REPORT ON A LINGUISTIC MISSION TO AFGHANISTAN

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

In 1924 I was enabled through the generous assistance of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture to go on a linguistic mission to the north-western frontier of India and Afghanistan.

The object was to study the Aryan dialects on both sides of the Indo-Iranian linguistic frontier. For thousands of years these two closely related groups of languages have been in close contact in the Hindu Kush and adjoining mountains; invasions and expansions have pushed the frontier-line, now towards the east, now towards the west, and the border languages have largely influenced each other, the result being very interesting deviations from the ordinary Indian and Iranian types.

The languages on the Indian side belong to the so-called Dard group, many of them very imperfectly known, and some absolutely unknown. It was a much discussed problem, whether they were completely Indian, or belonged to an intermediate group, or were to be classed as Iranian. Moreover, our knowledge of the Iranian languages in question was very limited. And further, with a view to the investigation of the Caucasian languages planned by the Institute, it was considered important that the Iranian scholar who was eventually to undertake the study of Ossetic should previously have made himself personally acquainted with Eastern Iranian languages connected with that form of speech.

Altogether the Hindu Kush region appeared to be a very promising field of investigation for the student of comparative philology, who could here hope to come
across the last of the unknown Indo-European languages which are still spoken.

Very fortunately the investigations initiated by the Institute coincided with the beginning of a new era in Afghanistan. King Amanullah Khan wished to open his country to the influence of European civilization, and for the first time it had become possible for a scholar to pursue his investigations in the heart of Afghanistan.

His Majesty and his government supported my efforts most liberally, besides treating me personally with conspicuous hospitality, and any results which the mission may have yielded, are to a great extent due to the assistance of the Afghan authorities. It is my pleasant duty and privilege to express once more the Institute's and my own sincere gratitude to His Majesty for the enlightened interest he graciously showed in the investigation of the linguistic treasures of his country.

My position in Afghanistan was also considerably easier by the personal letter of introduction to the Amir from His Majesty the King of Norway, for which I also desire to express my gratitude.

I arrived in Peshawar in February 1924, and spent about six weeks there, practising Pashto with the excellent munshi Qazi Ahmad Jan, and studying the dialects of the Afridis and other tribes.

At the beginning of April I proceeded to Kabul. Here the government kindly accommodated me in the superbly situated Harem Serai of Abdur Rahman in the Bagh-i-Babur outside the city, and I stayed in Kabul for about seven months, till the end of October, except for some short excursions for the purpose of linguistic studies.

The rebellion in Afghanistan made it impossible for me to reside in more outlying parts of the country, or to get permission to penetrate into the unknown and fascinating mountain fastnesses of Nuristan (Kafiristan). But in a country like Afghanistan, where even the general outlines of the linguistic situation were to a great extent
unknown, it was probably more profitable to stay in Kabul, like a spider in the centre of the web, getting at least a superficial view of the different languages spoken in the country, than to bury oneself in a mountain valley, concentrating upon the more thorough study of one single dialect.

It may safely be predicted that within a short space of time several of the old languages of Eastern Afghanistan will have succumbed to the influence of Persian, which is constantly growing stronger through the centralization of the government and the spread of education. Partly they will be directly superseded by Persian, as in the case of Ormuri. Partly the dialects will decay internally through the overwhelming Persian influence. This seems to be the case with North-Western Pashai, and with Parachi. Even the Kafir languages, which till now have been isolated, have at length yielded to the levelling influence of Islam, and the younger generation use a good many Persian loan-words. Thus it is to be feared that much ancient Aryan linguistic material of great interest will be lost, unless it is soon rescued from oblivion.

For pioneer work Kabul was undoubtedly the best place to be found. People from the different tribes of Nuristan, Kohistan and Badakhshan come down there as traders or in search of work, and even the war was of some use, inasmuch as it led to the assembly of recruits in the Sherpur cantonments. It will be readily understood that the task was not always an easy one. Even at its best it is difficult and tedious work, though partially relieved by comical interludes, to extract linguistic information from such uneducated and easily wearied individuals. And in a case like this, where I considered it my duty to collect vocabularies and specimens from as many languages as possible within the short time at my disposal, I hope that a lenient view will be taken of the errors and inexactitudes, not to mention lacunae, which will be found in my materials.
It was only natural that many people in Afghanistan should regard a linguistic investigator with mistrust, and suspect him of having other than purely scholarly aims. An old Pathan put it naively and bluntly, when he said I was the son of "Kamnari Sahib" (Sir Louis Cavagnari, renowned in the Afghan-British war of 1879), who had sent me to collect information about the languages and customs of the border tribes, while he himself waited with an army on the frontier! But the assistance of the Afghan authorities helped me to a large extent to overcome these difficulties. I also met with, and shall always remember with feelings of gratitude and affection, several intelligent individuals from the hill-tribes, who trustfully and cheerfully did their best to give me the fullest information about their mother-tongues; and who seemed at least to have a dawning comprehension of the object of my mission: to trace, by means of the evidence of language, the history of tribes for thousands of years separated from, but nevertheless related to the "Firangis". I must also mention that my Pathan servant from Peshawar, Yasin Khan, always showed the greatest energy in looking out for individuals who spoke strange languages.

At the desire of the Institute I returned via India, collected some information about Pashai dialects amongst the soldiers of the garrison in Jallalabad, and stayed for a short time in Peshawar to make use of the opportunities to get in touch with trans-border hillmen there. In this work I was materially assisted by the authority of my kind host, Mr. B. C. A. Lawther, Superintendent of Police.

On the way down to Bombay I also had opportunities of meeting Pathan traders of different tribes, and of getting some scraps of information about southern Pashto dialects.

Before entering upon an account of the languages studied, and a discussion of some of the main problems connected with them, it may be of use to give a brief survey of the languages spoken in Afghanistan.
Probably at least \( \frac{4}{5} \) of the population of Afghanistan speak Iranian languages, chiefly \textit{Pashto} and \textit{Persian}, the remaining Iranian dialects being spoken only by numerically insignificant tribes. It is impossible to ascertain the actual numbers who speak the different languages; but there are probably about the same number of Pashto-speaking people, as of Persian-speaking Parsivans, Kizilbashis and Hazaras. Nor does the migrations of the nomads permit us to lay down fixed lines of demarcation between the languages; but, generally speaking, the map in LSI., Vol. X is fairly correct as regards the extension of Pashto.

\textit{Balochi} is spoken in the southern deserts, and, according to information received from German travellers, considerably to the north of the limit given on the map in LSI., Vol. X, e.g. for several stages along the Herat-Kandahar road between Helmand and Khash Rud. In the north-east we find the Pamir dialects, viz. \textit{Minjani}, \textit{Ishkashmi} and \textit{Zebaki} \(^1\), \textit{Wakhi}, \textit{Shughni} and \textit{Roshani}. \textit{Ormuri} is spoken in the Logar valley, and \textit{Parachi} in several villages in the Kohistan of Kabul. Possibly \textit{Kurdish} is still in use among some immigrants west of Herat.

Of Indian languages we find \textit{Lahnda} spoken by Hindus who for hundreds of years have been settled in Eastern Afghanistan as traders and bankers in the towns, and, at least in the Koh-i-Daman district, to a great extent as horticulturists. Apart from having adopted many Persian words, their dialect does not appear to present many striking peculiarities. In Kabul numerous recently immigrated Sikhs speak \textit{Panjabi}.

The chief indigenous Indian language is \textit{Pashai}. Higher up the Kunar river we find \textit{Gawar Bati}. Possibly \textit{Kalasha} and \textit{Khowar} are also spoken within Afghan territory. The four Kafir languages are \textit{Kati}, \textit{Waigeli}, \textit{Recruits from Zebak and Ishkashm denied the existence of any separate language in these places! Considering that Sir Aurel Stein collected Ishkashmi materials as late as in 1915, this shows the danger of relying on negative information.}
Ashkun and Prasun; and Tirahi is spoken south-east of Jallalabad.

If Armenian traders in Herat have still preserved their native tongue, it is the only non-Aryan Indo-European language spoken in the country.

The chief non-Indo-European language is Turki, spoken in various dialects by Uzbeks, Sarts and Turkmens north of the Hindu Kush. The governor of Mazar-i-Sharif asserted that some nomadic tribes to the west of that city still speak Arabic. While the Mongol Hazaras have generally adopted a peculiar dialect of Persian, Mongolian is still spoken by Taimanis about Rud-i-Gas and Adraskand near Sabzawar (the villages of Mir Mana, Bedak, Hazi Kah, Karez Sultan, Pir Surkh, Gaza and Chashma Khuni were mentioned), and possibly also between Maimana and Herat (acc. to one of the secretaries of the Russian legation). The Mongolian language does not cross the Indian frontier as asserted in *Les Langues du Monde*, p. 224. I do not know whether Brahui crosses the Afghan frontier near Kandahar, nor if any of the Caucasians deported by Nadir Shah to the region about Farrah still retain their native language.

At any rate the language map of Afghanistan presents an extremely variegated picture, at least twenty different languages being spoken within the Amir's dominions. At the height of the Afghan empire, when it included Balochistan, Sindh, Kashmir etc., and when, in addition to several Indian languages, Brahui (Dravidian), Balti (Tibetan) and Burushaski (of unknown origin) were spoken within its borders, Afghanistan was actually the linguistic centre of the Eurasian continent, and nearly all its chief families of languages were represented there.

It was of course neither possible, nor the object of the mission to study all these tongues; and there was no opportunity or time to study all the Aryan languages.

1 Also the Doms and Joffs are said to possess languages of their own.
2 The map attached to Sykes' "History of Persia", Vol. II places Brahuis south of Helmand within Afghan territory.
On the Iranian side I concentrated upon Pashto, Parachi and Ormuri, and collected some information about Shughni and Afghan Persian. Among the Indian languages I secured a good deal of material about Pashai, Kati and Khowar; somewhat less about Wajgheli and Ashkun, and very little about Prasun.

PERSIAN.

Persian is spoken by Parsivan and Tajik peasants in most parts of the country, and by the majority of the population of all towns, perhaps with the exception of Kandahar. Even so far east as Jallalabad the population in the immediate surroundings of the town speak Persian, not Pashto, and Kabul is almost entirely Persian-speaking.

The Pers. dialect of Afghanistan is, even when spoken by educated people, rather different from the modern "Irani" of Persia, and Persian gentlemen told me that they had some difficulty in understanding it during the first weeks of their stay in Kabul. There do not seem to be very important dialectal variations; but the Hazaras have some particularities in their language. Pashais, Kafirs etc., when talking Pers., adapt the pronunciation to that of their own languages, e. g. a Pashai from Tagau says ژايد "memory" for یاد, ہوپراش "sell" for ہوپروش etc.; but as far as I know this is only the case with people to whom Pers. is a foreign, acquired language 1.

The points of difference between the Pers. of Persia and of Afghanistan are chiefly matters of phonology and vocabulary, and to a less extent of morphology. The old majhul vowels are preserved, է always, even so far west as in Herat, ۆ generally, but with some variations according to the locality. Before ی one generally hears ی, ۍ, e. g. می "hair", ښی "husband". The ی is pronounced either as ۍ or as a dark ی (like the Swedish). It never becomes ی before nasals.

1 From Kafirs I heard pronunciations such as ست "how": ستار; زانرت "his own wife": زانی-یارد etc.
The final -d in the 3 sg. of verbs is lost, and at first one is puzzled by forms like méga “he says”: mígúyad, mérán “they go”: miravand. In the preterital forms like bût “he was” the d is preserved or becomes unvoiced (kadam “I did”, kat “he did”: kardam, kard). Very peculiar is the t in métom “I give”: mideham, biti “give”: bideh. It is found also in other eastern Pers. dialects, and in the Kashan dialects. Possibly the lost h has unvoiced the t (deh > dh > t). xv- is preserved, at least in some words: xvār “sister”, xvārī «distress», but xau “sleep”, xándan “to sing” etc. mā and not man is used for the personal pronoun 1 sg., and to denote we expressively one has to say māyā or mā mardum.

The infinitive ends in -da, -ta, e. g. kada “to do”. Either the n is lost as in i “this”, bubī “look” buku “do”, or, the form is connected with the infinitivus apocopatus. As in Central Asian Tajiki etc. the 2 pl. ends in -in, e. g. métin “you give”; but Kizilbashis in Peshawar still say médehēn.

Characteristic is also the formation of the future, e. g. xāhad bugīrūm “I shall seize”: xvāham girift. Hazaras use forms like mā puxtagī “I have cooked”, mā kardagi “I have done”.

There is a peculiar use of the suffix -vārī in comparisons, e. g. az mā-vārī “like me”, and of kada (<qadr?) to replace the missing comparative: az mā kada kalān1 “bigger than I”.

The vocabulary of Afghan Pers. has to a very small extent borr. from the old Ir. and Ind. tongues, which it has superseded, and the number of Psht. words is also negligible. These languages have also been considered socially inferior, and they are all, even including Psht., receding before Pers. Not a few Turki words are in common use; but the great majority of loan-words, peculiar to the Pers. of Afghanistan, are of Hindostani origin.

1 As buzurg and pir have an exclusively religious significance, and denote a saint, “great” and “old” (of men) are now called kalān and riśāfet.
A suffix like -vālā is freely used, and compounded with Pers. words; one constantly hears words like bēlvālā "spademan", or even xud-extiyārvālā "an independent man".

In some cases ancient words are still in use, which have disappeared in ordinary Pers. Thus "daughter-in-law" is called sunū (Vullers sunah, sunhār, Koran Comm., sunuh, Browne, JRAS., 1894, p. 472), and "husband's brother" is (h)ēvar (not in Vullers). This last word must be connected with Psht. lēvēr, Skr. devāra- etc., even if the disappearance of the d- cannot be explained. The word nanū "husband's sister" is also curious, reminding one of Psht. nandrōr, Lahnda nīnār and other modern Ind. derivatives of Skr. nanandr-.

Generally speaking the Pers., at least of Eastern Afghanistan, is related to the Tajiki of Turkestan, and seems to have been introduced from there, rather than from Persia itself. The Badakhshi and Madaglashti dialects described in the LSI. and by Col. Lorimer (RAS. Prize Publ. Fund, VI) are also very closely related to the Pers. spoken in and about Kabul.

I have collected some texts, and various other information about Afghan Persian.

PASHTO.

The real Afghan language, Pashto, is probably spoken by less than half the population of Afghanistan; but on the other hand it is the language of the majority of the inhabitants of the N.W. Frontier Province of India. In the towns of Afghanistan the children even of Durrani families are adopting Pers., and among the pupils of the French school in Kabul I found only a few boys who understood Psht.

The official language of Afghanistan is Pers.; no Psht. literature is produced; the old poets seem to be little known, and their divans are not printed and sold in the bazar, as is the case in Peshawar.

The present king desires to introduce Psht. as an official language in order to strengthen national feeling,
and a learned committee, the Majlis-i-Pashto, has been formed under the presidency of Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan, an uncle of the queen. Its object is to publish a Psht. grammar and a Pers.-Psht. dictionary, including the necessary newly coined technical terms. It is to be hoped that this dictionary which is intended to contain words from all Psht. dialects with an indication of their provenience and a transcription in Roman letters, will be published within a reasonable time. I have recently received information from the Sardar that the dictionary is finished, and will be in four or five volumes, but has not yet been printed.

There did not appear to be much enthusiasm about the Pashto revival in Afghanistan. The fact is that, while most Pashais, Kafirs, Turks, and probably very many Afghans, know a little Pers., comparatively few Parsivans etc. know Psht.; if they speak it at all, it is often of an execrable kind; e. g. one may hear sentences like \( \text{za paia varkar ema} \) "I have given him money", with the passive and active constructions mixed up. Certainly there are many more people in the country who know at least a little Pers., than there are who know Psht. All instruction in reading and writing is given entirely in Pers., and it might be hard to break the tradition which upholds Pers. as the official language.

Just as in India the Peshawar dialect is predominant, and is influencing educated speech in other parts of the Frontier Province, a modified Kandahar dialect is in use among the higher classes in Kabul. I even met an Orakzai refugee who had adopted this form of Psht. The orthography used in Kabul is also based on Durrani pronunciation, and differs from the classical and Peshawar standard.

I studied the dialect of Peshawar with the munshi Ahmad Jan, and with my servant Yasin Khan, a Khalil, whose dialect however differed very little from ordinary Yusufzai. I also wrote down tales from his dictation. In Peshawar I had an opportunity of working with Afridis belonging to different tribes, and collecting stories
in their dialects. About the Ghilzai dialects I obtained some information in Kabul, and I also questioned people talking several other dialects.

The LSI. gives some impression of the dialectal variety of Psht. which in reality is even far greater. The Afridi dialect is not at all homogeneous; there is a considerable difference between the speech of the Malikdin Khel and the Zakha Khel, while e. g. the Kuki Khel use the strange word dyū “we” (originally “these”?). The Bangash of Kohat is not the same as that spoken in Upper Kurram, and the name Ghilzai covers a great variety, not only of tribes, but also of dialects.

There is no absolute line of division between “soft” and “hard” Pashto. In southern dialects like Waziri and Kandahari š (շ) is pronounced as a palatal š, e. g. šul, višt “20”, and š (շ) is pronounced somewhat further back, but is not very different from English sh, e. g. šul “stairs”, vešta “hair”. Both in Kandahar and in the Mahsud dialect of Waziri the two sounds are quite distinct. In his Waziri Grammar J. G. Lorimer makes no distinction between “šel” “20” and “šel” “stairs”.

Among the southern Ghilzai tribes, such as the Sliman (Sulaiman) Khel’s, the š is pronounced with the tongue retroverted very far back, and in northern Ghilzai dialects, e. g. in Maidan, west of Kabul, and in Laghman, the sound approaches x.

Finally, in the north-eastern dialects, like Afridi, Yusufzai, Mohmand etc., š is not distinguished from x.

In a similar way we find z, γ etc. as transitional stages between the ẓ of the South, and the g (ג) of the North.

In the Yusufzai dialect the coalescence of š and x, of ẓ and g, together with the transition of ẓ to j and of ts, dz to s, z¹ has eliminated several un-Indian sounds

¹ Even in Peshawar it is considered more correct to pronounce the (t)s, (d)z in the same position as the t, d, viz. with the tongue against the edge of the upper teeth, not against the back of them as in the case of ordinary s, z, and perhaps with greater force of articulation. But the distinction is not generally observed.
from the phonetic system. Only \( x, z, \gamma \) and \( s \) which have also to a large extent been adopted in loan-words in Ind. languages, are allowed to remain.

Cerebrals are found, not only in Ind. loan-words, but also in many words of uncertain origin, containing un-Indian sounds like \( x \) or \( z \). Also nasalized vowels are used. And the pronunciation of \( nr \) also agrees with the conditions in Lhd., where \( n \) becomes \( \hat{r} \), just as \( \hat{n} \) becomes \( \hat{\iota} \) (e. g. \( s\hat{u}j \) "waste" < \( \hat{s}unya\), \( s\hat{u}\hat{\jmath} \hat{\jmath} \) "intelligence" < \( su\hat{jn\hat{A}}n\)). That in Psht. also \( \hat{r} \) is secondarily developed from \( n \), is shown by the word \( r\hat{\iota}r \) (\( \hat{\iota}nr\) "bright", where the \( n \) originally contains no \( r \), but is derived from \( *zn < x\hat{\iota}n \). It seems probable that this anticipation of the nasalization in which the transition from \( n \) into \( \hat{r} \) consists, is due to Ind. influence.

Thus Psht., and especially the Peshawar dialect, has been largely Indianized in its phonetic system; but it is worthy of note that it has entirely rejected the aspiration of consonants.

The extent of the Ind. influence upon Psht. vocabulary and phraseology will be easily realized on comparing the LSI. specimens of Kohat Psht. and Kohat Hindki.

The Ind. loan-words in Psht. are generally drawn from modern Hindostani or Lahnda (in contrast with the remarks of Darmesteter: Chants Populaires, p. XVI, the latter source is by far the more abundant). A few loanwords are derived from an Ind. language in an earlier stage of development, or from some Dard dialect. E. g. \( l\hat{a}\hat{\jmath}ta \) "rod, stick" (Hind. \( l\hat{a}\hat{\iota}\hat{h}a \), \( \hat{s}u\hat{n}\hat{d} \) "lip" (Tirahi \( \hat{s}\hat{u}\hat{n}\hat{a} \), \( v\hat{\iota}\hat{s} \) "poison" (Kati \( v\hat{i}\hat{s} \), \( p\hat{a}\hat{r}\hat{s}i \) "rock" (Kati \( p\hat{a}\hat{r}\hat{s}i \) "mountain") etc.

But the problem of the antiquity of the connection between Psht. and Ind. will be more conveniently discussed below.

1 According to Ahmad Jan a word like \( m\hat{u}ng \) "we" is actually pronounced \( m\hat{u}g \); but to my ear it sounded more like \( m\hat{u}\hat{g} \), probably with nasalization only of the latter part of the vowel. In the same way \( r\hat{\iota}\hat{\jmath}r \) "blind" is more exact than \( r\hat{\iota}r \).
Here I shall only mention one of the many questions connected with Psht. phonology. It is well known that the Ir. sound which is generally considered to have been an ā, is, when accentuated, often represented in Psht. by ê, and Ir. "a" by a or ā (mōr "mother" < *mār-, plār "father" < *pitar-, las "10" < dasa-). But scholars who, like Professors Andreas and Wackernagel, suppose that the Ir. vowels in question were pronounced ô and o, also claim the Psht. ê in support of their view, just as they think they have evidence in the modern Pers. pronunciation of "ā" as ā or ō. We have seen, however, that the Afghan Pers., which is very archaic in its vowel system, generally has ā or ă, and the timbre of Psht. ê can be shown to be of a secondary nature.

Corresponding to the ê of literary Psht., and of most dialects, we find Afridi ə or े (between ê and ə), Waz. ə, and Bannuchi े, and corresponding to ā we find Afr. ā, Waz. and Bann. ư. Instead of lit. Psht. a other dialects often have ā or ə. (Afr. mōr, plār, lās, Bann. mēr, plōr, las).

If we start from ā, a, the transition of ā to ê is easily explained, and has many parallels. Nor does the lengthening of a in certain positions lead to any difficulties. Especially in languages where original ā has moved towards ê this secondary lengthening can take place without disturbing the system, and both in Shgh. and Par. we find ā < a besides ā, ā < ā. Similarly the further development of ê to ə, and with dilabialization to े (in the same dialects where ā becomes i) can be understood, as well as the renewed lengthening of a.

If, on the other hand, we try to explain the different forms as due to an original ô, o, we are bound to presume that, ô being preserved in literary Psht., o developed into a and ă according to the accent. Then in Afr. and Waz. this ā was again lowered down and rounded to ă, ô. Evidently this is the more complicated explanation.

I may add that Psht. ā is nearer to the normal "continental" a, than to the English u with which it is generally compared.
SHUGHNI.

The materials collected about Shughni do not call for remarks of a general nature. They were obtained from persons talking somewhat diverging dialects, partly from Bāsā'r near Kala bar Panj, on the Afghan side of Amu Darya, and partly from different places on its eastern tributary, the Ghund river, in Russian territory, or, as one of the men expressed it "in your country" (da zamin-e-šimā, na da zamin-e-Musulmān). The language is called Sā'yni, or also Xa'znī.

