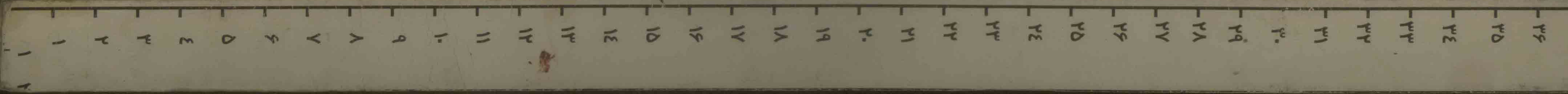


INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER
LANGUAGES



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INSTITUTTET FOR SAMMENLIGNENDE KULTURFORSKNING
THE INSTITUTE FOR COMPARATIVE RESEARCH IN HUMAN CULTURE OSLO



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INDO-IRANIAN FRONTIER LANGUAGES

by
GEORG MORGENSTIERNE

VOL. III
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1. GRAMMAR



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FOREWORD

A Gruyère cheese is said to be better the more and the bigger are the holes in it. The same can scarcely be said about a grammar.

I am more painfully aware than any reader can possibly be of the many gaping holes in the materials on which this book has been based. It might have been better to have concentrated on an intensive and exhaustive study of one single dialect of Pashai.

But I never had a chance to do so. Circumstances did not allow me to settle down in a Pashai village. I had to grasp every opportunity of interrogating chance informants who turned up in Kabul, Jalalabad, or Peshawar in 1924, 1929, 1961, 1962, or 1964, and could make only a couple of all too brief raids into Pashai territory proper.

Even my chief informant, Abdur Rashid from Laurowan, had to leave me suddenly, long before I had been able to go through all doubtful points of grammar and texts with him. And from most of the other informants I have only short lists of words and sentences, jotted down impressionistically in a hurry, more or less in the manner of my predecessors among British officers and travellers, long before the birth of modern linguistic methods of recording.

The result is a motley of scattered information about a great number of dialects. Even so I hope that this attempt at a description of the varieties of Pashai, and the many problems I have only been able to point out, may stimulate somebody to take up, before it is too late, a thorough study of this most interesting language, the north-westernmost outpost of Indo-Aryan.

My heartfelt thanks are due to all Afghans who in official or private capacity have assisted me and received me hospitably, and above all to the dozens of Pashai-speaking villagers who, often with eagerness, and always with admirable patience, have submitted to being put to the rack during exhausting and wearisome inquiries.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Names of Pashai dialects are marked with an asterisk. Dates within brackets, e.g. (1924), indicate the year of recording of the dialect by the author.

- *A. = Areti (1929).
- Afgh.Prs. = Afghan Persian ("Kabuli", now, officially, Dari).
- *Al. = Alasai (1961). Cf. PT.
- Ar. = Arabic.
- AR. = Abdur Rashid from Laurawan.
- Ashk. = Ashkun.
- Ass. = Assamese.
- Av. = Avestan.
- Bal. = Balochi.
- Bashk. = Bashkarik.
- Beng. = Bengali.
- Bloch = J. Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*.
- Bogd. = L. Bogdanov, *Stray notes on Kabuli Prs.*; JASB, NS, XXV, 1930.
- *Bol. = Bolaghain (1962).
- Bon. = L. Bonelli, *Ancora del volgare persiano di Kabul*; *Annali del R. Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, II and IV, 1930-31.
- Budd. = G. Buddruss, *Beiträge z. Kenntnis der Pasai-Dialekte*, 1959.
- B. after the name of a dialect denotes Budd. as the source.
- Burnes = A. Burnes, *vocabulary in Cabool*, p. 383; JASB, 1838.
- *Ch. = Chilasi (1929). ChB. = Ch. from Buddruss; Ch(B.) = Ch. from Budd. and Morgenstierne.
- *D. = Darra-i Nuri (Qala-i Shahi, 1924). D.¹ (1929); D.lam. = Lamatek (1929); D.q. = Qala-i Shahi, Budd.; D.s. = Sutan, Budd.; DMaj. = acc. to information given through Professors B. Majruh and G. Redard.
- Dam. = Dameli.
- Dard. = Dardic.
- Ed. = L. Edelberg.
- EVP. = G. Morgenstierne, *An etymological vocabulary of Pashto*, 1927.
- Farhâdi = Abd-ul-Ghafûr Farhâdi, *Le Persan parlé en Afghanistan*, Paris, 1955.

- Ferd. = K. Ferdinand.
 *G. = Gulbahari (Kohnadeh) 1924, G.², (1962).
 Gamb. = Gambiri.
 GB. = Gavar-Bati.
 *Gon. = Gonopali (in songs given by AR., 1924).
 Gr. = W. Griffith, Journal of travels, I, 1847 ("Krungulye" dialect).
 Guj. = Gujarati.
 Hi. = Hind(ostan)i.
 *I. = Ishpi (1924, 1961).
 IA. = Indo-Aryan.
 IIFL = Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian frontier languages.
 Ir. = Iranian.
 *Isk. = Iskeni (1924).
 *K. = Kurangali (1929); KGr. = K. from Griffith.
 *Ka. = Kaṇḍaki (Budd.).
 Kaf. = Kafari.
 Kal. = Kalasha.
 *Kch. = Kachur-i-Sala (1924).
 Khow. = Khowar.
 KohRav. = Kohistani, from Raverty.
 Kshm. = Kashmiri.
 Kt. = Kate'i.
 *Ku. = Kunar dialect (1924); KuLee., from Leech; KuTr., from Trumpp.
 *Kulm. = Kulmani, from Lentz.
 *Kurd. = Kurdari, from Edelberg; KurdLen., from Lentz; Kurd Morg., from Morgenstierne.
 *L. = Laurowani (1924); L. dial., gon., isk., u., saig. = dialect forms given by AR.
 Leech = R. Leech, vocabularies (Lg.; Pashai), JASB, 1838, pp. 731, sqq.; Trans. Bomb. Geogr. Soc., 1838.
 Lentz = W. Lentz, Zeitrechnung in Nuristan und am Pamir, 1939; Geogr(aphische) Bem(erkungen), in Deutsche im Hindukusch, 1937.
 *Lg. = Laghmani. Lg.ch. = Charbagh (1924); Lg.s. = Sadar Qala (1929); Lg.z. = Deh Ziarat (1961); LgLee., from Leech; LgMass., from Masson.
 Lhd. = Lahndi.

- LSI. = Linguistic Survey of India, VIII, II; LSI.e. = E. Pash. (Kunar); LSI.w. = W. Pash. (Laghman, Charbagh).
 Lumsd. = H. B. Lumsden, The mission to Kandahar, 1860; App. F.
 *M. = Mangu (1924).
 Mack. = F. Mackenzie, MS. voc. of Pg. (1951).
 Mar. = Marathi.
 Mass. = Ch. Masson, Specimens of Lughmāni (India Office MS. voc.).
 *Nang. = Nangarachi (1964).
 *N(ir). = Nirlami (1924).
 Nep. = R. L. Turner, Nepali Dictionary.
 *Nur. = Nurgali (1964).
 *Ö. = Özbini, v. U.
 Or. = Oriya.
 Orm. = Ormuri; Orm.k. = Kaniguram dialect.
 *P. = Parazbghani (1929).
 *Pach. = Pachaghani (1962); Pach.gh. = Pachaghani of Gwonj.
 *"Pach." = Pseudo-Pachaghani (1924).
 Pah. = Pahari.
 *Pand. = Paṇḍawi (1964).
 Panj. = Panjabi.
 Par. = Parachi; Par.pach. = Par. of Pachaghan.
 *Pash. = Pashai. PashBurn., from Burnes; PashP., from Penzl; PashRav., from Raverty; PashLee., from Leech.
 Penzl = Information from H. Penzl, said to be from Ku., but probably from some NW. dialect.
 *Pg. = Pashaigari, from Mackenzie.
 Phal. = Phaluṛa.
 Pkt. = Prakrit.
 Pl.N. = List of Place Names in Pashai Voc.
 Pras. = Prasun.
 Prs. = Persian.
 Psht. = Pashto.
 *Pṭ. = Pashto Tolana Voc. of Alasai dialect.
 Rav. = Raverty Pashai (Wegali?) and Kohistani (NW. dialect); JASB, 1864.
 Rep.Afgh. = G. Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan.

- Rep.NW.India = G. Morg., Rep. on a lingu. miss. to NW. India.
 Rom. = Romani.
 *Saig. = Saigeli (in songs given by AR.).
 *Saln. = dialect of Pashai voc. in Də Ka:bul Sa:lnazma (Almanach de Kaboul), 1313 = 1934/5, p. 149, sq.
 Sangl. = Sanglechi.
 *Sanj. = Sanjani (1962); SanjFar. = Sanj. form Farhadi.
 *Sh. = Shutuli (1924).
 *Sham. = Shamakoti (1964).
 *She. = Shewai (Budd.); SheFerd., from Ferdinand.
 Shum. = Shumashti.
 Si. = Sindhi.
 Skt. = Sanskrit.
 *Tag. = Tagau dialect, acc. to information given by G. Redard.
 Texts = Morgenstierne, Pashai Texts, IIFL, III, 2.
 Tir. = Tirahi.
 Torw. = Torwali.
 Turner = R. L. Turner, A comparative dictionary of Indo-Aryan languages. Only the parts hitherto published have been consulted.
 Trumpp = Trumpp in ZDMG, XX, p. 48; 1868 (Ku. dialect).
 *U. = Uzbini (Özbini) (1924).
 Voc. = Morgenstierne, Pashai Vocabulary, IIFL, III, 3.
 *W. = Wegali (1924; W. 1929).
 *Wad. = Wadau'i (1964).
 Waig. = Waigali Kafiri.
 Waz. = Waziri dialect of Pashto.
 Wkh. = Wakhi.
 Wot. = Wotapuri.

The seven parts of the book, viz., Introduction; Historical Phonology; South-West Group; North-West Group; North-East Group; South-East Group; Addenda, are abbreviated: Intr.; HP., SW., NW., NE., SE., Add. References are to sections (agreeing for all sections, but with omission of SW. sections when the grammatical category referred to is not found in the dialect group in question), and subsections (not always agreeing with SW.). Thus, e.g., SW. 4.2.

References are given to page and line in Pashai Texts, e.g. 123,11.

References to Buddruss' texts are given with number of text and section, e.g. II,7. In the list of Place Names (Add.), e.g. "Lentz 882" refers to his Geographische Bemerkungen in Deutsche im Hindukusch.

In SW. all forms quoted without indication of dialect are taken from L., and in NW. from G.

Forms given by a second informant are usually indicated by a small numeral, e.g. G.².

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Pashai (*Paša'i*) is spoken north of the Kabul river in N.E. Afghanistan, in a territory extending for some 170 km, across a number of valleys, from Gulbahar on the Panjshir in the North West, to the vicinity of Chigha Sarai, at the confluence of the Kunar and Pech rivers in the East. At a not very remote date it was spoken in part of the Panjshir valley, and probably also over a more extensive territory in Nijrau and Bedrau, and in Laghman and the Kunar valley system.

J. G. Lorimer^a considered the estimate made of 100,000 speakers of Pashai as being "not unduly large or unduly small", with regard to the size of the Pashai region and its probable character. But he was scarcely aware of the full extent of Pashai territory towards the west, and, besides, since his time the population may on the one hand have increased, while on the other hand Persian and Pashto have certainly encroached upon Pashai at the fringes of its territory. The most recent official estimate of 96,000 speakers of Pashai^b agrees quite well with Lorimer's earlier one, but it is not based upon a regular census, and may after all be too high.^c

Pashai is the original, native name of the language, and has been used already by Leech, Burnes, and Raverty for north-western as well as south-eastern dialects.

A derivation from *Pisā:ca*, as proposed by Grierson^d is, though not altogether impossible from a phonetic point of view, unsupported by any convincing arguments.

Other names, such as Kohistani, Laghmani, and Dehgani, have been given by outsiders to various local varieties of Pashai.

1.2. The Pashais are first mentioned by Marco Polo:^e "It is true that a good ten days distant from Badascian towards midday is a province which is called Pasciai,^f and they have a language for themselves. And all

^a LSI. VIII, II, p. 89.

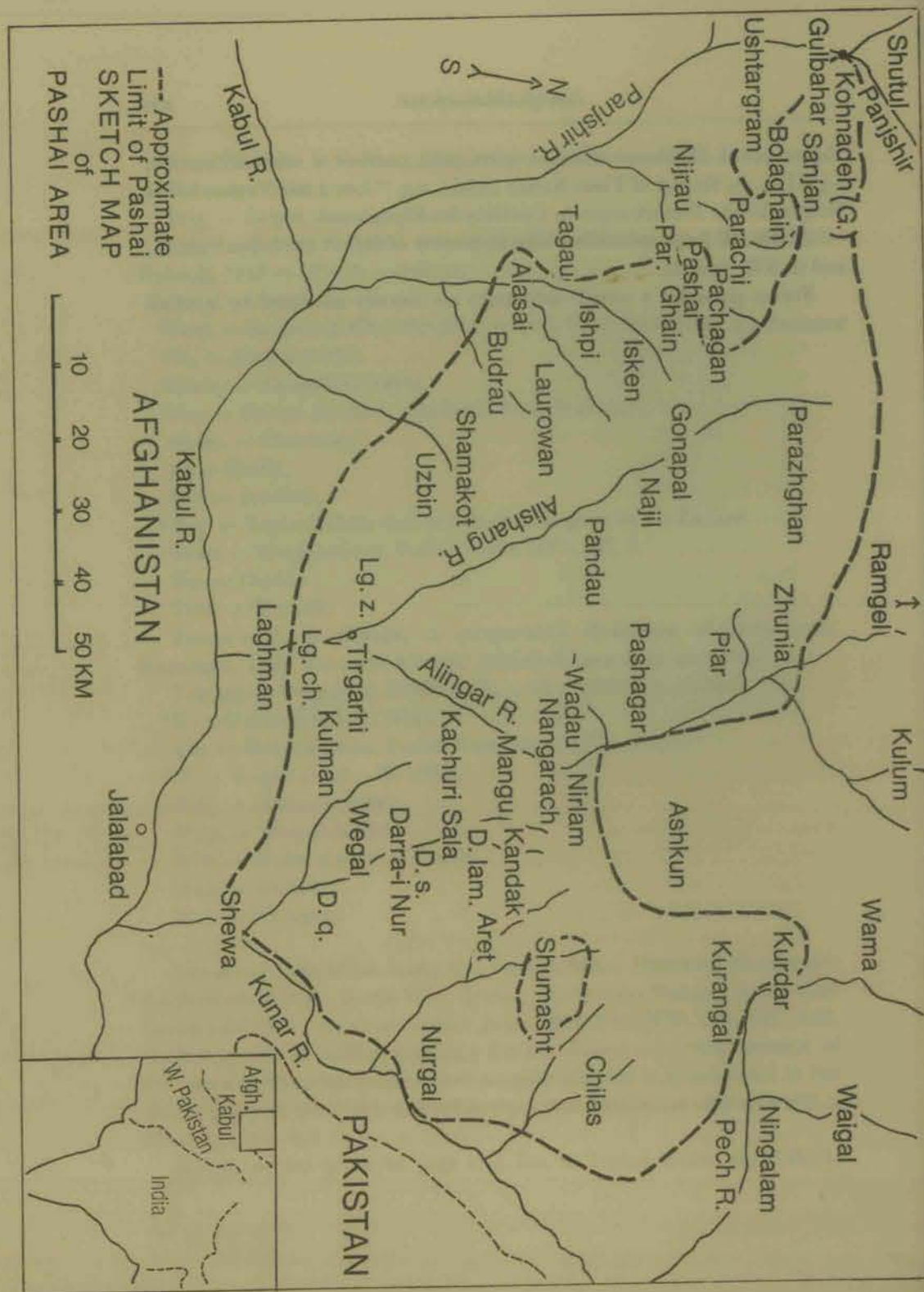
^b Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan*, p. 95.

^c Acc. to Humlum, loc. cit., Wilber (1956) gives 10,000 for "Pashai and other (Dardic) languages", but this figure must be widely off the mark.

^d LSI. VIII, II, p. 89.

^e The description of the world, (transl.) A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, Vol. I, p. 139. The text is the "Franco-Italian" recension, but with additions (in italics) from other MSS.

^f Latin Codex of Toledo, op. cit. II, p. xv, Paxay.



the people of the province are idolaters ^a who worship the idols, and they are dark people. And they know much of enchantments and of the diabolical arts, spending their time in invocation of demons. And here the men wear hung in their ears rings and buckles of gold and of silver and of pearls and of precious stone enough according to their means, worked with great skill. And they are very malicious people and cunning and cruel and clever in the customs. And this province is in a very hot place. ^b Their food is nothing but flesh and rice and spices; whence the vice of sensuality reigns there in such a manner as I will not write."

A century later Ibn Batuta ^c refers to "Bashāi" as a mountain near Barwan (= Parwan). And in 1554 the Turkish admiral Sidi Ali ^d was escorted from Kabul to Charikar and Parwan by the chief of the *Farašī* (= Parachi) and *Pašari*: ^e whose native country it was.

But at that time Babur ^f had already mentioned Pashai (i.e. probably its western dialects) together with Lamghani among the dozen languages spoken in the Kabul region.

The first European in modern times to refer to the Pashais, or Deggauns as he calls them, is Elphinstone, ^g who places them in Kunar and Laghman and states that the language "seems to be composed of Shanscrit and modern Persian with some words of Pushtoo, and a very large mixture of some unknown root."

Masson ^h also refers to Pashai in various places. According to him Pashai is spoken, ⁱ or at any rate understood, ^j by the inhabitants of Panjshir, who are called Tājiks. It is also spoken by "a few families, also of the same designation, occupying some half dozen villages in the hills east of Nijrow; by the inhabitants of Nijrow generally", only the latter ones being also acquainted with Persian. ^k

^a One MS.: son chiamadi indiani et adora leidole. But acc. to op. cit., I, p. 295, note 2, "Indians" very generally means idolaters.

^b M.P.'s source apparently refers to Laghman.

^c Travels, transl. Samuel Lee (1829), p. 100.

^d J. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 297; cf. The travels and adventures of the Turkish admiral Sidi Ali, etc., transl. by A. Vambéry, London, 1899, p. 65.

^e Marquart: *پاشانی* read *پاشانی*.

^f Transl. Beveridge, I, p. 207. Abu-l Fazl, *Āin i Akbari* (transl. H. S. Jarret), Vol. II, p. 401, copies Babur's list, omitting Pashai.

^g An account of the Kingdom of Caubul, new ed. (1842), I, p. 415, sq.

^h Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab, London, 1842.

ⁱ Op. cit. I, 219, 221.

^j Op. cit. III, p. 168.

^k Op. cit., I, p. 219. Cf. also p. 221, where the Pashai speakers of Nijrow are said to be called Tājiks.

The Sáfis of Taghow are probably also of Pashai descent, and it is possible that they speak Pashai. ^a The Tājiks of Lúghmán speak Lúghmání, which is presumably "nearly the same as the Pashai, the Kohistání of Dara Núr, and the dialect of the Siáposh Káfrs" (?). ^b

Finally, according to Masson, Kohistání is spoken by the Sáfis of Dara Núr, Dara Mazár, Dara Pech, etc., who know no other dialect. ^c The Dara Núr dialect "is so mixed up with Hindí" that he and his people "comprehended the drift of their discourse". ^d

1.3. The first vocabularies of Kunar Pashai (some 200 words) and Laghmani (some 170 words) were published by Leech. ^e Burnes ^f gives a few words of the Pushye Dialect, but in 1837 Masson in his Journal, dated Jalalabad, ^g had already recorded 95 words and 13 phrases of Laghmaní.

Griffith, ^h from his travels in 1840, gives 12 words of the Krungulye dialect of N.E. Pashai, and Trumpp ⁱ furnishes us with 20 words from Kunar.

Raverty ^j gave 78 words of Pashai, and 126 of Kohistani (a NW. dialect), beside quoting *sún-waruk* "gold-water" in his Notes on Kafiristan. ^k His Siah-Posh vocabulary also contains a few Pash. words (*párrurra* apple; *húl* otter; *link* walnut; *sewarah* bridge), while, on the other hand, some of his Kohistani words are identical with his Siahposh ones (*shín* crane; *owú* navel; *trim-shihí* evening). It is evident that Raverty's Koh. has been transliterated from a vocabulary written in the Prs. script. In several cases we find *k* for *g* (e.g. *kurah* seize), or for *l* (*kan-gún* penis); *d* for *w* (*jzitar-dáley* hair thread; *ddír* male), or *w* for *d* (*wá* give). Cf. also incorrect vocalization of *waw* (*ingwúr* fire; *askawúr* charcoal; *guwai* went), addition of *-h* (*áh-ú* bread), *é* for *p* (*chika* shoulder), etc.

Note also *áthith* came for **áit* (**ايت* for *ايت*). Misprints may account for *kuláuk* bullock (for **kulánk* < **gul'ng*); *zílím* carpet (with long *z*, for **gilím*); *ástún* hand (for **ástiem* my hand), etc.

Raverty's Pashai words are to a large extent copied from Leech, just as his Siah-posh words have been taken from Burnes. ^l In some cases he has misunderstood or distorted Leech's words (thus, *wirambú* "mulberry", for

^a Op. cit. I, p. 221, sq.

^b Op. cit. III, p. 297, cf. I, p. 221.

^c Op. cit. I, p. 219, cf. III, pp. 282, 297.

^d Bombay Geogr. Soc., 1838, and also JASB., 1838.

^e Cabool, App. IV, p. 383.

^f Masson MSS., India Office Library.

^g Journal of travel, 1847, Vol. I, pp. 464, sqq.

^h JASB., 1864, p. 267, sq.

ⁱ Cf. my The Waigali language, NTS, XVII, p. 154.

^j Op. cit. III, p. 277.

^k ZDMG., XX, p. 418.

^l JASB., 1864, p. 360.

"walnut"; *simek* "red", for **soonek*). But more frequently he has corrected them, or, more probably, copied them from a manuscript free from the errors in Leech's printed text (thus, *pulttem* my son, Leech *pluteni*; *lín-tá* bow, Leech *boonta*; *amarik* pomegranate, Leech *anarik*).

In his account of his travels Tanner^a gives a few Pashai words, and according to Davidson,^b he also wrote 15 foolscap pages of a Darra-i Nuri vocabulary, not retrievable at present.

Finally the LSI, VIII, II, contains descriptions of two Pash. dialects, one "Eastern" (Kunar), and the other "Western" (Laghman), both belonging to the SE. group, according to the terminology used in this book.

The only later published contributions to the study of Pash.—apart from my own (see below)—are:

G. Buddruss's important Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Pašai-Dialekte (1959),^c which gives texts and vocabularies from two Darra-i Nur dialects (*Qala*: -i *Šahi*: and *Sutan*), *Šerwa* (Kunar) and two of the NE. group (*Čilās* and *Kandak*).^d With great generosity Buddruss has put at my disposal all his notes on the grammar of these dialects, as well as many words not given in his book. To a large extent I have availed myself of this valuable material.

Lentz has given a few Kulmani and Kurdari words in his Zeitrechnung in Nuristan und am Pamir.

In the Salnama of Kabul, 1313 (1934/5), pp. 149 sq., has been published a vocabulary, in the Pashto alphabet, of some 120 words and grammatical forms from a SW. Pash. dialect.

Beside Buddruss a number of scholars have kindly assisted me by giving me information on various dialects:

F. Mackenzie: 21 words taken down 8th November, 1951, from Malek Banju in Pashaigar.

K. Ferdinand: Paradigms of verbs, terms of relationship, LSI sentences and a short ghazal, furnished 24th February, 1955, by Abdul Qudu's Parhez, a Ghorla Khel Pashtun from Qalatak (= Shafikoṭ) in Shewa, conversant with Pashai from his childhood.

^a PRGS, NS., 3, pp. 282, sqq.

^b Notes on the Bashgali (Kāfir) language, JASB, LXXI, 1, p. 180.

^c Reviewed by me BSOAS, XIII, 153 sq.

^d Acc. to a letter from Budd. (23.10.1963) the people of D.q. said that the dialect of *Šemul*, the uppermost village of Darra-i Nur, above Kandak, was very difficult to understand. It is unknown whether it belongs to the SE. or NE. group.

L. Edelberg: 29 numerals and a few other words taken down in Kurdar 2nd February, 1956, from Hasan Ali, a young man who had been a soldier.

H. Penzl: A few verb forms, said to be from Kunar, but probably SW., or NW. of the Alasai type.

Abdul Ghafur Farhadi: Verbal paradigms, sentences and a short tale, from Sanjan, near Gulbahar (1957).

G. Redard: Verbal forms from Tagau (Kabul, 1960). He also transmitted to me notes on Darra-i Nuri demonstratives put at his disposal by Professor Bahauddin Majruh.

Pashto Tolana MS. vocabulary of the Alasai dialect, copied in part by me in 1949.

1.4. For my own part I first worked with Pashai in Kabul, May–September, 1924. My chief informant was Abdur Rashid from Laurowan in Tagau, who recited to me a large number of texts, and also gave me information on vocabulary and grammar.^a The material I got from him is my most important source for Pashai. Unfortunately he had to leave me, and many points remain unsettled or doubtful. Nor did I find time to analyse my materials thoroughly on the spot, and was therefore not able to make inquiries about all relevant problems.

In Kabul, in 1924, I also worked with Mubarak Shah from Kohnadeh (*Saṭha*), quite close to Gulbahar, and with Said Muhammad, who claimed to come from the Shutul valley.^b His dialect was closely related to that of Kohnadeh.

Short lists of words and some sentences and grammatical forms were taken down in Kabul 1924 from the dialects of *Išp'i*:; *Isk(y)'e:n*; *Uzbim*, *Narzul'orm* (Najil) and "Pseudo-Pačayam". In Jalalabad and Peshawar I collected some material, mainly vocabularies, from the dialects of *Čarbar*y (in Laghman); *Kačur-i Sarlar*; *Mangur*; *Nirlam* (all three in Alingar); *Kunar* (?); *Wazegāl* (= *Wegal*) and *Xalša'i*: (= *Qala*: -i *Šahi*:) in Darra-i Nur.

In March–April, 1929, in Peshawar, I made inquiries from speakers of Pash. from Laghman (*Mahmaddin* from *Sadar Qala*:); *Paražyam* (village

^a The Pashai Language, II, Texts, 1944 (cf. pp. IX, sqq., about AR.); III, Vocabulary, 1956 (review by Buddruss, ZDMG, 108/2, pp. 411, sqq.).

^b Cf. Rep. Afgh., p. 83. My Par. informants from Shutul denied that his home was there. In 1962 I was told by my Kohnadeh informant that Mubarak Shah was still alive, and had become a rich man through trading. *Saṭha* was said to be in Panjshir, and not identical with Kohnadeh, but it is open to doubt if this is true.

Tapakail; Darra-i Nur (villages *Xalša'ir* and *Lamatek*); Wegal (informant *Bunfeli Xa:n*); *A'ret* (Aret; informants *Xalifar* and *Mir Mahmud*); *Čelars* (Chilas, informant *Ekmača* = *Hikmat Ša:h*?) and *Kurāṅgal* (informant Gul Muhammad, born in Kunar, but grown up in Kurāṅgal).

During a short stay in Kabul in October, 1961, the Afghan authorities kindly made arrangements for me to work with *Burhān-ud Dīn* from *Deh Ziarat* in Laghman, and with *Abdul-Baqir* from *Alasari* in Tagau (*Ka:pisai*), who wrote out for me most useful paradigms of verbs, and was my interested and efficient assistant. Together with him and my Afghan friends Elham and Shpun I went on a short visit to Alasai and Ishpi and collected some supplementary information on the dialects of these villages from *Maryut Xa:n*, malik of Alasai and *Laila: Jān*, malik of Ishpi and his cousin *Nauširwān*.

In October, 1962, I had an opportunity of working for a few hours in Gulbahar with *Abdul Latif* (about 30 years old) from *Sanj'an*, some 10 km east of Gulbahar, and for a short while also with a man from Kohnadeh.

In Nijrau I collected information from various speakers of Pash. from the single Pash. village (*Paša'ir*, or *Sa:t*) wedged in between the Par. villages in the Pachaghan valley.^a Among them were *Amir Mahmud* (12 years old) and *Mahmad Hašem* (75 y.o.). I also wrote down a few words from the dialect of *Giyau* in *Bolayān*, east of Sanjan.

Finally, in June, 1964, I worked with the following informants:

In Bargromatal in the Bashgal valley with *Mahmad Amir* a young soldier from *Šamakart*, supplemented by his friend *Mahmad Sayyid*. Their village is situated in a side-valley of the Alishang, and not far, across a low pass, from *Uzbir*. The dialects of the two villages are closely related.

In Tirgarhi, in the hospitable house of R. Habib Khaliki, governor of Laghman, with informants which the Government had fetched for me, viz. *Xa:n Jān* (42 years old) from *Nangar'ač* in the upper Alingar valley; *Sarifullah Xa:n* (60 y.o.) from the neighbouring village of *Wada'u*; and *Sikandar* (40 y.o.) from *Parnd'au*, said to be on the upper Alishang.

Passing by *Nurgal* on the Kunar river I picked up, from some children, a few "shibboleth" words of their *De:ga:nir* dialect.

Pashai is, as we shall see, split up into a large number of in many cases mutually incomprehensible dialects. To the N. and N.E. Pash. is in contact with other Dardic and Kafir languages, and to the S. and S.E. it borders

^a Pash. was also said to be spoken in one village in the side-valley of *Gunj*.

upon Persian and Pashto speaking territory, with Parachi as its neighbour in the extreme N.W.

2.1. It may be asked: What are the distinctive features of Pash., common to all dialects, but not shared by any of the adjoining Dardic or Kafir languages? Although one is never in doubt as to whether a certain dialect is to be classed as Pash. or not,^a it is not easy to point to any great number of such features. Thus, e.g. the development of a voiceless lateral *λ* from voiceless stop + *r*, is shared also by Shumashti, Gawar-Bati, Bashkarik, etc., while not extending over the entire Pash. domain.

I shall first mention a few phonetical features common to all Pash. dialects, but also to some of the neighbouring Dard.-Kaf. languages:

- (1) Retention of *w*- (Kaf.; GB.; Kashm., but other Dard. *b*-).
- (2) Retention of *st* (Kaf.; GB.; Kal.; Khaw.; Tir.), but *sth* > *th*.
- (3) Retention of *st* (Kaf.; GB.; Kal.; Khaw.; Tir.; Phal.).
- (4) *šv* > *šp*, but not in all cases (cf. Khaw., etc.).
- (5) *šr* > *š*.
- (6) *Nt* > *nd*, etc. (cf. Khaw. and most other Dard. dialects).
- (7) Anticipation of *r*, e.g. in **kramm* < *karma*.
- (8) Lengthening of vowels in stressed syllables. Cf. *Woṭapuri* and possibly *Phal*.

Apparently exclusively Pash. features are:

- (1) Intervocalic *s* > *y*, "Q". Cf. *Shina* -*s*- > -*z*-, etc.?
- (2) Intervocalic *sr* > -*yr*-.
- (3) *Vr* > *r/r/l*.
- (4) *Kv* > *č*.^b
- (5) Apparent retention of -*t*- in some verbal endings.
- (6) Syncope in words of the type *šu:ng* dog; *warg* water; *west* 20 (with *st* < *š* + *t*).
- (7) Lengthening of stressed short vowels, especially in monosyllabics.
- (8) Retention of the distinction between final -*e* (< **-as*) and -*a*: before pronominal suffixes.

Special Pash. morphological features are:

- (1) Feminines in -*č* from masculines in -*k*.
- (2) Genitive in -*s(t)*.

^a Shumashti is embedded in Pash. territory and is heavily overlaid with Pash. elements, but the structure is clearly of the Gawar-Bati type.

^b Cf. SW. 5,3; 26,8.

(3) Oblique cases before pronominal suffixes of the type *-as-am*, *-est-om*, etc.^a

(4) Intransitive Perfect in *-tek*, etc.

(5) Formation of the Present in a consonant (*k, g, t, r*).^b

A number of other features are common to most, but not to all dialects:

(1) Pers. Pronoun 1. Sg. Obl. *mam* (not NW. group).

(2) Preterites in *k/č* (not NW.).

(3) Transitive Perfect in *-ček*, etc. (not SE.).

(4) An extensive use of pronominal suffixes, infixes, and affixes in the verb inflexion, characteristic of Pash. in general, but varying much according to dialect.

2.2. The vocabulary of Pash. contains a number of IA words unknown from other Dardic languages.^c

Cf. Voc. s.v.v.:

Abō'i: flour; *ucum* scorpion; *o:da* near; *udhar* irrigation channel; *o:ka:et* down; *o:nj-* to wash; *ar* blood; *ar-* to bring; *ur-* to rise; *o:rač* sleep; *āirik* tear; *o:r-* to let loose; *ar:skə* ashes; *išpa:n* udder; *ar:s-* to seize; *ar:spa:r* rice; *čhelar:k* white; *dorr* mouth; *de:šik* grape; *duwa:s* day; *gair* waist; *gur-* to take; *šut-* to burn; *šh-* to put; *kura:* tree; *kuseli:* corn-bin; *ka:ta:wa:* mountain sheep; *li:m* tail; *lerna* under; *lurnd* roof; *ma:l* urine; *manj-* to dress; *munč-* to break; *ne:-* to sit down; *ne:-* to go out; *na(:)li:* cloud; *pa'u* dust; *pa:č* goat; *pul-* to arrive; *pa:nje* husband; *para:r* apple; *paš:* wall; *p(h)al-* to go to sleep; *sa:ng* ground, earth; *sur* sun; *šular* clay; *šar:ma:k* black; *šar:t-* to go away; *šor:na:k* red; *tarnuk* own (*-k* only in Pash.); *wei* daughter; *wer-* to weep; *warg* water (Ashk. *warg-ar:i*: duck < Pash.); *wəst* 20; *waranja:k* ant; *žutr* hair.

2.3. In many cases there is a marked difference of vocabulary, or in the form taken by related words, between E. and W. dialects, although the isoglosses do not always follow the same lines. Cf. the types:

West	East
<i>ar:skə</i>	<i>ar:sek</i> ashes
<i>ačhi:</i>	<i>anč(i)</i> eye
<i>andar:š</i>	<i>ander:c</i> liver (cf. GB. <i>ander:c</i>)
<i>a:č</i>	<i>ēč</i> bear

^a Cf. SW. 13,10, etc.

^b Cf. SW. NW. NE. SE. 23,1; NW. 23,12.

^c Cf. the author's A bundle of Pashai etymologies, in Siddha-Bhārati, Siddheswar Varma Hon. Vol. (1950), I, pp. 111 sqq.

West	East
<i>aburi</i>	<i>awe:</i> flour
<i>u:stħ</i>	<i>bo:sta:r</i> lip
<i>čhui</i>	<i>šur</i> 16
<i>dharnjal</i>	<i>bornjil</i> earthquake
<i>go:na:s</i>	<i>goma:č</i> (but also Pach. <i>goma:č</i>) snake
<i>š(h)as-</i>	<i>(h)az-</i> to laugh
<i>khari</i>	<i>khari</i> ear
<i>lar:k, šor:k</i>	<i>pepek</i> palm of the hand
<i>lašur:k, šis</i>	<i>lu:č, plič</i> (but also Pach. <i>pru:č/s</i>) louse
<i>mu:š</i>	<i>mu:č</i> mouse
<i>piša:k</i>	<i>uñdarek, piša:sa</i> cat
<i>sudur</i>	<i>dudur, dunik</i> far
<i>šur:ng</i>	<i>šunij</i> dog
<i>ša:ng</i>	<i>šir</i> horn
<i>wardana</i>	<i>wa:gan(d)</i> wind
<i>wari</i>	<i>go:šij</i> house
<i>zamb</i>	<i>wa:r</i> stone (but also Sham. <i>žandre-wor</i> mill-stone)

Darmain rain is known only from SW., NW., and NE., while SE. has *wa:s*, and *čar:ška* hare has only been recorded from NW., SW. (SE. *zargorš*, NE. *ramušor*).

2.4. An interesting pair of words, the geographical distribution of which is independent of the division between E. and W. Pash., is the one denoting father-in-law and mother-in-law.

From *švašuraka-* we might expect a type *šašura:* father-in-law, and from **švašru:ka:* mother-in-law **šairu:*. But no dialect has retained the original distribution. In the East and also in Al., a secondary feminine in *-i:* has been formed from the masculine in *-ar*, e.g. W.N. *sansura:/i:*; Ka. *šesura/i:*; K. *šā:šuro:/i:*; Al. *šašura:/i:*. In A., and in some western dialects, it is, on the other hand, the fem. stem *šair-* which has been extended to the masc. Thus, A. *šer-iem/šer:wo:om*; Pach. *šair-iem/šairu:(-em)*; Sanj. *šaira-m/šairi:-m*; Nj. Sham. *šair-iem/šairi:-m*.

In four dialects, situated on the border-line between these two groups, we find a type masc. *šair-*, fem. *šašuri:*. Viz. Nang. *šair/šāšeri:*; U. *šar-iem/šāšeri:*; Kch. *šer-iem/saseri:*; D. *šer-iem/šāšuri:-m*. It seems probable that Sh., which is closely related to G., also once had a masc.

Approximate Geographical Distribution of Pashai Dialect Forms for

[illegible]

*šair-, and that the same was the case in Lg.ch., which has a fem. širur. KohRav. šahír (šair ?) may also have a corresponding fem. *šairur.

Keh. fem. *sasari* has been taken over from a dialect with $s < \tilde{s}$, like W. and N. The U. fem. may have been borrowed from Al., and the D. fem. from W. (before the change of $\tilde{s} > s$).

It is a curious fact, which I am at loss to explain, that these contaminations have all been effected in the "wrong" way. Nor is it at present possible to explain the isolated AL type. But a more detailed knowledge of Pash. dialects would perhaps give us a clearer picture of the development.

2.5. There are no common phonological or morphological features distinguishing E. Pash. as a whole from W. Pash. But the difference in vocabulary seems to go back to a rather early date, and the most probable explanation is that W. Pash. is derived from the dialect of ancient Ka:piśa, and E. Pash. from that of Lampa:ka-Nagara:ha:ra, the two north-western-most centres of pre-Muslim Hindu-Buddhist civilization. There is, however, little hope that we shall ever be able to prove this.

At any rate it seems highly improbable that Pash. should have developed the common features characterizing it, while being dispersed, as it is at present, across a series of lateral valleys. No doubt the ancestors of the Pashais at an earlier date occupied parts of the main Kabul and Panjshir valleys, and were pushed back from there into the present habitat of the language. It is significant that some of the Indian numerals quoted by Alberuni from this region are found to agree best with an early form of Pash.^a

2.6. There are also a few Pash. words which look like early tatsamas. Thus, *Pa(:)uṣ* = December (L.), but = March-April (*Ḥamal*) (Al.) seems to represent an exaggerated attempt—in schools? ^b—to preserve the Skt. diphthong, cf. Lhd., etc., *Poh*. Other names of months are L. *Phalgurn* second autumn month (Lhd. *Phaggaṇ*), and *Bardrau* November (Lhd. *Bhadrū*).^c

Tatsamas are also the plant-names *kaśmīr*; *kiṣelmaṭi*; *naumali*:
(*Al. narvamaṭi*); v. Voc. s.v.v.

It seems reasonable to assume, furthermore, that *wargan*, She. *waigand*

* Of my Modern Indo-Aryan words in Alberuni (Indian Linguistics, Turner Volume, I, p. 31, pp. 319, sqq.). With Alberuni's *yāhi*; *duwāhi*; *trōhi*; *čaudāhi*; *pañčāhi*: 11-15, cf. Pash. *y/žā*; *duwā*; *trui*; *čaddi*; *pañfi*/*u*.

^b My AI informant's derivation from *pa:u:ʃ* "foot-stretching (time)"—after the long winter spent indoors—does not carry conviction.

* KurdLen. *čester*; *čsazki*; *čir* have probably been borrowed from a dialect of the GB. type, with *i* < *vi*-, cf. also Sawi *čir*; *sazkeri*; *har*.

wind ^a < **vahad-gandha*, cf. Skt. *gandha-vaha* and *ploniš*, *larni:š* leopard < **pramni:ša* belonged originally to a language of higher civilization. Also the place-name *Mangalpur* may have preserved an O.IA. form.

2.7. According to one tradition the original home of Pash. was Kulman, but it is very doubtful if this is to be trusted. We do not know where the ancient linguistic frontier ran between IA.Pash. and Ir.Par., but the latter language has evidently been in contact with and influenced by Pash. from an early date.^b

In Pachaghan I was told that the Pashais there were Durrani who had come from Kandahar in the time of Timur (Shah ?) ! According to another, equally trustworthy source, they had come from Nuristan "a very long time ago".

Babur ^c states that the inhabitants of Nijrau and Darra-i Nur were at that time Kafirs, and Masson ^d also considers Darra-i Nur and Darra-i Pech to have originally belonged to them, while "Nadjil is held by people called now Tâjiks, but were (sic!) recently Kafirs, and who while professing Mâhomedanism, preserve in a great measure their pristine manners and customs".^e

But this does of course not imply that their pre-Islamic religion was identical with that of modern time Kafirs. It may very well have contained many more traces of debased forms of Hinduism and Buddhism.

Masson ^f writes about Begram that "the present Hindûs call the site Balram, and suppose it to have been the capital of the Râjâ Bal". He also mentions Sal-grâm a "Hindu zîarat in Panjshîr", a "celebrated Hindu zîarat in Ghorband" called Ghârûk Tabbî, the Hazrat Lûh Baigambar resorted to also by Hindus, and "the zîarat of Mêtâr Lâh Sâhib (in Laghman) stealthily visited by Kafirs".^g

It is perhaps possible that at any rate some of these local Hindu cults go back to pre-Muslim times, and that they have not in their entirety been established by recent Hindu immigrants to the Kabul region.

3.1. A satisfactory classification of Pash. dialects would require a much fuller knowledge of them than we possess at present, when in most cases we would have to base it on mere scraps of information, and when many dialects remain unknown.

^a V. Voe. s.v., and cf. Khov. *gân* wind < *ga:ndha*.

^c I, 232.

^e Op. cit. III, p. 294.

^g Op. cit. III, pp. 165, 168, 170, 195 sq., 291.

^b IFL, I, pp. 14 sq.

^d Op. cit. III, p. 168.

^f Op. cit. III, p. 159, cf. p. 155.

And, even if we had detailed and reliable information from every Pash. village, we should still be up against all the theoretical and practical problems which any attempt at classification of a complex group of dialects has to face.

For the purpose of presenting the scattered material available in a not too complicated form, it may be practical to divide Pash. dialects into four major groups. The criteria, phonological and morphological, are, it must be admitted, not quite consistent and uniform, and it might, e.g., have been just as possible to put Al. under SW. as under NW.

The groups have been labelled SW.^a, NW., NE., and SE.

3.2. It might appear tempting to use the formation of the Present, with its pronominal in- and affixes, for a classification of Pash. dialects, but this proves to be possible only to a very limited extent.

SW. and some NW. dialects agree in having a type BPOA.^b Thus, L. *han-g-i:am*; Nj. *han-t-ey-em*; Wad. *han-t-e-im* "beat-ing-thee-am", I am beating thee.

Al. has *buffelâi-r-a:yem* I wake him; *b°-r-am-a:* he wakes me (BPOA), but *b°-r-em-i:* I wake thee (BPAO). Our material from this dialect, however, is very fragmentary.

Neither G.Sh., nor, apparently, Sanj.Pach. possesses any pronominal infixes.

NE. has the type A. *an-eg-am-u*; Ch. *an-iy-em-u*: I beat thee (BPAO).

In SE. we find Lg.z. *lâi-g-im-âi*: thou seest me (BPOA), as in SW.NW., but *lâi-k-em-i*, I see thee (BPAO), and this type appears also in Ku.

W. has *thar-e:g-am* I see thee, and D. *der-e-k-am* I give thee (BOPA). But in D.q. we find not only *an-îm-g-e:* thou beatest me, but also *an-e:g-am-i:* I see thee (BOPAO), with repeated indication of Object.

The unexpected insertion of O before P suggests that D. *ane:gami:* was originally to be analysed as BPAO, with P *-e:g-*, and that the type W. *thar-e:g-am*, etc., is due to a reinterpretation of *-e:-* as O. This would render the final *-i:* O superfluous, and it was dropped in W., and also in D. *der-e-k-am*. Perhaps also A.Ch. are to be interpreted as *-e:g-am-u*, *-i:y-em-u:*, corresponding to D.q. *-e:g-am-i:*.

^a C(entral)W(est) would have been more exact, but no harm will be done by my retaining this more symmetrical designation.

