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XI

GEORG MORGENSTIERNE:
INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER LANGUAGES

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IN SINCERE GRATITUDE
PREFACE

The collection of material for this account of two Iranian languages, and the subsequent preparation of a descriptive and, to some extent, comparative account of them, were rendered possible by the generous assistance of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture.

My sincere thanks are due to Sir George Grierson, whose description of the Kaniguram dialect of Ormuri has been of the greatest help to me, and to whom I am indebted for valuable advice and information on numerous occasions; to Professor Sten Konow, who has gone through part of the manuscript of the Parachi section; to Dr. E. W. Selmer, who has kindly assisted me in the interpretation of the phonograph records; and to Mr. A. G. Jayne, who has revised the English, except in the vocabularies.

Owing to my impending departure on another linguistic expedition to the Hindu Kush it has been necessary to print the Parachi section before the completion of the Ormuri part; and the Ormuri vocabulary had to be sent to press before the introduction and the grammatical sketch of that language were finished. In consequence of this several discrepancies may, I fear, be found in the text. The proof-reading, too, had to be disposed of in less time than I could have wished.
PARACHI
INTRODUCTION.

1. Parachi is first mentioned by Babur in his Memoirs: “Many other of the villages and districts (of Kābul) are occupied by Pashtais, Parāchis, Tājiks, Berekis and Afghans.” “There are eleven or twelve different languages spoken in Kābul: Arabic, Persian, Türki, Moghuli, Hindi, Afghani, Pashāi, Parāchi, Geberi, Berekī and Lamghāni.”

Later in the 16th century the Turkish admiral Sidi Ali mentions the Farāsh tribe as living in the vicinity of Parwan, which is close to Shutul.

Elphinstone tells us that “the Puraunchehs, another class of Hindkees, seem to have been considered as a separate people in Bauber’s time: they are now only remarkable for being great carriers, and conductors of caravans.”

And according to Masson: “the Perāncheh is spoken by a few families of the same name, resident in or near Panjshīr”. Cf. p. 221: “The Perānchehs, besides the few families at Panjshīr who preserve their ancient dialect, are found over a large tract of country, and it is well known that their conversion to Islām is of comparatively recent date. At the city of Kābal some of the more eminent merchants are Perānchehs. They occupy a considerable village in Kāmeh; they also inhabit Makkad on the Indus, and again are

1 Transl. Leyden and Erskine, ed. King, I, 224 f.
2 Marquardt, Eranshahr, 287.
3 An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, new ed., I, 413.
4 Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan etc., I, 219.
found at Atak, and the towns between it and the Jélam river. In all situations they are a commercial people."

Till recently this was all that was known about Parachi, and, in a note on Babur’s Memoirs (l.c.), Sir George Grierson explained the name as “Prachi”: “Eastern”, denoting a language of Eastern India, brought to Kabul “through the Purbyas (of Oudh) who were and are great travellers.” ¹

2. When staying in Kabul in 1924, on a linguistic mission from the Norwegian “Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture”, I made, however, constant inquiries about Parachi, relying on the authority of Babur and Masson, who described it as a local dialect.

Towards the end of July a Pashai, whom I had brought to Kabul from his native village of Kohnadeh (Sathá) near Gulbahar, told me that a friend of his, living in the valley of Shutul, spoke a curious language called Parachi. He could also repeat a few sentences in this language: na’yan tureman, au tere man “I eat bread and drink water”; kànjaj “from where art thou”; ustì pareman “rise and let us go”, etc. Another Pashai, hailing from Tagau, confirmed this information by the statement that in the dialect of Pachaghan in Nijrau, about which he had already roused my curiosity, “bread” was called nayûn.

This information made it clear that Parachi was an unknown Iranian language, and tèr “to drink” reminded me of Orm. tr. When I sent the Kohnadeh Pashai home, I promised him a good bakhshish, if he would bring his Parachi friend to Kabul. He did not, however, appear, and I had to send another messenger to Shutul. This man duly returned with a grey-beard, who professed to speak Parachi. But it at once appeared that his language was the north-western dialect of Pashai, which I had recently had occasion to study. He, of course, had imagined that Pashai and Parachi

¹ Grierson also explains Babur’s “Geberi” as Gabri, the dialect of the Parsees of Yezd and Kirman. But it seems more probable that Geberi, too, denotes an ancient local language of Kabulistan, cf. Gawar Bati.
would have the same market value with a "majnūn" Firengi, and I shall never forget the expression of his face, when I started reading out to him the parable of the Prodigal Son in his own dialect.

Fortunately, the malik of Shutul, together with the other maliks of Kohistan, had just that day come to Kabul to discuss conscription with the government. I wrote down, in Persian letters, the Parachi sentences which I had heard, together with a Persian translation, and sent my messenger to the malik, asking him if any such language were spoken in Shutul. The malik confirmed this, and mentioned the name of some speakers of Parachi.

The messenger started again, and after some nine days returned with a genuine Parachi shepherd. When I asked him to count, the very first numerals, ḫū, ḍū, ū etc., proved that Parachi was an Iranian language, occupying a rather independent position.

3. The name of the shepherd was Mahmād Ghanī (abbreviated: M), and his home was Rūdarra above Shutul, at the foot of the Arzū Pass. He said that he was about fifty years old (being one year old "at the time of the great earthquake"). He was very dull, and exceedingly trying to work with; but in the course of the week which he agreed to stay with me, I managed to get an idea of the main features of his mother-tongue. When the Parable had been translated into Parachi, he felt very proud and insisted upon my writing it down in Persian letters, that he might show the mulla of his village that he, Mahmād Ghanī, had produced this piece of Parachi literature.

In September I got into touch with two Parachi recruits, staying in the cantonment of Sherpur. They were Ghulām Maheuddin (G) and Tabakkal Shāh (T), both probably about thirty years old. The latter came from Rūdarra, and was the poet laureate of the Parachis. The home of the other was Deh-i Kalān in Shutul (or Chutul, which he asserted to be the correct form). He was comparatively fair-haired. He seemed to be really interested in my linguistic work, and was intelligent and always cheerful and reliable.

He tried with some success to apply his knowledge of Persian
writing to his mother-tongue (at my suggestion he introduced some differentiated letters from the Pashto alphabet). Of an evening in his tent he wrote down the songs which his poet friend recited to him. The next day, when they came to see me, one of them recited the poem, and I got the manuscript, by the help of which I could afterwards to some extent check my own phonetical transcription. They said that there existed in Shutul one Parachi book, containing legends about Ali; but it was impossible for me to get hold of it.

I worked with G and T for about one hour daily for over a month.

All the three persons mentioned above spoke very nearly the same dialect. But in Kabul I also, for a short time, got hold of a soldier from Ghujulân in Darra-i Ghush (Dârryûs) in Nijrau. He would not disclose his name; but he is indicated by the letter D. He said that his dialect was similar to that used in Pachaghân, and this was confirmed by Pashais from the neighbouring village of Ishpî.

In Peshawar, at the beginning of November, I had occasion to meet Mahmaddîn from Pachaghân (P), and to write down a short vocabulary of his dialect.

The Nijrau and Pachaghân dialect has a pure ă instead of Shutuli ā (v. 16), ŏ instead of ő, and, in some cases, postvocalic ĉ instead of ć. The vocabulary differs considerably from that of Shutul, and contains a still greater number of Pashai loan-words.

An account of the linguistic position and chief characteristics of Parachi is given in my "Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan", pp. 18 ff., and I have provided a short vocabulary for the Addenda in Vol. I of the LSI.

1 M's ā's were less rounded than G's and T's, and he generally used the 1st pl. of verbs, instead of the 1st sg. In lw.'s he usually had -ă for Pras. -ă. T had a stronger tendency than G to broaden stressed ŏ into ő or even ā; and he did not employ the oblique case of the pronouns as a subject with past tenses of transitive verbs. The vocabulary of all three varied slightly.
4. In 1926 Panjshir was visited by the Russian scholar Professor M. S. Andreev, who has published a preliminary report on his journey (in Russian)\(^1\). He collected some materials about Parachi (op. cit. p. VI), but has not yet published any account of the language.

According to him (p. 3, note) Parachi is spoken in the village of Kuroba (Koraba of the survey maps, in Panjshir, about five miles above Gulbahar), in Nijrau and in three of the eight villages of the Shutul valley, viz. De-i Kalon (100 houses), Mo’ra (20—30 houses) and Andosot (40 houses). The other villages in Shutul speak Persian. According to the traditions of the Shutulis their ancestor Shutul migrated from Nijrau together with Kuroba and Solang (: Sâlang). Solang went to the valley above Parwan, which bears his name; but his descendants speak Persian. The dialect of Kuroba, Shutul and Nijrau is said to be the same (их языки общей). They call themselves Tajiks; those who have preserved their own language occasionally also Parachis.

5. My informants differed considerably regarding the number of persons speaking Parachi. According to M they were in all 100 persons; G said that there were 2—300 houses in Shutul, 100 of which were inhabited by Parachis, while the poet T held that his tribe occupied 400 houses in Shutul and 600 in Nijrau. Finally, D told me that there were 100 Parachi houses in Nijrau.

Both M and G agreed that the Parachis came from Nijrau a few generations ago (or: “6—700 years ago”! G), and that the two branches of the tribe still intermarried and were one people (yak kaum). According to G, when they saw the uninhabited valley of Shutul they exclaimed: ēhū, tul “go and look (būru, sūl ku)”. He said that a couple of generations ago Parachi was spoken in Panjshir, in the villages of Ferâj, Zamānkōr and Dōstomkhēl.

It may also be noted that there is a village called Parachi in the Paghman district, some fifteen miles west of Kabul.

\(^1\) On the Ethnology of Afghanistan. The Valley of the Panjshir (The Society for Studie\_s of Tajikis\_tan and Iranian Peoples beyond its Borders). Tashkend 1927.
6. It seems doubtful whether these Iranian Parachi-speaking peasants and hill-men are connected with the commercial communities mentioned by Elphinstone and Masson. Regarding this latter group, cf. Pashto parū(n)ča "a mercer, draper, cloth-merchant", Waziri parūča, parōča "a Hindu convert to Muhammedanism, n. of a caste", Panjabi parūičā "a caste of Muhammedans engaged ordinarily in peddling". At any rate the hill-Parachis did not know about any such connexion.

It may be that the name is the same (cf. Skr. parāci- f. "averted, outside of, distant", applied in the sense of "western" to the nearest Iranian neighbours of the Pashais and other Indian tribes?), and that it originally denoted more than one pre-Pathan Iranian community of Kabulistan. And, very probably, the language formerly extended over a greater territory than at present. It is also, however, quite possible that we have to do with two different words.

7. In the absence of any historical information regarding the origin of the Parachis, we must depend on linguistic evidence only, if we want to determine the position of their language within the Iranian family.

As indicated in my Report (pp. 28 ff.), Par. agrees in several respects with the W. Ir. dialects, and not with the eastern ones. One important point is that Par. and W. Ir. have initial voiced stops (b, d, g) and the palatal affricate j, unlike the eastern dialects which have fricatives (β (v), δ, γ, ζ). This seems to be a very ancient distinction between S. (W. and S. E.) Ir. and N.E. Ir., and I do not think there is sufficient reason for assuming a general secondary transition of initial voiced fricatives to voiced stops in S. Ir.1 Like W. Ir. Par. treats initial and intervocalic ỹ in the same way.

With the N.W. Ir. dialects Par. (but also Wkh.) shares the development of dew > b (Tedesco 12). The loss of intervocalic -d-, -t is also characteristic of Par. and most of the modern N.W. dialects. We do not find this change in the N.W. Turfan texts; but the

1 The ỹ of NW. Ir. dialects is probably due to a secondary development of j- parallel to that which must have taken place in the case of intervocalic ɛ > j > ỹ.
common tendency may be ancient. The change of ￼r > ￼ is found both in Par. and in the N.W.Ir. dialect of Sângsari; but there is not necessarily a direct connexion between the development in the two dialects.

Moreover, we find points of resemblance to the N.W. dialects in the formation of words and in the vocabulary. Cf. e. g. the numerals Par. ￼wâs “11”, d(u)wâs “12”: N.W. Turfan ‘évandas (Zaza ￼wendâ’s), duvâdès (Ted. 24 β); Par. (h)ô “that”: N.W.Turfan ￼au (Ted. 22)); Par. nhin-, nhašt “to sit down”: Sämmn. -nin-: -niäšt; ên- “to bring”: Kurd., Zaza ân-; dah- “to give” N.W.Turf. dah- (Ted. 25 β); Par. pêš, pešti “behind, afterwards”: Sämmn. päšti.

It is natural that Par. does not share any phonetical innovations with S.W.Ir. (Prs.). The numeral ￼s “30” shows the same formation as Prs. sîh; but similar forms are found in E.Ir., too (Ted. 24 β). Regarding ân: “I”: S.Turf. ’an v. 113. The past participles in -i (203) resemble the S.Turf. and Prs. in -id (N.W.Turf. -âd, Ted. 26); but a similar type is found in Bal. (borr. from Prs.) and in Minj.¹

8. The points of resemblance between Par. and Orm. have been mentioned in my Report (p. 26 f.). As regards the phonology the most characteristic point is the change of w > ￼(w)². The development of ￼r into Par. ￼, Orm. ￼r is not exactly parallel in the two languages, and the loss of intervocalic -t-, -h-, and the development of dw- > b-, nt, nd > n is found in other dialects, too.

A number of words are more or less peculiar to these two dialects (cf. Report p. 27):

¹ If the Minj. forms in -iy-, eg. xâdiy = Prs. xandîd, Par. khâni “laughed” is borr. from Prs., the borrowing must have taken place early.

² Traces of this development are found in other dialects, too. Cf. Wkh. (lw.s?) yuš “male” (*wypan-?), yôr “wool” (Av. varvânā-), Prs. (dial.) yêša “forest” (Prs. bëša, Phl. wësak), Tsakhur (Caucasus) yarg “lamb” (< Ir.? Cf. Prs. bârra, Kurd. wark, Shgh. warg etc.) It is not, however, possible to determine the geographical distribution of this transition outside Par. and Orm. Possibly Greek ΥΝΔΟΦΕΠΟΥ, Kharosthi Gudapharnasa on the coins of Gondophares point to a pronunciation with fricative ￼(w).
Par. an'darf- “to sew”:
  - ga'p-år “fireplace”:
  - 'mindut “apricot”:
  - mât “killed”:
  - ni-: nar'γô “to go out”:
  - nêr-: nôt “to take out”:
  - pha'rât- “to sell”:
  - rû “iron”:
  - ter-: thôr “to drink”:
  - zo'mâ “winter”:
  - zut “very”:

Orm. undorôw-
  - gap “stone”.
  - matat.
  - mât “withered”.
  - nis-: naryôk.
  - naωr-: naωlak.
  - prawak.
  - rô (but Prs. rôi etc. “copper”).
  - tr-: tatak.
  - zemôk.
  - (d)zut “very much” (?)

Some of these words have the appearance of being loan-words; but other cases of lexical agreement between Par. and Orm. will be found in the list of E.Ir. words in Par. given below.

On the other hand Par. and Orm. differ on several important points of phonology and morphology (e.g. preservation of -k- in Orm.).

9. The Par. development of rt, rd > r reminds us of Psht., and str > ś is found in several E.Ir. dialects. Apart from these, possibly late, changes, the Par. phonetic development does not present any special E. Ir. features. Some of the enclitic pronouns resemble the forms found in the Pamir dialects (v. 116); but it is in the vocabulary that Par. shows the greatest similarity to its E. Ir. neighbours, as will appear from the following list (cf. Rep. p. 31):

à'yun-ː ‘à’yust “to dress”: Psht. àγustel etc.
|âmôr “apple”: Psht. mana etc.
|âr’zun “millet”: Mj. yûrzon, but Prs. arzan.
|âstëc “star”: Shgh. š’êrj < *stârći-.
|à’star- “to smear”: Mj. àster-.
|u’st- “to rise”: Mj. wûsk-.
|âš’en, âš’enûk “kid”: Ishk. štûnûk etc.
|âšâwò “cold”: Shgh. šêtû etc. “frozen”.
|û‘zeh-: ûzâ “to remain, be left behind”: Yd. úzaiyah, Orm. òzûk “left behind” etc.
bhūm “smell” : Sak. bhūma-ta- “intelligence”.
bhīn “tree” : Shgh. vēyωn etc. “birch”?
banapor “pillow” : Mj. vēznī etc.?
berkh- “to fear” : Psht. wēra, yērā (Waz. wyāra) “fear”?
bāš “rope” : Psht. wāš, Orm. bēš etc.
bīstō “long” : Psht. ūžd etc.
čā “how many” : Psht. cō.
dūč “to milk” : Shgh. ʋūj-, Mj. lūč- etc.
dhōr “saw” : Mj. ɮsky.
derz- “to take on one’s back” : Psht. lēžol “to load”, Orm. daż - etc.
dusara “kid, two years old” : Psht. dōsaral.
dōš “hair” : Wkh. ɗūrs “goat’s hair” etc.
gīnō “hair” : Psht. ɣūna etc.
gir “stone” : Shgh. žir etc.
yuh- : yušt “to throw” : Psht. wistol etc.
yan “oak” : Psht. wana “tree” etc.
yanukō “short” : Sak. vanda-, but also Bal. gwand.
yanīr “field” : Wkh. wundr.
yaye- “to be boiling” : Mj. wur-, Sar. wārav etc.
yuρōk “child” : Psht. wyr “small”, wōrkai “boy”.
yāz̄ “fat” : Psht. wāzda.
hī “bridge” : Shgh. yēd etc.
hawar- “to hear” : Psht. arwedol.
jar- “to say” : Psht. žarol “to cry”.
kō “roof” : Wkh. kūt etc.
khūf- “to cough” : Yd. kofah etc.
ka’āma “throat” : Psht. dial. kūmai “Adam’s apple”.
mux “face” : Psht. max, Orm. mux.
nahōn “bread” : Psht. nayn, Orm. t̃xan etc.
nōrk “nail” : Sangl. narzak etc.
pē “milk” : Psht. pāi etc.
p(h)i “spade” : Shgh. fe, Wkh. pāy etc.
pen “with, by help of” : Psht. bāndē “on” etc.
pa'nân “road”: Shgh. pând etc.
pa'rič- “to shake a sieve”: Shgh. parwiz-
pa'rásur, pa'rásur “last year”: Wkh. pár, or Psht. parós.
rúč “flea”: Mj. fariga, Orm. š'ak etc.
rha'yâm “spring”: Psht. waryúmai “male kid”?
'rhiné “fire”: Zeb. rõšnî, Orm. rûn.
rház- “to fly”: Shgh. revâz- etc.
sùγ “word, affair”: Sar. saug “proverb, tale”?
sa'hôk “hare”: Psht. söe, Orm. sikak.
suñi-: suñà “to wash”: Shgh. ze'nê-: ze'nûd etc.
šî “horn”: Sar. “shaw” etc.
ši'čak “female”: Zeb. šèc etc.
tôγ “male mountain goat”: Wkh. tuγ “goat”.
thi- “to burn”: Wkh. òau-, òi-ùw- etc.
tar- “in, to, from”: Ishk. tar “into” etc.
xèr “hay”: Oss. xor “fodder”.
xèra “mill”: Mj. xirgâ etc.
xâra “summer”: Psht. wûrai etc.
zàγ “son”: Psht. zòe, Soghd. zûk.
zûm “son-in-law”: Psht. zûm.
zôx “firewood”: Wkh. yax “twig”.

With Minj., its nearest neighbour towards the north-east, Par. shares the treatment of the secondary group of consonants *rt, cf. Par. zîtô, Minj. zît “yellow” < Av- zairita-. The present stem kan- from the root kar- “to do”, which is alien to N.W. Ir., is found in Par. and Minj., but also in other E. Ir. dialects. Further, the re-partition of the stems in Par. že-: əγə “to come” (*ūyāya-: əgata-) is found in Minj., too, and not only in N.W Ir., as stated by Ted. (p. 231).

10. This survey shows that Par. occupies a rather central position among the Ir. languages. The points of agreement with E. Ir., which we found especially in the vocabulary, may be due to a protracted contact with these dialects. But the agreements with the W. (especially N.W.) Ir. dialects, probably date from a very early time,
when an unbroken series of dialects (in Hazarajat, Herat etc.) connected Parachi with Western Iran.

If, as I think probable, both Par. and Orm. are the remains and descendants of the original Ir. languages of Afghanistan, the points of resemblance between the two languages can easily be explained. The profound divergences in some respects indicate that the connexion between the two was severed at an early date, probably on account of an Indian expansion towards the West, which partly embedded the Par. tribe in Nijrau and Tagau, and perhaps created a Parachi diaspora of pedlars (cf. 6).

11. The very strong Ind. influence to which Par. has been subject shows also that this dialect has been spoken for a long time in, or near, its present home.

A great number of Ind. loan-words of Hind. and Lhd. origin have reached Par., probably to a great extent through the medium of Prs. and Psht. Cf. Voc. s.v.v. bhambur, čwṛi, de'rāk, ḥhana, ga'ri (ga'ri), gat, haḍḍ, ḫunki, jōr, jo'wāri, ka'cāri, kačera-phör, kāl, kanča'ni, kuṭ, lün'gi, langō'ta, lün'du, lūr, lata'i, māila, mā'īnā, mā'ṭṭa, na'ūl, phuṇḍō, pher, pa'vēn, pa'isa, peṭ, puṭ, rupā'i, sirā, tēl, tōl, tōk, wēh.

The Engl. words in Par. have also come through Ind. (e.g. kū'r'nail, ʿardali, pāltūn, ʿwāskat).

Ind., but borrowed from sources not easy to define in each case, are such words as ʿgereš, buḥ- bumbwērū, čhar-, čhaftō, čīnō, dhā'ram, dhēw- da'leh- ghānd, ĥanū, jāl, ka'vō, khandi, kaftō, lam, lāwūr, mānēš, pen'di, penḍar, pa'roṇ, patt, ra' hô, se'γa, šēl, šīnā, šund, tekku, wil, wās. Prob. of Ind. origin are also: ba'lu'r, ʿumb, ʿōnas, ʿkhānas, *kutur(ika), ʿlānda, le'ře, lūta'kī, ʿpaddō, pal.

Words such as ʿkanō and ʿwāyār (cf. Rep. p. 25), which have their nearest parallels in the Kafir languages, render it possible that some of the words mentioned above may be of Kafiri origin. And it is very probable that many of them have been borrowed

1 The question whether Orm. was introduced from the West will be discussed in the Orm. section below.
from Pash., even if they do not at present exist in, or have not been traced in that language. We know that e. g. *liwōn and *phōr have been borrowed from an earlier stage of Pash. and the same is probably the case with *dhamān etc. (v. Voc.).


12. But the Pash. influence upon Par. is by no means restricted to the vocabulary. Like most Pash. dialects Par. changes *y- into *e- and the distribution of this development (cf. Gawar-Bati *y- > j, Traieguma Waigeli *y- > e-) shows that it originates from Pash.

The treatment of intervocalic *t- and *c- is identical in the two languages (v. 50, 55) (*t is elided, but *e retained). The development of *p-, however, differs (Par. *w-, Pash. *p-), while the fate of *k- in Pash. is uncertain, and the two languages have probably developed on independent lines as regards intervocalic stops.¹

But the most important result of Ind. (prob. Pash. or pre-Pash.) influence on the phonetical system of Par., is the introduction (or preservation) of aspirates which will be discussed below (73). Even if we admit that the aspirates may in some cases have been inherited directly from a pre-Ir. stage, the preservation and extended use of them is undoubtedly due to a strong Ind. influence.

13. If we turn to the morphology of Par., we find that this language has borr. from Pash. the pl. suffix *dal and the case suf-

¹ Pash. is the only Ind. language in which intervocalic *t is preserved in some cases, owing to an early vowel-contraction, E.g. Pash. L *vast ‘20’ < *viśati (but e.g. *tra'vyā ‘60’ < *tra'yēviśēti), *hanata ‘you shall beat’ < *hanāthana (Turner, JRAI, 1927, 237); but e.g. Waig. *wiṣi, *e (< -athan). The contraction of an unstressed vowel in similar position is common to most Ir. dialects, and it is possible that Pash. may have been influenced by the Ir. system of accentuation.
fixes *kun* and *wanō* (v. 82, 97, 103). Probably forms such as Par. *bāwēhā* "father and son" etc. (v. 83) are of Pash. origin (cf. Pash. L. *bāwyā*).

In some cases we find strikingly similar forms. in Par. and Pash. Cf. Par. *ān* "I": Pash. *ā* (v. 113); the enclitic pronouns (v. 116); Par. and Pash. *s a, ā* "he, it is" (v. 194); Par. and Pash. *bīn* "he was" (v. 182); poss. Par. 1 pl. *-man*: E. Pash. 1 pl. konj. *-man* (v. 193). In each of these cases, viewed separately, the similarity might be due to a parallel but independent development; but the number of these morphological points of resemblance peculiar to Par. and Pash. renders it probable that they are not all of them accidental. No borrowing of forms need have taken place; but forms which resembled those of the neighbouring language may have had a better chance of being retained. Considering the numerical superiority of the Pashais and the great number of Pash. loan-words in Par., we may safely assume that the source has been Pash.¹

At any rate, Par. *sī* "it exists" and the suffix of the present in *-tōn* (v. 176, 198) have been borrowed from Pash. In particular the latter instance, the borrowing of a purely inflexional element, shows how deeply Pash. has influenced Par. This is certainly not due to the existence of a Pash. substratum in Par., seeing that Par. is the language which has lost ground; but it indicates a former social or cultural superiority on the part of Pash. and a close connexion between the two languages during an extended period.

14. The influence of Prs. dominates the Par. vocabulary completely. Among the words which I collected, the words of Prs. origin by far outnumbered the genuine Par. ones. A certain number of Prs. words, however, occurred only in the poems, and were probably not much used in the ordinary language.

But Par. seems to be approaching a state where the Prs. influence becomes altogether overwhelming. Most, if not all, of the men are bilingual, and any word wanting in Par. may be supplied from Prs.

¹ Regarding a few possible Par. loan-words in Pash. v. Rep. p. 26 (*par-* is probably borr. into Par. from Pash.).
It is frequently impossible to decide whether we should consider a word to be naturalized as a loan-word in Par., or not. In many cases a Prs. word is used even where a Par. word with the same meaning exists. E.g. 'ādam "man" is used along with mānes, and sometimes sar-i'xud "his own head" is said instead of xwsor, or xāna "house" instead of γυς. This shows that Par. has reached a state when the resistance to the introduction of Prs. elements is very weak. In some cases, however, the Prs. words have been "translated" into Par., e.g. Voc. s.v.v. (āw-i didaika, khōrā'bu), khōrā'yū.

The syntactical system, the "innere Sprachform" of Par. has a strong Prs. stamp, and most idioms are formed after Prs. patterns, as will be apparent from the Prs. translations of Par. sentences given in the Texts and in the Vocabulary.

Through the influence of Prs. the Ar. qāf has been introduced into Par., although k is frequently heard in unguarded speech, and even the 'ain occurs occasionally. The pronunciation of ā in Shutul (G and T; M, who was some 25 years older, had a less rounded pronunciation), compared with ā in Nijrāu, is certainly due to Prs. In Shutul the Parachis are surrounded by a Prs. population, and the men probably often speak nearly as much Prs. as Par., and easily adapt their pronunciation to that of Prs.

The morphological system of Par. is nearly intact. But the use of the izāfat, which was probably introduced in loan-words such as band-e dest "wrist" (also band-e dōst, band-e dōstika), has been fully established. It is possible that the pl. in -ān is of Prs. origin, the genuine pl. being found in phōr, pl. phar etc. (v. 83). T's tendency to employ the nom. (e.g. ān "I" instead of mun) with past tenses of transitive verbs is certainly a Persianism.

15. A language like Par. — this applies also to Orm., some dialects of Pash. etc. — is therefore not a comparatively self-sufficient and complete unity like the great languages of civilization. Nor does it occupy the independent position of e.g. the Kafir languages, which till recently had a separate civilization of their own, and
were, in the main, able to express the ideas known to them by means of indigenous, or completely assimilated, linguistic elements.

It is, of course, impossible to consider Par. as a dialect of Prs. in the ordinary, genealogical sense, since it has retained a morphological system and, to a considerable extent, a vocabulary which differs very much from Prs. But it might, in a certain sense of the word, be called a "cultural" dialect of Prs.
GRAMMAR.
PHONOLOGY.
Phonetical System.

Vowels.

16. a (a)\(^1\) is rather advanced, especially in nàms "19", where it is near, or above the cardinal point. The diphthong (ai) is âI or âI; but in (au) the a is retracted and slightly rounded: au, ao. When stressed, the a is frequently lengthened:

guzaröm 'kura "I had passed", tar "at", na "not", ˈkanta' "are doing", ˈchaːri: "fell", daur "circle", laygoːtāI "his turban", âI, āI "oh".

It is doubtful whether âI(ː) in ˈzùːâ(ː)s "11" G, T, D is a separate phoneme (zwās M).

Note haːviː; heːviː; heːviː: "this".

aː(ə) is in the Shutul dialect a back a (close to the cardinal point 5). It is slightly rounded, especially in the pronunciation of G, T, less so with M. In Nijran it is an entirely unrounded a (about 4\(^1\)/\(7\)—4\(^2\)/\(3\)). Before a nasal it is more decidedly rounded in Shutul, approaching Norwegian ąː ˈaːːeːm "I came", haːl "condition", aːn "I", guːmaːn "doubt", naːm "name". Before or after l, i the sounds aː and aː seem to be interchangeable: bůːlaː; bůːłaː: "brother", nIːhaːl, nIːhaːʔl "shoot".

\(^1\) In this section the vowel symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet are used, the symbols employed by me elsewhere being added in brackets.

This tentative sketch does not pretend to give any complete and final account of Par. phonetics.
The different 'a' sounds are nearly identical with those of Afgh. Prs.

\(e\) (\(e\)) is generally rather wide, approaching \(\varepsilon\) \(\text{jəren}, \text{jəren} \text{"to say"}, \text{pən} \text{"with"}, \text{pəz} \text{"15"}, \text{mende} \text{"this"} \text{(acc.)}, \text{merem} \text{"I die"}, \text{e} \text{de} \text{"this"} \text{(obl.)}. \) Occasionally it is lengthened: \(\text{merem} \).  

\(e\) (\(e\)) is higher (cardinal point 2):  
\(\text{a} \text{γε} \text{m} \text{"I came"}, \text{pę} \text{ς} \text{"before"}, \text{merem} \text{"I kill"}. \) As an unstressed final it is frequently shortened: \(\text{mende}; \text{mende()} \text{"this"}. \)

\(e, i (e, i)\) is a very high and narrow \(e\), it becomes \(i\) before the semivowel \(j\): \(\text{ɛ} \text{ترا} \text{γ} \text{"lamp"}, \text{ɛ}, \text{i \"the izafat"}, \text{ɛi \"what"}, \text{bʊ} \text{fa: \"brother"}. \) In \(\text{sərmɪnda} \text{"ashamed"} \) the \(j\) has been rounded after \(m\).  

\(i (i)\) is a narrow \(i\), in some cases diphthongized: \(\text{na} \text{r} \text{i: \"he could"}, \text{st} \text{r} \text{"satisfied"}, \text{di} \text{\"two"}, \text{ghi} \text{tö: \"has seized"}, \text{ni} \text{tö: \"is going out"}. \)

\(u (u, o)\) is a low \(u\) of a very varying character. Especially before \(r, l\) it approaches the mixed sounds. When stressed it is frequently lowered into \(o: (u), \dot{o} ; \) or, in front of nasals, even into \(o: (\ddot{a})\):  
\(\text{gu} \text{ma} \text{n \"doubt"}, \text{mu} \text{x \"face"}, \text{γus}, \text{γos \"house"}, \text{sur \"heart"}, \text{kuv}, \text{ko(\(u\))r \"did"}, \text{dhur}, \text{dhʊr \"saw"}, \text{bur}, \text{bʊr \"carried"}, \text{bulbul \"nightingale"}, \text{hus}, \text{huss \"all"}, \text{u} \text{şta: \"rose"}, \text{ɣu} \text{şt}, \text{ɣʊşt \"20"}, \text{ru} \text{c}, \text{ru} \text{ç \"day"}, \text{ɣa} \text{phu} \text{nɛ}, \text{ɣa} \text{phõ} \text{ne: \"wind"}, \text{mun}, \text{mo}, \text{mʊ, ma: \"me"}, \text{ma} \text{rdum}, \text{ma} \text{rdɔm \"people"}. \)

The \(o, \ddot{o} \) of \(həvɪi, \ddot{h}əvɪi\: \) probably belongs to the \(u\)-phoneme.  

The rules determining the exact character of these variations are not known to me.  

\(u: (u)\) is a separate phoneme, although it occurs also through lengthening of \(u \) (\(bʊr \text{\"carried"}, \text{šu(\(ɔ\))kur \text{\"thank God"}). \) It is narrow and in some cases advanced:

\(\text{γu} \text{lu: \"much"}, \text{mazdur \"servant"}, \text{xur \"ate"}, \text{ɛũ: \"1"}, \text{caɾbu: \"fat"}. \) Between two palatal sounds we find \(u\) corresponding to Prs. \(u\): in \(\ddot{b}ɪča \text{\"kid"}. \)

\(o\) is probably not a separate phoneme, but is to be regarded as a variant of the \(u\)-phoneme: \(o, o, u, vo: \text{\"and"}. \)

\(o\) is found in a few words: \(\text{laŋgo:ta \"turban"}, \text{ɛšpο: \"louse"}. \)
ö: (ō) is a mid, mixed, rounded vowel (rather high and retracted). It is higher before nasals, lower before r. It sometimes approaches u.; in Nijrau it is more retracted than in Shntul (about ö): čōr "4", pō:nē "5", hō:t "7", dō:s "10", sō:r "head", tō: "thee", ba:ło: "boy", kantō:n "doing".

ə is found as the result of the reduction of full vowels:

fo:lami:, fe:lami: "somebody", dō:ri:n, du:ri:n "far". Reduced vowels also in nə:hašt, n(o)hašt "sat down", dʰēv-, dʰēv- "to desire". But also a:və, a:və "water".

The diphthongs are aι (αι), a:ι, a:e (αι), a:v (αι), a:v, a:o (αι). Nasalized vowels occur frequently, generally as doublets of vowel + nasal: a, aː̂ = an, a, aː = a:n, a:n. Before s we regularly find a nasalized vowel in paes "15", jú:jə:s etc. "11".

Par. possesses long and short vowels, but not a regular system of opposition between long and short vowels of the same quality. Moreover the quantity is not always fixed.

Semivowels.

17. The palatal semivowel occurs chiefly in loan words:

iaːl (yāl) "mane", xiːaːl "fancy". The labial semivowel is found in intervocalic position interchangeable with the bilabial fricative: baːua, baːːuə = baːva "thy father".

18. Consonants.

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<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolo-Palatal</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Velar</th>
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<td>ph, bh</td>
<td>t, d</td>
<td>th, dh</td>
<td>t, d</td>
<td>k, g</td>
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<td>Affricate</td>
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<td>s, z</td>
<td>x, γ</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19. Plosives and Affricates. \( t, \tilde{d} \) are probably post-alveolar. It is doubtful whether they are really retroflex.

\( q \) occurs in loan-words, but is interchangeable with \( k \) (v. 14). \( ' \) is heard, but not always, before initial vowels: \( '\ddot{o}:sp \) “horse”, \( 'a.l\ddot{a}:\ddot{a}: \) “has seized”; stronger in Ar. loan-words with \( 'a.i:n: \) \( e.lm \) “knowledge”.

The \( h \) of \( bh \) etc. is probably unvoiced, and occasionally a short vocalic element is heard between the plosive and the \( h \). But generally \( bh \) etc. give the impression of forming one phoneme. The aspiration of \( ch \) easily becomes absorbed into the second element of the aspirate. Cf. the conditions in N. Bal., where the aspiration of \( ch \) is frequently omitted, and in Welsh Gypsy (Sampson, p. 51).

20. Nasals and Rolled Sounds. Dental \( n \) occurs before a palatal: \( p\ddot{o}:n\ddot{a} \) “5”.

The \( r \) in \( ez\ddot{r} \) “heart” etc. resembles Psht. \( r \). The \( r \) in \( r \ t, rd \) is less energetically articulated, and is interchangeable with \( r \).

21. Fricatives. \( \ddot{s}, \ddot{z} \) do not give the impression of being very markedly palatal sounds. There is no difference between \( \ddot{s} < \ddot{\ast}s, \ddot{\ast}(s)'tr \) etc., and \( \ddot{s} < \ddot{\ast}s: \gamma\ddot{u}:\ddot{t} \gamma\ddot{u}:\ddot{t}-\ddot{a}:m \gamma\ddot{u}:\ddot{t} (< \ddot{\ast}\ddot{w}i:s\ddot{a} ti \ddot{a}ng\ddot{u}:\ddot{t}a-mai \ddot{w}i:s\ddot{a}) \) “I have thrown twenty fingers”. Formerly the \( \ddot{s} \) was rounded (v. 30). \( \ddot{x} \) is slightly palatalized before \( i: \ddot{x}:i: \) “6”. \( h \) is unvoiced.

The Syllable.

22. Double consonants exist: \( \ddot{\ddot{\ddot{u}}}:m-m:eu:h: \) “one month”, \( \ddot{\ddot{\ddot{h}}}:k-k:er \) “this work”, \( \ddot{\ddot{\ddot{a}}}:p-pa:ri \) “does not go”, \( \ddot{\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{u}}}}:l-lak \) “three lakhe”, \( \ddot{\ddot{\ddot{h}}}:t\ddot{o}:s \) (or \( h\ddot{a}:t\ddot{o}:s \)) “17”, \( \gamma\ddot{u}:s(s) \) “house”, \( h\ddot{u}:s(s) \) “all”, \( \gamma\ddot{u}:s\ddot{s}:i: (\gamma\ddot{u}:s\ddot{s}:i:) \) “from the house”.

A prothetic, overshort vowel occurs before initial \( sp, st. \) Apparently part of the \( s \) only belongs to the first syllable, and the acoustic impression is: \( c^{ip}:p\ddot{o}: (c^{ip}:p\ddot{o}:) \) “dog”, \( c^{ste:}:c \) “star” etc. Similarly \( wa^{i}:s\ddot{e}:p \) “buttermilk” etc., which for the sake of conveniency will be written \( (wa^{i}:s\ddot{e}) \).

Stress.

23. Word stress is not very marked, and varies a good deal according to sentence stress. Cf. 44.
Rules of Sandhi.

24. \(a + a, a + o > a; e(:) + e(:), i > i; a + e(:), i > a i; a + a / a a; a + ao > a o; a + e > a ri; a i i.\) E.g.: edhe:ka:na + a > edhe:kana (edhe:káná) "it is theirs", lavo + o > lavó: (lauóló) "lip and", mend: + e: > mendi: (mendi: "him he", kašte (> t [cit:nó:]) > kašt: "[a small] girl", lavó + i [xiró:] > lavó: "[a sweet] lip", yus:ka + a > yus:ka:ja "the house's is", zvri:ka + ao > zvri:ka:o (zvri:kó) "thy heart's", ca: + e: > ca:i:; ca:i: "why art thou".

Voiced consonants frequently become unvoiced in final position and before unvoiced consonants: bi:z h, bi:z "grain", se:γ / se:x "shade", sa: βap (Pra. sabab) "reason", we:se:j "to send": we:se:stó:n "sending", rhíz: "to lie down": rhí:stó:n. But also: Pay'man / Pax'man.

And vice versa: a:z'man / a:z'man "sky", döz ru:č / döz ru:č "10 days", γu:z la:k / γu:st la:k "20 lakhs".

Other types of assimilation occur in: mem bő:st / mem bö "girded the loins", bham:bi (< bham:pi:) "a wooden spade".

A final -r often disappears: só:(r) "on", ago(r) "if", bō:(r) "door" etc. But note the inserted i in hiatus: yus:va:nó:i-r / a:ya "he came towards the house", pha:ri:r a:ya "he came from that side" (Phon.).

A final -n is often weakened or elided, with or without nasalization of the preceding vowel (v. 16): a:; a:n, a:n "I", kanta: (> kanta: kanta, kanta, kantan "are doing". Generally kantó: (not kantó:) = kantó:n "is doing" (v. 198). Also če: = če:; čen "they went" etc.

Regarding the doubling of an initial consonant after a stressed, short monosyllabic word (tu k-kat "who art thou") v. 22.

Historical Phonology.

Vowels.

Ir. a 1.

25. Stressed Ir. a > Par. o (D, P ó, ó): òsp "horse", òšt "8", phók "cooked" (*paxwa:), bór "door", bóst "bound", dōs "10", jō 1

1 In this and the following sections the treatment of the sounds of ancient lwr's is included.

In Prs. lw.s we find a: sar “head”, sad “100”, nar “male” etc. Consequently tōn “body”, rōng “colour” are prob. genuine, or ancient lw.s, cf. phör “grain, fruit” > Pash. L phal.

26. Unstressed a remains (cf. the treatment of unstressed i, u, ę, 30, 32, 34): ąča “he came” (*āgata-), ēmsar “this year” (Prs. ēmsāl); a’ē “remembering” (*ābāta-), da’nān “tooth”, ya’āso “calf” (*wassākahya), mahōk “moon”, na’wē “grandson”, na’mō “felt”, so’γōn “cow’s dung”, ḍha’γām “spring” (*fragāma-), da’hem “I give”, jā’em “I beat”, tar “from, to” (unstressed, but tōrpi “calf from one to two years old”), phakō “has cooked” (*pasewakāhyā), xōra “summer” (*h(w)wāhtaka-?), jāma D, P “son-in-law” (*zāmaka-), šusara “calf, three years old” (*pirisardaka-), jūra “hungry” (< *wurs + čak < *wysu), zēta P “yellow” (*zāritaka-). In zitō G etc. “yellow” and other cases the ō has been introduced through analogy.

Yān “oak”, yarp “snow”, yāzd “fat”, yax “voice”, have a (reg. ā v. 16) in stressed position. This is not due to a differentiating force of γ < āw < ā, cf. ɣora “desire, longing” (*wāraka-). But, if we compare the Psht. fem. wana, wāvra, wāzda it seems probable that the a has been preserved through the influence of a final -ā. Yax can be derived from f. or pl. *waxsā (Av. vaxsa- n).

In the same manner we can explain se’γa “sand” (lw., cf. Skr. sikatā-), tam “cloud” (Skr. L. tamā “night”) ma’γas “fly” (*makasā-?), phar pl. of phōr “fruit” (anc. lw. from Pash.), -tam pl., -tōn sg. “suff. of the present stem” hasām “I was”: hōstā “he was”. Prob. *spāy G “dog” is originally the f. of *spō (*spakā, *spakah). It is uncertain, whether a similar difference of gender can be traced in the suffixes ōk, -ak, e.g. nērōk “male”: sē’čak “female”.


1 Cf. Shgh. a’(ə) > i, but a’(ə) > ā: dīs “10”, wān “tree”, NShgh. 84.
original *nt; but I do not know if this is the reason of the retention of a. Possibly the stress has shifted. Reg. 'barem "I carry" etc. cf. 193.

27. Before a nasal unstressed a results in u: mun "me", -um "my, by me", kun "to" (< Pash. L kan), 'wârun "flour" (*ättana-), 'ârzâm M, ârzun G "millet", čumör "go" (imper. 2 pl.). But a before *â in ma'nân "my". Note also xu "self, own" (*hwatah) with u in the neighbourhood of *w. The inserted vowel is u in swi- "to wash" (*snavâ-).

Regarding "umlaut" v. 39—41. I cannot explain the i of xi "6" (Av. xîvsâš).

a was lengthened at an early date in bâš "rope" (*basra-), mât "killed" (*marxta-), phârât- "to sell" (*parawxta-). Reg. elision of a v. 43.

28. We do not know the exact character of the original Ir. sound for which the traditional symbol a is used, and we cannot determine how it resulted in Par. ō (> ō), coalescing with ancient awa at a time when au had already passed through the stage ò, and moved further towards ū (v. 36, 38). The fact that unstressed Ir. "a" remains as a does not prove anything about the original character of the sound. But the preservation of Ir. "a" before "â" seems to show that the original "â" phonemes were unrounded sounds.

A similar change of a into o, u seems to have taken place in Minj. etc. Cf. Minj. yosp "horse", pânč "5", âskhâ "8", lâd "tooth". Ishk. ât (Zeb. ôt) "8", pûnî "5", sur (Zeb. sôr) "head", xur (Zeb. xûr) "donkey".

Ir. â.


The prefix â- has been shortened in a'star- "to smear", a'γun- M "to dress" (Psht. âγund-, Mj. âγud-, v. EVP. s.v. âγustâl). The stressed â has been generalized in â'γun- G, cf. âγα "came": â'γô "has
come". Reg. ṣe- "to come" v. 43. maḥōk "moon" can have original a. Note 'zemā G, D, P, ẓemā M "winter".

Ir. i.

30. Ir. i > Par. e i [ɛ, i]: 'emṣar "this year" (semi-lw.?, Prs.  imsāl), 'zemā G, D, P "winter" (ẓemā M), ẓev'ya "sand" (lw.), 'tekku "pungent" (lw.), niṣṭi̯r "the shady side of a hill" (lw.?), piṣṭ "mulberry-flour" (prob. lw., v. below). Among these words 'zemā is the only certainly genuine Par. one.

In the neighbourhood of ś and  γ (<*γw <*w) i becomes u: ṣuṣt "20"1, "thrown", ṣu "3", ṣus "30", duṣt "wall" (*diṣṭi̯-), ṣuvur "hedgehog", luṣt "licked", emspō "louse" (<*spu <*spiṣā?); ṣus "house", ṣun- "to find", ṣuḥ- "to throw", ưryṣ-ew. "to pour out" (*wi-herz). Also aṣuq "lover" < Prs. 'āṣiq. Reg. ṣičak v. 31, reg. śi̯dōs v. 110.

Unstressed i > a (v. 26): nar'γō "went out" (*niṣgātaka), raḥō "rice" (lw. <*a(w)rihi?), chaṭṭo "white" (<Lhd. eitta, Rambani chittā), na'haśt, naḥst "sat down". Poss. also in na'γōn "bread", na'mō "felt". Reg. elision of i v. 43.

Note ni- "to go out" (<*niṣ-ay-), ḍhī "went" (*cīḍ < ściyuta?).

Ir. i.

31. Ir. i remains in biṣ "seed", jīr "bowstring", ḍiṭō "sweet" (Prs. ōriṇ), nhin- "to sit down" (*niḥiṇa-?), meḥi "month" (*māḥika-?), du'ri "large spoon".

Unstressed i was shortened in śičak "female" (<*stri-) and poss. in ānt "brought", ûnt "brought down" (cf. Si. ăn-. āndō "to bring").
It is, however, more probable that *ānaya- was thought to be a causative, and that *ānita- was formed instead of ānīta-.

Note phyō "wet" (*pīhāγ < *pitaka-).

1 Prob. <*wisati, not *wī. I does not become u in the neighbourhood of ś in śičak, and it is not probable that the combined influence of γ and ś would have this effect.
Ir. u.

32. Ir. u generally remains: ā'yun- "to dress", dut "daughters", 
yuṣṭ "finger", huṣk "dry", muṣ "face", puṣ "son", rust "high", 
sur'khō "red", ga'num M, G, P (ga'nam D) "wheat", šu'γur "hedge-hog" (?), 
bu) "goat".

Unstressed u > a in bana-ba'γal "armpit" (Prs. bun "bottom, 
root")? Cf. ka'nam (34). Before a labial u in xu'wān "shepherd" 
(*fšupāna-). An early lengthening of u took place in sit "sour" 
(< *sūt < *suxla-), rhīn-t "wept" (*rūhn < *rudna-?). rūt "swept" 
(*rufla-) may possibly be a lw.; tū "thou" has been lengthened 
secondarily. Cf. ūr < ur < ū.

Reg. elision of u v. 43.

Ir. ū.

33. Ir. ū > i, as in several Ir. dialects: bi "was", phi "blowing", 
bīf "owl", dhi "smoke", nī "now, to-day", tī "mulberry", šī "horn" 
(Av. srū-), kīza'rē "milking-pail" (Prs. kūza), sīčin M "needle", čiño 
"small" (Ind. *cūn < Skr. cūra-). Cf. 32, 34.

But unstressed ū is shortened in sīčin G, sučin "needle", du'rin 
M, G, T, do'rin M "far" (*dūraina-).

Estūn "pillar", gū(i) M, go G, D "excrements", kū "where" are 
prob. borr. from Prs.

Ir. ţ.

34. Ir. ţ generally > ur (ur): γurγ "wolf", γurča "hungry", kury 
"hen", durf "awl" (*dyfša-?), muṛē "sparrow", guṛē- "to seize" 
(*gṛbāya-); ŏwur "brought", buř "carried", kur "did", zuř "heart", 
ur- "to slay" (Skr. yd-?), nhāmūr "forgotten" (*rhāmur < *frāṃṛṣṭa-), 
γur'ōk "child" (Psht. wur "small"), muṇ "died", ŏsūr "this year" 
(*sṛd-?), uṭ "bear" (?) , sūmūr "autumn" (*sāma-ytu-?).

With recent lengthening of u before a group of consonants: kūca'nōk 
"knife" (*kūrē < *kṛtya- or *kṛtca); after *w: xuř "ate" (*hwrta-); 
but kūr "cap" (Av. kṣṛti-?).
Before ſ (even when it disappeared at a later date) the u was moved towards ŏ: dōš “hair” (Wkh. dūrs “goat’s hair”), yōš “cut hair” (Prs. gurs, Av. frū- vṛṣa- “deprived of hair”), thōr, “drank” (*trṣṭa-), dhōr, dhur (dhur) “saw” (*dṛṣṭa), pōrk “sheep’s dung” (*prṣka-?). Stressed kūr > kō(u)r, būr > būr (v. 16).

Before groups of consonants where the r was lost at an early date (the loss of r in kūča’nōk is recent) we find i < ū: gḥīt “seized” (*gūht < *gṛfta-, Av. gṛṛpta-), bīštō “long” (*bṛṣa-aka-), bhin “tree” (*bṛṇ(y)ā-). But phiś “to sow” (*pṛṣya-, Prs. pāṣidan?).

Unstressed r > a(r): ma’rō “soft” (*mrdu-?), ka’nmem “I do” (*krn- or *kun-). Cf. 26, 30, 32.

Reg. the i-umlaut in ter. “to drink”, derz- “to take on the back” v. 39.

Ir. ai.

35. Ir. ai > Par. i: γι “willow” (Av. vaeti-), ix “ice”, ḥi “bridge”, mīz “urine”, līs- “to lick”, pārič- “to shake a sieve” (*pāri-waiča-), swēin etc. “needle”, dwrīn “far”.

𝑧ū “1” (*yau < *aiw < *aiwaḥ), but ix (*aiw < *aiwaḥ pl.?), cf. EVP. s.v. yau (Afr. yau, F. ēuwa, Bang. yōu, F. ēwa < *aiwaḥ, aiwū).

ma’nōk “ram” (*maïšna-?) with absorption of i into the ſ?

The derivation of the particle te (v. 161) from unstressed *tē < *tai is uncertain.

Ir. au.

36. Ir. au > Par. ū: gū “cow”, gū “ear”, dūc- “to milk”, rūya’sōk “fox”, rū “iron”, rūc “day”, khū “raised, high” (Av. kaofa-?), šūr “yoke” (Ishk. yōy), e’stūr buz D “goat” (Av. stōra- etc.), rūción “smoke-hole” (but rōčīn D, Prs. rōzan “window”), rū(y)- “sweep” (Prs. rōb-).

Before n: gi’nō “single hair”, rhinē “light” (*rauxśnya-).

Kōpān “camel’s hump” is borr., cf. Pash. L kōpē, Mj. kūpōn. Prs. ō is generally rendered by Par. ŏ.
Ir. āyā etc.

37. Ir. aya > Par. i: pī G “milk” (Av. payah-), tōrpi “calf, from one to two years old”, ši “3”, suṇī- “to wash”, kī “who” (*kahya, or lw.?), p(h)i “spade” (Wkh. pūy etc.).


I generally heard pē G etc. “milk”. If this is really a distinct form (cf. wa’spē “buttermilk”), it must be derived from pl. *payāh (cf. Psht., Shgh. pa). Cf. sēy “shade” (*sāyakā-, éx “egg” (*āwy-axa-), xē “open” (*wēsāya-), mēn “waist” (*mad(i)yāna-), ĝurē “seize” (*ĝrbāya), žē “come” (āyāya). But, before m, gu’rim “I seize”, žim “I come”. Cf. 40.

Ir. āwā.

38. Ir āwā > Par. ā: nō “9”, nō “new”, tō “thee”, žō “barley”, ō “that”, čōr “4” (Av. čāwārō), nīsōr “shady side of a hill” (*nīsyāwara-, or, probably, lw.). Before a nasal āwā > ū: īn- “to lead down” (Av. āwā-nay-). Unstressed in ūzā “remained” (*awa-zāta-). But pū “on that side” (*pati-awa-?).

Note phārāt- “to sell” (*parwāht < *parawaxta. v. 27, or *parāht < *parāwaxta-), and, possibly, phārī “from that side” (*pati-awaθra + i). But cf. čōr above.

i-Umlaut.

39. ā results in ē: ēn- “to bring” (*ā-nayā-), mēr- “to kill” (*māraya-), dēr- “to have”, pēč “to cook”, rēhā “to build, prepare” (*fra-rāzaya-), nhēn- “to make to sit down” (analogical form.?), dēš “sickle” (*dāθri-, Mj. brūxā), nēš “nose” (*năstī-), ēstē “star” (*stārēi-), mēhī “month” (*māhika-?), sēl “rice” (Ind. lw. < săli-), ā’γēš D. P “sky” (Ind. lw. < ākāṣya-).

The treatment of ∂ is more uncertain, partly on account of the occasional lengthening of e into ē (v. 16): kēr M, G, T, kīr D “work”
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(Av. kairya-), xēr "hay" (*hwarya-), mēr "husband" (Anc. Prs. martiya-, or martyia-), nēvōk "male" (Av. nairya-), mēnth- "to smear" (*manthaya-?), bēzh- "to bind" (*badya-?). But also: rīzh- "to lie down" (*fra-razya-), ēnān "field" (Av. *ava'antarya-), ṣēvān "ruined" (*a-waryāna-?), ūtō "yellow" (Av. zairīta-). Before n: jīnc "wife" (*janići-); mēn "waist" (prob. < *madiyāna-), hēn "they are" (direct < Av. hōnti?). Unstressed pen "with" (*upāntai, Psht. bānde "upon"). rē: mer- "to die", ter- "to drink" (*trya-?), gīr "stone" (Av. gairī-). But phiś- "to sow" (*pṛśya-, Prs. pāśidan), kūr "cap" (Av. kōrti-?). Cf. 34. uē: hīn "blood" (Av. vohunī-)? auē: ē ṣērivulet" (Anc. Prs. yauviyā-, Prs. jōt). No uumlaut of au before aya: dūē- "to milk".

40. We find no uumlaut in ānt "brought" (*ānita-), ūnt "led down" (*auca-nita-), pač "before" (*patiśa-). In these words the i must have been elided before the i-uumlaut took place, cf. yunt "found" (*windita-, v. 43. But why ūtō "yellow" (*zaritaka-)?

ya > ē: a'we "remembering" (*abyāta-); ya > e: a'ze "yesterday" (*ā-zyah-?), merem "I die" (*myrami) etc. Cf. 37.

U-Umlaut.

41. u-uumlaut occurs only in mūcō "ant" (*marvičaka-? Prs. mōrca, Av. mavoiri-, maurvi-).

Final Vowels.

42. Generally all final vowels, except in monosyllabic words, have been lost, even when originally protected by a consonant.

But āwē, āwo, gen. āweś'ka "water" (Av. āpō, Psht. ḍēkh). This is probably due to the w: *dādō > dā "gave", but *ādō > ā-uw. Cf. also gen. pl. -āna (*-ānām), v. 91, and the pl. in -a after numerals: pōνē ručā "5 days" (*-āh?), v. 82. These forms may be due to sandhi. In most cases *-ā(h) was lost, but at a later date than *-ah (v. 26, 52).

*āya, *-ahya, *-ahi were lost, cf. ēn "bring", ya'sō "calfe" (v. 189, 45 g, 193). *āya > -ē: qurē (v. 189). *-ayahi > -ē: mērē "thou killest" (v. 193); *-atī > -ā: bara "he carries" (v. 193)? Cf. also 116.
Elision of Vowels.

43. Unstressed, initial short vowels have been elided before the transition of \( u \rightarrow y \): \( \gamma u \)rnir “field” (*\( \gamma u a - a n t a r y a - \)), \( \gamma y r \)n “ruined” (*\( \gamma a - n a r y a - n a - \)). Cf. also: \( \gamma y r \) “coal” (Skr. \( \gamma a n g a r a - \)), \( \gamma y s t \) “finger” (Av. \( \gamma a n g \)\( s t a - \)), \( m \) “we” (Av. \( a h m \)n), \( w a s p e \) “buttermilk” (*\( a p a s - p a y a h \)), and, at an earlier date, in the postposition \( p e n \) “with” (*\( u p \)\( \dot{a} n t a i \)); poss. also in \( t a r \) “in” (Av. \( a n \)\( t a r \)). In \( \dot{z} e - \) “to come” (*\( \dot{y} a y a - ? \)) an initial \( a - \) appears to have been lost (cf. 29).

An initial consonant, too, has been elided in: \( b \)\( \dot{a} n \) “tongue” (*\( h u z b a n a - \), Prs. \( z u b \)\( \dot{a} n \)), \( h i n \) “blood” (Av. \( v o h \)\( u n i - \), Prs. \( x \)\( \ddot{u} n \) etc.), \( x \)\( \ddot{e} \) “open” (*\( w i s \)\( \ddot{a} y a - \)).

Medial, unstressed short vowels were elided (before the sonorization of intervocalic \( t \), v. 55): \( \gamma u s t \) “20”, \( \gamma u n t \) “found”, \( \dot{a} n t \) “led”, \( \ddot{u} n t \) “led down”, \( \dot{z} i \)\( t o \) “yellow”, \( b \)\( i \)\( s t o \) “long”, \( p a \)c “before” (*\( p a t i \)\( s \)\( a - \)), but \( p a r a s u r \) “last year” (*\( p a r u t \)\( t a - \)). Cf. also \( b h \)\( a \)\( y \) “ashes” (*\( b a h \)\( k a k a \)), \( b \)\( h \)\( a m \) “smell” (*\( b u d a m a - \); note the orthography \( b u h a m \) in Prs. script), \( n a m s \) “19”, \( k a \)\( s t e \) “girl” (*\( k a n i \)\( s t a - \)) etc. Cf. 45.

The vowel has been retained in cases where the elision would result in a difficult group of consonants: \( n a m o \) “felt”, \( n a \)\( \gamma o \)n “bread”, \( n a m \)\( \ddot{a} \) “salt”. But cf. \( b \)\( \dot{a} n \) “tongue” (*\( h u z b a n a - \), Prs. \( z u b \)\( \dot{a} n \)), \( h i n \) “blood” (Av. \( v o h \)\( u n i - \), Prs. \( x \)\( \ddot{u} n \) etc.), \( x \)\( \ddot{e} \) “open” (*\( w i s \)\( \ddot{a} y a - \)). Apparently the groups *\( z b - \) etc. existed for a brief time. The preservation of the vowel in \( s a \)\( \ddot{h} o k \) “hare” and other words in -\( \ddot{o} k \) may be due to the fact that this suffix has been added secondarily.

Stress.

44. In the preceding paragraphs mention has frequently been made of the effects of stress upon the Par. vowels. Generally speaking the same syllables appear to have carried the stress in the ancient Ir. dialect from which Par. is derived, as in present-day Par. But the system of accentuation was quite different from the modern Par. one, which has changed owing to the very elisions of vowels brought about by the ancient stress-system.
45. The following reconstruction of the pre-Par. system of accentuation is necessarily tentative, partly owing to the insufficiency of the material. But it will be seen that, in the main, it conforms to the one proposed by Messrs. Meillet and Gauthiot for ancient Ir. (v. MSL. XX, 1. sqq.).

a) A long penultima was stressed: ῥαγάμ “spring” (*fragáma-), γάρ “coal” (*γάγαρα-), γυστ “finger” (*γύγνιτα-), ὀνίν “far” (*όνιτα-), γύρε, γυρε “seize” (*γύρα-γα-), ὑαντ “sat down” (*νιάντ-ά-), βαγ “ashes” (*βαγάκα-), ἀνε τ “remembering” (*ἀνήτα-), παρά “to sell” (*παράκλητα-), ὦζα “remained” (*ώζα-ατα-), γανί “field” (*ἄνωτά-ρα- etc.

b) Possibly an antepenultima which was long by nature, carried the stress, even if the penultimate syllable was long by position: ῥάμυν “forgotten” (*ράμφωτα-). This rule may explain G ᾰγό “to dress” (from imper. 2 sg. *άγόδα-), but M ῥό “(άγόν- *άγύνδα- etc.).

c. Apparently a short penultima was stressed before a long final syllable (: consisting of two morae): ῥα μ “wheat” (*γάμον-άμ-, μαγ “fly” (*μάκασα-), ως “buttermilk” (*ωσπάγα-ά-), σαμ “sand” (*σικάτα-), lw.). But γιν κ “woman” (*γινι- early < γινι-?]. There is no certain example to show if this was also the case when the antepenultima was long by nature. Cf. the similar rule in Greek.

d) Except in this case, a long antepenultima was stressed before a short penultima: γύτ “found” (*ώνδιτε-), ἀγα “came” (*ἄγατα-, ἀνέτ “brought” (*ἄντε-), ἀνν “brought” (*άντε- < *άνετ-), ζάμα D, P “son in law” (*ζάμακα-), γυς “20” (*γώισι-), ἔδ “11” (*ειδεάσα-), ἔδα “12” (*έκειδεάσα-), παρά “last year” (*παράτα-κα-), γωρι “I seize” (*γράβαγω), ἐκ “I come” (*ἐκάγω), ἄνα “I dress” (*άγώνδα-).

e) A short antepenultima carried the stress in trisyllabic words: πατ “before” (*πάτη-σά-), γιν “woman” (*γινι-), κί “went” (*κίτ-ά-).

1 Note that *τι etc. were treated as short syllables.
2 The Par. forms are derived from cases with short final vowel.
f. When the last three syllables were short, the fourth one from the end carried the stress: 1 'ēnem "I bring" (*ānayami), 'mērem "I kill" (*mārayami), 'rēzem "I build" (*frarāzayami), 'sītō, 'sīta "yellow" (*zāritaka-), 'bīstō "long" (*br'zataka-), 'paēs "15" (*pāncadasa), nams "19" (*nāvadasa), 'yurēa "hungry" (*yor'sučaka-). In 'šusara "calf, three years old" (*θrisardaka-), 'dusara "calf, two years old" the numerals may have attracted the stress.

The place of the accent in the different persons of the aorist is, to a great extent, due to analogy (v. 193).

g) The stressed suffix -ō is probably derived from an oblique form -ākahya. Possibly the group hā, although it did not make the penultima long by position, prevented the stress from falling on the fourth syllable from the end. E.g. γa'sō "calf" (*wasākahya), na'mō "felt" (*nimatākahya), na'γōn "bread" (*nikānahya?).

Secondarily this -ō was transferred to other words also: 'kura "had done" (*k'ytaka-), but ku'ro (k'uru) "has done"; 'sīta "yellow" (*zāritaka-), but 'sītō with secondary -ō (or < *sītō < *zāritākahya?).

Note wi'ra'nō "bedding" < *wihranō < *bīrstanāγ < *bistranāγe < *abistaranākahya? 'kaśtē "girl" can possibly be derived from *kāništāki- (?).

46. If we assume that the fourth syllable from the end (type g) was stressed only when long, we could explain 'ēnem (*ānayami) and gu'rim (*grbāyami) without resorting to a stem *grbāya-. In that case γa'sō (*wasākahya) would be quite regular. paēs (*pāncadasa), would be regular; but nams (*nāvadasa) would have to be explained in the same way as 'šusara (45, f).

But this assumption would fail to account for ēn "bring" (*ānaya), but gu'rē "seize" (with shifting of stress < gu'rē < grbāya); *grbāya would result in *gur. Nor can ēm "I come" be derived from *āyayami, or 'sīta "yellow" from *zāritaka- etc.

1 Cf. Tedesco, ZII, II, 281, n. 4: *bārayami, but also *bārayanti.
Semivowels.

Ir. ɣ.

47. Initial ɣ- > ẓ: ẓī “barley”, ẓū “yoke”, ẓī “rivulet”, ẓūx “firewood” (Wkh. yax “twig”), ẓā “other” (*yutāka-), Cf. also ẓīm “I come” (*āyāya-), ẓū “1” (*yau < *aiw-ah, v. 35). The izāfat e is certainly borr. from Prs., and not derived from *ya- in unstressed position.

Reg. -āyā- v. 37, -yā- v. 40, dy v. 57, rṣy v. 64, sy v. 68.

Ir. w.


With early loss of a-: γa’nīr “field” (*awantarya-), γīrān “desolate, ruined” (*awaryāna-?). In rūγa’sōk “fox” (*raupasa-) intervocalic p- > w- has been treated as initial w-, poss. through an association with γa’sō “calf”.

wā “you” must be derived from a sandhi form with fricative, cf. Soghd. _bn, ʙy “encl. pron. 2 pl.” with generalization of the post-consonantic ʙ (Gauthiot, p. 121), and Zeb. pronominal suff. 2 pl. -ev.

In hīn “blood”, xē “open” an initial w- has been lost on account of the elision of the vowel (v. 43).

Initial w- in lw.s: wē “roof-beam” (Waig. wāš etc.)

Regarding āwā v. 38.

ēw > ē: ēd “how many” (Av. ćvant-); ēw > ēj: ējanō G, ējanē M (janw < *jwan-?) “living” (Av. jvant-); rū in harw-: hōt “to hear”, șw in șōr “4”. dv- > b-: bōr “door”, *bo “again” (*dwi-?). But di “2” (*dwayah-?) with d- from du “2” (* dúwā)?

But cf. 110.

Intervocalic -dv- > r? (v. 57, 194).
Consonants.

Initial Plosives and Affricates.

49. Initial plosives and affricates remain unchanged before vowels: kan- "to do", kurgy "hen", gu "cow", gir "stone"; čor "4", čar- "to graze", ján- "to kill", jínč "wife", jür "bowstring" (Ind. 1w.?); tů "thou", tón "body", dah- "to give", dōs "10"; pā "foot", pōńč "5", bar- "to carry", bāš "rope" etc.

st-, sp-, št-: "stěč "star", "spō "dog", štěn "kid". Reg. gr-, br-, dr- v. 66.

Reg. the aspiration of initial plosives v. 73.

Non-initial Plosives and Affricates.

50. ĉ remains after vowels, nasals and r.¹ The same is the case in Wkh., Bal. and Zaza. Ishk. has c as in initial position. It is only natural that the affricate -ĉ- (tš) should have a greater power of resistance than e.g. -t-: dūč "to milk", rūč "day", pěč "to cook", parč- "to shake a sieve", sivčak "female" ([*strčič-], pōńč "5", ĉtěč "star" ([*stärčič-], mūčō "ant". Reg. paes "15" ([*pančadosa]) v. 62, pač "before" v. 55. The derivation of weśěč- "to order, despatch" from *abi-sāčaya- is improbable.

sě > š: pěš "behind" (Av. pasča)? But. cf. ėčēw- (Voc.). ně remains: pōńč "5".

There is no certain instance of intervocalic ě.

51. Intervoc. k, g > ĝ: saγ̥rṓn "cow's dung", seγa "sand", maγhas "fly", swγur "hedgehog", *zăγ "son"; żęγ "yoke", rhaγ̥m "spring" ([*fragāmā-], aγ̥un- "to dress", āγa "came". After r: γuγ̥ "wolf", kurγ- "hen". Ğ is lost before řc in murčč "sparrow".

ŋg > γ in γār "coal", γuṣt "finger". In this position ŋg could not remain (*aŋg- > *ŋg- > *ŋ > γ); but after a vowel we find rōng "colour" (Prs. rang). ŋg also in weŋγer- "to beat", weŋγêw- "to eat", weŋgā "axe"; but the etymologies of these words are unknown. keγ̥āla "bride" is prob. borr. from Prs. kanaγ̥ala "betroth". No instance of ŋk is known.

¹ D has c in tēc "eye", pōc "wool".
52. In the suffix *-aka- the *k was elided early, as in Psht., Orm., Mj.: ǧīnō “hair”, ɣaśō “calf”, phỳō “wet” (*pitaka-), ʿxirō “sweet”, ʿispō “dog”, ʿzāma D “son-in-law”, ʿzita “yellow” etc. (v. 45, f. g). ʿspay “dog” may be derived from spakā f. (v. 26), the final -ā being retained longer than the m. -ah(ya) (v. 42) and thus preserving the γ. Similarly žā “other” (*yutāka-, Phl. yutāk), nāmā “salt”, zeʾmā “winter”, bhāy “ashes” (*bahākāh), sēy “shadow” (*sāyakā). zāʾyān (zāʾyan?) “sons” I only heard in the pl., and it is uncertain whether a sg. *zāy exists. mēḥī “month” < *māḥika-

As is the case in other Ir. languages also, a form of *-aka- with preserved *k has survived. It is difficult to determine the phonetical conditions which have rendered possible the preservation of the *k; but it is certainly to some extent due to the morphological importance of the suffix. In Par. we find e.g. maʾhōk “moon”, saʾhōk “hare”, nērōk “male”, šīʾtak “female” (v. 26), ʿyak “spider” etc. Most of the words in *-ak, however, are borr. from Prs.: jabaʾlak “lightning”, baʾtak “calf of the leg”, buʾulak “ankle”. -āk in jōlak “spider” etc.

Reg. the gen. suffix *-ika v. 89 ff.

53. After š (and s?) *k remains: ḫuškō “dry”. There is no certain instance of sg. mawz “kernel, marrow”, is prob. a lw., and the derivation of uzg. “to descend” from *awa-zgad- is uncertain. narʾyō “went out” < *nizgata-

54. Intervocalic p, b > w: ʿaww “water”, naʾwā “grandson”, xaʾwān “night”, xuʾwān “shepherd”, tāw “plain” (Prs.?), wʾūʾ “to flee” (*upa-waz-); ʿaww “brought” (but pres. ār- infl. by Prs.?). Reg. rūʾaʾsōk v. 48.

The change of *p-, *b- into *-β-, *w- took place before the loss of an unstressed initial vowel in waʾspē “milk” (*apaspaʾāh), nāʾyar- “to dance” (*upa-ā-kar-?), wʾārun “flour” (*upa-ūrtana-, or prothetic w-?), waʾʾchan “bad” (*apa-); wʾirānō “bedding” (*abīstaraʾanaka-?), weʾeʃ- “to despatch” (*abi-sāʾelaya-?). But pen “with” (*upa-tā) with early loss of u-? (v. 43).

p is treated as an initial in the compounds paʾpā “standing” (*pati-
Parachi

pāda-), a'pā, wa'pā "standing" (*ā-, upa-pāda-), a'pešt "back", a'pače "forward". kōpanic "camel’s hump" is borr., just as sāp "curse", ta'pō "warm".

There is no certain instance of mp, mb. dum(b) "tail" may be borr. from Prs., la'mō "hanging" from Ind. No instance of -rp- is found; rb becomes rw in yarw- "to be boiling" (Shgh. vērv-) and is dissimilated in gurwē- "to seize" (*gurwē- < āṛbāya-).

-sp- in āsp "horse".

55. Intervocalic t, ḷ are elided: ā'ya "came", a'weō "remembering" (*abyāta-), yā "willow", yā "wind", hī "bridge", kō "roof", mā "mother", māmō "felt", tī "mulberry", jō "struck", ḷā "gave", ḷī "was", sūnā "washed"; dwās "12", nams "19", rū "iron", pā "foot".

-t-, ḷ- have passed through the stages *-t-, -h-, preserved in dhi "smoke" (*dūh *dūta-), phyō "wet" (*pītaka-), khān "who" (*katāma-?), ēhi "went" (*ēiyutā-), rūh- "to throw" (*wida-), āda- "to give" (*dada-), ruh- "to weep" (*rūda-), bhām "smell" (written bhām < *budāma-).

It seems possible that this h was lost before an early elided vowel (dā < *dāta-, kō < *kata- etc.), but was preserved before a remaining vowel (phyō < *pīhay, dahem, dhi < dūha < *dūta- (?), etc.). It is not, however, easy to make all the examples fit in with this theory. mā would have to be derived from *māta, ēhi from *ēiyutā etc. Cf. 73.

An early elision of a short vowel has preserved the t in yušt "20", ziṭō "yellow" (*zaritaka-), bištō "long" (*brzataka-), ānt "led", ānt "led down" (*ā-, anca-nita-), yuṇt "found" (*windita-), pāt "before" (*patiṣa-).

56. rt, rd > ḷ: āwur "brought", bur "carried", ḷurōk "child" (Paht. warūkai etc.), kur "made", mūr "died", mēr "husband", parāsur (dissim. or incorrect notation parāsur M), νārūn "flour", xūr "ate", xāra "summer" (*hvāhṛtaka-), sāmur "autumn" (*sāmārtu-?); sār "year", ma'rōk "soft" (mrydu-?), tār- "to split", ur- "to slay" (Skr. rd-?).
nt, nd are assimilated into n: da'nān "tooth", ga'nunm "wheat", ja'nō "alive", pa'nun "road", yamukō "short" (Sak. vandā-), hēn "they are"; ā'yun- "to dress", yen- "to find", khan- "to laugh". Before s this n is reduced to a nasalization of the preceding vowel: žūwâs "11" (*aivanda-sa), an'darf-, an'dōf- "to sew" is a later compound; reg. ânt "brought" etc. v. above. Reg. nth v. 59, tar "in" < antar (?), v. 43.

57. ān > n: nhîn- "to sit down", rhîn-t "wept" (*rudna-?). -ly- > ē: kūcαnōk "knife" (*kṛtya-)? -dy- > ē: beζ- "to bind" (*badya-?).
mēn "waist" prob. < *madiyāna-, not < *madya- < *madya-
Reg. dw- > b- v. 48. -dw- > *-dw- > *-r- > r- v. 194 (ba'rōr "you carry" < *barādwa?). Heterosyllabic δ and w would not, like dw-, result in b; and it seems possible that δ in this position was not elided, or did become h, but was replaced by r, when δ disappeared from the phontetical system of Par.

st in bōst "bound", zd in yawd "fat" (Psht. wazda).

Fricatives.

58. Initially before vowels Ir. surd fricatives are represented by Par. affricates: khan- "to laugh" (Prs. xand-), khōr "donkey" (Av. xara-), khūf- "to cough", (Ishk. xofuk etc.), phē "spade" (Shgh. fe, Mj. fo'ya, Wkh. pāy).

In intervocalic position we find fricatives: ix "ice" (Av. aëxa-), yix "root" (Prs. bēx), mux "face" (Psht. max), īx "egg" (*ānyaxa-?), yaf- "to weave" (Prs. bāf-), bīf- "owl" (prob. a lw.); after a labial vowel with differentiation: kūh- "high, raised" (Av. kaofa-?). But mākhān "our" (Anc. Prs. amāxam etc.).

-bw- is reduced in cōr "4" (Av. čaudwārō); but the more energetic sound -bw- results in an aspirate through differentiation: phōk "cooked" (*pa*w< *pawx < *pawxa). Cf. -fy- in thi- "to burn" (Cf. Wkh. 3i- < *tafy-)

ts resulted in Ir. *s> s, cf. Par. yasō "calf", masō "fish". fō, xō < x: xu'wān "shepherd", xāi "husband" (Mj. șūy-, Av. shuyant-?); xīrō "sweet" (Prs. širîn), xa'wān "night", xār (*xārta-),
Before a nasal the fricative looses its specific articulation, and becomes h, or is elided: xōm “sleep” (Av. x'afna-), rhinē “light” (Av. raoxna-), lhanō “mooth” (*laxnaka-).

Similarly before oclusives: dut “daughter”, sītō “sour” (Sede etc. sutē “vinegar”, Skr. śukta-), pha'vāt- “to sell” (parawaxta-), māt “killet” (*marxta-, Av. marok-), hōt “7”, hōt “heard” (*haru- + ta-), rūt “swept” (*rufta-, or borr.), ghit “seized” (*grfta-). xt or ft in śut “thrown”. But initially pe't “paternal uncle”, cf. Av pta.r-?

59. īr is treated in the same manner initially and in intervocalic position, as is the case also in Prs., Orm. etc.: šī “3”, šus “30”; poss. ševarē “hail” (cf. Bal. trūngal?); puś “son”, dēš “sickle”, čašurē “three days ago”. But ār “fire” (*aurā < āđr-. Cf. Reichelt ZII. IV, 247). str (sīr) > š: śvēčak “female”, bāś “rope”.

Initial fr- > rh-: rha'vām “spring”, rhāz- “to fly” (Av. frā-vaz-), rhīz- “to lie down” (*fra-razya-); but I heard ruc “flea” (*frući-). Postvocalic fr was transposed, and f differentiated into p: yarp “snow” (Av. vafra-), cf. xr, xw.

No certain instance is found of initial xr-, xw'ōs “cock” being a Prs. Iw. Poss. khe'vē- “to pick up” < *xvāpaya- (cf. Lat. carpo-)? Postvocalic xr > rk(h): surkhō G, surkō P “red”, tarkō “bitter” (Phl. takr), nōrk “nail” (Sāgl. narzak etc.); poss. bērkh- “to fear” (*dweixra-?).

After a nasal we find th in menth- “to smear”.

Obviously in Par., as in other Ir. languages, unvoiced oclusives originally were opened when implosive, i.e. before consonants. In no case, however, has the combination of fricative + cons. subsisted in Par. Either the group was completely or partially assimilated (ēr and initial fr-), or it was saved through transposition and differentiation (xr and fr-).¹

¹ Ir. ēr was a most unstable group, which has developed further at an early date even in dialects, such as Anc. Prs. and Shgh., which generally preserve g. In various ways this group has been changed through assimilation (into s, š, c, dr, r, l), differentiation (into tr, dr), or metathesis (rt).
60. It may be asked whether the initial aspirates in Par. are derived directly from Indo-Ir. aspirates, or have passed through the fricative stage (with the same regression from fricatives into occlusives which is known from Bal. and Kurd.). The theory of regression is not disproved by the fact that Par. has developed an initial \( x \) from \( x^\#, f^\#, h^\# \). This change might be later than that of \( x > kh \) etc. But I think it probable that a regression would have meant a complete rejection for the time being of unvoiced fricatives in all positions, just as in S.Bal. (kar “donkey”, nākun “nail”, sutka “burnt”).

It is quite possible that in Ir. the transition of initial aspirates into fricatives was later than that of the intervocalic ones. Cf. the development in N.Bal., and in an Ind. language, Khowar, where we find e. g. \( kh \), but \( -x \). And Par. which has probably always been contiguous with Ind. languages, may well have preserved the initial aspirates.

61. At the time when the \(-k\)- was aspirated in mā'kh-ān “our” < *ahmākam (through the influence of the preceding \( h \)), aspirates must already have existed in the language; but intervocalic \(-kh\)- had already become \(-x\)-, and \(-k\)- had not yet been voiced. It is not probable that in this remote period aspirates would have been introduced into the language through lw.s without belonging to its original system, or that the influence of such lw.s would have been strong enough to account for the transition of *ahmākam into *a(h)mākham, and not *amāxam.

If menth- “to smear” is a genuine Par. word, and there is no likely Ind. word from which it might have been borrr., it is not prob. that the \( 3 \) (a very unstable sound in Ir.) would have been

1. N.Bal. khar “donkey”, nāxun “nail”, suxta “burnt” are not historically parallel with Par. khōr, muz, ‘ṣūṭo. N.Bal. khārē “knife”, sīxun “hedgehog” (Par. kūčanōk, sūγur) show that the fricatives first became occlusives as in S.Bal. (\( xt > *kt \), cf. \( ft > S.Bal. pt \), N.Bal. \( pth \)). Only in the course of the development of N.Bal. all unvoiced occlusives were aspirated (except after \( s, 3 \)), and, in favourable positions, opened.
changed into *th after *n; but the word must be derived direct from *manthaya-. Cf., however, pa’nan “road”. It is possible that nth was treated in a different way after an unstressed syllable. From the phonetical point of view the preservation of nth, but assimilation of nt, nd (v. 56) would not be surprising.

As far as I can see, it is not possible from the material available to come to any definite conclusion regarding the question of original aspirates in pre-Par.

**Nasals.**

62. n, m generally remain: na “not”, nō “new”, nhin- “to sit down”, ēn- “to bring”, gi’nō “a single hair”, mun “me”, ma’sō “fish”, nām “name” etc.

n is lost before s, generally with nasalization of the preceding vowel: žūsās “11” (*aivasASI), pa’es “15” (*pa’s < *pacADIasa, cf. Pash. S 1 pl. -ais, -āns, -anz- < -amosi), but kaštē “girl” (*kaṇištākī-?). m remains on account of its labial articulation: nams “19” (v. below).

Reg. nč, yk, mp, nt etc. v. 50, 51, 54, 56. nč has dental n (č = tš). Reg. fn, xšn v. 58, rn, rzn v. 63, 65, sn, šm v. 68, 69.

Apparently m > n in khān, khāin “which” (Av. katama-?), poss. under the influence of khin “who” (*kahiya-nā?).

Just as in the neighbouring languages n is often inserted after an initial nasal: ‘mindut “apricot” (Orm. matat), mende “this” (*ma + eđe), manša’hūr “famous” (Prs. mašhūr), nams “19” (*naus < *nausASI).

A final n frequently disappears, with or without nasalization of the preceding vowel, v. 24.

**Rolled and Lateral Sounds.**

Ir. r.

Reg. rk, rp, rt etc. v. 51, 54, 56. In the group rē the ē was preserved as a surd, which unvoiced the r: *stēē "star", mūčō "ant" (v. 50), but murēē "sparrow" (*muryē- < *mrga-ē-). Similarly rft, rft > xt, ft > t (v. 58).

rm has not been traced. The treatment of rn is uncertain: śu'yar "porcupine" (Av. sukuranā-), but pōn "leaf, feather". kan- "to do" is a special case (cf. Prs. kun-, but parr etc.), durr- "to cut grain" is uncertain (from Av. dorēnā-, or borr. from Prs. durūdan?), āmar "apple" (Shgh. mūn etc.) belongs to a group of widely spread wandering words (v. EVP. s.v. maṇa).

64. rz in yur'z-ēw- "to pour out" (*wi-hrz-), derz- "to take on the back" (Av. dārozw-). ōr'zūn "millet" (Prs. arzan) is prob. genuine. The cerebralization of the r in this case is prob. recent, cf. Hu'marz (written with r) "n. of a place", and rd / rd in lw.s. (v. 20).

bīstō < *būšt- < *buršt- < *byzat- with the same treatment of rs, rē as in dōs "hair" (Wkh. dūrs "goat's hair"), ṭōs "cut hair" (Av. varṣa-), pašō "axe" (Skr. paraśu- or parśu-); gās "a kind of millet" (*gārśa-), kās P "eyebrow" (Av. karśa- "furrow, line"), kāšēw- "to sigh, yawn", tāso "a kind of axe" (Shgh. tarsak etc.?), phīs- "to strew, sow" (*prṣya-, cf. Prs. pāš- "to scatter, sprinkle") The assimilation of rē, rs, but not of rz, is due to the circumstance that r became unvoiced before s, sē. An unvoiced r is a less energetic and resistant sound than the voiced r. ¹

65. sē, sē are lost between r and a following consonant: yurēa "hungry" (*vṛṣu-čaka-?), pōrk "sheep's dung" (Prs. pūsk < *prṣaka-, cf. G1Ph. I, 2, 89) thān "thirsty" (Av. tarśna-). Similarly bhīn "tree" (if < *būhn < *byzna-, cf. Shgh. vṛṣn "birch"), bāna-pāi "pillow" (*barzn-, Mj. vēznī, Khow. lw. uraznī etc.)

In rēt (rēt), too, the s (sē) is lost, with aspiration of the initial consonant: dhōr "saw" (Av. dārōsta-), thōr "hole" (cf. tār- "to split", Skr. tṛd-), thōr "drank" (Orm. tatakt < *tṛṭṭa-ka-), nhāmûr "forgetting" (*frāmrśta-). put "back" may be borr. from Ind.; in hu'pāt "dug", nōt "took out" (from hu'pēr-, nēr-) t does not represent rēt, but is

¹ Cf. Shgh. rt > d (through *t > d), but rē > rē.
derived from a secondary group $r + t$ (v. Voc. s.v.v.). $ut$ "bear" is etymologically uncertain.

The transition of $rśt > *hr$ is difficult to explain The theoretical intermediate stage would be $*śrt$; but this seems an impossible group. Note, however, that in Psht. $rśt$ in some cases results in $ś$, and must have passed through the stage $śtr$ (or $*śrt?$) with a similar transposition.

Also the different development of $rś(a)k > rk$ and $rə(a)t > rśt > št$ is curious.

66. Reg. $xr$, $dr$, $fr$, $sdr$ v. 59. No certain examples of $gr$, $dr$, $br$ have been traced: $biyā$ "brother" can scarcely be regularly developed from Av. $brātar$ (cf. Afg. Prs. $biyādar$); $air$ "cloud" $<*abrya$? $rhuš$ "half rupee" ($*γρυς$) is borr. from Prs.-Turk.

$sr > š$: $št$ "horn" (Av. $srū$); $xuš$ "mother-in-law" is prob. a Prs. $lw$.

Ir. $l$.

67. $l$ is found in $lis$ "to lick", $lno$ "mooth, slippery" (Prs. $lašn$ etc.), $γeλ$ "to roll" (Oss. $velun$?). $laue$ "lip" is prob. borr. from Prs., just as $lapē$.

In Ind. lw.s $l$ is generally rendered by $l$. But $phor$ "grain, fruit" (Pash. L $phal$) from an earlier form with $l$? Cf. also $viγar$ "night" (Pash. L $vyal$). But $bālō$ "child": Pash. $bārā$, $bārū$.

Sibilants.

Ir. $s$.

68. $s$ is preserved in most positions: $sōr$ "head", $sa’hōk$ "hare", $dōs$ "10", $γus$ "house", $ma’zō$ "fish", $’yust$ "dressed", $bōst$ "bound", $a’star$ "to smear", $oṣp$ "horse". Initially before occlusives $*stēč$ "star", $*spō$ "dog" etc.; $su$ "daughter-in-law" ($*snusō$?), but $su’nī$ "to wash" (Av. $snaya$-, or $us-snaya$-). Intervoc. $sn > *hn > h-n$ (cf. the treatment of $śn$ 69, $rzn$, $rśn$ etc. 65): $γū-phōnē$ "wind" (Av. $’pasnu$- "dust").

Reg. $sdv$, $rs$, $sr$ v. 59, 64, 66.
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s was palatalized in the neighbourhood of i: nhašt “sat down” (*nihasta-), nēšt “nose” (*nisti-), γušt “20” (*wisati), γušt “thrown” (*vista-), swnur “porcupine” (*sikurna-), geś “bad” (*gasya-?). nisör “the shady side of a hill” is prob. a lw. (not <*nisyāvara-), cf. Voc. s.v.; sāmūr “autumn”, poss. <*syāma-ṛtu-, but already Av. sāma- s, not š renders Pash. š in sī “exists” < Pash. šī. Prob. Par. š was formerly more rounded, while Pash. š was more palatal than it is at present.

Ir. š.

69. No certain instance of Ir. š has been traced in Par. (v. Voc. s.v. xīš). Intervoc. š is lost: gū “ear”, ṛspō “louse”, nī-, “to go out” (Av. niš-ay-), xī “6”, thā- “to cut, shave” (Av. taš-), su “daughter-in-law” (*snasā-?). In. Ind. and Prs. lw.s: ḍyēš “sky” (*ākasya-) etc.

Reg. xš, fš, xšn, ršn v. 58, 65. If. xē “open” is derived from *wišāya-, *vē- prob. became *fš > x-. Šn in ma’nōk “ram” (*maišna-?). šk in ḍhuskō “dry”, št in ōšt “8”, γušt “finger”, dušt “wall” (*dištī-). With ušt- “to rise” cf. Kafiri uşt-, acc. to Turner <*ust* *ulst*.

Reg. rš, ršt v. 64.

Ir. z.


gas- “to bite” (Prs. gazidan), lis- “to lick” with s instead of z from the present ḍastōn, ṭistōn. z was dissimilated into d in dōst “hand” (v. EVP. s.v. lās) and lost in bān “tongue” (*zbān, *huzbāna-, Prs. zubān).


Ir. 쨰.

71. Ir. можем “went out” < *nižgataka-.
72. \( h \) is preserved initially: hê "bridge", harw- "to hear", hušk "dry", hőt "7", hû, hô "that" (Anc. Prs. hauv), but cf. bân "tongue" (*hužbâna). Prothetic h- in hôst "8", hàm "raw", hèm "I am", hè "this" (*ayam?).

Intervocalic \( h \): ma'hôk "moon", mêhi "month", sa'hôk "hare", nhin- "to sit down", bhûy "ashes". But yur'ezêw- "to pour out" (*wîhrz-), xûra "summer" (*hwahtaka-), xî "sister" (*hwaht-?). Inserted \( h \) in: gêh- "coire". hm > m: mà "we", (h)êm "I am". hw (xw) > x: xu "self", xar- "to eat", xôm "sleep", xêr "hay", xân- "to recite" (lw.?), etc.

Aspiration.

73. In Par., aspiration is found in three classes of words: a) In lw.s from Ind: bûhr "burden", dhûr "hill", khûri "heel", phûr "fruit" etc. But in some cases Ind. aspirates are — if my ear has not deceived me — rendered by Par. unaspirated sounds. b) In words containing Ir. surd fricatives in special positions: khûn- "to laugh", surkhô "red", rhûz- "to fly" etc. (v. 58, 59). c) In words in which a \( h \) (of diverse origin) has been brought into contact with the initial consonant through metathesis or vowel-elasticion. This is the case in some Prs. lw.s also: khar "anger" (qahr), mhêmân "guest" (mihmân) etc.

In genuine Par. words (with metathesis): lhanô "smooth" (*lahn- < *laxšna-), rhînê "light" (*rûn- < *rauxšna-), thân "thirst" (*tahn < *taršna-), yû-phônê "wind" (*pahn < Av. pahnu), bhin "tree" (*bûn < *bîznâ), dhûr "saw" (*dûhr < *dërsta-), thûr "drank" (*tırsta-), thôr "hole" (*tsta-), gûht "seized" (*gûht < *gûsta-), phûr'vat- "to sell" (*parûwta-), phûk "cooked (*paukh < *paxva-), rhûn-t "wept" (*rûhn- < *rudna-), khû "to scratch" (*kûs-?), thû- "to shave" (*tûs-), phûs- "to scatter" (*pûšya-?), khû "lifted, raised" (*kaufa-), thî- "to be burning" (*tafyâ-; cf. Wkh. śi- etc.), chî "went" (*cîh < *çiuta-), dhi "smoke" (*dûn < dûta-), phyô "wet" (*pîha < *pîtaka-), dhaitôn < 'dahitôn "giving" (*dada-). With vowel-elasticion:
bhāy “ashes” (*bahākā), nhaṣi “sat down” (*ni-hasta-), bhām “smell” (*budāma-), khān “which” (*kahan < *katāma-?). Initial fricatives cannot be aspirated: γur'zēw- “to pour out” (*wihrz-). But we should expect aspiration in ruč “louse” (*fruč-), dut “daughter” (*duxātā), mōt “killed” (*marxta), bāna-pa‘ī (if < (*barzna-), dā “gave” (*dāh < dāta-), cf. 55. In some words of unknown etymology we find an unexplained aspiration: lhās “finished”, kha’mör “threshing”, thār- “to regard” etc.

74. List of Phonetical Correspondences (Par. and Ir.).

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<td>nh̄ &lt;</td>
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<td>i &lt;</td>
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<td>i (31), ū̄ (33), ū (32), ai (35), aya (37), ā̄ (39), au(n) (36), ɣ̄ (34), iȳ (30).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>gh &lt;</td>
<td>ḡ + h̄ (73).</td>
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MORPHOLOGY.

Nouns.

Stem-Formation.


But, except in the case of a few stems in -r- (v. 82), the ancient stems are not distinguished in their inflexion. And in many words
the distinction between the ancient stems has been completely obliterated: dhī "smoke" (*dūta-), yī "willow" (*waiti-), hī "bridge" (*hautu-), xī "sister" (*hwahū < *hwahar-); mā "mother" (*mātar-), xā "thing" (*zāta-), xā "husband" (*fīuyant-?) etc.

76. Reg. stems in -ā (*-aka-), -ay (*-akā-), -ā (*-akahya), -ā (*-āka-), -ūy (*-ākā(h)), ī (*-īka-) v. 52. -ā is not a living suffix.

Reg. the secondary suffix -ak, -āk v. 52. āk has a definite diminutive power in kašteōk "little girl" (kaštē), raśiōk (rašīq "comrade"), bāriōk "very slender" (bārik) etc. But not in maḥōk "moon", saḥōk "hare" etc., cf. γαςό "calf" etc. A double suffix is found in γανόκο, γανυκο "short" (cf. Psht. -kai, Mj. -ga, f. -gāgā).

-ak, -a are frequently of Prs. origin: jabaōak "lightning", jāla "hail". -ā is found in lw.s: bāzī "cheating" (Prs.), dhārī "beard" (Pash.). Prob. it is also of Prs. origin in words such as kaṭōi "old age", chaṭāi "silver", ruṣṭi "ring". But mēhi "month" direct < *māhika-?

-ē occurs in a few words: γαρόνε "wind", kašte "girl", le'ē "boy", murē "sparrow", pe'tē "paternal uncle", rhēnē "light" (Prs. rō’s(a)nāi etc.). Poss. kašte < *kaništāki-?

Composition.

77. Tatpurusha compounds of various kinds are frequent: xivyōrōk "sister’s son", peśpā "heel", nayōnpha'kō, nayōnpečak "baker", tōripī "calf, one to two years old", khōrōbu "melon" (Prs. xarbus), khōrvu "hare" (Prs. xargōs), phyōbu "water melon" (Prs. tarbus) are transl. from Prs. Many compounds are borrh. from Prs.: aw'dida "tear", sāddzam'bur "honey-bee" etc. Some bahvrihis are found: chaṭādhāri "white-beard" (Prs. riśṣafēd), dusara "kid, two years old" etc.

Genitive groups frequently replace compounds: āwo-i tech'īka, āwo-i didā'ka "tear" etc.

Some ancient compounds are no longer felt as such by the speakers of Par.: waspē "buttermilk" (*apas-payāh), sāmur "autumn" (*sāma-ṣtu). This is the case with most compounds containing ancient
prefixes: rha'γ̄um "spring" (*fragāma-), ṅhāmur "forgetting" (*frā-mr̥̄sta)-, γa'mir "field" (*au'-antarya-), xe' "open" (*wi-sāya-), pen "with" (*upānta)-, wā'γ̄ar "dance" (*upa-ā-kāra-?), γi'ṛān "ruined" (*a-waryāna-?), ḫāra "summer" (*h(u)-wāḥr̥̄taka-) etc.

Cf. also verbal compounds such as ā'γ̄un- "to dress" (*ā-gund-), a'star- "to smear" (*ā-star-), ūe- "to come" (*ā-yā?-), ēn- "to bring" (*ā-nī-), wāγ̄ar- "to dance" (*upa-ā-kara-), nhīn- "to sit down" (*ni-had-), ni- "to go out" (niš-ay-), pharvāt- "to sell" (*parā-waxta-), γurζēw- "to pour out" (*wi-ḥr̥̄z-) etc.

The Article.

78. The numeral ḫu frequently takes the place of our indefinite article, ḫu sēb meaning "one apple", or "an apple". But also sēb "an apple". Similarly ḫe sēb, ho'wi sēb may in some cases be translated as "the apple", not "this, that apple".

79. The yā-yi wahdat or yā-yi tankīr (the "i of unity or indefiniteness") is frequently used: ḫādugāři" a sorcerer", sātehawānī γwūlū áγ̄ū T "many reciters of prayers have come", ḫu pāla'wānī tar "to one warrior", ḫangal tar, ḫangali tar, ḫangal tar'i za'hi "he came to a jungle", ḫu pāla'wān-e āŋṝi "a hero of war", čhīl swērī "some forty horsemen", ḫaweqada'ri, ḫaweqa'ī "so much", felānī "a certain". This -i is prob. borr. from Prs., where it is employed much in the same manner as in Par. (cf. Phillott, Higher Persian Grammar § 41).

felānī (pādsā) T "a certain (king)" was said to denote nearness, but felāna remoteness. Cf. also ho'wi za'īfā G "that woman".

The yā-yi sifat or "i of qualification" (Phillott, § 42, b sqq.) is used, as in Prs., with a demonstrative pronoun before a relative sentence: dāl ho'wi za'īfi, ē "near the woman, who", ha'wi ṃāneš(i), ē "this man, who", ho'wi resālānī ē "the (those) horsemen, who", ēde az ḫātīrī ē "in the thought that". Without a demonstrative in ḫangal tari, ē "to the jungle, which". Reg. the use of ma denoting definiteness, v. 86.
What is the nature of the i in ‘yarpi “snow”? Cf. ‘yarpi-á ‘áwo na ‘chemtón G “the snow is not melting” (but yarpán-á ‘áwo ‘chemtón); ‘yarpi-á ‘nitón “the snow is going away”; ‘yarpi-a . . . ‘dhartón “the snow is remaining”. Possibly it is the i of indefiniteness: “some snow”. Note also manán ‘xá-á ma ‘gú teçhepet‘kái ‘duçetón G “my husband is milking the cow blindfold”; but tân ‘xá ma ‘gú teçhepet‘ká ‘duçen na ‘nartón “thy husband cannot milk the cow blindfold”. avlát-e manání guda‘ra “my family passes away” (?).

Gender.


81. Declension.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Loc.</th>
<th>ɣus tar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. (Ag.) ɣus “house” Aḥi</td>
<td>All.</td>
<td>ɣus wanō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc. (ma) ɣus</td>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>ai ɣus etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen. ɣus‘ka</td>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Abl. ɣus‘i</td>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ɣus‘an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. ɣus kun</td>
<td>Gen.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instr. ɣus pen</td>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>ɣus‘an kun etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number.

82. Pl. in ‘-an: puwsán “sons” (puš), duwán “daughters” (duṭ), xiván “sisters” (xī), hansáyán “neighbours” (ham’sāya), techán “eyes”, rupai‘án “rupees”, mālān “possessions”, kaštē‘án “girls” (kaštê); bālān “boys” (bālō), pašāwān “axes” (pašō), kaḍi‘kān “thorns” (kaḍō). Note pānán “feet” (pā), cf. dinān, zānān (cf. 148). biyārān “brothers” (biyā), but also biyāra M (mā γαλα’ba biyārumān “we are many brothers”) (v. 75); navawārān “grandchildren” (navwā, navawārā), hāwar(yar)ān “husband’s brothers” (hāwar). From
M I have noted also 'dutan “daughters”, 'zāyan and zā'ān “sons”. Note phar “fruits, grains” (phör).

The nearly exclusive use of -ān as a pl. suffix separates Par. from other E Ir. languages. The existence of the gen. pl. in -āna (v. 42) and the employment of -ān with inanimate nouns render it, however, improbable that -ān should be borrowed from Prs. (Afgh. Prs. has -ā). But Prs. influence may have strengthened the position of this suffix, and many words have probably been borrowed from Prs. in the plural. biyārān etc. have retained the r of the original theme. pānān may have got its -n- from stems in -nt: xā “husband” (Av. nom. sg. fšuyas), pl. *xān-ān (?) (Av. fšuyanto). Cf. the šaomano šao of Kushan coins, phar represents an ancient pl. in -āh (v. 26, cf. 193). Reg. āwə “water” v. 42.

A special form, reminding us of the ancient elliptic dual, occurs in bāwehā “father and son”, māwehā “mother and daughter”: (husše māwehā T “all three, the mother and two daughters”). It is prob. borrowed from Pash., bāwyā, āwyā.

A periphrastic pl., borr. from Pash., occurs in žū ḍal bālō hēn “it is a party of boys” (v. 115).

83. Frequently the latter only of two nouns connected by o “and” takes the pl. suffix: 'dust o raʃīqān “friends and comrades”, 'dust o pānān “hands and feet” (cf. N.Psht. lās o xpe).

Collective singualrs occur: 'dust o raʃīq pen “with friends and comrades”, ma cőrpāyān-imān ... bārtan ... ma buy o gū o ḡaro “we take the cattle, ... goats, cows and sheep”. With the verb in pl.: ōsp-e ma'nān xa'rāb čhēn “my horses fell ill”, laškar ... čhēn “the soldiers (army) went”; but Au'γān ... āga “the Afghans came”, čā mardum apēš rama “the other people shall go back”. On the other hand we find xar'pān “snow” (cf. Psht. uāwē), čāyān “(bales of) tea”.

After numerals the ordinary pl. is rarely used: di pūšān “two sons”. But generally dā ḍuš, pōnē rūc “five days”, ha'zār tufay'dār ... āga “a thousand riflemen came”; but ha'zār swār āγēn “a hundred horsemen came”.
A partitive genitive may take the place of a pl.: *havār naʃarīka  
"a thousand persons", *huss-e sēbīka  M  "all the apples". In 
some cases a form in -a is found after numerals: *paes ruça ya 
"15 or 20 days", *huddi biyāra "both brothers" (v. 42), 
čor mačia "four kisses", di bālā M "two boys". Prob. from *-āh, 
cf. the Psht. pl. in -a after numerals.

After adjectives and indefinite pronouns denoting number we 
generally find the sg.: *cāwar maz-dūr "several servants", *yalaśa 
"many years", *mā *yalaša *ādam-iman "we are many men", 
yalaša *ōsp-en "there are many horses". But: *havī yulū *ōsp-an 
"these many horses". After huss "all" etc. the noun is put in 
the pl.: *hūs mānesān D "all the men", *huss dūšān "all the hairs", 
*huddi pušān "both boys".

Occasionally the verb is put in the sg. after a pl. noun: *-ā *cūrā 
*bartōn "the thieves are carrying", *cūrān . . . *bara "the thieves 
may carry", *havī amarā edhēkānā (or edhēkāna hēn) "these apples 
belong to these persons",  jamān-nē *kārī-a "they are good young 
men". (v. 195).

Case.

84. For the sake of convenience I have called the postpositional 
forms "cases". In reality they often do not differ much in 
meaning from the constructions with prepositions (v. 222). The 
terms "accusative", "instrumental" etc. are to be taken as labels 
giving a very rough idea only of the use of the various forms.

Nominative.

85. The agent case of nouns is identical with the nominative: 
*kaštē-a  jartōn "the girl is saying", *kaštē  jartī "the girl said". 
Reg. the use of the nom. of pronouns instead of the ag. v. 112.

Accusative.

86. The indefinite object is not, as a rule, formally distinguished 
from the subject: *dut-ē  dērō bōn "he had a daughter", *sekār
kanem "I shall go shooting", jallâ’tân-ê dhêwî "he called for (some) executioners".

A definite object usually takes the prefix ma, corresponding to Prs. rä: ma ‘dut-ê ghit “he took his daughter”, ma ‘zû-e cûrâna ‘ân hamî mâtô “I have also killed one of the thieves” (German: den einen), sî . . . sûtur dâ “(she) gave him three camels”; but ma sûturân-ê bhûr kôr “he loaded the camels”, ma zû ošp-ê ham xwêdîka dâ-ê, zû ošp-ê xin kôr “one (das eine) horse he gave away in alms, one (ein) horse he saddled”. Accordingly ma chel ka’niž-e kô-an ham gûrê must mean: “take also thy other forty maids”.

The distinction is not always observed. We find e.g. ha’zâr nafar-ê mât “he killed a thousand persons” and ma šast nafar-ê mât; ma Zai’ûn . . . na êném, Zai’ûn . . . na êném “I shall not bring Z.”; ma gû . . . idûcên nartôn “he can milk a (the) cow”, gû . . . idûcên na nartôn “he cannot milk a cow”.

In some cases we should expect ma: pawân-ê harêwî “he lost his way”, jallâ’tân samišér-an rust kôr “the executioners raised their swords”, te’chân-ê kânô ka’nôr “blind his eyes”. ma is not used after demonstrative pronouns: he ker-a kuwa “thou hast done this work”.

87. The acc. is used in a local and temporal sense: ma ‘zû qâtîr suwâr nûhîst “he mounted a mule”, yûs “in a house”, ma yûs “in the house, home, at home”, ma bûr naf-yû “he went out”, sêr “in, to a town”, hovê xûzûm “during that night”. Note: naž’dik-e ma yûsika xûa “he came near to the house”.

The “accusative”, generally with ma, is used with the verb “to say” and frequently also with the verb “to give” (as Prs. rä): ma puš-ê jârî “he said to his son”, tû ma mun šûp dû “thou gavest me a curse”. mà ma tû dû M “I gave thee” (but mun tû kûn dû G).

Without ma: sër xu jârî Haîdad “the lion said to H.”, jârî za’îf “he said to the woman”.

ma is repeated in: re’sâlûn ma Qâsem u jîn-ê-an am ma hûddînân-ê- an bûst “the troopers bound both of them, Q. and also his wife”.

The object of past tenses of transitive verbs is put in the acc: ma bâlô dhôr-ûm “I saw the boy” (cf. 201).
Reg. ma with the abl. v. 94.

88. ma is prob. identical with the Prs. dative prefix mar (< Av. imper. mara “remember, note”?).

Genitive.

89. The gen. in -ika (-ilk’a M, -ikī D) is frequently put before the governing noun: navōnecakīkā jinē “the baker's wife”, dežika mayz “walnut kernel”, tān bāwīk’ā yus M “thy father's house”, navōnīkā thōvān “burnt pieces of bread”, ōspēkī sum D “horse's hoof”, ḏūika nāmē A’ir bīn “the name of the one was A.”.

But the gen. is put after the noun in: xī hōwī ādāmi’kā M “that man's sister”, ʿisq ʾsōr tar-ē āga šekārī’kā “a fancy to go out shooting came over him”, fērān uṣṭā kaštī’kā “a lament arose from the girl”. This is generally the case with the predicative gen.: hāwī ʾyūs hāwī ādāmi’kā “this house is this man’s”.

Very frequently the attributive gen. is combined with the izāfat, which is prob. bor. from Prs.: jinē-kā kačōrākī’ka = kačōrākī’ka jinē “the furze-gatherer’s wife”, tōk-e navōnī’kā thōī “a piece of burnt bread”, ʿū-e yarō’kā “sheep’s dung”, pūst-e bhinikē D “bark of a tree”, qāsed-e ʿZang pādsā’kā “a messenger from king Z.”, nez’āk-e šārī’kā “near the town”, pešī’ Māmād Ḥa’nīfā Ṣahebī’kā ōspēkā “behind the horse of M. H. S.”. Note the position of the gen. suffix in mux tar-ē Mirzā bi’yā-e ḡanādī’kā-i “on the face of his elder brother M.”.

In several cases the izāfat alone is used. This way of expression was probably originally confined to Prs. lw.s, such as kaf-e ʾpā “sole of the foot”, band-e ʾdest “wrist” etc. But we find also: kaf-e ʾdōst “palm of the hand”, mūrē-e ʾpūṭ “spine”, nūr-e ʾdī tečhān-om “the light of my two eyes”, mun kun-e yār-āu “for me, thy friend”, ōsp-e A’ir “the horse A.”.

Note: hāwī ʾyūs tar udhekān-ā “this house belongs to him (i xāna az hamūs)”.

90. The gen. of proper names is generally formed with -ān: kītāb Abdurraṣī’dān-ā “the book is A.’s”, Alī’ān gīrībān “A.’s collar”,
ōsp-e Āmir Hāṭāmān "A. H.'s horse", Māmad Hanīfān pen "with M. H.". But sūr-e Aliḵā "A.'s head", hukm-e Xudā "God's command", mux-e Xudāi-kā, Xudāyān "God's face". Note: Abdurrahāsid dūst tār-e sēb si "A. has an apple in his hand".

91. Gen. pl. is formed by adding -āna: hé ādamāna-in "they belong to these men", ě ĭus mā u biyārāna-m-a "this house belongs to me and my brothers", mejān-e teḵāna-i "the wimpers of his eyes", put-e hudde čūrāna "the back of the two thieves", huss-e ĭudāsāna "all the houses". In a few cases the gen. ends in -ān like the nom.: ma ĝū ĝā-e čūrān "another of the thieves", pušt-e pānān-e bāwīka "before the feet of his father". This is prob. due to Prs. influence.

92. We find a genitivus generis in ḡūšt 'sir 'bīzeki "twenty seers of grain"; but ĝū 'sir 'surb "one seer of lead", ĝū phör gamum "one grain of wheat", ĝū čak āpī "one drop of milk", ĝū tār dōs "one single hair" etc.

Note the use of the gen. in: ha'zār rupai-kā čā "one thousand rupees' worth of tea", ma ĝū ĭosp ham xudāi-kā dā-ē "he also gave away one horse in charity", pušika čā na čhō bō "nothing had happened to his son", be'nā-e udhēḵān māṭōi-kā "an inclination to kill him", kacōi-kān-e buvō "he has carried away the thorns".

93. The gen. in -ika appears to be an original adjective (cf. Av. -ika-), with irregular treatment of the -k- (v. 52). The suffix -ān of proper names and pronouns is derived from the patronymic suffix -āna-. Reg. gen. pl. -āna (*ānām) v. 42.

Ablative.

94. The ablative in -i is used in a local and temporal sense: āwō čī tečhi-m "water went from my eye (:I wept)", dukāndār-e deāti "from a shopkeeper of the village", ēi "out of the well", ĭusī "out of the house" (as an elative, but ĭus tarī "from the house"), sāri "out of the town", dhara-mi "from the ground", e’dā hudde kālājānī āleśi "he seized (from) both his upper arms", ē ī ṭā-i ṭōpikāi-mē āleśi "he seized (from) the two feet of my horse",
nezdīkī “from the neighbourhood”, ha'wī wax'ti “from this time on”, ḫē sa'ārī žā sar kun “from this year until the next”. Note be'nā-ē kur mēva'ī “he took a fancy to (from) fruit”.

In many cases the abl. is combined with ma, or with a preposition: ma γwūsī = γwūsī, da'vūn-e γwūsī “from the interior of the house”, sōr ō'spī “down from the horse”, mēn gar'dī “out of the dust”, mēn čāhī = čāi, az γur'ća'gi “from starvation”, dāl mācīi “from the presence of his mother”.

95. It is doubtful whether the forms in -i are ablative or adjectives in: 'ān Čutvūl-em “I am from Shutul”, Estāwu'fī mardūmān “the men from I”. Pash. S employs the abl. in this case: ā Sā'thāst-im “I am from Satha”. The Pash. form is prob. originally an adj. in -sta-, meaning “living in, belonging to, coming from”. It is perhaps possible that the Par. abl. in -i is likewise derived from an adj. (-ika-?), and was originally employed in predicative sentences such as 'ān Čutvūl-em.

We are scarcely entitled to compare the Oss. abl. in -āi (< gen. -ahya), as this suffix would be dropped in Par.

**Dative.**

96. The dat. in kun is used with verbs denoting “to give” and “to say” (cf. 87): zā'vān-e xu'kā kun-ē 'dā “he gave to his sons”, bōw kun-ē ja'ri “he said to his father”. Cf. also tū Māmad Ha'nīfā 'Sāheb kun 'āsuq čē “thou hast become the lover of M. H. S.” etc.

kun also denotes locality or time: ta-i γu's kun-a ”down to thy house”, sāt kun “to the village”, žū pa'nān puś-ē či, žū pa'nān kun mācī či “her son went by one road, the mother by another road”, ha'wī γax 'gū kun-ē 'āya “this sound reached his ear”, či še'kār (kun) “he went out shooting”, barr-e gir'i'ka kun guda'rēn “they passed round the boulder”, žā ruč kun “another day”, žā sar kun “until the next year”. Cf. also xatt kun-ē 'na či “he did not go according to his letter”, màkhā 'zūrē wā 'huddē bāwchā kun 'na za'khā “our strength does not reach that of you two, father and son”.

