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FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE  
KULTURFORSKNING



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GEORG MORGENSTIERNE:  
INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER LANGUAGES

OSLO 1938

H. ASCHEHOUG & CO. (W. NYGAARD)

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OTTO HARRASSOWITZ

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SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉDITION  
«LES BELLES LETTRES»

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FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING

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INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER  
LANGUAGES

BY  
GEORG MORGENSTIERNE

VOL. II  
IRANIAN PAMIR LANGUAGES  
(YIDGHA-MUNJI, SANGLECHI-ISHKASHMI AND WAKHI)

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DET MALLINGSKE BOKTRYKKERI

**GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON**

**IN VENERATION AND GRATITUDE**





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## PREFACE

**T**he following description of some Iranian languages of the Pamir and Hindukush regions is based mainly upon the material collected by the author in Chitral in 1929 and specified in the Introductions to the various sections of this book. To this has been added a few Shughni sentences taken down in Kabul in 1924. With the permission of the Institute and of the Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundet i Lund the late Dr. Sköld's Ishkashmi and Wakhi material has also been incorporated.<sup>1</sup> And, finally, Colonel Lorimer has kindly allowed me to make use of his manuscript Wakhi Vocabulary.<sup>2</sup> Material from other, printed, sources has been utilized as far as it helps to throw light on the historical development and etymology of the languages in question.

It has not been possible to give an exhaustive survey of the Pamir dialects. And, as none of my informants were good story-tellers, the texts are restricted in quantity and not very satisfactory in quality. But it is hoped that this publication will add something to our knowledge of some highly interesting, but rapidly decaying relics of Iranian, that most important but imperfectly known branch of Indo-European. I have preferred the term 'languages' to 'dialects'

<sup>1</sup> V. H. Sköld, *Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen*, Skrifter utg. av Kungl. Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, XXI, p. VI, sq.—The editor of this work, Professor H. Smith, has included Wakhi in the *Vergleichende Wortliste* given pp. 132 sqq., to which is referred for a systematic arrangement of part of Sköld's Wakhi material.

<sup>2</sup> V. below, p. 433.



because, in spite of their numerical and cultural insignificance, these vernaculars can no more be reduced to a common standard than can for instance modern English, German and Norwegian.

The Vocabularies of the Pamir languages are of a very composite nature. The most interesting part consists of genuine Iranian words inherited within each separate language. They are of special importance because of our limited knowledge of the ancient Ir. vocabulary. Fortunately the isolated Iranian vernaculars of the Pamirs, and notably Wakhi, have preserved a number of ancient I.E. words, many of which are not known elsewhere in Iranian or Indo-Aryan. On principle I feel no diffidence in comparing words from a single Pamir tongue with such found in other I.E. languages. But opinions may differ as to how far one ought to go in including uncertain etymologies. In a work of this kind I have thought it useful to suggest even doubtful derivations for the critical examination of specialists.

Also from the purely Ir. point of view the vocabularies of the Pamir dialects are of great interest. I feel convinced that the only possible method of localizing the language of the Avesta is a minute study of its vocabulary in the light of the modern dialects, and its character appears to me to be preponderantly Eastern Ir. We may also mention the curious fact that while in Yidgha-Munji the word for 'sun' (*mīra*) goes back to *Midra*-, the neighbouring Sanglechi has preserved the name of Ahura-Mazdā in the same sense.

The loan-words of the Pamir languages are of various kinds. Some, not always easily recognizable, have come in from one of the neighbouring Ir. dialects. A few are borrowed from Turkish or I.A. But a very large and rapidly increasing number of words are of Persian origin. It would be of great interest to investigate the different strata of such loans and the various roads of invasion.

An interesting element are such Pamir-Hindukush words of unknown origin which appear to be common to several of the Ir. and I.A. languages of this region, in some cases also to Burushaski. And, finally, we find within each dialect, and especially in Wakhi, a number of apparently isolated words.

A firm basis for our understanding of the phonetical and morphological development of the Pamir languages has been laid by Geiger, and Munji and Ishkashmi-Zebaki have been dealt with separately by Gauthiot, Grierson and Zarubin. I am indebted to these my predecessors at every step in my investigation, but I have not thought it necessary or practical to quote them constantly. With the help of the new material at my disposal I have tried to carry out an historical explanation as far as possible, being well aware that much remains uncertain and hypothetical.

If the phonological and systemological view point has not been followed up as much as might be desirable, this is to a great extent due to the character of the material, which is often incongruous and insufficient for such purposes.<sup>1</sup> Especially the vocalic systems of the languages in question are not easily definable, and the swamping with loan-words makes it difficult to decide exactly what phonemes belong to the genuine systems of the dialects. Still greater are the obstacles which meet us if we try to reconstruct the phonetical system of a Pamir language at some earlier stage, in order to be able to consider the sound-changes which have taken place from a phonological point of view. Yet an attempt may be made to offer a few remarks of a more general nature.

If we look at the changes through which the Yidgha-Munji consonant system has developed from Old Iranian, we find that the most striking feature is the dissolution—as in most modern Ir. languages—of the harmony in the system of fricatives. Among the unvoiced fricatives *x* and *f* are retained, but their position in the system has been changed through the introduction of epenthetic vowels in the groups *fr*-, etc., through the metathesis of *-fr*-, etc., and through the change of *ft* > *vd*, etc. How long *ϑ* has been retained is impossible to tell. We can only prove that the change into *ǰ* is later than the dropping of unstressed *i*,<sup>2</sup> and point to the

<sup>1</sup> In the section-headings 'Historical Phonology' the word phonology has not been used in the modern, "phonological" sense.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 172, 9.

fact that common Yd.—Mj. still retained  $\vartheta$ ,<sup>1</sup> just as Shgh. does to the present day. But while  $*\varthetarai$ ,  $*\acute{x}rai$  '3' and  $*\acute{c}\acute{\alpha}\vartheta\varphi\bar{u}r$ ,  $*\acute{c}\acute{\alpha}\acute{x}\varphi\bar{u}r$  '4' have remained long,  $-\vartheta r-$  was reduced to  $-r-$  at an early date, e.g. in  $p\bar{u}r$  'son'.

Phonetically  $\delta$  may have become  $l$  very early,<sup>2</sup> but phonologically speaking the change was not completed till it coalesced with  $l < r\delta$ , and with  $l$  in loan-words, thus forming a new phoneme, and breaking up the series  $v$  ( $\beta$ ),  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ .

Through the change of  $nd > d$ ,  $ft > vd$ , etc., and through the adoption of loan-words the voiced occlusives have again become part of the system, and new occlusives have been added by the introduction of  $q$  and the development of palatal  $k'$  and  $g'$ . A new opposition has been created through the differentiation of  $\acute{c}$  and  $c$ , but a parallel pair  $j : j$  has not come into existence.

The system of sibilants was profoundly altered through the early change, common to many E.Ir. languages, of  $\acute{y} > \acute{z}$ , of  $-\acute{s}- > *-\acute{z}-$  (from which Yd.—Mj.  $-y-$ , etc.), and of  $s(t)r > \acute{s}$ , opposed to  $\acute{s}$ .

It is not probable that the introduction of cerebrals in Yd.—Mj. should be due merely to the influence of Indo-Aryan loanwords, of which few, if any, appear to be of great antiquity. In most East Ir. languages ancient  $rt$  is represented by a sound which probably has passed through a common stage  $\acute{d}$ . Thus: Shgh.  $m\bar{u}d$ , Rosh.  $m\bar{u}g$ , Yazgh.  $m\acute{a}g$ , Yd., Par.  $m\bar{u}r$ , Sgl.  $m\acute{a}l$ , Psht.  $m\acute{a}r$ , Orm.  $mull-$ , Saka  $m\acute{u}ḍa-$ , but Oss.  $mard$ , Wkh.  $m\acute{a}rt$ , Yaghn.  $m\bar{u}rta < *m\acute{r}ta$ .

The intermediary stage between  $rt$  and  $\acute{d}$  may either have been  $*rd$  or  $*t$ . The latter alternative seems the more probable one on account of the treatment of secondary  $*rt < *rit$  in Shgh., Rosh.  $z\bar{i}rd$ , Yazgh.  $z\bar{a}rd$ , Yd.  $zit$ , Par.  $z\bar{i}t\acute{o}$  'yellow' (and  $m\bar{a}t$  'killed'). A development of  $rt > rd > \acute{d}$ , and of  $rit > rt > rd$  in Shgh. would imply that  $rt$  had twice changed into  $rd$ , and the tentative chronology of Yd.—Mj. tabulated on p. 109, 7)<sup>3</sup> presupposes a sonorization of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Sgl.—Ishk. § 37.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, Yd.—Mj. § 127.

<sup>3</sup>  $*rt > *rd > *d$ .

*t* after *r* earlier than that of intervocalic occlusives. It is therefore, I think, more plausible to assume an early assimilation of *rt* > *t̥* in this group of E.Ir. dialects, and it is perhaps not excluded that Av. “š” represents an attempt to denote a cerebral sound of this type.<sup>1</sup>

In pre-Yd.—Mj. other cerebrals appeared through the assimilation of *rn*, and *rzn* > *n*, of *rn* + *t* > *nt* (*nt̥*), and the absorption of the variety of *t* pronounced after an *š* into the cerebral series. The subsequent fate of these early Yd.—Mj. cerebrals may be tabulated as follows:

* <i>ārtaka</i> - flour	> * <i>yāṭay</i>	> * <i>yāḍay</i>	> { Y <i>yārē</i> M <i>yōrīy</i>
* <i>arnati</i> grinds	> * <i>yēnt̥</i>		> { Y <i>yeikʷ</i> (= * <i>yeigʷ</i> ) M <i>yēnʹgʹ</i>
* <i>arn</i> + <i>ta</i> - ground	> <i>yant̥</i>		> Y <i>yägʷ</i>
* <i>arnami</i> I grind	> * <i>yānam</i>		> { Y <i>yān/n-</i> M <i>yānʷ</i> (= * <i>yānʹgʹ</i> )
* <i>barzna</i> - long	> * <i>βan̥</i>		> { Y <i>vān̥</i> M <i>vānʹgʹ</i>
* <i>am(a)rnā</i> apple	> * <i>amunā</i>		> { Y <i>āmuno</i> M <i>amingʷo</i> (= * <i>aminʹgʹo</i> )
* <i>parna</i> - leaf	> * <i>pān̥</i>	> * <i>pūn̥</i>	> { Y <i>pūn-ä</i> M <i>pūnʷ</i> (= * <i>pūnʹgʹ</i> )
* <i>aštā</i> eight	> * <i>aštā</i>		> { Y <i>oščo</i> M <i>oškʷo</i>
	* <i>ṭangä</i> pear (lw.)	> Y <i>kyogō</i> , <i>çogō</i>	
	* <i>maṇḍ-</i> to rub (lw.)	> * <i>maḍ-</i>	> Y <i>magʷ-</i>

Also Sanglechi-Ishkashmi is characterized by the late loss of *ṭ* (> S *t*, I *s*), but early assimilation of *ṭr*, by the dissolution of the system of fricatives, the development of *š* from *s(t)r*, the opposition between *č* and *c*, the introduction of cerebrals and *q*, and by the

<sup>1</sup> At any rate no E.Ir. dialect lends any support to Junker's assumption of a “unvoiced, fricative *r*” as the intermediate stage.

development of *l* (from *rt/d* and *-š-*), which appears at present to be about to coalesce with *l*. Characteristic of Sgl. is the phonological equivalence of *-d-* and *-δ-*, while in Ishk. the two sounds have coalesced also phonetically.

From Wkh. may be mentioned the differentiation of *γ* and *γ̇*, and of *x* and *ǰ*. The unvoiced fricatives, which had to a great extent disappeared,<sup>1</sup> have been reintroduced in loanwords and in secondary formations. Also cerebrals have been adopted into the system.

It is not possible to reconstruct a common phonological system for all Pamir languages. Only a few sound-changes are common to all of them, and these are also shared, e.g., by Psht. Examples are *sr* > *š* (but note the preservation of *str* in Wkh.), *šm* > *žm*, etc., *ft* > *vd*, etc., *nt* > *nd*, and probably *b-*, *d-*, *g-* > *β-*, *δ-*, *γ-*.<sup>2</sup> Note also the tendency to avoid a vocalic initial through the prothesis of *y-* and *w-*. With the exception of Wkh. they have sonorized *sn* > *zn*, and intervocalic *-š-* > *\*ž*, and to a varying degree intervocalic surd stops. Regarding the development of *rt* see above. The treatment of *θr* and of *št* varies from language to language.

There is a common tendency towards a relaxation in the articulation of *i* and *u*; *ai* and *au* were monophthongized, as everywhere in Middle and Modern Iranian, and it is possible that the development of *ā* > *ū* is common to the southern group of Pamir languages (Yd.—Mj., Sgl.—Ishk., and Wkh.).<sup>3</sup>

Ancient "a" appears in various forms in the modern dialects. It is impossible to decide at which stage the variations of this sound became separate phonemes.

Common Sgl.—Ishk. appears to have known four sounds developed from *a*, viz.<sup>4</sup>: 1) *o*, e.g., in Sgl. *dos*, Ishk. *das* 'ten'; 2) *a*, e.g.,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wkh. § 42.

<sup>2</sup> Sgl.—Ishk. *d-* may be due to a secondary influence of Prs.

<sup>3</sup> But various instances of *a*-umlaut show that final *ā* had not become labialized before it was dropped in Shgh. and Sgl.—Ishk., and also in Parachi. Cf. p. 324; IIFL. I, p. 23, and NTS. I, p. 84. Probably it was shortened to *-a* at an early date.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sgl.—Ishk. §§ 78 sqq.

in Sgl.—Ishk. *kas-* ‘to see’; 3) *ō*, e.g., in Sgl. *vōst*, Ishk. *vūst* ‘bound’; 4) *ā*, e.g., in Sgl. *vānd-*, Ishk. *vōnd-* ‘to bind’. In the modern dialects the quantity is perhaps not relevant, but it certainly was so in common Sgl.—Ishk. We therefore find early Prs. lws with *ō* in Class 3 (e.g. *kōr*: *kūr* ‘blind’); and such with Prs. *ā* in Class 4 (e.g. *nāf*: *nōf* ‘navel’).

Type 1 frequently goes back to words with *a* in originally open syllable. Thus, Sgl. *dos* ‘ten’, *oyod* ‘came’, *vōr* ‘door’, *xōf* ‘foam’, *žod* ‘killed’, *mod(ak)* ‘here’, *novōk* ‘rain’.

Type 2 may represent *a* in open syllable before an *ā* in the following syllable. Thus *kasen* ‘I see’ < \**kasāmi*; *xwārən* ‘I eat’ < \**hwarāmi*; <sup>1</sup> *fras-* ‘to ask’; *nav-* ‘to rain’; *tar* ‘from’ < \**tarā*, etc.

Type 3 contains chiefly words with *a* in ancient closed syllable: Sgl. *vōst* ‘bound’; *γōndəm* ‘wheat’; *vōš* ‘rope’ (< \**bastra-*); *kot* ‘saw’ (< \**kašta-*); *ōvd* ‘seven’; *f<sup>3</sup>rōt* ‘asked’, etc.

Type 4 consists of words with *a* in a closed syllable before *ā* or *i*, both of which may have prevented labialization. Examples are: Sgl. *vānd-* ‘to bind’; *xānd-* ‘to laugh’, and other verbal stems; *cām* ‘eye’, *pām* ‘wool’, *dānd* ‘tooth’, *mār* ‘husband’, from nominatives in *-ā* of ancient stems in *-n*; <sup>2</sup> *wār* ‘trousers’; *zāl* ‘yellow’ < \**zarita-*; *jānj* ‘woman’ < \**janiči*; *āšik* ‘tear’ < \**asrika-* < \**asrika-*; *mārcik* ‘ant’ < *marwiči* + *ik*.

But there are numerous exceptions, which do not fit in with this scheme.

Thus *wāt*: *waṭ* ‘fell’ belongs to Type 2 and not, as expected, to 3; *warf* ‘snow’ (< \**wafrā(h)*) to 2, and not to 4; <sup>3</sup> *ormōzd* ‘sun’ to 3 and not to 4; <sup>4</sup> *xuāl*: *xōl* ‘six’ must, in order to fit in, be derived from \**xwaššā*, but Sgl. *hōt*, Zeb. *ūt* ‘eight’, points to \**ašta*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But *xwōrō-i* < \**hwarati*. Cf. Shgh. *xārum*: *xīrd*; Par. *xarem* (not \**xōrem*, cf. Par. Gramm. § 189).—But Mj. (*xarem*;) *xūt* prob. < \**xārt* < \**xwart*.

<sup>2</sup> But note Yd. *čam*, *pad*, *lad*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Ishk. got its *a* from Prs. *barf*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ahuramazdā(h)* may have been transferred into the *a*-declension at an early date.

<sup>5</sup> Ishk. *aṭ* with *a* from Prs. *ašt*?

In the suffixes *-ōk* (< *\*-akah*) and *-āk* (< *\*-akā*) the vowel must have been lengthened. Especially difficult to explain are: *sor: sur* 'head'; *xor: xur* 'ass'; *tovōr: tuwur* 'axe'; *yōz: yūz* 'firewood', which belong to Type 3, although one would expect to find them together with *vōr: var* 'door' in Class 1.<sup>1</sup> It ought, however, to be noted that we also find Wkh. *xur* 'ass'; *ŷūz* 'firewood'; *purk* 'rat' in contradistinction to *bār* 'door', *pārg* 'ashes'; but Wkh. also has *t<sup>2</sup>pār* 'axe'.

In spite of these irregularities, which may partly be due to mixing of dialects, the factors mentioned above appear to be the only ones which might explain at any rate the majority of cases. And, at all events, it seems certain that common Sgl.—Ishk. must already have possessed four separate phonemes: *a*, *o*, *ā*, *ō*, all derived from ancient "a".

In the Vocabularies the words have been arranged in order of their consonants (cf. IIFL. I. p. 230).

Words quoted from other sources have as far as possible been adapted to the transcription used in this work.

Thus Shaw: *â = ā*, *a = ʌ*, *è = ē*, *i, î = ī*, *ó, ô = ō*, *ū, ú = ū*, *th = θ*, *dh = δ*, *sh = š*, *sch = ṣ̌*, *z = ž*, *khh = x*, *kh = ǰ*, *gh = γ*, italic *g = ġ*, *ch = č*, *ts = c*, *j = ĵ* and *dz = j*.

I have also changed Sköld's and Lentz's *ï, ũ, ts, tš*, etc., into *y, w, c, č*, etc., and *ǰ, ĵ* in Shgh., etc., into *š, ž*.<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g., *yōc* for Sköld's *ïo.tš*.

I have retained Lorimer's *u* for the high, mixed vowel. Sköld himself has frequently altered the *ū* of his original notations into *ï*, but *ü* has sometimes remained unchanged.

In words taken from Bellew's and Biddulph's lists I have tran-

<sup>1</sup> Sgl. *pōrk*: Ishk. *purk* 'rat, mouse' < *\*pōrk* < *\*pork*, with early contraction < *\*paruka*·; but Zeb. *park* 'ashes' < *\*parakā*.

<sup>2</sup> The Afghan author of the list of Shughni words in *Annuaire de la revue de Kaboul*, 1934—35, pp. 148 sqq., writes *پس* *š*, but *څ* *ž*.

scribed *á* with *ā*, *gh* with *γ*, *sh* with *š*, *ch* with *č*, and *th* with *θ*, wherever the correctness of the transcription seemed to be certain. But I have quoted, e.g., Bellew's "zāghit", Biddulph's "thurght", and Capus' "dghogit, dzogit" 'daughter' within quotation-marks, without attempting to restore the true phonetical form (< \**ḍäy'ḍ*, \**ḍāyḍ*, and \**ḍoy'ḍ*?).

In a few cases I am afraid that I have not been consistent in the use of final, postvocalic *-i*, *-u* and *-y*, *-w*.

The Prs. and Khowar translations added to words and phrases in the Vocabularies are given in the exact, not always very correct, form in which they were given by my informants.

In the Yd.—Mj. Vocabulary "Y" after a word denotes that identical forms were given by Yzh, Ysh and at least two other Yd. informants. Similarly "Sgl. p." in the Sgl.—Ishk. Vocabulary means that the form is common to Sgl. p 1, 2, and 3.

The English-Iranian Index which I hope may be of some use to Iranian scholars, has to a large extent been compiled by my wife.

My sincere thanks are also due to Professor Konow for his advise during the proof-reading, to Mr. G. K. Laycock, Lecturer at the University of Gothenburg, for correcting the English of the greater part of the volume, and to the printers and the diligent and patient compositors. I desire also in this place to express my gratitude to the authorities of Chitral, who kindly helped me and received me with hospitality during my work in the country.

The printing of this volume began in June 1936, and later publications have only occasionally been referred to.

Oslo, 7—1—1938.

G. M.





## ABBREVIATIONS

### *Languages.*

Bal.	= Balochi.	O. Prs.	= Old Persian.	S(gl).	= Sanglechi.
Bart.	= Bartangi.	Or.	= Oroshori.	Shgh.	= Shughni.
Bur.	= Burushaski.	Orm.	= Ormuri.	Sogd.	= Sogdian.
IA.	= Indo-Aryan.	Oss.	= Ossetic.	Wan.	= Wanetsi Pashto.
IE.	= Indo-European.	Par.	= Parachi.	W(kh).	= Wakhi.
Ir.	= Iranian.	Prs.	= (New) Persian.	Y(d).	= Yidgha.
I(shk).	= Ishkashmi.	Psht.	= Pashto.	Yaghn.	= Yaghnobi.
Khow.	= Khowar.	Rosh.	= Roshani.	Yazgh.	= Yazghulami.
M(j).	= Munji.	Sar.	= Sarikoli.	Zb.	= Zebaki.

### *Books and Periodicals, etc.*

AIM. = Herzfeld, Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.

B. = Biddulph, Yidghah Voc., in Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh.

Barth. Miran. Mund. = Bartholomae, Mitteliranische Mundarten, I—VI, Sitzb. Heidelb. Ak. d. Wiss. 1916—1925.

Be. = Bellew, Voc. of Sārigh Cūlī, Wākhi etc., in Forsyth, Report on a Mission to Yarkund 1873.

Benv. Gr. Sogd. = Benveniste, Grammaire Sogdienne, II.

Bi. = Biddulph, Voc. of Sirikol, Wakhan and Kunjoot dialects, in Forsyth, Report (v. above).

Burhan ud Din. Bu D. = Burxan-ud-Din-xan-i-Kuškeki, Kattagan i Badaxšan, Taškent, 1926.

Cap(us) = Voc. Wakhi, in Bull. de la Société d' Anthropologie de Paris, 3<sup>e</sup> Série, Tom. 12, p. 206 sq.

Et. Voc. Psht. = Morgenstierne, Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto.

G. = Gauthiot, Quelques observations sur le Mindjāni, MSL. XX, pp. 133 sqq.

- Geiger, Pamirdialekte, or Gr.Ir.Ph. = W. Geiger, Die Pāmīr-Dialekte, in Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie, I, 2.
- Gramm. = Gramophone record.
- Grierson = Sir George A. Grierson, Ishkashmī, Zebakī, and Yazghulamī. As. Soc. Prize Publ. Fund, V.
- Herzfeld, v. AIM.
- Hjuler = A. Hjuler, The languages spoken in the Western Pamir, in: The Second Danish Pamir-Expedition, conducted by O. Olufsen.
- Houtum-Schindler = H. Sch., Beiträge zum kurdischen Wortschatze, ZDMG, 38, pp. 43 sqq.
- IIFL., I. = Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, I.
- Junker, Drei Erz. = H. Junker, Drei Erzählungen auf Yaṛnābī, Sitz. d. Heidelb. Ak. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 1914, 14.
- Kl. = S. I. Klimčickiy, Vaxanskīe tekstī, in: Trudy Tadžikistanskoy bazi, Tom III.
- Lentz. = W. Lentz, Pamir-Dialekte, I. Ergänzungsheft z. Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung, Nr. 12.
- Lorimer, Bur. Gramm. = D. L. R. Lorimer, Burushaski Grammar.
- Mir. Man. = Andreas-Henning, Mitteliranische Manichaica (in SBAW).
- Munshī Faiz Bakhsh. = Vocabularies collected by M. F. B., and publ. by Shaw, in Ghalchah Languages, pp. 134 sqq.
- Or. Stud. Pavry = Oriental Studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry, London 1933.
- Ol. = Olufsen, Through the unknown Pamirs.
- Rep. (on a lingu. mission to) Afgh. = Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan.
- Rep. (on a lingu. mission to) N.W. Ind. = Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to North-Western India.
- Shgh. ABC and abc. = Inqilōbi Madani Pōndand (Shughni primer for grown up people), and Xuṛnōni Alifbə (Shughni primer for children), Stalinabad 1932 and 1931.
- Sköld, Mater. = H. Sköld, Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen. Skr. utg. av kgl. Hum. Vetensk. samf. i Lund, XXI.
- Stein = Material collected by Sir A. Stein, and published by Grierson (v. above).
- Studia Indo-Ir. = Studia Indo Iranica, Ehrengabe für W. Geiger.
- Tomaschek = W. Tomaschek, Centralasiatische Studien, II.
- Vavilov, Agricultural Afghanistan = N. I. Vavilov and D. D. Bukinin, Agricultural Afghanistan, Leningrad, 1929 (in Russian).
- W(alde)-P(ok.) = A. Walde, Vergl. Wörterbuch d. indo germ. Sprachen, herausgeg. von J. Pokorny.
- Zar. = Zarubin, K xarakteristike mundžanskogo yazīka, Iran. I.
- Zar. Očerk razg. yaz. samark. = Zarubin. Očerk razgovornogo yazīka Samarkandskix Evreev. Iran., II.

YIDGHA-MUNJI



## INTRODUCTION

1. A bibliography of the scanty literature dealing with the two closely related Iranian dialects Munji and Yidgha has been given in LSI, X pp. 509 and 518, and it has been brought up to date by Zarubin<sup>1</sup> and by Lentz.<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the present author's review of Zarubin's article,<sup>3</sup> and the short remarks about Yidgha and Munji, Report on a Linguistic Mission to N.W. India, pp. 69—72.

The material for the study of Yidgha was previously limited to the Vocabulary of some 500—600 words with introductory remarks given by Biddulph in his Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh,<sup>4</sup> and to the translation of the Parable and the Standard List of words contained in the LSI.

Munji was made known to philologists four years earlier than its sister dialect through the vocabulary of some eighty words collected by Munshi Faiz Bakhsh and published by Shaw.<sup>5</sup> This list is, however, disfigured by numerous errors and misprints.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from the material published in LSI, the only contributions to our knowledge of Munji in recent times have been

<sup>1</sup> К характеристике мунджанского языка, Иран, I, 111 sqq., Leningrad, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> Pamir-Dialekte, I, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> NTS, III, 296—98.

<sup>4</sup> Calcutta 1880, pp. CLIV—CLXIX.

<sup>5</sup> On the Ghalchah Languages, JASB, 1876.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. *kara* 'ass', with *k*- for *x*-; *tarávi* 'black', with *t* (ṭ) for *n* (ṣ); *pásti* 'bone', with *p* (ṣ) for *y* (ṣ); *ghaoda* 'cow', with *d* (ṣ) for *w* (ṣ); *yàrgh* 'rat', with *y* (ṣ) for *p* (ṣ); *vorah* 'goat', with *r* (ṣ) for *z* (ṣ), etc.

Gauthiot's *Quelques observations sur le mindjâni*,<sup>1</sup> containing some 300 words, and Zarubin's above-mentioned article (about 850 words of vocabulary, with a valuable grammatical introduction).

Probably no part of this material has been collected in Yidgha or Munji-speaking territory. Gauthiot took down his vocabulary in Samarkand from a Kulābī peasant who was born in Wakhan in a small colony of Munjis settled there. Zarubin's material is derived from two Munji emigrants living in Ishkashim, and Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan, the chief informant of the LSI, probably collected his data about the various Pamir dialects from visitors to the capital of Chitral. Biddulph may, of course, have taken down his vocabulary of "Yidghah spoken in the upper part of the Lutkho valley and in Munjan" in Lutkuh itself, but it is perhaps more reasonable to assume that he made his diverse linguistic investigations in Chitral Headquarters.

2. As a matter of fact, very few Europeans seem to have visited Munjan, and none of them gives any information about the language spoken there. Wood<sup>2</sup> never proceeded beyond the lapis lazuli mines above Firgamu which are still in Persian-speaking territory. The only other European visitors known to me are Robertson,<sup>3</sup> who in 1892 (?) paid a flying visit to a Munjan village bordering upon Kafirstan, and the Russian botanists Vavilov and Bukinich,<sup>4</sup> who passed through Sanglech and Munjan. But Vavilov did not even notice that the language spoken in Munjan differed from that of the rest of Badakhshan.

Lutkuh, the home of the Yidgha-speaking *Idāys*, is much better known, and has, owing to its belonging to the British Indian protected state of Chitral, been visited by numerous British officers. But

<sup>1</sup> MSI, XIX, pp. 133—157.

<sup>2</sup> A personal narrative of a journey to the sources of the Oxus. London 1841. V. pp. 262 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> The Kāfirs of the Hindu-Kush, pp. 315 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Agricultural Afghanistan. Leningrad 1929, pp. 112 sqq.

none of them has, as far as I am aware, published anything about the local dialect.

3. My material about Yidgha was collected in the summer of 1929 partly in Chitral Town and partly at Garm Chishma and other places in Lutkuh. During a visit to the Dorah Pass I twice came through the Yidgha settlements in Lutkuh. The political unrest in Afghanistan rendered it impossible to obtain permission to visit Munjan, but I came into contact with several Munjis in Chitral. They came there as traders, and some of them used the opportunity to bring with them for sale lapis lazuli from the famous mines which under normal conditions are exploited by the Afghan government.
4. My Yidgha informants were:
  - 1) *Mahmad* from *Zhitr*. My best informant, from whom I got an Yzh extensive vocabulary, besides sentences and paradigms. About 30 years old. (I worked with him at Garm Chishma.)
  - 2) *Hawala Khan* from *Parabek*, havildar in H. H.'s bodyguard, a Yp comparatively young man.—Two short songs, and a vocabulary taken down in the fields and houses of Burbunu (with some contributions from the villagers). (Garm Chishma).
  - 3) *Bik* from *Gufti*, havildar in His Highness' bodyguard. A young, Yg brown-haired and blue-eyed, brachycephalic Homo Alpinus. Quite intelligent and willing.—Vocabulary and some sentences. (Chitral).
  - 4) *Kurban Ali*, born in *Zhitr*, but living in *Ughuti* since many Yu years. 50—60 years old, and not easy to work with.—Two tales.—(Garm Chishma).
  - 5) *Haidar Ali* from *Rubāt-i-Kārōn* in Munjan, but settled for the Yr last 20 years in Garm Chishma. About 40 years old.—His language was in the main Y, but interspersed with some M forms.<sup>1</sup>—Vocabulary and sentences. (Chitral and Garm Chishma).
6. *Ghulām Haidar*, who first asserted that he was a native of Ysh *Shahr-i-Munjan*, but later turned out to be from *Zhitr*. He

<sup>1</sup> Thus e.g. *brūt* mustache, *biwo* widow, *ojuzyo* frog, *tōvistōn* summer, *zimistōn* winter (with M *ō*), v. Voc. s.vv.



probably thought that the dialect of a more distant place would fetch a higher price in the market.—Quite intelligent.—Vocabulary, sentences, and a long tale. (Chitral).

5. My Munji informants were:

- 7) *Ali Mahmād* from *Miāndeh* in Munjan. Ysh denied that A. M. Mm was a native of Munjan, probably in order to appear to be my— at that time—only purveyor of Munji. There can be no doubt whatever that Mm spoke good and pure Munji, and he was my chief informant as regards that dialect.—Vocabularies, sentences, and a short tale. (Chitral).
- 8) *Kurbān Mahmād* from *Gaz*, below *Miāndeh*.—Middle-aged.— Mg Vocabulary, sentences. (Chitral).
- 9) *Naurōz* from *Gaz*.—Short vocabulary (about 300 words). (Chitral). M(g)
- 10) *Jawār* from *Tagou*.—Vocabulary. (Chitral). Mt

Besides I made quite short enquiries from the following persons whom I came across in Chitral village, or on the road:

- 11) A man from *Tilī* (*Āulī*).—Vocabulary (125 words). (Chitral). Mti
- 12) *Nazar Shāh* from *Shahr-i-Munjan*.—Voc. (some 50 words). M(sh)
- 13) *Ali Nazar* from *Shahr-i-Munjan*.—Numerals only. Msh
- 14) *Kurban Mahmād* from *Tagou*.—A few words and grammatical M(t) forms.

6. Unfortunately none of my informants were any good as story-tellers, and it was only with difficulty that I could get tales out of some of them. Moreover, the Munjis were eager to return to the harvesting work as quickly as possible, and not even the persuasive powers of my Pathan servant Yasin Khan could induce them to stay in Chitral. In most cases I could only work with the Munjis for a day or even less.

7. The origin of the name Munjan has been discussed in an article in BSOS, VI, pp. 29 sqq. Prs. *Munjān* is an arabized form of *Mungān*, cf. Sgl. *Mandežān*. While the Munjis themselves use the Prs. form, the Y name of the valley is *Bre'γeyo*, which together

with Kati *Mr'ū-gul* and Khowar *Mirjān* (in poetry) points to original \**Mrga-* or a similar form.

The Kati name used in myths and legends is *Kāmōr*, v. op. cit. p. 442<sup>2</sup>, and cf. the name of the pass leading from Prasun to Munjan: *Kamah* (Robertson), *Kamarbida* (= *Kamār bi dā* 'on the K. Pass', Survey Map), *Komah* (Vavilov), *Kamar Bida* (Voigt, Kafiristan).

8. Munjan is mentioned for the first time in the 7th century AD by Hüan Tsang, who says that the people depend on the Turks and that their "manners . . . resemble to a great extent the Hwoh country" (Kunduz = Tokharistan).<sup>1</sup>

Very little is known about the subsequent history of the district. Yule<sup>2</sup> has rendered it probable that the Munjan of the Arab travellers must have extended towards the north right up to the neighbourhood of Talikan and Khanabad. However this may be, the evidence of some place-names seems to indicate that Munji was once spoken further north than is the case at present.<sup>3</sup>

Whether *Melengad* (p. 131 *Melengan*) n.e. of Jurm on Burhan ud Din's map (Бадахшан и Каттаган, p. 120) contains *Mj. malanē* 'middle', is of course quite uncertain, as other "l-dialects" exist, cf. below §§ 27, 28.

In more recent times Munjan came under the sway of the Mirs of Badakhshan, and, according to Burhan ud Din,<sup>4</sup> paid a yearly tribute of two Kafir slaves. It is not quite clear how they were able to procure these slaves, since Wood<sup>5</sup> tells us about frequent Kafir inroads into Badakhshan through Munjan, and adds that since

<sup>1</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 288.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Marquardt, *Eranshahr*, 226, 231.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. *Firgamu*, *Firghamiru* s. of Jurm, *Firgam Tal*, n. of Faizabad, etc. (cf. Voc. s.v. *fer'γāmā*), and *Gharmai*, s. of Jurm.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit. p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit. p. 266.

the time of an especially violent attack some time before his visit, there had been no permanent settlers in the valley above Firgamu. This last information must be greatly exaggerated and is probably due to some kind of misunderstanding. But the peaceful and dull Munjis, who according to Burhan ud Din himself, only possess some 30—40 matchlocks and 5—6 (!) knives and swords between them, are hardly likely to have been able to capture slaves from the Kafirs, even from the meek and peaceful Prasuns. But possibly they bought Kafir slaves for the purpose.

In 1859, on the conquest of Kataghan by the Afghans, Munjan together with the rest of Badakhshan became a tributary to Kabul and, according to Burhan ud Din, agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 300 rupies. Vavilov and one of my informants state that there is a small Afghan military post in the valley.

9. Munjan is an excessively poor district. Vavilov<sup>1</sup> writes that the inhabitants gain their bread with enormous difficulties. They have few children because as they say, there is not enough food for more. The inhabitants of Tili have only sufficient bread for nine months, the rest of the year they subsist on grass and roots. Only on rare occasions do they eat meat. They cannot keep large flocks<sup>2</sup> on account of the scarcity of pasture,<sup>3</sup> but rely on agriculture.

Vavilov and Burhan ud Din agree that apricots and other kinds of fruit are of no importance. There are a few apricot-trees in the lower villages, but the fruit is bitter, and the blossoms are frequently destroyed by frost. Mulberries are not grown. The snow remains in Tili for from three to six months. Barley, millet

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for the following pp. 112 sqq. and 526 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to B. ud D. the 2500 inhabitants of Anjuman and Munjan possess 111 horses, 898 cows and asses, and 4149 sheep. Vavilov found 25 horses, 40 cows, 25 sheep, 15 goats and 4 donkeys in Tili, a village of 20 houses with 50—60 inhabitants. The position of Tili at the foot of the pass leading to Kafirstan probably accounts for the number of horses.

<sup>3</sup> Robertson (l.c.) mentions the good quality of the grazing grounds, but this may apply only to single localities. Nowhere is the exploitation of summer-pastures in the hills mentioned, nor did I hear about it.

mixed with rye, and peas form the staple crops, but "the fields are heaps of stones amongst which small patches of ground are sown with millet and barley."

The inhabitants eke out the meagre produce of agriculture by trading on a small scale. They carry on their backs salt from Faizabad to Nuristan and sell it in exchange for wool, butter, hides and felt (palas).<sup>2</sup>

But, as I had occasion to observe, Munjis also take part in the export of blocks of red Badakhshi rock-salt to Chitral, and employ horses or donkeys for its transport.

Munjan is not altogether cut off from the outer world. According to B. ud D. a "big government road" leads through Munjan from Jurm and across the Hindukush to Prasun in Nuristan (= Kafiristan).<sup>3</sup> Another road, or track, leads from Maghnawul in Munjan across the Khelargai and Dorah Passes to Chitral, without touching the inhabited part of the Sanglech valley. And finally there is a rough track from Maghnawul to the Bashgal Valley.

The road across the Hindukush to Prasun and further into the Kunar valley is of quite recent date and the traffic which it carries has as yet had little influence upon the population of Munjan and their language. The main route, at any rate in earlier times, branched off below Munjan proper, followed the Anjuman river, and crossed into Panjshir and the Kabul region.

Among the three regions which may have influenced Munjan linguistically and culturally there is no doubt that Persian-speaking Badakhshan has for geographical and political reasons played a more important part than Chitral<sup>4</sup> or Kafiristan. But there is one factor which has tended to isolate Munjan from the neighbouring districts on the same river-system. The Munjis are Ismailis

<sup>1</sup> Vavilov, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> B. ud D. p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> In Woods time the road between Jurm and Munjan was very bad.

<sup>4</sup> The trade in the small bazar at Chitral village appears to have been insignificant prior to the British occupation in 1895.

and pay their tribute to the agents of the Agha Khan, just as the Yidghs and most other Pamir tribes do, while Kuran and Anjuman, with the exception of two villages Rabat and Sekui, bordering upon Munjan and probably originally Munji speaking, are of the Sunni persuasion.<sup>1</sup>

According to Vavilov, the inhabited part of the Munjan valley extends for 22—24 km. from Shahr (-i- Munjan) to Tili. In a side valley branching off towards the east at Shahr lies "Torau", 8—9 km. from Shahr, and close to it Maghnawul.<sup>2</sup> From Tili to the top of the Prasun Pass the distance is 42 versts.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the existing maps of Munjan are far from being exact. Thus, on the map accompanying Abdur Rahman's memoirs the whole valley has been turned upside down, and on the apparently very detailed map in B. ud. D.'s book the villages have been thrown about in a most fanciful manner. And even Vavilov, who passed through the district, on both of his maps places Maghnawul and "Torou" in the main valley *below* Shahr!<sup>4</sup> The information I received about the position of the villages agrees in the main with the Survey of India maps.

10. Our only material for determining the number of inhabitants in Munjan is to be found in the particulars given by Vavilov and Burhan ud Din. Burhan ud Din estimates the population at 1500 persons, and the number of houses at 237.<sup>5</sup> He does not, however,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. u. D., l.c.—According to my informants *Robāt* now speaks Farsi, but place-names such as *Tuyakaf* are evidently of Mj. origin.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Vavilov's map, p. 113, 10 versts, a little over 10 km. from Shahr.

<sup>3</sup> This agrees fairly well with the Survey of India map: 17½ m. (29 km.) from Shahr to Tili, and 26 m. (= 43 km.) from Tili to the pass. Vavilov gives the height of Shahr as 2900 mètres, of Tili as 3025 mètres, and of Maghnawul as 3340 mètres.

<sup>4</sup> Vavilov (p. 115) violently attacks Sir G. Robertson to whom, without any foundation in fact, he attributes the absurdity of including Munjan orographically in Kafiristan.

<sup>5</sup> Exclusive of the summer kishlak of Nao with 6 houses.

mention the villages of Wulf, Mianshahr and Wayo. Vavilov counts 464 houses, and as he reckons 2—3 inhabitants to each house (in the case of Tili), this would give us a population of some 1200 persons. It ought, however, to be noted that he does not mention the villages left out by B. ud. D., and, besides, he gives no information about Ghaz and Shah Pari. In details the calculations of the two authors as to the numbers of houses in each village vary, but Vavilov is no doubt the more reliable source. But on the whole we shall not go very far wrong if we assume that the total Munji-speaking population amounts to something between 1000 and 1500 persons.

While it is probable that Munji once extended over a wider area, there is nothing, either in written history, or in local tradition, which refers to the immigration of the Munjis into their present home. Probably the growth of the population in the lower valleys, and may be also political disturbances, forced their ancestors to extend their settlements up to the highest possible limit. But we have no means of knowing when Munjan first became inhabited. The archaic character of some place-names (cf. *Tili*, *Wulf*, *Miliyeg*, etc.)<sup>1</sup> points to a comparatively early date.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. List of Names s.v.v.

11.

*List of Villages in the Munjan*

Indian Survey (and other official sources)	Vavilov	Burhan ud Din
Skarzer (left bank) Yoim (right bank) Sekwao  Razar But (r) Kalaomir (r) Toghakaf (l) Robāt		Iskarzer, 40 houses  Sekui, 16 h.       Rabat, 20 h.
Shahr-i-Munjan Doāo (Survey) Deh Ambe (Mil. Rep.) Wilu (r) Ghaz (l) Shui Pari (r)  Sar Jangal (l) Waio (l) Mian Deh(a) (r) Yakhdak (l) Panam (r) Kala-i-Shah (r) (=Gulbakaf, Kurbakaf) Thali, Tuli Nāo (r)	Šar, 2 900 mètres, 100 h.  Diombe, 30 h. Villo, 30 h.     Mionbe, 30 h. Yagdak, 12 h. Pano (Pako), 12 h. Kala-i-Šau, 200 h.  Tli, 3025 m., 20h., 50—60 inh. Nao, 2 huts	Šaran, 80 h.  Deh-i-Ebnai, 15 h. Vilav, 10 h. Gez (غز), 20 h. Šah Pari, 12 h. Čauni (Post), 9 h. Sar-i-Džengel', 10 h.  Miyan Deh, 25 h. Yagdek, 15 h. Penam (Pekam), 15 h. Kal'a-i-Šah, 10 h.  Teli, 30 h. Tav (تڤ), 6 h.

*Villages in the Eastern Side*

(Šahr-i- Munjan) Mianshahr (= Kash Kāri)	Torau, 3 130 m.	Tekab
Peip, or Wulf Maghnawul	Magnaul, 3 340 m., 30 h.	Megnul
		} 10 h.

*Main Valley (from North to South)*

Y r	Y sh	M t	M(g)	
Skōrzer	Skarzer (l)			
16) Iwīm	Yu'wīm (r)			
17) Səkvō	4) 'Skəwo (r)			
15) Purwōs?				
14) Rāzer	3) Rāzer (l)			
18) Ka'la				
19) Tuγokaf	2) Tuγakaf (r)			
20) Ru'bōt	1) Rubāt			
4) Šār	Šāhar	1) Šahr	Šō'rōn, Šāher	Šār-i-Munjān M (sh)
5) Dēambī		2) Dēambeh	Dīam'bē	
6) Wīlū	Wīlu	3) Wīlu	Wīlu	
7) Γāz (Šah-i-Parē)		4) Γaz	Γəz (Prs. Aiyāz)	
		5) Šāi Pa'rē	Šō-i Pa'rī	
8) Sarjaṅ'gāl (Wayo)		6) Wayo		Sarjaṅ'gāl M m
9) Miān'dēo		7) Miān'dēa	Miān'dia	Miāndeh M m
10) Iγ'dak (Panam)		8) Iγ'dāk	Yuγ'dāk	Yuγ dāk M m
11) Kale-i- Šō		9) Pa'naū	P <sup>h</sup> a'nō	
		10) Ka'lā	K <sup>h</sup> ala-i- Šō	
12) Tə'lī	Te'li	11) Tə'lī	Thr'lī	Ti'lī=Āu'li M ti
13) Nōu		12) Nau	Nōu	

*Valley (from West to East)*

4) Šār	= Miliγeg?			
3) Ta'gōu	Tagōu	Tagōu		
2) Wulf	Wulf		Wulf	
1) Maγna'vul	Maγnawul	Maγnawul		



12. The territory inhabited by the Yidgha-speaking tribe in Lutkuh<sup>1</sup> is more inviting than Munjan. The altitude of the inhabited parts of the valley is considerably less, from 2 400—2 500 m. (7 600—7 900 feet) as compared with 2 900—3 340 in Munjan. Wheat and maize are grown,<sup>2</sup> apricots and possibly other fruits ripen, and walnuts are at any rate abundant at Izh, at the lower extremity of the Yidgha-speaking district. The so-called Parabek plain especially is both fairly wide and well cultivated, and compares favourably with most parts of Chitral. The houses and their inhabitants did not give the impression of extreme poverty, at least not when seen on a smiling summer day. The houses are built of stone, as there is no forest in the inhabited part of the valley. Higher up there is some birch and willow jungle, and still higher there are apparently rich hill-pastures abounding in a variety of alpine flowers and surrounded by extensive shrubs of briar which cover the hill-sides below the Dorah Pass.

The rain-fall is scanty, but there seems to be quite sufficient water for irrigation coming from the numerous hill-nullahs that drain the snow-fields.

The continuous Yidgha settlements do not extend for more than about 10 km. (6—7 miles) from Burbunu to Birzin, but there are a couple of hamlets, *Goik* and *Imirdino*, a few miles higher up.<sup>3</sup> Below Burbunu the population speaks Khowar, and between Imirdino and the foot of the Dorah Pass there are a few small settlements, dating from the nineties, of Kati refugees from the upper Bashgal valley.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grierson in LSI gives *Leoṭkuh* as the correct pronunciation. I heard Khowar *ṽLoṭkuh*, *okuṭ*, meaning the large (*loṭh*, *luṭh*) valley or district (*kuh*). *Lutkho* is an incorrect form, due to the association of the word with *Turi-kho* and *Muli-kho*, the home-valleys of the Kho tribe.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Gurdon Lutkuh counts among the richest wheat-growing districts in Chitral.

<sup>3</sup> V. Map.

<sup>4</sup> According to Bruce, *Twenty Years in the Himalayas*, p. 264, there was before that time a small settlement of Prasun Kafirs at the foot of the pass.

13. The following particulars about the Yidgha speaking villages are taken from official reports (of 1904) by Captain B. E. M. Gurdon, which I have got permission to use. His two lists of the number of houses and families are probably derived from different sources.

*List of Villages of Northern (Left) Bank of the River (from below).*

Gurdon	Survey Map	Yidgha
Burbunu 10 (9) houses	Burbunu	<i>Burbu'nū</i>
J(h)itur 15 houses, 21 families	Itr	<i>Žitr, Žitr</i>
Rui 12 h., 12 f.	Rui	<i>Rūi</i>
Gistini, Ge° 6 h., 21 f.	Gastinu	<i>Gistini</i>
Gulugh 4 h., 6 f.	Ghalok	<i>Gu'lyū</i>
Ughuti 7 h., 7 f.	Ughuti	<i>Avyato (Khow. Uyuti)</i>
Gohik 9 f.		<i>Go'ik</i>
Imirdin 3 (12) h., 7 f.	Imirdit	<i>Imirdino (Imurjin)</i>

*Villages on the Right Bank.*

Gurdon	Survey	Yidgha
W(h)arth 6 h., 5 f.	Warth	<i>Wart (Khow. Waxt)</i>
Parabek 3 h., 6 f.	Parabek	<i>Parəuko (Khow. Parabek)</i>
Gufti 4 h., 8 f.	Gufti	<i>Gurto (Khow. Guḡti, Guxti)</i>
Birzin 10 h., 12 f.	Birzin	<i>Birzin, Br'zin<sup>1</sup></i>
80 h., 110 f.		

According to Gurdon's calculations, the total population would at that time have amounted to not more than 6—700 persons, and Biddulph<sup>2</sup> can hardly be right in putting the number of families

<sup>1</sup> Besides Yu mentioned *Aržūiko* (above Imirdino?) and *Xūyiko* (below Parəuko?).

<sup>2</sup> P. 64.

at one thousand. I was told that there were now 2—300 Yidgha-speaking houses (about 800—1 000 persons), and it is quite possible that the population has increased so much during the last thirty years of peace.

14. The name of a member of the tribe is *Idəy*, pl. *Idyë* (Mj. *Yidg*, pl. *Yid'gi*). This is also the name of the tribe itself and the valley it inhabits (Biddulph *Yidokh*, usually in the obl. pl. *Idyef*), while the language is called *Yed'yā*, Mj. *Yid'yūn*, or also *Yidgānə rōi*. Phonetically *Idəy*, *Yidg* points to an ancient form *\*Indug* < *\*(H)induka*,<sup>1</sup> and it is possible that this name was first given by the Munjis to those of their fellow tribesmen who settled on the Indian side of the mountains.

According to my informants, Yidghs live also below Burbunu, at Droshp, Chirwul (near Garm Chishma) and Murdān, but do not speak the language any longer.

The religious centre of the tribe lies just outside the area in which Yidgha is spoken, close to the bridge at Izh, and it is quite a picturesque Maulai shrine with pretty woodcarving and surrounded by fine trees.

According to Biddulph<sup>2</sup> the Yidghs "claim to have migrated from Munjan<sup>3</sup> seven generations ago, in consequence of an invasion of that district by the rulers of Badakhshan in which the Meer of Munjan was slain". This information has every appearance of being precise and trustworthy and fits in well with the linguistic facts. Gurdon believes that they came from Munjan, Kuran and Ishkashim, but I doubt whether there are any grounds for including the last mentioned district. I was not able to get this tradition about their origin confirmed. Yu, my oldest informant, did not

<sup>1</sup> Cf §§ 118, 164. *Injigān* is probably the Badakhshi form < *\*Indigān*.

<sup>2</sup> Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Tomaschek (BB., 7, p. 195) writes that they came from Yamgān, but I do not know his source for this statement.

know when the tribe had settled in Lutkuh, nor had he heard about any immigration from Munjan. According to him, the Yidghs originally came partly from Badakhshan and partly from Turikho in Chitral. Yzh did not believe that his ancestors had come from Munjan or any other part of Badakhshan. He said that there was no intermarriage or relationship between Lutkuh and Munjan. His own family (*Gažandorë*) had come from Turikho, he did not know how long ago.

The names of the Yidgha speaking villages are of foreign origin.<sup>1</sup> They cannot be proved to be Khowar, but they show at any rate that the valley was inhabited before the arrival of the Yidghs at some unknown date.

It ought, however, to be noted that names such as *Šoyoyo* and *Munio*<sup>2</sup> seem to have entered Yidgha at an early date, and it can scarcely be assumed that the names of these insignificant villages had become current among the ancestors of the Yidghs while they were still inhabiting Munjan. The name of Chitral (*Čitrēyo*) is a different case.

15. At present the Yidghs are included among the Faqer Maskin, the poorest class in Chitral. They are divided into clans like the Khos, the principal ones being *Haidardorë* in Gistini and Parabek, *Gažandorë* in Žitr and Imirdino, *Daŋguladorë* in Gurti, *Sumāldorë* in Žitr (Bālā), *Šixāidorë* in Žitr, *Ĝalamāndorë* and *Šexāmandorë* in Burbunū, *Mērātdorë* in Birzin, and *Sumbaldorë* in Wart.<sup>3</sup> Thus there are nine clans to some 80 houses!

Apparently the Yidghs have to a great extent been assimilated into the Kho population, and they never seem to have enjoyed any political independence or to have produced any powerful chiefs. Their position on the ancient trade-route between Chitral Headquarters and the Dorah Pass may have contributed to their complete submission to their masters.

<sup>1</sup> With exception of *Xūyiko* 'the Well' mentioned only by Yu., and possibly of *Rūi*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. List of Proper Names, s.vv.

<sup>3</sup> The suffix *-dor* is of Khowar origin.

2 — Kulturforskning.

16. As might be expected, there is practically no dialectic variation within the limited territory in which Y is spoken. Ysh had a tendency to nasalize his final vowels, and he pronounced *kōfila* 'caravan' and *pəzg-* 'to break' as against Yzh *kāfīla* and *pəcəg-*, and Yg had *war* 'oath', while Yzh, sh, and r all pronounced *wör*. A pellet-bow was called *xəsmānek* in the lower villages, but *səxmān(ek)* higher up, and similar discrepancies occur in a few other words. But on the whole the dialect of the few hundred Yidghs is homogeneous.

17. Munji, on the other hand, is divided into several sub-dialects, which differ mainly in some phonetic details.<sup>1</sup>

They may be roughly divided into two groups. One includes the dialect of Miandeh (Mm) and the dialects of Zarubin's and Gauthiot's informants.<sup>2</sup> It is characterized by having *-g-* for ancient *-k-*<sup>3</sup> and, in a number of words, *ū* for ancient *ā*, corresponding to *γ* and *ī* of other M dialects and of Y. Examples are e.g. Mm. *čfūr* 'four', *rūgo* 'vein', but Mt, etc. *čfir*, *rīya*, Yd. *čšir*, *rīyo*.

In this group the tendency towards the assimilation of *nd*, *mb*, *ng*<sup>4</sup> is stronger than in the rest of Munji, and G and Z goes still further than Mm. Thus Mm, Z, G have *lođ* 'tooth' corresponding to *lōnd* of other Mj. dialects, and Z, G have assimilation also e.g. in *γodum* 'wheat': Mm etc. *γōndum*. Y has assimilated forms in both cases.<sup>5</sup> The dialect described in the LSI. has *d* in *lād* and *ū* in *čfūr*, but *γ < k*, e.g. in *γauya* 'water'. We may therefore assume that it belongs to a part of Munjan situated below Miandeh and the homes of Z and G, but above Ghaz, possibly to Wayo.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rep. N.W. Ind., pp. 70 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Gauthiot's informant was a native of Wakhan, but his dialect evidently originally belongs to some locality in upper Munjan, possibly to Kala-i-Shah.

<sup>3</sup> G. gives *γ-* in a few words, but also in *ayuškva* 'finger' where it can hardly be correct. Cf. § 117.

<sup>4</sup> V. §§ 115 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 118.

The dialect on which Mullah Faiz Bakhsh's short vocabulary is based agrees with that of the villages of lower Munjan (Ghaz and Shahr) and of the Tagou valley, but has retained the nasal in *ankardia* (read \**angaskia?*) 'finger' where all other varieties of Mj. have the assimilated form.

A curious fact, which I am at loss to explain, is that the dialect of my informant from Tili, the uppermost village of all, is in line with that of Lower Munjan, and not with Mm, Z and G. Thus we find e.g. Mti *rīya* 'vein' (with *ī* and *γ*), *lōnd* 'tooth', and, besides, *ōskīy* 'roof' (Mt, etc. *askīy*, but Mm, G, Z *yeskīg*, etc.), *yimayeka* 'moon' (Mg, etc. *yumayika*, but Mm, G, Z *yumago*, etc.) Mti also agrees with lower Munjan in having a long *ō* in *yōrza* 'beard' and in some other words. It is, of course, possible that Mti was really a native of one of the lower villages.

Apart from the divergences in the treatment of *nd*, etc. Mm differs from Z in some particulars. Thus, e.g.:

Mm, *t yūr* 'ground': Z *yēn'g*.

Mm *vʷzēd* 'knew': Z *vzē(n)d*, Mt *vʷzēnd*.

Mm *lʷvēd* 'winnowed': Z *livʷy*, Mt, (g) *lʷvēy*.

Mm *wujuzgo* 'frog': Z, G *wuyzəga*, Mt, etc. *ujizga*.

18. Mm shares with Y, and to some extent with Z, the fem. ending *-o*, *-ā*, corresponding to *-a*, *-ä* of other M dialects.

The villages of upper and lower Munjan being isolated from each other, certain phonetic variations and some differences in the formation of past stems have arisen.

But as a whole M is quite distinct from Y in phonology, morphology and vocabulary, although, as we have seen above, some innovations in M dialects are shared also by Y. Thus the transition of *ūg* into *īγ* may have taken place in lower Munjan before the emigration of the Yidghs to Lutkuh.

19. Among the phonetic differences separating M as a whole from Y, the most important are:

Anc. <i>rt</i>		results in Y <i>r</i> but M <i>r</i> (v. § 124).
» <i>št</i>	— —	<i>šč</i> — <i>škʷ</i> (v. § 109).
» <i>rn</i>	— —	<i>ŋ, n</i> — <i>ŋ'gʷ</i> , etc. (v. § 133).
<i>rđ</i> (in sec. contact)	— —	<i>dr</i> — <i>ler</i> (v. § 127).
<i>w, v</i> (in some cases)	— —	<i>b</i> — <i>v</i> (v. §§ 88, 107).

Note also the Y tendency to drop *w* before *u* (v. § 81), and Y *i*- corresponding to Mj. *yu*- (§ 84). Regarding the different development of ancient *a* in Y and M v. § 139.

Owing to special factors or more sporadic changes we find Y *āyury* egg, *iščīy* roof, *avlāsto* sleeve, *eʷkən* puppy, *čšīr* four, *dīr* other, *fšarm* shame, *laxsərə* ice, *rīspən* iron, *šinʷjo* needle, *tīx-* to fall, *vrī-* to break, *xīrd-* to shave, *yečko* duck, *zeviryo* birch-tree; but M *aryūg*, *yeškīg*, *alvosto*, *skən*, *čfūr*, *yūdūr*, *šforʷm*, *yaxsəriy*, *yuspʷn*, *šīžno*, *čīx-*, *vrīr-*, *xred-*, *yälko*, *vəzvurgo*, or similar forms.

The morphological differences between Y and M are not numerous. The most important concern the genus inflection of adjectives<sup>1</sup> and the preterite of intransitive verbs.<sup>2</sup> The difference between Y *vʷto* and M *fto* 'thee', and between Y *wulo*, pl. *wuli* 'wife' and M *wula*, *wuli*, etc., is due to phonetic factors.

20. It is in their vocabularies that Y and M diverge most widely from each other. We must, of course, bear in mind that our knowledge of the vocabularies of the two dialects is far from being complete, and that in many cases the absence of a word in one dialect may only be apparent. But, taken as a whole, the evidence of the vocabularies clearly shows how the separation of centuries and the difference of outside influences have drawn the two sister-dialects apart.

In a great number of cases M, as is only natural in consideration of its geographical and political position, has adopted a Prs. term where Y has retained the genuine dialect word, or has borrowed from Khovar.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 195. <sup>2</sup> Cf. § 234.

21. Examples abound in the Vocabulary. Here we shall mention only a few characteristic ones:

M (from Prs.): *nâxun* nail, *anâr* pomegranate, *guzar* ford, *xôkovo* first watering, *laĵôm* bridle, *bârân* rain, *daro* valley, *naxš* song, *toko* alone, *bohôr* spring, *gušwôr* earring, *g<sup>o</sup>ro* knot, *duzd* thief, *qala* fort, *mô* month, *xarguš* hare, *kus* vulva, *qasam* oath, *naxêir* male ibex, *sîl* flood, *ĵigar* liver, *xêrs* bear, *araq* sweat, *barg* leaf, *rûšân* bright, *axtaxâna* stable, etc.

But Y: *anaxno*, *alâno*, *pilf*, *avzino*, *awlân*, *nôvo*, *koša*, *fagyikë*, *fkyiyiko*, *fsidro*, *ĵûârikë*, *ĵureĵ*, *ĵâl*, *lizo*, *mux*, *sîy*, *šino*, *wor*, *ĵûmânë*, *yougo*, *yêĵan*, *yarš*, *xûl*, *pûnuk*, *orunyo*, *aspelan*, etc.

Corresponding to M (from Prs.) *amsâyaga* neighbour, *darûn* belly, *našpotiĵ* pear, *dasta* handle, *haud* lake, *tilâ* gold, *taĵio* pillow, *šamšêr* sword, *nugra* silver, *xušô* ear of corn, *biwaya* widow, *garm*, *suzôn* hot, we find Y (from Khowar): *grambešu*, *ûĵût*, *kyogô*, *hostaganu*, *žoi*, *suworum*, *vrazidinë*, *xugor*, *droxum*, *sor*, *wâsêrwo*, *piĉ*.

In some cases Y and M have borrowed different forms of Prs. words, Y usually through the medium of Khowar. Examples of such words are: M *âino* mirror, *âsân* easy, *b<sup>u</sup>rinĵ* rice, *k<sup>t</sup>ôb* book, *tiramâ* autumn: Y *šišoyo*, *askân*, *grinĵ*, *ketiu*, *pâiz*.

22. Very rarely M has retained a genuine word which has been lost in Y: M *yûi* husband's brother, *zoyno* chin, *z<sup>o</sup>ĵariĵ* thirsty, *yuvazgo* plough-wedge: Y *x<sup>u</sup>sur*, *z<sup>u</sup>nax*, *trušnë*, *aĉardinë*.

Corresponding to M *ôš* 'porridge' and *ĵuâna* 'calf, one to two years old', which are of Prs. origin, Y has the Ind. loan-words *aĵilë* and *bakiŋĉa*, but the exact source of these words is unknown. *pâpês*, etc. 'lungs' is one of the very few words of Ind. origin occurring in both dialects. A curious case is M *souno* 'co-wife', which appears to be an IA. loanword,<sup>1</sup> although I am unable to explain how it has penetrated into M. Y has the Prs. word *ambôy*.

Loan-words from Kafiri are Yd. *plac* cheese, *k<sup>i</sup>tayë* almond (prob. borrh. from the Lutkuh Kafirs), and possibly Y—M *c<sup>o</sup>ra'û* male markhor, v. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.



23. Khowar loan-words are very rare in Munji. I have only come across *bānĵ* 'holly-oak' and *droxum* 'silver' and do not feel at all sure that these words are really in common use in M.

Y, on the other hand, contains, besides those mentioned above, a great number of Khow. words, which denote plants, implements, etc. unknown in Munjan, or the correspondent forms of which have not been recorded in M. Some of the Khow. loan-words in Y are in their turn of Ir. origin, and it is worthy of note that even Y, the dialect of a small and outlying district of Chitral has to some extent contributed to the vocabulary of Khowar.<sup>1</sup>

24. Of special interest are those cases where the difference of vocabulary between Y and M is not due to one of the dialects having borrowed, from Prs. or M, but where each of them has chosen a different word of dialectal origin. To some extent there may be, or have been, a slight difference in meaning, but we must also reckon with the possibility of real homonyms existing in original Y—M, due to ancient mixing of dialects.

The possibility of some of the words co-existing in both dialects should, of course, not be ruled out.

Examples of such words are:

M *āgunġ*<sup>v</sup> dough: Y *lavaza*.

» *yōba* dance: Y *drūvda*.

» *frayingo* she-goat, one y. old: Y *prenĵio*.

» *γūelo* yoke-rope: Y *frūiyo*.

» *sam'lasiko* neckrope of the bullock: Y *sabə'ranĵ*.

» *pa'težō* she-calf, one y. old: Y *miščoγo*.

» *p<sup>2</sup>rīvur* cow-house: Y *γiγio*.

» *kosk* barley: Y *γeršio*.

» *šino* anus: Y *γumino* (but *šino* vulva).

» *nāmyo*, *γistōn* felt: Y *livzīn*.

» *škyui* neck: Y *šilē* (v. Voc. s.vv.).

» *sasto* hill-side: Y *paifar*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my treatment of this subject in Iranian Elements in Khowar, BSOS. VIII, 657—671.

M *yurv* mouth: Y *p<sup>2</sup>korë*.

» *kupor* lip: Y *poršik*.

» *zōbo* gums: Y *sotkë*.

» *puma* avalanche: Y *rëšk*.

» *ken-* to dig: Y *nikanā(w)-*.

» *vrīnd-* to be standing: Y *fsāy-*.

25. But on the whole, in spite of the divergences mentioned above, Y—M forms a well-defined group clearly distinguished from all other Ir. languages by a series of characteristics.

The vocabulary contains a great number of words peculiar to this dialect group. As regards the morphology we may mention the formation of masculines in Y *-ë*, M *-iy*, the feminines in *-o*, *-a*, the obl. sg. in *-en*, the pronouns *za*, *zo* 'I' and *māf*, *mof* 'you', and the personal ending 3 pl. in *-et*, *-at*.

Among phonetic features peculiar to, or characteristic of Y—M may be mentioned the preservation of *xš* and *fš*,<sup>1</sup> the distinction between ancient *-š-* and *\*-šš-*,<sup>2</sup> the development of *ϑ* into *ǰ*<sup>3</sup> and of *št* into *šk<sup>y</sup>*, *šc*,<sup>4</sup> and the tendency towards the assimilation of *nd* and similar groups of consonants.<sup>5</sup> Also the combination of features found separately in other dialects tend to give Y—M a phonetic structure entirely of its own, thus e.g. the development of *δ* and *rδ* > *l*, of *rt* > *r*, *r*, and of *-t-* and *-š-* > *y*.

On the other hand, we find the usual E.Ir. tendencies prevailing, e.g. the change of *č* > *c*, of *xt* > *γd*, *ft* > *vd*, of *sr* > *š*, of voiced stops into voiced fricatives, the loss of *h-*, the prothesis of *w-* and *y-*, and the frequent reduction of *i* and *u* to a mixed vowel of the *a*-type.

The morphology and the vocabulary are also of a decidedly E.Ir.

<sup>1</sup> V. § 94 sq.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 75.

<sup>3</sup> V. § 65.

<sup>4</sup> V. § 109.

<sup>5</sup> V. §§ 115 sqq.

type. Note e.g. typical E.Ir. words such as *miš* day, *pišcan* thigh, *pīx* arrow, *šīyo* female, *yādē* blind, *wulo* wife, *wulēyo* span, *zəvīy* tongue, *yəršio* barley, *imoyo* moon.<sup>1</sup>

26. Gauthiot<sup>2</sup> has asserted that Y—M ought to be separated from the Pamir languages and ranged among the north-western Ir. dialects. In a review<sup>3</sup> of Zarubin's essay on Munji I have tried to show that this theory cannot be upheld, and that the points of agreement between Y—M and Central Ir. dialects are less significant than is assumed by Gauthiot.<sup>4</sup>

There can in fact be no doubt that Y—M is on the whole closely related to the Pamir dialects, although on several points it stands apart from them.

27. Within the range of the Pamir dialects Y—M shows little special affinity to the Shughni group.<sup>5</sup> The connection between Y—M and Wakhi chiefly consists in the occurrence of a few words with  $l < \delta$ —probably loanwords—in Wkh. About the relation between our group and Saraghlami nothing is known, except that one of the three words known from this dialect points to a transition of  $\delta > l$ .<sup>6</sup>

But between Y—M and Sgl.—Ishk. there are several points of resemblance.

Thus we find a considerable number of words which are, as far as is known at present, peculiar to these two neighbouring groups of dialects, or which appear here in a form elsewhere unknown. Cf., e.g.: Y *ābūya* moraine: Sgl. *ambol*; Y *uščeno*: Sgl. *uštīn*; Y *āwusp*

<sup>1</sup> Several of them are found in the Avesta. But this only shows that the Av. language is based upon E. Ir., as I hope to be able to prove from a detailed study of its vocabulary.

<sup>2</sup> MSL, XX, 133 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> NTS. III, 296.

<sup>4</sup> Very few, if any, Y—M words are of a decidedly W. Ir. character. *xšīra* 'milk' has its correspondent in Ossetic.

<sup>5</sup> Note, however, Y *niš*-, Shgh. *neθ*- 'to sit down' < \**nihδ*-.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Zarubin, Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Sciences, Série B., 1924, p. 79: *woliké* 'water'.

ploughbeam: Sgl. *āwišp*; Y *leso* wild oats: Sgl. *dəsīn*; Y *ixō* sister: Sgl. *yaxōai*; Y *mīr̄yo* meadow: Sgl. *mēry*; Y *niya* sour milk: Sgl. *nīduk*; Y *nov* rain: Sgl. *nav*; Y, Sgl. *pīx* span; Y *woyo* trousers: Sgl. *wāl*; Y *lib-* to card wool: Sgl. *dəmb-*; Y *as-*: *ayoi* to come: Sgl. *is-*: *āyad*; Y *is-*: *yāi* to carry: Ishk. *uss-*: *wud*; Y *tī-*: to enter: Sgl. *atīy-*; Y—M *vrī(r)-* to break: Sgl. *vrēl-*.

There are also some common morphological features, e.g. in the system of demonstrative pronouns,<sup>1</sup> in the existence of a particle *vo*, *va* denoting the definite object, and in the termination of the 2nd pl. in *-əf* which from Sgl.—Ishk. has also entered Western Wkh.

On the other hand, the two dialect groups present no special similarities as regards their phonetic development. But the correspondences of vocabulary and morphology can hardly have been developed under modern conditions when communication between Munjan and Sanglech appears to be insignificant, and is at any rate carried out by the medium of Persian. We are therefore, perhaps, justified in assuming that Y—M and Sgl.—Ishk. were once in much closer contact than in the case at present, probably at a time when the phonetic differences between both groups was not yet strongly accentuated.

28. If we look outside the range of the Pamir dialects Pashto appears to be the nearest relative of Y—M. Not only do we find the change of  $\delta > l$  in both languages, but the Wanetsi dialect of Pashto distinguishes between ancient *-δ-* and ancient *-t-* in exactly the same way as Y—M.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, we must not forget that the tendency to change  $\delta$  into *l* was probably once widely spread in E.Ir. and that the treatment of  $\vartheta$  and  $\vartheta w$  differs in Y—M and in Psht. A few words are characteristic of both languages, cf. e.g. Voc. s.vv. *āyd-* to dress, *γāl* thief, *la* with, *wāro* summer, *yēyan* liver.

At any rate the special relationship or contact between Y—M

<sup>1</sup> V. § 206.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NTS. IV, 160.

and Psht. must go back to an early date, before the period when Saka tribes brought the Ir. dialect from which Psht. is descended into Southern Afghanistan.

The points of resemblance to Sogdian are limited to a few words, cf. Voc. s.vv. *drūv-* to dance, *poršik* lip, *yuxs-* to learn. Also with Parachi, its Ir. neighbour south of the Hindukush, Y—M shares a few words and forms (cf. s.vv. *lišč* saw, *amuno* apple, *yūr* fire) but on the whole this dialect is of a different type, and has developed along other lines.

29. As far as we can see, Y—M has occupied its present position for a very long period. It has probably lost territory in the north,<sup>1</sup> but it has since immemorial times had Kafir dialects as its neighbours south of the Hindukush, and it is quite possible that the linguistic frontier between Ir. and IA. has not always followed exactly the highest mountain ridge.

Now we find a transition of  $d > l$  in Prasun, the most isolated Kafir dialect, which has certainly occupied its present home close to Munjan for a very long time. It is therefore very tempting to follow Gauthiot in his assumption of a connection between the developments in both languages, especially as it seems probable that intervocalic *-t-* disappeared in Prasun, while *d* remains in the shape of *l*. This state of things reminds us strongly of Y—M, while it differs completely from the tendencies prevailing elsewhere in Kafiri and IA.<sup>2</sup>

Of more doubtful value is Gauthiot's comparison between the M (but especially Y!) tendency to assimilate  $nd > d$ , etc., and the Kafiri development of  $ant > \tilde{a}t > at$ . The phonetic processes are not identical, and the change in Y—M is evidently of recent date. But we may perhaps compare the Prasun transition of  $nd > d$  and of  $mb > b$  with the development in Y—M. We must

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. Kalasha with  $-d > 0$ , but  $-t > -l-$  (V. Rep. II, 67).—In Y—M and Prasun *d* was changed into *l* before any weakening of intervocalic stops took place.

remember that Munjan and Prasun are only separated by a not too difficult pass.

This circumstance also explains the existence of a few words common to Y—M and Kafiri. Cf. M *frayomiy* and Kati *pr̄omə*, Prasun *pāmə* kid; Y *stuy*: Prasun *styak* lock of hair; Y—M *šū*: Prasun *ičū* (< \**crū*) horn. It is doubtful whether *niya* 'sour milk' is borrowed from, or influenced by Kafiri or IA. Regarding loan-words from Kafiri cf. above § 22.

30. On the whole Y—M, is, in spite of influences from various sides, and in spite of several special phonetic innovations, an Ir. dialect of a highly archaic type, which in its relative isolation has preserved many ancient and interesting forms and words. Its possible connection with the ancient Ir. language of the Tokharians remains, for the time being, a matter of speculation.

## PHONETIC SYSTEM

### Consonants.

31.	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive . . . . .	<i>p, b</i>	<i>t, d</i>	<i>(t, d)¹</i>	<i>k', g'</i>	<i>k, g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Affricate . . . . .		<i>c</i>	<i>(č)¹</i>	<i>č, ĵ</i>			
Fricative . . . . .	<i>f, v</i>			<i>š</i>	<i>x, γ</i>	<i>&lt;x, γ&gt;³</i>	<i>h</i>
Sibilant . . . . .		<i>s, z</i>	<i>š, (ž)¹</i>	<i>š, ž</i>			
Nasal . . . . .	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>(ŋ)¹</i>	<i>[ŋ']²</i>	<i>&lt;ŋ&gt;³</i>		
Rolled & Lateral .		<i>r, l</i>	<i>(r)¹</i>				
Semivowels	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

32. The consonant systems of Y and M are in the main the same. Characteristic of both, as compared with those of other Pamir languages is the absence of *đ* (either as a phoneme—as in Wkh. and Shgh.—, or as a variant of *d*—as in Sgl.), and the existence of *š* and of *k', g'*. But M does not possess the retroflex series (with the exception of *š*), and the palatal *ŋ'* (which is hardly a separate phoneme in M) is unknown to Y. In both dialects velar *ŋ* is a mere variant of *n* before *g* and *k*.

The surd plosives are unaspirated in Y, but at any rate to some extent aspirated in M. Some of my informants (e.g. Mti) appeared

<sup>1</sup> Only in Y.

<sup>2</sup> Only in M.

<sup>3</sup> Phoneme variant.

to aspirate  $p^1$  only, while  $M(g)$ —but not  $Mg$ —aspirated strongly all surd stops (and  $\check{c}$ ) in accentuated syllables. Thus, e.g. *phōns* '5', *khiryä* 'hen', *qhïo* 'bull', *thi'nek* 'shallow', *čhō<sup>m</sup>* 'eye' (and *čhōrda* '14' < Prs. *čahārda*).<sup>2</sup>

This tendency towards aspiration is characteristic of several Pamir languages<sup>3</sup> and of Badakhshi Prs., and it occurs also in Turki.<sup>4</sup> It is of course a theoretically possible, but not a very convincing hypothesis that the aspiration in E.Ir. and Turki should be due to the influence of some common, unknown substratum.

The absence of aspiration in Y may be accounted for by the negative influence of Khowar. This language possesses a separate series of aspirates—parallel to that of other IA languages—and Y, in adapting its sound system more or less to that of the dominating language—of Chitral, had to choose between the unaspirated or the strongly aspirated series of surd plosives.

**32 a.** Y  $t$ ,  $d$  and  $\check{c}$  are found only in loan-words, but appear to belong to the phonological system of the language. Also  $q$  is a foreign sound, and with some speakers  $k$  is substituted for it.

$k'$ ,  $g'$  ( $k^y$ ,  $g^y$ ) must probably be considered as separate phonemes both in Y and in M.<sup>5</sup> In M  $k'$  occurs also in the combination  $\check{s}k'$ , which is different from  $\check{s}k$ .<sup>6</sup> Regarding  $\check{c}$  <  $k'$  v. § 41.

$\check{j}$  is to some extent interchangeable with  $\check{z}$ ,<sup>7</sup> but it is at any

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the situation in Prs., and in Psht., where  $p$  is more strongly aspirated than  $k$  or  $t$  (v. BSOS. V, 54).

<sup>2</sup> In some words the aspiration has not been noted, but that may be due to inexact notation.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, e.g., in Sgl. About aspiration in Shgh. v. NTS. I, 36 (and Voc.), and Sköld, Materialien, Voc. Reg. Ossetic cf. Munkácsi, Blüten der ossetischen Volksdichtung, 7.

<sup>4</sup> I thought I heard aspiration in several Turki dialects of W. and E. Turkistan which I had occasion to listen to in Chitral. In Kokand final  $-t$  even results in an affricate: *uts* 'fire', *ots* 'horse'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 41.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 109.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. § 60, and v. Voc. s.vv.



rate by way of being a separate phoneme. *j* is a rare variant of *z*, v. Voc. s.vv. *urzuy*.

In M I heard bilabial  $\varphi$  before vowels in several words (e.g. Mm  $\check{\varphi}\bar{u}r$  '4',  $\varphi\bar{i}ya$  'spade'). But in Y, and partly also in M, it is dento-labial. *v* is a dento-labial fricative, with lips and teeth in rather loose contact, and unrounded, except before *o*, where it was sometimes not easily distinguishable from *w*.

33. There can be no doubt that  $\check{s}$  and  $\check{s}'$  are separate phonemes, but it is not always easy to distinguish between them, and it is possible that some speakers of M use a neutral  $\check{s}$  for both through the influence of Prs. phonology.  $\check{z}$  is only found in Y and is of rare occurrence.  $\check{s}$ ,  $\check{z}$  and  $\check{c}$  have usually a very palatal character, and I have sometimes written  $\check{c}^y$ ,  $\check{z}^y$  in my notes. In Y  $\check{s}\check{c}$ , M  $\check{s}k^y$  and in Y  $\check{c}\check{s}\bar{i}r$ ,  $\check{s}\check{t}o$ , etc. the acoustic impression was still more palatal, but I do not believe that  $\check{s}$  ( $s'$ ) in these positions constitutes a separate phoneme.

Y—M  $\check{x}$  is a lisping, palatal sound which could not easily be mistaken for *x*, and which sounded quite different from Wakhi or Shgh.  $\check{x}$  (=  $\check{s}$ ). It was really a palatal  $\vartheta$ , but I have kept Gauthiot's notation.

Uvular *x* and  $\gamma$  were only heard in Yd.  $x\bar{i}o$  'n. of a shrub' and in Y  $q\bar{i}\bar{a}\bar{\gamma}$ , M  $ku\bar{i}wo\gamma$  'bull' and they are probably variants of *x*,  $\gamma$  (conditioned by the influence of  $\bar{i}$  and  $q$ ?).

Y—M *h* is an unstable sound, cf. Voc. s.vv. But still I believe that it ought to be considered as a phoneme, the forms without *h* being aberrations from the 'standard' pronunciation. But this is by no means certain. Note the existence of final *h* (*loh*,  $\gamma ura^h$ ).

Similarly there can be no doubt about the existence of a phoneme *w*, but nevertheless we find vacillation before *u*, e.g. in *urw-*, *urzuy*, *wulo*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the phonological value of initial *y-* cf. § 83.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 81.

The final sound in M *zɪlʷ*, *zɪlʷʷ*, etc. 'heart' is probably a combination of *l* + *y* and not a separate, simple phoneme.

Cerebral *ɲ* is a phoneme in Y, but *n* is substituted by some speakers, except where *ɲ* is conditioned by a following *d*.

Probably connected with the rounding of *v* before *o* mentioned above is the phenomenon expressed in the occasional notations, e.g. *aɣʷoi* 'came'; *noɣʷor* 'came out'; *kʷos-* 'to search'; *xʷoi* 'own', etc., especially in Y words.

34. A final voiced consonant usually becomes unvoiced. Thus, e.g.: *kob*, *kop* 'little'; *ažəp* 'wonderful'; *ɣǎlvʷ*, *ɣǎlv*, *ɣǎlv* 'dog'; *gʷip* 'lost'; *rɪv*, *rɪf* 'rhubarb'; *oɣurɣʷ*, *əɣurx* 'egg'; *yɪž*, *yɪš* 'snake'; *zɪk*, *zɪŋ* 'knee', etc. On the other hand we may hear *-z* for *-s*, *-d* for *-t* in sandhi: *woz ɣurd* 'now he seized'; *kʷed vɪo* 'was doing'. And, in the pronunciation of Ysh, *xoi* 'own' frequently was sonorized into *ɣoi* after a proclitic *vo*, *wo*. Cf. also Mg *nā-moy* 'nobis' with *-ɣ* instead of *-x* before voiced sounds.

Characteristic of Ysh is also the frequent 'cerebralization' of final *r*, chiefly after *ū*. Thus: *pūr* 'son' (also Yg); *axūr* 'manger'; *stūr/r* 'big'; *avār* 'bring', but *pūrān*, *avrɛ*, etc.

Ysh, and to a lesser degree Yzh, have a tendency to nasalize final vowels. Thus, e.g.: *uxšō̃*, *avdō̃*, *aščō̃*, *nōū*, *wistō̃* '6, 7, 8, 9, 20'; *po'ɣō̃* 'hair'; *šə'lɛ̃n* 'neck'; *rū̃i* 'bowels'; *vɪzɣā̃* 'arm'; *prɪškə'dr̃i* 'dung', etc., etc. This nasalization has been omitted in the following description of Y.

In M(g), on the other hand, final *-m* was reduced to a sometimes scarcely audible sound in the 1st pers. of verbs, e.g. in *ɣɪvum*: *ɣivdu<sup>m</sup>* 'I spin', 'span'; *lōra<sup>m</sup>* 'I have'; *xɛša<sup>m</sup>* 'I pull', etc. Cf. also *čhō̃<sup>m</sup>* 'eye' (but *ɣō̃ndə<sup>m</sup>* 'wheat', etc.).

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The 'morphological' changes of consonants are mainly restricted to the variations between present and past stems of the verbs, for which v. §§ 225 sqq

## Vowels.

35. As far as I was able to detect, the vowel-system of Y appears to be quite simple and to consist of the following six phonemes:

<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
	<i>ə</i>	
<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
	<i>a</i>	

But, as in most other E.Ir. dialects, especially in Psht.<sup>1</sup> and Wkh.,<sup>2</sup> the amplitudes of variation are exceptionally great. First of all there are variations of quantity. I am inclined to believe that these are conditioned by stress, or by the influence of following consonants or groups of consonants, and that vowel-quantity is phonologically irrelevant in Y. And the Vocabulary contains a large number of variations between *o*, *a* and *ō*, *ā* in the same words.

But it is really impossible to settle the question without a profound knowledge of, and a proficiency in speaking the language which I was very far from attaining, and it is quite possible that at any rate *ī* and *ū* are true phonemes.

Also the quality of the vowels is strongly influenced by neighbouring consonants, and it varies further according to length and stress.

*a* is usually palatal [a] and easily becomes *ä* through the influence of an *i*, e.g. in Yzh *wäriyo* (Ysh *wa<sup>o</sup>*) 'rain'; *pälästiko* 'armlet', etc. In unstressed position [ʌ] is heard, but has not been consistently noted.

*o* is wide [ɔ]. In final position it is sometimes slightly diphthongized in Yd. [ɔ:<sup>u</sup>]. Besides *ō* [ɔ:], *â*, *ã* has been noted, but chiefly in lw.s from Prs.<sup>3</sup> I am not quite certain whether this *â* is a separate phoneme, or if I may have been influenced in my notation by associations from Badakhshi Prs. in using this symbol.

<sup>1</sup> BSOS, V, 58 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wkh. Phon.

<sup>3</sup> *â* occurs in 43 lw.s and 9 genuine dialect words; *ū* in 9 lw.s and 38 genuine ones.

*u* has an unstressed variant *ʊ*, and *i* in unstressed position (but also in other cases) is articulated as *ɪ*. A mid-palate *ɨ* is heard in some words (in contact with *x*?).

I am not certain whether *ī* and *ū* are true phonemes, separate from *i* and *u*. After *y* we find *ū* or *ü*. E.g. Yu *yū*, Ysh *yū* 'one', Ysh *dārū(ī)* 'medicine'. A diphthongization of *-ī* was noted once in Ysh *rə'sēi* = *rə'sī* 'arrived'.

*e* and *ɛ* are probably variants of one phoneme, and I even heard *xayo* = *xeyo* 'bridge'.

In many cases *ə* is simply a reduced form of *a*, *e*, *u*, etc. But it is nevertheless probably a separate phoneme, characteristic of a number of words. Of the two variants *pərs* and *pɾs* 'ask', the first one is probably the phonologically correct one.

In final position Yzh *-ë*, with retracted *e* approaching *ə*, corresponds to *ə* of some other speakers.

36. Diphthongs are rare (cf. *nāilā-*, *sāil*, *dau'let*, *mai'lis*) and possibly form no part of the system. In the Vocabulary I have written *-ōi*, *-āi* where Zarubin, possibly phonologically more correct, has *-ōy*, *-āy*.

The overshoot vowels, *ə*, *ʊ*, *ɪ*, *ɨ*, are difficult to classify phonologically. Their quality is completely dominated by that of the surrounding full vowels, and they may possibly be considered as variants of *ə*. But it is a question whether they are really always perceived as real vowels, or whether the prothetic and svarabhakti vowels<sup>1</sup> are not as phonologically irrelevant as are the vowels in the Indian pronunciation of *st-*, etc.

37. The influence of surrounding sounds on short vowels may be exemplified by: *yursiligo*, *yursuligo* 'shoe-string'; *nəyūyəm* 'I hear'; *nurāšəm* 'I comb'; *nixim* 'I sit down'; *noyo-*: *nəyavd-* 'to bite'. Cf. also the variations between *-əm*, *-um*, etc., conditioned by the nature of the preceding vowel.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. *səpī*, *stūy* (v. § 103), *sur<sup>u</sup>w*, *tuy<sup>u</sup>m*, etc.

Cf. also Ysh *maf cī žāf* 'ye shall not say', but *tu ču žūi* 'thou shalt not say'. Note also Y *mai* 'these', but *yāi, woi* 'those' (cf. §§ 206, sqq.).

38. The vowel systems of the various dialects of M appear to vary a great deal, and none of them is sufficiently well known to permit any analysis of them being made.

In Mm we find a long *ā* and a final *-iy* unknown to Y, and also in other cases *ī* appears to be a separate phoneme. The relevance of quantitative differences appears to be better established than in Y, and it is possible, with all due reservations, to construct the following chart of Mm vowels:

Short Vowels	Long Vowels
<i>i</i> <sup><i>i</i></sup>	<i>ī</i>
<i>u, v</i>	<i>ū</i>
<i>ə</i>	<i>ē</i>
<i>e, ε</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>(ā?)</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>â, ă</i>

### Stress.

39. Word stress is weak, and to some extent dominated by sentence stress.

Thus, e.g.: Y sh *'wulo* 'wife', but *'yū wu'lō* 'one wife'; *'pisto wo zini'ef* 'she asked the daughters-in-law', but *zi'nīef pi'stō* 'the daughters-in-law asked'; *muz'durə kən* 'serve'; but *'muzdure yū'rum* 'I take service'.

Although they describe very closely related variants of M, Gauthiot and Zarubin differ considerably from each other as to the place of the accent—the Frenchman inclining to accentuate the last syllable—. My own notations, rightly or wrongly, often disagree

with those of both of my predecessors, and are not always consistent. Cf. §§ 162 sqq.

Thus, e.g.: G *ayuš'kʷa* 'finger'; *wuyzē'ga* 'frog'; *γā'wa* 'cow'; *kā'wū'ya* 'pigeon'; *mayū'sa* 'fly'; *namol'ya* 'salt'; *xšī'ra* 'milk', etc. But in some cases Y agrees, completely or partially, with G as against other forms of M. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *ag'mīn* 'honey'; *imo'yo* 'moon'; *i'xō* 'sister'; *iz'ma* 'fire-wood'; *kiri'o* 'hen'; *'urzuy, ur'zūy* 'straight'. Also in words not recorded by G we often find that Y stresses a later syllable than M. Thus: *o'γuzo* 'walnut'; *i'li'r* 'belly'; *a'larsinē* 'threshold'.

In a few words Z and G are alone in stressing the final syllable: G, Z *amin'g'a*, etc. 'apple': Y *ā'muno*, Mm *'amingʷo*, etc.; G, Z *stō'rəy* 'star': Y, M *'stārē*, etc.

### Groups of Consonants.

40. Through the loss of unstressed vowels of the first syllable and through borrowing, numerous groups of initial consonants have arisen in Y—M.

Thus we find, e.g.: *pč-*, *pk-*, *pr-*, *ptr-*, *ps-*, *pš-*, *fkʷ-*, *fx-*, *ft-*, *fs-*, *fš-*, *tf-*, *kr-*, *kʷ-*, *kt-*, *xr-*, *xš-* (or *xšš-*), *čk-*, *čš-*, *čf-*, *čp-*, *tr-*, *sp-*, *sk-*, <sup>(i)</sup>*st-*, *šp-*, <sup>(i)</sup>*št-*, *br-*, *brʷ-*, *vr-*, *gr-*, *dr-*, *dw-*, etc.

But after voiced sibilants, and usually also after voiced fricatives, svarabhakti vowels are developed. Thus, e.g.: *zʷγ-*, *zʷn-*, *zʷv-*, *γʷn-*, etc.

In internal and final position yet other combinations (with decreasing aperture) have become possible through recent adjustments, e.g. groups beginning with *r*, *l*, nasals, *z* and *ž*, groups consisting of velar fricatives and a nasal, etc.

Through these developments the aspect of Y—M has departed considerably from that of general Ir. and of most other Pamir dialects. And it may perhaps be said that it has in some respects approached the phonetic aspect of the Kafir dialects.

# HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

## *Consonants.*

### *Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.*

41. Initial *k-* remains in *kōi* 'who', *ken-* 'to dig', *ken-* 'to do', *kap* *k-* 'fish', *kero* 'knife', *kirio* 'hen', etc. V. Voc. s.vv.

In a number of words we find, especially in Y, a palatalized *kʷ*. This development of initial *k-* is in accordance with the general tendency of Y—M towards palatalization, but it seems impossible to determine the exact conditions of the change. A similar change appears in Yazgh., e.g. in *k'an-* 'to dig', *k'aṣabac* 'magpie', and also in Shgh.<sup>1</sup>

A certain number of the words in *kʷ-* are or may be, lws from *kʷ-* Prs. Thus, e.g.: *kyof-* 'to groan', *kyahrë* 'anger', *kʷε'lëu* 'key', etc. (v. Voc.), cf. also *Kʷi'lʷam* Kulum (in Nuristan). From M I have noted *k-* and *kʷ-* (but also Mti *čāliye* 'key'). Other Prs. lws have *k* in Y too, cf. *ka'būt* 'blue', etc. *Kʷ* might perhaps be assumed to belong to an earlier stratum of Prs. lws, but this is quite uncertain.

Nor is the origin of *kʷ* clear in all genuine Y—M words. In Yd. *kyo'gō* (č<sup>o</sup>) 'pear' *ky-* is developed regularly from *t-*,<sup>2</sup> and *kʷem* 'who' and *kʷei* 'house' may be derived from *\*kayam*, *\*kayay*.<sup>3</sup> But why *kʷemalyo* 'skull', *kʷifo* 'hump', *kʷunyo* 'magpie', while we find *k-* before *i* in *kirio* 'hen', *kinčika* 'girl', *kišča* 'plough', etc.?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Notes on Shughni, Voc. s. *K*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 46.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. reg. *gʷ* § 53.

42. I heard *q* in *qasam* 'oath', *qissa* 'tale', *qačio*, *kačio* 'scissors', etc. But in several words of foreign origin I heard *k*- instead of the expected *q*-. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *kūk* 'dry', *kālf* 'lock', *kīmat* 'price', *kurūt* 'thick milk'. To some extent this may be due to mis-hearing on my part, but there is probably a certain vacillation in the use of *q* according to the degree of education of the speaker, and in some words *k*- may actually have ousted the foreign sound. The same is the case in other Ir. dialects.

In *qū'āy* 'bull' *q*- appears in a genuine Y word.

Regarding the prothetic *a*- in *a'kadē* 'thorn' cf. § 167.

43. Initial *t*- remains. V. Voc. s.vv. *tu* 'thou', *tuγ<sup>u</sup>m* 'grain', *tīro* 'darkness', etc. Cf. also the encl. pron. 2 sg. *-t*, in secondary intervocalic position.

Z. gives *day*, obl. *daf* as facultative pl. forms of *yā* this. In this word *d*- is a weakened form of *t*- (prob. after early loss of *ai*-),<sup>1</sup> cf. Prs. *dā*, *daya* 'this'.

Initial *p*- remains. V. Voc. s.vv. *po* 'on', *pīo* 'rotten', *pādo* 'road', *palo* 'foot', *pilf* 'ford', etc.

44. Initial *č* remains unchanged in a number of words. V. Voc. s.vv. *čam* 'eye', *česō* 'pin of a spindle', *čur'mō* 'three days ago', Y *čšir*,<sup>2</sup> M *čfūr* 'four', *ča'mīn* 'how much', *čarxo* 'falling stones' (lw?), *čapē* 'door-frame', *čū(v)*- 'to pick, choose', M *čkyūgo* 'urine', *čīy*- 'to freeze' < \**čāh*-, etc.

There is no certain instance of a genuine Y—M word retaining *č* before ancient *ī*. *čirē* 'apricot', *Čitreyo* 'Chitral', *čirūy* 'lamp', and *če* 'what' are lw.s (or *če* < *čahya*?), while Yd. *činuryo* (M *cānuryo*, etc.) 'starling' is of unknown origin.

But we find *c*- before ancient *i* in *cē*, *ces*, *cə'mīn* 'what', etc., and in *cēb*- 'to pinch': Wkh. *čip*-. It is therefore possible that *či*- was differentiated into *ci*-, but the evidence is not strong. In Saka

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 208.

<sup>2</sup> With dissimilation *cštr*.



the development took a different turn, *č*- becoming *c*- except before *i*.<sup>1</sup>

The origin of *cigyerë* 'mushroom' and *cipō-* 'to wink' is unknown, but these words may go back to forms with ancient *či*-. *cə'rox* 'spark' is common to most neighbouring dialects, *calan'durë* 'window' is borr. from Khow., and *cə'raū* 'markhor' probably from Kafiri. In Y *cə'ke'na* (= M *skən*) *c*- is of secondary origin. The only word with *c*- before ancient *a* is *ca'royo* 'bustard', but also this word may be a loan-word.

At any rate there is no regular change of *č*- into *c*- in Y—M, as in most other Pamir dialects, Psht. etc.

If *išti* 'something' goes back to *\*čti* < *čit* + ?, the contraction may be earlier than the change of *či* > *ci*.

#### *Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates.*

45. In the varieties of M described by Gauthiot, Zarubin, and the LSI, and also in Mm, postvocalic *-k-* results in *g*. In the rest of M territory and in Y it has weakened further to *ɣ*, thus coalescing with ancient *-g-*.<sup>2</sup> It will be noted that the preservation of *-k-* as a voiced occlusive shows the greater power of resistance of the velar as compared with the dental and the labial surd stops.<sup>3</sup>

Examples are:

- Y *av'yuš* 'embrace, lap': M, Z *yivguš* < *\*upa-kaša-?*  
 » *ləyan-*, *nəyān-* 'to throw away': Mm *liyäd* (pret.) < *\*ni-kan-*.  
 » *l'ruyus*, Mt *l'rīyus* 'sickle': Mm *l'rēgus* < *\*drāti-kusa-*.  
 » *moyuso*, Mt *mΔγasa* 'fly': Mm *'mogusa* < *\*makasā-*.  
 » *noyo-* 'to bite': Mm *nəgō-*, Z *nigōw-* < *\*ni-kap-* (?)  
 » *puyo* 'woman's hair': Mm *pugo* < *\*pūkā-*.  
 » *rīyo*, Mt *rīya* 'vein': Mm *rūgo* < *\*rākā-*.  
 » *səy<sup>i</sup>o*, Mg *sīyīya* 'sand': Mm *sīg<sup>o</sup>* < *\*sikatā-*.

<sup>1</sup> V. Konow, Saka Studies, 25. Cf. also the parallel development in Marathi.

<sup>2</sup> This change is later than that of *ɳg* > *g*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also the development in Sgl.

Y 'suyiko, M(g) sīyikū 'a tale': Mm sūyo < \*saukā.

\* vul'yōr, Mg wur'yār 'shoulder-blade': Mm wur'gar.

Note Mm Yīdg 'a man from Yīdyūn = Lutkuh': Y Idəy. Cf. also Y: 'stūy 'long hair', γīyio 'cow-house', sūy 'street', vedāy- 'to mix' and cīr-γiščē 'dried apricot' which probably all have ancient -k.<sup>1</sup> Y muyo, Mm (stur)mugo 'vetch' is probably borrowed from IA \*mugga-, and not derived from \*mūka-. The origin of svy 'leather-strap' is unknown.—Mm šayur 'hedgehog' is probably a lw. (cf. Sgl. ša'yor).

Gauthiot, who generally has *g* for -k-, writes *γ* in pəya 'hair', mayūsa 'fly', namāl'ya 'salt'. This is probably due to mixture of dialects. Mm pory 'mouse': Z porg, G pork may be misheard.

Y—M -γ/-g has been absorbed into a preceding ū (o) in some words, but the exact conditions causing this loss are not apparent.

Examples are: M zə'vū: Y zəviy 'tongue' (< \*zəvūg < -āka-); M qīo, quwo(γ): Y qī'o 'bull';<sup>2</sup> Y cəra'ū: M cəroug/γ 'markhor'; Y žū(u): M žūg 'hide' (\*jauka-?); Yd. Gulyū 'Gulugh'. But cf. also Y hūy 'money'.

In M šīiko (Y šīyiko) *g* (or *γ*?) has probably been lost through palatalization.

In a large number of words with ancient suffix -kā we find Y—M *g/γ*. Thus, e.g.:

imoyo, yumago 'moon', vrīyo, vrīgo 'eyebrow', wulya, wul'ga 'kidney', sīy 'hare', urzuy, urzug 'straight', Idəy, Yīdg, etc. Cf. §§ 181, 188, 190.

Regarding the development of -aka- into Y -ë, M -iy-, cf. § 182. With -ë/-iy (e.g. in Y 'yādë, -ə, Mm 'yōd'iy, g 'yānd'iy, ti -i, (t) -iy, t -i'ov, Z yā'dəy, G yā'dēy 'blind') cf. the parallel development into -ai in Psht.<sup>3</sup>

Postvocalic *k* appears in Y—M in the suffix -(i)ko;<sup>4</sup> in lw's (e.g.

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Poss. also M wālu 'feast': Y wāly?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zar. p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 189.

'*kāka* 'top of the head', *ka'kūk* 'cuckoo', M(g) *čik<sup>2</sup>ri* 'rhubarb');<sup>1</sup> through secondary contact with a voiceless sound (e.g. Yd. *γuskən*, M *γūs<sup>2</sup>kun* 'cow.dung');<sup>2</sup> and in comparatively recent compounds (*nikanā-* 'to dig').

46. Intervocalic *-t-* results in Y—M *-y-*, or is lost. This development *t-* is common to many Ir. dialects, but only in Y—M and Wanetsi Psht. is it combined with the conservation of *-d-* in the shape of *-l-*. The two series may be illustrated thus:

*-t-* > *-d-* > *-δ-* > *-y-*  
*-d-* (*-δ-*) > *-l-* > *-l-*.

The intermediate stage *-δ-* (< *-t-*) is perhaps only a theoretical one, *\*-d-* having been weakened direct to *-y-*, because no voiced dental fricative existed in the phonetic system of the language at the time when *\*-b-* (< *-p-*) became *\*-β-* (*-v-*).

Examples of the treatment of intervocalic *-t-* are very numerous. Thus, e.g.:

Y *liī*, M *liy* 'gave'; *vī* 'was', *āyōi*, *ayay* 'came', and other preterites in postvocalic *-ta*.<sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. Y *astio* 'abuse' (?); *abriō* 'pear'; *γiyio* 'cowhouse'; *koviō* 'pigeon'; *k<sup>2</sup>ei* 'house'; *k<sup>2</sup>em* 'which'; *lii* 'smoke'; *l<sup>2</sup>ruyus* 'sickle'; *mayoyo* 'mare'; M *nāmyo* 'felt'; Y *niya* 'sour milk'; *pīo* 'rotten'; *rūi* 'guts'; *sūi* 'slate'; *sēyi'o* 'sand'; *spī* 'white'; *səziyo* 'jujube-tree'; M *tūi* 'mulberry' (early lw. ?); Y *vrai* 'brother'; *wūi* 'wind'; *wulēyo* 'span'; *wīya* 'willow'; *xīryo* 'watermill'; *yeya* 'bridge'; *zamai* 'son-in-law'; *ža-*, M *žāy-* 'to say'.

More doubtful cases are M *kalay* 'soot' (*\*kata-dūta-?*); *wi'en-* 'to untie' (*\*wi-tan-?*); *xeyo* 'wall' (*\*xatā-?*); *yūyo* 'one (of several)' (*\*yūtaka-?*); M *yūi* 'husband's brother' (*\*yāta-?*).

Cf. also the 3 sg. Pres. in *-ē*, *-i* < *-ayati*,<sup>4</sup> *Breyeyo* 'Munjan' < *\*Mrgatā* (?).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *kəkyaro* 'dagger', etc. with *k<sup>2</sup>* < *t*. V. § 62.

<sup>2</sup> And in Y *pəkorē* 'mouth' < *\*pat(i)karaka-?*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 235.

<sup>4</sup> § 231.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BSOS. VI, 442.

The Khowar place-names *Četrār* 'Chitral', *Šoyor* 'Shogot' and *Manūr* appear in Y as *Čitrēyo*, *Šoyoyo* and *Munio*, and have probably been borrowed at a time when Khow. had intervocalic *-ḍ* < *-t-*, not at a still earlier stage. Also Y *g<sup>ʷ</sup>er-*, Mj. *giyar-* 'to pass, to forgive' has probably been borrowed from Middle Prs. *\*g<sup>ʷ</sup>iḍar*,<sup>1</sup> and M *kaliyo*, Y *k<sup>ʷ</sup>elēu* 'key' probably goes back to Prs. *kiliḍ*.

*yo* 'this' is derived through *\*eyo* < *\*aita-*, *\*aiša-*. Reg. *day*, *daf* cf. above.<sup>2</sup> In *tī(y)-* 'to enter' < *ati-i* the *t* became initial at a very early age.<sup>3</sup>

The unstressed prefix *pati-* has lost its dental completely in *po*, *pusur*, *pčūrma*, etc.<sup>4</sup> In secondary contact with another *t* we find *t* < *\*tt*: *pətišč-* 'broke' < *\*pati-trṣta-*, *žūt* 'speaks' < *\*jatati*. Cf. also *pəcəg-* 'to break', if from *\*pati-sṛnda-*.

47. Through early syncope *-t-* was saved in *wṣto*<sup>5</sup> 'twenty' and *mištor* 'mehtar' < *\*masyatara*.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly *t* remains in secondary contact with *r*, which became unvoiced and was lost.<sup>7</sup> Thus *zīt* 'yellow' < *\*za<sup>h</sup>rt* < Av. *zairita-*,<sup>8</sup> *xūt* 'eats' < *\*xwart* < *x<sup>h</sup>araiti*, and other 3 sg. pres. forms of roots in *r*.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly the syncope took place after the change of ancient *rt* > *\*rd*, but before the sonorization of intervocalic *t*.

But secondary *nt* developed along with original *nt*. Thus: *vəd* 'brought' < *\*uβant* < *upanīta-*, *vedō-* 'to warm' < *\*abi-han-tap-* (?), *wīd* 'sees' (with occasional unvoicing of the final consonant *wīt*) < *vaēnaiti*, etc.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But note Madaglashti *gyāšt*, pret. of *guzār-* 'to leave behind', which shows the possibility of a local Prs. loss of *-ḍ*.

<sup>2</sup> § 43.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. reg. *č* § 50.

<sup>4</sup> Reg. *paifar*, *paixō* cf. § 152.

<sup>5</sup> As in all Ir. languages except Oss., Psht. and Wanetsi.

<sup>6</sup> Scarcely *Boyušt* < *\*Bayašita*, cf. Index of Names, s.v.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Khow. *ʔt* < *rt*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Par. *zītō*.

<sup>9</sup> V. § 124. Cf. also Konow, *Saka Studies*, 23.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. § 115.

If *kədi* 'which' is derived from *\*kənd* < *\*kəmd* < *\*kadm<sup>o</sup>* < *\*katamaka-*, *rīmd* 'pleased' and *ptrəmdo* 'seized' must be analogical forms.

48. Intervocalic *-p-* results in *-v-*, just as ancient *-b-*. *-p-*

Thus: Y *av'yuš*, M *yivguš* 'embrace' < *\*upa-kaša-* (?); *ǎ'vǎz-* 'to bring' < *upa-az-*; *'kovio*, etc. 'pigeon' < *\*kapauta-*; M *nəliv-*: *nuvōst* 'to lie down' < *ni-pad-*; M *nivīlo* 'bedding' < *\*nipadyā-*; *nuvāš-* 'to comb' < *\*ni-pašš-*; *nuviš-* 'to write' < *\*ni-pisya-* (or. ancient lw.); *p<sup>u</sup>ra-*, *prāv-* 'to find, obtain' < *\*pari-ap-*; *parvaχin* 'round, knee-cap' < *\*pari-paθanya-*; *rov-* 'to bark' < *\*rap-*; *šuv-* 'to suck': Wkh. *šap-*; *tuvor* 'axe' < *\*tapara-*; *va* particle denoting the acc. < *upa*; *v<sup>o</sup>ro* 'after' < *aparəm*; *və'dō-* 'to warm' < *\*upa-(?) han-tap-*; *vəzeχo* 'pregnant' < *\*upa-zəθyā-*; *x<sup>o</sup>šovo* 'night' < *xšapā-*; *'yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərəsi-*; M *yūvərsən* 'upper door-sill' < *\*upari-sayana-*.

This *v* has a tendency to lose its friction and be merged into *w*. Thus, e.g., in M *γīw-* (Y *γī-*) 'to spin', *zI'γiv-*, *zəγiw-* (Y *zI'γē-*) 'to twist' < *\*(uz-)gaip-*. And in the causatives we find *-āv-*, *-āw-* (*-ōv-*, *-ōw-*), but also *-ā-* (*-ō*).<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Y *īdou* 'fever', if < *\*hantāpa-*; *yāuyo*, etc. 'water' < *\*āpakā-*; Y *rūso*, M *raūso*, etc. 'fox' < *\*raupasā-*; *woru* 'upper' < *\*u(v)ar* < *upara-*, etc.

*nowīsa* 'nephew', *rikau* 'stirrup', Y *ketiu* 'book' are loan-words from Prs. forms in *v/w*.

In Y *fsidro* 'spring', *ftō* = *v<sup>o</sup>tō* 'thee', and probably in *fxa(w)-* 'to shear', *v* < *upa* has become unvoiced before a voiceless consonant. *ag<sup>i</sup>mīn* etc. 'honey' has been assimilated from *\*aŋgivīn*, etc.

Y *rufo* 'broom' (cf. Sgl. *rēf*); *šifōn* 'clay used for plastering'; *t<sup>o</sup>rif-* 'to steal'; and prob. Zar. *t<sup>o</sup>fōw-* 'to put fire to' have got their *f*'s from early forms of the preterial stems: *\*ruft*, *šift* and *\*taft*.<sup>2</sup>

49. Y—M *-p-* is mainly found in lw.s: *pap* 'grandfather'; *pāpəs* 'lung'; *rūpāyo* 'rupie'; *çop* 'left', etc. Also *kap* 'fish' is possibly a lw.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 227.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Av. *huxšvafa-*.

from Wkh. or a similar dialect. In *apīr*, *skapīr* 'before' the *p* may be due to recent composition. Possibly the prefix *p(ə)* in some cases goes back to *paiti*.

50. Intervocalic *-č-* results in *-ž-*. Thus:

-č-

*lūž-* 'to milk' < \**dauča-* (Par. *dūč-*, etc.); *la'žino* 'pile of firewood' < \**ni-čayanā-*; *nəmiž-* 'winking' < \**ni-miča-* (v. s.v.); Y *nišūž-* (M *nišāš*) 'to show' < \**ni-čāša-*; *paržin* 'enclosure for sheep' < \**pari-čayana-*; *pərwīž-* 'to sieve' < \**pari-waiča-*; *rūžen* 'smoke-hole' < *raočana-*; Y *šinjo*, M *šizno*, 'needle' < \**sučani-*; *tīž-* 'to cut' < \**tāčaya-*. Probably also *yožī-* 'to stumble', cf. Wkh. *gač-* 'to totter'; *kužke* etc. 'hair' < \**kauči-*; *patəžo* 'she-calf, one year old' < \**pati-tačī* + *ā* (?); *Stužun* 'the Ustich Pass' < \**stuč(a)na-* (?). *čužiya* 'chicken' is prob. an early lw. from Badakhshi *čuča*.

After *n* we find *ǰ* in *prenǰio* 'young she-goat' and in *sab'ranǰ* 'neckrope of the bullock', possibly derived from the fem. suffix *-či*.

Words of uncertain derivation, in which *-ž-* may go back to either *č* or *ǰ* are e.g.:<sup>1</sup> *kiz'yo* 'dirty'; *mūž-* 'to move in the wind'; *noyūžē* 'snipe'; Y *pāži* (Zar. *pōwi*) 'all'; M, G. *rāžən* 'language'; *šīž*, *šūž* 'vulture' (Sgl. *šūž*); *šīžo* 'cotton-'; *tažia* 'heron'; *Gažan-dorē* 'n. of a Y clan'.

Y *mažoyo* 'female markhor' is a Khow. lw., and *kužo* 'crooked' and *sarf<sup>2</sup>rāže* 'ornaments' are probably borrowed from Prs. *kaž*, *kuž* and *sarf<sup>2</sup>arāzi*.

In *ža* 'from' (cf. *ž<sup>u</sup>kū* 'whence') < \**ha'ča* the *č* was sonorized before the loss of initial (h)a.<sup>2</sup> But in *tiž-*, *čiž-* 'to fall' (< \**ča'hd-* < \**ha'čahida-*), *čpāč* 'behind', and possibly in *čəyū-* 'to return' the loss of *ha-* occurred earlier, owing to the more complete absence of stress in polysyllabic words.<sup>3</sup>

51. *-č-*, *-č̣-* appear in a number of lw.s from Khow., e.g. in *bučayi* 'bud'; *hoč* 'boiled fat'; *pič* 'hot'; *m<sup>2</sup>reč* 'mulberry'; *pičili* 'n. of a plant'; *tačingē* 'Kafir boots'. With M *mačio*, Y *ma'čio* 'she-dog'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s vv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *və*, *pə* < *upa*.

<sup>3</sup> *špāč* prob. < *čpāč* (cf. *štāhän* 'below'), and not < \**žp<sup>o</sup>*.

cf. Badakhshi *mōča*. Y *vroč-* 'to fry' is perhaps derived from an imperative *vroč* < \**vroj* < \**vro/ənj*, cf. Khow. *vrenjē*.<sup>1</sup>

Altogether uncertain is the derivation of Yd. *âričo* 'strawberry', and also of *mṛkič* 'carded wool'; Zar. *ničōd-* 'to moisten thoroughly'; *γəričōy-* 'to creak'; Y *γuričā-* 'to swallow'.

-c- occurs in Y in the lw.s *plac* 'cheese' (fr. Kati); *blacā-* 'to collect' (fr. Khow.); cf. also Y *macio* 'she-dog',<sup>2</sup> and *pelicio* 'fire-tree, torch' which may perhaps have borrowed from an early form of Khow. *pūič*. In Y *pæcag-*, etc. 'to cut, cleave' c is probably derived from *t + s*.<sup>3</sup>

### Voiced Stops and Affricates.

52. The general E.Ir. tendency to change voiced stops into fricatives has prevailed completely in Y—M where we find, at least in initial and intervocalic position, *γ*, *l* (< *δ*), *v* (< *β*) and *ž*.

It is possible that this change first affected intervocalic voiced stops,<sup>4</sup> it being in fact the first stage of the Ir. weakening of intervocalic consonants. And it might perhaps be assumed that the initial *d-* in *dāl-* 'to give' is due to a preventive dissimilation dating from a time when *dadā-* should regularly have become \**dadā-*. But the preservation of *d-* in a single, or at the utmost a small number of words, is not very likely. The dissimilation has probably taken place at a later period, \**dadā* becoming again \**dadā-*. In *livden* 'fire-place' < \**δēyδān* the dissimilation went the other way, just as in Psht. *līd* 'saw' < \**δīd* < \**δīδ* < \**δīd* < \**δīta-*, and in Sogd. *δ<sup>u</sup>wādas* 'twelve'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Yd.? Cf. BSOS, VIII, 664.

<sup>2</sup> V. above § 14.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 46.

<sup>4</sup> And initial ones in sandhi after a word ending in a vowel.

<sup>5</sup> I do not understand Benveniste's remark, Gramm. Sogd. II, 146. Oss. *duwadās*, *dīwa-* (not *duwā-*) can without difficulty be traced back to \**duwādasā* and correspond to Psht. *dwālas*, *dwōlas*.

53. Initial *g-* appears as *γ-* in *γū* 'ear'; *γāl* 'thief'; *γādəm* 'wheat', etc.<sup>1</sup> Also *Gharmai* 'n. of a village in Yamgūn' is probably of Munji origin. Most words in *γ-* are of genuine Y—M origin. But there are also some lw.s (e.g. *γūlak* 'pelletbow', *γar* 'adulterer', etc.) and a few words of unknown derivation (e.g. *γənigo*, etc. 'sneezing'; *γaza* 'a room'; *γuzγap* 'dirty'; *γus-* 'to feel troubled'). *g<sup>v</sup>er-* 'to walk, pass' and *g<sup>v</sup>ib* 'lost' are early lw.s from Prs.

54. Ancient *-g-* results in *-γ-* in *ayoī* 'came';<sup>2</sup> *āγ(u)d-* 'to dress' < *-g-* *\*ā-gunda-*; *o'γuzo* 'walnut' < *\*āgauzā-*; Y *a'zuzyo*, M *wuyzəga*, etc. 'frog' < *\*wazaga-kā-*; *brāyiko* 'sparrow' < *\*mrgī + kā*; *frāiyo* 'yoke-ropes' < *\*fra-yugā-*; Y *feryāmə*, etc. 'he-goat' < *\*fragāmaka-*; *mēy* 'cloud' < *maēya*; *nəγuy-* 'to hear' < *ni-gauš-*; *nuyōz-* 'to swallow' < *\*ni-gāz-*; *poruy* 'bolt of a door' < *\*pati-ruga-*; *yūy* 'yoke'. Probably also *Pə'rāyo* 'Nuristan', and *Pōruy* 'n. of a village in Sanglech' go back to forms in *-g-*, cf. Sgl. *Pa'rōy*, *Pōroy*.

Words of uncertain origin are: *loyn-* 'to lie down'; *ēγū(w)-* 'to return' (< *\*hača-gaub-??*); *loyoi* 'entered' (v. s.v. *tī-*), *vəlyo* 'above', and *zuy-* 'to pour out'.

The development of *-g-/-γ-* in *līvden* 'fireplace' < *δēyδān* is quite irregular.

55. Y—M shares with Psht. and some dialects of Sogd. the change of *d* through *δ* into *l* in most positions. It is perhaps also characteristic of Saraghlāmī.<sup>3</sup> Sporadically we find *l* < *δ*, *d* also in Wkh., and in Prs., probably in words of E.Ir. origin. But cf. also Kurd. *Xulā* 'God' and Bakht. *leva* 'mad'. In the main the tendency appears to be centred in north-eastern Iran, perhaps especially in *Badaxšān*, *Balaxšān*. It is impossible to decide whether the *l* was developed separately in Y—M and in Psht.—Wanetsi, or if it belongs to a common ancestor of both dialect groups. Regarding the parallel change of *d* < *l* in Prasun cf. 29.

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> And in other preterites in postvocalic *-ta-*, v. § 235.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 27.



56. Initial *l* < *d*- occurs in a large number of words. Thus, e.g.: *lūi* 'smoke'; *lad* 'tooth'; *luydo* 'daughter'; *līo* 'gave'; *los* 'ten'; *lūž-* 'to milk', etc.<sup>1</sup>

Y Bidd. *lānawo* 'wise' must, if correct, be an early lw., but *last* 'hand' may be a genuine dialect form.<sup>2</sup>

*lyoxë* 'itching' is of unknown origin, and the *l* of Y *laxsərə* 'ice' (M *yaxsəriy*) is unexplained.

Regarding *däl-* 'to give' and *lūr-* 'to flee' v. §§ 136, 137.

57. Y—M *l* from intervoc. *-d-* (and *-dy-*) occurs in: *olo* 'there' < *d-* *avada*; *ilīr* 'belly' < \**udarya-*; *alarsinē* 'threshold' < \**adara-sayanaka-*; *alāno* 'pomegranate' < *hadanaē(patā-)*; *aspəlan* 'stable' < \**aspadāna-*; *aveli* 'both' < \**ubā-duwai* (?); *avlasto* 'sleeve' < \**abidastā-*; *awlān* 'bridle' < \**aiwi-dāna-*; *däl-* 'to give' < *dadā-*; *γäl* 'thief' < *gada-*; *kəla* 'when' < *kada*; *la* 'with' < *hada-*; *lūr-* 'to flee' < *raod-* (?); *molo* 'here' < \**imadā*; *malen* 'half-full' < *madəma-*; *Miliyeg* < \**Madya*<sup>o</sup>; *məlān* 'waist' < *maidyāna-*; *malax* 'locust' < *madaxa-* (or lw. ?); *nəl* 'reed' < \**nada-*; *nāilō-* 'to circumcise' < \**niž-dab-* (?); *nəliv-*, etc. 'to lie down' < *ni-paidya-*; *nəmālyo* 'salt' < \**namad(a)kā-*; *palo* 'foot' < *pād-*; *pol* 'footprint' < *pada-*; *plār-* 'to sell' < \**parā-dā-*; *pəlarz-* 'to wrap' < \**pati-darza-*; *päləstiko* 'armlet' < \**pati-dasta*; *poruylan* 'hole for the door-bolt' < \**dāna-*; *šilē* 'neck' < \**ušadaka-* (?); *šəlo* 'near': Soyd. *šd* (?); *wul-* 'to throw' < \**wid-*; *wolo* 'irrigation channel' < *vaidi-*; *wulo* 'wife' < *vadū-*; *wuləyo* 'span' < \**widāti-*; *xul* 'perspiration' < \**x<sup>v</sup>aēda-*; *xūlo* 'embroidered cap' < *xaoda-*; *z<sup>2</sup>γal-* 'to run away' < *zγad-*.

Of uncertain or unknown etymology are: *fyēli* 'a lie'; *γūelo* 'yoke-ropes'; *kulyä* 'a wild growing vegetable'; *pelicio* 'fir-tree';<sup>3</sup> *selxiko* 'sorrel'; *veliwo* 'lightning'; *vul'γōr*, *wur'gΔr* 'shoulder-blade'; *wulid* 'foot-print'; *wulai* 'open'; *waly* 'feast' (< \**wadu-ka-* ?); *wulyeyo*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Et. Voc. Psht., s.v. *lās*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 51.

'a small shrub'; *yelu* 'stack of grain'; *yīla* 'a little'; M *yälko* (Y *yeḥko*) 'duck'.

*pa'lan* 'saddle' and *xāl* 'taste' are probably lw.s. Regarding *pē'lēk* and *poləm* v. Voc. s.vv.

In *nīḥ-* 'to sit down', *tiḥ-*, *čiḥ-* 'to fall', and possibly in *yēḥio* 'nest', an early contraction has resulted in  $*h\delta > *ḡ > \dot{x}$ .<sup>1</sup> Note also *uščeno* 'hay-stack'  $< *wāštānā < *wāstra-dānā$ .

Ancient  $\delta$  (*d*) in secondary contact with  $d < t$  resulted in  $*\delta > l$ . Cf., e.g., *drl* 'he gives'  $< dadati$ .<sup>2</sup> Regarding  $t + t$  cf. § 47.

58.  $b > \beta$ ,  $v$ - occurs e.g. in *vīo* 'was'  $< būta$ ; *vad-* 'to tie'  $< band-$ ; *b-vən* 'root, bottom'  $< buna$ ; *vāṇ* 'long'  $< barəšna$ , etc., cf. Voc. s.vv.

Words of uncertain origin are M, Z *vayṇew* 'yield of grain'; *viščo* 'steep hillside'. It is possible that *vār*, *vēr* 'time' was borrowed from Prs. at a time when this language has still  $\beta$ - from  $w$ -. In that case *pūzē* 'falcon' may be a later lw., borrowed from Prs. *bāz*, while Y—M had as yet no initial  $b$ -.

At present  $b$ - is quite common, chiefly in lw.s, but also in native words with original  $*ham-b$ -.

59. Examples of  $-v < -b$ - are: *āvər-* 'to bring'  $< ā-bar-$ ; *avlānd* 'hem of a cloak'  $< *abi-dāmāntā$ ; *avlasto* 'sleeve'  $< abidastā$ ; *awlān* 'bridle' (note  $w!$ )  $< °aiwidāna$ ; *γurv-* 'to seize'  $< *gr̥b-$ ; *drūv-* 'to dance': Sogd. *ḍr'wβ-*; *lō-* 'to graze'  $< *law-$   $< *dab-$ ; *nov-* 'to rain', *nīv* 'rain'  $< nab-$ ; *nəvyo* 'beak'  $< *nabakā$ ; *nəvor* 'to take out'  $< niš-bar-$ ; *rīv* 'rhubarb'  $< *rāba$ .

In secondary contact with a voiceless sound we find  $f$ : *afseno* 'whet-stone'; *afsinyo* 'ladder'; *afsīrnē* 'summer-wheat'  $< *abi$ -. Cf. also the unvoicing of  $-v < *biš$  in the obl. pl. in  $-əf$  and in *maf* 'you'.<sup>3</sup>

Note Yzb *aveli*, M, Z *avel'yi* 'both', but Y sh *abeli*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shgh. *neḡ*-.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 231.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. §§ 199, 203.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 88.

In loan-words we often find *v* (or *w*) for Standard Prs. *-b-*, but in most cases the fricative probably belongs already to Bad. Prs. Examples are, e.g.: Y *ketiu* 'book'; (M *ḳtōb*); *dīwčūw* 'torch'; *dūōva* 'second watering'; Y *rikau* (M *rikīb*) 'stirrup', etc. Note also *Parəuko* = Khow. *Parabek*, n. of a village in Lutkuh.

60. Initial *ž-* < *ǰ-* occurs in *ž-* 'to speak' < \**ǰat-*; Y *žio* (M *ǰiko*) 'bowstring' < *ǰyā-*; *žilo* 'hail' < \**ǰārdā-* (or lw. ?); *žin̄ko*, *žin(k)a* 'woman' < *ǰaini-*. Y *žaro* 'poison' is probably a lw. from Khow. *žū(u)*, *žūg* 'leather' seems to go back to \**ǰauka-*, but, in spite of Skr. *gav-* (Kalasha *gao*) 'leather', it is perhaps doubtful whether it is permissible to assume a form with *e*-vowel of this root.

*žib-* 'to rise'; *žaf-* 'to chew'; *žingo* 'n. of a bird' and *žunayë*, etc. 'boy' are of uncertain origin.

In Y—M, and also in Psht and Sgl., we find *ž-* < *ǰ-*, but *c-* < *č-*.<sup>1</sup> Evidently the dentalization of palatals in these dialects is later than the loss of occlusion in voiced stops (and *ǰ*). In Saka, on the other hand, *ǰ-* results in *j-* (written *js* and *dz*),<sup>2</sup> in Wakhi probably in *j-*,<sup>3</sup> and in Shgh. etc. in *z-* < *j-*.<sup>4</sup> Also Ossetic probably has *j-*, but the examples are few.

The indigenous sound *ž-* and Prs. *ǰ-* appear to be more or less interchangeable, and ought probably to be regarded as being variants of one and the same phoneme. Cf., e.g., s.vv. *ǰi'gar*, *žigar'en*; *ža'hānd*; *ǰw'āna*, *žū'wān*; *žirabë*.

61. Examples of *-ž-* are: *īž* 'snake' < *aži-*; *mižäyiko* 'mist' < \**miǰā-*; *mūž-* 'to move' < \**ham-auž-* (?); *u'žer-* 'to look' < \**awa-ǰaraya-*. *pižām* 'to entrust' is possibly borrowed from Khow. *pežem-*, in its turn of Ir. origin.<sup>5</sup> The derivation of *raža* 'platform' is uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> In many, if not in all cases. Cf. above § 44.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Konow, Saka Studies, 25; Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt, 11.

<sup>3</sup> In *ǰai* 'bow-string'.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. in *zīn-* 'to beat'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BSOS, VIII, 663. But notice Yr *pəčām-* < \**pati-ǰam-*?

## Cerebrals.

62. In words of Ir. origin cerebral sounds have been developed from  $rt > Y r$  (M  $r$ );  $rn > Y n$  (M  $ng^y$ );  $s(t)r, rš > š$ .

In lw.s from IA, especially from Khow., all types of cerebrals occur in Y. Thus, with  $t$ :  $tok$  'wild pear' < Khow.  $tōng$ ;  $tfo$  'n. of a bird' <  $tif$ ;  $parəpati$  'boil, sore' < Khow.  $parpat$ ;  $čōtē$  'knuckle' < Khow.  $čot$ ;  $koṭinē$  'hammer' < Khow.  $koṭinī$ ;  $kiṭō'ri$  'dried mulberries' < Khow.  $kiṭōri$ ;  $būto$  'boot',  $kūt$  'coat' < IA. < Eng. Cf. also  $škāt$  'tasteless';  $ṭakye$  'n. of a part of the plough';  $pāt$  'bent, crooked';  $piṭio$  'necklace';  $aṭilē$  'porridge';  $gaṭ$  'roof-beam';  $yoṭ$  'dumb'.<sup>1</sup> In  $latrək$  'chive' < Khow.  $laṭruk$  the  $t$  has been dissimilated by the following  $r$ .— $d$  occurs in  $diḍanwo$  'cotton thread' < Khow.  $diḍōnu$ ;  $bādīr$  'sledge hammer' < Khow.  $bēḍir$ , and  $n$  in  $čūna$  'lime' < IA,  $nd$  in  $bakiṇḍa$ ,  $bakənda$  'male calf';  $bandux$  'a kind of handmill';  $kunḍūk$  'wooden bowl' < Khow.;  $lanḍik$ ,  $lanḍuk$  'fat';  $siṇḍ$  'two-storied house' < Khow.;  $milkoṇḍi$  'n. of a flower' < Khow.  $milḱōn$ .

We find  $ž$  in  $žāžiro$  'chain' < Khow.  $jan'jēr$ ;  $Iž$  'n. of a village' < Khow., but also in  $žoržo$ ,  $žoržo$  'partridge', and  $žimmež-$ ,  $žimež-$  'to pull up weeds'. Reg.  $č$ ,  $r$  and  $l$  v. §§ 79.

In a few, probably relatively old, lw.s from IA  $k^y$  has been substituted for  $t$  in Y:  $kyo'gō$ ,  $čo'gōo$  'wild pear' < Khow.  $tōng$  (cf.  $tok$  above);  $kə'kyaro$  'Kafir dagger' < IA.  $kaṭāro$ , etc.; Y  $pok^y$  'husks' < Khow.  $phōt$ ; Y  $kūk^ya$ , M  $kuṭyo$  'short': Wkh.  $kəṭ$ , etc. < IA;  $kāk^y$ , etc. 'to boil' <  $*kaṭ$  (?);  $rešk$  'avalanche' < Khow.  $reṣṭ$ .  $nd$  probably became  $*(n)g^y$  in  $mag^y-$  'to rub'.<sup>2</sup> Cf. the change of  $rt$  through  $*d$  to Sar.  $g$ , and the transition of a cerebral into a velar in the childish pronunciation of E. Norw.  $ontli$  (written *ordentlig*) as *onkli*.

<sup>1</sup> With Ir.  $γ$  and IA  $t$  in the same word.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 121.

## Surd Fricatives.

63. Ancient *x*- remains in *xo<sup>u</sup>d*- 'to laugh'; *xūyo* 'a spring'; *xoro* *x*- 'donkey', etc.<sup>1</sup> *xof* 'scum, foam' and *xoš*- 'to pull' have *x*- < *k*- in other Pamir dialects, too.<sup>2</sup> Reg. *x*- < *xw*- v. § 98.
64. Intervocalic *-x*- remains unchanged. Thus: *max* 'we'; *max* 'peg' *x*- < \**maixa*-; *anaxno* 'nail' < \**ā-nāxanā*-; *pīx* 'span': Sgl. *pēx*; *woxo* 'root-fibre' < \**waixā*-, etc. Reg. other words with suffix *-xā* v. § 98.

Words of uncertain origin are: *pərxāw*- 'to eat with a spoon'; *fxaw*- 'to shear'; *fxot*- 'to seize'; *l<sup>o</sup>ox*- 'to itch'; *poxayak* 'temples'; *fərx*- 'to stool' < \**fra-rix*- (?); *šūirox*- 'to shy'.

*šāxo* 'branch' and *rōx<sup>o</sup>* 'cheek' are borr. from Prs., and *gox* 'hole'; *muxan* 'veranda'; *tux* 'steam'; *braxā*- 'to knock'; *krox* 'scab'; *nax* 'floor'; *e<sup>o</sup>rox* 'spark' are borrowed from Khow., or resemble Khow. forms.

In sandhi we find a sonorization of *x*- in *Y vo γoi* < *vo xoi* 'own'.

65. Characteristic of Y—M is the palatalization of *θ* into *š*, a sound *θ* which is probably also designed by Saka *ṭhṭh* in *hathṭha*- 'true' < \**hadya*-.<sup>3</sup> In initial, antevocalic position the only example of *š*- are *šūimānē* 'male ibex', a word of uncertain etymology, and the place-name *Šulī* 'T(h)ili'.
66. Postvocalic *θ* occurs in *γu'rεš* 'knot' < \**graθa*-; *miš* 'day' < \**māθya*-; *mōššē* 'stick' < \**māθaka*-; *pīš* 'arrow' < \**pāθa*-; M *paššay* 'wide' < \**paθaka*-; *parvašīn* 'knee-cap' < \**pari-paθanya*-; *pešiko* 'snare' < \**pāθyā* + *iko* (?). It is uncertain whether *pəzεšī* 'young male sheep', *vəzāšō* 'womb', and *zāško* 'child-bearing' contain ancient *-zaθa*- or \**zaθya*-.<sup>4</sup>
- Reg. *niš*- 'to sit down', *t/ēiš*- 'to fall', and *yēšio* 'nest' < \**nihid*-, *hača-hid*-, *ā-hadya*-, with *hd* > *θ*, v. § 57.

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. Reg. *xu'gor* 'sword' v. BSOS, VIII, 668.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Anc. Prs. *hašiya*-.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 155.

The derivation of *yešio* 'handmill' and of *pěiž-* 'to break' is uncertain. *pišoyo*, *pižyo* 'saliva' (< \**pðu-*?) shows the affinity between *š* and *š*.

*γoh* 'excrements'<sup>1</sup> is probably borrowed from some other dialect. *lami-*, pret. of *l<sup>m</sup>mōn-* 'to rub' is scarcely the regular phonetic outcome of \**nimađita-*, from which we should expect \**l<sup>m</sup>māxi-*, but an analogical formation.

67. Also initial *f-* is of rare occurrence. Examples are: *fia* 'wooden spade'; *fār-* 'to catch': Prs. *fārīdan* 'to want'; *f<sup>2</sup>sko* 'nose': Sgl. *fusek*; *fiz* 'breast': Wkh. *pūz*.

*fāru* 'mill-broom' is dissimilated from \**frāruv*. *fusfesīya* 'small locust' looks like an onomatopoeical formation, and *fagyikē* 'song' is of uncertain derivation.

68. Intervocalic *-f-* remains in: *k<sup>v</sup>ifo* 'hump' < \**kaufā-*; *nif* 'navel'; *-f-* *xof* 'scum'; *wāf-* 'to weave'; *k<sup>v</sup>of-* 'to groan': Prs. *kafīdan* 'to crack'; *puf-* 'to blow'; *xof-* 'to cough'; *tafōv-* 'to put fire to' < \**tafya-* (?), etc.

Cf. also *vrōf-* 'to fly'; *žof-* 'to chew'; *jōf-* 'to send, command'. In *šift-* 'to plaster', etc. the *f* is of secondary origin, cf. § 228.

Other words with *-f-* are: *paifar* 'steep hillside'; *sofo* 'earthen jar'; *zifkyän* 'rolling pin' (*v + k?*); *šafsiyän* 'armpit'; *F<sup>2</sup>rastufi* 'n. of a lake'; *šefloč* 'hoof'.

### Sibilants.

69. Ir. *s-* remains in *sayo* 'shade'; *sīy* 'hare'; *sāl* 'year' (lw.?): *s-* *sēyi'o* 'sand'; *surv* 'hole', etc.<sup>2</sup>

A number of words in *s-* are of uncertain etymology. Thus, e.g.: *səbrim* 'boiled fat'; *sofo* 'earthen jar'; *svy* 'strap'; *selxiko* 'sorrel'; *suniko* 'wooden shovel'; *sīniya* 'sole'; *sāro* 'below'; *sosē* 'heap of sheaves'; *sasto* 'hillside'; *sizalyo* 'tarantula'.

Reg. *s-* < *š-* in *šinjo* cf. § 135.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *γumino* 'anus'.

<sup>2</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

70. Also *-s-* remains unchanged. E.g.: *as-* 'to come' < \**ā-isa-*; *is-*, *yīs-* 'to carry' < *yās-*; *γīs* 'thread made of goat's hair' < *gaēsa-*; *yuskən* 'cow-dung' < \**gau-sakana-*; *kōs-* 'to search for' < *kas-* (?); *los* '10' < *dasa*; *leso* 'oats': Sgl. *dāsīn*; *nusiγ* 'the shady side of a valley' < \**nisāya-*; *pusur* 'head' < \**pātisārah-* (?); *ros-* 'to arrive' (lw. ?); *rūso* 'fox' < \**raupasā-*; *wos* 'now, then': Psht. (*w*)ōs, etc.

Of uncertain origin are: *loso* 'rope' (Prs. *dasa* 'fringe' ?); *ces* 'what'; *γus-* 'to worry'; *kuso* 'maize-stalk'; *sosē*, *sors* 'heap of sheaves'; *wosa* 'wide', etc.

In *nezγo*, *niγzo* 'mucus of the nose' *s* has been sonorized before *γ*. Y *karyəz* (M *kargas*) 'a kind of eagle' corresponds to Prs. *kargas*, but *z* appears in other dialects, too (v. Voc.). Cf. also *yuwīz* 'double bridle': Khow. *iwīs* (with *-s* < *-z* ?); *bayaz* 'bellowing': Sgl. *bayas*; *ramūz* M. LSI. 'deer': Psht. *rāmūsai*. It is impossible to determine the special causes of the sonorization of *s* in these words.

71. Initial *z-* remains. Thus. e.g.; *zīk* 'knee' < *zānuka-*; *zrl* 'heart' *z-* < \**zr̥dya-*; *zamai* 'son-in-law' < *zāmātar-*; *zōmbā* 'jaw' < \**zambā-*; *zoγno* 'chin' < \**zanaxā-*; *zəmarginr̥* 'lizard' < *zamarə-guz-* (or lw. ?); *zīt* 'yellow' < *zairita-*; *zaxmo* 'field' < \**zamaxā-*; *zāxko* 'child-bearing' < \**zadā + ko*; *zīy-* 'to bear' < *zaya-*.

*zāγo* 'crow' is probably a lw. from Prs., and *zōm-* 'to yawn' from Khow.<sup>1</sup> Reg. *last* 'hand' < \**δasta-* < *zasta-*, cf. Et. Voc. Psht. s.v. *lās*.

72. Words with intervocalic *-z-* are too numerous to be given in full here. Examples are: *a'vāz-* 'to bring' < *upa-az-*; *iziko* 'yester-eve'; *azīto* 'barberry' < \**ā-zarītā-*; *azuzγo*, *wuyzəga* 'frog' < *vazayā-* + *kā*; *dīz-* 'to bury' < \**han-daiz-*; *lizo* 'fort': Prs. *diz*; *nuyōz-* 'to swallow': Wanetsi *γōz-* 'to drink'; *mīz-* 'to urinate' < *maēz-*; *ne'rīz-* 'to lick' < *ni-raiz-*; *pəzεx̣r̥* 'male sheep, 1—2 y. old' < \**pati-zad̥yaka-*; *vuza* 'he-goat' < *buza-*; *vəzb-* 'to tighten' < \**abi-zamb-*; *vīzγā* 'arm above elbow' < *bāzu-* + *ka-*; *vəzān-* 'to know' < \**upa-(?)zan-*; *vəzāx̣o* 'pregnant' < \**upa-zad̥ā-*; *wuzā-* 'to be tired' < \**wi-zāya-*; *wuziā(w)-*

<sup>1</sup> BSOS. VIII, 662.

'to extinguish' < \*uz-aya- (caus.); *wuzīr* 'yesterday' < *uzayara-*; *širizen* 'the day before yesterday' < \*šrita-azana; *zo* 'I' < *azəm*.

Of uncertain origin are: *γaza* 'room'; *niaskē*, *niāzyila* 'yawn'; *sizalyo* 'tarantula'; *wizinga* M Z cotton thread. Reg. *püzē* 'falcon' cf. § 58. Reg. the suffix *-γuz* v. § 193.

73. In the following words Y—M š- corresponds to Av. š- (< \*qy-, š- \*ks-), or to š- of other Ir. dialects: *šūi* 'went, became' < *-šuta-*; *šam-* 'to drink' < *šam-*; *šifc(ik)o* 'waterfall': Prs. *šiftan* 'to trickle'; *šifōn* 'clay for plastering', *šift-* 'to plaster': Bal. *šēfay* 'rod for applying collyrium', etc. (but v. s.v.); *šām* 'ripe': Bal. *šam* 'moist'(?); *šuw-* 'to suck': Wkh. *šap-*; *šiz* 'vulture': Sgl. *šūž*. Cf. also *šilē* 'neck': Av. *ušadā-*(?).

A number of words with š- are lw.s, or of unknown origin.<sup>1</sup>

74. In E.Ir., and among W.Ir. languages in Kurdish, there is a tendency to sonorize intervocalic š, and the resulting \*-ž-, is subject to further changes. There is evidently some connection between this development and the sonorization of intervocalic surd stops. We find that Sogd., Yaghn. and Wkh., which preserve intervocalic tenues, do also retain -š- as an unvoiced sound.<sup>2</sup> But the problem remains why Ir. š was more exposed to assimilation than -s-, while in European languages the opposite seems to be the case.<sup>3</sup> Probably the back articulation of Ir. -š- weakened its resistance against the influence of the surrounding vowels. The resulting -ž- has been preserved in earlier Saka, in S.Psht. and in Shgh. (γ̣). But it was an unstable sound, which in N.Psht. changed into *g* (Ghilzai also *γ*), in Roshani into *u*, and in Sgl. and Sar. into *l*, *l*. In later Saka and in Par. it tends to disappear completely, while in Orm. and Y—M it developed probably through a sound resembling the

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Oss. retains unvoiced -s- < -š-, but sonorizes -t > -d-, etc., thus developing on parallel lines with most W.Ir. dialects in this respect.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Chuwash (Turkish) -š- > -l-, v. Grammont, *Traité de Phonétique*, 206<sup>1</sup>.



'cerebral *y*' of Burushaski,<sup>1</sup> into *y*, which has in many cases disappeared in Y—M. It may be noted that \**y* < *š* has no palatalizing effect on the preceding vowel, cf. *ābriū* 'pear' < \**hamrautā*-, but *špūo* 'louse' < *spiš*-. The intermediate stage *ž* has been preserved through early metathesis in *yaržo* 'beard' < \**raižā* (< \**raišā*), from which also Psht. \**žairā* > *žira*.

Examples of *y*, *o* < -*š*- are: *ābūya* 'moraine': Ishk. *ambol* < \**hampiša(ka-)*(?); *friyo* 'flea' < \**frušikā*-; *fermo*- 'to forget' < \**framuš*- (v. Voc. s.v.); *γū(i)*, etc. (Mm *γūil*!?)<sup>2</sup> 'ear' < *gaoša*-; *mūo*, *mīyo*, etc. 'sheep' < Av. *maēšī*-; *ni*- 'to go out' < \**niš-i*-; *nəyuy*- 'to hear' (G. *nuyūš*-?) < \**ni-gauš*-; *niāst* (*nič*.) 'sat down' < \**nišasta*- (or \**ni-hasta*-?); *nāilā*-, *nīyalōv*- 'to make to sit down' < *nišādāya*-; *nəro'u*, *n'rowiy* 'black' < \**an-arušaka*- (?); *spūo*, *spuyā*<sup>3</sup> 'louse' < *spiš*-; *vri*- 'to break' < \**braiš*-; *yo* 'that' < *aēša*-; *yuvg* 'arrow' < *išu*- + *ka*-; *yūga* 'ear of wheat' < \**aušaka*-; *zriūo* 'daughter-in-law' < \**snušā*-.

Words of more uncertain or unknown origin are: *gūy*- 'to knead' (v. Voc.); *γənigo*, *xniga* 'sneezing' < \**x(š)nīša*-; *šūiko* 'collar-bone': Bal. *srōš* 'elbow' (?); *kiō* 'labour, ploughing'; *q'vāγ*, etc. 'bull'.

*ux'šo*, etc. '6' is probably derived from *xšvaš*, not from \**xšwaša*,<sup>4</sup> note the different accent in *avdo*, *aščo* in some forms of Y.

Reg. *šilē* (< *ušadā*), cf. §§ 164, 109.

75. In a great number of words we find Y—M -*š*-. Most of these words are borrowed from Prs. or Khow., others contain an original group *sr* (> *š*, *š*).

But in some cases -*š*- appears to go back to Ir. \*-*šš*- (< *ks*, *qy*), which in Av. is written *š*, thus coalescing with *š* < *s* (after *i*, *u*, *r*).

Thus *diš*- 'to think' could be derived from \**han-dišša*- (< -\**dik-s(k)e*-), but \**han-disya*- is also possible; *nuvāš*- 'to comb' points to \**ni-pašša*-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lorimer, Bur. Grammar, 6.

<sup>2</sup> G.'s *γūš* can scarcely be a correct dialect form.

<sup>3</sup> Y sh, r *špūo* with early assimilation of *spiš*- > \**špiš*??

<sup>4</sup> Gauthiot, JA. 1916, 244.

< \**ni-pekse-*, and *nišāž-*, *ni jāš-* 'to show' to \**ni-čašša-*, Av. *čaš-*. *muviš-* 'to write' is probably a lw.; but *koša* 'valley' can scarcely be borrowed from Prs. *kaš*, and ought to be derived from \**kaššaka-* (v. Voc. s.v.). Also *avyuš*, *yivguš* 'lap' possibly contains \**kašša-*. Cf. also *firšōn-* 'to shake' < \**fra-ššan-*.

Words which possibly contain ancient *šš* < *qy* are: *frušē* 'muzzle':<sup>1</sup> Av. *fraša-*; *pšāi* 'ripe' < \**paššaka-* < \**pačya-*. Also *xašəy* 'friend'; *kaš* 'piebald' (Shgh. *čūž*, etc.); *yašē* 'good' (Prs. *gaš*) may have original -šš-, but the origin of these words is unknown. Nor is it possible to determine the original form of *γūš* 'meat'. Regarding *čes* 'not', which Gauthiot would connect with Av. *aēša*, v. Voc. s.v.

Other words of unknown origin containing -š- are: *nišōk* 'jaw'; *kurušo* 'Angelica'; *ašasto* 'a kind of small berries'; *ušun-* 'to neigh'. In some of these words *š* may be incorrect for *š*.

### Nasals.

76. Initial and intervocalic nasals remain, except in the cases when *n* is dissimilated into *l* (v. § 136).<sup>2</sup>

Examples of *n-* are: *no* 'not'; *nōu* '9'; *nəb* 'dew'; *nif* 'navel', etc. *anaxno* 'nail' has a 'prothetic' *a-*. The nature of the relation between *dūr* 'to-day' and Sgl. *nēr*, etc. is unknown.

Intervocalic -*n-* remains in *ken-* 'to do', 'to dig'; *mən* 'my'; *yunia* 'hair'; *aspəlan* 'stable'; *nānoyo* 'grain' < \**dānakā-*; *stīnyo* 'supine' < \**ustānakā-*; *wīn-* 'to see', etc. Note M *stun(ek)* 'throat': Psht. *stūnai*, but Y \**stūya* with apparent loss of *n*.

Initial *m-* in: *mā-* 'to measure'; *moyuso* 'fly'; *məlān* 'waist'; *mər-* 'to die', etc.

Intervocalic -*m-* occurs in *frayāmə*, etc. 'he-goat'; *lāmo* 'village'; *lamdo* 'hem'; *lōmago* 'snare'; *nəmālyo* 'salt'; *rīm-* 'to please'; *sām* 'yoke-peg'; *šam-* 'to drink'; *zamai* 'son-in-law', and also in *mo* 'this' < *ima-*; *max* 'we' < *a(h)māxam*.

<sup>1</sup> From which Khov. *froš*.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. *mr-* > *br-* v. § 120.

In *ind* 'so much' (\**imanta-*); *avlānd* 'hem of a cloak' (\**abidāmantū-?*); *frayingo* 'she-goat' (cf. *frayāmə*) *m* has been subject to assimilation. The etymology of *s̄mtə* 'blunt' is unknown.

### Liquids.

77. Initial *r* remains. E.g.: *rū'i* 'bowels'; *rīyo* 'vein'; *rūy<sup>2</sup>n* 'clarified butter'; *rok* 'colour', etc.

If *rin'g'a* 'slippery' is derived from \**rixšnaka-* or a similar form, *r-* corresponds to *l-* in Prs. *lašn*. Note also *ne-riz-* 'to lick'. *lūr-* 'to flee' is transposed from \**rūl-*.<sup>1</sup>

The *r-* in Y *rīspən* 'iron' (M *yuspən*) is unexplained.

Intervocalic *-r-* occurs in *imār-* 'to count'; *yar* 'stone'; *yary* 'heavy' < *gouru-*; *lār-* 'to have'; *āvər-* 'to bring'; *čšīr*, *čfūr* '4'; *parguščë* 'finger-ring', etc.

Reg. *t* < *rt* in secondary contact cf. § 125. In *fro-* 'to melt', and possibly in *fərx-* 'to stool', *-r-* has been lost through dissimilation (< \**fra-ri*, \**fra-rix-*).

*da* 'in, into' may be a lw. from Bad. Prs., but Y—M loss of *-r* in an unstressed word is equally possible.

*zūl* 'difficult' may have got its *l* from *zulāwar* < *zōrāwar*.

78. Y—M *l* is found chiefly in words beginning with ancient *d-*<sup>2</sup> *l-* and in lw.s. There are a few words of unknown origin, such as: *liṅgōn* 'handmill'; *laṅgau* 'bucket'; and we find an unexplained prothetic *l-* in Y *laxsərə* 'ice' (M *yaxsəriy*), and, according to Gauthiot, in *liš'k<sup>2</sup>ūn* 'female breast' (M *yīšk<sup>2</sup>una*, Y *iščīn*, etc.). But there is no instance of IE *l* > Y—M *l*.

79. Y *l* renders Kati *r'* in the lw. *plac* 'cheese'. But we usually find Y *r* (or the variant *l*) for Khow. *l* (*ḍ*). Thus, e.g.: *blacā-* 'to collect', *bamboḷi* 'beard of a maize cob'; *brok*, *blok* 'knuckle'; *kerë* 'shield'; *kāriak* 'yoke-peg'; *krīnsar* 'walking stick'; *kalakəri* 'wrinkles';

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 137.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 56.

*krabəřë* 'lamb's wool'. Cf. also *loh-rīnĵ* 'double': Khow. *jurinĵ*; *pa'kořo* (*pa'kōl*) 'woollen cap'; *křox* 'scab, incrustation'; *luū, lū* 'pine-marten' < Khow.??

## Glottal.

80. Initial *h-* has been dropped, as in most E.Ir. dialects. *h-*

Thus, e.g. in *avdo* '7'; *ušk* 'dry'; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərəsi-*; probably also in *īdou* 'fever' < *\*han-tāpa-(?)*; *ā'brūo* 'pear' < *\*hamrautā-*; *ābūya* 'moraine' < *\*hampišaka-*; *īda* 'slave' < *\*hantaka-* (?); *yūrzuŋ* 'millet' < *\*(h)ārzana* (?); Y *Idəγ*, M *Yīdg* < *\*Hinduka-*.

With loss of the initial vowel we find: *ža* 'from' < *hača*; *čič-* 'to fall' < *\*hača-hida-*; *baxš-* 'to divide' < *\*ham-baxš-* (or. lw.); *dīz-* 'to bury' < *\*han-daiz-* (and some other verbs in *d-*); *gūy-* 'to knead' < *\*han-gauš-* (?), cf. *āguŋg<sup>v</sup>* 'dough'.

*h-* has been dropped also in some lw.s. Thus: *avda, abda* '17'; *amsāyo* 'neighbour'; *ālq* 'throat'. But note also *(h)oč* 'melted fat' (from Khow.); *hasa'īne, osa'īnē* 'handkerchief' (from Khow.), *hazār, azōr* '1000', etc.

The result of this recent introduction of *h-* has been that, just as in some Psht. dialects, a 'Cockney' *h-* has been introduced in some words where it is devoid of any etymological signification. In fact Yd. *h-* is probably phonologically insignificant. Cf. e.g. *hūy* 'money'; *(h)adamə* 'limb'; *hadē* 'slave'; *hənadiy* 'out of breath'; *(h)ory* 'work'; *harko* 'back'; *huro, wuro* 'there'.

Intervocalic *-h-* likewise is lost: *sīy* 'hare' < *\*sahaka-*; *mux* 'month' *-h-* < *\*māhaxa-*; *wāro* 'summer' < *\*wāhrtā-*; *xā-* 'to thresh' < *x'ah-*; *īno* 'blood' < *vohuni-*; *hūy* 'price' < *\*wahāka-* (or lw.?).

Reg.  $h + \delta > \vartheta > \check{x}$ , v. § 57.

## Semivowels.

81. Antevocalic *w-* is preserved as a semivowel in a great number *w* of words. Thus, e.g.: *wūi* 'wind'; *wāf-* 'to weave'; *wofšīo* 'wasp'; *wulya* 'kidney'; *wīn-* 'to see', etc.

Before *u* there is a sporadic loss of *w-*, frequently in Y.—especially in Yg, r and B—more seldom in M. We find, however, that forms with and without *w-* may be used by the same person, and it looks as if *w-* had no phonological significance before *u*.<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. *wulai*, *wulo*, *wurw-*, *wurž*, *wuš*, *(w)ušīyo*, *wuzā-*, *uščeno*. In *wūi*, *wulya*, *wulēyo* and *wury* I always heard *w-*. Reg. *hūy* < *(w)ūy*, cf. Voc. s.v.

*wisto* '20', *wul-* 'to throw', *wulēyo* 'span', etc, prove that *w-* was preserved before original *i*. *yīston* 'felt' can therefore, even apart from other reasons, scarcely be derived from *\*wi-star(a)na-*. *(y)īno* 'blood' presents special problems in Y—M, just as in most other Ir. dialects.

*vʷzān-*, *v/wzōn-* 'to know' < *\*wi-zan-* (? v. Voc.) possibly has *vz-* < *wz-*.

82. Initial *y-* remains in *yōu* 'grain'; *yūy* 'yoke'; *yēyən* 'liver'; *yuxs-* *y* 'to learn'. Cf. also *yūi* 'husband's brother' < *\*yāta-* (?); *yeǰio* 'handmill' < *\*yaǰra-* (?); *yūy(-yāmo)* 'three days hence' < *\*yuta-* (?). But the function of *y-* has changed its character through the development of prothetic *y-*.

*yāmo* 'the day after to-morrow' and *yōba* 'dance', etc are of unknown origin. Note *axlən* besides *yaxlən* 'cold'.<sup>2</sup>

Prothetic *w-* and *y-*.

83. Common to the Pamir dialects is the tendency, to some extent Proth.<sup>1</sup> also shared by Psht., towards the development of *w-* or *y-* before initial vowels. This tendency, which betrays a weakness of phono-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below § 83.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. *laxsərə* 'ice' v. § 78.

logical, if not of a phonetic nature of original *w-* and *y-*,<sup>1</sup> had not been fully developed before the period of complete separation between the various dialects. Therefore the results of the common tendency vary from dialect to dialect, and also within Y—M itself.

Thus we find, e.g.: Y *yasto* 'bone'; *yürzən* 'millet'; *yārē* 'flour'; *yašk* 'tear'; Wkh. *yašč*, *yirzn*, (*yūm*), *yašk*, but Sgl. *wastuk*, *wuždän*, *wulök*, *āšik*.

Prothetic *w-* is rare in Y—M. It occurs before *u*, and in a few words only, chiefly in M:

*wurzey* Mm, Z, G 'straight': (*h*)*urzuγ*, Mm, g, Y.

*wušk* Mm, g, Z, G, Ysh, r 'dry': *ušk* Yzh, g, B.

*wušk'*- M(g) Z 'to rise'.

*wuzir* Mm, etc. Z, Yzh, etc. 'yestereve': *uzir* B.

*wušōu*- Mg, (g), Z 'to call': *ušā(w)*- Mm, G, Y.

But the unstressed initials in *ustušč-* 'to jump', *usxūbun* 'sleepless', etc. are always without *w-*.

84. Prothetic *y-* plays a more important part in Y—M than *w-*, P probably owing to the general palatalizing drift of this dialect-group.<sup>2</sup> It is universal before accentuated *ä-*. Thus, e.g.: *yādē* 'blind' < *anda-(ka-)*; *yasto* 'bone' < *ast-*; *yärmē* 'arm above elbow' < *arēmō*; *yāšk* 'tear' < \**asruka-*; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərəsi-*; *yān-* 'to grind' < \**arna-*; *yāuγo* 'water' < \**āpakā-*; *yūr* 'fire' < \**ārta-*; *yürzvn* 'millet' < \*(*h*)*ārzana-*; M *yūspən* 'iron' < \**āspana-*, etc. Before ancient *ai*, *au* and *ɾ*: *yeya* 'bridge' < *haēt-*; *yūya* 'ear of corn' < \**aušaka-*; *yarš* 'bear' < *arəša-*.

In *yū* < *ā-*, *au-* the prothesis must have taken place before the vowel had reached the stage *ū*. *yūvərsən* 'upper door-sill' is perhaps derived from \**āupari-* not from *upari-*.

*yurv* 'mouth' and *yūmenä* 'n. of a plant' are of unknown derivation.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the somewhat similar phenomena in the Slavonic languages. V. e.g. Meillet, *Le Slave commun*<sup>2</sup>, § 40.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gauthiot *MSL*, XIX, 140.

The prothesis does not occur in an unaccented syllable. Thus we find *'yeršio* 'barley', but *aršə'min* 'barley bread'; and similarly *'yürzun* 'millet', but *aržə'min*; *yasp* 'horse', but *'aspəlan*.<sup>1</sup> Other examples are: *ā'būya* 'moraine'; *ā'brūo* 'pear'; *a'gīdro* 'grape'; *agr'mīn* 'honey'; *o'gušćo* 'finger'; *o'γuzo* 'walnut', *o'γoi* 'came', etc. Cf. also *av'dō* '7', *aš'ćō* '8' (Skr. *saptā*, *aṣṭāu*?).

Y *'afsəno*, M *'yufse<sup>u</sup>no*, *fsēune* 'whetstone' is a special and difficult case.

While Y on the whole has an aversion to initial *yi-*, this combination is quite frequent in M, especially in Mm and G, and in some words M *yu-*, with differentiation, corresponds to Y *i-*, irrespective of the original nature of the initial.

Thus, with ancient *(h)i-*: Y *imar-*: M *yumar-* 'to count' (but also B *yūmra*) < *hišmar-*; Y, Mg, Z *izē*: Mm, ti *yijya* 'goat skin bag' < *\*izyaka-*; Y, Mti *Idəγ*, etc.: Mm *Yidg* 'member of the Yd. speaking tribe'. A differentiation may have taken place in M *yi-*. In *Yed'yā*—with *e* through umlaut?—*y-* has been retained in Y.

With ancient *u-*: Y, Mt, g *ilīr*: Mm *yilar*, etc. 'belly' < *\*udarya-*; Y, Mt *imoyo*: Mm *yumago* < *\*uxšmah* + *kā*.

With ancient *a-*: *iž*: *yīž* 'snake' < *aži-*; *dīr*, *idūr*: *yudūr* 'other' < *\*antāra-*; *ida*: *yuda* 'slave' < *\*han-taka-*. Note *Yuwīm*: *Iwīm* 'n. of a village in Munjan'; *yuwīz* 'double bridle' (Y!): Khaw. *iwīs*.

Cf. also s.vv. *imoyō*, *ino*, *Irγoyo*, *is-*, *išćiy*, *išćin*, *ixo*, *ixiko*, *ixćogo*, *izma*, *Iydek*, and *ken-* (*iken*: *yiken-*).

85. Intervocalic *-w-* has been retained in: *γawo* (and *γavo*) 'cow'; *-w-* *nawoyo* 'new'; *nāwoyo* 'mill-race'; *pərwīž-* 'to sieve'; *tēw-* 'to stir' < *\*tāwaya-* (?); *ušā(w)-* 'to call' < *\*us-srāwaya-*; with loss of initial vowel in *wo* 'that' < *ava-*; *wāst-* 'to place' < *\*awa-stā-*; cf. also *huro*, *wūro* 'there' < *avaθra* (in unstressed position).

Final *-w-* becomes vocalized, or forms part of a diphthong in *liu* 'bad'; *yōu* 'grain'; *nōu* '9'.

<sup>1</sup> With recent change of accent. Cf. *āγd-* 'to dress' < *\*ā'γund-*.

In *l̥rovə* 'illness', *lurvë* 'ill' < \**a-druwaka-*; *l̥rovo*, *l̥rawä* 'reaping': Prs. *dirau*; *γurvo*, *γərwa* 'throat'; *γavo*, *γawo* 'cow' the semivowel shows a tendency to change into a fricative. This explains the *-f* of the enclitic pron. 2 pl.,<sup>1</sup> and of *fkyiyiko* 'alone' < \**ēfk-* < \**ēwk*. The development of \**aiwa-* > *yū* 'one' has parallels in other Ir. dialects. Cf. § 152.

Intervocalic *-y-* occurs in *pōya* 'sour milk'; *oyim* 'I go' (3 sg. *yī*) *-y* < \**ayayami*; *š<sup>u</sup>roi*, etc., '3' < *θrāyō*; *frāiyo*, *f<sup>r</sup>rāyo* 'yoke-rope' < \**fra-yugā*. But *sāyo* 'shade' < \**sāyakā*. In unstressed position, or in compounds, *aya* coalesced with *ai*: *pīstan* 'udder' < \**payah-stāna-*; *lažvino* 'pile of wood' and *paržin* 'hedge' (< *°čayanā*); *a<sup>l</sup>arsino*, *yū<sup>l</sup>vārsin* 'threshold', 'upper door-sill' (< *°sayanā*).

### Groups of Consonants.

86. Groups of consonants have been subject to changes and modifications through the usual factors: assimilation, differentiation, metathesis, epenthesis, etc. In most cases it will be quite clear which principle has been at work, and it will be more convenient for the purpose of presenting a general survey of the phonetic development in Y—M to arrange the material according to the nature of the ancient Ir. groups of consonants. I have chosen the first consonant of the group as a basis for the classification.

No groups of consonants beginning with a surd occlusive existed in Anc. Ir., and the only example of a group beginning with the surd palatal affricate is Av. *čvant-*, represented by the possibly genuine M *čad* 'how many' (Y *čand* is borrowed from Prs.).

Reg. recent combinations of surd occlusives with other consonants cf. § 40.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 231.



*First Component a Voiced (Stop or) Fricative.*

87. We have no means of deciding whether *luydo* 'daughter' is *gd* derived direct from a *dugədā*, *duyda*, or from *\*duxtdā*, with regular change of *xt* > *γd*.<sup>1</sup> The same remark applies to some of the preterites in *γd*.<sup>2</sup>

There is no certain instance of ancient *gz*. *mayz* 'marrow' is *gz* prob. a lw. *royz* 'woman's cloak' is of unknown origin.

Original *gn* (*γn*) is retained, but with development of a svarabhakti *gn* vowel, in *rūyən* 'clarified butter'; *na'yən*, *oən* 'bread' < *\*nayna-*; *xu'yēyəno* 'sister-in-law' < *\*xwahā-gnā*. The placename *Maynawul* may possibly contain Av. *mayna-* 'naked'; but ancient *xn* is also possible in this word and in *γənil-* 'to bleat'. Reg. *γ<sup>2</sup>nīgo* 'sneezing', v. § 96.

In *gr-*, too, a svarabhakti vowel is developed: *γu'reǎ*, *γ<sup>2</sup>rōǎ* 'knot' *gr-* < *\*grada*; M *γ<sup>2</sup>ruvd-*, *γ<sup>2</sup>rivd* 'seized' prob. < *\*grifta-*;<sup>3</sup> *γurvo*, *γirwa* 'throat' < *\*γ<sup>2</sup>rivā* < *grivā*; *γu'roi*, *γ<sup>2</sup>rāi* 'earth': Yaghn. *γ<sup>2</sup>rik*, etc. Reg. *γəričōy-* 'to creak' v. Zar. p. 145 f.

Just as is the case in many other Ir. dialects, internal groups *-gr-* with *r* as the second component are transposed. In this manner it is possible to avoid a hard group without adding a vowel, as is necessary in initial position. The only example of *-gr-* is *tiry* 'sharp'.

Ancient *gw* is possibly contained in *l<sup>2</sup>rovə* 'illness', *lur'vë* 'ill', *-gw-* if < *drigu-*. But v. Voc. s.vv.

88. Ancient *-dn-* possibly in *k<sup>2</sup>äl-yereno* 'bald-headed eagle' if < *dn* *\*-grdnā-* (??). Reg. *afsirnë* 'summer-wheat', v. s.v.

The epenthesis in *\*δr-* must be older than the change of *δ* into *l*, *dr-* since we find *lər-* < *\*dr-*, and we can scarcely assume a development *\*δr* > *\*lr-*.

Examples are: *l<sup>2</sup>rī-* 'to reap' < *\*drūy-* (?); *l<sup>2</sup>rovo* 'reaping' < *\*drawā-*; *l<sup>2</sup>rəfšə* 'awl': Prs. *dirafš*; *l<sup>2</sup>ruyus* 'sickle' < *\*drāta<sup>0</sup>*; M *l<sup>2</sup>rīva* 'shrub, bush' < *\*drū<sup>0</sup>?*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 90.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 232.

<sup>3</sup> Y *yurd* is a back-formation from the present *γur-*.

Words with Y—M *dr* are either lw.s (e.g. *dril* 'inflated skin'; *droxum* 'silver' from Khow.; *drušć*, etc. 'rough'; *d(ʰ)raxt* 'tree' from Prs.), or contain ancient *-ndr-*. Thus *drūv-* 'to dance' (if not a lw.); *dʳro-* 'to fear'; *drī-* 'to pour out' < \**han-d-*; *dram* 'inside' < \**antarahmi*.

In *ʳroyo* 'clear sky' < \**idrakā-*, and *ʳrovə* 'illness' < \**a-druwaka-*<sup>1</sup> *-dr-* the initial vowel has been dropped at an early date. On the analogy of *-gr-* > *-ry-* and *-br-* > *-rv-* we might expect Y—M \**-rl-* < *-dr-*, but this supposition is not supported by any evidence. On the contrary, we find Y *mə(n)drayə*, M *mulrāgi* 'silver neck-ring' < \**mudraka(ka)-* (v. Voc. s.v.), which, if not borrowed, points to a different development of *-dr-*. It is, of course, not surprising that *-dr-* should be treated in a special manner. Cf. also Y *pʳškedrī* (*pʳšgirdio*) 'dung of goats and sheep', which may contain a form \**driy* < \**drti*, cf. Wkh. *dart*, etc.

Initial *dw-* (*δw-*) in the first instance became *dr-*, with assimilation *dw-* of *w* to a preceding fricative,<sup>2</sup> and was then changed into *l(ə)v-*. Examples are: *ʳvor* 'door' (cf. *ʳvoro* 'rafter' < 'doorplank'?); M *ʳvön-* 'to winnow' < *dvan-*. Y *ləvaza* 'dough' and *ləvaxčë*, *layafči* 'torch' are of unknown origin. *lo<sup>h</sup>*, etc. '2' is probably derived from \**duwā*.

In Y *ʳbān-* 'to winnow' the fricative has been changed into the occlusive in accordance with a tendency prevailing in this dialect under certain favorable conditions. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *xūbun* 'sleep', *zeviryo* 'birch'.

Intervocalic *-dw-* occurs in *yalv* 'dog' < *gaδva-*, where there is *-dw-* no phonetic necessity for the development of a svarabhakti-vowel.

89. Initial *br-* becomes *v(ə)r-*.<sup>3</sup> Thus: *vrai*, *vʳrāi* 'brother'; *vrī-* 'to *br-* break' < \**braiš-*; *vrīyo* 'eyebrow'; *vroc-* 'to fry' (v. Voc.). M *vrīšum* 'silk' and Y *vʳrut* 'mustache' are ancient lw.s from Prs.; *vrazidinē* 'pillow' is probably borrowed from Khow.

<sup>1</sup> Or, with Gauthiot, < \**driywā* (cf. *lur'vë* 'ill')?

<sup>2</sup> V. § 102, and cf. Av. *db-*, *b-* < *dv-*.

<sup>3</sup> The svarabhakti-vowel is not constant in this group.

In intervocalic position we find metathesis (cf. *-ry-* < *-gr-*): *surv* 'hole' < \**subra-*.

An uncertain instance of *bd* is M *ōvd* 'ford', if < \**ā-bda-*. *bd*

### *First Component a Surd Fricative.*

#### First Component *x* or *f*.

90. Ir. *xt* results in Y—M *γd*. Thus: *bayd* 'divided' < \**ham-baxta-*; *xt* *pərwōyd* 'sifted' < \**pari-wixta-*; *təyd* 'cut' < \**taxta-*; <sup>1</sup> *vədayd* 'mixed' < \**abi-han-taxta-*; cf. *wuyd* 'found place': *wuj-*. Regarding *luydo* 'daughter' cf. § 87. It is quite possible that this word is derived from a form in *xt*, and the same remark applies to preterites of roots in *ž* < \**gh*: *awayd* 'hung up'; *mūyd* 'moved'; *lūyd* 'milked', and *trayd* 'bound'.

Of unknown origin are: *zuyd* 'poured out'; *məlōn-žəmuydəy* 'hunch-backed', and the place-name *Yuydāk* (< \**yuxta-*?).

Regarding the later formations *yuxt* 'learnt' (*yuxs-*) and *nu(v)ūxt* 'wrote' (*nuviš-*) cf. § 232. *čaxt* (v. Voc.) is probably borr. from Prs.

91. Ancient *ft* > *vd*. Thus: *avdo* '7'; *suvdo* 'shoulder'; *x<sup>u</sup>šuvd* 'sweet' *ft* < *xšvipta-*; cf. also a number of preterites in *vd* < *ft*, § 231. In roots in *-f*, however, *ft* has been reintroduced in the preterite; thus e.g. *waft* 'wove', v. § 231.

*tavdoyo* 'n. of a tree' is of unknown origin; *živde-raus* 'bat' ('flying-fox'?) possibly contains the original past stem of *žib-* 'to rise'.

In the ancient lw. *sāvdē* 'basket', and in the Pres. 3 sg. forms of the type *aydūvd* 'he dresses (somebody else)' *vd* goes back to \**-v(a)t-*, cf. § 47.

This tendency towards the sonorization of the ancient groups *xt*

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.v. *tīž-*.

and *ft* is common to all E.Ir. dialects.<sup>1</sup> We find *γd*, *vd*<sup>2</sup> in Y—M, Sgl.-Ishk., Wkh., Yazgh., Yaghn.<sup>3</sup> and Oss. The Shgh. group has *vd* (*vδ*), but *γd* has developed further into *id*, *ud* (*wδ*). Also Sogd. probably had *γd*, *vd* (*βd*),<sup>4</sup> although it is possible that the intermediate stage *γt*, *βt*, was still preserved.<sup>5</sup>

Regarding the development of these groups in Saka cf. Konow, *Saka Studies*, pp. 17, 27, etc., and *Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*, 17. The further weakening of *vd*, *γd*, which is characteristic of Saka, takes place also in Psht. with regard to *ft*,<sup>6</sup> and possibly with regard to *xt*.<sup>7</sup>

Also in Wanetsi<sup>8</sup> and Ormuri<sup>9</sup> we find further reduction of *xt* and *ft*.

Probably in E.Ir. *x* and *f* were first sonorized before *t*, and at a later stage *t* was assimilated into *d*.<sup>10</sup> It is remarkable that this sonorization has taken place even in such dialects as Sogd., Yaghn. and Wkh., where intervocalic *-t-* remains. The groups *xš*, *fš* are not affected by this tendency,<sup>11</sup> and Chr. Sogd. even preserves *x* before the voiced consonant *m*, while sonorizing it before *t*.<sup>12</sup> Partial

<sup>1</sup> Including Orm., but not Par., which has *xt*, *ft* > *t*.

<sup>2</sup> In some cases *γδ*, *vδ*.

<sup>3</sup> Only *vd* occurs in the material available to me.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Tedesco, BSL, 23, 113; Reichelt, *Soghd. Handschr.* II, 2. Gauthiot, *Gramm. Sogd.* I, 127 sq., 147 sq. *βt* but *xt*; Benveniste II, 17, 21 sq. *βt* : *xt* (but 144 \**avd* '7').

<sup>5</sup> The forms *δwaxth*, *βxthk* occur, together with *wγtw*, in Letter No. I which does not clearly distinguish between *γ* and *x* (cf. Reichelt, l.c.).

<sup>6</sup> Thus: *δwə* '7'; *tō* 'heat', but *tōd*, f. *tauda* 'hot', *ūdə*, *wōwd* 'asleep'.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *sə* 'burnt' < \**suxta-*; *tə* 'went' < \**taxta-*; *tər-lə* 'female cousin' < \**tṛwya-duxtā-*. But note *sātəl* 'to protect', *vrīt* 'fried' (cf. Saka *brījs-* 'to fry') with *t* < *xt*. It is, however, possible that in this words the past stem was secondary and based upon the present.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. NTS, IV, 160: *tāu* 'hot'; *wā* 'washed' < \**wixtaka-*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. IIFL, I, 333: *tōk* 'hot'; *hō* 'seven'; *dū(w)a* 'daughter'.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Zaza *aut* < *aft* (but *at* < *axt*).

<sup>11</sup> But in Badakhshi, etc. *kanš* = *kafš*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Also Buddh. Sogd. *γm* ought probably to be interpreted as *xm*.

parallels may be adduced e.g. from French,<sup>1</sup> but the E.Ir. phenomenon is difficult to explain.<sup>2</sup>

93. No certain examples of ancient *xč*, *fč* occur. *naxčir* 'male ibex' *xč*, *fč* is a lw.; *laxčio* 'small goatskin bag' is possibly derived from \**lačk*-; it is uncertain whether *lavaxčë* or *layafči* 'large conifer' has preserved the original sequence of consonants; and also in *naxčë* 'it drips'; *ixčogo* 'husband's brother's wife', and *vrexč-* (?) 'roasted' *xč* is probably of secondary origin.

In *šifč(ik)o*, *šivčä* 'waterfall', etc. *č* belongs to a suffix; *kafčio* 'spoon' is a lw., and the derivation of *kufčiliy* 'stockings' is unknown.

94. But *xš* and *fš* have been preserved better than in any other modern Ir. dialect.<sup>3</sup>

Examples of *xš-* are: *xšira* 'milk'; *xšuvd* 'sweet'; *xšovo* 'night'; *xšëma* 'supper'; *xšir-* 'to weep', and *xšileniyo* 'reed' (of unknown origin). Reg. *xusto* 'wet', v. s.v.

Intervocalic *-xš-* occurs in *axšin* 'blue'; *axšow-* 'to chew'; *baxš-* 'to divide' (lw.?): *maxšë* 'mosquito'; *parwaxšë* 'broom' (< *vaxš-* 'to sprinkle?'); *waxš-* 'to grow'. *bilaxša* 'a kind of vegetable' and *naxš* 'song' are of unknown origin (lw.s?). M *paxšk<sup>o</sup>* 'wooden tray' is probably an older form of Y *poško*. Note Y *Baxšir* 'n. of a village' ~ Khw. *Başker*.

Ancient *xšw-* has resulted in *uxš-*, etc. in *uxšo* '6'. In the heavy groups *xšm*, *xšn* the *x* was dropped at an early date,<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> V. Grammont, *Traité de Phonétique*, 203 sq. regarding *ait* < *act*.

<sup>2</sup> In Bakhtiari *xt*, *ft* become *d/đ*, e.g. *doudan* 'to milk'; *soudan* 'to burn', *rā<sup>o</sup>d/đan*, *rahdan* 'to go', *gud/đan* 'to tell', etc. (Lorimer). The corresponding forms given by Zhukovsky are *duhd*, *sōhd*, *raft* (lw.?), *gu(h)d*, and Mann gives Mamässäni *duhd/đär*, *dōđär* 'daughter'; *sōht*, *râ/äht*, *gōt*. The development here probably went through *ht* > (*h*)*d/đ*.

<sup>3</sup> With the possible exception of Yaghn., which preserves *xš-* (*xiš-*), and quite possibly also *fš-*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Benveniste, BSL 29, 104.

the resulting groups *šm*, *šn* were further reduced to *m*, *n*.<sup>1</sup> Thus *imoyo* 'moon' < \**uxš-māh-kā*; *ārunyo* 'light' < \**ā-rauxšnakā*; possibly *rin'g'a* 'slippery' < \**rixšnaka*.

95. Ir. *fš-* is preserved in Y *fšarm* 'shame', but M has *šfor<sup>m</sup>*, etc.<sup>2</sup> *fš-* In *šifē* 'husband'; *šfin* etc. 'comb' all dialects have metathesis. In *fšūv-* 'to suck' *f-* is an ancient prefix, which may also be contained in *fšai* 'short-breathed'; *fšūi* 'very soft'. In Y *iščin*, M *yškvuna* 'female breast' the original initial *fšt-* was reduced to *št-*.<sup>3</sup> *xəš(u)wān* 'shepherd' is probably a lw., cf. Voc. s.v.

Intervocalic *-fš-* remains in *wafšio* 'wasp'; *lerəfšo*, *ləraušo* 'awl'. — *fš-* *kofšē* 'shoe' is probably a lw. from Prs., and the etymology of *šafšiyān*, etc., 'armpit' is unknown. If. *trīšp* 'acid' is derived from \**trfšā-*, the metathesis into \**tršpa-* must be common Ir.

*yuxs-* 'to learn' contains ancient *xs*. But *laxsərə*, *yaxsəriy* 'ice' *xs* is an ancient compound, *maxs* 'brain' is a late variant of *mayz*, and *raxs* 'dance', *ruxsat* 'leave', etc., are lw.s.

In *xafs-* 'to descend' *fs* is ancient, but *yafs* 'fat' is borrowed, *fs* and *fsāy-* 'to stand', *fsidro* 'spring' contain a prefix *f-* < *upa*.<sup>4</sup>

96. Before nasals *x* and *f* become voiced as in most other E.Ir. *xm*, dialects. Thus: *tūy<sup>m</sup>* 'grain'; *yēyən* 'liver'; *γ<sup>2</sup>nīgo* 'sneezing' < \**x(š)nīšakā*. Reg. *vaynew* v. Voc. s.v.

M *zoyno* (M G *zāx'na*!?) 'jaw' < \**zanaxā* seems to indicate that also a secondary group *xn* was sonorized, but in *anaxno* 'nail' < \**nāxanā*; *zaxmo* 'earth' < \**zamaxā*; *amaxno* 'sloe' < \**āmarnaxā* (?) *x* has been preserved, owing, perhaps, to a more recent origin of the group in these words.

M, and some speakers of Y, have *xūwən*, *xōvun* 'sleep', but also *fn* *xūbun* is heard in Y.<sup>5</sup> In M *xšēma* 'supper' < *xšāfnya-* we find a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 112.

<sup>2</sup> Ysh *šfarm* is prob. a M form.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 109.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 48.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 88, 107.

different treatment after a long vowel, if the word is not an ancient lw.<sup>1</sup>

97. Initial *xr-* occurs in *xred-* (with metathesis *xird-*) 'to scratch' < *xr* \**xrind-*; *xurūso* 'Cyon alpinus': Sgl. *xrēsag*, and, possibly, in *xurom* 'threshing-ground', *xeriščë* 'n. of a small tree'.

Postvocalic *xr* is transposed, as in Prs., etc. Thus: *surx* 'red'; *čarx* 'spinning wheel' (lw.?). The etymology of *awarxo* 'flame' is uncertain (< *urvāxra-*?).

*Fr-*, too, remains, with or without svarabhakti. V. Voc. s.vv. *fr* *frīyo* 'flea'; *frayomīy* 'he-goat', etc. Intervocalic *fr* occurs in *warfo* 'snow'.<sup>2</sup> The metathesis of *-xr-* and *-fr-* is probably previous to the sonorization of *x* and *f* before nasals.

98. Initial *xw* (*hw*) has lost its labial element, as in most Pamir *xw* (*hw*) dialects. But in some words the following vowel has been labialized: *xo<sup>a</sup>r-*, *xur-* 'to eat'; Y *xūl*, M G *xala* 'perspiration'; *xurī* 'sister's son'; *xūbən*, etc. 'sleep'; *xoy* 'self', etc. In several cases it is impossible to decide whether the ancient form of the word had *xw-*, or *x-*. Cf. e.g. s.v. *xafs-*.

The word for 'sister' is irregular as well in Y—M (*i'xō*, *'yixā*, etc.), as in Sgl. (*yəxōai*) and Shgh. (*yax*). \**hwahā* > \**hahwā* > \*(*y*)*ahwā*, etc.?

Intervocalic *xw* occurs in *pxuf-* 'to get tired' < \**pati-hwafta-* (v. Voc. s.v.); *paixō* 'unthreshed grain' < \**pati-hwahā-* (?). Reg. *yū-saxo*, *loh-saxo*, v. Voc. s.v.

#### First Component *ʃ*.

99. There is no certain example of *ʃ* + nasal. The etymology of *ʃm* *šūmānē* 'male ibex' is unknown, and the original initial may have been either \*(*a*)*ʃm-* or \*(*a*)*ʃi/um-*. *poləm* 'soft' is probably a lw.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Turki *axšām*.

<sup>2</sup> In Prs., Par., etc. *xr* and *fr* develop along parallel lines, as in Y—M. But in Psht. and Saka *xr* and *ʃr* go together.

<sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.v.

in spite of the apparent possibility of connecting it direct with Sar. *pâðm*, *pâðm*.

100. Initial *ðr*- developed on the same lines as *xr*- and *fr*-, i.e. a short *ðr*- vowel was inserted between *ǰ* (< *ð*) and *r*. The only certain examples available are *ǰ<sup>u</sup>roi* '3' and its derivatives (e.g. *ǰirizen* 'the day before yesterday'), but possibly also *ǰürox*- 'to shy' (< \**ǰüroǰ*- < \**ðradð*- < *ðrah*-?) belongs here.

Reg. *ðrif*- 'to steal', *trāž*- 'to bind' (\**trp*-, \**trnj*-?) and other words with *tr*- v. Voc. s.vv.

101. Ir. *ð* was a less resistant sound than *x* and *f*—in fact it has survived unchanged mainly in the Shughni group—and *ðr* was more exposed to assimilation than *xr* and *fr*. In some languages this applies to the initial as well as to postvocalic position, in another group, to which Y—M belongs, postvocalic *-ðr*- has been subject to more profound changes than initial *ðr*-<sup>1</sup> on account of the influence of the surrounding vowels.

In Y—M, and also e.g. in Sgl., Psht. and Saka, *-ðr*- was reduced to *-hr*- which resulted in *-r*- with lengthening of the preceding vowel.

Thus: *mīra* 'sun' < *Miðra*-; *pūr* 'son' < *puðra*-; *vrēri* 'brother's son' < *brātruya*-; *tīro* 'dark' < *taðrya*-; *tūr* 'trap' < \**taðra*-; *huro*, *ūra* 'there' < *avaðra*; *yūriko* 'handmill' < \**yaðra*- (?); *pūrma* 'four days ago' < \**pati-čaðruma*-. With secondary shortening of the vowel: *čoromī* 'fourth' (lw.?) and *žaro* 'poison'.

A derivation of *yeǰio* 'small hand-mill' from \**yaðryā*- is improbable (cf. *tīro* above), and the connection between *yaxio*, etc. (Z *yēx/ǰya*) 'ashes' and the words of other Pamir dialects derived from *ātrya*-, \**āðrya*- is difficult to explain.—Y *yūr*, M *yūr* 'fire' goes back to \**ārt*-, with early metathesis of an unusual group < *ātr*- which had got its *t* from the strong stem.

<sup>1</sup> This group includes Saka and Psht. (*ðr*-, but *-r*-); Sangsari (*ð*-, but *-r*-); Yaghn. (*ðr*-, but *-l*-) and various NWIr. dialects (*hər*-, etc., but *-r*-). In Shgh. we find, unexpectedly, *ar*- < \**hər*- (but only in the numeral '3', which might be a lw.): *-c*.



102. Av. *čadwāro*<sup>1</sup> developed into \*č(ə)ǰfūr, from which Y \*čǰir > *ɖw* *čšir*, M *čfūr* (čfūr), etc.

*pəlf*, *pilf* 'ford' is probably derived through \*pərdf- < \*pərdf- < *pərəðwō* (acc. pl.).<sup>2</sup>

Reg. *Wulf* 'n. of a village in Munjan' (< *vəðwa* ?), v. List of Proper Names, s.v.

Original Y—M thus preserved *ɖw* as two separate phonemes,<sup>3</sup> while the Northern and Central dialects compared by Gauthiot, have *f*.

Ancient *-ɖy-* is possibly contained in *pəzεǰr* 'young ram'; *vəzǰxo* *-ɖy-* 'womb'; *zǰǰko* 'childbearing'.<sup>5</sup> Reg. Y *yeǰko* 'duck' v. Voc. s.v.

#### *First Component a Sibilant.*

103. Ancient *sk-*, *st-*, *sp-* remain, with a tendency towards the *sk-*, *st-*,<sup>4</sup> development of a prothetic or epenthetic vowel.

Thus, e.g. *skəd-* 'to cut' < *skand-*; *skāvrio* 'coal': Psht. *skōr*; M *s(ə)kən* 'puppy': Wkh. *s(ə)ken*, etc., but Y *ckən*, etc. Cf. also the names of villages: (*I*)*skutul*, *Skarzer*, *Skəwo* (*Səkvo*). With secondary *sk-*: *sko* 'on' < *uskāt*. Ancient *st* is preserved in M *stōriy* 'star'; *stuno* 'post'; *stur* 'big'; *stun(ek)* 'throat', cf. Yr, g *stārə*, *stəno*, *stur*, *stūyo*, etc. But in Yzh, sh I usually heard a very short, prothetic *i* or *u*: *ʰstārə*, *ʰstuno*, *ʰstur*, *ʰstuya*, *ʰstōr-* 'to sweep', etc. Z writes *stōrəy*, but *sʰtər*; *sʰtūr* 'horned cattle'.

Ir. *sp-* occurs in *spī* 'white'; *sporo* 'plough'; *spəzə* 'spleen'; *spūo* 'louse'. But Z has *sʰpī*, etc., cf. Ysh *sʰpī*, *šʰpūo*.<sup>6</sup>

I am unable to explain the irregularities in the pronunciation of these groups. Probably the variation between *st*/*ʰst*/*sʰt* is phonologi-

<sup>1</sup> With fricative "w"!

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 128.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Yaghn. *tifār*, Afridi Psht. *calwōr* '4'.

<sup>4</sup> MSL, XIX, 137.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 155.

<sup>6</sup> Reg. § cf. § 74.

cally irrelevant. It is possible that *ṣt*, etc. is due to Prs. influence on M, just as we find e.g. *²spəl* in Sgh., but *²pul* in Ishk.

104. No certain example of ancient *-sk-* is available.<sup>1</sup> Y *iščiy*, M *yeskīg* *-sk-* 'roof' is evidently related to Wkh. *iskakut*, Sgl. *kiskūd* < \**uska-kata-*, but the phonetic details are unclear.—*kosk* 'barley' corresponds to Yazgh. *kāsk*, but Prs. *kašk*, Shgh. *čūšć*. Cf. also s.vv. *f²sko*, *γuskən* and *niaskē*, all of which probably have secondary *sk*.

A more common group is *-st-* which occurs in a number of *-st-* preterites,<sup>2</sup> e.g. *vāst* 'bound', and also in *last* 'hand'; *wisto* '20'; *yastē* 'bone'; *stīnyo* 'supine'; *pīstən* 'udder'.

Ancient *-sp-* is found in *yasp* 'horse'; *rīspən*, etc. 'iron', *frāspīy* *-sp-* 'rafter', etc.

Original *-sč-* results in *č*.<sup>3</sup> Thus *špāč*, 'spāč' 'behind'; *čpāč* 'after, *sč* back' < \**pasča-*. Possibly also M (i) *šti-va* 'something' < \**č(i)sti* < *čisčit*.<sup>4</sup>

The etymology of *s<sup>u</sup>xuy-*, *sxaw-* 'to slip, slide' is unknown (cf. *sx* Prs. *šaxīdan*). *usxūbun* 'awake' is an ancient compound.

105. Ancient *sr* was assimilated into *š* (*š*), as in several other Ir. *sr* dialects. Thus: *šū* 'horn' < *srū-*; *šīna*, *šīno*, etc. 'podex' < *sraoni-*; *šūīko* 'collar-bone' < \**srauša-* (?); *ušā(w)-* 'to call' < \**us-srāv-*; *xušo* 'mother-in-law'; *yāšk*, *yošk* 'tear'; possibly also *ušān-* 'to churn'. This change appears to have taken place before the syncopation of *u* in the suffix *-uka*.<sup>5</sup> The reason why *sr* is assimilated while *rs* remains may be that *s* in *sr* is implosive.

In the recent lw. *s²trīšəm* 'glue' Prs. *sr* is rendered by *s²tr-*.

As is the case in several other Ir. dialects, *str* (*sḍr*?) lost its *str* dental and shared the fate of original *sr*. Thus: *čēšo* 'pin of a spindle' < \**častrī-*; *šīyo* 'female' < *strī-*; *šinamia* 'girl' < *strī-nāman-*;

<sup>1</sup> Except *sko*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 239.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, MO, 1921, 211 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Tedesco, l.c.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 171, 5).

*uš*, *wuš* 'grass' < *vāstra*-. Reg. Y *uščeno*, etc. 'haystack' < \**wāstradānā*, cf. § 109.

106. Ancient *sm* remains in *pasmīno* 'above'; *pasmīnaka* 'steep' < *sm* \**pati-asmān*-. But *s* is assimilated in voice to the homorganic *n*. Thus: *zɪnɪ'o* 'daughter-in-law' < \**snušā*-; *zənay*- 'to bathe' < *snaya*-. Postvocalic *zn* may change further into *zd*: *wuzn*-, *wuzd*- 'to wash'. The sonorizing of *s* before *n* is common to most Pamir dialects, v. Voc. s.v. *zɪnɪo*.

107. Ancient *sy* was assimilated into palatal *š* as in many other E.Ir. *sy* dialects. Thus: *diš*- 'to think' < \**han-disya*-; *mištor* 'king, mehtar' < \**masyah*- + *tara*-; and possibly *yeršio* 'barley', if from \**arpasyā*-.

The voiced, dental sibilant remains before voiced stops and fricatives in *zə'yal*- 'to run away' < *zɡad*-; *zə'ɣəriy* 'thirsty' < \**uz-garaka*-(?); *zəyū*- 'to walk about' (< ?); *wāzd* 'fat' (with differentiating preservation of *d* after *z*); *zəvar*- 'to pour out' < \**uz-bar*-?

The etymology of *ɣuzɣap* 'dirty' is unknown; *mayz* 'marrow' is borrowed from Prs., and *xuzd*- 'to send'; *məzdira* 'the day after tomorrow' may contain ancient *zn*, *sn*. *čirgʷizen*, *širizen* 'three, two days ago' go back to \**azana*-. The only example of *zm* is *izma* 'fire-wood'.

No certain examples are known of *zr* except *vərzeyo* 'wing' with *zr* *rz* < *zr*. Reg. *žōi* 'lake' v. s.v.—*raža* 'platform' is possibly derived from \**razya*- and *žūy*- 'to sew' < \**uz-(h)yū*-(??). Cf. *š* < *sy*.

After *z* the semivowel *w* was changed into the fricative *v*, and by some speakers of Y further into *b*.

Thus: Yzh, p, M *zə'vīy*, *zə'vū* etc. 'tongue', but Ysh, g *zɪ'bēy*<sup>1</sup>; Yzh, etc. *zə'viryo*, M *vəzvurgo* 'birch (-bark)': Ysh *zɪ'biryo* < \**bɣza-wārakā*-(?). Cf. also M, Ysh, etc. *xōvun*, etc. 'sleep': Yzh, u *xūbun*; M *ləvōn*- 'to winnow': Yzh, sh, r *ləbān*-.

<sup>1</sup> Yr *zərīy* is probably mis-heard or mis-written. Cf. § 96.

108. Ir. *šk*—which as an initial is a sandhi form of *sk*—remains. *čk*  
 Thus: *škōb*- 'to raise' < *skamb*-; *škōr*- 'to send': Sogd. *ʷškr*-; *ušk*  
 'dry' < *huška*-; *riško* 'nit': Prs. *rišk*; *pʷške-drī*, *puško* 'dung'. *maška*  
 'inflated skin', *piško* 'cat' are lw.s. Cf. also *puškōw*- 'to string';  
*čirwašk* 'resin, gum'; *wuškuj*- 'to seek'. Reg. M *škʷui* 'neck' cf.  
 § 164.

109. One of the sound-changes most characteristic of Y—M is the *št*  
 palatalization of *št* (i.e. *št*)<sup>1</sup> into *\*štʷ*, from which M *škʷ* and Y *šč*.  
 Cf. the parallel development of *t* > *kʷ* (and *č*) and *nd* > *ŋgʷ* (v.  
 §§ 62, 121).

Thus: Y *oguščo*, M *āgus'kyo*, *āgušk'a* 'finger'; *aščo*, *os'kʷo* '8';  
*iščin*, *yiškʷuna* 'female breast' < *fštāna*-; *čir-yiščē* 'dried apricots':  
 Prs. *kišta*; M *yiška* 'fur-coat': Ishk. *yušt*; Y *mišča* 'sheaf of corn':  
 Prs. *mušti* 'handful'; *mrišč*, *muškʷ* 'fist'; *parguščē*, *parguščʷiy* 'finger-  
 ring'; *piščan*, *piškʷen* 'thigh' < *paitištāna*-; *pušč*, *puškʷ* 'flour made  
 of dried apples': Par. *pīšt*; *xeriščē*, *xriškʷiy* 'n. of a small tree':  
 Bad. Prs. *xarišta*; *xušči*, *xuški*, *xuškʷəy* 'greater, elder': Sogd.  
*γwyšt*, etc. Besides there are a number of preterites in *šč/škʷ* < *št*  
 (and *rst*), e.g. *nəyušč*, *nəyuškʷ* 'heard', etc., cf. § 240. M *šk* from  
 secondary *št* appears in *xišk* 'pulls' < *\*xaršati*, and in *wuškyeno*,  
 Y *uščeno* 'hay-stack' < *\*wūštāna* < *\*wāstra-dāna*- (cf. Or. *wūxtōn*).

Words of unknown or uncertain origin are: *ustušč*- 'to jump'  
 (v. Voc.); *kuščo* 'contrivance for carrying hay'; *ninamāščē* 'spleen';  
*v'ščo*, *viškʷo* 'steep hillside, ravine'; *čkyūgo* 'urine' < *\*čaštākā*- (??).

Note M *wuškʷ*- 'to rise, fly up'; *wušč*, *wišk* 'morning' < *\*uštā*-  
 with early reduction < *ut-sthā*-, cf. Par. *ušt*- 'to rise', etc. Reg.  
 M *škʷuy*: Y *šilē* 'neck' v. § 164.

Also a number of ancient lw.s have been affected by this sound-  
 change. Thus, e. g. *drušč*, *dʷrišk* 'rough' < Prs. *durušt*; <sup>2</sup> *dašk'*  
 'steppe'; *gošč*, *gask'* 'turned round' (v. s.v. *gord*-); *gʷēšč*, *giyaškʷ*

<sup>1</sup> Also when derived from *rst*, *ršt*, v. §§ 131 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gauthiot, MSL, 19, 139.

<sup>3</sup> Yr *drišto* is a recent lw.

'passed, forgave' (*g<sup>v</sup>ēr-*) < *gudāst*; *narangušč* 'thumb';<sup>1</sup> cf. probably also Y *rešk* 'avalanche' < Khow. *rešt*, with *t* > *k*, not > *č*.<sup>2</sup>

110. In recent l.w.s *št* is preserved. Thus *uštu* 'brick'; *muštī* 'silver necklace' < Khow.; *lašt<sup>o</sup>kum* 'saddle-cover' of unknown origin; *šāštē* 'hook': Prs. *šast* (with assimilation).

In genuine Y—M words *št* is also of recent origin. Cf. (<sup>i</sup>)*što* 'said' < \**š(a)sta-*; *išti* 'what' < \**čisti*; <sup>3</sup> *šitāhan* 'below' < \**čt-* < \**hača-t-*. Regarding secondary preterites in *št* v. § 240.

111. Ir. *rst*, *ršt* at an early date became *št*, and shared the fate of *rst*, *ršt* this group of consonants. For details v. § 131 sq.

One would expect Ir. *štr* to become *š* just as *str*. Y *iškirō*, *šikāro*, *uščuro*, M *škyuro*, etc. 'camel' do not go back to *uštra-* or \**ušra-* (Psht. *ūš*), but to \**ušturā*, or to Prs. *uštur*. Kati *štyür*, etc. is not necessarily borrowed from early M,<sup>4</sup> as the palatalization of *t* before *u* may be due to Kati sound-laws.<sup>5</sup>

Regarding *šp* in *trīšp* 'sour' v. § 95.

*šp*

112. While *s* probably remains unchanged before *m* and is sonorized before *n*, *š* is completely assimilated in both positions.

An example of *šn* is preserved in *pənāxko* 'eyelashes' < \**paš(m)naxa* *šn* + *ko*, cf. Av. *pašna-*. Y *trušnē*, *tīšno*, *tižno* 'thirsty' are l.w.s from Khow. and Prs.—Reg. *xšn* > *n* and *ršn* > *ŋ* v. §§ 94, 133.

Ir. *šm* is contained in *čām* 'eye'; *pām* 'wool'; *imar-* 'to count' *šm* < *hišmar-*; *maf* 'you'; and, possibly, in *puma* 'avalanche', if < \**pišma-*. — *s<sup>o</sup>trīšəm* 'glue' is borrowed from Prs., and Y *kušm-*, M *kičmōy-* 'to vomit' is of unknown origin.

<sup>1</sup> But Yr, M *narangišt*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. § 44.

<sup>4</sup> Gauthiot, l.c. 189.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. *štyū*, *štū* 'pillar'; *tyūs* 'straw', etc.

113. It is just possible that *noyoy* 'came out' (*ni-*) is derived through *žg, žd* *\*niyart-* < *\*niryata-* < *\*niž-gata-*, cf. Par. *naryö*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand *nailō*: *nailevd* 'to circumcize' might go back to *\*niž-dab-*, *nəvor-* 'to take out' to *niž-bar-*.

First Component *h*.

114. The only example of a group beginning with original *h* is *hm hm* in *max* 'we'. In a recent lw. we find differentiation: *maxmudiyo* 'dagger' < Khw. *mahmūdī*.

First Component *a Nasal*.

115. As in most Ir. languages<sup>2</sup> surd explosives were sonorized after a nasal at an early date, *ŋk* coalescing with *ŋg*, etc. But the tendency to drop the nasal in such groups is characteristic of Y—M. It is unknown elsewhere in Ir.<sup>3</sup> and rare in most IE languages.

There is probably no connection between the Y—M development of e.g. *nt* > *d* (or *-d*, *-t* in final position) in *lad*, *lod* 'tooth' and that of Kafiri *ant* > *āt* > *at*, e.g. in Ashkun *dont* > Waigeli *dōt* > Kati *dut*, Prasun *lätəm*, as supposed by Gauthiot.<sup>4</sup>

In most Kafir dialects ancient *nd* does not become *d*, but *n*, e.g. in Kati *kən-*, Waig. *kan-* corresponding to Yd. *xo<sup>(u)</sup>d-* 'to laugh' < *\*khand-*. But the Prasun change of *nd*, *mb* > *d*, *b* in *yöd-* 'to laugh', *üšköb* 'bridge' < *skambha-* (?) may possibly be connected with the Y—M development.<sup>5</sup>

The sound-change in question must be later than the Y and lower M development of *-g-* (from *-k-*) > *-γ-*, and it has not been carried through to the same extent all over the Y—M territory.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Prs. *palmarđa* = *pižmurđa* 'withered'.

<sup>2</sup> Including even Wkh., and possibly Yaghn. (*γantum* 'wheat', but *dindak'* 'teeth'), but not Bal.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. Wkh. *židīm* 'wheat' v. Wkh. Voc. Kurd. *didān*, *dgān*, *dran* 'tooth' may be due to dissimilation. Psht., etc. has initial *g-*, etc. < *\*(a)ŋg-*.

<sup>4</sup> MSL, 19, 139.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 29.

In Y it has affected all words except recent lw.s. In M some words exhibit assimilation in all dialects, thus e.g. 'ag<sup>e</sup>lera 'grape'; 'āgus'kyo 'finger';<sup>1</sup> agm̄n 'honey'; 'parguš<sup>y</sup>k<sup>y</sup>i'y 'finger-ring', etc., probably in originally unstressed position.

116. In some words Mm, Z, G and LSI<sub>m</sub> have *b*, *d*, etc., while Mg, (g), *t*, *ti* preserve the nasal.<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g.: Mm *â'kodiy*: Mti, (g) 'akondi, etc. 'thorn, bramble'; Mm, G, Z, LSI<sub>m</sub> *lod*, etc.: Mg, (g), *t*, *ti* *lōnd*, etc. 'tooth'; Mm, Z, G, LSI<sub>m</sub> *trâj*: Mt *t'rōnj* 'to tie'; Mm, Z, G *yōdiy*, etc.: Mg, *t*, *ti* *yāndiy*, etc. 'blind'; Mm *zōbo*: Mg, *t*, (ti) *zōmbo* 'gums'; Mm, Z, G *zūk*: Mg, *t*, *ti* *zīng* 'knee'. But even Mm (not, however, Z and G) has *nd* e.g. in *pōndo* 'road', *γōndvm* 'wheat', and it is not possible to find any phonetic reason for the variation. A curious case is Mg, (sh) *bābər*, etc., Y *boburē* 'wasp', but Mm 'bambur. In some cases Z has *nd* in the preterites of verbs in *n*, but these are probably recent, analogical formations.
117. Examples of *ŋg* (besides those mentioned above) are: Y *čoguli* *ŋg* 'hoof'; Y *čigāli*, M *čangōli* 'claw' < Prs. *čangāl*; Y *kyogō*, *tōk* 'pear' < Khw. *toŋg*; Y *rok*, M *raŋg* 'colour'; M *təgo* (Z *taŋg*) 'narrow'; Y *trok* 'narrow', 'saddle-girth': Khw. *traŋg*, etc.; Y *xugor* 'sword': Khw. *khōŋgor*; *xur-sago* 'mill-stone': Prs. *saŋg*; *guv-* 'to burn', *gūy-* 'to knead' (cf. *âgūŋ<sup>gy</sup>* 'dough') < \**haŋ-k/g-*; Y *γīk<sup>y</sup>* 'penis' possibly < \**γīŋk*, cf. Psht. *γēŋ*; *zīk*, *zūŋk* 'knee' < \**zānuka-*. Of unknown origin are *cigyerē* 'mushroom' and *pəcəg-* 'to cut'.
- In recent lw.s we find *ŋg*. Thus, e.g.: *aŋgāh* 'awake'; *jaŋgal* 'forest'; *paŋaŋg* 'leopard', etc. Likewise *ŋg/k* remains in secondary contact: M *frayingo* 'she-goat' < \**fragāmikā-*; *zīŋko*, *o<sup>o</sup>go* 'woman' < \**janikā*. But note also Y *afsinyo* 'ladder'; *stinyo* 'supine' *tovūnyo* 'box'.
118. Examples are: *akadē*, 'akondi 'bramble'; *āy(u)d-* 'to dress'; *īdou nd* 'fever': Wkh. *andav*; *ida*, *hadē* 'slave, boy': Wkh. *andag*; *boda*

<sup>1</sup> But Mullah Faiz Bakhsh "ankardia".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 17.; Rep. on a lingu. mission to N.W. India, 71.

'dyke': Prs. *band*; *čad*- 'to fall' < \**hača-hand*- (?); M *čad*, Y *čand* (lw.) 'how many'; *dā*- 'to smear' < \**han-dāw*-; Y *dīr*, M *yūdūr* 'other' < \**antāra*-; *diš*- 'to think' < \**han-disya*-; *diz*- 'to bury' < \**han-daiz*-; Y *yādəm*, M *yōndum*, etc. 'wheat'; Y *hadamə* (M *andām*) 'limb' < *handāman*-; *hənadiy* 'out of breath' < \**an-antika*-; *lad*, *lōnd*, etc. 'tooth'; *pādo*, *pōndo* 'road'; *skəd*- 'to cut' < *skand*-; *vad*, *vōnd*- 'to tie'; *vədāy*- 'to mix' < \**abi-han-tak*- (?); *xo<sup>u</sup>d*- 'to laugh'; *xīrd*-, *xred*- 'to shave' < \**xrind*-; *Idəy*, *Yidg* 'member of the Yidgha tribe' < \**Hinduka*-; -*et*, -*at* pers. suff. 3 pl. < -*anti*; *ušiyyād* 'hungry' < \**wrsayanta*-.

Of uncertain origin are *kuryudə* 'bramble' (< *kunda*? V. Voc.); *skut* 'wood, stick'; *ničōd*- 'to moisten'.

In secondary contact we find -*t* from *n + t*, e.g., in Pres. 3 sg. of roots in *n*. Thus: *vət* 'carried' (< *upa-nīta*-); *kīt* 'he does'; *wīt* (> *wīd*) 'he sees'; *xīt* 'he laughs', etc. Here the development has been *nt* > *nt̄* > *t*, cf. *zīk* < \**zānuka*- and the *r + t* > *t*.<sup>1</sup>

The preterite of verbs in *n* is in most cases derived from secondary formations in *nt/d*<sup>2</sup> which has either resulted in *d*, or has in some cases preserved the nasal through the influence of the present stem.

Regarding the possible preservation of *nd* in the plurals of the demonstratives Yd. *mind*, *ind*, *wind*, v. § 209. *nd* is also found in recent lw.s, such as *andiša* 'thought'; *biländ* 'high'; *sandvq* 'box'; *zrindo* 'alive', etc.—*kando* 'plough-share' may go back to a pres. ptc. \**kanant(ā)*-.

119. Verbs in -*m* have secondary preterites in -*md* or -*nd*. We also *md* find Y *k<sup>y</sup>ämder*, Mm *kamder*, but Z *kandir* 'smaller' from Prs. *kamtar*. *lamdo*, *lōmadä* 'hem, skirt' is probably derived from \**dāmantā*-, but cf. also *avländ* 'hem of a cloak' < \**abi-dāmanta*- (?) with earlier contraction.

It is tempting to derive M *tūga* 'button' through \**tumga* from Y *tukmo* (< Turki), and Y *kədī* 'which' < \**kamday* < \**katama'kahya* (v. s.v. *k<sup>y</sup>em*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 117, 125.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 243.



120. Between two *n*'s  $\vartheta$  disappears in *lēmōn-* 'to rub' < \**ni-manḡnā-*, *nḡn* cf. Av. *manā-*. There is no example of *nḡ*. *pado* 'road' goes back to \**pantāh*. We have no reason to assume that *nḡ* has become *nt* in Av. *pantā*. The different treatment of *nt* and *nḡ* is testified by Par. *panān* 'road': *menth-* 'to smear'; Saka *pande*: *mamth-*; Oss. *fāndag*: *zmāntin*, Sogd. *pnt* 'near' (?): *mnd-*.

Examples are: *ā'būya* 'moraine': Ishk. *ambol*; *boburē*, *bambur* *mb* 'bumble-bee'; *bār-* 'to be satisfied' < \**ham-parta-*; *baxš-* 'to divide' < \**ham-baxš-* (or *lw.?*); *čapē* 'door-frame': Prs. *čamba* 'large bar'; *debāl* 'behind' < Prs. *dumbāl*; *g<sup>ʷ</sup>ib* 'lost' < Prs. \**gumb*; *kob/p* 'little' < \**kamb*; *lib-* 'to card wool': Sgl. *damb-*; *nəb/p* 'dew' < \**namb*; *škōb-* 'to raise' < *skamb-*; *tubūr*, *tambūr* 'guitar' < Prs.; *vēzb-* 'to tighten' < \**abi-zamb-* (?); *xap-* 'to fell' < \**xamb-* (v. s.v. *xafs-*); *zibiḡim* 'earth-quake' < \**zambinḡum*; *zōbo*, *zōmbo* 'gums'.

Of unknown origin are *cēb-* 'to pinch' (cf. Wkh. *čip-* 'to pick'); *səbrīm* 'boiled fat'; *yōba* 'dance'; *zib-* 'to rise'; *sabəranḡ* 'neck-rope of the yoke' (< *sami-baranačē-?*).

In modern *lw.s* *mb* is common: *amburo* 'forceps'; *sumb* 'hoof'; *paiyumbar* 'prophet'; *grambešu* 'neighbour', etc.

Y—M *lēm* 'tail' < *duma-* < \**dumbma-*, not \**dumba-*, from which *mbm* Prs. *dum(b)*.

Initial *mr-* develops a transitional *b* and results in *br-*. Thus: *mr* *bräyiko* 'sparrow' < \**mrəγ-*; *Bräyeyo* 'Munjan' (v. s.v.). Similarly *ābrūo* 'pear' and the *lw.* *ambrōz* < \**amrōt*. *m<sup>2</sup>rēč* 'mulberry' is borrowed from Khow., and also *pilamru* 'cloak' is probably a *lw.* Cf. also Y *blāim*, *mə'lāim* 'soft' < Ar. Prs. *mulā'im*.

121. Examples are: *awāž-* 'to hang up' < \**awa-hanḡ-*; *trāž-*, *t<sup>2</sup>rōnḡ-* *nḡ* 'to tie': Prs. *taranḡidan*; Y *səziyo*, M *siḡiä* 'jujube-tree': Prs. *sinḡid*; Y *vroč-* 'to roast': Khow. *vrenḡē-*; *žazḡiro* 'chain': Khow. *ḡanḡēr*; *zibiḡim* 'earthquake' < \**zambinḡum*; M *rəč* 'difficult': Prs. *ranḡ*; M *Aḡuməno*, Y *Anḡu'mān* 'Anḡuman'. But in all dialects we find *n* in *pānḡ*, *pānč*, *ponž* etc. '5', probably through the influence of Prs.—*pōnzda* '15' is a *lw.*

In lw.s *n̄j* is retained: *an̄jām* 'dress' < Khow.; *ban̄j* 'holly-oak' < Khow.; *b<sup>u</sup>rin̄j* 'rice'; *kun̄j* 'corner'; *Mun̄jân* 'Munjan', etc.—*sabəran̄j* 'neckrope of yoke' < *sami-barana-čī-* (?); *šin̄jo* < *šizno* 'needle'; *pren̄jio* 'she-goat, one y. old' < *\*parana-čī* all have secondary *n̄j*. M *yāncilyä* 'lizard' is of unknown origin.

In *māg<sup>y</sup>*- 'to rub' *n̄d* has become *\*n̄g<sup>y</sup>* > *g<sup>y</sup>*.<sup>1</sup> Similarly Y *yeik<sup>y</sup>*, *n̄d* Z *yēn'g'* 'he grinds' < *\*yēnt* < *\*arnati* (cf. the secondary preterite Y *yäg<sup>y</sup>* < *\*an + d*). In recent lw.s *n̄d* remains.<sup>2</sup>

### First Component a Rolled Consonant.

122. On the whole surd occlusives in Ir. dialects are treated in the same way after *r* as after a vowel. Those dialects which sonorize e.g. *ata*, do the same with *arta*, and wherever *ata* is kept distinct from *ada*, the same is the case with regard to *arta* and *arda*.<sup>3</sup>

123. Accordingly Ir. *-rk-* shares the fate of *-k-*: It results in Mm, Z *rk* and G *rg*, but changes further to *ry* in other M dialects and in Y.

Thus: Y (*h*)*ory*, M *ary*, *org*, etc. 'work': Phl. *ark*; *wury*, *wurg/k* 'wolf'; *karyəz*, *kargas* 'vulture'. In lw.s and recent compounds *rk* remains. Eg. in *harko* 'upper part of the back'; *narkirë* 'cock'.

Ancient *rg* occurs in *mīryo* 'meadow'; cf., with early metathesis, *rg bräyiko* 'sparrow'; *Bräyeyo* 'Munjan'.<sup>4</sup>

No example is available. *pərx*, *pərx̄* 'dew' is of uncertain origin. *rx* In *pərxāw-* 'to eat with a spoon' *rx* is of secondary origin.

In view of this word, and of the maintenance of *rx* < *xr*,<sup>5</sup> the derivation of *xāxo* 'thistle' < *\*xārxo*<sup>6</sup> < *\*xāra-xā* is very doubtful.

124. Ir. *rt* resulted in Y *r*, probably through the stages *\*rd* > *\*rd̄* > *\*d̄*. *rt* In M, which lies further removed from the IA sphere of influence,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sgl. *mān̄d̄*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62.

<sup>3</sup> In Wanetsi, however, *arta* and *arda* coalesce, although *ata* and *ada* do not.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 120.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 97.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. secondary *rt* > *rt̄* > *t*.

ordinary *r* has been substituted for *ɾ*. The reason for the special treatment of *rt* as compared with *rk*, *rp* is not connected with the general weakness of *-t*,<sup>1</sup> but is due to the similarity of articulation between *r* and the dentals, which in Ir., as well as in many other languages, favours assimilation.

Examples of *rt* are: Y *bār-* 'to be satisfied' < \**ham-parta-*; Y *caɾoyo* 'bustard': Bad. Prs. *čarda*; Y *kero*, M *kero* 'knife'; *mɛɾ*, *mēr* 'man'; Y *nuwārē* 'excuse' < \**ni-wartaka-* (?); *wāro*, *wōrā* 'summer': Psht. *wōrai*; *wār*, *wōr* 'roof-beam' < \**warta-*; *woɾ-*, *wur-* 'to knit', etc. < *vart-*; *wōro*, *wēro* 'trousers';<sup>2</sup> *worɾo*, *wargā* 'quail' < \**wartakā-*; *yārē*, *yōriy* 'flour': Prs. *ārd*, etc.

Besides we find *ɾ/r* in many preterites of roots in *r*. Thus, e.g., *mur*, *mur* 'died'; *xur*, *xur* 'ate'; etc.<sup>3</sup> With secondary *d*: *kəɾd* 'cut down'.

125. In Y *ɾ* occurs also in a number of lw.s, usually corresponding to Khow. *l*. Thus, e.g., *boriko* 'small basket' < Khow. *belu* 'reed' (?); *brok* 'knuckle, bud' < *blōy*; *ɾoribombur* 'large wasp' < *ɾolibūmbur*; *horɾ* 'scar' < *hol/llk*; *kerē* 'shield' < *khēli*; *kāriak* 'yoke-peg' < *kāri*; *krīnsar* 'pickaxe' < *kl̄nsar*; *krox* 'scab' < *klok* (?); *(loh)rīn̄j* 'double' < *(ju)rīn̄j*; *kirār* 'cheese' < IA (but not Khow.). Note Y *pakoɾo* 'cap': Khow. *phakōl*, M *pakūlo*.

Of unknown origin are: *areyevde* 'wood-carving'; *čūrwa* 'unripe apricot'; *ɾuričā-* 'to swallow'; *ɾurp* 'deep'; *kurə* 'numb'; *pokoɾ* 'rung of a ladder'; *Uɾak* 'n. of a vill. in Lutkoh'.

In modern lw.s from Prs. and Khow. we find *rt*, *rd*. Thus: *gūgurt* 'sulphur'; *gord-* 'to walk about'; *kortus* 'cartridge'; *ārdi* 'part of the floor' < Khow., etc. In native Y words *rd* reappears through recent sound-changes in *xird-* < *xrid-* 'to shave' and *ɾurd* < \**ɾurvd* 'seized'.

The voiceless Khow. *ɾt* is heard in Y in the place-names *Wəɾt*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, § 46.

<sup>2</sup> *warwadən* 'trouser-string' < \**war-vadən*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 238.

and *Gurtio* (besides *Guṣṭi*). In secondary contact  $r + t$  became at an early date  $*rt$ , from which subsequently  $*ht > t$ . Thus: *zīt* 'yellow'  $< *zīrt < zairita-$  (cf. Par. *zītō*); *xūt* 'he eats'  $< *xwarati$ , and other 3 sg. forms of verbs in  $-r$ ; <sup>1</sup> *lat* 'held'  $< *dūrta-$ , etc.<sup>2</sup> This development is parallel to that of  $n + t > t$ .<sup>3</sup>

126. Ancient *rd* (*rđ*) must have moved towards the stage *l*, *l* before *rd* ancient *rt* resulted in *r*. It does not seem probable that the development passed through the stages  $*rđ > *rḍ > *rl > l$ .

Examples are: Y *alīxa* (only MFB!) 'ribs'  $< arəḍa-$ ; *k<sup>v</sup>emalyo* 'skull'  $< kamərəḍa-$ ; *milyo* 'clay': Skr. *mṛd-*; *pil-* 'to fart'  $< parəḍ-$ ; *sāl*, *sōl* 'year', not necessarily lw., cf. *asāl* 'this year', *prasāl* 'last year', *prasilanē* 'belonging to last year'; *tāl-* 'to whittle': Skr. *ṭṛd-*; *zīl*, *zīl<sup>sv</sup>*, etc. 'heart'; *zīlo* 'hail'  $< *jārdā-$ . The derivation of *wulyeyo* 'small shrub' from  $*wṛda-$  is very doubtful. *wulya* 'kidney' may go back to *vərəḍka-*, or to  $*wṛḍkā$  (*vərəṭka-*). The etymology of *xəlarjo* 'wet clay' is unknown.

127. In secondary contact, and in a few early lw.s, *rd* (*rđ*) is changed into  $*ḍr$ . Y *fsidro* 'spring' (season) cannot be separated from Psht. *psarlai*, etc. and must go back, through  $*fsūḍrā < *βsōrḍa$ , to  $*upa-sāradā-$ . Similarly  $*aṅgurdā$  'grape' (early lw., cf. Prs. dial. *aṅgurda*, etc.) became  $*aṅgūḍrā$ , from which, with differentiation, Y *agīdro*, but M  $*agelro > aglero$ . Cf. also Y *mə(n)drayē*, M *mulrāgi* 'necklace'  $< *muḍraka(ka)-$  (borr. with *rđ* or *ḍr*? v. Voc. s.v.). Also Y *padreško* 'small wooden bowl' may possibly go back to a form in  $*pari-d^o$ . The relation between Y *cinur/ryo*, and M *cənurgo*, *cindərya* 'starling' is unknown. Y *afsirnē* 'summer-wheat'  $< *abi-sāradnaka-$ , or  $^o$ *sardanaka-*.

128. Ir. *rḍ* occurs in *pīlf* 'ford'  $< pərəḍw-$ , and possibly in *wulya* *rḍ* 'kidney'.<sup>4</sup> Cf. also *Wulf* 'n. of a vill. in Munjan'.<sup>5</sup> It is also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 227 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 238.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 118.

<sup>4</sup> V. above § 126.

<sup>5</sup> With ancient *rḍw* or *aḍw*? Cf. §

possible to derive *xalifān*, °ōn 'flour-bag' < \**xwardʃfān* < \**xwardaβān* < \**hwarda-pāna*;<sup>1</sup> but scarcely *woro*, etc. 'trousers' < \**warda* < \**wardra*, \**wɔdra*.

129. There is no certain example of ancient *rp*. M *karvaša*, *kawuŋ<sup>viy</sup>* *rp* 'lizard' and Y *karvasë* 'cotton' may be lw.s, just as well as Y *karbasa* 'lizard' and M *karbōs* 'cotton'.

Ir. *r̥b* results in *rv* in *γurv*- 'to seize', frequently reduced to *γur*-. *r̥b* (*w*)*urw*-, *wurb*- 'to boil' must go back to \**warb*- (Par. *γarw*-) < \**barw*-.

Reg. *skāvrio*, *skarviyo*, *skarbīya* 'coal' (< \**skarbatā*?) and *γurv* 'mouth' v. s.vv.

In *k<sup>v</sup>irf*- 'to sneeze' it is impossible to tell whether *rf* goes back *rf* to *rf* or *fr*. The word may quite well be a recent, onomatopoetic formation.

*Rč*, *rj* occur only in lw.s and in composition. Thus, e.g., *čarč* *rč* 'spindle'; *parčam* 'hairlock'; *narčan* 'he-goat', etc.

130. Ancient *rs* and *rz* remain unassimilated.<sup>2</sup> Thus: *lirs*, *lurs* 'goat's *rs* hair': Wkh. *δirs*, etc.; *pr̥s*-, *purs*- 'to ask'; *pərsəyə* 'rib' < *pərsu*-; *γavarso* 'millet': Prs. *gāvarsa*; *γovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərsī*-. The derivation of *pārsē* 'roof-beam' and of *fərs*-, *fris*- 'to spit' is unknown.

In *alarsinē*, *yūvərsən* 'lower, upper door-sill' the contact between *r* and *s* is secondary (v. Voc. s.vv.). (*w*)*uššyo* 'hungry' has got its *š* from the old, now lost, word for 'thirsty', cf. Prs. *gušna* with *š* from *tišna*, and parallel phenomena in other Ir. dialects. Reg. *xaš/skən* 'dung', v. s.v.

Examples of *rz* are: *urzuy* 'straight' < *ərəzu*-; *larzē* 'sheaf' < *rz* *darəz*-; *pəlarz*- 'to wrap up' < \**pati-darz*-; *spərzə* 'spleen' (lw.?)

<sup>1</sup> Reg. *-ā/ōn* > *-āna*- cf. § 145.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly *rs* in Oss., Wkh. and Shgh. (?), but *sr* > Oss. \**š* > *s*, Wkh., Shgh. § (š?). In Par. and Sgl. we find *š*, *š* < *rs* and *sr*. Psht. has *š* < *sr* also in intervocalic position, while *-rs-* apparently becomes *-ž-* (*wəžai* 'hungry'), as the result of earlier assimilation.

Y *virzanē* 'pillow' < \**bʒzanaka*-.<sup>1</sup> Reg. Y *zeviryo*, M *vəzvurgo* 'birch (bark)' with dissimilation < \**vərz-vūrgo*, v. s.v. The etymology of Y *yurzuyo* 'handmill' is unknown, and *Birzin* 'n. of a village in Lutkuh' may be of foreign origin.

131. Between *r* and *t* the articulation of *s* was weaker and less resistant, and at an early date *rst* was assimilated into *št*, from which Y *šč*, M *škʷ*.<sup>2</sup> Thus: *pišč*, *piškʷ* 'farted'; *pətišč* 'broke'; *wušč*, *wušk* 'knitted', preterites of *pil-*, *woř-*. *gošč*, *gašk'* 'turned', *gʷěšč*, *gyašk'* 'passed' have probably been borrowed from Prs. forms in *št*, not from more ancient forms in \**rst*.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly *rzn* was assimilated into *žn*, from which *n*, in Y *vän*, M *vän'oy* 'long' < \**barzn-*, \**baržn-*, cf. Av. *barəšna-* *rzn*

132. Ir. *rš* remains in *yarš* 'bear'. In this word the *š* may, however, have been long or geminated, and the same is possibly the case with regard to *yaršiyō* 'barley' (with *š* < *sy*?) and *poršik* 'lip' (if *š* < IE *k̂s*).<sup>4</sup>—In *fəřšəmē* 'silk' and *fıršōn-* 'to shake' *r* and *š* are in secondary contact, while the etymology of *kəřsav-* 'to stir soup' is unknown. *rš*

It is tempting to derive *kiō* 'hard work, ploughing' from \**k̂r̂šā-*, and to compare also *q̂v̂āy* (with secondary *q*?), *kiāy* 'bull'.<sup>5</sup>

In that case *fəřmo-*, *fəřmiy-* 'to forget' might also be derived from \**fra-m̂r̂š-*, as is semantically probable,<sup>6</sup> and *gūy-* 'to knead' might go back to \**ham-gr̂š-*. It does not seem improbable that *rš* (< *rs*) became *-əš-*, *-uš-* early enough to develop further into *-əy-*,

<sup>1</sup> But M *viz/žnī* < \**bʒzniya*-? Cf. Oss. *baz* 'pillow' < \**bazn* < *bʒzna-*, but *āmbärzän* 'coverlet'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 109.

<sup>3</sup> *pist* 'asked' is a secondary formation, cf. § 229 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the treatment of *-š-* § 75, and v. also Meyer Lübke, Roman. Sprachwiss.<sup>3</sup>, 169. O. French *sus* < *sursum*, but *ours* < *urs(s)us* < \**urcsus*.

<sup>5</sup> V. s.v.

<sup>6</sup> In spite of Henning, ZII, 9, 185, who points out the phonetic difficulty in deriving Phl. *frāmōš-* < \**frā-m̂r̂š-*.

etc.<sup>1</sup> *xoš-* 'to pull' appears to be a lw., since it appears in the same form in several Pamir dialects; but *\*arš* > *aš* (*\*rs* > *uš* > *uy*, and *\*aršš* > *arš*) is perhaps conceivable.

Ir. *ršt* was assimilated into *\*št*, just as was the case with *rst*. *ršt*  
Examples are: *piščo*, *pišk<sup>yo</sup>* 'back'; Y *lišč* 'saw' (*wīn-*); *pəlišč* 'wrapped' (*pəlarz-*); *kišč*, *kišk<sup>y</sup>* 'ploughed' (*kār-*), *xišč-*, *xišk<sup>y</sup>* (lw.?).

Ir. *rž* (< *rgh* + *s*) occurs in *wirž*, *wurž* 'thread'. In *yaržo* 'beard' *rž* the group is of secondary origin,<sup>2</sup> and *žaržo* 'partridge' is either a lw., or has *rž* < *r* + *č*. *Aržūiko* 'n. of a vill. in Lutkoh' is borrowed from Khow.

133. Ir. *rn* was assimilated into *n* (as in Sgl. and Psht.), which remained *rn*, *ršn* (or became *n*) in Y, while in M, which has an aversion to cerebral sounds, it became *n'g'* (*n<sup>gy</sup>*, *n'g<sup>y</sup>*, etc.) through segmentation after the change of *ng* > *g* and of *nd* > *g<sup>y</sup>* (through *\*ng<sup>y</sup>*).<sup>3</sup> Also *ršn* resulted in *\*žn* > *n*, *n<sup>gy</sup>*.

Examples are:

Yg *a'muno*, Yzh, sh, r *ā'muno*: M *amiṅg<sup>yo</sup>*, etc. 'apple': Psht. *maṇa*, etc.

M *āgun<sup>gy</sup>*, *ə'gunj* 'dough' < *\*haṅ-grš(a)na-*;

Yzh, g *kun-γastē*, sh, r *kun-*: M *kūn'g<sup>y</sup>*, etc. 'deaf' < *karəna-*.

Yzh *k<sup>y</sup>un<sup>yo</sup>*, sh, g, r *kyūnyo*: M *kung<sup>yuvgo</sup>* 'magpie' < *\*kršnakā-* (?).

Yzh, g *pūnā*, sh, r *pīnā*: M *pūn<sup>gy</sup>*, etc. 'feather' < *parəna-*.

Yzh, etc. *pəṇək*, r, p *pəṇək* 'leaf' < *\*pṛna* (?).

Yzh, g *pānio*, sh *panio*: M *pāṅg<sup>yo</sup>*, etc. 'heel' < *\*pāršni-*.<sup>4</sup>

Yzh, sh *wūn*, g, r *wūn*: M *wīṅg* 'marmot': Sgl. *yūṇək* < *\*ārna-*?

Yzh, g *yān-*, sh *yān-*: M *yāṅ<sup>gy</sup>*, etc. 'to grind' < *\*arna-*.

Yzh, r *žunayčē*, sh *zuno*: M *ziṅgyigo*, etc. 'small boy': Psht. *z/žanaī*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 74.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 74.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. §§ 62, 121.

<sup>4</sup> *šn* (Av. *pāšna*) would have resulted in *n*, v. § 112.

In the words given above Yzh, g *n* in most cases corresponds to Ysh, r *n*. There is probably a real difference of pronunciation, and the isolated instances of Yzh *n*, and vice versa, may be due to inexact notation.

At a very early date Ir. *kṛn-* became *kun-*, from which Y—M *ken-* 'to do'. Also *peno*, etc. 'palm of the hand' goes back to a form with Ir. *n*, not *rn* cf., e.g., Wkh. *pūn* (but *mur* 'apple'). Note that Skt., too, has an irregular form, and v. Voc. s.v.

In *xō<sup>a</sup>n-*, etc. 'to buy' we find Y and M *n*.<sup>1</sup> Here *\*rn* (*\*xərn-*) is of secondary origin, and the same is the case in *xun* 'raven' (< *\*xwārana-*), *'ziānē* 'afternoon' < *uzayeirina-* + *ka*, and possibly in *yīston* 'felt' (if < *\*wi-starana-*) and *raz-in* 'elbow' (< *-arani-??*). Apparently *r* had no 'cerebralizing' power at a later date (cf. secondary *rt* > *t*, § 124), and the result was a complete, regressive assimilation. At a still later date *rn* (< *\*radn*)<sup>2</sup> remained intact.

Regarding *n* < *rn* in secondary contact with *t* cf. § 121.

*pīr* 'full' is borrowed from Prs.

134. Ir. *rm* remains in *yārmē*, etc. 'foreleg, shoulder' < *arəma-*. Y *rm* *kurmo* 'scorpion', M *kurm(o)*, *kərm* 'insect, worm' may be genuine, but Yzh *kīrəm* 'bug' is probably borrowed from Prs.

Ancient *ry* occurs only in *parguščē*, etc. 'finger-ring' < *\*pary-ry* *aṅguštaka-*.

### Assimilation.

135. A great number of cases of assimilation in contact have been mentioned above in the paragraphs describing the development of intervocalic stops and of groups of consonants. Cf. also e.g. *pəcəg-/pəzg-* 'to break'; *niaskē/niazye* 'mucus', etc. And note the simplification of specially heavy groups, e.g. in Y *pəško* 'tray' < M *paxšk<sup>y</sup>o*; *āžurγo* ~ *āžuržγo* 'ember'; *čk<sup>y</sup>ūgo*, *skūgo* 'urine' < *\*č<sup>a</sup>šk<sup>y</sup>-* (?); *što* 'said' < *\*žsta*; *kafdūz* < *kovzdūz* 'cobbler', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Except, perhaps, in Yg.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 127.



Assimilation at a distance—called *dilation* by Grammont<sup>1</sup>—is mainly of two types, both of which are common also in other Ir. dialects.

A voiced fricative or liquid has been assimilated to a homorganic nasal in *ag'mīn* 'honey' < \*aŋg'b/vīn; *nānoyo* 'grain' < \*lānoyo; *nəmalən* 'half-full' < *ləmalən*.

The only instance available of a type of perseveration of an initial nasal common to many Ir. and NW. I.A. languages is Y *məndrayə* < *mədrayə* 'neck-ring'.

A dental sibilant is assimilated to a palatal or dorsal one. Thus: *šinjo*, *šično* 'needle' < \*sužn-, etc.; *šäštē* 'hook': Prs. *šast*; *šayūrš* < *sayūrž* 'hawk'; *špūo* = *spūo* 'flea' < \*spīšā-; *žōržo* < *zaržo* 'partridge'. Y *žāžīro* 'chain': Prs. *zanjīr*, but cf. also Khw. *janjēr*.

An isolated case is *sarbargo* < *sabargo* 'trefoil' < Prs. *sihbarga*. Cf. also *warwadən* 'trouser-string' < \*waṛ-vadən.

### Dissimilation and Differentiation.

136. The most frequent type of dissimilation is that which affects one of two nasals. Thus: *ləyan-* < *nəyän-* 'to throw away'; *loyn-* < *nayon-* 'to lie down'; *ləmōn-* 'to rub' < \**nəmon-*; <sup>2</sup> *lažīno* 'wood-pile' < \**nīžīno*. Cf. also *šaklām* 'dew' < Khw., Shgh., etc. *šagnām* < \**šabnam*; *blāim* 'soft' < *məlāim*.

When an *l* follows after the second nasal, the dissimilation does not take place. E.g.: *nəmālyo* 'salt', not \**ləm°*. But the principles regulating the assimilation and dissimilation of nasals are far from being clear.

Dissimilation of a liquid occurs in: *ha'lār* < *ha'lāl* 'lawful'; *žir'mäl(ē)* < *žilmäl* 'kernel'; *vul'γōr* < *wulyār* 'shoulder-blade' (or vice versa?); *Tālaš Mīr* < Khw. *Terič Mēr*; *kala'kəri* 'wrinkles' <

<sup>1</sup> But the term dissimilation is reserved by him for the changes taking place in contact!

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Shgh. *šemān-*.

Khov. *kΔlakΔli*. *γarbil* and *γal'bīl* 'sieve' may both have been borrowed from Prs.

Loss of *r* is entailed in *ka'drənə* 'earring' < Khov. *karidreni*; *fāru* 'mill-broom' < \**frāruv*; *fri-* 'melted' < \**frari-*; *awarxo* 'flame' < *urvāxra-* (?).

Regarding the preventive dissimilation in *dāl-* 'to give' < \**dada-*, cf. also § 56.

The development of *xšusta-* > *xusto* 'wet' is paralleled in other Ir. dialects, and so is *čīx-* > *tīx-* 'to sit down', cf. also Voc. s.v. *'šti*. Dissimilation of *š—š* > *s—š* has taken place in *spač* < *špač* 'behind', and possibly at an early date in *afsinyo* 'ladder' < \**afšišn-* < \**upa-srišnakā-*. Cf. also *wužuzgo* 'frog' < \**wuzuzgo* (v. s.v. *azuzyo*).

The change of *t—db* > *t—gb* in *tagbir* < *tadbir* 'plan' is not confined to Y—M, and probably belongs to the Prs. dialect from which the word has been borrowed.

Generally speaking, the examples of dissimilation mentioned above fit in with the rules laid down by Grammont. There are, however, exceptions (such as *ha'lār* < *ha'lāl*) which may be due to special causes.

A segmentization of *l', r'* > *lg(y), rg(y)* occurs in Mg, etc., *wulgvigə*, *wulgiy* 'kidney'; *zrlgv* 'heart'; Mt *storgī* 'stars' (sg. *stōriy*).

### Metathesis and Intversion.

137. Metathesis is quite frequent in Y—M. Examples are: M *kupōr* < Y *p<sup>o</sup>korē* 'mouth'; *nəliv-* 'to lie down' < \**nəvil-*; *lur-* 'to run away' < \**rul-*; <sup>1</sup> *plār-* 'to sell' < \**prāl-*; *layafci* ∼ *ləvaxčē* 'torch'; *zə'gārmyo* < *zəmarginə* 'lizard'; *xəsmānek* < *səxmānek* 'pellet-bow'; *əryūy* < *āyury* 'egg'; *krabəřē* 'wool of lambs' < Khov. *kābraili*, *karberi*; *azuzyo* ∼ *wuyzəga* 'frog'; *yaržo* 'beard' < \**raižo*; *oy'mino* 'podex' < *yu'mino*; *nīšāž-* < *nījāš-* 'to show'; *warwadən* 'trouser-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. *r—l* > *l—r* in *lār* 'road', *lara* 'for'.

string' < \**warvaden*; *bräyiko* 'sparrow' < \**mary-*; *pəšgirdio* < *pəškədrī* 'dung'; Y *xird-* (but *xrist!*) < M *xred-* 'to shave'.

Regarding interverson in groups of consonants v. § 97 (*rf*, *rx* < *fr*, *xr*); § 127 (secondary *rd* > *dr*); § 119 (*md*, *mg* < *dm*, *gm*).

Cf. also *alvosto* < *avlasto* 'sleeve'; *värzeyo* < \**vazrayo* (*vəzəryo*) 'wing'; *šinjo* < *šično* 'needle'; *pəzgō* < *pəgzō* 'clean';<sup>1</sup> *šfīn* < \**fšūn* 'comb'; *šfarm* < *fšarm* 'shame'; *šifjē* < \**fšuyē* 'husband'.

But note: *nīyzo* < (?) *nezyo* 'mucus'; *skāvrio* < *skarviyo* 'coal'; *zaxmo* 'field' < \**zamxa*; *zoyno* 'chin' < \**zanya*; *wuyzəga* 'frog' < \**wazyaga* (v. *azuzyo*). In these words an apparently easier sequel of consonants has changed into a more difficult one.

### Vowels.

138. Any attempt to reconstruct the development of Ir. vowels in Y—M is beset with many dangers, and the results must of necessity be much more uncertain than those we can arrive at with regard to many of the consonants. In most languages, and certainly to a marked degree in Y—M and some other E.Ir. dialects, the vowels are more variable and more subject to complicated influences from neighbouring sounds than the consonants.

A glance at the Vocabulary will show that, while the consonants generally agree in Y and M, or present only two different forms, the vowels often appear to vary with the speaker. No doubt some of the variations may be due to faulty notation. It takes much longer time to penetrate the vowel-system of a language, than to ascertain the number of consonant phonemes. But there really appears to be a certain instability in the articulation, especially of short vowels, in Y—M. They often tend towards a neutral *ə*, and *a* and *o* may interchange in the same word and with the same speaker according to the phonetic context.

<sup>1</sup> But also Khow. *pazgā*, *pagzā*.

Without the knowledge of older forms of these dialects the task of tracing in detail the vowel changes, which have taken place at different periods and under varying conditions, is just as hopeless as the fixation of the sound-laws which have changed Germanic *a*, *au*, *ai*, *e*, *ē*, *ō*, and *iu* into Modern English *i*,<sup>1</sup> would be, if we knew nothing about Anglo-Saxon, or the older stages of English.

## a

139. In the majority of cases Ir. "a" (whatever its exact phonetic value) is represented, in stressed syllables by Y *ǎ*, M *ǒ* (*ǎ*). It is doubtful whether the difference of quantity has any historical or phonological significance.<sup>2</sup>

To give an exhaustive survey of the development of ancient *a* would entail a repetition of the majority of the words contained in the Vocabulary, and I must therefore restrict myself to quoting some selected examples.

Before a nasal, also when derived from an earlier group of consonants (e.g. *sm*, *rn*), we find Y *ǎ*, M *ǒ*, e.g. in: *l̥bān*:- *l̥vōn*- 'to winnow'; *l̥γǎn*:- *l̥γōn* 'to throw away'; *šam*:- *šōm*- 'to drink'; *yān*:- *yān̥<sup>gv</sup>*- 'to grind'; *pām*: *pōm* 'wool'; *čām*: *čām*: *čōm* 'eye'; *pādo*: *pōndo* 'road'; *pānš*: *pōnč* '5'; *yādēm*: *γōndum* 'wheat'; *lad*: *lōd*, *lōnd* (but LSI*m* *lād*, MFB *lānd*) 'tooth'; *vad*:- *vōnd* 'to tie'; *trāž*:- *l̥rōn̥j*-, *trāj*- 'to bind'; *akadē*: *ākodiy* 'bramble'; *tandur*: *tōdaro* 'thunder'.—Corresponding to Y *yādē* 'blind', we find M*m*, Z, G *yōdiy*, etc., but M*t*i, t, (t), g *yāndiy*, where the *ā* can scarcely be due to the influence of *y* (cf. M*t* *yōn<sup>gv</sup>*- 'to grind'). Nor am I able to explain the vocalism of Y *l̥mōn*- 'to rub', *boda* 'dyke, ankle-bone' (< Pr*s.*).

Before *r*, *l*: Y *fšarm*: M *šfor<sup>m</sup>* 'shame'; *γary*: *γory* 'heavy'; *larzē*: *lorzīy* 'sheaf'; *γalv*: *γōlv* (but LSI*m* *γālf*) 'dog'; *pəlarz*:- *pəlōrz*- 'to wrap'; *pary*: *pory* 'mouse'.

Before *s*: *niāst*: *niōst* 'sat down'; *karāst*: *kərost* 'hide'; *last*: *lost*

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in *heel*, *leaf*, *heal*, *steal*, *eel*, *feel*, *creep*.   <sup>2</sup> Cf. § 35.

'hand'; *aščo*: *ošk<sup>yo</sup>*, etc. (but G, LSI<sub>m</sub> *ǎ*-) '8'; *yasp*: *yosp* 'horse'; *čüst*: *čöst* 'fell'; *väst*: *vöst* 'tied'; *yašk*: *yošk* 'tear'.—Note Y *xāstē* 'straw', but *xosto* 'grain' (with assimilation to -o<sup>?</sup>).

Before other consonants: Y *māg<sup>y</sup>*-. M *mōg<sup>y</sup>*- 'to rub'; *parwaxšē*: *parwoxšīy* 'broom'; *maxšē*: *mōxši* 'mosquito'; *max*: *mōx* 'we'; *sāvdē*: *sōvdiy* 'basket'; *avdo*: *ovdō* '7'; *maf*: *mōf* 'you', etc.

140. One group of exceptions to this rule are the cases with Y *o*: M *a* in the proximity of *x* and the labials. But we do not always find Y *o*, M *a* in such positions (v. above), and it is impossible to tell what has really taken place in such words, assimilation in Y or dissimilation in M.

Examples with *x*- are: Y *xof*: M *xaf* 'scum'; *xof*-. *xaf*-, *xef*- 'to cough'; *xoš*-. *xaš*-, *xēš*- 'to pull'; *xoro*: *xara*, *xērā* 'ass'; *xo<sup>(u)</sup>d*-. *xad*- (Z *xād*-) 'to laugh'; *xō<sup>(a)</sup>n*-. *xan*- 'to buy'. But note Y—M *xāfs*- 'to descend' (pret. Y *xāvd*, M *xō/āvd*).

Before *x*: Y *yox*: M *yax* 'cold'; Y *ǎürox*-. M *ǎirēx*-, *kirax* 'to shy'; *kutox*: *kutax* 'sour milk'.

After *w*- the development is more troubled. Cf. e.g.: Y *wofšīo*: M *wafšīyo* 'wasp'; *woryo*: *wargā* 'quail'; *wor*-. *war*- 'to knit'; but also Y *waly* 'wedding'; *wor*, *war* 'oath'; *wo/arfo*: M *worfo* 'snow'; Y *wāzd*: M *wōzd* 'fat'.

Before labials we find Y *o* in: Y *kofšē*: M *kafšo* 'shoe'; *nov*-. *nāv*- 'to rain'; *skāvrio*: *skarviyo* 'coal'; *x<sup>2</sup>šovo*: *x<sup>2</sup>šavo* 'night'; *yovurso*: *yavurso*, *yā*-, *ye*- 'juniper'. But Y *γavo* (sh *γowo*): M *γōwa* 'cow'.

But the hopelessness of finding some principle or principles to explain all the variations in the development of *a* in Y—M is demonstrated by Y *poləm*: M *pal<sup>u</sup>m* 'soft'; Y *sōro*: M *sara* 'dung'; Y *la/oso*: M *lāsa* 'rope'; Y *moyuso*: M *maguso*, *mā*, *mə<sup>o</sup>* 'fly'; Y *xurom*: M *xuram* 'threshing-ground', etc. Cf. also e.g. Y *los* '10'; *rok* 'colour'; *kob* (= M) 'little'; Y—M *naγən* 'bread', etc.

141. After initial *k<sup>y</sup><sup>1</sup>* Y *a* has been palatalized in *k<sup>y</sup>el* 'baldheaded'; *k<sup>y</sup>ämder* 'younger'; *k<sup>y</sup>emalyo* 'skull': Mj. *k<sup>y</sup>āl*, *kamder*. But in other cases Y has *ka*-, *ko*-. Reg. *ǎǎ* < *aǎ* (?), cf. § 153.

<sup>1</sup> V. § 41.

After  $x < hw$ - ancient  $a$  has been labialized in Y—M *xun*, *xōn* 'raven'; M *xurī* 'sister's son', etc. Cf. also ( $w$ )*urv*- 'to boil' with  $u < a$  between two labials (but Y *wofšio* 'wasp').

Y *pūnā*, M *pūṅ<sup>9v</sup>*, etc. may go back to a form in  $\bar{a}$ , or have early compensatory lengthening, cf. *xūt* 'he eats'; *žūt* 'he speaks' and other syncopated 3 sg. forms with early lengthening.

Very difficult to explain are the M preterites in  $\bar{e}$ , such as Z *šēmd* 'drank', *fxēvd* 'sheared', etc.<sup>1</sup>

142. Before the accent  $a$  usually remains. Thus, e.g.: Y—M *a'larsinē* 'threshold'; *av'lāsto*, etc. 'sleeve'; *aspə'lan* 'stable'; *par'guščē*: *par'gušk<sup>v</sup>iy* 'finger-ring'; *ag<sup>i</sup>mīn* 'honey'; *'agidro*, *'aglero* 'grape' (with shift of accent?). But note Y *o'guščo*: M *'ogušk<sup>v</sup>a*, *'ā<sup>o</sup>*, *'ə* 'finger'. After the accent we find  $u$  in *mo'γuso*, *'mayəsa* 'fly' < *\*'makasā*-, and possibly in *av'γuš*, *'yivguš* < *\*'upakaša*- (?).

Note Y—M *'ida* 'slave' < *\*hantaka*- (but *hadē*); Y *i'dou*; M *yidou* 'fever' < *\*han-tapa*-; Y *dīr*: M *yü'dūr*, *i'dūr* 'other' < *\*antāra*- with unexplained  $i$ , etc.

*Ir. ā.*

143. Ancient Ir.  $\bar{a}$  'normally' results in Mm, Z, G  $\bar{u}$ , Y, and some  $a$  forms of M  $\bar{i}$ , in some cases with secondary shortening. This M  $\bar{u}$  appears to be identical with that which arises from ancient  $\bar{u}$  and *au*; but the fact that in the latter cases  $\bar{u}$  remains in Y proves that the common Y—M sound derived from  $\bar{a}$  was not identical with  $\bar{u} < \bar{u}$  (and *au*), but was probably of a palatal type. Thus perhaps:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Ir. } \bar{a} > \bar{o} > \bar{ö} (\bar{ü}) > \begin{cases} \bar{i} \text{ (Y, Mg, t, etc.)} \\ \bar{u} \text{ (Mm, etc.)} \end{cases} \\ \text{» } au > ou > \bar{u} \\ \text{» } \bar{u} > \bar{u} > \bar{u} \end{aligned}$$

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 159.

Examples of  $\bar{a} > M \bar{u}$ ,  $M-Y \bar{i}$  are: Mm, Z, G, LSI<sub>m</sub> *čfūr*: Y *čšīr*, Mt, ti, g, (sh) *čfīr* 'four' Mm, Z, G *nūfa*: Y, Mg, t, ti *nīf* 'navel'. The same distribution of  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  appears in Y *asmīno* 'sky'; *iščīn* 'female breast'; *dīr* 'other'; *fīz* 'breast';<sup>1</sup> *nowīsa* 'grandson'; *prīst* 'sold' (*plār-*); *pīx* 'arrow'; *rīyo* 'vein'; *rīv* 'rhubarb'; *səbrīm* 'fat' (of unknown etymology); *šfīn* 'comb'; *šīž* 'vulture'; *tīro* 'darkness';<sup>2</sup> *vīzyo* 'arm'; *vīra* 'burden'; *zīk* 'knee'; *zəvīy* (and *zəbēy*) 'tongue', as compared with the forms in Mm, etc. Possibly also Mti *nivīlo*: Z *nawul*<sup>o</sup> 'bedding' < \**ni-pādā*-; Y *mīryo*, Mg *mīrya*: Mm *muryo* 'meadow' < \**mārgā*-.

Words with ancient  $\bar{a}$  found only in Y are: *sīy* 'hare';<sup>3</sup> *stīnyo* 'supine'; *tīyo* 'rope made of willow bark'; *žīlo* 'hail'. Cf. also Voc. s.vv. *čērīy*, *čīrūy* 'lamp'; *pīy* 'onion'; *pīloyo* 'cup'. *iškūr* 'shooting'; *pūzē* 'falcon' (< Prs. *bāz*), and possibly *šulo* 'rice pillau' must have been borrowed too late to join the development of ancient  $\bar{a}$ .

Special M words are: *čīrūy* 'lantern' (early lw.); *tūr* 'trap'; *xurī* 'itching'; *xurī*, *xūrāya* 'sister's son';<sup>4</sup> *pərīvur* 'cow-house'.

144. Most of the exceptions to this rule can be explained. Thus after *x-* and *w-* Y  $\bar{u}$  remains in Y—M *wuš*, *uš* 'grass'<sup>5</sup> < *vāstra*- (cf. Y *uščeno*, M *wušč<sup>o</sup>eno* 'hay-stack'); Y—M *xūyo*, *xūgo* 'spring, well'; *wūi* 'wind' (but Mt, g, etc. *wīy*, *wīy*); Y *xūno* 'lid of a tray'; Y *hūy* (< \**wūy*?) 'money'. Possibly also after *m*, cf. Y *mux* (Bid-dulph 'moogh') 'month'; and cf. s.v. *munyo* 'sheep-skin bag'. But, on the other hand, cf. *nowīsa* and *asmīno* above.

After *y-* we find Y  $\bar{u}$ , possibly retained through preventive differentiation, in: Y *yūr*: M *yūr* 'fire' < \**ārt*;<sup>6</sup> *yūrzun*, etc. 'millet' (prob. < \**ārz-*, v. Voc. s.v.); *yurzuyo* 'grindstone' (if < \**yāhr-* <

<sup>1</sup> Biddulphs's *fuz* can scarcely be an older Y form.

<sup>2</sup> With \**ār* < \**aθr*.

<sup>3</sup> With \**ā* < *ahā*. Cf. Psht. *sōe*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> With \**ār* < \**ahr*.

<sup>5</sup> But Mt *wiš*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 101.

\**yaθra*-). But corresponding to M *yūr*- 'ground' (< \**ārta*-) we find Yg *yīr*-.<sup>1</sup> Reg. *is*-, *yīs* v. below. Mm, Z, G *yūspan*, Mt, g *yispən* 'iron' goes back to \**ōspan* < \**āspana*-, and the vocalism of Y *rīspən* seems to show that the mysterious *r*- was introduced at an early date in \**ōspan* > \**rōspan* > \**rūspan*, etc.

Also before *-y* < *-t* we find *ū* in *sūi* 'slate' (< \**sāta*-). But I am unable to explain the varying development of \**āta*- in Y, Mm, Z, G *wūi* (*wūy*): Mt, ti, g *wī(y)*, *wī(y)*, *wiy* 'wind'; Y *lī*, *lii*: Mm *līiy*, Mt, Z, G *līy*, (*løy*) 'gave';<sup>2</sup> Mm *yūi*: Mg *yīy* 'brother-in-law', etc. Cf. also Y *l'ri-yus*: Mt, g, etc. *l'ri-yus*, but Mm *l'rē-gus* (possibly < \**drāti* with epenthesis of *i*?).

There are no examples of ancient, unshortened *-āy-* in Y, but in M this group has been subject to early palatalization. Thus: Mm *nusiyy*, g *nisiyy* 'shadow' < \**nisāya*; Z *zīy*- 'to bear' (but *zūy*- < *zāta*-); cf. *čiy*-: *čūy*- 'to freeze'.

145. In a great number of words *ā* has been shortened at an early date and has shared the fate of ancient *a*. This shortening has taken place before some nominal suffixes, in the first hand *-o/-a* < *-ā* and *-ē/-iy* < *-aka*-, in nominal compounds, and in the present tense of the verbs.<sup>3</sup> It is not necessary to assume that all of these suffixes have once carried the stress; the shortening may be due to rhythmical tendencies.

Examples are, e.g.: Y *a'lāno* 'pome-granate' < \**ha-dānā*-; Y *lāmo*, M *lōmo* 'village' < \**dāmā*-; M *lōmago* 'snare' < \**dāmakā*-; Y *mayo'yo*, M *mōyaya*, etc. 'mare' < \**mātakā*-; Y *nāno'yo* 'grain' < \**dānakā*-; Y *palo*, *polo*, M *pālo* 'foot' < *pādā*-; Y *wāriyo* 'rain' < \**wārikā*-; Y *wāro*, M *wōro* 'summer' < \**wāhṛtā*-; Y *yāwoyo*, M *yougo*, etc. 'water' < \**āpakā*; Y *no'woso*, M *nawəso* 'granddaughter' (but Y *nowīsa*, *nowīs* m.).

Y *fer'yāmə*, -*ə*, M *'frayomīy* 'he-goat' < \**fragāmaka*-; Y *'mōxē*:

<sup>1</sup> Other Y informants gave the remade form *yāgvī*-, etc.

<sup>2</sup> But *yāi* 'brought' (*is*-, *yīs*- 'to bring' < *yās*-).

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the early syncopated 3g. in—*ati*.



M *mašiy* 'stick' < \**māṭaka*-; Y *'stārë*, M *stōriy* 'star'; Y *'yārë*, M *yōriy* 'flour' etc.

In such words as *asmīno* 'sky'; *rīyo* 'vein'; *žilo* 'hail'; *xūyo* 'well'; *pūzë* 'hawk', etc., the suffix may have been added at a later date.

Y *vrai*, M *v'rāi* 'brother'; Y *za'mai*, M *zamōi* 'son-in-law', which apparently have shortening without suffigation, may perhaps be derived from \**vrāyay* < \**brātaka*-, etc.<sup>1</sup>

In compounds we find shortening of \**ā* in *poruylan* 'key-hole' and other words in ancient \**-dāna*-; *'aspəlan* 'stable'; *aw'lān* 'bridle'; Y *'piščan*, -*en*, M *pīšk'en* 'thigh' (< *paitištāna*-); *məlān* 'waist' (< *maidyāna*-); *pīstān* 'udder' (< \**payah-stāna*-); Y *xal'fān*, M *'xalifōn* 'skin bag for flour' (< \**hwarṭa-pāna*-). *iščin*, *asmīno*, *stīnyo*, *xūno*, *zīk*, etc., mentioned above, show that the shortening can not have been caused by the nasal which follows the \**ā*.

Among the present forms cf., e.g., Y *aydāum*, M (Z) *aydōvəm* 'I dress' (and other causatives); Y *plār-*, M *plōr-* 'to sell' (< \**parā-dā*-), *lār-* 'to hold'; *vəzān-* 'to know'; *wāf-*, etc. 'to weave' (Prs. *bāf-*); *zənay-* 'to wash', etc. But Z *zīy-* 'to bear',<sup>2</sup> etc., may have been influenced by the 3 sg. Cf. Z *aydūvd* 'he dresses', etc. with regular *ū* < *ā*.<sup>3</sup>

The verbs in *ā* and those in *a* have thus to a large extent, if not completely, coalesced through the shortening of *ā* in most forms, and the lengthening of *a* in Pres. 3rd sg.

Also the prefix *ā* has been shortened, or has at any rate not taken part in the development towards *ū*. Thus Y *'āydēm*, M *āyudem*, etc. 'I dress': Y *ay'dāum* 'I dress (somebody else)'; *āyoi* (or with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *vraya* 'younger brother', with *a* from *vrai*. Other words in *-a* have unshortened \**ā*, cf. § 185.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above § 144.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. Z *nigēvd* 'bites'; *wēft* 'weaves'; *fīršēd* 'shakes' (*fīršōn*-); *bispēt* 'entrusts' (*bispōr*-); *pīlēr-* 'sells' (*pālōr*-) cf. the Morphology. The phonetic development is not clear.

assimilation Y *ōyoī* 'came'; *ārunyo* 'light' < \**ā-rauxšnakā*-, etc. But in M *yūspən* 'iron', etc., *ā*- has not been felt as a prefix.

Final *-ā* was shortened at an early date, but did not coalesce with original *-a*.

146. In Prs. lws, except possibly in the very early borrowing *pūzē* 'falcon', we find *ā*, *ō*, *ā̄*, varying very much in the same manner as in genuine Y—M words with ancient *a*. Thus, e.g.: *zəmistān*, *-ōn* 'winter'; Y *šām*: M *šōm* 'evening'; Y *xām*: M *xōm* 'raw'; Y *bāya* 'garden'; Y *sāl*: M *sōl* 'year' (if borrowed), etc.

### Ir. *i*.

147. As has already been pointed out by Gauthiot,<sup>1</sup> *i* and *u* have a tendency to lose their specific articulation in Y—M, and to become mixed vowels of the type *ə*, *ï*. This tendency is shared also by Psht. and some other E.Ir. dialects.

Examples of *i* in Y—M are: *cē*, *ci* 'what'; *cēb*-, *cəb*- 'to pinch'; *diš*- 'to know'; *ind* 'so much' < \**imanta*-; Y *imar*-, M *yumar*- 'to count' < *hišmar*-; *lizo*, *ləzo* 'fort'; *rīško* 'nit'; *sēyio*, *siğyo* 'sand' < \**sikatā*-; *silyo* 'cream' < \**sidakū*-; *səziyo* 'jujube tree' < \**sinjītā*-; *tiry*, *tī°*, *tə°* 'sharp'; *xīrd*-, *xərd*- 'to shave' < \**xrind*-; *yimsāl* 'this year' < *ima°*.

After *w*- ancient *i* has been labialized in *wul*-.: *wust* 'to throw' < \**wid*-; *wulēyo* 'span' < \**widāti*; *x<sup>u</sup>šuvd* 'sweet' < *xšvipta*-; Z *pərwōyd* 'sifted' (*pərwīž*-); possibly *wrīz*- 'to spread dung' (*vi*- or *ava*-).

Between a labial and ancient *š* we find *š̄* in *spūo* 'louse' < *spiš*-; *pušč*, *pušk<sup>y</sup>* 'flour made from dried apples'; *puma* 'avalanche' < \**pišmā*.

Unstressed *i* is still more exposed to assimilation. Cf. e.g. *nəliv*-.: *nuvōst* 'to lie down'; *nuyōz*-.: *niyēzd* 'to swallow'; *ni(y)*-.: *noyōr* 'to go out', etc. Note also *Undustōn* 'Hindustan'.

Before *hr* < *θr* *i* has been lengthened in *mīra* 'sun'.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 142.

Ir. *i*.

148. Ancient *i* is retained in *xšira* 'milk'; *šīyo* 'woman'; *žio* 'bow-string'; *wīst(o)* '20'; *nīya* 'sour milk'. With constant shortening: *ši-nāmia* 'girl' < *stri-nāman*; *ti-* 'to enter' < *\*atī*.

The relation between *γurvo*, *γirwa*, etc. 'throat' and Av. *grīvā* 'neck' is uncertain.

Ir. *u*.

149. In most cases Ir. *u* remains, or becomes *ə*, *i*.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g.: *luydo*, *lə<sup>o</sup>* 'daughter'; *vəzo*, *vv<sup>o</sup>*, *vī<sup>o</sup>* 'she-goat'; *surx*, *sə<sup>o</sup>*, *sī<sup>o</sup>* 'red'; *suvdo*, *sə<sup>o</sup>*, *sī<sup>o</sup>* 'shoulder'; *surv* 'hole'; *oguščo*, etc. 'finger'; *(w)ušk* 'dry'; *poruy* 'lock, bolt'; *yuxs-* 'to learn'; *tu*, *tə* 'thou' (Psht. *tə* points to *\*tū*); *vən* 'bottom, root'; *rust* 'fled', etc. Note Y *šifē*, M *šfīy*, *šfuī*, etc. 'husband' < *\*fšəyəy* < *\*fšuyaka*.

In *zinio* 'daughter-in-law' (< *\*snušā*) and *frīyo* 'flea' (< *\*frušikā*) *u* has resulted in *i* before *y* < *š*.<sup>2</sup> In *g<sup>y</sup>ib* 'lost' (< *\*gumb*); *lib-* 'to card wool' (*\*dumb*), and *lim*, *lum*, etc. 'tail' *u* has become *i* before a labial.<sup>3</sup> I cannot explain the reasons for the development in Y *'agidro*, M *'aglero* 'grape' (*\*aṅgurdā-?*); *iškīro*, etc. 'camel'; *frāiyo* etc., 'yoke-rope' (< *\*frayugā*).

In *pūr* 'son' the lengthening has been caused by the loss of *h* < *θ*. But note the lengthening also in other monosyllabics, such as *yūy*, *yīy* 'yoke'; *stūy* 'long hair', *šūi* 'went'.

In unstressed position we find *u*, *ə* in: *γādəm*, *γōndəm*, *ovm* 'wheat'; *pərsəyə*, etc. 'rib' < *pərəsu-*; Y *urzüy*, M *(w)urzug*, *əy* 'straight';<sup>4</sup> Y *āyd-*, M *āyud-* 'to dress'.

Initial *u* is preserved in *usxūbun* 'sleepless'; *ustušč-* 'to jump', but lost in the atonic word *sko* 'on' < *uskāt*. Corresponding to Y *ilār* 'belly' (*\*udarya-?*) M has *Δ<sup>o</sup>*, *yī<sup>o</sup>*, etc.; cf. Y *imoyo*, M *yu<sup>o</sup>*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above regarding *i*.

<sup>2</sup> The statement § 74 is hardly correct. But cf. above *i* > *u* between labial and -š-!

<sup>3</sup> Through differentiation?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 181.

*yī*<sup>o</sup>, *i*- 'moon' < \**uxšm*<sup>o</sup>. Y *ā'veli*, M *a*<sup>o</sup>, *ə*<sup>o</sup> 'both' may have suffered a very early reduction of the initial vowel, cf. Av. *uva-*, *ava-*, *va-*. Regarding *upa*, *upa-* cf. § 165.

Also in lw.s *u* is rendered by *ə*, *i*. E.g. *kəlf*, *kulf* 'lock'; *pīr*, *pər*, *pur* 'full'; *sīnd*, *sənd* 'two-storied house' < Khov. *sund*.

Ir. *ū*.

150. Ancient *ū* retains its quality in Y—M *kū* 'where'; Y—M *γū(w)* *ū* 'excrements' (but also Y *γō(h)*); Y—M (<sup>u</sup>)*stuno* (and Y <sup>ə</sup>*stəno*) 'post'; M *tūi* 'mulberry'. M shows a tendency to palatalization in *līy*, *lūy*, *lī* 'smoke'; *lvra*, *lə*<sup>o</sup>, *lū* 'far'; *stur*, *s<sup>ə</sup>tər*, *s<sup>ə</sup>tūr* 'big': Y *lūi*, *lūro*, <sup>ə</sup>*stur*. In Y *pīo*, M *pīəy* 'rotten'; *vīo*, etc., 'was' and Y *astio* 'abuse' (if < \**a-stūtā-*) this tendency has prevailed completely (before *y* < *t*) in both dialects. Also Y—M *vriyo*, etc. (G *vrēga*) has an unexplained *i*.

Y—M *šū* 'horn' may go back to *srū-* or \**srau-* (cf. the Wkh. form). Y *v<sup>ə</sup>rūt*, M *brūt* 'moustache' are lw.s.

Ir. *r*.

151. In view of the general instability of short vowels in Y—M it is not surprising that the very short vocalic element which developed in original *r* should show a wide scope of variation, which cannot be explained in all particulars.

In the neighbourhood of a labial *r* usually results in *u*. Thus: *wulya* 'kidney'; *wury* 'wolf'; (*w*)*ušīyo* 'hungry'; *xur* 'ate'; *γurv-* (*γirv-*) 'to seize'; *yovurso* 'juniper' (< *hapərəsi-*); Y *nəvur*, *əv*, M *never* 'took out'; *mur* 'died'; *imur* 'counted'; *urzuy* 'straight'; M *pursəgo* (but Y *pərsəyē*) 'rib'; M *purs-*, *pərs-* (but Y *pərs-*, *p<sup>r</sup>s-*) 'to ask'; *wūrž*, *wīrž* 'thread'; *virzanē*, *urz<sup>o</sup>*, *viz<sup>o</sup>* 'pillow' < \**b<sup>r</sup>z<sup>o</sup>*.

Before Y *šč*, M *šk<sup>v</sup>* the vocalic element became palatal: *lišč*: *lišk<sup>v</sup>* 'saw'; *kišč*: *kīšk<sup>v</sup>*, *kišk* 'ploughed'; *pəlišč* 'wrapped' (*pəlarz-*);

*pišč*: *piškʷ* 'farted' (*pil*-); *piščo*: *piškʷo*, but also *pī<sup>o</sup>*, *pi<sup>o</sup>*, *pə<sup>o</sup>* 'back'. To the same conflicting influences of an initial labial and a following palatal is due the vacillation in Y *wušć*, *wišć*: M *wušk* 'knitted' (*wor*-), etc. It is doubtful whether *fərmišč* 'forgot' has ancient *ɾ*.<sup>1</sup>

An *l* appears to have prevented the development of a labial vowel in Y *milyo*: M *mī<sup>o</sup>*, *mə<sup>o</sup>*, *mī<sup>o</sup>* 'clay' (< \**mrd*-); Y *pil*- 'to fart'; Y *pilf*. *pəlf* 'ford'.

Other examples with *i*, *ə*, are: Y *lirs*: M *līrs*, *lurs* 'goat's hair' (< \**drsa*- or \**dārsa*-?); Y *prasilanē* 'belonging to last year' (< \**para-srd-anaka*-?); Y *zrl*, *zēl*: M *zīl<sup>ɣy</sup>*, *zūl<sup>y</sup>*, etc. 'heart'; Y *fsidro* 'spring' (< \**upa-srdā*-, or *ᵛsārdā*-); *kīrio*, etc. 'hen'; Y *kəɾ*: M *kəɾ* 'made', etc.

Note Y *muɾ* 'died' (v. above), but *məɾ*- 'to die' with the usual reduction in the present.

Initial *ɾ* is found only in Y *yarš*, cf. Av. *arəša*.

Reg. M *vəzvurgo*, Y *zeviryo* 'birch'; Y *kurmo* 'scorpion, insect' (but *kīrəm* 'bug'); *ɾīk<sup>y</sup>* 'penis' v. Voc. s.vv. Note *kənəm* 'I do', *kīt* 'he does' < *kunāmi*, *kunati* with early change of *ɾ* into *u*, as in Prs., Shgh. etc.

### Diphthongs.

152. In most cases ancient *ai* results in *ī* (*i*), the older stage *ē* being *ai* preserved in a few words without any apparent reason.

Examples are: *ag<sup>i</sup>mīn* (rarely *ᵛin*, *ᵛIn*) 'honey'; *animəf* 'half' (adv., cf. *nīmopīr* 'half full'); *axšIn*, *ᵛēn*, *-ən* 'blue'; Y *iz<sup>i</sup>ma*, M (*y*)*ī<sup>o</sup>*, *yI<sup>o</sup>*, *yΔ*- 'firewood'; *dīz*-, *dīz*- 'to bury'; *ɾīs* 'goat's hair thread'; *ɾī(w)*- 'to spin'; *līu* 'rotten, bad'; *mīɣ*, *mēɣ* 'cloud'; Yzh *miz*-, Ysh, Mm *mēz*- 'to urinate'; *nerīz*- 'to lick'; *pərwīž*- 'to sieve'; *pīx* 'span' (Sgl. *pēx*); *spī* 'white'; *vri*- 'to break' (Sgl. *vrēl*-); *wīn*- 'to see', *wīya* 'willow'.

In Y—M *ye<sup>i</sup>ya*, *yč<sup>o</sup>*, Z *yāya* 'bridge' (< *haētū*-) the development of initial (*h*)*ai*- differs from that found in *izma*. The difference is perhaps conditioned by the following *y*. In *yū* 'one' the development

<sup>1</sup> v. § 132.

appears to have passed through the stages *aiw* > *yau*.<sup>1</sup> M *yax'len*, *yi*<sup>o</sup> 'cold' might be explained in the same manner, but this word is probably borrowed from or influenced by Prs. (cf. M *yaxsəriy*, Y *laxsərə* 'ice'), genuine \**aix*- occurring in Y *ax'len*. Cf. Y *max*: M *mōx* 'peg' (Prs. *mēx*); Y *woxo*: M *wāxo* 'root' (Prs. *bēx*), with loss of the palatal element before *x*.<sup>2</sup> Y *xūl*: M *xa'la* 'perspiration' is difficult to explain. Possibly *i* has been absorbed into the *l* (< \**l'*).<sup>3</sup>

Between a labial and ancient *š* we find *ū*, etc. < *ai* in Y *mūo*: M *mīyo*, *mə*<sup>o</sup>, *mv*<sup>o</sup> 'sheep', and possibly in Y *ābūya*: M *ābiy* 'moraine'. Cf. above regarding the treatment of *i* in similar positions.

Y *yaržo*: M *yōržo* 'beard' may be derived through \**raižā*- < \**raišā*-.

The pronoun *yo* 'this' (half proximate) probably goes back to \**ayo* < *aēta*- (or nom. *aēša*), cf. *mo* < *ima*-, etc. Loss of *ai*- is also recorded in Y *fkyiyiko* (Biddulph still *ifkigo*) 'alone' < \**ēw* + *k*<sup>o</sup>, cf. Sar. *iwj*.

In the lw. *qiza'gī* 'bridle' < Prs. *qaiza* the foreign sound *ai* has been reduced in unstressed syllable.

The actual diphthongs in Y *nāilā*- 'to make sit down'; *nāilō*- 'to circumcize' are probably derived from \**nəy*- < \**niš/ž*-.

*paitawo* 'puttees' is a lw., and the etymologies of *paifar* 'steep hill side', *paixō* 'unthreshed grain' are unknown. *pai*- may go back to *pati*-. Cf. also § 46.

### *au*

153. The development of *au* into *ū* (*u*, *ü*) is parallel to that of *ai* > *ī*. *au*  
As mentioned above,<sup>4</sup> this *ū* did not coalesce with the sound resulting from *ā* in common Y—M. In Y *ū* < *au* is palatalized before *-y* < *-t*-, cf. *īy* < *ūta*, § 150.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. *yau*, Par. *žū*, etc. But v. also Junker, SHAW. phil. hist. Kl. 1914, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> But cf. *pīx* above!

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psht. *xwala*, but also *wala* 'willow': Y *wīya*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 143.

Examples are: Y *â'brūo* 'pear' (< \**hamrautā*-); Y *o'γūzo* 'walnut'; *â'runyo* 'light' (< \**ā-rauxšnakā*-); *drūv-* 'to dance' (Sogd. *dr'wβ-*); *γū* (*γōi*), etc. 'ear'; *γūnia* 'hair'; *γūš* 'meat'; Y *'kʷIfo*, *kʷi'o*, M *kʷi'o* 'hump' (< \**kaufyā-?* *kūfân* 'camel's hump' may be a lw.); M *kūiko* 'stone'; Y *koviō*, *kōviyo*: M *kouyo*, *kōwūya* 'pigeon'; *lūž-* 'to milk'; *nəγūy-* 'to hear'; *rūi*, etc. 'bowels'; Y *Rūi* 'n. of a village' (cf. Prs. *rōd?*); Y *rufo* 'small broom' (\**au* or *u?*); *rūyən* 'clarified butter'; Y *rūso*: M *'raūso* 'fox'; *rūžen* 'smoke-hole'; M *s'tūr* 'horned cattle'; *tūy<sup>u</sup>m* 'grain'; *xūlo* 'cap'; M *yōruya* 'eructation' (\**ā-raugā*-); *yūya* 'ear of wheat' (Prs. *xōša*).

Of unknown or uncertain derivation are: Y *â'γury*: M *ar'γūg* 'egg'; *γuvē* 'wooden trough'; *kuso* 'maize-straw'; *mūž-* 'to move'; Y *sūyiko*: M *sūgo* (M(g) *sīyakā!*) 'tale'; Y *'stuynūl* 'dripping'; *yur-siliko* 'shoe-string'. V. Voc. s.vv.

Note Y *pisto*: M *pūsto* 'bark' (Prs. *pōst*), possibly < \**paustā*, cf. Av. *pašta*.—Reg. *-ava-* (e.g. in *tō* 'thy', etc.), cf. § 85.

### Umlaut.

154. Umlaut caused by a following *i* or *y* is common in Y—M as in most other Ir. languages, but it is not easy to determine the exact conditions under which this assimilation takes place, nor are the results always the same.

155. Before a following *y* an ancient *a* results in *ě* or *ĩ*. Thus, e.g., *a<sup>y</sup>*  
 Y *mēr*: M *mēr*, *mār* 'man' < \**mart(i)ya-* (but Y *marā*, M *mēra* < \**martyaka-*); Y *kero*, *kə<sup>o</sup>*, *ko<sup>o</sup>*: M *kēro*, *kē<sup>o</sup>* 'knife' < \**kart(i)yā-*; Y *γurēč*, *oōč* 'knot' < \**graḍyā-*; Y *yečio*: M *yōčo* 'hand-mill' < \**yaḍriyā-* (?). Reg. *vəzāčo* 'pregnant', *zāčko* 'child-bearing'; *pəzečr*, *pəzāčē* 'male sheep, 1—2 y. old' < \**zaḍya-* or \**zaḍa-*, v. §§ 66, 155.

