an Indo-Aryan or Old Indian origin and indicates a closer correlation with Germanic.

[19] Consider the Burushaski pronoun *men* sg. and *h* pl., (from IE **me-* interrog. rel. pron.) also pl. *ménik* 'who, what, someone, anyone' (an occasional pl. form of the indef. pron. is *méniko*). *men ke* is used as an indef. rel. pron. also in the meaning of 'many'. There is a remote possibility that we could have had in this last meaning of *men ke* a conflation with a form from IE **menegh* 'abundant' (IEW 730: **men(e)gh-*), note esp. OEng *manig* 'many', Goth *manags* 'sufficient, many', ON *mangr* 'many', Wels *mynych* 'frequent', OChSl *mъnogъ* 'abundant', Mcd *mnogu* 'many, a lot', OInd *maghá-* 'gift, reward, wealth' (M-A 3).

[20] Bur *bakínç* 'manual razor, as opposed to a mechanic one' (L 61) (B 31) (Tiff 28: also *bakínaas* 'lancette pour faire une saignée' 'a lancet to cut someone and make them bleed').

A comparison is possible with a marginal IE root **bhag-* 'sharp' (M-A 510, with reservations: **bhehₐg-*): Gk (Cretan) *phágros* 'whetstone', Arm *bak* 'sharp, bitter (of taste), fierce (heftig), angry' (IEW 107).

The semantics corresponds well and Bur *bakínç* might derive ultimately from the bare stem **bak*.

[21] Bur Ys *pasúmtik* 'white soil, used as lime' (Tiff 235: ? + *tik* 'soil, earth'). Compare theb first component with IE **pē(n)s-* 'dust': OChSl *pěsъkъ* 'sand', OInd *pāṃṣu* 'dust, sand', Av *pasnu-* 'dust' (IEW 824) (M-A 499, who mark Hitt *passila* 'gravel' as highly questionable). *pasum* can be analysed as *pas* + the adjectival ending -*um* ('sandy, dust like') + *tik*. Another possibility is from IE **(bh)sa-* 'sand' (Bur *sáu* 'sand', *bastáo* 'a type of flour', *baspúr* 'fodder for horses'), cp. esp. with Gk *psámathos* 'sand' (Wat 11).

[22] Bur *²phu ét-* 'to blow', Ys also *phoo ét-* considered autochthonous by Tiffou (249) (also Balti *phu bya*, and B points to T 9101). [On the alternation -*u-* : -*o-* see Berger 2008: 2.1. or B I: 2.18]. We can correlate here further *pho* 'pustule' (Tiff 248), *phoy̱* 'scar' and *puṣtúr* 'scarred, with scar marks (said about a person who has scars from variola)' (Tiff 248). and tenatively also Bur *pharéṭ* 'scar, pockmark, Narbe von einer Beule' (B 325).

Compare with IE **pŭ-1*, **peu-*, **pou-* also *phu-* 'to blow, to blow up' (IEW 847) : Skrt *pupphusah* 'lung', Gk *physa* 'breath, blast, wind, bubble', Lith *pučiu, pūsti* 'to blow, swell', *pùškas* 'Hitzbläschen auf der Haut' ('heat blisters on the skin'), OChSl *pukhati* 'to blow', MIr *ūan* 'foam, froth', OInd *pupputa-* 'swelling of the palate and

gums', Lith *pùrė* 'tuft, puff', Lett *paûre* 'summit, back of the head', *pūga* 'snowstorm', Russ *pulja* 'ball', Arm *(h)ogi* 'breath', and esp. Lat *pustula* (from **p(h)us-*), 'bubble, blister' : Bur *puṣtúr* 'scar mark'; OInd *púṣyati* 'flourishes, prospers' (M-A 72).

Burushaski in the meaning 'pustule, scar' corresponds semantically directly with Latin and Lithuanian.

[23] Bur *markám* and *marqám -mán-* intr. 'to grow up (when speaking of a child)', *markám* and *marqám -i̇-* tr. 'faire grandir (to grow, grow up)' (Tiff 208) (LYs 176). This is a compound word consisting of *mar-* + *-qam*. The first element can be correlated with Bur *máriṅ* and Ys also *maríṅ* 'good, very fine, excellent; nice; strong; fit; superior, best' (Will 86) (B 281) (Tiff 208, also 'distinguished, noble'). Possibly from the zero grade of IE **meh₁ros ~ *moh₁ros* 'large' (B-K 422: **ma- / *mə-*) from **meh₁ros* : ON *mærr* 'known, famous, great', *mæra* 'announce, praise', OEng *mēre* 'known, famous, great', from **moh₁ros* : OIr *mār* 'large', *mōraid* 'magnifies', Wels *mawr* 'more'. All from *meh₁(i)-* 'grow' (M-A 344), from which there is also Bur *meén* 'old'.

The second component can be linked tentatively internally to Bur *²qham* 'swollen palate' ('geschwollener Gaumen') (B 351, in Ys *kham* 'pharynx, maw' ('Schlund'), if the basic meaning here is 'swollen' (thus: 'grow' + 'swell'). It can be correlated with developments from IE **k̂euh₁-* 'to swell with power, grow great with child' : OInd *śváyati* 'swells, becomes strong/powerful', Lat *inciēns* 'pregnant', Gk *kuéin* 'to swell', *kūma* 'a swelling', ON *hūnn* 'young one' (widespread and old in IE) (M-A 560), Lat *cavus* 'hollow', Gk *koilos* 'hollow' and in particular with an *-m-* extension as in Latin *cumulus* 'a heap, pile, mass, surplus' from IE **k̂u-m-olo-*, suffixed shortened form of root **k̂euh₁-* 'to swell'. Some linguists (Petkanov q. in BER: II, 566) connected the Latin word with Russ *kom* 'lump, pile', Blg *Kom* 'name of mountain tops', which do not however have a generally accepted etymology (some correlate them with Lett *kams* 'lump' (Vasmer II: 300).

[24] Bur *-phínis*, Ng also *-phíniṣ*, Ys *-phénas* 'human hair of the head, cut short' (B 330) (L 291) (Tiff 245: "this term refers to the hair when it is cut short such as have men and little girls").

Can be compared with IE **pou-m-s* '(human) body hair' : Lat *pūbēs* 'pubic hair', Lith (dial.) *paustìs* 'animal hair', Russ *pukh* 'down, fluff, fine hair', Alb *push* 'hair, down, fibre, fur', Shugni *pūm*

'down, fluff', OInd *púmān* 'man, male' (M-A 251). In Bur with a change *m>n*, or more probably with a different extension, and with the alternation *i : u*. The Old Indian example is distant semantically, phonemically and derivationally.

[25] Bur *ġalġánas* 'bubbles (blisters) from a burn on the skin' ('Hitzebläschen auf der Haut'), *ċhil ġalġánas* 'soft blister caused by a burn' (B 167) (L 365). Can be correlated with IE *$g^wel(s)$-* 'to well up, flow' : OHG *quellan* 'to well up, swell', Gk *blúō* 'well up', OInd *gálati* 'drip, ooze, trickle', TochB *käls* '+/- trickle' (M-A 207). The Old Indian semantics is too divergent to be the source and in Indo-Aryan we only find continuants meaning 'pours, flows; stream; valley, country'. For the Bur semantic development note Eng *blister* < IE *$bhlei$-* (< *$bhel^2$-* 'to blow, swell') (Wat 12).