**Instrumental.**

98. The instrumental and sociative postposition is *pen* "with". Instrumental: *tevchân pen* "with the eyes", *pašô pen* "with the axe". Sociative: *dûst o ra'fîq pen* "together with friends and comrades", *ma žu pâdšå pen* "with one king", *mun pen (or *kun*) ker-e ba'dî kan* "commit adultery with me", Mâmâd Hanîfân *pen* "with M.H." Note: *mun pen paraman* "let us go with me" (sic!) = "let us two go together".

99. Phonetically *pen* may be derived from *upântai* (v. 43). But semasiologically the comparison with Psht. bândê, Sak bentî "upon, above" (v. EVP. s.v.) is uncertain.

**Locative.**

100. *tar* denotes locality in the widest sense. *γus* *tar* may signify 1) "in the house", 2) "to the house", 3) "from the house".

1) *hê mulk tar, hâwî wa'tan tar* "in this (that) country", *γus* *tar* *nhaštô-a* "he is sitting in the house" (cf. *γus, ma *γus* "in the house"), *dôst tar-e (dôsta-e) sêb sî* "he has an apple in his hand", *mardum tar* "among the people", *man'dô tar* "on the neck", *ćörpâi ta D* "(I lie down) on the bed", *rûz-e dôswî tar* "on the tenth day".

2) *mulk-e dârin tar* "to a far country", *γanîr tar* "to the field", *pa'ram jang tar* "I shall go to the battle".

3) *yax'dân tar* "from the ice-cellar", *hê rupa'i mâ tar 'gure* "take this rupee from me", *hê 'mâneš tar-e khvâjî* "he asked from this man", *xi tar-e 'ghând-a* "he is bigger than his sister", *hê ker ku'ro tar* "having done this work", *ha'vê kér tar-em 'khântôn* "I am laughing at this thing", *dârû tar ... huss mûr* "they all died from the medicine", *bôf tar-e pâ'în* "concealed from his father".

*tar* is generally placed immediately after the noun or its adjective: *sand tar-e haždârikâ* "to the dragon's lips", *dôst-e rôst*
tar-e ūdšā'īka “at the king’s right hand”,  teşk tar-e šērīka “to the lion’s eye”; but also šāxe šērīka tar “to the lion’s horn”.

101. tar 3) is identical with Psht. tar “from” < Av. tarō. But, for semasiological reasons, it seems doubtful whether tar 1), 2) are identical with tar 3). Cf. tar “to, into” in various Pamir dialects e.g. Shgh. tar čid “into the house”. Possibly tar 1), 2) are derived from Av. antar “within”, Prs. dar, cf. 43. Cf. the preposition tar “before, from” (222).

Allative.

102. The postposition wa'nō denotes the direction towards: γus wa'nō “towards the house” dhammer wa'nō “earthwards”, dhār wa'nō “ba taraf-i kōh”, za'il wa'nōi “from the side of the woman (az taraf-i zar)”, bā'lan wa'rō “towards the children”.

wa'nō is of Pash. origin, cf. Pash. L wāya-wāna = γus wa'nō.

Vocative.


Attraction of Case.

104. Attraction of case sometimes takes place: ma šēr ēv wa dhurō, ō ham tāb-e ma'nān-a “quem leonem vidistis, is etiam mihi est subjectus”; harōi kaštika, ēv dōstan-e bastō bēn, thāri ē “cuinus puellae manus ligatae erant, [ea] vidit”; hōwi kattō zāštīka, ēv jā'dū őst 'kantōn, ēdān xóm-e bur “the old woman who practised sorcery, had a dream”.

Adjectives.

105. A great number of adjectives have the suffix -ō or -a (v. 76). The Prs. suffix nāk is employed in forming adjectives from non-Ptrs. nouns also, e.g. lejjānāk “ashamed”.

Adjectives do not change for number; except when used as nouns: danā'nān-au ma'hin-a “thy teeth are dainty”, sēbān-e kārī “nice
apples”, te’chān-ē ‘kānō ka’vōr “blind his eyes”; but kāvī’ān kun na’zar kan “look at her beauties”. The gen. suffix is added to the adjective: ʾosp-ē čaṭī’k’ā ‘zin M “the white horse’s saddle”.

In most cases the izāfat-construction is used: ʾpus-e či’nō “a small boy”, ʾawrō-e dum bi “a fat-tailed sheep”, pa’nān-e dūrin “a long way”.

Without the izāfat: či’nō yus “a small house”, ghān yarōika dum “the tail of a big sheep”, ho’wī kārī kaṣṭē “that good girl”. Note ʾű ʾādam (-e?) bī’ayl “a stupid man”. In some cases this way of expression indicates an intimate connexion between noun and adjective: nērōk ʾosp “stallion”, ʾghān ṭābā “grandfather”. Probably there is a slight difference of meaning between zaʾif-e kaṭī’ō and kaṭī’ō zaʾif “an old woman”. kal ʾpus (cf. ʾpus-e kal) “the bald-headed son” is nearly a compound.

Note: ʾbad-e gunāgār “a bad sinner”, kaṭī’ō zaʾif “an old woman (pir-i zan)”, ʾű-e ʾghānṭ pālāwān = ʾű pālāwān-e ʾghānḍ “a great hero”.

Comparison.

106. Par. has no separate comparative or superlative: bālō kaṣṭe tar ʾghānḍ-a “the boy is bigger than the girl” ʾyus-e má’khān tān ʾyus tar ʾghānḍ-a, “my house is bigger than thine”. ʾě kuʾčōk ḫull kuʾčōk’nān tar ʾghānḍ-a “this dog is the biggest of all”, ʾmēn ḫull-e máne’sān tar tū dānā o ʾagēl tū-e “among all men thou art the wisest and most intelligent”.

The Prs. comparative is borr. in ʾkhor o ʾgu tar ʾbattar-a “he is worse than a donkey or a cow”.

Adverbs.

107. Reg. the pronominal adverbs v. 150 etc. ʾyalaʾba and ʾyulū mean “very”: ʾyalaʾba ʾxūb juʾwān-a “he is a very good young man”, xuʾwaʾx-e ʾyulū “very happy”, ʾyulū nāʾjor hēn “they are very ill”, ʾyalaʾba pālāwān-e ʾghānḍ-a “he is a very great warrior”. 
108. 

Numerals.

Cardinals.

1. źū.
2. dī (du).
3. sī (šu).
4. cūr M, G, T, cūr D, P.
5. pōnc, pōnc D.
6. ẙ (xu).
7. hōt, hōt D.
8. őst, őst D.
9. nō, nū.
10. dōs, dōs D.
11. ź(u)wōs M, źūwās, źūwās G, T, źūwās D, źūwās P.
12. d(u)wōs M, G, T, d(u)wōs D, P.
13. sīdōs, sīdōs D.
14. čačōs, čačōs D.
15. ʻpaes (Phon. ʻpaes).
16. xučōs, xučōs D.
17. ēmōs, ʻemōs P.
18. aʻstōs, aʻstōs P.

19. nams.
20. yušt (Phon. yušt).
21. yušt u ʻźū.
30. šus G, T, D, yužd u dōs M.
40. čēl, čēl.
50. pinjā, pinjā D.
60. sī yuštak D, šas G, T.
70. šīnīm yuštak D.
80. cūr yuštak D.
90. cūr źīm yuštak D.
100. sō M, G, T, ʻpōnc yuštak D.
200. dī sat T.
300. sī sat.
1 000. hažār.
3 300. sī hažār u šu sa'ādā T.
100 000. lak (denoting an indefinite large number).
1 000 000. dōs lak.

Occasionally Prs. cūr "4" is used in some fixed expressions. M used also the Prs. numerals 10—20, e.g. dwāzda "12", pāzda "15", šāzda "16", habda "17", hažda "18", nužda "19".

109. źīm "half". Note M dī wo rhuž rupa'ī "2½ rupee".

źū "1" (*yau < *aiwah, v. 35). Note ʻźū ʻźū phōr źāmar "one apple each", qūca'tān-an ʻźū bin "their strength was equal". Gen. ʻźūka.

dī "2" (*dwayah?)¹, du (dīwā?, v. 48): dī rupa'ī, dī ʻosp, dī hažār rupa'ī, dī ruč, but also du ruč, du lak. Cf. hudinān "both", 148.

¹ Or has Av. duye f. really existed (*dwe < *due < *dua)? Cf. Shgh. dōyn etc. (duye + ʻān), which cannot be derived from *dwaya. (cf. de'tē "door").
śi “3” (*θrayah", śu (θri-, in compounds): śi rupa'i, śi ruč, śi šuṭur, but also śu ruč, śu ha'zár rupa'i.

cör “4” (*cavār < Av. cavcāro). pōnc “5” (Av. panča).

xī “6” (*xś(w)aś), xu. The vowel has been influenced by śi, śu; di, du. *xś(w)aśa would result in *xō. Oroshori (Pamir) xī” (Zarubin, Mj., p. 137) is no parallel, as a regularly becomes i in this dialect. xī ruč, xu ruč.

hōt “7”, hōst “8”, nō “9”, dōs “10” (Av. hāpta, aśta, navā, dasa).

źwēčs etc. “11”, cf. Zaza žwendās. From aivándasa we should expect something like *i(w)ōs; but ėū has been restored.

d(u)vās “12” (*dvādasa).

śi’dōs “13” (śi + dōs). Av. śridasa, *śrayāzdasa could not result in śi’dōs, even if the d had been preserved through the association with dōs. cāvōs “14” (cō̄r + dōs, with weakening of the unstressed vowel).

paeś “15” (*pān̄d > pān̄das > Av. pančadasa). I cannot explain the e except as a trace of the original palatal n. *pān̄d would naturally become *pains, when the palatal n disappeared from the system. Cf. 62.

xwōdōs “16”, ha(t)ōs “17”, aṣtōs “18”, cf. śi’dōs, cāvōs. Anc. háftadasa would have resulted in *hōt(a)s.


yūst “20” (*visati, cf. 30). Most modern Ir. forms are derived from Av. visaiti, but E. Oss. ssāj, Psht. šel. Cf. Pash. wəst.

śus “30” (Av. ōrisaš).

śō “100” (Av. satām).

śi “yūstak “60” etc. In Pash. S, too, we find a similar system:

trēw “60”, trēw nim “70”, cārṇust “80” etc.

Ordinals.

110. awa’li “first”, diu’mi “second”, śiu’mi “third”, cōrumi “fourth”, pōncu’mi “fifth”, dōs’mu “tenth” etc. cōrum’i T “the fourth one”.
Cf. ašōruč "the day before yesterday" (*ā-Šrī-), čašōruč, "three days ago" (*čašru-).

Note: šurwečina "Monday (dōšamba)", xurwečina "Thursday (panč-šamba)".

Pronouns.

111.

Personal Pronouns.

1st Prs. Sg. 2nd Prs. Sg.
Nom. ān (mā M), ān D. Nom. tü, tu (tō?), (uā D).
Ag. mun (mā M, ān T). Ag. tō (tū T), tō D.
Acc. ma mun, mo 'mun D. Acc. ma tō.
Gen. ma'nān, ma'nān D. Gen. tān, tān D.
Dat. 'mun kun etc. Dat. tō kun etc.

1st Prs. Pl.
Nom. mā, mā D.
Ag. mā.
Acc. ma 'mā.
Gen. mā'khān, ma'kān (ma'kān) D.
Dat. mā kun etc.

Reg. 3rd Prs. v. 126.

2nd Prs. Pl.
Nom. wā, wā D.
Ag. wā, wā D.
Acc. ma 'wā.
Gen. wā'khān, wa'kān (wa'kān) D.
Dat. 'wā kun etc.

1st Prs. Sg.

112. Nom. ān. Prob. < *ā with -n from mun, cf. Turf. Phl. S. 'an. But the derivation of *ā (cf. Sāmnānī, Lāzgīr ā, ā) < *azam is irregular. Pash. ā (Pash. S obl. mū) can scarcely be the source of the Par. word. M frequently used the pl. mā, prob. influenced by Afg. Prs. 1sg. mā (but 1 pl. mā): mā-em "I am", mā-m 'jartōn "I am saying", mā (ān) ...-em pāntōn "I understand". In some cases the verb, too, is in the pl.

Ag. mun, D mōn (mun?) < Av. mānā (v. 27) M always mā, T generally the nom. ān (through the infl. of Prs. and Pash.).

Acc. ma 'mun, M also ma 'man (?), D mo 'mun, 'mōn. T stressed ma 'mān, 'mōn (v. 16). Without ma: mun 'put kan T "hide me", ma 'mā žū šēb da M "give me an apple".
Gen. ma'ran < *mana which, being used as a general oblique base, was enlarged by -ana- (v. 90, 93). ma'na γus-a D "it is my house", but mun o tā jang-a T "there is war between thee and me", zur-e mā T "my heart". Instr. and Loc. 'mu(n) pen, 'mā pen (ماين). mā tar (مات) pl. or = mā, mun.
Dat. mun kun, 'mu kun, 'mā kun T.

1st Prs. Pl.
113. Nom. mā < Av. ahmā. mā dāl M = kull-ān "we, all of us": tū-ē ma mā dāl pāntōn "thou knowest us all". A kind of exclusive dual is ān u tū, mā u tū: mā o tū praman T "let us take a walk", dāl 'mun o tō "with me and thee", mē 'mān u tō.
Acc. ma mā, M once shortened ma 'ma.
Gen. mākhān, mākhā (v. 61) + gen. -ān. If this -ān had been the pl. suff. we should have expected -āna (v. 91). γusān mākhān-en "the houses are ours", but γus-e mākhān M.
Dat. mā kun, M also mākān.
Loc. mā tar "from us".

114.
2nd Prs. Sg.
Nom. tū, unstressed tu, D tū (Av. tū).
Ag. tō, D tō (Av. tava). T. generally employs the nom.
Acc. ma tō: ān-em ma tō pāntōn "I know thee", mā ma tō sēb ād M "I gave thee an apple".
Gen. tān. Cf. ma'ran.

2nd Prs. Pl.
115. Nom. wā, D wā; M also tō dāl. From Av. encl. wā, with peculiar treatment of w (cf. 48). Av. xšma-coalesced with ahma-, and a new pl. was formed, as in several other Ir. dialects. D, and in a few cases G, employs wā (wā) for the sg. also, like Prs. šumā.
Gen. wākhān, D wak(h)ān. An analogical form, cf. mākhān.
1st prs. sg. -um < *-a-mai (Zeb. -am etc.).
2nd » » -au, -a < *-a-tu. *-a-tai would have resulted in *-e (Zeb. -e etc).
3rd » » -e < *-a-hai (Zeb. -a, Shgh. -ê).
2nd » » -ou, -ô < *-a-wah (Zeb. -ev, -av).
3rd » » -an, -ê. -an prob. from the 3 pl. of verbs (Zeb. -en, Mj. -at).

1st Prs. Sg.
117. -um (-ım), -êm, after vowels -m, M also -am.
Ag.: 'xûr-um "I ate", 'cûm-um dhôr "I dreamt", 'dhôr-um "I saw", cê-um 'qasam xu'rô "that I have sworn", 'ân . . . 'qasam-um xu'rô "I have sworn", yunt-um, êm yunt D "I found", 'tû kün-êm ki'tâb día M "I gave thee a book".
Acc. 'mêran-um te "they will kill me", lar'zewtôn-um-a "it makes me tremble".
Gen. kâdam-um "my foot", bi'yâ-ım "my brother", bâw-ôm "my father", kâkika 'puš-um "my uncle's son", na'muy-ôm "my husband's sister", bar tar-ôm "to my breast", ha'wâl-e zuñ'îka-m-em . . . buchetôn ân "I am seeing the condition of my heart", ma'nân 'nhamûr-um âhi "I have forgotten", 'dâl-um "with me", 'dôst tar-âm M "in my hand", ôsp-ôm, ôsp-om "my horse".
Dat. dêrâk-um dâ "give me a grape", ki'tâb-üm da "give me a book.

2nd Prs. Sg.
118. Generally -au (-aw) before vowels, -a before consonants. Ag. usually -a.
Ag. 'xôm-a 'dhôr "thou dreamdest", 'xûr-au "thou attest", -a kûr "thou didst", ma ôsp-ê A'îr-a su'rer nhôšt "thou didst mount the horse A." , su'mâr (-a-a) . . . ku'rô "thou hast put collyrium", la'mêwê-î-a "thou hast hung it up". The suffix is repeated in ma
ma'nān ṣāgird-a ham xu de'hō-au "thou hast also beaten my disciple".

Acc. 'aze-m dhōr-a "I saw thee yesterday", mērem-ate, -a te mērem "I shall kill thee".

Gen. bāw-a "thy father", ma bāw-aw-an na γαυτ "they did not find thy father", ta-i γαυς κυν-α "below thy house", žinō-aw-a žīōn "thy wife is coming", kālān-au ġābī-a "thy clothes are greasy", ma kālān-aw ūr "bring thy clothes".

Dat. mā baxšiš-ša dahem M "I shall give thee bakhish"; ūmr-e kama-i-um-a te dahem "I shall give thee the life of my throat".

3rd Prs. Sg.

119. Ag. mā kun-ē ki'tāb dā "he gave me a book"; xūr-ē "he ate"; ma mētār-ān-ē jāyī "he said to the (his?) grooms"; ha'wi pāla-rāwān ma mun-ē dehi "this warrior beat me".

Acc. pai'dā-ē kan M "produce it", wā kun-ē ja'rem "I shall tell it to you". The acc. is not often used. Reg. gu'rim-ē "I seize (it)" etc. v. 156.

Gen. biyāy-ē "his brother", bāw kun-ē "to his father", biyāy-ē ghānd-ē "his big brother", sōr tar-ē khār čēn "they became angry with him".

Dat. ki xabar dā-ē "who has informed him?"

1st Prs. Pl.

120. Ag. xūr-an "we ate", -an kur "we did", -an sār tar dhōr = sār tar-an dhōr-an "we saw in the town", ma bāw-aw-an ānt-an "we brought thy father".

Acc. mēran-an te "they will kill us", khānn-(n)an te mēmā ba'ra "somebody will take us as guests (κατ' ἑαυτόν)".

Gen. puš-an "our son", biyā-n "our brother", husān-nān-an, hosīnān-an D "all of us".
2nd Prs. Pl.

121. Ag. ่างūr-ōu "you ate"; -ō γōnt "you found"; unstressed u in mā kun-u kī-tāb dā "you gave me a book".

Gen. bi'yā-ō "your brother", biyārān-ō "your brothers", bi'yā-e 'ghānd-ōw-an 'dhōr "they saw your elder brother", huss-ōu, huss-u D "all of you", kullinān-ōu "all of you".

Dat. gārem-ōu te "I shall tell it to you (mēguyim-etān)" was said to be more correct than wā kun-ē ga'rem.

3rd Prs. Pl.

122. Ag. ่างūr-an "they ate", -an kur "they did", hal'llā kur "they ran", -an kūrō čūrān "the thieves have done", sōr ोs-àn su'wār kūr-an "they placed (him) on the horse".

Acc. I have found no instance of this suffix used as an acc.

Gen. bi'yā-an "their brother", dōs nafar-an γurca-en "ten persons of them are hungry", pail'ān tar-an "before them". As a partitive gen. usually -ē: kullinān-ē "all of them", ḣānān-ē "others among them", har 'kā kun-ē "to everyone of them", ma huddinān-ē-an ḥōst "they bound both of them". But huddinān-an . . . OPSIS kūr "both of them jumped up", where -an is the ag.; sōre udānān-an muq "their chief died from them".

Note the formal identity of the suffixes for the 1st and 3rd Prs. Pl. In many cases the context only makes it possible to decide which person is meant.

123. The gen. suffix is placed before the ag. or the dat.: ma bāw- aw-an wānt-an "we brought thy father", umr-e kumāi-om-a te da'hem "I shall give thee the life of my throat". It is doubtful whether an acc. suffix can be used before the ag.; reg. lamēwō-i-a "thou hast hung it(?) up" cf. 163. Generally the acc. of the personal pronoun is used in this case, e.g. ma mun-a āčūr, ma mun āčūr-a "thou atest me"; but cf. Orm. xwalak-at-am.


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"This here".
ekwiyak

"That there".
ōkwiyak.

1 Used also as an adj.
ê, hê “this”.

126. ê is usually a subst., and is frequently employed as a personal pronoun 3 sg. ê ôst xartôn “he was eating", ê-a xartô D “he is eating”, ê chî “he went”, ê ghând-a, ó cêñô-a “this one is big, that one is small”. Rarely ê is used as an adj. instead of hê: ê ñûs “this house”. T employed ê as an ag.: ê hövî ’pî... łam dà “she put that milk...” (cf. 206). M has ê as a pl. in ê yalâ’ba ’âdam-en “they are many people”; but in this instance the noun, too, is put in the sg.

hê is always an adj. and is used in all cases, sg. and pl.: hê ñûs w’dân-a “this house is his”, hê cûrân “these thieves”, hê pûdsâîka biyâ “this king’s brother”, hê üda’mâna-in M “they belong to these men”, hê mullâ ja’rî “this mulla said”, hê sâr tar “in this town”, hê ker ’ki kurô “who has done this work?”. D: hê mânîs “this man”, but also hê tâ ñûs-a “is this thy house?”. In some cases hê may be translated with the definite article, v. 78.

The derivation of ê and hê is uncertain. Av. aësô, aëtât, and prob. aëm, would result in *î; but gen. sg. m. ahe (Gath. ahyâ) > ê? h- has been introduced from hô, q.v.

Pl. êän, T usually iân, is formed in a regular way from ê: êän xârân “they may eat”, iân çatu’kén “they fled”, iân ja’rî “they said” (as ag.). Note: i palîtânâ ‘these regiments’ (XXI, 25).

127. The oblique base is êdê (e’dê): êdê dhôr “he saw”, êdê pen “with him” (or, as a collective, “with them”), sôr êdê “over him”. Note: sôr-e e’dê tar “to his head” (with êdê instead of êdân on account of tar, cf. 104). -dê must be a secondary affix, as old intervocalic dentals are not retained.

Gen. êdân: hê ñûs êdân-a “this house is his”, e’lm-e êdân “his wisdom”, nez’dik-e êdân “near him”, êdân sôr “his head”. But once êdâ ’mûr “he died”? ëdân is formed by adding the gen. suffix -ân to êdê. The gen. pl. is formed with the pl. suffix -ân: êdânân. It is used not only as a gen.: hê ñûs e’dânân-a “this house is theirs”, but as an oblique case in general: êdânân pen “with them”, êdânân kur “they did”.
128. 'mendé is composed of ma + èdè with nasalization (v. 62). It is used as a subst.: 'mendé 'lam daheman "let us leave him", 'mendé-an òle'sì "they seized him", 'mendí (-è) ja'řī "she said to him". 'mà 'mendé 'dhōryō, 'mendé-em 'na dhōryō "I have seen this one, but not that one". As an adj. in sg. and pl.: 'mendé 'âdam-em 'pânton "I know this man", 'mendé 'mâl-ē 'âuwr "he brought these goods", 'mendé èx-è 'ghit "he seized this egg", 'mendé bu'tân-è 'ghit "he seized these idols", 'mendé huddè bâlân-è bur ban'di "he captured both these children". Either 'mendé or hè may be used; but mendé is the more frequent form (cf. 201): 'mà 'mendé âdam 'mériman "we shall kill this man", 'mendé 'âdam-an 'mât "we killed this man"; but hè 'âdam-a 'mât "thou killedest this man", 'mà hè 'âdam-an mâta bôn "we had killed this man". Note: 'mendé pâđšâ'ū'ka laška- râñ-an ña'kas dà "they defeated the armies of this king", where we should expect *ma èdán (cf. 104). 'mendé ma 'muc-è Mahmad Hârîfâ 'dhôr "M.H. saw her face".

We should expect the pl. of mendé to be *mendân. Once I heard D: 'mà nà mandân lam dahêm "I do not allow them (na mêmânam-iş)". But the Shutul form is mendânân, which has been influenced by èdânân: mendânân-è 'mât "he killed them (these)". 'ân mendânân ñò dahêm "I shall give them barley".

ò, hō "that".

129. The inflexion of ò, hō is parallel with that of è, hè and has been influenced by it. hō is derived from Av. ĕau, ò poss. from aom or some other form of the stem *auca. It is also possible that Av. hō might result in Par. hō.

The forms of ò, hō are employed in a similar way to those of è, hè. ò is used as a personal pronoun for persons and things a little further removed than those denoted by è: ò 'mendé kaś kor, ò 'mundè; na ò dha'ram tar cha'řī, na ò "this one (he) grappled with that one (her), and that one (she) grappled with this one (him); neither this one (he) nor that one (she) fell to the ground".
hō: hō 'mānes "that man", hū p-pǒnc-e ja'ri "all the four of them said", hū γus w'dān-a "that house is his", hū γus.pdf sn udānān-a "those houses are theirs". ṥān: ṣān jōr hēn, ṣān nājōr hēn "these are well, but those are unwell", uā phārì 'āyēn T "those came from that side".

130. uđē: uđē ja'ri M "he (that one) said", pēs uđē "after that", dāl uđē-m ja'ri "I have said in his presence", mun'dēk uđē kun da "give that thing to that man (hamū čiz ba hamū ādam bide)".

w'dān: w'dān te'dhān "his eyes", āṣuq-e w'dān "her lover". w'dānān: hū γus.pdf sn uđānān-a "those houses are theirs".

131. mundē: mundē-m dhōr "I saw him", mōnde kāstī dhōr "he saw that girl", tu mundē mānes bućhēn "do you see this man?" mun'dānān: mun'dānān zō daheh "I shall give barley to those".

ha'wi "this very", hō'wi "that very".

132. Emphatic adjective forms are formed by adding i to hē, hō. hō + i > *hō'wi, shortened into hō'wi, hō'wi. hē + i > ha'wi (rarely he'wī) with w from horī, and unstressed ē > a.

ha'wi: ha'wi "spō Sultān Mahmūd bin "this dog was S. M", ha'wi γus ha'wi ādamīkā "this house belongs to this man", ha'wi γus.pdf sn ha'wi ādamānā pl., ha'wi ker-un kuřō "I have done this work", ha'wi zā'ik'a bāi M "the price of this thing", ha'wi šār ha'wi zā 'mā dhōr M "I saw this thing in this town", ha'wi zinān "these saddles".

hō'wi: hō'wi kāstī ā'yō "that girl has come", hō'wi bāw-ē ja'ri "that father of his said", hō'wi ādāmīka jīnc "the wife of that man", hō'wi dhār tar "on that hill", hō'wi dhārān "those hills", hō'wi zā'if o hō'wi mullā ... nḥaštān "that woman and that mulla sat down".

he'wiyak "this very", hō'wiyak "that very".

133. Strongly emphatic forms, referring to a recently mentioned word, are formed by adding -ak to *hē'wī (ha'wi), hō'wī (hō'wī): he'wiyak "this very", hō'wiyak "that very". Cf. Prs. ānāk "behold here, here is", ānāk "behold yonder, there is", v. Phillott, § 35, o).
They are generally used as substantives: hew'ya'k yulū sargardān čhō “this very man has become much distressed”, hew'ya'k ēn sarē bas-um te ka'na “this (just mentioned) [grain] may suffice for me during one year”, na če hew'ya'k biite pa'nān ē gwī-a “may he not take this very road again”, (adj.); kāri hō'ya'k-a če magam biyārān-au ma mun 'mēran “that (other thing) is better, viz. that thy brothers may kill me”.

The pl. of hew'ya'kān: hew'ya'kān yulū nājōr hēn “these ones are very ill”.

Although hew'ya'k is used once as an acc. (v. above), this stem is chiefly found in the nom. On the other hand ed(e)hēk (ēdē + (hēk) is used in the obl. cases only, and the two stems are probably complementary. In the same manner udēk is formed from 'udē. The inflected forms in -ān, -āna are used as substantives only.

134. e'dhēk: 'ān peš e'dhēk ēspō pa'ram “I shall follow this very dog”, e'dhēk tar-um 'pānt “I understood for this very reason”, e'dhēk kun “to this very person”, udēhēk: udēhēk ēspō kun “to this very dog”.

The gen. sg. is formed with -ān: edhēkān, udhēkān. hāwī āmarā edhēkān-en “these apples belong to this very man”, hē 'γus udhēkān-a “this house belongs to that very man”.

The gen. pl. is edhēkāna with the same suffix as the gen. pl. of nouns. ēdēhēkānān, which would have been parallel with ēdānān, was perhaps too heavy a form. hāwī 'marā edhēkāna-hēn (or edhēkānā) “these apples belong to these very people”.

135. The acc. forms are men'dhēk (mende'hēk), mun'dhēk: ē jādu-gar-a, men'dhēk ba'rōr “he is a sorcerer, take him away”, men'dhēk ēspō-ē ē dhōr “when he saw that very dog”, men'dhēk ēmar men'dhēk māneš da “give this very apple to this very man”, ēdē mun'dhēk 'elm . . . xānī “she recited that very charm”, mun'dhēk kun “to him”; as pl.: ē mun'dhēk suwārān ja'ri “he said to those very horsemen”.

A separate acc. pl. exists, however: men'dhēkān 'xē kan “unbind these very [hands]”, men'dhēkān ēwār phar 'amar da “give some apples to these very people”.
136. Still more emphatic forms are ekwiyak (*ēk + hewyak?) “this here (ēn hamī)”, and ōkwiyak “that there (ōn hamū)”. We also find ēke mew’dēk ‘manēs “this very man here (ēn hamira)”, ōkū māniš D “that man”, ḫalavba ʾōsp-ēn, ēkī ʾādamī’kā “there are many horses, they belong to this very man”, ēkī zā la’mēw “hang up this very thing”, ēkō ‘mūrdā-e pusćkā “this corpse here is thy son’s”. Cf. the pronominal adverbs ēk etc. (150).

Reflexive Pronouns.

137. The reflexive pronoun is xu (Av. x’atō) “own, self”: xu penē with himself”, čēm ʾxu wanō-i “I went towards herself”, mēn ʾxu tar ʾdūst čēn “they became friends among themselves”, xu kun-um “to myself (ba xud-um)”. sēbān-e mākhān ʾzu ʾphōr ʾxu kun-an da “give us our apples, one single apple to each of us”, xu ʾsōr-a larzēwi “thou didst shake thy head”.

ma xu ʾsōr is contracted into maxsōr, and is used as a single word: maxsōr-an xā’rāb kur “they destroyed themselves”, maxsōr nemāyū kuʾrō “they have shown themselves”.

138. The gen. of xu is xu’kān: zāyān-e xu’kān “his own sons”, xu’kān nūkar’ān kun “to his own servants”, xu’kān-um-a “it is my own (az xud-i mā-s)”. sēb-e ma’nān xu’kān-um da “give me my own apple”. But also xu ʾyus “his own house” etc.

Instead of xu, xu’kān the pronominal suffixes are frequently used: ma ʾōsp-om ʾyont M “I found my horse”, ʾxu’mōr ʾhar kī ma wa’tan-ē “everyone shall go to his own country”. The same is the case in Prs.

An emphatic form of xu is xu’xu “himself”: Ali ʾān xu’xu-m-em “I myself am Ali”, xu’xu-ē “she herself”, xu’xu-ē pāla’wā “the warrior himself”, tu xu’xān “thou thyself”, xu’xu-ē ʾtar-ē da ʾāya “he himself arrived before her”.

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Relative Pronouns.

139. The relative pronoun, or particle, is țe: țar ki țe “every one who”, țar țe țe “everything which”, țâ-țe țe lașkar țin “whatever army he had”, hu țpuș-e țkor-om țe țchî, țchî “that blind son of mine who went away, has gone away (for good)”; ho’wi țza’if țe țașuq-e țMâmad țHanîfân țîn “that woman who was the mistress of M. H.”, pâla’wân țe țnâm-țe țZai’yân țîn “a warrior whose name was Z.” Without a verb: țzâî țe țbhûr țo țmâl-e ma’nà țham țbur “[they] also carried away the rest of my burdens and goods”.

140. When denoting other cases than nom. țe is frequently, as is also the case in Prs., supplemented by a demonstrative, or a pronominal suffix: ho’wi țmulâ țe țja’rî țbôn-țe “the mulla who (ag.) had said”; but also men’dhêk țmulâ-țe, țe țja’rî țbôn țe . . . , țnhânt “[she] made this mulla, who had said that . . ., sit down”. Cf. also: ma țsêr țe țwâ țdhûrê, țo țham țtâbh-e ma’nân-ța “the lion (acc.) which you have seen, is also in my power” (cf. 104).

țe, ți occurs as a relative in Psht. and not infrequently in Afg. Prs.

141. Instead of relative clauses we in some cases find paratactic constructions: țzû pâla’wê, țnâm-țe țSa’-e țZarînka’mar țbi, țâga “a warrior whose name was Sh. Z., came”, țsaira țZai’yân pâla’wê, țașuq-e țw’dân-ța, țénâ-i te “unless the warrior Z., who is his beloved, brings him”, țhar țkî-an țyunt, țmêrtan-țen “they use to kill everyone they find”, țker-a ku’rî, țxîb ker-ă “the work thou hast done is a good work”, țpuș-e țghànd-ê, țMîr’zû țnâm dêrî țbôn, țo țham țrâhî țchî “his eldest brother whose name was M., went away, too”.

Interrogative Pronouns.

142. țî “who?”, țî țê “who is coming?”, țki țâra țî-e țXa’bâr “who shall dig the ditch of Kh.?”, țhê ker țî ku’rî “who has done this work?”, țî țxabar țdâ-țe “who brought the news about it?”, țî țtar “from whom?”.
With the substantive verb ka- is used: 'tük-ka-ì “who art thou?”, kà “who is it?”, 'nàm-e 'tàn (edhè'kàn) kà “what is thy (his) name?”, 'wà 'ka hér “who are you?”, 'kay-en “who are they? (kisland)”.

The gen. is kùn: kán-a “whose is it? (as kist)”; kàn puś “whose son?”; ka'lam kàn-a “whose is the pen?”.

Probably ka is the original nom.; kì is borr. from Prs., or derived from *kahya (but cf. ė < *ahya(?), 126). ė “what?”; ė ė “hál-a “what matter is this?”; ė ė-a “what is it?”, nùdā-a ė-a “what is thy intention?”, ė ‘ër dèr “what work hast thou got?”.

143. Corresponding to Prs. kudám “which?” we find khán, khán: khán ‘måneš-a “which man is it?”, ‘khán zá-a “which thing is it?”, ‘sèr ê ‘khà râlàvâni'ka-a “the head of which warrior is this? (i sàr-i kudám râlàvâni as).” Cf. ‘khânjáì “whereto, wherefrom”. khán is probably merely a phonetical variant of khán. Reg. the derivation of khán < *kaðám < katâma- v. 62.

144. ë “how many”; ë ‘måneš “how many men?”. Cf. Psht. cò < Av. čegs.


zànèngi “of what kind?”, v. 152.

Indefinite Pronouns.

145. khán is used as an indefinite pronoun “some, somebody”. Cf. the use of kudám in Afg. Prs. (Phillott, § 37, e). khán ‘zá-m ‘gása “something stings me”, khán wà’tâne ‘zà târ “to some other country”, khânèñìkà “it is somebody’s”. khán occurs in ‘har khán “everybody” v. 143.

khin “anybody”: ‘agar khin bë “if there is anybody”, khin tar-è “from anyone of them”, khin na ‘rûnt “nobody found it”, (hèè) khin na hà “nobody is there”, khin xà’bar na pàrì-a “nobody shall become aware of it”, zà khin-è te ènen na ‘nara “nobody else can bring it”.

khin < *kahya + nà, cf. enclitical Av. nà (Air. Wb. 1052, s. v.
har) with interrogative pronouns: kām nā "wen", kahyācit nā "eines jeden".

hēc "anything" (Prs.): hēc parvā na 'dēran "they have no shame", hēc kī, hēc khān with na: "nobody". Reg. hēc as adv. v. 152.

146. har kī, "everybody": ma har kī-m khwājewtōn "I am asking everybody", har khān: har khān-e pādšā bin "everyone of them was a king", har khān kun-e "to everyone of them". har khān: har khān ē chī raśīk-e zaajīka, ḥāl-e xarāb-a "whoever becomes a woman's friend, his condition is bad".

har čē "whatever": har čē kānan xu kānan "let them do whatever they will do", har čē kūr, dehen-e na nari "whatever he did, he could not beat him".

147. čā "some" (cf. 144): čā ruč "some days". Usually čāwarz, M čāwar: čāwar ṭōp "some horses".

zā "anything": zā-i dhēwem "I want something". < Av. zāta- (cf. Voc. s.v.).

žā pl. žānān "another, other". žā khān "anybody else". < *yutāka- (cf. Voc. s.v.).

felānī "a certain, So-and-So" (proximate), felāna (remote). Prs.

148. huss(s) "all": hussōn, "all of you", mā huss-an "all of us", hussār ma mun ēkun jantā D "why do you all beat me?", mā kun huss kun-an "to all of us", huss-ēn samēri "all of them are swordsmen", zahēn . . . huss "they all arrived", ma pairādarān hussika ūrō ē urt kōr "he cut off the heads of all the guards".

A special pl. form is hussinān: ṭōp mā khān hussinān-an-a "the horse belongs to all of us" (D. hussinān-an-a), hussinān-ō nhinōr "sit down all of you".

huddī, huddē "both": huddī kaštē-an "both girls", hudde bālān "both boys", hē huddē "both of them", hočīhudde ērān "both those thieves". Frequently we must translate e.g. hudde ṭōpān "the two horses".

huddinān "both": huddinān-an "both of us", mā huddinān na-yōn xareman "we both eat bread", mā huddinān ērān weheman ṭōp gurimon "let us both go to the town and buy a horse", ma ērān
Pronominal Adverbs.

Adverbs of Place.

150. ēk “here”, ōk, uk “there” (cf. the demonstrative pronouns ē, ō 124, ēke etc. 136): ēk āra bōn “he had come here”, uk ham xunuk-ā “it is cold here, too”.

ēkā “then (ēna)”, v. Voc.

Emphatic forms are en(c)hāk “in this very place (haminjā)”, un(ō)hāk “in that very place (haminjā)”. en’hāki “hence (here)”, un’hāki “thence”. Still more emphatic is ēken’hāk “in, to this very place” (v. 136).

Less emphatic are eke’sṭāk “here”, ōke’sṭāk “there” (remote). But ōkān ōke’sṭak “in that very place (ōna ūnjā)”.

ukī M “there”.

e’cend, ečendī “hence, from this place or time”, učend, učendī “thence, from that place”. A kind of pl. occurs in učendānī “from those [hills]”. Ėcend perhaps contains an element derived from Av. hača “from” (cf. Soghd. ēcan).

pi “on this side”, pū “on that side” < *pāti-aita-, -awa-? phyāri “from this side”, phāri “from that side”. Poss. with abl. -i from *pīhār < *pōd-dār < *pāti-aita-tāra; *pōhār < *pōd-dār < *pāti-awa-tāra.

kū, kūi “where?” (Pra.). har kū “everywhere”, ku’cend “whence?”. 
‘khânjâi “where?, whence?, somewhere”, ‘har ‘khânjâi “wherever”.
‘kâwanô, ‘kâwun “in which direction?, in some direction or other”
(cf. 102).

Adverbs of Time.
151. ba‘dê, emphatic ba‘dêk “now” (v. Voc.), ‘yâri M “now”,
betê “again”.
ka‘bî “when”, ‘har ka‘bî “whenever”, ‘he‘c ka‘bî na “never”.
nî “now, to-day”, nîhêk M, G, nîhak D “to-day”, nîxa‘wân
“to-night”.
a‘ze “yesterday”, a‘sôrüc M, G, (a‘ze na) a‘sôroc D “the day be-
fore yesterday”, čašôrüc G, čašôroc D “three days ago” (v. 110).
sa‘bâ “to-morrow”, passa‘bâ M, širüc G, sa‘bâ na širüc D “the
day after to-morrow”.
‘asur G, ‘asur D, āsûrêk M “this year”, pa‘râsur G, pa‘râsur M,
žâsar (?) D “last year”, žâsar G “next year”.

Adverbs of Manner and Degree.
152. ‘hega “so much”.
he‘c na “not at all”.
intention?)”.
‘čeka “how much?” ‘čeka do‘rin “how far?”
za‘nêng “how?, in what manner?”.
‘he‘c čâ na “nowise”.

The Particles te and č.
153. The particle te is very frequently used in connexion with
the pronominal suffixes, when the verb is in the aorist. It makes
no difference whether the pronominal suffix represents the gen. or
the acc. (dat.). The ag., of course, cannot occur in connexion with
the aorist. I have not been able to discover the exact shade of
meaning that this particle is intended to convey; but it seems to
be slightly emphatic. It is possible that te is derived from the enclitic pronoun 2 sg. *tai. Cf. the pronominal suffix -a; but the t may have been preserved in this particle, which was treated as an independent, even if enclitic, word. Semasiologically the development of an enclitic pronoun 2 sg., a dativus ethicus, into a general emphatic particle is possible. Cf. Psht. dé, di, Orm. di (EVP. s.v.).

154. Examples. 1) The pron. suff. represents an acc. or dat.: mér-an te *they will kill us*, źū *sēb-a te da'hem (or da'hem-a te) "I shall give thee an apple", ním-e pādšāhī-m-a te da'hem "I shall give thee half my kingdom", tō kun-e te da'hem "I shall give it to thee", khāi zā-m te qaṣa "something bites me", pha'rūtem-e te "I sell it", cēkun-e te da'hē "why dost thou give it?"

2) The pron. suff. represents a gen.: ma bāw-a te mērem, bībāw-a te ka'īnem "I shall kill thy father, and make thee fatherless", jān-un te swīnīm "I shall wash my body", jīn-e-au te khōr phera "thy wife will turn into a donkey", berkhitō-en če ḍōśān-a te haran-e "I fear that thy horses will be lost", ḍāda-m te ma mun mērā "my father will kill me", xu xu-m te xa'rem "I shall eat (it) myself", huddān-an te nīhīnenan "both of us shall sit down", xiya'īrōk kun-un te "to my nephew", ja'rem dāl ḍā-m te "I shall say in the presence of my husband", ẓund tar-an te de'hem ān "I shall strike thy mouth", gūrīm te khān ẓāi para "where wilt thou go from my embrace?", bi Mahmad Ha'nīfa ẓār-om te ṣār tar 'na param "I will not go to the town without my friend M.H." etc.

155. In many sentences of exactly the same type as those given above te is not used:

xāren-e (te) na nārem "I cannot eat it", čē ʿān-a da'hem? ʿumr-e kama-i-un-a te da'hem "what shall I give thee? I shall give thee the life of my throat", mērem-e "I shall kill him", aga ʿēnēn-e na nārem, xu xa'rem te "if I cannot bring it, I shall certainly eat it", hōwī kītāb-um da, čē gūrīm-e "give me that book that I may take it", ʿax ka'īnem če mēran-aw "I shall call them, that they may kill thee", ʿān ka'īnem tārif-e techān-ā "I shall praise thy eyes", ʿān-e pa ʿbhāi gūrīm "I shall buy it", tā čē Zai'rūn bāw pen-e
be'zen 'na ēnem, wa'tan tar-ē 'na param "as long as I do not bring Z. bound together with her father, I shall not go home".

156. ē. This particle, too, is used in connexion with a verb in the aorist, without any appreciable change of meaning. In many cases it is difficult to distinguish this ē from the pronominal suffix 3 sg.

Eg. mērem-ē might be translated "I shall kill him". But the same -ē is found after intransitive verbs: 'merem-ē "I shall die", 'param-e "I shall go", 'khūfem-ē "I shall cough". It is not always attached to the verb: 'āne ēim (/Layout) "I shall come", 'ān-e ma 'lō janem D "I shall kill thee", 'ān-e param "I shall go", 'nī 'wēyār-e 'ān param "I shall go to night", ma 'lō-ē kha'nan "they will laugh at you", 'mā-e ma 'lō janiman D "we shall kill thee", ēē, ēe ma 'lō-e 'gapp janem "come, let me say a word to thee", 'ē-e ma 'lō 'zā-e 'zū phērēnāa "he will turn thee into something else".

But frequently without ē: 'mā o 'tū 'paraman "let you and I go" (but 'ān o 'tū-ē . . . 'paraman).

It is possible that this particle may, after all, be etymologically identical with the pronominal suffix 3 sg., employed as a dativus ethicus (cf. 153).

Verbs.

Verbal Nouns and Participles.

Verbal Nouns.

157. The infinitive or verbal noun is formed by adding -ō, usually to the preterite stem. Cf. the infinitives in -ak, -uk in Orm., Ishk. etc.

Eg. 'rhistō-ē γουλū-m kyr "I did much weeping (wept much) for her", 'chō-au ra'wa' nā " thy going is not suitable (thou oughtest not to go)", ma'lāmat ku'ro ba'kār nā "there is no need to make reproaches", 'čimō-au žerēkā "thy walk is like a partridge's". With a preposition or postposition: da 'dehō cha'ri "he started fighting (dar zadan uštād)", da na'yōn 'xūrō chēn "they started eating bread", 'sōr na'yōn xu'ro hōst "he was eating bread", 'ker
kwarō tar 'mundē-m ādhēr "when I had finished my work, I saw him", zā 'xawō tar pa'riz-em "I abstain from eating anything".

The verbal noun is sometimes put in gen.: xāes-e jīnc bo'roikhā "a desire to take a wife (xāis-i zan burdan)", bēnā-e udhēkā mātōi̇ka "an intention to kill that one".

But from the pres. stem: ba me'ro-au te da'hem "I give thee over to be killed", bu'chō-e yārika "seeing the friend (didan i yār)".

158. Another verbal noun, ending in -en (-in) is used only in connexion with nar: "to be able". The e renders a direct derivation from a verbal noun in -ana- difficult.

'xaren-e (te) na narem, nā-m narē xaren M "I cannot eat it", jang ka'nen-e na'rē "canst thou fight him?", è yūs xarāp-a, xaren-e te na narē "this meat is bad, thou canst not eat it", ēnen-e te na nara "he cannot bring it", -ā dūćen 'nartōn "he can milk", mā-imān ja'oren na 'nartān M "we cannot speak", um ja'oren na na'rī "I could not speak", tū cā 'zin na na'rī "why couldst thou not come?".

Participles.

159. The present participle ends in -en (-in), with -n- < *-nt-. It is chiefly used in connexion with verbs of motion: hala ka'nen ōya "he came running", xuśwaxti ka'nen u 'khanen ... ōya "he came making merry and laughing", men'dānān gurūn-ā 'dārī tar 'whēvétōn "taking these with him he goes to the hills", ber'khen ber'khen (ru'hen ru'hen) ōya "he came fearing (weeping) continually", de'hen de'hen 'sāri ma 'bōr ka'nōr "drive him out of the town beating him continually", ruč ba ruč wa'khē ēmen 'whētōn "he walks, growing higher day by day (rūz ba rūz kalān śūdā mēra)", bi'yam 'nīn 'khanen "sit down peacefully, laughing (xanda kada)", zān mun'dēk kaštē bāw pen-ē be'zen na 'ēnem "so long as I do not bring that girl binding (having bound) her together with her father (basta karda)", xu'xu-ē raśīq pen-ē 'aiss kanen bē "may she be enjoying herself with her lover".

In some of the examples above the Par. participle in -en
corresponds to a Prs. past participle; but in Afgh. Prs. this form (e.g. zanda kada) is sometimes used to denote an action simultaneous with that of the finite verb of the sentence.

160. A participle or verbal noun in -en is used also to form the passive: be'zen či 'ē-e Xa'ībār “the canal of Kh. was built (basta šud)”, kw'en či “it was cut off”, ma’hōk gu'rīn čō D “the moon has been eclipsed”, na'γōn pe'ēn čhō “the bread has become baked”, de'hen čhēn “they were beaten”, tū ham 'mērien pa'rī Phon. “thou, too, wilt be killed”, me'ren čhī M “he was killed”, ūn-em 'berkhītō-em čē 'mērien 'na pa'vī “I fear that he will be killed (mētarsam ki kušta na šawa)”. Note the forms in -ien.

It is doubtful whether this participle is identical with one of the other forms in -en, or is connected with the similar Pash. passiva construction: la'ya-m ha'nen biti “my brother was killed” (Par. *bīyā-m ja'nen čhī).

161. The present participle in -tōn, pl. -tan is used in forming the present and imperfect tenses (v. 193, 197).

162. The past participle in -ō, (-a) is used in forming the perfect and the pluperfect. (v. 207, 211).

Once we find: suwār-ē 'nhōst, hai ku'vō čhī “he mounted a horse, and rode off having whipped it” (pres. part. hai kanen).

163. The past participle in -ōi is used as an adjective: laškarān ham ma 'sēr sōr ōsp bhār ku'vōi 'dhōr “the soldiers saw the lion loaded on the horse”, la'mēwōi-a “it is hung up (āwēzān kadaqī-s)”. Without any preterital meaning: la'ū-e kha'nōi, lab-e kha'nō “a laughing lip”, pl. lauvēn-e kha'nōi. As a noun: na'vōn'i kā thōvān “burnt pieces of bread”. In some instances it is used to form a passive preterite: 'dhōr čē dhāvī am hupātōi, 'sōr-ē ham 'gōš ku'vōi, a'bro u me'jān-ē ham 'gōš ku'vōi etc. “he saw that his beard had also been pulled out, the hair of his head had been cut, and his eyebrows and eyelashes had been cut”, čhī čē kacōi kān-ē bu'vōi, thēwōi “he went to carry away the thorns, they were set fire to (suṣṭānd ast)”, cf. la'mēwōi-a above.

164. An isolated form, which occurs once in the Phon. text, is
böstun: böstun böstun-e-an böst "they bound him firmly (: binding and binding?)".

165. The conjunctive participle ends in -amän (<*-māna-?). Eg. ćema'mā xara'mā xu pen-un uštā "when I had gone and told him it, he rose with me (rafšanā ki guftom-iš hamrā-i mā xēst)", na'yōn xara'mān uštā-eman (= na'yōn-an če xūr) "when we had eaten the bread, we rose", ʿphrī ćia'mā ʿdōst-e ʿsamīzēr tar ʿbur "when he had come from that direction, he laid his hand on the sword (az ūsun āmada, āmadāni)", ćema'mā mun'dī dhōr "having walked about he saw him". Note: tā ḏāda-m jör čema'mā "until my father gets well (tā padar-om jör šudan)". -amānī in bā yal ʿurgā'mānī .bumptech i ʿō "she fell, having been seized in his arms".

166. The gerundive is formed by adding -anē to the root: ḡō giḥūn ḡus xara'nē-a "all this grass is eatable (xurdāni)", kēr-e ćema'nē bin, ʿchi "there was a work, which ought to (could) be done, and it was done (ḵūr-i šudānī būt, šud)".

Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.
"To Be".

Present.

167. Sg. 1 Prs. hēm, -em "I am". Pl. hēman-em.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sg. 1 Prs.} & \quad \text{Pl. hēman-em.} \\
2 & \quad hē, -ē. \\
3 & \quad hā, hā, -ā, -a; sī. \\
\end{align*}
\]

hēm etc. cannot be derived direct from Av. ahmī etc. Probably the stem hē- is due to the influence of the verbs in -aya- (v. 185c). (h)ā etc. might, however, be derived from astī. For the personal terminations, v. 189.

168. The enclitic forms are mostly used as auxiliaries. The difference between (h)ā and -ā is not always observed: ʿkūc-a ʿkantōn, ʿsāt kun-ā ʿṣītōn "he moves (they move), and comes to the village"; unhāk-ā wehētōn, če liwōn kwērāt-ā yulū ʿkantōn "he goes (they go) there to make much ghee and curds". But ūš ʿūr hā "there is one thief", ūš dūkāndār hā "there is a shopkeeper": ʿxub ker-a "it is a good work", yalaba ʿxub jwēwān-a "he is a very good young man".

6 — Kulturforskning. B. XI.
khin 'na ḥā, mālā yālā-a, xâu-cand-an 'na ḥā "nobody is present, the beasts are let loose, and their master is not present". Sometimes the auxiliary 3 sg. is omitted: ḍhōr-e ē ḍū 'sēr-e 'nar "he saw that it was a male lion". Note also: ṣamšēr-e ham ḍōst tar haṿālā-i kōr Aḷī "with the sword in his hand A. struck a blow at him"; ṣēlābān-an luc ḍyēn "they came with drawn swords".

In Pash. S we find a, ā used indiscriminately.

169. sī expresses existence, with regard to inanimate things: ḡū tar-au ḍspō ḥā "there is a louse in thy ear", but ḡū tar-au ṣard sī "there is dust in thy ear"; ḍhar ṣēw ca u ai ḍuk ferīmān-a, ṣaftālu u ṣēw nāḥpātī sī, avyār u beḥī ham ferīmā sī "all kinds of fruit are plentiful there, there are apricots and apples and pears; grapes and quinces, too, are there in plenty".

sī is borr. from Pash. S sī, (< sēte), with substitution of s for the palatal ṣ (v. 68). Derivatives of sēte are frequent in Dardic languages (v. Report, 72), and it is more probable that sī is borr. from Pash., than that it should be derived from Av. saētē, with semasiological influence from Pash.

170. A present form bitōn from the root bī- occurs once: sū mēḥiy-ā tī bitōn "the mulberries last for three months".

Aorist.

171. Sg. 1 Prs. bīm "I may, shall be". Pl. bīman.

2 bī. bīsīr.

3 bē. bēn.

172. This form is used in the same sense as Prs. bāṣam: nājōr bīm "I shall be ill"; tū ḍhō, ḍān-e enḥāk bīm "go thou, I shall stay here"; ḍpuš-e ṭān ṭūn ṭūnu, tu xuʾxā-ʾu jaʾnō bī "thy son died, thou thyself wilt remain alive"; Aḷī jaʾnō bē "if A. is alive"; ḍaga ṭu khu biʾyā bē, hārid bē "if there shall be a brother for me (: if I shall have a brother), let him be good"; khin na bē ma ṣus "let nobody be at home". For further details reg. the use of the aorist v. 191.

For the personal terminations v. 189. Regarding the derivation of bē- (v. 185b).
Imperative.

173. Sg. 2 Prs. bē, Pl. 2 Prs. bēör (bīör) G, bōr T. čub bē "be silent".

Subjunctive.

174. na bādā (ma bādā), na bādāi "let it not be, lest", borr. from Prs. mabādā.

Past Tense and Imperfect.

175. Sg. 1 Prs. ḥastam, bēm "I was". Pl. ḥastaman, bēman.
   » 2 » ḥasta, bē.
   » 3 » ḥōst, bin (bī), bōn.

176. Acc. to G there is no difference in meaning between ʾān nājōr ḥastam and ʾān nājōr bēm "I was ill"; nājōr ḥōst = nājōr bin etc. Cf. also: zāī če ʾaškar-ē bin (bēn) "all the soldiers he had"; but zāī če ōsp(ān) . . . ḥōst "all the horses he had".

  ḥastam is, however, usually a durative imperfect: "I dwelt, existed, was in a certain state". tū na ḥasta ʾyus tar-āu "thou wast not in thy house", ʾrhīzō ḥastam "I was lying down", ʾnḥaṣtō ḥastam "I was sitting" (v. 197), ʾū bālō-e kuṭṭō ḥōst "there was a lame boy", ʾḥaʾrō ḥōst "he was ill (had fallen ill)" (v. below).

  bēm etc. in ʾū bādām bin "there was a man", ʾān ʾkal bēm "I was bald-headed", ʾṭhēna ḵān-e ūika bin "the mirror belonged to somebody else", Sultān ʾMāmūd ʾpādšā bin, ʾdi ōsp ʾderō bōn, ūika ʾnām-e ṭāfḥōnē bin "Sultan M. was a king, he had two horses, the name of the one was Gh.".

3 sg. bōn is used in forming the pluperfect of intransitive verbs (v. 212), cf. ʾḥaʾrō bōn "he had fallen" (v. ʾḥaʾrō ḥōst above). Once I heard: ʾē ʾḤaḍār bō "he was H.".

177. ḥastam is probably derived from *hasta-, past part. of Av. had- "to sit down". In Av. this verb does not occur without preverbs; but cf. Orm. ḥanyēk (hayēk) "to remain, abide, dwell, be seated" which Grierson derives from had-. For the personal terminations v. 189.
bēm etc. < bi (Av. būta-) + hēm etc. 3 sg. bi(n) with unexplained -n (cf. -tōn 193). But cf. also Pash. S bi: ya sāya ḍadam-žekalū bin “this sister was a cannibal”, dō brūi bin “there were two brothers”. bō(n) < Av. bavat, or, more prob., < *būtaka- (originally a perfect?).

178. The preterite (formally a pluperfect) of sī (169) is sō bōn, pl. sē bēn: 'aze ma'nā 'yus tar 'hēc na'qūn na 'sō bōn “yesterday there was no bread in my house”; 'hu bandīxāna tar dārūn tar-ē butān 'sē bēn “there were some idols inside that prison”.

“To Become”.

Aorist.

179. paraṁ “I become” (originally “I go”), the inflexion is given 188: paraṁ 'ān xa'īlās “I shall become free”, cōk paran they [may] become fat”.

chēm (v. 181) was said to be used as an aorist also, corresponding to Prs. sāvam: nājōr chēm = nājōr bīm (v. 172). Once only I heard chē “go” used as a 2 sg. aorist with imperative force (v. 191 c); in all other cases chēm etc. were used as preterites.

Imperative.

180. Sg. 2 Prs. chu (chō, chā), also para; Pl. 2 Prs. čumōr.

Past Tense.

181. Sg. 1 Prs. chēm, cēm D “I became (I went)”. Pl. chēman.
   > 2 > chē.
   > 3 > chē. chēn.

The ē is very narrow before a nasal, and sometimes I heard chēm, chin. chē < *cīyuta-, cf. čā bi'wār chē “why didst thou become frightened?”, xawāb chēn “they became bad”, čar'bī chē “became greasy”. Reg. the formation of the passive with chēm v. 160.
Perfect.

182. 3 sg. չո: մահոկ գվրին չո "the moon has been eclipsed"; կոր չո "he has become blind"; ձու հազդար պավդա չո "a dragon has appeared".

Perfect subjunctive in մագամ մարդումիկա նհամոր չո բե "perhaps people may have forgotten".

Pluperfect.

183. Sg. 1 Prs. չե բեմ "I had become (I had gone)"); 3 Prs. չո բուն, Pl. 1 Prs. չե բեման, cf. 212.

Sg. 3. Prs. չո հոստ in հոստ չարբի չո "it had become greasy [and remained so]".

The Finite Verb.

184. The Par. verb has two stems, — an aorist stem and a past stem. From either of these groups of tenses are formed.

From the aorist stem the following tenses and moods are formed:

I. Direct from the aorist stem:
   The Imperative.
   The Aorist.

II. From the aorist stem + -տոն:
   The Present.
   The Imperfect.

From the past stem are formed:

I. Direct from the past stem:
   The Past Tense.
   Past Optative.

II. From the past stem + -ճ:
   The Perfect.
   The Pluperfect.
   Perfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive.

The Aorist Stem.

185. The aorist stem is identical with the imperative 2 sg. The great majority of aorist stems end in a consonant, e.g. բար- "to carry", մեր- "to die", մեր- "to kill", ձաւենե- "to dress" etc. A few, irregular stems end in a vowel: պարա- "to go, become", գուրե- "to seize", երե- "to come", բե- "to be, become", սունի- "to wash",
nī- “to go out”, thā- “to shave”, ušte- “to rise”. The imperative of čhēm “I become” (?), v. 179, is chu etc. (v. 180).

From the historical point of view we can distinguish stems in -ā-, -ya-, -aya- and -āya-. The various classes of athematic verbs had probably become thematic in late Anc. Ir.

a) Stems in -ā-: är- “to bring” (*ā-bara-), bar- “to carry” (Av. bara-), jan- “to kill” (Av. jana-), zar- “to eat” (Av. xāra-), har- “to be lost” (*hara-), līs- “to lick” (*laiza-, v. 70, cf. Av. raēz-), pařēc- “to shake a sieve” (*pāri-vaiča-, Av. vačca-), yār- “to rain” (Av. vāra-), thā- “to shave” (*tāsa-, Av. tāš-, tāsa-), ruh- “to weep” (*ruđa-, Av. uruđa-), γuh- “to throw” (*wida-), γur’-ēu- “to pour out” (*wi-hrza-, Av. hērza-), haru- “to hear” (Av. haurva-), γun- “to find” (Av. vinda-), ḍrūn- “to dress” (*drūnda-), kan- “to do” (*kyna-, Av. kōrnava-), nhīn- “to sit down” (*ni-hidna-), dah- “to give” (*dada-, Av. dadā-).

b) Stems in -ya-: mer- “to die” (Av. mirya-), rhēz- “to lie down” (*fra-rāzya-), thi- “to burn” (*tasya-), iūzeh- “to remain” (*awa-sahya-), bēz- “to bind” (*badya-), ter- “to drink” (*tṛya-?) deh- “to beat” is prob. a lw. (v. Voc.); be- “to be”, (Av. buya-).

c) Stems in -aya-: ēn- “to bring” (*ē-naya-), ūn- “to lead, bring down” (*awa-naya-), mēr- “to kill” (*māraya-), pēc- “to cook” (*pācaya-), rhēz- “to build, prepare” (*fra-rāzaya-), rēm- “to turn round” (*rāmaya-), duē- “to milk” (*dučaya-), dēr- “to hold” (Av. dāraya-), nhēn- “to make to sit down” (*ni-hādnaya-), gēh- “to copulate”, mēnth- “to smear” (*mānthaya-), derz- “to take on one’s back” (Av. darzaya-), ušt- “to rise” (Av. ustaya-), phīs- “to sow” (*phāsya-), the causatives in -ēu- (*ēpaya-), cf. 219, swēnī- “to wash” (Av. snaya-), ni- “to go out” (*niș-aya-). Some of the verbs in -ē are probably secondary, analogical formations.

c) Stems in -āya-: guvē- “to seize” (Av. gūrvāya-), cf. 44 sqq., ēzē- “to come” (*ā-yāya-).

d) A few aorist stems are derived from past participles: phavat- “to sell” (*pārā-vācta-), neṛ- “to take out” (*ni-bṛta-). Cf. jar- G, T “to speak”, but jar- M.

e) para- “to go, become” is probably borr. from Pash.
186. The imperative 2 sg. is identical with the aorist stem. But note chu (chō, chá) "go" (*cīyawa?), ušte 'rise'. dah "give", deh "beat" are usually pronounced då, dē. Note gurē, gurē "seize, take".

The termination of the imperative 2 pl. is -ör (cf. 189): ka'nör "do", da'hör "give", be'žör "bind", mē'rör "kill", ē'nör "bring", ba'vör "carry", ālī'sör "seize". Note zör "come", uštör "rise", bör "be" (also bēör, v. 173). The plurals of para, su'ni, gurē are not known to me. ču'mör "go, become" is irregular.

The prohibitive particle is na: 'na kan "do not do", 'na 'berkh "do not fear", 'na para "do not go, become", 'na ču'mör "do not go, become" (pl.).

A polite command is frequently expressed by the aorist 2 sg. or pl. (cf. 191 c).

Aorist.

187. The regular paradigm of the aorist, which applies to the great majority of verbs, is as follows:

Sing. 1. 'merem "I die". Plur. 'merīman.
2. 'merē.
3. 'mera.

Similary D:

Sing. 1. ūlanem "I kill". Plur. ūlanīman.
2. ūlanē.
3. ūlana.

188. Irregular verbs are:

Sg. 1 Prs. pa'ram "I go" (پاًرمن) Pl. 'paraman (پارمان)

» 2 » pa'ra (پاًرة).
» 3 » pa'ri (پاًری).

Pl. pa'ran (پارن).

Sg. 1 Prs. gu'rim "I seize". Pl. gu'riman.

» 2 » gu'ri.
» 3 » gu'ri.

¹ The accent is not fixed, me'rēm, me'ran etc. are frequently heard. But in Prs. script always me'rm etc. ژهیم, zahēm "I arrive". Regarding -em, -im etc. v. 180.
Sg. 1 Prs. ūm “I come”. Pl. ūman.

> 2 > ūt.  > ūtr.
> 3 > ūt. > ūtn.

Regarding ūm “I shall be” v. 171. The conjugation of sunim “I wash”, nim “I go out” is not known to me.

189. Personal Terminations. The 1. sg. is derived from -āmi, not from -āmi (cf. Meillet, MSL. XXII, 220 sqq.). The types ʾmērem “I kill” and ʾmerem “I die” are developed regularly from *mārayami, *māryami; guʾrim etc. from *grbāyami (cf. 37), sunim from *snāyami. In *bārami the second a must have retained its quality long enough to prevent the change of the stressed ā into ē (v. 26); but we should expect *barum. -em must have been introduced from the stems in -aya- and -ya-. paʾram is borr. from Pash. S param, and this fact may explain the irregular termination -am. Other verbs borr. from Pash. are, however, conjugated in the regular way. Note thāem “I shave”, ʾuštem “I rise”.

The 2. sg. -ē is derived from -ayahi (ʾmērē < *mārayahi). The -ē of ʾbārē is analogical, as *bārahī could scarcely result in this form (v. 42). ēt, guʾri < ʾayāyahi, grbāyahi with ē- umlaut? (But un-stressed -ayahi > -ēt). paʾra is irregular.

The 3. sg. -a < -ati (bara < bāratī). ʾmēra is an analogical form. *mārayati would result in *mērē, a form which would be identical with the 2. sg. In the irregular verb guʾrim the coalescence of the 2. and 3. sg. was tolerated; paʾri is probably formed on the analogy of guʾri. But ēt cannot be derived direct from *āyāyahi, if ēt 2 sg., guʾri 2. and 3. sg. are regular forms.

1. pl. *mērem < *mārayama was distinguished from the 1. sg. by the addition of the pronominol suffix 1. pl. -an (v. 116)¹. Similarly in Talish (a Caspian dialect) 1. sg. -m, 1. pl. -mūn. In several other Ir. dialects the -n of the pronominol suffix has simply replaced the *-m of the 1. pl. Some Pash. dialects, but not those

¹ If the original form had been -ayāma or -ayāmahī we should have Par. ūm, a form which would prob. have been retained. But Paht. 1. sg. -ēm, 1. pl. -ū (< -āma), Shgh. 1. sg. -um, 1. pl. -ām (< -āma? We should expect -ām).
bordering upon Par., present a similar form. This is, however, restricted to the subjunctive, the 1. pl. indicative -as, -ais (anz) < -āmasi being in itself sufficiently different from 1. sg. -am. E. g. Pash. of Nirlam: āyakas "we eat", but āigeman "let us eat". Probably there is no direct connexion between the Par. and the Pash. forms. — Reg. -ma for -man v. 24. The -n of the 3. pl. is never omitted, as -a would be identical with the termination of the 3. sg.

2. pl. -ēr (imperative -ōr). This termination is difficult to explain. Probably the terminations of the 3. sg. and the 2. pl. act. coalesced phonetically (cf. Turfan Phil. -ēd 3. sg. and 2. pl.) and recourse had to be had to some other termination. A similar development has taken place in several Dardic languages, cf. e. g. Pash. S 2. pl. -unda, Khow. -mi. The only explanation I am able to suggest regarding the Par. terminations is that -ēr is derived from -ayadwam, -ōr from -adwam (cf. Av. imperative and optative medium -ādwam, -āyādwam, -ātīdōwem). Regarding the phonetical possibility of -dw resulting in -r- v. 57. gu'rīēr with ī from gu'rīm(ān) etc.

3. pl. ūēn < *ūyāyanti, ūēran < *ūrāyand < *mārayanti (stress infl. by *mārayati)?

190. The Par. aorist is derived from the old Ir. present, an uncompounded tense. But all the other tenses are compound forms, and this fact has to some extent influenced the formation of the aorist as well.

jānhēr D "you kill" seems to be compounded with hēr "you are", cf. also gu'rīēr. ūran "they bring", paraman "we go" are written (Урмій, یاریک, ،روده), which shows that these forms are felt, more or less, to be compounds. Sometimes the personal termination is separated from the stem of the verb: ān-em ma tō 'dhē M = ān ma tō 'dehem "I (shall) beat thee" (cf. Zeb. āz-im deh "I beat"); nā-m na'ē xā'ren "I cannot eat it"; munādī (ē-ē) ēnen na'ē "canst thou bring it?"; khānjāy-em te westeje "where shall I send it?"; tū-ē mo mun jana D = tū mo mun jānē "thou killest me"; na xā'ān-an ʿand dhā "they may give advice to their husbands". In
the last example dāhā may, however, be sg. instead of pl., and -an may be the possessive pron. suff. 3. pl. In mā-ān-a te mērim, mā-ān-a mērīm-a te M = mēriman-a te "I (we) kill thee" the -an of the 1. pl. is separated from the rest of the verb.

The personal termination is repeated in: māy-an ma wā de'hem M "I (we) shall beat you"; mā-ima nhineman "we shall sit down"; ḍān-em ma tō wshēwem "I shall make thee rise"; ḍān-em ṣušt rupā'ī gu'rim "I shall buy it for twenty rupees".

Note: yā tū merē, yā ḍān "either thou or I must die".

Not infrequently the sg. of verbs is used instead of the pl., cf. 83.

191. The aorist is used:

a) As a future: ba'dē na xa'rem, pēštērā-e xa'rem "I shall not eat it now, I shall eat it later on"; bite ka'ānem "I shall do it again"; ḍān men'dānān ṭō da'hem, bite pa'ram, mun'dānān da'hem "I shall give barley to these people, then I shall go and give it to those"; kiy āra ṣi-e Xaibār "who shall dig the canal of Kh.? (ki mēārad jōy-e Xaibār)".

b) As a subjunctive in dependent sentences: ba'dē ṣār we'hēm ē čēsp gu'rim "now I shall go to town to buy a horse (āli šār mērum, asp bigirum)"; ma mun na mērē, huš kā "take care that thou dost not kill me", (cf. c); har čē ka'ānan xu kantan-en "they are doing whatever they [wish to] do"; mun 'ḍhiray 'māči 'dērō, Haidar 'bāw-a bē, ma tō ṣu kāšē 'dēha "thou hadst a mother like me, and H. is thy father, and [yet] a girl can beat thee?".

c) In polite commands, as in Prs.: na kanē = na kan "do not do"; huš kanē "listen"; bōr-au xē kanē "open thy door (darākāza wāz kuni)"; para hōwī kamar tar, ēnē xu ṣu hašdār "go to that rock and bring a dragon here"; hēē na berkhē "do not fear at all"; che, čē sa'hē men'āhēk 'elm xānē "go, and when thou arrivest, recite this charm"; un'hak 'hāzer ṣīr "be present there"; ališer "seize", na pari "may he not become".

dērem "I hold, have" is used as a present, just as Prs. dāram. No present form *dērtōn-em occurs.
Aorist Subjunctive.

192. The subjunctive force of the aorist is sometimes emphasized by the addition of -a. In my material this form occurs only in the 3 sg. of the verbs gurē- "to seize" and pa’ra- "to go, become": na-i če sār pary-a "lest she may be wounded"; če laškar pai’dā pa’ri-a, žang ka’ren-e na’re "if the army appears, canst thou fight it?"; na če heuyak bite pa’nän-e gurē-a kāven pa’ri-a "[I hope that] he may not again take this road and go somewhere (na ki hamī rāra bāz bigīra, kudām taraf burawa)".

A similar form exists in Zeb. (Grierson, Ishk. p. 53), and in some Dardic languages.

Another kind of subjunctive occurs once: ka’ren bē "he may do(?) (karda bāsa)".

Present.

193. The present is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the pres. part. in -tōn (v. 161).

This participle is formed from the aorist stem, e.g. kan-tōn "doing", pl. kan-tan, gwritōn "seizing". The -n is frequently dropped: kantō, kantā, in D regularly kantō, kantā. Usually the first syllable is stressed; but forms like kan-tōn do also occur.

A voiced final consonant of the present stem becomes unvoiced before the t (v. 24): bež- "to bind", pres. beštōn, rhāz- "to fly": rhāstōn. A euphonic e, i is inserted, where a difficult group of consonants would result: buchetōn "seeing" harvetōn "hearing", čaketōn "dripping", ḡahitōn "throwing" (but dhaitōn "giving": dah-), ruhetōn, rhotōn "weeping", zahitōn, zhaitōn "arriving", berkhetōn "fearing" etc. The verbs in -ēw- do not usually have a euphonic i: pherēwōn "turning" etc.; but čarēwōn, čarēwitōn "grazing" etc. Note D ḡafitō "weaving".

With -tō(n) etc. we must compare the present forms in NW. Pash. dialects, e.g. Pash. Sh hanto-yem "I am killing": Par. D janto-hēm etc. The Par. form must have been borr. from Pash at
a time when the inflexional type: sg. -ő, pl. -a- (v. 26, 82) was still frequent. Generally the Ir. languages form the durative present by means of particles, not by means of a participle. Regarding the derivation of Pasp. -to etc. v. Rep. p. 91.

194. The regular paradigm is as follows:

Sg. 1. Prs. ãn-em xartön G "I am eating". Pl. mâ-iman xartān.
   2. tô-ê xartān.
   3. ô-ê xartān.
(Sg. 1. Prs. ãn-em xarto D.
   2. tô-ê xartō.
   3. tô-a xarto.

Also: ãn xarto-em, xarto hēm, D ãn xarto hēm etc.

195. Examples: 1. sg. pântō hēm, ãn-em pântōn "I know", jartōn-em "I am saying", ãn-em sunītō(n) "I am washing", ãn-em (mâ-em) jartōn M, jartō hēm D "I am saying", ãn-em ma tôô bōcēto D "I am seeing thee"; 2. sg. tô-ê "thou art giving"; 3. sg. mânes-ô dūcētōn "the man is milking", buj-a weygerē "the goat is bleating", mērtōn-ô-a "he is killing him", whēwertōn-a "he is moving"; 1. pl. mâ-iman buchitan "we are seeing", khantas-iman M, khantas-iman G "we are laughing", mâ-iman pântōn (sic!) M "we understand"; 2. pl. wâ-ir jartān M "you are saying"; 3. pl. mērtan-en "they are killing", hē mânes-ên xartā D "these men are eating", hudde kastēvān-en... whētōn (sic!) "both girls are going".

With double personal suffix: ãn-em berkhitō-em "I am fearing", êspô-a jafetō-a "the dog is barking". Without any personal suffix: mâ jwâb dhaitan M "we are giving an answer".

196. The present has a frequentative and durative force: mērtan-en "they usually kill (mekusand)"; ma ēhar ki-m khu jēwētōn, jartōn-â "everyone, whom I ask, says"; wēyâr jînè-aw-â jōtōn "thy wife usually comes every night"; ēharê če jâra xudrat-æ xuēdāyân jârtōn-ê "however much it snows it snows (i.e. usually snows) according to the will of God"; ēhar ki če târjâk-æ bēd pāna, dhârēvētōn-ê-a "he spares everyone who knows the bēd-antidote";
'bālō-e nō-ā ēitōn "the young boy is coming". Cf. the numerous examples of the present in the tale XII, e.g. rha'γām-ā če 'chemtōn "when spring comes".

Note: mā pōnč ruč ēk-emān "we have been here for five days".

'naštō hēm "I am sitting" is used as a present.

Imperfect.

197. The imperfect is formed by adding the imperfect of the verb substantive to the pres. part. Generally the form astam etc., not hastam is used.

E.g. 'kantōn astam "I was doing (mēkadam)"; a'stan bārtaš "they were carrying".

The imperfect is frequentative and durative like the present: āst 'dhaitōn "he used to give (mēdāt)"; ma mānēš āst 'spō phe'ēwētōn "she used to turn men into dogs"; āst 'wehētōn, 'ārōn, phe'āwētōn, 'xartōn "he used to go, bring it, sell it, and eat [what he bought for the money]"; ħē na'γōn-pē'čāk, az 'ān če 'zūrī-ē hōst 'xhaitōn, deřē "the baker took as much as he was able to carry on his back"; Sūltān 'Māmūdān xōm-āst na 'bārentōn '[she said that] Sultan M. would not fall asleep" (but, considered as a single event: ĥovēi xa'vēn 'xōm-ē 'na bur "that night he did not fall asleep")

na'γōn āst 'xartōn "he was eating the bread" (but: sōr na'γōn xūrō hōst "he was occupied in eating the bread", na'γōn-ē xūr "he ate the bread").

'naštō hastam means "I was sitting", 'rhīzō hastam "I was lying down". Cf. 176.

The Past Stem.

198. The past stems can be divided into regular, or weak stems in -i, and irregular, or strong stems, which are formed in various ways.1 The pret. stem in -i is connected with, and probably borr.

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1 Among the verbs which occur in my materials 39 have strong preterite stems, 95 weak stems (of these 33 are causatives in -ēw). The preterite stems of 19 verbs are unknown to me; but the majority of these verbs are prob. weak.
from the Prs. pret. stem in -id. E.g. ber'khi “feared”, guda'ri “passed”, asta'ri “smeared” etc. All verbs in -ew- have weak preterites: uš'tē'vi “raised” etc.

199. The strong preterite stems can be divided in several groups according to the Ir. forms from which they are derived.

I. a) Ir. *-āta-: dā “gave”, su'nā “washed”, uš'tā “rose”, āzā “remained”, *zā “born” (perf. zā'wō).
   b) Ir. *-ata-: jō “killed”, ōya “came”, nar'yo “went out”.
   c) Ir. *-ūta-: či “went”, bī(n) “was” (From the modern Par. point of view these verbs are weak).

II. a) Ir. *₂rta-: būr “carried”, ūwur “brought”, kūr “did”, mūr “died”, xūr “ate”. ja'ri G, T, D (ja'ri M, jōr G once) is weak, but has got its r from a strong participle.
   b) Ir. *rsta-: dhōr “saw”, thōr “drank”. nōt “drew out”, hu'pāt “dug” are secondary formations from ner-, hu'pēr- (lw.), cf. 65.

III. a) Ir. *-asta-: bōst “bound”, nhōst “sat down” (cf. 68). rhāst “built” (rēz), gōst “bit” (gas-) are secondary formations.
   b) Ir. *-usta-: u'üst “dressed”.
   c) Ir. *-ista-: γüst “threw”.
   d) Ir. *i'sta-: luşt “licked”.

IV. a) Ir. *-ufta-: rūt “swept”.
   b) Ir. *-arfta-: hōt “heard” (a secondary formation instead of *hur < *hīta-).
   c) Ir. *-fīta-: ghišt “seized”.
   d) Ir. *-arxta-: māt “killed”. Cf. the present stem pha'rušt- “to buy” (*parā-waxta-).

V. a) Ir. *-nīta-: ūnt “brought”, ūnt “brought down”.
   b) Ir. *-nīta-: ūnt “found”.
   c) Ir. *-udna- + t: rhint “wept”. In a similar way nhānt “set down”, rhānt “turned round” (note rh-), pānt “knew” have been formed from nhēn-, rēm-, pān.

VI. a) Ir. *-axwa-: phōk “cooked”.
   b) Ir. *-uška-: hušk “dried”.

1 Also Mj. -iy (xdd-: x디y “to laugh” etc.) may be borr.
Grammar

200. Besides hōt “heard” we find a weak stem har'wī. In several cases the weak stem has been preferred because the strong preterite stem either coalesced phonetically with that of another verb, or became too far removed from the aorist stem. Thus the strong preterite stem of derz- “to take on the back” would have been *dhōr (cf. dhōr “saw”), of tār “to split” *thōr (cf. thōr “drank”), Av. vista- “found” would have resulted in *γušt (cf. γušt “threw”) etc. Accordingly derzī, tārī, γunt were preferred. The regular past stem of γaf- “to weave” would have been *uṭ (*ud), of rhiz- “to lie down” *rhōst etc. Such aberrant forms have only been tolerated in a small number of verbs, most of which are frequently used.

201. In the past tenses a pronominal subject is put in the nom. or the ag. T prefers the nom.: mun ma tō dhōra bōn G “I had seen him”; mōn ma tō dhōr D “I saw thee”; má mundē dhōrō M “I have seen him”; but án xu mundē dehō bō T “I had beaten him”; ō sail kor T “he regarded”. Cf. 112.

The object is nearly always put in the acc.: wā ma mun ‘dhōr “did you see me?”; má ma bīyā-e wā khān dhōr “we saw your brother”; jīnē-e ma Sultan ‘Māmūd na dhōr “his wife did not see Sultan M.”; mendē ‘ādam-an māt “we killed this man” (but also: hé ‘ādam-an māt).

Past Tense.

202. Intransitive verbs. As in most other modern Ir. languages the conjugation of intransitive verbs differs from that of transitives in the past tenses, with the exception of the imperfect.

The past tense of intransitive verbs is in most cases formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the past stem of the verb. The verb substantive is never separated from the past stem.

203. The paradigm of weak verbs, which form the great majority of the intransitives, is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. 1. Prs.</th>
<th>za'hēm “I arrived”</th>
<th>Pl. za'hēman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>za'hē.</td>
<td>za'hēr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>za'hī.</td>
<td>za'hēn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The strong verbs present some peculiar forms:
Sing. 1. ʌgayem "I came". nar'gayem "I went out". ʌzʌem "I remained", (w'ståem "I rose").
> 2. ʌgay. nar'gå. ʌzå(h)å. (w'stå "I rose").
> 3. ʌgå. nar'gå. ʌzå (w'stå "I rose").
Plur. 1. ʌgayem.
> 2. ʌgåēr (ʌgåēr).
> 3. ʌgåēn. nar'gåēn-'ôn? (w'ståēn).

Reg. chēm and bēm v. 175, 181.

nhōst "sat down" is inflected as follows (cf. hastam 175):
Sing. 1. nhāšt'am. Plur. nhāst'iman.
> 2. nhāštē. 
> 3. nhōst. nhāštān.

But also, with transitive construction, 2. sg. -a nhōst. From mer- "to die": 1. sg. mūr-um, 3. sg. mūr, 3. pl. mūr-an. From ruh- "to weep" rhīnt-um (but notice that the corresponding Psht. verb zarēl is also constructed as a transitive in the past tenses). Regarding the forms of 1. and 2. prs. cf. 208.

204. Transitive Verbs. The past tense of transitive verbs is identical with the past stem. The subject is expressed by a pronoun in the agent case, a pronominal suffix, or, in the 3rd person, a noun (frequently with the addition of a pronominal suffix). The position of the pronominal suffix is optional as is the case e.g. in Shgh.

E.g. xūr-um, -um xūr, mun xūr G (T 'ān xūr, M frequently mā xūr) mun ... um xūr "I ate"; mun hāwī ker kur, hāwī ker um kur G "I did this work" (*hāwī ker kur-um was said to be incorrect; but cf. xūr-um, bûr-um, ghit-um, swunā-om etc.); hāwīm, mun hāwī "I heard"; -om yunī D "I found"; mōn, tü 'dhōr D "I saw, thou sawest"; jōm "I killed". In -um kur, -um bûr (Phonograph) the a has no morphological significance.

With double suffix: ma ʌbw-aw-an ʌnt-an "they brought thy father", -an ʌdhōr-an "they saw".

The object is generally put in the acc., v. 201.
205. The past tense usually refers to a single action: 'ân 'chêm, na'yôn öst xartôn; 'ân ham un'hak ᵇha'stân, 'mun ham xu pen-'e na'yôn xûr; na'yôn-an çe xu'r, na'yôn xara'mân, u'stàeman, ᵇu'dî'nân-an 'ayêman "[when] I came, he was eating; I, too, sat down there, and also ate the bread together with him; when we had eaten, and had finished eating, we rose, and both came here"; 'ân çe 'chêm, sôr na'yôn xu'rô hôst; na'yôn-e un'hak lam dâ, 'mun pen u'stà, 'âya "when I came, he was engaged in eating; he put the bread aside there, rose together with me, and came [here]"; wi'yâr ham un'hak rhîzi "he lay down for the night there", thâtî çe 'âhû ha'ri "he saw the stag disappearing".

The past tense has, however, a durative meaning when the verb itself is durative: 'tû da wâyâr chê, tô wâyâ'ri "thou didst start dancing, and thou didst dance [for a long while]", êdê 'yulû 'yîr wâyâ'ri "she danced for a long while". In some other instances, too, a durative past tense occurs: çôr 'ru'vân bi'hus cha'rem "I have been lying unconscious for four days"; 'tû ka'stî'ka dô'stî cha're, çôr 'ru'c bi'hus  mücade, . . . çôr 'ru'c bi'hus cha're "thou didst fall (wast felled) by the hand of a girl; for four days thou didst remain unconscious, for four days thou didst lie unconscious"; hôd wi'yâr, hôt 'ru'c xu'xu'm bâw pen-a 'jang kor "I myself did fight with thy father for four nights and four days"; ûôz 'ru'c . . . ma 'yus n'hôst "he sat down (stayed) at home for ten days". In some cases we should prefer to translate the preterite by a perfect: rha'âm chî "spring has come". Cf. 210.

The past tense is used in the sense of a futurum exactum: har çe çe 'mun ja'ri, tô 'kan "do thou whatever I shall tell you"; 'aga 'nâ-w ham na'ri, har 'ker çe 'ân ja'ri, jar: 'narem'-e "even if thou art not (wilt not be) able to do it, whatever I shall say, thou must say: I can do it".

Past Optative.

206. A kind of optative past occurs in some instances: na-'m 'kur bâ "would that I had not done it (na mëkadom)"; xu'dâe na 'kur bâ 'hast-au "would that God had not created thy existence."
Perfect.

207. The perfect base is formed by adding -ő(-a), usually stressed, to the past stem. Before this -ő an ő (< a) of the preceding syllable becomes -a (cf. 26): ha'vô: hôt “heard”, ba'stô: böst “bound”, na'tô: nôt “took out”, D pa'kô: pók “cooked”. But dhô'rô, dhû'rô: dhôr “saw”.

A final -i or -a of the past stem is elided before the -ő: ha'vô “has been lost”: ha'vî “was last”, cha'vô “has fallen”: cha'vi “fell”, a'gô (âyô) “has come”: âya “came”. After a find -â of the past stem a euphonic -o is inserted: dáwô “has given”: dá “gave”.

This -ő is derived from *-aka-. With Par. um kur “I did”, um ku'vô “I have done” cf. Prs. kurdam, karda-am.

Regarding the special forms assumed by the perfect base in the pluperfect v. 212.

208. Intransitive Verbs. Cf. the formation of the past tense of intransitives (202). In my material the perfect of intransitive verbs rarely occurs except in the 3. sg. and pl.: mu'vô “he has died”, užô'vô “he has been left behind”, gu'da'vô “he has passed”, cha'vô-ën (not *cha'vô-ën, v. 212) “they have fallen” etc. The absence of other forms is difficult to explain. Is it possible to assume that the 1. and 2. prs. perfect have coalesced phonetically with the corresponding forms of the past tense? Once I heard rhôz-a-im “I have flown”, cf. dar užâhe “dar mândô-i” (perf.).

In one case a transitive verb has been treated as an intransitive (with a passive meaning): ha'wi dô'stôm-om èe bástô-en, mendhê'kân 'xê kan “untie these hands of mine, which have been bound” (or read: bástô-an “they have bound”?).

209. Transitive Verbs. The same rules which apply to the formation of the past tense of transitive verbs (v. 204), apply to the formation of the perfect: 1. sg. xu'vô-m, -um xu'vô, 'mun (T ân, M mà, D môn) xu'vô, M mà xu'vô-m “I have eaten”, 2. sg. -a ku'vô, -a ku'vô tû, ku'vô-au etc. “thou hast done”, etc.
210. The perfect is chiefly used in the same way as in English: *hāwī kek-om ku'rō “I have done this work (kada am)”; *rōng-a phērō lāla'zār “thy colour has become [like that of] a tulip bed”; *zū jāy-om lam dāwō “I have put it somewhere”; *mā zū na'γō dhēwī, za'if-an na dhēwō M “I (we) asked for a loaf of bread, I have not asked for the woman”; bade biya-e pādsāvka chi, ma sēr-e ālišō, šīr-e ku'rō, nesp-e ghītō, āwurō. Mende sēr am bur dāl pādsā “now the king's brother came; he has caught the lion and cut it up, he has taken half of it and brought it here. He also brought the [whole] lion to the king”.

The perfect is used after a past tense in dependent clauses with če, where we would prefer the pluperfect: *thāri če he k-kal yalabā sāheb-e sūrāt čhō “he saw that the bald boy had become very beautiful”.

Note: *chi če kačōi'kān-e bu'tō “he went to(?) carry away the furze”.

In ma bāw-e dhur če dhārī am hupātōi, bōr-e ham yōš ku'rōi etc. “he [looked at] his father and saw that his beard had been pulled out, and that his head, too, was shaved” I am inclined to think that we have to deal with a passive form, and that hupātōi is not to be explained as hupātō-e “he (: the elder brother) has pulled out” etc. Cf. also *chi če kačōi'kān-e bu'tō (v. above) thēwōi “... and they had been put fire to”. In this example an active construction does not seem possible. Cf. 163.

*nhaštō, nhaštō-a means “he is sitting (: he has sat down)”.

Note: ta'mām-e kāstē-a nhaštō “all the girls are sitting” (but in the written text نشتين nhaštēn).

Pluperfect.

211. The pluperfect is formed by adding the preterite of the verb substantive to the perfect base in one of its various forms.

212. Intransitive Verbs. Weak verbs have -ō in the 3. sg., but -ē in all other persons. Strong verbs have -a in all persons.

Sg. 1. čhra ré bēm “I had fallen.” āya bēm “I had come”.
   2. čhra ré bē.
   3. čhra rō bōn.

   āya bē.

   āya bōn.
Pl. 1. cha'ra béman
  *áya béman
 2. cha'ra bér
  *áya bér
 3. cha'ra bén
  *áya bén.

Similarly čhé bém “I had gone (become)”, čhó bôn, čhé béman; *déré bém “I had”, *dévô bôn; *mura bê “thou hadst died”, *mura bôn etc.

The difference between -ô and -a must be due to a shifting of the accent (*áya < *ágataka-, á'ýô etc. *ágátakahya, cf. 45, g); but I cannot explain the forms in -é. Cf. 208.

213. hastam (v. 175) is used as an auxiliary with a durative force, denoting the lasting result of an event or action.

E.g. cha'ra bém “I had fallen”, but cha'ra hastam “I had fallen ill, was ill”; suwâr 'nhaśô bôn “he had mounted a horse”; but 'nhaśta hastam “I was sitting”. The distinction is not absolute: tû 'nhaśta bê means “thou wast sitting”. Cf. rhîzô hastam “I had lain down, was lying down”; kâlâ-ê hóst cîrbî čhó “her dress had become greasy, was greasy”.

214. Transitive Verbs. The pluperfect of transitive verbs is based on the 3. sg. of the intransitive ones. The subject is expressed in the same way as in other past tenses of transitive verbs. The weak verbs have -ô, the strong verbs -a:

mun ja'ô bôn “I had said”; Zai'yrûn de'ho bôn “Z. had beaten”; mënî 'spô-e pad'dô ph'rewô bôn “she had turned him into a black dog”. But note: wange'wê bôn-um “I had eaten” (incorrect for wange'wô?).

'mun 'xûra bôn G, 'ân 'xûra bôn T, um 'xûra bôn, 'xûra 'bôn-um “I had eaten”; 'kûyê 'dâ bôn “he had given a hen”; mû hé âdam-an mâta bôn “we had killed this man”; a'ze 'mun ma ' tô 'dhôra bôn “I had seen thee yesterday”.

215. Regarding the use of the pluperfect v. the concluding sentences of IX. Cf. also čhî hovei 'jangal tari, če 'jangê 'kura bô “he went to that jungle where he had fought”; tû sôr 'mun tar khûr na čhâ, če 'mun ğû 'rûc suwâri Sultân Mâmûdân dhôra bôn, te'chân-e hâwi esîpô'ka-m ba te'chân-e Sultân Mâmûdân 'dhôr “do not be angry with me; but (because) one day I saw (had seen)
Sultan M. riding, and [now] I saw the eyes of this dog in the eyes of Sultan M. (: of Sultan M. in the eyes of this dog”); ʰcʰr
ʰrʰʰ tʰʰ tʰʰ mʰʱʰ rʰʰ bʰʰ “thou hast (hadst)
been dead for four days, and thy colour has become very pale”.

Perfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive.

216. The perfect subjunctive of transitive verbs is formed from
the perfect base by adding bʰʰ, aorist 3. sg. of the verb substantive:
maγam mʳdˡm³kʰːa nhʰmːr cʰʰ bʰʰ “people will certainly have for-
gotten [me]”; ʰkʰʰ kʰːɡar dʰʱ rʱ bʰʰ “if he should wish”; ʰjʰɡar-ʰm
ʰkʰʰ kʰːr, nʰːr ʰcʰʰ ʰxʰʰɛm kʰʱ rʱ bʰʰ “I am
distressed, [fearing] that he may have got angry with me, and that
his heart may be offended with me”.

A pluperfect subjunctive occurs in tʰʰ tʰʰ azeptʰʰ ʰɡʰʰ bʰʰ, ʰmʰʱ mʰʱ dʰʱ bʰʰ
“if thou hadst come yesterday, I should have given [iʔi]”.

I have not found any such forms of intransitive verbs; but it is
quite possible that they occur. The form we should expect would
be: *aʔn cʰʰ bʰʰ “I will have gone” etc.

Causative Verbs.

217. A number of Par. verbs are derived from ancient causatives
in *-aγʰ (v. 185, c); but in a few cases only the original contrast
between these causatives and simple verbs is preserved: ʰmʰɛrɛm
“I kill”: ʰmɛrɛm “I die”; rhɛz- “to (lay down), build, prepare”: ʰrʰiz-
“to lie down”, etc.

218. The living causative suffix is -ʰɛwː: pʰɛrɛw- “to make to
turn”: pʰɛr-. “to turn”; bʰɛrɛw-. “to frighten”: bʰɛrkʰ-. “to fear”;
ʰɡʰɛw-. “to dress somebody else, to make to dress”: ʰɡʰun-
“to dress” etc. These causatives are very numerous. In some cases
the causative form only seems to be existing: wʰɡʰɛw-. “to eat”;
kʰɛrɛw-. “to pick” (but. v. Voc.), mʰɛlɛw-. “to plough”. ʰɛʰɛw-. “to
put, throw” is possibly derived from a stem in *-aγʰaγʰ (v. Voc.).
The causative in -ʰɛw-. is of Ind. origin, cf. Paht., Orm. -aʊ-. Minj.
-ɔ-, Yd. -iʊ-, Wkh. -iʊ-. The Par. form must have been borrowed
very early, -aγʰaγʰ resulting in -ʰɛw-.
Compound Verbs.

219. Compound nominal verbs occur, but are far from being so numerous as in Prs. or Psht.

With kan- "to do": ha'lat kan- "to run" awbâzi kan- "to swim", gul kan- "to extinguish", ḥāza kan- "to yawn", ta'awsum kan- "to smile", ṭhinū kan- = rüh- "to weep", khânas kan- "to bellow" etc.

With dabh- "to give": lam dabh- "to place", ḍhâw dabh- "to run", bâng dabh- "to crow".

With deh- "to beat": nāra deh- "to cry out".

Cf. also (ma'nnûn) awê-m-a "I remember", awê-m ērī "I forgot", ṭatsa-m ṭâ'ba "I sneezed", ḍwê ṭarâh bin "the water was boiling" but ṭarâhētō "is boiling").

Apart from the ancient compounds with preverbs (v. 77), adverbial compounds are rare: dar ṭâ'ba "entered (darāmad)", dar ṭâ'zâhē "thou hast been left behind (dar mândai)".

Prepositions and Prepositional Expressions.

220. The majority of the prepositions are of Prs. origin.

az "from", Prs. az ḫûkm-e tân bērûn "outside, away from thy command".

ba "at, in", Prs. ba ṭuâxt-e ṭâm "at evening tide", ba xu 'zur "in his own heart".

ba'yâir az "except", Prs. ba'yâir az Â'â' Hâidâr "except A. H.".

ba hamrâ-i "together with, by help of". Prs.

bi "without". Prs. bi 'lō "without thee".

bâd az "after", Prs. bâd az ēdē = pêš ēdē "after this, afterwards".

da "at, to", Prs. da bâw-om "to my father, at my father's", da Xwîdâ "before God".

dâl "in the presence of, with". dâl-um "with me", dâl pâdšâ "in the presence of the king".

dâl tar "in the presence of, with". ḍâl tar-e, dâl ēde tar "with him".
dāli “from the presence of”, dāli-m “from me”.
dum'bāl tar-e “behind”, Prs. dum'bāl tar-e mā'khān “behind, after us”.
da'rūn-e “within, inside”, Prs. da'rūn-e γus (tar) “inside the house”, da'rūn-e γūsī “from the interior of the house”.
da'rūn tar “inside”, Prs. hōt ka'lā da'rūn tar “inside seven castles”.
hevaz-e “instead of”. hevaz-e tān so'rīka “instead of thy head”.
ma “into, in”. ma γus “into the house, at home”, ma'bōr “outside”. V. 87.
 mhak “to, straight to, at”. mhak fārk tar-ē “straight at the top of his head”.
men “in, among”. men γa'nir “in the field”, men Aωγάn “among the Afghans”, men-e bōr “in the doorway”, men 'xu tar “from each other”.
misl-e “like”. Prs. misl-e tū “like thee”.
nez'dik-e “near”, Prs. nez'dik-e ma γusika 'āya “he came near to the house”.
pē “at, for”. pē bā'γurē “to buy”, pē wa'khe “upwards”.
pēś-e “before”, Prs. pēś-e bōr-av “before, at thy door”.
pēś “behind”. pēś āspān “behind, after the horses”, pēś 'tō tar “after thee”.
pēś'chan “behind, after”. pēś'chan-e “behind him”.
rux ba “towards”, Prs. ruх ba γus-e “towards his house”.
sō(r) “on, on the top of”. sō 'dhār “on the top of the hill”, sō 'mēz “on the table”, ma 'sōr-a “on account of thee (sar-i tū) = sōr tō.
sōr tar “to, on”. sōr tar-ē “to him”.
ta-i “under”, Prs. ta-i ŋū lēf “under one blanket”.
tā “until, as far as”, Prs. tā zāνū “as far as the knee”.
tā ba “until, as far as”, Prs. tā ba zānū; tā ba sa'hār “until the morning”.
tar “before”. tar-ē “before him”. Note: ha'wi γus tar udhē'kān-a “this is his house (i xāna az hamū-s)”.
ta'ri “before, to”. ta'ri mun “before me”, jangal ta'ri “to the jungle”.

Grammar 103
"tartar" "in front of, before". "tartar-ē "in front of him", "tartar-ē ē ādam "in front of a man".

ze "from", Prs. ze ēsē-ē tān "from love of thee".

zēr, zir "under", Prs. zir-e ēdōst-an "under our hand, in our power".

Conjunctions.

če "that" etc.

221. Like Prs. ki, only to a still greater extent, Par. če is used to introduce all kinds of subordinate clauses.

a) Substantive Clauses: dhōr-um če yār-om yāya "I saw my friend coming"; dhōr-um če kastē ēyō "I saw that the girl had come"; dhōr-ē če su-e wēnd mūra bō "she saw that her daughter-in-law had died"; dhōr-ē če hāzīdīr mūrō "she saw that the dragon had died"; ān-um če hōwi juwend kastē bin or kastē-a "I understood that this youth was a girl".

Jinē-ē ḫari če: tō-e dhurūg jartōn "his wife said that he was lying"; but also: ḫari: ... ān-em dhurūg jartōn, "he said: ... I am lying"; ḫārat kor če: khū kan "[the dog] made a sign that he should lift [him] up"; ḫarīdān ṭēẕā če: čē čē sēr-rā "he remained astonished [wondering]: 'What mystery is this?'"

b) After verbs of hoping, wishing and fearing:

sur-an čhī če čēn ēyī wānō "they wanted to come home". Without če: má umēd-an-a sa'bā ēosp ēyīniman "we hope to find a horse tomorrow". M berkhitō-em če mereṃ-ē "I fear that I shall die", čē ē ādam-ē mēra "... that this man will die", čē wā-i merūr "... that you will die", čē ēosp-om te ḫara-i "... that my horse will be lost", čē ē ē ādam mēren pārī "... that this man may be killed", mēren čhī "... has been killed"; D berkhitu-im tū mo mun ēnē "I fear that thou wilt kill me", čē ēkū mâništ mo mun jānā "... that man will kill me". But with na and positive meaning: M berkhitō-em če mēren na pārī "I fear that he will be killed", G ān-em berkhitō-em če mērin na pārī; berkhitōn-em, na čē nāfūr
paraman “I fear that we may become ill”. Note berkhetön-em 'na jara “I fear that he will not say” with negative meaning.

c) Final Clauses. 'án pa'ram pēš ʾospān ʾče 'na haran “I shall go after the horses, that they may not be lost”; hawī alafi dhēwi ʾče xara “he wanted this grass in order to eat it”. Without ʾče: mà läyaq na-iman tu ma mun puš jartūn (gurī) “I am not worthy that thou shouldst call me (take me as) thy son”.

d) Causal Clauses. ʾchā, ʾče . . . ʾzū haʿdār paʿidā ʾchō “come, because a dragon has appeared”.

e) Temporal Clauses. rḥaʿrām-a ʾče ʾchemtūn “when spring comes”; haʿwī ʾwaxtī ʾče tū ʾpādsā ʾchē “from the time when thou becamest a king”.

f) Relative Clauses. V. 139.

g) Conditional Clauses. saʿbā ham ʾče ʾzī, ʾzū ʾchaṭāʾi-a te dahem “if thou comest to-morrow, I shall give thee one rupee”; ʾče ṣḥānjaʿ ʾlaškar paʿidā paʿrī-a, ʾjavaq kāʾren-ē naʾrē “if an army appears somewhere, canst thou fight it?” Regarding conditional clauses with agar v. below.

agar “if”.

222. In conditional clauses that may be realized, the verb is frequently put in the past tense in the protasis and in the aorist in the apodosis (cf. Phillott, § 128, e): agar naʿrim, saʿbā ʾzīm, agar ʾna-m naʿrī, ʾna-ē ʾzīm “if I can, I shall come to-morrow, if I cannot, I shall not come” (v. 205; but: agar ʾmēren-ē ʾna narem, xu xaʾrem te “if I cannot kill it, I shall certainly eat it”); agar tū ʾosp ʾyunt, mà baxšāʾa dahem M “if thou findest the horse, I shall give thee a bakhshish”. Cf. also: agar ʾosp-e mà hari, tū paidāʾe kan M “if my horse is lost, thou must find it”; agar mà čāwar ʾosp dhōr, pursān-emān kanta, ʾče kān-ēn “if we see some horses, we ask to whom they belong”; agar ʾphōr yulū ʾdērō bōn, ʾō xukān hāseʿi yulū ʾawura bōn, ʾpāntōn ʾče “if he has much grain, and his field has yielded much, he understands that . . .”.

Without agar: ʾzā gāi ʾyusī narjē, ʾmērem-au te “if thou goest out of the house a second time, I shall kill thee”.
With the aorist tense in the protasis: *agar sāl če kimaːti bē*, ...
ā... *guzarān-an ċhemitōn* “if it is a year of dearth, we live...”; *agar khin če 'xāeš-e jīnc bəroika dērō bē*, ...
ā *kantōn* “if anybody should wish to take a wife, he makes...”; *aga mu kun biyā bē, kāri bē* “if I shall have a brother, may he be good”. Also in conditional clauses, the conditions of which are not realized: *tū aze ːya bē, mun žū čhatāːi dā bē* “if thou hadst come yesterday, I would have given thee one rupee.”
TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

I.

Standard Sentences (LSI.). (M).

220. 'nâm-i 'tân 'kâ?  "What is thy name?"
221. 'umr-i ha'wi ' ospik'a čâ sâr-â?  "How old is this horse?"
222. 'ečen zâ Šwül 'čeka d'èrin-a?  "How far is it from here to Shutul?"
223. tân 'bâwik'a 'yus čâ 'puš hēn?  "How many sons are there in thy father's house?"
224. ni'hēk pa'nân-e d'èrin čêm.  "I have walked a long way today".
225. kâ'kā 'puš-um xi hori 'âdâm'i'ka 'jin' ghit.  "The son of my uncle is married to the sister of that man".
226. 'zin-e 'osp-e čhâfo'k'a ma 'yus si.  "In the house is the saddle of the white horse".
227. 'zin 'pu-t-ar-e 'ospik'a 'lâm da.  "Put the saddle upon the back of the horse".
228. 'udâ 'puš-am yâlâ'ba dehi.  "I have beaten his son much".
229. hē 'âdâm sô 'dhâr-a 'mâl ca'rêcetûn.  "This man is grazing cattle on the top of the hill".
230. hē 'âdâm sôwâr 'zêr-i ti 'nhaştô.  "This man is sitting on a horse under the tree".
231. bi'yâ-i 'xi tar-e 'ghând-a.  "His brother is taller than his sister".
232. ha'wi 'zâik'a bâi di wo 'rhûč rupâvi-a.  "The price of this thing is two rupees and a half".
233. bāw-om činō 'yun tar 'nhaštō-a. “My father lives in the small house”.
234. ha'wī rupa'i 'udē kō da. “Give this rupee to him”.
235. udhe'kā tar rupa'i'q gurē. “Take the rupees from him”.
236. 'mōnde xūb 'deh, 'bāz guri 'munde beš. “Beat him well and bind him with a rope”.
237. ho'wei čā'i 'āwo ner. “Draw water from the well”.
238. da'māi čō. “Walk before me”.
239. kān 'puš-a pēs 'tū tar 'wehō? “Whose boy comes behind thee?”
240. 'ki tar-a ha'wī 'zā 'ghitō? “From whom didst thou buy that?”
241. zu dukān'dār-e deā'tī. “From a shopkeeper of the village”.

II.

A Dialogue (G).

A. 'Tū 'khānjāi ē? “From where art thou?”
B. Ān Ĉutul'-em. “I am from Shutul”.
A. 'Tū či'kun ā'γē? “Why hast thou come?”
B. Ān 'mūkar-em. “I am a soldier”.
A. 'Mōn kun sau'γāt na 'āwur? “Hast thou not brought me a present?”
B. Ān 'tu kun če sau'γāt ārēm? Ma'nā 'sāt tar sau'γāt na sū če 'tū kōn ārēm. “What present should I bring thee? In my village there is no present which I can bring thee”.
A. 'Mun kōn 'pišt-e ka'būt yā 'chaččō 'ār, ān-ē xa'rēm. “Bring me blue or white mulberry-flour, and I will eat it”.
B. Ārēm-ē. “I will bring it”.

III.

The Prodigal Son (M).

Zū ādam dī puš dērō būn. Puš-e činō bāw kun-ē jāri:
One man two son(s) having was. Son little father to-his said:
"Ai bâw, haweï mâl-â taxsim kan ma kân¹ hisâb da."
"O father, that property-thine division make, me to share give".

Bâw mâl-e xukâ taxsim kur, sâyân-e xukâ kun-e
Father property his-own division made sons his-own to-he
dâ. Câ ruç pèsc(h)ân puš-e çinô-ê mâlân-ê jam
gave. Some day(s) afterwards son little-his possessions-his collected
kur; mulk-e dörin tar raucân ç(h)i. Okâ mâl-e xukân-ê
made, country far to going went. There property his-own-he
bibâki gum kur. Wacti çi hawi mâlân hawi bâlô-e
completely lost made. Time when those possessions that son
çinô-ê gum kurû, hê mulk tar kâti saxti ç(h)i,
little-his lost had made, this country in famine hard became,
[hawi bâlô hawi mâlân hawi watan tar harêwi, qâti uštâ]
[that boy those possessions that land in spent, famine arose,]
hê bâlô yurûa ç(h)i. Tartar-e žû âdâm-e mutabar ç(h)i,
this boy hungry became. In-front-of one man rich he-went,
nûkar ç(h)i. Hô âdâm xukân yanir tar-ê râhi kur, yarô,
servant became. That man own field to-him going made, sheep
çârêwa. Hê bâlô d(h)êwi çi hawi giâi yarvêka
he-shall-graze. This boy wished that that grass-of the sheep (gen.1)
xârtûn, hawi alâfi dhêwi çê xara. [Hawi bâlô ba
is eating that grass he-wished that he-may-eat. [That boy to
xu zor jari: "Hê giâ yarô xârtûn, mà xareman.
his-own heart said: "This grass the-sheep is-eating, we may-eat.
K(h)in uđê kun zâ na dâ. Sôr tar-ê žu múî hušî
Anyone him to anything not gave. Head to-his one hair of-sense
âya, jari: "Da bâw-om çawar mazdûr hên, yalaba-in
came, he-said: "With father-my some servant(s) are, much-they-are

¹ = mu(n) kun or mâkhân?
nayon xartan, sir c(h)en, walekin ma enehak yurcagi bread eating, satisfied they become, but we here from-hunger mereman. Ma usteman, da baw-om am param, mundu jarem: are-dying. We will-rise, to father-my also I-will-go, (to)him I-will-say:

'Ma da Xudä, da tu guna kurum. Ma layaq na-iman, 'We with God, with thou sin have-done-I. We worthy not-are,

tu ma mun puš guri. Ma ma mazl-i zü muzdur gure'.

thou me son callest (takest). Us like one servant take'.

Waepest usta, da baw-e xukân c(h)i. Baw-e dorini

Again he rose, to father his-own he-went. Father-his from-afar mende dhör, zor-ë the, da he bâlô-ë hala kor, dost him saw, heart-his burnt, to this boy-his running made, hand mandô tar-ë andazë, mundë muz-ë machi kor. Puš baw kun jari:

neck on-his laid, him-he face-his kiss made. Son father to said:

"Ai baw, ma da Xudai, da tu gunagár-iman; ma layaq na-iman,

"O father we with God, with thee sinner(s)-are we worthy not-are,

tu ma mun puš jartun." Baw xukân nukarân kun farmusi:

thou me son (art) calling." Son his-own servants to commanded:

"Kalâ xub ärür, mundë ayunewur, angust-ar-ë angustari

"Dress good bring-you, him dress-you, finger on-his ring kanûr, pâ tar-ë kausarâ kanûr. Nayon xariman, xušwardi make-you, foot on-his shoe make-you. Bread let-us-eat, merriment kaniman, ca puš-an mura bûn, badë jame c(h)û; harô let-us-make, because son-our dead was, now alive has-become; lost bûn, badô-om yoënt. Pëste xušwardi-an kor.

was, now I found. Then merriment they made.

Bad(h)eq puš-e ghânë mà yanir hûst. Nazdk-e ma yusika âya.

Now son big in field was. Near to-the-house he-came.
"E yax-an hôt, xuśwaydi-an kor, baid-an dar kûp kor, hauwi yax gû kunê ága [hôt]. E žû nûkar sadâê that voice ear to-his came [he heard]. He one servant calling-he k(h)ôji: "Xuśwaydi či-kâ kantân?" Nûkar jarî če: asked: "Merriment what-for (they) are-making?" Servant said that: "Biya-i tân ága, baw-a yalaba nayôn dâ." E bâlô "Brother thine came, father-thy much bread gave." This boy xafa č(h)i, ma yus na č(h)i. Bawê ma bôr naryô, angry became, in house not went. Father-his outdoor emerged, yalaba minnat kor. Bâlô baw kun jarî: "Buč(h), yalaba sâl much entreating made. Boy father to said: "See, many year(s) mâ xizmat-e tâ kantân, hêc gašt az hukm-i tân bêrûn we service thine are-making, any time from command thine outside na č(h)i mân. Hêc kabî tû žû eştên mâ kun na dâ, če mâ not we-went. Any time thou one kid us to not gave, that we dôst o rafîq pen xariman, xuśwaxt pariman. Badê friend(s) and comrade(s) with may-eat, happy we-may-become. Now hauwi puš-e tân ágyô, hauwi kançani pen mâl-e tânê yuêm that son thine has come, those harlot(s) with property thine-he lost kurû, tû udê kun yalaba nayôn dâ." Bawê jucâpê has-made, thou him to much bread gave." Father-his answer-him jarî: "Ai puš, tû mudâm däl-um hê, harci či mâk(h)ân-a, gave: "O son, thou always with-me art, whatever that ours -is, tân-a. Walê munâsib-a če xuśwaydi kaniman, čà biya-i thine-is. But necessary-is that merriment we-make, because brother tân mura bûn, janwê č(h)i, harô bûn, badê paidâ čhi. thine dead was alive became, lost was, now appeared became.
IV.

Anecdotes.

LSI. X, p. 244. Örmürî, Spec. 2. (M).