But *ĩ* occurs in M *nəliv*, *nīlv* 'to lie down' < \**ni-paidya-*; Y *mištor* 'prince' < \**masyah-tara-*; *ilīr*, etc. 'belly' < \**udarya-*; Y *siri* 'upper' < \**sariya-* (?). There is no epenthesis or umlaut in the unstressed first syllable of *məlān* 'waist'.

156. Before *i* we find umlaut in: *īž* 'snake' < *aži-*; *zīt* 'yellow' < *a-<sup>t</sup>* *zairita-*; *žina*, *žinžo* 'woman' < *žaini-*; *čėšo* 'pin of a spindle' < *\*častrī-*; M *wēlo*: Y *wolo* 'irrigation-channel' < *vaidi-*;<sup>1</sup> possibly also in Y *sporo*: Mm *sparo*, Z *s<sup>p</sup>era* 'plough-share'; Y *wo<sup>o</sup>*: M *wēro*, etc. 'trousers'; Y *pero*: M *pēro*, etc. 'hip'; Y *loso*, *l<sup>o</sup>*: M *lēso* 'wild oats' (Sgl. *dāsīn*).

The absence of umlaut in *yar* 'stone' < *gairi* may be due to early transfer into the *a*-stems of masculines in *-i*.

157. Examples of *ā-<sup>v</sup>* are: Y *pečiko* 'snare' < *\*pādyā-* (v. s.v.); *ā-<sup>v</sup>* M *vrēri* 'nephew' (< *\*brādryaka-*); M *xšēma* 'supper' < *xšūfnya-* (if a lw., of very early date); Y *yčžko* 'duck' < *\*ādyā-* (?); *mīx* 'day' (< *\*mādyā-<sup>2</sup>*). Reg. the various forms of *yaxio* 'ashes' (< *\*ātryā-<sup>2</sup>*), v. Voc. s.v.

*wulēyo* 'span' < *\*wi-dāti*;<sup>3</sup> M *frayingo*, *frayengo* 'she-goat, 1 y. *ā-<sup>t</sup>* old' < *\*fragāmikā-*; Mm *l<sup>r</sup>rē-gus* 'sickle' < *\*drāti-* (?); Y *pānio*: M *pāng<sup>o</sup>* 'heel' < *\*pāršni-*.

158. Umlaut of *ā* seems to be regular in Pres. 3rd sg. before syn-copated *-ati*. Thus Y *nāvīt* 'he takes out' < *\*nibar(a)ti*, but 1sg. *navorum*; M *kēd* 'he digs': *kanəm*; M *xišk* 'he pulls out': *xašəm*; M *gi'yīt* 'he passes': *gi'yarəm*. From stems in *\*ā*: M *gi'yēt* 'he lets pass': *gi'yōrəm*; Y *lāt*, M *lēt* 'he has': *lārəm*, *lōrəm*; M *wēft* (Y *waft*) 'he weaves': *wōfəm*. Cf. also Y *kīt*, M *kēd* 'he does' < *\*kunati*: *ke/ənəm*. The umlaut possibly also took place in the 1st sg. and 3rd pl. Cf. § 167.

The majority of the exceptions are due to the neighbourhood of a labial. Thus M *aydūvd* 'dresses' (caus.); M *ā'vūd* 'brings' (*āvərəm*);<sup>4</sup> Y *xut*, M *xūt* 'eats'.<sup>5</sup> In Y—M *žūt* 'he speaks' the double *tt* in (*žāti* <) *\*žatti* < *\*jatati* may have prevented the umlaut. But note also M *yūst* 'he carries': (*y*)*isəm*.

<sup>1</sup> Or *\*wādi-* as indicated by some of the forms in the Shgh. group.

<sup>2</sup> As rendered probable by Sar. *\*māθ*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Čitrēyo* 'Chitral', which is, however, a lw. of uncertain date.

<sup>4</sup> Y *avit* with *i* < *ū*? Cf. *nāvīt* above.

<sup>5</sup> But *xīt* 'he buys'.



159. In several cases we find, especially in M, a palatal vowel in the preterite. Thus, e.g. Y *aydard*: Z *aydēvd* 'dressed' (caus.); Y *ava/ezd*: Z *avēzd* 'brought'; Z, Mm *kēd* 'dug'; Y *lōbad*: Mt *l<sup>v</sup>ēy*, Mm *l<sup>v</sup>ēd* 'winnowed'; Mm *nijašt*: Z *niješt* 'showed'; Y *vəzad*, *vzend*: Mm, t, Z *v<sup>z</sup>ē(n)d* 'knew'; Y *waft*: Mt, Z *wēft* 'wove', etc. It is possible that these formes have been influenced by ancient verbal nouns in *-ti*.<sup>1</sup>

There are some traces of epenthesis caused by a following *-aya-* in present stems. Thus, e.g., Y *urīz-* 'to spread dung' (< \**wi-razaya-*); *rīm-*, *rēm-* 'to please' (< \**rāmaya-*); Z *stēr-*, but Mm, Y *'stōr-* 'to sweep'; Z *tēw-* 'to stir' (soup, etc.) < \**tāwaya-* (?); M *tīž-*, *tēž-* 'to cut' < \**tāčaya-*; Z *v<sup>r</sup>rēm-* 'to stand' < \**upa-rāmaya-* (?). But most of these etymologies are doubtful, and we find no umlaut in *lār-* 'to have' and *ušāw-* 'to call' < *dāraya-* and \**us-srāwaya-*. Cf., however, Parachi *mēr-* 'to kill' < \**māraya-*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

160. It is impossible to decide whether *ɪ* in Y *mɪšč* (M *mvšky*, etc.) *u<sup>i</sup>* 'first' is due to umlaut or to the influence of *šč* (cf. above § 149). But most dialects have *suvo*, *sə<sup>o</sup>*, *sī<sup>o</sup>* 'shoulder', without any trace of umlaut. Likewise we find Y *šino* (Yg *šuno*): M *šino* 'vulva, *au<sup>i</sup>* podex' < *sraoni-* and Y *šinjo* (Yr *šu<sup>o</sup>*): M *šično* 'needle' < *saučani-* (or \**su<sup>o</sup>?*), but *lūžd* 'he milks', *lūrd* 'he flies' < \**raudati-*.—(y)ino 'blood' and related words in other Ir. dialects present special difficulties, not altogether surprising in a word which may have been subject to taboo. But \**wahuni* > (w)ūni- > īn- seems possible.<sup>3</sup> *pīro* 'before' may be derived from *paurvya-* (\**pr<sup>v</sup>wya-*) and reg. *pist* 'he asks', cf. above. *ɪ<sup>i</sup>*

161. Epenthesis of *u*, or *u-* umlaut, is comparatively rare in Ir.<sup>4</sup> The *a<sup>u</sup>* only possible examples in Y—M are *wulo* 'wife' < *vađū-*, *urzuw*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Henning, ZII, 9, 216: «Auch *ti*-Bildungen mögen gelegentlich die Form des P.P.P. beeinflusst haben, wahrscheinlich bei [Turfan Phl.] *ɔpist* 'fiel herab'».

<sup>2</sup> IIFL, I. p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Scarcely with Henning, ZII, 9, 226 \**wīn-* < \**whūn-* < \**wohūn-*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the development in Swedish and E. Norw. where the *i-* umlaut is much more important than the *u-* umlaut.

'straight' < *ərəzu* + *ka-*, and *muryo* 'ant' < \**marwi-* + *kā*. It should be remembered, however, that unstressed *u* was dropped at a very early date.

### Accent and Contraction.

162. It is impossible to derive the present accentuation from any ancient system, either of the 'Vedic' or of the 'Latin' type. If we want to reconstruct the pre-Y—M accent, we must try to trace it from its effects on modern Y—M vocalism. But it is by no means certain that all vowel-changes due to stress date from the same period, or are even due to the same system of accentuation. Thus *a* and *u* have been elided at an early date in e.g. *xun* 'raven' < \**xwǎrana-*, *γary* 'heavy' < \**garuka-*, but quite recently, and owing to the modern accent, in *lamdo* < *lōmadā* 'hem'; *āyd-* < *āyud-* 'to dress'. Reg. the interchange between stressed and unstressed initial vowels in certain words v. § 84.

163. The majority of Y—M words are of the accent types  $\acute{\text{u}}$   $\text{u}$  and  $\acute{\text{u}}$   $\text{u}$   $\text{u}$ .

Thus, e.g., with  $\acute{\text{u}}$   $\text{u}$ : *o'guščo* 'finger' < *aŋ'guštā*; *ag'imīn* 'honey' < \**aŋka'paina-*; *āyast* 'dressed' < \**āgusta-*; *čšir*, *čfūr* '4' < *ča'θwārō*; *dīr*, *yü'dūr* 'other' < *an'tāra-*; *dram* 'inside' < \**anta'rahmi*; *ax'sin* 'blue' < *ax'saēna-*; *wu'lēyo* 'span' < \**wi'dāti* (+ *o*); *zəviγ* 'tongue' < \**hiz'wāka-*, etc.

With  $\acute{\text{u}}$   $\text{u}$   $\text{u}$ : *γādəm* 'wheat' < *gantuma-*; *iz'ma* 'fire-wood' < \**aizmaka-*; *rūžen* 'smoke-hole' < \**raučana-*; *stārē* 'star' < \**stāraka-*; <sup>1</sup> *vīzy* 'arm' < \**bāzuka-*; *wisto* '20' < \**wīsati*; *youγo* 'water' < \**āpakā*, etc. With  $\text{u}$   $\text{u}$   $\text{u}$ : *γary* 'heavy' < \**garuka-*; *urzuy* 'straight' < \**rzuka-*; *seyi'o* 'sand' < *sikatā-*; *vəd* 'brought' < *u'pa-nita-*; *zīt* 'yellow' < \**zarita-*; *kīt* 'does' < \**kunati* (and other Pres. 3 sg. forms).

*γūškən* 'cow-dung' may be a remnant of the ancient type  $\acute{\text{u}}$   $\text{u}$   $\text{u}$   $\text{u}$ ,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or \**stā'rahakya*, cf. Orm. *star'rak*. V. § 182.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Parachi, IIFL, I, 32.

or perhaps more probably, the form may be due to the tendencies determining the vocalism of compounds.<sup>1</sup> Orm. (²)skan warns us that we do not know all factors regulating Ir. accentuation.

164. Regarding the shortening of *ā* in ancient stems in *-ā-* and *-aka-* cf. § 145. In the case of *-aka-* it might be presumed that the accentuation of the oblique *-akahya* had caused the shortening,<sup>2</sup> but it is hardly probable that the f. suffix *-ā* normally carried the stress. But cf. also in Psht. e.g. *špa* 'night', *mlā* 'waist', *sra* f. of *sūr* 'red', etc.

The opposition between *kyem*, *kiyam* 'who' (adj.) and *kə'dī* 'who, which' (subst.), and between Y *šilē*: M *šk<sup>v</sup>iy* 'neck' is probably due to accent shift: *kiyam* < \**ka'tamahya* and *kə'dī* < \**kandəy* < \**kadmag'i* < \**kata'makahya*; *šilē* < \**u'šadakah* and *šk<sup>v</sup>iy* < \**uša'dakahya*.

With the secondary displacement of accent in *lamdo* 'hem' and in *āy(u)dəm* 'I dress' < \**ā'gundāmi* mentioned above,<sup>3</sup> cf. also *ind* 'so much' < \**imanta-*(?); *avlānd* 'hem' < \**abi-'dāmanta-*(?); *yougo* 'flood' < \**āfvantakā*.<sup>4</sup>

Short *a* appears to have been more resisting against contraction than *u*. While *-aka(hya)* resulted in Y *-ë*: M *-iy*, *-uka-* was contracted except after a group of consonants (*vīzy* < \**bāzuka-*, but *urzy* < \**řzuka-*).<sup>5</sup>

165. The prefix *upa-* (and *abi-*, possibly also *apa-* and *api-*) appears in the forms *av-* (*af-*) and *v(ə)-* (*f-*). It is possible that this double development is due to presence or absence of a secondary accent, but we cannot explain all the examples according to this rule without resorting to artificial and improbable constructions.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 145.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Orm., IIFL, I, 327 and 360 f.

<sup>3</sup> § 162.

<sup>4</sup> *kando* 'plough share', prob. from Prs. *kanand*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 162, 175.

Cf., on the one hand, *a'vāzəm* 'I fetch' (3rd sg. *a'vizd*) < \**upā'zāmi*; *av'lasto* 'sleeve' < \**upa'dastā*; *av'zino* 'first irrigation' < \**upa'zayanā*; *av'zano* 'ladle' < \**upa'zāwanā* (?); Y *'afsəno*, M *'yufse<sup>u</sup>no* 'whetstone' < \**abi'sānyā* (or \**upa-*, \**ābi-*?); *aw'lān* 'bridle' < \**abi'dāna-*; *af'sinyo* 'ladder' < \**upa'srišnakā*; *af'sirnē* 'summer wheat' < \**upa'sr̥dnaka-* (?). On the other hand we find *ʃsūvum* 'I suck' < \**β̥šō'vum* < \**upašā'pāmi*; *ʃxawum* 'I shear' < \**upaxa'bāmi* (?); *və'nim* 'I bring' < \**upana'yāmi* (or second. pres. from \**vənt* < \**upanita-* < \**upa'nīta-*?); *və'dāyəm* 'I mix' < \**upahan,tāka'yāmi* (?); *və'zānəm* 'I know' (3rd sg. *vəzīt*) < \**upazā'nāmi* (or *wi-*?); *vəzāxo* 'womb', etc. < \**upazaθū* (with *a* treated as a short vowel?). V. Voc. s.vv. in *av-*, *af-*, *f-*, *v(ə)-*.

But several of the derivations tentatively suggested above are quite hypothetical. *avyuš* 'lap' cannot be fitted into the rule without assuming an original form \**upa'kāšša-*, and *ʃsidro* 'spring' < \**upasārādā-* (?) remains altogether unexplained.<sup>1</sup> The theory cannot therefore be proved.

166. Initial unstressed *i-* has been dropped in *l'royo* 'clear sky' < \**idrakā-*.

But also *a* is frequently contracted before the accent. Thus, e.g.: *čšir* '4', *plār-* 'to sell'; *prasilanē* 'lamb, one y. old'.<sup>2</sup> And initial (h)*a-* is lost in *žə* 'from'; *zo* 'I'; *tī-* 'to enter'; *max* 'we'<sup>3</sup> *yo* 'this', just as well as *u-* in *sko* 'on', *šilē* 'neck'.

I am unable to explain the reason for the different treatment of (h)*an-*, (h)*am-* in Y *dīr* and M *yudūr* 'other', and in the verbs *diš-* 'to think'; *dīz-* 'to bury'; *baxš-* 'to divide'; *gūy-* 'to knead' as compared with the nouns *ābrūo* 'pear'; *ābūya* 'moraine'; *āgunḡ<sup>y</sup>* 'dough'; *hadamə* 'limb', etc.

167. The accentuation of the present tense may be explained in the following manner:

<sup>1</sup> The same is the case with Psht. *psarlai* < \**upasaradaka-*.

<sup>2</sup> V. Voc. s.vv. Reg. *što* 'said' cf. § 110.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. *amax*, cf. § 204.

## Yzh

1st sg.	<i>ke'nēm</i>	<	<i>*kə'nēm</i>	<	<i>*ku'nā'im</i>	<	<i>*ku'nāmi</i>
2nd »	<i>'kenē</i>	<	<i>*'kənē</i>	<	<i>*'kunai</i>	<	<i>*'kunahi</i>
3rd »	<i>'kīt</i>	<	<i>*'kīnt</i>	<	<i>*'ku'nt</i>	<	<i>*'kunati</i>
1st Pl.	<i>ke'nam</i>	<	<i>*kə'nām</i>	<	<i>*ku'nām</i>	<	<i>*ku'nāmah</i>
3rd »	<i>ke'net</i>	<	<i>*kə'nēnt</i>	<	<i>*ku'na'nt</i>	<	<i>*ku'nanti</i>

Similarly, e.g.: *\*nīpa'dāmi* > *\*nīvlēm* > *nīlvəm*; but *\*nīpadati* > *\*nīvēld* > *nūld*, etc.

Cf. Konow's reconstruction of the development in Saka.<sup>1</sup>

## Ancient Final Consonants and Vowels.

168. The only Y—M words which may go back to forms in final consonants (other than nom. *-h* and acc. *-m*) are *ska* 'on' < *uskāt*, *uxšo* 'six' < *xšvaš*; <sup>2</sup> *zo* < *azəm*, and possibly *yo* < *aētāt* (and *aēša*), etc.

All short vowels (including masc. nom. sg. in *-ah*, *-ō*) are dropped, the only exceptions being bisyllabic words which have become oxytones at an early date: *zo* 'I', *yo*, *mo* 'this' and possibly *vīo* 'was'. *ža* 'from' and *lo* 'with' may rest on forms in *-ā*. Likewise *'āvdo* '7' < *\*haftā* with *-ā* from *\*aštā*. Cf. Psht. *ōwə*, *atə*.

Final *-ā* normally remains as *-o* or *-a*. But *vrai* 'brother', *zamai* 'son-in-law', *lad* 'tooth' indicate an early shortening of *-ā* in masculines.

In Pres. 2 sg. *-ē* goes back to *-ahi*, cf. also 3 sg. *-e*, *-ī* < *-ayati*. Reg. *-ē*, *-īy* < *-aka(hya)* and plurals in *-ē* < *\*-āh*,<sup>3</sup> cf. §§ 182, 198.

## Prothetic Vowels.

169. An unexplained prothetic vowel appears in Y *akadē*, etc. 'thorn, bramble': Sgl. *kandāk* and in *anaxno*, etc. 'nail'. The existence of a prefix *ā-* in these words is conceivable, but not probable.

<sup>1</sup> NTS, VII, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Not with Gauthiot < *\*xšwaša*.

<sup>3</sup> Acc. to Tedesco, ZII, IV, 156.

## Relative Chronology of Sound-Changes.

170. There is no material available which enables us to date the various stages in the phonetic development of Y—M. But it seems possible, at any rate in some instances, to establish the chronological sequence between different sound-changes. A number of such cases have been mentioned above, but it may be useful to give here a synoptical review of the more important ones.
171. 1) The transition of *b, d, g* > *β, δ, γ* and of *ft, xt* into *vd, γd* are pre-Y—M, and probably common E.Ir.
- 2) *rst, ršt* must have become *\*št* before *št* changed into *šk<sup>v</sup>*, etc. (cf. § 110).
- 3) *šta/o* 'said' < *\*žasta-* is later than *št* > *šk<sup>v</sup>*.
- 4) *str* became *š*, and *-šat-* was syncopated, before *št* became *šk<sup>v</sup>* (cf. Y *uščeno*, §§ 105, 110).
- 5) *sr* became *š* before the syncope took place in *yāšk* 'tear' < *\*asruka-*.
- 6) *k* > *g* before *g* > *γ* in Y etc., the partial change of *ɳg* > *g* being still later.
- 7) Syncope of *nat* (e.g. in *wīt* 'sees', § 118), and of *rat, rit* (e.g. in *xūt* 'eats', *zīt* 'yellow', § 125) into *\*nt, rt* (from which *t*) before sonorization of intervocalic *t*, but after change of ancient *rt* into *\*rd* (from which *\*d* > *r* > M *r*).

But after an occlusive the contraction has been delayed, evidently in order to avoid the development of a heavy group of consonants. Thus e.g. *\*daučati* 'milks' > *\*dōč<sup>at</sup>* > *\*dōž<sup>a</sup>d* > *\*dōžd* > *lūžd*, *\*pari-āpati* > *pærvd*, *\*nipadati* > *\*nvild* > *nūld*. Between unvoiced dentals, however, the contraction took place at the earlier stage, as shown by *žūt* 'speaks' < *\*žōtt* < *\*jātati*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The relative chronology in Saka is quite different. Cf. Saka Studies, p. 27 (*pittā* 'falls' < *\*padati*, but *hviḍā* 'eats' < *\*hwarati*, and *pasūste* 'burns' < *\*pati-saučatai*, etc.).

- 8)  $\delta > l$ , and possibly  $r\delta > l$ , after  $\delta w > \delta v > d^2v$ -, and  $\delta r > \delta^2r$ , but before syncope of  $r-\delta$ , from which  $*\delta r$  (cf. § 127).
- 9) Syncope of  $hid > h\delta$ , from which  $\vartheta$ , before  $\delta > l$  (8), and  $\vartheta > \check{x}$ .
- 10)  $a\vartheta r > ahr$  (from which  $\bar{a}r$ ) before  $\vartheta > \check{x}$ .
- 11)  $ahr > \bar{a}r$ ,  $aha > \bar{a}$ ,  $arn > \bar{a}n$  before  $\bar{a} > \acute{a} > \acute{o}$  (cf. § 143).
- 12) Possibly  $-r\check{s}- > *-\acute{s}-$  before  $-\check{s}- > -\check{z}-$  (cf. §§ 74, 151), and metathesis of  $*rai\check{z}\bar{a} > yar\check{z}o$  'beard' before  $-\check{z}- > -y-$ .
- 13) Prefixed  $ha\check{c}a > \check{c}a-$  (§ 50) and  $ati- > ti-$  (§ 46) before  $-\check{c}-$ ,  $-t- > -\check{z}-$ ,  $*-d-$ . But loss of initial vowel in  $\check{z}a$  after  $-\check{c}- > -\check{z}-$  (cf. § 50).
- 14)  $xn > \gamma n$  before  $xan > xn$  (cf. § 96).
- 15)  $x\check{s}m$ ,  $x\check{s}n > \check{z}m$ ,  $\check{z}n > z$ ,  $m$ ,  $n$  before nasal influenced preceding  $a$  (cf. § 139).
- 16)  $r\check{s}n$ ,  $rzn$ ,  $rn > n$  (§§ 130, 133) before secondary  $r-n > n$  (§ 133) and  $r-dn > rn$ .
- 17)  $rn-t > n\check{t}$  before  $n\check{t} > n\check{k}^y$  ( $> Y k^y$ ) cf. §§ 62, 132.
- 18)  $m-d > nd$  before  $nd > d$  (§ 119).
- 19)  $mr- > mbr$  before  $mb > b$  (§ 120).
- 20)  $n\check{d} > n\check{g}^y > g^y$  (§ 121) before M  $n > n\check{g}^y$ .
- 21) Prothesis of  $y-$  before  $\bar{a} > \acute{o} > \bar{u}$  (e.g.  $y\bar{u}r$  'fire', § 144).

In the following table the chronological sequence runs from the left to the right. Phonetic changes which are approximately of the same age, are put in the same vertical column. The sign || has been employed to separate two series of changes, which in order to save space have been placed on the same line, but which are not connected with each other.

172. Synoptic Table of the Relative Chronology of Y—M Sound-Changes.

- 1)  $b, d, g > \beta, \delta, \gamma$   
 1)  $ft, xt > vd, \gamma d$   
 2)  $rst, ršt > št$  { 2)  $št > M šk^v > Y šč$ ; 3)  $*žasta > *žsta, šta$   
 4)  $str > š, š-t > št$   
 5)  $sr > š, šūk > šk$   
 6)  $-k- > g$   
 7)  $nit > nt > t$   $g > Y \gamma$   $ng > g$   
 7)  $rt > rd > d > Y r > M r$  || 19)  $mr > mbr$   $18) md > nd, nd > d$   $mb > b$   
 7)  $rit > rt > t$   
 7)  $-t- > d > \delta > y$  || 20)  $nd > ng^v > g^v$   
 8)  $\delta > l$   
 8)  $r\delta > l, 8) r-d > dr > Y dr$   $M lr$   
 8)  $\delta w > \delta v > \delta^v$   $> l^v$   
 8)  $\delta r > \delta^r$   $> l^r$   
 9)  $hi\delta > h\delta > \vartheta$   
 9)  $\vartheta > \check{x}$   
 10)  $a\delta r > ahr > \bar{a}r$  }  $\bar{a} > \check{a} > y\check{a} > y\bar{u}$  } 21)  
 11)  $aha > \bar{a}$  }  $\bar{a} > \check{a} > y\check{a} > y\bar{u}$  }  
 11)  $arn > \bar{a}n$  }  $\bar{a} > \check{a} > y\check{a} > y\bar{u}$  }  
 12)  $rš > -\check{s}-? -\check{s}- > -\check{z}- > y$   
 13)  $hača- > ča- hača > aža > ža$   
 13)  $ati- > ti-$   
 14)  $xn > \gamma n, xan - xn$   
 15)  $(x)šm > žm > m$  }  $am/n > Y am/n$   
 15)  $(x)šn > žn > n$  }  $M om/n$   
 16)  $ršn > ržn > n$   $20) > M \eta^{sv}$   
 16)  $rn > n$   
 16)  $r-n > n$   
 16)  $r-dn > rn$   
 17)  $rn-t > nt > \eta k^v > Y k^v$



# MORPHOLOGY

## Nouns.

### Stem-Formation.

#### I. Primary Stems.

173. Ancient stems in *-a* are numerous in Y—M. As a matter of fact, most genuine Y—M nouns ending in a consonant go back to, or may go back to, stems in *a*. Thus, e.g. *awlān* ‘bridle’; *iščin* ‘female breast’; *fšarm* ‘shame’; *γū(i)* ‘ear’; *γäl* ‘thief’; *γādəm* ‘wheat’; *γalv* ‘dog’; *γīs* ‘goat’s hair thread’; *lum* ‘tail’; *last* ‘arm’; *mīy* ‘cloud’; *mēr* ‘man’; *nīf* ‘navel’; M *pūn<sup>gy</sup>* ‘feather’; *pūr* ‘son’; *piščan* ‘thigh’; *rūyən* ‘ghee’; *rūžen* ‘smoke-hole’; *vən* ‘bottom’; *wūi* ‘wind’; *wuš* ‘grass’; *xul* ‘perspiration’; *xusur* ‘father-in-law’; *xūbun* ‘sleep’; *yōu* ‘grain’; *yarš* ‘bear’; *yasp* ‘horse’; *zīt* ‘yellow’, and past participles, such as *kər*, *mvr*, etc. All of these words correspond to Av. stems in *a*. Also a number of other words lacking in Av. and Old Prs., are probably original *a*-stems. E.g. *aspəlan* ‘stable’; *lūi* ‘smoke’; *surv* ‘hole’; *yurzun* ‘millet’; *zəviy* ‘tongue’, and many others.

174. Ancient *ī*-stems are comparatively rare, and most of those surviving are feminines which have been enlarged with the secondary suffix *-o*. Unenlarged words are *īž* m. ‘snake’ < *aži-*; *γar* m. ‘stone, hill’ < *gairi-*; *mīšč* ‘first’ < *mušti-*; *γureč* ‘knot’ < *\*graði-* (?),<sup>1</sup> but scarcely *wirž* ‘thread’, v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 66, 156.

Enlarged *ĩ*-stems are: *suvo* 'shoulder' < *supti-*; *šino* 'vulva, podex' < *sraoni-*; *wolo*, *welo* 'irrigation-channel' < *vadi-*; *žina*, *žin̄ko* 'woman' < *jani-*; (*y*)*ino* 'blood' < *vohuni-*; *wisto* '20' < *vīsaiti*; *piščo* 'back' < *paršti-*; *yovurso* 'juniper' < *hapərəsi-*; *šīyo* 'female' < *strī-*; *wulēyo* 'span' < *\*widāti-*; *šin̄jo* 'needle' < *\*sučani-* (?); but *pren̄jio* 'she-goat, one y. old' < *\*paranači-* (?).

*mur̄yo*, *məryika* 'ant' < *maurvi-*; *frīyo* 'flea' < *\*frusi-* (?); *frayingo* 'she-goat' < *\*fragāmī(kā-)*.

*maxšē* 'fly' < *maxši-* f.;<sup>1</sup> *hənadiy* 'out of breath' < *\*an-anti-*; but *yastē* 'bone' probably < *ast-*, not *-asti-*. Note *wīya* m 'willow' < *vaēti-* f.

Cf. Psht. *šna* 'hip-bone'; *wāla* 'irrigation-channel'; *wīna* 'blood'; *šəja* 'woman' < *\*strīči + ā*, etc.

175. Ancient stems in *ũ* are: *šū* 'horn' < *srū-*; *wulo* 'wife' < *vadū-*, *x<sup>u</sup>šo* 'mother-in-law' < *\*hwasrū + ā*; cf. *vrīyo* 'eyebrows'. In most cases *-ka* has been added at an early date, and *u* has been elided after a single consonant.<sup>2</sup> Thus: *urzuy* 'straight' < *ərəzu-*; *γary* 'heavy' < *gouru-*; *yašk* 'tear' < *asrū<sup>o</sup>*; *zīk* 'knee' < *zānu-*; *vīzy(a)* 'upper arm' < *bāzu-*; *yuv̄g* 'arrow' < *išu-*; *pərsəyē* 'rib' (pl. ?) < *pərəsu-*. Probably also: *pary* 'mouse' < *\*paru-*; *Idəy*, *Yidg* < *\*Hindu-ka-*; *waly* 'feast' < *\*wadu-* (?); *γīk* 'penis' < *\*gršnu-*. But *yēya* 'bridge' < *haētu-* seems to have *-a* added at a comparatively recent date.

176. Ancient stems in diphthongs are *γavo* 'cow' and possibly also *žū(u)*, *žūg* 'leather' (< *\*jau-ka-?*).

*Vrai* 'brother' and *zamai* 'son-in-law', are ancient nominatives of *r*-stems, with *\*-ah* instead of *-ā*, which looked like a feminine ending. To this group has also been added *yūi* 'husband's brother'.<sup>3</sup> *ləydo* 'daughter' goes back to *dugədā*, *duyda* (or *\*dux̄tā*), and similarly *ixō* 'sister' may be derived from < *\*(y)ahwā* < *\*hahwā* < *\*hwahā*.

<sup>1</sup> Or, with Psht. *mač*, *meč* m., < *\*maxši-* (?).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 149.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.

*yūr*, *yūr* 'fire' point to a secondary stem \**ārta-*, and also *lʷor* 'door' may have become thematic at a very early date.

*čam* 'eye'; *pām* 'wool', *tuyum* 'grain' are ancient neutral nominatives of stems in *n*. Probably also *lad* 'tooth' goes back to \**dantah* (< \**dantā*, v. § 108). *lāmo* 'village' may rest on the pl. *dāmaṅ*; <sup>1</sup> *lōmago* 'snare' and *šinamio* 'girl' (< *strī-nāman-*) have had secondary suffixes added to the original *n* stem, and *γūskən* 'cow dung' is derived from a thematic \**o sakana-*. Note *yēyən* 'liver' < \**yaxnya-*, a form based on the oblique stem.

The small number of nouns which go back to stems in other consonants than *r* and *n* have probably become thematic at an early date. Cf. *wor* 'oath' < *varah-*; *spūo* 'louse' < *spiš-*; *zil* 'heart' < *zərəd(aya)-*.

## II. *Feminines in -o (-a)*.

177. Ancient Ir. nom. fem. *-ā* (and acc. *-ām*) becomes Y, Mm *-o*; Mg, and occasionally Zar.<sup>2</sup> *-ā*; G, Z, LSIm, Mti, (t), (sh), and occasionally g, *-a*; Mt palatal *-a* and M(g) *-ä*. Mg, (sh), ti and LSIm also have *-e*, *-ε* in a few words. Some of these forms may be plurals, thus e.g. Mg *pāle*, *pāzʷye*; Mti *pālē*, *pān'gye* 'foot', 'heel', or Mti *yīne*, *wōrfe*: Mg *yīne*, but *worfo* 'blood', 'snow'.<sup>3</sup> But this explanation can hardly apply to e.g. Mg, sh *γōwe* 'cow', LSIm *feske* 'nose', *yelke* 'duck', etc., and we have to admit the existence of unexplained variants in these dialects of M.

178. Some of the words in *-o/a* correspond direct to Av. feminines in *-ā*. Thus: *xʷsoro* 'night'; *žio* 'bow-string'; *γurvo* 'throat'; *xoro* 'ass'; *ʷskiro* 'camel': Av. *xšapā-*, *jyā-*, *grīvā-*, *xarā-*, *uštrā-*. In other cases, too, the *-ā* is probably ancient. Cf. *sēyio* 'sand', *vəzo* 'she-goat'; *riško* 'nit'; *tīro* 'darkness'; *yaržo* 'beard' with Psht. *šəga*, *wuza*, *riča*, *tyāra*, *žīra*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> But *pado* 'road' < *pantā* is not an ancient stems in *n*.

<sup>2</sup> Z's informants probably belonged to different villages.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psht. *wīne*, *wāwre*, pl. in common use.

*sōro* 'dung'; *γavo* 'cow'; *šino* 'podex'; *ino* 'blood'; *warfo* 'snow' correspond to Av. *sairya-*; *gav-*; *sraoni-*; *vohuni-*; *vafra-*, and *zinio* 'daughter-in-law' was originally a stem in *-a-*. But Psht. has *sarū*, *šna*, *wīna*, *wāwra* as fem., and Shgh. *zənaž* goes back to *\*smušā*.<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, possible that in some cases the formation in *-ā* has been made independently in the various dialects, and Y *mūo* 'sheep' < *\*maišā* differs not only from Av. *maēšī-*, but also from Psht. *mēž* (Shgh. *maž* is doubtful in this respect).

179. Forms in *-o/a* may of course denote the female animal (cf. Voc. s.vv. *mūo*, *vzo*, *kirio*). But in many cases the fem. form in *-o* is epicene. Besides *xoro* and *škirō* mentioned above, we have also *rūso* 'fox';<sup>2</sup> *kovio* 'pigeon'; *k<sup>y</sup>unyo* 'magpie'; *wofšio* 'wasp'; *wūro* 'duck'; *xurūso* 'weasel', etc.

The *-ā*-stem is ancient in *āmuno* 'apple' (Psht. *mana*), and probably also in some other names of plants and fruits. But the use of the suffix *-o/a* has been extended to the majority of such words. V. Voc. s.vv. *ābrūo*; *agidro*; *oyuzo*; *alāno*; *imoyō*; *amaxno*; *āričo*; *iryoyo*; *ašasto*; *axrio*; *azito*, etc.

A separate f. form in *-o* of adjectives is still in use.<sup>3</sup>

180. Many Prs. lw.s in *-a* have been included among the Y—M words in *-o/a*. Thus, e.g. *aftōvo* 'bucket'; *xarbuvo* 'melon'; *banafšo* 'violet'; *āino* 'mirror'; *amsāyo* 'neighbour'; *bīwo* 'widow'; Y *paisō* (but Mm *paisa*) 'money'. This suffix has also been added to other lw.s. E.g., *rōy(o)* 'deodar' < Khw. *rōy*; *amburo* 'pincers' < Prs. *ambūr*; *qačio* 'scissors' < *qaiči*. Note *kučio* 'street' < Prs. *kūča*.

<sup>1</sup> Also Psht. *nžor*, Bal. *našār* presuppose an earlier *\*nušā*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lidén, *Namn och Bygd*, 19, 87 sq. about other epicene names of the fox, and Meillet BSL, 32, 7.—Note Mm *škyuro* f. and epicene: *nar-škyur* m.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 195.

## Ancient Suffixes in k.

## III. Nouns in -γ, -g.

181. The ancient suffix *-ka* remains as a velar after *u*,<sup>1</sup> after original or secondary *ā* (Y *zəvīγ*, M *zəvū* 'tongue' < \**hizwāka*-; *pīγ* 'onion' < \**pitāka*- (?); *sīγ* 'hare' < \**sāk* < \**sāhaka*), after *au* and *ū* (ʔ*stūγ* 'lock of hair' < \**stūka*-; *cʳrouγ* 'markhor'; *žū(g)* 'hide' < \**ǰauka*-), and after a consonant (m Mti *wīlx*: *wīγ* 'kidney' < *vəṛətkā*-). But this *γ/g* is not a productive suffix in Y—M, and from a synchronic point of view there is no difference between the *γ*'s e.g. in Y *wury* 'wolf'; *hory* 'work'; *γary* 'heavy'; *yūγ* 'yoke'; *sīγ* 'hare'.

## IV. Masculines in Y -ë, M -iγ.

182. A still living and productive suffix is Y -ë (-ə), Mm. g -iγ, t, (t) -iγ, (g), ti, (sh) -i, Z -əy, G, -ë(y) < -*akah*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. the similar development in Psht.: Y *stārë* (Yr *stārə*), Mm, g *stōriγ*, t, (g) *stōri(y)*, Z *stōrəy*: Psht. *stōrai* 'star'.

The suffix appears to be ancient in this word and also in *feryāmə*, *frayomiγ* 'young he-goat': Psht. *waryūmai*; Mm *nūwiγ* 'new': Psht. *nawai*, Sgl. *nuwōk*; M *rūyei* 'bowels': Prs. *rūda*; *wərë* 'lamb': Psht. *wrai*, etc.; *yastë* 'bone': Sgl. *ostōk*, Sogd. 'stk; *yārë* 'flour': Shgh. *yāužj*, etc.

In a number of other genuine Y—M nouns and adjectives it is impossible to decide whether the suffix -ë/-iγ is ancient or not. Thus, e.g.: *mōxë*, *maččiγ* 'stick'; *vrëri*, *vʳrërəy* 'brother's son'; *yārmë* 'foreleg', etc., corresponding to Shgh. *mâθ*; Av. *brātūirya*-, Psht. *wrārə*; Prs. *arm*, etc.

This suffix serves to denote male animals, to form certain adjectives, and to derive secondary nouns, e.g. *lastë* 'handle' from *last* 'hand', and *γīsë* 'plaited bottom of a bed' from *γīs* 'rope of goat's hair'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 148.

<sup>2</sup> Or < \**akahya*? Cf. *-a* < *-akah* (in *maṛa*, etc.), cf. § 186?

*hadē* 'slave' (\**han-taka-*); M *ābīy* 'moraine' (\**ham-paiša-?*) and M *kaləy* 'soot' (\**kata-dūta-?*) do not belong here originally.

183. In many lws *-ē/īy* renders Prs. and Khw. *-ī*. Thus, e.g.: Y *čugurē* (M *čik<sup>2</sup>rī*) 'rhubarb'; *čīnē*, *čīnī* 'cup'; *našpotīy* 'pear'; *pšānē* (M *pišānī*) 'forehead'; *xālē* 'empty' from Prs.; *ačardīnē*, *oni* 'wedge for fastening the plough-share'; *calandurē* 'window'; *puīnē* 'bellows'; *vrazidinē* 'pillow', etc. from Khw. Sometimes *-ē* varies with *-ī*. V. above, and cf. Y *virzanē*: M *viznī* 'pillow'; Y *čirē*: Y, M *čirī* 'apricot'; Y *parguščē*, M *par-gušč<sup>y</sup>iy* but also *ošk<sup>y</sup>i* 'fingerring'.
184. A variation between *-ē* and *-(y)a* (< *-yaka-?*) occurs in: Y *izē*: M *yijya*, etc. 'goatskin bag'; Y *γuvē*: M *γuvya* 'wooden trough'; Y *pəzāxē*, M *pizāxīy*: Z *pizāxīya* 'male sheep'; but also Y *muškoya*: M *muškayi*, *məškāəy* 'calf'.

A double suffix, theoretically < \**ka-ka-* appears in Y *žunayē* 'small boy', and possibly in Z *dunayəy* 'distressed'.

#### V. Nouns in *-a* (*-o*).

185. The apparently masc. suffix Y, Mm, Z, G, LSI *-a*: Mg, (g), t, ti *-o* (Z also *-ā*) appears in the following groups of words.

1) A number of words which have no variants without *-a* and no corresponding feminines: *mīra* 'sun'; *vīra* 'burden'; *xšīra* 'milk'; *nīya*, *pōya* 'sour milk'; *wazda* 'fat';<sup>1</sup> *lvāza* 'dough'; *fī(y)a* 'shovel, shoulderblade'; *izma* 'firewood'; *wīya* 'willow'; *yeya* 'bridge'.<sup>2</sup> Probably also Mti *nivīlo* 'bedding' and *nāmyo* 'felt' are m.

2) Names of animals, chiefly worms and insects: *ustada* 'spider'; Mg *čal-kirmo* 'an insect'; *kač-kurma* 'silk-worm'; Mm *fusfesīya*, *yaspa* 'locust'; *karbāsa*, etc. 'lizard'; *kautīa*, *rawa* 'butterfly'; *xowiza* 'bug'; *mig<sup>y</sup>a* 'ring-dove'; *tažīa* 'heron'.

3) In a few cases I have noted m. forms in *-a* corresponding to f. forms in *-o*: *vuza* 'he-goat'; *mīya* 'male oorial'.

<sup>1</sup> Mm *maska*, but Y *masko* 'butter'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 175.

4) The majority of words in *-a* are derived from still surviving forms without this suffix. In many cases the addition of *-a* does not seem to change the meaning of the word, but the suffix may perhaps have a diminutive force. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *ābūya* (*ābīy*); *išcīn* (*yiškuna*); *bubuka*, *bāya* (*bāy*); *c<sup>3</sup>kena*; *čula*; *čana*; *maška*; *nif* (*nūfa*); *nowisa*; *maṛa*, *meṛ*; *rūy<sup>2</sup>n* (*rūyna*); *surv(a)*; *tōlo*; *taya*; *vīzya*; *wulya*; *wāzd* (*wazda*).

But note on the other hand: *āyurya* 'scrotum': *āyury* 'egg'; *ilīra* 'calf of the leg': *ilīr* 'belly'; *ustada* 'spider': *ustāt* 'carpenter' (\*'weaver'?); *mišča* 'sheaf of corn': *mišc* 'fist'; *pukara* 'leather strap of pellet-bow': *p<sup>3</sup>korē*, *pukōr* 'mouth'; *γūen polma* 'lobe of the ear': *poləm* 'soft'; *pūsurā* 'part of the spinning-wheel': *pusur* 'head'; *šfīna* 'instep': *šfīn* 'comb'; *yaspa* 'locust': *yasp* 'horse'.

5) In lw.s Prs. *-a* is frequently rendered by Y *-a*. Thus: *arra* 'saw'; Yzh *kāfīla* (but Ysh *kōfilē*) 'caravan'; *mīwa* 'fruit'; *kūza* 'jar'; *qala* 'fort'; Yg *bāša* (but Mm *bāšo*) 'falcon', etc. I have not found any rule for the rendering of Prs. *-a* with Y *-a* or *-o*.

186. It appears from Z's material that the numerous M lw.s from Prs. words in *-a(h)*, pl. *-agān* have stressed *-a'* and pl. *-agi*. Cf. Y pl. *-ayē* e.g. in *mīwayē* 'fruit-trees'; *degazayē* 'fork of breech-loader' < Prs. \**dō-gaza*.

According to Z, genuine M words and a few early lw.s in *-a* have stressed penultimate and pl. in *-aki* = Y *-akē* in *āyuryakē* 'testicles'; *wul'γākē* 'kidneys' (*wul'ya*).

M *-a* has evidently been borrowed from Prs., and pl. *-agi*, Y *-ayē* has been formed on the pattern of Prs. *-agān* at a comparatively recent date, but before the change of *-g* > *-γ* in Y.<sup>1</sup> Also *-a*: *-aki*, *-akē* has probably been borrowed, but at a much earlier date, when *-k-* was still preserved in Prs., but had already been sonorized in Y—M. The *-k-* of the pl. renders a derivation from a genuine pre-Y—M suffix *·akah* uncertain.

But note that the pl. of Y *maṛa* is *maṛē*, and of Z *xūrāya* 'sister's son': *xūrīi*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 45.

VI. Nouns in *-k*.

187. A suffix *-(e)k* occurs in Prs. l.w.s (e.g. *xūk*, *pušāk*, *xurāk*, etc) and as a secondary suffix in *fəryōmčək* 'female calf, 1 y. old'; *rīzayak* 'goats and sheep'; *pə'nek* 'leaf'; *poršik* 'lip'; *stunek* 'throat'; *kāriak* 'yoke-peg'.

VII. Nouns in *-yo/go*.

188. Anc. Ir. *-akā*, the f. equivalent of *-akah* survives in Y *-yo*, M *-go*, *-ga*, *-ya*. Cf. e.g. Y *vrīyo*, Mm *°go*, Mg *°γā*, M(g) *°γä*, Mt *°γα*, Z, G *°ga* 'eyebrow'.

But words in *-yo* are not now used as f. of masculines in *-ē*, except in the case of Mm *vrērigo*, *xurigo* 'brother's, sister's daughter': *xurī*, *xūrəya*; *vrēri*, *vrērəy* m., and perhaps Yg *wōryo* 'she-lamb, 1—2 y. old': Ysh *warē* 'male new-born lamb'.

Only a small number of words in *-yo* have exact parallels in other Ir. languages. Examples are: *nəmālyo* 'salt': Psht. *mālga*; *sāyo* 'shade': Sogd. *sy''k*; *woryo* 'quail': Phl. *vartak*, Skr. *vartakā*; *xūyo* 'fountain': Orm. *xāko*, and possibly *yāuyo* 'water': Wkh. *yupk* (but Orm. *wōk* is m.); poss. *vrīyo* 'eyebrow': Oss. *ärfig*.

But also other words of this type may be ancient. Eg. *frīyo* 'flea' < *\*frušikā*; *orunyo* 'light' < *\*ā-rauxšnakā*; *frayingo* 'she-goat' < *\*fra-gāmī-kā*; *l'royo* 'clear sky' < *\*idrakā*; *xīryo* 'water-mill'; *zeviryo* 'birch-tree'. Note the adjectives *stīnyo* 'supine'; *yūyo* 'one of several'.

As a secondary suffix we find *-yo*, *-go* in M *bīwogo* 'widow' < Prs. *bīwa*; *pīloyo*, *piōlega* 'cup' < Prs. *piyāla*; *tavdoyo* 'n. of a tree' < Prs. *\*tafta* (?); *maxmudiyo* 'dagger', etc.

VIII. Nouns in *-ko (-iko)*.

189. The fem. suffix *-ko (-ka)* is common. Thus, e.g. Z *γark'a* 'small egg' (cf. s.v. *āyury*); M *kužke* 'hair'; Y *padreško* 'small wooden bowl'; Prs. *prško* 'cat'; *pəško* 'tray'; *toško* 'adze'; *yāžko*, *yālko* 'duck';



*zäxko* 'child-bearing'; *žin̄ko* 'woman'. This last-mentioned word is a derivative of M *žina*, but apart from that *-ko* does not seem to be productive any longer, and after surd consonants it may simply be a phonetic variant of *-go*.

The enlarged form *-iko* is still largely used to form diminutives, etc., from words in *-o*. Only a few examples of this numerous group can be given here: *oguščiko* 'finger' (*oguščo*); *luydiko* 'daughter'; *niryiko* 'meadow'; *xūyiko* 'spring'; *sudiko* 'end of a bow' (*sudō* 'shoulder'); *wēliko* 'small irrigation-channel', etc., etc.

From words in *-yo*, *-ko* are formed deminutives in *-yiko*, *-kiko*. Thus, e.g.: *pālōyiko* 'small cup'; *wāryiko* 'lamb'; *žin̄kiko* 'woman'; *fīyiko* 'small spade'; *postiyiki* (pl.?) 'bark of a tree', either from unrecorded or disappeared forms *\*fīyo*, *\*pōstiyo*, or direct from forms in *-o*.

#### IX. Nouns in *-ya*, *-ga*.

190. The masc. suffix Y *-ya*, M *-ga*, *-yo*, theoretically from *\*-kaka-* (cf. Psht. *-gai*, etc.) is comparatively rare and includes forms of different origin.

In Y: *vīzya* 'upper arm' (in reality *vīzy + a*); *tāplāya* 'drum'; *stūya* 'throat'; *kitaya* 'almond' (Kafiri lw.); *šafsīyā(n)* 'armpit'. In M we find *čānoyo* m. 'male kid, one year old' (*čano* 'new-born kid'); *čūžioyo* m. 'chicken' (*čūžiya* f.); *frāyōmioyo* 'he-goat, one year old' (*frayomīy*); *juānoyo* 'male calf, one to two years old' (*juūna*); *wāryoyo* 'male lamb' (*worya*); *ziṅgyigo* 'small boy' (Y *žunayē*). In Mm *-ga* has been added to lw.s in *aftōvaga* 'bucket'; *amsāyaga* 'neighbour'; *fāxtaga* 'dove'.

Mg *kāyako* 'throat' (interior) corresponds to Sogd. *k'γk* 'palate', but the *k* cannot be direct derived from ancient *-k-*.

Regarding the fem. suffix M *-gāgā* (of masculine participles in *-gā*) cf. Z p. 122.

X. Nouns in *-ī*.

191. As mentioned above, *-ē/-īy* has been substituted for *-ī* in most lw.s, but in recent borrowings *-ī* remains. Thus, e.g. from Khow.: *ārdi* 'middle of the floor'; *pičili* 'n. of a plant'; *madiri* 'hem'; *kiṭori* 'dried mulberries', etc. From Prs.: Y *nahari* 'breakfast'; M *čarpoyi* 'bed'.—*čauli* 'stirrup'; *kafči* 'hollow below sternum'; *qīzagī* 'bridle'; *čōpi* 'lie' are of Prs. origin, but the suffix seems to have been added in Y—M.

Also some genuine words end in *-ī*: *froi* 'chip'; *fšai* 'out of breath'; *fšūi* 'very ripe and soft'; *paržini* 'hedge'; *čoromā* 'the fourth (finger)'.

XI. Nouns in *-x-*.

192. Several Y—M words have preserved the ancient suffix *-xā*, but they do not form a group, and the suffix is not productive any longer.

Examples are: *malax* 'locust' (lw. ?); *mux* 'month' (< \**māhaxa-*); *max* 'peg' (*mīx* 'nail' < Prs.); *woxo* 'root-fibre' (Prs. *bēx*); *rōx* 'cheek' (lw. ?); *xāxo* 'thistle' (\**xāra-xā-* ?); *penāxko* 'eyelashes' (\**pašnaxa-*); *selxiko* 'sorrel'; Y *alīxa* 'ribs' (only MFB). Also *amaxno* 'sloe'; *zaxmo* 'field' and M *zoyno* 'chin' probably contain an ancient *-xā*.<sup>1</sup> But *awarxo* 'flame' goes back to *urrāxra-*, and Y *čerox* 'spark'; *nax* 'floor' are probably lw.s. *krox* 'scab' may be an adaptation of Khow. *kolūk*, and in *baṇḍux* 'a kind of handmill' an Ir. suffix has been added to a stem which must be of IA. origin.

## XII. Nouns with Other Suffixes.

193. Traces of an ending in *-z* appear in *baγaz* 'bleating',<sup>2</sup> *milyuz* 'red clay'; cf. *dorz-kurγuz* 'weaver'; *kiščyuz* 'cultivator'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 96.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. *ḍōnas*, *khānas*, Pashai *γānas* 'bellowing'.

In *γadmin* 'wheaten bread' and *kōskīn* 'barley bread' we find a suffix *-īn* < *-aina*, which has also been transferred to *arzāmin* (for \**arzanin*) 'millet-bread' and *maymun* 'pea-bread' (*muγo*).

### Noun-Inflection.

#### The Article.

194. The numeral *yū* 'one' is sometimes used nearly in the sense of our indefinite article, but I do not think it would be correct to call it an article from the point of view of the Y—M linguistic system. E.g. *yū l'vēr noγor* Mm 'a door appeared'; *no yū kua'tinen* 'with a rich man'.

In Ysh *γurd wo maγaken* 'the man took it', etc. the function of *wo* approaches that of a definite article. Cf. *wo ādam* 'the man'; *wo vira γurah* 'seize the burden', etc.

#### Gender.

195. Y—M is one of the few modern Ir. dialects which still preserve, at any rate to some extent, the ancient distinction between the masculine and the feminine.

In Y the f. of adjectives has a separate form, e.g. in *x<sup>u</sup>šuvdo* f. 'sweet'; *muγo* f. 'dead'; *zōro* f. 'old'; Yzh *umidvāro* (but Ysh *umīdvār*) 'pregnant'; *yauγo axleno šūi* 'the water became cold'; *mvn wulo šiloxo šūi* 'my wife became destitute'; Yzh, sh *sturo-guščo*, Yg *stro oguščiko* 'thumb'. For examples from M cf. Z, p. 125.

In Y adjectives in *-ē* do not change in the fem. Thus: Yp *meγ yadə*, žiγgo *yadə* 'the man, the woman is blind'; Yg *malane oguščo* (Yr *malanoguščo* = *malan' og<sup>o</sup>* or *malano 'g<sup>o</sup>?*) 'middle finger'. But Mm *malanigo āgušk<sup>yo</sup>* (m. \**malanīy*); M(t) *yū mār 'yandiγ: žiγkika yan'diya*; cf. Z *yādəy* m.: *yādiga* f., etc., v. Z pp. 122 sqq.

In the past tense no distinction is made in Y. Thus Ysh *yū akābur niāsto* 'an old man was sitting': *žiγkiko niāsto* 'a woman was sitting'; *vīo* m., f. 'was', etc. Regarding the situation in M cf. Z p. 125.

In the nouns the ancient suffixes denoting gender are still in use. Thus we find Y—M *nar-kirē* 'cock', but *kirio* 'hen'; *nowis*, *nawīsa* 'nephew', 'grandson', but *nowoso*, *nowasiko*, 'niece' etc.; Y *ida* m.: *idiko* f. 'slave'; *warē* m., but *wōryo* f. 'lamb'. But it is worthy of notice that the pairs *mīya*: *mīyo* 'male and female oorial'; *vūza*: *vūzo* 'he- and she-goat'; *frayomīy*: *frayingo* 'male and female kid'; *xurī*: *xurigo* 'sister's son and daughter'; *vrēri*: *vrēriyo* 'brother's son and daughter' have only been found in M. The corresponding Y forms are: *frayāmə* or *narbəz*: *vəzo*; *nar čan*: *pran jio*, while *no'wīsa*: *nowasiko* are used both for 'grandchild' and for 'nephew', 'niece'.<sup>1</sup>

Evidently the feeling for grammatical gender has been weakened in Y, possibly under the influence of Khow. In Sgl. the development has proceeded still further, and the only traces left of the ancient distinction are the suffixes denoting males and females of a few animals.

### Number.

196. The pl. suffix is normally *-ē*, *ī* in Y and *-i* in M.

Thus from stems in consonants: Y *yaspē* 'horses'; *kāriakē* 'yoke-pegs'; *ādamē* 'men'; *pūrē* 'sons'; *yaškē* 'tears'; *lade* 'teeth'; *Idyē* 'Yidghas'; *zəmonē* 'children'; *livdani* (Yp) 'fireplaces'; *šilaxē* 'naked'; Mm *ādami*, *pūri*, *lodi*, *Yīdagi*, *čārwoyi* 'cattle'; Mg *nāxšī* 'songs'; Mt *miči* 'days'; Mti *wīlye*, (*wīlx*) 'kidneys'.

From stems in Y *-ē*, M *-īy*, etc.: Y *stāri* 'stars'; *rūi* 'bowels'; *larzi* 'sheaf' (pl. of *larzē* 'sheaf-band'); *maxšēi* 'mosquitoes'; *čapii* 'door-frame'. M(g) *storii*, t *storgi*; *rūiū* 'bowels' (Mm *rūyīy* sg). Ysh *wariān* 'lambs' (*wΔ're*) is probably a persianized, incorrect form.

From f. stems in Y *-o*: Y *ləydē* 'daughters'; *wulē* (Ysh *wuli avəzde* 'brought wives'); *čoguli* 'hoofs'; *agmīn-kurmīki* 'bees'; *špūū* (?) 'lice' (sg. *špūo*); *niāsti* 'sitting' (f. pl.). M *luydi*; *ašosti* 'shrubs'.

From stems in Y *-a*: Y *marē* 'men'; *muškoī* 'calves' (*muško'ya*);

<sup>1</sup> Yr employed *nuwoso* both for the m. and for the f.

*šināmiī* 'girls' (*šinamia*). Regarding Y *mīwayē* 'fruit-trees'; MZ *wīyaki* 'willows', etc. cf. above § 186.

From stems in *-ī*: Y *čaulīī* 'stirrups'; M *Munjiyī* 'Munjis' (*Munji*). From stems in *-ai*, *-oi*: Ysh *kʷäyī*, Yr, Bidd. *kyēi*, M *kyai*, Mg *kyäyī* 'houses';<sup>1</sup> Mg *vʳōi* 'brothers' (sg. *vʳōi*).

197. After numerals we find the sg. in certain phrases. Thus: Y *čīr miš*, M *šīrāi miš* 'four, three days'. But M *yu čad mīšī* 'some days'; Y *čīr wulē* 'four wives'; *loh (šīroi) pūrē* 'two (three) sons'; M *lu luydi* 'two daughters'; Y *hazār rupäyī* (and *rupäyo*) 'one thousand rupees'. The sg. forms cannot have a purely phonetic explanation, as is the case in Prs., but must either be due to influence from Prs., or to general syntactical tendencies common to many languages. LSIy gives *mer* and *ādam* 'men' as pl. forms.

Note Z *marduman štat* 'people said' with the collective subject in sg. and the verb in pl.

198. Tedesco<sup>2</sup> derives the pl. suffix *-ē*, etc., from *-āh* and, as far as Y—M is concerned, I believe he is right. It might be argued that if f. sg. *-ā* and f. pl. *-āh* both resulted in Y *-o*, the pl. of ancient stems in *i*<sup>3</sup> could be extended to the stems in *ā*, in order to establish a clear distinction between sg. and pl. Thus:

Sg. <i>*vuzā</i>	<i>*suvd + ā</i>	changed into	<i>vuzo</i>	<i>suvdo</i>
Pl. <i>*vuzā</i>	<i>*suvdē</i>		<i>vuzē</i>	<i>suvdē</i> .

It might also be possible to derive the pl. of ancient stems in *-aka* from *\*-akāh* (> *\*äyo* > *eī*, *iī*) without assuming a change of *-āh* > *-ē*.

But it is difficult to see how the type *pūrē* can be explained, except as a direct phonetic outcome of *\*puḍrāh*. There would have been no reason to substitute the pl. of the rare masc. *i*-stems for a phonetically developed form *\*pūrā* > Y *\*pūro*.

If we accept Tedesco's theory we must, however, give up the derivation of Y *pado* 'road' direct from *\*pantāh* (Av. *pantā*), and we cannot explain *warfo* 'snow' as an ancient plural.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.

<sup>2</sup> ZII, IV, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Which were often transferred into the *ā*-group, cf. above § 174.

## Case.

199. The Vocative is expressed by the particle Y *äi*, Z *ē*. Thus, e.g.: *äi vrāi*, *äi pūre*; but *äi luḡdeo* (?) 'O daughters'; *äi Parvardigāra* 'O Creator' (prob. from Prs.).

The suffix of the obl. sg. is Y *-en*, or, with vowel harmony, *-an*. Thus, e.g.: *vərayen* 'brother'; *šifien* 'husband'; *mīxen* 'day'; *sāharen* 'desert'; *galavānen* 'cowherd'; *kiyēn*, *kyēin* 'house'; *daryāhan* 'river'; *pādšāan* 'king'; *sāharan* 'town'; *lurayan* 'from afar'; *mištərān* 'prince'; M *hādamen* 'man'. The only f. forms noted in Y are: *žin̄kiki* (= *in*?) 'woman'; *wulε(n)* 'wife'; *Čitrāyī*, *Čitrēyen* 'Chitral'. They do not suffice to decide whether Y distinguishes between obl. m. and f. as is the case in M according to Z.<sup>1</sup> LSIy gives *loyda* 'daughter' as nom. and obl.

Regarding the derivation of the oblique from *\*-aina* cf. Tedesco, ZII, IV, p. 156.<sup>2</sup> Konow's objection<sup>3</sup> to a derivation of Khotan Saka *-āna* (Maral Bashi *-ena*) < *\*-aina* does not necessarily affect Y—M. But the vocalism and the difference between the m. and f. forms in M render Tedesco's derivation uncertain in details. The m. form might go back to *\*-ana* and the f. to *\*-īna*, based upon it and belonging originally to the stems in *ī*.

The obl. pl. suffix is Y *-əf* (*-ef*, *af*), M *-af*.<sup>4</sup> E.g. Y *pūrəf* 'sons'; *čirief* 'apricots'; *žin̄kəf* 'women'; *Idgef* 'Lutkoh', *Hartef*, *Tuyakəf* names of villages. The derivation < *\*-abiš*<sup>5</sup> seems obvious.

An ancient gen. pl. has been preserved in Mm *Yīd'yūn* 'Lutkoh', cf. also *Yīd'gānə rōi* 'Yidgha'. *Munjān* is a Prs. form.

<sup>1</sup> P 126, m. *-an*, f. *-in*.

<sup>2</sup> A different view is expressed by Z (p. 126), who compares the Shgh. loc. (or gen. abs.) in *-and*, Sar. *-an*.

<sup>3</sup> Saka Studies, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Tedesco's *-ew*, *-aw* (l. c. p. 156) are miswritings or misprints.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tedesco, l. c.

### Composition.

200. Y—M possesses a number of ancient nominal compounds. Some of these contain ancient prefixes, such as *ā*, *an*, *us*, *ham*, *abi*, *upa*, *pati*, *pari*, *parā*, *fra*, *hada*, *wi*, etc. Thus, e.g.: *ārunyo* 'light'; *hanadiy* 'out of breath'; *usxūbun* 'awake'; *hadamə* 'limb' and *ābūya* 'moraine'; *avlāsto* 'sleeve' and *awlān* 'bridle'; *vəzāžo* 'womb'; *pišćan* 'thigh'; *paržīn* 'enclosure' and *pargušćē* 'finger-ring'; *prasāl* 'last year'; *feryāmə* 'he-goat'; *lomalen* 'half-full'; *wulēyo* 'span'.

Other ancient compounds, regarding which see Voc. s.vv., are e.g. *ag'mīn* 'honey'; *ušćeno* 'hay-stack'; *aspəlan* 'stable'; *γūārikē* 'ear-ring'; *šinamia* 'girl'; *pīstān* 'udder'; *yurzuyo* (?) 'crushing-stone'; *yursiliko* 'shoe-string', etc.

Compounds of a more modern type are numerous, and new ones are constantly being formed. The principles of formation are similar to those found in other Ir. languages, and examples will easily be found in the Vocabulary.

Note the adverbs *do-kučo* 'out' and *da-dram* 'inside, in'. Also the type *fəskaf-surv* 'nostril', *lasten-bot* 'wrist' must be considered as a kind of compound.

### Adjectives.

201. Regarding the inflexion of adjectives for gender and number cf. § 195.

*Luro* 'far, distant' appears to be inflexible: Yzh *yo 'ādam lur'o*, *yāi 'ādame lu'ro*; Mg *wə kyāi ləre*, *wai kyāyi lə're*. But *luro* is probably derived from the Av. abl. *dūrāt*.

I have come across no comparative or superlative forms, but the LSI. gives Y *kemder* 'younger', and M *že yexa-iš sterder* 'he is taller than his sister' (Y *že wen ixa blend astet*). I heard e.g. Y *'zo že-yen (žo-'won) w'stur* 'I am bigger than he'; *mən vərai žə tō vərayen ustūr*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Bidd. *eyen kugoren man kugor γašē astet*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 217.

'my sword is better than his'; *zo eyen tiz yazam* 'I can run faster than he can' (without *žo*).

The suffix *-der* is possibly borrowed from Prs. The genuine Y form may have been preserved in *mištor* 'mehtar, prince'.

### Numerals.

202. The typical forms of the numerals (for details see Voc. s.vv.) are:

	Yzh	Mm
1.	<i>yū</i>	<i>yū</i>
2.	<i>lo<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>lv</i>
3.	<i>ž<sup>u</sup>roi</i>	<i>ž<sup>i</sup>roi</i>
4.	<i>čšir</i>	<i>čfür</i>
5.	<i>pānš</i> (Ysh <i>pān</i> )	<i>ponž</i>
6.	<i>ux'šo</i>	<i>ox'šo</i>
7.	<i>'avdo</i>	<i>'ovdo</i>
8.	<i>'aščo</i>	<i>'ošk<sup>o</sup></i>
9.	<i>nōu</i>	<i>nāu</i>
10.	<i>los</i>	<i>da</i>
11.	<i>los'yū</i>	<i>yōzda</i> (Mg)
12.	<i>losilo</i>	<i>diwōzda</i> (Mg)
13.	<i>losž<sup>i</sup>rāi</i>	<i>sēzda</i> (Mg)
14.	<i>losič<sup>o</sup>šir</i>	<i>čōrda</i> (Mg)
15.		<i>pōnzda</i> (Mg)
16.		<i>šōnzda</i> (Mg)
17.		<i>'avda</i>
18.		<i>'ažda</i> (Mg)
19.		<i>'nūzda</i> (Mg)
20.	<i>wis'to</i>	<i>bīst</i> (G <i>wīst</i> )
30.	<i>yūwistolos</i>	<i>sī</i> ( <i>s<sup>ii</sup>i</i> )
40.	<i>lu'wist</i>	<i>čel</i>
50.	<i>luwisto'los</i> (Yr)	
60.	<i>ž<sup>u</sup>roiwist</i> (Yr)	
100.	<i>pānžwist</i> (Yr), <i>yušōr</i> (Yg)	<i>sad</i>
200.	<i>loswist</i> (Yr) — 1000.	<i>azōr</i> (Yp), <i>hazār</i> (Yzh)



Apart from the fact that Y has preserved the genuine forms *los* and *wisto*, and that it has borrowed from, or been influenced by<sup>1</sup> Khow. in cases where M adopted Prs. forms, the differences between the two dialects are only of a phonetic nature.

It will be observed that Y and Mm distinguish as regards accentuation between *ux'sō*, *ox'sō* '6' on the one hand, and *'avdo*, *'aščo* etc. on the other. This distinction is no doubt of ancient origin (*ux'sō* < *xšvaš*, and *'avdo* < *'haftā*, with *-ā* from *aštā*), but it has been obliterated in most M dialects. Thus e.g. M(sh) has *ox'sə*, *ov'də*, *os'kʷə*, with the same accentuation in all three numerals.

Ancient numerals are preserved in *širizen* 'three days ago'; *širasāl* 'two years ago' and in *čurmo*, *pčūrma* 'four days ago'. Cf. also s.v. *čir<sup>gv</sup>izen* 'four days ago'. *čoromī* 'fourth' is probably a Prs. lw.

Other numeral forms to be noted are: *yūyo* 'one of several'; *lohṛinj* 'double'; *lohsaxo* 'a period of two years' (cf. *yūsaxo*); *lūini*, *luānekē* (pl.) 'twins', and, possibly, Y *aveli*, Z *'avel'i* 'both' < *ubaya dwe* (?).

## Pronouns.

### Personal Pronouns.

203.

1st Prs. Sg.

	Y	M
Nom.	<i>zo zh, sh, g, p, zə sh, r, u, g.</i>	<i>zə (zo?) m, zə t, zā, zə Z.</i>
Obl., Gen.	<i>mən zh, sh, g, u, r, mun sh, u.</i>	<i>mun, mun t, (t), mən Z.</i>
Predic. Gen.	<i>'mən-kān zh, sh.</i>	<i>'mə-kān, 'mənā Z.</i>
Acc.	<i>va 'mən zh, və mən zh, vo (wo) mən sh, vo mun u.</i>	<i>və mən m, 'va-mən Z.</i>
Dat.	<i>'nā-mən zh, sh, 'nā-mun, -man sh.</i>	<i>nō-mən g, 'na-mən Z.</i>
Abl.	<i>žə 'mun zh, žō, žə mən sh.</i>	<i>žu mun m.</i>
Comit.	<i>'lā-mən sh.</i>	

<sup>1</sup> The vigesimal system of Y is of Khow. origin.

## 1st Prs. Pl.

Y	M
Nom. <i>max</i> zh, sh, <i>māx</i> g, r, <i>mōx</i> r.	<i>mox</i> m, <i>mōx</i> Z.
Obl. <i>māx</i> g, r, <i>mox</i> r.	
Gen. <i>amax</i> zh, sh, <i>max</i> sh (?)	<i>'a-mōx</i> Z.
Acc. <i>va max</i> zh.	<i>'va-mōx</i> Z.
Dat. <i>'nā-max</i> zh, sh, <i>na-</i> , <i>nə-max</i> sh, <i>nomāx</i> Bidd.	<i>nā-moy</i> (!) g, <i>na-mōx</i> Z.
Abl.	<i>žā-mox</i> m.

## 2nd Prs. Sg.

Nom. <i>tu</i> zh, sh, r, g, p, <i>tə</i> sh.	<i>tu</i> , <i>tə</i> m, Z.
Obl., Gen. <i>tō</i> zh, sh, g, r, u, <i>ta</i> zh (?), sh.	<i>to</i> , <i>tə</i> m, <i>ta<sup>w</sup></i> , <i>tā</i> , <i>tə</i> Z.
Predic. Gen. <i>ta-'kān</i> zh, sh, u.	<i>'tə-kān</i> , <i>tə'wā</i> Z.
Acc. <i>və 'to</i> zh, r, g, <i>v<sup>u</sup>to</i> u, <i>vto</i> zh, u, g, <i>fto</i> sh.	<i>fto</i> m, <i>fta</i> (t), <i>ftə</i> t, Z.
Dat. <i>'nā-to</i> zh, <i>na-tō</i> sh, r.	<i>na-to</i> m, <i>na-tā</i> Z.
Abl. <i>'ž-tō</i> sh, ( <i>žo-to</i> denied by zh).	
Comit. <i>lə to</i> r.	
Adess. <i>də tō</i> sh.	

## 2nd Prs. Pl.

Nom. <i>măf</i> zh, sh, r, g, <i>mof</i> r.	<i>mof</i> m, <i>mōf</i> Z.
Obl. <i>māf</i> g.	
Gen. <i>amaf</i> zh, sh.	<i>'a-mōf</i> Z.
Predic. Gen. <i>amaf kan</i> zh, sh.	<i>a'mōfā</i> , <i>žā-mōf</i> Z.
Acc. <i>va 'maf</i> zh.	<i>vaha-mof</i> (!) m, <i>'va-mōf</i> Z.
Dat. <i>nā-maf</i> zh, sh, <i>na-</i> , <i>no-māf</i> sh.	<i>'na-mōf</i> Z.
Abl.	<i>žā-</i> , <i>žaha-mof</i> m.

204. The inflexion of the sg. of the Personal Pronouns is based on the two-case system.<sup>1</sup> Thus *zo* < *azəm*, *mən* < *mana*, *tu* < *tvēm*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gauthiot, MSL, XX, 61 sqq.

(or *tū*); *tō*, *ta<sup>w</sup>* < *tavä*. (*a*)*max* < Old Prs. *amāxam*, with preservation of the initial vowel in the stressed, genitive form <sup>1</sup> *ta*, in *ta-kān* (LSIm *to-kān*), is probably a shortened form of *tō*. Cf. also Yzh *zo və ta gap γū lārəm* 'I listen to thy word'.

The frequent phonetic coalescence of *\*ahmāxam* and *\*(yu)šmāxam* in Ir. has caused an embarrassment from which the different dialects have extricated themselves in various ways. But in every case it is the 2nd pl. which has had to give way to the more frequently used 1st pl., just as it is the 2nd pl. termination of the verb which is changed in case of collision with the 3rd sg.<sup>2</sup> A neighbouring Dardic language, Kalasha, which constantly employs a copula with personal inflexion, tolerates a complete homogeneity between the nominatives of the Pers. Pron. 1st and 2nd pl.<sup>3</sup> In the Pamir dialects, where the construction without a copula is very widely used, this would not be possible.

In Psht. and Orm. the distinction between the Pers. Pron. 1st and 2nd pl. has been effected through the introduction of an entirely different, possibly borrowed, stem for the 2nd pl.<sup>4</sup> Parachi has utilized a base *\*ušā* which has become *wā*,<sup>5</sup> and Wkh. has completely remodelled the pl. of the Pers. Pronouns.<sup>6</sup> In the Shgh. and Sgl.—Ishk. groups the 2nd pl. has been differentiated by the prefiguration of *ta-*, *tō-*, etc., taken over from the sg.<sup>7</sup> In Ishk. this has been deemed a sufficient distinction (*mux*: *təmə/vx*), but Sgl. has differentiated the vowels, too (*amax*: *təmux*), and the obl. form of the 1st pl. is *məč*, *mič* < *\*ahmačiya-*, while the nom. is used also as an obl. in the 2nd pl.

In Sar. there exists, according to Shaw and the LSI., an unexplained

<sup>1</sup> *amaf* has got its *a-* from *amax*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rep. on a lingu. miss. Afgh., 92.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Indian Linguistics, V, 361.

<sup>4</sup> *tāsū*, *tus*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> This explanation is preferable to that given IIFL, I, 62.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Rep. Afgh., p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. IA. *\*tušma-*.

difference of quantity between 1 pl. *maš* (< \**ahmašya*),<sup>1</sup> and 2 pl. *tamāš*, while Shgh. opposes *māš* to *tamā* (< \**ta* + *šmāk*?).

Y—M agrees with W. Ir. dialects in employing neither the prefix *t-* in the 2nd pl., nor the adjective base in \**-i(i)ya-* for the 1st pl. It utilizes the difference between the ancient gen. \**māx* < \**ahmāxam* (and \*(*yu*) *šmāxam*), and the instr. \**māβ* < \**ahmābiš*, etc., to distinguish the two persons. It is, of course, possible that a form *māx* (with *-x* from the 1st pl.) has never existed in pre. Y—M, but that \**māβ* has been substituted for \**māk*.

The assignment of the form in *-f* < *-β* to the 2nd pl. was facilitated by the existence of a verbal ending (originally an enclitic pronoun) 2 pl. in *-f* < *-v* < \**dw*.<sup>2</sup>

### Enclitic Personal Pronouns.

205. Regarding the possible employment of the ancient enclitic pronouns as verbal terminations see below § 231.

I have only come across a few cases of the use of real pronominal suffixes, and the examples are not all of them quite certain.

Thus: *ažauruy-em tū*, *mōzē-em tū*, *dalē-em tu* Ysh 'thou createst me, thou killest me, thou givest me'; *agar kōi ke liē-t*, *yašē*, *kōi ke ē liē-t* . . . 'if anybody gave thee something, it is well, if nobody gave thee anything, . . .'. In this last example it is possible, but not probable, that *liēt* is the 3rd pl. pret.

Other instances are: Mt *dōam-et* = *zə ftə dōam* 'I beat thee'; *dīr pādšāan* . . . *kāyaz kəro*, *škāy-ən* 'another king wrote a letter and sent it to us'. But *škāy-ən* might be a nazalized form (cf. *nā-to škāyē* Ysh).

Mm *wo auqāt-iš g'yašk<sup>y</sup>* 'guzarān-iš *šul*' is a Persianism, cf. LSIIm 2 sg. *-it* and 3 sg. *-iš* from Prs.

<sup>1</sup> But Psht. *mūnž* < \**māš* < \**ahmāšya*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 231.

## Demonstrative Pronouns

206.

"HIC" (Proximate).

Sg.

Y

M

Nom. *mö* zh, sh, u, *möi* sh.*mā* m, Z, *mə* m, g, Z.Obl. *mən* zh, u.*man* Z.Gen. *a'man* zh, *a'män* zh, sh.Predic. Gen. *a'man kan* zh, *amän k.* sh.Acc. *vəm* zh, *wum* sh.*vum* m, *'və-m(ä)* Z.Dat. *nə-män* zh, *nə* (no) *'man* sh.*'nu-man* m, *'nə-man* Z.Abl. *èi-män* zh, *è-im* sh.*è''-man* m, *'èə-man* Z.Locative *dëm* zh, *dum* u.

Pl.

Nom.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{mind} \textit{ zh, sh.} \\ \textit{mai} \textit{ zh, } \textit{mäi} \textit{ sh, } \textit{me} \textit{ g.} \end{array} \right.$ *myänd* m, *myend* g.Obl. *məf* g.*mai* m, g, Z.Gen. *a'məf* zh, *a'mof* sh.*məf* Z.Predic. Gen. *a'məf kan* zh, sh.Acc. *və-'məf* zh, *vümùv* Bidd.*vi-məf* m.Dat. *nr'məf* zh, *nə'məf* sh.Abl. *èə-'möf* sh.*'èi-məf* m.

207.

"ISTE" (Half Proximate).

Sg.

Y

M

Nom. *yö* zh, sh, g, *yə* sh.*yā* m, Z, *yə* Z.Obl. *yän* sh.*yan* Z.Gen. *ä'yen* zh, *ä'yen* sh.Predic. Gen. *a'yen kan* zh, sh.Acc. *väi* zh, *vēi* sh.*vāi* m.Dat. *nä-yen* zh, sh, *nā-'yen*, *ne'en* sh*nə-yän* m, *'nə-yan* Z.Abl. *èə-'yen* zh, *èen* sh.*èä-'yan* m, *'èə-yan* Z.Adess. *däi* zh.

## Pl.

	Y	M
Nom.	{ <i>ind</i> zh, <i>yänd</i> sh. <i>yäi</i> zh, <i>yēi</i> sh, <i>yeh</i> Bidd.	<i>yend</i> m, <i>yend</i> , <i>yənd</i> g. <i>yäi</i> m, <i>yai</i> , <i>dai</i> Z.
Obl.	<i>ä'yef</i> (?) sh.	<i>daf</i> Z.
Predic. Gen.	<i>a'yef kan</i> zh, <i>ä'yef k.</i> sh.	
Acc.	<i>vä-'yef</i> zh, <i>vēf</i> sh.	<i>vä-'yaf</i> m.
Dat.	<i>nä-'yef</i> zh, sh, <i>ne'-ef</i> sh.	
Abl.	<i>žēf</i> sh.	<i>žä-'yaf</i> m.

208.

## "ILLE" (Remote).

## Sg.

	Y	M
Nom.	<i>wō</i> zh, sh, u.	<i>wā</i> m, Z, <i>wə</i> g, <i>wa</i> Z.
Obl.	<i>wən</i> sh, u.	<i>wan</i> Z (fem. <i>win</i> ).
Gen.	<i>a'wən</i> sh.	<i>a-wan</i> Z.
Predic. Gen.	<i>a'wön kan</i> zh, <i>awən k.</i> sh.	
Acc.	<i>vōu</i> zh, sh, <i>wōu</i> sh, r.	<i>vōu</i> m, <i>vā-w(an)</i> Z, <i>vā<sup>w</sup></i> G.
Dat.	<i>na-'wön</i> zh, <i>na'-wən</i> , <i>no-'wön</i> sh, <i>nōn</i> u.	<i>no-wan</i> m, <i>na-wan</i> Z.
Abl.	<i>žō-'won</i> zh, <i>žō-'wən</i> sh, u.	<i>žō-wan</i> m, <i>'žā-wan</i> Z.
Adess.	<i>dōu</i> zh.	<i>dau</i> LSIIn.

## Pl.

Nom.	{ <i>swən</i> zh, <i>wənd</i> sh. <i>wōi</i> zh, sh, <i>wēh</i> Bidd.	<i>wend</i> m, <i>wiyend</i> g. <i>wai</i> m, g, Z.
Obl.	<i>wōf</i> sh, <i>wov</i> u.	<i>waf</i> Z.
Gen.	<i>o'əf</i> sh.	
Predic. Gen.	<i>o'əf kan</i> zh, <i>o'əf k.</i> sh.	
Acc.	<i>vo-'əf</i> zh, <i>vōof</i> , <i>wōf</i> sh.	<i>vo-waf</i> m.
Dat.	<i>no-'wof</i> zh, sh, <i>no-'ōf</i> sh.	
Abl.	<i>jo-ov</i> Bidd.	<i>žō-waf</i> m, <i>'žā-waf</i> Z.
Adess.	<i>do-'ōf</i> .	

The bases are as follows:

Sg.			Pl.		
Nom.	<i>mo</i>	<i>yo</i> <i>wo</i>	{ <i>mai</i>	<i>yäi</i>	<i>woi</i>
			{ <i>mind</i>	<i>yänd, ind</i>	<i>wänd, wiyend</i>
Acc.	- <i>m</i>	-( <i>a</i> ) <i>i</i> -( <i>ō</i> ) <i>u</i>	}	<i>məf, maf</i>	<i>yəf, yaf</i>
Obl.	<i>man</i>	<i>yän</i> <i>wən, wan</i>			

These stems go back to respectively Av. *ima-*, *aēta-*<sup>1</sup> and Anc. Prs. *ava-*. An identical system of demonstratives is found in Sgl., which has *am(a)*, *aδ(a)*, *ō(aū)*, (obl. *īm*, *iδ*, *yē*), in Shgh. with *yim*, *yid*, *yū* (obl. *me*, *de*, *we*, etc.), and in Sogd. with *mur*, *γγδ*,<sup>2</sup> *'w* (nom. *'γw*), but not in Yagh. (with *īs*, obl. *it*, *au*, *ax*), or Wkh.<sup>3</sup> The Yazgh. system (*yuk* < *ayām*, *duk* < *aēta-*, *ū* < *ava-*) is of a similar but not identical structure, the ancient nom. surviving in the proximate demonstrative.

*Mo* goes back to *\*i'mām*, *\*imat* (cf. *zo* < *azəm*), and *yo*, *wo* are probably also original accusatives. The modern accusatives *vəm*, *väi*, *vōu* are probably ancient formations: *\*upa 'imam*, *\*upa aitam*, *\*upa avam*. Of the same type are *dvm*, etc. The derivation of the gen. 'prefix' *a-* is uncertain.

I have not come across any special fem. obl. form of *wo*, or any other trace of distinction of gender. But Zar. gives obl. masc. *wan*, fem. *win*.

The nom. plurals *mai*, *yäi*, *woi* are probably to be analysed as containing *mo*, etc. + the pl. ending *-e*. *mind*, *yänd*, *wänd*, etc. recall Sgl. *amānd*, *adānd*, *awānd* and also Sogd. *wysnt*, which Benveniste<sup>4</sup> derives from *avaē-šānām* + *t-*. But the preservation of *nd* in this special case remains unexplained. The forms in *nd* are unknown

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zar. s.vv.—Nom. *yo* might, of course, be derived from *aēša*, but this is not probable in view of the Sgl. forms.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gramm. Sogd., II, 122, but note *δ* < *t*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wkh., Pronouns.

<sup>4</sup> Gramm. Sogd. II, § 81.

to Z, G and the LSIm, and Mm first mentioned them, then denied their existence in M, but afterwards employed them, together with Mg, in his speech. I was not able to detect any difference of meaning or use between M *mai* and *mind*, except in so far as *mai* seemed to be the more usual form. Z gives *dai*, *daf* besides *yai*, *yaf*. These forms may go back to \**ta-*, with early loss of the initial diphthong. Cf. § 48.

According to Ysh *moi*, *yoi*, *woi* are emphatic forms of *mo*, etc., and not plurals. Thus e.g., *yoi kyäi* sg. = *yō kyäi*, but *yēi kyēi*, *yänd kyēy* pl. Cf. also *mōy-a* = 'hami ast?' *moi kōi-kān fərmā?* 'whose can this one be?'

Note the obl. Y *māf*, M *māf*, but Pers. Pron. 2nd pl. Y *māf*, M *mof*.

209. *Yo* and *mo* both correspond to Prs. *īn*. Thus, e.g.: *no-man ces yo, dēlum* Ysh 'what shall I give this one (*ba ī*)'; *mo čamin žagu* Yu 'what kind of place is this (*ī štari žā*)?'; *yo kyei äyēn-kan* Ysh '*ī xāna az ī st*'; *yo koi ādam* Ysh '*ī kī ādam ast?*' *yo čas-mīn vira* Ysh '*ī čī bār ast?*'

But *mo* is used especially about quite near objects and persons: *mo mind ādame nazdik astet* Ysh 'these men are near'; *mo ādam, māi (mind) ādame nazdik* Yzh; *mə kyäi qarīb* Mm 'this house is near'; *myänd (mai) yaši, wai liči* Mm 'these are good, those are bad'; *wum isa* Ysh 'bring this one (which I have just given you)'; *yo mara ž'kū, wāi pərsə . . . zo ž-im kyeyen, mo kyei mən-kān* Ysh 'from where is this man, ask him . . . I am from this (very) house, this house is mine'; *yo mən šifə . . . mō amaf tāt* Ysh 'this is my husband, . . . this (very man is) your father'. Cf. also G *yimsāl* 'this year'.

*Yo*, on the other hand, may be used in sentences like *yō ādam yo lu'ro, yāi ādamē lu'ro* 'this man is (these men are) far away'. But usually it is applied to half-proximate objects. Cf. Zar., p. 180: 'указат. мест. для предметов среднего удаления.'

*Wo* usually corresponds to Prs. *ū (ān)*.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g.: *līm nōn* Yu *wo*

<sup>1</sup> Zar. тот, он.



'I gave him' (*ba ū*); *n-ou maṛa kyein* Ysh 'ba jā-i-ū mardek'; *žio wōf* 'he beat them (*unhara*)'; *wōu č-pərviayāf* 'ūra na yāfta būdīd'; *bād žo wan* Mm 'after that (*bād az ū*)'. Other examples of *wo* are: *wənd ādame(n) lūro astet* Ysh 'these men are far off'; *wo ādam lūro* Mm; *wə kyāi lə're* Mg; *yo mən kyēi, wo to kyēi* Yzh 'this is my house, that is your house'.

*Wo* is also used as a Pers. Pron. E.g.: *wo ruxsat šūi* Ysh 'he took leave'; *na'wən li'ō*; *li'ō no'wən* 'he gave him'; *wən (wo) 'što, wōf ištōt* 'he, they said'; *šəlo won* Ysh 'ba pēs-i ū'; *wōu lə'badəm* Yr 'I winnowed it'; *tu do'ōf xabar čes<sup>9</sup>-a?* 'have you no news about them?' *wo xap kər* Yu 'he kept silent', but in a following passage: *mo xap čī kīt?* 'why does this man keep silent?'

Regarding the use of *wo* as a Definite Article, cf. § 194.

I never heard any Y form corresponding to Biddulph's 'hooroh' 'he, she, it' (remote). It is probably a lw. from Khow. *horo*, and does not seem to be in general use.

### Interrogative, Relative and Indefinite Pronouns.

210. *Koi* 'who?' (< *kahyā*) is used both as a subst. and as an adj.: *kōi-ste* Yu 'who art thou?' *yo vira kōi-kān* Ysh 'whose burden is this?' *na-koi ase tu?* Yzh 'whom dost thou come for?' *maf na-koi a'sef?* But also *yo koi ādam?* Ysh 'what man is this?'

*Koi* is also an indefinite pronoun: *vo kōi* Yr 'somebody' (*kasira*); *agar kōi ke liē-t yašē* 'if anybody gives thee (anything), it is well'.

*Kədi* is used as a substantive: *kə'di ayoi* 'which one came?' *kedē-vā* LSI<sub>m</sub> 'any one'. But *kyəm* is an adjective: *kyəm ādam* 'which man?' Regarding the phonetic development of these words v. §§ 47, 164.

Examples of *ces* 'what' are: *to ces nām?* *to cis nām astet?* *tō nām cis mīn?* Ysh 'what is thy name?' *ya ces mīn vira?* Ysh 'ī čī bār ast?' *mūn ces gu'nā* 'what is my fault?' *cis ke nā-mūn resī* 'whatever I get'; *no-man ces delum* 'what shall I give him?' *ces ory kə'nē?*—

*ci* (in *ci ilā*) *kenem* Yu 'what remedy shall I use?' is Prs. Regarding *ce* 'what?', *ce*, *ci* 'why, what'; *cē* 'something' v. Voc. s.vv.

'How much, how big' is *čamīn*: *mo č° žaya* 'what kind of place is this (*i štari* (= *či-šauri*) *ja*)?' *č° kənəm* Ysh '*čiko* (= *či qadr*) *kənəm*?'.

Regarding *ind*, *mind* 'so much'; *ča(n)d* 'how much'; Y *čei*, M *istira* 'something' v. Voc. s.vv.

The relative particle *ke*, is borrowed from Prs.

Regarding the Reflexive Pronoun *xoi* v. Voc.

### Use of the Cases and Prepositions.

211. The Nom. is used as a subject with intr. verbs and with trans. verbs in the Present. Thus: Yzh *mə ādam vri*, *māi ādamē vriēt* 'this man breaks, these men break'; *mo 'mara* (*žinkiko*) *'yadē* 'this man (woman) is blind'; *mo 'ādam na'yan xut* 'this man eats bread'; Yg *me žirōi mere hōr(γ) kenet* 'these three men are working' (cf. Ysh '*mind ādamen hory ke'nat*); Ysh *yo mun vərari astet* 'this is my brother'; *wo žinkiko da čatir šūi* 'the woman went into the tent'.

Note that the Pers. Pronouns are frequently used, even when no special stress is laid upon the subject.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g. 1 Sg.: Y *zo wušiaday-am* 'I am hungry'; *zo sabā oīm* 'I shall come to-morrow'; Mm *zo org 'yikenum* 'I am working', *za ftə 'duham* (*zə ftə dōam t*) 'I beat thee'.—2 Sg.: *tu wušiaday-ət* 'thou art hungry'; *tu vōu de* 'beat him'; *tu ču žuī* 'what dost thou say?' *tu ces hory kenē* 'what work art thou doing?' M *tu 'šti 'yikunīy* 'thou art doing something'.—1 Pl. Y: *max wušiaday-am*; *max hory ke'nam sh*, *māx hōr kə'nem g*, *mō/āx orγ kə'nem r*, M *max orγ yikenam*.—2 Pl. Y *māf wušiaday-af*; *māf ces hory ke'nef*? M *mof 'šti yikunef*; *mof male nižit* 'sit down here'. In Ysh *zo ž-īm kyeyen* 'I (am) from this house' the pronoun replaces the copula.

<sup>1</sup> As is the case e.g. in *kū ki tu šūyit zo asəm* Ysh 'wherever you go (lit.: went), I shall go'.

The Nominative is also sometimes used as a subject with transitive preterites.

Thus, e.g. Yu *žin̄kiko* (*kurmo*) *ʔsto* 'the woman (the grasshopper) said'; *galavān wazīr luydo do ʔvyuš žio* 'the cow-herd embraced the vizier's daughter'; Ysh *dukandār yurd yū alāno* 'the shopkeeper took a pome-granate'; *agar Xədāi ʔu mašče vī* 'if God had not killed him'; LSI<sub>m</sub> *kamder pūr šta*, LSI<sub>y</sub> *kemder pūr što* 'the younger son said'.<sup>1</sup>

With pronouns: Yzh *zo* (or *mən*) *vto žim* (*žiyəm viö*) 'I (had) killed thee'; Yr *zo na-to ʔstom* 'I said to thee'; Ysh *zo muzdurə kuʔyım* 'I have served'; *tə naʔyen xur̄yet-a* 'hast thou eaten the food?' Mm *tə və-mən žiet*, Yr *tū və-mən žiit* 'thou didst kill me'; Ysh *wo alāno yurd* 'he took the pome-granate'; Ysh, u *wo* (or *wən*) *ʔsto* 'he said'; Ysh *yō və-mən ži-što* 'he was beating me'; *wo wulo što* 'the wife said'; *yō ādam nayan xur̄o* 'this man ate bread'; Z *wā žinka va-mən liškigagā* 'that woman has seen me'.

As an adjective the demonstrative is always put in the nom. in Y: *wo maraken ʔštə* 'the man said', etc. But Z gives both *wā mēran* 'this man' and *man idakan* 'this slave' as agents, cf. *wā* and *waf lu v̄rōyaf* 'these two brothers', etc.

But this construction with nom. and transitive preterite is no doubt of recent origin and due to Prs. and Khov. influence.<sup>2</sup>

212. Usually we find the subject of a transitive preterite put in the oblique case. Thus, e.g.: Ysh *pādšān, žuwānen, marakā, dukan-dāre(n), žin̄kiki, akābuʔren ʔsto* (etc.) 'the king, youth, man, shopkeeper, woman, old man said' (etc.); *žin̄kiki . . . tərāft* 'the woman stole'; *zin̄ief p̄rstet* 'the daughters-in-law asked'; *ʔes ke Xədāiyen liö* 'whatever God gave'; Yu *vo wulo vət galavānen* 'the cowherd brought the wife'.

Oblique

With Pers. Pronouns: Y *mən və-to ʔaʔdīm* 'I threw thee down'; *mən ory keʔrəm* 'I worked'; *mun xūvən lišcəyəm* 'I have seen a dream'; *mən ʔsto* (Yg *mən štum*) 'I said'; *mən nə pūren amūno liəm* 'I gave

<sup>1</sup> This type of construction seems to be more frequent in LSI<sub>m</sub> than in LSI<sub>y</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. T *ʔān xūr* = *mun ʔxūr, xūr-um*, IIFL, I, p. 96.

my son an apple'; *mən vto lišcim*, *Mm mun fta lišk'im* 'I saw thee'; *Mt mun ftə žīim* 'I killed thee'; *Yg tō və-mən žit* 'thou didst kill me'; *māx v-to žiem-štəm* 'we were killing thee'; *mox wōu maščəm* 'we slaughtered him'; *Yg māf və-mən žief-štef* 'you were killing me'.<sup>1</sup>

With Demonstrative Pronouns: *Ysh, u wən ist(ʷ)o* 'he said'; *wōf 'štot* 'they said'; *yān namaf nayeŋ liō* 'he gave you bread'; *γūrd wo maṛaken* 'the man took it'.

Cf. Zar. (p. 126) *Saidan mən luydā γ'ṛəvd* 'Said took my daughter', *wā vṛōyaf ləškat* 'the brothers saw', etc.; *LSIm men (ze) žiem, waf (wai) žiat* 'I, they beat', etc.

In a few cases I heard *mən* instead of *zo*: *Yr mən uzir lurvo viem* 'I was ill yesterday'; *mən vōu dehām* 'I beat him' (pres.); *Ysh mun no-wən amūno dālēm* 'I give him an apple'. With attraction to a transitive preterite: *Y wən čəyūvd, 'što* 'he returned and said'. This construction is due to the influence of Prs. *man*, and, together with the use of *zo*, etc. for the oblique case and the introduction of personal endings in the transitive preterite, demonstrates the gradual dissolution of the ancient middle Ir. system.

213. The Attributive Genitive of nouns is usually expressed by the Oblique.

Thus, e.g.: *Y pūren pūr* 'grandson'; *pādsāan pūr* 'the king's son'; *lasten boḏ* 'wrist'; *γūen surva* 'the hole of the ear'; *Xadūyen bande* 'the servant of God'; *fəskaf surv* 'nostril'; *wo γoi pūraf nām* 'the names of his sons'.

But we also find examples of the nominative used as a genitive. E.g.: *Y mən tāt kyāi* 'my father's house'; *sūi n-ou maṛa kyēin* 'he went into the house of that man'; *pādsā pūr* 'prince'; *wazir luydo pādsā pūr pisto* 'the vizier's daughter asked the prince'; *last bot* 'wrist'. It is not always possible to draw the line between such expressions and nominal compounds.

<sup>1</sup> *Yr mōx* (!) *və-mən žief-ištəf* and *Yzh max* (!) *či va-maf* (!) *da'haf* 'don't kill us' must be mistakes.

The *ižāfat* construction occurs in fixed formulas and compounds borrowed from Prs. Thus, e.g. *Y ba nām-e-Xudā, ba hokm-e-Xadāyen* (with obl.) 'at God's command'; *čarx-ī-falak*; *dārū-ī-bihuši*; *sar-ī-dīl*; *dīl-ī-žigar*, etc.

Of the pronouns the common gen.-obl. case, or the special gen. form is used:

*Y mən pūr rīza* 'my son is small'; *yo mən ida* 'this is my slave'; *yo mun v'rai astet* 'this is my brother'; *mən tra zil astet* 'it is in my heart (= I desire)'; *mən čuwa astet* 'I have nothing'; *mən larza kīt* 'I have fever'; *mun yū wu'lo astet* 'I have one wife'; *wo to kyei* 'that is thy house'; *to yār wos kū-ō?* 'where is thy friend now?' *to cis nām astet?* 'what is thy name?' *tō čand ləydē astet?* 'how many daughters hast thou?' *zə və ta (!) gap yū lārəm* 'I listen to thy word'; *amax tat (pādsā)* 'our father (king)'; *magam max<sup>1</sup> yū pādsā astet* 'but we have a king'; *amaf taten kyei* 'your father's house'; *nō a'maf tāt* 'to your father'.

*Yzh ā'yen daw'let* 'this man's riches'; but, with pronominal adjective: *wo yūyen nām Z. vīo<sup>2</sup>* 'the name of the one is Z.'; *Mm wo hādamen lu luydi vīat* 'the (that) man had two daughters'.

Note the genitive with *rīm-* 'to please': *mən rīmet, mən rīmdo*.

214. The Predicative Genitive of nouns is expressed by the oblique case: *Y yo vīra mən šiften čēs* 'this burden is not my husband's'; *yo kyei mištārān-ē* 'this house is the Mehtar's'; <sup>3</sup> *galavānen čār wulē šut* 'the cowherd had four wives'; *Z čiray v' rōyaf čiray muškāyi vīyat* 'three brothers had three calves'.

Predicative  
Genitive

Reg. *žo* with genitive function cf. § 217.

The predicative genitive of pronouns is formed by adding *-kən* to the ordinary genitive (which may also be used alone). Thus, e.g.: *Yzh mo kyei ta-kən-a?* *mo kyei mən-kən* 'is this house thine?'

<sup>1</sup> For \**magam amax?*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above § 211.

<sup>3</sup> Or is *mištārānē* a possessive adjective?

'this house is mine'; *mo lāmo a maʃ-kan-a?* 'is this village yours?'; Ysh *yo ʹvira ta-kan* 'this burden is thine'; Yr *kyei ta-kān ʹxāna-i-tūst* (inexact transl.). Yzh *mo kyei aman-kan-a?* 'does this house belong to this one?' *mo (wo) lāmo a maʃ- (oʹəf-) kan-a?* 'does this (that) village belong to these (those) men?' Ysh *yo (mo, wo) kyäi äyēn (amən, awən)- kan; yänd (mind, wənd) kyäyi äyef (amaʃ, oʹəf)- kan.*

This predicative genitive is probably an original possessive adjective<sup>1</sup> as appears from Ysh: *yū wulo, loh pürē mən-kāne molo viet* 'I had a wife and two sons here'.

215. The indefinite object is, when a noun, put in the 'nominative' (or, perhaps better 'casus indefinitus'). Thus, e.g.: Y *you ʃalbīl kenəm* 'I sift grain'; *zo ʃawo avāzəm* 'I bring a cow'; *amboh māl avār* 'bring much goods'; *yū ādamen xūben lišc* 'a man had a dream'; *yūr uziaudum* 'I extinguished a fire'; *no xoi pūrəf wulo cə avazəm-ā?* 'should I not bring my own sons a wife?'

But the definite object is expressed by the 'nominative' sg., or the obl. pl. preceded by *vo (wo?)*.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, with the object in the sg.: Y *wən vo piško ʃurd* 'he seized the cat' (which has already been mentioned); *vo mən ʃap ʃurā* 'hear my word'; *vo wulo vət galavānen* 'the cowherd brought his wife'; *zo va yūra uzīawum* 'I extinguish the fire'; *vo parizāto suwār kər* 'he put the fairy on horseback'; *nurərum vo ʹkēro* 'I took out the knife'; *vo šir mašcət* 'they killed the lion'; Z *waf vā wan nēna moškʹat* 'they killed his mother', etc.

With plural object: Y *vo cīrief ʃurd* 'the seized the apricots'; *vo cūrwakəf āvər* 'bring the unripe apricots'; *vo māləf avret* 'they brought the goods'; *wo (= vo?) xoi zəmonəf lišc* 'he saw his own boys'; *pisto wo ziniəf* 'she asked her daughters-in-law'; Mm *və luydaf ʃuruvd (štə)* 'he took (he told) his daughters'.

Note especially: Ysh *qissa ʃurdoyum* 'I have brought a tale', but afterwards *wo (= vo) qissa ʃurd* 'he brought the tale'; *lažino deh* 'make

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Par. gen. of proper names in *-ān*, IFL, I, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. definite acc. with *ma*, IFFL, I, p. 51 sq.

a pile of wood', but *və lažino zafaū* 'put fire to the wood-pile'; *Z škūra muškāy ə xūt* 'a camel does not eat a calf', but *wā tu šk'ürin vā mən muškāy xurəʷ* 'thy camel has eaten my calf'.

*Y pa kacəo vrūtəf dea* 'cut the moustache with a scissor' may have been misheard for *\*və vrūtəf*.

The personal and demonstrative pronouns are, of course, always used as definite objects. Thus, e.g., *Y tu əi va mən dehə?* 'why dost thou beat me?' *Ysh tu vo mən žiit*, *g tō və mən žit*, *r tū və mən žiit*, *Mm tə və mən žiet* 'thou didst beat me'; *Y 'zo vto p'rsim*, *zo fto pər'səm* 'I ask thee'; *və to wulo vənəm* 'I bring thy wife'; *v<sup>u</sup> to xai vrai yurdum* 'I seized thy own brother'; *Mm fta wīnəm* 'I see thee'; *zə fta dōam* 'I beat thee', *mun fta žiim* (= *Ysh fto žiim*) 'I beat thee' (pret.).

*Yzh zo vāi daham*, *tu vōu de* 'I beat this one, beat thou that one'; *Ysh zo vēi (vəf, vōof) dəhām*; *Mm za 'vāi (vum, vōu) 'dūham*; *Ysh tu wum isa* 'bring this one'.

As an adjective the inflected form occurs in *Yu mən wēi ory kəra* 'I have done this work'; *Ysh zo wum hory kenəm*; *Yu wov loh žiŋkəf avezdo* 'he brought the two women'. But also *Ysh yo vira . . . škāpə* '(he) sent this burden'.

**216.** The 'Dative' of nouns is formed with *no* and the oblique.

Thus: *Y mən nə pūren amūno liəm* 'I gave my son an apple'; *wo alāno lio no maraken* 'she gave the pomegranate to her husband'; *na pādšāan liet . . .* 'they gave the king . . .'; *no zənief 'isto* 'she said to her daughters-in-law'; *no mən zəmanakəf del* 'give it to my boys'; *no abeli pūrəf* 'to both sons'. The purely local significance of *no* remains in e.g.: *Y šūi no bāzāren* 'he went to the bazar'; *nə kiyən asəm* 'I come to the house'. It denotes the aim in the infinitives: *Y no xurūn*, *no āyəstān* '(food) to eat, (clothes) to put on'; *na tagbīren oīm* = *na tagbīr kəyān oīm* 'I come to make a plan'. Note: *no yu mīxən* 'in (the course of) one day'.

Very rarely *no* is used with a noun in the nom.: *Y na to tāt* 'to thy father'; *wo no wulo 'isto* 'he said to his wife'; *na tā-duniā* 'to the underworld'.

The dative of personal pronouns occurs frequently, the accentuation (*nāmən*, etc.) indicating that such forms are felt to be one word. Examples are: Y *tu nāmən ki'tiū dəl (dalə)* 'give me a book'; *yān nāmən na'yeŋ lio* 'he gave me bread'; *nāmən da'pīr* 'before me'; Mm *v'rōi nōmən* '(he is) a brother for me'; Y *zo nā-to žu'ūb (ki'tiū) dālīm* 'I give thee an answer'; *na-to cēi pəžāmum* 'I entrust something to thee'; *špāš na-tō* 'after thee'; *zo na to 'stom* 'I said to thee'; *na tə trə 'lās kə'rum* 'I put it in thy hand'; M *na-to išti-va dalum* 'I give thee something'; Y *yān nāmax (na-maf) na'yeŋ lio* 'he gave us (you) bread'; *na'max dəl* 'give it to us'; Mg *wai v'rōi nāmoy astat* 'they are brothers for us' (= our brothers); *wū və (!) nāmoy v'rōi* 'he is our brother'; Y *na-maf cē zarūr?* 'what need is there for you?'; *zə da'lem no-'māf, mun na-mof amūno dālēm* 'I give you an apple'.

Examples of the dative of demonstratives are: Yzh *mən na wən (nə'man, nə'yeŋ, no'wōf, nə'mof, nə'yef) na'yeŋ līm* 'I gave him (etc.) bread'; Ysh *mun no'wōn (ne'en, na'mof, ne'ef) amūno dālēm* 'I give him (etc.) an apple'; Yu *līm nōn 'dādam ba ū*; Mm *'numan yū rūpai līiyum* 'I gave this man a rupee'; *nəyān (nowan) lu (š'roi) rūpayaqi līiyum* 'I gave this man (him) two (three) rupees'.

Note the possessive use of the dative, e.g. in Ysh: *zo na to tāt, tu mun pūr* 'I am thy father, thou art my son'.

217. A kind of ablative is formed with *žə* and the oblique.

Ablative

From nouns (and adverbs), e.g.: Y *žə Ū'trēyen* 'from Chitral'; *žə-īm kyayen* 'from this house'; *žə lurayan* 'from afar'; *žə dalen āyōi* 'he came from there'; *zə žə malen* 'I am from this place'; *š'tāhän žə mazān* 'below the table'; *žə ašerafiēf yū t'rašt* 'he stole one from (= of) the gold-pieces'. With possessive force: Y *yo amūno žə pūren astet* 'this apple belongs to the son'; cf. Z *wā sahōb žə muškāyan* 'the owner of the calf', etc.; LSI *m žə spi yaspan zin* (but LSI *y spi yaspan palan*) 'the saddle of the white horse'.

Note Y *žəi lāmə* (= *lāno* or *lāmen?*) 'from one village (*az yak*



deh)'; cf. LSI<sub>m</sub> *že čāh, že yu saudāgar*, but LSI<sub>y</sub> *že čāhēn, že yu dokandaren* 'from a well', 'from a shopkeeper'.

From pronouns: Y *tu ža-mvn ustur, zo ži'mān ustur* 'thou art bigger than I, I am bigger than he'; *ž-tō xuščē* 'smaller than thou'; *yō kyēi žō-mān* 'this house is mine'; *ž-Δ-mān yū pūr astet* 'I have one son'<sup>1</sup>; *yō (wō, wōi, yēi) kyēi ž-ēn (žō'wān ž-ēf, žamōf) astet* 'this house belongs to this man' (etc.); Mm *wo 'lāmo žō-wān* 'this village belongs to him'.

218. I kind of Comitative is formed with *lo* 'with', *šəlo* 'together' 'Comitative' with, near' with the oblique.

Examples are: Y *lo yoi taten* 'with his own father'; *lo galavānen dārū vīo* 'there was a remedy with the cowherd' (= the c. had); *la pəṅəkaf yurd* 'he seized with his hands'; *lā-mān čə defa* 'don't fight with me' (*qat-i-man*); *wo dārūū la-mān astet* 'the medicine is with me'. Note *lo malen* 'half full' (: 'with the half').—Y *šəlo dukandāren niāsto* 'he stayed with the shopkeeper'; *šəlo pādšāan*; *šəla daryāhan* 'pēš-i-daryā'. *šo* (in Ysh *šo dukandarə*) is perhaps only an abbreviated form of *šəlo*.

219. Local relations are expressed by the prepositions *do*, *tro* and *po* 'Locative' which take the nom. sg., but the obl. pl. of nouns.

Examples of *do* 'in', 'into' are: Y *na kyēin šūi, da kyēi loyoi do* 'he went to his house and entered it'; *do xwoi kyēi rəsī* 'he arrived in his own home'; *šūi də Oryōčo* 'he went into O.'; *alāno da lāst kəp* 'he put the pomegranate into his hand'; *daftəd də hōry* 'they started work'; *do xūben kovūyo goščim* 'in the dream I turned into a pigeon'; *da mažit niast* 'he sat down in the mosque'; *da yū miš* 'in one day'; *da sālə* 'in a year'; M *də kyoi təyim* 'I enter a house'; Z *šoyat də bōzōr* 'they went into the bazar'.—Y *va (= va?) yōu da laxčēf yurdam, driem da čāro* 'I took the grain in the bags, and poured it into the store-room'; LSI<sub>m</sub> *de zaxmaf* 'in the fields' (but *de men tāt kei* 'in my father's house', etc.).

<sup>1</sup> See § 203, and cf. Psht. *jmā* 'my'.

The obl. sg. was heard in Ysh *də Čiträyî rəsi* 'he arrived at Chitral', but this form may have been influenced by the preceding *süi na Čiträyî* 'he went to Ch.' Y *də kyäyî tîm* 'I enter the house' probably stands for *kyäy*.

From pronouns we find: Y *žəm da to* 'I speak with thee'; *də to apîr* 'before thee'; *də tō barābar* 'equal to thee'; *dum surdo* 'on this shoulder'; *do-ōf* 'about them'.

Examples of *tro* 'into' are: Y *nā-tə trə lāst kərum* 'I have put into thy hand'; *drîo tra šîlɛ* 'he threw it on his neck (: back)'; *tro kiyēf loyōi* 'he entered into the houses'; *žie tro poškəf* 'he put it into the trays'.

Examples of *po* 'on', 'at', 'with' are: Y *po yū hory dîd* 'on account of some work (*barū-i-yak kār*)'; *pə Šəyoyo noyoy* 'he came out at Shoghor'; *po fiz žer* 'surrounding (lit.: around on) his face'; Z *pə kuyka ž'yâ* 'he killed with a stone'; LSIy *pe lesef*, LSIIn *pe lâsaf* '(he bound) with ropes'.

220. It seems probable that the difference of construction between *no*, *žo*, *lo*, *šəlo* (with the noun in the obl.) on the one hand and *do*, *tro*, *po*, *vo* (with the noun in 'nom.' sg. but obl. pl.) on the other goes back to a time when the first group of prepositions governed the instrumental (or originally the ablative), while the second group governed the locative or the accusative. Cf. Av. *ana* with the acc., but Anc. Prs. with the instr.; Av. *haça* with the abl. or the instr. (rarely with the acc.); *hadā* with the instr. But *antarə*, *tarō*, *paiti* and *upa* with the acc. (or the loc.).

At a certain time nom., acc. and loc., at any rate of stems in *-a*, would coalesce, *\*puðrah*, *\*(upa) puðram* and *\*(pati) puðrai* resulting in *pūr*. In the pl. we might perhaps have expected e.g. *\*po pūrē* < *\*pati puðraisu*, but this would have resulted in a three-case system unknown in the sg., and accordingly the instr. was substituted for the acc. and loc. as a general obl. pl. case.<sup>1</sup> Cf. the place-names *Hartəf*, *Idyəf*, *Tuyakəf*<sup>2</sup> which had probably originally a locative meaning.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. *pa* with nom. sg., but obl. pl.

<sup>2</sup> V. List of Names, s.vv. and cf. § 199.

221. The oblique case is used also as an adverb. Thus, e.g. Y *miṣen* Adverbial  
 'by day'; *sāharen* 'in the morning'; *jausarēn* 'at daybreak'; *dalen*  
 'below'; *anīmāf* 'half' (adv.).

### Adverbs.

222. 1) Local: *molo* 'here'; *hurō* 'there'; *olo* 'there'; *woko* 'there' (?);  
*kū*, *kužā* 'where'; *ž<sup>u</sup>kū* 'whence'; *lūro* 'far off'; *noyo'sār*, *dalen*, *š<sup>t</sup>tāhān*,  
*past* 'below'; *ka'lāpo*, *sāro*, *fursōro*, *psaro* 'down'; *pas'mīno*, *vəl'yo*  
 'above'; *dram* (*da-dram*, *na-dram*) 'inside'; *do-kučō* 'out(side)'; *apīr*,  
*skapīr* 'before, in front of'; *čpāč* (*špāč*, *očəpōč*, *wa-čpāč*) 'after, back';  
*debāl* 'behind'; *mīr-čoya* 'to this side'; *vrāčoya* 'to that side'; *drūi*  
 'hither' (?); *hargeno* 'on all sides' (?).

2) Temporal: *wos* 'now'; *kəla* 'when'; *psāt* 'immediately'; *nawaxt*  
 'late'; *piro* 'before, earlier'; *bād*, *v<sup>o</sup>ro* 'afterwards'; *dur* 'to-day';  
*iziko* 'yestereve'; *wuzīr* 'yesterday'; *š<sup>i</sup>rizen* 'day before yesterday';  
*čur'mō*, *čir<sup>o</sup>yizen* 'three days ago'; *pān'əmo*, *pčurma* 'four days ago';  
*sāar*, *sabā* 'to-morrow'; *yāmo*, *məzdīra* 'the day after to-morrow';  
*š<sup>i</sup>y-yāmo* 'three days hence'; *yūyyāmo*, etc. 'four days hence'; *asāl*  
 'this year'; *prasāl* 'last year'; *š<sup>i</sup>irasāl* 'two years ago'; *čurmasāl*  
 'four years ago';<sup>1</sup> *jausarēn* 'at daybreak'; *miṣen*, *dəmalen* 'at noon'.

3) Modal, etc.: *rastē* 'rightly'; *mal'mīn* 'thus'; *čə'mīn* 'how'; *gūya*  
 'just as'; *magam* 'verily'; *žahānd*, *boh* 'very'; *anīmāf*, *loma'len* 'half';  
*nakōi* 'why'.

For particulars cf. Voc. s.vv.--It is not always possible to distinguish adverbs from adjectives or nouns.

### Verbs.

#### Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.

223. The nominal sentence without a copula is very common in Y—M.  
 Thus, e.g.: Ysh *tu ž<sup>u</sup>-kū?* 'from where art thou?' *yo maṛa ž<sup>u</sup> kū?*  
 'from where is this man?' *zə ž<sup>i</sup> malen*, *zə ž<sup>i</sup>-im kyeyen* 'I am from

<sup>1</sup> The translations and explanations given of the adverbs denoting days and years were often indefinite or contradictory.

here, I am from this house'; *mo kyēi mən-kān* 'this house is mine'; *to ces nām?* 'what is thy name?' *mun yū wv'lo, loh pūre* 'I have one wife and two sons'; *yū Mēy yasp, yū Wūi yasp* 'one horse was (called) M., another W.'; *M wo ādam lvro* 'that man is far away'; *mai yaši, wai liwi* 'these are good, and those are bad'. Thus even in the sense of 'exists' the copula may be left out.

224. But very frequently Y employs the original 3rd pl. *astet* (cf. Prs. *hastand*) for the 3rd pl. and sg. According to Bidd. and the LSIy *astet* is also used for the 1st and 2nd sg. and pl., but I never heard *zo astet* 'I am', etc. Examples are: *Ysh žΔ-mən yū pūr astet* 'I have a son'; *yo mun v'rai astet* 'this is my brother'; *tō cis nām astet?* 'what is thy name?' *yō kyēi ž-ēn astet* 'this house belongs to this one'; *žΔ-mən amboh pūre astet* 'I have many sons'; *yēi kyēi žΔ-mōf astet* 'these houses belong to these men'; *mind ādamen nazdik astet* 'these men are near'; *Yr tō čand ləydē astet?* 'how many daughters hast thou?' (answer: *čirōi ləydē*).

From M I have only noted Mg *wai v'roī nā-moy astat* 'these are brothers of ours'. Acc. to Zar. *ast* is sg. and *astat* pl., but he also gives the sentence *lu luydi mən ast* 'I have two daughters'. The LSI<sub>m</sub> gives the full inflexion *hast-am, -ai, -o, -am, -af, -at*, which is probably influenced by Prs, as shown by the *h-*.

225. In Y I have come across a few sentences where *-ō* and *-ē* are apparently used as a 3rd sg. present of the substantive verb: *Ysh to yār vos kū-ō?* 'where is thy friend now?' (answer: *də to apīr astet* 'he is in front of thee'); *Yr yaši ādam-ō* 'he is a good man'; *yo kyēi mištərān-ē* 'this house is the Mehtar's'.<sup>1</sup> I dare not express any definite opinion on these forms, but they may represent an ancient *asti*, cf. Sgl.-Ishk. *-ō*.

The negative present 'is not' is Y *čes*. E.g., *yaši ādam čes* 'he is not a good man'; *tu Xədāyən banda čes'-a?* 'art thou not the servant of Gcd?'. Cf. Voc. s.v.

<sup>1</sup> Or is *mištərānē* an adj.? Cf. above § 214.

A subjunctive form is preserved in *vīi* (< *buyāt*). E.g., *woko cəs kīmat vīi* (or *fərmə*)? 'what may be the price of it?'. Cf. § 254.

The preterite of the substantive verb is Y *vīem*, *vīet*, *vīo*, *vīem*, *vīef*, *vīet*; cf. LSI *viam*, *viai*, *via*, *viam*, *vīaf*, *viat*; Mm 3 sg. *vīo*, 3 pl. *vīat*.

Y *šom*, M *šīam* 'I went',<sup>1</sup> 'I became' is used as an auxiliary. A present tense is not formed from this root in Y-M, but note Z *zo gib āyəm* 'I am lost', etc.<sup>2</sup> Cf. about the passive § 247.

226. *kən-* 'to do' is used as an auxiliary just as in Prs. and other Ir. languages. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *awāza*, *bāwar*, *rahā*, *salā*, *suwār*, *tagbīr*, *tayār*, *xap*, *xalās*, etc., for examples of compound verbs with *kən*.

*kən-* is also used with the meaning of 'being able to'. Cf. e.g. Y *č-kir kəne*, *vo wulo žo-wən če vet kəne* 'thou art not able to do it, thou canst not take his wife from him (*na mētānī*, *zan-i ūra na mētānī giriftan*).

### The Present Stem.

227. The verbal system of Y—M, like that of most other modern Ir. languages, is based upon two stems, the Present and the Past.

The distinction between ancient present stems in *-a-* and *-aya-* excepted, the Old Ir. present classes are preserved only in relics and are of no importance for the verbal system of modern Y—M. Regarding the stems in *\*-aya-* and the causatives in *-āw-*, *-āv-* (and *-ān-*, *-ōn-*), see below § 229.

Ancient root-presents are represented only indirectly by *-əm*, etc. 'I am' as preterite suffix and by *ast*, *astet* 'is', 'are' (v. above § 224). *dāl-* 'to give' is an ancient reduplicated present.<sup>3</sup> *as-* 'to come'; (*y*)*is-* 'to bring'; *pīs-* 'to ask'; *yuxs-* 'to learn' go back to

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the inflexion see § 245.

<sup>2</sup> With M *āyəm*: *šīam* cf. Par. *param*: *čhēm* 'to go, to become'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Shgh. *δād-*.

present formations in Ir.  $s < *s\hat{k}$ , while *baxš-* 'to divide'; *nuvōš-* 'to comb'; *nišāž-* 'to show'; *waxš-* 'to grow' represent bases in IE  $*s$ .

*mər-* 'to die' is an ancient stem in *-ya*.<sup>1</sup> Stems in *-nā-* are: *ken-* 'to do'; *vəzān-* 'to know'; *yān-* 'to grind'; *xo<sup>a</sup>n-* 'to buy'; *l̥mōn-* 'to rub', and possibly *wien-* 'to untie'. Infixes or radical *-n-* occurs in *lib-* 'to card' ( $< *dumb-$ ); *āyd-* 'to dress' ( $< *ā-gund-$ ); *xrrd-* 'to shave' ( $< *xrind-$ ); *xo<sup>u</sup>d-* 'to laugh'; *xap* 'to fell'; *vad-* 'to tie'; *žib-* 'to rise'; *cēb-* 'to pinch'; *skəd-* 'to break'; *vēzb-* 'to tighten'; *čad-* 'to fall, stumble'.

A few present stems are formed secondarily from ancient preterites. Thus: *bār-* 'to fill'; M *tuyd-* 'to shave' (cf. *tīž-*); *šift-* 'to plaster'. Zar.'s *yōn'g'* 'to grind', *mōg'* 'to rub' appear to be based on the 3rd sg. pres.

228. Of great importance for the inflexion of the 3rd sg. is the distinction between ancient stems in *-a-* and *-aya-*.

In the first group of verbs the 3rd sg. in *-ati* was syncopated at an early date, and the resulting *-t*, *-d* was assimilated in various ways to the final consonant of the root.

Thus, with *t*, e.g. Y *ist*, Z *yist* 'comes' ( $*ā-isati$ ); Z *pist* 'asks' (*pərəsaiti*); Y, M *ništ* 'sits down'<sup>2</sup> ( $*niḍati < nišhidaiti$ ); Y *waft*, M *wēft* 'weaves'; Z *nijest* 'shows' ( $*ni-časati$ ); *yūst* 'brings'. With *d*: Y *avīzd* (*avāzi*), Z *avūzd* 'brings' ( $< *upāzati$ ); Y *γurīvd* 'takes'; Z *γīvd* 'spins'; *lūzd* 'milks'; *neyūyd* 'hears'; Y *p<sup>o</sup>revd*, Z *p<sup>r</sup>īvd* 'finds' ( $*pari-āpati$ ); Y *šamd*, Z *šēmt* 'drinks'; Y *awūzd* 'hangs'; Y *nūld* 'lays down, goes to sleep' ( $*ni-padati$ ); Z *čēyd* 'sows'.

With assimilation of  $n + t$ <sup>3</sup>: Y *k<sup>v</sup>īt*, M *yīkit* 'does' ( $< *kunati$ ); Y, Z *wīt/d* 'sees' ( $< vaēnaiti$ ); Y *kēd* 'digs' ( $< *kanati$ ); Z *livēd* 'winnows' ( $< *dwanati$ ); Z *vəd* 'brings' ( $< *upanati$ <sup>4</sup>); Y *vezīt*,

<sup>1</sup> Possibly also *diš-* 'to think'.

<sup>2</sup> LSly *niš*, m *nīlθ* =  $*ni\check{s}$ ,  $*ni\check{t}$ ?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 115.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v. *vən-*. The asterisked form is simply intended to be a formula.

Z *vzūd* 'knows' (< \**upa-zānati*); Y *xīt* 'laughs' (< \**xandati*); Y *xīt* 'buys' (\**xarnati*); Z *bixēd* 'reads' (*buxōn*-) and other 3rd singulars from stems in *-ōn*-.

With assimilation of *r + t*<sup>1</sup>: Y *avīt*, Z *avūd* 'brings' (< *ābaraiti*); Y *ket*, Z *kēd* 'ploughs' (< \**kāratī*); *xūt* 'eats' (< *x<sup>v</sup>araiti*); Y *lāt*, Z *lēt* 'holds, has' (< \**dāratī*); Y *'stīt* (Z *stīrd* of secondary origin) 'sweeps' (< \**staratī*); Y *nāvīt* 'takes out' (< \**nīzbaratī*); Y *fāt* 'seizes' (< \**faratī*); Z *š<sup>3</sup>kīd* 'seeks' (< \**škāratī*); *wuzūd* 'regards' (< \**wi-ḡaratī*); *z<sup>3</sup>vīt* 'pulls over' (< *us-baraiti*); *giyīt* 'passes' (< \**wi-taratī*); *giyēt* 'lets pass' (\**wi-tāratī*).—Z *žīrd* 'sews', *nīrd* 'enters' (*žīy*-, *nīy*-) have an unexplained *r*.

With assimilation of *d + t* through *δd > δ > l*: Y *dīl* 'gives' (< \**dadati*); Y *pāler*, Z *pīlēr* 'sells' (< \**pārēl* < \**parādati*); Z *lūrd* 'flees' (with secondary *-d* < \**rūl* < \**raudati*), Z *tēlī* 'kills' (< \**tardati*). But *t + t > t*: Y—M *žūt* 'speaks' (< \**ḡatati*).<sup>2</sup>

With assimilation of *rn + t > \*nṭ > Y k<sup>y</sup>*, M (*n'*)*g'*: Y *yeik<sup>y</sup>*, Z *yēn'g'* 'grinds'; Z *mēg'* 'rubs'.

After *ḡ* the final dental is dropped in Y, Z *trēj* 'binds'. Cf. also Z *nig'* 'pulls out', and Y *wāst* 'places' (*wāst*-).

In some cases M (Z) has 3rd sg.s in *-d/t* where Y has generalized the ending *-ë*. Thus, e.g.: Z *neṛīzd* 'licks'; *xīšk* 'pulls'; *šuvd* 'sucks'; *drēt* 'throws'; *avūzd* 'brings'; *čīxt* 'falls'. But Y: *ne'vīzë*, *xošë*, *šuvë*, *drëi*, *avāzë* (and *avīzd*), *tičë*. On the other hand Z has added *-i* to the apparently suffixless form Y *wast* 'places'.

229. In most cases, however, Y and M (Z) agree as regards the employment of 3rd sg. forms in *-ë*, *-i* (< \**ayati*).

Thus, e.g., Y *ī* 'goes'; *āydë* 'dresses'; *mārë* 'dies'; *novë* 'rains'; *rovë* 'barks'; *rāsë* 'arrives'; *vrōfë* 'flies'; *wuzdë* 'washes'; *xīrdë* 'shaves'; *xšī* 'weeps': Z *yī*; *āyudī*; *murī*; *nā'vī*; *ra'vī*; *re'sī*; *wurafsi*; *wūzne*; *xridī*; *xšī*. Cf. also, e.g.: Y *anuvë* 'bellows'; *ušunë* 'neighs'; *čadë-ste* 'throws in wrestling'; *kosë* 'seeks'; *lōynë* 'lies down'; *rukusë*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 124.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 47 and 47.

'creeps'; *wulë* 'throws'; *waxšë* 'grows'; *žibë* 'rises'; *šüroxë* 'shies'  
 Z *nämë* 'shows'; *pīi* 'rots'; *wurvi* 'boils'; *zīi* 'is born'.

Some of these forms more or less probably go back to ancient forms in *-äyati* (or *-iyati*, *-üyati*), cf. e.g. *wuzdë*, *zīi*, *xšī*, *pīi*, *nämë* < *\*awa-snäyati*, *zāyat(a)i*, *xšiyati*, *pūyati*, *nimāyati*.

Many others are secondary formations, and, on the other hand, several verbs of the first group originally belong to the *aya-* class. This is no doubt the case e.g. with *lät*, *lēt* 'holds' and *vəd* 'brings', which go back to *\*dārayati*, *\*upa-nayati*, with secondary transfer into the *-ati* class. Such transfer may account for the umlaut which appears in many cases. It is also worthy of note that the causatives in *-āw-*, *-ōw-* belong to the first group. This type of causative has been borrowed by various E. Ir. dialects under unknown conditions from Indo-Aryan, and we should expect that they should belong to the Y—M verbs with 3rd sg. *-ë*, *-i*. The existing type, Z *aydūvd* 'dresses (somebody else)', etc., may be due to the influence of forms in original *\*-āpati*, such as *šuvd* and *pərūvd*. Note also the early lw. Z *giyēt* (from *giyōr-* 'to turn round', trans.).

M also possesses another type of causative, borrowed more recently from Prs., in *biçirōn-* 'to graze', *wurvōn-* (and *wurvōv-*) 'to boil', etc., cf. Y *γaltan-* 'to make fall'. Note the double caus. in G *dəraw-āw-ān-* 'to terrify'.



## 230. Present.

	Yzh	Ysh	Yr	'I do'			'I ask'		
				Yg, u	Mm	Mt	Z	G	
1 Sg.	ke'nəm	ke'nəm	kənəm	'kənəm	'yikenum	ike'nəm	'kənə/um	pər'səm	
2 »	'kenë	ke'në	kənë	kənë	'yikunÿy		kəd	pər'si	
3 »	küt	k'üt, k'ët	küt	küt	yï'küt			pər'sa (?)	
1 Pl.	ke'nəm	ke'nəm	kənəm, -am	kə'nəm	'yikenam		kunaf	pər'san (?)	
2 »	ke'nəf	ke'nəf	kə'nəf	kə'nəf	'yikunəf			pər'san (?)	
3 »	ke'net	ke'net, -at	kə'net	kə'net	'yikenat				
-----									
	'I give'		'I come'		'I weep'			'I dress'	
	Yzh	Z	Yzh	Yzh	Yzh	Yzh	G	Yzh	
1 Sg.	'oyim	'daləm	'asım	xš'im	žam, žəm	žam	žâ'yəm	âydem	
2 »	'oyi	'daləy	'asë	xš'i	žwî (žwî sh)	žüt	žâyî	âyde	
3 »	ï	dil	ist	xš'i	žüt	žüt	žüt	âyde	
1 Pl.	'oyem	'daləm	'asem	xš'iyəm	žam	žam	žâyad	âydeř	
2 »	'oyəf	'dalaf	'asəf	xš'iyəf	žaf	žaf			
3 »	'oyet	'dälet	'aset	xš'iyet	žet	žet			

231. The personal endings are in general clear. The 1st Sg. in *-əm* is derived from *-ami*, the 1st Pl. *-am* from *-āmah*, etc. The 2nd Pl. has adopted the ancient pronominal suffix, probably in order to avoid phonetic confusion with the 3rd Sg. Cf. the similar development in Sgl.—Ishk. Regarding the 3rd Sg. see above. The forms given by Gauthiot as used by M settlers in Wakhan must be of Ishk. origin.

Quite irregular are the Khow. 3rd Sg. forms employed by Ysh: *lapoir* 'glitters'; *ažistai*, *ažisteste* 'bears' (Khow. *ažuran*). I do not know whether such forms are really current among some speakers of Yidgha.—Yg *kenalo* 'works' is a suspect form.

The Present or Aorist is used: a) As an indefinite Present. b) As a Future or Subjunctive.

Examples of a) are: *draxtë mūžet* 'the trees are shaking'; *wūi kit* 'the wind blows'; *tu ču žuī* 'what do you say?' *mo ādam nayeŋ xut* (*yauyo šamd*) 'this man eats bread (drinks water)'; *nakoi ase tu?* 'why dost thou come?' *mən larza kit* 'I am trembling'; *tū čöpik kenë* 'you are lying'; *mo xap čī kit?* 'why is he silent?'

Examples of b) are: *čir miš dīd čpāc asəm* 'I shall come back after four days'; *agar Xadāi ču mašče vīi oyim rosīm* 'if God doesn't kill me, I shall go and arrive (here)'; *no xoi pūrəf wulo čə avazəm-a?* 'shall I not bring a wife for my own son?' *na-mən del tā zo ayim* 'give me, that I may go'; *wo dārū na max del, max xōnam, na tō hūy dalem* 'give us the medicine, we shall buy it and give the price for it'; *na xāin no xuṛān čes, no-man ces dālem?* 'I have nothing to eat myself, what shall I give him?' *vo wulo vānem* 'I shall bring the wife'.

Regarding the use of the Aorist in commands see below § 234.

#### *Durative Present.*

232. A Durative Present is formed in Y by adding *-(ə)stə*, *-(e)ste* to the Aorist. Examples are: *zo hōr kənem-iste* 'I am working'; *yu mara hōr kit-iste* 'this man is working'; *ziŋkiko niāsto, tāam kyet-iste*

'a woman is sitting and preparing food'; *xužbi nāyo-ist* 'it smells (*bū-iš mēāya*)'; *če xšīaf-este?* 'what are you weeping over?' *zə pərsəm-istə, lā-mən čə defa* 'I am asking him not to fight against me'; *xoref-este, šāmeḡ-este, āydaḡ-este āyen daulet* 'you are eating, drinking and wearing his belongings'; *noyər ke də Šoyor xšiyet-ste* 'he came out while they were weeping at Shoghor' (historical present); note also: *wos oyīm-este sāharo* 'now I am going (: shall go) into the desert'. Cf. *užerəm-este* 'I am looking'; *šəm-este* 'I am speaking'; *oyīm-ste* 'I am going'; *žafum-ste* 'I am chewing'; *xofəm-ste* 'I am coughing'; *kōse-ste* 'thou art seeking'; *kənē-este* 'thou art digging'; *tra awā zyū-stə* 'is flying through the air'; *woxšē-este* 'is growing'; *məri-stə* 'is dying'; *naxči-stə* 'is dancing'; *kit-istə (kənəḡ-st)* 'is doing'.

The derivation of this suffix is uncertain. It is possible to think either of a form of the root *stā*, or of *asti*.

#### Durative Preterite.

233. A Durative Preterite is formed by adding *vīo* 'was' to the Aorist. Thus e g., *šfə dḡ Drawusə vīo, muzdurī kyed-vīo, wos ruxsat tūliyō* 'her husband was in Drosh; he was serving; now he has taken leave'; *max dārū kwosem-vīo, č purviam* 'we were searching for the medicine'; but we did not find it'. Cf. LSI<sub>m</sub> *ze via dalam*, or *ze dalam via* 'I was beating'. But LSI<sub>y</sub> *deham-ste vīo* 'I was beating' corresponds in form to Y *zə xūben wīnem-este vīo* 'I have been seeing a dream'. Cf. also LSI<sub>y</sub> *dil-vi-este* 'he used to give'.

#### Imperative.

234. The Imperative 2nd Sg. is usually identical with the Present stem. This first type is represented by: *as* 'come'; *kak<sup>y</sup>* 'cook'; *užar* 'look'; *žib* 'rise'; Mm *niš* 'sit down'; *dāl* 'give'; *de(h)* 'beat'; *lār* 'hold'; Y *kən*, Z *ikən* 'do'; *ləyān* 'throw'; *ai, oi* 'go'; *škōḡ* 'seek'; *āvər* 'bring'; *xap* 'fell'; *žafaū* 'kindle'.

This imperative evidently goes back to the ancient imperative in *-a*.

But besides *de(h)* we also find *dia(h)*, *dea*, and besides *nič* also *niča*. With many verbs this appears to be the regular form. Thus, e.g.: Y *niā*, Z *niya* 'enter'; Y *γur(v)ā*, Z *γirva* 'seize'; Y *sova* (but Z *sōw*) 'smear'; *žā* 'speak'; *zyūa* 'walk'; *dāfa* 'fight'; *tələwā* 'seek'; *isa* 'bring'; *vāna* 'lead'; Z *nīlva* 'sleep'; *pārsa* 'ask'; *yōn'g'a* 'grind'; LSly *mra* 'die', etc.

The distinction between suffixless imperatives and those in *-a* does not coincide with that between 3rd Sg.s in *-d/t* and *-ē*. And, besides, *-aya* could not result in *-a*. If we assume that the form in *-a* goes back to a subjunctive in *-āh*, we should expect *-o<sup>1</sup>* in Y and Mm. Is it possible that ancient *-a* in the imperative was lengthened in some verbs before the loss of final short vowels, but did not quite coalesce with ancient *-ā*?

Imperative 2nd Pl. ends in Y *-ē, -ε*, probably < *-ayata* (*-ata* would coalesce with Pres. 3rd Sg. in *-ati*). Thus: *a'vrε*, *avāzē* 'bring'; *pār'sε* 'ask'; *a'səf*, *nā-mən muzdurə kə'nē* 'may you come (subj.) and take service (imper.) with me'; *xošānē kə'nē* 'make merry'; *mailis kene* 'assemble'; *ničē* 'sit down'. The alternative imperative forms in *-i* given by Z are no doubt really plurals.

Once *čē defa* was translated by Prs. *jaŋg na šawīd*, but the Prs. pl. is probably used by politeness. I do not know whether Mm *maf male ničit* 'sit down here' is a correct and current form.

The Aorist is frequently used in (polite?) commands and interdictions. Thus: *tə čī žūi* 'don't speak'; *tu čopik č-kēnε* 'don't speak a lie (*na gu*)'; *ba nām-i-Xədā dεl, wačārum na-mən da'lē* 'give in the name of God, may you give me alms'; *na-mən čī dale* 'don't give me'; *ašəf, nā-mən muzdurə kə'nē* 'come and take service with me'. Cf. the similar use of the Aorist in Prs. and in Par.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, possibly, *-e* in all dialects. Cf. § 198.

<sup>2</sup> IIFL; I, p. 90.

### The Past Stem.

235. The Past Stems may be divided into two groups: A) Stems ending in a vowel or *-y*. B) Stems ending in a consonant.

#### Class A.

This group consists mainly of weak, regular stems in *-ī* (*y*) (Z also *-əy*) and *-āi* (Z *-ōy*).

I, a): Ancient, in the modern language irregular, preterites in *-ī(y)* are: *žī* 'beat' < \**jata-*; *ləmī-* 'rubbed' < \**nimaḍita-*; *līi*, *līy* 'gave' < *dāta-*; *xšī(y)* 'wept' < *xšīta-*; *vī* 'was' < *bīta-*.

I, b): The majority of preterites in *-ī(y)* goes back to original stems in *-īta-* or to borrowings from Prs. forms in *-īd*. Thus, e.g.: Y *rosī*, Z *resīy* 'arrived'; Y *xadī*, Z *xādīy* 'laughed' (cf. Prs. *xandīd*); Y *tulī*, Z *telwīy* 'sought' (Prs. *talbīd*); Y *baššī* 'divided'; Y *trēžī* 'tied' (Prs. *taranjīd*); Y *žibī* 'rose' (cf. Prs. *žumbīd?*).

Other examples are: Y *čadī* (*čad-*); *d<sup>u</sup>ruī-* (*d<sup>u</sup>rou-*); *fərxī(y)-*; *fxatī-* (*fxot-*); *kak<sup>y</sup>iī-* (*kūk<sup>y</sup>-*); *magyī-* (*magy-*); *nišāžī-* (*nišāž-*); *nuvōšī* (*nuvōš-*); *pəcəgī* (*pəcəg-*); *vīzbi* (*vīzb-*); *žimežī-* (*žimež-*); *žūyī* (*žūy-*); cf. Z *durəy*, *fxatəy*, *kətəy*, etc.

Note *yožīi* (*yožī-*) and *ləreī* (*lərī-*).

236. II, a): A few past stems in *-āi*, *ōy* can be traced back to ancient participles in *-āta-*. Thus e.g.: Y *yāi*, Z *yōy* 'brought' < *yāta-*; *zənāi* 'bathed' (*zənay-*) < *snāta-*; Y *wuzdāi*, Z *wuznōy* 'washed' \**awa-snāta-*; Y *ustāi*, Z *wustōi* 'placed' (*wāst-*) < \**awa-stāta-*.

II, b). But the majority of Y past stems in *-āi* consists of secondary formations. Cf. e.g.: *urzāi* (*urzu-*); *wurwōi* (*urw-*); *ustuščaj* (*ustušč-*); *ušināi* (*ušun-*); *bidaway*, *-ōy* (*bidaw-*); *bohay* (*boh-*); *cēbāi* (*cēb-*); *γənilāi* (*γənil-*); *kunā(i)*, Z *kūnōy* (*kun-*); *kušmāi* (*kušm-*); *k<sup>y</sup>irfāi* (*k<sup>y</sup>irf-*); *lowai* (*lōu-*); *libāi* (*lib-*); *pufāi* (*puf-*); *tuydāi* (*tuyd-*); *xofāi* (*xof-*); *xuzdāi* (*xuzd-*); *zōmāi* (*zōm-*); *žirγāi* (*žirγ-*); cf. Z *frisōy* (*fris-*); *kiraxōy* (*kirax-*), etc.

A remarkably great number of the verbs belonging to this group denote some kind of bodily movement or function.

237. III). The rest of the past stems in ancient vowel + *t* are: *ayoi* 'came' < \**āgata-* (*as-*); *loyoi* 'entered' < \**adi-gata-* (?); *šūi* 'went' < \**šuta-* (*oy-*); Z *zūi* 'bore' < \**zāta-*; M *lavēy* 'winnowed' < \**dwata-* (Av. *bata-*) (*lavōn-*).

Cf. also *vədī* 'warmed the hands' (*vədō-*); *dri*, *drōy* 'poured out' (*dri-*).

### Class B.

238. Stems ending in a consonant in Y—M. They go back to ancient formations with a final consonant *t*.

I). Stems in *r*: Y *imur* 'counted' (*imar-*); *āvər* 'brought' (*āvər-*); *mur* (M *mur*) 'died' (*mər-*); *nəvər* (M *nəver*) 'took out' (*nəvor-*); *istār* (M *stōr*) 'swept' (*istōr-*); *škār* (M *škar*) 'sent' (*škōr-*); *xur* (M *xur*) 'ate' (*x<sup>o</sup>ar-*); *nəyar* (Z *nəyar*) 'went out'<sup>1</sup> (*nī-*); *užur* (M *wužir*) 'saw' (*užer-*); *kər* (M *kər*) 'did' (*ken-*); *yir* (M *yūr*) 'ground' (*yān-*); Z *zvir* 'poured' (*z<sup>o</sup>var-*). Note that Z's *avər*, *mur*, and *nəyar* are at the same time preterite and present stems.

From *lār-* 'to hold'; *fār-* 'to seize'; *wār-* 'to separate'; *xar-*, *xō<sup>a</sup>n-* 'to buy'; Z *giyōr-* 'to let pass', and *bispōr-* 'to entrust' the past stems are formed in *-t*, not in *-r*, *r*. Thus e.g.: *lat*, *fat*, *giyēt-*, etc. With *lat* cf. Psht. *lārə*, f. *lārəla* < \**daritā-*.<sup>2</sup> Some of the forms may be recent formations with *t* < *r* + *t*, cf. § 124.

In *bāy-* 'to fill' the past stem has been introduced into the present.

Quite irregular are Y *fəcir* 'cleft' (*fəcī-*) and *vir* 'broke' (*vir-*), cf. Mm *vir-*: *višk<sup>y</sup>*, Z *vrir-*: *v<sup>o</sup>rir-*. Original \**braiša-*: \**brišta-* should regularly result in \**vir-*: M *višk<sup>y</sup>*, Y \**višč*. From *višk<sup>y</sup>*, etc. was formed a new present *vir-* after the analogy of M *giyēr-*: *giyašk<sup>y</sup>*, etc., and then again a new preterite Y \**vir*, M *vir*. Finally the two dialects made a different selection among the available forms (but Bidd. has 'ristcha' = \**viščā*):

Y *vir(y)-*: Mm *višk<sup>y</sup>*.

Mm, Z *vir*: Y, Z *vir/r*.

<sup>1</sup> Transferred secondarily into this group.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gr. Ir. Ph., I, 2, 212.

239. II) Stems in *l* (< *ǰ*), *d* (< *nd*) and *h* have preterites in *st*. Thus:
- zyast* 'fled' (*zjal-*); *wust* 'threw' (*wul-*); *rust* 'fled' (*lur-* < \**rūl-*); *prist* 'sold' (*plār-* < \**prāl-*); M *nuvōst* 'went to sleep' (*nəliv-* < \**nəvil-*).
  - vāst* 'bound' (*vad-*); *čast* 'threw over' (*čad-*); *skast* 'cut' (*skəd-*); *xrist* 'shaved' (*xird-*, *xred-*); *āyast* 'dressed' (*āyd-*).
  - niāst* 'sat down' (*niǰ-*); *čast* 'fell down' (Y *tiǰ-*, M *čiǰ-*).
  - xāst* 'threshed' (*xā-* < *xwah-*).
  - pist* 'asked' (*prs-*) and *kist* 'searched for' (*kos-*) are secondary formations.<sup>1</sup> Note (*i*)*što*, *šta* 'said' < \**ǰasta*.<sup>2</sup>
240. III) Past stems in Y *šč*, M *šk<sup>y</sup>* are formed from roots in *š*, *r* (< *rt*), *l* (< *rd*), *rz*, *rd*, etc. With the exception of *mašč*, *mōššk<sup>y</sup>* 'killed' (*maz-*) all roots in *z* have given up their phonetically regular preterites in favour of forms in *zd*, e.g. *urīzd* 'spread'; *dīzd* 'buried'; *γazd* 'ran'; *mīzd* 'urinated'; *nerīzd* 'licked'; *avazd* 'brought'; Z *nuyēzd* 'swallowed'. Evidently the phonetic difference between *z* and *šč* has become too great to permit the morphonologic relation to be kept up. Note also the recent formations of the type Y *nišāzi*, M *niǰast* 'showed', *nuvōši* 'combed', etc.
- nuvišč* 'combed' (*nuvōš-*); *xišč*, *xišk<sup>y</sup>* 'pulled' (*xoš-*); *pašč* 'dug' (*paš-*); *dišč* 'knew' (*diš-*); M *nuvišk<sup>y</sup>* (Y *nuūxt*, Z *nəwūxt*) 'wrote' (*nuviš-*). From roots in ancient *š*: *nəyušč*, *nəyušk<sup>y</sup>* 'heard' (*nəyūy-*); *fərmišč*, *fərmiššk<sup>y</sup>* 'forgot' (*fərmou-*).
  - wušč*, *wušk* 'knitted' (*woʀ-*); *pišč*, *pišk<sup>y</sup>* 'farted' (*pil-*); *pəlišč* 'folded up' (*pəlarz-*); *gosč*, *gašk* 'passed' (*gord-*, lw.); *pətišč* 'broke' (from a lost present \**pətil-*).
  - From roots in *r*, after the analogy of Prs.: *g<sup>y</sup>ēšč*, *g<sup>y</sup>ašk<sup>y</sup>* 'passed' (*g<sup>y</sup>ēr-*, lw.); *kišč*, *kišk<sup>y</sup>* 'ploughed' (*kār-*, lw.); *uštusch* 'jumped' (*uštur-*, from Khow.).
- Note *lišč* 'saw' < *dərəšta-*.
- As may be seen above, roots in *l* may form their preterite either in *st*, or in *šč*, *šk<sup>y</sup>*.

<sup>1</sup> \**pišč* < \**pršta-* would have coalesced with the preterite of *pil-*, cf. below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NTS, VII, 119.

241. IV) Roots in *-v* and *-b* have past stems in *vd* from *ft*. Thus, e.g.: *nīvd* 'rained' (*nov-*); *rīvd* 'barked' (*rov-*); *šīvd* 'sucked' (*šuv-*); *druvd* 'danced' (*drūv-*); M *γ<sup>2</sup>rīvd*, *γ<sup>2</sup>rīvd* 'seized' (*γurv-*);<sup>1</sup> *γīvd* 'spun' (*γīw-*); Z *cāvd* 'picked' (*cāb-*); Z *wāzīvd* (Y *vēzbi*) 'tightened' (*wāzib-*, *vēzib-*), etc.

This type of preterites is also formed from causatives in *-ā(w)-*, *-ōw* and some other verbs in *w < v*. E.g.: Y *aydāvd*, Z *aydēvd* 'dressed (somebody else)'; *gībāvd* 'destroyed'; *sovd*, *sērd* 'smeared' (*sāu-*), etc.

We find *xāvd* 'descended' (*xāfs-*), but roots in *-f* have secondary past stems in *ft*. Thus, e.g.: *wāft* 'wove' (*wāf-*); *dāft* 'fought'; *xīft* 'coughed', etc. Note the introduction of the past stem into the present of *šīft-* 'to plaster'.

In some cases roots in labials have weak preterites. Thus, e.g.: *xofāi* 'coughed'; *k<sup>2</sup>īrfāi* 'sneezed'; *pufāi* 'blowed'; *libāi* 'carded'; *žībī* 'rose'; *cābāi* 'picked'; *vēzbi* 'tightened' (but cf. above).

242. V) Roots in *ž*, *xš* and *γ* have past stems in *γd < xt*. Thus: *awayd* 'hung up' (*awāž-*); Y *trāyd*, M *t<sup>2</sup>royd* (Y also *trēžī*) 'tied' (*trāž-*); *tāyd*<sup>2</sup> 'cut' (*tīž-*); *lūyd* 'milked' (*lūž-*); *mūyd* 'moved' (*mūž-*); Z *wūyd* 'found place' (*wūj-*); *bayd* (and *baxšī*) 'divided' (*baxš-*); *vādayd* 'mixed' (*vāday-*); *zūyd* 'took' (*zūγ-*).

From roots in *x(s)* we find new formations in *xt*: *yuxt* 'heard' (*yuxs-*); *š<sup>2</sup>īroxt* 'shied' (*š<sup>2</sup>īrox-*). Note *waxc* (?) 'grew' and *vrexč* 'fried' from *waxš-*, *vroč-*, possibly with *xč < \*xšč < \*xšt?*

243. VI) Among the numerous roots in nasals only *lāmōn-* 'to rub'; *l<sup>2</sup>vōn-* 'to winnow' and Z *fīršōn-* 'to shake' have retained their preterites in original *-ata-*: *lāmī*; M *l<sup>2</sup>vēy*, but Y *lābad*; and *fīršāy*.

All other verbs in nasals have had their past stems re-formed with *n + t > (n)d*.<sup>3</sup> Examples of forms in *-(n)d* are: Y *lābad* 'winnowed' (*lābān-*); *l<sup>2</sup>γad* (M *l<sup>2</sup>γēnd*) 'threw away' (*l<sup>2</sup>γān-*); *vāzad* (Mm also *vāzēnd* 'recognized' (*vāzān-*); *ušād* 'churned' (*ušān-*); *yuwat*

<sup>1</sup> But Y *γur-*: *γurd* (Yzh also *γu'rīvd*).

<sup>2</sup> From which a secondary pres. *tuγd-* 'to shave'.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly *ked* 'dug' < *\*kanita-*, cf. above § 238 reg. *\*darita-*.



'loosened' (*yuwan-*); *wiet* 'loosened' (*wien-*); *xō<sup>at</sup>*, *xat* 'bought' (*xō<sup>a</sup>n-*, *xar-*); *loyod* 'fell asleep' (*lōyn-*).

The causatives in *-ān-*, *-ōn* have preterites of a recent formation in *-nd*, e.g.: *γaltand* 'rolled'; *bičirēnd* 'grazed', cf. *vāzēnd*, *l<sup>o</sup>γēnd* above.

Verbs in *-m* have past stems in *nd*, or still more recent ones in *md*. Thus: *vrīnd* 'stood' (*v<sup>o</sup>rēm-*); *pižānd* 'entrusted' (*pižām-*); *šamd* 'drunk' (*šam-*); *rīmd* 'pleased' (*rīm-*); *ptrāmd* 'seized'. Z *frakēvd* 'gargled' (*frakōn-*) is irregular. Reg. Y *yāg<sup>v</sup>iī*, Z *yēn'g* 'ground' (but Yr *yīr*, Mt *yūr*) from *yān-*, cf. above § 327.

### Preterite.

**244.** While M has preserved the distinction between the inflexion of transitive and intransitive preterites, Y has generalized the transitive endings. The result is that Y has established a system with two sets of personal suffixes, one for the present and one for the past tenses. But even in M the purely passive construction of the transitive preterite has been given up through the introduction of the accusative as the case of the object in such sentences, and through the partial adjustment between transitive and intransitive endings. Note also the incipient use of the nominative instead of the agent as a subject of a transitive preterite.<sup>1</sup> The tendency towards the dissolution of the ancient system has probably spread from Prs. to M and from Khw. to Y.

The intr. suffixes of the preterite in M are identical with those of the present except in the 3rd sg. In the trans. the 2nd sg., and, acc. to Zar. p. 118, also the 1st sg. have special forms.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1st sg. the ancient pronominal suffix and the auxiliary have been amalgamated, and this fusion has led to the introduction of *-m* also in the 1st pl. pret. of trans. verbs instead of *-n*, which is preserved in Sgl.—Ishk., Wkh. and Sar.

The 2nd sg. pret. trans. (Y also intrans.) in *-t* contains the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 211.

<sup>2</sup> Pres. and Trans. Pret. 1st sg. *-u/əm*, Intrans. Pret. *-am*.

pronominal suffix in a form which points to its preservation as a separate word till a comparatively recent date.<sup>1</sup> In the 2nd pl. the trans. suffix in *-f* has been generalized not only in the pret. of intrans. verbs but also in the present.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the development of the pronominal suffix 2 pl., Av. *vō*, into Y—M *-f*, Sgl. *-f*, *-v*, Wkh., Sar. *-v*, Sogd. *-β* cf. Gauthiot, Gramm. Sogd., I, p. 121.

Finally, as a result of this partial fusion of trans. and intrans. suffixes, the intrans. 3rd pl in *-et*, *-at* was introduced also into the transitives.

In the 3rd sg. we find, besides the expected suffixless form, also one ending in *-o*, *-a*. Thus, e.g.: Y *lišč* 'he saw'; *γurd* 'he seized'; *kəγ* 'he did'; *vrōft* 'he flew'; *avəγ* 'he brought'; *vət* 'he brought'; *loyoi* 'he entered'; *xavd* 'he descended', etc. But: *liō* 'he gave'; *pisto* 'he asked'; *'što* 'he said'; *fāto* 'he seized'; *žiyo* 'he beat'; *nivdo* 'it rained'; *resio* 'he arrived'; *drīo* 'he poured'; *mavdo* 'he measured', etc. Note *niāst* and *niāsto* 'sat down'; *lat* and *lāto* 'held'; Y *məγ* and M *muro* 'died'.

I have not been able to detect any difference in the use of these forms, nor any phonetic factors conditioning the presence or absence of *-o*. In one or two cases, however, Y *niāst* seems to mean 'sat down' and *niāsto* 'was seated'. But no such distinction can be traced in other verbs, nor is it possible always to take the forms in *-o* to be perfects.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., on the other hand, Sgl. *-δ*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above § 230 sq. [In the present *-f* < *-v* is probably derived from the 2nd pl. medium *-δwam*. Cf. Par. *-δr*, *-ēr*, and Khwarizmi (acc. to Henning) *-βi*. — Corr. note.]



The preterite is not infrequently used as a *futurum exactum*. Thus, e.g.: *Ysh wōs ke šūit, tro kyēi kəlo ōyōit* 'when thou now hast gone and have entered into the house, . . .'

247.

*Imperfect.*

'I was beating'

	Yg	Biddulph
1 Sg.	<i>žim-stəm</i>	<i>žierm-stem</i>
2 »	<i>žit-stət</i>	<i>žit-stet</i>
3 »	<i>ži-što</i>	<i>žier-sto</i>
1 Pl.	<i>žiem-štəm</i>	<i>žier-stΔm</i>
2 »	<i>žief-štēf</i>	<i>žief-stēf</i>
3 »	<i>žit stet</i>	<i>žiet-stet</i>

Cf. also Yr 1 sg. *žiem-ištəm* and 2 pl. *žief-ištēf*. Examples of the use of these forms are: *zo vətō žiem-ištəm* 'mā tāna zadam'; *mōx vəmən žief-ištēf* 'šumā māna zadān'; *mən vto žim-stəm, tō vəmən žit-stət, māf vəmən žief-štēf*, etc.

Unfortunately I did not succeed in securing a complete and wholly certain paradigm of this tense. It is scarcely probable that forms in *st* and in *št* are parts of the same paradigm, as asserted by Yg, and apparently we have to do with two different tenses, although the material does not permit us to distinguish between them.

In Biddulph's paradigm "er" probably represents  $\bar{e}$ , and *m* has been dropped in the 1st pl.

The forms in *st* are probably connected with those of the Durative Present mentioned above § 232.<sup>1</sup> *št* can hardly be compared with Sogd. 'štn, Yaghn. -išt,<sup>2</sup> as ancient *št* should regularly result in Y šč.

None of these forms are known from M.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *žit-stet* for \**žit-st* < *jata + tai + asti*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gramm. Sogd., II. 39.

## Perfect.

248. Just as is the case in most other Ir. languages the Perfect in Y is based upon the Past Participle enlarged by *-ka-*.

## Intransitives.

	‘I have sat down’ (=‘I am sitting’)	‘I have become tired’ (= ‘I am tired’)	‘I have become hungry’ (=‘I am hungry’)	‘I have become’
	Yzh	Yr	Yzh	Yzh
1 Sg.	<i>niastəyəm</i>	<i>uzəəyām</i>	<i>wušiaday-əm</i>	<i>šuyum</i>
2 »		<i>uzāeyet</i>	— -ət	
3 »	<i>niāsto</i>			<i>šūi</i>
1 Pl.			— -am	
2 »			— -əf	<i>šuyəf</i>
3 »	<i>niāsti</i>			

## Transitives.

	‘I have done’	‘I have seized’		
	Y	Y	Y	Biddulph
1 Sg.	<i>kəryum</i>	<i>yurdoyum</i>	<i>žiyəm</i> ‘I have beaten’	<i>žigam</i>
2 »			<i>xuryet</i> ‘thou hast eaten’	<i>žiget</i>
3 »	<i>kəro</i>	<i>yurdo</i>		<i>žī</i>
1 Pl.				<i>žigam</i>
2 »			<i>pərvīayāf</i> ‘you have found’	<i>žigaf</i>
3 »				<i>žīē</i>

249. Other examples are, e.g.: Ysh *x<sup>u</sup>šovōyi mīx zo muzdurə kuryum* ‘I have worked night and day’; *mən xis'mat č-kəryəm* ‘*mā xismat na karda-im*’; *mən vto žiyəm* ‘I have beaten thee’; *‘štəyəm* ‘*gufta am*’; *lišəyəm* ‘I have seen’; *ayoī* ‘he has come’; *pistəyəm* ‘I have asked’; *āvreyəm* ‘I have brought’; *xristəyəm* ‘I have shaved’; *sxiyəm* ‘I have slipped’; *šuyəm* ‘I have become’; *baŋyəm* ‘I have filled’; *fsaiyom* ‘I have risen’; *a'vɣε* ‘he has (?) brought’; *škāyə* ‘he has (?) sent’; *pəciyō*, *pəzgyō* ‘has broken (*burrīda šud*)’.

Note Ysh *žin̄kiko* (*yū akābur*) *niāsto* 'a woman (an old man) is sitting', but *loh šināmī niāsti* (not *\*niāstet*) 'two girls were sitting'. Apparently *niāsto* is construed as an adjective, not as a finite verb. Cf. Biddulph 3 pl. (trans. l) *žīē*.<sup>1</sup>

The only corresponding form heard in M was *līiyum* 'I have given', and acc. to LSI 'the Perfect tense is not used in M'. But acc. to Zar. the Perf. in M is formed with *-iyam*, *-əyəm*, e.g. *murīyam* 'I have died'; *neyišk'əyəm* 'I have heard'.

### Pluperfect.

250. The Pluperfect is formed from the Perfect through the addition of *vīo* 'was'. Thus, e.g.: *žīyəm vīo*, *šuyum vīo* = Prs. *\*zada-am būd*, *\*šuda-am būd* instead of the existing Prs. form *zada*, *šuda būdam*. The Y paradigm is based upon the 3rd sg. *šūi vīo* 'šuda būd', where the personal suffix was zero, and could be interpreted as belonging either to *šūi* or *vīo*.

The following examples have been noted: Yg *žūyum vīo* 'I had sewn'; zo (*mən*) *v(ə)to žīyəm* 'I had beaten thee'; Yr *drəvīyəm vīo* 'I had feared'; Ysh *li vīo* 'he had given'; *yauyo urwāi vīo* 'the water had been boiling'; *ku šuyəf vīo?* 'kužā rafta būdīd?' *mo žin̄kiko ayoyi vīo* 'this woman had come (*āmada būd*)'.

Note Mm *līiyum vīo* 'dāda būdam'.

### Various Modal Forms of the Verb.

251. A number of finite verbal forms have been noted, but so sporadically that it is only possible to label them quite provisionally. With all reserve they may be called respectively First Conditional, Second Conditional, Subjunctive, Potential and Concessive.

<sup>1</sup> But Ysh *'wuli a'vəzde* 'he brought wives' (sg. *'wulo a'vəzdo*) can hardly be a Perf.

*First Conditional.*

**252.** This form is based upon the Perfect, to which has been added the particle *va* (< \**bawāt*?).<sup>1</sup> Examples are: *Ysh vos a'γōi, wo mən dawlet lišci-va* 'if he should come now, he would see my wealth'; *yō vira mən šifien kə vī-va, xoyo a'γōi-va* 'if this burden were my husband's, he would have come himself'; *wos ke mən šifə a'γōi-va, lišce-va wo mind ābādief* 'if (or 'that') my husband should come now and should see these cultivated fields, . . . '.

Cf. LSIy *kerem-va* 'I would have done'; *baryum-va* 'I would have been satisfied'; LSI<sub>m</sub> *yikeriam-wa* 'we would have made'; *xūriem-wa* 'we should have eaten'.

*Second Conditional.*

**253.** This form is also based upon the Perfect, but the particle added is *vīi* (cf. Anc. Prs. *biyā*?). Cf. Par. *kurō bē*, etc., IIFL, I, p. 101.

Thus, e.g., *Ysh agar Xadāi čv mašce vīi, oyim* 'If God should not kill me (*kušta bāšad*),<sup>2</sup> I shall come'; *amax tad zindo vīi, ču muro vīi* 'our father may be alive, he may not be dead, . . .'; *šūi vī, ž' dalen čpāč āy<sup>w</sup>ōi* he might have gone away, etc.<sup>3</sup>

*Subjunctive.*

**254.** We also find *vīi* 'bāšad' alone as an equivalent of *fərmə* in Ysh: *agar 'štyot ki kīmat vīi* (or *fərmə*), *č-pərviam* 'even if—they said—the price might be (with us), we have not got it' (?). Regarding *fərmə* (< Prs. *farmāy*) v. Voc. s.v. It appears to form a kind of Subjunctive in LSI<sub>m</sub> *ze ferme ki duhum* 'I may beat'; cf. Ysh *woko cəs kīmat fərmə?* 'what may be the price (here)?' *moi koi-kān fər'ma, kōi yurdo fər'ma?* 'az kī bāšad, ki girifta bāšad?'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the use of this particle in forming indefinite pronouns.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. the use of the Past as a Futurum Exactum, see § 246.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Texts, 39.

*Concessive.*

- 255 This label may provisorily be put upon the forms in *-yuz*: Ysh *lī-yuz Parvardigār*, *mašcu-yus Parvardigār*, *tu rastē xismat ken* 'may God give (thee wealth), or may he kill (thee, in any case) thou shalt serve him rightly'. It is possible that we ought to analyze *līy-uz*, *līy* being the Perfect; but *-uz* remains unexplained.

*Potential.*

256. Finally we may mention the forms in *baš*, e.g.: Yu *yasp yazevda baš* 'the horse could be made to run' (?); Ysh *vrūtā žie baš* 'the moustache could be cut' (?); *žūya baš* 'it could be sewn'; cf. LSIy *men žia baš* 'I should (?) beat'; *risia-baš* 'may come'; *šuya baš* 'I should be'. This form, which is not found in M, is of Khow. origin. Cf. Khow. *žibiko baš nekī* 'it is not to be eaten'; *aželi koriko baš* 'she is going to bear a child', etc. It can have nothing to do with Sgl. *buš*.

*Passive.*

257. The Passive is formed with *š-* (Prs. *šudan*) and the Perfect Ptc. Cf. Zar. p. 123, and LSI<sub>m</sub> *ze žia šiam*, LSIy *zo žia baš šom* 'I am beaten'.

*Interrogative Particle.*

258. In accordance with other Pamir and Dardic dialects<sup>1</sup> Y—M employs an interrogative particle *-ā*. Thus, e.g.: *tu Xadāyen bande češ<sup>v</sup>-a?* 'art thou not the slave of God?' *wo mara ko dārū avre, mōy-a* 'is this the man who brought the wealth?'. Cf. Voc. s.v. *-ā*.  
The origin of this particle is unknown.

<sup>1</sup> And also Burushaski, cf. Lorimer, Grammar. §§ 147, 340.



## Nominal Forms of the Verb.

### Participles.

259. The Perfect Participle is formed from the Past Base by adding Y *-o* (*γurdo* 'seized'), M (Z) *-igā*, f. *-igagā*.<sup>1</sup> I have not come across any Present Participle.<sup>2</sup>

### Infinitive.

260. The most usual form of the Infinitive is formed by adding *-ān* to the Past Base. It may be derived from an ancient infinitive in *-tanai*, but more probably it is simply an oblique case of a verbal noun in *\*-ta-* or *\*-ti-*.

Examples are: Ysh *šūi no tūli'yān* 'he went to seek (*talabistan*)'; *no xu'rān na'γen čes*, *no āγə'stān pū'sāk čes* 'there is no bread to eat and no clothes to put on'; *γurd xu'rāk no xu'rān*, *γurd pu'sāk no āγə'stān* 'he took food to eat and clothes to wear'; *no no'ōf no xu'rān če astet* 'they have nothing to eat'; *niāst šo dukandarə muzdurə kə'rā* (= *kə'rān*?) 'he stayed with the shopkeeper in order to serve him'; Yu *no tagbīr kə'rān šūi* 'he went to make a plan'; cf. LSI *m waina neyer* 'he went out (for) hunting'.

More dubious forms are: Ysh *loyoda waxt* 'sleeping time (*xuftan*)'; *wōs žibe tar ōyem* 'now I rise and go (: I go after rising?)'; cf. LSI *y, m žia* 'to beat'. Probably *-a* < *-aka-*.

### Conjunctions.

*ke* 'that', etc.

261. Like Prs. *ki* (from which it is borrowed) and Par. *če*<sup>3</sup> Y—M *ke* is used in manifold ways.

a) In Substantive Clauses: Y *'što ke* 'he said that'; *tə čə žūi ke* 'don't say that . . .'; *užūr kə yūi k'ei huro astet* 'he saw that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zar., p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, Voc. s.v. *wušī(y)adaγ*.

<sup>3</sup> IIFL, I, p. 104.

- his brother-in-law's house was there'; Mm *wužir də kyoi kə jəhōn rūpāyo* 'he saw that there was much money in the house'.  
 But Ysh: *woz užerem-este, moi kyeyin dir šūi* 'now I see (that) . . .
- b) In Causal Clauses: Y *wos ālə kən, ke zo na-to tāt* 'now listen, because<sup>1</sup> I am thy father'; *mailis kene ke zə oim* 'make an assembly, because<sup>2</sup> I shall come'.
- c) In Final Clauses: Mm *kēdo və zəmīn ki yū l'vər noyor* 'he dug in the earth, so that a door appeared'.
- d) In Temporal Clauses: Ysh *kə āy<sup>w</sup>ōm* 'when I came'.
- e) In Conditional Clauses: Ysh *kə . . . ėpāc asəm* 'if I come back'; *xismat kə kəret da sālo* 'if thou servest for a year'.
- f) *ke* as a Relative Particle: Mm *jāi . . . ke yū wīya vīo* 'a place where there was a willow'; Y *cis ke nā mun resī* 'whatever comes to me', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Or: "as if I were"?

<sup>2</sup> Or: "in order that I may come"?

## TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

### I.

(Ysh).

1. Žū'wān 'vīo, yū 'wulo 'vīo, loh 'pūrē vī'et. 2. Žū'wān 'šūi no tūli'yān, šūi tro 'šāhar, tro ki'yēf lo'γōi.

3. Lo'γōi dē 'kyēi, yū a'kābur ni'āsto; lo'γōi dē 'kyēi, sa'lām kəp.

4. "Wā'lēkam wəsa'lām, āi žū'wān! Na 'koi ā'γōit?" 5. "Gadā'i tēla'ūm, ba 'nām-e Xa'dā. Wa'čārum 'nā mən 'dēl!" 6. Wa'čārum na 'wən lī'o, na'γən na 'wən lī'o. 7. "Ai žū'wān" 'što. Žū'wānen 'što ke: 'Āi 'tāt, āi a'kābur, gab 'diah!'

8. Akābu'ren 'što kə: "Āi žū'wān, 'γūi 'lār, vo 'mən gap γu'rā! Wos 'ālē kēn, ke 'zo na 'to 'tāt, 'tu mun 'pūr, 'zo ftō nasi'āt kē'nəm.

9. Wōs ke šū'it, tro 'kyēi kə lo'γō'it<sup>1</sup>: 'ba 'nām-e Xə'dā 'dēl, wa'čārum

### I.

(Ysh).

1. There was a young man, who had a wife and two sons. 2. The young man went begging, he went through the town and entered the houses.

3. He entered a house, (where) an old man was sitting. He entered the house and salaamed. 4. (The old man answered:) "And peace be with you, young man. What did you come for?" 5. "I am begging for alms in the name of God. Give me alms." 6. He gave him alms, and he gave him bread. 7. "Young man," he said. The young man said: "Father, grey-beard, please speak."

8. The grey-beard said: "Young man, listen and grasp my words. Now behave as if I were your father, and you were my son; I shall give you advice. 9. Now when you have gone (from here) and have

<sup>1</sup> Written *kə'lo-ōγ<sup>o</sup>*.

na 'mən da'lē'. 10. Agar 'kōi ke li'ēt, γa'šē<sup>n</sup>; 'kōi ke 'či li'ēt, na 'xāyi ki'ō 'kit, 'wos 'ale 'kən muz'durə kən, gadā'i lə'γān, 'či tələwā gadā'i, muz'durə kē<sup>n</sup>. 11. Wos ke šū'it, no 'yū kua'tinen muz'durə kē<sup>n</sup>. 12. Dukan'dār fər'mē, kua'tin fər'mē; š'o'lo 'won ai, muz'dur ken, ha'lāl muz'durə ken. 13. Žə xo<sup>a</sup>'in xušči'en xis'mat ken; agar 'rīza 'vīo 'pūr' žā; 'agar də 'tō ba'rābar kə 'vīo 'vrai' žā, 'agar iž 'tō 'xušče 'vīo 'tād' žā. 14. Ha'lāl 'xismat ken, no xšo'vū xšo'vo 'če žā, xšo'vō tā 'miš xis'mat ken. 15. Xis'mat kə kə'ret da 'sālo, tə 'če 'žūi kə: 'Mən 'min xismat kə'rum'. 16. 'Čes kə Xedā'iyen 'lio, do 'yū miš ha'zār rupā'yo na 'to rə'sē. 17. Tə 'če žūi: 'Mən xis'mat 'č-kə'γəm, ha'zār rupā'yī na 'mən 'či da'lē. Da 'yū miš ha'zār rupā'yī ro'si'. 18. Agar da ha'zār 'miš yū 'surx 'pāisō rə'si, tə 'či žūi: 'Āi Parvardi'gāra a'žawuy-em 'tū, 'mōzē-em 'tū, da'lē-em 'tū'. 19. Wos ha'lāl xis'mat ken, 'li'γuz Parvardi'gār, mašču'γuz Parvardi'gār, tu 'rastē xis'mat ken, xis'mat kə'ret."

entered a house, (then say:) 'Give in the name of God, may you give me alms.' 10. If somebody gives you<sup>1</sup> anything, it is well. If nobody gives you anything, (but) labours for himself, then you must act thus: Take service (with him) and give up begging; do not ask for alms, but take service. 11. Now when you have gone, take service with a rich man. 12. Let him be a shopkeeper, (or) let him be a rich man; go to him, and take service with him, lawful service. 13. Serve one older than yourself; if he is younger, call him 'son', if he is of equal (age) with you, call him 'brother', if he is elder than you, call him 'father'. 14. Do lawful service. Do not call the night 'night', but work by night and day. 15. When you have worked for a year, do not say: 'I have done so much work.' 16. If God gives anything, a thousand rupees will come to you in one day. 17. Do not say: 'I have done no work, please do not give me a thousand rupees; I have got a thousand rupees in one day.' 18. If you get one copper penny in a thousand days, do not say: 'O Creator, thou lettest me be born, thou killest me, and thou givest me (my reward?). 19. Do now lawful service. (Whether) the Creator give (you a reward), (or) the Creator kill (you), you must serve righteously, (and) you (will have) served (truly).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 205. <sup>2</sup> Cf. § 255.

20. Wo rux'sat šūi, do xwoi kyēi rə'siy, wo xoi zə'monəf lišč, wo xoi 'wulo lišč. 21. Wo no 'wulo 'ištō: "Ai 'wulo, zo a'im no muzdu'rīen". 22. Lo naha'rī no 'won 'kəṛ, γurd, ra'hī 'šūi. Šūi 'sahro, šūi na Či'träyi, da Či'träyi rə'sī.

24. Ni'āst šo dukan'darə muz'durə kə'ṛā. Yū 'sālə ni'āst, šə'lo dukan'daren muz'durə kəṛ. 26. X'ušo'vō tā 'miḡ nə 'pəč 'ištō, no 'yox 'ištō, no p'oxuftəm 'ištō, no ušiyādəm 'ištō. 27. Wos 'ištō ke: "Ai dukan'dār, 'wo mən rux'sat ken, 'mun yū wu'lo a'stet, loh 'pūrē a'stet, no noōf no xu'ṛān 'če a'stet, 'no n' āγə'stān 'če a'stet, 'hāč 'kuči 'češ. 28. Wo 'mən rux'sat kən, wa 'mən 'muzdurə 'na mən 'dēl, 'tā zo a'yim, kə mun zəmo'nak-k-ə<sup>u</sup> (?)<sup>1</sup> mun 'wulo šilo'xo šūi 'vīo. Wos wa šūi nə 'tat kyēyin-ā, da kyēi ži fərmi-ā?"

30. Dukan'dāre(n) 'išt'ō ke: "Ni'yā də kuči'o". 31. Nə'γoṛ do kuči'o. 32. Woz dukan'dār 'γurd yū a'lāno, nə'vur do kuči'o li'e (li'o?) nə žu'wānen. 33. Žu'wānen 'γurd, dukan'dār 'čpāč šūi na du'kānen. 34. Žu'wānen wa a'lāno da 'lāst kəṛ 'fsāyo hu'ro.

20. He took leave and came to his own house, he saw his sons and his wife. 21. He said to his wife: "O my wife, I am going away to (seek) service. 22. (She) made two loaves for him; he took them and started off. 23. He went into the desert, he went to Chitral and arrived there.

24. He stayed with a shopkeeper in order to serve him. 25. He stayed one year with the shopkeeper and served him. 26. Night and day he did not say that it was hot, nor that it was cold, he did not say that he was tired or hungry. 27. Then (at last) he said: "O shopkeeper, give me leave, I have a wife and two sons; they have nothing to eat, nor anything to wear, they have nothing (at all). 28. Give me leave and give me my wages, that I may go, because my children and my wife have become destitute. 29. Now has she gone to her father's house? Or may it be that she is still (?) in (my) house?"

30. The shopkeeper said: "Go out into the street." 31. He went out into the street. 32. Then the shopkeeper took a pomegranate, brought it out into the street and gave it to the young man. 33. The young man took it, and the shopkeeper went back into the shop. 34. The young man put the pomegranate in his hand and stood up there.

<sup>1</sup> Prob. = u.

35. Išto kə: “Āi Xa'dāi, x<sup>u</sup>šo'vōyi miḡ zo muz'durə kuṛ'γum, yū 'sālə 'šūi, ča'min ke'nəm? 'Nā mun yū a'lāno ro'se! 36. 'Āi Parvardi'gar, mun 'ces gu'nā, ces xatā'i, ces 'āib? Wo 'mun mal'min če ke'nē-este?”

37. Wos 'γurd wa a'lāno, 'žio da av'γuš, ra'hē šūi. 38. 'Sāhara šūi, šūi də Oryo'čo. 39. Yū 'mara ži da'len ā'γōi, 'guya da Dra'wuso 'vīo. 'Šūi vī, ž' da'len čpāč ā'γ'ōi. 40. 'Wōi ā'beli žōi 'lāmə vīet. 41. 'Wən čo'γūvd, 'što kə: “Āi žu'wān, tə na'γen xur'γet-ā, 'yāxio xur'γet-ā, kə to wos zəmo'ne, wu'lo mal'min šilaxe šū'i?”

42. No xu'rān na'γen 'češ, no ā'γə'stān pū'sāk čes. 'Tu ča'min wo xōi nəfs ke'ne? Də až'γāl 'xabar 'čes-ā. 43. Yā pū'sāk škōr, yā na'γen škōr. Tu Xa'dāyen 'bande 'češ'a? Tu Pai'γumbaren 'ūmed 'češ'a? Tu do'of 'xabar 'češ'ā? 44. Agar 'što kə: 'Āi vrāi, wos 'gūya ken', o'yim-əstē 'sāharen, wo 'mən xuz'dāi, po yū 'hory dīd, kə wa-čpāč 'čīr miḡ 'čpāč asəm. 45. 'Čīr miḡ 'dīd 'čpāč asəm.

35. He said: “O God, I have worked night and day, a year has gone. What shall I do? I receive a pomegranate (for wages)! 36. O Creator, what is my sin, what is my fault, what is my error? Why dost thou treat me thus?”

37. Then he took the pomegranate, put it into his lap, and went off. 38. He went into the desert, he went to Orguch<sup>1</sup> 39. A man came from below, as if he was [: had been] in Drosh. He might have gone away, (and now) he came back from below. 40. They were both from one village. 41. He (who) returned, said: “Young man, have you eaten bread or ashes, since your children and your wife have now become so destitute? 42. They have neither food to eat, nor clothes to wear. How do you treat your own family?<sup>2</sup> Have you no news about your family? 43. Send them either clothes or food. Are you not the slave of God? Have you no hope in the Prophet? Have you no news about them? 44. If you say: ‘O brother, do now thus,’<sup>3</sup> (you must know) that I am going into the desert, (somebody) has sent me<sup>4</sup> on a certain errand, from which (?) I shall come back after four days. 45. After

<sup>1</sup> I. e. to a place as far from his home as O. is from Chitral where the tale was told (some 5 miles).

<sup>2</sup> Litterally: Your own soul.

<sup>3</sup> Prs.: *ālī amī kāri bukən.*

<sup>4</sup> Prs.: *mara rawān karda ast.*

Kə ā'γ<sup>w</sup>ōm ži 'mol v<sup>o</sup>'ro, u'xšo 'miḡ zə nə k'yi'en asəm. 46. 'Cis ke 'nā mun re'sī, wo 'xoi (mən) 'muzdure γū'rum, a'səm nə kyē'yen. Wos o'yīm-əstē 'sāharo."

47. Wo a'lāno 'līo no 'maṛaken. I'sto ke: "Tu wum i'sa no mən 'k'ēyēn, no mən 'zəmana'kəf 'del. 48. Mun zumanakē<sup>n</sup> 1 (da k'ēi) žε[t] kə: 'A'max 'tad 'zindo vī, ču 'muṛo vī'; xu'sānē ke'net. 49. 'Zo əm o'yīm, ro'səm; agar Xa'dāi ču 'mašče vī, o'yīm, ro'sim."

50. Wo a'lāno γurd, šōi sāaro, na Dra'uso šōi. 51. Wo 'yū 'maṛa ā'γōi wel'γōo. 'Šūi, pə Šəγo'yo no'γoṛ. No'γoṛ ke də Šoγoyo xši'yet-ste. 52. I'sto ke: "Äi 'vrāi, če 'xšīəf-este?". 53. "Agar nə max 'ištət ki'o za'rūr 'šūi, 'xšiyem-esto no xoi zarūrien; ki tu ni'xā malo." 54. "Na maf 'ce za'rūr?". 55. 'Što kə: "Äi vrāi, na max za'rūr šūi, kə 'magam max yū pād'sā astet, pād'sā lur'vū šūi. 56. 'Dir 'pād'sāan žo lura'γan 'kāγəz kəro, 'škāṛ-ən: 56. 'Äi ādamē<sup>n</sup>, agar

four days I shall come back. And when I have come<sup>2</sup> I shall come to (our) home six days later. 46. Whatever I get I shall take as my wages, and come to (our) home. Now I am going out into the desert."

47. He<sup>3</sup> gave the pomegranate to the man and said: "Take it to my house and give it to my boys. 48. My boys (in the house) will say: 'Our father must be alive and not dead;' and they will rejoice. 49. I shall also go and arrive there; if God does not kill (me), I shall go and arrive there."

50. He took the pomegranate and went out into the desert. He went to Drosh. 51. And the other man came up. He went and appeared at Shoghor.<sup>4</sup> He appeared there when they were lamenting at Shoghor. 52. He said: "O brethren, why are you weeping?" 53. "If it is necessary for us to speak,<sup>5</sup> we are weeping at our distress,<sup>6</sup> so that you must now stay here." 54. "What is your distress?" 55. They<sup>7</sup> said: "O brother, our distress is that we have a king, and he has fallen ill. 56. Another king has written a letter from afar and has sent it to us. 56. (Its contents are as follows): 'O men, if

<sup>1</sup> Prob. *okē* (pl.).

<sup>2</sup> Lit.: When I have come from here.

<sup>3</sup> The man who had served with the shopkeeper.

<sup>4</sup> Name of a village in Lutkoh.

<sup>5</sup> Prs.: *Agar ba mā gap zadan zarūr šuda ast.*

<sup>6</sup> *zarūri.*

<sup>7</sup> He (?).

pādsā i'ziko mu'ro, i'ziko va mēlk γu'ram; agar sa'har mu'ro, sa'har γu'ram.' 57. Wos a'max 'pādsā lēr'wū šūi."

58. Wos yaspē γa'zəvdet, və'det 'sāro. A'nīmēf su'wār šut val'γō, a'nīmēf šet 'sāro. 59. Yū dēm šūit, a'γōt čpāč, rə'siet hu'ro.

Maṛakā 'št'yo: "Ku 'šuyəf vī'o?" 'Št'yo: "Max dārū k'wo'sem vīo. 'Drust mēlk 'nāse<sup>n</sup> nəvu'ram, č-pur'viam."

62. "Wokə cəs dārū vī'o, 'woko cəs 'kīmat vīi,<sup>1</sup> kə wōu č-pər'vīa'γāf?" 63. Agar 'št'yo<sup>t</sup> ke: "'Kīmat 'vīi, č-pər'viam." 64. 'Št'yo kə<sup>n</sup>: "Wo dārūī la mən astet." 65. Wōf 'št'ot: "Wō dārū na max dēl; 'max xō'nam, na'to 'hūγ da'lem. 'Čan ke 'tū kē'nē 'hūγ da'lem; 'čand kī'mat ke kē'nē, 'max wo 'γuram." 66. 'Št'yo kə: "Zə da'lem no 'māf. Tārā'zū a'vrē, 'mām də tāra'zū."

(your) king dies to-night (?),<sup>2</sup> I shall seize the country to-night; if he dies to-morrow morning, I shall seize it then.' 57. Now our king has fallen ill."

58. Then they let their horses gallop,<sup>3</sup> and brought them down. Half the horsemen rode upwards and half of them rode downwards. 59. They suddenly went off, returned and arrived there.

60. The man said: "Where have you been?"<sup>4</sup> 61. They said: "We have been searching for some medicine. We have travelled all over the country,<sup>5</sup> but we have not found it."

62. (The man said:) "What was the medicine there,<sup>6</sup> and what might the price be, that you didn't get it?" 63. [If]<sup>7</sup> they said: "(Although) we may have the money to pay for it,<sup>8</sup> we have not got it."

64. He said: "I have got that medicine." 65. They said: "Give us the medicine; we shall buy it and give you money (for it). We shall give as much money as you demand, we shall take it for the price you fix." 66. He answered: "I shall give it to you. Bring some scales and let us weigh it."

<sup>1</sup> Or *fərma*.

<sup>2</sup> The construction is not clear.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *aspara davāndan*.

<sup>4</sup> *Kuža rafta būdid* 'where had you gone'.

<sup>5</sup> Lit.: We have pulled it out completely (Prs. paraphrase: *sar-ba-sar gaštīm*).

<sup>6</sup> *woko*, Bad. Prs. *uko*.

<sup>7</sup> *Agar* seems superfluous. But cf. sentence 44.

<sup>8</sup> Translation uncertain. Cf. § 254.



67. A'vret, drīet, mav'det. 68. Maṛa'ken da tāra'zū drī'o, mav'do, ba'rābar ċi 'noγ'or. 69. Wən išt'o kē: "Yə to hūγ kəb no'γor, zo wo xoi dārūi ċi 'dālem. 70. Wos oi<sup>h</sup>, am'boh 'nāl a'vāl; zo wo xoi dārūi u'gah da'lem."

71. Wōs šut, wo mālef a'vret, ri'sə(v)det. Wo 'dārū lī'o. Yāt; wo dārū yāt, na pād'sāan lī'et.

73. Pādšā 'tāza šūi ba hokm-e Xa'dāyən. Ādamē xo'sān šut. "Wo maṛa drāi a'vāze." Wo maṛa və'det šəlo pādšāən. 75. Pād'sāən pi'stō: "Wo maṛa 'ko dārū a'vre, 'mōy-a?" 76. 'Zōpə, bū'tə lī'o; woṛo lī'o, pīra'hān lī'o; kuṭ lī'o, čā'dur lī'o; dō yū bō'žēi ašerafi lī'et.

77. 'Tūrd wo 'maṛaken, vī'revdo, ra'he šūi. 78. A'γōi, rə'sēi, nə xoi 'kyēin 'čūi, šūi n'ou 'maṛa 'kyēin. 'Šūi, lo'γoi da 'kyēi. 79. Wo 'vira la'γadə da 'kyēi: "Žiŋki'ko<sup>u</sup>, wo 'vira γu'ra<sup>h</sup>." 80. Žiŋkiko išt'yo kē: "Ya 'cəs min 'vira? Yo 'vira 'kōi-kān?"

67. They brought (the scales), put (the money into them), and weighed it. 68. (Then) the man put (the medicine) into the scales, weighed it, but the weight did not come out as equal. 69. Then he said: "This money of yours<sup>1</sup> has come out (appeared) to be too little, I will not give you my medicine." 70. Go now, bring much money, then I shall give you my medicine at once."

71. Then they went, fetched the money<sup>2</sup> and brought it there. 72. He gave them the medicine. They took it; they took the medicine and gave it to the king.

73. By the command of God the king recovered, and the people rejoiced. 74. (The king said:) "Bring that man here." They brought him before the king. 75. The king asked: "Is this the very man who brought the medicine?" 76. He gave him clothes, boots, trousers, shirt, coat and turban, and they gave him gold-coins in a bag.

77. The man took it (all), loaded it (on his horse), and departed. 78. He came and arrived (at his village); he did not go to his own house, but he went to that man's house. He went there and entered into the house. 79. He threw down his burden in the house (and said): "Woman, take the burden." 80. The woman said: "What burden is this? Whose is this burden?"

<sup>1</sup> Sg. for pl.

<sup>2</sup> Or goods.

81. Wo maṛaken ištə kə: "Yo vīra ta-'kan." 82. "Yo vīra nā-mən 'kōi škār?" "Ta šīfien 'škār." 83. "Wo mən šīfien vīra škār, 'xoyo 'kū šūi? Yo vīra mən šīfien 'čes, tu čopik kene." 84. Č<sup>u</sup> 'fxatiyo. "Yo vīra mən šīfien ke vī-va, 'xoyo aγō'i-va, tu čopik č-kē'ne." 85. O vīra l'γədo, 'šūi, ištə kə: 86. "Yo vīra ta šīfien 'nā to škārə. Yū a'lāno 'lī vio, mən wo 'prēstəm, 'γurdum aš'ra'fī, wos a'γrum na 'to. 87. 'Na tə trə 'lās kərum, zo 'oyim no xoi 'kyēin." Šūi no xoi kyēin.

88. 'Žiŋkiko u'žur 'yū miš, 'lo<sup>h</sup> miš, 'maṛaken dərak č-sūi. 89. 'Žiŋkiki (y)u'gah žə aš'ra'fiəf yu t'ɾəft, 'yaī no bazāren, 'līo da ba'zār, 'γurd xu'rāk no xu'rān, 'γurd pu'sak no āγə'stān, avəṛ no 'xoi 'kyēin. 90. 'Sko yū aš'ra'fen 'mind dau'lat šūi.

91. "Wos na xa'in lə'zo kə'nium." 92. Wos 'xabar kəṛ no āda'məf: "A'səf 'nā mən muz'durə kə'nē, no yu 'mīxen 'pānj ru'pāya da'lem." 93. 'Ādamē ā'γot, pər 'šet, 'ambo<sup>h</sup> ā'γot dəftəd də 'hōry. 94. Do

81. The man said: "This burden is yours." 81. "Who has sent me this burden?" „Your husband has sent it." 83. "Has my husband sent that bundle? Where has he gone himself? This bundle is not my husband's, you are lying." 84. She did not take it, (but said:) "If this burden had been my husband's, he would have come himself; do not tell lies." 85. The man threw down the bundle, went away and said: 86. "This bundle your husband has sent to you. He had given me a pomegranate, I sold it, got gold-coins (for it), and now I have brought them to you. 87. I have put them in your hand, and now I go home." And he went home.

88. The woman kept watch, one day, two days, but she did not catch sight of her husband. 89. Once the woman stole one of the pieces of gold, took it to the bazaar, sold it<sup>1</sup> there and brought food to eat and clothes to wear, and brought it all to her house. 90. Such riches came from one piece of gold.

91. (Then she thought:) "Now let me build a castle for myself." 92. Then she made known among the men: "Come and work for me, I shall give five rupees a day in wages." 93. The men went, they went in great numbers, many came and started working. 94. They

<sup>1</sup> Litt.: gave it.

'yū mæx xalās kəʔet, lizo kəʔet, ta'yār šūi. 95. 'Bāya kəʔet, 'hargeno 'haule<sup>2</sup> pəzgi'et. Miwa'γē ži'et, gulē kšči'et.

96. 'Säile šūi, 'žinkiki 'štə kə: "Ai da'rīγ<sup>x</sup>, a'žəp 'säile kəʔ'γum.

97. 'Wos kə mən 'šifə aγo'i-va, 'lišče-va wo 'mind ābā'dīəf. 98. Wos 'pāže ta'yār šūi, no 'xoi 'pūrəf 'wulo 'čə avazəm-'ā?"

99. 'Wulo a'vāzdo, no a'beli 'pūrəf 'wuli a'vəzde, ni'āst sko dau'let; dau'let, pu'sāk, na'γen bi'nās šūi. 100. Wōs xalās šūi, 'štyo kə: "Ai Xə'dāi, wo mən 'šifə 'č-avazi-ā? Wos a'γōi, wo mən dau'let lišči-va."

101. Šfə də Dra'wusə vī'ō, muzdu'rī k'ed vī'o, wos rux'sat tūli'yo.

102. "Wo mən 'muzdure del," ištə, "tā zo o'im."

103. Yū piškō no 'won li'ō; 'γurd, ži'e de av'γuš. 104. Ra'he šūi, da 'pādo a'γōi, žiyo čigāli, nəvur mē'dī.<sup>1</sup> 105. 'Štyo kə: "Äi Xədāi, na xāin no xurān čəš, no 'man 'ces delum?" 106. Gurd, lə'γado da laxči'o, 'drīo tra šile, ra'he šūi.

finished it in one month, they built the castle, and it was ready (for use). 95. They laid out a garden and they made<sup>2</sup> a wall on all sides. They planted fruit-trees and sowed flowers.

96. It became a wonderful sight, and the woman said: "What a pity, I have prepared a wonderful sight. 97. Oh that my husband came, oh that he saw these cultivated fields! 98. Now it is all ready, should I not bring wives<sup>3</sup> for my sons?"

99. She brought wives,<sup>3</sup> she brought wives for both her sons, and she settled down with her wealth. Her wealth, her clothes and her food were copious. 100. Then it was finished and she said: "O God, why dost thou not bring my husband here? If he came now he would see my wealth."

101. (Meanwhile) her husband was in Drosh, he was working, and he asked for leave. 102. "Give me my wages," he said, "that I may go."

103. (His master) gave him a cat; he took it and put it in his lap. 104. He left, came out into the road, it scratched him with its claws, and he took it out.<sup>4</sup> 105. He said: "Oh God, I have nothing to eat myself, what shall I give it?" 106. He took it, put it into a skin-bag, placed it on his shoulder, and went on.

<sup>1</sup> Or *mēli?*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Voc. s. v. *hargeno*.

<sup>3</sup> Litt.: a wife (: for each of them).

<sup>4</sup> Prs.: *az baγal ba-dar (ūsū) kad*.

107. A'γōi da 'pādo, "u'šīo kəɹ. U'žūr kə yū<sup>1</sup> k'ɛi 'huro as'tet. Šūi, lo'γoi do k'ɛi. 108. U<sup>1</sup> 'žin̄kiko ni'āsto, 'tāam k'ɛt-isto. 109. 'Kəɹ, nə'vur da ra'ža, 'baɹd wo žie tro poš'kəf, ta'yār kəɹ, a'vəɹ, us'tāi no 'maɹaken da a'pīr.

110. Wos pāɹɛ noɹoɹet, ā'γot no poš'ke. 111. 'Žio wōf, wos van šūi da lax'čio 'nīgio. Wo p'oško la-'kəɹ, 'fāto wo 'paɹɹəf.

112. 'Žin̄kiko xa'lās šūi, na'ɣen xuɹet. 113. "Šābaš," žin̄kiki 'štyō, "šābaš, wo 'mən xa'lās kəɹet! 114. Yo ɛəs mɪn žān'dār wo mən xa'lās kəɹet? 115. Wos wā'i 'nā mun 'dɛl, 'nā to 'hūɣ dā'lem."

116. Lī'o no 'wən, 'γūrd, fəči'nəvdo. 117. Ā'γōi, yū bō'žei aš'ra'fi a'vəɹ, lī'o no 'maɹaken.

118. 'Maɹaken γūrd, vī'rəvdo, ra'he šūi. 119. Ā'γōi, rə'si də xoi k'ɛi. Lo'γoi də k'ɛi; u'žur kə yū 'žin̄kiko, loh ši'nāmī ni'āsti. 120. 'Žin̄kiko: "Čāi šəm," 'pisto wo zin̄'ef: "Āi zə'nī, yo 'maɹa

107. When he came on the road, he became hungry and he saw that there was a house there. He went and entered the house. 108. A woman was sitting there, she was cooking food. 109. She prepared it, took it out on the platform, divided it and put it into the dishes, made it ready, brought it, and placed it before the man.

110. Then the mice came out and came to the dish. 111. He struck them; then he stretched out and opened the skin bag. He let out the cat, and it caught the mice.

112. The woman got rid of them, and they ate the food. 113. "Well done," said the woman, "well done. You have rid me of them. 114. What kind of animal is this? You have rid me (of the mice).<sup>2</sup> 115. Now give it to me, and I shall pay you for it."

116. He gave it to her, and she took it and hid it. 117. Then she came with a bag of gold-coins which she gave to the man.

118. The man took it, loaded it (on his horse), and went off. 119. He came (home), arrived at his own house, entered it, and saw one woman and two girls sitting there. 120. The woman (said to him:) "Drink tea," and she asked her daughters-in-law: "My daughters-in-

<sup>1</sup> In sandhi: *kʷēi (y)ū*.

<sup>2</sup> One would expect *kəɹ* «it has».

ž<sup>u</sup>kū wāī pər'sə!" 121. Zi'nīef pīs'tet: "Ä' tāt, tu ž<sup>u</sup>kū?"  
 122. "Äi 'luγdeo, 'zo ž-im 'k<sup>γ</sup>eyen. Mo 'k<sup>γ</sup>ēi mən-'kān. 123. 'Zo  
 šu'γum vī'o no muzdu'rīen; ža'hānd 'sāl šūi, wo ā'γōm. 124. Yū  
 wu'lo, loh 'pūre mən-'kān-e 'molo 'vīet; wos a'γōm no 'xoi k<sup>γ</sup>eyen.  
 125. Wos užerem-əste, moi kyeyin dīr šūi, wos 'baγake šūi. 126. Zo  
 na'žan 'wīnum kə: 'Moi 'kōi-kān fər'ma, 'kōi 'γurdo fər'ma?' 127. Zə  
 pər'səm-istə, 'lā-mən če de'fe, zo 'xabar γu'rum."

128. 'Žiŋkikī na zənī'ef išto: "Äi zə'nī, wāi pər'se: Tu ž<sup>u</sup>kū šūi?"  
 129. Zənīef pīs'tet. "Zə ži 'malen, ž-im k<sup>γ</sup>eyen. 'Mun yū wu'lo,  
 loh 'pūre."

130. Wos 'žiŋkikī išto: "Ä' 'maγa, to 'cəs nām?" 131. Wo 'γoi  
 'nām lī'o, wo 'γoi 'pūrēf nām lī'o, wo γoi 'wule nām lī'o. 132.  
 'Žiŋkikī išt'o kə: "Äi zə'nī, yo mun 'šifə. Oī<sup>h</sup>, wo mun 'pūrēf  
 u'šāwa." 133. Wo 'pūrēf u'šavdet, ā'γot. 134. "Äi 'pūre, 'mō a'maf  
 tāt. 135. Mō dau'let kə as'tet, a'maf ta'ten. 136. Xoref-este,

law, ask this man wherefrom he is." 121. The daughters-in-law asked:  
 "O father, from where are you?" 122. (He answered:) "My daughters,  
 I am from this house. This house is mine. 123. I had gone away  
 to seek service; many years passed, and I came back. 124. I had a  
 wife and two sons here; now I have come (back) to my own house.  
 125. Now I am looking about. There has been a change in this house,<sup>1</sup>  
 it has become a garden. 126. Being unknown I see it (thinking):  
 'Whose can this (house) be? Who can have bought it?' 127. I am  
 asking; don't quarrel with me;<sup>2</sup> may I be informed."

128. The woman said to her daughters-in-law: "O daughters-in-law,  
 ask him from where he has come." 129. The daughters-in-law asked  
 him. (He answered:) "I am from here, from this house. I have a  
 wife and two sons."

130. Then the woman said: "O man, what is your name?" 131.  
 He told his name and told his sons' names, and his wife's name.  
 132. The woman said: "O daughters-in-law, this is my husband. Go  
 and call my sons." 133. They called the sons, and they came. 134.  
 (She said:) "My sons, this is your father. 135. This wealth which  
 we have got, belongs to your father. 136. You are eating, drinking

<sup>1</sup> Translation uncertain. Litt.: (something) other has come to (?) this house.

<sup>2</sup> Litt.: With my wish.

šāmeḡ-este, āydeḡ-este ā'yeḡ dau'let. 137. Wos lo γoi 'taten xo'sāne kə'ne!"

138. Xo'sāne k'o'ḡet, bo<sup>h</sup> ḡi'pe dau'let, an'jām, sarfērā'ze; də γoi k'o'ei ni'āstet. 139. Zo ā'γōm.

## II.

(Yu).

'Tu bi'land-a 'kūh bi'land.

Sultān ba'rāmād 'rū-i 'band.

'Gūvd: "Dar ba'γal či 'dārī?"

"Kitāb-i 'pər γa'zal."

"'Barār tā 'buxānim."

"Nə 'dārad 'sar u 'bar."

Qūm'qūm-i-fūxta,

har'dū ja'māliš 'bāfta.

'Qissa-i mā dūr-i<sup>1</sup> di'rāz

'sūfi'āra dar na'māz.<sup>2</sup>

and wearing his wealth. 137. Make now merry with your own father."

138. They made merry. There was great plenty of riches, clothes and ornaments. They settled down in their own house. 139. And I came here.

## II

(Yu).

You are high, and the hill is high.

The king came out onto the dyke.<sup>3</sup>

He said: "What do you have in your lap?"

"A book full of songs."

"Bring them that I may read them."

"It has neither head nor tail."

(It is like) a ringdove's throat,

both its curls<sup>4</sup> are plaited.

My tale is far and long, for sūfis in prayer (?).

<sup>1</sup> Probably for *dūr u*.

<sup>2</sup> This introductory verse is in Prs.

<sup>3</sup> *band* for *bām*?

<sup>4</sup> *jamāl-iš* was explained by *mūi* 'hair'.

1. 'Yū 'ādamen 'xūben lišč: Imo'γō do 'urjug<sup>1</sup> suv'dō, mīra-'čām do 'čep suv'dō. 2. Wo 'qissa 'γurd, nə 'šāharen šūi, nə tag'bīr kə'ṙān šūi. 3. 'Šahar bar 'šahar, 'kūh bar 'kūh, bi'āban bar bi'āban, xi'āban bar xi'āban, 'pādsā-i bar'bād, 'xirman-i bī'bāt.

4. "Assa'lām a'lēkum." "Wa 'āliku sa'lām." "Qissa γurdogum,<sup>2</sup> na tag'bīren o'im." 5. Yū gala'vān vi'ō, gāla'vānen vo naql 'γurd, šūi. 6. Šūi, da yū 'šāhər 'xavd, da yū ma'žit šūi. 7. Da ma'žit ni'āst. 8. Išto ke: "Hai da'rix! 'Wos či i'lāj kenem? Zə da šeri'et mu'xālišem.<sup>3</sup> Vo 'māl hāl lim nōn."

9. Yū 'pādsā 'pūr da ma'žit lo'γoi, ü<sup>4</sup> wa'zīr 'luγdo da ma'žit lo'γoi. 10. 'Pādsān 'pūr: "Ās, tā lu'rōum." 11. Yū 'Mēγ yasp, yū 'Wūi yasp. 12. "Zə vto lu'rōum."

13. Vo 'yaspə pa'lān ži'ō. 14. (Skō) 'yū yasp 'pādsā pūr su'wār šūi, yū yasp wa'zīr luγ'do su'wār šūi. 14. Šət nə šaha'ren. Wa'zīr

1. A man had a dream. (He saw) the moon on his right shoulder and the sun on his left. 2. He took the tale with him, went to town to get an explanation. 3. He went through town after town, hill after hill, desert after desert, flower-garden after flower-garden, to the overthrown king, to the windless threshing floor.<sup>5</sup>

4. (Then he met a cowherd and said:) "Peace be with you." "And peace be with you." "I have brought a tale, and I go to find an explanation of it." 5. There was a cowherd, he took the tale and went off. 6. He went and descended into a town, he went into a mosque. 7. He sat down in the mosque. 8. Then he said: "Alas! What remedy shall I find? I am . . . (?)<sup>6</sup> in the law of Islam. I have given him my possessions."

9. Then a prince, and a vizier's daughter entered the mosque. 10. The prince (said to her): "Come, I will carry you off." 11. (He had) one horse (called) Cloud, and one horse (called) Wind.<sup>7</sup> 12. "I will carry you off."

13. Then he saddled his horses. 14. The prince rode one horse and the vizier's daughter the other. 14. They went into the town. The

<sup>1</sup> Or *urjuγ*?

<sup>2</sup> Or *γurdogum*?

<sup>3</sup> Read *šəm*?

<sup>4</sup> = *yū*?

<sup>5</sup> Prs. formula.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of *muxāli(š)* is unknown to me.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Parachi *A'ir* and *Tūphōne*, Tajiki *Abr* and *Bōd*. V. IIFL, I, 165.

luγdo pādšā pūr pisto: "Mo ča'mīn žaγa? 15. Yasp γa'zevda baš?"  
16. Wo 'xap kəγ. 17. Wa'zīr 'luγdo što: "Mo xap 'čī kīt?"

18. Šut da ū 'šahər 'xavdet. 19. Nə 'pādšān nə sa'lāmat šut, sa'lām k'əret. 20. Pādšāan 'pūr vi'ō. 21. A'γoi wo pisto: "Ku ōi?"  
22. Wən 'što ke: "Wu'lo a'vezdəm." 23. Mən 'što ke: "V'uto xai vrai 'γurdum." 24. 'Pādšā 'pūren no xoi 'k'əyən a'vezdo.

25. Wo 'yūyən nām Zanγu'lām vi'ō. 26. "No širen 'škūr ke'nam."  
27. Wən 'što ke: "Γašē." 28. No žanγa'len šut, no 'širen škūr šut, vo šir 'māšcet. 29. 'Pādšāan 'pūren 'što ke: "Vo wulo və'nem."  
30. 'Pādšān 'što ke: "Č'kir kənē, vo wulo žo wən čē 'vet kənē."

31. Wo 'wulo što: "Da Kunjī'kāf oi! 32. Žə 'čirien və čūrwakəf 'āvər, žə a'mun vo 'gəl 'āvər. Də 'bāγ da'dram 'č-oi." 33. Wo 'što ke: "Bī'aql žiŋkiko! Də 'bāγ 'čī č-o'im?" 34. Də 'bāγa šūi, lə'γot.

vizier's daughter asked the prince: "What kind of place is this?  
15. Can the horse be galloped?"<sup>1</sup> 16. He kept silent. 17. Then the vizier's daughter said: "Why does he keep silent?"

18. They went and alighted in a town. 19. They went to salute the king; and they saluted him. 20. The king had a son. 21. He came and asked: "From where have you come?" 22. He<sup>2</sup> said: "I have brought my wife." 23. The other said: "I have taken you as my brother." 24. The prince<sup>3</sup> took them to his own house.

25. One of them<sup>4</sup> was called Zang-Ghulam. 26. (He said to his host:) "Let us hunt the lion." 27. The (second prince) said: "Very well" 28. They went to the forest and hunted the lion, and killed it. The (second) prince said (to his father): "Let me take his wife." The king said: "You cannot do it, you are not able to take his wife from him."

31. The wife said: "Go to Kunjikaf.<sup>5</sup> 32. Bring the unripe fruits from the apricot-trees and the flowers from the apple-tree. But don't enter the garden." 33. He answered: "Stupid woman! Why shouldn't I enter the garden?" 34. He went to the garden (of Kunjikaf) and entered it.

<sup>1</sup> Prs. paraphrase: *žai xub ast davāndan* 'is the place fit for making the horse run?'

<sup>2</sup> The first-mentioned prince.

<sup>3</sup> The second prince.

<sup>4</sup> The first-mentioned prince?

<sup>5</sup> A corruption of *Kōhikaf*, the Fairy-Mountain.



35. Hu'rō də 'baɣa bar'zəŋge nə'ɣoɾ, vo bar'zəŋge 'mašć. 36. Vo 'čīrief la 'pəŋ<sup>o</sup>kaf, la 'vorɣen 'ɣurd, ra'hā kəɾ, 'šūi. 37. Pari'zāt nə'ɣoɾ. 'Što: "Vo mun və'na." 38. Vo pari'zāt<sup>a</sup> su'wār kəɾ, 'ɣurd, 'šūi.

39. Šūi, do xoi k'ei re'siō. 40. 'Pādšā 'pūren što: "Və to 'wulo 'vənem." 41. Vo<sup>1</sup> 'taten što ke: "Am'boh pežə 'xap, la'žino 'deh, 'rūɣun da burž deh, və la'žino žafa'ū." 42. Vo la'žino 'dəft. 43. Pād'sān 'što: "Da āxe'rat žə mun 'taten 'xabar ɣu'ra." 44. Wo što ke: "To tat ta'zō<sup>2</sup> təndu'rust as'tet." 45. Pādšā 'guvd, xalās šūi. 46. Žə pād'sāan vo wu'lo 'vət gala'vānen. 47. Gala'vānen 'čir 'wulē šut.

48. Gala'vān wa'zīr luɣdo do 'v'ɣuš žio, lo'ɣot. 49. Wa'zīr luɣdo 'kōviyo gošć, na as'mīne<sup>3</sup> šūi. 50. Da as'mīno čā'tīr vio, də čā'tīr loh šināmi vi'et. 51. Wo žiŋkiko da čā'tīr šūi. 52. Išto ke: "Mai'lis kene, ke zə o'īm, ke 'banda-i xākī aŋ'gāhi." 53. Lo gala'vānen

35. There, in the garden, an ogre appeared, but he killed it. 36. He picked apricots together with leaves and fruits,<sup>4</sup> started and left. 37. Then a fairy appeared and said: "Take me." 38. He made the fairy mount (his horse), seized her, and went off.

39. He went, and arrived home. 40. The prince said: "I shall bring your wife." 41. His father said: "Fell much timber, build a wood-pile, pour clarified butter over the tower, and set fire to the wood-pile." 42. The wood-pile took fire.<sup>5</sup> 43. The king said: "Get news about my father in the next world."<sup>6</sup> 44. He said: "Your father is sound and healthy." 45. The king caught fire, and was finished. 46. The cowherd took the king's wife. 47. The cowherd got four wives.

48. The shepherd took the vizier's daughter in his embrace and entered. 49. The vizier's daughter turned into a dove and rose to heaven. 50. There was a tent in heaven, and in the tent were two girls. 51. The woman went into the tent. 52. She said: "Make a feast, because I am coming, so as to awaken the slave of the earth."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *wo*?

<sup>2</sup> = *tazā u*.

<sup>3</sup> For *asmīno* with palatalization before *š*?

<sup>4</sup> Or 'foliage'?

<sup>5</sup> Uncertain translation.

<sup>6</sup> Or: in the end, at last.

<sup>7</sup> I. e. 'human being'?

dā'rū-i bihu'sī vi'ō. 54. Wo a'γoi, də k'ei rə'sio. 55. Gala'vānen išto ke: "Zə 'xūben 'winem-este vio. Do 'xūben ko'vīyo goš'čim." 56. Wo žiŋkiko vispač šūi. 57. Wov loh žiŋkač avezdo. 58. Šut, gala'vānen 'pānǰ 'wulė a'vezdo. 59. "Wo 'xūben ku liščut?" 60. Wən išto: "Imo'γō 'dum suvdo, mīra-čam 'dum suvdo, 'stāri po fiz žer šut."

## III.

(Yu).

1. 'Skandar pādšā nā 'tā-duni'ā šūi. 2. Da 'žaya šūi, šəla dar'yāhan lo'γot. 3. Yū kur'mo 'ptrəmdo. 4. 'Skandar pādšā vo kur'mo pis'to: "Čen-este?" 5. Kur'mo što: "'Nā-mən yū aždər nər, va mun xut." . . . (Unfortunately the narrator was interrupted, and he left me without continuing the tale).

53. The cowherd had a narcotic drug. 54. He came and arrived in the house. 55. The cowherd said: "I have been seeing a dream. In the dream I turned into a dove." 56. The woman went back. 57. He brought those two women.<sup>1</sup> 58. They went; the cowherd (now) brought five wives. 59. (He asked): "Where did you see the dream?" 60. He answered: "I saw the moon on this shoulder, and the sun on that<sup>2</sup> one, and stars surrounded my breast."

## III.

(Yu).

1. King Alexander went to the Lower World. 2. He went to a place, and in the neighbourhood of a river he entered (the Lower World). 3. Then he caught a tortoise. 4. King Alexander asked the tortoise: "What are you doing?"<sup>3</sup> 5. The tortoise answered: "A dragon to me . . .,<sup>4</sup> it will eat me.

<sup>1</sup> Or: the two.

<sup>2</sup> Litt.: 'on this one'.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *čika mēkini*.

<sup>4</sup> *nər?* Meaning unknown.

## IV.

(Yr).

You ɣal'bil kenəm; 'xosto lɣadəm da xu'rum; 'ɣau vastəm; polmo šūi; ɣau lo kərəm; wōu ləbadəm; 'xosto žə yo'wən wōdɣo šūi. ɢal'bīl 'ɣūrdam; 'wōu ɣal'bīn<sup>1</sup> žīəm; paz'ɣō šūi. Və 'yōu rāš kerəm; wo yōu da laxčief ɣurdam, driem da 'čāro.

## V.

(Yp).

'Māmə<sup>2</sup> 'šešo<sup>3</sup> do 'Warto da pe'žō  
 nuvə'rum vo 'kēro, 'tālum vo pə'žō.  
 'Kū ki tu šūyit, zo asəm;  
 ispač na 'dūlen zo ro'sum.

## IV.

(Yr).

I sift the barley; I put the straw on the threshing-floor; I harnessed the ox; (the grain) became crushed;<sup>4</sup> I let the ox loose; I winnowed the corn; the straw was separated from the barley(-corn); I took the sieve; I sifted the barley, it became clean. I heaped up the barley; I took it in baskets and poured it into the store-room.

## V.

(Yp).

The old woman . . . is at the log in Wart.  
 I pulled out my knife, I whittle the log.  
 Wherever thou hast gone, I shall come,  
 I shall arrive behind the mill-hopper.

<sup>1</sup> wōu = vo you? ɣalbīn for ɣal'bīl.

<sup>2</sup> Expl. *kampīr* 'old woman'.

<sup>3</sup> Expl. *nām na dārad, hamtarī yak gap ast. mā ba tū āseq šudam*. "it has no name (meaning?); a word is like that. I fell in love with you." I can make nothing out of this explanation.

<sup>4</sup> Litt. "soft".

## VI.

Šäl'xān zəx'mo Ov'xizo,  
 'Mästiko 'pälef 'dizo.  
 Šäl'xān šui di'ārē  
 'Mästiko šui xi'älē.

## VII.

(Mm).

1. 'Vio yū âdam. Wo 'hâdamen lu 'luydi vî'at. 2. Jë'hôn â'jiz âdam 'vîo, bî'čâra. 3. Yu čad 'mixı 'gyašk'at, guza'rân 'či šui. 4. Və 'luydaf γu'ruvd, ba'dār šui, jə'hôn 'jâi šui, ke yū 'wiya vî.o. 5. 'Ūra ni'âst, və 'luydaf 'šta kə: " 'Maf 'male 'nixit,<sup>1</sup> za da 'sâh'ro ayum, 'bada hasum." 6. Mə šui, šüy-u 'či a'γoi. 7. Mai 'luydi ni'âstat 'wuro, 'woxrōgī, 'uč ku 'či vîo. 8. Bad žo 'wan wo yuk'e'gin

## VI.

Shälkhan<sup>2</sup> is wounded in Ovkhizo,  
 Mastiko<sup>3</sup> is squatting.  
 Shälkhan is looking about,  
 Mastiko is thinking.

## VII.

(Mm).

1. There was a man who had two daughters. 2. The man was very poor and destitute. 3. Some days passed, and he had nothing to live on. 4. Then he took his daughters and went away; he went to a very (far off?)<sup>4</sup> place where there was a willow. 5. He sat down there and said to his daughters: "Sit you down here, I shall go out into the desert and then come back." 6. He went away, went and did not come (back). 7. The daughters sat down there, they were hungry and had nothing. 8. After that one of them dug in the earth, (with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 234.<sup>2</sup> Sher Khān?<sup>3</sup> His wife.<sup>4</sup> Or: to many places, in one of which there . . .

'k'ēdo və zə'mīn, ki yū l'vər no'γor. 9. šūi da'rūn də k'oi. 10. Wu'žir də k'oi kə jə'hōn rūpā'yo. 11. Bād ni'âst 'wuro; wo au'qâtis giyaškʸ.

*Variants of Gramophone Text.*

1. 'ādamen, vī'āt. 4. ba'dār 'šū, k'yū. 5. 'šta, ni'xit, 'sāh<sup>a</sup>re aγayum (?), 'bāda. 7. uni'āta (?) woxrōgī. 8. bād žo, 'yukye'gīn 'kēdo, k'yu l'vor<sup>a</sup>. 10. rūpā'yō. 11. 'bād.

the result) that a door became visible. 9. She went into a house. 10. She saw in the house that there were many rupees. 11. Afterwards she settled down there and found a livelihood.

## VOCABULARY

The words are arranged in order of their consonants, the vowels coming into consideration only as a secondary factor. *ŋ* and *ɳ* are put after *n*. *š* has not been distinguished from *ś*, nor *q* from *k*. For words in 'st- etc. see *st*. Note *-āi*, *-āi*, *-āi*, not (with *Z*) *-āy*, etc.

Y(idgha) forms are placed before M(unji) forms. Within Y preference is given to Yzh, in the second instance to Ysh, in M to Mm.—“Y” after a word means that it was noted in identical form from Yzh, sh (v. § 4) and two other informants.

Forms from Z(arubin) and G(authiot) are given for the sake of facilitating comparison; more rarely I quote B(iddulph) and M(ullah) F(aiz) B(akhsh) (= Shaw).—The Khovar translations given by my Y informants have in many cases been added, sometimes these Khow. words are dubious, or at any rate unknown from other sources.—“\*Prs.” denotes that I do not know the word in question in the form or with the meaning given here.

The etymology of genuine Y—M words has been briefly indicated, even when known before, or obvious. Cognate words from Sgl:—Ishk., Wkh. and the Pamir dialects in general have been quoted more fully than such as belong to other Ir. languages. To a large extent I have, however, mentioned forms of interest from recently published material, and in some cases I have ventured upon etymological digressions at greater length. I believe in the usefulness of suggesting *possibilities* of derivation in a work of this kind, if only to stimulate other workers in the field to propose something better.

### Vowels.

*-ā* interrog. particle.—*no xoi pūrāf wulo*  
*ē avazəm-ā?* Ysh shall I not bring  
 my sons a wife? *tə na'ʁen xurʁet-ā?*  
 have you eaten bread? *yāxio xurʁet-a?*  
 have you eaten ashes? *wos wa šūi*  
*nə tat kyēin-ā, da kyēi zī fərmī-ā?*

has she now gone to her father's  
 house, or is she in (my) house? *wo*  
*mən 'šifē 'ē-avazī-ā?* don't you bring  
 my husband? *tu hōr(ʁ) kənē-a,*  
*ē-kənē-a?* Yg do you work, or not?  
*tu do'ōf 'xabar ēešy-a?* don't you

know about them? Cf. Wkh., Khow., Burushaski -a, (Sgl. -ē). The origin of this particle is unknown, v. § 258.

ii, ai Ysh, hai u, ē Z "O".—*āi žuwān, āi parvardigāra; āi Xēdāi Ysh, hai darīx u.* Prs.

e Ysh, u *izāfat*.—*ba nām-e Xadā; banda-e-xākī* 'slave of the soil, human being'. Prs. V. § 213.

u, əu Ysh and. — *'mən zəmo'nakk əu mən 'wulo* my son and my wife. Prs.

ā'ib Ysh fault. — *mən cēs ā'ib?* Ar.-Prs.

ābā'dī Ysh, ābād G cultivated field, cultivation.—*liščə-va wo mind ābā'dīef* if he saw these fields. Prs.

d'brūo *čog'gō* Ysh a kind of wild pear. < \**hamrautā*—; Z *amrūt* from Prs. *amrūd*. Cf. also Brahui *amrōt*, Shgh. *marōd*, etc.

d'būya Yzh, o'būa p, ābīy M(g) moraine, 'abəy m. Z rock.—Cf. Ishk. Gr. *ambol* moraine, Sar. *amūl* hill (LSI). Poss. < \**ham-paišaka*—, cf. Skr. *sampeṣa*- pounding, crushing.

ačar'dīnē Yzh, onī sh wedge for fastening the ploughshare to the plough. Khow. *ačhārdīni*.—V. *yuvazgo*.

'idā m. Yzh, sh, 'ida, p, 'ida, i'dak Z, ida'ka G slave; ida LSI, yuda LSIy boy.—*yo mən 'ida* this is my slave; *'ida ažistai* a boy is born. V. *idiko, hadē*.

i'dou m. Yzh, g, i<sup>o</sup> sh, yi<sup>o</sup> Mm, g, i'daw Z, yi'ddu, ya'dd<sup>w</sup> G fever. — Cf. Khow. lw. *andau*, Wkh. *andav* < \**han-tapah*—, cf. Av. *ham-tapta*- hot, *tafnu*- fever.

'idiko f. Yzh, sh, *yudike* LSI slave girl. Cf. Psht. *īnga* female who accompanies a bride < \**aindg + ā* < \**han-takī*? V. *ida*.

a'damə, v. ha'damə.

'ādəm Yzh, r, ā'dəm sh, ādəmə g, 'ādam Mm, ɔ<sup>o</sup> g, ā'dam G, ɔ<sup>o</sup> Z man, homo.—Ysh *yo (h)adam, yēi adame* this man, these men; *ādame xə'sān šut* the men became happy; *āi ādamen* O men; *no āda'məf* to the men; *ye ādame orγ kənet* Yr these men are working; *yū ādamen xūben lišč* Yu a man saw a dream; *vio yū ā'dam, wo 'hādamen lv 'lγdi vī'at* Mm there was a man, the man had two daughters. *mo ādəm, myend ādame* Mm; *mə ā'dəm, myend ādami* Mg. — Ar.-Prs. 'afseno Yzh, u, 'yufse<sup>u</sup>no Mm, 'fsēune g, (g), ti whetstone.— < \**abi-sān(y)ā*—, cf. Prs. *afsān*, Wkh. *pisūn*, Sgl. *vasīn*, Khow. lw. *u'sanu*.

af'sin<sup>yo</sup> Yzh, af'səŋya Mti ladder.— < \**afsišngā* < \**afsišn<sup>ə</sup>gā* < \**upa-* or \**abi-srišnakā*? Cf. W. Oss. *asinä*, v. EVP p. 78 s.v. *šəl*. Note also Tokh. *klis* stair.

af'sirnē Yzh, afsərr'nē sh, ɔərnə r, ɔənə g summer-wheat.— < \**upa-* (or *abi-?*) *srdnaka-?* V. §§ 127, 165.

af'tōvo Yr, af'tōvaga Mm bucket. Prs. 'agidro Yzh, 'agə<sup>o</sup> sh, r, g, 'aglero Mm, 'aglera t, agl<sup>o</sup> g, 'aglirä (g), ɔəre ti, aglə'ra G grape.—Cf. Shgh., Prs. (as spoken by a Yarkand Turk) *angūrd*, Prs. *angurda* a single grape. Cf. § 127.

w'gah Ysh instantly, *hamī sāt, yak sāt*.— *zo wo xoi dāruī u<sup>o</sup> dalem* I shall give my medicine at once; *žin<sup>o</sup>kikī w<sup>o</sup> žə ašerafief yu tərəft* the woman instantly stole one of the gold-coins. —Prs. \**ū-gāh* = *ān gāh*.

ag'imīn Yzh, agmīn sh, r, agr'mīn g, ag'mīn Mm, G, 'agmīn Mg, agibīn B honey (Mm also 'bee'?).—Cf. Phl.

- angpēn* (Frah. i Phl. *angāmēn*), Bralui *hangumēn*, Psht. *gabīna*, Wanечи *angīn*, etc. Not necessarily lw., as supposed by G and Horn s.vv.—Prs. \**ang* bee (v. Horn), is supported by Kurd. *hang*, cf. Talish *bīzang* (*bīz* goat).—Traussylv. Gypsy *yabjīn* honey may be an Ir. lw. V. *šāt*.
- ag'mīn-kur'mīki* pl. Ysh, *agi'men kurmīko* g bee. V. *agimīn*, *kurmīko*.
- ag'mīn'yēx* Yzh bee-hive. V. *yēxio*.
- d'gunḡv* Mm, *ḡgunj* (g) dough.—< \**han-garšana*-? Cf. Psht. *āyazāl* to mix, knead (and Prs. *ḡuršnāk* a herb used in washing?). V. *lavaza*, *gūy*.
- agar* Ysh if.—*agar kōi ke liēt*, *yašē* if somebody gives you, it is well; *agar rīzo vīo* if he is small; *agar da hazār miš yū surx pāisō rēsi* if you get one copper coin in a thousand days; *agar išto (ištivot) ki* when he (they) said that . . . Prs.
- o'guščo* Y, *'āguškyo* Mm, *'oguškyā* t, *'əguškvə* g, *əgiškviä* (g), *o'gūškya* ti, *'dgušk'a* Z, *ayuš'kya* (?) G *uguške* LSI m finger.—Prs. *angušt*, etc. Cf. *čoromī oguščiko*, *malanē oguščigo*.
- āyd*- Yzh, r, sh, g, *āyest* zh, r, *āyust* sh, g, *'āyud* : *'āyust* Mm, *'a<sup>o</sup>* t, *ā<sup>o</sup>* Z to put on clothes, to dress oneself. — *āydem* 1 sg., *āyde* 2, 3 sg. Yzh; *āydeš-este* 2 pl. sh, *no āyestān* inf. sh, *zōpə āydem* r, *'āyudem* Mm, *ayudam*, *a'yustəm* Mt.—Cf. Psht. *āyustəl* to dress, E. Oss. *ayūd* cover, shell, Phl. Turf. *āgūst* bound, Skr. *gudh*- to conceal, bind (cf. Charpentier, Act. Or. VII, 181).
- aydā(w)*- Yzh, sh, r: *ay'dāvd* sh, *oāud* r, *aydōv* : *aydēvd* Z, *aydav*- LSI y to dress (caus.).—*ay'dāum*, *ay'dāvdəm*.
- a'yām* Yp stubble.—Khow. *ayām* (Lor.) land specially kept for self-sown lucerne grass.
- d'yury* Yzh, *o<sup>o</sup>* sh, r, g, *ər'yūy* Mg, (g), *ēr<sup>o</sup>* t, *ə'yurx* (sh), *ar'yūg* m, Z, *oūk* G, *orgūh* B egg.—\**ā-gaura*-, cf. Rosh. (Lentz) *yur* egg, Skr. *gola(ka)*- ball, glans penis? Cf. the following word.
- d'yuryā* Yzh, *o'yakē* pl. sh, *o'yūryakə* r, *a'yōr<sup>o</sup>* g, *'yarkvo* Mm, *okye* g scrotum.—Cf. Sgl. *yor*, Wkh. *yūr*, Shgh. *yarīn*.
- o'yuzo* Yzh, sh, *'ōo* r, *o'yūzo* g, *'d'yuzo* Mm, *'əyuzā* g, *'oyūzā* (g), *'ayūzā* f. Z walnut.—\**āgauzā*-, cf. Prs. *gūz*, Psht. *yūz*, *ūyz*, *ywoz*, Talish *vīz*, Maz *ayuz*, Hebr. lw. *əgōz*, etc.
- ā'jīz* Mm poor.—*jə'hōn ā'jīz 'ādam 'vīo*, *bī'čāra*. Ar.-Prs.
- u'kāb* Mm eagle (?). Ar.-Prs. V. *karjəz*.
- a'kābur* Ysh old man, *a'kābur* Mm rich.—*yū akābur niāsto 'yak mū-safīd . . .*; *a'kāburēn išto* the old man said.—Ar.-Prs. *akābir* pl. rich, powerful. Also Khow. *akābir* old man.
- a'kadē* Yzh, sh, *oə* r, *oi* pl. g, *d'kodiy* Mm, *'akondi* ti, *āk'ōndi* (g) thorn, bramble.—Cf. Sgl. *kandāk*. Connection with Skr. *kaṇṭa*- improb. V. *vury-ak'ōndi*.
- ə'kək* M(g) groan.
- au'qāt* Mm, existence, condition.—*wo a<sup>o</sup>-iš giyaškv 'guzarān-iš šud*'. Ar.-Prs.
- alə* Ysh so much (?), *əmtarikār* (?). — *wos alə ken, ke zo na to tat 'now do it in this way, because I am your father (?)*'; *wos ale 'kēn, muz'durə kēn*.
- 'ālū* Yzh, *'ālū* Mm plum. Prs.
- olo* Yzh there. — *olo dāi kyēi 'd'amū xāna*'. — Av. *avaða*.
- i'lāj* Yu remedy, medicine. — *wos ci ilāj kenem?* Ar.-Prs.



*ālq* Mt throat (interior), *alqa* Z. Ar.-Prs. V. *kāyako*, *stūya*.

*a'lāno* Yzh, sh pomegranate. — *dukan'dār yurd yū a°* the shopkeeper took a p.; *wo a° lio no maṛakēn* he gave the man the p. — < \**ā-dānā*-, or \**ha-dānā*, cf. Psht. *anang* (*ouotink* de Morgan), Afr. Psht. *nāngrōnsa* ('p. tree'), Waz. Psht. *wōlang*, id., Av. *hadānāē-patā*- (v. Tavadia, *Šāyast-nē-Šāyast*, p. 133). Prs. *anār*, *rānā* can scarcely be a dialect form < \**ādān*. Cf. Chin. *tan-žo*, acc. to Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 283 fr. Ir. \**dānak*.

*i'lir* Y, 'Alr Mt, 'l̥o (g), *yi'lar* m, *oer* LSI m belly (exterior). < Av. \**udara*-. Cf. Sak. *ūra*-, Psht. *l̥rai*, etc. (v. KZ, 61, 32 sqq.).

*ilira* Ysh, 'alero Mg, ti, 'alro (g) calf of the leg, *ilira* B muscle. — Cf. Wkh. *iškamba-i-pā*, Par. s.v. *iškambek-i pāi*, and also the Romance forms of Lat. *ventriculus* mentioned by Goldberger, *Glotta*, 18, 37.

*a'larsnē* Yzh, *oeni* p, *larsnē* sh, °r, g, 'alarsn Mm, 'alr° t, ti, 'alārsn (g) threshold, Yp also footboard of spinning-wheel. — 'siri, ta'hē a° zh upper, lower th. — < \**adara-sayanaka*-lying below? Resemblance with Khw. *ambərcārēnī* accidental. V. *yūvərsən*.

*a'lvān* Ysh, in *yūr a° žiēm* I extinguished the fire.

*alvōsta* v. *avlāsto*.

*alixa* MFB ribs. If correct, cf. Sgl. *wofox* ribs.

-əm encl. pron. 1 sg. V. § 205.

əm Ysh, Z also. — *zo əm oyīm*. Prs.

*am'bōy* Yr cowife. Prs. *ambāy*, cf. Khw. *ambōx'an*. < \**ham-bāgā*-. Cf. NTS, V, 47.

*am'boh* Ysh, r, g, u, °ox zh much, many. — *yauyo a°* the water is deep; *a° pūre* many sons; *a° ayot* many came; 'mind a° *kyä'yī* these many houses; *a° pežə xap* fell much timber; *amboh-əni* (?) *hor kəret* they did much work. — Khw. *amboh* fr. Prs. *ambāh*.

*ambu'ro* Y, *ambō'ro* g pincers. Prs.

*am'brōz* čog'gō Ysh a kind of pear. — Khw. *ambrōz'* fr. Prs. \**am(b)rōd*, cf. "Prs." *ambarūd*, *arbū*, *xarmul*, etc. V. *dbriūo*.

*ūmed* Yzh, sh, *umēd* G hope. Prs.

*umid'vāro* Yzh, *umid'vār* sh, *imid'vōr* r pregnant. Prs. V. *vəzežō*.

*imo'γō* Yzh, *im°* sh, 'yimayā Mt, (g) linseed, transl. *zayīr* (prob. *brassica campestris*, cf. Vavilov, *Agricult. Afghanistan*, p. 114).

*imo'γo* Y, *i'mōγo* u, 'yumago Mm, *imayēka* t, *i'mayakā* (g), *yu'mayika* g, *yimayeka* ti, *yu'magd* f. Z, *yuma'ga* G, °ega LSI moon. — Cf. Wkh. *žə'mak*, Sgl. *wulmēk*, Psht. *wūngiē*, *gumakai*, etc., Kurd. *hīw* (\**ušm*-). — < \**uxš-māh*-(*kā*)- (not \**uxšya*-, v. Benveniste, JA, 1930, cf. *Morgenstierne* NTS, III, 298). Psht. *wažmaī*, Sogd. *waxšym* < \**waxš(y)a*-.

*d'muno* Yzh, sh, r. °no g, *a'mun* u, 'amīngvo Mm, °a g, 'amīngvā (g), *amin'g'a* Z, *amīng'a* G, MFB apple, (Yu apple-tree?) — *žə a'mun vo gəl āvər* Yu 'bring the flower from the apple tree'. Cf. Sgl. *mīēy*, Wkh. *mur*, and v. EVP s.v. *maṇa*.

*i'mār*-. *imur* Yzh, sh, *yumar*- Mm, t, *yūmra* B to count. — *i'mārēm* Yzh, *ima'rēm* sh, 'yumarem Mm, *yu'marəm* t. — Av. pres. *hišmar*- (*mar*-).

*i'māy* (?) Ysh number. V. *i'mar*-.

*am'sāyo* Yr, *oyaga* Mm neighbour. — Prs. V. *gram'bešu*.

*a'maxno* Yzh, ə sh, *'amaxnä* M(g) sloe. — \**āmarnaxā* demin. of *ā'muno*? Cf. Psht. *mānū*. V. § 96.

*âi'no* Mm, *oa* G mirror. Prs. V. *šišoγo*. *'ino* Y, B, *'(y)ina* Mt, *'yino* m, *oe* g, *oä* (g), *oe* ti, *oa* Z, *o'a* G blood. — Cf. Sgl. *wēn*, Wkh. *wuḫen*, Psht. *wīne*, etc. V. Henning, ZII, 9, 226 sq. (\**vohūn*- > \**vhūn*- > *vīn*- etc.??).

*ind* Yzh, r so much, *ikada*. — *mox ind orγ keγəm* Yr we have done so much work. — Cf. *mind*. V. § 210.

*an'diša* M(g) thought. — Prs. V. *diš*.

*an'jām* Ysh dress. — Khov. (from Ir., cf. Prs. *jāma*).

*a'nimef* Ysh half (adv.). — *a° suwār šot vəl'γō*, *a° šot 'sāro* one half of the horsemen rode upwards, the other half rode downwards. From *nīm*.

*anār* Mm, *anār* LSIm pomegranate. — Prs. V. *a'lano*.

*anuv-* Yzh, sh to bellow. — *γavo a'nuvē zh, γawə a'nuvo* sh. — Cf. Skr. *ā-nu-* to roar towards?

*a'naxno* Yzh, ə sh, *əx'nə* r, *əxən* g nail. — Prs. *nāxun*, etc., but why *a-?* V. § 96. Cf. *nāxun*.

*aŋ'ga(h)* Yzh, r, g awake. — *a° šom zh, aŋ'gāhi* u, you awaken (them); *žə 'xōvən aŋga šuyəm* r. — Khov. *aŋgah, aŋgā*, from Ir., cf. Wkh., Sar. (Sh.) *agah, agāh* fr. Prs. Cf. *bivāre*. *aŋgahu*: *aŋgahavd-* Yzh, *aŋgāh-* u to awaken (trans.). — *aŋ'gāhi* r 3 sg., *aŋga'hum, aŋgahavdum* zh. — Khov. *aŋgahaw-*.

*iŋgut* Yzh halter, headstall of a horse. — Khov.

*a'pīr* Yzh, sh, Mm, *ap'īr* Z before, in

front of. — *'nā-mən d-a'pīr* Yzh in front of me; *də tō a° astel sh; ustāi no maγaken da a° sh* he rose in front of the man, *pēš-i ū*. — Doubtful whether with *Z* < Av. *pairi* (not *pairi-* or *para-*), or < *paoirya-* in a local sense. V. *skapīr*.

*ar'bāb* Yzh headman of a village. — Ar.-Prs. *arbāb* lords, used as a sg. also in Taj. (Semenov, Mater. II, 44). V. *čārwal*.

*'āričo* Mm, t shrub with eatable berries, strawberries(?). — Scarcely < \**ārincā*, (cf. Brahui *ārčin* 'wild almond', Prs. *arjan*, etc.).

*'ārdi* Yzh floor. — Khov. (Lor.) *ardi* middle part of a room. (But Kurd *ard* floor < Ar.).

*irγo'γo* Yzh, sh, *ii°* r, *yu°* g, *yir'γaya* Mm, *ogo* m, *ir'γaga* Z lucerne, *riška*. — \**uyarakā-* (?), cf. Sgl. *γurūk*, Shgh. *γorj*, etc. (v. Z s.v.).

*a'raq* Mg, m, Z, G perspiration. — Ar.-Prs. Cf. *xul*.

*a'raq* Yzh a kind of wine, made in Shoghor, *a'rak* sh fruit-juice. — Ar.-Prs.

*d'runγo* Yzh, sh, *o'runγo* r, g light, brightness, *arungo* B light, *arūnwō* B lightning. — \**ā-rauxšnakā-*. Cf. *ru'sān*.

*ar'ra* Mm, Z saw. — Prs. Cf. *gīr*.

*ara'rōγ* Yzh, *'yōruγa* M(g) eructation. — *a° kenem* = Khov. *āra'rōγ koman*. The Khov. word with redupl. from Ir., cf. Prs. *ārōγ*, Sgl. *arək*, Sar. *rēγ*. V. EVP s.v. *aržai*.

*ārusō* Mm, *d'rūs* Z bride. — Ar.-Prs. Cf. *šābuk*.

*aršə'min* Yzh, sh barley bread. V. *aržəmin, kōskən, γadmin, maγmun* and *γeršio*.

*urw-*: *urwai* Yzh, sh, *wurw-* r, *wurw-*: *wur'wōi* M(g), *wurv-* Z, *ūrv-* G to be boiling (Z caus. *wurvōn-*, *wurvōv-*). — *yduyo ur'wai* Yzh, *yauyo wurwāi* r, *ur'wo* sh; *yduyo urwai vīo* (pluperf.), *wos axleno šūi* zh. — Cf. Sgl. *wārv-*, Sar. *wāraw-*, Shgh. *wūrv* (v. N. Shgh. s.v.), Par. *γarw* < \**warb* < \**barw*.  
*ur'riz-*: *ur'rizd* Yzh, r to spread manure, *pārura parišān mēkinam*. — *ur'rizēm*, *ozdēm* zh, °Δm r. — < \**awa-* (or *wi*?) *razaya-*, cf. Av. *raz*.  
*ur'zu-*: *ur'zā-* Yzh, *wurzeyevd* M(g) to stretch the arm. — *ur'zum*, *ur'zāim* Yzh, *wurzeyevdum* M(g). V. *urzuγ*.  
*'urzüγ* Yzh, *hurzüγ* sh, g, *ur'zūγ* r, *'urjug* (l) u, *'urzug* Mm, °əγ g, *wurzəγ* (g), °l'əg G, *wurzug* Z, *hürzūh* B right, straight, true. — *wurzəx kerem* M(g) I straightened; *do 'urjug (čəp) suv'dō* Yu on the right (left) shoulder. — < Av. *ərəzu-*, not with G < \**wγz-*. Cf. Khow. *horsk* id. fr. Ir. \**urz(u)k*. Not with Benveniste (JA, 223, 227) (*w*)*urzug* < \**vi-rāzaram* = Sogd. *wrzrw*.  
*arzə'min* Yzh, sh millet bread. Cf. Prs. *arzanīn*. V. *aršəmin* and *yūrzon*.  
*ar'ziz* Yzh, r, g lead. — Prs.  
*are'yevdē* Yzh wood-carving. — Prob. from the past ptc. of a caus. verb. — From Khow.??  
*as-* Y, M, Z, G: *āγōi* Y, M, *aγəy* Z, *a'γāy* G to come. — *'asēm*, *as*, *a'γom* Yzh, *asəm*, *as*, *a'səf*, *ā'γōm*, *āγ(w)ōi*, *kəla aγoyit?* when did you come? *na kōy āγōit?* whom did you come for? *ā'γōt čpāc* they came back Ysh; *as*, *ā'γōm* r, *ā'γ'wōm* g, etc.; *hasum ā'γēyam*, *aγoi*, *āγōit* Mm, *asam*, *'āγoyam* t, *aγwai* LSIγ. — \**ā-is-*:

\**ā-gata-*, cf. Sgl. *is-*: *āγad*. — Cf. Tedesco, BSL, 25, 53.  
*is-*: *yāi* Yzh, sh, *yis-*: *yāy* Mm, *yīs-*: *yāy* G, (*y*)*is-*: *yōy* Z to carry (an inanimate thing). — *i'sim* Yzh, *isəm* sh, *'yisam* Mm; *i'sa* imper. 2 sg. Ysh; *'yāim* Yzh, sh; *yāi* sh, *'yāyam* Mm. — *'tu wum i'sa no'mən 'kyēyen* Ysh take this to my house; *wo dārū yāt* Ysh they took away the medicine. — Cf. Yazgh. *ayas-*: *ayed*, Shgh. *yās-*: *yād*, Ishk. *uss-*: *wud*, etc. to take away, Psht. *yōs-* to carry, Av. *yāsa-* (Meillet, BSL, 24, 116).  
*as'kān* Yzh, sh, B easy. Khow. *as'qān*, fr. Ar.-Prs. *isqān* giving repose; cf. Kurd. *askān* ease. Cf. *ā'sān*.  
*a'sāl* Yzh, sh, *a'sāl* Mm, t, *yim'sāl* G this year. — Cf. Sgl. *a'sāl*, Shgh. *asīd*, Par. *āsūr*, Orm. *asul* etc. < *ā-s(a)rda-*. *yimsāl* < \**ima-*.  
*as'mīno* Yzh, r, u, °ino sh, g, *'asmuno* Mm, *as'mūna* f. Z, *asmā'na* G (lw.) sky, heaven.—*na as'mīne*, *da asmīno*. Prob. ancient lw. — V. *pasmīno*.  
*ā'sān* Mm easy. — Prs. V. *as'kān*.  
*'aspəlan* Yzh, sh, r stable. — < \**aspadāna*, cf. Av. *aspastāna-*. V. *axta'xāna*.  
*ast-*: *vī* Y, M to be. — Y in all persons *as'tət* (v. § 224). *mən yū katyū astet* I have a book; *mən yū wulo astet*; *kōi-ste* who are you? (?)  
*as'tio* Yzh, 'ástiah' B abuse. — *a° kə'nem*. I abuse (Khow. *diš lū koman*).  
*us'tada* Yzh, sh, *w°* g spider. — Prs. *ustād* is not used in this sense, but cf. Par. Voc. s.vv. *dīwu'ruk*, *jō'lāk*, *γa'fak*; Sköld, Materialien, s.v. *džalo-k*. Cf. *ustāt*. V. *dorzkuγyūz*, *zariškjo*.  
*as'tano* Yzh, sh vestibule. — Prs. *āsītān(a)*.

*us'tušć*: *ustušćai* Yzh, sh, *ustušćah* B to jump. — *us'tušćəm*: *us'tušćaim* zh, *ustušćəm*: *ustušćam* sh. — *uštušć*: is prob. originally the past stem of \**ustur-*, from which Khow. *uštur-* 'to flee, run'.

*us'tāt* Ysh, *ustād* G carpenter. — Prs. Cf. *ustada*.

*us'wūbon* Yzh awake. — \**us* + *wūbon*. V. *angah*, *bidār*.

*-iš* encl. pron. 3 sg. V. § 205.

*ōš* M(g) porridge. — Prs. *āš*.

*ašćo* Yzh, 'ā° p, *āš'čō* sh, r, g, *oš'kvo* Mm, g, °a sh, °ə (sh), °ē t, 'ōš'kya g, *aš'kya* G, ā° Z, *āš'kie* LSIIm eight. — Av. *ašta*.

*iš'čiy* Y, *oš'kiy* Mti. 'os° t, g, *yesh'kiy* m, *yis'kiy* G, °ik Z roof. — *dū iš'čiy* Yzh under the roof. — < \**usća-kataka-*, cf. Sgl. *kiskut*, Wkh. *iskakut*, Yazgh. *s'kād*.

*ašćo-miā* Yzh week. — Cf. Bajui *waš'mēθ* (Sköld), but Shgh. *ūv'mēθ*. Sogd. 'ftmyθ. V. *miā*.

*iš'čīn* Yzh, 'in(ə) r, 'inə sh, *ščīnə* g, *yīš'kyuna* Mm, 'išk'yīn g, 'yi' ti, *skyīno* (g), *čš'kyīn* t, *iš'kyūn* G female breast. — Av. *fštāna-*, Kurd. *fštān*, cf. Meillet, BSL, 23, 106, Benveniste, MSL, 23, 405. V. *pīstān*.

*uš'čeno* Yzh, *wuškyeno* Mm place for keeping hay and straw (*jāi ki kā mendāzi*). — Cf. Sgl. *uštīn* hayrack, Or. *wūš'tōn* < \**wastra-dānā-*.

*uš'k* Yzh, g, *wuš'k* sh, r, Mm, G, Z, *wū* Mg dry. — Av. *huška-*.

*uš'k-māš'iko* Yzh ankle-bone. — Numerous Ir. and IA names of hard and protruding parts of the body are compounded with a word denoting 'dry' ('thirsty', 'tinder', etc.). Thus, e.g.

Bal. *wišk haqđ*, Badakhshi *kāk-i-pā*, Khow. *čuču'dēki*, Lhd. *sukrañđ* 'shinbone'; M *šāček-i-sar* temples; Prs. *xuš'k nāy* throat, windpipe, etc., etc. V. *wuškiostia*.

*uš'k'sāl* Yzh year of drought, *sāl ki barf na kard*. — Prs. *xuš'k-sāl*.

*u šun*: *ušk'ināi* Yzh to neigh. — *yasp u šunē*.

*ašera'fī* Ysh gold coin. — *sko yū aštra fēn*, *žə ašerafīf*. — Ar.-Prs.

*ašasto* Yzh, *ašosti* pl. M(g) small shrub with red berries resembling grapes. *uštum* B voice. — Acc. to Tomaschek (p. 200) < Av. *staoman-*, but prob. misunderstood for *istum* I said.

*uštu* Yzh, °ū B brick. — Khow.

*uši'(y)ār* Yzh, hu° sh, *ušk'yār* Mm wise. — Prs.

*u šā-*: *uš'avd* Yzh, *uš'āw-*: *uš'avd* sh, r, *uš'av-*: *uš'avd* Mm, *wuš'āw-* (g), *uš'āw-* G, *wūš'āw-*: *wūš'ēvd* Z to call, shout. — *uš'āum*, *uš'avdum* Yzh, *uš'awam*, *uš'audam* r 'faryād mekunim'; *wo mən 'pūrəf uš'āwa* sh call my sons; *wo pūrəf uš'avdet* sh they called the sons. — < Av. \**us-srawaya-*, cf. Orosh. *šōy-* to read, Yazgh. *aš'aw-*, Psht. *šōwul* (q.v.) to teach, show (cf. Kashm. *hāwun* id., Prs. *surūdan* to sing, etc. Cf. Wkh. *širaw-*.

*uš'ān-əm*: *uš'ad-əm* Yzh to churn. — Cf. *fīršōn-* to shake.

*aš'rlē* Yzh, °ele sh porridge, *āš*. — Evidently an IA lw., but no direct corresponding form in Khow. or elsewhere. Is Prs. *atāla* 'a kind of porridge' also of IA origin?

*avda* Mg, 'g, *ab'da* (sh) seventeen. — Prs.

*ōvd*, *ōvd* Mg, 'g) ford. — \**ā-bda-* place

- where one can place the foot? Cf. Wkh. *vadek* 'path' < \**ābda*? Mokr. Bal. *badūk* 'beach impassable at high tide'; Av. *abda-* (v. s.v.).
- avdo*, *a*<sup>o</sup> p, *avdō* sh, r, *ā*<sup>o</sup> g, *ov'dō* Mm, g, *o* a sh, G, *o* a M, (sh), *o* t, *'ōvdō* (g), *o* a Z, seven. — Av. *hapta*, etc.
- av'γuš* Yzh, sh, u, *'yirguš* Z embrace, lap. — *zīo da av'γuš, do 'v'γuš* he put in his lap. — Cf. Sogd. *'pkšy* 'flanc' (Benveniste); Shgh. *bejuž* armpit. < \**upa-kaša-*, or \**upa-gauša-* (cf. EVP s.v. *γēž*, etc.)?
- a'veli* Yzh, *ā'beli* sh, *abeli* B, *'avel'yi*, etc., Z both. — *wōi ā<sup>o</sup> zōi lāmo viet* Ysh they were both from one village; *no a<sup>o</sup> pūrēf* to both sons. — Av. *waya-* (*avaya-*) + *dva-* (*duye*?).
- av'lānd* Yg hem of a cloak. — \**upa-dāmanta-*? Cf. *lōmadd*.
- av'lāsto* Yzh, sh, *'alvosto* Mm, *o* s'ta f. Z sleeve. — \**upa dastā-*, cf. Or. (Lentz) *abdōst* leather glove.
- āver-*: *āvēr* Yzh, sh, g, *'āver*: *'āver* Mm, *āvēr-*: *āvēr* Z, *ā'var-* G to bring (inanimate obj.). — *āvēr'rum* Yzh, *āsti-va 'avēram* Mt I bring something; *avīt* Yzh, sh he brings; *və cūrwakəf āver* Yu bring the apricots; *amboh māl avā!* Ysh bring much goods; *tārazū a'vrē* Ysh bring the scales; *avrum* Ysh; *a'vər no xoi kyēin* Ysh she brought it to her own house; *wo māləf a'vret (a'vret)* Ysh they brought the goods; *ārreḡəm* Yr I have brought; *a'v'ε* Ysh he has brought. — Av. *ā-bar-*; cf. Sgl. *āwīr-*, Shgh. *vār-*: (*a'vūd*, Sogd. *'βr-*, Orm. *war-*.
- a'vāz-*: *a'vazd* Yzh, sh, *a'vəzd* u, *ā'vāzum* Mm, *avōz-*: *avēzd* Z to bring (animate obj.), to fetch. — *zo 'γawo* *a'vāzəm*, *a'vazdm* Yzh, *γaw-a'vazəm* sh, *niaske a'vazən* sh I yawn; *'wulo avazəm*, *a'vāzdo* sh; *wo mən 'šif' 'č-avazī ā?* why don't you fetch my husband? *avīzd* zh he brings; *a'vāz* imper. 2 sg., *a'vāze* 2 pl.; *wu'lo a'vezdəm* u, *gala'rānen pānj 'wulē a'vezdo* sh. — Av. *upa-az-*, but Psht. *bōz-* (*bōtləl*) to lead away, Shgh. *bāz-*, Or. *abōz-* to send (away) < \**apa-az-*.
- av'zano* Yzh, sh, *o* āno p, *'yivzano* Mm wooden ladle. < \**upa-zāwanā?*
- av'zaniko* Yzh small wooden ladle.
- av'zino* Yzh, sh first watering of the fields, *xākāva*. — Av. \**upa-zayanā-* following the winter (cf. Av. *upa-naxtar-*), cf. Yazgh. *zīn* winter (Sköld). V. *'livdē*, *'xōkova*.
- av'lān* Yzh, sh, r, *av'lānd* g (? cf. *av'lānd*), *av'lān* B single bridle. — Cf. Psht. *mlūna*, *wlīna*, Wan. *awlūn*, Sar. *vidān*, Yazgh. *avdēn*, Kurd. *zwāna* (Soane), Sak. *vyāna-*, Sogd. *βδ''nh* (Benv. JA, 233, p. 241), Oss. *uido'n*, Av. *o* aiwi-dāna-. Cf. Wackernagel, KZ, 43, p. 282. V. *lo'jōm*, *qiza'gī*.
- a'warxo* Yzh flame. — With dissim. fr. \**arwārxo*, cf. Av. *urwāxra-* (\**erāxra-*) heat?
- d'wusp* Yzh, sh, *a*<sup>o</sup> Mm, *a'ūsp* Yg, *ōwus'to* (?) r, *a'wusp* Mm plough-beam. — Cf. Sgl. *āwišp*, Wkh. *wəšp*. — Cf. Av. (*upairi-*) *spā-* to place at the top of?
- a'wusto* Yzh, *d*<sup>o</sup> sh, *ō*<sup>o</sup> r, g, *'awusto* Mm, *o* a t, *o* ā (g) dark-leaved willow. — With *wu* < *vu*, fr. \**ā-paustā-* having bark??
- a'wāz* Yzh noise. — *yaugo ha'wāz kīt* the stream is roaring; *awāza kīt* (the trees) are sougling. — Prs.

*owēzōn* Mg hanging. — *o<sup>o</sup> kerim*. — Prs. *a'wāz-īm*: *a'wayd-əm* Yzh to hang up. — *a'wāz* 3 sg. — Prob. < \**awa-hanj*., cf. Old Prs. *fra-hang* (v. Nyberg, Uppsala Univ. årsskrift, 1934, 2, p. 59 and Henning, ZII, 9, p. 198, Prs. *āwang(ān)* hanging, etc. The relation to Prs. *āwēz*-, *āwēxtan* is uncertain, but this form may be a cross between \**ā-waič*- and \**awa-hanj*-.  
*i'xō* Yzh, r, *i'xoo* sh, *y'ixa* M, t, ti, *o* m, *o* (g), *y'ixa* g, LSim, *i'ixa* Z, *y'i'wa* G, *y'ixo* B, *ya'xa* MFB (: \**خو* = \**y'iroh*?) sister. (I cannot trace the source of G's Y form *y'ixwdh*.) — Poss. < \**ya'xwā* (cf. Sgl. *y'xōai*, Shgh. *yax*) < \*(h)*ahwā* < \**hwahā*.  
*i'xōgo* Yzh, *i'xōgo* sh, *yē<sup>o</sup>* g husband's brother's wife, g also co wife. — Fr. \**xwahič* + *-o* and secondary suffix *-go*? V. *yana*, *yūi-wulo*.  
*i'xiko* Yzh, *yixigo* g sister (demin.). V. *i'xō*.  
*a'e'len* Yzh, *en* r, *eno* (f.?) g, *yax'len* sh, *len* Mm, *yix'len* g cold. — *yāu<sup>o</sup>* *urwai vō*, *wos axleno šūi* Yzh the water had been boiling, now it became cold. — \**aixa-dāna*-, cf. Prs. *yax*, etc.?  
*a'xriō* Y, *ri* pl. p, *ā'xriā* Mg, *axriḡ* t, *axrikyo* m wild rose, briar, Khov. *gilgitok*. — Cf. Or. *a'xar*, Shgh. (Sköld) *xar* id. (but note *xl*), Khov. *xu'ri* (lv.) wild rose, Prs. *xār* thorn, Skr. *khava* rough; thorny plant. V. *axri-gula*.  
*a'xūr* Yzh, sh, r, *ur* g, *ā'xūr* Mm, *ō* ti manger. — Prs.  
*a'xri-gula* Yzh wild rose (flower), *axri-kuluxa* fruit of the briar, hip. — V. *axriō*, *kpor*.

*ā'ce'rat* Yu in the end, finally. — *da ā*. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ux'šō* Y, *šō* p. *ox'šō* Mm, g, *a* sh, *ō* (sh), *ux'šā* (g), *ux'šē* t, *ōx'sa* Z, *ā'še* LSim six. — *ux'šo miš* Ysh. — Av. *xšvāš*. Cf. §§ 94, 168.  
*ax'šrn* Yzh, *ēn* sh, r, *on* g, *āksin* B blue. — Av. *axšaēna*. V. *kabūt*.  
*ax'šcn-s'rē* m, Yzh, *ax'šō-serē* sh a kind of large duck.  
*ax'šōw*: *ax'šēd* Z to chew. — Z compares Ishk. *šāw*. Wkh. *šūw*-, cf. also Prs. *xasādan* to chew, *xasānidan* to bite.  
*axta'xāna* Mm stable. — Prs. (also in Wkh. and Shgh.), from *ācta* gelded, bull, horse. — V. *aspelan*.  
*āya* B perhaps. — Originally an optative 3 sg. of the verb substantive??  
*oy*-, *šūi*, *š*- Y, *dy*: *šūi*, *š*- Mm, t, *dy*:- *šoy* Z, *āy*- G to go, to become, Z also to come. — *oyim*, *oyim*, *o'im* Yzh, sh; *oi(h)*, *oih* Y imper.; *šom*, *šūi* Y; *dyum*, *hdi*, *šiam*, *šūi* Mm, t; *wōs do sūy dyəm* Yr 'ālī da kūča mērim'; *zo sa'bā o'im* g I shall go to-morrow; *ku ōi* u where do you go? *də kyoī ayum*, *za da sāh<sup>o</sup>ro dyum* Mm. Cf. §§ 85, 229 sq. — *oy*- from \**ayaya*- (or *ā* + *ayaya*-), a secondary *-aya*- present of the root *ai*- to go, cf. Par. *šē*- to come. Scarcely fr. \**ā-hat*- (cf. Yazgh. *bad*- to go < \**upa-hat*-), and not, with G, borrowed from Prs. V. *šūi*.  
*i'zē* Yzh, *i'ze* sh, *yijya* Mm, *ajyo* g, *yizio* ti, *ijiya* Z goatskin bag used for carrying sour milk in, *mašk*. — \**iziyaka*-, cf. Orm. *iz* 'mussuck', (Bal. *hiz* leather churn). V. EVP s.v. *žai*, and cf. Psht., Bal. *zik* skin for ghee.

*âzâda-pə'lang* Mm a kind of leopard. —

\*Prs.

*i'z'iko* Ysh, zh yester-eve, *bəgā*. — Cf. Sümn. *izi*, Wkh. *yez*, etc., cf. Horn, s.v. *dī*.

*iz'mā* Yzh, sh, g, *iz'ma* r, *yizma* Mm, *yazmo* ti, *yiz'ma* G, *iz'°* Z (m.) firewood. — Cf. Av. *aēsma-*, Prs. *hēzum*, etc.

*iziānē*, v. *ziānē*.

*a'zōr*, v. *hazār*.

*a'zito* Y, *a'°* Mm, *'āzītū* (g) Berberis chitria. Prs. *zaryūl*, *zarang*, *zārij*, Khow. *čowəž* (: *čöwinj* jungle plant with red, useless fruit, Lor.). — \**ā-zarilū*, v. *zīt*.

*a'zuzyo* Yzh, sh, *o'°* g, *o'j'°* r, *'ujizya* Mt, *'wu'°* (sh), g, *wu'jizyā* (g), *'wujuzgo* m, *'wuyzəga* f. Z, *°ē'ga* G frog. — *wuyzəga* < \**wuzyago* < Av. *vazaya* + *kā*. Cf. e.g. Gilaki (de Morgan) \**γuzyā* ("rhous-rhā"), but Mazand. (Barfrush) "*vāk*" < Old Prs. \**wada-γaka*.

*iž* m, Y, Mt, Z, B, *yīž* Mm, g, (g), *yīš* (?) (sh) snake. — Av. *aži*; cf. Maz. *ažik* 'ver de terre' (de Morgan).

*'aēda* Mg, (g), *°'da* (sh) eighteen. — Prs. *až'der* Yu dragon. — Prs. (similar forms in Khow., Bur. and Shina).

*až'γāl* Y, zh, sh, *a'žga'l* B family. — *də a'°* *'xabar čəš-ē?* Ysh have you no news about your family? — Khow. *až'γāl*.

*a'žəp* Ysh wonderful, *a'jib*. — Ar.-Prs. *u'žer*: *užur* Yzh, sh, *užar*: *užir* r, *užār*-M(g), *užyār*: (*w*)*u'žir* m, *wužar*: *wužir* Z, *užar*-G, *wužer* LSIm to perceive, to look. — *užer em este* Ysh I am looking, *užur'am*, *u'žar* r, imper. 2 sg.; *užūr kə yū kyei 'huro astet* Ysh

he saw that there was a house there; *žinkiko u'žur 'yū mrx, loh miš* sh the woman looked out for him for one day, for two days; *wu'žir də kyoi kə jə'hōn rūpə'yo* Mm he saw that there was much gold in the house. — \**wi*-(\**awa*-?)*čar*- (cf. Prs. *nigarīdan* etc.) or \**jar*- (cf. Yaghn. *γār*- to regard, look)? Psht. *gōrəl* may go back either to \**han-kār*- or to \**han-gār*-.

*d'žuryo* Yzh, *o'j'°* r, *džurž'yo* sh, *əž'γurγū* M(g) burning coal, ember, *qarib-i murda ki šud*. — Apparently fr. \**ā-žgaur*-, \**ā-qžaur*-, cf. Wkh. *žagūrg*.

*'ažistai* Yzh, p *āzis'tai* sh is born, *a'jista* B to be born. — *ažist-este* is being born, Khow. *ažuran*; *olo dūi kyei ida ažistai* Yzh there, in that house a boy is being born. — Khow.; note the remarkable retention of the Khow. inflexional form. Cf. § 231.

*a'žawuy*- (?) Ysh to bear a child. — *a'žawuye-m tū* you are bearing me, *tu mara paidū mēkunī*. — Khow.

*'užūt* Yzh, *u'žūt* sh, *užut* B, *wužud* LSiy belly (interior). — Khow. *'užjut*, *'užut* the privates.

## B

*ba* Ysh in. — In the Prs. formulas: *ba nām-e Xadā, ba hokm-e Xadāyen*. — Prs.

*bai* Yzh, g, B, LSiy, *bōi* Mm, (g), *bāi* LSIm uncle, *taγa*. — Cf. Shgh. *bāb*, Wkh. *bəč*, etc.

*bāi* Yzh rich. — Turk.

*bū* Yzh, sh, r, g, *'bū* Mm, g, *būm* Z owl. — Prs. *būm*, *būf*; also Khow. *bū*.

*būi* Y, Z, G smell. — Prs.

*būi'gan* Mm stinking. — Prs. \**būy-i gand*.

- bu'buka* Yzh, <sup>u</sup>uk g, 'babua a black and white bird, Khov. *bu'buk*. — Cf. Prs. *bobak* hoopoo, pewit, Wkh. *bibuk* cuckoo.
- bi'āban* Yu desert. — In the Prs. formula *b° bar b°*. — Prs.
- bo'burē* Yzh, <sup>o</sup> sh, r, <sup>o</sup> g wasp, 'bəbər M (sh), 'ba° g, 'bē'ber (g), 'bambur m humble-bee. — Prob. fr. Khov. *b'ūmbur*. V. *surx-boburē*.
- bī'bāt* Yu windless (in Prs. formula).
- bī'čāra* Mm helpless, destitute. — Prs.
- bīci'rōn-*: *bīcīrēnd* M(g) to graze. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *bečarān-* and Z *bīpēčōn-* to twist, *bīspōr-* to entrust and other lw.s with generalization of Prs. *bī-*. V. *bədayay-*.
- bu'čayi*, <sup>u</sup>u'ī Yzh, 'a'ī sh bud, flower. — Khov. *bučū* blossom (O'Brien), *bučhušik* to flower.
- bād* Mm afterwards, after. — *b° žo wan* 'bād az ū', *bāda hasum* 'bād mēāyam', *bād niāst*. — Ar.-Prs.
- bod* Ysh, *bot* g, B closed. — Early lw. fr. Prs. But cf. Khov. *botik* to bind.
- bo'da* Yzh dyke, dam; ankle-bone; *bənd* Mg ankle-bone, 'banda m knuckle. — Prs. *band*. Cf. *bot*, *trəboda*.
- bā'dām* Yzh, *ba'* sh, *bō'dōm* r, *bā'dām* Mm almond. — Prs.
- bod'rui* Yzh, <sup>ri</sup>ri g, *bad'rui* r ugly, bad. — Prs.
- ba'dār* Mm off, away. — *b° šūi* he went off. — Prs. *ba dar*.
- bī'dār* Mm awake. — Prs. V. *bivārc*. : *bə'daway-am* Mm, *bidaw*: *bidawōy* Z to run. — Prs. V. *γāz-*.
- bā'dīr* Yzh large hammer, sledge. — Khov.
- bē'gāna* Yzh foreign, strange. — Prs.
- 'bāya* Yzh, *bāya* sh, u, B, *bāy* Mm, G garden. — *də bāya šūi*, *hu'rō da bāya* Yu; 'bāya *kə'ret* sh they made a garden; *də bāy da dram č-oi* Yu don't enter the garden. — Prs.
- 'bayake* (pl.?) Ysh a small garden. — *bayake šūi* (sg.) there had grown up a garden (gardens?).
- ba'γālē* Yzh walnut-shell.
- buγ'moz* Yzh, *bo°* sh grape-juice, *bōymaz* B wine. — Cf. Prs. *bigmāz* wine, *ba'* drinking-glass.
- bayaz* Yr bellowing, bleating. — *γawo*, *vəzo b° kit-əste*. — Cf. Z *bey-* to bellow, Ishk. *bay-* etc., Khov. *blayγ*; Sgl. *ba'γas*. Cf. § 193.
- boh* Ysh much, very. — *boh ši'pī dau'let* very great riches. — Khov.
- boh-um* Yzh : *bohay-em* r, *bōy*: *bōy* Z, : *bahāi* LSIm to kiss. — Cf. Sgl. *boh*, Khov. *bā*, *bah*, Bur. *ba*, Wkh. *bā*, etc.
- bo'hor* Mg, m, *ba'hōr* Z spring (season). — Prs. — V. *fsidro*.
- bīhu'sī* Yu fainting. — *dā'rū-i b°* a remedy against f. — Prs.
- 'bāja* Mm wife's sister's husband, <sup>je</sup>je g brother's wife (?). — Cf. Sgl. *bō'jā*. Kab. Prs. (< Turk.?).
- bī'aqəl* Yzh, sh, <sup>ql</sup>ql u, *bēaqł* Z stupid. — *b° žinškiko* u. — Ar.-Prs.
- bakrŋ'da* Yzh, <sup>ənda</sup>ənda g, <sup>ənd</sup>ənd r, *nar-ba'kēnd* sh male calf, 1—2 y. old. — IA; Cf. Sgl. *baken'di*, Gawar-Bati *bāken'da* etc. Not known from Khov. — V. *ju'āna*.
- bīl* Yzh, sh, *bēl* g spade. — Prs.
- bōl* Ysh the Pleiades. — Khov. (orig. "The Host, Army", cf. e.g. Hind. *Kacpaciya*: *kacpac* 'crowd', etc.).
- bīlčō* Yzh, p small spade, especially one used for roasting upon. — Prs.



*ba'i ləydo* Yr female cousin. — V. *bai, luḡdo*.  
*bāl'γam* Yzh mucus from the mouth,  
 phlegm. — Ar.-Prs., cf. Sgl. *bal'γām*.  
 V. *nez'yo*.  
*bal'ko* Yzh <sup>o</sup>*lko* sh, *bol'ka* r, *bōl'ko* Mm  
 hammer. — Cf. Khow. *baloka, balka*,  
 Sgl. *bal'kē*, Par. *bālu'kā*, fr. Turki  
*bolqa*.  
*bālūlo* Mm the mouthpiece of a black-  
 smith's bellows (?), *kūra* (cf. Prs. *kūr*  
 a smith's forge?).  
*bi'lānd* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>*and* sh, r, g, Mm, (g),  
*bā'land* Z, G high, tall. — *jāhānd b°*  
*as'tet* Yr he is very tall. — Prs.  
*bi'lār* G to love. — ?  
*bi'laxša* Yzh, *blax°* sh n. of a wild  
 vegetable, growing in the hills, *sauza*.  
 — Cf. Bad. Prs. (Lor.) *bilaxša* thin?  
*blā'cā-um* Yzh to collect. — Khow.  
*blacēiman*, imper. *blācāwe*.  
*bam'boḡi* Yp heard of the maize-cob. —  
 Said to be a Khow. word. Acc. to  
 Lor. *bāmbēdi* (δ = /) is of uncertain  
 meaning, but possibly refers to crop-  
 plants. Cf. Psht. *bambal* 'beard of  
 corn' from Lhd.  
*bām-se'zto* Ysh n. of a shrub. V. *se'zīyo*.  
*'bande* Y slave. — *'banda-i xākī* human  
 being; *tu Xadāyen b° čēšv-a?* art thou  
 not God's slave? — Prs.  
*banda'wā* : *banda'wōvd* Yzh, r, *banda'vā* :  
<sup>o</sup>*vōvd* sh to command. — Khow.  
*bandēiman*.  
*ba'nafšo* Yzh, sh violet (flower). — Prs.  
*banj* Yzh, Mm, *bānj* M(g), *bānš* Yg  
 holly-oak. — Khow. *bānj*.  
*bi'nās* Ysh copious, complete. — *dau'let*,  
*pu'šāk*, *na'γen b° šūi* 'pur šud'.  
*ban'dux* Yzh, p, *ban'dux* sh hollow in a  
 large stone used as a hand-mill (for  
 pounding rice in, zh). — IA?

*baḡdux-čuxo* Yp wooden apparatus for  
 pounding gun-powder.  
*'bai-pūr* Yzh, sh male cousin. V. *bai*.  
 Cf. *vrai(min)*.  
*bar* Yu on. In Prs. formula *šahar bar*  
*šahar*, etc. — Prs.  
*bar'bād* Yu desolate, waste. — Prs.  
*ba'rābar* Ysh equal, similar. — *do tō b°*  
 like you; *yū b°* alike; *b° čē nq'wof*  
 it was not equal (in weight). —  
 Prs.  
*ba'rābar xšovo* Ysh, *kšovo b°* B mid-  
 night. Cf. Shgh. *barābar* 'xāb (Sköld).  
*barq* Mm, ti, Z, G leaf. — Prs. V. *paḡik*.  
*'brāyiko* Yzh, g, *bra°* sh, r, Mm, *'brāyika* g,  
*b°ra°* f. Z sparrow. — < \**mray* <  
 \**myg* (v. BSOS, VI, 440). Cf. Sgl.  
*māryōg*.  
*barq* Mm, g lightning. — Ar.-Prs. V.  
*'veliwo*.  
*'bārik* Yzh, *bā'rik* G, *bō°* Z thin. — Ar.-  
 Prs.  
*bā'rān* Mm, g, G, *bō'rōn* Mti, Z rain. —  
 Prs. V. *wāriyo, novē*.  
*bū'rinj* Mm, *bā°* G, *br°* Z husked rice. —  
 Prs. V. *gōrinj*.  
*brūt* M(g) moustache. — Prs. V. *v'rut*.  
*bra'xā-um* Yzh to knock. — Khow.  
*braxē iman*.  
*bar'zengē* Yu demon, *dēw*. — *hw'rō do*  
*baya bar'zengē no'γof* an ogre emerged  
 there into the garden. — Cf. Or.  
 (Lentz) *bārzāng'gā*.  
*burē* Yu tower (?), zh corner of a house,  
*čār-burš* B four-cornered. — *rūyun*  
*da burē deh* Yu pour ghee over the  
 tower. — Prs. *burj* tower; cf. Shgh.  
*burj* wall (Sköld).  
*'boyiko* Yp small, round basket, made  
 of thick twigs (v. Fig.). — Cf. Khow.  
*bēlu, bōlu* reed (pipe) (Lor.)?

<sup>1</sup>*bār*: *barγ* Yzh, *bar-* g, *bar*: *barγ* r, *bār*- Mm, : *barγ* LSIy to be satisfied; *barav*- LSI<sup>m</sup> to fill, satisfy. — Cf. Av. *hampar*-, Sak. *hambaḍa* filled, Prs. *ambāridan* to fill. <sup>1</sup>*r* from past stem, cf. § 227.

*brök* Yzh, sh, g knuckle, hipbone, *brök* sh bud. — *da pišcan* b° g. — Khow. *blōy*, *blök* bud.

*bos kən*- Yzh to weep (??).

*bist* Mm, t, ti, (sh), *bist* g twenty. — Prs. V. *wisto*.

<sup>1</sup>*bästiko* Yzh shearers. — \**ham-basta*, cf. Skr. *sambaddha*- joined, bound together (Prs. *ambast(a)* bound, stiff, etc.)?

*baš* Ysh, u, LSIy a particle giving the verb a subjunctive force. Khow. V. § 256.

<sup>1</sup>*bāša* Yg, *bā'šo* Mm falcon. — Prs.

*bu'sā-um*: *bu'savd-o* Yzh to win, to be victorious. — Khow. *bə'šēiman*

*bū'fo* Ysh boots. — *bū'fə* (pl.?) *li'o*. — Engl. (through Hind., Khow.).

*bi'vāre* Yg awake. — b° *šom*. — Prs., but older borrowing than *bi'dār*, q.v. Cf. *angah*, *usxūbun*.

<sup>1</sup>*būwo* Yr, °*aya* Mg, °*o'go* m widow. — Prs. V. *wā'sarwo*.

<sup>1</sup>*bāwar* Yzh belief, trust. — b° *kenem*. — Prs.

*bu'xōn*: *bixēd* Z to read. — Prs.

*boxš* Yzh dividing, distribution. — Prs.? Cf.:

*baxš-īm*: <sup>1</sup>*bayd-em* and *bax'si-m* Yzh to distribute food at a feast; *baxš-əm*: *bayd-əm* sh, <sup>1</sup>*boxš-am*: *boγd-əm* Mm, t, : *bayd* LSIy to divide, distribute. — *tāam bayd* sh he distributed the food. — Prs., or genuine < \**ham-baxš*.

*baxšiyō* Yzh, in *γduyo* b° a stream di-

vided into many rivulets. — Perf. of *baxš*-. Cf. Khow. *bāš*, *baššōy* minor channel of a river < Ir.

*būz* Mm female markhor. — Prs. Cf. Wkh. *buz* f. ibex.

*ba'zār* Ysh, *bō'zōr* Z bazar. — *do b°* in the b; *yaī no bazāren* he brought it to the b. — Prs.

*bo'zāi* Yzh, *bō'žēi* sh bag, sack. — *do yū b°*; *yū b° ašrafī* sh one bag full of gold coins. — Cf. Psht. *bōjat* from IA (cf. Hind. *bojh* load?).