The second element -*ġán*- can be from *ġan*- 'appear, seem, be visible' (B 168) (with semantics as in the TochB and Bret examples below), (B 20), (in Will 59, also 'to look like, to seem; to be supposed'), Ys *ġên* 'visible' which we derive from IE *$\hat{g}en$-, *$\hat{g}enh_3$-, *$\hat{g}neh_3$-* 'know, become acquainted with, perceive', e.g. Gk *gignṓscō* 'learn, know, perceive, discern, observe', Hitt *ganēszi* 'recognises' and especially relevant to the Bur semantic development, TochB *nānā* 'appear' (explained by M-A (336-337) < 'come to be known') and Bret *neus* 'appearance' (IEW 376- 378).

Thus the Bur compound verb would have a semantics of 'blister appeared (popped up)' ('swell').

3.2. *Unique correspondences with Slavic*

[26] Bur *tatápal* and *tatápar* 'bat' (Sh *taltaápan*) can be compared with PSl *$netopyrь$* : Srb, Croat *pirac* 'bat', *leptir* 'butterfly', Blg *netopir*, Sln *netopir*, Russ *netopyr'*, Cz *netopýr*, Pl *nietoperz*, Ukr *netopir*, all: 'bat', Polab *netüopär* 'butterfly'. The root -*pyr*- has been related to IE *per-* 'to fly', i.e. *$netopyrь$* 'night flier' (?) (Vasmer III: 68-69; ESSJ XXIV: 143-145: *ne-to-$pyrь$*). The Burushaski form can be derived with a simple operation from an earlier *$natapar$* < *$natopar$* through assimilation. It could possibly be a loanword from Slavic or a loanword from Burushaski.

Bur also has Ys *pherán*, *pharán* 'moth' (Tiff 245), and with a different semantics Hz Ng *phirán* 'spider; small ball of yarn' (B 330) (L 291), which Berger with a question mark correlates to T 9078.2. Ys

has the verbal construction *par ét-* 'to fly' used rarely in Yasin which is considered a borrowing from Urdu (Tiff 234).

[27] Bur *bilís* 'weeding crops and softening and cleaning the ground' (L 81) (B 53). Can be compared semantically with Rom dial. *bîlă*, *bîlie* 'weed' (borrowed from Slavic), Blg *biljanik* 'weed, darnel', wider in Slavic: Srb and Croat and Sln *bilje*, Russ *bylьё*, Cz *býli*, Pl *bylina*, Mcd *bilka* 'also medicinal herb', *bilje* 'coll. plants and herbs' with the meaning 'plant, herb' derived ultimately from the IE verb **bheu-* from which is PSlav **byti* 'to be', and specifically from IE **bhūliǐo* (BER I: 47).

Consider on the other hand the possible correspondence with the Dacian gloss *blís* 'orache (a wild spinach, a weed)' (Neroznak 56), borrowed into Gk *blíton* and then Lat *blitum* 'same'. Georgiev (1965: 102) proposed a derivation (with a change $m > b$) from an IE **ml̥t-s* (OHG *molta*, *multa*, OSwed *molda*, Swed *molla* 'orache' (see also Čašule 1998: 14).

[28] Bur *girát-*, pres. *giráś-* 'to dance, to play'*,* *-ˈgirat-* 'make s.one dance' (L 167) (B 154) (Tiff 109). The verb is semantically identical with and corresponds directly phonologically with the unique PSlavic **(j)ьgrā* and **igra* 'game, dance' and **igrati* 'to play, dance' : Mcd *igra* v. 'to dance, to play', Srb, Croat *igrati*, Blg *igraja*, Sln *igrati*, Ukr *gráti*, Russ *igrat'*, Byruss *grac'*, *igrac'*, Cz *hráti*, Slk *hrat'*, Pl *grać*, USorb *hrać*, LSorb *graś*, all 'same'. Borrowed into Rom dial. *igrei* 'I play', and Hung *igrec*. BER (II: 8-9) derives the Slavic forms with an *-r* suffix from IE **igʷ-* < **eigʷ-* 'wild, move', e.g. ON *eikinn* 'wild, strong', OInd *éjati*, *ī̆jati* 'I move', Lith *áikštytis* 'prance, act up, play, whimper'. Derksen (209-210) states that the etymology of the Slavic words is not clear. Orel (2011, I: 388) proposes a link with Goth *jiukan* 'to fight, to conquer', Av *yaozaiti* 'to be agitated, to be excited', TochAB *yuk-* 'to conquer'. ESSJ (VIII: 208-210) suggests a link with IE **i̯aĝ-* 'honor, worship' + a suffix *-r.* The last two proposals involve significant (disabling) semantic latitude.

For the *-i-* in the Bur root, see Berger (2008: 5.1) who gives several examples of insertion of *-i-* between a stop and a resonant. It appears that the verbal form can be analysed as an univerbisation and a restructuring between *gir(ʔa)-* + the form of the verb *-ˈas* (*-atas*), used in periphrastic verbal constructions and with aphaeresis of the initial vowel (as in Cz, Slk, Pl, USorb, Ukr).

[29] Bur *khápun* 'spoon, dipper, ladle', L: "originally they were all made of wood" [implicitly: 'big spoon'] Ys *khápon* in Sh *khapéi*, Khw *kipíni* (L 228) (B 251) (Tiff 177). Can be derived from IE **kep-* / **kēp-* 'cut, carve, dig': PSl **kopati* and the iterative **kapati* 'dig', found throughout Slavic, e.g. OChSl *kopati*, Srb and Croat, Sln *kopati*, Mcd *kopa* 'dig', Blg *kopaja* 'to dig', LSorb *kopaś*, Pl *kopać*, Cz *kopati*, Slk *kopat'*, Russ *kopat'*, Ukr *kopati*, Byrss *kapac'* 'to dig', (with many derivations in Slavic), which corresponds with Lith *kapóti* 'to chop, to cut', Lett *kapât* 'same', related to Gk *kóptō* 'I hit, cut, kill', Lat *scapula* 'shoulder-blade', Pers *kāfad, kāvad* 'digs', Alb *kep* 'I saw, cut', Arm *kop'em* 'I cut, carve' (Orel II: 121-122) (G 331-332).

Crucial for the correlation of the Indo-European material with Burushaski is the direct and exact semantic and formal correspondence with Polish *kopania* 'ladle or spoon for mixing; long wooden vessel' and Bulgarian *kopanja* 'big wooden spoon; wide and shallow vessel from hollowed out wood; trough' (with a different semantics in Russ *kopan'* 'iron shovel') borrowed with essentially the same meaning (although not in the meaning of 'big wooden spoon') in Rom *copáie*, Arom *cupáńe*, Alb *kopanj* and Turk dial. *kopana* 'trough', MGk *kapána* 'trough for washing clothes' (BER II: 609). Note further Mcd *kopanica* 'wood-carving' (De Bray 224) and *kopana* and *kopanka* 'trough' and *kopan* 'bowl hollowed out of wood; tool for beating flax; battledore; drumstick; dial. trough', *kopačina* 'clearing, cleared land' (De Bray 224).

Consider further a possibility of correlating here Bur Ng *kaphínas* and *kaphínis*, Hz *gaphínas* 'step, foot-notch on log-ladder' (L 228), 'step, notched step on log-ladder' (B 146), with the semantics of *notch* i.e. 'which is cut/carved into s-thing' related to the IE stem above.

Burushaski does not have the underlying verb and unless it has historically lost it, this may indicate that this etymon is a loanword from Slavic into Burushaski (in a Balkan setting?).