Sultân Mâmûd zu gaşt zu diwân ko ja'âri: "'Zêr'i tân-a Sultan Mahmud one time one madman to said: "Heart thine-is 'çe 'dhevetun?" Ja'âri çe: "'Zêr'i ma'nân-a ya'roîka 'dum what wanting?" He-said that: "Heart mine-is sheep's tail 'dhevetun." Sultân te'ç(h)ân penê ma zu 'âdam ni'sân dâ çe: wanting." Sultan eyes' with-his to one man sign gave that:

"'Udê kun zu 'zardak dâ." Zu 'zardak-a (ê?) 'âvura bûn, hoî "Him to one carrot give." One carrot-he brought had, that diwân xûr. Sar-i xudê 'sûr korê, khani. Sultân madman ate. Head his-own-he shaking made-he, be-laughed. Sultan mundê ja'âri: "'Câ-i khântûn?" Jáwâpê ja'âri: "Ha'wê to-him said: "Why-art-thou laughing?" Answer-he said: "That kér tar-em khântûn, ha'wî wâxtî ciò tû 'pâdšâ c(h)ê, matter from-I-am laughing, that time-from that thou king becamest, ha'wî 'dumba-i ya'roîka çâr'bû na 'dëra." that tail of-sheep fat not has."

(Phon., G: Sultân Mâmûd zu gaşt zu diwân kun ja'âri: "Zu'î tânâ 'çî dheveton?" Ja'âri çe: "Zu'î ma'nâna ya'roîka 'dum dheveton?" Sultân te'çhân penê ma zu 'âdam ni'sân dâ çe: "'Udê kun zu 'zardak dâ." Zu 'zardakê 'âvura bûn, hoî diwân xûr, Sore xu'kînê 'sûr kyr (nôt) khani. Sultân mundê ja'âri: "'Cûi khântûn?" Jáwâh(-p)ê ja'âri: "Ha'wê kér tarem khântûn, ho'vî wâxtî ciò tô 'pâdša çhi, ha'vî dum-bai ya'roîka çâr'bû na 'dëra." 1

1 In these transcriptions from the phonograph I have, for practical reasons used a, â, not a, â.
LSI. X, p. 245. Örmüri, Spec. 3. (M).

"Zu 'ādām bin, langūtā-i fa'qir 'ghit, čaťa'ki. Fa'qir One man was, turban-of mendicant seized, ran-away. Mendicant č(i)h, karbi'stān tar n-hōšt. Mundē sůlānī jaři: "Çā ēg went, cemetery in sat-down. To-him someone said: "Why here nhaštō hē? Hē 'ādām bāxča tar č(h)i." Fa'qir jwvāb sitting art-thou? This man garden to went." Mendicant answer dā: "'Āxir ē ēg ēē." gave: "Ultimately he here will-come."

(Phon., G: Zu 'ādām bin, langūtā-i faqir 'ghit, čaťa'ki. Faqir qabristān tar n-hōšt. Mundē sůlānī jaři: Çā ekeštak n'haštē? Hē 'ādām bāxča tar č(h)i." Fa'kir jwvāb dā: Ç'Āxir ē ēg ēē.)

LSI. X, p. 246. Örmüri, Spec. 4. (M).

"Zu 'ādām bi'ayl č(h)i, sū pa'nanē zu 'āhen (a'ina) yunt. Da One man stupid went, on road-he one mirror found. In 'umār-e xwkānē hēc 'āhen na dhōrah būn. 'ala'ba xūshāl č(h)i, life his-own-he any mirror not seen had. Very happy he-became, khānī. Mendē ē'dān xīyāl bur: "Ahēna k(h)i'ān-i zāika he-laughed. Him of-this thought carried: "Mirror somebody else's bin, hē 'ādām ē 'dhōr, xōwAND-e āenekva bin." Sōr-e was, this man whom he-saw, owner of-mirror was." Head xukānē sûrē kor, ude ja'āri: "Hē 'zā māl-i tān-a; his-own-his shaking-he made, he said: "This thing property thine-is 'mā ma 'tō lām dāiman." Wa'pēš ra'mī, unēhākē lām dā, we to thee left will-make. Back he-went, there-he left-it made, ra'wān č(h)i.
going went.

Žū dīwāna da darwāza-i dawlatmandi'ka ʾāra, ʾzā-ʾe
One madman at door of rich-man came something-he
ʾdhewi. Darūn-e ʾγusi ʾγax naʾγū ʾče: "Zaʾif ma
asked-for. Within of house-from voice emerged that Woman in
ʾγus na ʿhā." Mendē dīwāna jāri: "Ma ʿzu naʾγū ʾdhewi,
house not is." To him madman said: "We one bread asked-for,
zaʾif-an na ʾdhewā, ʾče ʾhekezm jwāb daʾhā.
woman-we not have-asked-for, that such answer he-should-give."


Žū haʾkimjū karbēstān tar guwarz kōr, ʾmūx-e rūʾmāl pen ʿūafsī.
One doctor graveyard to passing did, face-he scarf with he-covered.
Žū raʾfik-e ʿude tar k(h)ōʾjī; "He ʾče saʿbap-a?" ʾHe
One comrade-his him from asked: "This what reason-is?" This
haʾkim jāri: "Xalk tar xarbēstān tar šarmenda-em; ʾdārū
doctor said: "People from graveyard in ashamed-I-am; medicine
tar-e māʾkhān ʾhuss ʾmūr."
from our all died."

(Phon. G.: Žū haʾkimjū karbēstān tar guwarz kōr, ʾmūxē rūʾmāl pen ʿūafsī. Žū raʾfikē ʿude tar k(h)ōʾjī: ʾHe ʾčī saʿbāpā? ʾHe haʾkim jāri: "Xalk tar karbēstān tar šarmenda-em. ʾDārū tarē māʾkhān ʾhus mūr."

¹ First: karbīn.
V. (T).

Ţü pala'wă bi, 'nâm-ê Ha'nîfa bi, _separator_ yu'sî nap'çô, _separator_ šî 'mâneše-xu'kân ham'â ghit. Hu cõr-ê c'hê sekâr ko. Ţü mai'dân tarî za'hên, ze'rës, kâbûtâr sekâr-an kor, zâe ce kury-e dhârî pai'llân tar-an âya de'hi-an. Ŷu'lû sekâr-an kor, ma â'hû-an hum yu'lû dhi, ma husse-an ţü jâi jâm kor, zu-r-an 'chi, ce zën yus-wa'nô.


V.

There was a warrior whose name was Hanifa, he went out from home and took three of his own men with him. They all four went shooting. They came to a plain and shot partridges and pigeons; whatever kinds of mountain-birds appeared before them, they killed. They made a good bag, they killed many deer also and collected all of them in one place. Then they had a mind to go home.

Suddenly dustclouds rose, and suddenly out of the dust forty persons appeared, one of them went in front, and the rest kept back. She (: the one who went in front) said: "Who are you who have come to my shooting-ground?" He said: "I am a warrior, and my name is Hanifa." Then he said: "Tell me your name. Who are you?" She answered: "I am Zaighun." They started quarrelling. He struck her with his sword, and she him; they both fought. This girl whose name was Zaighun, was a very mighty warrior. She thrust a spear at Mahmad Hanifas neck. He fell from his horse to the ground. He remained unconscious for four days. She came to cut off his head; but she saw that he was not alive at all, all his veins being dead, and on account of his beauty she did not sever his head.

1 či'či az mury-i koh ce ba pënev (dûcâr)-išân ámat, zadan.
2 i šra zad, ŋi ira.
Huddé a'muika pušán-é, če ham'rá-é bèn, hal'lä koř ha'wi pala'wán wa'nö. Pala'wá 'dhör, če 'huddi bálá 'áyé, ma huddin'án-e bálána žů 'döst pen ho'wi kaští-pala'wán 'uli'sí, ma huddi bálán ho'wi pala'wán žů 'döst pen 'böst, ma huddin'án-e 'taré 'yušt, čhěn dál 'pádsá če baw-e ho'wi palawaní'ká. Baw-é ja-'ri: «Tů- é ča ba še'kár 'whětön? Žá 'gái če čhě 'měrem-á te.» Mendé pala'wá 'bur-é, žů yus tar ban'ái koř, če: "Žá 'gái hó bisar'ýá na ka'né!")

Mende lam daheman, bade sôr ha'wi 'âdamí 'guříman, če Zař'yon 'dehô bó. Čôr ruč 'bâd če é ba huš 'áya, jâ'í uštá, pi wo 'pü xu'ká thà'ri, 'dhör-é če huddi bálána na hen. Elm-e é'dân 'áya, če ha'wi pala'wán ma 'muné de'hi, mendé huddé bálán-é bur ban'ái. Muy'bel 'yu'läm-é ham ma 'dál-é 'áya, 'šukur-é koř če: «Tu ham 'janô čhě; čôr ruč tar tu 'mura bë, 'rông-au yala'ba 'žit phe'rô.» Huddin'án-é râfî čhên yus wa'nö.

Mâma-ì 'dhör če puš-om 'áya. Pailán tar-e pušik-a-ì 'áya, ma puš-é thà'ri, če 'rông-é yala'ba 'žitô-a, ja-'ři: «Ča 'rông-e tân žitô-a?» Ja-'ři: «Ô 'mâma, čì 'jar tô? Ma 'mán žů růži gudarô 'sôri-m, če

Both his cousins, who accompanied him, came running towards this warrior (: the girl¹). She saw the two boys coming; and that warriormaid seized both of the boys with one hand, bound them both with one hand, and drove them in front of her; they went to the king who was the father of that warriormaid. Her father said: "Why do you go out shooting? If you go out another time, I shall kill you." Then he took this warrior and imprisoned her in a house [saying]: "Do not show such disobedience another time!

Let us leave her and turn now to the man whom Zaighun had struck. Four days afterwards, when he recovered consciousness, he rose from the place, looked about him in all directions, and saw that the two boys were not there. Then he understood that this warrior had struck him and had carried both the boys away as prisoners. His slave Muqbil came to him and thanked God [saying]: "You have come back to life; for four days you were dead, and your colour had turned very pale." They both started homewards.

His mother saw that her son was coming. She came forward towards her son, she saw that his colour was very yellow, and she said: "Why is your colour so pale?" He answered: "Oh mother, what words are

¹ ba taraf-i duxtar.

Mâcî tânâ dâ če: "Tû kašte'ka dô-stî cha're, čôr ruč bî'huš Żzâhê, 'na-em 'pântôn, če 'ô za'nêngi 'kašte bin, če ma tô-ê 'dhi čôr ruč bî'huš cha're. Mun 'dhûraŋ mâcî 'dérô bi; Hâîdar bâw-a bê, ma tô źû 'kašte 'dêha! Höd 'wyâr, hôt ruč xu xu'm bî'aw-pen-a 'jang kor, har če-um kor, âxîr-ê ma 'mûn 'dhi. Mun ham 'bîte men'dhêk bî'aw-û 'gîtî, ma tô źû 'kašte 'dhi? Ba 'khâîn sôr-au 'âyê?" Puš-ê jaři these (: what do you say)? A day [of ill-luck] has passed over my head, do not ask," His mother said: "What day [of ill-luck] has passed? Tell me!" He answered: "I had come to a plain, and [there] a youth fought with me. But I understood that that youth were a girl." His mother said: "How did you understand that she were a girl?" Mahmâd Ha'nîfa said: "I understood it for this reason that the whole of her body, down to her knees, trembled on the horse; then I understood that she were a girl. But she struck me a hard blow. I fell down [and lay] senseless for four days; when I awoke she was not there, nor the sons of my uncle, nor the forty horsemen who were with her. I remained perplexed as to what I should do, and, being helpless, I came home."

His mother rallied him [and said]: "You fell by the hand of a girl, and for four days you remained senseless; I do not understand what kind of girl she could be, who could strike you [in such a way that] you fell [and lay there] for four days. Can you have a mother like me¹ and can Hâîdar be your father, and yet a girl can beat you? I myself fought for seven nights and seven days with your father; but whatever I did, he finally beat me. Then I took this father of yours; but a girl has beaten your head?"²

¹ misl-i mâ mâadar dâsta bâsî.
² ba kudâm sar-it âmâdi "to which head of yours have you come?"
Her son said: "Stop, mother! You have thrown fire into my heart. If you, who are my mother, have jeered at me in this way, then other people will always jeer at me."

He took the slave who was with him and went out of his mother's house. He said to his slave Muq'bil: "Saddle my horse quickly, because, on account of my mother's jeers, I have no strength left to stay here." He took an oath [saying]: "As long as I do not bring that girl bound together with her father, I shall not come again to this country." He took this oath and departed.

His mother's heart turned towards him [and she thought]: "I have mocked my son, so that he will not again take this road, but will go in some [other] direction." She ordered her maids [saying]: "Go to Mahmad Hanifa's house, and bring me tidings of him, whether he is at home or not." They went, and came back. She said: "Was he not at home?" They answered: "He was not." She said: "Go, and wherever you find him, bring me tidings of him quickly." When the maids had searched everywhere, and had not found out anything about him, they came back to his mother and said: "We have searched everywhere, but have not found him." She understood that he had taken to the road on account of her railing, and had gone forth to

1 na ki hami rára báz bigira, kudám taraf burawa.
that place again. She said to her maids: “Saddle my horse also, that I, too, may go and search for him. If Haidar becomes aware of it, what answer shall I give him?”

Her son went by one road, and his mother went by another road. His mother came quickly before her son to the forest where the shooting-ground was. When she arrived there, she saw that the girl had come again, and forty horsemen were with her. When this warrior-maid, whom Muhammad Hanifa had seen, saw his mother, she approached her and said: “Who are you, who have come to my shooting-ground?” She said: “It is I, Bibi Hanifa is my name.”

When she caught her name, the warrior-maid went towards her, struck her on the head with her sword, cut two fingers’ breadth into her head, and she (Bibi Hanifa) became senseless. Her horse was swift, it ran and came back from the other side. She regained consciousness, then she, too, struck the girl with her sword, and cut off all four of her horse’s feet. Her horse fell, and she shouted: “Bring me a horse quickly, because he has struck my horse.” They brought her a horse, and she mounted it.

Suddenly a cry was heard; she (: Zaighun) approached the place where Muhammad Hanifa was standing ready to fight, having led his

Awaʾlīna ʿālīšāʾō, maʾ 'Mahmad Hanīfān mōʾnī ʾghīt-ē, ʾe har ʾe qūwat kōr, qūwat-ē kerʾ na koʾr, jāʾī heẓ ʾjuʾkēwen na naʾrī, ʾōʾspē mother's horse back by the bridle. 2 She asked: "Who are you?" He answered: "I am Mahmad Hanifa." She said: "But I had smitten him, how is it that he has escaped alive?" He answered: "God protected me; but if you escape now from my clutches, I shall know that you are indeed a warrior." They both started fighting with their swords. Zaighun aimed a blow at Mahmad Hanifa with her sword; but he parried it, and it did not hit him. They both fought, holding each other in a tight embrace, she pulling at him, and he at her. Neither she nor he fell to the ground; the strength of both was equal. Then his mother saw: "Mahmad Hanifa is becoming exhausted, now he must flee(?), lest she beat him." She uncovered her head, fell down facing God [and said]: "Save my son from the powerful one, I have entrusted him to thee." And there came a voice from God above: "Go and tell thy son that they shall both mount their horses; he shall seize her by the waist, and she him, and they shall try their strength. Then behold my perfection." She grappled him first and seized him by the waist; but however much she exerted herself, her strength was of no avail; she could not move him from the spot, and his horse stuck in the mud up to the

1 We should expect: ēːmundē . . . . ŏʾmendē.

2 «brought back the bridle of his mother's horse.»

3 qūwat-īš kam ast, ājēs āmad, hāli kāl-īš ast, nāi ke bezana.
Mama-i' aya dál 'puš-e, ja'rí če: "Huš kan, men'dé dha'ram tar na la'm daí (=dahe), če Cha'ra, nai če sár 'parya. 'ân gax-e yai'bi höt če: "E tân 'jinč-a'. 'Mahmad Ha'nífa mâma-i'ka gap-e ka'bül kor, az'mán wanö-i thárí, če wa'khéi wa'hen 'āya. Hawerpung söl döst-e dha'rëwí, ka'rërehe-e ma 'dharam-e 'unt. Bur'ka kašte'ka mu'xi duri'ın čí, men'dé ma 'mux-e, 'Mahmad Ha'nífa dhör, asux-e čhi, ma 'su ruč eke'stak 'Mahmad Ha'nífa bi'huš čha're'; bádağ 'su ruč bád ba huš 'āya."

Mama-i gax kor, ja'rí če: "Dál mun 'že!" Mama-i hala kanen 'āya, ja'rí: "Men'dí-lm máha'qam bežem, men'dé 'gure, čá 'yus wa'nö, če-eom 'qasam 'xürö, tâ če 'báw-e bežem na 'enem, wa'tan tar-e na 'žim." Mama-i 'čhi rux ba 'yus, pala'wán 'čhi rux ba 'báw-e kaštiká.

knees. Then he said: "Now you have tried your strength, and it is my turn." She answered: "Seize me by the waist, and use all the strength you have." He stretched out his hand and seized Zaighun's belt, and tried his strength. Suddenly he dragged her from the horse, and threw her high up towards the sky; she went straight towards the stars.

His mother came to her son and said: "Take care, don't let her fall down to the ground, lest she be hurt. I have heard a hidden voice saying that she is your wife." Mahmud Hanifa obeyed his mother's words, and looking towards the sky [he saw] that she was whirling down. He held her in this way with his hands, and let her slowly down to the ground. The veil slipped away from the girl's face, and Mahmud Hanifa saw her face. He fell in love with her, and, falling down, lay senseless on the spot for three days. After three days he regained consciousness.

Then his mother spoke, saying: "Come to me." He came running to his mother and said: "I shall bind her firmly, do you take her and go home. I have sworn not do come home, till I can bring her father bound with me." His mother went homeward, and the warrior (Mahmud Hanifa) sought the girl's father.
Żu méhí bád za'hí wa'tan tar-e bawîka'i. Žu wil šam'ser-e nôt, da de'hô cha'ri, yala'ba-i urî. Sa'hûr ce chi, e'dàn pâi'lân tar-an hôt 'cà hô'pât, ma hôt 'cà-n xaš'pûš kor. Ù'â pharî âyên, pala'wan phyâri 'chi. Ùsp-e žu wil hengas kor, sî kam'č'in-e dehi, na hâ'zî. Ba čôrom'gî ùsp 'rist kor, xi câl rhâ'zî, âxa'ri tar-e cha'ri, mên 'cà tar. Thârî-an, ce pala'wa mên 'cà cha'ri, žu wil ma 'laškar yax-e kor. Laškar zà-e ce 'bin 'âya dâl 'Aram 'Sà. Ja'ri ce: "Zâ-i ce hêr, 'ger yu'hôr, ba 'zarb-e 'girika-i mè'rîr!" Ù'â zà-i ce 'bên, 'gir-an 'yoîst, 'cà 'thar 'chî az 'gir. Ù'ân ja'ri ce: "Badê mu'r, mu'zôr, 'pareman 'sâr wanô!" Ù'â chên 'sâr wanô, ma ùsp-e-an âle'sî-an.

Ma žu pâdšâ pen-e ha'wî pala'wa'jang 'ku'ra bôn. Nâm-e hô'wî pâdšâ'i'ka Mî'ât bîn, 'edê pen-e bi'yâdar-xanda'gî 'ghîta bôn. È 'âya sôr 'cà.

Mende qessa 'lam daheman, sôr hô'wî kašte'i du'bâra 'guriman. Hô'wî kaštî, ce 'Mahmad Hanî-fân mâçî pen 'rux ba 'yus 'cho bôn, žu mai'dân tar-e 'cho bôn, ce yâphu'nê 'saxt chi. Žu wil je-hân 'gard yu'bár âli'sî, mendê 'Bibi Hanîfa yâphu'nê khû kor, 'bur-e,

One month later he arrived in her father's land. At once he drew his sword, started fighting and slew many. When the morning came, they dug seven wells in front of him and covered them. They came from one side, and the warrior advanced from the other side. Suddenly his horse neighed, and he whipped it three times; but it did not move. The fourth time the horse leapt, flew over the six wells, but fell into the seventh. They saw that the warrior had fallen into the well, and he (Aram Shah) at once called the army. The whole army came to Aram Shah. He said: "Throw stones all of you, and kill him with stone-pelting." All of them threw stones, and the well was filled with stones. Then they said: "Now he is dead, come, let us go to the town." They went to the town, and seized his horse.

This warrior had [formerly] fought with a certain king. The name of this king was Miáat, and he had entered blood-brotherhood with him. He came to the well.

Let us leave this tale and revert to the girl. When this girl, who had gone home with Mahmâd Hanîfa's mother, had come to a certain plain, a strong wind arose. Suddenly clouds of dust covered the world, and the wind lifted Bibi Hanîfa up, carried her away, and

1 the father of Zaighun.
brought her straight home. She saw that she was suddenly at home, and had arrived in her own land. She saw also that the girl whose name was Zaighun, was not there. These two had been separated from one another.

The girl, whose hands he had bound, saw one thousand horsemen approaching. One of these thousand horsemen was a prince. He was a great warrior, and when he saw her face, he fell in love with her. At once he said to those horsemen: “Go, run, seize her and bring her to me.” They went and seized her and brought her to him. He said: “Take her to my place.” They brought this girl to his place.

A sorceress appeared and the warrior said: “O sorceress, she will in nowise lie with me, she has no love [for me].” [The sorceress] said: “I shall arrange this affair to-night.” She went to the girl whose name was Zaighun, she boiled milk for her and said: “Drink this. I shall go and give some to the prince also.” The girl said: “I will not drink it.” She placed the milk on the fireplace, and the old woman who practised sorcery had a dream. In this dream she saw two men coming, who burned her in this fire. The woman said:
"Why do you burn me in the fire?" They answered: "You are a sorceress, go, untie the hands of Zaighun."

She went to Zaighun, threw herself at her feet and said: "O Zaighun, forgive me whatever I have sinned against you." Zaighun answered "I have forgiven you." She (also) said: "Untie these my hands which are bound." The old woman went away and fetched a saw and a file and released her hands. She asked: "Have you got a sword?" [The old woman] answered: "Yes." She asked: "Have you got a good horse also?" She answered: "I have." She brought the sword and the horse to Zaighun. She girdled her waist, they saddled her horse, she put shoes on her feet and a sword round her neck. She mounted the horse, and went to fight. Suddenly she went and when she saw the guards she killed them.

The rest of the army became aware of this; they at once ran towards the warrior whose name was Zaighun. She started fighting amongst them and killed many of them; the remaining survivors(1) of them were defeated. She appointed a mulla there, and they came into the power of Zaighun. Thence she went back towards her father's place. Ten days later she arrived in her father's land.

She saw that many people were assembled in one place. She spoke and asked one of them: "What is this?". He answered: "They
have thrown Mahmad Hanifa into a well, and intend to kill him."
Then she drew her sword, ran and entered amongst them, and started fighting. She killed plenty of them, and the rest of them fled. Pursuing them she carried them away(?). They entered the castle, and shut the gate of the castle.

Suddenly she remembered Mahmad Hanifa [fearing] that someone might kill him. She went back and came to the well into which Mahmad Hanifa had fallen. She saw that he was alive and not dead. Mahmad Hanifa spoke from the well: "Assuredly, Zaighun, you are my friend, draw me out of the well." She tied a halter to a shield, threw the shield down into the well and said: "Sit down on it, and I will pull you out." He sat down on the shield; but however much she exerted herself, she could not pull him out. He shouted from the well: "There is my slave Muqbil, call him."

She called his slave, he came, they both tried with all their might, and pulled him out of the well. They saw that his feet were torn from the ankles and down. He was in great pain, and said: "Leave me here alone, and go your way." They left him, and both went away. Suddenly some fairies appeared and fell in love with Mahmad
Hanifa. They lifted him up and carried him behind the seven curtains of Kohika. His feet became healed.

Let us leave him behind the curtains of Kohika and return to the warrior Zaighun. When she came [back] to the well, she saw that Mahmud Hanifa was not there. She wept bitterly and drew her sword to kill herself. They entreated her very earnestly and said: “Why should you kill yourself? “Then she said to Muqbil: “Come, let us go to our country, perhaps we may catch him.” Muqbil went before and Zaighun behind, and they went towards the city of Medina. One month later they arrived at Medina, but did not proceed further than to the graveyards, because she had sworn not to enter the town without her friend Mahmud Hanifa.

His slave Muqbil, who was with Mahmud Hanifa, went and told the people and said: “Zaighun has come here; but whatever I say, she will not enter the town. She said that she would not enter the town without her friend Mahmud Hanifa.” They said: “Where is Mahmud Hanifa?” He answered: “I do not know either; I have lost him.”

¹ This statement is inconsistent with what has just been said about the fate of Mahmud Hanifa. Or: höst = ‘used to be’?


Ucen'dī rāhī čhēn, āγēn sōr karbēstān-e Baqe'a za'hēn; karbēstān-e Baqe'a nez'dik-e šāri'kān bin. Bite eke'stak Mahmad Hanīfā a'wē āya če: 'Ān qa'sam 'ṣūrā bōn, tā če ma Zaiγūn bāw pen-e be'zen 'na 'ēnem, waťan tar-e 'na paRam.'

Haidar uttered a cry, and all the men who were there, assembled and said: "Why did you utter this ill-omened outcry?" He said: "My son is lost." They asked: "Who has told you so?" He said: "Zaighun herself has come." He recited a prayer and raised his hands in supplication and said: "O God, where is my son?" A hidden voice was heard: "Thy son is behind the seven curtains of Kohikaf; unless the warrior-maid Zaighun, who loves him, will bring him, nobody else can bring him."

Then they girdled the waist of Zaighun and gave her the name of Mahmad Hanifa.1 They prayed and went away, they arrived amongst the demons, fought much with them, and subdued them. Then she took leave of them and went away. She came to a river and plunged into it. One month later she reached the farther shore of the river, and came close to the curtains of Kohikaf. She rose from there and penetrated behind Kohikaf, and saw that her friend was there. They embraced. Then they set off and came to the graveyard of Baeqa. The graveyard of Baeqa was close to their town. There Mahmad Hanifa remembered again that he had sworn not to enter his own country, till he brought Zaighun bound together with her father.

1 nām-i M. H. sar-i as Z. māndan.
Ma ḥaḥaṣr-e ruxṣat k̡or, xuxu-ê ham Mahmad Hanîfa ma 'yus wanô na čî, câ ce: "An qa'sam xûrlò, tâ ce Zai'yûn baw pen-ê bezen ma ônem, yus wa'nô-ê na ḳem." Eca'nî jârî wo râhî čî ba jang, pêšçhan-ê bâw-ê ham râhî čî, za'hî Aram Šâ'â jâi tar, če Zaiyûnân bâw bêm.

Eke'stak-ê šam'sèr nôt, da jang a'pâ čî. Phârî laḥaṣr-e Aram Šâ'â āya, phyârî ē čî. Da jang čašpî, as ka'râri de'hi, če yûlu-ê mât, ecen'dî isâb-ê khîn na 'yont. Aram Šâ šîkast xûr, uçen'dî ça'tâ'kî byâyi'ka wa'tan tar-ê. Õ ham un'hâk 'pâdšâ bîn, hûd biyâ 'Aram Šâ dérô bûn, har 'khân-ê har 'mulk tar 'pâdšâ bîn. Õxer ul 'amr ma hôt biyâ-i šîkas dâ.

VI (T).

Mahmad Hanîfa 'Sâheb źu ruč 'yus tar 'nhaštö hóst, ha'wâ-e šekârî'ka sôr tar-ê āya. Ma źsp-ê źin kor, su'wâr čî. Čî, 'côr duba'ra-i Ma'dînaîka čûmî, hec šekår-ê na kor. Râhî čî źu jaŋgal

He took leave of the army; but Mahmad Hanifa did not himself go home, because he had sworn not to come home, till he could bring Zaighun bound together with her father. Then he spoke and went out to fight. His father also started after him, and they came to the place of Aram Shah, who was the father of Zaighun.

There he drew his sword and stood up to fight. From one side came the army of Aram Shah, and he came from the other side. He got embroiled in the fight, he fought without stopping 1 and killed many, and nobody knew their number. Aram Shah was defeated and fled from there to his brother's country. The brother was also king of that country; Aram Shah had seven brothers, and each of them was king of some country. But finally he (M. H.) defeated his seven brothers.

VI.

One day Mahmad Hanifa Sahib was sitting in his house, and a desire to go out shooting seized him. He saddled his horse, and rode away. He went, rode four times round Medina, but did not have any shooting. He went away to a jungle; partridges appeared, and he killed

1 aska'verî "az karâr".
tar, paihântar-ê žirez âya, ma žirez-ê dehî, bödana âya, men'di ham dehî, zû Šêr âya, ma Šêr-ê ham dehî.

Žû âhû pai'dâ chi, 'dumb-e ţiûika âleši, khû-i kor, ma'hak dha'ram tar-ê dhî. Žà âhû pai'dâ chi, 'ê 'dâli çâta'ki, 'dumb-e 'dân-ê âleši. 'Har çe peš'chan-ê hala-ê kor, âle'sen na-i na're. Thârî çê 'âhû harî, ucên'dî â'pež ra'mî, âya sôr şekâr'jâi tar. Ma 'zai çê sai'dân bén, ma 'huss-ê 'jam kor, 'bhâr-ê e'êewî, be'nâ-i çê ma 'huss-ê 'dheza.


them; quails appeared, and he killed them too; a lion appeared, and he killed the lion too.

A deer appeared; he seized its tail, lifted it up, and struck it hard against the ground. Another deer appeared, and ran away from him; he wanted to seize it by the tail. But however fast he rode after it, he could not seize it. He saw the deer disappear, then he turned and came back to the shooting-ground. He collected whatever game was there, made a bundle of it and intended to take it all on his back.

Then he saw that an army had appeared on all four sides.1 Leaving the rest of his army behind a warrior whose name was Shah-i Zarinkamar approached Mahmad Hanifa and said: “What are you doing in my shooting-ground?” He answered: “This is my own shooting-ground, how can it be yours?” He asked: “What is your name?” He answered: “My name is Mahmad Hanifa I come out shooting every day. Tell me your name. What is your name?” The other answered: “My name is Shah-i Zarinkamar.” They both started quarrelling; one drew his sword on the one side, the other on the other side. They both fought. Mahmad Hanifa became exhausted, turned the bridle of his horse towards home and sought to flee, thinking: “This warrior is very powerful and he will kill me, too”.

1 Lit.: “the four sides of an army (êdär pêr-i laškar).”
9 — Kulturforskning. D. XI.
Dâli cha'tâ:kî, pêš'chan-ê Şâ-e Zarînka'mar şiş ham dhâwê:wi nez'dik za'hi. Di 'pa'ê şişi'ka-i âle'î, rust-ê kor dhara'mî, 'sor tar-ê wa'hêwi, de'hî mhag dha'ram tar. 'Siş-ê riza* riza chi dha'ram tar.

Mahmad Hanîfsa sô 'zini wa'khê rhâ'zi, pî:rhî zî'amâ 'dost-ê sam'sîr tar bu'r, ha'wâla-î kor ma'hak fark tar-e Şâ-e Zarînka'mari'ka. Şâ-e Zarînka'mar 'du nim chi, zû nîm-ê 'pi cha'ri, 'zu nîm-ê 'pu cha'ri. 'Sor-ê 'cûrt kor, ma 'sor-ê 'ghit, 'chi. Ma 'sor-ê ma wa'tan-e xu'kâ tar-ê za'hêwi, 'sor-ê 'mix tar âwe'zân-ê kôr sô 'bôr.

Ecen'dî baw-ê xabar chi, baw-ê ja'ri ce: «Hê ker hî ku'ro?»
Hech khîn dål 'Ali gap 'na jôr, yala'ba qhar-ê šü'ri: «Har ki ha'wi ker ku'ro', raw ja'ra ce 'e sor-e khâ pâlawâni'ka â.»
Mahmad Hanîfsa Şâheb jâî u'stâ, ja'ri: «Yà dâdâ, ha'wi ker 'ân ku'ro.»
Ja'ri: «Gap ja'ker ce za'ñeng-a ku'ro.»

Ja'ri ce: «A' ð'he bêm se'kâr. Bixabar laškar pai'dâ chi, zà laškar a'pež dha'ri, zû pâlawâ'n a'paçe âya 'mênî laškari'ka-i, ja'ri: 'Çâ-ê tû 'zitôn 'hê maryu'zár tar?'
Ja'ri: «Hê maryu'zár xu'kân-om-a.»

He fled from him; but Shah-i Zarinkamar also spurred his horse and gained upon him. He seized two feet of his horse, lifted it up from the earth, swung it round his head, and struck it hard against the ground. The horse was smashed to pieces against the ground.

Mahmad Hanifica flew high up from the saddle, and, coming from the other side, put his hand on his sword and aimed a blow at Shah-i Zarinkamar's temples. Shah-i Zarinkamar split into two halves, one half of him falling on this side and one half on that side. Mahmad Hanifa cut off his head, took it, and went away. He brought the head to his own country, and hung it up on a peg over the gate.

Then his father heard about it and said: "Who has done this deed?" Nobody said a word to Ali, and he became very angry and said: "Whoever has done this deed, shall tell me quickly what warrior's head this is." Mahmod Hanifa Sahib rose and said: "O father, I have done this deed." His father said: "Tell me how you have done it."

Mahmod Hanifa answered: "I had gone out shooting. Suddenly an army appeared; the rest of the army kept back; but one warrior emerged from the middle of his army and asked: 'Why do you come to this field.' I answered that the field was my own. We both started quarrelling, he striking at me with his sword, and I at him. I saw that
Huddi'nán-an gufta'gűi kor, o šam'sër mun kun de'hi, a šam'sër 'ude ku. Dhôr-om če o yalaba qûwat'dår bin, čaťa'kem če žim yuz-wa'nô. Dî 'pâ-i őspika'1-m-e ale'ši, sôr tar-e 'daur dâ, de'hi dha'ram tar, ősp-om 'rîza 'rîza čhî. Sô 'zînî 'a wa'khê rhâ'zêim, phârî ži'amâ šam'sër-om 'nôt, de'hi mhack fark tar-e. Šam'sër-om 'du nisp-e kor, sôr-e-om ju'dâ kor, ma ősp-e-om su'wâr nhôst, kala án 'awurî. Bâw-e huwašî: «Šâ gâî Še'kâr na čhî, če mâ/khân duš'man yulû hâ.»

Dôz ruč 'Mahmad Hanîfa Sâheb ma 'yus nhôst, če 'dâda-i nesi'yat kurâ bö. Bâdaz dôz ruč "išq sôr tar-e 'ya Še'kârîka če: «'An pa'ram, še'kâr kanem.» Bâf tar-e pa'juť, mâ'či tar-e ham pa'juť, 'madum 'xabar 'hec na čhî.

Uštâ-e, čhî še'kâr, ősp-e ab'laq Šâ-e Zarînkama'râ su'wâr-e nhôst, hai kuṭô čhî. Čhî duba'ra-i Madinaikâ čhî'mî. Taḫûne čhî, 'gard uštâ, pa'nân-e yuši'ka-i ha'rewî. Ōsp-e hôwî 'jangal tar â'muxta bî, dhâw-e dâ, čhî hôwî 'jangal tar če â'muxta bî.

Gard, yu'bâr pû čhî, dhôr-e če: «'An ha'wî 'jangal tar 'bete â'vêm.»

he was very powerful, and I fled, trying to get home. He seized two feet of my horse, swung it over his head, struck it against the ground, and the horse went to pieces. I was thrown high up from the saddle, and, coming down on the other side, drew my sword and hit him on the temples. My sword cut him in two halves, I severed his head, mounted his horse and have brought the head." His father scolded him and said: "Don't go out shooting another time, because we have many enemies."

For ten days Mahmad Hanifa Sahib stayed at home, as his father had advised him to do. After ten days he was overcome by his love of shooting, [and he thought]: "I will go shooting." He concealed it from his father, and he concealed it from his mother, too, and people did not suspect anything.

He rose and went out shooting. He mounted the piebald horse of Shah-i Zarinkamar, whipped it and rode off. He went and rode round Medina. The wind blew and the dust rose, and he lost his way home. His horse knew that forest well, so it cantered and went to the forest that it knew.

The dust-storm abated and he saw that he had come again to the same forest. He looked about him, and suddenly an army appeared
Thâri, bîxabar cár dubaraî laškar pai'dâ či. Ê da jang čha'ri, men'de-an āle'sî bu'r-an dâl 'pâdšâ.

Pâdšâ hukm-e mâtô'îka kor, jallâtân-e dhêwî. Jâllâtân-e âyê dâl 'pâdšâ, ja'ri če: «Čî jârtō ma 'ma?» Ja'ri: «Men'dhêk Mahmad Hanîfîa mérôr!» Jallâtân šam'sîr-an 'rust kor, če dehan mak fark tar-e Mahmad Hanîfîa. Ba hukm-e Xu'dâ bâzû-e ha'wâ tar hušk, har če kưr 'dehen-e 'na na'ri. Ja'ri: «Ê jádu'gar-a, men'dhêk ba'rîr, ban'dî kanôr.»

Mende-an bu'r, bandîxâna tar-an yušt. Ja'ri: «Lam-e da'hôr če ba xâri wu zâri mera. Nim-e na'yô'îka da'hôr če az yurčagî ha'lâk pari-a.» Hu bandîxâna tar da'rûntar-e butân 'se bën, mende butân-e ghût, huss-e xâr kor. Paira'dâr âya dâl 'pâdšâ, ja'ri: «He ban'dî ma butân huss xâr kor.» Pâdšâ ja'ri: «Çu'môr, ē'nôr-êl!»

Mahmad Hanîfîa dâl 'pâdšâ bu'r-an. Hugm-e kor: «Te'chân-e kânô kanôr.» Har če-an kor, te'chân-e 'nâ na'ri kânô ka'nen. Ja'ri: «Ê jádu'gar-a.» Pêş'în-ê 'pâdšâîka 'kâset âya, ja'ri če: «Mûş, from all four sides. He started fighting, but they caught him and brought him to the king.

The king commanded that he should be killed, and summoned the executioners. The executioners appeared before the king and said: "What do you command us?" The king said: "Kill this Mahmad Hanifa!" The executioners lifted their swords to strike Mahmad Hanifa on the temples. But by the command of God their arms withered, and however they tried, they were unable to strike him. The king said: "He is a sorcerer, take him away and imprison him."

They took him away and threw him into the prison. The king said: "Leave him, that he may die in pain and distress. Give him half a loaf that he may perish from hunger." Inside the prison there were some idols. He took the idols and smashed them all. The guard came to the king and said: "This prisoner has smashed all the idols." The king said: "Go and fetch him!"

They brought Mahmad Hanifa before the king. He ordered: "Blind his eyes!" However they tried, they could not blind his eyes. The king said that he was a sorcerer. A messenger arrived in the presence of the king and said: "Come, let us go, a certain king is giving a feast." The whole of the army rose and went to the feast in the other king's place.
'parama, fe'łâna 'pâdšâ mêmâni déra!' 'Zâe če 'laškar-ē bin (bên) uštâen o chên mêmâni 'zâ pâdšâi'ka 'jâi tar.

Tamîm 'pâdšâ bin, žu 'dut-ē dérō bôn. 'Dut-ē ham yala'ba 'sâheb-e muxî'kâ bôn, fakat 'rûč dhirang 'mux-ē bin. Sô 'Mahmad Hanî'fa 'Sâheb 'âṣuq čhî. Bandî'xâna tar höwî 'kaštê čhî, bandî'xâna tar za'hî 'kaštê. Pairadârâ kun-ē hal'wâ dâ, hal'wâ tar-ē 'dârû-e bîhušî 'gaḏ koř, pairadârâ kun-ē 'baxš koř, pairadârâ 'xûr, ma pairadârân hussika 'sôr-ē 'cuřt koř, čhî dâl 'Mahmad Hanî'fa, ja'ri: «'Â sôr 'tô 'âṣuq-em.»

'Mahmad Hanî'fa 'Sâheb ja'ri če: «Ma'nâ 'dôst o pâ'nân zan'jûr-a». Ja'ri: «Ma zan'jûrân 'a ka'tem.» Čhî, 'arra su'hân-ē āwûr-ē, ma zan'jûrân-ē 'arra koř 'Mahmad Hanî'fa 'ân 'dôst o 'pâi. È ma 'bôr na'r-gî. 'Mahmad Hanî'fa 'Sâheb ja'ri: «Mun kun ŏsp ēn, yalaba ŏsp-e 'kârî bê, ba 'quwát bê, če 'ân pâla'wân-em.»

'Kaštê čhî, mē ka'mand dar āya, sail-ē koř ma ŏspâ, ū ŏsp-e 'kârî ānt. 'Mahmad Hanî'fa 'Sâheb thârî če ŏsp-ē ham 'kârî-a, ja'ri: 'Čhâ, 'mu kun šamšêr ār, 'gurz ār, 'naíza ār, drêšî ār, 'mõza ār!» Ma huss-ē hê 'kaštê āwûr, ja'ri: «Čhâ, ma 'chel ka'nîz-i 'žâ-âu hâm 'gûrê, če 'paraman če 'kîn 'xabar 'na pa'ri-a». Su'wâr čhên,

It was King Tamîm(?) and he had a daughter. His daughter had a very beautiful face, which was as radiant as the sun. She fell in love with 'Mahmad Hanî'fa Sahib. The girl went to the prison and arrived there. She gave the guards some sweets, and she had mixed some narcotic drug with the sweets. She gave them to the guards, who ate them; then she cut off the heads of all the guards, went to 'Mahmad Hanî'fa and said: "I am in love with you."

'Mahmad Hanî'fa Sahib said: "My hands and feet are chained." She said: "I shall cut the chains." She went and fetched a saw and a file, and cut the chains of 'Mahmad Hanî'fa's hands and feet. [Mahmad Hanî'fa(?)] came out and said: "Bring me a horse! Let it be a very good horse, and a strong one, because I am a warrior."

The girl went and entered the stable and looked at the horses. She brought him a good horse. 'Mahmad Hanî'fa saw that the horse was good and said: "Go, and bring me a sword, a mace, a spear, a dress and shoes!" The girl brought all these things, and he said: "Take your forty other girls with you too, and let us go, that nobody may
They mounted all the horses belonging to the king; and all the riches that were in his treasury they loaded on the beasts of burden. Then they departed.

There was one lame boy [among the guards], whom she had not killed, because she thought it would be a sin. The boy mounted a mule, brought the news to the king [and said]: "That prisoner has taken your daughter and is gone. He has also carried away the treasure and all the horses which were at hand."

The armies of this king and that king assembled in one place, and went against Mahmad Hanifa. He saw that an army was arriving. There was a high plateau, to which he brought the cattle and the women and all the riches, and left them there.

He went down to the battle himself and plunged into the fray. He killed a thousand men and became very tired. Then he retired from the battle and went to the woman and said: "I am getting very tired."

This woman, who was Mahmad Hanifa's mistress, said: "I shall enter the battle." So she mounted her horse, descended from the plateau, and entered the battle.

Her father saw that his daughter had entered the battle. He said: "Why have you done this? You have disgraced me before the people.

1 First: lang.
Hani'a Sāheb kun āšuq ěhê, mardumân-â ma 'mun 'tâna 'dhaitôn.
Dut-e ja'ri če: "Pez gap na čim. Xub-um ku'rō, ha'zâr tu dâda
tar gudârêm, Mahmad Hani'fa tar 'na, jân-um te sar'badal-e
Mahmad Hani'fa'an kanem." Bâw-e ja'ri: "Āle'sîr-e mendê 'dut-e
ma'nân."

Laška'rân sör e'dê ham 'hallâ-n kor, ě ham jang tar dar āya,
ma šast 'nafar-e 'mât. Āxer-e ma pâla'wân če nâm-e Hal'qama bin
ja'ri: "Čhâ, ma 'dut-om āleš, 'ên-e! 'Nîm-e pâdsâ hi-m-a te da'hem."

Hal'qama 'ôsp-e su'wâr čhî, se'lâba ghît, râhî čhî, za'hî jang-jâî
tar. Ma ka'štî dhêwî, ja'ri: "Ča he ker-a ku'rō?" Ja'ri: "Xub-um
ku'rō, mu'dâ-a če-a? Ān tó tar ham gudârêm, Mahmad Hani'fa
tar 'na."

Huddûn-ên jang kor, mendê ka'štî ālešî, 'böst-e, 'bur-e dâl
pâdsâ. Pâdsâ 'hukm-e cörmîxi'ka kor. Mendê-an cörmix kor.
Mahmad Hani'fa xa'bar čhî če: "Ma ma'nân ra'fîq-an bur." Mahmad
Hani'fa jang tar čhî.

'Bâw-e 'yus tar xöm dhûr če: Ma'nâ 'puş mën ba'läi tar čhârî.

You have become the mistress of Mahmad Hanifa, and people are mock-
ing me." His daughter said: "Do not listen to rumours. I have done
well, and I am better than a thousand fathers like you, but not than
Mahmad Hanifa, and I will give my life to save him." Her father
said: "Seize this daughter of mine."

The soldiers rushed at her, but she also entered the battle and killed
sixty men. Finally the king said to a warrior, whose name was Hal-
qama: "Go and seize my daughter and bring her here. [If you do,]
I will give you half my kingdom."

Hal'qama mounted his horse, seized his sword and departed. He
came to the battlefield, sought out the girl and said to her: "Why
have you done this work?" She answered: "I have done well, what
do you want? I am better than you, too, but not than Mahmad Ha-
nifa."

They both fought; he caught the girl, bound her and brought her
to the king. The king ordered that she should be impaled. Then they
impaled her. When Mahmad Hanifa heard that they had carried off
his comrade, he entered the battle [again].

His father saw in a dream at home, that disaster had befallen his
son. He rose from his dream and cried aloud. All the people assembled
Xömi ustärke, zu nārā-i dehī. Zāi če mardum bīn 'jam čhēn, jaṛīː
"Čā nāra-i baddkāra dehī?" Jaṛīːː "Puš-e maṇā mē balā čhaṛō.
Jaṛīːː "Ma Duldul-om ēnōr!" Duldul-ē-an ānt', zin-an kōr, čel o
cōr par'kāla erāq-ē ghīt, rā'hi čhī. Jabrāīl raq-e dharamīka ba
hu:mm-e Xu'dāya kašē kōr, pa'nā ga'nōkō čhī.

Šā-e Mardān za'hī, dhurr-e če pušē jang tar hā. Pušē če
ma 'bāwē dhōr, yala'ba xuś'waxt čhī, 'pušt-e pānān-e bāwīka čhaṛī.
'Bāwē uştēwī', sōr-e mačī kōr. Du'bāra mō laškar Mahmad
Hanīfa čhī, az xuś'waxti bāwīka-i če mar'dī 'bāwē bučha, če
ja'rāː "Puš-um höwe'ka ho'qūf dēra, za'hī-ā ha'zār 'māneš pen jang
kantōn. Mahmad Hanīfa Sāheb za'hī-ā ha'zār 'nafar pen dhētōn."
Ma 'bāwē jaṛī če: "Tū ma'nān 'sail bučh, če ān-e pa'ram jang sar."
Jaṛī wō ma ʧospē dhawēwī, čhī, mē laškār dar āya, ma laškar-ē
ham yala'ba 'māt. Čhī, sōr 'āsqq-ē za'hī. Thārī če mende-an cōr'mix
kuṛō. Čang-e dehī, men'di hupāṭ, ānt-e dāl 'bāwē. 'Bāwē ham
xuś'waxt čhī, huddī bāwēhā dar ā'γēn jang tar, da 'dehō čhā'ṛən.
Ha'wiqada'řān dehī če bihi'sāb, as 'kuštə kuštā-n kōr, as pušta puštə.

and said: "Why do you make this ill-omened outcry?" He answered:
"Disaster has befallen my son." Then he said: "Bring me my horse
Duldul." They brought him Duldul and saddled it; he took with him
forty-four kinds of arms, and departed. At the command of God Gabriel
narrowed the veins of the earth, and the way was shortened.

Shah-i Mardan (= Ali) arrived and saw that his son was engaged
in the battle. The son saw his father, felt very glad, and fell down
at his father's feet. His father raised him up and kissed his head.
Mahmad Hanīfa entered the battle a second time in order to please
his father, to let him see his courage and say: "My son possesses
such strength and he is going into battle alone against a thousand
men. Mahmad Hanīfa Sahib is fighting alone against a thousand men."
He said to his father: "Look at me, I am going to enter the battle."

He spoke and let his horse canter. He want and entered into the
army and killed many of the soldiers. Then he went on and arrived
where his mistress was. He saw that they had impaled her. He seized
her and tore her away and brought her to his father. His father also
rejoiced, and both, father and son, entered the battle and plunged into
killing. They killed so many that the killed could not be counted,
and the slaughter was complete.


Qissa ta’âmâm chêl.

VI, b.

Zû ruç Mahmâd Hanîfa Sâheb (ma) yû’sî nar-yê, ’c(h)î se’kâr kun yus-tarârît. Ucên’êl čâr ’gerde-e Mâ’dînî’ka-ê ‘daur kör-e, ’daur-e se’kâr-e na dîhîr. Ucên’êl râ’î c(h)î, c(h)î, marvû ’zár tari za-hî.

Finally the armies asked for peace and said; “Our strength is poor compared with that of you two, father and son. You are very powerful.” He comforted the army, and Mahmâd Hanîfa and his father tried to seize both kings, captured them and led them to the army. Then they set forth upon the road and arrived at their own country, and brought all the soldiers with them.

There they gave a feast, and they also gave every one a scarf and a dress. They married this girl to Mahmâd Hanîfa Sahib. Then the soldiers took leave. So we have arrived at our goal, and you, too.

The tale is finished.

VI, b.

One day Mahmâd Hanîfa Sahib left home; he went out shooting away from home. Then he went four times round Medina, but saw no . . . game. Then he went away, and came to the shooting-ground.

1 The following is a transcription of two phonograph records, containing the beginning of the preceding tale. The text is in many places uncertain, and several passages could not be unravelled at all. In consequence it has proved impossible to give a complete translation of the text. It should, however, be easy, through a comparison with the preceding tale, to follow the main contents.

I have included this text, in spite of its lacunae, because it gives an example of the style and syntax of uninterrupted narration. Besides, it shows how a tale varies from time to time in the mouth of a non-professional narrator. It will be observed that several episodes are much shorter than in the dictated text, while others have been expanded.
He went, and came to a king, whose name was Shah-i Zarinkamar, ... who was the son of king Zarinkamar. He said: "Why have you come to my shooting-ground?" [M. H.] answered: "It is my own shooting-ground." Then he said: "Do not come another time, or I shall split your head." He answered: "It is my shooting-ground, and I have always been shooting here."

Then M. H. S. and Sh. K. started quarrelling. Whatever they did ... Finally M. H. S. got into a strait, M. H. S. turned his horse (: the bridle of his horse); he went homewards, he turned and went homewards.

Then ... they ran after M. H. S.'s horse. Sh. Z. seized it, and swung it round his head, and it fell to the ground, to the ground it fell. His horse was smashed to pieces, and M. H. S. himself flew skyward up from the saddle, and came [down] on the other side.

He went, tumbled down, and fell on the body (?) of Sh. Z. When Sh. Z's ... Then [M. H. S.] cut off [Sh. Z.'s] head, went towards Medina, and arrived there. He went home to Medina. He brought home the game which he had shot. Haidar Sahib brought all his game home (?). Then there was his head, which he hung up over the gate of the ...
The next morning the Lion [of God = Ali] ... The next morning Haidar came, ..., he saw three heads hanging over the gate of the ..., it was very much hidden (?). He asked: "What head is this?" The guest who ..., he answered: ... He said: "Who has done this deed, and has brought the head of a certain warrior?" All the people swore that they had not done this deed.

Then M. H. S. rose, saluted him politely, and said: "O father, I have done this deed." He continued the salutation (?). The Lion of God said: "Do not do it another time; we have many enemies. If you go out from home another time, I shall kill you.''

M. H. stayed at home ..., he did not move out of the house. One day he was overcome by his love of shooting [and thought]: "I will go shooting round the house and take a walk."

Then he went out of the house, and walked four times round the house shooting; he did some shooting, but did not engage in any fight. He rode the piebald horse which Sh. Z. had ridden. Then suddenly a strong wind arose, and a dustcloud appeared. M. H. ...

There was ... and wind, and he lost his way home. Then M. H. S.'s
Ha'ńifā Sāhebīkā ʻōsp 'sör khū kōr, ʻē(h)i ho'wi jangal tarī, če jang-ē kūra bō, ho'wi jangal tar za'hī.


... Šār ta mē'mān tar-an zahē-wi dāl ʻpādšā. Pādšā ja'ri če: «Mendē huk'man mērōr.» Band-e mátōi'ka-an kōr, ma jallāt-an 'ānt. Jal'lāt šam'sēr 'nōt, če Māmad Hanifān sōr 'kaṭṭeā (?) Pāla'wān

horse raised its head and went to the forest where he had fought and arrived there.

Then he saw that an army of three lakhs had occupied the four quarters of the forest. [Their leader] said [to him]: "Who are you?" He answered: "M. H. is my name, the Lion of God is my father." He said: "Why have you carried away my son's..." He said: "...". He said: "Seize him, and let us take him away as a prisoner."

Then from all four quarters the army of three lakhs, which surrounded M. H., arose. Seeing this, M. H. raised his sword and slew many. He fought without stopping, and made a complete slaughter. Then finally they brought lassos, and threw eighteen lassos at M. H. He tore asunder eighteen lassos, sixty (?) lassos; but they bound his body with thirty lassos. Then they brought him [away] on horseback, and bound him firmly (?)

They brought him to the town to the king... The king said: "Kill him at my command (?)". They bound him ready for the execution and fetched the executioner. The executioner raised his sword in order to cut off M. H.'s head. Then the warrior said: "Do not kill me, for your
ja’ri: “Ma mun ‘na de’hör, puś-e wā’khān ḍām dād ‘dāda-m ban’dī há.” Mendi ja’ri: “Har kār (gā?) che ‘puś-e pādsā’i’ka ban’dī há, tu ḍām ba ja’i ‘puś-e pādsā’i’ka ban’dī bē. Har waxtī che ‘puś-e pādsā’i’ka xa’lās bī, tu ham xa’lās pa’rā; aga ò ‘mēri (?), tu pa-am ‘mērien pa’rā.”


Māmād Ha’nīfā pādsā huš kōr, ma jal’lāt che ‘dhör-ē, jal’lāt šaṃšēr wa’khē bur, che nhak farq tar-e Māmād Hanīfā pāla’wānika ‘deha . . .

son, too, is a prisoner with my father.” [They] said to him: “As long as (?) the king’s son is a prisoner, you, too, shall be a prisoner in return. Whenever the king’s son is released, you, too, will be released; if he dies (?), you, too, will be killed.”

Then M. H. S . . ., he passed through a narrow alley (?), he saw that there were some idols in the corner of the mahači’i, in the corner of the temple; he raised an axe . . . and destroyed the idols. The guard came to the king and said: “Oh king, the prisoner has destroyed your idols.” [The king] said: “Go and fetch him.” Then they brought the warrior M. H. The king said: “Why have you done this deed?” He answered: “This is an evil deed, why are you doing it? Do not do it another time, do not worship idols, but remember God.”

M. H. admonished (?) the king; but when he looked at the executioner, the executioner raised his sword to strike M. H. on the temples . . .
VII (T).

Rüz-e ċahršam'bé bin, Alià 'zat čhi, rüz-e pönju'mi tar 'munde-an ham šinâ kor. Rüz-e dösu'mi tar 'nači-e ma bör nar'γo, dál Ali Haidar čhi wa'lë zu haž'dar. Haž'dar 'sör-e 'rust kor. Haidar ham 'döst 'γuşt 'šuṇd tar-e haždåri'ka, ma haždår-e čir kor.

Mama-i ma 'γus 'āya, dhör-e če zu haž'dar-a, 'γusí ma 'bör narγo, čhi ma 'xâ-e jaři: «Čhà, če má'khan 'γus tar zu haž'dar pai'dà čhö, ma 'puş-un-e 'qurt kuγo.» Bâw-e 'āya γus wa'nö, šamšér-e luč kor, dar 'āya o 'γus tar, čhi če ma haž'dar 'deha.


VII

It was on a Wednesday that Ali was born, and on the fifth day they put him in the cradle. On the tenth day his mother went out, and lo! a dragon approached Ali Haidar. The dragon raised its head, but Haidar thrust his hand into the jaws of the dragon and tore it asunder.

When his mother came home she saw that a dragon was there. She went out, sought out her husband and said: "Come, a dragon has appeared in our house and has torn my son to pieces." The father came to the house, unsheathed his sword and entered that house. He went to kill the dragon.

He saw that the dragon was dead, and he looked at his own son [and saw], that nothing had happened to him. He approached the dragon and looked at it, and he saw that it was torn asunder. The father was glad and smiled at Haidar. He said: "Oh God, my son is one month old and he has killed the dragon."

When Haidar was one year old, he went out of the house and saw a party of boys. Haidar went among them and the boys said: "O Ali, come and let us wrestle." Ali also stripped off his clothes and entered the ring. He wrestled with the boys and beat the boys. There
were forty boys; but Ali beat all forty, and not one of the boys defeated him in wrestling.

When Ali was seven years old, he girded his loins and also tied a sword round his waist. He went out towards the plain. While he was on the way fifty fellows came towards Ali. At once they all said: "We, too, are warriors, come and let us wrestle." A big warrior said: "He is but a boy." But Ali approached them and said: "Will you wrestle yourself?" The warrior answered: "Yes."

Ali stripped off his shirt and entered the field. The big warrior said: "My little pupil has risen." Ali looked at the pupil and said: "Come into the field yourself, and let us wrestle." The warrior said: "Beat my pupil! If you beat him, then you will indeed have beaten me, too."

Ali approached him, and they both started wrestling. Ali lifted him high up, and struck him hard against the ground. The pupil of the warrior died on the spot. The warrior himself rose, went quickly towards Haidar and said: "Why have you done this, you there! You have struck my pupil also, and he is dead." Ali said: "Come!" They both grappled and fought madly. Suddenly Ali cried aloud and

VIII (T).

A’mir ‘Hátam ‘yus tar ‘nhašt-öìt, ha’wà-e ñèkàri’ka sòr tar-ë áyà, ayàlàn tar-ë rux’sat ghìt, ja’rì: ‘’Án-e pa’ram ñèkàr kun.’

‘Yus’ìi nañ-yö, òsp-ë suwàr ñì, òsp-ë mai’dànì wanò dìhàwëwì. Ñì, ñì mai’dàn tar-ë za’hi, ñì’reñ ñèkàr-ë kuñ, muñ’ìwì, bòdà’na ñèkàr-ë koñ, ma huññ-ë ja’ìn koñ, ñhàr ñì’ëwì.


lifted him up into the air; and lo! he struck him against the ground. The warrior’s head split into two parts. The fifty other men fled from the field.

VIII.

Amir Hatam was sitting at home, when he was seized with a desire to go out shooting. He took leave of his family and said that he was going out shooting.

He went out of the house, mounted his horse, and let it canter towards the plain. He went on till he came to a plain, where he shot partridges, ducks and quails. He collected all of them and put the bag [on the horse].

Suddenly an army appeared and said: “Why have you come to this meadow?” He answered: “This is my shooting-ground.” The warrior, whose name was Maqet, was very fierce, he went towards Amir Hatam and asked: “What is your name?” He answered: “My name is Ali.”

Maqet said: “I am going to Mekka to fetch Ali’s head.” He answered: “I myself am Ali. Come now and show whatever strength you possess!”

They both began quarrelling and started fighting. Maqet killed Amir Hatam and cut off his head. Then he brought it to Muqatil and said that he had killed Ali and brought his head.
A/lî 'apaçe čhî, dhôr-ê çe cêtô dùba/ra-i kâla/'ka-i xandak-a. Dhôr-ê  

His horse turned back, ran, and coming to his house said to Ali: "They have cut off the head of Amir Hatam instead of your head, and they have brought it to the city of Muqatil." His mace and his sword were smeared with blood. Ali said: "They have certainly killed him."  
Ali shouted, and all the men who were there assembled. He took an army of thirty thousand men with him and departed towards the city of Muqatil. When his (Amir Hatam's) horse saw that Ali started with an army, it accompanied Haidar (; Ali); Amir Hatam's horse went in front, and Haidar came behind with the army.  
They went on and came to the field. They saw that the field was illuminated, and that all the angels were descending for the funeral of Amir Hatam. Ali arrived at Amir Hatam's corpse. Amir Hatam saluted Ali and said: "O my brother, why did you arrive so late? Now they have killed me and have thrown my corpse here; my head they have taken to the city of Muqatil." Ali buried Amir Hatam there, mounted his horse, departed with the thirty thousand warriors and came to the city of Muqatil. He approached the city, but left the army behind.  
Ali went forward and saw that there was a moat on all four sides.
of the castle. He saw that it was a very marvellous moat; its width was sixty ells. He came and halted at the moat.

There were one hundred guards at the gate, and they saw that one horseman had halted at the other side of the moat. They shouted to him: "What are you doing? [Why] do you halt alone on horseback at the moat?" He said: "I am a messenger from King Zang, a slave of [the vizier] Mamar. They heard that Maqet had brought the head of Haidar, and the king sent me to inquire. I come with pleasure, that I might see King Muqatel. Our king rejoiced much, and he sent me on account of his joy. He himself will also come to your (?) assistance with thirty thousand soldiers, because the people of Medina are lawless people. I hope Umar will not bring out his army against you."

These messengers went to the king. Muqatil said: "Go and bring him." They brought a boat and placed him in the boat. Haidar and his horse Duldul crossed the moat in the boat. They tore Haidar down from the horse, took the horse away, and made him prisoner. They carried him inside seven castles.

1 śār-e?
2 ēna ke ū ham kumak-id mēāya. But ē?


Pādšā ja'ri: «Ha'wi pāla'wā mu kun 'xūbī kuṛō, 'sōr-e Haida'rān-e āwūrō, ma 'dut-om wāda dāwō, ba'dī te ni-kā ka'nen, 'dahem-e.» Ja'ri ċe: «Du'rū-y-a na bādāt če tō pen 'makɔr ka'na. Ali ja'nō bē, wa'tan tar ma 'dut-e tán o ba 'hila ba'ra. Če ma 'Haida'r ā.

Haidar came before King Muqatil, saluted him and sat down. The king said: "Bring him wine, that he may drink it." He answered: "I have sworn by your throne and fortune not to drink wine." The king said: "Go and bring bread!" He answered: "Nor do I eat bread. I was ill for six months, and am forbidden to eat anything. When I eat it does not stay within my body, and does not agree with me."

Suddenly it happened that the warrior Maqet came to Muqatil with his army. Haidar said: "Why has he come?" The king said: "I have promised him my daughter; now I shall arrange the wedding and give her to him." Haidar said: "Why do you give her to him? You are a king yourself, he is a low-born (?) warrior; it is not meet that you should give him your daughter. Your name will be dishonoured among other kings, because a king has given his daughter to a warrior. They will laugh at you. Do not give him your daughter!"

The king said: "This warrior has done me a service, he has brought Haidar's head. I have promised him my daughter, now I shall celebrate the wedding and give her to him." Haidar said: "Take care that he is not lying to you, and trying to deceive you. If Ali is alive, he may carry your daughter away home by some ruse. For I have seen Haidar, he is a great warrior, nobody has such strong arms
dhörgö, yalaba pala'wan-e ghanda, tab-e dosti'ka-i u'da khin na déra. Zu 'sar a dál tar-e sägirdi ku'ro, quwat-e edan-un dhurö.

Bixabar Maqet jai 'uštä, Ali'ä giri'ban-e dost-e ma'hamak âle'si. Maqed ja'ri če: «Sör-e Haida'ra ökä oke'stak âwëzän-a, tō ma mun durüy'gül 'ner olan, quwat-e ma'na' mardum tar khin na déra, nam-un Maqed-e pala'wan-a.» Čör čapilâki Haida'ra 'mux tar 'dhî, giri'ban-e dalé'wi. Haidar 'nâra dö'hi. Edâ 'huddé kâla'jâni âle'si, edân 'dost-e nôt, dost-e ha'wâla kor man'dô tar-e, man'dô-e durin rhâ'zi.

Muqätel 'hukm kor če: «Zài laskar-e zör, ma Haidar 'dehöör, če a dál 'ma rám-e xu'kân-e yalat ja'ro. È xu qased na bô, e Haidar bô.»

IX (T.)

Qasem 'nâm-e zu 'adami'ka bin. Mirâ'nâ 'puš bi, o sau'dâgar bin. Čör šutur dëro bûn, di 'khör, zu 'ösp.

Ha'zâr rupa'kâ čâ-e ghîta, ma šutur'an-e bhâr kur, 'yusî na'jû, či, sô Nâx'tä za'hi. Uçen'dî kûč kor, či sô Lârum če pânâ-e as he has. I have been his pupil for one year, and I have seen his strength.'

Suddenly Maqet rose from his place and forcibly seized Ali by the collar with his hand. Maqet said: "Look, Ali's head is hanging there, and you accuse me of lying. No man possesses my strength; my name is Maqet the warrior." He gave Haidar four slaps in the face and tore his collar. Haidar cried aloud. He seized both his upper-arms, pulled his arms, and struck his neck with his hand; his neck (sic!) flew far away.

Then Muqâtîl commanded: "The whole army shall come and fight with Haidar, because he has told me his name wrongly. He was not a messenger, but Haidar."

IX.

Qasim was the name of a man. He was the son of Miran and he was a merchant. He had four camels, two asses and one horse.

He bought one thousand rupees' worth of tea, loaded it on the camels, left his home and journeyed till he came to Nakhtan. He
The two brothers went out of the house and departed. The bald-headed one was the elder, and the blind one was the younger. When they departed, the elder brother said to the younger: "You too must take a knife in your belt, in order that wild beasts may keep away from us." The younger brother said: "You go and get the knife, because you are wise." The elder brother put the knife in his belt, and they went to Nakhtan, because the road to Larum goes that way. There was no other road.
Sô Nàx'tá tâ wiyâr dha'ren. Biyâ-e činô-é rhî'zi, biyâ-e gbând-é paîrâ dâ. Biyâ-e činô 'xôm-é bu'r, biyâ-e gbând-é kúça'nôk nôl, de'hî mahak xît tar-e biyâ-e kôr-e. •È'dâ mu'r.

Ucêndî kúc kûr, chî sô Lârom, okeh'sak hówî 'huddde čü'rân pai'dâ chên. He kkal ma čü'râ du'rînî dhur če: «Selâ'bân-an luč •âyên sô mâl-e ma'â.» Žû 'gir 'sô bôn, pež 'gir tar 'pet chî, ma 'huddde ô'spân-é du'rîn lam dâ 'bhâr pen-an. He čü'rân nezdîk •âyên, dhûran če: «Khin 'na hâ, mâlâ ya'lâ-a, xâwand-an 'na hâ.» Ïâ chên, ma 'huddde ô'spân-an 'bhâr kûr, •âyên 'barr-e girika ku gûdâ'ren.

Kal bâlò dhur če: «Ma ma'nâ mâl-é bu'r.» Ma Xu'dâ-e xu'kân-è a'wê kôr, kúça'nôk-é luč kôr. Bixabar peš 'puť-e 'huddde čû'râna za'hi, kúça'nôk-è po' •ân-î žûîka-i ha'wâla kôr. Ô mu'r, ma Žû žâ-e čû'râna hówî bâlô-e kal âli'î, ja'î če: «Tu ma ma'nâ bâwi'ka mâlân-a ći kôr? Ma •ây-a ći kôr?» Ja'î če: «Žû jâ'y-om lam dâ/wô.»

They passed the night at Nakhtan. The younger brother fell asleep, and the elder kept watch. The younger brother had a dream, and the elder brother drew his knife and stuck it into the belly of his blind brother, who died.

Then he travelled on and came to Larum, where the two thieves made their appearance. The bald-headed boy saw from far off that the thieves were approaching his goods with drawn swords. There was a boulder near by, and he concealed himself behind the boulder and placed the two horses at a distance, together with their burdens. The thieves approached and saw that nobody was there, that the beasts were loose, and that their master was not present. They went and loaded the two horses; then they came and went round the boulder.

The bald-headed boy saw that they were carrying away his goods. He remembered his God, drew his sword, and all at once he was behind the two thieves and thrust his knife into the shoulder of one of them. He died and the boy caught the other thief and said to him: "What have you done with my father's beasts, and what have you done with the tea?" He answered: "I have put them all in one place."

1 Ē'dâ as a subject is curious.
The bald-headed boy drove the thief before him, bound his hands, and tied them tightly behind his back with a rope. He pricked him softly with the point of the knife [and thought]: "Let this thief who has stolen my father's goods be a little afraid, and perhaps he will show them to me." The thief said: "Do not prick me, and I will show you your father's goods." The thief led him, and brought him to his father's goods. The bald-headed boy saw that they were in order, and that nothing was missing. He loaded the tea on the beasts of burden, and drove them before him. The bald-headed boy came behind, whipping them on.

When the boy drew near to his own country, the merchant Qasim saw that his bald-headed son was bringing back much merchandise and that his blind son was not there. He went forward, and the bald-headed boy saw his father coming. Then he went and fell at his father's feet. His father asked: "What has your brother done?" He answered: "Thieves have killed him." He lied to his father [thinking]: "If I tell my father that I have killed my brother, he will kill me in return." [Therefore] he said: "Thieves have killed my brother; I have killed one of the thieves, and I have bound and brought another of them, who had run away with your goods and merchandise."  

1 If pen is correct, bura bôn must mean something like "had run away". But perhaps two constructions: "carried off" and "ran away with" have got mixed up.


His father rejoiced and brought the merchandise into the house and unloaded it; he took the beasts away and let them loose. His father left home and went to search for his blind son, to see where they had killed him. Then he came home again, and said to his bald-headed son: "I have not found your brother. Wherever I searched, he was not there, neither alive nor dead." The baldhead said: "You are a fool, O my father!"

The baldhead went in front and his father Qasim behind. He took his father to the place where he had killed his blind brother. He pointed out the spot and said: "Look, here is your sons's corpse." The father put the corpse on the baldhead's back, [and they went away], the baldhead in front, and his father behind. When they came to a bridge, the baldhead saw that the river was full, and he threw his brother's corpse from his back into the river. Then his father hit him on the temples and asked why he had thrown his son's corpse into the river. The bald-headed son answered: "The corpse came to life, and leapt of its own accord from my back into the river. Is it any fault of mine, that you should beat me? Where shall I flee?" His father lamented and said to his bald-headed son: "My blind son who has gone, has gone [for ever]. Now you must live for me."

1 Var.: biyi'm daryâ tar xis kor, tu baw-um ma'mun-e 'dhêtûn.
He puše 'kal-e ma-x sór-e ū tag yušt, ja'ri: "Ma'ná 'zur-um-e álliśō."
Qāsem bāw-e ja'ri če: "Ān či ka' nem tá?" Įari: "Mun puṭ kan."
Bāw-e men'dhēk kal-'puše 'put kor, īt-e só zi, zi tar dar āya.
Must-e du'rīn bur, ha'wāla-e kor, 'mīhk peš 'guy-e bāwīka-i. Hē
bāw-e bi'huš čī, zi tar čha'ri. Puše 'dhōr če: "Ā či ka' nem?
Har ka'bi bē, dāda-m te ma mun méra. Že če kā'sūr-um ba'dhēk
dālī gu'rīm." Ghit-e, dāhari-e hu'pāṭ, sór-e ham 'yōš kor, a'brōn-e
am 'yōš kor, me'jān-e te'chānā-i ham hu'pāṭ. Ghit-e, sór-e čōli'ka-i
ka'tī.
Čī wa'tan tar-e xa'bar kor: "Ču'mōr, ma 'dāda-m énōr, če ma
mō čūrān 'tūf kor. Ā 'dāli-an ča'ta'kēm, ma 'dāda-m-an ālišī, gala'ba
'nasak-an udhe'kā ku'po."
Puše 'ghaṇd-e, Mirzā 'nām dērō bōn, ō ham rāhi čī. Āya,
ma bāw-e 'dhur, če dāhari am hupā'tōi, sór-e ham 'yōš ku'pōi, a'brō
u me'jān-e ham 'yōš ku'pōi, nūk-e čōli'ka-i am ka'tōi. Mendi de'zī,
ānt-e ma 'yus dāl 'jin-e. Įinē' da 'rhīntō čī, ja'ri: "Ma ma'nā

Then the bald-headed son feigned to be mad and said: “My heart
aches.” His father Qasim said: “What can I do for you?” 1 He an-
swered: “Take me on your back.” His father took the bald-headed
son on his back, carried him to a stream, and entered the stream.
The boy raised his fist and struck his father behind the ear. His
father was stunned and fell into the stream. His son saw it [and
thought]: “What shall I do? My father may kill me any time. Come,
let me take my . . . (?) 2 from him.” He seized him and pulled out
his beard, cut the hair of his head and his eyebrows, and pulled out
his eyelashes. Then he took and cut off his penis.

He went to his own country and told [the people]: “Come and
fetch my father, for thieves have pursued me.” I escaped from them;
but they caught my father, and have mutilated him terribly.”

Then his eldest son, whose name was Mirza, went away, too. He came
and saw his father, [and saw] that his beard had been pulled out, and
that the hair of his head, as well as the eyebrows and eyelashes, had
been cut off, and that the tip of his penis had been cut off. He took
him on his back and brought him home to his wife. His wife started

1 či kunum-it, diga? Is tā = "diga" or = tā?
2 kā'sūr, transl. by yōr, I do not understand.
3 or ma 'nā “us”?
'xâ 'kêrangi ku'ro?' Puš-e 'kal-e ja'ri çe: 'Čûrân ma 'dáda-m-an herangi ku'ro.'

Kal ja'ri ma 'mâma-i: 'Mu kun du ha'zar rupa'î da, çe 'ân pa'ram ba saudâgarî. Tâ 'dáda-m jôr čema'mâ 'âne (: 'ân na?) žim.' Šu ha'zar rupa'î 'mâma-i 'da, ši ham šutur 'dâ, di 'osp-e 'dâ. Ja'ri: 'Čû saudâgarî.'

He puš-e 'kal-e 'yussî na'ro, ma šuturân-e bhâr kor. Čhi źu mai'dân tar, źu wi'yâr 'sôri guda'ri, 'sâri çe 'čhi, šuturân-e hai kor, čhi sô źu čiš'ma. Höwi čiš'ma-i 'awo-e 'ghit, šup-e kor. Šu (ši) 'farxam-e 'ghit 'sôr tar-e, ma 'sôr-e su'nâ, du farxam ma 'mux-e su'nâ. Höwi bâlo-e 'kal bûxabar 'sôr tar-e 'döst kor, ja'ri: 'Wâe! 'An 'kal bêm, bade ma'nân 'sôr dôs 'nâtô!' Áhina jibâkî 'nôţ, thâri çe he kkal yála'ba 'sâheb-e 'sûrat čhô. 'Ghit-e, ma šuturân-e ham ya'lâ kor, ja'ri: 'Harkî bara, bara.' Áyên ma šuturân am 'bur-an. Ma źu 'osp-e ham xu'daîka 'dâ-e, źu 'osp-e 'zin kor, sôr 'osp suwarzhrôst.

'Čhi, źu šâr tar za'hi. He šâr tar 'di ha'zar rupa'î 'nôţ, tit-e kor, ja'ri: 'Har ki 'guria xu'dâî.' Wačha'nê šârika 'čhi, ma źu weeping and said: "What have they done to my husband?" Her bald-headed son said: "The thieves have done this to my father."

Then the bald-headed son said to his mother: "Give me two thousand rupees, that I may go out trading. I shall not (?) return till my father has been healed." His mother gave him three thousand rupees, and also three camels and two horses, and said to him: "Go out trading."

The bald-headed son went out of the house and loaded the camels. Then he went to a plain, and one night passed. In the morning he urged on his camels and came to a spring. He took some water from that spring and supped it. He took three handfuls of water for his head and washed it, and washed his face with two handfuls. Suddenly the bald-headed boy put his hand to his head and said: "O, I used to be bald, but now hair has grown on my head." He took a mirror from his pocket and saw that he had become very beautiful. He took his camels and let them loose, saying: "Let anyone take them who wants to." Some people came and took the camels away. Then he gave away one of the horses, too, as alms. He saddled the other horse and mounted it.

He went on and came to a town. In this town he took out two thousand rupees and scattered them, saying: "Let everybody take them"
kuré dhur, ha'zar rupa'i dá-e, munde kuré ghit. Chí dál pádsâ. Nám-e pádsâ'ka Farux'fal bin. Ja'ri če: «ân tō kun piš'kaš áwurô.» Ja'ri če: «Çe-á áwurô?» Ja'ri: «Ju kuré yalabâ kâri, dum dēra, bâl dēra, tâj dēra.» He pádsâ yala'ba xuš'waxt chí, ja'ri: «Â pádsâ, tu wa'zīr-um.»

E wa'zīr-e pádsâ'ka chí. Ma pádsâ-e ja'ri: «Tu mu 'kun 'du lak paltan da, ē' án-e pâ'ram ba 'jang.» He pádsâ 'du lak paltan ēde kun 'dā. He wa'zīr sāri nař'γō, chí ba 'jang sôr Tâmâs pádsâ. Tâmâs pádsâ xabar chí, če: «Sō 'mun wa'zīr-e Farux'falâ ba 'jang áyō 'du lak laš'kar pen.» Ma 'côr lak laš'kar-e mai'dâ tar wese'fî: «Ču'môr wâ, 'jang ka'nôr!»

He kal ma laška'râ ja'ri: «Wâ ke'nâra bör!» Ma paltan-e dûrin 'lam dá. Xu'xu-e chí 'jang tar. 'Jang tar-e chí, šamšēr-e nôt, da 'dehō cha'ri. Žu teč-e wažrī'ka 'kôr kor, paltan wanô 'âya, paltan dhôr če: «Teč'-â hin 'whētôn.» Ma paltan-e hugm kor, ja'ri: «Teč-e ma'ñâ 'kôr čhô, wâ 'anus(?) ham pa'ri-èr!»

as alms.” Then he went down into the town, and, seeing a hen, bought it for a thousand rupees. Then he went to the king, whose name was Farukhlaf, and said: “I have brought you a present.” “What have you brought?” He answered: “I have brought a very good hen; it has a tail and wings and a comb.” The king was very pleased and said: “I am the king, and you are my vizier.”

He became the king’s vizier and said to the king: “Give me two lakhs of soldiers, that I may go to the war.” The king gave him two lakhs of soldiers, and the vizier went out of the town to fight with King Tamas. When King Tamas heard it, he said: “Farukhlaf’s vizier has come to fight me with two lakhs of soldiers.” Then he sent an army of four lakhs into the field and said: “Go and fight.”

The bald-headed boy said to the soldiers: “Stand aside.” And he stationed the army at a distance. Then he himself went to fight, and when he entered the battle, he drew his sword and started fighting. He blinded one eye of their vizier 1, and [the vizier] went to his army, who saw that blood was running from his eye. He drew up the army and said: “My eye has been blinded, you can all see it.”

1 = wažrī'ka-an. Grammatically I should prefer the translation: “They (; the enemy) blinded the vizier (; the bald-headed boy)” but the context renders more probable the translation given above.
The army said: "What shall we do?" He said: "Go and fight with that army!" The soldiers charged, and the army of King Kaikubad also came to assist the vizier. They defeated the soldiers of this king (: Farukhfal), who fled and went to the king. The king asked why they fled. They said that the [enemy's] army had taken the whole land.

Then King Farukhfal [too] fled, and his vizier became king. He went to the king [Farukhfal], to whom he had given the hen, and said: "Prepare for a fight between you and me." The king said: "But you are my vizier. Why do you want to fight me?" [The bald-headed boy] answered: "You do not reflect and you do not govern with justice or consider the poor." Then the king saw that his vizier was going to fight him, and he fled without fighting. The bald-headed boy wrote a letter to his father Qasim [and said]: "Come, for I have become a king." But his father said: "This bald-head is a devil, and he is only cheating me." So he did not accept his invitation.

Suddenly he sent a troop of cavalrymen to his father's house, saying to them: "Go, and bring my father and his family, and also my own family." The cavalry men hurried off, dismounted at Qasim's house, and said: "The king has asked for you." He gave the cavalrymen
pâdsâ 'dhêwô.' Resâlân kun-ê mäaseôli dâ, re'sâle 'kùc' e dân-aî ghit, 'awur-an dâl pâdsâ. Ja'î: 'Ma bâw-aw-an ânt-an.' Ja'î: 'Enôr-ê dâl tar-om.'

Ma Qâsem-an 'bur dâl puš-ê çe pâdsâ chô bôn. Bâw-ê da 'aya, zu sâr'wân dûrang mâwar jân tar-ê, ba'zu jân tar-ê, tufangîka puš 'sûr tar-ê. Pâdsâ hûkm koç çe 'Mende ne'rûr!' Men'dê qâpê'ân nôt-an, Qâsem ma 'bôr na'rî'yû' n, puš tar-ê 'xešem koç. Ja'î çe: 'Puš-ê ma'nâ bade pâdsâ chô, da'mày-ê be'land chô. Tâ bîn zir-e dôst-an, bade çe hûkm kana, 'mèran-un te.'

'Bâw-ê ru'hen çî dâl jînê-ê, ja'î: 'Puš-ê ma'nà çe pâdsâ chô, ma 'mun-ê de'hen, de'hen darbà'ri ma 'bôr-an na't-an.' Jînê-ê ja'î ma Qâsem 'xà-ê çe: 'Zî çe 'mà u tû dâl ha'wi puši-an ca'takeman.' Huddî'nân-ê dâl pâdsâ'î 'xešem koç, çhê, zu mai'dân tar-ê za'hên. Zu ti sô bôn. Bix-e tika tar zu 'cîsma-i e'stawò 'îwo sô bôn. Xà-ê ma jînê-ê ja'î çe: 'Zû ga'î pareman, ta-e hô'wi ti nhîneman çe sêy-a, 'îwo ham un'hâk sû, na'yôn am xareman, zu ga'îrî a present, and they took his family, brought them to the king, saying: 'We have brought your father.' He said: 'Bring him into my presence.'

Then they brought Qasim into the presence of his son who had become a king. His father entered, [dressed] like a camel-driver. He wore a woollen jacket and black trousers (?), and on his head he had a musketeer's cap (?). The king ordered them to take him away. Then the doorkeepers took him out, and Qasim went, feeling angry with his son. He said: 'Now my son has become a king and gives himself airs. When he was small he was in our power; but now they will kill me at his command.'

His father went weeping to his wife and said: 'My son, who has become a king, has beaten me and driven me out of the durbar.' "His wife said to her husband Qasim: "Come, let us run away from our son." Both of them became angry with the king, and they went away and came to a plain. There there was a tree, and at the foot of the tree was a spring of cold water. The husband said to his wife: "Let us go and sit down for a while under that tree. There is shade and

1 an?
2 This sentence is an anacoluthon, starting with ç "he" as a subject and continuing with an "they".
'rhizeman.' Qâsem na 'göyn-ë pu'tî lasë'wî, hudde 'xâ wo 'jinë da 'xûrê 'çhen. Na 'göyn-an 'xûr 'âwo-an 'thôr. Sêy-e tîka tar rhîzên, xûm-an bu'r.

Pâdshâ ma ardali'an-e ja'ri: «Cu'môr, dáda-i ma'nâ kü çhi? Jigar-ôm xûn kor, na'i çe xešem ku'rô bè, zûrê mö tâ dar'd ku'rô bè.» Ardali'an 'çhen ma 'yûs-ë ma bâw-ë-an ma 'yûs 'na yunt. Ardali'an a'peşt âyên dál pâdshâ, ja'ri: «Ma bâw-aw-an 'na yunt, ma 'yûs 'na hûst.» Ja'ri: «Ze, turp-e resâla enôr, çe peš dâda-m wese'jêm. Dâda-m mun tar xešem ku'rô.»


Na'ryên, çhên, zu mai'dâ tar-ê zahên, thâri-an çe zu ti sî, dál hûwî tî risâlê zahên. Dhûr-an çe Qâsem u 'jinë-ë zu'r ba zu'r rhîzê-ën, men'dânân resâlânn xûmi ëidê'wî. He hudde 'xâ wu jînë water too, let us eat our food and lie down for a while.” Qasim took the food off his back, and husband and wife started eating. They ate their food and drank water. Then they lay down in the shade of the tree and fell asleep.

The king said to his orderlies: "Go [and see], where my father has gone. I am distressed, [fearing] that he may have got angry with me and that his heart may be offended with me." The orderlies went to his [father's] house, but did not find his father at home. They came back to the king and said: "We did not find your father, he was not at home." Then he said: "Go and bring a troop of cavalrymen whom I can send to find my father. He has become angry with me."

Two hundred cavalrymen appeared before the king, who said to them: "Go and fetch my father, for he has quarrelled with me and has become angry with me." The cavalymen said: "O king, to what place shall we go, and in what direction shall we seek? We have not seen where he is." The king became angry with the cavalymen, and they mounted their horses and went out to search [for his father].

They went away, rode, and came to a plain. There they espied a tree, and the cavalrymen approached it. Then they saw Qasim and his wife sleeping in each others' arms. They awakened them, and
husband and wife both rose. The cavalrmen said: "Come, let us go! The king has called for both of you." They said that they would not go. Then the cavalrmen bound Qasim and his wife, put them on horseback and took them to the king.

There they said: "O king, we have brought Qasim and his wife." The king said: "Bring them into my presence." Then they brought Qasim to the king, and he gave him the royal salaam, and sat down at his right hand. The king said: "You are my father; I am king, and you shall be the vizier of my right hand."

The king sent those cavalrmen, who had brought his father, to his eldest brother Mirza, and they went to fetch him. They came to Mirza's house and said to him: "Come, your brother has become a king, and your father a vizier. He has called for you, too."

Mirza took his two sons and went with the cavalrmen. One of his sons fell down a precipice and was killed. His father buried him, and went with his other son to his brother, the king. The cavalrmen approached the king, halted, and said: "O king, we have brought your brother Mirza and one of his sons. His other son fell from a rock and was killed." The king said: "Go, and bring my brother Mirza."
Re'sálán ma Mir'zâ bi'yay-an 'bur. 'Pâdšâ 'dhur, uštâ, Mirzâ'ân pišâni ma'či kor, ja'ri: 'Puš-e tâ pa'ñân tar 'mur, tu xuñâ-w 'janô bi.' Çau'ki döst-e 'chap tar-e 'pâdšâ' lam dá, ma Mer'zâ-e bi'yâ-ê ja'ri: 'Nhin!' Mirzâ 'nhoşt. 'Pâdšâ ja'ri: 'Dâda-m wa'zir-e döst-e râštika-m, 'tu Mer'zâ bi'ya-om wa'zir-e döst-e 'chapika-m.' Ma Mer-zâ-ê ja'ri: 'Tû zâ ho'qûf dêrê, ñe khân jái la'škar pai'dâ 'pari-a, 'jâng kânen-ê na'rê?' Ja'ri: 'Nâ, ân-e na narem.' Zû çapi'lâk-ê 'pâdšâ mahak 'mux tar-e Mirzâ bi'ya-e 'ghanîka-i 'dhi. Mirzâ bi-nâñk bín, jáí 'hec na uštâ. 'Bâw-e ja'ri: 'Çâ 'dhi?' Pâdšâ ja'ri ce: 'Xùb-um kor. 'Agâ 'mu kun bi'yâ 'bê, kâri 'bê, ñê ce na 'bê, kacal bi'yâ 'hec na 'bê.'

Ma 'bâw-ê 'pâdšâ khoujewi, ja'ri: 'Zû pa'lang-a Narwâtî'â tar, mun'dî 'ênen na'rê, yâ 'na-i na'rê?'. 'Bâw-e ja'ri: 'Agâ 'ênen-ê na na'rem, xu xa'rem te. 'ân-e gap-e tu 'pušika-m na nim, ñar kû wese'jë, param-ê.' 'Bâw-ê chi ma 'yus. Jînê tar-e rux'sat ghit, ja'ri: 'Puš-um-â ma 'mun we'sêth sö pa'lang, 'a 'zîm yâ 'na?' Jînê-e Qâsem du'wâ dá, ja'ri: 'Çô, es'salla 'ênî te.'

The cavalymen brought his brother Mirza. When the king saw him, he rose, kissed Mirza's forehead and said: "Your son died on the road, but you remained alive yourself." The king placed a chair on his left hand and bade his brother Mirza sit there. Mirza sat down. The king said: "My father is the vizier of my right hand; you, my brother Mirza, are the vizier of my left hand." And he said further: "Have you got any strength, so that, if an army should appear somewhere, you can fight against it?" Mirza answered: "No, I cannot do so." Then the king gave his eldest brother Mirza a slap on the face. Mirza had no sense of honour and did not rise. But his father asked: "Why did you strike him?" The king answered: "I have done well. If I am to have a brother, he must be brave; if he is not that, and is worthless, it is better that he should not exist at all."

Then the king asked his father, saying: "There is a panther at Narvational, can you bring it here or not?" His father answered: "If I cannot bring it, I shall at any rate eat it. I shall not transgress your command, my son, but go wherever you send me." Then his father went home, took leave of his wife and said: "My son is sending me against the panther, shall I go or not?" Qasim's wife prayed and said: "Go, and if it please God, you will bring it back."


ʿPâdšâ ḏuhr cē: «Biyā-e mānān šēr ţant, mā łašqar-ān-ē pailān

The king consoled Mirza, saying: "Whatever task I propose, say that you can do it, even if you cannot." Mirza said: "Tell me where you are going to send me." The king said: "Go to Dalansang; there is a ravine there, and in the middle of it there is something resembling a house, and in that ravine there lives a lion. Go up to the lion, seize it, and come back. The lion is blind in one eye and lame in the right foot, and its right horn (sic!) is broken."

Mirza rose, prayed before his brother the king, girded his loins, and taking a sword in his hand mounted a horse. Then he set out and came to a plain where he spent the night. Next morning Mirza mounted his horse and came to Dalansang.

There he unsheathed his sword. The lion came from the opposite side, and from his side Mirza ran with his naked sword to attack the lion. The lion opened its jaws, ran and drew near to Mirza. Mirza was afraid of the lion and could not kill it; but he struck with his sword at the lion's jaws. Though the lion stood at bay, it was cut open by the sword from the jaws to the tail. Mirza loaded the left half of the lion on his horse, and took it to the king.

When the king saw that his brother had brought the lion, he sent his soldiers to meet him. The soldiers went towards him and saw
tar wese'jì. Laška'ran palán tar ĉêņ, laška'ran ham ma šer sor ősp 'bhar ku'roj dhôr. Merzâ ma šer sor őspî mhag 'mên laškar-e 'yušt. Laškar ber'khi, ĵu lak laškar bên, huss-e 'murda-e šeri'ka tar ča'a'kên.


Bade biya-e pâdshâ'ka či, ma šer-ê ālîšô, ěîr-ê ku'ro, nesp-e ghičô, âwu'ro. Mende šer am bu'îr dâl pâdshâ. Merzâ am či

the lion which he had loaded on his horse. Mirza threw the lion down from the horse among the soldiers, who were terrified. There was one lakh of soldiers; but they all fled from the dead body of the lion.

Mirza shouted: "Do not run away, the lion is dead." The soldiers approached the lion, and when they saw it, they became astonished and said among themselves: "This brother of the king is a great warrior. The king has travelled about much; but [he has not found] anyone who could kill this lion. Now the king's brother, the warrior Mirza, has killed it and brought half of it here."

A former king had sent two lakhs of soldiers against the lion, and the lion had defeated the soldiers. One of the lion's horns had been hit by a cannon, and had been broken. One of the lion's eyes had been hit by a soldier's rifle, and had been blinded. One cavalryman had hit the lion's feet with his sabre, and the foot had been broken. But the lion had killed seven thousand soldiers of that ancient king, and had crushed them with its teeth.

Now the king's brother came, caught the lion and cut it up; and he took half of it and brought it. He also brought the [whole?] lion
dāl pāḍšā, sō čau'kī nhōšt. Ja'ri: "Ŝā'bās, bi'yā! Tu pāla'wān-e ̣ghānd-e."

X (G).

Ţū kačō-ârak bin. Whētōn ọst 'dhār tar, Ţū 'bhrār 'kačō ọst ārtōn, mundē ọst phārātetōn, ārtōn ọst, bhāv-e kačō'i ka ọst na'γōn xartōn.

Čhī 'dhār tar, du 'bhrār kačōi hu'pāt, Ţū 'bhrār-e ā'wur, Ţū bhār-e lam ḏā. Sa'bā kun-e 'yarp o 'yār uz'gī, çi'men 'na na'ri; 'yarp o 'yār ka'ṭār kor, čhī çe ma 'kačō ē 'āra. Čhī, če kačō'i'kān-e bu'ro, thē'wōi. Ja'ri çe: "Â žā ñi ka'ñem, kačō 'na sī če bārem, phārātem, 'wārōn gu'rim, na'γōn xā'rem."

Thārī çe 'bhāv-e u'dāЪ 'tilla pherō, ma 'huss-e 'jam kor, dā'men tar-e 'ghīt, āγa ma γus, dāula't'mand čhī.

Ē 'dī 'puš kor, nam-e źū'i'ka Šād lam ḏā, źū'i'ka Šāhid. Čhī bāžār tar, Žū 'kury-e 'ghīt, gu'rin-e āγa ma γus çe: "Pušān-om to the king. Then Mirza went to the king, and sat down on the chair. The king said: "Well done, O brother! You are a great warrior."

X.

There was a furze-gatherer. He used to go to the hills, and bring an armful of furze and sell it, <bring it> and eat bread for the price the furze fetched.

Once he went to the hill, and pulled out two armfuls of furze. One of them he took with him; but the other he left behind. Next day there was a storm of snow and rain, and he could not walk about. When the storm abated, he went to fetch the furze. When he came to take away the furze, it had been set alight. Then he said: "What else can I do? There is no furze for me to take and sell, that I may buy flour and eat bread."

Then he saw that the ash [from the furze] had turned into gold; he collected all of it, took it in the skirt of his robe, and went home. He became a rich man.

He had two sons, and called the one Sad, the other Sahid. Once he went to the bazar and bought a hen. He took it and went home [thinking]: "My sons can play with it." The hen laid an egg, and
'wâyaran." Hö'wi kury ŋu 'ex 'lam tä, 'mende 'ex-i 'ghit, 'čhi bâzär tar, 'mende ḥar 'khân jâi ċimë'wi, 'khin na 'ghit.

Žū 'âdam 'thâri, 'če 'dhôr-e, 'yaâxe koř. Ja'ri: "Ex-a 'âr dâl 'mun, 'ân-e pa 'bhâil gu'rîm." Ja'ri: "Bhây-e 'çi kô?" Ja'ri: "'An-em na 'fâmtoń."

Ja'ri: "'An-em 'yaust ru'pa'-î gu'rîm." Ja'ri: "Žâ-e 'ex am 'dërë?" Ja'ri: "'Hâ, kury 'dërem, 'aga 'lam dahe, 'ârem-i."

Čel 'ex buř-e o pharâ'ti, daułat-e yala'ba-i 'ghit. Āya dukân'dâr, ja'ri ma ŋu 'kaṭṭö zaif: "Čhâ, wa'tan tar ċim, har 'khân jâi 'če kury-e ab'lâq-a 'dhur, ma 'mun 'xabar kan." Kaṭṭö zaif 'čhi, huss-e yu'sâna ċhi'mi, āya kačâ-āraki'ka 'rus, āya 'če en'hâk ma kury-e ab'lâq-e 'dhôr, a'pës ċhi, ma dukân'dâr-e xabar koř.

Dukân'dâr ja'ri ma 'kaṭṭö zaif: "Čhô, ma 'jînè-e kačâ-āraki'ka 'mun pen jôr kan!" Daulat-e 'dâ, kaṭṭö-e zaif āya dâl kačâ-āraki'ka 'jînè. Ja'ri 'če: "Žū dukân'dâr hä, ma tō'i u'dhek pen jôr ka'nem,

he took the egg to the bazar. He walked about with it everywhere; but nobody bought it.

Then a man caught sight of him, and noticing him, shouted and said: "Bring your egg to me, and I will buy it." And he said: "What is the price?" [The furze-gatherer] answered: "I do not know." The man said: "I shall buy it for twenty rupees." And he asked: "Have you got another egg?" He answered: "Yes, I have a hen; if it lays any eggs, I will bring them."

He brought and sold forty eggs, and received much money. The shopkeeper went and said to an old woman: "Go, walk about in the country, and if you see a piebald hen anywhere, tell me." The old woman went and walked about to all the houses. She came to the furze-gatherer's house; she came and saw a piebald hen there; and she returned and told the shopkeeper.

Then the shopkeeper said to the old woman: "Go and make an arrangement for me with the furze-gatherer's wife." He gave her money and the old woman went to the furze-gatherer's wife and said to her: "There is a shopkeeper, and I am to make an arrangement between him and you. He is a good-looking young man, and possesses

1 'An-e?
yala'ba xüb ju'wán-a, daulat ham yulû dêra. Ma kury-a mér, çe dukân'dâr-e mhêmân-e tân żê.

Kačñ-ârakî'ka jînê 'ghît, ma kURY-ê 'mât. Ma kaṭṭö za'îf-e ja'ri: "Çho ma dukân'dâr 'ên!" Kaṭṭö za'îf çhi pêš dukân'dâr. Ma dukân'dâr gu'rîn 'âya, 'yuş-e kuryî'ka 'xür, mende za'îf-e 'ghît, çhi, 'bur-ê ma 'yus-ê. Xâ o jînê çhi, 'yuss o bör-e xu'kân-e elâ kor, ma dukân'dâr-e 'ghît, ma pu'sân-e ham mai'dân tar 'lam dâ.

XI (G).

Sultân 'Mâmûd pâdšâ bîn, di 'osp 'dêrû bôn, 'žûika'nâm-e ǧâphû'nê bîn, 'žûika'nâm-e Aîr bîn. Ma mhêta'ran-e ja'ri çê: "Men'dânân ba'âr dhârêwôr, çê çên xüb 'çâk 'paran!" žû 'ruç-ê 'dhôr çê xa'rab chên; ma mhêta'ran-e ja'ri çê: "'Osp-e ma'nân çê xa'rab chên?" Mhêta'ran ja'ri çê: "Wîyâr jînê awâ 'žîtôn, ma 'žûî-a su'wâr 'chemtôn; zê xa'wân-a 'žîtôn, ma zê-ê-a su'wâr 'chemtôn. Whêwêtôn-a, mâ-îman na 'pântân çê 'khân jây-a 'whêwêtôn."

much wealth. Kill your hen, that the shopkeeper may come as your guest.

The furze-gatherer's wife took and killed the hen, and said to the old woman: "Go and bring the shopkeeper." The old woman went to fetch the shopkeeper, and brought him back with her. He ate the meat of the hen, seized the woman, and carried her away to his house. So they became husband and wife. She left her own house and heardth, and left her sons also in the plain.

XI.

Sultan Mahmud was the name of a king; he had two horses, the one was called Wind, and the other Cloud. The king said to his grooms: "Take good care of these [horses] that they may become nice and fat." One day he saw that they looked bad, and he said to the grooms: "Why do my horses look so bad?" They answered: "Your wife comes one night and rides away on one of them, another night she comes and rides away on the back of the other. She goes for a ride; but we do not know where she goes."


É chi Zu jâî 'dhâr tar, oke'ståk 'zu'khr 'sô bô'n, oke'ståk 'ašu-qân-ê hastan. Âșu'qân-ê sôr tar-ê 'khâr chên ce: «Çâ yîr 'ayê?» Jînc-ê ja'î ce: «Sultân Mâmûdân xôm öst na 'bartô'n.» Mend-ê'an uştê'wi, ê da wâyâr chi, ê'dânân maila 'sur ko'r, ê'dê yu'lu 'yîr wâya'rl.


Sultan Mahmud considered the matter in his heart. That night he could not fall asleep, and his wife rose from his side and went out. He went after her; his wife went in front, and he behind. But his wife did not see Sultan Mahmud.

She went on and came to a hill where there was a cave, and her lovers were there. Her lovers got angry with her [and said]: "Why have you come so late?" His wife answered: "Sultan Mahmud did not fall asleep." They made her stand up, and she began dancing. They made merry and played music, and she danced till it was very late.

Sultan Mahmud stood there watching her. He had a greasy rag which was full of black oil, and as his wife turned round, he squeezed it on to her clothes. When the time came for his wife to take leave, he went before her and came [home], and she did not see him at all. He came [home], and lay down on his bed. After him his wife also arrived and lay down quietly by her husband's side.

At once when she lay down Sultan Mahmud moved and shook himself. His wife asked: "Why are you so restless, and why did you shake your head?" Sultan Mahmud said: "Why do you ask? I have had a bad dream." She asked: "What did you dream?" He
su'wār nhōst, čhē žu 'dhār tar, oke'stāk žu 'khur 'sō bōn. Ān ma ōsp-e ḡāphōnē su'wār 'nhāstam, ān ham un'hak za'hēm. Oke'stāk čāwār haba,ši tān āsu'qān hašṭan. Sōr tō-an šanu'fart kōr, sōr tō yala'ba 'khār čhēn. Tō ma mun ŋāb dā, ja'riy-a če: 'Nī xa'wān ōst Sūltān Māmūd-dān xōm na 'bartōn, ma'nān 'yīr-um čhi.' Bete ma tō-an ustē-wi, tu da wāyār čhē. Tō wāγa'ri; dāl mun la'tay-e tele'kā čār'bi sō bōn, mundē'hēk-um tān kālān tar tu'ri, tān kālān čār'bi čhi.

Jīncē ja'ri če: «Tō-e durūγ jātōn, xōm xiyāl-a.» Ja'ri: «Agar xōm xiyāl-a, ān-em durūγ jātōn, ma kālān-an ār če ān ruśa-ni tar bu'čhēm. Agar ma'nān 'sūy rāst-a, xu kālān-an čār'bi-a, agar durūγ-a, be'dān tān 'sūy rāst-a, če xōm xiyāl-a.» Ma kālān jīncē ā'wur, thārī če kālā-e hōst čār'bi čhō, dāl Sūltān Māmūd lejji. E žū 'elm awē dērō bōn, če ma māneš ōst e'spō phe'rewtōn. Ha'wi za'lf ba xīrō-e uštā če ēdān mux 'astara. Hō'wi 'elm-e xā'ni, Sūltān Māmūd-e e'spō phre'wi. Ma pairadārān-e ja'ri če: «Mendē

answered: "I dreamt that you went out of the house, mounted Cloud, and went to a mountain where there was a cave. I mounted Wind, and went there too. There were some negroes there who were your lovers. They scolded you and became very angry with you. You cursed me and said: 'Tonight Sultan Mahmud did not fall asleep, and that was why I came so late.' After that they made you stand up, and you started dancing. While you were dancing, I took a rag, greasy with oil, which I had brought. I dripped the oil on to your clothes, and they became greasy."

Then his wife said: "You are lying, a dream is only a fancy." He said: "If a dream is only a fancy, and I am lying, bring your clothes that I may look at them in the light. If my word is true, then your clothes will be greasy; if it is a lie, well, then what you say is true, and a dream is only a fancy." His wife brought her clothes, and they saw that her clothes had become greasy, and she felt ashamed before Sultan Mahmud.

She had learned a charm, by which she changed men into dogs. The woman rose in a friendly way to wipe his face. She recited the charm and turned Sultan Mahmud into a dog. Then she said to the guards: "Why have you allowed this dog to enter the king’s castle?"
The guards chased the dog away, and she said: "Beat this dog and drive it out of the town."

She had turned him into a black dog, and in the town and the bazar she ordered that they should kill the black dog, wherever they found it. And in every place where they found the black dog, they [tried to] kill it. But this dog was a man, and he understood that his wife had ordered them to kill the black dog wherever they found it.

He was wise and fled to a mountain, in order that nobody should find him. He stayed for some days on that mountain, and found a cave there which he entered. There was a great treasure in that cave. When he saw that a long time had passed, and when he was much pained by hunger, he said: "I will go to the bazar, people will certainly have forgotten me, and they will not kill me. But I may find something to eat."

Full of fear and slowly, slowly he approached [the bazar], and came to a baker's shop. There he lay down, and they threw one or two bits of burnt bread to the dog. He ate them and filled his belly. Nobody touched him. He stayed for some days with the baker, who gave him every day some bits of burnt bread which he ate.
Several days passed, and he used to follow at the heels of the baker; he would brush against him with his tail and his head, and would walk in front of him [as if he wanted him] to follow. But the baker did not understand.

At last one day the baker said: "I will follow the dog [to see], what it is that he wants to tell me, or where he is going." The dog went in front and the baker behind. They went on, and came to the hill, and he sent [the dog] before him into the cave. They both entered it, and when the baker saw the rich treasure, he was astonished [and said]: "What mystery is this?" But the dog made a sign to him that he should pick it up. The baker took as much as he was able to carry on his back. Then he went out, and returned [to town]. The dog followed him, and when they reached the baker's house, the baker took it into the house and tied it up there.

The baker's daughter entered the house, and when she saw the dog, she covered her face. Her father was angry with her [and said]: "A human being covers his face in the presence of another human being; but why did you cover your face in the presence of a dog?" She answered: "O father, do not be angry with me; but one day I saw Sultan Mahmud riding, and I saw the eyes of this dog in the eyes of
Sultan Mahmud; their eyes are exactly alike." Then the dog rejoiced and nodded its head.

The baker's wife, who also knew that charm, changed the dog into a man again, and sure enough this dog was Sultan Mahmud! Then the baker went to the bazar and brought a barber who trimmed his head (hair and beard) and his body beautifully, and dressed him in a royal robe. Then the baker's wife taught Sultan Mahmud a charm and said to him: "Go, and when you get home, recite this charm. When your wife approaches you, you must recite this charm and breathe into her face; then she will turn into a donkey. It you do not recite it, she will turn you into something else, and God knows if I shall arrive again in time or not."

When Sultan Mahmud came home, his wife rose in order to turn him into something else. But he recited the charm which he had learnt from the baker's wife, and breathed into his wife's face. She was changed into a donkey, and he said to the sweepers: "Make a pack-saddle for her, and pierce it with very sharp and pointed iron nails. Then put the sweepings on her back daily, night and day, until she dies."
XII (G).
(The Seasons).


This was done. Sultan Mahmud came back to his kingdom, made the baker his vizier, and they became great friends. They brought away all the treasures which they had seen in the cave in that hill. They attained the object of their wishes, and the tale is finished, too.

XII.
(The Seasons).

When spring comes, the snows melt. The snow disappears from every mountain which faces the sun. We fetch fire-wood from there, and bring out the cattle there for grazing — goats, cows and sheep. Afterwards, when all the snow has disappeared and melted, then the herbs come out. All these herbs are edible; both men and goats, cows and sheep eat them. If it should be a year of dearth, we live on these mountain herbs during the three months of spring.

Then the mulberries ripen, and we feed on them. Then we sow barley in spring, and when the mulberries have ripened, the barley ripens, and some days afterwards the wheat also ripens. When the mulberries are newly ripened, we plough for the maize. The mulberries
zhī, jōwā'ri-iman mlēwtān. Šu mē'hī-yā tī 'bitōn, šu mē'hī bād-ā
lāš ḍēmātō, šu mē'hī bād-ā jōwā'ri ham žhāitōn.

Bāz'ē mardūmēkā-n če 'māl 'dēra, 'buq yā 'gū, men'dānān gu'rīn-ā
dhār tar 'whēwētōn. Ho'wī dhārān tar-ā 'whētōn, če mu'dām
oke'stāk 'yar pā, če ōčē 'āwā na 'ḥēmātō, če sa're 'za sar 'kun-ā
ūzētōn. Un'hāk-ā 'whētōn, če liwōn, ku'rūt-ā yu'lū kāntōn, yu'lū
kārī¹ ham-a žītōn.

E xāsia'tān-e xārākā čhī, bete sāmu'r-ā 'ḥēmātōn. Hē mardūmī
če dhār hā, kūč-ā kāntōn, sāt kun-ā žītōn. Eke'stāk če 'āya, 'agar
phōr yu'lū 'dērō bōn, ō xūkān hāsēli yu'lū 'awuра bōn, pāntōn
če ōčēwāk żu 'sar-ē 'bas-um te ka'na. Xūb, wa 'agar 'na, phōr-ā
pa bāl gu'rītōn.

Sari'stā-e zəmāl'kā'y-ā ba'rābar kāntōn. Žōx-ā 'jam kāntōn, yirān-
yān-e yusi'kā'y-ā 'adel kāntōn. 'Agar khīn če xa'es-e žinč bo'rōika
'dērō bē, sari'stā-e mēmānī'kā'y-ā ba'rābar kāntōn, žinč-ā bārtōn.

Sāmu'rikā ham a'dāt čhī, bete zəmā če 'ḥēmātōn, yarp-ā yārōtn,
pōnc na'wān, yā hōt na'wān, yā ōst na'wān. Harčī če 'yāra, ba
last three months, then they are finished. Three months after that
the maize also gets ripe.

Now those people who have cattle, goats or cows, take them and
go to the mountains. They go to those mountains where there is
always snow, which never melts, and which remains from one year to
another. There they go to prepare plenty of ghee, and dried curds.
It is very agreeable, too.

This was the nature of summer. Then comes autumn. The people
who are in the mountains make for home, and come to the village.
When they arrive there, if they have much grain, and their own fields
have yielded much, they understand that it will be enough for one
year, and it is well. But, if not, they have to buy grain.

They make all sorts of preparations for the winter, collect fire-wood,
and repair the damages to their houses. If anybody should wish to
take a wife, he makes all sorts of preparations for a feast, and then
he marries.

When the autumn is finished, and winter comes, it begins to snow,
for five, or seven, or eight nights. However much it snows, it snows
according to the will of God. At one time he gives snow up to the
¹ First ba'kār, afterwards declared to be a Nijran form.
height of a man, at another time up to the waist, at another time up to the knee. Later on, when the air has been clear for some days, the snow begins to disappear from those mountains which face the sun and the south. But from those mountains which lie in the shade, towards the north, the snow does not melt and disappear, till the month of the Ram (March-April) comes.

XIII.

They (; we) came from home to Jabl-us-Siraj, from there to Charikar, from there to Kalabagh and from there to Kabul. Here the Emir Sahib ordered us to go to the war. Then we rose, and went to Jalalabad. We came to Jalalabad on account of the war. There we fought for seven days. Then, after seven days, we finished fighting and came to Kabul again. The Emir Sahib encouraged us and said: "Go, everyone to his home! And whenever I call for you, you must come here and be ready."
XIV (T).

Šutulǐ chēman mēn Au'gā. Okeštak ha'zār tufan'dār sōr tar-an āya. Ėdē pen-an yala'ba jang-e sāxt kūr. Üçen'dī ma Au'gā ba zur-an ānt, āyeman Penjīr.

Penjīri ja'ri: "Čā hē ker-a kūr?" "Ān āya bēm če e'dān māl ba'rem. Tū kuma'kī e'dān-a kūr. Mē mā o tō dušma'nī čhi, jān-a entre kān! Zū sīr-am sūrb gu're! Du sīr-am dārū gu're! Hō tu'fāng-am gu're, ē-ān o tū dhēman-ē; yā tū merē, yā ān."

Ausa'kāl āya, mē mān o tō sulu-an dahiman. Žā gāhī ān o tō gufta'güī na kaniman. Ēga žā gāhī ē-ān o tō gufta'güī kor, hōt ha'zār rupa'i 'jurm bi. Ausa'kālān chēn ma yūsān-an. Hē gap-an dāl ay'al-e yusi'kā na ja'ri če mā čhe bēman ba ausa'kālī, ma Au'gān-an ba ausa'kālī ānt.

Au'gān yala'ba xuš'waxt čhī, če: "Tū kōm-e ma'nān ā." Üçen'di āya Au'gān, Pahlāv-šānq tā čhī. Bixabar Au'gā mē xo gufto'güī

XIV.

We went from Shutul and came among the Afghans. There one thousand riflemen came against us. We fought very hard with them. Then we brought the Afghans (down?) by force, and came to Panjshir.

The Panjshiris said: "Why have you done this?" "I had come to carry away his goods. You brought him assistance. Enmity arose between us and you; take care of yourself. Take one ounce of lead and two ounces of gunpowder. And take this rifle, and let us fight. And either you or I shall die."