^b B = Verbal Base; P = Present Suffix; O = Object; A = Auxiliary, indicating the Subject.

3.3.

I.—SW.

- (1) *Laurowan*, in Tagau.
- (2) *Išpi*, in Tagau, west of Laurowan.
- (3) *Isk(y)ern*, above Ishpi.
- (4) Dialect of the *Sarlnama* vocabulary.
- (5) "Pseudo-*Pačayarn*."

Phonological features are:

- (a) *Tr*, *dr* remain, but velars and labials + *r* result in *l*, note, however (Saln. *mr* > *mur*-. *Vr* > *r*-.).
- (b) *š* remains in L.I.Saln., but results in Isk., and possibly "Pach.", *š* (x).
- (c) *Kš* > L.I.Saln. *ch*, but Saln. "Pach." *š*.
- (d) *Y* > *z*.

Some common morphological features are:

- (a) Pers. Pron. 1. Sg. Obl. *mam*.
- (b) Pers. Pron. 1/2. Sg. Gen. *m/tainar*.
- (c) Pers. Pron. 2. Pl. *myar*, etc.
- (d) Present in *-g*-.

Past tenses in *-k/č-* (Isk. not recorded).

Proximate Past morpheme *-wa-* (Saln. not recorded).

3.4. Acc. to I. (1961) *Laurowan*, *Alidorst* (L. *Aldus*) and *Walibe:k* together constitute the village (district?) of *Kořir*, at the head of the *Budraw* valley.

The Isk. dialect is closely related to that of I. They both have 2. Pl. in *-at*, L. *-ai*.

Saln. also has 2. Pl. *-at(h)*. The inflexion of the demonstrative *sa* agrees closely with that of I., but in some particulars with that of Al. In *surai* sun; *istar:fai* star; *kukuřai* hen *-ai* probably represents *-ā*, corresponding to I.Isk. Al. (and other NW. dialects) fem. *-a/ā*. Also *žay*-, *žu*- to eat agrees with I.Isk. and NW., as against L. *āy*-. *Muri:k*h to die (L. *li:k*); *hamat* our; *miyart* your, and *šai* 6 remind us of NW. forms.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that Saln. belongs to the border between SW. and NE., possibly to a village above Kora.

3.5. My information about "Pachaghani" is of a curious nature. AR. had for some time been telling me that a strange language which he could not understand was spoken in Pachaghan. At last he managed to get hold of a man who professed to come from Ghain (*Terin*) in Pachaghan. His

language proved to be a fantastically perverted kind of secret language,^a but it was evidently based upon a dialect of the SW. type, with Present in *-g-* (*makāikekam* = *māiga:m* I speak, Isk. *māigya:m*), and *šasa* = *ša* 6, with *š*, as in Saln.

"Pach." is quite different from the real NW. Pach. I never had an opportunity of verifying if Pash. is still spoken in Darra-i Ghain, a side-valley of Pachaghan in Nijrau, as stated by Burnes, and also by a local police officer, who told me that Pash., Par. and Psht. were all spoken there. If this is so, there is a faint possibility that the local Pash. may really belong to SW. But no conclusions can be drawn from my "Pach." vocabulary.

AR. and my "Pach." informant talked together in Prs., but I cannot tell whether the latter just feigned not to understand the L. dialect. If the words he gave me were not made up on the spot, they must be employed in order to be able to converse in the presence of outsiders without being understood.

3.6. *K* or *z* were inserted or added, but without any coherent system. Thus, *šekilek'ak* (**šel'ak*) white; *akakaspakar'ak* (**asp'ar*) rice; *azašte* (**aište*) 8; *ayzayayaz'a:* (**ayaz*) bull; *čik'a:r* 4; *kakapak'al*, *kazapaz'al* (**kap'a:l*) head, etc.

Kakarneki: (**karn*) mountain, and **šakar'ak* (**šarak*) road are not known from any other Pash. dialect, but cf. Phal. *khar*, Torw. *khar*, and Nep. s.v. *šarak* (< **šr*-). Such words tend to show that "Pach." was based on some real dialect.

It would serve no useful purpose to print the complete list of some 100 words. A few sentences will suffice to give some idea of "Pach.": *Tukukaka makāik'e dakāyeka* (**tu māye dāya*) give me; *aka takawa akate-kāikekam* (**a: tau atāiga:m*) I make you enter; *aka takāineke: yaka pakarake: dakāikekam* (**a: tāine: i: parar dāiga:m*) I give you an apple; *akakamaka trakakazi niske:maka* (**ama: trayai nie:ma*) let all three of us sit down; *makam ak(a)uek'u akekawakam* (**mam au: aewakam*) I ate bread.

^a In Kabul in 1924 a Persian-speaking Laghmani told me about various kinds of *suban-i sarzagi* ("made-up languages"). In *Zaryari*, or goldsmiths' argot, from Charbagh in Laghman he gave *yazaraz'a* 1; *duzuruz'o* 2, etc., but from Barak-Rajan in Logar *yaz'ak*; *duz'ak*; *sez'ek*; *šaz'ar*, etc., cf. *pazadas'ar* father. In this argot *bizi zez'e čiz'i lez'im bez'e yaz'ar čiz'e maz'a biz'e kaz'a šuz'um* stands for Prs. *bize:z čilim beyar ki ma: bikas'um* rise, bring the pipe that I may smoke. The corresponding *Muryi*: or "birds' language" form was: *biryi: xiryi: čiryi: leryi:m beryi: yaryar kirye: mary'a: biry'e: kary'a: šury'um*. In the *Šela'i*: (1) jargon *tuštu rašta mište guštu yuštum* stood for *tura: mi:gum* I tell you. Cf., for Zergeri, Massé, *Croyances et coutumes Persanes*, I, p. 60, and v. also WZKM, 48, p. 297. Cf. also Rep.NW.India, p. 35, about Lonkuchiwar in Chitral.

Most of the words given are understandable. But I have no explanation to offer for *kiki'ek* hip; *kakerik'i*; neck; *muk'uzeka*; heel; *mukuž'ek* calf of the leg.

The dialect of Alasai is geographically separated from NW., and close to L. and I. It also shares most of the phonetic features of SW. But from the point of view of morphology it is more closely related to NW., and will consequently be dealt with in that group.

3.7.

II.—NW.

- (1) *Gulbahar* (*Kohnadeh*, or *Sartha*).
- (2) *Šutul* (closely related to G.).
- (3) Burnes' Pashai (PashBurn.).
- (4) *Sanjan*.
- (5) *Bolay'ain* (village *Giyau*).
- (6) *Pačayarn* (in *Nijrau*).
- (7) *Paražy'arn*.
- (8) *Nazul'orm* (*Najil*).
- (9) *Parnd'au*.
- (10) *Šamak'or*.
- (11) *Uzbir*.
- (12) Raverty's Kohistani (*KohRav.*).
- (13) *Nangar'ač*.
- (14) *Wada'ur*.
- (15) *Pašag'ar* (Mack. Pashaigar).
- (16) *Alasari*.

3.8. The dialects of Gonopal and Saigel, near Najil, also seem, if we can trust the dialect songs given by AR., to belong to the NW. group. Regarding Darra-i Ghain, v. above. Burnes also states that Pash. was spoken in Doora-Pootta (*Darra-i Poča*, a side-valley of D.-i Ghaus in *Nijrau*), but according to information given by a local police officer, Prs. is spoken there. Burnes also mentions Mulaikir (G. *Malek'a*, Survey Map *Malikarn*) in Panjshir, and Soudur (?) as being Pash. villages.

In the Salang valley, north of Jebel-us-Siraj, the name of the villages Shangol and Kalat:ak^a might perhaps be of Pash. origin. And in the Andarab valley we find the place-names Dara-i Pashai and Pashai Kasan, which may point to a settlement of Pashais even north of the Hindukush.

^a Cf. Voc. *Kalatek*.

According to a Kt. informant from Nilau in Ramgel, Pash. is spoken in the Alingar valley above Pashagar, in the villages *Šama*, *Kurgal*, *Žūniar*, and *Pirar*.^a He stated that *Pal'agel* (Lentz, 219, *Parigel*) was the lowermost Kt. village towards Kulum. On the Ramgel side *Berken'ār* (Lentz, 142, *Berkinar*) in Nilau seems to be the nearest Kt. village.

If Pash., as asserted by my Kt. informant, is also spoken in *Šašidara* (Lentz, 281), and in *Gulčeri-larm* (with Pash. *larm*, not Ashk. *glarm*; Lentz, 266), the dialect probably belongs to the NE. and not to the NW. group.

3.9. Phonological characteristics of NW. are:

- (a) *Ar* > *or*, *ur*.
- (b) Retention of *tr*, *dr*.
- (c) *Y* > *ž* (P.Pg.PashBurn. not recorded).
- (d) Retention of palatal *č*, *š*, *ž*.
- (e) *Kš* > P.Nj.U.Pach.KohRav.Pg. *ch*-, but G.Sh.Sanj.Bol. *š(x)*.
- (f) *Vr* > Sh.Pach.AL *r*-, G.Sanj. *r*- (other dialects not recorded).
- (g) *K/pr* > G.Sh.Sanj. *k/pr*, Pach. *pr*, P.Nj.U.Sham., etc. *š*, Nang. *s*; *g/b(h)r* > Pach.P.Nj.U. *l*.

Some common morphological features are:

- (a) Pers. Pron. 1. Sg. Obl. *mor*, etc., not *mam*.
- (b) Pers. Pron. 1/2. Sg. Gen. not *m/tainar*, as in other groups, but based on *m/tor*.
- (c) Present in *-t* in G.Sh.Sanj.Pach.P.Nj.U. (*KohRav.Pg.* not recorded). AL. *-(t)r* (PashBurn. *-tar*).
- (d) Pres. 2. Pl. G.Sh.Sanj.P.Nj.U. *-unda*, etc., Pach. *ista*, AL. *-arya*.
- (e) No past tenses in *-k/b-*, as known from all other dialects.

3.10. G.Sh.Sanj. form a closely related sub-group. G.Sh., which have been most exposed to outside, Prs., influence, have lost the category of gender.

PashBurn. probably belongs to the same sub-group, but its position as regards gender is not known. With G.Sh. cf. *kuro* where? (= G., but Nj. *karik*); *ker-a* what is it? (G. *kar-a*, but U.Nj. *kor* what?); *kemal* when? (G. *kimal*); *išterk-oom* my wife (G.Sh. *št*, but Nj.U.KohRav. *st*); *sura* sun (= G.Sh.Pach., but Nj.U. *sur*).

Pach. occupies a position somewhat apart. It contains some words recorded only from SE. and NE.,^b and the transition of *kr* > *pr*, and the

^a Lentz, Geogr. Bem. 292; 290; 225; 155. An Ashk. informant (NTS, VII, p. 57) said that *Pirara* and *Zun* were Ashk. villages, but this does not seem probable.

^b Cf. Intr. 2.3.

2. Pl. in *-ista* recalls A. (NE.). Notice also *šarmuk* black, with *š-* as in Ch.K. On the other hand, Pach. has been subject to influence from the surrounding Par. of Pachaghan, possibly also in the loss of gender and the reduction of the system of pronominal suffixes.

3.11. P.Nj.U.Sham.Pand. agree in having *š < kr/pr.* while Nang.Wad. have *s*. All of these dialects have *i*, *ī*, *ū* < *ur*. Also KohRav. probably belongs to this group. Characteristic words are, e.g. "*achi*" eye (U.Nj.Nang. *ačir*, Sham. *ačh'ir*, but G.Sh. *ačhui*); "*istri*" woman (U. *istri*, Sham. Nang. *est-*, but G.Sh. *št-*); "*sitah-lú*" small (Nj. *suṭulu*, Sham. *sətalir* f., Nang. *əli* f.); "*sarú*" deer (= Nj., Sham. *carur*); "*tattwi*" scorpion (U. *kyakyawir*, Sham. *çəç*).

3.12. KohRav. has *çh < kš*, not only in initial position ("*chir*" milk), but also after a vowel, e.g., "*pichin*" sparrow (Nj.U. *pačim*, but G. *pazim*, Sanj. *pašinā*, etc.). In most cases KohRav. *u*, *ú* corresponds to P.Nj.U. *ū*, e.g. in "*músh*" rat; "*shúnak*" dog; "*(barak) jzútt*" wool (U. *žútr*). But note "*jzitar-dáley*" for **žútr-walir*, where the *i* may be due to an original notation with *ç* in the Prs. script.

The short list of Pg. words is just sufficient to show retention of *tr* and of *o*, *u < a*: (*osman* heaven; *golu* horse; *cheluk* white; *puterem* son). But it contains no example of *k/pr*, *g/br*, and it would be possible to ascribe it to the A.Ka. sub-group of NE., if it were not for a number of words which agree better with NW. Thus, *urga* water (Sh. *wurga*, P. *orrga*, but A. *warek*); *shamuk* black (G. *šarmuk*, but A. *šormak*); *jibba* tongue (Sh. *júbba*, but A. *zip*); *mashi* woman (Nj. *mašir*, but Ch. *mošir*, etc.); *sholuk* red (P.U. *šornok*, but A.K. *šenek*, Ch. *šunek*); *weiy-um* girl (G. *wei*, etc., but A. *wor-om*, etc.); *achi* eye (G. *ačhui*; Nj.U. *ačir*, but A.Ch. *āc*, etc.).

3.13. The dialect of *Alasari* in Tagau, which is also the one described in the PT vocabulary, agrees with SW. in its phonetic development.

(a) Long *a*, *u* remain (*čar* 4; *dur* smoke).

(b) *T/dr* remain (*traye* 3, *pur*, *putr* son; *istri* female; *žandra* (obl.) mill). But velars and labials + *r* result in *l* (*lungali* mulberry; *lar* work; *lyeni* noon; *lil* wet; *le-l* to herd; *lačand-* to fall < **pra-čand-*; *lar-y* brother). *Mr-* > *mr-* (*muřitik* he has died); *vr-* > *r-* (*rekin-* to sell).

(c) *Kš > š* (*čir* milk; PT *šiya* 6).

(d) *Y-* > *ž-* (*žandra* mill; PT *žary* 11).

Aspiration has been noted in *khar* ass; *therm* I may be, but not with voiced stops (*dar* hill, wood).

3.14. The morphology of Al. agrees, however, more closely with NW.:

(a) Absence of the pronominal forms *mam* me; *m/taina* my/thy.

(b) Double marking of Obl. and Gen. in *xura:k-as-an-es* of our food. Cf. Pron. Suffixes, Nj.Sanj.

(c) Imper. 1. Pl. *-eu-*.

(d) Aor. Imper. 2. Sg. *karāis-im* make me.

(e) Aor. 1. Pl. *-anz-* before Pron. Suffixes.

(f) Aor. 2. Pl. *-dar-*.

(g) *Ha:n* he was, etc., and Imperfect in *-an-*.

(h) Present in *-(t)r-*, not in *-g-*.

(i) Intrans. Pasts *garyam* I went; *aidam* I came.

(j) Trans. Pasts in *-t-*, *-n-*, *-ir-*.

(k) Intrans. Pluperfect in *-(k)a:n-*.

(l) Trans. Pluperfect in *-lat-*.

We do not know how long Al. has been spoken in its present home. It may have been introduced through a migration or infiltration from the NW. region at a date when the morphological features of this group had already been partly established, but when it was still possible for the dialect to be influenced by the phonetic tendencies of the neighbouring SW. dialects.

3.15.

III.—NE.

(1) *Čolars* (Chilas), with only slight differences between Ch. and ChB.

(2) *Kurāngal*.

(3) *A'rest* (*Aret*), with slight differences between my two informants.

(4) *Kaṇḍak*.

(5) *Kur'dar*, from Edelberg, when not marked KurdLen. I was given a few Kurd. words by my Kurāngali informant.

3.16. Phonological features characteristic of NE. are:

(a) *A:* > *o:*, cf. NW.

(b) Retention of *ur*.

(c) A tendency to palatalize ancient *o:* into *ö*, *e*, etc.

(d) Retention of *y-*, but in A. a strongly fricative *y'*, interchanging with *ž-*.

(e) Retention of *š*.

(f) *Kš > čh*, etc.

(g) *Kh > A.Ka.Ch.K. x(h)*, but > Kurd. *k*.

3.17. A sub-group A.Ka.Kurd. is distinguished from Ch.K. by the following features:

- (a) *T/dr* remain, but in Ch.K. > *λ/l*.
- (b) *K/pr, g/br* > *pl, l* (*δl*), but Ch.K. > *λ, l*.
- (c) *Č, Ĵ* remain, but Ch.K. > *c, z*.
- (d) Ka.A.¹, but not A.², *Ĵ* > *y*. Thus, Ka. *buy-* to awake; *beyū:l* earthquake (A.² *bərnful*); *lery-*, A.¹ *lāiy-* to feel ashamed; (A.² *lājj-*); *māiy-* to put on clothes (A.² *māž-*); *pōy-*, A.¹ *pō:i* husband (A. *pō:š*); *playar* fever (A.² *plajorr*); *teyark*, A.¹ *tā:iyak* star (A.² *tā:īyak*); *beōrik*, A.¹ *bāy°* bee (A.² *be:njorik*); *pa: 5*.

3.18. Morphological features common to NE. are:

- (a) A.Ka.Ch. allative in *-al*; Ablative in *-ou*.
- (b) A.Ka. *mi(n)*, Ch.Kurd. *bi*, in numerals of the type A. *wist-min-dare* 30.
- (c) A.Ka.Ch.K. *mono* my; *tono* thy (Ka. *tena*) thy.
- (d) Preterite in *k/č*.
- (e) Trans. Pluperfect in *-l-*.
- (f) Static Perfect Participle *-wo*; cf. SW.SE.

3.19. KGr. agrees with K. in having:

- (a) *A:* > *o:* ("lohideck" = **lori:tek* brother, K. *lor-m*).
- (b) (*S*)*tr* > *λ* ("khleek" = **lek* woman).
- (c) *Br* > *l* ("lohideck" brother).

In some cases KGr. *tr* seems to stand for *(*d*)*z*. E.g. *trimm* snow (< Kaf.); *troh* chest, breast (< Kaf.); *trull* jungle (K. *zai* tree); *traih* oak (< **jerr*, cf. Gamb. *jaro*, etc.). The interpretation of *trizza* sister is uncertain.

K. has *ar* > *o:* in *do:* wood; *cor* 4; *or* > *e* in *gero* horse; *kš* > *čh* in *či:* milk; *tr* > *λ* in *le:λ-* to cut grain; *pr-* > *λ* in *la:zor* fever; *vr-* > *l-* in *ligin-* to sell; *č, Ĵ* > *c, z* in *cor* 4; *zib* tongue.

3.20. Even the few words recorded from Kurd. suffice to prove that it belongs to the A.Ka. sub-group of NE.:

- (a) *Chār* 4; *yooi* 11; KurdLen. *ko:l* year; *diyo:s* day.
- (b) *Shir* 16; *arech* sleep (translated "good", but no doubt with Psht. *xob*, interpreted as Prs. *xu:b*).
- (c) *Yooi* 11.
- (d) *Osht* 8.
- (e) *chaū* (KurdMorg. *cer*) 6.
- (f) *treā* 3; *troi* 13; KurdLen. *le:tr* harvest; *č:ter* Caitra.

- (g) KurdLen. *pl'oyalir* mulberry; *pla:st* New Year.
 - (h) *Chār* 4; *arech* sleep.
- KurdLen. *zē* winter; *wasu:* spring are l.w.s from Kaf.

3.21.

IV.—SE.

- (1) *Layman*.
 - (a) *Čarbar* (LSI.w., Lg.ch.).
 - (b) *Sadar Kala:* (Qala:?).
 - (c) *Deh Zia:rat*.
 - (d) LgMass.
 - (e) LgLee.
- (2) *Aling'ar* valley:
 - (a) *Kašuri Sarlar*. Cf. Survey Map, Salao Darra, below Mangu.
 - (b) *Mangu*.^a
 - (c) *Nirlam*. Cf. Biddulph, Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, (map) Nurlam = Upper Alingar.
- (3) *Darra-i Nurr*:
 - (a) *Qala:* (Budd. *Kalar*) -i *Šarhi:* (Šarid?).
 - (b) *Lama:tek*.
 - (c) *Sutan*.
- (4) *Wergal*:
 - (a) *Waregāl* village.
 - (b) *Dudarak*.

Also the following sources are closely related to W.:

 - (c) PashLee.
 - (d) PashRav. (copied from PashLee.).
 - (e) Ku. (said to be from "Kunar", the word being taken in a wider sense).
 - (f) KuTr.
 - (g) Kulm.
- (5) *Kunar* valley:
 - (a) *Šerwar*.
 - (b) LSI.e.

^a Acc. to Nang. their M. neighbours call their own language *Šarri:* (Š-?), with *le:* 3; *la:im* work = Nang. *trā*; *sum*. Cf. also Sham. *le:*; *la:im*, and *xuri:n* dog, said to be *Xa:rega:* forms.

3.22. There are few phonological features common to all SE. dialects:

(a) Retention of *ar*.

(b) $Ks > s$ (\check{x}).

(c) $P/t/k + r > \lambda$; $b/d/g + r > l$. Cf. Ch.K.

(d) Retention of the palatal character of \check{c} , \check{j} , except in Kch. *gornarc* snake; *lowoc* jackal; *pans* 5; *zu* louse. But cf. Kch. *čemarr* iron; *čarr* 4; *lawč* flea; *čeba* tongue, etc.

Common to W.Nir. are the changes of $kh > x(h)$; $\check{s} > s$; $y > \check{z}$, and $ur > \check{u}$. Similar changes have taken place also in Ku.KuTr.Kulm.PashLee. (PashRav.), but \check{s} is not recorded from Ku.Kulm., y not from KuTr. and ur not from KuTr.Kulm., and PashLee. has retained ur . Also Kch. has $\check{s} > s$, but agrees in other respects with She.

Nothing can be said about the position of Ku.KuTr.Kulm. within the sub-group to which they belong. But PashLee. sides with N. as against W. in: "*kan*" arrow (N. *karn*, W. *kār*); "*ghunecm*" = **ṣuni:n* dog (N. *ṣunij*, W. *ṣurij*); "*virambo*" walnut (N. *werembur*, W. *wurumir*); "*lassara*" sweet (N. *lasarar*, W. *širir*); "*vyāl*" night (N.Kch. *wiarl*, W. *we:l*).

3.23. Common SE. morphological features are:

(a) Possessive Pronouns 1/2. Sg. *m/ternar/i*.

(b) Demonstrative *elo* (Lg.z. *alā*).

(c) Present in *-k/g-*, 3. Sg. *-g/γ-*. Not She.

4.1. Pash. must have been in close contact with Par. for a considerable time, but we are not able to establish the original frontier between these two languages, and thus between IA. and Ir. in this region. The influence of Par. on Pash. is, apparently, restricted to the isolated Pach. dialect, which is wedged in between numerically more important Par. settlements.^a Here we find lw.s from Par., such as *im* birch-tree^b; *burjin* mint; *šungur* porcupine (Par. of Pachaghan *šungum*); *waršenu* cock (Par.pach. *waršena*); *rušk* nit (said to be also Par., but Sanj. *luškā* < IA.).

^a We do not know which of the two communities are the original inhabitants of Nijrau. But it is difficult to accept Foucher's (*La vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxile*, pp. 251 sq.) interpretation of the **Ninhār*, etc., of *Hudūd-al-'Ālam* (transl. Minorsky, pp. 91, 251-53) as Nijrau, where "les ancêtres de nos Pashai" had succeeded in founding a small, independent kingdom.

Babur (p. 213) writes that the inhabitants of Nijrau "are wine-bibbers, do not pray, have no scruples and are Kāfir-like", epithets which point more to an IA. than to an Ir. origin.

^b Par. *im* < Ir. **aizma* firewood. Note the semantically opposite change in Par. *bhin* tree < **barzni*; (> Shughni *verjā* birch-tree).

In Pach. we also find *arn* I (= Par.) beside ordinary Pash. *ar*. The loss of gender and the reduction of the system of pronominal suffixes may also be due to the influence of Par. Note, besides, Pach. *nheti:m* I sit down, with *nh-*, as in Par. *nhin-* to sit down.

4.2. The numerous Pash. lw.s in Par. have been listed in part, Rep.Afgh., p. 24, sq. and IIFL, I, p. 14. Other words are Par.pach. *bamb'ur* red wasp (Pach. *bhamb'ur*); *čanda-nauda* branch (D. *čanda*: small, Al. *nauda* branch); *duhul* small drum (Al. *du:l*); *ghand* big; *gał* mixed with; *jal* hair; *karyin* dew (hoar-frost?) (L. *kangara*: ice, etc.); *kał* bed; *kuł-* to crush; *siyarna* wife's sister; *we:sa* roof-beam.

In many cases, however, it is not possible to decide if a Par. word has been borrowed from Pash., possibly from a form lost, or not recorded in this language, or from some other IA. source. *Darārk* grape cannot be of Pash. origin, but probably comes from a Lhd. form used by Hindu gardeners in the Koh-i Daman district. Other IA. words may have been borrowed through Psht. But the immediate source of e.g. Par.pach. *maṇḍuka* frog is unknown.

4.3. Pash. lw.s in Par. have retained an aspiration which has been lost in Pash., e.g. in *dhamarn* rain; *dharir* beard; *ghand* big; *khuf-* to ask. Most Pash. lw.s have been borrowed before the Pash. lengthening of stressed *a*, and the NW. change of *a*: > *or*. *Šel* rice must have been borrowed before the *i*-umlaut took place in Par. If Par. *linco:(n)* clarified butter is of Pash. origin, it must go back, either to a SW. form with *l* < *gr-*, or < *pr-* (Pach. *prince*, A. *plieu* fat, grease).

Par.pach. *γudar-* to search for, cannot be separated from Al. *windar-* to search for, to find, which is an extended form of L. *wend-* to find. The borrowing has preceded the Par. change of **wi-* > *yu-*. If this is the case, it is perhaps also possible that Par.pach. *γara-barlor* bridegroom (*barlor* boy), which has no semantic parallel in any other derivative of the root *var-*, may be an early lw. from a lost Pash. word (< Skt. *vara*).

The Par. transition of *y* > *ž* reminds us of Pash., but may easily have taken place independently.

4.4. A number of morphological borrowings from Pash. have been discussed IIFL, I, p. 14, sq.

Par. *šir* it is (Par.pach. 3. Pl. *sen*) could go back to Ir. **saitai*, but the semantic parallelism with Pash. (e.g. G. *šir*, 3. Pl. W. *sen*) as well as other Dardic derivatives of *šete* is striking, and hardly incidental. It seems possible

that a still surviving Par. verb of Ir. origin may have been semantically influenced by Pash.

The similarity between the Present morpheme *-to:-* in Par. and NW. is too striking to be due to entirely independent developments. Cf. Par.pach. *hantor-herm*, Sh. *hanto-yem* I am beating, and the Imperfects Par. *kantō:n astam*, Sanj. *kator-arnam* I was doing.

At any rate, Par. must at some time of its development, perhaps already while pre-Pash. was still the language of civilization in Kapiśa, have been subject to a very strong influence from this IA. language.

HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

1.1. The development of Pash. vocalism can be traced only in the broadest outlines, and very many details remain unsettled. My notation of vowels is, on the whole, liable to be more fluctuating and uncertain than that of consonants, and, besides, it is often difficult to establish the exact ancient IA. form from which a Pash. form is to be derived. Nor is it always possible to distinguish between genuine tadbhavas and later lw.s from other IA. languages.

The development of vowels in L. seems to be fairly well representative of common Pash., and it agrees also, in its main tendencies, with modern IA. in general.

Thus, ancient *a*; *a:*; *i*; *i:*; *u*; *u:*; *e*; *o* on principle remain, cf. Voc. s.v.v. *han-*; *dhar*; *angar*; *fib*; *chind-*; *chir*; *wir*; *lil*; *khurir*; *muč-*; *dhum*; *phern*; *yeimain*; *deš*; *gorar*; *droṇak*; *soṇak*; *dory-*.

In many dialects there is a tendency to open *i* into *e/ə*, cf., e.g. Voc. s.v. *wast* 20.

1.2. For ancient *e* L. has *i:* in *šik* it is (but D. *šer*, etc.); *i:* 1 (but A. *er*, K.Ch. *yer*, cf. also Khaw. *i*; Tir. *ik*, etc.); Al. *wir* willow (L. *wei*; D. *wer*, etc.).

Note L. L. *lurn* salt < *lavana* (but W. *lor*, etc.); *gurm* wheat (but cf. other dialects); *čur* thief (D. *čorr*); *u(s)th* lip; *dur* yesterday (She. *dor*). *u:* has also been noted in other dialects, e.g. in D. *gurnir* bag; G. *dury-* to milk; *k^uru:* voice.

In NE. *o:* has, in most instances, been palatalized into *ō*, *ə*, *e*, etc. Thus, A. *drem*, Ka. *-dring* bow; Ch.A.Ka. *də*, A.Ka. *dā:* yesterday; Ch.A.Ka. *gəro/a*, K. *gero* horse; Ch. *lun*, ChB.Ka. *lōn*, K. *len*, A. *len* salt; Ch. *šunak*, A.K. *še(r)-na/ek*, *šinak* red; ChB. *əco*, A.Ka. *ičō/a* shade; ChB. *öz-*, A. *ernf-*, K. *ēž-* to wash. This change has also taken place in lw.s: ChB. *hōli:* cap; Ka. *nayər* ill.

Also in the NW. dialect of Sham. (and occasionally in neighbouring dialects) we find *er* < *or*. Thus, *l^eern* salt; *d^eer* yesterday; *nenir* butter; *kh^eer* ear; *šern* (Nang. *siēn*) roof, etc.

1.3. In the same dialects *ar*, ancient as well as secondary, has been rounded, resulting in a new phoneme *or*, and a similar change has also taken place in NW. (not Al.). E.g. Ch.Ka. *dor*, K. *dor*, A. *do:or*, G. *du:or*, Nj. *dor* wood; A. *dho:ar*, Ka. *dor*, K. *dor*, Sh. *dor* hill; A.Nj.U. *angor*, Ch. *ongor*, etc., fire; Ch.A.Nj.U. *lor*, Ka.K. *lom* village; Ka.A. *do:(o)r*, Ch.K. *cor*, G.Nang.Wad.Pand. *cor/ur*, U.Sh. *cor*, Sham. *cor* 4. In some NW. dialects ancient *a* and *or* have probably merged into *or*, but note Sanj. *cor* 4, *cur* thief.

1.4. In some lws from Prs. *a* is retained, e.g. G.U.Nj. *sitaru* star. But in most cases we find G. *or/ur*, e.g. *piur* onion; *gultur* rose; *arismun* sky (cf. Sanj.Nang.Pand., but Sham. *asmun*; Pg. "osman").

1.5. In most dialects *ur* remains. But it has been palatalized into *ür* in some NW. (P.Nj.U.) and SE. (W.Nir.) dialects. E.g. U.Nir.W. *d(h)ür* smoke; P.U.Nj. *bür*, etc., earth; U.P. *mür*, Nir.W. *mür* mouse; P.Nj. *šür*, U. *šür* dog; W. *žür*, U. *žür*(!) louse. In Sham. I noted *ür* in *dhür*; *mür*; *šür*; *žür*; and some other words, but, probably inexact, *ür* in *dhür* door; *šür* flea, etc. Nang. has *ür* in most cases, e.g. *dür*; *dür*; *šür*; *žür* flea; *piur* son; *žür*, but, if correct, *mür*.

1.6. Just as in other IA. languages,^a the development of *r* presents some irregularities. We find **ri* in *šingari* mistress; *lirik* (G. *murir*) dead; *širak* jackal; *trin* grass; D. *šingri* jujube; *šin* horn. Cf. also Kch. *ler* f. mountain goat; A. *llenir* spark (< **ghrni*); Kch. *lern* bee (< **bhrngir* + *č*); Kch., etc., *č* bear.^b But *arč(h)* bear; *šarng* horn; *ažar* bull (< **arša-*); *har* heart (< **har-* < *hřd-*)^c; K. *loŋ* f. mountain goat (< **mra:ng* < *mrgir*, -*a*?).

We find *r* > *ur* in W. *puš-* to sprinkle; D. *uč* (Shum. *uc*, Dam. *ürža*) straight (< *rju*); L. *burir* servant maid (< **bhrtikar*); *ucum*, D. *učum* scorpion (< *vřscuma*?). All dialects, as far as recorded, have *gur-* to take, but the derivation from **grha-* is uncertain.

1.7. The only possible examples of ancient *ai* are *čhel(ak)*, etc., white, if < **kšaira-la*, and W. *derwa* lamp < *daipaka*.^d

Skt. *au* is reflected in *korla:l(a)* potter (lw. ?); *dor* face (if from **dhaura*), and, as a hyper-sanskritized tatsama, *pauš*, Al. *paruš* Pauša. Also W.Nir.

^a V. Bloch, p. 35.

^b If not a lw.

^c Scarcely from *harđi* (cf. Khow. *hardi*), which would probably have resulted in Ka. **or*, not *ur*, D.q.She. **h(a)r*, not *(h)ar*. *A:č(h)* might go back to *arčša*, but it seems more probable that SW.NW. in a number of words have *r* > *ar* > *ar*.

^d KurdLen. *četor* Caitra; *i:sa:ki*; *Vaišakha* are probably lws.

bornjil, A. *børnjil*, K. *bernzil*, etc., earthquake point rather to **bhauma-cala* than to *bhurmi*.

1.8. Characteristic of Pash. is the lengthening of stressed short vowels, especially in monosyllabics.^a E.g. *larm*, etc., work; *harst* hand; *darnd* tooth; *šir* head; *puir* son; *šurŋ* dog, but also *duvars* day; *parŋa* 5; *sarta* 7, etc. It preceded the dialect change of *a* > *or*, and probably also of *ur* > *ür*, cf. G.P.Nj.K.A. *(h)orist*, etc., P.Nj. *šürŋ*.

Before a suffix the short vowel is retained, as in *lam-iem*; *hasta*; *panda*; *šira*; *šurŋa*; *putra*; *duwasa*; *sarŋg*. Obl. *sarŋga* earth, ground. In a few cases a long vowel has been recorded in such positions, e.g. *darnda*. On the other hand, an original long vowel has been shortened in *šamarl*. *šamala* wind; *angar*, *angara* fire; *paxir*, *paxera* fakir; *šiliš*, *šiliša* glue, etc.^b

But the whole problem would require renewed, more exact observations of vowel quantity.

1.9. *Wir* male and *čir* milk retain their *i* in the Obl., cf. the compounds *wir-guršand* ram; I. *wir-mala* man; U. *wir-goror* stallion, but also L. *war-mala*; Nj. *war-azur* bull (with shortening in older compounds ?); Ka.ChB. *werik* man.

1.10. The diphthongs and contracted vowels resulting from the loss of intervocalic consonants will be listed in the examples given below. We find *a(i)* in *ačh-* to bring (-*arya-*); *žar* barley (-*avar-*); *er* in *palern* sticking (-*aya-*); *letr-* to cut grain (-*avi-*); *siyerl* sand (-*ati-*); *ur/or* in *normi* butter; *lurn* salt (-*ava-*); *ai* in *gai* song, (-*arhi-*); *šarai* autumn (-*adi* ?); *kaila* a carrion bird (-*api* ?); *au* in *aula* big (-*apu-*); *laurar* stick (-*aku-*); *čaurak* three days hence (-*atu-*); *au* in *maulir* maternal uncle (-*artu-*); *ai* in *gairn* waist (-*avir-*), etc. L. is on the whole more conservative than other dialects, which have carried the monophthongization further, e.g. in P. *orlor* big; D. *lorra* roof-beam; W. *čorre* three days hence; D. *ge* song; W. *ger* waist. V. Voc. s.v.v.

UMLAUT

1.11. The only example known from L. is *deršik* (D.W. *ek*, but Sanj. *daržkā*, etc.) grape < *drakšir* (in Skt. only fem. of an adj.).

Examples from other dialects are: D.W. *merče/ik* bee, fly < *makšika*; D.W. *šerl*, etc. (v. Voc.), knife, if < *šastir*; D.q. *čimikiz*, Nir. *dānigir*

^a V. SW. 5.8.

^b Note Obl. *yer'm'a:nda* winter, but *wah'enda* spring, cf. also Ka. *hč:man(d)*, but *ba:sun(d)*, apparently < **hemanta, vasanta*.

ogress, cf. Nep. s.v. *darini*; A. *drarit*, etc., sickle < **dartrir*; Ch. *pāeren* (but K. *parin*) sieve < *parikirana*; D. *ašen*, etc., hail < *ašani*; D. *anderč*, etc., liver < *antastya*; Sham. *ge:ri*: f. of *go:ru*: horse.

No definite rules can be laid down regarding the extent and conditions of this palatalizing tendency.

1.12. Loss of an initial vowel has been recorded, before *w*, in *wari*: other < **aparirya*; *wa:r(āi)* for the sake of < *upakarra*; *wang-* to hit, etc., if < **upahanaka*. A. *waca*: Kafir shoe (< **upacchada*) is a lw. from Kaf.

1.13. Ancient final syllables (covered and uncovered vowels) are lost, with the exception of fem. *-a/ā* < *-a:* in I. and some NW. dialects. Regarding ancient *-e*, *-a:*, covered by a Pronominal Suffix, see Morphology.

The various combinations of penultimate and final vowels brought into contact through the loss of an intervocalic consonant are dealt with in the Morphology.

Thus, *-a:* < *-akaḥ* (**-ake*); *-i:* < *ikar*; Abl. *-ari* < **-arte* (but NE. *-oru* < *-arto*); Dat. *-ai* < *-arya*; Aor. 3. Sg. *-āi* < **-adi* < *-ati*, with later loss of consonant than in 2. Sg. *-i:* < **-a:i* < *-asi*.^a

CONSONANTS

SINGLE CONSONANTS

2.1. Voiceless aspirates generally retain their aspiration in L. Thus, *chind-* to cut; *Khar*: ass; *thuk* saliva; *ṭhak* rogue; *phern* scum. The absence of aspiration may be due to inexact notation (e.g. *kail* threshing floor, but Ka. *zarl*, etc.), or to the fact that the word in question has been borrowed from an IA. lw. in Prs. or Psht. (e.g. *karṭ* bed, but D. *kāraṭ*, W. *zarṭ*, etc.).

In other dialects too, aspiration, or the notation of it, is vacillating, v. Voc. and Budd. Cf. AlSham. *khan-* to pull, but Sanj. *kan-*; Sanj. *orchor* shade; Pach. *chantik* has fallen; Al. *th-* to become; Sham. *ači:* eye, but Pand., etc., *ač'ir*.

Budd. has recorded aspiration only in Ka.ChB. *phə/en* foam, but never in D.q.s.She. In D. rising tone and two-topped accent were noted in *kāraṭ* bed; *kāraṭ* (and *kaharṭ*) ear; *paraṭ* (and *pharṭ*) holly-oak. V., for details, the Phonemic Systems of the various dialect groups.

2.2. In NE., as well as in W.Nir.Ku.KuTr.Kulm.PashLee.PashRav. we

^a Cf. also *šara:* autumn, if < *šaradi*.

find *x(h)* ^a < *kh*. E.g. NE. and W.Nir.Ku.KuTr.PashLee. *xa:/orṭ* ear, Kulm. (*gum-)**hā:l* (wheat-)threshing (Ka. *zarl* threshing-floor, etc.). W.Ch. *-h-* < *-k-* in some verbal forms, e.g. W. *mare:h-en*, Ch. *ma:rah-ε* he said to him (but W. *ma:akam*, Ch. *marakam* I said) ^b must have passed through a stage *-x-*.

Occasionally we also find *x-* < *kh-* in other dialects. Thus, L.D. *xo(:)i* to ask (W. *xu:f-*; K. *ku:f-*; Par. lw. *khuf-*); L. *xa:nd* shoulder, Sham. *xand-* (Sh. *kand-*; K. *korn*, etc.), probably with L. **khand* < **skhand* < *skandha*, but other dialects < **kandh*.

In A. *zac-* armpit (v. Voc. s.v. *kačalim*); *začik* thorn; *zayalo:*, Ka. *zayra* hard (v. Voc. s.v. D. *kakara:* W. *kaxara:*); W. *xunji:* elbow (v. Voc. s.v. L. *kuči:*) the *kh-* has got its aspiration from a following aspirate, cf. Turner, 2588, 2589, 2587, 2757.

An unexplained secondary *kh-*, *x-* appears in some interrogatives: A.Ka. *zo(:)i* how many; D.W.Ka. *xul* why; W. *xande*, Saln. *kharndi* how much; Saln. *khar* where; *kharu* how many.

2.3. In Prs. lw.s *ś* is frequently rendered by *x*, but *k* (or *q*) was noted in some cases. Cf. Voc. s.v.v. *k/xalam* pen; *q/xa(:)um* tribe; *k/xorarn* oath, etc. In a few words W. has *k* for *q*, where L.D. have *x*. Thus, *kararl* quiet; *kisa* tale; *kalar* castle; *karati* famine; *kulup* lock.

2.4. Regarding voiced aspirates v. the description of the Phonemic Systems of the various dialect groups.^c No aspiration was heard in L. *go:rar* horse; *dar:* beard; *b-* to become, or in corresponding forms from other dialects. Budd. did not hear any aspiration of voiced stops, and I never noticed any in A.G.Sh.Sanj.Lg.Nir.Kch. A slight aspiration, however, may easily have escaped my attention in some cases, but there can be no doubt that this feature is receding in Pash., and has been altogether given up in some dialects. Its earlier existence is proved by lw.s in Par.^d

In D.W.K. aspiration has been replaced by a rising tone and two-topped accent,^e and very possibly this phenomenon is more widely spread than has been observed.

2.5. In Sham. *-h-* of varying origin has been transferred to the initial consonant, forming clusters ^f which cannot in all cases be taken to be

^a *x* is used here to denote cover, phonemically, also a strong, fricative *h*, cf. Budd., p. 6. In these dialects original *h* has been lost.

^b V. NE. 27.9; SE. 2.8; 27.8.

^c In Sham. (NW.) they were especially clear.

^d Cf. Intr. 4.4.

^e Cf. SE. 1.9.

^f Cf. Parachi *nh-*, *rh-*.

true aspirates. Thus, *wharnde* spring: L. *wahend*, etc., *whai-* to put, place: L. *wah-am*, etc.; *řhas-* to laugh: L. *řas-*, etc., < **whyas* < *vi-has*; *thamawo:* dark: L. *tomowar* < **tamaha* < **tamasaka*; *bhairu:* much: U. *b°*, etc., < *bahu-* (+ ?); *dhory-* to milk, L., etc., *dory-*; *wh^he:* house (< **whori*, U. *wori*, Pach. *hori*), *whary-a* his house < **wa:h-* < *varsa-*; *w^hiy-om* (wery-?) my daughter: L. *wiy-*, Pach. *huy-um*, *wiy-um* < *(d)uhy-, v. Voc.; *bharwa* quince: L. *baru*, Leech *baho* (< Ir.). Also in Sham. *gh^him* wheat (all other diall. *g-*) the aspiration has been transferred from an internal *h*. Cf. also *khuč-* belly < **kuch-*.

In *atanhu:* thirsty: L. *tana:*, etc. (also Pand. *atanu:*, with *a-* from *awatur* hungry), cf. Pali *tanha-*, etc.^a

2.6. *W-* remains in all dialects. But it is dropped before a rounded vowel in some NW. dialects, e.g. U. *urg*, Nang.Pand. *urgə*, Pach. (w)prga water (v. Voc. *warg*), and Ch. *ögen*, ChB. *öyein* wind (v. Voc. *wargan*). The loss of *w-* in K. *istono* wide recalls GB. *i-* < **wi-*, but note also K. *erseli:* adze: GB. *wärsoli:*.

W. *bar* cowpen < *varja* (but *war* wall); *W.*, etc., *barur* flood; Ch.A. *borti*, etc., word; Ch. *barwor* broom etc., are probably lw.s from some other IA. dialect.

Note the secondary *w-* before a rounded vowel in Sham. *w^horr* blood; *w^horə* bear; *w^hors* hand; *wič* spring < *(w)uč; *wiř* long < *(w)uř.

2.7. *Y-*, original and secondary, remains in D.D.s.She.Lg.K.Ch.Ka.Kurd., while it becomes *ž-* in SW., NW. and in W.Nir.Kulm. Cf. Voc. s.v.v. *žar* barley; *žari* 11; *žur* louse.^b

In A. we find, with a wide latitude of pronunciation, a strongly fricative *y-* or *ž-*. Kch. has *yari* 11, but *zur* louse; *zur* hair, Ku. *žari*, but *yambala:* plough-bullock, D.q. *žur*; *žul*, but *yořir* yoke; She. *juil*; *jořir*, but *ya:*; *yai*, and PashLee. (Rav.) “*jäe*”, but “*yoal*” (*yool*).