[30] Bur *ġarbáanċ*, pl. *ġarbáanċiśo* 'shelter under overhanging rock (such as is used by ibex)' (L 180, who indicates that his informant could not provide a pl. form) (B 171, marks it also as *y* without a plural). Can be compared with derivations from IE **ghrebh-* 'to dig': (Proto-Gmc **graban*) ON *grafa* 'dig', *gröf* 'cave', OEng *grafan* 'dig', *græf* 'grave; ditch, trench; cave' > Eng *grave*, Grm *Grab*

'grave', Lith *grébti* 'rake', Lett *grebt* 'scrape, hollow out', OChSl *grobъ* (< IE **ghrobho-*) 'grave', (M-A 159, "a northwest dialectal term of late IE") (Orel I: 265 and 1998: 121, notes here Alb *grabë* < PAlb **grabā* 'hollowing out, erosion').

Note further from the same IE root, closer in meaning and form, from PSl **greby*, oblique stem **greben-e* : Mcd *greben* 'crag, cliff, an overhang, sheer rock; ledge; reef; carding comb', which semantically corresponds best, and ORuss *greben'* 'comb, crest', Ukr *hrebin'*, Blg *greben* 'same', Srb, Croat, Sln *greben* 'comb, ridge', Pl *grzebień*, Cz *hřeben*, Slk *hrebeň* (same) (G 245-246) (borrowed into Rom and MGk). Slawski apud BER I: 277, considers *-en* a suffix < *-enь*. Importantly there are several Balkan and Bulgarian oronyms that contain the word: *Greben Balkan*, *Grebenor*, *Grebenec*, Greben dol (BER Ibid).

Consider especially the ancient Balkan gloss in Hesychius *grában* 'pit, hole, cavity', labelled by etymologists as "Balkano-Illyrian" (Neroznak 181).

For the close semantic correlation esp. with Germanic, note English *rock-shelter* 'the rock-backed area under a large overhanging rock esp. as used by Aborigines for protection' (Macquarie Dictionary 1635) which is considered a synonym of *cave* and *hollow* (http: //www.thesaurus.com).

The Burushaski word could be a pluralia tantum with the pl. ending *-anċ* (cp. with one analysis of *halánċ* 'moon', see Čašule 2017: 146) (and thus the plural form would be a double plural) or could derive as in Germanic or Slavic from **graban-* + the ending *-ċ* : *-s* corresponding maybe to the IE nominal suffix *-es* or the nom. sg. *-s*.[10]

[31] *²ġareeẏ* 'colourful, multicoloured, variegated in colour, piebald' (B 171) (L 180, 161: *gareẏ buan* 'a piebald cow' 'having patches of black and white'). Corresponds closely with Blg dial. *gar* 'gray', and directly with Blg *gara koza* 'black goat with yellow spots' (+/- 'multicoloured, piebald'), *garest* 'with bright wool on the belly and dark everywhere else (esp. of a kid)' which is derived from PSl

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[10] As in: (as in Hz Ng *haġúċ* : Ys *haġós* 'pass, mountain-pass', Bur *huyéltarċ* 'shepherd', *marúċ* 'gold washer' > *marú* 'washing river sand' or generally: Bur *meénis* 'female sheep over one year old which has not had young'; Bur *huyés* 'small cattle (sheep and goats)'; Ys *-húṭes*, 'foot'; *bélis* 'ewe (which has had young)'; Bur *-yáṭis* 'head'; Ys *-yúṅus* 'tongue' and many more (see Čašule 2017: 50).

garъ(jь) 'burn', PSl *gorěti* 'to burn' (Trubačev VI: 102) (see Čašule 1998: 41).

Compare further with Srb, Croat *gar* 'ashes', 'gray-black colour', Russ *gar'* 'smell of fire' from IE *gʷher-* 'to heat, warm', zero-grade *gʷhr̥-* (Wat 34) and *gʷhermós* 'warm', e.g. Lat *formus* 'warm', Eng *warm*, OPruss *gorme* 'heat', Thrac *germo-* 'warm', Alb *zjarm* 'fire', Gk *thermós* 'warm', Arm *jerm* 'warm, good weather', Av *garəma-* 'hot', Skt *gharmá* 'heat' (M-A2 344). From this stem we have in Burushaski *garú* and *garúki* 'spring', Hz Ng *garúmo, garúkimo* 'spring-; in spring', and further: Ng, Ys *garúm*, Hz *garúrum* 'hot, warm; friendly' (as a noun 'heat') (L 162) (B 148-149). Also: Bur *garí* 'lamp, light; pupil of eye' (B 147-148). None of these words are found in the surrounding Indo-Aryan or Iranian languages, although Morgenstierne (L I: XXII) noted Sh *girom* 'sweat', but Berger rightfully considers them part of Burushaski's autochthonous vocabulary. See further example [35].

[32] Bur *pasóom*, Hz also *pasóoṅ* 'grudge, insult, grumble, growl, deprecate, deplore; disapproval, regret' (also in Sh) (L 287-288). (*je*) *pasóom* 'I protest' (B 312-313). A tentative and interesting unique correspondence is possible with PSlavic *pьsováti*, *pьsujǫ* 'inveigh, scold, to swear at, abuse, blaspheme', without IE parallels: Croat, Srb and Sln *psovati,* Mcd *pcue,* Russ *psovat',* Pl *psować* with an unclear etymology, which BER (V: 841-842) derive not uncontroversially, from PSlavic *pьsъ* 'dog' and the latter word is traced by some from an onomatopoetic particle *ps!* – BER V: 185-186).

In Bur: *pes-on-ko* (the Hunza form would have to be older), i.e. from an adjectival form or from the *m*-participle.

The semantics corresponds very well, and the isolated status of the isogloss in Slavic suggests a borrowing from Burushaski (see the unique Burushaski-Slavic isoglosses in Čašule 2017).

It is tempting to seek a historical correlation with IE *pes-* 'penis' (IEW 824) as words for the male sexual organ are often used in disapproval and deprecation.

3.3 Correspondences with South Slavic words of possible Balkan substratal origin

[33] Bur *girća* L also *kirća*, Ys only *girća* '(of sheep affected by) a certain disease (said by some to be caused by worms in the liver)' (Sh

kirśa) (L 167) (B 154), perhaps also (not correlated by Tiffou or Berger) *girćáp* 'a kind of insect, similar to the bedbug or bedtick; a louse found in cows and goats' (yet not in sheep) (Tiff: 109 tentatively points with a question mark to T 3103 which is problematic both phonologically [the vocalism does not correspond, the consonantism is complex and unclear]) and semantically: OInd *kālēyaka* 'a particular part of the intestines' also 'liver', everywhere in IA with meanings 'heart' or 'liver', and nowhere of a disease. Berger on the other hand, cites (with a question mark) T 3193, OInd *kīṭá[1]* m.' insect, worm', Sh *krī̆*, pl. *krī̃yĕ* f. 'insect' (semantically imprecise), and nowhere in Indo-Aryan as a mark of disease. In both cases it would be unusual, yet not impossible, for Burushaski to borrow the name of the disease (which doesn't appear elsewhere) without the words for 'liver' or 'worm' and it is indicative that only *some* speakers believe the disease is caused by worms in the liver.