"The headman has come, let us make peace between us. Let us not quarrel another time. If some other time you and I have quarrelled, the fine shall be 7000 rupees." The headmen went to their houses. We did not tell our families at home,¹ that we had gone to the headman, and [that?] we had brought the Afghans down to the headman.

The Afghans were very pleased and said: "You are of our tribe." Then the Afghans came, and went as far as Pahlavansang. Suddenly the Afghans began to quarrel among themselves and then they fought

¹ i gāp dušār šud madīn-e mardum.
kor. Ekostak tu'fang-jang'i chëen. Žu 'adam mur, baduç'am-an 'dâ me xo, wa'kho chë me 'xô.

XV (G).

Žu wa'tan bîn, Žu za'if bîn. Höwî za'if âšuq'bâz bîn, ja'ri če: "'An za'nëng ma 'xâm 'gum ka'nem, če 'kâ-wa'nö par'i-a, xu'xu-m âšuq pen-om såat'tër ka'nem?" Ja'ri: "Dhâr, če žu 'čal-ê ka'nem."

'Xâ-ê mullâ bîn, wi'yar če 'yus tar 'âya, ja'ri če: "Wô 'xâ-e ma'nâ, pâdšâ ma 'kull mullâân 'dhëwô. Har ke če taryâk-e 'bêd 'pâna, dha'rewtôn-ê-a; 'agar na 'pâna, 'mërtôn-ê-a." Hë mullâ ja'ri če: "'A za'nëng ka'nem?" Ja'ri če: "Tu wyâra'wyâr kâ-wa'nö a'uz, khain wa'tan-e žâ tar, če ma'gam dâ'ninda-e panj俾'dîka ju'nê, sa'ba x gu'rî, bite 'zi."

Hë mullâ pa'nâ ghit, wyâra'wyâr na'yarâ, hë šâ'ri 'čata'ki (a'uzl). E 'chî, žu šâr-e žâ tar-ê za'hî, žu 'jâi sôr žu hauz tar nhôst. Höwî hau'zi as'tan za'ifân-e höwî šâ'ri/kâ 'awo 'bartan, 'âör, 'põnj za'if with rifles. One man fell. They paid the fine and made peace among themselves.

XV.

In a certain country there was a woman. The woman had a lover, and she said: "How can I get my husband out of the way, making him go somewhere, while I amuse myself with my lover." And she said: "Just wait, and I will play him a trick."

Her husband was a mulla, and at night, when he came home, she said to him: "O my husband, the king has called for all the mullas. He spares everyone who knows the bêd-antidote; if anyone does not know it, he kills him." The mulla said: "What shall I do?" She said: "Run away this very night somewhere, to some other country. Perhaps you may find somebody who knows the panj俾'd, and you can learn it and come back."

So this mulla took to the road; that very night he went out, and fled from the town. He journeyed and came to another town, and sat down in a place near a tank. The women of that town used to take water from the tank, and now four or five women came there.

1 taryâk-e bêd, panj俾'd v. Voc.
Thoy saw a man sitting there, and they saw that he was a mulla and a good-looking man; but that he was sitting there [looking] dejected.

These women said: "O man, why are you sitting here so sad and angry?" He answered: "O my sisters, do not ask me, for I am faced by a difficult matter. You cannot find any way out for me, and my task will not be accomplished. Why do you ask me?" They said: "Perhaps we can accomplish your task." They said: "Tell us what task you are faced by. In what matter are you at a loss?"

He said: "One night my wife said to me: 'O my husband, the king has called for all the mullas. Whoever knows the panjbęd-charm, that man he spares and gives a present; but if anybody does not know it, he kills him.' I said: 'What shall I do? I do not know it.' Then my wife said: 'Go, perhaps you may find it in some country, if so, you must learn it by heart and come home.' Afterwards I went out of the house. I have travelled for fifteen or twenty days; but I have remained perplexed in mind, for everyone I ask says that he has not learnt the panjbęd-charm, and does not know anything about it."

Then these women laughed and said among themselves: "The wife
åsq‘bâz-a, mendi-a gum kantôn çe xu xu-e ra’siq pen-ë ‘ais ka’nen bê watan tar. Žör çe ‘ma’ hu ppënj-an men’dhek ‘mâneš a’we ‘daheman çe he’wyak yu’lû sargardân chê,»  


Ne’mât-e ‘sâm çe çhi, jài ham alâhi’dâ yus tar rhâst kur, ma rra’hô-ë ham da’sî ’nôt, ‘majma tar men’dhek mullâ-ë, çe ja’rî bôn of this man has a lover, and she has got him out of the way in order to dally with her lover at home. Come, we five must teach this man, for he is very miserable.»  

All five of them said: “Very well, let us teach him.” Then one of them said: “It is my turn first.” She took him away, showed him her house and said: “This is my house. I will tell my husband in the house that my sister’s son has come as my guest. I will cook a good pillau and prepare much ghee for him. Then I will get ready a separate house for you, where you and I can sit. Whatever I may say, you must do as I tell you and obey my word.”  

“Very well,” said the mulla. And they made this agreement. The woman took the water and went home and said [to her husband]: “My sister’s son has come,” and he is my guest.” She sent her husband out, and he came back bringing rice and ghee and all that pertains to the ingredients of the cooking-pot. He also brought meat, and she cooked it well and carefully.  

When the evening came, she prepared a room for him in a separate house. She took the rice out of the cooking-pot, and placed it on a  

1 There is an anacoluthon in this sentence. Literally: “I, my sister’s son has come.” Probably the narrator intended to say something like: “I have seen...” but changed his mind.  

12 — Kulturforskning. B. XI.
če xīyu'ōk-um-a, alāhe'di 'yus tar 'nhánt, ma xà-ē ja'ī če: «Wå hê 'yus tar bê'ôr! Ân-ē ża'hi xīyu'ōk kun-um te na'gōn ba'rem, xu'xu-m te ża'hi xu pen-ē te hö'wi 'yus tar na'gōn xa'rem, če ma'nā xīyu'ōk lejja'náık-a. Nāt če 'wå tar 'lejja, na'gōn 'na xara, un'hāk ża'hi bê, če na'gōn xara, če 'ezzat-ē pa'ī.»

Dâl xà-ē ēhewezaïl ja'ī, na'gōn-ē 'ghit, 'chi, na'gōn-an 'pačetar 'lam dâ. Hö'wi za'if o hö'wi 'mullâ, če ja'rō bôn-ē: xīyu'ōk-um-a, ża'hi 'nhaštan, da na'gōn 'xūrō čhên.

Žu di te'ka na'gōn-an če 'xūr, mun'dhēk 'mullâ-i če ja'rō bôn: xīyu'ōk-um-a, ja'ī če: «'Uste, 'mun pen ker-e ba'dî kan, agar na-i kanē, ba mē'rō-au te da'hem.»

Ha'wi 'mullâ ja'ī če: «'An-e ker-e ba'dî 'na ka'nem. Ma 'mun-au tartar-ē ja'ī če: 'e xīyu'ōk-um-a. Za'nēng ân tō kun ker-e ba'dî ka'nem? 'An-e guna'gâr pa'ram. Nâteq mun ker-e ba'dî 'na ku'rō, 'na-i ka'nem.» Hö'wi za'if ja'ī če: «'Na kanē, āx kanem če mēran-au.» Ja'ī: «'Sab-rē ma'nā ba Xu'dâe, ân-ē ker-e ba'dî na ka'nem.»

tray before the mulla, whom she had said was her sister’s son, in the separate house. To her husband she said: “You must stay in this house. I will take the food alone to my sister’s son, and alone I will eat the food together with him in that house, because he is very shy. Lest he should feel shy before you and not eat his food, let him be alone there and eat his food, in order that his honour may be saved.”

When she had spoken to her husband in this manner, she took the food, and went and placed it before him. The woman and the mulla, whom she had said to be her sister’s son, sat down alone and began to eat.

When they had eaten one or two mouthfuls, she said to the mulla whom she had called her sister’s son: “Rise and do evil (: commit adultery) with me; if you will not do it, I will have you killed.”

The mulla answered: “I will not do evil. You have called me your sister’s son in the presence of your husband, how can I do evil with you? I should become a sinner. Never, indeed, have I done evil and I will not do it.” The woman said: “If you don’t, I shall call people to come and kill you.” He answered: “I trust in God, and I will not do evil with you.”
When he spoke in this manner, she shouted, and her husband came to the house, and the neighbours, too, came from near by and said: "Why did you cry out?" When the neighbours arrived, the mulla fainted, and the woman said: "I called because, having eaten his food, my sister's son suddenly fainted. I thought he was dead, and cried aloud."

They sprinkled his face with water, and put some scent to his nostrils, and when he regained consciousness she said: "Thank God, he has recovered now. Now you can go home, and leave me and my sister's son alone." Then she said to him: "Will you do evil with me, or not? If you will not, I shall call the people again, and let them kill you." He answered: "I will do it, even though I shall become a great sinner." She said: "It is well."

Then the mulla rose and committed adultery with the woman. She lay there for the night, and at dawn, when it got light, she said to him: "Rise and go! Wait at the tank to see which of the other women intends to take you as a guest." 1 He said: "You have not taught me the panjbed charm." She answered: "When all five women have had you as a guest, then, after that we will teach you."

1 Literally: "Be at that tank, that the intention of which other woman will carry (you) as a guest."
Žâ ruč kun ūžza'īf ja'ī če: «Mun pen paraman, wa'le har če če 'mun ja'ī, tu ka'būl kan!» Ja'ī: «Xūb, wa'le ma 'mun 'awal 'elm-e panjbēdī'ka a'we da!» Ja'ī: «Zān har če če 'mun ja'ī, tu kan, bite 'ān-a te a'we da'hem.» Ja'ī: «Xūb.»

Mendē 'mulla gu'rin čhi 'rux ba 'yuss-e. Ja'ī: «'An-e dāl xā-m te ja'rem če: 'Ma 'mun ūž za'īf tāna dā, če ma'nā xā-ā ma 'gu techpeţakā'ī dúčetōn, tān xā na 'martōn.' Ān-e ja'rem če: 'Ēke mundhēk 'māneš-om mu-maiız 'āntō če dāl 'ude-m ja'ī če: Ma'nā xā ham-ā ma 'gu techpeţakā'ī dúčen 'martōn, če ūž čak pī-ā kīzavē tar ma 'bōr na ēkētōn.' Mun če 'hezial ja'ī, xā-m te jara če: 'Tu ēwequad'r 'sūy kun dar ūzāhē, ār! Ma'nān te'chān ham bēž, če ān ham 'dučem, āwi māne'sī če mu'maiız-aun 'āntō bu'cha če ān-e ham na'rem yā 'na.' Mun če udān te'chān bōst, ō da 'gu dučō čhi, um'hāk dāl hōwi xā tar-om tu 'uṣte, mun kun ker-e bā'di kan.

Ede az 'xātērī če ma 'mun 'elm-e panjbēdī'ka a'we dē'ha, edē kā'būl kor, ja'ī: «Xūb.» Ha'wi 'sūy-an bando'bast kor, čhēn 'yus tar-e hōwi za'īfī'kā.

Next day another woman said: "Come with me; but you must agree to whatever I say." He said: "Very well; but first you must teach me the panjbēd- charm." She answered: "You must do whatever I tell you, and afterwards I will teach you." He said: "Very well."

She took the mulla with her and walked towards her house. Then she said: "I shall say to my husband: 'There is one woman who has mocked me, saying that her husband used to milk a cow blindfold; but that my husband could not do it.' I shall say to him: 'I have brought this very man as an umpire, because I have said to her that my husband is also able to milk a cow blindfold, without spilling a drop of milk outside the milk-pail.' When I have talked like that, my husband will say: 'You have quite been left behind; (come off worst) in this matter. Bring [the man], and blindfold me; then I will milk, and this man whom you have brought as an umpire, shall see whether I can do it or not.' When I have blindfolded his eyes, and he has started milking, you must rise in the presence of my husband and do evil with me."

Thinking that she would teach him the panjbēd- charm, he assented and said: "Very well." They arranged the matter and went to the woman's house.
Then she said: "O my husband, there is a woman who has mocked me and laughed at me, because my husband could not milk a cow blindfold." Her husband said: "You have quite been left behind (come off worst) in this matter." Then she said: "She mocked me, but I answered: 'My husband can do it, too.' Come now, let me blindfold your eyes. Then you shall milk [the cow], so that this man, who has come as an umpire from the other woman, can see it, and go and say to her: 'I have seen him milking the cow blindfold, and not a drop of milk fell outside the milk-pail.' — Then I shall not feel ashamed before her."

Her husband said: "Come, blindfold my eyes." Then she blindfolded his eyes, and he started milking. When her husband had started milking, she lied to her husband and said, that the man whom she had brought as an umpire, [really] was the umpire. She untied her trousers, and, in the very presence of her husband, she liftet up her legs.

Then, indeed, the mulla committed adultery with that woman. When she had finished, and her husband too had milked the cow, she set her husband free, uncovered his eyes and said to him: "Bravo! You have done well and have asserted my reputation against that woman who laughed and jeered at me."
Ha'wi 'mullâ wa'ñôphe'ri če mu'baiz 'anta bôn, ja'ri če: «Wô mânes, ēka xûb te'ch pen-au dhôr če ma'nâ xâ za'nëng ba kärigi ma 'gû du'či? Te'chân-em ham xu bõst, dhôr-au če žû čak pl ham kîzarâ tar ma bôr hây na kôr. Tu yê 'châ dâl hö'wi za'ifî če ma mun-ê kha'ñô bôn, ja'ri če: 'Edân xâ ham xub ba kärigi ma 'gû te'chpe'ta'kâ du'či.'»

Mudâ hê ga'pân-ê dâl xâ-ê ba durûg ja'ô bôn, ha'wi za'if haweqad'ri kôr če ma xusôr-ê hö'wi 'mullâ pen gëwëwi.¹

Then she turned to the mulla whom she had brought as an umpire, and said: "O man, you have seen then, clearly with your own eyes how well my husband milked the cow? I blindfolded his eyes, and you saw that not one drop of milk was spilt outside the milk-pail. Now you can go to the woman who laughed at me, and tell her that my husband milked the cow blindfold without any mistake."

When she had lied and said these words to her husband, this woman had achieved as much as to have had intercourse with the mulla.²

XVI.

The verses are only occasionally rhymed. The metre depends — as also among the neighbouring tribes — on stress, not on quantity. In several cases the stress which I have noted, does not fit in with the expected rhythm of the verse. Probably the stress has been put in a wrong place. This is very easily done when writing down a consecutive text quickly.

The metre is very irregular, the number of syllables in a line varying considerably in the same song. In some cases only the number of stressed syllables seems to be counted, and sometimes the lines appeared to me to run into each other without any definite break. In some of the songs it is possible to detect a kind of ideal metrical scheme which however, is subject to constant variation. E. g. — o o — o — o | — o o — o (XXII, XXV, XXIX, XLII); — o — o — o o — | — o o — o o — (XVI); — o — o — o — | — o — o — o — (XXXII); — o o — o o — o o | — o o — o o — o o — (XXXIII). Occasionally longer lines without caesura occur. The only quatrain I heard was XXV. But the metrical system of the Par. songs would probably have to be studied in connexion with that of the popular Prs. poetry of Afghanistan.

¹ The tale was left unfinished.
² The construction and translation of this sentence are uncertain. Can mu'ddâ mean "with the intention (that)"; or is it to be taken as a temporal conjunction: "at the time when" (Prs. muddah, mu'ddah)?
XVI (T).

Ba'yair az Ali Haidar kiy aра 'zi-e Xai'bår,
Ba'yair az Ali Haidar kiy aра 'band-e Bar'bår?
Su'wâra 1 чи râfi' chi, zü 'jangi'li tar-e za'hi,
'Dhôr-e če zu 'šer-e nár, 'šer xu 'arras ṣjô.
5 Haidar šam 'šer nöt, 'šer-wa'nô-e 'hala kôr,
Šer ham 'âya wâle, Haidar pen 'jang 'chi.
Jâng o 'ângâu 'chên, 'khûy-ê kôr 'Ali Haidar,

Par. poetry is completely dependent on Prs. models and probably many songs are simply translated from Prs. The vocabulary of the songs is more than usually persianized, and stereotype Prs. metaphors abound. The songs about Ali and Amir Hamza were said to be taken from the only Par. book in existence. Ballads treating of local traditions or events seem to be rare, and the specimen given (XVIII) is very much inferior to the Pashai hananis, or "killing-songs", which show some originality and often have a pointed and pathetic dialogue. Nor do the love-poems compare favorably with some of the passionate Pashto poetry, or with the simple, pretty little Chitrali songs. The Parachi Muse is rather pedestrian, in spite of the boasts of my friend Tabakkal (v. XIX, XLII). Nor is humour much in evidence, although the last line of XXIV is satirical. The love-songs are often in the form of a dialogue. A few of the poems seem so incoherent that one suspects that different songs have been mixed up in the memory of the reciters (cf. XXVII).

As mentioned in the introduction (p. 6) a number of songs were written down in Prs. letters and given to me. They are marked with an asterisk. Variants of the recited texts have been given in the notes, and a facsimile of XLII is shown in Plate II.

Except Ali Haidar, who can build the canal of Khaibar?
Except Ali Haidar, who can build the dam of Barbar?
He mounted his horse and started, he came to a forest,
There he saw a male lion; the lion roared.
5 Haidar drew his sword and ran towards the lion;
And lo! The lion also came, it started fighting with Haidar.
They started fighting and grappling, Ali Haidar lifted the lion.

1-5?
Ma'rok-e dharam tar 'unt, 'ser xu ja'ri Hai'dar:
Ma 'mun na 'meré, huš 'kä! Hai'dar ma 'ser ušë'wi.
10  'Jangal tar 'ham dar a'ya, šam 'šer-e 'ham luč 'kör,
Ma jangalán-e ka'ti, bhär-e kür 'mendë 'šer,
Du xer'wàra girângi, 'âya xü 'mëen mar'däm.
Mařdumán 'dhör çe 'šër-ä, Hai'dar 'pešëhan-e 'bâ,
'Bhär-e ku'rô zöx-e 'phyö. Mařdumán çe 'mendë 'dhör,
15  'Šer tar 'huss çâta'kên. Hai'dar wa'le 'yax 'kör:
'Na çâta'kör çe ân-em, ma 'šer çe 'wâ dhu'rô,
Ô ham tâb-ë manän 'â. 'Šer zâ'hî dâl mar'dâm.
Mařdum ja'ri: 'Xub ker-ä, šâbâš, šâ'bâš, 'ai Ali!
'Ker-a ku'rô, 'xub ker-ä, žu ker-a ba 'jâî ku'rô.
20  Ü'zâw-ë 'si ker-e 'žâ, para höwi kamar 'tär,
'Èné xu žü haž'där! 'Ali mai'dân tar cha'ri,
Šam 'šer-e 'ham luč 'kör, 'chi xu dâl kamar, 'ai.
Žü feyân-e 'kë 'kör. Buxabar haž'dár nař'gyö.
Haž'dâr çe 'dhör-e sa'lam dâ, huddi'nân-e 'jang 'kör.

He laid it slowly down on the ground. But the lion said to Haidar:
"Do not kill me, take care!" Haidar made the lion rise.
10  He also entered a forest and drew his sword.
He felled trees and loaded them on this lion,
Two ass-loads in weight. Then he came among men.
The men saw that it was a lion, and that Haidar came behind it,
And had made a load of green wood. When the men saw the lion,
15  They all fled from it. But Ali said, however:
"Do not flee, it is I! Moreover the lion which you have seen
Is in my power." The lion came to the men,
The men said: "It is well done. Bravo, bravo, O Ali!
Thou hast accomplished a good deed, thou hast done it in the
right way."
20  Three other labours remain: "Thou shalt go to that rock
And bring a dragon here." Ali went into the field,
He unsheathed his sword, and went to the rock.
He shouted, then suddenly the dragon came forth.
When the dragon saw him, it saluted, and they started fighting.
Ali, drawing forth a thin strap from behind his neck, loaded a stone [on the dragon] and came towards the army. The men saw a dragon, and they all fled at once. But Ali shouted: "Do not fear, it is I!"

He had made a load of the stone, in weight equal to an ass-load. He brought it to the men, and they rejoiced: "Every year it used to tear ten of us to pieces, we feared much, and we were not sufficiently strong to go and kill it. Bravo, bravo, O Ali! Thou hast accomplished two labours rightly; but two more remain.

Let us go to the dam, and let us build a dam across the stream. Ali went to the smith and had a hoe made. He also went to the dam, and struck with the hoe once. When he struck the second time, Khaibar was filled with water. Haidar went do the dam of Barbar, the dam of Khaibar was constructed.

Except Ali Haidar, who can build the canal of Khaibar?
XVII (T).

Except Ali Haidar, who can bring the two male lions?
Except Ali Haidar, who can bring the dragon? 1

One day Amir Hamza was sitting in his house. He was taken prisoner by sleep and lay down till the evening. Quickly he rose from his sleep and saw a woman. He said to the woman: "From where art thou." She answered: "I am from this place."

But the woman was a sorceress and used to practise much magic. She intended to destroy the Amir. The Amir said: "O woman, why didst thou come to me?" She answered: "Verily, I have a garden; Apples and peaches, pomegranates and pears

1 A similar legend is told by Burnes (Cabool 282): "In the time when Balkh (etc.) . . . was under a Hindoo king called Burbur, . . . he bought a thousand Huzara (slaves), to throw a dam across the river which passed his city of Burbur, which is said to have been fed by 72 streams; but all his dams were carried away. Aly . . . one Friday . . . was accosted by a beggar, asking him for alms in the name of God; Aly answered he had no money, but requested the beggar to sell him. . . . Aly requested him to place his foot on his, and shut his eyes; in a moment the beggar was transported by the Iman to the city . . . of Burbur. The beggar took him before the king for sale, who consented to buy him for his weight in gold provided he would perform three acts: 1. Build a dam over the river; 2. Kill a dragon that infested the country; 3. Bring Aly . . . bound before him," etc.
10 Are in abundance in my garden. Every day thieves come
And carry away [the fruits of] my garden. I came to thee, O hero,
Come and guard my garden, that thieves may not steal today."
The Amir said: "I shall come." The old woman went home.
Amir Hamza rose from his seat and girded his loins;
15 He buckled his sword and took the mace in his hand.
Midnight came and he went to the garden.
He entered it and saw that it was a big garden.
He desired the fruits, to pick them and to eat them.
[But] he said: "Verily, it is wrong, I shall not eat them without
permission."

20 The old woman saw Hamza, and she went into the garden.
She went to Shah-i Mardan (Ali) and said: "Come thou also to
my garden,
And guard it this night," Ali said: "O old woman,
Tonight I shall come. If from thy garden
A single fruit is lost, I will be responsible to thee."
25 He said [to her]: "Sit thou free from care in thy house, laughing,
And tell me now truthfully whatever is in thy heart."
Jārī: "Ma bāxča-am ̲h̲am ̲r̲ūz̲ī̲-ā ācūr̲ā b̲a̲r̲t̲ō̲n̲."  
Ali jārī: "Xō pa'ram ̲m̲ēn bāxčā-e tān ̲a̲m,  
Huš-e ka'nam tā sa'hār. Har ke ni 'wyār če ẑe  
Ālešem-ē te maha/kām, ̲p̲ā wo ̲d̲ō̲st-e u'dān am  
Bežem-ē te xu maha/kām." ̲Alī jā'i uštā,  
Bāxča-wa'nō ̲r̲āhī ̲ç̲hī, ̲neź'dik-e ̲b̲āxčāïka ̲ç̲hī,  
Mēn bāxča ̲h̲am dar ā'ya. ̲D̲ō̲r̲-ē ̲ż̲ū ̲ç̲ūr ̲h̲ā,  
Phyārī šamšēr-ē 'nōt. ̲A̲mīr Hamzā walē  
Dōr-ē ̲ż̲ū ̲ād̲am ̲ā'ya ̲g̲ūr̲z̲-ē ̲h̲am dōst ̲t̲ar.  
Pa'nān-ē ̲h̲am ̲ālešī. ̲Dī pālawā-e jan'gī  
Huddī xu ̲r̲ū ba ̲r̲ū ̲č̲hēn, ̲šamšēr ̲d̲ō̲st ̲t̲ar-ē ̲h̲am.  
Hawāla-i kor Allī ̲f̲arq ̲t̲ar-e ̲p̲ālawā'na,  
Raddē kur Āmīr Hamzā. ̲A̲mīr Hamzā ̲g̲ūr̲z̲ pen ̲am  
Ha'wāla-i kor ̲f̲arq ̲t̲ar-ē. ̲Wallē ̲Ś̲ā-e Mar'dān  
Rēw-ē dā ̲nā-i la'gī. ̲Huddī ̲č̲angau ̲č̲hēn,  
Qūwat-e ̲γ̲ū̲l̲ū-an ̲kōr. ̲Na-ē ̲č̲hārī wo na ̲ō.  
Qūwatān-an xu ̲ž̲ū ̲bīn, ̲qūwat kun ̲h̲am xu na ̲č̲hī.  
Dōst-am¹ buɾ ne'hāl kun, ̲ē mun'dē ni'hāl pen  

She said: "Every day thieves steal from my garden."  
Ali said: "I, too, will certainly go to thy garden,  
I will guard it till dawn. Whoever comes tonight,  
I will seize forcibly, and his hands and feet  
I will firmly bind. Ali rose from his seat,  
And went towards the garden. He approached the garden  
And also entered it, and saw that a thief was there.  
He, on his part, drew his sword. And lo! Amir Hamza  
Saw a man coming with a mace in his hand.  
He also advanced and the two heroes of war  
Met each other face by face, with swords in their hands.  
Ali struck at the temples of the hero;  
But Amir Hamza parried the blow. Amir Hamza also with his mace  
Struck at his temples. Shah-i Marden, however,  
Dodged him and was not hit. The two grappled  
and displayed great strength. But neither the one nor the other fell.  
They were of equal strength, and neither of them was superior.  
They grasped the trees with their hands and struck each other  

¹ = dōst-an.
With the trees. Whatever fruits were
In the old woman’s garden, the heroes seized,
And the trees were uprooted. The old woman came
And saw that her garden was razed to the ground, neither fruit
nor trees were left.

The old woman uttered a cry.

XVIII.

In our Istalif there are seven thousand houses,
The food of all is dried mulberries and mulberry-flour, ai.
Istalif is also our paradise,
All kinds of fruit are there in abundance.

There are peaches and apples and pears,
Grapes and quinces abound.
On Fridays there are many people walking about there.
[The girl says to her lover:]
"And now, what is thy intention, O boy?"
But the boy came from Senjet Darra,
áya Estäluf ham mē'mân, ai.
Mönde ka'stī dhör, zurl-e xu ǧ da.
Nesp-e wyārī'ka 'munde xu burāi.
Biya'rān u'stāč če: "Xi-an 'na hā.
Munde xu bu'rō xu'kā 'čür, ai."
Mendi zahēwī xu Sānjet Darra,
šī (šu) sat kamā'dār pailān tar-ē chēn.
žī (žā) wil xu feɣān u'stā ḵaštī'ka.
Bālō xu ja'rī: "Xair-a, wō ḵaştē?
kaštē xu ja'rī: "Watan-om 'sūr xūr,
zhī mardum bēn peš'chan-an ā'γēn.
Mēran-an tey-ai, wō bālō 'jān!
Bālō xu ja'rī: "Na 'berkh, wō kaştē!
Bāw o biya'rān-om, hus-e xīsān-om
ā'γēn peš 'mā, na 'berkh, ai kaştē."
kaştē ham zahī dāl bō-e xā'ika-i,
munde-an xu bur darūn-e 'γus tar,
munde-an xu nhānt peš tatt tār, ai.

He came as a guest to Istalif, ai,
He saw that girl and gave her his heart,
At midnight he carried her off, ai.
Her brothers rose [and said]: "Our sister is not [here],
Her own thief has carried her off, ai."

He brought her to Senjet Darra.
Three hundred bowmen came against him.
Suddenly the girl cried aloud.
But the boy said: "Art thou [not] well, O girl?"
The girl said: "My country is in an uproar,
All the people there have come in pursuit of us,
They will kill thee, ai! O boy, my soul!"
The boy said: "Fear not, O girl,
My father and my brothers, all my kinsmen
Have come to help me, fear not, O girl."
The girl also came to her husband's door,
They brought her into the house,
They placed her behind the curtain, ai.¹

¹ tatt was explained by parāda.
Mardum nař'gī xu yus'sī u'dān,
Šā wo ārūs xu ža'hi ha'stan.

Šām-am guda'rī, nim-e xāwān čhī.
Gūgird-ē de'hi čīrāy-ē dar ādā.
Dōst-e būr walē xu e'zārband 'tar:
«Āxer če mu'dā 'dērey-ai bālō?»
Bālō xu ja'ri: «Na'berkh, 'ai kašṭē!

Tō pen xu mu'dā 'dērem, wō kašṭē!
Harč-e-m če ku'ra, extiyār dē'rem,
Āxer ba mu'dā-m pārī, wō kašṭē!»
Kašṭē xu ja'ri: «Tāraz-um 'na ka,
'An am nāwa'lāt tān yus tar-em.

Ni'm am 'mūlāt ḍā, sa'bā harče ka,
Xud-extiyārwāla-ē, ai 'bālō!»
Ni guda'rī sōr-e ārūsīka,
Sa'bā če čhī wāda bā'rābar čhī, 'ai.
Nimroz-e rūzika tar bālō am

Uštā sōr kašṭē ja'ri: «Uśte, 'āi!»

People went out of his house,
And bridegroom and bride were left alone.

The evening passed, and midnight came,
He struck a match and lighted the lamp.
He put his hand to her belt,
[She said]: "And now, what is thy intention, O boy?"
The boy said: "Fear not, O girl.

I intend to do something with thee, O girl.
I am at liberty to do whatever I have done,
And now, at last, my wish will be fulfilled, O girl."
The girl said: "Do not ask this of me,
I am friendless in thy house,

Give me a respite to day, then do what thou likest to morrow.
Thou art at liberty to do what thou wilt, O boy."
That day passed for the bride,
When the next day came the marriage union was due, ai.
In the middle of the day the boy

Rose and said to the girl: "Rise, ai."
Kaštê duʒânû ka'nen uštâ rau,
'Bâlô ba'γal âle'šî 'munde, 'ai.
Ba'γal guřia'mânî čha'ţî ő,
'Bâlô só 'siz-ę su'wâr čhî.

50 Ja'ri: «Žû ma'či-m da mu'xî-au!»
Döst-ę buř só 'xît-ę bâlô, ai.
Kaštê ja'ri: «Har če ka'nê, 'rau kan!»
'Bâlô ka'lâm ghîd de'wet tar-ę,
'Sör-e kalami'ka čhî 'apačê.

De'wet bi'xabar 'xâr čhî xu, ai.
'Nîmrôz bin, 'sâm čhî, 'bâw-ę xa'bar 'ghît, ai.
Ma 'puš-ę ja'ri če: «Ai 'puš-e ma'nû!
'Arûs-au ḫâjâi hâ, rau ja'ɾ, ai!»
'Bâlô ja'ri: «Arûs-om xu mu'ɾô.»

60 Bâw-ę 'mux tar de'hi, 'dhâɾê tar,
'Bamča-e dhâɾî'ka 'bâw-ę hu'pât.
Dâl 'puš-ę kahr ka'nen naɾ'γó, ai,
Čhî ma 'γus dâl 'jinć-e xu'kâɲ-ę.

The girl rose quickly on her knees,
The boy embraced her, ai.
Being seized in his arms she fell down,
The boy sat astride on her bosom.

50 He said: "Give me one kiss with your mouth."
He put his hand on her belly, ai.
The girl said: "Do quickly whatever thou desirest!"
The boy put the pen into her ink-bottle,
The tip of the pen went forward,

55 But suddenly the ink-bottle broke, ai.
It was midday, evening came, his father became aware of it, ai.
He said to his son: "O my son,
Where is thy bride? Tell me quickly!"
The boy said: "My bride is dead."

60 His father smote his [own] face and his beard,
He pulled out a handful of his beard.
Angered with his son he went out, ai,
And returned home to his wife.
Ja'ī: "Suwe 'nî murū, ai."

Jinč-e āya xu dâl 'su tar-ē.
Dhōr-ē če 'su-e 'udān 'mura, bō.
Arras-ē jō bīhūs-am čha'ī.
Ba huš āya māči-e bālōika-i.
Māči ma puš-ē ja'ī: "Če 'hāl-ā?

Ma kevūlā-u če kō 'mātō, ai?"
Puš-ē ja'ī če: "'Ā na 'mātō,
Hukm-e Xudā'i-kā xu čhi 'sōr tar-ē.
Ō če mu'rō če ka'nmem 'ān, ai?"
Māči xu arras jō. Mardu'mān huss 'xabar čhēn,

Mēr o za'īf hala kō, dâl māči-yē za'hen.
Mardu'mān ja'ī ma māči-ē: "Če'kun-a arras de'hi?"
Māči-e bālōika ham ja'ī: "Wō mardu'mā!
Jinč-e puše'ka-m mu'rō, žū wiyār sōři čhī.
Mardu'mān huss 'jam čhī, mardu'm-e 'Senje Dar'ra,

Ghanḍ o či'nō ā'γū, 'malek o 'xān o ra'his,

He said: "Thy daughter-in-law died today, ai."

His wife went to her daughter-in-law,
And saw that she was dead.
She cried aloud and fell down unconscious.
The mother of the boy regained consciousness,
And said to her son: "What is the matter?

Why hast thou killed thy bride, ai?"
Her son said: "I have not killed her,
But the command of God has brought this upon her.
How can I help her having died, ai?"
The mother cried aloud, and all the people heard it.

Men and women ran and came to his mother.
People said to her: "Why didst thou utter a cry?"
The boy's mother said: "O people,
My son's wife is dead after one night."

All the people assembled, the people of Senjet Darra,

Great and small came, headmen and khaus and chiefs

— Kulturforskning. B. XI.
Piča'där o kāku'li, ḥuss-e ḥōki bēn.
Ā'gēn dāl male'kā. Malekā ham hukm kōr:
"Čumūr, mēn-ōu beżōr!"
Mardu'mā γus wānō ćhēn, ḥuss-e mēn-an bōst,
Huss-e ā'gēn dōbah'rā dāl male'kān a'pā ćhēn.
Malekān-an hūgm kōr: "Nē be'nā-e 'jangā."
Ma mullā-an talab kōr, hūsāb-e mardumikā
Mullā ham a'yā kōr: Šī hāzār ő sū sā'dā,
Mardum-e Senje Darra, ḥuss-e rāhīl ćhēn.

Za'hēn Kala-i Qāzi tar. Estalūfi xabar čhi,
Dhōr-e mārdum āγā. mārdum-e Senje Darra,
Šō hāzār-ā o sī sat, ḥuss-e tufang dárintēn.
"Mā pen ba 'jang ā'gēn. Mēn-ōu beżōr, mardumān!"
Mardum-e Estalūfi Ṽarqū ḡus'si di na'far.

Husse-e čhē, jam de'hī xullas ča'dōs hāzār,
Malek o ār o ra'hīs, n-āya bēn šu'mār tar.
Malekān-an tar-e dā, as'sāmiān peścha'n-e.

Wearing short curls or long locks, they were all of them noble.
They came to the headmen. The headmen, too, commanded:
"Go, and gird up your loins!"
The men went home; they all girded up their loins,
They all came back and mustered before the headmen.
Their headmen commanded: "Today we intend to fight."
They called for the mulla, and the mulla counted
The number of the men: There were three thousand and three
hundred
Men from Senjet Darra, and all of them set forth.
They arrived at Qala-i Qazi. The Istālīfs heard the news.
They saw people coming, people from Senjet Darra,
Three thousand and three hundred, all carrying rifles.
"They come to fight with us. Gird your loins, O men!"
The men of Istālīf went out, two from each house,
They all went and assembled, fourteen thousand in all.
Headmen and khans and chiefs, they could not be numbered.
The headmen went first, the common people followed them.
They came to the battlefield, and saw Senjet Darra.
They lay down behind the sangars, the Istálifs advanced against them,
They killed one thousand of them; but thirteen thousand were left.
They, too, fought, one hundred men from Senjet Darra.
They were all wounded, headmen and noble khans.
They, too, were killed, the men of Istálif.
No chief had they, indeed, for their chief died.
They rifle-bullets hit their eyes and temples.
They were left without a leader, and the field was left empty.
The Istálifs fled, and the men from Senjet Darra Ran after them. They hid in their houses.
Did the men of Istálif. A holy man appeared
His name was Wali Ad. To the men of Senjet Darra
He said: ‘Make peace, do not make trouble and noise!
Among other men we shall become ill-famed.
All our friends and enemies will find their way to us.’
Whatever their saint said, both parties accepted.
[The Istáliifs] gave twenty seers of grain, and they discussed the matter between them.

They made peace, and all became quiet.

Tabakkal was certainly [like] the poet of Bagh-i Alam.

The whole of his tale is ended, right and wrong have been made plain.

XIX.

Mulla Amir said: “O my father,
You and I are foolish in all our actions.
Let us two take the fur coats and give them back,
Baqi is not worth a pice (?)”

Mulla Amir said: “O my father,
Come, let us two go to [the hill of] Santokhmand;
Let us cut down balak shrubs and oaks, let us cut down plenty.’’

Mulla Amir said: “O my father,
Come, let us make a load of balak shrubs,
And let us pile them up in one place.’’

1 The World?
2 Baqi was said to be the name of a man.
Huddinán ě časpć ba'ālak tār,
'Zāhī ce ba'ālak bīn hu'pātā.
'Mundey-an am ēr kor, 'mundey-an am 'gul kōr,
'Mundey-an am ēr kor, 'mundey-an 'āwur Čāri-kār,
15 Phā'rāṭī-an šī qi'rā.
Čāri-kārī čēn a'peşt, za'hēn Paddō-khandī tār.
Ōkes'tak-an 'yan de'hī, ma 'huss-eý-an 'bhār kōr,
Sōr ōs'pān-an 'āwur.
Zhū 'yuss-an am ēdār ēdā, ba ham'ātī 'yanika.

20 Müllā 'mīr ja'rī: 'Ai 'bāw,
'Tuxm-e ba'ālākīka na 'ūzā wa'tān tār.
'Zē če sō 'xenjak mà 'yaur 'kaneman,
Paśā'wān-an 'barema, 'tēz 'kanema,
'Bhay-e pašō'ika na 'dēra Bāqī-ai.'

25 Paśā'wān 'tēz kor, a'pež ramē.
Huddinán sō 'xenjak 'xls kor.
Šāx-e 'ghānd Müllā 'mīr ālīšī,

Both of them set to work upon the balak shrubs
And dug up all that there were of them,
They set fire to them and extinguished the fire,
They made them into charcoal and brought them to Charikar,

15 And sold them for three kraus.
Returning from Charikar they came to Paddōkhandi.
There they cut down oaks, loaded them on their horses
And brought them with them.
With the oak-wook they also set fire to an [enemy's] house.

20 Mulla Amir said: "O father,
Not a seed of balak is left in the country.
Com let us search for khenjak.
Let us take our axes and sharpen them
Baqi (?) is not worth an axe."

25 They sharpened their axes and returned.
Both of them ran jumped at the khenjak shrubs.
Mulla Amir seized a big branch,
And the boy pulled out the *khenjak* from the root. His father had the axe; at the root of the *khenjak*

He aimed a blow with his axe, but did not hit it. He cut his father's foot. Mulla Amir turned, approached his father and saw that he was dead. He took the corpse on his back and brought it home. At once the whole of his clan and family assembled.

They beat their faces, and his wife fainted.

She seized another axe and aimed a blow at her son. Mirt Asan's wife killed her son, too, and in his house nobody was left, not a soul except his grandson. The men made a plan: "Let us give a burial-feast, let us also take out today [enough money to pay] the expenses for four days."

Many reciters of prayers also came to his house on that day. The people set to [and eat] meat and pilau and hash. Tabakkal composed the poem, he is a mighty poet, nobody else in the plain is a reciter of tales [like him].
XX (T).

Žē šär-e Kābul 'paraman, če 'sail u sā'māna, ai!
Na'yāra kūbī ba 'nám-e A'mānulla 'Xāna, ai!
Ma 'burj-e Šārārā pa'ři ka, če 'nesp-e ās'mān tar-a!
'Ajab če sā'māna, ai!

Na'yāra kūbī etc., če 'sail u sā'māna, ai!
Žu lak 'fauj-e jan'gī Kābul tar-a, če 'sail u sā'māna, ai!
Šu lak-e faujī'ka-i ham 'Mangal u Jād'rāna-a.
Če 'sur u sā'māna, ai!
Mangal u Jād'rā o Jā'ji, Wa'zir o l'az'ni sōr 'nōt.

Če-an kur, 'âxer max'sōr-an xa'rāb kur, ai!
Če 'ḥāl-an kur, ai! Fau'jān huss čha'ṛō-en,
Tā če 'hukm-ē 'na pa'ri, a'pež na žēn Kābul tar.
Huss-ē xu čemšē, ai nai!

'Sō na'far za'if-e 'Mangal u Jād'rānī'ka dāl sepā'yān hā.

XX.

Come let us go to Kabul town. What a sight and what treasures, ai!
They beat the drum in the name of Amanullah Khan, ai!
Observe the tower of Shahrara, which reaches to the centre of
the sky.

What wonderful treasures, ai!

They beat the drum etc. What a sight etc.
An army of one lakh of warriors is in Kabul. What a sight etc.
Another army of three lakhs is among the Mangals and Jadrans.¹
What a feast and what treasures, ai!
Mangals and Jadrans and Jajis, Wazirs and Ghaznavis raised
their head.

Whatever they did, they finally destroyed themselves, ai.
What a pass they have brought themselves to, ai! All the armies
threw themselves [into the war].

They did not return to Kabul till they were commanded.
But they all felt ashamed, ai nai!²

A hundred women of the Mangals and Jadrans are with the soldiers;

¹ Frontier tribes, which rebelled in 1924.
² Because they were beaten by the rebels.
Palta'nán 'ta-i kɔr, ul'ján-an γu'lũ kɔr.
Kâ'lán-an γi'râ kɔr, na 'jangal ū'zâ na 'bûta.
'Husse xu Tûdgâ'/i chî, ai! Če 'sur o sâmâna, ai!
Na'ýâra 'kübi ba 'nâm-e A'mânullâ 'xâna, ai!

XXI (G).
Pâdsâ 'kâyaz kɔr, 'kâyaz-ê za'hî Par'wan.
Mîrzâ'ân uz'gên, 'mundû 'kâyaz 'xânan,
Mîrzâ'ân a'peč ra'mên, 'čhên harke 'γus tar-ê.
Sahar â'wâz-a(n) čha'řî: "Döz lak se'pâi pa'řî,
'Husse źû jâi 'jam pa'řî!" Mârdumâ'mân am 'jam čhên,
Mullâ'ân ham 'jam čhên, far'mân-an xâ'ni.
Dhôr-an če 'jang-ä, 'jang-e Au'γânikâ.
Mârdum-e Ša'mâllî huss 'jam čhên γuš 'lak.
Malek o 'xân o ra'his ľâγên Čâri'kâr tar.

Du 'ruč-an u'drâk kɔr, 'sim tar-an d'hi, wa'lê.
Au'hâllâ-n pâdsâ kun 'dâ, ja'řî: "Tuž lak 'fauj ųâ.

The regiments have conquered them and got much booty.
They have destroyed their villages, neither forest nor brushwood is left.
They all went to Tûdgai, ai! What a feast etc.
They beat the drum etc.

XXI.
The king wrote a letter, his letter arrived at Parwan.
The mirzas went down to read the letter.
They returned and went each to his house.
In the morning they gave the word: "Ten lakhs of soldiers shall go,
They shall all assemble in one place." The men assembled,
The mullas also assembled and read the proclamation.
They saw that it was war, an Afghan war.
All the men from the North assembled, twenty lakhs in number.
Headmen and khans and chiefs came to Chârikar.

They waited for two days, then they rang up on the telephone,
And told the king the news. They said: "Here is an army of twenty lakhs."

1 A war with the Pathan tribes.
The king did not accept it; he said: "Bring ten thousand of them." These were all relations [of the chiefs], the other men were to return.

The army had become numerous; [but] the men returned.

Headmen and khans and chiefs brought their nephews. They counted them all: Ten thousand went away, They started for Kabul, and all arrived at Sherpur.

The general Mahammad Ali received them as guests.

The men suddenly disappeared. he saw that there were only three thousand left.

All the rest fled, three thousand hirelings [were left].
Our king was pleased, and came pleased and laughing.
He said: "The country has been subdued, the victory has come to you."

The men also came, captains and colonels,
All conscripts. They moved to Paghman.

These regiments came to Paghman. Cascades are there, It is also very cold there. The battle of Rustam and Subrab Is being fought by those regiments. Then came another command: "All men, from fourteen to twenty years, shall assemble."
Mardu'mán ham jam chën, Par'wan tar â'gën.
Mundey-an hisâb kör: Čel lak šumár chën,
mardum-e ham Šamâli, hussê-ên ham šamšê'rî.
Tars u ber'khî na 'deran, hussêy-â 'xub ju'wânân.

XXII (G).

Mardu'mán, wà thâ'rîr! Para'm-ê Âştâna.
Dhu'rô-m zu 'yâr-e kârî, mañjô tar 'ghana dëra.
Qadd-e wa'khê 'dëra, lauê-e khanôî 'dëra.
Mun kun ò zu'r 'dâwô, wô 'hâ o Âştâna.
Ma Âştâna gu'zar kan, käriân kun nazar kan,¹
Di sûy 'radd o ba'dal kan ma 'mên-e Âştâna!
Ma 'mun-en na lam dhaïtan cê param Âştâna:
'Za/îfân-e kâri 'hâ xu 'mên Âştâna,
Čilem-e 'cars-en 'dhetan, 'hêc par'wâ na 'dëran.
Har cê ka'nân xu ka'nân da'rûn-e Àstâna.

The men assembled; they came to Parwan.
50 They counted them: They were forty lakhs in number,
Also men of the North, all of them swordsmen.
They know neither fear nor fright, all of them are brave youths.

XXII.

O men, look you! I shall go to Astana.
I have seen a beautiful friend [there], who wears a necklace of silver rupees.
She is tall of stature, she has laughing lips.
She has given me her heart, and she lives in Astana.
5 Go to Astana, and look at her beauty,
And speak two words to her in conversation in Astana.
They do not allow me to go to Astana.
[They say:] 'There are good women in Astana,
They smoke pipes of bhung and they are without shame.
10 Let them do whatever they like in Astana.

¹ ba xûbîhâ nazâr kun, et. Andreev p. 17: ba Ostona gjîzar kun, ba xubonîs nazâr kun.
Hâkim o qâzî na há ma 'xâän-an 'pand 'dhâ.
Har če ka'nan kantan-en ba exti'yâr-e xu'kân.
Har ke če un'hâk pa'ri mun'dî-n 'mhâkam 'alestan,
Šarm o ha'ya na 'dêran, 'tars-e Xu'dâ na 'dêran.

'Agar 'mun tar-e harwë, na čhâ 'tû Â'stâna.
Pa'nan gure 'wô a'ûz, dha'rëw 'din o 'imân-au.
'Agar mëř-e huš'yâr-e, huš kan, na 'châ ma Pen'jîr.
Pen'jîrî ādâm'kuš-a wô 'hussè 'yar u 'çûr-a.
Fa'kat čhô-au ra'wâ ná ma 'mên hôt hažâr ûus tar.

Ju'wânân-e kâri-a to'fang-e Ėarma'ni-a.
Mardum-e biwe'sâ-a, wâlê kull-e Pen'jîr-a.
Rhammî zuv tar na 'dêran har kî-an 'yunt mërtan-en,
Humar'zi-a za'hewtûn, Ferâjî-á gurîtûn.

Mardum-e xud'rûya-en, 'xân o ma'lek na 'dêran.

There is no governor or judge who can advise their husbands, whatever they wish they do, according to their own will.
Every person who goes there, they seize forcibly.
They have no shame or bashfulness, they have no fear of God.

If thou wilt listen to me, thou wilt not go to Astâna,
Take the road and flee, save thy religion and faith.
If thou art a wise man, take care and go not to Panjshir.
The Panjshiris are murderers, they are all adulterers and thieves.
It is very inexpedient to go among the seven thousand houses.¹

They are strong lads and have German rifles.
They are faithless men, in sooth, all the Panjshiris.
They have no compassion in their hearts, they kill everyone they find.
However much a man entreats, they only talk and laugh.
They bring a man from Humarz, they seize a man from Feraj [and rob him?].²

They are undisciplined men, they have no khan or headman.

¹ Acc. to Andreev, p. 10, there were formerly 7—8000 houses in Panjshir, at present there are about 15000 houses.
² Humarz (Andreev: Vomarz) is bâlâ-i Panjîr. The people of Ferâj are said be cruel and wild (jangalî).
Har 'sūy če paídá pari ghañḍ o či'nō na 'dēran.
'Mardum-e-ā musul'mān, übāl xa'bar na 'dēran.'

XXIII (T).

«Allā, Naj̲mā pa'ram qur'bān-e 'nām-au,
Če 'dī kaštē dē'rem 'nōs-e 'jān-au,
Če 'dī kaštē dē'rem hud'di sar-qand,
Har 'qandī če čū'sē 'nōs-e 'jān-au.»

5 'Hudde kaštēán-en parčāl ku 'whētan,
'Zūy-e 'tartarē 'zūy-ā peš'čhan 'whētō.
'Ā qur'bān-e hōwī tarwā'li'ka-i,
Peš'tīna-i hām haź'dār dhī'rang 'whētōn.
Dī 'kaštē ham lab-e źī tar 'nhašta hēn,
10 ba te'čhān 'dhūr, zuř tar-um 'ľ-ā' kašēwī.
Ja'řī-m če: «Kāla-e 'kā mēri'ka-ā?»

Whatever word is said, nobody is great or small among them.¹
They are muslims; [but] they know not [right and] wrong.'

XXIII.

"O God, Najman, may I be the sacrifice of thy name!"²
For I have two daughters who are like a sweet draught for thy soul;
I have two daughters, both of them like sugar.³
All the sugar that thou kissest is a sweet draught for thy soul."

5 The two girls are walking on the top of the wall,
One of them is walking in front, and the other behind.
I am the victim of the foremost one,
The one behind moves like a snake.⁴
The two girls are sitting on the bank of the stream [washing clothes].
10 I saw them with my eyes, and sighed 'Oh' in my heart.
I said: "The clothes of what man are these?"

¹ Everybody may say what he likes, there is no authority.
² Acc. to T Kalbacha, the father of the girls, was talking to Najman, the lover of one of the girls. (Najman ānuq, Kalbā'ā nām-e padar-e duxtarā).
³ Sar qand?
⁴ This expression was said to mean that she was fairly pretty.
She answered: "They are the clothes of my husband, ai!"
I said: "Thou must try to love me,
That thou mayst cover thy face and sit [quietly] at home (?)"

The girl answered him: "O boy,
Thou art indeed a self-conceited fool!
Thou hast neither goods nor gold in thy house;
If thou weddest me, what wilt thou give me, O boy?
If thou wilt be my lover, love will be hard.
Sometimes thou wilt see me, and sometimes not; it will be hard.
Thy heart will quickly repent,
Friend, for I am busy and cannot come to thy house, my friend."

XXIV. ¹

"The murmur of water is coming, the smell of the pillau is coming.
Prepare the guest-room, the young boy is coming.
The boy gives me his heart, verily, he is beautiful.
What does it concern other people? Prepare my guest-room!

¹ A satire on a disappointed bačabúz.
My boy has come as my guest, I have brought water from the ice-cellar. 
The two sons of the commandant have pitched the tent in the plain. 
Pitch the tent outside! The boy gives me his heart, 
The people are lamenting, now what concern is it of theirs? 
He is my guest, hai! 
The boy has arrived in the alley, — he seized the girl in front of him, ai!"

XXV.

I see a parrot (perched) on the rose, 
I see that the condition of my heart is bad. 
The wind carried this scent of violets to me. 
No, no, it is a mistake. I see it in my dream.

XXVI.

A red shirt over white trousers is good. 
Shoes on the feet, antimony on the eyes is good.

احوال

1 Composed by Mulla Mizrab Shah from Deh-i Kalan.
Rū ba rū 'mā pen 'nḥīn 'mē dālān, kāri-a.
Paraman 'dōst ba 'dōst huddi'mān-an 'sail-e ma'zār.
Musk o 'ambar-a 'dehō 'sōr 'mux-e a'nār.
Huddi dōstān-um 'mē girbān-a, kāri-a.
Za'i'f-e Kandahār o Ḥerāt ēlā'hi o 'kācāla.
Na gu'ri za'i'f-e Kābul, me'zāz-e 'xunuk-a.
Gu'ri za'i'f-e Kōhe'stān kāz-e tunuk-a.
'Ān ce ēmēm wa'tan tar, za'i'f-e Niẓrāu kāri-a.
Tu di 'mux-e 'chačo, lab-e kha'nō dērē.
Mun har'wi 'gel-a, ma'nā 'dōstā 'yalaba dērē.
Rāz jar har ce-a āhatō, tu ba quirān dērē.

XXVII (G).

'Gūs kan ce ja'em ū gap az 'yār-i ga'hīna!
Dād'xā pā'ram tán dōstī dāl Xu'dā-e Ja'bār.

Sit face to face with me in the vestibule, it is good.
Let us walk together hand in hand to visit the saint’s tomb.
Thou hast put musk and ambergris on thy pomegranate-face.
Both my arms are round thy neck, it is good.
The women of Kandahar and Herat are dissolute and bad.
Do not take a woman of Kabul, her pulse is cold.
Take a woman from Kohistan, her shirt is delicate.

Why should I leave my country (?), the women of Nijrau are good.
Thou hast two white cheeks and laughing lips.
I have heard about thy distress (?); [but] thou possessest my love
    in full.
Tell me truthfully whatever thou hast heard: thou hast sworn on
    the Koran (?).

XXVII. 2

[The girl:] “Listen, I shall say a word about my former friend.
I shall request it from thy hand 3 in the presence of God the All-
    powerful (?).

1 gel (= Prs. gil?) was translated: dī i dard it “thy heart of pain.”
2 The translation of this poem is in many places very uncertain, and the whole
    poem seems more than usually incoherent.
3 arz būkunam az destī ū.
Envious people have dishonoured my work.
Be wise and take care:” He said: “Do not make thyself cheap.

I am a purchaser and I shall give treasures and riches
Of silver and gold. Lift thy veil.
With musk and roses and tulips and laltags and gilly flowers,
With ambergris and musk of Tartary.
I have no riches, that I may pay thy weight in gold.

O my soul’s intimate friend, the world’s riches last but for four days.
Do not give yourself up to cares during the time of the youth.
Give me the ring from thy finger,
Let me have it as a sign of thy desire, O girl!
O [thou who art] like [my own] eyes!

Walk coquettishly on the road, that I may look at thy face,
Thy shoes are made of Russia leather.
Everyone who becomes the friend of a woman,
His condition is bad, his heart like roast meat,
His heart is made to glow, and all his veins are burning.

1 faqat češm-om-et.
20 Tâ'rân-e rubâb 'dhir.
Har ād kanē ham'râ-i kaštī'kâ maza 'dēra
Mastī u mazákâ-u.
A'peš phe'rî 'gax-ē ko'r.
Āsu'qî bi'nâ ko'r, ēčā ma'čî sa'lâ ko'r.
25 Žârî če: Žūrē mač'i, na 'ūzehâ dâl 'ō āz 'daur-e lau'čân-au-
Jâlân-ē pōnžbâf ku'rō, sō kaitâ zârî, 'zîrē dî a'nâr-a.
Mûlat ma'zâr kun-ā, az 'jôrm-e gu'nâ bax'sê,
Az 'yârât-e šaitân 'ân-em xu umid'wâr.
Pa'nân-e Xudâi'ka tar 'râst chu, heč ŵatarî nā,
30 Tâ ba 'rûz-ē 'âxer šaitân-e laīn
Ma 'huss mar'dum-ē 'bûpô pa'nânî.
'Bî xu 'tu sa'lâmat, 'umr ta xu waťâ nā.
'Ghânô o čînâo ham nā.
'Xâja Mâmad az dar'gâ-i 'tu umid-e yala'ba 'dēra.

20 Like guitar strings.
Whatever engagement thou makest with a girl,
Thy jesting and merrymaking is agreeable. (?)
The girl had teased him; but now she turned back and called him
She intended to love him, and gave him advice with some kisses (?).

25 She said: "Take a kiss, and do not let
[any place] on the circle of thy lips be left out." (?)
She had braided her hair in five braids, above
The band of her smock there is gold, and below it are two
pomegranates.
There is delay at the saint's tomb, (?), forgive me the crime of
my sins.

But I am hoping [to escape?] from Satan's malice.
Walk straight on the road of God, and there will be no danger,

30 That, on the last day, Satan the accursed
Will have led all men astray. (?)
Mayest thou be safe, but life is not to be relied on.
There are neither great nor small (?).
Khwaja Mahmâd is hoping for [mercy] from Thy Court.

1 az daur-e labhâ-it na bûbâna.

14 — Kulturforskning. B. XI.
XXVIII (G).*

'Zur he duni'a tar na 'beż, dun'yâ-e fâ'ni guda'ra.
Mau'sum-e ka'tôi-y-au dar 'zi, no'ju'wânî-y-a guda'ra.
'Zur o bâzû'i ĉe 'dërê, ai ju'wân-e kuwat'nâk,
'Zur bâzû tar na 'üzehâ, ju'wânî-a guda'ra.
5 Jâ-i bâxchâl ĉe 'dërê, kâ'ri sa'rây-â wa'khô-a;
'Bâxchâ-u yîrân 'üzehâ, bâ'yâwânî-a 'guda'ra.
'Param-e 'sâr-e ya'rîbi, 'har ĉe 'rûz žê 'sîr tar-om,
Au'lât-e ma'nânî guda'ra.

XXIX (G).*

Žu wiyâr rhizzo hastam, 'dhôr-om ĉe 'yâr-om 'âya,
Mesl-e ma'hôk-e ca'dôs 'xirô ne'gâr-om 'âya.
Xuš'waxtif kanen o Khanen Ŝi bar tar-om xu 'âya,

XXVIII.

Do not bind thy heart to this world, the transient world will pass away.
The season of old age will come to thee, and thy fresh youth will pass away.
The power and strength of arm which thou dost possess, O vigorous youth,
That strength will not remain in thy arms, and thy youth will pass away.
5 The garden plot which thou hast, and thy fine castle, are magnificent;¹
But thy garden will be left desolate, and thy life as a gardener will pass away.
I am going to the city of distress, and every day that goes over my head
Some of my family passes away.

XXIX.

One night I lay [asleep] and saw my beloved coming.
My sweet picture came, resembling the full-moon.
Rejoicing and laughing she came to my bosom.

¹ wakhô "âlâ."
Ba 'mesl-e 'yunča-e 'gul 'fazl-e rhaγam-om 'aγa.
6 Ō 'yār-e nāza'nīn-om 'šarm o haγa na 'derē.
Āxer sa'bap-au 'či-a? Parwā-e ma'nān na 'derē.
Ā'yā mu'dā če 'derē? Tarw-e Xudā'yā na 'derē,
Rahmī ba 'üz na 'derē, ā'yā če xa'bar na 'derē?
Jabr u siti'an tū 'derē, 'rāst jar: Mu'dā če 'derē?
10 Mux-e Xudā'yā 'derē, hād o wafā kan 'mun pen.

XXX (T).
Xīrō ra'fīq-om 'muš pa'reman tā 'yus tar!
Ki na 'bē ma 'yus, če 'ān o tū 'nhineman ū 'jāi.
Huddi'nān-an 'ta-i 'žū lēf 'rhzeman ū 'jāi.
Tā ba sa'hār 'heč ki xu na 'bē dāl 'mun o 'tō!
Śa'i'tānī pa'idā na pa'ri pa'ri-a dāl 'mācī γāw-a ja'ra,
Mun o 'tō tar-ēn 'hussīn-a 'fāmra.
Huš kan če 'ān o tū du'cār na 'pareman,

Like a rosebud came the ornament of my spring.
5 O my delicate friend, thou hast neither shame nor shyness.
Say now, what is thy reason? Thou payest no heed to me.
Or what is thy intention? Thou hast no fear of God,
Thou hast no compassion in thy heart, or possibly thou dost not
know [about my love]?

Thou hast power and strength, tell the truth: What is thy intention?
10 Thou hast sworn by God, make promise and fidelity to me.1

XXX.

Sweet comrade, let us go to thy house.
May nobody be at home, that I and thou can sit down together.
Let us lie down together under one blanket.
And may nobody come near us till the morning!
5 Let no envious person appear to go and tell thy father and
mother,
Causing them all to understand about me and thee.
Take care that we do not get surprised by anyone.

1 kat-i mā dil basta ku.
Duš'man-e ham pēš'chan xu 'dēreman;
Nigā'wān-e mâ'khān Xu'dā-a.
10 Har 'kir-a kor, huš kan, 'kir-e xu'kā ba mu'dā kan!
'Rāz-e zuρi'kā-u dāl 'kī na ja'rē,
Če ān o 'tō ruz'wā 'pareman.

XXXI (T).
'Ān ka'ñem 'tārif-e te'chān-ā, šīrīn 'yār āi!
Az ha'wā-e lau'čā da'nān-ā, 'xīrō 'yār āi!
Na 'uṭafē 'muk-āu, te'chān-āu, sat'k-a pa'ram,
'Mux-e ča'čōe tar-āu ma'čī da, 'tāza pa'ram.
5 Ki Xu'dā bè re'zā, 'tō pen ān 'pādsā pa'ram.
Če ka'ñem? Ma-x'sør watan'dār-āu, 'Xānōm, ā'jān āi!
Nha'stō a'ståm dā'lānī-an, ma-x'sör nēmā'yā ku'rō,
Āhī'nā 'dōst-e ča'čō-e tar-āu, sur'mā te'chān tar ku'rō.
Če ka'ñem e'lāj-e dar'mān-āu, 'Bēgum ā'jān āi?

We have an enemy who is after us;
But God is our protector.

10 Whatever thou doest, take care, do thy work heedfully.
Do not tell the secret of thy heart to anyone,
Lest I and thou be disgraced.

XXXI.
I will praise thy eyes, O my sweet friend,
Desiring thy lips and teeth, O my sweet friend!
Do not cover thy face and thy eyes, let me be thy sacrifice.
Let me kiss thy white face, and I shall be healed.
5 If God permits, I shall be a king together with thee.
What shall I do? I am thy countryman myself,1 O my princess,
my soul!
I was sitting on our veranda, [thou] madest a sign to me2 (?),
Thou didst hold the mirror in thy white hand and put collyrium
in thine eyes.
What remedy and medicine shall I use against thee, O my queen,
my soul?

1 ma-x'sōr: "xud-e ma".
2 nēmā'yā ku'rō: "mālum kat."
XXXII (G).

Ô Abdulla jän-om ai, 'nür-e 'di te'chán-om ai!
Ka'bî pa'râ mhe'mán-om ai, 'šër-e làlai'ka-i!
Abdulla jän tau ku'ró, 'dál 'dāda-i 'xōm ku'ró,
Sa'far-au kor ma Dāka, ma 'di mötar ke'râ kan.

Ma 'mun ham ham'râ-a kan, 'gury-e dâdā'i'ka-i!
Sör 'Taxta-hî tû 'he, Pâ'inda- Gu'lân 'puš tû-ê,

All thy hair is plaited behind thy back, five braids together.
Thy slender shape and high (!) nose have slain me.
On the bed beat thy friend on the top of the back.¹
Let no longing for thee be left in my heart, O my queen, my soul!²
I have put thee apart from³ (= above) all my friends and companions,
I have not seen any good in thee, thou hast maddened my heart.
What remedy and medicine shall I use against thee, O my sweet friend.

XXXII.

O Abdulla my soul, the light of my two eyes,
When wilt thou come as my guest, O lion of the lover?
Abdulla has a fever, he is sleeping near his father.⁴
Thou didst travel to Dacca; hire two motor cars!
Take me as thy companion, O wolf of the uncle.
Thou art at Takhtapul and thou art Payinda Gul's son.

¹ G... "I shall beat thee once..."
² da dil-i ma armán na búbâna.
³ judā kadam.
⁴ tau kadas, najor šudas; pēš-i padariš xau kadas.
Fānūs-e rušān tū-ē, šēr-e lālai'ka-i!
Kara'bāyi-yā kūč kor, zul-fān-a pēš 'gū kor,
Ma mun-a ham 'nhāmōr kor, šēr-e lālai'ka-i.

10 Že pa'raman ma Kābul, ečēw图为 yūza kākul,
Xu 'sōr-au sarkā'ri kōr, šēr-e lālai'ka-i.
Že če ma 'tō-e gap ja'nen, dāl-a te 'nūkar dha'rem,
Bī 'tō-e dharen 'na na'rem, šēr-e dādāi'ka-i!
Ösp-a te gu'rīm jēran, ma mun ma 'sōr-a mēran,

15 Ar'mān na 'dēreman, yury-e lālai'ka-i.
Kadd-au xu tā'ran-ā, hul'bar-au au'yāni-ā,
Kir-aun ba ā'sāni-ā, šēr-e dādāi'ka-i!
Māči-ā pa'ri-a kōr, māči-om da 'sī o čōr,
Du'rin na 'kan ma xu'sōr, šēr-e lālai'ka-i!

20 Že pa'raman ma bāzār, rōng-a pē'rō lāla'zār,
mardum-e tān xari'dār, yury-e dādāi'ka-i!
Že pa'raman 'yus tar-āu, khu'jēweman 'bāw tar-āu,

Thou art a brilliant lamp, O lion etc.
But thou hast forgotten me, O lion etc.

10 Come let us go to Kabul, let thy long curls hang loose.¹
Come let us go to Kabal, let thy long curls hang loose.
Thou hast taken service with the government, O lion.
Come, let me speak a word to thee, let me stay as thy servant.²
I cannot stay without thee, O lion etc.
I shall buy thee a red horse, let them kill me on account of thee;³
But we do not long for it, O wolf etc.

15 Thy shape is like the wild rose, thy front-hair is arranged in

Afghan fashion,

Thou workest with ease, O lion etc.
May thy mother become blind, give me three or four kisses,
Do not keep away from me, O lion etc.

20 Come let us go to the bazar; thy colour has become like a tulip-bed.
People desire thee,⁴ O wolf etc.
Come let us go to thy house, and let us ask thy father,

¹ bubōn tu zulf dirāz.
² biyā ki ba tu gap mēzanam, ma pēsit nūkar mēpāem.
³ ba tu asp-e surx mēgirom, mara sar-i tu būkūšan.
⁴ šauki tura dáran.
Toxš na pa'ri 'sör tar-a'u, 'gury-e lálai'ka-i!
Muţ če pa'raman žu 'jâi, 'xareman di pi'âla čâi,

A'peşte 'zîman žu 'jâi, 'gury-e lálai'ka-i!
Magam 'tû bi'bew pa'ra, če pa'raman Guldar'ra,
mêwa-e 'xîrô 'thar-a, 'şêr-e lálai'ka-i!
Paraman 'Senje-Da'ra, 'kâin-(n)an te mhê'mâ ba'ra,
'hûr o pa'ri 'ham thar-a, 'şêr-e lálai'ka-i!

XXXIII (G).*

'Ân guda'rêm 'tai, 'yus kun-a, 'tû nhašta bê mën-e 'bôr-e xu'kân.
'Bânô-e 'esk-a'u ma m'un la'gô, 'na-em 'yuntôn dar'mân-e xu'kân.
'Magam tu pa'ra ta'bîp-e ma'nû, 'zaxm-e ma'nû dar'mû ka'nê, 'ô kaštê'ök ai!

'Kaštê ja'ri: 'Tu xu rus'swâ-ê, ma m'un ham rus'swâ tu na 'kan!
Biyâ'rân-e ma'nân xâ'bar xu pa'ran, 'jân-e xu'kân-au ham 'huş kan!
'Huş kanê žâ 'wil hê sû'yan-au na ja'ârê,
Če ma m'un o 'tô-e 'mêran, 'ô 'bâlô ai!

May he not be angry with the, O wolf etc.
Come let us go to some place, and drink two cups of tea;
And let us then go back together, O wolf etc.
Mayst thou become fatherless, that we may go to Gul Darra
There is plenty of fruit, O lion etc.
Let us go to Šenjet Darra, and somebody will invite us as guests.¹
There are plenty of houris and fairies, O lion etc.

XXXIII.

"I passed below thy house, thou wast sitting in the doorway.
The arrow of thy love hit me, and I cannot find any remedy for myself.
But thou must be my doctor and heal my wound, O girl."
The girl said: "Thou art disgraced, do not disgrace me, too.
My brothers may find out, take care of thyself!
Take care not to say such words another time,
For they may kill me and thee, O boy!"

¹ kasti mû o turf mêmân nêbara.
The boy said to the girl: "I am burning for love of thee like roast meat, It is better that thy brothers should kill me one day,  

10 If I can but escape from the pain of thy love, O girl."  
The girl thought in her heart: "Would that he were not jesting with me, And that he understood (?) the mystery of love, so that he would not disgrace me!"

She waited for a few days more [to see] what he would do afterwards.¹ Whatever she did, the boy did not leave her alone.  

15 [She said:] "If I love thee, what sweet things wilt thou give me?"
The boy said: "I do not possess anything worthy of thee, Why dost thou say that I must give thee [something]?² I will give thee the life of my throat, that thou mayst make it thy daily food, O girl."

The girl said to the boy: "Be careful another time,  

20 Do not come face to face with me. People are wise, and we may become disgraced without saying a word. May we not part from each other again, O boy."³

¹ cand rüz-i digar ham matal kat, ce az i pas... V. Voc. s. v. thál.  
² Or: "What shall I say (read ja’rēm) that I can give thee?" (ci megom ci bedom-et).  
³ na ki bás măbain-e xud dür béstim.
XXXIV (G).*

'Zu'bar-om 'yusi na'gū, lau'cān-ē kha'noī, 'magam ai.
Qadd-ē mi'sāl-e 'ālef-a ě̆māl-ī xirāmā'ni, 'magam ai.
Dāl 'bōrī-aw-om 'thārī, jul'wā dá sōr 'kō-e xu'kā.
Mux-aw-om 'dhōr, xūb 'xāl u xītāb,
Rōng-aw-om 'dhōr, 'nuqra-e 'xām.
Ān-em na 'pāntōn tab-aw, pērā'šān-a ē, a'yā ē sabap-ē?
Rōng-e he'lāl-aw 'zītō čhō, ān ēpar ēpēsh tā'wīz dāl mul'ā.
Mīm mu'bārāk bē tā'wīs tar-aw sōr pūšānī, 'magam ai.
Pa'nān-aw-um na 'lama dā 'rust u wa'chan,
Bham'bi-(u)m ghit, lha'no-m kōr.
Tu'yānā-w-um kā'ī, kull rupa'ī näxt.
Jān-e xu'kān-um xār kōr.

Pā-m re'kāb tar-e ōspi'kā 'lama da'hem, 'dut-e xāwānī kā, 'magam ai!

XXXIV.

My beloved came out of her house with laughing lips, yea verily.
Her shape is like the letter alif, her walk is graceful, yea verily.
I am a mendicant at thy door, I am begging, yea verily.
I saw thee near thy door, thou didst shed thy brilliance on thine own roof.
I saw thy face, thy beautiful mole and manner of conversation,
I saw thy colour like pure silver.
When shall I come to thee? Let the longing for thee depart from my heart, yea verily.
I do not understand thy mood, why art thou (: is it) angry; what is the reason?
Thy new-moon colour has become pale; I go to fetch an amulet from the mulla.
May the letter mim in the amulet be auspicious on thy forehead, yea verily.
I did not leave anything high and low (: uneven, rough) on thy path;
But took a spade and smoothed it.
I have paid the price for thee, all in cash rupees;
I took great pains.
I put my foot in the horse's stirrup, O thou the khan's daughter, yea verily.
XXXV (G).

O my beloved, be patient in thy heart, by God.
Whatever thou dost, do the work of thy heart with a purpose.
I am not the sun that I should heat all herbs.
Let there be wine, and may I find my starling (: beloved) everywhere.

I give a hundred sighs and groans: Where is my little comrade,
Who walks up the stairs with such graceful steps?¹
Where is the ardent go-between who puts me to sit near thee?
Thou art the rifle-bullet, and I am the game and the target.
Let us walk on the high terrace heart to heart.

I have had much trouble and pain, oh remember, me!
Sit for a moment at my side, a fragrance from Paradise.
I shall be enlisted, and this year my name is on the roll,
I shall not get leave to come to thee.
O my beloved, [when?] one month has passed, remember me!

¹ ba hâm nás xarîmân ki tu mèri sar-i zīna.
XXXVI (G).

1. Bâlô ja'rî: "Ô kaštê, 'ânë pa'ram 'yâr-e 'tân,  
Zul'fân-e 'bûstô ečew, te'chán tar-au 'surma kan. 
Maŋî-e 'chaçû 'dêrê, da'nân-an-u ma'hîn-a, 
Nêšt-au 'ham be'land-a, 'abroân-au ka'mand-a. 

2. Mux-e 'kârî tû 'dêrê, gû'ân tar-au jumklî si, 
Na'tî te'lâl 'dêrê, 'kaštê 'mun kun wa'fâ kan! 
Qadd-e wa'khê tû 'dêrê, 'mêî-e bû'rik tu 'dêrê, 
Xûl-u xi'tâb tu 'dêrê, se'bân-e kârî 'dêrê. 
 Zu'bân-e 'xîrî 'dêrê, 'kaštê 'mun kun wa'fâ kan! 

3. Dû'stan tar-au çû'rî si, pû'nán tar-au ma'sî si, 
Tûn tar-au ta'wâr si, 'sûr tar-au 'bugra si. 
'Çû茂-au 'zerêî-kû, 'kaštê 'mun kun wa'fâ kan!" 
'Kaštê ja'rî: "Ô bâlô, 'nai param 'ân 'yâr-e 'tân, 
Sûyîน-e bi'jîjî na 'jar, 'sûnd tar-au te 'dehem 'ân. 

4. Bûw-om te 'xabar pa'rî, ma 'mun-ë ha'lâl ka'na, 

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XXXVI.

The boy said: "O girl, I will become thy friend, 
Let loose thy long curls and put collyrium in thine eyes. 
Thou hast a white neck, thy teeth are dainty, 
And thy nose is high, thine eyebrows are a snare. 

5. Thou hast a beautiful face; in thine ears are ear-rings. 
Thou hast a golden nose-ring; O girl, be faithful to me! 
Thou hast a tall figure, thou hast a slender waist. 
Thou hast a mole and [fine] conversation, thou hast beautiful apples. 
Thou hast a sweet tongue; O girl, be faithful to me!

10. There are bracelets on thine arms, and anklets on thine feet. 
There is a woman's dress on thy body and a veil on thy head. 
Thy gait is like a partridge's; O girl, be faithful to me!"

The girl said: "O boy, I shall not become thy friend, 
Say no words out of season, [or] I shall strike thee on thy mouth. 

15. My father might hear it, then he would kill me,

1 The written text adds at the beginning: كشتة جرى أوّد بالوّ آل سور ترو اشق جليم. ("Kašte ja'rî: Ô bâlô, án sôr tar-au âšuq chêm. "O boy I have fallen in love with thee").
Or cut off my nose and ears and turn me out of the house."

The girl said: "O boy, thou art very unrestrained,
I have seen that thou art without wisdom or sense or understanding.
There is no love in thy heart, and thou dost not keep thy promise
and faith."

The boy said: "O girl, where wilt thou go to escape from my
clutch?
Perhaps thou wilt turn into a fish and plunge into the river,
Or turn into a pigeon and fly in the middle of the sky,
Or, perhaps, I shall die, and the love of thee will vanish from
my heart.
I have gold and silver, and I practice sorcery and magic,
I shall either kill thy father and make thee fatherless,
Or take two horses and carry thee away somewhere.
Thou hast sworn by the face of God, keep thy promise and faith
to me.
Like an arrow thy love has fixed itself in my breast.
Do not keep away from me, but come for a while to me."

[The girl said:] "I will not come to thee, I have work to do,
And now, tell me thy intention, tell me thy purpose and aim."
XXXVII (G).*

Bālō ma 'kašte ja'ri če: "An-e ʿžim ʾdāl tar-au,
Ja-e ma'nā ʾrāst kanē ʿalāhe'dī ʿyus tar-au.
Dha'rām tar-e na ʿrhīzem baʿyair-e só ʿzuṟ tar-au,
Khīn ʿxabar ʿna pa'ri, ʿhuš kanē biyārān tar-au.
Pa'nān-um ʿsāf ʿlam dahē, kalā[-e?] bōr-au ʿxe kanē.
Khīn tar-e xu ʿna ber'khem baʿyair-e biyārān tar-au.
ʿAn če ʿa'yēm ʿhuš ka'nē, tu bīwa'har ʿna pa'ra.
Tu ʿpānē ʿkhāin-e ʿzā-a, halapa'ta ʿna pa'ra.
Huddī'nnān-an ʿzuṟ ba ʿzuṟ ʿrhīzemān tā sa'har.
Zū ʿruč-e ʿzā ʿāya bēm, tu ʿna ʿhasta ʿyus tar-au.
Hāl-e zuʁī'kā-m ja'ri ʾdāl mà'endar tar-au.
Berkhetōn-em ʿna ja'ra ʿahuł-om dāl ʿbāw tar-au,
Yā ʿe ma ʿxā-a ʿra'ra, ʿnāi na'rem žīn ʾdāl tar-au.
'Kašte ja'ri bālō kun: "Xā tar-om ʿhēc na ber'khe!

XXXVII.

The boy said to the girl: "I will come to thee.
Arrange a place for me in a separate part of thy house.
I will not rest on the ground, but only on thy heart.
Let nobody know of it, beware of thy brothers.

Keep the road clear for me and open the door of the village.
I do not fear anybody but thy brothers.
Be careful when I come, and do not be impatient.
Know that it is somebody else, and do not be frightened!
Let us both rest heart to heart till the morning.

I came to thee another day; but thou wast not at home,
I told thy stepmother about the condition of my heart.
I fear that she may tell thy father about me,
Or that she may say it to thy husband, so that I cannot come near thee."

The girl said to the boy: "Do not fear my husband!

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1 But کشته مبالو جری (kašte ma bālō ja'ri).
2 : "Feign that you think it is . . ."?
XXXVIII (G).*

'Tečh-e 'mast-ahu, 'hude te'ĉhān-e 'mast-ahu.
'Kalan-e 'chačō-a 'hude 'band-e 'dōst-ahu.
'Hari 'ĉe'um ē 'kur, Xu'dā'ī na 'dā-ē 'xu kun-'um.
Az 'rūz-e a'wil Xu'dā'ī 'na kur bā 'hast-ahu!

5 Ḥe 'qadd-e wa'khē-e arya'wānhī 'tān-ā,
Rux'sāla-e 'dāl-e 'hīn-ĉa'kō'ī 'tān-ā.
Čōr ma'ĉī-a āgar ṣun kun-e 'yār-ahu tu da'hē,
Heč 'aib-a xu 'nā, 'aîn-e ju'ānhī 'tān-ā.
'Ān čhēm, sōr 'qabr-e źu ju'wānēkā za'hēm;

15 He is a foolish man and does not understand anything,
He is worse than an ass or a cow."
The boy said to the girl: "Thou art sweet to my heart.
I know well that thou art independent and master in thy house.
Among all men thou art wise and prudent.

20 Come and let me once lay my face against thy face."

XXXVIII.

Thy wanton eye, both of thy wanton eyes!
Both of thy wrists are like white penholders.
Whatever I did, God gave her not to me.
Oh, that God had not created thee from the first day!

5 Thou hast a tall figure like the arghawan-tree;
Thou hast ruby cheeks, dripping blood.
If thou givest me, thy friend, four kisses,
Thou wilt commit no sin; the essence of youth is thine.
I went forth and came to the tomb of a youth;
10 I heard a voice coming out of the tomb.
I said: "O youth, why dost thou lament thus?"
He answered: "I was a youth who did not attain my aim."

XXXIX.

My sweet friend, I am unhappy for thy sake.\footnote{1} I am bound in stocks and fetters and chains. I came to thy house, O my friend, From within thy house thou didst cry: I am busy.

The day when I went travelling from my country, What wrong had I done, that I should \[have to\]? turn my back to my friend?\footnote{2}

I came to Parwan on the Ghorband River, And there sat down, weeping bitterly.

\footnote{1} خیر: mā ba ṭū dilgir astum.
\footnote{2} pušt-i xudam ba tu-ra-\’fī yār kadam.
Ce haifum kur ce 'putum yàrva'no kôr,
Za'hem par'vâ sô darrâ-i yôr-band,
Un'haq nha'cam, xu 'r(h)iùntöe yu'lâm kôr.

XL (G).

Zhû guza'r-om kur¹ 'yus tar-au 'âyêm,
Hâl-e zâ'r-um ja'âren na na'ri.
'Sôr mun u 'tô-een kan'tâ gu'mân,
'Sîr max ta'r-âw-om thà'ren na na'ri.
5 Rhînê châ're 'sôr tê 'kadam-ûm,
'Sûkur ce un'hâk 'zûr-um na tâ're.
'Daur-e če'rây-e 'yus-e xu'kâ,
Par'wâna tu čhê, wô 'naućâ ne'hâl.

Phonograph (G).

Zhû guza'rûm, kuře 'yus tar-âu 'âyêm,
Hâlî zu'rûm ja'âren na na'ri.
'Sôr mun u 'tôyine ('tô'ene) 'kantâ gu'mân,

XL.

I took a walk and came to thy house.
I could not tell thee the condition of my heart.
They are suspicious about me and thee.
I could not be sated of regarding thy face
5 Fire fell from my head to my feet,
Thank God, that my heart did not burst there.
Circling round thine own house,
Thou hast become a moth, O fresh shoot (bud)!²

¹ This song was recorded twice on the phonograph. Hence the variants.
² Pers. translation: yak guzar kadam, xâna-i šumâ āmadim,
Hâl-e dil-i mà ba tû gufta na tânîstom,
Ba sar-i mà u tû xalk gu'mân mèguyan.
Rû-i tura sêr dida na tânîstom,
Âtaš aftâd az sar tê pây-am.
'Sûker ce unjâ dil-em na kafîd.
'Daur-e čerây-e xâna-e xud gâst,
sâîl-e parvâna şudi, ô nau barâmad nehâl.
XLI (G).*

Žū 'zur-um-â 'čemtôn če āšnâ'î 'kašte pen ka'ñem.
Čaŋ de'hem 'har če 'qan(d) sî ma 'hussé γî'ra ka'ñem.
Žū 'zur-um 'čemtôn če āšnâ'î 'kašte pen ka'ñem.¹
Žê 'paraman 'döst ba 'döst huddî'nân-an 'sail-e ma'zår.
⁵ Rhîntò wo 'zârî xu'kân mar'kad-e Sar'wâr ka'ñem.
Mâ pen biwa'nâl 'déra 'kaštê, be'nâî āšnâ'î 'déra 'kaštê,
Magam 'mâ tar ju'dâî dêra 'kaštê.
Ba 'waxt-e čâm čêm² xu-wa'nôî,
ta'mâm-e 'kašte'â 'nhaštî ma 'dâl-ê.³
¹⁰ Mîzl-e 'mušk u 'ambar 'žitôn 'bûy-ê,

XLI.

My heart⁴ goes forth to win the friendship of the girl.
I pounce upon all sweet things, and destroy them all.
My heart goes forth to win the friendship of the girl.
Come, let us go hand in hand to visit the saint's tomb.
⁵ I shall weep and lament at Sarwar's sepulchre.
The girl is faithless to me; she desires to have a friend.
But she keeps apart from me.
In the evening I shall go to her,
All the girls are sitting close to her,
¹⁰ Her perfume is like musk and ambergris,

¹ The written text adds: (?)

² چم آن (čêm ân).
³ نشتوین بیکنی (nhašt-ën xuvcanôî).
⁴ yak dîl-i mâ mêsawa "my one heart goes" (?)

¹⁵ — Kulturforsknings. B. XI.
On her lips the girl has a natural mole.
Look thou! The kazi and the mulla are inconsiderate (they desire her very much).

They have ordered two witnesses to go to her house. They will bring them news from the beautiful girl.

She weeps and rejoices [at the same time]. Rahim Khan has become thy beggar [: slave], I pray for her till the end,

That she may always be safe.
The girl is worth the kingdom of Iran.

XLII.

My heart spreads its wings, it desires to see my friend. Look at my friend, how she is walking.

1. بی غور قاضی کاندکه
2. پری خبر آرمان کشته تر
3. تا با آخیر.
4. هر کمی
5. مغوش توتر سله کنی بالونه خ چکمن ارمان تان چکمن سیم ووزر قارون که: *ما یوش تار... کان، بالو نا خو ای کانام ارمانه تان ای چان ایزام و زر قارون خان*.
6. V. facsimile, Plate II.
7. R. X šud xizmatgar-iš.
8. didan-i یار داد.
Ze 'eşq-ē ma 'mun 'māţō, a' jab te'chān 'dēra,
Zu'ban-e 'mesl-e bul'bul, 'xīrō guftār 'dēra.
5 Tab-e xu 'mun tar ran'jō, 'mun pen ham nāz dēra.
Čā 'ruča če 'na-m dhūţō ma 'mun sur'ṭāy dēra.
Zur-un peş'chan-ē 'dāy-a, 'wyār o 'rūc ma sur'ṭāy-a.
Ma 'mun-ē a'we kuţō, če mhēra/bānī dēra.
Hussīnān 'āsu qī-ēn, ba 'alam manša'hūr-a.
10 Ma 'yār-e xu'kān-om dhōr 'mun 'arz-um 'kuţ ma 'dāl-ē,
Ma 'kūr-um 'sūrī-um nōt, čha'rem ma 'puṣt-e 'pā-ē.
Ān 'chēm xuṣ/wa't-e 1 yu'lū, parī meh'mān-om 'āya.
Dal'lāl ja'ri če: 'Ō bi'yā, tu 'xedmat kan ma 'dāl-ē.
Bimujrā'ē 'na parī, ba'rāt-au te żē 'zu wil.
15 Ba biwa'ri na parī, ma'na 'kir-um za'rūr-a.
Bālō ja'ri dal'lāl kun če: 'Ăn tā'yat na 'dērem,
A'gar har za'nēng parī, ma 'mun tu 'bar ma 'dāl-ē.'
Dal'lāl ja'ri: 'Tu sabr kan če żū 'wil-ē ān bu'chēm,

She has slain me with her love, she has wonderful eyes,
Her tongue is like the nightingale's, her speech is sweet.
Her mind is embittered against me; but she also flirts with me.
When she has not seen me for some days, she inquires for me.
My heart pines for her, night and day it is inquiring.
She has remembered me, because she is friendly.
All men fall in love with her, she is renowned throughout the world,

10 I saw my own friend and made a petition to her.
I removed my cap from my head and fell at her feet.
I became very happy, a fairy came as my guest.
The go-between said: "O brother, pay thy court to her.
It will not remain unrewarded, someday thine appointment [to be her lover] will come.

15 It will not happen all at once, my assistance is necessary."
The boy said to the go-between: "I have no strength,
Whatever happens, bring me to her."
The go-between said: "Be patient, let me first see her once,
That she may not be angry with thee; for she has become annoyed with thee."

The go-between went to his friend and said: "What is thy desire?" (The go-between said: "O girl, the boy desires thee.) The boy desires (literally: has desired) thee, he will make merry and amuse thee."

[The girl said:] "It cannot happen so quickly, give me a respite for some days."

The go-between came to the boy and said: "Be patient for some days!

I have arranged thine affair, and given [her] a respite of ten days. Be not in a hurry, O boy." The boy went to the court of justice in Iskyen.

Mahmud Shah Khan, was made a governor in the Ferajghan country. The Ferajghanis agreed to plunder the Panjshirs at his command(?). The governor led out his tribe and his neighbours, and marched towards Panjshir,

At Dostom [Khel] and Begara there was a great fight.

1 Chief variants of the phonograph text:
L. 1. 'zurum, æ. 2. 'čimue. 3. 'ṣeq̣. 4. 'ṃaṣ̌lī 'bulbul, guš' táš. 5. ta'bê ranj̣d, mun 'pén. 6. ča 'ruči, corrected into ča 'ruča, 'dhuṿo. 7. 'ẓṛum, viyáṛum. 8. 'aṿe 'kufo, mēmāni. 9. hus'ṣinān āšu'ka-č. 12. 'yuḷū, mē'manum. 13. da'lāḷ, ̣o bya. 14. e 'bimuj̣'ra na 'pāri, ža vil. 16. bê- corrected into 'biṿar, 'pāri, kdr. 18. žu vil 'ane ě bučém. 19. ma 'bāda 'khara, xapa.
2 vezā-i tū čī mēbāša.
3 I do not understand Pen'jirī hūgmī čū'ra. (čūr čī: "tālān šūd").
There are seven thousand houses in Panjshir, and they all assembled in one place. Their rifles had cartridges, and there was plenty of gunpowder. They fought for five days. On the sixth day the governor and his men fled, and Panjshir was liberated.

They killed the governor, too, and he has no [more] any longings in his heart. ¹

Tabakkal recited this song, he was a great poet; however much they ask him, he never stops in his speech.

¹ Explained: zadancwála armán na dára "one who is killed has no longings."
VOCABULARY.

The alphabetical arrangement is based on the same system as in Sir George Grierson's Kashmiri Dictionary, etc.: The words are arranged in order of their consonants without any regard to the vowels. The latter come into consideration only in cases in which the same consonant or consonants are followed or separated by different vowels (LSI. X. 253).

E.g. ai, au are placed immediately after a. In words from the dialect of D and P a is a separate phoneme (= M, G, T ā); but in M, G, T ā is merely a variant of a, e and i, o and u are frequently interchangeable. Aspirates are counted as two letters. Nasal vowels are counted as n, ŋ and ŋ are placed after n. For q see k. Final sonant consonants are frequently unvoiced.

In words quoted from literary Prs. long ā is written ā; but in Afgh. Prs. words it is written ā according to the pronunciation. 'Prs.' after a word denotes that it is borrowed from Prs., 'cf. Prs.' means that it is related to the Prs. word. Prs. words of Arabic origin are counted as Prs.; only Ar. words which I have not been able to trace in Prs. are marked 'Ar.' Many of the Prs. words were used in songs only, and probably do not belong to the spoken language. The Prs. translation of Par. sentences is frequently very free. The accent is often uncertain, especially in words quoted from connected texts where the sentence-stress is prominent.

Vowels.

-ā enrol. pron. 2 sg. “thee, thy”, Gr. 118.
  Cf. -au.
-ā, -ā “he is”. Cf. há.
ā T “Oh”. ‘ṣur tar-om ‘ād kašewl “I sighed ‘Oh’ in my heart”.
har ‘mēwa xu ai ‘uk feri’mān-a T

“Oh, every kind of fruit is in abundance there”.


-e (I) izzafat. Gr. 89, 105.
ē “this”, pl. ē(y)ān, ē/yān. Generally a subst.: ‘na ē cha’rī wo na ‟ē T “neither this one nor that one did fall”;


but: ṭpaltaná za'heh Paxe'má G "these regiments reached P." Gr. 126 sqq.
Cf. ḥe.

-ě encl. pron. 3 sg. (and pl.). Gr. 119, 122.
-ě encl. particle. Gr. 156.
o, u "and". Prs. Cf. wo, vā.
-š, -šu pron. encl. 2 pl. "you, your". Gr. 121.
ō "that" ( ısı), pl. ó'ān. Generally subst. (cf. ō "this"). Gr. 129 sqq. Cf. ḧō.
ō "O" ō bālo G "O boy".
aiō G "fault". hec hai-a xu' nā "it is not thy fault".
ū'bāl "crime". ā'bāl xa'bar na' dérān G "they do not recognize [right or wrong". Psht. < Ar. wabul.
ū'bālī G "conscious of a crime" (?) : 'ede kun ā'bālī ā'gā (explained: ērā na kustan, gunā bad ast) "they became conscious of doing a crime to him (and did not kill him)".
ā'bāšq "piebald". Prs.
ā'brō (a'brū) M, G, T "eyebrow". Prs.
Cf. kāš.
au'bāzī M, G "swimming". au'bāzī-m kan'tū, au'bāzī ka'ne"m "I swim". Prs.
uč D, P "bear". Pash. ō čč etc. Cf. uč, xīrā.
ē'čend G, T, ēčen M "hence", ēčen'dī G, T "hence, henceforward".
ū'čend G "thence"; učen'dī G, T "thence".
'má-iman učend lēōx ārta in "we fetch firewood from there"; učend ušūlā T "he rose from there"; učen'dī a'pež ra'mīl T "he returned back from there".
ucen'dānī "from those"; hō'wêd harīān ē. . . . , učen'dānān tītīńn "(the snow) disappears from those mountains which . . . .". Gr. 150.
ēčen'dhēk "this very" (or adverb): éčen-
'dhēk ʾspān ku'čend ʾēm? M "from where are these horses (hamī ʾspān az kūjā astan)".
ē'čew- (once written ēchewém, but A.)
M, G, T, "to put, place, throw". mā-i-ma kī'tābū sō 'mēz ē'čewîtan M "I am (we are) putting the book on the table"; ē'čewem G = ʾlam da'hem "I put", ḫār-ē ē'čewī T "he collected the burden (bār jam kat)"; zulīśan-ā bīšālū ē'čew G "let loose thy curls". Cf. Psht. āčawul "to throw, put" < *ā-sēab (EVP. s.v.)?
ād, had G, T "promise, agreement". ād-an kūr T "they promised". P. 'ahd.
ēdē obl. sg., ēdān gen. sg., ēdānān obl., gen. pl. of ō "this" q. v.
ūdē, obl. sg., u'dān, gen. sg., u'dānān obl., gen. pl. of ʾō "that", q. v.
audī-dā G "tare". Prs. V. āw-sī-dī'āka. ēdīhek "this very". Gr. 184.
u'ďāhek "that very". Gr. 134.
'adel G, T "right, repair". ʾadel ma ʾyus-e zahēwi T "it brought her straight home"; ʾirānīyān-e ʾusī'kiyā-ā ʾadel kantōn G "he repairs the damages of the house". Prs. ādal.
ādalāt T "justice". Prs.
ādam M, G, T "man (homo)". Prs. V. ʾmāneš.
ādam'kuš G "murderer". Prs.
'adap "courtesy". sa'lam-ē ba ʾadap-ē 'bura Phon. "he saluted him with courtesy". Prs.
ū'drāk G "waiting (mātal)". du ʾruč-an īruḍāk kār "they waited for two days". Cf. dar-?
ādāt G "finished". ʾkissa ham ādāt čhī (: ādāt) "the tale is finished";
sámoré'kā ham a'dāt chī "the autumn is finished (tamám šud)". Prs.
aftāwā M, G, afta'wā D "water-jar". Prs.

a'gār, aqa "it". Prs.

a'yā "he came", a'yēm G; a'yēm (Phon. a'yēm) "I came"; a'yā G, T "he has come"; a'yā bim G "I had come (āmada būdam)". Cf. Mj. a'gy, Ishk. ñyād etc. < ā-gata-. V. ēe.

ā'yun-: ā'just G, ā'jōn- M "to dress, put on". a'yōn "bupōś"; ba'dēk-um a'yōst M "I put it on now"; a'yōn "bupōś"; a'yōn-īm- G "I dress"; a'yēstum "pōštām" Mj. ñyūd:- ñyust etc. V. EVP. s.v. ājoustl.

au'yān "an Afghan", au'yānē "Afghan".

jang-i au'yānikā G "the Afghan war";

kul'bar-au au'yānī-a "thy fore-lock is in the Afghan fashion".

ā'yunē- G, ā'yoñē- M "to dress, to make to put on". mà a'ze ma 'puśom kālā āyoñēt M "yesterday I let my son put on the dress"; ma bālō kālā āyoñēt-e "dress the boy";

mā-iman ma puśom kālā āyoñēvītan M. Cf. ā'yun-

au'γar P "rain". Cf. 'āwa, γăr.

o'gyr G "mortar". Prs.

ā'gyē D, P "sky". Ind. (Shina agai etc., Skr. ākasya-), but not Pash. Cf. as'mān.

'ahū G "a sigh". Prs.

'ahū G, T "stag". Prs.

au'hāl "conditions, news", au'hālān pādā kun dā G "they brought the news to the king"; au'hāl-e 'mun kun a'rōr T "bring me news about him". Prs. Cf. ha'ēdāl.

'āhen M, G "iron". Prs. Cf. rū.

āhēna "mirror", v. ā'īnā.

āhe'nī G "made of iron". Prs.

āhen'gar T, āhen'gar M, G "blacksmith". Prs.

a'fāb G, T "wonderful"; used also as an interjection. Prs.

ī'frā G "effect, conclusion". ī'ker-um ī'frā 'na parī "my work will not be accomplished". Prs.

ēk M, G "here". ēk ëk G "come here". V. enehač.

ēka G, T "then, afterwards (ēna)". ēka 'ān ēmē' nar'ēm G "afterwards I went out of the house".

ēke G, T "this very (ēn hamī)". ēke men'dēkhamēni T "this very man (ēn hamīra)"; ēkē 'mūrda-e puśi-kā T "this is the corpse of your son".

ēkē M. yala'ba 'dep-ēn ē kē ādami-kā M "there are many horses belonging to this man", ēkē zā la'mēw "hang up this thing". Gr. 136.

ōk, uk G, T, ok M "there".

ō'kū D "that". berkhitum ē 'ōkū mēniš mo'mun jana "I fear that that man will kill me". Gr. 136.

ōkēči M "there". ēkēči 'māl-e xu'kān-e bībāki 'gum kūr "there he spent his possessions completely".

aql G "intellect". Prs.

aq'li T "wise". tū aq'li-e. Prs.

'aql G "wise". Prs.

ō'kūn oke'stak T "in that very place (ōna ūnjah)". sō-e Haida'rū 'ōkā oke'stak āwe'sān-a "H.'s head is hanging in that very place".

ēkēnधāk T "here, to this place". ēkēn�ahāk Zai'yūm 'ētō "Z. has come here". oke'stāk G, T "here, oke'stāk-e šamšēr nōt "here he drew his sword".

okē'stāk, oke'stāk M, G, oke'stāk T (Phon. uke'stāk) "there, in that place".

ēkēfīyak G "this very (ēn hamī)". ēkēfīyak
Vocabulary

'yus-um-a "this is my house". Gr. 136.
ôke'weiyak G "that very (ôn hamû)". Gr. 136.
al M "built". 'yus-om 'al kor "I built a house".
A'lî 'Haidar.
el G "tribe". el o jâr "the tribe and the neighbours (xurd u rês: raîn, nafart)". Turk.
ela G "let loose, liberated". elâ na 'lâda "did not let go". yuss o bôr-e xu'kân-e elâ kor "she left her own house".
Paht. < Prs. yala.
alîf G "the letter a". Prs.
alâfi M "grass, fodder". Prs.
elâhi G "bad, dissolve (nâbût)". za'ife Kanda'hâr o Hêrât elâhi o 'ka'ala "the women of K. and H. are dissolve and bad". Paht. elâ "unrestrained, dissolve". Cf. elâ.
alâhida, alâhi'dî G "separate". alâhidâ, alâhe'dî (الله) "yus tar "in a separate house". Prs.
elâj G, T "remedy, medicine". elâj-e dar'mân T. Prs.
ulja T "plunder, booty". uljân-an yu'lû kor "they made much booty". Paht.
elâk M, G "sieve". Prs. alâk, cf. Pash.
S elâk. V. pa'rîchân.
Al'lâ "Allah". Prs.
'âlâm G "the world". Prs.
elm G "knowledge, charm". ho'ef 'elm e xâ'ni "she recited that charm". Prs.
w'lân G "meadow". Prs. Cf. tîla.
w'lûs M, b'los T "clan, family, kinsman".
Turk.
alâ'sâ M, G "jaw". Prs. (cf. NShgh. s.v.
lišâ' and Badakhshi alausâ, Madaglashti alaxâ, Pash. G alâšâ).
'âleš: âleš'i G, T "to seize". cu'vân âleš'er T "seize the thieves"; ruq (ma'hûk) âleš'i G "the sun (moon) was eclipsed". Phon. âleš'or, "seize" (imper. 2 pl.).
awlât G "children, family". Prs.
'ai'mû M, G "paternal uncle". ai'mûka pu'sân-é G "his cousins". Prs. cf. Badakhshi anuk. V. pe'tê.
-um, -om encl. pron. 1 sg. "me, my". Gr. 117.
'âmbar G "ambergris". Prs.
umâd "hope". mâ u'mâd-an-a sa'bâ lâsp "yuniman M "we hope to find the horse tomorrow". Prs.
umdâwâr G "pregnant". Prs.
amâji G "paternal aunt". Cf. Pash. S a'may-i. V. a'mû.
amân G "security, safety, quarter".
amân 'âhev'-an "they asked for mercy (sa'lâm kadan)". Prs.
amr G v. 'âxer ul-'amr.
amîr "amir". A'mîr Hamzâ T "n. of a man" (Hanumat "n. of a brave man, uncle of Muhammed"); A'mîr 'Hâtım 'Hâtım T 'a'mîr sâ(h)eb "the Amir". Prs.
umr M, G, T "life, age". umr-e kama't-um G "the life of my throat"; na déhe 'umr-e xu'kâ 'xâr G "don't worry". Prs.
Umar T "Omar".
'âmar G, 'âmår D, P "apple". The relation of this word to Yd. amunok and other words quoted in EVP. s.v. maya is uncertain. Formally the Par. word may be identical with Prs. amard "the fruit of the tree arâk" ("a kind of salt and bitter tree with the fruits
and leaves of which they feed camels").

V. sēb.

'emmaŋ G “this year”. em- is Prs. Cf. 'āsur.

emšalla T “please God”. Prs.

āmuolla T “knowing, taught”. ɒsp-ē
hō'wī ījaŋgal tar āmuolla bi “his horse was acquainted with that forest”. Prs.

-an pron. encl. 1 pl. “us, our”. Gr. 120.
-an pron. encl. 3 pl. “they, their”. Gr. 122.

'ān (آن, ہ) “I”. Gr. 112; ʾāne Gr. 156.

'ān o 'tō = 'mā o tū “we two”.

ān “that” in az ān ē q.v. Prs.

ain, 'āin “essence, best part of”. 'ain-i
ju'wāni. Prs.

dā'na M, G, dhē'na, dhēn (?) M, dhīnā
T “mirror” Prs. V. shša.

ēn: ūnt “to bring (living beings)”. ɒsp-
ēnem G “I bring the horse”; ɒsp-
un ūnt G; ēnē xu ūẓ haž'dār T “bring
a dragon”; Phon. ūnōr “bring”. —
Av. *ā-nay-, N. Kurd. ēnīn, Zāzā ēn-
Khorasan Kurd. onīn, inēm. Cf. the
contraction in Sindhi āŋ-: āydo etc.

ūn: ūnt “to lead down”. dharam tar
ūnt T “brought it down to the earth”.
Av. ava-nay.

an'darf M, an'durf-: andurfā G, anđōf-
D “to sew”. andarfsan M “we
sew”, an'durfim-e, pret. andurfim G,
anđōf'tu hēm D “I am sewing”.
< *han-drf-? Cf. Orm. underov, Wkh.
drw-, Khuri a duruf-tum, Skr. dybh-
to tie together”. Reg. nd cf. Gr.
66.

an'dāz-: an'dāzi M, G “to throw, put,
pour out”. ʾdōst man ʾdō tar-ē an'dāzi
M “he threw his arms round her
neck”; an'dāstå M “he is throwing”;
an'dāsem-ē pū M “I throw it on that
side (ʾūsū 'mēpartam-īs”)”. Prs.

en'hāk M, en'hāk G “here, in this very
place (hamūnjā)”. (acc. to M = ēk). mà
ene'hāk yurē'gī mereman M “I am
dying of hunger here”; in'e'hāk 'sē-y-a,
ok('estāk) rū-ē a M “there is shade
here and sunshine there”.

en'hāki T “hence, from this place”. ān
en'hāki-M.

un'hak, unshāk G, T, Phon. un'hāk
(أنيك) “there, in that very place
(hamūnjā)”. ʾā ham un'hāk ʾpādšā
bēn “he, too, was king there”; ma
ĉōpā-y'ān-im an'hāk bartan G
“we bring the cattle to that place”.
un'hākt T “thence”. But: un'hākti mun-
dhēk bi'y-a-e āhē ʾē dehō bēn ma
bāw-ē būr T “he brought his father
to the place where he had killed his
blind brother”.
in'nak-e teč M, a'inak-e teći'kē D “spec-
tacles”. Prs.
in'ār G, T, in'ār D, P “pomegranate”.

Prs.

an'gūr M, T “grape”. Prs.

dēnggar v. dēnggar.
an'gūst M “finger”. Prs. Cf. ġūst.

an'gwāt M, G, D “ring”. an'gwāt-ı
( -i) dōsti'ka G “a finger-ring”.

Prs. Cf. ġūshī.

a'pā M, G, T, wa'pā D “standing”.
'i 'jarg tā a'pā ēi, da 'jarg a'pā ēi
T “da 'jang istādā 'udd”; a'pā hem
(hastam) G “I am (was) standing”, wālūpā hem D. *a-pāda- cf. Gr. ṣāq. a'pače G, T “forward, in front of”. ṣū pala'ven' a'pače 'āγa mēni laškarika? T “one warrior came forward from the middle of his army”; a'pače kōr “sent it before him (pēs-iś kāt)”; sōr karbestānāni ‘apače na či T “she went no further than the cemetery”; A'īr ‘apače či T “he went first.” *ā + pač q v.
a’peşt G, T “back, behind”. a’peşt (a’peş) ra’mūt G, T “he turned back”; a’peş ‘na šēn Kābul tar T “they will not come back to K.”; a’peşt užā “he was left behind”. *ā + pasč (v. pēs).
ārdāli T “an orderly.” ‘pādšā ma ārdāli’eń jā’rī “the king said to his orderlies”. Ind. < Engl.
arya’vānī, ‘qa’d-e wa’khēe arya’vānī “her tall, arghawan-like stature”. Prs. a’rak G, D, araq pl. ara’qān M “transpiration”. a’rak-e ku’rū D “he transpired”. Prs.
e’rāq G “arm, weapon” (? čel ‘o’čor par’kāla e’rāq-e ģhīt “he took all kinds of (44) arms and weapons”. Prs.? a’rmān G “longing, grief” a’rmān ‘jīr tar na’īra “he has no sorrow in his heart (zadanwāla armān, parēa na dāra)”.
‘Aram ‘Šā T “Haram Shah, a king, father of the princess Zaighun”.
Īrān G “Iran”. xe’rāj-e mūl-e Īrān dēra kašte “the girl is worth the whole kingdom of I.”
Prs. ārras jān-T “to roar”. šēr xu ārras jō, ārras-e jō “fēyān zat”.
ārūs G, T “bride”. Prs.
arz G “entertaining”. Prs.
arzān “cheap”. Prs.
ārzan M, ārzan G “millet”. Cf. Prs. arzan, Pash.  şikān, Mj. yūrzan, Ishk. wuždān (< *ažīn < *arzan?) etc.
ār M, G, T “fire”. ārā la’geiman, rūcsat (gul) kaniman M “we light, extinguish the fire”; ār gul-an kōr M “we extinguished the fire”; γu’lā ār-am bhār ku’rū G “I have piled up a big bonfire”. ār < *ār- < *ār-. Cf. Soghd. ʾirt, Prs. dial hāl ‘ashes’. Gr. 69.
ur: urī G, T “to beat, slay”. γalābā-i urī T “bisyār zād”; ē munďē ni’hāl pen urī, wo ʾe mende ham “he struck the other one with a tree, and the
other one him". Cf. Skr. ṣd- "to kill", Av. arvdus- "blow, cut".
ōrēc-ōrēwī G "to pick up". ōrēwem-ē, V. kehrēk-
asbāb T "goods". māl o asbāp-e tān "your possessions and goods". Prs.
ausa'kāl T "village headman, aqsaqal".
Turk. (Badakhshi āsdāqāl, Panjshirī afsakal).
askarvār G "innumerable". Prs. az gārār.
E'skyēn G "Iskyen, n. of a village in Tagāu".
a(ṣ)sānī T "a dependent, client". māl-
'kān-an 'tar-e dā as'sāmīqān pešēhānē "they put the chiefs in front and the dependents behind". Prs.
āsānī G "easiness". kār-ū ba āsānī-a "kār-ū ba xūbī". Prs.
ōsp M, G, T, ōsp D, P (w'sābīn) "horse". nērōk, sūčak ōsp "stallion, mare". Av. aspa-
īspō (īsphō) M, D, ēspō G "louse". Av. spīš-. Gr. 30.
ēspō G, ēspō D, P "dog". ēspak-, Orm. 30. (es)spuk etc. V. kučēk. Cf.
ēspay G "dog" (rarely used). ēspakā-? (Gr. 26, 52).
āsūr T, āsor D, āsūrēk M (-hek) "this year". Orm. asul. Cf. sar.
ōst "he was", āstan "they were" etc. Gr. 175, 197. V. hōst.
Istāluhf, Ešt T "Istalīf, n. of a vill.
in Koh-i-Daman". Adj. Estāluhfī "a man from I".
āstāna G "n. of a vill. in Panjshir". u'stūn M, e'stūn G, D "pillar". Cf. Pash.
L. u'stūn < archaic Prs. u'stūn (at pre-
sent su'tūn).
ā'istar : astārī M, G, "to rub, wipe away".
dāmāl pen-em ara'qān-um a'stārūn (= 'menthetūn) M "I wipe away the sweat with my handkerchief"; če ēdān
mux 'astara "that she may wipe his face". ā-star-, cf. Mj. stēr-, Ishk.
star- "to sweep" (Zar.). Cf. menth-
estār G "thick", *stavara-, cf. Skr.
sthavira-, sthāvāra-
āstūr buz D "goat". Av. stara-, Mj.
stūr "horned cattle" etc.
ais "pleasure, delight". Prs.
āsūq "lover, in love". Prs.
āsūqī G, T "love", tū āsūqī 'mā 'pen be'nā kan "you must intend to love me"; but also hussinān āsūqī-ēn "all of them are lovers". Prs.
esq, 'īsq G, T (čsq Phon.) "love". Prs.
āsūqībāz G "amorous, lover". Prs.
iškāmbēk i pāi D "calf of the leg". Cf.
Pash. S. iškambak pūē and Orm. L
nas la pāi id ("the belly of the foot").
Prs. iškamba "belly". Cf. baftak.
iškār D "dry", v. hūskā.
ādnā'ī G, T "friendship". ādnā'ī ka'ste pen ka'nom "I love the girl". Prs.
asīrūc G, ašūrōc M, azena ašūrōc D "the day before yesterday". ā-sir-
rirūc-ah- cf. e.g. Waig. a-tūr "the day
after tomorrow".
išārat G "sign, signal". Prs.
išē T "peace". nišē hānōr, nišē
chēn hūsē. Prs.
ušt : u'stā M, G, T, D "to rise". mā
u'sṭaman M "we rise"; uštē T "rise"
(also uštā "get up"); uštōr "rise
ye"; yéphu'nē uštā G "a wind
rose”; ʃin’e ɗʒi ʊʃtə “his wife rose from his side”.
Mj. wusək (wusə) “to rise”, Sām. bətəm “to rise”,
Kafri e.g. Waig. uʃtə. Acc. to Turner
(BSOS. V. 131) *ut ʃtəθa- became
*us-ʃtha- and further *uʃtha-.
aʃtaθ M, G, aʃtəu D “belly”. *staf-
< *stepk, cf. Skr. stabh- etc.?
iʃten M, G “female kid during the first
ʃtunuk, Zeb. satanak “kid”. *ʃtəθəŋyə.
Cf. Av. ʃtəθəna- “female breast”, Sar.
viʃtən “udder” (Bell.) etc. Cf. s.v.
təɾpə.
aʃtəθ M, G, aʃtəθ D, əʃtəs P “18”. Av.
ətədəsə- (ordinal). Gr. 108.
eʃtəwəθ T (*əʃtwəθ G) “cold”. ʃiʃma-ə
əʃtəwəθ əvəθ T “a spring of cold
water”. Cf. Shgh. ʃətə “cold”, Sar.
əʃtu “frozen”. *stəba- “frozen, stiff”,
cf. Av. stəwara- “firm” etc.? V. ŋurイス.
uʃtəwə- (oʃtəwə)-: uʃtəuθ G, T “to raise”.
əvən ma tə oʃtəwəm “I make you
rise”; uʃtəwə “raise him”, V. uʃt-
ətsə G “sneezes”, ətsəm əŋə “I sneez-
ed”, ətsəm dhi, kə “atsa kadam”.
Prs. Cf. pan.
əteθəθ D “cooking pot”. Prs.
etəvət, etəθəd T “care”. ni vyər etəθəd
kan T “be careful tonight”. Prs.
iθtəiyə.
uθ G “bear”, pl. uθ. ʃi ‘dəɾæŋ-ə
“he resembles a bear (misl-θ xirs
ast)”. uc and xirs (q.v.) are lw.s;
from Ir. ʃəθa- we should expect ʊθ.
ʊθaθ-: ʊθəf M, G, T “to cover, con-
cel”. ʊθəfən G, na ʊθəfə ˈməx-aŋu
T “do not cover your face”.
əθəθ M, G, T “remembering”. əθəθ
’dəreman M; ma’nən əθəθ-mə-a G “I
remember”; əθəθ kanem G “I learn”;
tu ˈmum kən ˈlævəθ Paɾəcətə aɨwə da
G “teach me Parachi”; ma ˈmumə
təθəŋə G “she remembered me”;
ma Xu’dəθ-e xu’kənə əθəθ kəɾ T “he
remembered his own God”. *əθjɨyə,
Sak. byəta-, Turf. N. abyəd, Prs. yəd
etc.
əvəθ M, əvəθ M, G, T, au D “water”.
ho’əvə ˈdəɾətə əvəθ nəɾ M “draw water
from this well”, əvəθ ’terəman G “we
drink water”. Av. pl. əpə (?). Gr. 42.
əvəθ-i ədəθəθka G “tear”. Cf. audi’də.
əvəθ-i ʃuŋθəka M “salliya”. Cf. tuf.
əvəθ G “pregnant (said about ani-
mals)”. Prs.
əwəθəl G “first”. Prs.
əwəθəlɨn G “first” (adv.). Prs.
əwəθa G “word, voice”. əwəθə (?) ʃa’ɾə
“the word was uttered”. Prs.
əwəθən, əwəθ G, T “hanging”. Prs.
əx M, G, D, P “egg”. *əwya-xə-. Other
Ir. languages have the suffix -ka-
(Prs. xəya etc.) Prob. not əx < əɣ
< *əwyaθa-.
əx M, G, D, P “ice”. dəθən-um əx əkəɾə
“my hands are freezing”, *axə-, Av.
əxa-.
Acbe Saɬəfəθ G “n. of a place in Shutul”.
əxəθ M, G, T “at last, finally”. Fre-
quently used in impatinent questions:
əxəθ əbəpθən ɬi-a G “finally, what is
your reason?”; əxəθ əcə əu’θəθ ɗəɾə
T “finally, what is your intention”?
Prs.
əxəθ əl-əmr G “finally”. Prs.
əxəθərəθ G “the last one”. Prs.
əxəθ M, G “manger, stable”. Prs.
exθyəɾ G, T “choice, free will”. exθyəɾ
’dəreman T; əθəθəθ ɨxθyəɾ G “inde-
pendent”. Prs.
əyəθ G “oh”. əyəθ, əcə xaθəθən na ɗəɾə
a'yāl T "family". Pprs. 'iyāl.
a'yān T "proclaimed, known". mul'lā ham a'yā ko̱r "the mulla proclaimed". Pprs.

az M, G, T "from". Used in fixed expressions: az har ēe pur'sān ka'na'n "however much they ask"; az 'ān ēe: az 'ān ēe 'zūrī-e ʾāst 'zhaitōn dher'sī G "he took on his back as much as was in his power (har kada ki ba sōriš mērasīd)"; ra'hō veo liwōn az 'ān ēe ma'sāla-e dasti'kā ēe bīn "as much rice and ghee as was contained in the cooking-pot"; cf. zām. az har kan "to learn by heart", az har ka'nē "yād buku". Pprs.
a'ze M, G, 'aze D "yesterday (dinārūs, dinagīnā)". a'ze xa'wān G "last night"; a'zena aš'vāc D "the day before yesterday". Cf. Kashan eze', W.Oss. āzinā etc.

az bar v. az.
a'ūz: aū'zī G "to flee" (acc. to G a

Nijrāu word = ʾa'zāk, ʾa'zāk). pa'nān gure wā a'ūz "take to the road and flee (bugrēz)". *apa-waz.-

uzg: uz'gī G, D "to descend". mani'lār ʾoz'gī G "the mist fell down (farāmad)"; ʾyarp o ʾyār uz'gī G "snow and rain fell"; ʾyārī oṣra M; uzgiem D "I descend". Av. ʾa'va-yad? Cf. Buddh. Sogh. w'zŷd "to jump down" (Tedesco, ZII. II, 40).

oz'gū P "rainy, cloudy". Cf. uzg.