It may be noticed that p and k, but apparently not t, are, at any rate in Bashar, often strongly aspirated, e. g. phints "5", phūrg "mouse", k'hāl "head", k'hic "belly". In the Ghund dialect we find vð, not vd < ft, e. g. in āvð "7".

After an u, s and z are pronounced with a marked rounding of the lips. Two frictions are heard simultaneously, one of s, z, and one of θ, w; e. g. gūṣt "meat", γūzw "ear". In LSI. uṣyār "sensible" is written ūfyr, and mūζjat "was dead" mūvjat. Probably the word which I have written ūwįj "kidney", is also pronounced with ζw, and must be derived from *vrtka-, as cúζůj "made" from *krt(a)ka-.

ORMURI.

The dialect of Ormuri (Ōrmužī) which is spoken in Waziristan near Kaniguram (Kānigrā'm) is known through Sir George Grierson's excellent analysis of Ghulam Muhammad Khan's Qawāïd-i-Bargistā (LSI., Vol. X and Mem. ASB., VII, 1). The Logar dialect had only been treated in a short vocabulary (Leech JASB., VII, pp. 727 ff., and copied by Raverty, JASB., XXXIII, 267 ff.).

In Kabul I was told by people who knew the Logar valley well that Ormuri was no longer spoken in Baraki Barak, the ancient headquarters of the Ormur tribe. Even a man said to be from this actual village denied the existence of any special language in his native place. But finally, after considerable difficulties, I got hold of
an old man from Baraki Barak, who was said to be one of the few persons still speaking pure Ormuri. He worked with me for about a week, but could not be induced to stay longer away from his home. At that time the rebel tribes had invaded the Logar valley, and it was impossible for me to proceed to Baraki Barak. I also met in Kabul men of the younger generation from Baraki Barak who knew a little of their ancient language. But it is apparently being rapidly superseded by Pers. and Psht., and even the pronunciation of Orm. words has been influenced by Psht. E.g. the old man still said zīlī "heart", but the young ones zīrī.

At Butkhak people said they belonged to the Ormur tribe; but they were all Pashto-speaking, and I met with no one there who knew any Orm.

I did not hear anything about Ormurs living in Ghorband, Bamian or Kunduz. There were said to be Ormurs near Peshawar, but all Pashto-speaking (cf. LSI., p. 123).

My informant, Din Muhammad, did not know the name "Bargistā" of his own language. But according to him the Ormur tribe are descended from the two brothers Mir-i-Barak and Mir-i-Barakât, who came from Baryaman (Yemen) into Turkestan, the former being buried in Anxōi (Andkhui) and the latter in Mazar-i-Sharif. Mir Yūzūf was the son of Mir-i-Barakat. He also said that the Ormurs were Sayyids.

I do not think these traditions are much more valuable than those which make the Pathans Israelites, the Baloches Syrians, the Özbin Pashais Quraishis, the Chitralis descendants of Alexander's deported prisoners, the Bashgalis the poorer brethren of the Englishmen, the Kunar tribes Germans (due to a confusion between Pers. nimca "Germany", and nimca "newly converted Kafir"?), or the Gurkhas and Burmese Hazaras. Nor is the tradition rendered more credible by being connected with Mahmud Ghaznavi (Leech l. c., and Elphinstone, Caubul, I, p. 411).

Solomon, Alexander, Ali, and Mahmud are the four historical personages to whom the popular fancy generally attributes all important events of the past. The tradition about the Ormurs being descended from the Kurds, mentioned by Elphinstone (l. c.), cannot be identified 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.

On the other hand Bellew (Journal of a Mission to Afghanistan, p. 63 f.) mentions a tradition, according to which the Orakzai, Afridi, Mangal, Waziri, Khatak, Khogiani tribes of the Pathans are of Ormuri origin. Bellew also mentions that the Ormurs were 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 priest extinguished the fire they worshipped, and at the same time exclaimed “Or mur”, meaning in Psht. “dead, extinct fire” (or mər).

This fanciful etymology cannot, of course, be accepted. In fact, if, as I hope to demonstrate, the Ormurs represent the remnants of the original Iranian population of the country, and if, as stated in the LSI., p. 123 the word ḍormur was at least originally used only by their Pathan neighbours, it might be derived from *āryamṛtya- “Aryan man”, which would regularly result in ḍormur according to Psht. phonetical laws. In that case we must suppose that the realOrm. form which we should expect to be something like *ārmul, had been superseded by the form which the word had taken among their more powerful neighbours, the Pathans. It does not seem impossible that *āryamṛtya- might be used as a designation of an Aryan tribe, cf. the name which the Finno-Ugrian Wotjaks use about themselves: urymurt (< *ṛta-mṛtya “true men”, v. Jacobsohn, Iranier und Ugrofinnen, pp. 193 ff.).

What is told about the extinguishing of the lamps, reminds us of the slanders told by their neighbours about the disreputable festivals of Yezidis, Druses and other
sects of Western Asia. But there may be this nucleus of truth in the tradition, that the Ormurs have kept their old Iranian religion for a comparatively long time.

In this connection may be mentioned that the Orm. word for “to read” hiştak, part. pret. f. hişk¹, 1 sg. pres. havrm, 2 sg. viv etc., is derived from Av. aiwi-ah- “to study, read”, part. pret. *aiwi-šta-. But the detailed demonstration of the phonetical relation between the Av. and the Orm. words must be reserved for the fuller account of Orm. which I intend to give. It is interesting to note that this word, which has been preserved only in Orm., is a technical term of Zoroastrian theology.

The Logar dialect of Orm. contains several old words not found in the Kaniguram dialect. Regarding phonetics, the chief difference between the two dialects is, that in Logar œ has been preserved in many cases where it has become s in Kaniguram, e. g. Log. γvāši “grass”, Kan. γvāši. On the other hand the Logar dialect has given up the distinction between s and ū, e. g. Kan. ūē “3”, ūḥ “6”, but Log. sō, su. Kan. sus “red” has been assimilated to Log. ūsē. This process seems to be quite recent, as Leech, whose vocabulary is based on the Log. dialect, has “sūgha” (Leech employs gh to denote s in “ūgh” “camel”: ūs, and in gha “night”: sō).

The complicated formation of verbal stems has been considerably simplified in the Log. dialect, and in many verbs all forms come from one stem only. While the

¹ hiştak < *aiwi-štā-, hişk < *aiwi-štakā-. Cf. hatak “to abandon” < *hystāka-, f. hōtk < hystakā-; ṣvek “to give” < *bauxtāka-, f. bayak < *bāxtakā; ṣvek “to milk” < dauštakā-, f. dūk < *dūšk (as vūy “dry” < ḫuṣka) < *dauštakā, dūṣak < *dauštakā.

amaravyēk {“to cause
amarayēk } to hear” < *ā-hmarapatāka- f. amaravak < *ā-hmarapātakā- (but amarayak formed on the analogy of amaryēk) etc.

I cannot here enter further into the question of the complicated effects of the accent in Orm. Here, no more than in Paht., Meillet’s and Gauthiot’s theory about the Ir. accentuation explains the whole situation.
Kan. dialect is full of Waziri Psht. words, the Log. dialect has chiefly adopted Pers. loan-words.

The main questions regarding the Orm. language and its relation to other Ir. tongues, will be more conveniently discussed in connection with Parachi.

**PARACHI.**

Parachi (Parācī) is at present spoken in the Hindu Kush valley of Shutul, north-east of Charikar, in Ghujulan in Nijrāu and in Pachaghan. There is a tradition that the people of Shutul came from Tagau some generations ago; but on the other hand it is also said, perhaps not without some foundation in fact, that Panjshir was formerly inhabited by Parachis. The Farāšī tribe is also mentioned as living in the vicinity of Parwan, which is quite near to Shutul, in the 16th century (Marquardt, Erānšahr, p. 287). The tribe is mentioned by Babur (transl. Leyden and Erskine, ed. King, I, p. 224 f.) as having a separate language, by Elphinstone (Caubul, I, p. 413) as "the Puraunchehs, another class of Hindkees", and Masson (Travels in Baluchistan etc.) mentions "Puraunchi" as a language which is spoken by a few families in and near Panjshir.

Sir George Grierson (note to Babur l. c.) explains the name as "Prāchī", "Eastern", denoting a language of Eastern India brought to Kabul through the Purbyas. Now that we know the Parachi language to be Ir., it seems better to derive it from Skr. parāci-, f. of parānc- "averted, distant, outside of", the gender being determined through one of the feminine words for "language". parānc- might easily mean "western" just as pratyañc-, even if the word is not found in this sense in Skr., and would be a very suitable name for the Pashais and other Indians to give to their nearest Iranian neighbours. It is also possible that the name may be connected with Psht. parā(n)ca "a mercer, draper, cloth-merchant", Waziri parāca, parōca "a Hindu convert to Muhammedanism", "name of
"a caste", a word which may originally have denoted some pre-Pathan community.

In the Paghman district, some fifteen miles west of Kabul, there is a village called Parachi, which has possibly preserved the name of its former inhabitants. We shall consider below the linguistic evidence which points to a wider extension of Parachi in ancient times.

It has not been possible to ascertain the number of Parachi-speaking people. One informant asserted that only about one hundred persons used this language, another calculated that there was that number of Par. houses in Shutul. A third man said that his tribe inhabited 400 houses in Shutul, and 600 in Nijrau and Tagau, and a man from Ghujulan supposed that there were one hundred Par. families there.

I first heard of Par. being still spoken from a Satha-Pashai, who said that in this language "I eat bread" was called naγõn xareman, and "I drink water" au tēreman. This information made it clear that I was on the track of an unknown Ir. language, and tēreman was reminiscent of Orm. trim. After some difficulties, including an attempt made by an old rogue to impose the north-western dialect of Pash. upon me as Par., I succeeded in getting hold of Mahmad Ghani from Shutul, "a shepherd of considerable stupidity" (to quote Sir G. Griersons words about the Pras. informant of the LSI.).

In the autumn of 1924 I worked with Ghulam Maheuddin and the local poet Tabakkal Shah, who came to Kabul with the recruits collected from the Kohistan of Kabul. They were also from Shutul, and were both of them intelligent, and very keen on teaching me their mother-tongue. They could read and write Pers., and even tried to write down songs in Par. It was valuable to be able to compare my own phonetic notation of their narratives with the written texts. They said that one book written in Par., and containing legends about Ali, existed in Shutul; but it was impossible to get hold of this specimen of Par. literature.
In Kabul I also worked for a few days with a man from Ghujulan in Darra-i-Ghosh in Nijrau, who spoke a somewhat different dialect, and for a short time in Peshawar with a Pachaghani. The dialectal difference is not great. In Shutul we find ā, ā, where the other dialect has ā.

As Par. is not previously known, I shall preface the discussion of its linguistic position with a summary review of the chief phonetic features of the language.

Generally speaking the vowels have been well preserved, and have not been influenced by the accent to the same extent as in most of the neighbouring Ir. languages. We find i-umlaut in words like mēhi “month” < *māhyā-, mēn “middle, waist” < *madhyana-, mēr “man” < *martya-, mēr- “to kill” < *māraya-, mer- “to die” < *mya-, xēr “hay” < *xvarya-, kēr “work” < *kārya.

A short, accentuated a becomes ā: jō “killed” < jata-, sē “100” < sata-, sōr “head” < sarah-, sahōk “hare” < saha-ka-, nayōn “bread”: Bal. nagan etc.

ū becomes i: dhi “smoke” < *dūta-, nī “to-day” < *nū. au becomes u: gu “ear” < *gauša, gu “cow” < *gau, rūc “day” < *raucak-, but i before n: rhinē “light” < *rauxšna.

ava becomes o: nō “9”, “new” < nava-, jō “barley” < yava-, cōr “4” < *cavar- < ca-var-. In the same way ai becomes i: ix “ice” < *aixa-, yī “willow” < *vaiti-, hī “bridge” < *haiti-, aya or āya becomes e: sēy “shade” < *sāyakū, pē “milk” < payah, ēx “egg” < *ā(v)yaxa- (or -aka-).

Like the Western Ir. languages, Par. has initial voiced stops, and not spirants, e. g. gu “cow, ear”, ginē “hair” < *gauna-, gir “stone” < *giri-, danān “tooth” < dantān, dūc- “to milk” < *dauc-, bī “he was” < būta, bōst “bound” < basta-, jan- “to kill”, jinc “wife” < jani-, jir “bow-string”, Av. jyā.


\( v \)- becomes ų: γyrū “wolf” \(< vyrkā, γan “oak” \(< vanā, γasō “calf” \(< vatsā, vi- has resulted in γu-: γus “house” \(< vis, γušt “20” \(< *visati, yun- “to find” \(< *vind, γurγ-ev- “to pour out” \(< *vi-hyz, γirān “desolate” is probably borr. from Pers. vērān < Pehl. apērān. Internal \( v \) has been lost in rhāz- “to fly” \(< frā-vaṣ, paric- “to shake a sieve” \(< *pari-vic, cf. Shgh. parwiz-.

(x)s and xv become x: xīrō “sweet”, cf. Pers. šīrin; xovān “night”, xovān “shepherd”, xī “6” \(< xšaś(?), γax “voice” \(< vaxša; xar- “to eat” \(< xvar, xōm “sleep” \(< xvafna, xu “self” \(< xva-, xī „sister” \(< xvahā(?).

Postvocalic š is lost: xī “6”, gū “ear, *spō „louse” \(< spiś-

h is preserved both as an initial and internally: hōt “7” \(< hafta-, hošku “dry” \(< huṣka-, mahōk “moon” \(< mah-, nhin, nhašt “to sit” \(< *ni-had-.

Regarding the treatment of groups of consonants only a few important instances need be mentioned here.


st remains in some cases: bōst “bound”, āγust “dressed”, rust “high” (Pers. rustan “to grow”), but becomes ť in the vicinity of on ancient i in yušt “20”, “thrown”, nhašt “he sat”.

xt and ft become t: dut “daughter”, pharāt- “to sell” \(< *para-vaxta-), hōt “7”, rūt “swept” (Pers. rufstan), and the same is the case with rxt, rft: māt “killed” \(< *marxta-, Av. marēk-), hōt “heard” \(< *harīta-, ghit “seized” \(< *gīfta-.

ršt results in t in pāt (Av. parštī). Of nēr- “to take out”, and hupēr “to dig” (a Pash. loan-word) with r < rd, rt,
the past forms are nőt, hupőt; but these may be secondary formations. ut "bear" is difficult to explain, we cannot well consider it to be an Ir. *ṛṣṭa-. In other cases like dhőr "seen" (.Bot duhr < ḍṛṣṭa-), nhomur "forgetful" (*ni-mṛṣṭa-), thőr "he drank" (*trṛṣṭa-, cf. Orm. tatak), thőr "hole", tār- "to bore", cf. Skr. ṭṛd-, rśt seems to have resulted in *hr, h-r.

rt and rd become r: mūr "dead" (Av. mṛṣṭa-), buṛ "carried" (Av. bṛṣṭa-), vārun "flour" (Av. aṣa-, Pers. ārd), yurōk "small child" (Pashto vṛukai), zur "heart" (Av. zṛṣṭa-), sār "year" (Av. sṛṣṭa-), pārāsur "last year" (Skr. parut-, Wakhi pard). maṛō "soft" (Skr. mṛṛdu-).

In kaṇ- "to do" mn has become n, as in most Iranian languages. But cf. šuṣur "porcupine" (Av. suṣuruna-, Pashto škūr, Pers. sugur).

In sn and similar combinations š is lost, but the initial consonant of the word is aspirated, e. g. thāna "thirsty" (Av. tarśna-), rhine "sun, light" (Av. raoxśna-).

ṃṛ becomes š in šī "3" (Av. ṭrayō), puṣ "son" (Av. puṭra-), deś "scythe" (Skr. dātra-, Pers. dās), caṣeṛōts (Nijrāu dial.) "three days ago" (Av. caṭru-), cf. also šicak "female" (Av. stri-, Pashto šēda), bāṣ "rope" (< *bastra-, Pashto vāṣ). (Cf. Sāṅgsari puṣ-ār "father", ša "3").

fr becomes rh- in rhaṭām "spring (season)" (< *fragāma-, cf. Pashto varyūmai "a kid", Yidg. firṟyāmo), and in rhāz "to fly" (*fra-vaz-). In ruč "flea" (*frauc-) I heard no aspiration. -fr becomes -rp in yarp "snow".

xr is only found in surkhu "red" (Av. suṣhra-) and tarkū "bitter" (Pehl. taxr).

The only instance of the treatment of gr-, γr- is the loan-word rhuś "half rupee" (Turk. γ(u)ruš "piastre", "Groschen"). biyā "brother" has probably been influenced by Afghan Persian biyādar.

As will have been observed, Par. phonetics possess one very characteristic feature, viz. the aspiration of occlusives under certain conditions. The details are not always easy to explain, and the aspiration does not appear in all cases where we should expect it; but it seems clear
that the aspiration is developed when a spirantic element is lost in a group of consonants, and is generally thrown back on the initial. Cf. pérc- "to cook", phók "he cooked" (< *paxva-, Pashto pòx), gur- "to seize", ghit "he seized" (< *gšita-), thà- "to cut" (Av. taś), lhanó "smooth, slippery" (Pers. laxšidan "to slip", Skr. slaksna- < slaksna-), and the words mentioned above: pharcit- "to sell", dhór "he saw", rhiné "sun", tháná "thirsty". In dhi "smoke" (< *dūd < Av. dūta-), chi "he went" (< *cūd < *ciyuta-), dhai- "to give" (Av. dāda-), phyó "wet" (< pīd- < Skr. pita-) the voiced dental spirant has caused the aspiration. But cf. dut "daughter" < *duxtā, bi "he became" < būta-. In loan-words we find a similar development: khar "anger" < Pers. qahr, mhemán "guest" < Pers. mehmán.

With this transposition of the spirantic element we may compare Yazg. ṣon "fire" < *tafna- (Gauthiot, J.A., 1916, p. 253) and parallel developments in other Pamir languages and Sak. (e. g. thatau "quickly" < *taxtakam, v. also Reichelt, Indogerm. Jahrbuch, I). But when the result in Par. is an aspirate and not a spirant, it is certainly due to Pash. influence ¹.

Also the initial aspirate in khan- "to laugh" (Pers. xandidan) seems to be due to Pash. influence. Another example is khór "donkey", which may, however, be a Pash. loan-word. Probably Par., as most other Ir. languages, had originally x-, just as it has x- in mux etc. In surkh "red" also the kh is secondary, as kr could not directly become khr, rkh, but must have passed through the stages xr, rx.

As a matter of course Pash. loan-words have kept their aspiration; indeed the aspiration is stronger and more audible in Par. dhár "mountain" than in Pash. dhār. We even find aspiration in Par. in cases where it has been lost in Pash., e. g. in dhāri "beard", Pash. dārī < dāhri. But also in other respects Pash. seems to have influenced Par.

¹ A similar transposition is occasionally found also in Ind. languages, Dard and others. Cf. e. g. Maharashtri ghēttum "to seize" < *ghrptum < *grbh-.
The transition $y < \varepsilon$ also reminds us of Pash., and the development from $\tilde{s}$- to $x$-, while $\tilde{s}t$ remains, agrees with north-western Pash. (Par. $\tilde{z}b$ "barley", $x\tilde{i}$ "6", $\tilde{o}st$ "8", Kohnadeh Pash. $\tilde{z}ui$, $x\tilde{a}$, $a\tilde{st}a$). Further the treatment of intervocalic occlusives is the same as in Pash. (loss of dentals, preservation of $c$, transition of $p$, $b$ to $v$), but different from that found in any other Ir. language.

The morphological systems of the two languages are very similar. It is only necessary to mention a few striking instances here. The opposition between Par. $\tilde{s}i$ "it is" (inanimate), $h\tilde{a}$, $a$ "it, he, she is" (animate), corresponds to that between Pash. $\tilde{s}i$ and $(h)a$. In Par., as in north-western Pash., the definite present is formed with $t$, e. g. Par. $dav\tilde{et}u$ $h\tilde{em}$ "I am running", Pash. $davetim$, Par. $kant\tilde{u}$ "he is doing", Pash. $kat\tilde{u}$, Par. $jant\tilde{u}$ "he is killing", Pash. $hant\tilde{u}$. Cf. also the Par. affixed $-van\tilde{o}$ "towards" with Pash. $\tilde{van}$. In these cases also Par. has certainly borrowed from Pash.

The number of Pash. loan-words in Par. is large. The following are only a few of them:

$b\tilde{u}ru$ "deaf": Pash. (Laur.) $bor\tilde{a}$; $dav\tilde{as}$ "day": Pash. (Laur.) $duv\tilde{as}$; $h\tilde{eng}as$ "neighing": Pash. (Kohnadeh) $h\tilde{ing}as$; $kh\tilde{uri}$ "heal": Pash. (Kohn.) $kh\tilde{uri}$; $k\tilde{ott}a$ "lame": Pash. (Laur.) $kuta$; $m\tilde{av}ul$ "mother's brother": Pash. (Kohn.) $maul\tilde{u}$; $pap\tilde{e}$ lung": Pash. (Laur.) $pap\tilde{u}$; $ph\tilde{or}$ "grain": Pash. (Laur.) $ph\tilde{ul}$; $\tilde{so}p$ "curse": Pash. (Laur.) $\tilde{so}p$; $\tilde{so}r$ "stair": Pash. (Laur.) $\tilde{sur}$ (cf. Hindi $sir\tilde{hi}$, Kashm. $\tilde{her}$), $t\tilde{a}r\tilde{ani}$ "wild rose": Pash. (Laur.) $t\tilde{ar}ani$; $uc$ "bear": Pash. (Özbin) $\tilde{o}c$, $\tilde{vas}$ "rain": Pash. (East) $\tilde{vas}$.

In some cases the Par. words are borrowed from older forms of Pash. E. g. $dh\tilde{ari}$ "beard": Pash. $d\tilde{ari}$, $liv\tilde{on}$ "ghee": Pash. (Laur.) $lou$, Waig. $gr\tilde{ava}$, $gr\tilde{ava}$ (< $\tilde{gh}y\tilde{ta}v\tilde{at}$). Words like $m\tilde{ane}b$ "man", $\tilde{ay}\tilde{e}b$ "sky" (Shina $ag\tilde{ai}$), $\tilde{v}il$ "time, while", $rah\tilde{b}$ "rice", $\tilde{sun}d$ "lip, mouth" are probably also of Pash. origin, even if the words are not found in my Pash. materials and are probably not used in Pash. any more.

Some words remind us of Lhd. and the languages
of the Indian plains and may have been, either directly or indirectly, borrowed from there. E. g. hāt, ḥaddū “bone”: Lhd. ḥaddū, but Pash. atha; māṭta “dirt, mud”: Lhd. mat “alluvial deposit”, Psht. māṭṭa “clay, but Pash. (Ōzб.) māṭ “clay” (< Skr. mārtīka-?); dārāk “grape”: Lhd. dārkī, but Pash. (Kohn.) dāzka; catē “white”, Lhd. cītī.

Indian, but of unknown origin, are bānō “arrow”: Skr. bāṇa-; buch- “to see”: Panj. vekh-, Kashm. wuc-, Tirahi bīc. Moreover words like dharam “earth”, and many others, appear to be Indian.