## C

*cē* Yzh, sh, *ci* u B what? — *na maf cē zarūr* sh what need is there for you? *wos ci ilāj kenem* u what remedy shall I use now? — Cf. Psht. *cə*, Sgl. *ce* what; Wkh. *cə-waxt*, Shgh. *ca-waxte* when < Av. *cit* (used as an indefinite particle). Cf. *cə'min*.

<sup>1</sup>*cēb-um*: *cēbāi-m* Yzh, *cəb-um*: *cəbai* r, *cəb-um*: *cəvd-am* Mm, Z, *c'eb-um* Mt to pinch (e.g. with the fingers), *gazidan*. — Ir. \**čimb/p-* (cf. Wkh. *čip-* to pick?), or fr. IA., cf. Nep. *cepnu* to press, squeeze, *čimṭanu* to pinch (v. Nep. Dict. s.v.v.), Ksh. *čipiñ* pinching? V. *čepio*.

*ci'gyerē* Yzh mushroom, Khow. *braṅgālu*. — V. *xarpušt*.

*cəkən* Ysh, r, *ckən* g, *skən* Mg, *skin* (g), *skun* m, *səkən* Z puppy. — Cf. Wkh. *səkən*, *skən*, Sgl. *səkənok* and v. Z s.v. and Tomaschek, p. 761, who compares Slav. \**šteno* (Russ. *ščenok*, etc.) < \**sk°* (of Asiatic origin?). Y c appears to be secondary. Cf. the foll. word.

*cəke'na* Yzh, *ckə'na* g, *ckə'nakē* (pl.?) sh puppy.

*calan'durū* Yzh window. — From Khow. *calax'duri* id., crossed with *caren'daru* door-frame.

*cə'min* Yzh what? — *c<sup>o</sup> trik astet?* 'ēi ēiz ast?' *c<sup>o</sup> žūi?* what do you say? — Cf. *cē* and *min*.

*cepio* Yzh, *ce<sup>o</sup>* sh pincers for pulling out hair. — Cf. *cēb.*, v. *mūi-cino*.

*cipō-um* Yzh to wink. — *camaf c<sup>o</sup>*.

*cə'ra'ū* Yzh, *o<sup>o</sup>š'ū* sh, r, g, *cə'rouy* Mm, *ce'rouy* g, *o<sup>o</sup>uy* (g) male markhor, "trowoo" B wild goat. — Prob. borr. from Kafiri, cf. Waigeli *cōw* < \**erōw* (?). Kati *šū'ru*, etc.

*cə'roug-və'zo* Mm female markhor. — V. *mažoγo* and *būz*.

*cə'rox* Yzh, *cu'roγdə* (perf. ptc.?) g spark. — Common Hindukush word, cf. Khow. *cə'rax*, Wkh., Wershik. *ce'rae*, Ishk. *ceraxak*, Sgl. *čeryazək*, but also Oss. *cū'xār*.

*caro'yo* Yzh, *sa<sup>o</sup>* (?) r bustard (?) (*kabūtar rang, kā mēxura, halāl ast*). Prs. *čarda*. — *čarda* not in Prs. lexx., but v. Burhān ud-Dīn, Kartaran u Baḡaxman p. 122 *چرچر* pheasant, and cf. Prs. *čarz, čāl* bustard, partridge (*čarda* a bay horse, etc., *čarad* bay colour < \**qel-to* ? Cf. Walde—Pok. I, 440 sq.). Cf. Psht. *cārai* 'bustard'. *ces* Ysh what? — V. § 210.

### Č

*čai* Yzh tea. — *č<sup>o</sup> šəm* drink tea. — Prs. *čai-m*: *čaid-əm* Yzh, *čōi-m* M(g) to sprinkle, *čōy*: *čōy*-Z to sow, scatter. — < \**hača-hāy* ?

*či, če, čə, č* Yzh, etc., *či* Mm, G, Z not, nothing, don't. — *ču mupo vii* he may not have died; *mən xismat*

*č-kəγəm* I have not done any service; *kəne-a č-kəni-a* do you do it, or not? *paši ādam č-i-ō* Yr he is not a good man; *čūi* = *č-šūi* 'na raft'; *vo mun malmūn če kenē-este* Ysh are you not making me like this? *pišf noγo'ra čūi* sh (the river) cannot be forded; *či aγoi* Mm he did not come, *uč kū čī vīo* Mm 'hēc čizī na bāt'; *no no-ōf no xu'γān če astet* there is nothing (for them) to eat; *tə čē žūi* [subj.], *če žvā* (imper. don't say; *č-kene* don't do, say (*na gū*); *na'waxt č-as* don't arrive late; *či dalē* don't give; *či tələwā gadāi* Ysh don't beg. — G s.v. compares Prs. (*hēc*. Is *či*, etc. an early lw. from Prs., or has a parallel semantic development of \**aiva-čit* taken place in Prs. and Y—M? Cf. Gypsy *či* anything > nothing. V. *čēš*.

*če, čī* Yzh, sh, u, LSIy what? why? *či* B why? — *če xšif-este?* why are you weeping? *də baγ čī č-oīm* Yu why shall I not go into the garden? 'ba čī na mērawim?' *mo xap čī kīt?* u 'xap ba čī mēkina?' *tu čī vā-mən de'hē?* zh, *tu va-mən čī de'hē?* g why do you beat me? *tu čī horγ č-kenē?* zh why don't you work? *tu čū žūi?* *maf čī žaf?* *čī* (= *cə'min*) *žūi?* Yzh what (?) do you say? — Prs. — It is often only the context which permits us to distinguish between *če* 'not' and *če* 'what'.

*čei* Yr something. *čizī*. — *na to čei pščāmum* I entrust something to you. — Cf. Madaglashti Prs. *čiz* thing.

*čū*: *čūvd*-Yzh, sh, r, *čū*: *čud* g, *žūv*: *juvd* Mm, *žū*-t, (g), *žūv*: *juvd*-Z

- to pick, *čuvda* B to choose. — Cf. Wkh. *čip*, *čüp*: *čövd* to gather, Sar. *cev*, Khow. *capiman* to pick, collect.
- čäčk* Yzh a kind of beetle, *čäč* r, g a long and slender, black and white wasp. — Khow. *čäč* grasshopper, *malar* (unknown to Lor., who has got *čäčk* buzzing). Scarcely orig. Ir., cf. Orm. *čanč* 'bee, flea'?
- čad*: *čast* Yzh to fall, stumble. — *častəm* 'čaltid(am)'; *čadem* 'mēyalt-am'. — Cf. the following words. — Scarcely connected with Phil. Psalter *čud* 'to shake', Bal. *čandag* (Cf. Bailey, BSOS, VI, 822. But note: *čandag* < Sindhi *čandh*).
- čad-əm*: *čādī-m* Yzh to throw in wrestling. — *zə vto čadem*, dur. pres. 3 sg. *čadeste*; *mən vto čādīm*, mo *ādam vsmən čādīō*. — Possibly < \**hača-hand* to make to sit down? Cf.: *čād-əm*: *čādī-īm* Yzh, sh to pour out. — *yduyo čādem* zh, sh I let water into an irrigation-channel.
- čādūr* Yzh, sh, r, g, (sh also *čādūr*) turban, *čōdər* Z veil. — Khow. *čādūr* turban fr. Prs. *čādar* veil.
- čof* Yzh ceiling made of reeds.
- čogoō*, v. *kyogo*.
- čogulo* Ysh, *č* r, *i* (pl.?) zh, *čoguli* g hoof. — Cf. *čigāli*. V. *sumb*.
- čigāli* Yzh, sh, *č* r, *čigālī* g, *čangōli* M (sh), *čangōl* g, *čong* m, *čang* Z claw. — *čīyo č*° Ysh 'zad ba čang'. — Cf. Sgl. *čīngāl*. Or. *čīngāl* fr. Prs. *čang(āl)*.
- čugu'rē* Yzh, *čik'rī* M(g) rhubarb, *čugurē* Ysh sorrel (*čigirī*), *čigi'rī* r a plant with an acid taste. — Cf. Prs. *čukri* sorrel, Khow. *čukurī* small, sour cherries; Orm. *čuk'rī* rhubarb.
- čəyū-um*: *čəyūd* Yzh, *čəyūd* sh. *čəyūw*: *čəyurd* Z to return, 'pas *gaštan*'. — *mīr čəyū'a* zh return here, Khow. *achi yari*; *žyūa* (!) as sh return and come; *wən čəyūd* 'pas *gašt*'. — Cf. Sar. *wazeib* < \**awa-gaip*; Or. *wīcāfs*: *wīžīvd*. V. *yī* and *zəyū*.
- čəyul* Z pit, ravine, gully. — From Prs. *čəyal* plait, fold, wrinkle, and not *āyil*, *na'yil* sheep-fold as suggested by Z.
- čkalpič* Yzh, g golden oriole, Khow. *mayōn*.
- čkyūgo* f. Mm, *skūga* Z urine. — < \**čāšky*° < \**čāštākā*, cf. Sgl. *čīš*? V. *mīzyo*.
- čəlo* Yzh, 'čā' sh mane. — Khow. *čāl*.
- čel* Mm, *čil* g forty. — Prs.
- čəuli'i* Yzh, sh, 'lī g stirrup, B horse-shoe. — *yū čəuli' zh*. — Cf. Prs. *čəul* crooked.
- čəula* Yzh, sh, *čul* Mg, m glans penis: *sar-i-kir*: *čūl* Z, G penis. — Prs. *čul*, *čōl* penis, cf. G s.v.
- čil'yānē* Yp apricot kernel. — V. *žir malē*.
- čil'kyō* Yzh, r, g, *čilki'o* sh weeping willow. — Khow. *čīlki*.
- čal-kīrmo* Mg n. of an insect, *kərmuk*. — Cf. Prs. *čalāk* black beetle?
- čilim* Yzh waterpipe. — Prs.
- čaliya*, v. *kaliyo*.
- čam* Yzh, g, p, LSly, *čām* Ysh, r, LSIm. *čām* Mm, G, *čōm* Mg, ti, Z, *čōm* Mt. *čōm* (g) eye. — Av. *čašman*, etc. Note Chr. Sogd. *čm*; cf. Oss. *casm*. *cans* window, mask.
- čāmō* Yzh, sh, *čāmo* B round brooch worn at the breast. — Khow. *čāma* (also in Kalasha, Bur. and Shina).
- čim'derio* Yzh, *čūm'derio* sh. *čūm*° p,

frying pan. — Khow. *čimdōri*, *čūndōri*, *čon'dēri* (*čumur* iron + *dōri* ladle). *čā'mīn* Y how? how much? *čemin* B how, because. — *č° kenəm?* sh 'čiqadrī, *istāri* (= *či-taurī*) *bukunam?* *čikō kenəm?* ' *tu č° vo xōi nafs kenē?* sh how do you deal with your own family? *mo čā'mīn 'žayā?* u what kind of place is this? 'i *štari žā?* *č° žūi* zh how do you speak? what do you say? *če-min lūro* B how far? — *če + min*.

*čumur'sū* Yzh spit. — Khow.

*čimitheryo* B maid. — Khow. *čumuč'kēr*.

*ču'max* Yzh, *čax'mox* Z firestone, flint. — Turk.-Prs.

*čan* Ysh, r *ča'na* m, zh, g, 'čā° Mm, 'čano g newborn kid. — IA., cf. Khow. *čhāni*, Kati *čū*, Pashai *čhanik* f., etc. V. *nar'čan*, *čānoyo*.

*čen* Yu? — *čene-ste* (= \*č-kene-ste?) 'čika *mēkinī*'.

'čīnē Yzh, °nī g, *čīnīno* Mm cup. — Prs.

*čuā'no* Yzh, sh, Mm, *čūō'nō* Yp threshing fork. Cf. Sgl. *apčūn?*

*čand* Yzh, sh, B, *čad* Mm, *čēd* G, *čed* LSI<sub>m</sub> how many? how much? some. — *čand paisa yurdet* Yzh how much money did you take? *čand ādame?* 'čand *kī'mat ke ke'ne max wo 'yuram* sh we shall buy it for the price you fix = *čan ke tu kenē*, *hūy dalem* sh; *tō čand pūrē* (*leydē*) *astet?* r how many sons (daughters) have you? *yū čad mīx* Mm a few days. — The Y-form is prob. infl. by Prs.

'čānoyo m, M(g) male kid, one year old. — V. *ča'na*.

*čī'nār* Y, °ār Mm oriental plane, ebenar. — Prs.

*čī'nurjo* Yzh, sh, °rjo r, g, 'čēnurjo (r?) Mm, 'činderya g starling, *maina* (acc. to zh = *brāyiko* sparrow). Cf. § 44.

*ču'ya* Yzh lime. — IA.

*činto* B whip. — Prs. *čanda* (lex.)?

*čop* Y, *čop* u, *čap* Mm, g, Z, G left (hand), Yzh, sh also untrue, lie. — *do čap suv'dō* Yu on the left shoulder. — Prs. *čap*.

*čō'pī* Yzh, sh, B, *čōpik* sh, g lie. — *tu čō'pik kene* Ysh; *tu čō'pik č-kē'ne* don't lie; *čō'pik kyt va-mən* Yg you lied to me. — V. *čop*.

'čāpē Yzh, sh, *ča'pī* pl. p door-frame. — Cf. Prs. *čamba* a large bar, spar, *čām* curved, *čafta* curved, a vaulted roof.

*čpāč* Ysh, *očəpəč* Mm, *āčpəč* Z after, back (adv.). — *dukan'dār č° šūi* the shopkeeper went back; *kə wa-č° čtr mīx č° asəm* if I come back after four days; *ž' dalen č° āy'wōi*. — Cf. Wkh. *sibas*, Sar. *zabō*, *zabūč*, Prs. *sipas* < \**hača-pasčā* (not with Z < \**hača-paršta*), cf. Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, p. 212. — V. *špāč*, *wa-čpāč*. Cf. Ishk. *čpōšt*.

*ču'pān* Mm, *čū'pōn* Z, LSI<sub>m</sub> shepherd. — Prs. (č < fš-).

'čāro Yr store-room for grain, *ambār*; p hollow, pit in the *čārsīr* (q.v.); *čora* f. Z pit for storing grain. — *driem da č°*. — Prs. *čāla* vault, depository for grain, *čār* potter's kiln; Khow. 'čari pitted from small pox < Ir.

'čirē (*čī'rē*) m, Yzh, °rī sh, g, Mm, g, Z, G, 'čirī Yr, °i Yu, Mtī apricot (*prunus armeniaca*). — *vo čirief yurd* Yu; *žə črien* u from the apricot-tree. — Cf. Yazgh. *čī'rai*, Prasun *čī'rē*, Kati *čirə*, Ashkun *čī'rā*, Kshn.

- cer*, Bhadrawahi 'cīrō. But note also Armen. *ciran*. Cf. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p. 540. V. *čīryiščē*.
- cūr* Yp cross-bar separating the strings of a pellet-bow. — Khow. *čūr*.
- '*čōrda* Mg, (g) fourteen. — Prs.
- čir'grinj* Yzh, sh milk-rice. — Khow. *čhr + grinj*.
- čir'ovizen* Mt three days ago, *se rüz šud*. — \**čadru + azanya*. Cf. *širizen*, and v. *čurmō*.
- čē'rīy* M(g) a kind of cultivated grain or seed, *dōna*. — Possibly linseed from which lamp-oil is prepared (v. Vavilov, *Agricult. Afgh.*, p. 114). Cf. *čirūy*.
- čī'rūy* Z, °*γ-lān* G lantern. — Prob. an early lw. from Prs.
- čīr'pīščē* Yzh dried apricots. — Cf. *čirē* and Prs. *kišta* dried fruit, esp. apricots (v. Vavilov, p. 452), Psht. dried apricot.
- čirk* Mm, Z dirty. — Prs. V. *kiž'yo*.
- čoro'mī*, v. *č° oguščiko*.
- čur'mō* Yzh, sh, 'čūremo Mm three days ago. — < \**čadru- + ama-*, not < \**čadwāra + ama* as in most dialects (v. Gauthiot, *MSL*, 17, p. 151). Cf. *čirgyizen*, *pčūrma*, *čurmosāl*, *čoromī*.
- čar'mak*, *čār'māk* Yp the wool on the spindle. — Prs.
- čī'rom* Yzh, in : *na č' no 'šūya* near the river, *pēš-i daryā* (?).
- čoro'mī o'guščiko* Ysh, 'čor° o° g index finger. — *čoromī* fourth, cf. *čur'mō*. V. *čaraŋ'gušč*.
- čurmo'sāl* Yzh, sh three years ago. — V. *čur'mō*.
- čaraŋ'gušč* Yzh the index finger: g the four fingers, °*gišt* sh id. — \*Prs.
- čār-pā'γäl'yo* Yp stone lid of the *čāro* (q.v.).
- čōrpo'yi* Mm, *čārpā'yi* G bed. — Prs. V. *žen*.
- '*čārsir* Yp elevated platform made of brickwork, in one corner of the house.
- '*čār'wəl* Yzh headman of a village, *čārbū*. — Khow. *čār'wēlū* headman of several villages (O'Brien). — V. *arbāb*.
- čīr'wašk* Yzh, *čūr'* sh resin, gum. Khow. *tum*. — Prs. *čarwiš*. *čarbiš* fat? V. *rūyno*, *wāziyo*.
- čār'woyi* pl. Mm, *čōr'vōy* m. Z small cattle. — Prs. *čār-pāya*, Taj. *čorvō* sheep. Cf. *LSIm čūr-pālaf* (obl. pl. cattle).
- čār'x* Yzh, g, p, Mg, *čorx* m spinning-wheel. — \*Prs.; cf. *čarc*.
- čār'xo* Yzh avalanche of stones. — Cf. *Wkh.*, *Sbgh.* *čarxa* id. < \*Prs. — Khow. *čokūl* id. (\**čak'ra*) is a parallel formation.
- čār-x-i fa'lak* Ysh the Milky Way. — \*Prs (cf. Khow. *čārfalak*, acc. to my Gawar-Bati informant). V. *pado*.
- čār'xānuk* Yp handle, crank of a spinning-wheel. — V. *čār'x*.
- '*čūr'wa* Yzh, u unripe apricot. — *žē čirien čūr'wakaf āvər* Yu bring unripe apricots from the apricot-tree. — Cf. *Sgl.* *ču'wēl*, *Wkh.* *ču'wān* apricot.
- čes* Ysh whatever, *čes* B, *čis* *LSIy* what? — *čes ke Xadāiyen lio 'čizi ke Xudāi dād'*. — Cf. *če*. — *čes* < \**čes* < \**čiščit*?
- čēs* Ysh, *čēs* Z, G is not. — *hāc kučī čēs* there is nothing, 'hēc čizi nēst'; *yo vira mən šiften čēs* this burden is not my husband's; *tu Xadāiyen bande čēs' a?* are you not God's slave? *tu do-ōf xabar čēs' ā* have you no news

about them? *no xu'yan na'yan 'češ*  
 there is no bread for eating. — Cf.  
*če*, acc. to G compounded with *š* <  
 Av. *aēša*-, but this is phonetically  
 improbable.

*češo* Yzh, *ča* sh, *češa* p, *češe* Mg,  
*češa* f. Z the pin of a spindle. —  
 < \**castrā/i*-, cf. Psht. *cāšai*, Orm.  
*tisk* (< \**cisk*), Kurd. *taši*, *teši* spindle.

*ča'tir* Yu tent. — *da asmīno č° vīo*; *da*  
*č° loh šināmi viet*. — Khow. *ča'tir*,  
 in its turn fr. M. Ir. \**čātēr*, cf. Prs.  
*čādar*, -*ir*, Russ. lw. *šater*. Cf. BSOS,  
 VIII, 660.

*čšir* Yzh, p. LSly (zh also *čšir*, *č's'ir*, p  
*č's'ir*), *čir* Ysh, g, r, u, B misheard  
 for *čšir*?, *čfir* Mt, g, ti, *čfir* (sh),  
*čfir* m, LSIm, *či°* Z, G (G also *č'fār*),  
*ča'fir* MFB, *čavir* Y, acc. to G (from  
 what source?) four. — *čir miš* Ysh,  
*čir wulē* sh, *čfir-pālaf* LSIm (obl.  
 pl.) cattle. — Av. *čaθwārō*, etc. Cf.  
 § 102.

*čoť* Yzh antler. — Khow. (Lor.) *čoť* knob  
 on ibex horn. Cf.:

*čoťē* Yzh knuckle. — Khow. *čoť* knuckle,  
 twig (cf. preceding word).

*čuwa* (= \**ču va*?) Yzh something. — *mən*  
*č° astet* I have something. — V. *če*.  
*čauuk* Yzh whip. — Prs. *čābuk*.

*čaxt* Ysh piece of wood used for tight-  
 ening a rope. — Cf. Prs. *čaxīdan*  
 to twist.

*čič*-, v. *tič*-.  
*čiy*-, v. *čiy*-. Z to freeze, to feel cold. —  
 Cf. Prs. *čā(h)īdan*, Zaza *či*- to feel  
 cold, Sar. *pa-ci*- to become cold,  
 Orm. *čāk* cold, and perhaps Khow.  
 (Ir. lw.?) *čoi.ik*, *čo.ik* (Lor.), *čohik*  
 (O'Brien) to be frostbitten. Z com-  
 pares also Shgh. *ičiy*-. V. *pčio*.

*čoy*-, v. *čai*-.  
*čuž'ija* Yzh, *'yak* zh, g, *'yakē* pl. sh,  
*čō'žiy* Mm, *čužioyo* (g) *'iya* Z chicken.  
 — Cf. Badakhshi *čuča*, Madagl. *čučik*,  
 Prs. *čūja*, etc.

*čai'žuš* Yzh, *čāž°* sh tea-kettle. — Prs.

## D

*da*, *də* Y, Mm, Z, *do* Ysh, u, Z, *də* G,  
 etc., into, in, at, etc. — Y: *lo'yoī*  
*də kyēi* he entered into the house:  
*nəvuy do kučio* brought it out into  
 the street; *ni'ā* (*nə'yoγ*) *də kuč'io*  
 went out into the street; *da yū mal'zit*  
*šūi* he went into a mosque; *žio da*  
*avγuš* he put it in his lap; *za da*  
*sāharo dyom* Mm I shall go into the  
 desert; *šūi darūn də kyoi* Mm he  
 entered the house; *šūi na Čitrāyī*.  
*da Čitrāgī rəsī* Ysh he went to Ch.  
 and arrived there; *do urjug suv'dō*  
 Yu on the right shoulder; *wu'žir də*  
*'kyoi kə jə'hōn rūpā'yo* Mm he saw  
 that there were many rupees in the  
 house; *dā iščiy* Yzh under the roof:  
*də tō apir astet* Ysh he is in front  
 of you; *da 'laxčio 'nīgio* Ysh he took  
 it out of (?) the bag; *da āxərat* Yu  
 finally; *lə tō harābar* equal to you;  
 — Prob. < Av. *antarə* (cf. Prs. *dar*)  
 not with G, < Av. -*da*. Greek -*δε*.  
 Cf. § 219.

*dā* Mm, g, (g), (sh), t, Z, G ten. — Prs.  
 V. *los*.

*'dā-um*: *'david-um* Yzh to smear. —  
 < \**han-daw*-, Prs. *andūdan*, cf. Av.  
*frā-dav*-. — V. *sā*-.  
*de'bāl* LSly, *da°* m behind. — Prs.  
 (early lw.) *dumbāl*.  
*dadram*, v. *dram*.

*dīd* (?) Ysh after, on account of — *po yū hory dīd* 'barā i yak kār'; *ēr mīr dīd* 'cār rūz bā'd'. — *δ* was not heard in any other word.

*dāf-*: *dāft* Yzh, sh, *duf-*: *duft* Mm to clasp, seize; *duf-*: *doft* Ysh, Mt, *duf-* Z, *dīfta* B to fight; : *dāft* Ysh, u, *dīf-*: *dīft* Z to catch fire; *dūfta* B to begin. — *dā'fom*, *dāftom* Yzh, *dū'fAm*, *dūftam* sh, *dō'fAm*, *dūftam* Mm, t; *xāpūi* 'dīftē Yzh I started coughing (*ēāspīda kat-i mā*); *dāftəd* *dā hōry* Ysh they started working, *ēāspīdan*; *lā mən ēe defa* sh don't fight with me, 'kat-i man jang na šawīd'; *yūla dāft* Ysh it caught fire, *dar girīft*; *vo* (l) *lažino dāft* Yu the wood-pile caught fire, *suxt*. — Possibly really two verbs: \*han-taf(ya) and \*han-dab- (\*han-dafs-, cf. Z s.v.v.). *dā'gōni* pl. Yr twins. — Prs. *dūgāna*. V. *luānekē*.

*degaza'yē* (pl.?) Yp forked rest for a matchlock. — Prs. \**dū-gāza*.

*dā'hā-m*: *zī-m* Yzh, sh, r, *dā'hā-m*: *zī-m* g, *'duh-um*: *zī-* Mm, *dō-am*: *zī-im* t, *dē-*, *dā-*: *zīy-d* Z, *dā(h)-*: *zī'va* G, *dēh-*: *zia* LSIy, m to beat, strike, place. — *vto da'ham* Yzh, *da'hām ftō* sh, *zo vto dā'hām* g, *zə ftō dōam*, *dōam-et* Mt; *zo vāi da'ham* Yzh, *zo vēi dā'hām* sh, *za vāi dū'ham* Mm; *tu ēi va-mən de'hē?* Yzh, *tu va-mən ēi de'hē?* g; *da'haf* zh 2 pl.; *tu vōu de!* zh, *'dea* sh beat him; *zo/mən vto zīm* zh, *ftō zī'im* sh, *mən vto zīm* g, *mun ftō zīm* Mt; *tū vōmən zīit* Yr, *tō vōmən zīl* g, *tu vo-mən zīit* sh, *zīet* Mm; *zīo wōf* Ysh; *mən vto zīyam* Yg (v. § 248), *zə/mən vto zīyam vīo* r (v. § 250); *mən vto zīm-stām* g, *zo*

*vto zīm-istām* r (v. § 247). — *zīo da av'yūš* Ysh, *do 'vyūš zīo* u he put it in his lap; *lažino deh* Yu build a pile; *vo 'yasp?* *pa'lān zīō* u he saddled the horse; *mruwā'yē zī'et* sh they planted fruitbearing trees; *wōu ;albīn zīm* r I winnowed it; *tā'fak da'ham* (pret. *da'ha-im!*) zh I fire a gun; *'soro da'ham* (*zī'em*: sh I manure; *nī'mekikya da'ham* zh I dive; *gab 'diah* sh speak; *vrūtā zīe-baš* sh if he cuts his beard; *mən do yū zo to gap* g thy word struck my ear. — *zī* < Av. *jata-*, with *dah-* etc., cf. Shgh. *de*, etc. (cf. Rep. Afgh., p. 78). Cf. especially Sängisāri *de-*: *zē* to beat.

*duh'qān* Mm, *dehqān* LSIy, m agricultural labourer. — Prs.

*duk* Yg the wheel of a spindle. — Prs. *dūk* woman's spindle.

*do-ku'ēo*. v. *ku'ēo*.

*du'hān* Ysh shop. — Ar.-Prs.

*dukan'dār* Ysh shopkeeper. — *āi d-*; *d?* *yurd yū alāno*: *zōlo dukan'daren*. — Ar.-Prs.

*dala* Mt marmot, weasel. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *dela*.

*dāl-īm*: *lī-m* Yzh, *'dāl-um*: *lī-(i)m* sh, r, u, g; *'dal-*: *lī(y)-* (*līiy*) Mm, t, Z, *dāl-* M(g), : *līy-* G to give. — *no'man ces delum?* what shall I give him? *no'wōn a'mūno dālēm* Ysh I give him an apple; *namən da'le*, *'nā mun del* give me; *'na-mən 'ēi da'lē* don't give me; *dīl* 3 sg., *'dālet* 3 pl., *zo yārē nā'yen dālīm* zh I give him assistance; *mən nāwōn nā'yen lī'im*; *yān nā'maf nā'yen līo*, *lī'et* 3 pl., *yū a'lāno 'lī vto* Ysh he had given a pome-granate. — Av. *dadā-*: *dāta-*



cf. Shgh. *ḍāḍ*. Reg. the dissimilation in *dāl*-, cf. § 52.

*dul* Yzh, sh, *dāl* p the hopper of a mill. — *na dūlen*. — Prs.

*daula'dār* Mm rich. — Prs. V. *bāi*, *akābur*.

*dōlk* Yzh, sh, r, *dolk* Mm, *delk* Z, *dōlk* B lean, bad. — Prs. *dalq*.

*drlmrl* M(g) straw, ear of corn. — Prs. *dulmul* unripe grain, cf. Panjshiri *tut-i-dilmil* half-dried mulberries (Andreev, On the ethnology of Afgh., p. 23).

*da'len* Ysh below. — *yū maṛa ži d° āyōi*. — *da + len* < \**adana*-, cf. Sak. *dāna* below.

*dau'lat* Ysh possessions, riches. — *mrud d°*; *nī'ast sko d°*. — Ar-Prs.

*drl-r ži'gar* Yr n. of some entrail. — Cf. Sköld, Mater., 261 *dil-džigar*.

*dəm* Mm bellows. — Prs. V. *pu'ine*.

*dom* Yzh, sh, B breath. — *yū dēm* sh suddenly. — Prs.

*dəmālen* Yzh at noon. — *də + malen*.

*də'māmo* Yzh, *dāmōmo* B large drum. — Prs.

*dāmənē* pl. Ysh foot ("hem") of a mountain, *dāman-i kōh*. — Prs.

*dāna* Ysh, *dā'nā* G wise. — Prs. Cf. *lānawo* B.

*drāi* Ysh hither (?). — *wo maṛa drāi avāze* bring the man hither (?). — Cf. *dram*.

*drī-m* Yzh, *drī-m*: *drī-o* sh, *drī-em*: *drī-m* r, *driā-m*: *dri-um* Mm, *'drī-am* (g) to pour into, throw (into). — *'yauyo da zu'yum* (= *'drim*) Yr I pour out the water; *maṛaken hūy da tārazū drī'o* sh the man threw the money into the scales; *drīo, drīet* sh 'andāxt(an)'; you *drīem da cāro* y

I threw the grain into the corn-bin; *kəryo o'yury drēi* (*driyo*) zh the hen lays (laid) an egg; *yaržo drim* sh I shave (!) my beard. — But cf. also: *'tu'yum 'dra-im* Yzh I sow; *drōyam* M(g) I shoot, aim at; *xirām drōim* I throw into the threshing ground, I thresh; *drai* LSIy, *derāe* LSI<sub>m</sub> put ye on; *derye* LSI<sub>m</sub> threw; *d'rōy*: *d'rəy* to throw. — The material does not enable us to decide whether all these forms belong to one verb (*drāi*: *drī*-?), or not. Note that Khow. *drēik* (< Ir.?) means 'to pour out, to throw, to sow' and also 'to shave'. — Z compares Av. *drāvaya* 'to make to run'; better < \**han-d°*. Cf. *d'ro*.

*'daro* Mm, *°ə* g, *'ra* Z valley. — Prs. V. *ko'sa*.

*d'ro-um*: *d'ru'i-m* Yzh, *d'ro-um*: *d'ru'i-m* sh, *'drō-um*: *drī-m* g, *d'rō-um*: *d'vī-m* r, *d'rəw-am*: *'d'rīy am* Mt, *d'row-um*: *d'rīy-am* m, *deraw*: *durəy* Z, *d'raw*- G, *duriya* B to fear. — *drə'vīyem vīo* Yr I had feared. — < \**han draw*-? Cf. *drī*.

*dārū* Ysh, *°ūš* sh, u medicine. — *d°-i bihu'si* u; *wo d° la mən astet* sh I possess the remedy; *es dārū vīo*. — Prs. Cf.:

*'dārui* Yzh gunpowder. — Prs.

*dā'arē* Yp looking around, vision. — Prs. *dīdār*.

*dār* Yzh, sh, *dār* B, *yū'dūr*, *yū* Mm, *'dūr* Z other, another. — *dār maṛa* another man; *yū'dūr sāl* Mm last year. — < \**antāra*- (with *-ā* from *atāra*-, *katāra*-), cf. Sak. *hamdāra*. P'sht. *nōr*, Wkh. (Hayward) "dīrikh" (??). Cf. § 166.

- dur* Yzh, g, Mm, *dūr* Ysh, r, B, G, *dur* Mt, *dər*, *dūr* Z to-day. — '*dur* *luro* *pādo šom* Ysh I have gone a long way to-day. — Cf. Sgl. *nēr*, etc.?'  
*da'rīy* Ysh, u alas, *afsūs*. — *hai d°!* — Prs.  
*də'rak* Ysh cognizance, perception. — *maṛaken d° é-šūi* the man did not perceive it, *mālum na kud*. — Ar.-Prs. *dark* comprehending, finding out; cf. Wkh., Sar. *darak*, Shgh. *də'rak*.  
*dril* Yzh, sh inflated skin for crossing a stream. — Khow.  
*dram* Yzh, u inside. — *da-drām tīm*, *da-dram šom* Yzh I enter; *də bāy da-dram é-oi* u '*dar bāy darūn na rau!*' *dramen* LSIy inside. — < \**antarahmi?*  
*drūn* Yr, g, B, *druṇ* sh, *drūṇ* zh bow. — Khow. *drōn*.  
*da'rūn* Mg, ti, Z belly. — Prs.  
*da'rūn* Mm, (g) into. — *šūi d° də kyoim*; *nə da'rūna* (g) inside. — Prs.  
*drust* Ysh all, complete. — *d° malk*. — Prs.  
*drušč* Yzh, sh, *dur°* g, *drišč'to* r, *durišč* Mm rough. — Early lw. from Prs. *durušt*.  
*drūw-am*: *druvd-am* Yzh, *drūw-*: *drūwd-* sh, r, *druvda* B, *druvda* LSIy to dance. — *druva* zh imper. 2 sg., *druvda* r inf. — Cf. Sogd. *δr'wβ-*, *žwb-* (v. MSL, 23, p. 126). — *dr-* points to borrowing.  
*dra'wā-um* Yzh, *dəra-wdū-ān-* G to terrify. — V. *dəro*.  
*dār'xufto* Yzh covering of the smoke-hole. — Cf. Prs. *xufta* curved?  
*d'roxum* Ysh, r, g, Mm silver. — Khow. — Note that the word was also used by Mm.  
*draxt* Yzh, g, Mm, B, *to* Yr, *tē* pl. sh, *dīra.ct* Mti, *dər°* Z, G tree. — *draxtē mūžet* Yzh the trees are moved (by the wind). — Prs.  
*dar'yā* Ysh, *yā* Mm, G, *yō* Mti river. — Prs. V. *yauyo*.  
*dōrz* Yg weaving. — *d' kənm* I weave. — Prs. *darz* seam.  
*dorzkuṛ'γuz* Yzh, sh, *ryūz* sh, r weaver, spider. Cf. § 193. V. *astada*.  
*dəsto* Yzh handle, hilt; *ta* Mm, Z (plough) handle. — Prs.  
*dust* Yzh, *dust* Z, G friend. — Prs.  
*dīš-im*: *dīšč-im* Yzh to think. — \**handaisyā*, cf. Wkh. *dīš* to know, Phl. *handēš*.  
*dašk'* Z steppe. — Prs.; early lw.  
*duš'mon* Ysh, *man* Mm, *də°* Z enemy. — Prs.  
*dūōva* Mm the second watering of the fields. — Prs. \**dō-āba*, cf. Shgh. *dāhāv*. — V. *livdē*, *xōkova*.  
*dūw'ēw* Mm, *dūw'ēū* (g) torch. — Prs. *dūw'ēūb* deodar.  
*dūōzda* Mg, (g) twelve. — Prs.  
*dīz-am*: *dīzd-am* Yzh, *dīz-am*: *dīzd-am* sh, *dīzda* B to bury; *dīz-am*, *dīzd-om* Mm, : *dīzdo* LSIy to gather, collect. — *dezdat* Ysh they buried. — \**handāiz-*, Skr. *saṃ-dih-* a heap, mound.  
*dīzo* Yp, in *pālāf d°* squatting, '*yak jāi bukunā*'; Khow. *blācawe* 'collect'. — Prob. from *dīz*.  
*dūzd* M(g), Z, *dəzd* G thief. — Prs. V. *yāl*.

## D

*dīdan'wo* Yzh cotton thread. — Khow.  
*dīdōnu* (Lor.) cotton fibre.

## F

*fā* Y, <sup>o</sup>d Mt, *fāyo* ti, (g), <sup>o</sup>a m, *fāyo* g wooden spade, shoulder-blade, *fāya* G, *fāya* m, Z spade. — < \**fayaka*, cf. Prs. *fih* oar, spade (not with Schwyzer, KZ, 63, 56 < *pad*-!). Wkh. *pēi*, Shgh. *fe*, Or. *fai*, Sgl. *fī*, Par. *phī*, Sängisāri *fī'fe*, Mazand. *fiē*, Talish *hiya*.

*f(ə)čā'im*: *f(ə)čā'īr-ēm* Yzh to cleave, tear asunder, *fčā'im* M(g) to cleave (a log), *fčā'ēvd-um* tore asunder. — Cf. *pčegiy*: *pčegiy* Mm to cleave? — V. *pātišā*, and cf. § 238.

*fčā'nā-um*: *fčā'nāvd* Ysh, *fčā'tana-um* zh to put away, hide, *žāga mēkunim*. — *čārd*, *fčā'nārd* she took (the cat) and hid it.

*fā'gyikē* Yzh, *fāigyiko* g, *pa'kiki* (?) r, *fāgika* B, *fāgikef* (obl. pl.) LSIy song. — *f. žam* Yzh I sing; *f. ža* g 'bait *bākān*'. — < \**aḥang* < \**abi-hang*-, cf. Georg. *hangī* melody (lw.); Goth. *siggwan*, etc. (regarding IA forms of the root cf. Bloch, BSL, 31, p. 62)??

*fāyiko* Yzh, r, <sup>o</sup>go sh small, wooden spade. — V. *fā*.

*fkyiyiko* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>go g, r, *ifkigo* B alone. — (*i*)*fk* < \**ēvk* < \**aivaka*-, cf. Sar. *iw*].

*fro'z* Yzh chip of wood.

*fro-ū*: *fri-ō* Yzh to melt. — *warfo* (*ar'zāz*) *fro-ū* the snow (the lead) melts. — \**fra rē*-, cf. Skr. *lī*-.

*fūr-əm*: *fat-əm* Yzh, sh, r, *far*:-: *fat*-g, *fūr-um*: *fēt-əm* Mt, *fatta* B to catch, Khow. *dosiman*. — *fāto wo parəf* Ysh he seized the mice; *fēt* zh he seizes. — Cf. Bad. Prs. *fāvīdan* to want?

*fāru* Yzh, sh mill-broom. — \**frā-rur*. cf. *rufo*?

*farbō* Mm fat. — Prs. V. *lav'dik*.

*frāyo* Yzh, r, *fər<sup>o</sup>* sh, *fārīya* Mg, <sup>o</sup>d (g, <sup>o</sup>igo m, <sup>o</sup>iga f. Z flea. — \**frūši-kā*-, cf. Psht. *wrəža*, Yazgh. *fərēš*, etc. (cf. Z s.v.).

*frāyo* Yzh, *fārāyo* sh yoke-rope. — \**fra-yugā*-, cf. Sgl. *fəryay* yoke. V. *yūelo*.

*frāy'bz* Yzh, sh, r, *froy bīz* Mg, *frayōl bil* m sieve for grain (acc. to Mm used for *mužukē*). — Cross between Prs. *faraxbīz* and *yalbil*. Cf. Wkh. *frazbīz*.

*fər'yāmə* (= *ē*?) Yzh, *fər<sup>o</sup>* g, *frā<sup>o</sup>* sh, r, *frāyamo* B, *frāyama* LSI m he-goat; *frāyomiy* Mm, g, *frāyōmioyo* (g), *fō'ra'yoməy* Z he-goat, one year old. — < \**fra-gāmaka*-, cf. Psht. *waryūmai* male kid : Par. *rha'yām* spring. Similarly Psht. *manganai* young of sheep or goats born early in the season: *manai* autumn (< summer). — \**pra-gāma*- also in Kafiri; cf. Prasn *pāmə*. Kati *pr'ome*, Waig. *prāmā* kid, one year old: possibly also Pashai *dlāy* he-goat, Gawar-Bati *play* goats (coll.) < \**pra-gāmaka* (not < \**prānaka*-. Cf. the following words:

*fər'yōmēck* Yr female calf, one year old. — Cf. Wkh. *fər'yāmē* (lw.?) id., and *rəgūm*. Note the place-name *Fergamun* in Badakhshan.

*frāyingo* Mm, *frā'yəngə* g, *frā'yəngä* g she-goat, one year old. — \**fragāmikā*-, cf. Sgl. *fər'yəm*. V. *prən'jio*.

*fər'mē* Ysh it may be, *bāšad. vii*. — *wos wa šūi nə tat kyēin-a, da kyēi ži fərmī-ā?* has he now gone to his father's house, or will he be in 'my'

- house? *da xāna-i mā bāša*; *dukan'dār fər'mē*, *kuat'in f°* . . . whether he be a shopkeeper or a rich man, . . . ; *'woko cās 'kīmat fərmə (= vī)* will there be some money? Cf. LSI *m ze ferme ki ā-im* I may be. — Pr. Prs. imper. *farmāy*. V. § 254.
- fərmo-'um* Yzh, : *fər'mišč-əm* Yzh, sh, g, : *fərmīškū-um* Mm, *fərmīy-*: *fərmīšk'* Z to forget. — *d'ərōum ke fərmo-'um* Yzh I fear that I may forget, *fərmīščəyəm* r perf. — Cf. Wkh. *ramuš-*, Prs. *fəvāmuš-* etc. Acc. to Henning (ZII, 9, p. 185) the root is \**muš-*, not *myš-*, and this explanation would suit the Y—M forms, but note Orm. *šamōt*, Par. *nhāmuy*, which point to a root in *γ*. Cf. § 132.
- fəvəng-tfak* Yzh European rifle. — \*Prs. *fərs-* Ysh to spit, *fris-*: *frišōy* Z to blow one's nose.
- 'frāspīy* Mg ratters. — Cf. Prs. *fərasp*, *firāsab*, *fərsīb* the main roof-beam, Kohrudi *rəsp 'tir* < \**frā-spā-*.
- fur'sōro* Mm, *forsāra* MFB, cf. LSI *psaro* down. — Cf. the formation of Lat. *praeceps*?
- 'frušē* Yzh muzzle, snout. — Khov. *froš*, in its turn fr. Ir.
- fərsə'mē* Yzh, °ə g, °l'səm sh, *frišim* r silk. — \*Prs., cf. with *f-* *afrišam*, and *فريسم* (Garšāsp-Nāma, 603). — V. *vrišum*.
- firšōn-*: *firšəy* Z to shake trees. — \**fra-* šan-, cf. Bailey, BSOS, VII, p. 777, and Brahui *šana*, *šanikī* scattering of comfits. V. *ušan-*.
- fərx-əm*: *fərxī-am* Yzh, : *fərxī'yo* g, *furx*: *firxəy* Z to stool. — \**fra-rīxya-*, cf. Wkh. *rəx*, Ishk. *yarx* 'excrements'?
- fšāy-im*: *fšēiy-əm* Yzh, r, : *fšāi'g-om* sh, *sā-im* g to stand up. — *fšāi* zh imper. 2 sg.; *špāc na tō fšāi* sh he rises after you; *fšāyo hu'ro* he rose here. — *fšēiy-* is the perf. stem.
- 'fšidro* Yzh, sh, g, r, *psl°* B spring (season). — \**upa-sāradā-*? (v. §§ 127, 165); cf. EVP s.v. *psarlai* (also with \**sārad-*) and Zaza *wasāri*, Maz. *avasor*, Sak. *pasāla* (with \**sard-*).
- fusfe'sīya* Mm, *fəsfə'sīyo* g a small insect, locust (which makes a noise, *sadā məkuna*). — Onomatopoeic word.
- f°škō* Yzh, p, g, *fško* sh, *f°škō* r, *'fška* Mt, g, °ä (g), *'fška* m, *fī°* ti, *fī°* f. Z, *f'ška* G nose. — Cf. Sgl. *fusek*. < \**fuz-k*, connected with Prs. *pōz*, etc. (v. Horn, s.v.)?
- f°škaf-'šurv* Yzh, *f°škə-'šurv* r nostril.
- 'fšāi* Yzh very soft, ripe fruit, *fšā* B rotten. — < \**fšēiy* < \**upa-xšīta-*, cf. Bal. *šīay* to rub away, Oss. *ixšiin*, *fəxsuyun* to be rubbed off (Shgh. *xtum* hare < \**xšīta-dumba-*?), Skr. *an-upa-kšīta-* uninjured.
- fšarm* Yzh, g, *fšarm* sh, *fšor°m* Mg, m, *fšdr°m* G, *fšerm* B shame. — Av. *fšarəma-*, Sak. *ksārma-* (Bailey); cf. Benveniste, MSL, 23, 402 sqq. — V. *fšarm*.
- 'fšūv-um*: *fšūvd-um* Yzh to suck (used about a child). — \**upa-ššp-*, cf. *šū'vā-*.
- fšā'i* Yzh, *fš'šayi* sh short-breathed.
- fto*, v. *tu*.
- fšāna-*, v. *fšāinā-*.
- fšax-um* Yzh, *fšax-*: *fšēvd* Mt, *fšū-um*: *fšēvd-im* ti to shear sheep. — \**apa-xab-*? Cf. Sar. *pšāu-* (and Slav. *xabiti* to destroy?). V. *pərxau-*.
- 'fšot*: *fšā'ti* Ysh, *xat-* LSI *m* to seize,

believe: *fxat*: *fxatəy* Z, LSI<sub>m</sub> to agree, consent. — *č<sup>u</sup> fxatiyo* Ysh she did not believe it, *na girift*.  
*'fāxtaga* Mm, *'foxtago* g ring-dove, *fāxta*. — Prs.  
*fjēl(i)* Mm, *fēl* g lie, untrue; cf. *fēl* LSI<sub>m</sub> intention? Scarcely < \**apa-hadya*.  
*fīz* Yzh, sh, g, u, r, Mg, (g), t, *fīz* ti, t, *fūz* Mm, *fuz* B breast, forepart of an animal. — Cf. Wkh. *p'ūz*, Sgl. *puz* (?).  
*fīz-yasti* Mt collar-bone. — V. *šūiko*, *pa'vā-yasti*.

## G

*gab'dā um* Yzh to open (a door).  
*gadā-ī* Ysh begging. — *g<sup>o</sup> tala'um* I beg; *g<sup>o</sup> ləpān* give up begging. — Ar.-Prs.  
*gof-um* Yzh, *gaf*-.: *gaft* Z, : *goft* LSI<sub>y</sub> to kiss. — Cf. *boh*.  
*'gūgurt* Yzh sulphur. — Prs.  
*gil* Yzh, r, *gēl* sh clay (for pottery). — Prs. V. *mil'guz*, *xa'larjo*.  
*gul* Y, Z, G, B, *gəl* Yu, *gīl* Mti flower. — *žo a'mun vo 'gəl 'āvər* Yu pick the flower from the apple-tree; *gu'le kšē'let* sh they planted flowers. — Prs.  
*gūl* Yzh, sh boil, small-pox. — Cf. *gul*, and Khow. *isprū* flower, boil.  
*gūl* Mm, g, Z, G dumb. — Prs. *gōl* stupid. V. *kūr*.  
*gul'gūn* Yr red. — Prs. V. *surx*.  
*gulra'men* Yzh a kind of poplar. — V. *ra'meno*.  
*gī'lās* Yzh, sh, *ōās* Mm, *ōs* Z cherry. — Prs.  
*gulsambarē* Yzh n. of a flower. — Cf. Khow. *gulsam'bār* red convolvulus,

*gul-i sambār*, *gul i jafarī*; P'alola *gulsambar*; cf. Prs. *sumbul* hyacinth.  
*gala'wān* Yzh, *ōvān* u shepherd. — *yū g<sup>o</sup> vī'ō*; *gāla'vānen vo naql yurđ* u. — Prs. *galabān*.  
*gu'nā* Ysh sin. — *mun cēs g<sup>o</sup>?* — Prs. *ga'naskē* (pl.) Yzh straw of wheat or maize. — Khow. *ganask*.  
*gungəstə* Yr dumb. — Prs. *gung*. V. *gūl*, *kūr*, cf. *kuṇ'yastē*.  
*gap* Ysh, g word. — *'gab dī'ah* sh, *g<sup>o</sup> dēh* g speak; *vo mən gap yurā* sh hear my word; *mən do yū žo to gap* speak your word into my ear. — Prs. *g<sup>o</sup>ro* Mm, *ō<sub>f</sub> g*, *ō<sub>e</sub> Z* knot. — Prs. V. *yū'rex*.  
*ga'rai* Yzh Kafir silver necklace. — Khow. *garāi*.  
*gīr* Yzh, g saw. — Khow. V. *arra*.  
*gard* Yzh, dry, rotten, Khow. *ronj*. — Lor. suggests that Khow. *rōnē* 'a disease of corn in which the leaves wither' is the word intended. Prs. *gard* dust, etc., is not known to be used in this sense.  
*'gīrdo* Yzh, *gīrd* Z round. — Prs.  
*gord-um*: *'gošč-um* Yzh, u, *gērd*-.: *gašk' Z* to turn round, become, *gaštan*. — *gordē* zh pres. 3 sg., *goščim* u I became; *koviyo gošč* u she turned into a dove. — Early lw. from Prs., cf. Sgl. *yart*- (with *γ*-, also, if correct, in *yostēa* B to return), Khow. *yard*-, but P'sht. *garzēdəl* to walk about with *g*- (< Prs. \**gard*-).  
*g<sup>o</sup>rah* Yzh, sh eclipse. — Khow. *grah*.  
*garm* Yr, *gərm* 'Mg, Z warm. — Prs. V. *prē* and *Farmai*.  
*gram'bešu* Yzh, sh, *ōbe'sane* g neighbour. — Khow. V. *am'sāyo*.  
*g<sup>o</sup>rīn* Ysh, r, *gr<sup>o</sup>* g husked rice. —

Khov. *grinj* fr. a Prs. dialect. V. *burunj*.  
*gir'vān* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>*bān* sh, *gir'i'bān* r, <sup>o</sup>*ān* Mm, *garivōn* Z shirtband, collar. — Prs. V. *hasa'ine*.  
*guš'wōr* Mm, *gū*<sup>o</sup> m, Z, *guš'wōrā* M(g) earring. — Prs. V. *γūārikē*, *kadrānō*.  
*gaṭ* Yzh, sh, p rafter, acc. to p the beams surrounding the smokehole of the Chitrāli lantern roof. — Khov. *gūv*: *gūvd* Ysh, g, r, u, : *gūvd*- Mm, *gūv*: *gūvd*- Z, *gūvda* B, LSIy to burn, *sōxtan*, Khov. *palēik*. — *γūla* *gūvē* sh 3 sg. — Apparently from \**han-kaub/p*.  
(*gūvā*): *gūvōvd* Yg to put fire to.  
*gox* Yzh hollow; sh, g, r, Mm stem of a tree. — Khov. *gox* hollow, hole, hollow tree.  
*gūy*- Mm to knead. — \**han-gauš*, or, better, \**han-gyš*- (v. § 132), cf. Prs. *γāšta* kneaded, mixed, and v. *āgungy*.  
*gūya* Ysh just as, as if, thus. — *guya da Dra'wuso* <sup>o</sup>*vto* he was as if it were in Drosh (: as far away as D.); *wos gūya keṇ* now do like this, *ālī amī kāre bukān*. — Prs. *gūyā*.  
*gūib*, *gūip* Yzh, Mt, *gip* LSIy lost. — *g*<sup>o</sup> *šūi* Yzh, *g*<sup>c</sup> *šūi* Mg he was lost. — Early lw. from Prs. \**gumb*, *gum*.  
*gūibō*- Yzh to sink (tr.), : *gūibōvd* g, *gūibōv*- Z, *gūibōvd*- B, LSIy to lose. — *da yauyo gūibōim* Yzh. — V. *gūib*.  
*gūib'lenikē* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>*g* mosquito. — V. *maxšē*.  
*gūe'r-em*: *gūešc-em* Ysh to walk, to turn round, *g(i)yašk* Mm to turn, pass; *giyar*: *giyašk'* Z to pass over. — *yu cād mišī gvaškat* Mm a few days passed, *gašt*; *au'qāt-iš g'yašk* he passed the time, *guzarān-iš šud*. — \*Prs. Cf.:

*gūe'r*: *gūešc*- Yzh to forgive, r to pass, *guzāštan*, *gūe'r-gūešk* Mm to pass (tr.). — Early lw. from Prs. \**gidār*, or from some dialect form with *-y-*, cf. Madaglashti *gyāšt*, pret. of *guzār*- to leave behind. — Cf. also *giyōr*: *giyēt* Z to carry across, etc.

*gaz* Yzh ell. — Prs.

*gūzar* M, m, g, Z ford. — Prs. V. *pilf*. *guzārān* Mm livelihood, means of existence. — *g'ēi šūi*. — Prs.

*gaž'dumba* Mg, t, <sup>o</sup>*o* m, <sup>o</sup>*ā* g, <sup>o</sup>*ε* (sh) scorpion. — Prs. V. *kur'mo*.

*gīžē* Yzh, sh, *g*<sup>o</sup> *žē* r pick axe.

## Γ

*γau*, v. *γawo*.

*γē-um* Yzh, *γē-um*: *γēvd-um* M(g), *γēw*: *γēvd* Z to spin, Khov. *ga'imān* (= *γēimān*). — Cf. Sgl. *γiw*, Wkh. *žūp*, Sar. *žēib*, Shgh. *žīb*, Yazgh. *γēb*- (v. Z s.v.) < \**gaip*-. — V. *zγe*.

*γō(h)* Yzh, *γō* sh, *γō* r, *γū* g, Mm, g, *γūw* Z excrements. — From Av. *gūša*- we should expect \**γūš*.

*γū* Yzh, g, p, B, *γūš* Ysh, r, Mt, g, (g), ti, Z, Junker, LSI, *γūi* (?) Mm, *γūš* (?) G ear. — *γūi lār* Ysh listen, *gūš dār*; *da γūi žē'o* sh it struck his ear. — Av. *gaoša*.

*γū* B deaf (Tom., p. 206 translates "tief"). Prob. due to some misunderstanding. Scarcely < \**a-gauša*-.  
*γūbār* Mm, <sup>o</sup>*ōr* Z dustcloud. — Ar.-Prs. *γūdām* Y, *γōndum* Mm, g, ti, <sup>o</sup>*am* t, (g), *γd'dum* G, *γō*<sup>o</sup> Z, *γandam* MFB (autumn) wheat. — Av. *gantuma*-, Wkh. *γī'dām* (< \**ūma*-), Sgl. *γōndām*. Cf. Charpentier, MO, 26, p. 131. V. *af'sirmē*, *pa'izanē*.

*yaðam-loro'vo* Yzh wheat-harvest.  
*yað'min naγan* Yzh, sh, *yaðə'min n°* Mm wheaten bread. Cf. *Γandumīn* n. of a place (*Ēranshahr*, p. 228). V. *aršə'min*.  
*γafš* Z fat. — Cf. Tajiki *gauz*, *gazb* fat, thick, Badakhshi *γaus* thick (stick), Shgh. *γafč*.  
*γāγio* Yzh, g, *γē°* sh, *γi°* p, *γāγo* r cow-house. — Cf. Shgh. *γecūd*, Psht. *γūjəl* < \**gau-katī*. V. *pə'rīvur*.  
*γākv* Yzh, sh, *γāk* r, *γēkv* g penis. — < \**gγšnuka*? Cf. EVP. *γēn* (and Prs. *marz-gūn*), v. § 117.  
*γēik-skəðəm* Yzh circumcision (prob. pres. 1 sg.). — Cf. *skəð* and v. *nai'levd*.  
*γūi-kiz'γō* Ysh ear-wax.  
*γūil* Yzh thief. — Av. *gaða-*, Psht. *γal*, Wkh. *γūd*. — V. *duzd*.  
*γūelo* Mm yoke-rope. — < \**yūyelo*? V. *frāi'γo*.  
*γūlak* Mm, g, °*ak* G, *γu'lak* Z pellet-bow. — *γu'lak skuta 'pusteka* Mm (?). — Taj. *γūlak* (cf. Z s.v.), but Prs. *γūlél*, Bal. *galöl*, Lhd. lw. *γulélī*. The IA words mentioned Nep. Dict. s.v. *guleli* are borr. from Prs.  
*γūlek* Yzh dewlap. — Cf. Prs. *γōlak* 'money-till, save-all' (< 'sack, bag')?  
*γal'tan*: *γaltand* Yzh to roll (tr.). — Prs.  
*γalv* Yzh, *γalv* sh, *γaləv* r, *γālv* g, *γōlv* Mg, *γōlf* (g), t, (sh), *γolv* m, *γolv* Z, G, *γalf* LSIy, *γā°* m dog. — *γalv rōvė* Yr. — Av. *gadva-*.  
*γāmu* Yzh a kind of pulse not grown in Lutkoh (*pāyān ast*); sh pulse from which roasted flour (*talkān*) is made (*γāmi*); *γōmu* Mg 'dōna misl-i muγa, šəxəl'. — Cf. Vavilov, *Agricult. Afgh.* pp. 114 *gomu(ng)* 'Ervum Ervilia'

(but acc. to Desmaisons, *Dict. Prs.*, *šaxal*, *šāxāl*: Hind. *arhar* *Cytinus cajan*).  
*γūmino* Yzh, g, *γa'm°* sh, *oγ'mino* r podex, anus; *γ° rōγ* g anus. — Cf. Wkh. *guh-rūda* guts, v. *γo(h)*?  
*γunia* Yzh, *γūni'o* r, *γūni'i* sh, *γu'nī* g (pl.), *γūnī* Mm, g, (g), ti, *γūnəy* m, Z hair. — *γū* *γ°* zh. — < Av. *gaona-*: *γə'nīgo* Mm, *xnī'ga* G sneezing. — *mun* *γə'nigo* I have sneezed. — < \**x/γnaiš*, cf. Prs. *išnōša*, Psht. *nžai*, Yazgh. *šī'nāšw-*, Oss. *āxsnürsin* (onomat.).  
*γūiniko* Yzh, *γūenikē* (pl.?) p door-hinge. — Cf. *γū*?  
*γənil*: *γəne'lāi* Yzh, *γa'nēl*: *γani'lāi* sh, *γanil* g to bleat, to bellow. — *vəzo* *γə'nilē*, *γəne'lāi* zh, *γa'nēli-a* sh does it bleat? *vəzo*, *γawo* *γa'nilo* g. V. *anuv-*, *ppāγ-*.  
*γar* Yzh, sh, r, *γār* g, r stone, hill Mm, G, *γār* Mti, g mountain, hill (Mg hill-top); Yzh, r, Mm also 'pass'. — Av. *gairi-*, Psht. *γar* mountain, Par. *gir* stone, etc.  
*γar* Mg adulterer, *kat-i zan i diga mēkina*. — Prs.  
*γōro* Yzh cluster of grapes, Khov. *γruc*.  
*γu'rēi* m, Yzh, sh, r, *γo°* g, *γə'rāi* Mg, (g), ti, °*ai* m, Z, °*ai* G earth, dust. — Cf. Yaghn. *γ'irik*, Sogd. *γ'ryk* (not with *ar-* as assumed by Henning, BSOS, VIII, 585, but Yazgh. *xə'rik*); possibly also Sak. *grīham* clay.  
*γuroi-pīx* Ysh clod of earth. Cf. *pīx* (\*'ball' < 'bullet'?).  
*γa'rīb* Ysh poor. — Ar.-Prs. V. *lur'wo*.  
*γar'bīl* Yzh, sh, °*in* r, *γal'bīl* p, Mg, Z, *γəl'bīl* (corrected from °*in*) Mm sieve for flour (for wheat Mm). — *you* *γ°* *kənəm* Yp, *γ°* *γūrdam* p, *wōu* *γal'bīn* *žīəm* r. — Ar. Prs. — V. *fraybīl*.

*yar'basë* Yzh sod, clod of earth. — Cf. *yuroi*.

*yarȳ* Yzh, sh, g, r, *ȳorg* Mm, *ȳarx* B heavy; *ȳōrȳä* f. M(g) pregnant, foetus (*da darün-i zan ast*). — Av. *gouru-*. *ȳer'nānu* Yzh whirlpool, eddy. — Khov. *ȳernānu*, *ȳerd'*, in its turn fr. Ir. — Cf. BSOS, VIII, 664.

*ȳurü'rang* Yr grey, dustcoloured. — Cf. *ȳu'roi*.

*ȳur'v-um*: *'ȳurd-um* Ysh, r, *'ȳur'um*: *ȳurd-um*, *ȳu'rīvd* zh, *ȳu'r-um*: *ȳūrd-un* g, *ȳūr-um* sh, : *ȳurd* u, *'ȳurv-am*: *ȳōruvd-um*, *ȳuruvd* Mm, *'ȳōrv-am*: *ȳō'rīvd-am* t, *ȳər'v-am* G, *ȳərv*: *ȳərīvd* Z. — *ȳurē* 2 sg., *ȳuret* 3 pl. Yzh; *max wo 'ȳuram* sh we shall buy it; *zo 'xabar ȳu'rum* sh, *ȳu'ra(h)* sh, u, *ȳurva* g imper. 2 sg.; *vo mən gap ȳu'rā* sh hear my word; *ȳurd ȳū alāno* sh, *v<sup>u</sup> to xai vrai 'ȳurdum* u, *ȳal'bīl ȳūrdam* Yr, *ȳurdogum* perf. u, *və luȳdaf ȳu'ruvd* Mm. — Av. *grab-*, etc. V. §§ 129, 151.

*ȳur'vo* Yzh, sh, g, r, *'ȳu<sup>o</sup>* Mm, *'ōd* g, *'ȳərva* (g), t, *'ȳi<sup>o</sup>* ti, *ȳər'wa* G, *'ȳi<sup>o</sup>* Z throat (exterior). — < Av. *grīvā-*, or < *\*grwā-* (cf. Greek δέρον, etc.)?

*ȳar'vaden* Yzh yeast.

*ȳurvo-ku'luxa* Yzh Adam's apple.

*ȳu'rēx* Yzh, *'ōx* sh, *ȳō'rōx* r, *ȳo<sup>o</sup>* g knot. — *ȳ<sup>o</sup>* *ke'nēm* zh. — *\*gradȳa-*, Prs. *giriḥ* (cf. Gr.Ir.Ph., I, 2, p. 25), Yazgh. *ȳ'rawθ*, Sak. *ggratha-* (?). Cf. Prs. (dial.) *ȳil(a)č* < *\*grḍačī-* Bal. *garanč* < *\*grandāčī-*.

*ȳori-bombur* Ysh large, yellow wasp. — Khov. *ȳōfi-b'ūmbur*.

*ȳurī'čā-um*: *ȳurīčavd-um* Yzh to swallow. *ȳūārīkē* (pl.) Yzh earrings. — *\*gauša- bȳtaka-*. V. *gušwōr*, *kadrənə*.

*ȳurp* Yzh steep, precipice, sh deep (water). — Cannot be connected with Phl. *gavr*, etc.

*ȳur'pakə* pl. Ysh the temples. — Cf. *ȳurp*. V. *poxa'yak*, *šāxek-i-sar*.

*ȳīs* Yzh thread made of goat's hair. — Av. *gaēsa-*, etc.

*ȳīsē* Yzh plaited bottom of a bed. — Cf. *ȳīs*.

*'ȳuskən* Yzh, g, r, *'ōun* sh, *'ȳūs<sup>o</sup>kuṅ* Mm, *'ȳūskən* g, *'ōen* Z cowdung. — *\*gau-sakana-*, cf. Par. *saȳōn*, Wkh. *səgin*, Orm. (?) *skan*, etc.

*'ȳašē* Yzh, u, *'ōi* sh, g, r, Mm, *'ōy* Z, *ȳa'šī* G good, well. — *wən 'što ke 'ȳašē'* Yu he said 'well'; *ȳašī ādam θ r* he is a good man; *niv ȳašī kit* zh the rain does good; *ȳašī kakv* g boil it well; *mai 'ȳašī* these are good. — Cf. Prs. *gaš* delicate, handsome, TPhl.nw. *gš-* to be happy?

*ȳuš* Y, *ȳūš* Mm, g, Z, G flesh, meat. — Acc. to G, fr. Taj. *ȳūš(t)*, which I have not been able to trace, and which must, if it exists, be of E.Ir origin, just as is the case with Par. *ȳūš*. — *ȳūš* and Psht. *ȳwaša* < *\*gauštrā-* a form remodelled from *\*gau-šta-*, (Prs. *gōšt*, cf. Av. *aōšta-* and *aōstra-* lip), cf. Sak. *ggūs'ta-* (*\*gau-st-*, v. Bailey, BSOS, VII, p. 413).

*'ȳiška* f. Z fur-coat. — Cf. Ishk. *ȳūšt*.

*ȳu'vē* Yp, *'ȳuvya* Z wooden trough. — *\*gaub/paka-*, cf. Norw. dial. *kaup* wooden bowl, etc. (v. W. P., I, p. 561). Cf. also s. Sgl. *ȳōv*.

*'ȳavō* Yzh, p, LSIy, *'ōwo* Yr, g, *ȳowo* sh, *'ōwa* Mt, *'ȳōwo* m, *'ā* g, (g), *'ō* (sh), *'ōa* Z, *ȳā'wa* G cow. — *ȳawə anuvə* Ysh, *ȳ<sup>o</sup>* *ȳanilə* g, *ȳ<sup>o</sup>* *bayaz kiteme* r the cow bellows; *ȳaw-a'vazəm* sh I



bring the cow; *mo γavo* sh this cow; *γau vastəm* (lo *kəpəm*) r I bound (released) the cow (poss. *γau* m. in some of these examples?). — Av. *gav-* *γavarso* Yzh, *γaw<sup>o</sup>* sh, g. r millet, *gāl* (*Panicum italicum*). — Cf. Prs. *gāwars(a)*, Shgh. *jāwaus*, Bajui *jūwāxčv* (Sköld), Kurd. *gārīs*, *gōris*, Saka *gāusā*, Par. *gāš*, poss., with different suffix, Psht. *γōšt* (cf. Psht. *wēšta* 'hair': Av. *varəsa-*?). V. *yürzun*. *γa'za* Yzh a room.

*γāz-əm*: *γāzd-əm* Y, LSIy, m to run. — Ir. *\*gāz-*, cf. Yazgh. *γaz-*, Shgh. *zōz-* to run, Oss. *γazun*, *qazın* to play, make display of one's horsemanship. — Reg. Ir. *\*gāz-* to dip, drink, v. *myōz*; cf. also *\*gaz-* to bite, sting (EVP, s.v. *āyzaī*); *\*gāza-* shrub, etc. (v. Sgl. *yūz*); *\*gāza-* fat (EVP, s.v. *γōza*, cf. Khow. *zāγ*, Yazgh. *zēγ* fat?). *γuz'āp* Yzh, sh, g very dirty.

: *γa'zavd-um* Yzh, *°ovd* sh, *°ovd* u to make to run. — *wos γaspē γazəvdət* sh 'aspara dawāndan'; *γasp γazəvda buš* u; *'paga γa'zavdum* zh (v. s. v. *paga*). — V. *γāz-*.

*γō'zi-m*: *γōzi'ī-m* Yzh to stumble. — Cf. Wkh. *gač-* to totter? Connection with Old Engl. *cuacian* 'to quake', etc., is possible.

## H

*hāc* Ysh, *uē* Mm, *əc* G, *hēc* B no, any. — *hāc kučī čēš* it is nothing; *uē ku čī vīo* it was nothing, '*hēc čizi na büt*'; *hēc kuč* B nothing. — Prs.

(*h*)*oč* Yzh, *hoč* sh melted fat (*au karda*). — Khow. (Lor.) *hōč* cooked fat, dripping. — V. *səbrīm*, *wāzd*.

*'hadē* m. and f. Yzh, *hade* LSIy, *hadda* B slave. — *\*han-taka-*, cf. Wkh. *andag*, Sar. *indāj*. Cf. *'ida*, *idiko*. *ha'damə* Ysh, *a<sup>o</sup>* r, *an'dām* Mm limb; *a'dam* Yr body. — *drust adam* Yr. — < Av. *handāman-*. Khow. *ha'dām* has the appearance of being a lw. from Y!

*hauđ* Mm, *həuđ* t, *auđ* g lake. — Ar. Prs. *hauz*, Taj. *havd*. V. *žoi*.

*hūγ* Yzh, sh, LSIy price, money, *pūl*. — *ma xō'nam*, '*na tō* *'hūγ dalem* we shall buy it and give you the money; *čan ke tū kenē*, '*hūγ da'lem* Ysh whatever you do, we shall pay the price. — < *\*wahāka-*, Prs. *bahā*. Khow. *wāγ* > Wkh. *way*, borrr. from an earlier form of the Y word? Cf. Brahui (< *\*Bal.*) *gwāčī* commodities < *\*wahāčī* (?), Oss. *wəi* 'sale'.

*hukm* Ysh command, order. — *ba hokm-e Xadāyen*. — Ar.-Prs.

*hāl*, v. *māl*.

*'hālo* Yzh polo-stick. — *halo wəđəm* '*bāzi kardam*' (?). — Cf. Khow. *hal* goal in polo fr. Prs. *hāl*.

*'haule* Ysh (garden) wall. — Khow. *hau(A)li* court yard (Lor.), Panj. *haweli* enclosure for cattle, etc, < Ar.-Prs.

*'hīlak* Mm flour-sieve. — Turki *elek*, *alak*. V. *γarbīl*.

*ha'lāl*, *°ār* Ysh lawful. — *h<sup>o</sup>* *muzdura ken*. — Ar.-Prs.

*hal'wā* Yzh, sh sweets. — Ar.-Prs.

*heno* Yzh scabbard. — Khow. *hanu*.

*'hənadiy* Mm out of breath. — *\*an-antika-*, cf. Av. *ānti-* (: *ā-anti-*) inhalation. Cf. Barthol. IF. 7, p. 59.

*'henju* Yzh tamarisk. — Khow.

*har* Yzh, Z all, every. — Prs.

*hu'rō* Yzh, sh, u, *'wuro*, *'wra* Mm, *wāra* Z,

*wura* LSI<sub>m</sub>, *hūrē* B there. — *užūr*  
*kə yūi kvei huro astet* Ysh he saw  
 that there was a house there; *fsāyo h°*  
 he rose there (*da amīn jāiṣ*); *rə'stet h°*  
 Ysh they arrived there; *h° da bāya r*,  
*niāst wuro* Mm he sat down there.  
 — Av. *waθra*, Psht. *war*, Kurd. *θra*.  
*'hargeno* Ysh on all sides (?). — *'h°*  
*'haule<sup>n</sup> pəzgi'et* they built a wall all  
 around it. — Cf. *har?*  
*hory* Yzh, sh, *ory r*, *hōr(g)* g, *ōrg* Mm,  
*ary t*, *arg Z*, LSI<sub>m</sub> work. — *zo wum*  
*h° kənam* Ysh I do this work; *po*  
*yū h° dīd* sh '*barā-i yak kār*'; *hōr*  
*kənem g*, *'ary ike'nam* Mt, *hōrkun* B  
 work (: *\*hōry kən*) *arkiri<sup>m</sup>* G work  
 (for *\*arg kirim*). — Cf. Wkh. *yark*,  
 Sgl. *ari*, Phl. *ark*, etc. V. Barth.  
 Miran. Mund. I, p. 10; Bailey, JRAS.  
 1930, p. 18.  
*'harkō* Yzh, *'hā°* sh upper part of the  
 back, between the shoulders. — Turk.  
*arqa*, cf. Sgl. *ar'ka*, Khow. *ar'qa*.  
*harko'yastē* Yzh spine.  
*hork* Yzh scar. — Khow. *holk*, *hōdk* (Lor.).  
*hasa'inē* Yg collar; *os°* zh handker-  
 chief. — Khow. (*h*)*osērni* (Lor.) hand-  
 kerchief.  
*hosta'ganu* Ysh, *osta'ganē* zh plough-  
 handle. — Khow. *hosta'gāni*.  
*hai'wān* Yzh animal; sh mad; *ai'wain* G  
 animal. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ha'zār* Ysh, *a'zōr r* 1 000. — Prs.  
*'hāzer* Yzh a sigh. — *h° xišcim* I sighed.  
*hazorčan'gōlo* Mm centipede. — \*Prs.

## K (Q)

*ke, kə* Y, M that, when, where, if, so  
 that, who, whatever. — Cf. §§ 210,  
 261. — Prs.

*kī'ō* Ysh hard work, labour, duty,  
 ploughing, *kulba*. — *na 'xāyi k° kīt*  
 he gives himself trouble; *agar nə*  
*'max 'stet k° za'rūr 'šūi* if it has  
 become a duty that they should  
 speak to us (*agar ba mā gap zadan*  
*zarūr šuda ast*). — < *\*k(a)ṛkā-?* V.  
 § 132, cf. *kugo*.

*kōi* Ysh, u, *kəy Z*, *koyi* B who, any-  
 body. — *kōi-ste?* Yu who are you?  
*na koi āyōit?* sh whom (what) did  
 you come for? *kōi yurdo fərma?* sh  
 '*kī girifta bāšad?*' *moi koi-kān fərmā?*  
 sh to whom may it belong? V.  
 § 210. — Av. *kahyā*, cf. Wkh. *kūi*,  
 Sgl. *kō(i)*. Cf. *nakōi*, *kə'di*.

*kū* Y, Mm, Z, G where? — *ku šuyəf vio*  
 Ysh, '*kujā rafta būdīd?*' *ku lišcut u*  
 '*kužā dīdī?*' *xōyo kū šūi?* zh where  
 did he go himself? *to yār wos kū-ō?*  
 sh where is your friend now? *ku*  
*oi?* u '*kšā mēri?*' *kū ki tu šūyit*, *zo*  
*asəm p* wherever you go, I shall  
 come; *kū və'det?* Mm '*kujā burdi?*'  
 — Av., Prs. *kū*. V. *kužā*.

*kū* Yzh mountain; *kūh bar kūh u* (in  
 Prs. formula). — Prs. V. *yar*.

*'qābəl* Yzh strong. — Ar.-Prs.

*ka'būt* Yzh, dove-coloured, Mm, g, ti. Z  
 blue. — Prs.

*kač* Yzh a kind of silk or cotton, '*pa-ta-*  
*wāri*', sh *pilaṅ* (= *pīla?*), g spider's  
 web. — Prs. *kač* silk of little value.  
 V. *kač-kurma*, *kač-žōy*.

*'qacīo* Yzh, *ka'čīo* sh scissors. — *pa k°*  
*vrūtəf dea* sh cut your beard. — Ar.-Prs.

*ku'čīo* Ysh street. — *nī'ā də kučī'o* go  
 out into the street; *do-ku'ō* zh out-  
 side, B without; *de-kčō* LSI<sub>y</sub> outside;  
*d° šom* zh. — Prs. *kūča*.

*kač-kurma* Yzh silk-worm. — V. *kač*.

*ka'čir*, v. *xa'čir*.

*kač-žōγ* Yzh cloak made of *kač* (q.v.).

*ka'dī* Yzh, Z, *kedi* LSIy, °ē m who? which? — *ka'dī a'γoi?* Cf. *kidi-či* B nobody. — Cf. §§ 119, 210. V. *kyem*.

*ka'dūi* Yzh, ko° r, *ko'dū* g cucumber. — Prs.

*ka'dam* Yzh step, pace. — Ar.-Prs.

*ka'drənə* Ysh earring. — Khow. *kari'dreni*. V. *gušwōr*, *γūūrikē*.

*kaf'čē* Yzh, sh hollow below the sternum. — Cf. Burushaski (Lor.) *-askāpun* id. (as heart + *lhapun* spoon). Cf.:

*'kafčio* Yzh, g, Mm, °'čio Ysh, *'kafčia* f. Z, °'i'ya G *kafčē* B spoon. — Prs. V. *nar-kafčē*.

*'kufčilīy* Mm stockings. V. *žirabē*.

*'kāfila* Yzh, *kōfilē* sh caravan. — Prs. *kafas'tūr* Yzh cage. — Ar.-Prs. *qafas* + *tūr* (q.v.).

*'kōfšē* Yzh, g, °šo sh, *'kofškə* r, *'kafšo* Mm, °a f. Z, *kafš* G shoe. — Prs. *'kugo* Mm plough. — < \**křšakā*, cf. *kiō*, *qī'āγ?* V. § 132.

*qī'āγ* Yzh, p, °āx sh, *ki'āγ* r, °ā'γ g, *qī'ō* Mt, *'qīō* g, (g), (sh), *'quwo(γ)* m, *'kuwđ* Z, *keγay* LSIy, *kūa* m, *kyāx* B bull. — Reg. the uvular fricative v. § 33. — Cf. Sgl. *kužūk*, Yaghn. (Ujfalvy) *kšak* bull, Saraghiani (Z) *kišo* 'cow'. — Derivation from \**křšāka* improbable. Cf. *ki'ō*.

*'kāγəko* Mg throat (interior of). — V. *ālq*, *stūya*.

*kāγəz* Ysh letter. — ko° *kəγo* he has written a letter. — Prs.

*ka'hal* Yzh lazy. — Ar.-Prs.

*kuh'no* Yzh, *koh'nō* sh, *'kūna* Mm, *kūnaga* Z old, ancient. — Prs.

*kāk* Ysh, r thirsty. — Prs., Taj. *qāq* dry. V. *trušna*.

*'kāka* Yzh, sh, r top of the head, *'kaka* g back of the head, Khow. *khak*. — Cf. Badakshi *kāk-i-pā*, Shgh. *kāk-e-ling* leg above ankle, and v. *ušk-māžiko*, *šāxek-i-sar*, *wuškiostia*.

*'kōko* Yzh, *'kako* Mm, *'kəkū* (g) aunt, *koko* B father's sister. — But cf. Prs. *kākā* father's brother.

*'kūiko* Mm, *'kuika* g, ko° ti, *kūw'ka* G, *'kūyka* Z stone. — Genuine (cf. Wanji *kup* stone), or derived from Prs. *kōh?* *ka'kūk* Y cuckoo. — Khow. *'kakū*, Sar. *kakkūk*, Turki *kakkuk*.

*'kākvy-im*: *kakvi'i-m* Yzh, *ka'kvy*: *ka'kvyē* sh, *kēky-am*: *kēkvi-ām* r, *'kākvy-im*: *ke'kvi-m* (*ke'tvi-m*) g, *kēcīy-am*: *kutviy-ō* Mm, *kəty*: *kəty* Z to boil, cook (Z only intr.). — *γāši kakv* Yg cook it well. — < \**kač-?* IA? Cf.: *ka'tyōv*: *kətyēvd* Mt, *kətov*: *kətēvd* Z to boil (tr.).

*krkvi'i* Yzh, ke° sh, *kiki'kē* (?) r, *kukve'ya* Mg, *kuj'go* m cooked, ripe. — Cf. *kākvy*.

*'kūkya* Yzh, °ia r, °'tyo sh, Mm, *kə'tya* G, *kūkyo* B short. — IA., cf. Shina *khūto*, etc., Wkh. *kəʃ*, Sgl. *kuʃ*.

*kə'kyaro* Yzh, °āro g Kafir dagger. — IA, cf. Giawar Bati *ka'čāro*, etc.

*kə'la* Yzh, sh, G when (interrog. and rel.) — *kəla ā'γoyit? tro kyēi kəlo oγōit* when you come to a house. — Av. *kaða*.

*qala* Mm, g fort. — Ar.-Prs. V. *l'zo*. *ku'lač* Yzh, *qə'lōč* Z fathom. — Prs.

*kəlf* Yzh, p, *ku'lf* Mm, ti, *qu'lf* Z lock. — Ar.-Prs.

*kulyo* Yzh a kind of wild-growing vegetable, *kūlyā* M(g) vegetable, eaten with porridge (*birūn-i āš mendāza*). — \**kaudakā*, cf. Prs. *kūya* (كوبه), but

- also written كوجه, BQ!) sweet esculent herb, licorice? Or cf. Kalasha *kōla* 'chive'?
- kala'kəpi* Yzh wrinkles. — Khov. *kaʎa-kaʎi* (Lor.) wrinkled.
- kala-may'zigo* Mm, °*iga* Z brain. — Prs. \**kalla-mayzi*. V. (*pusur*-)mayz.
- 'qālīn* Yzh, *kā'lin* sh, g, u, *'kālīn* Mm rug (?). — Prs.
- ka'lāndo* Mm, *kə'landə* ti pickaxe, mattock. — Prs. *kaland*. V. *gr'žē*.
- ka'lāpo* Yzh down. — *k° xovdam* I descended. — Badakhshi *kalapā* sloping down, Shgh. *kala'pāi* down, Ishk. *kalapo* low. Cf. Khorasan Prs. *kallapā* downwards, v. Lenz, Pamir-Dial., I, 171 a.
- kal'pič* Mm, °*īč* Z turban. — Prs. \**kala-pič*. V. *ča'dūr*.
- kaləy* Z soot. — Cf. Wkh. *kat-ōit* < \**kata-dūta*.
- 'kaliyo*, v. *kʉε'leu*.
- kām* Yzh, g, r, *k'ām* sh, *kām* Mm palate. — Prs.; cf. Khov. *khām*.
- ku'mā* Yzh harlot. — Khov.
- 'kūmio* Yzh big basket, carried on the back.
- kām-lad* Yzh, *ka°* g back-tooth. — V. *kām, lad*.
- ka'manek* Yzh bow for teasing cotton. — *k° daham 'gāla mēkinam'*, Khov. *bičēšiman*. — Prs. *kamānča* id.
- ka'mān i Rus'tam* Mm rainbow. — Prs. V. *mīra-av'lasto*.
- ka'mār* Yp pouch for gun-powder. — Cf. Prs. *kamar* belt? V. *kuti'ā*.
- kamar'band* Yg belt. — Prs. — V. *suy-məlān*.
- 'kimat* Ysh price. — Ar-Prs. — V. *hūy*.
- 'kūn* Ysh, Z affix of the predic. gen. V. § 214. — *mən-kān, ta-kān amaf-kān* (§ 203), *amən-kan, amaf-kan*, etc. (§ 206), *kōi-kān* (§ 210).
- 'ken-am*: *'ked-am* Mm, *kan*: *kēd*- Z to dig. — *kīdo və zə'mīn* dug in the earth. — Av. *kan*.
- 'kēn-ēm*: *kə'g-ēm* Yzh, sh, u, *'kən*: *kəg*-, *kən*: *kər*- r, *ike'n-am* Mt, *'yiken*: *'yikər*- m, (*i*)*kən*: (*i*)*kər*- Z, *kə'n*: *kər* G to do. — *kene* sh 2 sg., *č-kir kəne* Yu you cannot (*na mētānī*); *kīt, kūīt* 3 sg.; *ke'nam* 1 pl. sh, u, *ke'net* 3 pl. sh; *kən* imper. 2 sg. sh, *kene* 2 pl. sh, u; *xo'sāne kə'ne* sh make merry; *mən ory ke'rəm* r I worked; *wo 'mən xa'lās kə'yet* sh you released me; *kə'gəm* sh I have done; *kīd vto* he was doing. — Av. *kar-* (*kərənav-*). The element (*y*)*i*, which appears in some of the M forms, can scarcely be an ancient prefix (*wi*-?).
- kə'nī-* Ysh, in *'wos nə xa'gīn lə zo kə'nīum* now I shall have a castle made for myself. Or: let me now make . . . — Causative or subjunctive?
- 'kunəm*: *ku'nā i-m* Yzh, *kun-əm*: *kunā'i-m* g, *'kūn-əm*: *kū'nā i-m* r, : *kū'nāy-am* Mm, *kūn*: *kūnōy*- Z to copulate. — Z compares Prs. *kūn*, but cf. Orm. *kīn*: *kwul-*, Caucas. Jewish *kūn-kerd*, which point to a contamination between *kūn* and the verb 'to do' used euphemistically (cf. Horn, Np. Et., 259). Cf. Sgl. *ken*.
- 'kinčākā* M(g), *'kin'tika*, *'kin'k°* Z small girl; *kinke* ISIm girl. — Somehow related to Prs. *kaniz(ak)*, Auromani *kənačā*, etc. \**kanyačī* > *kinč*?
- 'kando* Yzh, sh, *kēnd* Mm plough-share. — < \**kanando*? Cf. Prs. *kanand* hoe, spade or instrument for turning up ground which cannot be ploughed.

With dissimilation Prs. *kaland* pick-axe, and further *kuland*, *kulang* (through contamination with the word for 'crane'). But cf. also Psht. *kunda* plough-share.

*kund* Mm blunt. — Prs. V. *mīkʷ*.

*'kandraq* Yzh trench, ditch. — Khow.; cf. Prs. *kandag*, *xandag*.

*kun'dūt* Mm dust-storm.

*ka'nayiko* Yzh wart.

*kunj* Yzh, Mm corner of a house. — Prs. V. *burž*, *šungā*.

*kēn* Yzh cave. — Khow. *kēn*.

*kun'dūk* Yzh, *'kunduq* sh, g wooden bowl (larger than a *padriško*). — Khow.

*kun'yastē* Yzh, g, *kun*<sup>o</sup> sh, *kun'yastē* r, *kūn'gy* Mm, t, g, *kun'g'* Z, *kun* G deaf. — Av. *karəna-*, Psht. *kūn*, etc. Cf. the similar suffix in *gunyastē*.

*'kankato* Ysh iron kettle for porridge (not recognized by zh). — IA?

*kap* Y, *kōp* Mm, g, (sh), *kāp* G, *kōp* B fish. — Cf. EVP. s.v. *kab*. The *p* renders the word suspect of being borrowed (from Wkh. *kūp*?).

*kop* Yzh, g, r, *koḅ* sh, *kob* Mm little, too little. — *kop šūi* Yzh it became too little; *kūy kəb no'yoḅ* sh the price became too small, *kam šud*. — < \**kam(b)na*, Av. *kamna-*, etc.

*kʷpər*, v. *pukor*.

*'kār-*: *'kišē-* Yzh, *kāšē-*, *kāšē'i-* sh, : *kīškʷ* Mm to sow, plant, *kār-*: *kīšk* Z to plough. — *gu'le kšē'et* Ysh they planted flowers, *pāšidan*: *ket* zh he plants. — Bad. and Taj. have *kār-*: *kāšt*, not \**kīšt*, yet borrowing from Prs. is probable. Cf. Sgl. *kār-*.

*kīr* Yu, in *ē-kīr kəne* you cannot. Cf. *'ikər* *'kənəm* Z I can. V. *ken-*.

*'krr-* Yzh, *'kər-* r to cut down. — Cf. *kər dah-*.

*kūr* Yzh, *kur* sh, g dumb. — Cf. Ishk. *kar*.

*qa'rib* Mm, g near, close. — *mə kyäi q<sup>o</sup>* g this house is near. — Ar.-Prs. V. *naz'dik*.

*krabəyə* Yzh wool of lambs. — Khow. *kābraiḷi*, etc.

*'karbəsa* Y, *kar'bosakē* pl. sh, *kar'vaša* Mt, (sh), *kawuḡvūy* Mm lizard. — Prs. *karbasa*, *°pāsa*, *°pāša*, etc., cf. Sgl. *kərvišik*, etc. — V. *z'gārmə*.

*'kurbəs* Mm blind. — Cf. Prs. *kūr*. V. *'yādē*.

*kār'ga* maker of wooden troughs and plates, *tabak-trāš*. — Scarcely fr. Prs. *kārgah* workshop! But cf. Psht. *kāra* large wooden vessel?

*kəro'yunu* Yzh, sh cattle-infesting tick. — Khow. *kor'γuno*, *kōr'γunu* (Lor.) tick.

*kur'γudə* Yzh, *°ūt* sh bramble, *siāh-xār*. — With *°γudə* cf. Prs. *kunda* log?

*'karyəz* f. Yzh, g, *°'γəz* r, *'kargas* Mg black and white eagle, Khow. *bizbar*. — The M form is a modern lw. from Prs. *kargas*, cf. Sgl. *kor'γos*. With *z* also Sängisäri *k'ar'g'az*, Brahui *kargaz*. V. *ukāb*, *šiz*.

*kar'γasp* Yzh small, uneatable fish.

*'kvrəm* Yzh bug which eats the grain. — Prs.

*kur'mo* Y, *šū'γus k<sup>o</sup>* g scorpion, *'kurmo* Yg, *kurm* Mm insect (?), *kərm* Z worm. — *vo k<sup>o</sup> piš'to* Yu he asked the scorpion (*gaždum*). — Genuine, cf. Prs. *kirm*, etc.

*kur'māko* Yzh bee. — V. *ag'min-kur'miki*.

*'kārūn* Yzh, *°wun* sh army. — Anc. lw. fr. Prs. The meaning of the Y word

- supports Fr. Müller's derivation of *kārwan* < *kāra*- (Horn, Np. Et. p. 185), which has been rejected by Hübschmann (Prs. Stud., p. 85) and others.
- 'kurpo* Yzh, °*po* r, Mm, °*pa* G, Z bed-clothes. — Bad. Prs. *kurpa* quilt, cf. Sgl. *kurpē*.
- kurpaša* Yr mosquito. — Prs. \**kūr-paša*. Cf. Ishk. id.
- kī'rāṛ* Yzh Kafir cheese. — IA (e.g. Pashai *kī'rāṛ*), but not Khow. (cf. Ashkun Voc. s.v. *ce'la*).
- kur'sī* Yzh, g chair. — Ar.-Prs.
- ka'rāst* Yzh, g, r, *ke*° sh, *'kərost* Mg, t, *'ka*° m, *'kə*° Z, G hide, skin. — Cf. Sgl. *korost* hide, Psht. *krāsta* felt. (Impossible etymology proposed by Markwart, Caucasia, 6, 32.
- kurušo* Yzh Angelica.
- kər'sāv*·: *kər'sāv*· Ysh to stir (soup, etc.).
- ku'rūt* Yzh ("not made in Lutkoh"), g, Mm, °*tə* Ysh dried curds. — Prs.
- kor'tus* Mm cartridge. — Ind. fr. French.
- karvōn'kuš* the morning star. — \*Prs., cf. Wkh. *karvān-kuš*.
- kar'vasē* Yzh, *kar'bos* Mm, °*ōs* Z cotton. — M fr. Prs.; Y fr. Khow. *kar'vas* in its turn from Prs. *karbās*, which is of Ind. origin!).
- 'kiri*o Yzh, *kəri*° sh, *ker*° g, *kir*'yo r, *'kīrya* Mg, t, °*o* m, *'khiryä* (g), *'kə'raya* Z, *kəri*'ya G hen. — \**krykiyā*, cf. Prs. *karg*, Psht. *čirg*, Wotyak (lw.) *kureg*, etc. But cf. Shgh. *čūḅ*, *čāḅ*.
- kər* in *kər da'ham*, *ziēm* Yzh, *kər dam* r to fell a tree; *pa kəpa skəstēm* zh I felled. — < \**kṛta*·. Cf. Sgl. *kuḍ ken*·.
- k'pē* Yzh, *'yūkəriy* Mm closed. — *ken*· Yzh also means 'to close'.
- kəpē* Yzh, *'kəpə* g shield. — Khow. *kheḷi*, *keṛi*.
- 'kəp* f. Yzh, *'ka*° sh, *kə*° g, *'ko*° r, *'kə*° p, *'kəro* Mm, *'kərika* g, *'kəra* Z, °*ra* G knife. — *nuvə'rum vo k*° Yp I took out the knife. — \**kartiyā*·, cf. Psht. *čāpa*, etc.
- 'kupa* Yzh numb, stiff with cold, Khow. *kauφ*. — *k*° *šūi*.
- kāriak* Yzh, °*āk* sh yoke-peg. — *kāriakə* pl. — Khow. *kāri*, fr. which also Wkh. *ke'li*.
- 'kriṅsar* Yzh, sh combined walking-stick and pickaxe. — Khow. *krinzāl* pickaxe, *klīnsār* (Lor.) alpenstock.
- kro.e* Yzh incrustation, scab of a wound. — Khow. *klōk* hard, stiff (of a hide, etc.).
- krox(i)-yastē* Ysh knuckle, ankle-bone. — V. *byok*, *axrigula*, *boda*, *trəboda*.
- 'kōs*·: *'kist* Yzh, r, *k'os*· sh to search for. — *čəš kōse-ste?* Yr *čis mēšūri?* *k'os'sem rīo* sh 'mēšūridim'. — Fr. Av. *kas*· to see, get sight of?
- kuš* Yg, Z, *kuš* Mm, g, *kəš* vulva. — Prs. V. *šno*.
- 'kuso* Yp straw of maize.
- 'košk* m. Mm, Z, G, *kōšk* Mg, (g), ti, t barley. — Cf. Yazgh. *kāšk*, Arm. *kask* (Hübschm., 515), but Prs. *kašk*, Shgh. *čūšē*, Sar. *čūšj*. V. *'yeršio*.
- 'kōškən* (*nayan*) Mm barley (bread). — Prs. *kaškina*, Arm. *k'aškēn* (Hübschm., 257). V. *aršə'min*.
- 'qasam* Mm oath. — Ar.-Prs. V. *wor*.
- 'qissa* Yu tale. — Ar.-Prs.
- kəša* Yzh, g, *kōš* sh, r valley. — \**kaš(š)a*· 'armpit', cf. Kabuli Prs. *bayal-i kōh* nook at the foot of a hill?
- kaš* Z piebald, multicoloured. — Cf. Shgh. *čūḅ*, Yazgh. *k'āw*, Ishk. *čōl*. Psht. *gaž*. -š· points to borrowing.

*kišča* Yr plough(ing), *kišcu-yuz* LSIy cultivation. — V. *kār*.

<sup>1</sup>*kuščo* Yzh, p wooden frame for carrying hay on the back (v. illustrations in Vavilov, Agricult. Afgh., figg. 40, 70).

*kuš'm-um*: *kuš'māi-m* Yzh, : *kāš'mōy-am* Mg to vomit. Cf. <sup>1</sup>*kašpa* Z saliva? *kušūn* Yzh, sh smoke. — Khow. V. *lūi*.

*kīšer* Yzh, r, *kšyār* sh a kind of pea, *Lathyrus sativus*, *patek*. — Cf. Wkh. *k'roš*. Acc. to Agricult. Afgh. pp. 112, 114 it grows in Sanglech, but not in Munjan. V. *pateko*, *xurmuyo*.

*kīšār* Yp spike of wheat, etc.

*ka'tā* Ysh plough. — V. *kugo*.

*ka'tī* M(g) mixed. — *k°* *kerem*. — Ar.-Prs. *qāṭī*.

*ke'tiu* Yzh, *kə'tyū* g, *kə'tōb* Mm. — zo <sup>1</sup>*nā-to kiti'ū da'lim* Yzh, *mən yū k° astāt* g. — M fr. Ar.-Prs.; with Y cf. Khow. *kiteb*, Wershikwar *kitēp*, with *imāla*.

<sup>1</sup>*kautia* Yzh, sh, g, <sup>o</sup>*tio* r, <sup>1</sup>*kaftiwa* Mm, <sup>o</sup> g, *kotia* B butterfly. — V. *par'wāno*.

*kuti'ā* Yp small pouch for gunpowder, carried inside the *ka'mār*. — Cf. Prs. *qūtī* a box in which precious stones etc. are carried?

*ki'taya* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>*a(n)* sh wild almond, *bādām*. — From Kafiri, cf. Kati *kīē* < *kāntā*.

*kua'tin* Ysh, *ko'tin* g rich. — *no yū kua'tinen muz'durə ken* Ysh take service with a rich man. — Khow. *koa'tin* fr. Ar.-Prs. <sup>\*</sup>*quwwatīn*. V. *bāi*, *dauladār*.

*ku'tār* Yzh large water-fowl, <sup>1</sup>*kulān* (?)

*ku'tox* Yzh, sh, <sup>o</sup>*ax* Mm a kind of sour milk made from *dūy* (*māst mēzana*,

*dūy mendāza*); *ktəw* Yg *kandū* (?). — Cf. Sgl. *ku'təx* fr. Tu.-Prs. *katax*, *qatiy*.

*kuta'xin* Yzh bread made with *kutox*. V. *arsāmīn*.

*kə'tyōv*, v. *kākv*.

*kūt* Ysh coat. — Engl.

*ko'tinē* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>*i* g, <sup>o</sup>*ine* sh middle-sized hammer. — Khow.

*kiṭo'rī* Yzh dried mulberries. — Khow. V. *tal'kān*.

<sup>1</sup>*koviō* m, Yzh, <sup>1</sup>*kōvio* sh, <sup>o</sup>*iya* r, <sup>o</sup>*iyo* (<sup>o</sup>*ūyo*?) u, *koū* g, <sup>1</sup>*kouya* Mm, <sup>o</sup> g, <sup>1</sup>*kōwūya* Z, *kāwū'ya* G, *kowū* B pigeon. — *kōviyo gošc* Yu. — Cf. Prs. *kabūtar*, Wkh. *kibit*, Sgl. *kō'vid*, Khow. *lw. kovōr*, etc.

*kovz'dūz* Yzh, *kaf'dūz* sh cobbler. — Prs. *kafšdōz*.

<sup>1</sup>*kowito* Yzh fig. — Khow. *ko(w)it*.

*kyei* m, Y, Mt, <sup>o</sup>*ai* g, <sup>o</sup>*oi* m, <sup>o</sup>*oi* ti, *kyai* Z, *kyey* G house. — *loṛdi dā kyēi*; *no xoi kyēin*; *tro kyēi*, *tro kiyēf loṛdi*; *asəm nə kyē'yen*; *no xoi kyēyen* Yu; *šūi da'rūn dā kyoi*; *yū kyoi*, *š'roi kyayi* Mm; *mə kyāi qa'rīb. myend kyā'yī qa'rīb* Mg. — < <sup>\*</sup>*kataka*, Prs. *kada*, etc.

<sup>1</sup>*kyof-um*: <sup>1</sup>*kyoft-um* Yzh to groan. — Cf. Prs. *kafīdan* to burst, crack, foam?

<sup>1</sup>*kyrfo* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>*kyū°* sh, r, <sup>1</sup>*kyrfe* Mg, <sup>1</sup>*kifa* Z, *kū'fān* Mm hump (of cows). — *moi 'kyufo* Ysh. — Cf. *kū'fōn* Z camel's hump. — Cf. Prs. *koha*, Kurd. *kēf*, Sgl. *kīf* < <sup>\*</sup>*kaufa*-; but Psht. *kwab*, Or. *kūp*, with *p*. — Reg. Wkh. *kīp*, *kap*, Sar. *kīep* v. Wkh. s.v.

*kyo'gō* Yzh, p, *čō'gōo* sh, *kyoṛo* B pear. — < <sup>\*</sup>*ṭongo*, Khow. *ṭong*.

<sup>1</sup>*kyahrē* Yzh anger. — Ar.-Prs.

*kvēl* Yzh, *kvāl* Mm bald-headed. — Prs. *kal*.

*kvē'lēu* Yzh, sh, 'kaliyo Mm, 'cāliye ti, *kal'ya* G key, bolt. — Anc. lw. fr. Prs. *kilid*.

*kvāl'γereno* Yzh, °γāreno sh white-headed, bald-headed eagle. Cf. *kvēl* and Wkh. *kalmury*. °γereno < \*gγ'dnu-, cf. Skr. *gγ'dhnú-* eager, greedy. *gγ'dhra-* vulture?

'*kvēliko* Yzh, sb, 'kvāliko r, 'kve g, 'kaliko Mm, 'kalgyika g, 'kvālyakū (g) jaw. — IA, cf. Kalasha *kālyak*, etc., Par. *kalagi da'nān* front-tooth. V. *ni'sōk*.

*kvāl-yaršō* Ysh beardless barley, 'kal-γau'. Cf. Agric. Afgh. p. 302.

*kvem* Yzh, *kvēm* sh, *k'iγam* Mm, *kəγam* Z which? — *mo kvem ādam?* Yzh 'i kudām ādam ast?' *kyəm ādam?* sh. — Cf. § 210. V. *kādī*.

*kvämder* Yzh, *kvämder* sh, *kamder* Mm, *kemder* I.SIy younger, 'kandir Z smaller, *kandə'ra* G little finger. — *k° vraya, vrai, vrōi* younger brother. — Prs. *kamtar*.

'*kvemalyo* Yzh skull. — Av. *kamərōda-*, Sak. *kamala-*.

*kvun'γo* Yzh, *kvun'γo* sh, 'kvū° g, r, 'kungvuvgo Mm, 'kendavga Z magpie, *γalbēk*. — \*kγ'sna(pa)kū- (?), cf. Sgl. *kvēvzāk* < \*kēzvāk < \*kγ'sapaka-, Wkh. *kiržepč, kižipči*, Shgh. *kižēpc*, Sar. *kargopč*, etc. (v. Z s.v.); Khow. lw. *ki'šipi*, Shina *kašap*, Wershikwar. *γašēp*.

*kvī'po* Yzh polo-ball. — Not Khow.

*kvīr'f-um*: *kvīr'fāi-m* Yzh, : *kvīr'fay-əm* sh, *kirfa'i-m* r, *čirf-əm*: *čirfa'i-m* g to sneeze. — Onomatopoeitic, cf. Wkh. *štrōf*.

*kvārāzo* Yzh, č° sh small wooden spade with long handle, used for opening and shutting irrigation rivulets. — Cf. Prs. *kirāz* harrow, Orm. *kurāzi*, Wanetsi *krōz* spade.

*kvēsa*, v. *xšīr-kvēsa*.

*kvēsina* Yzh forest. — Lor. suggests connection with Khow. *tes-puk* (f-) a kind of shrub. — V. 'zangal.

'*kūza* Yg, °o r, Mm jar. — Prs. V. *so'fo*.

*qīza'gī* Yzh small bridle. — Ar.-Prs. *qāiza*. V. *aw'lān*.

*ku'zā* Ysh where? — *da-kuzā?* *kšā?* — Prs. *kujā*, cf. Madaglashti *kušā* < \*kšā < \*k(u)jā.

*ku'zō* Yzh, sh, Mm crooked. — Cf. Sgl., Prs. *kūz*, etc.

'*kužkē* Yzh, °'kə sh, °'kē p, °gə g, 'kūzikā f. Z, *kujka* B hair (of the head). — *kuška nvašim* Yg. — \*kauč'lock, curl, cf. Prs. *kōž* curved, Skr. *kucati* bends, Sogd. *kuč'k* 'chignon' (Benveniste, JA, 223, p. 229).

*kuz'γo* Yzh, r dirty.

*kož'vīoko* Yzh a kind of red and white duck. — Cf. *kaš*.

## L

*la, lo* Y with, together with. — *ze la to orγ kə'nim* Yr I work together with you; *la mən astet* sh I possess. Cf. §§ 166, 218, 220. — Av. *hada*, Psht. *la*.

*la-*, v. *lak*.

'*liu* Mm rotten, bad, *ganda*; *liw* Z, G bad. — *mai γaši, wai liwi* these are good, those are bad; *liu keram* I stooled. — Acc. to G < Av. *daēva-*. Ishk. *lēw* night-mare, *lēv* mad belong to a dialect with *l* < *δ*. Ishk. *leu*



stupid, blunt, cf. Prs. *luc* stupid, foolish, may have the same origin. *loū-*: *lo'wai* Yzh, *lawū* LSIy to graze (tr. and intr.). — *xəšuwān lo'ū* the shepherd grazes (the cattle); *wo'rī l°* the sheep graze; *no-lawayen* LSIy to graze. — < \**dab-*, cf. EVP., s.v. *blōs*?

*lūi* m. Y, *lūy* Mm, g, ti, *lū* (g), *lūy* Z, († smoke. — Cf. Prs. *dūd*, Wkh. *dit*, Sgl. *dūd*, etc. — V. *kušūn*.

*lūū* Yzh, *lū* g pine-marten, Khow. *rušk*. *li'b-əm*: *li'bāi-m* Yzh, *li'b əm* Mti to card wool, Khow. *dumiman*. — Cf. Sgl. *dəmb-*, Khow. lw. *dum-*. With Ir. \**dumb-* cf. IA *tumb-* in Panj. *tumbḡā* to tease cotton, etc. (v. Nep. Dict. s.v. *tunnu*). — Prs. *dafta* 'weaver's comb' for \**dufta*?

*laba'kow-um* M(g) to smear, plaster. — Ar.-Prs. *labk* mixing (flour with honey, etc.), mixture?

*lə'bān-əm* Ysh : *lə'bad-əm* sh, r, *lə'vān-* : *lə'vād-* Mm, *lə'vōn-* : *lə'vey-* t, (g). *līvōn-* : *līvay-* Z to winnow, *bāt kardan*. — *wəu lə'badəm* Yr. — Cf. Sgl. *dəvīn-*, Wkh. *būn-*, Shgh. *de'ven-*, Yazgh. *devan-* to winnow, Av. *dvan-* (*dvasa-*) to fly, *us dvanaya-* to throw up (Sak. *uysvan-*), *bata-* 'winnowed' (= *lə'vey-*, Yazgh. *de'vūd*), not 'coarsely ground' (v. ZAIRWh., s.v.; Scheffelowitz. ZDMG, 59, pp. 690, 780). — Psht. *lwan-* : *lwast-* to winnow, Ardistani *band-* : *bas-* to throw (Bailey, BSOS, 7, p. 771) < *dvan-*, influenced by \**ban(d)*. Cf. also Orm. *ban-*, Bakht., etc., *van-* to throw (away), cf. NTS, 5, p. 14.

*lad* Y, *lođ* Mm, *lōnd* g, (g), t, *lōnd* ti, *lod* Z. *lāt* G, *lāl* LSIIm, *lānd* MFB

tooth. — Pl. *ladē* Ysh, *lođi* Mm. — Av. *dantan-*, cf. Sgl. *dānd*, Wkh. *dendik*, *lānd*.

*lo'yoī*, v. *tī*.

*luydo* Yzh, u, *lo'yo* sh, g, p, *lō* r, *lōyda* Mti, g, °*ä* (g), *lōydo* m, *luydd* Z, *lōyda* G daughter. — *tō čand lōyde astet?* *yū lōydo*, *š'iroi lōyde* Yr; obl. *lōydon*, *lōydaš* Yr; *luydē* pl., 'ai' *luydeo* sh; *lu luydi vī'at*; *vō luydaš yu'rurd*, *mai luydi niāstat* Mm, *lōydi* pl. Mti. — Av. *duydar-*, Sgl. *wudəyδ*, Wkh. *δəyδ*, etc.; cf. Oss. *ko-diyd* husband's sister (°*diyd* \*'girl').

*luydi'ko* Yzh daughter (demin).

*la'yafci*, v. *lə'vaxčē*.

*lə'yn-am*: *lo'yo-d-am* Yzh, r, *lə'yo-d-o* sh, *lo'yo* u, *na'yo'n-əm* (?) : *lo'yo-d-əm* g, : *lə'yo-nd-um* Mm, *lo'yada* B to lie down, to fall asleep. — *lə'ynē* zh 3 sg.; *lo'yo* u, 'xau kat'; *lo'yoda waxt* sh evening, *sko lo'yo šuyam* r perf. (?); *stīnyo šūi lōyodə* g he lay down on his back. — Mm would point to Ir. \**ni-gan-*, not \**kan-*. Cf.

*lə'yan-um*: *lə'yad-um* Yzh, sh, r, *nə'yān-um* : *nə'yad-əm* g, *lə'yōn-* : *lə'yōnd-* Mt, (g) to throw away, to pour out, 'partau kardan, partaftan'. — But note also *lə'yōnd-əm* Yzh 'partau kardim', *lə'yōnd-əm* Yr I send away, 'mēfiristim': *lə'yed-əm* I poured out, 'tit kardam'; *lə'yōnd-um* Mm, 'tit mēkunam': *li'gād-um*(?) 'tit kardum'. — *gadāi lə'yān* Ysh give up begging (*partau*); *wo 'vira lə'yado da kyī 'da xāna bār partaft* sh: *xosto lə'yadəm da xu'rum* r I threw the grain into the threshing-ground. — \**ni-gan-*, or, if Mm *li'gād-* is correct, \**ni-kan*, cf. Prs. *afgandan*, etc. (v. AO, I, p. 249; Bailey JRAS,

- 1934, p. 515; Henning, ZII, 9, p. 172).
- loh* Y, *lō*<sup>(h)</sup> Yg, *lu* Mm, (sh), (g), *lū* t, *lō* g, *lǎ*, *lō* Z, *lō*<sup>w</sup> G two. — *lo naha'rī* Ysh two loaves, *loh miš*, *loh pūre* sh; *'lu 'luγdi* Mm. — < \**duwa*, Av. *dva-*, etc.
- loh-o'guščo* Ysh span from thumb to index finger.
- loh'rinj* Yzh double. — Adapted from Khov. *jurinj*.
- loh'saxo* Yzh a period of two years, Khov. *jusaxa* (not known from other sources). — *sax-* < \**saxwan-* from *sak-* to pass the time? Cf. *yū'saxo*.
- la'jōm* Mm, g, Z, *lo*<sup>o</sup> ti bridle, bit. — Prs. *lijām*, cf. Sgl. *la'zām*, Shgh. *la'jūm*, etc. V. *av'lān*.
- la-ken-* Ysh, r, *lak-* M(g) to let loose, leave, *la'kra* B to leave, *lāken* LSI m keep, put. — *γau lo-karēm* Yr I let loose the cow; *wo p's'ko la'kəγ* sh; *wos pilyiyä lakam* M(g) now I break a wind. — Cf. Sgl. *la-ken-*, Wkh. *la-cer-*, Shgh., Or. *lā(k)-*, Khov. *lw. lakoman* I let go, leave.
- 'lāmo* Yzh, sh, g, LSIy, *'la*<sup>o</sup> Yr. B, *'lōmo* Mm, *°ε* g, *lā'ma* G village. — *'zōl 'lāmə v'et* they were from one village; *wo 'lōmo zowan* Mm this village is his. — G compares Av. *dāman-* creature, creation, place of habitation (in an eschatological sense); cf. Sogd. *δ'm* world. Similarly Lhd. *lōk* village < world.
- lzm* Yzh, *g*, *lēm* r, *lum* sh, Mm, (sh), *lōm* G, *lum* m. Z tail. — < Av. *duma-* (< \**dumbma-*) (\**dumba-* would have resulted in \**lub* etc.).
- 'lamdo* f. Y, *'lo*<sup>o</sup> Mm, *'lōmadū* Z hem, 'dāman'. — < \**dāmantū* (pl. ? cf. Benv. Gramm. Sogd. II, 79), cf. Psht. *laman*. V. *av'lānd*.
- lōmago* Mm snare. — Psht. *lūma*, Wkh. *dūng*, etc.
- lō'moiγa* Mt swollen, *waran karda*. — A perf. ptc. cf. Prs. *damīdan* to break out in pimples or swellings.
- loma'len* Yzh, *li*<sup>o</sup> g, *nō*<sup>o</sup> sh half-full. — \**hada-madyana-*. V. *malen*, *nim'kālo*, *nīmopir*.
- lō'mōn-əm*: *lō'mī m* Yzh, *lōmo'n-əm*: *lō'mī-im* sh to rub. — < \**nī man(δ)na-* *nī-matita-* (cf. Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2, p. 212), cf. Av. *mant-* (pres. *manā-*), Shgh. *δe'mān-*, etc. V. *magv-*.
- lōndekā*, v. *lan'dik*.
- 'lenju* Yzh, *'wānju(γ)* sh strip of willow's bark. — Khov. *lēnzu*.
- luānekē* (pl.) Yzh, *luanəkə* sh, *lū'eno* Mg twin(s); *'lūini* m both. — < \**dwīn-*, or \**dwāna-*? Cf. Sogd. *δ(y)βn* pair (Gramm. Sogd. 2, p. 140), Shgh. *δiōun*, etc. two. — V. *də'gōnī*.
- lānawo* B wise. If correct, ancient lw. from Prs.
- lan'dik* Yzh, *'landuk* sh, *°Δk* B fat (adj.); *'lōndekā* M(g) belly, *škāmbe*.
- 'lūnga* Mm, *ləng* t, *°ga* m. Z calf of the leg. — Prs. *lang*. V. *ilira*, *neliko*.
- lan'gau* Yg bucket (not known to Yzh). — V. *mašerba*.
- liŋ'gōn* Yr, *lu*<sup>o</sup> Mm, *lō*<sup>o</sup> g (not known to Yzh) hand-mill. —
- la'poir* (!) Yzh glitters, Khov. *lapoiran*; *lapessa* B to sparkle. — Khov. V. § 231.
- 'lār-*: *'lāt-* Yzh, sh, *'lōr-* Mm, g, *lōr-*: *lēt* Z to have, *lār-* G to give (?). — *lūt* zh he has; *la'təm* sh; *lāto* he had; *zo vəta gap γū lārəm* zh I hear your word; *γūi lār* sh listen; *vabar lāram* sh;

*tu ištī lōrī* Mm have you anything?  
— Cf. Prs. *dāram*, etc.

*lō'rī-m*: *lōrē'i-m* Yzh, *lō'rī-m* g, : *luriy-am*  
Mt, *lu'rī-am*: *lu'rī-em* (?) ti, *lūrty*:  
*lūryiy*- Z to reap. — Cf. *lō'rawū* Mt  
reaper, 'gandum ki mēdrawa'. — Cf.  
Sgl. *derāy*-, Prs. *durūdan*.

*lira* Yp the drum of a spinning wheel  
(v. III.). — Cf. Av. *dāru*-, Prs.  
*dār* wood, beam?

*'lūr-um*: 'rust-um Yzh, sh, *lur*:- rust- r,  
Mm, t, ti, Z, *ru-l-am* Yr to flee. —  
'*stārei* 'lūrət Yg the stars fall. —  
< \**raud*:- *rusta*-, cf. Av. *raod*- to  
stream, run.

*lu'rō-um* Yu to put to flight. — *zo vto* l°;  
*ās!* *tā* l°. Cf. 'lūr-.

*'lūro* Yzh, sh, g, °ro r, *lu'ro* Mm, *lō're* g,  
°a, *lū*° Z far, distant. — *yo ādam*  
*lu'ro* Yzh, *wo ādam lu'ro* Mm, *wənd*  
*ādame* 'lūro *astet* Ysh, *wə kyāi lō're*  
Mg; *dur luro pādo šom* I have walked  
far to-day; *žo lura'yan* Ysh, *že*  
*lūreyen* LSIy from afar, *az dūr*. —  
Av. *dūra*-, etc.

*lō'rəfšo* Yzh, *lō'raušo* sh, r, *lō'refšo* Mm,  
°a g, *dō'revša* Z awl. — Cf. Prs.  
*dirafš*, which has influenced Z's form.

*lō'royo* Yzh clear sky. — < \**idrakā*-, cf.  
Oss. *ird*; Skr. *vīdhra*-; Palola *bīdri*,  
etc. < \**vīdhriya*-; Khow. *yudur* <  
\**edhra* (?). Possibly bor. into Finno-  
Ugrian, v. Paasonen, Ostjak. Wb.,  
Nr. 157 (*ētər*) and cf. Kola Lapp  
*vierhta*, which acc. to information  
kindly supplied by professor Collinder  
may go back to \**vētra*.

*lō'ruyus* Yzh, sh, *lō'rū*° r, *lō'rī*° Mg, t,  
ti, *lō'rēgus* m, *lō'ryūš*, *lryūš lryūš'*,  
*lyūš* G sickle. — \**drāta* < \**dādra*-  
+ *kusa* (?), v. Göteborgs Högskolas

Årsskrift, 36, pp. 68 sqq. Cf. Yaghn.  
*dīrāt*, *dīrās* < \**drāθ*-, Sogd. *dr'š*  
(JA, 223, p. 219) and v. EVP. s.v. *lōr*.  
*lirs* Y, *lirs* Mg, *lurs* m. Z goat's hair. —  
Cf. Wkh. *širs*, Shgh. *došc*, and v.  
NTS, V, p. 43, s.v. *drassam*. Cf.  
also Prs. *dīrs* a threadbare garment,  
a camel's tail, and Khow. *jšōk*  
(O'Brien) fine hair of yak fr. Ir. (cf.  
*jšōk ten* < \**doš*)?

*lō'ro'vo* Yzh, r, °wo sh, *lō'avo* Mm reaping,  
*lō'rawū* ti reaper. — l° *kenem*, *yikenum*  
I reap. — Cf. Prs. *dirau*. V. *lōrī*.  
*lur'vē* Yzh, °wo sh, °wo r, °ūa g, *lō'rū* B,  
*'luravi* Mm, *le'revi* ti sick, ill, (poor  
Yzh). — *zo lur'vē* Yzh I am ill;  
*pādšā lur'vū šūi* sh; *mən (moz) w'zīr*  
*'lurvo 'vīem* r I was (we were) ill  
yesterday. — Cf.:

*lō'rovə* Yzh, *lorovo* B, *lō'rawē* G illness.  
— *mən lō'rovə zh* I am ill, I feel  
pain. — *lur'vē* < \**a-dravaka*-, cf.  
Av. *drva*-, Sogd. *dr'wh* sound, fresh;  
*lō'rovo* < \**a-drawyā*-(??); scarcely,  
with G, from \**draywi*-, cf. Av. *driyū*-  
poor, weak. — Cf. also Bal. *durāh*,  
Brahui *d(u)rāx* well in health <  
\**drāwava*-.  
*lō'rīvā* Mti, *lō'riven* t shrub, bush used  
as fuel, *pūš*.

*'larza* Yzh, g, °o r trembling. — *mən l°*  
*kit* I tremble. — Prs.

*'larzē* Yzh, °zi (pl.?) sh, 'lārzi p, 'lorziy  
Mm, 'lōrzi t sheaf of corn; 'larzē Ysh  
sheaf-band. — Cf. Talish *darz* sheaf,  
Av. *darəz*- to tie together, etc.

*lā'pū* Yzh melon, *tarbuza*. — Khow.

*los* Y ten. — Av. *dasa*. V. *dā*.

*lō'so* Ysh, r, lA° g, la° zh, Mm, *lā'sa* G,  
lā° Z, *lāsef* obl. pl. I.SIm rope  
(made of goat's wool). — Cf. Prs.

- dasā* thread which remains in the loom, Bal. *dasag* thread (?), Shumashti (Dardic) *dasə* thread (fr. Prs.), Skr. *dasā* fringe.
- 'leso* Yzh, *'lo°* r, *'lə°* g, *l̄e°* Mm wild oats. — Cf. Sgl. *də'stīn*.
- last* m. Y, *lost* Mm, Z, *lōst* Mg, (g), ti, *lđst* G arm, *lāst* Ysh arm below elbow, hand. — *žuwānen wa alāno da lāst kəy* Ysh the young man took the pome-granate in his hand; *'na tə trə 'lās kə'rum* sh I put it in your hand; *last ūzdəm* g I wash my hands. — Not lw., but with dissimilation fr. Av. *zasta-*, as in other Ir. dialects.
- 'lastē* Yzh, *°i* p, *°ə* sh handle of a spade.
- las(t)bot* Yr, g, *lasten-b°* sh wrist. — *trə bən ta lasbo'da* Yg (?).
- los-wist* Yr 200, *hazār* (!).
- los'yū* Yzh, g, *°iyū* sh, r eleven. — Cf. Khw. *još-ī*.
- lišč-*, *liškv-*, v. *wīn-*.
- 'laštokun* Ysh saddle-cover (?). V. *jaləy*.
- 'latrək* Yzh, *'lāt'rik* sh wild chive garlic, used as a vegetable. — Khw. *la'ruk*.
- 'livdē* Yzh, *°ə* sh second irrigation, *dūāva*. — V. *dūōva*, *avzīno*.
- 'livden* Yzh, sh, *lī°* r, g, Mm, g, *'livdani* (pl.?) Yp, *liv'den* Z fire-place, Mm also n. of a constellation, (cf. Kalasha *idhon* tripod: *Idhonek* constellation). — *\*daiga-dāna-* (Prs. *dēgdān*) with dissim. of *δ-δ* (v. § 52). But *v < γ?*
- lavor* Y, Mm, *°ər* g, *lu'vdr* m. Z, *l'war* G door. — *yū l° no'yor* Mm he appeared in the doorway. — Av. *dvar-*, cf. Sgl. *vōr*, Wkh. *bār*.
- l'roro* Y, *l'reriko* Mm, *l'vərə* Z roof-board, rafter. — Originally *door-plank?* — Psht. *barga* rafter is prob. horr. from IA.
- lə'vaxčē* Yzh, *la'γafēi* sh large conifer, torch. — V. *pelicyo*.
- ləva'za* Yzh, sh, r baked dough.
- liv'zīn* Yzh, *lə°* sh, r, g, *lə'zo* felt, *ləvz-nāmyo* G coarse cloth, *palos*, *lōvs* B thick. — Cf. Prs. *dabz* thick, coarse (as cloth); *-in* is an adj. ending.
- lə-verzəya rūsō* Yzh bat (: winged fox). — Cf. *la* and *vərzeyo*. V. *šabparekilaγ*, *živderaus*.
- lu'wist* Yzh, g, *lū°* r 40; *°isto'los* r 50. — V. § 202.
- lax'čio* Ysh, r, p, *'laxčio* zh, Mm, g, *°a* f. Z small goatskin bag for keeping flour. *sənāč*. — *lə'γado da l°* sh threw into a bag; *da laxčief γurdam* r. — *laxč-* < *\*lakč-* < *\*lačk*, cf. Sgl. *dēcak*, Wkh. *šock??*
- lax'sirē* Yzh, *'laxsərə* sh, g, *°ere* r *'yaxsəriy* Mm, g, *yaxserē* Z ice. — Cf. Prs. *xasār*, *hasar*, *hasir* (*yax + sār*)? Regarding *l-* cf. § 78. V. List of Place-Names: *Yakhserighar*.
- lyoxē* Yzh, sh, *loxə* r itching (or: it itches?).
- li'zo* Yzh, sh, *lə°* sh, r, g, *lizox* B fort, *qala*. Cf. *Lizo* Mm n. of a village. — *li'zo kə'ret*, *lə'zo kə'nium* sh. — Cf. Prs. *diz*, Chr. Sogd. *dyz*, etc.
- lauz* Yzh, *labz* G word. — Ar.-Prs. V. *rōi*.
- lūz-um*: *lū'zd-əm* Yzh, r, Mm, t, Z, *lūzy-*: *lūyd-* Ysh, *lūž-*: *lōyd-* r to milk. — < *\*dauč-* (a secondary present base made up from *\*duxta-*), cf. Wkh. *šic-*, Shgh. *šūj-*, Par. *dūč-*. Sgl. *dēš*, Psht. *lwaš-əl* < *\*daušš-*. What is W. Oss. *docun* (cf. *ficun* to cook)?
- la'žino* Yu pile of firewood. — *və lažino žafa'ū* put fire to the pile. — *\*ničayanā-*, cf. Turf. Phl. *ni-žī-* (Henning,

ZII, 9, p. 182), Skr. *nī-ci-* to pile up.  
V. *parzīn*.

*lāz'vor* Yzh lapis lazuli. — Prs.

## M

*ma*, *mo* Y, *mā* M this. — V. § 206.

*mō* Mm, g month. — Prs. V. *mox*.

<sup>1</sup> *mā-um*: *'mavd-um* Yzh to masticate, chew.

<sup>2</sup> *'mā-um*: *mav'd-am* Yzh, sh, *'māv-um*: *'mēvd-um* Mm, *māvda* B to measure, weigh. — *'mām dā tāra'zū* sh let us weigh; *mav'do*, *mav'det* sh he (they) weighed it; *ri'zān 'māum* Yzh *'xūb sanjīdim*. — Av. *mā(y)-*, or IA. lw.

*'mūo* Yzh, g, *mū'ō* sh, r, *'mūyo* Mm, <sup>o</sup>*a* (sh), *'mūyd* g, <sup>o</sup>*ü* (g), *'mūya* Z sheep (Ysh, Mm also female oorial). — \**maišā*, Av. *maēša*. V. *'mūya*.

*ma'cio* Yzh, sh, r, <sup>o</sup>*io* g, *'ma'cio* Mm, g, <sup>o</sup>*ü* (g), *'mā'cia* Z, *ma'* LSI m she-dog. — Cf. Sgl. *mā'cik*, Taj. *mō'ca*. Early lw.

*maci'xor* Yzh kingfisher. — Khov. *maci'xor* (Lor.) a 'kind of duck', *māci'xor* (O'Brien) 'kingfisher', an adaptation of Prs. *māhīxwār* heron. Note the — incidental? — similarity to Nep. *mā'fikore* kingfisher.

*'mō'ciē* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>*o* sh artisan, blacksmith. — Hi., etc. *moci* cobbler.

*mū-čino* tweezers, *mū'čī'na* G scissors (?). — Prs. V. *cepīo*.

*mēdī* Ysh? — In *nawur m'ō* 'az *ba'yal badar (usū) kat* (: took it out from his bosom).

*ma'diri* Yzh, g seam. Khov.

*mōdra'jē* Yzh, *mōnd'* sh, *mōl'rūgi* Mm silver neckring (from Peshawar, acc. to Yzh). — Pl. of \**mōdra*, cf. Ishk.

*murdik* small ring (v. Sgl. *cām-mōrdikig*), Phl. *mudr* ring. V. § 88.

*maf* Yzh, sh, *mōf* r, Mm, Z you. V. § 203 sq.

*'magam* Ysh verily. — *m'ō max yū pādšā astet* but you have a king. — Cf. Par. *magam* possibly, unless, Shgh. probably. Fr. Prs. *magar?*

*'māgy-im*: *ma'gyi-m* Yzh, g, r, *'maigy-em*: *mai'gyi-m* sh, *mā'gy-em*: *mā'gyi-m* r, *'mōgy-um*: *mugi'y-um* Mm, *'mō'gy-am*: *mēgi'ā m t*, *mōg'*: *mēg'* Z to rub (with the hands), to wash clothes, Yg to crush, *'mēmālim*. — Cf. Sgl. *mānd-* to rub, smear, Wkh. *mānd-*, *mānd* to rub, shampoo, prob. fr. IA., cf. e.g. Palola *mānd-*, Ksh. *mā'dun* to knead, wash (v. Nep. Dict. s.vv. *ma'yer*, *mā'nu*). — Cf. also Yazgh. *marn-* to twist, rub with the hands, but *rn* would not account for Y—M *gy* (v. §§ 121, 133).

*mi'gya* Y ringdove, *fāxta*, Khov. *kalkūr*. — V. *fāxtaga*.

*mīy* Yzh, sh, r, Mm, g, B *mēy* Yg, Z, G cloud; *Mēy* Yp n. of a mythical horse (cf. IIFL, I. p. 165: Par. *Atr*, Taj. *Abr*. V. also *Wūr*). — Av. *maēya*, etc.

*'mūyo* Yzh, sh, r, *mūyo* g, <sup>o</sup>*a* Mt, (g), *stur-mugo* m bean, *Vicia faba*, *bōkula* (cf. Agricult. Afgh, p. 112 — not mentioned from Munjan). — Borr. from Pkt. *mugga-* *phaseolus mungo?* (Saka lw. *māmgā?*). V. *xur-mūyo*. *mō'giki* (pl.?) Ysh, *mūr'gik* B hail. — Connected with the preceding word, cf. Wkh. *mužek* hail: Sgl. *mužik* pea; Shgh. *ma'sak* hail: *maš* pea? *maγ'mun (nayan)* Ysh bread made of *mūyo*. — Reg. the suffix, v. § 193.

- mō'yuso* Y, 'māyasa Mt, 'māyāsū (g), 'moguso m, 'maxsa g, 'magusa f. Z, 'ū'sa G fly. — \*makasū-, cf. Prs. *magas*, Wkh. *maks*, etc.
- mayz* Y, Mm, t, Z, māyz Mg, maxs ti marrow, brain. — 'pusur-mayz Yr = 'mayz-i sar Z brain. — The *a* points to borrowing from Prs.
- maha'lam* Yzh mending (clothes). — *m<sup>c</sup> kenem*.
- mih'mān* Yzh, sh, mi'mān Mm, mī'mōn Z guest. — Prs.
- mahmi'zā-um*: *mahmā'zard-um* Yzh, sh to make to fly, flee, *mēparim* (intr.), Khov. *uštūrēim*. — Cf. Prs. *mahmīz kardan* to spur a horse.
- mīky* Yzh, sh, *meky* g, mi'gyo r, mi'yo B blunt. — Possibly early loan fr. Khov. *muḥu* (t > ky), but cf. also Wkh. *muq*, Sar. *mēaq* (Shaw) blunt.
- māl* Ysh, u goods, property. — *wo mālōf avret* Ysh they brought the money; *vo māl-hāl līm nōn* u I gave him all kinds of goods (*māl-hāl*) 'māl-i hāl ba ū dādām'. — Ar.-Prs.
- molo* Y, 'mōlo Mm, 'mala t, mō'la G here. — *tu nišā malo* Ysh 'tu injā bišī'; *maf 'male 'nišit* Mm sit down here; *zə ži 'malen* (obl. form?) Ysh I am from here, *mā az hamijā*. — < \**imadā*, cf. Sogd. *mδ*, Sgl. *mδδ(ak)*.
- mūl* Yzh, mōl Mm stirring stick, used in cooking flour (*ārd puxta mēkunan*). — Cf. Wkh. *mul*, Psht. *mōlai* fr. IA, cf. Lhd. *molhā*, etc. — V. *tīwanīy*.
- mīl'yo* Yzh, sh, mīlya Mti, 'mōlgo m, 'mīlyga g (white) clay, used for plastering the outside walls of a house. — < \**mīydakā*, cf. Skr. *mīyd*, Prasun *mīrē*. — V. *grl*, *šifōn*, *xal'aryo*. Cf. also:
- mīl'yuz* Yzh red clay.
- mōlk* Ysh kingdom, realm. — *drud m'*. — Ar. Prs.
- mīl'koḡdi* Yzh u. of a flower. — Khov. *mīlkōn*, *mūlkōn* a small violet, bell-shaped flower, violet.
- mullākəriya* G goose. — Cf. Gawar-Bati *mullā-čirgo* fr. Psht.?
- mālēm* Yzh apparent, known. — *nā-mən mālēm-i* it appears to me, Khov. *sarēiran*. — Ar.-Prs.
- mō'lāim* Yzh, blāim g soft; *mōlāima* zh slowly. — Ar.-Prs.
- mal-'min* Ysh, *malmin* B thus, in this manner, 'amtarix' (: *ham-* or *in-tariq*). — *m<sup>c</sup> šilaxe šūi* he became so destitute; *wo mun m<sup>c</sup> če ke'nē-este* sh why do you act thus with me? — V. *molo* and *-min*.
- '*malen* Mm half-full, Z middle. — V. *loma'len*; *dāmā'lan* G at noon, *du'malen* Z between.
- mō'lān* Y, m<sup>u</sup> Mm, mō'lān g, °ōn (g), ti, Z, mō'la G waist, Yzh, sh, Mm (*mulon*!) also belt; *mōlān* G, 'mōlōn-'avgina Z belt. — *mīlān trāžim* Yr. — Cf. Av. *maidīyāna-*, etc. V. *suymōlān*.
- malanē oḡuščigo* Ysh, m<sup>o</sup> °ščo g, *mala'noguščo* r, *mala'nigo āḡuškvo* Mm, *male'nig 'āḡušk'a* Z, *malene'ga* G middle finger. — \**madanaka-*, Wkh. *mōlung* middle; cf. Av. *madəmahe əvəzvō* (gen.). — V. also *Mīlyeg*.
- mulrāgi*, v. *mōdrayē*
- ma'ilis* Yu festival, assembly, music. — Khov. *mailis* fr. Ar.-Prs. *majlis*, cf. Taj. *maylis*.
- ma'lar* Yzh, r, Mm, g, t large, yellow locust. — Genuine, or lw. from Prs. *malar* (note the vocalism).

<sup>1</sup>māmo Yzh, sh, g, mām r, māma Mm, G, <sup>1</sup>mōmü M(g), °a Z grandmother; <sup>1</sup>māmō Yp old woman, *kampir*. — Wkh., Shgh. mūm, Yazgh., Sar. mām. Cf. Z s.v.

*maina* Yzh starling, *mynah*. — IA.

*mən*, etc. me, my. V. § 203 sq.

*-mīn* Y. In *čes-mīn?* of what kind? (*yo čes-mīn žāndār?* Ysh; *ya čes-mīn vīra?* sh 'i ēi bar ast?' tō nām *čes-mīn?* sh what is your name?); *ča-mīn?* how (much)? (v. s.v.); *čes-mīn?* what? (*čis-mīn* LSIy what? to nām *čes-mīn?* B); *mal-mīn* (v. s.v.). — *-mīn* appears to give the pronoun an indefinite meaning. Cf. also *mo mān vraī mīn* B this is my brother. *mīnd* Ysh, LSIy so much. — *mīnd daulat* 'hamīqada d°'; *vo mīnd ābāliəf* so many fields (obl. pl.); *mən mīn(d) xīsmat kərum* I have done so much service. — Cf. *ind*.

*məndrayə*, v. *mədrayə*.

<sup>1</sup>mūyō Yzh, sh inflated sheepskin, *sənāč*. — Anc. lw. from IA, cf. Waigeli *mōka*, Khow. *manu*, etc. skin-bag for ghee? V. *laxčio*.

<sup>1</sup>mānjo Mti bed. — IA., cf. Panj. *mañjā* (but not in Khow.). Wkh. *manja*, Badakhshi *mānja*.

*mə'r-əm*: *mu'ḡ-um* Yzh, r, *mu'r-am*: *mu'r-o* Mm, *mə'r-əm*: *mə'r-a* G, *mur*·: *mur*· Z to die. — *mə'rē* pres. 3 sg., *mə'ret* 3 pl., *mə'rīstə* Yzh 'mēmural'; *mu'ḡo* he died. — Av. *mar*·.

<sup>1</sup>mīra Y, Mm, Z, °'ra G, <sup>1</sup>mīro Mg, (g), t, ti; *mīra'čām* Ysh, u sun. — *mīra rəsīn* Ysh 'aftāb rasīd'. — Av. *midra*·.

*mīr-čōya* Ysh to this side, *mīr-čuyua* turns back (?), Khow. *ačhi yari*. < \**ham-iθra?* — Cf. *vračōya*.

*mə'reč* Yzh, °äč sh, g mulberry. — Khow. *mə'rAč*.

*marđum'pūr* Yzh boy.

*mar'gas* Ysh iris. — Prs. *nargis*.

<sup>1</sup>mīryō Ysh, <sup>1</sup>mu° Mm, <sup>1</sup>mīrya g, *mīryiko* Yzh meadow. — \**mārgā-?* But cf. Sgl. *mēry* < \**margya*·. Av. *marəyā*·. *mūr'ḡō* Yzh, sh, mə° r, mΔ° g, <sup>1</sup>mōryi (pl.), <sup>1</sup>mōryika Mg, °ükā (g), <sup>1</sup>murgiko m ant. — < \**marwikā*·, cf. Av. *mawri*·, etc.

*murḡu'lum* Yzh, r down of birds. — Khow. *murḡulūm* down; Wkh. *mar-gilam* (Shaw) goat's down. — Ir.?

*mḡ'kič* Yzh carded wool, Khow. *pi'ženu*. *mīra-av'lasto* Yzh, sh, *mīra-lamdo* r rainbow (: "the sun's sleeve or hem"). — V. *ka'mān-i Rustam*.

*mīrmu'sān paḡ* Yzh rat. — Cf. Khow. *murmū'sān kalau* rat (Lor. *mur mu'sān xAlāo* field rat, Shina *mīrimuša* ferret, weasel). From Prs. \**mīr-mūšān* 'master-mouse', cf. Wkh. *mīr-prič*.

*maḡa* Ysh, r, LSIy, *mēra* LSI, G mau. — Pl. *'maḡə* Ysh, r; *yū maḡa ži dal'en ā'ḡōi* Ysh, *yu maḡa hor kit g a man works*; *äi 'maḡā sh o man! lto no maḡaken* sh he gave it to the man; *no 'maḡaken da apīr* sh in front of the man; *yo 'maḡa žu kī?* from where is this man? *'maḡaken ḡūrd* sh the man seized it. — Cf.:

*mēy* Y, *mēr* Mm, g, (g), ti, *mār* (t), *mēr* Z, G man, vir. — *me xīroi mēye hōr kenet* Yg these four men are working. — \**martya*· (hardly M. Ir. \**mērt* < *mart* + *mērak*, v. Barth., Miran Mund., VI, p. 55).

*mu'ḡo* Yzh, g, <sup>1</sup>muḡo sh, r, *mur'da* Mm, Z, *mu'riy* Z dead, dead body. — V. *mər*·.

*mrs* Yzh, g, r, G brass. — Prs.  
 'masko Yzh, r, °ko sh, g, 'maska Mm,  
 °ə g butter. — Prs.  
 'māst Yg curdled milk. — Prs. V. *poya*.  
 mīšc Yzh, sh, mü° r, muškv Mti, mi° t,  
 mu° Z, 'muškio Mm, 'miškvē g,  
 mēškva G, mušt Yg fist. — Av.  
 mušti- (Yg lw. fr. Prs.), cf. Wkh.  
 mēst, Sgl. mēt.  
 mišca Yp sheaf of corn. — Cf. Prs.  
 mušti handful.  
 miščo'yo Ysh, °uyo g, mīšcīyiko zh she-  
 calf, one year old. — V. *muškoya*.  
 maška Ysh, mašk Mm, māšk g inflated  
 skin, used for crossing rivers. — Prs.  
 V. *dril*.  
 muško'ya (pl. *muško'ti*) Yzh, sh, g,  
 miškō'i (pl.?) r, muš'kayi Mm, miš'kāyi  
 g, t, (sh), mē° (g) newborn, male calf,  
 mēš'kdāy Z male calf, up to the age  
 of two years; mēškāi G ram, sheep(?).  
 — \**ham-huškaka*-, cf. Par. *tōr-pī* calf,  
 one to two years old ("dē-licus");  
 Phl. Psalter 'xšyrky weaned.  
 mašer'ba Yzh, °o sh bucket. — Khow.,  
 fr. Ar.-Prs.  
 miš'tor Yzh, °ər r prince, mehtar. — *yo*  
*kyci miš'terān-ē* Yr this house belongs  
 to the mehtar. — \**masyah-tara*, Prs.  
*mihtar*.  
 'mušti Yzh, sh silver necklace (from  
 Chitral). — Khow. *mušti*.  
 miwa Yzh, mēwa B fruit. — Pl. *mrwa'γē*  
 Ysh fruit-trees. — m° žiel they  
 planted fruit-trees. — Prs.  
 max Y, mōx M we. — V. § 203 sq.  
 max Yzh, mōx m. Mm, Z, māx G peg,  
 mēx. — Genuine < \**maxa*-, cf. Psht.  
 mōžai, mažwai < \**maxšu*- + *aka*-?  
 But Prs. mēx < \**maixa*-.  
 mīx Yzh, sh, r, °xə g nail. — Prs.

*mox* Y month. — *do yū mōx sh* in the  
 course of one month. — \**māhaxa*-,  
 cf. Sogd. m'γ? V. *mo*.  
 mu'xāliš Yu? — 'zə da šeri'et m°-əm(?).  
 max'mudiyo Yzh, mamū° B dagger. —  
 Cf. Khow. *mehmūdi*, *mahmūdi* Pathan  
 dagger, Prs., Psht., Sar. *bibhūdi*, Wkh.  
*bibhūdi*, *bēbi'di*, Kalasha *meha'būdi*-  
*ka'tār*.  
 mu'xan Yzh, sh veranda. — Khow. *muxān*.  
 'maxšē (pl. *maxše'i*) Yzh, *maxši'iv* (pl.)  
 sh, *max'si* p, mōxši M(g), 'mayaxšiy  
 m mosquito. — Av. *maxši*-.  
 miš m. Yzh, Mm, g, t, miš Ysh, r,  
 M(g), ti, Z day. — *do yū mīš sh* in  
 one day; *no yū 'mīšen* Ysh for one  
 day; *xšo'vō tā mīš sh* night and  
 day; *ēr, uxšo mīš sh*; *yu čad mīši*  
*gyaškvat* Mm a few days passed;  
*šir'ai mīš t*. — Cf. Sogd. *myš*,  
 Yaghn. *mēt*, *mēθ*, etc., Shgh. *mēθ*,  
 Sgl. *mēi* (cf. also Markwart, Ungar.  
 Jahrb. 7, p. 100). Junker (SHAW,  
 1914, p. 13) compares Lith. *mētas*  
 year, time, Alb. *mot* year. This is  
 perhaps possible if we assume an  
 Ir. form \**māθya*- < \**mētyo*-. Sar.  
*māθ* shows that the word does not  
 contain an ancient diphthong (Or.  
*miθ* may be of Shgh. or).  
 'mōšē Yzh, sh, °ə r, g, 'mašiy Mm,  
 °i t, °əy m. Z stick. — \**māθaka*-,  
 cf. Shgh. *māθ*, *mōθ*.  
 'mišen Yzh, g, 'mīšen r, Mm, (g) noon.  
 — Ancient adj. to *miš*, cf. Bartangi  
*mi'θin* day-.  
 'miya M male oorial. — V. *mūo*.  
 mayo'yo Y, °aga Mm, mōyaya g, °aga Z,  
 māya'ga G, māyaga LSIm, mayeyo y  
 mare. — \**mātakā*-. Cf. Prs. *māda*,  
*mādiyān*.



mō'yān Mm, māyan LSI<sup>m</sup> true. — Fr.

Prs. māya substance? V. 'urzuγ.

'maza Mm taste. — Prs. V. xāl.

mīz Yzh, mēz g table. — šitāhān že me'zān Yzh under the table. — Prs.

'mīz-em: mīzd-em Yzh, 'mēz-: mīzd sh, Mm to urinate. — mīzet 3 pl. — Av. maēz-. Cf. mīzγo.

'mōz-ēm: 'mašč-īm Yzh, sh, r, 'maz-ēm: 'mōškγ-ēm Mm, 'mēz-: 'mōškγ t, maz-: mošk' Z, G to kill. — vətō mōzēm; mox wōu maščēm Yr we killed him: zo ftō mōzēm sh; mōzē-em tū sh 'mēkšī-em tu'; mən wōu maščīm sh; vo šīr maščet Yu they killed the lion; vo barzangō mašč u he killed the ogre; agar Xadāi ču maščē vīi, oyīm sh if God has not killed me, I shall come. — Shgh. mōz- means to cut, form (v. Xuynōni Alifbā, p. 32); but cf. Orm. maz- to break, Psht. māt broken (< \*mašta-, not < \*maxta-; prob. not Par. mač- to cut, hurt).

maza'dār Yzh savoury, tasty. — Prs.

'māzdāra Mt the day after to-morrow.

— Containing \*azn-?? V. sūγ'yāmo.

muz'durā Ysh service, pay. — no yū kua'tinen m° kēn take service with a rich man; m° kγā; wo mən m° na mən del give me my wages; muzdu'rī kyed vīo he used to serve. — Prs.

'mīzγo Yzh, mē° sh, 'mīzγa Mg, mīz'da (v. mīz-) Yr urine. — \*maizakā-, cf. Wkh. mīzγ. V. mīz-.

mūz-: mūyd Yzh, sh, mūz-: mūyd Mm. muž-: mūyd Z to move (intr.), to be swung. — draxtē mūžet zh the trees are moved (by the wind).

mu'ža-um Yzh, mu'žav-: mu'žavd- sh, mūživda B to shake, move (tr.), mūževt B earthquake.

'mažoγo Yzh, g, māžoγo sh female markhor. — Khov. ma'žēγ.

mī'žūyiko, °ki pl. Yzh mist, fog. — \*mīžakā-(kā-), cf. Zaza mīž, Prs. mīzga a dark sky.

mažnum-bit Mm hanging-willow. — Prs. \*majnūn-bēd. V. čilīkyo.

mīžis'tē Yzh thigh-bone, sh hip-bone, g arm above elbow(?). — Khov. mužusti, mu'justi thigh, upper arm (fr. Ir., not fr. Pkt. miñjā). Cf. Sak. mījsā marrow < \*mayzyakā) — Cf. also Sgl. asta-mayzik, Wkh. mayzī upper arm.

ma'žīt Yu mosque. — da yū m° šūi, da m° lo'γoi. — Ar.-Prs.

## N

nā, no Y, M for, to. — 'na mən del give me; nā 'pādšān nā sa'lāmat čot Yu they went to salute the king; nā šīren 'škūr kenam let us go hunting for the lion; čpāč šūi na du'kānen sh he returned to the shop; na koī āγōit? 'ba čī āmadī? 'xšīyem-esto no'xoi za'rūrīen sh we are weeping out of necessity. V. § 216. — Av. ana over, along with, on.

no, nā Ysh, etc. LSIy, na Z, G, LSI<sup>m</sup> not. — nā pāč 'što, no yox 'što, no p'ruftēm 'što, no usīyādēm 'što he said that it was neither hot nor cold, and that he was neither tired nor hungry; no no-ōf no xuyān čē astet, no n-āyestān čē astet there is neither anything for them to eat nor to wear. — Av. na, etc. V. čē.

'na-um: 'navd-un Yzh to pour out, to empty, Khov. ulēiman. Cf. Skr. snāvaya? nai M(g) reed. — Prs.

*nī-m*: *no'yor-am* Yzh, sh, : *nə'yor* u, : *noyor-am* r, *nī-am*: *nəyar-am* M(g), *nəyar-am*(?): *nəyar-am* m, *nīy*: *nəyar* Z, *neyer* LSI m, *noyor* y to come out, emerge, appear, Khow. *nisiman*. — *nī'ā də kuč'i'o* Ysh go out into the street; *nə'yor do kuč'i'o*; *mīra nə'yor* zh the sun rose; *yū barzənge nə'yor* u; *pārye noyo'yet* sh the mice appeared; *yə tō hūy kəb nə'yor* this your price appeared to be too small; *yū azder nəf*(?) Yu a dragon appeared; *pīlf noyo'ra cū* sh (the river) cannot be forded; *yū ləvor nə'yor* Mm a door appeared. — < \**nīš-i*: *nīž-gata*- (> \**nirgata* > \**nigarta*-, v. § 113?); cf. Par. *nī*: *naγδ*, Orm. *nīs* (\**nī-isa*-): *naγōk*; Sogd. *nīž*.

*nōu* Y, *nāu* Mm, *nə'u* g, (g), (sh), t, *ndu* Z, G nine. — Av. *nava*.

*nəb* Mg, *nəp* ti dew. — Cf. Bal. *namb*, Prs. *nam* dew, moisture; Sgl., Shgh. *namb* moist. — V. *pražyār*, *šak'lām*.

*nī'čāy* Yzh, sh, r, g the shady side of a valley. — Khow. *nīchāy*. V. *'nusiγ*. *na'dram* Ysh inside. — *n° na γur'vo* inside the throat. — V. *dram*.

*nīf* Yzh, g, *nīf* sh, Mg, (g), t, ti, *naγ* Yr, *'nūfa* Mm, Z, °*fa*, *nāf* G navel. — < \**nāfa(ka)*-; Yr fr. Khow. *naγ*, in its turn fr. Ir.

*nəfs* Yzh soul, individual, own family. — *tu čamin wo xōi nəfs kenē?* how do you deal with your own family? — Ar.-Prs.

*nīg'*: *nīg'ay* Z, : *'nīgi-o* Ysh to pull out. — *da laxčio n°* he took it out of the bag, 'ba dar kart'. — \**nī-kγš-??* Cf. § 132.

*'nāyo*, v. s.v. *xužbūi*.

*noyo-um*: *nə'γavd-um* Yzh, sh, *no'γā*:

*noγavd- r*, *no'γa-ūm*: *no'γavd-um* g, *nə'gō-um*: *nə'γavd-um* Mm, *nə'γōu*: *nə'γevd-ə* (g), *nīgōw*: *nīgēvd* Z to bite, *gazīdan*, Khow. *čokik*. — Phonetically < \**nī-kap/b*-, cf. Greek *χάρτω* to swallow, snatch with the teeth, etc. (v. WP, s.v. *qap*-)? Cf. also Shgh., etc. *anjāv* to seize < \**han-kab*-? Z compares *gūv* (q.v.), but this is scarcely possible.

*na'γen* Yzh, sh, g, *'naγen* r, Mm, g, Z, *naγn* G bread, food. — *n° na-wən lio*: *naγan xorum* Yg I eat bread; *no xu'γān n° čēš* sh there is no food to eat. — \**naγna*-, cf. Gauthiot, MSL, 19, p. 129, cf. also Yazgh. *šō'γūn* (Sköld). — Brahui *nīkān* 'rations, meat' fr. a lost Bal. word of the \**nī-kāna*- type.

*noyor*, v. *nī*.

*noyo'sār* Yzh, *negusār* LSI m below, *pāyān*. — Anc. lw., cf. Prs. *nīgū(n)sār* turned upside down, etc. Also Sar. has *nuγusār* down.

*nə'γuy*: *nə'γušč*- Yzh, *nə'γūy*: *nə'γuškv* Mm, *neγūy*: *neγīšk'*- Z, *nuγuš*(?): *nuγūškv* G, *doyuja*(!) B to hear. — < \**nī-gauš*-, cf. Yazgh. *nīyuw*: *nīyočt*, Psht. *nγwaž*: *nγut*-; Yaghu. *dūguš*- (< \**nguš*-).

*nuγōz*: *nīyēzd* Z to swallow. — Cf. Wanetsi Psht. *γōz*- to drink.

*no'γužē* Yzh snipe.

*naha'rī* Ysh breakfast, bread, *kilča* — *lo naharī* two loaves. — Ar.-Prs.

*naql* Yu tale, story. — Ar.-Prs.

*nika'nā-um* Yzh, sh, r : *nika'navd-um* r to dig. — The *k* points to recent compounding. V. *ken*.

*nu'krā* Mm, *nu'qra* g, LSI m silver. — Ar.-Prs. V. *droxum*.

*nəl* Mm, <sup>1</sup>*nəli* (pl.) ti reed. — NWPhl. *nad*, Prs. *nai*, Khow. *nōl*, *nəl* rushes from \*Y? — V. *nai*, *nāliko*, *x<sup>o</sup>šlāniyo*.  
*nāi'lā-um* Yzh, *nēi'lō-um* sh, *nēi'lā-um*: *nēi'lavd-um* r, g, *ni'lāv*- Mm, *nīyalōv*:- *nīyalēvd* Z to make to sit down. — *zə fto nēilōum* Ysh. — \**nīyāl* < \**ni-šād*- (Or. *nōδ*- Z, but *nōθ*- Lenz. *nēθ*- Shgh., with *θ* from the intr.), or \**ni-hād*-. Cf. Av. *ni-šādāya*-. V. *niš*-.  
*nai'lō-um* Yzh to circumcise, (Psht. *sunnat kawum*); *nailevd* zh, sh circumcision, 'čulburri, da jā ki mānda' ('remains'). — \**ni-dab*? Cf. Wkh. *nədavn*-.  
*nāliko* Yzh, g calf of the leg. — Cf. *nəl*. V. *ilira*, *līnga*.  
*nəliv-um*: *nuvōst-əm* Mm, *nilv*- (ti) to lie down; : *nu'wōstiy* Yzh lying flat; *nīlv*- Z: *nuvdst* Z, G to sleep. — <sup>1</sup>*nilvā* Mti imper. 2 sg. — < Av. *ni-paiδya*:- \**ni-pasta*-. Not, with Z, connected with *nāilā*-. Cf. *nivilo*.  
*nām* Yzh, sh, *nām* G name. — *tō nām crs-mīn?* Ysh; *ba nām-e* Xadā sh. — Prs.  
*nə'māi* Yzh appears, Khow. *nayūran*; *nimēd* M(g) became known, *mālun šud*; *nəmōy*- Z to appear. — *yū ādam nəmāi*. — Cf. Prs. *numāy*:- *numūd*.  
*nīm'kālo* Yzh half-full. — Khow. *nīm-kalau*. V. *loma'len*, *nīmopir*.  
*ni'mekvika* Yzh diving. — *n<sup>o</sup> da'ham* I dive.  
*nə'mālyo* Y, <sup>1</sup>*namalgo* Mm, <sup>o</sup>*ōlyā* (g), <sup>o</sup>*olga* f. Z, <sup>o</sup>*dl'ya* G salt. — \**nama-δ(a)kā*- (v. Gauthiot, MSL, 20, 19), cf. Sgl. *nəmēγδ*, etc., Sar. *nimadj*, Sak. *namve*, etc.  
*no'mon* Yzh target. — Cf. Prs. *namūk* butt, target?

*nīmopir* half-full. — Cf. Prs. *nīm-pur*. V. *nīm'kālo*.  
<sup>1</sup>*nāmyo* Mg, ti felt. — < \**namatā*, cf. Sgl. *numōδ*. Prs. *namad*, etc. (Pali *namataka*-, etc. lww.). V. *livzin*, *yiston*.  
*na'māz* Yzh prayer. — Prs.  
*nəmāzdi'gar* Ysh, *ne'm<sup>o</sup>* zh afternoon. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*nə'miž* Yg winking, *nēmig*:- *nēmāšk' Z* to shut the eyes. — From \**ni-miž*-, or \**ni-mič*-, cf. Sogd. *nymz'y* (Benveniste, JA, 223, p. 241), Sak. *nāmājs*-, Bal. *mičāč*, Prs. *miža* eye-lashes. But Ishk. *numuž*-, Skr. *nimiš*- with *š*-.  
<sup>1</sup>*nīno* Y, <sup>1</sup>*nēno* Mm, <sup>o</sup>*a* g, <sup>o</sup>*ä* (g), <sup>o</sup>*a*, <sup>o</sup>*ā* Z, *nēn* G mother. — Cf. Prs. *nana*, Sgl., Wkh., Or., Khow. *nān*, etc.  
*nāno'γō* Yzh, p a single grain. — < *dānakā*- (v. § 135), cf. Prs. *dāna* corn, boil, Psht. dial. *nīnē* roasted grain, Waziri *nāna* grain.  
<sup>1</sup>*nina'māšcē* Yzh, <sup>o</sup>*ašcə* g, <sup>o</sup>*nina'mərə* sh, <sup>1</sup>*nīno*<sup>o</sup> r spleen. — V. *spərzə*, *šišpāzək*.  
*nar* Ysh, g, Mm, g, Z, g, *naro* Yzh, *nor* r male. — Prs., or genuine?  
<sup>1</sup>*n<sup>o</sup>ro'ū* Y, <sup>1</sup>*n<sup>o</sup>rowiy* Mm, g, <sup>o</sup>*əwi* ti, <sup>1</sup>*nə'rawəy* Z, <sup>o</sup>*āu'wī* G black; <sup>1</sup>*nord'ū* Yzh pupil of the eye; cf. *nərowi čoggō*. — < \**an-arušaka*-.? Phonetically possible; we should expect e.g. Mm \**n<sup>o</sup>ruiy*, but a change of *-uyi* > *-uwī* is conceivable. — Acc. to Hess (Orient. Stud. in Honour of C. E. Pavry, p. 139) Av. *auruša*- means 'red'; but cf. Oss. *ors*, etc. 'white'.  
<sup>1</sup>*nar'bəz* Yg he-goat. — Prs. V. *fer'γāmə*.  
<sup>1</sup>*nar'čən* Ysh, r, *yūsa'xō nār'čən* zh he-goat, one year old. — V. *ča'na*. Cf. *fer'γāmə*.

- narkaf'č'i* Yp wooden ladle without a handle, used for flour. — V. *kaf'čio*. — *nar* as a prefix indicates size or strength, v. *naraŋ'gušč*, *nari'rau*, *nar'zū*, and cf. Brahui *nar-xurūt* extra strong *khurūt*.
- nar'kirē* Yzh, sh, °ə r, °əɾə g, °iriŋ Mm, g, 'narkiri (sh), °iri (g) cock. — V. *krrio*.
- naraŋ'gušč* Yzh, sh, nər° g, naraŋ'gišt r, °gušt M(g), °gušt B thumb. — Prs. (with *št* > *šč* in early lw), cf. *ogučšo*, *usturoguščo*. V. s.v. *nar-kaf'č'i*.
- nā'ranj* Mm orange. — Ar.-Prs.
- nari'rau* Mm a kind of vegetable, *rau*. — V. *riv*.
- na'ruš* m. Z cat. — < \**nar-vuš* < °*puš*.
- nərovī čog'gō* Ysh a kind of pear. — V. *nəro'ū*.
- nar'worya* Yzh male lamb, one year old. — V. *prasi'lanē'warē*, 'warjiko.
- nar'zū* Yzh pus, matter. — Cf. Psht. *zawca*, Sak. *ysū* pus, and v. s.v. *nar'kaf'č'i*.
- nə'rīz-*: *nərizd-* Y, Mm, *nə'rīz-*: *nərizd* t, *nəriz-*: *nərizd-* Z to lick. — *nə'rīzē* Yzh pres. 3 sg. — Av. *raēz-*, Sak. *rräys-*. Sogd. *rys-*.
- 'nāsēn* Ysh, in *drust malk n° nəvu'pam* 'gāštīm sar ba sar' (?).
- nis-* Ysh to take out. — Only form noted is *nisa* imper. 2 sg. — Cf. Sogd. *n'y's*, Psht. *nis-* to take (\**ni-yās-*); Yazgh. *yas-* to take away. V. *nəvor-*.
- nosty* Mm, *nisiy* g the shady side of a valley. — Cf. Prs. *nasā(r)*, *nasar*, etc., Fars dialect *nisā*; cf. also Sgl. *nišorm*, Wkh. *niširm* and v. Par. Voc. s.v. *ni'sōr*. — V. *ničāy*.
- ni'askē* Yzh, sh, *nyoskye* g, *nies'kvīy* Mm, *niezye* (g), *niāzyila* (t) yawn. — n°
- a'vazēm* Yzh, sh, n° *kenam* Mt I yawn, n° *astet* Yg (they) yawn. —
- nasi'āt* Ysh advise. — zo *fto n° kenəm*. — Ar.-Prs.
- ni'ast*, v. *niš-*.
- niāstiko*, v. s.v. *palo*.
- nas'wār* Yzh snuff. — Hind. *nāsīwar* (Psht. lw. *nāsīwār*).
- ni'šok* Mt jaw, *nə'šāk* G cheek.
- naškel* Ysh, LSIy, °er B bad.
- ni'šān* Yzh showing. — n° *dahem*. — Prs. *našpotiy* Mm. — Prs. V. *kyo'gō*.
- ni'šāž-əm*: *nišā'žī-m* Yzh, sh, *ni'šāž-* r, *ni'žāž-əm*: *nižā'žī-m* g, *ni'jāš-um*: *nijašt-um* Mm, *ni'jōš-* (g), Z: *niješt-* Z to show. — \**ni-žāš-* (v. § 75) < \**ni-čaš-*, Sak. *nājsaš-*, cf. Z s.v.
- niv* Yzh; *nōvo* sh, r, *novə* g, *nōvē* (pl.?) sh, *novo* B rain. — *niv* *yašē* kit the rain does good. — Cf.:
- nov-ē*: *nivd-o* Yzh, sh, : *nivd-a* r, *nav-i*: *nivdo* Mm, *nāv-*: *nivd* Z to rain. — *wos novē* Yzh; *nəvdəyo šui* perf. — Cf. Sgl. *nav-*, Av. *nab-* to moisten, possibly with semantic change due to association with *nabah-* sky. Scarcely connected with Prs. *nāwīdan* to lament, as proposed by Z, nor with *nawoyōš*, etc. (q.v.).
- 'nəvyo* Y, °a Mg, 'nuygo m, 'nūvga Z beak, bill. — < \*(h)*nābakā-*, cf. Prs. *nauk*, *nōl* beak, Saka *nauhā* point (\**nabaxa-*?) and, possibly, Germ. \**nabja-* (Engl. *neb*, etc.), Lith. *snāpas*.
- 'nəvyiko* Yp n. of a pink flower, *convolvulus*? Cf. *nəvyo*.
- ni'vilo* Mti bedding; *na'wul-virga* Z bed. — \**nīpādā-* (?), cf. *nəliv-*. V. *kurpo*, *pəlās*.
- 'novnoyo* Yp, *nov'neyiko* sh pasteboard, *baxter* (v. Ill.).

*nə'vor-*: *nəvə'ɣ-* Yzh, sh, : *nu'vəɣ-um* p, *ne'ver-um* M(g), *nowur* LSIy, *nevar* m to take out, draw out. — *nə'vit* Yzh pres. 3 sg.; *xām cū nəwor* g don't take it (the bread?) out unbaked; *ʒe san'duken ʒe nəva'rum* sh I take something out of the box; *nəvur*, *nəvu'ɣam* sh pret. 1 pl.; *nuvə'ɣum* v *'kəro* Yu I took out the knife. — \**ni-bar-*, Sgl. *newar-*, Orm. *nawar-*, cf. Par. *neɣ-(?)*; Av. *niš-bar-*.

*nu'vāš-*: *nu'višć-* Yzh, sh, *nu'vōš-*: *nu'vōšī-* r, *nvaš-* g, *nu'vōš-*: *nuvašt-* Mm to comb. — *kuška n°* Yg I comb my hair. — < \**ni'paš(š)a-* (v. § 75) < \**ni-peks-*, cf. Waz. Psht. *lmēžəl*, *lmatai* (v. EVP. s.v.).

*nu'viš-*: *nu'vixt* Yzh, sh, *nūš-*: *nuxt-* g, *nu'vuš-*: *nu'vuxt-*, *nu'višky-* Mm, *nu'viš-*: *nu'vuxt-* t, *newūš-*: *newūxt-* Z, *nūša* B to write. — Not a recent lw. from Prs. *niwēsam*: *niwištan*. With *nuvuxt*, etc. cf. Sogd. *np'γšt*, *npxšt-* (v. Benveniste BSL, 29, pp. 105 sqq.).

*navišt'o ken-* Yr to write. — Prs. The compound verb is in common use in Afgh. Prs.

*nawo'ɣō* Yzh, sh, *nāw°* r, *naw'ɣo* g, *nowogo* Mm mill-race, cf. *nawdi* G 'chute d'eau'. — Not connected with *novo* rain, as suggested by G; but cf. Prs. *nāwa* gutter, tube, *Kandulāi nāūwā* 'ausgehöhlte Baumstämme die als Wasserleitung für die Wassermühlen dienen', etc. Cf. Sgl. *nə'wōk*.

*nowo'ɣo* Yzh, *noū* sh, *nū'wiy* Mm, *nove* B new. — Av. *nava* + *ka-*, Sgl. *nuwōk*, Psht. *nawai*, etc.

*nu'wāre* Yzh excuse. — *n° kenəm* I excuse myself, Khow. *išpen koman*. — Cf.

Skr. *nivartaka-* removing, abolishing, etc., *nivartana-* repenting, etc.?

*no'wisa* Yzh, °is sh, g, 'nəwus Mm, *nawiso* (g), 'nawəs Z grandson (= *pūren pūr*), nephew. — Early lw. from Prs. *nawāsa*? Cf. Sgl. *nə'wəs*, Wkh. *nə'pūs*.

*no'woso* Yg, *nuwo'iso* r, *no'wasiko* zh, *nə°* sh, 'nawəso Mm, °a Z, *nawesā(kā)* M(g) granddaughter. — Cf. *no'wisa*. *na'waxt* Yzh (too) late. — *n° ɛ-as* don't come too late. — Ar.-Prs.

*nax* Mm floor. — Khow. *nax* id., Or. *nəx* terrace, sleeping platform, Shgh. *nəx* vestibule, etc. — Cf. *naxdaru*.

*nəxć-*: *nəxćai* Yzh, *nəxć-* r, g, *nić-* M(g) to drip, to drop from the eaves. — *nəx'ćē*, *nəxć'ē* Yzh, *nəx'ćē* r, 'nići M(g) 3 sg., *nəx'ći-stə* Yr, g dur. pres. — Derivation (as a denominative) fr. \**nəx(š)ć-* < \**niš-txa-* (cf. *ava-tka-*, Wackernagel, KZ, 61, 190) is improbable.

*nəx'ćir* Ysh, Mm, g, (g), G, *nəksir* B male ibex. Prs. V. *šumānē*.

*nəx'ćir-pəzāčē* Yzh, g, °*xiē* sh male oorial (?). V. *pəzeči*. Cf. *miyo*.

*nəx'ćir-vəzo* Yr, g female ibex.

*nəx'daru* Yzh, sh, g roof-beam, *bālā-i tīr*. — Khow. *nəxdāru*. Cf. *nəx*.

*nāxun* Mm, °ən g, t, *nəxun* M(ti), °ən (g), Z nail. — Prs. V. *a'naxno*.

*nəxš* Mm, *nəxši* (g) song.

*nuxta* Mm bit of a horse (?).

*ni'x-im*: *ni'āst-əm* Yzh, g, -em: -əm sh.

*ni'x-im*: *ni'ost-am* r, : *niāst* u, 'ni'x-um:

*ni'ost-am* Mm, t, *ni'x-*: *niyōst* Z,

: *niusta* B to sit down. — *ni'x* Yzh,

Mm, *ni'xt* Z pres. 3 sg.; *ni'xa* Yzh,

sh, r, *ni'xā* sh, *niša* LSIy, *niḡa* m

imper. 2 sg.; *ni'xē* Yzh, ('maf' male)

'nišit Mm imper. 2 pl.; ni'ast šo dukan'darə Ysh he sat down (: stayed) with the shop-keeper; bād ni'ast wuro Mm then he sat down there; də ʔoi kʷei ni'astet Ysh they sat down in their own house; mai 'luʔdi ni'astat Mm these daughters sat down. But šiqkiko (yū akābur) ni'asto Ysh a woman (an old man) was sitting; loh šināmii ni'asti sh to girls were sitting (v. § 196); ni'astəʔəm Yzh, r, ni'əstəgom (g!) g I am sitting. — niš- < \*niš- < \*ni-k(i)š-, cf. Shgh. neš-. ni'ast- < \*ni-hasta- (Sbgh. nūst), or, more prob., < \*ni-šasta- (Sgl. ni'lōst, Sar. nālūst). — Cf. Sgl. niš-, Wkh. nezd-. V. nāi'lā.

nī'ya Y, Mm, °o g sour milk, dūy. — \*nītaka-, cf. Sgl. nīduk, Sak. nīye. Connected with the Kafiri-Dardic words: Kalasha nīu (nīl-), Kati nīvd, etc., Dameli nīt id.: cf. Skr. (nava-) nīta- fresh butter.

nīyā-əm G I plant. — Early lw. from W. Ir. \*ni-dā-?

nāi'zo Yzh, r, na° sh, nāi'za Mm spear. — Prs. 'nūzda Mg, (g), °da (sh) 19. — Prs. naz'dik Yzh, sh, r, nə° g near. — mo ādam n° Yzh; mind ādamen n° astet sh. — Prs.

nez'yo Yzh, nr° sh, nəz'yo r, g, nəz'ya Mg, 'nizyā (g), 'niyzo m, 'nāzūk G nasal mucus. — \*nēz-(d)gā < nāstikā-? Cf. Par. nēšt nose < \*nāstī-.

nā'žan Ysh irrecongnisable, strange. — zo n° winəm I see something strange. — Khow.

## P

pə Y at, on, for, pə Z with. — V. § 219. — Av. paiti.

'plo Yzh, pī əy Z rotten; pīy- Z to rot. — Cf. Sgl. pū-, Wkh. pitk, Shgh. pūdj (v. Z s.v.), Av. pav-. Reg. ū > t v. § 150.

pə'cəg-am: pəcə'gī-m Yzh, pəz'g-am: pəz'gī-im sh, pəcəgiy-em(?): pəcəgiy em Mm, : 'psāgi-am t, pəcig'-: pəcig'əy- Z to cut, cleave, burridan, Khow. čhīnik. — mən lo'šo pəz'gyo sh I cut the rope, pəz'gyō-m sh it cut me(?): pəzgi'et sh they cut (bridan); pəcigyo zh 'burrida šud' (intr.?). — Cf. pəcīš-: pəcīšk' Z to be torn. — pəcəy-. etc. < \*patsind-, \*pati-synda- (v. § 121), pəcīšk' < \*pati-systa- (v. § 131), pəcīš-, if = \*pəcīš-, might be a secondary present, as \*pati-syd(y)a would result in \*pəcīl-. Cf. Prs. gusilam (Horn. Np. Et., 922).

pəç Yzh, pəç sh, r, g, piç B hot. — Khow. pəç. V. garm, suzōn.

pəio Yzh frostbitten, Khow. čōistai. — Cf. čiy.

piç'ilī Yp a plant with yellow flowers and thick edible leaves. — Khow. piçili šax purslain, xulfa.

pəurma Mt four days ago. — V. čurmō. 'pādo f. Yzh, sh, pa° g, r, B, pōndo Mm, °ə g, 'pōda Z, pāda G road, path (the Milky Way Yr, cf. Gawar Bati Phont id.). — dur luro pādo šom Ysh I have walked far to-day; ra'he šūi, da p° aʔdi he started and came out to the road. — Av. pantā etc. (Ostyak pant from Ir.?).; cf. Z s.v. Note the fem. gender (also in Sak. pande and in Psht. plā), the existence of which in Ir. renders doubtful Bloch's explanation of the fem. in Kafiri (Kati put, etc.) and Dardic (Studia indo-iranica, p. 19). Reg. Av. nt cf. § 120.

*pai'dā* Ysh, r appearing, born. — *pūr*  
*p° šūi* sh a boy was born; *jiŋko*  
*zə'mōn pai'dā kit r* the woman bears  
 a child; *zə'mōn pai'dāi* (?). — Prs.

*pa'dreško* Yzh, sh small wooden milk-  
 bowl. — \**pari-dāsyā-kā* (cf. § 127),  
 cf. Prs. *dās* pot, *pan??* — V. *xšir-*  
*kvesa*.

*'pādšā* Yzh, u, °*šā* sh, *pōd'šō* Z king.  
 — *yū pādšā pūr*, *pādšāan pūr* a  
 prince; *max yū pādšā astet* you have  
 got a king; *na pād'šāan l'et* they  
 gave it to the king. — Prs.

*pu'f-um*: *pu'fāi-m* Yzh, : *p'u'fōi-m* M(g),  
*puf*: *pufōy*-Z *phūa* B (but *pufa* to  
 burn!) to blow, breathe. — Onomato-  
 poetic, cf. Sgl., Or. *puf*-etc. (v. Z s.v.).

*pu'fānek* M(g) a kind of mushroom. —  
 Cf. Taj. *pufuk* mushroom. V. *puf*-.

*pai'far* Yzh, sh, *pāifār* r, *pāi'fer* *za'mīn*  
 g steep hillside, *pēfer* B mountain.  
 — Tomaschek (BB, VII, p. 197)  
 writes *péver*, and compares Av.  
 “*pawra*.”!

*'paga* Yzh horse-race. — *p° ya'zavdum*.  
 — Khow.

*pāg'zo* Yzh, *pāki'zo* sh, *pagi'zō*, *pazγō* r,  
*paz'go* g, *pāki'zā* Mm, °*i'za* G, *paγzγo* (!)  
 B clean. — *you pazγō šūi* r. — Prs.  
*pākīza*, and Khow. *paz'gā*, *pag'za*  
 (fr. Prs.).

*pīy* Yzh onion. — Possibly < \**pitāka*-, or  
 \**piy°*; cf. Prs. *piyāz*, Phl. *pidāč* (with  
 dialectical development of -t-?), or  
*piy°*; cf. Yazgh. *pi'yēg* (Sköld).

*'puγo* Yzh, *po'yo* sh, r, g, *'pσyo* Mg,  
 °*a* (g), °*ya* t, (ti), *puγo* m, *'pəga* f. Z,  
 °*ya* G, *pegāh* LSI m long hair,  
 woman's hair. — \**pākkā*?

*pā'yālyo*, v. *čār-p°*.

*pai'γumbar* Ysh prophet. — Prs.

*puka'ra* Yp leather strap placed between  
 the two strings of a pellet-bow. —  
 Cf. *p°korē*; Khow. *apaq*, Palola *dhat*  
 also mean both 'mouth' and 'strap  
 of a pellet-bow'.

*p°korē* Yzh, *pu'korə* sh, *pu'kor* r, *pkor* p,  
 LSIy, *ku'pōr* Yg, *pūxor* B mouth;  
*ku'por* Mm, *k°pər* g, t, ti, *ku'par* m.  
 Z lip. — < Anc. Prs. *patikara*-  
 picture, cf. Prs. *paikar* picture, coun-  
 tenance, face. From 'face' to 'mouth',  
 'lip' the semantic development is  
 possible. V. *yirv*, *pōršik*.

*pa'koγo* Yzh, sh, g, *pa'kol* r, *pa'külo* Mm,  
*pā'küla* Z wooden cap. — Cf. Khow.  
*pha'kol*, Madaglashti *pākūl*, Shgh.,  
 Ishk. *paköl*, etc. — Y *pa'koγo* must  
 be an ancient lw.

*po'kor* Yzh rung of a ladder.

*pokv* Yp, *pokef* (obl. pl.) LSIy husks. —  
 Khow. *phōt*. Cf. *sabūstaf*, *pa'lo*.

*pa'kviky* Yzh, sh, *po'kvukv* Mm, *po'kik*  
 m. Z woman's cap, veil, *burqa*.

*pa'lau* Yzh pillau. — Prs.

*'palē* Yzh, sh straw of wheat, etc. —  
 \*IA, cf. Skr. *pala*-straw?

*pa'lo* Yzh husks.

*'palo* Yzh, *po'lo* sh, *'pō°* r, g, *'pālo* Mm,  
 °*ε* g, °*ä* (g), °*ē* ti, °*a* t, Z, °*la* G  
 foot. — *niästiko pālef dīzo* Yp  
 squatting. — \**pādā*-, cf. Av. *pad(a)*-,  
 Sgl. *pūδ*, Wkh. *pū'd*, etc.

*'pil-em*: *'pišē-im* Yzh, : *'piškv-em* M(g)  
 to break wind. — Av. *parəd*- (*pərəda*-).  
 V. *pilyo*.

*pol* Yzh footprint. — Av. *pada*-, Wkh.  
*pod*, Prs. *pai*, etc.

*pōlə bō'ōkə* Yr ankle-bone. — V. *b'ok*.  
*plāc* Yzh Kafir cheese. — Kati *pr'oc*.  
 Is also Psht. *pōca* cream-cheese, curds  
 a lw. from Kafiri?

*pe'licio* Yzh, g, °iä M(g) fir-tree, torch.  
— Cf. Khow. *pūīē* (Lor.) fir-tree,  
torch? Ancient *d* > Y—M *l*, Khow.  
*y*. But *c*: *ē* and the vocalism?

*pū'lād* Yzh, sh, g, °ōd r, *fū'lād* Mm,  
*fə°* G steel. — Khow., Madaglashti,  
and Wakhi have forms in *p*-, but  
Sgl., Badakhshi, Taj. have forms in *f*-.

*pilf* Yzh, sh, r, *pəlf* g ford. — *pilf*  
*noyora ēi* sh the stream cannot be  
forded. — Av. *pərətu-*, *pərəθw-*, *hu-*  
*pərəθw(y)a-* (v. §§ 102, 128). V. *gu'zar*.

*pa'le o'guščo* Yg toe. — Cf. *'palo*.

*'pilyo* Yzh, *'pilyiä* Mg a flatus. — *wos*  
*p° lakam* M(g). — Cf. *pil*.

*pilo'yo* Yzh, *pe'lōyo* r wooden cup;  
*pə'lōyiko* p small wooden tray, smaller  
than a *poško* (q.v.); *piš'lega* Z, *piyāle'ga*  
G cup. — Early lw. fr. Prs. *piyāla*,  
cf. Wkh. *pil*.

*'pāliko* Yzh foot-board of a loom. — Cf.  
*'palo*.

*pə'lək* Yzh, *pu'lək* Mm, *pə'lək* t, *pr'lek*  
(g), *pə'luk* Z, G eyelashes. — Prs.  
*palak*. V. *pa'naxko*.

*'poləm* Yzh, sh, *polm* sh, r, *pal'm* Mm  
soft, smooth, fine. — *polm kiřəm* =  
*ylřəm* Yg I ground; *γau polmo šūi* r;  
*γūen polma* g the lobe of the ear. —  
Cf. Khow. *'pālom* (*pAdum*, *pAlum*  
Lor.) smooth, Wkh. *pal(a)m* soft,  
smooth, fine powder (and Prs. *palm*  
dust, earth?). But Sar. *pādm* soft,  
smooth. Originally belonging to a  
dialect with *l* < *δ*? Note also  
Oss. *fælmæn* soft (*fælm* fog).

*pilam'ru* Yzh cloak, *čakman*; *pilamru*  
*wurž* sh woollen thread, *pilamūi*  
(: *pilamrūi*?) *žōγ* sh man's cloak. —  
Cf. Burushaski *pilam* woollen home-  
spun.

*pa'lan* Yzh, sh, g, °ān u saddle; *pōlon*  
Mm, g, ti donkey-saddle. — *vo yaspə*  
*pa'lān ži'ō* Yu he saddled the horse.  
— Prs. *pālān* (from a dialect with  
*l* < *δ*, cf. Wkh. *pōdn*?).

*pa'lang* Yzh, sh, *pə'long* r, *plang* g,  
M(sh), *pə'lang* m, g leopard. — Prs.  
V. *āzāda-p°*, *xar-pəlang*.

*'plār*: *prist* Yzh, sh, r, *pə'rist* g, *pə'lār*:  
*prüst* Mm, *pə'lōr-am*: *pə'rist-am* t,  
*pə'lōr*: *pə'rist* Z, *pə'lār*- G to sell. —  
*pə'ler* Yzh pres. 3 sg.; *mən wo prēstani*  
sh I sold it. — < \**parād*: \**parāsta*.  
*parād* has been abstracted from the  
weak form of athematic Av. *para-dā*-  
and has been treated as a simple  
verbal stem. Cf. Psht. *prōləl*-, *plōrəl*  
(with the same metathesis as in  
Y—M, v. § 137); Sogd. *pr'δ*-, Sak.  
*parā*-, Orm. *prāy*-, Gypsy of Qain  
*parū-īdan* (?). — Shgh. *parādād* <  
\**para-dada*-, Sgl. *parde* < \**para-*  
*daya*-, Wkh. *pürüt*k < \**para-rātaka-*  
*püründ* < \**para-rand* (?).

*pə'larz-əm*: *pə'lišč-em* Yzh, *pə'lōrz-əm*  
M(g) to wrap up (a bundle). — Cf.  
Sgl. *pēžl*- id., Prs. *padarza*, a wrapper,  
*payarza* a bundle, Psht. *blēždəl* to  
swaddle; Orm. *palašt*- 'to wring,  
fold' (< \**pari-dyšta*?).

*pə'lās* Y, °as Mm blanket, mattress made  
of goat's hair. — Prs. *palās*.

*pə'lāstiko* Yzh, *pə°* sh, *pa'lasto* Mm  
armlet. — Cf. *lasto*.

*pām* Y, *pām* Mm, *pōm* g, Z, G wool. —  
Cf. Sgl. *pām*, Prs. *pašm*, Bal. *phīm*,  
Oss. *fūsm*, *fāns*, etc.

*'puma* Mm, g, °ä (g) avalanche. < \**piš-*  
*man*-, cf. Skr. *piṣ*- to crush?

*'pumbaraš* Yzh beacon, bonfire. — Khow.  
*pūmbaraš*.



*'peno* Yzh, *'pə<sup>o</sup>* g, *pa<sup>o</sup>* r, *pənə* sh, *'pēno* Mm, *əä* (g), *'penä* t, *'pēnē* g, *əe* ti, *pēna* G palm of the hand. — There is no trace of *r* in Ir.: Shgh. *bēn*, Wkh. *pun*, Kurd. *pani*, *panadest*, Phl. Psalter *pn'*. (Reg. Av. *pərənā*-, which has been transl. 'palm' v. Meillet, MSI, 20, p. 290).

*pu'inē* Yzh, *əi* sh bellows. — Khow. *phu'ini*.

*'pānjəmo* Mm five days ago. — \**pančamā*.

*pa'nīr* Y, Mm, Z, G cheese. — Prs.

*pānš* (*pān'š*) Yzh, g, *ənj* sh, r, u, LSI<sub>m</sub>, *ənc* Yp, *pōnž* Mm, *ənc* g, t, (sh), *ənš* (g), *pānc* Z, G five. — *pānj ru'pūyo* Ysh; *pānj wulē* u. — Av. *panča*.

*pe'nāxko* Yzh, *pä<sup>o</sup>* g, *pa'nāxko* r eye-lashes. — < \**paš(m)ara* + *kā-*, cf. Av. *pašna-*.

*pōnzda* Mg, (g) fifteen. — Prs.

*pānžwist* Yzh, *pānj<sup>o</sup>* r 100. — V. *sad*.

*'pānjo* Yzh, g, *pani'o* sh, *'pānžyo* Mm, *əf* g, *əgiyā* (g), *əa* t, *pān'gve* ti, *'pan'g'a* Z heel. — \**pāršniyā-*, cf. Shgh. *pērnak*, Av. *pāšna-*, etc.

*'pānā* Yzh, *əə* g, *'pīnə* sh, r, *pūnžy* Mm, *pī<sup>o</sup>* g, *pīnky* (sh), *pūna* B feather. — Cf. Par. *pōn*, etc. < Av. *parəna-*.

*pə'nək* Yzh, sh, u, *pə'nək* r, p, *pū'nək* g leaf. — *vo čirief la pənəkaf... yurd* Yu he took the apricots together with the leaves. — Cf. Sak. *pārra-*, Psht. *pāna*, etc.

*pāp* Y, *pāp* Mm, G, *pāp* M(g), Z grand-father (paternal and maternal). — Cf. Wkh. *pūp*, Arm. *pap*, but v. Sgl. *bōbō*, etc.

*'pāpəs* Yzh, *'pa<sup>o</sup>* g, *pā'pus* sh, *pa'pūs* r, *'papəs* Mm lung. — IA (cf. e.g.

*Ashkun pa'pus*); but the Khow. word is now *Asqār*. V. *dil-i žigar*, *šuš*.

*'pāru* Y, *pō'ru* m. Z horse-dung. — Cf. Ishk. *'pōru*, Badakhshi *pārūb*, Taj. *pōrū* (Z, Semenov, etc.). But Prs. *pārō(b)* (\**pāda-raupa-* 'what is swept off at one's feet?'), diall. *pōrū* wooden shovel, *pārūca* vessel to carry earth and clay? V. *xaškən*.

*'pero* Yzh podex, *'pēro* Mm, *əa* g, Z, *əe* Mti, *'perē* t, *'pērā* (g) hip. — Cf. Phl. *pārak*, *parik* (Tavadia, Šāyast-nē-šāyast, p. 87). Connection with Skr. *pāli-* margin, edge, bosom is not prob. — V. *'pišcan*, *mīzistē*.

*pīro* B, *pīra* LSI<sub>m</sub>, *wa pīr* y before, earlier; *pīra-was'ta* G forwards. — < Av. *paurvya-*? Cf. Sak. *pīro* before, in front, Shgh. *pīrō* before (ABC, pp. 32, 41).

*pīr* Yzh, sh, r, *pār* zh, g, *pur* Mm, Z, G full. — *pār kenēm* Yzh I fill; *pār šət* sh many came, *'pur šudan*, *bisyar āmadan*. — Prs.

*pu'ra-um*: *pr're'i-m* Yzh, *pu'rā-am*: *purvi'am* sh, *'prāv-am*: *pār'vī-əm* r, *pu'rōv-um*: *pur'vī-um* Mm, *p'rōv*: *pār'vī* t: *pār'vī-* (g), *p'rōv*: *pārvey* Z, : *perwī-* LSI<sub>y</sub>, *priria* B to find, obtain. — *p'rēvd* zh pres. 3 sg., *p'ravēt* 3 pl.: *é-pur'viam* sh 'na *yāftim*'; *é-purviayāf* perf. 'na *yāfta būdid* (!). — < \**pari-ap-*, cf. Wkh. *parvē am* to attain (v. Z s.v.)?

*pūr* Y, M (Ysh, g also *pū!*) son, B boy, *pūser* (? B son. — *žA mən yū pū!* (*am'boh pūrē*) *astēt* Ysh I have one son (many sons); *tu mun pū!* sh you are my son; *mən nə pūrən amūno kām* sh I gave my son an apple: *āi pūrē* sh o sons; *no xoi pūrēf* sh

- to his own sons; *wo* 'mun 'pūrəf  
*u'sāwa* sh call my sons; *pūr*, *pūrən*,  
*pūrē*, *pūrəf* r; *yū* 'pūr, *ī'roi* 'pūri  
 Mm; *pūr kir* (g) she bore a son. — Av.  
*puθra-*, Wkh. *pəty*, etc., but Sgl. *zōt*.  
 'pūra Yzh son. — Demin of *pūr*. Cf.  
 s.v. *vən*.
- 'parčam Yzh a girl's front-lock, °čām r  
 a lock of hair. — Prs.
- par'guščē Yzh, sh, 'parguškvīy Mm, g,  
 °gīškv ti, °guš'kvī G, *porgušču* LSIy  
 finger-ring. — Cf. Khow. lw. *puluq*-  
 'guštu, Wkh. *pļōngōšt* and Yazgh.  
*pər'waxt*. The forms with *l* are prob.  
 of Prs. origin, with *pul-* *pal-* < *pari-*,  
 just as in *palwanda* bale, bundle;  
*palāhang* bridle, halter (*āhang* tether),  
*palandīn* lintel, jambs of a door (cf.  
 Av. *aiθya-*). But I cannot find Prs.  
*pulangūst* mentioned by G.
- pārγ Y, pōry Mm, g, *porγ* Z, *pōrk* G,  
*perx* B mouse. — 'pārγe *noγo'γst* Ysh;  
 'fāto *wo* 'parγəf he seized the mice.  
 — Cf. Sgl. *pōrk*, Wkh. *purk*, and v.  
 Notes on Shgh. s.v. *pūrg*.
- 'poruy Yzh, sh, 'peruy m. Z bolt of a  
 door. — \**pati-ruga-*, cf. Greek λύπος  
 flexible twig, etc., possibly connected  
 with Engl. *lock*, etc.?
- poruy'lan Yzh, sh hole fore the door-  
 bolt. — V. *poruy*; cf. § 145.
- pīra'hān Yzh, sh, *pīra'ān* r, 'pīran Mm  
 shirt, *pī'rān* m. Z woman's shirt. —  
 p° *lī'o* Ysh. — Prs.
- parkand LSIy half. — *loh rupeo* p° 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>  
 rupees. — Cf. Phl. \**kand* fragment (?)  
 (cf. Nyberg, Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift.  
 1934, 2, p. 67)?
- 'purum Yzh, sh cotton, mattress filled  
 with cotton-wool, *paata*. Khow.  
*purum* cotton fibre (Lor.).
- pa'rinda Ysh, *parandagi* LSI m bird. —  
 Prs.
- pa'ranjiko Yzh steep part of a road on  
 the face of a cliff, *parri*. — Cf. Skr.  
*parana-* crossing?
- prenjī'o Yzh, *pran'* sh, r, 'prenjio,  
 °jīko g she-goat, one year old. —  
 \**parana-čī-* belonging to last year,  
 cf. Psht. *parūn* yesterday, etc.?
- parə'paŋi Ysh boil, sore. — Khow. *pər'pat*  
 (Lor.), *parpaŋ* small-pox, or a similar  
 disease.
- 'pārsē Y, *par'siy* Mm, *pōr'siy* g rough  
 roof-beam. — \**pārsaka-*, but cf. Khow.  
*isprāsk*, ceiling, Wkh. *sipask*, Shgh.  
*sipāsc* rafter < \**us-parsa-ka-(čī-)*?
- pr's-əm Yzh, *pər's-əm* sh, g, r : 'pist-əm  
 Y, G, 'purs-əm : *pist-əm* Mm, *pərs-*  
*pēst-*, *pist* Z to ask. — *zo vto* *pr's-əm*  
 Yzh, *zo fto* *pər's-əm* sh; *zə* *pər's-əm-istə*  
 sh I am asking; *wōi* *pər'se* sh ask  
 him (2 pl.); *pād'sāen* *pist'tō* sh, u  
 the king asked; *zənief* *pist'tet* sh the  
 daughters-in-law asked; *pistəyəm* r I  
 have asked. — Cf. Wkh. *purs* : *purst*,  
 Sgl. *fəros* : *fərot*, Av. *pərəsa-* : *paršta-*.  
*pərsə'yē* Y, 'pursəgo Mm, °aya g, 'pūr-  
*sāyā* (g), 'pursəyē t, *pursi ga* f. Z rib.  
 — Av. *pərəsu-*, cf. Wkh. *purs*, Oss.  
*pārsk*.
- pra'sāl Y, *prə'sāl* Mt, 'presōl Z last  
 year. — \**para-sarda-*, cf. Orm. *prasul*,  
 Prs. *pārsāl*. V. *yū'dūr sāl*.
- prasi'lanē warē Ysh male lamb, one  
 year old. — \**para-sydanaka-* (cf.  
 \**syda-* in Orm. *prasul*, Par. *paγāsuy*  
 last year). Cf. *af'sinyo* (v. § 126).  
 V. *prenjī'o*, *warjiko*, *nar-worya*.
- prə'sū Yzh skirting board of eaves. —  
 Khow. *prēsū* (Lor.).
- pər'sik Yzh, g, p, *bo* (?) sh, *pā*° B lip.

- Reichelt (ZII, 7, p. 149) compares Sogd. *prš* lip. Tomaschek (BB. 7, p. 200) assumes that the original meaning was 'rim' and compares. Av. *pərəsu-* (v. WP. II, p. 44 sq.). But *rš*? — V. s.v. *p<sup>o</sup>korē*.
- p<sup>o</sup>rivur* Mm, *'privər* g cow-house. — With *v* for *w* (cf. *γavo*) < Av. *pairivāra-*, Prs. *parwār* stable. Cf. Waz. Psht. *vrōrai* shelter for cattle in the hills < \**frawāraka-*.
- parvardi'gār* Ysh creator. — *ai p<sup>o</sup>*. — Prs.
- par'vaǰin* Yzh, *par'voǰ(ɾ)na* g, *ziken* *pər'veǰina* sh knee-cap; *par'wǰǰin* zh, sh, *par'vaǰin* p the wheel of the spinning-wheel (v. Ill.); *perwakin* B round. — The original meaning appears to be 'round'; < \**paripašana-* 'wide'? — Cf. Portuguese, etc. *rodella* knee-cap < *roda*.
- par'wāno* Yr moth. — Prs. V. *kautia*.
- par'waxšē* Yzh, g, r, *wašē*(?) sh, *parwoxšiy* Mm, g broom. — Connection with Av. *vaxš-* 'to sprinkle' is uncertain, but not impossible.
- pər'wiž*: *pərwoǰd* Z to sift. — \**pariwaik-* (v. Z s.v.) cf. Wkh. *pərwič-*, Afr. Psht. *parwēzal*.
- pərx*, *pərǰ* f. Z hoarfrost, hail. — Besides Shgh. *perǰ*, etc. mentioned by Z, cf. also Psht. *parxa*, *pərxwā*, Orm. *purxo*, Prs. *barx*, *burx*, Sak. *pruhadew* (Oss. lw. *pīrx*, *purx(ä)* spray, etc.?). — It is doubtful whether Prs. *puž*, *paž* sleet is connected with *pərx*. (From Ir. Syryen *puž*, Wotyak *pužmer* hoarfrost?). — Cf. further Prs. *paš(t)ak*, *apšak* hoarfrost, *parš* brook, fountain (v. Horn, Np. Et. s.v.) Kurd. *purša* sleet, Cheremis lw. *pörš* hoarfrost, Skr. *pruṣvā-*, *pr'ṣva-* rime. Cf. *praž'γār*. — A most complicated group of words!
- pa'rāyasti* Mg collar-bone. — V. *fīzyasti*, *šūiko*.
- pari'zāt(ə)* Yu fairy. — *p<sup>o</sup>* *nə'γor*; *vo p<sup>o</sup>* *suwār kəp*. — Prs.
- praž'γār* Yzh, sh, *prežgā* B dew. — Khov. *praž'γār*, possibly from Ir. (Tomaschek, BB. 7, p. 197). Cf. *pərx*. V. *nəb*, *šak'lām*.
- par'žin* Ysh, *in zh*, p enclosure for sheep, Psht. *špōl*. — Cf. Turf. Phl. *prčyn* hedge, Kündulāi, etc. *pärčün* thorn-hedge, Bakhtiyari *paržin* bramble, etc.; poss. also Sak. *pār-gyāni-* f. garden. — From *pari-či-*, cf. Prs. *paržidan* to repair a well. Cf. *lažino*.
- parži'nē* Yp thorn-hedge.
- prāγ-* Yzh to bleat. — *vəzo* *'prāγē* = *γə'nilē*. Cf. Khov. *blayēik*.
- pāi'sō* Yzh, *paisa* M money, coin. — *yū* *surx p<sup>o</sup>* sh a copper. — IA.
- pas'mīno* Yzh above, *bālā*. — Cf. *as'mīno*.
- pas'mīnaka* Yzh steep. — V. *pas'mīno*.
- pas'pōn* Z patch of cloth. — Z compares Shgh., Or. *pesūn*, Yazgh., Wkh. *pəšīn*, Prs. *pīna*. Cf. also Sar. *psaun*. — M. *sp*, Wkh. *š* would point to ancient \**kū* (Av. *apa-spā-*, etc. has probably ancient *sp*). Shgh. < \**ps(p)ōn*?
- psaro* B below, before (locally), LSI down. V. *sāro*.
- 'pusur* Y, *pūsər* Mm, g, ti, *or t*, *'pūser* (g), *'pusər* m. Z, *'pūsə* G head. — \**pāti-sarah*? Cf. Par. *pīsār* forehead, Sogd. *pts'r'k* head.
- 'pūsura* Yp protruding piece of wood affixed to the foot-board of the spinning wheel and carrying the spindle (v. Ill.). V. *pusur*.

*psāt* Ysh immediately, *p<sup>2</sup>sā* Mt now. — *p<sup>2</sup>sā-yim* Mt *ālī raftam*; *psāt tišim* Ysh I am falling now. — Cf. Sgl. *psāt*, fr. Prs. \**ba-sā'at*.  
*'pastē* Yzh, °*tē* p round iron girdle.  
*pās'tā* Mm pistachio. — Prs.  
*pis'to* Yzh, g, *pōstiyiki* pl. r, *'pūs'to* Mm, °*ā* Z, °*a* G bark of a tree, *pisto* Yp walnut-shell. — Lw's, of varying age, fr. Prs. Or < \**pāstā*, Av. *pasta*, cf. Sar. *pāsk* cow hide < \**pastaka*?  
*pistd'ū* Yzh, *pisto* B flat, *maidān*. Cf.: *post* Y, Mm, *past*, *'pasta* Z low; *past* Mg floor; *past* G below. — Prs.  
*pistd'ū-yar* Yzh flag-stone. — Cf. *pistd'ū*.  
*'pistān* Yzh, g, °*ān* sh, r, °*en* Mm udder. — Not direct from Av. *fštāna-* (v. *iš'cīn*), but influenced by \**payah-milk*, cf. Sgl. *pēštān*, Sar. *vistān* (Bellew), Prs. *pistān*. Oss. *fāzdon* has prob. been associated with *-don* receptacle. Khorasani *pistun* (Ivanow) 'store room' originally 'milk room'?  
*pšā'i* Yzh, *pišai* B ripe. — \**pašaka(hya)* < \**pačya-*, cf. Prs. *puxtān* to ripen.  
*'paš-em*: *paš'im* Yzh, sh to dig. — Khow. *pašiman*.  
*pašə* Mg mosquito. — Prs. V. *maxšē*.  
*pāš* Yzh, *'pašo* r snare. — Khow. *phāš*, *pāš*.  
*piš'čō* Yzh, sh, r, *p<sup>2</sup>o* g, *piš'kvo* Mm, *pūškva* g, t, *piškva* ti, *pəš'kva* G back. — \**pršti-* + *ā-*, cf. Av. *paršti*. V. *har'kō*.  
*pūšc* Y flour made from dried apples. — Cf. Prs. *pist*, Ishk. *put*, Wkh. *pōst*, Shgh. *pišt* parched grain; v. Par. Voc. s.v. *pišt*. — Cf. *talkān*, *tū-puškvy*.  
*'pišcān* Yzh, r, *pišcān* sh, g, *'piškven* Mm, g, t, ti, °*ēn* (g), *'peškan* Z thigh;

*pišcēn* B leg. — *da p<sup>o</sup> bļok* Yg hip. — < Av. *paitištāna-*, v. EVP. s.v. *patūn*.  
*piš'ko* Y (sh also *p<sup>u</sup>o*), *piškvo* Mm, °*d* g, °*a* t, G, *'puška* Z cat. — *wo p<sup>o</sup> la'kəy* Ysh he let loose the cat; *yū p<sup>o</sup> no-won l'ō* sh he gave him a cat. — Cf. Sgl. *pūš*, Wkh. *piš*, and v. Z s.v. *poškō* Ysh, p, *pəš'ko* zh, r, *'paxškvo* Mm, *'paxsk'a* (s!?) Z large wooden tray, *tabaka*; *'pōško* Yzh washing basiu. — *no poškē*, *tro pošk'əf* Ysh. Z compares Prs. *paxš* trodden, expanded (which is possible), and Bal. *pačag* to boil.  
*pūš'āk* Ysh dress. — Prs.  
*'pəškedrī* Yzh, g, *piškədrī* sh, *pəšgirdio* r, *'puško* Mm, g, *'puška* f. Z dung of goats and sheep. — Cf. Prs. *pušk*, etc. With the second element cf. Shgh. *šid*, Wkh. *šart*, Sgl. *wudrī*, etc.?  
*pāškus'ti* Yp stick fastened to the *kušcō* (q.v.). V. III.  
*piške-zē* Yzh, *piškva-zūi* Mm kitten. — V. *zīy*.  
*pšānē* Yzh, °*ə* r, *p<sup>2</sup>šānə* sh, °*i* g, *pišāni* Mm, g, t forehead. — Prs.  
*pāš'no* Yr heel. — Prs. V. *pānio*.  
*pēš'in* Mm, (g) afternoon. — Prs. V. *iziānē*.  
*pišwō'zī* Mm vestibule. — \*Prs., cf. Prs. *pēšwāz* going out to meet somebody. — V. *as'tano*.  
*pišawiz* Yzh, °*wiz* sh buckle of a belt. — Prs. \**pēš-āwēz*, cf. *āwēz* a hook for hanging something on.  
*'pi'tou* Y, *'pitou* Mm, g the sunny side of a valley or hill. — Prs. *patau*, Sgl. *pitār*, etc.  
*pāta'cūr* Yzh pheasant (not found in Lutkoh). — Khow. *badačūl*, *batačūl*.

*'pateko* Mm pea, *Lathyrus sativus*. — Cf. Sgl. *paṭək*, v. *Agricult. Afghanistan*, p. 337 ("patok").

*pulk* Mg anvil. — Cf. Wkh. *pulk* anvil (Bellew), but Prs. *putk*, Shgh. *pulk* (*māš niṣṣōn ḍarv at pulk* 'our emblem is the sickle and the hammer' abc-book, p. 28), hammer. What is the nature of the connection between the forms in *t* and *l*?

*pa'tarē* Y roof-beam. — \**patitaraka* 'cross-beam', cf. Wkh. *patari* rafter, and Prs. *tīr* < \**tyra*.

: *ptrəmd-o* Yu seized, imprisoned, *parka-mān kat* (?). — Cf. Wkh. *pūtrūm-* to arrest.

*pəti'sā-um*: *pəti'savd-um* Yzh, *pəti'sō um* r to tear (a rope, string, etc.). — Denom. from *pətišć*.

*pətišć(ē)* Yzh, r broke, was torn, *kand*. — *mən lo'sō pətišć zh* my rope broke. — < \**pəti-tysta-*, cf. Prs. *iftālīdan*, Par. *tār-*, Sar. *zdeig-*, Or. *zidarδ-* (\**us-tyd-*?) to break, split.

*paita'wo* Yzh, sh puttees. — Khov. *paita'va*, fr. Prs. *pāy-tāba*.

*pa'težo* Mm, *'pātežä* (g), *pa'teža* Z she-calf, one year old. — < \**pəti-tāci-*, connected with Prs. *tāza* fresh, young?? — V. *fəryōmčək*, *mīšćiyiko*.

*pōṭ* Yzh bent, crooked. — IA.?

*prṭi'o* Yzh, sh fresh, or moistened *riška* (a kind of horse-fodder); IA?

*prṭi'o* Yzh necklace.

*pai'xō* Yp unthreshed grain, straw with the corn. — \**pəti-xwahā*.

*pīx* Yr span from thumb to index-finger. — Cf. Sgl. *pēx*. < \**paixa-*, connected with Av. *pixa* knot, joint (in a reed)? Cf. the semantic development of Skr. *pārvan-*.

*pxuf-*: *pxuft-* Ysh, : *puxuft zh*, : *pxuft* Mm to get tired, *partau šudan*; *pə'xuftəy* Z, *poxufta* B, *xəf'ta* (?) G tired. — From Prs. (?) \**pauxfta* < Av. \**paiti-xapta-*?

*paxta'i wirž* Mg cotton thread. — Prs. *paxta* cotton. — V. *šišo'yun*, *wu'sūles*. *poxa'yak* Yzh temples; *'pxoyak* g top of the head.

*pīx* Yzh, sh, *pīx* r, *pīxe* (pl.?) g, *pux* Mm, *pūx* Z, G, *piš* B arrow, bullet (G, B only bullet); *drum-pīx* Ysh, *las-pīx* B arrow; *piž-'yar* Yg bullet ('arrow-stone'). — Cf. Sogd. *p'δ*, Oss. *fat*, Shgh. *pāḍ*, Sar. *pūḍ*, etc., poss. Sgl. *pəcūn*. Arm. *patkan* fr. Ir. — Ir. \**pāḍa-* from Skr. *pāta-* flying + Av. (*para-*)*paḍvant-* flying away (from bow-string)?

*piš'o'yo* Yzh, *piž'yo* sh saliva. — \**pəu-*, v. *tfə*, and cf. Orm. *putu*.

*peṣiko* Yzh snare. — Cf. Shgh. *pēḍ* < \**pāḍya-*. V. NTS, I, 65.

*pa'xəy* Z, *pa'ha*, *pa'xa* G wide, broad. — < \**paḍaka-*, cf. Sogd. *p'ḍk*. Most Ir. forms are derived from Av. *paḍana-*, but cf. Sgl., etc. *pām*.

*'pōya* Yzh, sh, r, *'paya* g, °o Mg sour milk, *māst*. — Cf. Sgl. *ṭōi*, Wkh. *pāi*, etc. < Av. *payah-*.

*pū'iz* Y autumn. — Prs. V. *tīramā*.

*pu'zē* Yzh, *'pūzə* sh, r, g falcon, *bāša*, Khov. *yurž*. — Fr. Prs. *bāz*, with substitution of *p* for *b* at a time when no initial *b* existed in Y. — V. *bāšo*.

*pəzg-*, v. *pəcəg-*.

*paizanē* Yzh autumn wheat. V. *pā'iz*.

*pə'zēx* Yzh, *pə'zāxē* g, °ə r, °iḥe sh, *pi'zāxīy* Mm, *pi'zāxī* g, (sh), *pi'zāxī* (g), *pi'zāxīya* Z, *plešye* (?) B male sheep,

1—2 years old. — \**pati-zaḍya(ka)*- 'newly born', cf. Sak. *mū-ysamthia-* 'belonging to his birth'; Khow. *auzetu* 'fem. calf, two years old' fr. Ir. \**aḥi-zaḍyā-*? Cf. *naxčir-pəzūčē*, *və-zāčō*, *zāčko*.

*piž'yar*, v. *pič*.

*pāži* Yzh, sh, *pāje* LSIy, *'pəwi* Z all. — *p° mardum*; *wos p° tayār šūi* now all of it is ready, *hama-iš*; *vo pāžof da'ham zh* I beat all of them. — Cf. Skt. *upa-citi-* accumulation, heap?

*pi-žām-*: *pi'žānd-* Yzh, sh, *pə'čām-*: *pə'čānd-* r, *pə'jōn-* M(g) to entrust. — *na to čēi pə'čāmum* Yr I entrust something to you. — Y fr. Khow. *pežemim*, in its turn fr. Ir.; originally \**pati-žāmaya-*. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 663.

*pə'žō* Yp, *pežə* u log, beam. — *tālum vo pəžō* Yp; *amboh pežə xap* u fell much timber.

## R

*rōi* Mm, *rāi* LSIIm word (*rai* B 'wish' < Khow.?). — Ar-Prs. *rāi* advice? *rūi* Y, Mm, g, (g), t cheek, Yg, Z, G face. — Prs. V. *rōxə*.

*rū'i* Y, Mt, *'rūyei* m, *°iy* g, *°iy* (g), *°əy* Z guts, bowels. — Cf. Prs. *rūda*, etc. V. KZ., 61, 29 sqq.

*rəč* Mm difficult. — < \**rəj*, Prs. *ranj* trouble, distress.

*ru'fo* Y small, soft broom. — With *f* from the past \**rufta-*, cf. Prs. *ruftan*, *rōbam* to sweep. Cf. Sgl. *rēf*. V. *'fāru*, *par'waxšē*.

*'rafiko* Mm, *'refikā* g mill-broom.

*'riyo* Yzh, *°a* sh, Mg, t, ti, *'rūgo* m, *'rugd* f. Z vein; *riyo* B sinew, *rirek* (: \**riyek*) vein. — < \**rākā-*; cf. Sar.

(Bellew) *ruwʃ* pulse (but *rag* vein fr. Prs. *rag* < \**rakā-*); Yazdi *rōy* vein; Psht. *rōg* strap, thong. Cf. also Prs. *raza* a stretched rope (if orig. č not j, v. Hübschm. Prs. Stud., 66).

*roy* Yzh goat track. — *'yumin o 'rōy* Yg anus. — < Khow. *rōy* incised line, crack, furrow, goat track in cliffs, poss. < \**raka-*, v. *'riyo*.

*'rōy(w)o* Yzh, sh, *rōy* g deodar. — Khow. *rōy*.

*'rūyən* Y, Mm, g, *°na* m. Z, *°na* G clarified butter; *rūyna* Mm resin. — *rūyun da burž deh* put the ghee into the corner. — < Av. *raoyna-*, cf. Wkh. *rūyn*, Sak. *rrūna-*, etc.

*royz* Yzh woman's cloak. — Cf. Prs. *rayza* a kind of woollen cloth worn in Badakhshan. — \**rezg-* 'to plait' (WP, II, 374)?

*ra'hī*, *°ē* Ysh, *°ā* u leaving, starting. — *r° šūi*, *r° kəy* he left, started. — Prs.

*rok* Yzh, *raŋg* B, G colour. — *spī rok*. — *raŋg* fr. Prs., *rok* genuine or early lw. — (Cf. also Prs. *razš* lightning, rainbow, mixture of red and white, Kurd. *raš*, Arm. *eraxš* black).

*ri'kau* Yr, *ri'kīb* Mm, *re°* Z stirrup. — Prs. *rikāb*, *rikēb* (cf. s.v. *ketiu*). V. *čauli'i*.

*ru'kuš-* Yzh to creep, Khow. *druškiran*. — *iž rukušē* the snake creeps. — Kho. *rukusik* to creep.

*rīm-*: *rīmd-* Yzh, r, Mm to please (impers.), *rēm-* Z to wish, want. — *mən rīmet* (3 pl.!), *rīmdo* I wish, I wished 'mēfāram' Ysh; *tu mən rīmet* I want you, you please me, 'tu mana mēfāra'; *youyō rīmet* I want to drink water,

- au xurdan mēfāra* Yr; *rīmī* Mm he wants. — Cf. M. Prs. *rām-* to rejoice (Henning, ZII, 9, 190).
- 'romo* Yzh, *rə'ma* Z flock, herd. — Prs. *ra'meno* Yzh, *°əno* sh, g, r, *'rameno* Mm, *'rāmenā* (g) poplar, *safēdār*. — Cf. Khov. *ro'mān*, *ro'meno* aspen (from Y?) — V. *gulra'men*, *ta'rik*.
- ra'mūz* LSI<sup>m</sup> deer. — Cf. Psht. *rāmūsai*, but Khov. (O'Brien) *rohunz* musk-deer.
- rin'g'a* Z smooth, slippery. — *\*rixšnaka-*, or *\*raxšni°*, cf. Prs. *lašn*, v. Par. Voc. s.v. *lhanō*.
- rñpū'yo* Ysh, Mm silver, money, rupee. — *ha'zār rupāyo*, *°yī*, Ysh; *'numan yū rūpai* (*lu rūpāyagi*) *liyyom* Mm I gave him one rupee. — IA.
- ros-*: *rē'sī-*, *ro'sī* Yzh, sh, : *re'šio* u, *'resam* M(g), *res-*: *rešy-* Z to arrive. — *ro'sē* arrives; *'mīra re'sīn* 'aftāb *rasīd'*; *da Čitrāyī rə'sī*; *'crs ke 'nā mən re'sī* whatever I received; *hazār rupāyī na to rə'sī* you received 1 000 rupees; *rə'siet* they arrived. — Prs.
- : *ri'səd-ət* Ysh (for *\*re'səvd-ət*) they made to arrive, *rasāndan*. — *vo mālaf a'vret*, *r°* they brought the goods and made them arrive. Cf. *ros*.
- 'rūso* Yzh, g, *'ruso* sh, r, *'raūso* Mm, *'rəusā* g, *'re-u°* (g), *'rəusa* t, (sh), *'rū°* f. Z, *rū'sa* G fox. — Cf. Shgh. *rupsak*, *rupcak*; Sogd. *rups-*; Prs. dial. *rōs* (and *rōs-angurda* fox-grapes); *Ropša* = *Lisička* "Füchschen", n. of a river in Orel, Russia (v. Vasmer, in Reallex. d. Vorgesch. 12, 248). But Prs. *rōbāh*, etc. Sgl. *vərvēs*, Sak. *rrūvāsa-* jackal with *-ā-*. Reg. the gender cf. § 179.
- rrs'pən* Yzh, g, *re°* sh, r, LSI<sup>y</sup>, *yus'pən* Mm, *yi°* g, t, *'yisprn* (g), *'yūspin* m. Z, *°un* G, *°en* LSI<sup>m</sup> iron. — Cf. Sgl. *°s'pōn*, Wkh. *yīšn*, Sak. *hīsam*, Psht. *šspana*, Shgh. *se'pen*, etc. (and Prs. *šnī* dross of iron). But Y r.? *'rastē* Ysh rightly, correctly. — *tu r° xismat ken!* — Prs. *rāstī*.
- rāš* Yr heap. — *və you rāš kerəm* I heaped up the barley. — Prs.
- riša* Mt root-fibre. — Prs.
- rešk* Y avalanche. — < *\*rešk?* Cf. Khov. *rešt*, Shgh. *rīšt*. Cf. Prs. *rašt*, *rušt* crumbling, threatening to fall, etc.?
- 'riško* Yzh, sh nit. — Cf. Prs. *rišk*, Psht. *riča*.
- ra'san* zh, sh, *ro°* g instep (zh also sole). — From *ra'sān*, in its turn prob. < Ir. (*\*frašāna-*, v. *šfina?*).
- ru'sān* Mm, *°än* g, *rū'sān* G light, brightness. — Prs. V. *d'runyo*.
- rīv* Yzh, sh, *rīf* Mti a kind of odoriferous, bitter-tasting vegetable, resembling rhubarb. — < *\*rāba-*, cf. Sgl. *rūv*, Prs. *rāwand*, etc., *\*rāv* (Badakhshi *rau*), v. Laufer, Sino-Iranica, p. 547, and Markwart, Caucas. 7, 16.
- 'rōv-*: *rīvd-* Yzh, sh, r, *'rev-*: *rīvd* M(g), *rav-*: *rīvd* Z to bark. — *'rovē*, *'rīvdo* Yzh, *yalv rōvə* r, *rōvəstə* sh, g, *'yolv 'revi*, *rīvdə* M(g). — Cf. Phl. *rap-* to cry out, etc. (v. Johnston, JRAS, 1934, 535 ff.).
- 'rōvun* Yzh, sh, *'rē°* Mm, g, (g) wife's brother. — Derivation < *\*rēwul* < *\*lēwur*, cf. Psht. *lēwər* 'husband's brother' is phonetically and semantically improbable.
- rōx(°)* Yg cheek. — Prs. *rux*, Psht *rāx*; cf. Psht. *rōx* side, part. — < *\*raxwa-*, Skr. *srākva-* corner of the mouth.

*raxs* M(g) dance. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ruḫ'sat* Ysh leave, permission. — *wo r°*  
*šūi* he left; *r° tūli'yo*; *'wa mən 'r°*  
*ken* give me leave. — Ar.-Prs.  
*rūyei*, v. *rū'i*.  
*rīza* Y, Mm, *rəz'gəy* Z, *rəzɡ'i'ya* G small.  
 — *mən pūr (luḡdo) rīza*; *agar rīza*  
*vīo* Ysh. — Prs.  
*rū'zo* Yzh fast. — Prs.  
*'rīza o'guščiko* Yg, sh, *°go* sh, *rīza-*  
*guščiko* zh, *rīzəko-guščiko* r little  
 finger.  
*rīza'yak* Yzh goats and sheep. — Cf.  
 Sar. *rezapai* (Shaw).  
*rīziko* Yzh small. — *mən luḡdo r°*. Cf.  
*rīza* and *rīzəko-guščiko*.  
*rīz-l'vora* Yg window ("small door").  
*rīzān* Yzh in *r° 'māum* I give a full  
 measure, *xūb sanjīdim*, *xūb pur šud*  
*paimān(?)*. — Prs. *rīzān* scattering?  
*ra'zrn* Yzh, *°ən* sh, g, *'rōzən* r, *'rāzen*  
 Mm, g, (g), t, Z, *ra'zin* G elbow. —  
 The similarity with *Kändülāi qñ*  
*āriži'nī* (Kurd.-Prs. Forsch. III, II,  
 275) is no doubt incidental. Phone-  
 tically *ra'zrn* might go back to *\*rā-*  
*zanya-*.  
*ra'za* Ysh sleeping platform near the  
 fireplace. — *nə'vuḡ da r° 'burd sū-i*  
*digdān'*. — Cf. Sgl. *rēž*, Wkh. *rāž*,  
 Or. *rē'zak* < *\*raz(ī)ya-*, from *\*rēg-*?  
*rā'žən* G language. — If correct, cf. Skr.  
*racana-* composition, etc.?  
*rū'žen* Yzh, sh, r, *°ən* g, *°an* p, Mm,  
*°jen* g smoke-hole. — Cf. Wkh. *ričn*,  
 Par. *rūčōn*, Prs. *rōzan*, etc.

## S

*'sā-um*: *sovd-um* Y, *sō-um* g, *sōv-*: *sēvd*  
 Z to smear, rub. — *sova* Yg imper.  
 2 sg. — *\*sab-*, cf. Orosh. *sēw-* Sgl.

*sāmb-*, Wkh. *sām-* (Hj.)? Or cf. Prs.  
*sūdan*, *sāwīdan*, etc.?  
*sī* Mg, *sūi* m thirty. — Prs.  
*sū'i* Yzh slate. — Cf. Wkh. *sdt*, Sar.  
*sād* slate, Shgh. *sād*, Sgl. *usīd* baking  
 pan. Prs. *sād* smooth, even?  
*sa'bā* Y to-morrow. — *zo s. o'im*. — Prs.  
 V. *saār*, *yāmo*.  
*subə* Mm morning. — *s° liyo 'gubh dād'*.  
 — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'buk* Yzh, *so°* sh, *sə°* r, g, *'sabuk* Mm  
 light (not heavy). — Prs.  
*sā'buk* Ysh bride, *sābuka* bridegroom.  
 V. *'šābuk*.  
*sabar'go* Yzh, g, *°o* p, *sarbar'go* sh tre-  
 foil. — Prs. *sīhbarga*.  
*sā'brīm* Y, *su'brūm* Mm boiled fat.  
*sabə'ranj* Yzh, sh neckrope, fastening  
 the bullocks to the yoke (v. III).  
 — Pl. *sabə'ranjē*. — *\*sami-barana-čī?*  
 Cf. Wkh. *səmvər* yoke, Khov. *šAMAR-*  
*γūnu*, and v. s.v. *sām*.  
*sabūstaf* obl. pl. LSIm husks. — Bad.  
 Prs. *sabōsta*, Prs. *sabōs(a)*, cf. Sar.  
*sabast* bran.  
*sad* M 100. — Prs.  
*sād'bārg* M(g) centfoil, rose. — Prs.  
*sau'dāger* Ysh merchant, pedlar. — Prs.  
*so'fo* Yzh, *'sofo* p, *sōfō* sh clay pot,  
 kettle.  
*'sāyo* Y, *'sōya* Mg, *°go* m, *°ga* Z shade.  
 — *\*s(ay)ākā-*, Sogd. *sy''k'*, etc.  
*səy'i'o* Yzh, *se°* sh, *səyyo* g, *segio* (?) r,  
*sigvo* Mm, *sīyiya* g, ti, *°o* (g), *'səgya*  
 Z, *sūgva* G sand (acc. to Mti fine  
 sand). — *\*sikitā-*, v. EVP. s.v. *šəga*,  
 and Benveniste BSL., 30, 60 and  
 JRAS., 1933, 43. Cf. also Oss. *sijit*,  
*sigit*, etc., earth, soil, (v. also Justi  
 ZDMG, 38, 115).  
*sīy* Y hare. — *\*sāhaka-*, cf. Sgl. *sūi*,



- Wkh. *sī*, Or. *sū*, v. EVP., s.v. *sōe*, and Bailey, JRAS., 1931, 424.
- soy* Yzh, r leather strap, boot-lace, *tasma*; *sūy* sh strap of a pellet bow (v. Ill.); *seyaf* obl. pl. LSIy 'stripes' (?).
- sūy* Yzh, r street. — *wōs do sūy dyam* Yr "āli da kuča mērim". — Ar.-Prs. *sūg*. *'sūyiko* Yzh, r, *sīyakā* M(g), *sūgo* m tale. — Cf. Par. *sūy* word, affair, Sar. *saug*, Or. *sūg* tale, proverb. But Av. *saoka* means usefulness, profit.
- soy-mālān* Yzh leather belt. — V. *soy*, *mālān*, *kamarband*.
- sa'yīr* Yzh, sh, Mm, Z, °ir Yr orphan. — Ar.-Prs.
- sūy'yāmo* Yzh, sh three days hence; *soyyā'mo* r the day after to-morrow (?). — V. *'yāmo*, *yūy'yāmo*.
- sāharo*, *sāhro* Ysh, *sāharo* Mm desert. — *sāhara šūi*; *oyīm-astē sāharen* (or from *sahar*?) — Ar.-Prs.
- sa'har* Ysh, Z morning; *sa'ār* Ysh, 'sāar zh to-morrow (morning). — 'sāar molo ko mən as Yzh come to me here to-morrow morning. — Ar.-Prs.
- sko* Ysh, u, B, *skə* Z on, with; cf. *sār-skū* G upwards. — *ni'āst sko dau'let* he settled down with his wealth; *sko 'yū ašīra'fen mind dau'lat šūi* through one piece of gold such wealth appeared; *sko yū yasp... suwār šūi* Yu he mounted a horse; *sək škūra sawōr šay* Z he mounted a camel. — < Av. *uskāt* (G); cf. e.g. Saka *uska* above; Psht. (*hask*; Yazgh. *wask* high (the resemblance to Kaikādī Tamil *vask* id. is a "mirage phonétique"). — Cf. Skarzer.
- skəd*:- *s(i)kəst* Yzh, 'skəd:- 'skrst- Mt, 'skūd:- *skist* (g) to cut with an axe or a knife, 'mēburam'. — *pa kəpa* *skəstēm* Yzh. — Cf. *skəškigd* Z torn < \**skāšta*:-; Wkh. *škənd*-, Shgh. *šičend*- to cut; Av. *skand*- to break. *siaka'mand tfak* Yzh a kind of gun. — Prs. \**siyāh-kamān*.
- skut* Yzh, sh, g, Mm, g, G, *skūt* Yr, *skūt* Mti, *skwut* Z, *iskawat* (\**اسکوت*) MFB wood, stick. — *mən va skud vrləm* Yg I broke the stick. — < \**skunta*?? (Reichelt, Soghd. Handschr., p. 58, comp. Sogd. *skwy* firewood).
- '*skdvrio* Yzh, 'skarviyo Mm, °a g, 'skārvīā (g), *skarbi'ya* G coal. — Poss. < \**skarbatā*, but not identical with Psht. *skarwaṭa*, etc. (v. G s.v.). Cf. Charpentier, AO., 7, 193.
- sāl* Yzh, sh, r, *sal* g, *sāl* Mm, *sāl* g, Z, *sālo* Ysh, B, *sāia* (?) G year. — *yū sāl*; *yū sālō niāst* Ysh he stayed for one year; *žahānd sāl šūi* many years passed. — Prob. lw. from Prs.
- '*sāilə* Ysh spectacle, show. — s° *šūi*; *a'žəp s° kəp'γum* I have seen a wonderful sight. — Ar.-Prs. *sair*, Afgh. Prs. *sail*.
- sīl* Mm, g, (g) flood, inundation. — Ar.-Prs. *sail*, Wkh. *sīl*, Par. *sēl*, etc.
- srl̥yo* Yzh, *səl'yo* g, r, °γ<sup>no</sup> sh, 'selgo Mm, 'silgiyā (g), 'silga Z cream. — < \**sidakā* = Skr. \**chidakā*-, cf. Skr. *śara*- (Ksh. *har*) 'sour cream' from *śar*- to break (Lidén, KZ., 61, 5). It is doubtful whether Yazgh. *sayč* can be related to *srl̥yo*.
- sa'lām* Ysh, u salutation. — s° *kəp*: *wālēkam wə-s°* Ysh; *as-s° a'lēkum*, *wa 'āliku s°* u. — Ar.-Prs.
- sa'lāmat* Yu salutation. — *nə 'pādšān nə s° ʔut* they went to salute the king. — Ar.-Prs.

- sel'xiko* Yzh sorrel, (Kati čxvā). — Scarcely connected with *srl̥yo* 'cream' (not sour) in the same manner as Oss. *xūr̥xäg* 'sorrel' is derived from *xurx* buttermilk (v. Lidén, KZ., 61, 7).
- sām* Mm yoke-peg. — Cf. Prs. *saim* (artificial vocalization in order to distinguish it from *sīm*?), Sistani *simāk* yoke-key, Ar. (< Ir.) *samīq* the part of a yoke which encloses the ox's neck (: yoke-peg?); Wkh. *sām-vər* yoke; Av. *simā-*, *yuyō-sēmī* (v. Reichelt, WuS, XII, 288); Skr. *śamyā-* (Shina *śAmīže*, Bur. *śAmēy*, etc.). — V. *sabəranj*, *samlasiko*, *kāriak*.
- somb* Mm, g, *sumb* Z hoof. — Prs. V. *čō'guli*.
- sam-'lasiko* Mm neckrope fastening the bullock to the yoke. Cf. *sām*, *loso*. V. *sabəranj*.
- səm'te* Mg blunt.
- 'souno* Yzh, sh, *'sauno* Mm, °ε g co-wife. — Prob. from a lost Khov. form corresponding to Kshm. *son* < \**saun* < *sapatnī*. The present Kho. word is *ambox'cān* (v. *ambōy*).
- 'sandoq* Yg, *san'duq* Mm box, chest. — Ar.-Prs. — V. *to'vūnyo*.
- san'dān* Yzh, sh, *sən'dōn* r, sa° Z anvil. — Prs. (< \**āsandān*, cf. (*ā*)*taš* 'fire', etc.). V. s.v. *rɪs'pən*.
- sānj* Yzh, *san'jā* p floor-plank on which the roof-pillars rest. — Kho. *sanj*.
- su'niko* Yp wooden shovel. (V. Ill.).
- 'siniya* Mm, °d g sole of the foot.
- sun'ya* Yzh beacon. — Cf. Kho. *sun*, *sūn* cairn (Lor.)?
- siṅd* Yzh, sa° p two-storied house, *kōṭa*. — Kho. *suṅd*.
- saṅgla'ū* Y, °lo'wī Mm, g, °l'ōict (g) otter. — Cf. Sar. *saṅglāvī*, Sgl. *saglāvī*, Kalasha *saṅgawīr* fr. Prs. *saglābī*, Afgh. Prs. (Phillot) *sagi-lau*. But Wkh. *sagāwī* < *sag-ābī*.
- saṅki'yo* Mg poison. — Kho. *saṅkiya* poison, arsenic, fr. Hind. *saṅkhyā*. V. *zahar*, *žaro*.
- spi* Y, Mm, g, ti, G, *sṑpi* Yr, Z white. — *spi rok* Yzh. — Av. *spaēta-*.
- spā'hi* Ysh soldier. — Prs.
- 'spōro* Yzb, sh, °ro g, *'sparo* Mm, °ra G, *sṑpēra* f. Z plough (v. Ill.). — < \**spārā*, cf. Prs. *supār*, Psht. *spāra*, Sgl. *spər*, Wkh. *sṑpūndr*.
- 'spərzə* Ysh spleen. — Genuine, cf. Av. *spərəzan-*, Sak. *spuljei*, Gabri *siwarz*, Bal. *isp'ulk*, etc., or borrr. from Prs. *supurz*? — Khorasan Kurd. *sul* (Houtum-Schindler) < O. Prs. \**sydan*? — V. *ninamāšcē*.
- spišc* Yzb, g olive-coloured, yellow. — Scarcely < \**us-pišta-* (Av. *paēs*).
- 'spūo* (for *š-?*) Yzh, *'spūo* (pl. *špūū*) sh, *šṑp*° r, *'spugo* Mm, °yd g, *'spūya* (g), t, *sṑpəya* f. Z louse. — Av. *spiš*, Prs. *supuš*, Psht. *spəža*, etc. With assimilation into *šp-* also Prs. *šupuš*, Sogd. *špšh*. Reg. the Y forms in *šp-* cf. §§ 74, 135. — Reg. Wkh. *šiš*, Abdu *šiš* etc. with Saka-Persic treatment of \**kū-*, v. Et. Voc. Psht. s.v.) and subsequently Benveniste, *Studia Indo-Iranica*, 223 f.
- 'sāro* Ysh down, below. — *və'det* s° 'burdan *pāyān*'; *a'niməf* *su'wār šot* *vəl'γō*, *a'niməf šət* s° half of them rode upwards and half of them downwards. Ancient abl. of *sor* hill (g.v.), cf. Engl. *down*. V. *fursoro*, *psāro*.
- siri* Yzh upper. — s° *a'larsinē* upper

part of the door-frame. — < \*sarya-?  
 Cf. Kho. *soro* upper < Ir. V. *ta'hē*.  
*sōr* Yzh, sh, p ear of corn (zh also top  
 of a hill), B point. — Khov. *sōr*  
 (< Ir.) head, ear of corn (cf. Lat.  
*capitulum*). — V. *xū'sō*, 'yūya.  
*'sō'ro* Yzh, sh, 'sara f. Z excrements,  
 dung. — s° *da'ham* Ysh I manure. —  
 Av. *sairya-*, Psht. *sarā*, Sar. *sūrūn*  
 (but not Prs. *surūn* 'podex', as pro-  
 posed by Z).  
*sar-r-drl* Ysh, *sar-e-'dēl* sh the place  
 under and between the ribs; *sar'dil*  
 Z breast. — \*Prs.  
*sarda'wo* Yzh a well. — Kho. *sardawai*  
 underground water tank < Prs. *sar-*  
*dāba*.  
*sarfārā'že* Ysh ornaments. — Prs. *sar-*  
*farāzi* grandeur, exaltation.  
*sar'yār* peg in the plough-beam (v. III).  
 — Cf. Khov. *kāri*, *istor-yāri*.  
*sārpa'gā* Yr morning. — Prs. *pagāh*  
 dawn.  
*surv* Yzh, sh, °ruw r; 'surva g hole. —  
*f'skō* 'suruw Yr nostril, *γūen surv*(a)  
 Yzh, g hole of the ear. — \*subra-,  
 cf. Wkh. *sērv*, v. EVP s.v *sūrai*.  
*surx* Y, so° Mm, si° ti, s° g, G red. —  
*yū surx päisō* Ysh a copper coin. —  
 Prob. genuine < Av. *suxra-*, cf. Wkh.  
*sākṛ*.  
*surx-'boburē* Yzh a red wasp.  
*surux-'sāc* Yzh Epilobium, willow-herb.  
 — \*sāc is unknown. Cf. *sičik* (s.v. *šār*)?  
*'sosē* Yzh, *sors* p heap of sheaves.  
*'sasto* Mm, *sāste* ti, sa° LSim hillside.  
 — *wo čfur-pālaf de sar de saste*  
*čara dil* LSim he grazes the cattle  
 on the top of the hill. — \*sastā-  
 'ascensus': \*sand-, to ascend, Sogd.  
*san-* (v. Tedesco, ZII, 2, 39)?

*'istau* Yzh, sh stubble-field. — Khov.  
*'istāu*.  
 °stūy Yr long hair. — *vanə-stūy*. — Cf.  
 Oss. *stīg*, *stug* lock of hair, stripe,  
 strip, Skr. *stukā-* knot or tuft of  
 hair (preserved in Prasn *'stvak* lock  
 of hair?).  
*'st'uya* Yzh, 'stū° g throat (interior of).  
 — Cf. *stun*. V. *ālq*, 'kāyako.  
*'stuy'nūl* Yzh, *stuy'nūl* g dripping (inside  
 a house). — Cf. Skr. *stokā-* a drop?  
*so'tkē* Yzh, 'sətkə g, *sodkə* sh gums. —  
 Khov. *so'tk* gums (between the teeth).  
 — V. *zōmbā*.  
*stun* Mm, °nek ti throat, larynx. — Cf.  
 Psht. *stūnai* (< \*stāmnaka-?). — V.  
*'st'uya*.  
*'stuno* Yzh, st° g, r, 'stuno Mm, °ε g  
 post, pillar. — Cf. Wkh. *istīn*, Sgl.  
*stīn* < Av. *stūna-*.  
*stīnyo* Yzh, g, r supine, lying flat on  
 the back. — s° *šū* = *l'γoda* g. —  
 Av. *ustāna-*, Prs. *istān*, *wastān*,  
 Brahui lw. *istān*, Psht. *stūn*.  
*'stārē* (pl. °ri) Yzh, g, °rə r, 'stāro sh,  
 °ri (pl.) u, 'stōriy Mm, g, °ri (pl.  
 °rii) (g), °rəy Z, 'storiy (pl. °rgi)  
 Mt, stā'rē G star. — 'stārei lūrəl  
 Yzh stars are falling. — Cf. Prs.  
*sitāra*, Psht. *stōrai*, Sak. *stārai* <  
 \*stāraka-. Sar. *šturj*, Or. *šitōrj*,  
 Yzgh. *š'tārag* prob. < \*stāryaka-,  
 on account of Shgh. *š'tērj*. Cf. Oss.  
*st'alī* < \*stāriya- (?). — Sgl. *ustārūk*  
 < \*stārāka, Orm. *stārrak* <? Par.  
*estēč* < \*stāryāci-, Wkh. *s'tār* (and  
 Khov. *istār*?) fr. Prs. *sitār*. — With  
 Psht. *starga* 'eye' cf. Irish *sūil* 'eye'  
 (orig. 'sun').  
*'stōr-*: 'stār Yzh, 'istor- sh, 'stor-: stār-  
 g, r, 'stōr-: stōr- Mm, stēr-: stōr- Z

- to sweep. — *'sttt* pres. 3 sg. — Cf. Sgl. *astar-*, Shgh. *zedār-* to sweep, Par. *astar-* to rub, wipe away (and Oss. *stārīn* to plaster, lick?).
- ustur* Yzh, sh (*'ustūl* sh), *stur* g, r, Mm, *s'atər*, °ür Z, *ustur* B big, great. — zo ži to *us'tur* Yzh I am bigger than you; *mən 'vərai žə 'tō 'vərayən us'tūl* sh; *ustur šūi yauyo* zh the river rose. — Av. °*stūra-*, Psht. *star*, etc.
- s'tūr* Z horned cattle. — Av. *staora-*, etc. (but Khov. lw. *'istōr* horse < Prs.).
- us'turo-'guščo* Yzh, *ustu'ro*° sh, *stro-oguščiko* g thumb. — Cf. *ustur*. V. *naranqušč*.
- s'tri'šom* Z glue. — Prs. *sirišim*.
- ustur-žo'yo* Ysh the evening star (: 'the large cloak?').
- 'sāvde* Yzh, p, *'saudə* r, *'sōvdiy* Mm large basket (Ill.). — Early lw., cf. Prs. *sapad*, *saf*°, *sab*°, Or. *səpt*, Arm. *sapat*, Kalasha *savēd-*, *sohōl*. But also Ar. *safaṭun*, Syr. *seftā*.
- 'suwdo* Yzh, M, °*'dō* Ysh, g, r, u, *'səvdd* Mg, *'sēvda* (g), *'sr*° t, *'si*° ti, *'sə*° Z shoulder. — *do urjug* (čəp) s° Yu. — Av. *supti-*, Sgl. *səvδ*, etc.
- suvdiko* Mm the end tip of a bow.
- sə'wī* Yg vegetable, *sauza*. — Cf. Pashai *sawī* grass (fr. Ir.?), Psht. *sābə* a kind of grass, vegetables (q.v.).
- sa'wīr* Yzh n. of a tree (said to be a Khov. word).
- su'wār* Y, *sa'wōr* Z horseman. — *vo parizātə su'wār kəp* Yu he put the fairy on horseback; (*sko*) *yū yasp wazir luydo* s° *šūi* the vizier's daughter mounted one horse. — Prs.
- su'worum* Yzh, °əm g, *su'wōrum* sh, r gold. — Borr. from older form of Kho. *'šōrum* (Capus 'sohoroum') which has got its -m from *droxum* (cf. Kurd. *zīw* 'silver' with z- from *zar*).
- sə'xauk* Yzh smooth, slippery. — V. *su'xuy-*.
- saxt* Y, Mm hard, *səxt* Yr closed. — Prs. *saxt* < Av. *θraxta* close, dense (not with Nyberg, Hilfsb. d. Phl., II, 200, from *sac-* to suit).
- saxt(əvəm)* Yzh loom(?).
- su'xu'y-*: *su'xu'i-m* Yzh, *sxu'y-*: *sxo um* sh, : *sxī-m* r; *'sxy-* Mm, *sxaw-*: *sxy-* Z to slip, slide, *lišmīdan*. — *sxīyəm* Yr pf. — Related to or horr. fr. Prs. *šaxīdan* (Kho. *šəxē* stumbling).
- sduzə* Yzh, *sauz* sh, *səvzə* g, *sauz*, -s Mm, ti, G, *savz* Z, *sōvz* green; *sduz* Yzh blue. — Prs.
- sav'zī* M(g) vegetable. — Prs. — V. *sə'wī*.
- sa'yūrž* Yzh, *šāyūrš* sh, *ša'yūrš* r hawk. — Kho. *sa'yūrč/j* (but Palola *šayūrž*) fr. Ir.?
- 'sēzda* Mg, *sī*° (g) thirteen. — Prs.
- sə'zaljo* Yzh, *si*° sh tarantula.
- su'zōn* Mm, *sū'zān* G hot. — Prs. — V. *garm*, *prē*.
- sə'zīyo* Yzh, sh, *so*° r, *'sijīä* M(g) jujube-tree. — Prs. *sinjid*, Khov. *šinjūr* (fr. Ir.?), Psht. 'sauzilleh' (= \**sanzila*?), (Lumsden, Mission to Kandahar, p. 215).

Š, (Š)<sup>1</sup>

*šāi* Mm bridegroom. — Prs. *šāh* V. *šābuk*.

*šū* Yzh hedgehog (not found in Lutkoh). — Kho. *šu(h)* hedgehog, (porcupine, Lor.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 33.

šū, šu'ū Yzh, šū'ū sh, r, šū g, M(sh),  
 šūwi (pl.) m, šūi g, šūw Z horn. —  
 < \*srū, \*srāw. Cf. Sgl. šou, Wkh. šau,  
 Par. šī, Bal. srō, Kurd. strōh, etc.,  
 Sak. šsu, Av. srū-. Cf. also Psht.  
 škar, Wanetsi šukar.

: šūi Y, Mm, t, (šōi Ysh), šəy Z, šev G  
 he went, he became (v. oy-). — Pret.  
 1 sg. dur luro pādo šōm Ysh to day  
 I have walked far; šōm zh, r, g; žə  
 xōvən aŋga šuyəm (!) r I woke; šiam  
 Mm, t. — 2 sg. tu šūit-a? Yzh have  
 you gone? wōs ke šūit sh now when  
 you have gone; tu žukū šū'i(?) sh  
 from where did you go? kū ki tu  
 šūyit, zo asəm p wherever you go,  
 I shall come. — 3 sg. šūi Yzh, Mm;  
 č(š)ūi Ysh didn't go; šūi na Čr'trāyī  
 sh he went to Ch.; pazyō šūi r it  
 became clean; šūy u čī ayoī Mm he  
 went and didn't come (back). — 1 pl.  
 šom Yzh. — 2 pl. šof-a? zh did you  
 come? — 3 pl. šot, šət Y; šət nə  
 šaha'ren u they went to town;  
 gala'vānen 'čir 'wulē šot u the cow-  
 herd got four wives; xošān šot sh  
 they became happy. — Pf. 1 sg.  
 šuyam Yr, plupf. 1 sg. zo šu'γum vīo  
 sh 'rafta būdim'; 3 sg. mvrn 'wulo  
 šilo'xo šūi 'vīo sh 'zan-i mā lič šuda  
 būd'; 2 pl. ku šūyaf vīo zh 'kujā  
 rafta būdid'. — Av. °šuta-, etc.

'šābuk Yzh, šabok B, sābuk(a), (q.v.) Ysh  
 bride, bridegroom. — Khw. šā'bok;  
 cf. Prs. šāh bridegroom.

šabparekilay Yr, širpə'laŋ sh bat. — Fr.  
 Prs. šabparak, šabpūr, cf. Orm. ša-  
 wurkai, šarwarak, Shgh. šabgardak,  
 Par. šaukurak, šauparak, Wkh. šau-  
 pa'rak, Sgl. °ek, etc. With sh \*šir-  
 palang cf. lə'verzəya rūso, živde'raus.

'šābāš Ysh bravo. — Prs.

ščīnə, v. iščīn.

'šadar Yzh, šadda B servant. — Khw.  
 šadar, Shina šādār.

šifē Yzh, 'šifə sh, šə'fə sh, g, °iy Mm,  
 šfvi g, t, šfī (g), ti, šfi'əy Z, šφūy G,  
 šefi LSIm husband. — wos kə mən  
 'šifə'n ayo'i-va sh if my husband  
 come now; to 'šifien škār sh your  
 husband sent it. — < \*fšuyaka-, cf.  
 Av. fšuyant-, v. Par. Voc. s.v. xā(i).

'šifčiko Yzh, °čo sh, Mm, šif'ča g water-  
 fall, šivčā (g) irrigation channel. —  
 Cf. Prs. šiftan to trickle?

šef'lōč Z hoof. — Cf. Wkh. šilč, Sgl.  
 šölč hoof. Prs. šapēl, šafal, šipl  
 camel's hoof. ∞ Ar. safilat? The  
 explanation suggested NTS., 5, 53 is  
 hardly correct.

šfīn (ī) Yzh, sh, Mg, °in Yg, šə'fīn r,  
 šfūn Mm, šə'fīn ti, °ūn m. Z, šφūn  
 G comb. — Cf. Sgl. afšūn, Ishk.  
 šofūn, Kashan kohr. yō'sēn, Prs. šāna,  
 čāna (with tš < fš) < \*fšāna-; Psht.  
 žmanj, etc., Wanetsi w(u)žanj, Pashai  
 lw. weža'nek; Shgh. večūj. V. nuwāš-  
 'šfīna Yzh, 'šfīno Mg, (g), t, ti, šfūna  
 m. instep. — Cf. Hazara Prs. (Ja-  
 ghuridi from Deh-i Zangi) šāne-i-pāi  
 instep, Bal. šānaγ backbone, nape,  
 Prs. šāna shoulder. Reg. ra'šan, v.  
 s.v.

šifōn Yzh, g, šf° sh, r clay used for  
 plastering of walls. — V. šift.

šaf'šiyān Yzh, °šrya'n sh, šaf'šiyān g,  
 šou'šiyān r armpit. — Originally an  
 obl. case? Cf. Prs. šafš(a), branch,  
 a hooked reed. šafšaf a crooked  
 branch? — V. tā'kaš.

: šift-əm (pret.?) Yzh to plaster a wall  
 with clay. — Cf. šifōn, and poss.

- Bal. *šēfay* rod for applying collyrium to the eyes (v. NTS., 5, 51), etc. (with \*xš-?).
- šaf'tal* Yg, Mm, g lupine. — Prs.
- šaf'talē* Yzh, sh, °i g, °olū r, °dlū Mm peach. — Prs.
- šiyiko* Yp a plant resembling sorrel; *šūiko* f. Mm rhubarb, *rau.* — V. *riv*, *selxiko.*
- ša'yur* Mm, g, šu° (g) hedgehog (not known by the other informants). — Prob. a lw. (note Mm ·γ-!), cf. Sgl. *ša'yor*, Par., Prs. dial. *šuyur.*
- šāhər* Yzh, °er, °ar sh, u, *šār* Z town. — *šūi tro* š° Ysh, *nə šāharen* u. — Prs. V. *Šāhar.*
- šu'iko* Yzh, 'šūiko sh, g collar-bone. — < \**srauša* 'protruding bone', cf. Bal. *svōš* elbow? (v. Walde-Pok., I, 500). — V. *fīzyasti*, *pa'rāyasti.*
- škōb*: *škabəy* Z to lift up, raise. — Cf. Sak. *škam-* to raise, construct, Av. *skamb-*, v. EVP., s.v. *ācawul.*
- šak'lām* Mm dew. — Cf. Sgl., Khow. *šag'nām* from Prs. *šabnam* + Wkh., Ishk. *šak.* V. *nəb*, *praž'γār.*
- škr'rō* Yzh, *šik'ro* g, °e'ro p, *šükü'ro* r, *ušcu'ro* sh; *škyuro* Mm, °a (g), *škvūra* t, °'ra G, *škyürä* M(g), *šküra*, -d f. Z, *šturo* B, *iščuro* LSIy, *škir* m. — *nar škyur* Mg male camel. — < \**ušturā*, cf. Av. *uštra-*, etc. Camels are not used in Chitral, and the Y forms with *šk* are prob. borr. from or influenced by M. — *šturo* B is a doubtful form. Cf. G s.v.
- škōr-əm*: *škār-əm* Y (°škōr- y), *škōr am*: *škar-um* Mm; *škōr*: *šökü'ör-* Z, *škār-* G to send (a thing). — *škōr* imper. 2 sg.; *yo* 'vira 'nā-mən *kōi škār?* Ysh who sent me this burden? *kāyəz*
- kəro*, *škāy-ən* sh he wrote a letter and sent it (to us?). — Cf. Sogd. (°)škr- to push, bring, Prs. *šikār* hunting, chazing.
- škūr* Yu hunting, shooting. — *no širen* š° *šut*, *no širen* 'š° *ke'nam!* — Fr. Prs. *šikār.*
- šo'kor* Yzh, sh sugar. — Khow. < Prs. *škrafla* G scorpion. This word was not known to any of my informants. — Connection with Av. *xrafstra-* as suggested NTS., 3, 298 is, of course, extremely doubtful (cf. Prs. *xastar* reptiles, insects?). But the assertion that *xrafstra-* should be identical in meaning with *spiš-* (Benveniste, *Studia Indo-Iran.*, 244) is hardly borne out by the texts.
- škät* zh, *škyät* sh insipid, tasteless, Khow. *škät.* — The Khow. word has not been recorded by Lor. or myself.
- škyui* Mm, °iy g, °iy t, °i ti, (g), *šxiy* m. Z neck; *škyui* Mg neck of a horse. — < \**štaṛka-*, with very early contraction < \*(u)šadākahya-, cf. 'šilē??
- šāle* Yzh, sh, °ε g, rice in the field. — Khow. < Prs.
- šəl* Y (šəl r), *šāl* Mm, *šal* Z lame. — Prs. *šal.*
- šilē* Yzh, *šəl'le* sh, *šr'lə* g, r, *šille* B, neck; *tre-šele* LSIy *del-tšli* m on his neck. — *driō tra šilē* he threw it on his shoulder. — Cf. Sogd. šd(°k) neck; Av. *ušadā-* name of a part of the back, *pušt-i tēž?* V. *škyui.*
- šəlo* Ysh, °a u, *šo* sh near, at, together with, *pēš-i.* — *šəlo* 'won ai Ysh 'ba *pēš-i ū buru'*; *šəla daryāhan* u 'pēš-i *daryā*'. Cf. Gramm. § 218. — Prob. connected with 'šilē.
- šulo* Yzh, sh rice and meat boiled

together. — Cf. Prs. *šila* rice-soup (< \*šālya°?).

ša'lāku Yzh centipede(?), lizard(?), (not found in Lutkoh). — Kho. *šalāk* lizard(?), grasshopper(?) (Lor.).

ši'lēx Yzh, °ox sh, g, B, °āx Mm, °ax, səlēg' Z naked, destitute. — *mun zəmo'nakk əu mun wulo šilo'xo* (f.) *šūi vto* Ysh my child and my wife have become destitute; *šrlaxə* pl. — Cf. Sgl., Wkh. *ši'lax*, Shgh. *ši'lak*.

šām Y, šom m. Mm, Z, šām G evening. — Prs. V. *xšēma*.

šam Ysh ripe. — Cf. Bal. *šam* moist? *šam-*: *šamd-* Yzh, g, sh, 'šom-: *šam'd-* Mm, *šom-*: *šēmd* Z, *šā'm* G to drink. — *yauyo šamam* Yr; *čāi šəm!* Ysh, 'šamēm zh, *čaməm* I don't drink; *šāmf-este* sh you are drinking. — Av. *šam-*, cf. Prs. *āšāmīdan*, Zaza *šim-* to drink, Psht. *šūmī* drinks (Yūsuf u Zulaixā, ed. Qandahār, p. 157, l. 12), Orm. *šam-* to sip, (but *tar-*, Par. *tēr-* to drink). *pā-*, *pība-*, in Sgl. *pöv-*, Wkh. *pöv-*, Sak. *pā-*; \**upa-raiz*: Shgh. *berēz-*, Yzgh. *bīraz-*, etc.; *čaš-*: Sogd. *čš-*, Psht. *cš-* (but Wan. *γōz-* < *gādh + s?*); *xwar-*: Prs. *xwurdan*, etc.; Oss. *nūaz-*(?).

šam'šēr Mm, °ir Z, G sword. — Prs. V. *xogor*.

šīn Ysh, in *čir miš šīn* 'four days ago'.

šīno Yzh, sh, g, 'šu° g vulva; 'šino Mm, °ə g, °a Z anus; 'šīne Mti podex; šēna G behind. — Cf. Wkh. *šīn*, Sgl. *šēn* podex, anus, Av. *sraonihip*, podex. Cf. also Wkh. s.v. *šūnj*.

šīnjo Yzh, sh, °jo g, *šun'jo* r, *šīžno* Mm, °ε g, °a t, 'šīžna f. Z needle. — With assim. of s—ž > š—ž from \*s(a)u-čani, cf. Niya Kharoshthi *sujina*°,

Prs. *sōzan*, Kurd. *šūžin*, E. Bal. *šīšīn*, Sgl. *šstən*, Psht. *stən. jn* > *nj* also in Khow. lw. *šūnj* (v BSOS, VIII, 663), Wanetsi *sunzən*(?). — Prs. *sunjāq* pin, Oss. *sinj* thorn, etc., is a different word. — V. *xar-šīzn*.

šī'numia (pl. *šī'namī*) Yzh, °nāmə sh, °e r, °i (pl.?) p, u girl. — *loh šī'nāmī niāsti* sh two girls were sitting; *də čatīr loh šīnāmī viet* u there were two girls in the tent. — Av. *strī-nāman-* female sex (about animals). Cf. Lhd. *tremīt*, Panj. *tīmat*, etc. woman < *strī-mātrā*.

šōnzda Mg, šōz° m sixteen. — Prs. *šūngā* Yzh, sh corner of a house. — Prob. fr. Khow. *šūng* (of Ir. origin?).

špāc Ysh, 'očəpəč Mm, špācīn B, *špa*(?) p behind, after. — *špāc na tō fsāi* Ysh he rose after you; *špāc e'nān* zh 'pušt-e mā biyā'(?). — \**hača-pascā*, cf. Prs. *sipas*, Wkh. *cəbas*. V. *čpāc*, *vispāc*.

špāc-kera Yzh hind quarters of animals; špāš-kere sh podex. — V. *pəro*.

šār Yzh file (tool). — Khow.

šīr Yu lion. — *no šīren iškūr šut* they went to shoot the lion. — Prs. *šōr* Yg (in *yu-šōr*), B, *yū šor* LSIy, 100. — Khow. V. *sad*.

šarm Yzh, r shame, pudenda. — Prs. V. *fšarm*.

šeriet Yu Islamic law. — Ar.-Prs.

šur'vāi Yzh, sh, g, °ba r, °wā Mm soup. — Prs.

šēšo Yp. In *mamə š° do* 'Warto da pežō a word of unknown meaning, explained thus: 'nām na dārad, hamtarī yak gap ast (it is merely a word); mā ba tu āšeq šudam'(??).

šēšā Yzh a kind of wild vegetable

growing in the hills. — Lor. compares Khow. *šēi* a kind of mountain plant + *šax* (Shina *ša*) vegetable. *šišo* Yzh, *šišo* sh glass; earthquake. — Prs. *šiša* glass, bottle. — V. *zibi'jrm.* *šuš* Mm, *šuš* g, *šiš* (g), *šš* Z lung. — Prs. V. *'pāpās.* *šišoγo* Yzh, *o'igo* r, *šoγo* zh, sh mirror, *šiša'ga* G bottle. — Cf. *šišo.* V. *āi'na.* *šaš'kōt* Mm podex. — Cf. *špačkere*, *'pero.* *šišpāzək* Mg spleen (?), *šəšpa'zök* Z belly. — Cf. Brahui *nīm-pāza* spleen (Ir. lw.). — V. *ninamāščē*, *'spərzə.* *šāštē* Yzh hook, Khow. *kauf.* — Cf. Prs. *šast* fish-hook. *šiti* Mm, *šti* Z, *štē* LSIm what? — *tu iš° lōri? tu iš° 'yikuniy?* — < \**č(i)sti* < *čisči* (cf. Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, MO., 12, 212). But cf. Oss. *'isti*, *yesti?* *šāt* Mm honey. — Ar.-Prs. — V. *aqi'min.* *šut* Mm near. — V. *nazdik*, *qarib.* *š'tāhän*, *štāen* Yzh, *štahan* B below, under. — *š° že māsān* below the table; *š° us'tāim* I place it below. — *že* + Prs. *tah.* *š'ta-žezikan* Yr hamstring. *štānän polo* Yg sole of the foot. — *št°* adj. from *š'tāhän.* *šiti-va* Mm, *šti-va* (*š?*) t something. — *na to iš° 'dalum*; *š° 'avəram.* — V. *išti.* *šuv-* Yzh, : *šūvd* M(g), *šuv-*: *šuvd* Z to suck. — *č(š)šrē* doesn't drink; *šuvē* sucks, Yzh; *škyin šūvd* M(g). — Cf. Wkh. *šap-* (Shaw), Par. *šup kan-*, Oss. *sābi* suckling. *šu'vā-*: *šu(v)uvd* Yzh to suck (used about the mother). *šuvazī* Yp n. of a flower, forget-me-not.

*šax* Ysh n. of a plant, *šičik.* — Khow. *šax* green vegetable (Lor.). *šāxo* Yzh, g, *°x°* r, *'šāxo* Mm, *'šōxa* ti, Z, *šāx* G branch. — *štūr š°* Yr a big branch. — Prs. *'šāxeq* Yzh tinder. — Prs. *šāxak* a small twig? *'šāxek-i sar* Mm temples. — V. *γur'pako*, *poxa'yak.* Cf. s.v. *ušk-māšiko.* *šō'xōv* M(t) stream divided into many branches. — Prs. *šāxāba.* V. *baxšiyō.* *'šiyō* Yzh, Mm, *°d* g, *'šiyō* Ysh, g, r, p, *°'ya* G, *'šiya* Z female. — < \**striyā-*. Cf. Sgl. *šac*, Wkh. *strei*, Or. *seterij*, Psht. *šəja* (q.v.), Oss. *sil*, *silä* (with *l* from *näl* male). *'šayuk* Mm cuckoo. — V. *ka'kük.* *šā'yin* Mm hawk. — Prs. *šāhin.* *šayoz* Yzh, sh glacier. — Khow. *šiz* Y, Mg, *šūs* Mm eagle (m. and f.), vulture (Yzh). — Cf. Sgl. *šūž* < \**šāč.* *šizo-γun* Yzh, Mm cotton-thread. — V. *dīdan'wo*, *parta'i wirž*, *wušūles.* *šizoγun-žōγ* Yzh, *šōγun-žōγ* sh woman's cloak.

## T

-t encl. pron. 2 sg. — Cf. § 205. *tā* Ysh, u until, in order that. — *xšə'rō tā mrx* sh night and day; *wa'mən 'muzdurə 'na mən del*, *'tā zo o'im* give me my wages so that I may go; *ās tā lu'rōum* u. — Prs. *tī-m*: *loγo'i-m* Yzh, *tī'i-m*: *lo'γōi* sh, *tə'y-im*: *lo'γoi* Mm, *tuw-*: *luγay* Z to enter. — *yduγo tīm* (*loγo'i-m*) Yzh I bathe(d); *lo'γōi do kyēi*, *tro kiyēf*, *da ma'žit* sh, u; *dadrām tīm* = *d° šom* zh, *də kyäyī tīm* sh, *də kyoi tə'γim* Mm. — *tī-* < \**ati-i*, cf. Sgl. *atij-*,



- Sogd. *tys*. (cf. Pkr. *aicchatī* passes on), Sar. *diš*, Yzgh. *diš* (: *dayd*); Khuri *tiom* I come. But *loyoi* < ? + *gata*.
- tu* Yzh, sh, *tə* sh, u, Mm, Z, G thou. — Cf. § 203 sq.
- tūi* Mm, g, ti, *tūy* Z, G mulberry. — Anc. lw. from Prs. *tūt*. Acc. to Laufer, Sino-Ir. 582, not from Semit. V. *mərəç*, *tūt*.
- tu'bü*r Yzh, *tə*<sup>o</sup>, *tam*<sup>o</sup> Z guitar, *rubāb*, *tambūr*. — Borrowed, at different periods, fr. Prs.
- tə'but* Mm, g down of birds. — Cf. Sgl. *tə'bət*, Sar. *tibit* down, Turk.-Prs. *tibit* soft goat's hair.
- ta'čingə* (pl.?) Yzh goat-skin shoes, used by the Kafirs. — Khow. *ta'čing* pubboos, footwrappers; Palola *tha-čingə*.
- tā-duni'ā* Yu the lower world, *ta* Z under. — Prs. *tah* (in *tah-xāna*, etc.). Cf. *tahē alarsrnē*, *šitāhān*, *tā'kaš*.
- tfə* Yzh, *tfē* sh, *tuf* r, Mm, *təf* Yg, Mg, *tfōyə* Yg, *təfo* M(g), *tūf* G, *tuf*- Z saliva. — Prs. Cf. Shgh. *tuf*, etc.
- tfak* Yzh, *tu'fək* r, *tu'fak* Mm, *tə*<sup>o</sup> Z, G gun, rifle. — *təfək da'ham* Yzh I shoot. — Prs. — Wkh., Sgl. have the Turk. word *miltiq*, Shgh. etc. the native *can*. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 659.
- təfōv*:- *təfēvd* Z to put fire to. — V. Z, s.v., and cf. Par. *tapēw*- to heat.
- təgo* Mm, *ta'ga* G, *taŋg* Z narrow. — *taŋg* fr. Prs.; *təgo* may be genuine. — V. *taŋg*, *trok*.
- tūga* Z, *o'ga* G button, bud. — Deriv. < \**tumga* < \**tukma* suggested § 119. But probably < Prs. *tuqa*. V. *tukmo*.
- tag'bīr* Yu plan, explanation. — *na* *tag'bīren o'im*. — Also Psht., Par., Khow., Ashk., Awromani *tag'bīr* < Prs. *tadbīr*.
- tāyo* Yzh, p rope made of willow-bark (p: used for fastening the handle of a spade, v. Ill.). — Cf. Wkh. *tīk* willow, Prs. *tāk* branch, tendril, vine, etc.; Psht. *tāya* elm or poplar.
- tuγd-am*: *tuγ'dāy-am* Mm to shave, *tuγda*(?) B to cut. — Cf. *tīz*-. V. *fxau*-, *xīrd*-. *tuγum* Y (*tū*<sup>o</sup> g), *tūym* Z grain, corn. — Cf. Prs. *tuam* etc., v. Z s.v.
- ta'hē a'larsrnē* Yzh threshold. — Cf. *tā-duniā*. V. *siri*.
- ta'qio* Yzh, r pillow, back of a chair, *taki'ya* Z pillow. — Ar.-Prs. *takya*. — V. *vir'zanē*.
- tēiko* Yzh, *tā*<sup>o</sup> g eye-apple. — Cf. Bakht. *tē*, *tī* eye, Par. *tēč*?
- to'ko* Mm, *tōqa* Z alone. — Cf. Wkh. *toko*, Sgl. *tāke*, Rosh. *tōqā*, Prs. *tāqa*. — V. *fkyi'igo*.
- tuk'mo* Yzh button. — Turk.-Prs. V. *tūga*.
- tukun-um* Mm to chop up, hash. — Cf. *tik*-, *kik*- Z to beat?
- tā'kaš* Mm, g, *tā-i-kaš* (g), *taə-kaš* Z armpit. — Cf. *tā-duniā*, Prs. *kaš*. — V. *šaf'šīyān*.
- tāl* Yzh, sh, g, *tōlo* r, *o'a* m. Mm, Z, *tā'la* G kettle. — Sgl. *tāl*, cf. Kati *ṭōl*, Lhd. *thālī* dish, metal vessel? Not to be compared with Shgh., etc. *tōṭé* plate, tray (< \**tāḍaka*- > Y \**tīxē*) as proposed by G.
- tāl-im*: *ta'lī-m* Yp to whittle, *tōliy*: *tēly* Z to kill, slaughter. — *tālēm vo pə'žō* I whittle the log, 'pāra pāra mēkunim'. — < \**tard*-, v. s.v. *pətišē*-. *te'la-um*: *tu'lī-im* Yzh, *təla-ūm*: *tūliy*- sh, *tə'lav-um* Mm, *telev-am* t, *təlaw*:-

- təlwty* Z to seek, search for. — *gadā'i t°* Ysh I beg; *rux'sat tūli'yō* he took leave, 'talbist'; *ci tələ'wā gadā'i* don't beg; *šūi no tūli'yān 'ba gadāi talabistan raft'*. — Ar.-Prs. *ṭalabīdan*.
- 'trla* Yzh copper(!), *tī'lā* Mm, *te°* g, *tillā* B, LSI<sup>m</sup> gold. — Prs. — The meaning 'copper', if correct, must be due to a recent adjustment caused by the introduction of Khow. *su'worum* 'gold' (LSI<sup>y</sup> gives *zer* 'gold'). B has *loh* copper (< Khow.).
- tal'kān* Yzh, sh dried mulberry flour. — Badakhshi Prs. (not in lexx.). But cf. Prs. *talxā* parched grain, pulverized and mixed up with water? — V. *čirpīšče, kiṭo'ri, pušče*.
- tulis'mād* Yzh flood, river in spate. — Khow. (O'Brien) *tisilmād* id., but acc. to Lor. *tīlismād* means 'many, a crowd (of men)'. —
- tēlt* Yzh, *te°* sh, *te°* Mm, B old, shabby, tattered, *žəyd(?)*. From Ar.-Prs. *tīls* old, ancient, dirt of a garment?
- talx* Yzh, r, g, Mm, g, Z, °*lax* Ysh bitter. — Prs.
- talx-karda'čī* Yp dandelion. — \*Prs.? Bailey suggests connection with Phl. (Bund.) *kārda, kārtak* n. of a flower, Pandanus(?). Cf. Khow. *trišpōy* dandelion: Y *trīšp* sour, acid.
- tāam* Ysh food. — *t° kvet-isto* she is preparing food. — Ar.-Prs.
- ta'mākū* Yr tobacco. — Ind. fr. Prs.
- 'tono* Y, g, B, *ta'na* Z, *tan* G body; *tana* Mm stem of a tree. — Prs. *tan(a)*.
- tanou* B rope. — From Khow. *tanau* (v. BSOS. VIII, 664)? But cf. Shgh. *tanōv* (Sköld).
- tandene'ū* Yp threads connecting the wings of a spinning wheel (v. III.), Kho. *tandē'nī*. — The Khow. word is unknown elsewhere. Cf. Prs. *tananda* a weaver's instrument, etc.?
- 'tandur* Yzh, sh, *'tondəro* Mm, °*a* g, *təndə'ra* G thunder. — Prs.
- tən'dār (-l)* Ysh thin.
- tan'drust* Yzh, r, *tun°* sh, *təndu'r°* u well, in health. — Prs.
- 'tunuk* Yzh, *t'i'nek* M(g) shallow, Khow. *toŋk; tunkā* B thin. — Prs. *tunuk* (cf. BSOS. VIII, 670).
- tang* Mm, Z saddle-girth. — Prs. — Cf. *təgo, trok*.
- təp'lāya* Yzh drum. — Prs. *ṭabla(k)*.
- tūi-puškv* Mm dried mulberry-flour. — V. *pušče, talkān*.
- tro* Ysh, r into, on, etc. — *'šūi tro 'šāhar* Ysh he entered the town; *'nā tə trə 'lās kə'rum* I put it in your hand; *tro zrl č āyoī 'ba yād-i mā na āyad'*; *tra awā zyūstə* r he flies through the air. Cf. § 219. — Av. *tarō* and *antarə?* Cf. Parachi, *tar* (IIFL., I, § 101).
- 'tāra* Mm a single hair. — *yū t°*. — Prs.
- 'tīro* Y, °*a* Mg, *'tūro* Mm darkness, °*ra* G dark. — Av. *taṭra-* (pl.!). Cf. EVP. s.v. *tōr*.<sup>1</sup>
- 'toru* Yzh, g lower. — *t° 'pōršik* zh lower lip; *toruov-drai* g bedding, *kurpa* (: 'put-below').
- tūr* Z trap. — Cf. Wkh. *tor*, v. EVP. s.v. *tōr*?<sup>2</sup>
- tūr* Yzh, p mountain-ash. — Khow. *trə'boda* Yzh, *'pālə 'trəbəno boda* g ankle; *trəbən ta lasboda* sh wrist. — But Prs. *tarband* means only 'a wet bandage'. V. *boda, ušk'māšiko*.
- tōrif* Z: *tōraft* Ysh, Z to steal. — *'ziŋki'ki*

*u'gah žə ašəra'fiəf yu t°* Ysh the woman stole at once one of the gold coins. — Cf. Av. *trəfyāt*, Phl. *truftak* (v. Reichelt, Av. Elementarbuch, 61; Nyberg, JA., 1929, 293; Bailey, JRAS., 1933, 1004; Schaefer, Stud. z. antik. Synkretismus, 216). Already in Av. *tr-* > *trə*, cf. Ishk. *tərüf-*, Shgh. *cif-* with secondary *tr-* treated as ancient postvoc. *šr* (*aräi* 3, but *puc* son).

*trok* Yzh, sh saddle-girth. — Kho. *trang*, Wkh. *trāng*, Shgh. *te'rang* (v. s.v.). — Cf.:

*trok* Yzh, °g g, r narrow, *troγo* B tight.

*trog-wəliko* Yzh, *tro-wəlikə* sh irrigation rivulet running across a field. — Prob. from *trok* narrow, and not related to Or. (Lentz) *tur-wəδ* Hochgraben, or to Psht. *trai* small stream, mill-race (v. EVP. s.v.).

*tarγo* Y (*to°* g), *tergiko* Mm shed for goats and sheep, *aγəl-i māl*. — Cf. Bur. *tārk(h)* walled enclosure??

*trγ* Yzh, r, *tī°* sh, *tīr'γo* Mm, *tər'γa* g, Z, *turγo* B sharp. — Av. *tīyra-*, cf. Kohrū, Keše *tīr*, etc.

*trik* Yzh thing, matter. — *cə'min t° astet?* 'či čiz ast?'

*'tarzk* Yzh poplar. — Turk. (but Khov. *terek* chenar). — V. *ra'meno*.

*tira'mā* Mm, g, t, °ō autumn. — Prs. — V. *pa'iz*.

*ta'rān* Yzh, sh soft, wet, unfinished cheese; *təringd* Z fresh, new. — Cf. Prs. *tar(r)* moist, fresh.

*trušnə* Yzh, °a B, *tīšno* Yr, *tīžna* g thirsty. — Yr, g fr. Prs.; Yzh, B fr. Khov. *trušni* (Ir. lw., cf. BSOS, VIII, 664). — V. *kāk*, *zə'γəriy*.

*trīšp* Yzh, r, *trə°* sh, g, *trīšpo* Mm, °ε g, *teriš* (*tərišpd* f.) Z *trīšpo* B

sour, acid; *trīšp* B thirst(!). — Cf. Sgl. *te'reš* (lw.?), Wkh. *terešp*, Bal. *trušp*. Poss. *\*tjšpa* < *\*tjpsa*. (v. EVP. s.v. *trūw-*), cf. Russ. *terpkij* sour, acid (< *\*tjpkū*), v. Trautmann, Balt.-Slav. Wb., 325).

*'trāxnik* M(g), *terax'nök* Z spark. — Z compares the group of words mentioned s.v. *cə'rox*.

*ta'rāzū* Yzh, *tā°* sh scales; *Trāzū* g, n. of a constellation, Libra. — *t° a'vrə*, *mām də t°* Ysh bring the scales, I shall weigh. — Prs.

*'trāž-* Y: *trayd-* Yzh, *trēži-'em* sh, *trē'jvə-m* r, *'trāj-*: *trayd-* Mm, *tə'rōnj-*: *tə'rayd-* t, *trōj-*: *trayd* Z, *tərdj-* G to bind, tie. — *mlān trāžim* Yg, *'trēžəm* pf.; *mo 'adam 'γavo trež*, *mai 'ādamē 'γavo 'tražet* zh, *tu na'ko va γavo trāže?* — Prs. *taranjīdan* to tighten (v. Z s.v.). (Cf. Bailey, BSOS. VIII, 138).

*'tasa* Yp copper tray. — Ar.-Prs. *fās* goblet.

*tō-i-sar* M top of the head. — Cf. Sgl. *tā-i sar*, Prs. *\*tār-i-sar?* V. *'kāka*, *pxoyak*.

*tāš'ko* Yzh, *tə°* g, *to°* r, *ta°* sh, p, Mm adze. — Cf. Prs. *tēša*, *taš*.

*tāt* Y, *tōt* Mm, g, (g), Z, *tāt* G father. — *ii tāt*; *na to tāt*; *yo kyēi mən tāt kyēi* Yr; *mō a'maf tāt* this is your father; *taten što* the father said. — Sgl. *tāt*, Wkh. *tat*, cf. Z s.v.

*tūt* Yr mulberry. — Prs. V. *mərəč*, *tūi*.

*'tūta* Mt Adam's apple. — Cf. Prs. *tūta* a sty on the eye-lid (orig. 'swelling'?).

*'tavidoyo* Yzh, *tovdaga* Mt a tree with small berries, *tauda*, Khov. *čilazum*(?). — Prs. *\*tafta* is unknown in this sense.

*to'vūnyo* Yzh, 'tovu° sh, p box, chest. — Cf. Prs. *tabang(ū)*, Psht. *tawang* tray, wicker basket, chest. — V. *sandug*.  
*tu'vor* Yzh, sh, Mm, to° Yr, *tū'vor* g, t° Z large axe. — Cf. Prs. *tabar*, etc.

*tuver'zin* Yzh battle axe. — Prs. *tabarzin*.  
 Kho. *taparziŋ* is an early lw.  
*tours'ton* Yr, *tōwi*° Z, *tāvi'stān* Mg summer. — Prs. V. 'wāro.

'*tīwanīy* Mm stirring-stick; *tēw*: *tēvd* Z to stir. — Z compares Ishk., Shgh. *tēw*. etc. to stir (but connection with Prs. *tāftan* is improbable). *tēw* < \**tāwaya*- fr. IE. \**tew-*, cf. \**twer-* (Walde-Pok., I, 749).

*tuɣ* Yzh steam. — Khov. *tox*, cf. Sgl. *təxl'xē*.

*taxta'bandē* Yp boarding enclosing the hearth, °*dī* Z fence. — Prs.

*tīx-im*: 'cāst-əm Y (tīx-g); 'cīx-əm: cāst-am Mm, cīx-im: cōst-am t, 'cīx-im: cōst (g), Z, cēsta B to fall. — *wos tīxim* Yg, *psāt tīxīm* sh, *cīxīt* 3 sg. M(g). — < \**hača-had-*, cf. *nīx-*, *cad-*.

'*taya* Yzh, g, r, 'tā š sh, 'tō-i Mm, 'tō-ika g colt. — Cf. Sgl. *ta'yāk*, Wkh. *tōy*, Sar. *tāē*. — Turk.

*ta'yār* Ysh, tē° B ready, completed. — t° *šūi*, *kər*. — Ar.-Prs.

'*tāzo* Yzh, g, °a sh, 'tāza Mm, *tazyo* B well, in health. — *pādšā t° šūi* Ysh; *to tat ta'z-ō tēndu'rust astet?* u. — Prs.

*tīz* Yzh quick, g sharp. — *tīz as!* — Prs.

*ta'zīa* Yzh heron, Khov. *maṇḍāy*.

'*tīz-əm*: 'təyḍ-əm M(g), *tēž-*: *tuḡd* Z to cut, split. — Z compares Shgh. *tēx-* to shave (with -x- from the preter.), Rosh. *tōw-*, Wkh. *təš-*, etc. (with which

cf. also Sgl. *tūl-*, Psht. *tōžal*, Oss. *dasin* to shave) < Av. *taš-*. — But *tīž-* points to \**tāčaya-*, \**tājaya*, cf. Oss. *tajin* adze. Acc. to Lidén fr. IE. \**teg-*. — *tuḡd-* (q.v.) to shave is based upon the past stem.