Consider however tentatively the remarkable direct and specific semantic and phonological correspondence with Blg *kъrč* 'a disease that affects sheep', *kъrčavica* 'lethal disease of sheep', *kъrčan* 'the disease pyroplasmosis in sheep, goats, horses' (BER notes in passing the derivationally isolated Turk *kı̱rčı̱n* 'an epidemic in animals' 'murrain; epizooty; foot and mouth disease' [Moran 1945: 661]), also Srb, Sln, Slk *krč* (*grč* in Mcd, Croat, Blg) 'spasm, cramp', Russ *korča* 'spasm', OCz *krč* 'stump', Pl *kracz* 'stump', Ukr *korč* 'stump, bush', Byrss *korč* 'cramp, paralysis' (< PSl **kъrčь* or **kъrča* [Mcd *krčav oven* also *grčav* 'diseased, skinny ram'], (Vasmer 340-341, separates 'stump' from 'cramps'), which Orel (II: 131-132) correlates unconvincingly with Alb *qersë* 'fallow land'(< PAlb **kerktjā*). BER (III: 222, and Mladenov) correlates the words with OInd *krúñcati* 'bends', OIcl *hryggr* 'ridge', *hrukka* 'to writhe', from IE **(s)ker-(s)* 'to cut' (well represented in Burushaski: *-skarć-* 'to cut, cut off' (B 141).

It is curious that the alternation *k-* : *g-* is present both in Slavic and Burushaski. In the final analysis it could be a non-IE word. The semantic and phonological equation between Bulgarian, Macedonian and Burushaski is direct and specific.

Perhaps it is a compound word which can be derived tentatively internally in Burushaski from *kíro* 'sheep (in children's talk)' (B 245), which Berger relates to *khirgá* 'a call to sheep', and further *kíṣo* (< **kírṣo*) 'a call to sheep; sheep (in children's talk)' (B 245), also Bur

karéelo 'ram' (B 242) and Ys *krizí* and *krózo* 'small cattle (i.e. sheep and goats)' (BYs 157) and Bur *káru* 'male ibex' (BYs 157), (with *k-* > *g-*) *girí* 'ibex; wild sheep or goats' (L 167) (B 154) all from IE *k̂er-* 'horn' (in IE also 'sheep, ram, stag, cow' (IEW 574) (for the full analysis, see Čašule 2017: 171-172). Thus, the first component could be **kir-* or **gir-*'sheep' and the second component *-ča* could be the Ys amalgamated case ending *-ča* 'in to', which Tiffou (2014: 63) derives from the inessive *-či* 'in' + *-a* from the dative 'to'. Semantically, this is a sound explanation [illness] 'within the sheep'. If this is the case, the Burushaski word could have been borrowed into Slavic, with Bulgarian retaining best the original specific meaning. It is equally possible that it could be of Indo-Aryan origin.

[34] Bur *brak* 'crease, wrinkle (also in alluvial sand); narrow path for animals on a mountain; red marks on body (from bandage, ring)' (B 59) (L 85). There is a direct and precise correspondence within Slavic with Mcd *brčka* (< **bъrk-ьka* ?) 'wrinkle, crease, fold' (De Bray 34), also found in some Srb and Blg [*bъrčka* and *brъčka* 'bore'] dialects, in Slk with a meaning of 'curly hair', but not widely in Slavic. BER (I: 104) indicates that there isn't an etymology for this word, which could suggest substratal origin. ESSJ (III: 125) on the other hand, considers a PSl form **bъrčka*, which they derive from **bъrkъ* 'moustache', ultimately from IE **bher-* 'be sharp, pointed' and thus related to PSl ***bъrkati*** with an unclear basic meaning, perhaps 'stir' or 'dig' ?, e.g. Mcd *brka* 'stir, rummage; to confuse, mix up' (De Bray 33), (also G 151). In this respect, consider Bur *biráq-* (Ys *braq ét-*) 'to dig' (B 42) (for a different analysis of the Bur verb, see Čašule (2017: 98-99).

The correlation of Burushaski with South Slavic, and especially Macedonian, also more limited in Serbian and Bulgarian, is firm, direct and precise.

[35] Bur *gir* 'water that flows from a wound; excretion from the eyes in the morning' (B 153), and the compound *girmíćhil* 'water that flows from a wound' (*ćhil* 'water'). It could originate from a previous form **gur* as we have ample evidence of a change *u* > *i* before *-r*. There is a remarkable semantically direct and specific correspondence with Mcd *gurelka* (the root is *gur-*) 'excretion from the eyes, esp. in the morning, suppuration', Blg (mainly in Mcd dialects) *gurel*, *gurla* 'same', found also in Meglenoromanian, but not elsewhere in Slavic, which could indicate a substratal Balkan origin. BER (I: 295) analyse

it from an IE *gu-r-ьlъ and relate it to Blg žurja 'burn' in the sense of 'something burnt, dried up', which BER (561) considers a cross between žarja 'to burn, scorch' (< *gērŭ-) and gorja 'to burn', which appears to be a somewhat strained etymology. In Bur then perhaps *gēr- > gir < IE *gʷher- 'to heat, warm', The latter root is well represented in Burushaski: Ng, Ys garúm, Hz garúrum 'hot, warm; friendly' (as a noun 'heat') and various derivatives (e.g. garú 'spring', garí 'lamp, light, pupil of eye') (B 148-149 who considers the Bur words autochthonous and not of IA origin). The -m- in girmíċhil could derive from these forms and justify the BER etymology. Consider very tentatively and questionably perhaps Sh gĭróm 'sweat', from OInd gharmá 'heat, sweat' (T 4445), with a large degree of semantic latitude if it were a loanword into Bur and phonologically somewhat imprecise. This explanation also does not explain the bare stem in Burushaski.

There is yet another possibility that formally girmíċhil may show a direct relation to Bur girmín 'to write', which we derive from IE *g(ʷ)hrēi-, *g(ʷ)hrī- 'smear, scratch' (Čašule 2017: 131), with Bur gir thus retaining the basic form esp. in the meaning 'to smear' = 'coat or mark (something) messily or carelessly with a greasy or sticky substance; to spread or daub an oily, greasy, viscous, or wet substance on'. Semantically, the structure girmíċhil explicitly includes ċhil 'water', which could leave the first component girmi with the meaning of 'smeared, spread'.

Starostin (Burushaski etymology at starling.rinet.ru, accessed 27.05.2018) compares the Burushaski word with Proto-Basque *goῑi '1. red 2. raw 3. robust, fresh 4. rude, cruel 5. yolk of egg 6. meat of roasted chestnut' and Proto-Sino-Caucasian *gVrV 'blood, wound' (with his question mark, and no examples). He correlates it further in a "Borean" etymology (*kVrV-) with IE *kréuhₐ- 'blood, gore', which is semantically less satisfactory than the precise correspondence with Balkan Slavic, but not impossible.

[36] Bur ġurċ-´ and ġurċú-, Ys ġórċ-, ġurċ-´, ġór- 'to dive, to plunge into, sink into' (L 187) (B 180-181, also 'to stick in the ground'), ġurċáṣ 'diver; a type of duck'. The -ċ- < -s- which is absent from one of the Yasin forms could be an extension as in Bur karċi- 'cut up' : qar-´ -ṭ- 'scrape, scratch cut' from IE *(s)ker-(s) 'cut apart, cut off' (Čašule 2017: 170-171).

Can be compared with PSl ***gurati* : especially, directly and precisely with Blg dial. *guram se* for which BER (I 295) give the basic unique meaning 'to dive' and *guram* 'bathe a small child', also *gurkam*, and Srb, Croat *gurati* 'push, thrust, [importantly also] plunge' (further correlatable with the Bur meaning 'to stick into'), [Mcd *gurka* 'to wander'] without an etymology according to BER who consider separately the Bulgarian verbs from the Serbian and Croat forms. Gluhak (253) derives Croat *gurati* from IE **gour- < *geu-* 'bend': Gk *gȳros* 'crooked, twisted, protruding' (IEW gives the forms: **geu-ro-s, *gou-ro-s, *gū-ro-s* which could explain the Bur form with *-č- < -s-*), Lith *gura* 'a man who walks with a straight neck, even though he walks bent to one side', Lett *gūrât* 'move slowly', *gūrāties* 'to shake, to wobble'.