A very interesting word is kānō “blind”. In Pash., Torwalak, Kashm., and in the languages of the plains some derivative of Skr. andha- is used for “blind”, and Lhd. kāra, Kashm. kōnī means “one-eyed”, just as Skr. kāṇa-.

In Waig., GB., Garwi and Shina we find words which probably are derived from Skr. *śīṛtā-, cf. śiṃna- “broken, injured” (used about parts of the body: 𑀦𑀡𑀩𑀫, 𑀧𑀬, 𑀬𑀦𑀪-), e. g. Waig ṣere, Garwi ৎparing, Shina ṣevo (< *śīṛtā-). But Khow. kāņu, Kati kār’, Ashk. kāra denote “blind”. Now it is very improbable that kāṇa- has ever been in use in the sense of “blind” in Pash. which has preserved andha-. Accordingly we must conclude that the Par. word has been borrowed from Western Kafiri or Khow. At present Pash. is the only Ind. language with which Par. is in touch; but probably the Pash. expansion, which has encircled the Parachis of Nijrā and Tagau, is of comparatively late date, and the Par. have formerly bordered upon the Kafirs in Panjshir or Kohistan. The dental n in kānō may also, as in bānō, be a sign that the word was borr. at a time when Par. had not yet been sufficiently subjected to Ind. influence to adopt the cerebral sounds.

In the light of this word we may also mention Par. dhamā “wind”: Waig. damō, Ashk. domō; Par. vāyār “dance”: Waig. vegār “play”. Between Par. bumburū “thunder” and Khow. bumburēś, būmburuš the similarity is too striking to be accidental, although it is generally dangerous to draw conclusions from such onomatopoetic words.
On the other hand, there are also traces of Par. influence upon Kafri. Waig. *za'ya*, Ashk. *zaga*, *zaga* “son” must be borr. from Par. *zâya*. Are also Waig. *vaśîp*, *išpi* “buttermilk” borr. from Par. *vaspē*, which seems to contain Par. *pē* “milk”? Also in Pash. we find a few words which may be of Par. origin. Par. *gur-* (*gurum*, *ghitom*) means “to seize”, and the formation of the stem shows that it is a true Ir. word (*gur-* < *gryba*, cf. Minj. *yərv*). Now in Pash. we also find *gur-* “to seize”, which cannot be derived from Skr. *gra(b)h-, gṛb(h)nā-. The genuine Pash. form is perhaps found in a verb which means “to learn”: *lein-, leihen- < *grihn- < gṛhn- (hârya sabâx ñe leingā hāi‘c “he had not learnt the lesson by heart”, hâryâi sabâx leihtentic? “have you learnt the lesson by heart?”).

It is also possible that the root *par-* “to go”, used only in the present stem both in Par. and Pash., may be of Ir. origin, cf. Waziri Psht. *parēdēl* “to run”. Is also Pash. *har-* “to hear” borr. from Par. *harv-?

At any rate it is clear that the connection between Par. and the neighbouring Ind. languages is of no recent date, and this fact is of importance when we try to define the position of Par. within the whole range of Ir. languages.

Before doing so, we have to peel off a thick layer of Pers. loan-words. But generally these are easily recognizable, even when they have been adapted by popular etymology, as *khârēbuq* “melon” (“donkey-goat”! < Pers. *xarēza*), or *khârēgū* “hare” < Pers. *xargōš*, besides which we also find the original Par. *sahēk* and the recent loan-word *xargōš*.

With Orm. Par. shares the development of *v > γ(v)*. There is also a resemblance between the development of *s* in Par. *ś*, Orm. *ṣ*, *š*. But in Orm. a similar change has also affected *fr* (*ś'amōt* “forgetful” < *frāmyśta*, Log. *γōs* “snow” < *vafra*), and *xr* (*ś'iyeḳ* “to buy” < *xri*, *sūṣ* “red” < *suxra*). The initial stage of this development is perhaps found in *AΘPO = aθ̣śo* ‘fire’ < *aθ̣ro* on Indo-Scythian coins. Cf. also the development of *rēt*
inOrm. into t (pat "back" < ṛṣṭi-), and, at least in
certain circumstances into Par. t (pōt "back").

The morphology of the two languages is rather diffe-
rent. This is only what we should expect, as they pro-
ably separated before the break down of the old Ir.
inflectional system, and the building-up of a new one.

The vocabulary however presents many points of agree-
ment. I shall mention only a few striking examples:
Par. andarf- "to sew": Orm. undarəv-, cf. Wakhi dərov-,
Skr. dṛbh-;
Par. rū "iron": Orm. rō, Skr. lōha- also "iron", but Pers.
rōi, Bal. rōd etc. only "copper";
Par. dherz- "to load, put on one's back": Orm. dəz- "to
load", cf. Psht. lēšol "to load", lēšdəl "to send", but
Av. dərəz- "to fasten";
Par. nēr-, nöf- "to take out" 1: Orm. navar-, navalək.
Par tēr-, thōr "to drink": Orm. tr-, tatak. In both lan-
guages the present stem is *tr-, but the past trəs-t-
trə-, "to be dry, thirsty" could easily acquire the mean-
ing "to drink"; but tr- I cannot explain².
Par. semā "winter": Orm. zemāk, but e. g. Psht. ẑimai,
Oss. ẑīmāq.
We may also note
Par. gap-ār "fireplace" (ār "fire"): Orm. gap "stone".
Par. mindut "apricot": Orm. matat.

But these words have not the appearance of being
old inherited words.

If Par. and Orm. are, as it appears, nearly related,
the question as to whether they belong to the eastern or
western group of Ir. languages must be treated as one
connected problem.

We have seen that the Ormuris possess traditions
concerning a western origin, which, however, do not seem

1 From *ni-bar-. The present stem was changed into *ni-var- >
nēr- through the influence of the past part. *ni-byta- > *nivu-.
Then a secondary past part. was formed: *nivu-t > nöf.
2 I also heard Par. thēr-, which may be derived from *trəs-, just
as kher-əvr "to pick up" from krəs. But the Orm. form can hardly
be explained in this way.
to be of great value. About the Parachis no such legends are known, and the close connection between their lan-
guage and Pash. shows, even if we cannot accept Yule's
identification of Hiuen Tsang's *Foh-lih-śi-sa-t'ang-na* (acc.
to Karlgren the ancient pronunciation was *b'uat-ličt-ši-sát-
t'âń-nâ*) with *Parācīstān*.

In both languages there are certainly some linguistic
traits which point westward. We may mention the loss
of intervocalic dentals, the transition of *nt, nd* into *n*
which are also found in Mazandarani, to some extent in
Kurdish and other north-western dialects. Par. and Orm.
also agree with the western Ir. languages in treating
initial and medial *r* in the same way. In most of the
eastern dialects, apart from the isolated Oss., and from
W. where *r* in both positions becomes *tr*, we find a
different treatment of *r* and -*r*, e. g. Psht. *dr*, -*r*,
Shgh. *har*, -*ts*.

The Par. present stem *n̂hin-* "to sit" also approaches
the western forms with *n*; and the strange Orm. word
*havanlk* (Log. *vulk*) "egg" (< *avyaluka-?*) is reminiscent of
Kurd. *helka* etc., Awromani *helā*.

Both Par. and Orm. have initial voiced stops and
not spirants. This is usually considered to be one of the
chief points of distinction between western and eastern
Ir. languages. But, apart from Psht., all the eastern
Ir. languages are spoken north of the Hindu Kush, and
we shall see that several indications render it probable
that Psht. was originally brought from the north. In
that case there is no reason to suppose that initial voiced
spirants belonged to the original eastern dialects *south*
of the Hindu Kush, contiguous to the Ind. languages
which possess no spirants at all. And, with the possible
exception of the two dialects in question, the ancient Ir.
languages of south-eastern Iran have all died out, without
leaving any trace. Nothing is known about the ancient
language of Bactria, or of Herat — the so-called Herawi
of Ansari (Iwanow *JRAS.*, 1923, pp. 1 ff.) is only a Persian
dialect — or of the country now inhabited by Hazaras and Aimaks. Our complete ignorance of the ancient linguistic conditions in the greater part of Afghanistan warns us to be very careful in trying to determine the home of the Avestan language.

Dr. Tedesco in his admirable article (Monde Oriental, XV, p. 255 f.) comes to the conclusion that it belongs to Western Iran, and this view has been adopted by Meillet (Trois conférences sur les Gâthâ de l’Avesta, p. 26). Not all the features which Tedesco mentions are exclusively western. E. g. if we have Av. bitya- “second”, N. W. Turfan biṣīγ, but Soghd. δβt篱, b- is also found in Psht. bol, Om1 bi, cf. Wakhi būi “2”. Nor does the fact that Minj. and Yaghn. still preserve the spirant in γerv-, γirv- “to seize”, prove that the development into w in y. Av. ḡuṟwaẏa- cannot have taken place anywhere in the east. Cf. also Par. gur- (1 sg. ḡurum).

It is true that the past part. γmata- “gone” is not found in the east, and that the izāfat seems to be western. But, after all, the izāfat is only used occasionally in Av. and had not become an indispensable factor in the morphological system. Not inevitably it may have had a sporadic existence in some eastern dialects, but has disappeared with the general loss of the ya-pronoun. And again we must not forget that we can have no idea whatever about the forms used in south-eastern Iran in ancient times. It is also possible, as Prof. Christensen points out (AO., IV, p. 83), that the Medic priests, who are responsible for the final redaction of the Av. text, have introduced some Western Ir. forms and modes of expression.

But the chief point in Tedesco’s argument, and one which he promises to treat separately, is the thesis that

1 Tedesco writes (l. c. p. 221) “Dem Aw. zuliebe eine vorhistorische N-O-Gruppe mit Izāfat annehmen wäre vorläufig rein Willkür.” I think it is more arbitrary to ignore our ignorance, and to try to solve a problem, which the nature of our materials does not permit us to solve. Moreover, we have not only to reckon with a “North-Eastern group”.
Ir. *-ah, *-āh, which result in -ū, -ā in Av., became -i, -ē in Eastern Ir.\(^1\). Here again we must make the same geographical reservation as above. It is not possible to pronounce a final verdict, excluding Av. from the whole of Eastern Iran, on the evidence of its -ū, -ā. We must be prepared to meet such surprises as the b-, d-, g- of Orm. and Par., and not forget our ignorance of the old south-eastern dialects\(^2\).

And, finally, many important points of agreement between Av. and Eastern Ir. remain to be taken into account.

The points of resemblance between Orm. and the western Ir. dialects have induced Grierson to consider Orm. to be of western, Kurdish, origin. But I have tried to demonstrate that these traits, which are also shared by Par., may have belonged to all the originally south-eastern Ir. languages. As Gauthiot has pointed out (MSL., XIX, pp. 135 ff.) even Minj., which sides with the north-east in the question of spirants, belongs to an intermediate group, stretching from Kurd. in a narrow belt towards the east.

But if Minj. shows many points of agreement with the real north-eastern languages, this is also the case with Par. and Orm., and to such an extent that any recent immigration of these tribes from the west seems out of the question. Let us first consider Par.

\(^1\) We may notice that -as became -ē, not only in the Eastern Ind. dialects, but also in the extreme north-west of India.

\(^2\) After finishing this report I have received Tedesco’s article: “Ostiranische Nominalflexion” (Zeitschr. f. Indologie u. Iranistik, 4, pp. 94 ff.). The author has made a strong case of his theory about Eastern Ir. -i, -ē, so far as Sak. and Soghd. are concerned. In Pšt. the situation is complicated. Even if we admit that both the obl.sg. and nom. pl. mask. tsárba “fat” and the nom. sg. fem. tsarba are developed from *carpū, it is not possible to derive ōβa “water” (nom. pl. f.) from anything but *āpā. *āpā would be an impossible form. The only possible explanation of ōβa acc. to Tedesco’s theory would be to suppose that -ah > -i had finally resulted in -ē. The only trace of *-ah > -i found in Pšt., is after k, e.g. sarai “man” < *sārdyaki < *sārdyakah (cf. Av. sarvidya- “fellow”).
Mention has been made of the Par. development of \( rt, \) \( rd > r \), which is also found in Psht., and of \( str > s \), which has a parallel in several eastern dialects.

In morphology we may note the enclitic pronouns 1 pl. -an, 2 pl. -o which should evidently be compared with Zeb. -en, -ev, W. and Sar. -an, -av. As an independent pronoun we find vâ “you”, where the v- has been preserved in enclitic position.

The causative in -ev also connects Par. with the neighbouring languages, such as Orm., Psht., Minj., Yd., and W. Probably this suffix is of Ind. origin; but its wide distribution, and its absence from most of the modern Dard languages, show that the loan cannot be of recent date.

The vocabulary of Par. is essentially Eastern Ir., as will be seen from the following examples:

- áyun- “to dress”: Psht. ãyustâl, etc.
- ámar “apple”: Psht. mära, Yd. amûnâh, etc.
- ištenuk “kid”: Ishk. štunuk, Zeb. šatanak.
- úzâ- “to remain”: Yd. úzaiyah, Orm. özuk “left behind”, Oss. izâyun, cf. Av. ava-zâ-.
- bâš “rope”: Orm. beš, Psht. vâs etc. < *bastra-.
- dúc- “to milk”: W dîts-, Shgh. dûdz-, Oss. dotun, but Pers. dôš-, etc.
- duri “large spoon”: Khow. dori, Waig. durik, Bur. “dôrî”. The word appears to be Ir. on account of the loan-words in Finno-Ugrian: Wotyak duri etc. (Jacobsohn: Arier u. Ugrofinnen, p. 209).
- dusya “kid, two years old”: Psht. dôšarâl.
- dôš “hair”: W dîrs, Sar. dôrs, Shgh. dâsts “goat’s hair”.
- dhôr “saw”: Minj. liškv. < *d̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪̪"
γαρ- “to boil”: Minj. úrvāy-, Shgh. wūrv-, Sar. wārav.
γαζ “fat”: Psht. vāzda, cf. Av. vaēdvar- “firmness” (Skr. transl. pivaratva-), and also Oss. vāzdan “nobleman”?
χι “bridge”: Shgh. yēd, etc.
ξαρ- “to hear”: Psht. arvēdol, Av. har-, haurva- “ob-servare”.
ｊί “wife”: Ishk. žānj, Zeb. wu-jinjak, Minj. žinko.
μυ “face”: Psht. max, etc.
ναγὸν “bread”: Psht. nayăn, etc.
πῆ “milk”: Psht. pai, Shgh. pai, etc.
πι “spade”: W. pēi, etc.
πανά “road“: Shgh. pānd, etc.
παρίς “to shake a sieve”: Shgh. par-wiz-
παράσυρ “last year”: W. pard.
ρηί “fire”: Om. rūn, W. raxnīγ, Zeb. rōšni.
ρήᾶς “to fly”: Shgh. ra-wāz, etc.
σεγα “sand”: Psht. sēga, Minj. sūg̪ā, etc., and corresponding words in the Dard languages.
σαχό “hare”: Psht. sōe, Om. sikak, Sak. saha-, etc.
συν “to wash”: Shgh. zenē-, Soghd. snā-, etc.
σικακ “woman”: Psht. šēdza, Zeb. šēc “female”.
θί “to burn”: W. thèiw (caus.), etc.
θηί “water-mill”, Minj. xīrgā, etc.
εα “son”: Soghd. zāk.
ζιτό “yellow”: Minj. eit.

In the preceding list several Om. words are included. Among other Eastern Ir. words in Om. we may mention:

μέρ “sun”: Minj. mira.
γυαβ “Log. γυαβ “to wash” < *vi-frav-: cf. W. pūru, Yazgh. foraw-.
βαν- “to throw down”: Psht. lvan- (< *ni-badn-), Sak. uys-vān, acc. to Grierson also W. būn- (but b-?).
xvarints "right (not left)": Soghd. γωβ'nt, xvarant, Sak.

hvarandau, acc. sg. n., hvaramcaínä "on the right hand".

hönd "blind": Sak. hana.

sö (Log. së) "1": Sak. ssau (from the Indo-Eur. pronominal stem *kio-, which is probably contained also in Orm.

tsän (Log. šän) "to day").

sir (Log. šir) "good": Sak. ssära-, Soghd. šir.

vök (vav-) "to obtain": Sak byau-, Av. avi-ap-.

These last words, and especially sö and xvarints, are of interest as indicating the possibility of a connection between Orm. and Sak. It is prima facie not impossible that Orm. may have borr. some words from the language of the Sakian Kushanas.

But the relation between Orm. and one Eastern Ir. language, viz. Psht., is of a special nature. Orm. possesses a great number of Psht. loan-words; but the connection 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. It is probable that most of these words are Psht. loan-words in Orm., or have been formed in Orm. under Psht. influence; but the phonetic divergences show that the borrowing must have taken place a long time ago.

E. g. Orm. maštak, maz- "to break" is connected with an old Psht. verb, of which māt "broken" is the only remaining form (cf. Minj. maz-, Yd. maš- "to kill", Skr. māc. "to grind, pound"?). Orm. γvāštak (γvaz-) "to fall" corresponds to Psht. prēvätäl (-ūz-). The connection between the Orm. and the Psht. words must date from before the Psht. transition št > t.

Orm γ(v) for Psht. v we find also in γark "lost": Psht. vruk, Waz. werk, and in Orm. γvāsi (Log. γvāsi) "grass", pl.: Psht. vāśa (< Av. vāstra-, not Phl. vaxš; -xš becomes -ś in Psht., -ś in Orm., cf. also):

With *b- we have Orm. bazar “fore-arm”: Psht. vaz(a)rm “arm, wing”, Oss. bazur, Pers. bāl, etc.

With *-p-, Orm. van “cowife”, vindzök “step-son”: Psht. ḍan, bēnzai (Av. hapaṇi-).

Among the words peculiar to Psht. and Orm., though not modern loan-words from Psht., we may mention Orm. dus-ki “a little”: Psht. laẓ, laški; Orm. prān “yesterday”: Psht. vārṇ, but Pers. paran; Orm. rāṣ’ai “brother’s son”: Psht. vārṇ; Orm. xvarkai “sister’s son”: Psht. xōrayai, Waz. xvaryāi; Orm. tā “paternal uncle”: Psht. tṛṇ; Orm. xvas “sweet”, xvāzāvī “sweetness”: Psht. xōz “sweet” (cf. Av. xvarzistra- “sweetest”, Pers. xvālidan “to taste”, Oss. xorzn, xvarz “good”, but Orm., Psht. xvas “agreeable, pleasing”: Pers. xvaš); Orm. nōk (nis-) “to take out”: Psht. nivul (nis-).

In one case Psht. has borr. from Orm. The γ- shows that Psht. yutskai “calf” (acc. to Raverty “bullock”) is taken from Orm. γvats (Log. yuskak). Note the preservation of Ir. ts in Orm.

Phonetically Orm. has been influenced by Psht., chiefly in replacing c by ts. The same development has taken place, also under Psht. influence, in Tirahi.

The morphological correspondences between Orm. and Psht. are very striking.

The Orm. genitive particle is ta, in connection with personal pronouns tar. This word must be compared with Av. tarō, cf. Par. tar “from”. Also Psht. da, which is used both as a genitive and as an ablative (da...na) must be the same word, with the transition of t- to d- usual in Psht. in unstressed, proclitic position. In view of the Orm. form it seems improbable that da should be the relative pronoun tya-, employed as iṣāfat (v. Geiger, Gr. Ir. Ph., I, 2, p. 214).

The strong form is preserved in the Psht. preposition tar “from”.

The Psht. pers. pron. 2 pl. tāsū, tāse (Waz. tus, tōsē) has its only parallel in Orm. tyūs (Log. tōs).
Even if the demonstratives, Psht. *haya*, Orm. *hafō*, cannot be identified phonetically, it seems impossible to deny that there is some connection between the two forms, which have no parallels in the other Ir. languages.

Last, but not least, Psht. and Orm. agree in the use of the “adverbial” personal pronouns. E. g. the datives:

1. pers. 2. pers. 3. pers.
Orm. *hir*, *ri* (Log. *ar*, *ēr*) *dal* (Log. *dar*) *hal* (Log. *al*).

Darmesteter (Chants Populaires, LXXXII) is probably right in deriving the Psht. forms from the local adverbs *aₙra*, *tₙaₙra* (not *taₙra*!)*, avaₙra* “hic”, “istic”, “illic”, and not from pronominal forms with *-rādī*. *aₙrā* would normally become *rā*, and we need not construct a form *aₙra-ā*. Perhaps Afridi *ēr* represents *aₙra*. The employment of the Psht. forms, as pronouns both for the sg. and the pl. indifferently, and largely as adverbs (*rā-tlēl “to arrive”*) renders Darmesteter’s explanation highly probable. A semasiological parallel is found in Italian *ci* (< *ecce hic*) and *vi* (< *ibi*) used as pronouns for the 1st. and 2nd pers. pl.

There is evidently some connection between the Psht. and the Orm. forms, even if its exact nature cannot at present be determined. But Orm. *dal* may also be compared with Shughn. *turd*. Possibly Psht. influence has reshaped the old Orm. forms.

It may also be mentioned that Orm., which is now completely separated from the Dard languages, contains some Dard loan-words, although they are by no means as numerous as in Par. This circumstance at any rate tends to affirm the conclusion already arrived at, namely that Orm. was spoken in approximately its present home long before the Pathan advance towards the north in the Middle Ages encircled the Orm. enclaves.

Of such words I may mention *drā* (Log. *dri*) “hair”:* in Kati, and most other Dard languages *drū* etc.¹; Log. *grām* “village” (cf. *Kani-grām* in Waziristan, *Grām* near Parachinar, and *Pingram* south of Baraki Barak): Kati

grm etc.Orm ping "cock", pinga "the time just before dawn" are reminiscent of Khow. pinga-cii "cock-crow, early dawn".

Orm. shows the same tendency as Eastern Pash. to confound all groups of consonants having r as the second component.

In the preceding pages I have tried to prove that Par. and Orm. cannot be the languages of tribes which have immigrated from the west in recent times, that they show points of mutual resemblance, at that they, although sharing some important characteristics with the Western Ir. languages, mainly agree with the eastern group. If these conclusions are correct, Par. and Orm. are the last remnants of the south-eastern group of Ir. languages.

Probably in ancient times the areas of the two languages were contiguous, and the town of Kabul belonged to their domain. I cannot here enter upon the vexed and complicated question of the identification of the ancient Kāpiśi; but it is at any rate worth noticing that

1 As demonstrated by Tedesco (l. c. p. 252) Bal. is "at any rate in its base" a Western Ir. dialect. This does not exclude the possibility that Bal. contains some eastern elements also; certainly Ir. dialects were spoken in Balochistan long before the advent of the Balochis. A trace of such eastern influence is the Bal. infinitive in -ag, cf. the k infin. in Orm. and many Dard languages. Mention may also be made of such Eastern Ir. words as Bal. gis "family": Par. yus "house"; Bal. sayan "dung": Orm. sakan, Par. səyən, Wakhi sîgin; Bal. gwand "short"; Par. yanukō, Sak. vanda; Bal. gud "clothes": Psht. ā-yustāl "to dress" etc.