'ūzeh-: ʿūzā G, T "to remain, be left behind". ʾzūr bāzū tar na 'ūzehā (�اوز ) G "the strength does not remain in the arms"; ʿūzētōn G "remains"; 'gap tar 'band na 'ūzea "his

words do not stop"; hai'ran ʿūzām T "I remained perplexed"; ʿāzāwē ʾbi ker-e ʿzā T "three other works remain"; ʾna jangal ʿwāna ʾbūtā T "neither forest nor plants were left". Av. (avā)zah- and zā, cf. Yd. ʿüzaiyah "to remain". Oss. ḥṣuk "left". Oss. ʾizāyun "to remain" (vi-).

āz'māiš G "test". Pprs.

ʿuzor G "excuse". Pprs.

ʾezārband T "belt". Pprs.

ʾezzat G "honour". Pprs.

B

ba G, T "with, on". ba ʾgūneat bē "let it be strong"; zur ba zur ṭūṣman G "let us sleep heart to heart". Pprs.

ba a particle denoting the desiderative. na-m kūr ba "would that I had not done it (na mēkādom)"; Xuʾūlāe na kūr ba hāst-aw "would that God had not created thee". Gr. 206.

bhāi, b(h)āi G "price". ʾān-e paʾbhāi guʾrīm "I buy it"; ʾbay-e ʾtitāk "what is its price?". Pprs. bahā.

bī G "without". Pprs.

bī, bīn "he was" etc. Gr. 171.

būi M, G "smell, odour". ba mizl-e ʾmūsk u ṣambār ʾzītōn ʾbūy-e G "her perfume is like musk and ambergris". Pprs. Cf. bhām.


bīʾbī G "mistress". Pprs.

bībākī M "completely". Pprs.

bībān G "dumb". Cf. bān and guŋ.
Vocabulary

bibás'xást T "without retrospection, investigation". Prs. bēbāxwvāst.

bī'biw G "fatherless".

ba'ēt M, ba'ē P "boy". ba'ēt-um puš M "grandson"; ba'ēt a'mūk "cousin (father's brother's son)". Prs. Cf. puš, bā'ēlā.

buc' M, G, D "to see". án-em ma tō'

buc'hetōn (جيبشون) G "I am seeing you"; bučhtō hēm D; bučh M "bubi"; bučhōr "see"; mā-īman hōss-an 'bōchētan M "we are all seeing";

buc'ēhō (بيعحو) i yārikā 'dērā G "she has her friend within sight (dīdan-i yār dārāy)". Ind., cf. Tirahī bīc, Ksh. wuch. Prs. cannot have borrowed the word from Pashto, where v remains, but prob. from a dialect akin to Tir. The preterite is formed from dūr q.v.

bad G, T "bad". bad-e gun'a'gār G "a bad sinner". Prs.

ba'dī G "badness". ker-e ba'dī "adultery" (Pashto) kā-ī ba'dī. Prs.

ba'dī M, ba'dē G "now". Pashto. S ba'dā, L ba'dam (Prs.). V. 'yārī.

bad G "afterwards, again". Prs.

bādā G in na bādā (ma bādā Phon.) "lest". Prs.

bādāī T in na bādāī "lest, be it not so". na bādāī čē sōr tō' Umar 'āšār nēra "nē ke Umar sar-i tu laškar beka'sā"; du'rūy-a na bādāī "may it not be a lie for thee".

baduw'ēmāb T "blood-fine (duxtār dādān)". baduw'ēmā-an dā mé xo "they paid each other blood-fine".

badhēk M, T "just now (hāmiālī)". ba'dhēk-īman ki:tāb so mēz 'lam daitan M "I am placing the book on the table just now"; ba'dhēk-um a'yost M "I dressed just now". Cf. ba'dī, bad'kār T "bad, ill-omened". ēkā nāra-i ba'dkār-a de'ī "why did you raise this ill-omened outcry?". Prs.

ba'dal G "exchange". di sūr radd o ba'dal kan "exchange two words of controversy (with her)". Prs.

bi'del T "unconscious". jīnē xu bi'del chē "his wife fainted". Prs.

bā'ēl G "almond". Prs.

bādan D "body". Prs.

be'dōn G "know thou, well". Prs.

bōdana G, T "a small singing bird, partridge". Prs.

bādār M "a kind of bird". bādār-a rhāstūn "the bird flies". Prs. bādār?

bādāz G, T "after". bādāz hōd ruč "after a week". Prs.

bafā G = wa'fā?

būf D "owl". Cf. Prs. būf. V. būm.

baftak M, G "the calf of the leg". Prs.? V. ʾskam'bek-i pāi.

bi'gū G "deaf". Cf. gū "ear". V. karr.

bēgūm T "princess". Prs. V. xānem.

bi'gāna T "foreign, apart". huss ʾdōst o raš'qā tār-om bi'gāna ku'ru "I put you apart from (above?) all my friends and comrades (jualā kadām)". Prs.

Bēgārā G "n. of a vill. in Panjshir". Bāy-e ʾAlām T "n. of a place". Sāher-e Bāy-e ʾAlām.

ba'yal M, T "armpit". ba'yal-ā kanem M "I embrace you"; ba'yal ba'yal jang u ma'stī an kōr T "they grappled and raged in close embrace". Prs.

V. banaba'yal, tāi'kōl.

ba'yalka'sī G "embrace". Prs.

bi'yam T "free from sorrow". Prs.

ba'yair G, T "except". Prs. ba'yair-e
bhōnt G "a stick". Cf. bhīn? V. dez-bhōnt.

bhār G, T "burden". Ind. V. bār.  

bhār'gīr T "beast of burden". Ind. + Prs.

bhiśāb G "innumerable". Prs.

bhiśā G "unconscious". Prs.

bhiśī G "unconsciousness". Prs.

be'hešt G "paradise". ū be'hešt "a scent from paradise". Prs.

ba'jā T "in time". Prs.

ba'jā T "out of place, missing". hej ba'jā-ā na chā "nothing is missing". Prs.

ba'jāi G "untimely". Prs.

buj G, M "goat". Cf. Prs. bus, also buj. Lw.? V. vātār bus, nārbu.

buju'lak M, T, buju'lak G "ankle-bone". Prs. bujul, Pash. S buju'lak (cf. NSgh. bijelak-īpān).  

bi'jang T "without fighting". Prs.

ba'kā M "frog". Prs. V. yēk.

bākī T "remaining". bākī 'mānda žāi "the other remaining rest (l)". Prs.  

'Bāqi T "n. of a man".

'Bagea G "n. of a place". karbe'stān-e 'Baga 'nez'dīk-e šāri'kā-n bin "the graveyard of B. was near to their city (Medina)".

bi'aqūl T, bi'ayl M "stupid". Prs.

ba'kār G "useful, good". 'mar-e ma'nā ba'kār-a "my apple is good"; ba'kār dha'rewūr "take good care (of them)". Prs.

ba'lā G "calamity, disaster". Prs.

bāl M, G, T "wing", bāl D "feather" (?).  

bālī-a M "it is a wing". Prs.

bālū M, G, bālū D "boy". Pl. bālūn G, T; dī bālū M; ēn ād bālū T "a party of boys"; ēr bālūn dhūrā "I have seen four boys". D. Pash. Sh. bā'rū, L bārā, bālakul.
Vocabulary

'bilō G "young". V. fu'wān.
bulbul G (bulbul Phon.) "nightingale". zwbān-e mest-e bulbul "her voice is like the nightingale's". Prs.
bila'yam G "impedent, unbridled (bēltāz, tamiz na dāra)". Prs.
balk D "lightning". Prs. barga. V. jaba'lat.
balaq T "a thorny shrub, the fruit of which yields oil".
bāłkā G "hammer". Prs. (Taj.).
bélānd M, T, D "high". Prs. V. wa'khē.
bēlāndī G "high". 'pūstā belāndī "a high plateau". Prs.
bālūr M, G "mouse". V. danānwārō, ka'war.
bēltē M "a span". Prs. V. ku'ēkēk.
bīm T "fear". Prs.
būn G "owl". Prs. V. bīf.
būmbūra P "thunder". Cf. Khow.
būmbūrā (būmbūra), v. Walde-Pokorny s.v. bāmb "Nachahmung für dumpfe, dröhrende Schalleindrucke". V. garanbas.
bāmda T "an inch, a handful" (?). bāmda-e dāri'īka bān-e hu'pāt "his father pulled out a handful of his beard".
bīnuj'īrā G "without reward". Prs.
bī'mār M "ill". mā bī'mār astaman, bade jōr chīman. Prs.
bān G, bān D, P "tongue". Prs., or genuine ("zbān")? V. zu'bān.
bāndī G, T, bānūg "arrow". bāndī-e tu'inangikā G, T "bullet"; bāndī-e ekt-aw "the arrow of your love". Ind., cf. Skr. bāna- (but Dard and Kafir languages use derivatives of sara-, kānīla- and iṣu-).
be'nā G, T "intention (xi'yāl)". be'nā-e udhekā mātīka dāran "they intend to kill him (xiyāl-i kuştan-iš dāran)";

be'nā-e kor mēwāt "he intended (to taste) the fruit"; be'nā-i če ma huss-e ìherza "he intended to put it all on his back". Prs. bīnā "foundation, building"?
bīn P "garlic". V. šīr.
būn G, T, buñ (?) M "vulva (kus)". Cf.
Prs. baun, būn "uterus".
bānd T "a dam". bānd-e tiša "the dam of a canal". Prs.
bānd G, T "stopping". či ṣūy tar bānd āzā T "what business have you got stuck in? (da či gap mān daū)"; gap tar bānd na 'ázea T "he never stops speaking". Prs.
bānd-e dōst M, G, bānd-e dest G (bānd-e dōstīkām Phon.) "wrist". Prs.
bānd-e pāy M "ankle". Prs.
bāndī G, T "imprisoned". bāndī-an kor T. Prs.
bāndubāsī G "arrangement". Prs.
bāndīxāna G "prison". Prs.
bēnafšā G "violet". Prs.
bānūg M, v. bānūd.
bīnaqā G "shameless, worthless (biāb; ābdār, mōtabar nēš)".
bānapātī D "pillow". *barrn-, cf. Mj. vēnī, Ishk. vōzd (zd < zn), Khow. (lw.) vrazilī etc. Is Peh. L bān "saddle-bag" (cf. Bal. barzī "id.") bōr from Par.?
bānas G "bleating". ẓarā-a bānas kančōn "the sheep is bleating". Cf.
qonās, khānas, qarambas, da'gas, hen'gas; Pash, S qānas "bellowing", Taj. wengas "bleating". V. 'weenger.
bīni xān G "nostril". Prs. bīni "nose"?
V domāral.
bāng G “cock-crow”. bāṣa'na bāng
dhaitōn “the cock crows”. Prs.

bun v. bin.

bar-: burn M, G, T, D “to carry”. āw-ā
bāran G “they carry water”; zā-em
bāru D “I am carrying something”;
mun burn, burnom G “I carried”; bōr
Phon. Cf. Av. bar-. V. ār.

bar¹ G “bank, shore”. hū bar-e daryāi-
kū zāhī “he reached the opposite
bank of the river”. Prs.

bar² T “breadth”. āst gaz ‘bar-e
xandakīka-i-a “the breadth of its
ditch is 60 ells”. Prs.

bar³ G, T “bread”. d ā bar tar-om xu
‘āya G “she came to my breast”; ‘bar-e
giri’ka ko gu diving T “they
passed round the stone”. Prs.

bar⁴ G, T “on”. ‘bar-e muz tar-an
“on your face”; bar hāl chī G “he
stayed”. Prs.

bōr M “burden”. Prs. V. bār.

bōr M, G, T, bōr D “door”. bōr da’hem
G “I close the door”; bōr xe’a M
“the door is open”; dāl bō-e xāi’ka-i
T “to the door of her husband”. Cf.
Av. dvar.

bōr in ma bōr M, C, T “outside”. ma
bōr-e pa’ram M “I go out”; ma bōr
chēm G.

Bar/bar “n. of a place”. band-e Bar/bar
“the dam of B.”.

ba’rābar G, T “equal, suitable, in order”.
ba’rābar ba si’ārē chī T “he went
straight to the stars”; wē ‘tech ba’rābar T “o thou who art like my
own eye (faqat ēsh-om-č)” ; wāda
ba’rābar chī T “the marriage was
arranged”. Prs.

bur’ylāl, bul’yar G “Russia, bulgur lea-
ther”. Prs. bulyār.

bā’rīk G, T “slender”. mēn-e bā’rīk tu
derē “you have a slender waist”.
Prs.

bārī’kōk T “slender”. kad-e bārī’kōk-an
“your slender figure”. V. bārīk.

Afgh. Prs. bōrikāk (Andreev).

berkh: berkhi M, G, T (درکه) “to fear”.
ān-em berkhtō-em ēc ‘mēren na pa’rī
“I fear that he will be killed (mē-
taraxam ki kūsta na šava)”; berkhtā-
iman M “we are fearing”; na berkhh,
nā berkhe (نمرکه) “do not fear”; na
berkho; berkhem G “I feared”;
berkhitu-im wē-e mo mun jānkēr D
“I fear that you will kill me”; na
berke āne ma tō na janem D.

berkho G “fear”. tars u berkho na
‘dēran “they have no fear or dread”.
V. berkhh.

berkhew G “to terrify”. V. berkhh.

bārān M “rain”. bārāna ‘yāra “it
rains”. Prs. V. yār.

bērūn M “outside”. hēg gāt az hukm-i
‘tān bērūn na chīmān “I have never
transgressed your commands”. Prs.

be’ren M “rice”. Prs. V. rahā.

bīrī’sum G, D “silk”. Prs.

ba’rāt G “assignment, commission (xatt)”.
Prs.

bu’rūt M, G, D “moustaches”. Prs.
bu’rendi G “begging at the door”. V. bōr.
būru D “defeat”. Pash. L būrā. V. karr,
bīgū.

burj T “tower”. Prs.

bas G, T “enough”. Prs.

bēs M, G “to pain”. zyur-um a bēstūn
M “my heart aches”.

bi’sōr T “without head, chief”.

būsā’rī T “disobedience”. zā gāt hē
bisaryā na kanē “do not show this
disobedience another time”. Prs.
bēštō G "ill". V. bēş-

bāš M, T "rope". *bastrā-, cf. Psht. wāš (EVP. s.v. wāndana) etc.
bāša G "hawk". Prs.
bīśī T "bad, ignoble (?) (nābūd, bēštō)". tu xu'xāte ṭad'sāː-e, ṭū pāla'wē bīśī, 'cub na derā ē tu 'ēde kūn 'duđ da'hē "you are a king yourself, he is a low-born (?) warrior, it is not meet that you should give him your daughter".
bāša'na G, wāš'na D, wāš'e'nā P "cock". Cf. W. Oss. vasāngā; but the Par. words are prob. iw.s from an unknown source. V. xu'vāsē.
bīśī M, G, bīśīā E (بيبشتة) "long". *byzataka- (Gr. 34, 55, 64).
bait G, bād M "song". bād-an kōr M. Prs.
bīτī G, T (हट) "again, back". bītī zīm G "I return", bī < *dvi-, cf. Psht. bīyā, bīyarta?
butt G "idol, demon". Prs.
būt "boot". Ind. < Engl.
būta T "plant, shrub". Prs.
bī'tech G "blind". V. kōr, tech.
bīta'mīz T, "lawless, without chief (bēṣar, kalān na dōrā)". *marandum-e Madīna'ī "maradam-e bīta'mīz-a "the people of M. are lawless". Prs. bētamīz "un-judicious".
battar G "worse". khōr o gū tār battar-a "he is worse than a donkey or a cow". Prs.

butpurastī T "idolatry". Prs.
buk'xāna G, T "idol-temple". Prs.
būvāfī G "faithlessness". Prs.
būvēn'hā G "father and son". būvēn'hā "both of them, father and son". Cf. māvēn'hā. Gr. 82.

bī'wār G, T "impatient, restless (wārd-xalāt)". bīwār na 'bē tu G "do not be impatient"; tū bīwārāh (تُبِیْو حَر) na pā'rā G "do not become frightened". Prs.?
bī'warī G (بيو هر), bīwārī Phon. "impatience, haste (farsati)". ba bīwārī na pā'rī "it will not happen quickly". bīwāsī G "faithless". Psht. wīsāh "faith" < Lhd.
bīx T "root". Prs. V. ḥīx.
bī'xabar G "suddenly". Prs.
bāxē M, T, G, bāxē T "garden". Ps.
bāxē-: bāxē G "to forgive". az jōrm-e gu'nā bāxē "may you forgive the crime of the sin"; ma tō-em bāxētī "I have forgiven you". Prs.
bāxē kan- G "to give". Prs.
bāxēsī G "gift, present". Prs.
bāxēsī M, G, bīyā M, G, T, D, P, Phon. (بيارا) "brother". Pl. bīyārān (ن), bādē bīyāra T "both the brothers"; hē 'yus má bīyārāvēnika G "this house belongs to us brothers"; mā yala'ba bīyāra-iman M "we are many brothers"; tān bīyārān ēyēn G "have your brothers come?". Cf. Afgh. Prs. bīyādar, Nayini bīyār.
bīyādarxánda'gī G "blood-brotherhood". bīyārār'ēk G "nephew (brother's son)". Cf. γυ'ρ'ēk.
bīyā'jinj M "brother's wife". Cf. jinē. bā'yān T "explanation, distinguishing". Prs.
bāz M, G, D "falcon". Prs.
bāzē G "afterwards" (?). bāzē wūxāiy-a 'ēn qadd 'yarp 'dhaītōn "afterwards at that time there falls snow to the
height of a man". Prs. ba'd az > bādaz, Pash. L baz.

bāzī M, G, T "cheating"; bāzī te da'hem G "I cheat"; ma 'mun-a bāzī 'dhaițōn T "he is cheating me"; bāzī-aw em 'dhaițōn M.

ba'zu T "trousers made of black cloth (jult-e kamān?)".

bā'zū M, G, T "(upper part of the) arm". Prs.

bāzū'ī G "strength of the arm". zūr o bāzū'ī. Prs.

bīz G, T "corn, grain". bīz 'deheman G "I sow"; yuśt sīr bīze ca T "20 seers of corn"; ĺū phīr bīz G "a single grain". Cf. Skr. bīja.

bā 'zīmī T "matchless". Prs.

bā'zūr F "bazar". Prs.

bu'zurg T "saint". Prs.

bēz- : bōst M, G, T (ज) "to bind", bežem- G "I bind"; bēstōn-em G "I am binding"; bōst-um G "I bound"; bežōr T "bind"; bežen čhī 'band-če Xaibār T "the dam of Kh. was built". "badāya : basta-?

Č

cā1 M "how many?" Cf. Av. ēvant-; Psh. čē, but also Pash. Naj. čē.
cā2 "some". čā ruč bād "some days after". V. čāˈvār.
cā2 "how why?, because". 'tān čā bē T "how can it be yours?"; tu 'čā eke-stak 'hega ... yusa'mand 'hahātē G "why do you sit here so distressed?"; čā-e khantūn M "why do you laugh?"; aš tā čā na ľyē M "why did you not come yesterday?"; xuč- 'waytī 'kaniman, čā 'puš-an ... "badē jančē čē M "let us make merry, because our son . . . . now has been restored to' life"; čā čē 'lan qa'sam xūrō čē T "because (čērā ke) I have sworn that"; čā tā khantūn M "why do you laugh?"; čā tā ha'wē sēb mākun na 'dhaițōn?

cā4 M, čē(h) T "a well". Prs. V. čīku'rī. čāhī yax kor.

cāi G, T "tea". ma čēdān čāi'yān ... 'būr-an T "they carried away the (bales of) tea". Prs.

cē M, G, T ( dhe, čī, čē, čē, čē, čē Phon.) "that" conj.
cē1 "which, that" (relative particle)

Gr. 139.

cē2 "what?" (interrog. pron.). Gr.142. čī- (čē ) ārō "what do you say?"; wēr čī khantūn M. "why do you laugh?"

čē2 "that, because, as" etc. (conjunction). ja'rī čē "he said that"; 'dhur-an čē T "they saw that"; 'na čařa'kōr, čē čē bēr-a mu'rō T "do not flee, because this lion is dead"; čē čē 'āyā "when he arrived". Afgh. Prs. čē is sometimes used instead of Ľi "that".

čub G "silent". čub bē "be silent". Ind.

čučča M, G "young of an animal". Prs. čūča "chicken".

čid- G "to wake (Intr.)".


cāi dew- : čiđēwē M, G, T "to wake" (tr.) čāne ma tō čēđēwē M "I wake you"; čēđēwē čē G. V. čid-

cā'yardum G "scorpion". V. 'gāzdum. čh- čīi "to go, become". Imper. čhu,
Vocabulary

chá M, G, T (चाण), pl. ču'mór “go, become”; preter. čhém M, G, T (जाणे), T also čhím; čém D “I went, became”; čhē bēm “I had gone, become”; čhō bōn (जाणे) “he had gone” etc. This root is used both as an auxiliary and as the preterite and imperative of par. “to go” (q.v.). ‘čabar na čhī T “he did not become aware of it”; čhī še’kār T “he went hunting”. čhī < *čiγuta, Gr. 30, 55. čhō G ɟō (जो) “going, walking”.

ča’čō (चाँचा) G, ‘čačo D, čačō P “white”. This word was said by G to belong to Njrau, ča’čō (q.v.) being the Shrut form; but he generally used ča’čō. ‘maŋčō-e čačō ‘dérē G “you have a white neck”. čhım v. č(h)īm.

čhēra G (चेरी) “list, roll”. án ‘čhēra xu čhem “I have been entered in the conscription list”. Prs.

čhār-: čhārī G, T, čahr- M “to fall”, čhārem-e M “I fall”; čhārem M G “we may fall (bētīm)”; ‘gir-a ‘dharī čārlīn (v?) “the stone falls from the hill”; čhārēm G “I fell”; da ‘dehō čhārī T (čhārī Phon.) “he started fighting”. Ind., cf. Khow. čhärr- “to fall” (< kṣar-?)?

čhārō “ill”. čhārō hōst, čhārē hastam “I had fallen ill”, but čhārō bōn, čhārē bēm “I had fallen”. V. čhārr-

čhaťāl čxīka G “the white of an egg”. V. čhaťō.


čhaṭō M, G, T “white”. Ind., cf. Lhd. čiṭṭā, Kashm. čotu, f. čhūthō, Ram. čhīlā etc. Reg. Par a v. Gr. 30. čhačō (q.v.) from a fem. form *čhīcō < čhītī?

čhaṭa’ḍhārī M “old man, whitehead (aqsakal)”.

čak- G “to drip”, čakētōn-a “it drips”. Prs.

čak G “a drop”. Prs. V. čakka.

čāk G “stout, vigorous”. Turk. čaq. V. láyfā.

čaw’kī T “chair”. Ind.


ču’kī G “the temples”. Cf. čakikata.

čakka G “a drop (of drinkable liquids)”.

V. čak.

čakkak G “a drop, eavesdrip”. čakkak uzgī “the eaves dropped”.

čekun G, T, Phon., čēkā M, čékā T, ču’kun D “why” (: with what intention): tū čekun āyē “why have you come”. But: čā yir āyē “why (: for what reason) have you come so late?” čēkāra T “doing what?” tu čēkāra-e “what are you doing (čēkāra astī)”?

Prs.

če’kūrī G “a well”. Turk. če’kūr “deep, a hole” (Afgh. Prs. če’kūrī was said to mean “lowness, baseness, past”). če’kēvē-: če’kēvē G “to shake the head”. V. jümbevē-.

čal G “trick”. Ind.

čeI, čel, čel M, G, T, D “40”. čel o
čhör “44 : various, several (tikka tikka, alahida)”. Prs.
čöl T “penis (čula)”. Prs. V. la’wær.
čilém G “tobacco pipe, hukka”. Ind.
čélp’ai M, G, D “centipede”. Prs. V.
sai’bal.
č’hím, č’hém- : č’hím mii “to go, move, wander”. The aspiration (which is always weak after č) is uncertain. činem G (حميم), činemam e M, “mégardam”,
čhémenton (چهہمچنون) ; sudčar a čhémenton “he is riding”; kowr ‘ker a čhémenton “this work can be done (mékawa)”; čhi’mi “he walked round (qaś); činem “I went”; čimen na nair “he could not move”; ker-e čemañe bin “it was a work which could be done (kăr-i šudané bût)”; čema’mán “having come”. Cf. Prs. čamidän “to walk proudly”, čaman “walking”?
čimó (چیموم) G, T “walking, gait”. čimó-an čeréši’ká “you walk like a partridge”. Cf. čimem-
čaméča M, čaméča D “spoon (käšuk)”. Prs.
čem’be T “ashamed (šarmunda, xojálatal)”. Said to mean also “one-eyed, aiming at (Türkaš, würćal)”?.
čímew- G “to move, make to walk”. mende har ḫán jář čimewi “he brought it about everywhere”. V. čhím-.
činó (چینوم) M, G, D “small, narrow”.
bi’ya-m či’nó-a M ; bör či’nó-a G “the door is narrow”. Ind. *cún < Skr. cūrya-, cf. Shina cūyā (Brahui čun bør. from Indo.Ar. or = Kanar. kinna, Tel. cinna etc.?).
čünd T “steep”.
čenár M, G, čenár D, P “plane-tree, chenar”. Prs.
čangó T “embrace”. jàng o čangó čen “they started fighting and grappling with one another”. V. čang.
čap M, G, T “left (hand)”. nesp-e čap T “the left half”. Prs.
čapotak T “a box on the ear”. Prs. čapla.
čár T “4”. Used in a few fixed expressions, eg. čár ċer-de Ma’dînâlka “four times round M.”. Prs.
čir G, T “ripped, torn”. čir-e ka’em “I tear it”; da’nânán pen čir čir ‘kuɾa bôn T “he had torn it with his teeth”. Prs. Cf. da’lêw-.
čuur (چئیر) G “bracelet”. Hind. čür.
čur- G “to rob”. Penjîrî ho’mi čûira “he robs the people of P. on command”. V. čur.
čürvâ G, T “lamp”. čürvâ-e ‘dar dâ T “he lighted the lamp”. Prs.
čırk o ċârphuné Phon. “dirt (?) and wind”.
čırk o čirpata Phon. “dirt and?”. Prs. čırk.
Čürilkar T “Charikar”.
čbrûmi T “fourth”.
ćorunići G "the fourth one". Cf. Afgh.  
Pra. čørunga.  
ćor'mte kan- G "to impale". Cf. čor and mix.  
ćor'pâi M, čor'pâi G "bed". Pra. čak.  
ćor'pâ G "cattle". Pl. čor'pâ'yân. Pra.  
ćor'pâ.  
ćar G, T "hemp, hashish". Pra.  
ćaršam'bê T "Wednesday". Pra.  
ćã'râk- M, G "to graze" ya'rô čã'râk- 
man M, ma čar'pâ'yân-iman . . . 
čar'rewan G. Pra.  
čar'xâ M "spindle". Pra. V. wahêna'lô.  
čurt kan- G "to cut off", sor-e čurt 
kor "saris-a burrid". Cf. Pash L.  
čor- "to bite"?  
čurt "clearly (nâteq)".  
časp- časpi G, T "to stick". da jang 
časpi "he got mixed up in the fight".  
Pra.  
čas- G "to taste". ma'zâr časem. Pra.  
čas T "to kiss".  
čiôma- T, čiôma-i 'àvčika G "spring, 
well". Pra.  
čas'ën târ D "a kind of thread".  
časö'ruü G, časö'röc D "three days ago" 
čast M "forenoon". Pra.  
Čutul G "the valley of Shutul". V.  
Šu'tul. V. pp. 5, 7.  
Čutuli G "a man from Shutul".  
čata:k- čata:ki M, G, T "to flee". ča: 
ta:kiman G "we flee", čar čata:ki 
M "the thief fled". Hind. čata:kñ.  
Pash L. čafa:gam "I run". Cf. a'âç- 
cavwar M, cavwar G, T "some". ana vá 
cavvar bir M "if there are some of 
you"; da ñòwem čavwar max'dîr hên 
M "my father has some servants".  
Cf. ča.  
eiz G "thing", heç eiz. Pra.  
eç'êdan- T "burial-feast". Cf. Pra. çëdan 
"a bread-basket"?

D

da M, T "at, near, to". da 'baw om 
am pa'ram M "I shall go to my 
father" da 'baw om ñavwar max'dîr 
hên M "my father has some servants"; 
har'kara tar da 'âga T "he entered 
the wrestling-ring". V. dar.  
dî M, G, T, D, P "two". ñi puš G, ñi 
pušan T "two sons". Gr. 109.  
du G, T "two". du 'ruč G "two days", 
dubul G "corn-bin, vessel in which corn 
is kept (kandû)". Pra.? Cf. Ar.-Pra. 
dubul, pl. of dublat "a large globular 
mouthful, or anything of that shape". 
Pash. L. dubulû.  
dubra T "circuit, round, side". ñor 
dubra i Madina'i:ka çà mi T "he 
went four times round M. (憧 daur-i Madina gasîl)"); ñor dubra-í kalai 
ka-í T "on all four sides of the fort"; 
ñor dubara-í laškar T "the four sides of 
the army (ñor për < ñ Ind. pher> 
i laškar)". Cf. yerde.  
dubara G, dobâra T "again, a second 
time". Pra.  
duč: ñuči M, G "to milk". ñučetn-a 
G "he is milking", ñučem G "I 
milk", ñučim "I milked". *duč, 
cf. NShgh.s.v. ñuči- and Minj. ñuč.  
dučar T "a sudden and unexpected 
meeting, surprise". ñuč kan ñe ña 
o ñučar na pareman "take care 
that we do not get surprised (giri-i 
kasi na biyim)". Pra.
dādxān G “requesting”, dādxān pā’ram tān dō’sīt “I shall beg it from your hand (arz bukuman az dest-i tū)”. Prs. *dadāxwān.
dūgānti M, G “twins”, dī puš ma yuš-o dūgānti chi M “da xāna-itān dō barā dūgānti sudān”; dūgānti zāveh G “twins were born”. Prs. dūgāna (Pash. L dūgānti).
du’gur: duqu’a (said to be a Nijrau word, but used by G himself) “to lie down, roll down”. du’guriman = ‘rīzetman; duqu’a “xan sudān”; cērgāt τa du’guriman “we let (?) the cattle lie down”; gir duqu’a “the stone rolled down (lūr sud)”. Cf. rūz-
da’gas G “shaking”, da’gas kan “to shake oneself”.

dāy G “a scar”, zurum ..., dāy-a “my heart is hurt, pained”. Prs. dūy M, dūy D “buttermilk (duy)”. Prs. Cf. waq’ipē.
dūyund G “tail”, dūyund o bōr pen-e “with its tail and head”. Cf. dumb.
dāh M, G, T, D, P “smoke”. Cf. Phl. dūt, etc. (Pash. L dū’a = dhūm from Ir.). Gr. 55.
dah: dah M, G, T “to give”, da (dā Phon.) “give”; sabā žū sēb ma tā dāiman M “I shall give you an apple tomorrow”; da’hem G “I give”; bōr dahem “I shut the door”; dōhā (dē) “he (shall) give”; yarpi da’ha M “it snows” (yar da’ā D); dahetón, dāhaiton G “giving”; cā-i ha’i sēb

mā ku na dhaitūn M “why do you not give me this apple?”; mā ma tō žū sēb dā M; mun tu’ bun žū phōr ’āmay dā G “I gave you an apple”; dāwō T “has given”. Cf. Av. dā- (dadā: datā).

deh: deh M, G, T “to beat”. dehōr T imper. 2 pl.; dehem “I beat”; dehē, deha; dehemān, dhēman “let us fight”; dehē T “you did beat”, dehō-er “you have beaten”; cēlem-e dōs-en dhetan “they are smoking hemp”. Cf. Afg. Prs. dém “mezān”)

Cf. Pash. L damūn, Ī damūn “rain” (< “storm”?). In Ir. cf. Prs. damūdan “to blow”, Soghd. bāmēnāk “windy” etc.

dhār: dhā’r (dā) G, T “to stay”, tā ‘mum pen nū’kar dhār G “stay with me as a servant”; dāl-a te ‘nūkar dharem G “mā pēz-it nū lar mēpēm”; dharem na ‘nūrem G “I cannot stay”; a’pēz dhā‘rēn T “they kept back (pas pādan)”, wā’yūr dhā’rī T “he spent the night”. Ind., cf. EVP. s.v.

darēdōl, Orm. dar, and Pash L dar- “to stay, be left behind”.

dhār G “wait, well (bāx)”. dhār e žū ‘cāl-e ka’hem “well, let me play him a trick”. Imper. of dhār.

dhār M, G, T, dhār M “hill, mountain”, dhār P “forest”. Pash. L dhār < Skr. dhāra-

“dhārī G “wild (animal)”. Cf. Prs. kohi.

dhār G “like (wāri)”. tārūn-c rubāb
dhār “like the strings of a guitar”. V. dhīrāng.
dha’ram (रम्) M, G, T, D “earth, ground”. dha’ram ‘phyā-a M “the ground is wet”. Ind., cf. Skr. dharmān- “bearer, supporter”. Cf. Pash. L dhānjali “earthquake” < *dhārnjali (Pash W, etc. būnjal < bhumi-cala-)?

dhōy, dhuy M, G, T, D, Phon. (pert. ‘dhuy’ Phon.) “saw”. tu aze ma mōn dhōy D “you saw me yesterday”; aze-m dhōy-a M “I saw you yesterday”; mun ma tō dhōra bōn G. Preterite of bukh- (q.v.). < Av. drosa- (Gr. δροση), cf. Mj. lōkā (Gauthiot), liśk (Zarubin).
dhēw : dhē’wi M, G, T “to call together, seek”. pādā ma kull mullāān dhēwto n G; mā a’ze ’os-p-em dhē’wi M “I searched for my horse yesterday (talk’estom)”; ma tō-em hem-ē ’dhēwō T “he sought for you, too”.
dak D, v. da’rāk.
Dāk G “Dacca”.
dāk G “a plain” (q.). Pash. S duk, L ālāk.
dukān G “shop”. Prs.
dukān’dār M, G “shopkeeper”. Prs.
da’la M “weasel”. Prs.
dāl G, T “at, near (pēš-i)”. dāl A’lī ‘Haidar čē T “he went to A.H.”; mun ’aş-um kūr ma dāl-e G “I made my petition in her presence”.
’dālī G, T “from the presence of”. ē ’dālī čātak T “az pēš-i-gurēx”.
dāl M, G “the hopper of a mill”. Prs. Duldul T “n. of Ali’s horse”.
dal-lāl G “go-between, match-maker”.
Prs.
dal-lān G, dal-lānī T “vestibule”. Prs. Dallānsang T “n. of a place near Shu-
tul”.
dilā’sā(t) G, T “soothing, encouragement”. Prs
daulat, daulat-tī G “riches”. Prs
daulat’mand M, G “rich”. Prs.
dālēw- G, T “to tear”. girībān-ē dale’wi T “he tore his collar”. Ind., cf.
Skr. dal- “to burst”. Cf. ēr.
dam G “hot, fiery”. zu’r-ē dam kurōl “his heart is burning (dil-iš dampuxt)”.
Ct. dam’phōk.
damāī M “behind”. In damāī čhā = pēši čhā “walk behind me”. Cf.
dub, dum G, D “net”. Prs?
dumb, dum, M, G, T “tail”. rōika
rūka dum M “the tail of a fat-tailed sheep”.
dumb ‘hude pādśā’āna āleśt-an T
“they snatched at the two kings”.

Prs. Cf. 'dumba-e ya'rōika. M. Phon. V. dēra.
dum'ōbī G “fat-tailed”. ya'rō-i dum'ōbī.

Prs.
dum'ōbāl tar M “behind”. dum'ōbāl tar-i mākhān ē “come behind us”. Prs.
da'māyī G, T “nose”. Generally nēšt. da'māyī be'land chō T “he has become proud”. Prs.
dā'men G “lap (dāman)”. Prs. Cf. EVP. s.v. laman. Minj. lōmadd (zara) < *dāman-tā is also an ancient pl.
dam'phōk G, transl. dangput “a kind of pillow”? V. dam.
damāxāl G, pl. damāxālān “nose-trail”.

Cf. da'māyī, v. binixān.
dā'na G “boil, ulcer”. Prs.
dā'nā G “wise”. Prs.
da'nān M, G, T, da'nān D, P “tooth”.
danā'nān-u Phon. Cf. Av. danta-
da'ninda G “knowing”. Prs.
danānna'ra (dh? G “a kind of mouse”.

Cf. ba'luż.
dun'yā, dun'yā G, T “world, worldly riches”. ēr rū'ē-a dun'yā G “the world lasts four days”; zar u dun'yā G “gold and treasures”. Prs.
dar M, G, T “into” etc. Prs. Cf. da.
dar əē G, T “to enter (dar āmādan)”.
da'ē, dar əāya.
dar u'zēh G “to be wanting, to be left behind (dar mādan)” tō bihece qadar 'sūg kun dar wżāhé.
dar dah-T “to put fire to”. ēr'yāy-ē
da'ē dā “he lighted the lamp”.

Afgh. Prs.
daur M, G, T “circuit, circle, turn, around”. da'ur ka'nem, xa'rem M

“I turn round”; sōr tar-ē 'daur dā T “swung it over his head”; sō 'daur ku'rō tar G “while she turned round (sār-i daur kārdān, dār xurdān)”;

da'ure ēr'yā G “around the lamp”; da'ure lau'cāna-u “daur-e labhā-it”.

Prs.
dēr- M, G, T “to hold, have”. dēs(t) tar-an sēb dēriman M “I hold an apple in my hand”, a'ze ker dērē bīm M “yesterday I had some work to do”; āmar dērem G “I hold an apple”; dēre bēm “I held”, dēra “he holds”. Cf. Av. dāraya-. Gr.191.
dēra D “tail” (?). Cf. dumb.
dar'bār T “court”. Prs.
durf G “awl (daraux)”. *dyf'sa, Prs.
dirafz, cf. andarf, Ishk. andervun “awl”.
dar'gā G “court, palace”. Prs.
du'ru'y G, T “lie”. Prs.
du'ru'yūl T “a liar”.
dēr'āk G, de'rāk P, dāk D “grape”.
de'rāk-um 'da ē xe'riman G “give me grapes to eat!” Ind., cf. Lhd. drākh, Pash. S dāck.
dar'kūp M? bād-an dar'kūp kor “they were singing”. Prs.* dār kēb (kēbdan “to beat”)?
dar'mān T “remedy, medicine”. zaxm-e ma'nā dar'mā kānē “heal my wound”;
elāj-e dar'mān. Prs.
darvāza M. “door”. Prs. Cf. būr.
derx- (dherx-?): der'zī G, T, ders- “M “to take on one’s back”. der'zem, preter. der'zim G, der'zī G = pušt-e kōr, T also der'zi. Cf. Av. dvarx-, Orm. daż- “to load”, Pstl. legżol etc. Gr. 64.
der'zew- G, causative of derd-; der'zewem-e “I put it on his back (da pušt-e métom)”.
dūnumi T “tenth”.
deštai M “handle”. Prs. V. kab'zai.
dōst, M, G, T, D, P “hand”. dōst šar-an sēb dēri-man M “I have an apple in my hand”. Cf. Av. zasta-. z-s dissim., cf. EVP. s.v. las. To the examples of dissimilation of sibilants may be added: Tajiki gunduśk “sparrow” (Pra. gunjišk), Sede, Gaz tos =
šās “urine”, Prs. tasū “a weight of four barleys” < *čas-
dūst G, T, dōst T “friend”. Prs.
dōstå G “love, friendship”. Prs.
dest'gir G “captured”. Prs.
deštak G, D “ceiling-board”.
deštīkōr G “walking-stick”. V. kōr.
Cf. dez'bhōnt.
dest'kaś G “glove”. Prs.
Dōstom G “n. of a vill. in Panjshir”.
dēs M, G, D “sickle”. *davri, Skr. dātra, Minj. līvaţ etc., cf. EVP. s.v. lōr.
dūšman G, T, duš'man M, T “enemy”. Prs. V. muda'i.
dušma'ni T “enmity”. Prs.
duš'man'dar T “possessing enemies”, mā guš'lu dušman dār-emān “we have many enemies”. Prs.
duš M, G, D, P “wall”. *dūsti-, cf. Av. daż- “to build” etc., Sāmn. dāzār “wall”, Yd. lizokh “fort” etc.
dāš'wār G “dishonoured” (ruzvād). Prs.
de'dāt M “village”. Prs. V. sāf.
dut M, D, T, D, P “daughter”. Pl. duitan (d'utan M?). Cf. Prs. duc(ar), Gabri etc. dut.
daw- G “to be straight”? kaš ka'nam če 'davā “I shall stretch (the rope), in order that it may be straight”. Cf. daw- D “to run” s.v. dhāvā?
du'wā G, T “prayer, invocation”. ne-māz-e 'vānī, dōst ba da'vā ēti “he recited a prayer and raised his hands in invocation; du'wān dā”. Prs.
da'wa'i G “medicine”. P. mon kūn da'wa'i na 'dhältôn? P. rs.
da'wā T “quarrel”. P. da'wā.
dīwān M, G “mad”. P. rs.
dīnu'rūk D “spider”. Pash. L de'ūr
“weaver”. Isky. de'yūr “spider”. Lhd.
dīwār “spider”. V. jōlāk, ya'fak.
duwas M, duwas G, du(wās) D, P "12".
 Gr. 109.
duwās G, duwa'si D “day”. Pash. L
 duwas, W de'was.
dewet T “inkhorn: vulva (kus)”. bālā
ka'lam ghīd dewet tar-ē. P. rs.
dwāza M "12”. P. rs.
dewânt M “walking-stick”. Cf. bhânt,
dōstikōr.
duzaunī T “kneeling”. P.
de'ze M, G, de'ze D, P “walnut”. de'zīka
ma'yz “walnut-kernel”.

D

dak: da'ki G “to rise, mount”. ma'yār
da'ki “the fog rose”. Pash. Sh. dāk.
dal M, T “a crowd, many”. wā dal-ēr
M “you are many”; mā dal āyēman
M; mā ma to dal ja'ri M “I said to
you”; zu dal bālō T “a party of
dar used as a pl. suffix.
dūmb P “reed”. V. nāi.
dōnas M, G “bellowing”. gu'a dōnas
kuntūn M. Cf. khōnas.

F

fe'yān G “lament”. P.
fa'uj G, T “army, soldier”. zu lak
 fa'uj-e jan'gī T. P. rs.

sa'qīr M, G, T “faqir, beggar”. Rahim
Xān ēhī fa'qīr-u G “R. Kh. has
become your servant”. P. rs.
sāk G “thought”. P. rs.
sakat G, T “exactely, only”. P.
sulād G “steel”. P. rs.
fe'la'na M, G “a certain person “(dūr
“far”). P. rs.
fe'lanī G “a certain person” (nas'dīk
“near”. P. Gr. 147.
fām-: fāmi M, G, T “to understand”.
an-em fāmītan M, fāmīton-em G. P.
cf. Pash. S. fāmīyem “I understand”.
fānī G “perishable”. P. rs.
fānūs G “lamp”. fānūs-e ru'sān “a
brilliant lamp”. P.
Fer'dāj G “n. of a vill. in Panjshir”.
fark, farq G, T “top of the head”. P.
far'kā T “party”. ka'bul-an kōr di fer'kā
“both parties agreed”. P. rs.
sar'mān G, T “order”. P.
sar'mān G, T “much, big”. P.
sarvānān, Panjshiri P. sarvānān, Kubuli
fer'mān (Masson, III, 18).
fār'māsī G, G “to command”. far'māsī
M “he ordered”, ma 'dī 'sāhet far-
māsī T “he sent two witnesses”. P. rs.
far'vānī M “forgetful”. P. rs.
fa'vār G “exiled”. P. rs.
fa'reī T “agreeing with (?).” aqā xārōm
... fa'reī naz da'ēra “if I eat,...
... it does not agree with me (na mēfārad-
ūm)”. P. ? Cf. Madaghashti P. rs.
fāriding “to wish, desire”.
Farux'sāl T “n. of a king”.
farxam T “a handful”. su' farxam-e
'għitt. P. rs. ef. farxamidān “to pluck,
gather”.
fsa G “victory”. P.
sa'teha'zān T “reciter of prayers for the
dead”. P. rs.
\textit{fæxtar} G “ring-dove”. Prs.
\textit{fæza G “yawning”}. \textit{fæza ka’ nem, fæza-m}
kașći. Prs.
\textit{fazl} G “excellence, ornament”. \textit{fazl-e}
rha’vam-om äga “the ornament of my spring came”. Prs.
\textit{ghana} G “a necklace of silver rupees”,
Ind., cf. Hind. gahnä “jewellery”.
\textit{ga’hina} G, T “ancient, former (qadimi)”,
pådšä-e ga’înika T; yâr-i ga’îhina G.
Prs.?
\textit{ghand} M, G, T, D “big”. yus-e tân
ghand-a M “your house is big”. Ind.,
ct. Lhd. ghân “big, much”, Kalasha
ghonä “large”, Torwali gand “great”,
ghan “elder”, Gauro gînt “great”,
Pash. N. gây.
\textit{ghand bâbâ} G “grandfather”.
\textit{ghand mä’ë} G “grandmother”.
\textit{ghany(d)} ya’rō M “fat-tailed sheep”.
gel G “clay, mud” (?). mun har’i gel-a
“dil-i dard-it” (?).
gul M, G, T, P “flower”. gul-i zî’tō G
“a yellow flower”. Prs.
gul M, G “extinguished (fire)”. âr gul
(rux’sat)-an kor M “we extinguished
the fire”; ‘guli-te ka’ nem G. Prs.
gulâb G “rose”. Prs.
\textit{Gulda’ra “n. of a place”}.
\textit{galla} G “herd of horses”. Prs.
gilam G “woven carpet”. Prs.
gum M, G, T “lost”. ân za’nîng ma
’ax-am ‘gum ka’ nem G “how shall I
get rid of my husband?” Prs.
güman G “suspicion”. Prs.
ginö G, gino P “hair”. žu tár ginö
G = žu ‘ginä tâl D. < Av. gaona,
cf. Psht. yûna etc.
gûnä M, G “sin”. Prs.
guna’går M, G “sinner”. Prs.
gangdä M, G, D “stem”. Pash. S’genfû,
L ‘gandî.
ganda’bui M “stench”. Prs.
gan’num M, G, P, ga’nem D “wheat”,
< Av. gantuma.
gûn M “dumb”. Prs. V. dîcâ’na,
bi’bân.
gap G, T "word, rumour, command, affair". "pēz 'gap na čim G "do not listen to rumours (pas-i gap na gard)"; 'gap-ai-un 'puxta ku'rā G "I have arranged your affair". Prs.

gā'pār M, G, gā'pār D "fireplace". Cf. yār "fire" andOrm. gap "stone".

gā'ri G, T, gā'ri T "hour, while". 'žu gāri 'že ma 'dāl-on "come to me for a while". Ind., the form with r through Prs., the one with r through Psht. Cf. jār.

gērē M "knot". Prs.


gīr G, T "grasp, grip". Prs.

gūrī-: ghit M, G, T, D "to seize, buy". 'gure G gu'rī "seize"; gu'rīm "I seize"; ghitī G "seized"; ghitī G, ghitī Phon. "has seized"; pa'nēn-un 'ghit T "I started on the road". < *garā-, *gīrta-. Gr. 46, 54, 58, 73. Pash S etc. 'gurum "I seize" is prob. borr. from Par. (v. Rep. p. 26).

gūr T "tomb", men'dī 'gūr kōr "he buried him". Prs.

gīr'ba'ka G "tortoise". Cf. Prs. sangbaka. V. kasaba'ka.

gurba'mūs M "rat" (?). Prs.

gīr'ba'n G "collar". Prs.

gard G, T, D, gard G "dust". gardi pa'i'dā ēhi T "he emerged from the dust-cloud". Prs.

gērde T "circuit, turn". gēr 'gerde-e Ma'dhinaika. Prs. Cf. dūba'ra.

gur'da M, G, D "kidney". Prs. With Psht. puṣta-sarga etc. (EVP. s.v.) cf. also Cheremiss bārr (Ir. lw.).

gārā G "seab, itching". Prs.
gūr'āgar G "buyer, admirer (xarta-wād)". Par. + Prs.
gūr'ī M, G "puppy". Prs.
gūr'ān G, gū'rāng M "heavy". Prs. (cf. Pash. s grūng).
gūr'āgī T "weight". Prs.

grat, Jaunṣari ghurār, Skr. gharāṭa.
gurz G, gurz T "club". Prs.
gūr'i v. gūr'i.

gas-: gōst M, G "to bite, sting". zam'būr gāstōn G "the wasp stings"; ma 'mum zam'būr gōst G; berkhētōn-em 'e na-m gasa G "mētāsam ē na mā mēkana"; kāhī 'zā-m 'e gasa M "čīzī mēkand-om". Prs. gāstdan; Reg. gas- v. Gr. 70; gōst is a secondary formation.

gūsāla D "calf". Prs.
gū'spand M, gū'spand "fat-tailed sheep". Prs. Cf. gār dī dūmī.
gūs G "a kind of cereals (gāl)". Cf. Prs. gāl "millet" (gurza-?), gūs < *gūrsā-, cf. Psht. gōst "millet" (EVP. s.v. āγαζ).

gēs "bad, sinful". < *gasya-, derived from *gasa- < *ghndh-so-, cf. Anc. Prs. gasta- "bad", Bal. gandag "bad", etc.?

gūs D, guš P "ear", guš kūn T "to listen". Prs. V. guš.

gūśa G "corner". Prs.

gāst M, T "time, turn". Prs.
gaf G, T "mixed". gaf-e ka'nem G "I mix it"; he dar'yā tāvē max'ır gōst kōr T "he plunged into this river". Ind.
gē'wē- G "gōyānidan". caus. of gēh-gaz M, G, T "ell". Prs.
Vocabulary

gu'zar M, G, T "passing, crossing, walking; a ford". karbe'stān tar gu'zar kor M "he passed by the graveyard"; guza'r-om kor G "I took a walk"; gu'zar gu'dātān M "(we) are crossing the ford (guzar guzaštīm)". Prs. gāzē'rak G, gā'zir D "carrot". Prs. V. zar'dak.

guza'ven G "walking, crossing; livelihood". Prs. ga'sēdam M, ga'sēdam D, P "scorpion". Prs. V. ca'gārīdam.

γ

γū T "wind". γo o 'γāphūnē (q. v.). < Av. vāta-

γē G "now, well (dīga)" (emphatic particle). < Av. vahyāh- "better"?

γī M, G, D, P "willow". < Av. vaqēti-

γaibī G "hidden, invisible". γaibī sa'dā 

âγa "a hidden voice spoke". Prs. 

γu'bār G, T "dust-storm". Prs.

γaibat T "invisible". Prs.

γaφ: γa'fī M, G, D "to weave". γaφ-

man-ē M; γaφem-ē G "I weave"; 

γa'fim M "I wove"; γa'fītēhem D "I am weaving"; zā jōlā γaφī M "the weaver has woven something (ēzī jōlā bāftīn)". < *eaf-, cf. Av. 

νbēdāna-, Orm. γaf-, EVP. s.v. ṣudāl (Paht. būla "woof" < *upa-nstā)},

γaφēk G "spider". V. γaf-. Cf. dīcu-

rūk, jēlāk.

γaφē'i T "braid (baftāgī)". V. γaf-

γaγ'ī T "shouting, uproar (erēn)". 

Prs.

γuḥ: γuḥt G, T, D "to throw, place (andāxtān)". γuḥhem; ân-em 'γuhihō; 

γuḥtum G: ō'γur-ē 'tār-ē γuḥt T "he put the thief in front of him (duzda pēš partafē)"; kitāb sūr mēz γuštīm 

D "I put the book on the table". < *wid- : wista-, v. EVP. sv. wēstēl; 

cf. poss. Prs. bēhañ "porcupine" < *waidana- (Skr. svāvidh-).

γuk G, D "frog". Prs.

γēl G, T "rolling". 'gir 'γēl chi = duq'irī 

γ "the stone rolled down"; γēlō T 

has rolled". Cf. Wkh. wul wātān, 

Šar. wul setā "to roll"; W.Oss. selum 

"to turn"; Mordw. vel'- "to turn"? 

With the Oss. word Miller (GIPh.1, 

Anh. p. 24) compares Skr. vellati; 

but the interrelation of all these 

words is uncertain. γēl < *swēlya-

γulū M, G, T "much, big, very". dar'yē 

γulū ē T "the river is large"; mā-

khān yus tar γulū mūnēs hā G "there 

are many people in our house". Prs. 

(An.) γulūw "exceeding bounds, ex-

cess"; cf. Par. S γulū "big".

yalaba M, G, T "many, much". yala-

ba-in na'yūn xar'tān M "they are eating 

much bread"; γalaba sa'heb-e sīrat 

T "very beautiful"; mā-īman yala-

ba M "we are many". Prs. γalabat "mul-

titude, abundance", cf. Bakhtiyari 

galava "very much".

γalaba'γi G multitude, plenty". ma 

γalaba'ī "in plenty".

γulū'γi G (Nijrau) "multitude, plenty". 

Cf. γulū, γalaba'γi.

γelāf M, G "sheath of a sword". Prs.

γulak M, ʻγulak G, ʻγalik D "bow". 

Prs.

γulām G, T "slave". Prs.

γa'lat G, T "fault". ē... ʻnām-e xu-

kān-ē γa'lat ja'rā T "he told his 

own name incorrectly". Prs.

γam G, T "pain". Prs.

γάνιρ M, G "field". γανίρ melāwem G "I plough". Cf. Wkh. wāndr. Benveniste, in a letter, proposes to derive γανίρ (< *wantaɣ-) from *awa-antarya-, cf. Av. ava-antara-"an das, was innen ist, hinaabreichend, angrenzend". "Sémantiquement le mot s'expliquerait par ‘ce qui est à l'intérieur des possessions de la famille ou de la tribu’."
Vocabulary


γοւγ M, G, T, D, P "wolf". < Av. vahrka.

gara'rd G "cascade, the sound of falling water". Ptrs.

gar T "dirty, smeared with". ղար- ծինեկա "ալձա ba չն". Scarceley from Ptrs. γար "immersed".

γιράν G, T "desolate, ruined (wairānā)". ka'lan-an γι'ɾա kոɾ T "they destroyed the villages". < *α-ավարյանա?- Cf. Ptrs. տերան, Phl. ապերան etc. (Arm. ever proves the Phl. պ to be merely orthographical); Skr. avārya- "irresistible, unestraible, incurable"?

γι'ɾան G "damage (բերան)". γիրան'գանե վուս'կա.


γαրατ G "male,female calf". Cf. Orm. կած, Sak. ասակա, Skr. սառα- etc.

ըաս G "too little (կամ)"

գաս, գու M, G, T, D, P "house". գաս տար "hēč čiz na dērem T "I have nothing in the house". < Av. vis-; cf. Bal. gis, Minj. չիկ (Zarubin) "root". < *vis-kata-? cf. Ishk. կիս-կու etc.; γι- < *vi- as in գինa "blood", կլուա "felt" < *wistarna-

գուսամանդ G "distressed, angry (դեգ, ասա)". Ptrs.

գու T "cut hair", գու կան- "to cut the hair". սուր-չ համ գու կոր T.

< *աγոς. Av. varasa- "hair", frā-vorasa- "deprived of hair", Ptrs. gurs "lock of hair".


գուշ G, D, P "finger", գուշ'տան-ն G "my fingers". գուշ մաշ-ն գուշ G "I threw twenty fingers". < Av. angusta-, cf. Yazg. wašč, Minj. գաշխա (Gauth.), ա'գա (Zar.) etc. Gr. 51.

Av. vitasti- "span" would also have
resulted in Par. *γυἱτ. Cf. an'gušt, pan'já.

γυἱτ M, G, D, P (γυἱστ Phon., when pronounced slowly) "20". < *visatí. Av. visatí.

γυ?('t G "ring". Cf. γυ(BuildContext). γυ('túra M, G "a kind of tree with round leaves (śaṅhúb)".

γυ ('sawealthast G, γυ ('sawealthast D "wide trousers". Lw. Cf. Prs. šāval, Kwh. šāvalak etc.

γα")e'vī G "hard, severe (bhiyār zūrā-wari)". γυ('rā'gī γα")e'vī "a severe hunger". Ar. γα")eir "solid, lasting"?

γαx M, G, T "sound, voice". τα γαx κορ M "tū nāra kādī". < Av. vakṣa-"word".


γαz G "dishevelled (hair)". e'dēw τα γαz kāk kūl "hūbān tu zulf dirāz". Pprs. γαza "a rosary, string of beads", cf. Afgh. Prs. du γαza γαza zulfān-īs.

γαzd G "fat (cārbā)". < *wazdā, cf. EVP. s.v. wāzd. Is Psht. γαz "fat of the kidneys" borr. from Par. or Orm.?

Γαζ'ñi T "Ghazni".

H

hā "he, she is", hēm "I am etc.". źū 'kurri sī, mēn-e 'rus 'dirang-a 'mē 'kurri tar źū 'sér hā T "there is a ravine, in the middle of which there is something resembling a house, and in the ravine there is a lion". Cf. -a, -ā and si. Gr. 167 f.

hâi kan-G, T "to whip". su'cār-e nhōst, "hai kūrō 'chī T "he mounted a horse and went on whipping it"; "hai kanen 'āga.

hē M, G, T "this". hē keker, hē kker T "this work". Gr. 126.

hī M, G "bridge". < Av. haṭtu, Sar. yēid etc. (EVP. s.v. *hēl.)

hu, ho M, G, T "that". Gr. 129.

hu-G, T "all". hu 'cōr-e "all four of them", hu ppōn-j-an "all five of us".

A proclitic, shortened form of *hōrī < *harva-? Cf. huddī, huss.

hābda M "17". Prs.

hāba'ī "Abyssinian, Negro". Prs.

hēc M, hēc G, T "any". hēc gāst, hēc kābi "any time"; hēc ēz "anything"; hācē bīyā hēc na bē "I will not have a worthless brother at all (nābūt hēc na bāsa)"; hec na T "not at all". Prs.

huddī, huddā G, T (hō) "both". huddī keśēn T "both girls". Cf. hu-

huddīnān M, G, T (hedīnān) "both" (subst.). Cf. hu-

Haidar G "Ali".


hādā-e kābrūrgākā G "rib".

hādā-e mēnīkā G "hip-bone".

hāif G, T "violence, injustice". Prs.

hāy G transl. by xāk ("earth, dust") in hāy kan- "to spill". hāy-um 'kur = γυζεγίνα; ma bōr hāy na kor "it was not spilt outside (bērūn xāk na kād); hāy chi "was spilt". < *hāka-

> Prs. xāk?

hogm v. hukm.

hājes T "exhausted". Prs. 'ājiz.

heqa G "so much (hamiqaadr)". heqa pēriśān "so distressed". V. hē, ēka.

hāki T "noble (mutabar, sarkās)".
Vocabulary

hu'kāb M, uqāb T "a kind of eagle" (?) P.r.s.
hoqūf G, T "power, ability (zūr)".
hoqūf-an ēst na šaatīn T "our power did not suffice (zūr-i mā na mērasād)". P.r.s. wuqūf.
haqq G "truth": ba haqq "really". P.r.s.
ḥākim G "governor". P.r.s.
ha'kim, ha'kimji M, G "doctor". P.r.s.
hukm M, T, hukm G, hūm G "command". hūm, hūm-e kōr; hūm-i G "by command". P.r.s.
huk'man Phon. "on command". mēndē huk'man mērōr. P.r.s. ḥuk'man?
ḥēkezm M "such": ḥē + P.r.s. qism.
ḥal(i) kan- M, G, T "to run". ḥalai kan'em M, G; nun ḥala kor M, G, T; ḥal-a kan'em M "running". P.r.s. ḥala kardan "to assail, storm". V. halka, ḥāwā.
ḥāl G, T "condition, matter": hāl-e zurīka-n; ē ē ḥāl-a "what is the matter"? P.r.s.
ḥel kan- T "to bring in", or "release"? ma ma'lān-e bur; hēl-e kor "he took away the beasts (goods) and brought them (into the house) or: let them loose (ḥel kät)?"
ḥīla T "fraud". P.r.s.
ḥul'bar G "fore-lock, front-hair (pikā)".
ḥalka kan- G, T "to run, canter". ḥalka ka'nōr G, alka-n yāst T "they ran".
Ar. ḥalq "making haste"?
ḥalād G "destruction". P.r.s.
ḥal'qama T "n. of a warrior".
ḥēlāl G "the new moon". P.r.s.
halapa'ta (ḵār̥āg) G "frightened (bewār, warzatā)".
halata M "knowing, learning". ḥavī zā hilata paraman "we learn this thing (i čīz āmōxt šawīm)". P.r.s. hilat "art, invention, cunning, knack" etc?
Cf. hila.
hal'wā G "sweets". P.r.s.
ham, am, 'm M, G, T "also, too", wā-m yurūa-i r M "are you, too, hungry?" P.r.s. - T also hun as in Psht.
ḥāmā G "raw". Cf. P.r.s. xām, Psht. ʾam etc.
ha'mal G "n. of a month". P.r.s.
ha'māl M "pregnant". P.r.s.
ham'rā M, G, T "comrade, assistant".
hamrā yāx kan "hamrā-itān nāra kun"; ba ham'rā-i ʾyanika T "by means of the oak-wood". P.r.s.
Hu'marz G "n. of a vill, in Panjshir (Andreev: Vomarz)". Av. *hu-ma-rāzā-? 
ha'misāya G "neighbour". P.r.s.
ḥimzā G "churning". ḥimzā ʾdāhman "we churn". Cf. Bal. ḥiz "a leather churn"?
ḥanu P "earthquake". Ind., cf. Skr. hanu- "anything which destroys life", Khow. hon "inundation". V. zilzila.
ḥā G. T "yes". Hind.
ḥān M, G, T "a pass". ḥān gudari'man "let us cross the pass". Cf. Skr. sōnu- "mountain ridge", Kalasha sōnn "mountain"? (In Kati ṣārī means "mountain" and "pass").
hinča'kōt G "dripping with blood, red". rux'sāla-e lāl-e hinča'kōt ʾtīn-a "you have a cheek like a bloodred tulip". V. čak-
han'dam G "intimate friend". P.r.s.
Ha'nifa G "n. of a man".
han'wār T "completely, constantly". P.r.s.
heq'gas G “neighing of a horse”. Pash.
G hīg'gas.
hu'pēr: hu'pāṭ M, G, T “to dig out, drag away (kandan)”. hu'pērman M; hō'pērēm G; hu'pēra T “may he
pick a fruit” (mēva bekana)”; sōr
bōspā hu'pāṭ T “dragged her from the
horse (az asp kand)”; ne'halān
hu'pēren chi T “the shoots were dug
up”. Pash. S ḍār, L ṭār.
har G, T “every”. Prs.
har: ha'ri G, T “to be lost”. dālīm
ha'ri G “az pēs-um gum šud”; zū
phōr... ha'ra T “one fruit is lost”.
Cf. Skr. sy. “to run away” etc.
Soghd. xar, Kurd. hūr “to go”.
hūr G “hour”. Prs.
harē M, G, T “all, whatever”. harē-m
če kā'ra T “whatever I have done”;
sa'ba' harē ka T “do whatever you
like tomorrow”; az harē pur'sā
ka'nān G “however much they ask”.
Prs.
harf G “word”. Prs.
harī, harke G, T “everyone”. ēṣēn
harke 'qus tar-e G “everyone went
to his house”. Prs.
harī “everywhere, wherever”.
har'kāra T “wrestling-ground, ring”.
har'kāra tar da 'āya, kuśti-e 'ghit
“he entered the ring and wrestled”.
ha'rvān G, T “astonished, perplexed”.
ba 'jān-e xu'kā ha'rvān ě'zāhem T
“I remained perplexed in my mind”.
Prs.
hēraŋ'gī T “in this manner”. Cf. kēraŋ'gī.
hur'sī G “latticed veranda”.*Prs.
Hē'rāt G “Herat”.
harw: hōt, har'we (Gr. 200) M, G, T, D
“to hear”. har'we-ta-eman M “we are
hearing”; mà ṣax hōt M “I heard a
sound”; har'we-lo hēm D; ēn-em
harweṭō G “I am hearing”; mun
'vax-e 'hōt (har'we) G “I heard his
voice”; mà 'huss-an hōt (har'we) “we
all heard”; hōt ṣax-hun hōt G “I
heard seven voices”; 'agar na 'mūn
tar har'we G “if you listen to me”;
harçe-a 'hatō G “whatever you have
heard”. < Av har-, haurva- “to
observe”, cf. Psht. arenēdol “to hear”.
ha'rē-e “to lose”. pa'nān-e ḍusika-e
harē-če “he lost his way home (gum
kat)”. Cf. har-
hus (حوس, هوس) M, G, T, hōs D
“all”. hussi-nān “all of them”
(بسان). hūs mānēsā D. Cf. hu-
Gr. 148.
hi'sāb, he'sāb M, G “account, reckoning,
share”. Prs.
hāsēl G “produce, crop (hāsēl, zamīn)”
Prs.
hast T “existence”. Prs.
hus M, G, T “sense, consciousness”
 xu'kān-um hus-um āya M; zū mūi
husī M “one hair of sense”; hus-
kan “to take care”. Prs.
hūk G “it dried up, withered” < Av.
hūkka-. (Note Indo-Ir. *suštā- in Phl.
Psalter xvsty, Kal. šūta, Kati štu).
hūku, 'husē G, M, G, ḍēkār(?) D “dry”.
šū ṣēkār-a D “the clay is dry”. Cf.
hūk.
huśe G, T “all three”. Cf. hu-, hus.
huś-yār G, ḍēkār D “wise”. Prs.
ḥōt M, G, T, hōt (hoēt) D, P "7". < Av.
hapla.
hat tōs M, G, ḍhatos P “17”.
ha'wē G, T “air, desire”, ha'wē-še kā
T “desire of hunting”. Prs.
ha'wē, ha'we, hē'we M, G, T “this”.
Gr. 132.
Vocabulary

hö'wei, ho'wei M, G, T "that". Gr. 132. 
hoveka'i G "having this much power". 
hoveka'i bin = haweqa'da'ri kor "she accomplished this much". 
ho'weka T "so much". V ho'wei; W. 
'heqa. 
ha'wäl G, T "condition". Prs. 
ha'wala G, T "a cut, stroke". 'sör-e 
e'de tar ha'wala kor T "he struck at 
his head". Prs. 
hiwar G "husband's brother (hiwar)". Pl. 
hiwar(yar)ên. Afg. Prs., or genuine. 
hiwar rhymes with Psh. léwar, Skr. 
devara- etc., but what has become of 
the d? 
ha'weraŋ G "in this way". Cf. ha'we. 
V. 'heveza'il. 
howeraŋ, ha'weraŋ T "in that way". 
Cf. hö'wei. 
hu'wás:: huwá'hi G "to scold (dán 
zadan)". 
hiwaz T "instead of". 'hiwaz-e 't̲̅a 
s̄er'ika "instead of your head". 
he'wyak G, T "this very". Gr. 133. Cf. 
ha'we. ho'wyak G, T (هویک) "that very". 
Gr. 133. Cf. hö'wei. 
hewezail, hézail G, T, hezal M "thus". 
tu xu hézail na kan G; hézal 'na 
kam M. V. zail. 
ha'yá G "modesty". Prs. 
hauz G "tank, lake". Prs. 
hezā (هژا) G "anything". hēc + zā. 
ha'zár G, T "1000". 'hōt a'zār "7000". 
Prs. 
'hāzer T "present, ready". Prs. 
ha'zdā M "18" Prs. 
ha'zdār M, T "snake". Prs. V. kirm. 
ha'nafa'ri G "military conscription". 
Prs. ha'sht-na'far. 

J

jā(?) G, T "place". jā ba jā "on the 
spot". Prs. 
juba T "Friday". rūz-e jubua. Prs. 
juma'. 
jibak T "pocket". Prs. 
Jabul Sa'rá T "Jabl-us-Siraj". Cf. 
Par'wān. 
jaba'lak M, G "lightning". az'mān 
jaba'lak de'hi M. Cf. Pash. S 'jabala(k). 
V. balk. 
jabī G "power". Prs. 
jabār G "powerful". Xu'dā-e ja'bār. 
Prs. 
Jabra'il G "Gabriel". 
jādū G, T "sorcery, magic". Prs. Cf. 
jādū'ei G "magic". 
jā'dā G, T "separated". 'sör-e'm jū'dā 
kor T "I cut off his head". Prs. 
jū'dāt G, T "separation". Prs. 
jadāgar G, T "sorcerer". Prs. 
Ja'drán T "n. of a Pathan tribe". 'Mang- 
gal o Jadrā o Jā'jī; sō na'far za'if-e 
Mangal o Jadrān'ika. 
jaf G "to bark". e'spā-a ja'fētā "the 
jīgar M, jīgar T, D "liver". jīgar-um 
wūn kor T "I am angry". Prs. V. 
pā'pō. 
jāyu'rī G "having cartridges" (?). tōfāq- 
yān-e jāyu'rī, dārū forimān chī 
"their muskets had cartridges, they 
got plenty of powder". 
je'hān G "the world". Prs. 
Jā'jī T "n. of a Pathan tribe". 
jū'kēw-T. to move, shake". hez ju'kēwen 
nay na'ri "he could not move it". 
Cf. Shgh. juk- "to beat" (Zarubin)? 
V. jum'kēw.
jál M, G, D "hair" (coll.). Pl. jál-lán. Hind. jál "net" etc.? But cf. Pash. L čál "woman’s hair".

'jála M, G, žála D "hail". 'jála ča’rī M, žála yārtū D. Prs. žála (Badakhshi jála, Madagl. jála). V. šenge'řī.

jelau G, jelabā T (? Phon.) "bridle". Prs. jolā D "weaver". Prs.

julé G "shaking". julé da’hem "I shake". Prs. julđan "to be scattered". V. jum'ěw, juk'ěw.

jolāk M "spider". V. jolā. Cf. diewu’rāk, qafak.

Jalala‘bād T "Jalalabad".

ejlält G, jal’lāt T "henchman". Prs. jullūča G "splendid appearance". Prs.
jam M, G, T "assembled, collected", jam kur, jam či. Prs.

jāma G "garment". Prs.
jum’běw G "to shake". sör-č jum’běw "he shook his head". Prs. V. jülē, juk’ěw.


jan-: jō G, T "to beat (alarm etc.)", D "to kill". jup janem T, nāra jō T "shouted"; čiq-č jō G "she beat alarm"; ān-e ma tū janem D "I kill you"; tā ma mun ēkun jantū D; jōm "I killed"; jantan astan "mêkustānd". Nijrāu acc. to G. — < Av. ţan. V. mēr.

janō G, T, janī D, janīvē M "alive". < *jvantā(ka), cf. Av. ľvan.

jān G, T "soul, self, body". jān-um G "my soul, beloved"; jān-e xu’kānau ham huš kan G "take care of yourself also"; jān-um te šu’nī-m G "I bathe"; ta’mām-e jānīka-i tā zanū T "the whole of his body down to the knees". Prs.


Am’nađ T "Paradise". Prs.

je’nāsā T "funeral". Prs.

janeve v. janē.

jāng G, T "battle, war". jay tār "to the battle". Prs.

jāngi T "belonging to the war". jauj-e jāngi. Prs.

jāngjā G "battlefield". Prs.

jangal M, G, T, D "forest". ma jangal-lān-e ko’fi T "he cut down the trees". Prs.

jar- v. jar.

jār G "neighbour". Prs. ěl o jār.

ja’rū M "broom". ja’rū ma ‘kantān ‘I am sweeping’. Prs. V. rūy.

jīr D "bow-string". < Av. jīyā-. V. zē. jōr v. jōr.

jura M "male child". di bālā paidā chēn, jura-in "two children were born, they are boys". Prs.


jurm G, T "crime, fine". Prs.

jarma’nī G "German rifle". tāfangan e jarma’nī. Also Pash. L, cf. Pashto jarmānī "a Persian-gulf rifle".

jēran G "a red horse (asp-i surx)". Turk.

jārnēl G "general". Engl.

jar-: ja’rī (jār ?) G, T, jar-: ja’rī M, jar-: ja’rī C "to say", zā-e ja’rem G "I say something"; ja’tōn-em G "I am saying"; mun ma ’tō zā ja’rī G "I said something to you"; mun ... ja’rī bōn "I had said". ja’ren G "to say" (Phon.); jārto-im M,
K

*ka “who”, in tu (k)ka’i T “who are you”; kā G (ka-a) “who is it (kisti)”; ʻka-yaen G “who are they (kistan)”. Gr. 142.

kā G, T “whoso”. Gr. 142.

ki M, G, T “who”. Gr. 142.


ka’bī M, G, T “when”. hēc ka’bī M “any time (hēc gašt)”; hār ka’bī bē, dāda-m te ma ‘mun ‘mēra T “my father may kill me any time”; ka’bī ēyē? M “when did you come?” Ind.? kūb- T “to beat a drum”. na’vāra kūbī “mēkūban”. Prs.

ka’bōp, ka’bāb G “roast meat”. Prs.

ka’būl kand G “to approve”. Prs.

gabr G “tomb”. Prs.

kabur’ā M, G “ribs”. Prs.


ka’būl G “blue”. Prs. V. sauz.

kabūtar M, G, D “pigeon”. Prs.

ka’zāi G “handle”. Prs. qabza. V. de’stai.

ka’cā M, G, ka’cā D “thorn, furze”. ‘dhār tar ēlāmē, ḫār tar-un ka’cā ma’cā G “I wandered in the hills and a thorn stung my foot”. Ind.; Ashkh. ka’čik, Waig. kāčik < Skr. kakṣa-.


kuč G “wandering”. marching (as a nomad)”. ʕarp kuč ʿāya “an avalanche fell down”. T “family (uṣṭuk u puṣṭuk)”. Prs.

kučuk M, kuččk, G “dog”. Cf. Badakhshi
kūčük “puppy”; Orm. L kučuk. V. *espād.


kačal M, G, T “dirty, bad (nābūt, xarāh)”.
Prs. kačal “one who has no hairs, and is marked with wounds or scars”? kučend M “from where”. ḍep-a kučend-a kor “from where, have you brought the horse?”; tu kučend-ā “from where are you?” Cf. kū, e’čend. V. ku’eṇd.


ka’lāri G “court of justice (hākimīnīh)”.

Ind.

kačera-phor G “beans (māṣ)”. Cf. Hi. kačariyā “a fruit used for pickling”? qadd, kadd G “stature, height”.


kāyaz G “letter”. Prs.

kāhī D “throat”. V. ka’mā.


khūfā G “coughing”.


kujujiv: kujujivē G, T, D “to ask” (not causative). kujujivem G, T; cō-m-ēr kujujivetan T “why do you ask me?”; kujujivem-hem D; kujujivē G “he asked”.

khā’mōr G “threshing”. khā’mur wa’hēvem.


khānōi G “laughing”.

khān G, T “which (kudām)”. Gr. 143.

khān (kawndīn, kheṇādīn) M, G, T “which, some”. khāi zām te gasa “ezī mēkanad-om”; hē yus khānīka M “this house belongs to somebody”; ma khāni-ē ‘enem G “I shall bring one of them”. < Av. katāmā-”. Gr. 143, 145.

khānjāi (khiṇāmąjāi) M, G, T “where, whence”. har khānjāi T “everywhere”.

Vocabulary

Khandi T “mountain, peak (tēy)” - Puddo.

Khandi “Tēy-i siyākh”. Ind., cf. Shina (Dras) khan “mountain”, Torw. khan, Maiyā khan, Singales. kanda “hill”.


Khōr M, G, T, khōr D “donkey”. khōr kōra G “the donkey is blind”. Prob. genuine, cf. Av. xaru- (Gr. σκύ κήρμων “sickle” Lat. carpo etc.)? Gr. 59, V. o’rēw.

Khev’stān G “the Kohistan of Kabul”. ku jēnd M “whence”. ha’wē zīnān-e òspīkā ku jēnd-ēn? “from where are these saddles of the horses?”; ećen’-ēhōk òspān ku jēnd-ēn? “hami òspān az ku jā astān?” V. ku’čend.

Kāik M, D “flea”. Prs. V. ruč.

Kā’ki M, G “mother’s brother (tāyā’i)”. Afg. Prs. kākā “father’s younger brother”, Prs. kākā “aunt”.

Kūk G “nail”. kūkān-e āhe’ni “iron nails”. Ind., cf. Pash. S kōkū, Lhd. kōkā “hobnail, tack” etc.

Kaikubād T “n. of a king, Qubād”.

Kūl G “lock, curl”. Prs. kōkul “curl”, kōl “having curls”.

Kal P, kalā T “head”. kalān “ānwāf T. Prs. V. sōr, pēška’lā.

Kal M, G, T “bald”. Prs.


Kal T “flight”. Mahmad Ha’ni’fa ‘hājēz ēt kāl a “qūvat-ē” kam ast, ājēs āmad, hālī kāl-ī ast”. Prs. kal “flight”.

Kal G “time”. Ind.

Kāł-e Ar’zān G “n. of a place”.

Kalā M, G, T “dress, clothes”. kalān-e xād’ka-m T “my husband’s clothes”.

Pars.

Kal M, G “valley”. Turki?

Kalā M “cap”. Prs. V. kūr.

Kul’ba M “plough”. Kul’ba bariman.

Pars. V. mē’īw.


Kulf G “lock (kulf)”. Prs. qul.

Kalâ’é da’nān G “front-tooth”.


*Kalāja T “the upper part of the arm”. e’dā ‘hudde kalâ’sānē âle’šī “he seized both his upper-arms”.


Kalāli M “earthen jar”. Prs. < Ind. kulā “potter”.

Kull M, G, T “all”. Prs.

Kull M, G “blunt”. Prs. kull “being blunt” (or kul “crooked, defective”).

Kulam M, G, T “pen”. Once = lāwār T. Prs.

Kalān, M, kāl’tnča D “knitted carpet”.

Pars. V. pa’lās.
ka'land, v. ku'lang.
ka'lanfār G "a kind of perfume". Prs.
qaranful "clove, gilly flower". Turki
kalampur etc. < Gr. χαρυφόλλος.
ku'lang M, G "crane". Prs.
ku'lang M, D, ka'land G "mattock, pick-
axe". Prs. kulang, kaland.
ka'mā M, G "throat". Prs.
unm-e kama'ī-
om G "the life of my throat (unm-i
gulū)". Cf. Psht. dial. kūmai "Adam's
apple" (EVP. s.v.). Cf.
kām M, G, D "palete". Prs.
kūm T "tribe". tū kūm-e ma'nān-ē. Prs.
kam'īn G "whip". Prs.
kūmai'dān B "commandant". dī pu'ūdā
kūmaidānā. Psht. kōnādān. Engl?
ka'māk G, D "cream". Prs. Turk., cf.
Shgh. kai'mācī, Khov. xombx etc.
kům mak T "help, assistance (kumakungī,
ýārī dádan)". Prs. Cf.
kuma'kī T "assistance, the reserve of
an army". tū kuma'kī e'dān-a koř
"tu kumakī tra kādi"; kuma'kī (-t-i)
vastī'ka čī "the reserves of the
vazīr went off". Prs.
ka'māl G "perfection". Prs.
ka'mān T "bow". Prs. Cf. yu'īlak.
ka'mān-i 'Rustam G "rainbow". ka-
'mān-i Rustam ča'ṛī. Prs.
ka'mand G, T "halter, lasso". a'brūān-av
ka'mand-a. Prs.
ka'mand G "stable". mē ka'mand dar
'āya, 'sail-e kūr ma ̀spā, "she enter-
ted the stable and looked at the
horses". Pash. L kamand.
kamān'dār T "archer". Prs.
ka'mar T "rock". kama'ṛ ča'ṛī. Prs.
kamar'band G "belt". Prs.
kuma'tī G "dear, expensive". Prs.
kan: kūr, kör M, G, T, D (kūr, kōr Phon.)
"to do". kan'tō-em G "I am doing";
kan, kā(ī), pl. ka'nör "do"; ku'īr
(kūrī) "has done", ku'īra bōn "had
done". Av. kōranav- : korāta.
'kānō G, kōn D, kānū P "blind". Ind.,
cf. Khow. kāνu, Ashk. kāṛā etc. (v.
'kōna M, G, D "ancient, old". Prs.
kun M, G, T, D postpos. "to, for". Gr.
96. Ind., cf. Si. kāne "to, for" etc.,
Pash. L kan "to", Waig. kēn dat.
suff. < Skr. kṛgu.
kānca'ni M "harlot". Ind.
qand, qan G "sugar". Prs.
kunda G "stocks for offenders". Prs.
ken'yāla T "bride (nāmzāt)". Taj. kīn-
gol'a "betrothal", Prs. kanyāla
"filam poscere". Cf. Psht. čanōl
"betrothed" (EVP. s.v.).
kunj T "corner". kunj-e butzānā'ka
tar "in a corner of the temple". Prs.
ke'nāra T "side, edge", wā ke'nāra bōr
"you must stand aside". Prs.
ka'niż G "girl". Prs.
qāpe T "doorkeeper". Turk.
kōpōn (pl.?) G "hump". Cf. Shgh.
kufōn, Rosh. k'upōn (Zarubin); Pash.
L kōpē.
'kāri M, G, T "clean, good". 'kāri
hoeved-kā G "that is better"; kāri'dān
kun nāz zar kan G "look at her beau-
ties". Afg. Prs.
kēr M, G, T, kēr D "work, business"
ē kēr dērē M "ē kār dārt". < Av.
akirya-
ke'vā G "hire". ke'vā ka'nem. Prs.
kōr M, T "blind". Prs. V. kānōd, bā'tečch.
ka'rib G "near". Prs. V. nozdik.
Kara'bāy G, Kala'bāy T "n. of a place".
gūrbān T "sacrifice", pa'ram gūrbān-e
1nām-av "gurbān-it mēśom". Prs.
karbe'stān v. gabri'stān.
Vocabulary

kordi M “root”, koord G “watering basin round the root of a tree”. Cf. Kati korau?
kari'gi G, T “goodness, beauty”. ba kari'gi ma gu dhi G “did he milk the cow well?”; az kari'gi T “on account of his beauty”. Cf. kari, kar'gas M “vulture”. Prs.
kury M, G, T, D, P “hen”. Cf. Prs. karg, Psht. cirg (m. Shgh. cai (dufi m.) etc.
kury-e dhori G “wild hen”. kury-e a'vii G “duck”. V. mur'ya'vi.
kirm M, D “snake”, P “worm”. Prs.
V. ha'dar. Cf.
kirmak M “worm”. kurma T “hash, lobscouse”. Lhd. korma “cooked meat, curry”.
korma'hi G “a kind of uneatable fish”. Prs.
kir'an T “half rupee, kran”. Prs. V. rhu.
qur'an G “Koran, oath”. tu ba qur'an 'dere “you have sworn on the Koran”. Prs.
kerangi T “in what manner”. ma ma'naj 'xa kerangi ku'ro? What have you done with my husband?”. Pash. L karon. Cf. kerangi.
kurri T “ravine (sikaf)”. V. khor.
kar'ar G, T “quiet, resting”. yarp o yar kar'ar kor G “it stopped snowing and raining”; kar'arehata ma dharam-e unt T “he slowly brought her down to the ground”; as kar'ari "slowly". Prs.
kurti M, kurtin G, D “jacket”. Prs.
kurut “dried curds (kurut)”. Prs.
kur'wa G “lizard”. V. silanji.
kor M, G “stick, fire-wood”. ha'we kor-iman ma xar 'kantan M “we are breaking this stick”. Pash. L ko'ya “tree”. Cf. kordi?
ko'rin G “wooden”. V. kor.
quart T “destroyed, cut into pieces”, ma pu's-on-e 'quart ku'ro “he has destroyed my son (xurdi iš kat)”; quart kanito “mexurt”. Prs. quart “slicing in pieces”? Cf. Psht. quarti “gravel, fragments of stone”.
kasab'ka D “tortoise”, cf. Turki qabla-baqi “Krätte die eine Hülle hat” (Vambéry) cf. Ar. kisa “garment”, kasa “putting on of clothes”.
qasam G, T “oath”. 'qasam-e xur. Prs.
Qa'sem T “n. of a man”.
kasr G “castle”. Prs.
ka'sur T “yör” (?). ka'sur-om ba'dhek 'dalii gu'rim *let me now take from him my...".
kausa'ra M, G “shoe”. ma kau'sa'ra ghit M “I have bought shoes”. Prs.
kafs, kau, Pash. Nir. kau'ra. V. paizar.
pissa, qessa, 'kissa G, T “tale”. Prs.
qessa'xon T “reciter of tales”. Prs.
qast T “intention (mudal)”. Prs. qasd.
kaset G, T “messenger”. Prs.
ku'sew G (Nijr.) “to dig”.
ka'kan G, T “to pull, stretch, contract”. Prs. ka'sidan.
kas P “eyebrow”. < Av. kar'sa “furrow”. V. a'bru.
kāṣa'gū M, G, kāṣa'gū D, kaṣa'gū P
“bullock”. Cf. “kāṣghau” Yag. in
Badakhshān und Pāmīr” (Tom. 764),
Shgh. xuṅ-gow “bullock” (Zar.).

cāṣṭe M, G, T, D (कन्नष्ट, कन्नष्टा)
“girl”.
< *kaniṣṭākt, Skr. kaniṣṭhā, cf. Av.
kāṇī-etc., Pstlt. cāṇ-yaľ, Minj. kiṅ’tika,
Wkh. kōnd prob. also belongs to this
stem, not to that of Skr. kāṇtā (Tom.).

cāṣṭa M “field, cultivation”. Prs.
cāṣṭi T “boat”. Prs.
cāṣṭa T “killed”. In: as kāṣṭa kuṣṭān
kor, as puṣṭa puṣṭa “they made
killed of the killed and a plain of the
plain”; i. e. “they slaughtered
completely”. Prs.
cāṣṭi T “wrestling”. cāṣṭi gurima
“let us wrestle”. Prs.
cāṣṭe-āk G (कन्नष्टैक) “a small
girl”.
V. kāṣṭe.

kāṣēv G, T “to sigh, yawn”. fāza-m
kāṣev G “I yawned”; fūr tar-om
‘ā’ kāṣēvi T “I sighed “oh” in my
heart”. V. kāṣ kān-. Cf. Prs. āh
kāṣidān “to fetch a sigh”.

cāṣxāna T “guest-room (kuṣk)”. Taj.
kuṣ-xona “house with a single room”.

ekāt G “scissors”. ya’rā kātī ka’nim.
Prs. kātē + Panj. kati?

gātī M “famine”. Prs.

kūtal P “pass”. Prs.
kītān G “band of a shirt”.

gātel G “mule”. Prs.
kāt G “cheese”. Pqs. gatiq “butter-
milk”; Pash. D xatek, xatek “salted,
hard cheese” V. pa’ nir.

ekāt D “bed”. Ind., e. g. Pash. L kaṭ.
V. cār’pāī.

kāṭ: kaṭi M, G, T, D “to cut”. ū
ti eman kāṭetan M “we are felling a
tree”; kaṭīlo hēm D; tū’yān-āw-um
kaṭī T “I paid the price for you
(tōi burridam, xīlās kadam)”. Ind.,
Pash. S kaṭ- etc.

kuṭ: kuṭi M, G “to crush”. o’yr tar-um
kuṭi G “I crushed it in a mortar”.
Lhd. kuṭṭān “to beat, pound”, etc.
kōṭ M “short” kōṭ, Pqs. kōṭah? V.
’yanuḵā, l’uṇuḵā.

*kuṭur v. l’uṇuḵ-e kuṭuri’ka.

kāṭā G, T “old”. Ind., cf. Panj. kāṭā
“hard” etc.?
kāṭār G “old age”. mau’sum-e kaṭāiy-au.
kuṭā G “lame”. Pash. L kuṭa etc.
V. soče-u.

kāṭa’bāw D “grandfather”. V. bōbā.

kāwun G “in some direction or other
(kudām taraf)”, kāwun (کوژم) T
“in which direction (kudām sun)”.
V. wanū.

ka’wār D, P “mouse”. Pash. L kau’ra
“rat”. V. ba’lūr.

ka’vēr G “to scrape, scratch”.

qūwat G, T “power, strength. qūwat
kun ’ham xu na ’chi T “neither of
them overpowered the other (ba qūwat
na šud)”. Pqs.

qūwat’dūr G “powerful”. Pqs.
qūwat’nāk G “powerful”. Pqs.
xās?


kūza’rē G “milking-pail (kūza, gauḍāsā)”.


L

lab G, T “lip”. In: lab-e kha’nūd G; lab-e
zhī T “the banks of the stream”. Pqs.
lauč M, G, lauč D “lip (the usual word)”.
la'icàn-un Phon. (لیکان): lapé G
(poetical). Prs.
lve M, G, T, D "naked". lve kan-T "to rob"; sēlābān-an lve āyen T "they came with drawn swords".
Prs.
lēf G, T "bedclothes". lēf-a 'tāl-a kur'd G "have you hung up the bedclothes"? Prs.
lihāf, Badakhshi lēf.
lag. "to stick to, strike". bānā-e 'ēsq-aun ma 'mun la'gō G "the arrow of your love has struck me". Ind.
lā'gōw-M, D "to lit a fire". āra lagēiman M, rhinc-m lagētū (*lagēsetā) D "I am lighting the fire". V. lag.
La'yak G "n. of a place".
lā'yār M, G "lean". Prs.
lhanī (لیحانی) G "slippery (lašnī)". Cf.
Prs. lašn "smooth, slippery" < (h) laxčna-. laxčān; laxčān "to slip, slide" < (h) laxš-. (k) lagī< < slēgh-s(k)-. cf. Bal. lauyūgh "to slip".
lhās G "finished (xilās)". lhās čemī "(the mulberries) are finished". Derivation from < xilās Prs. xilās is phonetically improbable.
lejjī: lejjī G "to be ashamed". lejjie-tōn-em. Ind. cf. Pash. L laj-
lejjia'nak G "bashful".
lā'jām M, G "bridle". Prs.
lak G, T "a lakh, 100,000". 'su lāk T,
dōz lak si'pāi T. Prs. < Ind.
lālāk M "stork". Prs.
lāl G "ruby". Prs.
lāla G "tulip". Prs.
lāla T "elder brother". Afg. Prs.
lāltāg G "a kind of flower". Prs.
lāl + tāq?
lālāzār G "tulip-bedā". Prs.
lam in lam dāh M, G, T, D "to place, permit (mándan)". ki'tāb sō 'mēz lām dā M "put the book on the table"; badhēk-īman kō sō mō lām dāhītān M; lam da'hem G, D; lam-um dā G; ma 'mun-en na lam 'dāhītān G "they do not allow me". kūcānōk mēx tar lām dā M "hang the knife on the peg". Cf. la'mō. V. ēēw-, yūk-
la'mō M, G "hanging". ēē'éy la'mō a. Ind., Skr. lamb- "to hang down" etc. Cf.
la'mēw- M, G "to hang up". ēkī zā la'mēw M "hang up this thing"; lamēwōt-a G "āwēzan kada'gi's".
la'in G "accursed". sāitān-e la'in. Prs.
lunē-e kuturi'ka M "podex". Prs. lunē "cheek, inside of the cheek"?
lang D "lame". Prs. V. lūcēā.
leŋ G "leg". Prs.
'lunqī H "scarf, lungee". Ind.
langō'ta M, G "turban". Hind. etc.
langōṯā "loin-cloth".
lānḏā G, lunḏā M "stout, corpulent". V. cāk.
'lunḏu D "short, narrow". Hind. lunḏā "tailcropped, stripped". Paht. lw.
lunḏ "cort, stumpy, short".
'La'rōm T "n. of a pass near Shutul".
larz- G "to tremble". Prs.
larzēw-G "to make tremble". larzēwtōn-un-a "mēlarzānōd-un".
leře G "boy" (said to be a Pachagnani word). 'cinī leře 'pē-a xartōn "the small boy drinks milk".
lūf-: lūře G, T "to seek, search for (pālidān, gaštan)". lūrfōn-em T "mēpālōm"; 'mā la'mām lu'ri G. Hind. lūphnū "to seek".
genuine, v. Gr. 70.
M

ма M, G, T, D prefix denoting the acc. etc. Gr. 86.
май G “wine”. Prs.
май M, G, T “we”. Gr. 113.
май G “mother”. Av. матар. V. аят, мачел, мама.
мү M “hair”. In the expression зү мүү хүү “one hair of sense”. Prs.
маобор G, T “outside”. V. ма, бор.
мубарак G “fortunate”. Prs.
мае: маел G, T “to cut, hurt, stick”.
пать тар-ум ‘качэ мачел “a thorn wounded my foot (xalid)”; бор тар-мачел “he struck his head”; өн тар мачел T “stuck in the mud (дар гил xalid)”. Hindu. мачан “to stir up, excite” etc.?
маачel M, G “mother”. V. ма, мама.
майда M, G “crushed”. варун-ем ’эра тар ’майдагантан м “I grind the flour at the mill”; муст пент майдаканем м “I crush with the fist”; варун-а ’майдагантан м; варун-ум ’эра тар ’майдакор м. Prs.
муда G “at once when” (?). муда хе ’гапен- . . . го бон “instantly when she had said these words” (?). Prs. мудах.
муда G, Т “intention, desire (maxsad)”.
цо муда дереш T, ba муда кан T. Prs. муда’т.
мадагу G, магу D, P “cow”.
мадаку’чоо G “bitch”.
мадалаб G “purpose”. Prs.
мудам M, G, Т “always”. Prs.
мадинана M, ’мадинан P “mare”. Prs. V. сичак дсп.
маидан G, Т, D “plain”. Prs.
мәдәеб G “a barber”. Prob. a qom (: barber and minstrel in one person)
Vocabulary

is meant. Prs. mu'trib "a musician, singer".
ma'yam G, T "possibly, unless (màgar)".
ma'yam è ma'è/chí'pherè G "possibly
you will be turned into a fish".
ma'yam tu pa'ra ta'bir-e ma'nà G
"if you do not become my physician".

Prs. màgar?
Muy'bit, Muq'bit T "n. of a man".
mo'guy D "sheep". V. ya'arà.
ma'yas D, P "fly". Cf. Prs. ma'gas.
ma'yà G "kernel". de'jikà ma'yà "walnut
kernel". Prob. borr. from Prs.
ma'yà.
ma'yà-e soro'ka M, G "brain".
ma'hí D "fish". Prs. V. 'masà.
mèhí M, G, T (عَطَر) "mouth". *mà-
hika-. cf.Orm. mäi, Paht. spo'gh-maï
"moon", W.Oss mäyà "moon,
month", Prs. mäk etc. V. ma'hök.
mèhín T "monthly, of a month". zu
'mèhin-a 'he is one month old'.
mahà'bat G "love". Prs.
*maha'ci'í? sò bóre maha'ci'í'ka'i'í su
kala-i awei'zan-a T (Phon.), kunj-e
'maha'ci'í, kunj-e butxânà'ka T
(Phon.). The word is repeated three
times and is quite distinct. It seems
to mean something like "castle,
fort".
ma'hak, mhak G "straight to, at, towards
that, exactly there" (?). maha'khar
tar "to the ground there (da hamù
zamin: dèr)" (but: ha'vei dharam
"to the ground here, da hamì
zamin: nezdi"; mhak dál za tar-e "dar
hamù pës-e ñù-iè"; ma'hak dha'ram
tar-e ñh; dehi ma'hak xi't tar-e bi'ya.
Prob. ma+hak, cf. 133.
ma'hök M, G. ma'hök, D, P "moon".
ma'hök ñlè'ñi M, ma'hök gur'in ñò D
"the moon was eclipsed". Cf. mëñ.
< *maha' n. Khorasan Kurd. mehak
"month".
'mhakam, maha'gam, maha'kam G, T
(مُحَكَم) "forcibly". 'mha'kam-e 'áleš
màkam bigir-iš". Prs.
mhâlát G, múlát T "respite, delay".

Prs. múlát, cf. Bal. mhâlat.
'Mahmad, Mâmâd Ha'nífa 'Sâheb T
"n. of a person".
Mah'mûd, Mâmûd, Mhâmûd G "n. of
a person".
meh'mân, me'h'mân, G, T, mè'mân M, G
"guest". Prs. V. mëmà'ni.
ma'hi G "fine, thin, a small grain of
rice (herenj-i mâhìn)". Prs.
mèher G "love". Prs.
mehra'áñi G "friendliness". Prs.
mìhàtar G "groom". Prs. mìhtar.
mujà M, me'zà G, me'jân pl. T "wimp-
ers". Prs. miža, musa (Taj. miža,
all the Par. forms are borr.
majma G "a dish, plate (yurì)". Prs.
muj'rá G "reward". Prs.
mà'khán M, G, T "our". Gr. 113.
ma'khār (مُقْلِر) G "in the middle of
(ma'yà-i, mëbain). ma'khàr-e dar'ýà
pa'rá. Prs. mujhàr "subdued, de-
feated"?
ma'kán G "dirt" (?). ma'kànàn 'asttarôr
sweep away the dirt". Or: "sweep
the house", cf. Prs. makân?
makàn-rüya'kàn (pl.) G "sweepers".
Makkatul'lâ T "Mekka".
makr T "fraud". Prs.*
Maqût, Måque T "n. of a warrior".
Mågåtel T "n. of a king".
'mailà G "festival, fair (mëla, jañà)".

Ind.
māl M, G, T "property, cattle". Prs. ma'lak G "movement". ma'lak xur "he moved". Prs. malaq, "canter, gallop".
ma'lek G "headman of a village". Prs. mulk M, G, T "country". Prs. ma'lāık T "angel". Pl. malāikān. Prs. ma'laık pl.
mulā G, T "mulla". Prs. mā'lūm G, T "known". mā'lūm kan.

Pars. ma'lāmat G "reproof". Prs. 'mulat T "delay". V. mhālat. ma'lax M, G, P "grasshopper". Prs. mēlēv- G "to plough". jōwār-i-šan mēlēvān.
Cf. ā'i, 'māst.
mīm G "the letter m". Prs. mēmānī G "feast". Prs. V. meh'mān.
mā'mūr T "engaged in" (?). mardu'mān mā'mūr čēn ĕ yūs o pulāu 'kurma tār "the people were engaged in eating meat and pillau and hash". Prs. mā'mūr "fixed, determined". mu'maiz, mu'bāz, mu'bayoz G "umpire, judge". Prs. mu'maiz.
mā'nā G "starling". Ind.
mēn M, G, T, D "waist". Prob. < Av. maibyana-, cf. Sak. myāna-. Prs. miyān, Luri min etc. Cf. however Shgh. mēn ḍwaist-band" etc. Gr. 57.
Cf.
mēn, mē M, G, T "within, among". Gr. 220.
mun etc. M, G, T, D "me". < Av. mana. Gr. 112.
mānda G "left, remaining; tired". yulū̄ mānda čēm. Prs. (Cf. semasiologically Ishk. frinduk "tired": frin "he remained" < *wir-ična-; Wkh.

wareγk "tired": wareγn "to remain"; Si. vicro : vıro "to be wearied".
'mendē M, G, T "this" (acc.). Gr. 128.
mundē M, G, T, mōnde G, T "that".
māndān pl. D. Gr. 131.
mendēk G, T "this very (hamī)". Gr. 135.
mundēk G, T "that very (hamū)". Gr. 135.
māendar G "stepmother" (mādaranar, ambāy)". Par. mā + Prs. mādandar.
mānok G, D "ram" < *māına-? V. kūča, nē'rōk γα'ro.
mā'nān M, G, T "my". Gr. 112.
mā'nat M, mēnnaat G "entertaining". Prs.
mā'nāsib M "fit, proper". Prs.
mānēs G, T, māniš, māneš D, P "man (home)". Ind., cf. Waig. ma'nās etc., but Pash. ādam. V. ādam.
mānsāhūr (μανσάχορ) G "famous". Prs. māshūr.
mēn mē M, G, T "to smear, rub, wipe". Ll'vōn-em 'mēntētūn M "I smear with fat"; dōsmāl pen-em ara'qān-um 'mēntētēn (a'stārtēn) M "I wipe away the sweat with my handkerchief"; 'mēnthēman M "bathīm"; 'mēnthēm-e G. Gr. 61; cf. Wkh. mandāk, Waz. Psh. (kē)mandol "to shampoo"; Si. manānī "to shampoo", Shina manōkī "to rub" etc. But Hi. mādnā "to rub, knead" etc. < myd.

man'yār G "mist, fog". Taj., cf. Shgh. man'yār "steam".
man'yō M, G (Phon. man'yū-m), man'yō D, man'yō T (man'yū) "neck". Ind., Pash. L manđa, O man'do, Ashk.
man’ðâ, Welsh Gypsy mend (Si. mañi “vertebrae of the neck”).
Maγal T “n. of a tribe”.
maγ’ir G, T (maγ’ir, môγir Phon.) “occupied, engaged”. maγ’ir-em T “kâr dâram”.
mer- : mur (مَر) M, G, T “to die”.
hořî ādam-a ’merûn M; fo’lání mur M, G, ’mêrem-e M, G, D. <*mya-, Av. mirya- etc.
mêr- : mât (مَت) M, G, T “to kill”.
‘mâ ’mendê ’ādam ’mêrîman M “we kill this man”; ‘hê ’ādam mûren chî M “this man was killed”;
’mêndê ādam-an mât M “they killed this man”; mûrtôn-e-a G “he is killing him”;
mêrtan astan G “mêkustand”; ma biyê-e ma’nâ cu’rân mâtê T “the thieves have killed my brother”.
me’dû G “death”.
*muřû G “ant”. muřû-i sur’khô “red ant”; muřû-i pâddô “black ant”.
Prs. V. múčôô.
mûrcal T “breastwork (saagar)”. Prs. mûrâd G “aim, desired object”. Prs.
mu’dum, mu’dum G, T also mu’dâm “people”. ‘bêr za’hî dâl mu’dâm, mu’dûm ja’rî : zub ker-â T “the lion came to the people; people said: it is a good deed”. Prs.
mûr’âwê M, D, mu’r’âvê T “duck”.
Prs. V. kûry-e a’wî.
mûryûzûr G, T “meadow”. Prs.
’murûk M, G “a kind of pea (muṣûng)”.
Cf. Pash. S ma’ûk V. “maṣûng”?
mur’kâd G “sepulchre, pilgrimage (ziyârat)”. Prs. murqâd “sepulchre”.
Mî’rân T “n. of a man”.
Mîrasan T “n. of a man”.
Mîrizi G “n. of a place”.
Mîrizê T “n. of a man”.
Mîr’zê G “a nobleman, mirza”. Prs.
mar- M “to smear” (?). Šu marîmûn “let us smear it with clay”. Cf. Skr.
myûd- V. Orm. mar-.
ma’rû M, G “soft”. Cf. Skr. mrûdu- (Psht. marwand “wryst”?).
Psht. mûrê etc. (EVP. s.v. marvand). V. xài.
mûr v. mer-
murû G “dead”. V. mer.
mar’di G “courage (marûga’rî)”. Prs.
mar’dum v. mar’dum.
mir’dâ T “corpse”. Prs.
ma’rûk G, T “slow(ly), softly”. V. ma’rûk.
ma’sî G “ankle-ring”. Cf. Psht. mûsî an ornament for the head”? Ind.?
masô M, G “fish”. < Av. masya-. V. mû’hî.
ma’sî M, G, ma’tz T “dried mulberries”.
Pash. L ma(t) “id.”, from Prs. ma’wîz “raisins”.
mes G “brass”. Prs.
ma’sûla G “ingredient, spiceory”, ma’sûla-e dastîkâ “the contents of the cooking pot”. Prs.
mûase’lî T “bribe, money (?) (rûpâ)”, risîlân kun-c mâsêlî dâ. Prs. mûgîl “small (present)”?
mesl G, mazl M “similar, resembling”.
ba misl-e musk u ambur. Prs.
mishal G “resembling”.
musul’mán G, T “Moslem”. Prs.
maw’sum G “time, period”. Prs.
mašti G, T “merriment, madness”.
jang u mašti-an kor T “they fought madly”. Prs.
maštana G “coquettish”. Prs.
mash M “bean”. Prs. māš “peace”.
mush v. musē.
mush-parvān D “bat”. Prs. V. šaupa’rak.
mask G “inflated skin”. V. sandarā.

Prs.
mush G “musk”. Prs.
must M, G, T, D “fist”. Prs.
mūt v. mērē.
Miat G “n. of a king”.
muta’bar M, mōta’bār T “rich, powerful”. Prs.
mātal G “respite”. dōn ru’dum mātal
ku’dō.
matta G “dirt, mud”. Ind., Ihd. mat “alluvial deposit”, Pašt. matta “clay”.
mēwa G, T “fruit”. Prs.
māwehā G “mother and daughter”.
hadidi mō, hūsēh mū. V. bāwehā.
Pash. L. āvyādā.
mawul G “uncle, mother’s brother”
(said to be a Pachaghani word). Pash.
S. mau’tū etc. V. kā’kā.
mawar T “woollen jacket (çagman)”.
mēx M, mix G “nail”. Prs. (both forms?).
mux M, G, T, D, P “face, cheek”. mux-e
xudā’kā ʿdeqē G; ʿrū-i xu’dā ʿdari”
(an oath); mux chū G “he is silent”,
ba mux-e ʿdā’ya G “he vomited”;
dīl mux-e ʿchačō G “two red cheeks”.

Cf. Pašt. maš, Orm. mux, Skr. mukha-
mukhē’dūn G (Phon.) n. of a part of
the body, mentioned between da’nnān
“teeth” and alašān “jaws”.
maxsād G “object, aim”. Prs.
masxūd G “aim, purpose”. Prs.
maxsor G, T “myself (xu’d-i mā)”.
ma xu sōr. V. xu’sōr.
maza G “taste, flavour”. Prs.
mażāt G “taste”. mażāt ēchašem.
maṭiz v. ma’iz.
mēz M, G “table”. Prs.
mūza M, G “shoe”. mūza ‘pā-i kor G
“he put on a shoe”. Prs.
maxdaur, muzdūr M “servant”. Prs.
mażāk (ماژاک) G, T “entertainment,
jest, deceiving (sānature, ärēh)”. ma
mūn mażāk na ka’na G “do not
let him deceive me”; maštī u mażāk-
avu G; ba mażāk T “softly, slowly
(bo čatarzēnak)?”; cf. Pašt. po maza?
Prs. mizāh “jest, joke”, mazzāh
“a jester”?
mazl M v. mels.
maza’nāk G “tasty”.
yu’lū ʿkārī mazā’nāk ʿdēy “it tastes very good”. Prs.
mażār G “tomb of a saint”. Prs.
müzūr. mus paraman G “come, let
us go”. Pash. L. muˇzˇ- muˇn “to flee”.
V. par-, čhi.
mečās G “pulse, temperament”.
na gu’ri za‘if-e ʿKābul, mečās-e xunuk-
a “do not take a woman from K., her
pulse is cold”. Prs. mizāj.