L. has developed a secondary *y-*, e.g. in *ya-* to come; *yi:m* (= Sham.) snow; *ye:marn* winter. In lw.s we find *yarr* friend, but *žard* memory; *žax* ice (Al.G.D. *yax*).

2.8. L. has *ž-* < **r-* in *žay-* to bark; *ž/žingar-* to agree; *žöiwail* guts; *žarn* standing (G. *žurn*). Cf. also Pach. *žuw-*; Sanj. *žury-*; Al. *žorw-* to reap; K. *žori-zal* pine. These words have probably been borrowed from, or influenced by Kaf., where this sound-change is common.

^a Par. *thän* is probably Ir. (but *tana* < Pash.).

^b Add Sanj. *žp:* barley; Sanj. Pach. *žur* louse; Sanj. Al. *žar(ž)ndra* water-mill.

2.9. *H-* remains in most cases in L., but occasionally, especially in Prs. lw.s, no *h-* was recorded. Cf. the weak position of *h* in Kabuli Prs. Before a front vowel we find *y-* in *yi:m* (= Sham.) snow; *ye:marn* winter (G.Nang. *hi:m*; U. *hermurn*, etc.). *H-* remains also in I. and in U.Nj.Pach.Al. (Pach. *hi:m* snow, but *im* birch-tree). In P.Sanj. *h-* is dropped (*an-* to beat; *ast-* hand; *ar-* heart), while it has been sporadically noted in G. (*ar-* heart; (*h*)*orst* hand, etc.), Sham. *harř*; *w^hors*.

H- has been lost in NE.^a and in SE., with the exception of She., which has not only *han-*; *him*, etc., but also *harš* blood; *herrek* tear. Occasionally *h-* was also noted in Prs. lw.s in other SE. dialects.

2.10. In G., but not in the neighbouring Sh., Pash. *ř*, *ž* result in *x*, *γ*. Thus, *xur* 6; *xirr* milk; *xelurk* white; *uxur* wise; *γurn* standing; *ayur* bull. Before a consonant I have recorded *darřka* grape; but *ařta* 8; *uřt* lip; *uřthur* camel; *ařpurř* rice. Various varieties of a sound intermediate between *ř* and *x* occur in Lg.Al.Sanj.Isk. Thus, Lg.Al. *řirr* milk; Sanj. *řuworl*, Lg. *řetlek* jackal; Isk.Al. *ařtā* 8. Also *x* in Lg. *axt*; *axpa:ř* probably denotes a sound of this type.

W.N.Kch.KuTr.Kurd. have *s* < *ř*.^b Cf. Voc. s.v.v. *řidarł* cold; *řarl* rice; *řarāi* autumn; *řloriř* leopard. Sporadic change of *ř* > *s* occurs in A. *cors-* to cough (L. *čarš-*); Nj.KohRav. *sarur* wild goat (Sham. *carřur*, L. *řaror*); L. *sus-* to dry. In the dialects which have *s* < *ř*, original *ř* phonetically approaches *ř* of other dialects.

2.11. Dentalization of *č*, *ř* is characteristic of Ch.K. and occurs sporadically also in A.Ka. Cf. Voc. s.v.v. *čarř* 4; *čimar* iron; *čarl* hair, etc., and A. *cors-* to cough; *corrien* sieve; Ka. *cir-* to tear; *cima* sparrow. In internal position we find, e.g. Ch. *kaci-len*, K. *kacal-bun* armpit; K. *kuca-* to scratch (L. *kučeyar* itching); K.Ch. *mořcek* man (A. *mořčak*), etc.

Similarly NE. has *z* < *ř* in A.Ch.K. *zib*, etc., tongue; Ch. *zuri* to-morrow; K.Ch. *za/ol* tree (A. *řol*); K. *zo:mor* son-in-law. A. has *ř-* in most words. In lw.s also K.Ch. retain *ř/ž*, e.g. K. *řuar*, Ch. *žuar* maize.

č, *ř* > *c*, *z* is shared also by Shum.GB.Ashk.Wot.Tir., etc.

The dissimilation of *ř* > *d-* in W.K.A. *deřta*, etc., elder has parallels also in Waig. and Ashk.

2.12. Intervocalic stops and affricates develop along the same lines as in most other IA. languages:

^a A.K. *han-*, given in Voc., is, as remarked by Budd., < *khan-*.

^b M. *d/riř* head.

K: *I*: one; *žari* 11 (< **izari*); *wiyar* night; *nerar* cutting (grass); *aulani* sonless; *laurar* stick; *andarar* darkness; *A. suor* boar; *K. nyoror* near; *D. q. šar* vegetables; *D. s. noul* otter.

G: *Širar* jackal; *žorēti* (ž-?) yoke; *Kch. le* mountain goat; *D. ar-* to put on (< **ar-lag-*).

T(h): *Serwar* foot-bridge; *šarmari* son-in-law; *awar* pond (RV. *avata*); *lar* brother; *šiyer* sand; *norni* butter; *čauyak* three days hence; *gai* song; *Sanj. wiast* span; *D. pe:la* yellow; *Pach. šure* 100; *L.*, etc., *Aor.* 3. Sg. -*ūi*; *Pron. Suff.* 2. Sg. -*ir*.

D(h): *O:char* shade; *dwar* 12; *par* foot; *šarai* autumn; *šupar-* to build; *dāy-* to give; *āy-* to eat (< *ad-*, or perhaps rather *aš-*? V. Turner, 232; 908); *gurm* wheat; *maru* intoxicating hemp; *D. orn* cooked rice; *gor* lizard; *morri* insipid (if < **madhurika*); *W. ēši* broom. But note *š(a)h-* to put, place (< **vi-dadhar-*?).

P: *A(w)ur* bread; *aula* big; *gorwar* cowherd; *nawari* grandson; *kawar* bit, piece; *kawaya* pigeon; *dowan-* to fumigate; *ušun-war* waist-band; *worn-* to spin; *warrāi* for the sake of; *arwar-* to hang up (< **ar-pataya-*); *čaw-* to cram (< *capaya-*); *A. kəwit*, *Al. kautā* fig; *W. derwa* lamp; *sā:ekan* co-wife.

Bh: *Žaw-* to copulate; *D. šaror* wild goat; *A. sawōn* pregnant (< **sa-bharāna*?). *Pash. w* < -*bh-* recalls *Gandhari vā*.

T(h): *Gorā* horse; *kirar* cheese; *garar* pitcher; *kukur* fowl; *parar*, etc., apple; *gar-* to send; *orpur-* to dig up; *W. war* wall; *Ka. kara-* to be boiling (*Pali kath-*).

D(h): *Darri* beard; *ašari* apricot; *W. durri* dust-storm; *erar* ram; *D. šor* 16 (< *šodaša*, but *L. čhui* < **kšodaša*).

Č: *Suri* needle; *čolar* belongings (< **cala:cala*); *rawak* window (< **rozak* < *Ir. rozak*); *D. gor* herd of cows.

J: *Bir* seed; *piern-* to know.

2.13. Intervocalic stops and affricates have been retained:

(1) Occasionally in secondary initial position: *Di* also; *m/banš-* to dress; *palern* sticking; *piern-* to know (< **api-jarna-*); *A. bortou* ploughing.

(2) In tatsamas and *lw.s*: *Lorkan* light; *šarpan* dream; *šar* oath (< *šarpa*, or *šarpa*?); *šidar* cold; *A. muk* dumb; *Pt wartika:na* egg-plant.

(3) In compounds: *Sudur* far; *bail(a)kul* children; *G. nāteri:(de)*; *Al. niturur* two days ago; *Pach. ne-čaurir*, *K. nucer*, etc., three days ago;

A. widišar guest (< *Kaf.?*); *A. dašap* centipede (*Shum. šadap*); *L. dharnjal*, *W.*, etc., *bo:nfil* earthquake; *D. ambalar* running (< **amupatan/la*).

After the prefixes *a-*, *ar-*, cf. *Voc. s.v.v. abart* cheese; *ayart* word; *arzal-*, *G. akal-* to dance, play; *G. agarla* yesterday. But *abōir*, etc., flour < **aburwi* < *apurp(i)ya*, with retentive dissimilation.

(4) In words with expressive gemination (not always distinguishable from (2)): *Mukh* face; *kapail* head, skull. *G. korku* nail (< **korikka*), etc. But *pač-* to cook; *muč-* to flee; *K. lap-* to cough, and possibly other words, have *č* < *cy*.

In *nandir* river the *d* has, as in other *Dard.* languages, been preserved through an early dilation of initial *n-*. *W.*, etc., *nadi* has suffered a secondary loss of *-n-*. Cf. also *nurrga* new.

I am unable to account for the retention of *Aor.* 3. Sg. and 2. Pl. -*t-* in many dialects.

(5) Through early contraction:

(a) In the suffixes -*a/ika*, after a nasal. Thus, *šurrg* dog; *sarng* earth (< *samaka*); *W. larng* goat (< **prarnaka*); *lungali* mulberry (< **krumukalika*), etc. Cf. also the last three examples given in (3)?

(b) In the suffix *č/š*, after a nasal. Thus, *parnfer*, *G. išpur* husband (< **svarmikya*); *waranšark* ant (< **warmi-kyar*, or **či?*), *šarnšora* girl.

(c) Also in -*a/ika* after *s*, *r*. Thus *maršak* brain (< *mastaka*); *warg*, etc., water; *wost* 20 (with *st* < *š-t*). But note *duwiyar*, etc., 40.

No contraction has taken place, e.g. in *andar* blind; *kaurar* rat. In spite of forms like *Pali andhaka*, it is possible that *Pash. -a:* represents a comparatively late extension of the suffix -*aka*.

2.14. Characteristic of *Pash.* is the frequent loss or reduction to *y*, *h* of intervocalic sibilants. This development had already taken place at the time of *Alberuni*, who has *yā:hir* 11, etc. But it cannot be directly connected with the somewhat similar one in *Shina*, and still less with that of *Aśoka* (*Shahb.*) *badaya* 12. Examples are:

S: *Sari* sister; *wari* house; *mar* moon; *sari* breath (?); *papur* (but *D.K.*, etc., *pap'ur*) lungs; *wahand* spring; *paru* dust; *tomo(war)* darkness; *Aor.* 2. Sg. -*ir*.

Š: *Darya* ten; -*wiyar* -twenty (in vigesimal counting); *rari* heap; *Sh. trir* 30; *G. k'ru:* voice; *D. mae* gadfly.

Š: *Dur* yesterday; *kari* khaki-coloured; *lernir*, *Sanj. gre:nir* noon

(< *ghraṇiṣa); *ne:* to sit down (but *ni/e:-* to go out, probably < *ni-i-, not *niṣ-i-*); Kurd. *Ār* 6th month (lw. ?).

2.15. The sibilants remain, without any apparent rule, in:

S: *Duwa:s* day; *ai:sək* ashes; *gha:s* grass; *gorna:s* snake (but Pach. *gorno:č*, etc.); *lasa:r* flower-beds (?); *la:s-* to play a trick upon; *ja:s-* to laugh (but N. *az*, etc.); D. *papu:s* lungs; Ch. *wo:s* day; Ch. *kusəli:* corn-bin; A. *o:son* chair; K. *ra:s*, A. *resilo* sweet; G.Sanj.Ka. A. Aor. 2. Sg. -s, or -s-^a.

Š: *A:šen* hail; *ma:š* fly; *le:ša* a little; *wa:š-* to speak; *ča:š-*, A. *co:s-* to cough; *pašawa:l* (prob. for -š-), N. *pašwalar* shepherd; K. *de:š* field; *ramušor* hare; A. *plorniš*, etc., leopard; Al. *šašurar*, etc., father-in-law; W. *lašani:* beautiful (< *drašš- < darš- ?). *Ča:ska* hare is irregular, and Kurd. *i:sa:ki:* Vaiša:kha is probably a lw.

Š: *Pau:š* n. of a month; *tur:š* straw; *ašari:* apricot; *lašuk* flea (Pach. *p^uuru:š/č*; Sanj. *puru:šā*, but D. *lu:č*, etc.); Ka. *muš-* to steal; K. *šeš* summer (GB. *šurš*); A. *maešo* buffalo. For L. *pašir* wall, (v. Add. Voc.). *Mu:š*, Kch. *mu:s* (D. *mu:č*, etc.) mouse is probably, in some dialects, a Prs. lw. Irregular are *ka:š-* to smear; *ažar*, etc., bull; *suzar*, etc., daughter-in-law; W. *pinj-*, K. *pinz-* to grind.

The apparently irreconcilable difference in the treatment of intervocalic sibilants may be due to a complex of factors (dialect mixture, borrowing, adoption of tatsamas, etc.) which it seems hopeless to try to unravel.

2.16. Intervocalic -h- remains in *lahar* wound; *lahuk* light; *parihar* exile, but has been lost in some dialects. Cf. also *ar* I; *ar-* to bring; *lu:* blood; *ba:re* outside; *bu:* much.

2.17. Intervocalic -y- merges with a preceding vowel, e.g. in *lerna* under; *palern* sticking; A. *šā:ren* cowshed, etc. But note *ačh-* to bring < *ar-yaccha-*.

Similarly we find *ava* > *o:*, *u:* in *oruf-* to wash; *orrač* sleep; *or-ka:er* down; *us-* to fall down; *normi:* butter; *lurn* salt; *nurrg* new; Sh. *urš* cold.^b Before *i* we find loss of -v- in *gai:n* waist; *le:tr-* to reap; *koi:* piece, bit (if < *kavika:, cf. *kavaka*); *abōi:* flour; *mai:z* dried raisins (Prs. lw.). Complete loss has been recorded in *žar* barley; A. *na:ark* mill-race (< Ir. ?). Note the metathesis in *derau* husband's brother.

But -v- has been retained in *duwa:s* day; *na:wa* 9; *ke:wala* alone; *gawala* cow; *nauma:li:*, Al. *na:wa*^o jasmine; A. *pli:eu*, Pach. *pri:wa* fat,

^a Cf. NW. 21.1, 8, etc.

^b Acc. to Turner, 760, *o:cha:* shade is rather < *upacchada*.

grease (< *pi(w)ra, etc.). In G. *Jimandur* alive the -v- has been nasalized through the influence of the *n*.

2.18. In K. final, postvocalic -r, -r have been dropped in *čir* milk; *du:* door; *la:zo:* fever; *do:* wood; *ašpo:* rice; *wo:* stone; *kilo:* cheese. But note *čor* 4; *der* mouth; *du:r* face (lw. ?); *doir* hill; and, after original short vowel, *xur* foot; *sur* sun; *šir* head.

2.19. Probable examples of ancient geminates are, e.g.: *Kukur* fowl; *reken-* to sell (< *vrikkin-); *kač-* to cut off; *at(ala:)* rock; *pačar* strip of skin; *učuṇd* jumping; *čuču:* female breast; *utha:l* high; *a:ya:t* word; *uddəna* fire-place; *papu:* lungs; *dub-* to be drowned; D. *kaka:ar*, etc., hard; *lega:* long (< *driggh-); *lačf-* to be ashamed; G. *urč* tall; A. *kəwit* fig.

CLUSTERS

Sibilant + Consonant

3.1. Sibilants are retained before stops, with the exception of *s-* followed by an aspirate:

Asta is; *ha:st* hand; *na:st-* nose; *bustur:* face; *wastar:* wide; *sasti:* sound, healthy (< *svastika*, or **svasthika*); *aštari:č* star; *aštir:*, etc., woman; G. *ustur:m* tree (< *upastambha*); W. *test-* to stand up; Sanj. *wiast* span; Ch. *andostorn* liver (Voc. s.v. *andarš*); A. Pret. 2. Pl. -st. Kch. *ata:r* roof is probably a lw.

A:šta 8; *u:(s)h* lip; *mušir:*, U. *mušir:* fist; *pu:thar:*, PT. -št- stout; *ka:ništhar:* younger; *ještara:* elder brother, etc.; A. *dre:št* span. Regarding *sty*, *šty*, v. below.

W. *waspa:* shoe.

I.Sanj.Pach.PT. *pu:(r)špā* flower, cf. L. *šuru:špa* n. of a flower.

3.2. But *s-* was dropped in:

Th- to become; *thar:n* place; A. *thu:n* post. The etymology of W. *thar-* to see, look, etc., is unknown.

A. *phisu:* vulva; *phir:* shoulder.

Xa:nd, Sh. *kand-* shoulder. But She. *tamba* leaf of a door is a lw. from Psht. and not < **sthamba* < *stambha*.

This loss of *s* in *sth-*, etc., is common to all Dard. languages.

So results in *č/c* in *pačakana*, etc., behind; *ucum*, Al. *ucumbā*, but D.She., etc., *učur:m* scorpion (if < **vṛścuma*, Skt. *vṛścana*, etc.).

3.3. Examples of original sibilant + nasal are:

Hama: we (< *ahma: < asma-); *mya:* D., etc., *ema* you (< *yma: < *yuyma: < yuṣma-); *tana:* * thirsty; D.s. *sana* thin (< ślakṣṇa?). A. *kaśmir* n. of a tree has probably been borrowed through Psht., and D. *šenarn* bathing has been influenced by Prs. *śina:*. We find *zm* > *ym* also in the Prs. lw. *a:ema:reš* testing.

Nasal + Consonant

After a nasal, Pash., like all other Dard. languages except GB., has given up the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops and affricates. Thus, e.g. *nt* merges with *nd*. But *nt*, etc., appear anew through contraction, as in *hankam* I struck; *hančekam* I have struck.

Examples are:

-*ŋk-*: *Kaṅgar:* ice; *ḍaṅ-* to ache; *ša:ṅgan* dung (< *šaykan < *ša(ŋ)kana); *šu:ṅg* dog (with secondary **ŋk*); *sa:ṅg* earth, ground (< *m-k-).

-*ŋg-*: *Aṅ(g)* arm; *aṅgar:* fire; *aṅguṛ:* finger; *ša:ṅg* horn; *ka:ṅguni:* widow. In A.Ka. *ŋg* has been reduced to a nasalization of the preceding vowel, cf. A. *ā:ṛ*, Ka. *ār* fire; A. *āu:ṛ* finger; *čā:ṛalo* arm.

-*ñc-*: *Parnja* 5; D. *kañjen:*, etc., harlot (but L. *kañcana*).

-*ñj-*: *Wañj:* holly-oak.

-*nt(h)-*: *Wiend-* to flay; *ka:ṇḍa* voice; *muṇḍ-* to break; *ko:ṇḍa:* bald (Turner, 3508); W. *wəṇḍ* share (but D. *want*).

-*ṇḍ-*: *Aṇḍa:* N. *aṇa*, D. *ā:ṇa*, etc., egg (cf. also L. *aṇ* bull's testicles?); *ča:ṇḍ* (-*ṇḍ*?), W. *ča:ṇ* sour; Lg. *ča:ṇḍ* snake; *ka:ṇ(d)*, D. *kā:ṇ*, etc., arrow; *kuṇḍali:* small cooking pot, W. *kuṇā:* (< *kūṇa:); *piṇḍok* calf of the leg; *khaṇḍa:* field; *daṇḍala* handle; D. *dā:ṇi:* stick. The derivation of *gaṇ*, Lg.z. *gaṇḍ*, etc., big is uncertain, and the development of the words for frog, *maṭra:*, etc., is irregular.

-*nt(h)-*: *Da:ṇḍ* tooth; *ye:ma:ṇḍ(d)* winter; *wahəṇḍ* spring; *pand-* road; *kundalei:* vine; *hanand-im* they kill me; D. *mand-* to churn; Ka. *kandə-foḷ* almond tree.

-*nd(h)-*: *Anda:* blind; *čhind-* to cut; *xa:ṇḍ* shoulder; *wəṇḍ-* to find; ChB. *šund-* to sweep; Lg., etc., *wagan*, She. *waigand* wind; D. *sa:ṇḍi:* shinbone (?); *gund* plant, vine; L. *ganda:* fragrance, stench (Prs. lw. ?); With dissimilation of *n*, *bada:ṇ* rope.

* But note Sham. *atanho:* with archaic *nh* < *ṇh* Reg. a-v. Add. to Voc. 175a.

-*mp-*: Only in the composed verb *sabaḥ-* to arrange.

-*mb(h)-*: *Čumb-* to sew; *gamba:* deep. But *lam-* (1) to seize, (2) to hang up, (3) W. slowly. Note also D. *werembu:*, etc., walnut; *limbu:* wasp; Kch. *waramba:* wasp; L. *uḥumb* hip (?), all of uncertain origin.

A possible example of *mn* is *ḥama:ṇ* birth, if < **janma-darna*. Note the various dialect developments of l. Pl. -*amasi* > L. -*as*, G. -*aīs* (-*anz-*), etc.

Liquid + Consonant

3.4. Antecorsonantic *r*, *l* have been assimilated. In *larm*, etc., work; D. *lo:b* (-*p*), *lub-* to be boiling (if < **bhrub-* < *bhurv-*) a metathesis has taken place before the assimilation had been carried through. *Pha:lgun* n. of a month, is a tatsama.

Examples of assimilation are: *Mako:ṛ* monkey; *kakaru:* watermelon (< *karka:ru*); *suwan* gold (but D. *surun*, Ch. *swa:ren*); *paṣu:* ribs; *wa:ṣ* rain; *tana:* thirsty; A. *rešo* mirror goes back to **a:darīśaka* (Turner, 1143). The derivation of *aṣa:*, etc., bull < **ṛṣabha* is probable, but the connexion between K. *buṛu* birch-tree and Khow. *buḷi* < *bhu:ṛja* is very doubtful.

R + dental stop results in a retroflex. Thus, *sa:ṛṭha* village; *watṭ-* to pass; *aḍḍha:*, D.W. *aṇa:* half; *uḍḍai* up; *watṭ-* to grow; *buḍai:* grandmother; W. *kawar:* bit; K. *čar-* to vomit.

But *ṛt* probably gave vowel + *ṛ*. E.g. *wəstai:ṛ* broad; *buṇi:* servant maid; *ha:ṛ* heart; K. *geṛ* ghee; W.A. *nu-ta:ṛi:* two days ago; A. *nē:ṛ-* to shave, and also *wa:ṛ* stone, probably < **ṛta*, not *varta*.

Čadai 14 shares with most IA. languages a special development of *rd*.

Stop + Stop or Nasal

3.5. Stop + stop or nasal is assimilated in:

Kt: *Awata:* hungry; *lata:* rag; K. *šut* sour.

Pt: *sata* 7; *nati:* granddaughter; W. *guta:* deep.

Tk: *Sak-* to arrange.

Tp: *Jupa:* to build; *orpu:* to dig.

Dg: Lg., etc. *wagan* wind (but hardly > **dd* in G.AL. *wardana*).

Dbh: D. *orbara:* high.

Bdh: *udri:* snare.

Kn: *Žuk-* to fit; D. *mukul-* to be shed.

Dn: A. *bada-* to extinguish.

Gn: *Nənai:ṇ* naked.

But, with insertion of a vowel: *Sarpan* dream (lw. 1); *W. sā:ekan* cowife < **kn* < *tn*.

Consonant + r

3.6. The development of groups consisting of consonant + *r* varies widely according to dialect, and provide us with convenient shibboleths for a rough classification.

	G.Sh.Sanj.	Pach.	P.Nj.U. *	SW. + Al.	A.Ka.	K.Ch. + SE.
<i>tr</i>	<i>tr</i>	<i>tr</i>	<i>tr</i>	<i>tr</i>	<i>tr</i>	λ
<i>str</i>	<i>štr</i>	<i>str</i>	<i>str</i>	<i>str</i>	(s) <i>tr</i>	λ
<i>kr</i>	<i>kṛ</i>	<i>pr</i>	ʃ	l	pl	λ
<i>pr</i>	<i>pr</i>	<i>pr</i>	ʃ	l	pl	λ
<i>dr</i> ^b	<i>ḍr</i>	<i>ḍr</i>	<i>ḍr</i>	<i>ḍr</i>	<i>ḍr</i>	l
<i>gr</i> ^b	<i>gr</i>	l	l	l	(ḍ)l	l
<i>br</i> ^b	<i>br/ṛ</i>	l	l	l	bl	l
<i>mr</i>	<i>mṛ/ṛ</i>	<i>mṛ</i>		l (Al. <i>mṛ</i>)	bl	l
<i>vr</i>	r	ṛ	ṛ	ṛ		l
<i>śr</i>	ʃ-, - ^v ʃ	ʃ-, - ^v ʃ	ʃ-, - ^v ʃ	ʃ-, - ^v ʃ	ʃ-, - ^v ʃ	ʃ-, - ^v ʃ
<i>sr</i>	-r			-r	A. <i>str</i> , Ka. -ʃ	K. -λ, Ch. -ʃt, D. -š, Kch. -l

3.7. The changes affecting such groups are evidently of comparatively recent origin, but certain tendencies are common to, and have spread over, a large part of the Dard.-Kaf. territory.

(1) *Tr*, *dr* remain unchanged in NW.SW. and A.Ka. But in these dialects also there is a tendency to change *k/pr*, *g/br*, owing to the fact that *r* in these positions was of a more retracted character. Cf. Ashk. *t/dr*, but *k/gl*, *p/bl*; Kt. *t/dr*, but *k/gṛ*, etc.^c

(2) In G.Sh.Sanj. we find *r* or *ṛ* after velars. Pach. agrees with A.Ka. in changing *k > p* before *r*, but retains the *r*.

(3) In SE. and K.Ch. all groups with voiceless stops result in λ, and those with voiced stops (and *m*, *v*) in l. Cf. Shum. and Ningalami. But in Lg. I sometimes noted a retracted λ, e.g. Lg.ch. λe: 3; λa:m work, cf. LSI.w. "shlika" woman, and also Ning. *sl* < *tr*, *kr*.

* As far as recorded, Sham.Pand.Nang.Wad. agree with this group, except for Nang.Wad. *s* < *kr*, *pr*, and Sham.Nang. *l* < *vr*: (in *leken* to sell).

^b Aspiration has been omitted.

^c Cf. Notes on Tirahi, AO, 12, 161, sqq.

(4) P.Nj.U., etc., ʃ is probably derived from a retracted λ of this type.

(5) But in SW.Al. the phoneme λ, which is unknown to neighbouring Ir. languages, merged with ordinary voiced l.

(6) Only G.Sh.Sanj. retain the original six phonemic groups derived from stops + *r*. In Ka.A. they have been reduced to five, in Pach.P.Nj.U., etc., to four, in SW. to three, and in SE. Ch.K. to two, as also in Shum.

3.8. Examples are:

Tr: *Trā*, etc., Lg., etc., λe: 3; *trīn* grass; A. *trua-ḥi:r* curded milk; L. *atra*, D. λa: there; *pu:tr*, Al. *pu:r*, *pu:r*-, D. *pu:l*, She. *pu:l*, Lg.z. *pu:l*-(i)m son; *le:tr*-, etc., to cut grain; *ḥu:tr*-, etc., hair; A. *mutruk* dirty; N. *kaletro*-(m) husband; U. *ḥa:tri:k*, D. *yo:ark* mosquito; W. *lōimula*: chewing the cud.

Ntr: *Žantr*, *žandr* water-mill; *mandra-kari:k* magpie. But *mar* to speak (< *mantraya*); K. *aliniṇ* marrow (< *antra*).

Str: L. *āstri*-, etc., Pach.Al. *istri*-, Sham. *estre*-, Sanj. *ištri*-, Lg.z. *leka*, D., etc., *li:r*, A. *tri*: woman; A. *mastrak*, Ch.K. *ma:lak* brain.

Kr: Larm, G.Sanj. *kṛurm*, Bol. *kṛ*°, Pach. *pṛurm*, P.Nj.Sham. *šorm*, Nang.Wad. *sum*, D., etc., λa:m, A. *plorm* work; *huygalir*-, etc., Sanj.Pach. *k*°, U.Sham.Pand.Nj. (and Nur.) * *š*°, Nang.Wad. *s*°, D., etc., λ°, *lurnd* (also Lg.z.), Pach. *kurnd*, Sanj. *kurndṛ*, Sham. *šern*, Nang. *sien*, Lg.ch. *sqrnd*, D., etc., λ-, Ka.A. *pl*-, etc.

Pr: *Laharr*-, etc., Sham. *šowar*, Nang. *s*° wound(ed); *le:l*-, G. *pre:l*-, Sanj.Pach. *per:l* to herd; *la:k*, Sham. *šok*-, etc., palm of the hand; *la:ṣuk*, U. *ṣiṣ*, Sham. *ṣi:ṣe*, Nang. *ti:ṣe* (< **si:ṣe*), Sanj. *puruṣā*, Pach. *pruṣ/ḥ*, D. *luṣ*, A. *pleiḥ* flea; *la:ar* flower bed (?); *la:šin* faded (?); *la:ṣta*: comrade; A. *pla:or*-, etc., fever; *plorniš*-, etc., leopard; *ploro* spleen; *plieu*, K.Ch. *li:u*, Pach. *pri:wa* fat, grease (but Turner, 3626 < *kledu*); D. *la:ṛ* he-goat; *lawara*: mountain goat (?); Al. *lačand*- to fall; She. *lanλ* to build (Budd. < **pra-yantraya*). If K. *šamaš*- to forget is derived from *pra-mṛš*-, it must belong to a dialect with *pr > ʃ*. A. *plorivo*-, etc., dream < **sprappa* < *svapra*?

3.9. *D(h)r*: *Dro:nak*-, etc., bow; *drakar*-, K. *lorik*- to drag; *udri*: snare; A. *dri:i* long; *dre:ṣṭ*-, etc., span; *dra:et*-, etc., sickle; W. *la:šanir* beautiful; K. *arilo* yellow. It is doubtful if D. *gund(a)*, *gun/n*-, etc., vine, branch can, with Turner, 4199, go back to *gundra*.

* But Nur. λa:m work.

G(h)r: D. *larm*, etc., Ka. *lom*, A. (δ)*lom* village; L. *lil* wet, dew; *le:nir*, etc., Pach. *gre:nir*, Sham.Pand. *l(l)ānir* noon; *lava*: branch (Turner, 4358 < **grava*, cf. Waig. *grō*); A. (l)*lānir* spark; W. *lā:ar*, etc., neck-ring (Turner, 4395 < **grāivakata*); D. *salarp*, W. *se:larb* pregnant (< **sagrabbha* < *sagarbha*). Turner, 4263 derives *gorlang*, etc., cow, bull < **gorgramaka*, but in that case Sanj. *gorlu:ŋ* must be a lw. from another dialect. *Gaŋh*- to tie is a lw. from IA. of the plains.

B(h)r: *Larir*, etc., Sanj. *br/ra:um*, Bol. *blar-um* brother; A. *bloson* curse; *blāmur*, K. *lambal-brak* lightning; Kch. *le:nē* bee; G. *o:brē* cloud. Regarding *alarx* famished cf. Turner, 506.

Mr, *Le*-, etc., A. *bli*- Sanj. *murir*-, Pach. Sham. *murir*- to die; Kch. *ler*, K. *loŋ* mountain goat, cf. A. *bleaŋo*.

Vr: *Reken*-, etc., Sanj. *r°*, Sham.Nang. *l°*, K. *lgin*- to sell; L. Sham. *rakaŋir*, W. *langoriz*, etc., Lg.z. *lekunŋek* kidney; *randar* poisonous spider (< **vrntaka*?).

3.10. *Šr*: *Šaryg*, etc., horn; *šizal*, etc., Sanj. *šup:l* jackal; *še*- to stick to; *šača*: wrist; *šingariz* mistress; *šaw*- to crush with the teeth (< *šaru*-?); Ch. *šon* guts (?).

Postvocalic *šr* in *āiriz*, etc., tear; *išpairir* wife's brother; *šairiz*, etc., father-in-law. In W. *go:šiy*, etc., house; *ušuy-wal* waist-band; *aš-* to seize, *šr* has developed as in initial position. *Šl*- probably in D.q. LgLee. *san(n)a* thin < *šlakšna*.

Sr: *A:r*, Kch. *al*, D., etc., *aš*; K. *o:al*, Ch. *o:št*, Ka. *oš*; A. *o:štr* blood < *asra*.

Stop + Sibilant

3.11. *Ts*: No regular development can be established. Thus we find *ma:s* fish (< *-ts*-); *uē* spring (< *-tsy*-?); *wa:sak* calf (< *-ts*-); Al. *marcā*, *u:čā*, *wasakā*; Sham. *m°orc*, *wirē*, *wasok*; G.Sanj.U. *wasuk*; Pach. *wač/saka*; D., etc., *marē*; *unčarek*, *wačulek*; A. *mare/s*, *uric/ē*, *ware/sək*; Ka. *Mac*, *unē*, *wasik*; K. *ma°c*, *warek*; ChB. *warek*, *unčatik*. Other Dard.-Kaf. languages have generally *c*. Exceptions are: Wot. *mačert* (acc. to Budd. with assimilation < **c-t*); Sawi *mačoto* (**c-t*? But GB. *macoto*); Torw. "maj" (Bidd.), *ma:š* (Barth); Bashk. *urē*; Shum. *učānik* (< Pash.?). Wot. *bačorn* (acc. to Budd. with **c-n* < **c-n*); Phal. *baču:ru*, Kal. *bačhoŋ*, Dam. *bačo:* (< **-o:r*) new born calf, with *ch-r* < **ch-r* (but *bachar*, *bacha*, *bachar* calf), Khow. *bačhol* (-l?). In Pash. the rare phoneme *c* apparently had a tendency to merge either with *s* or with *č*.

In *as-* to rise (if with Turner, 1871, < **ut-sada-*) *ut-* was a prefix. In *ucum*, D. *uēum*, etc., scorpion *c* probably goes back to *šc* (v. Voc. s.v.).

3.12. *Kš*: In initial position we find L.I.Isk.Pach. P.Nj.U.Sham.Pand. Nang.Wad. and NE. *č(h)*, but Saln. "Pach." Al.G.Sh.Sanj.Bol. and SE. *š* (*š*, *x*). The only exception is NE. *š* in Ch. *šor*, etc., 16, cf. other IA. languages. Examples are:

Čha, Sanj. *čā*, etc., 6; *čhui* Sanj. *čuri*, etc., 16; *čhir*, Al.Lg.z. *čir*, etc., milk; Sham. *čhiri* razor; *čhelak*, Sanj. *čulu:k*, etc., white (< **kšairala*?); *čhap*- to be worn out; *čewani*: sneezing, *čey-* to sneeze. K. *čāy*- (not *čhāy*-!) cannot, with Turner, 3643, be derived from *kšaya*.

Postvocalic *kš* generally results in *š*, with opening of the affricate. Thus, *aru:ša* garlic; *u:š* long; *a:špar*, etc., reaped rice (Turner, 39, < *akšap/va:ša*, cf. Lhd. *akhar:har* place where indigo is dried); PŦ *a:šur:ar* collar-bone; Al. *daš-* to sprout (Skt. *daṣ-* to grow); *de:šik*, Al. *da:šikā*, etc., grape; D.q. *lišik*, Sanj. *luškā* nit (but Pach. *rušk* < Par.); *lašin* faded; *pašir*, Al. *pačir*, Pach. *pač/sir* wall (Skt. *pakṣa* wing of a building, wall, or *paršiya* stone rampart?); *raš-* to guard; *tiš* he-goat (?).

But we find *č* in *ač*, I. *ačha* (cf. Al. *ak*), Nang. *uč*, D. *čē*, etc., bear; *pašin*, I.Sanj. *pašinā*, Pach. *pašin/šak*, Al. *pašin/šakā*, but Nj.U. *pačirn*, etc., A. *pačanik*, Kurd. *pačanik*, etc., bird, sparrow; A. *bačo:r*, Ch. *or*; Ka. *bašar* leopard (Shum. *bačhar*); A. *tačan*, W. *tačarn* carpenter. The etymology of Pach. *o:ča* hare is unknown.

Palatal *č(h)* is found not only in SE.NE. *čē*, etc., bear; but also in *ačhi:*, etc., eye; *kučē*, etc., belly; *kači:* ravine; *kačalir* armpit (but A. *zač-*, cf. L. *kačewata* breastfold); W. *kač* tinder (possibly with *č* = *č*); A. *lāč-*, *laš-*, D.q. *laš-*, etc., to see; D. *mečēk*, etc., bee.

Consonant + y, w

3.13. *Ky* > *č* (f). Thus, *pam/je*, Sanj. *išpam/je*, etc., husband (< **svarmi-kyā*?), and possibly also in other words with suffix *-č* (*-n/š*). Cf., e.g. *šewin/š* acorn; *pač* she-goat; Kch. *le:nē* bee; *waran/š-ak*, Al.Sanj. *wara(n)šakā* ant; *šan/š-ora:*, etc., girl; Sham. *l'er/n/š* bee < **bhrngya*?

Some of these forms may be connected with the feminines and plurals in *č/š* of the type *gi:k* m., *gəč* f., *gič* pl. went, cf. *šurŋ* m., *šun/š* f. dog. A suffix *-kyā* occurs in Aśoka (Kalsi), and fem. *-ikyī* in the Jogimara inscription. In Pash. an opposition seems to have been established between **-k(k)a* m. and **-kyī* f.

T(h)y: *A:č* full; *orac* sleep; *šac̣ar* wrist; W. *lači*: chin (?).

Rty: *Mačari*: corpse; A. *močak*, etc., man.

Sty: *Andarš*, D.W. *erč* liver.

Šthy: *Angušak*, D. *anučik*, etc., finger-ring.

D(h)y: *Jut-* to burn; *buš-* to awake; *sabaš-* to arrange; *baš-* to get tired (< *ba:dhya* ?); *manšar*, etc., between; *winšali* young goat (cf. Skt. *vandhyar*); K. *saraz-* to arrange; *waraz-* to protect; Ka. *parš-* to hear (Budd. < *pari-budhya*).

Vy: *Jas-* (Sham. *šhas-*) to laugh (Skt. *vi-has-*); *šuar*, Pach. *šeru* tomorrow; *šang* hobbling (Skt. *vyanga*); *šang*, Sanj. *ja:ngā* afraid, Al. *šangal* to frighten (v. Voc.); *šupar-* to build; *š(a)h-* to put (< **wyah-* < *vi-dadhar-*). But note *wyarl*, Pach. *weila*, etc., night (< *vika:la*).

Ry: W. *taš-urik* star (< **ta:rya* ?).

Sy: W. *sun* rope (Turner < *syumna*); Genitive *-as*.^a

Šy: *waš(a)*, I. *wašā* roof-beam; *šarmak* (but Pach. *šarmuk*, Ch.K. *š*, with *š* from *šornak*, etc., red) black; A. *widišar* guest; Sh. *u:š* cold.

Šy: *Mašir*, etc., woman (< **manuṣyika* ?); K.A. *pušek* flower.

3.14. *Sv*: *Parnje*, G. *išpunj* (with secondary palatalization of *s* after *i*, cf. *ištri*: woman) husband.

But note, with different development, *sarpan* dream; *sasti*: healthy; *sari*: sister. *Suwan*, Ch. *swaren*, D. *surun* gold(en) go back to **suar(a)na*.

Šv: *Paeriz*, G. *išpairi*: wife's brother; *išpazn*, D. *pazn*, etc., udder (< **šva:na* ?). *Išpal* bedframe is of unknown origin. But *šairuz*, etc., mother-in-law.^b

Jv: A. *plašorr*, etc., fever; A. *š'arel* flame, Ch.B. *zel-* to light a fire.

Hv: The development of *hv* > *b* in *šib*, etc., tongue is common to all Dard. languages.

Kv: Ka. *kaša-* to be boiling (Skt. *kvath-* Pali *kath-*).

Dv: *Dur* door, probably from *duvarra*, not *dv-*. But secondary **dv-* > *w-* in *wei*, *wiy-*, etc., daughter < *duhitar*.

ASSIMILATION, ETC.

4.1. Dilation of an initial nasal is common in Pash., as also in the neighbouring IA. and Ir. languages.^c Cf. Voc. s.v.v. *manšar*: between; *munda*: free will; *mundai*: enemy; *manšeles* assembly; *nandi*: river; *nurnga*: (W. *no:gar*) new; *nəngar* (G. *nigar*) guarding; K. *lon* mountain-goat

^a But cf. Morphology.

^b V. Intr. 2.4.

^c V. EVP, 46.

(< **mrang-*). In the l.w.s from Prs. the nasalization is not necessarily of Pash. origin.

A nasal has been assimilated to an *l* in *malil* dirty. But cf., on the other hand, *langurn* penis < *langula*.

Spontaneous nasalization occurs, e.g. in W. *kandur* gourd; D., etc., *anč* eye; D., etc., *čič* bear; L. *əntəpa:z* union (but also Kabuli Prs. *entəfa:q* < *ett-*).

Retroflex sounds have caused assimilation in *zorefi*: yoke (< *ž-*); K. *dar:ni* stick, D. *dā:ri* (cf. L. *daṇḍar* rafter); A.² *šur:in* (if *š-* is correct) dog < *šur:in* (v. Voc. s.v. *šuryg*).

Stray cases of assimilation have been recorded in *kira:z*, A. *kir/loz*, G. *kilur* cheese < **kila:z* (W. *kila:rek*); W. *lōimulaz* chewing the cud < **roimulaz*, etc.; Ka. *šir:ing-dri:ng* rainbow < **šir:ing-dri:ng*.

DISSIMILATION, ETC.

4.2. No classification of the various types observable seems possible, but some examples may be given.

Kišelmarli:, etc., but A. *kišinmo:li:*, D.q. *kišingwa:li:* n. of a flower (*kışnamallikar*); Kulm. *-reil* harvesting < *leil-* (Ka.) < *leitr-*; W. *deštar*, etc., elder < *ještar* (cf. Waig. *dešto*); Nang. *ti:še* flea < **si:še* (Sham. *š-*); L. *zara:l* peacefully < Prs. *qaraz*; *mozoral* daily ration < Prs. *muqarrar*; *bada:n* rope < **bandharn-*; *ambalar* quickly < **anupatana* (Turner, 324). Note also N. *alama:*, Kch. *anama:* scorpion (< ?). The relation between W., etc., *dudarr* (cf. Khaw. *duderi*) and D. *dura:z*, D.s. *duzal* (cf. GB. *dura:ri*) far is not clear.

METATHESIS

4.3. Instances of the well-known Dard. transfer of an *r* in a group to the initial are common.^a It is sufficient to mention *la:m*, etc., work < **kra:m*; D. *lega:* long; *lub-* to be boiling (< **bhrubb-* < **bhurv-*); L. *reken-*, etc., to sell (< **vrikk-*); A. *dra:t* sickle.

We also find transfer of aspiration to the initial, e.g. in *zarnd* shoulder (< **skhand-* < **skandha*). But note *pand-*, etc., road (< *panth-*), as opposed to GB.Kal. *phont/d-*.

Other examples of metathesis are: D. *alinar*, etc., blue (< *arni:la*); *deraw-* husband's brother's wife (< **devari:* ?); D.Lg. *kara:z*, Lg.ch. *ka:arl*, etc., wolf < **ka:ar* (Turner, 2655, < *kadarra*).

^a Cf. Metathesis of liquids in Dard. dialects; Festskrift til Prof. Olaf Broch, Oslo, 1947, pp. 145, sqq.

SOUTH-WESTERN GROUP

PHONEMIC SYSTEM

VOWELS

1.1. The pronunciation of L. vowels is largely subject to assimilatory influences, and appeared rather unstable. The phonemic interpretation of material, collected as early as in 1924, is therefore to some extent uncertain.

The following list of vowel phonemes is merely tentative:

Short		Long	
i	u	i:	u:
e	o	e:	o:
(ā ?)	a		a:

1.2. L. *e*, *o* are comparatively rare sounds, and in many cases they seem to be variants of *i*, *u*. E.g. *we/iŋ* (but *wiyam*) daughter; *li/eki*: key; *sai/hi/eb* master; *hi/enj*- to neigh; *ku/ora*: tree; *hu/okam* command; *du/o* (stressed *do*): 2.

But we also find a probably phonemic *e*, *o* in: *chel'ak* white (= I.); *reken*- to buy; *čera* portrait; *še*- to stick; *čeleŋi*: shirt (*čila*: in other diall.); *jeŋara*: elder brother; *ne/aka*: wedding; *boŋa*: deaf; *čoŋ*- to bite; *tom*- to wet; *doŋox-doŋox* thunder.

1.3. Examples of L. *i*, *u* are: *čim'ar* iron; *šidar* cold; *liŋ* walnut; *kiš* cultivated field; *gur*- to seize; *dubur'a*: blunt; *čukuru* rhubarb; *purun'a*: before. Note the palatalization in *šu/üni*: empty; *šinŋ* (I. *šinŋā*) she-dog; *šünŋiem* my dog; *žu/üki:k* it fitted; *u/öskorm* n. of a flower; *Özbir*n, probably /Uzbir/n/; *gurömm-a/guram-a* I take it.