In Orm. (Log.) Av. vitasti. "a span" is represented by jusp < *γ'asp < *γviasp < *vitaspi- (cf. jist "20" < *γ'vist < *visati). In Brahui we find gidiāsp "a span", which appears to be borrh. from a lost Bal. word. This would also be derived from *vitaspi- with the curious alteration of st > sp which cannot have taken place independently in Orm. and Bal.

Bal. contains several Ind. loan-words, which must have been borrh. at an earlier stage of linguistic development in India. Some such words have been mentioned in AO., I, pp. 254, 284: khāš "aristida spontanea" < Sindhi kāhu, Skr. kāśa: "saccharum spont."; pindag, "to beg" < Sindhi pinau. Cf. also Bal. kapinjar "partridge" with p: Skr. kapiṇjala-. Khetrani vahor "snow" is borrh. from an earlier form of Bal. gwahar, and in Bal. gwac "buffalo-calf < Sindhi vachi v has shared the Bal. transition to gw."
in Par. and Orm. *Kāpišī would normally become *Kāvō(i), and that the š, before disappearing altogether, has possibly passed through ς, l and similar sounds, as we find in neighbouring Ir. languages. E. g. in Zeb. Kāpišī would result in *Kāwul, the actual late Pahl. form. Several objections may be made to the suggestion that Pers. Kabul (and Ptolemy's Kāβουρα, Kαβολίται) was adapted from some earlier Par. or Orm. form; but at any rate Hsuan Tsang’s description of Kia-pi-shī (which would eventually be the Skr., not the local form of the name) agrees better with Kabul than with Kaoshan in the Ghorband valley (Marquardt, Erānšahr, p. 280).

At all events it is probable that Kabul was originally Ir., and that at a later period an Ind., pre-Pashai, expansion towards the west separated the tribes which have become the Parachis from those which are now represented by the Ormurs.

If. Orm. and Par. are the original Ir. languages of Kabulistan, then Psht., with its voiced spirants, must belong to the north. The earliest known habitat of the Pathans in Afghanistan is in the Sulaiman Mountains, where the name of the Gōmal river must have been borr.

1 The description of the route to Kāpišī “from Bamiyan south-east to the “humid valley” is 200 li”, and from there in an easterly direction (Beal, Buddhist Records, I, p. 55, n. 198), can only indicate the road Bamiyan-Helmand-Unai Pass-Kabul. Also the statement that Laghman lies 600 li east of Kia-pi-shī agrees better with the identification of this place with Kabul. The “black ridge” mentioned (Beal, p. 68) might be the Siah Koh near Jagdallak (I cannot find any Siah Koh “which separates Lamghān from the upper valley of the Kāo and that of the Picha”, Beal, 1. c.). The description of Kia-pi-shī itself also agrees better with Kabul than with Kaoshan. E. g. it may be said that the river lies to the north-west of Old Kabul; but Kaoshan is situated north of the Ghorband river. The position of Si-pi-to-fa-la-sī 40 li south of the city also points to Kabul, as no town can be situated in the Paghman mountains south of Kaoshan. The Pi-lo-sa-lo mountain, south-west of the city may be the Sher Darvaza-Takhti-Shah range, and the great snowy mountain about 200 li to the north-west of the royal city, with its lake, fits well in with the position of the Paghman range, behind the summit of which there is a well-known lake.
from an early Ind. form of Skr. Gomati with the dental preserved. Names like Helmand and Khash-Rud (xāś < Av. xauastrā- with Psht. transition from str < ś (s)) show that they lived in ancient times westward towards Seistan.

If we compare Psht. with the language of the Khotan Sakas, we find agreement in several important respects. In both languages ancient w- and b- have been fused into one sound, initial ś and ș have become voiced before r, while -hr- has become -r-. st has resulted in st in the neighbourhood of an i (Sak. māstå: Psht. myāst “month” < *māsti-; Sak. nāstå: Psht. niśta “it is not’). Very characteristic is the metathesis in Sak. dārsā, Psht. dērs “30” < *drisa < *drisat-. Cf. also Sak. umā “you”: Psht. (encl.) mö; Sak. kāma “who”: Psht. kūm; and the accordance between the Psht. abstract suffix -tyā and Sak. -tteti- (e. g. tušāttetā obl. < *-tātyā “emptiness”), both stems in -i, as in Skr., but not in Av., and both with preservation of the t, as if it were initial. Cf. also the declension of fem. substantives in the two languages.

But there are also important isoglotts separating the two languages. Psht. ovā “7”, atā “8” might be later developments of Sak. hauda, haštā. But Psht. tsalvōr, tsalvōr cannot be derived from Sak. takohori, nor Psht. špaz “6” (< *(x)švaš) from Sak. kṣai (< *xšaš). The loss of -s- is characteristic of Sak. and some Hindu Kush dialects, while Sak. and W. share the development of ancient šv > ś, ś1. Psht. has in these cases z and sp.

The loss of ś might be a later development in the literary Khotan Sak., but the difference between ś and sp must go back to a very remote period.

Psht. and Sak. must therefore belong to different branches of the Scythian dialects, and Psht. cannot be descended from the language of the Kushanas, which was

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1 Sak. and W. also agree in other respects (cf. Reichelt, Indogerm. Jahrbuch, I, p. 20 ff.). Cf. also Sak. dava “man”: W. dāi “man, strong lad”; Sak. şundā- “raven”: W. šend. But still the difference in phonetic development makes it impossible to consider W. as a direct descendent of Sak.
probably very closely connected with that of the Khotan Sakas. So far as we know, the Kushanas never came as far south as Seistan or the Sulaiman mountains. But possibly Sakas settled in Seistan long before the time of the Kushanas (cf. Thomas, JRAS., 1906, pp. 181, 460 ff.).

Psht. has also some special affinities with Minj., (and Yd.). Both have the transition from $b > l$ (with dissimilation Psht. lid “seen” $<^*\delta i\delta$, just as Minj. dal “give” $<^*\delta a\delta$). Cf. Minj. ze “I”, žemen “mine”, tō, tə “thou”, že to (LSI.), šta (Gauthiot) “thine” with Psht. ə, dzmā, tə, stā with the same use made of ancient haca. Cf. also Minj. skau (ki) “because”: Psht. dzaka (ci) ($<^*haca-kā$); Minj. la “with” ($<^*haḍa$): Psht. la; Minj. wōs “now”: Psht. əs, etc. In other respects again the two languages diverge considerably, and it is not easy to define the nature of the connection between them, or its historical base.

**KAFIRI.**

As already mentioned, the political situation prevented me from carrying out my plan of going to Nuristan (Kafiristan), and I have received information that Europeans who made a similar attempt last summer were not more successful. Fortunately I had an opportunity of working with Kafirs from different parts of the country in Kabul, and I received much assistance from General Abdul Vakil, himself a native of Ktivi, whose hospitable house was the meeting-place of the Kafir colony in the capital.

The Kafirs I met generally knew few original Kafiri tales and songs. The latter often were obscure in the extreme, alluding to particular events, and my informants seldom could explain their contents satisfactorily. Concerning the old religion I only gathered some names of gods. I have the impression that they did not conceal any information from me; but that the younger generation really, as proud “recruits of Islam”¹, knew little, and cared less, about the old, discredited paganism.

¹ The Kafirs are generally called jadidi “recruits” after their conversion.
KATI.

Most of the Kafirs I met came from the western valleys of Ramgel, Kulum and Ktivi. I did not get hold of any individual from Kamdesh and the lower Bashgal (Bâżgâl) valley; but I worked with a boy from the upper part of the valley, Bragromatal (Br‘agr’omâtal). All these districts are called Katîgelâ, the tribe inhabiting them Katî, and their language Katî-verî or Katî. As Bashgal only includes a small part of their country (it was even denied that the Bashgalis were real Katis), I prefer to call this most important language of Nuristan Katî.

The Kati language is essentially the same, the dialectal differences being comparatively unimportant. The chief thing to be mentioned is that the Bragromatal dialect forms its present with t (cf. Skr. part. pres. -ant-), e. g. mr‘etm “I am dying”, while the formative in Western Kati is n, e. g. nr’nem. Acc. to the LSI. this is also the case in Bashgal (Kamdesh). Davidson gives both forms; probably he has heard them in different localities.

On the whole the western dialect is more conservative than Bashgali. E. g. Bashg. 2 sg. niţenj “thou sittest down”: W. Kati niśnaś; Bashg. što “4”: W. Kati štvâ, ctvâ; Bashg. ŏnts “I”: Bragrom. ů, W. Kati vūts, vūza.

The vocabulary as well as the pronunciation varies to some extent from place to place; but it is difficult to trace any isoglosses. On the other hand the pronunciation of the people from one village, or even of a single individual is extremely fluctuating, much more so than in any other language I had to do with.

At present the Katis of the western valleys (Ramgel, Kulum and Ktivi) are separated from those of the Bashgal valley by the intervening Prasuns. But the absence of any marked dialectal difference in the language of the two sections of the tribe makes it probable that they lived close together at a comparatively recent date. In

1 In Pash. a village near Iskjen is called Kâtei-lâm = “Jâi-i-kâfer” “the village of the Kafirs”.

2 Probably the Gabar’s of Babur were Katis from Ramgel.
fact the traditions of the people also point that way. It was generally said that the original home of the whole Kati tribe was Ktivi, and that they emigrated from there twelve generations ago. Cf. also the traditions recorded by Robertson (The Kafirs of Hindū Kush, p. 158) about the Kafir and Kām tribes of the Bashgal valley having come from the west.

Like the neighbouring languages Kati distinguishes between ś and s¹, and between c and č. E. g. śāl “cattle-shed” (Skr. sālā-), śaru “autumn”, duṣṭ “hand”, śtri “woman”, aśi “mouth”, but śū “6”, (v)uṣṭ “8”, pa(r)si “hill” etc.; con “skin”, cā “wall”, cū “kid”, but cā! “O man!”, čur’i “knife”, čū “inside of the thigh”, etc. The difference between the two series is not great, or always easy to catch, and I am afraid that in some cases I have been unable to distinguish correctly between them.

The Kati sound written r by Davidson and in the LSI. is quite different from the Ind. and Psht. flapped r. It is postalveolar, spirantic r which I shall write r’. This r’ occurs both as an initial, in postvocalic position, and after k, g, p, b, but not after dentals. The explanation probably is that Ind. r, as described by the Skr. grammarians, was “cerebral”, i. e. articulated further back than the teeth. In Kafiri this special quality of the r is retained, except where it is drawn forward under the influence of a preceding t, d (e. g. Kati tre “3”, but br‘ā “brother”). In Waig. K. I generally heard kr, br etc. Cf. the conditions in Pash. (v. below). In Waig. and Ashk. both r’ and r occur. In combinations like ār’ the nasalization extends to the r’.

The language described by Raverty (JASB., XXXIII, pp. 267 ff.) is in the main Kati, and not Waig., as stated in LSI., VIII, 2, pp. 30 and 45. But Raverty has inserted some Waig. words taken from Burnes’ vocabulary (Cabool,

¹ According to Grammont (BSL., XXIV, p. 11) the Prakrit ś (developed from s, s, ś) was articulated between the dental s and the palatal ś. Thus ts became ts (and further cch) etc. It is worthy of note that Kafiri etc., which keeps s, ś, Ặ apart, also retains ts.
App. IV). This is especially clear as regards the last nouns
given by Raverty: “tar-wáli” “sword”, “chá-wí” “axe”,
“karáí” “shield”, “as-tah” (sic!) “soldier”, “sal-manash”
“chief”, “kat-kái” “troop”, “bar-kán” “wall”, Kati: tr’évác,
vezáv, kir’a, ?, šír máncí, seí, cá, but Burnes (nearly in the
same order): “tarvalé”, “chávi”, “karái”, “oátáh”, “salma-
nash”, “katki”, “barkán”. Also some others of Raverty’s
words are Waig., but in most cases the orthography used
reveals that his source is Burnes. E.g. both Burnes and
Raverty have “tún” for tsí “dog”. Raverty has also inserted
a few Pash. words in his Siah-Posh vocabulary, viz.
“párrurra” “apple”, “link” “walnut”, “sewarah” “bridge”,
Kati par’b, ar’muí, syú, but Pash. parsí, liý, sówá. But the
great majority of his words are Kati, probably from the
western valleys, as indicated by a word like “minah” “rope”,
W. Kati mene, but Bashg. kanik.

WAIGELI.

The second Kafir language which I had occasion to
study, was Waigeli (Váigali). One informant was from
Kégal in the lower part of the Waigel valley, the other
from a village, situated higher up on a western tributary
to the Waigel river, which he himself called Žonjigal,
and the Kegal-man Vr’encgal (cf. Survey-map Venruchgul,
Lumsden and Tanner Runtschgal).

There is a marked difference between these two dia-
lects. To give only a few examples, we find in Waig.
K(egal)ew “I”, but in Zh(önjigal) ék, in K. añá “I”, omó
“my”, ū “by me”, ami “we”, but in Zh. yè, imé, í, yemá.
Generally the Zh. forms agree with those given in the LSI.

The same is the case with the verbs. In K. all the
forms of the verb are conjugated in the same way. E.g.

1 sg. vésam “I beat etc. 1 pl. vésamis
2 • vésaš 2 • vésav
3 • vésáí 3 • vésat.

But in Zh., as in the LSI. dialect, we find different
types:
Among the phonetic differences I need only mention that in K. an initial r' becomes vr', but in Zh. ž. E.g. K. vr'uc "light, daybreak": Zh. žôž, Ashk. žúts-ká, Kati (r')ic-kâl; K. vâtr "night" (dissimilated from vr’a startling, cf. došt "elder" < *ješt): Zh. žátr, Ashk. žátr, zatr, Kati r’adår (< *rátri-vára-); K. avr’ō "elbow", Zh. ájá, Kati ár’e, Pras. wuš(ʔ). Also K. vr’ao “egg.”: Zh. žào, jáw, Ashk. žau, jau must be explained in the same way, and we have seen that the local pronunciation žunjigal corresponds to K. vrencagal. Lumsden has “row” “egg”, but “zheat” “night”, “ayfih” “elbow”; but his materials are probably based on the dialects of different localities.

In some cases, however, both K. and Zh. have vr': K. vr’uk “salt: Zh. vr’ok, Lumsden wuh, Ashk. žôk, Kati žyuk; K. vr’ok: Zh. vr’ok “sister-in-law”; K. vr’amā “willow”: Zh. vr’amâ, vamâ'; K. vr’ō “to weep”: Zh. vr’â, Ashk. žû-, Kati žyû-, r’ýyê- (Skr. rud?).

The dialect described by Vigne is closely related to K. Cf. Vigne, K. ev “1”: Zh., LSI., Burnes, Lumsden ek; Vg. nos, K. nās “nose”: Zh. nasû, Lumsden nasû, LSI. nasû, Burnes násû, Villiers nāsû; Vigne “shon” “belly”, K. šū: Zh. etc. kûts etc.; Vigne “unda” “meat”, K. andà: Zh. anà, Lumsden “unnâh”, Villiers “ana”.

Lumsden's dialect is very similar to that of Burnes' vocabulary, and it appears that Lumsden has to some extent copied his predecessor. His own materials come from Traieguma, where the dialect in some respects approaches GB. Cf. “eash” “11”, “sullaish” “16”: GB. jâš, šurâs, but Waig. yâš, šêš.
ASHKUN.

After many attempts I got hold of an Ashkun man in Kabul, who was said to be the only one of his tribe residing there. He very quickly understood the commercial value of his language, and proposed that I should give him 1000 rupees for his information. He said that he came from Titi'n. Higher up on the Pech river is Tserū' (Survey map Tsaranu, Lumsden Tsooni, Tanner Sanu "with very nasal n", Robertson Tsāru), and still further Vāmā, the language of which place he only understood to some extent. Acc. to him Pash. is spoken in Kurdar, and Psht. in Gusalak, Nungalam, Bardēš and Arcailām (Survey map: Gursalak, Nimgalām, Wradesh and Rachalam).

In Peshawar on my way home I had an opportunity of working for some hours with another Ashkun man from Majegal. He said that Majegal and Masevī were on the Laghman side towards Mangu, and separated by a mountain from Titi'n, Nakāra, Sauzē'tr and other Ashkun villages on the Pech side. According to him my first informant was not from Titin, but from Vāmai; but I am not in a position to verify his statement.

They pronounced the name of their tribe Aškū, Askūrū, and both denied that the name had any meaning, such as "Bare Mountain" (cf. LSI., VIII, 2, p. 68).

At any rate the M(ajegal) dialect differs from the "T(itin)" dialect. The chief characteristic of M. is that r' is changed into l after k, g, p, b, m, v (cf. Pash.). E. g. T. pr'azā "fever", pr'ēm "I give", pr'ā "babe", tsipr'ā "lamb", br'a "brother", br'amī "ant", kr'um "roof", kr'ām "work", vr'ēi "flour", but M. plāzā, plēm, plā, tsiplā, bla, blami, klōm, klōm, vlēi, and also glam "village", Kati gr'om (T. dēnī), mlay "mountain goat", Waig. mr'ān.

Ashk. is closely related to Waig. Cf. Ashk. ai "I", ima, imā "my", yū, ḳ, yū "by me": Waig. Zh. ye, ima, ḳ. Ashk. tsatā "4" is very similar to Waig. cātā, but shows
that c becomes ts. Likewise we have s¹ for Waig. š, e. g. in dus "10": Waig. dōs; sarō "autumn": Waig. šorō, etc. Before an i we have Ashk. š in viši "20", sēmiš "we are", cf. also Ashk. žim "snow": Waig. zim.

The vocabulary is to a great extent identical with that of Waig.; but, as might be expected, considering the geographical position of Ashk., we also find some special similarities with Kati.

The conjugation is as follows:

1 sg. sem "I am" kalim "I shall do" kōm "I do"
2 > ses kalis kōs
3 > sāi kalāi kōi
1 pl. sēmiš kalēmiš kōmiš
2 > seg kalēg kōy
3 > sen kalen kōn.

The opposition between ses and sēmiš (Kati asīš, aṣemīš) reminds us of Pras. es-o "thou art", but esemā-o "we are" (LSI.). The n of 3 pl. is difficult to explain, as nt remains, e. g. in dunt "tooth". Either the final vowel in -anti was dropped so early that -nt could be treated in a special way, or n is a survival of a secondary suffix.

Ashkun was previously supposed to be unknown, but the language described by Trumpp (JRAS., XIX, pp. 1 ff.) is practically identical with the Majegal dialect. Cf. the numerals 1—10: ac, dū, tre, tsatā, ponts, šu, sōt, ọșt, no, dus, and cinis "11", bāis "12", sūris "16", vesō "19" with Trumpp's "āch, dū, trē, tsadā', punts, šu, sūt, ušt, nū, dōs, jū'nis, bē'is, sü'ris, usū". The specimens of Kafir and Sanu languages given by Tanner (Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc., NS. 3, p. 219 f.) are also in Ashk. But it is surprising that his Sanu-specimen has l in glm "village". The few words which can be explained in the song from the village Nikern (Narkara mentioned above) by Fazl Haqq and Norulla (quoted by Davidson, Notes on the Bashgali Language, p. 169) are likewise Ashk.

¹ This s, the s of ts, and the z < ž, are perhaps articulated a little further back than ordinary s. I have written s, because I am not quite certain about the matter.
PRASUN.

Unfortunately I was not able to collect much information about Prasun (Vasi-Veron). My Kati and Ashkun informants called the valley and the language Pr'asū, Pr'asun, Pr'asū, and said that the Parsi name was Parun. This tribe lives in great isolation, and members of it very seldom come to Kabul.

A couple of days before I intended to leave Kabul, some of my Kati friends finally got hold of a Prasun man for me. He was not intelligent, and I had to communicate with him in Kati. In order not to weary and frighten him, I only worked with him for about an hour the first day. But in spite of all my precautions, plenty of bakshish and a promise of much more, he found it too fatiguing and too dangerous to give a sahib lessons in his mother-tongue, and he did not turn up the next day. Neither the authorities nor the other Kafirs seemed to be able to find him, and they said that he had left the city.

In his physical appearance he was quite different from all the other Kafirs I met, who were generally bright-looking fellows with clear-cut features. The Prasun man was comparatively dark-skinned, with a very broad face and heavy features.

In these circumstances I was only able to write down a vocabulary of two hundred words, numerals included, and, as I had no opportunity to check my materials, I am afraid that I have not in all cases recognized and noted down correctly sounds which are peculiar to Pras.

E. g. many words ended in a guttural, probably an unvoiced lenis, articulated far back, and with a peculiar acoustic quality which I was not able to catch during the short seance. It is the sound written -kh in the LSI., e. g. isikh “sun”, istikh “star”, warekh, tareq “house”, masekh “moon”, psikh “cat”, anakh “fire”, luzukh “tongue”. In these cases I have tentatively written īsūk, īstik, varek, mēsegē, pṣigi, aneye, würdzux. Corresponding to LSI.
keruk “dog”, kagogū “hen”, lushtu “daughter”, I have kor’āk, kakağē, liištuk. Cf. also pīnik “son”, vorix “wool”, rasix “grape”, veçege “egg”. Probably these words do not all contain the same sound.


The phonetic system of Pras. has been much more violently dislocated even than that of Kati, a circumstance which, in conjunction with the anthropological facts, renders it probable that a perhaps un-Aryan substratum has influenced the development of the language.

The transition from d > l (ulu̱mā “smoke”, līsū “wood”: Kati dyum, daw, etc.) reminds us of the similar development in the neighbouring Minj. For LSI. letem “tooth” I have (l)ētum (with a very weak l), and, instead of luzukh “tongue”, vurdzux. dugā “for the sake of”, and demū “tail” are probably bor. from Kati.

The r has been dropped in gr, br, mr, vr: gim “village”: Kati gr’om; gax “neck”: Kati gr’ok; bab “brother”: Kati br’ā, br’āb; mo-ksum “I am dead”: Kati mr’ā; mange “mountain-goat”: Kati mr’on;vakus “deer” (so LSI., correctly: “hare”): Kati (v)r’akus; vāmī “ant”: Kati vr’amik. On the other hand apleh “give” (LSI.) must be compared with Kati pr’ē. The regular outcome of tr seems to be c, as in ci “3”, ciiū “sour milk”: Kati trū, trū-zū, and probably in jicceh “paper, letter” (LSI.), cf. Kati štrei
“letter, book”, štrâ- “to write”, Waig. citrâ-. letrî “property” (LSI.) is probably borr. from Kati lâtrî, *dr- we find in rasix “grape”: Kati dros, and in dûi “hair”: Kati dru.

Characteristic is also the change from c > ž (e. g. iži “eye”: Kati acî; žîme “iron”: Kati címâ; žižû “female breast”: Waig. cícü; jîceveh “letter” < citra-), from tu > p, and dv > v (opû “4”; üz, LSI. wizû “12”), from r’ > ž (vužû “partridge”: Kati vur’ê; vuža “elbow”: Kati ar’ê; iţi “millet”: Kati àvr’ê?), the treatment of n(y)- (iûni “new”: Kati nui; yî “sour milk, dugh”: Kati nyuva), and the prothetic vowel in îsûk “sun”, istik “star”, ulyûmû “smoke”, aphpleh “give”.