*taži'an cog'gō* Ysh a kind of pear. — Cf. *tažla?*

## T

*tfo* Yzh, *tīfo* g n. of a small bird which says "tīf tīf", Kho. *tīf*. — Acc. to Lor. Khov. *tīf* is a kind of hunting bird.

*tok* Yzh, *tok* sh wild pear. — Khov. *tōng*, cf. also Psht. *tāngū* fruit resembling an apple. A more recent lw. than *kyogo*, *cogo*, q.v.

'*takyē* Yzh n. of a part of the plough. *tī'pē* Ysh much. — *bo<sup>h</sup> tī'pe dau'let*. — Kho. *tīp* full.

## ⊖

*šam* LSIy come, *šamus* then. — Very doubtful forms. *š* is not found in any other Y word.

## V

*-va* a verbal particle denoting the conditional and the indef. pronoun. V. §§ 252, 210.

*vo nota accusativi*. — Cf. V. §§ 208, 215.

'*vīo* Y, Mm, *vīyā*, °a Z, *vī'va* G he was. — *žū'wān v°*, *yū 'wulo v°*, *loh pūrē vī'et* Ysh; *mum wulo šiloxo šūi vīo* my wife had become destitute; *'vīo yū ā'dam*, *wo 'hādamen lu luḡdi vī'at* Mm; *yū wīya vīo*; *mən uzīr lurvo*

*vtem.* Cf. §§ 225, 233, 250. — *vī* as irrealis and cond. v. § 253 sq. — Av. *būta-*, Wkh. *vitk*, etc.

*'vad-*: *'vāst* Yzh, r, *'vōnd-*: *vost-* Mm, t to bind, to tie together (something broken), *'pēvand mēkinam'*; to place loaves on the hearth to be baked (Mt). — *γau vastem* Yr. — Av. *band-*, cf. Sgl., Wkh. *vānd-*, Shgh. *vīnd-*, etc. — V. *trāž-*.

*ve'dō-um*: *ve'dī-am* M(g) to warm one's hands by the fire. — \**upa-(han)-tap-*, with secondary preterite(?). Cf.:

*və'dāy-əm*: *və'dayd-əm* Yzh, sh, *vidayda* B to mix. — \**abi-(han)-tak-*(?). Cf. Oss. *āndajin* to solder. Cf. § 118.

*vəl'γo* (*w*<sup>o</sup>) Yzh, sh, *w*<sup>o</sup> r, *'val'γo* Mm, *°ä* (g), *°a* MFB, *walye* LSIm, *welyo* y, *būr'γo* (l) B up, above. — *vəl'γo a'im*, *wəl'γō o'yəm* Yzh, *'val'γä a'yam* M(g); *mən kyēi vəl'γō as'tēt* Yzh my house is above; *šut val'γō* Ysh *'raftan bālā'*; *wəl'γōo* *'bālā āmad'*. — Av. *ərədwā-* + *kā* might result in Y \**əlv'γo*, *vəlv'γo*, but in Mm we should expect \**vəl'go*(?).

*vul'γōr* Yr, *wur'γār* M(g) shoulder-blade; *wur'γār* Mg, t, *°gar* m upper part of the back, between the shoulders; *wurgōr* m. Z spine. — Prob. < \**wul'gōr*. Cf. Psht. *wulai* shoulder-blade.

*'veliwo* Yzh, *ve'l<sup>o</sup>* sh lightning. — Prob. < \**welivo* < \**wi-daipā-*, cf. Sogd. *wyδ'ynp'h* (Buddh.), *wydymp'* (Chr.) = \**widēmbā*, Bartangi (Sköld) *wel'δebj* < \**widaipaka-*, Sar. (Bellew) *wadāfz* (*d* = *δ*?). Sak. *bātava* f. acc. to Konow < \**witapā-*. — A root \**daip-*, \**dīp-* is unknown from Ir., but its existence is proved by the Sogd. and Bart. forms.

*vən* Yzh, g, r, *vān* sh main root, bottom,

foot of anything. — Av. *buna-*, Prs. *bun*, etc.

*və'n-rm*: *və'd-ēm* Yzh, sh, *vən-*: *vət u*, *'vīn-um*: *'vəd-um* Mm, *vən-*: *vud*, *w<sup>o</sup>* Z to carry, bring, carry off (animate beings). — *vo wulo* (*və to wulo*) *vənem* Yu I bring a (your) wife; *vo 'mun və'na* *'marā bigīr'*; *'pūra vəd'ēm* Yzh I brought my son; *vo mara vr'det šəlo pādšāan* sh they brought the man before the king; *žə pād'šāan vo wu'lo vət galavānen* u the cowherd took his wife away from the king; *və'det 'sāro* sh *'burdan pāyān'*; *və'det* Mm *'burdī'*; *vo wulo žəwən čə vet kəne* Yu *'zan-i-ūra na mētānī giriftan'*. — < \**upa-nī-*, *upa-nīta-* (v. § 118), cf. Par. *ēn-*: *ānt-* < \**ā-nī-*, and v. Bloch, L'indo-aryen, p. 44.

*və'nayaro* Ysh, g, r, *vrne'γārīko* zh high hill, cliff, *'šāx-i kalān'*, Khow. *zom.* — *Tālaš Mīr ve'nayaro* Yr. — Cf. *vān* and *γar*.

*vān* Yzh, sh, g, *vən* r, *vān'gy* Mm, *vān'gya* g, *van'g'* Z, *vanj* G long. — *wos van šūi* Ysh now he stretched himself. — \**baržn-*, cf. Av. *barəzan-* (*barəšna-*), *barəšnu-* height, hill.

*vrai* Yzh, sh, r, u, B, *v(ə)rāi* Ysh, g, *və'rāi* Mm, *°ōi* g, t, ti, Z, *°āy* G, *vrōi* M(g) brother, cousin. — *mən 'vərai žə tō 'vərayen us'tūp* Yzh my brother is bigger than yours; *āi vrāi, čə xšief-este* sh o brothers, why are you weeping. — Av. *brātar-*, cf. Sgl. *və'rūd*, Wkh. *və'rit* (also from the nom.).

*'vrī-im*: *vrī'γ-um* Yzh, *'vrī-im*: *vγ'γ-um* (l) sh, *'vrī-am*: *vrī'l-um* r, *vrī-m*: *vγl-əm* g, *vrīr-əm*: *vrīškγ-* Mm, t, G, *və'rīr-*: *və'rīr-*, *və'rīšk-* Z, *vristča* B to

- break. — *mən va skud vɫəm* Yg I broke the stick; *vɫet* 3 pl., *vriā* imper. 2 sg.; *mo ādam vri, māi ādame vriēt* zh. — Orig. *vri*: *vriškʷ*, *vrišć* < \**braiṣ*: \**brišta*-, cf. Sgl. *vrēl*: *vrēt*, Shgh. *vəraž*-, etc. Cf. § 238.
- vür* M(t), *vēr* LSI<sub>m</sub> time. — *yidir vār fta winəm* I see you a second time. — Early lw. from Prs. *bār* < \**wāra*? But note the vowel. V. § 58.
- v̄ro* Ysh after. — *ži mol v̄o 'az i bād'*. — Cf. Av. *aparəm* postea.
- 'vira* Yzh, sh, °o M(g), 'vū°, 'v̄o° Z burden. — *yo vira kōi-kān?* whose is this burden? *wo 'vira la'gado da 'kyei* Ysh he put the burden down in the house. — Av. *bāra*-, Sgl. *vūr*, Wkh. *vür*.
- vi'ra-um* Yzh : *v̄i'rəvd-o* sh to load, 'bār *kardan*'. — Cf. *'vira*.
- vür* Z light red. — V. Z s.v.; Bartholomae, *Mir.Mund.*, VI, 5; and Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, 36, 3, 67.
- 'vroč-um*: *vrəč-um*(?) Yzh to roast. — The forms are not clear. *vroč-* (with -č from the imperative \**vroč?* < \**vrə(n)j*) < \**brinj*-, cf. Khow. lw. *vrenjē-im*; Bal. *brijag*, Sak. *brījs*-, Psht. *writ* (if < \**brixta*-). But Wkh. *vareš*-, etc., v. EVP. s.v. *writ*.
- vrāčoya* Yzh to that side, 'ūsun'. — Cf. *v̄ro* < *apara*- and v. *mīr-čoya*.
- vrōf*:- *vrōft* Y, *wurafs*:- *wurafsōy* Z to fly. — *vrōfē* 3 sg., *vrōfēt* 3 pl. — Z compares Shgh. *wərafc-* to stand (cf. Notes on Shgh. s.v. *wirūvd*) cf. Wkh. *wərafš-* id., Yazgh. *wrafš-* and v. Bailey, *Orient. Stud.* in honour of C. E. Pavry, 22. — Y \**wr* > *vr*? Cf. *vərēm*-.
- 'vriyo* Y, °d Mg, °ä (g), °a t, °go m, *v̄'riğa* f. Z, *vrē'iga* G eyebrows. — *'vriyē* pl. Yp. — \**brūkā*-, cf. *Bakht. burg*, Oss. *ärfig*; but Wkh. *v̄raw*, Sogd. *βr'wk*, Talish *bav* (\**brāwa*-?); Sgl. *vrīc*, Psht. *wrūja* (< \**brūct*-); Shgh. *vərūy*-, etc. (< \**brūša*-??).
- vory* Yzh, u fruit. — *vo čriēf la pəṅakaf la vorjen yurd* u he seized the apricots with the leaves and with the fruit (or: foliage?). — Cf. Prs. *bar*, etc., v. Bailey, BSOS., 6, 73.
- vurya'k'ōndi* M(g) n. of a small shrub used as fuel. — Cf. *vəz-vurgo* s.v. *zeviryo*.
- vərkyā'kyē* Yzh, sh, *vərka*° p a kind of cheese-box, made from strips of willow bark. — Khow. *wərketi* (-*ti*?) bark of willow or poplar used for making baskets (Lor.).
- v̄rēm*:- *v̄rēm̄d* Z, to stand, *vrīnd-əm* Mm I am standing, *v̄rīnd-əm* t I rose, *vrēnd-əm* G I rise, *werema* LSI<sub>m</sub> stand (imper.). — \**upa-rāmaya*-, cf. *vrōf*-. Note Z *wurafs*- but *v̄rēm*- with *v*.
- vraimin* Yr cousin(?). — Cf. *min*.
- vraipūr* Ysh nephew, brother's son. — Cf. *vrai*, *pūr*.
- 'vrēri* Mm, *v̄'rērəy* Z brother's son. — < \**brādryaka*-, cf. Av. *brātūrya*-. V. EVP. s.v. *wrārə*.
- 'vrēriḡo* Mm, *v̄rē'rīḡd* Z brother's daughter. — < \**brādr(i)yakā*-. V. *'vrēri*.
- vrišum* Mm, 'vrē° Z, *vrē'səm* G silk. — Prs., cf. Psht. *wrēšm*, Shgh. *v̄'rēšum*, etc. V. *fəršə'mē*.
- v̄rut* Yzh, *v̄rūt* sh, *vrūt*° g, *brūt*° r, *brūt* Mm, (g), ti, *b̄r*° g, t, Z, G mustache. — *pa ka'čio 'vrūtəf* 'dea Ysh cut your mustaches with scissors.

— Prs.; Y *vr-* points to early borrowing.

*vrazi'dinē* Yzh pillow. — Kho. *warZR'dīni* thick, round bolster for leaning against (Lor.), in its turn fr. Ir. (cf. RSOS. VIII, 663).

*'vārzəyo* Yzh, *'varzəyə* sh, r, *'vəzəryo* g, *'vozərgo* Mm, *'vōzərya* g, (sh), *'wāzirga* f. Z, °ər'ga G, *verzyo* B wing; *'vərzəyə* Yp the 'wings' of the spinning-wheel (v. Ill.). — \**bazrakā-* cf. Khov. lw. *wraz-un*, Prs. *bažīr*, and v. EVP. s.v. *wazar*.

*vir'zanē* Yzh, g, *ur'z°* sh, *viž'nī* Mm, *və°* g, *vē°* m. ti, Z, *viž'nī* Mt pillow (filled with shavings of willow wood Yzh). — < \**bʒanaka-*, cf. Khov. lw. *vraznī*, Sgl. *vōzd*, Wkh. *vōrz*, Bal. *barzī*, and v. Z s.v. — V. *vrazi'dinē*.

*vispač*, v. *wačpāč*.

*viš-* G to set (about the sun). — With orig. \**w-* and with *š* from the past. Cf. Wkh. *wīs*, Yaghn. *viš-* to set < \**wi-isa-?*

*'viščo* Y, *'viškvo* Mm, °a g steep hillside, ravine, '*pušta, sasta*', Khov. *dahār*. — Cf. Psht. *wat* ravine, crevice, if = *wət* < \**bišta-*.

*'vuza* Mm, *'vizo* (g), *'vəzo* g, t, °a Z he-goat. — Cf. EVP. s.v. *wuz*. V. *fer'γāmə*, *nar'bəz*.

*v°zo* Y, *'vuzo* Mm, *'vižā* (g), *'vəza* g, t, Z, *wu'za* G she-goat; Yzh, Mm also female ibex. V. *'vuza*.

*vəz'b-um*: *vəzbi-īm* Yzh to tighten; *wəzib-*: *wəzivd* Z to press together. — < \**abi-zamb-*, cf. Av. *zamb-* to crush, Wkh. *vizam-* to rub to powder.

*vizya* Y, *vuzy* Mm, *vīzy* g, (g), t, *vīzə* ti the arm above the elbow; Yzh also

calf of the leg; Yg, r arm below the elbow; *buzga* B muscle. — Cf. Av. *bāzu-*, Psht. *wōzai* shinbone, etc.

*vōz-γūnəy* Z goat's hair. — Cf. Psht. *wūžywonē*, etc., v. EVP. s.v. *wuz*.

*v°zān-əm*: *v°zad-əm* Yzh, sh, *'vzān-*: *'vzad-* g, *'vzān-*: *'vzēnd-* r, *v°zān-*: *v°zēd-* Mm, *v°zōn-*: *v°zēnd-* t, *vzōn-*: *vzē(n)d*, w° Z, *wzān-* G, *wizeda* B to know. — *v°zīt* 3 sg.; *zo Pārse vzānəm* Yg I know Persian; *zo dūr āgoya čī wīzīdam* B I couldn't come to-day. — Cf. Shgh. *w(ə)zūn-*, Sak. *vaysān-* to recognize, etc.; Sgl. *pəzīn-*. V. Z s.v. \**wi-*, *abi-* or *upa-zan-?*

*v°zāšə* Yzh womb, pregnant (animal), Kho. *garbīn*. — < \**upa-* or \**api-zāšā-*, cf. Av. *api-zāšā-* the future birth. V. *pezāšē*, *zāško*.

*'vəzvurgo*, v. *ze'viryo*.

## W

*wo* that, ille. — V. Gramm. § 208.

*wo* Ysh, Mm, *u* Mm, *ū* Yu, Z and. — Prs.

*wūi* Y, Mm, Z, G, *wīy* Mt, *wīy* ti, *wī* g, *wī* (g), *wūix* (!) B wind. — *wūi kit(istə)* Yzh, g it is blowing. — Av. *vāta-*. Cf. *Wūi*.

*wa-čpāč* Ysh, *vispač* (š?) u back (adv.), *wəšpač* LSIy behind. — *wo žīŋkiko* v° *šūi* Yu the woman went back. — Cf. *špāč*.

*wa'čārum* Ysh alms, '*gadāi*'. — w° *nā-mən del* give me alms. — Khov. *wəchārum*, etc. (Lor.).

*wōdyo* Ysh, r separate, *judā*. — *wodyo kenəm* sh I separate; *'xostə žə yo'wən wōdyo šūi* r the husks were separated from the grain. — Perf. ptc. of *wār-*.

*wāf-ēm*: *waft-ēm* Yzh, *wāf-um*: *wəft-um* Mm, 'wōf-u/am: *wēft-e/am* t, (g), Z to weave. — *waft* pres. 3 sg., *wafto* pret. 3 sg. Yzh. — Cf. Prs. *bāftan*, etc., Wkh. *ūf*, Sgl. *īf*; \*ub- in Av. \*ubda-, Psht. *ūdəl* to weave, *būda*, Prs. *pūd* wool (\*upa-ubda-), Oss. *urd* warp, chain (< \*ubdra-, cf. Pashai *udri* snare < Ir.), Kurd. *ūnīn* to weave; \*wāp- in Orosh. *wōb* (Lentz) sheaf, Phl. Psalter *w'py*.

*wof'shō* Yzh, *wošt'o* sh small wasp, 'wafsiyo Mm, °a t, G, 'wāfšīye M(sh), °iya f. Z wasp. — V. NTS. V, 45, s.v. Bal. *gwabz*.

*waha'ray* Yzh hungry, *wā'hrāk* sh, *waxrāx* B hunger, 'waxrōgi pl. Mm, 'waxrd Z hungry. — *zo w°*, *tu w°-a?* Yzh; *mai 'luydi ni'āstat 'wuro*, w° Mm the daughters were sitting there, hungry. — Tomaszek (BB, 7, 205) suggests derivation from *wé-khorāk* 'without food'(?).

*wo'jou* Yr span from thumb to little finger, *wa'žab* Mm span from thumb to forefinger. — Prs. *wajab*.

*woko* Ysh, r there, 'uko'. — w° *nīnomərə* Yr there is the spleen; *wokə cəs dārū vīo*, *woko cəs kīmat vli* Ysh 'ūko čī dārū būd, *ūko čī kīmat bāša*'. — Taj.-Prs. *ūko* + *wo*.

*wu'l-um*: 'wust-um Yzh to throw. — *pa yar wu'lum*, *wu'lē* I throw, he throws a stone. — Cf. Ishk. *wēd-* to put; Feili Lur *bistin* to throw, Siw. Zaza *wist* he threw; and cf. EVP. s.v. *wīštəl* (*wuləm*) to throw, shoot.

'wolo Yzh, sh, 'wēlo Mm, °a g, 'wēla Z, wē'la G large irrigation channel. — Cf. Wkh. *wāđ*, and v. Z s.v. and EVP. s.v. *wāla*. Cf. 'wēliko.

*wu'lai* Yzh, u° g, ulā'γō r, wəlio'yo sh, *wu'lōi* Mm open, *wil-* Z to open. — Cf. Skr. *vi-dhā* to spread, diffuse? Cf. *wulēyo*.

'wulo Yzh, Mm, *wu'lo* Ysh, u, u'lo g, r, 'wula M, g, t, 'wilā (g), 'wōla ti, wōla Z, *wu'la* G, *ulo* B, *wula* LSIm wife. — Pl. *wuli* Ysh, 'wulē u. *wo xoi wulo līšē* Ysh he saw his own wife; *wo γoi 'wulē nām lī'o* he called his own wives; *no 'ā'beli 'pūrāf 'wuli avəzde* sh he brought wives for both his sons. Cf. Av. *vađū-*, Sogd. *wōw*, etc.

*waly* Yzh, *wālx* sh, *wālu* Mm, *wālu* LSIm feast, merriment; *walx* B marriage. — If the originally meaning is 'wedding-feast' (cf. Prs., etc. *sūr, tōi* 'feast' and 'wedding'), we may compare Av. (*upa-*)*vad-* to marry; v. Sgl. *wōtuk*.

*wul'ya* Yzh, *wul'γākə* (pl.) sh, *wul'γakə* r, 'wul'ga Mm, *wulγviγə* g, 'wulgiγ (g), *wul'γē* pl. t, *wilx*, pl. *wilγe* ti kidney. — \**wydkā-* or *wyθkā-*, f. < Av. m. dual *vərəθka*, from which also Khorasani *bulk* (Houtum-Schindler), Prs. lex. "pulk", Ishk. *gul.*, Kurd. *gulē*, etc., Yazgh. *wiđgaθ* (Sköld), Sak. *bilga-*. Orm. *γulkak*, Sgl. *wol̄k* may be derived from \**wydk-* or \**wyθk-*. — Oss. *urg* (and the Ir. lw.s Syryān *vörk*, Cheremiss *βäryš*) with early loss of the dental, cf. Jacobsohn, Arier u. Ugrofinnen, 220. — Prs. *gurda* < \**wytaka-*, cf. Bal. *gutṭay*, *iy* with *ṭṭ* through IA. influence? — \**wydkā-* scarcely from \**wert-* (Marstrander IF. 20, 347, Charpentier, MO. 8, 109). — V. EVP. s.v. *pušta-warga* and cf. Wkh. *walk*, Sgl. *wol̄k*.



'wēliko Yzh, 'wō° sh, wō° r, g, 'wē° Mm small irrigation channel. Cf. 'wolo. wu'lēyo Y, Mm, °ä (g), 'wulēyē g, wu'leya t, 'wuleya Z span (from thumb to little finger). — Cf. Shgh. wi'ḍēḍ, Sgl. wu'ḍit, Wkh. wu'lēt, Sogd. wyḍ't ('foot' acc. to Benv., JA, 223, 221), formally < Av. vi-dāti- distribution, cf. Skr. vi-dhā- to spread. Kati velyōu is possibly bor. from Mj. — In N.Bal. we should expect \*gidāth, but we find instead girārth, gu°. — V. wojoū.

'wulyeyo Yzh, wu'lyēyo sh, wu'līyā Mg n. of a small shrub, '(y)irya, iryān'. Cf. Av. varəḍā- shrub. V. Wkh. yurya. waina LSIm (for) hunting. — Cf. Av. vā(y)- to chaze, hunt?

'wīn-: 'lišč- Y (sh also 'liščī-Am), 'wīn-: līškv- Mm, (t), (g), : līšk Z, : lōškv G to see. — wīnēm, 3 sg. wīt Yzh, wo xoi zəmonəf līšč sh he saw his own children; līščə-va, (v. § 252); mən vətō līščim g; yū ādamen xūben līšč u a man saw a dream; wo xūben ku līščut u where did you see that dream? mun xūvən līščəyəm r; mun fta līškvim M(t). — < Av. vaēna-: dərəšta- (v. Z s.v. and G, p. 153), cf. Par. dhōr. — Mj.-Yd. belongs to the small group of Ir. dialects which has neither the western (incl. Psht.) type bin-: dīd, nor the north-eastern, Sgl., etc. wīn-: wīnt (Sogd. wīt). Cf. in E.Ir. Sak. di-: dāta-, Par. buch-: dhur, Orm. juš-, jun-: dvē-k (and Bal. gīnd-: dīt, dist).

wi'en-um: wi'et-um Yzh, wi'en-əm: wi'ēt-əm g, wi'en-am: wi'et-am Mt, (yuwen-): wi'yēt-um m to untie, loosen, 'yala mēkunim'. — Cf. Skr. vi-tan- to unfold, spread. — V. yu'wan-.

wind, v. wo.

wūṅ Yzh, sh, wūn r, g, wūṅg Mm, g, (g) marmot, 'wunduk'. — Cf. Sgl. yūṅek, Wkh. wīnek, wundek (from Taj., Prs. (dialect) wanak).

'wār-əm: 'wat-əm Yzh, sh, 'wār-əm: 'wet-əm Mm, wetta B to separate. — wad'yo, wodyo kenēm Yzh, sh I separate, 'judā mēkunem'. — Cf. Av. var- to select, with secondary preterite (v. § 238)? — Cf. wōḍyo.

wor Yzh, sh, wōr r, war g oath. — wor xorəm zh, war xorum g I swear. — Av. varah-, cf. Phl. var, Orm. ywar. V. qasam.

'woru Yzh, 'wārə g upper. — w° pōršik zh, g upper lip. — < \*u(v)ar- < Av. upara-.

'wūro f. Yr a large duck.

'warfo Yzh, r, °ə g, 'worfo sh, Mm, g, 'wōrfe ti, 'wōrfa f. Z, °'fa G snow. — Av. vafra-, and Orm. γōšr m., but Psht. wāwra, Zaza vāur (Kurd.-Pers. Forsch. III, IV, 170) and Saka baura f. (not Saka m. as supposed by Konow, Saka Studies, 123), cf. § 177. Meillet's rejection of the derivation of vafra- from Skr. vap- (BSL, 35, CR. 26) is unfounded, cf. e.g. Palola kir 'snow': Skr. kir-.

wā'riyo Yzh, 'wa° sh rain. — Av. vāra-, Wkh. wūr, Khov. (lw.) wāru.

'wōryō, °yiko Yg, 'waryiko f. zh, 'worgiko Mm, 'wərgika f. Z she-lamb, one year old, "worth one rupee" (yak rupā ḡuda). — < \*warakā-. Cf. Sgl. wērak. V. wər'ya.

wury Y (wūry g), Mg, (g), t, wurg m, Z, wurx M(sh), wurk, wərg G wolf. — Av. vəhrka-, cf. Sgl. wərk, Burushaski (lw.) urk.

*wur'yār*, v. *vul'yōr*.

*wary'i'jin* M(g) n. of a water-fowl, 'kāl-miry' (?). — But cf. Wkh. s.v. 'kāl-mory.

*wōryiko*, v. *wōryō*.

*war'wađen* Yzh trouser-string. — Prob.

< \**war-vaden* < \**warta-bandana*, v. s.v. *woryō*. Cf. Sgl. *wal'vōš*.

*wārwan* Yg the Milky Way (?). V. 'pado.

*wār'waņe* Yzh, *wōr'wānə* sh, *wər<sup>o</sup>* r, *wor'wāne* g a kind of wild, uneatable berries. Prob. a pl. form.

*wār'ya* Yzh, *wo<sup>o</sup>* g, *wor'iā* r, *wā'rē* (pl. *wāri'ān*) sh, 'warē Gramph., 'worya Mm, *wəryoyō* g, 'wəry Z new-born male lamb. — Cf. *wōryō* and *nar-worya*, *prasi'lanē wā'rē*.

*wirž* Yzh, r, Mt, *wirž* Yzh, Mg, *wurž* m. Ysh, Mm, Z, *yürž* Yg, *würž* G woollen thread. — < \**urğzho-*, cf. Sgl. *würž*, Yazgh. *wuž*, poss. Bal. *gužg* root (fibre). V. EVP. s.v. *wuža*.

*wār* (pl. 'wārē) Y, *wōr* Mm, g, (g) main roof-beam, 'tir-e-kalān'. — Cf. Sgl. *wāļ*. \**warta-* dissim. from \**wartra-* 'protection' ? V. *wōro*.

'wāro Y, 'wōro Mm, <sup>o</sup>a t summer; 'wōrā M(g), <sup>o</sup>e ti early spring, 'awal-e-bahār'. — < \**wāhrt* + *ā*, cf. EVP. s.v. *wōrai*, and Par. Voc. s.v. 'xāra.

*wor-um*: *wušč-um* Yzh to knit, *wo'r-əm*: *wiš'č-əm* sh to weave (?), *war-*: *wušk* Z to stretch the warp on the loom. — *wuščē* he knitted. — Cf. Av. *vart-* to turn? Oss. *uā'dārt* (reel on) spinning wheel with dissim. < \**wa(r)taθra-* (but cf. Miller, Osset. § 3, 21)?

'wōro Y, 'wēro Mm, 'wēra f. Z, <sup>o</sup>ra G trousers; *wero* B clothes. — Cf. Sgl. *wāļ* trousers, Prs. *garda* leather breeches of a wrestler, Arm. *vartik*

trousers (v. Nyberg, MO. 26, 181), Orosh. *tar-wēg* belt, Psht. *niwārai* belt of a pair of breeches; perhaps from Ir.: *Kati wiš*, Waig. *ōf* Kafir breeches. — Av. *var-* to cover.

'woryō Yzh, 'wargd Z quail. — V. Z s.v. and EVP. s.v. *nwaraz* (de Morgan gives Psht. *ourladza* = \*(w)uraja), Phl. *vartak*, Prs. *wardij*, *walaj*, etc., Brahui *bārū* from Ir.? Cf. Ishk. *wōrc*.

*wos* Y, *wəs* Z now, then. — *wos 'što ke* then he said; *to yār wos kū-ō?* where is your friend now? *wōs do sūy ōyem r 'āli da kuča mērum*'. — V. EVP. *ōs* (s.v. *ōsēdēl*), and cf. Paikuli 'ws now. 'wo'sa Yzh, *wa'sa* sh, *wo'so* r, *wa'si* wide, broad, *wassa* B loose. — Cf. Sgl. *wa'sē*. Cf. Av. *vasō* (adv.) unlimited, Prs. *bas?*

*wo'sorwo*, *wd'sarwo* Yzh, *wa<sup>o</sup>* sh widow, unmarried woman, *wosoro* B widow(er). — Prob. from Khov. *we'soru*, in its turn from Ir. \**βē-sar-* (cf. Tomaschek, BB. 7, 199 and Morg. BSOS, VIII, 670). V. *biwo*.

'wāst-əm: *us'tā(y)-im* Yzh, sh, : *wustōy-əm* M(g), *wəst-*: *wustōy* Z to place, leave behind. — Pres. 3 sg. *wāst*; pret. 3 sg. *us'tāi 'mānd*'; *štāen us'tāim* Yzh I put it below. — Av. *ava-stā-* to place, put.

*wiš'to* Y, *wīst* G, LSI<sub>m</sub>; but *bīst* Mm, g, (g), t, Z twenty. — Av. *visaiti*, cf. Sgl. *wīšt*, Wkh. *wīst*.

*wuš* Ysh, g, r, Mm, Z, *uš* Yzh, *ūš* B, *wiš* Mt grass. — < Av. *vāstra-*, v. EVP. s.v. *wāšə* and cf. Sgl. (w)uš, Wkh. *wiš*.

*wušč* Yg morning; *wīšk* M(g) it dawns, 'rōz mēšawa'. — Cf.:

: *wuškvoī* M(g) flew up, 'ba hawā raft',  
 : *uškṽāy-am* Mm, *wušk'*: *wuškōy* Z  
 to rise. — < \**uštā* < \**ut-sthā*, cf.  
 Par., Bal. *ušt-* to rise; Sogd. 'wšt-  
 (Benv. JA. 223, 177). — Cf. Av. *uštāna-*  
 vital force: Skr. *utthāna-*, and v.  
 Turner, BSOS, 5, 131.  
*wuškuj*:- *wuškujəy-* Z to seek. — <  
 \**uštunj-*, cf. Skr. *tu(ñj)* strike, push,  
 etc. + *ut*?  
*wuški-ostia* Mm ankle, wrist. — Cf.  
*ušk-'mäxiko*.  
*wu'sūles* Mm cotton thread. — Cf. Wkh.  
*wə'säi*, Ishk. *wōsi* id. + *loso* (q.v.)?  
*'wuššyo* Ysh, r, *uššyo* zh, sh, *uši'yō* g  
 hunger, hungry. — *zo uši'yo kenem*  
 zh I am hungry, *mo 'mara u° kit*  
 this man is hungry; *wuššyo kəṛ* sh  
 he became hungry. — From. \**wysitā*(?),  
 cf. Prs. *gurs*, etc.  
*wuši(y)aday* Ysh, *ušiyady* zh, *ušvōādiy*  
 Mm, (*w*)*ušyād(igd)* Z hungry; (*w*)*ušəy*:-  
 (*w*)*ušydd-* Z to become hungry. —  
*no usiyādəm* Ysh I am not hungry;  
*zo wušiada'yəm* sh, *zo ušiyadyəm* zh  
 I am hungry; *mo ādam uši'yadē*, *mai*  
*adamē uši'yadet* zh. — *wušiyad-* <  
 \**wysayanta-* 'hungering' > 'having  
 become hungry'? *wušiyad-* used as  
 a secondary verbal stem. Cf. §§ 248,  
 259.  
*wo'xo* Yzh, r, p, *'wōxo* sh, *'woxə* g, *'wāxo*  
 Mm, °a ti, *waxa* t, Z, *wə'd'xa* G root-  
 fibre. — Cf. Prs. *bəx*, Psht. *wəx*, Shgh.  
*wyāš*, etc. V. § 152.  
*wa'xān* Yzh tasteless. — From Khw.  
*wəxāl* < Ir. \**βē-xwāδ* (BSOS, VIII, 670).  
*'woxrogī*, v. *waharəy*.  
*waxš-* Yzh to grow (about plants). —  
*woxšē-este* it is growing; *umēd asted*  
*ke mən yōu waxšē* I hope that my

barley will grow; *yōu wuxšē* the  
 barley grew (?). — Av. *vaxš-*.  
*'witya* m. Y, Mm, Z, °o Mg, (g), t, ti  
 long-leaved, wild willow. — *'yū 'wīya*  
*vī'o* Mm. — Av. *vaēti-*, Ishk. *wēd*,  
 Sak. *bī*, v. EVP. s.v. *wala*. — Cf.  
 Oss. *yēs*, *yīs* brushwood, scrub; Saka  
*bisu* bush, tree < \**waitsa-* (but Skt.  
*vetasa-*). — V. *a'wusto*, *čili'kyō*.  
*woyo<sup>u</sup>ma*, v. *yāmo*.  
*wu'zā-im* Yzh, *u'zā-im* g, *uzāiy-əm* pf. r  
 to be tired; *u'zāy-əm*: *u'zāyt-m* sh,  
*u'zāy-am* r, *wu'zāy-am* Mm, *ūzaiya* B  
 to be left behind. — *u'zāy-am* Ysh  
 I am tired, *u'zāiyet* r you are tired.  
 — Cf. Par. *ūzeh-* to be left behind,  
 Oss. d. *izayun* to remain, Turf. NW.  
*wyz'd* left, Av. \**ava-* (or *vi-*) *zaya-*.  
 Cf. also Sgl. s.v. *fərind*.  
*wuzi'ā-um*: *wuzi'ēvd-um* Yzh, *wuzi'āv-əm*:  
*wuzi'avd-əm* sh, *u'zlaw-* r, : *uziaud-um*  
 r, *wu'zōv-am* Mm, *wzōw*:- *wzēvd* Z to  
 extinguish, to blow out a fire. —  
*yūr uziaudum* Yr I extinguished the  
 fire; *zo va yūra u'zī-aum*; *yūra*  
*u'zlawal* r. — Cf. Yazg. *ūzūw*:- *ūzōl*  
 intr., *ū'zaw-ū'zawd-* tr., v. *wuzyo*,  
 and cf. Z s.v. — Z compares Prs.  
*wazīdan* to blow, but cf. Turf. NW.  
*wzōd* (Mir.Man. III, 64), Saka *buysu-*  
 to extinguish.  
*wāzd* Yzh, sh, *wazda* r, *waz* g, *wōzd*  
 Mm, g fat (raw, of a recently killed  
 animal). — V. EVP. s.v. *wāzda*, and  
 cf. Sgl. *wōst*, etc., Wanchi *waz* (Lentz),  
 Yazgh. *wūzd* (Sköld), and from W.Ir.  
 Zaza *vazd* tallow, Kurd. *baz*. — Cf.  
 Charpentier, KZ, 46, 25.  
*wūz'd-um*: *wūz'dā-im* Yzh, sh, *ūzd-əm*:  
*ūzda'i-m* g, *'wuzn-* Mm, t, (g): *wu'znāy-*  
 m, *wūzn-*: *wuznōy* Z, *wūzn-* G to

wash (hands and clothes). — *wuz'dē*  
3 sg. Yzh, *last ūzdəm* g. — Cf. Wkh.  
*wuzd* and v. s.v. *z'nay*.  
*'wuzyo* Ysh extinguished. — *yūr w° šui*  
'*āteš murd*'. — Perf. ptc. of \**wuz*,  
intr. of *wuziā*.  
*wa'zir* Yu vizier. — *yū wazir luḡdo* a  
vizier's daughter. — Prs.  
*wu'zir* Y, Mm, t, (g), *u'zir* B, *wu'zir* Z  
yesterday. — Cf. Zaza *vāzēr*, *wizyēri*  
yesterday. Acc. to Tomaschek, BB. 7,  
p. 196 from \**zyō + ayar*, but prob.  
< Av. *uzayara* (= *uztrah*.) after-  
noon, cf. Oss. *izār* id.? V. *iziko*  
and Sgl. *wəc'rin*.  
*'wāziyā* M(g) a large kind of pine, resin,  
*'wajiyo* m pine.  
*'wēžnu* Yzh garlic. — Khow. *wəz'nū*.

## X

*'xā-im*: *'xāst-əm* Yzh to thresh. — *xosto*  
*xāim*. — Cf. Sgl. *xūy*: *xūid*, Or. *xay*:  
*xūst*, to thresh, Bakht. *xū* threshing,  
W.Oss. *xvayun*, E.Oss. *xoin* to crush  
with one's feet, *ār-xoin* to thresh  
< \**xwah*., Saka *hvad* to crush, Av.  
*x-asta* threshed (v. Bartholomae, Mir.  
Mund. II, 27 sq., who wrongly com-  
pares O.Engl. *swadu* trodden path).  
*'xio* Yzh (with post-velar *x*) a fruit-  
bearing shrub growing in the hills  
(*dar kōh ast*, *mēwa dārad*).  
*xi'āban* Yu, in the Prs. formula *x° bar*  
*x°*, *bi'āban bar bi'āban*. — Prs. *xiyā-*  
*bān* flower-bed.  
*xūbun*, v. *xōvun*.  
*'xabar* Ysh, u news, information. — *x°*  
*lārēm 'šunīdam*'; *x° kər no ādaməf*  
he proclaimed to the people; *to doḡf*  
*x° čēš-ā?* don't you know anything

about them? *zo x° yu'rum* I get  
news about s.t. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xa'čir* Yzh, *ka°* g mule. — Turki *qačir*,  
Psht. *qačara*, Bal. *khačar*, etc., but  
Prs. *qātir*.  
*xə'dā(i)* Ysh, *xu°* LSI God. — *ba nām-i-x°*;  
*xə'dāiyen* 'bandē the slave of God;  
*ā x°* oh God. — Prs.  
*xud'ba* Yzh, °š sh wedding. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xu'tba* sermon, *xitbat* asking in mar-  
riage.  
*'xādem* Yzh, *'xādəm* sh baker, or di-  
stributor of food at a feast (*baxš*  
*mēkina da tū*). — Ar.-Prs. *xādim*  
servant.  
*xedi'ya* Yzh play, game (Khow. *ištuk*);  
*xadiya* B to play. — Inf. of *xo'ud*.  
*xo'ud-əm* Yzh, *'xod-əm* sh, *'xwod-əm* g,  
*'xōd-əm* r: *xadi-m* Y, *'xad-am*: *xə'diy-*  
*am* Mm, t, *xə'd-ām* (t), *xdd*: *xddiy* Z,  
*xad*: *xadi'ya* G to laugh. — Pres.  
3 sg. *xit* Yzh. — Cf. Prs. *xandīdan*,  
Sgl. *xānd*., Wkh. *kānd*., and in Kafirī:  
Ashk. *kōn*., Kati *kan*., etc.  
*xōf* Y, *xaf* Mm, Z scum, foam. — Cf.  
Sak. *khavā*, Sgl. *xōf*, Wkh. *xep*, Shgh.  
*xif* (lw., but *kāf* 'drivel' is genuine);  
Oss. *xāf* 'pus'; Prs. *kaf*, v. Z s.v.  
*'xof-əm* Y: *xo'fāi-m*, *'xift-əm* zh, *'xift-əm*  
sh, r, *xēft-əm* g, *xaf-am*: *xift-am* Mm,  
*xef-əm* (g), *'xof-am* (t), *xifta* B to  
cough. — *xofəm-ste* Yg. — Cf. Sgl.  
*xōfuk*, Prs. *xafa*, *xufa*, Bakht. *kuša*-,  
Par. *khūf*., Khow. (lw.) *kap*., Oss.  
*xufin*.  
*xo'fui* Mm, *xə'fəi* Z, *xāpui* Yzh cough. —  
*'xāpui 'drištē* it stuck to me(?), *'čāšptda*  
*kat-i-mā* (?). — V. *xof*-.  
*xafa'bandē* Ysh tight-fitting necklace. —  
\*Prs., cf. *xafā* strangling, choking.  
*'xafs*-. *'xāvd* Yzh, u, *xāfs*-. *xōvd* M(g),

*xafs-*: *xāvḍ* Z to descend, 'xambīdim', Khow. *xwamiman*. — *da yū šāher xavḍ(ət)* he (they) alighted in a town (*dar yak šahr xambīdan*). — Cf. Z s.v., and Sgl. *xav-*, Sar. *šāvs-*, Wkh. *šam-*, etc. — Ir. \**xa(m)b/p-* to bend, curve (Prs. *xam(b)* crooked, dome, etc., *xamēz* slightly curved, *xabīdan* to be crooked, etc.), and *čamb/p-* (Prs. *čam* crooked, *čambar* circle, *čafta* vaulted, curved, etc.). V. *xap-*.

*'xuftan* Yzh, sh evening. — Prs.

*xu'gor* Y, *kugor* B sword. — From Khow. *khon'gōr*, etc., in its turn from Ir., cf. Sogd. *xnyr*. — V. BSOS, VIII, p. 668.

*'xūyo* Yzh, g, r, *xūyiko* sh, *'xūgo* Mm, *xū'ya* g, *'wūga* f. Z, *xū'ga* G (acc. to Junker with unvoiced *g*) spring, fountain. — Cf. Wkh. *kik*, Orm. *xāko*, Av. *xā*. V. *Xūyiko*.

*'xāki* Yzh, u earthen; greyish green, earthcoloured, *xā'kī* G grey. — *banda-i-xāki* a human being. — Prs.

*'xōkova* Mm first watering of the fields. — Cf. Shgh. *xākāv*. — Prs. \**xāk-āba?*

*xal'ou* Mm, g, °*ow* Z wet. — Prs. *xalāb* water mixed with mud.

*xāl* Ysh (not zh) taste. — From Khow. *xāl*, in its turn from an Ir. dialect with *l*, cf. Prs. *xūwāi*, etc. V. BSOS, VIII, p. 670. — V. *maza*.

*'xālē*, °*Y* empty. — Ar.-Prs.

*xī'ālē* Yp thought. — Ar.-Prs.

*xūl* Y, *xa'la* G perspiration. — Cf. Wkh. *šil*, Sar. *šaid*, Yazgh. *šwīd* (Sköld), Khow. (lw.) *xēl*, and EVP. s.v. *xwala*.

*'xūlo* Yzh, Mm, *'xulo* Ysh, *'xūla* f. Z, °*la* G embroidered cap. — Cf. Psht. *xōl*, Prs. *xōl*, etc., Georg. lw. *khudi* cap.

*xal'fān* Yzh, *xali'fān* sh, °*ōn* Mm large skin bag for keeping flour; *'xalfuan* Z large goat-skin bag for crossing a river. — If genuine, poss. from \**xarōβān* < \**xwarda-pāna*. 'food-keeper'. Z compares Roshan. *k'alwōr*, etc., but this is not possible.

*xal'āryo* Yzh, sh, g wet clay, used for building walls; mud, bog. — Cf. Prs. *xard* black, viscous clay (with dial. *rd* < *rdʔ*), Shgh. *šarθ*, *šartk* wet clay. V. *Xolarγāi*.

*xal'ās* Ysh, u finished. — *x° kō'ret* they finished it; *x° šūi* (the work) was finished; *žin'kiko x° šūi* the woman got rid of them. — Ar.-Prs.

*'xulxadī* Yp nettle. — Cf. *xūlʔ*

*xām* Y, *xōm* Mm, g, Z raw. — Prs.

*xō'an-*: *xō'at-* Yzh, *xō'ōn-*: *'xō'ōt-* g, *'xōn-*: *'xōt-* sh, r, *'xan-* *'xat-* Mt, *'xar-am-*: *'xat-om* m, *'xar-am-*: *'xat-am* (g) to buy. — Pres. 3 sg. *xīt*, 1 pl. *max* *xō'nam* Ysh, 3 pl. *xō'anet*; Pret. 3 sg. *xot* zh. — *xar-* from Prs.; *xōn-*, etc. prob. from \**xarn-* (with secondary *rn*, cf. § 133) < \**xran-*, cf. Sgl. *xērn-*, Oss. *älxän-* < \**xran-* (scarcely \**xrin-*). The explanation of the *-a-* is doubtful. Cf. also Orm. *šrin-*, Zaza *herin-*, Turf. Phl., Sogd. *xrin-*, and v. Bartholomae, ZII, 4, 177 sqq. — *xōt-* < *xōn-* + *t*.

*xun* Yzh, g, r, Mm, g, t, B, *xōn* Ysh, *xōn* m. Z raven. — Cf. Sgl. *xarn*, Yazgh. *xworn*, Wkh. (lw.?) *šun*. V. Notes on Shgh. s.v. *xūrñ* < \**k(u)-warana-* or \**k(u)-warana-* (cf. Nep. *kupaṅkhi* crow). Cf. also Ostyak *varñai'* crow, etc. (v. Jacobssohn. Arier u. Ugrofinnen, 36)?

*'xūno* Yp lid of a wooden trough. —

Cf. Prs. *xwān* covered table, spacious tray.

*xana'daro* Yzh, sh professional female baker. — Prs. *xānadār* house-keeper.

*xap* Yzh, u silence. — *xap ken* zh be silent; *wo xap kəŋ* he kept silence; *mo xap čt klt?* why is he silent (*xaba čī mēkina*)? — Prs., cf. Sgl. *xap*.

*xap-* (*xab-ʔ*) Yu to fell. — *amboh pēžə xap* fell much timber, 'bixambān'. — < \**xamb-*, cf. *xafs*.

*xāpui*, v. *x<sup>o</sup>fui*.

*'xoro* f. Y (*x<sup>o</sup>* g), Mm, *'xərd* g, *'xara* Z, *xa'ra* G donkey. — Av. *xara-*, cf. Sgl. *xōr*, Wkh. *xūr*, etc. Reg. the genus, v. § 179.

*'xor-* Yzh, *'xur-* sh, *xu'r-əm* r, *xor-um* g : *'xu'ŋ-um*, -əm Y, *'xūr-um*: *xu'r-ām* Mm, *'xar-am*: *xū'r-ām* t, *'xōr-im* (g), *xar-* Z, G: *xur-* Z to eat; *xorovda* B to feed. — *mo 'adam na'yan 'xut* Yzh this man eats bread; *va mun xut* u; *mōx na'yan xu'rəm* sh; *xorəf-estə* you are eating; *yo ādam (mən pūren) na'yan xu'ŋo* sh this man (my son) ate bread; *xu'ŋet* you ate; *tə na'ŋen xur'jet-a?* sh have you eaten bread? *no xu'ŋān na'ŋen čes* sh there is no bread to eat. — Av. *x<sup>o</sup>ar-*, cf. Sgl. *xwār-*, etc.

*'xuri* Mm itching. — Cf. Sgl. *xūr-*, *xurūš*, Prs. *xār*. V. *'loxē*, *xārišē*.

*xu'ri* Mm, *'xūrəya* Z sister's son. — \**hwahriya-*, cf. Sgl. *xir*, Wkh. *xariyōn*, Shgh. *xēr*, v. EVP. s.v. *xōr'*. V. *nə'wisa*, *vrai'pūr*.

*xa'rāb* Mm lean. — Cf. Sgl. *xarāb(ε)*, Wkh. *xarāb* < Ar.-Prs. *xarāb* bad (cf. also Sköld, Mater., p. 89, n. 215 \*). On the other hand Prs. *lāyir* 'lean'

has acquired the meaning 'bad' in several Ir. dialects, and some Ir. words for 'good' originally mean 'fat, stout'.

*xar'bəza* Yzh, <sup>o</sup> r, <sup>o</sup>*būzo* g, <sup>o</sup>*bū'za* G melon. — Prs.

*'xird-əm*: *'xrist-əm* Yzh, *xir'd-am*: *x<sup>o</sup>rist-əm* sh, r, *'xərd-əm*: *'xrist-əm* g, *'xred-əm*: *'xrest-əm* Mm to shave, scratch; *xrid-*: *xrist* Z to comb, scratch. — *'xərdim* Yzh I scratch myself; *'xirdē* 3 sg.; *wu'zir va yārzo xristəŋəm* g I have shaved my beard yesterday. — \**xrint-*: \**xrista-* (cf. § 227), through contamination of \**krt-* and \**xri-* (v. EVP. s.v. *xriyəl*)? V. *fxau*, *tuŋd*.

*xu'rigo* Mm, <sup>o</sup>d Z sister's daughter. < \**hwahriyakā*, cf. *vrerigo* and v. *xurī*.

*xar'gūš* Mm, g, (g), t, (sh), Z hare. — Prs. V. *šy*.

*'xiryo* Y, *'xirgo* Mm, <sup>o</sup>ya g, <sup>o</sup>ga G, *x<sup>o</sup>irga* f. Z water-mill. — *xiryo ya'gytim* Ysh 'šakīdim'. — Cf. Sgl. *xu'dāri*, Wkh. *xə'dōrg*, Z s.v., and Notes on Shgh. s.v. *xē'dārj*. With \**hwatārakā-* 'self-grinder', cf. Bal. *watās* 'self-fire' = pistol.

*xōr'ŋū* Yzh, g, <sup>o</sup>ŋū r a bird resembling a dove, but larger, Khw. *gyux* (?). — Can the name mean 'donkey-eared', cf. Prs. *xargōš* hare, etc.?

*xir'ŋar*, v. s.v. *xursago*.

*xu'rāk* Ysh food. — *ŋurd x<sup>o</sup> no xu'ŋān* she bought food to eat. — Prs.

*xu'rom* Yzh, p, *xu'rum* r, *xu'ram* Mm, *xirām* (g) threshing floor. — *xosto lyadəm da xu'rum* Yr I threw the straw on the threshing-floor; *x<sup>o</sup>dīrōim* M(g) I threshed. — Cf. Sgl. *xōr'mōn*, Wkh. *čē'rām*, *čiramn* (NB č-l), Sar. *šūrūm*, Orosh. *šī'rum*, Shgh. *xəlan'jak*

- (lw. < \**xəram-jak*?), Par. *kha'mōr* (< \**xamarn* < \**xraman*), Orm. *šramənd*, *xarmanjāī* (lw.), Prs. *xirman(gāh)*; (cf. also Bal. *khurmānī*, Brahui *xurru* grain-pit). Prob. from *xram* = Skr. *kram-* to step, tread, etc., cf. Khow. *krom-*, Kati *kr'am-* to thresh (cf. Psht. *γō-bal* < \**gā(u)-pada-* threshing), but with various phonetic aberrations.
- xurom-fīa* Yzh, sh winnowing-stick.
- 'xurmuyo* Yzh, °*'muyo* sh, *'xurmoyo* g, *xurdiko* Mm pea (Taj. *mājik*, prob. = *mušung* Pisum sativum), but acc. to Yzh = *patek*, Lathyrus sativus. — Prs. *xurd* + *muyo*, q.v.?
- 'xirman-i-bī'bāt* Yu (in Prs. formula) threshing-floor.
- xir-pul* Yzh bare-footed. — Cf. Prs. *xir* bare-faced, impudent, etc., Brahui *xēr* open gravelly ground, and *polo*.
- xar-pə'lang* Mm a kind of leopard. — \*Prs.?
- xar'pūst* Yzh a white mushroom, Bad. Prs. *pu'fuk*. — Prs. \**xar-pōst* on account of the greyish colour? V. *pu'fānek*.
- xərs* Mm, *xurs* g, *xīrs* (g), t, (sh), *xərs*, *xōrs* Z bear. — Prs. V. *yarš*.
- 'xōris* M(t) moraine, heap of stones; (g) pebbles, '*xāk*'; ti pebbles, sand. — Cf. Prs. *xār(ā)* a hard stone; but *-is*?
- xu'rūso* Yzh n. of an animal resembling a fox, but larger, which attacks ibex'es, Cyon Alpinus Pallas? — < \**xrausā-* 'crying' (Prs. *xurōs*, *xurōh* cock), cf. Sgl. *xrēsag*.
- xursa'go* Yzh, *xirsa'go* Mm, °*gə* g; *xir'yar* Yr millstone. — Cf. *xīrγo* and \**sago* (= Prs. *sang*), *γar*; cf. Wkh. *xədōrg'γar*, °*bort*, Par. *xēra'gir*, (but Oss. *gār-guroine* 'stone-quern', hand-mill).
- 'xārišē* Yzh itching. — Prs. V. *xuri*.
- xerīšcē* Yzh, *xə°* sh, *xəršcə* r, *xēšcə* g, *xriš'kyiy* Mm name of a small tree growing in the hills, whose wood is used for making axe-handles, '*xarīšta*'; *xə'rista* M(t) tamarisk. — But Prs. *xarīšta* an arched roof, etc.
- xaršīzn* M packing-needle. — Acc. to Steingass *xar* — (e.g. in *xar-amrūd*) denotes the largest or coarsest of its kind. Cf. *šinjo* and v. *juāl-'dūz*.
- 'xarvo* Yzh hut on a mountain pasture, Norw. "seter".
- xa'raŋ* Yzh mattress. — Khow. *xa'lāng* mattress; Sar. '*khavung*' (Bellow) bedding?
- 'xōisk* Mm small anvil(?), *'xōyisk* Z sledge-hammer. — Cf. Prs. *xāyisk*, Wkh. *xeyisk*, etc. sledge-hammer.
- xə's'mānek* Yzh, r, and Burbunu (acc. to p), *səx'mānek* Yp, *səx'mān* g pellet-bow. — Prob. < \**sangh(a)mānak*, cf. Wkh. *səm'bōnak* < \**saŋbānak* < \**saŋ(k)mānak*. V. § 137.
- xis'mat* Ysh service, work. — *mən min* *x°* *kərum* I have done so much service (work). — Ar-Prs.
- xu'sur* Yzh, sh, Mm, *xu'sur* Yr, *xu'sər* g, *xu'sir* Mg, *xu'sur* Z father-in-law, husband's brother. — Genuine, or from Prs.? Cf. Sgl. *xv'sər*, Wkh. *xə'sər*, *xūrs*. V. *yūi*.
- xə'sərbə'rō* Yr wife's brother. — Cf. Sgl. *xusərbə'rē*, Par. *xasur'bīra*, Prs. *xusar-pūra*, Brahui (lw.) *xāspar* < \**xasura-puṭra-*. V. *rōwun*.
- 'xāstē* Yzh, °*ti* p straw, '*kāh*', Khow. *tuš*. — Cf. *'xosto*.
- 'xisto* Yzh, °*tō* sh unbaked dough. —

- 'xista kenēm* zh I knead. — Borr. from Khow. *'xasta* unbaked, leavened dough (Ir. lw.)? Cf. Sgl. *xēste* bread, Prs. *xāsta* risen, leavened (reg. the vowel cf. Taj. *xēst* = Prs. *xāst*). — Waziri *xīst* kneaded, Or. *axīḫ*: *axīḫt* to knead, *axēḫc* dough, *xōḫc* fresh dough (and Wkh. *ḫec* bread?) can scarcely be derived from \**xēsta-* (v. Henning, ZII. 9, 179) on account of the meaning. Cf., perhaps, Av. *hvaršta-* well belaboured, which would also explain Or. *x-* instead of *ḫ-*.
- 'xosto* Yzh, r grain. — *xosto xāim* zh I thresh; *x° lyadēm da xurum* r I put the grain on the threshing-floor. — Cf. *xā-*, Av. *x'asta-* threshed.
- 'xusto* (f.?), Yzh, *xūst* sh, r, g, B wet. — Cf. Wkh. *ḫašc*, *xaič*, Sar. *xāst*, Shgh. *xest*, Psht. *xušt*. With dissim. from Av. *xšusta-* liquid, moist; Sak. *kšustā*, etc. serum (Bailey).
- 'xšī-im*: *'xšī-im* Yzh, *x°šī-m*: *x°šī-m* g, *x°šī-em*: *x°šī-m* r, *xšīy-em*: *xšī'im* (or *xšīo kərum*) sh, *xšīy-am* Mm, *xšī-lām* (t), *xšīy-*: *x°šīy* Z, *xšīy-am* G, *xšīya* B to weep. — Pres. 1 pl. *xšīyem-esto*, 2 pl. *xšīaf-este*, 3 pl. *xšī'yet-ste* Ysh. — Z compares Av. *xšudra-*; but cf. Sgl. *šid-*, Ishk. *šīn-* to weep, Sogd. *'yš'ywn*, Phl. *šēwan* lament, Abdu *šī'ven* weeping, (Av. *xšī-* 'distress' is doubtful).
- 'xoš-əm*: *'xišc-im*, *-əm* Y, *'xaš-əm* Mm, *'xōš-am* t, *'xēš-am* (g): *'xiškv-əm*, *-ām*, *-am* m, t, (g), *xaš-*: *xišk* Z to pull, drag. — Pres. 3 sg. *'xošē*; *'hāzer* *'xišcim* Yzh I sighed. — Cf. Sgl. *xāš-*, Wkh. *xāš-*, Yaghn. *xaš-*, Sogd. *γrš-* (Reichel't, Vimal. Sūtra, 155) to pull, Yazgh. *xavaḫ-* to pull, smoke,
- Prs. *farxašta* dragged along the ground; but *kašdan* to pull, etc. V. § 132.
- xu'šō* Y, *'xušo* Mm, °a g, *'xūša* Z, *xū'sa* G mother-in-law. — < \**hwasrū-* + *-ā*. Cf. Sgl. *xoš*, Wkh. *xuḫ*, etc., Prs. *xusrū*, etc.
- xū'šō* Mm, *'xūša* ti ear of corn. — Prs. V. *sor*, *yūya*.
- xuščī* Yzh, sh, °e LSIy, *xuški* Mm, *'xušk'əy* Z, *xušk'kvē* G greater, elder, 'kalāntar'. — *xuščī-ē vrai* Yzh, sh, *xuški vrōi* Mm; *iž tō xuščē* sh elder than yourself; *žə xo'in xuščēn xīsmat ken* serve one who is greater than yourself. — Bailey suggests connection with Sogd. *γwyštr* master, Sak. *hvāšta-* principal, first. Cf. also Oas. *xīstær*, *xestær* elder, eldest, poss. from Av. *hvōišta-* best, greatest, eldest. But the vocalism is not clear. Cf. also Tedesco, BSL. 25, 53.
- xuš'ko* Yzh, *'xu°* sh rice with lentils. — Prs. *xuška* boiled rice without butter.
- 'xaskən* Mm, *'xaskən* g, *'xaska* G horse-dung. — Cf. Psht. *xaršīn* (Mohmand *xrāš'nə*, Wanetsi *xarsina*). The Mj. word is prob. influenced by *γū-skən* (q.v.).
- xšī'leniyo* Yzh, *x°šlā°* sh reed. — °*len°* < *nəl*, q.v.?
- 'xšēma* G supper. — Cf. Sogd. *xšām*, etc. < Av. *xšāfnyā-*. Early lw.? Cf. § 96. V. *šām*.
- xv'šān* Ysh happy. — *ādamē xo'sān šut*. — From Khow. *xu'sān*, in its turn from Ir. Cf. BSOS, VIII, 671. Benv., JA, 223, 242.
- xv'šānē* Ysh, *xušānī* LSIy pleasure, happiness. — *x° kenet* they will make merry. *x° kə'nəl*. — Khow. *xoša'nī*.



<sup>1</sup>*xšira* m. Yzh, g, Mm, Z, <sup>2</sup>*xšira* Yr, <sup>1</sup>*xšira* sh, <sup>1</sup>*xširo* Mg, (g), <sup>0</sup>*ra* G milk. — Y-M agrees with W.Ir., while Shgh. has *šūvd* (< Av. *xšvīpta*<sup>o</sup>), which is found all over Ir., and Sgl. *wom*, Wkh. *žārž* are isolated. Psht., Par. and Orm. have retained the usual Av. word *payah*-. — V. *xušūvd*.

*xšir-kvesa* Mm wooden milk-cup. — Cf. Prs. *kāsa*.

*xšōšvo* Yzh, g, <sup>0</sup>*vo* sh, <sup>2</sup>*xšō'vo* r, *xšōšavo* Mm, *xšōšāve* g, <sup>0</sup>*ā* (g), *xšōšava* t, *xšōšvo* ti, *xšawd* f. Z, <sup>0</sup>*wa* G night. — *xušō'vō tā mīx*, *xušō'vōyī mīx* Ysh by day and by night; no *xšō'vō xšō'vo* *če žā* don't call the night 'night'. — Av. *xšapā*-, Psht. *špa*, etc.

*xušūvd* Yzh, sh, g, *xš<sup>o</sup>* r, *xušūvdo* Mm, *xšivdo* g, *xušivda* t sweet. — < Av. *xšvīpta*-(*vant*)-milk (v. EVP.s.v. *šaula*), Sak. *švidā* cf. Ktesias σιπτα-χόρα n. of a tree which means γλυκύ, ἴδύ (cf. Prs. *šir-in* sweet). Prob. also connected with Prs. *šiftan* to trickle.

*xəš(u)wān* Yzh, *xušūwan* LSIy shepherd. — Cf. Chr. Sogd. *xwšp'n*, and the Sak. transition of *fš* > *kš* in *kšundai* husband and (acc. to Bailey) in *kšārma* shame. — V. *čupān*.

*xatā'ī* Ysh fault. — Ar.-Prs.

*xatra'lōγ* Yp muddy, dirty water. — Cf. Khow. *khatur* id. (Lor.).

*xōvun* Ysh, <sup>0</sup>*ən* r, *xūbun* zh, <sup>0</sup>*ən* u, <sup>0</sup>*vən* Mm, G, *kūvan* B, *xūb(e)* (Prs.?) Yg sleep, dream. — *xūben aγ<sup>w</sup>oi* Yg I fell asleep; *xūbən 'liščim* Yzh, *xūbe liščem* g; *xūben lišč* Yu; *zə xūben wīnem-este vīo* I have been seeing a dream; *žə xōvən aŋga šuyəm* r I woke from a dream. — Cf. Sgl. *xōdm*, etc. V. Benveniste BSL. 30, 75 sqq. (add

Phl. Ps. *'xwmn* sleepless). Reg. v/b v. § 59.

*xāwund* Yzh master. — Prs.

*xowī'za* Yzh, <sup>1</sup>*xo<sup>o</sup>* sh bug. — Cf. Prs. *xazdūk*, *xawazdūk*, *xūzda*, *xabazdōk* (acc. to Gr. Ir. Ph. I, 2, 6 from Aramean) beetle, scolopendra, chafe. V. Sgl. *xa'məŋdək*.

*xāxo* Yzh, sh, p thistle. — \**xāra-xā*, cf. Prs. *xār* thorn?

*xa'xālīč* Yp a sweet-smelling, greyish, composite flower.

*xēyo* Yzh, p, g, *'xayo* sh, r, *'xēyo* Mm, <sup>0</sup>*a* t, *'xēya* g, *'xēya* ti, *'xēya* f. Z, *xē'ya* G wall. — \**xatā*? Cf. Gabri *xada*, Khow. *xatan* house, room (v. BSOS, VIII, 660)?

*xōi* (in sandhi also *γoi*) Y, *xōy* Z own. — *vo xoi wulo*, *zə'monəf lišč* Ysh he saw his own wife, children; no *xoi pūrəf* for my (own) sons; *do x<sup>w</sup>oi kyēi* to his own house; *wo 'γoi 'nām li'o*, *wo γoi 'pūrəf 'nām li'o* he gave his own and his son's name; *tu čamin vo xōi nəfs kene?* what shall you do about your own soul (: family)? *v<sup>w</sup> to xai vrai yurdum* u. — Av. *xatō*, etc.

*xoyo* Ysh self. — *'xoyo aγōi-va* he would have come himself; *xōyo kū šūi?* where did he go himself? *wos na xa'yīn lə'zo kə'nīum* now I let build a house for myself; *na xāin no xuyān čēš* there is nothing for him to eat; *žə xo<sup>a</sup>'in 'az xud'*; *na 'xāyī ki'o kīt* he makes trouble for himself. — V. *xoy*.

*xu'yēyeno* Yzh, *xu'yāyeno* sh, *xu'yāyeno* Mm wife's or husband's sister. — < \**hwahā-γnā*-. Cf. Prs. *xāzana* < \**hwahā-janikā*, Par. *xījīnjek*, Kurd. *xwāzīn*, Wkh. *xūyun*, Sar. *xayūn*.

*'xuzd-um*: *xuz'dāi-m* Y, *xuzd-um*: *xuz-dāy-əm* Mm to send, dispatch, 'rahī kardān, mēfiristam'. — *wo mən xuz-dāi* 'māra rawān karda ast'; ādam *xuzdum*. Possibly < \**xwazn*-, but no similar word traced in Ir.  
*xuz'buī* Yzh, *xə°* r sweet smell. — *x°* *lārəm*, *xuz'bi nāyoiste* 'būiš mēāya'. — Prs.

## X̄

*ṣū'mdnē* Yzh, *ṣi'mdnə* g, r, *ṣi°* sh, Grammophone, *ṣumonna* B male ibex. — Phonetically < \*(a)ṣmānaka- (scarcely \**āθ°*), but connection with Skr. *ātman-* (cf. e.g. Ishk. *jan'war* markhor, *jāndār* ram, etc.) is exceedingly problematic.

*ṣu'roi* Yzh, *ṣü°* p, *ṣu'rōi* g, *ṣi'roi* Mm, *oi* g, *ṣi'rāi* (g), (sh), *ṣu'rōi* Yr, *ṣ°* sh, *ṣi'rāi* Mt, *ṣi'ray* Z, *ṣi°* G three. — *ṣi'rōi pūrē* Yr. — Av. *ṣrāyō*, etc.

*ṣira'sāl* Yzh three years ago.

*ṣu'roiwist* Yr sixty.

*ṣū'rox-ē*: *ṣū'rox-t* Yzh, *ṣi'rēx-i* M(g) to shy; cf. *kirax*: *kiraxōy* Z to tremble? — *yasp ṣū'rox-t*. — < \**ṣū'rox-* < \**ṣraθ-* < \**ṣrah-*, v. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch d. Phl. II*, 199.

*ṣi'rizen* Yzh, r, *ṣi'rizen* sh, *ṣu'ryūzen* Mm, *ṣir'ovizen* t, *ṣirizen* B the day before yesterday. — Tomaschek, BB, 7, 196 < \**ṣri* + *azan*; better < \**ṣrita°*.

## Y

*yā* Ysh, *yō* Z or. — *yā pū'sak škōr*, *yā na'ḡən škōr* send either clothes or food. — Prs.

*yāi*, v. *is-*.

*yō* Y, *yā* Mm, Z that, G this. — Gr. § 207.

*yōu* Yzh, *yoū* sh, *you* r, Mm grain (collective). — '*you ḡal'bil kenəm* Yr; *və yōu rāš keḡəm* r I heaped up the grain. — Av. *yava-*, cf. Sgl. *you*, etc.  
*yū* Yzh, r, p, Mg, t, Z, G, *yū* Ysh, u, g, Mm one. — *yū 'wulo*; *ṣə ašera'f'ṣaf yu t'rašt* she stole one of the gold-coins; *wo yū mərə* this one man; *da ū šah'r* Yu in a town; *yū pādšā pūr* . . ., *ū wazir luḡdo* Ysh; *yu cad miḡi* Mm a few days, '*yak čand rōz*'; *ṣ-ōi* Ysh from one. — < \**ēy* < Av. *aēvō*, cf. EVP. s.v. *yau*. Scarcely with Junker (Sitz.Heid.Ak.Wiss. 1914, 22) < \**aiūa*.

*yūi* Mm, *yīy* g husband's brother, '*yūwar*'. — Poss. from \**yātah*, a secondary masc. of \**yātā* (Sgl. *yūš*) husband's brothers wife. But Kabul Prs. *hēwar* (Par. *hīwar*), Bad. *yūwar* points to an ancient form \**ēwar* with unexplained loss of *d-*, from \**dēwar* (cf. on the other hand Sgl. *tēu*, and v. Meillet, BSL, 30, CR, 90), and a secondary m. sg. \**aiwah* (instead of \*(*d*)*aiwā*) might also have resulted in \**yū*. Possibly a cross between the two stems. V. *yūi-wulo* and *rowun*.

*yā'bu* Yg pony. — Prs.

*yōba* Mm, *ibia* LSIm dance; *yōb*: *yēby* Z to dance. — Cf. Wkh. *vibyā* very quick ambler (Sköld)?

*yād* Yzh, sh memory. — *nāmən yād astet* zh I remember; *yād keḡum fto* sh I remembered you. — Prs.

*'yādē* Yzh, sh, *'yādə* g, p, *id'ḡo*(??) r, *yō'diy* Mm, *'yāndi* ti, *°'diy* g, *°'digv* t,

'yandiy (t), yd'day (f. 'yādiga) Z, °ēy G blind. — mo 'mara (žin̄kiko) 'yadē Yzh this man (this woman) is blind; but yū 'mār 'yandiy, yū 'žin̄kika yan'diya M(t). — Av. anda-, Sogd. 'nt, etc., v. EVP. s.v. rūnd.

yū'dūr, v. dīr.

yof'čirgiko Mm, yuv̄g m. Z arrow. — Av. išu- + † — V. pīš.

you'go Y flood. — y° hawāz kit zh the river roars. — Y g must represent Ir. ŋk/g. Prob. < \*āβaŋgā < Av. āfant- (q.v.) + kā-.

'youyo (ydu°) Y, °go Mm, °ga g, °ye ti, yduyā (g), 'yduwa Z, yāu'ga G, yaurya LSI, °oy water. — yduyo tīm, loyōtm Yzh I bathe(d). — < \*āpakā-, cf. Wkh. yupk, Sgl. vēk, Zaza 'aukā.

yūy Yzh, sh, r, yuy g, Mm, yly Z yoke. — Prob. < \*yauga- (Prs. yōy, Bal. jōy), not \*yuga-. Cf. Sgl. yoy.

yūyo Yu, 'yūgo Z one (among several), 'yakt'. — wo yūyen nām Z. við the name of the one was Z. — Prob. from yū one, not from \*yūtakā separate, other (Shgh. ylyo). V. yukvego.

'yēyən Yzh, 'yā° sh, g, r liver. — \*yaxnya-, cf. EVP. s.v. yīna (v. also Krause, KZ. 56, 304). With jī'gar (q.v.) cf. also Sak. gyagarra.

yūy'yāmo Yzh, yu° sh four days hence; 'yūyāmo Mm, woyō<sup>u</sup>ma t, woyū yāmo B the day after to-morrow; yūyemo G to-morrow(?). — \*yūtakā- separate (cf. Nyberg, Hilfsbuch, II, 249, and Par. Voc. s.v. žā) + yāmo, q.v. — Cf. sūyyāmo.

yakta'ha Yg, yakta'i Z shirt. — Prs. yaktahī, Shgh. yektā'yē (Lentz).

\*yukvego Mm one (among several). —

wo yukve'gin k'edo vā zəmīn one of them dug in the earth. — Cf. yūyo. yāl Yr, yāli (pl.?) Mm, g mane. — Prs. V. čalo.

'yelu Yzh stack of corn. — Cf. Wkh. yāš- to pile up?

'yila Mm little.

'yälko, v. 'yeško.

'yāmo Yzh, sh the day after to-morrow(?); yāmo B, 'yāmo Mm, yo<sup>u</sup>ma t, yēm Z to-morrow; yāmo Yg, yē'ma G yesterday(?). — Cf. sūyyāmo, yūyyāmo and sa'bā, sa'ār.

'yūmenā M(g) n. of a shrub, Khov. medrāx(?).

'yana Yr husband's brother's wife. — Cf. Kab. Prs. yānga brother's wife? V. ixcōgo, yūi-wulo.

yāncilyū M(g) lizard.

'yān-əm: yāgvi-'im Yzh, yān-əm: ya'gt-m, yīr-əm g, 'yān-um: ya'gyī-im sh, yān'gy-um: 'yūr-um Mm, 'yōn'gy-əm: 'yūr-um t, yōn'g': yēn'g'- Z to grind. — Pres. sg.: yānīm, yānē, yeiky; pret. 3 sg. yāg'yo Yzh; xiryō ya'gyīm sh 'šakīdim'; yīr-əm = polm kīr-əm g. — < \*ar-nā: \*ārta- (\*ā + rta-); yāgvi-, etc. is a secondary formation from \*yañt < \*arnita-; yēn'g'- is formed from the pres. stem (v. § 243). Cf. Sgl. yūn-, Shgh. yān-: yūd- (cf. Z s.v.), Orm. hīnl-, ēl-, Psht. aṅal; Or., etc. yēš- from 3 sg. yēšt (< \*yañt, cf. kīšt he does): pret. yūg- or yēšt- (from the pres.). Cf. also Bakht. ardan, Talish hore to grind; Gazi 3 sg. arūe (Bailey). V. yārē.

yār Ysh friend. — Prs.

'yārē Yzh assistance. — y° dalīm. — Prs.

yōruya, v. ararōy.

<sup>1</sup>yārmē Yzh, °ə sh, g foreleg, shoulder-blade, °o p arm above the elbow. — Av. arəmō°, Wkh. yurm forearm, Sar. yaran (Biddulph) arm (or perhaps = yorn elbow?), Prs. arm arm from elbow to shoulder, Zaza ērmé, är'mäl, Talish ām shoulder; but Oss. arm hollow of the hand.

yursiliko Yzh, °ul'iko sh shoe-string. — yur° < Av. aōdra- shoe + si/uliko, poss. < \*losiko (v. loso) with assimilation of o to the preceding or following vowel.

yarš Y, yerš B bear. — Av. arša-, Shgh. yūrš, etc. V. § 132. V. xərs.

<sup>1</sup>yeršio Yzh, yar'šio sh, r, yārš'i'yō g, yeršiyō B barley. — Connected with Sgl. vərvas, urwəs, Psht. ōrbašē, worbus, arbasī, etc., Sak. rrusā-, but the original form is uncertain. \*ar-pasyā-? V. aršəmin.

yurv Mm, yūrv g, (ti), yīrv t, (g), yīrv Z, G mouth.

yārya Yzh delay. — y° kəpət you came too late.

<sup>1</sup>yurzən Yzh, sh, <sup>1</sup>yūrzn g, r, Mm, g, ti, Z, °rn Mt, (g) millet, Panicum miliaceum. — < \*(h)ārzana-. Cf. Wkh. yīrz<sup>n</sup>, Sgl. wuždān, Psht. ždan, Wanetsi ēždən, Par. ārzən, Orm. a'žan, Kurd. harzin, Prs. arzan, Sak. ēysā (< \*alysana) Bakht. halum (with Prs. l and -um from ganum), and (acc. to Bailey) Prs. alum, Phl. (Bund.) 'lcm. V. AO. 7, 200. — Cf. yavarso. V. arzəmin. The resemblance to Greek ἔλυμος (cf. Geiger, BSOS, VIII, 548) is prob. accidental.

<sup>1</sup>yurzuγo Yzh crushing-stone in a hand-mill (yešio); <sup>1</sup>yurzəγo sh, yūrzo g, yurzγo r, yūriko Mm hand-mill for

grinding snuff, Khov. purduγucu. — yūr- < \*yaōra-? Cf. Sar. yār-yačāk (Bellew) handmill?

<sup>1</sup>yaržo Y, yo° Mm, <sup>1</sup>yōržd g, t, °a (g), ti, <sup>1</sup>yorža Z, yār'ža G beard. — With metathesis from \*raiža- < \*raišā-, Prs. rēš, etc. Cf. Psht. žira < \*riža. <sup>1</sup>yārē Yzh, °ə sh, g, r, yō'riy Mm, yā' g, <sup>1</sup>yāri (g), yō'rəy Z flour. — y° kenem Yr, γadmī y' g — < \*ārtaka- (= ā + r-), cf. Psht. ōrə, etc. — But Psht. wuγ 'small' < \*γta-, Prs. xurd < \*hw γta-.

yūr Yzh, sh, r, LSIy, yūra Yg, p, yūr Mm, g, (g), ti, Z, G fire. — zə va yūra uzīavum (žastum) Yg I extinguish (kindle) the fire. — Y r points to \*ārt (cf. Par. ār and Sogd. 'rδ, v. Reichelt, ZII. 4, 247), with metathesis from the unstable Av. stem ātr- (a cross between ātar- and ādr-).

yiskig, v. išēγ.

yasp Y (yāsp sh), yōsp Mm, g, (g), Z, yāsp G horse. — yaspē Yr pl.; yaspē γazəvdət sh 'aspara davāndan'; vo yaspə palān žiō he saddled the horse; sko yū yasp pādšā pūr suwār šūi the prince mounted one horse. — Av. aspa-, Wkh. yaš, etc.

<sup>1</sup>yaspa Yzh, g small yellow and white locust. — Deminutive of yasp? Cf. Ital. cavalletta, Germ. Heupferdchen id., and (acc. to Lidén) Swed. diall. of Finland hästmöra 'large ant', etc.

yuspən, v. rīspən.

<sup>1</sup>yastē Yzh, sh, °ə g, r, <sup>1</sup>yōstiy Mm, <sup>1</sup>ya' g, <sup>1</sup>yasti ti, yāstəy, yos'tiy Z, yās'tēy G bone. — < \*astika-, cf. Sgl. ostōk, Sogd. 'stk, Wkh. yašē, Prs. ast, etc.

<sup>1</sup>yīston Mg, yīstōn m. Z, °ān G felt. — < \*wi-starana-? V. livzīn, 'nāmyo.

*yü'saxo* Yzh one year old. — Cf. *loh-saxo*.

*yäšk* Y, *yošk* Mm, g, ti, Z, G tear. — \**asruka-*, cf. Sgl. *āšik*, Wkh. *yašk*.

*'yövrurso* Yzh, r, *yö°* sh, *'youso* r, *'yavurso* Mm, *'yövursa* ti, *'yewursä* (g) a kind of juniper, *arča*. — Av. *hapərəst-*, cf. Ar.-Prs. *awiras*, v. NTS. I, 46; V. 40.

*'yüwərsən* Mm, t, ti, °*ärsin* (g) upper part of the door-frame. — \**uparasayana-?* V. *alarsnē*.

*yuvazgo* Mm plough-wedge, *fāna*.

*yüi-wu'lo* Mm, *yīy-wula* g husband's brother's wife, *'yanga'*.

*yu'wan-əm*: *yu'wat-əm* Yzh, *yuwo'n-əm*: *yuwo't-əm* sh, *i'wōn-əm*: *i'wot-əm* r, *yu'wən-əm*: *yu'wət-əm* Mt, *yu'wen-əm*: (*wi'yet-um*) m to loosen, untie. — V. *wien*.

*yüwistolos* Yzh, sh, r, °*alos* g thirty.

*yu'wiz* Yzh, sh bit, double bridle. — Khw. *iwis*.

*yox* Ysh, B, *yax* Z, G cold. — *no yox išto* he did not say it was cold. — Prs.

*'yaxio* Y (sh also *yā°*), °*iyo* Mm, *yäxiya* g, *'yöxiä* (g), *yēšya*, *yēx°* Z ashes. — *yāxio xurjet-ā?* Ysh have you eaten ashes? — With Z < \**āð(r)yā-* (v. § —1). Av. *ātrya-*, Shgh. *ðir*, Or. *aðēr*, cf. also Psht. *irē*, Sgl. *wuter*, Sogd. *'š'y* (Prs. *xaz-ir* ashes beneath which are latent sparks)? But why *x*? Cf. *yešio*.

*yüx's-am*: *yüx't-am* Yzh, g, *'yuxs-am*: *yuxt-am* Mm, *wuksa* B to learn. — Cf. Sogd. *yws-* to learn, Wkh. *yešk*, Sar. *ixman* learning, Sak. *auska* 'accustomed' (\**ni-yučaka*), *añuta* 'unaccustomed' (Bailey, BSOS, VIII, 13

< \**ni-yang-*, but *j + k* not > *sk*).

V. Meillet, BSL, 23, 76; Markwart, Ungar. Jahrb. 7, 98; Lommel, Or. Stud. Pavry, 285. — Cf. Sgl. *apaxš-*.

*yaxsəriy*, v. *laxsrre*.

*yešio* Yzh, *yēšo* sh, *yēšo* g, r, *'yöšo* Mm small handmill (for crushing salt in, Yzh), *zəərki*, *dašū*(?). — \**yāðryā-*, v. *yur-zuγo* (cf. § 101)?

*'yēšio* Yzh, *'yāšo*, *yāšiko* Mm; *'yešika* g, *yēš* f. Z nest. — Cf. Shgh. *yēð*, Or. *yðð*, Wkh. *yðð(t)*, Ishk. *yēča*, etc. (v. Z s.v.). < \*(*y*)*āðyā-* < \**ā-hadyā-?* Prs. *āšyān(a)*, Phl. *'hy'ng* (Mir. Manich. III, 48), Keshe *hüyā'ne*, etc. — Cf. *ag'min-yēš*.

*yēško* Yzh, g, r, *yē°* sh, *yeško* LSly, *'yälko* Mm, *'yēlka* g, °*ä* (g), *yelko* LSIm duck. — *yeš-* might be derived from \**āðy-*, cf. Skr. *āñ-*, but M *yäl-?* *yē'ya* Y, *'yeya* Mm, °*o* g, *'yāya* m. Z, *yēya* G bridge. — Av. *haētu*, cf. Sgl. *yōtuk*, etc. V. § 175.

*'yūya* Mt, (g) ear of wheat. — \*(*h*)*auša-ka-*, cf. Prs. *xōša*, Psht. *wažai*. V. *šör*, *xušð*.

*'yözda* Mg, (g), t, (sh), °*da* Z, G eleven. — Prs.

## Z

*zo* Y, Mm, *zd* Z, *za* G, *ze* LSIm I. — V. § 204. — B's *zo* 'that' (rel.) is due to a false analysis of one of his sentences.

*zōbo*, v. *zōmbd*.

*zibi'jrm* Yzh, °*im* earthquake. — < \**zambinjum* < Prs. *zaminjumb* (also Shgh.), Brahui (lw.) *zimijumb*; cf. Sgl. *zrlēžem*, Wkh. (Bellew) *zalanjum* (infl. by *zalezala*), Sar. *zmadjunj*.

'zifkyän Yzh, 'zəfkyin p rolling-pin.  
 'zīgaki (pl.?) Yp side-plank of the spinning-wheel. V. Ill. Cf. zīk.  
 'zāyā Y, Mm, 'zāya Mg, 'zōya Z crow, zāy. Prs.  
 zɾ'ye-um: zɾ'γrvd-um Yzh, zɾ'γiv-um: zɾ'γivd-am Mg to twist; z<sup>2</sup>γiv-: z<sup>2</sup>γivd Z to rub, grate. — Cf. γiv- + \*uz.  
 zuγ-um: zuγd-um Yg to pour out. — yauya da zu'γum (drim) I pour the water (into a wooden bowl?)! Yr.  
 zə'γā(v): um: zə'γuvd-um Y to walk about, fly, 'gaštan', zə'γūi Mm flies, zoγwa walk, zoγurdum I walked LSIy. — zyūa as! Ysh come quick; tra awā zyū-stə g he is flying through the air; 3 pl. zyūāt. — \*uz-gaub/p.?? — V. čəyū.  
 zə'γal-əm: zə'γastəm Ysh to run away (from a wild animal). — Av. zγad-, to flow, fly away; cf. Sgl. zīδ-: zust to flow, Psht. zyal-: zγast- to run away, Sak. haysgasta "gegangen" (Leumann, Lehrgedicht, VI, 101), vaysgad- to dismount.  
 'zoyno, v. zΔ'nax.  
 zə'γəriy(-am) Mm, °γir° Z, zəxəri'ya G, zeyerge LSI m thirsty. — \*uz-garaka-, cf. Psht. γārai glutton, Prs. žard gluttony, etc.  
 'zahar Yzh, g, Mm, zār (g), G poison. — Prs. V. saŋkiyo, žaro.  
 zīk Y, zūk Mm, Z, G, zīŋg Mg, (g), t, °k ti knee. — zīken pərvešina sh the knee-cap. \*zānu-ka-, cf. Sgl., Wanetsi zūŋg (but Kurd. hižnī etc. < žnu-).  
 zɾl Yzh, r, zəl sh, ze'la g, zülv Mm, zɾlv g, (g), zɾlv t, z'vl ti, (dəl Z) heart. — mən trə zɾl astet Yzh, r I remember; tro zɾl č-aydi I did not

remember. — Prob. < \*zɾdya-, v. EVP. s.v. zɾə.  
 zül Yzh, sh difficult, violent, 'zōr'; B strong; zülā'war G strong. — Prs. (with l from zulm?).  
 za'mai Yzh, zā'māi sh, g, °ōi r, za'mōi Mm, g, (g) son-in-law, sister's husband, za'māy G sister's husband. — Av. zāmātar-, etc.  
 zə'm-um: zə'māi-m Yzh to yawn. — From Khov. zomēik, in its turn from Ir. (v. BSOS, VIII, 662). Cf. Oss. zəmbin.  
 'zōmbo Mg, t, °ä (g), °a ti, zōbo m gumā. — Cf. Psht. zāma jaw, Wan. "zānmbae", Skr. jambha- (v. AO. II, 280); Sogd. zmb, Or. zimb river bank, side?  
 zə'min Mm, za° G, B earth. — k'ēdo rə zəmin Mm he dug in the earth. — Prs.  
 zə'mōn Y, Mm, zuman LSIy child. — wo xoi zə'monəf lišč sh he saw his own children; zə'mōn paidāi a child was born; jīzko z° paidā kit r the woman bears a child. — Cf. EVP. s.v. zōwul.  
 zəmo'nak Ysh a small child. — mun z° əu mən wulo my child and my wife; no mən z°-əf; mən zumanā'ken obl. — Cf. Sgl. zəma'nōk. V. zə'mōn.  
 zə'margire M(sh), °gədə t small, yellow animal, resembling a mouse, 'zaman gira'; zə'mārgirā (g), zə'gārmyo g yellow, large lizard(?). — Cf. Av. zamarə-guz- hiding in the ground, Or. zīmār earth, ground (Lentz).  
 zəmr'stān Yzh, sh, zəme° g, zɾmr'stōn r, zami° Z, zəmi'stān Mm, g, t winter. — Prs.  
 zɾnr'o Yzh, zeni'o sh, zin'yo g, ze° r, ze'nīyo Mm, °iya g, zɾ'nīyü (g), zə'nīya Z daughter-in-law, brother's wife,

- zanī'ya* G husband's brother(?). — *ii zə'nī* pl. sh; *zə'nī'ef*, *zi'nī'ef* *prstet* the daughters-in-law asked. — \**smušā-*, cf. Wkh. *srtəḥ*, Sgl. *wuz'nel*, Shgh. *zenaḡ*, Sar. 'zinull'.
- (<sup>i</sup>)*zi'ānē* Yzh, *zi'ān* g, r early afternoon, *pēšīn*. — < \**uz-ayana-*, Av. *uz-ayara-* or < Av. *uzayeirina-* (v. § 133). V. *wuzīr*.
- zīn* Yr, Mm, g, t, Z, G saddle. — Prs. V. *pa'lan*.
- 'zrndo* Y, Mm, g alive. — *amax tad z° vii* Ysh if our father were alive. — Prs.
- zA'nax* Yzh, sh, g, *zē'nox* r, *'zoyno* Mm, °ə g, °a t, Z, *'zōyna* Mti, °ā (g), *zdx'na* G chin. — Y from Prs., M with metathesis from \**zon(o)xa* (v. § 137), cf. Gaz *za'gan*.
- zə'nay-əm*: *zəna'i-m* Yzh, *zə'nay-Δm*: *zə'nāi-m* sb, *zəney-ām* r: *zə'nāi-m* g, M(t), *wu'znāy-əm* Mm to bathe, swim. — Av. *snaya-*: *snāta-*, cf. Sgl. *zənē-*, Shgh. *zenē-* (q.v.), Par. *sunī-*, Sogd. *sn'y-*, Oss. *nain*. — *wuzd-*, *wuzn-* (q.v.) 'to wash' < \**awa-snā-* (with shortening in compound), Skr. *ava-snāpaya*, to wash; cf. Or. *wēz'dao* to swim(?). Wkh. *wuzd-* to wash, pres. 1 sg. *wēzdeyum*, 3 sg. *wīzdešt* (Sköld) has been influenced by *dē-m*, *dēšt* (q.v.). Note also Oss. *nain* to bathe, but *æxsīn* (W. Oss. *æxsnun*: *æxsnad*) to wash; Prs. *šinā(h)* swimming, but *šunān*, *ušnān* a herb with which they wash clothes.
- zanḡgar* Yzh, *zang* Z rust. — Prs. *zang(ār)*.
- zopē* Yzh, *zōpə* sh, r clothes, quilt, 'bistara', Khow. *zap*. — *zōpə āydam* Yr I put on clothes, *zōpə lio* sh, *zopəf* obl. pl. LSI<sub>m</sub>.
- zōr* Yzh, sh old (about a person), f. *'zōro* zh. — Cf. Prs. *zar* old man. Ysh *zōl* < Prs. *zāl?* Cf. B *zoriko* old woman.
- za'rūr* Ysh necessary. — *na maf cē zarūr?* *na max z° šūi, kə* . . . — Ar.-Prs.
- za'rūri* Ysh necessity. — *no xoi zarūrīen* out of (my) own necessity. — Ar.-Prs.
- 'zariškya* Mm, *zārviškya* g spider. — Av. \**zairi-pərəšti-* 'yellow-back'?
- zīt* Yzh, sh, Mm, g, ti, Z, G, *zito* (f.?) Yr yellow. — Av. *zairita-*, cf. Par. *zītō* (v. § 125), Shgh. *zīvd*, Wkh. *zart*, Sgl. *zāl*. V. *azito*.
- zə'vīy* Yzh, p, Mt, ti, (g), *ze°* g, *zr'bēy* Ysh, *zə°* g, *zē'rīy* (??) r, *zə'vū* Mm, Z, G, *zev* (?) LSI<sub>m</sub> tongue. — \**hizwāka-*, cf. Sgl. *zevūk*, Yazgh. *zə'vēg* (Sköld), Wkh. *zik*. Cf. §§ 107, 181.
- ze'viryo* Yzh, *zə°* r, *zi'b°* sh, *'vəzvurgo* Mm, *'vizvirya* g, *'vəzviryā* t, °ā (g), *'vīzviryā* ti, *vēzvul'ga* Z birch, 'haft-pōst' (Yzh birch-bark). — Y *zev°* < M *vəzv°*, dissimilated from \**vərzvurgo*, cf. Shgh. *vēyzn* (v. Z s.v.), Tajiki *burz*, *birk* (< \**birzk?*); Par. *bhīn* tree. V. also Sgl. *bərež*, Wkh. *furz* s.vv. — \**byza-wārakā-* (with *v* < *w* after *z*, cf. § 107), or °*pādrakā-* "birch bark"?
- zäxčī'dīn* Yzh kettle. — Cf. Khow. *čī'dīn*, Ishk. *čudan* kettle; Prs. *čudan* cast metal.
- zaxm* Yzh, r, G, *zaxmə* Ysh, g, *zoxm* Mm wound. — Prs.
- zax'mo* Yzh, B, Mm, *zə°* Yp, *zax'mə* Mg, *'za°* Z field. — Obl. pl. *zaxmaf* LSI<sub>m</sub>. — \**zamaxā-*, cf. W.Oss. *zānxū*.
- zäřko* Yzh child-bearing. — *ziḡko z° šūi*

'zan bača karda'. — Av. *zaða* + *kā*, cf. Sak. *ysamtha*- birth, Prs. *zakh* first milk after parturition, *zahdān* womb. — V. *pəzāžē*, *vəzāžō*.  
*zty*: *zūy*- Z to bear a child. — Av. *zaya*- V. *prške-zē*.

## Ž, (Ĵ)

*ž*:- *īst*- Y, *žāy-am*: *št-um* Mm, *'žoy-am*: *št-ām* t, *žoy*:- *īst*- Z, *žāy*:- *šta* G to say, speak. — Pres. 1 sg. *žam* Yzh, *žam* sh, r, *žom* g; 2 sg. *tu ču žui?* zh what do you say? *tə čē žui* sh don't say, 'na gu'; 3 sg. *žut* zh; 1 pl. *max žam*; 2 pl. *maf čī žaf?* 3 pl. *žet*; imper. 2 sg. *žā*; pret. 1 sg. *īštīm* zh, *īštəm* r, *štum*, *žim* g, *na to īštom* sh; 3 sg. *īšt(y)ō*; 3 pl. *īšt(y)ot* sh; pf. *īštəyām* r. — \**jat*:- *žasta*-, cf. Goth. *qiþan*, etc. V. NTS. VII, 116 ff.

*že*, *žo*, *žə* Y, Mm, *ža* Z from. — *žə xoāin* sh, 'az *xud*'; *ži dalen* from below; *žo lurayan* 'az *dūr*'; *ž-im kyeyen* from this house; *žōi* from one; *yo amūno že pūren astet* r this apple belongs to the son. — Av. *hača*. V. § 50.

*žai* Mm, *žēi* (g), *žōy* Z place. — *žēi kinam* M(g) I hide (a thing). — Prs.

*žī* Ysh still(?); *ži*, *ji* Z but, also. — *vos wa šui nə tat kyēin-ā, da kyēi ži fərmī-ā?* has she now gone to her father's house, or(?) may she be at home? — Av. *čōit?* Bailey compares Kashan diall. *jt* 'ham' (Zhuk.).  
*žlo* Y, *žliko* Mm, °a g bow-string (Ysh thin string for a pellet-bow, v. *soy*). — Av. *žyā*, Wkh. *žəi*, Sgl. *zē*, Psht. *žai*.

*žōi* Yzh, sh lake. — Khov. *žōi* irrigation-

channel (< Prs. *žōy?*) does not fit the meaning. Poss. < Av. *zrayah*-. *žūu* Yzh, *žū* sh, *žūg* leather (for shoes), *xām*, Khov. *γəčū*. — \**žauka*- < \**g<sup>u</sup>cu*- (a base theoretically expected in the loc. sg., etc.)?? Cf. Skr. *go*-, Kalasha *gao* 'leather'?

*žū*-, v. *čū*-.  
*žib*:- *ži'bi*- Y to rise, *žuba* B to stand, *žibim* awake. — *ži'bām* zh, °am r, g, *'žibam* sh; imper. *žib*; pret. *žibim*; *wōs žibe tar ōyem* now I rise and go. — \**žimp/b*- to bend (upwards), v. W.P. I. 545??

*žū'āb* Yzh answer. — *zo 'nā to ž° 'dalrm*. — Ar-Prs.  
*'žaf-um*: *žaft-um* Yzh, g to chew, masticate; to light a fire; *žaf-um*: *jaft-um* r to embrace, 'časpānum'. — *žafum-ste* Yg, *yūra žaftam* g 'āteša kardam'. — With *žaf*- cf. Prs. *žawtdan* to masticate, Psht. *žowul*; *žaf*- may be a separate verb connected with Prs. *žafsīdan* (= *čafs°*, *časp°*) to stick, adhere. Then, again, there is *žōf*:- *žēft* Z, *žēft* LSI<sub>m</sub> to send, command.  
 \**žafā*-, in *və lažino žafa'ū* Yu put fire to the wood-pile. — Cf. *žaf*-.  
*žift* Yzh pair, LSI<sub>y</sub> united. — Prs.  
*žī'gar* Mm, g, (g), t, Z, *žə°* G, *žiger* B liver. — Prs. V. *yēyən*.  
*žiga'rən* Ysh light brown. — Cf. Prs., Wkh. *žigari*.  
*'žaya* Yu place, spot. — *da žaya šui* he came to a place; *mo ča'mīn 'žaya* from where is he? — Khov. (Ir. lw.).  
*žōy* Y, *žoy* Mm cloak, female dress, *žey* LSI<sub>m</sub> clothes. — *žōy aydəm*; cf. *ustur žoyo*.  
*žəyūrg* Z crop of a bird. — V. Z s.v. and cf. Prs. *žāyar*, *ž°*; *zāyar*, °ur.



žuv'γus kur'mo Yg scorpion.

ža'hānd Ysh, r, žə'hānd r, jo'hōn Mm, (g), ja° Z, jahān B very, much. — j° bīland Yr very high, j° ādame many men; ž° sāl sh many years; j° rūpāyo Mm many rupees. — From Prs. jahān world?

žu'kū Yzh, sh, škū, šəkū Z whence? — yo mara žukū? tu žukū šū'i. — V. že and kū.

žikyā M(g) n. of a water-fowl. — Cf. žingo.

žil Yg blanket. — Khow. žil, Wkh., etc. žil. But Prs. zīlū, zailū a kind of woollen blanket.

žilo Yzh hail. — Possibly genuine, cf. Prs. žāla (v. AO. I, 266). V. mōyiki, žālabārān.

žālabārān Mm hailstorm. — \*Prs.

juāl'dūz Yzh large packing-needle. — Prs. jaləy Mm saddle-covering.

žime'ž-im: žime'žī-m, žimežī-m Yzh to pull up weeds.

žen Yzh, sh, žən g, jen r bed. — Khow. žən.

ju'āna Mm, °ayo g, (g), juwō'na Z male calf, 1—2 years old. — Cf. Wkh. ju'āna, Sgl. juwdē. \*Prs., cf. Arm. yavanak young of an animal.

žān'dār Ysh animal. — yo ces-mrn ž°? — Prs., cf. Khow. žāndār bird, Sgl. ram.

žuna'yē Yzh, °yə r, zu'no sh, žingyigo M(g), žingvoyo ti, žungey LSIm small boy. — \*a-žarnaka, cf. Psht. zaṇai, žaṇai? But z?

žena'yeri Yzh giddy. — Khow.

žen-pāliko Yzh foot of a bed.

žina'zo Ysh bier. Ar-Prs. jīnāza.

žang Yzh, sh war, fight. — zaṅ kenēm = duṣm. — Prs.

žangal Yzh, g, u (corr. by zh into kyesina), °gal sh, žāngal r, juṅ'gul Mm forest. — no žangalen šut they went into the forest. — Prs.

žinško Yzh, °ko sh, r, °go g, p, žinško Mm, °a g, °ä (g), žin'ka Z woman. — žinško zəmən paidā kit Yr the woman bears a child; žinško zāčko šūi zh; wov loh žinškaf avezdo u he brought the two women. — Av. jaini- + kā.

žinškiko Y, °iga Z woman, wife. — žinškiko ištyo sh the woman said; žinškikī ištyō. — Demin. of žinško.

žaro Yzh poison. — \*jaḍrā-, cf. Prs. zahr, and Khow. žār (from lr., v. BSOS, VIII, 660).

ža'rā-um to bear, endure, Khow. žirēiman. žer Yzh, u surrounding. — žer nišam zh I surround; istāri po fiz žer šut the stars surrounded his face. — Cf. Khow. jer in a row?

žirabē Yzh, °ə g, žura'bə r, žerāb sh stockings. — yū ž° zh. — Prs. jurāb, and Khow. (lw.) žarāb.

žir'ry-əm: žir'yā-im Yzh to scream, Khow. žiryoik. — Cf. Prs. žayār cry, clamour? Khow. žiryēik, etc. from Y?

žir'mälē (pl.) Yzh, žilmäl p kernel. — Cf. Khow. žol kernel?

žor'žo Yzh, žor'žo sh, g, r, zar'žo Mm, zārža g, jōrjo B partridge; zōrzo B bird. — \*zarič-, cf. Ishk. uḡirj, Prs. zarič, v. EVP. s.v. zarka.

žausa'rēn Yzh, žau'səē sh at daybreak. živde'raus Mm bat. — Cf. žib- to rise, (fly?) and raūso (s.v. rūso)? V. ləverzəya rūso, šābparakilay.

ju'wān Yzh young; žāwān sh, jewān G youth, young man. — žūwān vto; žūwānen išto, lie nə žūwānen. — Prs.

*ju'wāri* Yzh, r, °ē sh, *ju'ārə* g, *jo'wāri*  
Mm jowar. — Ind.  
*žū'y-am*: *žū'yī-m* Yzh, sh, *žūy-im* r, *žū-*  
*um* g, *'žiy-əm*: *žī'y-um* Mm, *'žiy-am*:  
*'žiy-am* t, *žiy-*: *žiy* Z to sew. — *žūpum*  
*viš* g plpf.; *žūya bāš* sh 'ba dūxtan'.  
— \*uz-(h)yū-, cf. Skr. *ut-syūta*- sewed  
up?

\**zezi*, in *šəta žezikan* Yr hamstring.

*ja'zir* Yzh ruin. — Khov. *jazir* ruin,  
from Ar.-Prs. *jasr* slaughtering, de-  
creasing?

*ža'žiro* Yzh, *ja'žiro* p, *zāžiro* Mm, *'zajtra*  
Z chain. — Y < Khov. *jan'jēr* (cf.  
Shgh. *jinjil*, Sköld), M from Prs.  
*zanjtr*.

### List of Names.

*Idəy*, v. *Yidg*.

*Iy'dak* Yr, *Iy'dāk* Mt, *Yuy'dāk* m, (g)  
vill. in Munjan.

*Imir'dino* Yzh, *Imurjrn* u (Taj. form)  
vill. in Lutkoh. Khov. *Imirdin*.

*Undu'stān* Yr 'Hindostan'.

*Inižigān* Yzh = *Idəf* 'the Yidgha speak-  
ing part of Lutkuh'; Sköld *Indijāni*  
= *Minjāni*(?) Taj. form of \**Indio*.

*Anju'mān* Ysh, °an r, *'Ajuməno* Mm  
the Anjuman Pass.

*Apcā'yo* Yu vill. in Bashgal (Bragamatal),  
Kati *Apei*.

*Ar'cū* Y the Artsu Pass (leading from the  
top of the Lutkoh valley into the  
Bashgal valley).

*Oryo'čo* Ysh Orghuch in Chitral.

*'Iriko* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Owirik.

*Ir'žōy* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Yorjogh.

*'Ajuməno*, v. *Anju'mān*.

*Ar'žūko* Yu vill. in Lutkoh.

*'Uṛak* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh.

*'Iskutul* Ysh, *'Skutul* u *Iskutul* in Sanglech.

*Ar'yato* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Khov.  
*U'yuti*.

*Ov'xizo* Yp n. of a place in Parabek  
(Lutkoh).

*'Iwim*, v. *Yu'wim*.

*Iž* Yzh, *Iž* u vill. in Bakhshir, Izh.

*'Ižyar* Yu Shah-i-Sidim, at the foot of  
the Dorah Pass; acc. to zh *I°* is the  
name of the big rock (the 'Snake-  
stone'), not of the hot spring at  
Shah-i-Sidim.

*Badax'sān* Ysh, r *Badakhshan*; *B° yer*  
zh the Dorah Pass.

*'Bəyūšt* Yu vill. in Bakhshir (Bogosht).  
< \**Ba'gašita*-, cf. *Baxštr*?

*Burbu'nū* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Bur-  
bunu.

*Bre'yeyo* Yzh, *Bra°* u, *Bra'yayo* r Mun-  
jan. V. BSOS VI, 439 sqq.

*Bir'zin* Yzh, *Bṛ'zrn* u vill. in Lutkoh,  
Khov. *Bi'arzin* (< Ir. \**wyzana*-?).

*Bāš'kār* Ysh Bashgal.

*Bax'sīr* Yu vill. in Bakhshir (Beshkar);  
*Bax'sira Ta'gou* zh 'the Bogosht  
(Bakhshir) valley joining the Lutkoh  
river at Izh'. Survey map Beshgar.  
Khov. *Baxšir* < \**Baya'sita*-, v.  
*Bəyūšt*? (Cf. e.g. the relation between  
Khov. *šaptir* and Wkh. *šapt* 'wolf').  
V. *Təri Baxšir*.

*Čir'wul* Yu n. of a place near Droshp.

*Či'trēyo* Yzh, r, Mm Chitral. *na, da*  
*Či'trāyī* 'in, to Chitral' Ysh, *yū žī*  
*Čitrēyen* Mm 'a man from Chitral'.  
Cf. BSOS, VI, 441 sq.

*Da'yerio* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, Daghiri.  
*Dēam'bī* Yr, *Dēam'bēh* Mt, *Dīam'bē* (g)  
 vill. in Munjan.

*Dangula'dore* Yzh clan in Gurti, Lutkoh.  
*Də'rā* Yr, *Du'rā* the Dorah Pass.

*Drošp* Ysh, u vill. in Lutkoh.

*Dra'wuso* Ysh Drosh in Chitral. *na*  
*'Drauso šōi*.

*Dašt-i-Būt* Ysh a place in Munjan, be-  
 tween Miliyeg and Shahr.

*Dāšt-i-Ru'bāt* Ysh a place in Sanglech.

*Fə'rastufi* Mti a lake in Munjan, Frastofi.

*Go'ik* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, Gohik.

*Gu'lyū* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, Gulugh.

*'Gur'tio* Yzh, u, *'Guḡti* g vill. in Lutkoh,  
 Gufti. Khow. *Guḡti* (*Gur'ti*).

*'Gr'stini* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Gistini.

*Govar'bač* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh.

*Gōvri'stən* Yr, *Gouri'stən* u, *Gauri'stan*  
 sh Kafiristan. From Prs. *gabr* Zoro-  
 astrian, pagan.

*Gažan'dore* Yzh a clan in Zhitr and  
 Imirdin in Lutkoh.

*Γalāmandore* Yzh a clan in Burbunū in  
 Lutkoh.

*Gharmai* vill. on the Kokcha in Yamgān  
 (acc. to the map India and Adjacent  
 Countries, 37, C. 4). < \**γarm* hot.

*Γāz* Yr, *Γaz* Mt, *Γəz* (g) vill. in Munjan,  
*Aiγāz* (acc. to M(g)).

*Haidar'dore* Yzh clan in Gistini and  
 Parabek in Lutkoh.

*'(H)artef* Yzh (obl. pl.) the Ozhor-valley  
 in Chitral. Badakhshi *Hart*.

*'Kūa* Yg 'the Kho tribe, the Khovar  
 language'. Cf. BSOS, VI, 441 n.

*'Kōbul* Ysh Kabul.

*Ka'lā* Mt a vill. in Munjan; *Ka'la* Yr  
 a vill. in Kuran, *Kalaomir*.

*'Kale-i-Šō* Yr, *'Khala-i-Šō* M(g) vill. in  
 Munjan.

*Kām* Yu vill. in Bashgal.

*Kəm'diš* Yu vill. in Bashgal.

*Kandu'žala* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Kan-  
 doojal, Kundzar.

*Kunji'kāf* Yu a mythical mountain,  
 Koh-i-Kaf.

*Kə'rōn* Ysh, *Bōla-Kə'rōn* r, *Krān* Mt  
 a district in Munjan.

*Katwā'ri* Ysh Ktiwi in Kafiristan.

*Kvi'lvam* Ysh Kulam in Kafiristan.

*'Lūliko* Yu vill. in Bashgal.

*Līzo* Mm vill. in Munjan (= Kala, Qalā?).

*Maḡu'gāl* Yu vill. in Bashgal, Mandogal.

*Mayna'wul* Ysh, Mt, *°vul* Yr vill. in  
 Munjan, Vavilov *Megnul*. Cf. Av.  
*mayna*- naked?

*Mili'yeg* Ysh vill. in Munjan, prob. =  
*Miāndeh*. — *mili* < *madya*-; *yeg*  
 for *-yāxg* < \**kaḡaka*-, cf. Madhyān-  
 kath (Barthold, Turkestan, p. 128)?

*'Munio* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Khow.  
 Manur. < \**Mānūtā*?

*Miān'dēo* Yr, *Miān'dēa* Mt, *Miān'dia*  
 (g), *Miāndeh* Mm vill. in Munjan.

*Mun'ji*, pl. *Mun'jiyi* Mm a man from  
 Munjan; *Mun'ji rōi* the Munji langu-  
 age; *Mun'jiyi* G Munjani.

*Mun'jān* Mm Munjan. Cf. BSOS, VI,  
 439 sqq.

*Mur'dān* Yu a place near Droshp.

*Mə'rātdore* Yzh clan in Birzin, Lutkoh.

*'Māstiko* Yp n. of a woman.

*Nōu* Yr, M(g), *Nau* t vill. in Munjan.

*Narku'rata* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Nar Karet.

*Pəç'xūgo* Yu a place in Lutkoh, *Garm*  
*Čišma*, Khow. *Pəç-uc*, 'Hot Springs'.

*Pa'naū* Mt, *'Phanō* (g) vill. in Munjan.

*Pan'jšir* Ysh, *Pan'šir* r Panjshir.

*Pə'rāyo* Mm Kafiristan. Cf. Sgl. *Parōy*.

*'Pōruy* Ysh, *'Paroyo* u vill. in Sanglech.  
 Sgl. *'Pōroy*.

- <sup>1</sup>*Parəuko* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Kh. *Parabek*.
- Per'kyān Ta'gou* Yzh the part of the Lutkoh valley inhabited by Yidghas.
- <sup>1</sup>*Pārsē* Yg Persian. — zo *P° uzānəm* I know Persian.
- Pur'wos* Yr vill. in Kuran.
- <sup>1</sup>*Rūi* Yzh, u vill. in Lutkoh, Rui.
- Ru'bāt* Ysh, Mt, *Ru'bōt* Yr vill. in Kuran.
- Ru'bāt i-'Tang* Ysh vill. in Kuran.
- Ram'gvil* Ysh Ramgul in Kafiristan.
- <sup>1</sup>*Rāzer* Ysh, r vill. in Kuran. — Poss. fr. Av. *razura-* forest.
- Skar'zer* Ysh, *Škōrzər* r vill. in Kuran. — \**Uska-Razer?* Cf. *Sar-Ĵangāl*.
- <sup>1</sup>*Skəwo* Ysh, *Sək'vō* r vill. in Kuran, Survey Map Sekwao, Burhan-ud-Din Sekui.
- Sumbu'dore* Yzh a clan in Wart, Lutkoh.
- Su'māldore* Yzh a clan in Upper Zhitr, Lutkoh.
- <sup>1</sup>*Sānek* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Sanik.
- <sup>1</sup>*San'lic* Yzh, *Sang'lic* r, u, *San'lic* sh, *Sang'lic* Mm Sanglech.
- Sarjangāl* Yr, Mm vill. in Munjan.
- Stə'yino* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Sighin.
- Sterfi* Y the Struik Pass (Mil. Rep. Shifchik), near Dorah.
- <sup>u</sup>*Stur'lāmo* Yu vill. in Bashgal, *Bargramatal*, Khow. *Luḏeh*, Prs. *Deh-i-Kalān*.
- <sup>1</sup>*Stužun* Y the Ustich Pass, near Dorah. Mil. Rep. Ustuju.
- <sup>Š</sup>*Šud'gol* Yu vill. in Bashgal. Robertson Shidgol.
- <sup>Š</sup>*Šoy'yo* Ysh, *Šuyoyo* Mt Shoghor in Chitral. Badakhshi *Šoyot*.
- <sup>1</sup>*Šāhar* Ysh, M(g), *Šār* Yr, *Šahr* Mt, *Šār-i-Munjān* (sh) vill. in Munjan.
- <sup>Š</sup>*Š-i-Parī* M(g) vill. in Munjan.
- <sup>Š</sup>*Šāh-i-Si'dim* Yzh vill. in Lutkoh, at the foot of the Dorah Pass.
- <sup>Š</sup>*Šāl'xān* Yp n. of a man.
- <sup>Š</sup>*Šō'rōn* M(g) vill. in Munjan = *Šāhar* (cf. Burhan-ud-Din *Šaran*).
- <sup>Š</sup>*Ši'xāidore* Yzh a clan in Zhitr, Lutkoh.
- <sup>Š</sup>*Še'xāmandore* Yzh a clan in Burbunū, Lutkoh.
- <sup>Š</sup>*Šū'yo* Yu vill. in Bashgal; Robertson Shui, Pshur.
- Ta'gou* Ysh, r, *Ta'gou-i-Munjān* Mt vill. in Munjan.
- <sup>1</sup>*Tuyakaf* Ysh, *Tuyokaf* r vill. in Kuran.
- Te'li* Ysh, *Tə'li* r, Mt, *Tr'li* Mti, *Thr'li* (g), also *Ĵu'li* ti (local form) vill. in Munjan. < \*(h)*aḏad-*, or a similar base.
- Tālaš 'Mir* Yr Terich Mer in Chitral. Cf. BSOS, VI, 443.
- <sup>1</sup>*Tuniko* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Thonek Thunik.
- Təri Bax'sir* Yu vill. in Bakhshir, Turi Bashker.
- <sup>1</sup>*Tərko* Yzh Turikho in Chitral.
- <sup>1</sup>*Wilū* Yr, Mt, (g), (sh) vill. in Munjan.
- Wulf* Ysh, r, M(g) vill. in Munjan. — Cf. Av. *vaḏwa-* flock, troop (cf. Pashai *sāḥa* 'village' < *sārtha-*, etc.)?
- Wi'rān* Ysh, <sup>o</sup>*ān* r, <sup>1</sup>*Wireno* Mg, <sup>o</sup>*āne* ti, <sup>o</sup>*ano* Yu "Veron", Prusun, *Pārūn*, in Kafiristan. Cf. BSOS, VI, 443.
- Wart* Yzh, *Warto* p vill. in Lutkoh; Wharth.
- <sup>1</sup>*Wayo* Mt vill. in Munjan.
- <sup>1</sup>*Xūyiko* Yu vill. in Lutkoh. V. *xūyo*.
- Xəlar'γāi* Ysh, <sup>1</sup>*Xəlorγāi* a pass between Munjan and Sanglech. — V. *xəlarγo*.
- Yidg*, pl. *Yid'gī* Mm, <sup>1</sup>*Idəγ*, pl. *Idyə* Yu, Mti 'a man from Injigan'; *Idəγ* Yr, sh, *Id'γef* zh, *Yid'yūn* Mm 'Injigān, the Yidgha-speaking part of

Lutkoh'; *Yed'γǎ* Yg, u, Mt, *Yid'gānə* rōi Mm 'the Yidgha language'. — Prob. *Yidg* < \**Hinduka*-. *Yed'γǎ* < \**Hindukaka*-. Cf. BSOS, VI, 443; and Bailey, BSOS, VIII, 894, n. 2 about T. *ānātkāk*. If this derivation is correct, the Iranian settlement on the south-eastern, "Indian", side of the mountain-range must be of considerable antiquity. Cf. § 14. — V. *Injigān*.

*Yuy'dāk*, v. *Iy'dek*.

*Ya'mak* Yr vill. in Kuran.

*Yakhserighar* pass between Upper Munjan and Upper Bashgal (Survey Map). Cf. *lax'srē*, *γar*.

*Yu'wīm* Ysh, *I'wīm* r a side-valley of Kuran. Survey Map *Yoim*.

*Zi'bāk* Ysh, *'Ziba* u Zebak.

*Zitik* the Zidig Pass, near Dorah.

*ǰurm* Mm vill. in Badakhshan.

*ǰitr* Yzh, *ǰūtər* u vill. in Lutkoh, Jhitur.

**SANGLECHI-ISHKASHMI**



## INTRODUCTION

1. The first information about Sanglechi was given by Shaw in the short Comparative Vocabulary appended to his article "On the Ghalchah Languages".<sup>1</sup> The 116 words collected by Munshí Faiz Bakhsh and transcribed by Shaw are not very correct,<sup>2</sup> but they have formed the sole base for our knowledge of this important dialect till now, and have been discussed by Tomaschek in his *Centralasiatische Studien* II,<sup>3</sup> and by Geiger in *GIPh*.

Of the adjoining and closely related, but slightly more persianized, dialects of Zebak and Ishkashim Sir George Grierson has given, as far as the material at his disposal permitted, excellent accounts in the *LSI* and in the separate publication "Ishkashmi, Zebaki and Yazghulami"<sup>4</sup> embodying the material collected by Sir Aurel Stein. These works have been my constant guides during the preparation of the present account of this dialect-group.

Finally Zarubin quotes a number of Ishk. words in his *Munji* vocabulary.<sup>5</sup>

2. The Ishk. and Sgl. material discussed in this volume was taken down in Chitral in May and June 1929 from visitors to the bazar of Chitral Town.

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, XLV, 134 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Note e.g. *yür* (يور) "fuel" for \**yüz* (يوز); *zulúk* "tongue" for \**zuvúk*; *vurd* "brother" for \**vrud*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *SWAW*, phil.-hist. Cl. XCVI.

<sup>4</sup> R. A. S., Prize Publication Fund, Vol. V.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above Y—M, § 1.



From Ishkashim I had two informants. They were, however, both of them so unsatisfactory for my purposes that I did only keep them on for a couple of sittings.

1. The first was a middle-aged man from Ishkashim (*Išk'âšim*) Ishk. proper. His mother-tongue was Persian, but he said that his was the only one among the sixty houses in the village in which the local language was not used.<sup>1</sup> He professed, however, to know Ishkashmi, and most of the forms given by him agree fairly well with those known from other sources. In some cases of however, he probably did not know or remember the true Ishk. forms and gave Prs. ones instead.

2. The other was *Malak Muhammad*, a native of the Zebak Zb. district, but settled in Ishk. (*Škâšim*). He gave me a short list of words in the dialect of Zeb., which in the main appears to be correct. But there are some suspect forms and words in his list, (e.g. *wōl* "ear"; *nāydl* "night"; *mīs* "nose"), and he certainly gave Prs. words in several cases where native Zeb. ones are still in use.

From the Sanglech valley I had five informants:

3 and 4. *Aziz Bēg* and his brother *Daulat Bēg* were natives of Sgl.p 1 the hamlet of Porogh. They were kind, and willing to do their Sgl.p 2 best, but even this was rather poor. Their pronunciation was rapid and slurred, many sounds disappearing more or less completely in connected speech. Perhaps this is a result of their dialect being used only within a very narrow circle of close relations and acquaintances, who are accustomed to each other's peculiarities of articulation.

It was also very hard work to get grammatical forms out of them, and they were utterly incapable of telling a story, or of giving any but the most disconnected and fragmentary accounts of happenings in their own village and similar subjects. I managed, however, to prepare a fairly extensive vocabulary during the few days they could be induced to remain in Chitral.

<sup>1</sup> But recruits from Ishk. and Zeb., whom I met at Kabul in 1924, denied the very existence of any separate language in their village. Cf. also Sköld, *Materialien*, p. 3.

5. Also *Laškar Bēg* came from Porogh. From his lips I took Sgl. p 3 down a short tale.

6. A fourth inhabitant of Porogh was *Gul Mahamad* from whom Sgl. p 4 I compiled a list of words.

7. *Āšūḍ* hailed from Iskitul, the village above Porogh. From Sgl. is him I compiled a vocabulary of his dialect, which presents various peculiarities of its own.

8. *Bax'tawār* was a quite intelligent young man from Sanglech Sgl. s proper, the uppermost village in the valley. Unfortunately I had only occasion to work with him during one short sitting, and all I could do was to write down a list of words.

9. The material collected by the late Dr. Sköld and incorporated Sk. into this work belongs to the Ishk. dialect. Nothing further is known to me about his informants.<sup>1</sup>

Ishk. or Sgl. forms given by a professed Wakhi from Wark are marked "Wkh."

"Wkh."

Ishk. material quoted from Grierson is designed by Gr., and his Gr. Zeb. material by Gr. (Zb.). Quotations from Zarubin are marked Gr.(Zb) Zar., and from Munshi Faiz Bakhsh (Shaw, Ghalchah Languages) Zar. MFB.

MFB.

3. An account of the geography of the country in which Sanglechi-Ishkashmi is spoken is given by Grierson in the Introduction to his book on Ishkashmi.

Ishk. is spoken in and around the village of Ishkashim in Afghan territory at the Oxus bend. According to Stein it also extends to a few villages on the Russian side of the river,<sup>2</sup> and it will be seen below that it is possible that a mixed Wakhi-Ishkashmi dialect is spoken in Wark in Western Wakhan.

It is doubtful whether the subdialect called Zebaki is spoken at all in the market village of Zebak (*Izivūk*) itself. My informants, both in 1924 and in 1929, all agreed that Prs. was the exclusive language of this place, and it is quite possible that they told the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Materialien*, p. 3.—I have found no texts among his material.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Sköld it is used in Rind, and by half the population of Namadgut.

truth, and that Zeb. is spoken only in some of the surrounding villages. We know that the Zeb. material of the LSI comes from Bāzgīr, a village situated between Zebak and Ishkashim, and it may be that my informant Zb. was a native of some village in the neighbourhood of Zebak.

Acc. to Grierson<sup>1</sup> Sanglechi (or perhaps Zebaki) is spoken also in the valley leading from Zebak to the Nuqsan Pass (the Deh-i-Gul) and in the valley of the Wardoj below Zebak. I have not been able to check these statements.

My informants told me that the true Sanglechi dialect is spoken in the villages of Porogh, Iskitul and Sanglech. Sgl. s. asserted that it was also spoken in Flakhmarik, but p4 denied this (statement).

Acc. to Burhan-ud-Din, Fareg (Porogh) possesses 8 houses, and Isketul' and Sanglič 15 each. But Vavilov,<sup>2</sup> who is no doubt a more reliable source, gives 40 houses for "Porx" (60 before the flood in 1923), and 30 for "Isketul'". The same author states that Isketul' lies 14—15 km. above Zebak at a height above the sea of about 2900 mètres, and that Porx is situated a little below Isketul' at a height of 2840 mètres. Sanglech, the uppermost village of the valley, is 20—22 km. above Isketul, and 3280 m.<sup>3</sup> above sea-level.

4. As observed already by Grierson,<sup>4</sup> Ishk., Zeb. and Sgl. "are all slightly varying forms of one and the same language, which we may call Iškāšmī".<sup>5</sup>

Ishk. is clearly distinguished from Sgl. in several respects. Thus, in a number of cases, Ishk. *ō* corresponds to Sgl. *ā*, Ishk. *ū* to Sgl. *ō* and Ishk. *a* to Sgl. *o*. Cerebral *ŋ* is not known to Ishk., and the use of *l* is more restricted than in Sgl., while on the other hand Ishk. usually has *t* < *st*, corresponding to Sgl. *t*. Ir. *θ* in

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. pp. 108 sqq., and 517 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. p. 519. But 3380 m., p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Ishk. etc. p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Or, what I would prefer, Sanglechi-Ishkashmi.

some words apparently results in Ishk. *s*, but Sgl. *t*, and Sgl. *đ* has been dropped or replaced by *d* in Ishk. Other points of phonetical difference are restricted to individual words among the material available to me. Thus, e.g.: Ishk. *štok* "girl"; *šofün* "comb"; *rēmuz(d)* "sun"; *kərčīn* "cock"; *rəšnī* "fire"; *pumec-* "to dress"; *fak* "thee"; but Sgl. *əščāk*; *āfšūn*; *ōrmōzd*; *kurčūn*; *šanāi*; *pənec-*; *tafak*, etc.

In the field of morphology, we may mention the absence of the accusative prefix *va* in Ishk., the differences in the inflexion of the pronouns and the verb substantive, the opposition between Ishk. (but also Sgl.s) 1st sg. *-m* and Sgl. p. is. *-n*, and the development of secondary preterites in Ishk.

As regards the vocabulary, Ishk., which on account of its geographical position is more exposed to foreign influences than Sgl., has given up a number of ancient words which are still in use in the latter dialect. Thus e.g. Ishk.: *yōzda* "11", *dwōzda* "12", *bīst* "20", *garm* "warm", *gardak* "neck", *safēd* "white", *mātou*, *mā* "moon", *šab* "night", *lab* "lip"; but Sgl.: *kodos*, *dīdus*, *wīšt*, *γōrm*, *γorōk*, *aspēd*, *wulmēk*, *fəršōu*, *rīvlav*, etc.

5. The variations recorded within Ishk. are most of them insignificant, consisting chiefly of slight oscillations in the quality or quantity of vowels. Thus, e.g., from my material: *muṭ* "fist", *wuluk* "flour", *kərčīn* "cock", *ōvd* "seven", *v̄rū* "brother"; Sköld: *mut*, *ūluk*, *wūlāk*, *kr̄čīn*, *uvd wrūd*, *wru*; Grierson: *muṭ*, *uluk*, *kurčīn*, *uvd*, *wrūd*; Zarubin: *mot*, *wuluk*, — — —, (<sup>w</sup>)*ūvd*, *v̄rūd*.

It is impossible to decide how far such discrepancies are due to real difference of pronunciation of a local or individual nature. To a certain extent they are probably due to the "personal equation" of the recorder. But forms such as *f̄rēt* "asked", *awuld* "brought", *das* "ten", as compared with Sköld's *forast*, *avū(l)d*, *dah* and Grierson's *frut*, *avul*, *dah*, etc., point to the existence of certain variations within Ishk.

6. Zeb., as described by Grierson in LSI, resembles, perhaps, more Sgl. than Ishk. But it shares with Ishk. several characteristics.

Thus e.g.: *ō*, *ā* for Sgl. *ā*; cf. also Voc. s.vv. *mēn* "apple", *štāk* "girl", *rəšnī* "fire", *pumec-* "to dress", *atayd* "entered", etc.

In a few cases the Zb. forms of the LSI agree with Sgl., but those given by my informant with Ishk. Cf. e.g.: *kərcin* "fowl", *rēmōz* "sun", *tīnen* "thy". It is, however, doubtful whether we can rely much upon the forms given by Z, whose vocabulary was interspersed with Prs., Wkh., or simply incorrect forms. It is, of course, only natural that the villages of the Zebak district should form a transitional zone between Ishk. and Sgl.

7. Sgl. itself is not an altogether homogeneous dialect, but presents several variations in the three villages from which material is available. And even the forms given by the different informants hailing from Porogh are not always absolutely identical.<sup>1</sup>

It is doubtful whether there are many other places in the world where local linguistic division has been carried so far as among the inhabitants of the handful of houses in the Sanglech Valley hamlets.

Thus e.g. Sgl. p. has *wərvēs* "fox" (Ishk. *wurvēs* etc.), but Sgl. p. s. *vərvēs*; Sgl. p. *mokodok* "frog" (Ishk. *mukuduk*, etc.): is. s. *moydōk*; Sgl. p. *nəmē(δ)k* "salt" (Ishk. *namulyāk*, etc.): Sgl. is. s. *nəmēyδ*, etc.; Sgl. p. *wužinjak* (Z *wužinjak*) "woman": is. s. *wuzinjak*; Sgl. p. *kul*, *kuδ* "did": is. s. *kuł*. Cf. also: Sgl. p. *xwār-* "to eat": s. *xor-*; Sgl. p. *wāl* "trousers": is. *wāl*; p. *rig/vlav* "lip": is. s. *rīvlav*; p. *wəništ*, *wunižd* "turned round": Sgl. is. *wəniyd*, s. *wunižd*.

Sgl. p. 3 shows a specially pronounced tendency towards diphthongization of *ē*. Cf. e.g.: *t'ēym*, *m'ēl*, *d'ēr*, *r'ēyn*, etc. Sgl. p. and is. agree as against the uppermost village of the valley in the following words: *wužizir* "partridge"; *žānžək* "entrails"; *žan-* "to kill"; *šənāi* "fire"; 1st sg. *-en*, 1st pl. *-em*; but s. *wužiržir*; *žanjək*; *jan-*; *rəšnāi* (cf. Ishk. Zb. *rəšnī*, etc.); *-em*, *-en* (= Ishk., Zb.). Cf. also Sgl. p. *pövδ* "drank" (Ishk. *pəvd*): Sgl. s. *pīδ*.

In some other cases it is Sgl. is. alone which differs as well from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the vacillation in the use of the personal endings *-əm* and *-ən* (v. § 132), and in the preterital stems.

the villages below as from s. Most characteristic is the transition of *ž* to *γ* in *wəniγd* "turned round"; *woyďän* "millet" and *vəγďuk* "long". We also find Sgl. is. *f<sup>2</sup>rōs-* "to ask" and *yəxōai* "sister" corresponding to p. s. *f<sup>2</sup>ras-*, *frās-* and *ixwāi*, *<sup>2</sup>xōai*. In Sgl. is. there is moreover a certain tendency to lengthen vowels, cf. Voc. e.g. s.vv.: *cām*, *kužuk*, *astamayzək*, *sad*, *žāndār*.

8. The situation is rendered still more complicated through the possibility of a dialect of the Sgl., not the Ishk. type, existing in western Wakhan. My informant from Wark in Lower Wakhan, not far from Ishkashim, professed to speak Wkh., but of the words given by him the majority was of Sgl.-Ishk., not of Wkh. origin.

Some of them are typical Ishk. words. Thus, e.g.: *pəšir* "cheek"; *mukuduk* "frog"; *vuks* "snake"; *k<sup>u</sup>rust* "bark"; *čuwīn* "apricot"; *rəxnī* "fire"; *nic* "nose"; *posk* "hide"; *ākik* "egg"; *ōxik* "tear"; *čōm* "eye"; *zōl* "yellow"; and others with *ā*, *ō* corresponding to Sgl. *ā*. But more often the Wark forms agree with Sgl. Thus e.g.: *ōrmōzd* "sun"; *b<sup>2</sup>rež* "birch"; *fərxa* "night"; *fīsē* "nose"; *γic* "coal" (Sgl. *žic*, I *zic*); *γōruk* "neck"; *kiskūd* "roof"; *məryōk* "sparrow"; *hari* "work"; *puďf* "meat"; *sūi* "hare"; *spēđ* "white"; *šau* "horn"; *xūi* "black"; *tīwde* "burnt" (Sgl. *təv-*, Ishk. *sav-*); *wuyden* "millet"; *wulmē* "moon"; *wužeržer* "partridge", etc., etc. Cf. also *kenen* "I do" and *t<sup>2</sup>fak* "thee". "Wkh." of Wark employs the fricative *đ*, and it changes *ž* into *γ* (besides *š* into *x*, *š*), just as is the case in Sgl. is. Note also *fəryəmč* "kid", which looks like an archaic form of Sgl. *fəryəm*, and the curious (hybrid?) form *hīb<sup>2</sup>đ* "7".

It is, of course, quite conceivable that Wkh. of Wark is no genuine dialect at all, but only a mixture of Wkh., Sgl. and Ishk. forms made up by one who did not know any of these languages properly. But each of the theoretically possible explanations present difficulties of its own, and it would be quite idle without further knowledge to enter upon speculations about the possibility of a mixed dialect being spoken in the border villages of Ishkashim and

Wakhan.<sup>1</sup> The question is not, however, devoid of a more general interest and ought to be investigated on the spot.

9. On the whole Ishk.—Sgl. is, however, a well defined dialect group, which is clearly distinguished from all its Ir. neighbours in the Pamir. Especially Ishk. in its vocabulary frequently presents points of resemblance with Wkh. But this may be due just as much to recent contact as to any special, inherited relationship.<sup>2</sup> The same may be said about the lexical accordances with Yd.—Mj.

A survey of the historical phonology and morphology of Sgl.—Ishk. will show the originality of this dialect-group on several points, but also its connection with the rest of the Pamir dialects.

The general appearance of the language, phonetically and morphologically, is less aberrant from the Ir. normal than that of other Pamir dialects. This is probably due to its geographical position on, or close to, the ancient trade route from Faizabad to the Dorah Pass.

We do not know anything about the ancient history of the small Sgl.—Ishk. (speaking) communities.<sup>3</sup> But nothing prevents us from believing that it has developed during a very long period in the districts where it is now spoken. It is likely that it once extended further down the Kokcha Valley, bordering somewhere upon Saraghlani.

The future of Sgl.—Ishk. is probably more immediately threatened than that of Wkh., Yd.—Mj. and the Shgh. group, both on account of the small number of speakers and through the proximity of and comparatively easy access to the central, Persian-speaking parts of Badakhshan.

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Sköld, p. 2 sq., Namatgut, just below Wark but on the Russian bank of the river, is half Wkh. and half Ishk.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, *št* > *t*, *ʃ* in both dialects, and e.g. *pəv* 'to drink'.

<sup>3</sup> Herzfeld's identification of Paikuli *saxlən*, *saxlən* with Sanglech (AIM; VII; p. 58) is not convincing.

## PHONETIC SYSTEM

10. Any attempt to determine the exact phonetic value of all the sounds of the different dialects of Sgl.—Ishk. without a prolonged study of the language can, of course, only be quite provisional, and in a still higher degree this applies to the construction of the phonological system. About the phonology of Ishk. I do not venture to make any assertions.

### Consonants.

11.	Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive . . . . .	<i>p, b</i>	<i>t, d</i>	<i>ʈ, ɖ</i>		<i>k, g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Affricate . . . . .		<i>c</i>		<i>ç, ʝ</i>			<i>h</i>
Fricative . . . . .	<i>f, v</i>				<i>x, γ</i>		
Sibilant . . . . .		<i>s, z</i>	<i>ʂ, ʐ</i>	<i>ʃ, [ʒ]<sup>1</sup></i>			
Nasal . . . . .	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>		<i>(ŋ)<sup>2</sup></i>		
Lateral . . . . .		<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>				
Rolled . . . . .		<i>r</i>					
Semivowels . . . . .	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

The consonant system of Sgl. appears to be based upon the following correlations:

<sup>1</sup> *ʒ* is probably a variant of *ʝ*, v. below.

<sup>2</sup> *ŋ* is a variant of *n* appearing before velars, and not a separate phoneme. When appearing alone it is probably a variant of *ŋg*.



1. Voiced: *b, d, ḍ, g, ĵ, v,*<sup>1</sup> *ɣ, z, (ž) ž.*  
 Surd: *p, t, ṭ, k, č, f, x, s, š š.*

The surd sounds *c, q* and possibly *š* have no voiced counterparts.

2. Plosive: *p, b, k, g.*  
 Fricative: *f, v, x, ɣ.*
3. Plosive: *t, d, ṭ, ḍ.*  
 Sibilant: *s, z, š, ž.*
4. Oral: *b, d, ḍ, g.*  
 Nasal: *m, n, ŋ, (ŋ).*
- 5) Plosive: *d, ḍ,* or, perhaps, Nasal: *n, ŋ.*  
 Lateral: *l, ḷ,* Lateral: *l, ḷ.*
6. Labial: *p, b, m f, v*  
 Dental: *t, d, n s, z*  
 Retroflex: *ṭ, ḍ, ṇ š, ž*  
 Palatal: *č, ĵ*  
 Velar: *k, g, (ŋ) x, ɣ*

12. The uvular *q*, the glottal *h*, and besides *r* and *w, y* are disjunct phonemes.

Of the above sounds *q, h, ḍ, b, g* (except in sandhi for *-k*) and possibly *č* are found only in loan-words.

Aspiration of surd stops, especially of *p*, is heard, possibly more markedly in Ishk. than in Sgl.

While *ŋ* is a variant of *n*, the cerebral *ṇ* must be considered as a separate phoneme, when it occurs unconditioned by a following *t* or *ḍ*.

13. *Labials*: *f* and *v* are labio-dentals.<sup>2</sup> Sk. does not always distinguish between *v* and *w*.

*Dentals*: In Sgl. postvocalic *d* is usually sounded as a *ḍ*. Sgl. p 1 frequently pronounced <sup>a</sup>*d*, while p 2's *ḍ* approached, and often was mistaken for, *l* (e.g. in *šilōk* = *šidōk* 'become'; *kolos* = *kodos* '11'; *Iskitūd* = <sup>o</sup>*ūl*). Also Sk. gives *ḍ* in a few words. Note *ḍ* > *ṇ* in p 2 *dān-pəṇf*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below regarding *v*.

<sup>2</sup> Bilabial *φ* was, however, noted in *c'φūr* '4'.

*t* and *d* are nearly, and *ḍ* quite inter-dental. *r* is alveolar, and in some cases it is pronounced even further back. In a few words Sk. writes *rd* for *rd*, cf. the similar tendency in Psht., Bal. and other Ir. dialects of the East. Postvocalic *n* is sometimes retracted towards the position of *ŋ*.

*Palatals*: It is possible that *ɟ* and *ʒ* are distinguished in initial position, *ɟ* being used in some loan-words in preference to *ʒ*. But in postvocalic position *ʒ* is used always, or nearly always.

From the phonetic point of view initial *y* is a fricative, not a semi-vowel. But it forms a pair with *w*.

*Cerebrals*: *ʈ* and *ɖ* are really post-alveolars. In genuine Sgl. words *ʈ* easily becomes *t*. *ʂ* and *ʐ* are usually readily distinguishable from *ʃ* and *ʒ* in Sgl., but perhaps not in Ishk. Note Sgl. is.  $\check{z} > \gamma$ .<sup>1</sup>

*l̥* is not always clearly distinguished from *l*. It has no flap, and is articulated with the tongue in a more advanced position than Psht. *r*. Regarding the situation in Ishk., cf. § 4.

*Uvulars*: It is doubtful whether *q* is always distinguished from *k* in ordinary, careless pronunciation, and whether it is felt to be a foreign sound. But I always heard *qiv* 'to call'. Sk. and Gr. give *q* in several Ishk. words.

14. There seems to be no gemination of consonants in Sgl. But Sk. has noted geminates in several Ishk. past stems and also e.g. in *albatt*, *yalla*, *kull*, etc.

Final consonants are articulated weakly and sometimes disappear. Thus, e.g.: *tā(t)* *bē* 'to the father'; *Izivū(k)* *bē* 'to Zebak'; *xā(n)* 'house'; *nilostō(k)* 'is sitting'; *mə'miš xā* 'rō-tana = *ma* 'mič *xān rōi tan-ān* 'there are three persons in our house'; *ko<sup>e</sup>* = *kuḍ* 'did', etc. Note also the sandhi in *awā ḍūḍ* = *awā dūḍ*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 7.

### Groups of Consonants.

15. Through borrowing from Prs., recent elision of vowels, composition, suffigation and analogical formation of past stems in *t* nearly every kind of consonant group have found their way into Sgl.

Those appearing only in compounds (e.g. *af-mahā*, *am-dak*, *dān-pəðf*, *γōb-naduk*, *γam-gīn*, *juvān-mardī*, *tōk-sarī*, *vəl-vōš*, *xōn-bəřš*, etc.) are not on a line with groups occurring in uncompounded words. Also before recent suffixes we find unusual combinations (e.g. *īč*).

Through elision there arise—especially in Sköld's material—groups such as *aščāk*, *čpōšt*, *jnūb*, *psād*, *pxōk*, *pšaimānī*, etc. Cf. also *fsək*: *fu'sek*; *pšūr*: *pəšūr*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Such combinations are probably not true, 'phonological' groups. More doubtful is the case of *kr-*, *pr-*, etc., e.g. in Sk. *krüst*: Sgl. *ko'rost*.—In secondary preterites the combination of any consonant with *t* or *d* seems to be possible. Thus, e.g.: *kimd*, *kurt*, *šəxt*, *t'raft*, *talapt*, *šēbt*, *spārð*, *āwuld*, etc.

In words of Sgl. origin the more important groups of consonants are: *dk* (*nəmedk*), *df* (*pəðf*, etc.), *dm* (*xōd/ðm*), *vd/ð* (*passim*), *vz* (*ōvzūi*), *vr-* (*v<sup>2</sup>r-*), *xs*, *xš*, *γ<sup>(2)</sup>n*, *γ<sup>(2)</sup>m*, *γd/ð*, *fš*, *fər*, *st*, *sk*, *sp*, *št*, *šk*, *šp*, *zd*, *z<sup>(2)</sup>n*, *žd*, *žd*, *rv(ð)*, *rk*, *rg*, *rx*, *rγ*, *rf*, *rs(?)*, *rš*, *rz*, *rn*, *rw*, *lm*, *lk*, *nd*, *nš*, *nz*, *ng*, *mb*.

In initial position we find: *b<sup>(2)</sup>r-*, *d<sup>(2)</sup>r-*, *f<sup>(2)</sup>r-*, [*fl-*], *t<sup>(2)</sup>r-*, *v<sup>(2)</sup>r-*, *xr-*, *xw-*, *z<sup>(2)</sup>n-*, *(<sup>2</sup>)sk*, *(<sup>2</sup>)st-*, etc.

### Vowels.

16. As far as I have been able to make out, Sgl. possesses the following vowel phonemes: *ä*, *ë*, *ĩ*, *ü*, *ö* and, possibly, *ə*.

*ä* is usually palatal [*a*].

*e* is most frequently a comparatively low [*ɛ*], but *e* tends to be raised into [*e:*] and is sometimes diphthongized into [*i'e:*].<sup>2</sup>

*i* is usually open [*i*] and may even approach the position of [*i:*], [*ə*] or [*ɜ*].

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 7.

Similarly *u* [ʊ] frequently merges into the neutral vowel [ə], or even into [ɜ].

It is impossible without further investigations to determine, in all cases, the phonological value of [ə], [ɜ], [ʊ], etc. These sounds vary with the speaker, and there appears to be some vacillation even in the speech of a single individual. Cf. e.g.: Sgl. p 1 *yir* 'stone'; *šət* 'dust'; *mut* 'fist'; *yɛx* 'ice'; p 2 *yir*, *šit*, *mət*, *yəx*; p 3 *yər*, *šət*, *mət*, *yəx*; is *yər*, *šət*, *mət*, *yəx*. Some of these variations may be due to the influence of surrounding consonants, others are perhaps merely the result of inexact notation.

An overshoot svarabhakti or prothetic vowel appears e.g. in *b<sup>(ʰ)</sup>rūt* *ʰstən*, etc.

Sgl. *ö* is usually articulated near the cardinal point, or a little lower. It shows, however, a tendency to move slightly forward towards the mixed vowels [ɔ̄].

Diphthongs are *ou* [ɔu, ɔ̄u, əu, ɔ:u], *oi* and *ai*. They are, however, probably to be considered as combinations of two sounds *a* + *y*, etc.

17. Although there can scarcely be any doubt that vowel length is of phonological significance, secondary lengthening of stressed short vowels and abbreviation of unstressed long ones appear to be quite frequent. The problems raised by these apparently conflicting facts are not peculiar to Sgl. and will need a special study, which takes into consideration the conditions in a great number of modern Ir. dialects.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Y—M § 35.

# HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

## Consonants.

### Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.

18. Initial *k-*, *t-*, *p-* remain unchanged. Thus, e.g.: *kādi* 'when'; *kīf* *k-*, *t-*, *p-* 'hump'; *kas-* 'to see'; *tu* 'thou'; *tovōr* 'axe'; *t'ēym* 'seed'; *pōi* 'sour milk'; *pū-* 'to become rotten'; *pac-* 'to cook'; *pədf* 'meat', etc., etc., v. Voc. s.v.

Acc. to Grierson, § 21,<sup>1</sup> an initial surd is sometimes changed into a fricative. Of the two examples given *xafuk* 'foam' has *x* in all neighbouring dialects, while *fei* 'shovel' has original *f*, cf. *fiūk* 'shoulder-blade'.<sup>2</sup> Ishk. *sav/w* 'to burn' (Sgl. *təv-*) is probably derived from a form in *ʃ-*, cf. Wkh. *ʃāw-* and v. § 37.

*de* 'a particle denoting existence' and *dunda* 'so much' probably have *d-* < *t-* in unstressed position. Cf. Psht. *de* encl. pron. 2 sg. < \**tai*, etc.

19. Ancient *č* regularly becomes *c*, just as in Y—M and Wkh. Thus: *ce* 'what'; *cəmənd* 'how many'; *ca'mōk* 'winking'; *carx* 'spinning wheel' (but *čarx* borr. from, or influenced by Prs.). The majority of words in *č-* are lw.s. Thus, e.g.: *čel* 'forty'; *čišmē* 'a spring'; *čət* 'small'; *čūl* 'penis'; *čuwēl* 'apricot' (Gr. *cwēnd*); *čudan* 'cooking-pot'; *čōl* Z 'multicoloured' is prob. borrowed from Shgh. *čūž* (Sar. *čiel*) with *č-* regularly from *k-*, cf. M *kaš*, Yazgh. *k'āw*. *čūt* 'she-goat' may be somehow connected with Werchikwar *čūt*, and also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Geiger, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> V. Wkh.

*čumōl* 'basket' appears to be a migratory word. The origin of *čōv* 'little' and *čos* 'fart' is unknown.

As there is no other certain instance of *č* in any other genuine Sgl. word than *čām* 'eye' (poss. with *č* from Prs.) it seems probable that also *čen-*: *čīd* 'to pick' is a Prs. lw. Reg. *čīš* 'urine' v. Voc. s.v.

### Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates.

20. In the *-ka-* suffix, *-k-* is retained unchanged. Thus, e.g.: *ostok* -*k-* 'bone', *ust<sup>2</sup>ruk* 'star'; *wok* 'one'; *durk* 'wood', and reduplicated in *worokok* 'lamb'; *ākik* 'egg'. I heard *g* in *kīrūg* 'plough', and once in *γorōg* 'neck'. These are probably sandhi forms. Also *wulākī* 'first' and *wulyēka* 'alone' contain the *ka-* suffix.

Other instances of intervocalic *-k-* in genuine words are not available. *kodōs* 'eleven' < \**aiwakadasa* has lost its initial syllables irregularly in unstressed position. In (*o*)*kōvδ* 'boot' it is very doubtful whether the initial vowel is ancient. *vōkō'lin* 'the day before yesterday'; *lākīn* 'belt', and *čukān* 'a kind of dye' are of unknown origin, and *pa'kōl* 'cap', *bakal*, *bakeṇḍi* 'calf', and *čuk-* 'to beat' are lw.s.

On the whole it seems probable that the retention of *-k-* is phonetically regular, cf. the parallel development in Orm.<sup>1</sup> and Y—M.<sup>2</sup> *šayor* 'hedgehog' is certainly a lw., and in *moyδok* (*mokodok*) 'frog' and *nāmēyδ* (*nāmēdk*) 'salt' *γ* is due to assimilation with *δ*.

21. Intervocalic *-t-* regularly results in Sgl. *-δ-*, thus coalescing with original *-d-*. Examples of *-t-* are: *oyod* 'came'; *aδ(a)*, *īδ* 'that'; *dīδ* 'smoke', *dūδ* 'gave', *kudum* 'which'; *kud* 'dog'; *kiskūd* 'roof'; *kōvīδ* 'pigeon'; *numōδ* 'felt'; *pīδ* 'drank'; *spēδ* 'white'; *šīδ* 'went'; *xudāri* 'watermill'; *zāmūd* 'son-in-law'; *zənūd* 'washed'; *žōδ* 'killed', etc. In *saδ* '100'; *aštād* '80'; *amēδ* 'hope'; *mādar* 'mother', etc., *δ* has been substituted for Prs. *d*. *Čatrāδ* 'Chitral' has probably been borrowed from a form in *-δ*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> IIFL, I, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> With *-t-*, *-p-* > *-y-*, *-v-*, but *-k-* > *-g-*. Cf. Y—M §§ 45 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.v.

In Ishk. we in most cases find *d* corresponding to Sgl. *ḍ*. Thus: *ōyad*; *dīd* (*dūd*)<sup>1</sup> 'smoke'; *dūd* 'gave'; *kudum*; *k'ud*, *kāškūd*; *kovīd*; *vērūd* Zar.; *xādōri*; *zenūd*; *žad*. Cf. also *wēd* 'willow'; *dēd* 'fight', etc.

22. Ishk. *d* does not represent a stage of development intermediate between *t* and Sgl. *ḍ*, but is due to the influence of Prs., which is much stronger in Ishk. and Zeb. than in Sgl.<sup>2</sup> Regarding the possible Prs. influence on initial *d*-, cf. § 29.

Apart from the intrinsic probability of this explanation we also have evidence of the previous existence of *ḍ* in Ishk. Thus Wkh. *kowīd* 'pigeon' must have been borrowed from Ishk. and not from the more remote Sgl.; *krīč* Gr. 'hut' is derived from *\*k(a)ḍīč* = Wkh. *ktīč*.<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *pārnīč* 'threshold' < *\*pad(a)nīč*. (Orosh. *padīn* < *\*padanī-*) and *prēšt* Gr. 'wrist' < *\*p(a)rḍēšt* (Sar. *pardūst*). Also Ishk. *xōdm* 'dream': Sgl. *xōdm* proves a secondary change of *ḍ* to *d*.

In Sgl. *pādit* 'kindled', *wudīt* (-*d* Zar.) 'span' the sequence *\*ḍ-ḍ* has been dissimilated into *ḍ--d* (-*t*).<sup>4</sup> But notice *pārdūd* 'sold' (*pārḍē-*), which has been influenced by the uncompounded form *dūd* and other preterites. *dūd* 'gave' shows that the initial voiced stop is at any rate older than the dissimilation *ḍ-ḍ* > *ḍ-d*. In Sgl. *wudəγḍ* 'daughter' (Ishk. *wudugd*) the intervening *γ* has prevented the dissimilation.

23. A further reduction of *-ḍ-* has taken place in the unstressed suffix pres. 3 sg. *-ū*, *-ō*<sup>5</sup> in *ko* = *kud* 'did', and in *šīān* < *šīdān* 'they became', *šuō* = *šudōk* (and *šilōk* = *šīdōk*). Cf. also *tə-vō* = *tə-ḍ/dō* 'thou art'. In Ishk. the reduction takes place even in some stressed words, e.g. in *vērū*, *wru* (and *vērūd*) 'brother', *xū(d)ōri* Sk. 'water-mill', cf. *pū* 'foot' < *pāda*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gr. *dit*, with unvoicing of final *d*, not with retention of original *t* (Grierson § 22). Cf. also *pādit* 'kindled'; *wudīt/d* 'span'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 4.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *kurīč*, *kurīz*, etc. 'hut, protecting roof' might perhaps be a dialect form related to the Ishk. word. Cf. Prs. lex. *γōl* 'ear', which is an Ishk. form.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Y—M, §§ 52, 136.

<sup>5</sup> Once I heard *isyūd* 'may he come'.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. § 14.

In *rēcik* Gr. 'entrails'  $\delta$  has been elided before  $-cik$ .

As is the case in other Ir. dialects the prefix *pati* has been reduced to *pə*, etc., e.g. in *pānec-*, *pūnec-* 'to dress'; *pədin-* 'to light a fire'; *pəzīn-* 'to recognize'; *pa* 'with, on'. Cf. *potūn* 'thigh' < \**pat-tōn*, or \**pat-tōn* < *paitištāna*.

Reg. p 3  $\delta > l$  v. § 13.

24. The preservation common to most Ir. dialects, of *t* in *wīšt* 'twenty' is due to early syncope. Cf. also *yōtuk*, *yetik* 'bridge'<sup>1</sup> < \**ētk*, or \**ēdk* < \**haituka-*, and v. Voc. s.vv. *wōtuk* 'feast'; *pātik* 'eyelashes'.—*vəžduk* 'high' is derived from \**bṛzataka-*.

*atiy-*: *atuyd* Zar. 'to enter' (Sgl. *axtəd*, with metathesis) may have got its *t* from a form corresponding to Sogd. *tys-*: *tyt. it* 'arrived'<sup>2</sup> (*īd-*) goes back to a secondary past stem \**īt-t*, cf. Or. *yat(t)* (from *yad-*) and the numerous Wkh. preterites in *-tt*.

Regarding *zōt* 'son' and 'wuter' ashes, cf. § 37. Final *-t* is found in lw.s, corresponding to Prs. *-d/-t*.

25. Ancient *-p-* shares the fate of *-t-* and results in a voiced fricative. *-p-* As *-v-* is a sound which is not foreign to Prs., it remains also in Ishk.

Thus, e.g. *kōvīd* 'pigeon'; *təv-* 'to burn'; *tovōr* 'axe'; *vərvēs*, etc. 'fox'; *vīn* 'beard' (< \**upāna-*); *vēk* 'water'; *va* a particle denoting the acc. (< *upa*); *rīv (-lav)* 'lip'; *yiv-*, *yev-* 'to spin'. Cf. also *ōvzui* 'heart' (v. Voc.) and *Izivūk* 'Zebak'. *šab* Gr. 'night' is a lw., but *fəršōu* may be derived from \**fra-xšapā-*, with secondary change of  $-ōv > -ōu$ . The etymologies of *šōvōk* 'weeding'; *šoval*, *šāwal* 'road'; *šāvī* 'shirt', and *nīv-* 'to bring' are unknown.

*ka'pāl* Gr. 'skull' is a lw. But *api-* 'to be lost'; *apanis-* 'to lose'; *apaxš-* 'to hear'; *apčūn* 'winnowing fork' suggest the possibility of pretonic *-p-* remaining unweakened (cf. *atiy-*, § 24), an unstressed vowel having less assimilation force than a stressed one.

26. The regular outcome of  $-č-$  is *-c-* as in Wkh.<sup>3</sup> The affricate  $-č-$

<sup>1</sup> Yaghn. *itk*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 25.

<sup>3</sup> But note Sk. *pīz-* 'to boil'.



evidently had greater power of resistance than *t* and *p*.<sup>1</sup> Examples are: *pac-* 'to cook'; *wurcūn* 'smoke-hole'; *cə* 'from';<sup>2</sup> *kōcī* 'anybody'; *pānec-*, *pumec-* 'to dress'. The ancient suffix *-cī* appears in *vrič* 'eyebrow'; *šac* 'female'; *nīc* 'nose'; *wōrc* 'quail'; *wānīc* 'female calf'; *žīc* 'coal'; *fōc* 'mouth' (?). Cf. also *dēc(āk)* 'skin-bag': Wkh. *dāck*; *mārcīk* 'ant': Orm. *marcōi*, etc.; *vəcərīn* 'three days ago' (?) < \**upa-čadrūma*?. *wuc-* Zar. 'to find room'; *vuc* Gr. 'uncle' and *koc-* 'to copulate' are of unknown origin.

A differentiation has taken place in *ʔštən* 'needle' (< \**š(u)čən*) and in Ishk. *štok* 'girl', Sgl. *əščāk* (< \**šičak* < \**stričī* + *akā*).

A suffix *-č*, which occurs in *īfč* 'spindle'; *krīč* 'hut'; *pərnīč* 'threshold'; *wuč* Gr. 'moth'; *walč* 'rafter'; *yarč* 'avalanche'; *yēča* 'nest', and, with sonorization, in *xinj* 'whey'; *jānj* 'woman' and possibly in *žānžək*, etc. 'entrails'. It might, of course, be borrowed from some unknown dialect, but a more probable derivation is from the genitive \**čyāh*, cf. Konow, Saka Studies, p. 25. Cf. also *mič*, *mōč* 'us', § 111.

Gauthiot, MSL, 20, p. 70, derives *kər'čīn* (*kur'čūn*) 'fowl' < \**kark'in*. More probably it contains a suffix *-čūn* (< \**čyāna*?) cf. *pəčūn* 'bullet'. Note Sgl. *pečuk*, but Ishk. *pučuk* 'worm'.

### Initial Voiced Stops and Affricates.

27. Ir. *g-* is represented by Sgl.—Ishk. *γ*. Thus, e.g. *γōl* 'ear'; *γōndəm g-* 'wheat'; *γenōk* 'hair'; *γōrm* 'hot', etc.—*γərdāv*, *g<sup>o</sup>* 'whirlpool' and *γort-* 'to wander about' are of Prs. origin, but have been adapted to Sgl. phonology. Reg. *uyūi* 'cow', cf. § 92. Before *ī* ancient *g-* has become *γ-* in *γīr*, *γər* 'stone'; *γiw-* 'to spin' (Y *γī(w)-*); *γivdōk* 'thread'. *γōz* 'firewood' is probably borrowed from Wkh. *γūz*, with substitution of *γ-* for the foreign sound *γ̣*.
28. Also Ir. *b-* results in a voiced fricative. Thus, e.g.: *vəd* 'was'; *b- vānd-* 'to bind'; *vūr* 'burden'; *voš* 'rope'; *vəz* 'goat', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Parachi *-č*, IIFL, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> But Sk. *čpōšt* 'behind'.

Most words beginning with *b-* are borrowed, from Prs. or from IA., but some are of unknown origin.

29. Sgl.—Ishk. has no initial *ḍ*.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this sound has never existed in the language, but it seems more probable that Sgl.—Ishk. at one time had *ḍ-* in accordance with other E.Ir. languages, and that the voiced stop has been substituted for the fricative through Prs. influence. Cf. Voc. s.v. *šōḍx* ‘goat’s hair’ < \**ḍōšx* (?).

Examples of *d-* are e.g.: *dōu* ‘two’; *dānd* ‘tooth’; *dār* ‘far’; *dūr* ‘sickle’, etc., etc. Sgl. *wudəyḍ* ‘daughter’ either goes back to \**huduydā*, or to a form with early prothetic vowel.<sup>2</sup>

*lēw* Sk. ‘idiot’, Gr. ‘night-mare’; *leu*, *lēv* Gr. ‘stupid’ are of Mj. origin. Reg. *tēu* ‘brother-in-law’ v. Voc. s.v.

30. Ancient *ḷ-* results in *ž-*, *ḷ-*. Thus: *žan-*, *ḷan-* ‘to kill’; *žōnḷ*, *ḷōnḷ* ‘woman’;<sup>3</sup> *žəšt* ‘big’ (if = Skr. *jyeṣṭha-*). *ḷih-* ‘to flee’ is probably a Prs. lw.—*ža* ‘before’; *žūōk* ‘male markhor’ (*ž-?*); *žānžək* ‘entrails’; *žwondok* ‘hungry’ are of unknown or uncertain origin.

The variant *ḷ* for *ž* is probably due to Prs. influence. Ancient *ḷ* became *ž* too early to be dentalized into *j*.<sup>4</sup> Gr. gives *j* in a few words, chiefly lw.s, corresponding to Zeb., Sgl. *j*. Thus, e.g. *jā* ‘place’, *jubār* ‘canal’.

### *Intervocalic Voiced Stops and Affricates.*

31. Ancient *-γ-* (*-g-*) is retained. Thus *oyod* ‘came’;<sup>5</sup> *yəγ*, *fəryay* ‘yoke’; *zūγ* ‘raven’, and, possibly, *Pōroy* ‘n. of a village’; *Parōy* ‘Kafir’.

Palatalization takes place after \**ai* in *mōi* ‘cloud’ and after *r* (in secondary contact) in *fəryəm* ‘kid’. In *fəryərt-* ‘to wander about’ the association with *yort-* has apparently prevented this development.

<sup>1</sup> Zar.’s *ḍēc* = *dēc(āk)* ‘goatskin’ is scarcely correct.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 92.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *wužinjak* ‘woman’ with \**hu-*, or prothetic vowel.

<sup>4</sup> But Psht. *ḷ* > *j*, *-ḷ-* > *-ž-* (*-č-* > *-j-*).

<sup>5</sup> But Sgl. *ōγōḍ*, Ishk. *āgad* ‘brought’ (*ižīm-*).

*arāk* 'eructation' is borrowed from Prs. *ārōq* = *ārōy*.

32. We find Sgl. -*d*- in *mēd* 'waist'; *mōd* 'here'; *wōd* 'there'; *nīd*- 'to sit down'; *pūd* 'foot'; *kādi* 'when'; *kodos* (*kolos*) 'eleven'; *wudīd* 'span'; *zīd*- 'to flow'; *pādīn*- 'to kindle'; *īd*- 'to arrive' (Orosh. *yad*-); *par-dē*- 'to sell'.

Ishk. has -*d*- in *mēd*, etc. Note *pū*, but Zeb., Zar. *pūd*. As to *ma* 'in', see § 107 a. *xair* 'perspiration', given by Gr., is not supported by other sources.

*uštīn* 'hay-stack' is derived from *\*wūš-dān* < *\*wāstra-dāna*, and *wotuk* 'feast' possibly < *\*waduka*.

As to the special treatment of -*d*- in *pərnīč* 'threshold'; *prēšt* 'wrist', cf. § 22.

33. Ancient -*b*- occurs as -*v*- in *pöv*- 'to drink'; *nav*- 'to rain'; *xav*- 'to descend'; possibly also in *rāv* 'rhubarb'; *γōv* 'cornbin'. Reg. *āwīr*-, *avīr*- 'to find', v. Voc. s.v.

The obl. pl. in -*af* is derived through *\*-av* from *\*-abiš*.

We find *ž* < -*ǰ* in *žwondok* 'hungry', if < *\*aǰwantaka*.

34. The derivation of *īžim*- 'to bring (a thing)' is not certain, but it is probable that the word contains ancient *ǰ*.—*γēž*- 'to say'; *pižīn* 'clay-pot for milk'; *rižuk* 'male kid', *wuži(r)žēr* 'partridge' are of more or less uncertain origin.—*brēž* 'birch' is borr. from IA.

### Cerebrals.

35. In words of Ir. origin we find, at any rate with some speakers of Sgl.—Ishk., cerebrals developed from -*š*-, -*št*-, -*rt/d* and -*rn*.<sup>1</sup> As to *rd* for *rd* v. § 13.

Sgl. *čət* 'small'; *kuṭ* 'short'; *māṇḍ*- 'to rub'; *bakēṇḍī* 'calf'; *naṭ* 'play'; *kunḍār* 'destroyed' are probably IA lw.s. In *hət* 'open' (cf. *hate* 'loosened'); *bētūk* 'sheep-skin coat'; *šōṭ-i-pōḍf* 'calf of the leg'; *xaməṇḍak* 'tick'; *paṭək* (Sk. *pātūk*) 'lentils' the origin of the cerebrals is unknown to me.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 41, 64, 70 and 73.

## Surd Fricatives.

36. Ancient *x-* occurs in: *xānd-* 'to laugh'; *xōr* 'ass'; *xāz-* 'to rise'; *xav-* 'to descend'; *xūr-* 'to scratch'. *xōf* 'scum, foam', and *xaš-* 'to pull' have *x-* instead of *k-* also in other Pamir dialects.

Intervocalic *-x-* remains. Thus: *amax* 'we'; *təmux* 'you'; *pēx* 'span'; *wēx* 'root'; with an ancient suffix *-xǎ* also: *alax* 'hill'; *wolox* 'rib'; *sōrox* 'ear of corn'; *šōd̄x* 'goat's hair'. Other words with *-x-* are: *box*, *bok* 'vomiting'; *mēx* 'table' (?); *sōx* 'hard, locked'; *yarx* 'animal's droppings', and the lw. *malax* 'locust'.

37. It seems probable that the fricative *ð* existed in common Sgl.— *ð* Ishk., and resulted in Sgl. *t*, Ishk. *s*. Thus: Sgl. *təv-*, Ishk. *sav-* 'to burn' (Wkh., Shgh. *ðāv-*); Sgl. *wuter*, Ishk. *wusīr* 'ashes' (Orosh. *aðīr*, etc.); Sgl. *zōt*, Ishk. *zus* 'son' (NW Turf. *zhg* 'child').

In *yēča* 'nest' (Wkh. *yod̄*, etc.); *pəčūn* 'bullet' (Shgh. *pāð*) *ð* has been elided before a suffix.—*mēi* 'day' may be derived from *\*māðya-*,<sup>1</sup> and the exact form from which *nəmēyð*, *nəmedk* 'salt' is derived, remains uncertain (*\*namad̄ka-*?). The relation between *γudārya* Gr. 'dung' and Av. *gūða-* is doubtful.

38. Ancient *f-* before a vowel occurs only in *fī* 'shovel' and *fūk* *f* 'shoulder-blade'. The derivation of *fōc* 'mouth'; *fusek* 'nose', etc. is uncertain.

In intervocalic position we find *īf-* 'to weave'; *kīf* 'hump'; *rēf* 'broom';<sup>2</sup> *xof-* 'to cough'; *xōf* 'foam'; *t̄riif-* 'to steal'; *puf-* (and *pəb-*, v. § 130 g) 'to blow'.—*kū<sup>h</sup>* 'mountain' is borrowed from Prs.

## Sibilants.

39. Ir. *s* remains unchanged in initial position before a vowel, and *s* between vowels. Thus, e.g.: *sūi* 'hare'; *sōr* 'head'; *səvd* 'shoulder', etc.; *apanis-* 'to lose'; *is-* 'to come'; *dos* 'ten'; *fərnis-* 'to forget'; *f̄ras-* 'to ask'; *kas-* 'to see'; *nas-* 'to take'; *rus* '30'; *vərvēs* 'fox';

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 59, 91.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. *rūfo*.

*vərvəs* 'barley'; *vəsīn* 'whetstone'; *wosōk* 'calf', etc.—*ços-* 'to break wind'; *dəsīn* 'oats'; *wusūk* 'elbow'; *wasē* 'wide'; *wūs-* 'to take away'; *wōsi* 'cotton thread' are of uncertain derivation.

Note the early syncope in *wīšt* '20', cf. § 24.

40. Examples of ancient (Av.) *š-* are *š-*: *šīd-* 'to go', and *šūrm* 'horse-dung'. *š-* also appears in a number of words—apart from Prs. lw.s—most of which are of unknown origin. Cf. Voc. s.vv., and v. also s.v. *xom*.
41. Intervocalic *-š-*, whether derived from IE *\*s* or *\*ks*, results in *l/l*, the intermediate stage no doubt having been *ž*. Cf. the parallel development in Sar.

I always heard *l* (< *-š-*) in Ishk. and Zeb., and the same sound is given by Grierson and Sk.<sup>1</sup> The rules determining the distribution of *l* and *l* < *-š-* in Sgl. and in the 'Ishk.' dialect recorded by Zar. are far from being clear. But at any rate the treatment of ancient *\*-š-* differs from that of ancient *\*-rt/d-*<sup>2</sup> in two respects:

1) In words with ancient *rt/d* Sk. in several cases gives *l*. 2) In such words Zar. and Sgl. always have *l*.<sup>3</sup> In Stein's and my own Ishk. and Zeb. records *rt/d* and *š* have coalesced into *l*.

It is at present impossible to give a satisfactory explanation of the curious fact that in Sgl. (including Zar.'s Ishk.) *l* < *\*š* is liable to change into *l*, while *l* < *\*rt/d* usually remains. Possibly the stage *\*r* was long retained in the case of ancient *\*rt/d*.<sup>4</sup>

Owing to the above-mentioned vacillation *l* has also penetrated into some Prs. lw.s in Sgl. Thus, e.g.: *kalī* 'key'; *šoyol* 'jackal'; *gol* 'dumb'; *čang-ī-l/ring* 'hamstring'. It is also heard as a variant of final *r* in *čəfūl* 'four', *aŋgūl* 'grape', etc.

<sup>1</sup> But note Sk. *γol* 'ear' besides *γol*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 70.

<sup>3</sup> Written *r(h)* by Mulla Faiz Bakhsh in *ghār* 'throat'; *kirh* 'knife'; *var* 'trousers'. But also *ghovar* 'ear'; *khoār* 'six' (*dulmik* 'moon'; *valvāsh* 'trouser-band').

<sup>4</sup> I once noted *mər* 'died'.

The presence of *l* in some of Sk.'s words with ancient *rt/d* is curious. Either Sk. has happened to get hold of a speaker of Ishk., whose pronunciation was more archaic than that of other informants; or his informant came from a village between Ishkashim and Sanglech.

Examples of *l/l* < -š- are: Sgl. *γōl* (Zar. *l*, Sk. *l/l*, Ishk. *l*) 'ear'; *xuāl* (Zar., Sk., Ishk. *l*) 'six'; *vrēl-* (Zar., Ishk. *l*) 'to break'; *γəlak* 'plough-handle'; *āhuzd* (Sk., Gr. *l*) 'to-morrow'; *kəl-* (Zar. *l*, Sk. *l*) 'to kill'; *niłōst* (Zar. *l*, Gr. *l*) 'sat down'. With *l* in all dialects: *mēl* 'sheep';<sup>1</sup> *ʔspəl* 'louse'; *tūl-* 'to shave'; *wuznel* 'daughter-in-law'; *wulmēk* 'moon'.<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Zar. *čōl* 'multicoloured';<sup>3</sup> *numul-* 'to shut the eyes'; Gr. *ambol* 'moraine' (Mj. *ābūya*); *zōl* 'sleeve' (Shgh. *zuž*). If *šlōk* 'wet' is derived from *\*ašusaka-*, the sonorization of -š- is later than the loss of initial *a-*.

Words of unknown origin containing *-l-* are, e.g.: *wulo* 'before'; *wulākī* 'first'; *wulyēka* 'alone'; *flāvuk* 'breakfast'.

Internal *š* occurs in lw.s (*kašviš* 'armpit';<sup>4</sup> *kərvišik* 'lizard'; *nīšorm* 'shady side of a valley'), onomatopoeics (*ʔriš-* 'to sneeze'), and in words with original *\*(x)šy* (*dēš-* 'to milk').<sup>5</sup>

42. Ir. *z* remains unchanged. Thus, e.g.: *zəmūd* 'son-in-law'; *zāl* *z* 'yellow'; *zūng* 'knee', etc.; and *az* 'I'; *araz-* 'to fly'; *pəzin-* 'to understand'; *vəzōk* 'fat'; *vəraz* 'above'; *vəz* 'goat'; *waz-* 'to fall'; *xāz-* 'to rise'; *yōz* 'firewood'.

Reg. *zōl* Zar. 'sleeve' (< *\*zuša-* < *\*δuša-?*), and *zenz-* 'to seize, lift', v. Voc. s.vv.

The etymologies of *joz* 'mosquito', *vəzōk* 'branch' are unknown.

Reg. Sgl. s, p *wəniž-*, Sgl. is *wəniy-* 'to walk about', v. § 7.

<sup>1</sup> *mai* Zb., given as a side-form of *mēl*, is prob. a Wkh. word.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 55.

<sup>3</sup> Lw. from Shgh., with *l* < *ž*?

<sup>4</sup> But Wkh. *kalbun* from Ishk.?

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 55.

## Nasals.

43. Ir. antevocalic *m-*, *n-*, and intervocalic *-m-*, *-n-* remain unchanged. *m*, *n*

Examples of *m-*, *n-* are: *mōi* 'cloud'; *mēd* 'waist'; *māl* 'husband'; *māt* 'fist'; *nou* 'nine'; *nīc* 'nose'; *nīd-* 'to sit down', etc.

Examples of *-m-*, *-n-* are: *nīm* 'name'; *mōd* 'here' (\**imadā*); *fəryəm* 'kid'; *nān* 'mother'; *vīn* 'beard'; *ken-* 'to do'; *pəḍīn-* 'to light a fire'; *potūn* 'thigh'; *pəzīn-* 'to understand'; *-en* suffix of the obl. sg. In Sgl. *pānec-* 'to dress' (Ishk. *pumec-*) *n* is probably due to dissimilation, cf. Shgh., etc. *penij-*. Final *-n* is occasionally dropped in *xā(n)* 'house'.—Note *ṇ* in Sgl. *ṣpōṇ/n* 'iron'; *əskoṇok* 'puppy'.

As for the verbal suffixes 1 sg. *-em*, *-en*, 1 pl. *-un*, *-um*, cf. § 132.

## Liquids.

44. Examples of initial *r-* are: *rēf* 'broom'; *rēy<sup>o</sup>n* 'ghee'; *rōsk* 'truth'; *rūv* 'rhubarb'; *rīv(-lav)* 'lip'.

Intervocalic *-r-* occurs in: *mur-* 'to die'; *mūr* 'centipede'; *vūr* 'rain'; *par-ḍē-* 'to sell'; *sōr* 'head'; *turkī* 'darkness'; *tar* 'into'; *worok* 'male lamb'; *xōr* 'ass'.

*ṣ<sup>2</sup>nāi* 'fire' is derived through \**ṣ<sup>2</sup>nāi* from *rəṣnāi* (v. Voc.), with a metathesis of *ru-* similar to that found in *wurcūn* 'smoke-hole'; *v/wərvēs* 'fox'.

Apart from the cases mentioned §§ 41 and 70, *l* occurs only in *l* lw.s, or in words of uncertain origin. *v<sup>2</sup>lēl-* is dissimilated from *vrēl-* 'to break'. As for *avzāl* 'headstall of a horse', v. Voc. s.v.

## Glottal.

45. Initial *h-* is lost as in most other E.Ir. dialects. Thus, e.g.: *ōvḍ* *h-* 'seven'; *andərv-* 'to sew'; *ambol* 'moraine' (\**ham-*), and, possibly, *uyūi* 'cow'; *wuḍəyḍ* 'daughter' (\**hu-?*).<sup>1</sup> In Prs. lw.s *h* is usually retained, but a glance at the Voc. will show that it is a very

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 92.

unstable sound. Cf., e.g.: *ammām* 'bath'; *aiwān* 'animal'; *amin* 'this'. Evidently *h-* in Sgl.—Ishk. is not a real phoneme, but a more or less foreign ornament devoid of any phonological significance.<sup>1</sup> In (*h*)*ot* 'eight' *h-* has been introduced from Prs.

No trace of intervocalic *-h-* remains. Cf., e.g.: *ormōzd*, *rēmuz -h-* (anc. lw.?) 'sun'; *nīc* 'nose' (\**nāhaī-*); *nīd-* 'to sit down'; *sūi* 'hare'; *vīn* 'beard' (\**upāhana-*, or \**upāna-*?); *wul-mēk* 'moon'; *wēn* 'blood'; *xūy-* 'to thresh'; *yəxōai* 'sister'; *ken-i* 'thou dost', etc. Cf. also *kō* 'whom' < *kahya*.

*jh-* 'to flee'; *kū<sup>h</sup>* 'mountain', *rā<sup>h</sup>* 'road' are Prs. lw.s. *kū*, *rā*, *mā* 'month'; *pādšā* 'king', etc. may have lost their *h* already in the Prs. dialect from which Sgl. has borrowed these words.

#### Semivowels.

46. Initial *w-* is preserved as a sound closely resembling Engl. *w* in *w-* a great number of words, e.g.: *wēd* 'willow'; *wīn-* 'to see'; *wark*, *wvrk* 'wolf', etc., v. Voc.—*īf-* 'to weave' is derived through \*(*w*)*īf-* from \**wāf-*; cf. Sk., Gr. *urk* 'wolf'.

Ancient intervocalic *-w-* occurs in: *wa* (*ō*, *aū*) 'that'; *wōd* 'there'; *wok* 'one';<sup>2</sup> *nou*, *naw* 'nine'; *nowədos* 'nineteen'; *nəwōk*, *nōu* 'mill-race'; *nuwōk* 'new'; *you* 'grain'; *tēu* 'husband's brother'; *tēw-* 'to stir'. In unstressed position we find *tō* 'thy', etc.

Reg. *awīr-*, *avir-* 'to bring', v. Voc.—The derivation of *šāw-* Zar. 'to chew' is unknown, and *ākik* 'egg' contains ancient \**āwya-*.

47. Ancient *y-* is retained in: *you* 'grain'; *yəγ* 'yoke'; *yūd* 'husband's *y* brother's wife'. Reg. *y-* < *g-*, v. § 27.

Intervocalic *-y-* remains in present stems, such as *dāy-* 'to give'; *zenēy-* 'to wash'; *api-*, *apay-* 'to be lost'. It forms a diphthong together with the preceding vowel in *rōi* 'three'; *pōi* 'thick milk', cf. *-ou* < *-aw-*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 80.

<sup>2</sup> But *kođos* 'eleven' with complete loss of \**aiwa-*.



*Prothetic y- and w-*

48. Prothetic *y-* is found not only in *yōtuk* 'bridge',<sup>1</sup> but also in *y- yūn-* 'to grind'; *yūnek* 'marten'; *yaxōai* 'sister'; *yēca* 'nest', and, possibly, in *(y)ārč* 'avalanche'; *yarx* 'animal's droppings'.

Yet it is much less common than prothetic *w-*, of which numerous *w-* examples will be found in the Voc.

Prothetic *w-* appears chiefly before *u* (or  $\text{ə} < u$ ), e.g. in: *wudəγδ* 'daughter'; *wulōk* 'flour'; *wurcūn* 'smoke-hole'; *wuždän, ūzdən* 'millet'; *(w)usūk* 'elbow', etc. But note, on the one hand, Ishk. *wastuk* 'bone' (Sgl. *ostōk*), and, on the other, *yūn-*, *yūnek* mentioned above, with prothesis of *y-* before the change of *\*ā, \*ō* to *u*.

The tendency is the same as in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh., but it has developed in an independent manner in each dialect. In some of the words mentioned above the initial *\*u-* is of secondary origin (e.g. in *wulōk, wurcūn*).

There are several words of uncertain origin beginning with *wu-*. Here *w-* may, or may not, be prothetic. Such words are, e.g.: *wudrl* 'dung' (*\*wi-?*); *wulo* 'before'; *wurmēk* 'poplar', etc.

*Groups of Consonants.**First Component an Affricate.*

49. If we are to judge from *fəris-* 'to remain'  $< *fra-ričya-$  and *mus čy* Gr. 'clothes'  $< *mučya-$  (?), the affricate has lost its occlusion before *y* in *cy*  $< čy$ . In that case *mōč, mič* 'us'<sup>2</sup> must be derived from *\*ahmačiya-*.

*First Component a Voiced Stop.*

50. We are not able to decide whether *γδ*, e.g. in *wudəγδ* 'daughter', *gd* goes back to *gd* (*γδ*), or to *xt* any more than in the case of the corresponding words in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grierson, § 19.

<sup>2</sup> Reduced to *məš, miš* before a consonant.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 87.

No example is available of ancient *gr* or initial *gn*-, but we find *gn-* in *rēy<sup>(v)</sup>n* 'ghee'.

51. Ancient *dk* appears in *nāmedk* 'salt' < *nāmadka*-, with transposition *dk* into a more usual group in *nāmēyδ/d*, and, with dissimilation of the first of two fricatives, in Sk. *namur/lyāk*.

Ancient *dr*- occurs in *deräy*- 'to reap'; *dərnāk* 'bow-string', *dr* 'arrow' (?), and, possibly, in *dəram* 'pine-tree'.

In *cām-mərdikig* 'pupil of the eye', which is probably an ancient lw., *rd* goes back to *-dr*-.

52. In *vōr* 'door'; *vəzōk* 'fat, thick' we find a development of *dw-* *dw* corresponding to that of Psht, but differing from that of the surrounding dialects: Yd.—Mj. *lv-*, Wkh. *b-*, Shgh. *d<sup>e</sup>v-*. The common starting-point, however, must have been *\*dv-*.<sup>1</sup>

*dəvīn*- 'to winnow' may have been borrowed from Shgh. *devīn*-. It is at any rate difficult to detect any reason for a different treatment of *dw-* in this word. *dōu* 'two' is derived from *\*duwāu*, cf. Y *lo<sup>h</sup>*, etc., Or. *δau*.

The development of *-dy-* is shown by *mēδ* 'waist' and *zīδ*- 'to *dy* flow' < *\*yzadya-*.

53. Ir. *br-* results in *v<sup>(ə)</sup>r-* in *v<sup>(ə)</sup>rīc* 'eyebrow', *v<sup>(ə)</sup>rūd* 'brother';<sup>2</sup> *vrēl-* *br* (and *v<sup>l</sup>lēl-*) 'to break', *v<sup>r</sup>rāz* 'above' < *\*barz-*.—Sgl. *arvēšum* 'silk' is a lw., cf. Ishk. (a)*brēšum*.

#### *First Component a Surd Fricative.*

54. In Sgl. *xt* and *ft* develop into *γδ*, *vδ*,<sup>3</sup> and do not remain, through preventive differentiation, at the stage *-γd*, (*-id*) and *-vd* found in Yd.—Mj., Wkh. and Shgh.<sup>4</sup> Ishk. *γd*, *vd* are not more archaic forms, but are due to the general change of *δ* into *d* in this dialect.

<sup>1</sup> Regarding *wəxs*, *vuxs* 'snake' v. Voc.

<sup>2</sup> Sk. and Gr. Zeb. give the scarcely correct form *w(a)rūd*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj., § 90 sq.

<sup>4</sup> I heard, however, *ūvδ* 'seven', etc., from one Shgh. informant.

Examples of ancient *xt* are: *tōyd* Gr. 'he went'; *atōyd* (Sgl., with *xt* metathesis *axtəð*) 'he entered'; *ðəyd* 'milked'; *pənayð* 'dressed'; *vāyd* Gr. 'nightmare'; *zuyð* 'took' (*zənz-*); probably also *wudəyd* 'daughter'.<sup>1</sup>

Ancient *ft* > *vð/d* occurs in: *ōvð* 'seven'; *səvð* 'shoulder'; *okovð ft* 'boot'; *yevd* 'spun'; *andərvð* 'sewed'; *nivð* 'brought'; *xavð* 'descended'; *belavəð*, *belavd* 'said'; *pövð* 'drank'. This last form is of secondary origin, and the same may be the case with some of the other preterites of verbs in *-v-*.

Reg. *ift* 'wove'; *təð* 'burnt', etc., v. § 138, IV.

55. Ancient *xs* is retained in *apaxs-* 'to hear' (*\*apa-uxs-*), with the *xs* secondary forms *apaxš-* and *apux-*. Cf. also Voc. s.vv. *šəxs-* 'to cross' and *woxs* 'snake'.

*šid-*, *šin* 'to weep' (: Yd. *xšī-*) is a fairly certain example of the *xš* transition of Ir. *xš-* > *š-*. Cf. also *šuwīn* Gr. 'cradle', if connected with Av. *xšaob-*. In internal position we find *fərsōu* 'night' < *\*fra-xšapā-*, and *dēš-* 'to milk' < *\*dau-xšya-* (?).

*xuāl*, etc. 'six' goes back to *\*xwaša* < *\*xšwaša*. Possibly also *xum* 'milk' < *\*x(š)waudman-* < *xšaodman-* + *xšvipta-*.

The group *xšm* was reduced to *šm* at an early date, *\*u(x)š-mahya-ka-* *xšm*, *xšm* resulting in *wulmēk* 'moon'. *šənāi*, *rəšnāi* 'fire' is an early lw.

56. The only possible, but very doubtful example of Ir. *-fs-* is *mis- fs* 'to sleep', if < *\*ham-(h)ufsa-*.

In the group *fš* followed by another consonant *f* is lost: *\*škōð fš* 'cattle-shed' < *\*fšu-kata-*; *št'nōk* 'new-born kid' < *\*fštanya-ka-* (?), and in *pēštən* 'udder' < *\*paya-fštana-*. But it remains, or is transposed, in Sgl. *āfšūn*, Ishk. *š'fūn*, etc. 'comb': Yd. *šfīn*.

57. Initial *xr-* occurs, with svarabhakti vowel, in *xərið* 'bought' *xr* (pres. *xərn-*, with metathesis),<sup>2</sup> cf. also *xrēseg* n. of a mammal. Intervocalic *xr* is subject to metathesis. Thus: *carx* 'spinning wheel'; *sərx* 'red'; *narxōk* 'nail'.

<sup>1</sup> Reg. *apaxt* 'learned'; Ishk. *puməxt* 'dressed'; Zar. *dēšt* 'milked', etc., cf. § 138, V, b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Saka *ggändä* < *\*xrnati*, Bailey, BSOS, IX, 71. (Corr. note).

Similarly *fr-* in: *frī* 'good'; *fəryart-* 'to wander about'; *f<sup>2</sup>rōs-* 'to ask'; *fərnis-* 'to forget' etc. (v. Voc.); but *warf* 'snow'.

In *fai* 'much, very' *r* appears to have been lost in unstressed position.

Ancient *θr*, however, has been reduced to *\*hr* and further to *r θr* in all positions. Thus: *rōi* 'three'<sup>1</sup> *rus* 'thirty'; *dūr* 'sickle'; *turkī* 'darkness'; *wə-cərin/m* 'three days ago'.

In *təraf-*, *t<sup>2</sup>riif-* 'to steal' *tr-* is due to a secondary development (v. Voc. s.v.); *t<sup>2</sup>riš-* 'to sneeze' is an onomatopoeic; and *trās-* 'to fear' is either transposed from *tars-*, or of IA origin.

58. Ir. *x* is sonorized before *m* in *t<sup>2</sup>ēym* 'seed', just as is the case in *xm*, *xn* the neighbouring dialects. But *xn* apparently resulted in *n* in *f<sup>2</sup>rīn-d* 'remained' < *\*fra-rixna-*.

The only certain example of Ir. *fn* is *xōdm* 'dream', regarding *fn* which cf. Benveniste, BSL, 30, 75 sq.—*mīn(d)* 'slept' (< *\*ham-(h)ufn-?*) Ir. may have been influenced by *f<sup>2</sup>rīnd* 'tired'.

59. Ir. *xw* (< *hw* and Indo-Ir. *\*kw*) is retained in *xwār-* 'to eat'; cf. *yəxōai* 'sister'; *xuāl* 'six'<sup>2</sup>. But *w* is lost before a rounded vowel: *xudāri* 'mill'; *xōdm* 'dream'; *x(w)ōl* 'ate'; Ishk. *xōl* 'six'; *xūy-* 'to thresh'; cf. also *pux-* 'cooked'. It is not clear why *w* should have been dropped in *xē* 'own' (unstressed?), and *xīr* Zar. 'sister's son'.

Ir. *θw* probably became *θf*, cf. the development of *θw* > *\*θv*. *θw* *θf* is retained in Sgl. is. *pəθf*, but Sgl. p. *pəθf*, Ishk. *putf*, *pudf* 'meat' < *\*piθw-*. *\*cθfōr* 'four' was simplified into *c(ə)fūr*, and *\*θfak* 'thee' was differentiated into *t<sup>2</sup>fak* in Sgl., but resulted in Ishk. *fak*. It is, however, also possible to assume that *θw* regularly became *f* (as in *cəfūr*, *fak*), that *t<sup>2</sup>fak* has got its *t-* secondarily from *tu*, and that *pəθf*, etc. goes back to *\*piθ<sup>v</sup>f* < *\*pituθwa-*.

The only possible example of *θy* is *mēi* 'day' < *\*māhy θy* < *\*māθya-*.

<sup>1</sup> Mulla Faiz Bakhsh's *trāi* can scarcely be correct.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 55.

## First Component a Sibilant.

60. Initial *sk-* occurs only in *ʷskonok*, *sʷkōmik* 'puppy', and in the *sk* place-name (*I*)*skitūl*. The tendency towards the development of a short vowel is shared also by the groups *st* and *sp*.

In *pāsk* 'cow-hide' and *rōsk* 'truth' *sk* goes back to *\*-st(a)k-*.

We find Sgl. *ʷstīn*, Sk. *stīn*, Ishk. *ustun* (lw.?) 'post', but, with a *st* full vowel, Sgl. *ustʷrūk*, *əst-*, *ist-*, Sk., Gr. *struk* 'star'; Sgl. *astar-*, Ishk. *sitar-*, *sʷtar-* 'to sweep'.

Internal *st* is retained. Thus, e.g.: *ast* 'is'; *ast-*, *ust-* 'to stand up'; *ostōk* 'bone'; *āstay-* 'to send'; *dōst* 'hand'; *korost* 'skin'; *nilōst* 'sat down'; *pəstāk* 'bark'; *vōst* 'bound'; *zūst* 'flowed, ran'; *xēste* 'bread', etc. In the lw. *bilis* 'span' the loss of the *t* may belong to the Prs. dialect from which the word has been borrowed.

*wīšt* 'twenty' is derived from *\*wīst'(i) < \*wīsati*,<sup>1</sup> and *prēst* Gr. 'wrist' possibly from *\*pr(δ)as't'(i) < \*pari-dastyā-*. It seems doubtful whether *pēštən* 'udder' is derived, with palatalization, from *\*payahstanya-* (cf. Yd. *pīstān*), or from *\*fštanya-*<sup>2</sup>—*šʷtur* Gr. 'calf', which Gr. derives from *staora-*, must be a sandhi form.

61. Initial *sp-* appears with or without a vowel in Sgl. *ʷspēd* 'white'; Sgl. (*ʷ*)*spəl*, Ishk. *s(ʷ)pul* 'louse'; Sgl. *spər*, Ishk. (*w*)*uspīr* 'plough'; Sgl. *spār-* 'to entrust'. In the lw. *sīpərz* 'spleen' Sgl., too, has the vowel inserted between *s* and *p* in the Modern Prs. manner.

Sgl. *ʷšpōn*, Ishk. *špən*, etc. 'iron' goes back to *\*īšpōn*, with palatalization of *s* after the unexplained *ī*.

The fate of Ir *sč* is uncertain. *pasī*, *pəsā(d)* 'after(wards)' is probably borrowed from, or influenced by, Prs. But cf. *čə-pōst* Sk 'backwards, behind' (< *\*-pōct?*), Sgl. *pəčwaxšt* 'last', and *wuč* Zar. 'high', which seem to indicate that in *sč* the palatal character of the *č* was retained through preventive differentiation, with subsequent loss of the *s*.<sup>3</sup> Just as in Yd.—Mj. and in Shgh. *sn* is sonorized

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Par. *yušt*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 56.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *č > c*, § 19.

into *zn*: *zenē-* 'to wash'; *wuznel* 'daughter-in-law'; possibly also *wūznuk* Zar. 'inflated goat-skin'.

62. Ir. *sr* and *str* are assimilated into *š*, just as in the neighbouring languages. Thus, with *\*sr*: *āšik* 'tear'; *šōu* 'horn'; *šēn* 'podex'; *xaš* 'mother-in-law'; *šud* Gr. 'heard'. With *\*str*: *šac* 'female' *əščāk* 'girl' (*\*stri-čī + ākā*); *voš* 'rope'; *wūš* 'straw'; *uštīn* 'hay-stack'. *sr, str*

Palatalization of *sy* appears to have taken place in *tš* Sk (= Wkh.) 'empty'. But note *apanis-* 'to lose'; *sūyūk* 'spleen' (*\*syāwaka-? ?*). *šūi* 'black' presents the same difficulties as Wkh. *šiu*, Khov. lw. *šā*. *sy*

63. *moyz* 'marrow' and *asta-mayzək* 'upper arm' are probably lw's, or influenced by Prs. *mayz. zīd-* 'to flow' is derived through *\*zyīd-* < *\*zyīd-* < *\*zyādyā-* with palatalization of *γ* before *i*.<sup>1</sup> The preterite *zūst* has been influenced by the present. The derivation of *z'yōlog* 'humble bee' is unknown (*\*uz-gartaka-?*). *zg*

Ir. *zd* remains in Sgl. *ōrmōzd*, Ishk. *rēmuz(d)* 'sun'. But note the desonorization in *wōst* 'fat', cf. also Wkh. *wāst*. — The preterites *yuzd* and *kozd* (*yuz-* 'to run', *koc-* 'to copulate') are secondary formations. — Sk. gives *zdār-* 'to sweep' apparently with *st-* > *zd-* in unknown conditions, just as in Sar. *zd*

*āluzd* 'the day before yesterday' and *pāruzd* 'yesterday' contain a base *\*azna-*, cf. Av. *azan-*, *asn-* 'day'. And *vōzd* Zar. 'pillow' must be derived from *\*vōzn* < *\*vōrzn* < *\*barzn-*. But *zn* < *sn* did not share this development, and *rz + n* in secondary contact is subject to segmentation in *wuždän*, etc. 'millet' < *\*u(r)ždn-* < *\*hārzana-*. *zn*

The derivation of *rēz* Gr. 'platform for sleeping', and *rižuk* 'male kid, one year old' (cf. *rizyāk* 'small') from forms in *zy* is uncertain. *zy*

64. A characteristic feature of Sgl.—Ishk. is the change of *št* into *t*, *t*. This development separates Sgl.—Ishk. both from Yd.—Mj. and from the Shgh. group.<sup>2</sup> Both Sgl.—Ishk. *t* and Yd.—Mj. *šč*, *šky* presuppose an earlier stage *\*št*, with 'cerebral' *t*. *št*

<sup>1</sup> See § 27.

<sup>2</sup> Shgh. *mut* 'fist' is a lw. from Ishk.

On the other hand Sgl.—Ishk.  $t, t < št$  reminds us of Psht.  $t (< *t?)$ , e.g. in *atə* ‘eight’. But it is improbable that there is any direct connection between the developments in Sgl.—Ishk. and in Psht. It might be natural to think of IA influence being responsible for the change of  $št$  into a cerebral in an Ir. border dialect, but the neighbouring IA language, Khovar, retains  $št$  unchanged. An early adoption of lw’s containing cerebrals may, however, have facilitated the development in Sgl.—Ishk., as well as in Psht.

It is a curious fact that Ishk., which is in most respect less archaic and more influenced by Prs. than Sgl., has retained the  $t$  in some words in which Sgl. has changed it further into  $t$ . Thus, Ishk. *ingit* ‘finger’; *at* ‘eight’; *mut* ‘fist’ *šet* ‘dust’; *wat* ‘fell’, and Gr. Zeb. *ket* ‘killed’, but Sgl. *ingit*; (*h*)*ot*; *mət*; *wat*, *kut*.<sup>1</sup>

Other examples of  $t, t < št$  are: *put* ‘parched grain’; *potūn* ‘thigh’, and the preterites *arāt* ‘ran’, etc., cf. § 138, III.

Some verbs have secondary preterites in  $št$  (cf. l.c.), and  $št$  appears also in lw’s, e.g. in *nəvišt* ‘wrote’; *angišt* ‘coal’; *rašt* ‘dawn’; *štar* ‘camel’, and through secondary development of other groups, cf. *štənōk* ‘new-born kid’ (*\*štanyaka-*); *štən* ‘needle’ (*\*sučani-*); *uštīn* ‘hay-stack’ (*\*vastra-dāna*), etc. The origin of *yūšt* ‘fur-coat’ and *wəšt* ‘juniper’ is unknown.

It is possible that *fəryəšt* ‘walked about’ is developed regularly *ršt* from *\*frayəršt < \*fra-grsta-*, but more probably *fəryərt-* is an early lw.

65. The only example of  $šp (< pš < fš?)$  is *trišp* Sk. ‘sour milk’, cf. *šp* *terəš* ‘sour’, *awišp* ‘ploughpole’ (Wkh. *wəšp*, Y *āwusp*) is of unknown origin.

Ir.  $šm$  is assimilated into  $m$  as in Shgh., Yd.—Mj., etc. Thus: *šm* *cām* ‘eye’; *pām* ‘wool’; *təmux* ‘you’.

No genuine word with ancient  $šn$  occurs. *pāšnē* ‘heel’ and *šənāi*, *šn* etc. ‘fire’<sup>2</sup> are borrowed from Prs.

<sup>1</sup> In lw.s we find, however, cerebrals also in Sgl.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. under *xšn*.

*zd* occurs only in *duzd* Gr. 'thief' (Sgl. *dəzd* from Prs.), and in the secondary preterites *γēzd* 'said' and *pēzd* 'wrapped up'; cf. *wənižd* 'went round'.

*First Component a Nasal.*

66. Surd stops preceded by a nasal are sonorized, just as in intervocalic position.

We might expect *ŋk* to remain,<sup>1</sup> but there is no instance of ancient *ŋk* in a genuine Sgl.—Ishk. word. *Soŋg* 'stone' and *aŋgur* 'grape' are Prs. lw.s, and in *zūŋg* 'knee' the contact is secondary.

Examples of ancient *nt* are: *dānd* (-*nt*, -*n<sup>d</sup>*, -*n*) 'tooth'; *γōndəm* *nt* 'wheat'; *dunda* 'so much'; *žwondok* 'hungry' (an ancient pres. ptc. ?); *awand*, etc. 'they'<sup>2</sup>. *kandāk* 'thorn' may be an IA lw., and *vōnd* 'stick', *wōnt* 'calf of the leg' are of unknown origin.

We find *nd* also in secondary past stems of the type *wind/t* 'saw'; *kōnd* 'dug'; *f<sup>2</sup>rīnd* 'left behind'. Possibly *punuk* 'pass' < \**pun(t)k* < \**pantaka*.

In the unstressed ending 3 pl. *-ūn* final *-d* has been dropped.

Ishk. *ambol* 'moraine' probably contains ancient *mp*, v. Voc. s.v. *mp*

67. Ir. *ŋg* is preserved in *īŋgit* 'finger'; *īŋgitok* 'finger-ring'. With reduction in final position we find *boŋ(g)* 'crowing'. The origin of *īŋgē* 'now, then' is unknown.

Ir. *nd* remains. Thus: *vānd-* 'to bind'; *xānd-* 'to laugh'; *andərv-* *nd* 'to sew'. Reg. *čuwēn(d)* 'apricot' and *mēnd* (*mēl*) 'apple' cf. § 73. Also *soyond* 'hair, curl' may have secondary *d*.

Reg. *nd* v. § 35.

Ir. *mb* remains. Thus: *dāmb-* 'to card'; *dāmb* 'tail'; *sumb* 'hoof' *bm* (lw. ?); *sumbōk* 'hole'; *namb* 'wet'. *gāzdāmb*, *gozdum* 'scorpion' is a lw. (borrowed twice). Ishk. *ambi* 'cave' is of unknown origin, and *sāmb-* 'to smear' has no exact parallel in other dialects. — The lw. *sambaka* 'tortoise' (< *saŋbaqa*) has *mb* also in Tajiki.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 116.



68. The only certain example of Ir. *nč* is *pōnz*, *pōnj*, *pon̄s.*, etc. 'five'; *nč/)*  
*pōnzədos* 'fifteen'. The etymology of *zenz-* 'seize' is uncertain. —  
 In *jōn̄j*, etc. 'woman' there is secondary contact.

In lw.s we find *n̄j*. Thus: *bəren̄j* 'rice', *In̄jigān* 'Lutkuh'. Reg.  
*Mandēžān* 'Munjan' cf. BSOS, VI 439.

A possible example of Ir. *nm* is *šūrm* 'dung' < \**šānm-* < *šām(a)n-*.

*First Component a Liquid.*

69. We might expect *k* to remain after *r*, just as it does after a vowel. *rk*  
 And in fact we find this to be the case in *wərk* 'wolf', and, with  
 secondary contact, in *durk* 'stick'; *nārk* 'male'; *pōrk* 'mouse'; *park*  
 'ashes'; *turkī* 'darkness'. The etymology of *karksang* 'handmill' is  
 unknown.

On the other hand *k* has become voiced and palatalized in *ari*  
 'work' < \**ary* < \**arg'* < \**ark*; *koryos* 'vulture'; *xudāri* 'water-mill';  
 cf. *kurčūn* 'fowl' < \**kury* or \**kurk* + \**čūn*.

*wərk* can scarcely be a lw.<sup>1</sup> But it is possible that *k* remained  
 after vocalic *r̄*, but not after *ar*. This would presuppose a very early  
 date for the change of *ark* > *arg'*. On the other hand *-rak-*, *-ruk-*  
 would regularly result in *-rk*, and *xudāri* might be borrowed from  
 an early Shgh. \**x<sup>v</sup>adārg'* (from which Shgh. *xedārj*). It is very im-  
 probable that also *koryos* and *ari* are early lw.s from Shgh.

A similar difficulty arises with regard to the development of *rg*. *rg*  
*məryōk* 'sparrow' goes back to a form in *r̄*, cf. *wərk*, but *mēry*  
 'meadow' appears to be derived from \**margyā-*. There is no example  
 of ancient *rg* resulting in *ry/i*, but note *fəryəm* 'female kid'  
 < \**faryim* (?) < \**frayamī*.

*čiryazek* 'spark' is not a genuine Sgl. word (v. Voc. s.v.), and  
*dargāv* 'valley' is also probably a lw.

70. In contradistinction to all other Pamir dialects, but in accordance *rt*  
 with Psht., Par., etc., Sgl.—Ishk. has obliterated the difference between

<sup>1</sup> Wkh. has *šapt*. But Burushaski *wrk* may have been borrowed from early  
 Wkh. \*(w)wrk, and not from the more remote Ishk.

ancient *rt* and *rd*, both groups resulting in *l/l*.<sup>1</sup> There is evidently some connection between this development and the fact that both *-t-* and *-d-* result in Sgl.—Ishk. *δ/d*. Ir. *rt* and *rd* coalesced in *\*rδ/d*, which changed further into *\*r*, from which ultimately *l/l*. Regarding the distinction between *l* and *l* see above § 41.<sup>2</sup>

Examples of Ir. *rt* are: Sgl., Sk. *γāl*, etc., MFB *γār*, Ishk., Zeb. Gr. *γōl*, etc. 'throat'; Sgl. *kīl*, MFB *kirh*, Ishk., Sk., Gr. *kīl*, etc. 'knife'; Sgl. *kuł*,<sup>3</sup> Ishk., Sk., Gr. *kuł*, etc. 'did'; Sgl., Sk. *māl(ōk)*, Ishk., Gr. *mōluk* 'husband'; Sgl., Zar. *məl*, Sk. *məld*, Gr. (Zb.) *mul* 'died'; Sgl., Zar. *wuđıl*, etc. 'dung' (< *\*dṛti-*?); Sgl. Zar. *wāl*<sup>4</sup> 'trousers'; Sgl. *wāl* 'roof-beam';<sup>5</sup> Sgl. *wolk*, Zeb. *wolk* 'kidney';<sup>6</sup> Sgl., Zar. *wulōk*, etc., Sk., Gr. *wūlak*, etc. 'flour'; Sgl. *wōl*, Gr. *avul*, etc., Ishk., Sk. *āwuld*, etc. 'found' (*āwīr-*); Sgl., Zar. *x(w)ōl*, etc. Ishk., Sk. *xūl* 'ate'; Sgl. *zāl* (Wkh. lw. *zōl*) 'yellow', with secondary *rt*.

The etymology of Sgl. *čumōl* 'basket' is unknown, but it corresponds to Shgh.—Orosh. forms with ancient *rt*. Sgl. *gōl*, Gr. *gūl* 'collected', etc., is an ancient lw. from Prs., while Sk. *dar(d)* 'pain' and *juwān-mardī* 'courage' are recent borrowings.

In *wōrc* (Wkh. *wōlc*) 'quail' < *\*wartiči* there was an early elision of *i*, and *\*wartc* resulted in *wōrc*. Reg. *spārd* 'entrusted' (*spār-*), *kurt* 'ploughed' (*kīr-*), etc. cf. § 138, I, II a. *γort-*, and *fəryərt-* 'to walk about' appear to be very early lws from Middle Prs. *gart-*.

Examples of *rd* are: Sgl. *asāl* 'this year'; *pərsāl*, Sk. *pərsōl* 'last *rd*

<sup>1</sup> Prs. *rd*: *l*; Shgh. group *d/g*: *rδ*; Wkh. *rt*: *rδ*; Yd.—Mj. *r/r*: *l*; but Pəht., Par. *r*: *r*.

<sup>2</sup> As *-š-* and *-rt/d-* have not yet coalesced completely in Sgl.—Ishk., we are not entitled to assume that *rt/d* ever passed through the stage *\*ž*. Wkh. *kəž* 'knife' may have been borrowed from early Ishk. with substitution of *ž* for *r*.

<sup>3</sup> Sgl. p. also *kuł*, *kud*, pf. *kuō*, probably because this word was frequently unstressed. Cf. Yghn. *ikta*, Chr. Sogd. *qt-*.

<sup>4</sup> Sgl. p. 1,2 *wāl*, probably in order to distinguish this word from *wāl* 'roof-beam'. Cf. also *wəl-wōš*, etc. 'trouser-string'.

<sup>5</sup> But deminutive *walē* 'rafter', with *lē* > *lē*?

<sup>6</sup> Wkh. *wəlk* from an early Ishk. form?

year';<sup>1</sup> Sgl. *wolox* 'rib', Sk. *ālax*, Gr. *alax* 'hill' (< 'side, flank'?). A derivation of *al-* 'to stand', Sk. *āl-* 'to wait'<sup>2</sup> from *arəḍwa-* is improbable. — *gōla* 'bread' may be an ancient lw., cf. Shgh. *garda*.

71. Ir. *rp* occurs perhaps in Sgl. *vərvəs*, Sk. *urvəs*, etc. 'barley', and *rp* in *korvišik* 'lizard', if this is not an early lw.

The only example of *rb* is *warv-* 'to boil' < *\*warb-* (Par. *yarw-*, *rb* etc.), with early metathesis from *\*barw-*.

72. There is no certain example of the development of Ir. *rs*, but *rs* there is a possibility of *šōḍx* 'goat's hair' being derived through *\*ḍōšx* < *\*ḍorsx*, cf. Sar. *ḍors*, etc.

Nor do we find ancient *rš* in any Sgl.—Ishk. word, except perhaps in *xāš-* 'to pul'.

*andərz-* 'to sew' (v. s.v. *andərv-*) is a doubtful form, and in *vəvāz* *rz* 'above', etc. (< *\*βarz-*) an early metathesis has taken place. Regarding Zar. *vōzd* 'pillow' < *\*βarzn-* cf. § 63. The regular outcome of intervocalic *rz* appears to have been *ž*. Thus, Sgl. *vəž'duk* (Sgl. is. *vəyḍūk*) 'long' < *\*bṛzataka-*; *wuž'dän* (Sgl. is. *woyḍän*) 'millet' < *\*ōžn* < *\*h(ā)rzana-*; Gr. *xazōk* 'sweet' < *\*xwaržaka-*; *pēž-* 'to wrap up' < *\*pati-drz-* (?). The etymology of *wəniž-* 'to wander about' is unknown.

Ir. *rm* remains in *γōrm* 'hot'. The etymology of *wurmēk* 'poplar' *rm* is unknown, and *wur-* may go back to *rū-*.<sup>2</sup>

73. Ir. *rn* developed into *\*n*, from which Slg. *~l*, Ishk. *n*, *nd*. *rn* Thus: Sgl. *mēl*, etc., Zeb. *mēn*, Ishk. *mēnd* 'apple' < *\*marnyā-*, cf. *čuwēl*, *čuwēn(d)* 'apricot', of uncertain origin, but probably influenced by *mēl*; Ishk. *wanji* 'coat' < *varənā-*. In Sgl. *yūn-*, *yūn-*, *yūl-*, Ishk. *yūln-*, Zar. *yurn-* 'to grind' the development has been troubled through the influence of the preterite.<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Sgl. *yūnək* 'pine-marten': Y. *wūn*, etc.—*ken-* 'to do' had lost its *r* at a very early date, cf. Anc. Pers. *kun-*, etc. It is possible that

<sup>1</sup> But *sāl* 'year' probably from Prs.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Wkh.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 88.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 130 g.

*žānžək*<sup>1</sup> 'entrails' contains the same word \**žarna-* which survives in Psht. *žāna-* 'catgut'.

In *xarn* 'raven' and *xərn-* 'to buy' *rn* is of secondary origin, v. s.vv.

Grierson (§ 30) considers *r* to be the regular outcome of *rn*. But, of the two examples given, *waruk* 'lamb' shows no trace of *n* in most Ir. dialects, and *dīr* 'ravine' can not with any certainty be derived from \**darna-*.

Reg. *hy* (in *xē* 'own' < \**hwahya*) cf. § 89.

*hy*

### Assimilation.

74. A very great number of the sound-changes discussed in the preceding paragraphs are due to assimilation of some kind. Only a short recapitulation of the more important ones will be given here.

The surd stops *t* and *p* have been sonorized after a vowel, nasal, or *r*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly intervocalic *-š-* has passed through the stage \**-ž-*.<sup>3</sup> Also implosive, postvocalic *x* and *f* have been sonorized in the groups *xt*, *ft*.<sup>4</sup>

Intervocalic \**-b-*, *-d-*, resulting from *-p-*, *-t-*, have been opened into *-v-*, *-d-*, thus coalescing with ancient *-b-*, *-d-*, which had probably been opened at a very early date.<sup>5</sup>

Ir. *sn* was assimilated into *zn* while \**žm* (< *šm*) was reduced to simple *m* owing to the articulatory weakness of *ž*. Also \**rd/δ* (< *rt*) was assimilated further into *l*, *l*.

Complete assimilation of groups of consonants has also taken place in the case of *xš*, *rs*, *rz*, *sr*, *str* and *θr*.<sup>6</sup> Cf. also s.vv. *nāmēk*, *p<sup>o</sup>ruk*, *pāsk*, *pēž*, *rēčik*, *šānāi*, *wōrc*. An assimilatory loss of nasality is entailed in the change of *zn* > *zd*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From *žān* + *žək* < *žarnačt* + *kā*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 21, 25, 66, 69 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 41.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 54.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 32 sq. Note the regression from *δ* > *d* in Ishk.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. §§ 55, 62, 72, 57.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. § 63.

Palatalization of consonants is comparatively rare, but occurs in  $yi > yi$  and  $rk/g > *ry$ ,<sup>1</sup> as well as in  $sy > š$ , cf. also  $wišt < wisati$  '20'.<sup>2</sup>

Assimilation at a distance occurs sporadically. Thus, e.g.:  $v^{\circ}l\acute{e}l- < v^{\circ}r\acute{e}l-$  'to break';  $j\grave{a}n\grave{y}$  'woman'  $< \acute{z}\grave{a}n\grave{y}$ ;  $n\grave{a}sm$  'half'  $< *n\acute{a}sf$ ;  $w\grave{a}rw\acute{e}s$ ,  $v\grave{a}rv\acute{e}s$  'fox'  $< *w\acute{a}rv\acute{e}s$ ;  $\acute{s}\acute{a}u\acute{z}\acute{i}$ : Shgh.  $s\acute{e}v\acute{j}e$ , etc.

### Dissimilation and Differentiation.

75. Examples of differentiation are: Ishk.  $\acute{s}tok < \acute{a}\acute{s}c\acute{a}k$  'girl';  $^{\circ}\acute{s}t\acute{o}n$  'needle'  $< *s\acute{c}\acute{o}n$ ;  $\acute{s}\acute{u}rm$  'dung' (also Wkh.)  $< *s\acute{u}nm$ ;  $\acute{s}agnam$  'dew' has probably been borrowed in this form, cf. Mj.  $\acute{s}aklam$ .

Dissimilation at a distance occurs in  $p\grave{a}nec- < pumec-$  'to dress';  $ri\grave{g}lav < r\acute{i}vlav$  'lip';  $wuzin\grave{y}ak < wu\acute{z}in\grave{y}ak$  (with assimilation  $wu\acute{j}in\grave{y}ak$ ) 'woman';  $\acute{c}akmax < \acute{c}axmax(?)$  'fire-stone';  $doldorok$  'thunder'  $< *dor-dorok(?)$ ;  $F\acute{o}laxmar\acute{i}g < F\acute{r}axmar\acute{i}g$ . Cf. also  $p\acute{a}d\acute{i}t$ ,  $wu\acute{d}\acute{i}t$  for  $*p\acute{a}-d\acute{i}d$ , etc.<sup>3</sup>

### Metathesis.

76. The usual Ir. metathesis has taken place in the groups  $-fr-$ ,  $-xr-$ ,  $-br-$ ,  $-gr-$ .<sup>4</sup> Of a similar nature is the recent change of the lw.  $tifl$  'child'  $> telf$ . The development of  $f\acute{r}a- > f\acute{a}r-$  may have passed through a stage  $*f\acute{a}ra-$ , with subsequent loss of  $a$ . Cf. also  $d\acute{a}rn\acute{a}k$  'bow' and  $x\acute{a}rn-$  'to buy'.

Peculiar to Sgl.—Ishk is the metathesis of initial  $r\acute{u}- (< *rau-)$  to  $(w)ur-$ ,  $w\acute{a}r-$ . Cf. § 88.

In  $n\acute{a}m\acute{e}y\acute{d}$  'salt'  $< n\acute{a}medk$  and  $b\acute{a}ly\acute{e}$  'beans'  $< *b\acute{a}yl\acute{e}$  easier sequences of consonants have been substituted for heavier ones.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 27, 69.

<sup>2</sup> §§ 62, 60.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 22.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. §§ 51 sqq., 57. But note lw. Ishk.  $\acute{c}abr\acute{u}$  'fat'.

The remaining cases of metathesis can hardly be classified or arranged according to general principles. The following ones have been noted, sometimes only in one dialect:

*axted* < *atayd* 'entered'.

*kiskūd* 'roof' < \**ask-kuδ*.

*v̄rāz* 'hill', 'tall' < \**varz-* (?).

*amāsyē* 'neighbour' < \*(*h*)*amsāye*.

*šōd̄x* 'goat's hair' < \**δōš̄x* (?).

*zič* < *žic* 'coal'.

### Vowels.

#### *Ir. a.*

77. When we try to trace the development of Ir. 'a' in Sgl.—Ishk. we are faced with the same difficulties that we encounter in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh., viz. our ignorance of the phonetic value of the original Ir. sound, the extreme variability and complexity of the changes of 'a', and the impossibility of deciding in all cases which words have been borrowed, and at what date.

78. The different developments of 'a' may be arranged in the following groups:

a) In a great number of words Ir. 'a' is represented by Sgl. *ō*, Ishk. usually *u*.

Thus, before a group of consonants, modern or ancient, we find *o/u* in: Sgl. *ōvd*: Gr., Sk., Zar. *ǎvd* (but my Ishk., Zb. *ōvd*) 'seven'; Sgl. *okōvd*: Sk. *kūvd* (but Gr., Zar. *kōvd*) 'boot'; Sgl. *dōst*: Ishk., Zb. *dūst* 'hand'; Sgl. *korost*: Ishk. *kurust* 'skin'; Sgl. *γōndəm*: Sk., Gr. Zar. *γundum* (but my Ishk., Zb. *γondum*) 'wheat'; Sgl. *ōrmozd*: Ishk. *rēmuz* 'sun'; Sgl. *moydōk*: Ishk. *mūkdūk*, etc. 'frog'; Sgl. *song*: Ishk. *sung* 'stone'; Sgl. *pōnz*: Ishk. *pūnz* 'five'. Cf. also Voc. s.vv. *pōrk* 'rat'; *vōš* 'rope'; *xoš* 'mother-in-law', and the preterites *f̄rōt* 'asked' (*f̄rōs-*); *kōnd* 'dug' (*kan-*); *kot* 'saw' (*kas-*); *nīlōst* 'sat down' (*nīd-*); *vōst* 'bound' (*vānd-*); *xōt* 'rose' (*xāz-*).

The same narrowing of the vowel has apparently also taken place in unstressed syllables (e.g. in Sgl. *kōvīd*: Sk., Gr. *kū/wuid*, but Zar. *kovīd* 'pigeon'; Sgl. *tovōr*: Ishk. *tu'wur* 'axe'), and in the ancient masculine suffix *\*-akah* (e.g. in Sgl.) *v<sup>r</sup>rōk*: Ishk. Sk. *wruk* 'horse'; Sgl. *worok*: Ishk. *'waruk*, Sk. *wruk* 'lamb'.

But also Sgl. *ʔšpōn* 'iron'; *fōc* 'mouth'; *šōx* 'hard'; *xōr* 'donkey'; *zōt* 'son', and the preterite *nod* 'took' (*nas-*) have forms in *u* in Ishk.

Sgl. *γorōk* 'neck'; *γōrm* 'hot'; *kōdos* 'eleven'; *koryos* 'vulture'; *ʔškōd* 'cattle-shed'; *wōst* 'fat', and *xōdm* 'dream' have no known equivalents in Ishk.

In several words Gr. (Zb.) has *ā*, corresponding to Sgl. *ō*. Thus, e.g., *dāst*, *ferāt*, *tewār*, *wāš*, but *xūr*. I heard *o/u* in Zb. *pōnz*, *pōrk*, *sūng*, *sur*, *tovor*, *worok*, *xər*, etc., and it seems doubtful whether Gr. (Zb.) *ā* represents the correct Zb. sound.

b) Before a single consonant we find Sgl. *o*, Ishk. *a*, in Sgl. *oyōd* 'came'; *dos* 'ten'; *mōd(ak)* 'here'; *numōd* 'felt'; *vōr* 'door'; *xōf* 'foam'; *wōtuk* 'feast'; *wo/asōk* 'calf'; *žod* 'killed': Ishk. *ōyad*; *das*; *madak*; *namad* (lw. ?); *var*; *xaf(uk)*; *watik*; *wasuk*; *žad*. Besides Sgl. is. *f<sup>r</sup>rōs-* 'to ask' we find *ǎ* not only in Ishk., but also in Sgl. s. p.<sup>1</sup> Ishk. *mayz* 'marrow' (Sgl. *moγz*) may easily be a lw. from Prs., and in Ishk. *wastuk* 'rib' (Sk. *wāstuk*, Sgl. *ostōk* 'bone') the initial *w-* may have had a differentiating effect.

c) A number of present stems have *ǎ* in all dialects before a single consonant. Thus, e.g. *araz-* 'to jump'; *astar-* 'to sweep'; *kan-* 'to dig'; *kas-* 'to see'; *pac-* 'to cook'; *waz-* 'to fall'; *xāš-* 'to pull'; *xaz-* 'to rise'; *žan-* 'to kill'. Known only from Sgl. are: *nas-* 'to take'; *nav-* 'to rain'; *xav-* 'to descend'.

I suspect this development to have been caused by the influence of the following *a* in *-āmi*, *\*kanāmi* resulting in *kanən*, cf. Shgh. *xārum* 'I eat', but 3 sg. *xīrd*, etc.,<sup>2</sup> and the *-a-* (not *-ō-*) of Parachi present stems, e.g. *astar-* 'to rub'; *bar-* 'to carry'; *xar-* 'to eat', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below sub c.

<sup>2</sup> See NTS, I, p. 84.

Cf. also *warf* 'snow' = Par. *γarp* < \**wafrā(h)*.<sup>1</sup> *tar* 'into' might be derived from \**tarā*,<sup>2</sup> and *mak* 'me' has original long *ā*, while Zar. *park* 'ashes' might go back to a form in *-ā*; but I am unable to explain the *a* in *nārk* 'male' (infl. by Prs. ?) and *narxōk* 'nail'.

d) In initial position we find *a-* in *ari* 'work'; *apanis-* 'to lose'; *az* 'I', etc.<sup>3</sup> Note, however, Sgl. *ostōk* 'bone', etc., and, with vowel harmony, *ingīt* 'finger'.

e) Before certain original groups of consonants, some of which have been simplified, the vowel has been lengthened into Sgl. *ā*, Ishk. *ā*, *ō*.

This development is, I believe, regular before a group of consonants originally followed by *ā*.<sup>4</sup> Thus, we find the verbal stems Sgl. *vānd-* 'to bind'; *xānd-* 'to laugh'; *wārv-* 'to boil': Ishk. *vōnd-*, *xōnd-*, *wōrv-*.<sup>5</sup> Ancient stems in *-an*, with nominatives in *-ā*,<sup>6</sup> are: Sgl. *cām* 'eye'; *pām* 'wool'; *dānd* 'tooth' and *māl* 'husband' (Av. *marətan-*): Ishk. *cām*, *pām*, *dōnd*, *mōl*, etc. Sgl. *wāl*: Ishk. *wōl* 'trousers' goes back to \**wartā* (Y *woro*) and also Sgl. *γāl* 'throat'; *pāsk* 'hide', and Ishk. *rōzd* 'pillow' may be derived from forms in *-ā*.<sup>7</sup>

Cf. also Sgl. *asāl* 'this year', *parsāl* 'last year' < \**sardā* (cf. Par. *sār* 'year') and Sgl. *jānj* (but also *jōnj*): Ishk. *žōnj* 'woman' < \**janā* + *čī*, or influenced by *māl*. The vocalism of Sgl. *zāl*: Ishk. *zōl* 'yellow', of Sgl. *xuāl*: Ishk. *xōl* 'six', and of Sgl., Sk., Gr. *āšik* etc.: Zar. *ošik* 'tear' must be due to special conditions which I am not able to detect.

It is not probable that *āš(ik)* goes back to a n. pl. \**asriwā*, nor that *xuāl* represents an Ir. form \**xšwaššā*, with *-ā* in contradistinction to *ovd* < *haftā* and Psht. *špaž* < \**xšwaša*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 178, and see IIFL, I, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Par. *tar* 'before' < \**tarā*.

<sup>3</sup> See Voc. s. vv. Cf. Y *zo* 'I' < \**ažā*?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above sub. c.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Par. *khan-*, *γarw-*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Reg. nom. in *-ā* from neutral stems in *-an* cf. Psht. *lūma* 'snare'.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Par. *bān(apaī)* < \**barznā*.



A few lws with *ǎ* have been included in this series. Thus, e.g. Sgl. *xān* 'house'; *tāt* 'father'; *xudāri* (lw. ?) 'water-mill': Ishk. *xōn*, *tōt*, *xudōri*.

The same development is found also in the fem. suffix *\*-akā*, and in Sgl. pl. *\*-akāh*, e.g., in Sgl. *ǎšcāk*: Ishk. *štōk*, etc. 'girl'; *wērāk* 'female lamb' (m. *worok*), etc.;<sup>1</sup> and *oyodā* 'they have come'; *nilōstag* 'they have sat down'; *zēmōnak* 'boys'; *vērūdār* 'brothers'.<sup>2</sup> Cf. sub c). Cf. also Parachi *nērōk* 'male': *šičak* 'female'; *phōr* 'grain': pl. *phar*.<sup>3</sup>

f) Quite irregular developments of 'a' occur in Sgl. (h)ot: Ishk. *ōt*, *ūt*, *at*, *āt* 'eight', and in Sgl. *wok*: Ishk. *wōk*, *wūk*, *wak* 'one'.

g) In unstressed syllables *a* is reduced to *ə* in Sgl. *cə* 'from'; *cəfür* 'four'; *zēmūd* 'son-in-law'; *vērōk* 'horse'; *pəzīn-* 'to know'; *nəwōk* 'mill-race' etc. Cf. also *pa*, *pə* 'on'.

h) In Sgl. *kudum*, Ishk. *kudum* 'which' < *\*kədūm* the *u* is due to vowel harmony. Cf. *ingīt* 'finger' sub d). In am unable to explain the *u* in *zust* 'flowed' (*zīd*), and in *γuz-* 'to run'. Cf. also *-uk* for *ōk* and *-ū(i)* for *-ō(i)* after narrow vowels.<sup>4</sup>

i) An early contraction has taken place in *sūi* 'hare' < *\*sa(h)a-*.

### Ir. *ā*.

79. Ir. long *ā* was a less labile sound than short *a*, and its development has been more regular and untroubled.

It regularly results in Sgl.—Ishk. *ū*.<sup>5</sup> The examples are numerous. Thus, e.g.: *āstūd* 'sent' (*āstay-*); *ust<sup>r</sup>rūk* 'star' (< *\*starāka* < *\*stāraka-*?); *cəfür* 'four'; *dūd* 'gave'; *dūr* 'sickle'; *fərmūd* 'ordered'; *mūr* 'centipede' *pūd* 'foot'; *rūr* 'rhubarb' (Yd. *riv*); *sūi* 'hare';<sup>6</sup> *šūž* 'eagle' (Y *šīž*); *šūi* 'black' (?); *tūr-* 'to shave'; *vūr* 'burden'; *vūrūd*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 96, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. §§ 94, 99. — Cf. Shgh. *sad* m. and f. 'they went' < *\*c(y)utāh*.

<sup>3</sup> See IIFL, I, p. 23 sq., and cf. Yd.—Mj. § 195.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. §§ 96, 5; 132.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the parallel developments in Yd.—Mj. and Wkh.

<sup>6</sup> With secondary *ā*, cf. § 78? Cf., e.g. Psht. *sōe*.

'brother'; *wüş* 'straw'; *xūr-* 'to scratch'; *xūy-* 'to thresh' (v. Voc. s.v.); *yūd* 'husband's brother's wife'; *zūy* 'raven'; *zəmūd* 'son-in-law'; *zənūd* 'washed'; *zevūk* 'tongue'; *Izivūk* 'Zēbāk'.

Other possible examples are *šūrm* 'dung' (cf. Av. *šāman-* ?); *kiskūd* 'roof' (\**uska-kātā-* ?); *ālūzd* 'day before yesterday'; *pārūzd* 'yesterday' (\**āzna-* ?); *wuždān*, *ūždān*, etc. 'millet' (\**hārzana-* ?); *wūs*, *uss-* 'to take'; *wūlōk* 'flour' (\**ārtaka-*); *yūz* 'fire-wood'.

A secondary shortening has taken place in some of the words mentioned above, and also in *durk* 'stick'; *turkī* 'darkness'; *kuđum* 'which'.

80. Before a nasal we find *ū* in *afšūn* 'comb'; *dūnik* 'grain'; *frūn* 'plank' (\**frāna-* ?); Sgl. *potūn* (but Wkh. *patin* from Ishk. ?) 'thigh'; *wurcūn* 'smoke-hole' (\**raučāna-* ?); *yūn-* 'to grind'; *zūng* (Sk. *zṅg*, etc.) 'knee'; possibly also in *kurcūn* (Ishk. *kərčīn*) 'fowl', etc.; *pəcūn* 'bullet'.

But in several cases we find *īn*, *īm*. Thus: *uštīn* 'haystack' (\**wāstradāna-*); *nīm* 'name'; *vīn* 'beard' (\**upān(y)a-* ?); *vəsīn* 'whetstone'; *dəvīn-* 'to winnow'; *pəzīn-* 'to know'. It is scarcely possible to attribute the *ī* in all these words to the influence of a following *y*.

The prefix *ā-* has been shortened and appears, probably with vowel harmony, as *ā-*, *o-* in *araz-* 'to jump'; *āstay-* 'to send'; *oγod* 'came'. Also in the pronouns *mak* 'me'; *təfak* 'thee', Sgl. *amax*, *aməx*, Ishk. *mux* 'we' ancient *ā* has been shortened.

Initial *ā-* (or *a-* ?) has been lost in *vək* 'water'. I am unable to explain the vocalism of Ishk. (*w*)*uspīr* 'plough-share' (Sgl. *spər*), and of Gr. *usīd* 'baking pan'.

81. Sgl. *nāf*, Ishk. *nāf* 'navel'; *rōšk* 'truth'; *xudārī*, *xudōrī* 'water-mill' are probably lw.s. Cf. the more recent lw.s from Prs., such as Sgl. *čəpān* 'shepherd'; *čārda* '14'; *čirāy* 'lamp'; *čārvā* 'horned cattle'; *digdān* 'fireplace'; *šaftōlū* (NB *ō* !) 'peach': Ishk. *čūpōn*; *čārda*; *čirōy*; *čōrvō*; *digdōn*; *šaftōlū*. Sgl. *xušdāuman* 'wife's brother's wife' is irregular.

#### Ir. i.

82. As in other Pamir languages, *i* is unstable, and is only retained in favourable circumstances, cf. e.g. *fəris-* 'to be left behind'; Sgl. *nīlōst*, but Ishk. *nulust* 'sat down' (*nīd-*).

In most cases Ir. *i* has been relaxed, and moved towards a lower and more central articulation. Thus: *yir*, *gir*, *yər* 'stone'; *let* 'licked' (*lēs*); *ce* 'what'; *çen-* 'to pick' (lw. ?); *šac*, etc. 'female'; *xərn-* 'to buy' (\**xrin-*).

After a labial we find *a*, *u*, etc. in: *pədf*, *puđf* 'meat'; *put* Gr. 'parched grain' < \**pišta-*; *pöv-*, *pəv-*, *pav-* 'to drink'; *numul-* Zar. 'to shut the eye'; *ʷspəl*, *sʷpul*, etc. 'louse'; *ambol* Gr. 'moraine' (\**ham-piša-* ?); *wudɪl* 'dung'; *wudīt* 'span'. But why *rus*, *rəs* 'thirty' (\**ʃrisas*) ?

A lengthening has taken place in *frī* 'good' (< \**friya-*), and, before an ancient group of consonants, in *fərin-d* 'left behind, tired', if < \**fra-rixna-*. In *žwondok* 'hungry' (< \**a-ǰ(i)wantaka-*), the loss of *ǰ* may be very early, cf. Av. *ǰvant-*.

#### Ir. *i*.

83. Ancient *i* remains in *pīd* 'drank' (*pəv-*); *xəriđ* 'bought' (*xərn-*); *wīšt* 'twenty'; *nīd-* 'to sit down' (< \**ni(h)id-*); with shortening in *çid* 'picked'.

*šīn-* 'to weep'; *nīv-* 'to bring'; *nīduk*, *nuduk* (< \**nītaka-* ?) are of uncertain derivation.

#### Ir. *u*.

84. Short *u* shows the same tendency as short *i* to move towards a more central articulation, and it frequently results in *a*.

Thus, e.g.: *dəmb*, *dumb*, *dəmb*, etc. 'tail' (lw. ?); *dəmb-* 'to card wool'; *dəyd* 'milked' (*dēš-*); *dəzd* 'thief' (lw. ?); *dərəšt* 'rough' (prob. lw.); *γōndəm*, *γondum* 'wheat'; *kud*, *kəd* 'dog'; *kul-*, *kəl-*, etc. 'to kill'; *mət*, *mut*, *mət*, etc. 'fist'; *pəf-*, *puf-* 'to blow'; *pənayd*, *puməxt* 'dressed'; *pu/ə/əšk* 'dung'; *su/əmb* 'hoof'; *sə/ərb* 'lead' (lw.); *sərx*, etc. 'red'; *səvd*, etc. 'shoulder'; *tu/ə* 'thou'; *və/uz*, *vz* 'goat'; *wi:đə/uyđ*, etc. 'daughter'; *wuznə/ε/ul* 'daughter-in-law', etc.

Initial *u-* has been delabialized and lowered in Sgl. *ast-* (but Ishk. *ust-*) 'to stand up', and in the lw. *amēd* 'hope'. But cf. also *rašt* 'morning' (lw. ?).

*ingīt* 'finger' is derived through *\*əngūt* (cf. Wkh. lw. *ingūt*) < *angušta-*. Sgl. *šīd* (but Ishk. *šud*, *šəd*) 'went, became' must also be derived from a form with lengthened vowel (*\*šūt* < *\*šiyuta-?*); cf. Par. *čhī*.

Ir. *u* has been elided in *\*stən*, etc. 'needle' < *\*sučani-* and in the suffix *-uka-*, cf. *zūng* 'knee'; *pōrk* 'rat'; *durk* 'stick'; *yōtuk*, *yetik* 'bridge' (< *\*ētk* < *\*haituka-*).<sup>1</sup>

### Ir. *ū*.

85. Ir. *ū* results in *ī* as in Wkh. Thus: *dīd* 'smoke'; *dīr* 'distant'; *vrīc* 'eyebrow'; *\*stīn* 'pillow'. Possibly also from secondary *ū* in *didus* 'twelve' < *\*duw(a)dasa*, and in *ingīt*, *šīd* (v. above § 84).

*angūr* 'grape' and other words with *ū* are evidently lw.s, and also *pū-* Zar. 'to be rotten', *pūdūk* 'rotten' may have been influenced by Prs. It is, however, possible that *ū* was retained after a labial, cf. *vəd*, *vud* 'was' < *būta-*, with shortening, as in Psht. *wə* and elsewhere.

Sgl. *nēr* 'to-day' cannot be derived direct from *nūrām*.

### Ir. *ṛ*.

86. Ir. *ṛ* results in *ur*, *ər*, etc. in *wərk*, *wurk*, *urk* 'wolf'; *məryōk*, *muryuk* 'sparrow'; *andərv-* 'to sew'; *məl*, *mul* 'died'; *kuł*, *kul*, *kəð* 'did'; *kurčūn*, etc. 'fowl'; *vəždūk*, etc. 'long'; *wolk*, *wul̄k*, *wəl̄k* 'kidney', and possibly in *wūlok* 'flour', if from *\*ṛtaka-* and not, as seems more probable, from *\*ūlok* < *\*ārtaka-*; *al-* 'standing' is scarcely derived from *əṛədwa-*, with *u-* > *a-*, cf. above § 78, d.

In some preterites the vowel has been lengthened. Thus: *xōl*, *x(w)ol*, *xūl* 'ate'; Sgl. *\*stōl* (Ishk. *sətul*, etc.) 'swept'; Sgl. *wōl* (Ishk. *āvuld*, etc.) 'found' (*āwīr-*).

*kīl* 'knife' is a mutated form (< *\*kr̄tyā-*), and so is possibly *wud̄r̄l* 'dung' (< *\*wi-drti-?*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 96, 1.

## Ir. ai.

87. Ir. *ai* regularly results in  $\bar{e}$ . Thus:  ${}^2sp\bar{e}d$  'white';  $m\bar{e}l$  'sheep';  $w\bar{e}d$  'willow';  $w\bar{e}d$ - Sk. 'to put';  $w\bar{e}x$  'root';  $t\bar{e}u$  'husband's brother';  $l\bar{e}s$ - 'to lick' (lw. ?);  $w\bar{i}n$ -,  $w\bar{e}n$ - 'to see';  $y\bar{e}v$ -,  $y\bar{i}v$ - 'to spin';  $ap\bar{e}d$  'was lost' (\**apa-ita*-). In  $m\bar{o}i$  'cloud' < \**m\bar{e}i*(?) < *m\bar{e}y* the  $\bar{o}$  is strange, but may, perhaps, be due to differentiation.

Initially the development is troubled. Besides complete loss of *ai* in special conditions (*wok* 'one'), we find  $\bar{i}d$  'iste' (< \**aita*-),<sup>1</sup> and  $\bar{i}s$ - 'to come' (< \**\bar{a}isa*-?), but Sgl. *y\bar{o}tuk*, Ishk. *yetik*, Zar. *yatik* 'bridge'.

## Ir. au.

88. Ir. *au* generally results in  $\bar{e}$ , probably through an intermediate stage \* $\bar{o}$ . Thus:  $r\bar{e}yn$  'clarified butter';  $t\bar{e}ym$ ,  $t'\bar{e}y^um$  'grain';  $y\bar{e}nok$ .  $y\bar{e}n\bar{o}k$  'hair';  $d\bar{e}s$ - 'to milk';  $r\bar{e}f$  'broom';  $r\bar{e}c\bar{i}k$  'entrails';  $xr\bar{e}seg$  'n. of an animal' (M *xur\bar{u}so*);  $\bar{s}en$  'podex';  $p\bar{a}nec$ -,  $p\bar{u}mec$ -,  $p\bar{o}muc$ - 'to dress' (< *paiti-maoč*-);  $w\bar{e}n$  'blood' < \**wa(h)uni*-. We find, however,  $\bar{i}$  in  $k\bar{o}v\bar{i}d$  'pigeon';  $k\bar{i}f$  (and  $k'\bar{e}f$ ) 'hump', cf. the ancient lw. *K\bar{i}v\bar{i}* (Chinese *K'o-wei*) 'Chitrali'.

This development can scarcely be due to the neighbouring *v* and *f*, cf.  $r\bar{e}f$  above.

A special development of initial \**rau*- appears in *wurc\bar{u}n* 'smoke-hole' and  $v\bar{a}rv\bar{e}s$ ,  $w\bar{a}rw\bar{e}s$  'fox'. In these words *rau*- has apparently become \**r\bar{u}*-, from which \**ur*-, before *au* >  $\bar{e}$ .

Also  $\gamma\bar{o}l$  'ear' is irregular, and is possibly a lw. (from Shgh.?).  $d\bar{o}u$  'two' may go back to \**dw\bar{a}u* and Ishk.  $\gamma\bar{o}u$  to \**g\bar{a}u\bar{s}*.

## Ir. aya.

89. Examples of Ir. final *-aya(h)* are  $r\bar{o}i$ , etc. 'three' and  $p\bar{o}i$  'sour milk'. Internal *aya* results in  $\bar{e}$  in  $p\bar{e}-\bar{s}t\bar{a}n$  'udder'. Ancient present stems in  $\bar{a}ya$  have generally Sgl.  $\bar{e}(y)$ , but Ishk. *ay*. Cf., e.g. Sgl.

<sup>1</sup> But cf. Wkh. *yet*-, *y\bar{e}t*- < \**ita*-.

*deräy-, derē-*: Ishk. *deray-* 'to reap'; Sgl. *däy-*: Ishk. *day-, dey-* 'to give'; Sgl. *astē-*: Ishk. *astay*, etc. 'to send'; Sgl. *zənē(y)-*: Ishk. *zeney-, zenay-* 'to wash', etc., cf. § 130.

### Ir. *awa*.

90. Ir. final *-awa-* occurs in *nou*, etc. 'nine'; *you* 'grain'; *šōu* 'horn'; *ō, aū*, pl. *awand* 'that'; Sgl. *tō* 'thine'. Internal *-awa-* occurs in *nowədos* 'nineteen'; *nəwōk* 'millrace'; *nuwōk* 'new'. Sgl. *uyūi* 'cow' may perhaps be derived from *\*(hu)-gāwyā*.

### Umlaut.

91. *I-* and *y-* mutation appears in *mēd* 'waist' < *maidya-*; *mēry* 'meadow' < *\*margyā-*; *nəmēdy* 'salt' < *\*namadki-* (?); *mēl* 'apple' < *\*marnyā-* (?); *wulmēk* 'moon' < *\*uxš-māhyaka-*; *mei* 'day' < *\*mādyā-*; *pēšten* 'udder' < *\*payah-fštanya-*; *dēr-* 'to hold' < *\*dāraya-*; *wērak* 'she-lamb' < *\*warī + -akā* (?); *vēk* 'water' < *āpākiya*; *vərvēs* 'fox' < *\*raupāsī-*.

Without any apparent cause we find, however, *i* in *wudīt* 'span' < *\*wi-dāti-*; *xīr* 'sister's son' < *\*hwahrya-*; *zīd-* 'to flow' < *\*zyadya-*; *čiš* 'urine' < *\*čāšya-* (?); *nīc* 'nose' < *\*nāh-čī*, or *\*nahya-čī*. Cf. also *i* < *ɾ<sup>i</sup>* in *kīl* 'knife', if < *\*krtyā*, and *wudīl* 'dung' < *\*wi-drti-*.

The only certain example of *u-* mutation is *pux, pəx* 'boiled' < *\*paxwa-*.

Regarding vowel harmony cf. §§ 78, c, h, 96, 5, 132.

### Prothetic Vowels.

92. A prothetic vowel is developed before an ancient or secondary initial group of consonants, e.g. in *ust<sup>r</sup>rūk* 'star'; *astar-* 'to sweep'; *afšūn* 'comb'; *aščāk* 'girl'.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc. s.vv.

Characteristic of Sgl.—Ishk. is the prothetic (*w*)*u*- which appears before an initial voiced consonant followed by *ū*.<sup>1</sup> Thus: *wudəyδ* 'daughter'; *wuznəl* 'daughter-in-law'; *uyūi* 'cow'; *wiiznuk* 'inflated goat skin'.

In spite of the difficulty of explaining *wuzinjak* 'woman' and *usid* Gr. 'baking pan' (cf. Wkh. *sāt*) I am inclined to believe that this prothesis is of a phonetic nature, and that *w(u)*- does not go back to a prefix *hu*-.

Regarding the word for 'sister' (*yəxōai*, *ixō*, etc. < \*(*h*)*ahwā* < \**hwah(w)ā*), cf. Voc. s.v.

Note also the *o*- in *okovδ* 'boot': Prs. *kafš*.<sup>2</sup>

### Loss of Initial and Final Vowels.

93. There is possibly some connection between the Sgl.—Ishk. tendency to develop prothetic vowels and the comparative rarity of elision of initial vowels.

Cf. e.g. *am(a)* 'this': Yd. *mo*; *ada* 'that': Yd. *yō*; *az* 'I': Yd. *zo*; *amax* 'we': Yd. *max*; *andərv-* (Sk. *d'rav-*) 'to sew': Yd. *diz-* 'to bury', etc.; *āstay-* 'to send': Wkh. *s'tiy-*; *ōvzui* 'heart': Wkh. *p'zöv*; *apanis-* 'to lose': Shgh. *benes-*.

We find, however, loss of initial *u*- in *vīn* 'beard' < \**upāna*-; *va* < *upa*, and possibly in *š'lōk* 'wet' < \**a-šusaka*-; *žwondok* 'hungry' < \**a-jiwantaka*-; of *ā*- in *vēk* 'water'; *wa* 'him'; Sgl. *špōn*, Ishk *špən* 'iron'; and of *ai*-, or even of *aiwa*-, in the unstressed numerals *wok* 'one'; *kodōs* 'eleven'. Cf. also *wōl* 'found' from *āwīr*-.

Regarding the doubtful derivation of *mis-* 'to sleep', v. Voc. s.v.

Except in monosyllables, final vowels are elided.<sup>3</sup> Regarding *am(a)* 'this', *ad(a)* 'that', cf. Grammar, § 116. Regarding possible traces of the obl. ending *-ahya*, v. §§ 96, 2 a, 5; 94.

<sup>1</sup> From which in some cases modern *ə*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sogd. c. *'krty* < *krty* 'deed', etc.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. traces of final *-ā(h)*, cf. §§ 78 e, 96, 3, 101.

## Accent.

94. The accent which lies at the base of the development in Sgl.—Ishk., appears to have been of the ordinary, late Old Ir. type.

Thus:  $\acute{\text{c}} \ \grave{\text{c}}$ , e.g. in *dos* 'ten'; *az* 'I';  $\acute{\text{c}} \ \grave{\text{c}}$  in *cəfūr* 'four'; *po'tūn* 'thigh'; *kō'vīd* 'pigeon', etc.;  $\acute{\text{c}} \ \grave{\text{c}} \ \grave{\text{c}}$  in *zāl* 'yellow'; *pōrk* 'mouse'; *nārk* 'male'; *jōn* 'woman', etc.;  $\acute{\text{c}} \ \grave{\text{c}} \ \grave{\text{c}}$  in *wīst* 'twenty'; *zūng* 'knee'; *γōndum* 'wheat'; possibly  $\acute{\text{c}} \ \grave{\text{c}} \ \grave{\text{c}} \ \grave{\text{c}}$  in *didus* 'twelve' (< \**duwadasa*?).<sup>1</sup>

Words in *-ōk* are probably derived from the oblique form, thus *γē'nōk* 'hair' < \**gau'nakahya*.<sup>2</sup>

Elision of a short vowel before the accent has taken place in *krīc̄* 'hut' (< \**katīcī*?), possibly in *cəfūr* 'four',<sup>3</sup> and before a secondary suffix in *əščāk* 'girl' < *šac* + *āk*. I am unable to explain the loss of *u* in *əštən*, etc. 'needle' < *sučani-*.

The loss of the vowel in an unstressed first syllable occurs also in lw.s (e.g. Sk. *bčāk* 'he-goat'; *bland* = *bīland* 'high'; *brūt* = *b'rūt* 'moustache', etc.), and may be of recent date.

<sup>1</sup> But note *ko'dos* 'eleven' < \**aiwaka'dasa*?

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 96, 2 a.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 59.



# MORPHOLOGY

## Nouns.

### *Primary Stems.*

95. No distinction is made in Sgl.—Ishk. between words belonging to the various ancient Ir. groups of nominal stems.<sup>1</sup>

Only on etymological grounds, or in some cases from a comparison with Yd.—Mj., are we able to distinguish between ancient stems in *-a-* (e.g. *ingīt* 'finger'; *dīd* 'smoke'; *dūr* 'sickle'; *γōl* 'ear'; *potūn* 'leg'; *wāl* 'roof-beam', etc.); stems in *-ā-* (e.g. *uštīn* 'hay-stack'; *γāl* 'neck'; *kīl* 'knife'; *wuznel* 'daughter-in-law'; *wāl* 'trousers'); stems in *-ī-* (e.g. *fəryəm* 'female kid'; *met* 'fist'; *səvd* 'shoulder'; *wēd* 'willow'; *yer* 'stone'; *šac* 'female'; *ǰān* 'woman'<sup>2</sup>); stems in *-ū-* (*xoš* 'mother-in-law'); stems in *-au-* (*uyūi*, *γōu* 'cow'; *šōu* 'horn'(?)); stems in *-r-* (*v<sup>2</sup>rūd* 'brother'; *wudəyδ* 'daughter'; *yūd* 'husband's brother's wife'; *yəxōai* 'sister'; *zəmūd* 'son-in-law'); stems in *-n-* (*cām* 'eye'; *dānd* 'tooth'; *māl* 'husband'; *nīm* 'name'; *pām* 'wool'; *šūrm* 'dung'(?); cf. also *pār-uzd* 'yesterday'); stems in *-s-* (*sōr* 'head', and, ultimately, *ormōzd* 'sun'), and nouns which may go back to ancient plurals (e.g. *pōi* 'milk'; *you* 'corn'; *warf* 'snow'; *wolk* 'kidney', etc.).<sup>3</sup>

### *Suffixes in k.*

96. Various types of suffixes containing a *k* are found in Sgl.—Ishk., and some of them are still productive. The forms in *g* are mere variants, due to sandhi, or to the influence of a preceding nasal.

<sup>1</sup> The only exception known being the 'irregular' pl. of *v<sup>2</sup>rūd* 'brother', see § 102.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 26.

<sup>3</sup> As for traces of ancient *-ā(h)*, cf. § 78, c, e.

1. A simple *-k*, derived from *\*-ka-*, appears in *wolk* 'kidney', cf. *nəmēdy/k*, etc. 'salt'. Also nom. msc. *\*-akah*, *-ukah* probably result in *-k*, cf. *nārk* 'male'; *park* 'ashes'; *pāsk* 'hide'; *rōsk* 'truth'; *durk* 'stick'; *pōrk* 'rat'; *zūng* 'knee'.<sup>1</sup> Reg. *yōtuk*, etc. 'bridge' and *wotuk* 'feast' cf. § 24.—*gin)isk* 'sparrow'; *pušk* 'dung' etc. are lw.s.

2. A suffix Sgl. *-ōk* (Ishk. regularly *-uk*, cf. § 78 a) appears in several categories of nouns.

a. In names of animals. Thus: *moy'dōk*, etc. 'frog'; *məryōk* 'sparrow'; *jila'yōk* 'spider'; *\*skonōk* 'puppy'; *št'nōk* 'kid'; *v<sup>2</sup>rōk* 'horse'; *wo'rok* 'male lamb' (Mj. *wəray*); *wo'sōk* 'calf' (Par. *ya'sō*); *žū'ōk* 'male markhor'; *zə'γōlog* 'bumble bee', etc. It will be noted that this suffix is used by preference about male animals, and it goes back to *\*-akah*, or, perhaps, *\*-akahya*.<sup>2</sup>

b. In names of parts of the body and other nouns: *os'tōk* 'bone' (Y *yastē*); *γē'nōk* 'hair' (M *γūnəy*); *γō'rōk* 'neck' (Psht. *γarai*); *narxōk* 'nail'; *mālōk* 'husband' (Y *marā*); *wulōk* 'flour' (Y *yārē*, etc.); *yivdōk* 'thread' (pf. ptc.), etc.

c. In many cases *-ōk* is evidently a secondary suffix. Thus, e.g., in: *parwinekog* 'moth' (*parwīnek* 'butterfly'); *worokok* 'small lamb'; *ingitōk* 'finger-ring' (*ingit*); *mā'!(ōk)* 'husband'; *vōrok* 'window' (*vōr*); *nə'wōk* 'mill-race' (*nōu*); *zəma'nōk* 'boy' (*zō'man*); *ni'yōk* 'reed' (< Prs. *nai*).

d. In adjectives: *nu'wōk* 'new'; *š<sup>2</sup>lōk* 'wet'; *v<sup>2</sup>zōk* 'fat'; <sup>3</sup> *žwondok* 'hungry'; *xəžok* Gr. 'sweet'.

e. In the Perfect. Thus, e.g.: *nilōstog* 'having sat down'; *no'dōk* (*nas-*) 'has been seized'; Sgl. *ku'ōk*, Ishk. *kuluk* 'has done' (Par. *ku'γō*); *dūduk* Sk. 'has given', etc. Cf. *p(ə)xōk* 'cooked', and also the verbal nouns of the type *dəryōk* 'reaping'; *vī-diōk* 'watering'; *deyuk* Sk. 'to give'; *no'vōk* 'rain', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 84.

<sup>2</sup> See § 94.

<sup>3</sup> And also *v<sup>2</sup>zōk* 'branch'; but not *\*vzōk* 'male goat'.

3. Sgl. *-āk* occurs in words denoting female beings in *ašcāk* (Ishk. *štok*) 'girl'; *wērāk*, etc. 'she-lamb'. Other examples are: Sgl. *kyēv'žāk*, etc.: Gr. *kēvžuk*, Zar. *kevžōq* 'magpie'; *dər'nāk* 'bow-string'; *γəlāk* 'plough-handle'; *pəs'tāk* 'bark'.<sup>1</sup> Besides, as a secondary suffix, in *rēf(āk)* 'broom'; *dēc(āk)* 'goat-skin'; *čōv(āk)* 'little'; *xuš'k(āk)* 'dry'; *kəlāk* 'knife' (*kīl*); *ta'yāk* (*tāy*) 'colt'. *-āk* probably goes back to *-akā*, cf. § 78 e.

4. In some cases *-ak* appears to be an unstressed variant of *-āk*, cf. Sgl. p. 2 *wērak*: p. 3 *wērāk*; Gr. *kāndak*: Sgl. is. p. 1, 2 *kan'dāk*, Zb. *kondok* 'thorn'; Sgl. p. 2 *γulak*: is. *γōlāk* (but Sk. *γūlak* 'pellet-bow').

In other words *-ak* has been borrowed from Prs., cf., e.g. *das'tak* 'rafter'; *gilimbōfak* 'spider' (*gilam'bōf*). In *gar'dak* 'neck'; *kamak* 'spine'; *parak*, *parīk* 'rib'; *dānd(ak)* 'tooth'; *γuržak* 'violin'; *tiyaxarak* 'donkey's foal'; *wužinjak* 'woman' the suffix may be genuine < *\*-akā*. Cf. also *mak* 'me'; (*tə*)*fak* 'thee', and *mōd(ak)* 'here', *wōd(ak)*, etc. 'there'.

5. The suffix *-ūk* goes back to *-ākā* in *zə'vūk* 'tongue'; *Izi'vūk* 'Zēbāk'. With *-ūk* < *-aka-* after a narrow vowel (cf. § 78 h): *fi'ūk* 'shoulder-blade'; *ust'ūrūk* 'star' (< *\*stūrūk* < *\*stāraka-?*); *vəždūk* 'long'. Cf. also Ishk. *av'zūk* (Sgl. *ōvzui*) 'heart'; *γur'ruk* 'lucerne'; *ku'žūk* 'bull'; *nīdūk* 'buttermilk'; *sū'yūk* 'spleen'; *wu'sūk* 'elbow'.

Verbal nouns in *-ūk* are: *kīrūg* 'plough'; *mindūk* 'asleep'; *γūnūk* 'grinding'; *xōfuk* 'coughing'. From the past base are formed *misūk* 'sleep'; *jistuk* Gr. 'swift', and *žaduk* Sk. 'murderer'. The same may be the case with *batuk* Gr. 'beetle'. Cf. also *flāvuk* Gr. 'breakfast'; Sgl. *p'čuk* 'worm'; *ri'žuk* 'male kid', etc.

*tanuk* Gr., *tan'ik* Sk. 'thin' may possibly go back to *\*tanukahya*. From *\*tanukah* we should expect *\*tuŋk*.

6. The suffix *-īk* appears in a number of words, most of which are lw.s. Thus, e.g. *būr'ik* Sk. 'thin'; *čūčik* Sk. 'chicken'; *tōrik*

<sup>1</sup> All of which have shortened stem-vowel before *-āk*.

'darkness'; *kauležik* 'tadpole'; *pātik* 'eyelashes'. I have noted both *ākik* and *ākīk* 'egg'; *āšik* and *āšīk* 'tear'.

Other examples are: *bāndik* 'elbow, joint'; *cām-mārdikīg* 'pupil of the eye'; *curīk* Gr. 'a shed'; *dūnik* 'grain'; *kərvišik* 'lizard'; *mācīk* 'she-dog'; *mārcīk* 'ant'; *mužīk* 'pea' (Bad. Prs. *mužuk*); *rēcīk* 'entrails'; *sədīk* Sk. 'porridge'.

Several ancient suffixes appear to have been merged in Sgl.—Ishk. *-īk*.

7. The suffixes *-ek* and *-ək* appear mainly in lws from Prs. with original *-ak*. Examples are: *ainek* 'mirror'; *ātašek* 'lightning'; *šauparek* 'bat'; *parvīnek* 'butterfly'; *damfđžek* 'yawn'; *gazək* 'tamarisk'; *xənək* 'cold'; *gulbād(ək)* Sk. 'whirlwind'; *xōlək* 'maternal uncle'; *zardək* 'carrot'. Also some words of probably non-Prs. origin have got these suffixes added. Thus, e.g. *astamāγzek* 'upper arm'; *sārek* 'cream'; *xrēseg* 'n. of an animal'; *fūsek, fə'sāk* 'nose'; *žānžək* 'entrails', etc.

8. A few words end in *-ēk*. Thus: *wulmēk* 'moon'; *vēk* 'water'; *wurmēk* 'poplar', cf. *wu'lyēka* 'alone'.

9. In *ari* 'work' and *xodāri* 'water-mill' *r + k* has developed in a special way. Cf. § 69.

### Other Suffixes.

97. Prs. *-ī* and *-iš* have been borrowed and occur, e.g., in *žondokī* 'hunger'; *kīriš* 'ploughing'; *yūniš* 'grinding'.

The ancient suffix *-xa-* occurs in *wolox* 'rib', etc.; *sōrox* 'ear of corn'; *šōdax* 'goat's hair' (< \**dōšax*?).

Regarding the ancient fem. suffix *-ā* cf. s.vv. *šac* 'female'; *jōn* 'woman'; *wānāc* 'female calf', and possibly *krič* 'hut'; *pārnič* 'threshold'. Cf. also *wužinjak* 'woman'; *aščāk* 'girl', and, possibly, *žānžək* 'entrails' (< \**žān-jak*?), and see § 26.

## Gender.

98. As far as my material goes, there is no trace of any distinction of gender in Sgl.—Ishk.<sup>1</sup> Names of males and females of the same species of animals are often expressed by different words. Thus *ku'žuk* 'bull': *ō'yūi* 'cow'; *ta'ke* 'male kid': *fəryəm* 'female kid'; *juwānē* 'male calf': *bakēṇḍī*, *wəṇic* 'female calf', etc. Note, however, *worōk* 'male lamb': *wērāk* 'female lamb', and cf. §§ 78 e, 96, 3 about the suffixes *-ōk* and *-āk*.

## Number.

99. Traces of ancient plural forms are preserved in Sgl. *vrūdār* 'brothers' = Shgh. *virōdār* < \**brātarā(h)*,<sup>2</sup> and *zəma'nāk* 'boys', from *zəma'nōk*, etc.; cf. the Pf. and Plupf. pl. forms, §§ 144, 147. Examples are: *m-amīč tāt xān hōvd vrūdār-ān* Sgl. p. 2 'there are seven brothers in my father's house'; *am xān məš v'vrūdār-en* Sgl. is. 'these houses belong to my brothers'; *mən xān hōvd zəma'nāk-ō* Sgl. p. 1 'there are seven boys in my house'.
100. A more recent formation is the pl. in *-ən*, *-ān*.<sup>3</sup> Thus, e.g.: *amānd ādamən rōsk yēžān* Sgl. p. 1, 2 'these men speak the truth'; *amand ādamān* p. 1; *ādamān xwōran* p. 2 'the men ate'; *ada āda'mā* (= *-ān*?) 'arī *kenan* p. 1 'those men are working'; *wa'zīren yēždan* p. 3 'the ministers said'; *gōl ken xē wa'zīren* 'assemble your ministers'; *xaržgiren nəš la-kuān* p. 2 'the custom-officials did not let me go'; *mə Kāfi'ren i'tin* p. 2 'they arrived among the Kafirs'; *maxlu'kān gudōm xaš'tān* p. 2 'the people(?) plundered the storehouses'. In *bə'tā f'rēd* p. 3 'he broke the idols', and in *vəza xa'sān* p. 2 'they drag the goats', *-ā* may have been borrowed from Prs. *-(h)ā*. Also Sk. observes that Ishk. *āla'xā* 'hills', *rēmuz'dā* 'suns' are recent forms,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Gr. § 42.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of a parallel pl. \**wuḍuydār* was denied.—Cf. "Wkh." *v'vrūdār-kuč* = Sgl. *vrūdkuč* 'brother's wife'.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gr. § 43.

corresponding to more archaic *rēmuz'dən* 'suns'; *tātən* 'fathers'; *nā'nən* 'mothers'; *tātā'kən* 'ancestors'.

It is even possible that also *-ān*, Gr. *-an* may be of Prs. origin, while *-ən*, *-en* is genuine and corresponds to Shgh. *-ēn*, *-īn*.<sup>1</sup>

101. I never heard the Zb. pl. forms in *-e*, *-ai*, which appear to be used in the LSI about inanimate things, animals, and collectives (*naukar*, *muzdur*, *kančānī*), while *-an*, *-en* is reserved for human beings considered as individuals. The difference of use prevents us from identifying this ending with *-en*.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is impossible to derive *-e*, *-ai* from *-āh*, as proposed by Tedesco, i.e. All final syllables are lost in Sgl.—Ishk., and a development *-āh* > *-ai* is in any case most unlikely. Reg. traces of *-ā(h)* cf. above.
102. After numerals, *fai* 'many', *cəmənd* 'how many', *kull* 'all', etc., the sg. is regularly used. Thus, e.g., *fai muluk ari k'enū* Ishk. 'many men are working'; *fai wuduyδ-ō* Sgl. p. 2 'there are many daughters'; *azəm fai (wok) vəz wəndo vəδ* p. 2 'I had seen many goats (one goat)'; *cəmənd ādam ōsto?* p. 2 'how many men are there?' *də zōt* 'two sons'; *cə'fūr za'mīn-ō*, *cə'fūr 'zōt-ō mən'nən*, *va cə'fūr bax's kenen* p. 2 'I have four fields and four sons, and I divide the four (fields among them)'; *rōi xwāi mənən-ē* p. 2 'I have three sisters'; *mā mič xān rōi tan-ān* 'there are three persons in my house'; *wog, dō, rōi mēi* p. 2 'one, two, three days'; *čel dar'wāza vəδ* p. 3 'there were 40 gates'; *čel haf'sar . . . nīdəf* p. 3 'you forty officers shall sit down'. Sometimes we also find the substantive put in the sg. after a pl. demonstrative: *a'wand ādam žwondok-ān* Sgl. p. 2 'those men are hungry', and even—if correct—*ō* (sg.!) *ādam xēsta xwāran* p. 2 'those men eat bread'.

The examples given above show that the verb is frequently in the sg. even with an animate pl. subject.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Tedesco, ZII, IV, 156.

<sup>2</sup> With loss of *-n*, cf. Grierson l.c.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. Grierson l.c.

## Case.

103. Regarding traces of ancient, oblique cases in *-ahya* and *-yāh*, cf. §§ 96, 2 and 26.

## Agent Case.

103. In *čut zōtī xē tā-vē yēžəð* Sgl. p. 2 'the younger son said to his father', and *tāte xē māl taxsīm kvð* p. 2 'the father divided his property' we apparently find an agent case in *-ī*, *-e*. But it is possible that *-ī*, *-e* is the possessive enclitic suffix 3 sg.

In other cases the nominative is used as an agent, thus, e.g., *pādšā fərmūd* 'the king commanded', etc. Note also that *tə* is used as an agent.<sup>1</sup> I have noted no instance of obl. pl. in *-əf* of nouns. Nor are such forms found in Sk's material. But Gr. gives *ca wazīrāw* 'from the ministers', etc.

## Accusative.

104. The indefinite object does not differ in form from the subject, and I never came across the form in *-i* mentioned by Gr.<sup>2</sup> from Ishk.—Zeb.

Thus, e.g.: Ishk., Sgl. p. 1, 2 *ari kenum, kenen* 'I work'; Ishk. *vēk pəvum* 'I drink water'; Sgl. p. 1 *puðf-um pu'xəm*; Ishk. *putf-um puxt* 'I cooked meat', etc.

With determinative pronoun: Sgl. p. 1 *xē dōst zenēyen* 'I wash my hand(s)'; *tāte xē māl taxsīm kvð* 'the father divided his property'; *ama ādam-əm wēnt* 'I saw this man'; p. 2 *ma kitāv kō-ve dē* 'give this book to somebody'.

In Sgl. a definite object not preceded by a pronoun is indicated by the prefix *va*.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 2 *va šenāi žan* 'extinguish the fire' (but also

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 112, and see Gauthiot, MSL, 20, 64.

<sup>2</sup> § 44.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the derivation of *va* cf. Yd.—Mj. § 220.

*šənāy-am žōđ*); *va uyū dēšəm, va uyū-m dəyđəm* 'I milk(ed) the cow'; *va kitāb dūdīn mum bē* 'they gave me the book'; *va cafūr baxš kenen* 'I divide the four (fields)'; *nēr-am kuđ v-āri đak* 'imrūz hamū kār kardam'; p. 1 *va māl taxsīm ke* 'divide the property'; p. 3 *va koryos vōst* 'he bound the eagle' (but *cfūr koryos nas* 'catch four eagles', etc.).

With a pronominal object: Sgl. p. 1 *a'max va 'tfak wēndan* 'we saw thee'; p. 2 *wēndəm va 'tfak; az-am va 'tfak wēndo vəd; az va 'tfak yēžen* 'I tell thee' (but also *təfak bəšānəm* 'I make thee sit down'; *az 'tfak kasen-ī* 'do I see thee?'); is. *va tō gap-am apəxt* 'I heard thy word'.

In Ishk. I never heard *va* used. Thus, e.g.: *yundum derāyen* 'I cut the wheat' (cf. Sgl. p. 2 *va yōndum yalbēl kenen*); *azi fak wēnduk* 'I saw thee'; *mak dēd* 'he beat me'.

### Genitive.

105. The attributive genitive is expressed, just as in Ishk.,<sup>1</sup> by prefixing the governed to the governing noun. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *ma mič tāt xān* 'in our father's house'; *ma 'xān mi'yāne-mō* 'I am in the middle of the house'; *vərō yāl* 'the horse's mane'; p. 3 *Ōzar zōt* 'Azar's son'.

In some fixed formulas of Prs. origin the izafat is used, but it is impossible to tell whether such constructions really belong to everyday speech. Examples are, e.g.: Sgl. p. 3 *mə rām-i mādar* 'in his mother's womb'; *beyār-i mak* 'except me'; Sgl. is. *har qism-i ĩziā-i xūb* 'every kind of good things'.

The predicative genitive is formed with the suffix *-en* (< *\*-aina-?*). Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *am xān (vərō) məm v'rūden-ē* 'this house (horse) is my brother's'; *am xān am ādamen-ē*; p. 3 *āhūin wok šāx da vəd* 'the stag had one horn'; is. *am xān məš v'rūdaren-ē* 'this house belongs to my brothers'. But note: Sgl. p. 2 *wok ādam də zōt vəd* 'a man had two sons'.

<sup>1</sup> Grierson § 44.



In Ishk. we find a possessive suffix *-nā*, *-na*, cf. Sk. *ṛēmuzd-nā-i nūr* 'the light of the sun'; *āḷax-nā-i warf* 'the snow of the mountain'; *tāt-nā-i kitāb* 'father's book'; Gr. *pādsā-na wak udōyd* 'a daughter of the king'. The derivation proposed by Gr. § 44 from *-āna-* is phonetically uncertain.

Note also the use of the oblique pl. in Gr. *xē wazirāw dur* 'the house of his viziers'.

### Dative.

106. The dative is expressed by means of the postposition *-bē* 'to'. Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 2 *rōi rōpē ākum-be dūdīn* 'they gave the governor three rupees'; *xē tā-vē* (= *tāt bē*) *γēžəð* 'he said to his father'. But the original local sense of *-bē* is evident in Sgl. p. 2 *cə wōð šīð Mandežān-be* 'from there it went to M.'; *o'γoð Gazkestān-bē* 'it arrived at G.'.

The Ishk. form is *bō*, *bā*. Thus: I *mum bō* 'to me'; Sk. *ṛēmuzd-bā* 'to the sun'; *nān-bā*, *tā<sup>(t)</sup>-bā* 'to the mother, father'; pl. *nā'nəm-bā*, *tātəm-bā* (with *-ən* < *\*-anām?*).

*bē*, *bā* is probably derived from *\*upai*.

### Other Local 'Cases'.

107. Local relations are sometimes expressed without the aid of any preposition or postposition. Thus: Sgl. *mən xān hōvð zəmanāk-ō* 'there are seven boys in my house'; p. 3 *ō'γoðam pe'nuk* 'we arrived at the pass'; *ō'γoðan Kōe'stān* 'they arrived in Chitral'.

In other cases prepositions are used:

a) *ma*, *mə* 'in': Sgl. p. 2 *cəmənd tanān ma təməx xān?* 'how many people are there in your house?' *psāt mə Ski'tūl fāwž* 'now the army is in S.'; p. 3 *mə šār čel darwāza vəð* 'there were forty gates in the town'; is. *mə wəxt-i qadīm* 'in olden times'; *mo xōdm wēnd* 'he saw in a dream'; *a'rāz mə vyək* 'jump into the water'; p. 2 *mə Kāfirən i'tin* 'they arrived among the Kafirs'.

*ma* is probably a shortened, unstressed form of \**mað* < *maid̥yoi*, *maidim*. Cf. also Parachi *ma yus* 'in the house', etc., but the origin of the Par. particle is at least partly of different origin.<sup>1</sup>

b) *cə* 'from' < *hačǎ*. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *cə kũ yuzʷ xašəm* 'we fetch fire-wood from the hills'; *ce har xōri-dak də rōpē nōð* 'he took two rupees from each donkey'; p. 3 *cə ās'mān paše xavd* 'mosquitoes came down from the sky'; *cə pəšt-i pədar* 'from his father's loins'.

c) *pə* 'to, into' < *paiti*. Thus: Sgl. p. 3 *šīð pa (nəsm-i) asmān kafas* 'the cage rose into (the middle of) the sky'; *pə wāda hit* 'he arrived at the time of marriage'; *rō p-xē xədā kəð* 'he turned towards his God, *rū ba xudā kat*'.

d) *tar* 'through, between, to, in', < *tarō*. Thus: Sgl. p. 3 *tar asmān šəxt* 'he passed through the sky'. Cf. Voc. s.v.

Regarding *sōr* (*mə sōr*) 'on'; *viš* (*cə . . . viš*, *mə . . . viš*) 'under, below'; *gōl* 'together with'; *ža* 'before; *pəš-i*', v. Voc. s.vv.

### Adjectives.

108. No distinction of gender or of number has been noted in the adjectives of Sgl.<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g.: *az žwondok-mō*, *aməx ž.-ān*, *amənd ādam ž.-ān*, *təməx ž.-ān-i?* 'I am, we are, these men are, are you hungry'; *janj amēdvār-ō* 'the woman is pregnant'; *am xān žəšt*, *had xān riziāk* 'this house is big, that house is small'.

The *izāfat* is occasionally used in idioms of Prs. origin.

I have come across no comparative or superlative forms. Cf. the sentence quoted just above, and also Sgl. p. 2 *čārvā cə vəz žəšt-ō* 'cattle is bigger than goats'; *mič tāt xān wokīak kalān-ū* 'our father's house is a little larger (*yak-taš kalāntar a*)'; Sgl. is. *am ādam cə mak (tfak, məčəf) žəšt* 'this man is bigger than I (thou, we)'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. IIFL. I, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> But note the ptc. *nilostog*, pl. *nilostag*, etc. § 146.

## Numerals.

109. The main forms of the numerals <sup>1</sup> are:

1. Sgl., Ishk., Zeb. *wok*, Sk. *wōk* < \**aiwakah*, cf. § 87.
2. » *dōu*, *dāu*, Ishk. *dō<sup>u</sup>*, Zeb. *dū*, Sk. *dau* < \**duwā(u)*.
3. » *rōi*, Ishk. *rōi*, Zeb. *rū*, Sk. *rūi* < *ḍrāyō*.
4. » Zeb., Sk. *c<sup>(o)</sup>fūr*, Ishk. (lw.) *čōr*.
5. » *p<sup>(i)</sup>ōnz*, *-s*, Zeb. *p<sup>(o)</sup>ñš*, Ishk. *ponj*, Sk. *pūnz*.
6. » *xuāl*, etc., Ishk. *xol*, Zeb., Sk. *xōl*.
7. » *(h)ōvd*, Ishk., Zeb. *ōvd*, Sk. *uvd*.
8. » *(h)ōt*, Ishk. *aṭ*, Zeb., Sk. *ōt*.
9. » Sk. *nōu*, Ishk. *nao*, Zeb. *nāu*.
10. » *dōs*, Ishk. *das*, Zeb. (lw.) *dāu*, Sk. *dah*.
11. » *ko<sup>o</sup>dos*, etc. < \**aiwakadasa*; Ishk., Sk. (lw.) *yōzda*, Zeb. *yōzdāu*.
12. » *'diḍus* < \**duwadasa*; Ishk. (lw.) *dwāzda*, Zeb. *dwōzdāu*.
13. » Ishk. (lw.) *'sēzda*, Zeb. *sīzdāu*.
14. » (lw.) *'čārda*, Zeb. *čōrdāu*.
15. » *pōnzəḍōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *pōnzdāu*.
16. » *xuāl(ə)ḍōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *šōnzdāu*.
17. » *ōvdəḍōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *habdāu*.
18. » *hōtəḍōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *haždāu*.
19. » *nowəḍōs*; Zeb. (lw.) *nuzdāu*.
20. » *wišt*; Zeb., Ishk., Sk. (lw.) *bist*.
30. » *rus*, *rəs* < \**ḍrisat*.
40. » (lw.) *čil*, *čel*.
50. » » *pan<sup>o</sup>ṣā*.
60. » » *šāš<sup>o</sup>/st*.
70. » » *(h)af<sup>o</sup>tāḍ*.
80. » » *aš<sup>o</sup>tāḍ*.
90. » » *na<sup>o</sup>wāḍ*. (NB *ā*!).
100. » » *sāḍ*.
1000. » » *ha<sup>o</sup>zār*.
- <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>. » » *nīm*.

<sup>1</sup> For phonetic details v. Voc. s.vv.

## 110. Pronouns.

## Personal Pronouns.

		1st Prs. Sg.		2nd Prs. Sg.	
		Sgl.	Ishk.	Sgl.	Ishk.
Nom.		az(ə)	azi	tə/ʉ	tə
Ag.		az-əm	azi	tə-δ/vō	təδ
Acc.		(va-)mak	mak	(va-)tʰfak	fak
Abl.		cə-mak		cə-tʰfak	
Loc.		pə-mak	pə-'mak	pə-tʰfak	pə-'fak
Gen.		mən	mən	tō	'tinā
Pred.Gen.		mə'nən	mun	tōnen	'tinā
'Iness.'		ma-mən	mu'nō	tō-b/vē	tə-bā
Dat.		'mə/um-bē	'mum-bō	tō γōl	
Comit.		'mən-gōl	'mən-gūl	tū-ža/i	
'Anteess.'		'mən-ḡē			
		1st Prs. Pl.		2nd Prs. Pl.	
		Sgl.	Ishk.	Sgl.	Ishk.
Nom.		ama/əx	mux	tə'mu/əx	təməx
Ag.		—		—	təməxəv
Acc.		(va-)mičəf	mux	(va)təməx(əf)	təməx(əv)
Abl.		cə-məčəf		cə-təməx(əf)	
Loc.		pə-məčəf	pə-məčəv	pə-təməx(əf)	pə-təməx
Gen.		(a)mič	miš	təməx	təməxnd
Pred.Gen.		məčən		təməxən	
'Iness.'					
Dat.		miš-bē	'məš-bā		təməx-bā
Comit.		miš gōl	'məš-gūl		

111. The various forms which, for the sake of convenience, have been included in the preceding paradigm, are of diverse nature, and it is doubtful whether all of them ought really to be called "cases".

They are all derived from a limited number of bases, viz. in Sgl.:

	1st Sg.	2nd Sg.	1st Pl.	2nd Pl.
Nom.	<i>azə</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>amax</i>	<i>təməx</i>
Obl.	<i>mak</i>	<i>tʰfak</i>	<i>mičəf</i>	<i>təməx(əf)</i>
Gen.	<i>mən</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>mič</i>	<i>təməx.</i>

It will be observed that the differentiation is less marked in the Pl.—especially in the 2nd prs.—than in the Sg.