1.4. In I. *e* was recorded in *eŋa* there; *emā* these, and, after *ŋ*, in *hanŋekam* (I. *hanče*-) I have beaten; *hanŋekafi*: girl. Cf. also Al. *čela:k* white; *hemā* you; *zers* bear, etc. The existence of a phoneme *o* in I. is doubtful, cf. *ku/ora* tree; *šoŋā* ladder.

1.5. *ā* is rather advanced, and not of the *ɶ* type. It was recorded as *ā* in the neighbourhood of palatal sounds, e.g. in *ya/ān* they may come; *žāndra* (Obl.) mill; *hāriyem* my heart; *da/āryawa* (Obl.) river, but occasionally also

in other positions. Thus, *kha/ār* she-ass; *da/āl* troop, crowd; *betār* better. *Ā* was recorded regularly in *trā* 3; *tārā* there. But the phonemic value of *ā* remains uncertain.

In I.AL. final /-a/ was usually realized as -ā.

1.6. It seems that *ə* is also, in most cases, an allophone of other, unstressed vowels. Thus, *putra/əsar* (Obl.) his son; *gila/əna* (Obl.) mouth; *a/əzarr* 1,000; *puru/əna* before; *we/ənd-* to find^a; -a/ə Pron. Suff. 3. Pres. A svarabhakti *ə* appeared, e.g. in *war(ə)g* water; *be:šar(ə)m* shameless.

But *ə* was constantly noted in *sə* he, that; *lamba, ləmana:* after; *təng-* to bind; *kəs-* (I. *kas-*) auxiliary verb; *wəl-* to melt; *pəs-* to hide; *wast* (rarely *e*) 20, etc.

It is perhaps possible that *ə* may be a phoneme in such cases, while still being an allophone of some other vowel in unstressed position, or in the neighbourhood of certain consonants.

1.7. Quantity is phonemically relevant. Cf., e.g. *čal-* to open (Intrans.): *čal-* (Trans.); *mar-* to speak: *mar-* to kill; *bas* enough; *baz* (= Al.) steam; *baŋ* bomb: *baŋg* cockerow; *bar* field: *bar* time; *ba'd'am* now: *ba'd'am* almond; *ba'ja* flute: *ba'ja:* brother-in-law; *da:ri:* edge: *da:ri:* beard; *aŋgar* fire: *aŋgar* blacksmith; *dam* breath: *darm* yarn; *khar* she-ass: *khar* he-ass; *gum* lost: *gum* wheat^b; *du'a:* prayer: *du'a:* smoke; *dura* (Obl.) door: *sud'ur-a* it is distant; *ki/e* that: *ki:* who.

But my notation of quantity was far from being consistent. Cf., e.g. *juan'am, juan'an* youths; *čalw'a:l-am, w'al'am* my hair; *pu(:)trə* (Obl.) son. It is not possible to decide whether such vacillation is simply due to inexact notation, or to a real phonetic latitude of pronunciation.

1.8. Long vowels, of what ever origin, are usually shortened before suffixes.^c Thus, *dro:n'a:k* bow: *dro:nak-āi* your bow; *bustu:ŋ* mouth: Obl. *bustu/əra*; *šili:s* glue: Obl. *šiliša*; *ka'rik* crow: Obl. *karika*; *marra'ik*: *marra'ik-e* he said (to him). With complete loss of vowel: *Hanik*: *hank-a* he struck (him); *tarnuk* own: Obl. *tarnke*; *de:šik* grape: Obl. *de:ška*.

1.9. A double *a(:)* was frequently contracted. Thus, *orda-a* > *orda:* with him; *sar(a)t* hour; *haŋga: harm* > *haŋga:(a)m* I am beating. But we also find an expressive extension of *ar*, e.g. in *haira:arn* 22,3; 25,1; *Varayam*! my brother! 25,2.

^a Note *wənduam* I shall find; *ge/ēč* she went, with retracted *ē*.

^b Cf. Al. *gum gum bi:n* the wheat was lost.

^c Cf. HP. 1,2.

1.10. *E:* is very narrow, and *i:* was noted in a few cases, such as *še:/i:r* lion; *tarnke:/i:* his own. But *le:l-* to herd was distinguished from *li:l* wet. Through the combined influence of *z* and *w* we get the variants *zər^o*, *zōi^o* of *zerwa:l* guts.

1.11. *O:* is narrow (also in Isk.) and was in many cases recorded as *o:*. Thus, *dq:* 2: *du:* yesterday (= I.); *dq:r* face: *dur* door. I. *gq:ri:* mare had a distinctly more narrow vowel than *go:ra:* horse. Cf. also Al. *šo:nak* red: *šp:nčā* f.

DIPHTHONGS

1.12. (1) /Ai/, with very palatal *a*, was usually realized as *äi*, as also in I.Isk.AL. Thus, *mäina:* my; *čadäi* 14; *äigya:* /*aiga:*/ he eats; Dat. in -*a/äi*; I.Isk. *žäigya:m* I eat.

(2) /Ari/ was frequently noted *ai*. Thus, *mai* moon (Obl. *ma:ya*); *khar* ear; *ka(:)i* how much; Abl. in -*a(:)i*; Absolutive in *tawa(:)i*.

(3) /Oi/, in *zoi* sweat; *kori* river bank; *akoi/e* (I. *ui*) if.

(4) /U(i)/, in *guri* dirt; *buri* smell; *chui* 16; *tru/üi* 13; *kui* why; *ču/üik(y)a* all.

(5) /Au/ in *au* bread; *daryau* river; *lauya:* olive tree; *sau* 100; *na/oukar* servant.

(6) /A:u/, in *baru* father; *maru* hashish.

(7) /Oru/, only in *koru* anybody.

Disyllabic combinations of vowels are frequent. E.g. *ru:pa'i:* rupee; *ga'in* waist; *pə'i:* meat; *parə'i:* go ye; *a'i:* mother; *harik* he was; *karel-* to hide; *arema:š* attempt; *are(:)* this; *ma'u:* maternal uncle; *Pa'u:š* (= I., but Al. *Pa'u:š*) n. of a month; I.AL. *a(w)u:* bread (L. *au*); *čuro* an interjection.

1.13. Unstressed vowels were sometimes recorded as voiceless. Thus, *h'ančəkə* /*hančik-a*/ he has beaten it; *däiwət-i* /*daiwat-i*/ he will give it to you.

Examples of abbreviated forms are: *däy'a:ks^t* /*daiga:-kəšik*/ he began to give; *g(i)rik* he wandered about; *mäy(a)* /*maina:*/ my; *ša* /*šira:*/ on; *ma:* /*maŋga:*/ he speaks; *ko^m* /*kawam*/ I shall do.

1.14. Sporadic examples of vowel assimilation are: *henik* /*hani:k*/ he struck; *henfi:* /*hanfi:k*/ he has killed; *dü wyar* two nights; *du tro du:* two or three days; *buto kuča* in the idol; *Undu:* /*Hindu:*/. The negative particle *na* is especially liable to be affected in this way: *N'o:* *or'am*; *n'i:* *arik*; *n'e* *šik*; *n'u* *guraigar*.

Note also *degga:m* /*degga:(ha:)m*/ I see; *diggimar'ir* /*deg-im-(h)ari:*/ thou seest me; *d'ögguan* /*deg-u-(h)an*/ they see you, etc.

In cases like *khanče* /*khanč-a*/ he pulled her; *marräik'e* /*marräik-a*/ he said it, the palatalization is due to the preceding consonant.

STRESS

1.15. A final long vowel generally carries the stress, but there are many exceptions in the texts which may be due to inexact notation.

In groups of numerals the second is stressed. E.g. *i:* *d'ur* *apta* one or two weeks; *trā* *č'ar* *du:* three or four days; *ča* *s'arta* *mai* six or seven months.—*T'arnuk* is usually stressed; thus *sari*/*pu:tr* *t'arnuk* his own sister/son.

In some cases an especially strong stress, accompanied by a high tone, was recorded. E.g. *n''andəma:la:* ^a; *n''andir*; *č'üikəi* 193,6; cf. also 193,9,10; 194,5; 21,13; 87,8; 104,4; 120,2,14. But also in ordinary pronunciation the stressed syllable usually had a high tone.

A low, rising tone was characteristic of words with original voiced aspirate. Thus, *dhár* hill, but *dar* wood (level, or falling tone); *gór'a:* horse, but *gor'an* cow. The relation between tone and aspiration, however, was less easily recognizable than in some SE. dialects,^b and I became aware of it too late to be able to make a thorough investigation of it.

2.1. CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>	<i>ʈ ɖ</i>		<i>k g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Aspirated Stop	<i>ph bh</i>	<i>th dh</i>	<i>ʈh ɖh</i>		<i>kʰ gʰ</i>		
Affricate		<i>c</i>	<i>ɟ</i>	<i>ɟ̥</i>			
Aspirated Affricate			<i>ɟʰ</i>	<i>ɟ̥ʰ</i>			
Sibilant		<i>s z</i>	<i>ʂ ʐ</i>	<i>ɕ ʝ</i>			
Fricative	<i>w</i>			<i>ɣ</i>	<i>x γ</i>		<i>h</i>
Vibrant		<i>r</i>					
Lateral		<i>l</i>					
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>		(<i>ŋ</i>)		

I.Isk.Saln. seem to have similar systems, although a number of the sounds tabulated above do not occur in the very limited material at our disposal.

^a This is the correct reading.

^b Cf. SE. 1,9.

2.2. Aspiration of voiceless stops was not very strong, but in most cases audible. According to AR. the *kh* of *khanwakam* was "much" (*bisya:r*), and the *k* of *kawakan* little (*kam*). There is some vacillation in my notation, e.g. of *t(h)a:*; *k(h)anar*. Before *i*, *e* I first noted a palatalized "*k'h*" for *ch* in L. as well as in I. Cf. also I. *čhā* 6; *a:ča* bear; *a:thāi* here; *the-* to be.

Aspiration of voiced stops was very weak, and in many cases it was left unnoticed, or had disappeared. Thus, *dhār* hill (= I.); *dhār-* to stay; *dhu:m* smoke; *udhar* irrigation channel; *bhu:m* earth; *b(h)a:r* burden ^a; *ʃhāi-* to put (= I.); *ʃha:r* proclamation (< Prs. *ʃahr*); *aḍḍhar* half (I. *-ḍḍ-*); *ghai* brook (I. *ga:lā*). In rendering U.Isk. forms AR. pronounced more strongly aspirated sounds than in L. words. Thus, L.u. *dohor*; L.Isk. *dharra* hill.

Saln. has an unexpected and probably incorrect aspiration in *anghar* fire; *kharikh* to do.

There seems to be no reason why we should take the aspirates to be clusters.

2.3. There is no tendency to sonorize or open intervocalic stops, as is the case in NE., SE.

2.4. The dental affricate is rare (*uc'um* scorpion; *galceṭ* n. of a bird), and has not been recorded as an initial.

2.5. The distinction between palatal and retroflex affricates and sibilants is usually clear, *č*, *ʂ* being articulated just behind the teeth, but *ɟ*, *ʐ* with the tip of the tongue against the roof of the mouth. Thus, *a:č* full: *a:ɟ* bear; *mu:š* mouse: *u:ʂ* long; *šurŋ* dog (with *š* rounded before *u*): *šorna:k* red; *žar* barley: *žarn* standing. *Šar-* to go was frequently recorded, with assimilation, as *šar-*.

In *št*, e.g. in *a:šta* 8, *š* sounded like a voiceless, retroflex lateral *ʃ*. After *u* it was nearly inaudible (e.g. in *u:th* lip; *u:thur* camel), and *kanıştha:* younger was sometimes heard as *kanēiṭha:*. But cf. I. *a:štā*; *u:št*; Isk.Al. *a:šta/ā*; *u:(:)štur*, with *š* approaching a palatalized *x*, just as in some acoustically similar Swedish variants of *š*.^b

2.6. *W* is a labiodental, with a broad opening of the mouth, not bilabial, as in G. A semivocalic *u* was noted, e.g. in *gaḍu/wor* let us go; *wendy/wam* I shall find; *barya šarrawam* to his father's town, but it is doubtful whether it is a separate phoneme.

^a Acc. to AR. = Prs. *bahar* spring.

^b V. Sievers, Grundzüge d. Phonetik³, p. 339.

There is interchange between *y* and *i*, e.g. in *wy/ia:l* night; *try/ia:ngul* trifork; *pary/iarn* fairies, and the phonemic interpretation is doubtful.

Y occurs as a glide, e.g. in *ma:ra(y)i:k* he had spoken; *Paša(y)i:* Pashai; *narmiy ari:k* it was his name.

2.7. *F* occurs only in lw.s, and interchanges with *p*, as in *karp/fər* pagan; *gursp/fand* sheep, but also *a:p/wa:wa* bucket. Note *phazəl* crops; *pha:l* augury, with *ph* from Prs. *f*.

X, *k* are often substituted for Prs. *q*. Thus, *maq/xu:b* banished; *q/xala:* castle.^a *X*, *γ* are common in lw.s with Prs. *x*, *γ*, but cf. also *xa:nd* shoulder; *a:zal*-to play; *ala:z* famished; *a:γart* word; *γartu:l* milk mixed with water.

2.8. *H* is voiceless (from *gārd*, *thag* we get *gārt har:i:k* he wrestled; *thak har:i:ē* they were thieves), and is frequently dropped.^b Thus *(h)a:s* hand; *(h)an*-to beat; *(h)ari:k* was; *sa(h)a:r* morning. I even heard *yəz'ar* < *i: haza:r* 1,000; *a:nama* < *a: hanam-a* I beat him; *wa:nda* < *wahenda* in spring.

Inversely a "cockney" *h* could sometimes be heard, e.g. *ha:γart* news; *trahana* = *trayana* all three of them. Note also *yim* snow; *ye:ma:n* winter.

AR. occasionally retained Ar. *'ain*, which is dropped in Kabuli. E.g. *'aqəl* wisdom; *kam'aqəl*, *be'akel* stupid; *maq'u:b* banished.

Glottis-closure of initial vowels was sometimes very marked. E.g. *'āiwakam* I ate; *'arke* he brought it; *'a:la:* fine (clothes).

2.9. *R* is articulated with the tip of the tongue, but hardly with any rolling. Final *r* after a voiceless stop is usually either desonorized, or vocalized (*pu:tr*, *-tr*, *-tr* son).

The vacillation between *r* and *l* in *musul/rma:n* may reflect a local Prs. pronunciation.

Initial *r* is rare, v. Voc. Note *sa:rgi:k* he went < **sa:rd*, and *sur/ɣatala:* small.

2.10. Velar *ŋ* can in most cases be interpreted as an allophone of *n* before *k/g*. Thus also in *aŋ(g)* arm; *luŋ(g)ali:* mulberry; *teŋ(k)ē* he bound her. But, while *ŋ* was regular in *haŋga:m* I am beating, etc., I heard as well *hankam* as *haŋkam* I struck; and *ta:n/ŋke* self (Obl. of *ta:nuk*). It is possible that *ŋ* is a separate phoneme of restricted occurrence.

Retroflex *ɳ* was noted in *guŋ* bowstring; *kaŋi:ʃha:* younger; *so:ŋa:k* red; *dro:ŋa:k* bow. But *lu:n* (G. -*n*) salt. In *maŋga:* he rubs *n* is a realization of *nd*.

^a Cf. Abd-ul-Ghafūr Farhādi, *Le persan parlé en Afghanistan*, Paris, 1955.

^b As in Kabuli, cf. Farhādi, § 26.

The nasal has been reduced to nasalization, e.g. in *ō:škai/ō:nʃkai* to wash, cf. *umē:rd/ume:(n)d* hope. Note also the interjections *ā ā*; *ēh ēh* alas!

PALATALIZATION

2.11. Most consonants are more or less palatalized before a palatal vowel. E.g. *gʷi:k* /*gi:k*/ he went; *bʷeyi:k* /*beyi:k*/ he became; *lʷerna* /*lerna*/ below; *tʷ(e):te*: Obl. of *sə* he, that; *mʷ(e):me*: Obl. of *a:re* this; *urʷi:k* he rose. After *ai ai* we find *gʷ*, *kʷ*, e.g. in *jaigʷa:* /*jaiga:* place; *dāigʷa:* /*dāya:* /*daiga:* he gives; *dāikʷe* /*daik-a*/ he gave it.

Also in sandhi: *Uddāi kʷakam* I raised; *yāi kʷarikʷe* /*yai karika*/ one crow; *gainai kʷan* from the waist.

GEMINATION

2.12. Gemination was noted, but not constantly, e.g. in *satt'i:* 17 (= AL); *aṭṭhi:* bone; *uḍḍai* from above; *waṭ(t)-* to walk; *buṭṭi:k* he woke; *'egga lo!* *urri:k* he rose; *izzat* honour; *aiwal* first; *albatt* certainly; *mulla:* mullah; *Jannat* paradise.—Frequently also *kar'ammə karam-a* I shall do it; *āyemmə* /*ayem-a*/ I shall eat it; *dəkkə* /*dek-a*/ he saw it; *dəčča deč-a* he saw her; *deggam* /*degaham*/ I am seeing; *ma ppa* don't go; *du llak* two lacs; *du tra mai* two or three months; *ma-kkar-a* don't do it; *ma bbe:* don't become.^a

CLUSTERS

2.13. In native Pashai words the number of clusters is restricted. The most common types are:

In all positions: (a) Dentals + *r*. Postvocally: (b) Nasals + (chiefly) voiced stops; (c) Sibilants + voiceless stops. Besides combinations of (c) and (a) (*str*, etc.), and of (b) and (a) (*nt/dr*, etc.). Cf. Voc. s.v.v. *trā*; *pu:tr*; *dra:n*; *udri*; *angar*; *andar*; *arṇa:*; *pa:nʃa*; *ča:ska*; *bustur*; *usturn*; *wəst*; *išpa:n*; *a:šta*; *šururšpa*; *əstri:*; *kastru:k*; *žantr*; *čandra-kawaya*. But we also find, e.g. *traryk-*; *zarnzuri*; *waryg*; *lo:ŋka*; *da:rma:*; *pa:lga:*; *ma:ŋra:*; *w(i)ya:l*; *du-weya*; *mya:*.

In loanwords a large number of other combinations are admitted: *br*, *mr*, *gr*; *rkh*, *rt*, *rb*, *rč*, *rs*, *rz*, *rm*, *rw*, *ry*; *lt*, *lč*, *lx*, *lm*; *nt*, *nč*, *nb*, *nm*, *ny*; *mč*, *mt*, *mš*; *sz*, *sm*; *šk*, *šx*, *šm*, *šy*; *zl*, *zm*; *f/pt*; *xt*, *xč*, *xš*, *xw*; *γč*, *γd*, *γl*; *bz*, *dš*,^b etc. V. Voc. passim.—Note the insertion of a vowel, e.g. in *šar(ə)m*

^a Cf. Parachi, IIFL I, § 22, e.g. *š'u llak* three lakhs; *n'a ppar'i:* does not go.

^b *Bardān*, but also noted *bā:šar*, *ba:čar*.

shame; *hukəm* command; *phazəl* crops; *xolup* lock^a; *war(ə)g* water. Note also *muzl*, *əzlarm*, *azemareš* < Prs. *misl*, *islarm*, *arzmariš*.

2.14. Final clusters are frequently simplified in *hars* hand (Al. -st); *karn(d)* arrow; *durm(b)* barber; *ay(g)* arm; *parn* road; *darn(d)* tooth (Al. pl. *darn(d)*), but also *lurnd* roof. In loanwords we find, e.g. *wax(t)* time; *ʃub* pair (*ʃuft*); *darax(t)* tree, but *dorst* friend; *band* closed, etc.

Final -*k* is frequently dropped, or greatly reduced. Thus, *šir(k)* it is; *gʷi(k)* he went; *tarnu(k)* own; *čumbo* /čumbwak/ kissed; *buđāwə* /-wak/ buried, etc. Note also *arrawač* /arrawat širk/ it is bloodstained; *waryaiš* /waryu širk/ it is in the house. Loss of -*l* occurs in (*h*)engə(l) thus. It is, of course, possible that I may have failed to hear a weak, implosive final consonant.

2.15. Assimilation of sonority is common in sandhi. Thus, e.g. *ariz gura* seize the hand; *wəz ʃarn* 20 persons; *razz mara* tell the truth; *hez larm* any work; *gəž(g-)* she went; *Larq narim-i Lat* (was) his name; *šarr ʃharm-a* let me make a bet (*šart*). Conversely, *arwars khanə-e* he uttered a word.

Note also *orñe* /orñč-a/ washed her; *čakkāi* /čandkai/ to fall.

2.16. Dissimilation of *l* and *r* has taken place in *zararl* ~ *qarar* silent; *tulā-ra* sickle (but *šangala* horn).

MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

3.1. A large number of nouns have, from a synchronical point of view, no suffix. Thus, *darn* tooth; *ʃib* tongue; *larm* work; *lari* brother; *šir* head; *šuryg* dog; *waryg* water, from ancient stems in -*a*, -*ar*, -*n*, -*r*, -*s*, -*aka*, -*ika*. A difference between ancient nominatives in -*er* (usually from *a*-stems) and -*ar*: does, however, appear before some possessive suffixes.^b In I., as well as in some NW. dialects, we find -*a* (-*ā*) < fem. -*ar*.^c

From the scanty material at our disposal, especially from other dialects, it is often impossible to decide whether the final part of a noun ought to be taken as a suffix, or not. In the following list words have been included which possibly carry no real suffix in the modern language, or which go back to old compounds.

^a Cf., for Kabuli, Farhadi, § 75.

^b V. SW. 13.4.

^c V. SW. 5.6.

In order to give as comprehensive a survey as possible of Pashai nominal suffixes, forms from all dialect groups have been included.

3.2. (1) The most common suffixes are -*a*: m., -*i*: f., which form part also of many of the following ones. In most Pash. dialects -*a*: (< -*aka*-) and -*i*: (< -*ika*-) serve to distinguish gender.^a Cf. also *arnda*: egg; *barar*: boy; *orcha*: shade; *ači*: eye; *khuri*: hoof, etc. But note also *šairi*: father-in-law; *išpairi*: wife's brother; *lungali*: m. mulberry (< *-*ika*-).

Numerous Prs. words in -*a*, -*ar*(h), -*i*: have been adapted to these Pash. types. E.g. *barša*: king; *barča*: garden; *bala*: evil; *aina*(r) mirror; *araza*: f. woman; *barša*: i: kingdom; *naukari*: service; *čorri*: theft (IA.), and adjectives of the type *zabar*: i: messenger; *talai*: golden. Cf. NW. 2.4; SE. 1; NE. 1.^b

(2) -*ar*: (abstracted from the type *talai*: ?).—E.g. *zara*: i: golden; *čəmərari*: iron-; *zorari*: strong. In lw.s from Psht., e.g. *buđa*: i: grandmother; *rupari*: rupee. But *pele*: i: ball of yarn; *wela*: i: porridge are Masc.

(3) -*u*:—E.g. *maribu*: uncle; *šairu*: mother-in-law; *čukur*: u rhubarb; *kap*: u: buttermilk; *lađ*: u: walnut; *mak*: u: pumpkin; *paš*: u: rib; *menda*: u: proud.—Cf. also *Šuna*: u: /*Dara*: u: inhabitant of *Šurna*: /*Saigel* (**Darra*: ?), probably on the analogy of *Hind* and *Indu*: Hindu.—E.g. *karu*: and *pašu*: are derived from stems in -*uka*-.—Cf. NW. 5; SE. 2; NE. 2.

(4) -*anda*:—*Karranda*: active; *darranda*: rich; *awanda*: eager to fight; *šuranda*: quarrelsome.—Probably Prs.

(5) -*anda*: /*i*:—In *kawanda*: f. lock of hair; *garwandi*: cow.

(6) -*gi*:—*Badnamgi*: bad reputation; *xairadgi*: happiness.—Prs.—Cf. NW. 6.

(7) -(a)*ka*: /*i*:—*Marraka*: conversation. *Balaki*: ogress; *loriaki*: harlot; *Auranki*: Afghan woman; *aulanki*: f. sonless; *xangelki*: betrothed; *xarwandki*: mistress, *čakaraki*: a little (*čakari*).—Prs.—Cf. NW. 7.

(8) -*kai*:—*Wiyekai*: (-m) (my) little daughter.—Psht.

(9) -*laka*: /*i*:—*Kotalaka*: tin; *buđalaki*: old hag; *korndaleki*: bald-headed woman; *čandelaki*: torch, lamp.—Cf. SE. 3.

(10) -*arki*:—V. NW. 8.

(11) -*karaki*:—V. NW. 9.

(12) -*ala*: /*i*:—Diminutives: *šungala* dog; *gawala* cow; *šangala* horn; *čirela* milk; *bađela*, *bađali*: potsherd (but *tulārā* sickle) (all in XXXVIII);

^a V. SW. 5.3.

^b In this section numerals, such as "NW. 2", etc., refer to the lists of Nominal Suffixes.

aṭala boulder; *aṭali*: plough-bullock (= Gon. *zarmali*); *daṇḍala* plough-handle; *gundali*: twig; *gorḥeli*: mare; *kaneṣṭala*: younger brother (but *jeṣṭara*, v. 20); *kundali*: small cooking pot; *paṇḍala*: bundle; *paṭala* bark, skin.

Nouns of agency are: *ṭengala*: binder; *darala*: wood-fetcher (denominative); *rozzi-dayala*: bestower of daily bread (Prs. *rozzi-rasān*); *aṣa-ṣayalar*: bullock-driver, i.e. ploughman; *aṣdam-ayalar*: cannibal; *wai-ṣangawayalar*, etc., house-striker.—IA.—Cf. NW. 10; SE. 4; NE. 3.

(13) *-čala*/:*i*—Diminutives: *koručali*: small tree; *lauṣ(h)ančali*: wooden spear; *hančali*: fighting.—Cf. *larsəčali*: deception; *Karpər-ne:čala*: Pagan's Seat (Place name), from verbal roots.

(14) *-kala*/:*i*—Diminutives: *garakala*: pot; *garakala*: hole.—But also *aṣdam-aika:li*: cannibal girl (G. *-že:kalu*).—Cf. Ka. *loṭ-anika'a*; Ch.B. *loṭ-dāig'elo* liar (from infinitives in *-ik* + *-alar*).—Cf. NW. 11; SE. 35,1 (3).

(15) *-ṭala*/:*i*—Diminutives: *deṣṭali*: small kettle; *aṣṭeli*: mother; *soṭali*: kid; *surṭalar*/:*i* small.

(16) *-wala*/:*i*—*Uḍwala*/:*i* upper; *okuṣwala*/:*i* lower; *maṣṭawali*: f. middle.—Cf. SE. 5.

(17) *-ma*/:*i*—*Maṣṭuma*: middle (brother).—Cf. NW. 12; NE. 3^a.—IA. *-amaka*:-

(18) *-ana*/:*i*—Verbal nouns: *ṭengana*: binding; *maṣṭana*: dress; *čhindana*/:*i* knife (but *čhindan-barzi*: knife-play); *droṣkani*: scratching; *maṣṭani*: threshing; *ṣasani* (L.ō.) laughing; *pača(i)ni*: cooking; *hanani*: killing(-song), ballad; *oṣṭāni*: trembling, fear; *larwani*: n. of an illness. Adjectives: *ṣayani*: falling off; *ṣawani*: unchaste woman; *khanani*: to be reaped, cut. These latter probably < *-ani:ya*(:)-.

Cf. also *aulani*: m. sonless (f. *aulanki*); *kiyani*: young oak-leaves; *baṣṭyani*: husband's brother's wife (K. *maikoni*); *buḍani*: old woman; *si:ni*: wife's sister.

Angarani: fire-place (< **dha:nika*:?); *čuṣkan*: space between the breasts (*čuṣu*), probably with a suffix *-kan*, cf. *kanə-kani*.—Cf. NW. 13; SE. 6; NE. 4.

(19) *-mana*/:*i*—Present participle, e.g. *hanmana*.—Cf. SW. *-men*.

(20) *-ara*/:*i*—*Jeṣṭara*: elder brother; *ṣṭaṭia/ra*: grass-fetcher; *kaṭyari*: bullet; *xandiar*: *de:ṣik* a kind of small grape; *ṣikistari* (?) defeat; *tulāra* sickle (XXXVIII), probably dissimilated from **tula-la*.—Cf. NW. 14.

(21) *-gari*/:*i*—*Ai/bau/lai-gari*: mother/father/brother-less; *lai-bau-gari*: brother- and fatherless.

(22) *-aṣa*/:*i*—Diminutives: *karṣa*/:*i* pebble; *bomaṣa*: bubble; *uṣari*: small spring; *po:stari*: hide; *kuzari*: small pitcher; *maṣari*: corpse; **daṇḍari*: handle.—Cf. Hi. *-ṣa*/:*i*.—Cf. NW. 15; SE. 7; NE. 5.

(23) *-uṣa*/:*i*—Diminutives: *ṣaṭemur*/:*i* orphan; *ṣa(:)nṣora*/:*i* girl, virgin; cf. also *čhelauri*: f. whitish; *ṣonaṣuri*: reddish.—Cf. Psht. *-uṣai* < IA.—NW. 16; SE. 8.

(24) *-aṣa*/:*i*—Diminutives: *baṣṭaṣa*: young man; *deṣṭaṣa*: small kettle; *paṣṭaṣa*: fakir; *xaṣṭa*: crumb, piece; *kāyṣṭa*: ear; *khoṣṭaṣa*/:*i* cap; *daṣṭaṣa*/:*i* rope; *naṣṭaṣa*/:*i* back; *kaman-čuṣṭaṣa*: hoepoe; *kukuraṣṭa*: hen; *zambaṣṭa*: bullet; *raṣṭaṣṭa*: small window; *droṣṭa*: pellet-bow; *kuzṣṭa*: comb; *phalaṣṭa*: word; *waṣṭa*: f. beautiful.—Lhd. *-ṣa*/:*i*; Psht. *-ṣai* < IA.—Cf. NW. 17; SE. 9; NE. 6.

(25) *-kaṣa*/:*i*—Diminutives: *baṣṭakaṣa*: boy; *waṣṭakaṣa*/:*i* calf; *ṣaṣṭakaṣa*, etc., girl; *kaṣṭakaṣa* (?) bee; *maṣṭakaṣa*: middle.—Cf. NW. 18. Probably from *-k* + *aṣa*.

(26) *-laṣa*, v. SE. 10.

(27) *-wa*/:*i*—*Gorrawi*: bride.—Cf. Static Perfect Ptc., SE. 11; NE. 7.

(28) *-ko*/:*u*—Only in proper names: *ṣawaleko* (from *ṣawala*: lip-sore); *ṣaraku*: f. (*ṣaror*).

(29) *-inč*.—V. NE. 8.

(30) *-ak*.—V. NW. 19; SE. 12; NE. 9.

(31) *-a:k*.—*Wasark* calf (cf. *wasakaṣa*); *droṣark* bow.—Adjectives: *čhela:k* white; *ṣorna:k* red; *ṣarma:k* black.—Cf. NW. 20; SE. 12.

(32) *-ek*.—V. SE. 13; NE. 9.

(33) *-ik*.—V. SE. 14; NE. 10.

(34) *-irk*.—Infinitive and past participle, e.g. *hanirk* to beat, beaten. But also *čhanirk* kid.—Cf. NW. 21; SE. 14; NE. 10.

(35) *-ork*.—V. SE. 15.

(36) *-u:k*.—*Laṣu:k* flea; *lahu:k* light; *kastru:k* wasp; *aṣṭra-parṣu:k* wife and husband.—Cf. SE. 16; NE. 11.

(37) *-ček*.—V. SE. 17.

(38) *-lek*.—V. SE. 18; NE. 12.

(39) *-aṇdek*.—V. SE. 17^a.

(40) *-rek*.—Doubtful in L. (probably *kawa:ṣ-ek* worm).—Cf. NW. 22; but also SE. 19; NE. 13.

(41) *-ru:k*.—V. NW. 23; SE. 20; NE. 14.

- (42) *-ate/ik*.—V. SE. 21; NE. 15.
 (43) *-atuk*.—V. NE. 16.
 (44) *-wak*.—V. NE. 17.
 (45) *-čarl*.—Verbal nouns, e.g. *hančarl* fighting.
 (46) *-wal*.—V. SE. 22; cf. NE. 18.
 (47) *-warl*.—*Saṭhawarl* fellow-villager; **kharwarl* donkey-driver; *aṇḍiwarl* comrade; **halwarl* ploughshare.
 (48) *-an*.—*Sarpan* dream; *karān* vengeance; *lorān* fire; *ba(ɾ)da:n* rope; *ber-pačān* without revenge; **marān* death. Cf. *buḍān* old; *larwan* (with enclitic suffixes) apparent.—Cf. SE. 23; NE. 19.
 (49) *-en*.—Passive Participle, e.g. *hanen*.—Cf. SE.; NE.
 (49^a) *-in*.—V. NW. 24.
 (50) *-man*.—Only in place-names: *Kareman* "Grey-Hill"; *Lambaya-man-kuri* "Fox-Hill".—Cf. Psht. *-man*?
 (51) *-main*.—*Aṛṛmain* bloody; *ladəmain* lying, liar.
 (52) *-sarn*.—Only in *malmalsarn* made of velvet.—Possibly < **santa-*, cf. Dameli gen. *-sār*; ptc. *-san* (NTS XII 143, 146).
 (53) *-warn*.—Possibly in *Laurowarn*.—Cf. NW. 25.
 (54) *-iŋ*.—V. SE. 24; NE. 20.
 (55) *-waŋ*.—Only in *addhawāŋ* half-way.
 (56) *-gar*.—Only in Prs. loanwords, e.g. *guna:gar* sinner; *sauda:gar* merchant.
 (57) *-war*.—Only as second suffix in *manjanwar* dress.
 (58) *-as*.—V. NW. 26.
 (59) *-at*.—Only in *ganat* counting.
 (60) *-wat*.—Only in *arawat* bloody = *aramain*.

COMPOUNDS

4.1. There does not seem to be any considerable difference between the dialects as regards compounds, and it will therefore be convenient to deal with them together. The rare occurrence of dvandvas outside L. may be due to the limited extent of recorded texts. G., which is on the whole the dialect most influenced by Prs., has numerous Prs. compounds, some of them with izafe, e.g. *band-i-dest* wrist. The few native compounds recorded are modelled on Prs. ones.

4.2. Dvandvas.—L. *toṣak-kasāŋan* mattress and quilt; *šurŋ-puṣak* dog and cat; *əstrə-pa:nfu:k* wife and husband; *lernə-šir* below and above;

guḍi-u-guḍiala: a pair of dolls; *sur-o-mai* sun and moon, are also inflected as groups, cf. Psht. *lars-o-pže* hands and feet.—Note especially *arya-orya* mother and son (lit., his mother and her son); *baroya* (< **barw-orya*) father and son^a; *are-barwir* (105, 13, etc.) belonging to his mother and father. But we also find *arya o barw* his mother and father (Obl. *arsa o barsa*), or *barw o arya*.

From G.: *šurŋga piṣuk* dog and cat; *šurŋg peṣuk* *muṣ* dog, cat, and mouse; *wirmalu: ma:ši* husband and wife. Since G. knows no word for "and", it is doubtful if these are true copulative compounds. Outside the nominative we find asyndetic groups with separate case endings or postpositions. E.g. *gorānga der kuk'ura der* the bull and the cock (Obj.); *Xuda: o:da, tu: o:da* before God and before you; *sada: baidast, sada: akalkast* the sound of singing and dancing.

W. *lurna-kār*, D. *lorā-kar* rainbow, lit. "bow and arrow", is a dvandva, which has acquired a special, unified meaning.

Iterative compounds are L. *ḍəpar-ḍəpar* crackling; *gi:b-gi:p* trampling; *rawai-rau* quickly; *zam-zamb* strong as a stone. But it seems impossible to decide whether, e.g. *ṭungga-ṭungga* loudly is a compound, or a repetition of independent words.^b

4.3. The bulk of recorded compounds are tatpurushas, sometimes alternating with genitive constructions. Thus, L. *ba:dšar-pu:tr* = *ba:dšars p°* prince; *te: ba:dšar-ma:ši: te: wəzərasa: ma:ši:* 84,4 the king's wife and the vizier's wife. Cf. also L. *arsəwarn-barar* (Sanj. *arsəwarn-baru*) miller's boy; *kukurə-barŋg* (W. *kukūr-baŋ*) cock-crow; *derw-a:st* demon's hand; *čimar-gandi* iron stick; I. *žutə-wa:lə* single hair; Sanj. *kəre-mu:ar* lobe of the ear; Nj. *šungal-wer-ka:fi* mulberry-/willow-tree; U. *li:ŋ-laddi* walnut; Sham. *sangə-pəi* mushroom; Al. *kautə-pa:ta* fig-leaf; *gorna:c-waramba* a kind of wasp; W. *gora:čarl* horse's mane; *gu:m-əu* wheaten bread; *āsar-kərek* apricot-tree; D. *yan-wa:ŋ* millstone; *sur-alik* sunrise; A. *āreš-buri*, Ch. *aez-b°* eyebrow; A. *wiāl-pətrok* bat; *dhum-dari* smokehole; Ka. *pašnik-morn* bird's nest. But cf. also Sham. *sanges-tharfe* puffball; Ch. *aces-buri* eyebrow; Ch. *zales-pəst-a* bark of a tree; *zalou pətek* leaf of (lit. from) a tree.

4.4. In NW. we find izafe-compounds of Prs. origin, such as G. *mayz-i-kalu:* brain; *band-i-dest* wrist; *pošt-e-dewar* back-wall; Sanj. *zambur-i-šarti:* honey-bee.

^a Borrowed into Parachi *mā:wehā:*; *bā:wehā:*.

^b V. SW. 38, 13.

4.5. Some compounds contain a verbal noun governing a preceding object.^a E.g. L. *wiyə-ʃai*: bearing daughters; A. *beren-ʃorik* bee; K. *cucu-piyok* suckling. Cf. also K. *šir-bun-zorno*; Ch. *šir-len-zorni* pillow (lit. head-under-putting); *kilo-zorno* cheese-tray (containing a verbal noun connected with L. *ʃ(a)h-* to put).

4.6. Attributive compounds are, e.g. L. *aḏḏha-kulaḥ* half fathom; *aḏḏhi-* (f.!) *wya:l* midnight; *pura:li-darn* front-tooth; Pach. *guzmin-au*: wheaten bread; A. *wirik-wacelik* he-calf (and other compounds in *wir-*, *ištri-*, etc., from various dialects); W. *buren-ba:bari* grandfather; K. *dešti-* (f.!) *ai* grandmother; A. *āndi-* (f.!) *pačanik* bat; *čilek-zar* silver (< Psht. *spin-zar*).

For compound numerals of the type L. *parnʃa-wiya*: 100, v.s. Numerals.

4.7. Possessive compounds are rare. The most common ones are L. *čhel-dar:ri*, Ka. *čilek-dor*, etc., greybeard, old man (Prs. *saʃe:d-ris*; Psht. *spin-ḡirai*, etc.); D.b. *šer-akur*, Ka. *šir-agura* bear (lit. "head-down", originally "boar", cf. ChB. *ser-tiḡ* < Psht.). Cf. also L. *wəstə-sa:la* twenty years old (Prs. *bi:st-sa:la*); *do:pa:sa*: worth two pice (Kab. Prs.).

4.8. The only examples available of compounds consisting of three words are apart from K. *šir-bun-zorno*, etc., Ka. *truo:čir-wək*, ChB. *lue-čir-de:g* bowl for curdled milk.

4.9. There is not always a clear-cut distinction between compounds and words formed with a suffix. In some cases originally separate members of a compound have not been recorded as independent words. This is the case with **mar:l* in L. *warga-mar:l*, *nanda-mar:la*: river bank; *ko:čə-mar:li*: courtyard; *šornda-mar:li*: roof (Voc. s.v. *lu:nd*). Cf. also, e.g. the plurals in *-kula*; K. *šing-osen*, A. *sik-osen*, etc., armchair (probably < *siḡha:sana-* + *šryga-*).

K. *lo-pul* brother's son, can still be analysed as a compound, but not L. *larotrar*, W. *larul*.

4.10. Shorter stems are sometimes used in compounds. Thus, L. *až-bura*: eyelid (*ačhi*); *čhel-dar:ri*, W. *šel-dar:ri* greybeard (but *čhelark*, *šelek* white; *dar:ri* beard); L. *čhindan-bar:zi*: knife-play (*čhindana*); W. *āšar-/wurum-/armel-karek* apricot/walnut/sloe-tree (*āšar:ri*, *wurm:ri*, *aməlu:k*). Similar abbreviations are common in Psht., cf. *ḡir-xərləy* with shaved beard (*ḡirra*); *žəm-gorray* nomads' winter (*žəmay*) quarters; *tər-bur* cousin (*trə* paternal uncle), etc.

^a For such in *-alar*, etc., v. SW. 3,2 (12).

Note L. *wər-worya*: male child, but *wir-gursfand* ram (a more recent compound?).

GENDER

5.1. With the exception of a few NW. dialects, Pash., as far as it is known, distinguishes between two genders, Masculine and Feminine.

The Masc. is used as a general, neutral form, e.g. in *mar:arik* he/she said; *dey:ik* he/she saw, where the gender of the object is not specified. The Masc. was also always given as the lexical equivalent of a Prs. adjective.

5.2. Gender is indicated by the form of an accompanying adjective or verb. Thus, *wir anda: har:ik/ar:əza: andi: har:ic* the man/woman was blind; *mam a:dam/ar:əza: dewak/čam-a* I saw the man/woman.

This distinction between Masc. and Fem. may be said to be intersected by one between Animate and Inanimate, but this applies only to contexts containing the Present of the Auxiliary:

	Animate	Inanimate
Masc.	<i>gor:ar aul: a:(sta)</i> the horse is big	<i>dhar: aul: šik</i> the hill is big
Fem.	<i>gor:ri aul: a:(sta)</i> the mare is big	<i>nandi: aul: šik</i> the river is big

As an attribute I heard as well *aul:* as *aul: nandi: šik* it is a big river (but always *aul: dhar: šik*).

5.3. With the exception of Prs. lw.s, such as *a:la*: beautiful (Ar. *a'la*), Adjectives in m. *-ar* have f. *-ir*, just as in most other IA. languages. Thus, *tan'a:/i*: thirsty; *bof'a:/i*: deaf; *awot'a:/i*: hungry; *gung'a:/i*: dumb; *aul'a:/i*: big (= I.); *suratal'a:/i*: younger.

A few adjectives in *-ark*, denoting colour, have fem. *-əč*^a: *Go:ra: čhelark-a/gor:ri*: *čheləč-a* the horse/mare is white; *šarm-'ark/-əč* black; *šorn-'ark/-əč* red; L. *gor:ar čhelark/šar:mark har*; *ma:dyarnū čhilčə/šarmčə har*. Cf. also L.i. *lau:k* small boy; *lau:č'a*: small girl; L. *šur:ng m.*, *šun* f. dog.

Many adjectives, especially those ending in a consonant, are uninflected. E.g. *lu:m* yellow; *su:r* small; *u:š* long; *utha:l* high; *lar:ar* thin; *bai* good (*wir/ar:əza: bai-a*). *Nar:wəd'a:*, in *ardam/ar:əza: n° yeritik/č* the man/woman has come late, is possibly an adverb.

5.4. Most substantives in *-ar* are masc., often with corresponding fem. forms in *-ir*. Thus, *wasakat'a:/i* calf; *gor:aw'a:/i* bride(groom); *kəngun'a:/i* widow(er); *a:nā'a:* egg, *°i:* scrotum; *čhinden'a:* small knife,

^a Cf. NW. 5,2.

°i: large (sic!) knife; *lauʔa:* olive tree, large stick, °i: stick; *baɖaʔa:/i:* potsherd. Note *laʃta:* comrade, but °i: earring, of different origin.

Without corresponding forms in -i:, *manda:* neck; *nokra:* silver. Feminines in -a: are *a:zəza:* woman; *ʃa:nʃo:r'a:* grown-up girl; *kawaŋd'a:* lock of hair.

Feminines in -i: are, e.g. *nandir* river; *ma:ʃir* wife; *khurir* heel, hoof; *kukur'i:* hen (*kukur* cock, fowl); *aulank'i:* f. sonless (*aulan'i:* m.); *xa:wandki:* mistress (*xa:wand* master). Masculines in -i: are, e.g. *gar'i:* hole (°a: big hole, cave); *aba:s'i:* half rupee; *ba:ri:* boy (only in songs, in prose °a:).