Very strange is the development into v- of p- in vuçi “5”, visîlts “15”, više “heel”: Kati pašyû, and possibly in iâ “apple”: Kati par’ê. But the p- is preserved in pinik “son”, paši “breast”, ps- “to lose”.

A similar, irregular loss of an initial consonant is met with in other words. E. g. eštek “elder” (LSI.): Kati ješt; îmi “son-in-law”: Kati žâmi; iyû “thou”, i “thee” (LSI.): Kati îü, tyî; umû “wheat”: Kati gûm; yîre “stone”: Kati garrâh (Raverty); îri “horse”: Waig. gorâ. Some of these cases are uncertain; but the tendency certainly exists, probably coming into play under special conditions, the nature of which cannot at present be determined. In many cases initial p, ž, g etc. are preserved.

These profound changes have rendered many Pras. words nearly unrecognizable; but the language also shares many phonetic features with other Kafir languages, e. g. the ž for Ind. h in zemû “snow”, zâr “heart”, iżnera “winter” (< *zimar-?), the loss of -r (opû “4”) etc.

Where Kati differs from Waig. and Ashk., Pras. sides with the former. Thus nt becomes t in letum “tooth”, ustî “spring”: Kati dut, vosut, but Waig. dôt, osôt. y is inserted in ulyûmû “smoke”, îstû hy “pillar”: Kati dyûm, styû, but Waig. dûm, uštûn, and we have bîm “earth”, mîkh “face” (LSI.): Kati bîm, byûm, mîk, mûnîk, but Waig. bûm, mûk. Pras. also agrees with Kati in having *ts in

1 But cûmû “skin” < *crama < carma.
lex “10”, šegda-lets “70”, dzū “20” (< *vtsū): Kati duts, vētsa, Waig. dō, višt.

The vocabulary, as far as it is known, agrees chiefly with Kati. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pras.</th>
<th>Kati</th>
<th>Waig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vitrū “rainbow”</td>
<td>ĭdrō</td>
<td>šīndröň̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mire “clay”</td>
<td>mər’yī</td>
<td>mōk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cir’ē “apricot”</td>
<td>tsirē</td>
<td>ajēi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yūl “rain”</td>
<td>agāl</td>
<td>vaś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūsu “mouse”</td>
<td>məsē</td>
<td>pusā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kər’āk “dog”</td>
<td>kər’i</td>
<td>tsū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go! “wrist”</td>
<td>guť</td>
<td>šacā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vāzu “oak”</td>
<td>vəzī</td>
<td>mōts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>korū “ass”</td>
<td>kər</td>
<td>gadā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mana “rope” (LSI.)</td>
<td>mene</td>
<td>źūty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gim “village”</td>
<td>gr’om</td>
<td>dēš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ċigar “bad”</td>
<td>ċigar</td>
<td>abar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unzū “I”</td>
<td>vūts, ȥē, Bashg. ŏnts</td>
<td>aŋā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In other cases Pras. sides with Waig.:  vutū “wall”    cā       | vaṭṭā|
|             |   sē |    |    |
|           |    |    |    |
| iš “hail”      | tiŋalik  | asemi  |    |
| iš-kits “moustache” (iš “mouth”) |  kēts “hair” |    |
| zūzū “female breast” | cuk   | cičii  |    |
| nūze “bird”    | mr’eqets | ņeqets |    |
| vani “ram”     | nē-vā     | vamē.   |    |

The verbal system of Pras. differs much from that of the other Kafir languages. Still most of the terminations can be recognized. The 2 pl., e.g. es-en-o “you are”, agrees with Kati āšt-ār’ (< *asa-thana). The 3 pl. of the auxiliary ast-o “they are” (Kati ast (< *asanti) is used as a termination of other verbs also, as, to some extent, in Waig. E.g. pezemast-o “they go”: Waig. yeast “they eat”, but Kati yūnast. Even in Kati we should expect *yūnašt, as the present is composed of a participle and the auxiliary. But Kati has replaced *-santi by *-anti.

It will be seen that Pras. occupies an independent position within the Kafir languages; but that it agrees chiefly with Kati, as is only natural on account of its
geographical position. In some cases it has preserved forms which have been lost in the neighbouring dialects. Thus *źibeze “40” cannot be explained from the vigesimal system in the same way as *śca-g-zū “60”, *cpa-g-zū “80” and *vuce-g-zū “100”. The word must be derived from <*cápatsa <*catvarṣat- (Av. caṭvarṣatam), with the regular transition from c > ẓ, and from tv > p, which has become b in the intervocalic position. In *cpū “4” <*catvā’r- the early elision of the unaccented vowel has protected both c and p, and the i in LSI. *cipū is probably secondary.

We may also note usū “blood”, probably <*Skr. asn-<, cf. Pash. āś, ār <*asr-.

THE LINGUISTIC POSITION OF KAFIRI.

The question of the classification of the so-called Dard languages has been much discussed. Some scholars have reckoned them among the Ind. languages, others have considered them to be a special group, intermediate between Ind. and Ir., or have held them, or at any rate some of them, to be actually Ir.

The difficulty of deciding this question is due to the fact that the differences between the most ancient Ind. and Ir. languages are very slight. While e.g. Psht. (v)rör “brother”, or bēn “co-wife” are extremely different from Hindi bhāi and saut, it is only the lack of aspiration which distinguishes Av. brātar- from Skr. bhrātar-, and the transition from s to h, and af tn to ṇn, which make Av. hapaṇi- differ from Skr. sapatṇi-.

On the assumption that a group of Ind. dialects had been more or less separated from its sister languages since a very early period, we should expect to find but few characteristics distinguishing it from Ir. On the one hand it would probably have lost many ancient words and forms showing typical Ind. features in phonology and morphology. On the other it would not

1 Viz. Kahm., Shina, the dialects of the Indus Kohistan, Khow., Kal., GB., the Kafir languages, Pash. and Tirahi.
have participated in the later Ind. developments, which have widened the originally quite narrow gulf between Ir. and Ind. Very probably it would have preserved some features common to Ancient Ind. and Ancient Ir., now generally lost on the Ind. side; and thus it might give the observer a false impression of siding with Ir. Finally it would have developed peculiarities of its own, separating it from the main body of Ind. languages; and it might have been influenced by, and have borrowed from, Ir. languages which happened to be its neighbours.

Now all these theoretical considerations may be applied in trying to decide the position of the Dard languages. The loss of final syllables has destroyed many terminations which permitted us to distinguish between Anc. Ir. and Anc. Ind. In their isolation they have not shared in many of the later Ind. simplifications of groups of consonants, and in this respect they have kept nearer to Ir. They have developed a great many peculiar phonetic and morphological features, in some cases on parallel lines with, or influenced by, Ir.¹

A special difficulty consists in the fact that these languages have, at all periods, borrowed freely from the neighbouring Ind. and Ir. languages, and that it is often impossible to distinguish "semi-tatsama's", i. e. old loan-words which have been subjected to Dard phonetic laws, from genuine "tadbhava"-words.

The majority of the Dard languages are not distinguished from the other Ind. languages by any ancient traits, and they differ considerably from the neighbouring Ir. dialects, even though they are in some cases influenced by them.

The loss of the aspiration is evidently secondary. Aspirated tenues are still generally preserved, and in Pash. aspirated mediae are, at least to some extent, in use. Leech often writes aspirated mediae in Tirahi, and generally in etymologically right places, while Stein always

¹ This is perhaps the case with the Shina termination of the 1 pers. pl. fut. -ön, which resembles the corresponding form in Wakhi and other Pamir dialects. (But cf. p. 91.)
gives the corresponding unaspirated sounds. It is at least possible that a slight aspiration was still heard in Leech’s time, eighty years ago. In Kal., also, Leitner and LSI. occasionally write aspirated mediae; but the aspiration of corresponding Hind. and Lhd. words may have influenced the recorders. In Kohistani Shina we find lhauny “to obtain” < labh-. It is certain, at any rate, that the aspiration of mediae was lost at a time, when the characteristic Ind. transition from *zh, *jh > h had already taken place. E. g. in Khow. we find büm “earth” < bhūmi-, but him “snow” < *khima-. The partial transition from bh > h in the root bhū- is likewise met with in the Dard languages: Khow. hoi “he became”, Chiliss (Biddulph) hō “to be”, Shina hanus “I am” (< *bhavant- + asmi), Tirahi wā “he was” (< *hūaa- < *bhūtaka-).

On the other hand there is also a tendency to dis-aspiration in other Ind. languages, e. g. in Eastern Bengali, in Khetrani and in the Lari dialect of Sindhi, where the aspirated mutes are retained, as in Dard. There may be a connection between the unvoicing of the h, and the loss of the aspiration of mediae in the Dard dialects. When the voiced h disappeared, the voiced aspirates also became unstable, and had a tendency, either to lose their aspiration (as in Dard), or to unvoice the stop (as in Romany).

Languages like Kashm., Shina, Khow., Kal., GB., Pash. and Tirahi are thus absolutely and unquestionably Ind. The languages of the Kafir group — Kati, Waigeli, Ashkun and Prasun — occupy a position apart from the other Dard languages in some important respects.

The most obvious point is that we find Skr. h (Aryan *kh and *jh) represented by z and ź (ź). Konow has given some examples from Bashgali (JRAS., 1911, pp. 21 and 34): zim “snow”, zira “heart”, zir “yellow”, jerik “shame”, jär- “to kill” (Kati zim, zirā, zor’o, žirik¹, žár’; Waig. zim, zō, zār (“grass”, cf. Skr. harit-), —, jā-; Ashk. žim¹, źi-di, —, žirik,¹ —; Pras. zema, zor, —, —, —).

¹ With secondary palatalization of ź before i.
And we may add, with *th: Kati zəvər (˂*zə-vər) “winter”, Waig., Ashk. zə; Kati lez- “to lick”, Ashk. ləs-; Kati üzo, vūts “I”, Pras. uzū; Kati pr’aza “fever, illness”, Ashk. pr’azə, pləzə, Waig. pr’ajə (cf. Skr. prahāra-, “wound, a chronic and acute pain from a wound”. Kati prər “wound” is borr., just as Waig. Mādē, Ashk. Blamadē “names of gods” <Mahādeva-, Brahmadeva-).


Kati dušt “hand”, Pras. lust and the corresponding Waig. and Ashk. words do not prove a transition from źh > d (Konow, l. c., p. 35, cf. also below p. 54, uote). Kati dus “yesterday”, Waig. dūs, Ashk. dōs must be compared with Skr. doṣā-, not with hyas.

But this development of *th, *jh into ź, ə must not be considered as an isolated phenomenon. It is only the result of an early loss of aspiration. Thus bhūmi- and *ēhima-, which become būm, him in Khow., result in źyūm, źim in Kati, where the aspiration was lost before the Ind. transition from *th > h. But this, after all, is only a question of chronology, and does not justify our separating Kafiri from the Ind. group, especially as the deaspiration goes further than in Ir., and affects the unvoiced stops also, which do not become spirants, as in Ir. (Kati kur “donkey”: Pers. xar).

Pras. has got x, y in some cases, and in a few words we find x, φ in Kati before t, e. g. vuxtā “seized” (vaganəm “I seize”), φtā, pφtā, ptā “gave”¹. Apart from this evidently recent development Kafiri possesses no spirants, and Waig. renders Psht. ūx “camel” by ūk².

¹ Cf. Multani nixtā pret. part. from nikal- “to go out” (LSI. VIII, 1, p. 264), where a spirant is developed in a similar position.

² One Kati man from Ramgel pronounced khur “donkey”, phul “grain”, čhuri “knife”, phupū “kidney” with a slight aspiration. Unfortunately I was able to examine this man only for a very short time, and I could not detect any aspiration in the pronunciation of other Katis. In Pras. the LSI. writes kh, ph in some cases.
More important, perhaps, is another point. As noted by Konow (l. c.), the Kafir languages distinguish between Aryan *k(h) and *j(h), the one being represented by z (dz), the other by ĺ (j). Besides the examples already quoted, and those given by Konow (l. c., p. 34), I may mention:

1) With *k: Kati zeya “was born”, Waig. zayōi; Kati br’aza “pain”, Ashk. br’aza (Skr. bhrāj-, Greek φλέγω?); Waig. zompī “grinder”, cf. Pash. jān-dān < *jambha-danta; Kati zōtr “friend”, Skr. jōṭr-, cf. Shina jōṭhī “female paramour”.

The Kafiri words for “tongue” are difficult to explain, as those in most Indo-Eur. languages: Kati dits, Waig. jip, jip, Ashk. zū, Pras. vurdzux (LSI. luzukh). None of these forms can be derived directly from the prototype of either Skr. jihvā- or Av. hizvā-. Waig. jip, jip seems to be borr. from Pash. jip. The Ashk. form may possibly correspond to Skr. juhū < *zuḥū-, but why ĺ? If the Pras. form given in the LSI. is the original one, luzumay represent *dutsu < *daśu-, and correspond to Kati dits. But Kati final ts may also represent an older (dz), as in vūts “I”, and *daṭhu- might be compared with Lat. lingua etc.

2) With *j: Kati ji “bowstring” (also zi, borr. from Pers.), Waig. K. ji, Zh. gi (sic!), Ashk. żi; Kati jēst, jēst “elder”, Waig. duštā, Ashk. dešte (with dissim. of j before ĺ, ś)¹; Kati žāmī “sister’s husband”, cf. Skr. jāmī- “related like brother and sister”, but Kati zēmā “brother in law”, Skr. jāmāṭr-.

This distinction between ĺ(h) and j(h) strongly reminds one of Ir. It is a curious fact that its limit coincides with the isoglot marking an ancient deaspiration. In no Aryan language the four sounds ĺ, ĺh, j, jh are allowed to be fused into one. The Ind. languages distinguish between j and h, Ir. and Kafiri between z and ĺ, and only

¹ Also Kati dušt “hand”, Waig. dōšt, Ashk. dōšt, Pras. lūst are probably dissimilated from *zast, and not borr. from Pers. dast. The same is the case. I think, with at least some of the non-Persian Ir. forms with *d-, Paht. lās, Shughn. ḏūs etc.
in the special Persian dialect, where Ir. .getChild() developed into  getChild() at an early date, has the further change of  getChild() >  getChild() been permitted.

Aryan *ss(h) (Ind.-Eur. *sk(h) has become s in Ir. and (c)h in Ind. The treatment in Kafi is not clear. Konow (I. c. p. 13) mentions Bashg. ats "come": Skr. āgačcha; tsave "shade": Skr. chāyā-; vatsā "shoe": Skr. avacchada. In Waig. we find ats, pe-tsāvo, vatsā, but in Ashk. —, ačavā, vatsa, in Pras. vezil "shoe". Lumsden has "wāchāi" "shoe", "achūr" "shade". Kati and Ashk. tsin- "to break" may be compared with Skr. chind-. The development of ss, just as of s, to ts reminds us of Ir., where also ss and s are treated in the same way.

These are the only cases in which Kafi sides with Ir. The occasional development of sv- into sp- has no direct connection with the Ir. transition from sv > sp. It is very doubtful whether sv results in sp in Kafi. The word for "sister" is Kati, Ashk. sus, Waig. sōs, Pras. sius, and I can only mention Kati ašpe "sweat" (<svēda-?) as a very uncertain example of the transition. sv > sp we find in Kati spha "porcupine", Waig. šapai (Lumsden "shpat"), Ashk. šipāu, cf. Skr. svaśidh, in Kati vusup "horse", which is not necessarily an Ir. loan-word, and in Waig. pušur, pašur "father-in-law", Ashk. šipāsū (śipōs "mother-in-law"), which points to a form with the Ind. assimilation of sv > sv before s. Bashg. psur agrees with Waig.; but the western Kati forms syur', styur', estyur', esṭyur', tsṛtyur' seem to point to a common form *tsastur < *tsatsur < sasura-.

The purely Ind. features are numerous in Kafi. Whatever we may think about the origin of the names of the Mitanni gods Na-śa-at-ti-ia, of Finno-Ugrian loan-words like Mordvinian azoro "lord" < asura-, or of the form Δάσαυ for ordinary Δάκα, the transition from s to h has been carried through in all known Ir. languages. This process must have taken place at such an early date that it penetrated through the whole of the Ir. territory, from Persia to the Scythian steppes.
The preservation of s in Kafiri must be considered a decidedly Ind. feature.

In many cases the s has been palatalized through the influence of surrounding sounds, e.g. in the terminations of 2 sg. and 1 pl., Kati -iś, -əmiś < -asi, -amasi, in Kati mīša, m'ūšte "brain", Waig. muštā < Skr. mastika. In several cases the common Indo-Ir. transition from s > š after i, u has apparently not taken place, cf. Kati tyūś “straw”: Skr. tusa-; Kati məša, Ashk. musā “mouse”: Skr. mūśa, etc. In Kati viś "poison": Skr. viṣa- we find a secondary palatalization of the s, while viṣ “n. of a bulbous plant with yellow flowers, growing on the mountain slopes” is probably connected with Skr. vrṣa- “a species of bulbous plant growing on the Himavat”.

The development of Aryan s (I use s, š as symbols for the Aryan representatives of Indo-Eur. k, g, without entering upon the question of their exact phonetic value), into s must also be very ancient in Ir., although later than the transition from s > h. In Kafiri we find š and ts. In the great majority of cases we find š; but in one or two cases all dialects have ts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsūi “empty”</td>
<td>tsōn</td>
<td>tsun</td>
<td>sūnya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vats- “to bellow, low”</td>
<td>vats-</td>
<td>vāś-,vāś-</td>
<td>vāś-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsyā “sharp”</td>
<td>tsenāla</td>
<td>tsinale</td>
<td>sīta-?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vakts-, kts- “to regard”</td>
<td>ökats-</td>
<td>ūtsē</td>
<td>kāś-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vutsār’ “pillow”</td>
<td>ūtsē</td>
<td>*ava-siras-?</td>
<td>sākhā-?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsā “branch”</td>
<td>tsāv</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Waig tsūn “dog”: Skr. sun-, and Waig. kēts, kēts, (Lumsden “kens”) “hair”, Pras. iš-kēts: Skr. kēṣa- have no representatives in Kati. tsār- “to break”: Skr. śṝ- (?) is only known from Kati.

1 The name Asšur was probably borrowed by the Persians in the form Ašūra at a time when original s had become h, but š had not yet become s. At that time š would be the nearest Persian equivalent to a foreign s.

2 Perhaps it is better to compare opaśa- “pillow”.
Kati and Pras. have ts, but Waig. and Ashk. š in:

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duts “10”</td>
<td>lez (cpu-lts “14”)</td>
<td>dōś</td>
<td>dus</td>
<td>dāśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veša “20”</td>
<td>dzū</td>
<td>viśī</td>
<td>viśī</td>
<td>vimsati-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsəstyur’ “father-in-law”</td>
<td>puśūr</td>
<td>šipāsū</td>
<td>śvaśura-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Very doubtful is the connection between Kati šuru “mountain-goat”, Waig. tsōv, Ashk. so, Pash. šaro (cf. Anglo-Saxon heorot etc.?).

The cases in which we find š are much more numerous and certain:

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ša, šila “cold”</td>
<td>šīlū</td>
<td>šita-(la-)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šā́ “head”</td>
<td>šai</td>
<td>“shai”</td>
<td>šā jī (?)</td>
<td>širas-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāl “cow-pen”</td>
<td>šāl</td>
<td>sal</td>
<td>sālā-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaru “autumn”</td>
<td>šorō</td>
<td>“sārī”</td>
<td>sorō</td>
<td>šire-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| šālī “rice”| šeli-mai | sali-ma | sāli-(probably [burr.)

kṣul “clever” kiṣīlā
šūr “hero”
šur “arrow”
pōś “trap, net”
vuṣup “horse”
šaveli “pregnant”
puśū, vuśi “neighbour”
māśa “fly” muśok mayōs (?)
naś- “to destroy”
“shom” “tribute” šām “shām” (Davidson)
“shak” “vegetables” (Davidson)
viś. “to wish”
spai “porcupine” šapai “shpai” šiṣāpū
“spear” šēl  šil, šal
“fox” livaśā “lāwāshā”
“village” deś “desh” deśi
“to mix” miṣūr-
But generally śr becomes š, as in the neighbouring Dard languages:


śiāl “wolf” śēli śṛgāla-
śiṣi, śiṣi (but also śiṣ “singh” śiṣg śṛṇga-
Śiṣi) “horn”
śiṣgerā “beautiful” śiṣa
sē- “to boil” śṛgāra-
vu-sēṃ- “to rest” vi-śram-
“tear” uṣuk aṣru-
śun (śuṇ?) “navel” śuṇik sūn śrṇi?

I am not able to detect any rules for the distribution of š and ts. They are both used as initials, finals, or in an intervocalic position, and the neighbouring vowels seem to have nothing to do with their character. Cf. Kati tsu<sūna; but šu<sūra; vats<vas, but viš-
vu<sas, na<s-nas-. Nor is it very helpful to consider either the words with š, or those with ts to be loan-
words, or to imagine that an unknown dialect, which had ts in all cases, has influenced Kati and, to a less extent, the other Kafir languages.

Possibly the fluctuation may be due to some kind of sandhi in the sentence, the results of which have been generalized in different ways. We may note the difference between Kati šāi “head”, and ptsēr “on the head”, vutsēr “pillow”. š cannot be derived from ts, or vice versa, they must both have been developed from an Aryan affricate, something like *ts, more archaic than Skr. š.

Corresponding to Skr. ks we find several sounds in Kafiri: ts, c, ç, š, and, as demonstrated by Konow (l. c. p. 31), it does not seem to make any difference whether this ks represents an Indo-Eur. *qs (*q₃) or *ks (*k₃) (but ç < qs?). In this respect Kafiri again approaches Ind. With *ks we find:

1 E. g. in Shina. The name of this people: Šin is probably derived from S’reinya (cf. fiṇ “foam” < phena), and is either an ancient tribal name (cf. King Bimbisāra S’reṇika), or simply means “a tribesman” from śreṇi- in the sense of “troop, company”.

With *qs we have:

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aci “eye”</td>
<td>acē</td>
<td>atsi iži</td>
<td>aksi- (pl. aksi-īnī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kic-kār’o “armpit”</td>
<td>kāc-ātkā</td>
<td>kā-logū</td>
<td>kakṣa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ıts “bear”</td>
<td>ıts</td>
<td>ıts iutru (?)</td>
<td>ēkaśa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>datsū “right”</td>
<td>kuts “kutch”</td>
<td>kētsē</td>
<td>kuksi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“belly”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“scrotum”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several of these etymologies are very uncertain, and some of the words may be borr.; but still the confusion remains. The other Dard languages generally have ς(h). But the circumstance that they agree with Kafiri in some cases (e. g. Pash. achi “eye” — before an i —; Khow. ırts “bear”, Kal. ite”; Pash. deşek etc. “grape) seems to indicate that these irregularities are ancient. sakḥ “witness” (Lumsden), which presents the kh of the Ind. languages of the plains, is probably borr., cf. Bashg. “shoshi” (Davidson): Skr. sākṣin-. As neither Skr. drākṣa-

1 Kati kītsa (Bragr. kr’etsa) “thigh”, Ashk. T. kitsā, M. klītsa “hip” is probably a different word. There are, however, some other cases where the r’ seems to be developed secondarily.
nor *yakṣa- are represented in Ir. it is not probable that the Kafiri forms with s, ș are borρ. from Ir.