N
na M, G, T “not”. Also in prohibitions,
as in colloquial Prs.: na berkh T
“do not fear”. Repeated in ‘na dērē ḱus tarānu na māl u zar tū T “you have neither riches nor gold in your house”. Cf. Prs. na etc.


nāī M, G “reed”. Prs. V. qumb.

nē če, na če T, na‘ī če G “lest, if not, that not”. aqā ‘mu kun bi’yā bē, kārī bē; ‘nē če na bē, kācāl bi’yā hec na bē T “if I shall have a brother, (aga nē ki na bāsā, nābūt hec na bāsā)”; ‘nā če he’vyak bite pa’nān-e gu’ri-a, kāvun pa’rī-a T “that he will not take this road again, but will go somewhere else (na ki hamī rára bāz bīgīrā, kudām taraf burawa)”; na‘ī če ‘wā tar lejja G “lest he shall feel ashamed by your presence (nē ki az sūmā șarminda bāsā)”.

nī G, T “today”. mun nī-xa’wān ‘xóm dhor G “I had a dream this last night”; nī gudā’rī “this day passed away”; nī wyār “this night”. Shgh. nur, Soghd. nur “today”, Cherikess nyē’epā “tonight” (< Ir. nūz̄āpar, Troubetskoy, MSL. 22, 248). Also Pash. L nū, Waig. etc. őnā.


nō M, G, T, nū D “new, fresh” < Av. nava-

‘nūbat G “time, turn”. Prs.

’nauča G (naoča Phon.) “young, fresh”.

nō ‘nauča ne’hāl. Prs.

nā’dān T “foolish”. Prs.


negār G “picture, beauty: beloved”.

xīrō negār-um. Prs.

niqā‘wān T “protector”. Prs.


na’yōn M, G, D “bread”. āne na’yōn xa’rem D. Cf. Paht. nagan etc. (v. EVP. s.v.).

na’yōn-pe’čāk G “baker (nān-bāi)”. Cf. na’yōn-phak’ō G “baker”. V. peč-

noγ’ra v. nuq’ra.

na’yāra T “drum”. Prs.

ni’hēk M, G, ni’hak D “today”. ni’hēk pa’nān-e dōrin chēm M “I have walked a long way today”. V. ni.

ne’hāl G, T (ne’hāl, ni’hāl Phon.) “a young shoot”. Prs.

nḥāmr G “forgetful, forgetting”, ma’nān nḥāmr-um chī “I have forgotten it”; tān nḥāmr- a chī? < *rḥāmr < *frāmrsta., cf. Prs. farāmūšt(l), Minj. formisk¹, Orm. šamol. Gr. 63.

nen.: nhānt M, G, D “to make to sit down, place”. mā-iman ma tō nhēnman M; ān-e ma tō nhēnman D; mā-iman mundē nhēntan “we make him
sit down”; mà ma tú nhánt M. Cf.
nhin, nʰhin-: nhašt-, nʰhašt, M, G, T, D (نهمش: نهمش) "to sit down". nhinemun G "let ut sit", nhašt-a "he is sitting", nhošt "he sat down", nhaštjam "I sat down". < *ni-kidna- ni-kusta-, cf. Sámm, min-: niast etc., Prs. nišin-: nišast (v. BSL, 24, 205 ff.).
Naj'mān T “n. of a man”.
najfir G, T “ill, sick”. hé _DSP ānajfir hastan G “these horses were ill”;
cân ān hēn, cân ānajfir hēn, hevyakān yułu ānajfir hēn G “these are well, those are ill, and those there are very ill”. Prs.-Ind., cf. Psht. najfer, Afg. Prs. najfer, V. jof.
nājuwānī G “youth”. Prs.
nāk G “pear”. Prs.
nēk T “good”, nēk u bad. Prs.
nēkā G, T “marriage”. Prs.
nēk v. nērk.
nāk M, G, T “point (of a knife etc.)”.
nāke cūlīka T. Prs.
naqī “tale”. Prs.
naqī T “dried fruits (mēwā-i safed)”. Prs.
naqīrā G, nāqīrā M, nāqīrā D, nokīrā P “silver”. Prs. V. čhaflači.
nākar G “servant, soldier”. tū mun pen nūkar dhar “stay with me as a servant”. Prs.
nūkarī M, G “service”. mà āyeman nūkarī-a kaneman G “we have come to enter your service”; pa'nān-om nūka'ri tar yar'gō G. Prs.
nūl M, G, D “beak”. Prs.
nāvīdāj G “without remedy, helpless”. Prs.
na'mā M, G, na’mā D, na’mā P “salt”. Cf. Prs. namak, Psht. māga etc.
na’mā from *namādaka- (Gauth., MSL. 20, 19), cf. Gr. 25.
na’mā G “felt”. Cf. Prs. namad etc. V
na’mat.
štā M, G, T “name”. Prs?
nim M, G, T “half”. nim-e sēbatā M “half an apple”; nim azār rupāt-an ghit M “they took 500 rupees”; nim-e xāzan T “midnight”. Prs.
nimrōz M, T “noon”. Prs.
namāt D “felt”. Prs. V. namā.
ne’māz G “prayer”. ne’māz-e šām “evening prayer”. Prs.
nemā‘yān T “appearance, sign”. Prs.
namū G “husband’s sister (xātika xi-m)”, namū M “husband’s brother’s wife (zan-e hēcar-om)”. Afg. Pers. namu, Lhd. uindar etc., v. EVP. s.v. nandrīr
nar M, T “male”. šēre nar T. Prs., v. nērōk.
nūr G “light, brightness”. nū-še dī techān-um “the light of my two eyes”. Prs.
narbus G, narbus M “he-goat”. Prs. Cf.
buja. V. takača.
nērōk G, nērōk D “male” nērōk ja’rō,
na’rās M “stallion”. Prs. V. nar, νέρόκ.
Nārwāṭī T “n. of a place near Lārom”.
Nāuwāṭī’an tar.
nirx G “price”. Prs.
ner.: nōf M, G T “to pull out”. ḍū zāi nerem M “‘etira ‘mēkašam”;
‘nerem-e G; nōf-om, ba’dē-m ’nōt G “‘ālī kāśi-da-im”; (ān) na’tō T “I have pulled out”, mā ēa’i āwē nōf M “‘I drew water from the well”, manān sōr yās naftō “hair has grown on my head”.
 Cf. Orm. K nawār: nawalak “to take out, draw water”, acc. to Grierson < Av. nis-bar (nīš-)? Phonetically the derivation of ner- < *nēr-< *nisbar- is difficult; possibly < *nibar, with introduction of the r into the present from the original preterite, and the formation of a new preterite? Gr. 65.
nār’yō v. nī-
nask M “lentil”. Prs.
na’nak T “mutilating”. γa’la’ba’ nasak an udhe’kā ku’rō “they have tortured him very much”. Prs. nasaq kurdan “to punish by mutilating the criminal”.
nesp G, T “middle, half”. ma nesp-e ās’mā “in the middle of the skies”, nesp-e wyārīka = nesp-e za’vānīka T “midnight” (v. s.v. nim); du nesp “two halves”. Prs. nisf.
ni’sōr G “the shady side of a hill”. < *ni-swāwara? (v. EVP. s.v. siya), cf. Panjshir Prs. nišar (Andrew), Psht.
sēwrai etc. Prob. borr.; Prs. nasā(r), niśvāra, nasar etc. V. parāṭāf,
nesiyat T “advise”. Prs. naṣīḥat.
nēs T “point”, nēs-e kūcanōkika “the point of the knife”. Prs.
nōf “a draught” Prs.
ni’sān M, G, T “a sign, signal, target”.
nišān-eman dhaita M “we are showing”. Prs.
nōspā’ī T “pear (nāk)”. Prs.
nēśī M, G, D, P “nose”. < *nāst-, cf. Av. nāh-, Sabzuwāri nus, Soghd. nas etc. In Pash., too, we find, a stem nāst- (corresponding forms in other Ind. languages).
na’li G “nose-ring”. Ind., cf. Psht. nata, Lhd. natth etc.
nāteq G “manifestly, clearly (cūt, bil-kull)”. Prs.
nōf v. ner-
nawā M, G, nawā’yār T (pl. nawāyārān G), na’wāsā P “grandchild”. na’wā < Av. napāt-; na’wāsā is Prs.; nawā’yār seems to be a contaminated form (*nawāy = Prs. nawāda < *napātaka+
+ *natār < napārām).
nawā’lāt T “unknown, unaccustomed”. Prs. nā + wālāt “authority”?
niwišta M, G “written”, niwišta kanta “to write”. ēa niwišta kantūn M “he is writing” Prs.
nāx G, nāx D “roof-gutter”. *nāw-xa-, cf. EVP. s.v. nāw “gutter”, Kurd. (Soane) nāwkh “gutter”.
nāxewiri P “rainbow.” Cf. to’fāng-i Ru’stām.
nāxt (ناخت) G “cash”. Prs. naqd.
Nāxtān T “n. of a mountain near Shutul”.
ni’yat G “intention, purpose”.
naza G “weak”.
'naiza G "spear". Prs.
naž G "coquetry". Prs.
naź'dik M, G, D, naź'dik G, T "near".
hamsā'yān-e naź'dikī G. Prs.
nā'zuk G "coquetish". Prs.
nāza' nin G "beautiful, delicate, elegant". Prs.
nā'zar G "glance". Prs.
nušda M "19". Prs.
Nī'rau G "Nijrau".

P

pa "at, to", pa vakhē kan- "to lift up";
pā bhāi gurē 'to buy'. < Av. paṭītī.
pā, pl. pā'na' m, G, T, pā' D "foot".
pā < Av. pācā, pāi Prs.
pē M, G, D, P, G also pē "milk". <
pī (پی) M, G, D, phi T "spade". phi-e
šaš-pār T v. šaš-pār. Cf. Minj. fūya,
Shgh. fe, fay, Wkh. pāy (Zarubin),
Prs. faḥ "shovel". Pash. I. pēkā'ī
from Ir.? V. bhamē.
pī G "to this side". pī wē pū "in all
pō G "understanding". ān-em pō kāntā,
mun pō kōr. Cf. Psht. pōh "aware,
intelligent" etc. V. āmē.
pū M, G "to that side, away (ūsun,
ūbar) " an'dāzēm-e pū M "ūsū mē
partam-iš". < Av. *pāi-ti avat. V. pl.
pač G, T "before, in front of". pač-e
mūx "pēsh-i rū". Cf. Shgh. pēc "face"
< *pūša-, Soghād. pač- < *pūš-
(Gauth. p. 126). V. apācē, pā'ecētar.
pēcē-: pōk M, G, pōk D "to cook"
(پیچم: پیچک). pēcēm-e G; pēcētuŋ
M; zā-em pēcētō D "I am cooking
something"; yūs-ūm pōk G; mūn
yūs pōk D "I cooked meat"; pa'kū-m
D "I have cooked"; pākōt-a G "puxta
ast"." < *pāčaya-: *pāxua- Av. pak-
Shgh. pēj- etc. (Gr. 58).
pāc M, G, pō D "wool". Cf. Pash. pāc
"cotton".
pīča'dār T "having short hair". pīča'dār
u kākult. Prs. pēcā "a lock of curling
hair".
pāča'gī da'nān G "back-tooth". Cf. Av.
pasca, Keshē peč "behind", Sak.
pāto "afterwards, again". Reg. č
< se cf. Tedesco MO. 1921, 209 ff.
But prob. borr. from a Pash. form
related to Pash S. pāča'wā "after,
behind". V. pēś.
pēča'la-i ēxi-kā G "eggshell". Cf. Turki
pocaq "shell, skin of a fruit"?
pāčetar G "before". na'yōn-an pāčetar
lam dā "(she) put the food before
them"; gap-e sax)tī tā'nā' pāčetar
āyō "a difficult affair has risen in
front of me". V. pač.
pai'dā M, G, T "born, produced,
appearing". pai'dā ēhī M "was born",
lāsrāk pai'dā ēhī G "the army
appeared". Prs.
pai'dā M, G, pai'dū D, pai'dū P "black"
Skr. padma- "lotus-hued" could
scarcely come to denote "black".
Pa'dā-khandī T "Tegh-i Siyah, n. of
a mountain in Shutul".
pai'dā M, G, T "king". Prs.
pai'dā(hi) G "kingdom". Prs.
pī (پی) G "blowing, breath", ān pī
phūah "to blow", Wkh., Sar., Pash.
S puf "blowing". Par. pī from Ind.,
Pash. puf from Ir.
phôk v. pec.

phūnjô G “swelling, inflammation”.

Ind., cf. Lhd. phunjâya “to swell”.

phâri G, T “from that side (as ú sun)”. phâri-r. ‘áya T (Phon). Cf. phyâri, pi, pô.

pher: phe’rî G “to turn, be converted into”. ma’sô ‘pherê (पौरेन्), phe’rî “she was converted into”, phe’rô (पौरो) . Ind., cf. Lhd. phirâya, phera “to turn, go round”.

phârâl: pharâlî M, G, T “to sell”. mû zu gsp pharâlî M “I sold a horse”.


phê’rêw G “to turn (trans.), convert, transform”. phê’rêwem-e. ma mâneb òst espô phê’rêxtan “she used to transform men into dogs (mégasťān); phê’rêco bôn “had transformed”. Lhd. phirâwêya, v. pher-


phîś G “to strew, scatter, sow”. bîz phîshem “tuxem bupâsûm”; rha’yám-îman zô phîstán “we sow barley in the spring”.

< *phûsaya, Psrs. pûsûdan,

Psht. pûz “sprinkling”.

phyô (फृष्टो) M, G, T, phyû D “wet”.

zôx-e phûy G “greenwood (éû-bin tar)”.

< *pitaka-, cf. Skr. pita- “soaked, saturated with”.

phyôbûj G “water-melon (tarbuz)”. Transl.

from Prs. tarbuz, analyzed as “wet goat” (!). With Prs. tarbuz(a) and turb(usa) “radish” cf. Skr. trapusa “coloquint.”

phyûri G phyûri T “from this side (as í sun)”. V. phyûri. Cf. Bal. phyûa “here”, pûdha “there” Gr. 150.

pài’jôl G “footprint”. Prs.?

pál: pâ’lî G “to walk about (pàstân)”. pâ’nûn tar-e hā’rī navûn-peekki’kâ pà’lî. Ind., cf. Skr. pâlâtì “to go” (Dhâtup.)?

pêl G “vein”.

pâlân G, T “pack-saddle”. Prs. pâlân < *paradâna? Cf. Shgh. bûdân “saddle” etc. < Av. paitidâna-

pâlân G, T “before, in front of”. pâlân tar-e G “in front of him (pësvä-iś)”;

pâlân tar-an G “be pësva (dućar)iśôn”; mûkhan tar-

pàlàn T, pài’làn e kašê ’ghit T “he seized the girl before him”. Ind., cf. e.g. Panj. pâhîla “beginning”.

pàlêng M, G, T “panther”. Prs. V. pàrû.

pâlás G, D “rug (knitted)”. Prs. palâs, but Pash. L pâlas, Khow. pelêsk, Shgh. pelês.

pâltan G, T “regiment, army”. hôt ha’zär ’pâltan T “7,000 soldiers”. Ind.


palûv G, T, pû’lau T “pillow”. Prs.

palêw- G “to roll together”. mun’dhêk palêm; palêm-em-e “bupècànêm”. V. pal.

pâl’wôn G, T “hero, warrior”. pàdô’âna ma ’dút ê zu pâlœvônt kûn dà T “the king gave his daughter to a warrior”. Prs.
Panjāl M, Panjān G (pl. of Panja) "claw, talon". P.ś.
Ponjuñi T "fifth". Infl. from P.ś., or incorrect for Ponejuñi (q.v.).
Penjir G, T (پنژیر) "Punjabis".
Penjiri, Penjiri G, T "an inhabitant of P.".
Panān M, G, T "road". < Av. acc. sg. pantānam, n. pl. pantāno, Shgh. pūnd etc.
Panīr M, G "cheese". P.ś. V. kmex.
Paśa M "15". P.ś.
Panībāf G "with five braids". Já'n-e panībāf. P.ś. + P.ś.
Panī "youstak D "100". Cf. pūnī, youst. V. sō.
Penḍar P, pinḍar D "gums". Ind., cf. Skr. pinḍa- "ball, lump" etc.? V. yūč-i danāni'ka, veirā.
Panā G "standing". < Patipāda-. V. a'pā.
Pa'pō M, G "lung" (G "jigar"), Pa'pó D. Ind., P.ś. Pa'pū, cf. EVP. s.v. pāpūs.
 par- M, G, T, D "to go, become". Pa'ram G "I go", Pa'raman G "let us go";
Pa'ram-e Zāi dūwem M "burrīm ētī mēlal'am". P restraint. par- "to go, become"; Kal. prári "go", Waz. Psht.
(lw.) Parādol "to run".
Psi R G, T "fairy". P.ś.
Pa'ri G "watch, guard". P.ś.
Pīr T "saint". P.ś.
Pīra'zāl T "old woman". P.ś.
Pu'rāči M, G "the Parachi language".
V. Introduction.
Pa'rič G "to shake a sieve". < Patricea-"cf. Shgh. parviz- etc. Cf.
EVP. s.v. pēzal. V. pa'ričūn.
Vocabulary

par'câl T “top of a wall”.
par'cîn G, par'cûn D “a sieve”. *pari
veîcana-, V. par'cî-

païra'dâr G, T “watchman, guardian”.
Prs.

Parâf'yân G “n. of a village near Panj-
shir”. Survey Map: Farajghân.
Parâf'yânî G “a man from P.”
pirâ’kî T “an old woman”. Prs.
pôrk G, D “excrements of sheep or
goats”. < *prsh(a)ku-, Prs. pušk (cf.
Pash. L puš “dung”. Gr. 65. V.
gû-i yarîl'ka.
parkâla G “armour (wasla)”, T “part,
piece”. sôr-e di parkâla chî “his
head was split into two pieces (sar-iš
dü ferîx čud)”. Prs. parkâla 1) “pars,
frustum”, 3) “genus panni s. vestis et
bysson vel bombyczer cassirios similis
panni generis” (Vull.).
pâr'dân, pâr'vônd P “panther”. Related
to Prs. palâng, Psht. prîng (Waz.
prîng), Khw. purdûm et al. V. palâng.
parr G “feather”, D “wing”. Prs. V.
pôn.
pur'sân v. pur'sân.
pêrîcân, pêrâi'cân G “angry, distressed
(yussemân, xusfa, jîgarxûn)”. Prs.
aparîcân.
pârâ'jâf, pârâ'jâf G “the sunny side of
a hill (paitau)”. Afg. Prs. pêtâu,
pîtâu. Cf. Psht. (Waz.) paitowai
(EVP. s.v. tôd).
pârâwâ G “care, consideration”. Prs.
Parâwân G “n. of a place in Kohistan,
Parwân, Jebel-us-Seraj”.

parâwâna G “moth”. Prs.
pâr'iz T “abstinent”. Prs. zû xûrû târ
pariz hem “I abstain from eating
anything”.
(par-) pa'ry T “to regard”. pa'ry “sail
kat”; pa'ryîr “you are regarding
(deârî astîn)”. Cf.
pârî G, T “regarding”. ka'mâl-e ma'nân
pârî kan T “behold my perfection”;
pârî ka T “deârî kun”. Pash. S
pârî katôyem “I am looking at”.
pâr'dâ G “veil, curtain”. Prs.
pur'sân G, pur'sân M “question”. Prs.
pârâsûr G, pa'rarûr M “last year”.

Cf. Wkh. pârd < *parut and sar
“year”? But note r < -rut- (cf.
zîtû), M r. Cf. âsûr “this year”.
paisa T “pice”. bay-e paisâîka “a
pennyworth”. Ind.
passa'bâ M “the day after tomorrow”.
Prs. V. ši'ruč.
pîsûr D “front”. < *pati-sarâh?
pa'stô D “down”, pastô uzgiem. *pastaka-
cf. Prs. past V. waça'ñe.
pûst M, G “skin”. pûst-e tika G,
pûst-e bhînî'ke D “bark”. But also
D pûst-i tecî'ke “eyelid”, gû'îki pûst
“cow-hide”. pûst Prs.; pûst genuine?
pûsta'ki “sheepskin coat, posteen.” Prs.?
pûs'xand G, T “smiling”. pûs'xand-e
ka'nem G “I smile” ; ba 'Haidar;
pûs'xand ko$ T “he smiled at H.”
Prs. *pûz-xanda “laughing with the
lips”.

pa'sâ M, D “mosquito”, D “fly”. gû'ika
pa'sâ G “horse-fly”, ghây pa'sâ G
“large fly, cleg”. Prs. paša, Sivend
pašê, Talahedeš pasâ < *pasâka-
cf. Skr. pakhîn- “a bird or any
winged animal”.

pašô M, pašô G, T (pl. pašâ'wân), pašô
D “axe”. Cf. Skr. par(a)su- “axe”,
Ashk. pôs etc. V. tašô, ta'warça,
wen'gâ.
pêš M, G, T “behind, after, for the sake
of (paš-i, baray-i)”. mhak pêš guy-e
bāvika-i T "behind his father’s ear’;
peś’sor-e Ali’kā T “(hunting) for the head of A’;
peś tā tar M “behind you’;
peś taxt tar T “behind the purdah’.
Cf. Av. pasca. Prs. pas, Kohrud and other dials. peś(cf.Tedesco, MO. 1921, 209 ff.). V. a’peśt, pača’gi peś’chan, peśt.

peś M, G “before (peś)’.
peś-i (پیش) bōr-a’u “I came to your door’;
peśanim(? ) ē pu’dā ēhī “peś-i mā yak pa‘dā šud’.

puś M, G, T, D, P “son’.
hē mānūs čeq pūś dēra “this man has four sons D’.

puś T “covering, cap(? )’.
tafangika pūś sōr tar-e.

peś’chan (پیش) G, T “after, behind (pasta)’.
May’īlī tar-e dā, Zai’vīn peścha’n-e T “M. went in front and Z. behind’;
peścha’n-e nar’eq, jinē-t tartar-e “he went out after her, and his wife before him (da pas-iš, pastar-iš)’;
dā ruč peś’chan “some days afterwards’.

peśk G “list of names for the purpose of conscription’.

piśak M, G, D, P “cat’.

peśka’lā M “(the back of the) head’.

Cf. peś, kal V. sōr.

*pai-skamb-əm, skamb-əm(? )Phon. “names of parts of the body mentioned after lau’cān-um’.

piś’kaš T “a present’.

piś’kaus G “knife’.

Prs. V. kūčanōk.

piśman’dō G, piśman’du D “back of the neck’.

V. peś, man’qā.

peśāna T, D “shoulder’.

V. peś, šāna.

piś‘ānī M, T, piś’āni G “forehead’.

Prs. V. piś’ānī.

peś’pā M “heel’.

V. piś, pā. Cf. samb, khūrī.

piś’pāi G “a kick’.

piś’pāi-a-te dahem.

V. peś’pāi.

peś’pā’rīrūc M “three days ago’.

Prs. pasparirūc. V. čāsorūc.

peś’puṭ G, T peś’puṭ D “the back’.

peś’puṭ-on thārem G “I look behind my back’.

V. peś, puṭ.

peś’ta, peśṭl M, G, T “afterwards, behind’.

peśte xuś’waydi-an kōr M “afterwards they made merry’;
peśti čhā M “walk behind me’;
har če č kōr peśte (پیشته) xu ’elā na da bālā G “whatever she did, the boy did not let her go afterwards’;

e’dī peśṭli G “after this (az i pas)’;
peśṭli Māmād Ha’nīfā Sāheb’ika Phon. “after M.H.S.”

Cf. Sānni peśᵗi “behind’.

V. a’peśt, peś, peś-thera.

piś’t G, T “mulberry-flour’.

piś’t-ka-bāt G “blue mulberry-flour’.

ma’iz o piś’t T.

Cf. Prs. piś’t, Shgb. piś’t, Ishk. put etc.; Skr. piśta-

puśt G, T “before, in front of (? )”.

puśte pā’nān-e bāvika cha’rī G “he fell at his father’s feet”;
cha’rīm ma puśte pā-e G; but puśte sōrī ēn’lażma bārīk-e nōf T “he drew out a thin strap from (behind) his neck (? )”.

< In the last sentence puśt seems to mean “back” as in Prs.; but this meaning does not suit the first two examples.

puś’ta G “the back’.

puś’ta’i uś’qīl “descended from the back (of the horse)”.

Prs. puś’t “back’, puś’ta “shoulder-blades”.

a
pušta G "a plain". Prs.  
pušt "skin", v. pušt.  
pěš' thérā G "afterwards", ba'di 'na xa'rēm,  
pěš' thérā-č xa'rēm "I will not eat it  
now, I shall eat it later". Cf. Pashā  
L peš'tara "afterwards" (burr. from  
Par.?). V. 'pešte.  
peš'tina T "the hindmost (pašina)". V.  
'pešte.  
pātī G "down of a bird". Pl. pāt'tan  
Ind., cf. Skr. patra?  
pe'te Nijran (acc. to G) "paternal uncle".  
Cf. Shgh. pe'tiš "cousin". Connexion  
of some kind with Av. pta- "father"  
is poss. V. a'mū.  
peř T "hidden, concealed". Ind., cf.  
Psht. puř V. tečpeja'kā.  
puř M, G, T "the back".  
šāx puř ka'ñem,  
gu'rim, šim G "hēzum pušt kunum,  
bīgirum, bīa'um"; pěš pøt T "behind  
the back". Ind., cf. Lhd. puțh etc.  
Gr. 65.  
pia'wā G "soup". V. sur'wā.  
Pax'mán G "Paghman, near Kabul".  
pušta G, T "prepared, completely".  
'gap-aw-um 'pušta ku'rō G; de'hi  
dha'ram tar 'pušta T "he struck him  
hard against the ground" Prs.  
pi'yāla, pi'dīla M, G "cup". Prs.  
p'í(y)āz D "onion". Prs. V. tēkāi.  
pai'zār D "shoe". Prs. V. kausa'rgā.  
pēz'mān T "regret". Prs.  

R.  
rā T "way". In sör tar-an te yunan  
rā "they will find their way to us".  
Prs.  
rau T "quickly". Prs.  
rū D, P "iron". Cf. Orm. rū, but Prs.  
rūt etc. "copper". V. 'āhen.  
rū G, T "face". In rū ba rū "face to  
face". Prs.  
rūlā M, T "fox". Prs. V. rūya'gāv.  
rūlāb G "guitar". Prs.  
rūe G, D "flea". One should expect  
țačē, Wāg. prūt etc. Ashk. puč,  
Pash. K, D ḍlūč. Cf. the Ir. forms,  
EVP. s.v. wēzā, and Minj. fērīga,  
Yazg. fērēš, Shgh. fērēyē (Zar.). V.  
kaik.  
ruč M, G, T, D, P "sun, day". ruč nar'gā  
G "the sun rose"; pūnē ruč M, G, ši  
rūc D; weyār o ruč G; oč ručā G  
"some days", hōwi ručē G "from  
that day". < Anc. Prs. raucah "day";  
Zaza, Bal. roč "sun", Prs. rōs "day"  
etc.  
ruč'ān M "morning, daylight". Cf. ruč.  
'rūčōn M, G, 'ručōn D "smoke-hole". <  
Av. raucana-, Prs. rōzan.  
rū'ḍā M, G, D "entails". 'wātōn ēc  
rūḍān-a ne'rem G "do you want me  
to tear out your guts?". Prs.  
radd G, T "repūlsion, parrying, refutation".  
šam'sēr-e 'rat kor G "he parri-  
ried the sword"; radd-e ku'r T "he  
parried"; di sūr 'radd o ba'dal kan  
G "speak two words in refutation  
and in exchange (: discussion) (mābain-  
iš guftagū kun)". Prs. Cf.  
radd o badd T Prob. = Prs. radd baddl  
"argument, discussion".  
rūf G, T "pursuing"; rūf kanem G;  
ma mō čürān rūf kor T "the thieves  
pursued me". Prs. rūftan etc. "to  
sweep"?  
raftāq M, raftāq M, G, T "comrade".  
Prs. V. aŋdi'wāl.
rag T “vein, artery”. 'rag-e dharami’ka
hās-e khor “he contracted the veins
of the earth: made the earth shrink”.

rig M, G “sand”. Prs. V. se’ya.
rūya’sak G, D, P “fox”. < *raupasa-kam
(reg. γ v. Gr. 48), cf. Bal. rohpaak,
Minj. riśā (Gauth.), Soghd. rups(yh)
etc.; but Prs. rōbāh, Phl. rōpās, Oss.
robās etc.

rahō G, ra’hō D, ra’hō P “husked rice”.
Ind., with a < unstressed i (Gr. 30).
< * (u)rih. V. be’renj.

rā’hi, rā’i G, T, rā’hi M “departing”.
rā’hi kanem M “I send away” ; rā’hi
čhi G “he departed”.

ruh : rhint (زینت, زیانت) M, G, T, D
“to weep”, ruhem-e G, rō’hem D; na ru
G “do not weep”; rōita-m, 'ān-em
rōitūn, rō’hetū hēm D “I am weeping”;
riṃtin-un G; a’ze-an am rhint M “we
weep yesterday, too”.

rha’vām M G (رهاوام) "spring"
(season). Hātun rhabām paidā čhi M
"the kid was born in spring”.
< *fraga’ma. V. EVP. s.v. waryumai “a
male kid” (cf. also Minj. forāyomay).

Cf. Av. aiwi-gāma “winter”.

rahm G “compassion”. Prs.

rhamni G “compassion”. Prs.

rhnē M, G, D, P “daylight, light, fire”.
rhnē čhi M “it became light”; rhnē-m
lagēṭū M “I am lighting the fire”.
< Av. raoxānē, Orm. rīn “fire”.

Zeb. rōṣnē etc.

rhānt v. rēm.

rhinēkōr G “torch”. V. rhinē, kōr.
rhīnt v. ruh.
rhīntō T “weeping”. Jīnē-ē da’rhūntō
čhi. V. rūk.

ra’his G, T “chief”. ‘malek o xūn o
ra’his. Prs. ra’iś.

huś M “half rupee (krān)”. Prs. (?) <
Turk. g(u)ruś (گروش) “piaster,
groschen”.

rhāz : rhāzi G, T; rhāz- M “to fly”;
badē kargas rhasa M “the vulture
will fly now”; rhāstōn-a G, ā wa’khe
rhāzēām G “I flew up”. < Av. frā-
vaz, Shgh. revāz- etc.

rhā’i T “blown away, broken (parrida,
maid)”. dāx-e ‘rā’st-e shērīka-m
rīntōt-a “the lion’s right horn is
fallen off, too”. V. rhāz, cf. Afgh.

Prs. az ‘iyina ‘tā ba ‘umb-īa ‘gōst-īa
parrida būt “the flesh had fallen
off from the knee down to the hoof”.

rēz : rēzi (زیز) M, G, T “to lie
down, to go to sleep” (cf. Pasht. cam-
lāstal). ‘rizman, ‘rizem, ‘ristān
G; rīzti G, T; rīzī hastam G “I
was lying in bed, sleeping”. < *frā-
vyaya, Av. raz- “to stretch”.

re’kāb G “stirrup”. Prs.

ram: ra’am G “to go round, walk”.
ramēm M, ramēm-ē G “mēgādam”,
ra’mi M “gaš”. Cf. Prs. ramidān
“to be terrified, to fly in terror”.
Talhadeshk ram- “to run”; Sak.
naram- “to go out”, (t)ram- “to go”.

rēm : rēnt G, T “to turn” (trans).
rēmēm “mēgāstanem”; rēnt “gaš-
ānt”. < *rāmaya- (but why rē-?). Cf.
ram-

rim G “matter, pus”. Prs. If the form
rhim, which I have also noted, is
correct, the word must be genuine,
and may, together with Prs. rim, be
derived < *raifman-. (V. Horn Neup. Et. 639).

rū'āmāl M, rū'āmāl T (Phon.) "handkerchief, towel". Prs.

'ramma M, G "herd of cows etc." 'ramma

būjika, guıkka, šturika, yavvika M. Prs.

ra'mūz G "mystery". ra'mūz-e esqī'kā. Prs.

rān D "thigh". Prs. or genuine. Av. rāna-. (Psh. urūn, EVP. s.v. rūn poss. contains a prefix, cf. Wkh. brīn "knee" < *upa-rāna-)?

rūng C, T rūq D "colour". Cf. Prs. rāng.

ra'jā G "distressed, troubled". Prs.

ra'janja.

rūpa'i M, G, T "rupee". Ind.

rūpās T "velled". Prs.

re'āala, pl. resā'ālān T "cavalry". Prs.

rāsī M, G, T "right, true, prepared".

dōst-i rāst-un M "my right hand";

wa'żīre rāstīka-m T "the vizier of

my right hand"; rāst jār G "speak

the truth"; sūr rāst-a G "the word

is true"; jā-e ma'ānī rāst kanē G

"prepare a place for me". Prs.

rāst V. rēz.

rāstī T "truth, truthfully". jār tu

rāstī. Prs.

rus T "high, elevated". rust kan-

"to lift". rust u wa'žhan G "high

and low"; rust-e kor dharamī T

"lifted him up from the ground";

šamšēr-sa rust kor G "they raised

their swords". Cf. Prs. rūstan "to

grow", Av. raod.

ruswā G ruswā T "disgraced". Prs.

ruswā'i, ruswā'i T "disgrace". Prs.

rēz V. čērēz.

rišū G, rišā D "root". Prs. V. kōrdī.

rušān G "bright", fā'nūs-e rušān. Prs.

rusa'ni G "daylight", T "illuminated".

marasāt rusā'ni-a "čirāyān ast".

Prs.

rišān M "thread, cord". mende rišān

gērē-am kor. Prs. V. tār.

rūt G "valley". Prs. rūd.

rau, rau G, T "quickly". raw čhī dāl

Haidar T "he went quickly to H.".

Prs. raw "go thou".

ra'wā G "lawful, right". čhā-a na ra'wā

nā. Prs.

rēw T "fraud, trick". rēw kan- "to

dodge". Prs.

ra'wān M "starting, leaving". Prs.

rux ba G "facing, towards". rux ba

yus-č "towards her house". Prs.

rux'sāla G "cheek". Prs. ruxzār.

ruxsat M, G, T "leave". waxt-e ruxsat;

ruxsat ght; čirāy ruxsat kan; ār

ruxsat (= gul) kanīman M "let us

extinguish the fire" (cf. Andreev p. 61

ruxsat kardan = ġil kardan. This

expression is probably a trace of the

ancient veneration of the fire). Prs.

ruxsatī G "leave". ruxsatī na dērem.

Prs.

rūy: rūt G "to sweep", rūyem, rūtom

Cf. Prs. ruftan, rōbam.

rāz T "secret". Prs.

re'zā G, T "consent, agreement". ke

Xuđđā be re'zā. Prs.

rēz: rāst M, G "to make, build, prepare".

yus rēzem M "I build a house (=

andāzem, yuḥem)"; jāy-a te rēzem G

"bara-i já-i tū mēsāzum"; yus-um

rāst M. But I also heard rēzēm

G, T "mēsāzam"; kīr-e te nē vēyār

rēzem T "kārīša imēs mēsāzam";

rēzār "besāzi". rēz < *rēzaya; if

rēz- is the correct form it must be
derived from *fra-rāzaya*; cf. Av. 
raz., rāst must be a secondary form 
instead of *rāst*. V. al.

riza 'riza G, T "in small pieces (maida 
maida, rēza rēza, jau jau)". ēspē 
riza riza 'ēk̪i T (Phon.). Prs.

rūz G, T "day of the week; day of ill- 
luck". rūz-e awwāl G "the first day";

rūz-e ḍārāmābā T "Wednesday";
ma mān ū rūzī gudařō sōrt-m T 
"a day of ill luck has fallen upon 
me". Prs. V. rūč.

rūzī G "daily bread; every day". rūzī 
šī ruqā'ī dhaitō-i M. Prs.

ruqwa v. ruqwa.

S

sa'ī G "exactly, completely". sa'ī ēc 
ha'ūi ēs̄pā Sultān Maha'mud bīn 
"so that this dog was exactly like 
S. M." Prs. sahih.

si "is, is present, exists" (inanimate), 
preter. sā bān, pl. sē bēn G. T. Gr. 
šī; not genuine Jr. < Av. saete 
(represented in modern Jr. only by 
Wkh. nasīn, 3 sg. pres. nīsī "to lie 
down").

sā G (صو) "100". < Av. satm.

ṣā (صو) M, G, T "on". V. sōr.

su M, G, T, sō D "daughter-in-law". 
sūw-a T "your daughter-in-law". Cf. 
EVP. s.v. ṣāfīr, NSghh. s.v. zenāž; but 
Par. s. scarcely < su- (cf. su-nū-). 
Gr. 68. V. su-nū.

sa'bā M, G, T, sa'bā D "tomorrow".

sa'bā ū ēspē ētāi phārātiman M 
"we shall buy another horse to 
morrow"; sa'bāna, šīruč żé D "do not 
come tomorrow, but the day after". 

Prs.

sēb M, G, T, sēw T "apple", G also 
"female breast". Prs. V. āmar.

subā'mī M, subhōda'mī G "dawn, day- 
break". Prs. V. sār.

'seje (Hjuler sejje). Prob. borrh., but 
apparently not from Prs. Derived from 
Prs. suft, Shgh. sēd etc. "shoulder"? 
V. ṭūngōk.

sa'bāk G "lesson", sa'bāx gu'ri; ēst . . . 

sa'bāk niśā dhaittōn. Prs.

subuk M, G "light, easy". Prs.

sa'bāl P "centipede". Cf. Pash. śōbla, 
Bal., sōnāna, Wāg. sānōra, Pash. L 
sarwā? V. celpāt.

sa'bap (سبيب) M, G, T "reason".

ēt'saabap-ā-ā T (Phon.) "what is your 
reason?" Prs.

sabr G, T "patience". sabr-e ma'na ba 
Xw'dārē G; tu sab kā G "be patient". 

Prs.

sābz G "green". V.

sabza v. sauzza.

śčīn M, so'čin G, so'čin D "needle". 
< *sūcidā*, cf. Prs. sūzan, Bal. 
śūcin, śčēn etc. With assimilation 
of the initial sibilant Minj. śčna, 
Kurd. śčēn, N. Bal. śčēn, and (with 
dissimilation of ḏ-ḏ > ḏ-ḏ) Ishk. 
śčtun. Through a mistake Skr. śči- 
is compared NSghh. s.v. sjē. Skr. sūci- 
and śči- are prob. two separate 
words.

sād, sat T "100". šī ha'zār ū šū sa'sādā 
"3300", šī sat "300", dī sat "200". 

Prs.

sa'dā M, G, T "voice". Prs.

sād G "game (mury-i kohi)". Prs.
Vocabulary

sāda T “simple, foolish (laūda)”. án o tō ba har ker-an sāda-eman. Prs. sāda’i G “poor, weak (yarib, aṭjāq)”. Prs. saūdāgar, saūdāgar T “merchant”. Prs. saūdāgarī T “trading”. Prs.
se’rā D, P “sand”. Cf. EVP. s.v. sega, Minj. sega. sēgva (Zar.). Prob. borr. from Ind., cf. E. Pash. sēd < sikatā, but W. Pash. sēl, siyēl < Skr. sikatila-
V. rig.
șey, sēx M, G, D, T “shade”. ine’hak sēy-a, okestak rūč-a M “there is shade here ; but there is sun there”. < *sāyakā, Phl. sāyak, Prs. sēya etc., or < *sāyakā, cf. Orm. syākā.
sav-āt G “a present”. Prs.
sāhok D, P “hare”. < *sah-ha-. Cf. EVP. s.v. șeč, and Sak. saku, Wk. sūi, Ishk. sū, Yd. šīy, Orm. sīkak.
suḥān G “fill”. Prs.
su’har G, sa’har T, sār T, P “morning”.
tā ba sa’har T, sārī ēc ēcī T. Prs. seher G “magic”. Prs.
salā G “advice”. ēc ma’ē śalā kor
“she gave him advice with some kissen”. Prs. salari “advice”.
sail M, G, T “regarding, walking about, excursion”. puš-e xu’kān-ē sail kōr T “he looked at his own son”;
sāl-ē dhār; ēc sail u sāmān Na T; “sāl-ē bāzār chē bīman M “we had
gone for a walk in the bazar”. Prs.
sair, Psh. also sail.
sāl M, G, T “year”. yarpi-ā sāl ba sāl dhartān G “the snow stays from year to year”; sāl ē ēst . . . kantō T “every year...he did (har sāl)”. Prs. V. sēr.
sēl M “flood, inundation”. sēl nār-gū P. V. sēlāw.
sul, su’llō T “peace”. Prs. suḥī.
sel’a-ba T “sword”? sel’a-bān-an luc kōr T; sel’āwa maṇḍō tar-ē ruṣ T. “Prs. sīlāh “arms”?
salāmat G “in health, safe”. Prs.
sulān M, sūlān D “stair, ladder”. Prs.
sullam V. zinā, sūr.
salāt T “prayer”. Prs.
sullān M, T “sultan”. Prs.
sim G “silver, wire”. sim u zār “silver and gold”; sim tar-an dehi “they telephoned”. Prs.
sumb M, G, ûspēkī sum D “hoof”. Prs.
sāmān T “goods, treasures”. Prs.
sōmūr M, G, sāmōr D, P “autumn”, “the dark season”, Skr. sāmā-
“black” + ḥū, Av. sāmā-?
sāmūrī M “born in the preceding spring”, ya’zō sāmūrī čī. V. sāmūr.
sīnā G, sīnā M “breast”. Prs.
su'ni: su'nā M, G, D "to wash", lōn-um su'ni, jān-um te su'ni M, G, lōn-e su'ni M "I bathe"; dōstān-am sunitin M, "I am washing my hands"; sunītū hēm D; dōstān am su'nāwū M; su'nām G; su'nāem D "I washed". < Av. snaya: snāta; Shgh. zēnē: zēnād.

su'nū P "daughter-in-law". Prs. V. su.
san'dīq M "box, chest", hauē kūcaūkīman sō sandīq echēnitan "we are putting this knife on the top of the chest".
sanda'ru G "inflated skin (mask)". Sen'jet Dar'ra, Senjedar'ra G, T "n. of a place near Istatīf" (سنجد تر). Prs. sinjīd "jujube".

Santoxmūmd T "n. of a mountain near Shutul".
sū'påi G "soldier". Prs.
se'par G "shield". Prs.
su'pār- G "to entrust". Prs.
su'pāriš "entrusting, recommendation". Prs.
sar M, T "head". In special expressions:
sar ba sar kan T "to pile up", huddi sar qand T "hardiš sar qand", both of them like sugar (?)". Prs. V. sör.
sarāi "palace". Prs.
sār "morning", v. sa'har.
sār G "wounded", sār čēm. Prob. Prs. sār "pain", not < Av. sāri, "fracture" etc.
sīr M, G "satisfied". sīr mīh tāra-om thārēm na nāri G "rū-i tūrā sīr dida na tānīm". Prs.
sīr G "garlic". Prs. V. bīn.
sīr T "a seer", yūsīt sīr bīzēka "20 seers of grain". Ind.
sūr M, G, T, sūr D "head". sūr nōt T "raised the head (in rebellion)"; sūr na dēran T "they have no chief". < Av. sarah.
sūr M, G, T "on, at the top of". sūr hauē ādamī "az sar-i ādam". Gr. 220, V. sūr.
surī G "music (darsāz)". Ind.
surī T "feast" (jāšt, bāšt, xušwaxtī, hai o hū), Prs. surī.
surbādal T "exchange". Prs.
surfa M "cough", surf-eman kantan. Prs. V. khūf.
surfēvāz G "prond, satisfied (xušāl, biland)". Prs.
sargar'dān G "distressed". Prs.
su'rāy "inquiry, investigation". Prs.
surk G "red-hot", surk(a) P "red", yār surk-hā G. Cf.
surkhū M, G (سرکهو), surku D "red". < Av. suxāra-. Gr. 59.
sarkā'ri G "government service". Prs.
suruma G, T "collyrium". Prs.
Sū'rāp G "n. pr., Suhrāb".
serr G "mystery". Prs.
sarištā G "preparation, planning". sarištā-e sūnā'i ka "preparations for the winter". Prs. sarištā "intention, purpose".
sūrat G, T "form, beauty". Prs.
sārvar T "camel-driver". Prs.
Sārvar G "n. of a saint".
sarwaxtī G "in time (sarwaxtī, sar-i waxtī)". ān tōn sarwaxtī kun zhām "I may come in time [to save] you". Prs.
sūr M, G, T, sūr D, P "year". hē sa'ı
sā' say kun G "from one year to another". < Av. sanvad-, Pvs. sāl. V. śāraya, parāsury, āsury.

sat v. sad.

sāt G "hour, while". ḥu sāt "at once" (yak sāt). < Pvs.

sīt G, sītu D "sour". < *suxt-, Sedé, Kurön etc. suté "vinegar" (Zhu-kowski), Skr. sukta- "acid", Khow. sūt. V. turē.

sāt'ka T "sacrifice, propiatory offering". sāt'ka pa'ram "may I be your sacrifice (tasadakat, sarbadal-at šawom; tū zinda bāši, mā būmumaram)". Pvs. sadqah.

sīt'ām G "strength". Pvs.

śutra G "beautiful". Ind., cf. Lhd. sūtrā.

śaattēr G "enjoyment, passtime". Afgh.

śātāra M, G, sītāra D "star". Pvs. V. eštēč.

śāf G "village". Pash. L śāf(ḥ) < śārtha- V. deʿat.

śēv, v. sēb.

śūwār M, suwār G, T "riding, horseman". sōr ʿāsp suwār ʿnḥōst; ʿāsp . . . . suwār-e ʿnḥōst; sōr ʿāsp e suwār-e ʿchī; sōr ʿāsp-an suwār kur-an T; di sāt suwār reśāla "200 horsemen". Pvs.

śuwaʿrī G "riding". Pvs.

sēx v. sēy.

saxt M, G, T "hard". xuʾnuk-i saxt-a M "it is bitterly cold"; ašuʿqi saxt-a T "love is hard". Pvs.

saxtī G "hardness". gap-e saxtī "a difficult affair". Pvs.

saux M, sābza G, sāuzu D, sausa (ṛ) P "green, blue". Pvs. V. sābzā.

sāuzu M, G, D, sābza G "grass". Pvs.

sīz M, G, T "breast (especially female)". puš-a sīz da D "give your son breast"; 'paramān 'sīz ba 'sīz-aw G "let us walk heart to heart".

śā T "bridegroom". Pvs.

Śā-e Mar'dān T "n. of Ali".

Śā-e Zartāka'mar T "n. of a warrior".


śī ṣuṭak D, śī ɾuṣṭak P "60". Cf. śī, ṣuṭ. V. ṣaṭ.

śī G, D "horn, branch". < Av. srū-; cf. EVP. s.v. śona-rai. V. śāx.

śu v. śī.

śū M, G, D "clay". The similarity with Pash. L etc. śuʿla is prob. accidental.

śābāš G, T, śābāš T "bravo". Pvs.

śoṭti v. ʿūṣṭ.


śādgārī G "joy". Pvs.

śadrax P "peach". V. šaf-ṭalū. šatrāy = Pvs. šaftrāng "red peach".

śidōs M, G, šedōs T, śidōs D "13". V. šī, dōs.

śādzam-būr M, G "honey-bee". Pvs. V. šātībham-būr.

šaf-ṭalū G, T, šaf-ṭalū D "peach". tán anqī-voṭal 'mum kun žū ḫphor šaf-ṭalū 'dā, mun xūr G "your comrade gave me a peach, and I ate it". Pvs. V. šadrax.

śahed, śahet G "witness". Prs. śāher T, śāhr G "poet". Prs. śāheʿri T "poetry". Prs. šakikata M "the temples". Said to be Prs. ("ṣaq-i kata "the fissure of?"). V. čǎūkšt.

šekār M, G, T "shooting, hunting, game". šekār-wān-e ma ʿyus bōr T "he brought the game home". Prs. šākūr G, T "thanks (to God)". Prs. šekār-jāi G, T "shooting-ground". Prs.

šaukuʿrak v. šaupaʿrak.

šiʿkast G, T "defeat". šiʿkast wūr T "was defeated (šiʿkast wurd)". šiʿkast( dā G, T "defeated". Prs.

šāl M, G "shawl". Prs.

šāl G "unhusked rice (berenj-i pōstādār)". Early lw. from Ind., Skr. šāli-, Kati šāli, Waig. šeš-alāi.

šālānd M, G "lizard (šilen)". Cf. Psht. šālānd "frog", Afg. Prs. šālend, Prs. šālāna "tortoise". V. karʿwās.

šām M, G, T, šām D, P "evening". šām či D, Prs.

šoʿmī T "third". V. šī.

šaʿmālī G "the north". maḍum-e šaʿmālī. Prs.

šuʿmār G, T "calculation, number", "n-āya bēn šuʿmār tar T "they could not be counted". Prs.

šamīʿer G, T "sword". Prs. šamsēʿri G, T "a swordsman". Prs. šānā M, šāna G "shoulder". Prs. V. pēšāna.

šāʾnā M, šāna G, D "comb". Prs. Note ā in G.

šāen G "reason"? mun eʿdēk šān ēčiq jō "I shouted for this reason (az hamī xātīr)". Or, possibly, šāen = šā-ān. Cf. Prs. šai "thing, cause"?

šānī G "falcon". Prs.

šiʿnā-T "cradle (gawārā)". Ind., cf. Skr. šayana- "bed, couch" etc.; but not known from Pash.

šanūfart G "anger", čōr tō-an šanūfart-kōr. Prs. (Ar.) šanī "hating" and farīt "being rashly and injuriously reproachful"?

šiʿnīm "ruštak D "70". šazda M "16". Prs.

šuŋq M, šuŋq G, T, šuŋq D "mouth", P "lip". Ind. (but Pash., āṯī etc.), cf. Tirahi šuŋq "lip" etc., v. EVP. s.v. šuŋq.

šenjī P "hail". Cf. Bal. trōṅgal, Zaza trōḡ, Prs. saganja (trākanča-, or dem. of sagan, cf. saʿyān); Kati teqlik? These forms may be related; but the phonetic correspondences are irregular, and trōṅgal, trōḡ may be connected with Prs. tagary.

šāp G "curse (duā-i bad)". Pash. L šāp.

šup kan-T "to drink".

šiʿpāq G "tripod". šiʿ-Prs. pāq.

šaupaʿrak G, šoʿpaʿrak M, šaukuʿrak D "bat". Prs. šabparak. V. muṣh-i parʿrān.

šāpereʿrik D "butterfly". Prs.

šār M, G, šār T, G "town". či za šār tar dōr, ma mun jar M "tell me what you have seen in town"; ma ma tō furān či za šār tar-an dōrān "we are telling you about one thing we saw in town". Prs. (šār has prob
been borrh. quite recently, while šór is an older lw.).
šór G, T, D “lion, tiger”. Prs.
šôr, šür v. šûr.
šûrâb T “wine”. Prs.
šûrûc G, D “the day after tomorrow”.
sâbâ na, šûrûc šê D “do not come tomorrow, but the day after”. Cf.
šê, ruč, V. pas’sa’bâ,
šûru’cîna G “the third day of the week,
Monday (dô samba)”. V. xuru’cîna.
šârîk M “partner”. Prs.
šarm G “shame”. Prs.
šârmenda M, šârmûnda T (Phon.)
“ashamed”. Prs.
šârmêw- G “to put to shame”.
šûrîn T “sweet”. šûrîn yârâî = ‘xirî
yârâî. Prs.
šûrînî M “gift, present, baksheesh”.
’ân ma tê šûrînî da’hem “mâ tura
šûrînî bedem”. Prs.
šêrpu G “n. of cantonement near
Kabul”.
šêrârâ T “Shahrara near Kabul”.
šûrâ v. šûrâš.
šûršur T “murmur, purr”. šûršur-e
’dawo. Prs. surrîdan “to flow, mur-
mur”. Onomat., cf. Lat. susurrus.
šûrwa D “soup”. Prs. V. pia’wâ.
šûr’xëšt G “resin (širîš)”. Prs. širxîst,
širxušk “a kind of manna”.
šor P “stair, ladder”. Pash. L šur,
Kashm. hér, Hi. sîrî. V. su’lân.
šûr M, šûr, šôr G, T “agitation, move-
ment, noise”. šôr-e xu’kân-e šûr-e
kôr M “he shaken his own head”;
šûr da’hem G “I move”; watan-on
šûr xu’r T “my country is agitated”;
šûr G (Phon.). Cf.
šûr : šûrî G, T “to be agitated, ex-
cited”. khar-šûrâ G “her anger
rises (qahr ‘bušûrâ)”; qahr-šûrî
qahr-šûrîdâs”; šûrâ G (Phon.). I
certainly heard as well r as ř in these
words.
šûr, šôr is borrh. from Prs. šôr “cry,
noise, contention, agitation”. But the ř in šûr, šûr- remains unexplained. Cf.
šûrîs M “cold”, G “snow-storm”. ma
bôr šûrîs-â = xu’nuk-a M “it is cold
outdoors”. But also xu’nuka watan
šûrës kôr M “the cold wind made
the country freeze” (?). Originally
“blowing, disturbing”. < Prs šôrîs
“confusion, tumult”?
dôrâ, Prs. šî, but Av. drisata-. Cf.
yûzî d oôs M.
šûsâra M “a kid, three years old”. Cf.
šî, sôr. Cf. Psht. (Wuz.) daršârâa
“sheep, three years old”. V. dusâra,
šûsâra.
šast M, G, šast xuşt D “thumb”. Prs.
šast G, T “60”. Prs. V. šî ‘yûstak.
sûsîâ M “urine”. Prs. V. nîz.
sûsîka G “mirror”?. Prs. V. âî’na.
šsâp’êr T, in phi-šsâp’êr “hoe” (v. pl).
Prs. šsâpar “a halberd”.
šut G, D “throwing”. šût-e ka’nem G
“I throw”; šût-um kôr, šût-em kantû
D. Prob. a past part. in *fťa, *xta-
V. anv’dâz.
šâtibham’bûr D “bee”. V. šâdzam’bûr,
bham’bûr.
Šûtül M “the valley of Shutul in Koh-
stant”. V. Ėt’ul.
Šûtûlî M, “an inhabitant of Sh.”. ’ân
Šûtûlî-em.
šaitân G “envious, malicious”. Prs.
(in this sense in Psht., too).
T

tā T “below”, tā-i G, T “under”. tā-e kor “he unloaded it (farāwūrū)”; tā-i žū lēf T “under one blanket”; tā-i yun kun a G “below thy house”. Prs. tāh.
tā G, tāi T “settled, quiet (qarāri)”. wa’tan tāi chi G “the country settled down”; palla’nān-an tāi kor T “they subdued the army”. Cf. tā?
tau M, G “fever”. tau kwār G “ku kadas, nājor šudas”; tawā lešim (f) M “I have fever”. Prs.
tā G, T “until”. tā ba T “until, so long as”. Used as a particle: “now, then (diğar)”: tān ēi kānem tā? T “what shall I do then? (ēi kumum-it diğar)”. Prs.
tāb G “condition, nature”. ān-em na pāntōn tā-b-a “I do not understand your condition”. Prs.
tāb-1 G “to heat”. Prs. (if genuine *tēw-).
tāb-2 T “strength, power”. tāb-e dōstī-kā-i T “the strength of his arfa”; tāb-e ha’weī Zaiyūnā chēn T “they came into the power of, became obedient to this Z.”; 6 ham tāb-e ma’nān-a T “he, too, is in my power (zēr-i mā-st)”; hēc khīn tāb-e ‘n-āwūr T nobody defeated him (hēc kāsī tāb-iṣ-a n-āwūr)”. Prs.
tāb-3 T “pain, affliction”. kūkān-e ahe’ni tāb-e ka’ānūr “torture (pierce) it with iron nails”. Prs.
Ta’bak-kul T “n. of a man”. Prs. Tawakkul.
tāλiyp (تیسی) G “doctor”. Prs.
tēch (تیچ) M, G T, tēc D, tēc (?) “eye; spring, fountain”. āwe ēi te’chi-m M “I wept”. Not connected with Bakht. etc. tivāl, prob. < *dēhā < *dēhī, Prs. dida (cf. Rep. p. 8). Connexion with Pprs. čašm etc. (through *čēch) is phonetically improbable (Oss. cāstā) not, with Hübsschmann. < *čašti-, but prob. < *čašn- < *čaš(m)na-. Cf.
tēçepēta’kāi G “blindfold (čīpsūtakāi)”. ma gū teçepēta’kāi dūčēton “he is milking the cow blindfold”; teçepēta’kā dūčēn na ‘narīton “he cannot milk blindfold”. Cf. tēch, peṭ.
Tudga’i T “n. of a place”.
taf G “steam”. taf nītō “taf mēbrāya”. Prs.
tuf G, D “saliva”. Prs. V. āwe-i ṣunqā-ka.
tufang(g)dār T “rifleman”. Prs. tufangjan’īgi T “fighting with rifles”. Pprs.
taq’bīr T “plan”. Pprs. taq’bīr. Differentiation bd > gb?
tāyat T “strength”. tāyat na dērem ēe
elestak dharem “I cannot stand to remain here”. Prs.


thōl G “burnt (sūxta)”. nāyōn’kā thōl’ān “burnt pieces of bread (sūxta-i nān)”; ṭōk-e nāyōn’kā thōl “a piece of burnt bread”. Cf. thi.

thāl (θάλ) G “respite, upshoot (?)”. ād ruč-i zāi ham thāl dā (read: ham mathāl) “she gave him a few days more respite (and rūz-i digar ham mātal kat)”. ? V. mātal.

θān (θάν) G “thirst, thirsty”, tāna M, tan D “thirsty”. than-em G. than < Av. tarśna- (Gr. 65). Is tan(a) a different word, cf. Pash. L ta’na “thirsty” (S tuśnū), and also Waz. Paht. tanda “thirst”?


ther- v. tēr.

thār M, G “full”. āwō thār-a M “it is full of water”; ‘thār-a (θάρας)’ G. Cf. ter-?


thōr v. ter.

thēw- G “to lit, burn” (trans.). thēwem-ē “I lit the fire”; thēwēth “sūx-tānd ast’”. V. thē.

tōj T “crest of a hen”. Prs.

tāk G “vine”. Prs.

‘taka G “kid, two years old”. Prs. taka “he-goat” (Pash. L ta’kū “he-goat, one year old”, šišak-ta’kū “he-goat, two years old”). Cf. tōj, taka’ēr. V. ‘dūsāra.

ta’kīa G “leaning on”. Prs.

tēka G “mouthful”. Prs.


’takkū D “bitter”. ‘tarku.

tāqiq T “truth”. In bo tāqiq “certainly”. Prs.


taikōl G “armpit”. Ct. ta; kōl borr. from an Ir. dial. with l < ?? Cf. Prs. kaś “armpit”, Wkh. kalbun. V. ba’yīl, banabayal.

tāl v. tār.

tāla G “hanging, spread out”. tāla ka’nen “I spread out”; lēf-a ruč tar tāla kūrd? “have you hung up the blanket in the sun?”


tel G “oll”. tēl-e pad-dā “tēl-e siyā”. Ind.

telē M, tīlā G, tilā D, P “gold”. Prs. V. zār.

tēlā G “golden”. Prs.

tāl G, tāl T “weight”. ka’nen tēl-e tān až zār G “I shall pay your weight in gold”; ba tāl ɛv xer’wār T “one ass’s load in weight”. Ind.
tul- G "to see, look at" (?). I never heard this word except in the rather doubtful explanation of the name of the Çite tul valley (v. Introduction, p. 7).

ta'lab T "searching", ma mu'llā-an ta'lab kor "they searched for the mulla". Prs.

ta'laf P "ceiling". V. kāō.

tal'wār T "sword". Prs.

tal'wasa T "quickly (bēqa'rār)". 'zur-a te tal'wasa pēś'mā ka'na "your heart will quickly repent". P. talwasa "com-motion, restlessness".

talx M "bitter". Prs. V. 'tarku,
talxā G "parched grain". Prs.
tam D "cloud". < Av. tmanah- "darkness", Kurd. tram "fog". V. a'ir.
tam'bān G "trowsers (čezār)". Prs. tum-bān.
ta'mām G "whole, finished". ta'mām-e kašt-e "all the girls". Prs.
ta'mīm G "?", ta'mīm 'pādā bin.
tu'mān M "a tomān". šu tu'mān čī. Prs.

ta'massum M, tavas'sum D "a smile". ta'massum-eman 'khatā M; tavas'sum khan'tīn D. Prs. tabassum, Pash. S ta'massum. V. pū'sxand.

'Tāmās T "n. of a king".

tan- M "to be thirsty". taneman. Cf. tan(a) "thirsty". V. thān.
tān M, G etc. "thy". Gr. 114.

tāna T "derision, mockery (xanda)", tāčī tāna dā "his mother derided him". Prs. tā'na.
tān G, tān D "body". < Av. tanu- cf. Prs. tan.

tuṇd G "swift". Prs.

tendura, tendu'rō G "sharp". tendu'rō-e ka'nem "I sharpen it"; tendura 'ten-
dura kūkān-e āhenī "very sharp iron nails". Corrupted from Prs. tanwurust "vigorou", or connected with Prs. tund "fierce, strong" (Panj. lw. tund "sharp")?

tunuk G "thin, fine", kāzē 'tunuka "his shirt is thin". Prs.

tan'vāxur G "drawing pay". Prs.

ta'qgi G, T. "deño, narrow street, strait-

tness, difficulty". Prs.

ta'pō M, G "warm, hot" xu'nōke ta'pō M "a hot wind". Pash. L ta'pē.
tāp T "gun". Prs.

ta'pēr-e G "to warm". dō'stān-um 'tu ku'rē, ta'pēre "my hands are cold, and I warm them". V. ta'pō.

tar postposition "in, to, from" etc. Gr. 100.

tar G, T "before, in front of". e'spō ta'ē dā G "the dog went in front of him"; kal tar-e dā, 'Qāsem bāw-e pēš'chan T "the bald-headed son went in front, his father Q. behind"; xu'xuē ta'ē dā 'ēya G "he himself came before her"; malekān-an ta'ē dā T "the mulika went first (pēš šud)". Av. tarō "away from, beyond". Gr. 220. V. ta'rī, 'tartar.
tarī G, T "before, near". ta'rī mun āst mā tur-e Pā'rā'ēc 'Māhmad 'Aza sa'bak niśā dāha'idān G "M. Gh. used to teach you the Parachi language before me (pēš az mā)"; ān čē bēm šū mai'dōn ta'rī T "I had approached a plain"; čē hō'vī jangal ta'rī T (Phon.). Cf. tar.


tār M, G, tār D "thread". ta'rān-e ru'bāb G "guitar strings". Prs.
tør- (ther-?): thør M, G, T “to drink”.
tu-yē áwv 'tértán M “you are drinking water”;
'tá-im na'gôn 'xartān, 'wā-cér 'áwv 'tértán M “we are eating bread, and you are drinking water”;
áwv 'tér-em G; áw-vum 'thør G; k(h)eremen, k(h)erem (تیرمن تیریمن), thør.
Prob. the present stem originally has t-, and T’s th- is due to the influence of the preterite. Cf. Orm K. trųm: tatak. — thör, tatak, <
*tyēta-; but ter-, tr- < *tyēa- (*tyēya-seems phonetically imposs., Gr.64). The connexion with Indo-Eur. ter-s- “to be dry”, Av. tarṣaṇa: “thirst” (v. s. v. thān), Skr. tyrṣa “dry” etc. seems evident; but the exact nature of the relation is difficult to define. Is *ter-s- “to be dry” originally a “desidervative” to a root *ter- “to drink”? But in that case why past part.
*tṛ-s-to-?
turb, v. turp.
tařaf T “direction”, yuštaraʃt T (Phon.)
“from the house”, Prs.
tarīf T “praising”. Prs.
tarkaʃi G “poison”. Cf. tarku “bitter”.
Cf. Prs. zahr “poison”: zahra “bile”?;
tarku *tarrda· (فاردا) G, talku G “bitter”.
< *taraʃ-, Prs. talz, Prs. tarz, Pash. triz etc. We should expect *tarkhā
(cf. surkhā, Gr. 59); is tarkā etc. borr. from some Ind. form?
tařık M, G “dark, darkness”. Prs.
taʁání M, taɾání (تارانی) G “a flourishing bush, dog-rose”. Pash. L tāɾānī
“dog-rose”, cf. Prs. taran “id”. Cf. Skr. tyā- (Woty. lw. turin “grass, plant”)?
turp G “calf, one to two years old”.
< *tarō-payah, cf. Lat. dé-lícus; Av.
tarō-piwa- “having unsufficient food”.
turp, turb T “platoon”. 'žū turb rešāla,
turp-e rešāla.
tars G “fear”. Prs.
turš M “sour”. Prs. V. sit.
tartar M, G, T “in front of, before, near to (pēš)”.
tartar-e žū 'ádam chi
M “he went before a man”; hē 'ádam-a
tarta'-ře 'dhor M “have you seen this
man before?”; kal 'tartar-e, 'Qāsem
bāw-e peš-chan T “the bald-headed
before and his father Q. behind”.
< Av. comparative *tarō-tarom, V. tar.
tariwāl T “previous, ancient, foremost (pēšīna)”, pīdāk-e tariwāl “an ancient
king”;
'qur'i-bān-e hō'ri tariwāli'ka-i
“I am the sacrifice of the foremost
of them”. Cf. tar?
tar'yāk G “antidote”. tar'yāk-e bēd =
panj'bēd (q. v.) “a kind of antidote,
the nature of which he could not explain”.

Prs.
tār-: tārī G “to split, burst”. taurum
na tārī “dīl-em na kafīd”. Cf. Sar.
tarš “to but, strike”, Prs. iflāidan
“to cleave, break”< *asī-tard-, Skr.
tyd- “to cleave”. Cf. thör “hole” <
*tysta-.
tūr-: tu'rī G “to drip, dribble”. tūrtōn;
tum tu'rī “čakāndom”. Skr. tur-
“to hasten”?
taisoʃrī G “pillow”. Prs. Par., cf. Madaglaštī Prs. taiʃ-šeri, Pash. S
taisari. V. ta.
taʃō G, G “a kind of axe, adze? (tē샤)”.
If genuine, < *rš, cf. Shhg. taršak,
Pash. starṣaj “adze” etc. V. paʃō.
toʃak T “matress”. Prs.
tiṭ T “distributing”, tit kan- “to distrib-
but, throw about”. tit-e kor.
tâw G “parrot”. Prs.
tâtâr G “musk”. Prs. tâtârî “fine musk”.
tâw G “to braid, plait”. Ct. Prs. tâftan, tâbam.
tâ’vâr G “female dress (râxft)”,
tâ’vârâa D “small axe”. Prs. V. pâsâ, tâsâ.
tâ’vetz G “charm”. Prs.
tuxm T “seed”. Prs.
tâx’sim M “partition, division”. Prs.
tax T “curtain (pâr’dâ)”. Prs. taxt “seat, soûphà”.
taxt u baxt T. In: â ba taxt o baxt-e
tág qasam-un xùrâ “I have sworn by your throne and your fortune”. Prs.
tâxta ba pûfî G, T “on the upper part of the back (tâxta ba pûfî)”. ma tû
de’hem tâxta ba pûfî “I slap you on the back”. Cf. Panjshiri Prs. taxtâ ba pîjsî “on the back”. Cf.
tâxta-e-pûfîka.
Tâx’tâhi G “n. of a place near Charikar,
Takhtapul”.
tâxta-e-pûfîkâ T “the upper part of the back”. Ct. pûfî. V. tâxta ba pûfî.
tû’yânà G “price paid for the bride”.
tû’yânà-w-un kâ’tî (طويان) “I have paid the price for you”. Cf. Pers. tûy “feast” (“marriage”?).
tâ’ýâr T “prepared, ready”. Prs.
tâ’ýârî T “preparation”. Prs.
tâ’zâ T “fresh, refreshed”. Prs.
tâ’zî M “bitch”. Prs. V. mädakw’âch. 
thé M, G, T “sharp”. Prs. V. têndûra.
tâx’mâ T “strap, thong”. Prs.

T

ťag T “mad (dêwáâna)”. max’sôr-č āťag
yûst “he feigned to be mad (dêwâna
partaftî)”. Ind., Pash. L āťag “thief, cheat”.
ňôk G “piece, morsel”. Ind., Panj. ûk
“bit, piece of bread”, Pash. L ûk
“to pick up”.
ňôngûk M “podex”, û’fûugak G “hip”.

W

wê M, G, D “roof-beam”. Ind., Skr.
vâs’îya-, Shina bôî, Waig. wêd, Psht.
bainâ (Waz. wêša); cf. Shgh. vês. From a dial. with s > 0 like Pash.
wö, wê G, T “and”. V. o.
wô G, wëc T “oh”.
wa’čan (وچان) G “low”. ‘rust u
wa’čan “high and low”. -čan
seems to be a suffix, cf. pêščan.
wa < apa?
wâč’a’nâ G “bad”. V. xar’ûb. Cf. wa’ča.
wâč’a’nê M, G “below, down”, wa’ča’nê
param G. V. pastô.
wâč’a’nê-yus G “cellar (tâxâna)”.
wâčan’bâm G “evil smelling”. Cf.
bhâm.
wa’dà T “promise, engagement”. Prs.
wâ’fâ G “fidelity”. Prs.
*wâ’yar-: wâ’ya’rî G “to dance”. tõ (edê)
wâ’ya’rî “you did (she did) dance”.
wêgû “play”?
wâ’yar G “dance”. ē da wâ’yar ēhī
“She started dancing”.
wêh- M, wêhî G: wâ’hi (?) G “to flow,
go”. ân sâr wêhêm M “I go to town”; 
mâ hudinân sâr wêhêmân M; wâ sâr
wêhîr? M; wêhêm G = param;
Vocabulary

whève "mērawi"; əwə whèvețın G "the water flows"; ən-em whèvețın T; tečht-ə hın wèhețın T "blood flows from his eye"; wehețın əst T; wèhețın (səhton) əzər tar-ə wa'ę G "she thought (da dil-iš gasṭ)"; wa'hen T "swinging round (daur kada)". Ind., cf. Lh. wahan "to flow, go". But why ə? Cf.

wa'heț-M, G, T "to roll". (trans.) əzə-ıman wa'hețitam M "çızî mēgar-dānam"; ərça-ıman wa'hețitan M; wa'hețem-ə G; əhâmər wa'hețem G "I thresh"; sər tar-ə wa'heți T "swung him round his head". V. wēh. Cf.

wa'hețal G "spindle". V. car'xə.

wa'jif M "necessary" (?). Prs. wa'ja'b.

wa'khe G, M, wa'kye D "up, high". wa'khe -Sah itam M, wa'khe -Sah iam G, wa'khe -Sah iam D "I go up";

wa'khe(t) əwa ətün M "the water is coming down (az bālā au mēâyə)"; wa'khe əyə tar "az bālā āmādan";

'dhār wa'khe-a M "the mountain is high"; mhak dāl əxə tar-ə len'gān-ə pa wa'khe kor G "dar hamū pē-e šū-iš langhāt-ī bilānd kat"; hur'ē wa'khe tar G "on the lofty hill";

wa'khe əcem G "growing (kalān šūda)".

wa'khe G (əʁko) "high, splendid (əlā)"; T "peace". wa'khe əche "peace was concluded" (?).

wa'khen G, T, wa'kān D "your". Gr. 115.

wa'kar M "to bark". əkuch-a wa'karitun.

V. jaf-

wa'le M, G, T "but, however, certainly". Prs.

wël G, T (bol) "while, time". əwël

"at once, suddenly (yak gasṭ, yak sət)". Ind., Waig. wël etc.

Wāliyād T "n. of a man". Prs. wāl-i 'ahd "heir apparent".

wa'lekin M "but". Prs.

-wa'nə G, T "towards". -wa'nəi "from".

Pash. L wəna, Gr. 102.

waŋ'ga G (Nijra) "axe". V. pašə.

'weqer G "to bleat". buj-a 'weqertə "bus wahgas mēkuna". V. bānas.

waŋ'gəw G "to eat, swallow". waŋ'gəwem, waŋ'gəvitən, waŋ'gəvim. Cf. Prs. bungū "deglutition", bungūstan "to swallow" (upan-kus- or a similar form; cf. Skr. kus- "to gnaw")?

wa'pəsh, wa'pešt M "back, again". V. a'pešt, pəsh.


'oræ (Waz. urva etc.) is doubtful.

waɾun M, G (əɾun? M) "flour". waɾun-

um mā-ıda kor. < *ərtana. (upārtana-?) Prs. ərd, Pash. əɾə (q.v.).

waɾə'nə G "bedding". Poss. < *xīyanə < *əxirətana < *əxirətanə < *əxirətanə-kâka. (Gr. 45 g, 54) Skr. abhi-sty- "to cover", cf. Prs. bistar "bedding", Soghd. prṣ tr n "rug".

EVP. s.v. brastan "coverlet".

we'seř: weseʃi G, T "to send, despatch. order". we'seʃem "I send"; weseʃim G "I sent", we'seʃtə T "is sending", ma əxā-ø waseʃi G "she sent her husband". Scarcely < *abi-səcaya- "to instruct, command", cf. Av. səcaya- "to teach", aini-sa- "to think of, remember". Apart from other considerations, j < ə would be irregular (Gr. 50).

wāskaf G "waistcoat". Engl.

wəспеш G "buttermilk (dūy)". *apas-
wās- G, D "to rain". ḫār wāṣṭō G, yār wāṣṭu D "it rains". Ind., cf. Waig. waṣ "rain" etc.
wāṣīna v. bāṣāna.
waṭan M, G, T "country". waṭaṇi-um saftār kōr M "I travelled from my country"; waṭana waṭan laṣṭar ḫalālī-śo ṭ "the army has taken land after land" ("the whole land")?
waṭaṇī G "tame". Prs. Cf. ḫārī.
watanaḍār T "countryman". Prs.
waxt M, G, T "time". waxṭi "one time". Prs.

wīyār M, G, T (वैयार, वैयार), wīyār D, P "night". ḫuk-ē wīyār kōr T "he spent the night there"; ḫeṣṣ-a wīyārīka T "midnight"; wīyār T (Phon). Pash. L wīyāl etc. r < *? (cf. phyr).
wyāra-neyār G "this very night (bawā- śāwā)".
waṭir G "vizier, minister". Prs.
Waṭir T "n. of an Afghan tribe".

X

xās- G "to wish", xātān. Prs.
xāl M, G, T, xā D "husband". Pl.

xādān G (not *xānān, cf. Gr. 82).
xāika xī-m G "my husband's sister";
xā-e xīka-m M "my sister's husband". Cf. Minj. ḫīwāy (Gauth.), ḫīwāy (Zar.), Yd. ḫīwā < Av. fāwant- "peasant, *householder". Cf. Sak. kyundāi with ḫī < fā-. (cf. s.v. xwāwān). Prs. ḫīl (Afg.). Prs. ḫī̄l, not with majhūl- vowel, cf. Hübschmann

796) may be derived from the same stem. Prs. ḫōhar is difficult; but Horn's and Hübschmann's derivation

< *xāoda- (*xāodraka-), (cf. Av. ḫāudra- "semen") is neither phonetically nor semasiologically satisfactory. Words denoting "husband" have usually a social, not a sexual meaning. ḫōhar < *fōhr (av from pīdar etc.) < *tān, *fāntar? ḫē G, T (খে Phon.) "open". bōr xē kanem G "I open the door"; ḫer-um bāl xē dēra G "my heart spreads out its wings (dil-om bāl wāz mē-kunā)". *wīśā-, cf. Prs. guśādan, guśāyam (Barth. < *wē + hāy-), Wkh. guśāyam "I untie". Gr. 43, 69.

xī, 1xu M, G, T, D, P "6". Gr. 109, Av. xīsā, Shg. xānā, xānā, etc. < *xwasa-, dissimilated < *xwasa-

xī, pl. xīān M, G, D, P "sister". Prob. < *hwaht instead of *hwaht (Av. xwajhar-). Cf. Wkh. xūt, Shg. yax, Sangl. xwea, Kurd. (ūr) xweh, Zaza wai < *hwaht?

xū M, G, T, xū, xā T "self". < Av. xvāt, Prs. xud. V. māxā-sūr.

Vocabulary

xabar-yârâî G, T "asking for information". xabar-yârâî felâni'â kâ che bem G "I had gone to ask news about somebody". Prs.
xudâ' T "alms". Prs.
xudat T "natural". xâl-i xudâ' "a natural mole". Prs.
xudmat G, T "service". Prs. V. xismat.
xudrat G "power". Prs. qudrat.
xudrûya G "selfwilled". Prs.
xudâs M, G, T xudâs D, P. "16". Gr. 100.
xudeziyâr G "independent". Prs.
xudeziyârvâla T "independent". Prs. + Ind.
xa'fu M, G, xapa T "angry, distressed". Prs.
xaif T "terror". Prs.
xiyru'ök G, xiyrûk D "sister's son". V. xi, yu'ök.
xiyâhat T "a particle denoting the future (magaram)". ma 'mun ham wâ ham xiyâhat dehî "you will indeed have beaten me, too (xâhad zad)". Prs.
xiyinîx M "sister-in-law". V. xi, jînî, xi'kbat M "dust (storm)". Prs.
xiynâ M, G, T "own". Gr. 138. V. xu,
xiyl G, T "mole". xiyl u xiylâb. Prs.
xiyâla G "mother's sister". xiylaika puš "cousin". Prs.
xiyli M, G, T "empty". Prs.
xiyl M, G, T "people". Prs.
xiyûsas T "in all (kull-iš)". xiyûsas dâs ha'zâr "14 000 in all". Ar., Prs.
xiyûsas "pure, sincere"?
xiyûsas G, T "loose, free". Prs.
xiym M, G "skin, hide". xiym-i güîka

M. Prs. (Ar.) xûm "an untanned hide" (Prs. xûm "raw undressed")? xûm2 "raw" in nagra-e xûm G "uncoined silver (nâzarsbaza)". Prs.
xaim T "tent". Prs.
xûn (xêm) M, G, T xûm (xêm) D "sleep, dream". xûm-ê kaniman M; xûm hem D; xûm-em buchetê D "I have a dream"; xûm-an buyr T "they fell asleep"; sâxt xûm-um dhîr G "I had a bad dream"; xûm-ê na buyr G "he did not fall asleep". < Av. xwâfna-. Gr. 58. N. Turf. xwârm, Yazdi xwârm, Awrom. wôrîm etc. < huwâd-< huwân- (cf. Shgh. xûûm)?
xzamba G "low". Cf. Prs. xam, xamda "curved, bent", Shgh. xambîn- "to bow the head" (Shaw).
xûn G "khan". Prs.
xûn-: xûnî G, T "to recite, read".
nemâz-ê xûnî. Prs.
xâna T "house". Prs. (Corrected by G into yûs).
xûn T "blood". In: jîgar-um xûn kô "I am angry". Prs. V. hin.
xandak T "moss, ditch". Prs.
xenjak "a tree affording a mastic (pistacia khenjak or terebinthus)". Prs.
xunuk M "wind", G "cold". xu'nûk-i saxî-a, xu'nûk-i tâpô-a M; ma bôr xu'nûk-a = šûrîš-a; uk ham xu'nûk-a G. Prs.
xênem T "princess". Prs.
xar-: xûr M, G, T "to eat". xarem-ê G; xaram (?) T; xarem M, G; na'gôn-ima ta'ûrta = na'gôn xar'tân 

xair M, T "well", xar he, ba xair he? M "are you well?". Prs.
xär G "distressed". Prs.
'xarī "distress, toil". 'xārī wo 'zārī G "distress and complaint". Prs.
xēr M, G, D "hay". *huwya-, cf. Oss. xor "fodder". Burushaski (Wershikwar, Zar.) xork "hay, straw" (Ir. lw.?).
xēra M, G "water mill". āwē-i xēra'īka M "mill-water"; xēra tār M "in the mill". < *huwataryaka-. Cf. NShgh. s.v. xeddā'rij (< *huwatāraka- "self-grinder"), and cf. the forms given by Zar. (Minj.) V. xēra'ir.
xēra-i zamū'īrka G "honey". V. xēra'ī, zamū'ūr.
xēra'ī (خنثري) G "sweets, present (širinī)". Cf.
xērō (خنثرو) M, G, xēru D "sweet". mē'cā-e xērō G; xērōya ɣār-ai "G o, my sweet friend". < *xēraka-. Prs. širīn "sweet", šir "milk", Skr. kṣīra-
xārāb M, G, T "bad, destroyed". ē ɣōd xārāb ēhī M "this meat has become bad". Prs. V. waṭhā'ānā.
-xē'iri T "expense". Prs.
xurū'wēna T "the sixth day (ṣaṣnumī)". rūz-e xurū'wēna "Thursday". Cf. xi, xī; rūč. V. šurū'wēna.
xērīdān M "hay-stack (ghādān)". V. xērī.
xērīdār M "buyer". mārdun-e ī āxān xērīdār "sa'ūk-i tura dāran". Prs. xērā'īrī G, xirager M "mill-stone". V. xēra', gir.
xērīgōs M, T "hare". Prs. V. khōra'gū, so'qhok.
*xērā'īj G "value". xērā'īj-e mālīke Īrān dēra 'kašte. Prs.
xarkau G "a kind of bird". Prs. xarkūf "a kind of large owl".
xērī'mān (خریمان) G "elegant, graceful (xarīmān, xuṣnumāj)". ba hōwī 'nāzuk-e xērī'mān ēe 'whēlōn sō 'zīnā "ba hamī nāz xarīmān ki tu mērī sar-i zīnā". Cf.
*xērīmānī (خریمانی) G "graceful", čēmā-e xērīmānī. Prs. xērīmānī.
xarānē G "eatable". V. xar-
xarīpuštak M, D "hedgehog". Prs. xurīrāk T "food". Prs.
xērī, xēra M, G, T "bear". Prs. V. ué, uf.
xurūs M, T, xu'rūs G "cock". Prs. V. bāsā'na.
*xurīt G "wisdom". Prs.
xerwār T "an ass's load". Prs.
xār M, G, T "broken, torn". xār ka'nom G "I break"; ha'wē kūr-īman bīmā xār kāntan "we are breaking this stick"; xār = sulāy T; šāx-e xār ku'rō bōn T "he had broken the horn". < *xāštā-, cf. Prs. šārdān "to flow, trickle, drop", šārīnī "a tree from which flows liquid pitch", šāsa "urine" (*xāšrakā-?) < Skr. kṣār-, Av. yār- "to flow". Cf. AFGH. Prs. bāyā-ī šārīda bit "its feet were torn", gōst-īš īrī 'dānā bit. V. rāhādī-ī.
xārā M, xārā D, P "summer". Cf. YD. "wārōh", Paht. wōray "summer" (Barth., miran M. V, 5 < *wārīt), Sar. "wāgh", "wog" also with *rt. x < *hu-, hu-vo: *hu-wāhythaka-
*xu'ūrī G, T "eating". V. xar-
xu'sūr G "himself". Cf. xu, sōr. V. max-
'sūr.
xasurbīra G, xuurbū'dā D "brother-
Vocabulary

in-law". xasur'bira-m; xasur'bira-i 
biiyat'ka-m "my husband's brother" 
(3). Cf. xasur, biiyat. V. hiiyar.

xist kan- G, T "to rise, jump". dos xist 
kor T "xiz zad"; puft-m-e xis kor 
T "he jumped from my back". Cf. 
Afg. Prs. xist "rose", Prs. xastan 
"to rise".

xasiat'an G "special nature (kaifyat)". 
xasiat'an-e xiyat'hâ. Pl.of Prs.xasiiyat. 
xasî G "wish". Prs. V. xâi.

xîs G, T "family, kinsman". xis u 
kôm-e huss T; huss-e xisân-om T 
"all my kinsmen". Prob. Prs. xwâs (but Av, sâiyra- "belonging to the 
home, clan" might poss. result in 
Pr. xis).

xu M, G, xušu D, xušu P "mother-in-
law". xuša < Afg. Prs.; xuš genuine 
< *hvasrû, Skr. śvasrû.

xuša M, G "ear of corn". xuša-i ganu-
mika M, G; xu xuša dervâk G "a cluster 
of grapes". Prs.

xušal M "happy". Prs.

xesem T "anger". Prs.

xâspûs T "covered". ma hût cân 
xašpûs kor "they covered the seven 
pits". Prs. xaspûs "covering a cleft, 
fissure".

xis M, xes T "brick". Prs.

xešâwa G "wedding". xešâwa kaneman 
"xešâwa kunîm". Prs.

xešvax M, G, T, xešvay G (خنشودگ) 
merry, happy". Prs.

xešvax'ti G, T xešvay'di M, G "merri-
ment, happiness". da xešvax'ti kurb 
chi. Prs.

xitôb G "conversation". Prs.

xatar G "danger". Prs.

ixâtir G, T "intention". ax xâtir e 
"with the intention to . . .". Prs.

xatt T "letter". Prs.

xiT T "belly (ïškam)". dôst-e bur sô 

xa'wân G, T "night". a'ze xa'wân G 
"last night". nî xa'wan (v. ni); pône 
xa'wân G; nîm-e xa'wan T. < Av. 
šapana-. Prs. šabûn-rûz. V wîyûr.

xa'wân G "master, khan". Cf. Prs. 
xudavand, xawand. V. xawand.

xa'van M, G "shepherd". Cf. Prs. šubân 
< *šupâna (Horn); Yd. xušuwan, 
Soghd. xušp'în (xušu-?) < šu-? (ct. 
Sak. kuśvâdî, s.v. xâl(i)).

xawand M, T "master, possessor". Prs. 
V, xa'wan.


xiyâ M, xiya G "serotum". Prs.

xiyâl M, G "thought, fancy". xi'yâl 
bur G "he thought; xôm xi'yâl-a G 
"a dream is a fancy". Prs.

xaz T "to hide oneself". mën yusa-
šûn-an xa'zin "put šudan". Prs.

xizmat M "service". Prs. V. xedmat.

xa'zâna G "treasury". Prs.

xušbû "perfume". Prs.

xešvay'di v. xešvax'ti.

Y

yâ1 G, T "O!". Prs.

yâ2 G, T "or". Prs.

yâbû G "mule". Prs.

ya'kin G "certain". ya'kin-om "I am 
sure". Prs.

ya'lâ T "let loose, free". Prs.

yâl M, G "mane". Prs.

yâr G T "friend, beloved". Prs.

yax'dan T "ice-house". Prs.
Z

*zā- G “to be born”. gu‘lázāw “a cow is born”; düğ˘̄nîlzāw “twins were born”. Cf. Pzs. zādan, Av. zan.

zā, zāî M, G, T, zā D “a thing, something (čēz)”. ha‘wēl zāik’ā bai “the price of this thing”; Ł̄z̄āî dēhēwem G “čīzi métgalbam”; puš‘īk’a zā na čhā bō T “nothing had happened to his son (bačē-čīzi na šuda)”; Ł̄z̄āē čē lāskar-ē bīn G “whatever army he had (čīzi čē lāskar būd)” zāî lāmdum bēn T “all the people there” < Av. zītā “born, existing”. Skr. jātā “born, produced, kind, sort, etc.”.

ze G “from, through”. In: ze čōg-ē ma ‘mun ‘mēttō “she has killed me with her love” Pzs. V. az.


Zai‘yūn, ọ̀bn T “n. of a princess”.


za‘hēw- G, T “to make to arrive, bring”.

V. zah.

zak G “quick (čābāk)”. Ar. zakk “running”?

zāl G, T “manner, mode”. ĕewē-zāl, hōwē-zāl G “in this, that manner” (v. havaerang, howerang). Shina zēl “manner, kind”. Burushaski zail. From Ar. zail “distinguishing, separating”?


zulf M, G “curl”. Pzs.


zama‘rīt G “dew” (? prob. misunderstood).

zān M, G, T “until (tā ki)”. zān har ka‘bī čē me‘rā G “until he dies (tā har ka‘i ki bumara)”; ’eččen za Šūtul M “from here to Sh.”; zān harče čī mun ja‘rī, tu kan “do whatever I have said (tā har čī)”. Pzs. V. az ān s.v. az.


Vocabulary

zi'nā M, G "stair, ladder". Prs. V. sūlān.

'zenda T "alive". na 'murda-i na 'zenda-i "neither his corpse nor his living person". Prs.

za'nīr G, T "chain". Prs.

za'nūk, ḍīk M, G, za'nak D "chin". Cf. Bal. zańūk, Pash. L, S zańak (from Par.,) but Prs. zańax.

za'nēng G, T "how, in what manner?". za'nēng 'čimō dēra G "what a (graceful) walk she has"; za'nēng ba kārīgi ma 'gū dūčt? G "how well did he milk the cow?"; ōn za'nēng kanem "what shall I do?"; za'nēng-a pāt "how did you know?".

za'nēngi T "of what kind?". ō za'nēngi 'kaštē bin?

zar G, T "gold" (in poetry). Prs. V. zītā, tōlā.

zār M "poison". Prs. V. tarkāi.'

'zárī G, T "complaint". 'zārī wo 'zári. Prs.

zīr M, zīr T "under". zīr-e dōst-om T. Prs.

zīr T "force". Prs.

zūrī G, T "power, force" mā'khā 'zūrī va 'huddē bāchehā kun na za'hā T "my power cannot compare with that of you two, father and son". (Cf. Semenov, Mater. Gorn. Tadž. I, 54: devo zuri mīn na mirasa ("CILIPA DIA NE IMBETTÉ DRA MENIA NIKAKOGO ZNAČENIA"). Prs.

zārī G, T "blow, hit". Prs.

zardak M, T "carrot". Prs. V. gāze'vak.

zaridālū M, G "apricot". Prs. V. 'mindūt.

za'ra' G "necessary". Prs.

zūrāwar, zūrāwar G, T "powerful". Prs.

zūr zīr M, G, T, D (zūr Phon.) "heart".

< Av. zarād, cf. Psht. zar etc.

zūr'bar G "beloved (dīlbar)". Par. + Prs.

zūr'gir G "unhappy". ōn tō kun zōr-gir-em "mā ba tū dilgīr astum". Par. + Prs.

zūr'ī ḍō G "eager (dilsoz)". Cf. zūr, thi-izāt T "birth (az mādar tawallut)". Alīā zāt ēhī. Prs.

'zita'i ēxi'ka (zita'i-i) G "yolk of an egg". Cf. 'zītā, čāfā-ēxi'ka.

'zita'i G "maize"; "gold". zītā-ā-te dā'hem. Cf.

'zītā M, G (zi'to), 'zitu D, 'zita P "yellow". rōn-ah yala'ba 'zit phe'vō G "your colour has become very pale". < Av. zairīta-, cf. Minj. zīt, Shgh. zīd. Gr. 45, 55.

zut D "very". zut xu'mūka "it is very cold". Cf. Orm. zut, jut "very much", Prs. zūd "quick"?

zāvōlāna G "foot-chain". Prs.

za'xīm G, T "wound". Prs.

Z

ža, pl. žā'nān (∫) M, G, T "other".
žē-e ex am dērē "have you another egg, too?" < Av. ūṭīta- "separated", Prs. judā, Phl. yūlāk, Shgh. yīga "other" (Zar.). Cf. Shina mūṭī "other" < Skr. mukta.

žē: āya M, G, T, D "to come". ūṭ (∫) M, G, D "come"; šīm M, G, T "I shall come"; ūr T "come" (2 pl.); ūṭn inf.; šīmān G "coming (āmāda)"; šītnōn (τόν ū) G "is coming". Cf. Av. āyā, Minj. šē āyom "I come", wā yē "he comes" (Zar.). ūṭ < ū-yāya-
(cf. Tedesco, MO., 1921, 231). Reg. the loss of ū-v. Gr. 43. The type
āya:- (ā-yāya) *āgata- is not restricted to NW. Ir., as stated by Tedesco. V. āya. Cf. also Pash. N āt-: āgam.
zh M, G, T, D "rivulet, stream". < *ya-
wyā-. Skr. yavyā-, Anc. Prs. yauvīyā-, Prs. jōī.
zhō M, G, zhō D, P "barley". án men-
dānān żū dahem G "I give them barley". Av. yava-, Prs. jaw. Pash. S žū etc. has developed independently from Skr. yava-
zh Žū (Žū Phon.) "1". sē bān-e mākhān éū žū 'phōr 'xūkun-
an da G "give us our apples one by one". < Av. āevā-, Minj. yū, Zaza žau etc. Gr. 35, 109.
žūy G "yoke". Cf. Prs. jiw, yōy, Waz. žūy (lw. from Orm.?). V. jauza.
ža'hi G, T "alone, separate". ža'hi hā G "he is alone"; āuss-e ža'hi G "a separate house".
žāla v. jāla.
žūrē Žū (Žū Phon.) G, T, rēš D "partridge".
Cf. Prs. zarīj, Shgh. zarēj, etc., v. EVP. s.v. zarka.
žūsar G, žūsar D "next year". V. żā, sēr. žūsara M "kid, one year old". V. žūsara, žūsara.
ORMURI
INTRODUCTION.

1. For the earliest information about Ormuri (Ormuri) or Baraki we are indebted to Babur, who is also the first to mention Parachi. The passages in his Memoirs which refer to 'Bereki' have been quoted above (p. 3).

The first European scholar who is aware of the existence of the 'Vurmūd' tribe in 'Cānigūram' and the 'Barki' language is Leyden\(^1\). Elphinstone writes in his 'Account of the Kingdom of Caubul'\(^2\):

"The next class of Taujiks are the Burrukees, who inhabit Logur and part of Boot-Khauk. Though mixed with the Ghiljies, they differ from the other Taujiks, in as much as they form a tribe under chiefs of their own, and have a high reputation as soldiers.\(^3\) They have separate lands and castles of their own, furnish a good many troops to government, closely resemble the Afghāns in their manners, and are more respected than the other Taujiks. Their number are now about eight thousand families. All traditions agree that they were introduced into their present seats by Sooltaun Mahmood about the beginning of the eleventh century, and that their lands were once extensive; but their origin is uncertain; they pretend to be sprung from the Arabs, but other say that they are descended from the Kurds or Coords."

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\(^1\) Asiatic Researches, XI, pp. 363 ff., London 1812.

\(^2\) I, p. 411.

\(^3\) Till recent times the Logaris have been reckoned among the best soldiers in the Afghan army.
Burnes mentions "the Burukee or Kanigramee spoken by the people of Logur", which "has an affinity to Persian, although those using it claim a descent from Arabia, and assert that they entered the country with Sultan Mahmood".

2. According to Leech "there are two divisions of the tribe, the Barakis of Ràjàn in the province of Loñgad, who speak Persian, and the Barakis of Barak, a city near the former, who speak the language called Baraki". Some of them settled in Kaniguram in the country of the Waziris, and "the Barakis of this place and of Barak alone speak the Baraki language". "We receive a warning from the study of their vocabulary, not to be hasty in referring [?] the origin of a people merely from the construction of their language; for it is well known that the one now instanced was invented by Mir Yúzúf who led the first Barakis from Yemen into Afghanistan" (in the times of Mahmud of Ghazni). Raverty too, mentions the tradition about the Arab descent of the 'Bárakais'.

3. Bellew quotes a tradition according to which the Orakzai, Afridi, Mangal, Waziri, Khattak and Khogiani tribes of the Pathans are of Ormuri origin. The Ormurs are described as having been fire-worshippers, and as observing peculiar religious ceremonies. Once a week they congregated for worship, men and women together, and at the conclusion of their devotions the officiating priest extinguished the fire they worshipped, and, at the same time, exclaimed "Or mur", a term expressive of the act, for in Pukhtú "or" (ór) means "fire", and "mur" (már) means "dead", "extinct".

In 'An Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan' Bellew identifies the Barakis with the Barkaians, who according to Herodotus were transported "from the far distant Libya to the village in Kunduz of Baktria" (!), and he finds support for this theory in a

1 Cabool, p. 269.
2 JASB, VII, pp. 727 f., quoted in LSI, X, 123.
3 JASB, XXXIII, pp. 267 f., quoted in LSI, I. c.

Fp. 61 ff.
— misunderstood — passage from Arrian. Of greater interest is Bellew’s statement that the Barakis “besides their head quarters in Kunduz and Logar, have settlements in Butkhak, and at Kaniguram in the Vaziri country, and on the Hindu Kush, about Bamian and Ghorband districts”. “Amongst themselves”, he continues, “the Baraki use a peculiar dialect, which is more of a Hindi language than anything else, to judge from the few words I have met with”. “They are a fine, tall, and active people, with fairer complexions than the generality of Afghans, and are held in consideration as a respectable people. They have no place in Afghan genealogies by that name, being generally reckoned along with the Tajik population”. Bellew derives the ruling tribe of ‘Barakzí’ in Afghanistan from the Baraki.

4. Among the authors mentioned above Leech and Raverty are the only ones who have given short vocabularies of the language (the Logar dialect); Leech has also given a few sentences with translation. Most of the words in Raverty’s vocabulary are copied from Leech.

5. The first fuller description of the language is that given by Sir George Grierson in the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal¹, and subsequently in the Linguistic Survey of India.² His account deals with the Kaniguram (Waziristan) dialect, and is based chiefly on Ghulam Muhammad Khan’s Qawaid-e Bargistá supplemented by material furnished by British officials in Waziristan. My indebtedness to these works, both in their descriptive and in their etymological parts, is so great that it has been impossible to acknowledge it in each case in the following pages. I may be permitted to testify once for all how much every page of the following account of Ormuri owes to Sir George’s lucid survey of the grammatical system of the language and of its affinities.

6. Our knowledge of the Logar dialect of Ormuri being limited to Leech’s and Raverty’s short vocabularies, I tried during my stay

in Kabul in 1924 to get into touch with Ormurs from this valley. To begin with I was told by people who knew the Logar valley well that Baraki was no longer spoken in Barak-i Barak, the ancient headquarters of the Ormur tribe. Even a man said to be from this village denied the existence of any other language than Persian and Pashto in his native place. After some difficulty I got hold of a young man from Barak-i Barak, who, though not an Ormur himself knew something about the language. The information he could give me was very limited; but it proved on the whole to be fairly correct, and the vocabulary which I got out of him included a few evidently genuine Ormuri words which my second informant did not seem to recollect.

In the beginning of August, just at the moment when I had arranged to go to Barak-i Barak myself, news was received in Kabul that the insurrection had spread to Logar and that the rebels from Khost had crossed the Altimir Pass and entered the valley. But in spite of these difficulties the Afghan Foreign Office managed to fetch an old man, Din Muhammad by name, from Barak-i Barak to Kabul. He worked with me for about a week, but could not be induced to stay longer away from his home.

7. Din Muhammad said that he was one of the few persons in Barak-i Barak still speaking pure Ormuri, and this statement agreed fairly well with what had been told me by my first informant. According to the LSI.\(^1\) the Ormurs now occupy some four or five hundred houses in Kaniguram. At Butkhak, about ten miles east of Kabul, people said that they belonged to the Ormur tribe; but they all spoke Pashto, and I met with no one there who knew any Ormuri. The Ormurs living in the Khalsa Pargana of the Nowshehra Tahsil in the Peshawar district\(^2\) are also all of them Pashto-speaking. I did not hear anything about Ormurs living in Ghorband, Bamian or Kanduz (cf. Bellew, quoted above), and I think it is at

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\(^1\) X, p. 123.

\(^2\) Called Urmars in the Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1883—84, pp. 103, 106, 114.
any rate very improbable that they have preserved their original language.

8. Din Muhammad was not acquainted with Bargistā\(^1\) as a name for his own language, which he called Ĭormuři. According to him the Ormur tribe are Sayyids and are descended from the two brothers ‘Mīr-i Barak and ‘Mīr-i Barā’kāt, who came from Bar-yaman (Yemen) into Turkistan, the former being buried in Anzōi (Andkhui), and the latter in Mazar-i Sharif. ‘Mīr Yūzūf (cf. Leech quoted above, 2) was the son of ‘Mīr-i Barā’kāt.

9. I do not think the traditions about the Arab or Kurdish descent of theOrmurs quoted above are much more valuable than those which make the Pathans Israelites, the Baloches Syrians, the Özbın Pashaquis Quraishis from Mekka, the Chitralsis descendants of Alexander’s deported prisoners, the Bashgali Kashirs the poorer brethren of the Englishmen, the nīmča tribes of Kunar Germans, or the Gurkhas and Burmese Hazaras.\(^2\) Nor is the tradition rendered more credible by being connected with Mahmud of Ghazni. Solomon, Alexander, Ali and Mahmud are the four historical personages to whom popular fancy generally attributes all important events of the past. The tradition about the Ormurs being Kurds, mentioned by Elphinstone, cannot be reconciled with the one which makes them Arabs from Yemen, and cannot be upheld without the support of linguistic facts, a question which will be discussed below.

It is, however, very probable that the tradition of their having emigrated to Kaniguram in Waziristan from Barak-i Barak is true. The names Baraki and Bargistā seem to indicate that Barak was their old, if not original, home.

Nor is it impossible that there may be a nucleus of truth in the statement that they were ‘fire-worshippers’ till comparatively recent

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\(^1\) Cf. LSI. X, p. 123.

\(^2\) This “tradition” was probably invented on the spot by my Pathan servant in order to explain the similarity between the Hazaras and those Mongoloid peoples which he knew from his service in the Indian army. According to him Mahmud of Ghazni had conquered the whole of India, and had settled Hazaras in Burma and Nepal!
times. And it is interesting to note that Ormuri is the only modern Ir. dialect, which has preserved the ancient technical term of Zoroastrian theology for "studying", "reading." The account of the extinguishing of lamps at their religious festivals, reminds us of the slanders told about Yezidis, Druses and other sects of Western Asia, and need not have any foundation in fact. And the etymology of the word Ǒrnur suggested by Bellew (3) seems rather fanciful.²

10. In connexion with these traditions regarding the "lamp-extinguishing" ceremonies of the Ormurs, it is well worth noticing that the only member of this tribe who has played any rôle in history, was the famous arch heretic Bāyazid Ansārī, the Pir Rūsān ("The Saint of Light") of his own adherents, and the Pir Tārīk ("The Saint of Darkness") of his opponents. According to the Makhzan-ul-Islām³ Bayazid was an Ormur (Wūrnur) from Kaniguram. And, according to Leyden⁴, the famous and important sect founded by him was accused "of practising the abominations of the unchaste sect termed Cherāgh-cush" ("Lamp-Extinguishers"). It seems quite possible that the heretical tendencies of Bayazid were based in some way on religious traditions and practices peculiar to his native tribe.⁵

¹ V. Voc. s.v. aw-
² In Rep. p. 16 I proposed to explain Ǒrnur as a Paht. form, derived from *ārya-mykya-. ārya- would, however, probably result in Paht. *ār, not in *ṓr. — The Ormurs of Logar call the Afghans Kād (Kaniguram pl. kāst "the Wazirs"). The ș in this word may be derived from *s(ṭ)r, *śy, *šy. Is there any possibility that the original form is *Kāďya-, connected with Kapīša, etc. (cf. Sylvain Lévi, JA, 1923, p. 52 f.)?
³ British Museum, Or. Mscr. 6274, f. 117 v.; India Office Mscr. 2792, f. 137 a; Dorn, Chrestomathy of the Pushtû Language, p. 22.
⁴ l. c. p. 378.
⁵ In London in 1926 I had an opportunity, through the courtesy of Sir E. Denison Ross, to examine a unique manuscript of Bayazid's theological work, the Xair-ul-Bayān, which had been supposed to be lost. The manuscript was written by Bahār Tūsī, a disciple of Bayazid, and was finished on Wednesday the 20th of Ramazan, A.H. 1061 (A.D. 1650). This book is the oldest Peht. work extant, and presents many interesting orthographic and linguistic peculiarities. But the language
11. The Ormuri of Kaniguram (Waziristan) and the Ormuri of Barak-i Barak (Logar) are two distinct dialects, the Kaniguram form being, generally speaking, the more archaic.

Regarding phonetics one of the most important points of difference between the two dialects is that Log. has preserved ś (≖ sr, str, x̌y, șy etc.), ș which has become s, z in K.; e.g. Log. γwasi “grass”: K. γwasi, Log. rōz “day”: K. ryūz; cf. 54, 57. On the other hand Log. has given up the distinction between K. š and ș; e.g. Log. šū “3”, šū “6”: K. șê, șîh; cf. 60. In loan-words we find ś in both dialects e.g. in Log. šāsta, K. šāista “pretty”, š in both dialects in Log. šaitān, K. šaitān “devil” etc.; but e.g. Log. šār, K. šr “town”, Log. ušyār, K. hušyār “wise”. This variation depends on the date of the borrowing and whether its source is Prs. or some Psht. dialect. — Log. širwā, K. sirwā “soup” must be an ancient loan-word from Prs. šūrwā, šūrbā. — K. š has resulted in Log. g (v. 65). Regarding the occasional change of s < c in K. cf. 69; regarding the dropping of h in Log., and the prothetic h of K. v. 74. Note Log. g- “to seize” < K. gl- (v. Voc. s.v.).

The vowel system of Log. makes a less original impression than that of K., owing chiefly to the frequent change of a into u (v. 27). It seems probable that K. a has been changed into Log. â (cf. 29) through the influence of Afghan Prs.

12. The morphological system of Log. has been very much simplified. The geographical position of the two dialects renders it very natural that this should be so. K. is spoken by a comparatively strong community in an isolated part of the rugged Waziristan hills, surrounded only by culturally and socially unimportant Psht. dialects. Log., on the other hand, is a dialect that is rapidly dying-out; the Ormurs of Logar inhabit a broad, open valley, not far

conforms in the main to ordinary literary Psht., which is based chiefly on the Mohmand and Yusufzai dialects. We find very few traces of any influence of the Waziri dialect. Note, however, the word taštān “master, husband”. Lorimer gives ḍštān as the Waziri form of the word; but Orm. of Kaniguram has taštān, a form which is evidently borrowed from the local Waziri dialect of this village.
from Kabul, are in constant contact with Persian-speaking neighbours, and for several generations have served extensively in the Afghan army.¹ No wonder, then, that Log. has lost the distinction of gender (v. 81), has simplified the formation of the plural of nouns (v. 82), and has reduced the number of irregular past participles (v. 123). The system of contracted pronouns (v. 102) is also much simpler in Log. than in K., and the use of the particles ai and di has been discarded on account of its intricacies.² Regarding the termination of the aorist 2 sg. v. 118. I have been able to detect one instance only of greater morphological archaism in Log., viz. the preservation of the aorist 1 sg. in -im (v. 120).

13. While K. has borrowed freely from Waziri Psht., the vocabulary of Log. has been influenced by other Psht. dialects, and, to a still greater extent, by Prs.

A number of genuine Orm. words found in K. seem to be missing in Log., although it is of course possible that they may, after all, exist in the dialect.

We find e. g.:

K. hōnd “blind”:
- hins “bear”:
- nōrš (narm) “soft”:
- pis- “to write”:
- rō “iron”:
- rawas “fox”:
- ēkak “hare”:
- š’ak “flea”:
- tusk (xāli) “empty”:
- winjōk “son of a co-wife”:
- xwarinc “right (hand)”:
- yānak “ashes”:

Log. kōr.
- xirs.
- narm.
- nimiśta k-
- ān.
- rōbā.
- xargōš.
- kāk.
- xāli.
- bačandar.
- rāst.
- xākistār.

Cf. also words such as K. sukāl “porcupine”, pīn “honey”, imbāi “friends”, hēnceś “tears”, š’amōt “forgetting” etc., of which

¹ V. 1.
² Cf. LSI., X, p. 219 ff.
I found no corresponding forms in Log. K. *neastak "to lie down" was probably discarded because it became Log. *nustuk and could be confused with nustuk "to sit down" < K. nastak.

On the other hand we do not find recorded among the words from K. such good Ir. words as Log. undörwç- "to sew", bês "rope", γoš "snow", jusp "span", kâli "knife", mâli "husband", môž- "to loosen", nefak "navel", nîmek "salt", škan "cow-dung", póm "wool", šîni "needle", zemâk "winter", zînâk "chin" etc. The interesting loan-word grâm "village" is also peculiar to Log. (K. kôlai from Psht.).

14. The dialect of Logar does not seem to have changed very much since Leech published his vocabulary in 1838. The forms found in his vocabulary and collection of sentences, and in the vocabulary published by Raverty, agree very well with those I heard. We find e. g. she "1" (Log. šê, K. sô), rosh "day" (Log rôž, K. ryûz), yasp "horse" (Log. yâsp, K. yânsô), wokh "water" (Log. wôk, K. wâk).

Most of the innovations of Log. had already taken place. Thus ź had become g in glon "thou takest", pabega "above"; wa, wê had resulted in o (u) in ar-ghoshtakai "you did fall", ghok "said"; there was no distinction of gender, shuk, "became", for instance, being used as a masculine; the termination -on had been introduced into the aorist 2 sg. (cf. 118), e. g. on "thou art", daron "thou hast"; shera "gives", shok "gave" correspond to the modern Log. forms (v. Voc. s. v. šêr) etc.

In some cases we find more archaic forms surviving than in present day Log. Thus we find ghe (*și) "3" (Log. şo, K. šê), khuranak "hungry" (Log. xrunuk, K. axwaranak), glon "thou takest" (Log. g-, K. gl.), wrosht (Rav. warošht) "beard" (Log. aurûšt, K. wrâšt), -ner, -ne "in" (Log. -ne, K. inar), Rav. w'rizza (but Leech rizza) "rice" (Log. rezan, K. riyaš), Rav. ra-đzai "come" but Leech raza "comes" (Log. ar-zam, K. ri-jaš "I come"), sugh (= *sûš) "red" (Log. šûš, K. süš). Of special interest are the numerals: khoshty "60" (Log. šûštû, K. šwašti), hawai "70" (Log.
awaitu, K. awāi), hashtai "80" (Log. cār jistu, K. haštāi), nuvā "90" (Log. niwē, K. nawi). shīst "30", tsasht "40", panzast "50" are more archaic forms than either Log. jistu, cāstū, panjāstu or K. jistū, cāstū, panjāstu (cf. 99).

15. The affinities of Orm. within the range of the Ir. languages has been discussed in Rep. pp. 26 ff.

With W. Ir. and Par. Orm. shares the preservation of initial voiced stops (cf. Par. Gr. 7). The development of $d$ $v$ $b$ and the loss of intervocalic dentals, changes which are characteristic of N.W. Ir. and Par., are also found in Orm. But the points of special resemblance between Orm. and N.W. Ir. are not so many as those between Par. and N.W. Ir. mentioned p. 9. E.g. Orm. has $n$- "to sit down", but Par. has nhin-, Sāmn. $n$-in-, Orm. does not possess the verb $*n$-ni- "to bring" etc.

According to Tedesco¹ Ir. $*a$-ah became $i$ in E.Ir. I have tried $^2$ to show that this development was not universal in E.Ir., and we find no trace of it in Orm. On the contrary, we find Orm. K. sō "1" (Log. sē with palatalization due to the $s$, v. 28) $< *s$yō, $*s$yah, Orm. kōk "who" $< *k$o-ka $< *k$ah, and probably Orm. Log. afō "that" (K. hafō m., hafā f.) $<$-ō, -ah.

There seem to be no linguistic facts in support of the tradition of the Kurdish origin of the Ormurs. The only point of special resemblance that I have been able to detect, is the employment of an extra $l$- suffix in the word denoting "egg": Orm. K. hanwalk, Log. wulk; Kurd. hilka etc.

16. Regarding the relations between Orm. and Par. v. above pp. 9 f. There are, however, profound differences between the two languages, cf. e.g. the treatment of the groups $ft$, $xt$, the demonstrative pronouns, the personal pronoun 1 pl. Par. $mō$, but Orm. $māx$ etc.

17. Rep. p. 36 n. I have pointed out the possibility that Bal. may contain some elements borrowed from an Ir. dialect spoken in

² NSshgh., p. 84.
the country before the advent of the Baloches. To the examples adduced there may be added Bal. gwaś- “to speak”:Orm. Log. γός- (*γως-); cf. also Bal. dialect forms, such as śa “3”, N. Bal. śa- < *fra- (e.g. in N. Bal. śamuś'ta “forgotten”: Orm. K. šamōt), goi “ear” etc. When the Baloches first came into contact with the Indians, they still retained w-, as appears from the Khetrani loan-word vahor “snow”: Bal. gwahar, and from Bal. gwač (recent borrowing wač) “buffalo-calf” < Sindi vachi. Possibly the transition from w- to gu- in Bal. is due to the influence of an Ir. substratum akin to Orm., gu- being substituted for γw-.

18. Orm. contains several words which are known only from E. Ir. (cf. Rep. p. 32). A certain number of such words are included in the list Par. Gr. 9. Others are:
ban- “to throw down”: Psht. lwan-, Yazg. ḍevan- etc., Av. dvan-. K. hōnd “blind”: Sak. hana-, Minj. yādoy, Av. anda-. K. mēršr “sun”: Minj. mīra, Av. miḍra-.
śē (K. sō) “1”: Sak. śēu.
śir “good”: Sak. śśira-, Soghd. sīr, Av. srīra-.
waw- “to obtain”: Sak. byau-. Av. avī-ap.-
K. xwarine “right (hand)”: Soghd. xwarant, Sak. hvarandau acc. sg., hvarameaini “on the right hand”.