Quite irregular are *šairi:(-əm)* father-in-law; *šairu:(-əm)* mother-in-law.^a

5.5. The gender of nouns ending in a consonant in L. is unpredictable. Masculine are, e.g. *dhur:m* smoke; *yim* snow; *khar* he-ass; *šurrg* (he-)dog. Feminines are, e.g. *bhur:m* earth; *ʃip* tongue; *uē* spring (Skt. *utsa-*); *karnd* arrow (Skt. *karṇḍa-*); *kha/ār* she-ass; *sunʃ* she-dog. It is doubtful whether *laʃkar* army; *paltan* regiment (fem. in Psht.) are fem. singulars, or collective plurals. *Nam* name, is masc., but *narm* fame apparently fem.

5.6. Many feminines, ending in a consonant in L., have a final -a/ā in other SW. dialects.^b Thus, I.² *odarā* (Isk.L. *udhara*) irrigation channel: L. *udh'ar* f.; *g'a:lā* river: L. *ghal* f.; *kharā* she-ass; *šunʃa* she-dog; I.¹ *angə* arm: L. *aŋ* f.; *ʃi:bə* tongue: L. *ʃib*; *pa:ndā* road: L. *pa:nd* f.; *serwaṛā* bridge: L. *sewaṛ* f.; *žutrə* hair: L. *žutr*; Isk.L. *darʃka* grape; L. *deʃik* f.; *sura* sun: L. *sur* f.; *wya:la* night: L. *wya:l*.—Cf. also I.² *pušpā* flower; *a:ʃha* (f.?) bear; *ʃorā* ladder; *ha:la* plough; *wa:sā* roof-beam, etc.

The majority of these words also have -a in NW. dialects, where we also find fem. verbal forms in -a.^c There can hardly be any doubt that all feminine forms in -a, etc., go back to ancient -a.^d A trace of this *a* has perhaps been retained in some compounds in L., cf. Voc. s.v.v. *ʃibba-waʔ*; *gala-koʃi:*; *žutrə-wa:l*; *wiya-ʃai:*; *Pandə-ga:mar*.

5.7. But cf. also, from masculines, probably with originally Obl. -a, *dhara-šir* (beside *dharr-ma:li:*); *warga-ma:l*; **a:ska-der* °; *arra-ma:n*; *žandra-wa:r*, as opposed to *dar-waʔi:*; *gairn-ʃəŋganar*; *har-ʔrana:k*; *kukur-baŋ*; *khar-wa:l/barr*; *wari-wa:l*; *wahen-warg*, *wər-wo:ya:*, etc.

^a V. Intr. 2.4.

^b V. NW. 5.4.

^c NW. 27.1; 30.1.

^d Cf. also the Pron. Suffix I. Sg. -a(:)m, SW. 13.5 (II).

^e Corresponding to the masculines L. *dharr*; *warg*; *a:ska* we find Isk.L. *dhara*; *warga*; I.¹ *a:ska*, and corresponding forms in NW. dialects.

5.8. From an historical point of view L. m. *kharr* goes back to **khar* < **khare*, and f. *khar* to *khara* < **kharar*.^a

5.9. Some names of animals are epicenes. Thus, *go:ʃand* sheep (*wir g°* m., *əstri: g°* f.). *Uʃʃh'urr* camel was said to be m., and *a:ʃ* bear f. Different words are used in the case of *a:ʃa:* bull, *garwaŋd'i:* cow (but *go:lang* m., f.); *ti:ʃ* he-goat, *waiʃar* she-goat; *xur'u:s* cock, *kukur'i:* hen. Cf. also *naway(a)* grandson, *nat'i:* granddaughter.

5.10. Regarding the syntax of gender we may note cases such as: *koruʃal'i:* (f.) *lu:rggal'i:* (m.) *ari:ē* (f.) the tree was a mulberry tree; *ʃaka-kukur'i:* *begi:ē* (or *beyi:k*), *a:rim ʃuga-kəʃi:ē* (145,2) (the sorcerer, m.) turned (f. or m.) into a cackling hen, and began (f.) to peck the millet grain; *sunʃ ʃarn tar:nuk bani-a:rdam bəgəʃ* (67,10) the she-dog turned into a human being (m.).

NUMBER

6.1. Collective singulars with the verb in singular have been recorded in *lunga:ly-a: pačai:k* 127,5,7 its mulberries got ripe; *I° pačai bai* 127,3 when its mulberries get ripe; *čui:kai derʃk-er:m* ^b *tau xala:s kawakai* you have finished all my grapes.

Note also *azeme* (Pl.) *pačai:k pa:i* ° 71,7 this cooked meat, but *do: uʃthurr pačai:ē pa:i* 70,8 the cooked meat of two camels.

6.2. After numerals collective singulars of inanimates are in some cases combined with verbs in the singular. E.g. *sarta dur: ne:ʔi:k* 107,9 seven days passed, cf. 134,3; 159,11; *nawa dare dur: paltana waʔi:ke* 14,22 he spent nine or ten days with her, cf. 43,12; 74,9; 120,9.

But, with plural verb: *Du trā mai ne:ʔi:ē* 159,11 two or three months passed, cf. 185,11; *i: əza:r rurpai: gurāwəʃ-ə* 134,12 she took the thousand rupees; *sarta dur: čarlē-e* 107,11 she opened seven doors.—Cf. also *ser: diye daryawas* (Gen. Sing.) *manʃaka:ʔa:* 64,2 between the two rivers; *do dharr* 62,8 two hills; I. *trā dur:* three days.

But we also find singulars of animates after numerals: *Cha ʃhak/čur: har:ē* 145,9,10 there were six rogues/thieves; cf. 19,7; 21,9.

6.3. Other examples of uninflected inanimates functioning as plurals or collectives are: *Aeme au* 71,7 these loaves, cf. 9,12; 22,11; *aeme wari ate*

^a The lengthening of *a* in a monosyllabic must have taken place before the L. loss of f. -a.

^b *Derʃik* is usually fem.

^c The attributive masc. sing. *pačai:k (pa:i)* is perhaps of the type *aula: nandi* mentioned above.

ardamanas šik these houses belong to those men; *arēme arwarz khanč-e* 109,3 it uttered these cock-crows; *čūikai atthi-m* all my bones; *au oida harič* 188,2 bread was at hand; *arsta ka* 64,10 with (my) hands.

6.4. Also animate, uninflected collectives, with the verb in Pl., are common: *Qarum girč* 160,12 the clan went; *artəmə burrok xalak harn* they are many people; *xalak maran* people will say; *laškar yepič* an army arrived; *wey bogarič* 217,1 daughters were born (but, 217,2: *ča weyakula beyič* six daughters were born); 86,10; 113,12; 227,8.—I. *emā mardum* these people.

Orya: is used as a collective Pl. of *putr*: *Maina burrok orya-m harn* I have many sons, cf. 66,13; 70,4; 154,1. Cf. also *bari:* 225,10 boys; *šama:n* 217,1 sqq. children. Note *əndur-ai*, etc., 40,3 to the Hindus, etc.; cf. 109,10.

6.5. In other cases too, the Sg. is preferred, often without any apparent reason: *Šugg-iem kura: ni yagarn?* 23,2 why do not my dogs come?; cf. 21,5; 23,4; *šunj pari: nə bogarn* 67,8 she-dogs do not turn into fairies; *kan putr-i harn?* how many sons have you? Cf. also 47,1; 66,12; 67,16; 84,9; 100,8.

6.6. With animate nouns the regular Pl. ending seems to be *-an*, or *-an*, probably phonetic variants. E.g. of *ardam* man, the pl. form most commonly noted is *-an*, but we also find *ardam'an* 113,9; 132,11 (also I.). In other cases both forms are equally frequent, e.g. *xarna(r)n* khans; *šarna(r)n* youths. In most words, however, *-an* is the usual form, thus, *čorran* thieves; *naukararn* servants.^a—I. *ač(a)harn* bears.

Note also *čeri-darjarn* 113,6 greybeards (from *darj:*); *khari:an* 150,1 she-asses (*khar*); *laštawarn* comrades (*laštar*). The only other recorded plural in *-an* from nouns in *-ar* is *gorjarn* 20,11,^b but note *gorja ... čhandi:č-an* 20,4 the horses fell; *gorjars* 20,3 Gen. Pl.

The Prs. Pl. in *-an*, taken over with loanwords, has probably merged with a native, IA. ending. In *murdagarn* corpses; *burogarn* (= *burjarn*) maidservants; *čeri-darjogarn* (= *darjarn*) greybeards, the Prs. origin of *-garn* is evident. *Bustoran-i* 106,13 her cheeks, is the only example of *-an* with an inanimate noun.

6.7. Oblique Pl. cases have been recorded in *ardama(r)nas* 62,11; 133,5;

^a Do: *ardama* 78,3; *narwa xarna* 222,15 are possibly Prs. forms, if they have not been noted for *-an*.

^b Cf. also the plurals in *-dal* and *-ali:*. V. below.

γulamanas; *γulamanai* of/to the slaves; *buroganai* 69,6; *xarnana* 224,8; *tauretana* 86,11.

6.8. The Pl. in *-an* is used as definite forms, e.g. in *čhayai thakarn* 145,10 the six rogues; *təmə čha thakarn* 145,12; *omə auratarn* 69,3 those women, but also in *parnša auratarn* 69,2 five women; cf. 27,4; 34,9, etc.

6.9. Some terms of relationship have plurals in *-kula:/i:*, inflected as singulars, but with the verb in plural.—Cf. Shina Pl. *-kul*, etc. < Skt. *kula-*.^a

A.R. asserted that *-kuli:* was employed with words denoting female and younger male relations.^b Thus, *ari-kuli:* mothers; *suza-k°* daughters-in-law; *siarə-k°* wife's sisters; *laryə-k°* younger brothers, but *laryə-kula:* elder brothers; *išparir-k°* wife's brothers; *barja-k°* brothers-in-law. But this distinction is not being upheld in the Texts. Thus, *nawayə-kula:* grandsons; *baggyarn-k°* sisters-in-law; *arndiwai-kula:/i:* comrades; *marše-kula:/i:* wives; *wiya-kula:/i:* daughters; *sarya-kula:/i:* sisters; *larja-kula:/i:* brothers' wives. Note especially *weye-kula:-m ... šarmāi-kuli:* 218,11 my daughters and sons-in-law.—I.^c has *laryə-kuli:-m*, but *sayə-kula:-m*.

The original, independent character of *-kula:/i:* is still observable in *orya warir-kula:-m* = *oy'ar-m warir* 9,2 any other children of mine.

L. *barlakul* boy (= KohRav.) is singular or collective, but G. *barikul*, W. *barleguli:* are plurals.

6.10. With names of animals we find a collective suffix *-dal*, cf. G. *dal* many; Hi. *ḍala:* lump; Pkt. *ḍala*. Thus, *gorlang-*, *gorja-*, *kukur-*, *kharra-*, *lambayə-*, *mraz-*; *šurjgə-*; *širāl-*, *žukə-* + *dal* cows, horses, fowls, asses, foxes, ducks, dogs, wolves, partridges, and, with double suffix, *šurjgə-dal-an*. *Dal* is used as an independent word in *i: dal ... parendo: barri:* a party of boys from P.; cf. 218,2. Note also *orya-i: dal* your sons.

6.11. Another Pl. suffix used with names of animals is *-ali:*.^c Thus, *ačali:* bears; *ačali:* bulls (= I.); *kharrali:* m., *khārāli:* f. asses; *mam du: gorjali:* *deičam-a* yesterday I saw the horses, cf. 20,10. But note also *waryeli:* houses: *Aeme waryeli: amars (amedas) šik* these houses are ours (theirs); *aeme wareli-a* these are their houses, cf. 249,2. But also *aeme wari ate ardamanas harič* these houses belonged to those men.

6.12. Irregular Plurals are: *Arzu-gelar* 243,9 requests; *kuren:* trees

^a Acc. to Bloch, L' indo-aryen 155, Pashai *kuli(r)*, etc., < Psht. *kolai* village. But this derivation is highly improbable.

^b But cf. NW. (Al.) 6,6. V. also SE. 6,8, and NE. 6,6.

^c Cf. SE. 6,7.

(*koṛa:*); *wasaka* calves; *sāihar* sisters; *lāwa(:)ni:* brothers (G. *brayawarni:*, D. *lerwane:*, cf. GB. *blyayawarni:*). E.g. *ae lari: ate ardamas a:sta*, *ae wari: lari: tersers a:*, *lāwani: burrok ha:n* this one is that man's brother; and that one is the other one's; they have many brothers; *do: lāwani: ari:ē* there were (they had ?) two brothers, cf. 138,8, sq.

But cf. *larya-kula:-m bu:rok ha:n* I have many brothers (never **lāwani:-m*). Probably *lāwani:*, etc., < **bhra:tr-varna* + 3. Pers. Suff. *-i:*.

Very dubious forms are *zuka:ndə* (dialect *kauka:ndə*) partridges.

Regarding *barvya* father and son(s), cf. SW. 4,2.

6,13. A suffix *-da:* occurs in *Sapar-Xa:n-da:* S.Kh. and his brothers; *Abdur-Rahma:n-da:* A.R. and his brothers; *Šatarena-da:* Sh. and her sisters.^a It is doubtful if this *-da:* is connected with that of Obl. Pl. *amei-da:* those. But it recalls the Brahui "personal plural" in *-a:sk*, e.g. *Ba:z Xa:n-a:sk* B.Kh. and his family,^b Ossetic *Ūorāzmāg-etā* Uruzmag and his friends.^c

CASE

7,1. The case endings are the same in all substantives in Sing. and Plur.

(1) Nominative.—Suffix Ø, ancient final syllables having been elided (e.g. *pu:tr* son, *fib* tongue),^d or merged with a preceding vowel (e.g. *goṛa:/i:*).^e

(2) Oblique.—Suffix *-a(:)*, sometimes recorded as *-ə*, and always merging with a final vowel, as in *goṛa:/i:*.

Common to all oblique cases is the reduction of the pre-suffix vowel, e.g. *giləna* mouth (*gilə:n*); *wazəra* vizier (*wazi:r*); *putra* son (*pu:tr*); *hasta* hand (*ha:st*).^f

(3) Genitive.—Suffix *-(a)s*.

(4) Dative.—Suffix *-āi* (probably */-ai/*), after a vowel frequently reduced to *-e* (e.g. *ba:dsə:āi*, *°a:e*; *balaki:āi*, *°i:e*). I. *-e:* (*ardamer*). Cf. Al. *a:damāya*, etc.

An isolated and unexplained suffix is *-asi* in *a: para:ṛ wari: ardamasi* (= *a:damāi*) *dāyam* I shall give an apple to another (or, the other ?) man.

(5) Ablative.—Suffix *-ai* (rarely noted *-āi*), probably */-ai/* ^g; after

^a Cf. NW. (Al.) 6,10.

^b Bray, The Brahui Language, I, § 30.

^c Bailey, TPS, 1956, 125. Cf. similar constructions in Armenian and Georgian.

^d Regarding *-a* in other dialects, cf. SW. 5, 6.

^e Regarding the retention of final vowels before Possessive Suffixes, cf. HP. 1, 13.

^f Cf. SW. 1,8.

^g Once I noted *ša:da:i* from the memory.

a vowel also *-e:*.—I. *-ari* (*dharrari*; *waryari*); NW. (Al.) *waryāi*; Saln. (*maina*) *ordaka:e:* (L. *ordai*) from me.—Only with inanimate nouns.

(6) Allative.—Suffix *-wa:n(a)*. Originally no doubt a postposition governing the Oblique (*waryawarnə* < **warya war-na*), but now constructed as a real case, taking Possessive Suffixes, e.g. *waryawarn-iem* towards my house, not **waryes-am war-na*. Cf. also *walanəan* towards the country.—Only from inanimate nouns.

(7) Illative.—Suffix *-nar*. In spite of its never being used with Possessive Suffixes, it is probably to be taken as a case suffix. Cf. *ləmana-m* after me, etc.; *puruna* before; *širana* on the top of.

I am unable to explain the Ablative (?) in *aeme wari: Eskenest-an* (= *Eskināi an*) these others are from Isken (*az mulk-i dur*). It is possibly a dialect form. Also the Locative (?) in *aṛṭha šarreta* 47,6 here in the town, remains unexplained.

7,2. The Prs. *izafe* is found in a few fixed formulas, such as *ya:r-e man* my friend; *nur-e ēšm-erm* light of my eyes.

7,3. There is no true Vocative case. An element *-a(:)*, probably of Prs. origin, is added, e.g. in *Sapar Xa:na*; *arygara* 195,11 O blacksmith; *Xudarya*; *aru ləmba:i:a* O fox. But its position, e.g. in *e: waival-am-a* 116,4,8 O my husband, shows that it is no real case suffix.

Paradigms

ANIMATE NOUNS

7,4. Singular

	Son	Fakir	Brother	Horse	Ogress
Nom.	<i>pu:tr</i>	<i>paxi:r</i>	<i>lari:</i>	<i>goṛa:</i>	<i>balaki:</i>
Obl.	<i>putra</i>	<i>paxəra</i>	<i>larya:</i>	<i>goṛa:</i>	<i>balaki:</i>
Gen.	<i>putras</i>	<i>paxəras</i>	<i>laryas</i>	<i>goṛa:(a)s</i>	<i>balaki:s</i>
Dat.	<i>putrai</i>	<i>paxərai</i>	<i>laryai</i>	<i>goṛa:āi/a:e:</i>	<i>balaki:ai/-i:e:</i>

Plural

	Men	Servants	Dogs	Brothers
Nom.	<i>a:dama(:)n</i>	<i>naukar'a:n</i>	<i>šunga:n = šungadal</i>	<i>laryakula:/i:</i>
Obl.	<i>a:damana</i>	<i>naukar'a(:)na</i>		
Gen.	<i>a:damanas</i>	<i>naukar'a(:)nas</i>		
Dat.	<i>a:damanai</i>	<i>naukar'a(:)nai</i>		

INANIMATE NOUNS

Singular

	Hand	House	Mountain	Shoulder
Nom.	<i>hars</i>	<i>wari</i>	<i>dharr</i>	<i>xa:n(d)</i>
Obl.	<i>hasta</i>	<i>warya</i>	<i>dharra</i>	<i>xanda</i>
Loc.	<i>hasta: (?)</i>			
Gen.	<i>hastas</i>	<i>waryas</i>	<i>dharras</i>	
Dat.	<i>*hastai</i>			
Abl.	<i>hastari</i>	<i>waryari</i>	<i>dharrari</i>	
All.		<i>waryawarn</i>	<i>dharrawarn(a)</i>	
Ill.		<i>warna</i>		<i>xandanar</i>

Derivation of Case Endings

7.5. The uninflected Nom. (Direct case) can be derived from ancient Nom., Acc. and Voc.

7.6. The Obl. ending is *-a* in SW. NW., and in A.Ka., *-e* in SE. and Ch.K. It would be possible to derive *-a* < *-aha* < *-asya*, and *-e* < *-ena* (or/and *-aya: ?*).^a But these derivations are extremely doubtful.

7.7. A Loc. in *-a* is distinguished from Obl. *-e* in SE. and Ch.K., while A.Ka. apparently has *-a:*, as against Obl. *-a*. In L. and NW. (Al.) a Loc. *-a:* is found only before a pronominal suffix, as in *hasta:m* in my hand, and, possibly, in *khorya(r)* 34,6,7 on the back. I can suggest no reasonable derivation, but cf. Khov. Loc. *-a*, possibly < *-arya*.

7.8. Gen. *-as* (in some NE. dialects also *-es*) is apparently derived from *-asya*, cf. similar forms in other Dardic dialects. But if we accept this derivation, we shall have to give up the admittedly very hypothetical one of Obl. *-a* < *-aha* < *-asya*. A more serious objection is raised by the fact that we find *-st* in G.A., and also in other SE. and NE. dialects.^b A reduction of *st* > *s* seems possible, but we should then either have to extend this explanation to a number of other Dardic languages, or to consider their *-s* and Pash. *-s(t)* as being of different origin. A Genitive in *-st(e)* is known also from Katei. But in this language original *st* results in *št*, and *-st(e)* must therefore go back to **s-t-*, probably to **-santa(ka)*.^c In Pash. a reduction of

^a V. Bloch, *Langue Marathe*, 191.

^b V. NE. 7,1, and, before Pron. Suffixes, 13,7.

^c Cf. Dam. *-sarn*, *-sār*, etc.; v. Notes on Dameli, p. 146.

The village of Kohnadeh, the north-westernmost outpost of Indo-Aryan languages. The entrance to Panjshir valley is seen to the left.

Photo, G. Rodard



A corner of Pashai
Village, Pachaghan.

Photo, G. Redard

Main Gate of Pashai
Village, Pachaghan.

Photo, G. Redard



Mahmad Amin (r) and Mahmad Sayyid (l), from
Shamakot.



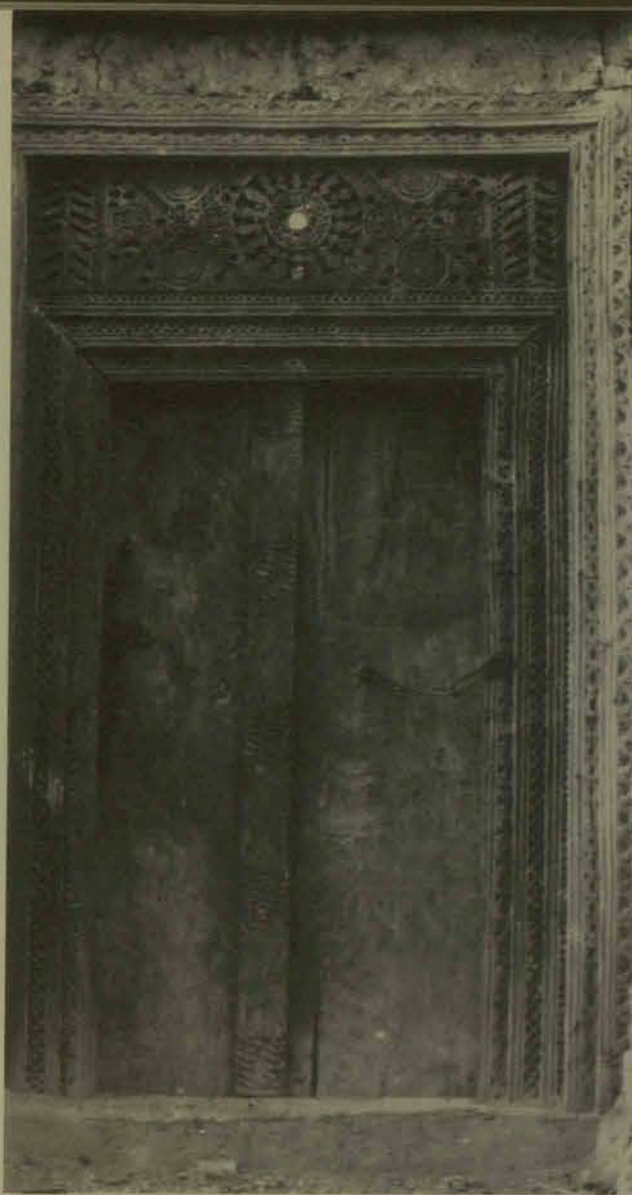
Bunjeli Khan, from Wegal.



Informant from Qala-i
Shahi, Darra-i Nur.



Amir Mahmad, my
youngest informant, from
Pashai, Pachaghan.



House door in Pashai Village, Pachaghan.
Photo, G. Redard.



Gul Muhammad, from Kurangal.

*-santa- > -s(t) does not seem probable, and we should have to derive -s(t) from -stha-, which would not be a very satisfactory explanation.

I am therefore inclined to believe that -st is, after all, due to a secondary development of -s(s), although I am not able to explain it, or to point to any parallel, except the doubtful one of A. 1. Plur. -st (e.g. in *oičest* we were).^a

7.9. It is tempting to derive L. Dat. -ai (G. -āi) from -aya. But note I. -er; Al. -āya. The phonetical development would be surprising, and we should scarcely expect the ancient Dative to have survived in Pash.

7.10. The Abl. ending L.I.W.D. -ari, Al. -āi (Al. PT -o:ī) is derived from *-arte, and NE. -o(:)u from *-arto; cf. e.g. Khaw. -ar.

7.11. No Instr. form has been recorded in L. But Ka. -ir, A. -āi, etc., Ch. -e (?) may be derived from -ena. Cf. Obl., and note that A.Ka. Obl. in -a is kept distinguished from the Instr.

7.12. All. -warn, I.Al. -warne does certainly not go back to an ancient case ending, but may be derived from *upante*. Parachi *wanoz* has probably been borrowed from Pash.—Cf. Al. (PT) *warna* (Par. *wanung*) side, direction,^b which may be an enclitic form with *w* < *p* in sandhi.

The origin of NE. -al, etc., is unknown.

7.13. Also L. Ill. -(a)na: ^c must go back to a postposition. It is possible to think of **antaka-*, with irregular assimilation of *nt* > *n* in an enclitic, just as in All. -warn. Cf. Marathi Loc. in -nt.^d

But the derivation of most of these case endings remains extremely doubtful.

Case Syntax

NOMINATIVE

8.1. (a) As a subject (except of transitive verbs in past tenses). E.g. *sum ardam sudur harik* that man was far off; *are ardam dur yery(a):ik* this man came yesterday; *ae ardam fua: pai mam hanat-irm* this man will beat me to-morrow.

Quite frequently the Nom. is used also as the subject of a past transitive, especially of *marrik* said. E.g. *wey(as-ar)/zanakabaz(a) m^o* his daughter/the whoremonger said; *se ... marrik-e* 110,16 he said; *norkara:n deriō* 114,4 the servants saw; cf. 182,2, etc. But Obl., e.g. in 110,15; 114,5. In some instances the use of the Nom. may be due to the presence of an intransitive verb in the same sentence.

^a V. NE. 18,2.

^c Cf. SE., e.g. D. *mandana* on the neck.

^b Cf. also Voc. s.v. *warni*.

^d V. Bloch, *Langue Marathe*, 195.

On the other hand, we find, once, the Obl. as subject of an ingressive imperfect, which usually combines with the Nom.: *Asti ardama... waiga-kəsi:k* 137,12 that man started throwing.

(b) As a direct object of transitive verbs in all tenses: *Au āigarn* they eat bread; *amar ae gul degaars* we are seeing this flower; *armi ardama ae dewak* that man saw this one; *amar aem ardam hanwakan* we struck this man; *mya: ae ardam hanat-a* beat this man! *putrəs-ar: ari: deč-a* his son saw the mother; *mam ae dewakam-a* I saw this one. I. *mam sū hanwakam-e:/hanfekam-e:* I (have) struck him; *asā ardam hankam-e:*. But personal pronouns 1., 2. Sing. are put in the Obl.,^a and *tur pai... garāim-i:* 146,1 I shall send you, is an exception.

With few exceptions the construction is the same in other dialects.

(c) In local and temporal expressions: E.g. *atri watan* 2,1 in that country; *ar wari/Karbul šateki:m* I am going home/to K.; *pari-a karat-a* 4,1 put it on his feet^b; cf. 21,1,27; 27,8; 85,2; 97,12; *wya:l* at night; *har dur* every day; *i: sar:l i: war* once every (lit., in one) year. Note also *māya har phal ayat* 77,15 (I charge 1,000 rupees) for every saying (lit., piece of saying) of mine.

Historically the Nom. in such cases may go back to an ancient IA. Acc. or Loc. But influence from Prs. is highly probable.

(d) In *sar:ta war:l gum* 21,11 seven grains of wheat^c; *i: derga:ar: čir:* 38,13 a pot of milk; *zarwar:l ar* 146,10 a gut (filled with) blood.

OBLIQUE

8.2. (a) As the subject of a transitive verb in past tenses: *Ardama/ma:ši:* (Obl. = Nom.) *marrai:k* the man/wife said; *ame ar:dama, dur yeyari:k, maina: gul dāyak-im* that man who came yesterday, gave me a flower; *mam dur gorali: dečam(-a)* I saw the horses yesterday; cf. 105,11, and Texts, passim. The subject is, however, not always expressed; cf. 136,2, sq., etc.—I. *tem'e mar'i:k* he said; *mam i: wirmalas: hanwakam* I struck a man; Saln. *mam au žai:kh* I ate bread. The same rule applies to other dialect groups. But note G. *ar: dertem-i:* I gave you; D.q. *se to anək-i:* he struck you.^d

A few examples have been recorded of the Obl. being used as a subject

^a SW. 12,5.

^c But Sanj. *gum-war:l*.

^b Or Obl. *pari-a*, eventually Loc. **pari-a*?

^d V. NW. 12,4; SE. 14,10.

with an intransitive verb, or with a verb in the present tense: *Te: ar:dama yeyi:k* 45,10 the man came; cf. 67,4; 137,12; *ae (sic!) ar:dama ħua: pai mam hang-im-ar* this man is going to beat me to-morrow. *Norkaranə yeyi:č... dək-a* 73,3 the servants came and saw, is either due to the influence of the transitive *dək-a*, or is to be analysed as *norkaran-a* his servants.

(b) The Obl. is used (incorrectly?) for the object in *xor'aka mai dāy-a* 2,19 give me food; cf. 5,5.^a In *sundoza pari kak* 68,4 she looked at the box, *sundoza* may either be the object, or to be explained according to (c).

(c) About local and temporal relations. E.g., *Karbula la:m-iem šik* I have work to do in K.; *ar: warya harm* I am in the house (at home); *ar:tha šarra* here in the town; *atri mulka* 2,3 in that country^b; *warya gi:k/ yeyi:k* he went/came home; *bazara gi:k* he went to the bazaar; cf. 2,11; 13,14; 184,4; 232,6; *atri waxta* at that time; *sarra* 11,1 to-morrow. More uncertain examples are *panda balad-am* 77,5 I know the way; *hasta warg wai* pour water into my hands, which may perhaps be locatives. Cf. I. *ġanga hančarl harič* they were fighting together in a battle.

(d) Very frequently instead of a Gen. Thus, *sarya: astai* 18,2 from (his) sister's hands; *tese thaka ħaigawarn* 148,14 to that rogue's place (but in most cases *thakas* ʃ^o); *zara bi:* golden seed; cf. 11,2; 21,8; 110,10; 182,9.^c Also *barbar wai šik* it is father's house; *azəza: sūl* 170,8 the women's festival (but *warmalas s^o*); *tāina ba:ba:* (= *ba:s-ai*) *wey-a* your father's daughter; cf. 145,25, are probably to be taken as Obliques.^d

The Obl. is never used as an equivalent of a predicative Gen.

(e) The Obl. indicates the instrument in *tarnke asta anamm-a* 114,1 I shall kill him with my own hands; *terse lauri: zurbgar-kəsi:k* 147,14 he began to beat her with a stick, cf. 2,9; *Jan Bardur narma ardam* 61,8 a man J.B. by name (cf. the corresponding Psht. idiom).

The Obl. is a kind of maid of all work, and, as far as it is safe to draw conclusions from texts taken down from one single informant, it seems to have a very wide functional range. Note, e.g. *yāi ma:ši* 30,7 (he said) to one wife; *nandi: warg ačh* bring water from the river; *Šerda:tas hasta* 232,9 from Sh's hands.

(f) Regarding Obl. with Postpositions, v. SW. 9,1.

^a Cf. G. *tu: ya seba de: žani:* ? did you eat this apple?

^b But cf. Nom. (c).

^c But cf. also Nom. (d).

^d Note *te: ba:dša: ma:ši:* 84,8 "eius regis mulier" (cf. *te: wazaras-ar: ma:ši:* 84,8; *terse: wazaras ma:ši:* 85,1), but *te: ba:dša: ma:ši:* 85,3,5 probably "eā regis muliere" (Obl.), cf. *te: ba:dša: ma:ši:* 85,14 "ea regis mulier".

LOCATIVE

8.3. The existence of a separate Loc. in -a: in L. is not quite certain, and it is possible that such forms are really to be taken as Obl.

But note *gul (h)astar-m šik* there is a flower in my hand, where the Obl. would be *hastas-a:m*. It is therefore probable that also *tau khorya: dayam-i:* 36,6 I shall take you on (my) back, contains a Loc. (but *khorya* 36,7), cf. also *gul širar: šhāik-e* 239,1 to put a flower on the head, and possibly *hasta warg wai/waiček-a* pour/he has poured water on his hands. Cf. also Voc. s.v. *šira(r)* and postpositions such as *lamba:*; *puruna:*.

GENITIVE

8.4. (a) Attributive: *Xurnzarr bardšars wey-a* 6,4 King. Kh's daughter; cf. 181,2; 182,11; *i: rurspairs au* food for one rupee. With postpositional gen.: *Zirn goršars čhela:k* the white horse's saddle; *wari ardamas* the man's house; *wei balakis* 128,4, sq., the ogress' daughter (but cf. 127,10); *bardšar-wiyas barwari-a yeryik* 124,19 the princess became convinced (lit., her belief came).—I. *barbas putr-i* the father's son; *waryas lund-e* the roof of the house.

Note especially: *Xudari ame burstas dam-a waryai* 12,11 may God grant this statue (lit., statue's) its breath; *bar padar-ai narlat tāina Karparas* 83,2 a curse upon your father, you pagan ^a (but cf. 83,4); *Xudāyes pāičan* 26,9 ^b remember God, probably with omission of **dur-a* (Prs. *rū-i Xudai bibir*). In *asperin ekmatas-ai* 115,12 a blessing upon your cleverness (i.e. bravo, how clever you are) -as-ai may also be taken as a dative.

(b) Predicative: *Ase wari Yasir Xarnas šik* that house belongs to Y.Kh.; *aeme wari ate ardamanas šik* these houses belong to those men; *wari la:s-am wari šik* the house is my brother's; cf. 1,1; 127,11, and, with inverted position, 6,2.—Cf. I. *ardi wari ardamist ar* this house belongs to the man.

(c) Regarding the Gen. with Postpositions, v. 9. We also find adverbs preceding a Gen., as in *nozirk kə laryəs yerirə* 19,1 when she approached her brother; *xa:ter ame gapas* 4,5 on account of this affair; cf. 4,23.

DATIVE

8.5. (a) As an indirect object with verbs denoting to give, bring, say, etc.: *Ar parar: ardamai dayam* I shall give the man an apple, cf. 2,3; 17,3;

^a Cf. Norwegian "din hedning"!

^b Upper Lg. (acc. to L.) *Xudari p°*.

68,10; 96,15; *terser pariāi nayarič* 69,3 they brought (water) to that fairy; *aeme ardamani mangga:m kə yāi, la:m šik* I say to these men: Come, there is work to do (cf. 108,9); *zari-a kak-a putrai* 184,14 he entreated his son. Cf. also, e.g. 3,29; 43,19; 109,14; 181,14.—I. *ar i: parar:ā wari: ardamar: dāigam* I give an apple to another man.

(b) Purpose and aim (with inanimate nouns): *Girk dramai* 96,10 he went for grass, cf. 142,3; *ardam margai hangarič* 81,5 they were beating the man to death; *arwarzai na bator* 185,7 (dial. form) he is not able to (utter) a word.—Cf. also the dative infinitive, SW. 34,2.

(c) Related to (b) is the Dative of direction in *girk bardšar:ai om arpar:* 117, 4 the rumour went to (i.e. reached) the king. Cf. also: *attheri tar: Kohistarnai kai sudur šik?* 284,14 how far is it from here to K.? *sarrai:* 151,6 till the morning; *wardo šheyik qia:matāi* 200,3 he made a truce until (?) the Day of Judgment.

Uncertain examples of Dat. (or Abl. ?) are: *Jibba-wattāi* 188,5 at (?) the tip of his tongue; *aiddhi-wyailāi* 188,5 about (?) midnight; *čūikai lau laškarai* 28,1; 30,1 together with (?) the whole of his large army; *marwāi mastir* 29,6 (cf. 29,14) a bhang feast (from bhang ?); *sarpanai* 240,1 (I saw him) in (or, from ?) a dream.

ABLATIVE

8.6. (a) Chiefly with verbs of movement, e.g. *par-*, *yer-*, *muč-*, *khan-*. Thus, *waryai/sarrai khamwak-a* 20,12 he expelled him from the house/town, cf. 30,2; 108,9; *ar waryai šartekim* I am going out of the house (but, *ar waryai yeritekim* I came to your house); cf. 18,2; 31,15; 39,9; 126,4; *terāi girk barwa šaigai* he went (from ?) there from his father's place; *lernay-a urgi:k* he rose from below him; *žardari: khamwak-im* 160,7 he has thrown me out of his mind; *žardar:* (for **žarday-ai* ?) *nerik* it fell out of your mind (cf. I. *žarder-m nerik*); *šacay-a ašcik* 149,4 he seized him from (= at) the wrist (but *nak-a ašcik-er* he seized his ankle); *waryai khana: neryik* 24,14 he went out of the house (cf. I. *ar waryai kana: parāigam* I am going out of the house). Cf. probably also *galai parnd-a waitor: dharra* 206,8 from (?) the stream he takes his road to the hill.—I. *dharrari aik'im* I came from the hill.

(b) As a predicate: *Aieme ardaman Karbulai/Dharrai an* these men are from Kabul/Kohistan; *uma ardaman Tagawai han* those men are from

Tagau (az T. astan); aemer wari: Eskin'ai an ^a these others are from Isken; kurai faigai o ardam? 117,11 from what place is that man? watanay-a ir pardawarn harik 74,13 there was a cowherd from his country.—I. ar Ispigalar: am I am from Ishpi.—Cf. also Turkostarnai bardsa: 98,11, etc., the king from (= of?) T. (cf. 96,15; 97,13).

(c) About the material from which something is made, cause, or instrument: Zarai kač-a chelauri: dra:sa: kač-a şonauri: 242,4 (song) they made them shining with gold and red with a robe; ater: polani: astai žartomura: ari: 177,10 you have become an orphan by the hand of So-and-so (cf. 177,4); buyai (or, buy-ai?) mast am 126,5 I am intoxicated by (your) scent (az bury-i şumar:). Possibly also in: pačar:ngaryi:(k) xuruz-a labzai 140,6 he understood from the cock's words.

(d) The interpretation is uncertain in čüika šarai 111,8 from (?) all over the town (cf. 113,2).—Waryai niyik ari: 66,4 he was living in the house, is probably incorrect for *warya (with palatal glide before ni-?).

ALLATIVE

8,7. This case, which might also be called Lative, denotes a movement towards, but in most cases not attaining, a goal.

By far the most common form recorded is wariyawarn, but we also find -warn combined with uča-ğa-; barka-; dura-; dharra-; gorra-; faiga-; khand-; khorya-; saray(a)-; sartha-; šarra-; šira-; watan-; zalar-, beside the adverbs oida-, a:thi-warn.^b

E.g. dharrawarn yeryi:č, parnša du: khan dharra pulgik 45,2 they approached the mountain, after five days he reached the mountain; yeryi:č wariyawarn-a; wari yeitič 218,7 she approached her father's house; when she came home...; yeryi:č barwa šarrawarn; yeyi:č šarra 21,13 he approached his father's city; when he came into the city; cf. 7,10; 11,11.

But in some cases wariyawarn(a) gik appears to mean simply he went home. E.g. ark-a wariyawarn 103,16, etc., he brought it home; cf. 27,11.—I. wariwarne yā come home; mar-em kundawarna čarpač:em-i: I shall bring (?) my cattle to the hill-pasture.

The morpheme -warn is combined with a pronominal suffix in wariyawarn-iem towards my house. Also wariyawarn-a may in some cases be translated "towards his house". Cf., e.g. gik barsa durawarn-a he went towards his

^a Or, Eskinest-an, cf. SW. 7,1 (7).

^b V. Voc., s.v.v. Cf. SW. 15,1, kor-a:ni, etc.

father's door. But this explanation does not fit all examples, such as fua: maina ordawarna iya come to me to-morrow, where -warna appears to be a mere variant of -warn.

ILLATIVE

8,8. In most cases -(a)na(z) denotes a movement into something. The most common example is warna ^a (in)to the house (e.g. 42,3; 43,11; 134,12; 196,8), but we also find -na combined with dere-; kaṭha-; mala-; nandi:-; xanda-; xwarre-.

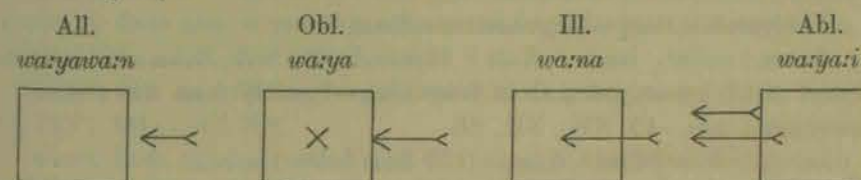
Examples are: Warna iya 5,3; 29,6 come into the house; yāi a:skə:derəna pai pəs-a 107,4 hide them in an ash-heap (cf. 107,8,9); nandina: čaṭāncač-a 48,13 she threw them into the river; xwarre:na šarigik 70,9 she went into (i.e. in search of) service; sə warg kaṭhana gik 177,3 the water ran down into the neck-opening (cf. 27,14).—But note warg-a čapa beyik... xandana: 179,3 its water flowed down onto (her) shoulder (or, into the shoulder-opening of her dress?); malana gik/yeyi:č 25,6,7 he went to make water (into urination?).

Cf. also the adverbs širana at the top of, above; lemana below; lemana after; puruna before; ar:ena there; ar-kuna wherever.

8,9. The function of the various local cases is conveniently illustrated by the word wari house:

Sə wariyai neryi:č, yeyi:č tarmuk wariya 183,6 he went out of the house, and came to his own house; wariya atik he entered the house; ar wariya harm I am in the house (at home); warna yeyi:č he came into the house (home); gik wariyawarn he went towards the house (home). But the distinction between Obl. and Ill. does not always appear to be clearly definable.

Tentatively the function of these cases may be illustrated in the following way:



^a Warnai (e.g. w^o ark-a 42,3 he brought it home; yeyi:č w^o 44,13, cf. 132,2,9; 135,10) probably contains the Pron. Suff. 3. Pers. According to 44,13, note, warna would not be correct. In some cases (e.g. warna yeyi: 196,8) -a y- may perhaps stand for *-ai y-.

POSTPOSITIONS

9.1. A number of words of heterogeneous origin function as postpositions, in combination with a preceding noun. Two main types can be distinguished.

(I) Local case forms of nouns, not all of which are used as ordinary, independent nouns. This type of postposition combines also with pronominal suffixes.^a

Ordar near, to, in the presence of.—*Ir dāulatbanda or° girk* 2,5 he went to a wealthy man; cf. 3,17; 146,5, etc.; *orda-m* to me, etc.—Apparently locative of **ord*, possibly < **avaddhi*, Skt. *avadhī* until, up to (in compounds).^b *Ordar*, etc., combine only with animate nouns, compensating for their lack of specialized cases. Cf. Khaw. *durar* from the house, but *mošo sar* from the man.—V. NW., SE.

Ordari from the presence of.—*Čorpana ordai* 112,11 from the shepherd (*baw or°* 6,6; *dukandar or°* 287,27, probably contracted from *-a or°*).—*Ordai-a* 68,11, etc., from him.

Ordawarn(a) towards.—*Warya yerikim ari: or°* 37,11 I came home to my mother; *or°-warn-a* to him. But note *orda-i-warn* 48,2 towards you.

Kuča(r) in(side); into.—*Ir piarlas-a: k°* 21,1 into one of his cups; *buto* (for *-a*) *k°* 12,5 (he entered) into the statue; *warya k°* in the house; *kučar-m* 137,5 into me. Loc. of *kučē* belly. Cf. NW., SE., NE.

Kuča(r)i out of; from amongst.—*Buto k°* 13,6 (he stepped) out of the statue (cf. 113,3); *am'er pari'dna k° x'orš ka* 99,13 chose among these fairies.

Kučawarn(a).—*Yerič jaŋ-kari: kučawarn-e* 163,9 they came to the (their ?) battle-field.

Kučir, in *ar ro:dars k° ač kar-a* 146,4 fill the blood into the gut, is, if correct, the only example of a form in *-ir*.

Lamba(r) after, behind.—Only with animate nouns.—*Larya l° nergač* 22,9 she went out after her brother (cf. 19,1; 27,4); *lamba-i:* 219,9 after you.—Probably Obl. (Loc. ?) of *līm* tail.—Cf. SE.

Lam(b)anar.—Only with possessive suffixes.

Lerna(r) under; below.—*Kaŋa l°* 76,5 under the bed; *lerna-a* below it; *lerna-i* 226,1 below you (i.e. at your feet).—Possibly from *lirn* (**lern* ?) lower side; sole.—Cf. NW., NE., SE.

Lerna(r)i from below.—*Kaŋa l°* 117,9 from below the bed.

Lernanar from below into.—*Dura l° yagarm* 103,4 I enter beneath the door (but *d° lerna* 103,3).

^a For further examples cf. Voc. s.v.v.

^b Turner, 2303 < *upa:nte* (?)