One of the chief points of difference between Ind. and Ir. languages is the treatment of the Indo-Eur. groups of consonants *tt(h), *dd(h), which at a pre-Aryan stage became tťt(h), dťd(h). In Ir. these groups resulted in tšt(h), while in Ind. tšt(h), like the old tšt(h), became tt(h), and dšt(h) became dd(h), at any rate in some cases.

Only a few words containing such groups are met with in Kafiri; but the treatment seems to conform to that found in Skr. Thus Kati pr'erem “I give” (Skr. pra-dā-) has the past ptarı “gave” (Skr. pra-tṛta-), Waig. praroi, Ashk. prōtā, plātā, cf. GB. ṣla “give”, ṣlites “gave him” (LSI.). Pras. uphlēgo, aphaḷe “thou gavest” (LSI.) has been influenced by the present stem, cf. opthiū “give”. Also *-patta- “fallen” has become ū-ptarı in Kati, and a present ū-pr'erem “I fall” has been formed on the pattern of pr'erem.¹

Other instances are Kati cit “intention, mind”, Lumsden “chāt” “will” (Skr. citta-); Waig. ūtulā “high”, Lumsden “utillāḥ” (Skr. utthā-, cf. Pash. uthāl, Kal. hūtala etc.); Kati vutināsem “I am standing”, Waig. utinom, Ashk. utinestom (Skr. utthita-); Waig. utā “to place”, Lumsden “ūtūwen” (Skr. utthāpaya-).

The only certain instance of dd(h) is Kati bidi “mind”; but this may be a loan-word. Kati vudēsā “guest, foreigner”, Waig., Ashk. vidiṣa might be derived from *ud-deśya- (cf. Av. uz-dāiṇhu-). But it is more probable that we ought to compare it with Skr. videsya- (cf. Shina āsī?), and that the d has been preserved, as in Kati vidar- “to fear” (Skr. vi-dṛ-), through the association with the uncompounded dēs “village”, still in use in Waig. (cf. Kām-dēs in Bashgal). If Kati vudra- (Bragr. undra) “to fly”, Lahnda uddrār has anything to do with Skr. ud-ḍī-, the phonetic conditions are not clear.

The only certain instance of the treatment of Aryan

¹ In a similar way in Sindhi uṭhā and vasiā are used without distinction as part. to vasi- “to rain” and “to dwell”.

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Id is Ashk. सूरि “16” (Skr. शोचस). Possibly Kati पिज्दा, pidd “avalanche” may be connected with Skr. दम “damage, devastation”, cf. Khow. रेष “id.”: Skr. रिष्टि- “injury, damage”, and Waig. trōs “id.”: Skr. त्रास- “terror, anxiety”.

According to Meillet (Les Dialectes Indo-Européens, pp. 63 ff.) an Indo-Eur. ə is generally preserved in an interior syllable in Skr., but lost in Ir. We have e. g. Skr. (nom.) दुहिता “daughter”, but Av. दुज्ञा, Gathic दुक्षदा (disyllabic). Pras. लुढ़ु (LSI. लुड़ु) must represent an old *दुज्हिता, and not *दुक्षदा. Probably also Kati, Waig. जु, Ashk. झू should be derived from *दुई, which is developed from दुज्हिता in the same way as Torwalak धु, Marathi धूव etc. from *दुहुआ < Skr. दुहिता.

Similarly we have Skr. तामिस्रा- “darkness”, but Av. ताच्रा- (prob. < *ताम्स्रा-). The i is preserved in Waig. त्रामिश, त्रामस (note the palatalization of the s), cf. Kati त्रेम्वूर “evening”, Bashg. “त्रेमच्कुक” “lamp-lighting time”, Kal. “त्रमाशुंग “darkness”. The metathesis of तामिस्रा- to *त्रामिस्रा- is in agreement with Dard phonetic laws.

Kati पत “fell” should be derived from *पट्टा-का-, and not from Skr. पतिता-. But in Skr. also the distribution of सेट- and अनेत-forms is often capricious.

In this connection we may mention that Kati द्रिगेर “long”, Ashk. द्रिगला, Waig. द्यालो (Skr. दिर्गा-, but Av. दार्या-) agree with Skr. in the treatment of व. The Kafir languages have l in about the same cases as Skr. E. g. Kati सल “cattle-pen”: Skr. सला; Kati लु “blood”: Skr. लोहिता; Kati लु “light”, Ashk. लेव: Skr. लघु; Kati पुल “a grain”, Ashk. पोल: Skr. पहला; Kati मुल “dirty”: Skr. मला; Kati निल “blue”: Skr. निला; Waig. वेल “year”: Skr. वेला; Waig. ला, लाव- “to find”, Ashk. लेव: Skr. लहल; Waig. विल “to melt”, Ashk. विल: Skr. विल; Waig. लाख “shame”: Skr. लाञ्जा, etc. Some of these words are probably later loan-words from Ind. If Kati निला “lake” is connected with Skr. निरा- “water”, Pahari ब्हद्रावाली निरु “river”, we have an example of Kafiri l for Skr. r. On the other hand we have Kati
myûr' "price", but Waig. mûlā: Skr. mûla; Kati tur- "to weigh", (with r, but u of special Ind. origin): Skr. tul. In Kati nûr' "valley, ravine", Ashk. nûr, nûr: Hindi nálā the original sound is probably d, as in Kati nûr'i "reed": Skr. nûdi-, nálī-.


Kati nût "dance", Waig., Ashk. nût are probably Ind. loan-words. But cf. Kati lad' - "to lie", Waig. lâr-: Skr. lâ'-, Pash. lâd'-; Kati pûlt- "to roll": Skr. lût-, lûth- (not from *palt- = Prakrit pad-, Konow, l. c., p. 28). We find r' in kôr'â "bitter" < *kôrt-: Skr. katûka-, and in kilyûr' "cheese" (loan-word?): Skr. kilûta-. In Kati katû "straw of millet": Skr. kâta- "grass, Saccharum Sarâ" (?), and Kati ñûc-pûtâ "eye-lid", Waig. ñûc-pot, Ashk. atsî-pûtû: Skr. pûta-, pûta- "cover, veil" (cf. Pers. parda "veil" < *partaka-) we find t. Cf. also Kati gut "wrist": Lahnda gûthî.
We also find $t$ in cases where Skr. has preserved $rt$, e.g. Kati ktâ “knife”, Waig. katâ: Skr. kartarî-, kartykâ-, kaññâra-; Kati acût “in three days”, Ashk. atsôt “id”., nisôt “three days ago”: Skr. caturtha-. But in the group $ṛ$ the $t$ has fallen out as in other intervocalic positions. E. g. Kati kr’â “made”: Skr. *kṛtaka-; mr’â “dead”: Skr. *mṛtaka-; Bashg. kar’â “knife”: Skr. *kṛtaka- (?), cf. Torwalak “kerah”; Waig. ator’ “day after to-morrow” < *ṛtya-.

In some cases $ṛ$ also becomes $t$. E. g. Kati pṭi “back”, Waig. yā-patî, Ashk. pîṣṭi: Skr. pṛṣṭha-; Kati gōt “barn”: Skr. goṣṭha-; Kati kāt “branch”: Skr. kāṣṭha-. Kati dār’i, dāyi “beard”, Waig. dā, dōr’o, Ashk. dāri must, like other modern Ind. forms, be derived from Skr. dāḍhikâ- < damśtykâ-, and Ashk. a-śōr “five days hence” from -saṣṭha-, (cf. Lhd. verhār “to wind”: Skr. veṣṭ-, rāṣh “field”: Skr. rāṣṭra-).

Some of these words may be borr., and the development is not carried through regularly; but it is decidedly of an Ind., and not of an Ir. character.

Further, groups containing an $r$ as the second component are occasionally simplified. E. g. Kati bōmâw “wasp”, Ashk. bāmâ, but Waig. bramâ: cf. Skr. bhramara-; Kati gōt-, gōr’t-, gōr’o- “to tie”, Ashk. gōt, but Waig. grōt: Skr. grath-, grantha-; Kati gaṣ “he-goat”, Ashk. gaus, Pras. gyōśū, but Waig. grōs; Ashk. puc “flea”, Waig. pruc$^1$. Also the preposition Ashk., Kati pa-, p- is probably connected with Skr. pra, not with Ir. pati. Cf. Kati pəmuśṭ “forgotten”, Ashk. pəmîśt, pumîśt, Waig. pramost: Skr. pramûṣṭa-.

$P$ regularity becomes $t$ as in other Ind. languages. E. g. Kati suṭ “7” etc.; Ashk. nōt “granddaughter”: Skr. napti-; Kati pr’uīṣṭ “bed”, Waig. prûṣṭ “bed, dream”, Ashk. prust, plus: Skr. prasupti-. Even if the result is the same in some Ir. languages, e. g. in Par. (hāt “7”), the development has been different, Par. ghīt “taken”

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$^1$ These words and Eastern Pash.  śluc, Par. ruc are connected with the Germanic forms, Engl. flea etc. Pash. ō  şi, L. lašūk point to Skr. pluśi-, Khow. pułuśu, Paht. vroţa (< *fruša*, not *bruša*).

$^5$ — Kulturforskning. C. I. 2.
having passed through the stages *giht < *grfta-. In the same way *kt becomes *t in Kati avətə “hungry”: Skr. a-bhakta- ¹.


The transition of *t(h)y > c is found in Kati tíc “true” < Skr. tathya-, cf. Romany tacô, and in Ashk. vericô “road” < Skr. *upa-rathyâ-.

This survey of a few of the phonetic features of the Kafir languages will have shown that in all but one or two points they agree with Skr. as against Old Ir., and that they have undergone some of the characteristic phonetic developments of the modern Ind. languages.

The vocabulary is also, as far as it can be analyzed, almost entirely Ind. It agrees especially with that of the neighbouring Dard languages, but shows no special connection with the adjoining Ir. dialects. I do not think that this distinctly Ind. character of the Kafiri vocabulary can be accounted for as being mainly the result of borrowings. Certainly Kafiri contains many loan-words, borrowed at widely different periods; but the paucity of “Islamic” loan-words shows she relative isolation of these tribes.

As may be expected, the vocabulary, like the phonology, shows some points of special resemblance with Ir.

If we look at the numerals, Kati, Waig. K. ev “1” reminds us of Av. aeća-. It may be borrh. from Ir., or it may be an old inherited form; to my mind the latter alternative seems to be the more probable one. Waig. Zh. ēk is Ind., and Ashk. ac, Pras. ipiên stand isolated.

We may note that also Pash., Khow. ī differs from the ordinar Ind. type. Kati etc. śū “6” resembles Skr. saś-, and shows no trace of the Ir. initial (x)sū-. Kati yanīts “11”, Ashk. canīs are formed in the same way as Av. aevandasa-; but this is probably the original Indo-Ir. form (cf. Lat. undecim < *oinomdeken), and Skr. ekādāsa- is a secondary formation, which is represented in Waig. by yās (cf. Pash. yāi, zāi, GB. jās). At least the Ashk. form cannot be suspected of being bor. from Ir. Waig. trūś (cf. Pash. trūi, ṭlūi, GB. ṭlaonś) seems to correspond to Skr. trayodasa-, not to Av. *śrīdasa-; but in Ir., too, we find Pers. sēzādah < *śrayazdasa-, Psht. dyārlas < *āray-las. Kati trīts, Pras. cīz can be explained in both ways. Kati śtruits, śtroāts, śtrēts “14” may be compared with Av. *caṭrudas-, but, as Professor J. Bloch has pointed out to me, equally well with Skr. caturdasa-, with the usual Dard metathesis into *caṭrudā. Waig. cadēś, Ashk. tsadis (Pash. cadē etc.) < caturdasa-. Pras. ṣuptīs has been influenced by cpū “4”.

Ashk. sāris “16”, Lumsden “sullaish” are derived from Skr. sōḍasa- (cf. GB. śurās, Tirahi xōla, Eastern Pash. sōr). Kati setś, Waig. sēś, Pras. usūlīs are probably secondary formations from śū etc. (cf. Western Pash. sūi, čhuś, Shina čōi, etc.). Kati nālīs, Pras. nālīs “19” may be either Ind. or Ir.; but. Waig. ēšī, Ashk. osā, vesō correspond to Skr. ūnavimsati- (cf. GB. inīš, Tir. kune). Kati vətśa “20”, Waig. viśī etc. show no trace of the nasalization in Skr. vimsati-; but this does not appear in any of the modern Ind. forms. Pras. žībeze “40” is probably derived from *caṭvarisat- (v. p. 50), cf. Av. caṭvarōsatəm, but Skr. caṭvārimsat-.

Regarding the ordinals it is impossible to decide whether tṛī in Kati nutri “the day before yesterday”, aṭrī “the day after to-morrow” corresponds to Skr. tṛītya- or to Av. ṛitiya-. Waig. aṭrī points to Skr. tṛta-. Kati a-cūṭ “in three days”, and similar forms in the other dialects, correspond to Skr. carurtha-, not to Av. tūrīya-, or other Ir. forms.
It will be observed that, generally speaking, the Kafiri numerals are more closely related to the Skr. than to the Av. forms.

A few other words seem to agree with Ir.: Kati kan- "to laugh", Waig. kan-, Ashk. kon.: Pers. xandidan, Par. khan.; Kati vr'ē, vār'- "to see", Waig. vr'ē, Ashk. vēr.: Av. vaēn.-; Kati r'ōv- "to reap": Yaghnobi rūp- "to shear", Skr. rup- "to break"; but perhaps r'ōv- is related to Skr. lū- "to reap". Ashk. drov- "to reap" may be bor. from Pers. durūdan, diravam.

Over against these few and doubtful cases we have the overwhelming mass of purely Ind. words. It would take us too far to give a detailed list of such words, very many of which will be obvious to anyone who looks through Davidson-Konow's Bashgali Dictionary. I shall therefore merely give at random a few characteristic words not mentioned in the preceding pages:

Kati etc. vas "rain": Skr. varṣa-; yuv "louse": Skr. yūka-; bi "grain": Skr. bīja-; uṣe "medicine": Skr. oṣadhi-; vēv "daughter-in-law": Skr. vadhū-, pr'āv- "to reach": Skr. prāp-; res- "to low": Skr. ras-; yiv- "to copulate": Skr. yabh-; met- "to churn": Skr. math-; Ashk. viēś "willow": Skr. vētasa-; murā "sweet": Skr. madhura-; sāmār "to prepare, start": Skr. sam-arth-; Kati mok- "to escape", Waig. muk-, Ashk. muc-: Skr. muc-; Kati, Ashk. siv- "to sew", Waig. sūv-: Skr. siv-.

Especially interesting are a few cases where Ind. and Ir. employ words from the same root, but with a difference in the form or meaning. In such cases Kafiri always agrees with Ind. E. g.:

Kati vosut "spring" Skr. vasanta- Av. vaṣṭha-
- dyūm "smoke" dhūma- Pers. dūd
- gūm "wheat" godhvāma- Av. gantuma-
- sīqī "horn" sṛṣṣa- sṛṣṣa- hvar-
- sū "sun" sūrya- paiti-maok
- amc- "to dress", ā-muc- skā-
- šaru "autumn" sarād."id." sarēda."year"
If we turn to the morphological system of the Kafir languages, we cannot expect to find many traces of old features which can be distinguished as Ind. or Ir. Even originally such features were few, and the morphology of Kafiri has undergone radical changes.

The termination of the 2 pl., Kati -dr' (v. supra p. 49) is certainly derived from Vedic -tana, -thana (Konow, l. c., p. 37). The corresponding form in Pras. is -en-o, and in Waig. we find viia-sé, viia-sé "you beat" (sé < *sathana?). This termination is not known in Ir. Konow also derives the Kati absolutive in -ti from -tví which is specifically Ind., and is used in the Shahbazgarhi inscription. The past part. nisina and tsinist are formed with an n like Skr. nisanna-, chinna-, cf. Av. -sasta-, sista-.

The termination of the 1 pl. -masi, from which are derived Kati, Waig., Ashk. -mís, Pras. -mís-o, is no doubt common to Ancient Ind. and Ir.; but we find no trace of it in later Ir. languages, while it is still in use in most Dard languages (cf. Pash. -ís, -s, Khow. -s-i etc.).

The Kati, Ashk. infinitive in -ste, Waig. -sta, cannot be compared with the comparatively late, and specifically Pers. infinitive in -istan (Konow, l. c., p. 38). Possibly it may be a compound with some nominal form of the root sthá-.

It is tempting to compare the present base in n, Kati yin-um "I eat", Ashk. T. yurem, with the old medial participle, Av. -ana-, but Skr. āna- with long vowel. But the preservation of intervocalic dental n in Kati makes this explanation dubious. The Waig. causative in l has parallels in Pashai and in Lahnda.

None of the nominal terminations in the Kafir languages can, so far as I can see, be used as criteria of their linguistic position. But the Kati genitive in -ste, -sta (e. g. tuste "thy") reminds us of Pash. K. -st (tüst). Other Pash. dialects, and also Kal. and Tir., have -s, which one would naturally derive from -asya. I do not think -st can in any way be connected phonetically with -asya, probably either some other element has been added to -asya, or we
have here an altogether different element (-stha-?). -asya is preserved in Waig. Zh. taše-ba “his”.

The Kafiri pronouns as a whole present many difficulties. It is not easy to explain e. g. the different forms of the pers. pron. 1 sg. n. Kati ūza, vūts, Bragr. ū, Waig. K. anā, Zh. yē, Ashk. ai, Pras. unēi. The Kati and Pras. forms can be derived from *akham, and probably the other forms also are corruptions of this word. The demonstrative pronouns, too, are varied, and differ much from those of the surrounding languages. Waig. ali “this” seems to be related to East. Pash. elâ “this”, Tir. lē “this, that”.

One point deserves notice: The interrogative neuter pronoun “what”, Kati kai, Waig. kas, Ashk. kā, has a k in accordance with Ind., not c as in Ir. On the other hand we find in Ashk. tsēi “who” (obl. kō) cf. Av. ciš, and tsēt “how many”, cf. Pers. cand, Old Pers. ciya-kara- (< *ciyat), but Skr. kiyat-. (We have no reason to assume a transition from ki- into ci, tsī in Ashk.). Pras. “pseh” “what” seems inexplicable 1.

I think this survey of Kafiri will have shown that it has far closer affinities with Ind. than with Ir. And while there is a gulf between Kafiri and the neighbouring Ir. languages, Psht., Par. and Minj., Kal. G.B., and Pash. agree with Kafiri in many points of phonology and especially of vocabulary, and form a bridge connecting it with the purely Ind. languages.

Undoubtedly Kafiri stands in a somewhat isolated position, and has to some extent been influenced by Ir. at an early date. Perhaps the Kafirs have crossed the...
Hindu Kush later than the other Ind. tribes. But they have lived in close contact with the north-western Ind. group, and their language is now essentially Ind. The result of this contact is such, that the north-western hill-languages of India now agree on many important points, chiefly in vocabulary and regarding the preservation of groups of consonants, and we may be justified in talking about a Dard group of languages, even if we do not consider it to be a separate branch of the Indo-Iranian family.

KHOWAR.

The language of Chitral, Chitrali (Cétrâ’rî) or Khowar (Khovâ’r, Khôîvâ’r), was not, strictly speaking, included in the group of languages which I intended to study. But one of the government servants in Bagh-i-Babur in Kabul was a Chitrali from Têrîc under Têrîc Mêr ¹ who possessed a great store of Kh. folklore, and I thought it worth while to make myself acquainted with this interesting language, about which, after all, very little has been published. I wrote down quite a number of Kh. fairy-tales and songs. The songs were short and lyrical, the tales very long and complicated, many separate themes being interwoven.

On the way down, I had an opportunity of conversing for a short time in Peshawar with a native from Kala Drosh, on the southern border of Chitral; but there seems to be little dialectic variation, except as regards a few peculiarities of pronunciation (e. g. căr “4”, pânj “5”, hers “bear” for ordinary cör, pôñj, orts).

¹ Acc. to Riddulph (Tribes of the Hindu Kush, p. 59) the word mêr is used in Kh. in the sense of “mountain”. My informant only knew it in this place-name. At any rate it should be compared with Skr. Mêru, cf. the Shina name of Nanga Parbat: Dia-Mîr „The Divine Mountain” (?). Prof. Konow suggests that terîc may be Skr. *tirîc- from tîrînc. “oblique, transverse”, cf. pratyañc.: pratic-. (Caland, AO., IV, p. 9, mentions the t. tirîci- from the Vâdhûlasûtra.) According to the maps the geographical position of the mountain is one which would in Norway naturally earn for it the corresponding name “Tverfjellet”.

Very characteristic of Kh. is its distinct and little fluctuating pronunciation, in which respect it stands in marked contrast to the neighbouring Kati language with its extremely oscillating pronunciation. The morphology, too, is easy and comparatively regular; and generally speaking Kh. is an easy language to learn. While the notation of Kati gave me a good deal of trouble after I had worked at the language for a long time, I was able to write down Kh. tales fairly easily after about a week.

It would seem that the different characteristics of these neighbouring languages are due to the historical conditions under which they have developed. While the Kafir languages developed their peculiarities during a very long period in undisturbed seclusion, Kh. may have been regularized through being adopted by immigrants who mixed with the original population. Sir G. Grierson (LSI., VIII, 2, pp. 3 and 133) considers that of all the Dard languages Kh. is the one most nearly related to the Ir. Ghalcha languages, and he thinks that the Kho's came from the north later than the other Dard tribes.

As explained above (pp. 50 ff.), I do not think that the Dard languages, apart from Kafri, possess any Ir. features. The loss of the aspiration of voiced stops is of comparatively recent date. And the development of sv, sv into sp, sp which is regularly carried out in Kh. (e. g. ḫispusār "sister", ḫispērū "white", ḫispasār "father-in-law), and is also found in other Dard languages, in Kh. also affects sm, sm (e. g. ḫispa "we" < *spa < *sva < *asma-; ḫisp "summer" < grisma-). This development is not identical with the Ir. transition from sv to sp, which is not a feature of the south-western dialects (Pers.), nor of those in the north-east (Sak. and Wakhi), with which Kh. is most closely connected. On the other hand the transition is known already from the dialect of the Shahbazgarhi inscription of Asoka (e. g. spasūtam "of the sisters", -aspi < *-asmi, suff. of loc. sg.). Cf. also Kabuli-Pers. ruspān "rope" < rismān.

In fact Kh. is, on the whole, the most archaic of all
modern Ind. languages. It is with some astonishment that one hears a pure Skr. word like āśru “tear” from the mouth of an unlettered Chitrali. Kh. is the only Ind. language in which ār remains unaltered (cf. also ārōṅ “hip”). In addition, rt, rd, which have been assimilated everywhere else, except perhaps in the adjoining Kal., are kept (e. g. hārdī “heart”, gordōx “ass”: Skr. gardabha-, bardōx “axe”: Skr. vardha- “to cut”, bort “stone”: Kati voṭṭ, Kurd. bard). The only group with r which has been assimilated is rṣ, where r is in a very weak position (baṣ “rain”: Skr. varṣa-, but prāṣ “rib”: Skr. parśu-, with the common metathesis of r, cf. Shina prāṣī).