*azə* and *tə* go back to ancient nominatives, *azə* perhaps to a form \**azám*, cf. Sogd. b. 'zuv and Yd. zo, etc.

*mak* and *tʰfak*, *fak* represent ancient accusatives and ablatives, and *mən* and *tō* ancient genitives. Ishk. (and Zeb. Gr.) *tī* corresponds to Wkh. *tī*, and may go back to \**tai*. Regarding this system of cases cf. Gauthiot MSL, 20, p. 69.

In the pl. the nominatives have been lost, as elsewhere in Ir.—*amax* goes back to \**amāxam* as proposed by Gauthiot l.c.; *mič*, however, must be derived from \**ahmāčiya*- (cf. Shgh. *māš* and possibly Psht. *mūnž*), not from \**mak'ēβ* (Gauthiot, l.c.). The oblique base has been differentiated from the genitive by the addition of the oblique case suffix *-əf* < \**-aiβiš* (Gauthiot, l.c.).

The 2nd pl. has been differentiated from the 1st pl. by the addition of *t-* from the sg., just as is the case in Sar. and Yazgh.

Regarding the use of the Agent case, cf. § 103.

112. The oblique base is used:

a) Without any addition as an accusative: Sgl. p. 1 *tu mak kasī* 'thou seest me'; *tfak dehēm* 'we beat thee'; *azə tumuxuv kasen* 'I see you'; p. 2 *təfak wēndəm* 'I saw thee'; Ishk. *azi tumux yēžum* 'I say to you'; *azi fak wēnduk* 'I have seen thee'.

b) With *va* as a definite or emphatic accusative: Sgl. p. 1 *az tʰfak kasen*, *kull va tfak kasem* 'I see thee, we all see thee'; *tə va mičəf kasī*; *azə va tumuxəv kasen*; *azəm va tumux wēnt* (*va tumuxəf-əm*

wēnt); *az-əm va tʃag wēnt* 'I saw thee'; *tō-u va mak wēnt*, p. 2 *az-əm va tʃak wēnd*; *tə-vō va-mak wēnd*.

c) With the izafat: Sgl. p. 3 *bēyār-i mak* 'except me'.

d) With *cə* as an ablative: Sgl. p. 2 *tə cə-mak*<sup>1</sup> *piān-dō* 'thou art below me'; *cə tʃak vərāz-mō* 'I am above thee'; Sgl. is. *am ādam cə-mak* (*cə-tʃak*, *ce-māčaf*, *ce-təmāxəf*) *jəšt* 'this man is bigger than I' (etc.).

e) With *pə* as a locative.

The genitive base is used:

113. a) As an attributive genitive: Sgl. p. 1 *am mən xān, ō tō xān* 'this is my house, that one is thy house'; p. 2 *am xān məm vərūden-ē* 'this house is my brother's'; *ma mič* (*təmāx*) *xān* 'in our (your) house'; p. 3 *ma mən xōdm* 'in my sleep'; *tō lavz* 'thy word'; Ishk. *tī zəvūk* 'thy tongue'; *wadak tī* (*mīš*) *xān* 'there is thy (our) house'.

b) With the suffix *-(n)ēn*, Ishk. *-nō* as a Predicative Gen.<sup>2</sup>: Sgl. p. 1 *am xān kull mənēn-ē* 'all these houses are mine'; *cəfūr zōt-ō mənēn* 'I have four sons'; p. 2 *mənēn wok kitāv-ō* 'I have a book'; *ō xān-da tōnen-ē* 'this house is thine'; Sgl. is. *am xān mənēn-* (*māčēn-*, *təmāxēn-*) *ē* 'this house is mine (ours, yours)'; Ishk. *amīn xān munō*, *wadak xān tīnō* 'this house is mine, that house there is thine'; *mənō wok kitōb vəd* 'I had a book'. Note Sgl. p. 3 *mənī zi Xudāi nəst* 'az mā itarī Xudāi nəst'.—Cf. § 105.

c) With the preposition *ma* as a locative.

d) With the postpositions Sgl. *bē*, Ishk. *bo* 'to' as a dative, and with *jē* 'in front of', *gōl*, *gul* 'with'. Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 1 *mum-bē tu wok ropeē dē* 'give me one rupee'; *az tō-bē wok ropeē dāyēn*; p. 2 *miž-be pūl dē* 'give us money'; *va kitāb dūdīn mum-bē* 'they gave me the book'; Ishk. *azi tu-bo deyum* 'I give thee'; *tə mum-bo čiz yāžī?* 'what dost thou say to me?'—Sgl. p. 2 *az tū-žā-mō, tə mən-žā-dō* 'I am before thee, and thou art before me'; p. 3 *mən-jē*; p. 2 *tō-yōl* 'hamrā-i-tu'.

Note Sgl. p. 2 *aze-i tʃak(?) xēsta xwārem* 'I and thou(?) eat bread'; but Ishk. *azi tə maduk ari kenon* 'I and thou are working here'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sogd. *č'm'k*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Grierson § 52.

### Enclitic Personal Pronouns.

114. I have come across no genuine Sgl. enclitic pronouns, and I have heard no sentence corresponding in its construction to Ishk. *dēdāk-am-a* 'I have beaten him'.<sup>1</sup>

In some cases, however, the Prs. pronominal suffixes are being used. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *mə šēn kenen-et* 'mā tura mēgāyam-et'; p. 1 *nīvδ-et* 'he brought it to thee'.—Sgl. p. 2 *belarzānu-š* 'he makes him tremble'; *belišmānu-š* 'he makes him slip'; *čukō-š* 'he beats him'; *dā-š ambār* 'they put it into the granary'; *nə wīnō-š* 'he doesn't see him'.<sup>2</sup>—Sgl. p. 1 *kull-mōn-dag nīlōstag-an* 'we are all sitting'; *kull-mōn dag va tʔfak kasem* 'we are all of us looking at thee'; *am xān-dag kull-mōnin-dag-ē* 'this very house belongs to all of us';<sup>3</sup> Sgl. is. *wīndō-mōn* 'he has seen us'.—*kull-šōn-dak sāar xwārān* 'all of them will eat to-morrow'; *kull-šōm-bē taxsīm kenen* 'I shall distribute it to all of them'; *zamīn kull-šōm baxš kenen* 'I divide the fields amongst all of them'; *hōr kull-šōm*<sup>4</sup> *de šuān xē xān* 'they shall all go to their homes (*hama-išān buran xōna-i xud*)'.—The enclitic pronoun 1st sg. is possibly contained in Sgl. p. 2 *šənāy-am məṛōk* 'the fire has died for me(?)'.

### Demonstrative Pronouns.

115. Sgl.—Ishk. possesses three demonstrative pronouns corresponding etymologically and functionally to those of Yd.—Mj.

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Grierson, § 62. But cf. Sgl. is. *wīndom-ōn* 'I saw them(?)'. Cf. also Voc. s.v. -ī.

<sup>2</sup> But why Sgl. p. 2 *trāsen be apiδ(-š)* 'I fear that he will become lost'?

<sup>3</sup> Note the addition of the Sgl. suffix of the predic. gen. to the Prs. enclitic pronoun.

<sup>4</sup> Read -šōn?

		"HIC"		"ISTE"		Sg.		"ILLE, IS"	
	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sgl.	Sköld	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sköld	Ishk.(Gr.)	Zeb.(Gr.)
Nom.	<i>am(a)</i>	<i>ma-dak</i>	<i>ad(a)</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>ō (āū)</i>	<i>wa-dak</i>	<i>a'wī, au</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>ao, wō</i>
Acc.	<i>ma</i>	<i>man(Gr.)</i>	<i>adē</i>		<i>wa/o</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>wan</i>		
Ag.	<i>amē</i>		<i>id</i>		<i>awē, ō</i>				
Gen.	<i>im</i>		<i>iden</i>		<i>yō</i>	<i>(w)ē</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>yū</i>	
Pred. Gen.	<i>imen</i>		<i>id-bē</i>		<i>yōnen</i>		<i>inā</i>	<i>yūnen</i>	
Dat.					<i>yō-rē</i>	<i>wan-ba</i>	<i>im-bā (?)</i>	<i>yū-bā</i>	
Loc.		<i>Zeb.(Gr.)</i>			<i>(awai bē)</i>				
Abl.		<i>c-ī(em)</i>			<i>cə-wo</i>		<i>pə-wan</i>		<i>c-ī</i>
Pl.									
Nom.	<i>amānd(e)</i>		<i>adūnd(e)</i>		<i>awānd</i>		<i>a'w(āndān)<sup>1</sup></i>		<i>āwend</i>
Ag.		<i>mūw (Gr.)</i>					<i>a'wāndān</i>		
Pred. Gen.	<i>amānden</i>		<i>adānden</i>				<i>īwnā</i>		
Dat.	<i>amām-bē</i>		<i>adām-bē</i>		<i>awām-bē</i>		<i>īw-bā</i>	<i>wēw</i>	
Loc.							<i>pə-a'wāndān</i>		

<sup>1</sup> This is said to be the correct form, but also *aw* is used.



116. The Sgl. bases are:

<i>am</i>	<i>aδ</i>	( <i>a</i> ) <i>ō</i>
<i>īm</i>	<i>īδ</i>	<i>yō</i> (< * <i>iō</i> ).

Cf. also Ishk.:

<i>man</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>wan</i> (< * <i>ōan</i> )
<i>mīv</i>		<i>wēv</i> .

In the modern Sgl. system the nom. sg. is formed by prefixing *a* to *m*, *δ*, *u/o*; gen. by prefixing *ī* to the same consonants; acc. by adding *-a* to them, etc.

The connection with the Av. pronominal stems *ima-*, *aēta-* and *ava-* is obvious, but the origin of the differentiation between the nom. *am* and the gen. *īm*, etc. cannot be traced with certainty. *īδ* can scarcely be derived from the acc. *aētəm* (from which we should expect \**ēδ*). It is possible that *am(a)* goes back to *imá-* and *īm* to *íma-*, but the reason for this distribution of the forms is unknown. *īw* might perhaps be derived from *aēibyō*, *aēibiš*, cf. *wēv*. *yōnen* is formed on the same principle as *tōnen*, which in its turn has got its *-n-* from *mən-en*. With *amē*, *awē* cf. Sogd. 'wy, 'my.<sup>1</sup> As for the pl. forms cf. Yd.—Mj. § 206. In Sköld's paradigm two different stems appear to have been mixed up.

*Examples of the use of the demonstratives.*

117. 1. *ama*: Sgl. p. 1 *am mən xān*, *ō tō xān* 'this house is mine, that house is thine'; *am xān žəšt*, *had xān riziāk* 'this house is big, (but) that house is small'; *ama ādam karīb-ū*, *ada ādam dīr-ūi* 'this man is near, (but) that man is far off'; *ama ādam-əm wēnt* 'I saw this man'; *hama ādam (amand ādamen) minduk-ū* 'these men are asleep'. p 2 *am xān am ādamen-ē* 'this house belongs to this man'; *am(a) xān īmen-ē*, *am xān yōnen-ē*; *amē hēči nes xorok* 'he has not eaten anything'; *īm-be-dak wok miēl-əm dūdū vəδ* 'I had given this man

<sup>1</sup> Benveniste, Gramm. Sogd. II, p. 124 sq.

an apple'; *amānd ādamən rōsk γēžan* 'these men speak the truth'; *am xān-da amānden-ē* 'this house belongs to these people'; is. *am xān mənən-ē*; p. 3 *wa-yim* (= \**va im*) *Xudā žanen* 'I shall kill his god'.

2. *ada*: Sgl. p. 1 *ada 'ādam 'arī kenō<sup>u</sup>* 'that man is working'; *ada āda'mā 'arī kenan*; *adand ādamen* 'those men'; *ada γēžō*; *adānda γēžan* 'they say'; *az-əm ið-bē wok rōpeē dūd* 'I gave him one rupee'. p. 2 *ada xān-da iðen-ē* 'that house is his'; *ið-be wok rōpē dēyen* 'I give him one rupee'; *ada γēžəð* 'he said'; *adē-o hēci nes xorok* 'he has not eaten anything'; is. *ad xān dir-ūi* 'that house is far off'; *Sköld dan vrūk vānd* 'bind that horse'.

3. *ō, aū*: Sgl. p. 1 *aū arī kenō<sup>u</sup>* 'he is working'; *ō tō xān* 'that is thy house'; *awand ādamen (a'wande) kenan* 'they are working'; *az-əm yō-be wok rōpeē dūd*. p. 2 *ō ādam xwārōi (xwāran)* 'that man eats (those men eat)'; *ō γēžəð*; *ō xān-da yōnen(-dak)*; *am xān yōnen-ē* 'that (this) house is his'; *awand ādam žwondok-ān* 'those men are hungry'; *yo* (gen.) *žondokī šīð* 'he became hungry'; *yō-vē wok miēl dāyem be, wok miēl-əm yō-vē dūdū vəð* 'I shall give (I have given) him an apple'; *awē hēci nes xorok* 'he has not eaten anything'; *cə wo čut-ān* 'they are smaller than he'. Note *awaī be wok rōpē dēyen* 'I shall give him one rupee'. Sgl. p. 2 *az-əm wa žəð* 'I killed him'; p. 3 *wo žanen* 'ura *bukušan*'; *tə-ðo wa gaxtog* 'thou hast done it'; *yō-va dāya šīð* 'she became his nurse'. Sgl. is. *ō xān dir-ūi* 'that house is far off'. Ishk. *azi wan dēdum* 'I beat him'. *Sköld in nīm čiz, čiz nīm inā?* 'what is his (corr. 'this person's') name?'. *ō*, etc. is also used as a personal pronoun 3 sg.

An emphatic particle *-dak* is frequently added to demonstrative pronouns. Thus, e.g.: *am-dak* 'hamīn'; *adak* (< \**ad-dak*) 'hamū'; *im-be-dak*, *imen-dak*, etc. Cf. also the use of *-dak* after enclitic pronouns (§ 114) and in *am xān-dag* 'this very house'. Cf. Wkh. *ham-dak* 'hamī'.

In Ishk. I once heard a Prs. demonstrative in *amīn xōn munō* 'this house is mine'. Sgl. p. 2 *i ādam məγ* 'this man died' was

probably a slip of the tongue on the part of my informant. Also Sk. has *īn*.

Reg. *dunda* 'so much, thus', v. Voc. s.v. I am unable to analyze Sgl. s. *pasi vənəf*, *pasi vədänəf* 'after those things(?) (*bāqi bi ū*)'.

### Reflexive Pronoun.

118. The reflexive pronoun is *xē* 'own' < \**xwahya*. V. Voc. s.v. Note: Sgl. *gōl ken xē wazīrēn* 'assemble my ministers'; *wa xē kūc* 'O, my wife'.

### Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

119. *kō(i)ʔ* 'who?' < *kahyā*.—Sgl. p. 2, is. *am xān kōinen-ēʔ* 'whose is this house?' *ma kitāv kō-ve dēʔ* 'to whom wilt thou give this book'; Sgl. p. 3 *kōi gaxtogʔ* 'who has done it?'. *kudumʔ* 'which?'.—Sgl. p. 2 *kudum ādam-ēʔ* 'which man is it?'. Sgl. p. 3 *ma kudəm mah-ōʔ* 'in which month is it?' < *katāma*.

*čēʔ* (adj.), *ceciʔ* (subst.) 'what?'.—Sgl. p. 1 *tu ce arī keni*, p. 2 *ce/i (h)arī kē* 'what art thou doing (*či mēkunī*)?'; p. 2 *tə cə nīm do* 'what is thy name? (litt. thou what name art?)'; *təmæx cīe yēžəfʔ* 'what do you say?'; *ceci (cicə) yēižʔ* 'what dost thou say?'; *čiz* Ishk., Sk., Gr. 'what?'.—Ishk. *tə mum bo čiz yēžiʔ* 'what dost thou say to me?'.—Cf. Voc. s.v.

*cəməndʔ* 'how many?'—Sgl. p. 2 *cəmənd ādam ōstōʔ* *cəmənd tan-ānʔ* 'how many men (persons) are there?'.—From \**čumanta*- < *č(u)want-ʔ* *kōci* 'any(body)'.—Sgl. p. 3 *kōci digar Xudā* 'any other God'.—Cf. Av. *kas-čit*.

*iško* 'anybody' (< \**hīč kō*).—Sgl. p. 3 *iško nes ferīnd* 'nobody remained (*hēčkas na mānd*)'.

*hēči* 'anything' (< \**hēč-ci*).—Sgl. p. 2 *nēr-mō hēči nes xorōk* 'to-day I have not eaten anything'.

*čand* 'some' (< Prs.).—Sgl. p. 2 *čand rōz pasi* 'some days afterwards'.

*čizi* 'something' (< Prs.).—Sgl. p. 2 *čizi-m nūšəð* 'I drank something'.—V. Voc. s.v.

*har* 'every' (< Prs.).—Sgl. p. 2 *ce har xōri-dak* 'from every ass'; Sgl. is. *har qism* 'every kind'. Cf. Sgl. p. 2 *hōr kull-šōn* 'all of them'.

*kull* 'all' (< Ar. Prs.).—Cf. § 114, and v. Voc. s.v.

Cf. also the interrogative adverbs *cē-ba* 'why?', *cə nā* 'how?', *kādi* 'when?', *kunjā* 'where?', and *kirū* 'why?' (adapted from Prs.).

I have come across no relative pronoun in Sgl.

## Verbs.

### Verb Substantive and Auxiliary Verbs.

#### "To Be".

#### Present.

120.	Sg. 1 Prs. - <i>mō</i> , Ishk. - <i>m</i>	Pl. 1 - <i>ān</i>
	» 2 » - <i>đō</i>	» 2 - <i>ān</i>
	» 3 » - <i>ō(i)</i> , - <i>ū(i)</i> , - <i>ē</i> , Ishk. - <i>ō</i>	» 3 - <i>ān</i> .

121. Examples are:

Sg. 1: Sgl. p. 1, 2 *az-mō nilōstog* 'I am sitting'; *az ma xān darūn-mō* 'I am in the house'; *az zinda (wulyēka)-mō* 'I am alive (alone)'; Ishk. *azī-m bē'dōr (ferīnd)* 'I am awake (tired)'; Sk. *az-im ōst* 'I am'. Cf. LSI, X, p. 491 -*ma*.

Sg. 2: Sgl. p. 2 *tu ma xān darūn-dō* 'thou art in the house'; *tə sust (šilax, durōygū)-dō* 'thou art lazy (naked, a liar)'; *tə žwondok-dō-ī?* 'art thou hungry?'; *tə ce nīm-dō?* 'what is thy name?'. With -*vō* < -*đō*<sup>1</sup>: *tə-ro va mak wēndo vəð* 'thou hadst seen me'; p. 1 *tə-vō nilosto-do* (= p. 2 *tə-đō nilōstog*) 'thou didst sit down'.

A doubtful case, probably a mere Persianism, is Sgl. p. 2 *cənā-i oyoð* 'čitur āmadī'. Cf. Gr., Zeb. -*ai*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 23.

Sg. 3: The final *-i* of *-ō/ūi* (LSI *-ai*) is probably originally a slightly emphatic particle. Examples are: Sgl. p. 1 *aḍa āḍam dīr-ūi* 'this man is far off'; p. 2 *vōr sōx-ōi* 'the door is closed'; Sgl. is. *am xān qarīb-ūi* 'this house is near'.

The distinction between *-ō* and *-ū* (LSI *-a*) seems to be due to vowel harmony, *-ū* being used after a preceding narrow vowel. Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *xūb rōst durk-ū* 'it is a quite straight stick'; *kitāv cə-pšūr-ū* 'the book is above'; but *mēx sōr-ō* 'it is on the table'. There are, however, several cases of *-ō* being used also after *i* and *u* (e.g. *vēk xənuḱ-ō* 'the water is cold'), and in one case I heard *kalān-ū* 'it is big'.

The sg. *-ō/ū* is used after numerals and adjectives denoting quantity, e.g. *hōvḍ zəmanāk-ō* 'there are seven sons'; *fai wuduyd-ō* 'there are many daughters', etc.

In Ishk. I never heard any other form than *-ō* (e.g. *wadak xōn tīn-ō* 'that house is thine'). But in Sgl. a special form *-ē* is employed after an abs. gen. Thus, Sgl. p. 1, 2 *ama (aḍa) xān īmen (īden)-ē* 'this (that) house belongs to this (that) person'; *rōi xivāi mənən-ē* 'I have three sisters'; *kōinen-ē?* 'whose is it?' *mənən nest-ē* 'it is not mine'. Note *kuḍum āḍam-ē?* 'which man is it?' (?), which may, however, have been misheard.

The nominal construction, without any auxiliary, is frequent in the 3rd sg. Thus, Sgl. p. 1 *am mən xān* 'this is my house'; *am xān žəšt* 'this house is big'.

122. Pl. 1: Sgl. p. 2 *kull-mōn-dag nilōstug-ān* 'we are all of us sitting'; *aməx živondok-ān* 'we are hungry'.

Pl. 2: Sgl. p. 2 *təmux fay-ān* 'you are many'; *təməx sust-ān* 'you are lazy'; *təməx živondok-ān-ī?* 'are you hungry?'.

Pl. 3: Sgl. p. 2 *hovḍ vrūdār-ān* 'there are seven brothers'; *cəmənd tan-ān ma təməx xān?* 'how many people are there in your house?'.

Sgl. *ōsto*, Ishk. *ūst* correspond to Prs. *hast* 'exists, is'. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *mənə wo kitāv ō(sto)* 'I possess a book'; *cəmənd āḍam ōstō?* 'how many people are there?' Ishk. *mənō wok čizi ūst* 'I have a certain thing'. Cf. Gr. Ishk. *āst*, Zb. *āst*, inflected Gr. Zeb. *āst-im*,

*āst-ai*, Sk. *az-im ōst*, *tu-t ōst*, *ōst* (e.g. *muna ōst* 'I have'), etc. Cf. Sk. *as'tā 'kūnā gap* 'is there an ancient word?'. I never came across such forms.

The interpretation of Sgl. p. 2 *wog*, *dō*, *rōi mēi mē Mandazū-st*; *psūd wōda ast*, *wok mā wōda hast*<sup>1</sup> is not certain, but *ast* here seems to mean 'was', cf. Par. *hōst* 'was'.<sup>2</sup>

123. The negative form of the verb substantive is Sgl. 1 sg. *nesimō*, 3rd sg. *nēs(t)* 'nēst'. Thus, Sgl. p. 3 '*az pə tō Xu'dāi kabūl nēsimo* 'I am not satisfied with thy god'; p. 2 *kirā nēst ōyōd?* 'why has he not come?'. But note also, e.g., *nəs kəδ* 'na kard'; *iško nes ferīnd* 'nobody remained', where *nes* is used as a simple negation. Cf. Voc. s.v.

124. The derivation of some of the forms given above is uncertain, but Ishk. *ūst*, Sgl. *\*ōst* probably goes back to accentuated *astī*, while *-ō/ū* represents the unstressed form, and *ōstō* is a cross between the two forms. But *-ō* may also go back to *-ati*.<sup>3</sup>

In Sgl. *ahmi* and the enclitic pronoun 1 sg. *-mai* would coalesce in (ə)m. Therefore the auxiliary has been reinforced by adding the verbal ending *-ō*. This has led to the employment of the ancient encl. pron. 2nd sg. Sk. *-t*, *-d*, Sgl. *-d/δō* (with secondary *ō*) both as a verb and as an encl. pronoun.

2nd sg. *\*ē* < *ahi* has disappeared in Sgl., probably on account of the collision with 3 sg. *ē*. But cf. Gr., Ishk. *ai*.

While 3rd pl. *ān* may be derived from *\*hanti*, and 1 pl. *ān* has been influenced by the encl. pron., the 2 pl. in *ān* is an unexpected form (< *-adana?*).<sup>4</sup>

125. The preterite is *vəδəm*, *-əm vəδ*, or *az(-əm) vəδ* 'I was'; *vəδ* 'he was', e.g., *wok telf vəδ* 'there was one child'; *adīm frī wəδ* Sk. 'that would be good'. Sk. *'na-w'duk*, transl. 'he isn't', is probably a pf. form.

<sup>1</sup> Texts, II.

<sup>2</sup> IIFL, I, Par. Gramm. §§ 175 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gr., LSI.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Prs. dial. *-ēn*.

## "To Become".

126. The same root *š-* is used both in the meaning of 'going' and of 'becoming'.

*Present (Aorist).*

	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sk.		Sgl.	Sk.
Sg. 1 Prs.	<i>šān</i>	<i>šām</i>	<i>šə(wu)m</i>	Pl. 1	<i>šām</i>	<i>šawōn</i>
» 2 »			<i>šəwī</i>	» 2		<i>šawəf</i>
» 3 »	<i>šuwō(i)</i>		<i>šəwū</i>	» 3	<i>šūān</i>	

Thus, *warfə vē šuwōi* 'the snow melts'; *šūān xē xān* 'let them go home'; *az<sup>o</sup> šān* 'I become, I go'; *šūān* 'buran'; *šām* 'let us go'.

*Imperative.*

Sgl. *šā biavān* 'go into the desert'; Sk. 2nd sg. *šau*, 1 pl. *šūān*.

*Preterite.*

	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sk.		Sgl.
127. Sg. 1 Prs. ( <i>az-əm</i> )	<i>šīð-əm, -əm šīð</i>	<i>šūðum</i>	<i>šīðəm</i>	Pl. 1	<i>šīān</i>
» 2 »	<i>šīo(i)</i>			» 2	
» 3 »	<i>šīð</i>			» 3	<i>šīān</i>

Thus, *bēdār-em šīð* 'I awoke'; *šīðum biavān* 'I went into the desert'; *tə žwondok šīo-ī?* '*qušna šūdi?*' *wok šēr paidā šīð* 'a lion was born'; *šīð Izivū bē* 'he went to Zebak'; *psāt sēr šīān* 'now we became satisfied'; *rəxsat šīān* 'they took farewell'.—*šīān* < \**šīð ān*.

*Perfect.*

	Sgl.	Ishk.	Sk.
128. Sg. 1 Prs.	<i>-mō šīök</i>		
» 3 »	<i>šīðök, -o šyuk</i>	<i>šəduk</i>	<i>šədūk</i>

Thus, *az-mo zaxmī šīök, zax(m)-mō šīök* 'I have become wounded'; *kar-mō šyuk* 'I have become deaf'; *kōr-o šyuk* 'he has become blind'; *baləwān šīðök* '*jang šuda ast*'. Cf. Pluperfect: *šīðo vedem* 'I had become'. See §§ 144, 147.

## The Present Stem.

129. In Sgl.—Ishk., as in other Modern Ir. languages, the verbal system is based upon two stems—the Present Stem and the Past Stem.

All Present Stems are inflected alike, the only exception being the Verb Substantive. A causative in *-ān-* has been borrowed from Prs. Thus, *be-čarānem* 'I herd cattle'; *belarzānu* 'he makes it tremble'; *be-lišmānu-š* 'he makes him slip'. Reg. *piz-: paz-, sīw-: saw-*, v. below § 130, c.

130. From the historical point of view we can still distinguish between Present Stems in *-a-*, *-ya-*, *-āya-*, *-na-* and *-sa-*. But these distinctions have no significance whatever in the verbal system of modern Sgl.—Ishk. Examples of the various ancient stems are:

a) Stems in *-a-*: Sgl. *araz-* 'to fly'; *vānd-* 'to bind'; *pac-* 'to boil' (intr.); *xwār-* 'to eat'.

b) Stems in *-ya-*: *īf-* 'to weave' (\**ufya-*); *mur-* 'to die' (\**mrya-?*); *zīd-* 'to flow' (\**zgadya-*); *dēš-* 'to milk' (\**dauššya-*).

c) Stems in *-āya-*: Sgl. *api-*, Ishk. *apay-* 'to be lost' (\**apāya-*); *āstay-* 'to send'; *dāy-* 'to give'; *derāy-* 'to reap'; *fārmē-* 'to command'; *nāmay-* 'to show'; *pār-dē-* 'to sell'; *zānē-* 'to wash'.—Of roots ending in consonants: *awīr-* 'to find'; *pazīn-* 'to recognize'; *kīr-* 'to plough'; *nēnd-* 'to plant'; *īžim-* 'to bring'; Sk. *piz-* 'to cook' (intr. *paz-*); *sīw-* 'to burn' (intr. *saw-*).<sup>1</sup>

d) Stems in *-sa-*: *is-* 'to come'; *fārōs-* 'to ask'; *wārōfs-* 'to stand up'; *mis-* 'to sleep' (?); *trās-* 'to fear'.

e) Stems in *-na-*: *čen-* 'to pick'; *ken-* 'to do'; *xārn-* 'to buy'; *yūn-*, etc. 'to grind'; Ishk. *šin-* 'to weep'; possibly also *pedīn-* 'to kindle'.

f) Irregular formations are *pāv-* 'to drink', from the ancient reduplicated stem \**piba-*, and *īd-* 'to arrive', which recalls Slav. *ido* 'I go' and the Av. presents in *-dā-*,<sup>2</sup> but has more probably been abstracted from the 3rd sg. Av. *āiti*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Tedesco, ZII, II, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Reichelt, Av. Elementarbuch, § 219.



g) Some of the Ishk. present stems given by Sk. have been adapted to the past stems. Thus, *apux-* 'to hear' (pret. *apuxt*), for *apaxš-*; *jšs-* 'to flee' (pret. *jšst-*) for *jih-*; *məl-* 'to die' for *mṛ-*; *šid-* 'to weep'; cf. Ishk. *yūln-* (pret. *yūld*) 'to grind' for *yūn-*. Also Zar. *t'riif-* 'to steal' has got its *f* from the past stem, but at a very early date.

*Present.*

131. *ken-* 'to do'; *γē/až-* 'to speak'; *xwār-* 'to eat'; *pzin-* 'to know'.

	Sgl. p. 1	Sgl. p. 1	Sgl. p. 2	Sgl. is.
Sg. 1 Prs.	<i>ke'nen</i>	<i>γē'žen</i>	<i>xwārən</i>	<i>kenen</i>
» 2 »	<i>ke'ni</i>	<i>γē'zi, γēž (?)</i>	<i>xwāri</i>	<i>keni</i>
» 3 »	<i>ke'nō<sup>u</sup></i>	<i>γē'zo<sup>(u)</sup></i>	<i>xwōrói</i>	<i>kenō(i)</i>
Pl. 1 »	<i>ke'num</i>	<i>γē'zem</i>	<i>xwārəm</i>	<i>kenun</i>
» 2 »	<i>ke'nəf</i>	<i>γēžəf</i>	<i>xwāruv</i>	<i>kenəf</i>
» 3 »	<i>ke'nan</i>	<i>γē'žän</i>	<i>xwārən</i>	

	Sgl. s.	Ishk.	Sk.	Gr. (Zeb.)
Sg. 1 Prs.	<i>kenem</i>	<i>kenum</i>	<i>γəžn<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>-i/em</i>
» 2 »		<i>kəni</i>	<i>'γəži</i>	<i>-ē</i>
» 3 »	<i>ziđū</i>	<i>kənū</i>	<i>'γəžu</i>	<i>-ī, -ai</i>
Pl. 1 »		<i>kenon</i>	<i>γəžän</i>	<i>-en</i>
» 2 »		<i>kenū (?)</i>	<i>'γəžəv</i>	<i>-ev</i>
» 3 »			<i>'γəžän</i>	<i>-en</i>

Gauthiot's Ishk. paradigm <sup>2</sup> (*ava'rəm, a'rar, a'vard, avarān, avarəv, avarān*) differs from that of other sources. But on the whole the Ishk. terminations closely resemble those of W. Wakhan (*-əm, -ī, -t, -an, -əv, -an*).

132. 1st Sg. and Pl.—It is characteristic of the extreme variability of some of the Pamir dialects spoken by the scanty population of a few scattered villages, that in the hamlet of Porogh the dis-

<sup>1</sup> And *pzinəm, pzinī*, etc.—Reg. *wūny/əm, wūnē, wūnu*, etc., v. Voc.

<sup>2</sup> MSL, 20, p. 14.

tribution of *-n* and *-m* in the 1st Sg. and Pl. should be the opposite of that found in the village of Zebak below, and probably also in Sanglech proper (at the head of the valley), the intervening village of Iskutul presenting *-n* in both cases.

The 1st Sg. in *-n* probably originally belongs to the subjunctive,<sup>1</sup> while the 1st Pl. has got its *-n* from the enclitic pronoun. Apparently 'Common Sgl.—Ishk.' at a not too remote period possessed both an indicative 1st Sg. in *-m* and a subjunctive in *-n*, possibly also a present 1st Pl. in *-m* and a preterite in *-n*. But now these forms have everywhere been levelled out.

Ishk. *-um* may be derived from *-ami*, while Sgl. p. *-en* (more rarely *-ən*) would seem to go back to *\*-ayani*.<sup>2</sup> If this is the case we must assume that *-en* was transferred secondarily to *zenēyen* (*zenēn*) 'I wash', *däyen* 'I give', etc.

2nd Sg.—Sgl. *-ī* (Gr. Zeb. *-ē*) < *-ahi*, or *-ayahi*. If *-ī* is derived from *-ayahi*, the irregular forms Sgl. p. 2 *kē*, *kē̃*, *ken* 'thou dost'; *apanis* 'thou lovest (*gum mēkinī*)'; *cicə ɣē'z?* 'what dost thou say?' are derived from *-ahi*, cf. also Gauthiot's *avar* 'thou bringest'. But I only heard such forms used in questions, and the loss of the ending is most probably a recent and local phenomenon.

3rd Sg.—Regarding the distribution of *-ū* and *-ō* and the particle *-i*, cf. above § 121.

From *-ati* we should expect *\*-ōδ*, but the final consonant has been dropped in the termination, cf. the 3rd Pl. *-ān*. It is possible that a last trace of the fricative remains in the form *-ō<sup>u</sup>* (< *\*-ōv* < *-ōδ?*) which was heard occasionally. But *-ō<sup>u</sup>* may equally well be a recent diphthongization of *-ō*.

Twice I heard Sgl. p. 3 *isyūd* 'he shall, may come', which may be the older form. Gauthiot's *avard* is probably a Wkh. form, since the syncope in the 3rd Sg. appears to be foreign to Sgl.—Ishk.

Gr. (Zb.) *-ī*, *-ai* probably goes back to *-ayati*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the corresponding forms in Oss., Bal., Kasban diall., etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Face Tedesco*, ZII, 2, p. 284 sq.

2nd Pl — Sgl.—Ishk. *-əf*, *-əv* corresponds to the forms found in Yd.—Mj. and W. Wakhi.<sup>1</sup> The derivation from the enclitic pronoun *\*wah*<sup>2</sup> is phonetically improbable, and irreconcilable with its employment in the Pres., but not in the Preterite. I would prefer to derive these terminations in *v/f* from Av. imper. and opt. medium *-adwəm*.<sup>3</sup> Phonetically such a development appears to be possible as well in Sgl. as in Wkh. and Yd.—Mj., and the need for a distinctive ending for the 2nd pl. would explain the perseverance of the middle form. *-ān* of the Pret. and Auxiliary would then have to be derived from *\*-adana*, cf. the survival of *-athana* in Dardic, Kafiri, etc.

3rd Pl.—Ancient *-anti* (and *-antai*, *-anta*?) resulted in *\*-ant*, from which *-ān* with the special phonetic reduction which is so frequent in grammatical terminations.

133. Grierson gives Zb. *az-im deh* as an equivalent of *az dehem* 'I beat', but I have never come across this analytical form in Sgl. It has, however, an exact parallel in Par. *ān-em dhē*.<sup>4</sup>
134. The Sgl.—Ishk. 'Present' is used both as a real present and as a prospective aorist. Acc. to Gr.<sup>5</sup> the particle *bi* is added in Zb. to emphasize the future sense, or also, in one instance, to express the definite present.

In the material at my disposal the definite present force of *be* (*bə*, *ba*) appears in several cases. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *be nasō*<sup>c</sup> 'mēgīrad', *xāndem bu-š* 'mē-xāndem'; *šakem bē-š* 'mēšakam'; *wēn be zidū* 'blood is flowing'; Sgl. p. 3 *kasəf ke mən dāšman bə kunjay-ō* 'look where my enemy is'; Ishk. *fai bu bōru* 'bisyar mēbārad'; Sk. *īm-bā be-fāru* 'he wants'.

A future or subjunctive sense is probable in Sgl. p. 1 *trāsen ki fərnisen be* 'I fear that I may forget it'; p. 2 *trāsen be apīō(š)* 'I fear that it may be lost'; *nēr be šān āri kenūk* 'to-day I shall go and work'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. now also—according to Henning—Khwarizmian *-βi*.

<sup>2</sup> Gr.Ir.Ph., I, 2, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> Reg. Par. *-ēr*, *-ōr*, cf. IIFL, I, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> IIFL, I, p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> LSI, X, p. 494 sq.

In a number of cases I am unable to decide the exact meaning of *be*. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *psād ba xēsta xwārī? nə xwārəm be* 'art thou eating (shalt thou eat) bread? I am not eating (shall not eat)'; *yō-vē wok miēl dāyem-be* 'I (shall) give him an apple'; *am ādam murō be*, or *be murō* 'this man is dying (going to die)'.

135. Very frequently, but not in all cases, a Prs. definite present was rendered by a form with the enclitic *be*. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *apaxsəm, dāyem, yuzəm, šixsəm be* 'mēsna<sup>wam</sup>', etc.; Sgl. p. 3 *īziməm, vrēlum, šām, wunīzəm bē*; Sgl. s. *dēem, kuləm, šām, nə xwārəm be*, etc. Cf. also Sgl. p. 2 *boh be kenem* 'I kiss'; p. 3 *awezān be kenen* 'I hang up'; *pār be dēn* 'I sell'.

In some causatives in *-ān-*, *-ān-*, borrowed from Prs., *be* is regularly prefixed.<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.vv. *bečarān-*, *bəduwōn-*, *belarzān-*, *belišmān-*, v. above § 129.

A form *bəš*, *buš* is also frequently used, not only with transitive verbs, although *-š* is probably borrowed from the Prs. enclitic. Thus, Sgl. p. 1 *az nī šām bəš*, p. 2 *īfən, xūrum bəš*, Sgl. is. *yarten, nasem bəš*; *azə im bē wok rūpāyē dāyem bəš* 'I (shall?) give him a rupee'.

In a few cases I heard *be*, *ba* used with the preterite. Thus, Sgl. p. 2 *sāar ba xō'an* 'we rose in the morning'; . . . *də rōpē nēd, ba əy kuđ* 'he took two rupees and let them go'; *dīr watan ba šīd* 'he went to a distant country'; *guzar-em be šixtəm* 'I passed over'; *pūrūzd wok čizi to bē be spārđovē* 'he entrusted a thing to thee yesterday'. I am unable to determine the meaning of *be* in these sentences. At any rate it does not correspond to that of Psht. *ba*, which forms the Habitual Past.

Reg. the use of the particle *da*, v. Voc. s.v.

### Imperative.

136. Imper. 2nd Sg. is identical with the present base. Thus, Sgl. p. 2, 3, Ishk. *is*, Sgl. p. 1, is., s. *is* 'come'; Sgl. p. *dē(i)* 'give'; p. 1, 2 *dē* 'beat'; Ishk. *īzəm*, Sgl. p. *īzim* 'bring'; Ishk. *nīd* 'sit

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj.

down'; Sgl. p. 2, 3 *ke(n)* 'do'; Sgl. p. 2 *žan* 'kill'; *zəne*, Ishk. *zenai* 'wash'; p. 2 *šā* (*šo*) 'go', etc.

Imper. 2nd Pl. is identical in form with Present 2rd Pl. Thus, Sgl. p. 3 *dehef* 'beat'; *nīdef* 'sit down'; *kenef* 'do'; *kasef* 'see'; *ye'žəf* 'tell'.

Note Sgl. p. 2 *hōr-kull-šōn de šuān xē xān* 'let all of them go home (*hama-išān buran xōnu-i xud*)', where *de* is used to form an Imper. 3rd Prs., just as the corresponding Psht. enclitic *dē*, *dī*.

### The Past Stem.

137. From a historical point of view the Past Stems of Sgl.—Ishk. can be divided into the following groups.<sup>1</sup>

A. I. Ir. *\*-ata-*: *žōd* 'killed' (*žan-*); *oyod* 'came' (*is-*); *nod* 'took' (*nas-*). The derivation of *ōyod* 'brought' (*ižim-*) is uncertain.<sup>2</sup>

In some cases preterites in *-a/əd* may go back to ancient Ir. forms in unstressed *-ata-*, *-ita-*,<sup>3</sup> but the majority of such preterites are no doubt recent formations. Thus, *xašəd* 'pulled'; *māṇḍad* 'rubbed'; Zar. *līsūd* 'licked'; *kīrōd* 'ploughed', etc.

II. Ir. *\*-āta-*: *dūd* 'gave' (*dāy-*); *par-dūd* 'sold'; *āstud* 'sent' (*āstay-*); *fərmūd* 'ordered' (prob. lw.); *zənūd* 'washed' (*zə'nē-*); *wūd* 'took away' (*wus-*).

III. Ir. *\*-āta-*: *šid*, *šud* 'went, became' (*š-*); *vəd* 'was'; cf. Zar. *pūduk* 'rotten'.

IV. Ir. *\*-ita-*: Sgl. s. *pīd* 'drank' (*pāv-*); *xərīd* 'bought' (*xərn-*); *čīd* 'picked' (*čīn-*, lw.?). *šīd* 'wept' (*šid-*). *pədit* 'lighted' (*pədin-*); *xūīd* 'threshed' (*xūy-*), and *xərīd* 'scratched' (*xūr-*) may be secondary formations. Cf. also *d(eh)əd* 'beat' (*deh-*); *dərād* 'reaped' (*derāy-*); *apəd* 'lost' (*api-*); *nəmayd* Sk. 'showed' (*nəmay-*).

138. B I. Ir. *\*-rta-*: *stōl* 'swept' (*astar-*); *wōl* 'found' (*ūwīr-*); *məl*

<sup>1</sup> Ishk. forms are given only when they are morphologically different from the Sgl. ones.

<sup>2</sup> Sk. has a secondary pret. *ižəmd*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Psht. *-əlai*, etc., Yd.—Mj. *lat* < *\*dārita-*.

'died' (*mur-*); *škūl-* 'sought' (*škār-*); *xwoł* 'ate' (*xwār-*); *kuł*, *kuđ* 'did'<sup>1</sup> (*ken-*).

Secondary formations from the present base are: *spārđ* 'entrusted'; *torđ* 'pedicavit'; *dērd* Sk. 'had'; *yūrđ* 'ground'<sup>2</sup> (*yūn-*, etc.), and, of more recent origin, *kurt* (Zar. *kīrōd*) 'ploughed' (*kīr-*). A secondary *d* has been added to the ancient preterite in Ishk. *s<sup>u</sup>tuld* 'swept'; *awuld* (Sk. *avūld*, *avūd*) 'found'; *yūld* 'ground'; Sk. *məld* 'died' (from which a new pres. stem. *məł-* has been formed).

The present stems of Gr. Zb. *kel* 'consumed' and the preterite of *nuwar-* 'to draw water' are unknown. Sk. *zdūd* 'swept' (*zdār-*) and *avūd* 'found' are suspect of Shgh. influence.

II a) Ir. *\*-asta-*: *vōst* 'bound' (*vānd-*); *niłōst*<sup>3</sup> 'sat down' (*nīđ-*); *zūst* 'ran' (*zīđ-*). *ǰist* 'fled' is a Prs. lw.<sup>4</sup>—Also *čarāst* 'grazed' (*čarān-*), and *bəłaxčāst-* 'made to slip' (*\*bə-laxčān-?*) are lw.s, and the preterites may have their origin in some local Prs. dialect. Cf., however, *beliśmānd*.—Acc. to Sk. the preterite of *xōnd-* 'to laugh' is *xūnd*.

b) Ir. *\*-ista-*: No example is known.

c) Ir. *\*-rsta-*: *fəryəst* 'wandered' (*fəryərt-*); *γəst* 'walked about', both of which are probably early lw.s.

Sk. gives a number of Past Stems in *tt* from roots in *-d/t*. Thus, *wēt* 'put' (*wēd-*); *att* 'fell' (*at-*); *dett* 'entered' (*dēd-*); *nitt* 'sat down' (*nīd-*); *šitt* 'wept' (*šīd-*).<sup>5</sup> Cf. the corresponding Wkh. forms.

III a) Ir. *\*-ašta-*: *kot* 'saw' (*kas-*); *f<sup>2</sup>rōt* 'asked' (*f<sup>2</sup>rōs-*); *arat* 'flew' (*araz-*); *wāt*, *waṭ* 'fell' (*waz-*); *xōt* 'rose' (*xāz-*). With *i* from the Pres. Stem: *apanit* 'lost' (*apanis-*); *fərnit* 'forgot' (*fərnis-*).

b) Ir. *\*-išta-*, *-ušta-*: *let* 'licked' (*lēs-*); *v<sup>2</sup>rēt* 'broke' (*v<sup>2</sup>rēł-*); *kut* 'slaughtered' (*kuł-*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 13, 70.

<sup>2</sup> But *wułōk* 'flour' from the original past stem.

<sup>3</sup> Sk. only in *'rēmuz* *'nəlūst*, elsewhere *nitt-*.

<sup>4</sup> Sk. *ǰəs-*: *ǰəst*.

<sup>5</sup> Ishk. *šīn-*: *šīd*, but Sgl., quite irregularly, *šīd*: *šīđ*.

Secondary formations from the present stem are: *γuzd* 'ran'; *pēzd* 'wrapped up'; Sk. *arazd* 'flew'; *forast* 'asked'; *kəld* 'slaughtered'; Ishk. *vələld* 'broke'; Zar. *lisūd* 'licked' (Ishk. *lišt* from Prs.); *tūld* 'shaved'.

Cf. also *xasəð*, Sk. *xast* 'pulled'; *nūsəð* (Gr. *nešt*) 'threw, put'; *nvišt* 'wrote'; Sk. *nəšt* (Gr. *nūšt*, *našet*) 'went out' (*nēz-*); *wunižd*, *wəništ* 'went round' (*wəniy-*); *γēzd* 'said'.

Note Gr. Zb. *γəd*, *tūd* < *γēzd*, *tūld*.

IV a) Ir. *\*afta-*: *xavd* 'descended' (*xav-*);<sup>1</sup> *škōvd* 'was cold', which may be a secondary formation.

b) Ir. *\*-ifta-*: *yēvd*, *īvd* 'span'. — *nīvd* 'brought'; *pəvd* 'blew' (*pəb-*); *pövð* 'drank' (*pöv-*); Gr. *qīvd* 'called' are all secondary forms.

c) Ir. *\*-rfta-* (*-rbda-*): *andərvð* 'sewed'.

Roots in *f*, *p*, *b* have secondary preterites: *ift* 'wove'; Sk. *təraft* 'stole'; Gr. *kift* 'pierced';<sup>2</sup> Sk. *talapt* 'wanted'; *ǰəbt* 'beat'.

Note Sgl. *təð*, Ishk. *səd* 'burnt' (*təv-*, *sav-*) with the same irregular development (*\*ðata-* < *\*tafta-*) as is found in Sar. *ðūd*, Wkh. *ðell* (*ðau-*).

V a) Ir. *\*axta-*: Gr. *tōyd* 'walked'; *atōyd*, *axtəð* 'entered' (*atiy-*).

b) Ir. *\*-urta-*: *dəyð* 'milked' (*dēs-*); *pənayð* 'dressed' (*pənec-*). The derivation of *zuyð* 'seized' (*zenz-*) is uncertain.

From verbs in *x* are formed the secondary preterites: *šəxt* 'passed' (*šəxs-*); *apəxt* 'heard' (*apəxs-*);<sup>3</sup> *gāxəð*, Gr. Zb. *gaxt* 'made' (*gax-*). Similarly Zar. *dēšt* 'milked' (*dēs-*); Sk. *čəkt* 'threshed' (*čək-*); *kozd* 'copulated' (*koc-*). Note Ishk. *puməxt* 'dressed' (*pumec-*).

c) Ir. *\*axwa-*: *pux* 'cooked' (*pac-*), Ishk. with secondary *-t*: *puxt*. Sk. distinguishes between *pīz-*: *puxt* 'to boil' and *puz-*: *pəzd* 'to cook'.

VI. Ir. *\*ixna-* is possibly preserved in Gr. *frin* 'he remained' (< *\*fra-rixna-?*), regularized into Sgl. and Sk. *fərinđ*. The old present is *fəris-* (cf. Voc. s.v.), but Sk. *fərin-* has been remade from

<sup>1</sup> Prob. adapted to the Past Stem.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Sk. *pələftuk* '(sun)rise'.

<sup>3</sup> Sk. *apux-* has been adapted to the Past Stem.

the preterite. *mis-* (Sk. *mīn-*): *mīnd* 'to sleep' has been formed on the pattern of *fāris-*.

VII. Roots in *-n* and *-m* usually form their Past Stems by adding *-d*. Thus, *wīnd* 'saw'; *pəzīnd* 'knew'; *vrōnd* 'scolded'; *dāvīnd* 'winnowed'; *kōnd* 'dug'; *belīsmānd* 'made to slip'; Sk. *pəðend* 'kindled'; Zb. *kind* 'wished'; Sk. *īžəmd* 'brought'; Gr. *sāmd* 'smeared'. For exceptions v. A, I.

139. The above list will serve to establish that, although a number of ancient forms have been retained, in spite of their being irregular in the modern language, a nivellation has been carried through in all dialects of Sgl.—Ishk. (thus, *wēnd*, *yūrδ*, *γuzd*, etc.), or at least in some of them. Sgl. has on the whole preserved more irregular forms than Ishk, and within this latter dialect the variety described by Sk. is especially inclined to regularize, not only the Past, but also the Present Stems. Note, e.g., the Preterites *īžəmd*, *pəðend*, *məld*, *forast*, *arazd*, *kəld*, *nəst*, *pəzd*, *nītt*, and the Presents *apux-*, *fārin-*, *jās-*, *məl-*, *mīn-*.

140. From the point of view of the modern Sgl.—Ishk. dialects the formation of the Past Stem may be briefly described in the following way.

The most common way of forming the Past Stem consists in adding *d/δ*, or, after surds and plosives, *t* to the Present Stem. These Stems in *rδ*, *vδ/d*, *īδ*, *zd*, *žd*, *ld*, *nd*, *md*, *st*, *št*, *ft*, *xt*, *pt*, *kt*, *tt*, *bt*, number, however, less than half of the actually occurring forms. In some cases the addition of *δ* is accompanied by a change in the root-vowel,<sup>1</sup> in others the *δ* is preceded by a short vowel *ə/a*.<sup>2</sup>

About a fourth of the verbs available form Past Stems which are irregular from the point of view of the modern Sgl.—Ishk. phonological and morphological system, but which may nevertheless be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A, II, IV.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A, I.



arranged into groups. Thus, -*δ* (-*n*-); -*l̥* (-*r*-); -*st* (-*nd*-, -*δ*-, -*n*-, -*h*-); -*t* (-*z*-, -*s*-, -*l*-); -*xt* (-*xš*-, -*c*-, -*z*-).

Less than a fourth of the verbs have wholly irregular or suppletive Past Stems. Thus, e.g. *yūn*-: *yūld*; *pəv*-: *pīδ*; *dēš*-: *dəyd*; *zenz*-: *zuyd*; *pac*-: *pux*; *f<sup>3</sup>ris*-: *fərin(d)*; *atiy*-: *atōyd*, *axtəδ*; *wus*-: *wūδ*; *nēnd*-: *nēδ*; *xōnd*-: *xōnd*; *təv*-: *təδ*; *ižim*-: *oyod*; *zdar*-: *zldūd*.

Preterite.

141. *Oyodəm* 'I came'; *xwōrəm* 'I ate'; *frōtəm* 'I asked'; *žōδ* 'killed'; *wēndəm* 'I saw'; *dūdəm* 'I gave'; *az-əm pzind* 'I knew'.

		Sgl. p. 2	Sgl. p. 2	Sgl. s.
Sg. 1	Prs.	{ <i>oyod-əm</i> <i>-əm oyod</i>	<i>xwōr-əm</i> <i>az-əm xwōr</i>	<i>frōt-əm</i>
» 2	»	<i>-ī oyod</i>	<i>(tə-vō) xwōrī</i>	<i>frōt-ī</i>
» 3	»	<i>oyod</i>	<i>xwōr</i>	<i>žōδ</i>
Pl. 1	»	<i>oyod-ān</i>	<i>xwōr-ān</i>	
» 2	»	<i>oyod-ān</i>	<i>xwōr-ān</i>	
» 3	»	<i>oyod-ān</i>	<i>xwōr-ān</i>	

		Sgl. p. 1	Sgl. s.	Sk.
Sg. 1	Prs.	{ <i>wēnd-əm</i> <i>((az)-əm wēnd</i>	<i>dūd-əm</i> <i>az-əm dūd</i>	<i>az-um pzind</i>
» 2	»	<i>tə-vō wēnd</i>		<i>tə-δ —</i>
» 3	»		<i>dūd</i>	<i>aw —</i>
Pl. 1	»	<i>amax wēnd-an</i>	<i>dūd-īn</i>	<i>məx-ān —</i>
» 2	»			<i>təməx-əw —</i>
» 3	»		<i>dūd-īn</i>	<i>awānd-ān —</i>

142. In Sg. 1 -*əm*, Ishk., Zb. -*im* the transitive \**-mai* and the intrans. \**ahmi* have coalesced. Sg. 2 -*ī*, which originally belongs to the intrans., is used also with trans. verbs in Sgl., alone or combined with the trans. -*δō*.<sup>1</sup> Ishk. has the old trans. suffix -*δ*, Gr. -*at* <

<sup>1</sup> V. § 124.

\**lai*, in both groups of verbs, thus Gr. Ishk. *wodat*, but Gr. Zb. *wodī* 'thou wast'. Likewise Sgl. has 2nd Pl. *-ān*, while Ishk., and also Zb., have *-aw*, *-av*. 1st Pl. *-ān*, Zb. *-en* is based upon the enclitic, trans. form, but 3rd Pl. *-ān* is an originally intrans. form. Besides the usual form in *-ān* (*oyodan* 'they brought'; *γēzdān* 'they said'; *xāštān* 'they pulled'; *apaxtan* 'they heard'; *xoten* 'they rose'; *kuān* 'we, they did'), we find *-in* in *dūdīn* (*kitāv dūdīn mum-bē* 'dādan ba mā'; *rōpē* . . . *dūdīn*, *ōyodan*) and *itīn* 'we arrived'.<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen that the difference of inflexion of trans. and intrans. preterites has for the most part been obliterated.

143. There is great freedom in the use of the various possible constructions in the Preterite.

The most common ones in Sgl. are the types *-əm kud* and *az-əm kud*. Thus, e.g.: Sgl. p. 1 *va tumuxəf-əm wēnt* 'I saw you'; *bēdār-əm šīd*; *fār-əm γəšt* 'I wandered about'; p. 2 *āri-m kud* 'I worked'; *Caṅlēš-əm ōyod* 'I came from Sanglech'; *cənū-i oyod* 'citur āmadi'; Sgl. is. *va tō gap-an apəxt* 'they understood thy word'; *-əm šixt* 'I passed'; Ishk. *-um šīd* 'I wept'; *putf-um puxt* 'I boiled the meat'.

Sgl. p. 1, 3 *az-əm ari kul* 'I worked'; *az-əm wēnt* 'I saw'; *az-əm γēžəδ* 'I said'; p. 3 *az-əm va tō lavz pezīnd* 'I understood thy word'. Perhaps also Sgl. p. 1 *tō-u* (for *-vo*) *va mak wēnt* 'thou sawest me'.

Also the pleonastic types *-əm kud-əm* and *az-əm kud-əm* are in use, but are less frequent.

Thus: Sgl. p. 2 *guzār-əm be šixt-əm* 'I crossed the ford'; *zamīn-əm kōnd-əm* 'I dug in the field'; *puḏf-um pux-əm* 'I cooked meat'. It is possible that also *aḏam-an* . . . *xwōr-an* 'the men ate' is of this type.<sup>2</sup>

Sgl. p. 1 *az-əm frōt-əm* 'I asked'; *az-əm vək pōvδ-əm* 'I drank water'; *az-əm šīδ(-əm)* 'I went'.

A type *\*az kud(-əm)* does not seem to exist, *az-əm* being the regular form of the pronoun as the subject of a Preterite. But note, e.g., *təməx xēsta xwōrān-i?* 'have you eaten bread?'. In Ishk. the most frequent type is *azi wulo γəzd* 'I ran in front'; *azi xē dust zenūd* 'I washed my hand'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *fərīndīn*, p. 374, note 2? <sup>2</sup> But cf. § 100.

## Perfect.

144. The Perfect Stem is formed by adding Sgl. *-ōk, -uk*,<sup>1</sup> Zb. *-āk*, Ishk. *-uk* to the Past Stem, and thus corresponds to the Pf. of most other Ir. dialects. In the Pl. we find *-ak*.<sup>2</sup> In some cases the final *-k* (*-g*) has been dropped.<sup>3</sup> Thus, *nilosto-mō* 'I have sat down'; *ōyodo-mō* 'I have come', etc.
145. In Ishk. the perf. is constructed in the same manner as the past tense. Thus, *azi fak wīnduk* 'I have seen thee'; *a'zī cə 'mīnduk xə'tuk* 'I have risen from sleep'; *azi ari kuluk* 'I have worked'; *azi madak minduk-um* 'I have been asleep here'; *nīduk-um* 'I have sat down (= I am sitting)'; *madak-um ustūk* 'I have risen here (= I am standing)'; *šədūk* 'šuda ast'; *apēduk* 'gum šuda ast'; Sk. 'az-im, tə-δ, au, mə'x-ān, 'təmæx-əv, a'wānd-ān 'yaž'duk 'I, etc., have said'; *mī'suk mag 'naduk* 'sleep has seized me (= I will sleep)'; *'šədūk* 'he has gone', etc.
146. In Sgl. the present forms of the verb substantive are used in inflecting the perfect.

Sg. 1: Sgl. p. 1, 2 *az-mō* (*mo mōd*) *nilōstok*, p. 3 *nilosto-mō* 'I am sitting (here)', p. 3 *ōyodo-mō*, p. 2 (*hari*)-*mo* *ōyodok* 'I have come (to work)'; p. 2 *astō-mo*, is. *psū-mō astōk* '(now) I have risen'; p. 3 *nēr-mō hēci nes xorōk* 'I haven't eaten anything to-day'; *nyēr-mō xōdm wīnduk* 'I have seen a dream to-night';<sup>4</sup> *la-ku'lo-mō-i* 'I have left behind'; *šīdu-mo* 'I have wept'.

Sg. 2: Sgl. p. 1 *tə-δō nilōstog*, *tə-vō nilōsto-do* (< \**tə-δō nilōstok-δō*); p. 2 *tə-δō xōdm wīnduk*; *tə nēr-dō hēci nes xorok*; p. 1 *tə-δō . . . gaxtoq* 'thou hast done'.

Sg. 3: Sgl. p. 2 *adē-o hēci nes xorok*, *nēr hēci am-ō nes xorok* 'to-day he (this man) has not eaten anything'; *xōfuk-o nodōk* 'he has

<sup>1</sup> We find *-uk* after *ī* and *e* in the preceding syllable. Thus, *minduk*, *wīnduk*, *kenuk*, but note *šīok*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 100.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 14.

<sup>4</sup> But once *xōdm-əm wīnduk*.

got a cough (*silfa giriftast*); *daryā-o yəx-o kuōk* 'the river has frozen'; *apēdōk-o* 'it has been lost'; *šak-o ni'lōstok* 'dew has fallen'; p. 1 *am ādam minduk-ūi* 'this man has fallen asleep'. But without the verb substantive: p. 2 *awē hēči nes xoṛok*; *hari kenuk oṇodok* 'he has come to work'; *arazōk* 'he has flown'; p. 3 *šidōk* 'he has gone'. Note p. 2 *kirā nēst o'γōd* 'why has he not come?'.  
 Pl. 1: Sgl. p. 2 *kull-mōn-dag nilōstog-an* 'we have sat down all of us'.  
 Pl. 2: Ishk. *tumux mak wēnduk, yā ne?* 'have you seen me, or not?'.  
 Pl. 3: Ishk. *šidōk-an* 'we have gone'.

### Pluperfect.

147. The Pluperfect is formed by adding the preterite of the verb substantive to the perfect stem, with loss of its final *-k*. Examples are:

Sg. 1: Sgl. p. 1 *az-əm šidō vedem* 'I had gone'; p. 2 (*az-əm*) *arī-m kuō vəd*, *parūzd arī-m kuō vəd* 'I had worked (yesterday)'; *az-əm wok vəz (va tfak) wēndo vəd* 'I had seen a goat (thee)'; *wok miēl-əm yō-vē dūdū-ved(-əm)* 'I had given him an apple'. Note *az pāruzd oṇodō vəd* 'I had come yesterday'.

Sg. 2: Sgl. p. 2 *to-və āri kuō vđ-i?* 'hadst thou done the work?'; *tə-vo va mak wēndo vəd?* 'hadst thou seen me?'.

Sg. 3: Sgl. p. 2 *parūzd wok čizi to-bē be spārdō ve* 'yesterday he had entrusted something to thee'; p. 3 *nilosto vəd* 'he had sat down (i.e. was sitting)'.

Pl. 1: Sgl. p. 2 *aməx (h)ārī kuā vəd* 'we had done the work'; *aməx pāruzd oṇodā vəd* 'we had come yesterday'.

Pl. 2: Sgl. p. 2 *təməx āri kuā-vđ-i?* *təməx kādi oṇodā vəd?*

### Compound Verbs.

148. Like other Ir. dialects Sgl.—Ishk. employs a great number of compound verbs.

V. Voc. s.vv. *yalbēl ken-*, *kai ken-*, *kō ken-*, *la ken-*, *puf ken-*, *pōk*

*ken-*, *šōše ken-*, *šət kən-*, *təš kən-*, etc. Cf. also *isāb dē-* 'to calculate'; *pātik dē-* 'to wink' (and v. Voc. s.v. *deh-*), and *γalt-əm šīd* 'I rolled, fell'.

### Interrogative Particle.

149. The interrogative particle is *-ī*, which it is, of course, possible to derive from an ancient optative 3 sg. But it must be borne in mind that particles similarly employed (*-a*, *-ə*, *-e*) are found in all neighbouring Ir. and IA. languages, and besides in Burushaski.

Examples are: *to-və āri kuō vđ-ī?* *təməx āri kuā vđ-ī?* 'hadst thou (had you) worked?' *təməx xwōrān-ī* 'did you eat?' *tə žwondok-dō-ī?* *təməx žwondok-ān-ī?* 'art thou (are you) hungry?' 'az *tʔfak kasen-ī* (*tʔfak-ī kasen*)?' 'do I see thee?'

### Nominal Forms of the Verb.

#### Participles.

150. No present participle has been noted in Sgl., but Sk. gives *fai pʔzīnuk(ō)š* 'he who knows much'. *žwondok* 'hungry' probably goes back to an ancient pres. ptc.

Regarding the perfect. ptc. cf. 145.

#### Infinitive.

151. The infinitive is formed by adding *-ōk*, *-ūk* to the present stem.<sup>1</sup>

Examples of the use of the infinitive are: Sgl. p. 2 *šā(n) nađ kenuk* 'I go to play (*mērim bāzī mēkim*)'; *hari kenuk oyodok* 'he has come to work'; *nēr be šān āri kenūk* 'to-day I am going to work'; *pasi vənəf dəryōk isu, xōrmō xūyūk, pasi va dəvīnuk, xōdāri yūnuk* (= *yūniš*) 'after that comes the reaping, (and) the threshing, then the winnowing (and) the grinding in the water-mill'; *arī kenūk kō-kenen* 'I can work'; *pāruzd-im šowāri kenūk nəst-əm kō-kud* 'yesterday

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grierson, § 82.

I could not travel'; *andərzōk-em kuδ* 'I have sewn(?)'. Cf. Sk. 'dēyuk 'to beat'; *škarruk* 'to seek'; 'kənuk 'to do'; 'šəwuk 'to become, to go'; 'fərnītuk 'to forget' (but perf. ptc. 'fərnītuk), etc.<sup>1</sup>

The Sgl.—Ishk. infinitive corresponds to that of Wkh. in *-āk, -g* (*vand-āk* 'to bind', *wiṅ-g* 'to see'), of Bal. (*kan-ag* 'to do', *band-ag* 'to bind'), and partially to that of Yaghn. (*winak* 'to see', but *kar-ak* 'to do' from the root). In Yd.<sup>2</sup> and in most cases in Par.<sup>3</sup> the infinitive in *\*-aka-* is based on the past stem, while in Orm.,<sup>4</sup> and apparently in Talish, both the present and the past stems are used.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 99, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 260.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. IIFL, I, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> IIFL, I, p. 358.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Benveniste (*Les infinitifs avestiques*, p. 111) who does not distinguish clearly between formations based upon the present stem and those based upon the preterite.—I do not believe with B. that the Shgh., etc., infinitives in *-tao* can be derived from *\*-taka-*. "*cirao*" (*cərdaw*, etc.) 'lamp' is an ancient lw. with substitution of *w* for *γ*, and no instance of intervocalic *-k- > -w-* is known from the Shgh.-group. Note Shgh. *-j < -aka-* in past participles (e.g. *sudj* 'gone, become'). There is no reason why *-tao* should not go back to *-tawai*.

## TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Sgl. p. 2.

### I.

*Wok 'ādam də zōt vəd. Čvt zō'ti xē tā-vē*  
One man-to two sons were. Small(er) zon-by his-own father-to  
*'yēžəð: Ō tāt, va 'māl tax'sim ke, mən a'sē məm-bē dē.*  
said: O father, (acc.) property divided make, my share me-to give.  
*'Tāte xē 'māl tax'sim kuv. Čand 'rōz pa'si diga*  
Father-by his-own property dividing made. Some days after however  
*xē 'māl gōr kuv (= kə), dīr wa'tan ba 'šid. Ma 'wōd*  
his-own property collected he made, far country to he-went. There  
*'šid, xē 'māl 'āpanit, yo žondokī šid.*  
he-went, his-own property he-lost, for-him hunger became.

### II.

1. Yak sāl 'fauž o'γoð Gazke'stān bē. 2. Maxlu'kān gu'dōm xaštān  
ce 'ūšə, cə 'yūzə, cə 'yowə, 'rēɣn°. 3. Pəs 'dēdam Gazke'stān. 4. 'Psāt

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### II.

1. One year an army<sup>1</sup> came to Gazikistan. 2. They robbed the  
storehouse(s) of the people for grass, fire-wood, grain and ghee. 3.  
Then we(?) enter(ed) Gazikistan. 4. Then the army (was) in Iskitul.

<sup>1</sup> A troop of Afghan soldiers.

mə Ski'tūl 'fauž. 5. Cə 'wōd Gazke'stān be, cə 'wōd šīd Mande'žān bē. 6. 'Wog, 'dō, rōi mēi mə Manda'žā-st.<sup>1</sup> 7. Cə 'wōd wə'nīšt, o'γōd Gazke'stān be. 8. 'Psād 'wōda ast, marduma xarš 'xāštan. 9. 'Wōda xwōr, 'wōdak o'γōd ast. 10. Wok 'mā 'wōda hast. 11. Bād cə wōd xōt, šīd Izi'vū bē.

## III.

1. Tīra'mā k-šīd cə 'kū yūz<sup>o</sup> 'xašəm. 2. 'Dē(ðe)m vənə šu'wō. 3. Pasi vənəf 'warfə d<sup>o</sup>'hō. 4. 'Wətukə gāxān. 5. Kə 'bārə šu'wō, nau'rōze ke'nān, pasi nau'rōzə wu'diļ xā'sān. 6. Pasi šə'gārə ke'nān. 7. Pasi vənəf 'kiriš ke'nān, 'tēym dān, vī-di'ōk ke'nān. 8. Pasi vədānəf 'vēki di'ān, dəvə šō'vōk šu'ān. 9. Kə šō'wōk xalāšīān,<sup>2</sup> vərvəs sōr 'xašō. 10. Pasi vənəf dəryōk isu, xōr'mō xū'yūk, pasiva də'vīnuk, xō'dāri 'yūnuk,<sup>3</sup> dāš am'bār.

5. From there it went to G., and from there to Munjan. 6. It stayed one, two, three days in Munjan. 7. From there it returned, and came to G. 8. Then it stayed there, they took custom-duties (from) people. 9. It (the army) ate there, and came there. 10. It (remained) there for one month. 11. Afterwards it rose from there and went to Zebak.

## III.

1. When autumn came, we fetch fire-wood from the hills. 2. We enter(?), it becomes full(?). 3. After that(?) the snow falls. 4. (Then) they prepare weddings. 5. When spring comes, they celebrate the Nauroz, after the Nauroz they spread the dung. 6. Then they plaster (the walls). 7. After that they plough, sow, and make the first watering (of the fields). 8. After that they irrigate, and they weed. 9. When they have finished the weeding, the barley raises its head. 10. After that comes the reaping, the threshing (on) the threshing-ground, then the winnowing, the grinding in the watermill, (and) putting(?) (the flour) in the store-room.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 122.

<sup>2</sup> For *xalās šīān*.

<sup>3</sup> Var. *yūniš*.



## Grammophone Text.

1. . . . ce 'kū yūzə 'xašān, ce xē mic<sup>1</sup> xašam. 2. Dēdəm vənə kuḍ. və'nok ši'o(k). 3. Pasi vənəf 'warf<sup>2</sup> de'hōi. 4. Wə'tukə šuwoi. 5. Bārə šu'woi, nau'rōzə ke'nān, pasi nau'rōze wudilə xašān. 6. Pasi vənəf šə'gār ke'nān. 7. Pasə vənəf kīrīn, pasi vənəf vī dīān. 8. Pasə vənəf vē šāxān(?), tēymə dēān.

## IV.

1. 'Šām Faizō'bōd, nə'mək ižimum. 2. Ōγōdum mə bandar, xaržgirən nəš 'la-kuān: 3. Miž be pūl dē, bā šol 4. Ce har xōridak də rōpē nōd, ba əṛ kuḍ. 5. 'Tulama 'Akum dəvā nes 'lā-kuḍ kə: "tə pūl dē, bā šā!". 6. Rō(i) rōpē ākum be dūdīn. 7. Inḡē rəxsat šī'ān, ō'γōdan Kō'e'stān. 8. Ō'γōdam p'e'nuk, ke warf dēd, nəš kō-kwān, fə'rindi<sup>3</sup> fər'sōu mə pə'nuk. 9. 'Sāar ba xōtan, vūr kuān. 10. Oγōdan, mə Kāfirren i'tīn. 11. Cə wōd i'tīn bā'zār. 12. 'Bas, xa'lās.

## IV.

1. We go to Faizabad, we bring<sup>3</sup> salt (there). 2. I brought it to the custom-house, the custom-officials did not let me through. 3. (They said:) 'Give us money, and go on.' 4. They took two rupees from (: for) each donkey, and released (us). 5. (But) Ghulam Hakim<sup>4</sup> afterwards<sup>5</sup> did not let us go, (saying): 'Give (me) money, and then go.' 6. We gave the governor three rupees. 7. Then we were permitted to leave, and we came to Chitral. 8. We came to the (Dorah) Pass while it was snowing, we could not (get on), we stayed the night on the Pass. 9. At dawn we rose, (and) loaded (our beasts). 10. We came, and arrived among the Kafirs.<sup>6</sup> 11. From there we arrived at the Bazar (of Chitral). 12. Enough, it is finished.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *mic* is unknown to me.

<sup>2</sup> For \*fə'rindin?

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *āwurdum*.

<sup>4</sup> The Afghan official.

<sup>5</sup> Or. 'even then'?

<sup>6</sup> Who live just below the Dorah Pass at the top of the Lutkuh Valley.

## Sgl. p. 3.

## V.

1. 'Wok bāzār'gān vəd. 2. 'Oγod, xe baškač goļ 'axted mo 'kišti, nelōst. 3. Na'hāng oγod, wa 'kišti ča'pa kəd. 4. Wok 'telf vəd zema'nōk. 5. Oγod mo taxa-pāre-rū, mo 'jaŋgal 'čapa šid. 6. Wok šēr pai'dā šid, 'yō-ve 'dāya šid. 7. Telf po wāda hīt. 8. 'Oγod me 'šār. 9. Mo 'šār 'čel dar'wāza vəd. 10. 'Oγo, mo 'wədok pād'sā šid. 11. Ke pād'sā šid γe'žed ke: 'Bē'γāir-i 'mak 'kōci digar xə'dā nē 'γe'žef'. 12. Rō'zānī 'šid ke mo 'xodm 'wēnd, ke wok 'āhūi pai'dā šid. 13. 'Āhūin wok šāx da 'vəd. 14. (Pād'sā ba wazīra guft:) 'Vo mak cə 'men 'taxru ča'pa kod. 15. 'Gōļ ken xē wa'ziren. 16. 'Ma mən 'xodm dak 'gab dehef.' 17. Γēždan ke: 'Tə bāi 'dušma<sup>n</sup> pai'dā šu'dō.' 18. Γe'žed ke: 'Xə'dā 'az mā.' 19. Ov'zūi 'tākat nē kəd. 20. Γe'žed ke: 'Kasef ke 'mən dəšman bē kunja'y-ō.'

## V.

1. There was a shopkeeper. 2. He came, with his children he entered a boat, and sat down. 3. A sea-monster came and upset that<sup>1</sup> boat. 4. (One of the children) was a babe, a boy. 5. He came on a boat-plank, and was thrown (ashore) in the forest. 6. A lioness appeared and became his nurse. 7. The child arrived at (the time of) marriage. 8. He came to a town. 9. In the town there were forty gates. 10. He came, and became king there. 11. When he became a king, he said: 'Don't call anybody God but me.' 12. One day it happened that he saw in a dream that a stag appeared. 13. The stag had one horn. 14. The king said to his vizier:<sup>2</sup> 'It pushed me off from my throne.'<sup>3</sup> 15. Assemble my ministers. 16. You shall explain about my dream.' 17. They (came and) said: 'An enemy has been born for thee(?).' 18. He said: 'God is my (ally?).' 19. But his heart had no strength.<sup>4</sup> 20. He said: 'Look, where my enemy is.'

<sup>1</sup> Or *va kišti* 'the boat'?

<sup>2</sup> This sentence was spoken in Prs.

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *məra az taxt-i mā čapa kard.*

<sup>4</sup> Prs. *dil-iš tāqat na kard.*

21. Γειζ(d)an ke: 'Ma 'pəšt-i pə'dār-o.' 22. 'Kasef ke ma 'kudəm ma'h-ō.'  
 23. Γειζdān ke: 'dahiami mā,<sup>1</sup> cə 'pəšt-i pə'dar 'dahi mā is'yūd ma  
 'rām i 'mādar.' 24. Γειζed ke: 'Kasef.' 25. 'Pādšā fər'mūd ke—  
 čel darwāze vəð—: 'Čel haf'sar mə dar'wāze 'nīdef.' 26. 'Farmūd  
 'pādšā ke: 'Jalsa kenef.' 27. 'Wok dar'wāzē 'Ōzar nī'losto vəð.  
 28. 'Kot ke 'kuči o'γod. 29. Pə'sā γειζed ke: 'Wa 'xē 'kūč, 'is men  
 'jē.' 30. Pə'sā cə 'pəšt-i p'edar o'γod mə 'rām-i 'mādar. 31. Pə'sād  
 'šīd 'rām-i 'mādar bē. 32. 'Γειζda ke: 'Dar'wāze 'hej kenef.' 33.  
 Pə'sād wu'žinjak zə'manōk oγod me dērī. 34. Rō'zī 'šīd ke zəma'nōk  
 tawa'līd šīd. 35. Wok 'γār pai'dā šīd. M-oγodak wok tawa'līt šīd.  
 36. Zəma'nōk 'žəšt šīd. 37. 'Xē 'tāte 'γēžed ke: 'Xə'dā ma as'mān-o.'  
 38. 'Pādšā šīd na'māz bē, na'māz-i īd-i Rama'zān. 39. 'Ōzar 'zōt  
 'oγod, bəd'xāna 'oγod, šīd. 40. De'hēd, bə'tā f'rēd kuð pə 't'ovor.  
 41. 'Bād 'pādšā 'oγod, 'γēžed ke: 'Mən vo 'zi kōi 'gaxtok.' 42.  
 'Γειζdan ke: 'Ōzar zōt-ō 'gaxtōk.' 43. Va zə'manok 'oγodan. 44.

21. They said: 'He is in his father's loins.' 22. (The king said:)  
 'Look, in which month he is.' 23. They said: 'In the tenth month;  
 from his father's loins in the tenth month he comes into his mother's  
 womb(?)' 24. He said: 'Look out.' 25. The king ordered—there were  
 forty gates—: 'Forty officers shall sit at the gates.' 26. The king  
 ordered that they should assemble. 27. Azar was sitting at one of  
 the gates. 28. He saw his wife come along. 29. Then he said: 'O  
 my wife, come to me.' 30. Then (the future enemy of the king) came  
 from his father's loins into his mother's womb. 31. Then he went  
 into his mother's womb. 32. They (?) said: 'Open the gate.' 33. Then  
 the boy came into the woman's belly. 34. A day came when the boy  
 was born. 35. A cave appeared. He came(?),<sup>2</sup> one (child) was born.  
 36. The child grew big. 37. He said to his father: 'God is in heaven.'  
 38. The king went to prayer, the prayer of the Ramazan festival. 39.  
 Azar's son came, he came to the idol-temple, and went (in). 40. He  
 struck the idols and broke them with an axe. 41. Then the king  
 came and said: 'Who has done thus to me?'<sup>3</sup> 42. They said: 'Azar's  
 son has done it.' 43. They brought the boy. 44. The king said: 'O,

<sup>1</sup> First: *dahi'mā*.—The formation is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot analyse *moγodak* which was translated *āmad*.—Or faulty for *mōdak*  
 'here'?

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *aminora* (= *hamīnhā-rā*) *kī kārī kardast*.

'Pādšā 'γē'žed ke: 'Ē 'Ōzar 'zōt, 'tə-δō 'ma zi 'cēva 'gaxtog?' 45. 'Γē'žed ke: 'Balə'wān šī'dōk.'<sup>1</sup> 46. 'Γē'žed ke: 'Az pə 'tō Xu'dāi ka'būl 'nəsi-mō.' 47. I'brōhim 'γē'žed ke: 'Mən 'laškar mə 'mōd-o.' 48. Nam'rūd 'γē'žed ke: 'Mən 'fauj mə 'mōd-o. 'Tō Xə'dā mə kun'jay-o?' 49. 'Ō 'γē'žed ke: 'Mən Xə'dā da as'mān-ō.' 50. Pə'sād 'γē'žed ke: 'Cena 'gāxem? 51. 'Šām, 'va-yim Xu'dā 'žanem.' 52. Wa'ziren 'γē'ždān ke: 'Ka'fas āha'nīn 'gax. 53. Cə'fūr kor'yos 'nas, ta'hāma 'dēi.' 54. Rō'zānī 'šīd, 'oγod xe wa'ziren gər, 'axted mə kafas. 55. Va 'koryos 'vōst cə ka'fas biš. 56. Va tā'hām-ē 'šōx kəd mə ka'fas sōr. 57. 'Šīd pa as'mān kafas. 58. 'Šīd pə 'nəsm-i as'mān. 59. Ša'māl pai'da šīd. 60. Ka'fas mə as'mān ka'rār 'šīd. 61. Wok 'fasl 'asto-ved. 62. Ka'fas ra'wān šīd. 63. 'Šīd pa as'mān. 64. Wok 'bādī pai'dā šīd. 65. Ka'fas ra'wān šīd. 66. Pa as'mān ke 'šīd, ka'fas 'rauzan ya'lā kəd. 67. Fə'rašte 'oγod, 'tar as'mān 'šəxt. 68. 'Pādšā 'xašəd 'xe 'tīr-i 'dast, a'wā 'dūd. 69. Fə'rašta 'tīr-i 'dast

son of Azar, why have you done thus to me?' 45. He said: 'A fight has begun (between us).'<sup>2</sup> 46. (The king) said: 'I do not recognize your God.'<sup>3</sup> 47. Ibrahim (the son of Azar) said: 'My troop is here.' 48. Nimrod (the king) said: 'My army is here. Where is your God?' 49. He said: 'My God is in heaven.' 50. Then (the king) said: 'What shall we do? 51. Let us go and kill the God of this (man).' 52. The ministers said: 'Make an iron cage. 53. Catch four vultures, and feed them.' 54. One day (the king) went, came with his ministers, and entered the cage. 55. He tied the vultures under the cage. 56. The food he placed at the top of the cage. 57. The cage rose towards the heavens. 58. It went towards the middle of the heavens. 59. A wind rose. 60. The cage stopped in the heavens. 61. It stood still for a moment. 62. (Then) the cage went on. 63. It went towards the heavens. 64. A wind rose. 65. But the cage went on. 66. When it went into the heavens, (the king) opened the window of the cage. 67. An angel came, and passed through the heavens. 68. The king pulled out his hand-arrow,<sup>4</sup> and threw it into the air. 69. The angel

<sup>1</sup> Repeated: *Tə-δō zi cē-ba 'gaxtog? 'l'ēžed ke: Balu'wā šīdōk.*

<sup>2</sup> Prs. *čīrā-mtari kardi? čīrā hamī kārī kardi-ast(!)? jaŋg šuda ast.*

<sup>3</sup> Prs. *ba xudā-ī- tə kabūl na dāram.*

<sup>4</sup> Javelin?

'nōd, a'wā 'dūd.<sup>1</sup> 70. Ma 'mōi 'γār ba 'tīr-i dast de'hēd, a'wā 'dūd, de'hēd. 71. 'Tīr-i 'dast 'oγod, mə 'pādšā 'bar de'hēd. 72. Va 'koryos 'teske 'vōst mə 'kafas 'sōr. 73. Va 'tāhame 'šōx kəd cə-'viš. 74. 'Oγod ce 'āsmān 'xav(d) me 'viš. 75. 'Va I'brōhim 'γēžef ke isyūd.' 76. I'brōhim 'oγod, 'pādšā jē. 77. 'Pādšā 'γēžed ke: 'Ibrō'him, va 'tō Xə'dā-im 'žōd.' 78. 'Γēžed ke: 'Mə'nī zi Xu'dāi 'nəst, kə 'wo 'žanan.' 79. Ibrō'hīm 'ro-'p-xē Xə'dā kəd, cə ās'mān 'paše 'xavd. 80. Nam'rūd af-ma'hā 'fauji 'vəd. 81. 'Paša 'wok 'nesi 'la-koi. 82. 'Pādšā 'tākē fə'rīnd. 83. 'Iško nes fə'rīnd, 'tāke da fə'rīnd. 84. Dun'da ved.

seized the javelin, and hurled it through the air. 70. The javelin struck the throat of a fish, he(?) hurled it through the air, it struck (the king?). 71. The javelin came towards the king, it struck his breast. 72. He tied the vultures at the top of the cage. 73. The food he fastened below. 74. He came from the heavens and descended. 75. (The king said:) 'Tell Ibrahim to come.' 76. Ibrahim came to the king. 77. The king said: 'Ibrahim, I have killed your God.' 78. He answered: 'I have no such God which they can kill.' 79. Ibrahim turned towards his God, (and) from heaven mosquitoes came down. 80. Nimrod was in the field for seven months. 81. The mosquitoes did not leave one (of his soldiers). 82. The king alone remained. 83. Nobody remained, he remained alone. 84. Thus it happened.

Sk.

VI.

(Quatrain from the village Rän.)

'Jāna, jāna, 'čšbā 'tā mak 'na-kasī?

My soul, my soul, why thou mee not seest?

ar xē'lāi 'šm (or t<sup>u</sup>m?) -sa'ti tu-'wan xäi'ra kasī.

In every way ? ? ? thou him well seest.

xal'qān-i-ji'hān cō'mak tu'bā bad-γäi'jān,

The people of the world for my sake about thee ill speak,

zin'hār bā zin'hār tu 'w'äv 'gap-na-nasī.

Beware, again beware, thou their word don't take (: hear).

<sup>1</sup> Note δ- in sandhi.

# VOCABULARY

## Vowels.

- e* Sgl. p. 3 O. — *e* *Ōzar zōt!* — Prs.  
Cf. *ō, wa.*
- i* Sgl. izafat. — Prs.
- ī* Sgl. p. 2 this. — *ī ādam mər* this man died. — V. § 117.
- ī* Sgl. p. 2, 3 enclitic pron. 3 sg.?? — *wužinjak zəmanok oγod me dər-ī* p. 3 a child entered into the woman's womb; *ovzū-i* (or *ovzūi*) *tākat nəs kəδ* p. 3 'dīl-iš *tākat na kard*'; *wēn-i šuwōi* p. 2 he bleeds. — V. § 114.
- ī* interrogative particle. — V. § 149.
- o* Sgl. p. 2 O. — *ō tāt.*
- ō(i)* he is. — Cf. § 121.
- ō* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *aū* p. 1 that (ille). — Cf. § 115, sq. (Add: Sk. gen. pl. *viäv* (Texts, VI).
- ab'lā* Sk. stupid. — Ar.-Prs.
- abr* Zb., Sk., *ābr* Ishk. cloud. — Prs.
- ab'rū* Zb., *av'rū* Ishk. eyebrow. — Prs.
- āb'šār* Sk. waterfall. — Prs.
- aδ(a)* that (iste). — Cf. § 115, sq.
- īδ-*: (*h*)īt Sgl. p. 2, 3 to arrive. — *wok jā īden 'yak jā mērasam*'; *šīdəm itəm 'raftam, rasīdam*'; *cə wōδ i'tīn bā'zār* p. 2 from there they arrived at the bazar; *pə wāda hīt* p. 3 'ba wāda rasīd'; *īdā-wī* Gr. (Zb.) falls (to me) == arrives. Cf. Orosh. *yaδ-*: *yat(t)* (*indīδ-*: *indīδd* to enter); Wkh. *ŷat* (?). — 3 sg. *īδ* < Av. *āiti* generalized as a present stem? Cf. § 130, sq. V. *dēδ*.
- īδ* Sgl. p. 3 Id, festival. — *namāz-i- īδ-i-Ramazān*. — Ar.-Prs.
- a'dab* Sk. politeness. — Ar.-Prs.
- aδak* Sgl. p. 1. V. *amdak*.
- ādam* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *ō'dam* Sk. man. — Ar.-Prs.
- īf-*: *īft* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., Zar. to weave. — *īfəm bəš* Sgl. p. 2. — < \*ūf- < *ufya-* (v. AirWb., 1346), cf. Yd. *wāf*.
- īfē* Sgl. p. 2, is., *īfē* Gr. spindle. — Cf. *īf-afma'hā* Sgl. p. 3 a period of seven months. — *Nam'rūd a° fauji veδ*. — Prs.
- ī'fa'rīn* (*ō'fa'rīn*) Sk. bravo. — Prs.
- āf'šūn* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., *af'šun* p. 1, 2, *šō'fūn* Ishk., *šə°* Sk., *šū°* Gr. comb. — *xe sōr af'šū kenen* p. 2, 3. — Cf. Yd. *šfīn*.
- af'ta* Sk. week. — Prs.
- āf'tāb bar'āmadan* Sk. east; *ā° nišastan* west. — Prs.
- aftā've* Sgl. p. 2 water-bucket. — Prs.
- u'γūi* Sgl. is., s., p. 1, *ō°* p. 3, *u'γū* p. 2, *γou* Ishk., *γū* Sk., Gr. cow. — *va u'γū*

- dēšən* Sgl. p. 2 I milk the cow. — Sgl. < \**hu-gāwya* (?), Ishk. < *gāuš?* V. § 92.
- oγoδ*, v. *is*.
- 'āhūi* Sgl. p. 3 stag. — *wok* *'ā° paidā šīδ* a stag appeared; *āhūīn wok šāx da vəδ* the stag had a horn. — Prs.
- ā'hān* Ishk. iron. — Prs.
- āha'nīn* Sgl. p. 3 made of iron. — *ka'fas ā°*. — Prs.
- ijgai* Gr. cheese of sheep-milk. — The existence of this word is denied by Sk.
- a'qa/āb* Sk. eagle. — Ar.-Prs.
- 'ākik* Sgl. is., s., *ā'kīk* p. 1, 2, *'okkik* Sk., "Wkh.", *wok* (?) Ishk. egg. — < \**āwyakā*. Cf. Khw. lw. *āyukun*.
- ākum* Sgl. p. 2 governor. — Ar.-Prs.
- o'kōvδ* Sgl. is., p. 1, *kīvd* Sk., *kōvd* Gr., Zar. boots. — \**ā-kaf-ta*-, cf. Prs. *kafš* < \**kaf-ša*-, Arm. *kapem* I bind?
- al-* Sgl. is., p. 2 to be standing; *āl-*: *āld*- Sk. to wait. — *'alem 'istāda-em, bestim'*; *tu alī*. — Av. *ərəδwa*? Cf. Wkh. *āl-*, Sar. *hāl-* to stay, stand.
- al'batt* Sk. perhaps. — Prs.
- al'kē* Sgl. p. 2 net, snare. — Ar.-Prs. *halqa* a loop.
- 'allo nō* Sk. but.
- ala'laš kən-* Sk. to mix. — Turki *aralaš*.
- 'ālam* Sk. world. — Prs.
- alma'sti* Sk. demon. — Cf. Lentz, Pamir Dial., s. 153 n.; Turki *alwasti*.
- ala'šē* Sgl. is., p. 2 *'alaše* p. 3, *a'lāša* Zb., *'ša* Sk., *alax'sā* Ishk., *a'lūša* Gr. jaw. — Prs. (*alaušā* Badakhshi, Sk.). Cf. Wogul lw. *ūlēš* (Jacobssohn, Arier u. Ugrofinnen, p. 218).
- ā'lax, ālax* Sk., *alax* Gr. (Zb.) hill. — V. *wołox*.
- āluzd* Sgl. is. the day before yesterday (?);
- āluzd* Gr., *ō'ləzd* Sk. to-morrow. — < \**ā-uša-azni*, Av. *asni*. Cf. Shgh. *afaž* day after to-morrow, Bal. *pōšl*. V. *pāruzd*.
- āluzdēv* Sgl. is. three days ago. — Obl. of the preceding word?
- am(a)*, obl. *īm* this. — V. § 115 sqq.
- a'mē* Sgl. p. 1 mother's sister. — Kab. Prs. *'ama* father's s.
- əm* encl. pron. 1 sg. — V. § 114.
- ambol* Gr. a place covered with stones, like a moraine. — Cf. Yd. *d'būya*.
- am'bāy* Sgl. is. co-wife. — Prs.
- am'bār* Sgl. p. 1, 2 corn-bin. — *dā-š a°* (they) put it into the corn-bin. — Prs.
- 'ambər* Sgl. p. 1, *am'būr* Sk. pincers. — Prs.
- amdak* this very. — Cf. § 117.
- a'mēδ* Sgl. p. 2, *u'mēδ* Sk. hope. — Prs.
- amēδ'vār* Sgl. p. 2 pregnant; *umed'wār* Sk. hopeful. — *janj amēδ'vār-δ*.
- 'amək* Sgl. p. 1, 2 father's brother, p. 2 also cousin. — Bad. Prs. *amuk*.
- a'mīn* Ishk. this. — V. § 117.
- 'ammō* Sk. but. — Ar.-Prs.
- am'mām* Sk. bath. — Ar.-Prs.
- im'sōl* Sk. this year. — Prs.
- a'māsyē* Sgl. is., *ham'sāya* p. 1 neighbour. — Prs.
- a'max, mux*, etc. we. V. § 110.
- ən* Sk. yes = *'balē*. — Prs. *hān*.
- īn* Sk. this. V. § 117.
- an'dərv-*: *an'dərvδ-* Sgl. p. 2, *ān'dərv-*: *ān'dərz* (?) p. 3, *əndərv-* s., *andərv-* Zar., *dərav-*: *dəravd* Sk. to sew; *andərvun* Gr. awl. — *āndərvəm buš*; *āndərvəm*; *āndərvək-em kuδ* I have sewn. — Cf. Wkh. *dərev-*, Par. *andarf-*, Orm. *undərv-*.
- 'ainek* Sgl. p. 1, *'āina* Sk. looking-glass. — Prs.

- insəf* Sk. justice. — Ar.-Prs.  
*insəfdār* Sk. just. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ingē* Sgl. p. 2 now, then (*ālī*); *ingā* Gr. then. — *ī° rəxsat šīān* then they were dismissed. — Prs. *in-gāh*.  
*aŋ'gūr* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., Ishk., Sk., *o!* Sgl. is. grape. — Prs.  
*aŋ'gūšt* Sk., *°išt* Zb. coal. — Prs.  
*aŋguštā'ri* Zb. finger-ring. — Prs.  
*iŋ'gīt* Sgl. p. 1, 2, 3, s., *°iŋ* Ishk., *'iŋgit* Sk., Zar., *'iŋgūt* "Wkh." finger. — Cf. Yd. *oguščo*; Khw. (lw.) *aŋgūd* finger hole in scissors (Lor.).  
*iŋgi'tōk* Sgl. p. 1 finger-ring, *°uk* Gr. finger-nail. — Cf. *aŋguštā'ri*.  
*a'pi-*: *a'pēd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *'apay-*: *a'pēd* Ishk., *apay-* Sk., : *apēd* Gr. to be lost. — *trāsen be apēd(š)* I fear it will be lost; *apēdok-o* p. 2 it has been lost; *māne wok čizi apēd* p. 2, 3; *'apayu*: *a'pēduk* Ishk., *'gum šuda'*. — Av. *apa-i*.  
*apčün* Sgl. p. 3 winnowing fork. — = Wkh.; cf. Yd. *čua'no?*  
*a'panis-*: *a'panit* p. 2 to lose, *apnit* Gr. lost. — *az wok čizi a'panisem* I lose a thing; *a'panis* *'gum mēkini'*; *xē 'māl 'āpanit* he lost his own property. — Av. *apa-nasya-* (intr.), Shgh. *benes-*.  
*a'paxš-* Sgl. is., *apəxš-* p. 3, s.: *a'pəxt* is., s., p. 3, *a'paxs-*: *a'puxt* p. 1, *'apux-*: *'apuxt* Sk. to hear. — *apaxsem bē* p. 3; *va tō gap-am apəxt* is. I heard thy word; *apaxsen, a'puxtem* p. 1. — < *\*apa-uxš/s-*, cf. Yd. *yuxs-*.  
*ā'ri* Sgl. is., (*h*)*ārī* p. 2, s., *ari* p. 1, Ishk., Zar., *arri* Sk. work. — *ari kenem* Sgl. s., *azi tō madak ari kenon* Ishk. I and thou are working here. — Cf. Yd. *hory*.  
*arča* Zb. juniper. — Prs.  
*a'rək* Sgl. p. 3 eructation. — Cf. Yd. *ararōy*.  
*arqa* Sk. back. — Turki.  
*a'rāq* Sgl. is., *°aq* p. 1, 3, Ishk., Sk. perspiration. — Ar.-Prs.  
*or'mōzd* Sgl., *ōr°* Gr. (Zb.), "Wkh.", *'rēmuz* Ishk., Gr., *°oz* Zb., *°uzd* Sk. sun. — Cf. Saka *uyrmaysdā*, Khwarizmi *rēmazd* < Anc. Prs. *Auramazdāh*. — *\*ērmōzd* (v. § 88) > *rēm°*, or, with assimilation, > *ormōzd?*  
*ā'rinj* Zb., Ishk. elbow. — Prs.  
*ar'rē* Sgl. p. 1 a saw. — Prs.  
*a'rūs* Sgl. p. 2, *ō'ris* Sk. bride. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ar'sōl* Sk. yearly. — Prs.  
*ar'vēšum* Sgl. p. 2; *brēšum* Ishk., Sk., Gr., *abr°* Zar. silk. — Prs. (*arv°* early lw.).  
*araz-*: *a'rāt* Sgl. p. 2, s. to fly, run, jump; *'araz-*: *'arazd* Sk. to jump. — *psāt ara'zō* p. 2 it flies now; *ara'zōk* perf.; *a'rāt, šid* p. 2 *'parrid, raft'*; *arāz mā vyēk, avbāzi ken* p. 2 jump into the water and swim (*ba-parr da au*); *vēk ārazo<sup>u</sup>* p. 3 the water flows. — < *\*ā-raz*, scarcely (with *a-* < *ha-* < *fra-*) < *fra-raz* cf. Shgh. *re-wāz*, etc.  
*a'sd* Sk. staff. — Ar.-Prs.  
*a'sē* Sgl. p. 2 share. — *mən a° məm bē dē* give me my share. — Ar.-Prs. *hiššā*.  
*is-* Sgl. p., Sk., Gr., Zar., *is-* Sgl. s., Ishk.: *oγōd* Sgl. p., s., *'ōγad* Ishk., Sk., Zar., *ā°* Gr. to come. — Pres. 1st sg *isen* Sgl. p., *šum* Ishk., Sk.; imper. *šs* Sgl. p.; *yežef ke isyūd* p. 3 tell him to come (*biāyad*); *ama ādam kādī oγōd* p. 2 when did this man come? *ōγadum* Ishk., *'ō°* Sk. I came; *təməx kādī oγōdān* p. 2 when did you come?



- '*oγoδok* p. 2, '*oγaduk* Sk. he has come; *az* (*aməx*) *pāruzd oγoδō(-δā) vəδ* I (we) had come yesterday. — \**ā-isa-*: *ā-gata*, cf. Sogd. "y<sup>s</sup>:" γ<sup>t</sup>, see Tedesco, ZII, 2, 34 sq.
- i'sāb* Sgl. p. 2 calculation. — *i*<sup>o</sup> *be kenen*. — Ar.-Prs.
- u'sīd* Gr. baking-pan. Cf. Yd. *sū'ī*.
- u'suk*, v. *wu'suk*.
- askar* Sk. army. — Ar.-Prs.
- a'sāl* Sgl. is., *°al* Sk. honey. — Ar.-Prs.
- a'sāl* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 this year. — Cf. Yd.—Mj. *asāl*.
- ās'mān* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Gr., '*ās,mān* Sk. sky, heaven. — *Xə'dā ma ās'mān-o* p. 3. — Prs.
- a'sān* Sgl. p. 2 easy. — Prs.
- 'usir*, v. *wu'ter*.
- i'srəx* Zar. hole of the ear. — < Prs. *surāx*.
- 'āstia* Sgl. p. 2, *ā(i)sta* Sk. slowly. — *ā*<sup>o</sup> *ā*<sup>o</sup> *is* p. 2 come slowly; *tə γaž āstā* Sk. speak slowly. — Prs.
- ast-* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *ust-* Ishk. to stand (up). — *psā-mō astōk* Sgl. is. now I have risen; *astəm* p. 2 '*bēstəm*'; *astō-mō*, *asto ved* p. 3; *ustum* Ishk. I rise; *madak-um ustuk* I am standing here. — Av. *us-stā*, cf. Bal. *ustat* (Zar.); but Mj. *wuškyvī*.
- ōsto* Sgl. p. 2, *ūst* Ishk., *ōst* Sk., *āst* Gr., is., *ast* was(??). — *psād wōda ast* then he was there; *wōdak oγōδ ast* he had come there; *wok mā wōda hast* he was (stayed) there for one month; *mə Mandazā-st* he was in Munjan; *māne(n) wo kitāv ō(sto)* p. 2 I have a book; *azi/um ōst* I am, *tu-t 'ōst*; *wəδ* was; *ōstuk* been Sk. — Cf. Shgh. *yast*, Yd. *ast-et*. See § 122.
- us'tāδ* Sgl. p. 2 blacksmith, *°ād* Sk. artisan. — Prs., cf. Madaglashti *ustā(d)* iron-smith.
- os'tōk* Sgl. p. 1, 3, '*wastuk* Ishk., Gr., Zar. rib, bone; *wāstuk* Sk., *ostū* "Wkh." bone. — Cf. Yd. *yastē*.
- ista'kān* Sk. glass. — Russ.
- astamā'zək* Sgl. p. 2, is., *°zek* p. 1 the arm above the elbow. — Cf. Wkh. *māyzi*, *°zek*.
- as'tar-*: *as'tōl-* Sgl. p. 1, *sī'tar-*: *sūtuld* Ishk., *s'tar-*: *s'tul-* Zar. to sweep. — *as'taren* Sgl. p. 1, *sī'taram* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *i's'tōr-*. — < \*(*ā*-)star, not \**us-tar*.
- ust'rūk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 *əstə'ruk* s., '*wastuk* (??) Ishk., *struk* Sk., Gr., *stīruk* "Wkh.", *sitāra* Gr. (Zb.) (< Prs.), star. — Cf. Yd. *stārē*.
- āstay-*: *āstuδ-* Sgl. is., *astē-* p. 3, '*astay-*: '*astūd-* Ishk., Sk., *asti-*: *astūd* Gr. (Zb.) to send (a person). — *wok tēm ba astēen* Sgl. p. 3 '*yak tāra rawān mēkenim*'. — Cf. Wkh. *s'tiŷ-*. V. EVP. s.v. *āstawul*, Horn s.v. *fristādan*.
- iško* Sgl. p. 3 anyone, *hēc kas*. — *iško nes ferīnd* nobody was left behind. — Prs. *hēc + ko*.
- 'uškəz* Sk. key, *°uz* Gr. lock. — Cf. Sar. *ačyu*, etc. < Turki?
- əš'pōn* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *išpōn* p. 1, *ēšpōn* s., *šu'pvn* Zb., *špən* Sk., *šəpōn* Gr. (Zb.), *°in* Zar. iron. — Cf. Yd. *rīspən*. — Reg. § v. § 61. V. *ā'hān*.
- uš'tīn* Sgl. p. 2 haystack (?), *kālān* (= *kāhdān*?), '*kāh mēzana*'. — Cf. Yd. *uš'čeno*, Wkh. *wšdōn*.
- (*h*)*əš'cāk* Sgl. is., *əš'cāk* p. 2, 3, s, *ərs'cāg* p. 1, *štok* Gr., Sk., *əxcāk* "Wkh."; *štākak* Sk., Gr. girl. — Demin. of *šəc*, q.v.
- ā'šīk* Sgl. p. 1, *āšīk* p. 3, '*āšīk* Sk., *ošīk*

- Zar., 'ōxik "Wkh." tear (Gr. also "a spring", denied by Sk.). — Cf. Yd. *yašk*.
- aš'tād* Sgl. is., p. 2 -št- p. 3 eighty. — Prs.
- at*: att- Sk. to fall. — *atum*, *at*, *attum*, 'atuk.
- et encl. pron. 2 sg. — V. § 114.
- ātā'sek* Sgl. is., 'ātā'sak Sk., ātišuk Gr. lightning. — Prs.
- āv'bāzi* Sgl. is., *aub*<sup>o</sup> p. 2 swimming. — *au*<sup>o</sup> *kenen* p. 2, *āv*<sup>o</sup>-š *ke'nun* is. we swim. — Prs. — (Cf. s.v. *araz*).
- ōvδ* Sgl. is., p. 1, (h)ōvδ p. 2, 3, *ōvδ* Grammoph., *ōvd* Zb., Ishk., *uvd* Gr., Sk., (w)ūvd Zar. seven. — Cf. Yd. *avdo*.
- ōvδōδōs* (ōvd<sup>o</sup>) Sgl. s., p. 1, 2, is., *ōvδōδōs* p. 3, Grammoph., *habdāu* Zb. (fr. Prs.) seventeen.
- ōv'zui* Sgl. is., <sup>o</sup>*zū* p. 1, 2, <sup>o</sup>*zūc* p. 3, s., *av'zūk* Ishk., (h)*av'zūk* Sk., Gr., *āuzak*, *āuzen* Gr. (Zb.) heart. — *ov'zui tākat nās kōδ* p. 3 'dīl-iš tākat na kard'. — Cf. Wkh. *pəzöv*. *āuzen*, if correct, reminds of Sogd. *p'zn*.
- av'zāl* Sgl. p. 2 headstall, *av'zdl*. — Prs. *afsār*, cf. Abdū *ausōl*, (Zhuk.), Taj. *afzōl* (Semenov). Cf. also Prs. *afzār*.
- a'wī* Sk. and; *a'zī-tə* a<sup>o</sup> I and thou. [Does *awī* mean 'both'?).
- a'wē* obl., *a'wānd* pl. of *ō* that. See § 115.
- a'wāle* Sgl. p. 3 throwing. — a<sup>o</sup> *dēm* be I throw. — Prs. *hawāla kardan* to transmit, brandish, strike.
- āwul*, v. *āwtr*.
- ai'wān* Sk. animal. — Ar-Prs.
- āwtr*: *wōl* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *vōl* p. 3, *āwul*: *āwuld* Ishk., *avtr*: *avūd* (*avūld*) Sk., *avir*: *avul* Gr., *avēr*: *awāl* Gr., (Zb.) to find, obtain. — *āwtrēn* Sgl. p. 1; *āzi-m wōl* p. 2; *vōlən* p. 3 'yāftam'; *āwulum* Ishk. 'mēyābam', *āwuld* 'yāftam'. — Cf. Sogd. *βyr*, Sar. *varē*: *vūg*, Or. *verai*: (*avūg*), Shgh. : *vūd*, Yazgh. *vīr*: *vīg'*, etc. — Contaminated in Sgl. with \**ā-vīr*- to bring (cf. Yd.—Mj. *āvēr*-, Sogd. "βyr"), cf. Skr. *bhar*- to obtain. But why *wf* *āwišp* Sgl. is., *wōšp* "Wkh." ploughshaft. — Cf. Yd. *ā'wusp*.
- awe'zān* Sgl. p. 3 hanging. — a<sup>o</sup> *bə kenen*. — Prs.
- ixō*, v. *yəxōai*.
- ax'maq* Sk. stupid. — Ar-Prs.
- āxor* Sgl. is., *āxurce* p. 2 manger; *āxarcā* Sk. barn. — Prs.
- ōxer* Sk. end. — Ar-Prs.
- axse* Sgl. p. 3, *aq/x'sa* Sk. sneezing. — a<sup>o</sup> *dēdēm*. — Prs.
- ax'ta* Sk. bull. — Also Shgh., etc.; cf. Prs. *āxta* castrated. *axtā'nā*.
- : *axtōδ* Sgl. p. 3, *atōyđ* Gr. he entered; *atīy*: *atuyđ* Zar. to enter. — *axtōδ mə ka'fas*, *mə kišti* he entered the cage, the boat. — Cf. Sogd. *tys*: *tyl*, V. Yd.—Mj. *luγay*.
- axtā'nā* Sk. stable. — Prs. V. Yd. *axtaxāna*.
- a'yā* Sk. shame. — Ar-Prs.
- (h)*ayās* Sk. cold (noun).
- az* Sgl. p. 1, Gr., *az(ə)* Sgl. p. 2, *azi* Ishk. 'I'. — *aze-i tōfak xēsta xwārem* p. 2 I and thou eat bread; *azi tō madak ari kenon* Ishk. — V. Gramm. § 110.
- i'zā* Sk. Ar-Prs.
- a'zōr* Sk., *azār* Gr. (Zeb.) 1000. — Prs. *īzīm*: *ōγōδ* Sgl. p. 1, 2, 3, s., *īzum*: *đγad* Ishk., *īzəm*: 'īzēmd- Sk., *īzum*- Gr. to bring (a thing). — *īzimen*, *azəm* *ōγōδ* p. 1; *īzīm* imper. 2 sg., *īzimum* p. 2; *īzimum bē*, *ōγodo-mō*, *va zō'manok*

'oyodan p. 3 'āwurdand'; wuš izəm 'kāh biār', izumum, wōk ēz āyadum Ishk.; 'izəməm, 'izum! 'izəmdəm Sk. — Cf. Yazgh. *ajam-* to send (acc. to Gauthiot, JA, 1916, 255 < *ā-jāmaya-*), Sogd. 'γl to bring (Reichelt, Sogd. Texts II 73); cf. also Wkh. *wūzem-* to bring Mir. Manich. II, 54 *z'm-* 'schicken, führen' (but note the *z*), and possibly Sak. *ājum-* to lead, bring.

## B

*ba, bə*, Gr. (Zb.) *bi* a particle denoting the future, etc. — V. Gramm. § 135.  
*bā* v. *bāz*.  
*be* Sgl. s., etc., *bo* Ishk., *bā, bē* to, for (postpos.). — V. § 106.  
*bōi* Sk. rich. — Turki.  
*būi* Sgl. p. 2 smell, Sk. good smell. — *būi dehōi* p. 2 'būi mēzanad'; *būi kən-* Sk. to smell. — Prs.  
*bī'bi* Sgl. p. 1, Sk., Gr. grandmother, father's sister. — Prs.  
*bōbō* Sgl. p. 1, Gr., *bāb* Sgl. s., *bū'bū* Sk., *bāva* Sgl. (paternal grandfather.) — Afgh. Prs. *bābā*, etc.  
*babr* Sk. lion. — Prs.  
*bə'ēi* Sk. paternal uncle. — Cf. Wkh. *bəč*. V. *amək, vuc*.  
*bčāk* Sk. he-goat. — Cf. Notes on Shgh. *bučāk*.  
*bčō'ra* Sk. poor. — Prs.  
*bad* Sk. bad. — Prs.  
*bād* Sgl. p. 2, 3 Sk. after(wards). — *bād pādšā oyod*; *bād cə wōš xōt* afterwards he rose from there. — Prs.  
*bāa'dab* Sk. polite. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bēa'dab* Sk. impolite. Ar.-Prs.  
*bād(ī)* Sgl. p. 3, *bād* Ishk. wind. — *wok*

*bādī paidā šəš* = *šamāl paidā šid*. — Prs.  
*bui'dōq* Sk. bachelor. — *az-um b°* I am a b°. — Prs.  
*ba'dan* Sk. body. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bēdār* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *bē'dōr* Ishk. awake. — *b°-em šid cə misūk* p. 2 I awoke from sleep; *bēdār šān* p. 3; *azi-m bē'dōr* Ishk. — Prs.  
*'bədəwōn-*: *bədə'wōnd-* Sk. to gallop. — Prs.  
*bəd'xāna* Sgl. p. 3 temple (in tale). — Prs.  
*bēš* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., *bēd* Zar. willow. — Prs. V. *wēd*.  
*ba'ḡak* Sgl. p. 2 dividing, *baḡš(?)*. — *wo'kī wo'kī za'mīn kull'šōn b°* kenen they all divide the fields among themselves, one to each. — < \**baḡdak?*  
*bā'dām* Sgl. p. 2 almond. — Prs.  
*'bēfār-* Sk. to please. — Impersonal construction: *'mumba na bu'fōru* I don't like it; *imbā 'bēfāru az məz yažm* he wants me to speak. — Cf. Prs. *fārīdan*.  
*bē'gu'nā* Sk. innocent. — Prs.  
*bu'gāy-um*: *bugāid-um, bugāyuk* Sk. to copulate. — Prs.  
*bāy* Sk. garden. — Prs.  
*bō'γē* Sk. male cousin.  
*bē'γaib* Sk. innocent. — Ar.-Prs.  
*baγal* Ishk., *baγal'vīš* Zar. armpit. — Prs. Cf. *kaš'viš*.  
*bēyāir* Sgl. p. 3 except (in tale). — *b° i mak kōci digar Xədā nə γāižef* don't call anybody else God except me. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bo'γas* (*ba°*) Sgl. p. 2 bellowing, bleating; *baγ-* Zar. to bellow. — *čār'vā, vəz b° ke'nōi*. — Cf. Yd. *baγaz*, Shgh. *way-*. Reg. *-as* v. Parachi Voc. s.v. *bā'nas* bleating.

- bəyz ken-* Sk. to hate. Ar.-Prs. *bayz*.  
*boh* Sgl. p. 2, *bah* Gr. (Zb.) a kiss. —  
*boh be kenen*. — Cf. Yd. *boh*.  
*bō'jā* Sk. father's sister's husband. —  
 Cf. Mj. *bāja*.  
*bok* Sgl. s., *box* p. 3 vomiting. — *box-om*  
*dēd*. — Cf. Turki (Hjuler) *bok*, *box* dirt?  
*bāq̄*, *bhāq̄* Sk. wise. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ba'kəl* Zb. calf. — V. *bakeŋ'q̄i*.  
*bakeŋ'q̄i* Sgl. is. male calf, 1—2 years  
 old; p. 2, 3 female(?) calf, one year  
 old. — Yd. *bakŋ'q̄a*.  
*ba'kōr* Sk. necessary. — 'mumba *b°* I  
 need. — Prs.  
*bāq̄u'wat* Sk. strong. — Ar.-Prs.  
*'balē* Sk., Gr. (Zb.) yes. — Prs.  
*bāl* Sgl. is., p. 1, Sk. wing. — Prs.  
*bēl* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk., Sk. spade. — Prs.  
*bāl'yē* Sgl. p. 2, *bāqi'lā* Sk. beans, *bākulā*  
 (Faba sativa, or Vicia faba, cf. Va-  
 vilov, Agric. Afgh. 334).  
*bal'yām* Sgl. p. 3 mucus from the mouth.  
 — Ar.-Prs.  
*bal'kē* Sgl. p. 1, *bāle'qā* Sk. hammer. —  
 Prs., cf. Yd. *bal'ko*.  
*br'land* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *bi'lan* p. 1, *bland* Sk.  
 high. — Prs.  
*bel'laur* Sgl. is. rock-crystal. — Prs. V.  
*kūtī*.  
*belar'zān-* Sgl. p. 2 to make tremble. —  
*mum-bē belar'zānu*; *belar'zānu-š*. —  
 Prs. Cf. § 129.  
*bē'lis* Sgl. is., *be'lis* p. 2 span from thumb  
 to forefinger, *be'lis* Zar. id., to little  
 finger. — Afgh. Prs. *bilist*. V. *čāraŋ-*  
*gašt*, *pēx*, *wu'šit*, *wa'jīb*.  
*beliš'mān-*: *beliš'mānd* Sgl. p. 2, 3 to make  
 to slip. — *beliš'mānu-š* 'mēliš'māna-iš';  
*mum bē beliš'mānu* it makes me slip.  
 — Prs. \**lišmāndan*, cf. *lišn*, *laš(i)n*  
 slippery.
- be'lav-*: *be'lavəš-* Sgl. s., p. 2, *bə'lav-*: *bəlavd*  
 Ishk., Sk. to read, Sk. also to sing.  
 — *ki'tāv be'laven*; *ki'tāv-əm be'lavəš*  
 p. 2; *bə'lav* Ishk. 'buxān'. — Cf.  
 Shgh. *lūv*, etc.; Prs. *labīdan* to brag.  
*balə'wā(n)* p. 3 fighting. — *balə'wān*,  
*baluwā šišök* 'jaŋg šuda ast'. — Prs.  
*balwā* disturbance.  
*bələxč-*, v. *laxč*.  
*bē'mār* Sgl. p. 2, 'bē,mār Sk. ill, unwell.  
 — Prs.  
*bēmā'rī* Sk. illness.  
*ba'na* Sk. body (read *ta'na*?).  
*bānd* Sgl. p. 1 <sup>1)</sup> shoe-string; <sup>2)</sup> dyke. —  
 Prs.  
*bānd-r'dest* Sgl. is., p. 1, Zb., *band-i-dōst*  
 p. 3, <sup>o</sup>*dust* Sk. wrist. — Prs. (with  
 partial adaptation to the dialect).  
*'bāndrk* Sgl. p. 1 elbow; *bandrk* Sk.  
 finger-nail (corr.: <sup>o</sup>joint?). — \*Prs.  
*band-r-pā* Sgl. p. 1, 3, ankle joint. — Prs.  
*bandar* Sgl. p. 2 custom-house, *paira*. —  
 Prs. harbour.  
*boŋ(g)* Sgl. p. 2, 3 crowing. — *xu'rūs*  
*boŋ(gə) kəŋō(i)* the cock crows. —  
 Prs.  
*bar* Sgl. p. 2, 3 breast; Gr. (Zb.) embrace.  
 — *mə pādšā bar dehēd* (the javelin)  
 hit the king in the breast. — Prs.  
*ba'ār* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *bo'ōr* Zb., *ba'hār*  
 Ishk., *b(d)ār* Sk. spring. — *kə bārə*  
*šuwō* p. 2 when spring came. — Prs.  
*bōr* Sgl. p. 1 grey; *būr* Sk. greyish white.  
 — Prs. (Bal. *gōraŋ* grey, Kurd. *güer*  
 (Soane) brown, *geur*, etc. brown, grey  
 (J. J.) would seem to point to original  
*w*, not to \**barwa-* (Barthol. Miran.  
 Mund. VI, 5)).  
*bōr-* Ishk. to rain. — *fai bu bōrū* it  
 rains much. — Prs. V. *nav*.  
*barf* Zb. snow. — Prs. — V. *warf*.

*barg* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb., Sk., Gr. a leaf.  
— Prs.

*barq* Sk. lightning. — Prs.

*bū'rik* Sk. narrow, thin. — Prs.

*bā'rān* Sgl. s., *bā'rān* Ishk., Sk. rain. —  
Prs. — V. *no'vōk*.

*bā'renj* Sgl. is., °*inj* p. 2, 3, Ishk., Sk.,  
*brinš* p. 1 rice. — *be'rinjə ke'nān* p. 2  
they cook rice. — Prs.

*bi'rinj* Sk. brass. Prs.

*brēšum*, v. *ar'vēšum*.

*bā'rūt* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *brūt* Zb., *bu'rūt* Ishk.,  
*būrūt* Sk. moustache. — Prs.

*bā'rež* Sgl. is., °*ež* p. 1, s., Zb., °*iž* p. 3,  
°*ūj* Ishk., *bruž* Sk., *bə'rež* "Wkh."  
birch. — Cf. Or. *berūj*, etc. from  
IA. Cf. Yd. *ze'virjo*, etc.

*bas* Sgl. p. 2 enough; *bas is-um* (*bas*  
*ōyadum*) Sk. to be able. — Prs.

*bīst*, v. *wīšt*.

*bīstə'yak* Sk. 21. — Prs.

*bāšo* Sgl. p. 2. — In: *miž be pūl dē, bāšo*  
give me money, and then go away  
(*bā bura* = *ba'd burau?*); *tə pūl*  
*dē, bāša* (*bād bəra*). — Prob. from  
*ba'd + šo*.

*bā'šē* Sgl. is., p. 1, *bā'ša* Ishk. sparrow-  
hawk. — Prs.

*bəš* verbal particle. — V. Gramm. § 135.

*biš* Sgl. p. 3 under. — *cə kafas biš 'az*  
*tā-i kafas*'. — Cf. s.v. *yalviš*.

*baš'kač* Sgl. p. 3 children, *baškāč* (in tale).  
— Prs. Cf. *bača-kačaho* family (Zar.,  
Oč. razg. yaz. samarkandsk. ebreev,  
no. 530).

*bā'sān* Sgl. p. 2, *bi'sōn* Ishk. to make  
to sit down. — *az bə tfak bəšā(n?)in*  
Sgl. is.; *tafak bəšānen* p. 2; *azi fak*  
*madak bi'sōnum* Ishk. — Prs.

*be'išt* Sk. heaven. — Prs.

*bat* Sgl. p. 2 sweets given at a feast. —

Cf. Or. *bāt* a kind of porridge, ritual  
food. — Hind. *bhāt?*

*bət* Sgl. p. 3 idol. — *bətā fə'rəd kuš pə*  
*tovor* he crushed the idols with his  
axe. — Prs.

*bāi'tal* Sgl. is., p. 1, °*alča* p. 3 mare. —  
Prs. V. *mādi'yān*.

*bē'tāk* Sgl. p. 2 sheep-skin coat, posteen.

*bia'vān* Sgl. p. 2 outside. — *šā b° 'berūn*  
*mēran*'; *šīdum b° 'raftam berūn*'. —  
Prs.

*bē'wa* Sgl. is., p. 1, *bē'wā* Sk. widow. —  
Prs.

*bā'war* Sk. hopeful. — Prs.

*ba'xīl* Sk. a miser. — Prs.

*baxš* Sgl. p. 2, 3 dividing, division, portion.  
— *baxš(e) kenen* I divide, distribute,  
*cə'fūr za'mūn-ō, cə'fūr zōt-ō mən-ēn,*  
*va cə'fūr baxš kenen* p. 2. — Prs.

*bāz* Sgl. p. 1 falcon. — Prs.

*bāz* Sgl. p. 2 then. — Prs.

*bā'zē* Sk. play. — Prs.

*bā'zū* Zb. the arm above the elbow;  
*bā'zū* Sk., Gr. elbow. — Prs. V.  
*astamā'yəzək*.

*buz* Zb. goat. — Prs. V. *vəz*.

*bā'zār* Sgl. p. 2 bazar. — *ce wōđ itin*  
*bāzār* from there they arrived at  
the bazar. — Prs.

*bā'zār'gān* Sgl. p. 3, Gr. (Zb.) merchant.  
— Prs.

## C

*cē* what? Cf. § 119.

*cə* Sgl. s., p. 1, 2, Ishk., *ca* Gr. from. —  
*ce mēz viš* p. 2 (from) under the table;  
*čārvā cə vəz žəšt-ō* a cow is bigger  
than a goat; *Cang'lēš-əm oγod* (= *cə*  
*S°*) p. 2 I come from Sanglech; *azī*  
*cə mīnduk xə'tuk* Ishk. (*cə mīsūk*) p. 2

- I rose from sleep. — < Av. *hača*, Cf. Yd. *že*. V. § 107.
- cē-ba* Sgl. p. 2 why? — *tə-δə zi cē-ba gaxtog* why did you do thus? (*cirā-ntari kardī?*); *tə-δə ma zi cē-va gaxtog* 'čivā hamī kāri kardī?'. — Prs. — Cf. *čuva* = *čība* 'why' in the dial. of the Samarkand Jews.
- ceci*, *cicə* what? — V. § 119.
- 'cācūi* Sgl. is., *'cācū* p. 1, *cā'cūi* s. a kind of hawk or falcon, *čārɣa*.
- cə'fūr* Sgl. p., s., is., Zb., Sk., Zar., *cə'fūr* Gr. (also *čə'fūl* Sgl. is.), but *čōr* Ishk. four. — *cə'fūr zōt-ō mən-ēn* I have four sons. — Cf. Yd. *čšir*.
- cām* Sgl. p. 1, 2, 3, s., *cā<sup>am</sup>* is., *com* Zb., *cōm* Ishk., Zar., *cām* Sk., Gr. eye. — Cf. Yd. *čam*, "Wkh." *čōm*.
- ca'mōk* Sgl. p. 3 winking. — Cf. *cām*.
- cə'mənd* Sgl. p. 2, *cumand* Gr. how many. — *c<sup>o</sup> ādam oštō? c<sup>o</sup> tan-ān ma təmæx xān* how many people are there in your house? — Cf. § 119.
- cām-mərdi'kīg* Sgl. p. 1 the iris of the eye. — Cf. "Wkh." *mərdik* pupil of the eye, Gr. *murdik* a small ring, Yd. s.v. *mədraɣē*.
- cə'nā* Sgl. p. 2, 3 how. — *cə'nā-i oɣod* p. 2 'čitur āmadi'; *ce'nā'ma hari ken?* how do you do this work? *cena gāxən* p. 3 how shall we do?
- cə-pšūr* Sgl. p. 2 above. — *ki'tāv cə-pšūr-ū*. — V. *cə*, *pšūr*.
- carx*, v. *čarx*.
- Č**
- čūb* Ishk. wood, firewood. — Prs. V. *durk*.
- čə'brū* Ishk. fat. — Prs. V. *wōst*.
- čū'čī* Sgl. is., p., *ču'čī* Ishk., *čū'čī* Sk., *čīčī* Gr. female breast; *ču'čī* "Wkh." udder. — Prs. *čučū*.
- ču'čik* Sk. chicken. — Prs.
- čū'dan* Sk., *čudan* Gr. cooking-pot. — Cf. Oss. *cuainag* kettle, Russ. *čugun* cast-iron kettle, v. BSOS, VIII, 665.
- čay'man* Sgl. p. 1 cloak. — Turki.
- čuk-* Sgl. p. 2, Zar. to beat; *čək-*: *čəkt-* Sk. to thresh, to knock in (a nail). — *čukō-š 'mēčakad-iš'* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Wkh. *čuk-* to beat, pound; Yazgh. *čök* to beat, Bad. Prs. *čukidan* to hammer.
- čū'kār* Sgl. is. a kind of dye made from resin.
- čəq'wɣ* Sk. deep. — Turk. *čukur* (cf. Par. *čukurī* a well).
- čəl* Sk. soaking wet.
- čəl*, Sgl. is., *črl* p. 2, s., *čel* p. 3 forty. — Prs.
- čī'lē* Sgl. p. 1 the coldest part of winter. — Prs. *čila* forty days of winter during which the weather is most severe, cf. Psht. *cila*, Bal. *čhilav*, Kurd. *čilān*, etc.
- čūl* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 penis. — Cf. Yd. *čula*. *čə'lik* Ishk., *črl'lā* Sk., *čiliak* Gr. (Zb.) finger-ring. — Hi. *challá*, Psht. *čala* ear-ring?
- čī'lim* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. water-pipe. — *čīlim 'xašum* Sk. I smoke. — Prs.
- čōl* Zar. multicoloured. — Cf. Mj. s.v. *kaš*.
- ču'mōl* Sgl. p. 1, 3 basket for carrying on the back. — Cf. Shgh. *cemūd*, Or. *camūg*, Sar. "tsamiǵh" < \*čamyta.
- čen-*: *čid-* Sgl. p. 2, 3 to pick. — *čenen*, *čidum*. — Prs.?
- čənd* Sgl. p. 2, Gr. some. — *čənd rōz pastī*. — Prs.
- čī'nār* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *čē'nār* Gr. oriental plane. — Prs.

*čingāl* Sgl. p. 2 claw. — Prs.  
*čang'giling* Sgl. is., *čangi'ling* p. 1, *čange-  
ring* p. 3 hamstring. — Prs. \**čang-i  
ling*.  
*čap* Sgl. is., p. 2, Sk. left (hand); *čab'ling*  
 Sk. the left foot. — Prs.  
*čapa* Sgl. p. 3 overturning. — *va kištī*  
*č° kəð* overturned the boat; *mo jangal*  
*č° šīð* was thrown ashore in a forest.  
 — Cf. Prs. *čapīdan*, Psht. *čapa kawul*  
 to turn over.  
*čā'pān* Sk. cotton cloak. — Turk.  
*čā'pān* Sgl. p. 2, *ču° 3*, *čō°* Gr. shepherd.  
 — Prs. Cf. Mj. *ču'pān*.  
*č'pōšt* Sk. backwards, behind. — Assim.  
 from \**cpōšt?* Cf. Yd. *čpāč*.  
*čā'rā ken-* Sgl. p. 3 to graze. — Prs.  
*čōr*, v. *č'fūr*.  
*čō'rō*, v. *čār'vā*.  
*'čārda* Sgl. is., p. 2, s., *°da* p. 3, *'čārde*  
 Grammophone, *čārdāu* Zb. fourteen.  
 — Prs.  
*čarfandegī* Sgl. p. 3 sprinkling. — *va*  
*vēk č° kenen*. — \*Prs.?  
*čī'rāγ* Sgl. p. 1, Gr., *čī'rōγ* Ishk., Zar.,  
*čī'rāγ* Sk. candle, light. — Prs.  
*čīrāγ'dān* Sk. lantern.  
*čīrγa'zek* Sgl. p. 1, *čērγa'zək* p. 3 a spark.  
 — Cf. Mj., Khw. *čā'rox*, Or. *čērā'eak*.  
 < \**čīrax-zek*, cf. Prs. demin. suff.  
 -za?  
*čār'māys* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *čār'māγz* Sk.  
 walnut(-tree). — Prs.  
*čā'rān-*: *čā'rāst* p. 2, Gr. to graze, to  
 herd cattle. — Prs. *čarāndan*.  
*čār'rān* Sk. animal.  
*čā'rangešt* Sgl. p. 1, *čāraṅ'gušt* s. span,  
 from thumb to fore-finger. — \*Prs.  
 — V. *bā'lis*, *pēx*.  
*čār'vā* Sgl. p. *čārā* Zb., *čō'rō* Sk., *čāra*  
 Gr., *čārpa* Gr. (Zb.) horned cattle,

flocks. — *č° čā vāz žəšt-ō* p. 2. —  
 Prs. *čār-wā* quadruped.  
*čārx* Sgl. is., p. 2, *čār-x* p. 1, *čārx* p. 3,  
 Ishk. spinning wheel. — Genuine,  
 but with *č-* from Prs.?  
*čār-xaiz* Sk. galloping. — Prs. \**čāhār-  
xēz?*  
*čōs* Sgl. p. 3 a fart. — *čōs de 'guzīdan'*.  
 — Prs. *čus*, Kāndulāi *tis*.  
*'čš bā* Sk., *čiz-bā* Gr. (Zb.) why? — Cf.  
 Prs. *čiz*.  
*čīš'mē* Sgl. p. 1, *čāš'mē* p. 3, *č(u)šma* Sk.,  
*čāšma'vek* Ishk. a spring. — Prs.  
*čāšt* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 noon. — Prs.  
*čīš* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *čīš* Zar. urine. — Cf.  
 Prs. *šāš?*  
*čūt* Ishk. kid, *čūd* Zar. he-goat. — Cf.  
 Wershikwar *čūt?*  
*čūṭ* Sgl. is., *čūṭ* p. 1, 2, *čūt* Ishk., *čūṭ* Gr.  
 (Zb.) small. — *diga'rī čā wo čūṭ-an*  
*'digar az ū maida astin'*; *čūṭ zōt-i*  
 p. 2 thou art a small child; *'čūṭ kənum*  
 Sk. I break to pieces, I tear in two.  
 — Ace. to Gr. from IA. Cf. Burush.  
*jut*. V. *rīzyāk*.  
*čōv* Sgl. p. 2, *čō'vāk* p. 3 little, small.  
*ču'wēl* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, s., *čūwēl* p. 1, *ču'wēn*  
 Zb., *čwēnd* Sk., *čuwēnd* Zar., *čwēnd*  
 Gr. apricot. — Cf. Wkh. *ču'wān*,  
*čuwīn*. Rhyming with, and prob.  
 influenced by, *mēl*, *mēnd* apple. Cf.  
 Yd. *'čirē??*  
*čax'max* Sgl. is., *čak'max* p. 2, *čaxmax-  
sang* p. 3 flint(-lock). — Prs. — Turk.  
*čiz* Ishk., Sk., Gr. what? — *tə mum bo*  
*čiz γēzi?* Ishk. what dost thou say  
 to me? *in nīm čiz?* *čiz nīm in ā* Sk.  
 what is his name? *'čiz tōt 'nist*  
*čyad* Sk. why didst thou not come?  
*čiz-bā ke* Sk. since. — Prs.; cf. Wkh.,  
 Shgh., Gr. (Zb.) *čiz*.

*čizi* Sgl. is., p. 2 a thing, something. — *čizi-m nūšəð* I drank something; *wok čizi be nūšen*; *məne wok čizi a'pəð* p. 2 I lost a thing (*yak čizi*); *har qism-i čiziā-i xūb* all sorts of good things. — Prs.

## D

*da, de* Sgl. p. 2, 3 a particle denoting existence. — *āhūin wok šāx da vəð* p. 3 the stag had one horn; *tāke da fə'rind* p. 3 he remained alone. Cf. IIFL, I, Par. Gramm. p. 76; Benveniste Gramm. Sogd. II, §§ 82, 133, etc. — Cf. *dak*.

*-dō, -dō* thou art. — V. § 121.

*dōu* Sgl. is., *dōu* p. 2, *dōu* p. 3, *dāu* p. 1, *dou* s., *dōu* Ishk., *dū* Zb., *dəu* Sk., *dau*, *dō* Gr., *du* Zar. two. — *də zōt*; *də rō'pē*; *wog dō rōi mēi* some two or three days Sgl.; *dəw-yaž* Sk. repeat. — From \**duwāu*? Cf. Or. *dau*, etc.

*dē'cāk* Sgl. p. 1, *dec* Sk., Gr., *dēc* Zar. goatskin used for swimming, *sanōc*. — Cf. Wkh. *ḍāck*, Yd. *laxčio*.

*dēd* Sk., in *dēd šəwəm* I box, fight. — Cf. Shgh. *dēd* war, or, more probably, Sgl. *deh-* (v. below).

*dēd-* Sgl. p. 2, *dēd-*: *dett-* Sk. to enter, go in. — *dē(ḍə)m* I entered. — Cf. Shgh. *dēd-*, Or. *indīd-*, Sar. *diḍ-*: *deid*, Yd. *tī* < \**ati-i*, with *-d* from 3 sg. (v. s.v. *īd*)? Cf. Sogd. *tys-* (Benv. Gramm. Sogd. II, 61), Yaghn. *tīs-*: *tist*, Yazgh. *dis-*: *dayd*, and Yd. *tī-*.

*dīd* Sgl., Zb., *dūd* Ishk., *dīd* Sk., *did* Zar., *dīt* Gr. smoke. — Cf. Yd. *lūi* (Ishk. from Prs.).

*'dīdūs* Sgl. p., °*us* s., *'dīdūs* is.; *'dwōzdāu*

Zb., *dwōzda* Ishk. twelve. — *dī* < \**dū* < *duwa*?

*dig'dān* Sgl. is., p. 1, Gr., *dig'dōn* Ishk., *dīkdōn* Zar. fireplace, hearth; *d'k'dān* Sk. kettle(?). — Prs.

*dīga* Sgl. p. 2 now, then. — *čand rōz pasī dīga xē māl gōl kuḍ*. — Prs.

*'dīgar* Sgl. p. 3 other. — Prs.

*dīga'rī* Sgl. p. 2 still, more. — *d' cəwo čuḥ-ān* you are still smaller than he.

*dah*, v. *dos*.

*deh-*: *dēḍ* Sgl. p. (p. 3 also *dehēḍ*), *dē-*: *dēḍ* s., *dē-*: *dēd* Ishk., Sk., *deh-*: *dēd* Gr. (Zb.), *dē-*: *ded-* Zar. to beat. — *tfak de'hēn*, *tu a'mak dē*; *azəm a-tfak dēḍ* p. 1; *dehōi 'mēzanad'*; *warf' d'əhō* snow falls; *vēki dīān* they irrigate; *tēym dān* they sow; *dānd' dehēn* I bite; *axše dēḍəm* I yawned; *dehēḍ 'zad'*; *gab dehef* speak (*gap bezant*) p. 3; *dēḍəm Gazkəstān* p. 2 we reached ("struck"?) G. (*zadim*); *dēum*; *azi wan dēdum*; *mak dēd 'mara zad'* Ishk.; *dēm*, imper. *dē*, *dēdum*, *dēduk*, *dēyuk*; *az fak dēm* I beat thee Sk. — Cf. Yd. *dah-*, Shgh. *de-*, etc.

*dāku'sa* Sk. felt-pad placed under the saddle. — Sk. compares Gr. *'dakoša* stirrup.

*dak* Sgl. p. 2, 3 emphatic particle. — *xwārən-dak* I eat; *xwōro-dak* he eats; *nēr-əm kuḍ v-āri dak*; *nēr-əm kōkō va hāri-dak* to-day I did (have done) the work (*imrūz hamū kāra kardam*); *ma mən xōḍm-dak gab dehef* explain my dream; *im-bā-dak wok miē! dūdū vedom* I had given him an apple; *ce har xōri-dak 'az har xar'*; *kull-šōn-dak* they all; *am xān-dag kull mōnin-dag-ē*. Cf. §§ 114, 117.



- dəq<sup>ə</sup>dəq* Sk. trotting. — Cf. Shgh. *doqdoq*, and Prs. *luk luk raftan*.
- duqō'lāc* Sk. gallop. — Cf. Prs. *qulāc* prancing of a horse.
- dēkā'nī* Sk. field. — Prs.
- 'dela* Sgl. is. weasel. — Prs.
- dāi'lē* Sgl. p. 2 porridge made of barley (said to be a Farsi word). — Cf. Prs. *dīla* rye? V. *pa'sār*.
- doldo'rok* Sgl. is., *dōḡḡo'rok* p. 1, 3, *ḡoḡo'rok* s. thunder. — Onomatopoeic word, cf. Pšht. *dūḡḡakār*, Par. *bumbu'rū*, etc.
- dā'ūz* Sgl. is., p. 2 veranda.
- dam* Gr. (Zb.) back (of an animal). — Cf. Shgh. *dam* upper part of the back, Or. *dām* spine, etc., Par. *damāi* behind. Shgh. *d-* points to borrowing.
- dāmb* Sgl. p. 1, *dāmb* p. 3, *dumb* Zb., Ishk., *dḡmb* Sk., *dum* Zar. tail. — Genuine, or from Prs. *dum(b)*. Cf. Yd. *lām*.
- dāmb-* Sgl. p. 3 to card wool. — *pāme dāmben*. — Cf. Yd. *lib-*.
- 'dōmōd* Ishk. son-in-law, *dō'mōd* Sk. bridegroom, *dū'mōd* sister's husband, son-in-law. — Prs. V. *zā'mūd*.
- dam'fāžek* Sgl. p. 2, s., *°ažək* p. 3 yawn. — *d° xašem* I yawn. — Prs. *dam* breath + *fāž* yawning; cf. Par. *fāza*.
- dī'māy* Zb. nostrils. — Ar.-Prs. V. *fāsək-pqa'cē*.
- 'dāman* Sgl. p. 1, 2 hem of a garment. — Prs.
- dānā* Sgl. is., *dāh'nā* Sk. a horse's bit. — Prs. V. *lažām*.
- dā'nā* Sk. wise. — Prs.
- dān* Ishk. day (?). — Doubtful word, unknown from other sources.
- dān* Sk. religion. — Ar.-Prs.
- dānd* Sgl. is., *dānd* p. 3, *dān* p. 1, *dānt* s., *dōn(t)* Zb., Ishk., *dānd* Sk., *dānd(ak)* Gr. tooth. — *nasəm be pə dānd* Sgl. p. 2 I bite it; *na'sök pa dān'* is.; *dāndə dehēn* p. 3; *dōnt kenem* Ishk. I bite. — Cf. Yd. *lad*.
- dunda* Sgl. p. 3 so much, *amika* (= *hamīn qadr*). — *dunda ved* thus it happened. — Cf. Gr. (Zb.) *zo-dund*, Sar. *dumd* < \**tā vant*?
- dūnik* Sgl. p. 2 grain. — *dūnik xoro* 'dāna mēxura'. — Cf. Prs. *dāna*.
- de'nula* Sgl. p. 1 hoopoe, *huthut*.
- dān-'pəḡf* Sgl. p. 2 gums.
- dōn'yā* Sk. world. — Ar.-Prs.
- da'rē* Sgl. is., *dā'rē* p. 1, *dar'ra* Sk. valley. — Prs. But Gr. *dīr* 'ravine' may be genuine.
- dā'rū* Sk. gunpowder. — Prs.
- dēr* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, s., Ishk., Sk., Gr., *dīer* p. 3, 'Wkh.' *dēra* belly. — *wūžinjak zəmanok oḡod mē dēri* the woman became pregnant. — Prob. < \**udarya-* (v. KZ, 61, 32), cf. Yaghn. *dara*.
- dēr-*: *dērd* Sk. to have. — *dīrəm*. — Av. *dāraya-*, Par. *dēr-*, cf. Yd. *lār-*.
- dīr* Sgl. p. distant, far. — *dīr watan ba šīd*; *aḡa ādam dīr-ūi*, *ama ādam ka'rīb-ū* p. 1 that man is far away, this man is near. — Cf. Yd. *līro*.
- dūr*, *dḡ* ("with Swedish *u*") Sk. penis.
- dūr* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk. sickle. — Cf. "Wkh." *dār*, Yd. s.v. *lḡruyus*.
- dard*, *daḡ(d)* Sk. pain. — *'mənō 'dard-kunu* it hurts me. — Prs.
- dar'gāv* Sgl. p. 1, *dar'gō* Zb. small valley; *dar'gāb* Sk. brook. — Prs.
- dūrūy* Sk. a lie. — Prs.
- durōy'gū* Sgl. p. 2, *dūrūy'gū* Sk. a liar. — *tə d° dō* Sgl. p. 2. — Prs.
- durk* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *dərck* Zb., Ishk., Sk. stick, wood. — *va durk to'vōr māida kenen* p. 2 I cut the wood into pieces with an axe; *xūb rōst durk-ū* it is

- a quite straight stick. — \**dāruka*, or \**daruka*- (v. § 79), cf. Shgh. *δōrg*, Psht. *largai*.
- dā'ram* Sgl. p. 1, Zb. pinetree.
- dā'rūn* Sgl. p. 2, Gr. inside. — *tə ma wān d° do* thou art in the house. — Prs.
- dār'nāk* Sgl. is. arrow (?), p. 2 bow-string. — Cf. Orm. *drūng* (v. Suppl. Notes s.v.) bow. Yd. *drūn* is borr. from Khw. — V. *zē*, *xas'tirek*.
- dā'rust* Sgl. p. 2 straight. — Prs.
- dā'rāšt* Sgl. p. 2, is. rough. — Prs.
- drāw*, v. *deräy*.
- dār'wāza* Sgl. p. 3 door, gate. — *čel d° vəd*; *mə d° nīdef* sit down at the gate. — Prs.
- dāraxt* Sgl. is., *draxt* p. 1, *dā'raxt* Sk. a tree. — Prs.
- de'räy*-, *de'rē*:- *dā'rād* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *de'ray*- Ishk., *drāw*:- *drāwd* Sk. to reap. — *deräyen*, *derādəm* p. 2; *γundum derayem* Ishk. — Poss. from Prs. Cf. Yd. *lert*.
- dar'yāi* Sgl. is., s., *dar'yā(o)* p. river, *dār-yā* Sk. Amu Darya. — *daryāo yaxo kuök* p. 2 the river has frozen (*yax kardast*). — Prs.
- dār'yök* Sgl. p. 2 reaping, harvest. — *d° isü*. — V. *deräy*.
- dā'rāz* Sk. long. — Prs.
- dos* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, s., *dōs* p. 1, Gr. (Zb.), *dāu* Zb., *dah* Sk., Gr. ten. — Cf. Yd. *los* (*dāu*, *dah* < Prs.).
- 'dōsad* Sk. 200. — Prs.
- dā'sin* Sgl. is., p. 2 wild oats. — Sk. *rōš-šov'suk*. Cf. Yd. *leso*.
- dōst* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *dūst* Ishk., *du'ost* Sk. arm below the elbow, hand. — *xē dōst ze'nēyen* p. 1 I wash my hands. — Cf. Yd. *last*.
- dūst* Sgl. p. 2, *dust* Sk. a friend. — *dūst dērum* Sk. I love. — Prs.
- das'tak* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk. a rafter, ceiling-board. — Prs., Bad.; cf. Par., Orm. *des'tak*.
- dēš*:- *dəyδ* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., *dēš*:- *dēšt* Zar. to milk. — *ra uyū dēšəm*, *va uyū-m dəyδəm* p. 2. — \**dauššya*:- \**duxta*-, cf. EVP, s.v. *lwašəl*. — Yd. (v. s.v. *lūš*), Wkh., Sgl., etc. go back to \**dauš*.
- dəš* Sgl. p. 2 late. — *dəš o'γod*. — Cf. Wkh. *δōš* (Sh.).
- duš'man* Sgl. p. 3, Sk. enemy. — *tə bāi d° paidā šwō* thou hast got an enemy. — Prs.
- dašt* Sgl. is., p. 2 open, relatively flat ground at the foot of the hills. — Prs.
- dāvā*, °*və* Sgl. p. 2 after that, *pas-i amū*. — *dāvā nes lā-kuδ 'bāz ū na mānd'*; *dāvə šōvök* (q.v.) *šūān*.
- dāv'in*:- *dāv'ind* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., *du'vin* Zar. to winnow. — *dāv'inuk* p. 2 winnowing. — Cf. Yd. *ləbān*.
- dē'vō'nē* Sk. mad = *lēw*. — Prs.
- dē'wāl* Sgl. is., p. 1, °*ol* Ishk., *dē'wāl* Sk. wall. — Prs.
- 'dēwišt* Sgl. p. 3 twenty-two.
- daxtan'dār* Sgl. p. 1 husband's sister (?). — Prob. a mistake, cf. Prs. *duxtarandar* step-daughter.
- 'dāya* Sgl. p. 3, *dō'ya* Sk. nurse. — Prs.
- dāy*:- *dūd* Sgl. p. 1, 2, s., *day*:- *dūd* Ishk., Gr., *dey*:- *dūd* Sk. to give. — Pres. 1 sg. *dāyen*; *tu mum bē wok rōpē dē* p. 1 give me a rupee; *dāyem be*; *im be wok rōpē dēyen* (1 pl.); *dīān* (3 pl.); *dūdəm*, *azəm dūd*; *dūdīn*; *dūdū vedəm* (plup.) p. 2; *azi tu bo dayum*, *dūdum* Ishk.; *'deyum*, *dei*,

'dūdum, 'dūduk, 'deyuk Sk. — \*daya- (cf. Tedesco, MO, 1921, p. 224); but cf. Yd.—Mj. *dāl*.

*dəzd* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. thief. — Prs. — Gr. *dužd*, if correct, might be a genuine form.

*dū'zax* Sk. hell. — Prs.

## F

*fai* Sgl. p. 2, Ishk., Gr. (Zb.), Sk. much, many, very, still more. — *fai vəz-əm wēnd* I saw many goats; *fai wuḍuyḍ-o* there are many daughters; *təmux fay ān* p. 2; *fai muluk* many men; *fai ferīnd* very tired; *fai bu bōrū 'bisyar mēbarad'* Ishk., *fai lip* Sk. very much. — \**fra-aya-*, cf. Benveniste, Gramm. Sogd. II, p. 162: *fy'tr*, etc.?

*fī* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *fai* Ishk., Zar., *fei* Gr. shovel, wooden spade. — "Wkh." *fī*; cf. Yd. *fīa*.

*fōc* Sgl. p., s., Gr. (Zb.), *fōc* Sgl. is., *fov* Zb., *fōc* Sk. mouth. — Cf. Yd. *fāsko*. *fauji* Sgl. p. 3 soldier. — Ar.-Prs. V. *fauž*. *fak* Ishk. thee. V. *tu*. — Gr. *fak* 1) self, 2) your honour is due to some misunderstanding of *fak* 'thee'. Cf. § 111.

*fī'uk* Sgl. is., p., s. shoulder-blade. — Cf. Yd.—Mj. *fīa*, Shgh. *fyak*, etc.

*fekr* Sk. thought. — *fīkr kən* consider. — Ar.-Prs.

*fū'lād* Sgl. is., p. 2, °*ād* Sk. steel. — Prs. *fills* Gr. beestings milk, Sk. buttermilk. — Prs. *fal(l)a*.

*falax'mān* Gr. sling. — Prs. *palaxm(ān)*. *fār*, v. *befāru*.

*frī* Sk., Gr., *ferī* Gr. (Zb.) good, dear. Sk. bravo. — Sk. *frī dīr-* (*kas-*) to

love; *fak frī dīrəm* I like thee; *fārītar* better; *a'd-īm frī wəḍ* that would be good. — Cf. Av. *frya-*, Sak. *brria-*.

*far'be* Sk. fat (noun). — Prs.

*fār'rēd* Sgl. p. 3 broken. — *bə'tā fō kuḍ pə tovor* he broke the idols with an axe, *šīkast*. — Cf. Wkh. *fril-* to crumble? V. *vrēl-*.

*fār'γort*: *fār'γəšt* Sgl. s. to wander about. — *fār'γərtəm 'mē-gardam'*, *fār-əm γəšt* I wandered about. — Adapted fr. Prs. V. *γort-*.

*fār'mē-*: *fār'mūd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s. to order, command. — *pādšā fār'mūd* p. 3. — Prs.?

*frūn* Gr. shelf, plank. — Wkh. *rūn*, Sar. *rūn* < \**frāna-*, cf. Lett. *plāns* floor, Lit. *plonas* thin, etc.?

*fār'ris-*: *fār'rīnd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., *fār'rīn-*: *fār'rīnd* Sk. to remain, be left behind; *frīn* Gr. he remained. — *fār'risəm 'mēmānam'*; *fār'rīndəm 'māndam'*; *fār'rīndī fār'šou mə pənuk* thou didst spend the night on the pass p. 2; *pādšā tāke* (q.v.) *fār'rīnd* p. 3. — < \**fra-ričya-*: \**fra-rična-*, cf. Wkh. *warič-*: *waregn*, Sar. *ris-*: *reid*, Or. *ras-*: *rid*.

*fār'rīnd* Ishk., *frīn'duk* Gr. tired, Sk. lagging behind. — From *fār'ris-*, cf., semantically, Wkh. *vərəčk* tired, Prs. *mānda*, Sindhi *virto*, Yd. *wuzā-*, etc.

*fār'nīs-*: *fār'nīt* Sgl. is., p. 2, Ishk.; *fār'nīt-*: *fār'nīt* Sk. to forget. — *fār'nīsən*: *fār'nītəm* p. 2; *fār'nītum, na fār'nīti* Ishk.; *az-um 'fār'nīt* I forget, *az-īm fār'nīt(əm)* I forgot, *'fār'nīt, fār'nītuk, 'fār'nītuk* Sk. — < \**fra-nasya-*, cf. Shgh. *renēs-*, Yazgh. *anīs-*: *anušt* (\**ā-*, or \**fra-*?).

*fərōs*: *fərōt* Sgl. is., *frās*: *frōt* p. 1, *fəras* p. 2, 3, s., Ishk.: *fərōt* Sgl. p. 3, s., *fərēt* Ishk., *foras*: *forast* Sk., *frut* Gr., *ferāt* Gr. (Zb.) to ask. — *az*<sup>o</sup> *fərōsən*, (tu) *fərāsī*, *fərōtəm* is.; *az frāsen*, tu *frā'sī*, *az-əm frōtəm*, tu *frōtī* p. 1; *fərasen* p. 2; *fərasəm*: *fərōtəm* p. 3, s; *fərasum*, *fərētum* Ishk.; *fo'rasum*, *f(o)ras*, *forastum*, *forastuk* Sk. — A new Pres. base has been made from the Past Stem \**frašta*- (Sak. *brrašta*-, etc.), and from *fras*-, in its turn, *forast* (incidentally resembling Old Prs. *-frasta*-). Most dialects have retained Pres. \**prsa*-, but have renewed the Past Base. Cf. Yd. *prs*-.

*fər'sōu* Sgl. is., *fər*<sup>o</sup> p. 2, *fur*<sup>o</sup> p. 3, s., *feršun* Gr. (Zb.), *foršuk* MFB, *fər'xa* "Wkh." night. — < \**fra-xšapa*-. — V. *šab*.

*fər'rāšte*, -<sup>o</sup>*a* Sgl. p. 3 angel. — Prs.

*farx-i'sur* Sgl. p. 1, 2 top of the head. — Ar-Prs. (also in Par.). — V. *tā-i-sar*.

*fər'yaγ* Sgl. p. 1 yoke. — Cf. Yd. *frāiγo* yoke-rope, RgV. *praūga*- yoke. V. *yəγ*.

*fər'yəm* Sgl. p. 2, <sup>o</sup>*em* p. 3 female kid, one year old. — Cf. "Wkh." *fəryəmč*, Yd. *frayingo*, etc.

*fu'sek* Sgl. is., *fə'sək* p. 1, *f(ə)ək* p. 2, 3, *fə'sek* s., *fr'sē* "Wkh." nose. — Cf. Yd. *fəsko*. — V. *nic*, *mīs*.

*fə'sək-pəa'čē* Sgl. p. 1 nostrils. — V. *di'māy*.

*fasl* Sgl. p. 3 moment, Sk. season. — *wok fasl asto veđ 'yak dam (= fasl) istād'*. — \*Ar-Prs.

*fāx'tē* Sgl. p. 1, 2 ringdove. — Prs.

*fāuž* Sgl. p. 2, *fauj* p. 3 army. — Ar-Prs. — V. *fauji*.

## G

*gi'ā* Sgl. p. 1 grass. — Prs.

*gū kən* Sk. to grow (intr.). Cf. Wkh. *gē car*-.

*gu'dōm* Sgl. p. 1, 2 store-house, *ambār*. — *maxlu'kān g<sup>o</sup> xaštān* p. 2. — Ind.

*gōgərd* Sgl. is., p. 2, <sup>o</sup>*ərd* p. 3 sulphur. — Prs.

*guh* Sgl. is., p. 3, *gū* p. 1, Ishk., Zar. human excrements. — But *čārvāt goh* Sgl. is., *goh* p. 3, *go* p. 1 cowdung. — Prs. (double borrowing?).

*gel* Sgl. is., *gəl* p. 1, 2, Zb., *gul* Ishk., *gul(uk)* Sk., *gulok* Gr. flower. — *ispē gəl* p. 2. — Prs.

*gīl* Sgl. p. 1, *gīl* s. clay. — Prs. — V. *lōi*.

*gōla* Ishk., *gāla* Sk., Gr. (Zb.) bread. — *a'z-im nēr gā'la 'nist xūl* Sk. to-day I have not eaten bread. — Cf. Shgh. *garda* wheaten bread. — V. *xēste*.

*gul* Ishk., *gōla* Sk. kidney, Gr. liver. — Prs. *gōla* a ball. — V. *wojk*.

*gulbād(ə)k* Sk. whirlwind, *gulbāduk* Gr. cloud. — \*Prs.?

*gala'gāu* Sgl. p. 1 herd of cows. — Prs.

*gi'lām* Ishk. rug (? or coat?) Prs.

*gilam'bāf* Sgl. is. weaver, *gilimbōfak* p. 1, *gəlīm-'bāfək* Sk. spider. — Prs. Cf. Shgh. *gilimbāf*, Wkh. *gilimbōf* spider.

*gī'lās* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 cherry. — Prs.

*gul'xār* Sk. briar. — \*Prs.

*gōļ* Sgl. p. 2, 3 collected, assembled, together with, *gul* Sk. with, *gūl* Gr. assembled, *-gal* Gr. (Zb.) together with. — *xē māl gōļ kuđ* p. 2 he collected his goods; *gōļ ken xē wa'ziren* assemble thy ministers; *xē baškač goļ 'kat-i baškač'*; *xē wa'ziren gər* p. 3 together with his ministers; *tō γōļ*

*isən* p. 2 'hamrā-i tū mēāyam'; *mən gul* Sk. with me. — Prob. anc. lw. from Prs. \*gart (but cf. Barth., Mir. Mund. VI, 60).

*goł* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *gul* Ishk. dumb, *gūl* Sk. deaf. — *gōł mō šyuk* p. 2 I have become dumb. — Prs. *gōł* stupid?

*gām* Sk. pace, walk. — Prs.

*gan'da* Sgl. p. 2 bad. — *g° ādam-ū*. — Prs.

*gīn'jišk* Ishk. sparrow. — Prs.

*-gnik* Sk. resembling, like. — *urwēsak-gnik*, *xūg-gnik małuk* a fox-like, pig-like man. — Cf. Prs. *gūna?*

*gap* Sgl. is., p. 3, Sk., Gr. word, conversation. — *ma mən xodm dak gab dehef* p. 3 you must say a word about my dream. — Prs.

*gā'rē* Sgl. p. 3 knot. — Prs.

*gar'dak* Zb., *gurduk* Ishk., *gardan* Sk. neck. — Borr. and adapted from Prs. *gardan*.

*garm* Zb., Ishk., Sk. warm, hot (Sk. also 'heat'). — Prs. — V. *γōrm*.

*gušt* Sk. meat. — Prs. V. *puđf*.

*gāx-*: *gāxəd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *gāx-*: *gaxt* Gr. (Zb.) to make, prepare. — *wok čizī gāxen*; *watukə gāxān* they prepare a feast p. 2; *gax* imper. 2 sg., *cena gāxen* 'čikār mēkunim?' 'Ōzar 'zōt-ō 'gaxtōk 'O's son has done it' Sgl. p. 3. — Cf. Wkh. *goš-*, *γāx-*.

*gaz* Sgl. p. 2 ell. — Prs.

*gāz* Zb., *gazek* Sgl. p. 1 tamarisk. — Prs. Cf. *yōz*.

*gāzdəmb* Sgl. is., 'gaz° p. 3, s., *gāzdəm* p. 1, *gaž'dūm* Sk., *gož'dum* Ishk. scorpion. — Prs. *gaždum* (and *gazdum*, Horn. Np. Et. 885?).

*gu'zār* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., Gr. ford. — *g°-əm be šixtəm* I crossed the ford. — Prs.

## Γ

*γōu*, v. *u'γūi*.

*γōb-naduk* Gr. green slime on standing water. — Cf. Or. *γōb* mud, slime, Wershikwar *γōp*, and *naduk* from *nas-*.

*γū'bār* Sgl. p. 1, *γō°* p. 2, *γū'bōr* Zb. dust-storm. — Prs.

*γudāra* Gr. water-vessel. — Prs. *γadāra*, Shgh. *γedōra*.

*γōk* Ishk. frog (large). — Prs.

*γōl* Ishk. lung(?). — (Prob. Prs. *šus* misheard as *gūš*.)

*γal'bēl* Sgl. is., p., Ishk., Sk. sieve; *γ° kən*-Sk. to strain, sift. — *va γōndəm γ° kenen* p. 3. — Prs.

*γō'lāk* Sgl. is., *γulak* p. 2, Zar., *γū°* Sk., Gr. pellet-bow. — Cf. Yd.—Mj. *γūlak*. V. *γā'lāk*.

*γalla* Ishk. grain. — Prs.

*γā'lām* Sgl. p. 2 slave. — Ar.-Prs.

*γalt* Sgl. p. 3 falling. — *γalt-em šid* I fell. — Ar.-Prs.

*γāl'viš* Sgl. is. Adam's apple. — Cf. *γāl'* and *kaš-viš*, *baγal-viš*. V. *biš*.

*γāl* Sgl. is., p., s., *γōl* Zb., Ishk., *γāł* Sk., *γdl* Gr. throat. — *ma mōi γāl ba tīr-i dast dehēd* Sgl. p. 3 he hit his throat with an arrow. — Cf. Or. *γārōd*, Psht. *γāra*.

*γōł* Sgl. p. 1, s., *γol* is., p. 3, Sk., *γōl* Ishk., Gr., *γol* Sk., *wōl*(!) Zb., *γūl* Zar., "Wkh." *γal* ear. — Cf. Yd. *γū*, and Prs. dial. *γōl*.

*γōł* Sgl. p. 2 together with. — V. *gōł*.

*γā'lāk* Sgl. is., p. 1 plough-handle. — From *γōł* ear, cf. Prs. *gōša* handle of a vessel, Psht. *γwaž(a)* horn of a bow, etc.

*γam* Sk. sorrow. — Ar.-Prs.

*γa'mī* Sgl. is., p. 1 tired. — Ar.-Prs.

*γam'gīn* Sk. sorrow(ful). — Ar.-Prs.  
*γōndam* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., °*um* p. 1, *γōndum*  
 Zb., Ishk., *γu*° Sk., Gr., Zar. wheat.  
 — Cf. Yd. *γādəm*.  
*γe'nōk* Sgl. is., *γē'nōk* p. 1, °*ok* p. 2, 3,  
 °*ūk* s., °*uk* Ishk., Zb., Sk., Gr. hair,  
 "Wkh." *γēno* goat's hair. — Cf. Yd.  
*γunia*.  
*γnain* Sk. (uncertain reading) stallion.  
*γār* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Gr., *γōr* p. 1 cave. —  
 Ar.-Prs.  
*γārī* Sgl. is., p. 2 a kind of tree, *siyācūb*.  
*γōr* Sgl. is., *γor* p. 2 penis. — Cf. Wkh.  
*γūr*, Sar., Or. *γur* (scrotum), Prs. *γur*  
 having large testicles.  
*γa'rib* Sgl. p. 2 poor. — Ar.-Prs.  
*γər'dāv* Sgl. p. 2, *g*° p. 3 whirlpool. —  
 Prs.(Sgl. p.2 with phonetic adaptation).  
 Cf. Khow. *γernānu*.  
*γo'rōk* Sgl. is., p. 3, °*ōg* p. 1, *γō'ruk* "Wkh."  
 neck. — Cf. Wkh. *γarāγ*, Sar. *žarej*  
 collar, Psht. *γarai* throat, Av. *garah*.  
*γu'rūk* Sgl. is, p. 2, °*ik* Gr., *γōrik* Zar.  
 lucerne, *reške*. — Cf. Yd. *rrγo'γo*.  
*γγ'kužuk* Sk. bull. — V. *γōr*, *ku'žuk*.  
*γōrm* Sgl. is., p. warm, hot. — *nēr* *γōrm-ō*.  
 — Av. *garəma-*, etc.; Sar. *žūrm* (but  
 not in other Pamir diall.).  
*γər'nī* Sk. money. — Ar.-Prs. *qrānī??*  
*γart-* Sgl. is., *γort-*: *γōšt* p. 2 to walk  
 about; *γēšt* Gr. (Zb.) he returned;  
*γurs*: *γušt* Zar. to go out. — *γartam*  
*bəš* Sgl. is.; *γorten* 'mēgardam', *γōštəm*  
 'gaštam' p. 2. — Adapted from early  
 N. Prs. \**gart-* (*gardidan*). V. *fər-γərt-*.  
*γōv* Sgl. p. 2 corn-bin, *kandū*. — Cf. Or.  
*žūv* 'ambār', Sar. *žēv*, Wkh. *γūv*, *γōv*,  
 Phl. *gōβān*. — Cf. Yd. *γuvē?*  
*γuz-*: *γuzd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., *γəz-*: *γəzd* Ishk.,  
 Sk., *γūz-*: *γūzd* Gr. (Zb.) to run. —  
*γuzən*, *γuzəm* be, *γuzdəm* Sgl. p. 2;

*azi γəzum*, *azi wulo γəzd* Ishk. I ran  
 formerly. — Cf. Yd. *γāz*.  
*γēz-*: *γēzəδ* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, : *γēzd* s., Ishk.,  
*γēiz-*: *γēizəd* p. 3, *γəz-*: *γəzd* Sk., : *γēd*  
 Gr. (Zb.), : *γēzd* Gr. to say, speak. —  
 Pres. *azə γēzən*, *tu γēzi*, *ada γē'zō*,  
*a'maxə γē'zəm*, *a'dāndə γē'zān*, pret.  
*az-əm γēzəd* p. 1; *az va tfak γēzen*  
 I say to thee, *tə va mak cī-e γēz?*  
 what dost thou say to me? *aməxə*  
*rōsk γēzəm* p. 3 we speak the truth,  
*təməx cī-e γēzəf?* p. 3; *xē tā-vē γēzəd*  
 p. 3 he said to his father; pres. 2 pl.  
*γēizəf* 3 pl. *γēizən*, pret. 3 sg. *γēizəd*,  
 3 pl. *γēzdan* p. 3; *azi fak γēzum*, *tə*  
*mum bo ciz γāzi?* *γēzdum* Ishk.;  
 pres. 1 sg. *γəzm*, 3 pl. *γāi'jān*, *tə*  
*'məmbə γəz 'kūnā zəvək-d* Sk. say (it) to  
 me, it is an old word. — Gauthiot's  
 derivation (JA, 1916, p. 247) is  
 phonetically improbable.

## H

*hēcī* Sgl. p. 2 anything, *hē* Gr., *hec* Gr.  
 (Zb.) any. — *amē hēcī nes xołok*  
 Sgl. p. 2; *hič waqt* Sk. never. — Prs.  
*haf'sar* Sgl. p. 3 officer (in tale). — Engl.  
 (*h*)*aftād* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 seventy. — Prs.  
*har* Sgl. is., p. 2 every. — *ce har xōridak*  
 'az har xar'. — Prs.  
*hōr* Sgl. p. 2 every, all. — *hōr kull-šōn*  
 'hama-išān'. — Prs.?  
*həš* Sgl. p. 2 mind. — *wok cize tar həš-ōi*  
 'yak cizi ba dil-i mā-st'. — Prs.  
*huš'γār* Sgl. p. 2 wise. — Prs.  
 (*h*)*ot* Sgl. is., p. 3, *hot* s., *hōt* p. 1, 2, *ōt*  
 Zb., Gr. (Zb.), Sk., *aš* Ishk., *āš* Gr.,  
*ūt* Zar., *hat* Sgl. eight. — Cf. Yd.  
*ašco*. *h-* from Prs.  
*'hōtəδōs* Sgl. p. 1, 2, 'hotodos is., *hotəδos*

Grammophone, <sup>1</sup>otəðos s., <sup>0</sup>1dos p. 3; *haždāu* Zb. (Prs.) eighteen.  
*haṭe* Sgl. p. 1 loosened, released. — *h*<sup>o</sup>  
*kenen*, *h*<sup>o</sup>-em *kuł*. V. *ya'lē*. Cf. the  
 following word.  
*haṭ* Sgl. is., p. 2, at Gr. open. — *vōr*  
 (*h*)*ṭ-ōi* p. 2, *ər kuḍ* p. 2 'yala kat';  
*dar'wāze heṭ kenef!* p. 3. — Cf. Wkh.  
*əṭ*, Sar. *hāṭ*, Shgh. *het*. — Lw.?  
 (*h*)*a'wā* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *a'wāi* is., *hawā* Sk.  
 air. — *a*<sup>o</sup> *na'vōi* Sgl. is. it is raining;  
*tar ha*<sup>o</sup> *arazō* p. 2 it flies through  
 the air; *a*<sup>o</sup> *dūd* p. 3 he sent (it) into  
 the air (*hawā dād*). — Ar.-Prs.  
*hāuz* Sgl. is., s., *āuz* p. 3, *hauz* p. 2 lake.  
 — Ar.-Prs.  
*ha'zār* Sgl. p. 2 one thousand. — Prs.  
*haž'dāu*, v. *hōtəðos*.

### ǰ (cf. Ž)

*ǰā* Sgl. p. 2, Gr. (Zb.), *ǰō* Sk., *ǰā* Gr.  
 place. — *wok ǰā iḍen* Sgl. p. 2 I come  
 to a place; *az ǰō kənum* Sk. I hide.  
 — Prs.  
*ǰε*, v. *ža*.  
*ǰu'bār*, v. *ǰo'rār*.  
*ǰuṭa'kī* Sgl. is., *ǰuṭtē* p. 1 twins. —  
 \*Prs., cf. Yd. *ǰift*.  
*ǰilgar* Sgl. p. 1, 2, Zb., Ishk., Sk., <sup>o</sup>*ār*  
 Sgl. p. 3 liver. — Prs.  
*ǰih-* Sgl. p. 2, s., *ǰē-* is., *ǰeh-* p. 3: *ǰest* is.,  
 s., *ǰist* p. 2; *ǰəs*: *ǰəst* Sk. to flee, run  
 away. — *psā be ǰi'him*, *ǰistəm* Sgl.  
 p. 2 'gurəxtam'; *ǰehen* p. 3 I am  
 fleeing; imper. 2 sg. *ǰē* is. Cf. Gr.  
*ǰistuk* fast (horse). — Prs.  
*ǰi'hān* Sk. world. — Prs.  
*ǰil* Sgl. p. 2 bridle. — Prs. *ǰilau*.  
*ǰald* Sgl. p. 2 quick. — *ǰald is* come  
 quickly. — Ar.-Prs.

*ǰuāl'dōz* Sgl. p. 1 packing-needle. — Prs.  
*ǰalsa* Sgl. p. 3 gathering, meeting. —  
 Ar.-Prs.  
*ǰila'yōk* Sgl. is. spider. — Prs. *ǰulāh*  
 weaver. V. *gilimbōfak*.  
*ǰān* Sk. soul. — Prs.  
*ǰnūb* Sk. south. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ǰān'dār* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *ǰān<sup>o</sup>* is. ram. —  
*ǰ<sup>o</sup> kə'lān* p. 2 they kill a ram. —  
 Prs., cf. Or. *ǰōndōr* ram.  
*ǰānj* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s., *ǰō<sup>o</sup>* p. 1, *ǰō<sup>o</sup>* Ishk.,  
 Sk. woman. — < \**ǰani-ēi*, v. §§ 26,  
 97. Cf. Yd. *ǰiṅko*.  
*ǰan'war* Zb., Ishk. male markhor. — Prs.  
 V. *ǰūōk*.  
*ǰang* Sk. war. Prs.  
*ǰangal* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 forest, jungle. —  
 Prs.  
*ǰārū* Ishk. broom. — Prs.  
*ǰe'rāb* Sgl. is., p. 1 stockings. — Prs.  
*ǰəs-*, v. *ǰih-*.  
*ǰo'vār* Sgl. is., p. 3, *ǰu<sup>o</sup>* p. 2, *ǰu'wār* p. 1,  
*ǰu'bār* Sk., *ǰu'bār* Gr. irrigation-  
 channel, watercourse. — Prs.  
*ǰu'wāb* Sgl. p. 2 answer. — *ǰ<sup>o</sup> dē wok*  
*ēzi* answer me one thing. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ǰu'wān* Sgl. p. 2, *ǰə'wōn* Sk. young. —  
 Prs.  
*ǰuwā'ē* Sgl. is. she-calf, three years old,  
*ǰuā'na* Sk. heifer; *ǰu(w)ā'nē* Sgl. p.  
 2, 3 male calf one (to two) years  
 old. — Cf. Wkh. *ǰu'āna*, Mj. *ǰu'āna*.  
*ǰuwānmar'dī* Sk. courage. — Prs.  
*ǰu'wārī* Sgl. p. 1 jowar. — Prs.  
*ǰoz* Sgl. is., *ǰəz* p. 1 mosquito.

### K

*ki*, *ke* Sgl., Ishk. that, when, etc. —  
*Tira'mā ke šid* when autumn came;  
*ke warf dēd*, *nəs kō-kwān* Sgl. p. 2

- because snow fell we could not (cross);  
*yäizēd ke* he said that; *kasef ke . . .*  
*bə kunjay-ō* look where he may be;  
*məni zi Xudāi nəst kə wo žanen* p. 3  
 I have not such a God that they  
 can kill him. — Prs.?
- kai ken-* Sgl. s. to eructate(?). — Prs.  
*qay* vomiting.
- kō(i)* Sgl. who? — V. § 119.
- kō ken-* Sgl. p. 2 to be able. — *pāruzd-im*  
*šo'wāri ke'nūk nəst-əm kō-kuδ* yester-  
 day I could not come (*dīna rafta*  
*būdan na tānistem*); *ari ke'nūk kō*  
*kenen 'kār karda metānam'*; *nəs kō*  
*kwān* we could not (*nə tānistim*);  
*nēr-əm kō-ko* (= °*kuδ*) *va hāri-dāk*  
 to-day I could do the work.
- ka'būl* Sgl. p. 3 agreeing, believing. —  
*'az pə tō Xu'dāi k° 'nəsimō* I don't  
 believe in thy God. — Ar.-Prs.
- qabr* Sk. tomb (high style). — Ar.-Prs.
- kabar'γe* Sgl. p. 3, *qabr'γā* Sk. rib. —  
 Turk.-Prs.
- ka'būt* Sgl. p. 1, Ishk., *ka'vūt* Sgl. p. 3,  
*kabut* Sk. blue. — Prs.
- koc:* *kozd* Sgl. s., p. 2 to copulate. —  
*kocen buš 'mēgāyam'*. — Cf. *kačāk?*
- qai'či* Sk. scissors. — Prs.
- kōci* Sgl. p. 3 anybody. Cf. § 119.
- 'kūč(i)* Sgl. p. 3, *k'ūč* Sk. wife. — *kot ke*  
*kuč-i oγod* he saw that his wife had  
 arrived; *wa xē kūč* O, my wife. —  
 Cf. Prs. *kōč*.
- ka'čāk* Sgl. p. 3 embrace. — *k° nasen.*  
*qadam* Sk. walk, pace. — Ar.-Prs.
- qa'dim* Sgl. is. ancient. — *mə wəxt-i q°.*  
 — Ar.-Prs.
- kū'dī* Sgl. p. 2, *k'ədi* Sk. when? — *ama*  
*ādam k° oγōd?* — Cf. Yd. *kə'la*.
- ka'dū* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. gourd. — Prs.
- kuδ, k'ud* Sgl. is., p., s., *k'ud* Zb., Ishk.,  
*kəδ* Sk. dog. — *kuδ lavōi* the dog  
 barks. — Cf. Shgh. *kud*, etc., (v.  
 Turner, Nep. Dict. s.v. *kuti*).
- kuδum* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *kudum* Gr. which? —  
 V. § 119. — Possibly < \**katama-*  
 (cf. Skr.), but Av. *katāma-*. V. § 78 h.
- kə'δos* Sgl. p. 2, 3, °*los* p. 2, s., Grammo-  
 phone, *kə'δos* p. 1, *kə'dos* is.; *'yōzda*  
 Ishk., °*da* Sk., °*dāu* Zb. eleven. —  
 Cf. §§ 93, 109.
- kif-* Gr. to pierce. — Cf. Shgh. *čuf-*  
 Prs. *kaftan* to split.
- kīf* Sgl. is., p. 1, *k'ēf* p. 3, *kōfān* Gr.,  
*kūjōn* Zar. hump. — Cf. Yd. *kuřfo*.
- kāfē* Sgl. p. 2, Gr., *kōfē* Sk., Zar. ladle.  
 — Prs.
- kaf-i-dest* Sgl. is., p. 1, °*dəst* p. 3, °*dast*  
 Sk., *kuf* Ishk., *kaf* Gr. palm of the  
 hand. — Prs.
- kaf-i-pā* Sgl. p. 3, *pu-kaf* Gr. sole of the  
 foot. — Prs.
- ka'fas* Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) cage. — Prs.
- kafš* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. shoe. — Prs.
- kuft* Sk. ill (from fever). — Cf. Prs.  
*kufta* bruised?
- kū<sup>h</sup>* Sk., is., p. 2, *kō<sup>h</sup>* p. 3, *kō* p. 1, *kū*  
 Ishk. mountain. — *cə kū yūz<sup>ə</sup> xašəm*  
 Sgl. p. 2 we bring firewood from the  
 hills. — Prs.
- kāk* Sgl. p. 1, *qāq* Sk., *kāk* Gr. dry. —  
*'qōq-kənum* Sk. I dry. — Prs.
- kaiglk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk., *kāig* Sk.,  
*kāiyiγ* Gr. flea. — Prs.
- k'al* Sgl. p. 2 bald, *kal* Gr. hornless. —  
 Prs.
- kal* Sgl. p. 1, Ishk., Zb. skull. — Cf.  
 Shgh., Or. *kāl*.
- qa'lū* Sk. fortress. — Prs.
- kəl-* Sgl. p. 2, *kuł-*: *kuł* s., *kəl-*: *kəld* Sk.,  
*kəl-*: *kuł* Zar., *kuł* Gr., *keł* Gr. (Zb.)  
 to kill, slaughter. — *kułəm be* Sgl. s.,



- jān'dār*<sup>2</sup> *kəl'ān* p. 2. — Cf. Prs. *kuštan*, etc.
- kull* Sgl. p. 1, 2 all. — *kull va tfak kasem* p. 1 we all see thee; *hōr kul(l)-šōn* p. 2 'hama-išān'. Cf. §§ 114, 119. — Prs.
- ku'lē* Sgl. is., p. 1, *ku'lā* Sk. cap. — *'mānā k'hu'lā 'nrist* Sk. I have no cap. — Prs.
- kəl'ba* Ishk. plough. — Prs.
- kul'cā* Sk. small cake. — Prs.
- kəlf* Sgl. p. 2, *q°* Sk. lock. — Prs.
- kəl'āč* Sgl. p. 2 fathom. — Prs.
- kullax* Gr. hard. — Cf. Prs. *kulūx* a clod, Bad. Prs. *kulux* thick, stout, Psht. *klak* hard.
- ka'lān* Sgl. p. 2 big, large. — *miš tāt xān wo'kī-ak k°-ū* the house of our father is a little bigger (*yak-taš kalāntar-a*). — Prs.
- ka'land* Sgl. p. 1 hoe, mattock. — Prs.
- kōla'vā* Sgl. p. 2 wooden bowl. — Derived from Prs. *kōlāb* pond, reservoir?
- kala'pā* Sk. down. — Cf. Yd. *kalāpo*, Sk. Mater. p. 262.
- ku'l'vār* Sk. small mussuck. — Cf. Lentz *kāl'wōr* 'rucksack' (scarcely fr. Prs. *xar/l'wār*). But cf. Prs. (mod. coll.) *kūlabār* knapsack; Taj. *kulvor* mussuck.
- kaule'žik* Ishk. tadpole. — Cf. Prs. *kafčalēz(ak)* id., *kaflēzak*, etc. ladle.
- ka'li* Sgl. p. 2 key. — Prs., cf. Yd. *kaliyo*.
- kī'ēl* Sgl. is., p. 1, *kī'ēl* s., *kī'ē'lāk* p. 3, *kīl* Ishk., *kēl*, *kil* Sk., "kīr'h" MFB, *kel* Gr. knife. — Cf. Yd. *'kepo*.
- ko'l'ān (-r-?)* Sgl. p. 3 donkey's saddle.
- kām* Sgl. p. 1, *kōm* Zar. palate. — Prs.
- ka'māk* Sgl. is., p. 1, *k'amok* Ishk., *ka'muk* ar'qa Sk., *kamuk* Gr., *kā'mī* "Wkh." back, spine. — *p-tō ka'mām-mō* I am behind thee. — Cf. Prs. *kam* waist, < \**kamb-* to bend?
- kai'mōk* Ishk. cream. — Turk.-Prs.
- kū'mak* Sk. help, assistance. — *k° kən* help. — Turk.-Prs.
- ka'mān-i Res'tam* Sgl. is., p. 1, *ka'mān-i Rus'tem* Ishk., *°stōm* Sk. rainbow. — Prs.
- kam'pīr* Sk. old woman. — Prs. — Cf. s.v. *tandur*.
- ka'mar* Sgl. p. 2, Zb. rock. — Prs.
- 'kamar* Zb. rib(?). — Prs. *k°* waist.
- ke'mur* Sk. pit-coal. — Turk.
- kamar'band* Sk. belt. — Prs.
- kəmay-*: *kəmaid* Sk., *kam-*: *kimd* Gr. (Zb.) to wish. — Cf. Wkh. *kəmi-*, Shgh. *čemb-*, Orosh. *čīn-* (with *-n-* from): *čīnt*, etc.; Oss. *komun*.
- kan-*: *kōnd* Sgl. p. 3, *kan-*: *kūnd* Sk. to dig. — *'kanen* Sgl. p. 3, *'kanum*, *kan*, *kūndum*, *'kūnduk*, *'kanuk*. Sk. — Cf. Prs. *kandan*.
- ken-* Sgl., is., p., s., Ishk.: *kuļ* Sgl. is., *kuļ* p. 1, *kuḍ* p. 2, *kəḍ* p. 3, *koļ* s., *kuļ* Ishk., *kən-*: *kūl* Sk. to make, do. — *arī kenen*, *arī-m kuļ* Sgl. is.; *az-əm arī kuļ*; *az (h)ārī kenen*, *az-əm hārī kuḍ*, *arī-m kuḍ vəḍ 'karda būlam*; *-o kuḍ 'kardast* p. 1; *nēr-əm kō-ko va hārī-ḍak* to-day I could do the work; *to-wə arī kuḍ vḍ-i?* p. 2 hast thou done the work? *kenem*, *arī-m koļ* s.; *k'enum*, *azi arī k'uluk* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *kən-*.
- 'kī'nā* Sk. hate. — *k° kənum* I hate. — Prs.
- 'kūnā* Sk. ancient. — *as'tā 'kūnā gap(hā)* is there an ancient word? — Prs.
- kund* Sgl. is., p. 1 blunt. — Prs.
- kan'dāk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *kondok* Zb., *'kāndak* Gr. thorn. — Borr. from IA.??

- '*kundē* Sgl. p. 2 stem, stump of a tree. — Prs.
- kun'jā* Sgl. p. 2, °*jāi* p. 3, '*kənjā*, *kə'dəmjā* Sk. where? — *am c-kunjā-ē* Sgl. p. 2 from where is he? (*mə*) *kunjāy-o* p. 3 where is he (*da kijō-st*)? *Amir 'Bek xān kə'dəmjā?* Sk. — Wkh. *kumjai*; cf. *kuḍum*.
- kun'ḍār ken-* Sgl. p. 3 to tear to pieces, cf. Gr. *kan'dār kul*. — IA, cf. Panj. *kaṇḍhar* ruin?
- ka'pāl* Gr. skull. — From Khov. (Cf. Charpentier, MO, 26, p. 39).
- kar* Sgl. p. 1, 2, Ishk. deaf, Sk. dumb. — *kar-mō šyuk* I have become dumb. — Prs.
- k/qār* Sk. anger. — *az-im 'kār kənum*; *mun 'kar-xtuk* I become angry (my anger has risen). — Ar.-Prs.
- kī'rā* Sgl. p. 2 why? — *k° nēst ɔyōḍ* why didn't he come? — Adapted from Prs. *čirā*.
- kīr-*: *kurt* Sgl. p. 2, : *kīrōd* Zar. to plough. — *za'mīn kīren*, *za'mīn-əm kurt*. — < \**kāraya-*, cf. Yd. *kār-*, Sak. *ker-* to sow, v. EVP s.v. *karəl*, Charpentier MO, 26, pp. 101 sqq.
- kōr* Sgl. is., p., *kūr* Ishk., Sk., Gr. blind. — *kōr-o šyuk*. — Prs.
- q/ka'rīb* Sgl. p., is. close, near. — *am xān q°-ūi* is.; *aḍa ādam dīr-ūi*, *ama ādam k°-ū* p. 1. — Ar.-Prs.
- krič* Gr. hut on the summer-pasture. — Cf. Wkh. *ktič*. V. § 22. But also Prs. *kurič*, *kuriz*, etc.
- kur'čün* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., "Wkh.", '*kur°* p. 3, *ker°* Gr. (Zb.), *kər'čün* Zb., Gauth., *kṛ°* Sk., *kərčün* Ishk. fowl. — \**kyka-* + *čün* (cf. § 26). V. Yd. *krrio*.
- kur'čün zəmā'nī* Sgl. is. chicken.
- '*kīrūg* Sgl. is., p. 1 plough. — Cf. *kīr-*.
- kōr'gar* Sgl. p. 3 dust (misunderstanding of Prs. *gard?*).
- kark'sang* Ishk. handmill. — ? + *sang*.
- kur'pē* Sgl. p. 1, *kər'pā* Sk. (large) bedding, *kurpa'ča* Sk. (small) bedding. — Prs.
- kurpa'ša* Sk. mosquito. — Cf. Yd. id.
- ka'rār* Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) stopping, waiting. — *mə asmān k° ɛiḍ* it stopped in the sky. — Ar.-Prs.
- ka'rēr* Ishk. yesterday. — Cf. Prs. *kardā* yesterday (cf. *fardā*), and *parēr* day before yesterday.
- kər'sī* Sk. chair. — Ar.-Prs.
- kərə'sī* Zb. back-tooth.
- ko'rost* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, '*kurust* Ishk., Gr. *krü/öst* Sk. skin (of human beings acc. to Sgl.). — Cf. Yd. *ka'räst*, Wkh. *kurust*.
- ka'rāš* Sk. brown beans. — Cf. Wkh. *kə'rōš*.
- '*kīriš* Sgl. p. 2 ploughing. — V. *kīr-*.
- ku'rūt* Sgl. p. 2, *qu'rut* Sk. dried butter-milk. — Turk.
- kərvi'sīk* Sgl. is., p. 3, °*ve'sīk* p. 1, *kar'baš* Sk. lizard (*karbāš*). — Cf. Yd. *karbasa*, etc.
- kor'yōs* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 vulture. — Cf. Yd. *karjəz*.
- kas*: *kot* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *kas*: *kast* Sk., *kas*: *kut* Sk. to see, look. — '*az tʃak 'kasen*; 2 sg. *kaš*; *kull-mōn-dak va tʃak 'kasem* p. 1 we all see thee; *kasef* look out; *k'as* look! '*na kaš*; *mum-bō kasū* it seems to me(?); *tar-fak ka'sūk*(?) Sk. — Av. *kas*., cf. EVP. s.v. *katəl*.
- '*kāsē* Sgl. p. 2, *k'āsa* Sk. big wooden dish. — Prs.
- qaus* Sk. late autumn. — Ar.-Prs.
- kus* Sgl. p. 2, 3, is. vulva. — Prs. V. *kuš*.

*kis'kūd* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., "Wkh.", *kəškūd* Ishk., *kō°* Zar., *kš'kū* Sk. roof. — Cf. Yd. *iščīy*, Wkh. *iskakut*.  
*kas'sal* Sk. illness. — Ar.-Prs.  
*qa'sam* Sgl. p. 2 oath. — *q°* be *xwāren* I swear. — Ar.-Prs.  
*qism* Sgl. is. kind, sort. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kas'yōk* Sgl. is. leather strap in a pellet bow.  
*kuš*, *kš* Sk. vulva. — Cf. Wkh. *kiš*; Or. *kawuŋ* (*kaw-* < \**kušā* ?), Saka *k(u)yāysa* < \**kušā-za* (?). V. *kus*.  
*kəš'kār* Zb., Ishk. ram. — Cf. Wkh. *kuškōr* male urial, Bad. Prs. *kiškār*, etc.  
*qis'lāq* Sk. village. — Turk.  
*kišti* Sgl. p. 3 boat. — Prs.  
*kaš'viš* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *kašviš* Gr. armpit. — *kaš* prob. from Prs., cf. *baŋalviš*, *viš*, Wkh. *kalzbən*, Sogd. 'pkš' 'flanc' (not with Benveniste, JRAS, 1933, p. 48 lw. from IA).  
*ka'ta*<sup>1</sup>) Ishk., Gr. (Zb.) big. — Turk., cf. Shgh., Or. *kat'ta*.  
*ka'ta*<sup>2</sup>) Ishk. he-goat. — Cf. *ka'ta*<sup>1</sup>).  
*kūtī* Sgl. p. 2 rock-crystal, *bulūr*. — Cf. Prs. *qūtī* a box in which precious stones are preserved??  
*ka'tānək* Sgl. p. 2 linseed (*zə'yēr*). — Prs. *katān* a grain from which oil is extracted.  
*katta-nar'xāk* Sk. thumb. — V. *ka'ta*.  
*ki'tāv* Sgl. p. 2, *ki'tōb* Ishk. book. — 'mənə wo *ki'tāv* *ōstō* I have a book. — Ar.-Prs.  
*k'utox* Sgl. p. 1 butter milk. — Turk.-Prs. *qātiq*.  
*kuŋ* Sgl. p. 1, *kōŋ* Sk. short. — IA, cf. Shgh. *k'ut* (borr. through Ishk.?).  
*qiv ken-* Sgl. p. 3, *qēw-*: *qēwd* Sk., : *qīvd* Gr. (Zb.) to summon. — Cf. Wkh. *qīw*, etc.

*kō'viš* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., 'koviš p. 3, *kovdā* Ishk., 'kūwid Sk., *ku°* Gr., *koviš* Zar., *ko'wiš* "Wkh." pigeon. — Cf. Yd. *koviō*.  
*quat'dār* Sk. strong. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kyēv'žāk/g* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., *kēv°* p. 2, 'kevžuk Gr., °*oq* Zar. magpie, *ŋalbək*. — Cf. Yd. *kyuŋyo*.  
*kāw*: *kōnd* Sgl. p. 2 to dig. — *za'min* be *k'āwən*, *z°-em k'ōndəm*. — Cf. Sar. *kauam*, Shgh. Sk. *kōy*. — V. *kan*.  
*kāx'liŋk* Sk. calf of the leg (? Prob. shinbone). — Cf. Shgh. *kāk-e-liŋg*, etc.  
*kūz* Sgl. is., p. 1, *qāz* Sk. goose. — Turk.-Prs.  
*k'āz* Sk. dirty.  
*kā'zī* Sk. judge. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kō'zē* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *kūza* Ishk. jar. — Prs.  
*ku'žāk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *ki'žik* Zb., *ku'juk* Ishk., *ku'žuk* Sk. bull. — Cf. Yd. *qī'āy?*

## L

*la ken-* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, s. to leave behind. — *la-ku'rō-mōi* is. 'mānda-im'; *lā-kuš* 'mānd', *la-kūān* 'māndan' p. 2; *wok čīzī la-kenen* p. 3, s., 'paša *wok nesi la-koi* not one mosquito remained. — Cf. Shgh., Or. *lā(k) ken-*; Wkh. *la-car-*, Khow. *lā-k*.  
*lo'ī* Ishk. clay. — Prs. *lāy* mud, sediment.  
*lab* Zb., Ishk., *lavč*, *lav* (in a transferred sense) Sk. lip. — Prs.  
*labla'bū* Sgl. p. 2 beetroot. — Prs.  
*lēf* Ishk. bedding, coverlet. — Bad., etc. *lēf*, Ar.-Prs. *liḥāf*.  
*la'ŋat* Sgl. p. 2 step, trace. — Prs.  
*lā'kīn* Sgl. p. 1, 2 belt.  
*'līnĵek* Zb., *pešur liŋj* Sk. cheek. — Prs., Wkh. *luŋj* (cf. Sar. *nīwĵ* < \**nūnj*, *luŋj*?).

*lang* Sgl. p. 2 lame. — Prs.  
*ling* Sk. leg. — Prs.  
*lip* Sk. in *fai lip* very much. — Cf. Wkh. *lup* big?  
*lēs-*: *let* Sgl. p. 2, s., *lēs-*: *lišt* Ishk., *lis-*: *lišūd* Zar. to lick. — *lēsen*, *letəm* Sgl. p. 2, *lēsum*, *-um lišt* Ishk. — Prs.  
*laškar* Sgl. p. 3 army. — *mən l° mə mōd-o* my army is here. — Prs.  
*lav-* Sgl. p. 2 to bark. — *kuḍ lavōi*. — Cf. Or. *lav*, Shgh. *lūv* to speak. — V. *belav*.  
*lavz* Sgl. p. 1 word, speech. — *azə va tō lavz pe'zīnen* I understand thy speech. — Ar.-Prs.  
*lēw* (*mūluk*) Sk. idiot, madman, demon; *leu*, *lēv* Gr. stupid, mad, *lēw* nightmare. — *a'wī lēw š°duk* Sk. he became mad. — From Mj.?  
*ləxč-* Sgl. s., *bəlaχš-* s., p. 3 to slide, slip. — *ləxčōu-š* slides; *b-ləxčā-st* s. — Prs. *laχšīdan*.  
*la'zām* Sgl. is., p. 2, °*ān* p. 3, °*jām* Sk. bit of a bridle. — Prs.

M

*mā* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *mō* Sk. month; *mā* Gr. moon. — *wok mā wōḍa hast* Sgl. p. 2 he stays there for a month. — Prs.  
*mai*, v. *mēl*.  
*ma*, *mə* Sgl. is., p. in, to, etc. — *mə waxt-i qadīm* is. in olden times; *mə 'Kāfirən itin* they arrived among the Kafirs; *tə ma xān darūn-dō* thou art inside the house; *vək mə piālē nūšen* I pour water into the cup; *mən in'git mə šə'nai tōḍ* p. 2 my finger was burnt in the fire; *ma mən xoḍm-dak gab dehef* p. 3 explain about my  
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dream. — Prob. an unstressed form of *mēḍ*. Cf. § 107.  
*ma* Sk. look here. — *'ma təməxbā*, *ma tōḍā*, *'ma tmbḍ*.  
*mēi* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *mē* p. 3, *mē* s., *mi* Gr. (Zb.) day; *mai* Sk., Gr. noon. — *wog*, *dō*, *rōi mēi* p. 2 a few days. — Cf. Yd. *miḫ*.  
*-mō* I am. — V. § 120 f.  
*mōi* Sgl. is., p. cloud. — Cf. Prs. *mēy*, etc. V. § 31.  
*mō'i* Sgl. is., p., s., *mā'i* Sk. fish. — Prs. *mū-bō* Sk. hither. — Cf. *am(a)*.  
*mič*, etc. us, v. *amax*.  
*'māčik* Sgl. is., °*čik* p. 3, *mōča-kōd* Zar. she-dog. — Cf. Yd. *ma'čio*.  
*'māida* Sgl. p. 2 small, fine. — *va durk tovōr m° kenen*. — Prs.  
*mai'dān* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *māidān* p. 3 a plain; flat. — Turk.-Prs.  
*mādi'yān* Zb., Ishk., Sk. mare. — Prs. *mēḍ* Sgl. is., p., Zar, *mēḍ* Ishk., Sk. Gr. (Zb.) waist. — Av. *maīdya-*, cf. Wkh. *mād*, Shgh. *mīḍ*, Yd. *mālān*.  
*mōḍ(ak)* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *madak* Ishk., Gr. (Zb.), *mā(da)k* Sk. here. — *az-mō mō mōḍ nilōstok* I am sitting here; *mō šo* come here(?); *mō nīḍ* p. 2 sit down here; *mən fauḷ mə mōḍ o* p. 3 my army is here; *azi madak ari k'enum* Ishk. I am working here; *azi māk fərīnum* Sk. I am left behind here.  
*māḍ'dar* Sgl. p. 3 mother. — In the expression: *ma rām-i māḍar* in his mother's womb. — Prs.  
*mōyōḍak(?)* Sgl. p. 3 = *mōḍ oyoḍak?* Cf. Texts V, 35.  
*mōy'dōk* Sgl. is., s., *moko'd/ōk* p. 1, 3, *mūkḍūk* Sk., *mukuduk* Gr., "Wkh." frog.  
*maγ'riḅ* Sk. west. — Ar.-Prs.

- moyz* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *mayz* Ishk., Zar. marrow (Sgl. p. 1, Ishk. also 'brain'). — Prs. (or *moyz* genuine?).
- moyz-i sor* Sgl. p. 3, *sor-moyz* is. brain.
- mul'ja* Ishk., *mažo* Zb. eyelashes. — Prs.
- meh'mān* Sgl. is., *mē°* p. 2 guest. — Prs.
- mak me*, v. § 110 f.; cf. *az*.
- 'mākək* Sgl. is. hen. — Cf. Wkh. *mōk*, Prs. *mākiyān*.
- mai'kēnī* Sk. noon. — V. *mēi*.
- māl* Sgl. p. 2 property, possessions. — Ar.-Prs.
- mēl* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., Zb., Ishk., Sk. Gr. female sheep, "Wkh." female oorial. — Cf. Yd. *mūo*.
- māl'dār* Sgl. p. 2 rich. — Ar.-Prs.
- 'mulūk* Sk. dinner.
- mā'lāim* Sgl. p. 3 soft. — Ar.-Prs.
- mīl'təq* Sgl. p. 2, *mā°* Sk. gun. — *pə m° pēün dehen* p. 2. — Turk., cf. Wkh.
- ma'lax* Sgl. is., p., s. locust. — Prob. Prs.
- māl* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *mōl* Sk. husband. — *mān māl* Sgl. p. 1. — Cf. Yd. *meɣ*. V. *mā'lōk*.
- mā'lōk* Sgl. is., *'mōluk* Ishk., *'muluk* Sk., *mālāk* Gr. (Zb.) husband, man. — *fai m° ari k'enū* Ishk. many men are working; *urwēsak- (xūg-) gnik* *ma'lūk* Sk. a fox-like (pig-like) man. — < \**martyaka*.
- māmbuči'nāi wdūy* Sk. female cousin. — Cf. s.v. *wudəyδ*.
- mai'mūn* Sgl. p. 1 monkey. — Ar.-Prs.
- mīn-*: *mīnd* Sk. to sleep, v. *mis*.
- mān my*, v. § 110 f.
- mōn* encl. pron. 1 pl., v. § 114.
- mō'nō kən-* Sk. to resemble. — Prs.
- 'mīndūk* Sgl. p. 1, Ishk. sleep, asleep. — *am ādam mīnduk-ūi*; *hama ādam mīnduk-ūn* p. 1; *azī madak mīnduk-um* Ishk. I am asleep here; *azī cə m° xə'tuk* I have risen from sleep. — Perf. of *mis*.
- mīn'dal* Sk. chair(?). — Cf. Prs. *mīndal* table-cloth, etc.?
- man'jē* Sgl. p. 1 bed. — Cf. Mj. *'mānjo*, Wkh. *manja*. — IA.
- mēl* Sgl. is., s., *mīēl* p., *mēn* Zb., *mēnd* Ishk., Sk. *mīnd* Gr., *mēnd* Zar. apple. — *wok mīēl əm yō-vē dūdū veδ* Sgl. p. 2 'yak sēba ūra dāda būdam'. — Cf. "Wkh." *mə'ñū*, Wkh. *mūr*, Shgh. *mūn*, Yd. *d'muno*.
- man'yār* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *mani'ār* Zb., Ishk. mist, fog. — Par. *man'yār* mist, Shgh. steam, Taj. (Wakhio-Bolo) *maniyōl* 'tuman' Kislyakov, Trudy Tadž. Bazy, III, p. 55.
- mānḍ-* Sgl. is., p. 3, s., *mānḍr-* p. 1: *māndaδ* p. 1, s., *mānd-* Ishk., *mānḍ-* Zar. to rub, smear. — *mānḍ(r)en* Sgl. is., p. 1; *mānḍaδəm* is., *māndum* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *magy-*, Wkh. *mānḍ-*, etc.
- mūr-*: *məl* Sgl. p. 2, *mɣ-*, *məl-*: *məld* Sk., *mūr-*: *mul* Gr. (Zb.), *mör-*: *mōl* Zar. to die. — *am ādam mūr'ō* be (be *mūr'ō*) p. 2 this man is dying; *ī ādam mər*; *šənāy-əm məl'ōk* p. 2 my(?) fire is dead (: has gone out); *məlum*, *məl!* (*mɣ!*), *məldum*, *məluk* he died Sk. — Cf. Yd. *mər-*.
- mūr* Sgl. is., p. 1 centipede. — Cf. Prs. *mār* snake.
- mārč (-ə)* Sgl. p. 3, *mārč* s. red ant; *mārč* Ishk. ant. — Borr. from Prs. *mōrča*, cf. Shgh. *mūrč*; Wkh. *'murča*; Par. *mūčō*, etc. Cf.:
- mār'čik* Sgl. is., s. (black?) ant. — < \**marwi-čī-*. Cf. Orm. *mar'cōi*, Yd. *muryo*.
- mūr'drk* Sk., Gr. small ring. — V. *cām-mərdikōg*.

*mar'dum* people. — Prs.  
*mēry* Sgl. p. 2, 3 meadow. — Cf. Yd. *mīryo*.  
*mər'yōk/g* Sgl. is., p., s., "Wkh." *mar'yōk*,  
*mɔ'yuk* Sk., *murjuk* Gr sparrow. Cf.  
 Yd. *bräyiko*.  
*mər'yāvī* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *mur'yāvī* Ishk.  
 duck. — Prs.  
*mī'rōs* Sk. inheritance. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mis* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Sk. brass. — Prs.  
*mis-* Sgl. s., : *mind-* p. 1, *mīn-*: *mīnd* Sk.  
 to sleep. — Prob. Sgl. *mīs-*: *mīnd*  
 (cf. *fəris*: *fərīnd*; *frīnduk* tired);  
*mīs* < \**mūs* < \**ham-hufsa* (cf. Sak.  
*hūs*, Yaghn. *ūfs*,—but Benveniste,  
 JRAS, 1933, p. 49 *ūfs* < Sogd. *w'βs* =  
 Bal. *wafsay*(?)), with preter. on  
 the analogy of *fəris*, and secondary  
 pres. *mīn-*. — Cf. *minduk*, *misūk*.  
*mīs* Zb. nose. — Cf. Wkh. *mīs*.  
*mus* Gr. clothes. — For \**muc* < *mauča*?  
*mūisa'fēd* Sk. old man. — Prs.  
*musā'fer* Sk. traveller. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mī'sūk* Sgl. p, °*uk* Sk. sleep, dream;  
 Sgl. p. 1, Gr. pillow. — *bēdār šīd ce*  
*misūk* p. 2 he awoke from sleep; *me*  
*misū(k)-mo* p. 2 I am asleep; *mī,suk-um*  
*'rēnd* Sk. I dreamt; *m° mag 'naduk*  
 Sk. I will sleep (: sleep has seized  
 me). — V. *mis*.  
*mau'sōm* Sk. season. — Ar.-Prs.  
*māst* Ishk. curds. — Prs.  
*māst* Sgl. p. 2 fat (adj.). — Prs. *mast*.  
*mūš* Ishk. mouse. — Prs.  
*n:uškrī* Sgl. p. 2 difficult. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mēš-i kiš'kōr* Sgl. is. oorial. — \*Prs.  
*maš'riq* Sk. east. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mət* Sgl. is., p. 3, *mət* p. 2, *mut* p. 1, Zb.,  
*moʃ* Ishk., *mut* "Wkh.", *mūt* Sk.,  
*mut* Gr., *mot* Zar. fist. — < \**mušti-*,  
 cf. Yd. *mršć*. Shgh., Or. *mut* prob.  
 from Ishk.

*mā'tou* Zb., Ishk., *'mātāb* Sk. moon. —  
 Prs.  
*'mēva* Sk. fruit. — Prs.  
*mux*, v. *amax*.  
*mēx*<sup>1)</sup> Sgl. p. 1, Ishk., Sk. nail, peg. —  
 Prs.  
*mēx*<sup>2)</sup> Sgl. p. 1, 2 table(?). — *kitāv mēx*  
*sōr-ō 'sar-i mēz'*; *kitāv mēx sōr-am*  
*nūšōd*. — Cf. *mēz*.  
*max'luk* Sgl. p. 2 people. — *maxlu'kān*  
*gu'dōm xāštān*, cf. Texts II, 2. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mux'lis* Sk. honest. — Ar.-Prs.  
*mī'yān(e)* Sgl. p. 2, *mayō'nē* Sk. middle;  
*mī'yān* Zb. waist. — *ma xān*  
*mī'yāne-mō* I am in the middle of  
 the house. — Prs.  
*mēz* Sgl. p. 2, Ishk., Sk. table. — *ce mēz*  
*viš* under the table. — Prs. V. *mēx*<sup>3)</sup>.  
*məz* Sk.? — Cf. s.v. *'befār*.  
*mu'žik* Sgl. is., p. 3, *mə'žik* p. 2, *mu'žik*  
 Ishk., Sk. green peas, *mušəŋg*. —  
 Cf. Bad. Prs. *mužuk* a kind of pulse  
 or bean; Wkh. *mu'žek* hail.

## N

*na, nə* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Ishk., Sk., Gr., *nō* Sk.  
 not, don't. — Cf. Prs. *na*, etc.  
*nai* Ishk., *na* Gr. (Zb.) reed. — Prs.  
*nāi—nāi* Sgl. p. 2, *nō—nō* Sk. neither—  
 nor. — *nāi xēsta*, *nāi pəʃf* neither  
 bread nor meat.  
*nou* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., Sk., *nō<sup>u</sup>* p. 2, 3, *nāu*  
 Zb., *naʃ* Ishk., *naw* Gr., *nū* Zar.  
 nine. — Cf. Yd. *nōu*.  
*nā'bāt* Sk. a plant. — Ar.-Prs. *nabt*.  
*nic* Ishk., Sk., Gr., *ntc* Gr. (Zb.) nose.  
 — Cf. "Wkh." *nic* (< Ishk.), Sogd.  
*nyč*, Shgh. *něj*, Or. *nōj* < \**nāh-čī*  
 (or \**nāhya-čī*? Cf. Meillet, BSL, 23,  
 p. 108).

- nīd*: *nīlost* Sgl. p., s., *nīd*:- *nīd* Ishk.,  
*nīd*: *nulust* Gr., : *nalāst* Gr. (Zb.),  
*nīd*: *nəlost* Zar. to sit down; *nīd*:-  
*nītt*. Sk. to sit, to put(?), : *'nəlūst* Sk.  
to set. — *nī mōḍak* Sgl. is. sit down  
here; *az-mō nīlostog* p. 1 I am sitting;  
*azə nīden* I sit down; *nīdum buš*,  
*nīdef*, *nīlosto-mō* p. 3; *nīdəm*, *nīlostəm*  
s.; *nīdum*, *nīd!* *nīduk-um* Ishk. I am  
sitting; *šak-o nīlostok* Sgl. p. 2 dew  
has fallen; *'rēmuz 'nəlūst(uk)* Sk. the  
sun (has) set. — \**ni-hida*:- *ni-šasta*,-  
cf. Sak. *nättä* < \**ni-hidati* : *niṣasta*-  
< \**ni-šasta*;- Yd. *nīṣ*.-
- nod*-, v. *nas*.-
- 'nīdūk* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., °*dūk* is., *nuduk*  
Ishk. buttermilk, *dūγ*; *nuduk-wek* Gr.  
whey; “*neduk*” MFB curd (corrupted  
by Tomaschek, BB. 7, into *newak*,  
and by Geiger, Et. Bal., s.v. *nēmay*,  
into *nēwak*). — Cf. Yd. *niya*.
- nāf* Sgl. is., p., Gr., *nāf* Ishk., Sk., *nōf*  
Zar. navel. — Prs.
- nāγδ* Zb. night. — Prob. a Wkh. word.
- na'hāγγ* Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) sea-monster,  
crocodile. — Prs.
- nēk* Sk. good. — Prs.
- nī'kā* Sgl. p. 2 wedding. — Prs.
- naql kən* Sk. to tell. — Ar.-Prs.
- 'nakma sa,bab (ki)* Sk. therefore. — Cf.  
*naksō*.
- nau'kar* Sk. servant. — Prs.
- nok'vē* Sgl. is., p. 3, °*krē* p. 1, *nūq'rā* Sk.  
—silver. — Ar.-Prs.
- nak'sō* Ishk. now. — Cf. *nakma*, Gr.  
*nak-dās* thus; *nak-wa* this; cf. Wkh.  
*nik-hazi* so, Sar. *nak-dās* so, *nak-yam*  
this same, Yaghu. *nah-it* 'hamin'.  
(Junker, Drei Erz. auf Yaghu. p. 23).  
-*sō* < \**sāt*, Ar.-Prs. *sā'at*?
- nūl* Sgl. p. 1, Zar., *nūl* Sk. beak. — Prs.
- nūl'sōr* Sgl. is. sole of the foot.
- nēmē* Sgl. p. 2 half-full. — Cf. Prs. *nīma-*  
*pur*, etc.
- nīm* Sgl. p. 2, Sk., *nēm* Gr. (Zb.) name.  
— *tə ce nīm-dō?* *Daulat Bēk-ō mən*  
*nīm* p. 2; *in nīm dīz?* Sk. — Av.  
*nāman*.-
- namb* Sgl. is. wet. — Early lw. from  
Prs., cf. Shgh. *namb*, Mj. *nəb*.
- nu'mōḍ* Sgl. p. 1, *nō* p. 3, *'namad* Sk.  
felt. — Cf. Yd. *'nāmyo*.
- nə'mēγδ* Sgl. is., °*ēk* p. 1, 2, °*edk* p. 3,  
*nē'mēγḍ* s., (*na'mak* Zb., *nu'mok* Ishk.),  
*'namurγāk*, *namul'γ/γāk* Sk., *namulyak*  
Gr. salt. — Cf. Yd. *nə'mālyo*.
- numul*- Zar. to shut one's eye. — Cf.  
Yd. *nəmiž*.-
- nam'nāk* Sk. wet, moist. — Prs.
- nīm'sab* Sk. midnight. — Prs.
- nəmay*:- *nəmayḍ* Sk. to show. — *tə*  
*'nəmay 'məmbā Amir Bek xān* show  
me A. B.'s house. — Prs.?
- na'māz* Sgl. p. 3, °*ōz* Sk. prayer. — *nō*:-  
*iḍ-i Rama'zān* Sgl. p. 3. — Prs.
- nān* Sgl. p., *non* Ishk., *nān* Sk., Gr. (Zb.)  
mother. — Cf. Yd. *nīno*.
- nēnd*:- *nēd*- Sk. to plant. — < \**nihā'n(?)d-*  
*aya*-, cf. Wkh. *nūnd*: *nūtt*.
- nār* Sk. irrigation channel, *aryq* (larger  
than *jubār*). — Ar.-Prs. *nahr*.
- nēr* Sgl. is., *nēr* p. 1, 2, Ishk., Sk., Gr.,  
(*nyēr* p. 2, *neēr* p. 1) to-day. — *nēr*  
*hēci -a'mō nes xorok* p. 2 to-day I  
haven't eaten anything; *nēr'sab* Sk. —  
Cf. Wkh. *nēr*; but Shgh., Or. *nur*  
< Av. *nūrəm*.
- nūr* Sk. light, brightness. — Ar.-Prs.
- nēr-fər'sōu* Sgl. p. 2, *nēr'sab* Sk. yester-  
night.
- nārḱ* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *nārḱ* Gr., Zar. male;  
Sk. male sheep. — Cf. Yd. *nar*.

- narm* Ishk. soft. Prs.  
*naranʒ'gəšt* Sgl. p. 3 thumb. — Prs.  
*nar'asp* Sk. stallion. — Prs.  
*nar'vəz* Sgl. is., °vuz Ishk. he-goat. — V. vəz.  
*nar'xək/g* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *nə'xuk* Ishk., *nar'xək* Sk., *narxa* "Wkh." nail. — \**naxra-ka*, cf. Yd. *anaxno*, Wkh. *dəger*, and Notes on Shgh. s.v. *nā'xūn*.  
*nau'rōz(e)* Sgl. p. New-Year festival. — Cf. Texts, III, 5. — Prs.  
*nas-*: *nōd* Sgl. is., p., s.; *nas*: *nad* Gr. to take, seize; *nas-* Sk. to hold. — *nasem bəš*, *be nasəe* 'mēgirad'; *nōdəm*, *nasōk* Sgl. is., *nasen*, *nōdəm* p. 1, 3; *də rōpē nōd*; *xōfuk-o no'ōk* 'silfa giriftast'; *nasem be pə dānd* p. 2 I bite; *cə'fūr koryos nas* 'bigīr'; *ka'čāke nasen* p. 3 I embrace; *na'sem*, 'nōdem s.; 'na-nasī Sk. dost thou not hear? — Not fr. Av. *nī-yās-* (or, better, *yā-*, v. Meillet, BSL. 24, 117) to keep down, hold; Sogd. *ny"s-* to hold, seize. But cf. Yaghn. *nās-*: *nāt*; Sak, *nā-* (*nās-*: *nāta-*), Psht. *nas*: *nīw-ul*, Orm. *nas-*: *nōk* (\**nafta-??*).  
*nəsm* Sgl. p. 3 middle. — In *nəsm-i asmān*. — Ar.-Prs., cf. Fārizāndī, etc. *nəsm*.  
*nesme'sav* Sgl. p. 2 midnight. — Ar.-Prs.  
*nest*, etc., Sgl. p. 2, 3, *nās*, *nīst* Sk., *nast* Gr. (Zb.) is not. — '*pāruzd-im šo'wāri ke'nūk nəst-əm kō-kud* I could not go yesterday (*dīna rafta būdan na tānisten*); *am xān mənən nest-ē* this house is not mine; *nəs kō-kwān* they couldn't; *awē heči nes xoʔok* Sgl. p. 2 he has not eaten anything; *paša wok nesi la-koi* p. 3 he does not leave a mosquito; '*ēiz tōt 'nist* °*oyad* Sk. why didst thou not come? *āz-im 'nās-pzind* Sk. I did not understand this. — From *nēst* (Prs.?), cf. § 123.  
*nūš-*: *nūšəδ* Sgl. p. 2, : *nešt* Gr. (Zb.) to throw, put. — *wok cizi be nūšen*; *cizi-m nūšəδ*; *ki'tāv mēx sōr-əm nūšəδ* I put the book on the table. — Cf. Siwandīnōš-: *nōt 'andāxtan' < \*nāšš-*.  
*nūš* Sgl. p. 2 tasting. — *nūš kəncen 'mēcāšam'*. — Prs.  
*ne'sān* Sgl. p. 2 showing. — *n° be dēem*. — Prs.  
*nī'sorm* Sgl. is., °*orm* p. 2, 3 the shady side of a valley. — Cf. Wkh. *nī'ir(u)m*, etc., Mj. *nušiy*.  
*nāšīē* Sgl. p. 2 dirty. — Cf. Prs. *našt* spoilt, withered.  
*nušt*, v. *nēz-*.  
*nāštar* Sgl. is. pine tree. — Cf. Psht. *naštar* (< Prs. *nīštar* a laucet??).  
*naʔ* Sgl. p. 2 play, game. — *šā naʔ kenuk 'mērīm, bāzi mēkim'*. — IA.  
*nav-* Sgl. is. to rain. — *a'wāi na'vōi*. — Cf. "Wkh." *nāv* rain, Yd. *nov-*.  
*nīv-*: *nīvδ* Sgl. is. to bring (an animated being). — *nīven 'mērasānem*; *nīvδ 'rasānd*; *nīvδet 'daryāvāt (= daryāft) kat'*. — Cf. Av. *nay-* (scarcely \**nī-apaya-*), and Yazdī *nīv-* 'to send' with unexplained v.  
*no'vōk* Sgl. is., *na°* p. 1, 3, *nok* MFB rain. — V. *nav-*.  
*nə'vəs* Sgl. p. 1, "Wkh.", *ne'vāsa* Ishk., '*navus* Gr. grandchild. — Cf. Yd. *nowīsa*. Ishk. from Prs.  
*nəviš*: *nəvišt* Sgl. is., p. 2, *nī'wiš-*: *nīwišt* Sk. to write. — *psā(d) be nevišen* Sgl. p. 2. — Prs.  
*na'wāδ* Sgl. is., p. ninety. — Prs.  
*nowəδ/dos* Sgl. grammophone, is., '*nouδōs* p. 1, 2, °*δos* p. 3, '*nowədos* s., *nu:'dāu* Zb. ninetecn.  
*nə'wōk* Sgl. p. 2, *nōu* Ishk. mill-race. — Cf. Yd. *nawo'jō*.



*nu'wök* Sgl. p. 2, *nawuk* Gr. new. — Cf. Yd. *nowo'yo*.

*nawar-* Gr. (Zb.) to draw (water). — Cf. Yd. *nəvor-*.

*na'xəð* Sgl. p. 2 pea. — Prs.

*nax'shīn* Sk. striped. — Ar.-Prs. \**naqš in?*

*nā'yəb* Sk. under-bailiff. — Ar.-Prs.

*ni'yök* Sgl. is. reed. — V. *nai*.

*nēz-*: *nəst* Sk., : *nušt* Gr., *našet* Gr. (Zb.)

to go out, emerge. — Cf. Wkh. *niuz-*: *niešt*, Yaghn. *nīž-*: *nīšt*, possibly \**nižita-* > \**nīšt*, with secondary present stem *nēz-* (and Sk. secondary past base *nəst*), cf. Yd. s.v. *nī-*.

*nuz'dāu*, v. *nowədos*. — Prs.

*na'žār* Sgl. is. carpenter. — Ar.-Prs.

## P

*pa*, *pə* Sgl. p. 2, 3 on, with, etc. — *nasem be pə dānd* I bite; *pə miltəq pčün dehen* I shoot with a gun; *pa rveyn ba pacen* I cook with ghee; *pə tovor* with an axe; *po wāda hit 'ba wāda rasid'*. — V. 107 c; cf. Yd. *po*.

*pai* Sgl. p. 2, 3 tendon. — Prs.

*pōi* Sgl. p. 1, is., Gr., *pai* Ishk., *pāi* Sk. sour milk, *jurjāt*. — Cf. Yd. *poya*.

*pū-* Zar. to become rotten; *pūduk* rotten. — Cf. Yd. *pīo*.

*pəb-*: *pəvð* Sgl. p. 3 to blow. — *pəbəm bəš*, *pəvdəm*. — V. *puf* (*pəb-* second. pres. from *pəvð-*).

*pu'band* Sk. instep. — Ishk.-Prs., v. *pūd*.

*pac-* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., Ishk.: *pux-* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *pəx-* s., *puxt* Ishk., *paz-*: *pazd* Sk. to cook; *pīz-*: *puxt* Sk. to boil. — *pa'cen*, *puđf-um pu'xəm* Sgl. p. 1; *pu'xə* has boiled p. 3; *pa'cəm*, *pə'xəm* s.; *'pacum*, *putfum puxt* Ishk.; *azi pīzum*, *azim puxt* Sk. — *paz-* from

Prs.; *pīz-* < *pačaya-*, with *z* from Prs.; *puxt* either from Prs., or, more probably, from Sgl. *pux*, cf. Shgh. *pəxt*. — Cf. Yd.

*pēča* Sgl. is., p. 1 curl. — Prs.

*pēčuk* Sgl. is., p. 1, *pucuk* Gr. worm. — < \**pərcuk*, cf. Wkh. *pərič??*

*pəčün* Sgl. p. 2, *pučun* Gr., *pəčēn* Gauthiot (Ishk.) bullet. — *pə miltəq pčün dehen* I shoot with a gun. — Gauthiot (MSL, 20, p. 70) compares Prs. *paikān*, Arm. *patkan*<sup>o</sup>, but *k > č* is not probable. < \**pūθ + čün*, cf. Yd. *pīč?* V. § 37.

*pəču'waxšt(?)* Sgl. p. 2 at last. — Incorrect for *°waxt?*

*pai'dā* Sgl. p. 2, 3 born, appearing. — *zōt p<sup>o</sup> šīð* p. 2; *wok šēr p<sup>o</sup> šīð* a lion appeared; *dušman p<sup>o</sup> šuō* p. 3. — Prs.

*pe'dār* Sgl. p. 3 father. — In the expression *pəšt-i p<sup>o</sup>* his father's loins. — Prs.

*pād'šā* Sgl. p. 3, *pād'šā* Sk. king. — Prs. *pūd* Sgl. is., p., s. (*pūđ* p. 1), *pū* Ishk., Sk., *pu* Gr., *pūd* Gr. (Zb.), MFB., *pud* Zar. foot. — Cf. Yd. *palo*.

*pəđf* Sgl. is., p. 3, *puđf* p. 1, "Wkh.", *pəđf* p. 2, *pəđf* s., *putf* Ishk., *puđf* Gr. flesh, meat. — *puđf-um pu'xəm* Sgl. p. 1. Cf. *dān-pəđf*. — < Av. *°piθwa-* food (or \**pitudwa-*, cf. § 59), cf. E.Oss. *fīd* < *pitu-*. (Not convincingly Eilers, ZDMG, 90, p. 195 reg. Anc. Ir. \**pīθfa-*(?).)

*pe'dīn-*: *pe'dīt* Sgl. p. 2, s., *pə'den-*: *pə'dend* Sk., *pe'dīn-* Gr. to light, kindle a fire. — *pe'dīnen*, *pe'dīn!* "dar bedel!" p. 2, *pə'dīn čī'rāy* Sk. light a lamp. — Cf. Shgh. *pe'dīn-*, Or. *pađīn-*, Yazgh. *pađay-*; intr. Wkh. *pīding-*, Yazgh. *pađays-*. Connection with Saka *pađajs-*

- to ignite, to burn (< *pati* + *dag-* v. Saka Studies, p. 163) seems probable, but the phonetic development is not clear (< \**pati-dagna-ya*??).
- puf ken-* Sgl. p. 2, s., *puf-* Zar. to blow. — *puf ke xe dōst* Sgl. p. 2 blow at your hand. — Cf. Yd. *puf-*. V. *pəb-*.
- pə'gē*, v. *sāhar p°* to-morrow morning. — Prs. *pagāh*.
- pəy'zē* Sgl. p. 2, *pəg'za* Sk. clean. — Prs., cf. Shgh. *pəyža*, Khov. *pagza*, etc.
- pōk ken-* Sk. to cleanse. — Prs.
- pa'kol* Ishk., Gr. cap, *pakōl* Gr. (Zb.) a woman's mantilla. — Cf. Yd. *pakoŋo*.
- pālū* Sk. flank, side. — Prs.
- piā'tē* Sgl. p. 1, °a p. 2 cup. — Prs.
- pul* Ishk., *pəl* Zb. bridge. — Prs.
- pūl* Sgl. p. 2 money. — *miž be pūl dē*. — Prs.
- pə'laftuk* Sk., in *rēmuz p°* rise of the sun.
- pa'lāng* Sgl. is., °aŋg p. 1, Sk., *pə'laŋg* Sgl. p. 3, s. leopard. — Prs.
- pāling* Gr. saddle. Denied by Sk.
- pe'lās* Sgl. p. 1 rug. — Prs.
- pilta* Sgl. p. 2 match of a gun. — Cf. Madagl., Turki id.—Taj. Prs. corruption of *fatila*.
- pāla'wān* Sk. a hunter. — Prs.
- pām*<sup>1</sup>) Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *pōm* Zb., *pom* Ishk., *pām* Sk., "Wkh.", Gr. wool. — *pām<sup>c</sup> dāmben* I card wool. — Cf. Yd. *pam*.
- pām*<sup>2</sup>) Sgl. p. 1, Sk., Zar., Gr. wide, broad. — Bad. Prs. *pām* < *pān*.
- 'pumec-*, v. *'pānec-*.
- pi'ān* Sgl. is., p. 2 below. — *tə cə-mak p°-dō* p. 2 thou art below me. — Prs.
- 'pānec-* Sgl. is., *pə'nec-* p. 2, s., *'pānic-* p. 3 : *pānəyδ-* p. 2, *'pumec-*: *'puməxt* Ishk., *pomuc-* Gr. to dress. — Cf. Wkh. *pūmec-*, Sar. *pamez-*, Shgh. *peniz-*, etc., Sogd. *ptmwc-*, Av. *paiti-maoč-*.
- pan'jā* Gr., Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, °āh Gr. (Zb.) fifty. — Prs.
- pan'jā* Zb. finger. — Prs.
- pu'nuk* Sgl. is., p. 3, *pə°* p. 1, 2 a pass. — *fə'rindi fə'ršōu mə pə'nuk*; *o'yođam pe'nuk* p. 2. — \**pn(d)ūk* < \**pantāka-*, cf. Oss. *fāndag* road, etc.?
- pə'nir* Sgl. is., *pa°* p. 1, Ishk., Sk., *pa'nēr* Sgl. s. cheese; *pə'nī*(?) Sgl. p. 3 a kind of sour milk (*dūy*). — Prs.
- pu-nar'xāk* Sk. toe(?)
- pōn<sup>c</sup>* Sgl. is., *pōns* p. 1, 3, s., *pon<sup>s</sup>* p. 2, *pōn<sup>s</sup>* Grammophone; *pōns* Zb., *ponj* Ishk., *pūnz* Sk., Gr., *punj* Zar. five.
- pōnzədōs* Sgl. is., °dōs p., s., *pōnzdāu* Zb. fifteen.
- pōru* Ishk. horsedung. — *vərok p°*. — Cf. Yd. *'pāru*.
- pār-dē-*: *pār-dūd* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *pare-dē-*: *par-dūd* s., *pa'ra-day-*: *parādūd* Sk. to sell. — *par'dēen* Sgl. p. 2; *pār be dēn*, *pār-em dūd* p. 3, *pare-dēem*, *par-em dūd* s. — Cf. Yd. *plār-*.
- prok* Sk. — In: *wok xo'rok prok xar*, *bād šu* eat a bit, and then go (said to an arriving guest).
- park* Zb. ashes. — Cf. Wkh. *pārg*. V. Gauthiot, MSL, XX, p. 9 regarding Lith. *pelenai*, etc.
- pa'rk* Sk., *parak* Gr. rib. — Cf. Wkh. *parək*; Prs. *par(r)* side, skirt.
- pōrk* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb., Gr., *pār<sup>k</sup>* "Wkh." mouse; *purk* Sk. rat. — Cf. Yd. *parj*.
- pīrmāi* Sgl. is. name of a large bird; *'pīrmā* p. 3 a white bird resembling a vulture (*kargas*).
- pār'ntē* Sgl. p. 1, 3 threshold. — Cf. Or. *pađin(d,?)* V. § 22.
- pa'rxnda* Sgl. is., °enda p. 2, Ishk. bird; *paran'da* Sk. small bird. — *p° tar ha'wā ara'zō* Sgl. p. 2.

*parenda xān* p. 2 bird's nest. — Prs.  
*parr* Sgl. is., p. 1, *par* Sk. feather. — Prs.  
*pər'sāl* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *'pərsōl* Sk. last year. — Cf. Prs. *pārsāl*.  
*prēšt* Sk. armband, Gr. wrist. — Cf. Sar. *parḍūst*, Or. *pār'dēst* (Lentz). V. §§ 22, 32.  
*pər'rəštem* Sgl. is. *pər'rəštīn* p. 2, *pər'sə°* p. 1 the day after to-morrow. — Cf. *wəcərīn*.  
*purta(w)* Ishk. to throw. — *purtaum*. — Prs.  
*par'tāwī*, *par'tāštuk* Sk. lagging behind, tired. — Prob. < thrown away, v. *purtau-*.  
*par'variš* Sgl. p. 2 protection, nurturing. — *p° kenen*. — Prs.  
*parwīnekog* Sgl. is., *par'wēnikōg* p. 1 moth. — Cf.:  
*par'wīnek* Sgl. p. 2 butterfly. — Prs. *parwāna*. Gr. *parparānuk* is an onomatopoeic transformation of this word.  
*pā'rūzd* Sgl. is., p. 2, *pō'rəzd* Sk., *paruzd* Gr. yesterday. — *pa'rūzd wok čīzī tō bē be spārḍōvē* yesterday he entrusted something to thee; *p° ari-m ku'ō vōḍ* p. 2 I had worked yesterday; *p° šab* Sk. yesternight. — \**pāra* + *azni*. Cf. *āluzd*, Yd. *širizen*.  
*pasī* Sgl. p. 2, 3 after(wards). — *čend rōz pasī*; *pasi nau'rōzə wudiļ xašām*, *pasi-va dāvīnuk* p. 2; *pasi vənaf* after that(?). — Prs. *pas-i?*  
*pəs* Sgl. p. 2 afterwards(?). — Cf. Texts, II, 3. — Prs.  
*pusī'dā* Sk. rotting. — *p° šūm* I rot. — Prs.  
*pāšk* Sgl. is., p. 2, "Wkh." *posk*, skin, hide (of cows). — Cf. Av. *pasta*

(= \**pausta?* Cf. Endzelin, Ann. Acad. Scient. Fenn., Ser. B., 27, p. 25).  
*psāt*, *p(ə)sā(d)* Sgl. is., p, *psah* Gr. (Zb.) now, then. — *psāt-əm sēr kəḍ* then I became satisfied; *pəsā(d) be navišen* now I shall write; *psād ba xēsta xwāri?* Sgl. p. 2 dost thou eat bread now? *psā-mō astōk* is. I have risen now; *psā vrēlen* p. 1; *pəsād šīḍ*, *pəsā oyoḍ* p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *psāt*.  
*past* Sgl. p. 2, Zar. low; *pāst* Sk. down. — Prs.  
*pəs ta* Sgl. p. 2 pistachio. — Prs.  
*pūst* Sk. leather. — Prs.  
*pəs'tāk* Sgl. is., *pus'tak* Sk. bark of a tree. — Prs.  
*pa'sē* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *paša* p. 1, Ishk., Sk. a fly. — Prs.  
*pāš va ken-(?)* Sgl. p. 3 to hide, conceal. — Read *wa?* Cf. Prs. *pāš* scattering?  
*pūš* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, "Wkh.", *pšī* Zb., *pu'šuk* Ishk., *peš*, *pšək* Sk., *piš* Gr., *puš* Gr. (Zb.), *pššuk* Zar. cat. — Cf. Yd. *prško*, Prs. *pušak*, etc.  
*pīš-i-bar* Sgl. is., *pēš'ubar* Sk., *pēšbar* Gr. breast. — \*Prs.  
*pəšbažgī* Sk. kitten. — \**puš-bača gī*.  
*pušk* Sgl. is., *pəšk* p. 1, *pšək* p. 3, *pušk* Zar. dung of sheep. — Prs. *pušk*, cf. Shgh. *pašć*, Yd. *pškedrī*.  
*pšai'mānī* Sk. regret. — Prs.  
*pāš'ne* Sgl. is., *pā°* p. 1, *'pāšne* p. 3, *pāš'na* Sk., Gr. heel. — Prs.  
*pē'sānī* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *°nī(?)* p. 3, *pešā'nī* Zb., Ishk., *pe'sā'nī* Sk. forehead. — Prs.  
*pe'sīn* Sgl. is. afternoon. — Prs.  
*pšūr* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *pəšūr* p. 3, *pu'sīr* Ishk., *pə'sīr* "Wkh.", *pešur* Gr. cheek; *pšūr* Sk. face, *pešur'linj* face. —

'pēsten Sgl. p. 2 udder. — *cə u'γū p°*. — Cf. Yd. 'pīstān.  
 pāšt Sgl. p. 3 loins. — In: *ma p°-i pe'dār-ō*. — Prs.  
 pušt-i pā Sgl. p. 3 instep, upper part of the foot. — Prs.  
 pē's-ā'ar Sk. place where the horse is bound. — \*Prs.  
 pa'ār Sgl. is. porridge, āš.  
 put Gr. parched grain ground into meal. — Cf. Yd. pušč, Wkh. pōst. V. tūt-pāt.  
 putf, v. pād̄f.  
 'pātik Sgl. is., p., Gr., 'pātik Sk. eyelid (p. 3 eyebrow?). — *pātik dē* Sgl. p. 2 wink. — Wkh. pātak, Khow. phatuk, patok, Madaglashti patik, Or. pōd̄č, cf. Yd. pēlēk.  
 po'tūn Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., pa'tīn "Wkh." thigh. — Cf. Yd. pišcan.  
 pi'tāv Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 the sunny side of a valley. — Cf. Yd. pitou, Psht. pitāo, etc.  
 'paʃak Sgl. p. 2, pā'tuk Sk. lentils, patāk. — Cf. Wkh. pa'tek, Mj. 'pateko.  
 pōv-: pōvd̄ Sgl. p. 3, pāv-: pāv̄d p. 3, pāv-: pīd̄ s., pāv-: pāv̄d Ishk., Sk. to drink. — 'vēk 'pōvcn, 'az-əm 'vēk 'pōvd̄əm p. 2; vē pa'vōn, 'pāv̄d̄əm p. 3; vē pāv̄vəm, vēk-əm pīd̄ s.; vēk 'pāvum, pāv̄dum Ishk., Sk. — Cf. Wkh. pōv-: pīt-, Skr. pība-: pītā-.  
 pēx Sgl. p. 3 span from thumb to forefinger. — Cf. Yd. pīx.  
 pāčk Sgl. is., pā° p. 2 cooked. — V. pac-  
 pac'ta Sk. cotton. — Prs.  
 paz-, pīz-, v. pac-  
 pi'āz Sgl. is., p. 2, piyās Sk. onion. — Prs.  
 \*puz MFB breast. — Written yuz, (يوز), but acc. to Shaw this is a mistake

for puz (يوز). — Cf. Wkh. p'ūz, Yd. fiz.  
 pā'zīn-: pā'zīnd Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., Ishk., Sk., pāzin-: pāzīnd Zar. to understand, to learn. — *azə va tō lavz pe'zīnen* Sgl. p. 1; *az-əm va tō lavz pe'zīnd* p. 1; *tī zə'vūk pā'zīnum* Ishk.; *pā'zīnem bvd̄* p. 3; *az-īm 'nās pāzīnd* Sk. I didn't understand it; *fai p'zīnuk<sup>(ō)</sup>* Sk. he who knows much. — Cf. Yd. vāzān-, Wkh. pazdan-, Sar. pajān-, Sogd. ptz'n-  
 pēž-: pēžd̄ Sgl. p. 3 to wrap up. — *pēžd̄/ləm 'tāu dādīm*'. — < \*pōēr- < \*patidarzaya-, cf. Mj. palarz-, Psht. blēžd̄l, etc.  
 pi'zīn Sgl. p. 2 clay-pot for milk. — Cf. Wkh. pižin udder < \*payah čayana?

## R

rā Sgl. p. 1, s., rāh Zb. road. — Prs.  
 rō Sgl. p. 3 face. — In: *rō p-xē Xedā kəd̄* he turned (his face) to God, *rū ba Xudā kat*. — Prs.  
 rōi Sgl. is., p. 1, rōe p. 3, rōi p. 2, Ishk., rōr Sgl. s., rūi/y Sk., Gr., Zar., trāi(?) MFB three. — *rō(i) rō'pē*. — Cf. § 109.  
 rū Sgl. p. 3 on. — Prs.  
 rēč'k Sk. belly, rēčik Gr., rōčik Zar. entrails. — < \*rēd (< \*rauta-) + čik, cf. KZ., 61, p. 32. — V. § 37.  
 rēf Sgl. is., Sk., rēfak p. 1 broom. — Cf. Yd. rufo.  
 rag Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Sk. vein, sinew. — Prs.  
 rēg Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., rēg Sk. sand. — Prs.  
 rēγon Sgl. is., °γn p. 2, s., "Wkh." rēaγn p. 1, riēγn p. 3, rēγanē Ishk. clarified

butter; *rēyn* Sk. butter. — *pa rēyēn*  
*ba pacen* Sgl. p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *rūy<sup>an</sup>*.  
*rah'zan* Sk. robber. — Prs.  
*ri'kāb* Sgl. p. 2, °*āb* Sk. stirrup. — Ar.-Prs.  
*raqo'si'ē kən-* Sk. to dance. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ra'mē* Sgl. p. 2 herd of goats. — Prs.  
*rām* Sgl. p. 3 womb. — *oyod mē rām-i*  
*mādar.* — Prs.  
*rēmuz*, v. *or'mōzd*.  
*Rama'zān*, v. *iđ*.  
*rōn* Ishk., *rān* Sk. thigh. — Prs.  
*raṅg* Sk. colour. — Prs.  
*'raṅgā-i gūmagūn* Sk. multicoloured. —  
 Prs.  
*raṅg'zārd* Sk. pale. — Prs.  
*rū'pē*, *rō'pē* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *rūpāyē* is., *rupya*  
 Gr. (Zb.) rupee. — *az tō bē wok rōpēē*  
*dāyen* Sgl. p. 1; *awaī be wok rōpē*  
*dēyen* p. 2; *až im be wok rūpā'yē*  
*dāyem bōš* is. — Ind.  
*rvs* Sgl. p. 2, *rās* p. 3, is., s. thirty. — Cf.  
 § 109.  
*rūisa'fēd* Sgl. p. 2 old man. — \*Prs., cf.  
 Wkh., Or. *mūisa'fēd*. Mj. *sapī rūy*  
 means 'white-muzzled' acc. to Zar.  
*rōsk* Sgl. p. 2 truth. — *amax<sup>o</sup> rōsk yēžəm*,  
*az r<sup>o</sup> yēžen.* — < \**rāst(a)k*, cf. Tirahi  
*rāskə* truth (< Ir.). But Yazgh. *rāzq?*  
*rismōn* Ishk. thread, cord. — Prs.  
*ra'san* Ishk. rope. — Prs.  
*rōst* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 right (hand), straight;  
*rāst* Sk. right, true. — *xūb r<sup>o</sup> durk-ū*  
 Sgl. p. 2 it is a quite straight stick.  
 — Prs.  
*rāst'gū* Sk. truthful. — Prs.  
*rīš* Zb. beard. — Prs.  
*rōš-đov'suk* Sk. wild oats. Cf. *də'sin*.  
*roušan* Sk. light, bright. — Prs.  
*rušā'nī* Zb. light (noun); *rū'san* Sk.  
 dawn; *raušan* Gr. daylight. — Prs.  
*rašt* Sgl. is., s., Ishk. morning, dawn. —

*r<sup>o</sup> šīđ.* — Cf. Wkh. *rəšt* day, Khov.  
*rošt* daylight < Prs. *rūšn?*  
*rəš'tē* Sgl. is., *rīšta* Sk., *'rēšē* p. 1 root-  
 fibre. — Prs. *rēša* id., *rīšta* thread,  
 line. — Cf. Badakhshi *rēša*, but  
 Madagl. *rīšta*, Wkh. *riš'ta*, *rax'te*  
 (< Prs.).  
*rušt* Gr. a fur robe. — But Zar. *yušt*,  
 cf. Mj. *yīška*.  
*rūv* Sgl. is., p. 2 rhubarb. — Cf. Yd. *rīv*.  
*rīv'lav* Sgl. is., s., *riv<sup>o</sup>* p. 1, *'riq<sup>o</sup>* p. 3,  
*lav* Gr., *lāv* MFB lip. — *riv* <  
 \**rapya*, (cf. Kard. *lēw*), the genuine  
 Sgl. form corresponding to Prs. *lab?*  
*ra'wān* Sgl. p. 1, Gr. moving, starting.  
*r<sup>o</sup> šīđ.* — Prs.  
*rəx'sat* Sgl. p. 2 leave. — *r<sup>o</sup> šī'ān* they  
 took leave. — Ar.-Prs.  
*rōz* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Gr., *rūz* Sk. day. — *čand*  
*rōz pasī* Sgl. p. 2; *rōzī* (= *rō'zānī*)  
*šīđ ke* p. 3 it happened one day that...  
 — Prs.  
*'raužan* Sgl. p. 3 window. — Prs.  
*riz'yāk* Sgl. is., p. 1 small. — *am xān*  
*žōšt*, *hađ xān rizi'āk* p. 1. — Prs.  
*rēza*, cf. Yd. *rīza*.  
*rēž* Gr. platform (for sleeping). — Cf.  
 Yd. *raža*, Wkh. *rāž*.  
*rī'žuk* Sgl. p. 1, 2 male kid, one year old;  
 p. 3 he-goat. — Cf. "Wkh." *re'žā*  
 he-goat, Sar. *rezapai* goats and sheep  
 (Khov. *lešpai* < \**rēžpai* from Ir.);  
 cf. Prs. *rēza* the small of any animal.

## S

*sō* Ishk. now(?). — In: *azī sō wazum*  
 'mēyaltam'. — Cf. *nak-sō* now.  
*sūi* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Zb., *si* Sk., Gr. hare. —  
 Cf. Yd. *sīy*.  
*sub* Zb. morning. — Ar.-Prs.

- sa'bab* Sk. reason. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'buk* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk. light, not heavy.  
 — Prs.  
*'sābūn* Sk. soap. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sabr* Sk. patient. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sə'dik* Sk. porridge, *āš*.  
*saudo'gar* Sk. merchant. — Prs.  
*sāḍ* Sgl. is., *saḍ* p. 2, 3, *sad* Sk., Gr. (Zb.)  
 hundred. — Sk. *sadə'yak* 101, *sadə-*  
*bīsts'panj* 125. — Prs.  
*sa'fēd* Ishk., Sk. white. — Prs.  
*safē'dōr* Ishk., Zb. poplar. — Prs.  
*sagla'vī* Sgl. is., p. 3, *°lōvī* p. 1, *sagō'vī*  
 Ishk. otter. — Cf. Yd. *saṅgla'ū*, Prs.  
*sag-i lau*, *sag(-i) ābī*.  
*so'ḡond* Sgl. is., *sa'ḡand* Zb. curl; *seḡund*  
 Gr. (Zb.) hair. — *sor* + *ḡūn*?  
*sa'ḡēr* Sgl. p. 1 orphan. — Cf. Mj. *saḡīr*,  
 etc. from Prs.  
*'sāhar*<sup>1)</sup> Sgl. p. 1, *sāar* p. 2, *sa'har*, *sā'ri*  
 Sk. morning, at dawn. — *s°* *be xotan*  
 p. 2. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'hār*<sup>2)</sup> Sgl. is., *sa'ār* p. 1, *ba-sa'ār* p. 2,  
*'sāhar* Ishk. to-morrow. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sa'kāu* Sgl. p. 2 sneezing(?). — *s°-mō*  
*štok* 'sakau šudam'.  
*°skoḡok* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *°nōk* s., *s°kōnūk*  
 Zar. puppy, cub. — Cf. Yd. *c°ke'na*.  
*sāl* Sgl. is., p., s., Gr., *sōl* Ishk., Sk.  
 year. — Prs.  
*sēl* Sgl. p. 1 flood. — Prs.  
*sal'lot* Sk. soldier. — Russ.  
*sāmb*, v. *saw*.  
*səmb* Sgl. is., p. 1, *sumb* Ishk. hoof. —  
 Prs.?  
*samba'ka* Sgl. is. tortoise. — Prs.-Turk.  
*sang-baqa*, Tajiki *sambaqa*.  
*səm'böḡ*, *sv°* Sgl. p. 1 hole (of the ear).  
 — Cf. Prs. *sumb*.  
*son* Sk. linen. — Cf. Khov. *sān* id.,  
 Kabuli Prs. shirting.
- š'na* Sk. breast. — Prs.  
*'sanduk* Sgl. p. 1, *°ūq* Gr. box. — Ar.-Prs.  
*song* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *suṅg* Ishk., Sk., Gr.  
 stone, Ishk. mill-stone. — Early lw.  
 from Prs.  
*'siḡni* Sk. light, bright.  
*(c)spēḍ* Sgl. p. 1, 3, "Wkh." white. — Cf.  
 Yd. *spī*.  
*°spəl* Sgl. is., s., p. 3, *spəl* p. 1, *s°pul* Ishk.,  
 Zar. louse. — Cf. Yd. *spūo*.  
*spər* Sgl. is., p. 1 iron plough-share;  
*(w)uspīr* Sk., Gr. plough. — Cf. Yd.  
*sporo* (also with ancient *-a*).  
*spār*: *spārḍ*- Sgl. p. 2, *būspōr*: *°rd* Zar.  
 to entrust. — *čizl to bē spārḍo-vē*  
 he had entrusted something to thee.  
 — Prs.  
*sīpərz* Sgl. is., *°orz* p. 1 spleen. — Prs.  
*sēr* Sgl. p. 2, 3 satisfied. — *psāt sēr šīān*  
*'sēr šudim'*, *psāt-am sēr kəḍ* p. 2;  
*sēr-am šīḍ* p. 3. — Prs.  
*šīr* Sgl. p. 2 garlic. — Prs.  
*sōr*<sup>1)</sup> Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., Gr. (Zb.), *sur* Zb.,  
 Ishk., Sk., *sar* ("younger form" Sk.)  
 head. — *sur-čpāsšt* Sk. back of the  
 head. — Cf. Prs. *sar* (from which  
*sar* is a lw.), etc.  
*sōr*<sup>2)</sup> Sgl. p. 2, 3 on. — *kitāv mēx sōr-am*  
*nūšəḍ* p. 2 I put the book on the  
 table; *vōst mə kafas sōr* p. 3 he tied  
 it at the top of the cage. — V. *sōr*<sup>1)</sup>.  
*sərb* Sgl. is., *sərb* p. 2, *sərv* p. 3 lead. —  
 Prs.  
*sard* Ishk., Gr., *sart* Sk. cold. — Prs.  
*sa'rāk* Sgl. is., p. 3 road. — Afgh. Prs.  
*sarak* < Hind. *ṣarāk*.  
*'sārek* Sgl. is., p. 1 cream. — Cf. Prs.  
*sar-i šīr*.  
*sormoḡz*, v. *moḡz-i sor*.  
*sərx* Sgl. is., p. 1, Ishk., *sərx* Sgl. p. 3,  
*surx* Sk., Gr. red. — Prs.?

<sup>1</sup>*sōrox* Sgl. p. 2 ear of corn. — Cf. Yd. *sor*.  
*sur'xūn* Sk. white. — Prs.  
<sup>3</sup>*ōr'xaš* Sgl. p. 2 wild, arrogant, *sarkaš*.  
 — *vərvəs s'ō* the fox is wild. —  
 Adapted from Prs. *sarkaš*.  
*sā'sar* Sgl. p. 1 crow (?). — \*Prs.  
*sust* Sgl. p. 2 lazy, *səst* p. 1 soft. — *ama*  
*ādam fai sust-o* this man is very  
 lazy. — Prs. (< \**Drusta-*, cf. OE  
*Prēotan* to tire, etc., etc.).  
<sup>2</sup>*stīn* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *stīn* Sk., *ustun* Ishk.  
 post, pillar. — Cf. Yd. *ustuno*; *ustun*  
 < Prs.  
*sī'tar-*, v. *astar-*.  
*sāt'xān-may'zi* Sk. brain; *sutxān-mayzuk*  
 Gr. thigh. — \*Prs. Original meaning  
 'marrow'.  
*sav-*, v. *təv-*.  
<sup>2</sup>*vōd* Sgl. is., <sup>0</sup>*vōd* p. 3, *sōvd* p. 1, s., *sovd*  
 Zb, *sōvd* Sk. shoulder. — *mu sovd-ō*  
 it is on the shoulder. — Cf. Yd. *suvdo*.  
*su'vār* Sgl. p. 2 horseman. — Prs.  
*savz* Sgl. p. 1, *sobz* Ishk., *sabz* Sk., Gr.  
 green. — Prs.  
*sav'za* Sgl. p. 1, <sup>0</sup>*zī* p. 2, *sab'za* Ishk.  
 grass, lawn — Prs.  
*saw-*: *sawd* Sk. to rub; *sāmb-* Gr. to  
 smear. — Cf. Prs. *sāwīdan*, Yd. *sa-*,  
 Wkh. *sīw*, and, with nasalization,  
 (Hjuler) *sāmōn*, *sāyām* to rub.  
*saxt* Sgl. is. hard. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*sāye* Sgl. is., <sup>1</sup>*sāya* p. 1, *sā'yē* p. 2, <sup>1</sup>*sōya*  
 Zb. shade, shadow. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*siyā-č'irāy* Sk. native candle made from  
 a plant with the same name. — \*Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*sū'yūk* Sgl. p. 3, <sup>1</sup>*sū*<sup>0</sup> s. spleen. — Cf.  
 Wkh. *sik* < \**s(y)ūwya-ka-*; cf. se-  
 mantically Psht. *tōrai*, Torwali *šam*  
 spleen (: the black entrail)?  
<sup>1</sup>*sēzda* Sgl. p. 1, 2, <sup>0</sup>*da* p. 3, *sīzdān* Zb.  
 thirteen. — Prs.

## Š

<sup>1</sup>*š* Sgl. pron. encl. 3 sg. — V. § 114.  
 — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*š-*: <sup>1</sup>*šīd* Sgl. p., s., *šəw-*: *šad* Sk., *šu-*: *šud*  
 Ishk. to go, to become. — *az' šān*;  
*az' ni šām bə-š* 'mā na mērawam';  
*az-əm šīd(əm)*; *az-əm šīdō vedem*  
 'rafta būdem' Sgl. p. 1; *šām be, šīdem*  
 s.; *šān, šīd, šīdōk* p. 3; *šūm, šudum,*  
*šəduk* Ishk.; *šə(wu)m, šədam, 'šəduk,*  
 inf. <sup>1</sup>*šəwūk* Sk. — <sup>1</sup>*na-šəwū* Sk. it  
 can't be done. — Cf. Yd. *šūi*.  
<sup>1</sup>*šab* Ishk., Sk., Gr. night. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*šā'brut* Sk. moustache. — Prs. \**šāh burūt*  
 (contam. with Wkh *šapar*, etc.?).  
<sup>1</sup>*šōdax* Sgl. is., p. 1 goat's hair. — Possibly  
 < \**šōšax*, cf. Yd. *lirs*. V. § 72.  
<sup>1</sup>*šəfūn*, v. *āf'šūn*.  
<sup>1</sup>*šaf'tal* Sgl. p. 2 trefoil. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*šaf'tōlū* Sgl. is., Ishk. peach. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*šag'nam* Sgl. is., *šabnam* Ishk., Sk. dew.  
 — Cf. Prs. *šabnam*, Mj. *šak'lam*. V.  
*šak*.  
<sup>1</sup>*šag'ār* Sgl. p. 2 plastering, *šēdgār*. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*šə'yo!* Sgl. is. jackal. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*šə'yor* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk., "Wkh."  
 hedgehog. — Cf. Yd. *ša'yur*.  
<sup>1</sup>*šak* Sgl. p. 2 dew (?), Gr. hoar-frost. —  
 Cf. Wkh. *šak, šak*, Sar. *šok* white-  
 frost, Tajiki *šaq* dew. — V. *šag'nam*.  
<sup>1</sup>*šakk* Sk., *šak* Gr. bad, wicked. — *šakk-*  
<sup>1</sup>*wēnān* to hate. — Prs. *šaq'* blaming,  
 reproaching, viewing with an evil  
 eye? — Cf. Wkh. *šāk*.  
<sup>1</sup>*šak-* Sgl. p. 2 to rub, crush. — *šakem*  
*be-š* 'mēšakam'. — Prs.  
<sup>2</sup>*škōd* Sgl. is., p. 2 cattle-shed. — < \**fšu-*  
*kata-*, cf. Orm. *škāu* (but not Oss.  
*sk'āt*)? — But Shgh. *šəd*, Bartangi *šōd*  
 cattle-shed < \**srāda-*, cf. Prs. *sarāi*.

- šikam* Zb. belly. — Prs.  
*škarr-*: *škūļ* Sk. to seek. — Cf. Wkh. *škūr-*, Prs. *šikār* chase.  
*šikār bēš* Sk. willow.  
*škōv-*: *škōvd* Sk. to be cold, to catch a cold. — Cf. Wkh. *škāv-*.  
*šal* Sk. lame. — Prs.  
*ša'la* Sk. spark. — Ar.-Prs. *šu'la* blaze, flash.  
*šal'gām* Sk., p. 2 turnip. — Prs.  
*šə'lök* Sgl. is., *šlök* p. 1, *šuluk* Sk., *šuhluk* Gr. wet, damp. — < \*a-šušaka, cf. Skr. *śuṣa-* dry and *a-śuṣka-* moist?  
*šel'mək* Sgl. is., p. 1 resin, gum. — Cf. Prs. *šil(i)m* gum of a tree, *šalmak* n. of a medicine, prob. < N.W. Prakrit \**šilimha-*, cf. Turner, Nep. Dict., s.vv. *liso*, *sep*. V. Wkh. *lišp*.  
*šil'ax* Sgl. is., p. 2 naked, needy. — *tə š°-šō* p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *šil'ēx*.  
*šām* Sk. candle. — Ar.-Prs.  
*šām* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *šōm* Sk., Zb. evening. — Prs.  
*šūm* Sk. travel. — Cf. Av. *šyaoman-* work (*šiyav-* to go, move)?  
*ša'māl* Sgl. p., s., *°āl* Sk. wind; *šu'māl* Sk. north. — *nēr š°-š;* *š° paidā šīš* Sgl. p. 2. — Ar.-Prs.  
*šam'šēr* Sgl. p. 2 sword. — Prs.  
*-šōn* encl. pron. 2 pl., v. § 114.  
*šōna* Zb. shoulder-blade. — Prs.  
*šə.nōwa'rē kən-* Sk. to bathe. — Prs.  
*šōnzdāu*, v. *xuāl'dōs*.  
*šaupā'rek* Ishk. bat. — Prs.  
*šār* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Sk. town. — Prs.  
*šēr* Sgl. p. 3 tiger, lion. — Prs.  
*šarm* Sgl. is., p. 2, Sk. shame. — Prs.  
*šūrm* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., "Wkh.", *šūrn* Zar. horsedung. — < \**šānm-* < \**šāmn-*, Av. *šāman-*?  
*šūr'mūk bēš* Sk., *šurmok* Gr. a kind of willow.  
*šarmin'da* Sk. ashamed. — *š° na*, *šawi* fie, shame. — Prs.  
*šir'in* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk. sweet. — Prs.  
*šurang-zārd* Sk. brown. — V. *šūi*.  
*šarša'rē* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *°rā* Zb. waterfall. — Prs.  
*šar'wā* Sgl. p. 1, *šr'bō* Sk. soup. — Prs.  
*šāst* Sgl. is., p. 3, *šāst* p. 2 sixty. — Prs.  
*šast-iŋ'git* Sgl. p. 2 thumb. — Prs.-Sgl.  
*šiša* Ishk. looking-glass. — Prs.  
*šō'še kən-* Sk. to make water. — Prs.  
*šāt* Sgl. p. 1, 3 honey. — Ar.-Prs.  
*šət* Sgl. is., p. 1, *šit* p. 2, *šēt* p. 3, *šet* s., *šēt* Ishk., *šūt* Sk., *šit* Gr. dust, soil, earth. — *pə šēt nīd* Ishk. sit down on the ground; *šət kən-* Sk. to bury; *šr't ān van kol* Sk. they [have] buried him. — Cf. Wkh. *šēt*, *šet*, Shgh. *sit*.  
*šā'tūn* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *°tu* Gr. ladder. — Prs. *šātū*, Bad. *šōtūn*, etc. < Turki.  
*štən* Sgl. is., p. 1, *°ən* p. 3, *štən* s., *šutun* Gr., *sij* Sk. needle; Ishk. *š'tən* thorn. — < \**šcən* < \**šucani*, cf. Psht. *stən* < \**s(u)cən*, cf. Yd. *šinjo*. — *sij* < \**šuci-*. — Cf. Wkh. *sic*.  
*šaitān* Sk. Satan. — Ar.-Prs.  
*štə'nök* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *ušte°* p. 3, *šutu'nūk* Zb., *štu'nuk* Sk., Gr., *šət°* Zar. newborn kid, *naušudagī*. — Cf. Par. *išten(ūk)* < \**fītānya-ka-*.  
*štər* Sgl. is., p. 2, s., *°ər* p. 3, *štur* Sk., Gr., *uštur* Gr. (Zb.), *šotur* Zar. camel. — Prs. or genuine? Cf. Yd. *škr'rō*.  
*šutur* Gr. calf. — Cf. Wkh. *štūr*.  
*šōt-i pəšf* Sgl. p. 3, *°pūd* p. 1 calf of the leg. — Cf. Shgh. *pura-i-gōšt* (< Prs.) id. Psht. *šat-garai* ankle < \**srašta-*?  
*šōv*, *šōvök* Sgl. p. 2 weeding. — *az-əm šōv(ōk) āri* 'kenuk I have weeded (*amī*



- kār az darūn-i zamīn mēkana* (1);  
*šovōk šuān, kə š° walā(š) šīān.*
- ša'vōl Sk., ša'wālak Gr. trousers. — Prs.  
 šo'vel Ishk., šō° Sk., Gr. road. — <  
 \*šyaw-, cf. Phl.Ps. šwb'n (šovān) roads?  
 But suffix?
- šav'zād Sk. bug. — Cf. Shgh. (Sk.) šavzōd,  
 Wkh. xəuzrt, cf. Prs. šab-gaz 'bug'.  
 šāw: šāwod Zar. to chew. — \*gžaw ?  
 šuwīn Gr., šuen Gr., Zb. cradle. — <  
 \*xšaubanya-?
- šāx<sup>1</sup>) Sgl. is., p. twig; šōx Ishk., Sk.  
 šōxā Zb., °čuk Sk., Gr. branch. —  
 Prs. šāx(ā), Bartangi xax'čak.
- šāx<sup>2</sup>) Sgl. p. 3, Zb., Ishk., šāx Sk. horn.  
 — āhūn wok šāx da vōd p. 3 the  
 stag had one horn. — Prs.
- šōx Sgl. is., p., šūx Zar. hard, locked. —  
 vōr šōx-ōi Sgl. p. 2; ma tāham ē šōx  
 kəδ mə kafās sōr p. 3 he fastened  
 the food at the top of the cage. —  
 Cf. Wkh. šōk, šux, Yd. šax.
- šōxs: šōxt Sgl. is., p. 3, s., šīxs-: šīxt  
 p. 2 to cross, to pass over; šūxt Gr.  
 (time) passed. — šōxtān 'guzāšt(an)'  
 is.; isen, šīxsən be p. 3 'mēāyam,  
 mēgžāram'; guzar-em be šīxtəm, mə  
 vēk-əm šīxt p. 2; tar asmān šōxt p. 3.  
 — Cf. Wkh. šōxs, Khov. lw. šaxč-,  
 šaxs < \*saxš-, from sak- to pass  
 (the time).
- šā'xāb Sk. brook, rivulet. — Prs.
- šaxa-yer Sgl. p. 3 hill. — Cf. Prs. šax  
 mountain.
- šau'zī Sgl. is., p. 2, šov'jī p. 1, šau'jī p. 3,  
 s., šu'jī Zb. hip. — Cf. Wkh. šau'zī,  
 šūjāš, Shgh. sēvje, (sēujā Sk.), Or.  
 sāw'jē. Prob. a Taj. word, \*suvjī <  
 \*suftjī?
- šūž Sgl. p. 1, s. eagle, hukāb, šuž p. 3  
 black eagle, siasōr. — Cf. Yd. šīž.

## Š

- šōu Sgl. is., p. 1, s., šou p. 3 horn. —  
 \*srāw-, cf. Wkh. šou, Yd. šū.
- šūi Sgl. p. 1, 3, šū Ishk. black, pupil of  
 the eye; šu Sk., Gr., žūi "Wkh."  
 black. — Cf. Wkh. šū, Khov. (lw.)  
 šā. — < Av. syāva-, but note š.
- šac Sgl. is., p. 2, šac p. 3, šuc Gr. female.  
 — Acc. to Hjuler Wkh. šac is used  
 as a fem. suffix. — Cf. Yd. šīyo.
- šud Gr. heard. — Prob. \*šud, cf. Shgh.  
 šud.
- šīδ Sgl. is., šōδ- p. 2, 3, s.: šīδ- is., p. 2, 3,  
 šīn-: šīd Ishk., šīd-: šīt Sk., : šīd  
 Zar. to weep. — šīden, šīdēm Sgl. is.,  
 šōden buš: šīdum p. 2, 3; šīnum: šīdum,  
 -um šīd, šīduk Ishk.; šīdum, šītum Sk.
- šēn Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb. podex; p. 2 anus;  
 Ishk. hip; kšīn Gr. podex; šīng Sk.  
 hip. — mo šēn kenen-et p. 2 'mā tura  
 mēgāyam-et'. — Cf. Yd. šrno, Shgh.  
 šūn.
- šōnā'ī Sgl. is, p. 1 light, fire; šōnā'ī  
 p. 2, 3, rāšnā'ī s., rāš'nī Zb., Ishk. fire.  
 rīšnē, ršnē Sk. fire. šōnā'ī do'hō it  
 lightened; va šōnā'ī žan p. 2 blow  
 out the fire; mən in'git mə šōnā'ī tōδ  
 p. 2. — Cf. Wkh. rax'nī(g), Khov.  
 (lw.) roxnī, Kab. Prs. rušnāī. — Cf.  
 rušā'nī.
- šōš Sgl. is., p. 3, s., šuš p. 1, 2, šīš Zb.,  
 Sk. lung. — Prs.
- ša'vī Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, ša'veī Sk. shirt;  
 'šawī Gr. woman's shirt. Prs. šabī.

## T

- tēu Sgl. is., p. 1, s. husband's brother. —  
 Oss. teu, cf. Mj. s.v. yūi.
- tu, tō Sgl., tō Ishk. thou. — V. § 110.

- tūi* Sk. wedding. — Prs.  
*tablar'za* Sk., Gr. fever. — Prs.  
*tābi'stān* Sk. summer. — Prs.  
*tə'bat* Sgl. is. down of birds. — Cf. Mj. *tubut*.  
*taf* Sgl. p. 1, Sk. steam; Zar. foam. — Prs.  
*taf* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *töf* Sk., *tuf* Zar. saliva. — Prs.  
*töyd* Gr. he went, walked. — < \**taxta-*, cf. Shgh. *tūid*.  
*tā'yō* Sk. mother's brother. — Kabuli Prs. *tayā'i*, Bad. *taya*.  
*tīēy(ə)m* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, *tēyum* Ishk., *tēym* "Wkb.", Gr. grain, seed. — *tēym d(e)ān* p. 2 they sow. — Cf. Yd. *tuy'm*.  
*ta'hām* Sgl. p. 3 food. — *ta'hāma dēi!* — Ar.-Prs.  
*tāke* Sgl. p. 3 alone. — *pād'sā t° fə'rīnd* 'pād'sā yak tāke mānd'. — Cf. Prs. *taka* a single volume, Yd. *toko*.  
*ta'ke* Sgl. p. 3 male kid, one year old. — Prs.  
*tuk'mā* Sk. button. — Turki.  
*tök-sa'rī* Ishk. pillow. — Or. *taksa'rū*; cf. Par. *taisō'rī*, Madagl. *toi-i-seri* + Prs. *takiya*.  
*tākat* Sgl. p. 3 (in tale) endurance. — *ovzūi t° nās kəð* 'dīl-iš t° na kard'. — Ar.-Prs.  
*tāl* Sgl. p. 2 cooking-pot. — Cf. Yd. *tāl*.  
*tīlā* Sgl. is., p., *tīllā* Sk. gold. — Prs.  
*tūl*: *tūld* Sgl. p. 1, 2, s., Ishk., : *tūd* Gr. (Zb.) to shave. — *tūlin*, *tūldəm* Sgl. p. 1, *tūlum*, *tūldum* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *tīz*.  
*telf* Sgl. p. 3 child, *bača-i maida*. — Ar.-Prs. *tīfl*.  
*tə'lap* Sgl. p. 2, *ta'lap*: *talapt* Sk. to wish, seek. — Ar.-Prs.  
*tal'pak* Sk., Gr. fur cap. — Turki.  
*talx* Sgl. p. 1, Ishk. bitter. — Prs.  
*tamba* Sgl. p. 3 to thee? — In *wok t° astēen* 'yak tara rawān mēkenim'.  
*təmux*, *°əx* Sgl., Ishk. you. V. § 110.  
*ta'mūz* Sgl. p. 3 autumn. — Ar. Prs.  
*tan* Sgl. p. 2 person. — *cəmənd tan-ān ma təməx xān? ma mič xān rōi tan-ān*. — Prs.  
*ta'na* Sk. body. — Prs.  
*tənd* Sgl. p. 2 steep. — Prs.  
*tandur* Sk. thunder. — Prs.  
*taŋg* Sgl. p. 1, 2, Sk. narrow. — Prs.  
*tan'ik* Sk., *tanuk* Gr. thin, narrow. — Prob. genuine.  
*tar* Ishk. wet, moist. — Prs.  
*tar* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Gr. through, amongst, in(to), to. — *parenda tar hawā arazō* the bird flew through the air; *wok ēze tar mənē[n] həs-ōi* 'yak ēzi ba dil-i mā st'; *tax'sim kenān tar xāa* p. 2 they divide amongst themselves. — Cf. Yd. *tro*. V. § 107.  
*tīr* Ishk. roof-beam; Sk. arrow. — Prs.  
*\*tor*:- *torō* Sgl. p. 2 to fart. — *torōəm* 'gūz kardam'. Cf. *tərə bā[d] dyem* Sgl. s. id.  
*tar'bəz* Sgl. p. 2, *tār'būz* Sk. water-melon. — Prs.  
*təraf*:- *tərəft* Sk., *tərif* Zar. to steal. — Cf. Yd. *tərif*.  
*tōrik* Zb., *tā°* Ishk., Sk., *°rik* Sk. dark(ness). — Prs.  
*tur'kī* Sgl. is., p. 1 darkness. — \**turk* dark (cf. Yd. *tīro*) + Prs. -ī.  
*tīra'mā* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2; *tīra'mā* Ishk., *tī°* Sk. autumn. — *t° k' šīd, cə kū yūzə xašəm*. — Prs.  
*t(ə)rās* Sgl. p. 2, 3 to fear. — *trāsən ke fərnisen be* p. 2 I am afraid to lose it. Cf. the foll. word:  
*trōs* Ishk., *təros* Sk., *trās* Gr. fear. —

- t° kenum, t°um kul* Ishk., *t° kən-* Sk. I fear; *t° 'dēyum* Sk. I frighten. — < *tars?* But cf. Sar. *intrās-* to shy, etc.
- t̄riš-* Sgl. p. 2, 3 to squeeze. — *t̄rišəm buš*, pf. *t̄rišūk* 'axe mēzanad' (pres.1). — Cf. Wkh. *štrōf-*, Yd. *čirf-*, etc.
- t̄r̄r̄š* Sgl. is, *t̄r̄š* p. 1, *t̄riš* Ishk., *t̄ruš* Zar. sour; *truš* Gr. bitter. — Prs.
- t̄r̄šp* Sk. sour milk. — Cf. Yd. *t̄rišp*.
- tarā'zē* Sk. scales. — Prs.
- teske* Sgl. p. 3 —? — Cf. Texts V, 72.
- tas'mā* Sk. a strap. — Prs.
- tā-i-sar* Ishk. top of the head. — Cf. Mj. *tō-i sar*. Prs.
- tōš kən-* Sk. to empty out. — Cf. Wkh. *tōš*; EVP., s.v. *taš*; Nyberg, *Studia Indo. Ir.*, 214.
- tōšna* Sgl. is., °ē p. 1, *tašna* Ishk., *taxm* Sk. thirsty. — *tōšna*, etc. < Prs. Reg. *taxm* (also in Wkh.), v. s.v. Wkh. *taš*.
- tōša* Sgl. is., °īē p. 1, 3, °ša Ishk. adze. — Prs.
- tāt* Sgl. p. 1, 2, *tot* Ishk., Gr., *tā(t)* Sk., Gr. (Zb.) father. — *mič tāt xān*; *tāte xē māl taxsīm kuš*; *xē tā be γēžōd* he said it to his father. — Cf. Yd. *tat*, etc.
- tūt* Sgl., Zb., Ishk., Sk. mulberry (tree). — Prs.
- tūtī* Sgl. p. parrot. — Prs.
- tūt-pət* Sgl. p. 2 mulberry-flour, *talkān*. — Prs. V. *put*.
- tav* Sgl. p. 2 fever. — Prs.
- tā'vē* Sgl. p. 2 griddle. — Prs.
- tov-*: *tōd* Sgl. p. 1, 2, ; *ted* Gr. (Zb.), "Wkh." *tīwd*, *sav-*: *səd* Ishk., *sav-*: *sud* Sk., Zar. to burn (intr.); *sīw-*: *sud* Sk. to burn (tr.). — *tovōi* Sgl., *savū* Ishk. it burns; *mən iŋgit mō šənāi tōd* p 1 my finger was burnt in the fire. — Cf. Shgh., Wkh. *ḍāw-*, Khwarizm. *ḍ'w-*, etc. V. § 37.
- to'vōr* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Zb., *tu'wur* Sk., Gr. axe. — *va durk t° māida kenen* p. 2; *f̄rēd kuš pe t'ovor* p. 3. — Prs.
- tāve'stān* Sgl. is, p., *tōvā'stōn* Zb., *tābi'stān* Ishk. summer. — Prs.
- tāx'mərg* Zb., *tāxmur* Sk. egg. — Prs. *tāxm-i-mury*, cf. Wkh. *tāxmory*, etc.
- tāx-rū* Sgl. p. 3 plank. V. Texts V, 14. Prs. \**taxt-rū*.
- tāx'sīm* Sgl. p. 2 dividing. — *va māl t° kel* — Ar.-Prs.
- taxt* Sk. curtain. — Prs.
- taxta* Sgl. p. 1 roof-board, p. 3 plank. — *taxta-pāre rū* p. 3 on a piece of plank 'rū-i taxta-pāra'. — Prs.
- taxt'xē* Sgl. p. 3 steam(?). — Cf. Yd. *tux*.
- ta'yāk* Sgl. is., p. 3, *tāy* Sk. colt. — Cf. Yd. *taya*. Cf.:
- tiya-xa'rak* Sgl. is. donkey's foal.
- tēz* Sgl. is., p, Ishk., Sk. sharp. — *tēz kən-* Sk. to sharpen, whet. — Prs.