Pal(āi)tana(r) together with.—Only with possessive suffixes.—*Palāitanā-i* with you; *sə paltana aryar kagar* he is conversing with him; cf. 4,3; 231,4.—Cf. NW.

Puruna: before; in front of.—Only with animate nouns.—*Larya p°* 18,10 (she put it) before her brother; cf. 79,3 (but, with Gen., *ba:ba:s p°* 3,5). *Ae ardam p°-m niryik-a:* this man is sitting in front of me; *p°-n/i/u* before us/thee/you.—Cf. NW.

Širar on, etc.—*Dhara š° dakəč* 19,3 she climbed the mountain; *širar-m* 116,8 (you are so sweet) to me; *širor-n* (dial.) on us.—From *šir* head.—Cf. NW., SE., NE.

Širawarn on to; towards the top of.—*Gorras-a: š°* 225,1 (she went) to the top of his grave; *š°-ə* 160,12 (they went) against them.

Širana: into (at the top of).—*Dura š°* 103,2 (will you enter) above the door ? *širana-m*, etc.

**Warar* for the sake of.—Only in *war'a-m* 89,4 for my sake (*warra-āi* 119,15 for your sake, probably = *waray-āi*).—Apparently from Nom. **war* we find *warr-iem* 194,3 (if not for *warāy-em*); *warr-āi* 172,9 (*bara-i šuma:*); cf. 97,14; 126,5, but also *tāina warr-i:* 193,12.—Scarcely from *warr* time, turn, but possibly from **war* < Skt. *upakarra-* benefit.—Cf. NW.

Warra(r)i for the sake of.—*Teiser lais-am warrāi* 9,15 (I am crying) on account of my brother; *poi:ə w°* 146,3 for the sake of (buying) meat; cf. 18,5 *tanke ŋarna w°* 18,6 on his own behalf; *parn warray-em marlum širk* the road is known to me; cf. 177,9; 194,7; *warra(y)-āi* 43,21, etc.; *warāy-o* 89,2 for your sake; *warāy-a* 10,13; 119,15, etc., for his/her sake.

(II) Uninflected Postpositions or Adverbs

9.2. *Dāi* from; out of; than.—*Šarra dāi* 31,1 from the city; *sarra dāi* since morning; *jaŋ bogarm Š.D. dāi* 162,12 I am afraid of Sh.D.; *lauŋae: dāi* with a stick; in comparisons.^a—Cf. NW., SE., NE.—Parachi (PT) *dī:* in *durim dī:* from afar, is probably a loanword from Pashai. *Dāi* may be an original abl.; cf. A. *doru*; Phal. *deri*.

Gornir like, as.—*Putra g° ma detir-m* 3,15 do not regard me as a son; cf. 19,2; 104,1.—Cf. NW.

Gorru: from, through (with Abl.).—*Ko:ra:e g°* 85,11 (they came) out from the tree; cf. 14,6; 84,12.

Ka by means of; at (a price).—*A:sta ka* 64,10 (I shall crush you) with

^a Cf. SW. 10,6.

my hands; *kata:b qimat šik, d'or ka gur'āikam* the book is expensive, I bought it for two (rupees); cf. 147,8: But also *i: rurpai:s au gur'āikam* I bought bread for one rupee.

Kan to, at.—*Sangā kan hank-e* 171,2 he flung it to the ground; cf. 42,17; 123,8; 129,1; 198,7.

Khan from; after (generally with Abl.).—*Purrai khan* 123,7 from the fire; *parnfa du: khan* 45,2 after five days; *xanda khan* 232,3 from (behind) the shoulder.—Cf. NE.

Khanar (or *kanar*?) out.—Probably an adverb, and not a postposition.^a—E.g. *kanar: nergik*, etc., he went out. Probably also *rawaika kan'a neryi:č* 17,9 “by-the-window she-went-out”, not “of-the-window-out she-went”; I. *a: wariya: kanar: parāigam* “I from-house out am-going”.

Manšaka:ar between.—*Ter: dūye daryawas m°* 64,2 between the two rivers.

Nazik near.—*Wariya n° yeyik* 4,11 he came near the house (but *nazik*... *laryas* near her brother).—Cf. NW, SE.

Palāi (together) with.—*Tarnke dorstana p°* 5,9 together with (my) own friends; cf. 9,10; *au poi:s p° āik-e be:tār šik* it is better to eat bread together with (or, than?) meat. With Gen. *hange aya:tas p°* 64,9 on account of such a word; *arperi:n arxelas-ai p°* 118,4 bravo, how wise you are; cf. 115,12.—Cf. NW, SE.

ADJECTIVES

10.1. Attributive adjectives normally precede the noun they qualify, and may be inflected for gender and case, but not for number. They do not combine with Possessive Suffixes.^b

Adjectives, as a rule, do not add diminutive or other secondary suffixes. The only exception recorded was *suratala:* younger, smaller, from *sur* small.

In some cases it seems doubtful whether a word is to be taken as an adjective. Cf., e.g. *surat... wara:ar/i:* 35,11; 36,15 beautiful (or, a beauty)... handsome.

10.2. Regarding f. of m. adjectives in *-ar*, *-ak*, and adjectives ending in a consonant not changing for the f., cf. SW. 5,3.^c

10.3. Demonstrative adjectives, the indefinite adjective *wari:*, and the reflexive adjective *tarnuk* are inflected for case.^d The only example of an

^a Cf. SW. 16,3.

^b Note, however, *larcan* (-am, etc.) visible, apparent.

^c The construction in *sud'u:ri: p'ānd-a:ri* 226,6 (in a song) is doubtful. The meaning probably is “your road (is) long”, i.e. “you will be living far away”. At any rate *sud'u:ri:* appears to be fem. (*pa:nd* fem.).

^d V. SW. 15,3.

ordinary adjective in an oblique case is *sudurāi watan* 1,13 (he went) to a distant country.

But, without case inflexion, e.g. *ter yāi sur: sāyās-ar*... *marrai:k* his one young(er) sister... said; *ame: go:ras čelak* 285,12 this white horse's ^a; *aula putrai* 1,7 to his elder son; *aula la:sa* his elder brother (said); *suratala putras-a:* 1,9; *kaneštai: putras-a:s* 20,8; *yerinas kaneštai: Tag narm-i arik* 129,6 the younger one's name was Tag.

Note *Suratal'ai*... *aul'ai* 1,7 sq. to the younger... to the elder, where *s-* and *a-* serve as nouns.

10.4. Adjectives remain unchanged for number in *awata: ari:č* 2,27 they were hungry; *trāyai tana: begi:č* 87,4 the three of them got thirsty. *Laryen-om o:n surtali:* 234,11 my brothers are small, is a dialect form.

10.5. Intensive repetition of adjectives was recorded in *hairan begi:č*, *hairan* 14,5 she became very astonished.

From an historical point of view *feštara:* elder brother; *kaneštai:* youngest; *kaneštai:* younger brother (cf. *suratala:* younger) are relicts of ancient superlatives (and comparatives in *-tara-*?).

10.6. Comparison is expressed by *dāi* from.^b E.g. *paša:ka dāi sur: aular: a:sta* the dog is bigger than the cat; *šunga dāi paša:ik auli: a;* *sarya dāi lary-a aular: a:sta* the brother is bigger than his sister; *māina au dāi tāina warāi šik* (or *aw-yem dāi auw-i:*) your bread is better than mine; *guna: dāi larm karik biertār šik* it is better to work than (to) sin; cf. 9,7; 171,9; *ziati: ziat dāi* more than much. Note, *ne:ki: dāi badi: ma ka* 200,4 do not practice badness (rather) than goodness.

A comparison can also be expressed through simple juxtaposition: *Šurug aular: a:sta, paša:ik sur: a* the dog is big, (but) the cat is small.

Constructions equivalent to an ancient or English superlative have not been recorded.

NUMERALS

11.1. L.	Isk.	I.	Saln.	“Pach.”
1. <i>i:</i>	=	=	=	=
2. <i>doi:</i>	=	= ^c	=	* <i>du:</i>
3. <i>trā/a</i>	<i>tra</i>	<i>trā</i>	<i>traya</i>	* <i>tre:</i>
4. <i>čarr</i>	=	=	=	=

^a Nj. *go:ru:s celuk*; D. *še:le:k go:ra:s*, but G. *go:ru: zelukast*, with group inflexion.

^b Cf. SW. 9,2. Regarding *palāi*, cf. 9,2.

^c I.² *dq:*.

L.	Isk.	I.	Saln.	"Pach."
5. <i>p'arñja</i>	=	<i>p'arñā</i>	<i>parñja</i>	* <i>panje</i>
6. <i>cha</i>	=	<i>chā</i>	<i>šai:</i>	* <i>ša</i>
7. <i>s'arta</i>	=	<i>s'artā</i>	<i>sarta</i>	* <i>sarte</i>
8. <i>'aršta</i>	<i>'aršta</i>	<i>'arštā</i>	<i>aršta</i>	* <i>ašte</i>
9. <i>n'arw(a)</i>	<i>narw</i>	<i>n'arwā</i>	<i>narwa</i>	* <i>nawar</i>
10. <i>d'ary(a)</i>	<i>dar:</i>	<i>d'are</i> ^a	<i>daryə</i>	* <i>dar:</i>
11. <i>ž'ary(a)</i>	<i>žai</i>	<i>žae</i>		* <i>žari</i>
12. <i>d(u)w'ary(a)</i>	<i>dunwai</i>	<i>do'a:e</i>		* <i>duari</i>
13. <i>trui</i>	=	<i>tr'uir</i>		* <i>trui</i>
14. <i>čad'āi</i>	=	<i>čadd'a:e</i>		* <i>čadei</i>
15. <i>panf'i:</i>	=	=		=
16. <i>chui</i>	=	<i>churi</i>		* <i>šui:</i>
17. <i>satt'i:</i>	=	=		=
18. <i>ašt'i:</i>	<i>ašt'i:</i>	<i>ašt'i:</i>		* <i>ašt'i:</i>
19. <i>naw'i:</i>	<i>nāw'i:</i>	<i>na'i:</i>		* <i>naw'i:</i>
20. <i>wē/ast</i>	<i>wēst</i>	=	<i>wist</i>	* <i>west</i>

L.	L.
30. <i>wēst-u-dary(a)</i>	400. <i>wēziy'a:</i>
39. „ „- <i>naw'i:</i>	500. „ „- <i>u-parñšwiy'a:</i>
40. <i>duw(i)ya, dū(w)ya</i>	600. „ „ <i>dar:wiyy'a:</i>
50. <i>duwya-u-dari</i>	700. „ „ <i>panf'i:wiyy'a:</i>
60. <i>traiwya, trāw(i)ya</i>	800. <i>do: wēziy'a:</i>
70. „ „- <i>u-dari</i>	900. „ „ „- <i>u-parñšwiy'a:</i>
80. <i>čarwiya</i>	1,000. <i>daryə-sau</i> ; (<i>h</i>) <i>az'a:r</i>
90. „ „- <i>u-dari</i>	2,000. <i>dāi dayə-wiya:</i> ("Prs." <i>du de sau</i>)
100. <i>parñšwiy'a:</i> , <i>°šwya</i> ; Saln. <i>pa:ñšwiya</i>	70,000. <i>habda</i> (!)- <i>az'a:r</i> (Prs. <i>se: birst</i> <i>haza:r</i> !)
200. <i>daryəwiyy'a:</i>	100,000. <i>lak</i>
300. <i>panf'i:wiyy'a:</i>	2/300,000. <i>du/trā-lak</i>

11.2. Lg. has borrowed the Prs. numerals for 13 and 15–19 (and probably also for some higher numerals which have not been recorded). L.A.Ka. have borrowed Prs. *hazār* 1,000, but L. has also *daryə sau*. For loanwords from Prs. cf. also NW., SE.

L. *lak* (< IA. *lakh*) denotes a rather indefinite high numeral. Thus AR.

^a I.² *da:yā*.

asserted that there were ten *laks* of inhabitants in his native village, and that the Pashais had been living there for two *laks* of years. Note also his explanation of *habda az'a:r* as 60,000 !

11.3. The vigesimal system, common to all Dardic and Kafiri languages, also prevails in Pashai.^a

It has been carried into its logical culmination in L. *wēziya*; A. *wist-wiya*, etc., 400, cf. Kati *wēcēc*, etc. In several cases phonetical reduction has obscured the vigesimal origin. The L. type *wēst-u-daryə* 30 also turns up in Nj. *wēst-o-dai*. But Ka. has *wis-mir-dai*, Ch.B. *wistə-bir-dai* and K. *dai-bi-wis*.^b Ku.Sh. has the asyndetic compound *lewēa-d'e:* 70, etc., while Sh. uses the expression *trē:u-nim* ("three score and a half").^c Finally it may be noted that Sh. has *čorr-wust* 80, etc., corresponding to L. and other dialects, *čarr-wiyar*.—Cf. also NW. Numerals.

Derivation of Numerals

11.4. It will be convenient to deal with all dialect groups together.

1.—Most dialects *i:*, with the same vocalism in Khow. *i*, Tir. *i:k*, Panj., Lhd. (*h*)*ikk*. But A.K.Ch. (*y*)*e:*, and Kurd. *ēik*. The *-k*-reappears in D. Gen. *ekes*.—Note L. distributive *e:(i)* *e:(i)*.

3.—NE., SE. and Saln. Pach. < *trayah*, but the derivation of SW., NW. *tra(r)*, etc., is uncertain.—Note *tri-* in L. *tri-angul* trident; *trā-pur* three-storied house; *trā-kari*: a field divided between three brothers; *trā-ka* three walnuts hanging together (cf. *du-ka*).

4.—Čar, etc. < **cata:rah*, *-ri*, as in most IA. languages.

5.—With the unexpected final *-a*, etc., in SW., NW., cf. also 7–12.

6.—L.Isk.I.; Nj.Ö.P.; NE. have *ch-*, cf. Khow., Lhd., etc. The other dialects have *š-* (*x-*), in accordance with Kaf. and most Dard. languages.—Čha, etc. < **kšat*, but *š/čhe:* < **kšah*?

11.—*Yari*, *žari* > *ekardāša*, cf. Dam. *ya:š*, etc. Alberuni *ya:hi:*.^d—A.Ka. **yuwari* has been influenced by the word for 12.

12.—*Duwar:*, etc., Alb. *duva:hi:* < *duva:daša*, cf., e.g. Torw. *duarš*. Most Dard. languages, as well as Waig. and Ashk., have *b-*.—Ö. *dūi* has been influenced by *trūi*.

^a Exceptions are Kurd. (NE.) *ašōā* 80, and some NW. dialect words for 30 (*tri:u*, etc.) and 100 (*dai:*, etc.).

^b With *bi* < *api*?

^c Cf. Khatak, Wardak Paht. *dre: nim šōla*.

^d Cf. Introduction, 2.5.

13.—*Tru(r)i*, etc.; Alb. *tr(o)hi*: < **treoay* < *trayodaša*. But Kch.K. *leri* < **trayedāša*, or *trai-*.^a Cf., e.g. Dam. *tro:s*, but Phal. *tre:s*.

14.—*Čad(d)ai*, etc.; Alb. *čaudahi*: < **caudday* < *caturdaša*. Cf. GB. *čadarš*; Kaṭarkalai *čaudas*, etc.

15.—*Panji*: Alb. *pañca:hi*: < *pañcadaša*, but why -i: ? The derivation of the forms in -u:, -i:, etc., is uncertain. Cf. 17–19.

16.—SW., NW. *čhui*, *sui* < *(k)*šodaša*, but SE., NE. *šor*, etc., apparently < **šoda(ša)*. Cf. also Bashk. *šor* (but *parnža*, *sattar(ha)*, etc.); Tir. *xp:ra* (from which also the finals of *saturə*, *axturə*), but *panzi:e*.—Note NE., e.g. K. *šē*: 16, but *čer*: 6, just as in Hi., etc., *solah*, *cha*.

17–19.—Regarding the final vowel, cf. 15.—Pashai agrees with Kati, Pras. in having **nava-daša* 19, while most Dard. languages have the type (*eka*)-*urnavimšati*.

20.—Borrowing from Ir. (Pahlavi *wi:st*, or early Parachi **wist* > *yušt*) is not probable. Rather from *vi(m)šati*, with early contraction and *š* > *s* in secondary contact with *t*. In -*wiya* the stress must, for unknown reasons, have fallen on the penultimate *a*. In Psht., contrarily, (*w*)*šəl* 20, but *yau-wišt* 21, etc.

30.—G.Sh. *tri(u)* < *tri(m)šat*.

80.—Kurd. *ashod* (= **ašuo* ?). The special resemblance to Singh. *asu(va)* is accidental.

100.—Al. *šari*, Pach. *šore* are the only genuine Pash. forms.—L. (*daryə*) *sau* “(10) hundreds” probably from Psht. which in its turn has borrowed the word from IA. of the Plains.

Inflection and Use of Numerals

11.5. 1.—*Ir*, when used as an adjective, has a general oblique form *yāi* (Grammophone *i:āi*) which is used for all cases. Thus, *yāi dowasa*: one day; *yāi maši* 30,7 to one wife; *yāi* (or *ir*) *jaiga*: 152,4 in one place, cf. 141,6; *yāi kharwalai šira* 144,3 to an ass-driver; cf. 70,4; 145,11; 133,13.—But also *i: dawlatabanda orda* 2,3 with a rich man; *i: ardamaš orda*, without any perceptible difference of meaning.

11.6. *I:* may be used emphatically = “a single”, “alone”, “one and the same”. Thus, *i: azəza: . . . ne* 6,6 not a single woman; *are*m* i: putr-iem* *arsta* 41,15 this is my only son; *i: sary-a: harič* 18,4 only his sister was there; *aryat-ə dōenas i: ari:k* 85,1 the language of both was the same.

^a Cf. Charpentier, JRAS. 1926, p. 139.

On the other hand, *i:* frequently corresponds to an indefinite article. Thus, *i: bardsa: ari:k*, *i: wiy-a ari:č*, *i: putr-i ari:* 18,1 there was a king, (who) had one son and one daughter. Cf. also *i: Butkaš* 9,9 a certain B.

11.7. Preceding another numeral *i:* denotes an indefinite, or approximate number. E.g. *i: čha sarta du: neyik* (Sing.) 89,1 some six or seven days passed; *i: wəz šarn nokararn gurāič-e* 6,8 he took some twenty servants with him. Cf. Psht. *yau co: calorr* some four, etc.—Also without a preceding *i:* the type *du: trā*; *čha sarta*; *dare žare*; *trui čadai*; *pañji: čhui*; *du lak trā lak* denotes approximate numbers.

11.8. *I:* is used as a noun, e.g. in *tha: i-a maggar* 114,11 then one of them says, cf. 216,8; *i: bə Mauro: gorni: ney-a* 189,8 there is not a single one like M.; cf. 171,9. In such cases the Obl. (Gen.) is *yāina(s)*: *yāina ma: raik-irm* 89,11 one of them said to me; *yāinas Xarn narm-i ari:k* the name of one of them was Khan, cf. 129,6. Cf. the emphatic forms of *dor*, etc., below.

11.9. A distributive numeral *e:(i) e:(i)* occurs in *čarr war: e:(i) e:(i) gič* 8,4 the other four went one by one; *e: e: azarr ruipai:* 52,4 a thousand rupees for each of them. But note also *e: 15,6* one (?).

Yak barr is borrowed from Prs. Cf. *yak barr tra bigi:k* 135,11 (my profit) has been trebled (135,1; 136,6).

11.10. 2.—*Dor* as an adjective has a general Obl. **duya* (*dū(y)e*). Thus, *te: d'ūye p'ušaka* 85,16 the two cats (made); *mya: dūe ardamanas* (= *dūenas*) 62,11 of you two men (cf. 65,7); **duya yulamanai* to the two slaves; cf. 91,5; 107,15.—Dat. **duyai* (*doyai*).

11.11. Of the numerals 2–7 definite forms in Nom. -*ari*, Obl. -*ana* have been recorded. Cf. D. *dorya*, etc., Ku.Sh. obl. *doryena* both, and possibly also Nep. *duvai* the two, both; *sarta* the seven; Lhd. “intensive” * numerals *do:hē*; *trāe*; *carre*, etc.

	Two	Three	Four
Nom.	* <i>duwari</i> (<i>dowari</i> , <i>do:ai</i>)	* <i>traryari</i>	* <i>čarrari</i>
Obl.	* <i>duyanar</i> : (<i>dū(y)ena</i>)	* <i>traryana</i> : (<i>ena</i>)	* <i>čarrana</i> :
Gen.	* <i>duyanars</i> (<i>dū/ō(y)enas</i>)		<i>čarrana:s</i>
Dat.	* <i>duyanai</i> (<i>dūināi</i>)		<i>čarranai</i>

Cf. also *pañjanai*; *čaryai*; *čaina*; *sarta*.

11.12. As substantives: *Dorai . . . neyic* 83,7 they both sat down (cf. 62,4; 187,10); *au aik-ə dūyena* 188,3 they both ate bread; cf. 89,1;

^a LSI., VIII, I, 259.

**duyana:s wiyakula: harirē* 100,8 they both had daughters ^a (cf. 85,1,8; 62¹); *barwāi ar: dūināi marāik-e:* 41,7 he said to both his father and his mother; *trayai yeyirē* 64,1 the three of them came (cf. 87,12; 153,14); *trarena laurā: gurai(k)* 122,11 the three of them took sticks (cf. 64,4); *mya: čarai mam hangai:* the four of you are beating me (cf. 66,8); *me: čarrana arstai* 66,9 from the hands of these four; *umə čarrana:s* 66,1 of those four; *marai:k čarranāi* 66,4 he said to all four; *te: panjanai* 147,11 to all five; *umə čayai urirē* those six ones rose; *čar laryekule-i: war: arirē . . . čaryai* 9,5 sq. thou hadst six other brothers . . . all six of them (were hanged); *čaina* (Obl. !) *yeyirē* 148,14 all six came.

11,13. As definite adjectives: *Tomə doai juanarn* 34,14 those two lads (but *do: f°* 34,9 two lads); cf. 21,7; *dorai dur khan* 34,5 after the two days; *təmə čarrāi thakarn* 148,8 those four rascals ^b; *čaryai th°* 145,10; 148,12 (but *təmə ča th°* 145,12); *tese čhaina thakana* 147,9; *sartāi gurm-warl* 21,12 the seven grains of wheat (but *sarta warl gurm* 21,11).

Narwan, in *narwan xarnan* 224,1; 225,4 the nine Khans (but *narwa x°* 222,15,16; 223,10; 224,8) remains isolated and unexplained.

11,14. An enlarged form of the definite (intensive) numerals turns up in *dorai-ka* both (of you); *trayai-ka*; *čarrāi-ka* 66,8, cf. *čui-kai* all.

11,15. In connection with the numerals may also be mentioned: *Addhar/i:* half, and the Prs. loanwords *nim* half; *jub* a pair, an even number (Prs. *juft*); *tax* an odd number. ^c

E.g. *jub do:*; *tax trā*; *sarta jub tax = 15*; *da: jub o tax = 21*.

11,16. In some cases a numerative is added after the numeral. Thus, *čar: farn yuloman-ə* 65,15 his four slaves (Prs. *čar nafar*), cf. 81,3; *trā farn* 110,3 three persons; *trā phal arya:t* 78,12 three sayings; cf. 174,15; *do: wal deršik* 122,12 two grapes ^d; *du lahur arnda . . . do koir murča . . . i:* *laurā: tryarngul* 82,9 two (Prs. *do: dar:na*) walnuts . . . two grains of pepper . . . one dung-fork; cf. 150,14.

Ordinals and Numeral Adverbs

11,17. Very little material has been recorded about ordinal numbers. *Aw(wal)* first, *axir* last are borrowed from Prs. A cardinal has to be

^a But also *aeme doyai bu:rok o:ya ha:n* these two have (lit. for these two are) many sons, with dat. of *do:*.

^b *Čarra o:ya* 66,14 (*čar o:ya* 66,12) his four sons, probably for **čarrai*.

^c Cf. Gilbertson, English Balochi Dictionary, p. 454, *juft* even; *tax* odd.

^d But *sarta warl gurm* may be translated "seven grains of wheat".

translated as an ordinal in *ar: paltana sarta bogakim* 21,15 I had become the seventh together with them. While D.q. employs *-mangal* for forming ordinals, only *trā-/čar-/ča-mangal* (*dur*) on the third/fourth/sixth day, have been recorded in L. Cf. 63,12; 65,11.

A relict of Skt. *caturtha* is found in *čaurak* three days hence.

11,18. Numeral adverbs are: *Ir-ga* once, completely; *trā-ga* thrice; *panje-ča-ga* 109,2 five or six times; *azar-ga* 63,14 a thousand times.

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns

	12,1.	1. Sg.	1. Pl.	2. Sg.	2. Pl.
Nom.	<i>ar:</i>	(= I.)	<i>hama:</i>	<i>tu:</i>	(= I.) <i>mya:</i> (= I.)
Obl.	<i>mam</i>	"	"	<i>tau</i>	"
Gen.	* <i>maina:</i>	"	<i>hama:s</i>	* <i>taina:</i>	" <i>mya:s</i>
Dat.	"	"	<i>hamaze</i>	"	<i>myaze, °a:ai</i>

12,2. Isk. *ar:*; *maina:*; *tu:*; *mya:*.—"Pach." **a:*; **mam*; **māya*; **amar*; **tu:*; *tau*; *taina:*.—Saln. *ar:*; *mam*; *maina:*; dat. *maine:*; *hamā:*; Gen. *hamat*; Dat. *hamah-e*; Abl. *hamā:o*; *tu:*; *tau*; *taina:*; Dat. *taine:*; Abl. *taina-oz*; *mya:*; Gen. *myat*; *myaze*; *myaror*.—Cf. U. Gen. *hamot*; *myō:ot*.

DERIVATION

12,3. 1. Sg.—*A:* < *aha(ka)m*, cf. Kal.GB.Tor. *ar:*.—*Mam*, cf. Aśoka, Apabhr. *mamaṃ* for the direct object. Singh. is the only other modern IA. language which has retained a derivative of Skt. *mama*.—NW. *mo:*, etc., < Skt. *marm*.^a—G. Gen. *mau* is analogical from *tau*, and G. Dat. *muri* (cf. *turi*) is probably a recent formation from *mu:*, not derived from *mahyam*.

L., etc., *maina:*, *taina:* ^b are real genitives, not possessive adjectives like SE. *m/terna:/i:*. They go back, however, to adjectives in *-anaka*,^c based upon the locatives *mayi*, *trayi*. Cf., with a slightly different formation, NE. *m/tono*, etc.^d

Saln. dat. *m/taine:* is based upon the Gen. In NW. we find Gen. in *-s(t)*, just as in the case of nouns, but also *Ö*, etc., *-t*.

^a L. *ma:* 75,3 is a Prs. form.

^b Frequently pronounced *m/taina*, *m/tāya/ə*, or even *māi*.

^c Cf. Ksh. poss. adj. in *-un**, GB. *-ana*.

^d We may also compare, as a remote parallel, Germanic **mei-na-s*, etc.

2. Sg.—*Tu*: < *tuvam*; *tau* < *tava*. Al. Obl. *ta:*, Dat. *tarya:* may have been influenced by the 1. Sing.

1. Pl.—*Hama:*, etc., < *amharkam*, etc.

2. Pl.—SW. Nj.U.P. *mya:*, etc., Al.Pach. SE., NE. (*h*)*i/ema:*, etc. < **yma:* < **yumharkam*, etc.—G. *mo:ma:*, with apparent reduplication, is of unknown derivation, but cf. Kal. *mermi:*.

CASE SYNTAX

12.4. The Nom. (or, with past tenses of transitive verbs, the Obl.) is used as a subject, especially when this is emphasized. Thus, *tu: ppa* 193,11 go thou; *a: (h)a:l-a ma:lum karam* 110,6 I shall find out about it; *tau kakai* 110,7 thou hast made; *mam du: go:ra: de:akam* I saw the horse yesterday; *ka:l-a-m tu: man]-a, taina: ka:l-a a: man]-am-a* 112,10 put thou on my clothes, I shall put on thy clothes; *mya: zar: beri* 122,2 you must remain (here); *mya: mam hanačam-o* I had beaten you; *läyenkim a: 37,7* I went down. I. *mam tau hanwakam-i:*; *tau du: mam hana:ki:-m*.

12.5. The Obl. as an object: *Mam tau dewakam-i:* I saw thee; *tau mam de:waki:-m* thou didst see me; *tu: mam hayga:i:* thou art beating me; I. *mam hanwak-im* he struck me; *tau hančekam-i:* I have beaten thee. But note Ku.Sh. *ote a hanik-am* they struck me.

In all Pashai dialects the Obl. of personal pronouns is used for the direct object ("accusative"), while all other pronouns and nouns use the nominative.^a

	Pashai L.	Pashto
Nom.-Acc.	<i>a:dam, sam</i> that	<i>sarai man, haya</i> that
Obl.	<i>a:dama te:(ser)</i>	<i>sari: hayə</i>
but:		
Nom.	<i>a:</i>	<i>zə</i>
Acc.-Obl.	<i>mam</i>	<i>ma:</i>

12.6. Examples of the Gen. are: *Maina putr/wiy* my son/daughter; *areme: waryali: hamas šik* these houses are ours. The Obl. may be used for the Gen.: *Ama:mya: wa:i šik* it is our/your house.

An absolute use of the Gen. occurs in *maina: au dai taina: warai šik*; *mya: aw-u: dai ama:s w° š* thy (our) bread is better than mine (yours).

The Gen. of personal pronouns is used with postpositions which govern

^a The same is the case in Pasht., cf. NTS. XII, p. 102.

the Obl. of nouns. Thus, *maina orda*; *mäya/täya dai*; *taina gorni:*; *mäya lomba/palai/sira*.

Pronominal Suffixes

	13.1. Son/Hand	Brother	Wife	Daughter
		1. Sing.		
Nom.	<i>putr-iem</i>	<i>lary-a(:)m</i>	<i>ma:ši-em</i>	<i>wiy-am</i>
Gen., Obl. ^a	<i>putras-am</i>	<i>la:(ya)s-am</i>	<i>ma:šes-am</i>	<i>wiyas-am</i>
Abl.	<i>hastay-em</i>			
Loc.	<i>hasta:-m</i>			
		1. Plur.		
Nom.	<i>putr-ien</i>	<i>lary-ain</i>		<i>wiy-an</i>
Gen., Obl.	<i>putras-an</i>	<i>la:(ya)s-an</i>		<i>wiyas-an</i>
		2. Sing.		
Nom.	<i>putr-(ə)i:</i>	<i>lary-ai</i>	<i>ma:še-i:</i>	<i>wiy-ai</i>
Gen., Obl.	<i>putras-ai</i>	<i>la:(ya)s-ai</i>	<i>ma:šes-ai</i>	<i>wiyas-ai</i>
Abl.	<i>*hastay-e:</i>			
Loc.	<i>*hasta:-i</i>			
		2. Plur.		
Nom.	<i>putr-u</i>	<i>lary-au</i>		<i>*wiy-au</i>
Gen., Obl.	<i>putras-u</i>	<i>la:(ya)s-au</i>		<i>wiyas-au</i>
		3. Pers.		
Nom.	<i>putr-e (?)</i>	<i>lary-a</i>	<i>ma:ši-a</i>	<i>wiy-a</i>
Obl.	<i>putras-a:</i>	<i>la:(ya)s-a:</i>	<i>ma:šes-a:</i>	<i>wiyas-a:</i>
Gen.	<i>putras-ai:s</i>	<i>la:(ya)s-ai:s</i>	<i>ma:šes-ai:s</i>	<i>wiyas-ai:s</i>
Dat.	<i>*putras-ai (?)</i>	<i>*la:(ya)s-ai</i>	<i>ma:šes-ai</i>	<i>wiyas-ai</i>
Abl.	<i>hastay-a</i>			

13.2. Plurals and forms in *-kula:/i:* take the same pronominal suffixes as singular nouns. E.g. *laryekularm* my brothers; *laryekulas-a:* his brothers (Obl.); *puṛangan-am/ai* my/your panthers; *noukarainas-a:* his servants (Obl.).

The forms tabulated above have, as far as possible, been phonematized. But the quantity is not always certain, and several doubtful points remain, such as the correct form of the 2. Sg. *-(ə)i:*, 3. Sg. Dat. *-as-a(:)i* (but 2. Sg. Obl. *-as-ai*), and the phonemic interpretation of 3. Pers. Nom. *-ə*.

In the oblique cases *laryas-* is frequently contracted into *la:s-*.

^a General Obl. (= Obl. Gen. Dat.).

13.3. 1. Sg. -m and 1. Pl. -n are common to all Pash. dialects, and of obvious origin. 2. Sg. -i, etc. (< -te), and 2. Pl. -u (< -vah) also have corresponding forms in other dialects, with the exception of some NE. ones.^a

In a few cases 3. Pers. -e has been recorded (*har-e* his heart; *orač-e* her sleep; *putr-e* his son; cf. also *arr-eri* his blood?). But in the overwhelming majority of cases these words, as well as many others, have been recorded with -ə, v. Texts, passim. It is probable, however, that this is a phonetical realization of /-e/ (< Pkt. *se*). This assumption would make it easier to explain the narrowing into -i before the auxiliary (*h*)ar-, and would also agree with I. -i/e, as well as with other dialect forms. Feminines and some masculines have -a (< -sa: ?).

13.4. One type of nouns (I) has 1. Sg./Pl. -iem/n, 2. Sg./Pl. -i/u, and 3. Pers. -e, while another type (II) has -am/n, -ai/u and -a.

I (*putr-iem* my son, etc.) goes on principle back to an ancient Nom. in -e, while II (*lary-am* my brother, *wiy-am* my daughter, etc.) as a type goes back to -a: (Skt. feminines and stems in -r). Cf. Shum. *pul-em* my son, *kand-am* my shoulder. The ancient NW. Pkt. Nom. masc. in -e is also retained in Pash. and other Dardic dialects *se* that. Cf. also L. Abl. -a: < *-ate.

NOMINATIVE

13.5. 1. Sg.—(I) *šung-iem* my dog; *har-iem* my heart; *šir-iem* my head; *larm-iem* my work; *narm-i(e)m* my name.^b I. *putr-iem*; *larm-iem*; *marl-em* my cattle; Isk. *l'am-iem*; *d'and-iem* my tooth.—Cf. also G. *putr-erm*; Ö.Nj.A. *putr-iem*; W., etc., *pul-(i)em*.

(II) *šib-am* my tongue; *khar-am* my she-ass; *say-arm* sister; *l'ary-am* my brother^c; *l'ary-am* my mother.—Note *šarmay-em* my son in law, with early transfer into the *a-* stems (**jarmarte-me*). Cf. Semnani (Prs. dialect) *zamā* < **zarmarto*, but *bāreŕy* < **bratar* (v. NTS XVII, p. 106, sq.).

Most Prs. nouns take -am (and -ai, -a). Thus, *umer(n)d*; *dušman*; *yularm*; *kitarib*; *memar:n*; *nayarr*; *palas*; *porstak*; *poršak*; *paizar*; *xarwand*; *xizmat*; *yarr*; *zabarn*.^d But also *waival-am/ai* (*waival*

^a Cf., e.g. ChB. -eu thy, but -eri your.

^b Probably also **hast-iem*, as in other dialects. *Hast-ai ačha* (Voc. s.v.) give me your hand, is incorrect for *hastar-i ačha* bring it in your hand.

^c Thus in the majority of cases (and in Isk.), but also *l'ary-arm* (= I.) occurs. *Bhratar-me* > *l'aryam*, and also *ary-am* (with initial long syllable), but *swasar-me* (with short initial syllable) > *say-arm*.

^d But note *uzr-iem* (*uzur*); *šarn-im*; *naukar-iem*.

husband). After a plural in -a:(n) < -arnam we find -am, e.g. in *purangan-am* my leopards.

Cf. I. *saryarm*; Isk. *šibarm*, and, from other dialect groups, G. *saiw-arm*; Sh. *brar-om*; Ö. *sāy-urm*; Nj. *lary-om*; *say-arm*; *šib-arm*; W. *lary-arm*; *sa(ry)-a(ry)m*; *šev-arm*; A. *sow-om*; Ka. *sa(ry)w-om*; K. *lor-m*; K.Ch. *saw-orm*.

13.6. 1. Pl. (I) *Aw-yen* our bread. (II) *lary-arn*; *wiy-an* our daughter; *palas-an* our rug; *gorrar-n* our horse; *oryar-n* our children.

13.7. 2. Sg. (I) The evidence is rather conflicting, probably on account of inexact notation. Thus, *šung-i:* 190,8 (but -ui: 21,7); *putr-i:* 160,2 (but -'ai 77,2); *aw(w)-i:*, *aw-ei/üi* your bread; *dur-i:/üi/äi* your door; *narm-i:/äi* your name; *har-i*, *hary-ai* your heart; *gurm-i:* your wheat; *marg-ai:* your death; *larm-äi* your work.—I. *putr-i*.

(II) *Lary-ai*; *sary-ai*; *wiy-ai* your daughter; *suza-i* your daughter; *maše-i:* your wife.

13.8. 2. Pl. (I) *Aw-u:* your bread; *wary-u* your house.—(II) *Lary-au*; *xarwand-au* your master; *orya-u* your child; *aža-u* your bull.

13.9. 3. Pers. (I) *Putr-ə* his son; *šung-ə* his dog; *narm-ə* his name. Before an auxiliary, e.g. *i:* *putr-i:* *arikh* he had a son; *narm-iy arikh* his name was. But also *narm-ə/putr-ə* (*h*)*arikh*.^a—I. *putr-i*; *burnd-e* its roof.

(II) *lary-a(ry)*; *sa(ry)-a(ry)*; *wiy-a(ry)*. We find -a also in Prs. words, *memar:n-a* his book; *ketap-a* his book, as well as after words in -i:, e.g. *ma:ši-a(ry)* his wife; *darri-a* his beard; *lungarly-a:* its mulberries.

OBLIQUE CASES

13.10. The Abl. and Loc. are formed regularly with the pronominal suffix added to the case ending. Thus, Abl. *hastay-em*; *žar:day-em* (I. *žarde:m*) from my memory; 2. Sg. *žar:da(y)-ei*; 3. Sg. *hastay-a*; *sa:thay-a* from his village; *war:day-a* from his body; Loc. (*h*)*astar-m* in(to) my hand; *kučar-m* in my belly; 2. Sg. (*h*)*asta-i*; 3. Sg. *hastar* (*-ar-a).^b

In the Obl., Gen. and Dat. the pronominal suffixes are everywhere preceded by an element containing -s(t)-, recalling the Gen. ending. Most dialects agree, in principle, in having the same form serving as Obl., Gen. and Dat. before the pronominal suffixes 1. and 2. Pers. In SE., NE. the

^a I never recorded -i before other words with initial a(ry)-. Thus, e.g. *putr-ə azyai* 31,5; *putr-ə ayla* 60,12.

^b The interpretation of *wa:nai pai:* as "go into thy house" (-na-i), etc., is doubtful. Cf. 7,12.

same pattern prevails also before 3. Pers. suffixes.^a In NW., especially in Sanj., different formations are found.

13.11. It seems possible that in early Pash. the Obl., Gen. and Dat. forms had merged also before 3. Pers. suffixes in all dialects, but that in SW. and NW. -ar in -as-ar could be reinterpreted as an Obl. ending, and new Gen. and Dat. forms in -as-as, -as-ai were created.^b

The reason for the merging of several cases before pronominal suffixes remains obscure. It is perhaps possible that, e.g. Dat. *hastarya-me and Abl. *hastarte-me might both result in *hastay-em*. But replacing the Dat. by the Gen. *hastas-am* would only create a new confusion of case forms.

13.12. Examples:

1. Sg. *Naukaras-am* (Obl.) my servant; *xarwandas-am* my master's; *saya/es-am* my sister's; *mašes-arm* to my wife.—I. (*šurŋ*) *putras-am(ar)* (the dog is) my son's.

1. Pl. *Xarwandas-an*; *wiyes-an* our daughter's.—I. *putras-an*.

2. Sg. *Putras-ai* (= I.); *γulamas-ai* to your slave; *bars-ai* your father's; *u:θures-ai* your camel's; *ja:māyes-ai* your son-in-law's; *was-e* 284,21 your house (for **was-ai*). *Lases-ai* 4,25 is probably a mistake for *lars-ai*.

2. Pl. *Xarwandas-au*; *wiyes-au*; *larikula:s-o* your brothers'.

3. Pers. Obl. *bars-a* his father; *goras-a* his horse; *sayes-a:* his sister; *oryas-a:* his child; *naukararnas-a* his servants; *waivalas-a* her husband.—Gen. *bars-as*; *putras-as* (I. -as); *sāyes-as*; *šungas-as*; *laryekula:s-as*.—Dat. *bars-ai*; *šungas-ai*; *oryas-ai*.

13.13. In the majority of cases the pronominal suffixes denote possession. An independent genitive or possessive pronoun may be added. E.g. *karla:m... tāya karla:* 112,10 my clothes... your clothes (cf. 104,13); *goras nak(-ə)* the horse's hoof; *taina lary-ai* your brother; *myas bars-au* your father's; *barsas wazeras-a:* the king's vizier; *aw-yem* (or, *maina au*) my bread; *mašes-a tri-a* his wife's flat; *maina: burrok oryar-m ha:n* I have many sons (*taina: ... orya-i*; *ama:s ... oryar-n*; *myas ... orya-u*).

13.14. Terms of relationship may be used without any pronominal suffix or genitive. Thus, *ari:* 102,11 (my) mother; *lari:* (= *lary-a*) 22,10 (her) brother; *maš-i* 217,1 (his) wife (but *maš-i-a* 217,6); *i:* *ary-a harič, baru*

^a Only A. has a separate All. in -ast-ol. Cf. NE. 13,7.

^b Cf. also GB. Nom. *ba:b-es* his father; Obl. *ba:b-s-a*; Ag. *ba:b-s-e*; Dat. *ba:b-s-ā*; Waig.K. Nom. *pūtr-as* his son; Obl. *pūtr-as-ə*, etc., with the Pron. Suff. -(a)s- preceding the case ending.—But, with final Pron. Suff., e.g. Shum. *bar-s-am* my father's; *acin-is-am* my eye's; *ka:m-as-u* your tribe's; Si. *ne:n-a(he)-m** my eye's.

li:(k) arik 71,1 he had a mother, (but his) father was dead. On the other hand, a pronominal suffix is frequently added where we might find it redundant, the reason being that such words are conceived as being relational terms. Thus, *i: nauary-ə arik* 167,2 there was a nephew (of somebody); cf. *ary-a*, *wiy-a* 151,12,13; *wiyes-ar aya gorn:* *ja:n wandāik-e* 151,10 the (lit., her) daughter dressed herself up like (her) mother; *saryas-ar laryas gorar āwāk* 18,5 the sister ate up her brother's horse; *ary-a o barw, barw o ary-a* 87,1,2,13. Cf. also 86,10,11,12; 87,14; 100,9,12; 151,12,15.

13.15. In some dialects, but not in L., words denoting parts of the body were usually given with an accompanying possessive suffix 1. Sg., e.g. *dand-iem*.

The Pronominal Suffix is also used for the indirect object. Thus, *warg-iem ačh-a* bring me water; *dur-iem ča:hwa:* open the door for me; *wařai gorar-m ačh-a* bring me a good horse; cf. 122,4; 187,11.—Note *narbut aryartas laryax-ai niy-am* 65,6 I am not deserving of bad language from you.

The Pron. Suffixes combine also with verbs. In *čark-o ... karwand-or* 154,14 they will tear you to pieces, the suffix is repeated.

Demonstrative Pronouns

14.1.

(I) This

	Sg.		Pl.	
	L.	I.	L.	I.
Nom.	a:(r)e(m)	a:di	a:eme:	a:dəme; emā
Obl.	(a)me:(se)	a:deme	ame:da; (a)me: (Adj.)	ime:da:
Gen.	(a)me:(se)s	a:damist	„ -s; „	„
Dat.	me:seri		„ -i; „	„

(II) That

Nom.	(a)sə; (a)sum	(a)sā	(a)təmə	tumā
Obl.	(a)te:(se)	te:me:	ate:da; te:(se) (Adj.)	te:me:da:
Gen.	(a)te:(se)s	„ (-s); a:tamest	„ -s; (a)te: „	„

(III) That (Anaphoric)

Nom.	o(m); hum (Adj.)	omə
Obl.	o; am(er)	

Saln. *sa* that; Obl. Gen. *time:*; Dat. *timere*; Nom. Pl. *tuma*; Obl. *tume:da*; Gen. *°daha:s*; Dat. *°dahare*.

Isk. *a:de (gorar: maina)* that (horse is mine).

14.2. There is no distinction of gender, either in L., or in any other dialect group. The demonstratives, just as the substantives, have the same form for the subject as for the direct object.^a When functioning as attributive adjectives the demonstratives have a reduced inflexion, just as in many other Dardic languages, as well as in Psht. and Par.