The correspondence of Burushaski and esp. Bulgarian but also Serbian and Croatian (where it could be a Balkan substratal word) both phonologically and semantically is remarkable.

[37] Bur -˙*gat-* 'to drive s.thing into s.thing, drive into (wedge, pointed object)' (L 38) (B 150), with the common Bur voicing: *k > g*. There is a direct correspondence with a very productive South Slavic verb: Mcd, *kači* 'to hang on a nail, to drive in a nail, a post' also 'to lift, raise, to put up, to climb', *zakači* 'to hook up, to pin up' (De Bray 209), Blg *kačvam* 'raise, lift, to load', Srb and Croat *kačiti, dokačiti* 'to reach', *zakačiti* 'to pin up', *okačiti* 'pin on' (in Srb, Croat and Mcd with many prefixes), and the semantically removed Sln *kačiti* 'to irritate' (BER II: 290-291).

There is no clear or definitive etymology for the South Slavic words. Skok (1974, II: 10-11) compared them with Rom *a acățá* and *a agățá* 'to pin up, attach, climb', which is considered to be of Balkan substratal origin (Illyes 1988: 236), i.e. very problematically with Lat *captiare* 'hunt, grab' < *capere* 'seize, grab'. Mladenov (in BER II: 291) sought a highly unlikely correlation with Grm *hangen*, Eng *hang*, Hitt *gang-, kank-* 'hang' and Pokorny (IEW 538: **keg-, *keng-, *kek-, *kenk-*) suggested a comparison with Russ *kogotъ* 'nail', USorb *kocht* 'thorn'.

While we don't have a definitive etymology for the Burushaski verb or the South Slavic developments, the correspondence between them is remarkable. It also seems that the link with Macedonian but also with Romanian is the most precise one.

The Romanian attestation indicates strongly that this is a Balkan substratal word.

[38] Bur *durmúś* y. 'sorrow, mourning', *durmúśa-* 'to be anxious, worried, grieved' (L 146: *durmušāyas*) (B 126). The Bur verb derives possibly from: **durm-us-yas* i.e. from a noun **durmus.*

Can be compared directly and precisely semantically and formally with the unique Macedonian verb *se durmi* 'to frown, scowl; also overcast, rain-cloudy' (De Bray 117), and further: Lith *su padúrmu* 'stormy' (only with prefix) and perhaps more distantly (without -*m*) (and much less likely) with Russ, Ukr and Bylruss *durь* 'stupidity, madness', or Srb *duriti se* 'to infuriate'. The Gk *doũros* 'savage' does not fit semantically or formally (Orel 2011: 329 rejects decisively the Greek example on phonemic grounds) (BER I: 449). Without a firm Indo-European etymology.

The exact correspondence between Macedonian and Burushaski is remarkable as in in a significant number of etymologies (see Čašule 2017a: 88-90).

[39] Bur *phéero* 'traitor, one who plots to murder, conspirator, assassin', in Ys *phéru, phéro* also 'maggot, weevil' (Tiff 246) (L 290) (B 328) and further L (289) *pherēi, phirēi* 'to plot to murder, conspiracy, high treason'. Tiffou (246) suggests an interesting but questionable link with Hz Ng *phíri* 'a black insect that lives in water', but the vocalism does not correspond well, and the semantics is strained. Berger points to OInd **phirati* intr. ' moves, wanders, turns ', which is semantically distant and not accepted by Tiffou.

Consider the close correspondence with the unique Mcd west. dial. also colloq. *opere* 'to kill' < *perne* 'to hit', also *pere* 'to wash' (derived by all etymologists < 'to beat the clothes'), which is from PSl **pьrati* 'to hit', e.g. OChSl *pьrati,* Blg *perja,* Sln, Srb, Croat, Czech *prati*, Pl, USorb, Slk *prać,* Russ *prat'* and this from IE **per-* 'to hit', also found in Alb *pres* 'slaughter, slay', Lat *premō* 'to press, squeeze' (very productive in Lat), Lith *peˇti*, Lett *pert* 'to hit' (G 499-500, who suggests Nostratic origin). In the highly Balkanised Macedonian there is also *perdaši, operdaši, isperdaši* 'to beat, thrash' (De Bray 190) and tentatively and uniquely (Prilep dialect) *oparak* 'crude, boorish, ill-bred, rude' (BER IV 896), and the unique word *piralka* 'battledore' (for laundering clothes).

This is undoubtedly an autochtonous Burushaski word of Indo-European origin. Yet as in many other instancesm, the

correlation with Macedonian where it is very productive, is the closest semantically and most direct.

[40] Bur Ys *ḍam- -i-* 'to hunt in a group', Hz Ng *ḍam- -i-* in the sense of 'expel, hunt animals' (Tiff 94) (with *b > m,* which is a common Bur change). Corresponds directly with Mcd *demne* 'to lie in wait, to watch over' (even in the change *b > m,* also *izdemne* 'catch unawares' (De Bray 96), found in OChSl *oudebenъ* 'caught unawares', Blg *debna* (mostly in Mcd dialects) 'to watch secretly (in order to attach or grab s-thing', Srb *debati* 'stalk', Russ dial. *debetь* 'to carry on stubbornly with s-thing' but not found elsewhere in Slavic. It is essentially a South Slavic development.

Can be derived together with Slavic from IE **dhebh-* thus cognate with OInd *dabhnōti* 'to deceive', Av *dab-* 'to deceive', perhaps also Grm *tappen* 'to grope' (BER I: 329).

[41] Bur *tatáp* 'to wash (clothes by beating them)', *taptáp -i-* Hz Ng 'to tap, to beat lightly' ('tippen an, leicht schlagen') (also in Shina *taptáp* only in the second meaning) (B 420, who considers it an autochthonous word and with a question mark relates it to [1]*tap* 'leaf', also of IE origin, an explanation that shouldn't be rejected outright, even if semantically tortuous.

Can be compared initially with IE **tap-* 'to press down, to trample': Skt *saṁ-tapati* 'to oppress, to torment, to torture' (semantically distant), OIcl *þefja* 'to stamp', Gk *tapeinós* 'lowly, humble' (semantically distant) (IEW 1056). In PSlavic **tepāti, *tipāti* and very productive in Slavic and South Slavic, particularly e.g. Mcd *tepa* 'to beat, to thrash, colloq. to lick; to kill, to win', *otepa* 'to kill', *se otepa* 'become exhausted; commit suicide', *se tepa* 'to fight' (De Bray 583), and the dim. *tepka* 'diminutiv of *tepa*', also especially Blg *tepam* 'to beat', (in many respects similar in its dialects to Mcd), also 'make a woollen cloth denser by pouring water over it and beating it with special wooden hammers' (BER VII: 947). The Serbian *tipati* 'reach' is sometimes included but it is semantically divergent. And further Russ (only dialectal) *tipatь* 'tap lightly, peck, pinch', Cz *tipati se* 'do something slowly', which could be independent formations of sound symbolic origin.

The Burushaski verbs correspond remarkably and specifically with Bulgarian and Macedonian (also more limited with Russian), which could be an indication of substratal origin in these languages.

3.4 Correspondences with Phrygian

The following Burushaski word has been analysed extensively in Čašule (2017a: 213-215) and here we provide yet another new etymological interpretation which appears to link it more closely with Phrygian but also with Slavic:

[42] Bur *qhimóor* (Hz, Ng), i.e. *xumár, xomór* (Ys) (secondary form in Ys, Tiffou 2014: 189) (also found in Khw as *xumōr*) – 'desire, longing, lust; appetite' (L 243) (B 356).