This last word is possibly an ancient loan-word in Orm.

19. But the E. Ir. language with which Orm. has been in the closest contact for centuries, and which has exercised a profound and far-reaching influence on the development of the language, is Psht. Orm. possesses a great number of Psht. loan-words; but the connexion between the two languages is of a much more fundamental nature, and appears to me to exclude the possibility that the contact dates only from the time of Mahmud of Ghazni.

In the first instance there are several words in the two languages which, although showing a special relationship, have developed phonetically on different lines. Some of these words may be Psht. loan-words in Orm.; but the phonetical divergences show that the borrowing must have taken place a long time ago.

Other instances are: Orm. bruš- “to glitter”: Psht. breshedel; Orm. ḷanji “bad”, ḷunj “rag” (cf. 51); Orm. K. mrig, mrik “slave”: Psht. maryai; Orm. n- (pret. K. nastak) “to sit down”: Psht. nāstol; Orm. nāk “wife”: Psht. nāwē “bride”.

The most striking morphological correspondence between Orm. and Psht. is the use of the so-called contracted pronouns (cf. 102). There is evidently some connexion between the Psht. and the Orm. forms, even if its exact nature cannot be determined. Note also Orm. ṭōs (K. tyūš) “you”: Psht. tāši (Waz. tus); Orm. genitive particle tar, ta: Psht. da < Av. tarō.

The transition of ĥ > c in Orm. is due to Psht. influence, cf. also Log. g < x (v. 65).

All these features show that, notwithstanding the profound differences in the original dialectical bases of the two languages, Orm. and Psht. must have been neighbours for a lengthy period, and there is no reason to assume that Orm. was introduced from the west of Iran.

20. Orm. is at present completely separated from the Dard languages; but it contains a few loan-words which point to an earlier contact. The most important word is Log. grūm “village”; cf. also ping “cock”, K. ping’a “the time just before dawn”: Khow. pinga-chūi “cock-crow, early dawn”, and possibly drī “hair” (v. Voc.).
GRAMMAR.
PHONOLOGY.
Phonetical System.

Vowels.

21. a (a) is rather advanced: ca're:s "14", tar "of". After š it becomes still more palatalized: (ša:)ndas "11." When stressed, the a is frequently lengthened: da(:)s "10!", na(:)k "not"; in some words, such as ša:n "today", a:št "8", I usually heard a long vowel; but I do not think that this a: ought to be considered as a separate phoneme. In final position a very short a (ă) occurs. It corresponds to K. (LSI.) a (the Psht. sounds written a in the LSI. belong more or less to the ā group).

ă (ă) resembles the corresponding Par. and Afg. Prs. sound. Before nasals and in the neighbourhood of š the a: is perhaps slightly rounded; but the difference is much less marked than in Par.: ca:r "4", ya:sp "horse", na:m "name", ca:št "40". Note kla:nak boy, but also kla(:)nak.

ă occurs in the diphthong ār, ar; as an independent phoneme I heard it in nā(:) "9"; cf. zā'ri:, za'ri "small".

e, ē is of rare occurrence: cerevi: "grazes", poštennă, -ānnā "question".

e: is a very frequent sound: še: "1", pe:nē: "5", ner "house", (y)e: "is", spe:v "white". It is usually rather high; but varies a little

1 Regarding the system of transcription employed in this section v. p. 18, note.
according to the neighbouring sounds. It is occasionally segmentized in p(e): (pyē) “father”, k(e): “why”, d(e:k “saw”.

i: is comparatively high: ni:ve: “90”, širi: “I give”, ne:ri “in the house”, ki “to”, di “from” (shortened forms of ki: di:). In some cases (in the neighbourhood of labials?) we find ḳi: “minzi in the middle”, ḷık “thought”, ḷim, jem “under”; but also ḷında “alive”.


u is usually rather high and advanced: zut “very”, xui “self”, ši:stu “30”, umr “life”. The character of the u differs very much according to the nature of the surrounding consonants. The u of ṣu:šim “I say” is more palatal than that of ṣu:šim “I fear”, but less so than that of ju:šim “I see”. We find šu:kum, šukum “I became” but ḷukum (q) “I was”; ši:k, šu(k) “became”, šu:s “red”.

u: is heard in tu(:) “thou”, mu(:)n “me”, bu(:)k, bu(:)k “was”, šu:le:s “16”; but it is not certain that it is a separate phoneme. Similarly o: occurs as a lengthening of u: zuk, o:k “beat”, kʊk, k(u):k “who”, umr, o:mr “life”, -uk, -o:k termination of the past part. In other words o: was always heard: ɣ(u):k “said”, ɣo:k “water”, a:o: “that”, co:n(d) “some”, ʂ(ə): “6”. Probably u and o: are separate phonemes; but they overlap to some extent, stressed u resulting in o:, and unstressed o: approaching u.

A wider o: occurs in a few words: do: “2”, yo: “7”.

ö: was heard in šö: “3”.

o occurs as the result of the reduction of full vowels: ʂu:tık, ʂu:tk “wept”, ʂo:šlānna, pu- “question”. Also inserted in t(ə)xan “bread”, and, optionally, before initial groups of consonants: ʂtəur “big” etc. The diphthongs are ar, ār (ai) and, rarely, oə (au). E.g. a:vəltu “70”, bəmnō “on the ground”, oə “tank”.

Nasalized vowels are very rare: a:št “8” (but ya:sp “horse”: K. yānsp).
Consonants.

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<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-Dental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolo-Palatal</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
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<td>$t$, $d$</td>
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<td>$k$, $g$</td>
<td>$q$</td>
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<td>Affricate</td>
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<td>$r$</td>
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<td>$s$, $z$, $y$</td>
<td>$s$, $z$, $y$</td>
<td>$s$, $z$, $y$</td>
<td>$x$, $γ$</td>
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<td>Rolled</td>
<td>$φ$, $v$ ($y$) ($f$)</td>
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23. $q$ occurs in loan-words, but is often replaced by $k$. $n$ occurs in the group $nd$ and in $ru:n$ “fire”.

$r$ is more alveolar than dental.

$φ$ is heard in $a:φφ$ “that”; but the initial $f$, e.g. in $fi:kr$ “thought”, is probably labio-dental.

$v$ is frequently velarized into $u$, $g$ before velar vowels: $ga:k$ “obtained”, $(y)u:stuk$ “rose”, but also $v:ðk$, $u:ðk$ “water”.

$ʒ$ is rather advanced; before $u$, $o$ it is markedly rounded: $sa:m$ “before”, $šun$ “blood”, $jo:š$ “boiling”. Regarding the palatalizing influence of $ʒ$ on a neighbouring vowel, v. above s. vowels. $ʒ$ is probably one single phoneme; but its acoustic quality is very different in different positions. It is rounded and retracted e.g. in $ʒo:m$ “showing”, $ʒo:ʒ”snow”, but more advanced in $ʒu:šim”I fear”, $ʒu:šim”I see”; advanced and unrounded in $ʒi:stu”30”. Before a $t$ the acoustic effect approaches that of a velar fricative, advanced in $a:ʒt”8”$; retracted in $ʒu:štuk”feared” (sometimes nearly pronounced $ʒu:xtuk$), $ʒo:štu”60”. In this position the $ʒ$ is pronounced with an elevation of the back of the tongue, and the retroflexion of the front of the tongue is less marked. Consequently the $t$ in $ʒt$ does not become $t$.

Note that K. $ʒ$, $ʒ$ have become Log. $ʒ$, $ɡ$ (cf. 60, 65).

24. The only consonants which are doubled are $m$, $n$, $l$. E.g. ‘bummā”earth”, $pə:stämā”question”, ‘mullük”died”. In K. we find also $rr$ and $zz$: $stirrak”star”, bizzi”cooks”.}

21 — Kulturforskning. B. XL.
Rules of Sandhi.

25. Regarding the interchange between -a and va cf. 101.

Assimilation of consonants occurs. Cf. e.g. ‘ca-d bu ‘da:k “what did you do?” with -d < -t; frequently p’ < b’ (bu) before unvoiced consonants. Note γušna’gi: dbrim “I am dying from hunger” < di ‘mri:m; mak’sq:n “do not become” < mak ‘sɔ:n.

Historical Phonology.

Vowels.

Ir. a.

26. Ir a¹ is preserved in a number of cases: az “I” (Av. azəm), das “10” (Av. dasa), bar “door” (Av. dvar-), ban- “to throw” (Av. dvan-), amar- “to hear” (*ā-mar-), awēs “17” (Av. haptadasa), škan “cow-dung” (*sakan-), γaf- “to weave” (*waf-), nāk “not” (*na-ka), K. mwastak “to lie down” (Av. ni-pad-), K. wan “co-wife” (Av. hapadaṇi-), san- “to beat” (Av. jan-), etc.

In some words the a is occasionally lengthened (cf. 21), e.g. dās “10”, šandas “11”. An early lengthening has taken place in yāsp (K. yānsp) “horse” (Av. aspa-), māli “husband” (Anc. Prs. martiya-), kāli “knife” (*kartyā-). In the last two words the change of r > l has caused a compensatory lengthening to take place (cf. K. xvalak m. “ate”, xwālk f., cf. 42, b.).

27. Frequently we find a > u in the neighbourhood of labials and è; but I have not been able to lay down any rule regarding this change: mun K. “me” (Av. mana), spuk (K. spuk) “dog” (*spaka-), xr- (K. x(u)r-) “to eat” (Av. xar-). In Log. this tendency is more marked than in K. E.g. xwi (K. xwai) “self”, yuskak (K. ywac) “calf” (*wasa-), yuṣ. (K. yuṣr-) “to fear”. In K. gunum (Log. ganum) “wheat” the first u may be due to assimilation, and in jusp “span” to the influence of an original labial semi-vowel (*ywasp < *witaspi); but in gustuk (K. gastak) “to take away”, mustuk (K.

¹ Cf. Par. Gr. 28.
nastak) "to sit down", asul (K. asal) "this year" we find a spontaneous change a > u.

With labialization and compensatory lengthening: γοῦ "snow" (Av. vafra-), K. no(r)ş "soft" (Av. namra-), pôm "wool" (paxšman-), K. côm "eye" (Av. časman-), šū, šú (K. ṣ̌h) "6" (Av. xēvaš), The development of Av. ēvant- > cŏn(d) "some" may be due to the v; but note K. hōnd "blind" (Av. anda-), with stressed a > ō before n.

In wō (K. hü) "7" (Av. haptā), tōk "hot" (*taftaka-) the original f may have labialized the vowel (but cf. 59, and v. below).

In sō "100" (Av. satūm), zōk m. "beat" (*jata-) etc. (cf. 50; 126), -ata- seems to have developed into *-awa- > ō. But note the difference in stress: *sātam: *jatākahya.

28. Regarding the palatalizing of a through i- epenthesis cf. 38. In pēnc "5" the e seems to be due to the influence of the original palatal n, cf. Psht. pînjo, Shgh. pîn, pîns etc. But unstressed: panjēs "15", panjāstu "50" (Psht. panjōs), cf. 54. — e in panjēs etc. < *-aya- < *-ada- cf. nēmēk "salt" < *nimadaka-? Cf. 36, 50.

Ir. -ah, -ō in K. sō "1" (palatalized in Log. šē), kōk (K. kūk) "who" (*kō-ka-)?

Ir. ā.

29. Ir. ā > ā (K. ā): dīvās "12" (Av. dvādasa, māvā "mother" (Av. mātā), māi "month" (Av. māhya-), numāz "prayer" (Prs. namāz), dāk (K. ḍāk f.) "made" (*dātakā) etc. But panjāstu "50", v. 99.

30. Unstressed ā is shortened: amar- "to hear" (*ā-mar-), K. ārōk "reached" (*ā-rātāk), asul "this year" (*ā-sardā-), K. dōk m. "made" (*dāwāk < dātāk-, cf. 126), mar'za "brother" (*hamātyzāta-), wulk (K. hanwalk f.) "egg" < *avoyālakā-? Cf. 41.

-ām-, -ān > -ām-, -ān (K. ām-, -ān): nām "name" (Av. nāman-), K. hām "unripe" (Skr. āma-); prān "yesterday" (*pawāna-, Psht. parūn), K. swān "shepherd" (*sūpāna-), K. yānak "ashes" (*usnakāh-?). In pōn (K. pōn) "roof" < *pāna-, the ō must be due to the p. Cf. also wōk (K. wēk) "water" (*āpaka-), tōa (K. tūwā) "sun" (*tāp-?).
31. Ir. i > i, e: K. pištak "wrote" (*pišta-), zemak "winter" (*zimaka-), mizi "urine" (*miz- or maiz-?), niměk "salt" (*nimadaka-?), K. nyōk "put" (*nihadaka-), K. syōk "broke" (*sid-), p(y)ê (K. pie) "father" (Av. pitā), K. ʂi-buk "stinking" (*frišya-).

Unstressed i > a (cf. Par. Gr. 30): naγōk "went out" (*ni-gataka-, but cf. niměk), navar- "to take out" (*ni-bar-), nustuk (K. nastak) "sat down" (*ni-hastaka-), cf. K. nevastak "lay down" (*ni-pastaka-). Probably ca, ca "what?" (Av. cīt) is a proclitic form.

Before s we find e: mēs (K. mēr?-r-?) "sun" (Av. miдра-), nēsta (K. ništ?-r) "outside" (cf. Av. ništara-); but v. pištak above. With spöi "louse" (Av. spiš-), cf. Par. ispô, Prs. supuš.

32. Ir. i is preserved in: K. ʂin- (Log. šen-) "to buy" (*xrinā-), K. rījan (Log. rēzan) "rice" (*wriŋ-), śir (K. sir) "good" (Av. srīra-?).

33. Ir. u is preserved in: (w)ust- "to rise" (Av. us-stā-), K. tusk "empty" (*tusaka-), gañum (K. gunum) "wheat" (Av. gantuma-), mux "face" (Skr. mukha-), šūk "became" (*šutaka-), šustuk "wept" (*fra-rustaka-), K. sukal "porcupine" (Av. sukurwana-). u has been lengthened in: āš (K. āš)-r- "red" (Av. sukrä-), K. dūk f. (Log. dōk, duk) "milked" (*duxtakā), dūa (K. dūwa) "daughter" (*duxtā), wōkā (K. wyūk) "dry" (Av. huška-).

Apparently unstressed u > a in pāryan- (pāryanim) (K. pāryun-), "to dress" (*pari-gund-). Note K. šak "flea" (*fruškā-?).

K. wuzmaw- "to test, try" (*uz-mā-) > Log. izmaw- (izmaw-?).

34. Ir. u in būk (K. byōk m., buk f.), bummā (K. bummā) "earth"; šūm "inflamed, wounded" (Av. xruma-?).
Grammar

Ir. ʕ.

35. K. has ʕəlak f. ʕəlak “brought” (*ʔə-bətaka-), xwałak, f. xwalak “ate” (*hu-rətaka-), mulak, f. məlk “died” (*mərətaka-), kəwalak f. kəwalak “copulated” (*kətaka-?), dəlak, f. dəlak “reaped” (*dətaka-), hətak f. hətok “abandoned” (*hətətaka-), tətak f. tətok “drank” (*tətətaka-). Cf. Log. vəluk, xəluk, məluk, vətəluk. The rules regarding the distribution of u and a, a are not clear.

Other instances of Ir. ʕ are K. pat “back” (Skr. pəstha-, Av. parsta-, with ar = ʕ); K. ʔəmət “forgetting” (*frəmətə-); məsaw-(K. məxəw-) “to rub” (*məsə-). In kərəz “hen” (*kərəzə-), giri (K. giri) “mountain” (Av. gərəi-), mərə “sparrow” (*mərə-?), ʔəlak (K. gələk) “rat” (*ɡəɾəya-?), K. hins “bear” (*ʔəsə-, cf. 66), hinl- “to be ground” (*ʔənə-) the i is probably due to epenthesis. Regarding trunuk (K. tranak) “thirsty” v. 66.

Ir. ai, aya.

36. ai results in ē: mēi (K. mai) “female sheep” (Av. məs̪iti-), spēw (K. spēw) “white” (Av. spaśətā-), spēk (K. ispēk) “barley” (*spaika-). ē before n: K. pin “honey” (*pəina-). But also wis- (K. wəs-) “to enter” (if *wəpa-isa-, but poss. *abi-isa); unstressed: pıkāk (K. pıkək) “(butter)milk” (Av. payah-), mizī “urine” (*maiz-?). ras- “to spin”; K. las- “to lick” (2 sg. šəsi, 3 sg. lasī) with ais, aiš > as, cf. EVP. s.v. maž.

Final -aya- ē in zli “heart” (Av. zərədaya-), prob. giri “mountain” (Av. garəyə), -im (*-ayəm) cf. 120. Rounded, after s in šo (K. šə) “3”. ē < *-aya- < *-ada- in panjəs “15” etc., K. mēx “locust” (Av. madaxa-), nimek “salt” (*nimadaka-).

Ir. au, ava.

37. Ir. au > ē: rōz (K. ryyūz) “day” (Av. raočah-), gōi “(K. govy) “ear” (Av. gaos̪a-), gōi (K. giyo) “cow” (Av. gav-), K. rõ “iron” (*rauda-), pōz (K. pyūz) “mouth” (Prs. pəz), K. mərəyk “moon” (*rauuksa-), məx- “to loosen” (*mauks-). ū before n: rūn “ghee” (Av. rauχa-), rūn “fire” (K. “bright”) (Av. rauχəna-).
ārwā (ārwā) > ā: nāk “wife” (*nāw(y)akā), gāk “meat” (gāwakā-?); cf. prāk, dāk (v. 126).

awā > ā? Cf. ōzuk “remaining” (*awa-zātaka-), ōn “so much” (*awánta-?). In final position uː nūw (K. nyūw) “new” (*nawahya? Av. nava-), tū “thee” (Av. tava); nā (K. n’h) “9” is prob. borr. from Psht. — Note K. rausas “fox” (*rausas < *raupasa-), nēs (K. unēs) “19” (< *navyas < *navādasa).

i- and u-Umlaut.


Apparently l < rt prevents the epenthesis: māli “husband” (*martya-), kāli “knife” (*kartya-). Note awaitu (K. awāi) “70” (Av. haptāiti-), but nīvē “90” (Av. navaiti-); winjōk “stepson”, but stressed a in wan “cowife” (Av. hapaṇi-).

39. u-Umlaut occurs in K. dyūra “firewood” (Av. dāru-), possibly in puwāk (K. f. pyūk) “cooked” (Av. paxva-). Regarding ōn < *antu(?) cf. 116.

Final Vowels.

40. -ah, -ā (cf. 78), i(h), -ahya, -ahi, -aya, -a have been lost, except in monosyllabic words. -ātī results in -ā (v. 117), -ātē in -ē, -āi (v. 99).

-ay, -i(y)ah (-iyā), -ayah, -ayatii all become -ī (cf. 78, 111).

Elision of Vowels.

41. As in Par. (Gr. 43) unstressed initial vowels have been elided, māx “we” (*ahmāxam), nāri̇zā “brother” (*hamātyzāta-), nēr “house, within” (*antaryā), wēr “to bring” (ā-bar-), K. wan “co-wife” (hapaṇi-), wīs- “to enter” (*upa-īsa-? v. 36). The elision has taken place at an earlier date in bōy (K. bōi) “near” (*upāya-), probably on
account of its being weakly stressed; cf. Par. pen (*upāntai?). Regarding jēm "below" cf. 46.

Elision of medial, unstressed short vowels in jist "20" (cf. Par. Gr. 43), ḟisṭu "30", cāṣṭu "40", panjāṣṭu "50" (cf. 50), prān "yesterday" (*parāna), skan "cow-dung" (sakān), paryan- "to dress" (*pari-gund-), syākā "shade" (*sayākā) etc.

Stress.

42. Regarding the following attempt to reconstruct the stress-system of the ancient Ir. dialect, from which Orm. is derived, cf. Par. Gr. 44 ff.

a) A long penultima was stressed: prān "yesterday" (*parāna), marzā "brother" (*hamāt-zāta), syākā "shade" (*sayākā) vaṃ "co-wife" (*hapānī), avaitu (K. awai) "70" (*haftātī), jusp "span" (*witaśpi), K. sāmōt "forgetting" (*frāṃṣṭata). Corresponding to this last-mentioned word Par. has nāmūr (*frāṃṣṭata-, cf. Par. Gr. 45 b); it is possible that the Orm. word ought to be derived from frāṃṣṭaḥya (v. 125). spēw "white", yāsp "horse" etc. may be derived either from the nom. *spaitah, *āsphah, or from the oblique *spaitahya etc. Probably the latter is the more probable derivation, considering the nearly exclusive use of the oblique form of masculine nouns and adjectives (cf. 125).

b) A long antepenultima was stressed before a short penultima: K. nāsk f. "sat down" (*nīhāstakā), K. yānak (pl.) "ashes" (*āsnakāh), wōk "water" (āpakā), rezan (K. rījan) "rice" (*wrijanāh; now a secondary pl. rījanī has been formed in K.), panjāṣṭu "50" (*pančāṣata), cāṣṭu "40" (*cānārsata), māli "husband" (*mārtahya). nāsk and yānak show that a short penultima was not stressed before a long final syllable, as was possibly the case in pre-Par. (45 c)). Regarding ga'nūm cf. c).

c) A short antepenultima was stressed before a short penultima: mstuk (K. nstak m.) "sat down" (*nastākahya), skan "cow-dung" (*sakānahya), K. winjōk "stepson" (*hapānī-zātākahya), K. earwōk "sheep and goats" (*caṅnar-pādākahya), txan "bread" (*nagānahya?)
K. rawäs "fox" (*rauṇásahya), zë'näk "chin" (*zanyákahya), 'zemák "winter" (*zimákahya?), ga'num (K. gunum) "wheat" (*gantúmahya, or with secondary stress-shift *gántumāh?), nák "wife" (*nawakā), gākā "meat" (*gāwakā), ašīs "18" (*aštādasa), nēs (K. unēs) "19" (*nvāyas < *navādasa), jist(u) "20" (*visātē), jistu "30" (*trisata-), nīvē "90" (*nāwati-, cf. 99), K. tusk "empty" (*tus(y)akah, from the nom.). Note e.g. dārim (K. dārm, cf. 120) < *dārayami, but Par. dērem (*dārayami), cf. Par. Gr. 45 f); similarly panjēs (*pančadāsas), but Par. paes (*pāncadāsas).

d) zīī "heart", qiri, gi'rī (K. grī) "mountain" are probably not derived from *zrdāyah, *garāyah, but have been subject to a subsequent shifting of accent.

Semivowels.

Ir. y.

43. There is no instance of Ir. y- in Orm. except possibly yūx "plough", yūy-lunīda "yoke", which may, however, be lw.s. K. yas- "to boil" (intr.), yasaw- (trans.) are probably bor. from Psht. yašēāl, yašawul.

A prothetic y- occurs: yum "I am" (Psht. yom), yāsp "horse", K. yānak "ashes" etc.

Regarding -āya w. 36; bōy "near" (*upāya-). ē(i)y > e in cawam, eum "I go"; së > ñ in šāk (K. suk f.) "became", but sam (K. sm) "I become"; së > ñ (K. sō) in sē (K. sō) "1", cf. 69; but tusk "empty" (*tusyākā, or *tusaka-); possibly së > ñ > ñ > 0 in K. imbāi "friends" (*hampādyā-?), rāi "road" (Av. rāiθa-, or lw.?).

Ir. w.

44. Initial w- > γ(w) (cf. Par. Gr. 48): γoš "snow" (Av. vafrā-, γvāsī (K. γvācī) "grass" (*vāstra-), γuskak (K. γuac) "calf" (*wasa-), γōr- "to rain" (Av. vār-), γūz- (K. γwaz-) "to fall" (Av. vaz-), γuš- (K. γwazr-) "to fear" (*wi-brah-), γušaw- (K. γuaw-) "to wash" (*wi-frau-), γuš- (K. γuac-) "to speak" (*waxšya-), K. γaf- "to weave".
45. *wy resulted in j (through *γẉ): jusp “span” (*γ̣usp < *wyasp < *witaspī), juš. (K. with dissim. juš-) “to see” (Av. vi-darēs), jist “20” *γ̣isšt < *wisati). But original wy- through early j- > j: K. jāk “place” (*wyākah-).

wr. > r- as in Par.: ḍezan (K. riśan) “rice” (*wrīśana-). Regarding hw-, xsw- v. 74, 57. — ēw > c (v. 47), ḍw > h > o: cār “4”. dw- > b-. bar “door” (Av. dvar-), ban. “to throw” (Av. dvan-), bē (K. bī) “other” (*dveitya-). dō (K. dyō, dū) “2” < *duvā, dwaś “12” < *duvādasa; K. dim “second” is a secondary formation from the cardinal.

Regarding -awa- etc. v. 37.

Prothetic w is common before ̣, u: wōk “water”, wutuk (K. hatak) “left, placed”, (w)ustuk “rose”.

Consonants.

Initial Plosives and Affricates.

46. Initial plosives remain unchanged before vowels (cf. Par. Gr. 49); k “to do”, ḫuli “knife”, kirū “hen”, gōi “cow”, giš “mountain”; tū “thou”, tōk “hot”, das “10”, dāk “made”; pēnc “5”, pyē “father”, bēś “rope”, K. bavar “arm from the wrist to the elbow”, bēga (K. bēga) “above”. The palatal affricates result in dental affricates (j further > z) as in Psht.: cār “4”, cōn “some”, zan- (K. jan-, zan-) “to beat”, zēś “thorn” (*jaśrī-). Cf. also jēm, zōm etc. (K. jēm) “below” (*hača-adama-) with early loss of the initial ha-, (v. 41) and zāy- (K. ja-) “to arrive”, the compounded form of cae-. — The derivation of čan (K. eśn) “year” is unknown.

47. Before sk-, sp-, st- a very short vowel is sometimes heard: (ʔ)spuk (K. spuk) “dog”, ḍukan “cow-dung”, (ʔ)stōr (K. stir) “tired” etc.

No instance of original gr- is known (grām “village” from Ind.); dr- in: dhī śi “lie” (*drux-is); drī “hair” is probably a lw. If K. braz- “to burn” represents the regular development of br-, K. rāz-ai
“nephew”, rāṣṭra “niece” are probably borrowed from early forms of present Psht. vrārə, vrēra. The -ai points to borrowing, but is not found in Psht. in this word, and ʰr  <  ³r ( > Psht. r) would point to very early borrowing.

Regarding ʰc(i)y  >  ʰc  >  c v. 43, ʰc  >  c in cōnd “some” (Av. ēvant-).

48. The lenition of original initial surds in biž- (K. bīz-) “to cook”, guḍā “where?”, K. gān, kān, “when?”, dar “contracted pron. 2 prs.” must be due to sandhi.

Non-initial Plosives and Affricates.

49. Ir. ʰk remains after vowels and ʰn: sikak “hare”, spuk “dog”, nimēk “salt”, ʰskan “cow-dung” (*sakana-), K. sukul “porcupine” (Av. sukurṇa-), K. sank “rock”. K. mrīg and mriķ “slave” (*maraka- Psht. mriyai); sig “beard of wheat or barley” is possibly borr. from Pfts.; K. sag “sand” is borr. from Psht. — In Ishk., too, the intervocalic unvoiced guttural shows a similar special power of resistance.

Intervoc. ʰg becomes ʰγ: drāγ “long”, parγan- (*pari-gund-) “to dress”, naγōk “went out”, txan “bread” prob. < *dγan (*dγ- being an unstable group) < ʰnγ- < ʰnγ- ʰnag-; the derivation of K. galγ “shoulder” is uncertain. After ʰr we find ʰg (through differentiation): mirgā “sparrow” (drāγ “long” with early metathesis < *dārga-); probably after ʰn: ʰnγuṣṭ “finger” (possibly lw.). The derivation of K. yānγ “embrace” is uncertain.

In K. ʰk, ʰg are palatalized before the pl. termination -ī: spuk “dog”, pl. spuči; ping “cock”, pl. pīnji. But Log. ʰspuk, pl. ʰspuk’i, -ći; pīng, pl. pīngi.

50. Intervocalic ʰt, ʰd are elided. ʰt in: p(ʰ)tē “father”, niwē “90”, sō “100”, dāk “made” (*dātaka-); possibly with the development of a labial glide in māvē “mother”, spēw “white”, zōk “beat” (cf. 27). ʰd in: n- “to sit down” (Av. ni-had-), aṣṭēs “18” (Av. aṣṭadasa), nimēk “salt” (*nimadakha-), K. rō “iron” (*raudha-).

As in Par etc. the ʰt was preserved through early contraction of vowel: ġiṣṭ “20”, ġiṣtu “30”, cāṣtu “40” etc. (cf. 41).
51. nt, nd > n: ga’mum “wheat”, xan- “to laugh”, par’yan- “to dress”, nėr “house”, cōn “some”. K. band “a large stream” is borr. from Pers. band “dam”. undōr-w- “to sew” is an ancient compound (*han-dyr-, cf. Par. an’darf-); sāndas “11” has been influenced by das “10”. But final nd after a long vowel has been preserved, or restored, through segmentation in K. hōnd “blind” (Av. anda-), cōnd (= cōn) “some” (Av. écand-). Cf. yēnd “penis” < Psht. yēn, awzdān “hanging” < Afgh. Pers. awzān(d), wazmīn “heavy” < Psrs. wazmīn; v. Voc. s.v. xrīnd. A similar tendency is found in Waz. Psht. armōnd, darmōnd < armān, darmān, possibly in Psht. drūnd “heavy” < *grūn < *grūn, cf. Pash. L. grānd “pregnant” < Psrs. girān.

γαν “rag” is Prob. borr. from Psht. *γαν (cf. EVP. s.v. ἄγαστον); with γαν “bad” (*γαν) cf. Psht. γαν “to dislike”. K. xwarine “right” (Soghd, xwarant) is also probably a lw.

52. rt, rd result in l, thus deviating from the usual development in E.Ir.: mulluk “died”, xuulluk “ate”, mâli “husband”, kāli “knife”, zāl “old”, K. sūla “coldness”, K. dīl “to reap”, gāl “to weave” (*gāl-); zīl “heart”, a-sāl “this year”, g- (K. gl-) “to take away” (*grāl), go’lak “rat” (*grādyaka-), mār “flour”, mar- “to knead, pulverize” must be borrowed from some other Ir. dialect. adẖu-gāḏ (ardu-gāḏ) “both” with recent assimilation of Psrs. hardū.

53. Intervocalic p, b become w: waw- “to get” (Av. wāv-ap-), mw- “to lie down” (Av. mī-pad-), K. carvōk “goats and sheep” (*cāwar-pādaka-), K. wān “co-wife” (Av. hāpaṇi-), K. raukas “fox” (*raupsa-), wōk (K. wāk) “water” (*awak < *āpākā-), tōa (K. tīcā) “sun” (*tāpa-), war- “to bring” (Av. ā-bar-), wē “to read” (Av. avi-ah-), wōs- “to enter” (*upa- or *abi-isa?) etc. — bōy “near” (*upōya-) with early loss of u-, cf. 41.


54. Intervocalic ē > ē (K. ē): rōz (K. rūz) “day”, numāz “prayer”, mōz- “to untie”, biē- “to cook”. In K. yuāc- (Log. yūs-) “to speak” ē has been secondarily developed from s (cf. 69) < _PCI < xīy (Av. fut. vaxśya-, v. 57). The derivation of mlic (K. milīz) “apple” and of
Č. (K. hinc-) "to be able" (*hakya-?) is uncertain. — Intervocalic ɨ > ě in ušnač- (K. wazn-) "to kill". In jem etc. (K. jem) "below" (*hača-adama) ha- has been lost at an early date, and ɨ is treated as in initial position (cf. 41, 46). But rezan (K. rjan, with ɨ < z?) "rice" (*wrijanā). The normal development must, however, have been that intervocalic -j- lost its occlusion as well as -č-. — In Psht. -č- results in ɨ-, but -j- in -ě-. In this language the dentalization of palatal affricates took place at an earlier date than in Orm., where both -č- and -j- had lost their occlusion before the introduction of this phonetical change.

nč > nc in stressed, final syllable: pence "5"; but cf. panjēs "15", panjās "50". — rč > rž in kiržī "hen" (*kyčyā-). But K. marcōi "ant", with suffixal ć treated as an initial, cf. Prs. mōrča.

55. Regarding ḫw v. 45. st e. g. in mustuk "sat down"; but ḫus "span" (*witaspi- < *witasī-) with dissimilation? (Cf. Charpentier, JRAS. 1927, pp. 115 ff.) sp e. g. in yāsp "horse". Regarding ħk, ṣc v. 72. ḥd, ṣd > l in nēla "presence, with" (Av. nākīyā), sūlēs "16" (*xshwaždasa). Probably through *d > r (cf. Psht. spāras), cf. rd > l v. 52.

Fricatives.

56. Initially before vowels the only Ir. fricative which occurs in Orm. is x: xan- "to laugh", xar "ass" (l.w.?). Between vowels x and f are preserved: mxv "face", měx "locust" (Av. mačaka), měx "we"; γaf- "to weave", nefak "navel". K. pan "wide" may be genuine (Av. paθana-), or borr. from Prs. pahn.

57. ḫw is reduced in cār "4", ēy in rāi "road" (Av. raiddya-), K. imbāi "friends" (*hampāēya-?); but xw > x: ḫuṣk "boiled".

Ir. *ḥūs > s in γusakāk "calf". It is improbable that c in K. γeuc has really preserved the occlusion of the original ts (cf. 69). ḥš > s in K. ḥwān "shepherd".

xē > š; šo (but K. šāw) "night" (Av. xšap-), šin (K. šin from Psht.) "green" (Av. axšaēna-), K. mašši "fly" (Av. maxši-), K. baš- "to give" (Av. baxš-), driši "lie" (*druxš-?). But xšy > š (K. s),
as in Psht.: duš- (K. dūs-) "to milk" (*dauxśya-), yuš-, (K. yuac-, cf. 69) "to speak" (*uauxśya-). K. brūš- "to glitter" (cf. Psht. brēšēdāl) scarcely < *upa-rauxśya- xwē- in *šū (K. šēh) "6", šūštu (K. šwaišti) "60". Regarding the derivation of šûpi "curds" v. Voc.

58. Before a nasal, š (and probably other fricatives) lost its specific articulation and was elided: K. wan "co-wife" (Av. hapaṇī-), K. memni "female guest" (*maiṇmn-). Cf. also rûn "ghee" (Av. raojna-), but rûn "fire" raojšna-, v. 71.

59. Before occlusives x and f were assimilated so early that the resulting t was elided in the same way as original intervocalic t. It is at any rate doubtful, whether the x and the f have left any trace in a respectively palatal and labial glide (cf. 27, 126). xt in: dukā "girl, daughter", B. dūa (K. dūkα, dūcα), ṣok (K. yuěk) "said" (*wuaxtaka-), dúk "milked" (duxtaka), mōk "untied" (*muaxtaka-), prāk "sold" (*paua-wuaxtaka-), K. bēk "gave" (*buxtaka-). ft in tōk "hot", hō (K. wō) "7", awēs "17", wāk "got" (*abī-uflaka-), šûpi "curds" (v. Voc.). Possibly rxt is treated in the same way as xt: K. māk "withered" (*marxtnka-, cf. Par. māt "killed").

60. ūr, xr and fr (and also mr, v. 62) result in š (K. šr) initially and between vowels. ūr in: šō (K. šē) "3", zēš "thorn" (*zāthri-), yuš- (K. yuasr-) "to fear" (*vi-štah-), mēs (K. mērsr) "sun" (Av. midra-), K. rāšaii "brother's son". — xr in: šen- (K. šēn) "to buy" (*xrin-), šuš "inflammation" (Av. xrüma-?), tēš (K. tēšr) "bitter" (taxrī-?), šuš "red", assimilated from K. sūśr < Av suṣra-. — fr in: šu- (K. šaw-) "to weep" (frauandara-?), K. šāmot "forgetting" (*frāṃšla-), K. ši-bukk "stinking" (*frūśya-), K. šak "flea" (*fruśkā-), šir- (K. šaw-) "to give" (fra-ap- or fra-da-, v. Voc.), yōš "snow" (Av. vafrā-).

This strong cerebralizing effect of r on a preceding fricative, which had probably previously lost its specific articulation, is very characteristic of Orm. The development of ūr šr š is known from Par., Soghd. and other dialects, the change of fr into š only from Bal. (šamuṣag "to forget") and Gabri; the corresponding development of xr is, as far as I know, not found in any other Ir. dialect.
61. The group str (sdr) results in š (K. s): beš “rope” (*bastrī-), γwāši (K. γwasti) “grass” (*wāstryra-), giši (K. gaš) “tooth” (*gastra-). The etymology of kāš (K. pl. kāshi) “Afghan” is unknown; the š may represent str, sr, xšy (v. 67, 57) and possibly other Ir. sounds. (v. p. 312, n. 2). — Note șr > š(t), but str, sr > š. Apparently the s has been less liable to cerebralization than the weak sound ș. — The contrast between s(t)r > š, but rs > š (v. 66) corresponds to that between Psht. s(t)r > š, but rs > ⟨⟩. In both languages rs was the weaker group, which was assimilated first and was most thoroughly influenced by the r.

yēwör “cloud” (abrya-) seems to show that voiced fricatives resisted the influence of the r better than the unvoiced ones.

Nasals.


Regarding nt, mp, nk etc. v. 51, 53, 49. Regarding *nḥ in pēnc “š” v. 54. Regarding rn, sn, šn, xšn, šm, zm v. 64, 71. Cf. txan, 49.

Before r an m loses its nasality and is treated as a fricative: K. nō(r)š “soft” (Av. namra-). But cf. yēwör “cloud” 61. Cf. txan, 49.

63. Regarding nasalization through assimilation v. 75. A spontaneous nasalization of vowels occurs, especially in K. E.g. ašt (K. hānšt) “8”, K. yānsp “horse”, K. hiṃs “bear”, K. hǐnl. “to be ground”, hēncē “tears”, hānwalk “egg”, hǐnc. “to be able”. The nasalization seems to have something to do with the initial h, which is probably pronounced without the nose being firmly closed by the velum.

Rolled and Lateral Sounds.

Ir. r.

64. Initial r in: rōż “day”, rūn “ghee”, rūn “fire”. Intervocalic r in: darim “I hold”, nēr “house” (as a postposition nēr and nē “in”).
Regarding *rg, *rb, *rt, *rd, *rɛ, *rɛt v. 49, 52, 53, 54, 59. *rn > *l: K. sukal “porcupine”, *mɪc (K. miliʃ) “apple” (*marmi”, cf. Psht. maṇa etc.?), K. hɪn- “to be ground” (*rinya-). K. kiːn “deaf” may be borr. from Psht. kʊn; kɪn- “to copulate” may also possibly be a lw. k- “to do” is borr. from Psht. kawul, or represents a parallel development of this frequently used verb.

65. rz results in *g (K. ʁ): bɛɡ (K. bɛz) in pabɛga “above” (Av. barɔyaŋ-), g- (K. ʁ-) “to leave, place” (Av. harɔz-), K. daŋ- “to load” (Av. dɔɾz-), K. ʁwaŋ- “to take an oath” (Av. varɔz-), K. aɛz “millet” (Prs. arzən etc.), xwawə (K. xwawə) “sweet” (Av. xarəzisṭa-), cf. K. xwɔzə “sweetness”. It is possible that K. ʁ (in ʁ-) is incorrectly written for ʁ. *ʁ was assimilated into K. ʁ, while the ʁ was kept apart from the unvoiced ʁ in ʁ. The transition of ʁ into g in Log. reminds us of N. Psht. In some transitional Ghilzai dialects, such as in Rustum Khel, and possibly in Pur Khel, we find a similar distribution to that in Orm. Log.: ʁ remains (or becomes ʁ̄), while ʁ becomes g (Pur Khel also ʁ̄, ʁ̄). — Note marzə “brother” (*ḥamātə-ṣṭa-).

66. rs, rʁ > ʁ̄: juʃ- (K. juʃ-) “to see” (Av. və-dərəs-), muʃaw- (K. muʃaw- for muʃaw-?) “to rub” (*mar̲ʃ-, cāʃtu “40” (*cāshvərsəta-), K. hɪns “bear” (the Log. form would have been *iʃ) < *r̲ʃi- (ʁ before i, cf. 35). Also Psht. yaʃ, iy, id̂ etc. prob. from the fem.).

In the group ʁʃn the ʁ developed into ra, rʁ, and the heavy group of consonants ʁn was avoided: trunuk (K. tranak) “thirsty” (Av. tarʃna = *trʃna-), cf. also prusnaw- “to sprinkle?” (v. Voc. s.v.).

67. The development of rʃt into t is curious; probably the intermediate sound was a cerebral t, which was, however, changed into t before the introduction of cerebrals in Ind. lw.s. Cf. Psht. t < ʃt (but ʃt < rʃt!). Examples: K. pat “back” (Av. parʃta-), K. ʃamɨt “forgetting” (*frəmrʃta-), K. mutaw- “to rub” (*mfrʃta-), wutuk (K. hatak) “left, laid” (hvrʃtaka-), K. tatak “drank” (*hvrʃtaka-). The derivation of gustuk “took” (K. gastak, gləstak) is uncertain. Possibly *gɾsta- > *grəstə-, with substitution of l for r from the presend gl- < *grəd-. sr probably resulted in ʁ: šir(r) (K. siri) “good”, possibly < Av.
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Regarding xr, fr, ọ, str, cf. 60, 61; gr, br, dr cf. 47.

Ir l.

68. Ir. l occurs only in K. las- "to lick".

Sibilants.

69. Initial s, z are retained: sō "100", sikak "hare", K. sāla "coldness; zli "heart", 'zemāk "winter". ź (< ẓy-) in šūk (K. suk f.) "became", but pres. sām etc. ź. (K. s-) < sy- in šē "1", šandas "11", sām "before", šān "today" (v. Voc. s. vv.). K. ċn "today" with ċ > s (cf. γwač, γwac, hēnčī, 54, 57, 67). Similarly Psht. cam (borr. into K. cōm) < sam "flat". The ċ probably arose out of a very energetic pronunciation of the s. — Regarding šūs "red" v. 60.

70. Intervocalic s, z in das "10", asul "this year", nas- "to seize", nis- "to go out", (*niš-isa-, or *ni-isa-), K. tusk "empty" (*tusaka-, or < *tusk < *tusyaka-); mēţ- (K. maz-) "to break", pazań- (K. pazon-) "to recognize", pōź (K. pyüz) "mouth", marzā (K. marzā) "brother" (*hamātrzāta-); but K. winjōk "stepson" (*hapoñizstāta-) with j < z, cf. c < s above (and K. rjān, 54).

Intervocalic ź is elided, or becomes y: gōi (K. gōy) "ear", mēi (K. mai) "ewe", spōi (K. spōi) "louse", nis- "to go out" (*niš-isa-, or *ni-isa-).

71. s, z and ź are assimilated before nasals: K. yānak "ashes" (*āsakā-), sān (K. cōn) "today" (*sya-azna-, Av. asna-); cimī (K. cōm) "eye", pōm "wool" (Prs. paśm), trumuk "thirsty" (*tršnaka-); but, with more recent assimilation, rūn "fire" (Av. raḥsna-). The derivation of K. prusnaw. "to sprinkle" (*pršna-?) is uncertain.

72. zd, žē > l v. 55m na-yōk "went out" probably < *mi-, not *niż-gataku.

Regarding šk, sp, st cf. 47, 55; str, sr cf. 61, 67. sę and šk are assimilated into c (< ċ), k: pęc "back, behind" (*pasęya-, Av. pasca,

73. ṣt > ṣt (K. ṣț, ṣṭ): muštuk (K. maštak) “broke”, ṣuṭuk (K. ḡwāštak) “fell”, K. pištak “wrote”, ṣuṭu (K. ḡwaištī) “60”, aurūşt (K. uršt) “beard”; ṣţ (ṣṭ? K. hānšt) “8”, aštēs (K. aštēs) “18”, K. hištak “read” (Av. aiwištī “study”), nēṭa (K. ništā) “outside” (Skr. niṣṭya- etc.), K. ašt “to be standing” (Av. hiṣṭa-). — Orm. ṣt > ṣt (ṣt), but ršt > t (cf. 67); Psht. ṣt > t, but ršt > ṣt. In Orm. the cerebralization of ṣt is probably comparatively recent, and did not take place till ršt had become *ršt > *ṭ (but ṣd, ṣṭ > ṣl), on account of the less energetic pronunciation of ṣ (cf. 55). In Psht., on the other hand, the r of ršt was preserved until ṣt had become *ṣṭ > *ṭ.

Ir. h.

74. Initial h is lost in Log.: wō “7”, awēs “17”, marzā “brother” (*hamāṭrāta-) etc., wuṭuk (K. hatak) “left” *hrštaka-, č (K. hinc-) “to be able”. In K. h is apparently preserved before a stressed syllable: hō “7”; awēs “17”; cf. also wān “co-wife” (Av. hapadnī-), imbē “friends” (*hampāthya-?). Intervocalic h in yuḥ- (K. ywāṭ-) “to fear” (*yu-ṛgha-), K. hait “thou art” (Av. ahī), cf. yum (K. hōm) “I am” (Av. ahmi).

Prothetic h is very common in K.: hām “unripe”, hōnd “blind”, hīnd- “to be ground”, hīns “bear” etc. Note K. hānšt (Log. qšt) “8”: aštēs “18”.

hw > x(w): xui (K. xwai) “self”, xr: xulluk (K. x(u)r: xvalak) “to eat”, xwar “sister” (lw.?), K. xvarinē “right”.

Assimilation and Dissimilation.

75. Numerous instances of assimilation through contact are found throughout the preceding paragraphs. Cf. also 125. Assimilation at a distance occurs in: nimišta “written” (Prs. nivistiša), maindān

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"plain" (Prs. maidān, cf. EVP. s. v. mör), nīni "nose" (Prs. bīnī?), sūs "red" < K. sūs, v. 60.
Dissimilation in: layār- "to roll" (Psht. ṛaṛēdo), biyān "waist" (Prs. miyān).

Metathesis.

76. The following examples are taken from K.: buzvā "spider" (*wabzā-), watk "walnut" (from *wakf, b caravan from some dialect form of Skr. aksotā-? But cf. Waz. maṭak), zwayak "kernel of the pine-nut" (*wawaz-, Prs. gōz), razγūn "green" (Psht. zarγūn), mizdik (Log. mazdik) "mosque" (Prs. masjīd, but Waz. mazdak). Most of these words are loan-words, and the metathesis may have taken place before the word was adopted into Orm. — An ancient metathesis is found in drāy (K. drāy, dāray) "long", cf. Av. darṣya- etc., v. 49.

77. List of Phonetica Correspondences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orm. a</th>
<th>Ir. a (26, 28), ā (30), i (31), u (33), ē (35), ai (36), -ati (40).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orm. ū</td>
<td>Ir. ū (34), ā (27), ē (35).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orm. û</td>
<td>Ir. û (34), au, awa (37), a (39), uxta (59).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orm. ā</td>
<td>Ir. āwa (37).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orm. ē</td>
<td>Ir. ā (26, 38), ē (29, 30), ā (31), ātis (40), -xta (59).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orm. ā</td>
<td>Ir. ā (38), ē (30), ā (36), a, ada (28), i (31), ātiš (40), -xta (59).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orm. û</td>
<td>Ir. ľ (34), or, awa (37), a (39), uxta (59).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orm. ā</td>
<td>Ir. ā (26, 38), ē (30), ū (31), ā (31), ātis (40), -xta (59).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orm. ā</td>
<td>Ir. ľ (34), ā (27), ē (35).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orm. û</td>
<td>Ir. ľ (34), ā (27), ē (35).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orm. ā</td>
<td>Ir. ľ (34), ā (27), ē (35).</td>
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<td>Orm. ā</td>
<td>Ir. ľ (34), ā (27), ē (35).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orm. û</td>
<td>Ir. ľ (34), ā (27), ē (35).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orm. ā</td>
<td>Ir. ľ (34), ā (27), ē (35).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orm. û</td>
<td>Ir. ľ (34), ā (27), ē (35).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Irish</td>
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<td>---------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orm. $d &lt; \text{Ir. } r + d$ (52).</td>
<td>Orm. $\ddot{s} &lt; \text{Ir. } f\ddot{s}, x\ddot{s}, x\dddot{s}w$ (57),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$p &lt; p^-$ (46).</td>
<td>$\mathfrak{d}r, \mathfrak{xr}, \mathfrak{fr}$ (60), $mr$ (62),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b &lt; b^-$ (46), $p^-$ (48), $d\ddot{w}^-$ (45).</td>
<td>$rs, r\ddot{s}$ (66).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f &lt; \text{Ir. } -f^-$ (56).</td>
<td>$z &lt; \text{Ir. } z$ (69, 70), $j$ (46, 54).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\ddot{c} &lt; \text{Ir. } \ddot{k}^-$ (49, 54).</td>
<td>$\ddot{e} &lt; \text{Ir. } \ddot{e}^-$, $\ddot{f}$ (54).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\ddot{y} &lt; w^-$ (45).</td>
<td>$0 &lt; h^-$ (74), $t^-$, $d^-$ (50),</td>
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<tr>
<td>$c &lt; \text{Ir. } \ddot{c}^-$ (46), $\dddot{c}y^-$ (43), $\dddot{c}w^-$ (47), $-\ddot{s}c^-$ (72); (in K.) $\ddot{s}$ (54, 69).</td>
<td>$\ddot{w}w^-$, $\ddot{w}y^-$ (57), $\ddot{x}t^-$, $\ddot{f}t^-$ (59), $\ddot{s}^-$ (70).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$j &lt; \text{Ir. } -c^-$ (46), $d\ddot{v}$ (51), $w^v$ (45), K. $j^-$ (46), $-j^-$ (54).</td>
<td>$\ddot{v}g &lt; \text{Ir. } ng$ (49).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$n &lt; \text{Ir. } n$ (62), $nt, nt^-$ (51), $\gamma n, \gamma n$ (58), $\ddot{r}s\ddot{n}$ (65), $s\ddot{n}$, $\dddot{z}n, \ddot{s}n$ (71).</td>
<td>$nd &lt; \text{Ir. } n\ddot{d}$ (51), $-n$ (51).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m &lt; \text{Ir. } m$ (62), $\dddot{m}$ (58), $\dddot{s}m$ (71).</td>
<td>$mb &lt; \text{Ir. } mp$ (53).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$n &lt; \text{Ir. } x\ddot{s}n$ (58, 71).</td>
<td>$\ddot{n}c &lt; \text{Ir. } n\ddot{c}$ (54).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$r &lt; \text{Ir. } r^-$ (64), $w\ddot{r}^-$ (45), $b\ddot{r}^-$? (47), $r\ddot{b}$ (53).</td>
<td>$\ddot{n}j &lt; \text{Ir. } n\ddot{c}$ (54).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$l &lt; \text{Ir. } l$ (68), $r\ddot{t}, r\ddot{d}$ (52), $z\ddot{d}, z\ddot{d}$ (55), $r\ddot{n}$ (64).</td>
<td>$\ddot{r}g &lt; \text{Ir. } r\ddot{g}$ (49).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$s &lt; \text{Ir. } s$ (69, 70), $-s$-$y^-$ (43, 70), $\ddot{s}y^-$ (43), $\dddot{s}s$ (57).</td>
<td>$\ddot{r}w, r\ddot{u} &lt; \text{Ir. } r\ddot{b}$ (51, 53).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\ddot{s} &lt; \text{Ir. } \ddot{s}y^-$ (43, 69), $\dddot{s}y^-$ (43, 69), $x\ddot{s}y$ (57), $s\ddot{t}r$ (61), $s\ddot{r}$ (67).</td>
<td>$\ddot{g}r &lt; \text{Ir. } gr^-$ (47).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\ddot{t}c &lt; \text{Ir. } n\ddot{a}y^-$ (49).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MORPHOLOGY.

Nouns.

Stem-Formation.

78. From ancient stems in -a- e.g.: yāsp „horse” (Av. aspa-), yōs „snow” (Av. vafrā-), gōi „ear” (Av. gaoṣa-), muk „face” (Skr. mukha-).

From stems in -(a)ya-: māi (K. māi m.) “month” (Av. māhya-), māli “husband” (Anc. Prs. m(a)rtiya-), zāli “heart” (Av. zordaya-).

From stems in -ū: nāk “wife” (*nau(y)akā), sā (K. šiw f.) “night” (Av. xaspā-?) txan “bread” is f. in K., and K. ywac “calf” may be either m. or f. (*nyaṇā-, *watsā-?). Cf. also the p. p. f. in K., e.g. buk “become” (m. byōk). Accordingly -ā (K. ą) in mirgā “sparrow”, K. rāṣra “niece” etc. is probably due to influence from Psht. — From stems in -(e)ya-: kirē “hen” (*krēyā-), kālī “knife” (*kartyā-), but nēr, (K. nar f.) “house” (*antaryā-).

From stems in -ī: yōsp “span” (Av. vitasti-), K. wan “cowwife” (Av. hapaṇī-), mēi (K. mai) “ewe” (Av. maēṣī-), būmmā “earth” (Av. būmī-, cf. late Anc. Prs. acc. būmām) with secondary -ā. ge “mountain” is prob. derived from the Av. pl. garayō. — From stems in -u-: K. dyūra “firewood” (cf. Av. dāru-).


Stems in -kā- are very numerous. V. Voc. s.v.v. dukā, spuk, syākā, šak, šemāk etc. The -ai, e.g. of rāṣ’ai- is prob. of Psht. origin. A double -ka- suffix is found in pikāk (K. pīkak) “milk”, K. sikak “hare”.
The ancient Ir. stems are all inflected alike in Orm. Most masculines go back to an oblique form in -ahya, cf. 42 a, 125.

**Composition.**

79. Prs. compounds frequently occur; but genuine Orm. nominal compounds are rare. Cf., however, K. gön²-mirg² "skylark", K. kan²-werag² "a kind of crow", mālīda'ī "woman whose husband is alive". Ancient compounds are e.g. marzā "brother", K. earwōk "sheep and goats", K. winjōk "stepson", K. kirmai "hen"; possibly šiπi "milk", tōπi "buttermilk" (v. Voc. s.v.v.).

As in Par., genitive groups frequently replace compounds: gākā ta giši "gums"; nas ta πāi "calf of the leg"; sumb ta πāi "heel". These constructions are due to the influence of the Prs. izāfat-compounds.

Cf. also verbal compounds such as: amar- "to hear" (*ā-mar-), uznaw- "to kill" (Av. aiwi- or ava-jan), waw- "to read" (Av. aiwi-ah-), wust- "to rise" (Av. us-stā-), prāk "sold" (*para-waxta-), parγan- "to dress" (parī-gund-), K. šamōt "forgetting" (*frā-myșta-), n- "to sit down" (Av. ni-had-), γușaw- "to wash" (*wi-fraw-) etc.

**The Article.**

80. The definite article is a-: a-sa’raj (= K.) "the man" (but ‘a sa’raj "this man", v. 103).

The numeral šē "1" is used as an indefinite article: šē sa’raj (K. ša sa’raj) "a man" or "one man".

**Gender.**

81. There is no distinction of gender in Orm. Log. A number of nouns denoting female beings end in -ā (= K. a, cf. 78); but
the adjective or verb does not change, as it does in K. Probably the loss of the f. is due to the influence of Prs. Example: še sarai (zarka) uṣyār arzāk “a wise man (woman) came”.

Number.

82. The sign of the pl. is -i or -iyē (K. -i). Most nouns ending in a consonant take -i, e.g. čān "year", zēš “thorn”, gōn “stick”, pīng (K. pīng, pīnji) “cock”, nūkār “servant”. A final -k is palatalized before -i: gōlak “rat”, pl. gōlak’i (K. gilak, gilacči): wūl “egg”, pl. wūl’i; spuk “dog”, pl. spuk’i, spući (K. spuk, spuci). Also dūkā “daughter” has the pl. dūk’i, dūći (K. dūkē, dūcē).

Nouns ending in a vowel or diphthong generally have the pl. in -iyē: sa’ra’i “man”: sa’riyē (sariyē), awra’i “ram”: auriyē, zarka “woman”: zar’kiyē, marzā “brother”: mar’siyē (mar’sāyē), māhi “fish”: māhiyē, gōi “cow”: gōyē. But also: gap “stone”: ga’piyē, kitāb “book”: kitābiyē, spuk “dog”: spuk’iyyē etc.

A few words are always used in pl.: cimē “eye” (K. cōm, pl. camē), drī “hair” (K. drē, pl. drē), gisē “tooth” (K. gas), kisē “tale” (cf. Psht. pl. xabarē); driši “lie” (K. darēši). Probably girī “mountain” is an original pl. (cf. 36, 78).

After numerals we find e.g. dō klān “two sons”; zut kitāb; az zdūl dūkā darim “I have many daughters”. kla’nāk “boy” was said to have the same form in sg. and pl.

83. Acc. to G. the pl. termination -i is derived from Phl. -ihā. This is, however, very doubtful. More probably we ought to compare Psht. -i. The possibility of deriving girī “mountain” < Av. garayō has been mentioned above (82). It seems possible that -i and -iyē are merely phonetical variants of an etymologically identical termination.

Case.

84. As in Par. (Gr. 84), there is no fixed limit between “cases” and postpositional forms. I have reckoned as “cases” those postpositional forms which are not constructed with the genitive:
Grammar

Nom.  nēr "house".
Acc.  (ku) nēr.
Gen.  ta nēr.
Instr.  pa nēr.
Dat.  (ku) nēr kī.
Loc. I.  (i-) nēri.
Loc. II.  (i-) nēri nē.
Superess.  nēr(i) jē.
Comit.  (i-) nēr(i) giḏi.
Abl.  (i-) nēr dī.
Adess.  nēri nēla.
Termin.  nēr tu-manak.
Voc.  ai nēr.

Nominative.

85. There is no agent case, the nom. being used as a subject with
the past tenses of transitive verbs. This development is probably
not due to any Prs. influence, as it is found in K. too.

Accusative.

86. The indefinite object is not formally distinguished from the sub-
ject: klanāki jē kitāb bu awim "I am reading a book to the boy".
But the definite object is marked by the prefix ku (corresponding
to Par. ma): ku kitāb bu awim "I am reading the book"; ku daraxt
bu zanam "I fell the tree". ku is always used with pronouns: ku
mun "me"; az bu ku tōs zanam "I beat you". The derivation of
ku is uncertain. It corresponds to K. kū, a locative prefix used
with proper names. In Log., too, it is used with nouns and pro-
nouns denoting a person in the local cases.

Genitive.

87. tar tū ta pē nēr "your father’s house"; ta xui ta klān i-gardani
"to the neck of his own son"; ūd dukandār ta grām dī "from a
shopkeeper of the village". With postpositions: ta giri sar "on
the top of the hill"; ta qābr i-sar "on the tomb"; ta rāi (i-)sar (nē)
"on the road"; ta daraxt i-jōmi nē "under the tree"; ta kisti mōnzi nē
"in the middle of the boat"; ta nēr i-mīn di "from the interior
of the house"; ta xui ta klān i-mōnzi nē "amongst his own sons";
tar tū pēci di "from behind you".
With ta (before personal pronouns tar), cf. Psht. da, genitive prefix, Par. tar “to, in from” < Av. tarō.

**Instrumental.**

88. pa¥ (also K.) < Av. paiti. pa cimi “(he gave a sign) with the eyes”.

**Dative.**

89. ku sarai ki “to the man”; kafo sarai ki še kitāb bu ar širim “I give a book to that man”; nūkari ki “to the servant”. In a local sense: az bu nēr ki cūm “I shall go home”; qabristān ki “to the graveyard”; prob.: ta xuy i-pē ki “to his own father” (not *xuyi pe). K. has ki or liki: i-sarai (li)ki “to a man”. Acc. to G. liki is a compound; but it is equally probable that ki is a shortened form of liki. The derivation is unknown. < *ardaki? Cf. Av. arōda- “side” etc., Sak. -ālsto “towards”, v. Barth., miran Mund., I, 3 ff.

**Locative I.**

90. The simplest form of the loc., which is also used as a base for other cases, ends in -i: wōki al-γυστοκ “he fell into the water”; škāri-wa ar-zāk “he came shooting”; še waxti būk “once upon a time”. With prefixed i:- i-sar-a “on her head”; i-gardani-wa “to his neck”; tar mun i-zli “in my heart”. Also ta xuy i-Xudāi ki “to his own God” (or: ta xuyi?), cf. 89. The form in -i may perhaps be derived from an ancient loc., Av. -ē (-ae), -aya (but v. 40). The derivation of i- is unknown (probably not < *adi “to” or *ida “here”).

**Locative II.**

91. nēri né or i-nēri né “in the house”; afō sarai jangal (šāri, girī) né ya “the man is in the forest (town, on the mountain)”; sari né-wa “on his head”; kitāb buhmāi né a (gōn) “the book is on the ground (put it on the ground)”; al-γυστοκ-ē bummāi né “it has fallen to the ground”; i-pūshi né “on the back”; bēśi né “with a rope”.
Cf. K. inar "in" (i-sarai inar). But forms such as wōki (v. 90) prove that we ought to write e.g. i-nēri nē, not i-nēr i-nē. Cf. Le. i-ne, i-ner. nē(r), nar = nēr, nar "house" (G.) < *antar(y)a-; cf. Prs. dar.

Superessive.

92. giri jē a "it is on the mountain"; pōn(i) jē "on the road"; kitāb mēzi jē gōn "put the book on the table"; bummāi jē gōn "put it on the ground"; afō a-yāspī jē "on the back of the horse"; tar xui šānai jē "on her own shoulder"; giri jē bēk sam "I ascend the hill"; kanci jē "(he spent it) on harlots"; ku tū jē "(I sold it) to thee"; giri jēr mustuk-ē (K. i-gri i-zar nastak hā) "he is sitting on the top of the hill". K. izar, Le. jar.

The derivation of jē(r) etc. is unknown. *kašai might result in *kµē, *čē, jē; -r possibly from nē(r); but K. z-?

Comitative.

93. bādšā gidi "together with the king"; ta bādšā i-klān gidi "together with the king's son"; i-nēri gidi; tar xuy i-marzāyi gidi "together with his own brothers". Note: ku mun gidi "together with me"; kafō gidi "together with him".

gidi, K. gaḏ is of Ind. origin, gidi rhyming with ki, di.

Ablative.

94. nēr di; qabr di "from the tomb"; sarai di "from a man"; xuwar di "from the sister". With i: bummāi di , "from the ground"; kitāb mēzi(di) di wur "take the book from the table"; tar tū yi-kissi di "from thy tale". With persons ku is, as a rule, prefixed: ku mun di "from me"; kafō sarai di tuan b' nasam "I shall take the bread from that man"; but also kafō wāda di.

Cf. Le. yāsp di "from the horse", K. di "from him, her, it" (puštani-wa di dāk "he asked from him"). K. lāst or lāsta di "from".

Adessive.

95. a-sarayi nēla "with, belonging to the man". K. inēla; nēla < Av. nazdyō-, v. Voc.
Terminative.
96. Lokar tu-ma'nak "as far as L.", K. ta-minak, ta-minšak.

Vocative.
97. ai kēwāna "O madman".

Adjectives.
98. There being no distinction of gender, we find e.g. šē sarai (zarka) usyrā "a wise man (woman)"); bummā (K. f.) šīn (šūs, špēw, yrra) a "the ground is green (red, white, black)". But K. f. šīn, sūs, špēw, yrra.

The adjective is in most cases placed before the noun: špēw yāsp "a white horse". But also: "kafō nēri zari nē "in that little house"; šē sarai bēaql "a stupid man"); "ta šē aurrā juān "of a young ram". The izāfat construction is unknown.

Comparison is made with the help of the abl. in dī (K. lāst dī). a-goī bē goī dī zut ḍaŋgar ē "this cow is much leaner than (the leanest of) the other cows".

Numerals.
99. 1. šē (K. sō, s, Le. she) < *syō < *k'ios (cf. Voc.).
2. dō (K. dō, Le. do) < *duwā, Av. āva.
3. šō (K. šē, Le. ghe) < A. ṣrāyō. V. 36.
4. cār (K. cār, Le. tsār) < Av. čawārō.
6. šō, šūō, šū (K. šē, Le. ksha) < Av. xšvaš.
7. wō (K. hō, Le. wo) < Av. hapta.
8. āšt (K. hānśt, Le. anst) < Av. āšta.
9. nā, nā (K. nōh, Le. noh) < Av. nava, or lw. from Psht.
10. das (K., Le.) < Av. ḍasa.
13. šēs (K. šēs, Le. shes) < Av. *śridasa, or *śrayōdasa.
   K. šuvēs is a secondary form. V. 55.
18. *ašēs* (K. Le. ašēs) < Av. aštadasa.
20. *jēśt* (jēstu) (K. jēṣū, Le. jēśt) < Av. visaitī. The -ū has been
   introduced from jēstu etc. — 21. jēśt u šē.
20. *jēstu* (K. jēṣū, Le. shist) < ṣrisata-, Av. ṣrisatōm; shist is
   the more original form.
50. *pa'njāstū* (K. panjāstū, Le. panzast) < Av. paṇcāsatōm
   The ś of K. is analogical. ā incorrectly for ā?
60. *šāṣtū* (K. švaištī, Le. khoshty) < Av. xšvaštī-
   The -u is analogical.
70. *a'waītī* (K. awāi, Le. hawai) < Av. haptāiti-. The -tu is analogical.
80. *cār jēstu* (K. haštāi, Le. haštai < Av. aśtāī-).
90. *nūvē* (K. navē, Le. nuvi) < Av. navaitī-
   (*navāti, with accent from *aštāī? Cf. 42 c).
100. *sō* (K. sū, Le. sad) < Av. satōm.
1000. *a'zār* (Le. hazār) < Prs. — K. zār is genuine.
   Regarding the ordinal K. dim "second" and bē (K. bī)
   "other" cf. 45.

**Pronouns.**

**Personal Pronouns.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>100.</th>
<th>1st Prs. Sg.</th>
<th>2nd Prs. Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td><em>ku mun</em></td>
<td>Acc. <em>ku tū</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td><em>ku mun ki</em></td>
<td>Dat. <em>ku tū ki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superess.</td>
<td><em>ku mun jē</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comit.</td>
<td><em>ku mun giḍi</em></td>
<td>Abl. <em>ku tū di</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td><em>ku mun di</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1st Prs. Pl. | 2nd Prs. Pl.
---|---
Acc. ku máx. | Acc. ku tős.
Gen. tar máx etc. | Gen. tar tős.


**Pronominal Suffixes.**

101. 1st Prs. Sg. -am, -m < *a-mai (Zeb. -am etc.).
   2nd » -at, -t < *a-tai? (Zeb. -ē), with special treatment of -t.
   3rd » *-a, -wa < *a-hai (Zeb. -a).
1st » Pl. -ēn < *a-nah (Zeb. -en).
   2nd » *?
   3rd » *-a, -wa (= 3rd Sg.).
-m, -t, -wa are postvocalic forms.

The pronominal suffixes are used as genitives, as objects, and as subjects of past tenses of transitive verbs.

As a genitive: a-pē-m "my father"; txan-āt xrown "eat thy bread"; a-baya-wa "its price"; xwār dī-wa "from his sister"; a-nas-a "their bellies". The pronominal suffix is frequently used pleonastically with a genitive: ta bāit a-waž-a "the sound of the song"; tar mun ta pē nākari-wa "my father's servants"; ta pē-wa a-zēl-wa "his father's heart"; taru sarai a-dūkā-wa "the daughter of this man".

As an object: bēši nē-wa tarōn "bind him with ropes (a rope)"; rāi-wa dāk "sent him away".

As a subject: -am dāk-e "I have made"; lauz-am dā būk "I had uttered a word"; a-klān-am zut suk-e = a-klān zut-am suk-e "I have beaten the boy much"; *ca ajab čiz-at dēk "what wonderful thing didst thou see?"; tū amarōk-ut "thou didst hear"; ku mun-a tišawōk-a "he has put me to flight"; tar xui a-māl-a talaf-a dāk "he squandered
his own property"; a-mux-a-wa póč dāk "he kissed his face". In pê-wa ta xuy a-klûn-a dēk "his father saw his own son" -a may be taken either as a subject, or as a genitive.

**Contracted Pronouns.**

102. The contracted pronouns are as follows:

1st Prs. ar, ēr, B. ri (K. hîr, rî, Le. ar, ra).

2nd Prs. dar (K. dal).

3rd Prs. al (K. hal).

These forms are used chiefly with the verbs "to give", "to say", "to go", "to come", and correspond to Psht. rā, dar, war. Examples: ku mûn kî ar-sēr "give it to me"; ar-zâk-ē "he has come here"; B. ēr-zûi "come here"; dar-sîrîm-a bu "I shall give it to thee"; az bu ku tû ki dar-zûm "I shall come to thee"; az bu ku tû ki pêc dar sîrîm "I shall give it back to thee"; al-cawôk "he went away"; al-dyêk "he looked at it"; kafô kî al-yôk "he said to him"; ku mûn ku tû dî b' al-gî "he will take me away from thee"; nak al-ōzûk-ē = al nak wōzûk-ē "was not left for him".

As in some Psht. dialects, the verbs "to come" and "to give" may take the contr. pronoun 1st prs., even when the remote object is in the 3rd or, rarely, the 2nd prs. E. g. ar-sîr "give him"; tû kafô kî zut txan ar-šuk-ē "thou hast given him much bread"; wûs sari nê-wa ar-zâk "sense came to his head"; nêr kî kà bôi ar-zâk, ta baiû a-avâz-a gôi nê-wa al-zâk "when he came near to the house, the sound of the singing came to his ear"; ca-wa ku ku tû kî ar-šûk-ê, pêc ar-sîr "give him back what he has given to thee".

The relation of ar, dar, al to Psht. râ (Afridi sr), dar, war has been discussed Rep. p. 35. It seems possible that the Orm. forms were borr. from Psht. at an early date.

K. di, ña "in or on me, us, thee, you" is met with only in Log. da-yà "it exists"; wi, wa "in or on him etc." in Log. wô-nâra "into the house". Cf. 111.
Demonstrative Pronouns.

103. There are two demonstrative pronouns, viz. a "this", aʃo "that", also "he, she, it".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a &quot;this&quot;</td>
<td>aʃo &quot;that&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>kara</td>
<td>kafō.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>tara</td>
<td>taʃo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>paʃo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>kafōi nē.</td>
<td>kafō di.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>aʃoɣi &quot;those&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples: a'ca kissi yē? "what matter is this?"; aʃo draxt bōy e, 'a draxt pēc ē "that tree is near; but this tree is far away(!)"; kara kla'nak "this boy" (acc.); tara saraí yāsp xarāb ē "this man's horse is bad"; cēštan tara āyina ya "he is the owner of this mirror"; para rāi "by this road"; tarā i-kissi di "for this reason". Cf. Le. kurra kariner "in this affair" etc.

aʃo saraí mustuk-ē "that man is sitting"; aʃo txā̄n-at . . . al-gustok-ē "thou hast taken away that bread"; kafō ripē kafō saraí ki ar-šēr "give that rupee to that man"; kafō al-gustokum-ē "I have taken it away"; kafō ki "to him"; kafōi nē "in it"; taʃo a-mar'zā kafō di puštenna-wa dāk "his brother asked him".

a, K. hō, f. hā etc. obviously goes back to Av. ha- (m. hō, f. hā).

The nature of the additional element in aʃo, K. hafō is uncertain. G. compares Psht. ha-ya; but f cannot correspond to ŋ, although there may, after all, be some connexion or other between the two forms. G. is certainly right in dividing tara, K. tar² into tar-a, with the fuller form of the genitive prefix. In the course of time tara was, however, analyzed as t-ara, and the analogy of t-afō, k-afō, p-afō produced the forms k-ara, p-ara (K. kū ra², pa ra²).

The system of personal pronouns in Orm. is much simpler than that of Prs., not to speak of Par. It has probably been influenced by that of Psht., but has been still more simplified.
Reflexive Pronoun.

104. The reflexive pronoun is xui “self”. xuy-a xrunuk šuk-ē “he himself (xud-iš) has become hungry”; ta xuy i-pē ki “to his own father”; ta(ř) xui a-māl “his own property”. Note that xui (< Av. x²atō) does not correspond in meaning to K. xwai, Psht. xpol “own”, but to Prs. xud “self”. The genitive prefix is tar or ta.

Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

105. The relative pronoun is ka, as in K. The interrogative pronouns are kōk “who?”; ca, ca “what?”, cōnd “how much, how many?” (K. kuk, e², cōn); cf. Voc. s.v.v.

Indefinite Pronouns.

106. kōk, ca and cōn are also used as indefinite pronouns. Other indefinite pronouns are: (w)ōn “so much”, arca “whatever”, eč, eca “anything”, bē “other”, ar “every”.

Pronominal Adverbs.


Verbs.

Verbal Nouns and Participles.

108. The infinitive is identical with the past participle. E. g. xanōk “to laugh”. Another verbal noun ends in -i: pa xa'ni šuk = pa xanōk šuk “he started laughing”.

As in K. (and in Psht.), there is no present participle.

Regarding the past participle in -k v. 122.
Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.

"To Be".

Present.

109. Sg. 1 Prs. yum “I am”. Pl. yēn.
2 yōn, yūn.
3 (y)a, (y)e.

az nājōr yum “I am ill”; afō nājōr (y)a; máx nājōr yēn, afō sariyē nājōr ya etc. marziyēt cōn yē? das marziy-ēn. “how many brothers hast thou?” “I have ten brothers”; nak-um “I am not”. In the 3rd prs. sg. the forms (y)a and (y)e are, as far as I can see, used indiscriminately: ca ya? “what is it?”; a ca kisē yē? “what matter is this?”; ‘a tar ‘mun a-nāk a “this is my wife” = ‘a tar ‘mun a-nāk ē. ‘a tar tū a-klān ē “this is thy son”: cōn čān a? “how many years old is he?”. cōn pēc ē “how far is it?”; mālum nāk ē, ka afō gudā ya, yē “it is not known where he is”; desti nē-m nāk a “it is not in my hand”: kitāb nēla-m yē “the book is with me”; tar mun a-jāi pēc a “my home is far off”: ‘a tar ‘mun a-marzā pa’dak yē “he resembles my son”.

yum (K. hām) may be derived direct from Av. ahmē, and 3 pl. yēn (K. hin) < Av. hantī. — Possibly (y)a (K. hā) < Av. astī. The derivation and original significance of (y)e is unknown. — 1 pl. yēn (K. hyēn) with n from the pronominal suffix *nah, as is the case in many other Ir. dialects, too. — 2 pl. yē (K. hai) reminds us of Psht. yai, but is of unknown origin. — While K. hai “thou art” goes back to Av. ahi, yōn has got the termination which is characteristic of an important class of verbs, and which will be discussed below (118). — Note the tendency to use the 3 sg. for the 3 pl., a tendency which has prevailed in Psht., in all but the auxiliary verbs.

110. From the root bā- “to be, become” is formed a present or aorist bām etc. The only examples available are: az kara nērī nē bām “I live in this house”; kiyā “bāsī”; aḍḍugad zinda ke bin “that both of them are restored to life”.

The imperative 2 sg. is bē.
Preterite.

111. Sg. 1 Prs. *bukum* "I was". Pl. *bukēn.*
   » 2 » *bukōn.*  
   » 3 » *būk.*  
   » *būk(ī), bukēn.*

*buk-um* < *būtakō ahmi* etc.

More emphatic forms denoting existence are *da-ya*, pret. *da-būk.*
E. g. *cōn klān da-ya?* "how many sons are there?"; *spuki da-yē*
"saghā hast"; *ĉeštān ta nēr nāk da-ya* "the master of the house is
not here"; *wōk nak da-būk* "there was no water there". Cf. K.
*di hā* "there is", *di byōk* "there was", v. LSI. Voc s.v. *di, da*
"contracted pron. of the pron. 1st. and 2nd persons". Cf. 102.

"To Become".

Aorist.

112. Sg. 1 Prs. *sām* "I become".
   » 2 » *sōn, sun.*  
   » 3 » *sa, sē.*

These forms are also used as presents and futures with *bu*, v. 121.
*sam*, K. *sōm* etc. is derived from the Av. root *sav-*.
I cannot explain the transition of *s* > *s* in Orm. Log.; cf., however,
*sveł* < *sveł* "to become" in Ghilzai and other Psht. dialects.
Probably this transition has something to do with the fact that *sam* is an
auxiliary, weak form. Cf. 69.

Past Tense.

113. Sg. 1 Prs. *šukum* "I became". Pl. *šukēn.*
   » 2 » *šukōn, -un.*  
   » 3 » *šūk.*  
   » *šukīn.*

*šuk-um* < *syutakō ahmi.* Regarding *šūk, š'uk* etc. v. 21. A
perfect is formed by adding -a, -ē, cf. 132. The pluperfect ought to
be *šū(k) bukum*; but I never heard this form.

The Finite Verb.

114. The Orm. Log. verb possesses an aorist stem and a past stem.
From the aorist stem are formed the following tenses: The Aorist
(imperative), the present (future). From the past stem are formed the following tenses: The past tense, the perfect, the pluperfect. The verbal system of Orm. Log. is extremely simple, much simpler than that of Orm. K.

The Aorist Stem.

115. Regarding the distinction between ancient stems in -a-, -ya-, and -aya- v. 117 ff.

Imperative.

116. The imperatives 2 sg. and pl. are identical with the corresponding forms of the aorist. E.g. zan "beat", nas "take", cū "go", juš "look", ar-šēr "give"; kōn "do", xrōn "eat", sōn "become", tarōn "bind". 2 pl.: kē "do", bē "be", ar-warē "bring", bunē "throw, put"; al-cawē "bring" (?), cawai (?) "go". In some cases, possibly in order to indicate a polite command, the particle bu is added: ku mun giđi p' cū; ku mun bu nas; ku mun bu māli kōn "come with me; take me; make me thy husband".

The imper. 3 sg. ends in -śon: kaśwōn "may he do".

zan (K. zan, jan) < *jana, cū (K. ciw) < *ciyawa etc. In Log. all the verbs of the 2nd and 4th conjugation take the ending -śon; in K. -śon (un) is still limited to about half a dozen verbs the normal imperatives of which would be too short, e.g. xrōn "eat", trōn "drink", muśon "lie down", sūn "become". The derivation of -śon is uncertain. It seems a too daring hypothesis to connect it with Skr. -āna, which is only used with a few verbs of the 9th class (gōn, K. glōn "take away < *grdhaṇa, cf. Skr. grhāṇa?). — K. γέφων = γέφ "weave" etc. probably contains a superadded particle.

The imperative 3 sg. in -śon (-śon), which is quite regular in K., might be derived from the ancient imper. 3 pl. in -antu. Considering the confusion which has taken place in Orm. between the 3 sg. and pl., this seems to be a possible explanation.
Aorist.

There are four conjugations:

I.

117. Sg. 1 Prs. zanam (K. zanəm). Pl. zanən (K. zanyən).
   2  >  zan (K. zan).
   3  >  zana (-i, -e) (K. zana).

Other examples are šum "I weep", šū, šawa (K. šawəm, šiw, šawa); cawam, cūm "I go"; cū, cawa(-e) (K. cauəm, ciw, ca(ua)); nawaram "I take out"; nawar, navara (K. na-wərəm, na-wər, na-wəra).

nasam "I seize"; (K. nisəm, nis) and ar-waram "I bring"; ar-war have the collateral forms nasim and ar-warim. From K. note e.g.: aməm (Log. amarım) "I hear"; waəəm "I fall" (Log. 3 sg. yəzi); xanəm "I laugh"; wəsəm "I enter"; wazəm "I kill"; hawəm (2 sg. wiw) "I read"; yərəm "I rain".

These verbs are derived from Anc. Ir. present stems in -a-. zanam < *janami (with short a, cf. Par. Gr. 189). — zan < *janə, *janə(h)i. — zana < janəd < *janati v. 40; -i (-e) are taken over from other conjugations. — zanən < *zanəm (v. 109) < *janayamah; *janamah could not result in this form. — zanə, K. zanəi, cf. Psht. -a-i, is difficult; acc. to Gauthiot (MSL. XX, p. 13) Psht. -a-i < -ayatä; but this is very uncertain. — zanəm < *janamə; the 3rd sg. is frequently used instead of the 3rd pl.; e.g. a-sayiye bu bani "the men will throw".

II.

118. Sg. 1 Prs. xram "I eat" (K. xuram, xram). Pl. xrin (xurin).
   2  >  xron (K. xuri).
   3  >  xra (-i, -e) (K. xura).

Other examples are: sam "I become"; sən; sa, sé (K. səm, sə(su), sa): kam (kən) "I do"; kôn, kə (K. kawəm, kayəm, kəm; kəvi, kə; kəvi, ka, ki); possible kinam (B. kinəm) "coeo" (K. kinəm, kin, kina). From K. cf. e.g.: əm "I leave", ə, əə; bəm «I am»; nəm "I sit down"; dəm "I propel"; jəm "I come" (Log. zəwm, zəm; zəi, zəye); jənəm "I see"; rinəm "I shave"; ʃənəm "I buy" (Log. ʃənəm, ʃənəm IV).
The second conjugation differs from the first only as regards the termination of the 2nd sg. The too short form *x(u)r was extended by adding the ending -ōn, characteristic of the imper., in K. by adding the- i of the 3rd and 4th conjugation. The introduction of the imperative form was rendered possible by the phonetical coalescence of *janahi and *jana into zan (I). More difficult to explain is the addition of a new termination to the present stems in -n; e.g. *kin would have been quite a possible form.

xram < *hwarami; šrinm < *xrinami.

III.

119. Sg. 1 Prs. nisim “I go out” (K. nisâm). Pl. nisên (K. nisyeûn).
   > 2 » nis (K. nis).
   > 3 » nisi (K. nisi).

Other examples are: yušim “I fear”, yuš, yuši (K. ywasâm, ywasr and ywasrî, ywasrî and ywasra); yušim “I say”, yôš, yuši (K. ywasâm, ywas, ywasi); jušim “I see”, juš, juši; širim “I give”, šir, širi (but K. širâm, širî, šir(w)i); possibly also dušim “I milk” (K. dušâm, duš, duṣi); ustim “I rise” (K. wust, wustî); wisim “to enter” (but K. wesâm I). Further instances from K. are: wawâm “I obtain” (but Log. wawim IV); *brasâm “I burn” (intr.); dirâm “I reap”; *hasâm “I am left behind”; mazâm “I break” (intr.) (Log. 3 sg. mezi); niwâm “I put”; pisâm “I write”; wârâm “I fetch” (v. arwaram I); *basâm “I grant”. — prāyim “I sell”, prāyi, prāyi (K. prâwâm, prâ, prâ) is an irregular verb.

A number of these verbs may be derived from stems in -ya. E.g.: yuš < *wi-brahya; yuš < Av. vaxiya; duš < *dauxiya (v. EVP. s. v. laxol); bras < *brahya; maz < masya; possibly dir, pis from the passives *drya, *pisya. It seems probable that the other verbs, e.g. ust < *Av. us-staya, waw < Av. avi-apaya (cf. Log. wawim) have joined this conjugation secondarily.

Phonetically it is possible to derive yušim < *ywasâm < *waxsyami; yôš (*yuš) < *ywasve < *waxsyah(i); yuši < *ywasyed < *waxsyati.
IV.

120. Sg. 1 Prs. *darim* *"I hold"* (K. *darəm*). Pl. *darën*.
   2  *darən* (K. *dərî*).
   3  *dari* (K. *dari*).

The verbs of this class are very numerous. E.g. *biżım* *"I cook"*, *biżən*, *bişi* (K. *biżəm*, *biżî*, *bişi*); *sunım* *"I buy"*, *sunən* (K. *sunəm* II); *awim* *"I read"*, *awən*, *awî* (K. *hawəm* I); *gim* *"I seize"* *gîn*, *gi* (*gi*?) (K. *gîm*, *gli*, *gli*); *banım* *"I throw, put"*, 3 sg. *bani* (K. *bani*, *bani*, *bani*); *mözim* *"I release"*, *trim* *"I drink"* (K. *trəm*, *tri*, *tri*); *mrım* *"I die"*, 3 sg. *mrə* (?) (K. *mrəm*, *mri*, *mri*); *wawim* *"I obtain"* (K. *wawəm* III); *amarım* *"I hear"* (K. *amarəm* I); *galım* *"I weave"* (K. *gala*, *gali*, *gali*); *məwəm* *"I lie down"*, *məw*, *məi*. All the causatives in *-aw*, e.g. *izmañim* *"to try"* (K. *wuzmañəwəm*, *wuzmeñi*, *wuzmañi*) belong to this conjugation.

The majority of these verbs are ancient stems in *-aya*, e.g. *darim* < *darağam*; *dərî* < *dara(h)ay*; *daři* < *dara(yati*. The Log. dialect as a rule avoids changes of vowel within the present stem and replaced dərî by daron.

A few verbs, however, viz.: *mrım*, *trim*, *gim*, K. *məwəm* are derived from stems in *-ya*, which have had their 2nd sg. expanded.

Acc. to G. (LSI. X, p. 169') we find forms such as *yafım*, *amarım* in K., too. These forms are evidently the original ones.

The aorist is chiefly used in questions and in dependent clauses with *ka*: *az man ca kum?* *"what shall I do now?"*; *az kara wök pa ca xram?* *"how shall I drink this water?"*; *gîn ku mən k' az kafoxojuşim* *"permit me to look at him"*; *munəsib nak e ka tū ku mūn k'i klən yəs* *"it is not fit that thou shouldst call me thy son."*

In the apodosis of conditional clauses: *ka nak-a yök, ku tū uəznawim* *"if he does not say so, I will kill thee"*; *ka tū mullukan az (bū) ... xaima zanam* *"if thou diest, I shall pitch my tent."* *darim* is used in the sense of a present, just as Prs. *dəram* and Par. *dərem*.

Note: *az kara səraî uəznawim*, *ku mən gidi p'i cü* *"I shall kill this man, and thou must go with me."*
Present and Future.

121. The present and the future are formed by adding bu (b', p') to the aorist. The position of this particle is very free.

Present: a-sarai bu drishi yusi “the man is telling lies”; aurai bu ywasi xra, a-nas-a b' dak se “the sheep eat grass, and their bellies are filled”; tar tu a-zli ca sii bu zyi “what does thy heart want?”; a-won can bu se ka az tar tu xezmat bu kam (= -am dük-e) “during so many years I have served thee”; tax-tax bu ke “he is knocking (at the door)”.

Future: wustim bu was translated by my informant as “büçežam” (“I shall rise”), and az bu wustim as “mexežam” (“I am rising”); but he did not always thus use bu in different positions in the present and future. az ku tu b' nasam “I shall take thee”; az bu nër ki cûm “I shall go home”; afi sarîyê nër ki p' cauan “those men will go home”; tu guda b' cû “where art thou going?”; a-sarai bu guda caue? “where is the man going?”; âxir bu inda ar-zayê “ultimately he will come here”; xubi kam bu “I shall render a service”; az ustukum, bu ta xuy i-pê ki cum, kafó p' ki yušim “having risen I will go to my father and say to him”; ka a-zarka zinda se, ta xuy a-unm bu kara ki ar-sirim “if the woman is restored to life, I will give her my own life”; ka tu sabê ar-zei, az bu ku tu ki das ripê dar-sirim “if thou comest tomorrow, I will give thee ten rupees”. az bu gušnagî di mrim means either “I am dying from hunger”, or “I shall die”.

In K. bu is used for the present only, the future being denoted by sü. K. sabâ sü caue'm (Log. sabâ p' cum) “I shall go tomorrow”. The employment of bu for the future, too, is probably due to the influence of Psht. ba.

bu and sü are etymologically connected with the auxiliary verbs.

The Past Stem.

122. The past participle is the same in form as the infinitive. The past participles can be divided into weak and strong stems. The weak past participles are formed by adding -ök (unstressed
-uk) to the present stem. E.g. tiš-ok “ran away”; yuš-uk “feared”; cau-ôk “went”; kin-ôk “coivit”; wust-uk “rose”, bûk “was”. All causative verbs form their past part. in this way; e.g. yušaw-ôk “terrified”. Some of these participles can be derived direct from Anc. Ir. forms, e.g. bûk < *bûxta-ka; but the majority of them are secondary, analogical formations. The weak participle are more numerous in Log. than in K.

123. The strong past participles can be divided into several groups, according to the original forms from which they are derived.

I. a) Ir. *-âta: dâk “made”.
   b) Ir. *-ata: navôk “went out”, zôk, zûk “beat”; K. ayôk “reached”, wayôk “entered”.
   c) Ir. *-ita: d(y)ôk “saw”.
   d) Ir. *-ita: šûk “became”; bûk “was” is a weak participle from the present Ogm. point of view.

II. a) Ir. *-ôta: wuluk “brought”, nawulôk “took out”, xulôk “ate”, mulluk “died”; K. kowulôk “coivit”, dlôk “reaped”.
   b) Ir. *-ôsta: K. hatak “abandoned”, tatak “drank”. — Poss. gustuk “took away”, K. g(l)astak < *gysta-ka?

III. a) Ir. *-asta: nustuk “sat down”, K. nvestak “went to sleep”.
   b) Ir. *-ûsta: šustuk “wept” (*f’ra-rusta-ka).
   c) Ir. *-ûsta: muštuk “broke”, yuštuk “fell”, K. braštak “burned”.

IV. a) Ir. *-afta: wôk “obtained”, šûk “gave”(?)
   b) Ir. *-axta: yôk “said”, prôk “sold”, K. bvêk “gave”.
   c) Ir. *-uxta: dûk “milked”.

V. a) Ir. *-axwa: puwôk “cooked”.
   b) Ir. *-amna: drumuk “held”.

124. In Log. there is no distinction of gender (cf. 81); but the past participles in some cases correspond to K. masculines, in other cases to K. feminines. The m. is preferred in those cases where
the f. in K. is contracted. E.g. nustuk, drunuk, xulluk: K. m. nastak, dranak, xwalak (f. nask, drönk, xwälk). Also nayök, nök: K. m. nayök,nök (f. nayak, nak). But on the other hand: zák, dák, prák, wák: K. f. ják, dák, prák, wák (m. jök, dök, prawak, wök); šük, šük, bük: K. f. šük, suk, bük (m. šiyök, syök, byök); dük: K. f. dû(sa)k (m) dúšvëk); wustuk, cawök: K. f. wustuk, caqak (m. wustvëk, cvëk) etc.

125. The difference between the past part. m. and f. in K. is due to the original accent. The masculines go back to middle Ir. ocytorna, the feminines to paroxytoma. E.g. nastak m. < *nasták, náṣk f. *nástak. The ultimate reason for this difference of accent is not quite clear; but a phonetically possible solution would be to assume that the m. represents an ancient oblique case.

According to Andreas, Prs. nouns are derived from the Phl. (originally oblique) form in -ē < -ahya, cf. also Gauthiot 1: “cette forme ( : le génitif) est devenue la forme normale en persan, où le cas direct a été aboli, en règle générale, au profit de l’ancien génitif-datif”. This theory has been contested by Bartholomae 2; but the Orm. forms seem to confirm it (v. 42 a, and cf. Par. 45 g; the forms given in 45 a may also be derived from the oblique case in -ahya). In Orm., at any rate, the oblique case must have replaced the nominative so completely that it has even been introduced into the participles, where we should expect the position of the nominative to be stronger than in the nouns.

According to this theory K. nastak would be derived from *nasták-ē < *nasták-ahya, náṣk from *nástak-a < *nástak-a. Similarly: tatak “drank” < *tųšták(ahya), f. tōtk < *třšták(a); xwalak “ate” < *huvták-, f. xuwałk < *huvtak; pištak “wrote” < *pišták-, f. pišk < *pištak; paxak “cooked” < paxwák- (inf. paxvëk is an analogical form, due to the influence of other infinitives in -ëk), f. pyūxk < *pōxk < *póxvëk; f. dük “milked” < *dūxṭak- (m. dúšvëk, f. dūṣak are secondary forms), and many others at a similar type.

1 MSL. XX, p. 62 f.
2 Miran Mund. V, 18—43.
126. Those participles in which *-taka- was preceded by a vowel are some of them more difficult to explain. Apparently *-ię(f)tāka- resulted in -āk (through *wāk?): zōk "beat" < *jatāk-; avōk "reached" < *agatāk- (similarly naryōk "came out" < *nigatāk-); dōk "made" < *dēwāk < *dātāk-; tōk "warm" < *taštāk; vōk "got" < *āštāk. The corresponding f. forms are: zāk < *jātak (through *jāk?); ayāk < *agatāk-; ḍāk < *dātak-; vāk < *āštak. — Also nyōk "placed" < *nīdātāk, f. nāk < *nīdātak-; waryōk "entered" < *abigatāk-; wazyo̱k "killed" < *abijatāk-. The f. forms waryuk, wazuk are difficult to explain; possibly they are analogical forms, cf. byōk "was" < *būtāk, f. buk < *būtak- and similarly syōk "became", f. suk. The development of būtāk > *būāk > *bōk > byōk is curious.

Byēk "gave" may be derived from *bayāk < *bāxtāk-; f. bayak < bāxtak-; cf. also yvēk "said" < *γwēk < *wawāk < *waxtāk; f. γwēk may be an analogical form, cf. dyēk m., f. "saw" < *ditāk-; *ditak-.

127. In several cases it does not seem possible to reconstruct the phonetical development of the forms, owing to the violent contractions and changes of vowels which have taken place, and of which we cannot determine the exact nature for lack of sufficient material. Thus: wusvēk "rose" < *us(s)itāk, but f. wustak < *ustāk < us(s)itak-? yēk "to go" < *cyawāk < *ciyaوتāk, f. cawak < cyawak < ? But jěk "came" < *cawāk < cawatāk-, f. jāk < *cawak (with early transition of ciy- > č in compounds?). prawak "sold", f. prāk < *prawāk, prāwak; but it is difficult to see how these forms were evolved from the original parawatāk-, parawāxtāk (probably there has been a secondary shifting of accent).

But even if the details of the development of these participles are in many cases obscure, the main principle of their formation is firmly established.

Past Tense.

128. Unlike most of the other Ir. dialects, Orm. employs the past part. in its long form (with the -ka-suffix) as the base of the pre-
terial tenses. Cf., however, also S. Bal. man kuštág (or kušta, kušt) “I slew, I have slain”.

The past tense of intransitive verbs is formed by adding the present of the auxiliary “to be” to the past part. of the verb in question. The 3rd sg. takes no termination:

Sg. 1 Prs. (v)ustukum “I rose”. Pl. (v)ustukën.
  2  (v)ustukôn, -un.  (v)ustukë.
  3  (v)ustuk.  (v)ustukin, -ën, (v)ustuk.

Other examples are: místukum “I sat down”, mullukum “I died”, šukum “I became” etc. Occasionally I heard such forms as narók-am “I went out”, with the pronominal suffix instead of the auxiliary. Vice versa -un can be used instead of -am with the transitive verbs.

— Regarding the 3 pl. cf. dô klán bük “there were two sons”; ažduğađ mâlı u nák bukën “the two were man and wife”; ayi al-cawók(-ën) “they went away”.

129. In the past tense of transitive verbs the subject is expressed by means of a noun, a pronoun or a pronominal suffix. This suffix is often added even when the subject has already been indicated by a noun or a pronoun.

E.g.: a-sarái xulluk(-a) “the man ate”; a xulluk, xulluk-a “he ate”; az ku šé sarái(-am) yénavók-ê “I have killed a man”. Note šukum = zuk-am “I beat” (v. above). az ku tü zuk = ku tü šukum “I beat thee”; tü ku mun zuk = ku mun zuk-at; màx ku tü šuk(-ën); tös ku màx zuk(-ë). Sometimes a subject in the 3rd prs. is left out: ka ku gâjar kafô ki ar-wuluk “when he brought him the carrot”.

In most cases the past tense denotes a single action or event: a-zarí klán ta xuy a-mâl tóp dák, pêc râi nê al-cawók “the younger boy collected his own property and went far away”. It is used in the protasis of conditional clauses: az mullukum, tü . . . xaima zan “if I die, pitch thy tent . . .”. Note: šisti čân tara ta qabri sar xaima zuk “he pitched his tent on her tomb [and remained there] for thirty years”. 
Imperfect.

130. The imperfect is formed by adding *bu* to the past tense: *šām bu šustokum, pēri bu nak šum* “I was weeping before, now I am not weeping”; *ca-d bu dāk? kār-am bu dāk* “what wert thou doing?” “I was doing some work”; *mudām bu gābristān ki al-cawōk, tar xui a-mux bu put dāk* “whenever he passed the graveyard he covered his face”.

Past Subjunctive.

131. A kind of past subjunctive occurs a few times in my materials: *kafō ki širr šukan (= bu šuk) “(that) it might be good for her”*; *a-zarka dest nak drunuk ka a-wōk xułkōn “the woman had no hand, with which to drink the water”*; *tū eč waxt ku mūn ki sē kirži nak ar-šuk-ē, ka az tar xui i-marzāyī giği máx bu xułkēn, máx bu xušwaxti dākēn “thou never gavest me a single hen, that I (we) might eat it together with my friends and make merry”*. Regarding the termination 3 sg. -ōn cf. 116.

Perfect.

132. The perfect is formed by suffixing -ē or, less frequently, -a to the past tense: *tandar al-yučtāk-ē bummāi nē “thunder has fallen on the earth”*; *tar tū a-marzā ar-zāk-ē “thy son has come”; az xau nak dāk-ē “I have not slept”; az ku tū di sē nōri txan šayōk, češtān ta nēr nak-am šayōk-ē “I asked thee for a loaf of bread, I have not asked for the master of the house”*; *xrunuk šuk-ē “he has become hungry”, but az xrunuk šukum-ā; tū kyē īnda nustukōn-ē, but kyē īnda nustukōn-ā? “why art thou sitting (= hast thou sat down) here?”*; *nustukōn-ā, xaima-t šuk-ā “thou hast sat down, and hast pitched a tent”, nustukōn-ē, nustuk-ē; kān ar-zākōn-ā? prān ar-zākum-ā, “when didst thou arrive?” “I arrived yesterday”. Note: *tišawōk-ā-yē “he has carried off.”*

In K. the perfect is formed in a different manner. The past tense is e.g. *wustvēk-ām “I rose”, the perfect wustvēk hōm “I have risen”. In Log. these two forms were probably mixed up, and the perfect had to be distinguished from the preterite by means of the auxiliary 3rd sg. -a, -ē.
Pluperfect.

133. The pluperfect is formed by adding the preterite of the verb substantive to the past participle, which very often loses its final -k: wustu(k) būkam (K. wustū ḫ būk-am) "I had risen"; as dâ (nak) būk "I had (not) made"; mūluk būk, pērī zinda sūk "he had died, but now he was restored to life"; yūn šu būk "he had been lost"; az amarū būk "I had heard"; prān-am (prān az) ku tū dē būk "I saw (NB.) thee yesterday"; tū prān(-at) ku mun dē būk "thou sawest me yesterday"; guda al-cu būkon "kuja rafta būdi?".

Passive.

134. The passive is formed with sūk "to become", cf. Prs. and Psht. a sarai zūk sūk "the man was beaten"; a-sariyē zūk sūkin "the men were beaten"; dēk sūk "was seen"; wāk sūk "was found"; musil sūk "was seated" (?). Note: tū tar mun a-dest ga kapōk sūk "thou hast also suffered my hand to be cut off."

Causative verbs.

135. Causative verbs are formed with the suffix -aw-, as in Psht. Cf. Par. 217.
TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

I.

Standard Sentences (LSI).  

220. tar 'tū 'nām 'ca ya? (a-nām că ya). "What is thy name?"
221. 'tara 'yāsp 'umr côi cân a? (Ph. 'ō'mor cün). "What is the age of this horse?"
222. 'indawū Lōgar tu-ma'nak 'côn 'pēc ā? (ma'nāk cūn). "How far is it from here to Logar?"
223. tar 'tū ta pē 'nēri nē 'côn 'klān da'ya? (pēi, cūn, dāya). "How many sons are there in thy father's house?"
224. az 'tān 'pēc rāī nē al-cū bu'kum. (al-cū). "I have walked a long way today."
225. tar 'mūn 'tā ma'mā klān 'tara sa'yai a-duka-va 'nok-e (a-dēwā-va). "The son of my uncle has married the daughter (sister) of this man."
226. ta spēw yāsp a-zin nēri nē ya. (a-yāsp). "The saddle of the white horse is in the house."
227. a-yāsp zin kōn. (kūn). "Saddle the horse."
228. ta'fō sa'yai a-klān zut-am 'zuk-e. (a-klān-am zut). "I have beaten the son of that man much."
229. a'fō sa'yai ta 'giri sar 'māl bu ce'vei. (a'fō (passim), ce'vei). "That man is grazing cattle on the top of the hill."
230. a'fō a-yāspi jē suwār-ā ta 'draxtī 'ōmi nē nustuk-e. (a-yāspi sar suwār-ē ta 'draxtī jīna). "He is sitting on the horse under a tree."

1 The variants of the phonograph text are given within brackets.
231. mar'ə-wa əxwar di-wa əstur ə. (stur). "His brother is taller than his sister".

232. a-baya-wa də nim ri'pə yə (= Ph.). "The price of it is two rupees and a half."

233. a-pə-m kafo neri sa'ri nə wəluk-ə (= Ph.). "My father lives in that small house."

234. kafo ri'pə kafo sa'rai ki ar-šər. (= Ph.). "Give that rupee to that man."

235. kafo ri'pəyi kafo sa'rai di nas. (Ph. kafo ri'pə nəs). "Take the rupees from that man."

236. kafo širr əzan, bəsi nə-wa ta'ro'n. (Ph. šer, ta'ro'n). "Beat him well and bind him with a rope."

237. əda di wək na'war. (Ph. ěda di wək na'war). "Draw water from the well."

238. tū ku mun di šam cū (= Ph.). "Walk before me."

239. afo tar kək klən-ə tar tū pəci di bu ar-zəyə? "Whose son is he who comes behind thee?"

240. kafo šay-at kək di šunük? (Ph. kək di šunük). "From whom didst thou buy that thing?"

241. az še dukən'dər ta' grəm di šunük. (Ph. dukən'dər). "I bought it from a shopkeeper of the village."

II.

Ta še sa'rai də klən bük. Afo zəri klənək (klənək) ta
Of one man two sons were. That younger boy of
xūi pə ki γοκ: "Ai pə, tar tū ta' məl arca himself father to said: "O father, of thee of property whatever
taxšim tar mun bu še (arca taxšim bə), ku mun ki ar-šər." A-sa'rai part of me is,
a-məl də of himself of sons middle in of himself the-property two
taxşim dâk. Cönd rôş 'pec ta xui ə-zārî klân ta xui parts made. Some days after of himself the-younger son of himself a-mâl töl dâk, 'pec râî né al-ca'wôk, 'pec jâî né the-property collected made, far road on he-started, far place to al-ca'wôk; wal hêzar'ê di tar xuy a-mâl he-went; there uselessness from (with) of himself the-property a'yêra 'prâk. Guj aʃô cân tar xui a-mâl-a all he-sold. Merely in-that year of himself the-property-his ta'laf-a dâk; 'peri éc nak al-'ozukê (al-nak wożukê); squandered-he made; now anything not remained-for-him;

xuy-a ('peri) xrumuk şukê. A-klânêk (klânak) še sarâi (sarâyi) himself-he hungry became. The-boy one man dâk ki al-ca'wôk, ('peri) nûkar şuk. Kara klânêk ta xui mulki rich to went, servant became. This(acc.) boy of himself field né râî-va dâk, awrai bû cerewî. A-klânêk yök ka: “Awrai to sent-he made, sheep he-shall-guard. The-boy said that: “Sheep bû 'ywâši xra, a-nas-a b-dâk še (si).” Kaʃô klânêk ki ca grass eat, the-belly-their full becomes.” That boy to anything b-nak (nak-a-b) aɾ-sîri. Pec wûş' sari nêwa ar-şâk, yök: not they give. Afterwards sense head in-his came, he-said:

"Tar mûn ta pe nûkari-wa zut é, txân zut é; az bû guşnâgi "Of me of father servants-his many are, bread much is; I hunger di mîm (d-brîm). Az wstukum, bu ta xuy i-pe ki from am-dying. I have-risen (: shall rise), of myself father to cum, kaʃô p' ki 'yuşim: Ai pe, az Xw'dâi u ku tü ki I-shall-go, him to I-shall-say: O father, I God and thee to gunâgår yum, 'peri munâsîb nak é, ka tü ku mûn ki klân yûş. sinner am, now necessary not is, that thou me to son sayest. "Péri ta nûkari 'jami nê ku mûn i'sâb kôn." Ustuk, ta Now of servants assembly in me reckoning make." He-rose, of
xuyu  i-pë  ki  al-ca'wok.  Mën  pëc  bük,  pë-wa  (ta  xui  a-pë-wa)  himself  father  to  he-went.  Still  far  he-was,  father-his

ta  xuyu  a-klán-a  dëk,  ta  (ta  xuyu-)  pë-wa  a-zëli-wa  bruštuk
of  himself  the-son-his  saw,  of  father-his  the-heart-his  burnt.

A-pë-wa  dan'gök,  ta  xui  ta  klán  a-gar-dani-wa  (klani  garda'ni-wa)  The-father-his  ran,  of  himself  of  son  the-neck-to-he

dest  ba'nök,  a-mox-a-wa  pöc  dák.  Klán  ta  (tar)  xuyu  hand  he-thrust,  the-month-his-he  kissed  made.  Son  of  himself
i-pë  ki-wa  yök:  "Ai  pë,  'az  tar  xuyu  i-Xw'dái  ki,  ku  tû  ki  father  to-he  said:  "O  father,  I  of  myself  God  to,  thee  to
gi'nà  dák-ê,  'përi  az  tar  tû  lâyiq  nak-um,  ka  'az  tar  tû  sin  have-made,  now  I  of  thee  worthy  not-am,  that  I  of  thee
a-klán  yam."

'Pë  ta  xuyu  i-nûkarî  ki-wa  yök:  "Kâliyâ  the-son  am."  Father  of  himself  servants  to-he  said:  "Garments
sirrar-warre,  tara  kla'nâk  ki  yâhi  né  ké;  angûstî  né-wa  angûsta'ri

good  bring-ye,  this  boy  for  body  on  make-ye;  finger  on-his  ring
ba'nê;  pâi-nê-wa  dîvi  al-ca'we;  a-nas-a  txan  dî-wa  ñak
put-ye;  feet-on-his  shoes  put-ye;  the-belly-his  bread  from-his  full
ké;  ñakia'ti  'mak  'kë,  'përi  xu'sál  he;'  kyë  tar  mun
make-ye;  distress  do-not  make-ye,  now  happy  be-ye;  because  of-me
a-klán  mulluk  bük,  'përi  pëc  zin'da  swk-ê;  yûn  ñû  bük,
the-son  dead  was,  now  again  alive  has-become;  lost  become  had,
'përi  'vâk  swk."  'Pëc  sut  xu'sál  ñukin.

now  found  become."  Then  very  happy  they-became.

A-wâda  'nthur  klân-a  bummâi  né  pa'nêsta  bük.  Nër  ki

[At]the-time  the-elder  son-his  field  in  outside  was.  House  to

ka  bôi  swk  (var.:  qr-zûk),  ta  bâit  a-a'wâz-a  goi  né-wa
when  near  he-went  (  he  came),  of  song  the-sound-its  ear  to-his
al-zûk  (var.:  ama'rûk);  bâzi  né  swkin.

Tar  xuy-a
came  (  he-heard);  dancing  in  they-became[engaged].  Of  himself-he
This one man called-for, him from question he-made: "This what kissi ye?" A sarrai tar 'xuy i-bā'dār ki-wa 'yōk ka: story (: matter) is?" The man of himself master to-he said that: "Tar tū a-mar'zā, ar-'zāk-e; tar tū a-pē 'zut 'xalak 'Of thee the-brother has-arrived; of thee the-father many people ki 'txan ar-'sūk-e, tar-rāi bā'badī ka tar 'xuy a-klān 'wāk.

to bread has given, from-this reason that of himself the-son he-has-found.

A mar'zā "stur zut 'xafa šuk, 'nēr ki nak al-ca'wōk. A-
The brother elder very angry became, house to not went. The-
pē-va pa'nēšta na-yuk, ta 'xuy a-klān-a 'kīči zuk. father-his outside emerged, of himself the-son-he beseeching made.

A-klānāk ta 'xuy i-pē ki-wa 'yōk: "Tū 'juž, 'a-šōn ân The-boy of himself father to-he said: "Thou look, so-many years bu 'sē, ' ka az tar tū xōz'mat bu kam. Az 'šōn waxt tar becomes, that I of thee service make. I so-much time of tū a-xōz'mat-am 'dāk-e, tar tū yi-kis'ī di 'nāk na'yōkum-e. thee the-service I have-made, of thee word from not I have-gone-out.

Tū 'ēc waxt ku 'mūn ki sē 'kirēi nak 'ar-šuk-e, ka 'az ('māx) tar Thou any time me to one hen not hast-given, that I (we) of 'xuy i-mar'zāyī gi'dī 'māx bū xulōkēn, 'māx bū xuśwax tī dā'kēn.

myself friends with we might-eat, we merriment might-make.

Pērī tar tū a-klān ar-'zāk-e, tar tū a-dawlat ayēra kāncī'nī jē Now of thee the-son has-come, of thee the-riches all harlots with bar'bād zuk-e; tū ka'fō ki zut 'txan ar-'šuk-e." squandered he-has made; thou him to much bread hast-given."

A-pē-va tar 'xuy i-klān ki-wa 'yōk: "Ai klān, tu mu'dām The-father-his of himself son to-he said: "O son, thou always ku'mun gi'di yūn, 'arca dawlat ka tar mūnya, 'āxir tar tū me with art, whatever riches that of me is, ultimately of thee

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ya. Pērī lāzin būk ka xušwaxtī māx u tōs kēn, ka is. Now necessary was that merriment we and you make, because tar tū a-mar'zā 'rūn 'šū būk, pa'idā šūk, u 'mulluk būk, of thee the-brother lost been had, found became, and dead was, 'pērī zin'āq šūk."

now alive became."

III.

Anecdotes.

LSI. Orm. Spec. II.

Sūltān Mahmūd (sūltān-i Māmūd) šē dēwānā ki-wa 'yōk (yok)
Sultan Mahmūd one madman to-he said
ka: "Tar tū a-zlī ca 'sāi bu žāyī?" A-sa'qīr
that: "Of thee the-heart what thing requires?" The-mendicant
ka'fō ki 'yōk: "Tar 'mūn a-zlī ta šē awrai jwān a-mud'ī-yal
him to said: Of me the-heart of one sheep young the-fat-tail
bu žāyī (zī-a 'awray-a šē mūd'ī-yal bu žāyē)."
requires."

Sūltān šē sa'ray ki pa 'cimi 'yōk ka: "Ka'fō fa'qīr ki
Sultan one man to with eyes said that: "That mendicant to
šē 'gājār ar-shēr." Ka ku 'gājār ka'fō ki ar-wulūk,
one carrot to-him-give." When carrot him to they-brought,
a-'gājār a-fa'qīr 'xulūk. Fa'qīr tar 'xuy a-ṣar xulta-'wōk,
the-carrot the-mendicant ate. Mendicant of himself the-head shook,
pa xa'nōk šūk. Sūltān ka'fō di puṣṭenna-wa 'dāk ka
in laughter 'he-came. Sultan him from question-he made that
(al-'yōk): "Ai dēwānā, tū 'kyē pa 'xa'nōk šūkūn (xa'nūk šukūn)?" (said): "O madman, thou why in laughter camest?"
A-dewana sultan ki al-yok ka: "Kafso wada di ka
The-madman sultan to to-him-said that: "That time from that
tu badis sukon-e, per tu na'nak a-mudyal eec (heec) rin nak davri." thou king hast-become, now unto the-fat-tail any fat not has."

Orm. Spec. III.

S6 savai buk, ta be savai a-dwstar-a sar di-wa nawulok,
One man was, of other man the-turban-his head from-he stole,
rann away. The mendicant man went, cemetery-in sat-down.