14.3. The forms with and without *-m* are to all appearances used indiscriminately. Acc. to AR. there is no difference between *ae* and *aem* (Prs. *park nist*). Cf. e.g. *ae šar... aem šar* 22,6. Still, some subtle difference of meaning or style may escape us. Cf. also G. *ya(m)*, *sa(m)*.

The facultative *a-* is probably an emphatic particle. Cf. P. *a:so*, *sā*; D. *(e)se*, Ch. *(a)se*, etc., and, from other Dard. languages, Khow. *(ha)se* that; *(ha)ya* this; Phal. *he-so*, etc.

It is possible that the vacillation between *ae(m)* and *are(m)* is not merely due to inexact notation, but that *are(m)* represents **a + ae(m)*.

14.4. *Sə* must frequently be rendered by a definite article. *O(m)* has not been recorded from I. or other dialects. In some cases it seems to be an anaphoric pronoun, but the distinction between *sə* and *o(m)* is not always clear.

14.5. *Ae*, *mer*, *aemer* go back to Skt. *ayam*, etc. Cf. the corresponding forms in other Pash. (*er*, *ya/er*, etc.) and Dard. dialects.^b The endings are, of course, secondary formations.—The origin of I. *ard-* is unknown. Cf. U. *ardi*; P. *ader*.

14.6. *Sə*, *ter(ser)* go back to **se*, *ta-*. With *terser* cf. W. *tis* < **tissa*, while I. *termer* (Al. *timir*, etc.) seems to be derived from a base **timha-*.—*Ata:m* (*waxt*) at that (time) may go back to Skt. *tasmin*, cf. Al. (PT) *a:m-wel* to-night.

Plurals of the type *təmə* have taken over their *m* from *aemer*, cf. Kshm. *tim* they, with *m* from *yim* these.—But W., etc., *eter*; Ka. *(a)te*; Ch. *te(mi)*.

14.7. The derivation of *o(m)*, *hum*, as well as of similar forms in other IA. languages, remains uncertain. But in spite of the rare occurrence of Vedic *ava-*, it is not excluded that *o*, etc., may be derived from this stem.^c

14.8. The origin of the Obl. Pl. element *-dar*^d is unknown.

Examples:

14.9. (I)

(a) *Ae*.—Subst.: *Ae mam dega:* he sees me; *mam are dewak/čam-a* I saw him/her; *J.B. are a* 63,1 this is J.B.—Adj.: *Ae angusak-am gur-a*

^a But see NW.

^b V. Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 196, sq.

^c Bloch, p. 198, suggests borrowing from Ir., but this seems highly improbable.

^d Cf. Al. (NW. 14,2) *tida:*, and Lg.z. (SE. 14,1,3) Nom. Pl. *m/tye:-dar*. See also SW. 6,13.

take this my ring; *ae rupaya a:mir day-a* give this man these rupees; *mya: are(m) ardam hanata* beat this man.

(b) *Aem*.—Subst.: *Aem i: putr-iem a:sta* this is my only son; *aem a* it is this one; *te: a:ə a:em kandi:k* 79,8 he thought this in his heart.—Adj.: *Hama: aem a:dam dewakan-a* we saw this man.—I. *ardi ardam/wari* this man/house.

(c) *Mer*.—Subst.: *Mer ma:ši hanwai:c* 146,12 he killed his wife; *mer dāi pat* after this; cf. 148,1; 163,13.—Adj.: *Mer barar: marai:k* this boy said; *mer barar:s* this boy's; *mer baidar-wiyāi* 112,13 for this princess; *mer čarrana* 66,9 of these four.—In *mer barar* 119,4 (cf. 74,3), *mer* exceptionally denotes the object of a transitive preterite.

(d) *Mers*.—Subst.: *Mers damo wari:ai* 13,3 may (God) put breath into it.

(e) *Merse:*.—Subst.: *M° warai* 5,13 for the sake of this one.—Adj.: *M° ar:atas* 167,11 (on account of) this word; *m° kandur: kuča* inside this corn-bin; *m° sanda:gara* 150,2 this merchant (said).

(f) *Mersers*.—Subst.: *Ae lari m° a* this is the brother of this one; *xaitere m°* 4,23 on account of this.—Note the position, and cf. *amersers*, *tersers*.

(g) *Merseri*.—Subst.: *Bar:s-a: m° marai:k-e* his father said to this one.

(h) *Amer* (*a:mi*).—Subst.: *A° marai:k* (I. *ardeme marik*) this one said; *an a:mi dāya* give this one bread (cf. 61,4).—Adj.: *A° a:dama lađ hanik* this man lied; *armi a:damas burrok orya ha:n* this man has many sons; *ae wari a° a:damas šik* this house belongs to this man; *hama: are para:r a:mi a:damai daiga:hama* let us give this apple to this man; *are wari amer/i a:damanas šik* this house belongs to these men (cf. 133,5); *a:me a:damana: māga:m* I say to these men (cf. 99,13); *amer* (for *a:emer*?) *ardaman fua: pai paran* these men will go tomorrow. But *a:eme: waiwalas-a:* 217,3 probably for *amer*.

(i) *Amers*.—Subst.: *Ae wari amers(e) šik* (I. *ardi wari ardamist a:*) this house belongs to this man; *are lari (a)me:s(es) a:(sta)* this is the brother of this one; *are sari amers a*; *amis ximat-a kau šik?* how much is the price of this?

(j) *Amersers*.—Subst.: *Ae lari/sari a° ar(sta)*.—Acc. to AR. *a°* is often used, but *amers* is the correct form.

(k) *A:emer*.—Subst.: */A° are para:r a:mi a:damai daiga-ha:n/* they give this apple to this man; *ar a° dega:m* I see these ones; *hama: a° dewačan* we saw these ones.—Adj.: *Tau a° arzara: derčay-a* you saw these women;

a° arđaman (I. *arđama arđaman eđa harn* these men are here) these men; *a° wayeli:* these houses; *a° arwarz* 109,3 those cries, cf. 71,6 sq.; probably also 34,11.—I.¹ *adēm' arđam* these men; but also I.² *emā mardum* these people.

(l) *Amerda*.—Subst.: *A° marrai:k* (I. *imeda: mari:k*) these ones said; *a° mam dewak-im* they saw me.

(m) *Amerdars*.—Subst.: *Are(me) wary(eli:)* *a° šik* this house belongs (these houses belong) to these ones.

(n) *Amerdai*.—Subst.: *A°* (= *ar-me arđamanai*) *mangaan kə yāi, la:m šik* they say to these men: Come there is work to do.

14,10.

(II)

(a) *Sə*.—Subst.: *Sə muči:k* he fled; *bais-ar sə dezyik* 3,17 his father saw him.—I. *sā gi:k*; *mam sā hanwakam-er/hanwačam-a* I struck him/her.—Adj.: *Sə goraz/derw/bardšar/ma:ši-a*; *sə aula putr-a* 4,11 the elder son (but *aula p°* 4,9); *šur o pušak o sə arđam* 50,30 the dog, the cat and the (that?) man.

(b) *Sum*.—Subst.: *Səm arzelāgar-kəširē* 11,2 she began to look at it; *māina mundai-m sum-a* 111,10 my enemy is he.—Adj.: *Sum arđam sudur harik* that man was far away.

(c) *Asə*.—Subst.: *A° Karbul ar* he is in K.; *a° atra arsta* he is here.—I. *mam asā hanakam-er* I had beaten him.—Adj.: *A° arđam/wari* (I. *a(r)sā arđam/arzəza/wari*) that man/house*; *a°* (= *or*) *Namazlu:m* 7,1; *a° wari (kə) dur derakam* the house I saw yesterday; cf. 2,21.

(d) *Asəm*.—Subst.: *Sə arzəza:...* *a°...hanč-a* 88,14 the woman (who...)...her she slapped; *a° gura* 99,14 take her.—Adj.: *A° barar:* 2,3 that (very) boy; *a° wart* just at that time; cf. 53,21; 79,1; 108,5.—*A°* frequently refers to a person or object mentioned in a preceding relative clause.

(e) *Ter*.—Subst.: *Te: marrai:k* 110,14; 146,8, etc. he/she said (but *sə m°* 81,1; 110,16); *te:...* *ker...* *karak-er, sə phalgə* 88,11 she who had made...fell asleep.—Adj.: *Te: putras-ar marrai:k* that son of his said; *te:(ser) thaka m°* that/the thief said; *te: waria lars-ai* that other brother of yours, cf. 151,12; *te: bardšaras* that/the king's; *te: barari* to that/the boy^b; *te: jallardana gurai:k* 81,13 the hangmen seized him; cf. 114,4; *te: panjanai* 147,11 to those five; cf. 34,10.

* Acc. to AR. it is "distant" (*dur ast*).

^b In the frequent type *te: čopanai marrai:k-e* 112,9 he said to the shepherd (cf. 82,7; 110,14) *te:* denotes the agent.

(f) *Ters*.—Subst.: Only in *t° Bangir narm-a ari:k* 20,14 its name was B.; *t° kana šei:k* it stuck in his ears (i.e. he heard).

(g) *Terse:*.—Subst.: *T° hanik* 73,12 he killed him; *t° waryawar-n-a* 126,1 towards his house; *naukara t° marrai:k-e* the servant said to him.—I. *tem'e: mari:k* he said; *šur termer putras ar* the dog is his son's.—Adj.: *T° bardšar:...* *gurāwač-a* the king married her; *t° saudargara o:da* to that merchant; *t° thakas* the rogue's; *t° arđamāi dāigarm* I give it to that man, cf. 148,13; *t° čaina thakana* 147,9 the six rogues (Obl.); *te: putras-ar:...* *t° bardšar-putras* 77,4 that son of his...that prince's.

(h) *Tersers*.—Subst.: *Are lari ate arđamas arsta, are wari: lari: t° ar;* *lāwani: burrok harn* this is that man's brother, and this other one is that (other) one's; there are many brethren.—I. *termers putr-i narfor ar* his son is ill.

(i) *Ate: (arti)*.—Subst.: *A° marrai:k* that one said.—Adj.: *A° arđama lađ hanik* that (very) man lied; *a° arđama du: mam hanak-im* that man had beaten me yesterday; *parar/wari a° arđamas šik* the apple/house belongs to that man; *aemer wari a° xalakas šik* these houses belong to those people.

(j) *A(:)ters(ers)*.—Subst.: *Are wari a(:)ters(ers)* (= *arti arđamas*) *šik* this house belongs to that very man (I. *ar-se wari artamest ar*). *Aters* was said to be more correct than *atersers*, cf. *amersers*.—Adj.: *Ase wari ater:(ser) arđamas šik/harik* that house belongs/belonged to that man.

(k) *Atarm*.—Only in *a° wart* at that time.

(l) *Təmə*.—Subst.: *T° gič* 9,6 they went.—I. *tumā awu: žāigar-kəširē* they began to eat bread.—Adj.: *T° dorai arđaman* both of those men; *t° čarrai thakarn* 148,18; cf. 99,8; 115,8; 189,3.—But also *t° čorana* (Obl.) 114,14 those thieves.

(m) *Artəmə*.—Subst.: *Armi arđama a° d'oweč-e* this man saw them; *ar Karbul šatekirm, a° burrok xalak harn, maram-a iyan* I am going to K.; they are many people (these); I shall tell them to come; cf. 9,6.—Adj.: *A° arđaman bur harn* those men are many; *a° waryeli:* those houses; cf. 139,5.

(n) *Arterdars*.—Subst.: *A°* (or, *artəmə*) *marrai:k* they said (I. *temeda: mari:k*); *a° ləmba arđam garm* I shall send a man after them.—Adj.: *A° arđaman(a ?) marrai:ky-e* those men said.

(o) *Arterdars*.—Subst.: *Are wari (areme: waryeli:)* *a° šik* this house belongs (these houses belong) to those ones.

14.11.

(III)

(a) *Or*.—Subst.: *Or ašux-əm niy-a* 124,10 he is not my lover; *o gur-a* take that one; *'o ki: w'iy a: au s'a ki: wiy a?* 241,11 whose daughter is she, and whose daughter is that one?—Adj.: *O(:) larm/ardam/wari/aryat* that work/man/house/word; *o (= ase) Namazlum* 7,1; *o saudagar* 97,12 that merchant; *or saudagara marrik-e*; *or arzaza: sum ardam *gurat-a* 66,6 let the man take that woman.

(b) *Om*.—Subst.: *Om baret šik* 80,14 it is necessary (that).—Adj.: *Om aryat* 117,4,6 that (already mentioned) word; *om lambai:* (Obl.) that fox; *əm wiyes-ən* 86,12 of that daughter of ours; *sə paidawar:n ... om bardsa: wiy ... or paidawar:n* 124,7, sq. the cowherd ... that princess ... that cowherd.

(c) *Hum*.—Adj.: *H° aryat/phalašir* (passim) that word; *həm kuza* 87,7 that (already mentioned) pitcher (but *sə kuza* 87,8).

(d) *əmer*.—Subst.: *ə° murda: tarnuk ar-k-a* 189,4 he himself brought back that corpse; *emer* (for *əmer*, or *amer*?) *putr* 61,5 his son.—Adj.: *ə° saudagara/wazirra/arzaza: bardsa: marrik* 97,14; 123,10 that merchant/vizier/woman/king said.

(e) *Omə*.—Subst.: *O° kura šati:č*? where are those ones going? *o° ki: garāšif*? 97,13 who has sent them? *tu omə* (for *omə*, cf. *mo* 137,3?) *gur-a* 135,2 take them.—Adj.: *Uma ardamān Tagawāi an* those men are from Tagau; *omə wariyāli:* those houses; cf. 4,11; 66,1,2; 71,1; 97,12; 149,3.

Demonstrative Adjectives

(Quantitative and Qualitative)

14.12. *A:(e)m-xay(a)* this much/many/big, with *°xay-* from Prs. *qad(r)*, e.g. in Kab.Prs. *eqqa* this much. Cf. G. *ča-ka* how much?

'Aremxāi ardamān 113,8 so many men; *'arm-xaya sa:l* 5,5 so many years; *aremxāi rawakašir:* 114,2 a window of this size; *ar° d'arm-a* 102,6 so much of the yarn; cf. 118,5; *'armxāi, 'armxāi 'arng-e haric* 62,9 his arms were so long, so long. As an adverb: *'A:mxāyā sud'ur* 170,2 so far away; *aremxa:ye s'awwir* 125,3 so green; *aremxāi ... šir'in* 116,8 so sweet.

With *em-* (either for *əm-*, *həm-*, or contracted from *arem-*): *Emx'āi zorr'ar* 7,9 so much (*i:qad*) strength; *emx'āyā guftaguri* 63,4 so much talking; cf. 225,4. *Eamxāyā sa:l* 73,6 so many years (for *em-*, or *arem-*?).

'A:engəl of this kind; Adv. in this manner.—*A:° aryat* such a word; *'a:eng'i ardam* 149,12 such a man; cf. 81,8.—*'A:engəl ... mangar:n* 116,7 they speak thus; cf. 88,13; 90,3.—Cf. Voc., p. 13, *'a:ey(gir)*.

A:t'engəl in such a manner.—*A:t'engəl, at'engəl arthi tharm* 15,8 I might stay here somehow (lit.: in that manner, in that manner).

Hengəl of that kind, such, thus.—*H'engə[l] waraš'i: arzaza:* 227,9 such a beautiful woman; *'engəl (hengə) borkaš'ar* 155,4; 157,11 such a turban-tassel; cf. 126,5; 155,2.—(*H'engə(l) mangar:* 156,3, etc., he speaks thus; cf. 19,8; 75,5; 87,1).

A:engəl = *arem* + *gal*. *Hengəl* probably with *həm-* (= *hom-*); *artengəl* with *artem-* (with *η* from *a:engəl, hengəl*). The derivation of *-gal* is unknown. Cf. L.gon. *ya-xəl* 202,8 of this kind; L.u. *ya-xla aγort* = L. *hengəl aryat*.

Interrogative Pronouns ^a

15.1. *Ki:*? who?—*A:em ardam ki: a?* who is this man? *ki: hanček-i:*? who has beaten you? *ki: putr-a?* whose son? Cf. 26,3.—Gen. *kis:* *A:ə wari kis šik (ki:sir)*? whose house is this? *ki:s gurāčəkāi?* 287,23 from whom did you buy? Cf. 49,12.—Cf. G.Ch. *ki:*; D.W. *ki:er*; A. *kər*.

Kor? what?—*Atha k° kagai:*? what are you doing here? *k° arz darri:*? what do you want?—But *'o t'dina k'a baga:*? 29,8 what is he to you?—V. Voc.—Also I.Isk. (v. Voc.).—Cf. Nj.U. *kor*; G. *kar*.

Kai? how much?—*Kai xwarri:* 122,12 how much toil? *Kai aula:/ sudur?* how big/far?—V. Voc.—Saln. *kha:ndi* how much/many?

Kau? how many?—*K° rursai:*? how many rupees? *ames xi:mat-a k° šik?* what is the price of this? *k° k°* 184, n. 2 = "very many"; cf. 3,1; 284,8,14,20.—Saln. *kharu?* D., etc. *karu/o?*

Ker-laun? *ker rang?* of what kind? how?—*Tabiyat ker-laun šik?* how is (his) health? *ker-laun karam?* how shall I do? Cf. 72,4 sq.; 170,12; 193,14.—L.gon. *kel'ou* 202,8 somehow (?).—G. *kalwo:ni*. Cf. Prs. *laun* manner, kind.—*Ker-rang ardam?* 64,6 what kind of man?; *k° karam?* Cf. Voc., and 64,6; 187,4; 194,10.—Cf. Prs. *rang*.

Kor-ami:? of what origin? or adv. from where?—V. Voc., and cf. *wa:nir, har-wa:nir*.

[*či-karra* 33,2, transl. Voc. and Texts "of what kind?", is Prs. *č°* "worthless, useless".]

^a There is no Relative Pronoun. Regarding "Relative Sentences", cf. SW. 38,2.

Indefinite Pronouns

15.2. Identical with, or based upon Interrogatives:

Ki: some(body).—*Ki*: (*šaitana*)... *marrai:k* 125,14; 183,8 somebody (some fiend)... said; cf. 178,5.—A variant is *ke*: 50,13; 171,7.—With negation: *ke-u* 18,4; *ke-u* 21,13; 113,11 nobody.—But also negated *ki*: without *-u*: *n'er-ke khangar* 165,6,9 nobody sends (the bride); *wari: täpə gornir ku nezky-a* 171, n. 1 there is nobody else like you.

Kor: something, anything.—*K° äyama* 78,15 that we may eat something; cf. Voc.—*K° ardam ka bai hangar-kešir* 81,3, transl. Texts, "whichever man he was going to punish", but probably "whatever punishment he was going to inflict upon a man".—*Korr ka ru:pa'i: harič, čuikai xudari daič-a* whatever money he had, he gave away in alms, cf. 1,11.—With negation: *Warya wari: kor-u n'e šik* 87,15 there is nothing else in the house.

Kai-korr some, a little.—*K° zarzuri*: 239,3; 244,5 some mumbling. Cf. Voc.

With preceding *har*:

Har-ki:/ə whoever, every, somebody.—*Harki: ka... hanji:* 177,2 whoever has killed; *h'arkə ka nəngarik* 115,5 whoever stooped; *h'ar ke arir* 124,12 whoever you are; cf. 16,15; *harki: dur* 116,6,9 whatever (every) door; *alb'att ka h'arkə xəngəlkes-am pal'ai a:šux-a* 75,7 forsooth, somebody must be the lover of my betrothed; *p'utr-iem har ki: hanwai:* 189,2 (cf. 190,15) somebody has killed my son.

Har-korr whatever.—*H° bagik* 183,2 whatever has happened; cf. 186,3,8.

Har-kau however much.—*H° xwari: kak-ə* 45,4 however much he toiled.

Har-rang of whatever kind (pron. or adv. ?).—Cf. Voc.

Not connected with Interrogatives, are, e.g.:

Bu:(ra), burrak much, many, very.—V. Voc.

Čuika (pl. *ai* ?) all, whole.—*Čuikai tau hang-i:arn* they are all beating you; *č° weyakulai:n* 218,4 they are all of them girls; cf. Voc.—Obl. *č° ena* 39,11; 218,2; 219,11; *čü:ena* 220,6 (Gramophone Text). Gen. *čöenas*; Dat. *čöenai*, cf. Voc.—Isk. *čü: bə žaigyayo* let us (?) all eat; *čü:ena ž'äiwai:k* they all ate; *čöenas-au mäigura* let us (?) ^a say to all of you.

Herč any (with negation).—*H° a:γart ne kagar* he does not speak a word; *h° la:m ne kagari:* you do not do any work. Cf. Voc.

Har every.—Cf. Voc., with compounds.

^a Cf. SW. 20,8.

Kull all.—11,9; 113,2. Cf. Voc.

Palarnir: a certain, so-and-so.—*Wart d:šarkim, p° d'owak-i:m* I was washing my body, when a certain person saw me. Cf. Voc.

Wari: (= I.) other.—Subst.: Nom. Sg. *sə w°* 22,13 that other one; cf. 114,12. Pl. *areme w°* these others; cf. 237,8.—Adj.: *I: w° thag* another rogue; cf. 77,13; 201,13; *are wari ami w° ardamas šik* this house belongs to this other man; *w° jaiga:* in another place; cf. 20,13; *sartə orya-m w° arn* 189,6 I have seven other sons, cf. 78,7 and Voc.—I. *a: i: para:ra wari: ardamer dāiga:m* I give an apple to another man.

Obl. *waria:*.—Subst.: *W° γairbat ma kagat* 78,2 don't slander another person.—Adj.: *Tese w° thaka* 148,4 that other rogue (*w° thakāi* 148,3); *w° watan* 75,2; 87,2 in(to) another country; *w° ardamana marrai:k* the other men said; cf. 99,6.

Gen. *warias*.—*Are wari ame w° šik* this house belongs to this other one; cf. 234,3.

Dat. *wariai*.—*W° du šoga kaga:kim* 163,12 for others I used to make it two nights; cf. 147,7.

Allat. *waria:n*.—*Mam are ardam hantawai šhaiwakam w°* (= *wari: jaiga:*) having beaten this man I put him in another place; *gik yāi w° šarrawan* 20,13 he went to another city; *w° jaiga:* in another place; cf. 65,1; 22,13; 24,4; 72,9.—Also *waria:nai*, cf. Voc.

Reflexive Pronouns

15.3. *Tarnuk* own, is not inflected for gender or number. The Nom. may also refer to Obl. cases. It is often placed after the noun.—*T° sa:tha:* in his own village; *wiy-ə tarnuk* 105,4 his own daughter; *t° angusak-am* 13,12 my own ring; *šarn t°* 84,14 himself; cf. 13,7,10.

Obl. *tarnker*.—*T° watana* 28,7 in her own land; *t° w'ary-am šik* it is in my own house; cf. 38,4; 74,13; 75,10; 104,2; 113,12.—In many cases, however, *tarnke* must be translated "(he) himself" (cf. Psht. *pa-xpəla*, from *xpəl* own). Thus, *Juma t° gik* 27,10 J. himself went; *t° ma:ši kawač-a* 181,8 he himself made her his wife ("his own wife" would prob. be *m° tarnuk*, cf. 147,13, but note also 241,12); *tarnu(k) karla čorpana manji:č, čorpana karla: t° man(j)č-ə* 112,10 the shepherd put on his (Jakar's) own clothes, and he himself put on the shepherd's clothes.

Prs. *šarn* is used as a reflexive, referring to all 3 persons.—*J°-em warga wam-ə* 99,2 I shall throw myself into the water; *š°-ə hangai:* 49,12 you are

killing yourself; cf. 99,9; 67,15; *ʃ° ta:nuk ʃunʃ kagar:é* 67,14 she used to turn into a dog; cf. Voc.—*Ta:nke ʃa:na wa:r:rai* 18,6 on his own behalf.

ADVERBS

16.1. It is frequently difficult to find any formal criteria for distinguishing between adverbs and inflected forms of nouns (pronouns). Note, e.g. *a:ʃha wa:ya* in this house (Skt. **atra grhe*); *təra ʃaiga:* in that place (**atra sthane*); *a:ʃhai ya:mai* 100,1 from this distress (**ato duḥkha:t*); *kurai ʃaigai* 117,10 from what place (**kutaḥ sthane:t*). Cf. 6,5; 30,12; 34,13; 42,13; 104,8; 108,5; 119,14; 122,3.

Interrogative Adverbs

16.2. *Kura(:)* ? where ? somewhere.—*Yasin Xa:n k°-a* ? where is Y.Kh. ? *k° ʃai ʃaiču* ? where are you going ? Cf. 110,14 and Voc.—PT. *kura:*; G. *k°ro:*; Ch. *kiro*, etc. But Saln. *kha:*.—Khow. *kura* where ? (< *kutaḥ* ?).

Kurari ? from where ?—*K° ari:* ? 31,13 from where are you ? Cf. 148,7; 152,13.

Har-kuna: wherever; somewhere.—*H° kə ha:ki:* 171,4 wherever you have been; cf. 32,1; 79,7; 119,10; 159,1.—Cf. G. *kine:* ? where ?

Kui ? why ?—Cf. Voc., and 99,13. But *koi* 99,1, prob. "how ?"—Saln. *kui:*; G.Nj. *kuri*.—*Kui ke* because, cf. Voc.

K(i:ye): ? why ?—*K° khana* ? 84,3 why must you flay me ? *ke: ye:teči:* ? 105,11 why have you come ?

Ka:l ? how ?—V. Voc.

Kola ? when ?—V. Voc.

Other Local Adverbs

16.3. *Atra* there; *a:ʃha* here; *təra*, etc., there; thither; *terni*, etc., thither.—I. *a:ʃtərai* there; *a:ʃhāi* here; *a:damə khar a:ʃha ha:n* these donkeys are here, but also *a:damə a:damə:n e:ʃa ha:n* these men are here.

Uddāi, etc., above; *o:ka:re:*, etc., below; *k(h)ana:* outside (I. *a: wa:ya:ri kana: pa:raiga:m* I am going out of the house); *lamba*, etc., after(wards); *pačakana*, etc., behind; *purunar*, etc., before; *sudur* far (adv. or adj. ?).

Other Temporal Adverbs

16.4. *Azər* at present; now; *ba:am* now; *bardaz* thereupon; *do:wasə* daily; *har-du:* (= I.) every day; always; *har-war* always; *pe:štara* later;

tha: then.—*Nu:* to-day; *ʃua:* to-morrow; *saha:r, sa:ra* to-morrow morning; *p'arak* the day after t.-m.; *čaurak* three days hence; *du:* (= I.) yesterday; *tadur* the day before y.

Modal Adverb

16.5. *I:laun* thus.—For adverbs in *har-* cf. Voc.

VERBS

GENERAL REMARKS

17.1. Most verbal roots are monosyllabic, e.g. *han-* to beat; *gur-* to seize; *pač-* to be boiled. But note also, e.g., *orpur-* to dig; *axal-* to play; *piem-* to recognize; *patak-* to deceive (cf. *čatək-*; *hatak-*; *pa:rag-*; *zapak-*); *reken-* to sell; *ʃəkur-* to seize with the teeth (cf. *ʃug-*); *xatar-* to bite off; *zingar-* to agree.

17.2. A finite verb may be characterized by one or more formantic elements belonging to various classes, enumerated below in the order in which they follow the root.

- (1) The causative *-al-*.
- (2) The trans.-caus. stem-extension in *-āi-*.
- (3) Temporal stem suffixes: (a) *-wa-*, *-če-*; (b) *-gar-*.
- (4) Preterital suffix *-(i)k-* (pl. *-i:č-*; f. sing. *-eč-*).
- (5) Infix pronouns (incompatible with 8).
- (6) Auxiliaries: *har-*, *th-*, *ʃh-* (incompatible with 4).
- (7) Endings denoting person and/or number.
- (8) Affixed pronouns.
- (9) Besides we find suffixes of the infinite verb (*-ən*, *-mana:*, *-čarl*, etc.).

17.3. Examples:

Khan! pull!

Khan-am (7) I (shall) pull.

Khan-a! (8) pull him!

Khan-am-(7)-a (8) I (shall) pull him.

Gur-āi-(2) wa-(3) m-(7) i: (8) I shall seize you.

Ka-wa-(3a) ga:-(3b) ō (7) he will be making.

Gur-āi-(2) g(a:)-(3b) i:-(5) ha:-(6) m (7) I am seizing you.

Khan-i:k-(4) ō (8) he pulled him; *khan-i:č* he pulled them.

- Gur-āi*-(2) *wa*-(3a)-*k/č*-(4)-*am*-(7)-*i*: (8) I seized you (m. or f.).
Pač-al-(1) *āi*-(2) *g(a)*-(3b) *i*:-(5) *har*-(6) *m* (7) I am boiling you.
Jang-al-(1) *āi*-(2) *wa*-(3) *k*-(4) *am*-(7) *a* (8) I (recently) frightened him.
Pač-i:k (4) it (m.) boiled, got ripe.
Han-čai (9) *bə-g(a)* (6)-*i:k*-(4)-*im* (7) I (m.) was fighting (continuously).

17.4. The auxiliary stem *har-* has been taken here as being part of a compound. But cf. also forms such as *han-ga ne-am* I am not beating; *han ku ne-ič-am* 147,1 I did indeed not kill her; *pai n'e čan-gar-n* 33,1 which render a correct analysis of such forms doubtful.

For the "modal particles" *bai*, *pa(i)*, v. Voc. s.v.v.

17.5. The following Table gives the inflexional stems derived from the R(oot), as well as the formation of the 3. Sing. Masc. of the past tenses:

Simple Tenses

I. Aorist Stem	R	Simple Past	+ <i>-i:k</i> ^a
II. Future Stem	R + <i>wa</i>	Proximate Past, Trans.	+ „ ^b
III. Pluperfect Stem	R + <i>a</i> :	Pluperfect	+ „ ^c
IVa. Perfect Stem, Trans.	R + <i>č</i>	Perfect, Trans.	+ „
IVb. „ „ Intrans.	R + <i>t</i>	„ Intrans.	+ „

17.6. Compound Tenses

V. Present Stem	R + <i>ga</i> :	Imperfect	+ (h) <i>ari:k</i>
VI. Prospective Pres. Stem	R + <i>wa</i> + <i>ga</i> :	Prosp. Imperfect	+ „

Stem I (= R) combines also with Imperative and Aorist of *th-*, *šh-*, *par-*, and Stem V with Aorist, Present and Imperfect of *th-*, *kəš-*.

AUXILIARIES

18.1. Before giving a survey of the verbal system it may be practical to tabulate the paradigms of the auxiliaries.

To Be

18.2.

PRESENT

1. Sg. <i>-harm</i> (-a(:)m)	1. Pl. <i>hazs</i>
2. Sg. <i>-hari:</i>	2. Pl. <i>hari:</i>
3. Sg. <i>-ha</i> : (-a:); <i>ha:sta</i>	3. Pl. <i>harn</i>
Inanimate <i>šik</i>	

^a 1. Sing. Trans. -am, Intrans. -im, with reduction of *-i:k* to *-k-*, as before all endings.

^b Intrans. R + *gi:k*.

^c Or, R + (h)*ari:k*, rather than R + *a*: + *i:k*.

18.3. I. *arm*; *har:*; *har* (ase); —; —; *harn*. Saln. *arm*; *har:*; *arst*; *hars*; *harth*; *harn*. According to AR there was an original (*asli*) difference between m. *arsta* and f. *ar*. Thus, *lary-arm arsta* he is my brother, but *say-arm a* she is my sister; *wir anda: arsta* the man is blind, but *azəza: andi: a* the woman is blind; *wir/gorja: aul: arsta* the man/horse is big, but *azəza: gorri: andi: a*; *šury aul: arsta* the dog is big, but *pašark* (f.) *sur-a*; *paša:ka dāi šury aul: arsta*, *šunga dāi pašark aul: a*; *sarya dāi lary-a aul: arsta* the brother is bigger than his sister; cf. also *arsta* m. 116,15; 171,8; 191,4.

But we also find *i: wiy-arm arsta* 98,13 I have a daughter; *ari: arsta* 102,11 mother is, and, e.g. *are lari: ate ardamas arsta*, *are wari: lari: tatars ar* this is that man's brother, and this other one is that one's, cf. 62,14; 63,1, and Texts, passim. Note also *nə arsta* 191,4, in a poem, corresponding to *nery-a* 189,8 in the prose version. Possibly *arsta* is a more archaic, poetical form. Cf. Lu. *orsta* 184,12, etc., and A. *orst*, etc.

I. *ar*: *Išpi:galari arm* I am from Ishpi; *māina: lary-arm/sary-arm hari* you are my brother/sister; *gorja: šarmark har* the horse is black; *šury putras-am ar* the dog is my son's (but also *šury putras-an ase* the dog is our son's); *ardəma ardamarn eja harn* those men are here.

18.4. *Šir(k)*, not inflected for gender or number. *Dhar aul: šik* the hill is big; *nandi: aul: šik* the river is big; *wari la:s-am wari šik* the house is my brother's (house); *aeme waili: amars šik* these houses are ours; *kai sudur šir?* how far is it? *aeme wari ate zalakas šik* these houses belong to those people; *luryaly-a bai ni šir* its mulberries are not good. But *xorak-ai kor-a?* 229,9 (11) what is your food?

18.5. *Harm*, etc., may go back to a type **asarmi*, or to some form in (b)h-. *Arsta* is somehow derived from *asti*, if not from *arste*. With Saln. 2. Pl. *harth*, cf. Bhalesi *ah-th* < **astha*. Cf. SW. 21,9.

Šik; G. *šir*, D. *šir*, pl. *šen*, etc. < *šete*, cf. Khov. *šer*, pl. *šeni*.—Parachi *šir* is either an early loan-word from, or has been semantically influenced by Pashai.

18.6.

PAST

1. Sg. <i>ha:k/čim</i> m./f. I was	1. Pl. <i>harčim</i>
2. Sg. <i>ha:k/či:</i>	2. Pl. <i>harču</i>
3. Sg. <i>hari:k/č</i>	3. Pl. <i>hari:č</i> (= I.)

Harik/č is used also with inanimates: *I: luygali: ari:č* there was a

mulberry tree; *aeme wari ate ardamanas harič* these houses belonged to those men.—But G. *šir* it was.

18,7. From *th-* to be(come): Imper. *tha*, etc.; Aor. *tham*, etc.; Pres. *thegam* (= I.); Imperf. *thegakim* (= I.); Simple Past *thekim*. Regarding the use of *th-* in forming periphrastic tenses, v. SW. 32,1, sqq.

18,8. From *b-* to become: Imper. *be*, etc.; Aor. *biem*, Pl. 1 *biema*; Pres. *begam*; Simple Past *bekim*; Prox. Past *begikim*; Pluperf. *bizakim*; Infin. *bik(ai)*.—Regarding *b-* with forms in *-en*, *-čarl*, cf. SW. 33,1; 35,3.

CAUSATIVES AND TRANSITIVES

19,1. In a few cases Causatives are formed by lengthening of the vowel. Thus, *čarl* to open; *čal* to be open; *šar-* to shake down; *šar-* to fall off. This is the original IA. formation, as in Skt. *pataya-*. Cf. also *marr-* to kill, but the intrans. is *le-* to die < *mriya-*. *Lars-* to play a trick upon, is possibly also an ancient causative.

19,2. A common causative and denominative suffix is *-al-*. Thus, *bušal-* to wake; *ušal-* to put out a fire; *atal-* to let enter; *šangal-* (Denom.) to frighten; *šutal-* to put fire to; *lačal-* to boil; *mučal-* to put to flight; *manšal-* to dress somebody else; *susal-* to dry up; *nerl-* to make sit down. V. Voc. s.v.v. for the intransitives.—It is doubtful if *gathil-* to tie a knot, is a causative of *gath-*.

Causatives in *l* are known also from Waig., possibly from Pras., from Ass. and some other modern IA. languages.^a

19,3. Causatives in *-aw-* are: *Giraw-* to make turn round; *phalaw-* to put to sleep; *šangaw-* to strike (Denom.?).

The suffixes *-al-*, *-aw-*, are, except in the Aorist stem,^b enlarged by an element *-ai-*, which is found also in other verbs. E.g. *ataläigam* I let enter; *šangawaigam* he strikes. The absence of *-ai-* in the Aorist (< ancient Present) shows that it can have nothing to do with O.IA. *-aya-*.

19,4. In a number of cases *-ai-* alone forms a causative or transitive. Thus, *axäläigam* I play with (*axal-* to sport, play); *garäikam* I sent him (*gar-* to walk round); *darängaik-a* he broke it (*darang-* to break, intrans.); *langäik* he made descend (*lang-* intrans.); *lašeräigam* I assemble (*lašar-* intrans.); *muñdäiwakam* I broke it (*muñd-* intrans.); *pačäigam* cooks (*pač-*

^a V. Bloch, L'Indo-Aryen, p. 244.

^b But *par-* to go, has Fut. *paräiwam*, etc., but Pres. *pagam*. Thus also *maräiwam* I shall speak, *maräikam* I spoke, but Pres. *mangam* (Isk. *māigam*), in contrast with *maram* I (shall) kill; *marikam*; *margam*.

intrans.; but D.W. trans. *pačal-*); *puläik-e* made arrive (*pul-* intrans.); *šaräigam* I lead away (*šar-* to go); *šaigam* he fastens (*še-* to stick); *tomai-* to make wet (D. *tom-* intrans.); *zabaraik-e* he told him (denom.); *wašäigai(k)* he spent (two nights); *wašama* let us spend (but *wašam* Aor. intrans.).^a

This *-ai-* is found also in some 30 of the recorded transitive verbs with no intransitive counterparts. E.g. *guräigam* I take; *ašäiwam* I shall seize; *čar-ai-* to throw; *kar-ai-* to hide; *wer-ai-* to weep, and all roots in *-ak-* (*hatak-ai-* to command; *patak-ai-* to deceive; *žapak-ai-* to knock).—*Par-* to go, is the only intransitive which has the enlargement *-ai-* in some tenses.

There are also about 30 recorded transitive roots which have no *-ai-*, among them some of the most common ones, such as *han-* to beat; *arr-* to bring; *dory-* to milk; *khan-* to pull out; *reken-* to sell; *wend-* to find.

I.—AORIST STEM

Imperative

20,1. The simple Aor. Imper. 2. Sg. is identical with the root: *Ačh* bring; *ur* rise; *äy* eat; *iya* (I. *yā*) come; *bə* be; *čarl* open; *da* give; *gir* turn; *at* enter; *khan* pull; *muč* flee; *ne-* sit down; *go* out; *päičan* know; *wa* throw, put; *waš* pass. With loss of *-r*, *ka* do; *pa* go (= G.), cf. *šar* go away, from *šar-*.

After the stressed prohibitive *ma* an initial stop is sometimes phonetically lengthened. E.g. *m'a kka/ppa*.^b

In most cases *-a(r)*, probably the 3. Pers. Pron. Suffix, is added to the Imper. of transitive verbs. E.g. *ačh-a*; *äy-a*; *däy-a* give (it); *gur-a* take (it) (= I.); *han-a* kill (him); *kar-a*; *khan-a*; *mar-a* speak; *žup-a* whip (it); *ma wəra* don't weep.^c

20,2. The Aorist Imper. was said to be "forceful" (*zorawar*; *ba-zorr*), in contrast with the Fut. Imper. which is "respectful" (*liar*), or "excusing" (*uzur*). Thus, *ae katačb gura* take this book; *ae larm kara* do this work; *lařwäi dāya* show him. It denotes an "immediate" (*dasti*) action, while the meaning of the form with additional *-i-* was labelled "difficult" (*muškil*). The bare Aorist Imper. was also said to be "common" (*arm*), or

^a Unfortunately there are no other examples of aorist formations common to transitive and intransitive forms of the same verb.

^b Cf. Par. *n'a ppari*: does not go.

^c Cf. the other dialect groups.

"superior" (*lafz-i barlar*) in contrast to "humane" (*lafz-i ensarn*) form with superadded *pa* (probably from the Imper. *pa go*), e.g. *naukar-iem bu* (for *be*) *pa* please, be my servant; cf. 51,5. Cf. also Pach. *ni: pa*, W. *ne: pa* sit down, etc.

20,3. Another particle *pai* (*bai*?)^a may be added to the Imperative as well as to other verbal forms. I had no opportunity of observing the use of the Imper. in actual situations, but according to I. *gura pāi* was a "polite" (*adabi:*) form. Examples from L. are: *Tu juu: ae ardam hana pai*, or *ae ardam pai sarra hana* beat this man to-morrow (but also *tu ae ardam hana*); *hana pai* beat him; *pai pasa* hide it; *pa bai ačh-a* go now and fetch it; *orč ka bai* be attentive. Cf. 90,6.

20,4. Other examples of the Aorist Imper. are: *Go:ra: duraw-a* give the horse fodder; *warg ačh* 18,7 bring water.

In some cases we might rather have expected the Aorist. Thus, *pušak karl kara?* 45,15 what will you do with the cat? (but *karl kagari?* 43,7; *karl karama* 43,1); *pa ka murda guraitarwai iya* 81,12 go and, having taken the corpse, come; cf. 77,12; 84,3; 105,4; 120,2; 135,12.—Note also *orq-i-arn pa* (or, *paraiwai*); I permit you to go (but 2. Pl. *orqarm parai* may be either Imper. or Aorist).

20,5. The addition of *-i:* gives a different shade of meaning to the Imper. 2. Sg. It is not possible to define the exact nature of this distinction, but *ae kata:b gurayi:* take this book; *ma:šir gurayi:* marry the woman, were said to be "difficult" (*muškil*), while *gura* in the same contexts was "immediate" (*dastir*). Cf. *ma werayi:* 227,6 (verse) don't cry, but *wara ma* 121,15.

Other examples are: *Par-i: saudar ačh-i:* go and fetch some goods (but also *pa bazara, saudar ačh-i*)^b; *la:ř m-arn-i:* 222,13 don't tell a lie; *dur ča:l-i:* 174,4 open the door (but *čarl* 158,4); *la:řtar-m ka-i:*, *Balawašir wainal kar-a* (or, *kawa, ka-i:*) 159,9 marry my comrade, make B. your husband; *ayart ka-i:* (or, *ka*) 34,1 tell me; *hasta warg wa-i:* pour water in your hand; *ša(y)-i:* (or, *ša*) *šar'ama* come, let us go (cf. Psht. *ja če ju:*), but *šar-i:* (for 2. Pl. **šarai:*?) *derma bai* 46,4 let us go and see. Cf. 50,7,8; 63,5; 177,5; 217,12; 224,4.

20,6. Note the additional *-ne* in *pa-i:-ne* 188,8 go; *urr-i-ne* 233,4 rise (said to be "poetical", *miar-ne-i bait*, but cf. 88,15). But *-ne* has been

^a *Pa + i:*? Cf. Sham. (NW. 20,6).

^b *Orq-u-arn parr-i:* I allow you to go, was probably misheard for 2. Pl. *parai:*.

recorded also in *bāi šir-ne* 11,5; 116,14 it is well, indeed (*xurb ast, diga*), and it may be an emphatic particle, not restricted to the Imper.^a

20,7. The only other exclusively imperative form is the 1. Pl. in *ma(:)*, e.g. *k'aramar* let us do (but Aor. 1. Sg. *kar'am(m)-e*): Aor. 1. Pl. *karas*. Other examples are: *'āyama* (I. *z'āyama:*) let us eat; *h'anama(:)* let us beat; *d'āyama* let us give; *w'ařama* let us pass; *šar'ama* let us go (= Isk.) *b'i:ema* let us be; *warma* let us throw; *derma* let us see; *narma* let us lead.

Cf. from other dialects, D. *kamarn, šar'aman* let us do/go; A. *šorazm*, Ch. *per'am* let us go. A.Ch. *-m* may go directly back to Skt. *-ma*. The exact derivation of *-ma(n)* is uncertain, but a possible starting-point is Skt. *-mahai*.^b

20,8. An isolated form is *gađu'or, -wor* (I. *gađu:*) let us go. Cf. Lsaig. *jhāiwo* 212,12 let us put; Isk. *maig'ura* let us say. In NW. we find forms in *-a/eu(:)*, *-io*. A derivation from Skt. *-arva* seems possible, the actual content of an imperative 1. Pl. in concrete situations very often being "let us two...". In fact, all recorded instances of *gađu'or* (7,9; 85,4; 170,6,11; 187,9,12, etc.) refer to two persons, but so also does e.g. *šar'amə* 124,14. Cf. also Isk. *žaiğyayo* let us (?) eat; *māigura* let us (?) speak.^c

20,9. Imperative 2. Sg. with pronominal suffix, and 2. Pl. are identical with the corresponding Aorist forms, but are combined with prohibitive *ma*.