## V

- va* a particle denoting the accusative. V. § 104.
- vəcərīm*, v. *wəcərīn*.
- vī-dī'ōk* Sgl. p. 2 irrigation, watering, *xākāva*. — *v° kenān*. — V. *vēk*.
- vōd* Sgl, *vud* Ishk., *wōd* Sk. was. — Cf. § 125.
- vā'ḡd* Sk., *vā'yl* Gr. nightmare. — Cf. Wkh. *vā'ḡd*, Sar., Or. *vōid* < Av. *baxta*- fate, misfortune.
- vē(k)* Sgl., Ishk., Sk., Gr. water. — *vēki diān* = *vī-dī'ōk kenān* (q.v.); *warfō vē šurōi* the snow melts; *vē mō piālo nūšen* Sgl. p. 2; *vē pavdām*; *vēk*

- xənuk-ō, daryāo yəx-o kuōk* p. 3 the water is cold and the river is frozen; *arāz mə v'ēk* is. fly into the water. — From a purely phonetic point of view *\*āpāk(ō)ya-* seems to be the most satisfactory reconstruction. Cf. Orm. *wōk*, with loss of *ā*.
- vō'kōlīn* Sgl. p. 1 day before yesterday.  
*vən* Sgl. p. 2. — V. Texts III, 2.
- vin* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, Ishk., Sk., Gr., *vin* Sgl. s., p. 3, *vanū* "Wkh." beard. — Cf. Shgh. *bān* < *\*upā(ha)na-*, cf. Gr. *ὄπινη* (v. NTS, VII, 120; cf. Kretschmer, Glotta, 18, 204; 22, 246; Pisani, Misc. Etym., 107).
- vānd-*: *vōst* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s., *vōnd-*: *vūst* Ishk., *vund-*: *vust* Sk. to bind, tie. — *vānden* Sgl. p. 1, *°em* s., *vōndum* Ishk.; pret. *vōst*; pf. *vōsto-mō-i* p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *vad-*.
- vōnd* Sgl. is., p. 2 stick.
- vōr* Sgl. p., *var* Zb., Ishk., Sk., *wār* "Wkh." door. — *vōr šōx (həʃ)-ōi* p. 2 the door is closed (open). — Cf. Yd. *l'vor*.
- vūr* Sgl. p. 2, 3, Sk. burden. — *vūr kenen* p. 3 I load. — Cf. Yd. *vtra*, Wkh. *vūr*.
- vric* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *vric* p. 3, Sk., *v°ric* Zar., *v°cēr*(!) "Wkh." eyebrow. — *\*brūci-*, cf. Yd. *vriyo*.
- v°rūd* Sgl., *v°rū* Ishk., *wrūd*, *wru* Sk., *v(ə)rūd* Gr., Zar. brother. — Pl. *vrūdār*: *m' amič xān hōvd vrūdār-ān* p. 2; *am xān mēs v°rūdaren* is. this house belongs to me and my brothers; *am xān məm v°rūden-ē* p. 2 this house is my brother's. — Cf. Yd. *vrai*.
- vrūdkuč* Sgl. is., p. 1, *vru'küč* Sk., *v°rūdārkuč* "Wkh." brother's wife.
- v°rōk* Sgl., Zb., Ishk., *wruk* Sk., *wrok* Gr., *verāk* Gr. (Zb.) horse. — *am v°rō*
- məm v°rūden-ē* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Shgh. *vārāj*, Or. *vōrj*, Yazgh. *'varāk* < *\*bāraka-*.
- vōrok* Sgl. p. 2 window. — Cf. *vōr*.
- vrēl-* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s.: *v°rēt-* p. 1, 3, *vrt-* s.; *v°lél-*: *v°lēld-* Ishk., *vrand-*: *vrət* Sk., *v°rēl-*: *v°rūt* Zar. to break. — *pšā vrēlen* Sgl. p. 1; *vrandum*, *vratum*, *vrət*, *vratkum*, *vrtuk*, *vranduk* Sk. — Cf. Shgh. *v°raž*, Yd. *vri-*. — Reg. *v°lél-* v. § 74. *vrand-* has been influenced by *\*škand-* (Wkh. *škəndiv-*).
- vrōn-*: *vrōnd* Sk. to scold. — Cf. Wkh. *vārand-*.
- vār'vəs* Sgl. is., p., *°ves* s., *ur'vəs* Zb., *'wu°* Ishk., *'urvəs* Sk., *uricus* Gr. barley. — *v°rvəs sōr-xas-ō* Sgl. p. 2. — < *\*ypasiyā-?* Cf. Yd. *yeršio*.
- vār'vēs* Sgl. is., s., *w°* p. 3, *wār'wēs* p. 1, *ər°* Zb., *wurwist* Ishk., *'urwēs(ak)* Sk., Gr., *wurvēsdk* Zar., *wār'vēs* "Wkh." fox. — < *rūvēs* < *\*raupāsya-*, v. § 88. Cf. Yd. *rūso*.
- vār'raz* Sgl. is., p. 2; *w/vrā'zā* Sk. above; *vrōz* Sk. up, *werāz* Gr. (Zb.) high, tall, up; *vrāzā* Gr. a mountain high. — *cə t°fāk v°'rāz-mō* Sgl. p. 2 I am above you. — Cf. Khw. (lw.) *vārz* above (v. BSOS, VIII, p. 664), Ingush (lw.) *barz* tumulus < Av. *barəzah-?* But note Or. *vu'rōz* hillside = Prs. *farāz-kōh* (Lentz); (Zangana Kurd. *war(ā)z* high < *\*abi-rāza-?*).
- v°rūzəman* Sgl. is., p. 2 nephew. — V. *v°rūd*.
- v°'sīn* Sgl. is., *vasīn* Gr. whetstone, *ausān*. — Cf. Yd. *'afsəno*.
- viš* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, Gr., *viš* Gr. (Zb.) below; *višt* Sk. floor, ground. — *cə məm viš* 'az *tā-i mā'*; *cə mēz viš* p. 2 under the table; *cə kafas biš*(!) under the

cage; *ce viš* from below; *ce āsmān xavδ me viš* p. 3 descended from heaven. — V. *baγalviš*, *γālviš*, *kašviš*. *vrš*<sup>2</sup>) Sk., *viš* Gr. bed.  
*vδš* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *vuš* Gr. rope. — \**bastra*-, cf. Shgh. *vāš*, Psht. *wāš*; Prs. dial. *baš* bandage.  
*vəz* Sgl., *vuz* Ishk., Gr., *vz* Sk. goat; Sgl. is. also female markhor. — *wok vəz-əm wēnd* p. 2. — Cf. Shgh. *vaz*, Mj. *voza*.  
*vōzd* Zar. pillow. — Cf. Yd. *virzanē*.  
*və'zok*<sup>1</sup>) Sgl. is., p. 1, 2 branch.  
*və'zok*<sup>2</sup>) Sgl. is. fat, *'vz'z'uk* Sk. thick. — Cf. Sar. *divēz*, Yazgh. *də'vūz*, Wkh. *baǰ*(?) < \**dwaz*-, cf. Yd. s.v. *livzīn*.  
*vəǰ'dūk* Sgl. p., Ishk., *vəǰ'dūk* Sgl. is., *wūz'dūk* Sk. long; Ishk. (and Gr. *wūz'duk*) high. — Cf. Wkh. *vərz*, Shgh. *vuǰǰ*, Psht. *ūǰd* < *bərazant*.  
*v(u)žēr* Sk., *vajer* Gr. (early) evening. — Cf. Ishk. *wajēr* day before yesterday, v. *wəcərīn*. — Scarcely from *uz-ayar*-, cf. Yd. *uzīro*.

## W

*wa*<sup>1</sup>), *wai* Sk. oh. — *wa xē kūč!* oh, my wife. — Prs.  
*wa*, dem. pron., v. §§ 115, sqq.  
*'wū-bō* Sk. thither. — A dative form. Cf. *wōδ*.  
*wuc*:- *wucud* Gr. to find room. — Cf. Mj. *wuǰ*-, Yazgh. *wiž*-.  
*wəcərīn* Sgl. p. 1 yesterday, p. 2 day before yesterday, *vəcərīm* is. three days ago, hence; *wə'jēr* Ishk. day before yesterday. — The correct meaning prob. is the one given by Sgl. is., the true word for 'yesterday' being Sgl. *pāruzd* (and Ishk.

*karēr*?), and for 'the day before yesterday' Sgl. *vōkōlīn*. If that is the case, *vəcərīn/m* may be derived from \**upa-čadru* + *īn/m*, cf. *pərsətīm*, and Shgh. *ve'der* < \**upa-turya*-. V. *v(u)žēr*.

*wuč* Zar. up. — Cf. Wkh. *wūc* < *usca*.  
*wāda* Sgl. p. 3 marriage, marriageable age. — *po w° hit telf* 'ba *wāda rasid*'. — Ar.-Prs.

*wēd* Ishk. willow. — Cf. Yd. *wīya*.  
*wēd*:- *wēt* Sk. to put. — Cf. Yd. *wul*-.  
*wōδ*, *wōda(k)* Sgl. p. 2, *wəδok* p. 3, *wadak* Ishk., Sk., *wāk* Sk., *wōda* Gr. (Zb.) there. — *ce wōδ šīδ* he went from there; *mo wōδ šīδ* he went there; *wōδak oγōδast*, *wōda (h)ast* Sgl. p. 2; *'oγod mo 'wəδok* p. 3; *wadak xōn tīn-ō*, *w° tī xōn* Ishk. Av. *avada*.  
*wu'dəγδ* Sgl. is., p. 1, s., *°uyδ* p. 2, *°oγδ* p. 3, *°duγd* Ishk., *wə'dūǰd* Sk., *udōγd* Gr., *widəγd* Zar. daughter. — *mūm-bučī'nā-i wdūǰ* Sk. female cousin (: my uncle's daughter). — Cf. Yd. *luydo*. Reg. *wu*- cf. § 92.

*wu'dīl* Sgl. is., p. 2, s., *wuδ'el* p. 3 (and *wuδ'hēl* 'kūh' for 'gūh'?), *wū'el* Zar. goat's dung, manure, *pošk*, *pārūb*; *wu'dīl* Ishk. cow-dung. — *pasi naurōz*<sup>2</sup> *w° xašān* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *pəškedrī*.  
*wu'dīt* Sgl., *°id* Zar. span from thumb to little finger. — Cf. Yd. *wulēyo*; "Wkh." *wu'lēt*.

*wah* Sk. bad smell.

*wa'jāb* Ishk., *°ab* Gr. span from thumb to little finger. — Ar.-Prs.

*wə'jēr*, cf. *vužēr*, *wəcərīn*.

*wok* Sgl. is., Zb., Ishk., Gr., *wōk* Sgl. p., *wōk* Sk., *wūk* Zar. one. — *wok kitāv*; *paša wok nesi lakoi* the flies didn't leave one. — Cf. Yazgh. *wug*. V. § 87.

- wokī* Sgl. p. 2 'yaki'. — *w<sup>o</sup> w<sup>o</sup> zamtn kul-šōn baxš kenen* I give all of them one field each.
- woktāk* Sgl. p. 2 a little. — *mič tāt xān w<sup>o</sup> kalān-ū* our father's house is a little bigger, 'yaktaš kalāntar-a'.
- wulāi* Sgl. p. 2, 'wulo Ishk., wulo Gr. (Zb.) before, in front of, formerly; *ulo, wlo* Sk. forwards. — *azi w<sup>o</sup> γzd* Ishk. I ran in front; *w<sup>o</sup> žwondok-əm vəð, psāt-əm sēr kəð* formerly I was hungry, now I have become satisfied.
- walē* Sgl. p. 3, Ishk. rafter. — V. *wāl<sup>2</sup>*).
- wu'lākī* Sgl. p. 2 first (adv.). — *am 'ādam w<sup>o</sup> o'yoð* this man came first. — V. *wulāi*.
- wul'mēk* Sgl. is., s., *o'ik* p., *o'ē* "Wkh.", *ilmēk* Gr. (Zb.), *dulmik* MFB (with > instead of 9). — \**uxšmāhyaka*, cf. Yd. *imoγo*.
- wulyēka* Sgl. p. 2 alone. — *az w<sup>o</sup>-mō*.
- wu'lāt* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 village. — Ar.-Prs., cf. Khw. (O'Brien) *wal'lāt* village, cultivation.
- wəl'vōš* Sgl. p. 1, 'wulvuš Gr., valvāš MFB trouser-string. V. *wāl<sup>1</sup>*) and *vōš*; cf. Yd. *warwađen*.
- wāl<sup>1</sup>*) Sgl. is., *wāl* p. 1, 2, *wōl* Zar., *var* MFB trousers. Cf. Yd. *woro* (prob. an ancient pl.).
- wāl<sup>2</sup>*) Sgl. is., p., *wōl* "Wkh." roof-beam. — Cf. Yd. *wār*.
- wolk* Sgl. is., p. 1, *wu<sup>o</sup>* p. 2, s., *w<sup>o</sup>* p. 3, *w<sup>o</sup>* "Wkh.", *wolk* Zb. kidney. — Cf. Yd. *wulya*, Wkh. *walk*.
- wu'lok* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *wuluk* Ishk., *u<sup>o</sup>* Gr., (*w*)*ū'lu/ðk* Sk., *wuluk* Zar. flour. — \**ārtaka*, cf. Yd. *yārē*.
- wu'loč* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, *wu<sup>o</sup>* p. 2, *wu'lēx* "Wkh.", *u'lēx* Sk., *ulex* Gr. rib. — V. *đ'lax* hill; cf. Yd. *alīxa* rib;
- N.W. Ir. Turf. "rg side, Psht. *arax* side, Georg. *alagi* direction (lw.).
- wan*, v. *wa*.
- wān*- Sgl. is. : *wānd* is., p. 2, *wēn*- s., Sk., : *wēnd*- s., p. 1, 2, 3, Ishk., Sk., *wān*- : *wānt* Zar., *wān*- : *wānd* Gr. (Zb.) to see. — *nə wā'nō-š* Sgl. is. he doesn't see him; *wāndom-ōn* is. I saw them; *az-əm wēnt, wēndum, amax va-tfak wēndan* p. 1; *wēnd-əm va-tfak, xōdm-əm wānduk* p. 2; *wēnem, wēndəm, xōdm-um wēnt* s.; *wēndum, azi fak wēnduk* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *wān*-, Shgh. *wān*- : *wānt*-. *wēn* Sgl., Gr., Sk., *wēn* Zb., Ishk., Zar., *wān* "Wkh." blood. — *wēn be zidū* blood flows; *wēn zənē* wash off the blood; *wēn-i šuwōi* he is bleeding(?). — Cf. Yd. *ino*.
- wānic* Sgl. is., p. 2 female calf, two years old, *turpik* (cf. Par. *törpi*), *fəryəmē*; *wānic* p. 3 heifer, three years old; *wānic* Gr. fem. calf; *wā<sup>o</sup>* Sk. heifer. — < \**yuwānicē*-. — Cf. E.Oss. *wānig*, W.Oss. *iwonug* young bull < \**y(u)wān*-. *wānjī* Sk., Gr. (Zb.), *ranji* Gr. cloak, coat. — Av. *varənā*- name of a part of the dress.
- wont* Ishk. calf of the leg.
- wā'nīž*-. : *wā'nīšt* Sgl. p. 2, *wu'nīž*-. : *wu'nīžd*- p. 3, s., *wā'nīγ*-. : *wā'nīγd*- is. to go round, walk about. — *wā'nīγ, is 'bayard, biā'* is.; *cə wōð wā'nīšt* p. 2 they returned from there; *psā be wā'nīžəm 'mēgardam'*, *wunīžəm be, wu'nīždəm* p. 3. — Apparently from \**wi-nai(γ)ž*-. Cf. Shgh. *nēž*-, \**nāž*-(Sk.) to turn; *nōž*-(ABC) to wander about??
- wē'rē* Sgl. p. 3 gums. — Bad. Prs. *wē'rā*, cf. EVP. s.v. *ōraī*. Cf. also Skr. *velā* gums.

- wōrc* Gr., Zar. quail. — Cf. Yd. *woryo*.  
*wur'cūn* Sgl. is., p. 1 (<sup>o</sup>n is.?) smoke-hole.  
 — Cf. Yd. *rūžen*, Wkh. *ričn*. V. § 88.  
*warf* Sgl., Ishk., Sk., “Wkh.” *v*<sup>o</sup> Gr. snow. — *warfə dehō* it snows; *w*<sup>o</sup> *vē šuwōi* Sgl. p. 2 the snow melts; *ā'łax-nā-i warf* Sk. snow of the hills. — Cf. Yd. *warfo*.  
*wērōfs*: *wērōft* Sk. to stand. — Cf. Wkh. *wurufs*, Mj. *wurafs*. See EVP. s.v. *riyawdəl*, and Bailey, Or. Stud. Pavry, p. 22.  
*wērak* Sgl. p. 2, *w'e'rāk* p. 3 female lamb. — Cf. Yd. *wōryō*.  
*wo'rok* Sgl. is., Zb., *wa'rōk* Sgl. p. 2, *wo*<sup>o</sup> p. 3, *'waruk* Ishk., Gr., Zar. *u'ruk* Sk. male lamb. — Cf. Yd. *wērəy*, “Wkh.” *warī*.  
*wark* Sgl. is., *work* p. 1, 3, s., Zb., Ishk., “Wkh.”, Zar., *wrk* Sk., Gr. wolf. — Cf. Bur. (lw.) *wrk*, Yd. *wury*.  
*wo'rokok* Sgl. is. demin. of *wo'rok*.  
*wur'mēk* Sgl. is., <sup>o</sup>ik p. 1, *wər'mīk* p. 3 poplar.  
*wārv-* Sgl. p. 3, *wōrv-* Zar. to boil (tr.). — *va vēk wārv*. — Cf. Mj. *wurv*, Par. *γarw*, etc.  
*wa'sē* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3 wide. — Cf. Yd. *wosa*.  
*wōsi* Zar., *vāse* Gr. cotton thread. — Cf. Wkh. *wəsīi*, Yd. *wušūles*(?).  
*wus*:- *wud* Sk. to carry; *uss*:- *wud* Gr., *wūs-*, *wūd-* Zar. to take, lead away. — *'wusum*, *wus*, *wudum*, *wuduk*, *wusuk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *is*.  
*wo'sōk* Sgl. is., p. 3, *wa*<sup>o</sup> p. 2 calf, up to one y. old, *naušudagī*; *wa'sōk* p. 1, s., *wā'suk* Sk., *'wa*<sup>o</sup> Ishk. calf. — Cf. Wkh. *wəšk*.  
*wu'sūk* Sgl. is., “Wkh.”, *u'suk* Sgl. p. 2, 3 elbow.  
*wōst* Sgl., *wāst* “Wkh.” fat, tallow. — Cf. Yd. *wāzd*, Sar. *wāst*.  
*'wastuk*, v. *ostok*.  
*wōšō* Sgl. p. 2. — *w*<sup>o</sup> *nīd 'unjā bišm'*. — < *wōδ + jā*.  
*wīšt* Sgl., Gr. (Zb.), *bīst* Zb., Ishk., Sk. twenty. — V. § 24. Cf. Yd. *wīsto*.  
*wūš* Sgl. is., p. 1, Ishk., *ūš* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *uš* Sk., *wuš* Zar., *uš* Gr. straw, *kāh-i safed*. — Cf. Yd. *wuš*.  
*wəšt* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, s., *wəxt* “Wkh.” juniper, *arēa*. — *\*hapyši-tā* (cf. Yd. *yovurso*) might result in *\*wəšt*, but why *-tā*, and why Sgl. *w*? Kati *'vištē* may be a lw. from Ir.  
*wōtuk* Sgl. p. 2, *watik* Gr. feast, *tūi*. — *nēr-mō wōtuk*, to-day I am feasting(?); *wətukə gāxān*. — < *\*wadk* < *\*waduka*, cf. Yd. *waly?*  
*watan* Sgl. p. 2 country. — *dīr w*<sup>o</sup> *ba šīd*. — Ar.-Prs.  
*wu'ter* Sgl. p. 3, <sup>o</sup>er s., *'wusir* Ishk., *'u*<sup>o</sup> Zb., *u'sur* Sk., Gr., *wu*<sup>o</sup> Zar. ashes. — *\*ādārya-*, cf. Or. *ādīr*, Shgh. *dir*, Saka *āhāra*. V. §§ 37, 91.  
*wēx* Sgl. is., p., Zb., Ishk., Sk., Zar. root; *vēx* Gr. twig. — Cf. Yd. *woxo*.  
*wəxs* Sk. ‘the earth, a planet’ [?].  
*wōxs* Sgl., *vuxs* Sk., *voks* Gr., *vuks* “Wkh.” snake. — Cf. Wkh. *fūks*, Shgh. *de'vūsk*, Or. *t(u)'fausk*, Sar. *tafūsk*, Yazgh. *δə'γōvc*.  
*waxt* Sgl. is., *waqt* Sk. time. — *mə w*<sup>o</sup>-*i qadīm*. — Ar.-Prs.  
*waz-* Sgl. p. 1, 3, Ishk. : *wāt-* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *waṭ-* Ishk. to fall. — *wa'zen*, *az-am wāt* Sgl. p. 1; *watəm* p. 3; *azi sō wazum* Ishk. ‘*mēγaltum*’, *waṭum* I fell. — Cf. Wkh. *waz-*, Shgh. *wāš-* (from pret. *wēšt*), Psht. *watəl*.

*waz'mîn* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Ishk. heavy. — Prs.

*wu'zinjak* Sgl. is., s., *wuž°* p. 3 wife; *wužinjâk* Gr. (Zb.) woman. — *w° zamanok oyoð mæ ðer-î* Sgl. p. 3 his wife became pregnant. — Reg. *z-j < j-j* v. § 75. Cf. *žonj*.

*wüznuuk* Zar. inflated goat-skin, mussuck. — Cf. Wkh. *yâzn*, Yd. *izê*.

*'wuz'nel* Sgl., *wuz'nâl* Ishk., "Wkh."; *uznul* Gr., *wu°* Zar. daughter-in-law. — Cf. Yd. *znrro*.

*wa'zir* Sgl. p. 3 minister. — Prs.

*woz'dân* Sgl. p. 3 back-tooth.

*wu'žizir* Sgl. is., p. 1, *wu'žiržir* s., *wužeržer* "Wkh.", *ujirj* Gr. partridge, *kauk*. — Cf. Yd. *žoržo*.

*wuž'dân* Sgl. p. 1, *°den* p. 3, *wəž'den* s., *woy'dân* is., *wuy'den* "Wkh.", *'ūzdân* Zb., *wuž'drn* Ishk., *'ūždan* Sk., *wuž'dân* Zar. millet. — < \*(h)ārzana-, cf. Yd. *yurzon*.

## X

*xē* Sgl. p., Ishk., Gr. own. — *xē dōst* Sgl. p. 1 his own hand; *šuān xē xān* p. 2 'buran *xōna-i xud'*; *wa xē kuč* oh, my wife; *xē māl taxsim kuð* he divided his own goods. — < *hwahya?* Cf. § 118. But Gr. *xadak* (I my)self.

*xāb* Sk. sleep. — Prs.

*xūb* Sgl. is., p. 2, Sk. good, well, quite. — *xūb ādam-ū*; *čiziā-i xūb* p. 3 good things; *xūb rōst durk-ū* it is a quite straight stick. — Prs.

*žēb*: *žēbt* Sk. to beat. — Cf. Wkh. *žēb*.

*xēčē* Sgl. p. 3 inflated skin, *maška*. — Prs. *xikēa*.

*xə'dā* Sgl. p. 3, *xu'dō* Sk., *°dā* Gr. God. — *xədə az-mō 'xudā mā astim'*. — Prs.

*xōdm* Sgl. is., p. 3, *xōdm* p. 2, s. dream. — *no xōdm wēnd* p. 3 he saw in a dream; *xōdm-um wēnt* s. — Cf. Yd. *xūbun*.

*xu'dāri* Sgl. is., *xō°* p. 1, 2, s., *xə'dōri* Zb., *xo°* Ishk., *xū'(d)āri* Sk., *xudāri* Gr., *°ōri* Zar. water-mill. — *xōdāri yūnuk* Sgl. p. 2 to grind in the mill. — Cf. Yd. *xiryō*.

*xu'fa* Sk. anger. — Ar.-Prs.

*xof* Sgl. p. 3, s. to cough. — *xofum boš*. — Cf. Yd. *xof*.

*xōf* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *xaf* Zb., *xafuk* Gr. scum, foam. — Cf. Yd. *xof*.

*xōfuk* Sgl., *xofuk* Sk., *xa°* Gr., *xuf* Zar. cough. — *x°-o noðok 'silfa giriftast'*. — V. *xof*.

*xūg* Sgl. is., Gr., *xūk* Sk. wild boar. — Prs.

*xāk* Sk. tomb. — Prs.

*xāke'stār* Sgl. is., *xāki°* p. 1, 2 ashes. — Prs.

*xālī* Sgl. p. 2 empty. — Ar.-Prs.

*'xōlōk* Sgl. p. 1, *xu'lūk* Sk. maternal uncle; *xuluk* Gr. paternal uncle. — Kab., Bad. Prs. *xāla* maternal uncle, Ar.-Prs. *xālū*.

*xolm* Sgl. p. 1, 3 mucus from the nose. — Prs

*xalās* Sgl. p. 2 finished. — *bas,x°/šōwōk x° siān* the weeding was finished. — Ar.-Prs.

*xuāl* Sgl. is., s., *xo°* p. 1, 2, *xol* Ishk., *xōl* Zb., Sk., Gr., *xāl* Gr. (Zb.), *xoār* MFB, *xūl* Zar. six. — < \**xwaša*-. V. § 55.

*xuāl'dos* Sgl. is., *xuāl'dōs* p. 1, 2, *°ados* s., *xwāl'ḡdos* p. 3 (*šōnzdāu* Zb.) sixteen.

*xām* Sgl. is., p. 2, *xōm* Zar. raw. — Prs.

*xōm* Sgl. is., p. 3, *xom* p. 1, s., Ishk., *xum* Gr., "Wkh.", *xm* Sk. milk. — Cf.



- Prs. *šama* milk which flows spontaneously from the udder. But Sgl. *x* = Prs. *š* is only possible, if < *xš*. — Possibly ancient lw. from Prs. *xām*, cf. Afgh.-Prs. *šir-i-xām* 'fresh milk'.  
*xa'məndək* Sgl. p. 2 tick. — Cf. Kab. Prs. *xamandūk* beetle, wood-louse (Bogdanov, JASB, NS, 26, 118).  
*xān*, *xā* Sgl. is., p., *xān* Ishk., Gr., Sk., "Wkh."; *xānavār* Sk. house. — *ma mən xān*, *ō tō xān* Sgl. p. 1; *tar xāa* p. 2 among the houses, families, *rū-i xāna*; *amīn xōn mun-ō* Ishk. — Prs. *xān(a)*.  
*xān-bərš* Sgl. p. 2 corner of a house. — Prs. \**xān-burj*.  
*xānd* Sgl. p. 2, *xōnd* Ishk., Zar., *xōnd* : *xūnd* Sk. to laugh. — *xāndum buš* 'mēxāndam'; *psād ba xānden* p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *xo<sup>nd</sup>*.  
*xīng* Sk. bluish grey. — Prs.  
*xīnj* Sk. whey.  
*xan'jar* Sk. dagger. — Prs.  
*'xənək* Sgl., Zb., *x(ā)nök* Sk. cold. — *vək xənuk-ō* p. 2; *'nēr fai 'xnök* Sk. — Prs.  
*xap* Sk. silence. — Prs.  
*xair* Gr. sweat. — = \**xēd*? Cf. Yd. *xūl*.  
*xīr* Zar. sister's son. — Cf. Mj. *xurī*.  
*xōr* Sgl. is., p., *xur* Ishk., Sk., Gr. *xər* Zb. ass. — Cf. Yd. *xoro*.  
*xūr* : *xərīd* Sgl. p. 2, *xur* p. 3 to scratch oneself. — *xuruni buš* p. 3, *xərīdam* p. 2. — Cf. Prs. *xārīdan*.  
*xarā'bē* Sgl. is., *°āb* p. 2 lean. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xar'bez* Sgl. p. 2, *°bū'za* Sk. melon. — Prs.  
*xarč* Sgl. p. 2 expenditure. — *xarš xaštān*. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xū'rūk* Sk. food. — Prs.  
*xōr'mōn* Sgl. p. 2, *'xūrman* Sk. threshing-ground. — *x° xūyen* p. 2 'čuyul mēkum'; *xōrmō xūyūk*. — Cf. Yd. *xu'rom*.  
*xarn* Sgl. p. 1, *xərən* p. 3, *xern* s., *kurni* Gr. raven, *zāy*. — Cf. Yd. *xun*.  
*xərn* Sgl. is., p. 2, *xərñ* s., : *xərīd* is., p. 2, s. to buy. — Cf. Yd. *xōan*.  
*xars*, Sgl. is., *xrns* p. 1, s., *xərs* p. 3, *xərs* Sk., *xurs* Gr., Zar. bear. — Prs.  
*xv'rūs* Sgl., *xū°* Sk., *xə'rus* Ishk. cock. — *x° bōŋ kenōi* Sgl. p. 2. — Prs.  
*'xərəseg* Sgl. p. 1 n. of an animal, smaller than a wolf, red and blue(?), with long tail and snout. — Cf. Yd. *xu'rūso*.  
*xarav* Sk. mountain-brook, *x° vək* ravine water; *xaraw* Gr. gorge with a stream. — Prs. *xarāba* a small stream.  
*xu'rūš* Sgl. p. 3 itching. — Cf. Prs. *xārīš*, v. *xūr*.  
*xarž'gār* Sgl. p. 2 custom-official. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xv'sər* Sgl. is., s., *xə°* p. 1, *xu'sur* Ishk., *°ūr* Sk. father-in-law. — Prs.  
*xusərbə'rē* Sgl. p. 1 wife's brother. — Prs., cf. Yd. *xəsərbərō*.  
*xēštē* Sgl. is., p. 1, *°ta* p. 2, s. bread. — *az x° xwären* p. 2; *nāi xēste nāi pədf* p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *'xisto*.  
*xaš'tirek* Sgl. p. 1 arrow; is. small bow used as a toy. — Cf. Yd. *xəsmānek + tīr?*  
*xāš* Sgl. p. 2, s., Zar., : *xašəd* p. 2, 3, *xaš* : *xašt* Sk. to draw, pull, smoke. — *čilim xāšen*, *čilim-am xāšəd* Sgl. p. 1; *dam fāžek xašen* I yawn; *xarš xāštan*; *quđōm xaštān* 'ambār kašīdan'; *vəza xašān* they kill(?) goats; *cə kū yūz? xašəm*; *wudrī xašān* p. 2 they spread dung; *pādšā xašəd* p. 2 they spread dung; *pādšā xašəd xē tīr-i dast* p. 3. — Cf. Wkh. *xaš*, Yd. *xoš*.

*xēš* Sgl. p. 2 kinsman, relation. — *dūđum*  
*xē xēš* be I gave it to my kinsman.  
 — Prs.  
*xuš* Sgl. is., °*kāk* p. 3, *xəšk* Ishk. dry.  
 — Prs. (Sgl. p. 3 *xuš* + *qāq*).  
*xəš'pǎ* Sk. a kind of porridge, *atāla* (cf.  
 Yd. *atrlē*). — Cf. Shgh. *xušpa*.  
*xīšt* Sgl. p. 1 brick. — Prs.  
*xoš* Sgl. is., p. 1, s, *xuš* Ishk., Gr., *xūš*  
 Sk., *xūš* 'Wkh.' mother-in-law. —  
 Cf. Yd. *xušo*, Wkh. *šaxš*.  
*xō.əš kən* Sk. to wish, want. — Prs.  
*xuš'dāuman* Sgl. is. wife's brother's wife,  
*zan-i xusurberā*. — Cf. Wkh. *xušdōman*,  
 Prs. *xušdāman*, *xušt*° mother-in-law.  
*xav*: *xavd* Sgl. p. 3 to descend. — *cə*  
*āsmān paše xavd* mosquitoes des-  
 cended from the sky. — Cf. Yd. *xafs*.  
*xāwand* Sgl. p. 2 master. — Prs.  
*xwār*: *x(w)ol* Sgl. p. 2, : *xōl* p. 3, is.,  
*xor*: *xūl* s., *xar*: *xūl* Ishk., Sk.,  
*xar*: *xul* Zar. to eat. — *xwārən* (cf.  
 § 131) Sgl. p. 2, *xēsta xorem* s.; *is*  
*xwār* p. 2 come and eat; *az-em xēsta*  
*xwo!* p. 2; *xēstē-em xō!* is., *xēsta-im*  
*xū!* s.; *xwōlō-dak* p. 2 he has eaten;  
*xarem*, *xūlum* Ishk.; *xaram*, *xar!*  
*xūlēm*, *xāruk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *xōr*.  
*xā'yē* Sgl. is., °*ē* p. 2 scrotum. — Prs.  
*xūy*: *xūđ* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s. to thresh. —  
*xormōn xūyen* p. 2, *xūyem* s. 'xirmāne  
*kunum*'. — Cf. Yd. *xā*.  
*xāz*: *xōt* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, Sk., *xaz*: *xət*  
 Ishk., *xaz*: *xet* Gr. (Zb.), : *xut* Gr.  
 to rise. — *az-em xōt* Sgl. is.; *xazen*,  
*xotem*, *bād cə wōđ xōt* a wind arose  
 from there, *sāar ba xōtan* p. 2;  
 'xazum, a'zi cə 'mīnduk xə'tuk Ishk.  
 I have risen from sleep; 'xazum, xaz!,  
 'xotum, xatuk, xazuk Sk. — Cf. Prs.  
*xāstan*, Psht. *xatəl*, etc.

*xəzok* Gr. sweet. — Cf. Wkh. *xūžg*,  
 Shgh. *xīž*, Psht. *xōž*, etc.

## Y

*yā* Ishk. or; *yō—yō* Sk. either—or. —  
 Prs.

*yō*, v. *ō*.

*you* Sgl. is., p. 2 grain (coll.), *γalla*; *yau*  
 Gr. cereals, provisions. — Cf. Yd.  
*yōu*.

*yēca* Zar. nest. Cf. Yd. *yēxio*.

*yūd* Sgl. is., p. 1, s. husband's brother's  
 wife, *zan-i ēvar*. — Cf. Mj. *yūi*.

*yəγ* Sgl. p. 1, *yōγ* Gr., *yuy* Zar. yoke. —  
 Cf. Yd. *yūγ*.

*yak* Sgl. p. 2 one. — In: *yak sāl fauz*  
*oγōđ*. — Prs. Prob. only used in  
 special expressions.

*ya'lē* Sgl. p. 1, °*ā* p. 3 released, opened.  
 — *y°-əm kol* p. 1; *kafas rauzan y°*  
*kəđ* p. 3 he opened the window of  
 the cage. — Prs.

*yāl* Sgl. p. 1, *və'rō(k)-'yāl* is., p. 2 mane.  
 — Prs.

*yelyār'band* Sgl. is. rope fastening the  
 yoke round the bullock's neck.

*yūn* Sgl. is., *yūl*: *yūrd* p. 2, *yūñ*: *yūrd*  
 p. 3, *yūñ*: *yūrd* s., *yūln*: *yūld* Ishk.,  
*yurn*: *yurd* Zar. to grind. — *xudāri*  
*yūnūk* is. *xō'dāri yūnūk*, *yūniš* p. 3  
 grinding. — Cf. Yd. *yāñ*. V. § 138,  
 and s.v. *wuļōk*.

'*yūñsk* Sgl. p. 3 pine-marten. — Cf. Wkh.  
*wīnek*, Yd. *wūñ*.

*yər* Sgl. is., p. 3, *yır* p. 1, *yir* p. 2 stone,  
 rock. — Cf. Yd. *γar*. V. § 27.

*yur'ya* Sk. ambling. — Wkh. id., cf. Turk.  
 Prs. *yarya* a swift horse.

*yārc* Sgl. is., p. 1, *ārc* Zb. avalanche.

*yara* Gr. animal's droppings. — Cf.

- "Wkh." *rəx*, Zānganī Kurd. *rex* id., Sar. *riš* excrements \**irx* < Av. *hixra*- thin excrements?
- ya'sir* Sk. prisoner. — Ar.-Prs.
- yō'tuk* Sgl., *'yetik* Sk., Gr., *ya°* Zar. bridge. — < \**ētk*, v. § 24. Cf. Yd. *yaya*.
- yēv*: *yēvd*- Sgl. p. 3, s., *yiw*- p. 2, *iv*: *ivd* Zar. to spin. — *yēven buš*, *yēvdəm* Sgl. p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *yī*.
- yiv'dōk* Sgl. is., p. 2, *iv°* p. 1, *ivduk* Gr., *kivduk* (?!) Sk. thread. — V. *yev*.
- yəx* Sgl. is., p. 3, *yəx* p. 1, *yəx* p. 2, *yex* s., *yax* Sk., Ishk., Zar. ice, frost. — *daryāo yəx-o kuōk* p. 2 the river is frozen. — Prs.
- yə'xōai* Sgl. is., *ə'xōai* p. 1, 3, *u'x°* s., *ixwāi* p. 2. *ə'xōi* "Wkh.", *ixō* Sk., Zar. *'ixā* Gr. sister. — *rōi-xwāi mənən-ē* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Yd. *ixō*. V. § 92. Cf. also Shgh. *ka(x)wōi* woman < \**ka-hwahā*?
- yōz* Sgl. is., *yūz* p. 2, Zar., *yās* Sk., *yuz* Gr., *yū* MFB firewood. — *cə kū yūz° xašəm* Sgl. p. 2. — Cf. Wkh. *ŷūz*, Shgh. *žiz* firewood, Psht. *γōza* faggot, *γaz*, Prs. *gaz* tamarisk, Sak. *ggaysa*-, Oss. *qāz(ä)* reed. — V. Walde-Pokorny, I, 569 \**gēg(h)* (cf. e.g. Norw. *kage* low shrub).
- yōzda*, v. *košos*.
- Z**
- za* Sk.—?—In *a'zi za 'cē-wūnəm*, *tə 'zə 'cē-wūnē*, *'au 'zə 'cē wūnū*, *məx ze 'cē-wūnān*.
- zē* Sgl. is. bowstring. — Prs.
- zī* Sgl. p. 3 such, like that. — *mənī zi Xudāi nəst*, *kə wo žanan 'az mā itarī Xudā nəst*, *ke ūna bukušan*; *tə-δō ma zi cē-va gaxtog?* ' *čirā hamī kārti kardī-ast*' (!) why hast thou done such a work? — Cf. Wkh. *azi* such, *hazi* like that. V. Texts, V, 78.
- zdār*:- *zdūd*- Sk. to sweep. — V. *astar*-, cf. Shgh. *zedār*-, etc. V. § 63.
- zīd*:- *zūst* Sgl. p. 2, 3, s. to flow, run. — *wēn be zīdū*, *wēn zūst* p. 2; *vək zīden* p. 3 I let the water run, ' *āwe mērēzəm*'. — Cf. Yd. *zəyal*-.
- zūγ* Sgl. p. 1, s. raven, *zāγ* (with red beak); *zā(γ)* Sk. crow; *zāγčuk* Gr. chough. — Cf. Yd. *zāγo*.
- zə'γōlog* Sgl. p. 1 humble-bee. — < \**uz-gartaka*-?
- zə'γēr* Sk. linen. — Prs. *zayīr* linseed.
- zūkām* Sk. a cold ('another word exists'). — Ar.-Prs.
- zōl* Gr. sleeve of a garment. — Cf. Shgh. *zuž*, Or. *zū*, Sar. *zül*, id. < \**zuša*-, Oss. *dis*, *dus* < \**dušā*-, Sängisāri *dū'se* < \**daušaka*, \**dū°*, or *dušya°*, Prs. (B.Q.) *jušša* < \**zuš(y)aka*(?). Derivation from Av. *zuš*- 'pretty, ornament' seems improbable. Possibly < \**duš*- (with *z*- from *zasta*-?), cf. Prs. *dōš*, and, with reduced vowel, Lett. *pa duse* armpit, breast of a garment. But \**dus-o*-, with vowel gradation, from \**deus/dus*- would have to be an extremely ancient formation.
- zrlē'žem* Sgl. p. 1, is. earthquake. — *zamīnžəm* (q.v.) + *zilzila*.
- zāl* Sgl. p. 1, 3, *zōl* "Wkh." yellow. — Cf. Yd. *zīt*.
- zam'būr* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3 wasp. — Prs.
- zə'mūd* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, "Wkh.", *ze°* s. son-in-law. — Cf. Yd. *za'mai*.
- zema'nī* Sgl. s., *kurčūn zəmā'nī* is. chicken. — V. *zəma'nōk*.

- za'mtn* Sgl. is., p., Ishk., Gr. field, earth; Sgl. p. 1 floor. — *zamin-am kondam* p. 2; *cafur* z°-o p. 2 I have four fields. — Prs.
- zama'nok* Sgl. is., p., "Wkh." boy; *z'o'man* Sk., *zaman* Gr. (Zb.) child. — *man xan kovd zama'nak-o* Sgl. p. 3; z° *tawalid sid* p. 3. — Cf. Yd. *zamon*.
- zamin'zem* Sgl. p. 2 earthquake. — Prs. *zamin'jumb*. V. *zrl'e'zem*.
- zemi'stan* Sgl. is., *zome*° p. 1, *zomr*° p. 2, *zami'stan* Ishk., z° Sk. winter. — Prs.
- ze'nē-* Sgl. is., p. 2, 3, °*ey-* p. 1, s., *ze'nūd* p. 1, s., *ze'ney-*: *ze'nūd* Ishk., z(°)*may-*: *z'nūd* Sk. to wash. — *zə'nēm* Sgl. is., *xē dōst ze'nēyen* p. 1; *wēn zə'nē!* p. 2; *zenūdām* p. 1; *ze'nayum*; *ze'nai*; *azi xe dust ze'nūd* Ishk. — Cf. Yd. *zənay-zin*, v. *zūng*.
- zin* Sgl. is., p. 1, 3, Sk. saddle. — *v²rō-zin* Sgl. p. 2. — Prs.
- 'zina* Ishk. ladder. — Prs.
- zinda* Sgl. p. 2 alive. — *az z°-mō*. — Prs.
- zindəg'd'nī kən-* Sk. to live. — Prs.
- zin'hōr 'bō zin'hār* Sk. never(??). — Prs.
- zēnz-* Sgl. p. 2, *zənj-* p. 3, *zōnz-*: *zūyd* Ishk., Sk., *zānz-*: *zōyd* Gr. to seize, catch, lift up, take on one's back. — *zenzen* Sgl. p. 1. — Cf. Shgh. *zēz-*: *zāšt*, Or. *zōz-* to seize, Sogd. *zyt* to hold. Av. *zaza-* (*haz-*) to get hold of (with secondary nasalisation) does not explain *zūyd*, etc., while Skr. *ud-añc-* 'to lift, elevate' does not quite suit the meaning of the Sogd. word. Cf. also Saka *biysamj-* to grasp?
- zūng* Sgl., Gr., *zin* Ishk.(?), *zūg* Sk., *zōng* Zar. knee. — Cf. Yd. *zik*, Wkh. *zun*, etc.
- zūngviš* Sgl. is. calf of the leg. — V. *viš*.
- zangīāk* Sgl. is. wooden pegs for keeping the two strings of a pellet-bow apart.
- zār* Sgl. p. 2, Sk. poison. — Prs.
- zōr* Sgl. p. 2 strong, powerful. — *az zōr-mō 'ba sar-i tu zōr astim'*. — Prs.
- zard* Ishk., *zārd* Sk., *zord* Zar. yellow. — Prs.
- 'zardak* Sgl. p. 2 carrot. — Prs.
- zar'dōlu* Ishk. apricot. — Prs.
- ziāt* Sgl. p. 2 much. — Ar.-Prs.
- zōt* Sgl., *zus* Ishk., Gr., *zōs* son, *zāt* Gr. (Zb.) son. — *zōt paidā šitō*; *cafur zōt-o mənēn* Sgl. p. 2. — Av. *zāda-* birth, Turf. Phl. *zhg* boy. V. § 37.
- zə'vūk* Sgl. p. 1, 2, °*uk* p. 3, *ze'vūk* is., s., Zb., *zə'vōk* Ishk., °*uk* Sk. tongue, language. — *tī zə'vūk pə'zinum* Sgl. is.; *tə 'mambā yāz 'kūnā zəvək-d* Sk. tell me if there is an ancient word. — Cf. Yd. *zəvty*. Also the Yazgh., Yaghn., Sogd., Oss. forms go back to \**hizwāka-* (> Saka \**wizwāka-*). \**hizwā* is retained in Shgh., etc. (*zēv*) and prob in Psht. (*žiba*), while Wkh. *zik* goes back to \**hizūka-*. S. and W.Ir. have \**hizwān-*, which is influenced by *dantān-*.
- zaxm* Sgl. p. 2, *zaxm* Sk. wound. — z°-o *šōk*. — Ar.-Prs.
- zax'mī* Sgl. p. 2 wounded. — *az-mō z° šōk*. — Ar.-Prs.

## Ž, Ž

- ža* Sgl. p. 2, *jē* p. 3 before, in front of. — *az tū ža-mō 'pēš-i tē-im'*; *tə mən ža-ōō 'tə pēš-i mā-st[ī]*; *ada ādam tō žt-ō* he is before thee; *oγod pādšā jē* he came before the king; *is men jē 'pēš-i mā biā'*.

*žň'ok* Sgl. is., p. 1, *γuvōk* "Wkh." male markhor; *žuwāk* Gr. (Zb.) deer. — Cf. Yd. *mā-žəγə?*  
*žāduk* Sk. murderer. — V. *žan*.  
*žāla* Sgl. is., °*lē* p. 3, *žāla* p. 1, Sk., *ž°* Zb., Ishk. hail. — Prs.  
*žan*:- *žōδ* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *žan*:- *žōδ* s., *žan*:- *žad* Sk. to kill. — *təfa(k) žanen*; *az-əm wa žōδ 'ura kuštam'*; *šənāy-əm žōδ* I extinguished the fire; *va šenāi žan!* Sgl. p. 2; *wayim Xu'dā 'žanem*; *va-tō Xədā-im žōδ* p. 3. — Cf. Prs. *zadan*, etc.  
*žān'žək* Sgl. is., °*žək* p. 1, 2, *žānžək* p. 3, *žanžek* s. entrails. — Possibly < \**žānj-ek* < \**žarnači*, cf. Psht. *žanai*

catgut (with IE. \**gh*-, but cf. Lith. *žarnà*, Skr. *hirā* with \**gh*).  
*žəšt* Sgl. is., p. big, large. — *am ādam cə məčəf j/žəšt* is.; *am xān žəšt, haδ xān riziāk* p. 1; *cārvā cə vəz žəšt-ō* p. 2; *zəmanōk žəšt šīδ* p. 3.  
*žwondok* Sgl. p. 2, *žon'dok* p. 1, *žünduk* Ishk., Sk., Gr. hungry. — *az ž°-mō* p. 2; *wulāi ž°-əm vəδ* p. 2; *az-im ž° šə'duk* Sk. — < \**a-ž(i)wantaka*, cf. Skr. *a-živant*- destitute of a livelihood.  
*žondokī* Sgl. p. 2, *žandāki* Gr. (Zb.) hunger, famine. — *yo ž° šīδ* p. 2. — V. *žwondok*.  
*žič* Sgl. is., p. 1, 2, *žic* p. 3, *zīč* Ishk., *žic* (ž-?) "Wkh." coal. — Cf. Or. *žej*.

### List of Placenames.

*Inji'gān* Sgl. p. 1, 3, s. Lutkuh. Cf. Yd. — Mj. *Yidg*. — Leitner, Dardistan in 1895, map of the Chitral expedition, gives the form *Hingan*.  
*Izi'vūk* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *Īz°* s. Zēbāk. — *Izivū bē* to Z.  
*Baš'gal* Sgl. p. 2 the Bashgal valley in Nuristan.  
*Čātrād* Sgl. p. 3, *Čē'trāl* p. 2 Chitral. — V. *Šām*.  
*Də'rā* Sgl. p. 3, *Dər'rā* p. 1 the Dorah Pass.  
*Flaxma'rīg* Sgl. p. 3, *F'axma'lik* s., *Flakhmarikh* Indian Survey, n. of a village in Sanglech.  
*Faizō'bōd* Sgl. p. 2 Faizabad.  
*Gögərd Dašt* Sgl. p. 2 n. of a place below Lake Dufferin.  
*Gazke'stān* Sgl. p. 2 "The Tamarisk Place" (?), n. of a place near Lake Dufferin.

*Kəfər'stān* Sgl. p. 2 Nuristan; *mə Kāf'rən* among the Kafirs (of Lutkuh).  
*Kō'stān* Sgl. p. 1, *Kō'estān* p. 2 Chitral.  
*Kī'vī* Sgl. p. 1, 3 Chitrali. — Cf. Yd. *Kūa*, v. BSOS, VI, 441.  
*Lān'dūr* Sgl. p. 3 n. of a place in Lutkuh below Shoghor.  
*Mandē'žān* Sgl. p. 2, s. Munjan; *Mandē'žī* adj. p. 3. — Cf. BSOS, VI, p. 439.  
*Pa'rōy* Sgl. p. 2 Kafir. — Cf. Yd. *Pə'rāyo* Nuristan.  
*Pōroy* Sgl. p. 2, 3, *Pōrəy* is., *Parch* Indian Survey, *Fareg* Burhan ud-Dīn, *Pōroy* Mj. n. of a village in Sanglech.  
*Pō'rūn* Sgl. p. 2 Parun, Prasun in Nuristan.  
*iSkī'tūl* Sgl. is., p. 3, s. (p. 3 also °*ūd*), *Skītūl* p. 2, *Iskitul* Indian Survey, Curzon, *Isketul'* B.u.D. n. of a village in Sanglech. — < \**uska*-?

*Saṅ'lēč* Sgl. p. 3, °ēš p. 2, °ič p. 1 (Prs. form?), *Saṅ'lēž* p. 1 *Saṅlich* Ind. Survey, Curzon *Sanglech*. — *Caṅ'lēš* (= *c-Saṅlēš*) p. 2 from S. — Not with Herzfeld, AMI, VII, p. 59 < M.Pr. *saxvališ(ā)n*, *saxvaličān*.

Šo'got Sgl. p. 3, s. Shoghor in Lutkuh. — Cf. Yd. Šoyoyo.

Škāsim Zb., Škāšrm Ishk. Ishkashim.

— Cf. Anc. Chin. \**Sak-ka-šiem* (v. Marquardt, *Ērānshahr*, p. 224), Beruni سکاښم.

Šām-Čatrāš Sgl. s. Chitral. — Cf. BSOB VI, p. 440.

¹Xōža 'Nimkū Sar'vār Sgl. p. 1 Terich Mer in Chitral. — Cf. 'Tiraj Mir or Sarowar', Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, quoted by Stein, *Serindia*, I, p. 51.



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**WAKHI**





## INTRODUCTION

1. Our chief source of information about Wakhi is still R. B. Shaw's valuable, but of course incomplete and now in several ways insufficient, account.<sup>1</sup> The LSI. (Vol. X) adds further to our knowledge of this linguistically important dialect, besides giving a complete bibliography up to the date of the publication of the volume. To this I refer once for all. Recently S. I. Klimchitskiy has published some Wakhi texts, together with a short vocabulary and important notes on phonology and morphology.<sup>2</sup> A few Wakhi words are also given by Zarubin in his *Munji Vocabulary*,<sup>3</sup> and some remarks of a general nature are found in my *Rep. N.W. Ind.*, pp. 67 sqq.

Still no comprehensive account of Wakhi has been published, and since Geiger's short survey<sup>4</sup> no attempt has been made to trace the historical development of the language. The following notes may therefore, it is hoped, in spite of the insufficiency of the new material on which they are based, be of some use for the understanding of one of the most archaic, and at the same time most peculiar, of living Ir. dialects.

2. The material utilized for the following account of Wakhi has been collected by the late Dr. Sköld, by Lt. Colonel Lorimer, and by myself.

During my stay in Chitral 1929 I had occasion to interrogate

<sup>1</sup> On the Ghalchah Languages (Wakhi and Sarikoli), *JASB.* 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Ваханские тексты, in *Труды Таджикистанской базы, том III, лингвистика* pp. 75—124; изд. Академия Наук СССР, 1936.—I did not see this article till my own account of Wkh. had already been written, and I have only been able to insert a few references to it.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 3, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Gr.Ir.Ph.* I, 2.

four inhabitants or natives of Wakhan, but each of them only for a very short time.

My informants were:

1. *Nabī*, a young man from Namadgūt in Russian territory. He N. was born in Zebak, but had been brought up in Wakhan and had lived most of his life and had married there. He asserted that he had learnt Wakhi as his first language.<sup>1</sup> Although his language was evidently Wkh., it was much mixed with Ishk. words.

2. A man from Wark, on the Afghan side of the river. His W. language was not really Wkh., but a kind of Ishk.—Sgl. interspersed with Wkh. words. The small number of grammatical forms noted were all Ishk.—Sgl. Thus *a'ze* 'I', *tə'fak* 'thee', *tumux* 'you', *kenen* 'I do'.<sup>2</sup> As remarked above<sup>3</sup> the Sgl.—Ishk. words given by W in the great majority of cases present the characteristic archaisms of the Sgl. dialect, thus, e.g. *ū* for Ishk. *ī* in *pūš*, *kurčūn*, *δ* for Ishk. *d* in *kiskūd*, *zəmūd*, etc.

3. *Alī Shāh* a 30—40 years old inhabitant of Khandūt. He X. admitted that he had lived for some time in Hunza, and, in spite of his assertion, I do not feel certain that he was really a native of Wakhan. He used several Khow. and other IA. words, and his pronunciation of Wkh. was in some respects incorrect or vacillating.—Regarding the sounds of Wkh. he quoted a Prs. proverb: *Fārsī hunar, Arab šakar, Waxī tinz-i-xar.*

4. *Shāh Nawāz Khān*, a village headman, about 50 years old, Y. from Yang in Russian territory. He was by far my best, and probably my only quite reliable, Wkh. informant. Unfortunately I could only work with him for a few, short sessions.

5. Dr. Sköld's Wakhi material<sup>4</sup> consists of a list of words and a list Sk. of verbs corresponding to those given by Hjuler. He also gives a few

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Stein, Innermost Asia, II, p. 871, "Namadgut, though inhabited by Wakhis . . . is reckoned as belonging to Ishkashm."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rep. N.W. Ind., p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Ishk.—Sgl. § 8.

<sup>4</sup> V. Preface.

paradigms of verbs. I have not come across any information in his papers as to name(s) or home-village(s) of his informant or informants.

6. Colonel Lorimer with great kindness has permitted me to make full use of the copious vocabulary which he compiled from Wakhi settlers in Hunza in 1935. At the time when his vocabulary was placed at my disposal, I had already worked out my own, and I have only inserted a limited number of such words which appeared to be of special interest from the point of view of historical and comparative linguistics. Col. Lorimer's valuable Wkh. material will, I hope, be published in full.

3. The geography and history of Wakhan has been dealt with by several authors.<sup>1</sup>

It has since long been recognized that the name of *Xandūt*, the largest village in Wakhan, is represented by the Ancient Chinese form *xuən-d'â-tâ*,<sup>2</sup> given by Hūan-Tsang. It is also possible that Hūan-Tsang's *Hu-mi* (*yuo-miēt*) may be identical with the modern village of *Yamit* (< \**Hamit(i)*?).

The Prs. names for the valley and its language, *Waxān* and *Waxī*, are evidently related to the native forms *Wuṣ* 'Wakhan', *Ṣīk* 'Wakhi' (language and inhabitant).<sup>3</sup> *Ṣīk* is a curtailed form of \**W(u)ṣ-īk*, and *Wuṣ* may be derived from \**Waxšu-*, with the development of *xš* mentioned below. This sound-change appears to be of some antiquity, since it is reflected not only in Hūan-Tsang's name for the river *U-hu* (*uo-xuo*),<sup>4</sup> but also in Skt. *Vokkāna*, *Bhokkāna*,<sup>5</sup> and in Mas'ūdī's *Auxān* = *Waxān*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marquardt, *Ēranšahr*, passim; Olufsen, In the unknown Pamirs; Stein Innermost Asia, II, pp. 863 sqq., On ancient Central Asian tracks, pp. 311 sqq. [Cf. now also *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, ed. Minorsky.—Corr. note].

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Karlgren's reconstruction.

<sup>3</sup> Acc. to Sköld *Ṣīk* is used in E. Wakhan.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Marquardt, *Ēranšahr*, p. 244.

<sup>5</sup> *Kṣemendra*, *Avadānakalpalatā* (transl. into Chinese 472 A.D.).—*Vakṣu*, Var.Br.S. and *Vanṣu*. M.Bh. 'Oxus', cf. Tib. *Pakṣu* (Tanjur Colophon, acc. to Lévi, JA. 1933, p. 27) may have been borrowed from some other Ir. dialect.

<sup>6</sup> Marqu., *Ēranšahr*, p. 235. Cf. *ibid.* p. 234 about *Waxāb* and *Waxāb*.

The derivation of the Burushaski name for a Wakhi *Gwits*, pl. *Gwī'co*<sup>1</sup> is unknown.

4. The extent of the ancient fortifications in Wakhan, the ruins of which have been investigated by Stein,<sup>2</sup> and the description given by Hüan-Tsang point to the existence of "an earlier population and resources far greater than those of to-day".

The present population of Russian Wakhan is estimated by Stein at some 3 000 souls, living in about 200 households,<sup>3</sup> and by Klimchitskiy at 5 000. On the Afghan side of the river the population appears to be more numerous, according to Minorsky there are 3 500 inhabitants, living in 64 villages and hamlets.<sup>4</sup>

5. Among the inhabitants of Wakhan there are some Munji and Shughni settlers who do not speak Wakhi.<sup>5</sup>

But on the other hand the hardy Wakhis, accustomed to living at high altitudes, have in recent times overflowed into the upper parts of nearly all the neighbouring valleys, and have established themselves above the settlements of the older inhabitants. In some cases permanent immigration has been preceded by exploitation of summer pastures and of local supplies of fire-wood.

The Wakhi settlements in the Yarkhun valley in Chitral have been described by Stein,<sup>6</sup> and Colonel Schomberg<sup>7</sup> informs us that several villages in the Ishkoman valley in the Gilgit agency contain

<sup>1</sup> Lorimer, *Bur. Grammar*, I, Intr. pp. IV and XXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Innermost Asia*, II, p. 869; On *Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, pp. 311 sqq. —Stein is evidently right in rejecting Olufsen's hypothesis that these "Kafir" forts were built by raiders belonging to the Siahposh-Kafirs of Kafiristan (Olufsen, *Through the unknown Pamirs*, pp. 176 sqq.).

<sup>3</sup> On *Anc. Centr. As. Tracks*, p. 311. In *Innermost Asia*, II, p. 869 another estimate is mentioned, which agrees with that of Minorsky (*Enzykl. d. Islam*, s.v. *Wakhan*), who counts 27 villages with 2 000 inhabitants. Acc. to Olufsen, *op. cit.* p. 56, there are 172 households in Russian Wakhan, including Namadgut.

<sup>4</sup> From *Burhan-ud-Din, Badaxšan i Kattagan*, p. 154. Acc. to *B. ud-Din* there are 27 villages in Russian Wakhan.

<sup>5</sup> Gauthiot, *MSL*, XIX, p. 133 f.; Olufsen, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>6</sup> *Serindia*, I, p. 50; cf. also *Rep. N.W. Ind.*, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> *From the Indus to the Oxus*, pp. 81 sqq.

a strong, but recently immigrated Wakhi element. The Wakhi settlements in upper Hunza, including the Shingshal valley, are mentioned by several authors,<sup>1</sup> but the most detailed account of them is given by Lorimer<sup>2</sup> who estimates the number of Hunza Wakhis at 2411. Stein<sup>3</sup> mentions Wakhis living at Dafdar in Sarikol, and Dr. Jarring has kindly informed me that according to information received by him from an inhabitant of Guma, on the upper reaches of the Yarkand Darya, Wakhis had settled in the hills south of that place about 60 years ago, and use to come down to the weekly market, speaking a language of their own.<sup>4</sup>

Finally it may be mentioned that there is a village called Shund near the hot geysir in the Garm Chashma valley in Shughnan. There can scarcely be any doubt that this name is identical with the Wakhi word *šundr* 'hot', but it is not certain that it indicates the presence of Wakhis, at any rate not in modern times.

It is impossible to calculate the exact number of speakers of Wakhi, but we may perhaps guess that it lies somewhere about 10—15 000.

6. There is nothing in written records, oral traditions or place-names which points to an immigration of Wakhis into Wakhan in historical times. We are not able to decide how long the language has been spoken in its present home, but all circumstances seem to indicate that Wakhi, in its essentials, is derived from the dialect of the very earliest wave of Ir. settlers in these regions, and that it has developed in relative isolation for a considerable period. This does not exclude the possibility that Wakhi may once have been ousted from other

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Stein, *Sandburied Cities*, p. 42; Schomberg, *op. cit.*, p. 215; Conway *Climbing in the Karakoram*, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> *Burushaski Gramm.*, *Intr.* pp. IV, XXXIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandburied Cities*, p. 64; *Innermost Asia*.

<sup>4</sup> *Acc. to Jarring* Pakhpos also are living near Guma, and besides at Kōk-yar, in Karatagh, and in the neighbourhood of Karghalik. The Turks believe that they speak Persian among themselves.—They do not appear to be Wakhis.

valleys by later immigrants, nor that the language may have been strongly affected by the admixture of other Ir. elements. The intricacies of Wakhi phonetical development can in fact only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that an assimilation of foreign elements, similar to that which we can observe to-day, has been going on for centuries.

7. The isolated position of Wakhi among the neighbouring Ir. dialects is shown by a number of phonetical, morphological, and lexicological peculiarities.

Wakhi alone among the surrounding Ir. dialects preserves inter-vocalic surd stops and—at least to some extent— $\dot{s}$ , changes surd fricatives to stops (also in groups with  $r$ ), assimilates  $rn > r$ , does not change  $sn-$  into  $zn-$ , or  $\dot{s}m > m$ , and develops a mixed vowel from ancient  $\bar{a}$ . Note also the Saka—Wkh. development of IE  $\bar{k}w > \dot{s}$ .

In the field of morphology may be mentioned the very peculiar forms of the personal pronouns, the infinitives and past participles containing an  $n$ , and the existence of *three* stems in some verbs. Note also the preservation of the ancient meaning of the root *baw-* in *vitt* 'became'.

The astonishing originality of Wakhi vocabulary will appear from the following short list of the more remarkable words not found in the neighbouring dialects.<sup>1</sup>

Nouns: *avārt* span, *bārīn* knee, *bīspīr* eagle, *čärm(ū)* canal, *dager* nail, *d<sup>u</sup>rukš* bull, *dröst* sleeve, *dai* man, *duvi* stack, *δus* wasp, *δetk* brick, *kaš* boy, *miŋgas* sparrow, *mūr* cloud, *naγd* night, *noγordum* bear, *p<sup>o</sup>rčōd* girl, *pert* back, *pīrz* evening, *regiš* beard, *rōγət* young she-goat, *ramet* chewing the cud, *rīp* hair, *rešip* whip, *rəwâr* day, *rešip* whip, *skīd* skull-cap, *skōrd* bridge, *s<sup>o</sup>pərdānǰ* flea, *šōnd* raven, *šafš* hair, *šung* wood, *šapt* wolf, *tap* wing, *vədek* road, *vōin* light, *vrokš* Ovis Poli, *wuč* arrow, *wundr* field, *wānǰ* belly, *wuner* stable, *wīyīn* pass, *yijīn* felt, *yukš* male ibex, *yūmǰ* flour, *yīnōt* dream, *yāngal* finger, *yīrk* barley, *yīsp* shoulder, *yīšək* plough-handle, *yač* twig, *yīčūn* bridle, *zem* snow, *zač* thorn, *žārž* milk, *žitr* woollen thread.

<sup>1</sup> For further details v. Voc., passim.

Adjectives: *baf* good, *γaf* much, *γeš* male, *ruxn* white, *sitrin* barren, *sundr* hot, *šəyd* new, *šix* near.

Adverbs and Pronouns: *sak* we, *sāist* you, *vrök* to-morrow, *wūdg* to-day.

Verbs: *biit-* to overthrow, *car-* to do, *čalg-* to wish, *čarm-* to enter, *dediŷ-* to look at, *gafs-* to run, *γat-* to arrive, *hümü-* to be, *kšüy-* to hear, *liv-* to slip, *nesi-* to lie down, *nezd-* to sit down, *pəðəmeš-* to swell, *permər-* to wither, *pürind-* to sell, *piitmüi-* to mimic, *rəč-* to go, *rand-* to give, *rasüð-* to break, *režup-* to sleep, *šand-* to mix, *tu-* to be, *vidāw-* to ride, *wāc-* to become, *wəzi-* to come, *žān-* to speak, *yād-* to pile up, *yünd-* to carry, *yāw-* to eat, *yawer-* to select, *yāž-* to bear, *zübed-* to burst, etc., etc.

8. But although Wkh. possesses a greater number of peculiar traits than most other Ir. languages, it naturally agrees with one or other of the neighbouring dialects on special points. None of these resemblances, however, amounts to a special relationship between Wkh. and some other language together with which it might be said to form a group.

An ancient and important isoglott which unites Wkh. with Saka is the development of IE  $\bar{k}w$  into  $\dot{s}$  ( $\dot{s}\dot{s}$ ).<sup>1</sup> We also find some lexical accordances between the two languages, cf. Voc. s.vv. *đai* and *hümü-*. But the retention of intervocalic tenues, the development of *θr*, *θw*, *-š-*, the forms of the personal pronouns, and several other important traits separate Wkh. from Saka.

9. The special points of resemblance between Wkh. and Mj.—Yd. are mainly restricted to a number of words containing  $l < \delta$ .<sup>2</sup> Some of these words may have penetrated into Wkh. through the contact with Munji settlers in Wakhan, but in several cases the Wkh. forms do not correspond to the Mj. ones. Thus we find Wkh. *malung* 'middle', but Yd. *malanë*, Wkh. *žil* 'sweat', but Yd. *xül*; Wkh.w *lând*<sup>3</sup> 'tooth', but Mj. of Wakhan *lât* (Gauthiot). It is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. Reichelt, Idg. Jahrbuch, I.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 69. Cf. also Gauthiot, MSL, XIX, pp. 133 sqq., and Rep. N.W.Ind., p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> If correct.



perhaps possible that some Wkh. words with  $l < \delta$  may have come from Saraghlani (or Saraghlami?), a dialect which is at present separated from Wkh. by Ishk., but which may perhaps at an earlier date have been in direct contact with it. One of the three Saraghlani words given by Zarubin<sup>1</sup> is *woliké* 'water', cf. Yd. *wolo*, Mj. *wēla* 'irrigation channel', etc.<sup>2</sup>

And among the place-names from the Saraghlani (Sarghulami) district given by Burhan-ud-din<sup>3</sup> we find *Melengau* or *Melengab* as the name of a village situated on the middle one of three tributaries of the Zardiv river. We shall hardly be wrong if we identify *meleng* with Wkh. *malung* 'middle', and *au*, *ab* with Prs. *āb*.<sup>4</sup>

10. With the Shgh. group Wkh. shares the important suffix *-ung/-enj*, the development of the prefix *fra-* into *re-*, *ra-*, and a number of words, especially verbs. As might be expected, the accordances are most numerous between Wkh. and Sarikoli, the only member of the Shgh. group which is not separated from Wkh. by other, intervening, communities.

In some cases the Sar. word has apparently been borrowed from Wkh., ancient or modern. Thus, Sar. *sīc* (but Shgh. *sej*) 'needle' < Wkh. *sic*; Sar. *šivp* 'wolf' < Wkh. *šapt* (< \**šapīδ*, in its turn from Khow. \**šapīδ* > *šapīr*); Sar. *kauk* 'spring' < Wkh. *kik* (< \**kōk*); Sar. *gažnez* 'earring' (but *γaul* 'ear') < Wkh. *gišniz* (*yiš* 'ear'); Sar. *wišk* 'calf' < Wkh. *wušk* (< \**wasyaka*); Sar. *imbat-* 'to overthrow' < Wkh. *biit-* (< \**ambut-*), etc.

Other Sar. words which have probably been borrowed from or influenced by Wkh. are: *reb* 'hair on the body', *yač* 'ibex', *indij*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above p. 24, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning given by Zar. may be due to some misunderstanding.

<sup>3</sup> Kattagan i Badaxšan, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Other Saraghl. place-names containing *l* are *Lučiv* and *Garaliv* (غوراليو). *-iv* may be the ancient obl. pl. ending. Unfortunately our knowledge of Saraghl. is restricted to these place-names and the three words given by Zarubin. Repeated endeavours to get hold of some information about the dialect through local officials have so far not proved successful, in spite of the kind interest shown by the Ministry of Education in Kabul and the Afghan Legation in London.

'slave', *zamān* (but Shgh. *žaniĵ*, etc.) 'snow', *pamez-* 'to dress' (but Shgh. *peniz-*): Wkh. *rĭp*, *yukš*, *andag*, *zem*, *pamec-*. Some of the Sar. words given by Shaw as corresponding to Wkh. ones, may of course turn up in some other dialect of the Shgh. group. But it is safe to say that the contact between Wkh. and Sar. has been specially close. The profound differences which in many respects exist between Wkh. and the Shgh. group show, however, that the actual accordances are due more to secondary contact than to ancient relationship. On the whole Wkh. has been the influencing part, no doubt because Wakhis have settled in Sarikol from early times, but at least a few Wkh. words appears to be of Sar. origin: *žeraĵ* 'knot' < Sar. *žereĵ* (with *ž-* < *g-*, characteristic of the Shgh. group); *sudγ* 'smooth'; *rauĵ* 'flame'. Cf. also § 30.

11. Also Ishk.—Sgl. presents a few instances of special lexical correspondence with Wkh. Cf. e.g. Wkh. *ktič* 'hut': Ishk. *krič*;<sup>1</sup> Wkh. *p<sup>2</sup>zöv* 'heart': Sgl. *ōvzui*, etc.; Wkh. *goĵ-* 'to do': Sgl. *gax-*; Wkh. *niwiz-* 'to go out': Sgl. *nēz-*; Wkh. *pōv-* 'to drink': Sgl. *pōv-*; Wkh. *škāv-* 'to catch a cold': Ishk. *škōv-*; Wkh. *wūzəm-* 'to bring': Sgl. *īžim-*, and other words.<sup>2</sup> Note also that Wkh. *žamak* 'moon' agrees with Ishk.—Sgl. and Mj.—Yd., but not with the Shgh. group. Some of the correspondences mentioned above are no doubt due to recent borrowing,<sup>3</sup> but others, such as *p<sup>2</sup>zöv/ōvzui*, indicate a certain amount of contact at an early date.

There are, however, no phonetical changes common to Wkh. and Sgl.—Ishk.,<sup>4</sup> and only a small number of special morphological correspondences.<sup>5</sup> The loss of the ancient distinction of gender<sup>6</sup> is common to Wkh. and Sgl.—Ishk., but it is also found in the neighbouring IA. language Khovar.

<sup>1</sup> But v. Sgl.—Ishk. § 22.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in Sköld's material (from W. Wakhan?).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Voc. s.v. *xədōrg*, *fril-*, *kalrben*.

<sup>4</sup> Note, e.g., Wkh. *srtāĵ*, but Sgl. *wuznul* < \**snušā*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the abs. gen. in *-an*, and the 2 pl. in *-əv* common to Sgl.—Ishk. and Western Wkh.

<sup>6</sup> V. § 105.

On the whole it seems probable that Sgl.—Ishk. belongs to a later wave of Ir. settlers than Wkh., and that this latter language must be considered to form a separate branch of the north-eastern Ir. dialects.

12. The numerous Prs. lw.s in Wkh. need not detain us here. Their exact provenience, phonetical appearance, relative date, etc., present many interesting problems, which must, however, be discussed in connection with a general survey of the expansion of Persian in Tajikistan, Badakhshan and the Pamirs. The extreme variety of pronunciation of many Prs. lw.s points to repeated borrowing of the same words from various sources.—One example of double borrowing may be mentioned here: According to Sköld there exists, besides the naturalized loan-word *xalg* ‘person, man, people (люди) (coll.)’, also a more recent and ‘literary’ word *xalg* ‘nation (народ)’.

Also the provenience of the Turkish lw.s, many of which are common to Wkh. and Sar.,<sup>1</sup> must be left to be studied by the specialist.

I have not been able to detect any words of undoubtedly Burushaski origin in Wkh.,<sup>2</sup> and the derivation of *tōr* ‘walnut’ from Tibetan<sup>3</sup> is highly improbable.

13. There are a few IA. lw.s in Wkh., the exact source of which cannot be determined. Thus: *čkar* ‘partridge’, *mutr* ‘augury’, and possibly *kend* ‘woman’. Also a number of words containing a cerebral sound are probably of IA. origin. Examples are: *čat* ‘horned cattle’ (Sar. *čāt*); *čut car-* ‘to tear asunder’; *kač-* ‘to throw’; *kəč* ‘short’; *qač* ‘mucus’; *kučōl* ‘dagger’; *mōṇ* (?) ‘male oorial’; *māṇd-* ‘to rub’ (v. s.v. *mānd-*); *pač* ‘penis’; *peč* ‘round’; *ptok* ‘bread’; *pəṇḍək* ‘unripe apricots’, etc., regarding which cf. Voc. s.vv.—There is also a curious, but possibly accidental, similarity between Wkh. *miṅgas*, etc. and the Kati-Kafiri words for ‘sparrow’.

<sup>1</sup> V. Shaw's Voc. passim.

<sup>2</sup> As for Wkh. lw.s in Bur., cf. my Preface to Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, I, p. XXIV.—Add Bur. *diščik* (Conway *dishtik*) ‘brick’, v. § 73.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v.

14. I have found no certain Shina lw.s in Wkh.,<sup>1</sup> but from Khowar are borrowed *türt* 'ford' (Khow. *thürt*); *šiven* 'rope' (Khow. *šimēni*); *šapt* 'wolf', Sar. *šidp* (< \*šapid > Khow. *šapir*). The number of lw.s from Khowar is, however, very restricted.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore most surprising that Wkh. should have borrowed the personal pronoun 1 pl. *spā* 'us' from Khow. *ispa* (< \*spā), and probably also *sav*, *sab* 'you' from Khow. *bisa* (< \*bsā < \*vasā). Also the occurrence of a cerebral *č* is probably due to Khow. influence.<sup>3</sup>

What renders the borrowing of Khow. pronouns into Wkh. all the more astonishing is the fact that Wkh., which at any rate in our days is the language of the poorer and politically and culturally less important community, has supplied Khow. with a considerable number of lw.s. It is not always easy to distinguish Khow. words of Wkh. origin from those belonging to other Ir. dialects, but in some cases there can be no doubt about Wkh. being the immediate source of the Khow. words.<sup>4</sup>

Examples are: Khow. *wxār* 'ladder'; *andāw* 'fever'; *do'γūr* 'fingernail'; *ri'gīš* 'beard'; *šaŋ'gūr* 'entrails'; *šonthu* 'raven'; *xēl* 'sweat'; *pāz* 'breast'; *zox*, *jox* 'thorn': Wkh. *waxār*, *andaw*, *dəgər*, *reğiš*, *šaŋ'gər*, *šönd*, *šil*, *pūz*, *zaš*. Also Khow. *isprāsk* 'rafter'; *isprū* 'flower'; *bizbār* 'eagle, kite'; *axam-* 'to descend'; *kišipi* 'magpie'; *nošk* 'beak'; *yož* 'ice' may be of Wkh. origin; cf. *sipask*; *spray*; *bispür*; *šām*; *kiržepč*; *nüčk*; *yaz*. It is also tempting to derive Khow. *supuk*, Wershikwar *sapa* 'hoof', Burush. *sap* 'horseshoe' from a lost Wkh. form with *p* < *f*. On the other hand, Khow. *sar-* 'to appear' and *vor* 'smell' (Wkh. *südüy-*, *vül*) may have come from any E.Ir. dialect, and it is impossible to tell whether Khow. *šā* 'black' has been borrowed from an older form of Wkh. *šiu*, or of Ishk. *šūi*. There are also several words common to Khow. and Wkh. the origin of which is altogether unknown.

<sup>1</sup> As for Shina *lištik* 'brick' < \*Wkh., cf. § 73.

<sup>2</sup> The Khow. words given by Wkh. x., excepted. They are, at the utmost, used within a very limited circle of Wakli speakers.

<sup>3</sup> Note, on the other hand, the striking difference in the treatment of ancient *k̄w* > Wkh. *š*, but Khow. *šp*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BSOS. VIII, pp. 261 sqq.

15. The crossborrowing between Wkh. and Khow. can hardly have been conditioned merely by scanty communication across the Hindu Kush passes, or by the slight and apparently quite recent contact between the two languages in the Yarkhun valley.

We know that the Khos won Chitral proper from the Kalashas at a comparatively recent date, and that their original home—original of course to be taken in a relative sense—was Upper Chitral, the valleys round Mastuj.<sup>1</sup> Also the Kho settlements east of the Shandur Pass, in the Ghizr district of Gilgit agency, may be fairly ancient. We are therefore entitled to assume as a possibility that the Khos in early times may also have crossed the easy saddle of the Baroghil Pass and occupied at least some part of Wakhan, mingling with the Ir. Wakhis coming from the West.

But this remains a matter of speculation as long as no further documents are found which may throw light upon the early history of the Khos.

16. It is very probable that dialectical differences should exist within the extensive territory in which Wkh. is spoken. But so far very little is known about such variations. Differences of pronunciation, especially of vowels, are frequent in the available sources, but it is not possible to assign them to different parts of Wakhan. It may, however, be mentioned that Wkh.y., in accordance with Klimchitskiy's, Hjuler's, and Sköld's informants, used forms in *-av* for the 2 pl. of verbs, while Wkh.x., Shaw, Stein and LSI had *-ĭt*. The western neighbours of Wkh., Sgl.—Ishk. and Mj.—Yd., have *-əf*, but Sar. and Shgh. have *-id*. It may therefore be surmised that an isoglott separating W.Wkh. from E.Wkh. passes between the villages of Yamg and Khandut. Similarly Sköld and Klimchitskiy give *kərt* 'did' (cf. Wkh.y. *kerk* 'has done') while Shaw has the more regular form *cart*. Also the variation between intervocalic *-d̄-* and *-d-* may be of a local nature, *-d-* possibly belonging to W.Wakhan, where influence from Ishk. might be suspected. As for the forms of the infinitive v. § 157 sq.

<sup>1</sup> As for the ancient name of this region cf. BSOS. VI, p. 441.

## PHONETIC SYSTEM

17. For reasons explained above<sup>1</sup> only one of my Wkh. informants, viz. Wkh. y., can be relied upon with regard to the phonetical structure of the language. In the main Y's sounds agree with those given by Shaw, Sköld, Lorimer and Klimchitskiy. Discrepancies, especially in the pronunciation of vowels, may either be due to dialectical and individual variation or to inexact notation.

### *Consonants.*

18.

	Labial	Dental	Retro- flex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosive . . . . .	<i>p, b</i>	<i>t, d</i>	<i>t, &lt;d&gt;</i> <sup>2</sup>		<i>k, g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Affricate . . . . .		<i>c, (j)</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>č</i>	<i>č, j</i>			
Fricative . . . . .	<i>f, v</i>	<i>(ð),<sup>3</sup> ð</i>			<i>š, ž</i>	<i>x, γ</i>	<i>h</i>
Sibilant . . . . .		<i>s, z</i>	<i>š, ž</i>	<i>š, ž</i>			
Nasal . . . . .	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>[ŋ]</i> <sup>4</sup>		<i>[ŋ]</i> <sup>4</sup>		
Lateral . . . . .		<i>l</i>	<i>&lt;l&gt;</i> <sup>2</sup>				
Rolled . . . . .		<i>r</i>					
Semivowels . . . . .	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			

<sup>1</sup> § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Not used by Y.

<sup>3</sup> Very rare.

<sup>4</sup> Not a separate phoneme.

19. The consonant system of Wkh. appears, as far as it is possible to judge from our present limited knowledge of the language, to be based upon the following correlations:

1. Voiced: *b, d, (d), g (j), ĵ, v, d, ħ, γ, z, ž, ž.*

Surd: *p, t, t, k, c, č, f, θ, x̃, x, s, š, š.*

There are no voiced counterparts of *q* and *č*, and *d* and *j* are rare and uncertain phonemes. The great number of correlations of voice in Wkh. are worth noticing.

2. Plosive: *p, b, t, d, k, g, q.*

Fricative: *f, v, θ, d, x̃, ħ, x.<sup>1</sup>*

3. Plosive: *t, d, t, d.*

Sibilant: *s, z, š, ž.*

But *š* and *ž* have no plosive counterparts.

4. Plosive: *t, d, t.*

Affricative: *c, (j), č.*

A very fragmentary group of correlations.

5. Plosive: *p/b, t/d, t/(d), k/g.*

Nasal: *m, n, (n) [ŋ].*

6. Labial: *p, b, m, f, v*

Dental: *t, d, n, θ, d, c, (j), s, z.*

Retroflex: *t, d, n, č, š, ž.*

Palatal: *č, ĵ, š, ž.*

Velar: *k, g, [ŋ], x̃, ħ.*

Uvular: *q, x, γ.*

Aspiration of surd stops has been noted occasionally in Y: *k'ôm* 'palate' (Bell. *khom*); *p'ūn* 'palm' (Bell. *phūn*); *p'ūz* 'breast'. Cf. X *k'Δla* 'ram'; *p'ūd* X 'foot'; *p'ānz* N 'five'; *k'ənd* Sk. 'wife'. But it seems to be much less marked than in most other Pamir dialects.

20. *Labials*: *f* and *v* are labio-dentals. *w* is a bilabial semi-vowel.<sup>2</sup>

*Dentals*: The voiced affricate *j* is very rare. I heard it only in *jəi* 'bowstring' (L. *j/zēi*). Kl. gives also *jūĥ* 'yak' and *jəqlāi* 'small'

<sup>1</sup> Either *γ*, or (if *x, γ* are taken to be velar sounds) *q* is without a counterpart.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Kl. a bilabial, voiced "sonant".

(Sh. and Sk. also *j*-). But Wkh. y., etc. *zəka'lai*. The numeral 'five' has *j* acc. to Sk., Kl. and Z., but Sh. and my informants had *pānz*, etc.

It is doubtful whether postvocalic *d* and *ɖ* are separate phonemes. Wkh. y. always has *-d-*.

*ɖ* is of rare occurrence, especially in non-initial position (cf. Voc. s.vv. *pīḍu* L., *yod* L.). Phonetically *r* is alveolar.

*Palatals*: *y* is phonetically nearly a fricative.

*Cerebrals*: Y had initial *t̪* only in *t̪or* 'walnut' and no examples of *d̪*. This may, however, be due to accident. Kl. gives *d̪* also in initial position. *ṇ* is a variant of *n* before *d̪* (*pəṇḍək* Sk. 'bud', *māṇḍ-* 'to rub', but Y *māṇḍ-*). Independent *ṇ* was heard only in the pronunciation of W, and not with certainty true Wkh.

Kl. gives two words with *j̣*. I never heard this sound.—To my ear *ṣ̌*, *ẓ̌* and *č̣* were retroflex sounds, and Kl. also at first took them to be "cerebrals". Afterwards he had the pronunciation of the Wkh. sounds analysed by Ščerba, who comes to the conclusion that *ṣ̌* is dorsal and resembles Engl. *sh*, while *ṣ̌* is coronal and akin to Russ. *ṣ̌*. I have not the slightest doubt that this analysis is phonetically more correct than Kl.'s and my own (which was based on a very short observation). But I am still inclined to believe that the *ṣ̌* series *phonologically* belongs to the retroflex sounds, and the *ṣ̌* series to the palatals. Kl. groups the *ṣ̌* sounds with the dentals as 'dorsals', and the *ṣ̌* sounds together with *r* as 'coronals'.

It did not always seem easy to distinguish the two series of *ṣ̌* and *ṣ̌* sounds, nor *ṣ̌* from *ṣ̌* (or *ṣ̌*, *ŷ* from *x*, *γ*), and considerable variations are found in the different sources. But in the great majority of cases my notation of Y's pronunciation agrees with Kl., and usually also with Sk. There can at any rate be no doubt about the existence of three separate series. Cf. e.g.: *diṣ̌-*, *dišt* Y, X, Sk., Kl. 'to know'; *dāšt* X, Sk., Kl. 'plain': *xāṣ̌-*, *xāšt* Y, Kl. 'to pull' (but *-ṣ̌* Sh., Sk.); *niešt* Y, *nəyəšt* Kl. 'went out': *Wuṣ̌* Y, Kl. 'Wakhan'; *goṣ̌-*, *gošt* Y, X, Kl., etc. 'to do'.



A 'cerebral' *l̥* is used in a few words by X, and a similar sound is probably denoted by L's *l̄*.

*Velars*: I have followed Kl. in grouping *ǰ*, *ǰ̣* with the velars, and *x*, *ɣ* with the uvular *q*, although I am not certain about the correctness of this classification. Acc. to Kl. *x* is akin to Russ. *x*, and identical with Shgh. etc. *ǰ̣* (= *š*). To my ear Shgh. *š* has much more of the *š* character than Wkh. *ǰ̣*, which appeared to me to be a slightly advanced *x* (something between German *ach* and *ich*, but more allied to the former sound).

*ŋ* is not a separate phoneme, but a variant of *n* before *g*.<sup>1</sup>

*Glottal*: In spite of Kl.'s remarks to the contrary I believe that *h*, at any rate in the speech of Y, must be considered as a phoneme, but one with a very limited range of employment and very unstable. It is chiefly found in initial position.

21. Final voiced consonants usually become unvoiced. Thus, e.g.: *rīcŋ*, *ruχŋ*, *rūyŋ*, *yāzŋ*, *yīrzŋ*, *tucm̄*, *pətr̄*, *sək̄r̄*, *skōrd̄*, *nayd̄*, *fasl̄*, *qətb̄*.

Wakhi possesses a geminated *tt* (common in preterital forms), and to some extent *kk*, perhaps also other geminates.

### *Groups of Consonants.*

22. Groups of consonants are numerous and frequent. Especially to be noticed are groups of surd stops (in final position): *kt*, *tk*, *pk*, *pt*, etc. Acc. to Shaw we also find *dt* and *θt*.<sup>2</sup> A number of other groups occur in the preterital stems and in the 3 sg. present. In these forms we also find a number of morphonological changes.

Through loss of short, unstressed syllables more complicated groups occasionally arise, as in *kšt̄gā* Sk., *čkər*, *tpār*, *dgör* (v. s.v. *dəgər*).

Characteristic of Wkh. are the numerous groups of stops followed by *r*. A short svarabhakti-vowel is sometimes developed, e.g. in *b̄rīn*, *b̄rīt*, *d̄rev-*, *p̄rīč̄*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *tuŋ* X is a variant of *\*tung*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *sp̄ɛθk*, *sp̄ɛθk* L. sole.

Other frequently occurring groups of consonants are: *kš, gn, yn, vd, vn, xt, xs, fs, ft, fst, γz, γ/γ̇d, rk, rt, rx, rč* (and all other possible combinations of *r* + cons.), *nd, ṅ, ŋg, ṅd, nz, mb, md, lg, ld, st, sk, sp, št, ṧt, ṧk, ṧp, zd, zg, zn, žd, žg, žt, žn*, etc.

### Vowels.

23. I feel very diffident about the possibility of establishing the vowel system of Wkh. from the material which I was able to collect, and it certainly varies a good deal in the different parts of Wakhan; but according to the pronunciation of Y, my most reliable informant, I believe it to be of the following type:

#### Short Vowels.

<i>i</i>	<i>ï</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
	<i>a</i>	

#### Long Vowels.

<i>ī</i>	<i>ī̄</i>	<i>ū</i>		<i>ī</i>	<i>ī̄</i>	<i>ū</i>
			or, possibly:	<i>ē</i>		<i>ō</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>		<i>ā</i>		<i>ā̇</i>

24. *i* is a wide sound (*ɪ*): *b<sup>u</sup>rit, δirs, dirgā*.  
*e* is frequently open (*ɛ*): *d<sup>o</sup>ger, kend, xεšt*. But I have noted *e* in *čey, dendik, d<sup>o</sup>rev-, dežd, γer, kerk, t<sup>o</sup>rešp, žeč, yez, zem*, etc.  
*a* was frequently heard as *ʌ*: *sʌ'min, sʌn'duq, čΔžm*. But *sak, šac̄. ā* in *s<sup>o</sup>pərdän*) is prob. a palatalized variety.  
*u* is wide (*ʊ*): *nəmvk, p<sup>u</sup>rs*. Before *y* we find *ū* in *kšüy*.  
*ə* is found both in stressed and unstressed position: *čkar, δəyd, gəzd, kał, kəž, məst, nə'davn-, patr, rəyd, rəx'nīg, səkr, s'təž, wəsk, wəšk, žərz, žə'mak*, etc. The delimitation between *e* and *ə* is often uncertain.—*p<sup>o</sup>zöv* probably stands for *\*p<sup>o</sup>zəv*.

*i* appears in *kirpa*, *kis̄*, *dis̄*, *ditr*, *gizdim*, *kik*, *wiš*. It appears to be distinguished from *ī*.

*o* in *goṣ*-, *kipok*, *k<sup>2</sup>roṣ*, *noyordum*, *solx*, *xošk*, etc. is an open sound (ɔ).

*ī* appears e.g. in *dit*, *skid*, *ḡin*, *rəxnīg* (but Kl. *rəxnēg*).

*ē* is narrow, and appears only in lw.s: *bēd*, *bēwa*, *bēx*, *mēšak*, *pēča*, etc.

*ī̄* is high, mixed, unrounded. Cf. *ḡīū*, *kīnd*, *kīrən*, *mādīr*, *sīr*, *sī̄*, *šīr*. The vowels in *ḡbūr*, *hūb*, *pū̄d* (L. *puēd*), *ṣīū*, *ṣū̄i* probably represent attempts to denote varieties of this sound, conditioned by the nature of the neighbouring consonants.

*ā* is a palatal *a*. Examples are, e.g.: *ḡār*, *nān*, *yāngəl*.

*ū* occurs, e.g. in *xūn*, *pūn* (*pū̄n*), *p'ūz*, *yūnd*-.

*ō* is a low and wide *ō*, sometimes of a rather advanced type. Examples are the Prs. lw.s: *ambōγ*, *diōr*, *dəryō*, *kōm*, *kōna*, *rōn*, *rōst*; but cf. also *pōv*-, *škōrd*, *škōrč*, *tōr*, *tōrt*, *vōč*, *v<sup>2</sup>rōk*, *xədōrg*, *yīnōt*, *yōč*. In a number of Prs. lw.s I have noted *ā̄* (or *ā̄<sup>1</sup>*): *ā̄<sup>2</sup>šak*, *dāmād*, *kitāb*, *t<sup>2</sup>rāzū*, *xālī*, etc., but I am inclined to believe that this notation represents merely a variant of *ō* (*ō̄*), and not a separate phoneme. Cf. also *wāft*- (pret. of *ūf*-) = *wōft* Z.

25. The phonological distinction between short and long vowels appear to be clearer than in Yd.—Mj., but dubious cases no doubt occur. The overshort vowels are probably either unstressed variants of short ones, or svarabhakti vowels; e.g. in *d<sup>u</sup>rukš*, *d<sup>a</sup>raxt*, *d<sup>2</sup>rev*- (*dröv*- Sh., Kl.), *k<sup>u</sup>rust*, *dōg<sup>2</sup>n*, etc.

I have noted the following diphthongs: *āi* (*pāi*); *ūi* (*kūi*, *trūi*); *ōi* (*jōid*); *īu* (*nīu*, *īu*), *īū* (*ḡīū*), *au* (*yau*, *v<sup>2</sup>rau*).

26. In Sköld's material we find, corresponding to Y's vowels: *i*, *ī*,<sup>2</sup> *u*, *e*, *ə*, *o*, *a*; *ī*, *ī̄*,<sup>1</sup> *ū*, *ē*, *ā*, *ō*.—*ä* and *ö* are probably variants of *a*, *o*, or of *ā*, *ō*, and *š* is a variant of *ə*, the exact quality of which I am unable to determine. It is not clear whether his *ā̄* is meant to design an independent phoneme, separate from *ō̄*.—In some words

<sup>1</sup> Swedish long *ā*.

<sup>2</sup> Written *ū*, *ū̄* in some of his notes, but corrected into *ī*, *ī̄*.

Sk. gives vocalic  $r̥$ ,  $ŋ$  and  $ɱ$  (e.g.  $r̥ndag$ ,  $r̥ndag$ ), but these may be variants of  $ər$ ,  $rə$ , etc.

The vowel system of the village of Langar Kishm<sup>1</sup> as described by Kl. agrees fairly well with that of Yamg. We find the short vowels  $i$ ,  $ü$  (corresp. to  $i$ ),  $u$ ,  $ə$ ,  $ö$  ( $o$ ),  $a$  ( $a$ ), and the long vowels  $i$ ,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  ( $\bar{o}$ ). Kl.'s  $\bar{o}$  ( $\bar{o}$ ) corresponds to my  $\epsilon$ , at any rate in some cases ( $k\ddot{o}nd = kend$ ). The total number of his vowel phonemes amounts to 13, the same as I believe to have found in Yamg.

<sup>1</sup> The above section was written when I got his paper.

## HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

### Consonants.

#### *Initial Surd Stops and Affricates.*

27. Initial surd stops remain. Thus, e.g.: *kūi* 'who'; *kibīt* 'pigeon'; *k-, t-, p-* *kerk* 'hen'; *tu* 'thou'; *t'pār* 'axe'; *taṣ* 'thirsty'; *pac-* 'to cook'; *pū'd* 'foot'; *pətr* 'son'; *pānz* 'five'; *p'ū(ə)n* 'palm of the hand'. Regarding aspiration cf. above, § 19.

We find a change into a fricative in *ḍāw-* 'to burn'; *ḍin* 'hot'; *xūf* 'foam'; *xāš-* 'to pull'. Cf. Sar. *ḍau-* 'to burn', and v. above Yd.—Mj. § 63, Sgl.—Ishk. § 18.<sup>1</sup> If we are right in assuming that ancient *ḍ-, x-* resulted in Wkh. *t-, k-* the change into fricatives in these words must be late, or they must be lw.s. The change of *\*kaf- > xaf-*, and of *\*taf-t > \*ḍaf-t* might be due to a kind of assimilation.

Sonorization has taken place in *gahal* Sh. 'lazy, slow' (< Prs. *kahal*) and possibly in *gīz-* 'to rise', if < *\*kēz- < \*xaiz-*.<sup>2</sup> The derivation of *goṣ-* 'to do' < *\*karš-* is very uncertain, and with *gāč-* 'to totter' cf. not only Sar. *wa-koč-*, but also Yd. *γožī-*.

*čūṣ* Sk. 'multicoloured' is borrh. from Shgh., and *čir-* Sh. 'to sing' from Sar. (cf. Av. *kar-* 'to praise', etc.). It is tempting to derive *čəṣ-* 'to kill' from *kuš-*, but the *č-* may have come from a present base *čauš-*.

28. The fate of ancient *č-* is uncertain, just as in Yd.—Mj. and *č-* Sgl.—Ishk.

<sup>1</sup> V. Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2, p. 299. Cf. also Saka *khava-* 'foam' < *\*xapa- < kafa-*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> But a derivation < *\*an-gēz- < \*an-kēz < \*han-xaiz-* is more probable.

In most genuine Wkh. words we find *c*-; e.g., *cəbūr* 'four'; *cum* 'how much'; *cə-waxt* 'when'; *car-* 'to do', etc.<sup>1</sup> But we also find *č*-, not only in lw.s and words of unknown origin, but also in *čərm* 'canal', *čāžm* 'eye';<sup>2</sup> *čip-* 'to pick'.<sup>3</sup> As for *čāw-* 'to go', v. § 55.

*Intervocalic Surd Stops and Affricates.*

29. Intervocalic tenues are, as a rule, retained.<sup>4</sup> Thus *-k-* in *maks* 'fly'; *tuk-* 'to go'; *tīk* 'willow', and, with ancient suffix *-ka-*, *detk* 'brick'; *mərtk* 'dead'; *purk* 'mouse'; *yupk* 'water'; *wunvk* 'willow'; *wūr k* 'lamb'; *kīk* 'spring'; *doek* 'inflated skin'; *yašk* 'tear'; *zīk* 'tongue'; *šīk* 'Wakhi', and past ptc, such as *šīnak*, *šānetk* 'said'.—*yūk* L. 'dewlap' is of unknown derivation.

In secondary contact with *n*, *m* and *z*, but not with *r*,<sup>5</sup> *k* becomes *g*: *mīzg* 'urine'; *namurzg* 'rake'; *yīng* 'raw'; *wurzg* 'right (hand)'; *diing* 'snare'; *dəng* 'seed'. Cf. also *andag* 'slave' (< \**andg*, or lw.?).; but *rānj k* 'fast, light'. *γarāy* Sh., St. 'collar', and *rečey* L. 'a fast' may be lw.s. Note *səgin* Y, *sigin* Sh., B. 'horse-dung', but *skīn* L. 'yak's dung'.

30. Intervocalic *-t-* remains in *ət* Kl. 'and'; *bət* Kl. 'again'; *dit* 'smoke'; *-t-kibit* 'pigeon'; *kūt* 'roof'; *kat-dit* 'soot'; *ktic* 'hut'; *pitvār* 'small mussuck'; *rōyat*, *rōyd* L. 'young she-goat'; *sāt* 'baking-pan'; *wīst* 'twenty'; (*y)ət*, *-et* 'this'; in pres. 3 sg., e.g., *pīt* 'he drinks', and in preterites and past participles such as *vīt* 'was'; *šatum* 'I said'; *detem* 'I gave'; *pītk* 'drunk', 'rotten'; *pəčētk* 'cooked'; *setk* 'satisfied', etc.—*gōt-* 'to obtain'; *γat-* 'to arrive'; *šot* L. 'early supper'; *dētər* Sk. 'memory' are of uncertain origin.

The unstressed preposition *pu* < *pati* has lost its *t*, but it is

<sup>1</sup> V. Voc.

<sup>2</sup> With assimilation < \**cažm*? Cf. Kl. *čəžm* with complete assimilation.

<sup>3</sup> Probably with retention of *č* before *i*. V. § 33. Cf. the parallel development in Saka. But cf. Yd.—Mj. § 44.

<sup>4</sup> V. Geiger, § 20.—Cf. the retention of *-š-* as an unvoiced sound.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 76, 80. But cf. *pārg* 'ashes'; *pərg* 'necklace'.

retained in *pütmiī-* 'to mimic'; *pütrüz-* 'to lean against'; *pütčārm* 'wooden trough', and, with sonorization, in *pazdan-* 'to recognize' (Sar. *padzān-*). It is doubtful whether *pūmez-* 'to dress'; *peterd-* 'to spring from one root' and other verbs with *pa<sup>x</sup>-* contain ancient *pati-*. More probably they have ancient *api-* or *upa-*. Also the derivation of *pətuṇ* L. 'repair' from *\*pati-dāna-* is uncertain.— It is not likely that *pač-* in *pačrax-* 'to arrest' goes back to *pati-* (+ *\*rač-* < *raxš-*?).<sup>1</sup>

The geminated postvocalic *tt* which occurs in some preterital bases must be due to internal development in Wkh.<sup>2</sup>

Verbs in original *āu* or *āi* have past stems in *d*, e.g., *staud* (*stau-*) 'praised'; *sədōid* (*sədūi-*) 'appeared'; *wōzdōid* (*wīzdey*) 'washed'; *porōd* (*puru-*) 'washed'; *varoid* 'howled'. This is possibly due to influence from Sar., where we find *staud*, *parod*, *varaud*, etc.

*xədōrg* (*xedōrg*) 'watermill' is prob. borrowed from Ishk. (we should expect genuine Wkh. *\*čətīrk*); *sudγ* 'smooth' from Sar.

Also *madāč* 'mare' must be a lw. And *pārd* 'last year' < *\*parut-* may have been influenced by *\*sard* 'year', cf. *pardīngī* 'of last year': *sērdīngī* (*\*sardīngī*) 'of this year'.

31. The only instance of ancient *-p-* given by Geiger is *nəpūs* 'grand-child' *-p-*. Other examples are: *yupk* 'water'; *təpār* 'axe'; *rečup-* 'to sleep'; *rīp* 'hair on the body'; *repk* 'refuse, sweepings'; *d<sup>2</sup>repč* 'broom'; *nipes*, etc. (v. s.v. *nəbəs*) 'comb'; *rešip* 'whip'; *šipk* 'twig, rod'; *škop* 'castrated'; *šūp* 'night's halt'; *čip-* 'to pick'; *šūp-* 'to suck'; *žip-* 'to spin', and, with early contraction, *špūn* 'shepherd'. Of unknown derivation are: *čup* 'small hawk'; *drūp-* 'to scratch'; *kipok* 'cuckoo' (?); *lup* 'big'; *rapic-* 'to lose the way'; *syp* 'spider'; *šilāp-* 'to splash'. Regarding *rīpk* 'neck-rope' cf. sub. *-b-*. *ruparu* Sh. 'opposite' is adapted from the Prs. form.

We find *-b-* in *kibīt* 'pigeon' (influenced by the lw. *kabūt* 'blue');

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *čarm-* 'to enter' < *\*ati-ram-??* But v. Voc. s.v. *tanē-* 'to fold sheep'.

<sup>2</sup> After a stressed vowel?

*kəbūn* 'wooden bowl, dish' (of uncertain derivation), and in *nəbəs* 'comb' (v. above).

*tovn*, *tov cerāk* 'to twist' is borrr. from Prs. *tāv*, cf. Sar. *tuv čeigao*. Also *parvēy-* 'to attain' may originally belong to another dialect. *andav* 'fever' might be derived from *\*han-tafya-*, and *ḡāw-* 'to burn' has prob. got its *-w-* from the past *\*ḡawd* < *\*tafta-*. The causative suffix *-v-* is probably of foreign origin.<sup>1</sup> The derivation of *tətvārt* 'the year before last' < *\*tr̥ta-parut*, and of *v̥rōk* 'to-morrow' from *\*aparaka-* is quite uncertain.

32. The retention of intervocalic stops appears to have been the rule in the dialect which forms the main base of Wkh. Cf. the similar archaism in the much less isolated W.Bal. But in this respect, as well as in many others, the development of Wkh. may have been troubled by the admixture of foreign elements in various ways, and it is very difficult, perhaps even on principle impossible, to decide which irregularities are due to the internal development of the language.

33. The treatment of intervocalic *-č-* is parallel, on the one hand to that of intervocalic surd stops, on the other to that of initial *č-*.

The regular outcome of ancient *-č-* is *-c-*. Thus: *sic* 'needle'; *rīcn* 'smokehole'; *ḡic-* 'to milk'; *ce* 'from'; *pac-* 'to cook'; *pec* 'face'; *ḡock* 'skin bag' (< *\*dačaka-?*). The derivation of *rapic-* 'to loose one's way'; *rucəpc* 'cousin', and *iska-cusk* 'top of the shoulder' is unknown.

Before an *ī* ancient *č* retained its palatal character. Thus: *šač* 'dog' (< f. *\*swa-čī*); *voč* 'paternal aunt'; *d̥repč* 'broom'; *antərč* 'sister-in-law'; *wolč* 'quail'; *yōč* 'duck'; *wīč* 'moth'; *dārč* 'thread'; *vašč* 'milkpail', which all may go back to feminines in *-čī-*. In secondary contact with *n* we find *-n̥*.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the adj. suffix *-en̥*, *-un̥* (f. of *-ung*); *stran̥* 'durree, rug'; *s̥pərdän̥* 'flea';

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 136.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 79.



šūnǰ 'corner'; wānǰ 'belly'. Cf. yūmǰ 'flour'.—vīč 'outside' may go back to \*abyačī. rečey 'fasting' is a lw.,<sup>1</sup> and the derivation of nüčk 'beak'; šačüv- 'to strain', and tirīč L. 'dark' is uncertain. Regarding žārǰ/ž 'milk' v. Voc. s.v. rāuǰ Sh. 'flame' is probably bor. from Sar.<sup>2</sup>

As to the development of -čy- cf. § 55.

### Voiced Stops and Affricates.

34. Wkh. belongs to the group of N.E.Ir. dialects in which voiced stops were changed into fricatives at an early date.

Ancient *g*-, from which *ɣ*-, has become slightly palatalized (*ɣ̣*-), at any rate in the dialect of my best informant Y,<sup>3</sup> and in the varieties of Wkh. described by Sk., L., Z. and Kl.<sup>4</sup> The same sound is probably denoted by Shaw's italic *g*.<sup>5</sup>—X pronounced *g*-, e.g. in *gīū* 'cow'; *gī'dim* 'wheat', etc. One would certainly be inclined to regard this merely as an incorrect rendering of Wkh. *ɣ̣*-, if it were not for the past ptc. *ki'tetk* (= *ɣ̣atetk* Sh.) 'arrived' (< \**ktetk* < \**g(a)tetk*) of *gat*- (*ɣ̣at*- Sh., etc.) 'to arrive'. Cf. also *kšüy*- 'to hear', if < \**gušaya*-. It is therefore possible that a certain section of Wakhis really pronounce *g*-.

Examples of *ɣ̣*- are: *ɣ̣īū* 'cow'; *ɣ̣ī'dim* 'wheat'; *ɣ̣ār* 'stone'; *ɣ̣īš* 'ear', etc.—Cf. the parallel palatalization of *š*. *ɣ*- appears chiefly in lws, but, according to Y, W, Sk., Sh., etc., also in a number of genuine Wkh. words. Thus, e.g.: *ɣaš* Y, W; *ɣāš* Sk., Sh. 'mouth'. It is impossible to decide whether this notation does represent the real pronunciation of Wkh.

*gī* 'excrement' is an early lw.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, § 29.

<sup>2</sup> This would also account for the diphthong. But Sh. gives Sar. *sāuz*.

<sup>3</sup> Also in some of the words given by W.

<sup>4</sup> Note the further palatalization in *žip*- 'to spin' (if not early lw. from Sar., cf. *žerāx* 'knot'), and *yīp* L. 'fat' (= Khow. *ɣip*).

<sup>5</sup> Which I have transcribed with *ɣ̣*.

35. In intervocalic position we find  $\gamma$ ,  $\check{\gamma}$  in  $\delta i\gamma$  Y,  $\delta i\check{\gamma}$  Sk. 'butter-milk';  $r\check{\alpha}\check{\gamma}\check{i}\check{s}$  Sk.,  $r\check{e}\check{\gamma}\check{i}\check{s}$  Sh.,  $r\check{e}\check{g}\check{i}\check{s}$  Y 'beard' (Khow.  $r\check{i}\check{g}\check{i}\check{s}$ , bor. from Wkh.);  $r\check{e}\check{g}\check{u}\check{m}$  Sk.,  $r\check{a}\check{\gamma}\check{u}\check{m}$  Sh. 'heifer';  $spr\check{e}\check{\gamma}$  Sk. 'flower';  $r\check{\delta}\check{\gamma}\check{\alpha}t$ ,  $r\check{\delta}\check{\gamma}d$  'young she-goat' (if < \**fra-gatā*);  $y\check{u}\check{\gamma}\check{\alpha}n\check{e}$   $\gamma\check{e}r$  L. 'anvil' (\**ā-gana-?*). The derivation of  $\check{z}\check{i}r\check{o}v$ :  $\check{z}\check{i}r\check{o}\check{g}n$  Sh. ( $\check{z}\check{e}r\check{o}\check{\gamma}n$  Kl.) 'to be stuck' and of  $pr\check{i}\check{g}\check{i}n$  Sh. 'horse-clothing' (Sar. *parwein*) is unknown.  $t\check{u}\check{\gamma}$  'she-goat' may be a lw.

36. Examples of  $\delta$  < *d*- are:  $\delta\check{e}\check{\gamma}d$  'daughter';  $\delta\check{i}tr$  'sickle';  $\delta\check{i}t$  *d*- 'smoke';  $\delta\check{i}c$ - 'to milk';  $\delta\check{i}\check{\gamma}$  'buttermilk';  $\delta\check{i}r$  'distant';  $\delta\check{e}tk$  'brick';  $\delta\check{i}z$  'wall'.

A number of words with *d*- probably go back to ancient forms in \**han-d*-, e.g.  $d\check{i}\check{s}$ - 'to know';  $d\check{u}r\check{z}$ - 'to seize'; possibly also  $d\check{a}r\check{c}$ - 'thread'.  $d\check{e}\delta\check{i}\check{\gamma}$ - 'to look' is due to dissimilation.<sup>1</sup>  $d\check{a}st$  'hand' is bor. from Prs., and  $d\check{u}r$  'belly' may, in spite of its vowel, be an ancient lw. from Ishk.  $d\check{u}r$ . All sources agree in having *d*- in  $d\check{e}nd\check{i}k$  'tooth'. In this word the initial may have been influenced either by Prs. or by Ishk.—X has  $\delta\check{i}\check{\gamma}$ ,  $\delta\check{i}r$ , but  $d\check{e}\check{g}d$ ,  $d\check{i}t^ur$ ,  $d\check{i}c$ -, etc. This may, however, be due merely to his imperfect knowledge of Wkh.<sup>2</sup>

$l\check{e}w$  'demon' belongs to a dialect of the Yd.—Mj. type, cf also W.  $l\check{a}nd$  'tooth';  $l\check{a}st$  'hand',<sup>3</sup> and  $m\check{a}l\check{u}ng$  'middle';  $\check{x}\check{i}l$  'perspiration';  $v\check{u}l$  'smell';  $w\check{u}l\check{u}n$ - 'to shake apricots' (\**wi-dunau-?*).<sup>4</sup> Note the rendering of Wkh.  $\delta$ - by Shina *l* in  $l\check{i}\check{s}t\check{i}k$  'brick', v. Voc. s.v.  $\delta\check{e}tk$ . Burushaski has, however,  $d\check{i}\check{s}\check{c}\check{i}k$ .

37. For ancient *-d*- Sh., Z., Kl., L., W. and Be. have the expected *-d*- sound  $-\delta$ -,<sup>5</sup> while Y., X., Sk., St. and Hj. in most cases have *-d*-. Cf. the Voc. s.vv.  $m\check{a}d$  'waist';  $p\check{u}^d$  'foot';  $m\check{a}d\check{i}r$  'noon';  $sk\check{i}d$  'cap';  $w\check{a}d$  'canal';  $s\check{a}d\check{u}i$ - 'to appear';  $w\check{u}dg$  'to-day';  $v\check{a}dek$  'path' the lws  $m\check{a}d\check{a}\check{x}$  'mare';  $k\check{s}\check{a}d$  'wide';  $x\check{a}d\check{o}rg$  'watermill', and also  $s\check{a}d$  'six'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 52.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 2.

<sup>3</sup> If true Wkh. words. Hayward's '*las*' '10', '*shal*' '6' are prob. misheard for  $\delta\check{a}s$ ,  $\check{s}\check{a}\delta$ .

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 9.

<sup>5</sup> Written ( $\delta$ )z by Be.

Note, however, Y *pödn* 'saddle'; *nəðavn-* 'to embrace'; *pidiŋg-* 'to take fire';<sup>1</sup> St. *mađür*, *waduk*, and Sk. *ǰūdi* 'theft' but *ǰūd* 'thief'. This variation must be due to difference of dialect.<sup>2</sup>

Other examples of *-ð-* are: Sh. *šköd-* 'to break'; *röd-* 'to flee'; *nüdn* 'to sit' (v. Voc. s.v. *nezd-*); *ziübed-* 'to burst'; *vidāw-* 'to ride'; L. *nadıun* 'quiver'; *wad* 'handle'; *spedk* 'sole'; *pād* 'ligature', and, with unknown etymology, *šid* 'uphill'; *pedēsən* 'breast work'; *yidesen* 'ripped crops'. Note Kl. *pərməyüŋg* 'belt' with *y* from Prs. As to *-l- < -ð-* v. above.

Y *rəstəv-* 'to break' = Sh. *rasedüv-* does not prove any great age for the no doubt secondary transition of *-ð- > -d-*, since a similar form is also given by Kl. (*rəstv-*), who always has *-ð-* in modern postvocalic position.

If *šapt* 'wolf' is borrh. from early Khow., it goes back to *\*šapð < \*šap(i)ð*, cf. Sar. *ǰiðp*.<sup>3</sup>

38. Initial *b-* results in *v-*, e.g. in *vānd-* 'to bind'; *vīr* 'load'; *vīt* *b-* 'was'; *vərz* 'long'. X hesitated between *vīt* and *bīt* 'was', and gave *bidek* 'road' corresponding to Y *vədek*. Cf. his pronunciation of *γ-* and *ð-*.

All sources have *furz* 'birch', with unexplained *f-* for *v-*. Cf. also Voc. s.v. *fuks* 'snake': Ishk. *vuks*.

39. Intervocalic *-b-* results in *-v-*: *pöv-* 'to drink' (pres. 3 sg. *pīt*); *-b-đviy-* 'to steal'; *drev-* 'to sew'; *səmvər* 'yoke' (*\*sami-bara-*); *nv-* 'to soak'. Also *vidāw-* 'to ride'; *višiv-* 'to sweep' (*\*abi-xšwaib-?*); *vizam-* 'to rub', and *vīč* 'outside' probably contain ancient *\*abi-*. With *ǰūv* Sk. 'cornbin' cf. Ishk. *γōv*; and with *pəzīv* 'heart' Sgl. *ōvzui*. Be. *gawust* 'fist' may stand for *\*γavust*, if connected with Skr. *gabhasti-*.

X has, as might be expected, *-b-* in *pöb-* 'to drink'; *sab*, *sav* 'you', and *drīp-* (for *drīb-?*) 'to sew'.

<sup>1</sup> Ancient prefixed forms.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 16.

<sup>3</sup> V. Voc. s.v., and cf. § 14.

40. The only certain instance of *ǰ*- is Y *jəi*, L. *j/zēi* 'bowstring'; cf. *j* Kl. *jəl* 'string of an instrument'. *juj* 'yak' and *jək/qlai* 'small' (v. s.v. *zəkalai*) are not true Wkh. words.—But cf. *či*- < \**či* (§ 33). Intervocalic *-ǰ-* is perhaps found in *wuzem*- 'to bring', if < \**ā-ǰamaya*-. *sprež*- L. 'to blossom' < \**spraǰ(a)ya*-. The derivation of L. *yōž*- 'to bear' and *wižik* 'ibex' is unknown.

## Cerebrals.

41. St. gives *ʈ* in *hāt* 'eight', but all other sources have the regular *t* (< *št*). I have noted dental and cerebral *t* in Y *b<sup>ur</sup>rt/ʈ* 'elbow', cf. St. *b<sup>ur</sup>ruʈ*, but Sk. *b<sup>er</sup>ət*, Sh. *böret*.

All other words with *ʈ* are of IA, or unknown, origin. Thus: *aʈ* Sk. 'open'; *baṇḍ* X 'walking stick'; *čaʈ* 'horned cattle'; *čuʈ* Sk. 'asunder'; *dotki* X 'calf, 1 y. old' (?); *kaʈ*- 'to place, throw'; *keʈ* 'short'; *kutōl* W 'dagger'; *paʈ* 'penis'; *peʈ* 'round'; *ptōk* Sk. 'bread'. The only word with *ʈ*- is *tōr* 'walnut'.

We find *ṇḍ* in *māṇḍ*- (but Y *māṇḍ*-) 'to rub'; *pāṇḍək* Sk. 'unripe apricot'; *ṇ* only in W *məṇū* 'apple' and *mōṇ* 'urial', which are certainly no true Wkh. forms; and *ḷ* in X *keḷi* 'yoke peg' which is a Khow. word.

## Surd Fricatives.

42. We find ancient fricatives retained in *xūr* 'ass'; *xūn* 'house'; *fīak* 'shoulder-blade'; *ǰām*- 'to descend'; *yiǰ* 'ice'; *ūf*- 'to weave'; *parwuf*- 'to plait', *xuf* 'foam'. The initial fricatives in *xāš*- 'to pull'; *xuf* 'foam'; *ḍāw*- 'to burn'; *ḍin* 'hot', and the *ḍ* in *yoḍ* 'nest' (< \**ā-haḍa*-?) are of secondary origin. Cf. also *ǰei* 'bread'; *skɔf*- 'to trip'; *pīḍu*, *pḍū* 'mosquito', and *yiǰūn* 'bridle', the derivation of which is uncertain.

In a number of cases we find, however, Wkh. stops corresponding to fricatives of other Ir. languages.<sup>1</sup> Thus: *kāṇḍ*- 'to laugh'; *gǰz*-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ḍr*, *xr* > *tr*, *kr*.

'to rise' (< \*aṅ-kēz- < \*haṅ-xaiṅ-); *kik* 'spring' (< \*xākā, cf. Orm. *xākə*, etc.<sup>1</sup>); *kəbūn* 'wooden bowl' (if < \*k<sup>ə</sup>mbūn < \*xumbāna); *kās-* 'to thresh' (if < \*xad + sa-); *rūk* 'forehead, brow' (cf. Prs. *ruḫ*); *pēi* 'paddle, shovel'; *ramet* 'chewing the cud' (if < \*raumaṭa-); *tap* 'wing' (cf. Rosh. *tēf*); *yīnōt* 'dream' (\**hufnaṭā*?), and, possibly, *dəger*, *djör* (Cap. *hindiger*) 'finger-nail' (if < \*ngōr < \*n(a)kōr, cf. Sar. *našaur* < \**naxōr*). Cf. also Khow. *supuk*, Werchikwar *sapa* 'hoof'; Bur. *sap* 'horseshoe', prob. from Wkh. \**sap(ak)*, and possibly Khow. *auzetu* 'heifer', which might be borrowed from a Wkh. form derived from \**abi-zaḍyā* and corresponding to Yd. *pəzeḫi*.

Wkh. *pūz* 'breast' corresponds to Mj. *fūz*, and Wkh. *kap* 'hump' to Av. *kaofa-*, etc. But we find *p* also in Khow. *pāz*, Sar. *puz* (both of which words may however be lw.s from Wkh.), and in Sar. *kiep*, Orosh. *kūp*, etc.

It seems probable that ancient initial and intervocalic fricatives were changed into stops in Wkh., just as was the case with fricatives followed by *r*.<sup>2</sup> Words containing fricatives may be borrowed (e.g. *xūn*, *fāk*), or due to mixture of dialect.

In the name of the village *Xandut* (Hüan-Tsang *Xuən-d'â-tâ*) *x* may go back to *hw-*.

In *yōč* 'duck' (< \**āḍiči*?) *θ* has possibly been dropped before *č*.

### Sibilants.

43. Initial and intervocalic *s* remains in Wkh. Thus: *sīi* 'hare'; *sic* *s* 'needle'; *skīd* 'skull-cap'; *səkr* 'red', etc.; *nesi-* 'to lie down'; *nüs-* 'to lose'; *pos* 'fat sheep'; *ḍas* 'ten', etc.
44. Also *z* remains unchanged: *zīk* 'tongue'; *zem* 'snow'; *zart* 'yellow', *z* etc.; *wuz* 'I'; *wāz-* 'to fall'; *mīzg* 'urine'; *yez* 'yesterday'; *vizam-* 'to rub to powder'.

<sup>1</sup> Sar. *kauk* < Wkh. \**kōk*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the parallel development in W.Bal., Par. and some dialects of Kurd.

45. There is no certain instance of ancient *š*- in Wkh. But it is possible that *šāp*- 'to suck'; *šīr* 'dung', and perhaps a few other words may contain Ir. \**š*- < \**ks*-.
46. The treatment of intervocalic *-š-* is varied, and it is difficult to determine the genuine Wkh. development of this sound. One fact appears, however, to be evident: Wkh. did not change *-š-* into \**-ž-* as do most of the neighbouring Pamir dialects, Saka, Psht., Orm., Par., etc.

We find *š* and *ś* in Y, X, Kl. *ȳiś*, etc. 'ear': Sk., Sh., Z *ȳiś*, etc.; Y, X *regiś*, etc. 'beard': Sk., Sh. *rəȳiś*, etc.; Y *ramuš*- 'to forget': Sk., Sh. *rīmüś*-, etc.; *ś* in Y, X, Sh., Z *śiś* 'louse'; Sk., L. *müś*-, *mvś*- 'to conceal, steal' (\**muśya*-?); Y *pīś*, etc. cat; Sh. *wuśūy*- 'to untie'; *š* in Y *ȳišek* 'plough-handle'; *š* in Y, X, Sk., Kl. *sitaš*, etc. 'daughter-in-law'; Sh. *pīš* 'biestings'. In all these words Ir. *ś* goes back to IE. *s*. IE. \**ks* and *qy* apparently yield the same result in Wkh.<sup>1</sup> Thus: Y *tiś*- 'to shave': X, Sk., L. *tūś*-, etc.; Y, W, Sk. *kīś* 'vulva'; L. *peś*- 'to ripen'; Sh., L, Kl. *pšēw*-, etc. 'to return' (\**apačya*-); Sh. *pargōś*- 'to be entangled' (\**pari-guz* + *s*?). Of uncertain origin are: L. *rūś* 'Ovis Poli'; *nerēś* 'boiling over'; *wuśeng* 'entire (bull)' (< \**wyśanaka*?); *ȳiśir* 'threshold'; *mešen* 'along with'; Y, Sh. *diš*-, *diš*- 'to crush' (cf. L. *dešen* 'millstone'); Y, X *məś(ū)* 'ankle' (cf. Sh. *mašin* = Sar.).

*mai* 'sheep, female urial' probably belongs to a dialect of the Yd.—Mj. type (cf. Mj. *mīyo* 'sheep'). *kal(ɪbən)* 'armpit' appears to be of Ishk. origin, although this dialect has now adopted the Prs. form *kaś(viś)*.<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *fril*- 'to crumbe': Ishk. *vrēl*- 'to break'.

There remain to be explained *šād/d* 'six',<sup>3</sup> and *yākš*- 'to boil',

<sup>1</sup> As to Yd.—Mj., cf. § 75.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sar. *bijel* < \**upakaša*-, Sogd. *pkšy* 'side, flank'.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly with dissimilation of sibilants from \**šāz* (cf. Oss. *āzsāz*), with unexplained *z*.

if correct and connected with Av. *yaēš-*. Regarding *žəmak* 'moon', cf. 60.

As to *ž* in groups of consonants cf. § 74.

ž

### Nasals.

47. Initial *m-* and *n-* remain: *mād* 'waist'; *maks* 'fly'; *mərt* 'dead', *m-*, *n-* etc.; *nāu* 'nine'; *nə* 'not'; *naǰd* 'night', etc.

Intervocalic *m* and *n* remain, e.g. in *ǰidīm* 'wheat'; *səmvər* 'yoke'; *-m-*, *-n-* *zem* 'snow'; *ǰəm* 'this'; *būn-* 'to winnow'; *kīn-* 'to draw a sword'; *pūn* 'palm of the hand'.

In secondary contact with *g* (< *k*) *m* and *n* are assimilated into *-ŋ*. Thus: *noŋg* 'name'; *yīŋg* 'raw' (but *yūmj* 'flour' < *\*āmacī-*); *diŋg* 'springe' (but Sar. *domj*); *m<sup>ə</sup>lung* 'middle' (if < *\*madama-*); *daŋg* 'seed', *-uŋg* < *\*ānaka* (f. *-enj*).

*miŋgas* 'sparrow' is dissimilated into *wiŋgās* Sh., *iŋgas* X. Cf. *šivēn* 'rope' < Khow. *šimeni*. A very special case is *dəger* 'nail' (Capus *hindiger*), if < *\*n(d)gōr* < *\*n(a)kōr*.<sup>1</sup>

### Liquids.

48. Initial *r* occurs in *rīcn* 'smoke-hole'; *rūyn* 'ghee', etc.; inter-vocalic *-r-* in *ǰār* 'stone'; *mar-* 'to die', etc.

Ancient *l* is retained in *yāngəl* 'finger'; *liv-* 'to slip' (< *\*sleib-*), *l* while *liǰ-* 'to lick' is probably a *lw*. The etymologies of *lup* 'big'; *namūl-* 'to hem'; *parkōl-* 'to excavate'; *šilāp-* 'to splash'; *wulvn-* 'to shake apricots', etc. are unknown, or uncertain.

We find *l* < *r* in *wolč* 'quail'; *pļöngöšt* 'finger-ring'; *kuṭōl* W 'dagger'. *l* interchanges with *r* in *wēra* Y: *wēla* X 'gums'; *miŋqōr* Y: *miŋqōl* X 'beak'; *xariyōn* X *xilian* Sh. 'nephew'; *palč* Y, X, Sh., Sk.: *parč* Be. 'leaf'. There is apparently a tendency in Wkh. to change *r* into *l* before *č*, and perhaps before *tk* (restitution of *r* in perfect stems?). We find *r* retained in *pərcōd* 'maid'. But this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 42, 77.

word has ancient simple *r*, while *l* in *palč*, *walč*, *walrk*<sup>1</sup> go back to, or form part of, ancient groups of consonants. Cf. the change of *r* > *l* before certain consonants in Saka. Note the insertion of *l* in *šolx* 'branch' (< Prs. *šāx*?).

#### Glottal.

49. Initial *h*- is lost in *wask* 'dry'; *yīr* 'sun' (Av. *hūr*-); *yīnōt* 'dream' *h*- (\**hufnadā*-?); *yoyut* Be. 'groin' (< Av. *haxti*-); *andag* 'slave'; *ce* 'from'. The prefix *ham*- has in many cases been reduced to *m*-, *n*-, which is assimilated to a following consonant.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the general disappearance of *h*- in all neighbouring languages it seems probable that *hūb* 'seven' and *hāt* 'eight' have got their *h* from Prs. But why *hūmi*- 'to be'?

Intervocalic *-h*- is lost in *sīi* 'hare'; *šūi* 'sister'; *nezd*·: *nein*- *h*- (*nieng*) 'to sit', and possibly in *vōin* 'light', if < \**bāhanī*. Cf. \**-hy*- in *đai* 'man, lad'; *kūi* 'who'; *mīy* 'month'. As to *wu'xen* 'blood', cf. § 62.

#### Semivowels.

50. Initial *w*- remains. Thus: *wād* 'watercourse'; *walrk* 'kidney'; *w-* *wīn*- 'to see'; *wūr* 'rain'; *wān*) 'belly'; *wunvk* 'willow'; *wūr*k 'lamb'; *wušūy*- 'to untie', etc. — *w*- is lost through assimilation in *ūf*- Y (analogically *āft*-) 'to weave', but *wōf*- Z, *wuf*- Sh.; *u'sen* X, N 'blood': *wu'xen* Y. Note *šik* 'Wakhi' < \**w(u)šik*.

There is a number of words of unknown origin having initial *w*-, e.g., *wu'ner* 'stable'; *wīnek* 'marmot'; *wuč* 'arrow' (< *ušč* < *išučī*?); *wušeng* 'entire (bull)'; *wižik* 'ibex'.

In *γəš*, *γəš* 'male' (Prs. *gušn* < *varəšna*-) and *γer* 'wool' (if connected with Av. *varənā*-) *w*- has become *γ*-. These words may originally belong to some other dialect, cf. Par. *w* > *γ*- and Saka *wi*- > *gu*- (before labials).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *walrk* 'kidney', § 80.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 76 sq.



51. Intervocalic *-w-* remains in *yāw-* 'to eat'; *čāw-* 'to go'; *drāw-* 'to reap'; *vidāw-* 'to ride'; *rāwez-* 'to fly'; *yawer-* 'to select'; *wasēr-* 'to become cold'; *wazem-* 'to squeeze out'; *wūndr* 'field' (the three last words with *awa-*). In modern final position *āw* often results in a diphthong: *ŷiū* (Z *ŷiw*, Sk. *γiv*) 'cow'; *nīu* 'millrace'; *nāu* 'nine'; *yau* 'that'; *tau* 'thee'; *žāu* 'grain'; *šəu*, *šēw* 'horn'; *vrau* 'eyebrow'. Cf. *īu*, *īw* 'one'.

Between Wkh. *ī* and a following consonant *w* is elided. Thus: *yīt* 'he eats'; *drīt* 'he reaps'; *čīt* 'he goes'. The development probably was *awa* > *au* > *ī*.<sup>1</sup> But cf. also *pīt* 'he drinks' (*pōv-*), *đīt* 'it burns' (*đāw-*, with secondary *w*).

52. Initial *y-* is retained in *yāw-* 'to eat'; *yūm* 'twin'; *yač* 'twig'; *y-yašk* 'trained, taught', and possibly in *yīrk* 'barley'; *yūnd-* 'to take away'; *yaz* 'ice'. Regarding *antərč* sister-in-law, v. Voc. s.v.

*žāu* 'grain, provisions' is of foreign origin (cf. Khov. *žō*). *žōd-* Sh. 'to sow' (Sar. *yēd-*) is probably identical with *žed-* Sh. 'to strew, sprinkle' (Sar. *ŷied-*). The derivation of this verb is uncertain.

53. Intervocalic *-y-* appears in *pūtmiy-* 'to command'; *zwāy-* 'to roll up'; *sədūy-* 'to appear'; *ŷiŷ-* 'coire'; *rami-* Sh. 'to command'; *wušūy-* 'to untie'. Cf. also *trūi* 'three'; *pāi* 'curds'; *wiyin* 'pass' (*\*wi(y)-ayana-?*). *-y-* was elided in *mədīr* 'noon' < *\*madya-ayara-*; *pezin*, *pīzən* 'udder' prob. < *\*payah-zana-*; *tī* 'thy' < *\*taya?* As for *pēi* 'paddle', *s<sup>h</sup>trei* 'female' v. Voc. s.vv.

Note *dediŷ-* 'to look after': Av. *diđay-*.

#### Prothetic *w-* and *y-*.

54. Wkh. has a tendency to develop prothetic semivowels before ancient initial vowels, in accordance with all neighbouring Ir. dialects.

Thus, before original *u*, we find a prothetic *w-* in *wəsk* 'dry'; *wūč* 'high'. In *wuz* 'I' unstressed *a* was changed to *u* at an early

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *au* > *ī*, § 99.

date, and in *wurzg* 'right' *r* became *wr*. But note *wüzem*- 'to bring' (< \**ā-jamaya*-?); *wūdg*, *ūdg*, etc. 'to-day' (< \**adyaka*??).

Prothetic *y*- is much more frequent, and numerous examples will be found in the Voc. Cf., e.g., *yāngəl* 'finger'; *yupk* 'water'; *yukš* 'male ibex' (with development of *y*- before the change of the vowel into *u*); *yurm* 'forearm'; *yaš* 'horse'; *yīšn* 'iron'; *yix* 'ice', etc., and even the Prs. lw. *yaf'ta* 'week'. In *yīr* 'sun' < *hūr*-, and *yīnōt* 'sleep' < \**ūn*- < *hufn*- the vowel must have moved towards \**ū*, *i* before the prothetic *y*- was added.

No prothetic semivowel appears before the unstressed initial vowels in *andav* 'fever', *andag* 'slave'. The absence of *y*- in *īu* 'one' (besides *yīw*) is probably also due to lack of stress. In *hīb* 'seven', *hat* 'eight' the Prs. *h* (v. § 49) has prevented the development of a prothetic *y* or *w*.

### Groups of Consonants.

#### First Component an Affricate.

55. Ancient *čy* (< *čiy*, *čay*) apparently results in *č* (or *č*?). Cf. X, Kl. *čy* *čāw*- 'to go': Sk. *čāv*-, Sh. *čau*-; Y, Kl. *rəč*-, X *reč*- 'to go': Sk. *rəč*-, Sh. *rač*-; Sk. *wərəč*-, Sh. *wareč*- 'to remain'; Y, X *pə/ičetk*, Sh. *pöčetk* 'cooked' (from *pačaya*-, cf. Sh. *pöč*-; but cf. L. *peš*- 'to ripen' < *pašya*- < \**pačya*-).<sup>1</sup> Cf. regarding *sy*, § 72.

#### First Component a Voiced Stop (or Fricative).

56. As to the derivation of *ḍəyd* 'daughter' from \**dux̄tā* or *dugdā*, *gd* cf. Yd.—Mj. § 87.

The derivation of *žārž*, etc. 'milk' < \**gžara-čī* is probable, but *gž* not certain. On the other hand we find *šuw*- 'to gnaw' (cf. Ishk. *šāw*-) corresponding to Prs. *šūwīdan*, etc. (< \**gž*-?).

<sup>1</sup> v. § 46.

*xūyūn* Sh. 'husband's sister' (Yd. *xuyēyeno*); *pidīng*, *pidn*- 'flamed up' probably contain *n* < *γn*. *rūyn*, *rūyən* 'ghee, grease' is a lw., or has in any case got its vowel from Prs. or Ishk. No reliance can be placed upon the retention of *γ* in the place-name *Šīyinōn* 'Shughnan'. As to *ǰk* < *γn* + *k*, cf. § 61, and as to *γn* in past stems v. § 152.

The only certain instance of *gr* is *γ<sup>2</sup>rūng* 'heavy'. *gr*

Ir. *d* (*ḍ*) is assimilated to a following *n* in *ne-in*- 'sat down' (*nezd*-); *rənn*-, *rən*- 'fled' (*rəḍ*-); *rasen*- 'broke' (*rased*-, v. *rəstəv*-); *zūbōn*- 'burst' (*zūbed*-, v. s.v. *zubiit*-).

57. Ancient *dr*- is preserved, or, more probably, *ḍr* has been differentiated *dr* into *dr*. Thus: *d<sup>2</sup>rev*- 'to sew'; *driip*- 'to scratch'; *drāw*- 'to reap', etc.

It is possible that *-dr*- was transposed into *rd* in *wīrdīna* L. 'clear sky', cf. Skr. *vīdhra*-, etc. Cf. also *vardenz*- 'to press down' < *\*abi-dranj*-?

Ir. *dw*-, through *ḍv*-, became *b*.<sup>1</sup> Thus *būi* 'two'; *bət* 'again'; *dw* *bār* 'door'; *būn*- 'to winnow'; *bāj* 'thick'; *bərīn* 'knee'(?). In postvocalic position *v*: *savand*- 'to throw away' (< *\*hača-dwan*-?), and *-əv* pers. suff. 2 pl. < *\*-dwam*, *\*-dwai*.

As to *-dy* in *mād/ḍ* 'waist', etc., cf. § 37. *dy*

58. Ir. *bd* is possibly represented by *vd* in *d<sup>2</sup>revd* 'sewed'; *nədevd* *bd* 'affected' (v. Voc. s.vv. *d<sup>2</sup>rev*-, *nəḍavn*-). The derivation of *vədek* 'path' is uncertain.

Ir. *bz* has become unvoiced (through analogy with other verbs) *bz* in *nədevs*-, *nəḍefs*- 'to affect', etc. V. Voc. s.v. *nəḍavn*-, which furnishes an instance of ancient *bn*. *bn*

Initial *br* results in *v(ə)r*-: *vərau* 'eyebrow'; *varīn*- 'to shear'; *br* *vareš*- 'to fry'; *v<sup>2</sup>rit* 'brother'. In postvocalic position we find metathesis in *sērv* Sh. 'hole'. Scarcely *mūr* 'cloud' < *\*amawr* < *\*ham-abra*-.

<sup>1</sup> After the sonorization of *-ḍw*-, cf. § 65.

*First Component a Surd Fricative.*

59. In spite of its preservation of intervocalic surd stops and of *š*, Wkh. follows the other Pamir languages in the voicing of the groups *ft* and *xt*.

Thus  $\gamma d < xt$ : *nayd*, *nāyd* 'night'; *vāyd* 'night-mare'; *teyd* *xt* 'shrap'; *tayd*, etc. 'went'; *rəyd* 'went, moved' (*rəč*); "yoghut" Be. (*\*yoy<sup>2</sup>d?*) 'groin'. Note also the lw. *coyd* Sh. 'when'  $< *cə-waxt$ . The etymology of *šəyd* 'new' is unknown.

Secondary formations are the past stems: *tōčt* Sh. 'went'; *pacd-*, *pōšt-* 'cooked'; *čukt-* 'beat' (*čuk-*).

Wkh.  $vd < ft$  (*bd?*) appears in a number of past stems. Thus: *čavd* 'picked' (*čip-*); *pacvd-* 'cooked' (*paciv-*), and other causatives.<sup>1</sup> Secondary preterites are, e.g., *āft* 'wove' (*ūf-*); *ročopt* 'slept' (*rečup-*); *dit* 'burnt' (*đāw-*).

*hūb* 'seven' is irregular. A metathesis of *\*avd* into *\*adv*  $>$  (*h*)*ūb* is unlikely.

60. Ir. *xš-* occurs in *šūp* 'night's halt'; *šāy-* 'to kill', and possibly in *xš* *šafš*, *šāfš* 'hair'. *šād* 'six'; *šipk* 'rod' probably go back to forms in *xšw-*. Cf. also *šui* 'moraine' (Skr. *kšaya-* 'decay'?).

*kšüy-*, *kšən-* 'to hear' can have nothing to do with Av. *xšnā-*, as suggested Air.Wb. s.v. It is possibly derived  $< *g(u)šaya-$ .

Intervocalic *-xš(w)-* appears as *š* or *š* in *γ<sub>Δ</sub>šk* L. 'taught', *yečk* Sh. *-xš-* 'learning' ( $< yuxšaka-$ ); *yač* 'twig' (*\*yaxša-?*); *Wuč* 'Wakhan' ( $< *waxšu-$ ); *γəšt* L. 'agreement' ( $< Av. āxšti-$ ); *višiv-* 'to sweep' (*\*abi-xšwaib-?*); *rešip* L. 'whip' ( $< fra-xšwaipa-?$ ).

*rakš* 'grey, brown' is probably adapted from Prs. *vaxš-*—*vrokš* Sh. 'male Ovis Poli' is of unknown origin; *drukš* 'bull' may go back to *\*drušk*  $< *druždk$   $< *dṛždaka-$  (v. Voc. s.v.). *yukš* 'male ibex' may have been influenced by the ending of these two names of male, horned animals, and go back through *\*yuks* to *\*yusk*  $< *āsuka-$ . A derivation of *bakš* 'husband's brother'  $< *ham-baxša-ka-$ , or *\*ham-paxšaka-* is very uncertain. *γ<sub>Δ</sub>kš-* 'to boil' can hardly be derived from Av. *yaēš-*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 149.

Ir. *xšn* was apparently simplified into *xn* after the change of *xšn* original *xn* into *ɣn*, if *ruxn*, etc., 'white' and *rəxnīg*, *rəxnīγ* 'fire' are not early lw.s.

The only instance of *xs* is *söxs-* 'to pass' (lw.?). But cf. Voc. s.v. *xs pīcev-*.

61. Ir. *xm* is sonorized into *ɣm* as in other Pamir dialects: *taɣm*, *xm taɣm* 'grain'. *tuxm* is a lw.

Similarly *xn* > *ɣn* (*gn*) in the following past stems: *pamegn-* Sh. *xn* 'dressed' (*pūmec-*); *rapagn-* Sh. 'lost the way' (*rapic-*); *waregn-* Sh., *wərəɣn-* Sk. 'remained' (*wərəč-*); *đögn*, *đöɣn* 'milked' (*đič-*). Possibly also *vardeɣn-* Sh. 'pressed down' (*vardenz-*) and *šögn-* Sh. 'filled into' (*šönz-*).

In secondary contact with *k* we find *šk* (< \**ɣ(n)k*) in: *warešk*, *pamašk*, etc.

62. Ir. *xr* is changed into *kr* in *səkr* 'red'. Cf. the development of *xr* *θr* and *fr*. This change is probably connected with that of surd fricatives into stops in other positions.<sup>1</sup> Note also the retention of *vr-*, *ɣr-*.—*čerām* 'threshing-ground' (Yd. *xurom*) cannot go back to \**xrama-*. Kl. *xəriüθ-* 'to snore' may be an onomatopoeic word.

Ir. *xw* < *hw* has lost its labial element and results in *š*. Thus: *xw* *šūi* 'sister'; *šil* Sh. 'perspiration'; *šān-* 'to speak'; *šūnen* 'own'; *šat* 'self'; *šūrs* (*xūrs* Sk.) 'father-in-law'; *šaš* (*xāš* Sk.) 'mother-in-law'; *rešup-* 'to sleep'; *wušən* 'blood' (< \**wahwani-*). *šām-* 'to descend' probably has ancient *x-*, in spite of Khow. *xwam-*, *xam-* (Ir. lw.).

*xəđörg* 'water-mill' is a lw.;<sup>2</sup> *xöfs-* 'to fall asleep' is borr. from Prs., and also *xūžg* 'sweet' may be of non-Wkh. origin.<sup>3</sup> Note *šilian* Sh.: *xariyōn* Y, Z, etc. 'nephew' (sister's son?).

The only possible example of \**xw* < *kw* is *ruk* 'forehead', if < \**hraxwa-* = Prs. *rux*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 42.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 30.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 82.

63. If *ḍin* 'hot' and *yīnōt* 'dream' go back to *\*ḍafna-* and *\*hufna-*, *fn* has been completely assimilated, in contradistinction to *βn* (*bn*) (only recorded, however, in the present base *nedavn-*).

The prefix *fra-* has resulted in *ra/e-* in: *rægūm* 'heifer' (*\*fragāmā*); *fr-* *regiš* 'beard' (*\*fra-gaiša-*); *rōγət* 'young she-goat' (*\*fra-gatū*); *rami-* 'to command' (*\*fra-māy-*); *ramuš-* 'to forget' (*\*fra-muš-*); *rapic-* 'to lose the way'; *rūr-* 'to stretch out', etc. (*\*fra-ar-*); *rəst-əv*, *rased-* 'to break' (*\*fra-sid-*); *rešip* 'whip' (*\*fra-əsūwaipa-*); *rešup-* 'to sleep' (*\*fra-hwap-*); cf. also *rešpuk* 'bobbin, shuttle'; *rəwār* 'day' (*\*fra-wahra*). — *fəryəmč* 'she-calf, 1 y. old' and *frīl-* 'to crumble' are not true Wkh. forms.

On the analogy of *tr*, *kr* < *ḍr*, *xr* we might expect to find *pr* in originally stressed syllables. But the derivation of *puru-* 'to wash' < *\*praw-* is uncertain on account of Sar. *paro-* (Wkh. lw.?), and Sar. *parōd*, Or. *perōd*, etc. correspond to Wkh. *prūt* 'first, foremost', which has been compared by Geiger with Skr. *pravātā*, but which is more probably connected with Av. *paouraya-*, Old Prs. *paruviyata-*. *p<sup>o</sup>rīč* 'worm' (cf. Sgl. *p<sup>o</sup>čuk*) has certainly nothing to do with Par. *ruč*, Kafiri waig. *pruč* 'flea' < *\*pruči*.

On the other hand *rīn* 'shelf' (*rōn* Sar.; cf. Sgl. *frūn* 'plank') seems to show that *fr-* was assimilated in all positions. I am unable to explain the relation between *v<sup>o</sup>rōk* 'to-morrow' and W.Yghn. *f<sup>o</sup>rōk*.

Intervocalic *-fr-* possibly results in *-rf-*. Cf. *γərf*, *γ(ž)erf* (= *γ̣-?*) *-fr-* L. 'fireplace' < Av. *gufra-* 'deep'?

Ir. *fšy* occurs in *təš* 'steam' < *\*tafšya-*.

64. Ir. *ḍr* results in *tr*: *trūi* 'three'; *pətr* 'son'; *ḍitr* 'sickle'; *žitr* 'thread' *ḍr* (*\*γaiſtra-*); *witrin-* 'to sky' (*\*wi-ḍrahna-*, or *\*wi-trhna-?*). The etymology of *dētər* Sk. 'memory' is unknown. *əatr* 'parasol' is borrr. from IA, and the same is the case with *ēitr* 'spindle' (the Wkh. form corresponding to Yd.—Mj. *čēša*, etc., would be something like *\*cīš*).<sup>1</sup> Also *nutr* 'augury' and *trakč* 'bitter', *trāč* Sh. 'bad tasting' are probably IA. lw.s.—*tor* Sh. 'net' is of Prs. or Ishk. origin. It is, perhaps, possible to derive *tirīč* L. 'dark' from *\*taḍrya-čī*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, § 70.

As to *yōtr* 'nest', v. s.v. *yod*. *t̄rā* 'thither' probably contains ancient *\*tarah*.

65. Ir. *ḍn* appears to have resulted in *t(n)* in *haret*, *arat* St. 'cubit', but *ḍn* this sound-change is phonetically improbable. Cf. *bārīn* 'knee' (< *\*dwaridna* < *\*dwaridra*??).

Intervocalic *ḍw* was sonorized into *ḍw* > *ḍv*, from which *b*:<sup>1</sup> *cābūr* *ḍw* 'four'; *cābrēm* 'four days hence'.

### First Component a Sibilant.

66. Ir. *sk-* remains in *skīd* 'skull-cap'; *s̄ken* 'puppy'; *sək* (*sk-əm*) 'on, *sk* above'. Cf. also *skāf-* 'to trip'; *skōrd* 'bridge', and *skurf* 'rough', which may contain ancient *\*sk-* or *\*us-k-*.

As in other Ir. dialects the sandhi-form has prevailed in some cases: *škop* 'castrated (bull)'; *škūrg-* 'to seek'; *škūv-* 'to catch a cold'; *škōrč* 'burning coal'; *škāndiv-* 'to break'.

67. Ir. *st* remains. Thus: *s̄tīy-* 'to send'; *stau-* 'to praise'; *stīn* *st* 'post, pillar'; *sitār* 'star' (prob. lw.). The etymology of *stōrs* 'plough-share' is unknown. Postvocalic *st* occurs in: *pīst* 'bark, skin'; *nāst* 'is not'; *yost* 'fowl-house' (*\*ā-stā*?); *vāst* 'bound'; *zirest* 'turned in a lathe' (*zirānd-*).

Wkh. *šč* in *yašč* (*yarč*, *ya-ič*) 'bone', and *xašč* (*xaišč*, *xa-ič*) 'damp, wet' corresponds to e.g. Yd. *st* in *yastē*, *xusto* (Sgl. *xāst*).—*\*sti/y* was possibly palatalized into *\*s't'* > *šč*. Cf. also *šēč* 'bread'; *mič* 'fist, double handful': Yd.—Mj. *xisto*, *mišč(a)*. *vašč* 'milk-pail' might be derived from *\*basti-*.

68. Ir. *sp* appears in *s̄pūndr* 'ploughshare'; *sprəy* 'flower'; *sprež-* 'to *sp* blossom'; *s̄pərdān̄j* 'flea'; *spān-* 'to fill up' (*\*us-parna*?). *sipask* 'rafter' is of unknown origin. Intervocalic *-sp-* occurs in *naspar-* 'to thread down'; *yīsp* 'shoulder' (of uncertain etymology).

69. Wkh., as well as Saka, distinguishes between ancient *sp* and *sw*. *sw*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 57.

This latter group results in *š*.<sup>1</sup> We are here in the presence of an important and very ancient isoglott which connects Wkh. and Saka.

After early Ir. \**ś*, or \**ć* (< IE *k̂*) *w* was palatalized into *ü*, and this sound, in its turn, helped to preserve the palatal character of the preceding sibilant, with which it was assimilated.

Examples are: *šač* 'dog'; *šiš* 'louse'; *yaš* 'horse'; *yīšn* 'iron', and probably *pšīn* Sh. 'patch' (cf. Yd. *paspōn*, etc.). Burushaski *šandi* 'cut crops lying on the ground' might possibly be a lw. from a lost Wkh. word connected with Saka *śśandaa* 'earth' (< \**swantakā*).<sup>2</sup>

70. Wkh. *wūč* 'very high' may go back to *usča*. But the same form *šc* is also found in Ishk.

Initial *str* is retained in *s'trei* 'female', cf. Or. *s'trēj*. But in *str* intervocalic position the group was simplified into *sr*, from which *š*. Thus: *wiš* 'straw' (< \**wastra*). Cf. *yaš* 'mouth' < \**gaštra*. *čitr* 'spinning-wheel' with early dissimilation < *čā(s)tra*, or, probably, borr. from IA.<sup>3</sup>

71. Assimilation of *sr* > *š* is common to many Ir. languages. Wkh. *sr* examples are: *šəu* 'horn'; *šīn* 'anus'; *šūn* 'hip' (\**srauni-čī* ?);<sup>4</sup> *yašk* 'tear'; *āšaš* 'mother-in-law'; *šiš*, *šičn* 'near' (\**srīšna* 'clinging to'?). The etymology of *wəšiy* 'to fear': Orm. *γ<sup>u</sup>aš<sup>r</sup>* is uncertain. *širāw* Sh. 'to tell one's beads' (< *srāvaya*) must be a lw.

Note the metathesis of secondary *sr* in *šurs* 'father-in-law'. Cf. *pīrz* 'evening' (Voc. s.v.).

Ir. *sn* was assimilated into the surd group *sn̥*, from which *st* in *stāč* 'daughter-in-law'. Cf. also *šn* > *št* in *pəšt* 'heel' (lw.), *yīšt* Be. 'iron', and *Langar Kisht* (Curzon) = *Kiš(i)n*. Internal *sn*, on the other hand, was sonorized into *zn* (*yāzn* 'inflated skin' < \**ā-snā*), from which *zd* (*wuzdi* 'to wash' < \**awa-snāya*).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Saka *śś* (= *ś*).

<sup>2</sup> V. Bailey, BSOS, VII, 294.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 64.

<sup>4</sup> But why *ū* < *au*?

<sup>5</sup> Possibly a lw.



72. Assimilation of *sy* > *š* has taken place in *diš-* 'to know' (\**han-* *sy* *disya-* or \**han-dišša-*?); *nāš-* 'to be lost'; *wəšk* 'calf'. I heard *š* in *kaš* 'boy': Sk., etc. *kāš* (Av. *kasyah-*), and in *regiš* 'beard': Sk., etc. *rəyīš* (\**fra-gaisya-*); L. gives *š* in *peḍemeš-* 'to swell' (\**pati-dmašya-*?) and in *tēš/š* 'empty': Sk., Sh. *təš*. All sources have *š* in *šū* 'black' (< *syāva-*?). I am unable to explain this interchange between *š* and *ś*.

Cf., however, *maž* 'me' (if < \**mazyā*); *žə* 'my' (if < \**az-ya-*), *zy* and *raž*, *ražək* 'sitting dais'; *yōž-* 'to bear' (< *ā-zaya-??*). V. § 55 regarding \**čy*.

Ir. *zg* possibly in *magž* Be. 'brain'.

Ir. *zd* is found in *nezd-* 'to sit down'. *wāst* W 'fat' is an Ishk. *zd* word.

Ir. *zb* remains, through differentiation, in *zübed-* 'to burst' (v. s.v. *zb* *zvbüt-*) < \**uz-bid-*. But note *zwāy-* 'to roll up' < *uz-wāy-*, without change of the semivowel into a fricative. This may, however, be due to influence from the uncompounded verb. The word for 'tongue' does not go back to a form in \**zv* < *zw*.<sup>1</sup> The etymology of *pizvāni* 'morning meal' is unknown.

Ir. *zm* possibly in *rīzəm*, *rīzm* 'soot', cf. *vezg* 'saline efflorescence' *zm* (\**rīzaka-*).

Ir. *zr* only in the compound *zərend-* 'to scrape' (< \**uz-rand-*). *zr*

73. Wkh. *šk* < *śk* in *wəšk* 'dry' is unexplained. *pəšk* 'dung' is a lw. *šk*

We find, however, also *st* < *št* in *məst* 'fist',<sup>2</sup> and possibly in *pöst* 'parched grain', Shgh. *pišt*, Ishk. *put*, Par. *pīšt* (but Prs. *pist*). Preterites of the type *nōst* 'lost' (*nīs-* tr.) are secondary, and so is *nāšt* 'was lost' (*nāš-* intr.). But *wāšt* 'fell', *nēšt* 'went out' and *wīšt* '(the sun) set' (*wāz-*, *nīwīz-*, *wīz-*) have the appearance of being ancient forms. *əštīr*, etc. 'camel' is probably a lw. A third development of *št* is into *t*: Thus (*h*)*ät* 'eight' (poss. an Ishk. lw.); *ḍetk* 'brick' < *ḍīstik* < *ḍīsti-ka-*, cf. the early Wkh. lw. in Shina *lištik*). A

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Voc. s.v. *zik*.

<sup>2</sup> But *mič* Sh. 'double handful' (< *muštīyah* pl.), cf. § 67. Sh. gives both *mōst* and *mič* as corresponding to Sar. *mut*. Cf. Bur. *mūčī*, *muštī* 'plough-handle' from IA.

derivation of *büt* Be. 'clothes' from *\*ham-puṣṭi-* is of course extremely uncertain.

I am unable to explain the diversity of the development of Ir. *št* in Wkh. It will be noticed that *məst*, *pöst* (and *wəsk* 'dry') have IE *s*, while *wāšt*, etc. contain an ancient palatal. It would, however, be unsafe to assume that Wkh. should have retained dental *s* in the groups *\*u/ist*, *\*u/isk*.<sup>1</sup>—*hāt* 'eight' might be an Ishk. lw. But Shina *lišṭik* which can, for geographical reasons, scarcely have been borrowed from an early Ishk. form, shows that the change from *št* > *t* must have taken place also in Wkh. Cf. also *pert* 'animal's back' < *\*prṣṭi-*.

74. Ir. *šp* is possibly contained in *wəšp* 'plough-pole', v. Voc. s.v. *sp*  
 As to *šn* v. above, § 71. *šm* is sonorized in *čəžm* 'eye'; cf. *žəmak* *šn*, *šm*  
 'moon' (v. Voc. s.v.). I am unable to explain Sk. *taxm* 'thirsty'.  
 As to *šy* in *pəš-* 'to ripen'; *pišew-* 'to return' cf. § 46.  
 We find Ir. *ž*, in *nežyar-* 'to swallow', *neždun* 'weeding'. *žg*, *žd*

#### First Component a Nasal.

75. Although Wkh. has retained ancient intervocalic tenues, we find that sonorization has taken place after a nasal. At any rate there is no certain instance of *nt* in the scanty material available to me.<sup>2</sup>  
 Examples of *nt* are: *dendik* 'tooth'; *mānd-* Y 'to rub' (*mant-*?); *nt*  
*žimānd-* 'to wring'; *wūndr* 'field' (Av. *avantara-*); *tond* Be. 'thread'  
 (*\*tantu-*); *kənd* 'woman, wife' (Skt. *kāntā-*?). *wīnd* 'saw' is a secondary  
 formation. *šidim* 'wheat' probably goes back to a form *\*γ(n)dīm*  
 < *\*γ(a)ntūm*. In *witrišt* 'shies' (*witrin-*) *št* < *nt* is of secondary  
 origin.—Final *-nt* is reduced in the verbal ending 3 pl. *-ən*.  
 76. A possible example of *mp* is *büt-* 'to overthrow' (Sar. *imbat-*) < *mp*  
*\*ham-pataya-*. Cf. *büt* Be. 'clothes' < *\*ham-puṣṭi-*(?) and *bakš*  
 'husband's brother' (< *\*ham-paxšaka-*?). *kəmpəl* 'blanket' is of IA  
 origin.

<sup>1</sup> As for *iš*, *uš*, cf. § 46. Note also *sk* > *šk*.

<sup>2</sup> *antərə* L. 'sister-in-law' is of unknown origin.

No certain instance of *ŋk* occurs. Secondary *n + k* results in *ŋk* *ŋg* in the suffix *-uŋg*, etc. Cf. § 29.

It is possible that *giz-* 'to rise' goes back to *\*ŋgiz-* < *\*ŋkiz-* < *\*han-xaiz-*.

The numeral *pānz*, *pānj* 'five' is probably a genuine Wkh. form. *nč* *nč* may also be contained in some verbs in *nj/z*: *vardenz-* 'to press down', *ḡenj-* 'to fill'. But cf. *nemenj-* L. 'to dance' (*\*ni-mančya-??*). Secondary *n + č* results in *nj*, cf. § 79.

77. Examples of *ŋg*, *nd* and *nj* are: *yāŋgəl* 'finger'; *kānd-* 'to laugh'; *ŋg*, *nd*, *nj* *vānd-* 'to bind'; *škəndiv-* 'to break'; *ranj**k* Sh. 'fast, light'.

*vārənd-* 'to abuse' is of unknown origin, and *rānd-* 'to give', *nūnd-* 'to plant', etc. may have a secondary nasal in the present base.

Initial *\*nd-* resulted in *d-*: *diš-* 'to know' < *\*handisya-*, cf. *ŋg* > *g-*, and *mb/p-* > *b-*. Cf. *dəger* 'finger' < *\*n(d)ger* (§ 47). Note *tūngur* Sh. 'thunder' (v. s.v. *tandūr*) with dissimilation.

Ir. *mb* apparently was less resistant than *nd*, *ŋg*, and was assimilated *mb* into *m*. Thus: *vizam-* Sh. 'to rub into powder' (Sar. *vizāmb-*); *ḡām-* 'to descend' (Prs. *xambīdan*); cf. *pūtrūm(b)-* Sh. 'to scare away, arrest'.

But in secondary initial position *mb-* may have resulted in *b-*, just as *mp-*, etc. There is, however, no certain example, *bāi* Sh. 'cave' (Ishk. *ambi*) might have original *mp*.

78. It is possible that *\*anḡ* developed through *\*aḡ* into *aḡ* > *at*. *nḡ* Cf. *raḡmət* 'chewing the cud' < *\*raumanḡa-*, and *mutr* 'augury', which may, however, be a lw. But note *mānd-*, *ḡimānd-*. The derivation of *yīḡūn* 'bridle' from *\*ānḡana-* is extremely doubtful. Cf. also § 42, about Khow. *auzetu*.

At any rate *n* appears to have been lost before a sibilant: *ḡus ns* 'wasp' (< *\*dansa-*); *peḡemeš-* 'to swell' (*\*pati-dmansya-*), and possibly also *was* 'roof-beam' < *\*wansa-*.

79. Ir. *nm* was dissimilated into *rm*: *čarm* 'watercourse' (< *\*čan-man-*); *nm* *pūtḡārm* 'wooden trough' (< *\*pati-hwān-man-?*). Regarding *sārm* 'dung', v. Voc. s.v.

In secondary contact we find *wōzōnd* and *wazdmd* from *wuzem- m + d* 'to bring', etc.

As for *m + k*, c. v. §§ 29, 33, and cf. *somj* Be. 'hoof'. *m + k, c*

*First Component a Liquid.*

80. Ir. *rk* is probably preserved in *kerk* 'fowl', and *yark* 'work'. In *rk* secondary contact we find *rk* in *purk* 'mouse'; *würk* 'lamb', etc.

But note *pārg* 'ashes' (Sgl. *park*).

Ir. *rt* is retained in *ǰürt*- Sh. 'to collect, to tuck up one's sleeves' *rt* (*\*gart-*); *wert-* 'to knead'; *würt* 'mill-stone'; *därt* 'manure'; *tört* 'the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow' (cf. *tätvart* 'the year before last' < *\*trta-*); *turt* 'ford' (Khow. lw.?), and in the past stems *naspart*- Sh. 'tread down'; *wasērt-* 'cooled' (*wasēr-*); *märt* 'died' (*marī-*); *kärt* 'did' (*cār-*). The etymology of *saṅgurt* L. 'beetle', and of *avart* 'span' is unknown.

In a number of past stems, most of which have exact counterparts in Sar., we find *rd*. Thus *wōdōrd* 'held' (*wīdār*); *škūrd* 'sought', etc. Influence from Sar. is not excluded. But cf. also *derd* L. 'carved'; *wīrdān* L. 'mill-wheel' (lw.?).—*skōrd* 'bridge'; *nikerd* 'central part of a room'; *kard* Sh. 'crooked' (Sar. *čerd*) are of unknown origin. As for *pārd* 'last year' v. § 30.

*wolč* 'quail' prob. < *\*woltč* < *\*wartiči*, cf. Ishk. *wōrc*. Prs. *lexx-walč* must be a dialect form. We find a change of *rt* > *lt* also in *walk* (*welk* L., etc.) 'kidney', cf. Sgl. *wolk*. Cf. the Saka development of *rt* > *l* before a consonant, and v. § 48.

*kəž* 'knife'<sup>1</sup> is very strange, but might perhaps be an early adaptation of Ishk. *\*kēr* (> *kīl*), with substitution of *ž* for *r*, a sound unknown to Wkh.

There is no example of ancient *rč*. *pərčōd* 'girl' may go back to *rč* *\*pari-č*, v. Voc. s.v.—Cf. also *škōrč* 'coal'; *yōrč* 'part of floor'.

81. If *cār* Sh. 'kite' (Sar. *cārγ*) is a correct and genuine form *γ* has *rγ* been dropped. In *sprəž* 'flower' (cf. Av. *sparəya-*) the *r* has been

<sup>1</sup> I do not know what sounds Bi.'s '*kurej*' is intended to express.

transposed.—*merg* L., *marg* Sh. 'female Ovis Poli' and *mingas*, etc. 'sparrow' are probably lw.s.<sup>1</sup>

Ir. *rd* occurs in *wuserd* 'this year'; *sērdingī* 'belonging to this year'; *word* 'tripe' (Av. *varəduva-* 'soft'); *peterd-* 'to spring from one seed'; and possibly in *səpərdānj* 'flea' (v. Voc.). Regarding *d* for *ḍ* cf. § 37. *gerdān* 'neck' is a Prs. lw., and *vardenz-* 'to press down' probably goes back to a root in *d-*. Some of the words mentioned under *rt* may contain ancient *rd*.

Wkh. *drev-* 'to sew' goes back to *\*drb-*. rb

Wkh. *γaf* 'much' probably corresponds to Sogd. *γarf*, with loss of *r* in an accessory word. *skurf* Y 'rough' is of unknown origin. As to *γerf* 'fireplace' v. § 63. rf

82. Ir. *rs* remains unassimilated as in Yd.—Mj. Thus: *purs-* 'to ask'; *purs* 'rib'; *ḍirs* 'goat's hair'. rs

Also *rz* remains: *cārzn* 'awl'; *furz* 'birch'; *durz-* 'to seize'; *lāmərz* 'sloping down of a field'; *mərz* 'hungry'; *namurzg* 'rake'; *vərz* 'long'; *vōrz* 'pillow'. Cf. also *ǰərz*, rhyming with and probably identical in meaning to Prs. *čarz* 'bustard'. From *\*hwarza/uka-* we should expect Wkh. *\*ǰurzg*,<sup>2</sup> and *xūžg* 'sweet' is probably of Ishk. origin.—Note *mōrǰ* L. 'dew', and *yārs/z*, etc. 'juniper'.

But *rš* appears to have been assimilated. The examples are, however, not clear. Thus: *taǰ* (*tāx* Sh., *taxm* Sk.) 'thirsty'; *γəš* 'male' (lw.?). *wušəng* 'uncastrated bull' (*\*wṛšanaka-*, but note *š*). *xaš-* 'to pull' is common to most Pamir dialects, and *ramuš-* 'to forget' may contain ancient *-uš*.<sup>3</sup> rš

The only example of *ršt* is *pert* L. 'back of an animal'. *purst* *ršt* 'asked' is a secondary formation, and *kōšt* Sh. 'cultivated' (*kür-*) is probably influenced by Prs.

But *ržd* has been assimilated in *dežd* 'seized' (*durz-*). Cf. the treatment of *žd*.

83. Before an *m* Ir. *r* has been retained in *yurm* 'forearm'. But from *rm*, *rn*

<sup>1</sup> From Kafiri? V. Voc. s.vv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 62. Also Psht. distinguishes between *\*rš*, *\*ršt* > *ž*, *š* and *\*rs*, *\*rst* > *št*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 46.

*rn*, which has been assimilated into *n* in most neighbouring Ir. languages, we find *r* in *mur* 'apple' (Sar. *mān*, etc).<sup>1</sup> The derivation of *spān* 'to fill up (of a river)' from *\*us-prna-* is very uncertain (note pret. *spāt*). The retention of the *n* of the present suffix would, however, be possible, even if *rn* became *r(r)* in other positions. Cf. the parallel development in Saka. *pūn* 'palm of the hand' has Ir. *n*, not *rn*. *palč* 'leaf' possibly from *\*parč*<sup>2</sup> < *\*parnačī*.

In secondary contact *r* + *n* appears to have resulted in *ndr* (< *\*nr*), if *s<sup>2</sup>pāindr* 'ploughshare' is to be derived from *\*spārana-*.

### Assimilation.

84. Numerous cases of assimilation of various kinds have been brought to notice in the preceding paragraphs. Others will be mentioned in connection with the reduction of hard groups of consonants, which takes place before the *k-* suffix of perfect stems and before *t* in pres. 3 sg. Cf. also *welk* < *wātk* 'kidney'; *ǰat* 'did' < *\*g(ǰ)ǰat*; *sambōnak* 'pellet-bow' < *saṅbānak*.

### Dissimilation and Differentiation.

85. Dissimilation of nasals occurs in *lāmərz* L. 'slope of a field' (if < *\*ni-marza-*); *lamurzg* L. < *namurzg* Sh. 'rake', *san'dāl* 'anvil' < *sindōn*. Cf. also *yamān* Kl. 'one another' (*\*(y)an-an?*), and *šiven* 'rope' < Khow. *šimenī*.

Loss of *r* through dissimilation is probably found in *tətvārt* 'the year before last' (< *\*tərt<sup>o</sup>*), and possibly in *pərčōd*, *pürčōd* 'girl', if from *\*parčar*, cf. Skr. *paričarikā-*.

Note also *dediŷ-* 'to look at' < *\*dediŷ-*. But *lədōw(ak)* Kl. 'to give' < *\*dada-?*

A clear case of differentiation is the change of *ǰr*, *xr* > *tr*, *kr*.<sup>3</sup> In *dr-* the differentiation has perhaps been preventive.

<sup>1</sup> But Saka *rr* < *rn*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *wolč*, § 80.

<sup>3</sup> V. §§ 62, 64.—Ir. *\*pāni-* 'palm of the hand' < IA?

### *Metathesis and Interversion.*

86. Examples of metathesis are: *tapk* L., Be., etc. < *pāt̄k* 'eyelashes'; *riyuδ* L. < *dəgər*, *də'yar* 'finger'.—*vəcēr* W. 'eyebrow' is merely a mispronounced form of Ishk. *v̄rīc*.

Interversion in groups of consonants occurs in: *ǰūrs* 'father-in-law'; *sprəḡ* 'flower'; *s̄pūndr* 'plough-share' (< \**spārana*-?), and possibly in *p̄r̄z* 'evening' (< \**upa-azara*-?). Regarding *drukš* 'bull', etc., cf. § 60.

### *Vowels.*

87. For reasons briefly indicated Yd.—Mj. § 138 it is much more difficult to follow the development of Ir. vowels in a modern Pamir dialect than it is to give an outline of the changes of consonants and consonant groups.

The exact phonetical value of many ancient Ir. vowels is unknown, and as no older stage of these dialects is accessible to us, it is in most cases a hopeless task to trace, with any degree of certainty, the actions and counteractions exerted by accent, assimilation and other factors.

In the case of Wkh. we are also handicapped by the fact that no recorder of the language has been in a position to devote to this work sufficient time for arriving at absolutely certain results as regards the exact vocalization of a great number of words, or for determining the undoubtedly considerable individual latitude of pronunciation. Nor do we know much about the dialectical distribution of vowel variations.

And, last not least, it is frequently impossible to ascertain whether a word is genuine Wkh. or not. In the case of Wkh. the definition of the terms 'genuine' and 'borrowed' presents problems of more than usual complexity, and many loan-words have passed through some of the more recent Wkh. sound-changes.

All we can do is therefore to make an attempt to indicate a few main lines in the development of Wkh. vocalism. But in many cases we are restricted to give a mere statement of complex and bewildering facts.

*Ir. a.*

88. *Ir. a* remains as *a* (*ǎ*) in Wkh.:

a. Before an ancient group of consonants. Thus: *andag* 'slave'; *andav* 'fever'; *ǎΔš* 'mouth'; *hǎt* 'eight'; *künd-* 'to laugh'; *kaš* 'boy'; *mānd-* 'to shampoo'; *nǎdavn-* 'to clasp'; *nayd* 'night'; *pānz* 'five'; *rand-* 'to give'; *rānjǎk* 'light'; *spray*, *sprǎy* 'flower'; *šǎnd-* 'to mix'; *sǎrdingī* 'of this year'; *vǎyd* 'night-mare'; *vǎnd-*: *vǎst* 'to bind'; *yāng(ǎ)l* 'finger'; *yark* 'work'; *yašć* 'bone'; *yǎzn* 'mussuck'. In *maks* 'fly'; *pārd* 'last year'; *pārg* 'ashes' (but *purk* 'mouse'); *wānj* 'belly'; *zǎrt* 'yellow'; *žǎrz* 'milk' the group of consonants is of secondary origin.

b. After or before palatal consonants: *yašć* 'bone'; *yaš* 'horse'; *yašć* 'twig'; *yāngǎl* 'finger'; *ǎār* 'stone'; *ǎat-* 'to arrive'; *šām-* 'to descend'; *šān-* 'to speak'; *šat* 'own'; *šǎp-* 'to suck'; *šapt* (š-?) 'wolf' (lw.); *cǎr-* 'to do' (< č-?); *tač-* 'to go'; *pǎc-* 'to cook'; *nǎš-* 'to be lost'.

c. After or before *đ* (*d*)? Thus: *đai* 'man'; *đas* 'ten'; *mād* 'waist'; *šād* 'six'; *pād* 'ligature'; *wΔđ* 'handle'. But *wāđ*, *wǎđ*, etc. 'water-course'; *đus* 'mosquito' (< \*-a-); *ǎūd* 'thief'.

Other, unexplained, examples of *a* are: *wār* 'male oorial'; *wās* 'roof-beam'; *wāz-* 'to fall'; *t<sup>2</sup>pār* 'axe'; *bār* 'door'; *sār* 'head' (lw.?), and *yurm* 'forearm' (< ar- < \*r-); *ǎūz* 'firewood'; *wǎšk* 'calf'; *čΔžm*, *čǎ*, *čǎ°* 'eye'.

89. *Ir. a* results in *u* (or Sh. *ü*) not only in the neighbourhood of labials, but also in other positions, the nature of which I am not able to define.

Thus, e.g.: *būn-* (*bün-*): *bōnd* 'to winnow'; *kūt* 'roof'; *xūr* 'ass'; *wūrĕ* 'lamb' (*wār* 'oorial'); *rešūp-*, *rǎšūp-* 'to sleep'; *Wuš* 'Wakhan';



*xūf* 'foam'; *pūs* 'ram'; *pürk* 'mouse'; *pūr* 'father'; *wunuk* 'willow'. In *hüb*, etc. 'seven' and in *mür* 'apple' there may have taken place an early lengthening of *a* > *ā*.

I can only register the varying developments of *a* in *dendik*, *dündük*, etc. 'tooth'; *kend*, *könd* (< \**kānti*?) 'woman'; *rəd*-, *röd*- 'to flee'; *wuz* 'I'; *pərçöd* 'maid'; *wölč* 'quail'; *đor* L. 'valley'; *mōđ*- L. 'to curdle'. In many words the vowel appears to vary considerably in different villages, v. Voc. passim.

Unstressed *a* results in *ə* in: *nəpūs* 'grandson'; *t̪pūr* 'axe'; *cəbūr* 'four'; *rəgūm* 'calf'; *məđir* 'noon'; *məlung* 'middle'; *pəzin*, *pizon* 'udder'; *səgin* 'dung'. But, with assimilation to the following vowel: *sigin* Sh. 'dung'; *kibit* 'pigeon'; *ǰidim* 'wheat'; *regiš* 'beard'; *pütmüi*- Sh. 'to mimic'.

Regarding loss of unstressed *a*, cf. § 104.

### Ir. *ā*.

90. Ir. *ā* apparently resulted in early Wkh. *u*. This stage of development is preserved before nasals. Thus: *ɣ̊rūng* 'heavy'; *mūm* 'grand-mother'; *nūnd*- 'to plant'; *nūng*, *noŋg* 'name'; *pūn* 'palm of the hand'; *rəgūm* 'heifer'; *səpūndr* 'plough-share'; *wūndr* 'field'; *xūn* 'house'; *yūmǰ* 'flour';<sup>1</sup> *kəbūn* 'wooden bowl'; *špūn*, *špuun*, *špūn* Sh. 'shepherd'. Sh. gives *ü* also in *rūn* 'shelf'; *nadūn* 'scabbard' (= L. *nadūn* 'quiver'); cf. *neǰdun* L. 'weeding'.

Before or after a labial we find *ü* in: *ūf*-, *wuf*- 'to weave' (pret. *âft*-, *wōft*- with early shortening?); *būi* 'two'; *yupk* 'water'; *yūmǰ* 'flour'; *nəpūs* 'grandson'; *ǰūv* 'cornbin'; *cəbūr* (Kl. *cəbūr*, etc.) 'four'; *pūz* 'breast'; *purs*, *pīrs* 'breast'; *wūr* 'rain'; *ǰūi* 'sister' (< \**xw*-); *pūd*-, *pūd*-, etc. 'foot' (but v. Voc. s.v.); *pūy*- 'to putrify'; *purz* 'evening' (v. Voc. s.v.).

But cf. also *zūγ* 'fat'; *piūk* 'onion', *γukš* 'male ibex'; *yūγəne γər* 'anvil', if these words contain ancient *ā*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 92.

91. A delabialization, which affects also lw.s with  $\bar{u}$ ,<sup>1</sup> has taken place in other positions. Thus:  $\bar{s}\bar{i}r$  'cold';  $\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{i}r$  'moon';  $\bar{d}\bar{i}tr$  'sickle' (with secondary shortening before a group of consonants);  $\bar{k}\bar{i}k$ ,  $\bar{k}\bar{i}k$  'fountain';  $\bar{t}\bar{i}k$  'willow';  $\bar{s}\bar{t}\bar{i}y-$  'to send';  $\bar{y}\bar{i}y-$  'coire';  $\bar{v}\bar{r}\bar{i}t$  Sk. (but  $\bar{v}\bar{r}\bar{i}t$  Y,  $\bar{v}\bar{r}\bar{i}t$  Kl., etc.) 'brother';  $\bar{r}\bar{u}y-$  L. 'to bay';  $\bar{d}\bar{u}r\bar{i}$  L. 'stack'. Also before a labial:  $\bar{y}\bar{i}u$  'cow';  $\bar{p}\bar{a}z\bar{i}c$  'heart';  $\bar{s}\bar{i}w$  Sk.,  $\bar{s}\bar{i}u$  Y 'horn'; cf.  $\bar{n}\bar{i}u$  Y (=  $*\bar{n}\bar{i}u?$ ) 'mill-race'.

Note  $\bar{s}\bar{k}\bar{u}r(g)-$  'to seek';  $\bar{t}\bar{i}\bar{s}-$  Y 'to shave',  $\bar{t}\bar{u}\bar{s}-$  L. 'to fashion with an axe', etc.

92. After initial  $y-$  a palatalization into  $\bar{i}$  has taken place.<sup>2</sup> Thus:  $\bar{y}\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{n}$  'iron';  $\bar{y}\bar{i}r\bar{z}n$  'millet';  $\bar{y}\bar{i}ng$  'raw';  $\bar{y}\bar{i}x\bar{u}n$  'bridle' (<  $*\bar{a}x\bar{a}na-??$ );  $\bar{y}\bar{i}sp$  'shoulder' (<  $*\bar{a}sp\bar{a}?$ ).

Dubious cases are:  $\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{c}$  'duck' (<  $*\bar{a}d\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{i}-?$ );  $\bar{y}\bar{a}\bar{d}$ - 'to pile up' ( $*\bar{a}d\bar{a}-?$ );  $\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{s}t$  'fowl-house' ( $*\bar{a}st\bar{u}-?$ );  $\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{s}t$  'agreement' ( $\bar{a}x\bar{s}t\bar{i}-?$ );  $\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{\theta}$ , etc. 'nest' ( $*\bar{a}hada-\theta ra-?$ );  $\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{z}$ - 'to bear' ( $*\bar{a}zaya-?$ ).

In  $\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{i}$  Y 'hare' ( $*s\bar{a}-$  <  $*saha-$ );  $\bar{h}\bar{u}\bar{b}$ , etc. 'seven';  $\bar{w}\bar{i}\bar{s}$ ,  $\bar{u}\bar{s}$  'grass', etc.,  $a$  has probably been lengthened into  $\bar{a}$  at an early date.

In Prs. lw.s we frequently find  $\bar{o}$  or  $\bar{a}$  <  $\bar{a}$ , representing the local Tajiki pronunciation. Also  $\bar{s}\bar{a}t$  'slate';  $\bar{t}\bar{o}r$  'neck', 'back of the head' must probably be lw.s.

### Ir. i.

93. Ancient  $i$  is preserved in the neighbourhood of a palatal sound in  $\bar{s}\bar{i}\bar{s}$  'louse';  $\bar{d}\bar{i}\bar{s}-$  'to know';  $\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{d}\bar{i}\bar{y}-$ , etc. 'to look';  $\bar{c}\bar{i}p-$  'to pick'. Possibly, with lengthening, in  $\bar{b}\bar{a}r\bar{i}n$  'knee' (v. Voc. s.v.).

The relaxation of the high-front articulation common to many E.Ir. languages appears in:  $\bar{z}em$ ,  $\bar{z}am$  'snow';  $(a)yem$ ,  $y\bar{a}m$  'this';  $\bar{y}ez$  'yesterday';  $\bar{t}e\bar{y}d$ ,  $\bar{t}a\bar{y}d$  'sharp';  $\bar{d}e\bar{t}k$  'brick';  $\bar{b}\bar{a}t$  'again';  $\bar{d}e\bar{t}$  'given' ( $*d\bar{i}ta-$ ).  $\bar{r}a\bar{s}e\bar{\theta}$ -,  $\bar{r}a\bar{s}\bar{i}u\bar{\theta}$ - Sh. 'to break, cut'.— $\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{s}t$  Sh. 'parched grain' may have 'ə' or a labialized vowel, cf.  $\bar{p}\bar{o}v-$ ,  $\bar{p}\bar{u}v-$ ,  $\bar{p}\bar{o}v-$  'to drink' ( $*p\bar{i}ba-$ ), with  $i$  surrounded by labials.

<sup>1</sup> E.g.  $\bar{n}\bar{i}r$  Sk. 'light';  $\bar{b}\bar{r}\bar{i}t$  'moustache';  $\bar{a}ng\bar{u}r$  'grape';  $\bar{p}\bar{i}l$  'money'; but  $\bar{a}mb\bar{u}r$  'tong';  $\bar{j}an\bar{u}b$  'south' (prob. of more recent origin), and  $\bar{g}\bar{i}$  'excrement' (ancient lw.).

<sup>2</sup> Except before a remaining labial. Cf.  $\bar{y}\bar{u}m\bar{j}$ ,  $\bar{y}upk$  above.

In the originally unstressed prefixes *ni-*, *abi-*, *wi-* the development of *i* is apparently partly regulated by vowel-harmony. The result, however, varies a good deal according to the informant or recorder. Cf. Voc. s.vv. *nəbəs* (*ni*<sup>o</sup>, *na*<sup>o</sup>) 'comb'; *nədav̄n-* (*nadevs-*) 'to stick'; *naḍun* 'quiver'; *nimil-* (*na*<sup>o</sup>) 'to hem'; *namurzg* 'rake'; *nesi-* 'to lie down'; *nəviš-* (*ni*<sup>o</sup>, *ne*<sup>o</sup>) 'to write'; *nezd-* (*nö*<sup>o</sup>, *na*<sup>o</sup>) 'to sit down', etc.; *vidāw-* 'to ride'; *višiv-* 'to sweep'; *vizam-* 'to rub', etc.; *wərəfs-* (*wa*<sup>o</sup>) 'to stand'; *wərəč-* 'to remain'; *wušūy-* 'to untie'; *wəšiy-* 'to be afraid'; *witrin-* 'to shy', etc.

*Ir. ī.*

94. *Ir. ī* remains: *pitt-* 'drank'; *pītk* 'drunk'; *wīs-* 'to set (about the sun)'; *wīst* 'twenty'; *varīn-* 'to shear'; *xiik* 'Wakhi' (\**waxšika-?*). *yīšək* 'plough-handle' probably has ancient *ai-*.

*Ir. u.*

95. Also *u* shows a tendency to lose its specific articulation<sup>1</sup> and become a neutral, unrounded vowel, written *ə* (Y, Sk., and Kl.), *ï*, *ö*, etc. My not very reliable informants X and W pronounced *e* in several words. There is probably much variation according to dialect.

Examples from Y are: *ḍəyd* 'daughter'; *ḍögən-* 'milked' (*ḍic-*); *məst* 'fist'; *pətr* 'son'; *səkr* 'red'; *s'təx̄* 'daughter-in-law'; *wəsk* 'dry'; *kīš* (Sk. *ə*) 'vulva'. Cf. *təš* Sk. 'empty'; *rəḍ-* Sk. 'to flee'; *ət*, *et* Kl. 'and'. Cf. also the lw. *əm̄r* Sk. 'age'. The etymology of *ḍəyd* Y, etc. 'new' is unknown. In unstressed syllable *yāng(ə)l* 'finger'.

But *y<sub>A</sub>/εšk* L. (*yečk* Sh.) 'taught'; *sērv* Sh. 'hole'; *sic* 'needle' (with *i*-umlaut).

Sh. *sīm* 'hoof' (W *ə*); *angüšt* 'live coal'; *büč* 'he-goat' (Y *u*) are lw.s. Cf. also *kīrpa* Sk. 'bed-clothes' and other examples of Prs. *u* > *ï*.

An early lengthening has probably taken place in *yīnöt* 'dream' < \**hufnadā*.

<sup>1</sup> V. § 93, and cf. Yd.—Mj. § 149.

Ir. *ū*.

96. Ir. *ū* results in *ī*: *dir* 'distant'; *dit* 'smoke'; *īdīm* 'wheat'; *nīw* 'now'; *pītk* 'rotten'; *īstin* 'post'; *vīt* 'was'; *yīr* 'sun'; *zīk* 'tongue' (\**hizūka*). Cf. *štīk* 'play' ~ Khow. *ištuk*, etc.

*tu* 'thou' goes back to a form with ancient shortening of *ū* (later, however, than the change of *u* towards *ə*).

Regarding the development of *ū* in lw.s cf. § 91.

Ir. *ɾ*.

97. Ir. *ɾ* is represented by Y *ər*, *er*, Sk. *ər*, Sh. *ör*, etc., in *kərt* Sk., Kl. 'did'; *kərk* Sk., *kerk* Y 'done'; *ɾəš* Y 'male'; *kərk* Sk., *kerk* Y, X, *körk* Sh. 'fowl'; *mərt* Y, Sk., Kl., *mert* X, *mörtt* Sh. 'died' (*mərī*- Sk.); *vərz* Y 'long'; possibly in *mərz* Y, Sk., *merz* X, *marz* Sh. 'hungry'. After *p*, *f* and *w* we find a rounded vowel in *purs*- Y, *pörs*- Kl., Sh., *pərs*- Sk. 'to ask'; *furz* Y, Sh. 'birch'; *wurzg* L. 'right'. Cf. also *dərt* L. 'manure'; *δirs* Y, Z, *δürs* Sh. 'goat's hair'; *sprəṣ* Y 'flower' (if < \**sprga*-). Also *wuserd* Y 'this year' may contain ancient *ɾ* (v. Voc. s.v.).

But note *tört* 'the day before yesterday' (if < \**trta*-, cf. *tətvärt*); *taš*, etc. 'thirsty'; *walk*, etc. 'kidney'. The derivation of *d<sup>u</sup>rukš* 'bull' < \**dɾždaka*- is for several reasons very dubious, cf. *də/ežd* 'seized' (*durz*-).

*purs*, etc. 'rib, breast' probably goes back to Av. *pərəsu*-, not to \**pārswa*-.

Ir. *ai*.

98. Ir. *ai* is monophthongized into *ī*. Thus: *īu* 'one'; *wīn*- 'to see'; *đīz* 'wall'; *đīsiv*- 'to show'; *mīzg* 'urine'; *naydīn* 'dawn'; *nesi*-, *nəsi*- 'to lie down' (< *-ī*- or *-aya*-?); *līv*- 'to slip' (IE. \**sleib*-, or \**sleub*-).

With shortening into *i*: *yiš* 'ice'; *šil* 'perspiration' (lw. ?); *liš*- 'to lick'; *rešip* 'whip' (?).

Note *yət* Kl., (*ac-*)*et*, etc. 'this', possibly with vowel influenced by *yəm*.

The development of *i* > *ö* (= *ə*?) in *pös* Sh. 'white leopard' (Sar. *pīs*, v. Voc. s.v.) is unparalleled. *mai* 'sheep' is a lw.

### Ir. *au*.

99. Ir. *au* developed through *ū* into *ī*. Thus: *ḍīc-* 'to milk'; *ḍīy* 'thick milk'; *γīš̄* (*γīš̄* Sk.) 'ear'; *kīk* 'lynx, wild dog(?)'; *kibīt* 'pigeon'; *pīst* 'skin'; *rīcn* 'smoke-hole'; *rīp* 'hair on the body' (*\*raupi-*?); *rīz-* 'to rip up a seam' (Sar. *raoz-*); *skīd* 'skull-cap'; *šīn* 'anus'. Cf. also *mīr-p<sup>2</sup>rīč* 'ant', if < *\*maur-* < *\*marwi-*.

*vūl* 'smell' is probably borrowed from Yd.—Mj., and also *rūyn* 'grease, ghee' and *šūn̄j* 'hip' may be lws.

In *tayum*, etc. 'seed' *au* has probably been shortened. If *rΔmet* 'chewing the cud' goes back to *\*raumāḍa/i-* a shortening may also have taken place in unstressed syllable.

I am unable to explain the *e* of *d<sup>2</sup>repč* 'broom'; *ḍeš̄* L. (*ḍöš* Sh.) 'late' (< *daušā-*?); *repk* 'refuse'; *pūmec-* 'to dress', and the *a* of *kap* Sh. 'hump'. *čkar* 'partridge' is borrowed from IA.

### Umlaut and Vowel Harmony.

100. The palatalizing influence of a following *y* or *i* is less evident in Wkh. than in most other Ir. languages.

On the one hand we find an apparent palatalization of the vowel in *sprež-* 'to blossom' (*\*spr̄jya-*); *müš-* 'to steal' (*\*mušya-*); *peš-* 'to ripen' (*\*pašya-*); *wasēr-* 'to become cold' (*\*awa-sārya-*); *nis-* 'to lose' (*\*nasaya-*); *tēš̄* 'steam' (*\*tafšya-*); *sic* 'needle' (*\*sučī-*); *wušen* 'blood' (*\*wahwani-*); *haret* 'ell' (*\*araḍni-*?); *kēnd* 'woman, wife' (*\*kāntī-*?); *būt* 'clothes' (*\*ham-puštī-*); *\*-en̄j* fem. of the adj. suffix *-uṅg* (*\*ānačī*).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In L. *pert* 'back' and *derd car-* 'to carve wood' < *\*pṛštī-*, *\*dytī-*, *er* may be the regular outcome of *y* in the Hunza dialect of Wkh.

But, on the other hand, we find *māḍ* 'waist', and *wāḍ* 'irrigation-channel', without any trace of umlaut. Note that both words have *ḍ*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *nāš-* 'to be lost' < \**nasya-*, where the palatalizing force of *y* may, however, have been absorbed into *š*.

The only possible instances of *u*-umlaut are *purk* 'mouse' and *wūr̥k* 'lamb',<sup>2</sup> as compared with e.g. *parg* 'ashes'.

101. There is a marked tendency in Wkh. to assimilate unstressed vowels to following stressed ones. Cf., e.g., *reḥup-* (*rūḥūp-* Sh.) 'to sleep', but pret. *roḥopt*; *pūtrūz-* Sh. 'to lean against', but pret. *pātrāz-*; *ḍaviy-* Sk. 'to steal', but pret. *ḍovoid*; *wīdār-* 'to hold', but pret. *wōdōrd*, etc.<sup>3</sup>

#### Final Vowels and Consonants.

102. All final consonants are lost, with the possible exception of *-d* in *šād* 'six'. Note the secondary loss of a final consonant in the personal suffix 3 pl. *-ən*, and in the dative suffix *-ər* (< \**ardu-*). Cf. also *nəbəs* 'comb' < \**nipesn* (v. Voc. s.v.).

Final vowels remain only in original monosyllables, with the possible exception of *žə*, *žu* 'my', if < \**azyā*.

#### Stress and Contraction.

103. The principles of accentuation underlying the development in Wkh. appear to have been of the ordinary middle-Ir. type.

A long penultima was stressed. Thus: *eḥbūr* 'four'; *yi'dīm* 'wheat' (\**gantūma-*); *ki'bīt* 'dove'; *nəpūs* 'grandson'; *rəgūm* 'calf'; *čkar* 'partridge' (\**č(i)kōr*, lw.); *bərīn* 'knee' (\**dwarīḍna-?*); *dūr* 'belly' (\**antāra-?*).

Before a short penultima the antepenultima, whether long or short, was stressed: *wīst* 'twenty'; *nūng* 'name'; *mīzg* 'urine'; *rīcn* 'smoke-hole'; *yupk* 'water'; *yīšn* 'iron'; *wəšk* 'calf' (\**wasyaka*); *nezdəm* 'I sit down' (\**nihazdami*); *zart* 'yellow'; *šapt* 'wolf' (lw.,

<sup>1</sup> Also in Saka *d* prevents umlaut of the preceding vowel.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Shgh. *wārg*, with *-g* < *-uka-*, and Yd.—Mj. *parγ*, etc. (§ 175).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 93, about \**ni-*, \**abi-* and \**wi-*, and v. Geiger, § 60, 2.

< \*šapid); *s<sup>2</sup>pūndr* 'plough' (\*spārana-); *pīt* 'he drinks' (\*pibati); *çit* 'he goes' (\*çaut < \*çyawati), etc.

104. Before the accent a vowel is elided in: *čkar* 'partridge'; *ktič* 'hut'; *čik* 'Wakhi'; *kšüy-* 'to hear' (\*gušaya-?); *strΔnj* 'carpet' (\*staranačī); *wīr* 'single-handed (in a family)' (\*a-wīra-); *vi-δāw-* 'to ride' (*abi*<sup>o</sup>); *wa-sēr-* 'to become cold' (\*awa<sup>o</sup>); *pəwΔz* 'drift-wood' (\*upa-waza-); and cf. the words with initial *b-*, *d-*, *g-* < *ham* + *p-/b-*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the development of *pati-* v. § 30.

There appears to be no trace in Wkh. of ancient accentuation of the fourth syllable from the end. Therefore we find, from *nāsī-* 'to lie down', Sk. pret. *nast-əm* (\*ni-sita-), but perf. *nə'satk* (\*ni-sitaka-).

The dialectical elision of a vowel in Sh. *rüčp-* (: Y *rečup-*) 'to sleep'; *rəstəv-* Y (*rasedav-* Sh.) 'to cut'; *pīcev-* Y (*pīčisrv-* L.) 'to light a fire'; *čat* 'made' < \*g(ə)čat (*goč-*); *čprēmər* (*č'brēm*) 'three days hence' are probably of more recent origin than that which has taken place in the words mentioned above.

The infinitive suffix *-āk* is stressed (e.g. *č'rak* 'to do', *d<sup>2</sup>yāk* 'to beat'), except after a nasal (*dēng* 'to beat', *bīng* 'to winnow', etc.).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. § 76 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 107.

# MORPHOLOGY

## Nouns.

### *Stem-Formation.*

105. The very limited material which I was able to collect consists mainly of lists of words, and adds little to our knowledge of the morphology of Wkh. In all main points it confirms, however, the information given by Shaw and Klimchitskiy. Also Sköld's material is mainly of a lexicographical character, although it contains a number of valuable verbal paradigms.

In these circumstances I shall abstain from trying to give a complete survey of Wkh. morphology and its historical development.

106. The distinction between ancient stems in *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *n*, etc. has been completely obliterated. Along with this development Wkh. has also lost the category of grammatical gender. The ancient suffix \**-ānačī*, corresponding to a masc. \**-ānaka-* (> *-ūng*, *-üng*), still denotes a female being, e.g. in *indigunj* Sh. 'female slave' (: *andag* 'male slave'), and *varenj* 'pregnant', but it is without any grammatical significance. The same is the case with the words containing an ancient suffix *-čī*, e.g. *fəryəməč* 'female calf'; *yôč* 'duck'; *antərč* 'sister-in-law'; *yūmj* 'flour'; *šūnj* 'hip', etc.<sup>1</sup>

107. The Ir. *ka-* suffix results in *-k* (*-g*) in a large number of words. Thus, e.g., *detk* 'brick'; *purk* 'mouse'; *walkk* 'kidney'; *yupk* 'water'; *yΔšk* 'tear'; *mīzg* 'urine'; *wurzg* 'right'; *γ<sup>2</sup>rūng* 'heavy'; *yīng* 'raw'; *nūng* 'name'; *kīk* 'spring'; *zīk* 'tongue'. This suffix is no more productive, except in the formation of the pf.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 33.

<sup>2</sup> V. § 155.



But there is a productive, stressed suffix *-ak*, *-ək*, *-ik*, used largely in the formation of deminutives.<sup>1</sup> Thus *ât'šak* 'lightning'; *šauparāk* 'bat'; *badxa'arak* 'n. of a bird'; *bu'čak* 'small he-goat'; *ustō'dək* 'spider'; *ša'xək* 'hail'; *šendik* L. 'vine'; *š/šendik* L. 'gum'; *wīnek* 'marmot', etc. In some cases I have noted stress on the root-syllable, e.g. *'dendik* (but Sk., etc. *dən'dək*) 'tooth'; *'fiak* 'shoulder-blade'. This suffix is partly of Prs. origin (many of the words in *-ak* are Prs. lw.s), but in some cases it may go back to an oblique case *\*-a'kahya*. Cf. the infinitives in *-ak*, but *-ng*.<sup>2</sup>

As for words in *γ* (*γa'rāγ* 'collar'; *madāy'ǎ* 'mare'; *ričay* 'fast'; *sudγ* 'smooth') v. § 29.

108. A suffix *-ī* is used to form abstract nouns in Sk. *γūd-i* 'theft'; *šundr-ī* 'heat'; *sūr-ī* 'cold'. It may be of Prs. origin. Cf. Kl. *-ēȳ* (*šundr-ēȳ*, *sūr-ēȳ*) of unknown origin.

Of Prs. origin is also the adjective suffix *-ī* in *jiḡa'r-ī* 'brown'; *xōk-ī* 'grey', etc. But in *sērd-ing-ī*, *pard-ing-ī* 'belonging to this, to last year' at any rate the first part of the suffix is genuine (< *\*(a)inaka-*). Cf. Kl. *sōl i šəxəsk-in* 'belonging to last year'.

I have not come across the adjective suffix *-ēj̄*, or the suffix forming nomina agentis *-aküzg*<sup>3</sup> mentioned by Kl., p. 92.

### Noun Inflection.

#### The Article.

109. Wkh. has differentiated the indefinite article *ī* from the numeral *īu*.

#### Case and Number.

110. The only ancient Ir. case-forms preserved in nouns in Wkh. are the abl., instr., etc., sg. in *-en*, *-an*,<sup>4</sup> and the corresponding pl. form in *-əv*.<sup>5</sup> These forms have been treated by Tedesco, ZII, IV, 154 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kl., p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> §§ 104, 157.

<sup>3</sup> < *\*-aküzg* < *\*-aka-zāka-* 'son of' > 'connected with'??

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 199.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kl., p. 94. Acc. to Kl. the sg. suffix *-ən* is sometimes added to (ə)v.

111. The accusative has usually the same form as the nominative (e.g. *īyam xalg yupk pīt* Y 'this man drinks water'; *wuz tar kitāb randəm* Y 'I give you a book'). But a form corresponding to Shaw's acc. in *-a* and Kl.'s in *-i* appears in *tu mārek kitābe detāi* Y 'you gave me a book'; *rəxnīgi pīcevəm* Y 'I kindle the (or: a) fire'; *šungi škəndivəm* X 'I break the (or: a) stick'; *žə pətrei pūmecevum* Y 'I dress my son'.<sup>1</sup> The origin of this form is uncertain, but it might be derived from *\*-ē* < *-ahya-*.
112. The dative ends in *-ar*, *-er*, *-or* sometimes with the addition of a particle *ke* (Kl., Hj. *-rək*, Sk. *-ək*, e.g. in *yurmək*, besides *yurmər*). This suffix may be derived from *\*-ard* < *\*ardai*, *\*ardam*.  
As for the prepositions *ce*, *pu*, *da*, etc., cf. § 132.
113. As stated by Shaw<sup>2</sup> "the noun in the genitive is merely placed before the governing noun without any sign." Thus, e.g., *žə yās 'mād* Sk. 'the back of my horse'; *draxt pīst* Sk. 'bark' (but *pīst-i diraxt* X). Sometimes the Prs. construction is used by X in the tale,<sup>3</sup> e.g., *dast-i isteḡ* 'the daughter-in-law's hand', etc.  
The *-e* which appears in *'yeū tate noḡ* X 'his father's name' is scarcely an ancient oblique case suffix, but merely the euphonic vowel employed by X after a final consonant, e.g. in *niwde* 'he wept'; *i degde tūet* 'there was a daughter', etc. But note the Wkh. phrase *yΔše yūr'k* 'horse's grain' in Lorimer's Bur. Vocabulary.  
Kl., p. 95, mentions a predicative genitive in *-ən* (*yi dāyən tu yi pərnəc* 'a man had a churn'). Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 214.
114. The nom. pl. is formed by the addition of *-išt*, as stated by Shaw, e.g. in *xalgišt* Y 'people', or *-iš* Sk., Kl., e.g. *kəndiš* Sk. 'women'; *skīdiš* 'caps'. This form is evidently borrowed from the Prs. collective-abstract in *-išt* < *-išn*.

<sup>1</sup> *ayou 'pādšāra sa'lām guḡt* X 'he saluted the king' may either contain a Prs. dative in *-ra*, or a form *a-salām*, with the prefixed acc. *a-* mentioned by Shaw.

<sup>2</sup> P. 12.

<sup>3</sup> And also by Kl.

## Composition.

115. Compounds of genuine Wkh. origin do not appear to be very numerous, and they conform to the ordinary Prs. types. Thus, e.g., *bəč-đəγd* 'female cousin (: uncle's daughter)'; *draxt-pīst* 'bark of a tree' (but cf. also § 113); *gidim-xeč* 'wheaten bread'; *γəši-yāngəl* 'thumb'; *hīb-v̄rīt* 'Charles' Wain (: The Seven Brothers); *das-īu* 'eleven'; *naydīn-yupk* 'dew'.

Ancient compounds are, e.g., *časirz* 'wife's sister' (< \**hwasura-zā*); *noyordum* 'bear', and *sanguurt* 'beetle'.

As for ancient nominal and verbal compounds with *abi-*, *ā-*, *us-*, *fra-*, *ham-*, *ni-*, *niš-*, *pati-*, *pari-*, *wi-*, etc., v. Voc.

## Numerals.

116. 1. *īu* (*ī*) Y, X, N, (*h*)*ī* W; *yīw* Sk.  
 2. *būi* Y, X, N, W, Sk.  
 3. *trūi* Y, X, N, Sk.; *t̄rūi* W.  
 4. *čbūr* Y, X, N, W; *ci'būr*, *°ir* Sk.  
 5. *pānz* Y, X; *p'ān's* N; *pāns* W; *pāndz* Sk.  
 6. *šād*, *šād* Y, X, N, Sk.; *šād* Y, W.  
 7. *hūb*, *hōb* Y; *hūb* X; *ūb* N; *hībδ* (!) W; *ūb*, *īb*, *ūb* Sk.  
 8. *hat* Y, *hāt* X, W, *at* N, *āt* Sk.  
 9. *nāu* Y; *nāu* X; *nau* N, *nāb* W, *nā.u* Sk.  
 10. *das* Y, N, Sk.; *das* X, W.  
 11. *das-īu* N, Sk.; *das-īu* X; *das-hī* W.  
 19. *das-nab* W.  
 20. *wist* Y; *bīst* N, Sk.; *bist* W.  
 30. *sī* N; *trūdas* Sk.

The vigesimal system prevails as in other Pamir and Hindukush languages. Thus, e.g., Kl. *čabūr bist* '80' (but *bist at čabūr* '24'); *trūbīst* Sk. '60', but *trūdas* '30'.

The numerals from 11—19 agree in their formation with the Shghn. group and with Khowar, not with Ishk.—Sgl. and Yd.—Mj.

*būi* has probably got its diphthong from *trūi* (< Av. *θrāyō*, with long *ā*?), cf. the adaptation of the numeral '3' to '2' in Kurdish.<sup>1</sup> Regarding *šād* v. § 46.

117. Ancient ordinals are apparently preserved in *bət*, *tört* and *cəbrəm*, v. Voc. s.vv. Regarding modern ordinals in *-üng*, v. Kl. p. 92. Note the distributive *igôn igôn* 'one each'.

### Pronouns.

#### Personal Pronouns.

##### 1st Prs. Sg.

118.		Y	X	Sk.
	Nom.	<i>wuz</i> (= N)	<i>wuz</i>	<i>wuz</i>
	Acc. (Obl.)	<i>maž</i>	<i>maž</i>	<i>maž</i>
	Gen.	<i>žə</i> (= N)	<i>žu</i>	<i>žə</i>
	Predic. Gen.		<i>žunan</i>	<i>žənən</i>
	Dat.	<i>mar</i> , <i>mār-ek</i>	<i>mar</i> , <i>mar-k/g</i>	<i>mār-ək</i>
	Agent		<i>wuz-um</i>	

##### 2nd Prs. Sg.

		Y	X	Sk.
	Nom.	<i>tu</i> (= N)	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu</i>
	Acc. (Obl.)	<i>tau</i>	<i>tau</i> ( <i>tī</i> )	
	Gen.	<i>tī</i>	<i>tī</i>	<i>tə</i>
	Predic. Gen.	<i>tīnen</i>	<i>tīnen</i> , <i>-ən</i>	<i>tīnən</i>
	Dat.	<i>tar</i> , <i>tār-ek</i>	<i>tawar</i> (-ke)	<i>tār-ək</i>
	Loc.			<i>tər-tau</i>

<sup>1</sup> Gārrūsī *sə*, with *ö* from *dö*, acc. to communication from Barr.

1st Prs. Pl.			
	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>sak</i> (= N)	<i>sak</i>	<i>sāk</i>
Gen.	<i>spa</i>	<i>ispa</i>	<i>spō</i>
Predic. Gen.		<i>ispacan</i>	
Dat.		<i>sakar</i>	<i>'sākək</i>

2nd Prs. Pl.			
	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>sāiś(t)</i>	<i>saś</i>	<i>sāyiś</i>
Acc. (Obl.)	<i>sāv</i>	<i>sab</i>	
Predic. Gen.	<i>sāvan</i>	<i>sab/fan</i>	<i>'sāv-ək</i>
Dat.		<i>sabar</i>	

- W gave the purely Sgl. forms *aze* 'I'; *tafak* 'thee'; *tumux* 'you'.
119. For reasons unknown to us the system of Personal Pronouns in Wkh. has been much more thoroughly refashioned than those of most other Ir. languages. The stems *mana*, *ahma-* and *(yu)šma-*, which play such an important rôle elsewhere, have disappeared, and have been replaced by others of uncertain derivation. Any attempt to trace the origin of these forms must necessarily be hazardous.

- An archaism of Wkh. is the preservation of four different stems in the paradigms of the sg. (*wuz*, *ma-*, *maž*, *žə*, and *tu*, *ta-*, *tau*, *tī*).
120. The acc. *maž* 'me', which according to Shaw is also used as the base for the loc., instr. and abl., and according to Kl. (*maž*) as an agent, may phonetically be derived from *\*mazyā*.<sup>1</sup> This form would correspond to Skr. *mahyam* and lend support to the theory that *h* < *gh* is original in this word, Gathic *maibyā* having got its *b* from *taibyā*. Probably, at the time when the dative and the genitive were confounded in Ir., Wkh. *\*man* was supplanted by *maž*, while, on the other hand, *tav* prevailed upon *\*tav*. Thus, e.g., Kl.<sup>2</sup> *māž*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 72.

<sup>2</sup> P. 98.

*xatt-əi* 'I said' < \**mazyā hwatam*, but *tāu . . . dətt-əi* 'thou gavest' < \**tawā ditam*.

121. The dat. *mār-ek* contains the base *mā*, after which has been formed *tā* in *tār-ek*.<sup>1</sup> Kl. gives *mā* and *tā* as separate obl. forms. X *tawar(ke)* is a secondary formation.

122. Gen. 2nd prs. sg. *tī*<sup>2</sup> may go back to enclitic \**tai*. But the corresponding 1st prs. form *žə, žu* (Kl. *žə*) appears to be derived from a possessive adjective \**azyā*-, and it is possible that *tī* represents ancient \**tuya*. But no parallel formations are known from any other Indo-Ir. language, and the derivation here suggested remains quite uncertain.

The predic. gen. forms in *-nen, -nan*<sup>3</sup> remind us of Sgl. *mānen, tōnan, Ishk. mānō, tīnō*. But in these dialects the first *n* has been transferred to the 2nd prs. from *mān-*, while no such explanation is possible in Wkh. Most probably \**žu-n, tī-n* were formed with the same suffix as *day-ən* mentioned above, and then the full suffix *-en* was added.<sup>4</sup> Kl. gives *taw-ən* besides the older form *tīn-ən*.

123. The pl. forms are still more difficult to explain.

As for the gen. 1st pl. *spā* (Sk. and Kl. *spō*) borrowing from Khow. has been suggested.<sup>5</sup> And, in spite of the objections which may on principle be raised against the assumption of borrowing of personal pronouns, it seems impossible to reject this explanation. *spā* would be the expected older form of modern Khow. *ispa* (< \**spā* < \**aspā* < *asmā*-), which must originally have been an oblique form, and no Ir. derivation can be found for the Wkh. form.

It is, perhaps, also possible to take *sā(-išt)* to be a lw. from ancient Khow. \**rsā* (from which \**bsa* > *bisa, pisa*).

But *sak* 'we' is not likely to be borrh. from Shina obl. *asu/o* (< \**asaka-ʔ*).

X predic. gen. *ispacan* is confirmed by Kl. *spōcən*, but the origin

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Psht. *tā*, which has been formed after the analogy of *mā*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ishk. *tī*.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw has *zui-an* 'mine'.

<sup>4</sup> V. § 113, and cf. p. 486, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> V. Shaw, p. 49, Tomaschek, *Centralas. Stud.*, 95 (< IA *sva-*), and *Rep. Afgh.* p. 79.

of *-c-* is unknown. A transfer from a lost form *\*ahmāčā* > *\*māc-* is not probable.

The 2nd pl. obl. and gen. *sāv* has been formed with the ordinary suffix *-əv*. *sab* X may be a Hunza-Wkh. form, cf. *sabε* in a Wkh. sentence in a Bur. text.<sup>1</sup>

There are no enclitic possessive pronouns in Wkh. But *-am*, *-at*, *-an*, *-av* are used to express the subject in the past tenses.<sup>2</sup>

### Demonstrative Pronouns.

124. The following forms occur in our material:

"THIS"			
Sg.	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>yem, iyem, iyam</i>	<i>yem, (h)a-yem</i>	
Acc.	<i>yimē</i> <sup>3</sup>		
Loc.	<i>(a)dʳ-əm</i>		<i>dəʳ-əm</i>
Obl.		<i>a-yēman</i>	
Abl.		<i>c-eman</i>	<i>c-əm</i>
Pl.			
Nom.		<i>a-ʼyemiš</i>	
"THAT"			
Sg.	Y	X	Sk.
Nom.	<i>yau, a-yāu</i>	<i>yau, ye, a-yau</i>	<i>yau</i>
Gen.		<i>yau, yeū</i> (?)	
Loc.	<i>dr-a</i>		
Dat.		<i>yowar, yΔɿcark</i>	<i>yāvək</i>
Obl.		<i>yōwan</i>	
Pl.			
Nom.		<i>yāwiš</i>	<i>yāwiš, ʼušt</i>

<sup>1</sup> Lorimer, Bur. Langu., II, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 154.

<sup>3</sup> *yimē detem tārek* 'I gave thee this'.

125. These two pronouns go back to Ir. *ima-* and *awa-*, while Y *acet* 'from this'<sup>1</sup> contains a stem *\*ita-*, from Ir. *aita-*, influenced by *ima-*.

Kl. gives complete paradigms for all three pronouns *yəm*, *yət*, and *ya(u)*, cf. Yd.—Mj. § 208 *mo*, *yo*, *wo*. But while the stems *(y)əm*, *(y)t* remain through all cases, *ya* forms an ablative *c-an-ən*,<sup>2</sup> (corresponding to *c-əm-(ən)*, *c-ət-(ən)*), and a locative *d-am*, *sk-a(m)* (corresponding to *d-əm*, *d-ət*, and *sk-əm*, *sk-ət*). These caseforms probably go back to Ir. *ana-* and *ahmi*.

A prefixed *(h)a-*, corresponding in use to Prs. *ham-* in *ham-in*, emphasises the demonstrative force of the pronouns.

When used as adjectives the demonstratives are usually uninflected. V. Voc. s.vv.

### Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

126. *kūi*, *kuī* Y, X, Sk., *ko-i* Sh. 'who?', 'somebody'.—Probably < *kahya*.

*kūm* X, *kum* Sh. 'which?'.—Probably < *\*kāma-* cf. Psht. *kūm*.

*čis*, *či* X, *čiz* Y, Sk., *čiz* Sh. 'what?'.—Prs.—V. Voc.

*cūm* X, Sk., Sh. 'how much?', 'how many?', 'some'.—Cf. Kl. *tum* 'so much', etc.

*čizī* Y, X 'something'.—Prs.

*čat* X, Sk. 'self, own'.—From Av. *x'atō*. *čūnen*, *-an* X 'own'.—Cf. *žunen*, etc.

*'cerak* Y, *cə'rek* Sk. 'why?'; *'cə-waxt* Sk. 'when?' contains an ancient interrogative *cə* < *čit*.

*yan* 'other'.—< *anya-*.

*yamān* Kl. 'one another' is possibly derived from *\*(y)anūn* < *\*anya-anya*. Cf. § 85. *(h)alamān* L. id. < *\*anyam-anya-?*

<sup>1</sup> *wuz acet xūnen nieštem* 'I went out of this house'.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *cān* L. 'from there'.



*Use of the Cases and Prepositions.*

127. The subject of a transitive verb in a past tense is put in the nominative in my texts. Thus: *you nān ʒat* X 'his mother said'; *wuz ʒeč-em yitkem* Y 'I have eaten bread'; *ayou nāgde nikā kerk* X 'he arranged the wedding at night'. But note *uz-um ʒinak* X 'I have said'. Acc. to Kl., p. 98, a pronominal subject is put in the obl. case in such phrases: *māž ʒattai* 'I said', etc.

128. Regarding the special accusative form of nouns v. § 111. The object, when a personal pronoun, is usually put in the acc.-obl. Thus: *tu ʒizir maž di?* Y 'why dost thou beat me?'; *sak sāv dīnen* Y 'we beat you'; *sāiš ʒizir maž dīef?* Y 'why do you beat me?'; *wuz tau* (or *tī?*!) *dīmam* X 'I beat thee'; *wuz sab dīmim* X 'I beat you'.—*ʒizav sāyiš wīndav?* Sk. 'what (things) do you see?' is an example of the obl. pl. of an interrogative pronoun.

The "accusative" is used in a local or temporal sense in *yupk piōla kaṭum* X 'I pour water into the cup' (: *wuz yupk ar pīl kaṭem* Y); *žāu yūndam ʒadōrg* Y 'I carry grain to the mill', and *wūd nāyd* Y 'to-night'.

129. Examples of the use of the dative are: *mark 'mālum 'ne vit* X 'it was not known to me'; *you nānar ʒat* X 'he said to his mother'; *yāwər nikā kerk* X 'he made a wedding for her'; *tu mar ki'tāb rand* Y 'give me a book'; *wuz tawar ī rūpiā rāndam* X 'I give thee one rupee'; *wuz tar kitāb randam* X 'I give thee a book'; *wuz sabar . . . rāndam* X 'I give you'; *sakar īgōn īgōn rūpiā rande* X 'give us one rupee each'; *tu mārek kitābe detai* Y 'thou gavest me a book'; *yimē detem tārek* Y 'I give this to thee'; *mārək . . . 'nə fort* Sk. 'I will not' (: 'it doesn't please me'). Note also: *tu ʒiz yarkər wəzd* X 'what work didst thou come out for?'; *uz kend ʒilgakar wəzdim* X 'I came out to seek a wife', and *ʒizir* 'why?', 'what for?'

A personal object is put in the dat.—probably through the influence of Prs.—in *wuz targ dišum* X 'I know thee' (but *wuz aya xalg dišem* Y 'I know that man'); *tu ʒizir-ke marg dīng?* X 'why dost

thou beat me?' (but *tu cizir maž di* Y); *yašer peden guž* X 'saddle the horse' (but *yaš 'peden gužt*).

The dative denotes temporal or local relations in *purzer* X 'in the evening'; *torter* X 'the day after to-morrow' (but *tört* Y); *šub'r halak* Sh. 'to pass the night'; *xōnar rič* X 'go home'; *rešt xōnar-ke* X 'he went home'; *i manziler-ke rešt* X 'he came to a halting-place'.

130. Examples of the genitive of pronouns are: *you nān* X 'his mother'; *yem žə xūn* Y 'this is my house'; *žu xōnan ti xōn lup* X 'thy house is bigger than my house'; *ispa xōn lup* X 'our house is big'; *tš(?) nūng* Sk. 'thy name'.

The predicative genitive is used e.g. in: *hayem xōn žūnan* X 'this house is mine'; *yau xōn tinan* X 'that house is thine'; *tinan čis yark tu?* X 'hast thou any work?'; *ayem xōn ispacan* X 'this house is ours'; *yem xūn sāvan* Y 'this house is yours'; *i deyd saban tūet* Y 'you had a daughter'; *yem xūn žə xūnen* Y 'this house is my own'.

131. The ablative, with or without *ce* 'from', is found in: (*ce*) *xōnen niešk* X 'he went out of the house'; *wuz ce xūnen ništen* Y 'I went out of the house'; *uz a'yem xōnan* X 'I am from this house'; *wuz a'yēman rūpiā durzəm* X 'I take a rupee from this one'. In *žau ce wuš ništəm* Y '*yalla az kâ barāwurdam*' *ce* is used without the abl. ending.

Note the comparative meaning in *žu xōnan ti xōn lup* X 'thy house is larger than mine', etc.

*az ayou jiniban* X 'for this sake, *az barā-i ū*' is a semi-Prs. expression.

132. The instrumental, which acc. to Shaw is formed with *da . . . an*, appears in *pu cakuwen rəstəvəm* Y 'I cut with a knife'. Kl., p. 94, gives *xingārən* 'dagger' used as an instrumental, but cf. also *pə . . . -ən* (p. 100).

On the other hand *da* denotes the locative in *'peden da dū'lân tū* X 'the saddle is on the veranda'; *da amī xōn* 'in this house'

(semi-Prs.). Cf. the purely Prs. expression: *dar huzūr-i pādšā* X 'in the presence of the king'.

But *dr-* in *d̄rəm* 'in this, here', *dra* 'in that, there' appears to be genuine Wkh.

### Adverbs.

133. 1. Local: *d̄rəm* 'here'; *dra* 'there'; *t̄rəm* 'thither'; *t̄rət* Sk. 'there'; *kum̄jei* 'where?'; *ce-kūman* 'whence?', 'where?'; *dir* 'at a distance'; *šiš* (*šičn*), *qarīb* 'near'; *wūč* 'up'; *baār*, *tar-vič* Sh. 'outside'; *tar sibās* Sh. 'behind'; *prūt* Sh. 'forward, first'.

2. Temporal: *nīv* 'now'; *wūdg* 'to day'; *yez* 'yesterday'; *tōrt* 'the day after to-morrow, or before yesterday'; *cabrēm* 'three days hence'; *wu'serd*, *imsōl* 'this year' (cf. the adj. *sērdingī* 'belonging to this year', *pardingī* 'belonging to last year'); *t̄tvārt* 'the year before last'; *ar'sōl* 'yearly'; *cə-waxt* 'when?'; *awal* 'formerly'; *bād* 'then'; *bət* 'further, again'; *ce'bas* 'again, then'; *subda'mik* 'in the morning'; *pūrzer* 'in the evening'; *waxtī* 'once'.

3. Modal, etc.: *γaf* 'very'; *čizir*, 'cerak' 'why?'; *cəm-ǰə'nīb* 'therefore'; *yō—yō*, *xō—xō* 'either—or'; *yān*, 'bale' 'yes'; *xūb* 'well'; *al'batt* 'perhaps'; *ət* 'and'.

For particulars v. Voc. s.vv.

### The Verb.

#### Stems.

134. According to Shaw<sup>1</sup> "every Verb appears, in its various tenses, under four forms, which require to be known, in each case, before it can be conjugated. These are: The Infinitive form. The Present form. The Past form. The Perfect form."

To these four 'forms' must be added the 3rd sg. pres., wherever its stem differs from that of the 1st Sg.

<sup>1</sup> P. 14.

## The Verb Substantive.

135. The nominal construction is very common in Wkh. Thus, e.g.: *ha'yem xōn žunan* X 'this house is mine'; *uz ayem xōnan* X 'I am from this house'; *žu xōnan ti xōn lup* X 'thy house is bigger than mine'; *sak Waxi xalge* X 'we are Wakhis'; *sāišť kūi?* Y 'who are you?'; *yem xūn žə xūn(ən)* Y 'this house is my own'.

Among the few examples of the auxiliary noted by Sk. and myself are: *wuz-əm murz vitk* Sk. 'I have become hungry', and, in the present, *tu-t kūi?* Y 'who art thou?'; *sak-ən Xik-ən* Y 'we are Wakhis'.

*tei-* is used in: *sāk-ən tū* Sk. 'we were'; *saš kūi tūet* X 'who were(?) you', *čis xabar tēi?* X 'what is the matter?'. Note *tūet* X = *tū* 'he, she was' in the Tale.

Regarding *vit* and *woc-* v. Voc. s.vv.

## The Present Stem.

136. The only productive Present formation is the Causative in *-ev-*, *-əv-*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Thus: *pūmecev-* 'to dress somebody else' from *pūmec-*; *nezdəv-* 'to make to sit down' from *nezd-*. Wkh. *-v-* cannot go back to Ir. *-p-*, and the suffix must be of IA origin.<sup>2</sup>—*pšū-* Sh., causative of *pšin-*, *pšew-* 'to return' and *werxüv-* (from *werxar-* 'to flood') are irregular formations. Of *niv-* 'to extinguish' and some other causatives no simple forms are known.

137. A number of verbs have 1 sg. pres. in *-ī(y)əm*, *-īm*, and 3 sg. in *-īt* (*-īd*). Thus: Sk. *ḍəviyəm* (*ḍəvid*) 'I steal'; *kəmiəm* (*kimīt*) 'I will'; *mərīm* (*mīrīd*) 'I die'; *nəsīm*, Y *nesiam* (*nīsīd*) 'I lie down'; *wəšīm*, Y *wəšiyəm* (*wišīd*) 'I am afraid'; *wəzīm*, Y *wəziəm* (*wīzīt*, Y *wizit*) 'I come'; Sh. *ramiam* (*rimit*) 'I command'; Kl. *pörviyəm* (*pērvit*) 'I attain'. These forms must go back to ancient presents in *-āya-*, *-iya-*: *\*dabaya-*, *\*kamaya-*, *\*m<sup>ə</sup>riya-*, *\*ni-saya-*, *\*wi-sriya-*(??), *\*uz-aya-*(??),

<sup>1</sup> Sk. *pīcawəm*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Yd.—Mj. § 229 and the corresponding Psht. and Par. forms.

\**fra-māya-*, \**pari-apaya-* (anc. lw.?). Also Sk. *ṛīyam* (*ṛīyd*) 'I copulate'; *ḷōyam* (*ḷōyd*) 'I read'; *sādūyd* 'it appears'; *sātīyam* (*sātīyd*) 'I send'; *sīyam* (*sīyd*) 'I rub'. Cf. also: Sh. *wuśūyam* 'I untie';<sup>1</sup> *pūtmūiam* 'I mimic'; *zwāyam* 'I roll up'; *wūzdiam*, Y *wuzdiem* 'I wash';<sup>2</sup> *kšūiam*, Y *kšūiyam* 'I hear' (< \**guśaya-*?), and, probably, Sk. *śāyam*, Y *śāyam* (*śīt*<sup>3</sup>) 'I kill' belong to this group. Wkh. *-īy-*, *-ūy-*, *-ūy-* goes back to \**-āya-*, but the distribution between forms in *-āya-* and *-aya-* has apparently in some cases been troubled.

But cf. also *pūmec-* 'to dress' and *nis-* 'to lose', with apparent loss of *-aya-*.

138. Presents in *-ya-* are preserved in *diš-* 'to know'; *pöč-* 'to cook' (intr.); *töš-* 'to empty out' (denom.); *nāš-* 'to be lost'; *pödmöš-* 'to ferment' (if < \**pati-dmasya-*); *tač-* 'to go, move'(?); *muš-* 'to conceal'; *ramuš-* 'to forget', and *wasēr-* 'to become cold'.

139. Ancient Presents in *-sa-* are chiefly found in connection with *f*, *v*, e.g., *wərəfs-* 'to stand'; *gafs-* 'to run'; *nadefs-* 'to stick' (Sh. *nadefs-* 'to affect, stain'), etc. Cf. also *šaxs-* 'to pass through'. In *purs-* 'to ask' the suffix is of pre-Ir. date. The derivation of *kās-* 'to thresh' < \**xad* + *sa-* is uncertain.

140. Ancient Presents in *-nā-* are: *varīn-* 'to shear'; *pazdan-* 'to recognize'; *witrin-* 'to sky', and, possibly, *pšin-* (= *pšew-*) 'to return'.

An infixed *-n-* probably appears in *rānd-* 'to give' (cf. also *pūriind-* 'to sell', *vārand-* 'to abuse'?); *yūnd-* 'to carry away'; *nūnd-* 'to plant'; *škənd(iv)-* 'to break', and in some other verbs in *-nd-*.

141. Remains of other Present formations are: *nezd-* 'to sit down' (\**ni-hazda-*); *pōv-* 'to drink' (\**piba-*); *car-* 'to do' (Aor. *čara-*?). In *wōc-* 'to become', and *čāw-* 'to go' the Presents differ from the Past Stems (*vit*, *tāyd*<sup>4</sup>).

Irregular are *dim-* (and *dē-*) 'to beat'; *zūbūt-* Sh., trans. of *zūbed-*

<sup>1</sup> But note Sh. *wiśam* 'I loose'.

<sup>2</sup> With inflexion influenced by *dē-*, v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>3</sup> With secondary 3rd sg.

<sup>4</sup> Sh. has *čau-*: *taγd* 'to go', but *töč-*: *töčt* 'to move'. V. Voc. s.vv.

'to burst'. *piding* is probably the perf. of \**pidin-* 'to flame up' (< \**pāti-dagna-?*), cf. *pīcev-* Y, *pīdisev-* L. 'to kindle a fire' (< \**pāti-daxsa-??*). V. Voc. s.vv.

## Present.

142.	Y	Y	Y	X	
	'I eat'	'I drink'	'I beat'	'I eat'	
1 Sg.	<i>'yāwum</i>	<i>pōvən</i>	<i>dīməm</i>	<i>'yawum</i>	
2 »		<i>pōvī</i>	<i>dī</i>	<i>'yawī(-ā)</i>	
3 »	<i>yīt</i>	<i>pīt</i>		<i>'yawet</i>	
1 Pl.	<i>yāwΔn</i>	<i>pōvΔn</i>	<i>dīnen</i>	<i>'yawan</i>	
2 »	<i>yāwov</i>	<i>pōvəv</i>	<i>dīef</i>	<i>'yawit</i>	
3 »	<i>yāwΔn</i>	<i>pōvΔn</i>		<i>'yawan</i>	
	Sk.	Sk.	Sk.	Sk.	Kl.
	'I drink'	'I put'	'I die'	'I steal'	
1 Sg.	<i>'pūvəm</i>	<i>kātəm</i>	<i>'mərīm</i>	<i>'dəviyəm</i>	<i>-əm</i>
2 »	<i>'pūvī</i>	<i>kātī</i>		<i>'dəviyi</i>	—
3 »	<i>'pīt</i>	<i>kārt</i>	<i>'mīrīd</i>	<i>'dəvid</i>	<i>-t, -d</i>
1 Pl.	<i>pūvən</i>	<i>kātən</i>	<i>'mərīn</i>	<i>dəviyən</i>	<i>-ən</i>
2 »	<i>'pūvəv</i>	<i>kārtəv (!)</i>	<i>'mərīv</i>		<i>-it, -əi</i>
3 »	<i>pūvən</i>	<i>kātən</i>	<i>(mərīn?)</i>		<i>-ən</i>

143. As mentioned above<sup>1</sup> the 2nd pl. ends in *-t* in Eastern Wakhan, but in *-v* in Western Wakhan. This latter form is probably borrowed from Ishk., as *-dwam* would not result in Wkh. *-v*.

Owing to early contractions the 3rd sg. presents some irregularities. The secondary contact between the final consonant of the root and the suffix results in various assimilations. Thus: *wōst* 'becomes' (*wōcəm*); *rəšt* 'goes' (*račəm*); *wərəšt* 'remains' (*wərəcəm*); *witrišt* Sh. 'shies' (*witrinam*); *rasašt* Sh. 'breaks' (*rasedam*); *kārt* 'puts' (*kātəm*); *wūzənd* 'brings' (*wūzəməm*). But *rapact* Sh. 'loses the way', *pāct* Sk. 'cooks'. Verbs ending in *nd* have no visible suffix. Thus: *vand* 'binds', *kānd* 'laughs', *nūnd* 'plants', with *-nd* < \**nd-d*.

<sup>1</sup> § 16.

Quite irregular is the inflexion of *dīməm* Y (v. above); *dēm*, 3 sg. *dēšt* Sk.; *dēməm*, 3 sg. *dəit*, 1, 3 pl. *dēnən* Kl.; *dehəm-əm*, *de*, *det*, *dehen-ən*, *dehen-əv*, *dehen-ən* Hj. This verb has to some extent influenced the inflexion of *wuzdi*- 'to wash'. *təi* 'is' (1 sg. *təyam* Sk.) is perhaps of pronominal origin, cf. Psht. *dai*.

Regarding the 3rd sg. in *īt* cf. above § 137. In a number of verbs, chiefly in *-āw-* and *-āy-*, the vocalism is changed into *-ī-* in the 3rd sg.<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g., *yīt* 'eats' (*yāw-*); *čīt* 'goes' (*čāw-*); *drīt* 'reaps' (*drāw-*); *θīt* 'burns' (*θāw-*); *šīt* 'kills' (*šāy-*). Note also *pīt* 'drinks' (*\*pivt* < *\*pibati*?).

The 1st pl. in *-n* agrees with some dialects of Sgl.—Ishk., etc.<sup>2</sup>

In some cases Sk. gives a compound form in the 3rd sg. Thus, e.g. *vūl cart* 'smells', but *vūləm* (abstract), *vūl-carəm* (concrete); *qēw cart* 'calls' (*qēwem*).

### Imperative.

144. The Imper. 2 sg. is identical with the Present Stem. Thus, e.g., Sk. *uīn* 'see'; *pāc* 'cook'; *təi* 'be'; *šān* 'say'; *xaš* 'pull'; *uərəc* 'remain', etc. V. Voc. passim.

### The Past Stem.

145. The formation of the Past Stem has been subject to numerous levelling innovations, and only a comparatively small number of verbs or root-types have preserved preterites which may go back direct to Old Ir. forms.

Thus we find *\*-āta-* in *ramatt* Sh. 'commanded' (*rami-*), *statt* Sh., *statt* Sk. 'sent' (*s<sup>ə</sup>tīy-*); *\*-ata-* in *šāt(t)* 'said' (*šān-*), *sat* 'rose' (*san-*), *kott* 'drew a sword' (*kūn-*), *γāt(t)* 'arrived' (*γāt-*); *\*-īta-* in *pīt(t)* 'drank' (*pōv-*), *varitt* 'shore' (*varīn-*), *šīt*, *šīt* 'killed' (*šāy-*), *zwett* 'wound' (*zwāy-*), *nəst* 'lay down' (*nəsī-*),<sup>3</sup> possibly also in *bott* 'over-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 99.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sgl.—Ishk., § 124, and 132.

<sup>3</sup> With syncope in a disyllabic stem.

threw' (*büt-*) from *\*ham-patita-*(?), *nütt* 'planted' (*nünd-*) from *\*nihādita-*(?); and in *det(t)* 'gave' (*rānd-*) from *\*dita-*; *\*-ūta-* in *vit*, *vit(t)* 'became', *yīt*, *yēt* 'ate' (*yāw-*).

I always heard Y -*t* (e.g. *žat*, but X *žatt*). L. has *pīt* and *pšēt* (Sh. *pītt*, *pšett*). Sh. and Sk. in most cases have *tt*, but note Sh. *yīt*, *parvet* (Z *pörvött*, but Kl. *pörvətəi*), *vārāt* (Sk. *vāratt*), and Sk. *yēt*, *vīt*, *det* (Sh. *yīt*, *vitt*, *det*). Kl. regularly gives *pīt*, *žat*, but *pittəi*, *žattəi*. Note, however, Kl. *žatəi*, *pšətəi*, *pörötəi*, *yitəi* (but *yittüü*).—The variation between *tt* and *t* does not appear to have any phonological significance and may partly be due to inexact observation, partly to difference of dialect. It is, perhaps, possible that *tt* originally belongs to stems of the type *nütt* < *\*nihādita-*, and has been generalized.

146. Ir. *\*-rta-* is represented by *kert* 'did' (*car-*) and *mərt* 'died' (*mərī-*); *\*-ržda-* by *dežd* 'held' (*durz-*); *-asta-* by *vāst* 'bound' (*vānd-*) and *xərōst* Kl. 'snored' (*xərüθ-*);<sup>1</sup> *\*-ašta-*, *-išta-* by *wāšt* 'fell' (*wāz-*), *nāšt* 'lost' (*nāš-*), *tāšt* 'shaved' (*tüš-*),<sup>2</sup> and *wišť* '(the sun) set' (*wiš-*).<sup>3</sup>

Ir. *\*-afta-*, *\*-ifta-* occur in *čavd* 'gathered' (*čip-*); *nađevd* 'stuck' (*nađefs-*); *\*-axta-* in *tayd*, *rəyd* 'went' (*čāw-*, *rəč-*).<sup>4</sup>

Also *rasen-* 'broke' (*rased-*); *nein-* 'sat down'; *zībön* 'burst' (*ziübed-*); *wərašn* 'remained' (*wərəč-*), and *žögn* 'filled' (*žönz-*) may be of Ir. origin and go back to forms in *\*-idna-*, *\*-ixna-*, etc. Cf. Skr., *niṣanna-*, *bhinna-*, *bhagna-*,<sup>5</sup> etc.

147. Considered from the point of view of the modern Wkh. system the Past Stems may be arranged in the following groups:

### Regular Past Stems.

To this group belong verbs whose final consonant is not changed before the suffix *t*, *d*.

<sup>1</sup> If not a recent formation with *θt* > *st*.

<sup>2</sup> More probably a secondary formations in *š* + *t*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 73.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. infin. *tukan*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sgl.—Ishk. § 138, VI.



In some cases it seems doubtful whether an assimilative change is phonological or merely phonetical. It may be that *witriðt* (*witrin*), *məðt* (*məð-*), *wōzōnd* (*wuzem-*), *čāld-* (*čālg-*), and *škūrd* (*škūrg-*) ought to be considered as regular forms. But it is of course impossible to try to solve this point without possessing more than a superficial knowledge of the language.

148. I. Regular Past Stems in *t*.

From roots in a vowel: *ramatt* 'commanded' (*rami-*);<sup>1</sup> *kəmətt* 'agreed' (*kəmi-*); *tanet* 'folded sheep'; *neit* 'went out' (*niü-*); *parvet* 'attained' (*parve(y)-*), etc. (v. above).

From roots in *t*: *gōtt* 'found'; *ǰātt* 'arrived'; *ziibott* 'burst' (*ziibüt-*); *bott* 'overthrew' (*büt-*); *ǰortt* 'collected'. From roots in *ð*: *ǰāðt* 'piled up'; *žōðt* 'sowed'; *loðt* 'rammed in' (*lüð-*); *məðt* 'curdled' (*\*mōð-*). Cf. *witriðt* 'shied' (*witrin-*).

From roots in *p*, *k*, *č*, *c*: *roǰopt* 'slept' (*reǰup-*); *dropt* 'scratched' (*driip-*); *tapt* 'quaked'; *šilāpt* 'splashed'; *cəropt* Kl. 'pinched' (*cəriip-*); *čukt* 'beat'; *čākt* 'dripped'; *wāqt* 'barked'; *töçt* 'moved'; *čöçt* 'pinched'; *gāçt* 'tottered'; *pāct* (*pacd*) 'cooked', etc.

From roots in *f*, *x*, *ǰ*: *āft*, *woft* 'plaited' (*ūf-*); *parwāft* 'netted' (*parwuf-*); *štröft* 'sneezed'; *skāft* 'tripped'; *pačrəxt* 'arrested'; *ferxt* 'sneezed'. Note the secondary formation *wərxəxt* 'remained' (*wərx-*) L.; *soǰt* 'smeared' (*suǰ-*); *goǰt* 'did'; *ðōǰt* 'crushed' (*ðiǰ-*); *čāǰt* 'killed', etc.

From roots in *s*, *š*: *kāst* 'threshed'; *nōst* 'lost' (*nis-*); *strüst* 'splashed'; *nəst* 'lay down' (*nəsi-*); *gafst* 'ran'; *nədəfst* 'stuck'; *wərəfst* 'stood'; *xöfst* 'felt sleepy'; *purst* 'asked'; *bārst* 'closed the eyes'; *šöxst* 'passed'; *dīšt* 'knew'; *mōšt* 'concealed' (*müš-*); *nāšt* 'was lost'; *niwišt* 'wrote'; *pödmōšt* 'fermented'; *töšt* 'emptied'; *tāšt* 'cut' (*tiš-*); *xāšt* 'pulled'; *varešt* 'fried'; *yākšt* 'boiled'.

From roots in *r*: *kert*, (secondary form: *cārt*) 'did' (*car-*); *mərt* 'died' (*məri-*); *wasərt* 'cooled'; *naspart* 'tread down'; *werxart* 'flooded'. Cf. also *kart* 'threw into' (*kaṭ*), with *tt* > *rt*.

<sup>1</sup> The Present Stem is only given wherever it differs in vocalism from the Past Stem.

149. II. Regular Past Stems in *d*. Most roots in voiced consonants and semivowels belong to this class. But the existence of preterites of the type *žōdt* and *mərt* shows that *d* is not a mere phonetic variant of *t*.

From roots in *i*, *y*: *sədōid* 'appeared' (*sədiy-*); *đovoid* 'stole' (*đaviy-*); *žōid* 'read' (*žōy-*); *wōzdōid* Sk. (but *wōzdošt* Y) 'washed' (*wīzdey-*, *wuzdi-*).

From roots in *u*, *w*: *nōwd* 'wept' (*nūw-*); *porōd* 'rinsed' (*puru-*); *stod* Sh. (*staudi-* L.) 'praised' (*sto-*, *sitao-*); *wērōd* L. 'irrigated' (*wērəw-*).

From roots in *v*: *līvd* 'slipped'; *tōvd* 'twisted'; *vīšōvd* 'swept' (*vīšəv-*); *dʳevd* 'sewed', and the numerous causatives of the type *rəstōvd* 'broke' (*rəstəv-*); *pīcovd* (but Sk. *pīcōwd*) 'kindled a fire' (*pīcev-*, *pīcəw-*); *dīsōvd* Sk. 'showed' (*dīsəv-*, v. s.v. *đisiv-*); *nīōvd* 'extinguished' (*nīv-*), etc. Note *gəfsəvt* Sk. 'galloped'. With Sk. *pīcōwd* cf. Sh. *višīōwd* 'swept' (*višīūw-*); *pšaud* 'turned' (*pšū-*). In these cases *w* is probably due to inexact notation.

From roots in *ǰ*: *deđiǰd* 'looked'; *degd* 'brought up'. Note *čald* 'wished' (*čalg-*); *škūrd* 'sought' (*škūr-*).

From roots in *z*, *ž*, *ǰ*: *rōzd* 'ripped up' (*rīz-*); *rəwəzd* 'flew' (but *wāšt* from *wāz-*); *wozd* 'came' (*wəzi-*); *nawāzd* 'sounded'; *gəzd* 'rose' (*gīz-*); *yūžd* 'bore'; *rīžd* 'felt pain'; *trānǰd* 'tightened'. Note *pātrǰz* Sh. 'leant' (*putriüz-*), with *-z* for *-zd*?

From roots in *r*, *l*: *wōdōrd* 'grasped' (*wīdər-*); *ǰīrd* 'turned round'; *nežyard* 'swallowed'; *šārd* 'slandered'; *škūrd* Sh. 'sought'; *yaward* 'chose' (*yawer-*); *āld* 'stayed'; *frīld* 'crumbled'; *namīld* 'hemmed', etc. The Past stems in *rd* are of a more recent date than those in *rt*.

From roots in *n*, *m*: *bōnd* 'winnowed' (*būn-*); *wīnd* 'saw'; *pazdand* 'recognized'; *tond* 'kneaded' (*tun-*); *škōnd* 'quenched the thirst' (v. s.v. *škəndiv-*); *brāmd* 'babbled'; *patramd*, *potrombd* 'arrested' (*pūtriūm(b)-*); *vīzamd* 'rubbed'; *wīzəmd* Sk. 'brought'; *ǰāmd* 'descended'.

150. III. Irregular Past Stems in *t*.

From roots in *n*: *ǰätt* 'said'; *varitt* 'shore'; *sat* 'rose'; *spat* 'filled (a river)'; *kott* 'drew a sword' (*k̄in-*); *pšett-* 'returned' (*pšin-*).

From roots in *nd*: *yūt(t)* 'carried' (*yünd-*); *nütt* 'planted' (*nünd-*); *pūrit* 'sold' (*pūrind-*); *ratt* 'gave' (*ränd-*); *vāratt* 'scolded'; *škött* 'broke'; *niǰit* 'expelled' (*niǰind-*). As for the origin of this formation cf. § 145. But *vāst* 'bound' (*vānd-*); *zirest* 'turned in a lathe' (*zirānd-*). Note *xərōst* Kl. (*xəriüθ-*).

From roots in *w*: *ði/et* 'burned' (*ðāw-*); *yī/ēt* 'ate' (*yāw-*); *drätt* 'reaped' (*drāw-*); *viðett* 'rode' (*viðāw-*); *gött* 'covered' (*gaw-*); *pšet* 'returned' (*pišew-*); *čit* X 'went' (*čāw-*). The origin of this type are participles in *-ūta*, e.g. *\*yūta-*, *\*druta-*.

From *pōv-* 'to drink': *pītt*.

From some roots in *z*: *wāšt* 'fell'; *nēšt* 'went out' (*niwiz-*). Cf. *wišt* '(the sun) set' (*wīs-*); *pöšt* 'cooked' (*pöč-*); *köšt* 'cultivated' (*kür-*);<sup>1</sup> *wəšt* 'feared' (*wəšiy-*); *dēxt* 'beat' (*dē-*);<sup>2</sup> *wōzdošt* 'washed' (*wuzdi-*).

151. IV. Irregular Past Stems in *d*.

From roots in *k, č*: *tāǰd* 'went' (*čāw-*, cf. inf. *tukan*); *rəǰd* 'went' (*rəč-*).

From roots in *p*: *žövd* 'span' (*žüp-*); *čavd* 'picked' (*čip-*). Cf. *nadevd* 'affected', etc. (*nadevs-*, *nadevs-*). But, acc. to Y, *nədafst* 'embraced' (*nədavn-*).

Quite irregular are: *ševd* L. 'beat wool' (*šem-*); *cəremd* 'pinched' (*cerev-*);<sup>3</sup> *širānd* Sh. 'told beads' (*širāw-*).

As for *dežd* 'seized' (*durz-*), cf. § 82.

According to Sh. some roots in *nd* have Past Stems in *nd(d)i*: *kandi-* (but Sk. *kānd*) 'laughed' (*kānd-*); *šānddi-* 'rubbed up'; *mānddi-* 'shampoed'; *žümānddi-* 'wrung'. I am unable to explain the derivation of this form.<sup>4</sup> Cf. *staudi-* L. 'praised' (*stau-*).—*šāndid* Sh. 'compounded' (*šānd-*) is influenced by Prs.

<sup>1</sup> Prs. lw.

<sup>2</sup> Kl. *dēm-*: *dəit*.

<sup>3</sup> Kl. *cəriü-*: *cəriüpt*.

<sup>4</sup> *-nddi* < *\*-ndid*?

152. V. Past Stems in *n*.

From roots in *ǰ*: *ne-in-* 'sat down' (*nezd-*); *rənn* 'fled' (*rəd-*); *rasen* 'broke' (*rased-*, v. s.v. *rəstəv-*); *zībōn* 'burst' (*zībēd-*); *petərnə* 'sprung from one seed' (*petərd-*).

From roots in an ancient velar: *pamagn* 'dressed' (*pamec-*); *rapagn* 'lost the way' (*rapic-*); *ǰög(ə)n* 'milked' (*ǰic-*); *wəṛəγn* 'stayed' (*wəṛəč-*);<sup>1</sup> *ǰögn* 'filled into' (*ǰönz-*); *vardegn* 'pressed down' (*vardenz-*); *ǰirögn* 'hung from a peg' (*ǰiröv-*).<sup>2</sup> Cf. also s.v. *pidn*- Kl. 'caught fire' (*pidic-*), v. s.v. *piding*.

From some roots in *y*: *wašan* Sh. 'untied' (*wušüy-*);<sup>3</sup> *pīn* L. 'guarded' (*pūy-*); *kšən* 'heard' (*kšüy-*).<sup>4</sup>

Note Sh. (and Kl.) *čern* 'entered' (*čerm-*), but Sk. *čəramd* (*čəram-*).

## 153. VI. Suppletive Past Stems.

The Past Stems of *čāw-* 'to go'; *wōc-* 'to become'; *car-* 'to do'; *rand-* 'to give' are: *tāγd*, *tayd* Sk., Sh. (*rōγd* Kl.); *vīt*; *kərt*; *ǰet*. From the point of view of Wkh. also *ǰat*, *x(š)et* L. 'did' from *goǰ-* (cf. perf. (*g(o)ǰetk* Sk.) is a suppletive formation. X gave the regular forms *ǰit* 'went', and *guǰt* besides *ǰat*; cf. also Sk. *ratt* 'gave', and Sh. *rātt*, Kl. *rətt*, besides *ǰett*, *ǰətt*.

Note also *tū* 'was' (*tei-*).

## Preterite.

154. The material at my disposal is not sufficient for establishing a complete paradigm, but in the main the personal suffixes agree with those given by Sh. and Kl.<sup>5</sup>

1st Sg. *ǰet-em* Y 'I gave'; *roǰopt-əm* Y 'I slept'; *tāγdəm* Sk. 'I went'; *tū(m)* Sk. 'I was'.

The transitive ending *\*mai*, and the intransitive *ahmi* have coalesced.

<sup>1</sup> From *wəṛəγn* L. has formed a new present *wəṛγ*, with Past Stem *wəṛəxt*.

<sup>2</sup> Sh., but cf. also Kl. *ǰərov-* (*ǰəṛəǰak* inf.): *ǰərovǰn* 'to be stuck'.

<sup>3</sup> And *wašin-* 'loosed' (*wüš-*).

<sup>4</sup> As for variants of this verb, v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>5</sup> Kl.: *-əm*, *-ət*, —, *-ən*, *-əv*, *-ən*.

In the Perfect I heard Y *-ən*, X *-in* in: *aletk-ən* 'I am standing'; *nietk-ən* 'I have gone out'; *wunetk-in* 'I have seen'; *wızdik-in* 'I have washed'; *nieng-in* 'I am sitting'. But Y *nieng-əm* 'I am sitting'; *yitk-em* 'I have eaten'; *wurufsatk-əm* 'I am standing'; X *vandetk-im* 'I have bound'.

The suffix is still detachable from the root. Thus Y: *wūz-um roṣopt-ei* 'I slept' (= *roṣopt-əm*); *yez-əm rəyd-ei* 'I went yesterday'; *yūmj-um goṣt-ei* 'I prepared flour'; *niv-um ne.in-ei* 'now I sat down'; Sk. *yark-m krt-i* 'I worked'; *yurpk-əm dēxt-i* 'I poured out water'; *wuz-əm murz vitk* 'I have become hungry' (cf. Y *mərz-əm vit-ei*.—No suffix occurs in Y *wuz i xālg šit-äi* 'I killed a man'.

The particle *-ei*, *-äi* probably originally belonged to the 3rd Sg. of trans. verbs (< \**hai*).

2nd Sg. I heard X *yitk-et* 'thou hast eaten', (or 'you have eaten?'), but also *tu det-äi* 'thou gavest'; X *nivdi* 'thou didst weep'; *tu wəzd* 'thou camest'; Sk. *tu-t na wəzdi* 'thou didst not come'; *tū(t)* 'thou wast'.

3rd Sg. Y *rəxnīg ṭət-ei* 'the fire burned'; *roṣupt* 'he fell asleep'; *nəḍafst-ei* 'he embraced', etc., without any distinctive personal suffix.—Note X *tūet* 'he, she was'.<sup>1</sup>

1st Pl. The only example available is Sk. *sāk-ən tu* 'we were'.

2nd Pl. Sk. *čiz-əv sāyış wīnd-əv?* 'what have you seen?' But X *saš kūi tūet?* 'who are (were?) you?'.

3rd Pl. Acc. to Sk. *tāyḍ-i* means 'they went', but it appears to be a sg. form.

Note the extensive use of the Perfect for the Preterite in the tale told by X.

#### *The Perfect Stem.*

#### 155. The Perfect Stem is formed:

I. By adding *-k* (< \**-aka*) to the Past Stem. Before this *k* preceding groups of consonants are usually simplified. This formation is used with Past Stems in *t(t)*, *n*, *vd* (causatives excepted), with some roots in *z*, and a few other verbs.

<sup>1</sup> Or 'is'?

Thus: Sh., Sk. *pītk* 'drunk'; *vītk* 'been'; X, Kl. *yītk* 'eaten'; Kl. *đatk* 'given'; Sk., Kl. *šītk* 'killed'; *yūtk* 'carried'; Sk. *drātk* 'reaped'; Kl. *purītk* 'sold'; *rattk* 'given'; Sh. *čōfk* 'picked'; *žōfk* 'spun'; *gōzg*, X *gezge* 'risen'; *wāšk*, Kl. *wašk* 'fallen'; *ražk*, Kl. *ražk* 'gone'; *dōžg*, X *dežg*, Kl. *dōžg* 'seized'; *niesk*, Y, X *niesk*, Kl. *nəyāsk* 'gone out'; *wazg*, X *wuzg*, Kl. *wōzg* 'come';<sup>1</sup> *tažk* 'gone'; *kōšk* 'cultivated'; *kerk*, X *kerk*, Sk., Kl. *kārk* 'done'; Sk. *mārtk* 'dead'; *tūtk* 'been'; Kl. *dārafk* 'sewn'; Sh. *žōtk*, Kl. *žātk* 'done'. These forms have arisen from \**gōzdg*, \**wāštk*, \**ražtk*, \**kertk*, \**dārafk*, etc.

From Past Stems in *n* we find: Kl. *kšōng*, X *kišing* 'heard'; Sh., Y, X *ni.əng*, Kl. *nə'yəng* 'sat down'; Sh. *rōng* 'fled'; *raseng* 'broken'; Kl. *čarəng* 'entered'; *pāding*, X *piding* 'lighted'; *škōng* 'broken' (Past Stem *škōnd*); Sh. *pamažk*, Kl. *pamažk* 'dressed'; Sh. *đōžk* 'milked' < \**pamaž(n)k*, \**đōž(n)k*; Kl. *žarāžk* 'hung'.

Sh. *witring* 'shied' has been formed from the Present Stem.

156. II. By adding the stressed suffix *-etk*, *-ātk* to the Infinitive Stem. This is the more regular, "weak", formation, and in Sk.s dialect it has largely encroached upon the ancient group of "strong" Perfects. Thus, e.g., Sk. *šəyātk* 'killed', besides *šītk*; *yōwātk* 'eaten'; *rattātk* 'given'; *gīzātk* 'risen'; *wəzātk* 'fallen'; *dūrzātk* 'seized'; *niwizātk* 'gone out'; *dāravātk* 'sewn'; *g(o)žātk* 'done'; *kāšənātk* 'heard'. Besides *tūtk* Sk. gives *təyātk* 'been', cf. Kl. *tūwātk*. Sk. *rəyātk* 'gone' and *wərašnātk* 'remained' are based upon the Past Stem. I do not know whether X *čitātk* 'gone' is a correct Wkh. form.

This form of the Perfect Stem is used with all causatives, and with a great number of other verbs. Thus, e.g., Sk. *škəndəvātk* 'broken'; Sh. *gizivētk* 'aroused'; Y *aletk*, *wurufsātk* 'standing'; *niētk* 'gone out'; X *wunētk* 'seen'; *vandētk* 'bound'; *kitētk*, Sh. *yatētk* 'arrived'; Sk. *čā'žātk* 'slaughtered'; *čā'gātk* 'sought for'; *žā'nātk* 'said';<sup>2</sup> *pā'cātk* 'boiled'; Sh. *sūdūyētk* 'appeared' (but Sk. *sədoi'dātk* from the Past Stem). With syncope: Sk. *rātk* 'fled' (< \**rādātk*).

<sup>1</sup> X *wəzget* < \**wəzdek*?

<sup>2</sup> X *žā'nak*?

This formation goes back to *\*-itaka*,<sup>1</sup> cf. Sk. *kāṇḍatk* 'laughed': Psht. *xandəlai*.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the inflexion of the Perfect, v. § 154.

*Infinitive.*

157. In the dialect described by Sk. the infinitive is always formed from the Present Stem by the addition of *-āk* (< *\*-āka-*). An *ā* or *i* of the root is usually shortened into *ə*, *i*. Thus, e.g., *gī'zak* 'to rise'; *vən'dak* 'to bind' (*vand-*); *čəl'gak* 'to ask for' (*čālg-*); *ḍə'wāk* 'to burn' (*ḍāw-*); *pə'cāk* 'to cook' (*pāc-*); *drə'wak* (and *dərə'vak?*) 'to reap' (*drāw-*);<sup>3</sup> *rū'xi'pāk* 'to fall asleep' (*rū'xi'p-*); *yō'wāk* (!) 'to eat' (*yāw-*), etc. Note *kšə'yak* 'to hear', from the original Present Stem, besides *kšə'nak* (*kšən-*). With contraction *dēng* (and *də'yāk*) 'to beat', but *wīnak* 'to see'.

Also Kl. has *-āk* in most verbs.<sup>4</sup> But in Sh.'s dialect *-āk* is found only in a limited number of verbs. Among those are most stems in *nd* and *t*: *kandāk* 'to laugh'; *maṇḍāk* 'to shampoo'; *vandāk* 'to bind'; *varendāk* 'to abuse'; *yōndak* 'to take away'; *gotāk* 'to find'; *ḡatāk* 'to arrive'; *katāk* 'to pound'. But *žimāndan* 'to wring'; *biitan* 'to throw down'; *ziibiit-iiv-n* (!) 'to burst'. Other examples are: *ḍauāk* 'to burn'; *cerāk*, *ḡāk* 'to do'; *ḡamāk* 'to descend'; *ḡašāk* 'to cut'; *čilgāk* 'to desire'; *našāk* 'to be lost'; *ḡanāk* 'to say'; *hālāk* 'to stay'; *wuzduk* 'to wash'.

According to Sh. the majority of verbs in *-n* have contracted Infinitives in *-ng* (< *\*-aka-*). Thus, *wing* 'to see'; *ding* 'to beat' (from Pres. Stem *dēm-*); *varing* 'to shear'; *niḡing* 'to expel'; *kūng* 'to draw a sword'; *piḡing* 'to flame'; *piiriin(g)* 'to sell'.

158. But by far the most common infinitive ending in Sh.'s list is *-(a)n*, which is absorbed into the final root-consonant in *pazdan* 'to know'; *witrin* 'to sky'. Thus, e.g., *trənḡan* 'to press'; *drövn* 'to sew', etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geiger, Pamir Dial. § 38.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 238. But Yd. *xadī* 'laughed' < *\*-ita-*, v. § 235.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *dərə'vak* 'to sew'.

<sup>4</sup> For exceptions v. below.

After a Present Stem ending in a vowel the suffix is *-in*, e.g. *rame-in* 'to command'; *mara-in* 'to die'; *kšü-in* 'to hear'.

Irregular formations are: *drün* 'to reap' (*drāw-*); *gīn* 'to cover' (*gaw-*); *vide-in* 'to ride' (*vidāw-*); *zirü-in* 'to turn in a lathe' (*ziründ-*); *wašuk-an* 'to fear' (*waši-*); *yitn* 'to eat' and *pītn* 'to drink' (*yāw-*, *pöv-*) are formed from the Past Base, cf. Kl. *yitn*, *pītn*, but Sk. *yō'wak*, *pū'vak*. *nüdn* 'to sit' is derived from *\*ni-hadana-* (*nezd-*). *radān* 'to give' scarcely goes back to *\*fra-dāna-* (v. Voc. s.v.). *hümüin* 'to be' (*tei-*) and *tukn* 'to go' (*čau-*) are formed from special stems, but note Sk., Kl. *tə'yāk*, Kl. *čə'wak* (*čāw-*).<sup>1</sup>

159. An Infinitive suffix in *-k* is common to many Ir. dialects, but *-n* < *\*-anai*, is peculiar to Wkh.<sup>2</sup> Kl., p. 92, mentions the infinitives *'šətōr-ər* '(in order) to kill', and *ləd-ōu* 'to give'. The first form is a dative of some verbal noun which may in itself originally be a dative. The second cannot, with Kl., be compared direct with the Shgh. form in *-t/dōu*, but it may also go back to a case-form of an ancient base in *-(t)u-*.<sup>3</sup>

Note the use of the Dative in *uz kend ilgakar wəzdım X* 'I came to seek a wife'.<sup>4</sup>

### Interrogative Particle.

160. Wkh. possesses an interrogative particle *-a*, related to that found in the neighbouring languages.<sup>5</sup> For examples v. Voc. s.v.

<sup>1</sup> But *rəčn*, *rə'čak*, *tukn* from *rəč*.

<sup>2</sup> V. Benveniste, *Les infinitifs avestiques* p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Benveniste's derivation of the Shgh. infinitive from a *k*-suffix, is phonetically impossible.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kl. p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Yd.—Mj. § 258.



## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

### X.

1. A'wal Sul'tân-i Māmūd xī'nak 'pâdšâ tu'et. 2. Dar 'wâda-i Sul'tân 'Māmūd 'yeū 'tate nong Subukta'gin tu. 3. 'Wâda-i 'yayōr<sup>1</sup> 'pâdšâ 'digar tū. 4. 'Waxtī (a'you) 'pâdšâ 'sail ni'ešk. 5. A'you 'pâdšâra sa'lâm guxt.<sup>2</sup> 6. 'Pâdšâ 'yawark pur'sân-um<sup>3</sup> kerk: "Sul'tân-i Mā'mūd, tu 'čis 'yarkər wəzd?" 7. "Uz 'k'end čilgakar 'wəzdim." 8. Sul'tân-i Māmūd 'xat ki: "Tinan 'čis 'yark tu?" 9. "A'yem ju'wâb mark 'mālum 'ne vit." 10. "Žūnen ju'wâb: 'Tinen i 'degde 'tūet.<sup>4</sup> Az a'you jī'nīban 'wuz-um 'wəzget.<sup>5</sup> Ī 'deyd 'saban<sup>6</sup> 'tūet.

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1. Once there was a king called Sultan Mahmud. 2. In Sultan Mahmud's time his father's name was Sabuktagin. 3. In his(?) time there was another king. 4. Once (that) king went out for a walk. 5. He<sup>7</sup> salamed that king. 6. The king asked him: "Sultan Mahmud, what work have you come for?"<sup>8</sup> 7. (He answered:) "I have come to seek a wife." 8. Sultan Mahmud (went on and) said: "What is<sup>9</sup> your work?" 9. (The other king said?): "The answer to this<sup>10</sup> has not become known to me." 10. (Sultan Mahmud said): "My answer is: You have a daughter. I have arrived for her sake."<sup>11</sup> <You have a

<sup>1</sup> Uncertain case.

<sup>2</sup> Or *xat*.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of *-um* is unknown to me.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. § 135.

<sup>5</sup> For \**wəzdek* (Perf.)?

<sup>6</sup> Note the pl.

<sup>7</sup> Sultan Mahmud?

<sup>8</sup> *Barā-i čī kār āmadī?*

<sup>9</sup> Literally "was" (*tu*).

<sup>10</sup> Lit. "this answer".

<sup>11</sup> *Juwāb i mā : yak duxtar šumā hast. Az barā-i duxtar āmadam.*

11. 'Akram 'pâdšâ 'xât kē: Yem yark ce'bas reč, 'uz 'tawar-ke rux'sat 'guḡum. 12. 'Xōnar 'rič, ce'bas 'wəze. 13. 'Yān, 'tark ce'bas 'kāyaz 'goḡum. Yān 'wəze.

14. Ce'bas 'yowan 'kāyaz rešt. 15. Sultān-i 'Māmūd 'kāyaz dast-i xât deḡid<sup>1</sup>, 'jōid<sup>2</sup>, bis'yār 'niwde. 16. "Afsōs" xât <ki>, you 'nānar xât. 17. 'Nān a'yomen pursân-um kerk: "'Či(s) sa'bab ke 'nivdi?" 18. "'Ēi 'nān," xât kē: "Žu pi'zū 'tiwde." 19. You 'nān xât: "'Yān, 'ne re'čā."

20. You mīrā'xūr 'tū. 21. 'Yowar 'xatt: "Yašer peden 'guḡ." 22. Ce 'xōnen mīrā'xūr ni'ešk. 23. 'Peden da dā'lān tū. 24. 'Dast-e xatt dežge, ni'ešk. 25. 'Yaš 'peden guxt, ce'bas 'rešt. 26. Sultān-i Mā'mūdar xât. 27. Sultān-i Mā'mūd 'kipči 'xōnen ni'ešk, sa'wār vīt. 28. Ī manziler ke rešt pādšâ ke šingat. 29. Xalg pišiwāzar-ke

daughter>." 11. King Aqram<sup>2</sup> said: "Go back to<sup>3</sup> this work, I give you leave. 12. Go home, and come back. 13. Indeed, I shall send you a letter back (or: later). (Then) come, indeed."

14. A letter went back from him (to S. M.). 15. Sultan Mahmud seized it with his own hand, read it, and wept much. 16. "Alas," he said, to his mother he said (so).<sup>4</sup> 17. His mother asked him: "What is the reason that you were weeping?" 18. "O mother," he said, "my heart burned."<sup>5</sup> 19. His mother said: "Don't go, indeed."<sup>6</sup>

20. There was a horse-groom. 21. He<sup>7</sup> said to him: "Saddle a horse." 22. The groom went out of the house. 23. The saddle was in the veranda. 24. He seized it with his hands and went out. 25. He saddled the horse and went back. 26. He told Sultan Mahmud. 27. (The groom and) Sultan Mahmud both of them<sup>8</sup> went out of the house and mounted. 28. When they had gone one stage, the (other) king heard (about their departure). 29. People were sent<sup>9</sup> to the presence (of

<sup>1</sup> Prob. = *dežd*.

<sup>2</sup> The other king.

<sup>3</sup> Or: "go after, follow"? *Ī kār pas buru*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ba mādār-i xud guft*.

<sup>5</sup> For longing.

<sup>6</sup> Or: "do you not go?" *na-mērawy-a*.

<sup>7</sup> Sultan Mahmud.

<sup>8</sup> *har-dū-š*.

<sup>9</sup> Lit. "went".—*ādam pišiwāz-i S. M. raftan*.

rešt. 30. 'Purjar Sul'tân-i Māmūd ki'tetk. 31. Mīmân'xâna-i 'pâdšâ xalg xa'bar bît. 32. Īu 'xalg dar hu'zūr-i 'pâdšâ rešt. 33. 'Pâdšâ pur'sân-um kerk: "Ĵū ma'rām, čis 'xabar tēi?" 34. Ma'ram ẓatt ke: "Sul'tân-i Māmūd 'wezge." 35. "Xūb," ẓatt ke: "'Purzer 'yâwer 'yark 'guḡum." 36. 'Purjer 'yâwer ni'kâ kerk. 37. Sul'tân-i Māmūd 'gezge, dast-i 'pâdšâ 'bâm kerk. 38. A'you 'nâgde ni'kâ kerk. 39. 'Tafči xuš'waxt bît. 40. Sub'damid 'pâdšâ 'yâwer rux'sat kerk. 41. Cebūr 'yaš 'yōwer ta'wīl vīt.<sup>1</sup> 42. Sul'tân-i Māmūd γa(f) 'xoš bît. 43. Sul'tân-i Māmūd 'pâdšân du'ā dežge, rux'sat vīt. 44. Rešt 'xōnar ke. 45. 'Yōwə 'nān 'xōnan ni'ešk ba'ār. 46. Dast-i is'tex dežge. 'Mūbarak 'bōm kerk.<sup>2</sup>

S. M.). 30. Sultan Mahmud arrived in the evening. 31. In the king's guest-house people became aware of it. 32. One man went before the king. 33. The king asked him: "My servant, what is the matter?" 34. The servant answered: "Sultan Mahmud has arrived." 35. "Well," (the king) said, "to-night I shall arrange his affair."<sup>3</sup> 36. In the evening he made his wedding. 37. Sultan Mahmud rose, and kissed the king's hand. 38. That night he<sup>4</sup> arranged the wedding. 39. He<sup>5</sup> was very happy. 40. The next morning the king gave him leave. 41. Four horses became his stable. 42. Sultan Mahmud was very pleased. 43. Sultan Mahmud made a prayer for the king, and took leave. 44. He went home. 45. His mother came out of the house. 46. She seized her daughter-in-law's hand, and kissed it for good luck.

<sup>1</sup> Or *bît*.

<sup>2</sup> I am giving this tale, which was the only one which I was able to get hold of, as an example of the broken Wkh. of which X was certainly not the only speaker. Note his preference for the perfect.

<sup>3</sup> *Kār-i ūra mēkunim*.

<sup>4</sup> King Aqram.

<sup>5</sup> Sultan Mahmud.

## VOCABULARY

Abbreviations: As for Y, X, W, N, v. § 2.—Be(llew); Bi(ddulph); Cap(us); H(ayward); Hj(uler); Kl(imchitskiy); L(orimer); Ol(ufsen); Sh(aw); Sk(öld); Su(ein); Z(arubin).

All words given by my informants are included, although a large number of those given by X, W and N are either doubtful, or evident lw.s. They give, however, some impression of the lability of vocabulary in Wakhan. Verbal forms taken from Sk. are usually arranged in the following way: Pres. 1 sg., 3 sg.; Imper. 2 sg.; Preter. 1 sg.; Infin.; Perf.

### Vowels.

- a Y interrogative particle. — *a'yen xōn safan-a?* is this house yours? *saš xeč yawit-a?* do you eat bread? — Cf. Yd. -a, v. § 160.
- ēi* X, O!. — *ēi nān* O, mother. — Prs. *i* X izafet. — Prs. V. § 113.
- tū* Y, X, N, *i* Y, X, (*h*)*i* W, (*y*)*iw* Sk., etc. one, a(n). — *wuz i xālg šāyem* Y I kill a man. — Cf. Yd. *yū*. V. §§ 109, 116.
- ōe* Y, in *ōe pū'd-kaf* instep.
- ablā* °*ä* Sk. stupid. — Ar.-Prs.
- abr* X, N cloud. — Prs.
- ab'rīšum* Y, *bri'šum* X, *ab'rēšim* Sk., *vrīšum* Zar., *varšüm* Sh. silk. — Prs., but borrh. at different periods.
- ōbī-sā'nōč* X inflated skin for crossing a river, mussuck. — \*Prs. Cf. Shgh.
- zendc* 'sanāč', Lentz *zā'nōc* سناج, Taj. (Semenov) *san(g)ōč*. V. *yāzn*. acet Y from this.—*wuz a° xūnen nieštem* I went out of this house (here). Cf. § 125 sq.
- (*h*)*ičwaxt* Sk. never. — Ar.-Prs.
- a'do* Sk. torn. — *spō sktdiš a° tū* our caps are torn. —
- (*h*)*adab* Sk. courtesy. — Ar.-Prs.
- ād* Sk. justice. — Ar.-Prs.
- ōdil* Sk. just. — Ar.-Prs.
- ūf*: *āft*- Y, *wōf*: *wōft* Z, to weave, *wuf*: *wōft* Sh. to plait. — *ūfəm, āftəm*. — Cf. Yd. *wāf*-, Sgl. *īf*-.  
*af'sōs* X alas. — Prs.
- af'tōb* N sun. — Prs. V. *yīr*.
- īgōn* *īgōn* X, *īyān* *īyān* Sh. one each. — *wuz sabar i° i° rūpiā rāndem* I give

- you one rupee each; *sakar i° i° rūpīa rande* give us one rupee each.  
*a'yel* X cow-house, *a'yil* B court. — Turk.-Prs.
- ah'maq* Sk. stupid. — Ar.-Prs.
- u'qōb* X, *a°* Sk. eagle. — Ar.-Prs.
- aq'sā* Sk. sneezing. — Ar.-Prs.
- āl-*: *āld* Sk. to wait; *a'letk* Y standing. — *wūd nāyd adərəm ale'tkən* this night I am staying here. — *'āləm, āld, āl!* *'āldəm, ā'lak, ā'letk* Sk. — Cf. Sgl. *al-*.
- al'batt* Sk. perhaps. — Ar.-Prs.
- al'qūm* Y, Sh., *halq* X, *alq* Sk. throat, *halkūm* Be. gullet. — Ar.-Prs. *ḥalq, ḥulqūm*.
- 'allō* Sk. O!
- allō nēi* Sk. but.
- ala'laš* *'cār-* Sk. to mix. — Cf. Ishk. id.
- almas'te* Sk. demon. — Cf. Ishk. *almas'ti*.
- ala'sa* X, *ayla'šā* W, *ala(x)sā* St. chin, jaw. — Cf. Sgl. *ala'še*.
- a'mī* X, *homīn* Bi. this. — *wuz dΛ a° xōn niex'gīn* I am living in this house. — Prs.
- īm* N snow. — Scarcely correct, cf. Khow. *hīm*. — V. *zem*.
- am'bōy* Y, *°āy* W cowife. — Prs.
- am'būr* Sk. tongs. — Prs.
- a'mēd* Sk. hope. — Prs.
- amēd'vōr* Sk. hopeful. — Prs.
- 'ammā* (or *°ō?*) Sk. but. — Ar.-Prs.
- 'amγ* Sk. life. — Ar.-Prs.
- im'sōl* Sk. this year. — Prs.
- āīn*, v. *yīšn*.
- 'aīna* X mirror. — Prs.
- andag* m., *indigunǰ* f. Sh. slave. — Cf. Yd. *hade, ida*, (and Kharoshti *amtag'i*, Burrow, BSOS, VII, 779?).
- andak* X little, *kam*. — Prs.
- andav* Sh. fever. — Cf. Yd. *idou*.
- in'sōf* Sk. justice. — Ar.-Prs.
- antərē* L sister-in-law. — It is tempting to derive this word from *\*yantj-* < *\*ienatj-*, but the loss of *y-* would be irregular. There are, however, many phonetic irregularities to be found in the development of the various IE words denoting brother- and sister-in-law.
- aṅ'gūr* Y, X, N, B *°ir* Sk. grape. — Prs.
- aṅ'gišt* N, *°ūšt* Sk. live coal. — Prs.
- aṅgušta'ra* X finger-ring. — Prs.
- ap'cūn* X winnowing-fork, *kūci*. — Cf. Sgl. id.
- ar* Y. In: *wuz yupk ar pīl kaṭem* I pour water into the cup. Or *yupkar*, with dative for acc.?
- iryā'li* Y, X felt rolls placed under the saddle. — Cf. Or. *yuryā'lä* (Lentz). — Turk.
- ar'qā* Sk. back (between the shoulders). — Turki.
- a'raq* Y, N, X, W, Sk. perspiration. — Ar.-Prs.
- ō'rīnǰ* N elbow. — Prs.
- a'rār* Y a tall tree with round leaves.
- ō'ris* Sk. bride. — Ar.-Prs.
- ar'sōl* Sk. yearly. — Prs.
- 'ar* *'xēl* Sk. multicoloured. — Prs. 'of every kind'.
- ar'zan* X, *°ən* N millet. — Prs.
- ar'zōn* Sk. cheap. — Prs.
- a'sōi* Y, *°āi* Sh. walking stick. — Ar.-Prs.
- i'sāb* Y calculation. — *i° carem* I reckon. — Ar.-Prs.
- a'sad* X n. of a month. — Ar.-Prs.
- "*usdūn*" (= *uzdūn?*) Olufsen, Through the Unknown Pamirs, p. 83, loop-holed tower. < *\*uzdāna?*
- iska'cusk* Y, X top of the shoulder, *bālā-i šāna*.

*iska'kut* X roof. — Cf. Yazgh. *s<sup>o</sup>kād*,  
Yd. *išcūy*, etc., Av. *uskāt* above +  
Wkh. *kūt* (q.v.).

*a'sal* X, Sk., *°āl* N honey. — Ar.-Prs.  
*os'mān* Y, *as'mōn* X, *šs'mōn* Sk. sky.  
— Prs.

*ispa*, v. *sak*.

*ustō'dək* Sk. spider. — Prs., cf. Yd.  
*ustada*.

*istīn*, v. (*i*)*st-*.

*istīnd-* L to yawn. — Pres. *istīn* <  
*\*us-(s)tanya-?*

*ustuxōn* N bone. — Prs.

*ōš* Sk. porridge. — Prs.

*iškamba-i-pā* N, *əḵkamba* W calf of the  
leg. — Prs., cf. Par. *iškam'bek-i-pāi*.

*əš'tūr* Y, *ištūr* X, *šitər* W, *štūr* Sk.,  
*uštūr* Sh., *šətör* Z, etc. camel. —  
Prs., cf. Yd. *škirō*.

*uš'yōr* Sk. wise. — Prs.

*ət*, *et* Kl. and. — < *uta*.

*āt'sak* Y, *āta'si* X, *ōta'sək* Sk. lightning.  
— Prs., cf. Shgh., etc. (Sk.).

*əḷ* Sk., *höḷ* Sh. open. — Cf. Sgl. *həḷ*.

*əḷ-kər'kīn* Sk. honest.

*a'vārt* Y, *°art* Sh., Gr. span. — Tomaschek  
compares Prs. *āward* 'collatio, con-  
gresses' (??).

*a'wal* X formerly; *aw'wal* Sk. beginning.  
— Ar.-Prs.

*ai'wōn* Sk. animal. — Ar.-Prs.

*i'war* X husband's brother. — Badakhshi-  
Prs.

*ō'xer* Sk. end. — Ar.-Prs.

*axta'xāna* X stable. — Prs.

*a'yāu* Y, *ayou* X, *ha-ya* Sh. that (emphatic).

— Y *a'yāu xūn* that very house;  
*wuz aya xalg dišem* I know that  
(very) man; X *az ayou jinīban* (v.  
s.v. *az*); *a'you pādsāra salām guḷt*  
he saluted that king; *ayou nāgde*

*nikā kerk* he arranged for the wedding  
that very night. — Cf. *yau*. V.  
§ 124 sq.

*iyam*, *iyem* Y, (*h*)*ayem* X this (very). —  
Y *iyam xalg yupk pīt* this man drinks  
water; *iyəm xalg ntv rəḵupt* this  
man fell asleep; X (*h*)*a'yem 'xōn*  
*'žunān* this house is mine; *a'yem*  
*ju'wāb mark mālum ne vit* this  
answer was not known to me; *ayem*  
*xalg* this man, these men; *uz ayem*  
*xōnan* I am from this house; *ayem(iš)*  
*xōn* their house; *wuz a'yēman rū'pia*  
*'durzəm* I take a rupee from him;  
*nān a'yōmen pursān um kerk* his  
mother asked him. — Cf. *yem*. V.  
§ 124 sq.

*a'yōs* Sk. autumn- or winter-wind.

*az* X from. Only in: *az ayou jinīban*  
for that reason. — Prs.

*a'zīz* Sk. friend. — Ar.-Prs.

*u'zāk* Y (E. Wkh.), *ū°* Be., *wa°* Sh. adze.  
— Cf. Khov. *wāz*.

## B

*bā* Sk., *bhah* Ol. kiss. — *tu māž*  
*cārī bā!* kiss me! — Cf. Yd. *boh*.  
V. *bām*.

*be* X, *bə* Sk. a hortative verbal particle.  
Russ бѣ. — X *tu be wuzum* bring  
thou; *ayem xalg be šeč yawan* these  
people shall(?) eat bread; Sk. *'ləcər*  
*yau bə 'wīzīt* let him come; *wuz*  
*xō'yīs 'cārəm ki 'yau bə 'wīzīt* I want  
him to come; *tu bə 'šātət* ты бѣ сказа  
(but *tu šātət* ты сказа).

*bāi* Sh. cave. — Cf. *Zardibāi* 'Yellow  
cave' in Shingshal (Cockerill), *Ishk*.  
*ambi* (Gr.).

*bōi* Sk. rich. — Turki.