Kok kafso ki al-yok ka: "Tu kyee inda mustukun-e?
Someone him to said that: "Thou why here hast-sat-down?
Afs6 savai tar xuy i-bay ki al-cawok." Afs6 faqir al-yok:
That man of himself garden to went." That mendicant said:

"Axiir bu inda ar-zayee. Guza a-rayawa ya, para
"Ultimately here he-will-come. Only-this the-way.-his is, on-this
raii bu ar-zayee."

way he-will come.

Orm. Spec. IV.

S6 savai beaqal ta rai sar (ta mux ta rai i-sar ne) se
One man stupid of road on (of his-face of the-road top on) one
ai'na wak (qak); sam eh-guda (gue'a) ai'na nak de buk. Peri
mirror found; before anywhere mirror not seen he-had. Now
zut xusal suk (shuk), zut pa xanii (xa'nik) suk. Kafso ki-wa
very happy he-became, much in laughter he-came. That to-he
dek (kafoi-ne al-dyek), tar xuy a-mux kafoi ne-wa 'dek (ta xuy
saw of himself the-face that in-he saw,
a-mox-wa dyek), a pa xa'nik suk. A-fikra 'dak ka:
he in laughter came. The-thought-he made that:
"Bē kōk ya, češtān (češtān) tara āyīna ya. Pēc (Pērī) other someone is, owner of-this mirror is. Later

tar ʿuyy a-sar šam o pēc dāk, ṣōk-a:
of himself the-head forwards and backwards he-made, he-said:

"A-cīz ka az ʿwāk-a, tar tū ya; az bū ku tū ki pēc
"The-thing which I found-it, of thee is; I to thee to back
dar-šīrim." Guš kaʾra jāi nē-wa ʿwutuk, ʿuyy-a
to-thee-shall-give." Just-then this place in-he left-it, himself
he-went-away.

Wakhi, Anecdote 1.

Šē saʾraʾi Ašlaʾtān di-wa puṣṭemena ʿdāk ke: "Un ʿcān ta
One man Plato from-he question made that: "So-many years of
kištā mōnzi nē darʾyāi ne buḵon, tū darʾyāi ne ca ʿaǰab
ship middle in sea on thou-wast, thou sea on what wonderful
čīz-at ʿdāk?" Ṣōk ke: "Kull di ʿa žut ʿestur
thing-thou sawest?" He-said that: "All from this much great(est)
buḵ, ka darʾyā di salāmāt bummāi ne ar-ʿzākum."
was, that sea from safe shore to I-arrived."

Wakhi, Anecdote 2.

Šē faʾqīr ta šē saʾraʾi bari nē (nērī nē) al-cawōk, ʿa-wa
One mendicant of one man door to went, something-he
nēla di-wa ʿayōk. Ta nērī mōnz (mīnz) di ʿawāb
presence from-his he-required. Of house middle from answer
ar-ʿzāk ka: "Češtān ta nēr nāk daʿya." Faʾqīr ʿṣōk
came that: "Owner of house not-ı-present." The-mendicant said
ka: "Az ku tū di ʿe nōrī ʿtxan ʿayōk, češtān ta nēr
that: "I thee from one piece bread asked-for, owner of house
nākam ʿayōk-e. Ku mūn ki šē nōrī ʿtxan ar-ʿṣēr!"
not-I have-asked-for. Me to one piece bread give!"
Wakhi, Anecdote 3.

Šē ta'bih bōk; mādām bu qabrīstān ki al-ca'wōk, tar fuxi
One doctor was; always [when] graveyard to he-went, of himself
a-mux bu put dāk. Tuṣā a-marzā ka fō di puštīnna-va
the-face covered made. Of-him the-friend him from question-he
dāk ka: "Tar xui a-mux bu kyē put kōn?"
made that: "Of thyself the-face why covered makest-thou?"
Ašū al-γōk: "Az tara qabrīstān mūr'diyī di zut šarmunda yum;
He said: "I of-this graveyard dead from very ashamed am;
ar-kōk ka tar mūn a-dawā'yi xuluk, inda ar-zāk."
every-one because of me the-medicines ate, here (they-)came."

Wakhi, Anecdote 4.

Šē ṭōk šē sāzā-da bādšā gīdi šē-kār ki al-ca'wōk. Zut awā
One day one prince king with hunting to went. Very air
ṭōk šuk. Adu'gad tar xuy a-sāl ta šē dēwāna-yi-pūštīn-va
hot became. Both of self the-shawl of one madman back-on-it
dāk. Bādšā ta kumma dāk, al-γōk-α: "Ai dēwāna, tar tū
made. King smile-his made, said-to-him: "O, madman, of thee
i-pūsti nē ta šē xar a-bār yē." Dēwāna al-γōk: "Balkim,
back on of one donkey the-load is." Madman said: "Yea,
bār ta dō xar yē."
load of two donkeys is."

Zebaki, Spec. II.

Šē ṭawxt šē sauḍā'gār būk, tar xuy a-māl-a nōk,
One time one merchant was, of himself the-property-he took,
sauḍāga'ri ki al-ca'wōk. Area-wa ka drunuk, daryāwīnē tufrāni
trading for he-went. Whatever-he what had, sea in hurricane
nē yark ūk Ta 'xuyi nāk ki yatt rāhiwa dāk ke: "Ku in lost became. Of himself wife to letter sent-he made that: "

'mun ki bē māl rāi kūn." A-nāk-ā 'area ka Me to other property sent make." The-wife-his whatever that māl-ā 'drunuk, rāi-wa dāk. A māl ka rāi-wa property-she had, sent-she made. That property when sent-she dāk, 'a ga guša yūn ūk. Sa०dāgar nēri nē pēc made, that too in-this-way lost became. Merchant home to back ar-zāk, pa 'ṣustuk ūk. A-nāk-ā al-γōk: "'Xafa 'mak arrived, in weeping started. The-wife-his said: "Distressed do-not sōn, 'txan-at xroń! 'Az bū ku tū ki bē māl pāv'dā kam." be, bread-thy eat! I thee-for other property found will-make."

A-nāk-ā zut 'ṣāsta būk, ta 'ākim i-nēri nē al-ca'wōk, sē The-wife-his very beautiful was, of governor house to she-went, one aẓār ri'pē 'ākim di 'za'yōk-ā. Zar'ka ki-'a aẓār thousand rupees governor from she-asked-for. Woman to-he thousand ri'pē ar-'ṣūk. 'Ākim 'wāda-wa dāk ka: "'Az bū rupees he-gave. Governor appointment-with-her made that: "I nīmišō ku tū ki dar-zūm." Zar'ka nēr ki'al-ca'wōk. 'Ākim at-midnight thee to will-come." Woman house to went. Governor ar-zāk, zar'ka 'txan 'puxōk, 'ākim ki-wa 'outuk. Karā 'waxti came, woman bread baked, governor to-she placed. This time nē a-māli-wa bari nē tax-tax-a dāk. 'Ākim puš'tonna-at the-husband-hers door at knocking-he made. Governor question-wa dāk ka: "Kōk 'inda ya?" 'Γōk-ā ka: "Māli tar to-her put that: "Who here is?" Said-she that: "Husband of mūn barri nē ya, tax-taxō bu kē." 'Ākim γōk: "'Az man ca me door at is, knocking makes." Governor said: "I then what kam?" Zar'ka al-γōk: "'Tāzi nē 'xau kūn!" Ka'ʃō 'yāzi shall-do?" Woman said: "Cradle in sleeping do!" That cradle
IV.

Шефақир ар'зак ё барри нё, зут 'xrunuk бёк. А фа'қир кичи зук ка: «Ку мун ки тзан ар-варе ка зят 'xrunuk шукум-ё, ара'кат нак да'рим.»

Тара нер ненз ди ё зар'ка до тзан 'drunuk, а кара фа'қир ки ар-шук-ё? Мали-ва ар'зак панешта ди: «Кара тзан ку ту ки 'кок ар-шук-ё?» А фа'қир 'йок: «Кара нер ди ё зар'ка ар-шук.»

А-чештан та нер ал-ка'вок ва-'нёра, тар 'хуи нер ди пу'штenna-ва дак: «Кара тзан кара фа'қир ки 'кок ар-шу'к-ё?» Тара а-'бёр нак тар 'хуи и ма'ли ки-ва 'йок ка: «Афё тар ту зар'ка до тзан фа'қир ки ар-шу'к-ё.» А-чештан та нер 'wустук, та 'хуи та нак-а аджугад дест кайок ка: «Ту 'кё кара тзан ка'фё фа'қир ки ар-шук-ё?» Кара зар'ка бар ди навул'ок-а, зут пёс раф ё би'бани нё-ва бак'ок.

А зар'ка до зари зари 'клан-а 'drunuk. Та 'хуи-а 'клан-а та 'хуи 'санай йе 'swаr-а дак, 'хуи гиди аль-густук-а. А-зар'ка зут 'trunuk шук, 'вок нак да бёк. Шама дёк ка ула ауз та вок бёк.

IV.

A mendicant came to the door [of a house]; and he was very hungry. The mendicant shouted: «Bring me bread, for I am very hungry and cannot move.»

A woman in (: from) this house [who] had two loaves of bread gave them to the mendicant. Then her husband came from outside [and said]: "Who has given you this bread?" The mendicant answered: "A woman in (: from) this house has given it to me."

The master of the house entered it, and asked his house[hold]: "Who has given this bread to this mendicant?" His second wife said to her husband: "That woman of yours has given two loaves of bread to the mendicant." The master of the house rose, and cut off both his wife's hands, saying: "Why did you give that mendicant this bread?" Then he took this woman out of the house and chased her very far away into a wilderness.

The woman had two quite small sons. She let her sons ride on her back and took them with her. The woman became very thirsty; but there was no water. Then she saw that there was a pool of water
Al-ca'wôk wôk kî ka: 'Az 'inda wôk xram'. A-zar'ka 'dest nák 'drunuk ka a-wôk xulukôn. Ta 'xuyi Xu'dái kî pa şustuk sük ka: «Az 'pêrî 'dest nak därîm, az 'kara wôk pa 'ca xram?» Pa'mux al-yûstuk, ta 'xui a-pôz wôki ne 'wutuk ka 'az wôk xram'. A'ddugad klân-a wôki ne al-yûstuk, yûrî sük.

'Bê pa şustuk sük, tar 'xuyi Xu'dái kî munâjât-a dâm ka: «Az 'bê gu'nâ nák dâ bôk, dô 'txân tar 'xui jîrê bûk, tar tû pa 'nam ar-şû bûk. Tû tar 'mun a-'dest ga ka'pôk sük, dô 'klân-am ga wôki ne al-yûstuk. 'Bê gu'nâ az dâm 'nak bûk.»


in front of her. She went towards the water, thinking that she would drink water there. But the woman had no hands for drinking the water with. She began to weep [and complain] to her God: "Now that I have no hands, how shall I drink this water?" She lay down on her face and put her mouth into the water in order to drink. Then both her sons fell down into the water and disappeared.

Again she began to weep, and addressed a prayer to her God, saying: "I have committed no other sin, except that I gave away in Thy name two loaves of my own allowance. Thou didst suffer my hands to be cut off, and didst also let my two sons fall into the water. But I had committed no other sin."

When the woman looked in front of her [she saw] two men coming towards her. She was very much afraid that these men should lay their hands upon her. When the men came up to her, they asked this woman why she was sitting there. She answered: "My sons have fallen into the water and are dead". The men who had arrived conversed together [and one of them said]: "I shall go and bring her her hands". And the other said: "I shall go and take her boys out of the water".

Asarlye yok ka: «Az tar t'uu afo do txani yum; ku t'uu gidi prefl on xub'i-m dak, din'yaal nê âxîrati nê tar t'uu gidi zut xub'i kam bû.»

IV b.

(Phonograph Text.)

Sê faqir bûk, sê barî nê ar-zâk, zut xrunuk bûk. Kiçi ar-zök ke! «Ku mun ki txan ar-wa're.»


They took the boys out and fetched her hands. Then they stuck on her hands with glue, and both of the woman's hands were healed. Her boys, too, were restored to life. Then the woman saw that her hands had been healed and that her sons were restored to life. She asked these men: "Who are you, that have rendered me such a service? Tell me your name, since you have rendered me such a service. May God give you a great reward."

Then the men said: "I am (We are) those two loaves of thine; now we have rendered thee this service; and in this world and the next we will render thee many services".

Šām ki-wa dēk ke dō sa’rāi a’fō pa’lū di ar-żāya. A-zār’ka zut γušuk ke: "A sa’rāi mu (?) āpēri ku mūn jē īdest ba’ni." A-sa’rīyē ke ūm ar-zāk, kara zar’ka di-a puštenna dāk ke: "Kyē īnda nustukun-a?" A-zār’ka al-γa’ōk ke: "Tar mūn a-ḵlān īnda wōki al-γuštuk. sa’rīyē tar xuyi minzi nē puštenna-a dāk ke: "Tu ... az ‘tara a-ḵlān wōk di nawārām. Šē sāt būk ka tu ‘kara-ar-wułłuk." Kiči-a dāk. Aḏḏu’gāḏ zīn’dā ke bīn, kara sa’rē-a kara zar’ka di-ā ... kara a-zarka-a puštenna-a dāk ke: "Tu jok yōn, ke ku máx ... du ṭxan-um ka tu ta Xu’dāi kara ‘dāk, ku mūn ki ar-šūk būk ...

V.¹


V.

[Once upon a time] there were [two persons] a woman and a man. These two were husband and wife. They had no children. They loved each other very much. The woman said to her husband: "If I die, you must pitch your tent on my tomb; if you die, I shall pitch my tent on your tomb."

¹ Din Muhammad had heard a mulla recite this tale from a Persian collection of legends. I heard a similar story in Persian and Pashto. V. "Persian Texts from Afghanistan", IV (Acta Orientalia, VI, pp. 310, 316). Cf. also "Christ and the Dead Woman", Wells’ Turkish Chrestomathy p. 117 (from the “Tarikh Kirk Vezir”).
Two days later the woman died. The man went and pitched his tent on her tomb. He pitched his tent (stayed) on her tomb for thirty years.

One day it happened that the prophet Hazrat Isa came to her tomb. He asked this man: "Why do you sit in this desert, and why have you pitched your tent here?" The man answered Hazrat Isa: "This woman was my wife, and she had made [the following] agreement with me: 'If I die, you must pitch your tent on my tomb; if you die, I shall pitch my tent on your tomb.' Thirty years have passed, and [all this time] I have been sitting on her tomb. If this woman is restored to life, I will give her my own life."

Hazrat Isa prayed, and the woman was restored to life. They both went away, and sat down there (in some other place). The man fell asleep, and the woman remained sitting there.

One day the king's son came there a-shooting. He saw this woman and fell very much in love with her. He stole her heart and said to this woman: "Why are you sitting here?" The woman said: "This man has carried me off, now you must take me away; he has stolen me." The king's son said: "I will kill this man; come
ku 'mum gidî p' cû, ku 'mum bu 'nas, ku 'mum bu 'malî kôn!' A-zar'ka 'yôk ka: «Az ku tû b' 'nasam, ku mûn 'kara dî xâlîs kôn!» A wustuk, ta bâdshâ 'klân gidî al-ca'wôk.

Šê 'sât buk, k' a-sa'raî 'xau dî wu'stuk, ka dêk-a: 'Ta bâdshâ 'klân 'tara zar'ka al-'gustuk-a.' A-kičî-wa 'zuk ka: «Tar 'mum-a a-nâk bu 'gûdâ l-gôn? A tar 'mum a-nâk ê.» A-zar'ka al-'yôk ka: «A-sa'raî bu 'drîşi yu'sî, ku 'mum-a tišâ'wôk-a. A tar 'mum a-'malî nak ê; a 'zut šaitân sa'raî ê, pa fer'êb ku mûn ku tû di b' al-'gi.»

'Ayi ta 'xuy i-pê ki al-ca'wôk. Ta 'xuy i-pê ki-wa 'yôk ka: «Az šê zar'ka 'wâk-ê, 'kara ku mûn ki ni'kâ kôn, k' az 'kara pa ni'kâ-a b' 'nasîm.» A-bâdshâ ta 'xuy i-'klân ki al-'yôk ka: 'Širr bu sa, 'nas-a. Tar 'mum-a 'xûs' ga ya ka tû-a 'nas.'


with me and take me and let me be your husband." The woman said: "I will take you; only release me from this one." Then she rose and went away with the king's son.

Then suddenly it happened that the man rose from his sleep and saw that the king's son had taken away his wife. He shouted to him: "Where are you taking my wife to? She is my wife." But the woman said: "This man is lying, he has carried me off. He is not my husband; he is a very evil man, and he wants to take me away from you by deceit."

Then they went to his (: the prince's) father. [The prince] said to his father: "I have found a woman, give her to me in marriage, that I may marry her." The king said to his son: "It is well, take her. I, too, am pleased that you should take her."

Then the man said: "O king, this is my wife, she has been carried off from me." The king said to this man: "Have you any witness to say that she is your wife?" The man answered: "I have a witness." The king asked: "Who is your witness?" The man answered: "Hazarat Isâ is my witness." [The king] said: "Go and fetch him! If he says
that she is your wife, I will give her to you. But if he does not say so, I will kill you." The man said: "I shall bring Hazrat Musa\(^1\) tomorrow."

He went out of the door and went into the desert. There he sat down under a tree and thought: "The place where Hazrat Isa dwells is unknown to me, so how can he come to me?" The king's men came after this man and brought him back. He went to the king [and said]: "The place where Hazrat Isa dwells is unknown to me."

Suddenly it happened that a light appeared. The king said: "This light is Hazrat Isa arriving!" Suddenly Hazrat Isa arrived and sat down in the durbar. The king asked him: "Do you know about this story and that they have made such a prayer?"

Hazrat Isa answered the king: "I know that the woman is the wife of this man; he has given his own life to this woman, and then she was restored to life. We [had] prayed that this woman should be restored to life from the grave." But the woman said: "He is lying. This is not my husband. He has stolen me and carried me off; now he will take me to some other place and sell me."

\(^1\) In the phonograph text, too, he is called Hazrat Musa.

V b.

(Phonograph Text.)


Śē waxti bōk, Hazrat-i Mu’sā ar-zāk, kara sa’rāi di-wa puštenna-wa dāk ke: "Kyē in-dā nustukun-a, xaima-t zul-kā?" A-sa’rāi γ"ōk ka: "Tar (?) kara zar’kā ki bi (?) lauz-am dā būk, ‘a tar mūn-a dā būk k’: "Az mullukum, tū tar mūn ta qabri sar xaima zan, ka tū mullukūn, tū (sic!) tar mūn ta qabri sar xaima zan." Hazrat-i Mu’sā γ"ōk ko: "Ai ke (?) sa’rāi, ‘a ga (?) tar tū a-mālī a-nāk-a (?). Az bu kara du’a kam." "... zīnd’a... kara ki... γōk, ‘az bu tar xuy a-o’mēr kara ki ar-šīrīm."


Then Hazrat Isa said: "He is your husband." [She said:] "It is a lie, he is not my husband." Hazrat Isa said: "Give him back that which he has given to you." The woman said: "I give it back to him." Then the woman fell to the ground; she became one handful of earth, and nothing was left.
γαρ κε: 'Αζ βα κυ τη κα'ρα δι χαλάς καμ, κυ μων τα βυ τη νας.
Αλ-γοκ-κε: 'Αζ βα κυ τη ναςαμ; λαρα sa'rai δι κυ μων χαλας καμ.
Α-ζαρ'κα τα βάδςα δι-κλάν γιδί al-κα'wok

Α sa'rai... δεκ-α k': 'Α-ζαρ'κα τα βάδςα δi-κλάν γιδί [al-]cawa'.
Αλ-κι'χι-wa τζεk ka: «Tu guda σου? A τα μων a-νάκ η». Α τα
βάδςα [κλάν] κι ταρ'κα γοκ ka: «Ταр μων a-μαλι νακ e, κυ μων-ά
τισαwοκ-η, μων η κε (?) gu'da...»

Ayí al-ca'wokên badsà ki. Badsà ki al-'goκ k': «Az së zar'ka
wak-a, mun ki-wa nikà kun, ke az bu kara nasim.» Badsà al-
goκ ke (bis): «A' ser bu sà, az bu kafo' gidi di' gidi (?) nasam...
(corrected) gidi di-ak (?) nikà kam...

A-sa'rai al-'gok k': «Ai badsà, a tar μων a-νάκ η.» A-badsà
al-'gok ke: «Tù sáyd da-rün ke a tar tû a-νάκ η, ku tû aya (?)»
Ha-zrat-i Mù'sà tar 'mun a-šàid ya.» Bad'sa al-'gok ke: «Cù, 'Ha-zrat-i
Mù'sà ar-wàr! Kà 'gök-a, az bu kara zar'kà ku tû ki bë dar-sirim.»

A-sa'rai na'gok, al-ca'wok bi'bbáni ki. Së jàf nè 'mustuk, 'fikra
'dak ke: «Ai (corrected:) Ke 'Ha-zrat-i Mù'sà... jài 'a ar-zaya, ku
'mun ki 'målùm nàk a, az bu kafo' gidi ki (?) pai'dà kam.» Sa'reyí
'pêz di (corrected: sa'reyi ta 'badsà ar-zak, sa'ray-a b girza'wük, al-
gustuk-a 'badsà ki. Badsa ki al-'gok: «Ta 'Ha-zrat-i Mù'sà jài xu (?)
ku 'mun ki 'målùm nàk e, k' afo' guda ye.»

Së 'waxti bük, 'Ha-zrat-i Mù'sà fa'ak ki 'målùm šük. Nùri ta
ja'li 'muki nè-wa 'målùm šük. Badsà al-'gok ka: «Nûri ta (?) 'Ha-zrat-i
Mù'sà ye.» Së 'waxti bük ke ar'zak...

VI.

'San ŝû tar 'mun i-žli zut di'mok-e. 'Az ca nàk 'xulu bük:
sær tu-μa'nak az 'xeu nàk 'dak-e. Ku 'mun ki së ca ar'-sér, ka
tar 'mun i-žli širr së.'

VI.

"Last night—I had much pain in my heart. I had not eaten
anything; but I did not sleep till the morning. Give me something
that my heart may be cured."

1 "If he says so, then I shall give this woman to you."
"In our house there is a woman both of whose hands are inflamed, they are very much inflamed. Then that [boil] will burst, and it will itch. I have wandered much about; but I have not been able to find any remedy, so that it might be good for her (: she might be cured)."
VOCABULARY.

Regarding the alphabetical arrangement etc. v. p. 230. The optional prothetic vowel * etc. (before sk, sp, sf) has not been taken into consideration.

Words given by Din Muhammad are left unmarked; words belonging to the vocabulary of my first informant from Barak-i Barak are marked 'B.'—'K.' denotes that the word belongs to the dialect of Kaniguram (LSI.), 'Le.' and 'Rav.' denote words taken from the vocabularies of Leech and Raverty (v. 4). I have included words known only from K. which appear to be genuine Orm. ones. Such words are marked '(K.).' Words known only from B. are marked '(B.).' 'Phon.' denotes that the word occurs in the phonograph records. Etymological derivations proposed by Sir George Grierson are marked 'G'.

Verbs are given in the present stem; but the past stem has been added, when known.

Probably a great number of the words marked 'Prs.' have been borrowed through Pasht.

**Vowels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a, ëa</td>
<td>definite article</td>
<td>V. 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a, K. hō</td>
<td>१, ० “this”</td>
<td>V. 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>pron. suff. 3 sg.</td>
<td>V. 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>particle, denoting the perfect. V. 132. ai, interj. “Oh”.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a, ëa</td>
<td>particle, denoting the perfect. V. 132.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ë, i</td>
<td>locative prefix. V. 90. u “and”. Prs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëa, ëwē</td>
<td>Le. a, ë “mountain-goat”. Prs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëbātī</td>
<td>“cultivated field”. K. ābād “inhabited”.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëndā</td>
<td>“persephone”. Prs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëbrū</td>
<td>“eyebrow”. Prs. — K. wrūja, Pasht.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëbāz</td>
<td>“a swimmer”. Prs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëbāzī</td>
<td>“swimming”. Prs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëca</td>
<td>(ëc-ca?) “anything”. ëca nāk “nothing”. Pasht.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëc</td>
<td>“any”. Prs. — K. hic, Pasht.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëwē</td>
<td>“father’s brother (brādar-i pādar)”. Kab. Prs. ëuder “father’s younger brother”. Prs. ëfdar. Cf. EVP. s.v. ër.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëdā</td>
<td>“both”. máx arduññā bu kišāb a'īn “we are both reading the book”. ëdā &lt; arduñnah (har du). Cf. gīdī.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëfō, ëfō</td>
<td>K. hafō “that”. V. 103.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëfta</td>
<td>“week”; K. hafīta “Saturday”. Prs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëgā</td>
<td>“knowing, conversant with”. Prs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëgār</td>
<td>“hurt, bruised”. Prs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëyōk (K.)</td>
<td>v. ëwas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ëjab</td>
<td>“wonderful”. Prs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
agl, K. "sense, wisdom". tū agl nak darūn, Prs.

lākim "governor". Prs.

'ukm, K. ḥukm "order". tar tū-ā ḥukm bu 'gam "I obey you"; ḥukm nak a.

Prs.

al-, K. hal-, contracted pron. 3 prs. V. 102.

For verbal compounds with al- v. the uncompound verbs.

auṭād "children". Prs.

al'ka "earring". Prs.

ala'sā "jaw(-bone)". Prs.

al'zōk "ripe". méwā al-zōk a "méwā rasida ast". V. zyū-

-am, pron. suff. 1 sg. V. 101.

a'mā "father's sister". Kab. Prs.

imbāl pl. (K) "friends". < *ham-pāvyə?

Cf. EVP, s.v. māl.

am'būr "forcesp, pincers". Prs. am'būr, cf. Skr. sam-bhūr- "to draw together, close (the jaws)"?

amar-zōk, K. amar-ēk, Le. amar-ōkh "to hear". Aor. amar-īm, gōy-am amar-ī "my ear hears"; tū amar-zōk at "you heard"; prān az kāra kūssī amārū būk "I had heard this tale yesterday". < Av. mar- "to give attention to, notice" + ā. G. compares Psht. ūdērōdāl.

umr, uenmr, Ph. omrnr, K. ume, Le. umur "life". Prs.

'āin, B. ō'en, Le. āhin "iron". Prs. V. ōu, ō'na, K. ōin "mirror". Prs.

in (B) "blood". Psht. V. ūnūn.

ōn, ōn, K. ōn "so many, so much".

< Av. avavānt.

būda, B. 'indā, K. idā, Le. ūndā "here".

Cf. Natanzi 'indāda, Kohrudī ūndē, Shghg, 'īndānd < *āntāna, Av. āṭābāta?

undār- "to sew". undār-ūm-a bu "I shall sew it". Cf. Par. an'darf.

'indawū "hence". V. in'da.

in'jān, K. injān "the day before yesterday". Cf. K. injā sal "next year but one". in- < anya-? V. šār, muš-

injān.

i'nēla, v. nēla.

āšt (87) B.; K. hānšt, Le. ānšt "8". Av. ašta.

aŋq "brayn. xar bu 'aŋ za'nī "the donkey is braying". K. hīn-ēk.

dēŋ'gar "blacksmith". Prs.

in'gās "neigh". yāsp bu in'gās kaŋ'yī "the horse is neighing". Cf. Par. hen'gas.

aŋ'gešt "coal". Prs.

aŋ'gušt Phon., K. "finger". Prs.

anguštārī, K. angištārī "finger-ring". Prs.

aupōši "sprinkling". 'wōk aupōši b'kam, Prs.

ar, K. har, Le. hēra "all, every". Prs.?

ar-, ēr-, rī, B., ēr-, K. hīr, rī, Le. ar-, ra- contracted pron. 1 prs. V. For verbal compounds with ar- v. the uncompound verbs.

ara, pronominal base "this". V. 103.

aw'raí "ram", K. wraí "mountain-ram". Psht. wraí "lamb"?

ūr-uk "to hold, keep". nāk-a b'ūrām "ne mēwardāram-is"; hūkum nak b'ūrākum "I did not obey the command (hūkum-ā na mēwardāstam)".

Cf. Rav. ūra "seizes". < Av. āvā-bar?

Cf. wūr-

a'rāba "wheel". Prs.

ar'ū, ardu'gād "both". Prs. V. addu-

gād.

a'raq "sweat". Prs.?

ara'kat "movement". ara'kat na da'rim "I cannot move". Prs.

Ōrmu'ri "Ormuri, an Ormuri". V. p. 312.
auruš̌t, K. wrašta, Le. wroșht, Rav. warosht “beard”. au ruš̌t tar mín ẓpēw suk “my beard grew white”. Cf. Phl. apruš̌t, áruš̌t (Frahang-i Phl. ed. Junker, 10, 5).

arát, K. árat “wide, broad”. rād zul árat (tang) č “the road is very wide (narrow)”. Psht.
arzan “millet”. Prs. — K. ażan is genuine, cf. EVP. s.v. ždan, Ishk. wuzdān.
aržān, Le. aržān “cheap”. Prs. ʾāsāb, K. hīsāb “reckoning”. ʾāsāb bu kām. Prs.
aʾsul čān, K. asal “this year”. Av. *ā + sard. āsām “sky, heaven”. Prs.
ust, v. wust.
ās-yā “water-mill”. Prs.
ašt-vek (K.) “to stand”. Av. stā- (hiṣṭa-). Cf. wust.
aštēs, K. aštēs. Le. ashtes “18”. Av. aštadasa.
ūs-yār, K. husyār “intelligent”. Prs.
āwā “air”. āwā ţok-a “the air is hot”.

Par. āwū, v. āū.


awā′rī “small plain in the hills”. Psht. hawār “level, flat”.

awas-as: ayok (K.) “to be attached, reach”. G. ayok < āgata-, awas. < Av. ā-jāsaiti (f). — Derivation from an inchoative pres. is probable; but the loss of j would be strange. Cf. wis-
avēs K.; Le. haves “17”. Av. haptadasa-
aʾwaitu, K. awē. Le. hawai “70”. awai < Av. haptāti; aʾwaitu is an analogical formation, cf. ḫūštū.

awāz “sound”. Prs. ʾāxīr K. “last, finally”. Prs.
awāxr “manger”. Prs.
ʾāxīrāt K. “the future world”. Prs.
aʾyēra “all”. máx ayēra wustu bukēn “we had risen all of us”. a- definite article, -ēr < hārna?- V. ar.
auz “tunk”. Prs.
āzuk “left, remaining”. Cf. K. hāzn-; hanjyōk “to remain behind”? V. Par. ʾāzēh-

izmaw-, K. wuzmaw-yēk “to try, test”. az-a bu karā yāśp izmawēm “I shall try this horse”. Cf. Prs. āzmūdan, Phl. ʾezmūtan, Av. *uš-ma-.
aʾzān “summons to prayer”. Prs.
aʾzān(d) “hanging”. ca bʾ awʾān kēm; awʾān-dam da būk “ausānd-iṣ kada būdūm”. Prs.
āʾzār “1000”. Prs. — K. zar, Psht.
unaw-ʾūk, K. awzn-: wazyok “to kill”. uzn-aʾwém; kaʃom uzn-aʾwok “I killed him”; máx ku še aurai uznawok-š “we have killed a ram”. < Av. aiwi-

jan-.
Vocabulary

B

bāk, K. bāk, B. biyāk "to be, become".

az kara neri ne bām "I live in this house"; bīkmā "I was". Av. ba-vāk, privateative particle. Prs.

bē B.; K. bē "other". G. < Av. bītya-; cf. Gabri bītā, Paht. bēl etc.

bē "again, later". Cf. bēc.

bū, bā, pā, K. bū, Le. bū, pā, verbal particle. V.

bū, K. būnī "smell", afzut būn nokā. Prs.

bābādi "because of" ta-rā-i-bābādi "az bābat az i". Prs.

bābān "desert". Prs.

bubītī "n. of a bird". "bača "boy". Prs.

bačandar "step-son". Prs. V. winjāk, bād, K. "bad, evil". Prs.

bād, K. "wind". bād cawā bū. Prs.

bād, Le. bād "after". Prs.

bād "willow". Prs.

bačela, Le. bačala "song". Prs.

bādār "master, owner". Prs.

bādāsā "king". Paht.

bēgā, v. pabēgā.

bēgā (bē ga?) "other". a bē nāk-a al-zaaṣa, cāh bēgā ar-še "these are not ripe, give me four others". V. bēc.

bēgā "yesterday evening". Prs. — K. weqā, Paht.

bay "belows". goi bu baker "the cow bellows". Cf. Minj. bey- "to bellows" etc.

bāgī, K. "garden". Prs.

bā'yal "armpit". Prs.

bā'yal, K. "except". ba'yarī a ta máx be kāk "wai nak da-bāk "except us nobody was there". Prs.

bājā "wife's sister". Prs. — K. xēni, Paht.; Le. khāshnā, Prs.

bēk "ascending", girl jē bēk sām "I ascend the hill". Cf. pabēgā.

bēqāl "stupid". Prs.

bākār (B.), Rav. baćār "goat", Ind.

bāl (K.) "in good health".

bāl "wing". Prs.

bēl "spade". Prs.

balkim, K. balki "but, moreover". Prs.

bālūt "oak". Prs.

bāla'vāna "upper chamber". Prs.

būmā, K. būmā t., Le. būmā "earth, ground". Av. būmī t., Prs. būmā.

ban-āk, K. ban-āk "to throw, put".

girīya ba'nām "I tie a knot (giri mendāzim)"; < *ud-banda- More prob. < Av. dhan- "to fly" (caus. dhanāya-), cf. Minj. dānā, Yazgh. dāna- etc. "to swing". V. EVP. s.v. levaččāl; cf. also. Sāmn. bā-randa "to throw".

Luri i-wânūm "I throw".

bar, K. "door". bar qīl (māk, al-dōkē) "the door is locked (open, closed)".

Av. dvar, Paht. war etc.

bār, K. "load". Prs?

bar-bāt "lost, squandered". Prs.

barg, Le. balk "leaf". Prs. — K. paf.

barg "lightning". Prs.

bārīn; K., Le. bārīn "rain". Prs.

bras: braštak (K.) "to burn" (intr.). Cf. bras-

brasčāk (K.) "to glitter". G. compares Paht. braščāl. bras- possibly < *uparuxēya- (cf. Charpentier, AO. VII, p. 184); but Paht. brašī- is difficult on account of the ʃ.

brit Le. "moustache". Prs.

("bras-): bruštuk, K. bras-: braštak "to burn, set on fire". bruštuk "he burnt"; but also az rūnī ne brušt-
bíz-. puxók, K. bíz(z) - paxvěk "to cook". txan bu bížim, txan-am puxók-a; cät puxók-a; rezen-am puxók-a. bíž. < *páčaya-, pux- < *paxwa-, Av. pak, Par. péć- etc.

bož-věk (K.) "to pick, choose". But Log. běwi "měčna"?

C

cá, cá, K. cá, Le. ts'a pron. interrog. and indef. "what?", "anything, something". a-se'rai bu 'ca ké "what is the man doing?"; šé cá "something". G. < Av. ci-, cf. Psht. ċu.
cák, Le. tsâka "cold". txan cák šuké "the food has become cold". Cf. K. cák "sour, acid"? G. compares Kshm. tsakwó "sour"; but it is difficult to see how a Kshm. word could be adopted into Orm.
cık, K. cık "woman’s breast, nipple". < *čuki-. Cf. Kati čuk, Prs. čučú etc.
cělá (K.) in i-cělá "on the left". G. compares Bal. čót "curved" < *cafta-; but i < *ř? A derivation < *čarti (cf. Ir. *cartara- "clever", Aır. Wb. s.v. čarti-târa-) is very improbable, as the left hand is the bad, unlucky one in Ir. and Ind.

čimi, B. čim, K. cim (pl. cam, Le. tsími "eye, spring". čimi-a nak juši "his eye does not see"; čimi di učk cama water flows from the spring". Originally a pl.? G. < Av. časman-

cen K.; Le. tien "what" (adj). aʃo sa'rai ta 'cën grâm č? az a b'nak paza-nim "of what willage is this man? I do not know him". G. comp. Anc.
Vocabulary

Prs. čiyan- "of what kind" (corr.: "how much").
cūn(d), K. cūn, Le. tsūn "some, how much, how many?". cūnd rūž; cūn bū dar-kīrīm? "how much shall I give you?" tar tū ta pē a-klān cūn dīyē? "how many sons has your father?" marziyē-t cūn yē? das marziyē-n. G. < Av. āvānt-
cār; B.K., Le. cār "4", G. < Av. āngārā. cār-jistu "80". K. hāštā, Le. haštāi. caraŋ, Le. sarrang "how, in what manner". caraŋ bū kōn? Pašt?
cēraw- "to graze". gōl bū cērawīm. Pašt.
cawēk (K.) "generic term for goats and sheep". G. compares Pašt. cārwē "quadruped". The word is, however, not derived from Pašt. car "pasture", but is connected with Prs. cār-pāś "quadruped".
cāťū, K. cāťū, Le. trāšht "40", G. < Av. cāṭīcarasānta.
cat-, K. cāt-vēk "to lick". Pašt. V. cāṣta.
caw-šk K. caw-šēk "to go". Har. cawam, cūm; az bū nēr kī cūm "I am going home"; tū māk cī "do not go". al-caw- "to go away". al-ca-vēk. < *cīyav-; G. compares Av. śāv, Skr. cyu-.
caw-, K. caw-vēk "to cause to go". In imper. 2 pl. al-ca-vē "bring"?
cwan-vēk (K.) "to shake out dust from clothes". G. compares Bal. cūndd, Phl. cūndūtan "to stir, shake". If this comparison is correct, Pašt. cawfōl "to clean by shaking" (< Si. chōfēlaqu "shaking", Lhd. chōflkāq

"to shake as a carpet") can only have modified the sense of the Orm. word.

Č

č-ġ, K. hīnc-vēk "to be able". ar-zāk bū nāk čīm "I cannot come"; az zut kār-am drunak, ar-zāk nāk čiğum "I had much work to do and could not come"; az ... paidā nāk čēk "I could not find it". G. compares Kshm. hēkun, Skr. ṣak; but corresponding to Skr. ṣ-, Kshm. h- we should expect Ir. s., not h-. hīnc, hēc with secondary nasalization, < Av. hāk- (hāca-, hēçaya-) "to participate in, take part in".

čā "a well". Prs.
ča-buk "swift". Prs.
čiğ (K.) "high". Not borr. from Dard, cf. Sh. čīğ "long" (< dr̥a), as suggested by G. Derivation from *usky-aka- (Av. uski) is phon. possible; but this seems an improbable form. Cf. Marwat Pašt. čīgēti "rises".
čērel "sieve". Cf. Prs. čārel "a leathern vessel having a spout, whence they pour water in making ablutions"? ču-yul "threshing". ču-yul-ā p’ kém.
Afg. Prs.
čūkrī "rhubarb". Prs. čūkrī "sorrel".
ču-kūš "hammer". Prs.
čēmak "winking". čēmak bū zanē "he is winking". Cf. Hi. camak "flash" etc.
čōn, K. cūn "year". tara yēṣp umr penc čōn a "this horse is five years old". čīnār "chenar". Prs.
čēp, B. čēp "left (hand)". Prs. V. čēlačē pāry "flat hand". Cf. Lhd. cappā,
Phth. capaq etc., v. Ashk. Voc. s.v. ca'pāl.
ču'pān “shepherd”. Prs. V. šucān.
črīk “dirty”. Prs.
cārmāys “walnut”. Prs.
cār'pāi “bed”. Prs.
cārtkāi (B.) “knife”. Psht. cārkāi + Prs. kārd.
cārxa(ā) “spinning wheel”. cārxa bu xre
“it turns round”. Prs.
lōștan. K. tāštān “husband, master”.
Psh. v. EVP. s.v. caštān.
čat “licking”. čat kām. V. cašt.
čtw (pl. čtwi) (K.) “a hollow or cave in a precipice”.
čtw (pl. čtwi) t. (K.) “root”. < *katya-. Cz. Par. kō?
čtwaf, K. cståt “fat”. tar máx a-gōi
zut čtwaf, ē, sīr-ām yeḍšt ar-śāk-e
“my cow is very fat, I have given it good fodder” Rhyming with Psht.
γατ, xarašt (Bellew).
čiz “thing”. Prs.

di'či “shoes”. Sg. *dūk < *dutakā-. Cf.
Greek ἐβοῦκωμι etc.
dād “smoke”. Prs. — K. dāt Ind.
deg'dān K. “fireplace”. Prs.
degli, K. degrá “small brass cooking-
 pot”. Psh.?
dūga’ni “twins”. Prs.
dāk, in al-dāk “closed”. V. bar.
dūkā “daughter, girl”. K dūkā “girl”.
dlī < *duxtā, cf. Av. dūyašt.
dūkan’ār (Phon. dūkān’ār), K. dūkāndār
“shopkeeper”. Prs.
daliz “vestibule”. Prs.
daulat “property, riches”. Prs.
dām “net”. Prs.?
dāmi “wolf”. Scarcely < Prs. dāmī
“hunter, fowler”.
dim (K.) “second”. G. compares Prs.
duyum etc. But cf. bē. V. 45.
dim-, K. dūm-šēk “to pain, ache”. a-xar-
am bu dimi “my head aches”; Le.
bā-šēmi “aches”, dīmy “pain”. Cz.
Psht. dūmai “a cold”?
dumb “tail”. Prs.
dāmād “son-in-law, sister’s husband”.
dānā “corn”. Prs.
dān (B.) “mouth”. Prs.
din’ār. K. dūnā “the world”. Prs.
dang-šk “to run”. dangam bu. Psht.
dangal “to take a jump”.
dangaw- caus. of dang. az-a bu kara
yāsp dangawim “I make this horse run”.
drī. K. drā (pl. dīr). Le., Rav. dīr “hair”.
G. compares Khow. drōh (droy). cf.
Ashk. Voc. s.v. drō “lock, curl”. But
also Oss. ọrdū < Skr. druva-
pal “fringe of hair falling over the
forehead” < *pata-?
Vocabulary

dran “reaping”. ganum bu dran kam.
  Prs. V. dir.
dar, K. dal, contracted pron. 2 prs. dar-
yušim bu = ku tū ki yušim “I say
to thee”. V. 102.
dar-1: dar’ok “to stand”. inda dar-
“stand here”; dar’ok “he is standing”. Cf. EVP. s.v. darēdol.
dar-3: drunuk, K. dar: dranak “to own,
have”. Pres. (= aor.) da’rim, 2 sg.
darϕn (Le. daron); az zu’d dūkā darim
“I have many daughters”; inda vok
nak darun “you have no water here”.
G. < Av. dar-. The n of the past
stem is not a root-determinative; but
dran- corresponds to Av. dramna-
p.p. med. Av. dar’sta- would result
in dīl, a form which clashed with
the past stem of dir-
der- “slow, late”. Prs.
dir-: dilak (K.) “to reap”. G. compares
Av. (dar-): dar’sta- “to sever, cut off”.
dar’ar “durbar”. Prs.
drāy, K. drāy “long”. G. comp.
Av. dar’ra-, Psht. lārā “delay”. With
metathesis < *dāry, or cf. Skr. drā-
ghista- “longest” etc.
durust K. “straight, right”. a-γn širr
durust “the stick is quite straight”.
Prs.
drīṣṭi, K. darṛṭi, Le. drekhy “lie(s)”.
drīṣṭi ma γn “do not tell lies”, < *druxās-
Av. drug- etc.
daraw-ok, caus. of dar-1: še sāt ku mun-a
daravok “he made me stand for one
hour (mara yaḥ sāt istāda kaf)”.
darvačā “smoke-hole”. Cf. Yd. derbu-
choh and Prs. darvīzā.
dar’at, Rs. darakht “tree”. Prs.
dar’yā, K. daryab “river, sea”. Prs.
das B., K., Le.; Phon. das “10”. Av. dasa.
dās “sickle”. Prs.
dest, B. dāst, K. dist “hand”. desti-nēm
nak a “it is not in my power”. Prs.
destā “handle (of a knife)”. Prs.
destak “roof-beam”. Prs.
destār “turban”. Prs.
dāš (Phon.) “shoulder” (?) Prs.
duś: dōk, K. dōś-vēk (p. p. i. dōk) “to
milk”, duśim-a bū “I am milking
it”; ku gōy-um dōk-ē “I have milked
the cow”. Acc. to G. borr. from Prs.
dūśten. — < *dauśsya-; duxta, cf.
Skr. fut. dhośtyati, v. EVP. s.v. leasāl.
dīś? ku mun ki dīši vok, ar-sevē šē
dāśten? “give me water, bring
it in a piece of cloth (?)”.
dūškī (K.), Le. dūkh “a little”. G. com-
pares Psht. lōg (corr. lēg, v. EVP. s.v.).
dus’man “enemy”. Psht.
davēcē “medicine”. Prs.
duśvē, K. duśā “blessing, prayer”. Prs.
dūvāl K. “wall”. Prs.
dēvāna “mad, madman”. Psrs.
duśas, K.; Le. duśas “12”. Av. dvādasa.
dēk v. jūs-
duśra (K.) “dry twigs, firewood”. G.
comparies Psrs. duśuk “plank”, Skr.
dru. — duśra < *druxs-, cf. EVP. s.v.
largai.
dāz-vēk (K.) “to load”. G. compares
Psht. lēbēl etc. V. EVP. s.v. lebēl.

D

dāk, K. dāk “full, rich”. Psht.
dangar “lean”. a γōlē gōlē di dāngar
yē “this cow is leaner than the other
cows”. Psht.
Ormuri

F

fa'qir K. "mendicant". Prs.
fikr K. "thought". tar mun fikr di al-
cavok "I have forgotten it". Prs.
fa'läk "sky". Prs.
favreh "deceit". Prs.
far'mal "winnower", farmal-a p' kêm.
Afgh. Prs.?  

G

g1: gustuk; K. gl: g?astak "to take
away, carry". al-gim'a bu; ca b' al-
gôn "what do you take away?"; imper.
2 sg. gôn (K. glön, Le. glön);
asarai bu ku ëurai al-gi "the man
takes away the ram"; kafso al-gustu-
kon-a; afso trân-at kôk kî al-gustokê
"for whom have you taken away
that bread?" Acc. to G. < Av. grab-
st being a verbal determinative. —
But gl- points to *gyd, Skr. girdh-
"to strive after, covet", Av. gona-
eager, desires of". gust; gast-
< *gysta? The l in plast- may have
been introduced from the present
stem.

g3: wutuk, K. i: hatak "to place, put,
throw, leave". pêrî kitâb ta mézi
sar gâm-a bî "now I put the book
on the table"; pêrî-a b' gâm; sadness,
tar xui a-marzâ nêri nê gôn, xuy-at
inda ar-zêi "to morrow leave your
brother at home and come here your-
self"; kitâb-am ta mézi sar wutukê
"I have left the book on the table";
kafso mammmäi nê wutukê; tar mun
a-marzâ zut nîyôr buk; az kafso nêri
nê wutuk "my brother was very ill,
I left him at home". — G. < haraz,
cf. Psht. pê-dol (v. EVP. s.v. 9jö-dol).
Begarding Log. g v. 65.

ga K. "also, even". tôs ga zut ê, màx
 ga zut ên, ku màx bu zanê "you are
c many and we, too, are many; do you
beat us?" V. gar.
gôi, K. giyô (pl. goui, gwâi), Rav. go'e
"cow". Av. gav- etc.
gôi, K. gôy, Rav. goî (B. giag) "ear".
Av. gawâ, Par. gi, etc.
gûi "human excrements". Prs.
gû'dâ, B. Le., gûda, K. gû'dâ "where".
gûda bukûn? nêr bukum "where
were you? I was at home"; gûda
di ar-zôk "from where have you
come?" az bu pôt nãk sam ka gûda
p' cavê "I do not know where you
are going". gu< Av. kû; scarcely
gû'da < Av. ku-dâ, with d treated
as in initial position.

B. gi'dar "jackal". Psht. < Ind.
giçi, K. gaç "with, together with".
asarai ku mûn giçi ar-zôk "the man
arrived together with me". Ind.

gûj, guš, K. guj "olîly, merely".
gâjar, Le. kâjar "carrot". Ind., Waz.
Psht. ga'jâra.
gâkâ, B. gâka, K. gâka, Le. gûka "flesh,
meat". gâkâ ta giçi "guma" (Par.
yûs-i danânika). < *gâwâkâ, Av.
gav-, cf. Prs. gôst, Psht. yâwâta?
gal-ôk "to weave", K. gal-ôk "to twist,
spin", kâti b' galmâ "I weave cloth";
galûk-am-a "bâhta-im-iš". G. < Ir.
garv-, cf. Skr. grathâ, Psht. yarîd
(but not Prs. yâlîdan, intr. "to roll").
galla "herd of horses, camels". Prs.
gel "clay". Prs.
gul "flower". Prs.
gul "extinguished", rûn bu gul kâm. Prs.
<yāra “neck” etc. (EVP. s.v. yāra)? 
But Old K. is usually preserved.

'golak, K. gilak “rat”. Charpentier (MO. 
XVIII, p. 22) compares Bakht. girza 
“rat”, Skr. (Lex.) giśi “mouse” etc. 
But Orm. l < rd. ¡t; gilak prob. < 
*yṛ[y]aka, cf. Skr. iyāḥra “greedy” 
etc. I do not know, whether Bakht. 
rz might represent an ancient rd. 
V. g;

giśim “carpet”. Prs. 
gulūm “throat”. Borr. from Prs. gulūm 
gōn B., K.; Le. gōn “a stick, wood”. 
ə-sarap bi gōn mezaw ti “the man breaks 
the stick”.
gunā K. “sin”. Prs. 
gunaqār “sinner”. Prs. 
gunjīsk “sparrow”. Prs. 
ganum B.; Le.; K. ganum “wheat”. 
ə ganum a-mār šēr-ə “wheat-flour is 
good”. Av. ganom, Psht. yanəm, 
Par. gannim etc. 
gungai, Le. gung “dumb”. Prs. + Psht. 
gap K., Rav. “stone”. Cf. Par. gapår 
“fireplace”?
gar “also”. afš gar ar-zāk “he, too, 
arrived”. Euphonic -r, or archaic form of ga (q.v.)?
giśi Le.; K. gri “mountain”. G. < Av. 
gairi, cf. Kurd. gır etc. 
gurū (K.) “kid”. G. compares Sar. jērū 
“kid” < Av. garcā “foetus”. 
gurcuk, B. guršak “clay-pot”. 
gard “dust”. Prs. 
gurda “kidney”. Prs. 
gardan, K. gardan “neck”. Prs. 
grām, Le. grām “village”. Kānīgrām “Kanigram, in Wasiristan”. Ind. 
gran-ik, K. gran-ək “to chew, masticate”. grānim; tən-man granik-

“I chewed the bread”. < *graḥna-, 
Skr. grasa “to seize with the 
mouth, eat”, Greek γαγάνη?

garon, K. giraṇ-ək “to scratch”. Psht. 
garχavul, cf. Prs. gar “seab” 
giriya “knot”. Prs. 
girz, K. girz-ək “to wander about, turn”. 
Psht. gəzədəl (< Arch. Psr. gəzdan). 
girzawal, caus. of girz. az bu ku čarx 
girzawim.
giś (B.) “beard” (?). 
гиśi, K. gis, Le. gishy, Rav. gishey “tooth”. 
гиśi natsam “I bite off”. Original pl., 
cf. cimi. < *gastra-, cf. EVP. s.v. gis. 
guṣa “thus, in this way”. kəb b’ tə 
guṣa kuni? “why do you act thus?” 
guṣa mak kən! Cf. guʃ.
guṇaŋi “hunger”. Prs. 
guʃ “lame”. 
gaz “yard”. Prs. 
gazdum “scorpion”. Prs. 
gauzi (gauzi MABB.) (K.) “plough-bul- 
lock”. Borr. from an Ir. dialect with 
g < w? Cf. Prs. barzgaw, warzgaw 
etc. Or cf. Par. s.v. kəsagū.

γ

γauč “deep”. Cf. Prs. γauči “a deep 
well”.

γuči “a kind of bird”, K. γίς “the 
Indian badger”.

γaf-ək (K.) “to weave”. G. compares 
Skr. guph-. γaf < *waf-. Cf. Par. 
γaf-, Psht. udal, Av. ubdā, Skr. vabh-
γau “barking of a dog”. əspuk bu 
guau kə “the dog is barking”. K. 
γap, Psht. 
γok “frog”. Prs. V. margvu.

γi, Le. ghal “thief”. Psht. γi.
γαλέ "hidden, stolen". γαλέ b' kam. Psht. γαλδίπ "covering, sheath". Prs. γιλαφ. γαλτα "grain", Prs.
γαλας "a kind of wool (sardaz)". Cf. Prs. γαλας "thick, coarse"? Prs. sardaz is a kind of head-stall.
γιν(δ) K. "hidden, lost".
γαντ(Κ.) "bad". G. compares Bal. γανδάκ "bad", Psht. γανδ "to dislike". Borr. from a lost Psht word γανδ(ι)?
γανάζτ "heifer".
γανόν "penis". Psht. γανόν.
γατα, K. γατα "cave". Prs.
γατα, K. γατα "to rain". бαράν γατα.
G. < Av. γατα, Par. γατα etc. γατα "lost". Cf. Psht. γατάκ.
γατας, K. γατας, Rav. gharasa "black".
γατάς ta cimi "the pupil of the eye".
γανάζτ "pestle". Prs. γανατ "mortar" + σανα?
γατα (B.) "neck". Psht.
γατας, K. γατας "to open the eyes". cimi γατας. Psht.
γατας: γατας, K. γατας. γανέκ "to say, speak". darγατιμ bu "I shall tell you"; βα-δέλα bu γατιμ "baat mézánam"; tu ku mun ki ca b' γατε "tu mára éi mégyi"; πingen a' zán bu γατε "the cock crown". πρίαν-am ku sē ki γατ σανk "I had said to you yesterday".
G. < Av. vāṣ, N. Bal. guvāz. — γατας and Bal. guvāz < Av. vāṣaṇa.
γατας "snow". Av. vaṣra-, Par. γαρπ, etc. γατας, K. γατας "to fear". γατας; tū ku γατας "do you fear?" a-sarāi bu γατας; γατας-καμ, γαταςκαμ. < Av. *vi-śtraha- (G. < Anc. Prs. vi + tras, with syncope of s). Cf.
γατας-κα, K. γαταςκα "to frighten", γαταςκαμ.
γατας-κα, K. γαταςκα "to wash". dēst bu γαταςκα "I wash my hands"; γαταςκα "wash it"; muk-am γαταςκα "I washed my face". < Av. *vi-fra-, cf. Yazgh. forae, Wkh. piru. (G. < Skr. vi-śtraya- "to wash away").
γατας, K. γατας, Le. ghoṣa "fat". Psht. γατας, Waz. γατας.
γατας (K.) "oath". Av. varāka- "ordeal, trial".
γατας-κα, K. "to appear good, look nice". G. comp. Skr. γατας "to choose, select" (?).
γατας-κα (K.) in γατας γατε "to take an oath". Av. vaɾa-, "to perform, fulfill, accomplish".
γατας-κα, K. γατας, Le. ghoṣas "grass", karā ki kok γαταςκα dēr "who gives it grass?" Orig. pl.; with γατας-, cf. EVP. s.v. γας. (Acc. to G. borr. from Prs. γας). — Acc. to Andreas (Deutsche Lit. Zeit., 1928, 2257) the derivation of these words from Av. vāstra- is impossible. — The original form of the Psht. and Orm. words must, however, in any case be *wāstrā.
γατας "cradle". Prs.
γατας, K. γατας, K. γατας: γατας-κα "to fall". Usually with al-ːpēri gap al-ːγατας "the stone falls down now"; al-ːγατας bu "I shall fall"; gap al-ːγατας; bary bammān ne al-ːγατας-
“the leaf has fallen to the ground”; Le. arghosh'takai “did you fall?” — G. < Av. vəz “to fly”; cf. Wkh. wəzn “to fall” etc. V. EVP. s.v. wəstl.

H
(Cf. s. Vowels.)
haifō, v. aifō.
hām, v. xamē.
hin’dū “Hindū”.
hōnd, v. kōr.
hinēgēk (K.) “ground, pulverized”. *nya-. G. comp. Psht, anž “to grind”, Prs. ārd “flour” etc. V. EVP. s.v. ārd.
hāstā, v. cār-fistu.
hīstak, v. aw-

J
jak (K.) “wounded, hurt”. V. zan-
jam, jom, K. jem, jim, B. ēm “below, down”.
giri di b’jem sam “I descend from the mountain”; jem nēr “cellar”; ta drahx t-ijomī nē “under the tree”; Le. pādzema “down”. < Av. haça-
*adama, cf. Prs. zēr < *haça-adairī etc.

J
jāi, Le. jāe “place”. tar mun a-jāi pēc a “my home is far away”. Prs. — K. jāk possibly genuine < *vyāka-
je, v. jēr.
jō “watercourse”. Prs.
jālī “splendour” (?). Prs?
jālī “hail”. Prs.
jo’lā “spider”. Prs.
judolz “packing-needle”. Prs.
jām “collected, collection”. Prs.
jām “cup”. Prs.
jān, K. jān “self, body”. Prs.
junūb “south”. Prs.
jāng “war”. Prs.
jēr (B.) “clay”. jēr ēr-sār “gel biār”.
jēr, usually jē, K. i-zar, Le. jar “on”. V. 92.
ji’ē “portion, ration (rasad)”. Prs.
jārūp “broom”. ku nēr bu jārūp kam “I sweep the house”. Prs.
jari’ya “hedgehog”.
jör K. “sound, well, prepared”. afō sārāj jör a; nēr bu jör kam “I build a house”. Psht.
još “boiling”. uṣk bu još xrē “the water is boiling (au još mēxωρ)”.
Prs.
juš “to boil”. jušim. Prs.
juš : d(y)ēk, K. jūn : dvek “to see”. az bu ku tū jušim = jušim-at “I see you”; jušim-a bū “mēbniśmy”; afō sariyē bu ku mun juš “those men see me”; prān-am (az prān) ku tū dē būk “I saw you yesterday (dirāz mā šumāra dīa būdīm)”; prān-am ku mun dē būk. Acc. to G. dyēk < Av. o dītā; jūn- < Av. zan- “to know”, Bal. zānay “to know, see”. — j < z is strange; cf., however, 54 juš. (K. jūš “to look at”) may be derived from *wīdras < Av. vi-dāros, cf. s.v. jusp.
ja’wāb K. “answer”. Prs.
jo’wēri “jowar”. Prs.
K

k: dék, K. käw; kayê (p.p.m. dêk) "to do, make". Aor. kam, kém; imper. 2 sg., kön (Le. kun); -am däk-"kadaim"; -am dá bûk "kada bûdâm". G. < Av. kar; dáta. — Loss of r in the present stem, as in Psht. kawul. Borr. from Psht.

ka K., Le. relative pron. "who, that". Av. ka-. V. 105.

ka K. conj. "that, because, if" etc. kafô ki yûšim ko ar-zâya "I tell him to come"; ka tü prân bu ar-zâkôn, az bu ku tü ki das riûp dar-šûk "if you had come yesterday, I should have given you ten rupees". Cf. Prs. kîh etc.

ka K. Le. "when". Av. kâda.

ek, v. kyê.

ki K., Le. "to, into, for". V. 80.

kö "hole". kö šuk-k; kö ta gôr "the hole of the ear".

kö (B.) "mountain". Prs.

kîl K., preposition. V. 86.

kiblû "west". Prs.

kalî Cô, qabr "tomb". Prs.

kabûr-yâ "ribs". Prs.

kabûr-iştân "graveyard". Prs.

kici "shouting, calling". kichi šuk "faryâd kat". Cf. K. kievêk "to call, summon".

kuçuk "puppy, cub". Cf. Par. kuçuk "dog";

kafan "winding-sheet, shroud". kafan-a p kém. Prs.

kaf "palm of the hand". Prs.

kaftar Le., K. kêtarn "pigeon". Prs.

kafj, Le. kaj "crooked, bent". Prs.

kafeki "woman's forehair". Psht. kajak.

ka'jir "a large, black bird".

kâ'kâ "uncle". Ind.

kaik "flea". Prs. V. ūk.

kaik, Le. konk "partridge". Prs.

kök, K. kok, Le. kok "who?", "anyone", tar tü a-pê kök bûk "who was your father?" tü tar kük a-kîlân yûn "whose son are you?". < *kô-kah, Av. ka- with the -ka- suffix like Psht. cók.

kákur-tak "throat". Cf. Waig. kake'rìk "throat", Lhd. khakhàri "jaw"?

kal "bald". Prs.

kâtî "knife". < *kartyî, cf. Prs. kàrd, Psht. câra etc.

káltî "dress, cloth". kálti b' galîm "I weave cloth"; kálti nak darîm. Prs.

kîlî "key". Prs.

qîl "locked".

kul'ça "threshing-sledge".

knîl "lock". Prs.

káltîgâk "knife (pëskaus)". V. kálti, kältî "ak "the temples; a certain part of the plough".

kull "all". Prs.

klân, K. kûlân, Le. kólân "son". ta marzâ klân "brother's son". Connected with Kurd. etc. korr "son". Cf.

kla'nâk, klânak (Ph.), B. kla'nâk, K. kulânâk, Le. kólânak "boy". kulânak šuk-k "a boy is born". V. klân.

kuţang "crane, hoe". Prs.

kóm "palate". Prs.

ka'mán "bow". kamán-a p' kam "I bend it". Prs.

ka'mán-i Rûştâm "rainbow". Prs.

kamarbân "belt". Prs.

kai'mâx "cream". Prs. < Turk.

kin-ôk, K. kin-: kuvulak "to copulate"; ta pê a-nâk-at kinâm; B. nêk-at kinêm; kinük-am-a. Cf. Mj. kîn- : kînôy, Cau-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocabulary</th>
<th>399</th>
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<tr>
<td>cas. Jew.  kün- : kerde (but kürde &quot;done&quot;, cf. Horn, Neup. Et., Nachträge, 847). The euphemistic use of kar- has possibly been supported by the association with kün.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kon, K. kün, gán, Le. kün &quot;when&quot;, kon ar-zákón-a? prán ar-zákum-a</td>
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<tr>
<td>kün &quot;anus, podex&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kančaši &quot;harlot&quot;, Ind. — K. kanjar through Psht.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kanđu &quot;large earthen vessel for holding grain&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<td>qánd &quot;sugar&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<td>kund &quot;blunt&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ka'nak &quot;ankle&quot;,</td>
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<tr>
<td>kān (B.) v. kar.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kand? īnág bu kanđi &quot;[the horse] is neighing&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>kap-qk &quot;to dig&quot;, K. kap-yēk &quot;to cut&quot;, kapim, ku bumann kapōk-a</td>
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<tr>
<td>kapčā mar &quot;a black and white, very poisonous snake&quot;, Prs. kafčā</td>
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<td>kapči &quot;woman's curl&quot;,</td>
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<tr>
<td>kar &quot;deaf&quot;, Prs. — B. kān, Psht.; K. kün genuine &lt; Av. karōna-</td>
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<tr>
<td>kar-qk, K. kar-yēk &quot;to sow&quot;, ku bumnā p̣ karim; ku bumnā-m karq-k. Psht.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kār, K. kār &quot;work, action&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kör &quot;blind&quot;, Prs. — B. rūnd, Psht.; K. hōnd &lt; Av. anda-, cf. EVP. s.v. rūnd.</td>
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<td>kirm &quot;worm&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<td>ka'vār &quot;silent&quot;, karār bōn! Prs.</td>
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<td>kur'ī &quot;jacket&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kirvās (K.) &quot;a kind of lizard&quot;, Cf. Par. karwās.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kirži; B., Rav. kirži &quot;hen&quot;, &lt; *kykyā- cf. Prs. kārg, Par. kury, Psht. čīrg (v. EVP. s.v.). — K. kirmāi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>koreši, K. kārci &quot;split, torn&quot;, koreš-a p̣ ham &quot;mētraṇānaṃ-īśa&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>kūsa &quot;small plate&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<td>kisši &quot;worst, tale&quot; (pl. ?), Prs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kasam &quot;oath&quot;, kasam-a b' ar-širim &quot;I swear an oath to him&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kās, pl. kāšt, Le. kāsh &quot;Afghan&quot;, K. kōti &quot;the Wazirs&quot;, V. p. 312, n. 2, kēš &quot;shirt&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<td>kāšuk &quot;spoon&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<td>kistī &quot;boat&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<td>ki'tāb &quot;book&quot;, Prs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>kyē, kē, K. kē(yē), Le. kēy &quot;why?&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>kāṣa &quot;bridle&quot;,</td>
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<tr>
<td>kusāli &quot;water-bucket&quot;, Cf. Par. kizārē, Prs. kūsa.</td>
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L |
| lab "lip", Prs. |
| lūc "naked", Prs. |
| lāyār: lāyātk (? ) "to roll, wallow", 'pērī lāya'ri; gap ta girā sar dē lāyātk-ē "the stone has rolled down from the top of the hill", Psht. ryārēdēl. |
| lakoṣo(u) (K.) "deer", Waz. Psht. lakoṣowoi, Bangash lakarō'wa. |
| lānd "short", Psht. |
| lip-, K. lup-yēk "to be sucked", tar xwi mawā nak lipi "mādār-i xuda na āyāt". |
| lār (B.) "road", Psht. |
| lārāi, K. lārāi "lamb", G. comp. Psht. wārī (?). |
| laržā "trembling", Prs. |
| larzānak "to make tremble", Ku mun larzānak-ē. |
| lar-, K. lar-yēk "to stir, mix", mār larfōn "moisten the flour (ārda tar ku)!", Psht. |
| larwār, caus. of lar-, larwōn-ā "sor bidī". |
M

māl, K. mālī "fish". Prs.  
māt, K. māt "month". G. < Av. māh-.  
Cf. Par. mēhā, Psht. māi.
'mēl, K. mēl "ewe". G. < Av. maēsī-.  

mūdām "always". Prs.
māi’dān "plain". Prs. — K. maindān, Waz. maindān.
māk (K.), B. máx (?) "withered, faded".  
< "marxaka", cf. Pār. mát, s.v. mēr-.  
māl K. "property, goods". Prs.
māla, mālai, K. mālīs, a word added to numerals and indef. pron. of number.  
dō māla mārāi "two men"; cīn mālai bē bū kitāb aţwē? "how many others are reading the book?"  
še bō bō bō.  
o "other person is reading the book". Cf. ‘mālī.

‘mālī, Le. mālī "husband". < Ang. Pers. martiγha, cf. Psht. mēr "husband", Par. mēr "man".

mīlī, K. mīlī "apple", ku tū kī še mīlī  
dar-śīrim "I give thee an apple".

The connexions of this word are difficult, cf. EVP. s.v. māyā, Par. Vog. s.v. amār.
mālidaři "woman whose husband is alive". V. mālī.
mulk "country, region". Prs.
mūlla "mūlla". Prs.
mālām K. "known". Prs.
mal téy, K. miltay, Le. miltgī "gun".  
Turk.
mīlax "locust". Prs. — K. milxaī, Psht. V. mēx.
mā’mā "mother’s brother". Prs.
mēmān, K. mihmān "guest". Prs.  
— K. mēmī i. f. is poss. genuine.
man, K. mun "then, at that time".  
mēnai "autumn". Psht.
mēn, K. mën "still, yet". mēn pu’xōk nāk sūk-ē "it has not yet become ripe".

mun, obl. of az "I".
munā’jāt "prayer". Prs.
munāsīb "necessary". Prs.
munz, mīnez, K. manj, Le. mēn "middle".  
Psht.
mēnz "stem of a tree". Psht.
mēnzaŋūst "middle finger".
māngas "fly". Prs.
mēr: mulluk, K. mēr: multāk "to die".  
mēr "he dies"; a-saγá (mulluk (Le.  
müluk) "the man died". G. < Av.  
mār-

mār "snake". Prs. — K. maŋgōr, Psht.  
mūr "centipede". Prs. mūr "ant"?  
mur’dā "ant". Prs. But K. mērcōi is  
poss. genuine.
mur’dā, pl. mur’dīyī "corpse". Prs.
mīrīg, K. mīrīg "sparrow", G. < Av.  
mīraya-.
Vocabulary

mār'āwī B. "duck". Prs.
mār'ārwīr "markhor". Prs.
māryāk (K.), Le. mārkākh "moon".
< *māh-rau-k, cf. Skr. roka-"light"?
V. mā'tau.
marzā, B., K., Rav. marzā "brother, friend". tū tar xwi-ra marzā ka yak
ar-wulq? "why did you not bring your brother?". G. < Prs. mīrāzā
"prince" (?). — < *h-māryā-rā, cf. Anc. Prs. hamātar- "born of the
same mother", Greek ὑμοίουργος. V. winjūk.
mar. "to knead, grind". māryn "maid of
the", Skr. myd- "to crush". Cf. Par.
ma. "to rub". Cf.
mār, K. mār "flour", az bu asyāt ne
mār kam "I grind flour at the mill".
V. mār-. These words must be loanwords on account of the r.
māryū (K.) "frog". < *māryū, *mānyū, 
born from some derivative of Skr.
manjāka-, cf. e. g. Kati m'njūk.
mā'skā "butter". Prs. — K. pisk.
mus-in'jan "three days ago". V. in'jān.
māš (K.) "fly". G. < Av. maxi-.
mēs (B.), K. mēs' "sun". G. < Av.
mīhara-, Mj. mīra. Psht. dial. myēr
(v. EVP. s.v. near) might be due to a
contamination of mīhra- and hear-
mā'sām "evening". Psht.
musaw-ḏḵ, K. musaw-ḏḵ "to rub, knead,
smear". musaw-wim; musaw-wi'n-a
"busō-iš"; musi-ā bū "he rubs it".
Cf. also K. mutaw-ḏḵ "to rub, anoint".
G. compares Prs. musān etc. Cf.
EVP. s.v. musēl.
mā'tau B. "moon". Prs. V. māryāk.
mātāt (K.) "apricot". Cf. Par. mindūt.
mūfī "handful, fist". K. mūf "fist".
Psht.
māwā B.; K. māwā, Rav. māw "mother".
< Av. mātar-
mēwā "grape", K. "fruit". Prs.
māx, K. māx "we", māx sūn "mā
xīl-īstīm". V. 100.
mėx "nail". Prs.
mēx (K.) "locust". G. < Av. mādaxa-
V. malax.
mux K.; Rav. makh "face, cheek, edge of
a knife". pa mūx al-γυςūk "he fell
on his face"; ta nēr a-mux "the
floor of a house". Cf. Psht. max,
Par. mūx, Skr. mukha-.
māz-ūk (K.) "to be twisted".
mēz-: muṣṭuk, K. maz-: maṣṭak "to break"
(intr.). pērī bu a-gišī mēzī "now the
tooth breaks"; gīši muṣṭok-ē. Cf. Mj.
maz- "to kill", Psht. māt "broken".
mīzi "urine". < Av. māzi-
māz-dik, K. mīzdik "mosque". Waz.
Psht. māz-dak.
misaw- "to break" (trans.). misaw-im-a
bu. V. mēz-.
mōz-: mōk "to loosen, untie". pērī a b'
mōz-im "xalās mēkunam"; girīya
mōz- "I loosen the knot"; mōk-am
būk. Cf. Skr. mūc-, caus. mocaya-
Mj. mūz-: nūrd "to swing".

N
n-: nustuk, K. nu-: nastak "to sit down".
az bu nim; imper. 2 sg. tu nē, B. nē,
Rav. nē; nustuk-ē; a saqā (zarka)
nustuk-ā. G. < Av. ni-had. Cf. EVP.
nāgdāl, Par. Voc. nīn-
na K., Le. "no". Av. ha-
na, K. nāh, Le. noh, B. naha "9". Av.
nāva, Psht. nāh.
nai "reed". Prs.
nē, R. (īnār, Le. īnēr), postpos. "in".
i-nē-nē zin daya "there is a saddle in the house (da zānā zin as)"; i-nē-nē ku xuy-ā puṭ dāk, bar di nak nayāk "he hid himself in the house and did not go out"; monzī nē "in the middle"; jōmī nē "below". G. comp. nar nēr "house". V. 91.

nefak "navel". Cf. Prs. nāf etc.

nigir, K. nēr "daughter-in-law". Paht.


nāk; B., K., Le. nak "not". Av. na <

Cf. mak.

nāk; K., B. nāk, Le. nak "wife". *nāwyakā, cf. Paht. nāwē "bride", Waz. nāwyē, Skr. nāwyā "newly married woman".

nīkā "marriage". Prs.

nāk "the point of a knife". Prs.

nākra "silver". Prs.

nī/kar, K. naukar "servant". Prs.

nikisēk (K.) "to throw down, propel".

Cf. Paht. kūs "down, below"?

nāl "horse-shoe". Prs.

nēla, K. (īnēla) "presence", as a postpos. "at, with", kitāb nēla-m yē "the book is with me"; a-kitāb tar mun i-nēla būk; wōk bu nēla di-va cāwē "au az pēz-iš mērava"; i-nēla di-m al-cāwēk "he went away from me"; i-nēla di-t ar-zāk "he came from you". < Av. naṣdyā "nearer".

nūl "beak". Prs.

nalat, K. pl. nālatē "swine". Cf. Waz. nolat "pig, brute" < Ar. la'nat "curse". Cf. also Oss. "nalat" "Gesindel, vamflucht".

nām B.; K. nām "name", tar tū nām ca-yā? Prs. or genuine.

nim-sēk (K.) "to descend". G. < Skr.

nam. Cf. Av. nam-, Sak. pa-nam- "to ascend".

nimēk Le. nīmek "salt". Prs. namak etc. V. 36.

nimrūz, K. nimryūz "noon". Cf. Prs. nimrūz.

nimīsta "written". nimīsta pē kam "I write"; zatt-ām nimīsta dākē "I have written a letter". Prs., cf. Ghilzai Pehl. na'mīsta.

nimīfī, K. nimīfī "midnight". Cf. Prs. nimīfī.


nimī, K. nimī, Rav. nemī "nose". G. < Av. *nim-isnāi?. Poss. with assimilation < Prs. binī.

nimār "narrow", K. "mountain pass", Le. naraq "thin". Paht.

nēr B.; K. nar, Le. ner "house", nērī nē "inside": wā nērī nērī nē "da xānā darūn". Av. antara, *antarya-

Cf. Pash. S. anda-rū "house", Prs.

nimī "light". Prs.

nimīgōt, Le. nargō, "bull".

nimr K., Le. "soft". Prs. — K. nōrī < Av. namra.

nērīnā, K. nōrī "male". Av. nar.

nōri K. "piece of bread". Paht.


nas: nōk, K. nōs: nōk, Rav. nass "to seize, catch", kāfō bā nasam "ūra mēgiram"; nāk-ā bā nasam; kāfō bā nōkam "ūra giriftam"; nāk-am nōk. G. comp. Paht. nīwul, nīs- (and Skr. labh-). Cf. also Tahk. nas: -nad, Yaghñ. nās-nāt. Darmesteter's derivation of the Paht. word from Av. nas- "to ob-
tain" does not account for the past. Apparently an inchoative, Ir. *nasa- : *nata-


né, K. unés, Le. nés "19". unés acc. to G. brr. from Hi. unés. — But Lhd. unné. unés < *nées, prob. through the infl. of Ind. forms. V. 37, 99.

nis: na’ýök K. "to go out". az bu nér di nisim. Cf. Par. ni: naryë, Minj. nis. nis appears to be an inchoative form: *nís-ís- (Skr. *nir-icch-). Cf. awes, wés.

nē-saték (K.) "to lie down, go to sleep". *ni-pad-, cf. EVP. sv. camlástal, Minj. nîv- (< niv-): niväšt.

naw, K. nac-vék "to cause to sit down". az bu ku tî nōwim; ku tů-m nōwök-a "tura šàndam". V. n.

nīvë, K. nōvë, Le. nōvë "90". Av. nāvāti-

nīu: nyök (K.) "to put, place". C. < Av. ni-dā, cf. Prs. nihādan.

nwe, K. nywë "new". < Av. nava-

naw: nāwolok, R. nawr: nāwolak "to take out, draw out", màx câ di woł nawolok "we drew water from the well". G. < Av. nāṣ-bar- (or ni-bar-t).

mcasai, K. mcasai "grandson". Psht. nāwaxt "late", nāwaxt bu nāwaxt së "it is getting late". Prs.

niyāk (K.) "maternal uncle". Cf. Psht. niyāko, Phl. nyāk "grandfather".

P

pa K. "by, at". G. < Av. patti.

pé (pyé) B.; K. pîé "father". tar mun a-pē mullık-ë "my father is dead". G. < Av. pitar-, cf. Zaz. pî etc.

pāt "foot". Prob. Prs. — K. pārt, with Ind. suff. (G.), B. pāš (?).

pōi "understanding". pōi bu sám "I understand": az bu pōi nák sam "na mēfämam". Psht.

pābēga, K. pa-bēgâ, Le. pabēga "high, above". K. bēg "the place above or outside". bēg < Av. barzīyah- "higher". Cf. bēk.

pēc K.; Le. petâ "far, distant". Acc. to G. =

pēc K. "the back; back, again, afterwards". pēc ar-sāk "pas amad". G. comp. Hi. pīché "behind", etc. The è, however, renders this derivation improbable. < *pāsēyāh. Av. pāsēn; cf. Par. pē̄ "behind", Minj. ać-pōc, išk, ā-pōst "behind".


pēç, K. pac "a kiss". G. comp. Psht. mēca etc.

pāda "herd of cows". Prs.

pādā "found". Prs.

padak, postpos. govern. the gen. "like", a tar mun ta marzā padak yē "he resembles my brother", pa +?

pāi-rumbar "prophet". Prs.

pāk "milk". Cf. pıkāk.

pākī "razor". Prs.

pıkāk, B. pıkak, Rav. pikakh "buttermilk", K. pikak "(butter-milk, tyré). pî- < Av. payah-, cf. Par. pé, and dopples -ka- suffix, pāk "milk" < payah + āka-

pāki-rā, K. pāk "clean, pure". Prs.

pa’lau, palū, K. palau "side, direction". afp pa’lāti "from that direction". Prs.
pul (B.) "bridge". Prs. pa'lādī "steel". Prs.
palkād "eyelid". Afgh. Prs.; Prs. parkād "leopard". Prs. — K. āprūng, Psht. palaštē, K. palaštēk "to wring, fold".
palaštēm. Cf. Psht. palaštēl "to twist, wind, envelope". With this verb G., however, comp. K. palaštēk "to be upset". < *parī-dašta?
parāta “lamp”. Prs. fālīta “torch, wick"? pamm "wool". Cf. Prs. pašm, Minj. pām etc.
pan (K.) "wide, extended". Genuine, < Av. paśana-? Cf. Prs. paśm, Psht. plan etc.
pin (K.) "honey". G. comp. Phl. ang-
pēn. — Cf. Av. paśana-na “consisting of honey”, v. EVP. s.v. gabina-
pon, K. poṇ "upper terrace or roof of a house". G. comp. Phl. bōn "roof".
Prs. bōn "house". poṇ < *po(t)-? pēnc B.; K. pēn, Le. penz "5". Av. paṇḍa-
panījās K.; Le. panīzes "15". Av. paṇda-
dasa.
pānḍa, Le. panzasti, K. panjāštā (with i from caštū "40") "50". Av. pan-
cāsātām.
pānir "cheese". Prs.
pānīsta. K. pānīsta, Le. panjēht "out, outside", pānīsta p' cum nēšt, cf. Av. ništara- "external", Skr. ništaya-
pāzi "bark of a tree (?)". Or "leaf"? cf. Psht. pāza?
ping (K.) "cock". G. comp. pīnga (K.) "the time just before dawn" (cf. Prs. pāng "dawn", Khow. pīgapāhūi "morning").
pāri "fairy". — K. pērai, Psht.
pērī K.; Le. pērī "now". G. < *pērī "at this time". Cf. Par. yārī "now"?
prī(b), K. prā-yēk (aor. 2 sg. prīw) "to beat". kafy suray prībīm "i adama métanam"; tū ku nun kyē prī? "why do you beat me?". G. < Av. pair-
dā, cf. Khow. pra- "to beat" etc. (?).
parīchax "to cut". kālī bu parācēn "I cut the cloth". Cf. EVP. s.v. sakhūl (add: Prs. nīskurdā "a shoemaker's knife"). Very uncertain.
parīyān-ōk, K. pari-yūn-ēk "to dress oneself". kālī pari-ānīm, pari-ānīk-am; kālīyē pari-ānām! Also causative: ku wórka bi kālī pari-ānīm "ba-
pārak, K. pāra- "for, for the sake of".
tar kōk kārak al-gustok-ē "for whose sake has he brought it (barā-i ki)". G. comp. Psht. da-pāra-
prān, K. prān "yesterday". *parān-, cf. EVP. s.v. parān. — B. pār, Prs.; Le. parān, Psht.
parr "feather". Prs.
parr-ōk "to fly". kirī pēri bi parrē "the hen is flying now"; kirī parruk (paroku) "mury parrīd". Prs.
prāsul "last year", K. jārsal "next (?) year". Cf. Par. pārāsūr, EVP. s.v. pārāsū. V. āsul.
prausw-ēk (K.) "to sprinkle". G. < Av. pairi-hēk (hīcēh?) (?). Prs. pāśi-
dan < *parē; the derivation of praus-
*prēna- (*pers-), or *pīsna- (*perk-) is tempting, but phonetically diffi-
cult. V. 66, 71.
pārtāk Le. "wide trousers". Psht.
pārīnā "nostrils".
prāy-: prāk, K. prē-: prucūk "to sell", prāyim-a bu "I sell it"; 2, 3 sg. prāyi; ku tū jē prān še aurāi-em
práka - "I sold you a sheep yesterday". G. comp. Prs. fréctan < Av. *pairi-vaxš- (but regarding Psht. próšul v. EVP. s.v. próšal), prasvak < *para-vaxtaka- (cf. Par. pharáv); práy-, prá is prob. is secondary formation from the past stem, as *para-vaxšwould have resulted in something like *práš-. Or, práy-< *para-da-R
pis- :pishtak (K.) "to write". < Av. pada- "to adorn, colour". Anc. Prs. niy-pais- "to write" etc.
póst "skin". Prs.
páštan "posten, sheep-skin coat". Prs.
pásna "mosquito". Prs.
píší, K. pus "cat". Cf. Prs. pišak etc.
píškal "dung of sheep, etc.". Prs. píškil.
pášna "heel". Prs.
pást "back, back of a knife". Prs.
pástan(y)ka, K. puštana "question". Psht.
pást (K.) "upper part of the back".
Genuine, G. < Av. paršt-i-
pot, K. pot "forehead". a pot-at trūš
mak kon "do not knit your brows".
pot, K. bud "concealed". Psht.
potlún "trousers". Ind. < Engl.
púne (K.) "hollow piece of ground".
púvok, Le. pukuk "ripe". V. bět. - K.
páx, Psht.
pastak "ring-dove". Prs. (through
Psht. ?);
pyē, v. pēv.
payék (K.) "to string beads". G. comp.
Psht. pěcvedol. Genuine?
pìyéla "cup". Prs.
pìz "onion". Prs.
pōx, K. pyūs "mouth". Acc. to G. borr. from Prs. pōx "snout". Poss. genuine, cf. Psht. pōza.

pa'zak "nose". Cf. pāz, and Psht. pāza.
pōzan-, pāzen- K. pāzan-vek "to know, recognize". az bu ku tú nak pāzanim,
ka tú tar hok a-kłan yon "I do not know whose son you are". G. < Av.
pāzdan- (< *pāzn-).
pāzdaw- "to sprinkle". Cf. Prs. pāstdan,
v. prusnaw.

R
rāit, K. rāit f., Le. rāk "road". Lōgar
tu-manak še rōž ráy-a; rāit kam
"I send away". < Av. raśyā, cf.
Prs. rāh, Psht. lār (lyār).
ri = ar, q.v. širvē ri-near B. "bring the
soup".
rō (K.) "iron". Cf. Par. rō. V. āin.
rybā "fox". Prs. - K. ruwaš genuine,
< *raupasa.
rydā "entrails". Prs.
rēg "sand". Prs.
ru:kāb "stirrup". Prs.
rammā, K. ramā "flock of sheep or
goats". Prs.
rān "thigh". Prs., or genuine < Av.
rāna.

rīn- : riyēk (K.) "to shave". G. comp.
Psht. ariyel. But ar- > r- would
be irregular.

rūn B., K.; Rav. ruq "clarified butter",
G. < Av. ruqna.
ruq, Rav. aruq "fire", K. ruq "bright,
shining" (ruqan "fire"). < Av. ruq-
xqē, or borr. from Psht. ruq "bright".
rang K. "colour". Prs.
ri:pi, ri:pē, Le. rupe "rupee". Ind.

ras-šk, K. rūs-vek "to spin", ru:sim;
ra'són-a "biriš-iš"; rasok-am-a; rasok-and bhuk "rista budam-iš". G. comp.
Prs. rēśitan, Psht. (w)rēśul, V. EVP.
rāst "straight, true".
Prs.
raśro, raśrāi (K.) "brother's daughter, son". G. comp. Psht. urārva < Av.
brāṭārīya-. Cf. EVP. s.v. urārvo.
rāśana "bright, light". Pṛs.
raña, K. rāz "truth". a-rāza ya "it is the truth". G. comp. Psht. rīśtīyā,
Av. arś; but this seems phonetically improbable.
ray-k (K.) "to tear". G. < Av. dar-(*). 'rezan. K. rīţan, Le. rizza, R. ur'izza "rice". From an unnasaled form, cf. EVP. s.v. urūzī.
raẓ, K, ryūz, Le. ṛoṣ "day". G. < Av.
raocah.

S
s.: ūk, K. š-yōk "to become". Aor. ēm;
mak ən (son?) "ne bāsi"; jom bu ṣē "he will come down"; mak ə; Le.
3 sg. sa; šukum "šuda-im"; Le. šuk. Acc. to G. borr. from Prs. šudan, the
trueOrm. derivative of Av. sav-being čvēk. — But in Psht., too, we find á- < *ēy-, c < *ēy-
sō, sō, K. sū "100". Av. sata-. — Le.
sad, Prs.
sa'bā K. tomorrow". sabā p' cum; sabā
taun bu xram, Prs.
su'buk Le. "light, easy". Prs. V. spuk.
saw'dāgar (suda'gar?) K. "merchant".
Prs.
saudaga'ri "trading". Prs. əc,
sug "thorn, beard of corn". Prs. sōk,
or genuine < Av. sūka-
su'ji "hip". Cf. Shgh. šešje, Par. seji.
Prs. suft, Av. supti- "shoulder" + čō?
sikak (K.) "hare". G. comp. Psht. sóč
etc. (with double -ka- suffix). V. 38.
śkan "dung of cows". Cf. Par. sa'yōn.
sukal (K.) "porcupine". G. < Av. suk-
rauna; cf. Par. šurur.
śkōr (B.) "coal". Prs.
śul "year". V. a'sul, prašul.
śāla (K.) "coldness". G. < Av. sarosta-
śalāmat "safe". Prs.
sul'tān "sultan". Prs.
sumb "hoot". sumb ta pāi "heel". Prs.
sanda'li "chair". Prs.
san'duč "box". Prs.
su'pā, Le. sipāi "soldier". Prs.
spōšt, K. spōš "louse". < Av. spis-, v.
EVP. s.v. spāta (= spāta), cf. also
Minj. spōya (Zarubin).
śpicaus-vēk (K.) "to fall (as leaves), to sit down".
śpēk B.; K. ispēk, Rav. spec "barley". Cf.
Phl. spēk "shoot". Cf. Lat. spica etc.
śpuk, K. spok "light, not heavy".
śpuk, K. spuk "dog". G. < Av. span-
ct. Psht. spai. V. Par. ēspā.
supāl B. "egg". Afg. Prs. sufāl, supāl
"the white of an egg".
śpilaw-k, K. ospal-vēk "to wring, squeeze out". Īspilawim, G. < Skr. ut-sphal-
Orn. l is prob. derived from rd, Skr.
spādh, cf. Walde-Pokorny s.v. sp(h)e-
red(h); but the semasiological develop-
ment is not clear.
śparau-vēk (K.) "to wink, blink". Cf.
Skr. spur- "to tremble, quiver, twinkle", Av. spar- "to stamp one's foot, push".
śpār "large plough". Prs.
śpēw, K. spēw, Le. ʔspēw "white". G.
< Av. spēta-. — B. spīn, Psht. Cf.
śpēnu ta cim "the white of the eye".
Vocabulary

śrāi, K. vrāi “caravanserai, castle”. Prs. sar K., Rav. “head”, “on”. ta qābri sar “on the top of the grave”. Acc. to G. < Av. sarak, or borr. from Prs.
sār, K. sahār “dawn, morning”. Prs.
sār “onion”. Prs.
sārāl “strap for binding the bull to the plough”. Prob. containing sār “head”, cf. Psht. sār-māl “a rope for fastening a load on a camel”.
sārā-spār “plough-iron”.
Psht. saça “female oarial” (*suraʔi). sāt, K. sa’t “time, hour”. pērē sē sāt b’ jum sē “he will come down in an hour”. Prs.
stō-rān “bone”. Prs.
srūtn “pillar”. Prs.
sēlāra “star”. Prs. — K. stīrak (stūrak?).
G. < Av. stār.
“stur, K. stār, Le. stūra “big, great”. ta bādšā a-stār stūr e. Acc. to G. borr. from Psht. stār. — Poss. genuine; cf. also Minj. sēr.
stūr-ga “stable”. With stur cf. Prs. sutār “horse”?
stōr, *stur, B. *stōr, K. stīr, Le. stūf “tired, weary”. as *stur yum; *sarīyē *stur in; B. *stōr mak šon “mānda na bāst”; 3 sg. stōr mak šē.
Acc. to G. borr. from Psht. stōra.
sūwār, K. scūr “riding, horseman”. Prs. syūy (pl. sayt) (K.) “grape”.
syu (pl. sawad) (K.) “mother-in-law”.
The pl. seems to point to a form in -yd; s may represent Log. *-str-?
syāk (K.) “to break (of a rope)”. Cf. Peht. šēdol < *sid-, Av. saēd-
say “to rub, polish”. K. say-ek “to abrade, smooth”. a-rūn sayn “rub it with ghe”. G. comp. Psht. sūlā-wul “to ground, grate”; but the vowel renders this comparison improbable.

Ś

sā “thing”. Prs.
sāid “witness”. Prs.
saftā-lū “peach”. Prs.
sa’yāl “jackal”. Prs.
skamba “stomach”. Prs.
śkār “hunting”. Prs.
śā “shawl”. Prs.
śpūl, K. šūl “rice in the husk”. Psht. šālī.
śułuk “leech”. Prs. šalūk, Jew. Prs. šulūk.
śilaw “to light, kindle”. rūn bu šilā-wim; imper. šilawogn.
śāṃ “before, in front of”. šāṃ bu šustkum, pērē bu nak šām “I wept before; but now I am not weeping”; šām o pēc dāk “pēc o pas kat”. Cf. šām.
śām “to sip” (?). ṣūk bu nak trim, šāmam “I do not drink water, I sip it”. < Av. šam-, cf. Prs. ašāmidan.
śa’dāl “north”. Prs.
sa'māx: "kernel of rice etc.", K. samāx.
"a kind of gram". Cf. Frs. šāmāx
"a kind of millet".
šām, K. šān "today". az šan kār darim, nāk bu dar-zām "today I have some
work to do, I cannot come to you"; šān-šām mātau nāk šū bāk "last night
the moon was eclipsed". < *syā-(< *kīk-), cf. šē) + *ażn-, Av. aṣn-
(*āzan-) "day". Cf. Ishk. pār-udāz "tomorrow", āl-udz "yesterday"
with udz. < *ażn- (cf. Ishk. wūdān s.v. arzan). Poss. also šām (q.v.)
contains this pron. stem (< *syahmī) ?
K. c < s, v. 69.
šāna "shoulder". Prs.
šīnī "needle". < *śīnī, cf. Minj. śśēna,
etc.
šūn "blood". Ind., cf. Skr. śūṇā "red",
śūnā "blood".
bāndas, K. sandas, Le. shandas "11".
Cf. Av. aśvandasa (ord.), v. šē.
šīpī, B. šīpī, K. šīpī, šīpī "milk"; Le.
ghīpī "curds". Acc. to Charpentier
(MO. XVIII, p. 34) < ār + pī, cf. tūpī,
— If the ā is not a pl. ending, as
the forms in B. and Le. seem to sug-
gest, this explanation is possible.
I should, however, prefer a derivation
from Av. aśvāipta + pī, in which case
we would not have to assume an
assimilation of the r.
śāpa'rak "butterfly". Prs.
śāpa'rak, K. šāwarak "bat". Prs.
śir(r), K. sīr, Le. šer "good". širr ŋū
"with astin"; B. wūr šer-a "for asti";
Le. šer "yes". G. comp. Bal. šar (r).
— Cf. Sak. šēra, Soghd. šēr < Av.
śērā.
śir: šūk, K. šēwī-(2 sg. šēwī) šēyūk "to
give"; dar-šērim "tara mētom";
az bu kafī ki śē kitāb ar-šērim "I
give him a book"; tū ku mun ki ca
b' ar-šēr? ki tās ki dās mēc dar
šērim "what do you give me? I give
you ten apples"; dar-šām "I give to
you". tu ca wūk ku mun ki ar-šēr!
"give me some water!" afū bu ku
mun ki śē tāzār ar-šēr "he gives me
a loaf of bread"; Le. 3 sg. sērā; kara
ki kū ṭuṣāi śēr (3 sg.) "does any-
body give it grass?" nāk ar-Śūk-kē
"he has not given", ar-śūk "gave",
Le. shok. G. < Skr. pūrṇaya.-
A derivation from Av. fra-dā- (śrīyūk <
*frādātaka-) is, however, preferable.
so in K. 3 sg. śrāvī not from p (G.), but
from d (cf. śpēw). As stated by G.
K. 2 sg. śrūtī is prob. a compound
(with rī?) replacing the overshort
śrā. I Log. the r has been introduced
into the other persons, too; but cf.
1 sg. dar-śūm = dar-šērim. I am not
able to explain Log.  ś < K. śr, unless
it be that the r has dissimilated the
ś into ś.
sar'mūnda "ashamā", Prs.
śrīsti "glue". Prs.
śrūwa, K. śrūvā "soup", śrūvā ri-va-yār!
Waz. śrūwā, Psbt. śrūwā.
śrērzma'ra "tiger". Prs. + Psbt.
śūś, B.; K. sūṣ, Le., Rv. sūgka (*sūs-)
"red". G. < Av. suvāra.- — The
assimilation in Log. has taken place
after the time of Le.
śūś "lung". Prs.
śūs'mār "a kind of lizard". Kāb. Prs.
śūs'mār "a large kind of lizard",
Ind. — K. samsiṣārī.
śū'la "jowar".
śaitān "devil, wicked man". Prs.
śu'tar "camel". Prs.

“gruesome, bloody” (xru. “raw, bloody flesh”) is uncertain.

šmuš-vēk (K.) “to slip, slide”. G. comp. Sar. šušam “I slip” etc. ().

šen (šun) - šun’ōk, K. šin - šiyēk “to buy”. šénim; prān ku mun di še aurai šunāk-a l’“yesterday you bought a sheep from me”. šin < Skr. kri-, krānati, cf. Prs. xaridan.

šin “green”. Gennine, < Av. axsēna-?

— B., K., Le. šin, Paht. (v. EVP. s.v.).

Cf. K. śīnū “spinach, potherbs”.

šar-vēk (K.) “to turn, revolve”. Cf. Av. yātar “to flow”, Prs. šaridan?

šār, Le. kshār “town”. Paht. - K. šār (but Waz. šār).

šār “wet, fresh”.

šrū-būk (K.) “rotten, stinking”. Av. a-śrī-vyant “not putrefying, rotting”.

śṣa- “to rot”. Cf. EVP. s.v. urōšt.

śūk (pl. šūcē) (K.) “flea”. G. comp. Paht. “uraga” etc. - Paht. urāja, Yagāh. śṛūṣ etc., v. Par. ruč. śrak < *śruṣ-kā-.

śīmōd (K.) “field-embankment”.


śistu, K. stāstu, Le. stist “30”. G. < Av. śrista-.

śūk, K. śvašti, Le. kshoštú “60”. G. < Av. švāštī.śvān (K.) “shepherd”. G. < Av. faw-pānā. - Genuine, or Prs.?

śōyi “plate (sānak)”. śōyi nē-ica marōn “nāna da mábaín-i sānak maidu ku”.

šūlēs, K. šuvēs, Le. shales “16”. Av. xvādasa (ord.). The Log. form shows that the f of Paht. śpāras (v. EVP. s.v. śpāx) can scarcely be due the infl. of cvārlas (Orm. carēs).

*šd > l, v. 55. (But Oss. xsvārdas?).

šōm (šām?), K. šām “pointing out”. dār šēm kan; kafā b’ al šōm kam; kara kilāb ku tū kī šōm kam “I show you this book”. G. comp. Prs. nishān “sign”, Bal. šōn-dēy “to point out”, Paht. sōwul (v. EVP. s.v.). - Connected with Paht. sōwana “pointing out, showing”, with m < w + n.

šūm “inflamed”. Derivation < Av. xruṣma-
tā, v. a-t.
ta, v. a-r.

tā, K. tūvā, Rav. toauē “sun”, tā b’ nisī “the sun rises”; tā nayšk; tā neyšt bu “the sun sets”. Cf. Prs. tāb “light”. ṭāb “sun” < Av. tap- to heat”. V. ṭāk.

tū B., K. Le. “thou” V. 100.
tā-bīb “doctor”. Prs.
tebbā “fever”. ku mun tebba nukē “the fever has seized me”. Psht.
tebbā̄nā “large needle”.
tā-bar “axe”. Prs.
tabā-sum “smiling”. Prs.
taf̥ān “tempest”. Prs.
taf̥ā “steam”. Prs. taf, et. tafā “hot”. tafā nisī bu.
tōk K.; Le. tokha “hot”. ṭxan ṭōk ē “the bread is hot”. G. < Av. tafā-. Psht. ṭōd.
takyā “pillow”. Prs.
tōla “gold”. Prs.
taf “loss, expense”. taf-ā dāk “bulād kat”. Prs.
tālāk “crown of the head”.
tu-ma’nak, K. ta-mīnak, postpos. governing loc. “up to, as far as”. G. comp. Prs. tā. — Cf. man “then”?
tamūs “summer”. Prs.
ta’na “alone”. as tanā yun. Prs.
tānā (K.) “acid food eaten as a relish”.
tandār “thunder”. tandar al-yuṭšk-e bunnāī nē “thunder has fallen down on the earth”. Prs.
ta’nūr “oven”. Prs.
tang “strait, narrow”. tar tū a-nēr zut tāng ē “your house is very narrow”. Prs.
tōpt, K. tōp, K. tōpt, Le. tōpt “butter-milk”. (G. < Psht. tarwē). Acc. to Charpentier (v. ṭipē) this word is compounded with ṭē “milk”. But very probably it is a wandering word, like so many other names of milk-products; Tomaschev (Centralas. Stud. 797) comp. Mordvin topo “geronnene Milch, Topfen”. Scarcely connected with Mar., Guj. tōp < tūppo “clarified butter”.

tr-, K. tr-tatak “to drink”. wōk bu trim “I drink water”, but wōk-am xuluk-a. Cf. Par. s.v. ter-
tār, K. tār “thread”. Prs.
tēr, K. tar “passed”. tēr sūkē “he has passed”. tēr < Psht., tar poss. genuine.
tir “arrow”. Prs.
tur “radish”. Prs.
tāvīk “dark”. Prs.
trunuk, K. tranak “thirsty”. az trunuk šukum-a. Acc. tā G. “derived from the present base bra- of tatak” (v. tr.). — Or < Av. taršna, with metathesis of r, cf. 68.
trūš, Le. turush “sour”. Prs.
tōs, K. tyūs, Le. tos “you”. V. 100.
Vocabulary

tišaw-ḵ, K. tišaw-ḵèk “to put to flight”.
tišawim, tišawḵ-a.
tūt K. “mulberry”. Prs.
tāwāštān “summer”. Prs. Cf. tamūs.
Waz. nyan, Par. nayyān. V. 49.
tax’īm “dividing”. Prs.
taxt ta an’gušt “finger-nail”. Cf. Prs.
taxt.
taxtax “knocking at the door”. bari nē taxtax-a dāḵ.
t-eḵ (K.) “to be standing, to stand still”.
G. < Av. stā-, etc.; but this seems improbable. Cf. Wkh. tei-an “to be”?

T

tak “pound, thump” etc. n-chain b’ fāk zanam “I sneeze”; fāk-a b’ zanam “I shake the dust (of clothes)”. Cf.
tīkav, K. fakav-ḵèk “to beat, pound”.
šāl bu tīkawim, ka rezān sē “sāhirā meḵībim ki brinj šaua”. Paht.
fakawul.
šol “collected”. šol kam. Paht.
ḵuṇga “young bull”. “hornless” < Lhd. ţuṇgā “branchless”?

W

wa, postvocalic form of the pron. suff.
3 sg. ñpuk ki-wa banē “throw it to the dog”. V. 101.
wā “in” (?). wā nēri “in the house”;
wē nēri nē “da xāna darin”;
wā jēr-a “inside it”; wā nēra, K. 
vinar “into the house”.
wō (Ph. yē), K. hō, Le. wō “7”. G. < Av.
hapsa-

uwa, uwa “appointed time, arrange-
ment”? Prs.
wōk B.; K. wōk, Le. wokh “water”. wōk to pōz “saliva”. G. < Av. āp, with
-kā suffix. – Cf. Zaza, aḵā, Wkh.
ypik, Mīn. yapa, Ishk. vēk.
wōkā, K. wōyuk “dry”. G. < Av. āska-
Cf. Psht. wūd < *uṭuk < ušk-
wōlk, K. hanwalk (hawalk), Le. wokh “egg”. < *a่วยalaka-, Kurd. hilka,
Zaza hēlā, cf. Prs. xaya, EVP. s.v. hā,
Par. ēx.
wān (K.) “co-wife”. G. comp. Paht. bān,
— < Av. hāpānī- (v. EVP. s.v.).

wōn, v. ţn.
wangū (K.) “a certain poisonous insect”.
wār (B.) “door”. Paht. V. bār
war-: wūluk, K. wār-: wāluk, wīnjk “to
bring, fetch”. ca b’ dar-wārām “I
bring you something”; ar-warē “bring it”; pāk ar-wār (B. er-wār)
“bring milk”; 3 sg. wārē; pāk-am
ar-wūluk-ē. Acc. to G. borrom.
From Paht. wār “to carry”. — More prob.
< Av. dā-bār-
wūr, in: hitōb mēzi dî wūr “take the
book from the table”.
wan’dēr K. “brother’s wife”. Paht.
wōr (B.) “well”. wōr šer-a “are you
well (jōr astl)”; wōr k’ām šer ya
“šukr, xūb ast”.
wārāi “spring” (season). Paht.
wōrkai “child”. Paht.
wīs. K. wēs: wāryōk “to enter”. wā
nēri nērī nē al-wārim bu “da xāna
darin mérom”. wīs- < *upa-isa, *abi-
isa- (cf. Tedesco, MO., 1921, 231),
warōk < *abi-gata- (but why y?)
Derivation of "wis" < Skr. a-vis- is less probable. Cf. awas, nis.


wū斯塔-wāk, K. wūsta-wāk "to raise", ku tu b' ustāwim; sār ku tu-m ustā-wāk-ē.

wūsā "intelligence". Psht.
wāfā t. (K.) "walnut", G. comp. Skr. akṣoṭā.- Iw., *akṣāt < *akhoṭā-. v.76. wāw- wāk K. "to obtain, find". wāwim-a bu "I find it"; imper. 2 sg. wāwim-; ca-m wāk-ā "I found something". G. < Av. ap. Prob. < Av. ari-ap.

wāsāy-wāk (K.) "to dig".
wāxt, K. wāqâ "time". Prs.
wōya (B.) "yes". wōya, xuluk-am "yes, I have eaten it"; wōya, šēr a "yes, it is well".

wāṣāmīn, Le. wāṣāmin "heavy". Afgh. Prs.
wāsā, v. uṣnāw-
wāsān "collyrium".

X

xun, K. xwān "sleep, dream". xun bu kam "I am sleeping"; xun bu juštām "I dream". Prs.
xui, K. xwai "own, self". az bu xui fēr ki cum; a tar mun ta xuym ē "az xud-i mā-s". < Av. xwāt, Prs. xweud. Cf. Par. xw. V. 104.
xū'ībī "pleasure, boon". Prs.

Xuṇādā, K. Xudā "God". Prs.

'xabar "informed". tū kafā di xabar yōn? "do you know about it?" Prs.

kafā H. "angry". Prs.

kāk "earth". Prs.

xāki-stār "ashes". Prs. V. yanāk.

xāldī "mother's sister". Afgh. Prs.

xāli K. "empty". Prs.

xāla "sweat". Psht.

xālī "cap". Psht.

xālī-vek (K.) "to fall (as leaves)".

xalaq, K. xalāq "people". Prs.

xalās "foo, liberated". Prs.

xultāw-wāk, K. xwゴールtāw-wāk "to shake (for tādān)".

xaimā "tent". Prs.


xan-āk, K. xan-ak "to laugh". G. comp. Prs. xandān etc. Cf. Par. khan.
xānī "laugher". xanī b' kam; xanī māk kōn!

xīgāk (B.) "blue" (?). Cf. ūṁ.

xīr: xuluk, K. xwīr-: xwalak "to eat, drink". wēk bu xram, xrum, xrim; tū txan bu xron (B. xwron); a-sayī bu txan xīr, xīr, xra; afō sāryēx bu txan xīrān; txan-am xuluk-ā, B. xuluk-am; tuxān-at xuluk-ā? G. < Av. xwīr-

xār K., Rav. "asū". Prs. — B. xīr genuine?

xārāb K.; Le. khrāb "bad". Prs.

xwardan "eating". afō gāk-a menzi nē nīmēk nak-at banūk, pērī xwardan di nayčē, pērī kēpuk ki-wa banē "you have not put salt into the meat, now it is beyond eating, now you must throw it to the dog". Prs.

xargar "hate". Prs. V. sīkāk.

xaranjāī "threshing-floor". Prs.

xrunuk, K. xwaraunāk "hungry". xwra-
Vocabulary

nukšum-č “gūšnašuda-im”. Formed from xar- on the analogy of trunuk.
xuša “ear of corn”. Prs.
xu<šī “mother-in-law”. Prs.
xu<šāl “happy”. Prs.
xu<šāl “happiness, merriment”. Prs.
xu<šā “brick”. Prs.
xu<š<ōx̂tī “happiness”. Prs.
xu<š, K. xu<š “pleased, happy”. xu<š.
exū “fell in love with” (v. xu<š), xu<š < Psht; xu<š < Prs?
xu<ša “letter”. Prs.
xu<šai (B.) “right hand”.
xu<L B.; K. xu<š, Rav. khow “sister”.
G. < Av. xu<šhari. — Prob. bór.
from Prs., v. 78.

χ̄aṙinca (K.) “right (not left)”. Cf.
Soghd. ȳe-v’s (xvarant), Sak.
hevarandau acc. sg. n. Originally
“south”?;
xu<ša, K. xu<ša, Le. khow “sweet”. xu<ša
bukën “they loved [each other]”. K.
xu<šašu “sweetness”. < Av. xarv-,
xu<š < “sweetness”, Psht. xœ (v. EVP)
x<š “jump”. jōi di bu x<š zana “I
jump over the stream”; a-jōi zut
drat ye, x<š bu zuk nak čin “the
stream is very broad, I cannot jump
over it”. Prs.

xa<mat, K. xidmat “service”. Prs.

µd K. “memory”. µd bu (nak) nasam
“I (do not) remember”. Prs.

y<š-lun<ša “yoke”. y<š genuine, or from
Prr.? Waz. Psht. y<š appears to be a
lw. from some other Ir. dialect.
Cf. y<š.

µ<š “mane”. Prs.

yān<š (K.) “embrace”.

āśa “ashes”. V. xaxi’sōr.

yä<š (K.) “to boil”. < Psht. yahēdol.

yasp, K. yas<š, Le. yasp “horse”. < Av.
asp-

y<š<im “orphan”. Prs.

y<š<ar “cloud”. < *ābrya-, Av. āvara-,
cf. Prs. abr, Psht. v<š, wryaj etc.
y<š “ice”. Prs. yax nōk-a “it freezes”.
y<š “plough”. V. y<š-lun<ša. Sarcely
connected with Psht. yav<š (EVP).

Z, Ź

xubān, K. xban, Le. xabān “tongue”. Prs.
zgān (K.) “division or section of a field”.
zv<š “live coal, embers”. Prs.
zōk “beating”. paʃa zōk muluk “he
died from the beating”. V. zan-
zāk “cough”, zuk “cough”. zuk “I
have got a cough”. Prs.
zī K.; B. zī (?) “heart”. zī la gōš
“lobe of the ear”. < Av. xarvāya-
Psht. zōr, not, as suggested by G.,
borr. from Prs. zāl “old man or
woman”.

zalpē, K. zalpi “grandfather”. Cf. zāl,
pyē.

zam byr “wasp”. Prs.
zemak “winter”, < Av. zim “winter”, zemaka “winter-storm”; cf. Psht. zimai, Par. sema etc.

zoom: zōk K. zan (jan) ; zōk (jōk) “to beat, strike”; ku daraxt bu zaman; zaman-a bu; az ku tū zaman; tū ku kōk bu loan? a p’ ku mun loan (Rav. dzana); afo sarīye bu ku mun loan; loan, loan; az ku tū zuk=ku tū zukum, tū ku mun zuk = ku mun zuk-at. G. < Av. loan, loan.

loan “knee”. Prs. - K. loanrak < *loanoraka-

zin K. “saddle”. Prs.


zār, K. zair “poison”. Prs.

sārī; K., Le., sarī “small”. Cf. Prs. sar “weak, mean” < Av. sar “to grow old, decrepit”? Connexion with Prs. (Ar. varrah “atom, particle” is not prob.

zardā’tū “apricot”. Prs. V. makat.

zar’hā, zar’hā, B. zar’hī, K. zar’k “woman”; Le. zar’kīg “girl”. G, < Av. zar, cf. sar’hī. Similarly Pash. 1. āzād, D. etc, zātīp “woman” < Ar. ‘ādāzā, za’īf “weak”.

zēs, K. zēs “thorn”. < Av. jāvri- from jan.

zut, K. jut, zut, Le. zut “much, many, very”. máx zut in “we are many”;

tū zut un “you are many (tu xīl-īst)”;

afū zut “stur a “he is very big”.

Corrupted and semasiologically altered from Prs. sūd “quick”? Cf. Par. zut.


zax’mī “wounded”. Prs.

zay-&qk “to be born”. zārkā zayūk-ë “zan zdāda”. Cf. Prs. zdādan < Av. zan, zay-

zay-ēk (K.) “to chew,mastigate”. Acc. to G. borr. from Prs. jāveldan. Prob. genuine. Cf. šay-


zyer, B. żer, K. ziyar, Le. sed “yellow”. Psht.

zay-ēk, K. zay-ēk “to ask for”. pēr b’ šayim “I ask for it now (ālt-ī < sic! > mētalbam)”. V. zay-ēk.
ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSCRIPTION.

The abbreviations of language names are in the main the same as those used in Rep. (v. List p. 96).

For the abbreviations of the names of my Parachi informants (D., G., M., P., T.) v. pp. 5 and 6. Similarly for Ormuri (B., K., Le., Rav.) v. p. 386. L. or Log. denotes the Logar dialect. The abbreviations of the names of Pashai dialects are the same as those explained Rep. (p. 84, n. 2): D(arra-i Nür), G(ulbahər), L(aur owən), N(ir(lam)), S(əfə), Sh(utal), Ə(shən).


Rep. is my "Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, Oslo 1926"; EVP. is my "An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto, Oslo 1927"; NShgh. is my "Notes on Shughni, Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, I, 1928".

In literary Ind. languages (also in Shina) ʨ, ʃ denote the palatal affricates, in Ir. and in most Dard and Kafr languages these signs denote dental affricates, the palatal affricates being written č, ʃ.

In words quoted from the vocabularies of Leech and Raverty the original orthography has been preserved.
CORRIGENDUM.

Par. kōš "eyebrow" (pp. 41, 267) is borrowed from Prs. qāš "id.".
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Plate 1.

Ghulām Maheuddin. Parachi.

Dīn Muhammad. Ormuri.
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