We find an exact and remarkable phonological correspondence with the Phrygian gloss *kimeros* explained by Hesychius as *'noũs'* – 'a mind, a desire'. As pointed out by Neroznak (147), the Greek equivalent can also have the meanings of 'sense, thought, desire, intention, will'.

Consider also PSl **čemerъ, *čemera* esp. Mcd *čemer* 'bitterness; gall, wormwood; distress, affliction, heartbreak' (De Bray 657), *čemree* (verb) 'to pine, to long; miss, to be homesick; to mourn', Blg *čemer* 'worry', Sln *čemer* 'poison, inflammation, weak will', Cz *čemera* 'ugliness', Slk *čemer* 'weakness', Pl dial. *czemier* 'wormwood', Russ dial. *čemer* 'headache, stomach ache; poison', Ukr *čemer* 'an illness in horses', Byrss *čэmer* 'bitterness'.

Compared with OHG *hemera* 'wormwood', Lith *kẽmeras* 'hemp' from an IE **kemero-, *komero-,* from IE **kem-* 'to press, compress' (G 175), from which also PSl **čamiti* and especially Mcd *čmae* 'to languish, pine', Croat *čamati* 'to be tormented, suffer', Blg *čamav* 'ill', further Lett *kamuôt* 'press' (G 171).

Mallory-Adams (265) include only the plant name, in a major oversight, and indicate that it is "probably a late word in at least the west and center of the Indo-European world.

This is an extremely important direct and precise correspondence between Phrygian and Burushaski, both phonematically and semantically and it is a very strong indication of the relationship that exists between the two languages. Semantically, Macedonian, where the word is most productive, but also Slavic in general fit best in this equation. The plant name would have certainly been secondary.

The following two etymologies involve an initial *z-* which is atypical both of Phrygian and Burushaski:[11]

[43] Bur *zaṭ* 'wide open (of eyes)', (also in Sh), *zaṭ man-́* 'with eyes wide open, staring', *zazaṭ man-́* 'same' (L 390) (B 484).

Can be compared tentatively with Phrg *zetna* 'gate'. Heringa (apud Neroznak 155) compared the Phrygian word with IE **ghed-* 'opening' (also OIcl *gatt* 'opening' from which Bur has *-qhát* 'mouth, opening' (see Čašule 2017: 213), also *-ġaat* in *ġaṅġaato* 'opening of a big hole, a big mouth', first component from IE **ghan-* 'to open mouth'. Haas (apud Neroznak 155) suggested an ancient Asia Minor origin.

It would seem that the *z-* is of expressive nature, as Burushaski has two variants.

[44] Bur *zamqán* NH *zanqán* 'metal jar with long neck for heating water and tea making, at a corner of the hearth' (B 482). The second component *-qan* could be related to Bur *qaṅ* 'small hole, hollow' (< **qan-* + *-ko*).

Can be compared very tentatively with the Phrygian gloss *zeuman* ? 'stream, 'fount' (Neroznak 155). who proposes origin from IE **ǵheu-* 'to pour', OInd *homan-* 'sacrifice', *juhṓti* 'pours into the fire', Thrac *zetraia* 'pot' which matches the Bur development very well.

Another less likely possibility is: *²saí* pl. *²saímiṅ* NH 'a small spring' (B 372). Can be compared tentatively with IE **sei-, *soi-* (in Wat 73: **sai-* < **seh₂i-* 'thick liquid; possible root'), in IEW 889, given as 'to drip, to run (of water), to be damp': with *l*-formant: (in river names Ven *Silis, Silarus,* Ligur *Silarus*, Illyr *Silarus*, Sp *Sil*, MIr *silid* 'drips, flows', partially contaminated with **sel-* 'move' (see in IEW under **su̯el-*), OSax *sioloḅ* 'sea'; Lith *séilė* 'saliva, slobber', and note esp. with the *m*-formant: Cymr *hufen* 'cream' (**soimeno-*), OHG, NHG *seim* 'honeycomb', OIcl *seimr* 'a slice of honeycomb', ablaut. *simi* 'sea', Dan *sima av* 'to trickle out', and from the suffixed form **sai-mn̥-* > Gk *haima* 'blood' (IEW 889: "probably the base for **seikʷ-* and **seip-* 'pour out'").

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[11] Note here also the correspondence between Phrygian *azenu* 'beard', *azen(wa)* 'jaws' and Bur *-sán* 'chin' where both languages unexpectedly reflect a satem development, and cp. with Gk *geneiás* 'beard, chin, cheek', Lat *gena* 'cheek'.

Once again we may have a situation whereby the singular form, i.e. the *m*-formant could have been retained in the plural, i.e. Bur *²saí* pl. *²saímiṅ* from a sg. **saim-* (see also *ċhil)*. The position of the stress prevented the monophthongisation.

3.5 Correspondence with the Balkan languages of possible pre-Indo-European origin

[45] Bur *ṭiṅán* (L also notes forms with *t-* in Biddulph and Leitner), pl. *ṭiṅáyo* also *ṭiṅ* (with an inorganic *-n-* or with anticipation of the nasal, or by anticipatory assimilation ?), in Ng *ṭigán* '1. egg. 2. a lump of butter' (L 352) (B 446). The Nager form could be the older one. Can be compared with some semantic latitude with MGk *tigáni* 'frying pan' < Gk *tég̃anon* or *tagḗnon* 'frying pan' and further *tagḗni-as* 'pancake', *tagḗnizō* 'to fry in a pan', (an old technical word with an unclear etymology and found in comic texts, quite possibly of Pre-Greek origin: Beekes II: 1443-1444), borrowed into Mcd, Blg, Srb *tigan* 'frying pan' (with many derivatives), Alb *tigán* 'frying pan, pot', Rom *tigáie* 'same', Arom *tigáne* 'frying pan; pancake'. Bulgarian has also *tiganiče* 'tadpole', which might be tentative evidence of an earlier meaning of 'egg', i.e. 'hatched from the egg'. Especially important and widespread from this stem are nouns denoting names of savoury (more rarely sweet) doughnuts and pancakes, where the main ingredient by definition are the eggs: e.g. Blg, Mcd *tiganici* 'doughnuts, made from flour, two-three eggs and a little bit of salt', also 'a type of fried doughnut with eggs and soda' (BER 8: 28-29). The semantic development in the Balkans could have been 'egg' and 'hatched from egg' > 'egg pan' > 'egg doughnut' with the initial independent meaning of 'egg' lost. The Burushaski meaning of 'a lump of butter' appears to also point to the frying process. The phonological correspondence is remarkable.

3.5 Discussion

Even though these latest etymologies analysed in this article are only 25 in number and the criterion for their selection is chronological, they display the same stratification as the rest of the 507 (and as many derivatives) identified correspondences between Burushaski and Indo-European. These etymologies also strengthen significantly the case for an ultimately Balkan provenance of Burushaski – as the probable

Balkan substratal examples [33-41] show. In [30] the close and direct correlation of Burushaski both with the ancient Balkan language Illyrian and Slavic, but also with Germanic is remarkable. Even in the unique isoglosses with Slavic with unclear etymologies, the South Slavic material is dominant, as in [29] or [31]. The number of precise and unique correspondences with Slavic with this data has increased from 26 to 33 and we should note that there are more in the etymological dictionary. In [9] the closest link is with Slavic. In [8] the specific derivational parallel with Albanian is very important. In [7] the direct correlation is with Germanic.