Further the preservation of an intervocalic t as r (through ṭ, e. g. biśir “20”, sōr “100”, sēr “bridge”) is a very archaic feature, with parallels only, to some extent, in Shina, some Kohistani dialects and Romany.

The only strange feature in the phonetic development of Kh. is that of d- into j- in some cases: jū “2”, joṣ “10”, joṣ- “to see”, žūr “daughter”. The only explanation I can offer is, that the d- has been palatalized through the influence of the palatal ʃ in daṣa-, dars-, and owing to the i in duvi (Shahbazgarhi), duhitā. žūr, instead of *jūr, has been influenced by žau “son”. Cf. Badakhshi Pers. jūṣīdan < ḍōṣīdan “to milk”.

In the field of morphology we find remains of old suffixes in the termination of the abl. -ār (< *āṭo), and of the instr. -ēn (< -ena), and in the nom. pl. (of inanimate things) -ēn (< -ānī). Among the verbal forms we may note asum, asus, asur “I am” etc. (*asamī, *asasi, *asati), and the distinction between the primary suffix in asusi “we are” (< *asamasi), and the secondary in asitam “we were” (< *ma).

Very interesting are the imperatives 2 sg. det “give” (< daddhi, cf. bat-im “I bind” < baddha-), gane(h) “take” (< gṛṇāḥti), 3 sg. diyār “may he give” (< dādadū), ganār “may he take” (< gṛṇātu). Possibly traces of the augment are preserved in some irregular verbs; e. g. bōm “I can”: o-betam “I could”; brium “I die”: o-britai “he died”;
nēim "I take out"; o-nēitam "I took out"; ūer "it is" (< sete): o-šoi "it was" (< asyat): źibom "I eat"; o-yotam "I ate".

The vocabulary contains several Skr. words not found in other Ind. dialects; e. g. vešu "arrow": Skr. īṣu-; ai "serpent": Skr. ahi-. In some cases we find words in Kh. which have their counterparts only in Vedic. E. g. žau "son": Skr. yahu- (acc. to Naigh. = apatiya-, acc. to Say. to RV., VIII, 60, 13 = putra-); šūmēni "rope": RV. syūman-; härdi "heart": AV. hārdi-; pulušu "flea": RV. etc. pluši-, but Waig. prūć, Shina pruṣy; bren- "to shear": RV. bhri- "to injure, hurt"?

Especially interesting are the Kh. words which correspond to words only mentioned by the grammarians and lexicographers. E. g.:
oç "light blue": Skr. Lex. akṣa- "blue vitriol" (cf. Pers. xasţin "blue", Av. aksaēna- "dark-coloured")?
aŋ, aŋ "mountain": Skr. Lex. ani- "the point of a needle or of a sharp stake, corner of a house, etc." Cf. Norw. tind, pigg "peak, mountain", originally "spike, pinnacle". kas- "to wander about": Skr. Naigh. Dhātup. kas- "to go, move".

Finally we may mention in this connection two words
not found in Skr., but existing in other Indo-Eur. languages: Kh. bispī <<vaspi- "wasp" (cf. Waig. vaśpiḵ, and the words mentioned AO., I, p. 278); jāmīž "twin", which cannot be compared with Skr. yama-, because y- becomes ḷ in Kh., but seems to be connected with Lat. geminus etc., from the root *gem-.

If we try to determine the position of Kh. within the Dard group of languages, we find that it is separated from Kafiri by many isoglosses, not only in cases where Kafiri differs from all the rest of the Dard languages, but also in the treatment of nt, v- etc. Nor does the vocabulary of Kh. show any special relationship to Kafiri.

Kal. is closely related to Kh., but on the other hand agrees in many points with Kafiri. Possibly it is rather a mixture of, than a connecting link between Kh. and Kafiri.

With the Pash.-GB. group Kh. has no special connection, apart, perhaps, from the employment of the root sī- as an auxiliary.

With Shina, and to some extent with the Kohistani dialects, which are closely related to Shina, Kh. shares some phonetic characteristics, e. g. the transition from nt, nd > n, from v- > b-, and the retention of -t- in some form. The transition from v- > b- is also found in Kal. and in Tir. (which on the whole agrees more closely with Kohistani than with Pash.). This northwestern group of languages with b- separates Lahnda and the other languages of the plains which have v, from Pash., GB., and Kafiri. And in its turn it is being separated from the westernmost offshoot of the eastern languages with b, viz. Western Pahari and Rambani-Siraji, by the intervening Kashmir. At any rate, phonetically there is no very wide gulf between Kh. and Shina, as asserted by Kuhn (Album Kern, p. 221). Moreover traditions and historical evidence indicate that Chitral always had more communication with the Shin country and with Kohistan, than with the Kabul region, through the nearly impassable Kunar valley which was infested by the wild Kafir tribes.
Kh. also shows striking similarities with Shina in vocabulary. Only a complete list of the special agreements would conclusively prove the connection between the two languages; but some characteristic examples will suffice to indicate the relationship. E. g. Kh. Sh. khoi “cap”; Kh. pooy “foot”; Sh. poŋko “footstep”; Kh. mık “urine”; Sh. mıkə; Kh. pažál “herdsman”; Sh. pâyál, Garwi payál; Kh. šilox “tale”; Sh. šilök; Kh. iskim “silk”; Sh. sikim; Kh. marestân “slave”; Sh. māristān; Kh. marc “mulberry”; Sh. maroc; Kh. tul “fat”; Sh. thūlū; Kh. pilili “ant”; Sh. philili; Kh. šargū “dung”; Sh. šārgū; Kh. prâš “rib”; Sh. prâši; Kh. gaðéri “mad”; Sh. gaðerū; Kh. ūov “fox”; Sh. ūōi; Kh. cumutkīr “young woman”; Sh. cūmātkīr, Bur. “choomūtker”; Kh. keši: Sh. kārēlu, Bur. “kārēlo”(?).1

It is probable that several of these words have been borr., either by Kh. or by Sh.; but at any rate they show that the two languages must have been in close touch with each other.

In order to demonstrate the isolated position of Kh. Grierson (LSI., VIII, 2, p. 133) gives a list of 24 Kh. words which differ from those of other Dard languages. Several of them are borr. from Ir., such as sor “head”, istōr “horse”, širin “sweet” etc. Others like asur “he is”, ūau “son”, šut “sour” are good old Ind. words, and a few, like māš “husband”, bořt “stone” have corresponding forms in other Dard languages. In some cases we find that the other Dard languages do not all use the same word. There remain only a few words, in respect of which all the other Dard languages quoted in the list agree as against Kh. It is not surprising that such cases should occur, and the list might certainly be added to; but I do not think it goes far to prove that Kh. has been thrown in as a wedge at a comparatively recent date, separating the eastern and western groups of Dard

1 Common to Kh. and Burushaski are also Kh. kipini “spoon”: Bur. “kuppun”, but Sh. khdpāi; Kh. buk “throat”: Bur. “book”; Kh. dori “large spoon”: Bur. “dōri”.
dialects. In fact, I do not think there is any important point in which Sh., Kafiri and Pash. agree as against Kh.

But even if we consider Kh. to be an entirely Ind. language, and having no special genetic connection with Ir., we must admit that it has been influenced, as is only natural, by its Ir. neighbours to the north and west.

But I do not think that this influence has affected the phonetic and morphological system of Kh. to any extent. The development of spirants \((kh > x \text{ in } mux \text{ “face”}, \quad -\gamma > \gamma \text{ in } noyor \text{ “town”}, \ t > *\delta > r \text{ in } s\ddot{e}r \text{ “bridge”})\) may be due to Ir. influence; but it is quite possible that it is a purely internal development.¹

The only certain instance of Ir. influence on Kh. morphology are the numerals 11—19. While all other Dard languages have preserved the old forms (e. g. Kati yanits “11”, dits “12”), Kh. and Kal. have adopted the same system which is found in the Ir. Pamir dialects (e. g. Kh. još-ši “11”, još-jū “12”: Shughni dis-at-yiw, dis-at-šio” “ etc.).

The vocabulary of Kh. has been subjected to strong Ir. influence from different sources. The modern Pers. loan-words are of course numerous, but of no special interest. Among the other loans from Ir. there is a small, but linguistically important group of words which are not found in any of the modern neighbouring languages, or whose phonetic form shows them to be derived from some unknown, possibly Middle-Ir. source, or from different sources. (Several of these comparisons have already been made by Tomaschek, Centralas. Stud. II). E. g.:

*Kh. harēn “mirror” < *ādēn: Pers. āyina, Bal. ādēn.
  * nīmēz “prayer”: Pers. namāz.
  * caxur “spinning-wheel”: Pers. carx “wheel”.
  * ţār “poison”: Pers. zahr, Turfan Pehl. ţahr.
  * frāx “wide”: Pers. farāx, Pehl. frāh.

¹ Cf. placenames like Ašnayar Hashtnagar, and Naghar in Mohmand territory.
Kh. cat “pool, lake”, poss. from an earlier form of Wakhi cal “id.”¹, cf. Av. cāt “well”, Pers. cāh. From this latter word is probably borr. Kh. cēb “well”.

- zērc “yellow” is borr. from Ir., cf. Pers. zārd, Shughni zērd. The form from which the Kh. word has been borr. must have been something like *zērt’, cf. Bal. kārc “knife”, Shughni kārc “steel” < *kārti.

Other apparently Ir. words, but of uncertain origin are:


- duvarth “door”, cf. Old Pers. duvar-th- “portico”.
- supuk “hoof”: Av. safā, Skr. sāpha-
- vrazun “wing”: Psht. vāzr, Minj. vāzərgā, Oss. bazur, Orm. bāzar, Pers. bāl (< *bārz < *bāzr-?).
- mēnū “guest” < *mēhn- < *māhwmn-, cf. Pers. mīhmān, Psht. mēlmā, Av. maēdman-

Probably druxum “silver” has also been borr. from Greek. through Ir.².

But the greater number of the correspondences between Kh. and Ir. are with the Pamir dialects, especially Wakhi. In some cases Kh. has evidently borr. from Pamir:

Kh. xēl “sweat”:
- rigiš “beard”:
- andau “fever”:
- vōr “smell”:
- šontū “raven”:
- verkū “lamb”:
- tapār-zing “battle-axe”:
- xora “mill”:
- rōxnī “live coal”:
- sor “head”:
- kovör “pigeon”:

W. xil < *xvaida-
- reyiš (Hjuler: ryiš, rgiš), Pers. riš etc.
- andau < *hantāpa-
- vülı < *bōd < *baudi-
- vurk-
- tipār, Pers. tabar-zin.
- xudārg, Par. xēra etc.
(<*xvat-ara-, not *xvarta-⁶).
- raxnig “fire”, Sangl. rōxnai.
- Ishk. sār, sur, Zeb. sōr.
- Yd. kowū < *kowō. The v shows that the Kh. word cannot be normally developed from Skr. kapota.

¹ But cf. also Pers. cāl “fovea”.
² Is also Sh. and Bur. guśpūr “prince” borr. from some Ir. source, cf. Turfan Pehl. vispūhr?
Kh. rošti "daylight": Sangl. ruşt, but also Torwalak ėut "morning" < ruşt, Bashk. ret, Shina lūṣṭaiki "to-morrow". 1

» lū. "to say": Shughni low (?).

» läšt "plain": Pers. dašt. Kh. has borr. from Yd. or some other dialect with l < .setOutput(1)

In other cases it is difficult to decide which way the borrowing has taken place, or whether both Kh. and the Pamir dialects may have borrowed the words from some common source.

Kh. doyûr "finger-nail": W. digôr.

» šangûr "entrails": » šiąngôr.

» pāz "breast": » pיץ.

» dzâx "thorn": » zax.

» biebâr "vulture": » bispîr.

» našk "beak": » nück, Sar. núsk.

» wâzûr "ladder": » waxûr.

» väž "hatchet": » waják.

» cidîn "brass-pot": » Ishk. cudan.

Some words are found in many languages of the Hindu Kush, both on the Ind. and on the Ir. side. E.g. Kh. sapîk, "bread", Bur. capîk, W. šapîk, Sar. xpił, Shughni šapîk "bread eaten at festivals". Pers. xapak "id." is probably of Pamir origin, as the x can only be explained on that supposition.

In several cases it appears that the Hindu Kush dialects on both sides have preserved old words which have disappeared in other Ind. or Ir. languages. We may mention Kh. tūrī "a ford", W tūrî (not necessarily borrowed), Skr. tîrtha-; Kh. kōy "wild dog", Sh. kō, W. kik, Sar. kawj, Skr. koka-; Pashai vyâl "night", Kumauni byâl "evening", Chilis biyâli "yesterday", Sh. bâlî (Gurezi byâlî), Bashkarîk žal, and on the Ir. side Yaghn. wiôa "night" (Tomaschek), Shughni biyûr "yesterday", Yazgh. biyêr. I am not able to unravel the nature of the connection between those words, nor of that between Kh. piît "shoulder-blade", Sh. phîyâvî (phîyôlû, "shoulder")

1 Prob. Ind., cf. Skr. ruṣat- "shining, bright".

I may also mention another word which shows that the Aryan languages on both sides of the Hindu Kush have influenced each other.

In Kh. the same verb, infin. *dik*, 1 sg. preter. *phretam* is used both in the sense of “giving” and “beating”. The same is the case with Gawar-Bati *ḥla* (imper.), Sh. of Chilas *deh*, and with Tirahi *dē*. Probably we have to do with the roots *(pra)-da-* and *-dhā*-1.

An exact parallel to this is found in Sar. where we find *dādāo* “to give” and “to beat”, the only divergence being in the past part. *dādj* “given”, but *dādj* “beaten”. In most other Pamir dialects, in Par. and in the eastern Tajik dialects, we find similar relations between the two verbs. But the phonetic questions are so complicated that I shall not enter into them here. In some languages there also appears to have been borrowing from Tajiki. It is only necessary to note that there must be a connection between the strikingly parallel developments in the Ind. and Ir. Hindu Kush languages.

In many cases the Pamir dialects, and especially W., have evidently borrowed from Ind. Some of the loans are recent, and the words have probably passed through the Persian of Afghanistan: E.g. Shughni *jōr* “well in health”, *nājōr* “unwell”, *caukye* “chair” etc.


1 Also Skr. *lāgaya*: “to fix” shows the same semasiological development. V. the examples given by Bloch (Langue Marathe, p. 399), e.g. Mar. *lāvṇem* “placer sur”, Kashm. *lāy* “frapper” etc., to which may be added Ashk. *lānum* “I beat”.

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"cord" (Pash. žūtr “single hair”?). Shgh. šand “lip” is certainly, like Psht., Par. šunḏ, borr. from Ind., cf. Kh. šun, Hindi sunḍ etc. Cf. also Zeb. cut “small”: Hindi cotā; Ishk. kândah “thorn”: Skr. kaṇṭa-

I also suspect Zeb. bruj “birch” of being borr. from Dard, like Psht. barj “birch-bark”. This would both explain the b-, the transposition of the r, and the j (v. Geiger, Etym. d. Afghan., p. 29). An original Zeb. word corresponding to Skr. bhūṛja- would probably be something like *varz (cf. Oss. bārz). Shina jōzi “birch”, (jūs “birch-bark”) is derived through *jōž < *jūž from *bruj- < bhūṛj-

From Kh. are borr.: Sangl. patak “eyelid”: Kh. pāṭok; Shgh. rišt, rišt “avalanche”: Kh. rēšt < Skr. riṣṭi-; W., Ishk. kapal “head, skull”: Kh. kapāl; W. šivan: Kh. šimēni; W. šapt “wolf”, Sar. xiḍp < sapta-: Kh. śapir < *sapita- “cursed” (cf. Kh. pešiṟu “flour”: Skr. piṣṭa-); W. pun “palm of the hand”, Shgh. bēn: Kh. pān; W. trāc “bitter”: Kh. trok.

The close connection between Kh. and the Pamir dialects, and especially W., which we have tried to demonstrate, is easy to understand on account of the geographical situation of the languages in question. Perhaps a comparatively recent immigration from Badakhshan into Chitral, an immigration known to local tradition, may have brought Pamir words into Kh. The disappearance of the distinction between the genders in Kh. may also be due to such influence. On the other hand Chitral has always been a richer and more populous district than Wakhan, and this may explain the influence which Kh. has exerted on W.

I am inclined to think that this influence has been stronger than the loan-words mentioned lead us to suspect. Tomaschek (p. 827) is certainly right in deriving W. gen. plur. spā “of us” from Kh. ispa “we, us”. The resemblance can scarcely be fortuitous, considering the other connections between Kh. and W. But the word is not, as he supposes it to be, developed from sva-; it represents the Ind. base asma-, with sp < sv < sm. The initial
vowel was lost, and $i$ is secondary as in $ispusār$ "sister", $išpēru$ "white". The W. form was borrowed when Kh. still had $*spa$.

The pers. pron. 2 pl. is now in Kh. $pisa$ "you". This is the form I always heard, and is the one given in the LSI. and by Munne Feroze Din (Handbook on Chitrali and Gilgiti Languages). The older sources, however, Hayward, Leitner, Biddulph, Davidson and O’Brien have $bisa$, and similar forms. This is evidently the more ancient form, which has recently been influenced by the $p$ in $ispa$. $bisa$ in its turn must be explained as a development from $*bza < *usa < *vasa$, a stem formed on the analogy of $asma$. ¹

Now corresponding to $spā$ "our" we find that W. has $sav$ "your", which is also a form that cannot be explained as coming from Ir. It may therefore be suggested that $sav$ has been bor. from Kh. $*usa$, with metathesis of the $v$, which was part of a difficult group of consonants. Similar cases of metathesis are known in W., cf. $yark$ "work" $< kār$ (Soghd. $ark$, cf. Junker, Sitz. Heidelb. A. W., ph.-hist. Kl., 1914, 14, p. 23).

The nom. $sak(iṭ)$ "we", $sā(iṭ)$ "you" are difficult to explain; but the latter may have been formed from the genitive on the model of $yav$ "their", $yāiṭ$ "they". Here $-v$ is the old case suffix $-byō$, and $sav$ was felt to be a similar form. We must remember that the personal pronouns in W. are, on the whole, irregular in their formation. The oblique form $maẓ$ "me" may be derived from $*mazya$- (cf. Skr. dat. $mahyam$), and from the nom. $wuz$ "I", $tu$ "thou" are formed the genitives $žii < *azya$, $ti < *tya$, cf. $zat$ "self", gen. $xiiz < *xvaya$. $tav < tava$ is used, not as a gen., but as casus obliquus. Within this varied crowd of pronominal forms even foreign words might have been adopted. At any rate it is the only explanation I can find to account for the W. forms mentioned.

¹ Possibly $*spa < yugma$ was lost on account of its similarity with $*spa$. 
But the Kh. influence must have been very strong in order to impress pronominal forms on W., and we may ask if it is only an accident that Kh., the Ind. language which has best preserved the groups of consonants with $r$ as second component, and W., which occupies the same position within the Ir. family, are close neighbours. We know how unstable the old Ir. groups of spirants $+r$ have been, and that especially $\theta r$ has been replaced and assimilated in the most divergent ways in the modern Ir. tongues. Only W. has saved the situation by retracing its own steps, thus differentiating the sounds which were in danger (e.g. putr “son” $< pu\theta r a$, sôkr “red” $< suxr a$). In W. we certainly have a reaction, and not a retention of the original occlusives. The prefix fra-, being unaccented, has become ra-; but *fruc- “flea” has resulted in pric “bug”, frav- “to wash” in puru- (cf. Gr. Ir. Ph. I, 2, p. 303. W. prüit etc. “before, formerly” $< *fr\cdot r$).

The question whether the influence of Kh. has been active in this development peculiar to W., and in what manner such an influence might conceivably have worked, is an interesting problem, but one which is difficult to solve.

The result of this survey is that Kh. and the Pamir languages show distinct traces of long and close contact; but that the clearly defined line of demarcation between Ind. and Ir. is in no way blurred on this part of the linguistic frontier.

**PASHAI.**

The Pashai (Pašai’) language was one of those which I had the best opportunity of studying. Previously it was known only through the vocabularies of Burnes, Leech and Raverty, and through the account given in LSI., VIII, 2, pp. 89 ff.

With the kind assistance of Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan I got hold of a young boy, Abdur Rashid, who had just come to Kabul from his native village Laurovan
on the upper Tagau, and who had a very slight knowledge of Pers. in addition to his Pashai mother-tongue. I worked with him for several months. Though not very intelligent, he became, when trained, a useful informant, and proved a real mine of Pash songs and tales.

The Pashais are a singing people *par excellence*, and they have retained some sort of national culture, at any rate in the more remote parts of their country, where they have not been too strongly subjected to the levelling Pers. influence.

They are generally gay and pleasure-loving people, fond, not only of music, but also of flowers, which they cultivate outside, and sometimes on the roofs of their houses. They have also got names for comparatively many flowers in their language, while the Kafirs generally only know the single word *pūš* "flower", and an Ashkun man who was questioned about the names of flowers, declared: "How *can* we have a name for a thing we do not eat?"

The Pash. songs are lyrical or epical (so-called *hanani*'s "killing-songs"). In the autumn, after finishing the harvesting, the young people go about from village to village, singing the new songs of the year. The lyrical songs chiefly come from Özbin, and are composed in the dialect of that valley. The reason — I was told — is that the Özbinis neglect their prayers, and are in consequence visited by fairies, who give them the inspiration for their songs. Even people from other valleys try to imitate

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1 According to Abdur Rashid there is a cave just above Laurovan, called *Kalatarikuc*, excavated "by kafirs, not by God", and containing seven rooms. His grandfather had seen lots of statues (*buts*) there; but they had been destroyed, and now only their feet remained, "a whole regiment" of them. They were painted, white, blue and red, and made of a material lighter than stone, probably plaster. He had himself seen an immense log of wood with carvings of *buts*, which had, however, been burnt some time ago. — This cave seems to be the remains of a *vihāra*, showing how far Buddhism once penetrated into the wilds of Kohistan.
the Özbin dialect in their lyrical compositions, the actual result of course being a mixture of local forms, real Özbin words, and false hyper-Özbinisms. But I was able to satisfy myself that real Özbin forms were preserved, at least to some extent, in the songs recited by my informant from Laurovan. There are also special songs composed by women, which a man would not sing if any woman were present.

My second Pash. informant came from the extreme north-western part of Pash., and indeed of Indian-speaking territory, from the village of Satha "The Village" (in Pers. Kohnadeh) close to Gulbahar, where I more or less kidnapped him, and took him with me to Kabul. Later on I got hold of a man who spoke a very similar dialect, and claimed to be a native of the Shutul valley. This was denied by the Parachis who came from this place; but at any rate his home cannot have been far from Satha.

In Kabul I also had an opportunity of collecting short vocabularies of the dialects of Ishpi and Iskyen near Laurovan, of Özbin and of Najil (Nezolm, locally Nāzulō'm) in the Alishang valley. In Jallalabad and in Peshawar on my way home, I met people from Kachur-i-Sala, Mangu and Nirlam in the Alingar valley, from Charbagh in Laghman, from Kunar, Darra-i-Nur and Waigel (probably the lowest part of that valley), who spoke different dialects of Pash.