- būi* Y, X, W, N, Sk. two. — Cf. § 116.  
*būi* X smell. — Prs.  
*bēbī'dī* Sk. double-edged sword. — Cf. Yd. *maxmudiyo*.  
*'bībuk* X cuckoo. — Cf. Yd. *bubuka*, Kurd. (Soane) *pepūk*, *kepū*. V. *kipok*. Cf. Lorimer, Corr. ad Bur. Voc. 60 II.  
*bāc* Y, Sk., *būc* Sk., *bač* Sh. paternal uncle.  
*buč(ak)* Y, *būc* Sk., *buč* Z, Sh. he-goat. — Prs.  
*bāc'ḍāyḍ* Sk. female cousin. — V. *bāc*.  
*bič'kā* Y, *būc'k'hām* Sk. tail, *bečkam* Sh. horse-tail.  
*bād* Sk. then. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bēd* Y, X, W willow. — Prs.  
*ba'dan* Sk. body. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bedr* X edible pine, *jilyōza*. — Cf. Prs. *bidla* n. of a tree??  
*bāi'dōq* Sk. widow, *bedok* Be. widower. — *buidōq-am tēi* I am unmarried. — Cf. Ishk. *baidōq*, Bajui *būi'dōk*.  
*badxa'rak* X n. of a bird. — Cf. Prs. *xār* starling?  
*baf* Y, X, *b'af*, *bāf* Sk., *bāf* Sh. good; *bā'fak* Sk. nice; *bā'f'tar* Sk. better.  
*ba'fikr* Sk. wise. — Prs.  
*bēfirīš'tā* Sk. healthy and fat person. — Prs. id. 'without an angel (of death?)'  
*bēgu'nō* Sk. innocent. — Prs.  
*bōγ* Sk. garden. — Prs.  
*bō'γē* Sk. cousin.  
*ba'yal* X, W armpit. — Prs.  
*bō'γat* Sk. a miser. — For *bəγal*, cf. Ar.-Prs. *baxil*?  
*bəyz cār-* Sk. to hate. — Ar.-Prs.  
*baha'dab* Sk. courteous. — Ar.-Prs.  
*bēha'dab* Sk. discourteous. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ba'hōr* Sk. spring. — Prs.  
*be'hīst* Sk. heaven. — Prs.  
*bāj* Sk., Sh., Be., *baḍ* Hj. thick. — Cf. Sgl. *vəzōk*?  
*bō'ja* Sk. brother-in-law. — Cf. Rosh. (Sk.) id., Ishk., *bōja*, Mj. *bāja*.  
*bu'qā* Sk. bull. — Turki.  
*baku'la* Y, *baq'la* N, *boq'lā* Sk. horse-bean. — Ar.-Prs.  
*be'k'and* Sk. widow (prob. 'widower').  
*ba'kar* X n. of a bird, *bulbul-i āwi*. — Prs. *baqr* lapwing, *hud-hud*.  
*ba'kōr* Sk. necessary. — *mārək b°* I need. — Prs.  
*bakš* Y husband's brother. — V. § 60.  
*bakš-kənd* Y husband's brother's wife.  
*'bale* Sk. yes. — Prs.  
*bāl* W wing. — Prs.  
*bēl* Sk. spade. — Prs.  
*bulbul* X bulbul, cuckoo. — Prs.  
*bilfak* X n. of a bird, *bilfak*. — \*Prs.?  
*bōle'qā* Sk. hammer. — Prs.  
*'bulli* X birch, *burnūž*. — < Khaw. *buri*?  
*br'land* Y, *bl°* Sk. high, tall. — Prs.  
*bām*, *bōm* X a kiss. — *b° kerk* she kissed. — V. *bā*.  
*būm* X owl. — Prs.  
*bumbə'riš* X thunder. — Khaw.  
*bē'mōr* Sk. ill; *bēmō'rī* illness. — Prs.  
*bōin<sup>1</sup>* X main beam of a roof, *tir-i kalān*. — Shina *bōi*.  
*bōin<sup>2</sup>* X armllet. — IA, cf. Ksh. *bāhī*, Sindhi *bāhī*, etc.  
*būn* Y winnowing fork. Cf.:  
*būn-ām*: *bōnd-um* Y, *būn-*: *bōnd-* Sh. to winnow (and Sh. to throw away). — Cf. Yd. *lō'bān-*.  
*band-i-dast* Y, X, Be., *°dest* W, *band* N wrist. — Prs.  
*band-i-pūd* X instep, ankle. — Prs. + Ishk.  
*baṇḍ* X walking stick. — Khaw. *bōṇḍ* round rafter?

*bap* Y, Sh., *bāp* Sk. female breast.  
*bar* W breast. — Prs.  
*ba'ār* X outside, *birūn*. — *niešk baār*  
 she went out. — IA.  
*bār* Y, X, Sk., Sh., Z door. — Cf. Yd.  
*l̥vor*.  
*būr* X grey. — Prs.  
*būr* Sk. angry.  
*brōbar'nāḡd* Sk. midnight. — Prs. + Wkh.  
*barf* N snow. — Prs.  
*brām*- Sh. to babble. — Cf. Saka *brrem*-  
 to wail, cry? — But v. Bailey,  
 BSOS, IX 73.  
*b'rin* Y, Sk., *birinš*(?) X, *brin* Sh., Hj.,  
*barin* Be., *barin*, *birin* Bi. knee; *brine*  
 Cap. 'jambe'. — \**dwaridna*-, with  
 dissim. < Av. *dvaridra*- leg??  
*b'ron* X, N, Sk. rain. — Prs.  
*b'rinj* Y, X, W, *b'ranj* Sk. rice. — Prs.  
*biriš-cārum* X I cut, *mēburam*. — V.  
*rəstəv*.  
*b'rit* Y, *b'rut* X, W, *brut* N, *brī'ūt* Sk.  
 moustache. — Prs.  
*brutča'par* Sk. large moustaches.  
*b'urīt/t* Y, *b'ərət* Sk., *bōret* Sh., *baruḡ* St.  
 elbow. — < \**ham-byṣti-??* Cf. Skr.  
*bhyṣti*- corner.  
*brūtiyarč* Y, *o'ya(r)č* X collarbone. —  
 Cf. *yarč*, *burīt*.  
*bispūr* Sh., St. eagle. Unknown to Sk.'s  
 informant. — Cf. Khow. *biz'bār*.  
*bist* N, Sk., *bist* W twenty. — Prs. V. *wist*.  
*'bās-wə'zi-m* Sk. to be able. — Cf. Prs.  
*bas āmadan*. V. *wəzi*.  
*bisyār* X much. — Prs.  
*'bāša* Y, W falcon. — Prs.  
*bət* Kl. further, again (*digar*, *bori digar*).  
 < \**dwit(y)a*-. — Cf. § 117.  
*bit* X roof-board. — Khow.  
*būt* B clothes. — < \**ham-puš-ti-?* V.  
 § 73.

*būt*-. *bott*-, *bött*- Sh. to throw down,  
 overthrow (a wall, etc.). — < \**ham*-  
*pataya*-, cf. Sar. *imbat*-. But v. *zūbūt*-.  
*bai'tal* X mare. — Turki.  
*bēwa* Y, *o'wā* Sk., *bewa-zan* Be. widow.  
 — Prs.  
*bo'icuz* X falcon. — Cf. Khow. *sayūrč/ž*,  
 and Shina *bayōš* hawk.  
*bēx* Y, X, W, Sk. root. — Prs.  
*baxš cer*- Sh., *bax sar*- Y to divide. —  
*bax sarəm*. — Prs.  
*buz* Y female ibex; *bəz* W, *buz* X goat.  
 — Prs.  
*buz'mūi* X goat's hair. — Prs.

## C

*cə* from. V. § 131.  
*cə'būr* Y, X, W, N, *ci'būr* Sk., *sabūr* L  
 four. — Cf. Yd. *čšir*. V. § 116.  
*cə'brēm* Y, *cprēmər* L three days hence,  
*cebrimer* X the day after to-morrow,  
*ceberām* Cap. week (!). — < \**čaθ*-  
*waraima*-. Cf. Yd. *pčūrma*.  
*ce'bas* X, *cibās* Sh. back, again, then;  
*cə'bāz* Sk. back; *cə'bas* Kl. behind. —  
*c° reḡ* go back; *c° rext*; *c° 'yowan*  
*kāyaz rext* the letter went back to  
 him; *c° kāyaz goḡum*. — Cf. Yd.  
*čpāč*, Ishk. *čpōšt*. V. *sibās*.  
*ce'kūman* X. In: *safan di'or c° 'deh-i*  
*šumā kudām ast*'. — Originally *ce*-  
*kūman* 'from which?'.  
*cum* X, *cūm* Sk., *cūmər* L how many?  
 — *saš cum nafar wezḡ?* X '*šumā*  
*čand nafar āmadid?*' *cūm 'pīl tinən*  
*(tūi)* Sk. how much money hast thou?  
 — Cf. § 126.  
*cəm-jə'nīb* Sk. therefore. — Wkh.-Prs.  
*ce'mis* X eyebrow(?). — V. *vərau*.  
*cān* L from there. Cf. § 125.



*car-*: *kerk* X, *cār-*: *kərt* Sk. to do. — Sk. *qa'rōr car* be silent; *ku'mak-cār* help! *'yark-ŋ* *'krti* I worked; *ir cə'rax-kərti* the sun has risen. Cf. *isáb*, *bā(m)*, *dīrau*, *gān*, *kanda*, *le*, *nikā*, *nivišta*, *pursān*, *taxsīm*, *xarīd car-*; *cārəm*, *cart*, *cār!* *'kərtəm*, *cə'rak*, *kərk* Sk. — < \**cāra-* (cf. Av. aor. *čōrət*): *krtā-*. V. *goš-*.

*cār* Sh. kite. — Cf. § 81.

*cur'cun* X the end of a tail.

*'cerak* Y, *cə'rek*, *°ək* Sk. why? — *sāiš c° xəč yāvov* Y why do you eat bread? *'cəraکا tut na-'wəzdi* Sk. why didst thou not come? — Cf. § 133.

*cərup-*: *cəropt* Kl. to pinch, *cə'rev-*: *cəremd* L to pinch, tweak, string.

*cə'rax* Sk. spark. — Cf. s.v. *ir*. — Cf. Yd. *cə'rox*.

*cārzn* Sk., *°zn* Z, *°z* Sh. awl. — Cf. Shgh. *cōžj*, Sar. *cārzn*. < \**qel-g(h)o-*, cf. WP, II, 435?

*'cə-waxt* Sk., *coyd* L, Sh. when? — Wkh. + Ar.-Prs.

*citr* L, *cūtr* Sh. spindle. — Prob. a lw. from IA., cf. Skr. *cāttra-*. Cf. Mj. *cēša*, Psht. *cāšai*.

## Č (Č)

*čəbaxt* W heel(?).

*čiča* Y, *čū'čā* X, Sk. chicken. — Prs.

*čičās* Y (also Grammophone) collar-bone.

*čey* Y, *čeg* X, *čəč* Sk., *čöy* Sh., St., *čiy* Be. kid.

*čūč* Sk. multicoloured. — Properly a Shgh. form, cf. Yd. *kaš*; Sgl. *čōl*.

*čāye'lī* X crow, *karyā*. — Khov. *čāylī* chough.

*čāku* Y, X, *'čā°* W knife. — *pu čākuwen rəstəvəm* I cut with a knife. — Prs.

*čūk-*: *čūkt-* Sk. to beat. — Cf. Sar. *čak-*, Sgl. *čuk-*, Khov. *čok-* to beat.

*'čakka* Y temples. — Taj.-Prs.

*čəkər* Y, Sk., *čr'krr* X, *čkər* Sh. partridge. — IA., cf. Hind. *čikər*, etc.

*čav'lī* Y, X small falcon.

*čālg-* Y, X, Sk.: *čāld* Sk. to search for, ask for — *čalgam* Y; *wuz čizi čālgəm*; *uz kend čilgakar wəzdīm* X I went out to search for a wife; Sk. *čālgəm*, *čālgd*, *čālg!* *čāldəm*, *čəl'gak*, *čəl'gatk*.

*'čilim xaš-* Sk. to smoke. — Prs.

*čī'nār* W chenar. — Prs.

*čāng* Y, X claw. — Prs.

*čap* Y, X, Sk. left (hand). — Prs.

*čip-am*: *čavd-am* Y, *čip-um* X to pick, gather; *čūp-* Sh. to gather (one by one), but *čup-* to cut, mince. — Cf. Yd. *čū(v)*.

*čūp* Y, X small hawk.

*čpān* Sk. cloak. — Turk.-Prs.

*črpīš* L young goat. — Prs.

*čēr* X rope fastening the plough-pole to the yoke.

*čər'mū* Sk., *čərm* L, *čarm* Sh. canal, small water-course. — < \**čarman-*

< \**čanman-*? But Av. *kan-* never has č.

*čə'rām* Y, *čə°* Sk., *čə'rāmzn* L threshing ground; *čiramn* Sh. reaped corn, heaped up for threshing. — Cf. Yd. *xu'rom*.

*čərm-*: *čəramd* Sk., *čerm-*: *čern-*, *čiramn*, Sh. to enter. — *'čəraməm*, *čəramt čəram!* *čəramdəm*, etc. — \**ati-ram-*?

*čər'māyz* X, N, *čār°* W walnut. — Prs.

*čār'pāya* Y bed. — Prs.

*čə'rīr* Sk., *čī°* Sh. thornbush.

*čar'vī* Y, *°bī* X fat (noun). — Prs.

*čarx* Y, X, *čārxx* Sh. spinning wheel. — Prs.

*čar'xa* X avalanche of stones. — *č° wī'zīt*. — \*Prs., cf. Yd. *čarxo*.

*cašma* X hot spring, *cašmā* Sk. spring.

— Prs.

*čtā-ləng* Sk. ankle-knuckle.

*čaṭ* X, N, *čāṭ* Sk., *čaṭ* Sh., *cat* L horned cattle. — *čaṭ dic* Sk. milk the cow.

— Cf. Sar. *cat*.

*čuṭ* *car-* Sk. to tear asunder, *čot-* L to be torn. — IA. Cf. Sgl. *čəṭ*.

*čovki* X chair. — Prs. < IA.

*čāw-um*: *čit-em* X, *čāv*: *tāyḍ* Sk., *čāw*: *rōyḍ* Kl., *čau*: *tayḍ* Sh. to go, walk, *raftan*; *čawūw-* Sh. to remove. — *čiteth* X pret. ptc.; Sk. *čāvi* thou walkest, *tāydam* I went, *tāyḍi* they went; Sh. *čit* he goes; *tukan* inf., *taṣk* pret. ptc. — < \*čyaw: \*taxta-, cf. s.vv. *rəč*, *tač*.

*ču'wān* Y, W, Sk.; *ču'wōn* (not *in*) Sk.,

*ču'win* X (= Ishk.), *čiwān* Sh. apricot.

— Cf. Sgl. *ču'wēl*.

*čəx*: *čəxt* Sk. to kill, slaughter; *čöx* Sh. to skin. — Cf. Sar. *kəig*: *kaxt* to skin. Relation with Prs. *kuštan* is not clear. — Possibly < \*kuš- + \*čauš-. Cf. Yazgh. *kuš* hide, skin.

*čiz* Y, X, Sk., *čis* X what? *či xabar tēi* X 'či xabar ast?' *tinan čis yark tu?* X what work hast thou to do? *tu čis yarkər wəzd?* X what didst thou come for? *čī[s] sabab ke nivdī* X why didst thou weep? *tə nūng čiz?* Sk. what is thy name? *'čizəv 'sāyis 'wīndəv?* Sk. what did you see? *tu čizir saker dīng* X why dost thou beat us? *tu čizir maž dī* Y. — Prs. *čiz*, cf. Sgl. *čiz*. V. § 126.

*čizi* Y, X something. — Prs.

*čažm* Y, *čejum* X, *čožm* N, (*čōm* W), *čəžm* Sk., *cöžm* Sh., *čöžm* Kl., *čažm* Be., *cözm* St., *kizm* Bi. eye. — *čejuma yupk* X tear (*āb-i-dīda*). — Cf. Yd. *čam*.

## D

*da* X in, on. — '*peden da dā'lān tu* the saddle is on the veranda; *wuz da amī xōn niengln* I am living in this house. — Bad.-Prs.

*da'i* W female breast — Prs. *dāya'*

*dē-*: *dēxt* Sk. to beat, hammer (a nail); *dī-*: *dīxt* Sh., *dīst* N to strike. — Sk. *dēm*, *dēst*, *dē!* *dēxtum*, *d'yāk* (*dēng*), *dētk*; Sh. *dī(a)m*, *dīxt*, —, *dīxtam*, *dīin* (*dīng*), *dīetk*; Sk. *maž siri dētk* I caught a cold; *siri dēst*; *yupk-əm dēxt-i* I poured out water; X *tu dīng*(?); N *maž dēsti arak* I am sweating. — Cf. Sgl. *deh-*, and v. s.v. *dēm*.

*duā* X prayer. — Ar.-Prs.

*dediṣ*: *dediṣd* Sk., *dīdṣ*: *dīdṣd* Kl. to look at; *dīdig* Sh. to look (after). — Sk. *'dediṣəm*, *°iṣd*, *°iṣ*, *°iṣdəm*, *°iṣak*, *°iṣatk*; *čiz dediṣəv?* what do you see? *'mārək 'tər-tau 'nəfort dēdī'yāk* I hate thee (I will not look at thee). — Cf. Av. *dīday-* to look at?

*deg*: *degd* Sh. to bring up.

*dīg* Y, *dēg* X kettle. — Prs.

*dig'dān*, v. *dildung*.

*'dager* Y (*°gēr* Gramm.), *do'gər* N, *də'yər* Sk., *riyud*, *riēd* L, *d'yör* Sh., *digger* Bi., *hindiger* Cap. finger-nail. — Khow. (1w.) *do'yur*. < \*ng- < \*nk- < \*n(a)-*xar-??* Cf. § 47. Cf. Sgl. *narxök*, Sar. *našaur* < \*naxör.

*digar* X other, another. — Prs.

*doqdoq* Sk. trotting. — Cf. Sgl. *daq²daq*.

*dil* N heart. — Prs.

*dil'dung* Y, X, *dildong* Sk., Sh. (*dig'dān* W) fireplace. Corrupted from Prs. *dēgdān*. cf. Sar. *dildung* a kind of fuel.

*dō'lon* X veranda. — Prs.  
*dī'lēr* Sk. courageous. — Prs.  
*dīlōvār*, °*va'rī* Sk. courage(ous). — Prs.  
*dām* Sk. back (of human beings). — Cf. Ishk. *dam*.  
*dā'ma* Y, 'dama X, *damā* Sh. wind;  
*dmā* Sk. east wind. — Prs.  
*dīm-* Y, X, *dēm-* Kl., *dehəm-* Hj. to beat.  
 — Y *wuz tau dīməm* (1 sg.), *tu čizir maž dī?* (2 sg.), *sak sāv dīnen* (1 pl.), *sāiš čizir maž dīef?* (2 pl.); Kl. pres. *dēməm*, —, *dait*, *dēnən*, —, *dēnən*; Hj. *dehəməm*, *de*, *det*, *dehenən*, *dehenəv*, *dehenən*. Apparently *dīm*, *dehəm* (v. s.v. *dē-*) for some unknown reason was enlarged with a second personal ending into *dēm-əm*, likewise *dēn* into *dēnən* (2 pl. \**dēn-əv* for \**dēv-əv*). V. § 141.  
*dəmb* X, *dəmb* W tail. — Prs.  
*dā'mād* Y, Sh., *du'mād* X, N, *dū'mōd* Sk. son-in-law. — Prs.  
*damfāje* X yawn. — d° *guxum*. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *damfāžek*.  
*'dendik* Y, °*uk* Cap., LSI, 'dinduk X, *dən'dək* N, °*ük* Z, *dün'dük* Sk., Sh., °*uk* St. tooth. — Cf. Yaghn. *dindak'*, Sgl. *dānd*.  
*dəng vitən* Sk. to beat each other, to fight. — *dəng wōcəm*, etc. — Cf. *dē-*.  
*dra* Y there. Cf. § 124.  
*dar* X in (in *dar hawā*, *dar huzūr-i pādšā*). — Prs.  
*dā'rē* Sk. gunpowder. — Prs.  
*dīrau* X reaping. — d° *carəm*. — Prs.  
*dī'or* Y, X, *dīār* Sh. village. — Prs.  
*dūr* Y, X, Sk., Sh., etc. belly, *dor* B abdomen (*ward* stomach). — Cf. Sar. *daur*. Sgl. *dēr*.  
*dārē* Sh., L thread of hemp or hair. — < \**darzē?*

*dērf* X hair of the pubes.  
*dīr'gā* Y veranda, *dālān*; "dargha" Ol. men's room. — Prs.  
*dūrūy* Sk. lie. — Prs.  
*dūrūygū'yī* Sk. liar. — Prs.  
*dūrukš* X, 'drukuš X, *dəruck* W, *drukš* N, Sk., Sh., etc. bull. — < \**drušk* < \**dγždaka-*, cf. Wan. Psht. *lēžda??* But cf. *dəžg*, *dežg*, s.v. *durz-*. Cf. § 60.  
*dārəm*, *adārəm* Y, *dārəm* Sk., (ha)*dram* Sh. here. — *wūd nāyd adārəm aletkən* to-night I am staying here; *dārəm wə'zāi* come here Y; *δai d° tū* Sk. the man is here. — Cf. § 124.  
*drūp-*: *dropt* Sh., *dərūp-*: *dərōpt* Kl. to scratch. — Cf. Serb. *drápati* to scratch, tear, etc. (v. Walde-Pokorny, I, 801).  
*dārepč* Y, *drēpč* X, *drapič* B broom. — \**repč* (cf. Yaghn. *rōpč* from *raup-*) + *drūp-?*  
*dröst* Sh., *drēst* L sleeve.  
*dī'rišt* X rough. — Prs.  
*dārev-*: *dārevd-* Y, *dārāv-*: *dārāv-* Sk., *drīp-(?)* X, *dröv-*: *drāv-* Sh. to sew. — Cf. Par. *andarf-*, Shgh. *incāv-*, Kurd. *dirun*, etc.  
*drāw-*: *drətt-* Sk., : *drett* Sh. to reap. — *drāwəm*, *drīt*, *drāw!* 'drəttəm, *dγwak* (*dārə'vak*), *drətk*. — Cf. Prs. *durūdan*, Shgh. *cāw*.  
*dāraxt* Y, W, *da'raxt* X, Sh., *draxt* Sk. tree. — Prs.  
*draxt 'pīst* Sk. bark of a tree.  
*dār'yō* Y, *dār'yā* X, Sk. river. — Prs.  
*daryā-lab* X bank of a river. — Prs.  
*durz-*: *dežd* Y, *durz-īm*: pf. *dežg* X, *dūrz-*: *dəžd* Sk. to take, seize. — X *wuz a'yēman rū'pīa durzəm* I take a rupee from them; *dast-i istež dežge* she (has) seized his daughter-in-law's hand; *dežgem*, *dežide*; Sk. *dūrzəm*, *dūrzd*, *dūrz*, 'dəždəm, *dūr'zak*, *dūr-*

- '*zatk*, pf. *dōžg*. — \**han-dyz*, Av. *daraz-*, cf. Par. *derz-*. Cf. § 155.
- das-nab* W nineteen.
- dast* Y, X, N, *dāst* Sk., Sh. arm, hand, armlet Y. — Prs.
- dāst* Sk. friend. — *dūst-tūrəm* I love; *d° dōrdum*. — Prs.
- dīš-* Y, X, *dīš-*: *dīšt* Sk., Sh. to know, learn. — *wuz aya xalg dīšem* Y I know this man; *wuz targ dīšum* X. < \**han-dīšya-*, cf. Yd. *dīš-*, Av. *han-daēs-* to instruct, teach.
- dās'man* Sk. enemy. — Prs.
- dāst* X open space, steppe; *dāšt* Sk. valley. — Prs.
- dut* (Cockerill) rope-bridge. — *Dut-i-dur*.
- dētər* Sk. memory, *yād*.
- doḥ'kī* (*wušk*) X calf, one year old.
- dī'wōl* X, *dē°* Sk. wall. — Prs.
- dūzd* Sk. thief. — Prs.
- dū'zax* Sk. hell. — Prs.
- △
- ḍāi* Y, Sk. husband; *ḍāi*, *ḍa'yək* Sk., *dāi* W man; X youth (*xūb juwān*); *ḍāi* Sh. vir, hero. — Cf. Saka *daha-* (v. Bailey, BSOS, VI, 81).
- ḍu-i* L, *dūḍi* Kl. stack; *da'i* N heap of corn. — Cf. Skr. *dhāya-* layer, stratum, Pšht. *dalaī* 'stack of corn'.
- ḍic-*: *ḍōgən-* Y, *dic-* X, *ḍic-*: *ḍōgn-* Sh. to milk. — *ḡ'iu ḍicəm* Y; *caḡ dic* X. — Cf. Yd. *lūž-*.
- ḍōck* Sk., Sh. a skin used as a bag, mussuck. — Cf. Yd. *laxčio*.
- ḍiy* Y, N, *ḍig* X, *ḍiḡ* Sk. thick milk, *dūy*. — Cf. Prs. *dōy* (cf. Prs. *pu-lūy* milking).
- ḍəyd* Y, N, *degde* X, *dīyd* W, *dəyd* Sk., *ḍaḡd* Sh. "zāghit" Be., "thurght" Bi., "dghogit, dzogit" Cap. daughter. —
- ḍinen* i *degde tūet* X you had a daughter; *i deyd saban tūet* W *yōu* had a daughter. — Cf. Yd. *luydo*.
- ḍūng* Sh. springe, snare. — Cf. Mj. *lōmago*.
- ḍəng* Kl. seed, *dōna*, *tuxm*. — < \**dānaka-*.
- ḍīr* Y, X, Sh. far, distant. — Cf. Yd. *lūro*.
- ḍōr* L valley. — Cf. Prs. *darra*.
- \**ḍūr-*, cf. s.v. *dūst*.
- ḍard* Sh., *ḍerd* L parti-coloured. Cf. Skr. *dadrū-* leprosy, etc.
- ḍerd cər-* L to carve wood. — Cf. Prs. *darridan*, etc.
- ḍīrs* Y, Z, *ḍīrs* L, *ḍīrs* Sh. goat's hair. — Cf. Yd. *līrs*, Sar. *ḍors*.
- ḍərt* L, *ḍart* Z, Be. manure, dust-heap. — Cf. Yd. *pʰskedrī*. (and, e.g., O. Engl. *tord* dung).
- ḍas* Y, N, Sk., Sh., etc., *das* X, W, *las*(!) H ten. — Cf. Yd. *los*.
- ḍīs* Y, L dough.
- ḍus* Y, *ḍōs* Sh. wasp. — Cf. Skr. *damśa-* a stinging insect, Kalasha *dac* mosquito; Phl. *dasta* (Nyberg, JA, 1929, 272).
- ḍas-'iu* N, Sk. *das-iu* X, *das-hī* W eleven.
- ḍisiv-* Y, *ḍisəv-*: *ḍisōvd-* Sk., *visiv-*(!) Sh. to show. — Av. *daēs-*.
- ḍeḡ* L, *ḍōḡ* Sh. late. — Cf. Sgl. *dəḡ*.
- ḍīt* Y, Sk., Sh., *ḍīd* X, *ḍīl* N, *dūd* W smoke. — Cf. Yd. *lūi*.
- ḍetk* L brick. — \**ḍištik* (from which Shina lw. *lištik*) < \**ḍišti-ka*. Cf. §§ 12, 73.
- ḍitr* Y, *ḍitur* X, *ḍetr* N, \**ḍatr* ("zutr") Be. sickle. — Cf. Yd. *l'ru'yus*.
- ḍəviy-*: *ḍovoid* Sk., *ḍuvi-*: *ḍovoid-* Sh. to steal. — Pres.: *ḍəviyəm*, *ḍəviyē*, *ḍəvid*, *ḍəviyən*, pret. *ḍovoidəm*; *ḍəviyak*, *ḍəvi'ətk*. Cf. Oss. *davin* to steal, Av. *dab-* to deceive; Yd. *lō-*. V. *nəḍəvs-*.
- ḍiḡ-*: *ḍōḡt-* Y to crush, *mēḡakam*; *dūḡ-*: *ḍoḡt-* Sh. to powder, macerate. —

Cf. *dešen* grindstone. — Cf. Skr.  
 • *duṣaya-??*  
*ḥiz* L wall. — Cf. Av. *daēza-*, Yd. *lizo*.

## F

*fī* X spade. — Sgl.  
*foi* W much, many. — *foi xān*. — Sgl.  
*fauj* Sk. army. — Ar.-Prs.  
*'fiak* Y, °*ek* X, °*'ak* N, *fī* W blade,  
 shoulder; *fayak* B scapula. — Cf.  
 Sgl. *fī'ūk*.  
*fīkr* Sk. thought. — *f° car-* to think.  
 — Ar.-Prs  
*fuks* Y, Sk., Sh., St., *vuks* N, *fūgz* Hj.  
 snake. — Cf. Sgl. *woxs*.  
*falenz* Sh. egg, L dove(?).  
*for-* Sk. In *mārək . . . nā fort* I don't  
 want to. — Prs., cf. Sgl. *befāru*.  
*fər'yəmē* Y female calf, one year old,  
*fur'yumē* X id., two y. old. — Cf.  
 Sgl. *fəryəm*, Yd. *frayingo*.  
*fril-*: *frīld-* Sh., *f'rīl-* L to crumble. —  
 Ishk. form with *fr-* and *l* < *š*, cf.  
 Sar. *war-fareig-*: *war-frašt*.  
*frax* Sk. a long way. — Prs. *farāx*  
 wide.  
*ferw-* Sh. to squeeze, snort. — Sar. id.,  
 cf. Khw. *frīžē-* to sniff.  
*frabiz* Y, *faražbiz* Sh. sieve. — But  
*frabiz xašəm* Y I winnow(?). — Cf.  
 Yd. *fraybil*, etc.  
*furz* Y, Sh. birch. — Cf. Yd. *zeviryo*.  
*fasl* Sk. season. — Ar.-Prs.  
*faut* Sk. death. — Ar.-Prs.

## G

*qī* Y, Z, *gū* X, W *gi* Sh., *gih* Be. ex-  
 crement. — Prs.; with adaptation in  
 Y, etc.

*gē car-* Sk. to grow. — Cf. Sgl. *gū kən*.  
*gač-* Sh. to totter, waver. — Cf. Sar.  
*wakoč-*, Yd. *yoži-*.  
*gafs-*: *gafst-* Y, *geps-*, *gips-* X, *gafs-*:  
*gafst-* Sk. to run, *mēgurēzam*; *göfs-*:  
*göfst* Sh. to gallop (intr.?), *gəfsəv-*:  
*gəfsəvt* Sk. to gallop (caus.). — *gəf'sak*  
 Sk. gallop. — Cf. Sogd. *γβs-* to  
 advance. But *g-* points to \**han-k/g-*.  
*guhrū* W guts, Ishk. *žanzgək*. — \*Prs.  
*gəl* Sk. flower. — Prs.  
*gil* X clay. — Prs.  
*gūl* Sk. dumb. — Cf. Sgl. *go!*.  
*gləc* Sk., *gilic* B deep; *gilec* Sh. a pit.  
*gilim'bof* X spider. — \*Prs.  
*gulamīri* Sk. black-pocks (черная оспа).  
 — \*Prs.  
*gilōs* X, °*ās* W cherry. — Prs.  
*gān car-* X to winnow. — Khw. *gān*  
 'wind'.  
*gap* Sk. word. — Prs.  
*gār* X, in *gār kaṭum* I throw.  
*gūr* Sk. tomb. — *gūr car-* to bury. —  
 Prs.  
*'gurda* X, N kidney. — Prs.  
*gōrj* Sh. hinge, door-socket. — Cf. Sar.  
*garγ*.  
*ger'dān* Y, *gardān* Sh., *gar'dān* X, Be.,  
*gγ°*, *gər'dān* Sk. neck. — Prs.  
*garm* Sk. hot; *garmī* Sk. heat. — Prs.  
*gəspand* N sheep. — Prs.  
*'gūša* X corner. — Prs.  
*gušt* Y, Sk., Sh., *gūšt* X, *γīšt* N meat.  
 — Prs. (N adapted to Wkb.).  
*gūš'wōr* X earring. — Prs.  
*gōt-*: *gōl-* Y, *gut-* X to find, obtain;  
*gōt-*: *gōtt-* Sk. to find. — *gōtam* Y  
 'mēyābam, yāftam'; pret. ptc. *ki'tetk*,  
 X; *gōtam*, *gōtt*, *gōt*, *gōttam*, *gə'tak*  
*gə'tetk* Sk.  
*gaw-*: *gōtt-* Sh. to cover, close.

*gawust* Be. fist. — Cf. Skr. *gabhasti*- arm, hand??

*goṣ*- Y, X, *gūṣ*-: *guṣt*, *ṣat* X; *gōṣ*-: *ṣōtk* Sh. to do. — X *yašer peden gūṣ* saddle the horse; *yaš peden guṣt* he saddles the horse; *salām guṣt*, *ṣat*; *yūmj-um goṣtei* I have ground the flour; Sk. *ṣāk*, *g(o)ṣetk*; Lor. *x(ṣ)eto* had done, *xṣetk* having done. — *goṣ*- from 3 sg. *goṣt* = Shgh. *kiṣt*, Sar. *kaṣt* < \**kuṣati*?

*gūyāk* Y, *o'yak* N hip, anus. Cf. *guhrū*. *giz*- X, *:gəzd*- Y, *gīz*-: *gəzd* Sk., *giz*-: *gōzd*-, *gōzg* Sh. to rise. — *gezge* X he rose; *gizum*, *gīzd*, *gīz*, *gəzdəm*, *gī'zak*, *gī'zōtk* Sk. — < \**han-xaiz*-, or cf. Oss. *än-qīzīn*, *än-yēzun* to yeast?

*gōz* Sk. meadow. — Prs. *gāz*, cf. Shgh. *γōz-zōr*.

*gīz'dim* Y, *gaž'dum* X, W, Sk. scorpion. — Prs. Cf. Sgl. *gāz'dəmb*.

## Γ, Ī

*γū*- Y, *γī* W, *gī'ū* X, *γū* N (Ishk.), *γū* Sk., *γū* L, *γīw* Zar., *γū* Sh., *γū* St. cow. — \**gāwa*-, cf. Sgl. *uγūi*.

*γā'bār* Y, *γu'bār* X dustcloud, duststorm. — Ar.-Prs.

*γūḍ* Sk., *γūḍ* Sh., Sk. thief. — Cf. Yd. *γāl*.

*γū'di* Sk., *γūdi* Sh. theft. — *γ°* car- Sk. to steal.

*γī'dim* Y, *gī'dim* X, *gā'dim* N, *gī'dim* W, *γā'dim* Sk., *γīdim* Sh., *γēdim* Zar., *γadim* Bo., *γā'dēm* Kl. wheat. — < \**gandūma*-, cf. Yd. *γādəm*.

*γīdim-ṣeč* X wheaten bread.

*γaf* X, Sh., *γā*(<sup>o</sup>) Sk. very. — *γaf xoš bit* X he became very glad, *γā-tqā* Sk. very much. — Cf. *γafci*.

*γā'fāi* X much.

*γīf* L place for putting pots beside and below fireplace.

*γāfci*, *γāpēt* X much, very; *γāfci* (*bafter*; Sk. still (better). — *zim γāpēt dēt* much snow fell; *γāfci xutwaxt bit* he became very happy. — Conn. with Sogd. *γarf* much?

*γāl* X sit down, *bištn*(?).

*γālbīl* Y, *γīl'bēl* X, *γāl°* Sk. sieve. — Ar.-Prs.

*γālla* X grain. — Ar.-Prs.

*γā'lōm* Sk. servant. — Ar.-Prs.

*γām* Sk. sorrow. — Ar.-Prs.

*γuməncək* Y scrotum. — Cf. Yd. *γumino* anus.

*γā'nī* W hair, *γēno* goat's hair. — Prob. lw. from Ishk., cf. s.v. *γe nōk*.

*γān'dāl* N scorpion; "randāl" Hj. spider. — Cf. Shgh. *γān'dāl* spider.

*γār* Y, Sk., *γār* Sh., *gār* X stone, rock. — *lup gār* rock; *γār kaṣum* Y I throw a stone. — Cf. Yd. *γar*.

*γēr* Y, *γēr* X, *γēr* Sk., *γör* Sh. wool. — Possibly with *γ*- < *w*- < Av. *varəna*? Cf. § 50.

*γīr*-: *γīrd*- Y, *γīr*-: *γīrd*- Sh., Zar. to turn round (Sh. also to cross a pass). — Cf. Sar. *γirs*-: *γerd*-.

\**γor* (Cockerill) ravine, *kurum*. — "Ghor *jerab*".

*γūr* N, Sk. (E.Wkh.) penis; X, *γīr* W scrotum. — *γur-gāu tuy* Sh. buck-goat. — Cf. Sar. *γūr*, Sgl. *γör* penis.

*γā'rīb* Y, *γe°* X poor. — Ar.-Prs.

*γārōb* L yak's wool. — Cf. *γer*.

*γā'rāγ* Sh., *γaray* St., \**γīrāk* B collar of a garment. — Cf. Sgl. s.v. *γō'rōk*.

*γārūng* Y, *γūrūng* X heavy. — Cf. Sogd. *γrān*, Khow. (lw) *γrānu* pregnant.

*γār'rā* Sk. bud. — Prs. *γurra* new moon?

*ǰurt*: *ǰortt* Sh. to collect, to tuck up one's sleeves. — < \**gart* to roll.  
*ǰaš* Y, *ǰāš* X, *ǰaš* N, St., *ǰāš* W, *ǰāš* Sk., Sh. mouth. — Cf. Yazgh. *ǰaš* < \**gaštra*, cf. EVP. s.v. *ǰāš* tooth (< \**gaštra*, not \**gastra*).  
*ǰəš* Y, *ǰext* W, *ǰəš*, *ǰöš* Sk., *ǰöš* Sh. male. — *ǰəš*-*ǰirk*, *-ǰiš*, *-ǰaš* Sk. — With *ǰ* < *w*, cf. § 50? Or ancient lw. from *ǰušn*?  
*ǰəš-k'e'la* Y, *ǰəš-kə'lā* Sk., *ǰöš-kala* Sh. ram. — V. *k'a'la*.  
*ǰəši-yāngəl* Y, *ǰöš yāngl* Sh. thumb. — Cf. Prs. *nar-angušt*.  
*ǰiš* Y, *ǰiš* X, *ǰiš* N, *ǰūš* Sk., *ǰiš* Zar., *ǰiš* Sh. ear. — Cf. Yd. *ǰū*.  
*ǰiš* N meat. — V. *ǰuš*.  
*ǰat* Y, *ǰāt*: *ǰätt* Sh., *ǰat*: *ǰat* Kl. to arrive. — *ǰatəvum*, *ki'tetkem* X 'mērasam(?), *rasīdam*', *ki'tetk* (Sh. *ǰatetk*) he has arrived. — From *gata*? But cf. s.v. *got*.  
*ǰūv* Sk. hollow where grain is stored, *ǰəv* Be. cornbin, store-room for food. — Cf. Sgl. *ǰəv*.  
*ǰīy*: *ǰoid* Sk. to copulate. — *ǰīyayəm*, *ǰəid*, *ǰəil*, *ǰoidəm*, *ǰīyayak*, *ǰīyayatk* Sk. Cf. Prs. *gāidan*, etc.  
*ǰūz* Y, Sk., Zar., *ǰūz* X firewood, bramble, *ǰūš*. — Cf. *ǰūz-vor* Sh. a fuel-fetcher. — Cf. Sgl. *ǰəz*.  
*ǰərf*, *ǰərf* L fireplace. — Prob. with *ǰž* = *ǰ* as also in other words in L's material. — Cf. *ǰrf*? < Av. *ǰufra*-deep?

## H

*hūb* (*həəb* Grammophone) Y, *hūb* X, *ūb* N, *hūbəδ* (l) W, *ūb*, *īb* Sk., *hūb* St., Zar., *hūb* Sh., etc. seven. — Cf. Yd. *ovdō*.

*hīb-v<sup>a</sup>rīt* Sk. Charles' Wain (: the Seven Brothers).

*halq* X, v. *al'qūm*.

(*h*)*alamān* L one another. — < \**anyam-anyah*? But cf. *yamān* Kl. id. V. § 126.

*hūmū* Sh. to be. — *hūmiam* I may be. — Cf. Saka *hāmā*; Sogd. *māt* was Gauthiot, JA, 1916, p. 254.

*hanjūi* L pit for storing butter.

*'haret* X span, *arat* St. cubit. < \**aradni*? *hešt* X ploughpole. V. *wəšp*.

*hat* Y, Zar., Kl., Be., *hāt* X, W, Sh., *at* N, *āt* Sk., *hāt* St. eight. — Cf. Yd. *aščo*.

*ha'wā* X, *awā* Y, *°ō* Sk. air. — Ar. Prs.

*hu'zūr* X presence, majesty. — Ar. Prs.

## ǰ (cf. Ž)

*ǰi'dā* Y separate. — *ǰ°* *carem*. — Prs. *ǰi'gār* Y, Sk., Sh., *°ar* X, N, W liver. — Prs.

*ǰǰa'ri* X, Sk. brown, *°ri* Be. green. — Prs.

*ǰao'ǰi* Sk. pieces [of felt?] placed under the saddle.

*ǰōn* Sk. soul. — Prs.

*ǰuāna* X male calf, two years old. — Cf. Sgl. *ǰuā'ē*.

*ǰa'nūb* Sk. south. — Ar. Prs.

*ǰi'nūb* X cause, reason. — *az ayou ǰimban* for that reason. *'cəm ǰə'nūb* Sk. therefore. — Ar. Prs.

*ǰang* Sk. war. — *ǰ° viti* there was a war. Ar. Prs.

*'ǰangal* X forest. — Prs.

*ǰən'wār* Sk. female mountain goat. — Prs.

*ǰi'rāb* Y, *ǰe°* X stockings. — Prs.

*ǰur'ǰāt* W sour milk. — Turk. Prs.

*je'riv* Y mud (?).  
*ji'rew* X, *ji'rōx* Zar., *žerāx* Sh. knot. —  
 Prob. borr. from Sar. *žerex*. Cf. Yd.  
*ju'rex*.  
*jūš* Sk. waterfall (in the Panj). — Prs.  
*jūš* boiling, ebullion.  
*ju'wāb* X answer. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ju'wān* Y, °*ān* X, *je'wōn* Sk. young. —  
 Prs. Cf. *ju'āna*.  
*jōy*: *jōyd* Sk., :*jōide* X, *jō-in* Sh. to  
 read. — *ya'wiš nəmōz 'jōid* Sk. they  
 read their prayers. — Cf. NTS., VII.  
 116 sq.

## K, Q

*ke* X to, for (postposition with the dat.).  
 — *rešt xōnar ke* he went to the  
 house; *ēis sabab ke nivdī?* for what  
 reason didst thou weep? *xalg piši-*  
*wāzar ke rešt 'ādam pišiwāz-i ū*  
*raftan*'; *i manziler ke rešt* 'he came  
 to a manzil'. Cf. Hj. (p. 19) dative  
 in *-rak* (= *-r-ək*); Sk. *žə 'yurm-ək*  
 (or *yurm-ər*) for my arm. — Cf. § 112.  
*ki* X that (conj.). — Prs.  
*kū* X, W, Sk. hill. — Prs.  
*kūi* Y, X, Sk. somebody, who? — *tu-t*  
*kūi?* Y, *tu 'kuī?* X who art thou?  
*saš kūi tūet?* X who are you? *kūi*  
*šayum* X I kill somebody. — Av.  
*kahyā*. § 126.  
*ka'būn* Sk., *kubūn* Sh., *ko*° Hj. dish,  
 wooden bowl, cup; *kobun* Olufsen  
 flat wooden dish, *kōbūn* L wooden  
 bowl. < \**kumbōn* < \**xumbāna*?  
*qāby* Sk. tomb. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ka'būt* X, W blue. — Prs.  
*ki'bīt* Y, Sk., °*it* X, Sh, *kipit* L, *kōbīt* Z  
 pigeon. — Cf. Yd. *kovio*.  
*'kūček* X puppy. — Prs.

*qə'dd* Sk. parents-in-law.  
*qa'dam* Sk. pace, step. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kōd'nök* Sk. linen. — V. *kənāi*.  
*kədiw* Sk. pumpkin. — Prs.  
*kaf* Y foam, scum. — Prs.  
*kifč* Be., *kifč* Kl., *kipči* X, *har kifč* Sh.  
 both; *kifčk* Be. like. —  
*kaf-i-dast* Y, X, *kaf* W, N palm of the  
 hand. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kāfš* Sk. shoe. — Prs.  
*kaig* X flea. — Prs.  
*kāyaz* X letter. — *tark k° gošum* I  
 write a letter to thee; *k° dast-i-žat*  
*dežide* he got the letter in hand. —  
 Prs.  
*kik* Sh. wild dog; *kik* L lynx.  
*kik* Y, *kvk* X, *kök* Z, Hj., *žkük*(!) Sh.  
 a spring; *kik* Sk. hot spring. — <  
 \**xāka*-. Cf. Sar. *kauk* (borr. from  
 Wkh.), Yd. *xūyo*. V. § 42.  
*kək* Sk., Hj. eyelid (E.Wkh.).  
*'qakul* X n. of a bird, *qakul*.  
*'kāka'šōn* Sk. the Milky Way. — Prs.  
*k'Δla* X ram, *k(ə)lā* Sk. sheep (m. and f.),  
*kalā* Sh., etc. sheep. — Cf. Khow.  
*'keļš?*  
*keļ-* L to itch.  
*kalr'bən* Y, *kalbun* St., *kal'pipr* N, *kal* L,  
*kal* Sh., "khāl" Be., "kull" Bi. arm-  
 pit. — *kal* would seem to be a Sgl.  
 form of *kaš*, but cf. Prs. (dial.?) *kalk*  
 'side under the armpit', which may,  
 however, belong to the Sgl. group  
 (cf. "Prs." *γōl* 'ear'). Cf. Sgl. *kaš-miš*  
 (< Prs. *kaš?*), Šemerzod *k'ašbūn*.  
*qala'mi* Sk. lined. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kalmury* X eagle, kite(?), *kalmury* Sk.  
 kite (bald-headed eagle?). Cf. Khow.  
*kalmury*; Prs. *kalmury* vulture (v. Yd.)  
 s.v. *war'yijin*.  
*kalan'jōy* X n. of a bird. — Prs. *kal* bald.



*kulp* X lock. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kə'litōq* Y, *ka'reŋ* (!) W, *kalitok* Sh. wind-pipe; *kabitok* Be. larynx (for \**kalitok*?).  
*kəl'vār* Sk. mussuck. — Cf. Shgh. *käljōr* (Lentz).  
*ke'li* Y yoke-peg. — Khow. *kāri*.  
*kam* Y, X little. — Prs. — But *kamō* L inferior wife < Khow. *kuma*.  
*'kami-*: *kəmətt-* Sk. to will; *kami-*: *kamat* Sh. to agree, consent. — *'kəmiəm*, *kīmīt*, *kəməttəm*, *kəmi'yak*, *kə'mətk* Sk. — Cf. Sgl. *kəmay-*.  
*kā'mī* W back. — Cf. Sgl. *ka'māk*.  
*qīm* Y, *kūm* Sh. owl. — Cf. Sar. *kūm*.  
*kōm*, *k'ōm* Y, X, *k'ōm* N, *kām* W, *khom* Be. palate. — Prs.  
*kūm* which? — *ce kūman* from whom? — Cf. § 126.  
*'kumjei* Sk. where? — V. *kūm*.  
*kai'moq* X cream. — T.-Prs.  
*ku'mak cār!* Sk. help! — Prs.  
*qīm'mat* Sk. price. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ka'mōn* X bow. — Prs.  
*ka'mān-i-Rus'tam* Y, *ka'mān°* X, *ka'mōn-i-Rus'tōm* Sk. rainbow. — Prs.  
*kāmpal* L blanket. — Ancient lw. from IA.  
*kāmp'i'rak* Sk. thunder. Cf. Sk. Mater., 138.  
*kə'nāi* X cotton; *kinei* Sh. bleached coarse cotton cloth; *knōi* Hj. linen. — Cf. *kōdnök*.  
*kūn* W anus. — Prs.  
*kūn-*: *kott* (*kū'nak*) Sk.; *kūn-*: *kott-* Sh. to draw a sword; *kūn-*: *kott* I. to dig out, root out. — Av. *kan-*.  
*'kōna* Y, X old (not new). — Prs.  
*kī'nā* Sk. hate. — *k° car-*. — Prs.  
*kānd-* Y, *kand-* X, *kānd-*: *kānd-* Sk., *kand-*: *kandi* Sh. to laugh. — *kāndəm*, *kānd*, *kāndl*, *kāndəm*, (2 sg. *kāndl*), *kən'dak*, *kən'dətk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *xōud-*.

*kanda* X laughter. — *k° carem*. — Adapted from Prs. *xanda*.  
*kənd* Y, X, *kund* W, *k'ənd* Sk. married woman, wife. — *uz k'ənd cūlgakar wəzdrm* X I have come to look for a wife; *bāf kəndiš* Sk. the women are good. — Acc. to Geiger (Gr.Ir.Ph.) = Skr. *kāntā*.  
*kīnd* Y, *kund* X blunt. — Prs.  
*ka'nek* X mosquito.  
*qā'nūn* Sk. law. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kap* Sh. camel's hump. — Sar. *kiep*, Or. *kūp*, cf. Yd. *kyrfo*.  
*kapē* Y, Sk., Sh., *kapca* X spoon. — Prs. *kafč*.  
*'kipci*, v. *kifč*.  
*'kipok* Y cuckoo. — Cf. (Ar.-) Prs. *kabbūk*, *kapūk*.  
*kar* Y, X, *kār* Sk. deaf. — Prs.  
*qār* Sk. anger. — *'wuz-əm 'kār cārəm* I become angry; *'yāwušt 'kār-ŋ kyti*, *'spāšix-ŋ tāydi* they got angry and left us. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kūr* Y, X, Sk. blind. — Prs.  
*qa'rīb* Y, X near. — Ar.-Prs.  
*kar'bāš* Sk. lizard. — Prs.? Cf. Yd. *'karbasa*.  
*karčē'yai* Y kite. — Cf. Shgh. *karčē'yāi*. etc. Turk.  
*kard* Sh. crooked. — Sar. *čerd*.  
*kar'gā* Y, *qər'gā* Sk. crow. — Turk.-Prs.  
*kerk* Y, X, *kīrk* N, *kərck* Sk., *körck* Sh. fowl, hen. — Cf. Yd. *krrio*.  
*kīr'kun* X elbow. — Khow. *kur'kun*.  
*ka'urum* (Cockerill) ravine.  
*'kīrən* Y, *'kūrun* X plough. — Prob. 'ploughing', cf. *kūr-* Sh. to cultivate, Sgl. *kīrūg* plough, etc.  
*'kīrpa* Y bedding. — Prs.  
*kīrpa'čā* Y mattress. — Prs.  
*qa'rōr* Sk. silence. — *q° car* be silent. — Ar.-Prs.

- kurust* W bark of a tree; *kə'rast*, *kröst* Sk., *karast* Sh. fur-robe. — Cf. Sgl. *korost*, Yd. *karāst*.
- kə'roš* Y, *ka'roš* N pea, *patek*; *kə'rōš(ək)* Sk. pea, bean. — Cf. Sgl. *karāš*.
- qə'rit* Sk. cheese (= *tušp*). — T.-Prs.
- kir'žepč* Y, *kizipči* X, *karjöpč* Sh., *kərz*<sup>o</sup> Z magpie, *gulbeq*. — Cf. Yd. *kvunyo*.
- kās*: *kāst* (*kə'sak*) Sk., *kās*: *kast* L to thresh; *kə'sak vand-* Y to thresh (but said to follow *fraxbız xaš*, and to precede *būn-*). — Prs. *kustan* to pound, *kusta* 'rice that has been separated from the husk by pounding, but not cleared from the chaff' have *u*, and are doubtful words.
- 'kasa-e-sar* W top of the head. — Prs. *kāsa-i-sar*.
- kiš* Y, *kiš* W, *kəs* X, *kos* N, *kəš* (*kəš*) Sk., *kuš* B vulva, vagina. — Cf. Sgl. *kuš*.
- kšād* Y, <sup>o</sup>*ōd* Sk., *kəšōt* X, *kšād* Sh. broad, wide. Prs., cf. Shgh. *kešād*, etc.
- kuš'kór* X male oorial. — Cf. Sgl. *kəš'kār*.
- kšt'gā* Sk. field. — Prs.
- kaš* Y, *kāš* Sk., *kaš* LSI, *kaš* L boy, young man; *zamān-kaš* B. — Av. *kasyah-* smaller, cf. Psht. *kašai* only son.
- kšüy-*: *kšən-* Y, *ki'šing*(?): *kišing* X, *kə'sən-*: *kə'səng-* Sk., *kəšuy-*, *kə'sen-*: *kə'səng-* L, *kšüy-*: *kšōn* Kl., *kšōn-*: *kšōng-* Hj., *kšüi-*: *kšōn-* Sh. to hear. — *niv ti zik kšüyəm* Y now I hear thy word; *ti zik wuz ki'šingum*; *ke'šingat* X 'šināwīd'; *kə'sənəm*, *kə'sənt*, *k(ə)šüy*, *kə'səngəm*, *kšə'yak* (*kšə'nak*), *kəšə'nətk* Sk. — \**uš-kyn-* > \**škən-* > *kšən-* (cf. Bal. *uškun-*); \**sruy-* > \**šəy-* contaminated with *kšən-* into *kšəy-*? Or, more prob., < \**gušaya-*? *kšən-* as a pres. stem is secondary, cf. Sk. inf. *kšə'yak*, besides *kšənak*.
- kūt* Y, Sk., Z roof; *kuť* X ceiling. — Cf. Sh. *kat-đit* soot? — < \**kāta-*, cf. Av. *kata-*, etc.? V. *iskakut*.
- ki'tāb* Y book. — Ar.-Prs.
- ktič* Sk. hut, *ktič* Kl. hut on summer-pasture. — Cf. Ishk. *krič*.
- kūt* L chaff.
- kať-*: *kart-* Y, X, *kāt-*: *kārt-* Sh. to throw, spread, pour into, *andāxtan*; *kāt-*: *kārt* Sk. to lay, put. — *ucuz yupk ar pīl kaťem* Y, *yupk piōla kaťum* X I pour water into the cup; *šār kaťem* Y I throw a stone; *kāťəm*, *kārt*, *kāť!* *kārtəm*, *kə'ťak*, *kaťətk* Sk.
- qať* Y mucus, *kat* Be. snot (*lišp* mucus).
- kať* Y, Sk., *kuť* X, *kōt* Sh. short. — Cf. Sgl. *kuť*.
- qətb* Sk. the Polar Star. — Ar.-Prs.
- ku'ťol* W dagger. — IA.
- 'qēw-* Sk. to call. — *qēwəm*, *qēw!*, *qēw kartəm*, etc. — Cf. Sgl. *qiw-*.
- ku'wend* L sheep tick. — Cf. Psht. *kūnai* (EVP, s.v. *kōn*)?
- qōx* Sk., *kox* Sh. cough. — Cf. Shgh. *kēx-*, Or. *kux*, Prs. *kux kux*.
- kūxt* Sk. every, Sh. all, whole. — <sup>o</sup>*tək* Sk. all. — *kūxt čiz* everything. — < \**kyšti-* the world (cf. Av. *karš-var-*); cf. semantically Yd. *za'hānd* much < Prs. *jahān*?
- qā'zi* Sk. judge. — Ar.-Prs.
- qōz* Sk. goose. — T.-Prs.
- kūza* X pitcher. — Prs.
- kəž* Y, *keš* X, *kəž*, *kšž* Sk., *kōž* Z, Sh., *kēž* L, 'kurcj' Bi. knife. — Cf. Yd. *kezo*. V. § 80.

## L

*lab* W, *lap* N, *low* X lip. — Prs. V. *lafē*.

*lūd-*: *lošt* Sh. to ram in.

*la-cer-* X to leave, *lēcər-* Sk. to allow, *la-car-* Sh. to let go. — *lēcər you be wīzīt* let him come Sk. — Cf. Yd. *la(k)-*.

*lafē* Y, Sk., Sh. lip. — Prs. V. *lab*.

*lo'yar* X bad. — Ar.-Prs. *lāyar*.

*la'jōm* Sk. bit of a horse. — Prs.

*lūq* Sk. rag.

*lāmərz* L sloping down of a field. — \**ni-marza*.

*lānd* W tooth. — Mj., cf. Yd. *lad*. V. *'dendik*.

*lāndək* Sk. cheese (творог ис сметана).

*lāng* Sk. lame. — Prs.

*līng* Y, *līng* X, *lāng* Sk. calf of the leg (Sk. also of a goat). — Prs.

*lumj* Sk. cheek. — Prs.

*lup* Y, X, Sh., *lūp* Sk. big, large. — *ispa xōn lup* Y our house is big; *žu xōnlan ti xōn lup* X thy house is bigger than mine; *lup yāngl* Sk. (hip *y°* in Sk. Materialien, p. 141 is due to a misreading) thumb. — Cf. Tajiki *lum(b)* (Trudy Tadž. Bazy, III, 55)?

*lipča* X milk pail; cf. *lupt* Olufsen flat earthenware jug for milk and water?

*lāst* W hand. — Cf. Mj.-Yd. *last*.

*'lāša* X lean. — Prs.

*lišp* B mucus. — IA.

*līv-*: *līvd* Y, Sh. to slip. — Cf. IE. \*(s)leib- (Walde-Pok. II, p. 391)? Or \**sleub-*? But Or. *šīrf* slippery < \**srifra-*, Psht. *šwai* < \**srifaka-*, with Ir. *s-*?

*lu'wārē* Y, *lō'wōrē* Sk., *leiwārē* Sh., etc. sand.

*lēw* Sk., *līw* Sh. demon. — Cf. Sgl. *lēw* from \*Mj.?

*'liḫ-* Y, *liḫ-*: *lisetk-* X, *liḫ-*: *liḫt* Sh. to lick. — Genuine, or from Prs. *lēs-*: *lišt*? But cf. Sgl. *lēs-*.

*lazja* X trembling. — *l° goḫt* trembles. — Cf. Shgh. *layja*, from Prs. *larza*. *lox* Y udder.

## M

*mai* Y, X, W, *māi* Sh., *māy* B sheep; *mai* X, *māi* Sk., *kūr-māi* L female oorial. — Cf. Yd. *mūo*.

*mə* Sk., *māi* Hj. don't. — *'mə-pərs*, *pərs-māi* don't ask. — Av. *mā*.

*mō'i* Y, N, *mo'i* X, *māhe* W, *mā'i* Sk. fish. — Prs.

*mūi* X hair on the body. — Prs.

*mūi* Sk., *mūi*, *mu.i* L month. — Cf. Prs. *māh*, etc.

*'mūbarak* X salutation, gratulation. — Ar.-Prs.

*mič* Sh. (double) handful. — Cf. Sar. *mut*. V. § 73.

*māček* Y, *māč-šač* Be. she-dog; *māč* L female. — Cf. Yd. *macio*.

*mād* Y, X, *maḍ* W, Sh., *mād* L, Zar. (back of the) waist, back; *mād* Sk. back (of an animal). — *žə yāš 'mād 'zāxṃ-vitk* Sk. the back of my horse was wounded. — Cf. Sgl. *mēḍ*. V. § 100.

*'māda* N female. — Prs.

*mai'dōn* X plain. — T.-Prs.

*mā'dīr* Y, Sk., *madūr* I, *maḍūr* Sh., *māḍər* Z noon. — Cf. Sar., Shgh. *maḍōr*. — Av. *maidya-* + *ayara* (cf. *frayara-* fore-noon).

*ma'dāḫ* Y, *mā'dāḫ* Sk., *maḍāy* Sh. mare. — From Phl.(?) \**mādag*.

- (\*mōd-): *mōdt* (*mōdētk*) L to curdle (milk).  
— 3 sg. *mōdt*. — Cf. Bal. *madag*,  
etc., Sar. *mād* buttermilk (Be.).  
*mūg* Hj. stupid, *mūq* Sh. blunt. (Un-  
known to Sk.'s informant). — Cf.  
Yd. *mīkv*.  
*mēy* W cloud. — Prs.  
*may'rib* Sk. west. — Ar-Prs.  
*mayz* Y, X, N, W marrow. — Prs. —  
*magž* Be. 'brain' may be genuine  
(cf. Be. *sirk*, Sh. *serk* marrow).  
*may'zī* Y, X, N, *may'zek* W arm above  
the elbow. — Cf. Sgl. *asta-mayzək*,  
Yd. *mižistē*.  
*mī'jāš* X eyelashes. — Ar-Prs.  
*māk'* Sk. neck. — Cf. Shgh. id.  
*mōk* Sk. hen. — Cf. Sgl. *mākək*.  
*'mukuduk* Y, *'muydok* X, *'mōk'dək* W,  
*'muklok* N, *mukt* Sk., Sh., *mukt* L,  
*moxt* Be. frog. — Cf. Ishk. *mukuduk*,  
Sgl. *moγdōk*, Yazgh. *ma'gūd*.  
*maks* Y, X, Sk., L, Sh., etc. fly. — Cf.  
Yd. *moγuso*.  
*maks* L. ripple.  
*'mū'lā* Sk. donkey-saddle.  
*mul* X stirring-pin. — Cf. Yd. *mūl*.  
*'mālum* X known. *mark m° ne vit* it  
was not known to me. — Ar-Prs.  
*mā'lūm'dōr* Sk. honest. — Ar-Prs.  
*mula'im* X soft. — Ar-Prs.  
*m°'lung* Sk., *maluŋ* L, *maluŋ* Sh.  
middle, waist. — Cf. Yd. *malanē*.  
*maluŋ-yaič* Sk. shinbone; *maluŋ-*  
*yāič* Sh. thigh; "malūngerch" Be.  
arm. — Cf. *yašč*.  
*māl'teq* Y, *mil'tiq* X, *mī'tēq* Sk. gun. —  
Turk.  
*mō'lax* Y, *mi°* Sh. grasshopper. — Prs.  
*mūm* Y, Sk., Z, *mum* Sh. grandmother.  
— Cf. Yd. *'māmo*.  
*mīmān'xāna* X guest-house. — Prs.
- mō'nō car-* Sk. to resemble. — Prs. *mān*  
resembling.  
*mānd-* Y, *mānđ-* X, *mānd-* L, *mānd-*  
(*maŋđāk*) Sh. to rub, shampoo. —  
Cf. Yd. *magγ*, Sgl. *mānđ-*. V. *mandik*.  
*'mōnda* X tired. — Prs.  
*mīndelič* Y butterfly (?), bird (?); *men-*  
*delič* L swallow.  
*mandik* Be. leather. — Perf. of *mānd-*  
("rubbed, tanned"?).  
*'manja* X bed. — IA, cf. Yd. *mānjo*.  
*miŋ'gas* Y, Sk., St., *iŋ'gas* X, *wiŋ'gās*  
Sh. sparrow. — Genuine (v. § 47),  
or from Kati *mə'ŋece*, *mr'ə'ŋec?*  
*miŋ'qōr* Y, *°ār* W, *°ōl* X beak. — Ar-  
Prs.  
*man'zil* X a day's journey, halting-place.  
— Ar-Prs.  
*mə'ŋū* W apple. — Prob. Sgl. *mēļ*. V.  
*mur*.  
*mōŋ* W male oorial.  
*māra* L store-room on a roof.  
*mer* L knuckle, joint. — Cf. Skr. *mar-*  
*man-?*  
*'mārī-*: *mərt-* Sk., : *mert* X, *mari-*: *mōrtt*  
Sh. to die. — *mərt* Y dead. —  
*'mārīm*, *'mārī*, *'mārīd*, *'mārīn*, *'mārīv*;  
*mərtəm*, *mārī'yāč*, *mərthk*; *mərt(k)*  
death Sk. — < \**məriya-*, cf. Yd. *mər-*.  
*mōr* X, *mār* W snake. — Prs.  
*mur* Y, *mūr* X, N, Be., *mūr* Sk., *mūr* Sh.  
apple. — Cf. Yd. *dmuno*.  
*mūr* Y, Sk., Sh., Z, *mōr* Be. cloud. —  
< \**ham-abra-?*  
*mūr* X locust (?). — Cf. Sgl. *mūr* centipede.  
*'mēra'bōn* Sk. friend. — Prs.  
*murča* X, W ant. — Prs.  
*'mərdik* W pupil of the eye. — Cf. Sgl.  
*čām-mərdikōg*.  
*mər'dīna* Y, *ma°* Y man. — \*Prs., cf.  
Shgh. *mardīna*.

- merg* L female ibex; *marg* Sh. fem. Ovis Poli; Be. wild goat. — Av. *mərəya-*; cf. Kafirī *mr'oṅ*, *mraṅ*, etc. fem. ibex.
- margilam* Sh. goat's down. — Cf. Yd. *muryu'lum*.
- mə'rik* Y, *ma*<sup>o</sup> Sh., B, *mrik*<sup>c</sup> Sk. sweet cream. — Cf. Shgh. *marōb*, Sar. *marēb*, prob. < Ar.-Prs. *murawwāb* (v. Shgh. Voc., s.v., and Lentz s.v.), but the Wkh. form is difficult to explain.
- ma'rām* X servant. — *jū ma'rām* my servant. — Ar.-Prs. *mahrām* friend.
- mīr-prič* Y, *'mīr-prič* Sk., Sh. ant. — *mīr-* prob. < \**marwi-* (cf. Yd. *mur'yo*), but associated with Ar.-Prs. (*a*)*mīr*, e.g. in Shgh. *mīr-mōšūn* (Sk.) 'Rattenkönig'.
- marsī* Hj. hip. Denied by Sk.
- mā'rōs* Sk. inheritance. — Ar.-Prs.
- mīrā'xūr* X stable-boy. — Prs.
- merz* Y, *merz* X, *morz* Sh., *marz* Sh. hungry. — *merz-əm vītei* Y I have become hungry; *merz-em* X; *'wuz-əm murz vītk* Sk. — Cf. Shgh. Voc. s.v. *mažjānj* 'hungry' (Old Engl. *murc* gnawing hunger, etc.).
- mōrž* L. dew. — < \**morgh-s-*, cf. Russ. *morox* 'drizzle' etc. (v. W.-P. s.v. *meregh-*).
- mis* Y, X, Sk., Sh., etc. nose; Sh. also: point, formerly. — Cf. Sgl.—Ishk. *mīs*.
- mīs* Sk. brass. — Prs.
- mās-dīg* Y brass-pot. — Prs.
- mūi-sa'fēd* X old (not young). — Prs.
- maska* Y, X, Be. (*ruyn* Sh.) butter. — Prs.
- maw'sim* Sk. season. — Ar.-Prs.
- məst* Y, Sk., *mušt* X, *mušt* N, *mut* W, *möst* Sh., Z, etc. fist. — *mušt* Prs., *mut* Sgl., reg. *must* (with *st* < *št*, v. § 73) cf. Yd. *mīšč*, Kurd. *must*, etc. — V. *mušt*.
- məš* Y, *mə'sū* W ankle (*barikband* Be.). — Cf. *mašīn* Sh. leg below knee (Sar. *mišinlang*).
- mūš* X mouse. — Prs.
- mūš-*: *mōšt* Sk. to conceal; *muš-* L to conceal, steal(?). — < \**mušya-*, cf. Skr. *muṣ-*.
- mēšak* Y female oorial. — Prs. Cf. Sgl. *mēš-i kiškōr*.
- mēšen* L along with.
- maš'riq* Sk. east. — Ar.-Prs.
- mušt* X fist, plough-handle (*gūček*). — Prs. V. *məst*.
- mō'tōb* X moon. — Prs.
- mutr* Sh. augury, omen. — Genuine, < *maθra-*, cf. Psht. *marai* charm?
- me'wā*<sup>č</sup> Sk. fruit. — Prs.
- māx* Y, X, *mēx* Sk. nail. — Prs.
- ma'ynu* X starling(?). — Hind. *mainā*?
- mī'yōn* X waist. — Prs.
- maza* X taste. — Prs.
- miz* X table. — Prs.
- mīzg* Y, Sk., *mīzg*<sup>o</sup> X, *mīzk* Be. urine. — *mīzg car-* Sk. to make water. — Cf. Yd. *mīz-*.
- mu'žek* X hail. — Cf. Sgl. *mu'žik*.

## N

- nāu* Y, *nāu* X, Sk., *nau* N, Sh., *nāb*(<sup>!</sup>) W, *nāo* Sh. nine. — Cf. Yd. *nau*.
- ne* X, *nə* Sk. not. — *mālum ne vit* it was not known; *ne rečā 'na mērawa'* X; *nə-nə* Sk. neither—nor. — Av. *na*.
- nəi* Sk. no.
- 'nūu* Y, *niūu* Sh., *nāi* X mill-race. — X from Prs. Cf. Yd. *nawo'yo*.
- nō'band* Y young calf; *nāband* Sh. yearling bull calf. — Cf. Sbh. *nōbānd*, Or.

- nōband*, etc. Original meaning 'newly bound' (newborn calves are allowed to move about). Cf. Or. *navzōd*, etc. yearling female calf (: 'just having born, or going to bear').
- nə'bas* Y, *ni'pes* X, *na'pəsan* L, *napōsan* Sh., etc. comb. — Cf. Oss. *sār-vasān*, etc.; Yd. *nuvās*. The derivation of Prs. *fasan*, *sar-fāhan* is doubtful.
- na'bōt* Sk. plant. — Ar.-Prs.
- nūck* Sk., Sh. beak. — Cf. Sar. *nūsk*, Khow. lw. *našk*.
- na'ḍun* L quiver; *naḍūn* Sh. scabbard. — Cf. Skr. *nidhāna* place for depositing anything, receptacle; Prs. *nihān* hidden.
- nəḍavn*: *nəḍafst* Y to embrace, clasp, *mēčaspam*; Sh. *naḍevs*: *naḍevd* to affect, stain, profit, *naḍefs*: *naḍavd* to be compressed, dented, *naḍefs*: *naḍefst* to stick together; *neḍev* L to stick to. — Two pres. formations, one in *-n*, and one in *-s*. — Cf. Shgh. *nidemb* to stick (trans.); v. Yd. *nailō*.
- nəf* Y, N, Sk., *nāf* X, *nāf* W navel. — Prs.
- nafar* X person. — *cum n°* 'čand *nafar*'. — Ar.-Prs.
- naγd* Y, *naγd* X, N, Sh., *nāγd* Sk., Kl. night. — *wūd nāγd* Y to-night; *nāγde nikā kerk* X. — Av. *naxtar* (cf. Geiger, Gr.Ir.Ph. I, 2, 303).
- naγ'din* Y, °*in(ak)* Sh. dawn. — < \**nax-taina*.
- naγd'yupk* Sk. dew.
- no'γordum* Y, *nā°* Sh., 'na° St. *nəγ'dūm* Sk. bear. — It is tempting to compare this noa-name with Yaghn. *rūbj-dum* horse (: broom-tail, v. Junker, Yaghn. Stud. I, 125); Or. *šu'tum*, Shgh. *īitum* hare (< \**xšīta-duma* with lopped tail, cf. Bal. *īīay* to shear, rub away). — But *noγor* (\**noγort*?)? Cf. also Prs. *dum-burrida* bear.
- ni'kā* X marriage, wedding. — Ar.-Prs.
- naql car* Sk. to tell. — Ar.-Prs.
- nək'ra* Y, 'nək<sup>u</sup>ra X, *nəq'rā* Sk. silver. — Prs.
- nau'kar* Sk. servant. — Prs.
- nālčrk* W reed. — \*Prs.
- nə'lād* Y jar, *kūza*.
- nam* X wet. — Prs.
- nīm* Sk. half. — 'žə-nīm 'əmy vit bār'bod half my life was spoiled. — Prs.
- nə'mok* Y, °*ək* Sk., *na'mak* X salt. — Prs.
- ni'mil* L, *na'mil* Sh. to hem. < \**lamīn* < \**dāmanaya*??
- nemenj* L to dance.
- nim'rūz* X noon. — Prs.
- namurzg* Sh., *lamurzg* L bush-harrow, rake. — Cf. Av. *nī-marəz* to sweep down; Sar. *namūžg*, Kashan dial. Gaz *nimer'zūn* rake.
- nə'mōz* Sk. prayer. — Prs.
- nān* Y, X, Sk., *nān* W, Sh. mother. — *žū nān*; *you nānar xat: ēi nān* X he said to his mother: oh, mother. — Cf. Yd. *nīno*.
- nūnd*: *nūtt* Sk. to plant. — Cf. Ishk. *nēnd* < \**ni-hāndaya*, Sar. *nālenḍān* < \**ni-šāndaya* (v. Tedesco, BSL, 24, 200).
- noγg* X, *nūγγ* Sk., *nūγγ* Sh. name. — < \**nāmaka*, cf. Sgl. *nīm*.
- nə'pūs* Y, °*us* X, *napūs* Sh. grandchild. — Early lw.? Cf. Yd. *nowoso*. V. *nəvəs*.
- nar* X, N male. — Prs.
- nə'rau* L rainbow.
- nīr* Sk. light (adj. and noun). — Ar.-Prs.

*nar<sup>o</sup>m* X soft, crushed. — *n<sup>o</sup> goṣum*  
I thresh. — Prs.

*nar-tūy* N he-goat.

*nesi-(am)* Y, *nesi-(m)* X, *'nāsī-*: *'nəst-* Sk.,  
*nāsī-*: *nəst-* Sh. to lie down. —  
*'nəsīm*, *'nīśīd*, *'nəsī*, *'nəstum*, *nəsi'yak*,  
*nə'sətk* Sk. — Av. *sāy-* to lie down,  
cf. Skr. *niś'ītha-* night.

*nis-*: *nōst* Sk., *nūs-*: *nāst* Sh. to lose;  
*nāš-*: *nāšt* Sh. to be lost. — Av.  
*\*nasaya-*, *nasya-*.

*naspar-* Sh. to tread down. — *\*ni-spar-*,  
cf. Sar. *naṣpor-*: *naṣpug-*; Av. *spar-*  
to tread, spurn; Prs. *naspār* place  
where grapes are pressed.

*nišōn* X showing. — *n<sup>o</sup> randəm* I show.  
— Prs.

*nāš'pātī* W pear. — Prs.

*niširm* Y, *°rum* X the shady side of a  
valley. — Cf. Sgl. *nišorm*.

*nā'tuān* Sk. poor. — Prs.

*nev-* Y, *'niw-*: *niwd*, *nivd* X, *nīw-*: *nōwd*  
Sk., *niūw-*: *nāud* Sh. to weep; *nov-*  
L to soak. — *cis sabab ke nivdi?* X  
why didn't thou weep? *bisyār niwde*  
X he wept much; *nīwəm*, *nīwd*, *nūw*,  
*nōwdəm*, *nū'wāk*, *nū'wətk* Sk. — Cf.  
Shgh. *nav-* (or *naw-*) to weep, Yd.  
*nov-*.

*nīv* Y, Sh., *anīb* X now. — *nīv ti zik kṣūyem*  
now I hear thy word; *īyem xalg*  
*nīv rəṣrupt* this man fell asleep now.  
— Av. *nū*, with secondary fricative?

*nīv-*: *nīord-* Y, *nīiv-*: *noyōvd* Sh. to  
extinguish (a fire). — *rəxnīgi nīvəm*.  
— Cf. *nīū-*: *neit-* Sh. to go out (fire),  
*niethən* Y I have gone out. *nīv-* <  
*\*ni-i* + caus. *v-*. Cf. Yd. *uzūw-*.

*nrvur* L herd's bread. — *\*ni-bhāra-*  
provision, cf. Av. *ni-bərəṯa* store-  
room?

*nəvəs* W grandson. — Prs. V. *nə'pūs*.

*nəviš-* Y, *ni'wiš-*: *niwišt-* Sk., *neviš-* Sh.,  
*növiš-* Z, *nivišta* car. X to write. —  
Prs.

*ni'wəq* Sk. breeze arising when the sun  
warms up the water.

*nə'wāst* Sk. it can't be done. Cf.  
*wōc-*.

*'niwiz-*: *nēšt-* Sk., *nīuz-*: *niešt-* Sh.,  
: *ni'ešt*; *nieštem* Y; pf. *niēšk* Y,  
X to go out (Sh. also 'to go, come  
up'); cf. *nawūz-* Sh. to mount?  
— *wuz cex ūnan nieštem* Y I  
went out of the house; *niēšk* Y  
'*barāmad*'; *pādśā sail niēšk* X the  
king went out for a walk; (ce) *xōnen*  
*niēšk* X he went out of the house;  
*žau ce wuš ništəm* Y I took(?) the  
grain away from the straw; *'niwizəm*,  
*'niwizd*, *niwiz!* *wuz-əm ništī*(=*nēštəm*),  
*nīwi'zak*, *nīwi'zətk* Sk. — Cf. Sgl.  
*nēz-*, Yd. *nī-*.

*nux* W female(?). — Prob. due to some  
misunderstanding.

*nax'čir* Y, X, Sk., Sh. fox. — Prs.  
(with specialized meaning in Wkh.).

*no'xūn* X nail. — Prs.

*nīxind-*: *nīxīt* Sh., *nīxn-*: *nīxt-* Kl. to  
expel, bring out; *nīxīnd-* L to ex-  
tract.

*nezd-*: *ne-in-* Y, *nezd-* X, *nazd-*: *ne-in-*  
(inf. *nūdn*) Sh., *nōzd-*: *nōyn-* Z to sit  
down. — *ni'engəm* Y I have sat  
down; *wuz dA amī xōn niengīn* X  
I(?) am living in this house; *wuz*  
*tawar nezd xānum* X I tell thee to  
sit down. — *\*ni-hazd-*: *\*ni-hadna-*  
(inf. *\*ni-hadana-*).

*'nezdəv-*: *'nezdəvd* Sk. (reg.) to place,  
put; to sit(?); *nūdūv-* Sh. to cause  
to sit down.

*nežyar*: *nežyard* Sk. to swallow. —  
\**niž-gar*.

*nažaxt* Sh. ill-advised. — Cf. Sar. *nāyūxt*.  
*nežduon* L weeding. — < \**niž-dhāna*,  
but Psht. *lalūn* < \**ni*°?

## P

*pāi* Y, Sk., Sh. curds, *māst*. — Cf. Yd.  
*poya*.

*pēi* Sh. paddle, shovel. — Genuine Wkh.  
form of *fī* (q.v.), cf. Yd. *fiyo*, Par.  
*phī*. — Burush. *būi* (< \**pūi*) 'shovel,  
blade' is borr. from early Wkh.  
(cf. Lorimer, Bur. Gramm., § 10).

*pu* Y with. — *pu čākuwen rəstəvəm* I  
cut with a knife. — Av. *paiti*.

*pac*: *pacd* Y, *pāc*: *pāct* (*pə'cak*) Sk.,  
*pōc*: *pōšt* Sh. to cook; *pacūv*:  
*pacovd* Sh. to cook (caus.); *pi'čes guš*.  
X to cook. — *pōc* < *pačaya*. —  
V. *pə'četk*, *peš*.

*pec* Sh. countenance. — Cf. Shgh. *pīc*,  
Sar. *pec* face, but not Sogd. *p'z*.

*picev*: *pīcovd* Y, *pīcəw*: *pīcōvd* Sk.,  
*pīcv*: *pīcōvd* Kl. to kindle a fire. —  
*rəxnīgi pīcevəm* Y. — < \**pīd(ī)c-ev*.  
— Cf. *pīdīsrv*. L to light a fire <  
\**pāti* + *dag* + *s*? Cf. Saka *pa(m)dis*.  
V. *pīdīng*.

*pēca* Y, W lock, curl. — Prs.

*pə'četk* Y, *pi*° X, *pō*° Sh. cooked. V.  
*pac*.

*pačrax*: *pačraxt* L, Sh. to arrest. —  
< \**pāti-raxš*??

*pū'd* Y, *p'ūd* X, *pūd* N, St., *pīd* Sk.,  
*pūeδ* L, *pūd* Sh., *pōδ* Z, *poda* Bi.,  
\**pūd* Be, *pu,et* H foot. — Cf. Yd.  
*palo*.

*pāldā* X king. — Prs.

*pād* L ligature on bow; *poδ* Sh. foot-  
track. — Both words prob. < Av.

*paða*, cf. Yd. *pol*. But cf. Sar. *peδ*  
foot and foot-track.

*peδmeš*. L to swell, *pōdmōš*. Sh. to  
ferment, foam, rise (as dough). —  
< \**pāti-dmasaya*, cf. Av. *dādmāinya*.  
'blowing oneself up', etc.; Brahui lw.  
*paddām* swelling.

*pōδn* Y, *'peden* X, *pəδn* Sk., *pōδn* Sh.,  
etc. saddle. — *'yašer p° guš* saddle  
the horse; *p° da dālān tu* the saddle  
is on the veranda X. — Cf. Shgh.,  
etc. *bidān*. Tomaschek (p. 805)  
compares Skr. *api-dhāna*, from which  
form we should expect Wkh. \**pādin*.  
\**apid(h)ana*, on the other hand, is  
not a probable form. V. Yd. *palan*.

*pīdīng* Y, X, Sh., *pīdic*: *pīdn* Kl. to  
flame up; *pīdīng* L flame. — Cf. *pīdi*.  
L to burn up. — *rəxnīg pīdīng* Y  
'*āteš dar girift*'; *rəxnī pīdīngem* X  
I light(?) a fire. — Cf. Sgl. *pādin*;  
Parth. *pādyn* to ignite (Henning,  
BSOS. IX, 86). Possibly *pīdin* <  
\**pāti-dagna*, and *pīdic* a secondary  
formation?

*pē'γār* Sk. crop (of a bird).

*pīūk* L onion. — Cf. Yd. *pīy*.

*pōk car* Sk. to cleanse. — Prs.

*pa'k'ūl* Sk. cap. — Cf. Yd. *pa'koṛo*.

*pa'liū* W eyelash. — Cf. Yd. *pēlek*. V. *patk*.

*pīl* Y, Sh., *pīl* Be., *pī'ōla* X wooden cup.  
— Prs. (*pīl* early lw., cf. Yd. *pīloṇo*).

*pīl* Sk. money. — Prs.

*palč* Y, X, Sh., *pālč* Sk., *parč* Be. leaf;  
X also feather; *palč* Sk. forest; *parč*  
Hj. garden. — Poss. two different  
words; reg. *palč* leaf v. § 83.

*pū'lōd*. *pū*° Sk. steel. — *p° xīngār*. — Prs.

*'puluk* W thumb. — Cf. Lat. *pollex*??

*pīlek-mī'lek* X, *pīlpīlak* Sh. butterfly. —  
Cf. Khov. *pulmuḍuk*.



- paʎan*- L to fall.  
*pa'läŋg* Y, X, W, N, *paŋg* Sk. leopard.  
 — Prs.  
*pʎöŋ'göst* Sk., *pulanguşt* Sh. finger-ring.  
 — Cf. Yd. *parguščë*.  
*pa'lās* Y, *pi'lesk* X, *palās* Sh. rug. —  
 Prs., cf. Bur. *palōs*, Khow. *pīlrsk*, etc.  
*pāla'wōn* Sk. hunter. — Prs.  
*'pūmec-* Y, *pō°* X, *pamec-*: *pamegn-* Sh.  
 to dress. — Cf. Sgl. *pənec*.  
*'pūmecev-* Y, *pameciv-* Sh. to dress some-  
 body else.  
*pə'nū* W butter. — Cf. Prs. *pīnū* cream-  
 cheese.  
*p'ū(ə)n* Y, *pūn* Sk., Sh., *phūn* Be. palm  
 of the hand. — Cf. Yd. *pəno*.  
*pa'nīr* Sk. cheese. — Prs.  
*pānz* Y, X, *pāns* W, *p'ānz* N, *pānj* Sk.,  
*pānz* Sh., *panj* Z five.  
*pəŋ'dək* Sk. unripe apricot. — IA, cf.  
 Lhd. *pīnd* ripe dates.  
*pūp* Y, Sk., Sh., Z grandfather. — Cf.  
 Yd. *pap*.  
*'pipir* X bedding, *'pipər* Sk., *pīp* Sh.,  
 St. bed. — Cf. Prs. *pōb* tapestry,  
 carpeting, *ambūb* cushion, mat? *pīpir*  
 original dat. (= loc.)? — But note  
 also Sar. *babēr* bed.  
*parr* Y, W, *pār* Sk., *par* Sh., *pūr*(l) Be.  
 feather (Sk. also wing). — Prs.  
*pur* X full. — Prs.  
*puru-*: *porōd* Sh. to rinse (a cup, clothes).  
 — Cf. Sar. *paro-*. Not < Av. *frav-*,  
 but possibly < \**pari-fraw*?  
*pə'rič* Y, *pi'rič* X, *prič* Sh. worm. — Cf.  
 Sgl. *pəčuk*.  
*pər'čōd* Y, Sk., *pūrčōd* Sh., *pūrčad* Burnes,  
*pər'čōdək* Kl. girl, maid (acc. to Sk.  
 older than *ḍəḍ*). — Dissim. < \**parčar*,  
 cf. Skr. *parīcarikā*- maid?  
*pārd* Y, Sk., *parde* X, *pard* Sh. last  
 year (X also day before yesterday?).  
 — < *parut*, cf. Par. *parāsūr*.  
*pardīŋ'gī* X, *pardīŋg* Sh. belonging to  
 last year.  
*pārg* Y, Sk., Sh., *parg* X, St., *p'ārg* N  
 ashes. — Cf. Sgl. *park*.  
*pərg* X necklace; *pörg* Sk. small ring  
 (worn on a cord); “*pyrk*” Olufsen  
 stringed kernels of apricots? —  
 \**parika-*, cf. Skr. *parikara-* belt, Prs.  
*pargar* collar of precious stones?  
*priḡin* Sh. horse-clothing. — Cf. Sar.  
*parwein*. — Cf. *gaw*?  
*pargōš-* Sh. to be entangled. — < \**pari-*  
*guš-* < *guz-* + *s*? Cf. EVP. s.v. *yež*.  
*parək* N rib. — Ishk.  
*purk* Y, *pūr* N, *pār* W (= Sgl.) *pīrk*  
 Sk., *pūr* Sh. mouse. — Cf. Yd.  
*parγ*, Sgl. *pōrk*.  
*parköl-* Sh. to dig, excavate. — Cf. Prs.  
*kōlīdan* to dig.  
*pīrkit-* L to stir.  
*perməyūŋg* Kl. belt, *izorband*. — Wkh.  
 + Prs.  
*permər-* L to wither, fade. — \**pari-mrya-*,  
 cf. Prs. *pižmurdan*.  
*pi'rān* X shirt. — Prs.  
*pər'nəc* Kl. churn, *deg-i dūykašl*. —  
 \**pari-nī-čī*?  
*pa'rinda* Y, X, Sh., °*dā* Sk. bird. —  
 p° *dar hawā wizit* X. — Prs.  
*'pūrind-*: *'pūrūt-* Y, *pər'ind-*: *'pīritt* Sk.  
 (reg.), *pūrīnd-*: *pārātt-* Sh., *frīndav*(l)  
 X to sell. — \**parā-rand*? Cf. Yd.  
*pəlār-*. V. *rand*.  
*purs* Y, *pīrs* Sk., *pürs* Sh. rib; *p'ürs* X  
 breast. — Cf. Yd. *pərsəyə*.  
*purs-*: *purst* Y, *pərs-*: *pərst* Sk. (reg.),  
*pörs-*: *pörst-* Sh. to ask. — Cf. Yd. *pərs-*.  
*pərsif* L wedge. — \**pari-saifa-*, cf. Skr.  
*śep(h)a-*, Lat. *cippus*?

- pur'sān* X question. — *p*<sup>o</sup> *goḡum* I ask; *'pādšā p<sup>o</sup>-um kerk.* — Prs.  
*parəŋ'gəl* Sk. wrist.  
*pörš-* Sh. to sneeze. — Cf. Sar. *pürĭ.*  
*prüt* Sk. foreward; *prüt* Sh. first (adv.). — *< \*parā-tah.* Cf. Or. *perōd*, etc. forepart.  
*pert* L back of an animal. — Av. *paršti.* Cf. s.v. *pist.*  
*parvē(y): parvet* Sh., *pörvöy:* *pörvött* Z to attain, strike, touch. — *'nə-par'wō* Sk. don't touch. — Lw., if *< pari-āp.* Cf. Yd. *p<sup>u</sup>ra.*  
*parwuf:* *parwāft* Sh. to net, plait. — V. *ūf.*  
*par'wāna* W moth. — Prs.  
*parwās* L rafter (smaller than *was*).  
*pürz* Sk., *pürz* Sh. evening; *'purzer, °jar* X (dat.) this evening, *bīgā.* — *p<sup>o</sup> yōwər yark guḡum* this evening I shall tell him his work. — *\*pārz < \*pāzr < upa-azar-* (cf. Av. *upa-naxtar*). Scarcely *\*purz < \*purr-azar- < \*pṛna azar.*  
*püržrp* L to twist. — Cf. Sgl. *yev.*  
*pūs* Sk., *pos* Sh. ram (E.Wkh.), Sh. a fat sheep. — Av. *pasu.*  
*pös* Sh. white leopard, ounce. — Cf. Sar. *pīs* id.; Prs. *pīs* white, leprosy, Av. *paēsa-* (Tomaschek, p. 762).  
*pi'sōn* X whet-stone. — Prs.  
*past* X, *pāst* Sk. low. — Prs.  
*pīst* Y, N, Sk., *pist* X, Sh., *posk* W (= Ishk.) skin, hide, Y also bark. — *pīst* Sk. back of an animal (for *\*pīrt*, cf. s.v. *pert*?). — *pist-i diraxt* X = *šung-pist* Sh., *draxt pīst* Sh. — Cf. Sgl. *pāsk.*  
*pōst* Sh. parched grain. — Cf. Yd. *pūšd.*  
*pā'sa* W, N mosquito. — Prs.  
*pēšāu* W urine. — Prs.  
*pīš* Y, Sk., *pūš* X, W, *piš* N, Sh., Be., *peš* Z cat. — Cf. Yd. *pṛko.*  
*pēšu* L pear. — Bur.?  
*pēš'bār* N breast. — Ishk. *< Prs.*  
*pāšk* Y, *pušk* X, B dung of sheep. — Prs.  
*pašm* N, *pām* W wool. — Prs., and Ishk.  
*p<sup>2</sup>šai-mōn, p<sup>1</sup>š<sup>o</sup>* Sk. regretful. — Prs.  
*pi'sōna* X, *pe'šānī* W forehead. — Prs.  
*pēš-i-pā* X instep. — Prs. (toe).  
*pušta* X slope, hillside. — Prs.  
*pišew:* *pšet-* L, *pšin-*, *pšew:* *pšett-* Sh., *pšōw:* *pšət* Kl. to return, turn back; *pšū:* *pšaud-* Sh. trans. — Shaw (p. 53) compares Av. *apaša* backwards.  
*pīšiwāz* X in: *xalg pīšiwāzar ke rešt 'ādam pīšiwāz-i Sultān Mahmūd raftan'.* — Prs.?  
*pišzō'mān* Sk. kitten. — V. *pīš.*  
*peš-* L to ripen. — *< \*pačya-* V. *pac.*  
*pōš'na* Y, *pōš<sup>o</sup>* X, N, *pōš'nā* Sk., *pōšt* L, *pošt* Sh. heel; *pāšt* Sh. sole. — Prs.  
*pīt* Tomaschek pine. — From what source? Tom. compares Skr. *pīta-dāru.*  
*pītau* Y, X the sunny side of a valley. — Prs. Cf. Yd. *pitou.*  
*pātk* Y, N, *pātak* St., *tapk* L, *tapk* Be., *tappuk* Bi. eyelash; *patk'* Sk. eyelid. — Cf. Sgl. *'pātik.* V. *tapk.*  
*pa'tek* X pea, *patek.* — Prs. Cf. Yd. *pateko.*  
*pitk* Sk., *pitk* Sh., Z rotten. — *pitki wəcəm* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *pīo.*  
*pat'lūn* Sk. trousers. — Ind. *< Engl.*  
*pūtmi:* *pūtmoid* Sh. to mimic. — Cf. Skr. *prati-mā.*  
*pā'tuon* L repair. *< \*pati-dāna-?*  
*patari* X rafter. — Cf. Yd. *patarē.*  
*patṛ* Y, Sk., *patur* X, *putr* N, *pat<sup>2</sup>r* W, *p<sup>2</sup>tr* L, *pōtr* Sh., Z son. Cf. Yd. *pūr.*

*petərδ*: *petərnə* L to spring from one seed (of several stalks). — \**pati-trdya-* to be split.

*pütrüm(b)*: *patramd-*, *potrombd-* to scare away, to arrest. — Cf. Skr. *prati-lambha-* passion, rage, violent abuse; *prati-labh-* to get abused?

*pütrüz*: *pätürz-* Sh. to lean against. — Cf. Sar. *padrüz-*. Geiger < Av. \**paiti-raz-*.

*pi'vār* Sk., °*var* Sh. small mussuck (kid skin). — \**pitu bara-* food-bearer? *pütäärm* Sh., *püxarim* B wooden trough. — \**pati-xwānman-*, cf. Prs. *xwān* tray?

*paṭ*<sup>1</sup> X worm, *kirm*. — Or = *paṭ*<sup>2</sup>? (*kirm* misheard for *kīr*)?

*paṭ*<sup>2</sup> Y, X, W, *pāṭ* Sk (W.Wkh.) penis. *peṭ* Sh. round, *put* Sh. circular. — Cf. Sar. *pet*, *puṭ*.

*pṭōk* Sk. bread, small cake. — Cf. *peṭ*?

*pīḍu* L, *pḍū* Sh., *pī'siw* Be. mosquito.

*pōv-* Y, *pōb-* X, *pūv-*: *pītt-* Sk., *pev/δ-*: *pīt-* L, *pōv-*: *pītt-* Sh. to drink. — *pōvəm*, *pōvī*, *iyam xalg yupk pīt*, *sak yupk pōvan*, *sāiš pōvəv*, *xalgišt yupk pōvan* Y; *'pūvəm*, *'pūvī*, *pīt*, *'pūvən*, *'pūvəv*, *pūv!*, *'pīttəm*, *pū'vāk*, *pītk* Sk. — Cf. Sgl. *pōv-*.

*pəwaz* L driftwood. < \**upa-waza-*?

*paax'tā* Sk. cotton. — Prs.

*pīḫ* Sh. biestings. — Cf. Skr. *piyūṣa-*. *puḫt* Y, *pūḫt* L cattle-shed.

*pūy-*: *pīn-* L to guard, watch over. — Av. *pā-*.

*pi'yaḫ* Y poplar. — Cf. *yaḫ*?

*pi'yōz* Sk. onion. — Prs.

*pāz* Sh. an armful.

*p'ūz* Y, *pīz* Sk. (E.Wkh.), *pūz* Sh. breast. — Cf. Sar. *puz*, *poz*, Khov. lw. *pāz*, Yd. *fiz*. Perhaps also Oss. *faz* podex,

Zaza *piže* belly, Skr. *pājasya* flanks; *pakṣ-a-*.

*pazdan-* Sh. to recognize. — Cf. Sgl. *pəzīn-*.

*'pezin* X, *pīzən* L udder. — < \**payazana-*, cf. Skr. *payo-dha-*.

*pə'zōv* Y (*pu'zīv* Gramm.), *pi'zūv* X, *pu'zū* W, *pə'zīv* N, *pə'zīv* Sk., *pūzīv* Sh. heart. — *pə'zīv-tang* Sk. depressed. — Cf. Sgl. *ōv'zui*? — A purely phonetic reconstruction \**apa-zābya-* gives no possible etymology.

*pai'zār* Y shoe. — Prs.

*pizvāni* L, Sh. morning-meal.

## R

*rū-i* Y on, in. — In the Prs. expression: *parinda rū-i awā rəxt* the bird flies in the air. — Prs.

*rūi* Y, X, Sk., *rū* N cheek. — Prs.

*rō'bā* N fox. — Prs.

*rīcṇ* Y, *'ricin* X, *ricn* Sh. smoke-hole. — Cf. Yd. *rūzen*.

*rucəpc* L, *ricops* Be. cousin.

*rēčey* L, *ričay* Sh. a fast. — Early lw., cf. Prs. *rōza*.

*rəç-*: *rəyd* Y, *rəç-*: *rəšt*(?) X, *rəç-*: *rəyd* Sk., *rəç-*: *rōyḍ* Kl., *raç-*: *ragd* Sh. to go, move. — *rəšt* 'mērāwad'; *yez-əm rəydei* 'raftam' Y; *yem yark cebas rəç* 'i kār pas buru'; *xōnar riç* go home; *ne re'čā* 'na mērāwya'; *kāyaz rəxt* the letter went off, raft; *cebas rəxt*; *dar huzūr-i pādšā rəšt* X; *rəčəm*, *rəšt*, *rəčən*, (*rəčənəv*?), *rəč!* *'rəyḍəm* (*tāyḍəm*), *rə'čak*, *rəy'datk* Sk. — Cf. *wəwəç*?

*rō'čōm* Sk. travel(?), is prob. pres. 1 sg., cf. *'rəxūpəm* 'sleep' (l).

*rəḍ-*: *rənn-* Sk., *rōḍ-*: *rōn-* Sh. to flee. —

- rādəm, rett, rādī rənmī, ro'dak, rətk.*  
— Cf. Yd. *lūr-*, Yazgh. *rað-*; Prs. *rah-*.  
*rūda* N, X guts. — Prs.  
*rāg* Sk. vein, tendon. — *rāgi nazm*  
pulse. — Prs.  
*rēg* X sand. — Prs.  
*rāgūm* Sk., *rayūm* Sh. heifer, yearling  
cow-calf. — < \**fragāma-*. Cf. Yd.  
*fəryōmčək.*  
*rēgiš* Y, *rī'giš* X, *re°* N, *rə'yiš* Sk.,  
*reyiš* Sh. beard. — Cf. Khw. (lw.  
from Wkh.) *rr'giš*. — Sk. compares  
Prs. *faryiš* hairs hanging down (*sar-*  
*furōd*) from below (*az zēr-i*) a fur-  
coat, a dirty garment with torn hem  
(Asadī, with quotation from Labībī)  
< \**fra-gaisya-*, cf. Av. *gaēsa-*.  
*rūyn* Y, *rūyūn* X, *rūyən* Sk., *ruyn* Sh.  
(*rēyn* W fr. Ishk.) clarified butter,  
*rogūn* Sh. fat, grease. — Cf. Yd.  
*rūyən.*  
*rōyət, rōyd* L young she-goat. — < \**fra-*  
*gatā?* Cf. *rəgūm.*  
*rah-zan* Sk. robber. — Prs.  
*rāuj* Sh. flame.  
*ruk* Y, N, Sk., *rōk, ruk* L, *rūk* Sh.  
forehead. — Cf. Prs. *rux, rōx* cheek  
< \**sraxwa-*, Skr. *srakva-*, *sykva(n)*-  
corner of the mouth.  
*ri'kōb* Sk. stirrup. — Ar.-Prs.  
*ra,qō'sī/ē car-*, *rəq°* Sk. to dance. —  
Ar.-Prs.  
*rakš* Y grey; *rakš* L brown. — Prs. *raxš*.  
Prob. lw., cf. § 60.  
*rami-*: *ramatt-* Sh. to command. — Pres,  
3 sg. *rimit*. — Cf. Sar. *rāmi-*: *rāmōd*,  
Prs. *farmūdan*.  
*ra'muš-* X, *rīmūš-*: *rīmošt* (*rūmūšak*) Sk.,  
*rāmiš-*: *rōmšōt-* Z to forget. — Cf.  
Yd. *fərmō-*.  
*ramet* L, *ramōt* Sh. chewing the cud. —
- Poss. < \**raumaṣṭa* (Bal. *rōmast* <  
\**raumaṣṭ + ta?*), cf. Frisk, Göteborgs  
Högskolas Årsskrift, 1936: 2, 14 The si-  
milarity with Santali *remet* 'third  
stomach of ruminants' is probably  
incidental.  
*rōn* Y, X, N, Sk. thigh. — Prs.  
*rūn* Sh. shelf. — Cf. Sar. *rūn*; Sgl.  
*frūn* plank.  
*rand-*: *det-* Y, *rānd-* X, *rānd-*: *ratt-* Sk.,  
*rānd-*: *rətt-/ḍətt-* Kl., *rānd-*: *rātt-/ḍətt-*  
Sh., *ḍāḍ-*(!): *det-* Hj. to give. — *yuph*  
*rānd* Y give water; *ḍetāi* you gave;  
*wuz tar kitāb randəm* I give you a  
book; *tu mar kitāb rand*; *yimē ḍetem*  
*tārek* I gave it to you; *tu mārek*  
*kitābe ḍetāi* Y; *wuz tawar i rūpia*  
*rāndem* I give you a rupee; *mark i*  
*rūpia rande* X; *rāndəm, rānd, rānd!*,  
*'rattəm* (or *rātum, ḍəttum*), *rən'dak*,  
*rat'tək* Sk.; *radān* inf. Sh.; *ləḍōw(ak)*  
inf. Kl. — *det-* < \**dita-*, *radā-n* <  
*fra-dā-?* But the Pres. Stem prob.  
< *rad-*, with nasal infix *rand-*, and,  
with secondary preter., *ratt-*. Not  
*rāt(t)-*, Kl. *rət-* < *rā-ta*.  
*ru'dāg, ru'dāk* Sk. strap, leather belt.  
*rang* Sk. colour. — Prs.  
*rang* Y, X male ibex, *rang*. — Prs.  
*rānjik* Sh. light, fast. — Cf. Sar. *rānj*.  
Geiger (p. 302) compares Av. com-  
parative *rānjyō*.  
*riṣ* Y, Sh., St., *riṣ* Sk. hair on the  
body; *riṣ* N hair; *riṣ* L hair of  
animals. — Sar. *reb* from Wkh., or  
with epenthesis. Poss. < \**raupi-*,  
cf. Norse *reyfi* wool torn from sheep,  
etc. (v. Walde-Pokorny, II, 354, *reup-*  
to tear out).  
*rū'piā* X rupee. — Ind.  
*rapic-*: *rapagn-* Sh. to lose the way;

- rapeciv*- caus. — Cf. Walde-Pokorny, II, p. 10, s.v. *peig*-?
- repk* Sh. refuse, *rapk* sweepings. — Cf. Yd. *rufo*.
- rrpk* X neck-ropes of the yoke. — If correct, < \**raib/paka*-, cf. Engl. *rope*, etc.??
- rür*-. *rord*- Sh. to make equal in height, stretch out, extend, offer, present. — Cf. Sar. *rör*-. *rord*- id.; Av. *frā-ar*- to assign to, to approach; but Tumchuk Saka *ror*- to give < *fra-var*-.
- rus* L hole, burrow.
- rōst* Y, X, Sk. right (hand), true. — Prs. *rōst'gūi* Sk. truthful. — Prs.
- rəstəv*-. *rəstəvd*- Y, *rasedav*-. *rasedovd* Sh., *rəstv*- Kl. to cut, break; caus. of *rased*-. *rasen*- Sh. to break (of a rope); but note *rasüδ*-. *rasan*- Sh. to cut off; *rəsd*-. *rəsn* Kl. 'buridan'. — *pu čákuwen rəstəvəm* Y. — < \**frasid*-, cf. EVP., s.v. *šlédəl*. V. Barr, Phl. Psalter, p. 58, s.v. *plsn*-.
- rūš* L Ovis Poli, Be. male oorial. — Cf. Bur. *rūš*, but Or. *rōs*, Sar. *raos*.
- rūš* Ilj. anger. — Denied by Sk.
- rōšana*'i X light, brightness. — Prs.
- rū'šan* Sk. light. — Prs.
- rəšip* L, *rašip* Sh. whip. — \**fra-xšwaipa*-, cf. Av. *xšvaēpa*-, *xšvaēwa*-, etc.? But cf. § 60.
- rəšpuk* L hobbin; *rašpuk* Sh. shuttle. — Cf. Av. *fra-spā*- to throw into?
- riš'ta* Y, *rax'te* W root-fibre. — Prs.
- rə'wār* Y, *rə'wōr*, *ru'ōr* Sk., *rwār* Sū., etc. day. — *cə'būr rə'wār* Y; *rəwōr* the day Sk. — \**fra-vahra*-, cf. Skr. *vasra*-day (Lex.).
- '*rəwəz*-. *rəwəzd*- Sk., *rāwez*-. *rāwezđ*- Sh. to fly. — Cf. Shgh. *rewāz*-, etc., M.Ir.N.W. *frwšt*-, Av. *frā-vaz*-.
- rəx* W dung of cows and sheep. — Cf. Ishk. *yarx*.
- rux* Y, *ruxn* N, *rəšt* W (< Ishk.) day- (light); *rūxn* Sh. dawn. — Cf. Or. *rəxm*, Shgh. *rux*-. — Cf.:
- ruxəŋ* Y, *rūx<sup>un</sup>*, *rūx<sup>un</sup>* Sk., *ruxn* Sh., *rox* H, B white; 'ru<sup>xun</sup> X bright; *ru<sup>xum</sup> yekta* Sk. a white shirt. — Cf. *rəx'nig*.
- rəx'nīg* Y, N, *rəx'e'nī* X, *rəx'nī* W, *rəx'nīy* Sk., *rəx'nīg* Sh. fire. — *rəx'nīg* *đit* the fire burns; *rəx'nīgi picevəm* I light a fire Y; *rəx'nī pidin<sup>gam</sup>* id. X; *rəx'enig mert* the fire went out X. — Genuine, or Prs.? V. § 60. Cf. Sgl. §*nał*.
- '*rəxup*-. 'ro<sup>xopt</sup> Y, 'rū<sup>xup</sup>-. rī<sup>xupt</sup>- Sk., *rūxp*-. rō<sup>xopt</sup>- Sh. to sleep. — *wuz nīv 'rəxupəm* I am sleeping now; 'iyəm 'xalg nīv 'ro<sup>xupt</sup> this man fell asleep now; 'ro<sup>xoptəm</sup>, *wūz-um 'ro<sup>xoptei</sup> 'xau kardam*'; *tər-mis 'ro<sup>xoptei</sup>* Y; *rī/əxupəm*, *rūxū'pāk* Sk. — Note 'rəxūpəm Sk. sleep(?). < \**fra-hwap*-. *rux'sat* X leave. — *r<sup>o</sup> kerk, vit*; *uz tawarke r<sup>o</sup> guxum*. — Ar.-Prs.
- ruy*- L to bay, howl. — Cf. Skr. *rā'yati*.
- rīz*-. *rōzd*- Sh. to rip up a seam. — Sar. *raoz*- points to ancient \**rauz*- < \**leug*- (cf. Walde-Pokorny *leug*- to break?).
- rūz* X day. — Prs.
- rīza*'barg X poplar. — \*Prs.
- rezg* L saline efflorescence.
- rīzəm* L soot; *rīzm* Sh. black at the bottom of a kettle. — Also in Sar.
- rūz-ā'xur* X, *zar-đaxūr* Sh. manger. — \*Prs.?
- raž*, *ra'žek* L sitting dais: *rāž* Sh. platform, seat of honour. — Cf. Yd. *raža*.
- rīž*-. *rīžd*- Sk., *rīž*- Sh. to feel pain (Sh. also to be angry). — *rīžd* (*ž* = *ž*?) Sk. pain, cf. Sar. *rīzd* (Be).

## S

*sī* W thirty. — Prs.

*sīi* Y, *sūi* N, *sūi* W, *sīy* Sk., *sūi* Sh.  
hare. — Cf. Yd. *sīy*.

*sēb* small apple. — Prs.

*sub* X dawn. — Ar.-Prs.

*sa'bab* X cause, reason. — *či s<sup>o</sup> ke  
nivdi?* why did you weep? — Ar.-Prs.

*sub'damik* X in the morning. — \*Ar.-  
Prs.

*si'buk* Y, 'sebuk X light (of weight). —  
Prs.

*si'bās* Sh. back, rear, *tar s<sup>o</sup>* behind. —  
V. *cebas*.

*sic* Y, X, Sh., *sij* Sk. needle. — < \**sučī*,  
cf. Sar. *sīc*, Shgh. *sej*, Or. *seç*, etc.

*sad* Sk., Sh. a hundred. — Prs.

*sadbarg* X centifolium. — Prs.

*sau,do'gar* Sk. merchant. — Prs.

*sə'diŷ*: *sədōid* Sk., *sūdūy*: *sadoid* Sh.  
to appear. — *mārək sādūid*, *sədōidi*,  
*sədōidak*, °*dətk* Sk. I feel, felt, etc.;  
*yāvək(eš) sādūid(eš)* he feels; 'sākək  
*sədiŷdešt*, or 'sākəkeš *sədiŷd* 'we feel'.  
— Av. *sad*-, Khov. lw. *sar*-, etc.

*sudŷ*<sup>1</sup>) Sh. smooth. — Sar. *sudŷ*. Cf. *sāt*.

*sudŷ*<sup>2</sup>) Sh. height-sickness. — Sar. *sūdŷ*.

*safī'dōr* X, *safe'dār* W poplar. — Prs.

*sə'gīn* Y, *sar'gīn* X, *sigīn* Sh. horse-  
dung; *skīn* L yak's dung; *sigīn* B  
cow-dung. — Cf. Yd. *ŷu-skən* (*sargīn*  
fr. Prs.).

*sa'gāwī* Y, °*āwī* X, W otter (Sh. *kamā*).  
— Prs.

*seyəri* L rump of horse. — Turk.

*sə'ŷtr* Y orphan. — Cf. Sgl. *sayēr*.

*sihat* Sk. in health. — Ar.-Prs.

*sak* Y, X, N, Sk., etc. we. — *sak yāwan*  
we eat; *sak sāv dīnen* we beat you;  
*yem spa xūn* this is our house Y;

*sak Waxī xalge* we are Wakhis;  
*sakar īgōn īgōn rūpīa rande* give  
us one rupee each; *tu čizir saker*  
*dīng?* why do you beat us? *ispa*  
*xōn lup* our house is big; *ayem xōn*  
*ispacan* this house is ours; but also:  
*ispā Xanduti xalg* we are Khandutis  
(*ispa* said to be used lower down —  
*pāyān*—or in jest—*tōka*) X; *sak yawum*  
we eat X; *sākən*, *spō*, etc. Sk. Cf.  
§ 118 sq.

*sək* Kl. on (*skəm* on this, etc.). — Av.  
*uska*-. V. *iska*-.  
*sik* X, L, *sik-tahl* Be. spleen. — Prs. *sik*  
vinegar. Or, cf. Sgl. *sūyūk?*

*skīd* Y, *skīd* Sh., Hj. (embroidered) skull-  
cap. — < \**skauda*-, cf. Lat. *cūdō*,  
etc. (Hübschmann, KZ, 24, 412).

*skaf*-. *skaft*- L to trip. — Cf. Prs. dial.  
*kaftan* to fall.

*sē'ken* Y, *skən* N, *skōn* Sh. puppy. — Cf.  
Yd. *čəke'na*.

*səkŷ* Y, Sk., *sŷkr* Sk., *sōkr* Sh., *su'ōra*  
X, W red; *seker* X white(!). — Cf.  
Yd. *surx*.

*skōrc*, v. *škōrc*.

*skōrd* Y, *skōrd* Sk., Sh., Kl., *škōrd*(?)  
X bridge; *skōrd* Sh. eyelash (also  
Sar. *yeid* bridge, eyelash, cf.  
semantically Schrijnen, KZ., 50,  
144) < \**skadra*- \**plank*, cf. W-P, s.v.  
*sqed*-?

*skurf* Y rough.

*sekve'dēt*(?) Y in: *xalg wuz s<sup>o</sup> gožum*  
I send somebody.

*sāl* X, *sāl* Sh. year. — Prs.

*sail* X walk, promenade. — Ar.-Prs.

*salām* X salutation. — s<sup>o</sup> *guxt*, *xtat*.  
— Ar.-Prs.

*sal'mā* X bird-net attached to a stick.  
— Prs.

*sal'lot* Sk. soldier. — Russ.  
*sul'tân* X king. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sam* L edge. — Also in Werchikwar.  
*səm* W, *süm* Sh., *sumb* Be. hoof. —  
*səm*, etc. fr. Prs.?  
*simbu'lā* X n. of a month. — Ar.-Prs.  
*səm'bōnak* Y, °*bānak* Sk., *saṅbā'nak* Hj.  
 pellet-bow. — Cf. Yd. *xəsmānak*.  
*səm'vər* Y, *sanvar* St., *sıver* L, *sivar* Sh.,  
*saval* Be. yoke. — < \**sami-bara*,  
 cf. Yd.—Mj. *sām*.  
*san*·: *sat*- Kl. to mount, ascend, *bōlō*  
*barōmadan*. — Sogd. *san*·. Cf. also  
 Bailey, BSOS. IX, 77.  
*sīna*, *sī'nā* X female breast; *sī'nā* Sk.  
 (W.Wk.) breast. — Prs.  
*sān'duq* Y, *son*° X box. — Ar.-Prs.  
*sin'dōn* X, *san'dāl* Sh. anvil. — Prs.  
*sā'nōr*<sup>1</sup>) N daughter-in-law. — Prs.  
*sānōr*<sup>2</sup>) Sk. thin, narrow (thing).  
*saṅgbu'qā* Sk. tortoise. — Prs.  
*saṅgurt* L, *singurt* Sh. beetle. — *saṅg*  
 stone + \**wart(r)a*- 'armour'?  
*spa*, v. *sak*.  
*sup* L spider.  
*sped/θk* L sole of foot. — ? + *padyaka*.  
*span*·: *spāt* to fill up (of river). — Denom.  
 < \**us parnā*·.  
*sṅpūndr* Y, *sipund'r* X, *spūn*° Sk. plough-  
 share; *spundr* Sh. plough. — < \**spōnr*  
 < \**spārana*·, cf. Shgh., Rosh. *sepōrn* Z.  
*s'pōr* X ploughshare. — Prs.  
*sṅpərdānj* Y, *spər'dənj* Sk., *spardenj* Sh.  
 flea. — < \**spardana-čī*·, cf. Av.  
*spərəd*- eagerness, Old Norse *spraðka*  
 to kick, flounder, etc. (cf. Tomaschek,  
 p. 769).  
*sprəṅ* Sk., *spray* Sh., *səprōṅ* Kl. flower.  
 — Cf. Khw. lw. *isprū*, Av. *fra-*  
*sparəya*- a shoot, Sogd. *sprγ*- to  
 blossom. V. *sprež*·.

*s'purz* Y spleen. — Prs.  
*sprež*· L to blossom. — Cf. Khw. lw.  
*isprenž*· to blossom, Sak. *hašpaljs*-  
 to cause to blossom. V. *sprəṅ*·.  
*s'ipask* Y rafter. — Cf. Shgh. *s'ipāšc*.  
*sar* Y, N, *sār* Sk., *sār* Sh., *sōr* X, *sir* W  
 head. — Prs.  
*sōr* L heap of winnowed grain.  
*sir* Y, Sk., *sür* Sh., *sür* St. cold. — Cf.  
 Av. *sāra-sti*- cold fever. — V. *wasēr*·.  
*sü'rī* Sk. cold (noun). — Kl. *sürēṅ*·.  
*sor-čibaxt* W back of the head. — V.  
*čebaxt*.  
*sērdir'gī* X of this year. — Cf. Av.  
*sarəda*·, etc. V. *pardīngī*, *wu'serd*.  
*'sārək* Sk. to-morrow. — From Ar.-Prs.  
*sahar*.  
*sar'mō* Sk. cold. — Prs.  
*sērv* Sh. hole, *sarv* Be. pit. — Cf. Yd. *surv*.  
*sor'xā* X male markhor. — Cf. Ishk.  
*surxā*, and also Sar. *rūšt yuej* red  
 deer, markhor. — \*Prs.  
*sāiš(t)* Y, Sh., *saš* X, *sāyiš* Sk. you (pl.).  
 — *sāišt kūi?* who are you? *sāiš čizir*  
*maž dīef?* why do you beat me?  
*sāiš cerak xəč yāvov?* what kind of  
 food do you eat? *sāiš yupk pōvov*  
 you drink water; *sak sāv dinen* we  
 beat you; *yem xūn sāvān* this house  
 is yours Y; *saš kūi tūet?* who are  
 you? *saš xēc yawit-a?* do you eat  
 bread? *saš cum nafar wezq?* how  
 many of you have come? *wuz sab*  
*dīmim* I beat you; *i deγd saban tūet*  
 you had a daughter; *ayem xōn*  
*safan-a?* is this house yours? *safau*  
*dī'ōr ce 'kuman?* 'deh i šunā kudām  
*ast?*' *wuz sabar* . . . *rāndəm* I give  
 you . . . X; cf. L (Bur. Texts, p. 341)  
*sabε*; W *tumux*(1) is Ishk. — Cf.  
 § 118 sq.

*stau*: *staudi*- L, *sto*-, *sitao*: *stod*- Sh. to praise. — Cf. Sar. *stāu*-, Prs. *sitūdan*.  
*sāt* Sh. baking pan, slate. — < \**sāta*- flat, smooth? Cf. Yd. *sūi*. V. *sud̄y*.  
*sō'at* Sk. hour. — Ar.-Prs.  
*satk* Y, *setk* L, Sh., *sətk* Kl. satisfied. — *satk-um vītei*. — Ir. \**sitaka*- supports the transl. of *sitá*- RV. VIII, 23, 13 as 'satisfied'.  
*'stin* Y, *sitin* X, *stin* W post, pillar. — Cf. Sgl. *st̄in*.  
*si'tār* Y, *ōr* X, *istōra* N, *stōr* Sk., *stār* Sh., *sōtōr* Z, *'stiruk* W (Ishk.), "zōthroog" (= \**sətrug*) Olufsen star. — Prs.?  
*sōtr̄ei* Y, *str̄ei* Sk., *str̄ei* Sh. female. — *'str̄ei-p̄irk* Sk. she-mouse. — Cf. Or. *sitr̄ē/ij*, Sar. *st̄ir*, Av. *str̄i*-. — Wkh. (and Or.?) point to Ir. \**stray(i)*, a form unknown elsewhere. — Hj. *-šəč* (in *purk-šəč*) is an Ishk. form, and its existence in Wkh. is denied by Sk.  
*s(r)tr̄in* L barren, childless. — \**star̄i-nt*-. Cf. Skr. *star̄i*-, Prs. *astarvan* (Horn 716).  
*stranj* L cotton carpet, "durree". — \**staranač̄i*-.  
*strās*- Sh. to be splashed up. — Cf. Sar. *zatrās*-, \**us-tras*- 'to be frightened, stirred up'?  
*stōrs* L plough-share.  
*s<sup>I</sup>təḥ* Y, *isteḥ* X, *stəḥ* Sk., Kl. daughter-in-law, cf. '*stakh bidganz*' (= \**stax vitkanj*) Be. bride. — Cf. Yd. *zrnzo*.  
*sōt̄iy*-. *stōtt*- Sk., *stūy*-. *statt* Sh. to send. — *stū'yāk*, *stū'yətk* Sk. — Cf. Sgl. *āstay*-.  
*šavand cār*- L to throw away. — \**hačadwan* + *ta*-? Cf. Orm.k. *cwan*- to shake.

*šāvz* Y, *šavz* Sh., *šāvz šty* Sk. blue; *šāvz* Sk. green. — Prs.  
*šiw*-. *sōwd* Sk., *šây*-. *šdm̄d* Hj. to rub. — '*šiyəm*' (corr. from *šijəm*), *šiyd*, *sūw*, *'šōwdəm*, *sū'wak*, *ō'wətk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *šā*-, Sgl. *šāmb*-.  
*ša'wār* X horseman. — Prs.  
*šux*- L to rub; *šūx*-. *šōxt* Sh., *šəx*- Z to smear, jostle.  
*šə'xan* Sk. word. — Prs.  
*šōy*- Sk. to be unmarried. — *šōyəm*, *šōy*, *šōy!* *šōyəm tū* (not *šōidəm*, nor inf. or past. ptc.). — Cf. Lith. *šeirgs* widower, and Oss. *šējār*, Kurd. *šiwī* orphan, v. Henning, Mir. Man. III, 61, s.v. *sywg*.  
*'šāya* Y, *'šaya* X shade. — Prs.  
*sauza* Y, *sovz* X, *sabza* W, *sav'zā* Sk. grass. — Prs.  
*sūz* Sh. a cold blast; *soz* cool. — Cf. Sar. *sauz*, fr. Prs. *šōz*.  
*sauz'tūti* X n. of a bird (green parrot?). — \*Prs.

## Š

*šāi* Y fat, rich. — Av. *xšaya*- ruler. Cf. Shgh. *šayēn* pl. "khans".  
*šui* St. moraine, place covered with stones. — Cf. Skr. *kšaya*-waste, decay?  
*šac* Y, W, X, N, Sk., Sh., etc. dog. — < fem. \**šwač̄i*(?), v. § 33.  
*šād*<sup>1</sup>) Y, X, N, Sk., *šād* W, L, Sh., *šad* Kl., *šal* H six. — Cf. § 116.  
*šād*<sup>2</sup>) Sk. open enclosure for goats and sheep. — If *š*-, possibly = Bartangi *šōd* < \**šrāda*-. But *ā* < \**ā*?  
*šid* L uphill, *šid* Sh. steep, *paš*<sup>o</sup> uphill.  
*šaf'tolu* X peach. — Prs.  
*šəȳd* Kl. sort, class, *xēl*.  
*ša'yor* W hedgehog. — Lw? Cf. Yd. *ša'yor*.



“šyrī” (?) Sk. ibex (Swedish “stenget”).  
*šau'har* X, *šawar* Sh. husband. — Prs.  
*šū'jīš* X, *šau'žī* W hip. — Cf. Sgl.  
*šau'žī*.  
*šak* Y, Sk., St., *šāk* Sh. bad. — Cf.  
 Ishk. *šakk*.  
*škop* L castrated (ox). — IE (s)qop-  
 (Walde-Pokorny, II, 559) to cut, etc.,  
 (cf. especially Slav. *skopiti* to castrate).  
*škūrg-*: *škūrd-* Sk. (reg.), *škūr-*: *škūrd-*  
 Sh. to seek. — Cf. Ishk. *škarr-*, Yd.  
*škōr-*, Sar. *škar-*.  
*škāv-*: *škāvđ-* (*škə'vāk*, °*vatk*) Sk. to catch  
 a cold. — *škāfk* fever. — Cf. Ishk.  
*škōv*.  
*šilč*, š- L, *šilč* Sh. cloven hoof.  
*šölg* Sh. piece of brick. — Cf. Sar. *šalg*.  
*šilāp-* Sh. to splash, slop, surge. — Cf.  
 Sar. *wašlāb-*. — Cf. Brahui *šalāping*  
 to dabble something in water, fr.  
 Bal. ??  
*šilax* Y, *šilaš* Sh. naked. — Cf. Yd.  
*šil'lex*.  
*šolx* Y, *šölč* X, *šolx* Sh., St., *šalx* B  
 but *šāx* W, *šōx* Sk. branch. — Prs.,  
 but with unexplained *l*.  
*šām* Y evening. — Prs.  
*šem-*: *ševđ* L to beat and clean wool.  
*šām'bāf* W spider. — \*Prs.  
*ša'mōl* Sk. north, *šə'mōl*, *š'°* wind (W.Wkh.).  
 -- Ar.-Prs.  
*šamōnak* L branch.  
*šōna* X, *šā°* N shoulder. — Prs.  
*šānd-*: *šanddi-* (*šandid-* misprint?) Sh.  
 to mix, compound, rub up in water.  
*šendik* L a kind of vine, grape.  
*šundr* Sk, *šondər* L, *šūndr* Sh., *šundrēy*  
 Kl. hot (acc. to Sk. only about the  
 weather). — Cf. *Shund* (Olufsen) n. of  
 a vill., v. § 5. Possibly < \**kwon-ro-*  
 or \**kwondh-ro-* (not \**kwontro-*, cf. s.v.

*nutr*), cf. Arm. *šand* ‘spark, red-hot  
 iron’ < \**kwnti-??*  
*šundrī* Sk. heat.  
*šenawa'rī* X, *šə'nōwa'rē* Sk. swimming.  
 — Prs.  
*šinj* L wedge for plough-share.  
*šāp-* Sh. to suck the breast. — Cf. Yd.  
*šuv-*.  
*šop* Be. knife; whey(??).  
*šūp* L night's halt; *šub'r haḷak* Sh. to  
 pass the night (= Sar. *šābar reidao*).  
 — Cf. Av. *xšap-*, etc. Note the di-  
 stinction between *šūp* and *naḷd*.  
*špuḍk* L bare-footed. — Cf. Bal. *šafad*,  
 \**šawād* (Mayer), Brahui (lw.) *šapād*.  
 But what is *š(a)-?*  
*šipk* L twig, *šōpk* Sh. rod. — Cf. Sar.  
*šēib*. — V. s.v. *rašip*. — Or cf. Skr.  
*kšupaka-* bush, shrub?  
*špū/un* L, *špūn* Sh. shepherd. — Cf.  
 Prs. *šubān*, etc.  
*šaupar'ak* Y, °*ek* W, *šapārak* Sh. bat.  
 — Prs.  
*šapt*, v. *šapt*.  
*šaptal* X clover. — Prs.  
*špaxuv-* L to make explode.  
*šār* Sk. town. — Prs.  
*šār-* Sh. to slander. — Cf. Sar. *šōr-*.  
*šēr* W tiger(?), Sk. lion. — Prs.  
*šīr*, *šīur* Y, *šūr* L, *šūr* X, *šurum* X  
 cowdung; *šūrm* W horsedung. —  
*šīr(u)m* fr. Ishk. (v.s.v.). *šīr* < \**šāra-*  
 from *šā(y)* (AirWb. s.v. *frašāimna-*),  
 cf. formally Skr. *kšārā-* from *kšāy-ati*.  
*šārm* Sk. shame. — Prs.  
*šārmīn'da* Sk. ashamed, *šārmīndagī*  
 shame. — *šārmīn'da na wocē* shame!  
 — Prs.  
*šī'rīn* X sweet. — Prs.  
*šīršī'rā* Y, *šarša'rā* X waterfall; *šerše'rā*  
 Sk. waterfall in small streams. — Prs.

šur'vá Y, °wā X, šar'vō Sk. soup. — Prs. šir'raw-: šir'rand- Sh. to tell one's beads. — Cf. Sar. našrāw-. — < \*srāwaya-? šiš Y, X, Sh., Z louse. — Cf. Yd. spūo. šāt W honey. — Ar.-Prs. šat, v. šat. šot L early evening meal. šot Sh. landslip. — Skr. kṣati- destruction? Cf., semant., Khow. hon inundation < Skr. hanu-. štk Sk, štik L, š(e)tig Hj. play, joke; šitik (Olufsen) game played with bone pegs. — Cf. Khow. ištuk, ištug. štk Sk. murderer. — V. šay-. štir v. ištir. štir Gr. calf. — Cf. Ishk. šutur. štref- L, štrōf- Sh. to sneeze. štrax- L to knock against, štrāx- Sh. to trip up, štrāx- to impinge, brush against. šatta X sole of the foot. šiven Y, šiben X, šivan Sh., Be. rope; še'veun Sk. cord. — Fr. Khow. šimeni. šuw-: šaud- L to gnaw. — < \*xšaw-. Cf. Ishk. šāw- to chew (Zar.). šāx W branch; šōx X horn. — Prs. V. šolx. šux Y, Z, šōk X hard; šuḫ ḫāk Sh. to tighten. — Cf. Sgl. šōx. ša'xək Sk. hail. — V. šax. šxēlān Sh. whistle. — Onomatopoeic, cf. Prs. šipēl, etc., Psht. špēlai. šxas- L, šōxs- Sh., šaxs Kl. to pass through. — Note: yi šōat 'šaxsətk one hour has passed, Kl. p. 94. — Cf. Sgl. šaxs-. šay- X, šāy-: šit- Y, šāy-: šitt- Sk., Kl., šāy-: šitt- Sh. to kill. — wuz i xalg šāyem; wuz i xalg-em šitei Y; kūi šayum I kill somebody X; 'šāyem, šit(t), šāy! 'šittəm, šə'yāk, šə'yatk (štk) Sk. — Cf. Av. xšay- to destroy(?), Bal. štay to devour, shear.

## Š

šau Y, šū N, šau W, šəu Sk., šao Sh., šēw Z horn. — Cf. Sgl. šou. štu Y, X, šūw Sk., šū L, šū Sh., xūi W black. — štu jitr X; šui-čirāk Olufsen torch. — Cf. Sgl. šūi, Khow. šā. šačuv- Sh. to filter, strain. — Derivation from \*šrač-, cf. Lith. šlaketi 'to drip', is improbable. šafš Y, Kl., šabp X, šafč N, šāfš Sk., Sh., š/šafš L bair (acc. to Olufsen, p. 71 "shafch" are the two long plaits worn by married women). — Cf. Prs. šafš, thin branch, šifša, id., ringlet; Phl. Psalter špšy rod. — Assim. from \*šafš? šəyd Y, šəyde X, šōyđ Sh. new. — Cf. Shgh. (Sk.) šəvdā the younger? šak L, š/šak Sk. white frost, dew. — Cf. Ishk. šok, Sar. šok. škəndiv-: škat- Y, iškang- X, škəndəv-: škəndō/əvd- Sk., škəndv- Kl., škənd- L, škənd-: škətt (inf. škədan) Sh. to break (tr.); škəθ-, šken- L, škūr-: škənd- Sh. to break (intr.); škən-: škənd- Sh. to quench one's thirst; caus. škađiv- Sh. — šunđi škəndivəm I break a stick Y. — Cf. Yd. škəd-. škupn Sh. sling. škōrc Y, Kl., škōrc L, škōrc Be. burning coal. — Cf. Psht. škōr, etc. šin Y, šin X anus; tam šin Sh., sak-šin St. podex. — Cf. Yd. šrno. šend L, šənd Sh. raven. — Cf. Khow. (lw.) šonthu, Oss. šint; Saka ššund-. š/šendik L gums. — But cf. šendik vine. šūng Y, X, šūng N, Sk., L, Sh. wood, stick. — Cf. Yazgh. šang, Sak. ššingya- branch; Skr. šyngā-

Khov. (lw.) *srung* horn. — Cf. semantically Prs. *šāx*, Par. *šī* horn, branch. — V. EVP. s.v. *šōngarai*.  
*šūnj* Y, *šūnj* Sk., L, *šunj* Sh., *šo'inj* L hip. (Sh. also flank, side). — Cf. Prs. dial. *ša/inj* < \**sraoniči*. V. *šin*.  
*šəŋ'gər* Y, *šəŋ'gər*, *ši<sup>o</sup>* Sk., *šəŋ'gər* L, *šingər* Be. guts. — Cf. Khov. *šəŋgūr* (lw.?). — < \**strəŋ(a)ra*, cf. Engl. *string*, Gr. *στροφάλη* string, etc.?  
*šūpiš* Y n. of an animal resembling an otter, with valuable fur. — *šū-piš* = black cat?  
*šapt*, *šāft* X, *šapt* N, Sk., L, Sh. wolf. — Cf. Sar. *šidp*. Early lw. from Khov. *ša'pīr* < *šapita* cursed. Cf. §§ 10, 37.  
*šiš* L, *šiš* Sh., *šišn* Kl. near. — *spā-šāw* Sk. — < \**srišna* clinging to?  
*šūš* Y, L, *šūš* X, Sk., *šiš* N, *šəš* W, *šuš* Sh., Z lungs. — Prs.  
*šiš-dard* Sk. inflammation of the lungs. — Prs.  
*šišk* Y, X, *šūšk* Sk., *šūšk* Sh., Olufsen (p. 69), *š/šūš/šk* L high boots made of untanned leather.  
*šət* Y, *šət* X, *šet* Sh., St. earth, soil; *šət* Sk. dust. — Cf. Sgl. *šət*.  
*šaš* Y, *šaš* X, *šāš* Sh. pea, *mušung*; *šax* Sk. bean. — Cf. Bartangi, etc. *šāš* Sk. bean.

## T

*tu* Y, X, Sk., Sh., *tə* W thou. — *tu-t kūi?* who art thou? *tu mar kitāb rand* give me a book; *wuz tau dīməm* I beat thee; *yem xūn tinen* this house is thine; *nīw ti zik kšūyəm* now I hear thy voice; *wuz tar kitāb randəm* I give thee a book; *yimē detem tārek*

I gave it to thee Y; *tu kūi?* who art thou? *tu be wuzum* bring it; *wuz tī (tau) dīməm* I beat thee; *žu xōnan tī xōn lup* thy house is bigger than mine; *yau xōn tinan* that house is thine; *tinan čis yark tu?* was there any work for thee? *tīna rūpīa dōrzəm* I take money from thee; *wuz tawar ī rūpīa rāndəm* I give thee one rupee; *uz tawarke ruksat gušum* I give thee leave; *wuz targ dišam* I know thee; *tark cəbas kəyaz gošum* I give thee a letter back X; *tə nūng* thy name Sk.; *təfak* thee W (= Ishk.). — Cf. § 118 sq.

*tei:* *tu-* X, Sh., *tai:* *tū* Sk., *thei:* *tho* (*tinetk*) L to be. — *čiš xabar tei?* what is the matter? *noŋg S. tu* his name was S.; *you mīrāxūr tū* he had a groom; *'pādšā tū'et* there was a king; *tīnen i degde tūet* you had a daughter; *xūb maza tū'et* it tasted good (prob. with *tū'et* for pf. pte. \**tūetk*); but *saš kūi tūet?* who are you? (prob. with *tūet* 2 pl., cf. § 154) X; *təyəm, tēi* (there is), *tēil, tū(m)*, (2 sg. *tūt*; 3 sg. *tū*, 1 pl. *sāken tū*), *tə'yāk, tūtk/tə'yatk* Sk.; *'ženən tēi* I have Sk. — Probably of pronominal origin, cf. Psht. *dai* he is, etc. V. *hūmū*.

*tōi* Y, X, W, Sk. colt. — Cf. Yd. *taya*. *tūi* Sk. wedding. — Prs.

*tōba'lā* Sk. grazing ground. — \*Prs.

*tablar'zū* Sk. fever. — Prs.

*tōbə/is'tōn* Sk. summer. — Prs.

*tač*. Sk. to go; *tōč:* *tōčt* Sh. to move, shift. — Sk. only in *tač* imper. 2 sg. — \**tačya-*, cf. Sar. *tej-*, Sbhg. *tiz-*, Ishk. *tōyd*, and Wkl. *tukan. tayd* (v. s.v. *čāw*).

- tāf* Sk., Sh. steam. — Prs.  
*tuf* Y, Sh., *tūf* Sk. saliva. — Prs.  
*tūy* Y, N, Sk., Sh., *tūg* X she-goat (Y, X also female ibex). — Cf. Par. *tōy* male mountain goat. Wkh. *γ* disproves immediate connection with Turk.-Prs. *taka* he-goat. — V. *tux*.  
*tayd* L, *taγd* Sh. sharp. — \**tixta*, Sar. *tēid*; cf. E.Oss. *cīγd* cheese (Miller, p. 25), Skr. *tiktá*-bitter.  
*tayum* L, *taγm* Sh., *taγm* Z, *tēym* W (Ishk. seed). — V. *tuəm*. — Cf. Yd. *tuy<sup>um</sup>*.  
*tāk* Sk. button.  
*tākī* Y, *tqī* Sh. full, much, many. — *xalgi tākī xāc yāwan* many people eat bread.  
*tāqe* Sk. cap. — Prs.  
*to'ko* X alone. — *wuz-um t°*. — Prs., cf. Yd. *toko*.  
*tik* Sk., *tuk* Sh. willow; *teik* Capus *tuk* Kl. tree. — Tomaschek (s. 791) comp. Skr. *toka*-shoot. But cf. Prs. *tāk* vine, *tāy* tree, *tōy* n. of a certain wood; Psht. *tāya* elm, poplar. V. Nyberg, MO, 25, 189. Wkh. *ī* cannot go back to *au*.  
*tā'qūm* Sk. donkey's saddle. — Turki.  
*tākīyā* Y pillow. — Ar.-Prs.  
*tōqat'dōr* Sk. patient. — Ar.-Prs.  
*tī'lā* Y, °o X, *tillā* Sk., Sh. gold. — Prs.  
*tīl'pak* Y, °ek X woollen cap. — Turki, cf. Shgh. *talpak*.  
*talx* Y bitter. — Prs.  
*tām'būn* Y, *tām'bōn* X, *tūmbān* Sh. trousers; *tumbūn* Olufsen cotton breeches. — Prs.  
*ta,mō'kū* Sk. tobacco. — Prs.  
*tā'mīs* Sk. July. — Ar.-Prs.  
*tan* Sk. body. — Prs.
- tanē* Sh. to fold (sheep). — Cf. Sogd. *tyny-* to bring (Reichert, Stud. Indo-Ir. 251 < *ati-nay*?)  
*tun-*: *tond* L to work dough with hands into cakes of bread. — < *tan-* to spread out?  
*tan'dūr* Y, *tundur* Sk., *tūngūr* Sh. thunder. — Prs.  
*tang* Y, X, Sk. narrow. — Prs.  
*tuḡ* X, *tung* Sh. hard.  
*tap* Y, B, *tīp* X wing. — Cf. Rosh. *tēf* Sk. V. *tāp*.  
*tāp-*: *tapt* Sh. to quake, shake. — Prs.  
*tapeč cār-* L to water.  
*tāpk* v. *pātk*.  
*tāpik* Y forehead.  
*tāpār* Y, *tī°* Sh., *tpār* Sk., *ta'bar* X (Prs.) axe. — Cf. Yd. *tu'vor*.  
*trūi* Y, X, N, Sk., Sh., *t'rūi* W three. — Cf. § 116.  
*ta'rī* X very wet. — Prs.  
*tārā* Sk. thither; *tārāt* Sk. there. — V. § 133.  
*tor* Sh. net. — Prob. Prs.; but Sar. *tur* id. seems to be genuine, cf. Yd. *tūr*.  
*tōr* Sk. neck, *tor* St. back of the head. — Cf. Sogd. *tār*, Sak. *ttāra*-forehead, Prs. *tāra* crown of the head. V. *tārak*.  
*tōr* Y, Sk., *tōr* Sh., *tōr* L walnut.  
*tar'bīz* Sk. melon. — Prs.  
*tau'rič* Y roof-board.  
*tī'rīč* L dark. — \**taθriya-čī?*  
*tīr-ī-dast* Y, *tīr* X arrow. — Prs.  
*tārak* W collar-bone. — But Prs. *tārak* top of the head. V. *tōr*.  
*tō'rīk* X, °ik Sk. dark; *tō'rī'kī* Sk. darkness. — Prs.  
*trakē* L bitter; *track* B insipid; *trūc* St. bitter, bad-tasting; *trāc* Sh. bad-tasting. — From IA., cf. Khov. *trok* bitter?

*tə'ram* Sk. hither. — Cf. § 133.  
*tira'mō* Sk. autumn. — Prs.  
*tər'mis* Y formerly, before. — V. *mis*.  
*trāng* Sk. girth-strap. — Cf. Yd. *trok*.  
*trīg* X sour milk. — Fr. Khw. *trīn*.  
*tur'piču* X n. of a bird, *turpiču*.  
*trīš* Sk. sour milk. — *pāi trīš*. — Prs.  
*tarš* Y adze. — Prs.  
*tə'rešp* Y, *trešp* L, *tə'rəšp* Z, *trešp* Sh., *terüš* X (Prs.) sour; *tušp* Sk. = *qə'rit*. — Cf. Yd. *trīšp*.  
*tört* Y the day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow; *tortur* X, *tortur* Bi., *tər'terək* Hj. to-morrow; *tort* B the day before yesterday; the day after to-morrow. — < \**tyta*- third (not found elsewhere in Ir.)? But there is no other instance of Wkh. or < *r*.  
*turt* L, *türt* Sh. ford. — Prob. from Khw. *thürt*.  
*tə'rā'zū* Y, *tarā'zē* Sk. scales. — *t° xašəm* Y I weigh. — Prs.  
*tə's'ken* W instep.  
*tasma-'kaš* W knife. — \*Prs. ('strap-cutter', cf. Wkh. *šāš*- to cut?).  
*tīš* W iron(?) — Cf. Bur. *tīš* plough-share < Wkh.?  
*tīša* X adze. — Prs.  
*təš* Sk., *tēs/š* L empty; *töš*- Sh., *təš car*- Sk. to empty out. — < \**tus(s)ya*- (cf. Nyberg, Stud. Indo-Ir., 214 sq.). — Cf. Sgl. *təš*.  
*teš* L steam. — \**tafšya*?  
*tīš*-.: *tāšt*- Y, *tūš*- X to shave; *tūš*-.: *tošt*- L to fashion with an axe; *tūš*-.: *tošt* Sh. to cut, whittle. — Cf. Mj. *tīž*-.  
*tal* Y, X, *tāt* Sk., Sh., *tōt* W (Ishk.) father. — *yeu tate nong* Y his father's name. — Cf. Yd. *tal*.

*tūt* Y, X, W, N, *tīt* Sk. mulberry. — Prs.  
*tət'vārt* Sk., *tittiwərti* L the year before last. < \**tərt*-, v. *tört*-, °*vārt* < \**par(u)t*?  
*tīwde*, v. *šāw*-.  
*ta'wil* X stable. — *cebūr yaš yōwer t° vit* he had four horses in the stable; *t° gošum*. — Prs.  
*toxtox* X cough. — *t° gušəm*. — V. *qōx*.  
*tux* Sk. ram (W. Wkh.). — V. *tūy*.  
*tuxəg* Y, *tux<sup>u</sup>m* X single grain. — Prs. V. *taγum*.  
*təx'mury* Y, Sk., *tuxm-i-mury* N, *tux-mury* St. egg. — Prs.  
*təx'šim car-* X to divide. — Ar.-Prs. — With *š* from *baxš*?.  
*taš* Y, *tāx* Sh., *taxm* Sk. thirsty. — *taxm vitk* is thirsty. — \**tyšma*? Cf. Yd. *təšna*.  
*tīz* Y, X sharp. — *tēz car-* Sk. to whet. — Prs.  
*tōž*- L to remain, continue.

## ⊖

*šin* Y, B, *sīn* X hot. — < \**šān* < \**šafnu*?.  
*šerd* L spots (of leopard). Cf. *šard* multicoloured.  
*širs* L, v. *šers*.  
*šōt* L, "thót" Be. lizard. — \**šati* = Prs. *dad* wild animal?  
*šāw*-.: *šit* Sk., *šau*-.: *šett* Sh., :*šet*- Y to burn (intr.), *šiiiv*-.: *šāwoud* (tr.) Sh. — *šit* pres. 3 sg., *rəxniγ šitei* the fire burned Y; *žū pizū tīwde* X my heart burned; *šāwum*, *šit*, *šāu!* *šitum*, *šə'wāk*, *šə'wətk* Sk. (intr.); *šāwum*, *šiwč*, *šiw!* *šitum* Sk. (caus.) to kindle a fire. — Cf. Sar. *šau* : *šūd*. < *tap*-.? V. § 27.

## V.

*vōc* Y paternal aunt; Sh. maternal aunt.  
*vīč-ung* Sh. outside; *tar—vīč* outside(adv.).  
 — Cf. Sar. *vāc-enj*, etc.; Sogd. *βyky* outside; Av. \**aiwyač*, cf. *aiwitarō* outside. — Not with Bailey (BSOS. 6, 73) with original *w*.  
*vā'dek* Y, *bi'dek* X, *v/wē'dek* L, *vaḍak* Sh., *vaḍuk* St., *vā'dök* Sk, 'dook' Bi. road, path. — Possibly < \**abi-taka*, cf. Saka *ēvātā(ka)* street. Scarcely < \**ā-bda-ka*, cf. Mj. *ōv/wd* ford; Av. *abda-* not to be trodden(?), Mekr. Bal. *badūk* impassable place on sea beach.  
*viḍāw-*: *viḍett-* L, Sh. to ride. — \**abi-daw-*, cf. Prs. *dawīdan*.  
*va'γē* W long hair(??).  
*vā'γd* Sk., *vāγd* Sh. nightmare. — Cf. Ishk. *vāγd*.  
*vūl* Sk., Sh. smell; *vūl-* Sk. to smell. — *vūlēm*, *vūli*, *vūl cart*, *vūlən*, *vūlöv*, *vūl car* | *vūl kərtəm* to smell (abstract); *'vūl carəm*, *v<sup>o</sup> cart*, *v<sup>o</sup> kərtəm* to smell (concrete) Sk. — From a dialect with *l* < *ḍ*, cf. § 36.  
*vōin* X light, *čirōy*; *vōin* Sh. light, radiance. — Cf. Sar. *vōin*. < \**bāhanī*, cf. Saka *hāy ray*?  
*vānd-*: *vāst-* Y, Sh., *vand-*: *vast-* Sk., *vand-* X to bind. — *vandēm*, *vand*, *vand* | *vastēm*, *vən'dak*, *vən'dətk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *vad*.  
*vīr* Sk, *vūr* L, Kl. burden; *vūr* Sh. load, baggage. — Cf. Yd. *vīra*.  
*vərau* Y, *vrū* X, N, *vrəu* Sk., *varāo* Sh., *v<sup>o</sup>rīv* Z, *v<sup>o</sup>cēr*(!) W eyebrow. — < \**brāwa-*, cf. Yd. *vrīγo*; Saka *brau-sāra*.  
*v/wərdenz-* L to press, *vardenz-*: *vardegn-* Sh. to press down. — < \**abi-dranj-*

*v<sup>o</sup>rök* Y, Sk., *varok* Sh. to-morrow. — If < \**aparaka* (Tomaschek, p. 750) the word must belong to a dialect with *-p-* > *-v-*. But cf. W. Yaghn. *f<sup>i</sup>rōk* (E. Yaghn. *f<sup>i</sup>rōnta*), Junker, Yaghn. Stud. I, 126, with \**fr-*.  
*vrokš* Sh. male Ovis Poli. — Cf. *d<sup>u</sup>rukš*, *yukš*.  
*varin-*: *varitt-* Sh. to shear. — Cf. Av. *bray-* (*brīn-*), Prs. *burrīdan*, Keshe *brīn-*, etc.  
*'vārand-*: *'vāratt-* (*vārən'dāk*) Sk., : *vārāt* Sh. to abuse, scold. — Cf. Sar. *rān-*, Ishk. *vrōn-*. — If < \**brand-*, cf. Walde-Pokorny II, 216 *bhlendh-*, e.g. Old Slav. *bleđi* idle talk, etc.  
*varenj* Sh. pregnant (animal). — Cf. Sar. *varinz* < \**barana-čī*.  
*vareš-*: *varešt-* Sh. to fry. — *varešt* < \**brīšta-* (cf. EVP., s.v. *writ-*), with present *š* from the preter. Cf. Sar. *virz-*: *virzd* (with secondary preter.), Khov. *vrenjē-* (lw.), Yd. *vroc*.  
*v<sup>o</sup>rit* Y, *brūt* X, *vrīt* N, *v<sup>o</sup>rūt* W (Ishk.), *vrīt* Sk., *vrūt* Sh., Z, Kl., 'vuroot' Bi., *varīt* Be., *varūt* H, etc. brother. — Cf. Yd. *vrai*.  
*vrītkənd* Y, *brūtəkənd* X brother's wife(?), *vrītkənd* Sk. wife's brother. — Cf. Prs. *birādar-zan* wife's brother. But cf. Sgl. *vrūdkuč*.  
*v<sup>o</sup>rītpətr* Y brother's son.  
*variüy-*: *varoid* Sh. to howl, bay together. — Cf. Sar. *varau-* < \**braw-ya-*, cf. Av. *m<sup>r</sup>av-*? V. *ruuy-*.  
*vərz* Y, Sk., *verz* X, *vorz* Sh. long. — Cf. Sgl. *vəždūk*.  
*vōrz* Y, X, *vōrzik* Z pillow. — Cf. Sgl. *vōzd*. Yd. *virzanē*.  
*vašč* Y milk-pail.  
*višiv-*: *višōvd* Y, *višū-(əm)* X, *'višav-*

*višovd-* (*višə'vak*) Sk., *višiv-* L, *višiuw-*:  
*višiuwd* Sh. to sweep. — < \**abi-*  
*xšwail-*?

*vīt*, v. *wōc*.

*vez* X long hair(?).

*vizam-*: *vizamd* Sh. to rub to powder.

— Sar. *vizāmb-* id.; cf. Yd. *vēzb-*.

V. *wazem-*.

*ʼvizvizak* N wasp.

## W

*wai* Sk. O.

*wa'cī* W calf. — Scarcely a true Wkh.

word. Cf. Werchikwar *wec* < IA.

*wōc-*: *vit* Sk., *wāc-*: *vitt-* Sh., *vit* Y, X,

N, *bīt* X to become. — *wōcəm*, *wōst*,

*wōc*, *vitk* Sk. — *mərz-əm* (*satk-əm*)

*vitei* Y I have become hungry

(satisfied); *mālum ne vit* it did not

become known; *sawār vit* he mounted;

*xušwart bit* X he became happy;

*ruzn viti* N it dawned. — *vīt* <

*būta-*, but *wōc*?

*wīc* Sh. grub, moth.

*wūc* Y, X very high, Sk. up; *wuc* Sh.,

Kl. high; Sk. upper (*bālā*); *wučtar*

Sk. higher. — Cf. Ishk. *wuč*.

*wuč* L, *wuč* Z, Kl., *uč* Sk., (*w*)*wuč* Sh.

arrow, bullet. — < \**ušč* < \**iščūč*??

*wād* Y, *wād* X, St., *wōd* Sk., *wāđ* Sh.

watercourse, canal, 'aryq'; *wadō* Ol.

minor channel. — Sar. *wāđ*. Cf. Yd.

*wolo*.

*wāda* X time, period. — *dar w<sup>o</sup>.i Sultān*

*Māmūd*. — Ar.-Prs.

*wūdg* Y, *wudge* X, *wūdg* Sk., *wudg* Sh.,

*ūdg* St., etc. to-day. — *wūd nāyd* Y,

*wūdg nāyđ* Sk. to-night. — < \**adyaka*?

*wīdār-*: *wōđōrd-* (*wūdārak*) Sk. to have,

hold; *wuđūr-*: *wōđōrd* Sh. to grasp,

seize. — Cf. Sar. *wāđōr-*; Av. *ava-*  
*dar-* adhibere.

*wāđ* L, *wāđ* Sh. handle of a tool. —

Cf. Sar. *wīēđ*. — Cf. Av. *vāda-*.

*wāđn* Sh. root-filament. — Poss. Psbt.

*wula* 'root, fibre' belongs here, and

not to Oss. *wīdag*.

*way* Sh. price. — From Khow. *wāy?*

Cf. Yd. *hūy*.

*wāy-* I, Sh. to bleat. — Sar. *wāy-* id.;

Shgh. *way-* to bellow.

*wa'jab* N span. — Ar.-Prs.

*waqt* Sk. time. — *'mārək 'cūm w<sup>o</sup> 'vītik*

*ki 'wuzəm bē'mōr* = *wuz-əm 'γā-waqt*

*vītəm*, *bē'mōrəm* I have been ill for

a long time; *tārək (yau) cūm w<sup>o</sup> vītik*

*ki tūt (yau) bē'mōr*. — Ar.-Prs. —

Cf. *'cəwaxt*, *'i'cəwaxt*.

*wu'lēt* W span. — Ishk. *wuđit* (but note l).

*wōlē* Sh., St. quail. — Cf. Ishk. *wōre*,

Prs. lexx. *walc*. Cf. §§ 48, 80.

*wulvn-* L to shake (apricots). — Cf. Skr.

*vi-dhunōti* to shake about?

*waltk* Y, *'walt'k* Sk., *walk* W, *wēk* L,

*welk* Sh., *waltik* Be. kidney; *wolt'k*

St. liver. — Cf. Yd. *wulya*, Sgl. *wolk*.

*'wīn-*: *'wīnd-* Y, Sk., *'wīn-* (*wi'netk*) X,

*wīn-*: *wīnd* Sh. to see. — *yīnōt*

*wīndəm* Y, *'wunuk wunetkīn* X I saw

(have seen) a dream; *čiz-əv sāyis*

*wīndəv?* what did you see? *wī'nāk*,

*wī'notk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *wīn-*.

*wūndr* Y, Sk, Sh., *vund'ur* X field. —

Acc. to Benveniste (v. Par. Voc. s.v.

*γanīr*) < \**awa-antarya*.

*wānj* X, Sh., *wanj* Sk. belly. — <

\**waničē*, cf. Skr. *vaniṣṭhū*, Lat.

*venter*, etc.?

*wīnek* Y, *wun'dek* X, *ōk* Sk. marmot,

*wundek*. — \*Bad. Prs. Cf. Burush.

*aināq* (< Wkh.?).

- wunuk* L willow. — Cf. Sar. *wanūj*, Shgh. *wān*, etc.  
*'wunuk* X dream(?).  
*wu'ner* Y, *wəndr* Kl., *wanar* Be., 'voīnerr'  
 Cap. stable, manger. — Shgh. *venir*.  
*wa'ri* W lamb. — Ishk., v.s.v. *worok*.  
*wār* Y, *war* Be. male oorial, *kīškār*;  
 L *war* ram. — Cf. *würk*.  
*wēra* Y, W, 'wēla X gums. — Prs., cf.  
 Sgl. *wē'rē*.  
*wīr* L single-banded (in family); Sh.  
 alone. — Cf. Skr. *avīrā-* having no  
 son or husband?  
*wūr* Y, Be., *wīr* (*vūr*?) Sk., *wūr* Sh.  
 rain. — Cf. Av. *vār*.  
*'wərəc-*: *wərəyn* Sk., to stay, remain;  
*wəry-*: *wərəxt* L to remain; *ware/īc-*:  
*waregn-* Sh. to remain, to be tired.  
 — 'wərəcəm, *wərəšt*, *wərəc!* *wərəynəm*,  
*wə'rəcak*, *wəry'nətk* Sk.; *vərəčk* Y,  
*wuričk* X, *wə'rəčk* Sk., *warečk* Sh.  
 tired. — \**awa-raik*, cf. Sgl. *fəris*.  
 Cf. § 55.  
*word* Sk. tripe; *werd* I, *ward* Be. belly  
 (of animals). — Cf. Av. *varədua-*,  
*varədu*<sup>o</sup> soft, cf. German 'Weiche'.  
*wīrdīna* L clear (sky, weather). — <  
 \**wīdr*, cf. Yd. s.v. *ləroyo*.  
*wīrdān* L mill-wheel. — Cf. Sogd. *wrtn*  
 car, etc.  
*'wərəfs-*: *wərəfst-* (*wərə'pāk*, *°pətk*) Sk.  
 to stand; *wurufsatk-əm* Y I am  
 standing; *warefs-*: *warefst-* (*warefseth*)  
 Sh., *vərvəs-*: *vərvəšt* L to stand, stop  
 (intr.). — Cf. Sar. *warāfs-*, Shgh.  
 Voc. s.v. *wirūvd*.  
*wīng* L ridge between irrigation plots. —  
 < \**wāra-ka-*, cf. Av. *°vāra-* pro-  
 tection.  
*wu'geš* Y, *°rš* X, *wargašt* Be., *urgešt*  
 Cap. big basket, *kajawa*.  
*wərk* L scar.  
*würk* Y, X, N, St, *wərk* Sk., *wark* Z  
 lamb. — Cf. Sgl. *worok*. V. *wari*.  
*wert-* L to knead (in washing cloth). —  
 Av. *vart-* to turn.  
*wi/urt* L mill-stone (in compos.). —  
*xāḍōrgə w<sup>o</sup>*, *səre w<sup>o</sup>*. — Cf. Kurd.,  
 Prs. *bard* stone; Khw. *bort*, Lhd.  
*vaffā* stone, etc.  
*wərəw-*: *wərəd* L to water (before plough-  
 ing). — Cf. Skr. *vi-srāvaya?*  
*wərxar-* Sh. to flood; *wərxiv-* Sh. to  
 cause to flood; *wərxiv-* L to scatter.  
*wurzg(ə)* L right hand. — Cf. Yd. *urzu*.  
*was* Y, *wās* Sh. main roof-beam; *wās*  
 Sk. ceiling. — Cf. Sar., Shgh. *wās*.  
 Poss. related to Skr. *vamś(y)a-* beam,  
 rafter, v. EVP. s.v. *wēša*. V. s.v.  
*parwās*.  
*wə'sai* Y, *wīsəy* Z, *wasē* Sh. cotton thread.  
 — Cf. Ishk. *wōsi*.  
*wīs-*: *wišt* Sk., : *wišt* N to set (about  
 the sun). — *ir wišti* the sun set N;  
*'ir 'wīsīt*, *'wišti*, *wi'sak*, *wi'sətk* Sk.  
 — Prob. < \**wi-isa-*, with secondary  
 preter., cf. Yaghn. *wīs-* to descend.  
 Not < Av. *vaēs-* to enter (Geiger,  
 Gr.Ir.Ph., I, 2, 339, and Air.Wb. s.v.).  
 — Cf. Yd. *vīš-*.  
*wāsk*, *γāsk* L revetting wall.  
*wəsk* Y, Sk., *wesk* Sh., *wusk* Be., *wōšk*  
 Hj. dry; *weske* X, *wesk* L thirsty. —  
*weske bitim* I became thirsty X; *'wusk*  
*carəm*, *wəskəm* I dry; *wəsk* cart Sk.  
 — Cf. Yd. *ušk*. V. § 73.  
*wos'kāt* Sk. waistcoat. — Ind. fr. Engl.  
*wasēr-*: *wasērt* Sh. to cool, become cold.  
 — < \**awa-*, or *wi-sārya-*, cf. *sīr*. —  
 Parth. *wys'r*, Henning, BSOS, IX, 87.  
*wu'serd* Y, *wəsərd* L this year. — V.  
*sērdingī*.



*wist* Y, *wīst* Sh. twenty. — Cf. Yd. *wisto*.  
*wustād* Sk. artisan. — Prs.  
*wīsti sər* L bareheaded. — \**a-wastiya*-  
 un-clothed?  
*wuṣḍōn* L barn. — Cf. Sgl. *uṣ'tīn*, Yd. *uṣ'čeno*. V. *wiṣ*.  
*wəšk* Y, *wəšk* Sk., *wušk* X, Sh. calf. —  
 < \**wasya-ka-*, cf. Sar. *wišk* calf, Samnānī *vaškā* child. Cf. Sgl. *wosōk*.  
 V. *wacī*.  
*wuṣīk* X key, bolt; *wə'ṣīk* Kl., *ṣīk* Sh. key; *ṣīk* Sh. padlock. — Cf. Ishk. *uškəz*?  
*wuṣṅg* L entire (bull). — < *wṣānaka*?  
*wəṣp* Y plough-pole. — Cf. Sgl. *āwiṣp*.  
 — < *wi-ṣpā*, cf. Av. *spā-* to throw? Cf. *reṣpuk*?  
*wuṣūy*: *wašan-* Sh. to untie; *wiṣ*:  
*wašin-* Sh. to loose. — < \**wi-ṣāy-*, \**wi-ṣāna-*, cf. Air.Wb. s.v. *hā(y)*.  
*wiṣ* Y, *wuṣ* X, *wuṣ/x* Be. straw, *kāh-i safēd*; *ūṣ* Sk. hay; *wiṣ* Sh., *wiṣ* Z grass. — Cf. Sar. *wuṣ* Sh. grass, 'wūkh' Be. corn-straw. Cf. Yd. *wuṣ*.  
*wə'ṣiy*: *wəšt-* Y, *wəṣim*(?): *wəṣ-* X, 'wəṣī-: *wəšt-* Sk. to be afraid. — 'wəṣīm, *wiṣīd*, (*wəṣīn*), *wəṣī!* *wəštəm*, *wə'ṣak*, *wə'ṣatk* Sk.; 'wəṣəv-: 'wə'ṣōvd / *wəštōvd*, *wəṣə'vak* / *wəštə'wāk*, *wəṣə'vatk* trans. Sk. — < \**wi-sriya*? Cf. Orm. *γuṣ-*, *γwaṣr-*, caus. *γuṣaw-*, *γwaṣrēw*?  
*witrin*: *witriḍt* Sh. to shy; trans. *witriüv-*. — < \**wi-trh-na-*.  
*wΛ'tōx* X ram. — V. *tūx*.  
*wiüw/ṣ* L root. — Cf. Shgh. *wyāṣ*, etc. V. *yaṣ*.  
*waxār* Sh. ladder. — Cf. Khow. *waxār*, lw.? *wax'ti* X once, at one time. — Ar.-Prs. V. *waqt*.

*wu'ṣen* Y, *w'ṣen* X, N, *wu'ṣən* Sk., *wuṣən* Sh. blood; *wuṣ/ṣen* L blood-vessel. — < \**wahwani-* (cf. Barth. Mir. Md., V, p. 6). Not with Henning (ZII, 9, p. 227) < \**wóhwn-*.  
*wiyang* L pace.  
*wiyīn* Sh., *wū'in* H pass; *wiūn* LSI hill. — *Wiyino Sar* 'Top of Pass' (in Shimshal); *Zhoewiyin* 'Lake Pass' Cockerill. — Cf. Sar. *weyawun*. — < \**wi-ayana-*, cf. Av. *ayanā-*, Skr. *vyāyana-* going apart, *vi-i-* to go through, traverse (e.g. RV. I, 50, 7; V, 18, 3).  
*wāz*: *wāšt-* (*wə'zak*) Sk., *wāz*: *wāšt* (*wāšk*) Sh. to fall. — Cf. Sgl. *wāz*.  
*wāzi*: *wōzd-* Y, *wəze-*: *wəzd-* X, *wāzi*: *wəzd-* Sk., *wāzi*: *wāzd* (*wāzg*) Sh. to come. — *dərəm wə'zāi* come here Y; *ce'bas wəze* come back; *parinda dar ha'wā wīzit*; *wəzdr̄m 'āmadam'*; *tu čis yarkər wəzd?* for what purpose did you come? *wuzgem* I have come; *wuz-um wəzget* X 'wəzīm, *wīzit*, *wāzīm*, *wəzīv*, *wāzi!* *wəzdem*, *wəzī'yak*, *wə'zatk* Sk.; 'yət *ḍai ki 'wuzdai bāf* = 'ḍai *wuzdai bāf xalg* the man who came is good; 'dḍi'ḍəm *ḍai 'wuzdei* I saw the man who came Sk. — < \**uz-aya-* (but Av. *us-aya-* go out).  
*wuz* Y, X, N, Sk., Sh.; *aze* W (= Ishk.) I. — *wuz tau dīməm* I beat you; *wuz ṣec-em yitk-em* I ate bread; *tu mar kitāb rand* give me a book; *tu mārek kitābe ḍetāi* you gave me a book; *yem žə xūn* this is my house; *tu čizir maž dī?* why do you beat me? Y; 'wuz(-um) *Wa'xī* I am a Wakhi; *wuz sab dīmim* I beat you; *uz-um ṣinak* I have spoken; *uz... wəzdr̄m* I came; *žu xōnan ti xōn lup* my house is bigger than yours; *mar(k)*

*ī rūpiā rande* give me a rupee X; *wuz ǎē yawum* I eat bread; *žə xūn* my house N; *wuz, maž, žə, žənən, mārək* Sk. — Cf. § 118 sq.

<sup>1</sup>*wuzdi*: *wōzdošt*(?) Y; <sup>1</sup>*wrzdī*: *wizdīk* (pf.) X, *wizdey*: *wōzdđīd* Sk., *wūzdi*: *wozdoid* Sh. to wash. — <sup>1</sup>*wizdeyum*, *wizdeyi*, *wizdēšt*, *wizdeyən*, *wizdeyən*, *wizdəv*! *wōzdđīdəm*, *wizdeyak*, *wizdeyatk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *wuzd*-, *žənay*-. Influenced by *dē*-, q.v.

*wəzem*- L, *wazem*- Sh. to express, squeeze out. — V. *vizəm*-.  
*wəzūm* L big wooden ladle.

<sup>1</sup>*wuzem*:- *wōzōnd*- Y, *wuzem*- X, *wūzəm*:- *wizəmd* (*wizə'māk*) Sk. (reg.); *wūzūm*:- *wazəmd*- Sh. to bring. — *žūu*, *kitāb wūzūməm* Y; *tu be wuzum* bring it X; 3 sg. *wūzənd* Sk. — Cf. Turf. Phl. *z'm*- to send, lead.

*wizīk* L ibex (m. and f.); *važik tuy* Sh. female ibex.

*wiž/žerk* L, *wužerk* Sh. lucerne. — Cf. Mj. *iryaga*.

## X

*xō—xō* either--or. — Prs. *xwāh—xwāh*.  
*xūb* X good, well. — *xūb maza tuet* it tastes good. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*xabar* X news; aware. — *čis x° tei?* *xalg x° bīt*. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xēč* Sh. bread. — Cf. Yd.  
*xu'dōi* Sk. God. — Prs.  
*xə'dōrg* Y, *xu°* X, Sk., *xəđōrg* L, *ǎđōrg* Sh. water-mill. — Prob. borr. from early Shgh. or Ishk. Cf. Yd. *xiryō*. — V. § 30.  
*xə'dōrg-žār* Y, *xu'dōrg bort* X millstone. — *bort* fr. Khow.  
*xūf* L, *xuf* Z, Sh., *xep* X foam, froth. — Cf. Yd. *xof*, Saka *khava*-.  
*xīg* Sk., *xüg* Sh. pig. — Prs.  
*xō'(h)šē car-* Sk. to wish. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*xōkī* X greenish grey; *xō'kī* Sk. grey. — Prs.  
*xākis'tār* W ashes. — Prs.  
<sup>1</sup>*xđlī* Y, X empty. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xālg* Y, X, Sk., Sh. man, person, people. — *iyam xalg yupk pīt* this man drinks water; *xalgišt yupk pōvan* the men drink water; *wuz ī xalg žitāi* I killed a man; *xalg-i təkī ǎē yāwan* all the men eat bread Y; *sak Waxī xalge* we are Wakhis; *ispā Xanduti xalg* we are Khandutis; *ayem xalg (be) ǎēč yewet*; *iu xalg dar huzūr-i pādšā rešt* one man went near the king X; *xalg-yāš* the man's horse. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xalg* Sk. people, nation (народ). — Ar.-Prs., but a more recent lw. than *xalg*.  
*xə'mīr* Y, X dough. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xūn* Y, N, Sk., *xōn* X, W, *xun* Sh. house. — *ce xūnen* from the house Y; (*ce*) *xōnen niešk* he emerged from the house; *xōnar rič* go home; *rešt xōnar ke* he went home; *žu xōnan ti xōn lup* you house is larger than mine. — Prs., early lw.  
*xu'nuk* X cold. — Prs.  
*xingār* Sk. scimitar; *ǎ°* Sh. sword. — Cf. Yd. *xugor*.  
*xūr* X other (doubtful word). — *xūr xalg*, *xūr xōn*. — Cf. Khow. *xūr* (fr. Ir.?).  
*xūr* Y, X, W, N, Sk., *xur* Sh. ass. — Cf. Yd. *xoro*.  
*xə'rāb* Y lean. — Ar.-Prs. Cf. Yd. id.  
*xar'dōpñ* Sk. breakfast.  
*xə'rīd* Y, X buying. — *x° carəm* Y, *x° gūřum* X I buy. — Prs.  
*xar'gūš* X hare. — Prs.  
*xə'rek* W span from thumb to index-finger.

*xū'rūk* Sk. food. — Prs.  
*xrrs* X, W bear. — Prs.  
*x<sup>o</sup>ris* Y, *x<sup>o</sup>ris* N, *xu'rūs* X, W, *x<sup>o</sup>rūs*  
 Sk. cock. — Prs.  
*xəriü-*: *xəröst* Kl. to snore, *xurxur*  
*kardan*. — Cf. Skr. *kra(n)d-* to neigh,  
 roar, make a noise; scarcely *krathana-*  
 sudden interruption of breath (Suśr.).  
*xiriz* L gravel.  
*xari'yōn* X, *xəriyan* Z, *ǰilian* Sh.,  
*xaryan* Be. nephew. — Cf. *xaryūn*  
 Be. niece. — Cf. Yd. *xurī*. V. § 48.  
*x<sup>o</sup>sar* N, *xu<sup>o</sup>* W father-in-law. — Prs.  
 V. *ǰūs*.  
*xoš* X happy. — *ɣaf xoš bit*. — Prs.  
*xušdōman* X, *xəš'tōman* N mother-in-  
 law. — Cf. Sgl. *xuš'dāuman*. V. *ǰaš*.  
*xāšc* Y, *xaišc* Sk., *xaič* Sh. wet, *xāšc* L  
 damp. — Cf. Sar. *xāst*, Yd. *xusto?*  
 V. § 73.  
*xošk* Y, L soft (L about iron). — Cf.  
 Khow. (lw.) *xāšk*.  
*xošk* X dry. — Prs. V. *wəšk*.  
*x<sup>o</sup>šrūi* Sk. beautiful. — Prs.  
*xuš'waxt* X happy, merry. — Ar.-Prs.  
*xāš-*: *xāšt* Y, *xāš-* X, *xāš-*: *xāšt* Sk.,  
*ǰāš-*: *ǰāšt* Sh. to pull (Sh. also to  
 cut into stripes). — *t<sup>o</sup>rā'zū xāšəm*  
 I weigh; *fraxbīz xāšəm* I winnow Y;  
*'cīlīm xāšəm*, I smoke; *xāšəm*, *xāštəm*,  
*xə'sāk*, *xə'sətk* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *xoš-*.  
*xošk* X bitter.  
*xəšt* Y, *xəšt* X brick. — Prs.  
*xūyun* Sh. husband's sister. — Sar.  
*xāyūn* id., but cf. Sköld, 489, s.v.  
 Schwager (Bruder der Frau). — Cf.  
 Yd. *xāyūn*.  
*xyār*, *xiār* Sk., *ǰiār* Sh. old, aged. —  
*x<sup>o</sup>* *k'ənd* Sk. — Prs. *hušyār* wise.  
*xeyaz*, *xeyisk* Be. hammer. — Cf. Yd.  
*xōisk*.

*xūz* Sk. wind. — Cf. Shgh. *ǰūdž* Sk.?  
 LW?  
*xəu'zrt* Y, *šabzōd* X a kind of insect,  
*šabzōd*, *šauzāt*. — Cf. Sgl. *šav'zād*,  
 Shgh. id. bug. — Prs. \**šab-zād?*  
*xūžg* Y, *xūžg* Sh. sweet. — Cf. Ishk.  
*xəžok*.

## ǰ

*ǰūi* Y, X, N, Be., *ǰūi* Sh., *ǰiy* Z, *ǰiy* Sk.,  
*ǰōi* W (= Ishk.) sister (X also cowife,  
 husband's brother's sister; Be. also  
 sister-in-law). — *ǰu ǰūi* X. — Cf.  
 Yd. *ǰō*.  
*ǰēb* Sk. to beat. — Cf. Lett *svaipīt* 'to  
 whip', (\**sueip-*), Av. *xšwaēwayat-aštra-*  
 (\**sueib-*), etc.?  
*ǰēc* Y, X, *ǰēc* N, *xəc* Sk., *ǰōc* Sh. bread,  
 food. — *wuz ǰēc-em yitkem* I have  
 eaten food Y. — Cf. Yd. *xisto?* V.  
 § 67.  
*ǰil* Sh., *xai* St. (denied by Sk.) per-  
 spiration. — Cf. Sar. *ǰaið*, Yazgh.  
*ǰwið*, Khow. (lw.) *xēl*. — From a  
 dial. with *l* < *ð*, but cf. Yd. *xul*.  
*ǰām-*: *ǰāmd* Sh. to descend. — Cf. Sar.  
*ǰāvs-*: *ǰāvd-*, Yd. *xafs-*, Khow. *ax(w)am-*  
 (lw.). Cf. also Wkh. *xam* L bent;  
*xam ding* Sh. to bend.  
*ǰam'ǰēr* W sword. — Prs.  
*ǰān-*: *ǰat-* Y, *ǰān-*: *ǰatt-* (*ǰi'nak*) X,  
*ǰān-*: *ǰātt-* (*ǰənāk*, *ǰə'nətk*) Sk.,  
*ǰān-*: *ǰātt-* Sh. to speak, say. —  
*wuz tavar nezd ǰānum* I tell you  
 to sit down; *salām ǰat* he saluted;  
*uz-um ǰi'nak 'guftum'*; *Sultān-i*  
*Māmūd ǰi'nak pādsā tūet* there was  
 a king called S. M. — Cf. Av. *x<sup>o</sup>an-*  
 Saka *hvan-*.  
*ǰūnen* Y, *oan* X own. — *yem xūn ǰə ǰ<sup>o</sup>*

Y this house is my own; *žū x° xūn*  
 X. — Pred. gen. of *žat*, cf. Sh. *žū*.  
*ženj*- L, *žönz*: *žögn*- Sh. to fill into a  
 receptacle. — Phonetically < \**hwanj*-.  
 Skr. *sva(ñj)*- 'to embrace' [does not  
 suit the meaning, but cf. Walde-  
 Pokorny, s.v. *sueng*- (II, 526), e.g.  
 O. H. Germ. *swingan* to fling, etc.  
 'To throw' and 'to pour into' are  
 semantically related meanings.

*žāriki* X n. of a bird. — Prs. *šarak*  
 talking-bird.

*žūrəm* L dust. — If for \**šūdəm*, possibly  
 < \**xšaudman*- (cf. JRAS 1937, p. 348);  
 but note different semantic develop-  
 ment of Psht. *šōmlē* butter-milk.

*žūrs* Y, *žurs* X, Sh., *xūrs* Sk. father-  
 in-law. — Cf. Yd. *xūsur*.

*žərz* Y, *qūrj*(?) X n. of a bird, *čārda*;  
*xšərz* L ramchikor; *žörz* Sh. snow-  
 pheasant. — Rhyming with Prs. *čarz*  
 bustard.

*žasirz* Sh. wife's sister (= Sar. *xasirz*);  
 but *xaserz* Be. wife's husband's  
 brother, sister's husband (= Sar.  
*xasirj*), Shgh. *xē'sirc* Sk. wife's sister's  
 husband, *xezirj* (-s-?) Morg. brother-  
 in-law in general. — Prob. < \**hwa-*  
*sura-zā* 'father-in-law's son'.

*žāš* Y, *xāš* N, *xuš* W, *xāš* Sk., *xšāš* L,  
*žāš* Sh. mother-in-law. — Cf. Yd. *xušo*.

*žāt* X, Sh., Kl. self. — *dast-i-žāt(t)* his  
 own hand; gen. *žū* Sh. — Av. *xātō*,  
 cf. Yd. *xoy*. V. *žūnen*.

*žat* did, v. *gož*-.

*žūw* Sk. spring. — Av. *xā*-.

## Y

*yau* (a-*yāu*) Y, X, Sk. that, he; *yao* Sh.  
 he, *yā* that Sh., *ye* X (adj.). — *yau*  
*xōn tinan* that house is yours; *ye*

*xalg da ye xōn niengin* those men  
 live in that house; *you nānar žat*  
 he said to his mother; *you nān* his  
 mother; *yeū tate nong* his father's  
 name; *you mirāxūr tū, youar žatt*  
 he had a groom, and he said to  
 him; *pādšā yōwer ruzsat kerk* the  
 king gave him leave; *pādšā 'yawark*  
*pursān-um kerk* the king asked him;  
*ce'bas yōwan káyaz rešt* the letter  
 came back from him; *wāda-i yayōr*  
 his(?) wedding; *yāwiš* they X. Cf.  
 § 124 sq.

*yau* Sk. and(?). — In *wəz tu yau* I and  
 you(?).

*yō—yō* Sk. either—or. — Prs.

*yib'yā* Sk. very quick ambler. — Cf.  
 Waz. Psht. *ābiyā* amble.

*yōč* Y, Sk., *yoč* X duck. — < \**yāčēi*,  
 cf. Yd. *yēžko*; Saka *āce* waterbird  
 (Bailey, BSOS, IX, 70).

*yōd* Sk. memory. — *dē tar ž-yōd* I  
 remembered, *ba yād-i man zad*. — Prs.  
*yāđ*: *yāđt* Sh. to pile up, to make up  
 a fire. — < *ā-dā*?

*yī'šesen* L crops reaped, lying in hand-  
 fulls on the ground.

*yaf'tā* Sk. week. — Prs.

*yūy* Sk. yoke. — Cf. Yd. *yūy*. Note  
*yū* < \**yau*-.

*yūyənə yər* L anvil. — < \**ā-gana-*  
 'striking upon'?

\**yoγut* ('yoghut') Be. groin. — < \**yoγād*,  
 cf. Av. *haxti*-, Kurd. *hēt* hip, etc.

*yī'žin* Y, Z, i° X, Sh. felt; *ižin* Sk.  
 carpet.

*yūk* L dewlap.

*yakš*- L, *yākš*- Sh. to boil. — Derivation  
 < Av. *yaēš*- phonet. impossible.

*yukš* Y, *yukš* Sh. big male ibex, *rang-i-*  
*kalān*. — Cf. Sar. *yaž*. Cf. § 60.

*yak'tā* Sk. shirt. — Prs.  
*yem* Y this. — Cf. § 118 sq. V. *ayem*.  
*yū/ōm* L twin. — Cf. Av. *yōma-*, etc.  
*yūmj* Y, Z, Be., *yumj* X, Sh. flour. —  
*yūmj-un goxtei* I ground flour Y. —  
 < \**āmacī-*, cf. Saka *hāmaa-* barley  
 meal, Skr. *āma-* grain not yet freed  
 from the chaff, unbaked. It would  
 be quite natural in the Pamir valleys  
 to designate the ordinary flour as  
 the 'raw' one in order to distinguish  
 it from the widely used parched  
 meal (cf. Yazgh. *vraxt* 'flour' <  
 \**brištā* 'baked'). The derivation of  
*yūmj* < \**ārtaka-* (Junker, *Cauc.* 3,  
 110) is phonetically untenable.  
*yan* Sh., St. other. — Cf. Sar. *yan*,  
 Ishk. *an*. — *yamān* Kl. one another,  
*yak digar* prob. < \**yanān* < \**anya-*  
*anya-*. *halamān* L id. < *anyam-*  
*anya-?*  
*yān* X yes, indeed, *balī*. — *yān*, *wəze*  
 yes, come! *yān*, *tark cebas kāzaz*  
*goxum* Yes, I shall write you a letter  
 back.  
*yānd* Sh. late, recent.  
*yūnd-*: *yūt-* Y, *yūnd-*: *yūtt* Sk., *yōnd-*:  
*yūtt* Sh. to carry (away), *burdan*. —  
*zāu yūndəm xədōrg* I bring grain to  
 the mill Y; *'yūndəm, yūnd, yūnd!*  
*'yūttəm, yūn'dāk, yūtk;* *wəs 'k'ənd*  
*'yundəm* I marry Sk. — Prob. < \**yāt-*  
 with *-n-* infix. Cf. Yd. *is-*.  
*yī'nōt* Y, *inōt*, *vinīk* Sk., *ināt* Sh.,  
*wunuk* X dream (*yūnuk* Sh. sleep).  
 — (*yīn-* < \**ūn-* < \**hufna-tā(t)*, or  
 -*ḍā-*.  
*yīp* L fat. — Cf. Khow. *γip* (< Wkh.?).  
*yīng* Y, *īṅ* X, *yūng* L, *yīng* Z raw. —  
*yūng* Sh. unripe, uncooked. — <  
 \**āmaka-*, v. *yūmj*.

*yāng(ə)l* Y, *°gal* X, *yang!* N, *yā°* Sk.  
 finger, toe. — Cf. Oss. *āngulj* (with  
 secondary *l?*), Mazand *engel*; also  
 Psht. *mangul* the five fingers (v. EVP.  
 s.v. *grut*); Av. *zairimy-aṅura-* tortoise  
 (v. Benveniste, *Stud. Ind. Ir.*, 223).  
*yupk* Y, W, X, N, Sk., Sh. water. —  
 < \**āpakā-*, cf. Yd. *yduyo*.  
*yēr* L sinew, tendon; *yerr* Sh. the  
 pulse. — Khow.  
*yīr* Y, Sh., *īr* X, N, St., *īr* Sk. sun. —  
 Cf. Av. gen. *hūrō*.  
*yōrē* Kl. open space between hearth and  
 sleeping (sitting) platform; *yāriē* Ol.  
 square hole in the middle of the  
 hearth-room. — \**arda-ēi*, cf. Yd. *ārdi?*  
*yīrgōt* L white-headed eagle.  
*yīr'ya* Y, *yur'ya* W pine, *čub-i saxt* (not  
 found in Wakhan). — Cf. Yd. s.v.  
*wulyeyo*. Prs.  
*yur'yā* Sk. ambler. — Cf. Sgl. id. — Prs.  
*yark* Y, X, Sk., Sh. (*yark'* Sk.) work. —  
*yark guxum*; *tu čis yarkər wəzd?*  
 'barā-i čī kār āmadī?' *tinan čis yark*  
*tu?* have you any work? *yōwər yark*  
*guxum* 'kār-i ūra mēkunim' X. —  
 Cf. Yd. *horγ*.  
*yīrk* Y, *yirk* X, St., *īrk* W, N, *yürk* Sh.,  
*īrk* Sk., *yürk* L, Be. barley. — Cf.  
 Phl. *yort'k* (Barth. *Mir. Mund.* II,  
 28)? But Henning, BSOS, IX, 90  
 reads *yavardāg*.  
*yurm* Sk., Sh. arm, forearm; *yūrm* Be.  
 cubit. — Dat. sg. *zə-yurmər/k*, pl.  
*yurmiš-əv* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *yārmē*.  
*yārs* Y, *yarē* X, *yərz* L, *yārz* Sh. juniper.  
 — \**arza-*, but cf. Turk.-Prs. *arča*.  
*yīrzn* Y, *yərzṅ* Sk. millet. — Cf. Yd.  
*yurzun*.  
*yīsp* Y, *visp* Sk. shoulder. — < \**ā-spā?*  
*ya'sīr* Sk. prisoner. — Ar.-Prs.

*yōst* Sh. fowl-house, shed. — Cf. Or. *yōst* cow-house (Lentz), < Skr. *ā-sthā*-place of abiding?

*yaš* Y, X, N, *yāš* Sk., *yaš* W, Sh. horse. — *cebūr yaš*; *yašēr peden guǎ* saddle the horse; *yaš peden guǎt* X. — Cf. Yd. *yasp*.

*yašē* Y, Z, L, *yarē* X, *yaiē* Sk., Sh., *yerē* Be., *yahē* Bi. bone. — Cf. § 67. < \**asti-či*?

*yīšn* Y, *išin* X, *išn* Sk., *išn* Sh., *yīšt* Bi., *yīš* Be., *tiš* (!) W (*išn* said to be Ishk.) iron. — Cf. Yd. *rrs'pēn*, Saka *hīšam*.

*yīšir* L threshold. — In *bāre y°*.

*yašk* Y, *yašk* Sk., Sh., Z, *yāšk* L, *wašk* N (Ishk.) tear. — Cf. Yd. *yāšk*.

*yāšk* L trained, taught; *yešk cār*- L, *yešk* Šāk Sh. to teach. — Cf. Sar. *ixmānd*, *ixman* Sh., cf. Yd. *yuxs*.

*yī'šək* Y plough-handle. — Cf. Skr. *išā'*-plough-pole, *išā-danḍa* plough-handle, Av. *aēša*- plough.

*yošt* L hostage, agreement. — < Av. *āxšti*- peace, not lw. from Prs. *āšti*.

*yət* Kl. this, that. — V. § 124.

*yōθ* L, Sh., *yōθt* Z, *yōtr* St, *yāθ* Be. nest. *yōtr*, if correct, < \**ā-hada-θra*? — Cf. Or. *yōθ*, Yd. *yēxio*.

*yāw*- Y, *yaw*-, perf. *yitk*- X, *yaw*- N, *yāw*:- *yēt*- Sk., *yāw*:- *yīt*- Sh. to eat. — *yāu* imper. 2 sg.; *yāwum* pres. 1 sg.; *iyam xalg* *ǎč yīt* this man eats bread; *sak yāwan*; *saiš cerak* *ǎč yāvov?* why do you eat bread? *xalgi tēki xč yāwan* Y; *yawi-ā?* do you eat? *ayem xalg* *ǎč yawet*; *yawan* 1 pl.; *saš ǎč yawit-a?* do you eat bread; *ayem xalg be ǎč yawan* these men eat bread? *yitket* you have eaten X; *wuz ǎč yawum*;

*sak yawum*; *yawa!* N; *yāwām*, *yit*, *yau!* *yētəm*, *yō'wak*, *yō'watk* Sk. — Cf. Kati *yū*, Dameli *žū*, etc. to eat (< Skr. *yauti* gets hold of?) — Cf. Skr. *asnōti*: *asnāti!*

*yawer*:- *yaward* Sh. to select, choose out. — < \**ā-war*.

*yaš* Sh. twig. — Cf. Par. *žōx* fire-wood < \**yašša*-, cf. Av. *yašti*- twig?

*yeš* Sh. grizzled.

*yiš* Y, Sh., Z, (*y*)*iš* Sk., *iš* X ice. — Av. *aēxa*-. Also Sar. *iš* 'cold', *iši* 'coldness' belong here, and not to Av. *isu*- as proposed Air.Wb. 372.

*yī'xūn* Y, *i'xūn* X, *yi'xūn* Sk., *yīxūn* Sh., *yi'xūn* Kl. bridle. — Tomaschek (p. 805) compares Av. *axnah*-, but this is phon. improbable (v. Air.Wb. s.v.). But *yī'xūn* could go back to \**axāna*- (*axnah*- influenced by °*aiwi-đāna*-).

*yaz* L ice, glacier. — Common in place-names, e.g. *Lup-yar-yaz* 'Great Stone Glacier' in Shimshal (Cockerill); *Dukuti-Yaz*, etc. — Cf. Khaw. *yož* (Ir. lw.?). < I.E. *ieǵ*- ice (v. Walde-Pokorny, I, 206).

*yēž* Y, X, Sk., Sh. yesterday. — *yez-əm rəydei* I went yesterday Y, *'yez-nāy'd* Sk. — Cf. Yd. *iziko*.

*yāzŋ* Y, *yazn* Z inflated skin, mussuck. — Cf. Yd. *izē*.

*yōž*- L to bear (of animals); *yāž*:- *yāžd* Y, Sh. to bear a child.

*yīžg* L saliva.

## Z (J)

*zā* Sk., *zah* Sh. child, infant. — Prs. *zēi* L wave. — Cf. Av. *zāy*-, Skr. *haya*-, from *hi*- to set in motion?

- jai* Y, *zī* X (Prs.), *j/zēi* L bowstring. — Cf. Psht. *žai*. V. *jēl*.
- zu'bōn* X tongue. — Prs. V. *zik*.
- zūbūt* L, *zūbūt*: *zūbott* Sh. to burst (trans.); *zūbeδ*: *zūbōn* Sh. to burst (intrans.). — Cf. Skr. *ud-bhidyate*, *ud-bhinna* to spring open, to burst forth.
- zūy* L cooked fat. — Cf. Psht. *γōz*?
- juy* Sh., *zūg* Be., *jūy* Kl. yak. — Cf. Khow. *zoy*, hybrid yak.
- zu'γōl* X coal. — Prs.
- zīk* Y, Sk., *zik* N, Sh., 'ziuck' Bi., *zevī* W (Ishk.) tongue, word. — *nīv ti zik kšūyem* now I hear your word. — Prob. < \**hizūkā*-. Cf. Yd. *zevīy*.
- zəq* Sk. tedious, boring (скучно).
- zəka'lai* Y, *zakə'loi* X, *jak'lai* Sk., *ja*<sup>o</sup> Sh., *jəq'lai* Kl., *cxalāi* Be., etc. small. — *zakə'lāi wušk* a new-born calf X. — < \**jəlkai*? Cf. Shgh. *jəlik*, etc.
- zə'kōm* Sk. head cold, rheum. — Ar.-Prs.
- jēl* Kl. string of an instrument, *tor*. — Cf. *jai*.
- zəl'fak* W comb. — \*Prs.
- zə'līm* Sk. unjust. — Ar.-Prs.
- zulm* Sk. injustice. — Ar.-Prs.
- zulzu'lā* X earthquake. — Ar.-Prs.
- zēm* Y, *zīm* X, *zəm* Sk., *zam* Sh. snow. — Cf. Av. *zyam*- winter; Sar. *zamān* snow (but Yazgh. *zə'naγ*, Shgh. *žə'nij*, etc. < \**snaiga*-).
- zim* Be. yawn. — Sar. *vizām*. Cf. Yd. *zōm*-.
- zam'būr* X, W wasp. — Ar.-Prs.
- zam'būr-i asal* X bee. — Ar.-Prs.
- zə'mān* Y, *zə*<sup>o</sup> Sk., *zə'mōn* X, *zaman* Sh. child. — Cf. Yd. *zə'mōn*.
- za'mīn* Y, X, Sk. earth, ground; *zimīn* X floor. — Prs.
- zəmə'nōk* W boy. — Ishk.
- zamin'žəm* Y, *zalanjum* Be. earthquake. — Prs. — Cf. Yd. *zibi'jrm*.
- zemis'tōn* Sk. winter. — Prs.
- zə'nū* N (Prs.), *zun* W (prob. Ishk.) knee.
- zend*: *zet* L to take away from. — \**uz + yānt* (v. s.v. *yūnd*)? But why not *ž* < *zy*?
- 'zinda* Y, X alive. — Prs.
- zində'gōnī car* L to live. — Prs.
- zang* Sk. rust. — Prs.
- za'nāx* Y, N, Sh., *zə'nax* Sk. chin, jaw. — Prs.
- zār* Sk. poison. — Prs.
- zūr* Sk. strong. — Prs.
- zardōlu* N apricot. — Prs.
- zərend* L to scrape; *zirānd*-, *zirest* (inf. *zirūin*) Sh. to turn in a lathe. — \**uz-rand*-, cf. Skr. *rad*-to scrape, scratch.
- zart* Y, X, Z, *zārt* Sk., *zard* Sk., *zōl* W (Ishk.) yellow. — *Zartiyar* n. of a place Y, Cockerill. — Cf. Yd. *zit*, Sgl. *zāl*.
- ze'vī* W tongue; *zevāk* Hj. language. — Ishk. — V. *zik*.
- zwāy*: *zwett* Sh. to roll up. — Cf. Sar. *zerway* < \**uz-wāy*-, Skr. *ud-vayati* to weave or fasten up.
- zaxṇi* Sk. wound. — Prs.
- zāx* Sk., *zax* Sh. thorn. — Cf. Khow. *j/zox* (lw.)? But note Orm. *zēš*, *zvēš* thorn < \**jadri*-.
- zoiya* L destruction, ruin. — < \**zayā*? Cf. Av. *zyā*- to injure (cf. *jayāi*, inf. of *jyā*- 'to weaken' acc. to Barth., but see Benv. Infinitives Avest., p. 65). But note phonet. difficulties.

## Ž, Ž

*žāu* Y, Sh., *žau* L, St., Be., *you* W (Ishk.) grain, (provisions Sh.). — Cf. Ishk. *yau*, Yd. *yōu*, Sar. *zau*. — *ž* from Khow. *žō*?

- žoe* ('*zhoe*') Cockerill lake. — From Khow.?  
*žabd* Hj. stable (unknown to Sk.).  
*žöd-*: *žödt* Sh. to sow seed; *žed-*: *žədd*  
to sprinkle, strew. — Cf. Sar. *yēd-*,  
*ýied-*. — < \**wi-ā-dā-?*  
*žála* Y, W, *žō*° N hail. — Prs.  
*žə'mak* Y, N, *žə'māk* Sk., *jū*° Sh. moon.  
— \**užmahka-* < \**užsm*°, cf. Yd.  
*imoyo*. But cf. Benveniste, JA, 1936, 231.  
*žümānd-* Sh. to wring. — < *mant-*  
with *hača-?*  
*žin'da* Kl., *žin'dāg* Sh., *zindag* (*ž?*) L  
tale, proverb.  
*žūnan* Y, X mine (predic.). — *ha'yem*  
*xōn žunan* X. — Cf. § 122.  
*žāng* Sk. nit.  
*žip-* L, *žūp*: *žövd* Sh. to spin. — Cf.  
Yd. *γī-*, Shgh. *žīb-*. V. p. 454, n<sup>4</sup>.  
*žār* Y Adam's apple.  
*ž/žirev/γ-* L to need, lack. — Cf. *žiröv-*  
(< to be in need < to be stuck?).
- žirāv* Y, *žirāv* X, °*āw* Sh. ravine, valley;  
*žə'rāv* Sk. brook; *žirāv* (Cockerill) a  
gorge with a stream.  
*žiröv-*: *žirögn* Sh. to hang from a peg;  
*žərov*: *žərovñ* (*žərov'žak*) Kl. to be  
stuck.  
*žerāš* Sh. knot. — Prob. from Sar. *žereš*,  
etc., cf. Yd. *γureš*.  
*žārž* Y, Sk., Sh., *žārj* N, Be., *žarje* X  
milk. — *žārž* Sh. foster brother or  
sister; *ž*° *zamān* foster-child (Sar.  
*žorž*, *ž*° *balāh* fr. Wkh.), cf. Khow.  
*čhīr-brār*, etc. — < \**žarači-*, cf.  
Av. *žar-* to stream, *aipi-žar-* to be  
liquid (about milk), cf. semantically  
Prs. *šiftan* to trickle: N.W.Ir. *šift*  
'milk', etc. — But *-ž* < *-či* (cf.  
§ 33.?)  
*žitr* Y, *žitr* X, *žutr* Sh. woollen thread.  
— *žū-jitr* X a black thread. — <  
\**γaiftra-*, cf. *žip-??*

## List of Names.

- Abgač* Y n. of a vill. *Abgač* Curzon,  
*Ifkerš* Russ.  
*Ku'tal-i-Ankura* X n. of a pass.  
*Išmery* Y, *Išmurđ* X, *Išmarg* Survey,  
Curzon, *Išmurg* Russ. n. of a vill.  
*Buru'yul* X the Baroghil Pass.  
*Bāz'gir* X, *Bazgirān* Survey n. of a  
vill. between Ishkashm and Zebak.  
*Čilkand* Y, *Čahilkand* Survey, *Čexel-gal'd*  
Russ. n. of a vill.  
<sup>1</sup>*Darkut* X the Darkot Pass.  
*Kala-i-Wust* Y, *Kala Wust* Survey, *Kala*  
*Yust* Curzon, *Ust* Russ. n. of a vill.  
*Körkut* Y, *Karkit* Russ. n. of a vill.  
*Kišin* X n. of a vill. and cantonment.  
*Kišn* Kl., *Langar Kisht* Curzon.
- Kezgit* Y, *Kezget* Burhan-ud-Diu, *Keb-*  
*kut*(?) Russ., *Kipkot* Curzon(?) n. of  
a vill.  
*Nud* X, *Nut* Hj. n. of a vill. near  
Ishkashm.  
*Namad'gūt* N, *Namadgut* Survey, *Namat-*  
*gut* Hj. n. of a vill.  
*Nirs* Y, Russ., *Neris* Curzon n. of a vill.  
*Pi'giš* Y, °*iš* X, *Pigiš* Survey, *Pigaš*  
Curzon n. of a vill.  
*Pay* Y, *Fax* X n. of a vill.  
*Pa'küi* Y, *Pu'kui* X, *Pokoi* Russ., *Pagui*  
Curzon n. of a vill.  
*Panja* Y, *Kala-i-Panj* X, *Kala-i-Pānč*  
Hj., *Kala-i-Panja* Russ., *Kila Panja*  
Survey n. of a vill.



- Pu'tuš* Y, *Patuē* Curzon, *Patus* Russ. n. of a vill.
- Pit'xar* Y, *Pirxar* Russ., Curzon n. of a vill.
- Reje'bič* X n. of a vill. (in Garan?).
- Rōkuč* Y, *Rakot* Survey, Curzon n. of a vill.
- Rēt̄xud* Y pass leading to Gāzikistān, to the left of the Sad Istraγ, but not passing by Deh Gol(?).
- Sä'nān* Y, *Sanin* Russ., Curzon n. of a vill.
- Sarhadd* Y, *Sarhad* Survey n. of a vill.
- Sast* Y, *Sist* Russ. n. of a vill.
- Sa'wōr* X, *Saor* Curzon n. of a vill.
- Šiyi'nān* X Shughnan. Cf.
- Šikāšm* W Ishkashm.
- Wark* W, *Warg* Survey, Curzon, *Wūr̄y*, *Hūr̄y* Hj. n. of a vill.
- Wuḡ* Y Wakhan, *Wa'xē* Sk. Wakhi.
- Xōdārgbōrt* X, *Xora Bhort* Survey n. of a pass.
- Xandut* Y, X, Survey, *Kən'dut* Hj. n. of a vill.; *Xandutī* a man from Khandut. — Cf. § 3.
- Xōrog* X n. of a vill. and cantonment (*ḍaunī*) in Shughnan.
- Ḳik* Y, *Wa'xī* X, W Wakhi. — *sak-ən Ḳikən. šik* Sk. Wakhi ('*šik-zik* eastern dialect). — < \**W(u)ḡik*.
- Yang* Y, *Yamk* Hj. *Yimek* Russ. n. of a vill.
- Ya'mit* Y, *'Yemit* X, Survey, *Yamid* Russ., *Yamit* Hj. n. of a vill.
- Yūr* Y, *Yur* Survey, *Yot(?)* Russ. n. of a vill.
- Zarti'yar* Y, *Zirxar* Curzon n. of a vill. at the foot of the Baroghil Pass.

## SHUGHNI SUPPLEMENT

(Sentences not given, or not given in full, in Notes on Shughni, NTS, I. Sentences from the dialect of Bashar are marked B).

1. *âdam-um zît* B I killed a man.
2. *'arai ca'vâr mēð-om yast, tam t'îm* B I shall stay three or four days, and then go (*se câr rûz bâz mērim*).
3. *Awal Ĵalāla'bād sāvom, tām badēveta*<sup>1</sup> *Pešāwar sāvom* B First I shall go to J., and then to P.
4. *Haz ude ar Xuž'nūn cōnd mēð pōnd yast?* B How many days road is it from here to Shughnan?
5. *Az câra šac za'wēd* B Draw water from the well.
6. *Az me yî mūn par'jiv* Take an apple from him.
7. *Az we (de) pēšc* Ask him (this one).
8. *Az xūdman a'gā de ke* B Wake him from sleep (*az xau bedâr ku*).
9. *Az yūdande Badaxšūn cūnd mēð pōnd* How many day's road is it from here to Badakhshan?
10. *Beyâr-um ikme âdam-um wînt* B I saw this very man yesterday (*dîna hamî âdam dîdam*).
11. *Biyâr-om az we pēšct* B I asked him yesterday.
12. *Biyâr-om wēšt, zâr-um sut* B Yesterday I fell and got bruised (*dînarūz uftâdum, augar šudam*).
13. *Ca waxt-at-i yat?* B When did you come?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *bāde we ta 'pas az i'*, Notes, p. 48.

14. *Čāk dādom* B I bore.
15. *Da mūn yās, lāk* B Take this apple away, and leave it (*i sēba bubar, bumān*).
16. *De've xam'bēn!*—*De've-m waxt xam'bēnč* B Shut the door!—I have already shut it.
17. *Δen'dān 'dādom* B I chew.
18. *Δârg-um verūšt* B I broke the stick.
19. *Gap-um rinūšt* I forgot the word.
20. *Gar'da 'xārom, gar'da-um xūd* B I eat (ate) bread.
21. *Gūšt-um pēxt* I cooked meat.
22. *Gūšt xarāb-a, xīdao na bâft, xīdao na vardim* B The meat is bad, it is not to be eaten, I cannot eat it.
23. *K'imb wēdom, k'imb-um wēdd* I throw (threw) a stone.
24. *K'imb mū te na wēde!* Don't throw a stone at me!
25. *Ku naštōidum* B I went out (*barāmadim*) But why *ku*?
26. *K'âr-um čūd* B I worked.
27. *Kurti-m<sup>1</sup> penūid* B I washed the shirt.
28. *Kurtā-x-šcendam<sup>2</sup>* B I tear my shirt (*kurtara burridam*).
29. *Kitāb-um tur vūd (turd-um vūd)* I brought you the book.
30. *Kitāb mēz te lāk* B Put the book on the table.
31. *Lap k'ēn-om zud,<sup>3</sup> šiš-ta 'nāvom* B I became very sorry, now I am weeping (*bisyâr deq šuda-im, ālī giryā mēkunum*).
32. *Ma dādand-in xāwš puc* My father has six sons.
33. *Ma de ma!* B Don't beat me.
34. *Mund sut puc, xu dādard-me lūvdum: mu pucik nūm nēš* I got a son. I said to my father: Give my little son a name.
35. *Murdə mǎ dād vārjə dād* My father gave me a horse.
36. *Mu rafiq-at vut, kīvdum tu* B You were my comrade, [therefore] I called you. Answer to: *čir-at mu kīvd?* Why did you call me?
37. *Mur vār* B Bring it to me.
38. *Nur-um dar pōnd tūid* I have walked a long way to-day.

<sup>1</sup> For *kurta-im*?

<sup>2</sup> For *kurta šc°*, with notation of a glide between *a* and *š*.

<sup>3</sup> With sonorization in sandhi, for *sut*.

39. *Nūstum nūr yūdand* To-day I sat down there.
40. *Naw-om nūst* B I sat down now.
41. *Naw-om šut to âwâz* B Now I heard your voice.
42. *P'ôn tīm, pōnd-um tūid* B I go, I went (*râ mēgardam*).
43. *Ra'wāen sa!* B Get off!
44. *Sa'har t'im* B I shall go to-morrow.
45. *Sa, žiz zewēd!* Go, and fetch wood.
46. *Šič dīm tō* Now I (shall) beat you.
47. *Šič-um tūid* B Now I went.
48. *Šint-om, naw-om šint* B I laughed (now).
49. *Šac ar pi'âla k'e'n, var!* 'Brējom B Pour water into the cup and bring it. I shall drink. (*au dar pi'âla partau, biār. buxurim*).
50. *Šâč-om dūd, ho gap ma re'nēs* B I was afraid (saying:) Don't forget this word.
51. *Šâj dērom, šiš-ta wâš<sup>w</sup>um az kū te* B I am afraid to fall down now from the hill.
52. *Šāpa'rak rə'wāšt* The bat flew (fem. l).
53. *Tu cawax-teyē? Ī čand rōz ga tīm* When shall you go? I shall go in a few days.
54. *Tam ta vâ tīm* B Then I shall go.
55. *Tu nūm na vzūnum* I don't know your name.
56. *Tar Šērpur 'sāom* B I shall go to Sherpur.
57. *Visam* B I bind (*basta mēkunam*).
58. *Vârjə (vērj) tēr yast* The horse (mare) is black.
59. *Wuz-um bēcāra, nātu'wān* B I am poor and helpless.
60. *Wuz-əm 'âdam, tu t-m -əs<sup>1</sup> âdam* I am a man, and you are also a man (*man âdam-am, tu ham âdam-ī*).
61. *Wuz-am man kitâb xo verâdard dâx-šut<sup>2</sup>* I gave this book to my brother.
62. *Wuz na wzānum, yi čiz wezâne to?* B I don't understand it, do you understand this thing?
63. *Wuz turd dâdom* I gave (it) to you.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *əs* is unknown to me.

<sup>2</sup> Prob. *man* = *mam*, *dâxšut* for *šâk čūd*.

64. *Xabar'dâr, žir šič-ta wâšt* B Take care, the stone is falling now.
65. *Xedârjan xu yâžj narm yan*<sup>1</sup> Grind your flour at the mill.
66. *Xūdm-um wint* B I had a dream.
67. *Xu dust ze'nēam (-um ze'nād)* B I wash (washed) my hand.
68. *Xu dust-om dikt* I licked my own hand.
69. *Xu pīc mā-njab (= anjav), wuz-um tō wint* Don't be ashamed, that I did see you (*rū-i xuda na gīr, ke ma tura dīdim*).
70. *Xaš jāi we čūžj . . . . .* (*makam (= muḥkam?) na karda-i*).
71. *Xu paisa ma be'nes* B Don't forget your money.
72. *Yâ âdam recūst* The man fled.
73. *Yâc pedenum, -um pedet* B I kindle(d) a fire.
74. *Yâc-um dūde* B The fire burnt me.
75. *Yâm čid čedām âdamand?* Which man does this house belong to? (*in xāna-i kudām šaxs-ast?*).
76. *Yi mūn mūrd-um dād* I gave this apple to this one(?).
77. *Yi mīθ yâ âdam xurdē lūvθ* One day a man said to himself (*yak rūz yak âdam ba xud guft*).
78. *Yi sowâr wi draxt bunan nūšē* B A horseman was sitting under that tree.
79. *Yiða yatam* B I came here.
80. *Zemâd-am zedūd* B I swept the floor.
81. *Žindam yâs xedârjan* B Take the wheat to the mill (*ganduma bubar âsyâ*).
82. *Ženiž dap (= lap?) dī*<sup>2</sup> Much snow falls(?).

<sup>1</sup> Written *narmian*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Or. (Zar.) *diyan* snowstorm?

Song from Ghund (*Bait*).

Shughni Text

*Ar 'jâik 'sāwe tu Xo'dâik tā'wīl, /*  
*mo'râdik te'lâb az 'pâ-i 'xâjâ. /*  
*Ra'wân, ra'wânik tar 'dēf šā'līn /*  
*'ta sadu'qīk tu bās-sē'mīn.*

Persian Translation

*Har jā mērawī, ba Xudâ turâ tawīl<sup>1</sup> kadīm. /*  
*Duâ (murād) bigīr az pâ-i Xōjâ. /*  
*Pēš-i mā raftī, dar mābain-i maidân, /*  
*satkičawon<sup>2</sup> . . . . . čīšm.*

<sup>1</sup> تعویل. <sup>2</sup> *Sadq-it šawam*.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page.	Line.	
16	4	from bottom. Add: <i>Hingan</i> , cf. p. 426.
29	8	» » Aspiration is noted in a Shgh. vocabulary published in the <i>Annuaire de la Rev. de Kabul</i> 1934—35. E.g. كَهَل (= <i>khāl</i> ) head.
73	1	in margin. For <i>čk</i> read <i>šk</i> .
77	5	from bottom. Ad <i>tūga</i> , cf. Voc. s.v.
79	4	Cf. also <i>kinčäkä</i> girl.
»	8	Cf. also <i>pəcəg-</i> 'to break' < <i>*pati-synda-?</i>
84	5	from bottom. Add: <i>γiky</i> < <i>*gršnuka-</i> , v. § 117.
86	12	For <i>*spišā-</i> read <i>*spišā</i> .
87	7	Cf. also § 52.
89	7	Add: Ir.
105	19	Add: <i>zəvīy</i> tongue < <i>*hizwāka-</i> .
»	22	Add: <i>lo</i> with < <i>*hadā</i> .
109	9	For <i>rt</i> > <i>rd</i> > <i>ḍ</i> read <i>rt</i> > <i>t</i> > <i>ḍ</i> .
114	2	from bottom. For § 148 read §§ 149, 163, 176.
121	3	» » Add: Ysh <i>šināmī</i> girls.
122	7	» » But <i>pūrē</i> might go back to <i>*puḍrai</i> , with pronominal ending.
149	1	» » Add: Cf. Voc. s.v. <i>kə'nī</i> .
151	3	But v. p. 129 ll. 10 sqq., and p. 159, ll. 2 sqq.
155	20	Cf. also Par. <i>māt</i> killed ( <i>mēr-</i> ) < <i>*mārīta-</i> (not <i>*marxta-</i> ).
158	9	For 327 read 227.
204	10 and 15	Articles <i>čatīr</i> and <i>čšīr</i> to change place.
220	20	(s.v. <i>ketiu</i> ). Add transl.: book.
222	12	(s.v. <i>luū</i> ). <i>luū</i> < <i>*luē</i> , <i>rušk</i> < Ir. <i>*duš(a)k</i> , cf. Yazgh. <i>ḍəwāk</i> , Shgh. <i>ḍəž(?)</i> . But scarcely Prs. <i>dala</i> 'weasel' from a dial. related to Sgl. with <i>l</i> < <i>š</i> .—With <i>*dušaka-</i> , cf. Av. <i>dužaka-</i> hedgehog? Semantically cf. Yaghn. <i>sugur</i> 'marmot'.
224	11	from bottom (s.v. <i>l'royo</i> ). Cf. Wkh. <i>wtrdīna</i> clear (sky); Jaunsari (Indo-Ar.) <i>bidri</i> .

- | Page. | Line. |   |
|-------|-------|---|
| 236   | 7     | from bottom (s.v. <i>pīy</i> ). Cf. Wkh. <i>piūk</i> .  |
| 246   | 5     | Insert before <i>skut</i> : <i>skapīr</i> G above.  |
| »     | 22    | (s.v. <i>sāl</i> ). Add: Y <i>sālo</i> , Par. <i>sār</i> < * <i>sardā</i> .   |
| 247   | 7     | from bottom (s.v. <i>sānj</i> ). Cf. Bur. <i>sinč</i> roof-beam.  |
| 248   | 20    | (s.v. <i>sar<sup>l</sup>yār</i> ). Add: Ysh.  |
| 264   | 11    | from bottom (s.v. <i>wuziā</i> ). Cf. Parth. <i>wzyh-</i> < <i>uz-i-</i> , v. Henning, BSOS, IX, 89.  |
| 266   | 11    | » » (s.v. <i>xō<sup>n</sup></i> ). Cf. Saka <i>ggän-</i> , v. Bailey, BSOS, IX, 71.   |
| 274   | 1     | For <i>ni-yang-</i> read <i>ni-yaug-</i> .  |
| 278   | 1     | from bottom. After <i>žang</i> add: <i>žingo</i> Yg n. of a bird.   |
| 305   | 11    | Add: Cf. E. Yaghn. <i>s</i> (old <i>ϑ</i> ), W. Yaghn. <i>t</i> < <i>ϑ</i> , v. Junker, Yağn. Stud. I, 128.   |
| 330   | 8     | from bottom. Cf. also <i>ṣrmōzd/rēmuz</i> sun, v. Voc. s.v.   |
| 331   | 9     | » » Add: <i>fəryem</i> , <i>rīv-lav</i> .   |
| »     | 7     | » » Add: <i>durk</i> , <i>purk</i> .  |
| »     | 6     | » » Add: § 144.   |
| 345   | 13    | Ad <i>tō-bē</i> add: <i>təm-ba</i> Sgl. p. 3. V. Voc. s.v. <i>āstay</i> .   |
| 348   | 4     | Add: Possibly <i>kuč-i</i> his wife, <i>nes-i la-kuδ</i> didn't allow him.  |
| 349   | 5     | from bottom. Add: Sk. <i>wiäv</i> Ag. Pl. of <i>awi</i> (Texts VI).   |
| 354   | 2     | Add: Final <i>-i</i> also in Sgl. is. <i>la-kuṣō-mō-i</i> I have left it (enclitic pronoun?).   |
| 355   | 8     | Add: Sk. <i>nrst</i> ; Sgl. <i>nes i la-kuδ</i> .   |
| 391   | 9     | from bottom (s.v. <i>dos</i> ). Add: <i>das</i> I.  |
| 398   | 3     | from bottom. Ad <i>kamak</i> cf. Sar., Shgh. <i>čomj</i> back.  |
| 419   | 19    | (s.v. <i>wulmēk</i> ). Add transl.: moon.   |
| 420   | 26    | (s.v. <i>wārv-</i> ). For Mj. <i>wurv-</i> read Yd. <i>urw-</i> .   |
| 422   | 5     | (s.v. <i>xum</i> ). But cf. § 55.   |
| 438   | 1     | from bottom. Acc. to 'Annuaire de la revue de Kabul', 1934—35, p. 143 this dialect "used to be spoken in the district of Faizabad on the banks of the Saraghlām river. Now it is dead and abandoned (مردده و متروک)."   |
| 442   | 1     | from bottom. Add: The geographical distribution of <i>-av</i> and <i>-it</i> is not clear. Kl. describes the dialect of Langar Kishn in <i>Eastern Wakhan</i> .—Another dialectical variation is that of Y, X, Sh. <i>spa</i> 'our', and Sk., Kl. <i>spō</i> , Hj. <i>su'pā</i> .—The Perfect forms given by Sk. (v. § 156) may also belong to a restricted locality. |
| 471   | 12    | in margine. For <i>sp</i> read <i>šp</i> .  |
| 482   | 3     | from bottom. Add: <i>šenj-</i> to fill, <i>varδenz-</i> to fill < <i>-aya-</i> ?  |

# ENGLISH—IRANIAN INDEX





## ENGLISH—IRANIAN INDEX

to the Vocabularies contained in the following publications by the author: Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages I, II; Notes on Shughni (NTS, I, 45 sqq.); The Wanetsi Dialect of Pashto (NTS, IV, 156 sqq.; with reference to page); Supplementary Notes on Ormuri (NTS, V, 10 sqq.); An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto (Skifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskapsakademi i Oslo, II, Hist.-Filos. Klasse. 1927. No. 3); and to Notes on Prof. Charpentier's Article "Some Remarks on Pashto Etymology" (AO VII, 198 sqq.).

The languages are, as a rule, quoted in the following order: Wanetsi (*Wn.*); Pashto (*Pš* = Etym. Voc. Psht., *Pš*<sup>1</sup> = Notes, AO VII); Ormuri of Logar (*O*: IIFL, I); Ormuri of Kaniguram (*O*<sup>1</sup>: Supplementary Notes, NTS, V); Parachi (*P*: IIFL, I); Yidgha-Munji (*Y*: IIFL, II); Sanglechi-Ishkashmi (*S*: IIFL, II); Wakhi (*W*: IIFL, II), and Shughni (*Š*: NTS, I).

Identical, or nearly identical forms of a word are only given once, and in this manner the order of the dialects has often been deviated from. Minor variations of vowels (such as *ā*, *â*, and *ǎ*) have not been taken into account in such cases. Thus, e.g.: "Garden . . . *bâγ* O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š" stands for "*bâγ* O, *bāγ* O<sup>1</sup>, *bǎγ* S, *bâγ* Š" (and, besides, Munji *bâγ* will be found in the Vocabulary s.v. *Y baγa*).

Accents are omitted, and uncertain vowel quantities within a single language have not been noted. Thus, e.g., *a* for *ǎ* of the Vocabularies, and *o*, *e*, for Psht. *ō*, *ē*. Note that in IIFL, II *ast*, *isp*, etc., will be found under *s*. Verbs are given in the root-form, except in the case of Psht.

Translations have frequently been broadened and modified in order to make the Index more easily surveyable. In every case the Iranian word given in the Index must be looked up in the Vocabularies, where the more special meanings will be found. Thus the Index catch-word 'wheat' will include 'summer-' and 'autumn-wheat', 'cap' several kinds of caps, etc.—In a few cases obvious mistakes in the earlier translations have been corrected.

Wanetsi forms are given only when they differ from those of Psht. A few words not given in the NTS-article have been included within square brackets. For the sake of ready comparison a few important Psht. and Shgh. words not found in the above mentioned publications have likewise been added within square brackets. The Shgh. forms are taken from Sköld's material.

Very rarely new etymological suggestions have been added to the Psht. forms.

## A

- ability *hoqūf* P.  
 able, to be *č*- O, *nar*- P, v. *ken*-, *kir* Y, *kōken*- S, *bās wazī*- W, *var-š*- Š.  
 above *pabēga* O, *-bēža* O<sup>1</sup>, *pasmīno*, *vəlyo* Y, *cə-pšūr*, *vəraz* S.  
 abstinent *parīz* P.  
 abuse *astio* Y.  
 abuse, to *škanjəl* Pš, *vārand*- W.  
 account *hisāb* P.  
 accursed *lāin* P, v. curse.  
 accustomed *rūžd* Pš.  
 ache, to v. pain.  
 acid food, eaten as a relish *tānda* O.  
 acorn *pərgai* [also Afr. etc.] Pš.  
 across *pore* Pš.  
 action *kār* O.  
 Adam's apple *γaraī* (v. *γarəl*) Pš, *γurvo-kuluxa*, *tūta* Y, *γālvīš* S. Cf. throat.  
 admirer *guriagar* P.  
 advice *nesiyat*, *pand*, *salā* P, *nasiāt* Y.  
 adulterer *γar* Y.  
 adze *taršaj* Pš, *škīnj* O<sup>1</sup>, *toško* Y, *uzāk*, *tarš*, *tīša* W.  
 affair *gap*, *sūy* P.  
 afflict, to *blōsədəl* (v. *blōs*) Pš.  
 affliction *tāb* P.  
 Afghan *Paštūn* (v. *paštō*) Pš, *kāš* O, *auyān* P.  
 afraid, to be v. fear.  
 after *wrusto* Pš, *bād* O, *bādaz*, *peš*, *pešchan* P, *čpāč*, *dīd*, *vəro*, Y, *bād*, *pasi* S, *bāūd*, *ga*, *pas* Š.  
 afternoon *jōštaī* O<sup>1</sup>, *nəmāzdigar*, *pēštin*, (<sup>i</sup>)*ziānē* Y, *peštin* S, *namāz-e digar* Š.  
 afterwards *pēc* O, *bād*, *bāz*, *pēsthērā*, *pešte*, *ēka* P, *bād* Y.  
 after that *dāvā* S.  
 again *biyār* Wn 162, *byā*, *byarta* Pš, *bē*, *pēc* O, *bād*, *bite*, *wapēš*, *dūbāra* P, *bət*, *cebas* W, *wā* Š.  
 age *umr* P, *humr* Š.  
 agitation *šūr* P.  
 ago *mēn* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 agreeable *xwaš* (v. *xož*) Pš, *xuš* Š.  
 agreeing *fāreš* P, *kābūl* S.  
 agreement *angūr* Pš, *rezā* P.  
 aim *murād*, *maxsa/ūd* P.  
 air (*h*)*awā* O, P, S, W.  
 alarm *čīq* P.  
 alas *darīy* Y, *afsōs* W.  
 alive *žwandai* (v. *žwāk*) Pš, *zinda* O, S, W, Š, °o Y, *zenda*, *janō* P.  
 all *drast*, *wāra* Pš, *kull* O, P, S, *ar*, *ayēra* O, *hu*, *harči*, *hus(s)* P, *drust*, *pāzi* Y, *hōr* S, *kūxt* W, *fukat* [-aθ] Š.  
 all three *hušše* P.  
 almond *bādām* O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, Š, *bādām* S, (wild) *kitaya* Y.  
 alms *wacārum*, *xudāi* Y.  
 alone *yawājai* (v. *yau*) Pš, *tanā* O, *žahī* P, *fkyiyiko* Y, *toko* Y, W, *tāke*, *wulyēka* S. Cf. single.  
 along with, v. together with.  
 already *waxt* Š.  
 also *mī* Wn 162, [*hum* Pš], *ga(r)* O, *ham* P, *əm* Y, *am* Š.  
 always *mudām* O, P.  
 ambergris *ambar* P.  
 ambler *yibyā*, *yuryā* W.  
 ambling *yurya* S.  
 ambush *psūnai* Pš.  
 amir *anūr* P.  
 amorous *āšuqbāz* P.  
 among *mēn* P, *tar* S.  
 amulet, v. charm.  
 ancient *gahīna*, *kōna*, *tariwāl* P, *kūnā*, *qadīm* S, *kīna* Š.  
 and [σ] Pš, *u* O, P, *wo* P, Y, Š, *awi* S, *ət* W, *at* Š.  
 angel *malāik* P, *fērāšte* S.  
 Angelica *kurušo* Y.

- anger *khar*, *šanufart*, *xəšəm* P, *kvahrē* Y, *xafa* S, *k/qār* S, W, *rūš* W.
- angry *xafa* O, P, Š, *bṛōs* PŠ, *yussamand*, *pēričân* P, *būr* W.
- animal *haiwân*, *žândār* Y, *aiwân*, *čārân* S, *aiwōn* W.
- ankle *linda*, *narai* *γarai* (v. *γarəl*), *šongarai*, *šatgarai* PŠ, *kanak* O, *šengerai* O<sup>1</sup>, *band-e pāi* P, *trəboda*, *wuški-ostia* Y, *band-r-pā* S, *band-i-pūd*, *məš* W, *bijelak-i-pāi* Š.
- ankle-bone [*prō'ka* Wn], *waryāni* (v. *āyazəl*) PŠ, *bujulak* P, *ušk-māxiko*, *pōlə bəļōkə* Y, *čta-ləng* W, *šurčak* Š.
- ankle-ring *masi* P.
- answer *jawāb* O, *juwāp* P, *žuāb* Y, *juwāb* S, W, Š.
- ant *mērža* Wn 161, *mežai* PŠ, *murcā* O, *marcōi* O<sup>1</sup>, *mūcō*, *murc* P, *muryo* Y, *mārcik*, *mārc* S, *murca*, *mīr-prič* W, *mūrj* Š.
- ant, white *wēna* PŠ.
- antidote *taryāk* P.
- antler *čot* Y.
- anus *kūna* PŠ, *kūn* O, W, *kyūn* O<sup>1</sup>, *gūyək*, *šin* W, *šardic* Š. Cf. *podex*.
- anvil *putk*, *sandan*, (small) *xōisk* Y, *sindōn*, *yūyone γər* W.
- any *ēc* O, *hēc* P, *hāc* Y.
- anyone *kōk* O, *koī* Y, *iško*, *koči* S.
- anybody *khīn* P.
- anything (*ēca* O, *hezā* P, *hēcī* S).
- apart *biğāna* P.
- apparent *mālēm* Y.
- appear, to *sədiy-* W, *nemāi* Y.
- appearance *nemāyān* P.
- appearing *paidā* P, Y, S.
- apple *maņa* PŠ, *mlič* O, *miliz* O<sup>1</sup>, *āmar* P, *sēb* [Wn], P, W, *āmuno* Y, *mēl* S, *mur*, *məṇū* W, *mūn* Š.
- appointed time *wāda* O.
- apprenticeship *šāgirdi* P.
- approach, to *garz-* Wn 167.
- approve, to *kabul kan-* P.
- apricot *matat* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zardālū* O, P, [*zyard*<sup>o</sup> Wn], *mindut* P, *čirē* Y, *zardolu* S, W, *čuwēl* S, *čuwān* W, *nāš* (incorr. *naš*) Š.
- apricots (dried) *čtryšcē* Y.
- apricot (unripe) *čāṛwa* Y, *pəndək* W.
- apricot-kernel *čilyānē* Y.
- aqueduct *tarnāw* (v. *nāwa*) PŠ.
- archer *kamāndār* P.
- arghawan, Judas-tree *arγawān* P.
- arm *bizar* O<sup>1</sup>, *last* Y, *dōst* S, *dast*, *yurm* W, *bāzə* Š. Cf. *forearm*, *hand*.
- arm (upper part of) *leča* PŠ, *bāzū* P, S, *kālāja* P, *vīzja* Y, *astamayzək* S, *mayzi* W, *fyak* Š.
- arm, strength of the *bāzūi* P.
- arm (weapon) *erāq* P.
- armlet, v. *bracelet*.
- armour *γara* PŠ, *zyirō* O<sup>1</sup>, *parkāla* P.
- armpit *kucaņa* Wn 168, *trarg* PŠ, O<sup>1</sup>, *baγal* O, P, S, W, *banabaγal*, *taikōl* P, *šafšiyān*, *tākaš* Y, *kašviš* S, *kalzbən* W, *bzyūž* Š.
- army *laškar* P, S, *fauj* P, W, *paltan* P, *kārun* Y, *askar*, *fauž* S.
- around *daur* P.
- arranged *jōr* P.
- arrangement *wāda* O, *bandubast* P.
- arrest, to *pačrax-* W.
- arrive, to *zāy-* O, *z-* O<sup>1</sup>, *zah-* P, *ros-* Y, *iš-* S, *šat-* W, *fərāp-* Š.
- arrive, to make to *zahēw-* P, *risəd-* Y.
- arrogant *sōr-xaš* S.
- arrow [*γēsa* Wn], *γəšai* PŠ, *tir* O, *γēšai* O<sup>1</sup>, *bānō* P, *pīx*, *yufčirgiko* Y, *dər-nāk*(?), *xastirek* S, *tir-i-dast*, *wəc* W, *caņkamānak*, *pāθ* Š. Cf. *bullet*.
- arrow, barbed *šatai* PŠ.
- artisan *mōčiē* Y, *wustād* W.

as, v. like.  
ascend, to *lik-* O<sup>1</sup>, *san-* W. Cf. rise.  
ascending *bək* O.  
ascent *pečūmai* Pš, *patarāj* Š.  
as far as *tu-manak* O.  
ash, mountain- *tūr* Y.  
ashamed *šarmunda* O, °*enda* P, °*inda* S, W, *čemše* P.  
ashamed, to be *lejj-* P.  
ashes *arē* Wn 159, *irē* (ōr) Pš, *xākistār*, *yānak* O, *yāk* O<sup>1</sup>, *bhāy* P, *yaxio* Y, *pārk*, *wuter* S, *xāk<sup>e</sup>stār* S, W, *pārg* W, *šir* Š.  
ashes, hot *sxwaštan* Pš.  
as if *laka* Pš.  
as if, just as *gūya* Y.  
ask, to *puštēdal* Pš, *khuj*(ēw)- P, *pṛs-* Y, *f<sup>3</sup>rōs-* S, *purs-* W, *pešc-* Š.  
ask for, to *žay-* O, *za-* O<sup>1</sup>, *čalg-* W.  
asleep *prōu* Wn 160, *ūdō* Pš, *mwastak* O<sup>1</sup>, *minduk* S, *šāft* Š.  
ass *xar* Pš, O, O<sup>1</sup>, Š, *xrō* O<sup>1</sup>, *khōr* P, *xoro* Y, *xor* S, *xūr* W, *markāb* Š.  
ass, wild *yyara* Pš.  
ass's load *xerwār* P.  
assembled *jam* P, *goļ* S.  
assignment *barāt* P.  
assistance v. help.  
assistant *hamrā* P.  
astonished *hairān* P.  
astringent *stay*, *zmoxt* Pš.  
at *pa* Pš, O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, *da*, *dāl* P.  
at last *āxer* P, *pəčuwxšt*(?) S.  
at once *mudā* P, *ugah* Y, *mis* Š.  
attached, to be *awas-* O.  
attain, v. find.  
angury *mutr* W.  
aunt *nandiār*, *tandor* Pš, *kōko* Y, *vōc* W.  
aunt, maternal *māšo* Pš, *xāla* O, P, Š.  
aunt, paternal *tror* (v. *trō*) Pš, *amā* O, Š, *trō* O<sup>1</sup>, *amajī* P, *bibi* S.

autumn [<sup>1</sup>*mana* Wn], *manai* Pš, *me*<sup>o</sup> O, *mināi* O<sup>1</sup>, *sāmuṛ* P, *pātz* Y, *tiramā* Y, S, Š, °*mō* W, *tamūz* S.  
avalanche *puma*, *rešk* Y, *yārc* S, [*rišt* Š].  
avalanche (of stones) *čarxo* Y, °*a* W, Š.  
avaricious *stay* Pš.  
aware *poh* Pš.  
awake ["*wārish*" Wn], *wiš* Pš, *aṅga*(h), *usxūbon*, *bidār*, *bivāre* Y, *bē*<sup>o</sup> S, *agā* Š.  
awake, to (intr.) *wust*-(*ust*-) O, *čid-* P, (tr.) *čidew-* P, *aṅgahu-* Y.  
aware *xabar* Š.  
away *pū* P.  
awl *rīna* Pš, *durf* P, *lerəfšo* Y, *cārzn* W.  
axe *tabar* Pš, O, *nač<sup>i</sup>xai* O<sup>1</sup>, *pašō*, *tašō*, *tawarča*, *wəṅgā* P, *tuvor* Y, *toror* S, *t<sup>2</sup>pār* W, *taf/vār*, *taršak*(?) Š.  
axe, battle- *tuverzin* Y.

## B

babble, to *brām-* W.  
babbler *ūnai* Pš.  
baby *zolikik* Š.  
bachelor *buidōq* S.  
back (adv.) *byarta* Pš, *pēc* O, *apešt*, *bite*, *wapēš* P, *cebas*, *vispac* Y, *sibās* W, *wā* Š. Cf. again.  
back, n. [*puštēi* Wn], *šā* Pš, *pēc*, *pūšt* O, *pešpuṭ*, *pušta*, *puṭ* P, *pišcō* Y, *arqa* S, W, *kamak* S, *dām*, *kāmī*, *mād* W.  
back (lower part of) *biyān* O.  
back (of an animal) *dam* S, *pert* W.  
back (upper part of) *pat* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *taxta-e puṭika* P, *harko* Y, *arka*, *dām* Š.  
back (of the head) *pēškalā* P, *sor-čibaxt* W.  
back-tooth *pačagi danān* P, *kām-lad* Y, *kərəsī*, *woždān* S.  
back-wall *čana* Pš.  
backwards *čpōšt* S.

- bad *bad* O, P, S, *yanj* O, *xarāb* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Š, *ēlāhī*, *bīšī*, *geš*, *kačal*, *wačhanā* P, *lūw*, *naškel* Y, *ganda* S, *šak(k)* S, W, *lojar* W, *šake* Š. Cf. evil, lean, rotten.
- bad, ill-omened *badkār* P.
- badness *badī* P.
- bad smell *wah* S.
- bag *gōñiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *božai* Y. Cf. goatskin bag, mussuck.
- baker *naḡōn-pečāk*, *naḡōnphakč* P, *xādem* Y.
- baker, professional woman- *xanadaro* Y.
- bakhsheesh *širīnī* P.
- baking-pan *usīd* S, *sāt* W.
- bald *kal* O, P, S, *kyel* Y.
- band *riškaī* (v. *wrešal*) Pš.
- band (of sheaf) *wandanai*, *wawdēnai* Pš, °*enai* O<sup>1</sup>.
- band (of a shirt) *kaitān* P.
- bank (of a river) *bar* P, *daryā-lab* W.
- barber, a *modreb* P.
- bare-footed *abl* (v. *pal*) Pš, *xīr-pul* Y, *špuđk* W.
- bare-headed *wīsti-sər* W.
- bark (of tree) *xwar* Pš, *pāñi*(?) O, *pūst* (-e *bhīnika*, °e *tika*) P, *pisto* Y, *pəstāk* S, *draxt-pīst*, *kūrust* W, *pōst* Š.
- bark, birch- *barj* Pš.
- bark, to *ḡāp* [Pš], O<sup>1</sup>, *ḡaf*-, *wakar*- P, *rov*- Y, *lav*- S.
- barking of a dog *ḡauḡau* O.
- barley [*arba/asi* Wn], *ōrbūšē* Pš, °*spēk* O, *ispēk* O<sup>1</sup>, *žb* P, *kosk*, *yeršio* Y, *vər-vəs* S, *yirk* W, *čūšē* Š.
- barley (beardless) *kyāl-yaršio* Y.
- barley-bread, v. bread.
- barn, v. hay-stack, store-room.
- barren *šanđ* Pš, *s(x)trīn* W.
- bashful *lejjanāk* P.
- basket *kajāwō* O<sup>1</sup>, *boḡiko*, *kūmio*, *sāvdē* Y, *čumōļ* S, *wurgeš* W, *cemūd* Š.
- bat (zool.) *šauparak* O, P, S, W, *šawurkai* O<sup>1</sup>, *mūš-i parrān* P, *lə-verzəḡa rūso*, *šabparekilay*, *živderaus* Y, *šabgardak*, *šāparak* Š.
- bath *ammām* S.
- bathe, to *ramb*- O<sup>1</sup>, *zənay*- Y, *šəndowarē kən*- S. Cf. to wash.
- battle *janḡ* P.
- battlefield *janḡjāi* P.
- baxter *tabai* (v. *taba*) Pš, *novnoḡo* Y.
- bazar *bāzār* P, Y, S.
- bay, to *ruy*- W.
- be, to *ī* Wn 166, *šta*, *wu*<sup>1</sup>, *yam* Pš, *b*- O, -*a*, -*ā*, *hā*, *sī*, *bī*, *ōst* P, *ast*:- *vī*- Y, -*ō*, *ast*, *ōsto*, *vəđ* S, *hūmū*-, *tei*- W, *vu*-, *yast* Š.
- beacon *sunya* Y. Cf. bonfire.
- beak *nūl* O, P, S, Š, *mašūko* O<sup>1</sup>, *nəḡo* Y, *miḡqōr*, *nūčk* W.
- beam *pəžō* Y.
- beam (of floor) *sānj* Y. Cf. roof-beam.
- beans *kačeraphōr*, *māš* P, *muḡo* Y, *bālḡē* S, *bakula* W, *maš*(?) Š.
- bear *yirž* Wn 161, *yaž* Pš, *xirs* O, P, W, *yīrs*, *yīžo* O<sup>1</sup>, *uč*, *uḡ* P, *xərs*, *yarš* Y, *xars* S, *noḡordum* W, *yūrš* Š.
- bear, to (a child) *zīy*-, *ažaw*- Y, *yōž*- W.
- bear, to (endure) *žarā*- Y.
- beard *žīra* Pš [Wu]; *aurušt*, *gīš*(?) O, *dhāḡī* P, *yaržo* Y, *rīš*, *vīn* S, *regiš* W, *bōn* Š.
- beard (of corn) *laša* Pš, *sūḡ* O, *lēšī* O<sup>1</sup>.
- beast of burden *bhārgīr* P.
- beat, to *wul*- Wn 166, *wahəl* Pš, *prī(b)*-, *ḡikaw*-, *zan*- O, *de(h)*- O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, *jan*- O<sup>1</sup>, *uḡ*-, *jan*-, *lag*- P, *dah*- Y, *čuk*-, *žēb*- S, W, *dē*-, *dīm*- W, *ḡā*- (de-), *zīn*- Š.
- beat (a drum) *kūb*- P.
- beat to (each other) *dəḡḡ vit*- W.
- beat and clean wool, to *šem*- W.

beating *zōk* O.

beautiful *kšulai* (v. *kšul*), [*šāyista*] Pš, *šāsta* O, *šaista* O<sup>1</sup>, *negār*, *nāzanīn*, *sutra* P, *x<sup>o</sup>šrūi* W.

beauty *kāriḡī*, *surat* P.

because *ka* O, *če*, *čā* P, *ke* Y, *ki* S, W.

because of *bābadī* O.

become, to *šwəl* Pš, *b-* O, *s-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čh-*, *par-* P, *oy-* Y, *š-* S, *wōc-* W, *sāw-* Š.

bed *gāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *čārpāš* O, P, Š, *kaṭ* P, *čor-poyī*, *mānjo*, *žen* Y, *vrš*, *manjē* S, *ōja*, *čārpāya* W.

bedding *brēstəṅ* Wn 162, *brastən* Pš, *bistar* O, *lēf* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, *kasāyan*, *wīranō* P, *nivilo*, *kurpo* Y, *-ōē* S, *kīrpa*, *pipīr* W.

bee [*aṅḡīnmēčā* Wn], *ḡlawza*, *mačaī* (v. *mač*) Pš, *šādzambūr*, *šātībambur* P, (*agmīn*-)*kurmikī* Y, *zambūr-i asal* W.

beehive *agimīnyēš* Y.

beetle *čāčk* Y, *sāṅgurt* W.

beetroot *lablabū* S.

before *wṛānde* (v. *wṛumbai*) Pš, *šam* O, *pač(etar)*, *pailān*, *pēš*, *pušt*, *tar(i)*, *tartar* P, *apīr*, *piro*, *psaro*, *skapīr* (v. *Addenda ad p. 246*) Y, *ža* S, *xēz* Š.

before, in front of *wulāi* S.

beggar *faqīr* O, P.

begging *bōrwānī* P, *gadāi* Y.

beginning *awal* W.

behind *wrusto* Pš, *apešt*, *damāi*, *dumbāl*, *peš(te)*, *pešhan* P, *debāl*, *špāč* Y, *čpōšt* S, *zebā* Š.

belief *bāwar*.

believing *kābul* S.

bellow, to *naṛəl* Pš, *buḡ-*, *naṛ-* O<sup>1</sup>, *anur-* Y.

bellowing *baḡ* O, *ḡōnas*, *khānas* P, *baḡaz* Y, *boḡas* S. Cf. *bleating*.

bellows *guḡēi* O<sup>1</sup>, *dəm*, *puīnē* Y.

belly [*geḡa*, *xēṭa* Pš], *nas*, *škamba* O, *ḡīm* O<sup>1</sup>, *aštaf*, *xīṭ* P, *darūn*, *laṅḡik*, *ilīr*,

*ūzūt* Y, *dēr*, *rēčik*, *šikam* S, *dūr*, *wānj*, *word* W, *kēič* Š. Cf. *guts*, *intestines*.

beloved *yār*, *zurbar* P.

below *kšata* (v. *kše*), *kūz* Pš, *jēm* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ta*, *wačhanē* P, *dalen*, *noḡosār*, *sāro*, *šitāhān* Y, *pīān*, *viš* S.

belt *psol* (v. *psoləl*), *walmastanai* (v. *mlā*) Pš, *kamarband* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S, *ezārband* P, *lākīn* S.

belt, (leather) *suḡ-məlān* Y, *rṅdāḡ* W, *karapči* Š.

bend, to *kōža-* O<sup>1</sup>.

Berberis *azīto* Y.

berries, a kind of wild, red- *wārwānē*.

betrothal *kozda* Pš.

betrothed *čanḡol* Pš.

better, is *bīdə(?)* Š.

beware *xabardār* Š.

beyond *pore* Pš.

bier *žinazo* Y.

biestings *wuržə* Pš, *filla* S, *pīš* W.

big *loe*, *star* Pš, *ustur* O, Y, *stur* O<sup>1</sup>, *ghaṅḡ*, *ferīmān*, *ḡulū* P, *žəšt* Š, *kalān*, *kat(t)a* S, Š, *lup* W, *xədīr* Š.

bile *rəma* Pš.

bind, to *taṛəl* Pš, *taṛ-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *bež-* P, *trāž-*, *vad-* Y, *vānd-* S, W, *vīnd-* Š.

birch *zevirḡo* Y, *bərež* S, *bullī*, *furz* W.

birch(-bark) *barj* Pš.

bird *marḡə* Pš, *parīnda* Y, S, W.

bird (n. of a) *bubititi*, *ḡuči*, *kajīr* O, *dasxār*, *pūi* O<sup>1</sup>, *bādār*, *xarkau* P, *bubuka*, *caḡoḡo*, *ṭfo*, *waryjīn*, *xoryū*, *žīṅgo* Y, *pīrmāi* S, *bakar*, *bilfak*, *kalanjōḡ*, *qakul*, *turpiču*, *žāriki* W. Cf. *water-fowl*.

bird-net *salmā* W.

birth *zāt* P.

bit, horse's *ḡalamī* O<sup>1</sup>, *laḡām* P, *ōsm* Y, W, *ōūm* Š, *lažām* S, *nurta* Y, *dāna* S. Cf. *bridle*.

- bitch [*spaī* PŠ], *mādakučōk*, *tāzī* P, *macio* Y, *māčik* S, *māček* W, *ked* Š.
- bite, to *dārəl* PŠ, *gas-* P, *noyo-* Y. Cf. chew.
- bitter *trix* PŠ, *tēš* O, *tēšr* O<sup>1</sup>, *takku* P, *talx* P, Y, S, W, *tarku* P, *xošk*, *trakč* W, *ciš* Š.
- black *tor*<sup>1</sup> PŠ, *γrās* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *paddō* P, *n<sup>o</sup>rou* Y, *šūi* S, *šiu* W, *tēr* Š.
- black-pocks *gulamiri* W.
- blacksmith *pəš* PŠ, *á(h)engar* O, P, *mōčič* Y, *ustād* S.
- bladder *spoxz* PŠ.
- blanket *šarai* [*< IA*] PŠ, *kambala* O<sup>1</sup>, *pālās*, *žil* Y, *kampal* W. Cf. bedding, rug, shawl.
- bleat, to *wenger-* P, *γenil-* Y, *wāy-* W.
- bleating *brežan* PŠ, *bānas* P, *boγas* S. Cf. bellowing.
- blessing *duwá* O.
- blind *rūd* PŠ, *kōr* O, S, Š, *ēnd* O<sup>1</sup>, *biteč*, *kānč*, *kōr* P, *kurbās*, *yādē* Y, *kūr* W, *bezūw* Š.
- blindfolded *tečpetaká(ī)* P.
- blink, to v. wink.
- blister *ōwa*, *šinai* PŠ.
- blood *wina* PŠ, *in*, *šun* O, *sun* O<sup>1</sup>, *hin* P, *xūn* P, Š, *ino* Y, *wēn* S, *wužen* W.
- blood, mixed with water *malob* PŠ.
- blood, dripping with *hincakōi* P.
- blood-brotherhood *biyādarxāndagī* P.
- blood-fine *badučāmb* P.
- blossom, to *sprež-* W.
- blow *zarb* P.
- blow, with closed hands *gurmat* (v. *grut*) PŠ.
- blow, to *pəb-*, *puf ken-* S.
- blow out v. extinguish.
- blowing *phī* P.
- blue *šin* PŠ, O<sup>1</sup>, *xingak* O, *kabūt* P, S, W, Š, *sauz* P, *axšrn* Y, *sāvz* W, *nile* Š.
- bluish grey *xing* S.
- blunt *kund* O, Y, S, *kull* P, *mrv*, *s<sup>o</sup>mtē* Y, *kīnd* W, *gund*, *tund* Š.
- boar *matō* PŠ.
- board *lāriē* O<sup>1</sup>.
- board, roof- *taxta* S.
- board (round fireplace) *taxtabandē* Y.
- boat *kīšti* O, S, *kešti* P, *xan* Š.
- bobbin *rešpuk* W. Cf. spindle.
- body *jān* O, P, *badan* P, S, W, *tōn* P, *tono* Y, *bana* (?) S, *tana* S, Š, *tan* W.
- bog *buštana* (v. *buštédəl*), *tarma* PŠ.
- boil n. *lūna*, *nonkaī*, *šalūna*, *šanza* PŠ, *dāna* P, *parəpaṭi* Y.
- boil, to v.i. *yašedəl* (v. *yašnā*) PŠ, *yas-  
vėk* O, *γaru-* P, *urw-* Y, *yakš-* W.
- boil, to, v.t. *jūš-* O, *γarwēw-* P, *kākv-* Y, *wārv-* S, *wūrv-* Š.
- boiling *yašnā* PŠ. *jōš* O, *γaru* P, *wūrv* Š.
- bolt, of a door *poruy* Y.
- bolt, hole for the door-b. *poruylan* Y.
- bone [*haḍ* PŠ], *stoγān* O, *haḍḍ* P, *yastē* Y, *ostok* S, *yašč*, *ustuxōn* W, *setxān* Š.
- bonfire *dūna* (v. *tod*) PŠ, *pumbaraš* Y.
- book *kitāb* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, W, Š, *ketiu* Y, *kitāv* S.
- boon *xubi* O.
- boot *bōṭ* O, *būt* P, *būto* Y, *okovd* S, *šišk* W, *pəx*, *paizār* Š. Cf. shoe.
- border of a field *vāzak* Š.
- born *paidá* P, Y, S.
- born, to be *zowul* PŠ, *zay-* O, *zá-* P, *ažistai* Y.
- born in the preceding spring *sāmuṛi* P.
- both *dwārō* Wn 162, *dwārə/a* (v. *wāra*) PŠ, *aḍḍugaḍ*, *ardū* O, *huddi(nān)* P, *aveli* Y, *kifč* W.
- bottom *vən* Y.
- bottom of a bed (plaited) *γisē* Y.
- boulder *xīžai* PŠ.
- bound *basta* O<sup>1</sup>.



- bow *linda* Pš, *kamân* O, P, *drūng* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*drūn* Y, *kamōn* W, *can* Š.
- bow (pellet-) *γūlak* P, Y, *γō* S, *x<sup>o</sup>s-*  
*mānek* Y, *səmbōnak* W.
- bow (for carding cotton) *kamanek* Y.
- bow, the point of a *suvdiko* Y.
- bowstring *ziā* Wn 169, *žai* Pš, *zāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*žir* P, *zē* P, S, *žio* Y, *dərnāk*(?) S,  
*žoi* W, *zil* Š.
- bowl, wooden *kunđūk*, *padreško* Y,  
*kōlavā* S, *kəbūn* W.
- box *sandux* O, *səndūk* O<sup>1</sup>, *sandūq* P,  
*sandūq* Y, W, *uk* S, *toṽunγo* Y.
- box (for cheese) *vərkyakyē* Y.
- box (on the ear) *čapilāk* P.
- boy *weykai* (v. *wur*), *zaṇai* Pš, *bača*,  
*klanāk* O, *kulāk* O<sup>1</sup>, *bačī*, *bālđ*, *leṛē* P,  
*mardumpūr*, *žunayē* Y, *zəmanōk* S, W,  
*kaš* W, *γəđā* Š.
- bracelet *bāhū*, *wašai* (v. *wandanai*) Pš,  
*čurī* P, *pālāstiko* Y, *prešt* S, *bōin* W.
- braid *γafōyi* P.
- braid, to, v. *plait*.
- brain *māyzə* Pš, *mastəry* O<sup>1</sup>, *mayz-e*  
*sōrika* P, *māyz* Y, Š, *kala-mayzigo* Y,  
*moγz-i sor*, *s<sup>a</sup>txān-mayzi* S.
- bramble *γana* Pš, *kurγudə* Y, *čərīr* W.
- branch [*cāngə* Pš], *šāx* O, P, W, *cāngə* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*ši* P, *šāxo* Y, *vəzōk* S, *šolx*, *šam-*  
*nak* W, *šəxčak*, *xēš* Š.
- brass *ziyaγ* Pš, *mes* P, *mis* Y, S, W, Š,  
*birinj* S.
- brass-pot *məs-dīg* W.
- bravo *šābāš* P, *šabaš* Y, *šfarīn* S.
- bray *aγ* O.
- bray, to *rayəl* Pš.
- bread *wēl*, [*nəyan*] Wn 169, *nayan* Pš,  
*ōn* P, *en* Y, *txan* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kōk* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*naharī* Y, *gōla*, *xēšte* S, *přok*, *žeč* W,  
*šepik* Š.
- bread (thin) *pāstēi*, *wišilyē* [1.
- bread (piece of) *xšan* Pš, *nōγt* O, O<sup>1</sup>.  
(Cf. *morsel*).
- bread (barley) *kōškən* (*nayan*), *aršəmin* Y.
- bread (millet) *aršəmin* Y, *kileščak* Š.
- bread (wheat) *γadmin nayan* Y, *gidim-*  
*žeč* W, *garđa* Š.
- bread (made with curds) *kutaxin* Y.
- bread (made of *muγo*) *maymun* Y.
- breadth *psor* Pš, *bar* P.
- break, to v.i. *šledəl* Pš, *mēz*-, *s-γōk* O,  
*maz*- O<sup>1</sup>, *pətišč(ē)* Y.
- break, to v.tr. *mizaw*- O, *vri*- Y, *vrēl*- S,  
*vəstəv*-, *škəndiv*- W, *šičənd*-, *v<sup>o</sup>raž*- Š.
- breakfast *nārai* Pš, *naharī* Y, *xar-*  
*dōpγ* W.
- breast *bar* P, S, W, *šinā* P, S, W, Š,  
*fiz* Y, *přš-i-bar*, *puz* S, *pěšbar*,  
*p'üz* W.
- breast (female) *γwalūn* Wn 159, *tai* Pš,  
*cik* O, *siz* P, *iščin* Y, *čiči* S, *bap*,  
*daī* W, *biš* Š.
- breastwork *murčal* P.
- breath *ūda*, *sāh* Pš, *phī* P, *dom* Y,  
*tom* Š.
- breeze *niwəq* W.
- briar *axriə* Y, *gulxār* S.
- bribe *māaselī* P.
- brick *xəšta* Pš, *xəšt* O, *uštu* Y, *dešk*,  
*šōlg*, *xəšt* W.
- brick, burnt *silə* O<sup>1</sup>.
- brick, dried *xist* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, Š.
- bride *nāwē* Pš, *ārūs* O, P, S, *so* Y,  
*kenγāla* P, *šābuk* Y, *ōris* W.
- bridegroom *palasta* Wn 168, *šā* P, *sābuka*,  
*šāi*, *šābuk* Y.
- bridge [*pəl* Wn], *pul* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, *hī* P,  
*yeya* Y, *yotuk* S, *škōrd* W, *yēid* Š.
- bridge, rope- *dut* W.
- bridle *awlūn* Wn 159, *mlūna* Pš, *kaiza* O,  
*jelau* P, *awlān*, *qizagi*, *γuwitγ* Y,  
*γiχūn* W. Cf. *bit*.

- bright *rūṅ* Pš, *rūšana* O, *rušan* P, *roušan*, *siṅni* S, *nīr* W.
- brightness *brēšnā* Pš, *ira* P. Cf. light.
- bring, to *rā-w-* Wn 160/1, *prēw-* Wn 167; (inanim. obj.) *rā-wrəl* (v. *wrəl*) Pš, *war-* O, *ār-* P, *āvər-* Y, *ižim-* S, *wuzem-* W, *vār-* Š; (anim. obj.) *°wastəl* Pš, *ēn-*, *zahēw-* P, *avāz-* Y, *niv-* S, *kutāl-* Š.
- bring in, to *həl kan-* P.
- bring up, to *deg-* W.
- broad v. wide.
- broken *māt* Pš, *rházdi*, *xār* P, *fʾrēd* S.
- brooch *čamō* Y.
- brook, v. stream.
- broom *jārup* O, *parawak* O<sup>1</sup>, *jārū* P, Y, *parwaxšē*, *rufo* Y, *rēf* S, *dʾrepč* W, *vədirəm* (corr. form) Š.
- brother *wror* Pš, *marzá* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *b(ə)gā* P, *vrai* Y, *vʾrūd* S, *vʾrit* W, *vərad* Š.
- brother, elder *lāla* P.
- brother-in-law *bōja* W, *xezirj* Š; (husband's brother) *lewar* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *hīwar* P, *xʾsur*, *yūi* Y, *tēu* S, *bakš*, *īwar* W; (sister's husband) *dāmād* O, *zamai* Y; (wife's sister's husband) *bāja* Y; (wife's brother) *āxšai* Pš, *xusurbērā* O, *āxšai* O<sup>1</sup>, *xasurbīra* P, *xʾsərbʾrō*, *rouson* Y, *xusərbērē* S.
- brown *xər* Pš, *xir* O<sup>1</sup>, *žigarən* Y, *šurang-zārd* S, *žigarī*, *rakš* W.
- bruise, to *jabəl* Pš.
- bruised *augār* O.
- bucket *kuzəlī* O, *bōko* O<sup>1</sup>, *aftāwa* P, *°ovo* Y, *°āve* S, *laṅgau*, *mašerba* Y, *judāra* S, *kūza* W, Š, *kuščak* Š. Cf. water-vessel.
- buckle of a belt *pišawiz* Y.
- bud *γandal* Pš, *γūtō* O<sup>1</sup>, *γunca* P, *bučayi*, *tūga* Y, *γərrā* W.
- buffalo *meš* Pš, *miš(a)* O<sup>1</sup>.
- bug *xowiza* Y, *šavzād* S, *xəuzit* W.
- bulbul *bulbul* P, W.
- bulgar leather *buryāl* P.
- bull *lēzda* Wn 161, *γuckai*, *γwai*, (v. *γwā*) Pš, *nargōi* O, (*nar-*)*gyōi* O<sup>1</sup>, *qīay* Y, *axta*, (*γr-*)*kužuk* S, *buqā*, *dʾrukš* W, *sitōr*, *šij* Š.
- bull, young *tuṅda* O.
- bullock *saxandar* (v. *saxi*) Pš, O<sup>1</sup>.
- bullock, plough- *gažōi* O, *kāšagū* P.
- bullet *pəčūn* S. Cf. arrow.
- burden *bār* O, P, *bhār* P, *vīra* Y, *vūr* S, *vīr* W, *viz* (w-) Š.
- burial-feast *čāzdāni* P.
- buried *šax* Pš.
- burn, to v.i. *swəl* Pš, *bras-* O, *thi-* P, *təv-* S, *θāw-* W, : *θod* Š.
- burn, to v.tr. *sejəl* (v. *swəl*) Pš, *braz-* O, *thēw-* P, *guv-* Y.
- burnt *thōi* P.
- burrow *rus* W.
- burrow, hare's *sō-γālai* (v. *γālai*) Pš.
- burst, to *čāwd(əl)* Pš, *tār-* P, *zubiūt-* W.
- bury, to *diz-* Y.
- bush *tarāni* P.
- but *balkim* O, *xu*, *walē*, *walēkin* P, *allo nō* S, *°nəi* W, *ammō* S, *ammā* W.
- butter *čuk* Wn 162, [*kuč* Pš], *maskā* O, W, Š, *°o* Y, *pisk* O<sup>1</sup>, *pənū* W.
- butter, clarified, v. clarified b.
- butterfly *šāparak* O, Š, *°ik* P, *piṅṅrak* O<sup>1</sup>, *kautia*, *rawa* Y, *parwīnek* S, *mīndelič*, *pīlek-mīlek* W.
- butter-milk *šomle*, *tarwa* (v. *trīw*) Pš, *pikāk*, *tōpi* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *dōγ*, *waspē* P, *niya* Y, *nīduk* S, *diγ* W, *dūγ* Š. Cf. curds, milk, whey.
- button *tūga* Y, *tukmo/a* Y, S, *tāk* W.
- build, to *rēz-* P.
- built *al* P.
- bustard [*čārai* Pš], *caroyo* Y.

buy, to *pīrawdāl* [*\*parya-*] Pš, *šen-* O, *šrin-* O<sup>1</sup>, *guri-* P, *xō<sup>an</sup>-* Y, *xərn-* S.  
 buyer *guriagar*, *xarīdār* P.  
 buying *xarīd* W, Š.

## C

cairn *calai* Pš. Cf. beacon.  
 cake *kulcā* S.  
 cage *kafastūr* Y, *kafas* S.  
 calamity *balā* P.  
 calculation *šumār* P, *isāb* O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, W.  
 calf [*sxa* Wn], *sxai* Pš, *γuskak*, *xusi* O, *γwəs* O<sup>1</sup>, *gūsāla*, *γasō*, *tōrpī* P, *bakəl*, *š<sup>u</sup>tur*, *wosōk* S, *štūr*, *wəšk*, *doṭkī* w<sup>o</sup>, *wacī*(?) W, *šig* Š; (he-) *bārāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *bakrīdā*, *muškoya* Y, *juāna* Y, W, *bakrīdī* S, *nōband* W; (she-) *bārīē* O<sup>1</sup>, *fəryōmčək*, *mišōyo*, *patežo* Y, *juwāē*, *wāntc* S, *fəryəmč*, *rəgūm* W.  
 calf of the leg *γarai* (v. *γarəl*), *puṇḍai* (v. *pūnda*) Pš, *oḍiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *iškambek-i pāi*, *baftak* P, *ilira*, *liṅga*, *nāliko* Y, *kāxliṅk*, *šōṭ-i pəḍf*, *wont*, *zūṅviš* S, *iškamba-i-pā* W, *liṅg* W, Š, *pura-i-gošt* Š.  
 call, to *ušā-* Y, *qīv ken-* S, *qēw-* W, *kīv-* Š.  
 calling *kīci* O.  
 call together, to *dhēw-* P.  
 camel [*wuš* Wn], *uš* Pš, *šutur* O, P, *wuš* O<sup>1</sup>, *iškxrō* Y, *əštər* S, *əštīr* W, *šetur* Š.  
 camel-driver *sārwan* P.  
 can, v. able.  
 candle *šam*, *čiray*, *siyā-čirāy* S. Cf. lamp, light.  
 canter, to *halka kan-* P.  
 cap *kolai* (v. *xol*) Pš, *xōlī* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kulā*, *kuṛ* P, *xūlo* Y, *kulē*, *talpak* S, *pak<sup>h</sup>ul*, *skīd*, *tāqe*, *tilpak* W. *tākē* Š.  
 cap, woolen *pakoṛo* Y.

cap, woman's *pakviku* Y.  
 captain *kēftan* P.  
 captured *destgīr* P.  
 caravan *kāfila* Y.  
 caravanserai *srāi* O.  
 card, to (wool) *ṭak-* O<sup>1</sup>, *lib-* Y, *dəmb-* S.  
 care *eteāt*, *parwā* P.  
 carpenter *nažār* S, *ustāt* Y.  
 carpet *dāryē*, *γalicō* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 carpet (cotton) *stranj* W. Cf. coat, rug.  
 carrot *gažar* O, *gāzerak* P, *zardak* P, Š, *o<sup>o</sup>ak* S.  
 carry, to *wṛəl* Pš, *g-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *bar-* P, *is-*, *vən-* Y, *wus-* S.  
 carry to (off) *yūnd-* W.  
 cartilage *tandwai* Pš.  
 cartridge *kortus* Y.  
 cartridges, having *jāγurī* P.  
 carve wood, to *šerd car-* W.  
 cascade, v. waterfall.  
 cash *nāxt* P.  
 cast off, to *ražedəl* Pš.  
 castle *srāi* O, *arg*, *kāsr* P. V. fort.  
 castrated *škop* W.  
 cat [*pšī* Wn], *pišo* Pš, *pišt* O, *bulli*, *pus* O<sup>1</sup>, *pišak* P, *prško* Y, *pūš* S, *pīš* W, *pūšak* Š.  
 catch, to v. seize.  
 catch a cold, to *škōv-* S, *škāv-* W.  
 cattle *māl* P, Š, *čōrpā* P, *čšīr-pāla-f* (v.s.v. *čšīr*), *s<sup>o</sup>tūr* Y, *čārvā* S, *čaṭ* W; (small) *psə* Pš, *carwōk* O, *čārwoyi*, *rīzayak* Y.  
 cattle-shed *γūjəl* (v. *kalai*) Pš, *bāṇḍo*, *škāu* O<sup>1</sup>, *γiγio*, *p<sup>o</sup>rīvur* Y, *əškōd* S, *aγel*, *puxt* W, *γejūd* Š. Cf. goats' pen.  
 cavalry *resāla* P.  
 cause *jinīb*, *sabab* W.  
 cause, to (to be made) *kənī-* Y.  
 cave *cəvda* Pš, *čiw* O, *γār* O, S, *khur* P, *kēn* Y, *bāi* W.

- cavity *garang* Pš.  
 ceiling *čō* O<sup>1</sup>, *kō*, *talāf* P, *čof* Y, *wiḍūn* Š.  
 Cf. roof.  
 cellar *wačhanē-yus* P.  
 centfoil *sādbārg* Y, W, Š, *kabūt s°* Š.  
 centipede *šobla*, *zanza* Pš, *mūr* O, S,  
*girgišo* O<sup>1</sup>, *čilpāi* P, Š, *saibal* P,  
*hazorčangōlo* Y.  
 certain *yakīn* P.  
 certainly *walē* P.  
 chaff *kūtk* W.  
 chain *zanjīr* P, *žažiro* Y.  
 chair *sandalī* O, *kursī* O<sup>1</sup>, Y, *kə°* S,  
*čaukī* P, *°kyē* Š, *mindal(?)* S,  
*čovki* W.  
 chamber, upper *bālawāna* O.  
 channel, v. irrigation channel.  
 charcoal, v. coal.  
 Charles' Wain *hib-v<sup>2</sup>rit* W.  
 charm *marai* Pš, *elm*, *tawīz* P.  
 chatter, to *paredəl* Pš.  
 cheap *arzān* O, P, *°ōn* W.  
 cheating, v. deceit.  
 cheek *γuc/ča* Wn 168, *anangai* Pš [*č*  
*ānana-*], *mux* O, P, *bəγur* O<sup>1</sup>, *ruxsāla*  
 P, *nišok*, *rōx<sup>2</sup>* Y, *rūi* Y, W, *lūnjek*,  
*pšūr* S, *lunj* W. Cf. face.  
 cheese *tarwa* (v. *trīw*) Pš, *panīr* O, P,  
 Y, W, *pə°* S, *kirār*, *plāc*, *tarān* Y,  
*ijgai(?)* S, *lændək* W, *alyāk* Š. Cf.  
 curds, dried.  
 cheese-box *vərkyakyē*  
 chenar *činār* O, Y, S, W, Š, *čē°* P,  
*rīm* Š.  
 cherry *gīlās* Y, S, *°os* W.  
 chest v. box.  
 chew, to *zowul* Pš, *gran-*, *zay-* O, *jāw-* P,  
*axšōw-*, *mā-*, *žaf-* Y, *šāw-* S, *γemeš-* S.  
 Cf. bite, gnaw.  
 chewing the cud *xšān* [*šxwand*] Pš,  
*ramet* W.  
 chicken *čirgōtai* O<sup>1</sup>, *čūziya* Y, *čūčik*,  
*(kurčūn) zēmāni* S, *čiča* W.  
 chief *rahīs* P.  
 child *wōrkai* O, *γurōk*, *jura* P, *zemon(ak)*  
 Y, *telf* S, *zā*, *zēmān* W. Cf. boy.  
 children *aulād* O, *°t* P, *baškač* S.  
 child-bearing *zāčko* Y.  
 childless *būr* Pš.  
 chin *kaž* (v. *kše*), *zana* Pš, *zināk* O,  
*zaniē* O<sup>1</sup>, *zanuk* P, *zanax* Y, W,  
*alāša* W, *zingūn* Š, (no separate  
 word) S.  
 chip of wood *totanai* (v. *taršaj*) Pš,  
*frōi* Y.  
 chisel *čourlai* Pš.  
 choice *extiyār* P.  
 choose, to *bōž-* O, *γawer-* W.  
 chosen *γwara* Pš.  
 chop, to *waržəl*, *°žəl* Pš, *tukun-* Y.  
 chuck into the mouth, to *pīnəl* Pš.  
 churn *pərnəc* W.  
 churn, to *ušān-* Y.  
 churning *hīmzō* P.  
 circle *daur* P.  
 circuit *dūbara*, *gerde* P.  
 circumcise, to *nailō-* Y.  
 circumcision *γēik-skədəm* Y.  
 clan *xel* Pš, *ulus* P.  
 clarified butter *ruṇa* Wn 161, *γwəri* Pš,  
*rūn* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *liwōn* P, *rūγ<sup>(2)</sup>n* Y, W,  
*rēγ<sup>on</sup>* S, *zīrd* Š.  
 clasp, to *daf-* Y, *nədavn-* W.  
 claw *mangul* (v. *grut*) Pš, *mangulāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*čang* P, W, *panjāl* P, *čigāli* Y,  
*čingāl* S, *čangin* Š.  
 clay *gel* O, P, Š, *jer* O, *šū* P, *gil* Y, S, W,  
*x<sup>2</sup>lāryo*, *šifōn*; *milyuz* (red); *milyo*  
 (white) Y, *loī* S, *šartk*, *šaθk* Š.  
 clay-pot *gucuk* O, *pižin* S.  
 clean *pākizā* O, *kāri*, *sāf* P, *pāgzo* Y,  
*pāyzē* S, *pāzja* Š.

- cleanse, to *spejəl*, *winjəl* Pš, *pök ken*- S,  
*pök car*- W, *pák ken*- Š. Cf. wash.  
 clear *barcer* (v. *cer*) Pš, *sáf* P; (sky)  
*lroyo* Y, *wirdina* W.  
 clearly *cūrť*, *náteq* P.  
 cleave, to *cir*- O<sup>1</sup>, *pəcəg*- Y. Cf. cut.  
 clever *kāy* Pš.  
 client *a(s)sāmī* P.  
 cliff, (high) *vənaɣaro* Y.  
 cloak *kač-žōɣ*, *pilamru*, *royz*, *šičoyun*,  
*žōɣ* Y, *wanjī*, *čapān*, *čayman* S,  
*čpān* W. Cf. coat.  
 clod of earth *ɣuroi-pīř*, *ɣarbasə* Y.  
 close v. near.  
 close, to, v. shut.  
 closed *dōk* O, *bot*, *kəre* Y. Cf. locked.  
 clothes *lōša* Wn 168 [Pš *loxa* = *lōša*  
 bedding], *kālī* O, °a P, *zopə* Y, *mus* S,  
*būt* W. Cf. dress.  
 cloud *ɣarə* Wn 168, *ōrə*, *wryaj* Pš,  
*yēwər* O, *abar*, *wričj* O<sup>1</sup>, *aīr*, *tam* P,  
*mīy* Y, *ab(ə)r* S, W, Š, *mōi* S, *mēy*,  
*mūr* W.  
 cloudy *ozgū* P.  
 clover *sabargo* Y, *šaftal* S, *šaptal* W,  
*səbarga* Š.  
 club *gurz* P.  
 cluster of grapes *žangūrūi* O<sup>1</sup>, *ɣōro* Y.  
 coal *skor* Pš, O, *aŋgešt* O, °ušt S, *skārō*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *ɣār* P, *skāvrio* Y, *zuyōl* W.  
 coal, live *skarwaṭa* (v. *skor*) Pš, *zuyāl* O,  
*spōx* O<sup>1</sup>, *ázurɣo* Y, *žič* S, *aŋgišt*,  
*škōrč* W, *nižār* Š.  
 coal, pit- *kemur* S.  
 coal pieces of, charcoal *pēmāna* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 coat *kōť* O<sup>1</sup>, *kūť* Y, *wanjī* S. Cf. rug.  
 coat, sheepskin, v. posteen.  
 cobbler *kovzdūz* Y.  
 cock *čirag* Wn 159, *čirg* Pš, *pīng* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*bāšana*, *xurōs* P, °ūs S, *narkirč* Y,  
*xəris* W, *čuš* Š.  
 cock-crow *bāng* P.  
 cognizance *darak* Y.  
 coin *pāisā* Y.  
 coin, gold- *ašerafi* Y.  
 cold (adj.) *soɣ* Pš, *cāk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *eštāwō* P, *axlen*,  
*yox* Y, *sard*, *xənək* S, *sīr*, *xunuk* W,  
*šetā*, cf. *šečājum* Š; (n.) *sālā* O,  
*šūrīš* P, (*h*)*ayās* S, *sūrī*, *sarmō* W;  
 cold, a *zūkām* S.  
 cold, to be *škōv*- S.  
 colic *šwala* (v. *šomle*) Pš.  
 collar *gəriwī* Wn 163, *gīribān* P, *hasaine*  
 Y, *ɣarāy* W; dog's *ɣar-wandai* (v.  
*wandanai*) Pš.  
 collar-bone *hekī* Wn 161 [*\*huška-ka*  
 'the dry bone'?), *grewa* Pš, *gruwīč*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *fīz-yasti*, *parāyasti*, *šūīko* Y,  
*brūtiyarč*, *čigas*, *tārak* W.  
 collect, to *ɣēn*- P, *blacā*- Y, *ɣürt*- W,  
*višt da*- Š.  
 collected *īōl* O, *žām* O, P, *goł* S.  
 collyrium *wazan* O, *surma* P.  
 colonel *kārnaīl* P.  
 colour *raŋg* O, S, W, *rōng* P, *rok* Y;  
 (of skin) *ɣūna* Pš.  
 colt *biyān d* O, *biyaŋ* O<sup>1</sup>, *kur(r)a* P, Š,  
*taya* Y, *tayāk* S, *tōi* W.  
 comb *wəzənj* Wn 162, *žmanj* Pš, *šakk* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*šānā* P, *šfīn* Y, *āfšūn* S, *nəbəs*,  
*zəlfak* W, *vešūj* Š; (curry-) *ɣašō* Pš.  
 comb, to *lmežəl* Pš, *nuwāš*- Y.  
 come, to *rās*-: *rāɣya* Wn 160/7, *-ɣalai*,  
*rā-jəm* (v. *šwəl*) Pš, *žč*- P, *as*, *šam*(?)  
 Y, *is*- S, *wəzi*- W, *yad*- Š. Cf. arrive.  
 come out, to *ni*- Y, *nēz*- S.  
 command *ukəm* O, *farmān*, *gap* P,  
*hukm* P, Y.  
 command. to : *farmāsi*, *wesej*- P, *band*-  
*awā*- Y, *fərmē*- S, *rami*- W, : *rəmād* Š.  
 commandant *kūmaidān* P.  
 commission *barāt* P.