The direct correspondences with Phrygian [42-44] are very important in relation to the other evidence of the close correlation between Burushaski and Phrygian.

The phonematic correspondences in these examples are systematic and fully consistent with those we have established many years ago, between Burushaski and Indo-European.

Semantically, the correlations are almost all direct, without any semantic latitude: (e.g. 'spoon' : 'spoon'; 'pail' : 'pail'; 'many' : 'many', 'insult' : 'swear at'; 'pustule' : 'pustule, scar'; 'desire' : 'desire', 'dirty' : 'dirty'; 'hair' : 'hair'; 'cloth' : 'cloth', 'to agree' : 'to agree', 'defecate' : 'have diarrhea'; 'to grow' : 'to grow'; 'to eat' : 'to eat'; 'to hide' : 'to cover'; 'a bat' : 'a bat'; 'weed' : 'weed'; 'to dance, to play' : 'to dance, to play'; 'overhanging rock' : 'overhang'; 'piebald' : 'piebald'; 'a disease in sheep' : 'a disease in sheep'; 'wrinkle' : 'wrinkle'; 'to dive, plunge' : 'to dive, plunge'. In [10] in what is a rich polysemous stem, Burushaski contains all the meanings postulated by Pokorny for Indo-European.

In the final analysis, one of the cardinal questions is how to reconcile the 32 unique and direct isoglosses between Burushaski and Slavic, the South Slavic and Balkan material and the over 30 unique isoglosses between Burushaski and Phrygian. While this aspect needs to be studied more carefully in the future, we can venture to say perhaps speculatively that in deep antiquity the ancestor of Burushaski could have existed in a symbiosis between Ancient Phrygian and Ancient Slavic, possibly in the (Northern) Balkans. Furthermore, the relatively isolated position of these Slavic words could indicate that historically they were borrowed from Burushaski.

Contrary to what some critics have claimed, we have not looked exhaustively at Pokorny's dictionary, and there will be most certainly

more Indo-European correspondences with Burushaski, which is turning out to be much more Indo-European than we thought at the outset.

4 The origin of the ethnonym Burúśo, Burúśin and the names of the language Burúśaski, Brugaski and Miśáski

There is no definitive etymology for the ethnonym *Burúśo* (Ys *Burúśu*), *Buruśin* 'Burushaski speaker' and the name of the language *Burúśaski* (B 491). Berger (2008: 134-136) notes that *Burúśo* could be derived from **Burúśio* and ultimately from **Purúśo* and correlates it with *Prrúśavā* found in Saka inscriptions, yet note from the 8ᵗʰ century the Tibetan form *Bru-ža* (Bailey 1968: 71f.) (Berger 1985: 37, who states that it is not fully certain whether the reference is to Burushaski, this reservation also holds for the Saka inscription) (Edel'man-Klimov 1970: 10). He compares it with Skt *puruṣa* 'man' (T 8289), although he acknowledges the difficulty in deriving *-ś-* from a *-ṣ-* form and considers it a folk etymology. While not impossible, the etymology has several weaknesses – it is not immediately transparent why the Khotanese document would use a Sanskrit word that means 'man' to refer to the Burusho which is semantically odd, there are historical indications that the forms with *Br- > Bur-* are primary and the *-ś- : -ṣ-* discrepancy cannot be neglected. It also does not explain some words used for the Burushaski language, such as *Brugaski*.

While the change *p- > b-* is well represented internally in modern Burushaski, there are also significant examples of an *alternation b : p* (see Čašule 2017: 5) which could suggest that there may have been two variant forms of the ethnonym. Compare e.g. with the two names for the Phrygians: Greek *Phruges* < original Phrygian *Bruges*.

We propose two possible etymologies. There is a tentative possibility that *Burúśaski* may derive from Bur *buúri* 'crest, top of hill, summit, peak' (B 66). From IE **u̯er-* 'high raised spot or other bodily infirmity', zero-grade form **u̯r̥-* (Wat 99), with the change *w- > b-* (see the multitude of examples in Čašule 2010: 6-8). It is further correlated by Berger with Bur *-úri* (Hay *uru*) and *-úriṣ* 'crest, ridge, mountain peak; prong; fingernail' (in LYs 19 also 'claw'). There is an

interesting correspondence with the Phrygian gloss in Neoptolemus *orū* 'up, on top' (derived from a substantive **oros*), which Diakonoff-Neroznak (D-N 127) derive from the same root as Burushaski.

Thus we would have **bur-iş* or **bur-is* 'top of hill' ~ 'high land' + the relational suffix *-yo* and the suffix *-(a)ski*, i.e < **bur-iş/s-yo-ski* and with assimilation *Burúšaski*, this giving the meaning 'highlanders, mountain people' (yet with the same *-ś-* : *-š-* issue) (etymology accepted by Eric Hamp).

Another firmer etymology, which accounts for all forms, could seek a correlation of *Burúšaski* with the original names of the Phrygians and their tribes *Briges, Brikes, Bryges = Bruges, Brugoi* [> Gk *Phruges*]*, Brekun, Berekuntai* (Neroznak 142), especially because our analyses have shown that Burushaski and the Phrygian language share over 30 unique isoglosses and 32 personal names (also in grammar, e.g. the participles-periphrastic constructions in *-menos*, the *e*-augment in verbs) which has led us to conclude that the Phrygian language is most probably at the core of Burushaski (for a detailed analysis, see Čašule 2004, 2014c, 2016, 2017).

Müller (1844) suggested the name of the *Bruges/Briges* might be related to the same Indo-European root as that of German *Berg* (mountain) and Slavic *breg* (hill, slope, mountain) from IE **bʰerĝʰ-* 'high' and **bʰerĝʰ-o-s* 'hill, mountain' and further Alb *burg* 'coast', Av *barəzah-* 'mountain, height', Arm *berj* 'height', TochAB *pärk* 'to raise, elevate', OInd *bṛh-ant* 'big, high', Cymr *bera* 'heap', OLat *forctus* 'strong, firm', Hitt *parkuš* 'high', i.e., AncMcd toponym *Berga*, Illyr *Berginium*, Thrac *Bergoulē* (IEW 140-141) (the same interpretation is suggested only for *Berekuntai* in Neroznak (Ibid).

Burushaski has from this IE root Ys *bérkat* 'summit, peak, crest; height' (BYs 133) (LYs 49) (*rg>rk*, according to Berger's rule which states that "after *r* media are as a rule voiceless' (B I: 19.24). Consider here the Burushaski male names, with *-g-* (an older state) *Birgáo* and *Birgán* (B 490) closely correlatable with the AncMcd male name *Byrginos* and Phrg *Brygos* (Čašule 2004: ex. [34]), most likely related to the ethnonyms above. A Burushaski native speaker (JB) informs me also of the Burushaski name *Birgóśikuċ* from the tribal ethonym *Birgóś*. Relevant here is the widespread Burushaski alternation *i* : *u/_r*.

Particularly central, interesting, direct and remarkable is the exact correspondence between one of the current names for

Burushaski, quite possibly the oldest one, i.e. *Brugaski* (Mushtaq 2016: 1) (Mushtaq 2012: 15) (Sheikh and Jan 2016: 1) and the Phrygian ethnonym *Bruges*, *Brugoi* [*Bruges* > **Bruges-ski* or rather *Brugoi* >*Bruga-ski*[12] (in Bur IE *oi* > *a*)].

We propose that *Burúšaski* is a derivative of this form, with an insertion of -*u*- (< -*i*-)[13] in the first syllable, as the group *br*- is not all that common and in some cases an -*i*- is inserted between *b* and *r*. Berger (2008: 135) points out that in everyday quick speech *Burúšaski* is pronounced *Brúšaski* a form also endorsed by some native speakers.