I may also mention that in Kabul I met a boy who professed to come from Ghéin in Pachaghan (Darra-i-Ghain of the Survey map). His language was a fantastically perverted "secret language", its foundation was, as one would expect, a dialect closely related to the Laurovan one, but agreed in some respects with Satha. He insisted upon this jargon being the real language of his village, and did not understand, or feigned in a very convincing way not to understand, the dialect of the Satha and Laurovan men, with whom he conversed in Pers.

It will be seen that the Pash. language is more wide-
spread than is indicated in the LSI. (But the name of a village in Andarab *Pashai Kasan* can hardly be taken as a proof that it was ever spoken north of the Hindu Kush).

It is split up in many dialects, and the difference between them is much greater than might be suspected from the accounts given in LSI. of the closely related dialects of Charbagh and the lower Kunar. My Laurovan boy had to converse in Pers. with the man from Satha, and neither of them understood the Laghman dialect. Probably the people from Laghman, Alingar and Kunar are able to converse with each other.

The most convenient and most characteristic criterion for distinguishing between the Pash. dialects is founded on the treatment of groups of consonants containing an $r$: $tr$, $dr$, $kr$, $gr$, $pr$, $br$, $mr$, $str$.

On this basis we can establish the following groups of dialects:

**I. Western Group.**

Characteristic of this group is the fact that groups with a dental $+$ $r$ remain unchanged, and groups with gutturals or labials $+$ $r$ are treated in a different way. The same is the case in most Kafir languages.

1) *Satha* and *Shutul*: $tr$, $*dr$, $k\cdot r$, $g\cdot r$, $p\cdot r$, $b\cdot r$, $m\cdot r$, $str$, e. g. $tr$ā “3”, $putrə “son”$, $k^u_r\cdot u^m “work”$, $k^v_rù “shouting”$, $prel- “to herd” (< Skr. $prēr-$ with dissimilation), $b^\prime r^\prime i ‘brother’$. $m^\prime r^\prime i “dead”$, $į\acute s\acute t\acute i r'$ Sh. $į\acute s\acute t\acute i r’ S. “woman”$.

This dialect has borrowed Pers. words to a much greater extent than any of the others. This is the reason why I did not meet with any word containing the groups $gr$ and $dr$. Instead of $*g\cdot r\cdot u^m$, which we should expect

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1 Cf. the accompanying map. The isoglosses drawn are of course quite approximate.

2 In this chapter on Pashai I shall employ the following abbreviations of the names of dialects: $S(\acute s\acute t\acute h\acute a)$, Sh(ntul), L(au\-rovān), I(shpū), Isk(yēn), O(\-bīn), N(ajil), C(hārbāgh), K(achūr i Sālā), M(angā), N(ir,lām), W(\-igēl), D(arra i Nūr), Kun(ar), LSI.E(āst), LSI.W(ēst).
on the analogy of \( k^u \text{rūm} \), a village is called \( dē \), and \text{bandok} “rifle” is also used to denote a bow, originally \( *\text{drūnāk} \).

The situation in S. and Sh. is thus very much the same as in Kati, only the \( r \) in \( b\text{rō}^i \) is generally pronounced further back than the post-alveolar \( r' \) in Kati \( br'dā \). But it has a less energetic flap than ordinary \( r \), and sometimes \( b\text{rō}^i \), \( k^u \text{rū}^m \) are pronounced with \( r \), in fact I only heard \( prēl- \) and \( k^u \text{rū}^\).

2) \text{Ősbin} and \text{Najil}. To this group belongs also the dialect of \text{Gonopal} and \text{Saigel}, situated near N., which I only know from songs and single words given by my informant from L. Here also \( tr, dr, str \) remain: Ö. \( t\text{rā “3”} \), \( p\text{utr “son”} \), N. \( d\text{rōnōk “rainbow”} \), Ö. \( i\text{stri “woman”} \). But \( kr, pr \) become \( s \), and \( gr, br \) become \( l \): \( sōm “work” \), \( sīs “flea” (< *\text{prusi-}) \), \( s\text{avor “wound”} (< \text{prahāra-}) \), \( sōk “palm of the hand” \) (cf. L. \( lāk < *\text{praēk} \), \( lōmē “village” \), N. \( līl “dew” \) (Kal. \( grīl “wet” \) cf. Sindhi \( t\text{rēr “dew”} : \text{Kati trevelì “wet”} \), \( lāy-\text{om “my brother”} \).

If, as I suppose, the point of departure was \( tr, dr \) but \( *\text{kr, gr} \) etc. (with some kind of post-dental, “cerebral”, \( r \), v. p. 41), we may assume that the \( r \) of \( kr, pr \) became lateral and unvoiced: \( *\text{kr} > *\text{l} \), and as an unvoiced, cerebral \( l \) was unknown in the language, it passed into \( s \), while \( gr \) became \( ṣl \), which was adapted to the ordinary \( l \) known to the dialect.\(^1\)

3) \text{Tagau} and \text{Nijrau} with the villages of Laurovan, Ishpi, Iskyen etc. Here we find, as in 2), \( t\text{rā, putr, drōnōk, lāmā “village”} \) (in L. only used in poetry, and felt to be a foreign word. The ordinary word is \( sā\text{th < Skr. sārtha-} \). Notice that in L. \( k\text{armā- “work”} \) also becomes \( lām \), \( l\text{yenē “noon”} \) (cf. Kh. \( g\text{ranīs} \), \( lāy “brother” \), \( l\text{ik “dead”} < *\text{mriak < mytaka-} \). But also \( kr, pr > *l \) becomes assimilated to the ordinary \( l \): \( lām “work” \), \( lāsūk “flea” \), \( lā\text{ār “wounded”} \), \( lāk “palm of the hand” \), \( lēl- “to herd” \) (S. \( prēl- \).) Probably we also have an old \( kr \) in \( lān “roof” \), Ö. \( sū\text{nda-mālī} \), East. Pash. \( ḥlūn \), Ashk. \( k\text{r’um} \), but S., Sh. \( k\text{undūr, kūndā} \). In a similar way we find L.,

\(^1\) Par. \( \text{phār “grain” seems to presuppose an earlier} l \) cerebral in Pash.
Groups with dentals also are affected, tr, str become ṣṭl, and dr, etc. l.

1) In Charbagh there is perhaps still a difference between an ancient kr and tr. At any rate I heard șlé “3”, pùšlēm “my son”, xuŋgali “mulberry”, but also șlām “work”. Unfortunately I only had an opportunity of noting down a few words in this dialect. In the Charbagh dialect of LSI. W. the word for work is written əxtlam-ā, “wife” șlikā, “son” pùṭhlē, and “3” hlē.


In this group the preceding dental did probably not dentalize the original r. Thus tr and kr became, with

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1 I think the sound written șl really consisted of a short ș and an unvoiced l. In Knn, the l was in some cases very faint, or not heard at all, and in C. and W. the sound seemed to be pronounced further back, something like șl. But within the short time I had the opportunity of hearing these dialects, I was not able to determine with certainty the exact nature of the different varieties of the sound.
loss of occlusion ŋ, x. When the l had been adapted to the ordinary dental ɬ of the Pash. phonetical system, xl became ɬ through xɬ (cf. LSI. C. xtlam). The voiced stops were assimilated with the l: ɬr > *ɬl > l.

The development of groups with r in this dialect is very similar to that found in the neighbouring GB., where tr, kr, pr become ɬl: ɬle “3”; ɬlap- “to run”: Psht. trapēdēl, Ind. loan-word; pult “son”; ɬlam “work”; ɬla- “to beat”: *pra-dā; but šigālī “wife”; plang-nam “goats”: Pash. D. etc. ɬlāṇ “he-goat” < Skr. prāṇaka; ɬr, gr become l: līgālo “long”, lām “village”, lauśa “he-goat”: Waig. grauš, but bliaia “brother”.

In Kohistani (Garwi), too, we find traces of a similar development: tlā (Biddulph), ṭhā (LSI.) “3”; ṭīg “high”; ṭām “village”, but jā “brother”. The other Kohistan dialects agree more with Shina, in which tr, pr become ç, and ɬr, br: j, whereas kr, gr are preserved.

Grierson (LSI., IX, 4, p. 884) compares the development in Pash. with that in Bhadrwahi (W. Pahari), where tr becomes tl, thl (tlāi “3”; tsethl “field” < ksetra-), gr becomes dl, dṅl (dland- “to bind”: Waig. grent; dḷaṇ “village”), bhr, vr become dhl (dḣlā “brother”; dḥlēdd “sheep” < *bhṛṛdd, Skr. bhṛdra-; dḥḷāṅ “panther” < *vhrāṅ, Skr. vyāghra) etc. It is very probable that the same factor, viz. the peculiar character of Skr. r, underlies the development in both places.

The groups of dialects established on the evidence of the treatment of groups of consonants with r appear to be well defined in other respects also.

In the field of phonetics I, 1 is separated from I, 3 through the substitution of ɗ, ū for ɬ (e.g. S. cōr “4”: L. cār), and through the use of S. x, Sh. ś for ch in words like S. xā, Sh. sā “6”: L. chā; S. xir, Sh. šir “milk”: L. chir; S. xelūk, Sh. śelūk “white”: L. śhelāk. As Sh. ś becomes x in S., so also does ə become γ: Sh. əun, L. əun “standing”: S. γūn; Sh. aẓū “bull”: S. aɣū.

1 The Pachaghani jargon has ʂə = *ša “6”; šekilekak = *šelāk “white”, but əɣəzəɣəzə (l) = *aɣū “bull”.
Within I, 3 the chief phonetic difference is the treatment of \( st \), e. g. I. \( \text{āstā} \) “8”, Isk. \( \text{āxta} \), L. \( \text{ālta} \).

I, 2, has \( ō, ũ \) like I, 1, but \( ch \) like I, 3. It is further characterized by having \( ū \) for \( ū \): Ö. dhūm “smoke”: L. dhūm; Ö. gūm “wheat”: L. gum.

There is no phonetic trait, other than the treatment of groups with \( r \), which distinguishes the eastern group as a whole from the western\(^1\). But passing from Ö. and N. to C. we cross several important isoglotts, which taken together form a marked boundary between the two main groups of Pash. dialects. C. has \( ă \), not \( ŏ \) (cār “4”), it has \( ū \), not \( ū \) (gūm “wheat” etc.), and it has \( žir \) “milk”, \( želēk \) “white” (but I heard \( ŝē \) “6”, LSI. W. \( xē \)). And in C. as well as in D. and K. \( y \) is preserved in words like \( yāi \) “11”, Kun., W., Nir. and West. Pash. \( žâi \) etc.

It is interesting to note that C. agrees in most cases with D. and K., while Nir., which is not much higher up the valley than K., and Kun., which is close to D., agree with W. in several points, e. g. \( ẑ \) for \( y \); \( ū, ȋ \) for \( ū \), and \( x, ʰ \) for \( k(h) \). Examples of this transition are: C., D., K., M. \( kār \) “ear”: Kun. \( xār \), W. \( ḥār \), Nir. \( ḥār \); D. kuri “heel”: W. \( ḫurēm \) “my heel”, Nir. \( ḫuri \); D. kunjī, C. könci “elbow”: W. \( ḫunjī \), Nir. \( ḫunjī \) (Skr. \( kaphoni- \), Hindi \( konhi \)).

I could not hear any aspiration in these words in C. etc. If it exists, it is very faint. But West. Pash. certainly possesses aspirated tenues: E. g. L. khār “donkey”, khuri “heel”, ōchā “shade”, thag “thief”, sāth “village”, tham “I may be”, phāl “fruit”.

Aspirated mediae also exist; but the aspiration is so faint that it is often difficult to catch, and I have noted down several words as unaspirated which ought etymologically to possess an aspirate. In some cases, however, it appears that the aspiration has actually been lost, and perhaps it is really in a “\textit{statu evanescendi}” which has resulted temporarily in irregularities. E. g. in no dialect

\(^1\) In West. Pash. we find S. \( \text{vasūk} \), L. \( \text{vasakata} \) etc. “\textit{calf}” < \( \text{valsa} \); mās “\textit{fish}” < \( \text{maty时代的} \) in East. Pash. \( \text{vacula} \), māc etc.; but cf. also West. Pash. \( \text{uc “spring}” < \text{utra} \).
was I able to detect the faintest aspiration in gōrā “horse”, and the people always contended that there was no difference between gō-rā and gō-lang “bull”. A slight aspiration was to be heard e. g. in dhār “hill” (dār “wood”), dhūm “smoke”, bhūm “earth”, ghal “river”.

In the eastern dialects of C., D., K. I heard no aspiration, just as there is no trace of it in the specimens given in the LSI.

In Nir. W. Kun. kh becomes, as mentioned above, a spirant. Regarding the aspiration of mediae, I have noted W. dhūum; dhār; but Nir. dūm, and also W. būnjil “earthquake” (Shina būyal < bhūmicala-); gās “chopped straw”: Skr. ghāṣa-.

At any rate it is interesting that Pash. has, to some extent, preserved the aspiration both of tenues and mediae. This proves that the Dard disaspiration, apart from Kafiri, is a secondary development.


Mention may also be made of the fact that in the easternmost dialects, such as D. and W., an intervocalic g turns into y (e. g. D. vāyan, W. vāyen “wind”: Nir. vāyen, K. vāgan < *vāta-gandha-, cf. Khow. gān “wind”), and -d- into -s- (W. sedāl “cold”: Nir. sedāl).

There are also other points of difference between the Pash. dialects; but those already mentioned will suffice to demonstrate how important are the phonetic divergences within this language. The accompanying map shows the distribution of some of the phonetic features, as far as they can be ascertained from the scanty materials available.

They at least permit us to determine the position of the dialects treated in older vocabularies. I cannot here enter upon a discussion of the details which reveal the character of the dialects in question, but shall only sum up the results:
Raverty's *Kohistani* dialect (JASB., XXXIII, pp. 272 ff.) agrees fairly well with Sh., and the same is the case with Burnes' *Pushye* (Cabool, p. 383). Raverty's *Pushai* belongs to East. Pash., and it can be proved that its home must be in the lower Kunar valley, somewhere between the villages of Kunar and Kalatak, the place from which comes the LSI. E. Also the dialect described by Leech (JASB., 1838), and the *Kunar* words given by Trumpp (ZDMG., 20, p. 418) belong to this part of the Kunar valley.

If we turn to the morphology and the vocabulary, we find a marked distinction between the Eastern and Western groups. A list of some characteristic forms of the numerals will make this evident:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>L.</th>
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<th>D.</th>
<th>E.</th>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tra</td>
<td>trā</td>
<td>dālē</td>
<td>dē</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>pānja</td>
<td></td>
<td>panj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>cha, xā</td>
<td></td>
<td>sē</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>sāta</td>
<td></td>
<td>sat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ālīa, aśla</td>
<td></td>
<td>aś</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>nau, nava</td>
<td></td>
<td>nō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>daya, dā</td>
<td></td>
<td>dē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>čhui, xui</td>
<td></td>
<td>sōy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>satti</td>
<td></td>
<td>satū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ašti, aśtu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>navī</td>
<td></td>
<td>nau</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The pronouns are also different. E.g. the demonstrative *elā* "this" is only known in East. Pash. (noted in D. and Nir.), while West. Pash. has L. *ae(m)*, S. *ya(m)*, N. *yē*.

The pers. pron. 2 pl. is *ēmā* (LSI. *hēmā*) in the east, but in the west generally *myā* etc. S. and Sh. have a strange form *mōnā*, which reminds us of Kal. obl. *mimi*, while *myā* recalls Pras. *miū*.

Other local variations in the use of the pronouns are e.g. the employment of the 1 sg. obl., N. *mū*, W. *mum*, for the nom. *ā* "I", S., N., Ō. *mō*, *mū*, instead of *mam* "me, by me", and in the same dialects gen. *mau*, *tau* for *maīna*, *tāina* (East. Pash. *mēnā*, *tēnā*) "mine", "thine".

In I, 3 the present base of the verbs is formed with *g*, e.g. L. *hā-g-ām* "I am beating", *āi-gy-ām* "I am eating", *ka-g-ām* "I am doing" (pres. indefin. *han-ām*, *ay-ām*, *kar-ām*). In East. Pash. we likewise find a guttural:
Nir. aigam, D. aakam, W. agam “I am eating”; Nir. kiiigam, C. kiiakam “I am doing”. This form must be derived from a verbal noun in -aka-

In I, 1, 2 the formative element of the present is t: e. g. S. hant-im, zet-im, ka-t-anam, Sh. hantim, zetoyem, katoyem, Õ. hantayem, zaitaem, N. zetayem. Probably we have here the present part. in -nt. Ordinarily -nt- becomes -nd-; but it is quite possible that e. g. *hananta-, *karanta-, contracted at an early date into *hannta-, kantta-, might result in hanta-, kata-, nt being treated in a special way in these combinations. Cf. the preservation of the t in vest “20” < *visati-, but cārviyā “80” < catūr(?) visāti-.

In L. the present is inflected in the following way: hangām, hangyai, hangā, hangūs, hangyai, hangān. The endings of the sg. and of the 3 pl. are similar in all dialects, and can easily be explained. (The intervocalic s in 2 sg. would regularly be lost).

But in the 1 pl. Œ. has -ōes, and S., Sh. -ais (zetais, zetoais), before a vocalic suffix -anz- (hanvanz-i “we shall beat thee”). This suffix forms the link between Pash., Khow. etc. -as, and Kati -emis, Pras. -ems-.

In N. -en is also employed for the 1 pl. present, while in other dialects it is used only in the past tenses, as is natural in view of its origin in an enclitic pronoun, Skr. nah. (In the same way -ū < vaḥ is used in 2 pl. of the past tenses).

Finally Isk. has -o (ziigayo), probably connected with the -ū of S. imperative karaū “let us do”, gaḍeū “let us go”. I suppose this to be originally a dual form, Skr. -ru. In L. this form appears to be used only in gaḍ(u)o “let us go!”; in other verbs we find the ancient secondary suffix of 1 pl., e. g. karama “let us do”.

The 2 pl. also presents difficulties. L. and Nir. -ai (Nir. emū nivai “you sit down”), and Nir., D. -o (Nir. ayago, D. akoko “you are eating”, may be explained as from -atha (or -ai perhaps from *-athasi, remodelled on -āmasi, cf. -ai < -asi?). But in LSI. we find hanēda “you are beating”, cf. S. imper. hanaiida “beat you”, L. hanata,
and in I., Isk. this termination is also used in the present (ḥāgyat "you are eating"). It seems difficult to separate this t, d from the old imper. 2 pl. in -ta; but the comparison is only possible if we admit the possibility of a special treatment of an intervocalic t in this case. It generally disappears (e.g. lāy "brother" < ḅhrātā, ḥangā < *hanaka- + ati etc.), but we also have Nir. sedāl "cold": Skr. śītalā, Kati śīlā, GB. śalā, but Shina šidālu, Torwalak šidul. It seems possible that its morphological importance may have saved the t in the suffix of the 2 pl.

Still more difficult to explain is the suffix used in I, 1, 2, e.g. S. hantunda "you are beating", Sh. zētunda, Ø. zāitundā, N. zētūnde. I am at loss to suggest any derivation of this form, which is as mysterious as the Par. 2 pl. in -r, and the Khow. in -mi. It looks as if the 2 pl. which in the course of phonetic development was likely to clash with the 3 sg., succumbed to this more vigorous and more frequently used form, and had to find expression in some new way.

I have discussed the dialectal variations of Pash. at some length in order to show that, although it must decidedly be considered as one language, there are few phonetic or morphological features common to all its dialects. In fact, the phonetic system of East. Pash. has more in common with that of GB. than with that of S.

What chiefly entitles Pash. to be called one language, in spite of the phonetic differences, is the comparative unity of the vocabulary, at least in so far as it has not completely succumbed to Pers. influence. While L. still shows some restraint in its borrowing, S. has lost all self-respect, and adopts Pers. words quite freely, regardless of necessity. Even the names of the parts of the body are to a great extent of Pers. origin in S.

Another feature which is very characteristic of Pash., and which is not, so far as I know, found in any of the neighbouring languages, is the extensive use of pro-
nominal suffixes denoting the object and appended to the verb.

E. g. in L. we find hangām “I am beating”, hanam “I (shall) beat”, but hang-i-ām “I am beating thee”, hanam-i “I (shall) beat thee”. Here also the dialects differ, both in regard to the employment of these suffixes, and as to their position. In S. I never heard these suffixes used with the present; they said tōde hantim “I am beating thee”, but hanam-i “I shall beat thee”. In D. I heard tarēgam-i “I am seeing thee”, with the objective suffix placed after the subjective (originally the auxiliary). The reason why Pash. alone has developed this system, remains a matter of speculation.

A glance at the map shows that linguistic unity cannot have been developed in the territory at present inhabited by the Pashais, the long, narrow strip of land stretching across the side valleys of the Kabul River from Gulbahar to Waigel. We must suppose that the Pashais, as their own traditions relate, once occupied the whole of the upper and middle Kabul Valley, and that they have gradually been driven back into the mountain valleys, the seclusion of which has favoured the development of dialectal varieties. And the position of the isolated Par. colonies in Nijrau and Tagau, which are completely embedded in Pash., renders it probable that this latter language has expanded westward over originally Ir. territory; but the linguistic facts, while indicating the movement of tribes, give us no key to the exact time when they took place.

Still, a systematic study of the decaying languages of north-eastern Afghanistan would be sure to produce interesting results, not only in regard to Indo-Ir. and general linguistics, but also in regard to the complicated record of this borderland, which has played such an important rôle in the history of Asiatic migrations and of the cross-currents of civilization, flowing between the East and the West.
NOTATION OF SOUNDS.

I have tried, as far as possible, to employ a uniform system of notation and transcription; but it has not been easy to find one which suits all the languages quoted, and which at the same time conforms with the traditional transcription used in Indian and Iranian. It also was necessary to take typographical considerations. In the main I have adopted the Indian system:

\(c, j\) denote the palatal affricates \((ts, dz)\), also in Ir.; \(\varsigma, \chi\) the corresponding retracted varieties. Consequently the dental affricates are written \(ts, dz\).

\(s\) is used for the Skr. palatal sibilant. In the Dard languages I write \(s\), even when the sound is more or less palatal, as I have to write \(s\) on the Ir. side. \(s\) is the retracted variety.

\(t\) etc. denote retracted sounds, generally post-alveolar, and not the "cerebrals" described by Skr. grammarians. For practical reasons, however, I have to call this series "cerebrals".

\(w\) is the semi-vowel; but \(v\) is employed both for the bi-labial and labio-dental sound, with regard to which we often find variation from dialect to dialect. E.g. Khow., Kafiri, Pash. Satha have a bilabial sound, but Pash. Laurovan a labio-dental. The Psht. \(v\) is generally bilabial, sometimes slightly rounded. \(\varphi\) is bilabial.

\(h\) is the Arabic \(\text{ḥa}\), or the Skr. \(\text{visarga}\).

\(d\) is always long.
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<td>AO:</td>
<td>Acta Orientalia</td>
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<td>BSL.:</td>
<td>Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique</td>
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<tr>
<td>GrIrPh.:</td>
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<td>JA:</td>
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<td>JRAS.:</td>
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<td>LSI.:</td>
<td>Linguistic Survey of India</td>
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