- compassion *rahm, rhammī* P.  
 complaint *zārī* P.  
 completely *bībāktī, hanwâr, puṣta, saī* P.  
 comrade *mal* Pš, *rafuq, aṇḍiwâl, hamrâ* P, *rafīq* Š.  
 conceal, to *ūtaf*-P, *pāš va ken*-(?) S, *müš*-W.  
 concealed *puṭ* O, *buḍ* O<sup>1</sup>, *juṭ, peṭ* P.  
 conceited *sefla* P.  
 conclusion *ijrâ* P.  
 condition *auhâl, hâl, hawâl, tab* P.  
 conscious (of a crime) *ūbâlī* P.  
 consciousness *huš* P.  
 conscription, military *hažnafarī* P.  
 consent *rezâ* P.  
 consideration *γaur, parwâ* P.  
 constantly *hanwâr* P.  
 contract, to *kaš kan*-P.  
 conversation *guftigū, guftâr, xitâb* P, *gap* S.  
 convert, to *pherêw*-P.  
 converted into, to be *pher*-P.  
 cook, to [*paxawul* Pš], *bīž*-O, *biz*-O<sup>1</sup>, *peč*-P, *kākv*-Y, *pac*-S, W, *pij*-Š.  
 cooked *pox* Pš, *kıkyü* Y, *pxök* S, *pəçetk* W.  
 cooking-pot *dēgli* O, *dēg* O<sup>1</sup>, *âtešī, dastē* P, *tâl* Y, S, *zāxcidîn* Y, *čüdan* S, *dīg* W, *dēk, dik, misbâr* Š.  
 cool, to *wasēr*-W.  
 coquettish *mastâna, nâzuk* P.  
 coquetry *nâz* P.  
 copper *loh, trla* Y.  
 copulate, to *γowul* (v. *γo*) Pš, *kīn*-O, *gēh*-P, *kun*-Y, *bugāy*-, *koc*-S, *γiy*-W.  
 copulation *γo* Pš.  
 cord *rištan* P, *rismōn* S.  
 corn v. grain, ear of corn.  
 corner *γežai* (v. *γicaž*) Pš, *gūša* P, W, *kunj* P, Y, Š, *burž, šungā* Y, *xān-bərs* S.  
 corpse *murdâ* O, P.  
 correctly *rastē* Y.  
 cotton *karvasi, pur<sup>um</sup>* Y, *paxtâ* S, W, *kənâi* W, *ševinj* Š.  
 cotton cloth *šoe* Pš.  
 cotton thread *ḍiḍanwo, paxtaī, kižoyun, wuštiles, wizinga* Y, *wōsi* S, *wōsâi* W.  
 cough *zukâm* O, *ṭuxiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *khūfō, surfa* P, *xāpui* Y, *xōfuk* S, *qōx, toxtox* W, *k'exak* Š.  
 cough, to *ṭux*-O<sup>1</sup>, *khūf*-P, *xof*-Y, *xof*-S, *k'ex*-Š.  
 count, to *šmerəl* Pš, *imar*-Y.  
 country *mulk* O, P, *watan* P, S.  
 countryman *watandâr* P.  
 courage *marḍī* P, *juwānmarḍī* S.  
 courageous *dilēr, dilōvâr* W.  
 court *darbâr, dargâ*; (of justice) *katâri* P.  
 courteous *bāadab* S, *bah<sup>o</sup>* W.  
 courtesy *adap* P, (*h*)*adab* S, W.  
 court-yard *γolai* (v. *γālai*) Pš, *°ai* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 cousin, male *tərbūr* (v. *trə*) Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *trēptir* O<sup>1</sup>, *vrai(min)*, *baipur* Y, *bōγē* Y, S, *rucəpc* W, *petiš* Š; female *tərle* (v. *trə*) Pš, *°le* O<sup>1</sup>, *bailəγdo* Y, *mumbucināi wdūγ* S, *bəðəγd* W.  
 cover, to *ūtaf*-P, *gaw*-W. Cf. conceal.  
 covered *xašpūs* P.  
 covering *γəlāft* O, *pūs* P.  
 coverlet v. bedding.  
 cow *γwâ* Pš, *gōi* O, *gyōi, šizA-gyōi* O<sup>1</sup>, *gū, mādagū* P, *γavō* Y, *uγūi* S, *γiu* W, *žâw* Š; young *saxwandir* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. heifer.  
 cowherd [*γabōn* Wn], *γōbə* (v. *-bə*) Pš, *γēibōn* O<sup>1</sup>, *galawân* Y.  
 cowpen, v. cattleshed.  
 co-wife *bən* Pš, *wan* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ambōγ* Y, W, *°āγ* S, *souno* Y.  
 crack *čāwd* Pš.  
 cradle *γâz* O, *šīnâ* P, *šurwīn* S.  
 cramp *brēš* Pš.

crane *zāna* Pš, *kulaŋ* O, P, *zāniē* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 cream [*perawai* Pš], *ras* O<sup>1</sup>, *silyo* Y,  
*sārek* S, *mərīk* W, *marōb* Š; (sour)  
*kaimāx* O, °*āk* P, °*ok* S, °*oq* W,  
 °*oxč* Š.

creator *parvardigār*

creep, to *cxedəl*, *xwajedəl* Pš, *rukuš-* Y.  
 creeper *zela* Pš.

crest of a cock *tāj* P.

crime *jurm*, *ūbāl* P.

crippled *zmol* Pš.

crocodile *nahāŋg* S.

crooked *coŋ* Pš, *kōž* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *kāj* O, *kužo*,  
*pāt* Y, *kard* W. Cf. curbed.

crop of a bird *žəyūrg* Y, *pēyār* W.

crops *hāsel* P; (reaped) *yīdesen* W.

cross, to *gudar-* P, *šəxs-* S, *šΔxs-* W.

crossing *guzar*, *guzerān* P.

crow *kāryə* Pš, *kpāy* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zāyo* Y,  
*sīāsar* S, *čāyeli*, *karyā* W, *akāb*(?),  
*xūrn* Š. Cf. raven.

crowd *dal* P.

crowling *bāŋg* O<sup>1</sup>, *boŋ(g)* S.

crumble, to *frīl-* W.

crush, to *nəš'ra-* O<sup>1</sup>, *kuŋ-* P, *šak-* S, *dič-* W.

crushed *maida* P.

cry *nāra*, *šūr* P.

cry, to *žarəl* Pš.

cry out, to *narəl* Pš.

cry, of camel *baŋbaŋ* O.

cuckoo *kakūk*, *šayuk* Y, *bībuk*, *kipok* W.

cucumber *kadūi* Y.

cultivated field, v. field.

cup *jām* O, *piyāla* O, P, °*lo* O<sup>1</sup>, *čīnē* Y,  
*pīālē* S, °*a* Š; wooden *lōšāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*piloŋo* Y, *pīl* W; wooden milk- *xšīr-*  
*kvesa* Y.

curbed *čəŋg* P. Cf. crooked.

curdle, to *mōδ-* W.

curds *māstə*, *matar* Pš, *jurjāt* P, W,  
*poya* Y, *māst* Y, S, *pōi* S, *pāš* W, Š.

curds dried *kurūt* P, Y, S, *katez* P, *kutox*  
 Y, S, *qərīt* W. Cf. buttermilk, cheese.  
 curl *wurbal* Pš, *kapčī* O, *zulf*, *kākul* P,  
*soyond* S, *pēča* S, W, *parčdn* Š.

curls, having *kākuli* P.

curse *šarā* Pš, *šāp* P.

curtain *paŋda* P, *taxt* P, S, *pardā* Š.

cushion, v. pillow.

custom *doe* Pš.

custom-house *bandar* S; -official *xarž-*  
*gār* S.

cut n. *cīra* Pš, *havāla* P.

cut, to *parčar-* O, *kap-* O<sup>1</sup>, *kaŋ-*, *mač-*,  
*thā-* P, *pəcəg-*, *skəd-*, *tīž-* Y, *birīš cār-*,  
*rəstəv-* W. Cf. chop, cleave.

cut down, to *krī-* Y.

cut grain, to *dir-* O<sup>1</sup>, *durr-* P.

cut into pieces *qurt* P.

cut off, to *pre-kawul* (v. *prā-*) Pš, *čuyt*  
*kan-* P.

cut out, to *skaštəl* Pš.

cut up, to *kūtəl* Pš.

cutting grain, v. reaping.

cypress *sārv* Š.

## D

dagger *kəkvəro*, *maxmudiyo* Y, *xanjar* S,  
*kuŋtəl* W. Cf. sword.

daily bread *rūzi* P.

dam \**hel* Pš, *band* P.

damage *yīrāni* P.

damp *xušt* Pš, *šəlök* S. Cf. wet.

dampness *zyam* (v. *zimai*) Pš.

dance *bāzi* O, *wāyār* P, *raxs*, *yōba* Y,  
*raqōsi* W.

dance, to *wāyar-* P, *drūv-* Y, *raqōsi/ē*  
*ken-* S, *nemenj-* W.

dandelion *talx-kardacī* Y.

danger *xatar* P.

dark *tūrik* O, P, *tirič*, *tōrik* W; (-com-  
 plexioned) *skāŋ* Pš.

- darkness *tārə* Wn 159, (*tam*), *tyārə* (v. *tor*<sup>1</sup>) Pš, *tōrəšyū* O<sup>1</sup>, *tārik* P, *tīro* Y, *tōrik*, *turkī* S.
- darn, to *pezəl* Pš.
- date (fruit) *xajuro* O<sup>1</sup>.
- daughter *lūr* Pš, *dūa*, *dukā* O, *dūo* O<sup>1</sup>, *dut* P, *luydo*, °*diko* Y, *wuḏəyḏ* S, *ḏəyḏ* W, *ḡac*, *rezin* Š.
- daughter-in-law *nžōr* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *nigōr* O, *su*, *sunū* P, *zrno* Y, *wuznel* S, *səndr*, *sItəx* W, *zenaž* Š.
- dawn *sār* O, *subdamī* P, *jausarən* Y, *rašt* S, *naḡdīn*, *rux*, *sub* W. Cf. morning.
- day [*wrēz* Wn], *ruwaj* Pš, *rōž* O, *ryōz* O<sup>1</sup>, *dewās*, *ruč* P, *mič* Y, *dīn*(?) , *mēi* S, *rōz* S, Š, *rəwār*, *rūz* W, *mēḏ* Š.
- day after to-morrow *bēsār* O, *byē-ryūz* O<sup>1</sup>, *passabā*, *šīruč* P, *məzdīra*, *yāmo* Y, *pərəžtem* S, *tōrt* W, *afaž* Š.
- days, three—hence *sūyyāmo*, *yūyyāmo* Y, *veder* Š; four—hence *pasāveder* Š.
- day, before yesterday *warḡ* (v. *wrumbaī*) Pš, *inžān* O, *inzān* O<sup>1</sup>, *ašōruč* P, *šīrizen* Y, *aluzd*, *vōkošīn* S, *tōrt* W.
- days, three—ago *muš-inžān* O, *čašōruč*, *pēšparīruč* P, *čīrəvīzen*, *čurmō* Y, *aluzdēv* S, *peršīb* Š; four—ago *afa bī-nzān* O<sup>1</sup>, *pčūrma*, *pānjəmo* Y.
- daylight *ručān*, *rhīnē*, *rušanī* P, *rux* W.
- dead *mər* Pš, *muḡḏ* P, *muḡo* Y.
- deaf *koḡ* Pš, *kar(r)* O, P, S, W, *kōn* O<sup>1</sup>, *bīgū*, *būru* P, *kuḡḡastē* Y, *čūn* Š.
- dear *frī* S; (costly) *kimatī* P.
- death *merḏ* P, *faut* W.
- debt *por* Pš.
- deceit *ḡulat* Pš, *fərēb* O, *bāzī* P.
- deceived, to be *ḡuledəl* Pš.
- deceiving *mazək* P.
- deep *žawar* Pš, *ḡauč* O, *čaḡwḡ* S.
- deer *ḏsai* Pš, *lakašawai* O, *lakašuwīe* O<sup>1</sup>, *āhū* P, *ramūz* Y, *āhūi* S.
- defeat *šikast* P.
- deficient *zwam* Pš.
- defile *taḡḡi* P, *kūgs* Š. Cf. hole.
- delay *lārḡa* Pš, *yārḡa* O, *mūlat*, *mhōlat* P.
- delicate *nāzanīn* P.
- demon *perai*, *rawai* Pš, *but* P, *barzəḡḡē* Y, *almaati* S, °*e*, *lēw* W.
- dense *tat* [corr. *tit*] Pš.
- deodar *rōḡo* Y.
- departing *rāhī* P. Cf. starting.
- dependent, a *a(s)šāmt* P.
- derision *tāna* P.
- descend, to *tōs*- Wn 167, *nim*- O, *šrim*- O<sup>1</sup>, *uzḡ*- P, *xafs*- Y, *xav*- S, *šām*- W, [*xafc*- Š].
- desert *maira* Pš, *bšābān* O, Y, *sāharo*, *sahro* Y.
- deserving *lāyaḡ* P.
- design *ḡaraz* P. Cf. aim.
- desire *hawā*, *mudā* P.
- desolate *ḡīrān* P, *barbād* Y.
- despatch, to *wesəj*- P. Cf. send.
- destroyed *barbāt* O, *ḡuḡt*, *xarāb* P.
- destroyed, to be *naḡedəl* Pš.
- destruction *halāk* P, *zoiya* W.
- devil *šaitān* O, S.
- dew *parra* Pš, *ḡurəw* O<sup>1</sup>, *zamarit* P, *nəb*, *pražḡār*, *šaklām* Y, *šagnam*, *šak*(?) S, *mōrž*, *naḡd-yupk*, *šak* W.
- dewlap *ḡulek* Y, *ḡuk* W.
- diaphragm *šuc* Š.
- die, to *mḡəl* Pš, *mḡ*- O, *mer*- P, *mər*- Y, *mur*- S, *məri*- W, *mar*- Š.
- different *byal* Pš.
- difficult *rəč*, *zūl* Y, *mōškrl* S, *xəš* Š; —crossing *kapra* Pš.
- difficulty *taḡḡi* P.
- dig, to *kandəl* Pš, *kap*- O, *waxa(y)*- O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kinda*- O<sup>1</sup>, *kusēw*- P, *ken*-, *nikanā*-



- paš-* Y, *kan-*, *kāw-* S, *parköl-* W, *čān-* Š.  
 dig out, to *hupēγ-* P.  
 dig up, to *peten-* Š.  
 dinner *mulūk* S.  
 direction *palau* O, *taraf* P.  
 direction, in some or other *kāwun* P.  
 dirt *raš* PŠ, *čirk*, *makân*(?), *maṭṭa* P.  
 dirty *čirk* O, Y, *γark*, *kačal* P, *kržγo*, *γuzγap*, *xatralōγ* Y, *k'āz*, *nāštē* S, *kark*, *xēden* Š.  
 disaster *balā* P.  
 disclosing *xwālō* PŠ.  
 discorteous *bēhadab* W.  
 discourse *skālwa* PŠ.  
 discussion *radd o badd* P.  
 disgrace *ruswâ*(?) P.  
 dish, v. plate.  
 dishevelled (hair) *γūza* P.  
 dishonoured *dašwâr* P.  
 dislike, to *γandəl*, *kažəl* PŠ.  
 disobedience *bisarī* P.  
 disputing *ariya* (*āra*) PŠ.  
 dissolute *elāhī* P.  
 distant, v. far.  
 distress *xârī* P.  
 distressed *γussamand*, *pēričân*, *ranjō*, *sargardân*, *xafa*, *xâr* P, *dunayay* Y.  
 Cf. troubled.  
 distribute, food at a feast, to *baxš-* Y.  
 distributing *tīt* P.  
 distribution *weš* (\**baxšya-*) PŠ.  
 distributor of food *xādem* Y.  
 ditch *xandak* P.  
 divide, to *baxš car-*, *taxšim car-* W.  
 dividing *taxšim* O, P, S, *boxš* Y, *badak*, *baxš* S.  
 diving *nimekyika* Y.  
 division *weš* PŠ; of a field *zgān* O.  
 do, to *k-* Wn 165, *krəl* PŠ, *k-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *kan-* P, *ken-* Y, S, Š, *car-*, *goš-* W. Cf. make.  
 doctor *tabīb* O, °*ip* P, *hakīm* P.  
 dog [*spā* Wn], *spai* PŠ, (°)*spuk* O, *spak* O<sup>1</sup>, *kučuk*, *espō*, *espaγ* P, *γalv* Y, *kuš* S, *šač* W, *kut/d* Š; (wild) *xurūso* Y, *xrēseg* S, *kik* W. Cf. bitch.  
 dog-rose *tarānī* P.  
 doing what? *čekāra* P.  
 donkey, v. ass.  
 don't na P, S, *mak* O, *či* Y, *mə* W, *ma* PŠ, Š. Cf. not.  
 donkey's foal *tiya-xarak* S.  
 door *war* PŠ, O, *bār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, W, *bör* P, *darwāza* P, S, *l'vor* Y, *vör* S, *devē* Š.  
 door-frame *daršal* PŠ, *čaukūt* O<sup>1</sup>, *čapē* Y; (upper part of) *γūwersən* Y.  
 door-hinge *γūiniko* Y, *görj* W.  
 doorkeeper *qâpčī* P.  
 double *byārg* (v. *bray*) PŠ, *lohγinj* Y.  
 dough *patīra* O<sup>1</sup>, *dguṅṅv* Y, *dis* W; leavened *xambīra* O<sup>1</sup>, *xamīr* W; baked *ləvaza* Y; unbaked *xisto* Y.  
 dove, v. ring-dove, pigeon.  
 dove-coloured *kabūt* Y.  
 down *spāh<sup>2</sup>ta* Wn 168, *kūz* PŠ, *jēm* O, *wāchanē*, *pastō* P, *sāro*, *pursōro*, *kalāpo* Y, -ā S, -āi Š.  
 down of birds *patt* P, *mur-γulum*, *tubut* Y, *təbət* S.  
 drag away, to *hupēγ-* P.  
 dragon *ažder* Y.  
 draught, a *nōš* P.  
 draw, to *kšəl* PŠ, *xoš-* Y, *xoš-* S, *čaž-* Š.  
 Cf. pull.  
 draw out, to *nawar-* O.  
 draw a sword, to *kīn-* W.  
 draw water, to *nawar-* S.  
 drawing *γay tanxāxūr* P.  
 dream *xūb* (*xōb*) PŠ, *xau* O, *xwāb* O<sup>1</sup>, *xōm* P, *xūbun* Y, *misūk*, *xōdm* S, *γīnōt* W. Cf. sleep.

- dress *nwarai* Pš, *drēši* P, *anjām*, *pūšāk* Y; female *tawār* P, *žōγ* Y. Cf. clothes.
- dress oneself, to *āγustəl* Pš, *paryan-ōk* O, *āyun-* P, *ayd-* Y, *pānec-* S, *pūmec-* W, *peniz-*, *wēd-* Š.
- dress somebody else, to *āyunēw-* P, *aydā-* Y, *pūmecev-* W.
- dribble, to *tūr-* P.
- dried up *hušk* P.
- driftwood *pəwaz* W.
- drink, to *γōz-* Wn 166, *cašəl* [šūməl] Pš, *xr-* O, *tr-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ter-*, *šup kan-* P, *šam-* Y, *pöv-* S, *pöv-* W, *berēz-* Š. Cf. sip.
- drip, to *cačēdəl* Pš, *pīc-* O, *čak-*, *tūr-* P, *naxčē* Y.
- dripping *čakkak* P, *čakak* Š; (inside a house) *uštuyñūl* Y; (with blood) *hīn-čakōi* P. Cf. drop.
- drive away, to *šarəl* Pš.
- drivel *šāf* Š.
- drop, a *čak* P; (of drinkable liquids) *čakka* P.
- drought, year of- *uškšāl* Y.
- drum *nayāra* P, *dāmāmo*, *toplāya* Y, *tambūr* Š; of a spinning wheel *lira* Y.
- dry *spor*, *wuč* Pš, *tosand* Pš<sup>1</sup>, *wōkš* O, *wyōk* O<sup>1</sup>, *hušku*, *ōškār* P, *ušk*, *gard* Y, *xuš* S, W, *kāk* S, Š, *wəsk* W.
- duck *helaī* Pš, *murγāwī* O, Š, m<sup>o</sup> S, *ēliē* O<sup>1</sup>, *kury-e āwī*, *murγāwī* P, *axšen-sirē*, *kožvīoko*, *wūro*, *yežko* Y, *yōč* W.
- dumb *gunḡai* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *bībān*, *dīwāna*, *gunḡ* P, *gūl* Y, W, *gunḡəstə*, *kūr* Y, *go!* S, *gōl* Š.
- dung *sarā* Pš, *sōro* Y, *yarx*, *wudr!* S, *đərt* W, *đīd* Š; (cow-) *γwasγā* Wn 159, *drabla* (v. *dre*), *γōšāk* Pš, *rəx* W, *ʔskan* O, *skan* O<sup>1</sup>, *saγōn* P, *γuskən* Y, *šīr* W, *žā-γəθ* Š; (goat-) *wudr!* S, *pašc* Š; (horse-) *xaršīn* Pš, *lid* O<sup>1</sup>, *pāru*, *xəškən* Y, *šurm*, *pōru* S, *sargen* Š; (horse- or cattle-) *səgin* W; (sheep-) *pukē* Wn 161, *pača* Pš, *piškāl* O, *pučukāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *pōrk* P, *pʔškedrī* Y, *pəšk* S, *pəšk* W.
- durbar *darbār* O.
- dust *xāwra* Pš, *gard* O, P, *čār* P, *kōrgar*, *šət* S, *šət* W, *sīt* Š.
- dust-storm *γubār* P, Y, S, Š, *xákbát*, *aīr* P, *kundūt* Y, *γəbār* W.
- dwarf-palm *mazirāi* O<sup>1</sup>.
- dwell, to *osedəl*, *pre-mišəl* (v. *mešta*) Pš.
- dye, a kind of- *čukār* S.
- dyke *wand* (v. *wandanai*) Pš, *bānd* S, *boda* Y.

## E

- eager *zurthō* P.
- eagle *hukáb* P, *ukáb*, *kvälγereno*, *karγəz* Y, *aqđb*, *šūz* S, *bispūr*, *uqōb*, *yiryōt* W, *tazarf* (?), cf. *akáb* Š.
- ear *γwaž* Pš, *gōl* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *gū*, *gōš* P, *γū* Y, *γōl* S, *γīš* W, *γūž* Š.
- ear of corn *wažai* Pš, *xūša* O, P, Š, °o Y, *wēžai* O<sup>1</sup>, *sor*, *yūya* Y, *sōrow* S; of maize *sōtai* O<sup>1</sup>; of wheat *rāužc* Š.
- ear-ring *barywažai* (v. *γwaž*) Pš, *alka* O, *jumkī* P, *kadrəno*, *γūārikē* Y, *gušwōr* Y, W.
- earth *xāwra* Pš, *xák* O, *bháy* P, *γuroi* Y, *šət* S, *šət* W, *sīt* Š; the *zmaka* Pš, *bummä* O, *bummə* O<sup>1</sup>, *dharam* P, *zəmin* Y, *za*° S, W, *wəxs* S, *zemād* [not *á*] Š. Cf. ground, soil, dust.
- earthcoloured *xakī* Y.
- earthquake *zilzilə* O<sup>1</sup>, °a P, *hanu* P, *šišo*, *zibijim* Y, *ziležem* S, *zaminžəm* S, W, *zulzulā* W, *zaminjumb* Š.
- ear-wax *γōi-kižγō* Y.
- earwig *guygutāi* O<sup>1</sup>.

- east *đftāb barāmadam* S, *mašriq* S, W.  
 easy *āsān* P, Y, S, *subuk* O, P, *askān* Y.  
 eat, to *xwajəl* Pš, *xr-* O, *wanġēw-* P,  
*xār-* P, Š, *xoar-*, *pər.xāw-* Y, *xwār-* S,  
*yāw-* W, *fur-*, *xā-* Š.  
 eatable *xaranē* P.  
 eating *xurdan* O, *xūrō* P.  
 eaves, skirting boards of *prəšū* Y.  
 eclipse *graḥ* Y.  
 edge *mux*, *brūž* O, *kenāra* P, *šam* W.  
 effect *ijrā* P.  
 egg *hōya* Wn 168, *hā* Pš, *supāl*, *wulk* O,  
*ōlk* O<sup>1</sup>, *ēx* P, *dyury* Y, *ākik*, *təx-*  
*mərg* S, *°ury*, *falenz* W, *tarmurx* Š.  
 egg-shell *pučala-i ēxika* P.  
 eight *otā* Wn 158, *at(ə)* Pš, *āšt* O, *hāšt*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *đšt* P, *aščo* Y, *(h)ot* S, *hat* W,  
*wašt* Š.  
 eighteen *aštēs* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *aštōs*, *hažda* P,  
*hōtədos* S, *ažda* W.  
 eighty *atā* Wn 159, *atiā* Pš, *cār-jīstu* O,  
*aštāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *čōr yuštak* P, *aštād* S.  
 either—or *yā* S, *xō—xō*, *yō—yō* W.  
 elbow *cangal* Pš, *ārunj* O, P, *°inj* S,  
<sup>°</sup>*enj* Š, *cangal* O<sup>1</sup>, *razın* Y, *bāndık*,  
*wusuk* S, *burıt*, *kirkon*, *ōrīnj* W,  
*wištjērn* Š.  
 elder *mašar* Pš; (greater) *xušči* Y.  
 elegant *nāzanīn*, *xērīmān* P.  
 eleven *yaulas* (v. *yau*) Pš, *šandas* O,  
*sandas* O<sup>1</sup>, *ž(u)wōs* P, *losyū*, *yōzda* Y,  
*kədos* S, *das-īu* W, *đis-at-yūw* Š.  
 ell *gaz* O, P, Y, S, Š.  
 embankment, field- *šr-mōl* O. Cf. dyke.  
 embers, v. coal, live.  
 embrace [*γ(w)už* Wn], *yež* Pš, *yāny* O,  
*baḡalkašī*, *čanġāu* P, *avyuš* Y,  
*kačāk* S.  
 embrace, to *nədavn-* W.  
 emerge, to, v. come out.  
 imprisoned : *ptrəmd-o* Y.
- empty *taš* Pš, *xālī* O, P, S, W, Š, *°ē* Y,  
*tusk* O, *təš* W, *təš* Š.  
 empty, to *na-* Y, *təš kən-* S, *tes-* Š.  
 encouragement *dilāsā(i)* P.  
 end *ōxer* S, W.  
 endurance *takat* S.  
 enemy *dušman* O, P, S, *°on* Y, *mudaī* P,  
*dāšman* W.  
 enemies, possessing *dušmandār* P.  
 enmity *dušmanī* P.  
 engaged *māmūr*, *maḡgīr* P.  
 engagement *wāda* P.  
 enough *bas* P, S.  
 entangled, to be *parġōš-* W.  
 enter, to *wis-* O, *dar žē-* P, *tī-* Y, *dēd-*,  
*:axtəδ* S, *čerm-* W.  
 entertainment *mazāk* P.  
 entire (ox) *wušenġ* W.  
 entrails *lərai*, *larīmūn* Pš, *rōda* O, *yīšri*,  
*larīmīn* O<sup>1</sup>, *rūdā* P, *dıl-x-žigar* Y,  
*žānžək* S. Cf. guts.  
 entreating *arz*, *mīnnat* P.  
 entrust, to *pāslawul* Pš, *supār-* P, *pižam-*  
 Y, *spār-* S.  
 entrusting *supāriš* P.  
 envy *wiyār* Pš.  
 epilobium, willow-herb *suruxsāč* Y.  
 equal *sīāl* Pš, *barābar* P, Y; (in weight)  
*twal* Pš.  
 eructate, to *kai ken-* S.  
 eructation *aržai* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *ararōy* Y, *arək* S.  
 essence *ain* P.  
 even *ga* O.  
 evening *nmāšām* (v. *nmūnj*) Pš, *māšām* O,  
*šām* P, Y, S, W, *xuftan* Y, *v(u)žēr* S,  
*pīrz* W, *šūm* Š.  
 eveningstar *ustur-žojo* Y.  
 every *ar* O, Š, *har* P, Y, S, *hōr* S.  
 every day *rūzī* P.  
 everyone *harkī* P.  
 everywhere *harkū* P.

evil *bad* O.  
 ewe, v. sheep.  
 exactly *fakat*, *saī* P.  
 excellence *fazl* P.  
 except *ɣaira* P, *baɣair* O, P, *bēɣāri* S.  
 exchange *badal*, *sarbadal* P.  
 excited, to be *šūr-* P.  
 excrements, human *ɣul* Pš, *gūš* O, P,  
*gūt* O<sup>1</sup>, *ɣoh* Y, *guh* S, *gī* W, *ɣaθ*,  
*šāfc* Š. Cf. dung.  
 exempted *pāl* Pš.  
 exertion *stam* Pš.  
 excursion *sail* P.  
 excuse *uzər* P, *nuwāre* Y.  
 exhausted *hājes* P.  
 exiled *farār* P.  
 existence *hast* P.  
 expanded *wir* Pš.  
 expel, to *nišind-* W.  
 expense *talaf* O, *xarč* P, S.  
 expensive *kīmatī* P.  
 explanation *bayān* P, *tagbīr* Y.  
 explode, to *špaxuv-* W.  
 explore, to *šanəl* Pš.  
 extend, to *rūr-* W.  
 extended *pan* O.  
 extinguish, to *gul-* O<sup>1</sup>, *wuziā-* Y, *niv-* W,  
*wizud* Š.  
 extinguished *aɣvān* Y, *gul* O, P.  
 eye *stərg(a)* Wn 159, *starga* Pš, *cimī* O,  
*cōm* O<sup>1</sup>, *dīda*, *tečh* P, *čam* Y, *cām* S,  
*čāžm* W, *cīm* Š; (of a needle) *swamb*  
 Wn 161, *swam* Pš, *stm* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 eyeball *lēma/ə* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *tēiko* Y.  
 eyebrows *wrūje/a* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>. *abrū* O, S,  
<sup>o</sup>š P, *kāš* P, *vriyo* Y, *vrič* S, *cemīs* (?),  
*vərau* W, *vərūž* Š.  
 eyelashes *bāno* (v. *pāna*) Pš, *mujǎ* P, S, *pələk*,  
*penāxko* Y, *mijāš*, *pəlū*, *pātk* W, *pūfč* Š.  
 eyelid *zezma* Pš, *palkāk* O, *pātik* S,  
*kək* W. Cf. eyelashes.

## F

face *max* Pš, *mux* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, *rū* P, *rūi* Y,  
*rō* S, *pec* W, *pic*, *pēšānē* Š. Cf.  
 cheek.  
 facing *rux ba* P.  
 fade, to *permər-* W.  
 faded *mɣām* (v. *mɣəl*), *spor*, Pš, *māk* O,  
*jingar* O<sup>1</sup>, *hušk* P.  
 fair (market) *maila* P.  
 fairy *parī* O, P, *parizāt* Y.  
 faithless *bīwesā* P.  
 faithlessness *bīwafāi* P.  
 falcon *bāša* Pš, *ɣurzaŋd* O<sup>1</sup>, *bāz* P, S,  
*puzē* Y, *bāša* Y, W, Š, *čaulī*, *bowurž*  
 W, *šāin* Š, <sup>o</sup>nī P.  
 fall, to *lwedəl*, *pre-watəl* (v. *prā-*) Pš,  
*ɣūz-* O, *ɣwaz-* O<sup>1</sup>, *čar-* P, *čad-*, *tiš-* Y,  
*at-* S, *wāz-* S, W, *palan-* W, *wāš-* Š;  
 (as leaves) *ražedəl* Pš, *spūcaw-vək*,  
*xūl-vək* O.  
 fall in, to *drabəl* Pš.  
 fallen *prot* Pš.  
 falling *ɣalt* S.  
 falsehood *palma* Pš.  
 family *kor*, *koɣma* Pš, *ulus*, *aulāt*, *ayāl*,  
*xiš* P, *ažɣāl*, *nəfs* Y.  
 famine *qātī* P, *žondokī* S.  
 famous *manšahūr* P.  
 fancy *xiyāl* P.  
 far *lire*, *wrāya* Pš, *pēc* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *durīn* P,  
*dīr* S, *đīr* W, *dar* Š; distant *prat* Pš,  
*lūro* Y.  
 fart *ɣər* (v. *ɣara*), *pəs* Pš, *puska*, *tiz* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*pilɣo* Y, *čos* S.  
 fart, to *pil-* Y, *tor-* S.  
 fast a. *rānjk* W.  
 fast n. *roža* Pš, *rūzo* Y, *rečey* W.  
 fat (adj.) *corb* Pš, *čixač*, *ɣuč* O, *čxač* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*čārbī* P, *farba*, *ɣafs*, *laŋdik* Y, *māst* S,  
*ɣāfc* Š. Cf. stout, thick.

- fat n. *wāzda*, *γwəγ* PŠ, *γwēzd* O<sup>1</sup>, *čārbū*, *γāzd* P, *hoç*, *səbrīm*, *wāzd* Y, *čabrū*, *farbe*, *wōst* S, *čarvī*, *yīp* W, *čārve*, *raγ* Š. Cf. greasy.
- fat (of the kidneys) *γoz* PŠ.
- fat-tailed *dumbī* P.
- father *piyār* Wn 160, *plār* PŠ, *pē* O, *piē* O<sup>1</sup>, *bāw*, *dāda* P, *tāt* Y, S, W, *pedār* S, *dād*, *ped* Š.
- father and son *bāwehā* P.
- father-in-law *sxar* PŠ, *xusur* O, Y, Š, *xa*<sup>o</sup> P, *xsir*, *xōšāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *xusər* S, *xə*<sup>o</sup>, *šurs* W.
- fatherless *bībāw* P.
- fathom *kulač* Y, *kālāč* S.
- fault *aib*, *γalat* P, *āib*, *xatāi* Y.
- favour *marasta* PŠ.
- fawn *kablai* PŠ.
- fear *wēra* PŠ, *bīm*, *berkhō*, *tars*, *xaif* P, *trōs* S, *šāj* Š.
- fear, to *tarhedəl* PŠ, *γuš-* O, *đār-*, *γušr-* O<sup>1</sup>, *berkh-* P, *dəro-* Y, *t(ə)rās-* S, *wəšiy-* W.
- feast *mēmānī* P, *šūr* P, Š, *wōtuk* S.
- feather *baṇa*, etc. (v. *pāṇa*), *paxa* PŠ, *parr* O, P, S, W, *puxai*(?) O<sup>1</sup>, *pōn* P, *pūṇū* Y, *pār* Š.
- feel pain, to *rīž-* W.
- fell, to *kəγ-*, *xap-* Y.
- felt *lamcai* PŠ, *lamsāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *namō*, *namat* P, *livzīn*, *nāmyo*, *yiston* Y, *numōd* S, *yijīn* W, *namad* Š.
- felt-pad (under the saddle) *dākuša* S, *iryālī*, *jaojī* W.
- female *māda* P, W, *šičak* P, *šīyo* Y, *šac* S, *s'trei* W.
- fester, to *xūyedəl* PŠ.
- festered v. inflamed.
- festival *maila* P, *mailis* Y, *īd* S. Cf. feast.
- fetch, to *war-* O.
- fever *taba* PŠ, *tebba* O, *tau* P, *idou* Y, *tav* S, *tablarzā* S, W, *andav* W, *tābak* Š.
- fever, to have *leš-* P.
- fidelity *wafā* P.
- field *γanīr*, *kešta* P, *zaxmo* Y, *zamīn* S, *wūndr* W, *zeme* Š; cultivated *ābātī* O, *xāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *ābādī* Y, *dēkānī* S, *kštgā* W, *kišt*, *kašta*, *sēbc* Š; (open) *pungīe* O<sup>1</sup>.
- field, section or division of a- *zgān* O.
- fiery *dam* P.
- fifteen *pinzəlas* PŠ, *panjēs* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *paes* P, *pōnzda* Y, *pōnzədos* S.
- fifth *pōnč/jumī* P.
- fifty *panjos[t]* Wn, PŠ, *panjāstu* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pinjā* P, *pa*<sup>o</sup> S, *lūwistolos* Y, *p'insədis* Š.
- fig *injar* PŠ, *injīr* O<sup>1</sup>, *kowito* Y.
- fight *jaγra* O, *šaxa* O<sup>1</sup>, *žang* Y, *dēd* S, Cf. battle, war.
- fighting *gēnd* O<sup>1</sup>, *baləwā(n)* S.
- file *šār* Y, *suhān* P.
- fill into, to *šenj-* W.
- fill up, to (of river) *span-* W.
- film over the eye *pūl* PŠ.
- filter, to *šačūv-* W.
- filth *raš* PŠ.
- find, to *mōm-* Wn 158, *mündəl* PŠ, *waw-* O, *wōw-* O<sup>1</sup>, *γun-* P, *āwīr-* S, *gōt-*, *parvė(y)-* W, : *vūd*, *deriyam* (for \**veriyam*) Š.
- find place, to *wuj-* Y, *wuc-* S.
- fine (adj.) *mahīn* P, *māida* S, *nāzuk* Š.
- fine n. *žurm* P.
- finger *nəgut* Wn 161, *gūta* PŠ, *angūšt* O, P, *nəngūšt* O<sup>1</sup>, *γušt* P, *panjā* P, Š, *oguščo* Y, *ingit* S, *yāngəl* W, *āngišt* Š; (index) *čoromī oguščikō*, *čarangūšč* Y; little *kilkγušt* P, *rīza oguščiko* Y, *zelikīk* Š; middle- *mənzangūšt* O, *malanū oguščigo* Y; the five *mangul* (v. *grut*) PŠ; space between *grut* PŠ.

- finger-nail v. nail.  
 finger-ring, v. ring,  
 finally *âxir* O, *âxer* (*ul-amr*) P.  
 finished *adât*, *lhâš*, *tamâm* P, *tayâr* Y,  
*xalâs* Y, S.  
 fire *auər* Wn 160, (< \**ātr*-) or Pš, *rūn* O,  
*rōwən* O<sup>1</sup>, *âr*, *rhînē* P, *yūr* Y, *š<sup>2</sup>nāl* S,  
*ræxnīg* W, *yâc* Š.  
 fire, to set—to *braz*- O, *dar dah*- P,  
 : *guvəvd*- Y. Cf. kindle.  
 fireplace *urjulā* Wn 160, *or-γālai* (v. *γālai*),  
*borjal*, *nyarai*, *dərbalai* (v. *dre*) Pš,  
*dəgdân* O, *dī*<sup>o</sup> S, *γrāi*, *nyarāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*gapār* P, *livden* Y, *digdân* S, *dildung*,  
*γžerf* W, *kəcārak* Š; board enclosing  
 the- *taxtabandē* Y.  
 firewood *largai*, *daṛa* Pš, *dyūr<sup>a</sup>* O, *dyūr<sup>o</sup>* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*kōr*, *žōx* P, *izma* Y, *čūb*, *yōz* S,  
*žūz* W, *žiz* Š; pile of *lažino* Y.  
 first *urumbaī* Pš, *aw(w)al* P, Š, *awwalin*  
 P; (adv.) *wulāki* S.  
 first watering *xākāv* Š.  
 fish *kəžə* Wn 168, *kab* Pš, *māi* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*māhi*, *masō* P, *kap* Y, *mōš* S, W,  
*māye* Š; uneatable *kōrmahi* P, *kar-*  
*yasp* Y.  
 fist *mīt* Wn 168, *muṭṭa(i)* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *mušt*  
 P, W, *mīšc* Y, *mət* S, *gawust*, *məst* W,  
*mut* Š.  
 fit *munāsib* P.  
 five *pinja* Pš, *pēnc* O, *pēnj* O<sup>1</sup>, *pōnc* P,  
*pānš* Y, *pōnž* S, *pānz* W, *p'ins* Š.  
 five braids, with *pōnžbāf* P.  
 flag-stone *pistdū-γar* Y.  
 flame *lambə*, *šuylo* O<sup>1</sup>, *awarxo* Y, *rauļ* W.  
 flame up, to *pidiņg*- W. Cf. kindle.  
 flank *pālū* S. Cf. side.  
 flat *čit*, *sat* Pš, *sam* O<sup>1</sup>, *pistdū* Y,  
*maidān* S, *amwār* Š. Cf. plain.  
 flattery *žāna* Pš.  
 flavour *maza* P. Cf. taste.
- flea *wrəža* Pš, *kaik* O, P, S, *ʔrak* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*ruč* P, *frīyo* Y, *kaig*, *s<sup>2</sup>pərdānj* W.  
 flee, to *paredəl*, *tšəl*, *tuštədəl*, *zγāstəl* Pš,  
*tiš*- O, *aūz*-, *lawak*-, *čaṭak*- P, *lūr*-,  
*z<sup>2</sup>yal*- Y, *jih*- S, *rəd*- W, *recid*- Š;  
 to make s.o. *tišaw-ōk* O, *mahmizā*-,  
*lurō*- Y.  
 flesh, v. meat.  
 flight *kāl* P.  
 flint *čumax* Y, *čaxmax* S.  
 flock *yele* Pš; (of lambs) *olo* Pš. Cf. herd.  
 flood *nīgūz* Pš, *səl* P, S, *səlāw* P, *sil*,  
*tulismād*, *yogo* Y, *lāyāv* Š.  
 flood, to *werxar*- W.  
 floor *nax*, *ārdi* Y; part of *yōrc* W.  
 flour *orə* Pš, *mār* O, *wārun* P, *yārē* Y,  
*wuļok* S, *yūmj* W, *ydužj* Š; dried  
*bōrnə* Pš; mulberry *pišt* P, *talkān*,  
*tūi-puškv* Y, *tūt-pət* S, *pišt* Š; wheat  
*dāṇa* O<sup>1</sup>; made fr. dried apples *pušč* Y.  
 flow, to *wēh*- P, *zid*- S, (*naštij*-) Š.  
 flower *gul* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, Š, *gel* S, *gal*,  
*sprəγ* W; full blown *braņg* O<sup>1</sup>; name  
 of a *lāltāq* P, *gulsambarē*, *milkoṇḍi*,  
*nəvyiko*, *xaxālic* Y, *čūj*, *šinšūš* Š.  
 flower-bed *xiāban* Y.  
 flute *špelaī* Pš.  
 fly *mēc* Wn 159, *mač* Pš, *mangas*, *maši*  
 O, *miši* O<sup>1</sup>, *maγas* P, *moγuso* Y,  
*pašē* S, *maks* W, *čangin* Š.  
 fly, to *wurzedəl*, *owatəl* Pš, *parr*- O,  
*rhāz*- P, *vrāf*-, *wurafs*-, *zəγi*- Y,  
*araz*- S, : *rewušt* Š; to make to *mah-*  
*mizā*- Y.  
 fly up, to : *wuškydi* Y.  
 foal, v. colt.  
 foal, donkey's *tiya-xarak* S.  
 foam *kaf* P, W, *xōf* Y, S, *xūf* W, *xif* Š.  
 fodder v. grass.  
 fog, v. mist.  
 fold *bray* Pš.

- fold, to *palašt* O.  
 fold (sheep), to *tanē* W.  
 foment, to *tabəl* (v. *taba*) Pš.  
 food *nwaṛaī* Pš, *xur(r)āk* P, Y, *tāam* Y, *xūruk* S, W, *tahām* S; distribution of—at a feast *xādem* Y.  
 foolish, v. stupid.  
 foot *špa* Wn 162, *pša* Pš, *pāi* O, *pāri* O<sup>1</sup>, *qadam* P, *pā* P, Š, *palo* Y, *pūδ* S, *pūid* W, *pād* Š; (of a hill) *dāmānē* Y; upper part of *pušt-i pā* S; sole of the *štānān polo* Y.  
 foot-chain *pičaurə* O<sup>1</sup>, *zāwlāna* P.  
 footprint *pal*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *paijāl* P, *pol*, *wulid* (v. Zar.) Y, *layat* S, *pāδ* W.  
 for *kī* O, *kun* P, *nā*, *po* Y, *be* S, *ke* W.  
 for the sake of (*da*)*pāra* Pš, *pārak* O, *peš* P.  
 force *zūr(ī)* P.  
 forcibly *mhākam* P.  
 ford, a *guzar* P, Y, S, *ovd*, *pilf* Y, *turt* W, *pūd*, *trōke* Š.  
 fore-arm *cangal* Pš, *bazar* O, *dōst* S.  
 fore-hair *kajekī* O, *hulbar* P, *parčam* Y.  
 fore-head *wučwulai* Pš, *paṭ* O, *piṭ* O<sup>1</sup>, *pišār*, *pišāni* P, *pē*<sup>o</sup> S, *pišānē* Y, *pišōna*, *ruk*, *tāpik* W.  
 foreign *begāna* P, Y.  
 fore-leg *yārmē* Y.  
 foremost *tariwāl* P.  
 forenoon *čāst* P.  
 forest *jaṅgal* P, S, W, *ž*<sup>o</sup> Y, *kyesina* Y, *jiṅgāl* Š.  
 forget, to *fərmo*- Y, *fərnīs*- S, *ramuš*- W, *renēs*- Š.  
 forgetting *šramot* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *nhāmuṛ*, *farāmuš* P.  
 forget-me-not *šuvazī* Y.  
 forgive, to *baṅš*- P, *gvēr*- Y.  
 forgiven *pəl* Pš.  
 forgotten *her* Pš.
- fork, v. winnowing-fork.  
 form *sūrat* P.  
 former *gahīna* P.  
 formerly *wrāte* Wn 169, *awal*, *tərmis* W.  
 fort *kala* P, *lizo* Y, *qalā* Y, S. Cf. castle.  
 fortunate *mubāarak* P.  
 forty *calwešt* Pš, *cāštu* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čel* P, Y, S, *luwist* Y.  
 forward *apače* P, *prūt* W.  
 found *paidā* O.  
 fountain v. spring.  
 four *calor* Pš, *cār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čōr*, *čār* P, *čšir* Y, *cəfūr* S, *cəbūr* W, *cafor* Š.  
 four days ago, hence, v. day.  
 four-hundred *cūṅ-sō* Wn 161/3.  
 fourteen *cuwārlas* (v. *calor*) Pš, *carēs* O, *cəres* O<sup>1</sup>, *čōrda* Y, *čā*<sup>o</sup> S.  
 fourth *čōrum(g)ī* P.  
 fowl, v. hen.  
 fox *ləmbar* (v. *ləm*), *spalam* Pš, *rōbā* O, W, *rawas* O<sup>1</sup>, *rōbā*, *rūyasōk* P, *rūso* Y, *vərvēs* S, *naxčir* W, *rupsak* Š.  
 fraud *hīla*, *makr*, *rēw* P.  
 free *xalās* O, P, *yalā* P.  
 free, from sorrow *bīyam* P.  
 free will *extiyār* P.  
 freeze, to *čiy*- Y.  
 fresh *tānda* Pš, *šūr* O, *nō*, *nauča*, *tāza* P.  
 Friday *juba* P.  
 friend *mal* Pš, *imbāī*, *marzā* O, *dūst* P, Y, S, W, *handam* P, *yār* P, Y, *aziz*, *merabōn* W, *āšnā* Š.  
 friendship *selwa* Pš, *āšnāi*, *dōsti* P.  
 friendliness *mehrabāni*, *xūbi* P.  
 fright *lor*<sup>3</sup> Pš. Cf. fear.  
 frighten, to *γušaw*- O, *γušrē*- O<sup>1</sup>, *berkhēw*- P, *drawā*- Y.  
 frightened *halapata* P.  
 frog *šlānda* Pš, *γōk* O, S, *maṛyūy* O, <sup>o</sup>*ōy* O<sup>1</sup>, *bakā*, *γūk* P, *azuzγo* Y, *moγdōk* S, *mukuduk* W, *širbīj* Š.

from *la*<sup>2</sup>, *na*<sup>2</sup>, *tar* Pš, *az* P, W, Š, *tar*,  
*ze* P, *že*, *žo*, *žə* Y, *cə* S, W.  
 from the presence of *dālī* P.  
 from there *cān* W.  
 front-tooth *kalagi danān* P.  
 frost *yəx* S.  
 frostbitten *pčio* Y.  
 fruit *mēwa* P, S, W, *phōr* P, *mīwa*,  
*vory* Y; of briar *axri-gula* Y; (ripe,  
 soft) *fšū* Y.  
 fruits, dried *noql* P.  
 fruit-tree *mṛwayə* Y.  
 fry, to *writ-awul* Pš, *vareš* W.  
 frying-pan *čimdērio* Y.  
 full *dāk* O, *thaṛ* P, *pīr* Y, *pur*, *təkl* W,  
*lap* Š.  
 full-moon *čadōs* P.  
 funeral *jenāsa* P.  
 fur-cap *talpak* S.  
 fur-coat *yiška* Y, *rušt* S.  
 furze *kačō* P.  
 furze-gatherer *kačōarak* P.  
 future world, the *āxirat* O.

## G

gait *čimō* P.  
 gall *raswalai* Pš.  
 gallop *čārxaiz*, *duqōlāč* S.  
 gallop, to *bədəwōn* S.  
 game *said*, *šekār* P, *naṭ* S. Cf. hunting,  
 play.  
 gang of robbers *tār* Pš.  
 gap *wat* Pš; in a dam *dar-γol* (v. *γālai*)  
 Pš.  
 garden *bāy* O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š, *bāxča* P, *baya* Y,  
*bōγ* W; small *bayake* Y.  
 gardening *bāγwānī* P.  
 garlic ["moorzha" Wn], *ūža* Pš, *sēr* O,  
*sīr* P, S, *bīn* P, *wēžnu* Y; wild chive  
*latrak* Y.

garment *jāma* P.  
 gate *darwāza* S.  
 gathering *jalsa* S.  
 gazelle, v. deer.  
 gem *γamai* Pš.  
 general *jarnēl* P.  
 get, v. find.  
 ghee, v. clarified butter.  
 giddy *ženayeri* Y.  
 gift *baxšiš*, *plškaš*, *sauyāt*, *širinī*, *xīrai* P,  
*werga* Y, *pāitaxče* Š (wrong transl.  
 Notes Shgh., cf. Lentz, Pamir-Dial.  
 188).  
 ginger *šunḡ* Pš.  
 girdle, round iron- *pastē* Y. V. baxter.  
 girl *čuara* Wn 168, *jinaī*, *peyla*, *tūng* Pš,  
*dukā* O, *dūkə* O<sup>1</sup>, *kaniz*, *kašte* P,  
*šinamia* Y, (*h*)*šēcāk* S, *pərcōd* W;  
 (small) *kaštēdk* P, *kinčākā* Y.  
 girdle *taṅg* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 girth *taṅg*, *trok* Y, *trāng* W, *terang* Š.  
 give, to *l* Wn 167, *ləl*, [*war-kṛəl*], *šandəl*  
 Pš, *baš*-, *šīr*- O, (*rūk*) O<sup>1</sup>, *baxš kan*-,  
*dah*- P, *dāl*- Y, *dāy*- S, *rand*- W,  
*ḡā(ḡ)*- Š.  
 glacier *šayoz* Y, *yaz* W.  
 glance *nazar* P. Cf. look.  
 glass *šišo* Y, *istakān* S.  
 glans penis *čula* Y.  
 glide, to *šwahedəl* (v. *šwai*) Pš, *šmuš-vēk* O.  
 Cf. slide.  
 glitter, to *bruš-vēk* O.  
 glove *destkaš* P.  
 glue *šrišta* O, *s<sup>2</sup>trišəm* Y.  
 gnaw, to *žowul* Pš, *šuw*- W.  
 go, to *dym*- Wn 159, *wiyāṛ* Wn 160,  
*drūmēdəl*, (*lārəl*), *tləl* Pš, *caw*- O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*čh*-, (*h*)*m*-, *par*-, *wēh*- P, *oy*-, *šūi* Y,  
*š*-, *tōγd* S, *čāw*-, *rəč*-, *tuk*- W, *sāw*-,  
*tīz*- Š; (imper.) *muž* P.  
 go, to cause to *caw*- O.



go away, to *γarz-* Wn 167.

go in, to *dēδ-* S.

go out, to *watəl* Pš, *nis-* O, *nī-* P, *nēz-* S, *nīwiz-* W.

go round, to *ram-* P, *wənīž-* S.

goat *wuza* Pš, *bākri* O, *wzō* O<sup>1</sup>, *buļ*, *astūr* P, *vəzo* Y, *buz* S, W, *bčāk*, *vəz* S, *tūγ* W, *vaz* Š; he- *wuz* Pš, *buz* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *narbuļ* P, *ferγāmə*, *narbəz*, *vuza* Y, *čut*, *kata*, *narvəz* S, *buč(ak)*, *nar-tūγ* W, *bučak* Š; young *črpīš* W; young he- *češān* Pš; young she- *rəγət* W. Cf. kid.

goat (wild) *trowū* Y.

goats and sheep *rīzəγak* Y. Cf. cattle, small.

goat's down *marγilam* W.

goat's hair *ožγūne* (v. *wuz*) Pš, *dāš*, *wužyenō* O<sup>1</sup>, *lirs*, *vöz-γūnəγ* Y, *šōδx* S, *buzmūi*, *δirs* W, *došc* Š.

goat's pen *špəl* O<sup>1</sup>, *tarγo* Y, *šād* W.

goatskin *wžən* (v. *wuz*) Pš. Cf. skin.

goatskin bag *γūndai* (v. *γūnde*) Pš, *izē* Y.

Cf. skin, inflated.

goat-track *roy* Y.

go-between *rebār* Pš, *dallāl* P.

god *xudāi* Pš, O, P, Š, *Allā* P, *Xədā(i)* Y, *xədā* S, *xudōi* W.

going *čhō* P, *rawān* Š.

goiture *γur* Pš.

gold *sərazar* (v. *sūr*), *ziyaγ zar* (v. *ziyaγ*) Pš, *tola* O, *sūr-zār* O<sup>1</sup>, *zar* P, *suworum* Y, *tilā* Y, S, W, Š.

golden *təlāt* P.

gold coin *ašerafi* Y.

golden oriole *čkalpio* Y.

good *šə* Pš, *šir(r)* O, *sir* O<sup>1</sup>, *bakār*, *kārī* P, *nək* P, S, *xīb* P, S, W, *baf*, *γašē* Y, *frī* S, *bašant* Š.

goodness *kārigī*, *xūbi* P.

good, to appear *γwarš-vek* O.

goods *māl* O, Y, *asbāb*, *sāmān* P.

goose *zāγa* Pš, *mullākəriya* Y, *kāz* S, *qōz* W.  
gourd *kaδū* S.

governor *ākim* O, *hā°* P, *ākum* S.

government service *sarkārī* P.

graceful *xērlmān*, *xīrāmānī* P.

grain *γallā* O, S, W, *γalo* O<sup>1</sup>, *bīz* P, *xosto* Y, *γōu* Y, S, *dūnik* S, *žāu* W; (single) *dánā* O, *phōr* P, *nānoγč*, *tuγum* Y, *tīēγ(ə)m* S, *tuxm* W; ( parched) *nīne* Pš, *talxā* P, *put* S, *pišt* W; (remaining on threshing floor) *rištalai* Pš; (unthreshed) *paixō* Y. Cf. seed.

grain (of wheat) *sepyak* Š.

grain-bin *dubul* P, *čāro* Y, *ambār*, *γōv* S, *γūv* W.

grandchild *nwəsai* O<sup>1</sup>, *nawā* P, *nəvəs* S, *nəpūs* W.

granddaughter *nwasai* Pš, *nowoso* Y, *nebēs* Š.

grandfather *nīkə* Pš, *zalpyē* O, *°iē* O<sup>1</sup>, *bābā*, *ghanđ b°*, *kaṭṭabāw* P, *pap* Y, *pūp* W, *bāb* Š; (paternal-) *bōbō* S; (great-) *γarnīkə* Pš.

grandmother *anā* Pš, *zalmāwō* O<sup>1</sup>, *ghanj* *māčī* P, *māmo* Y, *bībī* S, *mūm* W, Š.

grandson *mlēsa* Wn 162, *nwasai* Pš, *°ai* O, *nowisa* Y, *nəvəs* W, *nebās* Š; (great-) *kaγwasai* Pš.

grant, to *baš-* O.

granting *čīn-č* Š.

grape *mēwā*, *syūγ* O, *syōγ* O<sup>1</sup>, *dərāk* P, *aṅgūr* P, Y, S, *aγidro* Y, *aṅgūr* W, *aṅgūrδ* Š; (wild) *kwar* Pš.

grape-juice *buymoz* Y.

grapes, cluster of- *γōro* Y.

grasp *gīr* P. Cf. seize.

grass *ušə* Wn 167, *marγa*, *wāšə* Pš, *γwāšī* O, *γwāsī* O<sup>1</sup>, *gihāi* P, *sauza* P, W, *wuš* Y, *giā*, *savza* S, *wiš* W, *wāš* Š; (a kind of) *sābah* Pš, *alafi* P, *sevur-zuk* Y, *alaf* Š.

grasshopper, v. locust.  
*gratis wīrlā* Pš.  
 gravel *žyal* Pš, *xiriz* W.  
 graveyard *qabristān* O, P.  
 graze, to *caredəl* (v. *car*), *powul* Pš, *ceraw-*, *pay-* O, *čarēw-* P, *bičirōn-*, *loū-* Y, *čarā ken-*, *čarān-* S; (abrade) *blošedəl* Pš.  
 grazing ground *tōbalā* W. Cf. pasture.  
 greasy *čarbī* P. Cf. fat.  
 great, v. big.  
 greater (elder) *xušči* Y.  
 green *šin* Pš, *šin* O, *sābz*, *sauz* P, *sāuzē* Y, *sāvz* S, W, *sauja*, *sāvj* Š. Cf. blue.  
 green plant growing in ponds *obrai* Pš. Cf. slime.  
 grey *sperā*, *xar* Pš, *γurūirang* Y, *bōr* S, *būr* W; (blueish) *xing* S; (greenish) *xaki* Y, *xōki* W.  
 griddle *tāvē* S.  
 grief *zawr* Pš, *armān* P.  
 grieve, to *pašsedəl* Pš.  
 grind, to *aṅəl* (*ōrə*) Pš, *maṛ-* O, *ēl-* O<sup>1</sup>, *yān-* Y, *yūn-* S, [*yān-* Š].  
 grindstone *andra* O<sup>1</sup>, *yurzuṅo* Y. Cf. millstone.  
 grip *gīr* P.  
 grizzled *yeḥ* W.  
 groan *əkək* Y.  
 groan, to *kyof-* Y.  
 groin *māna* Pš, *yoṅut* W.  
 groom *mhētar* P.  
 ground *bummā* O, *kheṅ*, *dharam* P. Cf. earth.  
 ground (hollow piece of-) *pūw<sup>a</sup>* O.  
 ground (open) *dašt* S. Cf. plain.  
 ground, ptc. *hinl-vēk* O.  
 ground, to be *sūledəl* Pš.  
 grow, to *waxš-* Y, (intr.) *gūkən-* S, *gē car-* W.

guard *paira* P.  
 guard, to *dharēw-* P, *pūy-* W. Cf. protect, watch.  
 guardian *pairadār* P.  
 guest *mēlmūn* Wn 162, *melmə* Pš, *mē-mān* O, Š, *mehmān* P, S, *mi<sup>o</sup>* Y.  
 guest-house *kōsxāna* P, *mīmānxāna* W.  
 guilty *nāya* P.  
 guitar *rubāb* P, *tubār* Y.  
 gum *šelmək* S.  
 gums *oraī* Pš, *wrīyē* O<sup>1</sup>, *γūš-e danānika*, *pindar*, *peṅdar*, *wirā* P, *°ē* S, *soškē*, *zōmbo* Y, *dān-pəḍf* S, *šendik*, *wēra* W, *kōm* Š.  
 gun *malteṅ* O, *miltēṅ* O<sup>1</sup>, *tofaṅg* P, *tfak* Y, *miltəq* S, *mə<sup>o</sup>* W, *can* Š; (European) *farang tfak* Y; (German) *jarmanī* P; (cannon) *tūp* P.  
 gun-powder *dārū* P, S, *dārui* Y, *dārē* W, Š.  
 guts *kulma* Pš, *lirā*, *yīšri*, *wōr* O<sup>1</sup>, *rūi* Y, *guhri*, *rūda*, *šəngər* W. Cf. entrails.  
 gutter *nāwa* Pš.

## H

hail *žalaī* Pš, *°iē* O<sup>1</sup>, *jālī* O, *°a* P, Š, *šengeri* P, *mōyiki*, *žilo*, *žalabārān* Y, *žāla* S, W, *mužek*, *šaxək* W, *mašak* Š.  
 hair *ūšt* Wn 159, *weštə* Pš, *drī* O, *d(ə)ro* O<sup>1</sup>, *dōš*, *gīnō*, *jāl*, *mūi* P, *γunia*, *kužke* Y, *γenōk* S, *γanī*, *šafš* W, *γūnj* Š; (single) *tār* P, *tāra* Y, *mūi* Š; (cut) *γōš* P; (long) *puṅo*, *°stūy* Y; (plaited) *ngašai* Pš; (fringe of) *pal<sup>4</sup>* Pš; (on the body) *γūna*, *zumba* Pš, *mūi*, *rip* W; (of the pubes) *dērf* W; (woman's) *čuniē* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. lock of hair.  
 hair (goat's), v. goat's hair.  
 half *nemai* Pš, *nīm* P, W, *nesp* P. *ant-maf*, *parkand* Y, *kānd* Š.

- half-full *lomalen*, *malen*, *nimkālo*, *nīmopir* Y, *nēmē* S.
- half rupee *kirān*, *rhuš* P.
- halter *kamand* P, *ingut* Y.
- halting-place *manzil* W.
- hammer *čukūš* O, *čakēk* O<sup>1</sup>, *bālukā* P, *balako*, *koṭīnē* Y, *balakē* S, *bōleqa*, *xeyaz* W, *pulk* Š. Cf. sledge-hammer.
- hamstring *š<sup>2</sup>ta-žezikan* Y, *čangiling* S.
- hand *lās*, pl. *lāstə* Wn 162, *lās* Pš, *dest* O, *dis* O<sup>1</sup>, *dōst* P, *last* Y, *dōst* S, *dast*, *lāst* W, *dust* Š; (back of) *čamba* Wn 167 (< Si.).
- handful *muṭṭai* O, *farxam*, *bamča* P; (double) *mič* W.
- handkerchief *rūimāl*, *dōsmāl* P.
- handle *lāstai* (v. *lās*) Pš, *destā* O, °*ai*, *kabzai* P, *dasto*, *lastē* Y, *wΔ* W, *dastā* Š; (of a spinning wheel) *čar-xānuk* Y.
- hand-mill *mečan* Pš<sup>1</sup>, °*in* O<sup>1</sup>, *mučīn* O, *garāt* P, *baṇḍux*, *liṅgōn*, *yurzuḡo* Y, *karksaṅg* S; (small, for salt) *yečio* Y; (wooden, for pounding gun-powder) *baṇḍuxčuxo* Y.
- hang, to *jaredəl*, *zangəl* Pš, *lala-* O<sup>1</sup>. *žiröv-* W.
- hang up, to *lamēw-* P.
- hanging *auzān(d)* O, *āwēžān* P, S, *lamč*, *tāla* P, *owezōn* Y, *awežān* Š.
- happiness *xušālī* O, *xušwaxti* O, P, *xušānē* Y.
- happy *xuš*, *xušāl* O, *xušhāl* P, *xušwaxt* P, W, *xušān* Y, *xoš* W.
- hard *ney*, *šax* Pš, *ṭiṅg* O<sup>1</sup>, *ḡāwerī* P, *saxt* P, Y, S, *šax* Y, *kullax*, *šōx* S, *šux*, *tuṅ* W, *xax* Š.
- hardness *saxti* P.
- hare *soe* Pš, *xargōš* O, °*oš* P, °*uš* Y, W, *sikak* O, *sA*° O<sup>1</sup>, *khōragū*, *sahōk* P, *sīy* Y, *sūi* S, *sūi* W, *šitum* [š°] Š.
- harlot *kandānī-* O, P, *ḡar* P, *kumā* Y.
- harsh *bōž* Pš.
- harvest *dəryōk* S, *cāw*, *kīšt* Š; (wheat) *ḡadəm-lərovo* Y.
- hash *kurma* P.
- hashish *čars* P.
- haste *bīwarī* P.
- hat *ṭopiē* O<sup>1</sup>.
- hate *kinū* S, °*a* W.
- hate, to *bəyz kən-* S, *bəyz cār-* W.
- have, to *larəl* Pš, *dar-* O, *dēr-* P, *lār-* Y, *dēr-* S, *wīdər-* W, *dēr-* Š.
- haversack *nāxta* Š.
- hawk *bāšā* O, P, °*e* S, *bašo*, *bāz*, *kirz-ḡal*, *lumciṭ* O<sup>1</sup>, *šāyīn*, *sayūrž* Y, *cā-cuī* S, *čup* W, *harčapai* Š.
- hay *wāšə* Pš, *xēr* P, *ḡorj*(?) Š.
- hay-stack *xērdān* P, *uščeno* Y, *uštin* S, *wušdōn* W.
- head *sar* Pš, O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, W, *kal*, *sör* P, *pusur* Y, *sör* S, *kāl* Š.
- head, top of v. top.
- headman *ausakāl*, *malek* P, *arbab*, *čār-wəl* Y.
- headstall *avzāl* S.
- healthy *roḡ* Pš, *bal* O, *jōr* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *salūmat* P, *tandrust*, *tāzo* Y, *bēfirišta*, *sihat* W, *jōr* Š.
- heap *kat* Pš, *rāš* Y; (of grain) *riyāša*, *wāṇa* Pš. Cf. stack.
- heap (of sheaves) *sosē* Y.
- heap up grain, to *sēr ken-* Š.
- hear, to *aur-* Wn 167, *ārwedəl* Pš, *amar-* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *harw-* P, *nəḡuy-* Y, *apaxš*, *šud* S, *kšüy-* W, *šen-* Š. Cf. listen.
- heart *zḡə* Pš, *zlī* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zur* P, *zrl* Y, *ōvzui* S, *dil*, *pəzöv* W, *zārδ* Š.
- heat *brās*, *ḡarma* Pš, *garmi*, *šundrī* W.
- heat, to *tāb-* P.
- heaven *bešt* S, *behišt* W. Cf. sky.
- heavy *dründ* Pš, *wazmīnd* O, *grān* O<sup>1</sup>,

- girân* P, *γary* Y, *wazmîn* S, *γ<sup>2</sup>rūng* W, *wazmen* Š.  
 hedge *wārā* PŠ; (thorn-) *paržinī* Y.  
 hedgehog *zižgai* (v. *ziž*) PŠ, *ĵarya* O, *sizgāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *xarpuštak* P, *šū*, *šayur* Y, *šayor* S, W, *xarpuštak* Š. Cf. porcupine.  
 heel *pūnda* PŠ, °o O<sup>1</sup>, *pāšna* O, °no Y, *khurī*, *pēšpā* P, *pāņio* Y, *pāšne* S, *pōšna* W, *pērnak* Š.  
 heel-rope *pul wāša* PŠ.  
 heifer *γunāji* O, *rəgūm* W.  
 height *qadd* P.  
 height-sickness *sudγ* W.  
 hell *dozax* PŠ, *dū*° S, W.  
 helmet *tay*, *xol* PŠ.  
 help *kumak*(ī) P, S, *yārē* Y.  
 help. to *kumak cār-* W.  
 helpless *nāilāj* P, *bičāra* Y, *bē*° Š.  
 hem *laman*, *mayzai* PŠ, *dāmən* O<sup>1</sup>, °an S, *avlānd*, *dāmənē*, *lamdo*, *madiri* Y.  
 hem, to *nimil-* W.  
 hemp *čars* P.  
 hen *čirga* PŠ, *kirži* O, °zī O<sup>1</sup>, *kurγ* P, *krrio* Y, *kurčūn*, *mākək* S, *kerk*, *mōk* W, *čaš* Š; (wild) *kurγ-e dhāri* P.  
 henchman *ĵellāt* P.  
 hence *indawū* O, *mēn* O<sup>1</sup>, *cčend*, *enhākī* P.  
 hen-house *yōst* W.  
 herd *ramma* O, P, *romo* Y; (of cows) *pāda* O, *čārvā*, *galagāu* S; (of goats) *ramē* S; (of horses) *galla* O, P.  
 herd cattle, to *čarān-* S.  
 here *dale*, *rā* PŠ, *inda* O, *ēkenhāk*, *čestak*, *enhāk* P, *molo* Y, *mōδ(ak)* S, *dṛəm* W, *ude*, *yūdand* Š.  
 hermaphrodite *šajūnak* (v. *šaja*) PŠ.  
 hero *maṛanai* PŠ, *pālawn* P.  
 heron *tažia* Y.  
 hiccough *silgiē* O<sup>1</sup>.
- hidden *γalai* PŠ, *γalē*, *γūn(d)* O, *γaibi*, *peŕ* P.  
 hide, to *f<sup>2</sup>lana-* Y, *pāš va ken-* S; (oneself) *waz-* P.  
 hide, v. skin.  
 high *hask*, *lwar*, *učat* PŠ, *čig* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pabēga* O, *beland*(ī), *rust*, *wakhē* P, *brlānd* Y, °and S, W, *wūc* W, *andēδ*(?) Š.  
 hill *bok*, *tapa* Š. Cf. mountain.  
 hillside *sasto* Y, *pušta* W; (steep) *paifar*, *viščo* Y.  
 himself *xusōr* P.  
 hinderance *aγ* PŠ.  
 hindmost, the *peština* P.  
 hindpart (of animals) *špačkera* Y.  
 hinge, of a door v. doorhinge.  
 hip *suji* O, *suņo* O<sup>1</sup>, *sēbji* P, *pēro* Y, *šəuži* S, *gūyək*, *marsi*(?) Š, *šūjiš*, *šūnj* W, *sēvje*, *šūn* Š.  
 hip-bone *šna* PŠ, *hadq-e mēnikā* P, *mizistē*, *brok*, *da piščan blok* Y.  
 hire *kerā* P, *ki*° Š.  
 hit *zarb* P.  
 hither *rā* PŠ, *idal* O<sup>1</sup>, *mū-bō* S, *təram* W, *yida* Š.  
 hoar-frost *asaī* PŠ, *pərx* Y, *šak* W.  
 hoe *kašai*, *saspār* (v. *spāra*), PŠ, *kulang* O, P, *kafān* O<sup>1</sup>, *šašpār* P, *kaland* S, °do Y.  
 hold, to *larəl* PŠ *ūr-uk* O, *dēr-* P, *wīdər-* W. Cf. have.  
 hole *kōžak* Wn 168, *sūrai* PŠ. *kō* O, *thōγ* P, *surv* Y, *rus*, *sērv* W, *čāk*, *kōu, j* Š; (of the ear) *γār* O<sup>1</sup>, *isrōx*, *səmbōk* S.  
 hollow *čiw* O, *gox* Y; (below the sternum) *kafči* Y.  
 hollow piece of ground *pūw<sup>a</sup>* O.  
 holly-oak *banj* Y.  
 home *kāla* (v. *kəlu*) PŠ.

- honest *muxlis* S, *aṭ-kærkin*, *mälümdör* W.  
 honey *aṅgîn* Wn 159, *gabîna* Pš, *pîn* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *xîra-i zambîrika* P, *ag'nîn* Y, *šât* Y, S, W, *asâl* S, W, Š.  
 honey-comb *pyâsa* (v. *žmanj*) Pš<sup>1</sup>, *piâco* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 honour *ezzât* P.  
 hoof *swa* Pš, *sumb* O, P, Y, Š, *kaṇawo* O<sup>1</sup>, *čoguli*, *šeflôč* Y, *samb* S, *səm* W; (cloven) *šongarai* Pš, *šilē* W.  
 hook *šüstē* Y.  
 hoopoe *denula* S.  
 hope *šmēd* P, Y, *amēd/d* S, W.  
 hopeful *bâwar* S, *amēdvör* W.  
 hopper of a mill *dül* P, Y.  
 horn *šukâr* Wn 162, *škar* Pš, *šâx* O, P, S, W, *sukaṛ* O<sup>1</sup>, *ši* P, *šü* Y, *šou* S, *šou* W, *xâš* Š.  
 horse *âs* Pš, *yâsp* O, *yâsp* O<sup>1</sup>, *ösp* P, *yasp* Y, *vörök* S, *yaš* W, *vârəj* Š; (red) *jēran* P. Cf. mare, stallion.  
 horse-clothing *prigîn* W.  
 horse-dung, v. dung.  
 horse's load (half of) *būy* Š.  
 horseman, v. rider.  
 horse-neck *škyui* Y.  
 horse-race *paga* Y.  
 horseshoe *nâl* O, Š.  
 hospitality *melmastyâ* (v. *melma*) Pš.  
 hostage *yəšt* W.  
 hot *tâu* Wn 160, *tod* Pš, *tök* O, *tök* O<sup>1</sup>, *dam*, *tapô* P, *piç*, *suzôn* Y, *garm* Y, S, W, *γorm* S, *šundr*, *šîn* W, *kaš* Š.  
 hour *sât* O, P, Š, *garî* P, *sdat* W.  
 houri *hūr* P.  
 house *borjal*, *kor*, *mena*, *mešta*, *xûna* Pš, *nēr* O, *nar* O<sup>1</sup>, *γus*, *kala*, *xâna* P, *kyei* Y, *xân* S, *xûn* W, *čid* Š; (two storied-) *siṅd* Y.  
 housewife *merman* (v. *mena*) Pš, *ceštana* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 houseowner, position of a *katxudâi* S.  
 how [c̄rang Pš], *c̄rang* O, *zanēng* P, *čamîn* Y, *cənâ* S.  
 however *walē* P.  
 how much/many? *cō* Pš, *cūm(d)* O, *čá*, *čeka* P, *čand*, *čamîn* Y, *cəmænd* S, *cum* W, *cūnd* Š.  
 howl, to *varüy-* W.  
 humble-bee *boburē* Y, *zəγōlog* S.  
 hump *kwab* Pš, *köpân* P, *kyrfo* Y, *kif* S, *kap* W.  
 hump-backed *čūyai* Pš.  
 hundred *sî* Wn 160, *sal* Pš, *sō* O, *sü* O<sup>1</sup>, *pōnž* *γustak*, *sō* P, *sad* P, Y, W, Š, *pânžwist*, *šor* Y, *sād* S, *isüd* Š.  
 hunger *lwaža* Pš, *gušnagi* O, *γurcayî* P, *žondokî* S.  
 hungry *wurza* Wn 161, *wažai* Pš, *xrunuk* O, *xurandak* O<sup>1</sup>, *γurča* P, *waharay*, (v) *uštyo* Y, *žwondok* S, *mərz* W, *mažjânj* Š.  
 hunter *pälawân* S, *pälawôn* W.  
 hunting *šškâr* O, *šekâr* P, *šškūr*, *waîna* Y, *žiw* Š.  
 hurt *augâr*, *jak* O.  
 hurt, to *mač-* P.  
 husband *māpə* Wn 159, *meṛə* (v. *maranai*), *caštan* Pš, *ce* O, *mālî* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *xá(î)* P, *šifē* Y, *māl(ōk)* S, *đâi*, *šauhar* W, *čâr*, *šümâ*(!?) Š.  
 husks *pokv*, *sabūstaf* Y.  
 hut (on a mountain pasture) *xarvo* Y, *ktič* W, *kríč* S.  
 hyena *kož* Pš.

## I

- I *mā*, *rā*, *zə* Pš, *az* O, O<sup>1</sup>, S, *mun* O, P, *ân* P, *mən*, *zo* Y, *mak* S, *wuz* W, Š.  
 ibex *wizik*, *yukš* W; (male) *narčēr* Y, Š, *šümânč* Y, *rangy* W; (female) *narčēr-*

- vazo Y, *buz*, *merg* W. Cf. mountain-goat.  
 ice *yāx* O, O', Š, *karrax* O', *ix* P, *lax-sarə* Y, *yax* S, *yiḫ*, *yaz* W.  
 ice-house *yaxdān* P.  
 idiot *lēw* S.  
 idol *but* P, *bət* S.  
 idol-temple *butxāna* P, *bəd°* S.  
 idolatry *butparastī* P.  
 if *agar* P, Y, *ka* O, *wahgam* Y.  
 if not *nē ʕe* P.  
 ignoble *bīsī* P.  
 ignorant *jel* Pš.  
 ill (sick) *nājōr* O, P, Š, *ranjūr* O', *bēstō*, *bimār* P, *bē°* S, Š, *čharō* P, *lurvē* Y; (from fever) *kuf* S.  
 ill-advised *nažaxt* W.  
 illness *lərovə* Y, *bēmārī*, *kassal* S, *bēmōrī* W.  
 immediately *psāt* Y.  
 immersed *srūp* O.  
 impale, to *čōrmāx* P.  
 impatient *bīwar* P.  
 impatience *bīwarī* P.  
 impendent *bīlayām* P.  
 impolite *bēadab* S.  
 impossible *šanda* Pš.  
 imprisoned *bandī* P.  
 in *ci* Wn 161, *kše* Pš, *nē* O, *tar* P, S, Š, *ba* Y, *da* Y, W, *ma* S, *dar* W.  
 in all *xullas* P.  
 incite, to *ažiyil* Pš.  
 indigestion *ačēr* Pš.  
 in front of, v. before.  
 in order that *tā* Y.  
 in time *bajāī* P.  
 inch, an *bamča* P.  
 inconsiderate *bīyauri* P.  
 incrustation *kpor* Y.  
 indeed *xu* P.  
 independent *xudextiyār* P.  
 individual *žawai* Pš, *nafs* Y.  
 inflamed *xurīn* Pš, *šūm*, *xrīnd* O.  
 inflammation *phuy!ō* P; (of the lungs) *šūš-dard* W. Cf. swelling.  
 inflated skin, v. mussnck.  
 informed *xabar* O, P, Y.  
 information *xabar* Y.  
 inheritance *mīrōs* S, W.  
 injustice *haiḫ* P, *zulm* W.  
 inkhorn *dewet* P.  
 innocent *bēyaib* S, *bēgund* S, W.  
 innumerable *askarār*, *bhisāb* P.  
 insect, n. of an *wangū* O, *čalkırmo* Y, *xəuzrt* W.  
 inside *zdare* Wn 169, [*danana* Pš], *darūn* P, S, (n)*adram* Y, *darūnya* Š,  
 insipid *škāḫ* Y.  
 instead of *hēwaz* P.  
 instep *rašan*, *šfīna* Y, *puband*, *pušt-i-pā* S, *ʔe* (*pū'id kaf*), *pēš-i-pā*, *təsken* W.  
 intelligence *wūš* O, *aql* P.  
 intelligent *poh* Pš, *ušyār* O. Cf. wise.  
 intention *benā*, *qast*, *mudā*, *niyat*, *xātir* P.  
 into *kī* O, *dar* P, *darūn*, *tro* Y.  
 intoxication *kaif* P.  
 inundation v. flood.  
 investigation *bībāsxāst*, *surāy* P.  
 invisible *yaibī*, *yaibat* P.  
 invocation *duwā* P.  
 iron *ōspəndə* Wn 161, *ospīna* Pš, Pš', *āin* O, *rō* O, O', *āhen*, *rū* P, *rīspən* Y, *āhān*, *əspōn* S, *tiš* (?), *yīšn* W, *sepen* Š: (made of) *āhenī* P, Y, *āhanin* S.  
 iris *margas* Y; (of the eye) *cām-mərdikīg* S.  
 irrecognisable *nažan* Y.  
 irrigate, to *čād*-Y, (*vēki*) *deh*-S, *wəwəw*-W.  
 irrigated *xarob* Pš.

irrigation *avzino* Y, *vī-diōk* S; (first) *xōkova* Y, *xākāv* Š; (second) *dūōra*, *livdē* Y, *dāhāv* Š.

irrigation-channel *wāla* Pš, *ǰōi* O, *γwāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *trog-wēliko*, *wēliko*, *wolo* Y, *ǰovār*, *nār* S, *čermu*, *wād* W, *wēd* Š. Cf. stream.

irrigation furrow *k'īš* Š.

irritate, to *zorēl* Pš.

is, v. be.

itch, to *kēl* W.

itching *buzār* O, *garg* P, *lyoxē*, *xuri*, *xārišē* Y, *xurūš* S.

## J

jackal *gidar* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, *šarāl* O, P, *šoyol* S.

jaacket *kurti* O, P, *korče* Š; (woollen) *māwar* P.

jar *kūza* Y, *kōzē* S, *nālād* W; (earthen) *kōlālī* P, *sofo* Y.

jaw *wāca* Wn 169, *zāma* Pš, *alašā* O, P, W, *zāmbō* O<sup>1</sup>, *kyeliko* Y, *alažē* S, *lišā* Š.

jaw-bone *kelidak* P.

jay *menākā* O<sup>1</sup>.

joint *mer* W, *bānd* Š.

joke *wašta* Pš, *mazāk* P.

journey *plā* Pš, *safar* Y.

jowar, v. maize.

joy *šādgarī* P. Cf. merriment.

Judas-tree v. arghawan.

judge *mumaiz* P, *qāzi* P, W, *kāzi* S.

jujube-tree *sazīyo* Y. Cf. *Senjet Darra* P.

jump *γor*, *trap* Pš, *xēz* O, *ǰop* O<sup>1</sup>.

jump, to *wrātēl* (v. *wurzedēl*) Pš, *xīst kan*- P, *ustušē*: Y, *araz*- S.

juniper *yovurso* Y, *arča*, *wāšt* S, *yārs* W, *hambaše* Š.

just *insafdar* S, *ōdīl* W.

justice *adālat* P, *insāf* S, *ādīl*, *insāf* W.

## K

keep, to *sātēl* Pš, *ūr*- O, *dharēw*- P.

kernel *zaṇai*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *maγz* P, Š, *žirmālē* Y; (pine-nut) *zwaγ<sup>o</sup>k* O; (rice) *šamāx* O.

kettle *sofo tāl* Y. Cf. cooking-pot.

kettle (porridge) *kaṅkafo* Y.

key *kilī* O, *kiliγāšt*: P, *kyelēu* Y, *uškəz* S, *wušik* W.

khan *xān*, *xāwān* P.

kick, a *pīšpāi* P.

kid *pšarlai*, *warγūmai* Pš. *buzγālā* O, *gurū* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *čey* W, *gīč* Š; (newborn) *čana* Y, *št<sup>o</sup>nōk* S; (one year old) *sēr-lāi* [Pš], O<sup>1</sup>, *takačār*, *žusaγa* P, *čānoγo*, *frayomīy*, *narčān* Y, *rižuk*, *take* S; (female during first year) *išten* P; (female, one year old) *frayīngo*, *prenjio* Y, *fāryəm* S; (two years old) *dusaγa*, *taka* P; (three years old) *šusaγa* P.

kidney [*baǰōdlāi* Wn], *pušta-warga* Pš, *gurda* O, P, W, *γulkak*, *zlikak*(?) O<sup>1</sup>, *wulya* Y, *gul*, *wolk* S, *waltk* W, *ūcj* (*wūšē*) Š.

kill, to *wezen*- Wn 160/6, *wa-žlāl* (v. *žēl*) Pš, *užnaw*- O, *wazn*- O<sup>1</sup>, *wγ*-, *mēr*- P, *mōz*- Y, *kəl*-, *žan*- S, *čāx*-, *šay*- W, *kaž*- Š.

killed *kušta* P.

kiln *wzēn* Pš.

kind, sort *qism* S.

kindle, to *šilaw*- O, *bala*-, *sil*- O<sup>1</sup>, *lagēw*-, *thēw*- P, *tāfōv*- Y, *peđin*- S, *pičev*- W, *peđen*- Š.

king *bādsū* O, *pādsū* P, Y, S, W, *mištōr* Y.

kingdom *pāds.āhī* P, *malk* Y.

kingfisher *macixor* Y.

kinsman *ulus*, *xīš* P, *xēš* S, *xēš* Š.

kiss, n. *mača* Pš, *pōč* O, *mačī* P, *boh* S, *bā*, *bām* W.

- kiss, to *kšul* Pš, *čūs-* P, *boh-*, *goš-* Y.  
kite *cār*, *kalmury*, *karčeyai* W.  
kitten *prškeze* Y, *pəšbažgī* S, *pišzoman* W.  
knead, to *āyažəl*, (*kše-*)*mandəl* Pš. *maš-*,  
*mušaw-* O, *gūy-* Y, *tun-*, *wert-* W.  
Cf. rub.  
knee *zūng* Wn 169, *zangūn* Pš. *zanʷrak*  
(v. *zānū*) O, *zānū* O, P, *gēnqī* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*zik* Y, *zuŋg* S, *bʷrīn*, *zōnū* W, *zūnə* Š.  
knee cap *parvašīn* Y, *yēnak* Š.  
kneeling *duzānū* P.  
knife *čāya* Pš, *čārthai* O, *kālūgak* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*čākū* O<sup>1</sup>, W, *kūcanōk*, *piškauš* P,  
*kəpə* Y, *kīʷel* S, *kəž*, *tasma-kaš* W,  
*čəd* Š.  
knit, to *jōra-* O<sup>1</sup>, *wop-* Y.  
knock, to *brazā-* Y.  
knock against, to *štrax-* W.  
knocking at the door *tactax* O.  
knot *giriya* O, *γunqə* O<sup>1</sup>, *gerē* P, *gʷro*,  
*γureš* Y, *gʷrē* S, *jirex*, *žerāš* W,  
*girē* Š.  
know, to *pazan-* O, *pān-* P, *diš-*, *vʷzān-* Y,  
*wəzūn-* Š. Cf. recognize.  
know thou *bedān* P.  
knowing *āgā* O, *āmuxta*, *dāninda*, *hi-*  
*lata* P.  
knowledge *elm* P.  
known *zda* Pš, *mālūm* O, *ayān* P, *mālūm*  
P, W, *māləm* Y.  
knuckle *brok*, *čōfē*, *krox(i)-yaste* Y, *mer* W.  
knuckle-bone (used in a game) *aryund*  
Pš.  
kran (coin) *kirān* P.
- L**
- labour *kiō* Y.  
labourer (agricultural) *duhqān* Y.  
ladder *xarxə* O<sup>1</sup>, *sulān*, *šop* P, *zīnū*  
P, S, *afsīnγə* Y, *šātūn* S, *waxār* W,  
*narvūnd* Š. Cf. stairs.  
ladder, rung of a *pokoš* Y.  
ladle *arzano*, *arzaniko*, *narkafēi* Y,  
*kāfē* S, *wəzūm* W. Cf. spoon.  
lagging behind *fʷrīnd*, *partāwī* S. Cf. left.  
lake *dayəl* O, *hāuz* P, S, *haud* Y, *zoi* e  
Y, W, *kūl* Š. Cf. pond.  
lakh, 100 000 *lak* P.  
lamb *wrai* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *lrai* O, *lyērāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*γarš(čūca)* P, *wari*, *wərūk* W, *wārg* Š;  
new born- *worya* Y; female *wērak* S;  
f. one year old *wōrγə*, *wōrγiko* Y;  
male *worok* S; m. one year old *nar-*  
*worya*, *prasilanə* *warē* Y.  
lame *xūž* Pš, *guš* O, *gušai* [Pš], O<sup>1</sup>,  
*kuštō* P, *šut(t)* P, Š, *lang* P, S, W,  
*šel* Y, *šal* S.  
lament *feγān* P.  
lamp *palta* [: wick] O, *čerāγ*, *fānūs* P, *čirūγ*  
Y, *čirāydān* S, *čarāw* Š. Cf. lantern.  
land, v. country, field.  
landslip *šot* W.  
lane *čāla* (v. *kolai*) Pš.  
language *lauz* P, *rāžγn* Y, *zəvūk* S. Cf.  
tongue.  
lap *γēž* Pš, *dāmen* P.  
lapis lazuli *lāzər* Y.  
large, v. big.  
lasso *kamand* P.  
last *axir* O, *axeri* P.  
last year [parēša Wn]. *paros* Pš, *prasul* O,  
*šəl* O<sup>1</sup>, *parásuγ* P, *prasāl* Y, *pərsāl* S,  
*pārd* W, *pārsāl*, *pərwās* Š; belonging  
to- *pardīngī* W; -but one *inzəšəl* *cān* O<sup>1</sup>.  
late *dēr* O, *nāwaxt* [Pš]. O, O<sup>1</sup>, Y, *γir* P,  
*dəš* S, *deš* W.  
later *bē* O, *ga* Š.  
laugh, to *xandəl* Pš, *xan-* O, *khan-* P,  
*xəwɫ* Y, *xānd-* S, *kānd-* W, *sānd-* Š.  
laughing *khanđi* P.  
laughter *xandā* (v. *xandəl*) Pš, *xanī* O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*kanda* W.



- law *šeriet* Y, *qānūn* W.  
 lawful *rawā* P, *halāl*, *halar* Y.  
 lawless *bītamīz* P.  
 lawn *sarza* S.  
 lazy *kahal* Y.  
 lead *surup* Pš, *surb* P, *arzīz* Y, *sərb* S.  
 lead, to *rā-w-* Wn 166, *kutāl-* Š.  
 lead away, to *bōtləl* Pš.  
 lead down, to *ūn-* P.  
 leaf *pāna*, *paxa* Pš, *bārg* O, Y, S, Š, *paŕ*, *puxa* O<sup>1</sup>, *pōn* P, *pənek* Y, *palē* W.  
 lean *narai* Pš, *daŋgar* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, *lāyar* P, *dolk* Y, *xarāb* Y, W, Š, °*bē* S, *lāša* W.  
 lean against, to *pūtrūz-* W.  
 leaning on *takīa* P.  
 learn, to- *yūxs-* Y, *pəzīn-* S.  
 learned *zda* Pš.  
 learning *hilata* P.  
 leather *žūu* Y, *pūst* S, *mandītk* W. Cf. *skin*.  
 leather-belt *karapēi* Š.  
 leave n. *ruxsat(i)* P, Y, W, r<sup>o</sup> S, *ruxsat* Y.  
 leave, to *ān-* Wn 160/1, (*pre-*)*šodəl* (v. *prā-*) Pš, *g-* O, *ž-* O<sup>1</sup>, *wāst-* Y, *la ken-* Y, S, *la-cer-* W.  
 leaving *rawān* P, *rahī* Y.  
 leech *žawara* Pš, *šuluk* O.  
 left (hand) *kīn* Pš, *čāp* O, P, S, W, Š, *cēla* C, *čēlə* O<sup>1</sup>, *čop* Y.  
 left behind *pāte* Pš, *qzuk* O, *mānda* P.  
 left behind, to be *ūzeh-*, *daruzeh-* P, *fəris-* S. Cf. *remain*.  
 leg *šānga* Pš, *leŋg* P, *līng* S; of a bed *ženpālīko* Y.  
 lentil *nask* P.  
 leopard *prāng* Pš, *palāng* O, P, Y, S, W, Š, *prōng* O<sup>1</sup>, *parōn* P, *āzāda-palang* Y; (a kind of) *xar-palang* Y; white- *pōs* W.  
 leprosy *prang* Pš.
- less *dūs* Š.  
 lesson *sabak* P.  
 lest *bādā*, *bādāt*, *nē ēe* P.  
 let loose *xalās* O, *ēlā*, *yalā* P, *haŕe*, *yalē* S.  
 let loose, to *ān-āret* Wn 160/1, *la ken-* Y. Cf. *leave*, *release*.  
 letter *xatt* O, P, *kāyaz* P, W.  
 liar *daryal* Pš, *durūyguī* P, °*yī* W, *durōyguī* S.  
 liberated, v. *let loose*.  
 lick, to *caŕ-* [Pš], O, *las-vēk* O, *lis-* P, *nerīz-* Y, *lēš-* S, *liš-* W, *šak* Š.  
 licking *čaŕa* O.  
 lid *barγōlai* Pš; (of wooden trough) *xūno* Y.  
 lie n. *daroy* Pš, *drišī* O, *drēšī* O<sup>1</sup>, *durūy* P, S, W, *čōpī*, *fyeli* Y.  
 lie down, to *cemul-* Wn 160, *camlāstəl*, *γazedəl* Pš, *nu(āstak)* O, *dugur-*, *rhīz-* P, *lāyn-*, *nəlīv-* Y, *nesī-* W.  
 life *žwāk*, *žwandūn* Pš, *umr* O, P, *amγ* W.  
 lift up, to *riγawdəl* Pš, *šhōb-* Y, *zenz-* S.  
 ligature on bow *pād* W.  
 light (adj.), v. *bright*.  
 light (not heavy) (°)*spuk* Pš, O, *subuk* O, P, *sa*° Y, S, Š, *si*° W, *alukai* O<sup>1</sup>, *rānjk* W.  
 light n. *ruṇā* Wn 161, *raṇā* (v. *rūn*) Pš, *nūr* O, P, S, *ruṇāī* O<sup>1</sup>, *rhīnē* P, *ārunγo* Y, *rušān(i)* Y, S, *šānāl* S, *nūr*, *rōšanaī*, *vōīn* W, *mēden* Š; (lamp) *čīrāy* S. Cf. *brightness*.  
 light a fire, to v. *kindle*.  
 lightning *brešnā* Pš, *barq* O, Y, S, *bruš* O<sup>1</sup>, *balk*, *žabalak* P, *velīwo* Y, *ātašek* S, *āte*° Š, *ātšak* W.  
 like *γūnde*, *laka* Pš, *padak* O, *dhīr(āyγ)* P, *-gnīk* S. Cf. *resembling*.  
 like, to *šāyəl* Pš.

- limb *hadamə* Y.  
lime *čupa* Y.  
limp, to *ngiʒedəl* Pš.  
line *karša* Pš.  
lined *qalamī* W.  
linen son, *z<sup>2</sup>yēr* S, *ködnök* W.  
linseed *imoγō* Y, *katānək* S.  
lion *šēr* P, S, W, *šīr* Y, *babr* S.  
lip *sū*, *sūn* Wn 161, *šunq<sup>1</sup>* Pš, *lab* O,  
P, S, W, *suṇḍo* O<sup>1</sup>, *lauč* P, *poršik* Y,  
*rīvlav* S, *lafč* W, *šand* Š.  
list *chēra* P; of names *pešk* P.  
listen, to *nyutəl* Pš.  
little, a *ləž* Pš, *duškī* O, *kop*, *yīla* Y, *čōv*,  
*wokīak* S, *andak*, *kam* W.  
little, too *yēso* P.  
little finger v. finger.  
live, to *zindəgōnī kən* S, *zindəgōnī*  
*car* W.  
livelihood *guzarān* P, *guzarān* Y.  
liver *yina* Pš, *jāšr* O<sup>1</sup>, *jigār* P, Y, S,  
W, Š, *yēγən* Y.  
living, v. alive.  
lizard [*samsara*, *karboγai* Pš], *kirwās*,  
*latək*, *šūšmār* O, *samsarī* O<sup>1</sup>, *karwaš*,  
*šilānq<sup>1</sup>* P, *karbasa*, *šalāku*, *yāncīlγā* Y,  
*karvišik* S, *karbāš*, *ḍōt* W, [*čārbāšk*  
(Sk.) Š].  
load *bār* O.  
load, to *lešəl* (v. *ležəl*) Pš, *daž-vək* O,  
*vira* Y.  
lobe of the ear *kaṇik* O<sup>1</sup>.  
lock *jandra* (v. *žaranda*) Pš, *kulf* O,  
P, Š, *kolf* Y, S, *kulp* W.  
lock, of hair *wurbal* Pš, *kākul* P.  
locked *qil* O, *šo.x* S.  
locust *malax* Pš, O, P, Y, S, *mō<sup>+</sup>* W,  
*mč.x* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *fusfesīya*, *yaspa* Y, *mūr*(?)  
W, *čidšisk*, *žid<sup>o</sup>* Š.  
log *pəžō* Y.  
loins *pəšt* S.  
long *ūžd* Pš, *drāγ* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *bīstō* P, *vān* Y,  
*darāz* S, Š, *vəžduk* S, *vər-* W.  
long way *frax* W.  
longing *cwab* Pš, *armān*, *γōra* P.  
look, to *kas* S, *dešič* W. Cf. sec,  
regard.  
look here *ma* S.  
looking about *diāre* Y.  
loom *saxt(ə)rəm*(?) Y.  
loose *γarand*, *wor<sup>2</sup>* Pš, *xalās* P, Š.  
loosen, to *aratəl* (*arat*) Pš, *mōž* O,  
*myüz* O<sup>1</sup>, *lasēw* P, *wien-*, *yucan* Y,  
*wušūy* W.  
loosened *haṭe* S, *xalās* Š.  
lose, to *harēw* P, *γvībō* Y, *apanis* S,  
*nis* W, *benes* Š.  
lose the way, to *rapic* W.  
loss *talaf* O.  
lost *wruk* Pš, *barbāt*, *γūn(d)*, *γark* O,  
*gum* P, *γvīb* Y; (in gambling) *pəγ* Pš.  
lost, to be *har* P, *apī* S.  
louse *zyānzi* Wn 169, *spaža* (-ž-) Pš, *spōi* O,  
*spūi* O<sup>1</sup>, *ispō* P, *spūo* Y, *\*spəl* S,  
*šiš* W, *sapaž* Š; (small, red) *wraje* O<sup>1</sup>.  
Cf. tick.  
love *mīna* Pš, *āšuqī*, *ešq*, *dōstī*, *mahabat*,  
*meher* P.  
love, to *bilār* Y.  
lover *mayan* (v. *mīna*) Pš, *āšuq(bāz)* P.  
low post Pš, Y, *laylai*, *ṭūṭ* O<sup>1</sup>, *wāchan*,  
*xamba* P, *past* S, W, *nēθ*(?) Š.  
lower *lara* Pš, *toru* Y, *\*dīr* Š.  
lucerne *špešta* Pš, *rrγoγo*, *piṭio* Y,  
*γurūk* S, *wižerk* W, *γorj*(?) Š.  
lungs *šəza* Wn 161, *paγpūs*, *səžai* Pš,  
*šūš* O, *ḍad* O<sup>1</sup>, *papō* P, *pāpəs*, *šuš* Y,  
*γōl*, *šəš* S, *šūš* W, Š.  
lupine *šaftal* Y.  
lying down *mlāst* Wn 162, Pš, *gal*,  
*nwastak* O<sup>1</sup>.  
lying on back *stūn* Pš, *stīnγo* Y.

## M

- m, the letter *mīm* P.
- mad *lewanai* (v. *lewə*) Pš, *dīwān(a)* O, P, *tağ* P, *dévonē*, *lēw* S. Cf. stupid.
- madness *mastī* P.
- magic *ǰādñē*, *sheher* P.
- magpie *kyuŋgo* Y, *kyēvžāk/g* S, *kiržepč* W, *kišēbs* Š.
- maid *peyla* Pš, *čimtkeryo* Y. Cf. girl.
- maize [*ǰwār* Pš], *šūta* O, *duǰār* O<sup>1</sup>, *ǰōwārī* O, P, *ǰu°* Y, *zīlai* P; ear of *lūtakī* P; straw of *kuso* Y; beard of *bamboǰi* Y.
- majesty *huzūr* W.
- make, to *rēz*- P, *gax*- S. Cf. do.
- make water, to v. urinate.
- male *nar* Pš, P, Y, W, *nerinā* O, *nērök* P, *γəš* W.
- male child *ǰura* P.
- malice *ǰarat*, *šaitāni* P.
- malicious *šaitān* P.
- man *saṛai* Pš, O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ádam* P, W, Š, *māneš*, *mēr* P, *maṛa*, *mur* Y, *ádam*, *mālök* S, *ǰāi*, *mərdīna* W, *ma°* Š, *xǰlg* W, *čárik*, *mardīna* Š.
- mane *ǰwī*, *wraž* Pš, *yál* O, P, Y, S, W, Š, *čalo* Y.
- manger *auxur* O, *áxūr* O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, *or* S, *rüz-áxur* W, *venr* Š.
- mangy *paman* (v. *pam*) Pš.
- manner *šān* Pš, *zail* P; in this *hēraŋgī* P; in what *caranğ* O, *kēraŋgī* P.
- mantilla, a woman's- *pakol* S.
- manure, v. dung.
- many *zut* O, *ǰal*, *ǰalaba* P, *zahānd* Y, *fai* S, *tökī* W, *bāz* Š. Cf. much.
- many, how *cūn(d)* O.
- many, so *ǰn* O.
- marching *kūč* P.
- mare *aspa* (v. *ās*) Pš, *myāndēni* O<sup>1</sup>, *madiāna* P, *mayogo* Y, *bāital* S, W, *mādiyān* S, *madāč* W, *vērj* Š.
- markhor fem. *mārxdōr* O, *būz*, *cərouy-vəzo*, *mažoŋo* Y; male *cəraū* Y, *ǰanwar*, *žuök* S, *surxā* W. Cf. mountain-goat.
- marmot *dala(?)*, *wūŋ* Y, *wīnek*, *wundök* W. Cf. weasel.
- marriage *nikā* O, W, *nekā* P, *wāda* S, *katxudāt* Š.
- marriage prosession *wrā* Pš.
- marriageable age *wāda* S.
- marrow *māγzə* Pš, *māγz* O<sup>1</sup>, Y, W, Š, *moγz* S. Cf. brain.
- marsh *šūra* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. bog.
- marten (pine-), v. pine-marten.
- master *cařtan* Pš, *bādār*, *čēřtan* O, *sāheb*, *xāwān*, *xāwand* P, *und* Y.
- mastigate, to v. chew.
- match *gūgird* Y; of a gun *pilta* S.
- matchless *bīazimī* P.
- match-maker *rebār* Pš, *dallāl* P.
- matter *hāl* P, *trik* Y.
- matter, v. pus.
- mattock, v. hoe.
- mattress *tōřak* P, *xarar* Y, *kīrpačā* W; filled with cotton *purum* Y. Cf. bedding.
- may be *fərmē* Y.
- meadow *wuršo* Pš, *tāla*, *marγuzār*, *ulay* P, *mīrγo* Y, *mēry*, *sarza* S, *gōz* W. Cf. pasture.
- measure (of grain) *oǰai* Pš.
- measure, to *mā*- Y, *kač*- O<sup>1</sup>; (liquids, etc.) *pyaməl* Pš.
- meat [*γwaše*, "zarāh" Wn], *γwaša* Pš, *gāka* O, *o* O<sup>1</sup>, *ǰiř* P, Y, *guřt* S, W, *pəđf* S, *ǰiřt* W, *gūřt* Š; roast *kabāp* P; — or fish *ngolai* Pš.
- medicine *dawā* O, *elāj* P, *i°* Y, *dārū* P, *ū* Y, *darmān*, *dāwai* P.
- meeting *ǰalsa* S.

- melon *khörəbuĵ* P, *lārū* Y, *xarbəz(a)* Y, S, °*büz* Š.
- melt, to *fro-* Y, \**au sāw-* Š.
- memory *yād* O, Y, *dētər*, *yöd* W.
- mending *mahalam* Y.
- merchant *saudāgar* O, P, °*ager* Y, °*ogar* S, W, *saudager* Y, *bāzārgān* S.
- merriment *xušālī* O, *mastī*, *xušwaxtī* P, *waly* Y. Cf. feast, joy.
- merry *xušwaxt* P. Cf. happy.
- messenger *astōjai* (*āstawul*) PŠ, *kāset* P.
- middle *myanj* (v. *mlā*) PŠ, *mənz* O, *nesp* P, *miyān(e)*, *nəsm* S, *məluŋg* W; in the—*makhār* P.
- midnight *nīmīšə* O, *barābar xšovo* Y, *nīmšab*, *nesmešav* S, *bröbarnāĵd* W.
- milk *šə* Wn 160, *paī*, *šaudə* PŠ, *pāk* O, *šīpī* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pē* P, *xšīra* Y, *xóm* S, *žārž* W, *šūvd* Š; (sour) *šamže* Wn 169, *tröšp* S, *triŋ*, *triš* W, *maska* (incorr. for butter) Š. Cf. buttermilk, curds.
- milk, to *cək-* Wn 161. *hwašəl* PŠ, *düş-* O, *dus-* O<sup>1</sup>, *dūč-* P, *lūž-* Y, *dēš-* S. *šic-* W, *šūj-* Š.
- milk-cup, (wooden) *xšīr-kvca* Y.
- milk-pail *lawayūma* (v. *hwašəl*) PŠ. *kīzarē* P, *lipca*, *vašc* W.
- milk-rice *čirgrinĵ* Y.
- "Milky Way" *čarxi falak*, *wārwan* Y, *kākašön* W.
- mill *žaranda* PŠ, *āsyá* O, *jəndrə* O<sup>1</sup>, *xēra* P, *xīryo* Y, *xudāri* S, *xədōrg* W, *xedārĵ* Š. Cf. handmill.
- mill-broom *fāru*, *rəfiko* Y.
- mill-race *tröbī* Wn 169, *x<sup>2</sup>rāñī* O<sup>1</sup>, *nawoyö* Y, *nəwök* S, *niu* W.
- mill-stone *pal* PŠ, O<sup>1</sup>, *xēragir* P. *xur-sago* Y, *xədōrg-ĵār*, *wirt* W.
- mill-wheel *carx* O<sup>1</sup>, *wirdān* W.
- millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) *žədən* Wn 161, *ždan* PŠ, *arzan* O, *ažan* O<sup>1</sup>, *āržen* P, *yurzon* Y, *wuždān* S, *arzan*, *ĵīrzn* W, *ptnj* Š; (*Panicum italicum*) *ĵöŷt* (*āyažəl*) PŠ, *gáđ* P, *ĵavarso* Y, [*ĵāwəus* Sk., Š].
- mimic, to *pütmi-* W.
- mind *həš* S.
- mine *žūnan* W.
- minister *wazir* P, Y, S.
- mint (plant) *welanai* PŠ.
- mirror *āña* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, W, *áheua*, *šiša* P, *áino*, *šišoĵo* Y, *áinek* S; looking-glass *šiša* S.
- miser *baxil* S, *bəyəl* (?) W.
- miscarrying *speyāza* PŠ.
- missing *bijá* P.
- mist *dund*, *lara* PŠ, *manyār* P, S, *miš-äyiko* Y, *ar-tagáv-yat* ("it came down"?) Š.
- mistress *bibi* P.
- mix, to *lar-* [PŠ], O, *vədäy-* Y, *alalas kən-* S, *a<sup>o</sup> car-*, *sänd-* W.
- mixed *gaĵ* P, *katī* Y.
- moat *xandak* P.
- mockery *tána* P.
- mode *zail* P.
- modesty *hayá* P.
- moist, v. wet.
- moisten thoroughly, to *ničöd-* Y.
- moisture *nəb* Y.
- mole *xál* P.
- moment *lāza* P, *fašl* S.
- money *kūy* Y, *páisā* Y, Š, *ĵərni*, *pūl* S, *pīl* W.
- monkey *maimün* S.
- month *māst* Wn 169, *miyāst* PŠ, *mái* O, *mēhi* P, *mö*, *mox* Y, *mā* S, Š, *miĵ* W, *mīst* Š.
- month, n. of a *hamal* P, *asad*, *simbulā*, *təmīs* W, *kaus* Š.
- monthly *mēhīn* P.
- moon *miyāst*, *waĵmaī* PŠ, *spožmaī* PŠ, O<sup>1</sup>, *maryök*, *mātau* O, *mahök* P, *imoĵo* Y,

- māton*, *wulmāk* S, *mötöb*, *žəmak* W, *māst* Š; the new *hélál* P.  
 moonless night *tarožmāi* (v. *spožmāi*) PŠ, *trōžmāi* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 moonlight *rabāna* PŠ.  
 moraine *ābūya* Y, *ambol* S, *šui* W; heap more *digarī* S. [of stones *xōris* Y.  
 moreover *balkim* O.  
 morning *sār* O, P, *saxar* O<sup>1</sup>, *ručān* P, *sāhar* P, Y, S, *subəliyo*, *sārpagā*, *wūšē* Y, *rašt*, *sub* S, *rux*, *sārake*, Š; in the *subdamik* W. Cf. dawn.  
 morning-meal *pizvāni* W.  
 morsel *nacarāi* PŠ, *nōrī* O, *tok* P.  
 mortar *ōyur* P.  
 moslem *musulmān* P.  
 mosque *mazdik* O, *mazīt* Y.  
 mosquito *mēsa* Wn 159, *γumašā* (v. *γwā*), *māšai* (v. *mac*) PŠ, *paša* O, P, *pa*<sup>o</sup> W, *myāšai* O<sup>1</sup>, *gyiblenikē* Y, *kurpaša* Y, S, *maxšē*, *paša* Y, *joz* S, *kanek*, *pīdu* W, *čangīn* Š.  
 moth *parwāna* P, Y, W, *parvinekog* S, *wīē* W.  
 mother *mor* PŠ, *māwā* O, *mo* O<sup>1</sup>, *aī*, *mā(čī)*, *māma* P, *nīno* Y, *māδ/dar* S, *nān* S, W, Š, *mād* Š.  
 mother and daughter *māwehā* P.  
 mother-in-law *xwāša* PŠ, *syūy*, *xušūi* O, *syoy*, *xwōššē* O<sup>1</sup>, *xuš* P, *xušo* Y, *xoš* S, *xušdōman*, *xaš* W, *xīš* Š.  
 motor-car *mōtar* P.  
 mount, to *ḡak* P. Cf. rise.  
 mountain *γar* PŠ, Y, *girī*, *kō* O, *grī* O<sup>1</sup>, *dhār*, *khandi* P, *γar* Y, *kū* Y. W. Š, *ātax*, *kūh*, *šaxa-γer* S, *tāx* Š. Cf. hill.  
 mountain-ash *tūr* Y.  
 mountain-goat *γarcanaī* PŠ, *āū* O, *γircanaī* O<sup>1</sup>, *mēšak*, *naxčēr* Š; female *sur* P, *šnūwār* W; male *tōy* P. Cf. deer, ibex, markhor.  
 mouse *mažak* PŠ, *balūy*, *kaucār*, *danūwarō* P, *pārγ* Y, *mūš* S, W, *pōrk* S, *purk* W, *pūrg* Š. Cf. rat.  
 moustachē *būt* Wn 159, *brēt* [PŠ], O<sup>1</sup>, *brūt* O, Y, *bu*<sup>o</sup> P, *ba*<sup>o</sup> S, *wrašt* O<sup>1</sup>, *v-rut* Y, *šābrut* S, *bərīt* W, *birut* Š; large *brutčapar* W.  
 mouth *xūla* PŠ, *dān*, *pōz* O, *pyōz* O<sup>1</sup>, *šōnd* P, *pekorē*, *yurv* Y, *fōc* S, *γaš* W, *γēv* Š.  
 mouthful *inda* PŠ, *teka* P.  
 mouthpiece of bellows *bəlūlo* Y.  
 move, to *xwajedl* PŠ, *(h)im* P, *mūž* Y, *tač* W.  
 move, to v.tr. *čimēw*, *jukēw* P, *muža* Y.  
 movement *γūn* PŠ, *arakat* O, *malak*, *šūr* P.  
 moving *rawān* S.  
 much *zut* O, *ferimān*, *γulū*, *γalaba* P, *ambox*, *boh*, *ṭipe*, *žahānd* Y, *fai*, *lip*, *ziāt* S, *bisyār*, *foi*, *γafāi*, *γafēi* W, *ōn* O; so- mind, *yenda* Y; complete *binās* Y.  
 mucus *rəma* PŠ, *bālγam* Y, *gaṭ*, *lišp* W; (from nose) *nezγo* Y, *xolm* S; (from mouth) *balyām* S.  
 mud *gel*, *maṭṭa* P, *jerīv* (?) W.  
 muddy *xəy* PŠ, *xutralōy* Y.  
 mulberry *tūwa* Wn 160, *tūt* O, O<sup>1</sup>, Y, S, W, *tī* P, *mərəc*, *tūi* Y, *tūd* Š.  
 mulberries, dried *maīs* P, *kīforī* Y.  
 mulberry-flour *pišt* Š. Cf. flour.  
 mule *kačar* O<sup>1</sup>, *qāter*, *γābū* P, *kačēr* Y, Š.  
 mulla *mullā* O, P.  
 multicoloured, v. piebald.  
 multitude *γalabagī*, *γulūgī* P.  
 murderer *ādamkuš* P, *žāduk* S, *šitk* W.  
 murmur *šuršur* P.  
 mushroom *xomba* PŠ *cigyerē* Y; (a kind of) *pašānek* Y; (white) *xarpūst* Y.  
 music *sur* P, *mailis* Y, *sāziṅgē* Š.

musk *tátár*, *mušk* P.  
 mussuck, v. skin, inflated.  
 mutilating *nasak* P.  
 muzzle *frušë* Y.  
 my *jmā* Pš, *manân* P, *mən* Y, S, *žu* W.  
 myself *maxsör* P.  
 mystery *ramüz*, *serr* P.

## N

nail *mëx* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, Š, *kük* P, *mīx* Y, W; wooden *dārg* Š; (finger-) *nük* Pš, *taxt ta angušt* O, *našk* O<sup>1</sup>, *nörk* P, *anaxno* Y, *nāxūn* Y, Š, no<sup>o</sup> W, *nar-xök/g* S, *dəger* W.  
 naked "oon" Wn [= *ün* < \**bagna-*], *layar* [*barban/l*] Pš, *lĕc* O, P, *šilëx* Y, °*ax* S, W, °*ak* Š.  
 name *nəm* Wn 158, *nüm* Pš, Š, *nām* O, P, Y, *nīm* S, *nong* W.  
 narrow *narai* Pš, O, *taŋg* O, S, W, Š, *taŋ* O<sup>1</sup>, *čīnō*, *luŋdu* P, *təgo*, *trok* Y, *bürük*, *tanük* S; -street *taŋgī* P.  
 natural *xudāi* P.  
 nature *šān* Pš; condition *tab* P.  
 navel *nör* Wn 159, *nūm*) Pš, *nefak* O, *nāf* P, S, Š, *nif* Y, *nōf* W.  
 near *paxē* Wn 168, *zarma* Wn 169, *caxa*, *naždë* Pš, *bōy* O, *bōi* O<sup>1</sup>, *da*, *dāl* P, *karīb* P, S, Š. q<sup>o</sup> Y. *nəzdik* P, na<sup>o</sup> Y, *tari*, *tartar* P, *čolo*, *šut* Y, *šiš* W.  
 nearest to the village *warbōi* Pš.  
 necessary *lāzim*, *munāsib* O, *wajip* P, *zarūr* P, Y, *bakör* S, W; is- *bōya* Pš, *bāyad* Š.  
 necessity *zarūri* Y.  
 neck *yāra* (v. *yaral*) Pš, O, *mayzai* (v. *māyzə*), *warmez* Pš, *gardan* O, *mu-kandāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *maŋdō* P, *škyui*, *šilë* Y, *gardak*, *yorök* S, *gerdān* W, *māk* W, Š, *tör* W.

necklace *ožai* Pš, *ghana* P, *garai*, *mō-drayë*, *xafabandë* Y, *perg* W; silver *muštī* Y.  
 neckrope of yoke *sabəranj*, *samlasiko* Y, *rxpk* W.  
 need, to *žiret/p-* W.  
 needle *sunzən* Wn 162, *stən* Pš, *šimī* O, s<sup>o</sup> O<sup>1</sup>, *šičin* P, *šinjo* Y, °*stən* S, *šic* W, *šej* Š; (packing-) *γorsəm* Wn 168. *sparxai* Pš, *təbana* O, *xaršīzn*. *juāl-düz* Y, °*öz* S.  
 needy *šilax* S. Cf. poor, naked.  
 Negro *habaši* P.  
 neigh, n. [*šašnai*, *haŋ* Pš], *ingās* O, *heŋgas* P.  
 neigh, to *šisin-* O<sup>1</sup>, *ušun-* Y.  
 neighbour *hamsāya* P, a<sup>o</sup> Š, *jār* P, *amsāyo*, *grambešu* Y, *amāsyē* S.  
 neither-nor *nāi-nāi* S.  
 nephew (brother's son) *wrārə* Pš, *rāš'rai* O, *rāš'ri* O<sup>1</sup>, *biyāγurök* P, *vraipūr*, *vrēri* Y, v<sup>o</sup>*rūzə* man S, v<sup>o</sup>*ritpətr* W; (sister's son) *xorayai* (v. *xor*) Pš, *xīγurök* P, *xurī* Y, *xir* S, *xariyōn* W.  
 nerve *pala*, *wuža* Pš.  
 nest *manjolo*, *šan* O<sup>1</sup>, *yēšio* Y, *parenda xān*, *yēca* S, *yoθ* W, *yēθ* Š; bee's-*šör* Pš.  
 net *wrəz* Wn 169, *tor* Pš, *dām* O, P, *alkē* S, *tor* W, *pēθ* Š. Cf. snare, trap.  
 nettle *zulxadī* Y.  
 never *heč kala* (na) (v. *kala*) Pš, (h)*ič-waxt* W.  
 new *nawai* Pš, *nūw* O, *nydw* O<sup>1</sup>, *nō* P, *nowoγo* Y, *nuwök* S, *šəγd* W, *nū* Š.  
 news *xabara* O<sup>1</sup>, *auhāl* P, *xabar* P, Y, W, Š; good *zerai* Pš.  
 New-Year festival *naurōz(e)* S.  
 next year *žasar* P.  
 next world, finally *āxerat* Y.

niece (brother's daughter) *wrera* (v. *wrārə*)  
Pš, *rāšra* O, *rāšrə* O', *vrēriḡo* Y;  
(sister's daughter) *xorja* (v. *xor*) Pš,  
*xurjō* Y.  
nice, to look *γwarš-vek* O.  
night *špa* Pš, *šə* O, *šyəu* O', *w(i)yār*,  
*xawān* P, *xəšəvo* Y, *fəšəu*, *šab* S,  
*nāyδ* S, W, *šāb* Š; part of *šūma* Pš:  
-s halt *šūp* W; this very *wyārawayār* P.  
nightingale, v. *bulbul*.  
nightmare *xapasa* Pš, *vāyδ* S, W.  
nine *nəh* Pš, *nā* O, *nə* O', *nə* P, *nūn*  
Y, S, *nāu* W, *nāw* Š.  
nineteen *nulas* (v. *nəh*) Pš, *nēs* O, *ənēs*  
O', *nams*, *nužda* P, *nūžda* Y, *nouəδ/dos*  
S, *dasnab* W.  
ninety *nawe* Pš, *nivē* O, *nawād* S.  
nipple, v. *breast* (female).  
nit *riča* Pš, *rōko* O', *riško* Y, *žəny* W.  
no *na* O, *nā* P, *nai* W; (adj.) *hāč* Y.  
noble *hōki* P.  
nobleman *mirzā* P.  
noise *čīya*, *γaw*, *šxwal*, *žay*, *zwaž* Pš,  
*šūr/γ* P, *awāz* Y.  
nook *cəvda* Pš.  
noon *γārma/ə* Pš, *ə* O', *nūmrəz* O, *əz* P,  
*ūz* W, *mižen* Y, *čāšt*, *maikenī* S.  
noose *paɣwandai* Pš.  
noon *mədīr* W.  
north *šamālī* O, P, *əol* W.  
nose *pīza* Wn 159, *paza* Pš, *ək* O,  
*nīnī* O, O', *damāy*, *nēšt* P, *fəsko* Y,  
*fusk*, *nie* S, *nīs* S, W, *nej* Š.  
noseless, etc. *būrai* Pš.  
nose ring *pezwān* (v. *paza*) Pš, *natī* P.  
nostril *šemžə* Wn 169, *spažma* Pš, *par-*  
*xāna* O, *sužmī* O', *bīnīxān*, *damāxal*  
P, *fəskafsurv* Y, *dimāy*, *fəšək-pəčē* S.  
not *na* Pš, P, S, Š, *nak* O, *či*, *če*, *ču*, *č*,  
*no*, *nə*, Y, *ne* W; is not *ništa* Pš,  
*čēš* Y, *nest* S, *nīst* Š. Cf. *don't*.

nothing *čuwa* Y.  
nourish, to *nmānjəl* Pš.  
now *os* (*osedəl*), *no* (v. *nau*) [ $\leq$  *nor*] Pš,  
*pērī* O, O', *badī*, *γē*, *γāri* P, *wos* Y,  
*diga*, *ingē*, *naksə*, *psāt*, *sə*(?) S, *nūw* W,  
*šič* Š.  
numb *kuɣə* Y.  
number *šumār* P, *imāl* Y.  
nurse *dāya* S.  
nurturing *parvəriš* S.

## O

O! *ai* O, *á*, *ai*, *ə*, *áyá*, *wə*, *yá* P, *ai* Y,  
*e*, *o*, *wa* S, *allə*, *ēi*, *wai* W.  
oak *bālūt* O, Š, *yan* P.  
oar *fe* Š. Cf. *spade*.  
oath *γwar* O, O', *kasam* O, *q*<sup>o</sup> P, Y, S,  
*qurān* P, *wor* Y. Cf. *swear*.  
oats *jaudar* O', *dəsin* S, *leso* Y.  
obey, to *nyutəl*, *manəl* Pš.  
observe, to *thār-* P.  
obtain, to v. *get*.  
object *maxsad* P.  
occupied *manḡir* P.  
occult knowledge *panjbed* P.  
of *γa* Wn 163, *da* Pš, *tar* O, *ta* O'.  
off, away *badār* Y.  
officer *hafsar* S.  
oil *təl* P.  
old (living things) *zor* Pš, *zəl* O, O',  
*kaṭṭə* P, *zər* Y, *xγār* W, *pīr* Š;  
(inanimate things) *kōna* P, *kō* W,  
*kuhno*, *təlt* Y; (man) *čaṭadhārī* P,  
*mūisafəd* S, W, *safəbān* Š; (woman)  
*pīrazál*, *pīrakī*, *zál* P, *zəvo* Y, *kam-*  
*pīr* S.  
old age *kaṭṭəi* P.  
olive-tree [*šona*, *šawana* Pš], *šəwan* O'.  
olive-coloured *spišē* Y.  
on *mīnde* Wn 163, *bānde*, *pa* Pš, S, *jer*, *sar* O,

- zür* O<sup>1</sup>, *ba* P, *bar* P, Y, *po*, *sko*, *tro* Y,  
*rū*, *sōr* S, *da*, *rū-i*, *sok* W, *pi* Š; at  
 the top of *sō(r)* P.  
 once *jal*, *kala* PŠ, *waxti* W.  
 one *yau* PŠ, *šē* O, *sə* O<sup>1</sup>, *žu* P, *yū* Y,  
*wok*, *yak* S. *īu* W, *yīu* Š; (of several)  
*yūyo*, *yukvego* Y.  
 one another (*h*)*alamān* W.  
 one each *igōn igōn* W.  
 onion *pīāz* O, S, *pī(y)āz*, *tekuī* P. *pīy* Y,  
*piūk*, *piyōz* W.  
 only *guj* O, *fakat* P.  
 orial *mēš-i kiškōr* S; (male) *miya*, *naxčir-  
 pəzāšē* Y, *kuškōr*, *mōn*, *wār* W (cf.  
 ram); (female) *saža* PŠ, *sūša* O,  
*mēšak* W.  
 open *arat*, *wit* [*< \*wi-šita*] PŠ, *xē* P.  
*wulai* Y, *həf* S, *ət* W, *yēt* Š.  
 open, to *prānatəl*, *spaɾdəl* PŠ, *gabdā-* Y:  
 (the eyes) *ɣaraw-* O.  
 opened *xor*<sup>2</sup> PŠ, *yalē* S.  
 or *yā* P, Y, Š, *ži(?)* Y.  
 orange *nāranj* Y.  
 order, to v. command.  
 order, in—that *tā* Y.  
 oriole, golden- *čkalpio* Y.  
 ornament [*anjor* PŠ], *fazl* P, *sarɣrāže* Y.  
 orphan *yatīm* O, *saɣir* Y, *sə*<sup>2</sup> W, *saɣēr* S.  
 other *bī*, *bəl* Wn 160, *bəl*, *nor* [*< \*an-  
 tāra-*] PŠ. *bē*, *bēgu* O, *bī* O<sup>1</sup>, *žā* P,  
*dīr* Y, *digar* S, W, *yan* W.  
 otter *sanglaū* Y, *saglavī* S, *sagāwi*,  
*šūpiš(?)* W.  
 out *panēšta* O.  
 out of breath *hənadiy* Y.  
 out of place *bijā* P.  
 outery *čiq* P.  
 outside *panēšta* O, *nēšta* O<sup>1</sup>, *bōr*, *bērūn*,  
*mabōr* P, *biarān* S, *baār*, *vīčung* W,  
*vaiza* Š.  
 oven *tamir* O.  
 over *par* PŠ.  
 overflowed *toe* PŠ.  
 overturned, to be *parzedəl* PŠ.  
 overturning *čapa* S.  
 Ovis Ammon *yārɣalī* Š (v. mountain  
 goat).  
 Ovis Poli *rūš* W; male *vrokš* W.  
 owl *lagō* O<sup>1</sup>, *bif* P, *būm* P, W, Š, *bū* Y,  
*qīm* W.  
 own *xpal* PŠ, *xui* O, *xwai* O<sup>1</sup>, *xukim* P,  
*xoy* Y, *xē* S, *šūnen* W, *xu* Š.  
 own, to *dar-* O. Cf. have.  
 owner *bādūr* O. *sāheb* P. Cf. master.

## P

- pace *pal*<sup>1</sup> PŠ, *wiyauy* W, *gām*, *qadam* S.  
 pack-saddle, v. saddle.  
 pad *noɣrai*, *namla* (v. *lamcai*) PŠ.  
 padlock *jandra* (v. *žaranda*) PŠ. Cf. lock.  
 pain *zawr* PŠ, *dard* P, S, Š, *ɣam*, *tīb* P;  
 in the ribs *brisišk* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 pain, to *dīm-* O, *bēs-* P.  
 palace *dargū*, *sarāi* P.  
 palate *kūmai* PŠ. *kām* O, P, Y, S, *kōm* W.  
 pale *rangzārd* S.  
 palm (of hand) *warɣowai* PŠ, <sup>o</sup>*we*, *talūi*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *kaf* O, P, *kaf-e dōst* P, <sup>o</sup>*dest* S,  
<sup>o</sup>*dast* W, *peno* Y, *p'ū(?)n* W, *bēn* Š.  
 paradise *behešt*, *jannad* P.  
 parched, v. grain (parched).  
 parents-in-law *qəđā* W.  
 parrot *tōti* O<sup>1</sup>, *tōti* P, *tūti* S, *sauztūti* W.  
 partner *šarik* P.  
 partridge *tanzarai*, *zarka* PŠ, *kauk* O,  
*sāc(?)*, *zrəj* O<sup>1</sup>, *bōdana*, *žirež* P, *žoržo* Y,  
*wužžir* S, *čkər* W, *zarīj* Š.  
 parturition *stam* PŠ.  
 party *ferkā* P.  
 pass n. *hān* P, *kutal* P, Š, *ɣar* Y. *ponuk*  
 S, *wīyīn* W.



- pass, to v. cross.  
 passed *ter* Pš, O, O<sup>1</sup>.  
 passing *guzar* P.  
 passion *cwab* Pš.  
 pasteboard *novnoyo* Y.  
 passtime *súattēr* P.  
 pasture *car* Pš; mountain-*gúz* Š; summer-  
*yēl* Š. Cf. meadow.  
 patch of cloth *paspōn* Y.  
 patience *sabr* P.  
 patient *sabr* S, *tōyattōr* W.  
 path *sīma* Pš. Cf. road.  
 pay *muzdur*(a)  
 peas *maruk* P, *čerīy*(?), *k'išer*, *pateko*,  
*xurmuyo* Y, *karđš*, *mužik*, *raaxođ*,  
*pačok* S, *kəroš*, *patek*, *šax* W. Cf.  
 beans, lentils.  
 peace *gicāš* Pš, *āštī*, *sulu* P.  
 peach *šaftālū* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Š, °lē Y, °nlū  
 S, W, *šadrax* P.  
 peacock *myawr* Pš, *myaumuryān* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 peak *peza* (v. *paza*) Pš. *khandi* P.  
 pear *nāk* P, *nāšpātī* P, W, °e Š, *ābrūo*,  
*ambrōz*, *nərowī* *čoggo*, *kyogō*, *naš*-  
*potūy*, *tok* Y, *pēšu* W, *marōd*, *nōk* Š.  
 pearl *maryalara* Pš.  
 pedal (on a loom) *pāliko* Y.  
 pedestrian *palai* (v. *pal*) Pš, *piyāda* Š.  
 pedlar, v. merchant.  
 peg *možai*, *sparxai* Pš, *mažwai* O<sup>1</sup>, *cūr*,  
*max* Y, *mēx* S; (wooden, on pellet-  
 bow) *zaŋgiāk* S.  
 pellet-bow, v. bow.  
 pen *kalam* P.  
 penis *γēn* Pš, *γēn* O, *γēn* O<sup>1</sup>, *čōl*, *lāwər* P,  
*γīkū* Y, *čūl*, *dūr* S, *γōr* S, W, *pał* W,  
*čūlak*(?), *jus* Š.  
 people *xalag* O, *mardum* P, Š, *xalk* P, S,  
*maxluk* S, *xalγ* W.  
 perfection *kamāl* P.  
 perfume *xužbūi* P; (a kind of) *kalānfār* P.  
 perhaps *šāyī* Pš, *magam* P, *albatt* S, W.  
 perishable *fānī* P.  
 period *mausum* P.  
 period of two years *lohsaro* Y.  
 peritoneum *spešta* Pš.  
 permission *ruxsat* Y.  
 permit, to *lam dah*- P.  
 perplexed *hairān* P.  
 person *žawai* Pš, *nafar* P, W, Š, *tan* S,  
*xālg* W; (a certain) *felāna/i* P.  
 perspiration *xwala* Pš, *arāq* O, Y, S, W,  
*xōla* O, *xalo* O<sup>1</sup>, *arāk* P, Š, *xul* Y,  
*xair* S, *xīl* W.  
 pestle *lawar* Pš, *γursang* O, *bayrič*,  
*mōlūi* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 pheasant *pātačūr* Y.  
 pice *paisa* P.  
 pick, to *bōž*- O, *čū*- Y, *čeu*- S, *čip*- W.  
 pick up, to *šrēw*-, *kherēw*- P.  
 pick-axe *kulaŋg* P, *gizē* Y.  
 picture *negār* P.  
 piebald *gaž* (v. *āyažəl*), *prāŋg* (v. *prang*)  
 Pš, *ablaq* P, *kaš* Y, *čōl*, *raŋgā-i*  
*gūnagūn* S, *ar xel. čūž*, *šard* W.  
 piece *čōk* P. Cf. morsel.  
 pieces, in small *rīza* P.  
 pierce, to *kif*- S.  
 pierced, to be *sūpedəl* Pš.  
 pig *matō*, [*sarkūzai*] Pš. *nālat* O, *xūy*  
 S, Š, *xīg* W.  
 pigeon *kauntar* Pš, *kaftar* O, *kabūtar* P,  
*koviō* Y, *kōvīđ* S, *kibīt* W, *čebūd* Š.  
 pilau *palāw* P, *palau* Y.  
 pillow (a kind of) *damphōk* P.  
 pile up, to *yđđ*- W, *tāž*(?) Š.  
 pilgrimage *markad* P.  
 pillar, v. post.  
 pillow *takyā* O, *bālišť* O<sup>1</sup>, *bānapāt*,  
*taisōrī* P, *taqio*, *virzanē*, *vrazidinē* Y,  
*tōk-sarī*, *vōzd* S, *tōkiyā*, *rōrz* W,  
*mutaka*, *vīžjēj* Š.

- pin (of a spindle) *čēšo* Y.
- pincers *ambūr* O, W, Š, *šuro* Y, *šor* S, *cepio* Y.
- pinch *škulak* O<sup>1</sup>.
- pinch, to *cēb-* Y, *cērūp-* W.
- pine-cone, edible *zānyezai* (v. *zayai*) PŠ.
- pine *wāziyū* Y, *dšram*, *nāštar* S, *pit*(?)  
*yīrya* W; edible *bedr* W.
- pine-marten [*uū* Y, *yūnək* (prob. marmot) S.
- pine-nut, kernel of the- *zwayak* O.
- pistachio *pista* O<sup>1</sup>, *pəstā* Y, S.
- pit *čayul* Y, *glac* W; (for storing butter)  
*hamjūi* W.
- pit-ecal *kemur* S.
- place *yalai*, *otūn* PŠ, *jāi* O, P, Y, Š,  
*jāk* O<sup>1</sup>, *žaya* Y, *jā* S; (to this) *ēken-*  
*hāk* P; (in that very) *škān* P; (for  
putting pots) *γif* W; (where the  
horse is bound) *pēš-āxər* S.
- place, to (*kše-*) *šodəl* PŠ, *g-*, *nīw-* O, *γuh-*  
*lam dah-*, *nhēn-* P, *wāst-* Y, *nezdər* W,  
*lāk* Š. Cf. put.
- plain n. *awārī* O, *maidān* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, S,  
*ōn* W, *mērə*, *samo* O<sup>1</sup>, *dāk*, *pušta* P,  
*dašk'* Y, *dašt* S, W, *dāšt*, *medān*,  
*pušta* Š.
- plait n. *bray* PŠ.
- plait, to *tāw-* P, *parwuf-* W. Cf. weave.
- plan *tagbīr* P, Y.
- plane, oriental. v. chenar.
- planet *waxs*(?) S.
- plank *frūn*, *tax-rū*, *taxta* S.
- plant *buta* P, *nābāt* S, *nabōt* W, *cūdm* Š;  
(n. of a) *wayūna* Wn 169, *omə*, *xər-*  
*γwaž* (v. *xar*) PŠ, *picili*, *šiyiko*, *šax* Y.  
Cf. shrub.
- plant, to *njatəl*, *zanəl* PŠ, *niyā-* Y,  
*nēnd-* S, *nünd-* W.
- plaster, to *axepəl* (v. *xəp*) PŠ, *šift-* Y.
- plastering *šagār* S.
- plate *kāsa* O, *šē* S, *šūyi* O, *majma* P,  
*tābčak* Š.
- platform *čārštr*, *raza* Y, *rēž* S, *raž* W.
- platoon *turp* P.
- play *loba* PŠ, *būzi* O, *šē* S, *štami* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*xediya* Y, *naž* S, *štik* W.
- play, to *niwáz-* Š.
- please, to *šāyəl* PŠ, *rām-* Y, *befār-* S.
- please God *emšalla* P.
- pleased *xūš* O. Cf. agreeable.
- pleasure *xwand* PŠ, *xubt* O, *ais* P,  
*xošānē* Y.
- Pleiades ["pairmoni" Wn], *perūne* PŠ,  
*bōl*(?) Y.
- plenty *yalabagi* P. Cf. much.
- plough *yaxt(a)* Wn 169, *yawē* PŠ, *špār*,  
*yūx* O, *špāro*, *yuciē* O<sup>1</sup>, *kulba* P,  
*kugo*, *kīšča*, *katā*, *sporo* Y, *kalba*,  
*kīrūg* S, *kīrən* W, *špār* Š; (peg in  
the) *saryār* Y; (part of-) *šakyē* Y.  
Cf. ploughing, ploughshare.
- plough, to *karəl* PŠ, *kār-* O<sup>1</sup>, Y, *mēlēw-* P,  
*kīr-* S, *wīzd-* Š.
- plough-bullock *gažōi* O.
- plough-handle *hostaganu* Y, *γəlāk* S,  
*yīžək* W.
- ploughing *kīriš* S, *čērij* Š.
- ploughman *čērijgār* Š.
- plough-pole *āwusp* Y, *āwišp* S, *hešt*,  
*wəšp* W.
- plough-share *spāra*, *tiyāšə* PŠ, *sārispār* O,  
*karkiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *kando* Y, *spər* S, *špūndr*,  
*šipōr*, *stōrs* W.
- plough-wedge *ačardīnc*, *yuwazgo* Y.
- plug *mūnai* (not *mūnai*) PŠ.
- plum *ālū* Y.
- plunder *ulja* P.
- pocket *jībak* P.
- podex *γara*, *kūna* PŠ, *kūn* O, *kunačāi*  
O<sup>1</sup>, *lunc-e kuřurika*, *šōngōk* P, *γumina*,  
*pero*, *šaškōt* Y, *šēn* S. Cf. anus.

- poet *šâher* P.  
 poetry *šâherî* P.  
 point (of a knife) *nûk* O, P, *nêš* P, *nûl* Š.  
 poison *wəš* PŠ, *zâr* O, P, S, W, Š, *tar-kaî* P, *saŋkiyo*, *zah<sup>ur</sup>*, *žaro* Y.  
 Polar Star *qətb* W.  
 polish, to *zloyəl* PŠ, *say-* O. Cf. rub.  
 polite, v. courteous.  
 polo-ball *kvipo* Y.  
 polo-stick *hālo* Y.  
 pomegranate *anār* P, Y, *puŋluk* O<sup>1</sup>, *alāno* Y.  
 pommel of a saddle *ngūbai* (v. *kwab*) PŠ.  
 pond *wasta* (v. *wandanai*) PŠ, *auz* O, *daŋd* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *talāu* O<sup>1</sup>, *hawz* P. Cf. lake.  
 pony *yābū* Y.  
 poor *garīb* O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S, W, *sīdai* P, *ājiz* Y, *bēcōra* S, *nātuān* W, *°wān* Š.  
 poplar *gulramen*, *rameno*, *tarik* Y, *safē/īdōr* S, W, *wurmēk* S, *piyaš*, *rīzabarg* W.  
 porcupine *suŋgūn* Wn 162, *skoŋ* PŠ, *sukal* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *šuyur* P. Cf. hedgehog.  
 porridge *rōz*, *xastār* O<sup>1</sup>, *aṭrlē* Y, *ōš* Y, W, *pašār*, *sədik*, *xəšpa* S, *āš*, *aušpa* Š; (barley-) *dāilē* S.  
 portion *jirē* O, *baxš* S.  
 possessor *xūwand* P.  
 post *stōn* PŠ, *sutun* O, *se<sup>o</sup>* Š, *styōn* O<sup>1</sup>, *ustūn* P, *ustuno* Y, *°stīn* S, *is<sup>o</sup>* W.  
 posteen *pōstīn* O, Š, *pōstakī* P, *bēṭāk* S.  
 pot *xumb* Š; (large, earthen) *maṭ* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. cooking pot.  
 pouch (for gunpowder) *kamār*, *kutiā* Y.  
 pound, thump *ṭak* O.  
 pound, to *ḥikaw-* O.  
 pour, to *z<sup>o</sup>var-* Y; (into) *kaṭ-* W; (out) *sanjəl* PŠ, *andāz-*, *γurzēw-* P, *drī-*, *na-*, *zuy-* Y.  
 poverty *garībî* P.
- power *hoqūf*, *jabr*, *qūwat*, *tāb*, *xudrat*, *zūrî* P; (having this much) *hawekāî* P. Cf. strength.  
 powerful *jabār*, *qūwaldār*, *°nak*, *mutabar*, *zūrāwar* P. Cf. strong.  
 praise, to *stāyəl* PŠ, *stau-* W.  
 praising *tārīf* P.  
 prayer *munj* PŠ, *duwā* O, P, *munājāt*, *numāz* O, *māz* O<sup>1</sup>, *salāt*, *nemāz* P, *na<sup>o</sup>* Y, S, *duā*, *nəmōz* W.  
 precipice *γurp* Y.  
 pregnant *brālba*, *warla* PŠ, *umīdvar* P, *°varo* Y, *hamāl* P, *amēdvār* S, *varenj* W; (animal) *āvest* P, *vəzāšō* Y.  
 preparation *zerma* PŠ, *sarišta*, *tayārî* P.  
 prepare, to *rēz-* P, *gax-* S.  
 prepared *jōr* O, *jōr*, *puxta*, *vāst*, *tayār* P.  
 presence *nēla* O.  
 present n., v. gift.  
 present (adj.) *hāzer* P.  
 press down, to *drabəl* PŠ, *vərdenz-* W.  
 previous *tariwāl* P.  
 price *baya* O, *bhāî*, *nirx* P, *kīmat* Y, *qimnat*, *wāy* W; (paid for bride) *tūyānu* P.  
 prince *šāzāda* O.  
 princess *bēgun*, *xānem* P.  
 prison *bandixāna* P.  
 prisoner *yasir* S, W.  
 proclaimed *ayūn* P.  
 produce *hāsel* P.  
 produced *paidā* P.  
 promise *lauz* O, *ād*, *wāda* P.  
 prop *aγam(ai)*, *(aγ)* PŠ.  
 propel, to *nikiz-šēk* O.  
 proper *munāsīb* P.  
 property *māl* O, P, Y, S, *daulat* O, P, Y, Cf. riches.  
 prophet *pāiγumbar* O, *pai<sup>o</sup>* Y.  
 prostrated, to be *parzedəl* PŠ.  
 protect, to *sātəl*, *zγorəl* PŠ. Cf. guard

protection *parvariš* S.  
 protector *nigāwān* P.  
 proud *sarferāz* P.  
 pudenda *šarm* Y.  
 puerperal *langa, zarḡāla* Pš.  
 pull, to *kān*- Wn 161, *kšəl* Pš, *kaš kan*- P,  
*xoš*- Y, *xaš*- S, *xāš*- W; (out) *neḡ*- P,  
*nig*- Y; (up weeds) *žimež*- Y.  
 pulse (vein) *mežáz* P.  
 pulse (crop) *ḡāmu* Y, *mašōrj* Š.  
 pulverized *hinl-vek* O.  
 pumpkin *kədiw* W.  
 pungent *tekku* P.  
 pupil *šāgird* P; of the eye [*kasai*], *torai*  
 (v. *tor*) Pš, *ḡrāsī* O, *duko* O<sup>1</sup>, *šūi* S,  
*mərdik* W.  
 puppy *kūčuk* O, *ek* W, *gurjī*, *kūčuk* P,  
*čəkena*, *čənakē* Y, *škoḡok* S, *seken* W,  
*čaxbuc*(?) Š.  
 pure *nož* Pš, *pākizū* O.  
 purpose *madlab*, *maxsūd*, *niyat* P.  
 pursuing *rūf* P.  
 pus *zawa*, *raš* Pš, *zū* O<sup>1</sup>, *rīm* P, *narzū* Y.  
 pustule, v. blister.  
 put, to *ban*-, *g*-, *nīw*- O, *new*- O<sup>1</sup>, *ečēw*- P,  
*fəčinā*- Y, *nūš*-, *wəd*- S, *šā*-, *nēš*- Š.  
 Cf. place, make to sit.  
 put fire to, to, v. kindle.  
 put on, to, v. dress.  
 put to flight, to *tišaw-ək* O, v. flight.  
 puttees *paitawo* Y.

## Q

quail *nwaḡaz* Pš, *baḡiēr* O<sup>1</sup>, *woḡyo* Y,  
*worc* S, *wōlc* W.  
 quarrel *dāwā*, *guftigū* P.  
 question *puštana* (v. *puštədəl*) Pš,  
*pəštān(n)a* O, *puḡsān* P, *pursān* W.  
 quick *zḡar* Wn 169, *žir* Pš, *čabuk* O,  
*sēr*(ə) O<sup>1</sup>, *tūnd*, *zak* P, *jald* S.  
 quickly *dastī*, *rau*, *raw*, *talwasa* P, *zūt* Š.

quiet *ēman* Pš, *karār*, *tal* P.  
 quilt *zopē* Y. Cf. clothes.  
 quince *behl* P.  
 quite *xūb* S.  
 quiver *šwalai* Pš, *nəduw* W.

## R

radish *turb* O, *sārb* Š.  
 rafter, v. roof-beam.  
 rag n. *ḡinj* O, *lalaī* P, *lūg* W.  
 rain [*wor*], *pašakāl* Pš, *bārān* [Pš], O,  
 O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S, Š, *auḡār*, *ḡār* P, *nīw*,  
*wāriyo* Y, *novək* S, *bōrōn*, *wūr* W,  
*dinyā* (cf. Sköld *dinya*) Š; (heavy-)  
*šeba* Pš.  
 rain, to *warēž*- Wn 166, *woredəl* Pš, *ḡōr*-  
 O, *ḡār*-, *wāš*- P, *nov*- Y, *bōr*-, *nav*- S.  
 rainbow [*da buḡal tāl*, *sra-u šna* Pš],  
*kamān-i Rustām* O, S, W, Š, *sūršino*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *kamānī*, *nāxčurī*, *tofang-i Rustam*  
 P, *mīra-avlato* Y, *nerau* W.  
 rainy *ozḡū* P; (season) *pašakāl* Pš.  
 raise, to *riḡawdəl* Pš, *wustaw*- O, *uštēw*- P,  
*škōb*- Y.  
 rake *namurzg* W.  
 ram *maž* Pš, *aurai* O, *kuča*, *manšk* P,  
*pəzeḡr* Y, *jāndār*, *kəškār*(?) S, *ḡəš*-  
*k'ela*, *k'ala*, *pūs*, *tux*, *watōx* W,  
*mežij*, *nīr* Š; sheep, male- *nār* S.  
 ram in, to *lūd*- W.  
 ramchikor *žərz* W.  
 ransack, to *šanəl* Pš.  
 rat *maža* (v. *mažak*) Pš, *ḡəlak* O, *ḡi*<sup>o</sup> O<sup>1</sup>,  
*gurbamūš* P, *mīrmušan* Y.  
 ration *žirē* O.  
 raven *vrōḡ* [Afr. *wrōḡ*] Pš, *xun* Y, *xarn*,  
*zūḡ* S, *šend* W.  
 ravine *pal*<sup>3</sup>, *xwaḡ* Pš, *kurri* P, *ḡor*,  
*karum*, *žirāv* W, *darra* Š. Cf. valley.  
 raw *əm* Pš, *xāmē* O, *ḡām* O<sup>1</sup>, *hāmō* P,  
*xām* P, Y, S, *ḡing* W.

- ray *mārīj*, *paloša* Pš.  
razor *pâkī* O.  
reach, to *awas-* O, O<sup>1</sup>.  
read, to *lwastəl*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *aw-* O, *γwəs-*, *haw-* O<sup>1</sup>, *xân-* P, *buxōn-* Y, *belav-* S, *jōy-* W, [*ǰōy-* Sk.] Š.  
ready *hâzer* P, *tayâr* P, Y, S.  
reap, to *rēb-* Wn 167, *rawdəl*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *dir-* O, *lērī-* Y, *deräy-* S, *drāw-* W.  
reaping *lau* Pš, *drau* O, *l̥orovo* Y, *deryōk* S, *dirau* W, *câw* Š.  
reason *sabap/b* P, S, *šâen* P.  
recent *yând* W. Cf. new, young.  
recite, to *xân-* P.  
reciter (of tales) *qessaxân* P; (of prayers) *fâtehaxân* P.  
reckoning *isâb* O, O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. calculation.  
recognize, to [*pēzn-* Wn], (*pe-*)*žandəl* Pš, *pazan-* O, *pazdan-* W. Cf. know.  
red *sūr* Pš, *šūs* O, *sūšr* O<sup>1</sup>, *hīncakōi*, *surkh(ō)* P, *gulgūn*, *surx* Y, *sərx* S, *səkr* W, *rūšt* Š; light- *vūr* Y.  
reed *šar-yašai* Pš, *nai* O, P, Y, S, *dumb* P, *nəl*, *xšileniyo* Y, *niyōk* S, *nālčrk* W, *kirūšt* Š.  
reflection *γaur* P.  
refresh·d *tâza* P.  
refutation *radd* P.  
regard, to (*paŕ-*), *thâr-* P. Cf. look.  
regarding *paŕi*, *sail* P.  
regiment *paltan* P.  
regret *pežmân* P, *pšaimânī* S.  
regretful *pšaimōn* W.  
reject, to *šayəl* Pš.  
relation, blood- [*xpul*, *xēš* Pš], *xēš* S, *xēš* Š.  
release, to *xalâsa-* O<sup>1</sup>, *hēl kan-* P.  
released, v. lct loose.  
religion *dīn* S.  
remain, to *ūzeh-* P, *fəris-* S, *tōž-*, *wərač-* W. Cf. left behind.
- remaining *pâte* Pš, *oŕuk* O, *bâkī*, *mânda* P.  
remedy *elâj*, *darmân* P.  
remembering *awē* P.  
repair *adel* P, *pətun* W.  
reproof *malâmat* P.  
repulsion *radd* P.  
request *āpa* Pš.  
requesting *dâdxân* P.  
resemble, to *mōnō kən-* S, *mōnō car-* W  
resembling *mesl*, *misâl* P, *-gnik* S. · Cf. like.  
resin *žāwla* Pš, *šīrxēšt* P, *čirwašk*, *wăziyâ* Y, *šelmək* S.  
respite *mâtal*, *thâl* P.  
rest of a matchlock *degazayē* Y.  
resting *karâr* P.  
restless *bīwar* P.  
retirement *stana* Pš.  
return *byarž* Pš.  
return, to *tōs-* Wn 167, *jâr-watəl* Pš, *čəyū-* Y, *pišew-* W.  
returned *stūn* (v. *stana*) Pš.  
revetting wall *wāšk* W.  
revolve, to *šar-* O.  
reward *mujŕâ* P.  
rheum *zəkōm* W. Cf. mucus.  
rhubarb *čukri* O, *čugurē*, *šūiko* Y, *rūv* S.  
rib *puštaī* Pš, <sup>o</sup>*iē* O<sup>1</sup>, *kabəŕyâ* O, <sup>o</sup>*uryâ* P, <sup>o</sup>*arγe* S, *hadq-e kaburγâikâ* P, *alixa*, *pərsəyē* Y, *ostok*, *kamar*, *wəloχ*, *paŕik* S, <sup>o</sup>*ak*, *purs* W, *pərs* Š.  
ribs, the place under and between *sar-r-dīl* Y.  
rice *wriže* Pš, *rezan* O, *rizon* O<sup>1</sup>, *berenj* P, S, *rahō* P, *burinj* Y, <sup>l</sup><sup>o</sup> W, <sup>bi</sup><sup>o</sup> Š, *gʷrinj* Y; (unhusked) *mai* Pš, *šole* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *ǰəl* O, *šēl* P, *šālē* Y; (a small grain of) *mahīn* P; (kernel of-) *šamâx* O; (milk—) *čirgrinj* Y; (with dhal) *xuško* Y; (with meat) *šulo* Y.

- rich *ḏāk* O, *daulatmand*, *mutabar* P, *akābur*, *bāi*, *dauladār*, *kuatin* Y, *māldār* S, *bōi* S, W.
- riches (wordly) *dunyā* P. Cf. property.
- ride, to *viḏāw*- W.
- rider *swor* Pš, *s(u)wār* O, Y, W, *sō°* P, *sa°* Š, *suwār* S.
- riding *zuwarī* P.
- ridge *lerai* (v. *lor?*) Pš; (between irrigation plots) *wirg* W. Cf. border, embankment.
- ridicule *peše* Pš.
- rifle, v. gun.
- rifles, fighting with *tofaṅṅjaṅgī* P.
- rifleman *tufaṅ(g)dār* P.
- right *durust* O, *adel* P, *rāst* P, Š, *rawā* P, *urzuγ* Y.
- right (hand) *ḥica* Wn 169, *ḥai* Pš, *xwai*, *xwarincā* O, *xurēncō* O<sup>1</sup>, *urzuγ* Y, *rōst* S, W, *wvrzḡ(ə)* W.
- rightly *rastē* Y.
- ring *harkāra* P, *murḏk* S; (finger-) *calai* (v. *cəlai*), *gūta* Pš, *ṅguštrī* O<sup>1</sup>, *aṅguštārī* O, P, S, *ṅuštī* P, *parguščē* Y, *čelik*, *iṅgitōk* S, *aṅguštara*, *plōṅgōšt* W, *čila* Š.
- ring-dove *paxtak* O, *fāxtar* P, *fāxtaga*, *migva* Y, *fāxtē* S, °a Š.
- ring-worm *sponai* Pš.
- rinse, to *puru*- W.
- rip up, to *rīz*- W.
- ripe *pōx* Wn 168, *pox*, *xuṛīn* Pš, *alzōk*, *puxōk* O, *kīkyii*, *pšāi*, *šām* Y, *pēx*, *sēr* Š.
- ripen, to *peš*- W.
- ripple *maks* W.
- ripped *čīr* P.
- rise, to *xatəl* Pš, *wust*- O, *ḏak*-, *ušt*-, *xīst kan*- P, *žīb*- Y, *xaz*- S, *giz*- W, *andez*- Š.
- rival *siāl* Pš.
- river toe Pš, *daryā* O, P, Y, Š, °āb O<sup>1</sup>, °āi S, *wōkxāna* O, *daryāb* O<sup>1</sup>, *daryō* W.
- rivulet *laštai* (v. *lašta*) Pš, *ži* P. Cf. stream.
- road *lār* Pš, C, *rāī* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *panān* P, *pādo* Y, *rā*, *sarāk*, *šoval* S, *vədek* W, *pūnd* Š; (steep) *paranyiko* Y.
- roar, to *arras* *jan*- P.
- roast, to *alwoyəl*, *teyəl*, *writawul* (v. *writ*) Pš, *paṛa*- O<sup>1</sup>, *vroc*- Y.
- roasted *writ* Pš.
- rob, to *čūr*- P.
- robber *rahzan* S, *rah-zan* W.
- rock *parša* Pš, *kamar* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, *yər* S.
- rock-crystal *belaur*, *kūtī* S.
- rod *šipk* W.
- roll, to *layar*- O, *wahēw*- P, *γaltan*- Y.
- roll down, to *ryaštəl* (v. *γarəl*) Pš, *du-gur*- P.
- roll together, to *palēw*- P.
- roll up, to *γārəl* (v. *γarəl*) Pš, *zuwāy*- W.
- rolling *γəl* P.
- rolling-pin *zifkyän* Y.
- roof *čat* [Pš], O<sup>1</sup>, *čiw*, *pōn* O, *pōn* O<sup>1</sup>, *kō* P, *iščty* Y, *kiskūd* S, *iskakut*, *kūt* W, *dišit* Š. Cf. ceiling.
- roof-beam *bainš* (v. *weša*), *weša* Pš, °o O<sup>1</sup>, *destak* O, *da°* S, *xar*, *mowēši*, *tirṛāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *wē* P, *gaṭ*, *frāspūy*, *nax-daru*, *pārsē*, *patarē*, *wār* Y, *tīr*, *walē*, *wāl* S, *bōin*, *pərwās*, *patari*, *sipask*, *was* W, *sepāč*, *wūs* Š.
- roof-board *miṭxōn* O<sup>1</sup>, *destak* P, *lvoro* Y, *taxta* S, *bit*, *taurič* W.
- roof-gutter *nāx* P.
- room *xūna* Pš, *γaza* Y.
- room, to find- *wuc*- S.
- root *wex* Pš, *bēx* O, W, *myūcan*, *wuliē* O<sup>1</sup>, *btx*, *γix*, *kōrdi* P, *vən* Y, *wēx* S, *wiūx* W, *wrēša* (?), *viēš* Š.

root-fibre *wīye* Wn 160, *zela*, *wula* Pš, *rišā* P, Y, *woxo* Y, *rəštē* S, *rišta*, *wādn* W.  
 rope *wandar*, *biyāsta*, *wāš* (v. *wandanaī*) Pš, *bēš* O, *bēs*, *piṛiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *bāš* P, *tanou* Y, *rasan*, *vōš* S, *šiven* W, *vāš* Š; (fastening plough-pole) *čēr* W; (made of willow-bark) *tiyo* Y. Cf. yoke-rope.  
 rose *gulāb* P; (white) *phul-wārai* Pš.  
 rot, to *pu-* S.  
 rotten *sxā*, *wrost* Pš, *šri-būk* O, *liu*, *pīo* Y, *pusidā* S, *pītk* W.  
 rough *zraž* Wn 159, *laγe*, *lwār*, *ziž* Pš, *dīž* O<sup>1</sup>, *drušč* Y, *dərošt* S, *dirīšt*, *skurf* W.  
 round *γunḍ* Pš, *girḍai* O<sup>1</sup>, *girḍo* -Y, *peṭ* W.  
 rub, to *muršen-* Wn 161, *mušəl*, *zdoyəl* Pš, *mušaw-*, *say-* O, *muxa-*, *xaz-* O<sup>1</sup>, *astar-*, *menth-* P, *lēmōn-*, *māγv-*, *sā-* Y, *mānḍ-*, *saw-*, *šak-* S, *mānd-*, *sīw-*, *sux-* W. Cf. smear.  
 rub to powder *vizam-* W.  
 rubbing (of a new-born child) *warγānai* (*āγažəl*) Pš.  
 ruby *lāl* P.  
 rue *spānda* (v. *spalanaī*) Pš; (seed of) *spalanaī* Pš.  
 rung (knitted) *kālin* P, *palās* P, W, *pe*<sup>o</sup> S, *kaliyo*, *qālin* Y, *peles* Š; (woven) *gilīm* O, Š, *°ām* P, S.  
 ruin *jazir* Y.  
 ruined *pər* Pš, *γīrān* P.  
 rumour *gap* P.  
 rump, of horse *seγəri* W.  
 run, to *zγāstəl*, *paredəl* Pš, *daγg-ōk* O, *dhāw dah-*, *hala(i) kan-*, *halka kan-* P, : *bədayaw-*, *γāz-* Y, *araz-*, *γuz-*, *zīδ-* S, *gafs-* W, (*nāstij-*), *žāz-* Š; make to-*dhāwēw-* P, : *γazavd-* Y.

run away, to v. flee.

rung of a ladder *šurbīdak* Š.

running trap O<sup>1</sup>.

rupee *riṗē* O, *čataī*, *rāpaī* P, *°āyo* Y, *°ē* S, *°iā* W, *°iya* Š.

rust *zaγgar* Y, *zaγg* W.

## S

sacrifice *qurbān*, *satka* P.

saddle *zīn* Pš, O, P, Y, S, *zīnd* O<sup>1</sup>, *palan* Y, *pāliγg* S, *pōdḡ* W, *bəḍān* Š; (donkey-) *koṛiān* S, *mūlā*, *taqūm* W; (-cloth) *jaləγ*; *laštokum* Y, *telik* Š; (-girth) *trok* Y.

safe *salāmat* O, P.

safety *amān* P.

saint *buzurg*, *pīr* P.

saline efflorescence *rezg* W.

saliva *laγa*, *tūk*, *wužgyē* Pš, *putu* O<sup>1</sup>, *āwə-i šunḍika* P, *tuf* P, W, Š, *pišoyo*, *tfə* Y, *taf* S, *γižg* W.

salt *mālga* Pš, *nīmēk* O, *nəmēk*, *mēk* O<sup>1</sup>, *namā* P, *nəmālyo* Y, *nəmēγδ* S, *nə-muk* W, *namak* Š.

salutation *salām* P, Y, W, *salāmat* Y, *mūbarak* W.

sand *səga* Wn 159, *šəga* Pš, *rēg* O, S, W, Š, *sigə* O<sup>1</sup>, *rīg*, *seγa* P, *sēγio* Y, *luwārē* W, *šāš* Š; (grain of) *sīstə* Wn 169.

sandal *capli* O<sup>1</sup>.

satan, v. devil.

satisfied *moγ* Pš, *ḍak* O<sup>1</sup>, *sīr* P, *sēr* S, *satk* W.

satisfied, to be *bāγ-* Y.

savoury *mazadār* Y.

saw n. *arə* O<sup>1</sup>, *arra* Y, Š, *gīr* Y, *arrē* S.

sew, to *gaṇḍ-* O<sup>1</sup>.

say, to, v. speak.

scab *pam*, *pəw* Pš, *garg* P; (of a wound) *waγ*, *xež* Pš. Cf. scar.

- scabbarð *yaláft* O, *yeláf* P, Š, *heno*, *tupiya* Y.
- scales *tarázū* Y, °zē S, Š, *tʔrázū* W.
- scar *dāy* P, *hořk* Y, *wərk* W. Cf. scab.
- scare away, to *pütrüm(b)-* W.
- scarf *luŋgi* P.
- scatter, to *lwastəl*<sup>2</sup> PŠ, *phiš-* P.
- scissors *ka(i)ti* P, *qačio* Y, *qaiči* S. Cf. shears.
- scold, to *huwáš-* P, *vrön-* S.
- scorpion *lařam* PŠ, O<sup>1</sup>, *gaždum* O, P, Š, °*umba* Y, *čayardum* P, *kurmo*, *škrafla* Y, *gäzdəmb* S, *güždim*, *řəndäl* W.
- scrape, to *skoyəl* PŠ, *kawēr-* P, *zərend-* W.
- scratch, to *skoyəl* PŠ, *gəraw-* O, *khā-*, *kawēr-* P, *drüp-* W; (oneself) *xūr-* S.
- scream *bayāra* (v. *řaredəl*) PŠ, *nāra* P.
- scream, to *žirīy-* Y.
- scrotum [*xořa* PŠ], *lauřa* O, *xöyâ* P, *dyurça* Y, *xäyē* S, *řuməncək* W, *řarin* Š.
- scum, v. foam.
- scurf *xwar* PŠ.
- sea *daryâ* O.
- sea-monster *nahāng* S.
- seam *ngīnda*, *skoe* PŠ.
- search, to *šanəl* PŠ, *luř-* P, *kös-* Y, *čalg-* W. Cf. seek.
- searching *talab* P.
- season *mausöm* S, °*im*, *fasl* W.
- second (adj.) *bəl* PŠ, *dīm* O.
- second irrigation, v. irrigation.
- secret *ráz* P.
- security *amán* P.
- see, to *kəs-* Wn 167, *gorəl*, *katəl*, *lidəl* PŠ, *wīn-* PŠ, Y, S, W, Š, *juř-* O, *jün-* O<sup>1</sup>, *bučh-*, *dhöř*, *tul-* P, *kas-* S, *čes-* Š.
- seed *toma*, *zařai*<sup>1</sup> PŠ, *tuxm* P, *t'ēy(ə)m* S, *đəng*, *tařum* W, *töym* Š. Cf. grain.
- seek, to *dhēw-*, *luř-* P, *tela-*, *wuškuř-* Y, *škarr-*, *təlap-* S, *šküřg-* W, *tälāb-* Š. Cf. search.
- seer (weight) *sır* P.
- seize, to *na* Wn 160, *nıwul* PŠ, *nas-* O, *áleř-*, *guri-* P, *fār-*, *řxot-*, *řurv-*, : *ptřəmd-o* Y, *nas-*, *zənz-* S, *durz-* W, *anjā-* Š. Cf. take.
- select, to, v. choose.
- self *xpal* (*jān*) PŠ, *jān* O, P, *xui* O, *xwai* O<sup>1</sup>, *xud*, (*xu*)*xu* P, *xoyo* Y, *xadak* (v. *xē*) S, *řđt* W, *xu* Š. Cf. own.
- selfwilled *xudrūya* P.
- sell, to *prořəl* PŠ, *práy-* O, *prāw-* O<sup>1</sup>, *pharát* P, *plār-* Y, *par-đē-* S, *pürind-* W, *parđā-* Š.
- send, to *āstawul*, *ležəl* PŠ, *řičaw-* O, *wesej-* P, *škör-*, *xuzd-* Y, *āstay-* S, *sřtiy-* W, *báz-* Š.
- sense *aql* O, *huř* P.
- separate *byal* PŠ, *aláhida*, *řudá*, *řahi* P, *wödyo* Y, *řidā* W.
- separate, to *wār-* Y.
- separation *řudái* P.
- sepulchre *markad* P.
- serpent, v. snake.
- servant *nūkar* O, P, *nau*<sup>o</sup> S, W, *maz-dür* P, *řadar* Y, *řələm*, *marām* W.
- service *xizmat* O, P, *xed*<sup>o</sup> P, *xis*<sup>o</sup> Y, *nūkarı* P, *muzdur(ə)* Y.
- sesamum *kunzala* PŠ.
- set, to (about the sun) *vřš-* Y, *wis-* W.
- settled *taı* P.
- seven *owə* PŠ, *hō* O<sup>1</sup>, *wö* O, *höt* P, *avdo* Y, *övd* S, *hüb* W, *üvd* Š.
- seven months, a period of *afmahā* S.
- seventeen *awēs* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *habda*, *hattös* P, *avda* Y, *övdədos* S.
- seventy *awiā* PŠ, *awaitu* O, *awāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *řinim* *řuřtak* P, (*h*)*řaftāđ* S.
- severe *řáwerı* P.
- sew, to [*gařđəl* PŠ], *undəřəw-* O, *andarř-* P, °*ərv-* S, *žüy-* Y, *dřev-* W, *ancāv-* Š:



- (with large needle) *γundr-iēcan(?)* O<sup>1</sup>.  
Cf. darn.
- shabby, tattered *tēlt* Y.
- shade *siyā*, *sōrai* (v. *siyā*) Pš, *syākā* O, °o O<sup>1</sup>, *sēy* P, *saγo* Y, *sāye* S, *sāya* W.
- shady side of a valley *nišōr* P, *ničāγ*, *nusiγ* Y, *nišorm* S, °irm W.
- shake, to *drabəl*, *šanedəl* Pš, *xultaw-ōk* O, *žukēw*, *žumbēw-* P, °en- Š, *firšōn-*, *muža-* Y, *tāp-* W; (apricots) *wulvn-* W; (dust) *cwan-* O, O<sup>1</sup>; (the head) *čukēw-* P; (a sieve) *parič-* P.
- shaking n. *dagas*, *žulē* P.
- shallow *rangaī* Pš, *tunuk* Y.
- shame *šarəm* O<sup>1</sup>, *šarm* P, Y, S, W, *fšarm* Y, *ayā* S, *šarmindagi* W.
- shame, to put to *šarmēw-* P.
- shameless *binaγgō* P.
- shampoo, to *muta-* O<sup>1</sup>.
- share *hisáb* P, *asē* S.
- sharp *terə* Pš, *tendura* P, *tēz* P, S, Š, *ttry* Y, *tiz* Y, W, *teγd* W, *ciš*, *nēza* Š.
- sharpness *brūž* O.
- shave, to *tožəl* (v. *taršaj*), *xriyəl* Pš, *rīn-* O, *thá-* P, *tuyd-*, *xird-* Y, *tūl-* S, *tiš-* W, *tēš-* Š.
- shawl *šāl* O, P, *sariē* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. blanket.
- sheaf *caṭāi*, *tāngāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *larzē*, *mišča* Y.
- shear, to *skastəl* Pš, *kuṛta-* O<sup>1</sup>, *fxa-* Y, *varīn-* W.
- shears *bāstiko* Y.
- sheath, v. scabbard.
- sheep *γarō* P, *gəspand* W, *žāendār* Š; (ewe) *mež* (v. *maž*) Pš, *mēi* O, *mai* O<sup>1</sup>, W, *mo/āγoγūk* P, *mūo* Y, *mēl* S, *maž* Š; (fat-tailed) *ghāṇ(d)* *γarō*, *guspanđ* P. Cf. ram.
- sheep, wild, v. oorial.
- sheepskin *munγo* Y.
- sheep-pen *špol* Pš, *paržīn* Y. Cf. goat-pen.
- sheepskin coat, v. posteen.
- shelf *rūn* W.
- shepherd *špə* Pš, *čupán* O, Y, Š, *čə°* S, *šwān* O, *špōn* O<sup>1</sup>, *xuwān* P, *xəš(u)-wān* Y, *špūn* W, *šibōne* Š.
- shield *kaṅgal* O<sup>1</sup>, *separ* P, *keṛē* Y.
- shin-bone \**wozai* (v. *wāzə*) Pš, *wōzēi* O<sup>1</sup>, *neliko* Y, *kák-e-ling* Š.
- shirt *kēš* O, *kēs* O<sup>1</sup>, *káz* P, *pīrahān*, *yaktaha* Y, *šavi* S, *pirān*, *yaktā* W, *korče*, *kurta(?)* Š.
- shirtband *gīrvān* Y, *kaitān* P.
- shivering *parγaz* Pš. Cf. tremble.
- shoe *dīčī* O, *dučē* O<sup>1</sup>, *žasta*, *kausarā*, *mōza*, *paizār* P, °ār W, *kofšē* Y, *kāfš* S, W, *kāvš* Š; (Kafir) *tačingē* Y.
- shoe-string *yursiliko* Y, *bānd* S.
- shoot, a young *nehāl* P
- shoot, to *wištəl* Pš, *tʃək* *daha-* Y.
- shooting, v. hunting.
- shooting-ground *šekárjái* P.
- shooting star *likeyahā* O<sup>1</sup>.
- shop *dukán* P.
- shopkeeper *dūkāndár* O, P, Y.
- shore, v. bank.
- short *lanđ* [Pš], O, O<sup>1</sup>, *γandökö*, *kōt*, *luṇđu* P, *kükva* Y, *kuṭ* S, *kəṭ* W, *k'ut*, *pašt* Š.
- short breasted *fšai* Y.
- shoulder *wužə* Wn 161, *oža* Pš, *dōš* O, *galγ* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *šánā* O, P, *žəzə*, *wulāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *pēšāna* P, *suwdo* Y, *səvđ* S, *šona*, *yīsp* W, *sīvđ* Š; (-blade) *walai* Pš, *vulyōr*, *γārmē* Y, *flūk*, *šona* S, *fīak* W; (back of) *fyak* Š; (top of) *iskacusk* W.
- shouting *kīči* O, *žayīē* O<sup>1</sup>, *γauγá* P.
- shovel, v. spade (wooden).
- show n. *sāilə* Y.
- show, to *wiyār-* Wn 167, *šowul* Pš, *nišān* *dah-* P, *nišāž-* Y, *nəmay-* S, *dišiv-* W.

- showing *šom* O, *šām* O<sup>1</sup>, *nešān* S, *nišōn* W.
- shroud *kafan* O.
- shrub *buta* P; (n. of a) *balak* P, *āričo*, *ašasto*, *bām-seziō* (jujube?), *lʹrīvā*, *vurʹakōndi*, *wulyeγo*, *xīo*, *yūmenā* Y.
- shut, to *xambēn-š*; (one's eye) *numuļ*-S.
- shuttle *rešpuk* W.
- sky, to *bugnēdēl* Pš, *šūroχ*-Y, *witrin*-W.
- sick, v. ill.
- sickle *lor*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *dās* O, *dāšr* O<sup>1</sup>, *dēs* P, *lʹruγus* Y, *dūr* S, *šitr* W, *šerf* Š.
- side *zarma* Wn 169, *carma* (v. *carman*), *lor*<sup>2</sup>, *xwā* Pš, *palau* O, *dūbara*, *kenāra* P, *pālū* S; (from that) *phārī* P; (from this) *phyārī* P; (to that) *pū* P, *vračoγa* Y; (to this) *pī* P, *mīr-čoγa* Y.
- sieve *pezna* (v. *pezəl*) Pš, *čeyel* O, *γalbēl* O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š, *prazēn* O<sup>1</sup>, *elak*, *paričōn* P, *frāγbzl*, *γarbzl*, *hīlak* Y, *frazbzl*, *γalbzl* W.
- sieve, to *pərwīž*-Y.
- sigh [*aswelai* < \**ā-s(u)wāhita-ka*- Pš], *sā* O<sup>1</sup>, *āhū* P, *hāzer* Y.
- sigh, to *kašēw*-P.
- sight *nandāra* Pš.
- sign *išārat*, *nemāyān*, *nišān* P.
- silence *xap* S, *qarōr* W.
- silent *γalai* Pš, *karār* O, *čub* P.
- silk *wrešam* (v. *wrešəl*) Pš, *aurušum* O, *pīlo* O<sup>1</sup>, *birīšum* P, *vri*<sup>o</sup> Y, *abri*<sup>o</sup> W, *fəršēmē*, *kač* Y, *arvēšum* S, *abrēšum* Š.
- silk-worm *kač-kurma* Y.
- silver [*spīn zar* Pš], *nōkra* O, *nə*<sup>o</sup> W, *spīu-zār* O<sup>1</sup>, *čaṭai*, *nuqra* P, *no*<sup>o</sup> Š, *sīm* P, *droxum*, *nukrá* Y, *nokʹrē* S.
- similar *cer* Pš, *mesl* P.
- sin *gunā* O, P, Y.
- sinew *wuža* Pš, *lagge* O<sup>1</sup>, *rag* S, *yēr* W.
- sinful *geš* P.
- singing *darkūp*(?) P.
- single *wtr* W.
- sink, to *γvibō*-Y.
- sinner *gunagār* O, P.
- sip, to *šām*-O. Cf. drink.
- sister *xor*<sup>1</sup> Pš, *xwār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *xī* P, *ixō*, *ixiko* Y, *γəxōai* S, *šūi* W, *γax* Š.
- sister-in-law *xījīnjek* P, *antərč* W; (brother's wife) *wrandār* Pš, *er* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *biyājīnj* P, *zinro* Y, *vrūdkuč* S, *vritkənd* W, *xīun* Š; (husband's brother's wife) *γor* Pš, *ja* O<sup>1</sup>, *ixčogo*, *yūi wulo*, *γana* Y, *yūš* S, *bakš-kənd* W; (husband's sister) *nandrōr* Pš, *xšīni* O<sup>1</sup>, *nanū* P, *dəxtandār*(?) S, *xūyun* W; (wife's husband's sister) *xuyēyeno* Y; (sister's brother's wife) *xušdāuman* S; (wife's sister) *xošīna* Pš, *bājā* O, *xuyēyeno* Y, *šasirz* W.
- sit down, to *čīn*-Wn 160, *nāstəl* Pš, *spūcaw*-O, *n*-O, O<sup>1</sup>, *nhīn*-P, *niš*-Y, *nīš*-S, *nezl*-W, *neš*-Š.
- sit down! *γāl*(?) W.
- sit down, to make *čīnaw*-Wn 166, *naw*-O, *na*-O<sup>1</sup>, *nhēn*-P, *nāilā*-Y, *bəšān*-S.
- six *špōž* Wn 158, *špaž* Pš, *šū* O, *šō* O<sup>1</sup>, *xī* P, *uxšo* Y, *xuāļ* S, *šād* W, *xāuš* Š.
- sixteen *špāγas* (v. *špaž*) Pš, *šulēs* O, *šwalēs* O<sup>1</sup>, *šāzda*, *xudōs* P, *šonzda* Y, *xuāļēdos* S.
- sixty *špeta* Pš, *šūštu* O, *šwēštū* O<sup>1</sup>, *ši* *γūštak* P, *šast* P, S, *šūroiwišt* Y.
- sixth day *xuručīna* P.
- skin *carman* Pš, *un* O<sup>1</sup>, *xwar* Pš, *pōst* O, Š, *wzan* O<sup>1</sup>, *pūst*, *pūšt*, *xām* P, *karčāt* Y, *korost*, *pāsk* S, *pīst* W. Cf. goatskin.
- skin, inflated *žai* Pš, *iz* O<sup>1</sup>, *mašk*, *sandarā* P, *dril*, *maška* Y, *dēcāk*, *wūz-nuk*. *xēčē* S, *ščck*, *ōbī-sənōč*, *kəlvār*, *yāzn* W, *zenác* Š. Cf.:

skin-bag (for flour) *xalfān* Y; (small) *laxčto* Y, *kulvār* S, *pitvār* W.  
 skull [kaparai Pš], *kvemalyo* Y, *kal*, *kapāl* S.  
 skull-cap, v. cap.  
 sky *āsmān* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, *falak* O, *āyēš* P, *asmīno* Y, *osmān* W, *ās°* Š.  
 sky, clear, v. clear sky.  
 slander, to *šār*- W.  
 slate *sūt* Y.  
 slave *mrayai* Pš, *mrīg* O, *mreš* O<sup>1</sup>, *yulām* P, *bande*, *hadē*, *ida* Y, *andag* W. Cf. servant.  
 slave-girl *wīnja* [\*bandači] Pš, *wīnza* O<sup>1</sup>, *idiko* Y, *indigunj* W.  
 slaughter, to, v. kill.  
 sledge-hammer *bādīr* Y. Cf. hammer.  
 sleep *xūb* (*xōb*) Pš, *xau* O, *xwāb* O<sup>1</sup>, *xōm* P, *xūbun* Y, *minduk*, *misūk*, *xāb* S, *yūnūk* (v. *yīnōt*) *rāxūpəm* W, *xduš*, *xūdm* Š.  
 sleep, to *mīn*-, *mis*- S, *režup*- W.  
 sleep, to go to *nw-astak* O, *rhīz*- P.  
 sleeve *lastūnai* (v. *lās*) Pš, *avlāsto* Y, *zōl* S, *drōst* W.  
 slender *narai* Pš, *bārik(ōk)* P.  
 slide, to, v. slip.  
 slime, green—on standing water *γōb-naduk* S. Cf. green plant growing in ponds.  
 sling *mačoyna* Pš, *falaxmān* S, *škupn* W.  
 slip, to *šmuš-vēk* O, *laxš*- P, *s<sup>u</sup>xuy*- Y, *laxč*- S, *liv*- W, : *zenēid* Š.  
 slip, to make to *belišmān*- S.  
 slippery *šwai* Pš, *šwaya* O<sup>1</sup>, *lhanō* P, *riṅga*, *s<sup>2</sup>xauk* Y. Cf. smooth.  
 sloe *amaxno* Y.  
 slope *pečūmai*, *zawar* Pš. Cf. hillside.  
 sloping down of a field *lamərz* W.  
 slowly *wro* Pš, *dēr* O, *wrikye* O<sup>1</sup>, *mařōk* P, *məläim* Y, *āstia* S.

small *konkai*, *wur* Pš, *zāri* O, *zēri* O<sup>1</sup>, *čīnō* P, *rīza* Y, *čəf*, *čōv*, *māida*, *rīzyāk* S, *zəkalai* W, *jəlīk*, *katrāik* Š. Cf. tiny.  
 small-pox *gul* Y.  
 smear, to *axerəl* Pš, *mař*-, *menth*- P, *dā*, *labakow*- Y, *māl*- Š. Cf. rub.  
 smeared with *γark* P.  
 smearing *axēr* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 smell *būš* O, P, Y, W, Š, *bhām* P, *vūl* W; (good) *būi* S, *xužbūi* Y; (bad) *ganda-būi* P, *wah* S. Cf. stinking.  
 smile *tabasum* O, *pūxand*, *tamassum* P.  
 smoke *dund*, *lū* Pš, *dūd* O, *lugai* O<sup>1</sup>, *dhī* P, *k<sup>u</sup>šūn*, *lūi* Y, *dīd* S, *šit* W, *šud* Š.  
 smoke, to *čīng*- (not č-l) Wn 167, *čīlim* *xāš*- W, *čaž*- Š.  
 smoke-hole *darwačā* O, *riwγ*, *sārdo* O<sup>1</sup>, *rūčōn* P, *rūžen* Y, *wurcūn* S, *ričn* W, *rūz* Š; (covering of) *dārxufto* Y.  
 smooth *post* Pš, *riṅga*, *s<sup>2</sup>xauk* Y, *sudγ* W, *šīrn* Š. Cf. slippery.  
 snake *mangār* Pš, *ōr* O<sup>1</sup>, *mār* O, *haž-dār*, *kirm* P, *iž* Y, *woxs* S, *fuks*, *mōr* W, *devūsk* Š; (black & white) *kapča* *mār* O; (slightly poisonous) *šuturmār* O.  
 snare *lūma* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>, *lwīna* [*< mlūna*?], *tor*<sup>2</sup> Pš, *lōmago*, *pāš*, *pešiko* Y, *alkē* S, *đūng* W, *pēš* Š. Cf. net, trap.  
 squeeze *nžai* Pš, *čīya* O<sup>1</sup>, *atsa*, *pan* P, *γənīgo* Y, *axse*, *sakāu* S, *aqsa* W, *aksan*, *piršak* Š.  
 sneeze, to *kvīrf*- Y, *təriš*- S, *ferw*, *pōrš*, *štrēf*- W.  
 snipe *noyūžē* Y.  
 snore, to *xərūd*- W.  
 snout *wurbūz* Pš.  
 snow *wāwra* Pš, *γōš* O, *γōš<sup>r</sup>* O<sup>1</sup>, *γarp* P, *warfo* Y, *barf* S, W, *warf*, *im*(?), *zem* W, *žəniž* Š.

- snow-storm *šūřid* P.  
 snuff *naswār* Y.  
 so much *do-mra* (v. *mra*) Pš, *heqa*,  
*hōweka* P, *alə(?)*, *ind*, *mind* Y, *dunda* S.  
 soap *sābūn* S.  
 sod, v. clod of earth.  
 soft *post* Pš, *nārm* O, S, Š, *nōšr* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*mařō* P, *poləm* Y, *məlāim*, *sust* S,  
*mulaim*, *nar<sup>2</sup>m*, *xošk* W, *melāyim* Š.  
 softly *mařōk* P.  
 soil *kheṇ* P, *šət* S.  
 soldier *supā* O, *fauj*, *nūkar*, *sipāi* P,  
*spāhī* Y, *fauji* S, *sallōt* S, W, *pel-*  
*tanē* Š.  
 sole of the foot *kaf-e pā* P, S, *štānān*  
*polo* Y, *nūlsōr* S, *šatta* W, *kaf-e-*  
*pād* Š.  
 some *cə*, *jəne* (v. *co*) Pš, *cūn(d)* O, *čá*,  
*čāwar*, *kháin* P, *čand* Y, S, Š.  
 somebody *kūi* W.  
 something *ca* O, *zá* P, *čēi*, *štiva* Y,  
*čizi* S, W.  
 somewhere *kāwun* P.  
 son *zoe* (v. *zowul*) Pš, *klān* O, *kulān* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*puš*, *záy* P, *pūr* Y, *zōt* S, *pətr* W,  
*puc* Š; (only-) *kašai* (v. *kašr*) Pš. Cf.  
 step-son.  
 son-in-law *zōm* Wn 158, *zām* Pš, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*dāmād* O, W, Š, *nāsai* O, *zām* P,  
*zamai* Y, *dōmōd*, *zēmūd* S.  
 song *badela* O, *ōila* O<sup>1</sup>, *bait* O, P,  
*fagyikē*, *naxš* Y, *sáz-lūf* (imper.?) Š.  
 soot *kaləy* Y, *katđit*, *rižəm* W.  
 soothing *dilāsā(i)* P.  
 sorcerer *jādūgar* P.  
 sorcery *jādū* P.  
 sore, v. boil.  
 sore-eyed *ləč* Pš.  
 sorrel *selxiko* Y.  
 sorrow *nul*, *paxsāk* (v. *paxsedəl*) Pš, *γām*  
 S, W, *k'ín* Š.  
 sorrow(ful) *γamgin* S.  
 sort *qism* S, *šəyd* W.  
 soul *jān* P, S, *nəfs* Y, *jōn* W.  
 sound n. *šay* Pš, *awáz* O, *γax* P; (of  
 falling water) *γarγarā* P.  
 sound (adj.), v. health, in.  
 soup *zwamna* Pš, *širwā* O, *si<sup>o</sup>* O<sup>1</sup>, *ku<sup>o</sup>* P,  
*šə<sup>o</sup>* S, *ša<sup>o</sup>* Š, *plawā* P, *šurvāi* Y,  
<sup>o</sup>*vā* W.  
 sour *təřəw* Wn 169, *triv* Pš, *trūš* O,  
*təf* O<sup>1</sup>, *sit*, *turš* P, *trixp* Y, *terəš* S,  
*t<sup>2</sup>rešp* W, *tušp* Š.  
 sour milk, v. milk.  
 south *junūb* O, *jn<sup>o</sup>* S, *jan<sup>o</sup>* W.  
 sow, to [*kōr-* Wn], *karəl* Pš, *kar-* O,  
*nikiz-* O<sup>1</sup>, *phik-* P, (*tēym*) *deh-* S, *žōd-* W,  
*wēd-* Š.  
 space (below the ribs) *tusak* O<sup>1</sup>; (between  
 fingers) *grut* Pš, *gruft* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 spade *krōz* Wn 168 [cf. 'korotung' to dig],  
*yūm* Pš, Pš<sup>1</sup>, *bəl* O, S, W, Š, *kurāzi*  
 O<sup>1</sup>, *pī* P, *bīl*, *bilco* Y; (wooden)  
*bhambī* P, *fīa*, *fīyiko*, *kvārāzo*, *suniko*  
 Y, *fī* S, W, *pēi* W.  
 span [*gəttī* Wn], *wlešt* Pš, *jusp* O, *jbasp*,  
*zbast* O<sup>1</sup>, *belišt*, *kučōk* P, *wulēyo*,  
*wojōu* Y, *wuđit* S, *wajāb* S, W, *avārt*,  
*haret*, *wulēt*, *xarək* W, *widēd* Š; (from  
 thumb to fore-finger) *gekū* Wn 168  
 [< Lhd. *gokhā*], *wuzai* [*alang*, *langor*  
 < \**ā-θanga-*] Pš, *gurbizak* O<sup>1</sup>, *lo<sup>o</sup>-*  
*guščo*, *pīx* Y, *bəlis*, *čārangest*, *pēx* S.  
 spark *skarwaṭa* (v. *skor*) Pš, *bacirāi* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*cərox* Y, *ōax* W, *trāxnik* Y, *čiryazek*,  
*ša'la* S.  
 sparkle, to *lapoir* Y.  
 sparrow *muryaī* (v. *marγə*) Pš, *gunjišk* O,  
*gi<sup>o</sup>* S, *mirga* O, *o<sup>o</sup>* O<sup>1</sup>, *murčē* P,  
*brāyiko* Y, *məryōk* S, *miŋgas* W,  
*widēč* [w-!] Š.  
 sparrow-hawk, v. hawk.

- speak, to *wāy*: *wāi* Wn 160/7, *lawdāl*,  
*wayəl* Pš, *γuš*- O, *γwəs*- O<sup>1</sup>, *jaγ*- P,  
 (*gab*) *daha*-. *ž*- Y, (*gab*) *deh*-. *γēž*- S,  
*žān*- W, *lūw*- Š.
- spear *sāng* O<sup>1</sup>, *naiza* P, *nāizo* Y.
- special nature *xāsiatān* P.
- spectacle *sāilə* Y, *tamāšā* Š.
- spectacles *ainake* P.
- speech *wrāša* Pš, *lavz* S.
- spicery *masāla* P.
- spider *γaṇa* Pš, *buzwā* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *jōlā* O,  
<sup>o</sup>*āk*, *dīwurūk*, *γafak* P, *dorzkuγuz*,  
*ustada*, *zariškjo* Y, *jīlayōk* S, *ustōdak*,  
*sup*, *šāmbāf* W, *gīlimbōf* W, Š, *γan-*  
*dāl* W, *γa*<sup>o</sup>, *tanābak*, *tanīzak* Š. Cf.  
*tarantula*.
- spike (of grain) *laša* Pš, *kišār* Y.
- spill, to *hay kan*- P.
- spin, to *γarəl*, *wrešəl* Pš, *ras*- O, O<sup>1</sup>,  
*muza*- O<sup>1</sup>, *γī*- Y, *yev*- S, *žip*- W.
- spindle *cāšai* Pš, *čarxā*, *wahēwalō* P,  
*čarč* Y, *ifč* S, *citr* W, *žib* Š; (pin  
 of the) *čarmak* Y; (wheel of) *duk* Y.
- spinning-wheel *čārx* Y, S, W, Š, <sup>o</sup>*x(ā)* O,  
*tis* O<sup>1</sup>; (piece of wood on the foot-  
 board of-) *pūsura* Y; (side plank of)  
*zīgaki* Y; (threads on) *tandeneū* Y;  
 (wheel of) *parwāžrn* Y.—V. III.
- spine *murā i puč* P, *harko-γastē* Y,  
*kamak* S, *pērs* Š.
- spit n. *čamursū* Y, *kabābsēx* Š.
- spit, to *fərs*- Y. Cf. *saliva*.
- splash, to *šilāp*- W.
- splashed up, to be *strās*- W.
- spleen *torai* Pš, *γrās*, *spužak* O<sup>1</sup>, *nina-*  
*māščē*, *spərzə*, *šišpāzək*(?) Y, *srpərz*,  
*sūyūk* S, *sik*, *sipurz* W.
- splendid *wakhō* P.
- splendour *jalī* O, *juluwā* P.
- splint in the leg of a horse *oba* Pš.
- split *daγa* Pš, *kəγēi* O.
- split, to *čāwul* (v. *čāwd*) Pš, *tār*- P. Cf.  
*burst*.
- spoil *tār* Pš.
- spoil, to *natəl* Pš.
- spoke of a wheel *špištai* Pš.
- spoon *kāšuk* O, *camco* O<sup>1</sup>, *čamčā*, *durē* P,  
*kafčio* Y, *kapč* W, *čib* Š. Cf. *ladle*.
- spot (place) *žaya* Y.
- spots (of leopard) *θirs* W.
- spout *cošai* Pš.
- spread, to *γwaredəl* Pš; (manure) *urīz*- Y.
- spring (season) *swarla* Wn 159, *psarlai*  
 Pš, *wōγai* O, *rhaγām* P, *bohor*, *fsidro* Y,  
*baār* S, <sup>o</sup>*hōr* W, <sup>o</sup>*hār* Š; (early)  
 [*čərmūṇa* Wn], <sup>\*</sup>*čərmūnai* Pš, *ciγ-*  
*mūnai* O<sup>1</sup>; (late) *wōγai* O<sup>1</sup>, *sombolā* Š.
- spring (source) *kāṇ*, *xōzi* Wn 168/9,  
 [*čīna* Pš], *cimī* O, *xāko* O<sup>1</sup>, *čišma* P,  
<sup>o</sup>*e* S, *tečh* P, *xūγo* Y, *kik*, *žūw* W,  
*čašma*, *šac* Š; (hot) *čašma* W. Cf. *well*.
- spring from one seed, to *petərd*- W.
- sprinkle, to *prusnaw*-, *pāždaw*- O, *čai*- Y.
- sprinkling *pūž* Pš, *aupōši* O, *čarfandegī* S.
- squatting *dīzo* Y.
- squeeze out, to *naštejəl* Pš, *ispilaw*- O,  
*wēzem*- W.
- squeezed *pendī* P.
- squirrel *xarpāndai* O<sup>1</sup>.
- stab, to *zanəl* Pš.
- stablesturga O, *āxur*, *kamand* P, *aspəlan* Y,  
*āxtaxāna* Y, W, <sup>o</sup>*xūna* Š, *artxānā* S,  
*tawil*, *wuner*, *žabd*(?) W, *pasāk* Š.  
 Cf. *manger*.
- stable-boy *mīrāxūr* W.
- stack [*dalaī* Pš], *yelu* Y, *du-i* W, *čāšvīs* Š  
 (Notes on Shgh. incorr. <sup>o</sup>*wīs*). Cf.  
*heap*.
- staff, v. *stick*.
- stag (elk) *gawazn* Pš.
- stair *šəl* Pš, *sulān*, *šor*, *zīmā* P. Cf. *ladder*.
- staircase *nəγūl* P.

- stale *baranai* (v. *parūn*), *spor* Pš.
- stallion *narāsp* P, *ɣnain*, *narasp* S.
- stand, to *daredəl* Pš, *ašt*- O, O<sup>1</sup>, *dar*- O, *fsā(y)*- Y, *ast*-, *wərəfs*- S, *wərəfs*- W, : *wirūvd* Š.
- standing *wəlār* Wn 159, *walār* Pš, *apá*, *papá* P, *aletk* (v. *āl*-) W.
- standing, to be *t*- O, *vrīnd*- Y, *al*- S.
- star *storai* Pš, *sitāra* O, P, °*ár* W, *starrak* O<sup>1</sup>, *estēc* P, *stārē* Y, *ustərūk* S, *šätērz* Š; (evening-) *ustur-žoɣo* Y; (morning-) *karvōnkuš* Y.
- starling *mainā* P, Y, *činuɣo* Y, *bad-xarak*(?), *mayon*(?) W.
- starting *rāhī* P, Y, *rawān* P, S.
- stature *qadd* P.
- stay, to *dhar*- P.
- steal, to *tərif*- Y, *tərəf*- S, *ðəviy*- W.
- steam *wažm* Pš, *tafta* O, *baṛās*, *tāu* O<sup>1</sup>, *tāf* P, S, W, *tux* Y, *təxtə*(?) S, *teš* W, *manyár* Š.
- steel *pōlād* O, *pū*° Y, *fūlād* P, S, *pūlōd* W, *kārc* Š.
- steep *čund* P, *pasmīnaka* Y, *tənd* S, *lašn*(?) Š. Cf. slippery.
- stem (of a tree) *mənza* O, *muɣlū* O<sup>1</sup>, *gaŋdā* P, *kundē* S, *tana* Š.
- stench, v. smell.
- step *yūn* Pš, *qadam* P, W, *k*° Y, *layat* S.
- steppe, v. plain.
- step-father *plandar* (v. *plār*) Pš.
- step-mother *maira* Pš, *māendar* P.
- step-son *bən-zai* (v. *bən*) Pš, *bačandar*, *winjōk* O, *wən-kulān* O<sup>1</sup>.
- stick n. *largai*, *lašta* Pš, *gōn* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *bhōnt*, *dōstikōr*, *dezbhōnt*, *kōr* P, *kṛīnsar*, *mōšē* Y, *asā*, *durk*, *vōnd* S, *asōi*, *baɣd* W, *đārg*, *māḍ* Š.
- stick, to *nəšel*- Wn 166, *buštədəl*, *nətatəl* Pš, *časp*-, *laɣ*-, *mač*- P.
- stiff *ziž* Pš. Cf. rough.
- still (adv.) *la* Pš, *mēn* O, *digari* S.
- still more *fai* S.
- sting *laša* Pš.
- sting, to *gas*- P.
- stinking *šribūk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *wāchanbhām* P, *būigan* Y, *badbūt* Š.
- stir, to *laɣ*- O, *kəršav*- Y, *ptṛkit*- W.
- stirring-stick *tīwanīy* Y, *māl* Y, W.
- stirrup *rəkáb* O, *re*° P, *ri*° S, Š, *kreb* O<sup>1</sup>, *čauli*, *rikau* Y, *rikōb* W.
- stirrup-strap *tasma-rikáb* Š.
- stitch *skoe* Pš, v. seam.
- stitch, to *pezəl* Pš.
- stocks of offenders *kunda* P.
- stockings *kufčiliy*, *žirabē* Y, *jerāb* S, *ji*° W, *jerīb* Š.
- stolen *ɣələ* O.
- stomach (of kid) *siyalai* Pš. Cf. belly.
- stone *sāza*, *ɣar* Wn 169, *kānai*, *stāja*, *tīža* Pš, *gap* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *gir* P, *ɣar*, *kūiko* Y, *song*, *ɣər* S, *ɣār* W, *k'imb*, *žtr* Š; (crushing-) *yurzuo* Y.
- stonelid (for the *čāro*), *čār-pūyālo* Y.
- stool, to *xarəl* (v. *xər*) Pš, *fərx*- Y.
- stop, to *mān*- Wn 166, *āredəl* (*ar*) Pš.
- stopping band P, *karār* S.
- store-room *gudōm* S, *zedūn* Š; (on a roof) *māra* W.
- stork *laklak* P.
- story *naql* Y.
- stout *čāk*, *lāŋdā* P. Cf. fat, thick.
- straight *sat* Pš, *durust* O, *də*° S, *rāst* O, *six* O<sup>1</sup>, *rōst* S.
- straight (to be) *daw*- P.
- strait, v. narrow.
- straitness *taŋgī* P.
- strange *nažan* Y.
- strap *piārma* Pš, *tazma* P, *soɣ* Y, *kasyōk*, *tasma* S, *rndāg* W; (of pellet-bow) *pukara* Y; (for binding bull to plough) *sārālī* O.

- straw *kaf* O<sup>1</sup>, *drlmrl*, *palē*, *xāstē* Y, *wuš* S, *wiš* W; (of maize) *paṭṭi* O<sup>1</sup>; (of wheat or maize) *ganaskē* Y. Cf. grass.
- stream *toe*, *trai*, *wāla* Pš, *tāk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *sind* O<sup>1</sup>, *žī* P, *baššiyo*, *šōxōv* Y, *šāxāb*, *xarav* S.
- street *kučō*, *sūy* Y.
- strength *bram* Pš, *qūwat*, *sitam*, *tāb*, *tāyat* P; (of the arm) *bāzūt* P.
- stretch, to *γazedəl* Pš, *kaš kan* P, *urzu* Y, *rūr* W; (the warp on the loom) *wār* Y.
- strew, to, v. scatter.
- strike, to, v. beat.
- string *spaṅsai* Pš, *sarbān* Š; (of an instrument) *jēl* W. Cf. bow-string.
- string, to *pewdəl* Pš, *pi-yēk* O.
- strip *cīra* Pš.
- striped *naxšīn* S. Cf. piebald.
- stroke n. *hawāla* P.
- strong *mazai* Pš, *qābəl* Y, *bāq<sup>u</sup>wat*, *qwatdār* S, *zūr* W. Cf. powerful.
- stubble *drūza* Pš, *druja* O<sup>1</sup>, *aγām* Y.
- stubble(-field) *īstau* Y.
- stumble, to *blavsedəl* (v. *blōs*) Pš, *γōžī* Y.
- stump of a tree *kundē* S. Cf. stem.
- stupid *jaban* Pš, *bēaql* O, *bī<sup>o</sup>*, *nādān*, *sāda* P, *biaqəl* Y, *ablā*, *axmaq* S, *ah<sup>o</sup>*, *mūg* W.
- successful *wəγ* Pš.
- such *hēkezm* P, *zi* S.
- suck, to *jbešəl*, *rawdəl<sup>3</sup>* Pš, *lip* O, *fšūv*-, *šuv* Y, *šāp* W; (trans.) *šuvā* Y.
- suddenly *bīxabar* P.
- suffer, to *zγaməl* Pš.
- suffocation (bleeding from the nose) *aspa* Pš.
- sugar *qānd* O, P, *šokor* Y.
- suitable *barābar* P.
- sulphur *gūgurt* Y, *gōγərd* S, *pilta*(?) Š.
- sultan *sultān* O, P.
- summer *dobai* (v. *tod*), *worai* Pš, *tamūs*, *tāwistān* O, *tāve<sup>o</sup>* S, *tābi<sup>o</sup>* S, Š, *xāra* P, *tōvrstōn* Y, *tōb<sup>o</sup>* W, *wāro* Y.
- summon, to, v. call.
- summons to prayer *azān* O.
- sun *mīr* Wn 162, *γarma*, *nwar* Pš, *mēš*, *tōa* O, *mēš<sup>r</sup>* O<sup>1</sup>, *ruč* P, *mīra* Y, *ormōzd* S, *aftōb*, *yīr* W, *xīr* Š.
- sunny side of a valley *paitowai* Pš, *paraṭāf* P, *pitou* Y, *°āv* S, *°au* W.
- sun-rise *pələftuk* S. Cf. dawn.
- sunshine *tōwo* O<sup>1</sup>.
- supine *stūn* Pš, *stinγo* Y.
- supper *šūma* Pš, *xšéma* Y, *šot* W.
- surprise *dučār* P.
- surrounding *žer* Y.
- suspicion *gumān* P.
- swaddle, to *bleždəl* Pš. Cf. wrap.
- swallow *mīndelič* W.
- swallow, to *nyardəl* Pš, *wangēw* P, *γurīčā*-, *nyōz* Y, *nežγar* W.
- swallow-wort *spalmaī* Pš.
- swear, to *γwaž* O.
- sweat, v. perspiration.
- sweep, to *rūy* P, *īstōr* Y, *astar*-, *zdār* S, *višiv* W, *zedār* Š. Cf. wipe.
- sweeper(s) *makān-rūyak(ān)* P.
- sweepings *repk* W.
- sweet *xūrž* Wn 161, *xož* Pš, *xwāš* O, *xwāš<sup>r</sup>* O<sup>1</sup>, *xīrō* P, *šīrin* P, S, W, Š, *x<sup>u</sup>šwd* Y, *xāžok* S, *wūžg* W, *xīž* Š.
- sweetness *xwāš<sup>r</sup>awī* O<sup>1</sup>.
- sweets *xīraī* P, *halwā* P, Y; (given at a feast) *bat* S.
- swell, to *šus* O, *peδameš* W.
- swelling *paṛsob* Pš, *phunḡō* P. Cf. inflammation.
- swollen *xrīnd* O, *ləmoiγa* Y.
- swift, v. quick.
- swim, to *zənay* Y.

swimmer n. *aubâz* O.  
 swimming [*lâmbô*, v. *nûnd* Pš], *aubâzi*  
 O, P, *āv°* S, *lambô* O<sup>1</sup>, *šonôwarê* W,  
*šenâ°* Š.  
 swine, v. pig.  
 swing, to *zangəl* Pš.  
 sword *teγ*, *tūra* Pš, °o O<sup>1</sup>, *selâba*(?),  
*talwâr* P, *šamšêr* P, Y, S, *xugor* Y,  
*xingâr*, *šamšêr* W, *šâp* Š; (double-  
 edged) *bêbîdi* W. Cf. dagger.  
 swordsman *šamšêri* P.  
 syrup *zoša* Pš.

## T

table *mêz* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, Š, *mîz* Y, W,  
*mêx*(?) S.  
 tadpole *kauležik* S.  
 tail *ləm* Pš, *dumb* O, P, W, *likiê*, *la-*  
*kañdim*(?) O<sup>1</sup>, *dêra*(?), *dôγund* P,  
*lvm* Y, *damb* S, *bickâ* W, *đum* Š;  
 (of fat-tailed sheep) *mudyâl* O; (end  
 of) *curcun* W.  
 take, to *wu-ns*- Wn 167, *âxistəl*, *nîwul*  
 Pš, *wur*- O<sup>1</sup>, *nas*- S, *durz*- W, *parjîv*-,  
*zêz*- Š.  
 take away, to *wr*- Wn 167, *wrəl* Pš,  
*g*- O, *gl*- O<sup>1</sup>, *zend*- W, *yâs*- Š.  
 take on one's back, to *derz*- P, *zenz*- S.  
 take out, to *nawar*- O, O<sup>1</sup>, *nis*-, *nəvor*- Y,  
*zewêđ*- Š.  
 take care *xabardâr* Š.  
 tale *kissi* O, *qissa*, *naql* P, Y, *suyiko* Y,  
*žinda* W, *nakl* Š.  
 tallow *wôst* S. Cf. fat.  
 talon, v. claw.  
 tamarisk [*γaz* Pš], *henju* Y, *gâz* S.  
 tambourine *dâf* Š.  
 tame *watani* P.  
 tar *rânjara* Pš.  
 tarantula *sizalyo* Y.

target *nišân* P, *numoγ* Y.  
 taste *xwand* Pš, *mazâl* P, *maza* P, Y, W,  
*xâl* Y.  
 taste, to *čaš*- P.  
 tasteless *bəlmang* (not *be°!*) (v. *mālga*)  
 Pš, *waxân* Y.  
 tasting *nûš* S.  
 tasty *mazanâk* P, *mazadâr* Y.  
 taught *ámuxta* P, *γΛšk* W.  
 tea *čái* P, Y, Š.  
 teach, to *šowul* Pš.  
 teacher, religious *xája* Š.  
 tea-kettle *čáižuš* Y.  
 tear *oša* Pš, *hēncēi* O, *yēscak* O<sup>1</sup>, *áwə-i*  
*dīdaika*, *audīda* P, *awe°* Š, *yâšk* Y,  
*âšik* S, *yašk* W, *yūšk* Š.  
 tear, to (v.i.) *hwaredəl*, *wraredəl* Pš;  
 (v.tr.) *ray*- O, *cir*- O<sup>1</sup>, *dalêw*- P, *f(ə)čt*-,  
*pətišâ*- Y, *kuñdâr ken*- S, *čuť car*- W,  
*šičend*- Š. Cf. break.  
 teat, v. breast.  
 tedious *zaq* W.  
 tell, to *naql kən*- S, *naql car*- W; (one's  
 beads) *širâw*- W. Cf. speak.  
 temperament *mežáz* P.  
 tempest *tufân* O.  
 temple *bədxâna* S.  
 temples (anat.) *hweganda*, *məryat* Pš,  
*kiliāk* O, *γrāsə spiēu* O<sup>1</sup>, *čūkt*, *šaki-*  
*kata* P, *γurpakə*, *pozayak*, *šâxek-i-*  
*sar* Y, *šakka* W.  
 ten *las* Pš, *das* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *dôs* P, *da*, *los* Y,  
*dos* S, *δas* W, *đis* Š.  
 tendon *pala* Pš, *pai* S, *râg* W.  
 tent *kiždał* Pš, *xaima* O, P, *čatir* Y.  
 tenth *dōsumi* P.  
 terrace, upper, of a house *pon* O.  
 terrify, v. frighten.  
 test *âzmâiš* P.  
 test, to *izmaw*- O.  
 tether, horse's *škel* Pš.



- than *kade* (az . . . *kade*) Š.  
 thanks (to God) *šukur* P.  
 that (h)aya Wn 194, *haγa* PŠ, *afō* O, *afa* O<sup>1</sup>, *ân*, *hu*, *hōwī*, *mundē*, *okū*, *udē*, *ō* P, *yō*, *wo* Y, *aδ(a)*, *ō* S, *ayāu*, *yau* W, *yū* Š; (-very) *hawī*, *mundhēk*, *udhēk*, *ok'e)wiyak* P; (rel. pron.) *ka* O.  
 that (conj.) *ce* Wn, *či* PŠ, *ka* O, *če* P, *ke* Y, Š, *ki* S, W; (not-) *nēce* P.  
 that way, in *howerang* P.  
 theft [*ylā* PŠ], *čūrī*, *juṭī* P, *γūdi* W.  
 then *nō(r)* Wn 162, *man* O, *ēka* P, *wos* Y, *bāz*, *diga*, *ingē*, *psāt* S, *bād* W, *dade*, *tam* Š.  
 thence *učend*, *unhākī* P.  
 there *halta* (v. *dəle*) PŠ, *uwal* O, *ōk*, *okčī*, *okistak*, *unhak* P, *huro*, *olo*, *woko* Y, *wōδ* S, *dra* W, *yemand* Š.  
 therefore *jəka* (v. *j-*) PŠ, *nakma sabab* S, *cəm-jənīb* W.  
 thick *lwār*, *tat* PŠ, *estōrō* P, *vəzōk* S, *bāj* W. Cf. *fat*, *stout*.  
 thick milk, v. *milk*.  
 thief *γəl*, *tor* PŠ, *γlī* O, *čūr* P, *duzd* Y, W, *γəl* Y, *dəzd* S, *γūδ* W, *duzd* Š.  
 thigh *rūn*, *patūn* PŠ, *rān* O, P, (*γuṭ-*) *langāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *munḡarān* P, *pišcan* Y, *potūn* S, *rōn* S, W, *bištūn* Š.  
 thigh-bone *mizistē* Y.  
 thin *rangai* PŠ, *mahn*, *tunuk* P, *bārik*, *təndār*, *xarāb* Y, *būrik*, *tan'ik* S, *sənōr* W, *nāzūk* Š.  
 thing *čiz* O, P, *šāi* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zā* P, *trik* Y, *čizi* S.  
 think, to *diš*- Y.  
 third *šiomī* P.  
 third day of the week *šuručīna* P.  
 thirsty *tərza* Wn 161, *tažai* PŠ, *trunuk* O, *trənak* O<sup>1</sup>, *tan(a)*, *thān* P, *kāk*, *trušnē* Y, *təšna* S, *taš* W, *tušna* Š.  
 thirsty, to be *tan-* P, *zəγəriy-* Y.
- thirteen *darlas* Wn 159, *dyarlas* (v. *dre*) PŠ, *šēs* O, *šrēs* O<sup>1</sup>, *šidōs* P, *sēzda* Y.  
 thirty *ders* Wn, *derš* PŠ, *šistu* O, *šr°* O<sup>1</sup>, *šus* P, *yūwistolos* Y, *sī* Y, W, Š, *rus* S.  
 this *ai*, *indī*, *dā*, *daγa* Wn 164/5, *dā* PŠ, *a*, *ara* O, *ē*, *edē*, *he*, *hawē*, *mendē* P, *ma* Y, *ī*, *am(a)*, *amīn*, *in* S, *amī*, *yem*, *yət* W, *de*, *ho*, *ikme*, *me*, *yam* Š; (from) *acet* W; (very) *ečendhēk*, *edhēk*, *ēke*, *ekwiyak*, *hewyak*, *mendhēk* P, *amdak* S, *īyam* W.  
 this year *saž* PŠ, *asul* O, *asəl cān* O<sup>1</sup>, *ásur*, *emsar* P, *asāl* Y, *asāl* S, *imsəl* S, W, *wuserd* W; (of-) *sērdingī* W.  
 this way, in *howerang* P.  
 thistle *xāxo* Y.  
 thither *uwal* O, *ival* O<sup>1</sup>, *wū-bō* S, *təra* W.  
 thorn *ayzai* PŠ, *sūg*, *zēš* O, *zyšr* O<sup>1</sup>, *kačō* P, *akadē* Y, *kandāk* S, *zāš* W, *šar* Š. Cf. *bramble*.  
 thou *de*, *tə* PŠ, *tū* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S, W, Š, *-a*, *-au* P, *-t* Y, *fak* S.  
 thought *fīkr* O, W, *or*, *xiyāl* P, *andiša*, *xiālē* Y, *fekr* S.  
 thousand *zər* PŠ, *āzār* O, *ha°* O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, S, *zār* O<sup>1</sup>, *azōr* S.  
 thread *mazai* (< \**mazja-* cf. *mayzai*), *spaṅsai* PŠ, *tār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, *čišaintār*, *rištan* P, *lcso*, *wirž* Y, *rismōn*, *yiv-δok* S, *dārč*, *žitr* W, *pedyác*, *wūrž* Š; (cotton-) *paxtaī*, *wušūles*, *wizinga* Y, *wōsi* S; (goat's hair-) *γīs* W.  
 threads on spinning-wheel *tandeneū* Y.  
 thread, to *pewdəl* PŠ.  
 three *dre* PŠ, *šō* O, *šri* O<sup>1</sup>, *ši* P, *šuroi* Y, *rōi* S, *trūi* W, *arāi*, *sē* Š.  
 three days ago, hence, v. *day*.  
 three hundred *tēr sū* Wn [PŠ] 163.  
 thresh, to *xā-* Y, *xūy-* S, *kās-* W.

- threshing *zuŋga* Wn 169, *ɣobal* PŠ (v. *ɣwā*), O<sup>1</sup>, *čuyul* O, *khamōr* P, *xāj* Š.  
 threshing-floor *xarmanjāi* O, *šramənd* O<sup>1</sup>, *xirman-i-bībāt*(?), *xurom* Y, *xormōn* S, *čerām* W.  
 threshing-fork *cārɣašičē*, *dyūɣašičē* O<sup>1</sup>, *čuanō* Y.  
 threshing-sledge *kulča* O.  
 threshold *pāšrī* O<sup>1</sup>, (*tahē*)*alarsrnc* Y, *pərnīč* S, *yīšiv* W.  
 throat *ɣarai* (v. *ɣarəl*), *marai*, *stūnai* PŠ, *gulūn*, *kákurtak* O, *kurɣār*, *marīē* O<sup>1</sup>, *kāhī*, *kamā* P, *ālq*, *uštuyā*, *ɣurvo*, *kāɣəko* Y, *ɣāl* S, *alqūm*, *kəlītōq* W, *nāi* Š.  
 through (prep.) *ze* P, *tar* S.  
 throw, to *āč*-, *čī-ōst* Wn 166, *āčawul*, *pre-yastəl* (v. *prā*-), *tayawul*, *wištəl* PŠ, *ban-ōk*, *g*- O, *andāz*-, *ečew*-, *ɣūh*- P, *čad*-, *wūl*- Y, *nūš*-, *purta(w)*- S, (*gār*)*kaɣ*- W, *wēd*- Š.  
 throw away, to *yastəl* PŠ, *ləɣan*- Y, *slvənd čər*- W.  
 throw down, to *nikiz*- O, *būt*- W.  
 throwing *šut* P, *awāle* S.  
 thumb *nəɣuɣā* Wn 161/8, [*ɣaɣa-gūta* PŠ], *ɣuɣta-ŋgušt* O<sup>1</sup>, *šast* P, *ušturoguščo*, *naraŋgušč* Y, *katta-narxāk*, *naraŋgəšt*, *šast-ingit* S, *ɣəšiyəŋgəl*, *puluk* W, *xedār* Š.  
 thunder *ɣarā* (v. *ɣaredəl*), *tanā* PŠ, *tandar* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ōūr* Y, S, W, *bumburū*, *ɣarambas* P, *doldorok* S, *bumbərīš*, *kampīrak* W, *tundur* Š.  
 thunder, to *ɣarabəl* PŠ, *ɣoɣomb*- P.  
 thus *daɣal* Wn 160, *dāse* PŠ, *guša* O, *həwezail* P, *malmīn* Y.  
 tick *koŋ*, *wrāja* PŠ, *kunāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *kəroɣunu* Y, *xaməndək* S, *kuwend* W.  
 tickling *taxa* PŠ.  
 tie, to, v. *bind*.  
 tiger [*ɣuzarā* Wn], *mzarai* (cf. *mazai* strong) PŠ, *šerəzmarai* O, *muzarai* O<sup>1</sup>, *šer* P, S.  
 tighten, to *vəzb*- Y.  
 tightening-stick *čaxt* Y.  
 till pore PŠ; (now) *ɣal* Š.  
 time *wār* PŠ, *sāt* O, *waxt* O, P, S, Š, *gāhī*, *gašt*, *kāl*, *mausum*, *nubat*, *wil* P, *auqāt*, *vār* Y, *wāda*, *waqt* W.  
 time, in *sarwaxt* P.  
 timidity *stāra* PŠ. Cf. *fear*.  
 tinder *xwa* PŠ, *šaxeq* Y.  
 tiny *xarmandai* PŠ. Cf. *small*.  
 tired *starai*, *stomān* PŠ, *stōr* O, *stīrāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *mānda* P, *fərīnd*, *ɣamī*, *partāci* S, *mōnda* W.  
 tired, to be- *wuzā*- Y; to get- *pxuf*- Y.  
 to *la*<sup>3</sup>, *lara*, *ta* PŠ, *kī* O, *da*, *kun*, *pa* P, *tar* P, S, Š, *nā* Y, *be* S, Š, *ma* S, *ke* W, *ar*, *be* Š.  
 tobacco *tamākū* Y, *ōškū* W.  
 to-day *nan* PŠ, *šan* O, *san* O<sup>1</sup>, *nī(hēk)* P, *dūr* Y, *nēr* S, *wūdg* W, *nur* Š.  
 toe *pale* *ogūščo* Y, *pu-narxāk*(?) S.  
 together *jabla* (v. *bəl*) PŠ.  
 together with *hum*, *jabla* (v. *j*-), *sara* PŠ, *gidi* O, *goɣ*, *ɣol* S, *mēšen* W. Cf. *with*.  
 toil *xārī* P.  
 tomb *kab(ə)r* O, *gūr* P, W, *qabr* P, S, *xāk* S, *qābɣ* W; (of a saint) *mazār* P.  
 to-morrow *sabā* O, O<sup>1</sup>, P, Y, *sahār* S, Š, *sārək*, *vərōk* W, *aštīb*, *šumnē* Š; (morning) *pəgē* S.  
 tong, v. *pincers*.  
 tongue *z(i)bə* Wn 162, *zaba* PŠ, *zubān* O, P, *zban* O<sup>1</sup>, *bān* P, *zəvīy* Y, *zəvūk* S, *zīk*, *zubōn*, *zevī* W, *zju* Š.  
 too little *dūs* Š.  
 tooth *ɣāš* PŠ, *giši* O, *gas* O<sup>1</sup>, *danān* P, *lad* Y, *dānd* S, *dendik*, *lānd* W, *δindūn* Š. Cf. *back-tooth*.

- top of the head *tálák* O, *kakariē* O<sup>1</sup>,  
*fark* P, *kāka*, *tō-i-sar* Y, *tā*<sup>o</sup>, *farx-i-*  
*sur*, *tā-i-sar* S, *kasa-e-sar* W.
- top, of a hill *sor* Y.
- top, of a wall *parcāl* P.
- torch *rhīnēkōr* P, *dīwēw*, *lōvaxčē*, *pel-*  
*cio* Y.
- torn *čīr* O, P, *kərčī* O, *xār* P, *ado* W.  
Cf. tear, to.
- torrent, v. stream.
- tortoise *kašap* Pš, *škautatiē* O<sup>1</sup>, *girbaka*,  
*kasabaka* P, *sambaka* S, *saṅgbuqč* W.
- totter, to *γožī-* Y, *gač-* W.
- touch *blōs* Pš.
- towards *zarma* Wn 169, *-wanō*, *rux ba* P.  
towards that *mahak* P.
- tower *burj* P, *burž* Y; (loopholed) *us-*  
*dūn* W.
- town *šār* O, *šār* P, S, W, *šahər* Y.
- trace, v. foot-print.
- trading *saudāgarī* O, P.
- transform, to *pherēw-* P.
- trap *pāš*, *tūr* Y. Cf. snare.
- travel *šūm* S, *rōčōm*(?) W.
- traveller *musāfer* S.
- tray *tāθčak* Š; (copper-) *tasa* Y; (wooden-)  
*pāško* Y.
- tread down, to *naspar-* W.
- treasure *sāmān* P.
- treasury *xazāna* P.
- tree *wana* Pš, *d(a)raxt* O, Y, S, W, Š,  
*wunō* O<sup>1</sup>, *bhīn* P; (n. of a) *γuštūra*,  
*xenjak* P, *sawīr*, *tavdoγo*, *xeriščē* Y,  
*γārī* S, *arār* W; (stem of a-) *kundē* S.
- trefoil, v. clover.
- tremble, to *reždedəl*, *šanedəl*, *taredəl* (v.  
*tarhedəl*) Pš, *larz-* P; (to make-) *larzān-*  
*uk* O, *larzēw-* P, *belarzān-* S.
- trembling *parγaz* Pš, *larzā* O, Y, *lazja*  
W, *layja* Š; (-fit) *larye* Pš.
- trench *kandraq* Y.
- tribe *xel* Pš, *ēl*, *kōm* P.
- trick *čal*, *rēw* P.
- trip, to *skaf-* W.
- tripod *caγan* O<sup>1</sup>, *štpāi* P.
- trotting *dəq<sup>o</sup>dəq* S, *doqdoq* W.
- trouble *zahmat* P.
- troubled *ranjō* P. Cf. distressed.
- trough *tarnāw* Pš, *γuvē* Y, *pūtčārm* W.  
Cf. tray.
- troughs, maker of *kārga* Y.
- trousers *partūk* O, *pur<sup>o</sup>* O<sup>1</sup>, *patlūn* O,  
*bazu*, *γušawal*, *paltūn*, *tambān* P,  
*woγo* Y, *šavōl*, *wāļ* S, *patlūn*, *tambūn*  
W, *šawālak* Š.
- trouser-string *warwađen* Y, *wəlwoš* S.
- true *rištūnai* Pš, *rāst* O, P, *urzuγ*,  
*mōyāw* Y, *rōst* W.
- trunk, v. stem.
- truth *rištiyā* (v. *rištūnai*) Pš, *rāxa* O,  
*rax* O<sup>1</sup>, *haqq*, *tāqīq*, *rāsti* P, *rōsk* S.
- truthful *rāstgū* S, *rōstgūi* W.
- try, to *kwažəl* Pš, *izmaw-* O.
- tube *nāwa* Pš.
- tulip *lāla* P; (-bed) *lālazār* P.
- turban *dustār* O, *paṭkai* O<sup>1</sup>, *laṅgōta* P,  
*čadūr*, *kalpič* Y, *salā* Š.
- turn *daur*, *gašt*, *gerde*, *nūbat* P.
- turn, to *awuštəl* Pš, *girz-*, *šar-* O, *šar-*  
O<sup>1</sup>, *pher-*, *rēm-* P, *nēž-* Š. Cf. trans-  
form.
- turn over, to *wāγaw-* Wn 166.
- turn round, to *gord-* Y, *γīr-* W.
- turnip *šalyām* S.
- tusk *wāranai* Pš.
- twelve *dwalas* (v. *dwa*) Pš, *dwās* O,  
O<sup>1</sup>, P, *dwāzda* P, *dwō<sup>o</sup>* Y, *dīdūs* S.
- twenty *šwī* Wn 160, *šil* [and *wšel*] Pš,  
*jīstu* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *γušt* P, *bīst* Y, W, Š,  
*wisto* Y, *wišt* S, *wist* W, *δədiš* Š;  
(-one) *səwijīstu* O<sup>1</sup>; (-two) *dəwišt* S;  
(-four) *čērwest* Wn 160, *cerijīstu* O<sup>1</sup>;

(-five) *pənǰijīstū* O<sup>1</sup>; (-six) *šewijīstū* O<sup>1</sup>; (-seven) *hawiǰīstū* O<sup>1</sup>; (-eight) *aštajīstū* O<sup>1</sup>; (-nine) *newijīstū* O<sup>1</sup>.  
 tweezers *mūi-čino* Y. Cf. pincers.  
 twig *šāx* S, *yaǰ* W.  
 twigs, dry *dyūra* O.  
 twin *brayūnai* (v. *bray*) Pš, *dūgāni* O, P, *dagōni*, *luāneke* Y, *juftaki* S, *yūm* W.  
 twist *tāw* Pš.  
 twist, to *gal-* O<sup>1</sup>, *zrye-* Y. Cf. spin.  
 twisted, to be *māz-vek* O.  
 two *dwa* Pš, *dō* O, *dyō* O<sup>1</sup>, *dī*, *du* P, *loh* Y, *dōu* S, *būi* W, *šiwun* Š.  
 two-hundred *dwē sū* Wn 163, *loswist* Y, *dosad* S, *dosād* Š.

## U

udder *γwalānz* Wn 159, (*γu*)*lanja* Pš, *pīstān* Y, *pēšten* S, *lox*, *pezin* W.  
 ugly *bodruī* Y.  
 ulcer *dāna* P. Cf. sore.  
 umpire *mumaiz* P.  
 unaccustomed *nāwalāt* P.  
 unbridled *bilayām* P.  
 uncle *kākā* O, *bai* Y; (paternal) *trə* Pš, *audur* O, *tā* O<sup>1</sup>, *amū*, *petē* P, *amək*, *bəči* S, *bəč* W, *bāb* Š; (maternal) *nūe* Pš, *māmā*, *nīyāk* O, *nyāk* O<sup>1</sup>, *kāktī*, *māwul* P, *tāyō*, *xōlək* S, *yaŋga* Š; (father's sister's husband) *bojā* S.  
 unconscious *bidel*, *bihuš* P.  
 unconsciousness *bihuši* P, Y.  
 unexpected meeting *dučār* P.  
 under *lānde* (v. *lar*) Pš, *zēr* P, *šitāhān* Y, *biš* S, *bun* Š. Cf. below.  
 under-bailiff *nāyōb* S.  
 understand, to *pahēž-* Wn 166, [*pohedal* Pš], *fām-* P, *pəzin-* S, *fām-* Š.  
 understanding *pōi* O, *pōē* O<sup>1</sup>, *pō* P.  
 unhappy *zurgār* P.

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unirrigated *lalmī* Pš.  
 united *ǰift* Y.  
 unjust *zōlim* W.  
 unknown *nāwalāt* P.  
 unless *γaira*, *magam* P.  
 unmarried, to be *sōy-* W.  
 unmixed *nož* Pš.  
 unripe, fruit *wōzak* Wn 169.  
 untie, to, v. loosen.  
 until *tā* P, Y, Š, *zān* P.  
 untimely *biǰāi* P.  
 unwell, v. ill.  
 up *wakhē* P, *vəlyo* Y, *wuē* S.  
 uphill *šitō* W.  
 upon *bānde*, *par* Pš.  
 upper *bar* Pš, *siri*, *woru* Y.  
 uproar *γauγā* P.  
 upside down *naskor* Pš.  
 up, to *tu-manak* O.  
 upwards *patarāj* Š.  
 urine *mātiā* Wn 168, *mitiyāzai* (v. *mitəl*) Pš, *mizi* O, *mizi* O<sup>1</sup>, *miz*, *šāša* P, *čkyūgo*, *mizyo* Y, *čič* S, *mizg*, *pēšau* W, *mišc* Š.  
 urinate, to *mitəl* Pš, *miz-* Y, *šōše-kən-* S.  
 us, v. we.  
 useful *bakār* P.

## V

valley *kōl*, *rōt* P, *darō* Y, *°ē* S, *koša* Y, *šōr* W, *darra* Š; (small-) *dargāv* S.  
 value *xerāj* P.  
 vanity *wiyār* Pš.  
 vegetable *sābah* Pš, *savzi*, *səwt* Y; (a kind of) *biləxša*, *kulyo*, *narirau*, *riw*, *šēiša* Y.  
 veil *parūnai* Pš, *buγra*, *parɖa* P.  
 veiled *rūpūš* P.  
 vein *rāg* O<sup>1</sup>, P, S, W, Š, *rīyo* Y.  
 veranda *muxan* Y, *dālīz* S, *dōlōn*, *dīrgā* W; (latticed) *hursī* P. Cf. vestibule.

very *zut* O, P, *γulū* P, *fai* S, *γaf*, *γafčī* W, *lap* Š.  
 verily *magam* Y.  
 vessel *lošai* Pš; (wooden-) *kāra* Pš; (large, for grain) *kandū* O; (water-) *γudāra* S.  
 vestibule *dālīz* O, *dālān* P, *astano*, *piš-wōzi* Y, *nēx*, *pāiga* Š. Cf. veranda.  
 victorious *bar* Pš.  
 victory *fata* P.  
 vigorous *čāk* P.  
 village *wagura* Wn 169 [= Pš *wugaṛai* person, people], *kalai* Pš, *grām* O, *kilāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *deāt*, *sāt* P, *lāmo* Y, *q'šlāq*, *wulāt* S, *dīor* W, *kišlāk* Š.  
 vine *melawa* Pš, *tāk* P, *šendik* W.  
 violence *haiḥ* P.  
 violent *zūl* Y.  
 violet (n.) *banafšā* P, *banafšo* Y.  
 violin *rabāb* Š.  
 voice *āwāz*, *γax* P, *sadā* P, Š, (*h*)*āwāz* Š.  
 vomit, to *girza*- O<sup>1</sup>, *kušm*- Y.  
 vomiting *kāngem* (corr.: I vomit) O<sup>1</sup>, *bok* S.  
 vulture *kargas* P, *šīz* Y, *koryos* S.  
 vulva *kus* [Pš], O<sup>1</sup>, Y, S, *būn*, *dewet* P, *šrno* Y, *kuš* S, *kiš* W, *dam* Š.

## W

waist *mlā* Pš, *biyān* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *mēn* P, *mālān* Y, *mēd* S, *mād*, *məlung*, *mīyōn* W, *mīd* Š.  
 waist-band 'mēnd Š. Cf. belt.  
 waistcoat *wāškəṭ* O, °*aṭ* P, *woskāt* W.  
 wait, to *āl*- W.  
 wait! *dhar* P.  
 waiting *udrāk* P, *karār* S.  
 walk, to *γərz*- Wn 167, *šar*- O<sup>1</sup>, *č(h)im*-, *ram*- P, *tōγd* S.  
 walk about, to *girz*- O, *gular*-, *pal*- P,

*zəγū*- Y, *fəγərt*-, *γart*-, *wənīz*- S. Cf. go, turn.  
 walking *čhō*, *čimō*, *guzar*, *guzərān* P, *sail* P, W, *gām*, *qadam* S.  
 wall *jār* Wn 168, *dīwāl* O, *de*° O<sup>1</sup>, S, Š, *dušt* P, *haulē*, *xeyo* Y, *diwōl*, *δīz* W. Cf. back-wall.  
 wallow, to *layar*- O.  
 walnut *ūγz* Pš, *čārmāys* O, S, *waṭk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *deže* P, *oγuzo* Y, *čōrmāγz*, *ṭor* W, *bājak* Š; (-tree) *γōz* Š; (-shell) *baγālē* Y.  
 wandering *kūč* P.  
 want, to *xōš kən*- S, *for*- W, *far*- Š. Cf. wish.  
 wanting, to be *daruzeh*- P.  
 war *jaŋg* O, P, S, W, *žaŋg* Y, *δēd* Š; (belonging to the) *jaŋgī* P.  
 ward *kandai* (v. *kandəl*) Pš.  
 warm, v. hot.  
 warm, to *tapēw*- P; (the hands) *vedō*- Y.  
 warrior *pālawān* P.  
 wart *kanayiko* Y.  
 wash, to *winzen*-.: *wā* Wn 160/6, (*pre*-) *wīnjəl* (v. *prā*-), *wləl* Pš, *γušaw-ōk* O, *γwašra*- O<sup>1</sup>, *sun*- P, *wuzd*- Y, *zənē*- S, *wuzdi*- W, *zenē*- Š.  
 watch *paira* P.  
 watch-man *kašai* Pš, *pairadār* P. V. guardian.  
 wasp *γalbuz* Wn, *zambūr* O, P, S, W, *bamburiē*, *ḡambur* O<sup>1</sup>, *bhambur*, *kāftek* P, *γoγibombur*, *wofšō* Y, *δus*, *vizvizak* W, *cevīnj* Š; (red) *surx-boburē* Y.  
 water *obə* Pš, *wōk* O, *wak* O<sup>1</sup>, *āwə* P, *γduγo* Y, *vək* S, *γupk* W, *šāc* Š [\**xšudrā*].  
 water, to make, v. urinate.  
 watercourse, v. irrigation channel.  
 waterfall *γarγarā*, *šaršarā* P, °*re* S, *šif-čiko* Y, *ābšār* S, *jūš*, *širširā* W, *rišūw* Š.

- water-fowl (n. of a) *waryjĭn*, *kutā<sup>n</sup>*, *jĭkyä* Y.  
watering, v. irrigation.  
water-melon *phyḍbuĭ* P, *tarbæz* S, °*iz* W,  
°*ūz* Š.  
water-mill, v. mill.  
waterpipe *čilim* Y, S, °*em* P.  
water-pot *garāi* O<sup>1</sup>. Cf. bucket.  
way, v. road.  
way (in this) *haweraŋg* P; (in that)  
*howeraŋg* P.  
wave *zēi* W.  
we *mōš* Wn 164, *mū*, *mūž* Pš, *māx* O,  
O<sup>1</sup>, *mā*, *mākhān*, -*an* P, *max* Y,  
*amax*, *mič* S, *sak* W, *mās* Š.  
weak *naza*, *sādaī* P.  
wear, to *psoləl* Pš.  
weasel *dala* P, *dela* S.  
weave, to *ūdəl* Pš, *gal*- O, *raf*- O, O<sup>1</sup>, P,  
*wāf*- Y, *īf*- S, *ūf*- W, *wāf*- Š.  
weaver *dūr* O<sup>1</sup>, *jōlā* P, *gilambāf* S,  
*dorzkurγuz* Y.  
weaving *dōrz* Y.  
web *londa* Pš.  
wedding *xudba* Y, *nikā* S, *tūi* S, W,  
*serišā*, *sūr* Š. Cf. marriage.  
wedding guest *wreza* (v. *wrā*) Pš.  
wedge *špešta* Pš, *pərsif* W; (for plough-  
share) *šiŋ* W.  
Wednesday *čārsambē* P.  
weeding *lalūn* Pš, °*ān* O<sup>1</sup>, *xešāwa* P,  
*šov* S, *nežduu* W, *šuč* Š.  
week *afta* O, S, *aščomiš* Y, *yaftā* W.  
weep, to *žarəl* Pš, *šū*- O, *š'ow*- O<sup>1</sup>, *ruh*- P,  
*xši*- Y, *šid*- S, *nev*- W, *nav*- Š.  
weeping *rhīntō* P.  
weigh, to *tal*- O<sup>1</sup>.  
weight *girāŋgi*, *tōl* P.  
well (adj.) *rōγ* Pš, *jōr* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *wōr* O,  
*γē*, *jōr*, *xair* P, *xūb* P, S, Š, *jōr* Š.  
well (n.) *sparγa* Pš, *čā* O, P, Š, *kuwāi*,  
*xāko* O<sup>1</sup>, *čukurī* P, *sardawo* Y.  
west *kiblarū* O, *āfldb nisastan* S, *mayrib*  
S, W.  
wet *ndu* Wn 160, *nūnd*, *xušt* Pš, *šūr* O,  
*šūr*, *tānd* O<sup>1</sup>, *phyḍ* P, *xalou*, *xusto* Y,  
*čal* S, *namb* S, Š, *namndk*, *šalōk*,  
*tar* S, *nam*, *tari*, *xašc* W, *xest* Š.  
wetch *muγo* Y.  
what *ca* Pš, O, *cēn* O, *zanēng* [\**zanahya*  
*kahya*] P, *če* P, Y, *išti*, *cē*, *cāmin*, *ces* Y,  
*ce*, *ceci*, *čiz* S, *čiz* W, *ca*, *čl*, *čir* Š;  
(of—kind) -*min* Y, *zanēngi* P; (manner  
in) *kēraŋgi* P.  
whatever *harči* P, *čes* Y.  
wheat *γandəm* Wn 161, *γanəm* Pš, *ganum*  
O, P, *gu* O<sup>1</sup>, *afsirnē*. *γādəm*, *paī-*  
*zanē* Y, *γōndəm* S, *γidim* W, *žindam* Š.  
wheel *arāba* O, *čarxak* Š.  
when *kala* Pš, *ka*, *kōn* O, *kabi* P, *kəla* Y,  
*ki*, *kādi* S, *cə-waxt* W.  
whence *khānjāi*, *kujēnd* P, *žukū* Y.  
where *čarta* Pš, *guda* O, *khānjāi* P, *kū* P,  
Y, *kužā* Y, *kunjā* S, *kumjei* W, *k'ā* Š.  
wherever *harkū* P.  
whet-stone *psān* Pš, *muzāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *afseno* Y.  
*vəsin* S, *pisōn* W.  
whey *xinj* S. Cf. buttermilk.  
which *kam* Pš, *če*, *khān*, *khāin* P, *kuem* Y,  
*kuđum* S. Cf. who.  
while (n.) *garī*, *lāza*, *wil* P.  
whip *kamčln* P, *činto*, *čawuk* Y, *rešip* W,  
*kamče* Š.  
whip, to *hai kan*- P.  
whirlpool *γernānu* Y.  
whirlwind *gulbād(ak)*, *γərđāv* S.  
whistle *špelai* Pš, *šxēlān* W.  
white *spīn* Pš, *spēw* O, *spīu* O<sup>1</sup>, *čačō*,  
*čačō* P, *spī* Y, *safēd* S, Š, (e)*spēd*,  
*surxūn* S, *ruxn* W; (of the eye)  
*išpēwi ta cimī* O; (of an egg) *čačal*  
*čxika* P.  
whitebeard *čačadhāri* P. Cf. old.

- white-muzzled *rūisafēd* S.  
 whittle shavings, to *tāl*- Y.  
 who *čok* Wn 161, *cok* Pš, *ka* O, P, *kōk* O, *kī* P, *kōi* Y, S, *kādī* Y, *kūi* W, *čādām* Š. Cf. which.  
 whole *tamām* P.  
 why *wale* Pš, *kyē* O, *čā*, *čekun* P, *nakōi* Y, *cē-ba*, *čš bā*, *kirā* S, *cerak* W, *čir* Š.  
 wicked, v. bad.  
 wide ["*wurlun*" Wn < \**fraḏana?*], *arat*, *plan*, *wit* [< \**wi-š(i)ta*.] Pš, *ārat* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pan* O, *hāšrat* O<sup>1</sup>, *pačəy*, *wosa* Y, *pām*, *wasē* S, *kšād* W, *γulā*, *kešād* Š.  
 widow *bēwa* O, S, W, Š, *bīwo*, *wosorwo* Y, *bəidōq* W.  
 widower *bek'ənd* W.  
 wife *korma* (v. *kor*), *šəja* Pš, *nāk* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *jīnč* P, *wulo* Y, *kuč(i)*, *wuzinjak* S, *kənd* W, *žin* Š.  
 wild *sōr-xaš* S; (animal) *dhārī* P.  
 willow *wazā* Wn 160, *wala* Pš, *bēd* O, W, *wulo* O<sup>1</sup>, *γi* P, *awusto*, *čilikyš*, *maž-num-bit*, *wīya* Y, *bēd*, *šikār bēd*, *šūrmūk bēd*, *wēd* S, *tik*, *wunuk* W, *wēd*, *wān* Š.  
 willow's bark (strip of) *lenju* Y.  
 win, to *bušā*- Y.  
 wind *wagā* Wn 160, *wo* Pš, *bād* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *dhamān*, *γā*, *γāphunē*, *xunuk* P, *šamāl* S, °*ol* W, *wūi* Y, *bād(i)* S, *dəma*, *xūz* W, *šūj* Š; (autumn- or winter-) *ayōs* W; (cold blast) *sūz* W.  
 windless *bībāt* Y.  
 winding-sheet *kafan* O.  
 windpipe, v. throat.  
 window *ursī* O, *calandurē*, *derbačō*, *rīz-lvora* Y, *rauzan*, *vōrok* S, *panjara*, *tāk* (niche?) Š.  
 wine *mai*, *šarāb* P, *araq* Y.
- wing *wazar* Pš, *bāl* O, P, S, W, *parāi* O<sup>1</sup>, *vārzeγo* Y, *tap* W.  
 wink, to *zambəl* Pš, *sparaw-vek* O, *jam-xurta*- O<sup>1</sup>, *cipō*- Y.  
 winking *čmak* O, *nəmiz* Y, *camök* S.  
 winning *wařāna*, *wəř* Pš.  
 winnow, to *lwastəl* Pš, *ləbān*- Y, *dəvin*- S, *būn*-, *gān car*- W.  
 winnowing *farmāl* O, *devēnic* Š.  
 winnowing-fork *xurom-fia* Y, *apčūn* S, W, *būn* W.  
 winter *zimai* Pš, *zemāk* O, *zimak* O<sup>1</sup>, *z<sup>o</sup>mā* P, *zəmīstān* Y, *zem<sup>o</sup>* S, *zemistōn* W, *zemistān* Š; (the coldest part of-) *čilē* S.  
 wipe, to *astar*-, *menth*- P.  
 wire *sīm* P.  
 wisdom *aql* O, *xirāt* P.  
 wise *āqel*, *aqlī* P, *dānā*, *hušyār* P, S, *dāna*, *lānawo*, *uši(y)ār* Y, *bāql* S, *bafīkr*, *ušyōr* W, *ušyār* Š.  
 wish *xāš* P.  
 wish, to *γoštəl* Pš, *xāi*- P, *kəmay*-, *təlap-xōš kən*- S, *kəmi*-, *xōhāš car*- W.  
 with *la<sup>1</sup>* Pš, *giḏi*, *nēla* O, *ba*, *pen* P, *la*, *sko*, *šəlo* Y, *pa* S, *pu* W. Cf. together with.  
 wither(ed), v. fade(d).  
 within *mēn* P.  
 without *bī* P; (-chief) *bīsōr*, *bītamīz* P; (-fighting) *bījaŋg* P; (-head) *bīsōr* P; (-reward) *bīmujrā* P.  
 witness *šāid* O, *šāhed* P.  
 wolf *lēu* Wn 168, *lewə*, *šarmaš* Pš, *dāmī* O, *lēwū* O<sup>1</sup>, *γury* P, *wury* Y, *wərk* S, *šapt* W, *wūrj* Š.  
 woman *šəja* Pš, *zarkā* O, *jarkə* O<sup>1</sup>, *zaif* P, *žinko*, *žinkiko* Y, *janj* S, *kənd* W, *žēnik* Š; (married) *mařoša* (v. *mařanaī*) Pš, *mālidarī* O; (unmarried) *wasəriwo*, *wosorwo* Y.

womb *vəzāxo* Y, *rām* S.  
wonderful *ajab* O, P, *ažəp* Y.  
wood *largai* Pš, *gōn* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *skut* Y, *čüb*,  
*durk* S, *šūng* W, *đārg* Š; (chip of-)  
*froi* Y.  
wooden *korin* P.  
wood-carving *areyevdē* Y.  
woof *wawana* (*ūdəl*) Pš.  
wool *warai* Pš, *pōm* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *pōč* P, *pām* Y,  
*pām* S, *yer*, *pašm* W, *wōn* Š; (carded)  
*mḡkič* Y; (a kind of) *γolās* O; (lambs')  
*krabəpē* Y; (yak's) *γərōb* W.  
woollen jacket, v. jacket.  
word *gā(i)* Wn 168 [*< gāθā-*], *kissī* O,  
*āwāz*, *harf*, *sūy* P, *gap* P, Y, S, W, Š,  
*lauz*, *rōi* Y, *lavz* S, *səxan* W.  
work *čār* Pš, *kār* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *ker* P, *horγ* Y,  
*arī* S, *yark* W, *k'ār* Š.  
world *dinyā* O, *ālam* P, S, *dunyā* P,  
*dō* S, *jehān* P, *ji* S; (the lower)  
*tā-duniā* Y; (next-) *āxerat* Y.  
worm *kirm* O, *kirmāk* P, *pčuk* S, *pərič*,  
*paṭ* W, *čtrəm* Š.  
worry, to *γus*- Y.  
worse *battar* P.  
worth *lāyiq* O.  
worthless *bīnaṅgō* P.  
wound *parhār*, *zam* Pš, *zaxm* P, Y,  
S, W.  
wounded \**paraželai*, *žobal*, *xūž* Pš, *jak* O,  
*zaxmī* O, S, *sār* P, *zār* Š.  
wrap up, to *nyāštəl* (v. *γāštəl*) Pš, *γar*-  
O<sup>1</sup>, *pəlarz*- Y, *pēž*- S.  
wrestling *kuštī* P.  
wrestling-ground *harkāra* P.  
wring, to *spilaw*-, *palašt*- O, *žümānd*- W.  
wrinkles *kalakəri* Y.  
wrist *marwand* Pš, *mand* O<sup>1</sup>, *bānd-e*  
*dōst* P, *dest* S, Š, *dast* W, *last-bot*,  
*wuški-ostia* Y, *pərsəngəl* W, *lakak*  
(corr.: middle finger) Š.

write, to *lkan*- Wn 166, *pis*- O, *lik*- O<sup>1</sup>,  
*nuviš*- Y, *nə* S, W, *nəviš*- Š.  
written *nimišta* O, *niwišta* P.

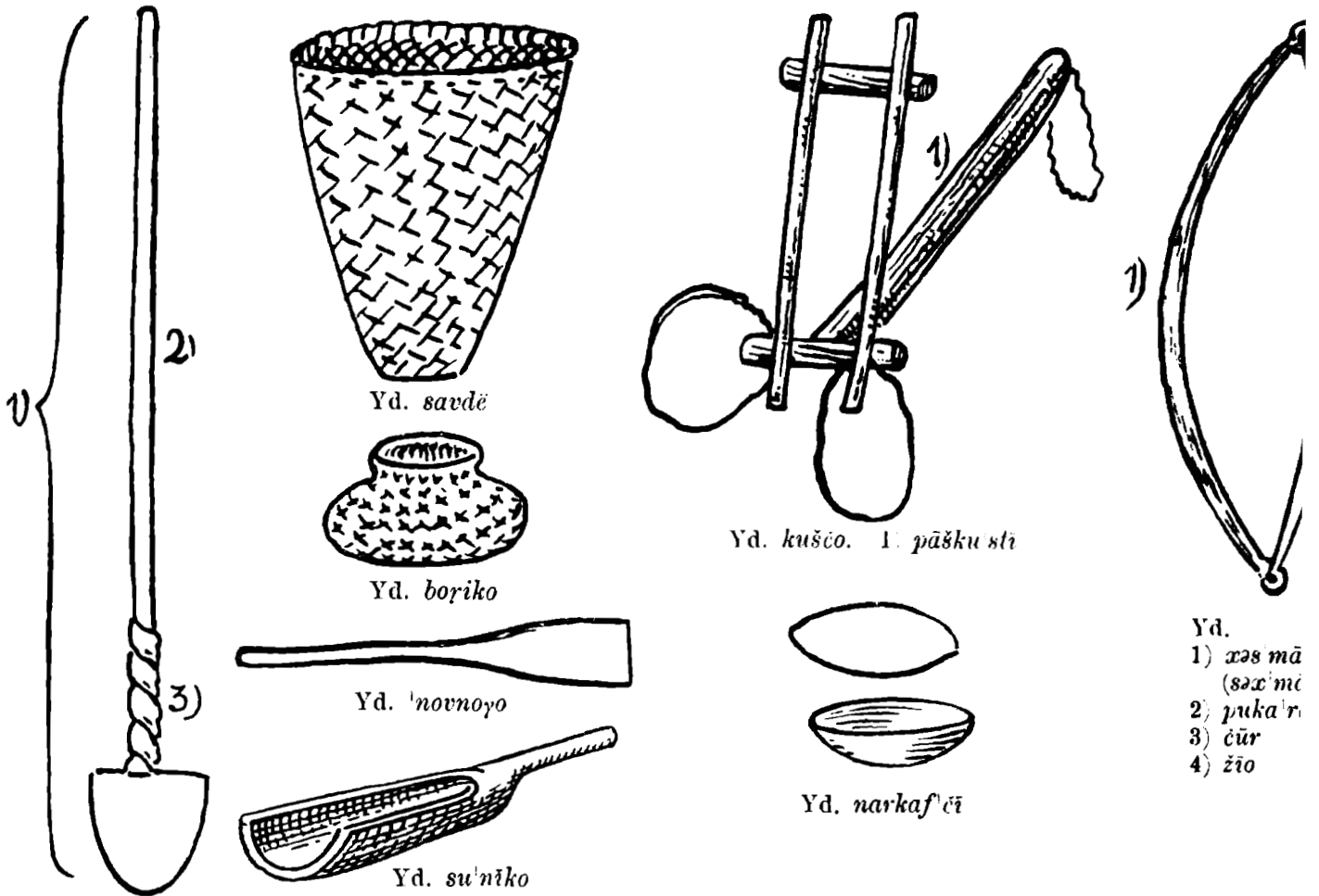
## Y

yak *juγ* W.  
yard, v. ell.  
yarn *ancai* Pš.  
yawn [*aswelai* Pš], *arjumi* O<sup>1</sup>, *fāza* P,  
*niaskē* Y, *damfāžek* S, *je*, *zim* W,  
*fāza* Š.  
yawn, to *kašew*- P, *zōm*- Y, (*axse*) *deh*- S,  
*istind*- W.  
year [*kāl* Pš], *čān*, *sul* O, *cān* O<sup>1</sup>, *sāl*  
P, Y, S, W, Š, *sar* P; (of drought)  
*ušsāl* Y.  
year, last, v. last.  
year, this, v. this year.  
year before last *tətvārt* W.  
year, three—s ago *čurmosāl*, *žirasāl* Y.  
year, one—old *γusaxo* Y.  
years, period of two— *lohsaxo* Y.  
yearly *arsōl* S, W.  
yeast *γarvaden* Y.  
yellow *ziyar* Pš, *zyēr* O, O<sup>1</sup>, *zītō* P,  
*spišč*, *zīt* Y, *zāl*, *zard* S, *zart* W,  
*zird* Š.  
yes *wōya* O, *hā* P, *ən* S, *balē* S, W,  
*yān* W, *amā* Š.  
yesterday [*pārənd* Wn], *parūn* Pš, *prān*  
O, O<sup>1</sup>, *aze* P, *wuzir* Y, *karēr*, *parūzd*,  
*wəcərīn* S, *yēz* W, *beyār* Š; (evening)  
*bēgā* O, *iziko* Y.  
yesterday, two days before *y*<sup>o</sup>, etc., v.  
day.  
yesternight *nēr-fəršou* S.  
yet, v. still.  
yoke *γūγ-luṅda* O, *ziγ* O<sup>1</sup>, *jauza*, *žūγ* P,  
*yūγ* Y, W, *fəryay*, *γəγ* S, *səmvər* W.  
yoke-peg *kāriak*, *sām* Y, *keḡ* W.



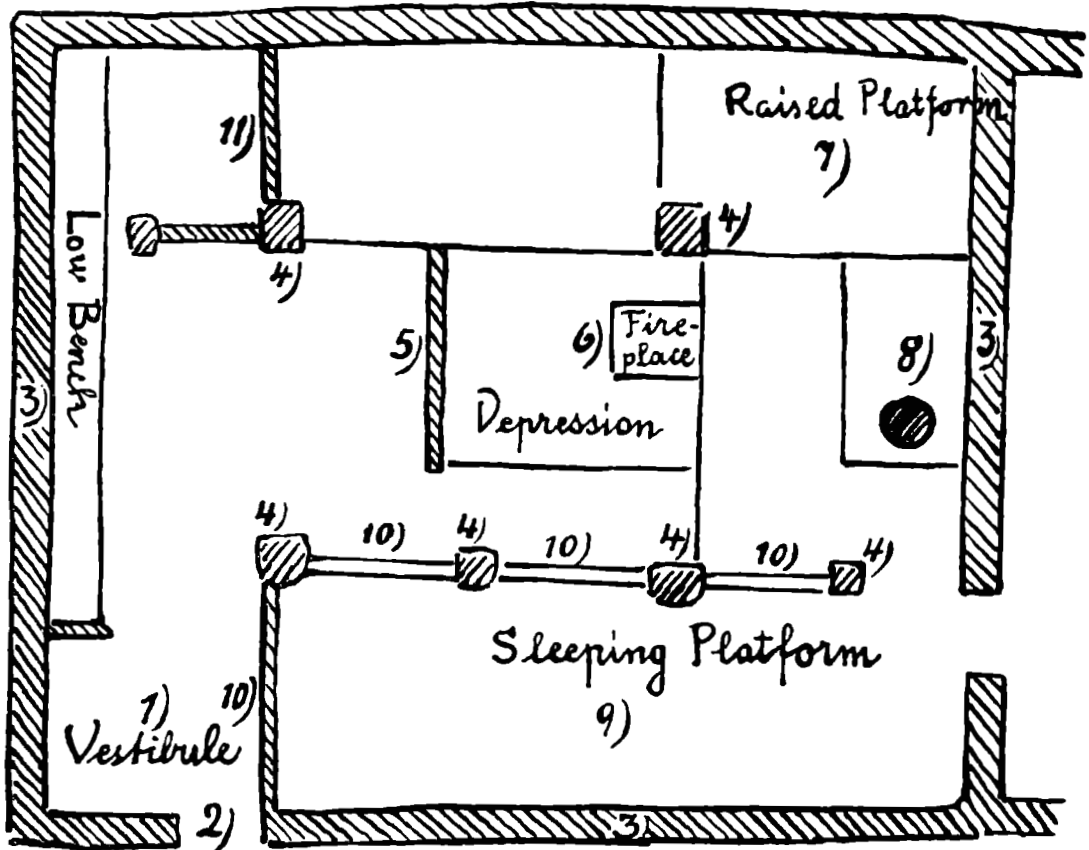
<p>yoke-rope <i>sar-wāndē</i> (v. <i>wandanai</i>) Pš, <i>sārālī</i> O, <i>frāiyo</i>, <i>γūelo</i> Y, <i>yelyār-band</i> S.</p> <p>yolk of egg <i>zīta-i ēxika</i> P.</p> <p>you <i>tās</i> Wn 164, <i>tāsu</i>, <i>mū</i> Pš, <i>tōs</i> O, <i>wâ</i>, <i>wâkhân</i>, <i>-š(u)</i> P, <i>maf</i> Y, <i>təmux</i> S, <i>sāišť</i> W, <i>tama</i> Š.</p>	<p>young <i>woṛkai</i> (v. <i>wuṛ</i>) Pš, <i>blš</i> P, <i>juwân</i> P, S, W, <i>ž°</i> Y, <i>nauča</i> P; (man) <i>zalmai</i> Pš.</p> <p>young of an animal <i>zārai</i> Pš, <i>čūča</i> P.</p> <p>younger <i>kašr</i> Pš, <i>kvämder</i> Y.</p> <p>youth <i>juwânī</i>, <i>nōjuwânī</i> P.</p> <p>youthful <i>xišrūl</i> Š.</p>
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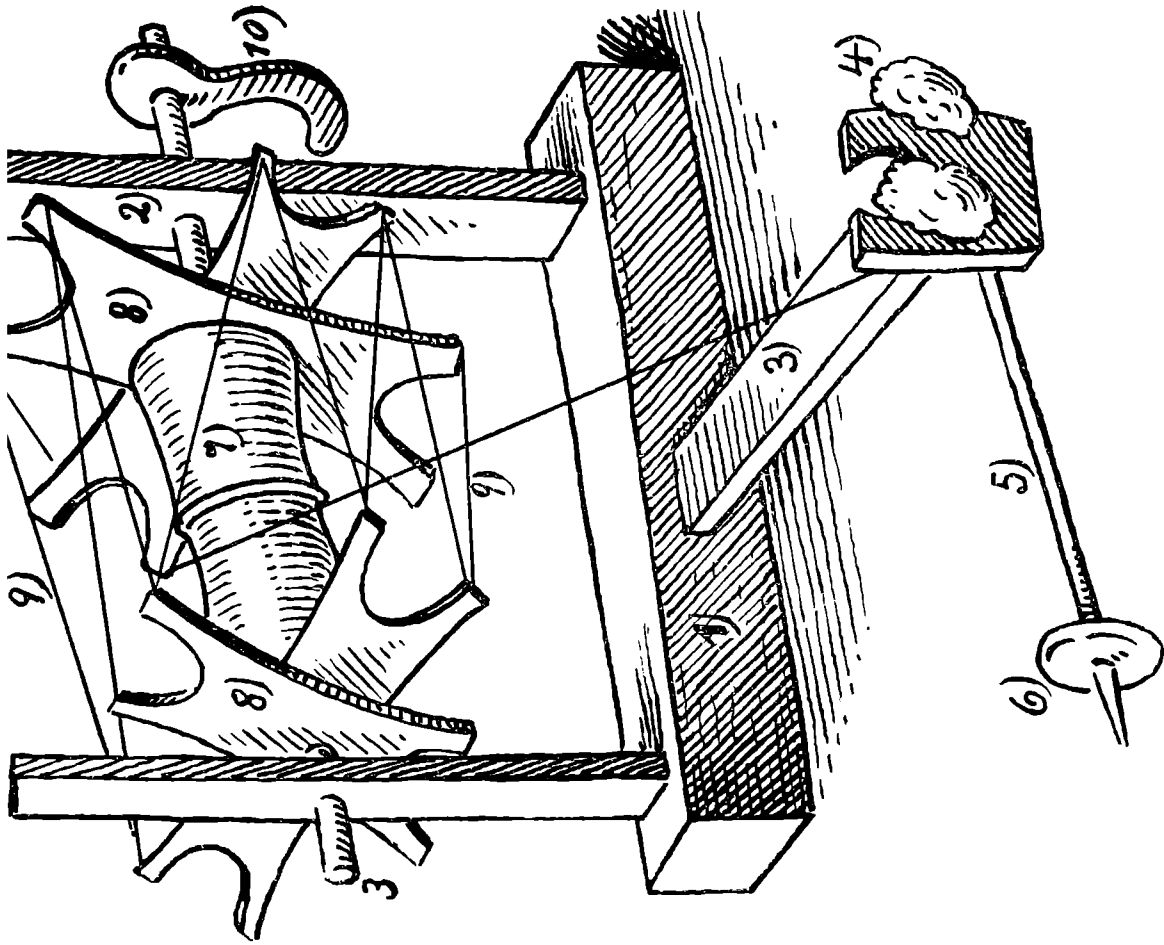
Yidgha:

- 1) 'fīa
- 2) 'lastē
- 3) 'tīyo



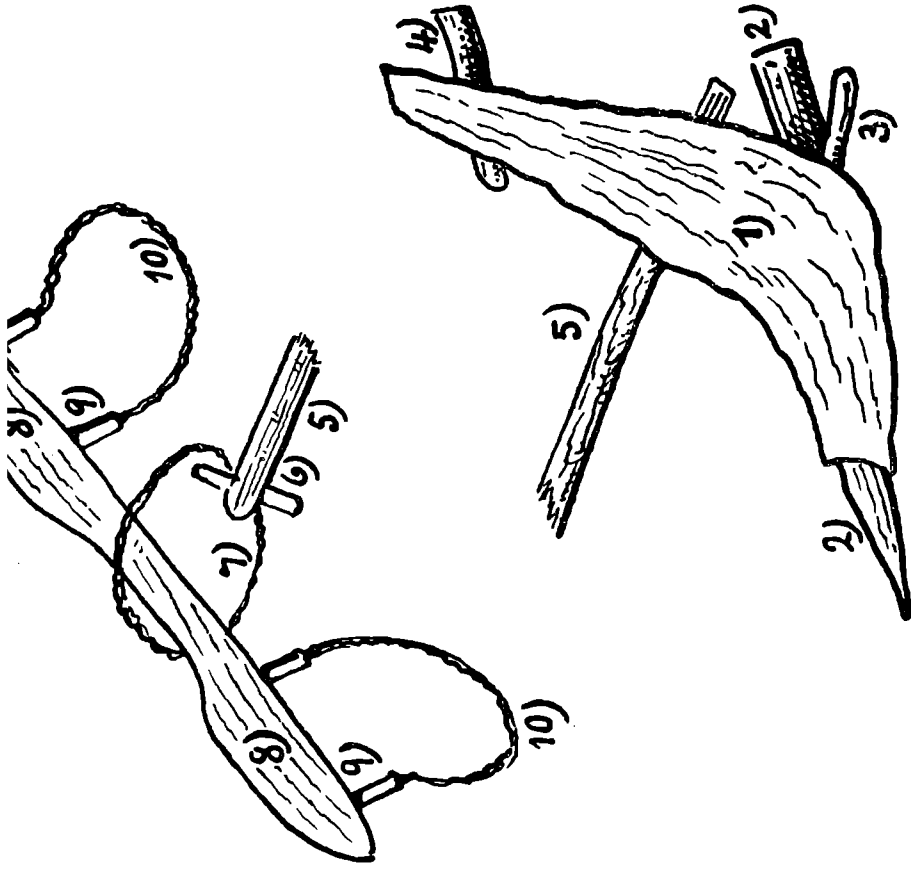
Plan of a Yidgh House from Burbunu.

- |            |               |            |                                   |
|------------|---------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1) astano  | 4) 'ustu'no   | 7) 'čārsīr | 10) san'jā                        |
| 2) lə'voro | 5) taxa'bandē | 8) 'čāro   | 11) Low, wooden<br>partition wall |
| 3) 'xeyo   | 6) līden(i)   | 9) žen     |                                   |



Yidgha Spinning-Wheel (*čarx*).

- |                     |                     |                           |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1) <i>alarse nī</i> | 5) <i>češa</i>      | 8) <i>varzəyə</i>         |
| 2) <i>zīgki</i>     | 6) <i>par'vašin</i> | 9) <i>tandənē'ū</i>       |
| 3) <i>pūsura</i>    | 7) <i>līra</i>      | 10) <i>čūr'xānuk (Yp)</i> |
| 4) <i>čar'mak</i>   |                     |                           |



Plough and Yoke

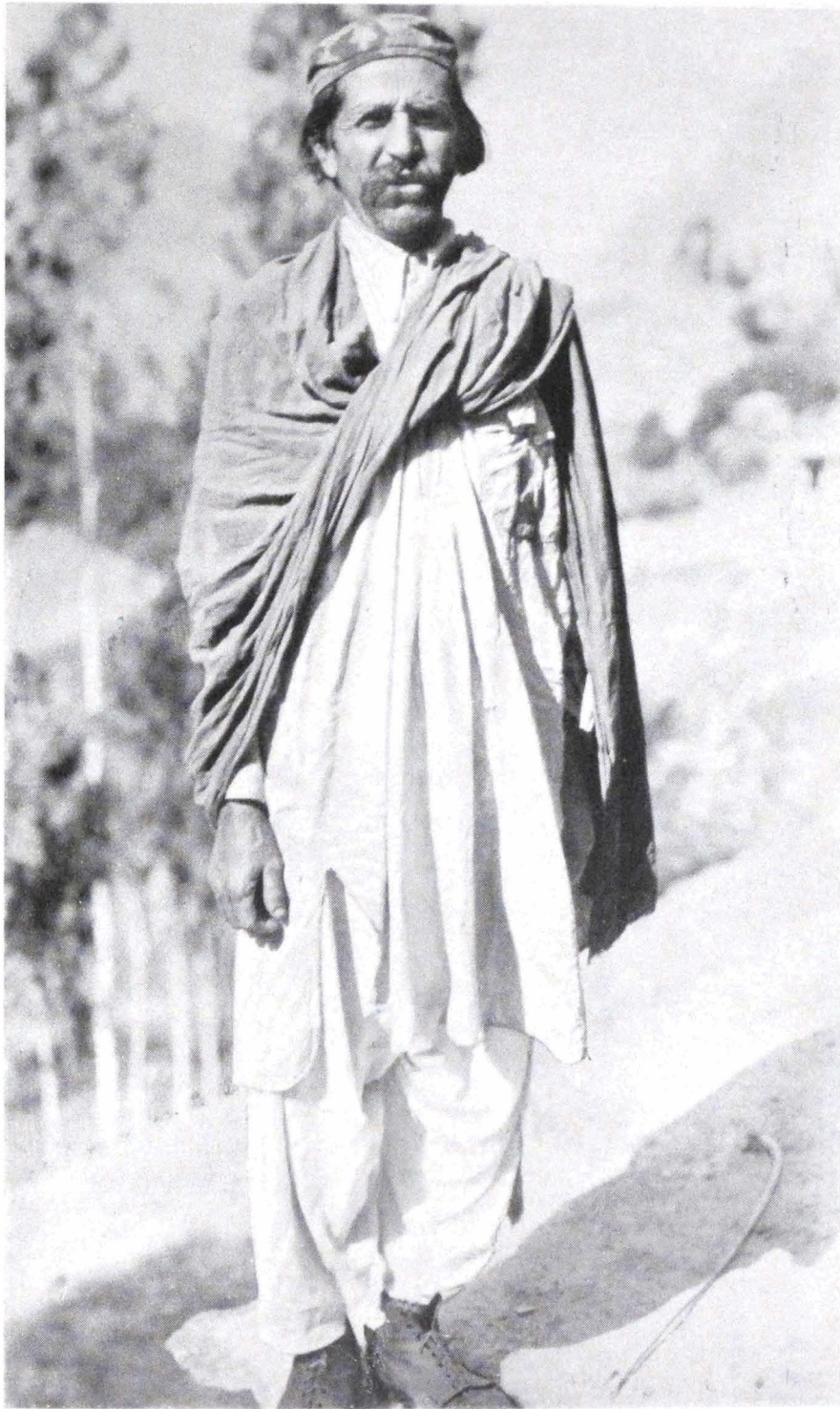
- | Yidgha                    | Munji             | Sanglechi           |
|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1) <i>sporo</i>           | <i>'sparo</i>     | <i>kīrūg</i>        |
| 2) <i>kando</i>           | <i>kēnd</i>       | <i>spər</i>         |
| 3) <i>ačar'dānē</i>       | <i>ywəzgo</i>     | <i>yə'lāk</i>       |
| 4) <i>(h)ostaganē</i>     | <i>dasta</i>      | <i>āwīšp</i>        |
| 5) <i>d'wusp</i>          | <i>awusp</i>      |                     |
| 6) <i>sar'yāi</i>         | <i>yūelo</i>      | <i>yəy</i>          |
| 7) <i>frāi'yo</i>         | <i>yuy</i>        | <i>yeləyər'band</i> |
| 8) <i>yūy, (taləyčə?)</i> | <i>sām</i>        | <i>kīrūg</i>        |
| 9) <i>'kārīak</i>         | <i>sam'lasiko</i> |                     |
| 10) <i>sabə'rənəj</i>     | <i>kugo</i>       |                     |

Plough *ka'tā*

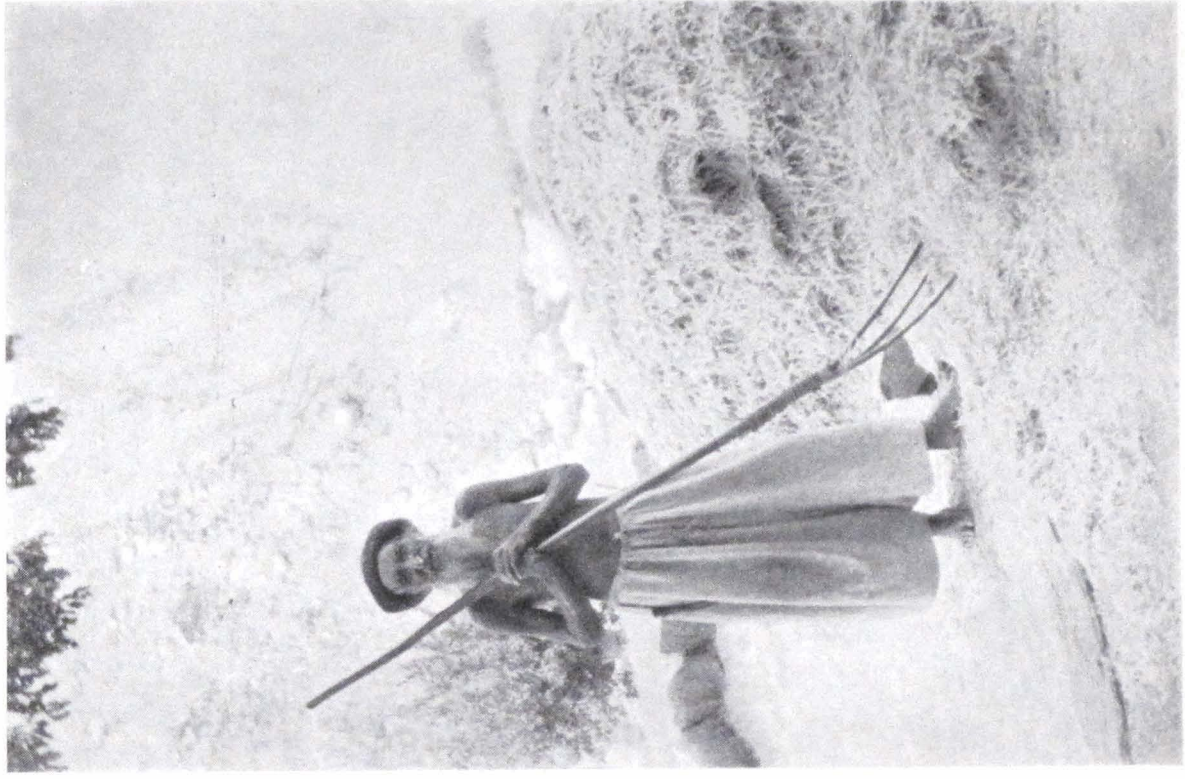


Ghulam Haidar from Lutkuh  
and Ali Mahmad from Munjan.





202 Mahmad from Zhitr in Lutkuh.



Yidgh peasants from Lutkuh.



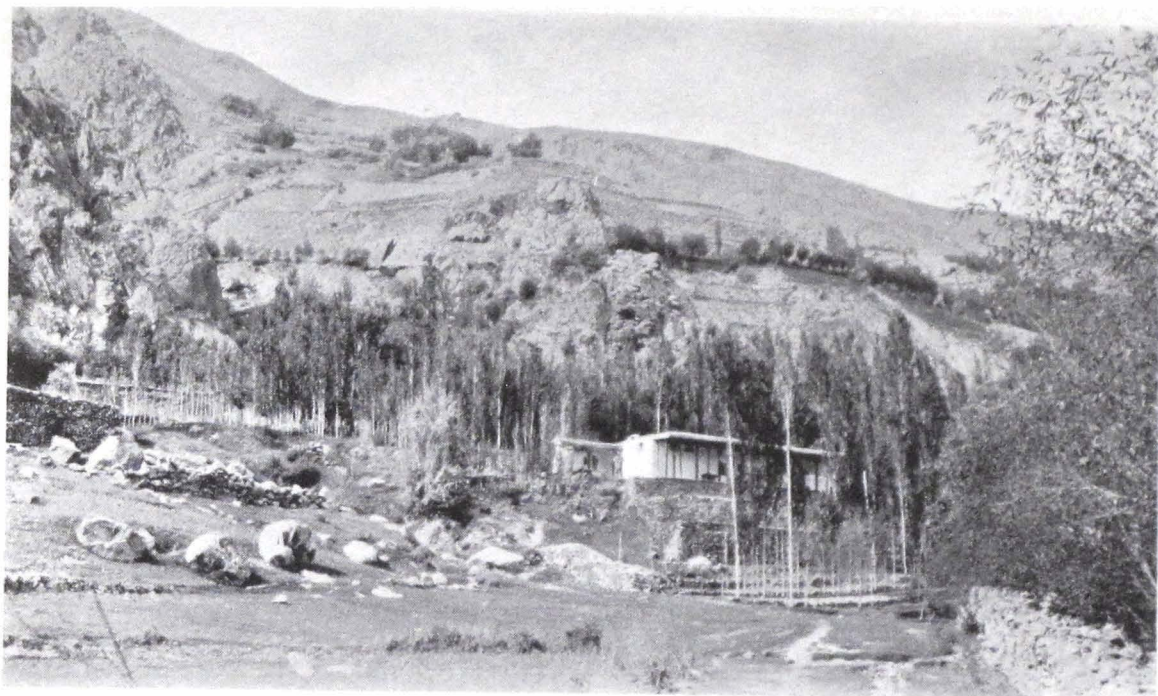


From Zhitr in Lutkuh.



Spinning-wheel from Zhitr.





Garm - Chishma in Lutkuh.



The Maulāi Shrine near Izh in Lutkuh.





From the Parabek Plain in Lutkuh.



Village at the head of the Lutkuh Valley.





Cliffs above Shoghor, Lower Lutkuh.



On the road from the Dorah Pass.

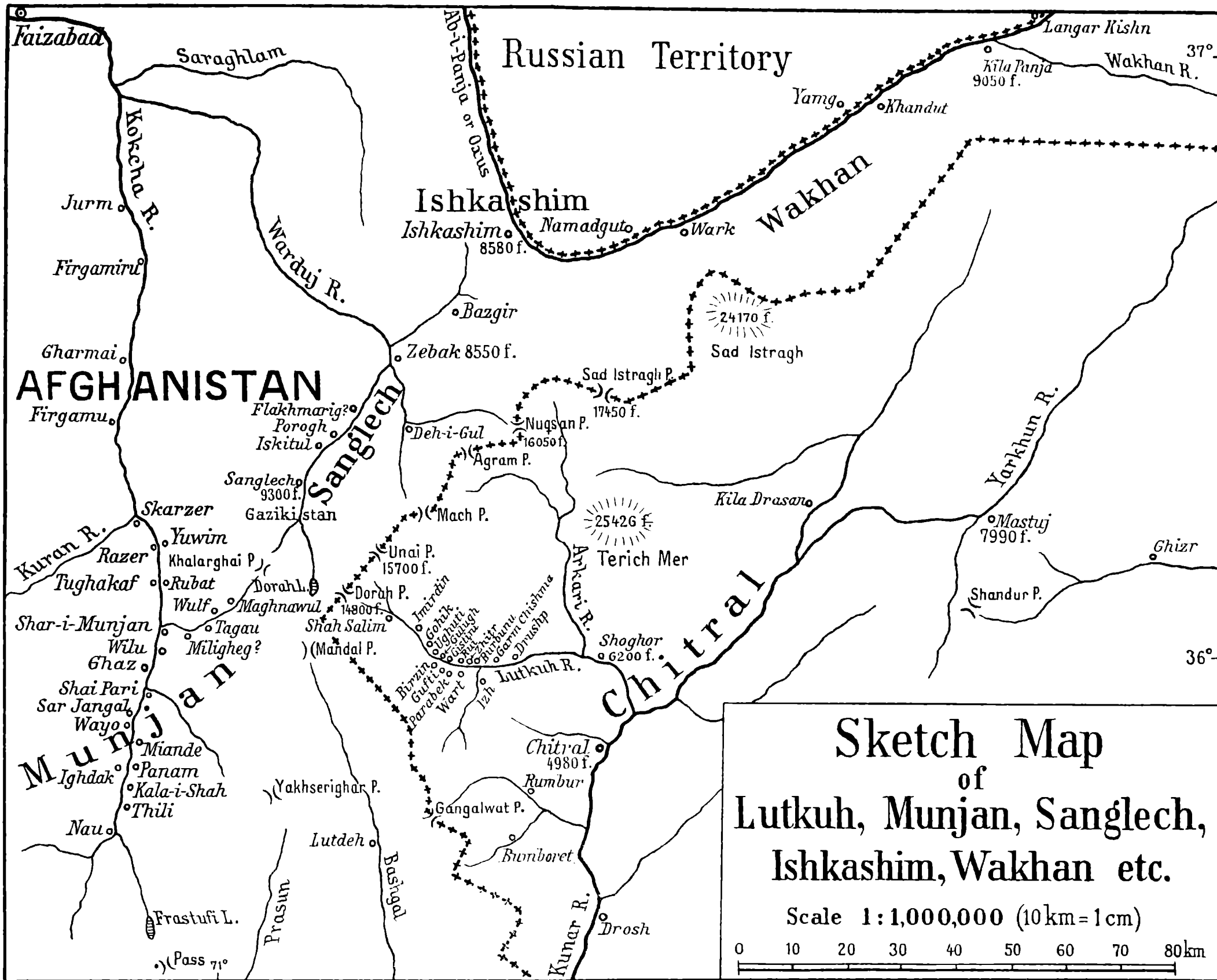




From the Dorah Pass towards Munjan and Sanglech.



The Ustich Valley south of the Dorah Pass.



**Sketch Map**  
of  
**Lutkuh, Munjan, Sanglech,**  
**Ishkashim, Wakhan etc.**  
Scale 1:1,000,000 (10 km = 1 cm)