The development would be from **Bhrug/k-i̯os-* > *Burúśo*.[14] For the change *ĝi̯* > *ś* see example [11]. *-i̯os* is the Indo-European suffix which creates adjectives from noun stems, and the Burushaski suffix -*yo* we have identified[15] has the same function. In *Burúšaski*, the *a* < *o* in unstressed syllable.

The Bur suffix -*iski* (B I: 19.8-19.9) [16]is of Indo-European origin and corresponds to IE **-isko*, compound adj. suffix, forming diminutives and relative adjectives denoting origin in Slavic, found also in Baltic, Germanic and Thracian (Čašule 2017: 227). The Greek suffix -*iskos* is used only with a diminutive meaning.

The form *Burúśin* pl. *Burúśo* 'Burushaski speaker' is the only example with a suffix -*in*, which parallels remarkably the PSlavic

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[12] After our analysis we came across the mention of N. Mitevski (p.c. to I. Mosenkis) who has also compared Bur *Brugaski* with Phrg *Brúgoi*.

[13] Note e.g. *brágu : birágu, braq : biráq, branj : biránj* (Tiff 49), *bréspat* (Sh) > Bur *biréspat* (Tiff 45).

[14] Another (weaker) possibility is Phrg *Bruges* > **Brugs* > **Bruks-* > **Bruś-* > *Burúś-aski*. For *ks*>*ś* in Bur, note e.g. *śiráu* '(of sky) completely clear, cloudless' (BYs 178) derived from IE **k̂sēro-* < **k̂seh₁-ro-* 'dry; bright (of weather)' (M-A 170).

[15] Other examples of Bur forms with a -*yo* suffix are: *hamíśo* 'a small insect that goes in the lucerne' (L 192) (B 189) derived from IE **h₁empís* 'gnat, stinging insect'; *mámayo* from *máma* 'mother' (B 277); *láṣu* Ys 'liar' (BYs 161) < IE **lugh-i̯o* 'liar' < **leugh-* 'to lie' (G 370-371); *láśo* (L *laṣu*) 'gluttonous, glutton, greedy' (also in Sh) (L 248) (B 264) < IE **las-* 'be greedy, lascivious' (M-A 157-158); *huyés* (sg and pl) 'small cattle (i.e. sheep and goats)' (B 209) (L 211) and *huyóo* 'wool-bearing animal, sheep' (B 209) < **huyyoo* (with *yy* > *y*) which correspond directly with IE **h₂óu̯is* 'sheep' (M-A 510); *karóoyo* Ng 'with curved horns' (B 242) < IE **k̂r̥-i̯ós* 'horned' (M-A2 137); the personal name *Mośo* which Berger derives from *mos* (B 503).

[16] For example: from *Nagér* > *Nagériski*, from *gus* 'woman' > *guśíski*, *hir* 'man' > *hiríski* etc. (Berger I: 205). And further Burushaski: -*sk*, NH -*sko*, Ys -*ís* 'young (of animals), young one; also jokingly for children', e.g. *buś isk* 'kitten' < *buś* 'cat' (L 316) (B 380).

suffix *-inъ*, an adjectival and nominal suffix which meant 'of, pertaining to' < IE **iHnos*. For example, Mcd *Bugarin* 'Bulgarian m.' pl. *Bugari* 'Bulgarians'; *Rusin* 'Russian m.', pl. *Rusi*, *ruski* 'adj. Russian'. The *-n-* is lost in the plural as in the Burushaski example, and with possessive meaning: *Milka – Milkin* 'Milka's'. Berger (2008: 134) explains the suffixal *-in* as an instance of the indefinite article, which, however, in Hz Ng is *-an*, and in Ys *-en* h and *-an* x,y (Tiff 98).

The correspondence between Burushaski terms *Brugaski* (> *Burúšaski*) and Phrygian *Bruges* is direct, remarkable and precise, most probably with a shared meaning of 'mountain people, highlanders'.

The Burushaski language is also referred to with the endonym *miśáski* (Ethnologue), (a form not found in Berger, Lorimer or Tiffou) from the 1. p. pl. pers. pronoun *mi-* + *-śa-ski* in the sense of 'our language'. The pronoun: *mi* 'we' (gen.-erg *míi*; dat. (reduplicated) *mímar*, abl. *míičum*) and the pronominal prefix *mi-´* /*mí-* / *mé-* / *mée-* (B 286) can be correlated directly within Indo-European with Arm *mek'*, Blt-Sl **mes* e.g. OPrus *mes*, Lith *mẽs* and PSl **my* 'we' < IE **me-* (G 407)[17] (Fortson 2004: 127) (possibly in both cases from an older Nostratic **mä* < **mi* 'I' (Gluhak 407-408) (see also Čašule 2017: 195 and Chapter 1. [2.3]). The Burushaski pronominal prefix *mi-´* /*mí-* / *mé-* / *mée-* signals that the forms with *-e-* are older (and from *mée-* > *mi*) and could go back to **mes*. The suffix *-śáski* would be by analogy with *Burúšaski* or from **mes-yo-ski,* with the IE suffix *-ĭo*.[18]

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[17] For the IE 1 p. pl. reconstruction, note Szemerényi (1996: 8.4.3): **u̯ei-* and **n̥s-me-s*; GI 254: IE **mes-* alongside with **u̯ei-* – also in Schmidt (1978), with **u̯ei-* considered younger; in Katz (1998), 1. p. pl. **u̯éy(e)s, *mes*. Very pertinent is the discussion by Kapović (2006: 154-155) who carefully weighs the evidence for considering the Balto-Slavic and Armenian forms, unique within Indo-European, either as an archaism, which is the dominant view he reluctantly seems to accept, or as an innovation from the older widely attested IE **u̯ei̯-(e)* with *m-* developing by analogy with the oblique singular stem or under the influence of **-m* in the 1 p. pl. verbal endings. This is a rather vexed question which cannot be adjudicated here.

[18] Consider the direct parallel with the derivation of PSl **nāšь* 'ours' < **nas* + **i̯o* (BER IV: 576).

It is common for ethnic groups to refer to their language as 'our language', e.g. in parts of Macedonia and Serbia the population refers to their language as *naški* 'ours'.[19]

The etymological analysis in this section fits rather well with the discussion and evidence on Burushaski and Phrygian and Slavic correlations.

Abbreviations of sources cited

B = Berger, Hermann. 1998.

BER = Georgiev, Vladimir et al. 1971-

BYs = Berger, Hermann. 1974.

E-K = Edel'man, Džoi. I. and Klimov, Georgij. A. 1970.

ESSJ = Trubačev, Oleg. 1974-

G = Gluhak, Alemko. 1993.

IEW = Pokorny, Julius. 1959.

L = Lorimer, David L.R. 1938.

L I= Lorimer, David L.R. 1935.

LYs = Lorimer, David L.R. 1962.

M-A = Mallory, James P. and Adams, Douglas Q. (eds.). 1997.

M-A2 = Mallory, James P. and Adams, Douglas Q. 2006.

T = Turner, Ralph L. 1966.

T-P = Tiffou, Étienne and Pesot, Jurgen. 1989.

Tiff = Tiffou, Étienne (2014)

Wat = Watkins, Calvert. 2000.

Will = Willson, Stephen R. 1999.

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[19] Note also the endonym of the Macedonian ethnic group *Mijaci* which also derives from the first person plural pronoun *mie* 'we' (BER IV: 149).

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