Imper. 2. Sg. with pronominal suffix: *Hanati:-m/n* beat me/us; *tu ae para:ř mainar dayeti:-m* (= *daya*) give me this apple; *tu māya/hamari: au dāyeti:-m/n* give me/us bread; *āyeti:-m* eat me; *marati:-m/n* tell me/us; *deti:-m/n* look at me/us; *khanati:-m* pull me; *ma oryati:-m* don't allow me.

Dāyi:-m 195,1; 198,7; 227,11; 231,8 (in songs) give me, is probably a dialect form. But note also *diy-əm* 128,12. Aorist forms serve as Imperatives 2. Pl. and 3. Sg., no examples of 3. Pl. having been recorded.

20,10. Imper. 2. Pl.: *Pačā'i:* 27,12 cook; *para'i:* 73,8; 81,6 go; *karai* 154,3 do; *ačhāi* 73,8 bring; *khanai* 214,5 pull; *yeri* 13,14 come; *čartəkai* 66,5 flee.

20,11. With pronominal suffix: *Hanatar-m* beat me; *myar ae ardam hanatar* beat this man; *myar māinar au dāyetar-m*; *myar au armi dāyetar* give me/him bread; *dāyetar-n* give us; *maratar-m*; *khanatar-m*; *karat-a*; *wat-a* 112,5; *marata* 113,6; *ačkata* 113,12; *gurata*; *āyeta*.—Note Saln. *žareth* eat (2. Sg. *žar*); *karath* do (2. Sg. *karə*).

^a Another possibility is that *-ne* is originally a negation. Thus, *pa-i:-ne* "go, not (= won't you?)"; *bāi šir-ne* "it is well, (is it) not?"

^b Note Village Ksh. *wanamo:-wə* we shall tell you = *wano:-wə*, LSI, VIII, II, 234, n. 2.

^c V. SW. 15,2 (s.v. *čuka*).

20,12. 3. Sg. *karat-e/a* 108,15 let her do it; *ʃhart-e* 120,9 let him put it, and, with loss of pronominal suffix (in pronunciation or notation?) *äyet* 78,10; *karat* 77,2, are to be classed as Aorists.

Aorist Indicative

21,1.	I beat	I make	I become	I may be
1. Sg.	<i>han-am</i>	<i>kar-am</i>	<i>biern</i>	<i>tham</i>
2. Sg.	„ -i:	<i>kai:</i>	* <i>bie:</i> (?)	<i>thi:</i>
3. Sg.	„ -äi	<i>kar-äi</i>	<i>biəri</i>	<i>thäi</i>
1. Pl.	„ -as	„ -as	<i>b(i)ers</i>	<i>thas</i>
2. Pl.	* „ -äi:	„ -äi:	<i>biəri</i>	<i>thäi:</i>
3. Pl.	„ -an	„ -an	<i>biern</i>	<i>than</i>

Cf. also, like *hanam*, *uram* I rise; *äyem* I eat; *däyem* I give (1. Pl. *däyes*); *daram* I have; *ačham* I bring.—Like *karam* also *param* I go.

21,2. With Pronominal Suffixes:

	Obj. 1. Sg./Pl.	2. Sg./Pl.	3. Pers.
Subj. 1. Sg.	—	<i>hanam-i:/u</i>	<i>hanam-e</i>
2. Sg.	<i>hanati-m/n</i>	—	* <i>hanay-a</i> (?)
3. Sg.	<i>hanat-im/n</i>	<i>hanat-i:/u</i>	<i>hanat-e</i>
1. Pl.	—	<i>hanas-i:/u</i>	<i>hanas-e</i>
2. Pl.	<i>hanatar-m/n</i>	—	<i>hanatar</i>
3. Pl.	<i>hanand-im/n</i>	<i>hanand-i:/*-u</i>	<i>hanand-e</i>

21,3. The Pron. Suffix 3. Pers. has usually been noted -e (-ə), and there seems to be no distinction of gender or number. In some cases I have noted -a (*han-ʃham-a* I might have beaten him; *ders-a* may we see him, and, after 2. Sg., *han-ʃhay-a*, but also *maräy-ə bai* if you say to him).—*Hanatar* is to be analysed as -tar: + -e (or, a).—In some cases I imagined I heard a difference between Subj. 2. Sg. -ti:-m/n, and 3. Sg. -t-im/n, but this is most uncertain.

1. Sg. is stressed on the personal ending, frequently with an apparent lengthening of the *m*: [*han'amm-ə/e*] / *han'am-e*/. But usually, not, however, always, I have noted, e.g. *h'anas-e*; *h'anat-i:*; *h'anata-m*.

21,4. Examples:

Subj. 1. Sg.—With Obj. 2. Sg. *karam(m)-i:*; *äyem-i:*; *däyem-i:*; *han-ʃham-i:*. With Obj. 2. Pl.: *äyam-u/o*; *orram-u*; *ʃham-o*. With Obj. 3. Pers.: *han'am-ə*; *khanam-e/ə*; *karam-ə*; *wa'm-ə*.

Subj. 2. Sg.—With Obj. 1. Sg./Pl.: *hanati(i)-m/n*; *äyeti-m*; *däyeti(i)-m/n*. With Obj. 3. Sg./Pl.: *maräy-ə bai* if you say it.

Subj. 3. Sg.—With Obj. 1. Sg./Pl.: *hanat-i(i)-m/n*; *nat-i:m* it will carry me away. With Obj. 2. Sg./Pl.: *hanat-i/o*; *karat-i:*; *däyet-i:*. With Obj. 3. Sg./Pl.: *karat-ə*; *äyet-e*; *däyet-e*; *wat-ə* let him urge (his horse) on.

Subj. 1. Pl.—With Obj. 2. Sg./Pl.: *däyes-i:*; *nas-i:*; *däi-ʃha:s-u* we might have given you. With Obj. 3. Sg./Pl.: *hanas-ə*; *de:s-a* we (shall) see him.

Subj. 2. Pl.—With Obj. 1. Sg./Pl.: *hanatar-m*; *däi-ʃhatar-m/n*. With Obj. 3. Sg./Pl. *hanatar*.

Subj. 3. Pl.—With Obj. 1. Sg.: *han'and-im*. With Obj. 2. Sg. *hanand-i:*; *däyend-i:*. With Obj. 3. Sg./Pl.: *ačhand-ə*; *na:nd-ə*; *wahand-ə*.

21,5. 1. Sg. -am, 1. Pl. -as (G. -äis, -anz-), and 3. Pl. -an(d-) are common to all Pash. dialects.^a

21,6. 1. Pl. goes back, through *-a¹ms, to -armasi, cf. Kaf. and many Dard. languages, as well as Eur. Romani. Note the probably secondary -t in A. *oičest* we were, etc., Al. *hi:st* we are.—Regarding 1. Pl. Imper. -mar-, -m(ain), -uor, etc., cf. above SW. 20,7, sq. Reg. A.Ka. -an, v. NE. 23,3 sq.

21,7. 2. Sg. L.G.D. -i:; A. -e, etc., and L. -ay-; D. -e:-; A. -äy- < -asi. G. has retained *s* in some verbs, cf. Al. *handis-im*, etc.—K.Ch. -eu: probably contains an affixed pronoun 2. Sg., while L. -t- remains obscure.

21,8. 3. Sg. L.G. -äi and corresponding forms in other dialects < -ati. But it is difficult to account for the retention of -t- (-d-) in suffixed forms in L.Al. SE.NE., as well as for -t in G.Ka.Ch.Ku.sh.^b A retention of -t- could only be explained in a few athematic forms, which are unlikely to have left any trace in Pash.—L. *harsta*, Al. (*h*)*arsta*, W. *ars(t)*, A. *or:st* probably go back to *asti*, or *arste*, with *h-* from a base **ho-*.

21,9. 2. Pl. presents, as is the case also in other Dard. languages, problems of its own. The exact derivation of L. -äi:, cf. SE. -ä:e, etc., you are, is uncertain. With NE. -(a)u, cf. modern IA. -o, -au, Apabhr. -ahu, etc.—A. -u(st) (in *oičust* you were), Pach. -ista may contain an ancient additional *stha*, cf. Poguli, Bhalesi, -u/ath, and the parallel extension of -st in S.Psht. dialects. But *sth* regularly results in *th*, cf. SW. 18,5.

I am at loss to explain the apparent retention of -t- in L. -ta, I.Isk. (Pres.) -t, G.Al. -da, D. -da. G. -unda remains also unexplained. A derivation of -t-, -nd- < **tn-* < -atana is not acceptable.

^a L. -and-im may go directly back to **anti-me*.

^b L. *ba:t* = *bäigai*; 99,4 must be a dialect form.

USE OF THE AORIST

21.10. The Aorist is used in a non-determined, non-durative sense. The contrast with the Present seems to be one of aspect, as well as of mood (subjunctive, prospective: indicative). A similar tendency prevails in most other languages of this region, as well as in modern IA. and many Ir. languages in general, the aorist (< ancient present) being the unmarked form.

Any attempt to classify the various shades of meaning of the aorist based on the material available from L. would lead to artificial and pedantic distinctions. A few main groups, however, may be suggested.

21.11. (1) Futuric Aorist.—Frequently, but not always in combination with the particle *pai*. E.g. *ae 'ardam ju'a: pai a: han'am-a* I shall beat this man to-morrow; *ama: j° p° mya: hanas-u*; *mya: j° p° mam/ama: hanata:m/n*; *ae 'ardam j° p° mam/ama: hanat-i(:m)/n* (or, *hang-im/n-a:*); *ae a° j° p° tau/mya: hanat-i:/u*; *hama: j° p° tau h'anas-i:*; *hama: ae 'ardam hanas-a*. *H'anam-i:*, etc., was said to be "forceful" (*zorawar*), while the future *h'anwam-i:* is "mild" (*hiaz*).

Other examples are: *Ar: azar tau n'i hang-i-a:m, la:kən j° p° tau hanam-i:* I am not beating you now, but I shall beat you to-morrow; *tau a° mam ni hang-im-a:i:*, *l° j° p° mam hanat-i-m*; *a: ae parar: taina dāyam-a* I shall give you this apple; *tu hamari: au dāyet-i-n* you wilt give us bread.^a *Ar: nu: ar:at kar'amm-a* I shall speak now; *awat'a:-m, w'arya par'am, 'au āyam* I am hungry, I shall go home and eat bread; *māina ke: neky-a ki kar-ran-am karāi* I have nobody who will avenge me (cf. 160,1; 161,16); *wand'am-a dāyam-i: pai* if I find it, I shall give it to you; *kura šatēki: ? Karbul šatēkim, Karbula la:m-yem šik* where are you going? I am going to Kabul; I have work to do there^b; *Yasir Xar'n 'a:tha yey'ik, han'am-a, la:m n'a kagar* Y.Kh. has come here; I shall beat him, (because) he does not work; *badam au āyam (āigam), au kə āikam, bardaz la:m kar'am-a*; *b'adam la:m n'e kag'a:m* now I shall eat (am eating) food; when I have eaten, then I shall work; now I am not working; *taina harry-ai k'andī ma:l ačhei* (for *ačhi: ?*), *dāyem-i:* if it pleases your heart to give me money, I shall give you (my sister). Cf. *baryāi* 33,7; *bers* 34,11; *gur'ōmmə... hanamm-a* 86,6; *m'arram-a... āyam-a* 128,9.

21.12. (2) Dubitative or interrogative Aorist, not sharply distinguished

^a Note that in *dāyam-a* the pronominal suffix refers to the direct, but in *dāyet-i-n* to the indirect object.

^b The Perfect *šatēkim* is used as a substitute for the missing Aorist of *šar-*.

from group (1).—*Tu: bāi thi: ge* 8,9 you may be good (enough, but...), cf. 9,1; 117,4; *kor ar:at karam?* 34,1 what shall I say? *w'iy-am putras-ai d'āyem?* 123,12 shall I give my daughter to your son?—Cf. 13,13; 35,11; 89,5; 119,10.

21.13. (3) Hortative or desiderative Aorist.—*Paras bai, d'ers-a* 154,2 let us go and look for it; *hary-ai kor bad n'e thāi* may no evil befall your heart; *dam-a waryāi, ama: sāl k'arama* 12,12 may (God) give breath (to this statue), and let us watch it; *ačhand-a* 73,13 let them bring it.—Cf. 80,4; 170,7 (3).

21.14. (4) Aorist in dependent clauses, often with *ke*; *ge*; *akui*; *bai*. *Badam um'ernd-ai šik kə war-na-i pa'ir, la:m xala:s kačakāi* now you hope to go home, you have finished your work; *umernd dar:ram ki mya: juar yāi: pari:* I hope you will come to-morrow; *na:ma-ja'i: ke hanand-im bə, are kəta pa gurāiga:m* even if they beat me, I am taking this book (or, ... *kə tu hanat-i-m...; ... kə hanand-i:; ... kə tau ama: han'as...; ... mya: kə hanata:m*); *akui n'a pai ba, 'azar hang-i-a:m, pai ge, n'e hang-i-a:m* if you do not go, I shall beat you; if you go, I shall not beat you. Cf. 3,9; 41,9, sq.; 67,1, sq.; 75,12; 77,8; 116,5,9; 123,7; 139,1; 144,12; 147,4, etc.

Intransitive Future

21.15. The Aorist of *par-*, added to the stem of an Intransitive verb, serves as a Future. Cf. the Proximate Past.^a

E.g. *buššə paran* 156,13 (if) they wake; *dhar parāi* 72,12 (if) it remains; *jut parāi* 46,1 he will burn up; *dharra šira zar'n hariz, pačatai ber, lor* (i.e. *lor*) *pa'ir* you are standing on the hill, come this way, (or) you will fall (Prs. *i: su: buru:, me: aptir*); *umern dar:rgam ki mya: juar yāi par(e)i:* I hope you will be coming to-morrow. Cf. 29,2; 210,10.

Simple Past

21.16. This tense is based on the Aorist stem (eventually with *-āi-*) + *k/č*. For practical reasons it will be dealt with together with other past tenses.^b

II.—FUTURE STEM

22.1. From the Future stem in *(-āi)-wa* are formed the Future Imperative, Indicative and the Proximate Past of Transitive verbs.^c The Prospective Present is formed from a stem in *wa + gar*.^d

^a SW. 28,1.

^c For the Future of Intransitive verbs, cf. SW. 21,15.

^b V. SW. 27,1.

^d Cf. SW. 25,1.

A Future in *-wa* is found also in NW. and in Lg., but not in other SE. dialects or in NE. On the other hand SE. and NE. possess a Static Participle in *-wa*, fem. *-wi*, not found in SW. or NW. The future *-wa* does not change for gender or number. Only in LSI.w. we find as well a Static Participle in *-wa*: and a future in *-war*, but the formations are not identical.^a

It is possible to derive futuristic (*han-*)*wa* < *-iawva* < *-itavya*, cf. Past Stem (*han-*)*k-* < **(t)akka-*.^b

Future Imperative

22.2. The forms recorded are: 2. Sg. *hanwa* (with *-i*, **hanwai*); **hanwatir-m* beat me; **hanway-a* beat him; 2. Pl. **hanwai*; **hanwata-m*. It seems probable that also the types **hanwatir-n*; **hanwata-n*; **hanwata*; **hanwama*: exist.

22.3. The Future Imperative was said to be "gentle" (*hiaz*), "humane" (*lafz-i insān*), "requesting" (*uzur*). Thus, *ae kita:b gurāiwa* (please) take this book (I. "bigirri:"); *parāiwa ae la:m kawa* (please) go and do this work; *parāiwa bazara, sauda: arwa* go to the bazaar and fetch some goods; *gorar durawāiwa* give the horse straw-fodder. Cf. *kawa* 53,1; 165,3, but, in analogous passages, also *kara* 41,16; 162,3; *ač kara, manda pai tənwa* 164,4 fill it, and tie it round your neck.

With additional *-i*, *gurāiwa* which was said to be "requesting, but difficult" (*uzur, muškil*), in contrast with *gurāiwa*.—Cf. also *čarlwa'i*, etc., 161,7,10; 224,7 (in song) open, but *čarl* 158,13 (prose), 224,14 (song). In *gurāiware*: 176,2 (*gurāiwa* 172,10, prose); *čarlwa'ar*: 174,7 (but *čarl* 171,3,5, prose),^c *-ar*: stands at the end of a line, and is due to metrical lengthening. Cf. *lamba-way'ar*: 175,6; and also *mangar-e*; *kagar-e*: 174,6,9; *dur'ar-e*; *Asakar-e*: 176,3,4.

22.4. The only example of 2. Pl. is *parai ... arwai* 73,2 go ... bring.

22.5. With pronominal suffix: *Ae kita:b daiwati-m* give me this book; *waiwati-m* throw me; *khanway-a* 224,2 put it out; *weldiway-a* 242,6 set him free; *kaway-a*; *fhāiway-a* 197,4; *dāiwata-m*; *orwata-m* 17,6; *or-bai-wata-m* 243,9, with inserted particle *bai*.

Future Indicative

	Obj. 1. Sg.	2. Sg./Pl.	3. Sg./Pl.
22.6.			
Subj. 1. Sg. <i>hanwa-m</i>	—	<i>hanwa-m-i/o</i>	<i>hanwa-m-e</i>
2. Sg. „ <i>-i</i>	<i>hanwa-tir-m</i>	—	„ <i>-y-a</i>

^a Cf. SE. 22,1.

^b Cf. SW. 26,8.

^c Čarl: 174,4 (song), possibly for **čarlai*?

	Obj. 1. Sg.	2. Sg./Pl.	3. Sp./Pl.
Subj. 3. Sg. „ <i>-yāi</i>	<i>hanwa-t-im</i>	<i>hanwa-t-i/o</i>	<i>hanwa-t-e</i>
1. Pl. „ <i>-s</i>	—	* „ <i>-s-i/o</i>	* „ <i>-s-e</i>
2. Pl. „ <i>-(ə)i</i>	„ <i>-tar-m</i>	—	* „ <i>-t-a</i>
3. Pl. „ <i>-n</i>	* „ <i>-nd-im</i>	„ <i>-nd-i/o</i>	„ <i>-nd-e</i>

22.7. Examples: *Kawa-m, -i, -yāi, -s, -i, -n* I shall make, etc.; *gurāiwam*, etc.; *dāiwam*; *arwam*; *fhāiwam*; *parāiwam*. Note the *y*-glide in *hanwayāi*.

With pronominal suffixes: *Hanwam-i* 61,7; 180,11; cf. 65,6; 72,12; 89,14; 178,17; *kawam-o* 64,10; *hanwam-a/a*; *kawam-a* 63,2; *waiwam-a*; *hanwatir-m* 180,12; *dāiwat-im*; *waiwat-im* *; *kawat-i* 228,6; *dāiwat-i* 82,10; *kawat* 73,15 (for **kawat-e* ?); *dāiwata-m*; *ašāiwand-i* 236,2; *kawand-o* 154,15. Cf. also below.

22.8. The Future in most cases denotes a definite future. Thus, *w'endwam* 34,6 I shall (certainly) find; *tau yar'ar'a: kawayāi* 32,12 he will (certainly) hang you (but *γ° kag-i-a'm* 33,12 I shall hang you, if ...; *γ° karat-i: wari* 34,5 he will/may, after all, hang you); *a: dāiwam-i* 89,14 I shall give thee (but *dāyem-i*: 89,16). Cf. 7,10; 61,7; 130,4; 149,6; 154,15; 156,14; 187,8; 228,9.

22.9. In dependent clauses: *Jayg bega'm kastruk kadwat-im* I am afraid the wasp will sting me; *lary-am han'en bitir(k), ume:d-am šik ki dušm'an-am wendw'am-a au hanw'am-a* my brother has been killed; I hope that I shall find my enemy and kill him. This is probably a more definite statement than *ume:nd-am šik ka warnai par'am (pa'i)* I hope that I shall (you will) go home. But cf. also *umern šik yaga'i*: I hope you will come; *lary-ai umern dargar: ka lary-am pagar (šati)* thy brother hopes that my brother will go.—Note, *tu: nu: daulat dāiwatir-m* 70,13 if you will give me riches to-day. ...

22.10. *Orwata-m par'diwam* 17,6 allow me to go, was said to be more polite (*arazir: gap* "women's and servant's speech") than *or° par'am* which was characterized as being "forceful" (*zorawari*), or "men's speech", just as the Future Imperative is more polite than the Aorist Imperative.^b Cf. also, *no orrg-i-a:m ka par'diwa:*, *no orrg-u-a:m ka par'diwa:* I don't allow you to go, perhaps to render the prohibition less harsh, but *orrg-i-a:m pa*; *orrg-u-a:m parai*. Similarly: *no orrg-im-ai: ki a: par'diwam* (or, *par'am*) you do not allow me to go; *no orrga:m parāiwayāi* I don't allow him to go.

^a *Wāiway-im* 231,3 may (God) grant me, must be a dialect form.

^b Cf. SW. 22,3.

Hanwam-i: was also said to be "gentle" (*liar:*), in contrast with the more "stern" (*zorawar:*) *hanam-i:*.

Note also: 'Azar ur'am (*urg'a:m*) *hanwam-i:* (*hang-i-a:m*) now I shall (am going to) rise, and shall (am going to) beat you.

Proximate Past

22.11. This tense is based on the future stem + *k/č*. Cf. SW. 28,2, sqq.

III.—PRESENT STEM

23.1. Present Stem = Root (+ *āi*) + *ga:*, e.g. *hangar:*, *gurāigar:*. It is originally a participle, but without distinction of gender.^a

The pronominal suffixes, and occasionally the negation, are inserted between the present stem and the auxiliary. E.g. *hang-i-a:m* I am killing you; *wəngar-n'e-am* 119,15 I am not finding; *hangar-niy-a* he is not killing (him), cf. 116,6; 120,14; 222,7. With irregular position of the auxiliary: *talaxa-harn waiga:* 140,4 they are going to divorce.

The *a:* of *ga:* is always dropped before a pronominal suffix.

Irregular present stems are: *kaga:* (*kar-*); *paga:* (*par-*); *maygar:* (*mar-*); *šargar:* (*šar-*). /*N*/ is nearly always pronounced as [ŋ] before *g*, as in *hangar:*.^b

23.2. A present in *ga:* is found also in I.Isk., and SE. (and A.Ka. before pronominal suffixes) has *-k/g-*. But G. and other NW. dialects have *-tor*, and Al. *-rar*.—Outside Pash. we may compare Gambiri *-k/g-* (*jākom* I see; *terkom* I put; *kyegam* I make, etc.).

The derivation of *ga:* is uncertain. A verbal adjective in **-ka(ha)-* might perhaps have retained its first velar stop in some positions (e.g. in secondary contact with *n*), and the resulting *ga:* have been transferred also to other positions.

Present Imperative

23.3. Only a few examples have been recorded, and they do not always seem to have a definite durative sense.

2. Sg.: *Mašim tarke 'arğa* 39,3 bring my wife yourself; *mam du: marūkam-i: ke sarra pa(i)ga* yesterday I told you: come to-morrow; cf. 33,7; 244,8; 247,7 (?).

2. Pl.: *A:lāigyāi* get up (said to be Pl.).—*'Aigai:* 81,10; *paigeri* 161,8;

^a As e.g. in L.u. *-tor*, f. *-ti:*.

^b But usually Simple Past *hankam* I struck.

ae la:m kagari: do this work, are probably Sg., either Imperatives, with the particle *-i:*,^a or hortative Presents.^b

1. Pl.: *Ama: ae parar: a:mi a:damāi dāigahama* let us give this apple to this man; cf. *rekegama:*; *gurāigama:*; *kaga:ma* 42,21; 53,10, sq.; 85,4.

Since no separate **ha:ma* has been recorded, such forms can no longer be analysed as composed of *-ga:* + Auxiliary.

Note Isk. *čū: bə žāigyayo* let us all eat; *čōenas-au e māig'ur-a* let us tell it to all of you.

Present Indicative

23.4. The auxiliary *ha:m*, etc., is added to the present stem. Occasionally it is pronounced as a full, separate word, but there is a strong tendency to contract *hangar-ha:m* into *hangar(a)m*, etc., and 3. Sg. is always *hangar*.—*Gurāiga:sta* 219,6; *kagasta:* 161,4 are poetical or dialect forms.—There is no visible pronominal suffix 3. Pers., but it may have merged with *-ga:*.

23.5.		Obj. 1. Sg./Pl.		2. Sg./Pl.	
Subj.	1. Sg. <i>hangar:-(ha:)m</i>	—		<i>hang-i:/u-(h)a:m</i>	
	2. Sg. " " <i>-i:</i>	<i>hang-irm/n-(h)ari:</i>		—	
	3. Sg. " " "	" " " <i>a:</i>		" " " <i>a:</i>	
	1. Pl. " " <i>-s</i>	—		" " " <i>a:s</i>	
	2. Pl. " " <i>-i:</i>	" " " <i>ari:</i>		—	
	3. Pl. " " <i>-n</i>	" " " <i>an</i>		" " " <i>an</i>	

23.6. E.g. *a: mangi:a:m* (= *tāina: mangga:m*) I say to thee; *a: myarāi mangua:m*; *tu: mangim/nari:*, etc.

In the objective forms of *de-* to see, the root-vowel is often phonetically affected by the pronominal suffix. Thus, *a: tau deggeya:m*; *a: aeme degga:m*; *ase tau deggeya:*; *amar tau degg(e)ia:s*; *mya: ae deggaar:*; *aeme ase deggahar:n*; but *tu mam digimai:*; *tu ama: diggina'i:*; *ase mam/ama: diggim/nar:*; *mya: mam/ama: diggim/nai:*; *aeme mam/ama: diggim/nhar:n*; *aeme mya: dōgguhar:n* (but *a: mya: dowai deggua:m*; *ama: mya: degguar:s*; *ase mya: deggua:*), etc. This colouring of the vowel, as well as the lengthening of the *g*, are non-phonemic features of realization.

^a Cf. Aor. and Fut. Imper.; SE. 20,5.

^b Cf. SE. 23,8.

^c Thus, not *-an* is the correct reading of my original notes.

23.7. In other SW. dialects:

I.	Isk.	Saln.
1. Sg. <i>zāig</i> (^v)-'a:m I eat	=	<i>šarig</i> -a:m I go
2. Sg. „ -a:ī ^a	-a:ī	„ -i:
3. Sg. „ -a:	=	„ -a:
1. Pl. „ -a:s	<i>zāigyayo</i> (Imper. ?)	„ -a:s
2. Pl. „ -at	=	„ -a:t
3. Pl. „ -an	=	„ -a:n

Cf. Isk. *māigy*-a:m; -a:ī; -a; -ua: (Imper. ?), -at, -an I speak. Also "Pach." has -garm.

With Pron. Suffixes: I. *hang*-i:-'a:m I am beating you (Sg.); *hang*-i:m-a:ī; *hang*-i:m-at you are beating me.

USE OF THE PRESENT

23.8. (1) As a durative: *Deggaa:m āiga:* I see that he is eating; *tu azər mam nī ang*(-im)-a:ī, *la:kən fua:* pai mam *hanati*-m you are not beating me now, but you will beat me to-morrow; *a: azər tau hang*-y-a:m; *aeme ae para:r a:mī a:damāi dāigaha:n* they are giving this apple to this man; *a: mang*-i:-a:m I am telling you (said to be *peš-i rū:* "present"); *tu: mam hang*-i:m-a:ī, *kui ke la:yai hančekam* you are beating me because I have beaten your brother; *a:damā:n yaga:n* people are coming; cf. 130.8. Note *dowakam-a ae a:dam au āiga:* (or, *āiwak-a*) I saw that this man was (lit. is) eating bread.

I. *a: ēa:l-em wašega:m* I am combing my hair; *ma:l-em kuṇḍa naiga:m* I am taking my cattle to the hill-pasture.

(2) As a habitual present: *D'owasa d'owasa yagai:* you are coming every day; cf. 49.14; 103.6.

I. *a: har dur pušpa wandāiga:m* I arrange (*fo:r me:kunam*) flowers every day.

(3) As a historical present: *Deggaa:* 14.4 she saw (but *dəč-a* 13.10); cf. 11.2; 114.11.

The formula *ma:rāike manga:* "he said, he says" frequently introduces direct speech.

A:sta "is" can also be used about the past, cf. 151.13.

(4) About the near, certain, or lasting future: *Azər urgarm* (*uram*),

^a But note I. *kagi:* you make.

hang-i:-a:m (*hanwam*-i:) now I am going to rise and beat you; *arom'at sa:ra Yasi:n Xa:n hanga:m* (*hanam-a*) I shall certainly beat Y.Kh. to-morrow; *a: fua: tau hang*-i:-a:m; *mya: fua: pai mam hang*-im-a:ī; *a: a:dam pai fua: mam hang*(-im)-a:ī; *a: yagarm, a:ya:t larwāi dāig*-i:-a:m (when) I come, I shall explain the word to you; *bad'am n'i yagarm, la:m kaga:m; la:m kə kakarm, b'a:daz yaga:m* I am not coming now, (because) I am working; when I have finished my work, then I shall come. Cf. 37.2; 44.7; 108.7; 112.9; 116.5; 117.15; 147.8; 193.10.

In very many instances it seems impossible to decide why the Present is used in preference to the Aorist or the Future, and frequently these tenses are used without any apparent discrimination in the same types of sentences. Cf., e.g. *hanwam...hangai:* 49.11, sq.; *ṭəngam...ne:ga:m* 217.13; *zīggarāi...ne zīggarga:* 73.15, sq.; *yaga:m, hanam* 198.7; *manga:...manga:...ma:rāik-e...ma:rāik-e* 114.5, sq.

(5) In dependent clauses after verbs denoting hope or fear, etc.: *Ume:n dargarm fua: tu yaga'i:* (*yāi pai*) I hope you are coming to-morrow; *umern šik yaga'i:*, *n'i yaga'i:*, *hama: xapa bəga:s* (we) hope you are coming; if not, we shall be angry; *ama: fəng bəga:as, a: a:dam fua: ang*-i:-n-a (*tau/mya: hang*-i:-u:-a:) we are afraid that this man is going to beat us (you) to-morrow; *bad'am loṛga: n'i a'i:*; *fəng bəga:m a:zira ke loṛgai:* (*loṛi:*) you are not falling now, (but) I am afraid that you will fall in the end; *j° b° ae a: dam loṛga:*; *j° b° loṛga:m; tu Pačəyan'i: n'e: arṛgai:*, *hang*-i:-a:m if you do not bring a Pachaghani I shall beat you. Cf. 5.11; 10.5; 112.10.

(6) A hortative present is found in, *gur aula korgan* 131.12 let them dig the grave large; *xapa na bəga:i:* may you not be distressed. It would be possible to call such forms Present Imperatives.^a

Imperfect

23.9. Present stem + *hark/čim* I was, etc., usually with contraction. E.g. *ornəga:(i)kim*, fem. *ornəga:ha:čim* I was washing. The subject is put in the Nom., also with transitive verbs.

1. Sg. <i>kaga:k/čim</i> I was doing	1. Pl. <i>kaga:čim</i>
2. Sg. „ -k/či:	2. Pl. „ -ču
3. Sg. „ -i:k/č	3. Pl. „ -ič

E.g. *bəga:kim* I was becoming; *negari:k* he was going out; *yagari:č* they

^a V. SW. 23.3.

were coming; I. *hangar:kim*; *ḡāigarik* he placed; *zāigar:ē* they ate; *kagar:ē* they made.

With pronominal suffix: *O:rg-i:m-aki*: thou didst allow me; *mang-i:m-ari:k* he was saying to me; *kag-i:m-ai:ē* she was making me; *hang-i:ar:kim* I was beating you; *mang-i:ni-ar:im* I (f.) was (not) saying to you; but note *wandāgakay-a* 10,13 you were arranging it, apparently with affixed object -a.

23.10. The Imperfect is used:

(1) As a durative past: *Lam kagar:kim, i: ardam yeryi:k* (while) I was working, a man came; *ar du: aryat kagar:kim* yesterday I was talking; *gai daigaryi:ē, narḡ kagar:ē* 4,13 they were singing and dancing. Cf. 69,6; 115,8; 224,9.—I. *emā mardum trā du ḡang kagar:ē* these men were fighting for three days.

(2) As a frequentative past: *Sa gəra:n bəgar:i:ē*, *ḡamarn dāigar:ē*, etc., 217,1 she used to become pregnant and to bear children (but, *bardaz gir gəra:n bəgə* 217,3 then she became pregnant again). Cf. *rekəngar: har:ē* 40,8; *kagar:ik* 110,2; *pagai:[k]* 183,8; *waigar:i:[k]* 27,14; *guraigar:i:[k]* ... *naigari:k* 162,8, sq.

(3) In the apodosis of a clause of impossible conditions: *Akui bai lary-am ni han-ḡhay-a, ar tau ni: hang-i:ar:kim* if you had not beaten my brother, I should not have beaten thee; *kə bai dāi-ḡhar:z, omā arzəgar:ē* 52,4 if you had given (1,000 rupees), they would have been worth it.

An intransitive form *girgar: ga'i:* 115,9 he was walking about, has been recorded once, but is doubtful as to correctness and exact meaning.

Ingressive Present and Imperfect

24.1. Various tenses of a root *kəḡ-* added as auxiliaries to the present stem, denote an ingressive, durative action.

(1) With aorist of *kəḡ-*, Ingressive Present: *Tu tarna daig-i:m-kəḡ:* 70,14 you wilt begin to scold me; *tarna dāig-i:kəḡan* 167,4 they will begin to scold you.

24.2. (2) With preterite of *kəḡ-*, Ingressive Imperfect: *Narḡgar:kəḡi:[k]* 12,14 it started dancing; *par:ya n'e žukogar:kəḡi:* 47,8 (the shoe) did not fit her foot (when she started trying it on); *phakka: hangar:kəḡi:ē* 88,6 she started fanning it; *girgar:kəḡi:ē, gəraḡ gəraḡ* 108,3 she began to wander about, and wandered and wandered; *šira neri nā bāigar:kəḡi:k* 120,3 he could not (did not begin to be able to) sit on its back; *m'ar:šir gurāigar:kəḡi:* 162,10 he was going to marry; *pagar:kəḡi:ki:* 186,13 you started going. Cf. 9,5;

46,14; 81,11; 88,7; 147,14; 167,12; 222,5.—*Barw mangar:kəḡi:ē kə* 9,6 his father began to say, must be a mistake for *-kəḡi:k*.—I. *ar aw'u: zāigar:kəḡi:kim*; *tumā aw'u: zāigar:kəḡi:ē* I/they began to eat bread.

24.3. (3) The present *kəḡəgaharm*, *°gar:z*, *°gar*, *°gahar:s*, **°gahar:*, *°garn* added to the present stem form a tense of which no other examples were recorded than *wandāigar:kəḡəgaharm*, etc., I am (continuously?) beginning to arrange.—With imperfect of *kəḡ-*: *Yasin Xarn gul wandāigar:kəḡəgar:i:[k]* (whenever I came) Y.Kh. was beginning to arrange the flowers.

Present Stem + th-

24.4. The material available is insufficient, and the labels attached to the various forms are tentative.

Indefinite (Habitual?) Imperative

24.5. 2. Sg. **Hangar-the*.—*Tu hamar:z dasti: dasti: au dāig-ir:n-thə* give us always food at once; *tu gə au laḡarāigar-the* 60,10 you must indeed collect food (every day); cf. 34,8; 35,12, sq.; 36,11; 183,4.

2. Pl. **Hangar-thai:*.—*Gərwaiḡa-thāi šarra* 6,10 take (everyone who...) round in the city; cf. 7,5; 50,13. *Mya: au warḡ waiga-tāi* throw (again and again, repeatedly?) the bread into the water; *mya: māina dasti: dasti: au dāig-im-tāi* (v. above); *mya: ae hanga-tāi* beat him (again and again), but *mya: i: war ae h'anata* beat him once.

In many cases I may, by mistake, have recorded *-t(ə)*, *-tāi* for *-the*, *-thāi:*. Thus, 2. Sg. *ae hangat* 18,11 go on beating (this drum); *ba:lku:l dowan'āigya-te* fumigate the boy (whenever he has been exposed to the evil eye); cf. 78,2,3; 81,2; 114,9; 134,2; 143,8; 144,8.

24.6. These forms may also be repeated: *H'angga-to* (for, *-thə-u*?) *h'angga-tə* beat him again and again (*har sarat buzan*, but *h'an-a* beat him once); *āigya-to āigya-tə* eat, etc.; *dāigya-to dāigya-tə* give, etc.; *dəg'a-to dəg'a-tə* look, etc. (but *dīg-a* look once); *pačāigya-to pačāigya-tə* cook, etc.; *čatəg'a-to čatəg'a-tə* (for **čatəg-ga-*) run, etc. (but *čat'ik* run once); *piəngga-to pi'əngga-tə* listen, etc. (but *pi'en-a*, Prs. *b'ešnau*).

Present Subjunctive

24.7. *Hangar-tham*, etc., I may be beating. This form is used:

(1) In the protasis of a conditional sentence. *Koe k'aya baig'ar-tham, ju'ar: kar'amn-ə* if I may be able to do it, I shall do it to-morrow; *k'aya n'e baigarm, akoe k'aya bāig'ar-t[h]am, beš'akk kaga'a:m* I cannot do it; if I

may be able to do it, I shall certainly do it; cf. *bāiga:thi* 63,9 if you may be able to.

(2) Dubitative, or indefinite: *A: mya:ə au d'aig-u-tham* I may give you bread; cf. 39,9; 60,14; 114,12; 143,10.—*Dāigyatei dāigyatə* was said to mean "are you constantly giving", but this seems doubtful.

(3) Desiderative, or hortative: *Naiga-tham* 104,4 let me lead her; cf. 11,10; 48,6; 134,2.

Habitual Present and Imperfect

24,8. **Hangar:thega:m*.—The only example from L. is *a: khan'a gul wandāiga:thega:m* (I. *pušpa wandāiga:thega:m*) I use to be arranging flowers outside.^a Cf. also I. *hangar:thegarm* "hame:ša me:zanam"; *a: har du: la:m kaga:thega:m* I am working every day.

24,9. **Hangar:thega:kim*.—*Yasim Xa:n bai ari:k, gul wandāiga:thega:ri:[k]* Y.Kh. (who is no more your servant) was clever, he used to arrange flowers. Cf. 20,20.—I. *kaga:thega:kim* I used to do.

Regarding *phaleč thega:ri:č* v. SW. 31,2.

IV.—PROSPECTIVE PRESENT STEM

25,1. This term may tentatively be applied to a present stem based upon the future stem (*-wa + gar*). It is impossible, from the three examples available, to define the exact value of these forms.

Prospective Present and Imperfect

25,2. *Sə la:l tala: a:wa:ri:ga, au la:l lerna ša:m a:č katawai warg šhāiwaga:* 51,7 she is hanging the ruby from the ceiling, and under it she will be putting a cup filled with water (lit., water, having filled a cup); *ša:n tarmuk šunf kawaga* 68,1 (when guests are coming) she will be changing herself into a she-dog.

Kor: ardam ke bai hangar:kašik, xad nemišta karwagari:[k], bakaša kuča šhāiwagari:[k], hasta šhāigari:k 81,3, sqq. whichever man he was going to kill (i.e. whenever...), he would be writing a letter, he would be putting it into an envelope, and he was handing it over to him.

^a AR. said that this form in itself denoted something "outside" (*be:ru:n*), in contradistinction to *wandāiga:m*, which was said to be "near" (*nazdi:k, pe:š-i-ru:*), but this explanation is by no means clear to me.

**Hanwagarm*; **kawagarkim*; *šhāiwaga:ri:k* were not accepted by I. as forms known to him.

PAST TENSES

26,1. All Pashai dialects distinguish between Intransitive and Transitive Past Tenses. The latter have a "passive" construction and the possibility of adding pronominal suffixes denoting the object. The subject is put in the oblique case.^a From a structural point of view L. *gi:kim* "I went" is identical with *hankim* "he struck me".

L. has four uncompounded past tenses^b: Simple Past,^c Proximate Past, Pluperfect and Perfect. The Proximate Past is known also from NW., but not from SE. and NE.

Intransitives

26,2. Simple Past.—SW., SE., NE.: Root (eventually + *āi*) + *k/č* + personal endings. For NW., v. NW. 27,1.

Proximate Past.—Root (+ *āi*) + SW. *gi:kim*, NW. *garim* I went, etc.

Pluperfect.—L. Root (+ *āi*) + *harkim* I was, etc., and similar formations in SE., NE.—NW. Root + *-g/karnam*.

Perfect.—In all dialects Root (+ *āi*) + *tek/č* (or corresponding dialect forms) + personal endings.

Transitives

	Simple Past	Prox. Past	Pluperfect	Perfect
1. Sg.	<i>-k-am</i> ^d	<i>-wa-k-am</i>	<i>-a:k-am</i>	<i>-če-k-am</i>
3. Sg.	<i>-ik</i>	<i>-wa-ik</i>	<i>-a:ik</i>	<i>-č-i:k</i>

The Simple Past is based upon the Aorist Stem (= Root), the Prox. Past on the Future Stem, the Pluperfect and Perfect on stems respectively in *-a:-* and *-č-*, in all cases eventually with inserted *-āi-*. With feminine and plural objects *k* is replaced by *č*.^e

26,4. Synopsis of transitive past tenses in other dialect groups:

Simple Past: SE., NE. forms in *k*.—But NW. in *t*, *n*, etc.

Proximate Past: NW. *-wa-t-*.—Not recorded in SE., NE.

^a V. SW. 8,2.

^b Structurally the Imperfect belongs to a different category.

^c Labelled Remote Past in Texts and Voc.

^d But note Sahn. *mam au žai:k* I ate bread.

^e Thus also in SE., NE.

Pluperfect: SE. *-eark-*, etc.—NW. *-lat-*—NE. *-iar-*, or *-er-* + *-l(er)ik-*, etc.

Perfect: NW. *-ček-*, etc., and corresponding forms in Kr. and in Ch.

3. Sg.—SE., A.Ka. *-i(:)-* + *-k-*.

WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

26.5.	Obj.						
Subj.	1. Sg.	1. Pl.	2. Sg.	2. Pl.	3. Sg.	3. Pl.	
1. Sg. <i>-kam</i> ^a	—	—	<i>-kam-i:</i>	<i>-čam-o</i> ^b	<i>-kam-a</i>	<i>-čam-a</i>	
1. Pl. <i>-kan</i>	—	—	<i>-kan-i:</i>	<i>-čan-o</i>	<i>-kan-a</i>	<i>-čan-a</i>	
2. Sg. <i>-kai</i>	<i>-ki-m</i>	<i>-či-n</i>	—	—	<i>-kay-a</i>	<i>-čay-a</i>	
2. Pl. <i>-kau</i>	"	"	—	—	<i>-kaw-a</i>	<i>-čaw-a</i>	
3. Sg. Pl. <i>-ik</i> ^c	<i>-k-im</i>	<i>-či-n</i>	<i>-k-i:</i>	<i>-č-o</i>	<i>-k-e/-č-a</i>	<i>-č-a</i>	

26.6. The Obj. 3. Sg. m. with Subj. 3. Pers. is *-e(:)* (frequently noted *-ə*). After 2. Sg./Pl. *-kay/u-* is apparently the regular form, and, with very few exceptions, I have also noted 1. Sg./Pl. *-kam/n-a*. F. or Pl. Obj. after *-č-* is *-a(:)*, with secondary palatalization of *-ča* > *-če* in some instances.

In I. the Obj. 3. Sg. m. is always *-er/i:*, and the corresponding f. *-a*. Thus, *mam sā hankem-er/hanjekam-i:* I (have) struck him, but *mam i: arzeza: hanečam-a/hanwačam-a*.^d

26.7. In many cases the Pronominal Suffix *-e/a* was dropped, or so faintly articulated that I failed to notice it. Thus, Simple Past *hank/č* struck him/her; *ark* brought him; *dək* saw him; *kak/č* made him/her; *däič* gave her, for *hank-e*, *hanč-a*, etc.

The contraction shows that such forms are to be distinguished from non-objective *hanik/č*, etc. Cf. also Prox. Past *hanwak* (non-objective *hanwai:k*); *devak/č* saw; *khanwak* pulled; Pluperf. *hanak*, but non-objective *hanari:k*; *kararč*, etc.

In some cases I imagined I heard a difference between *hanki-m* you struck me, and *hank-im* he struck me. But I came to the conclusion that no such relevant distinction exists. Cf. also 2. and 3. Sg. I. *-ki-m*, D. *-kem*, Ka. *-šem*.

Hanik is identical with the Past Participle.

26.8. It is possible to derive *-ik* from **itakka-*, with syncope of *i:* before a suffix. E.g. *hanik*, but *hank-am*, *hank-a*. The *-i-* is still retained in the

^a With Fem. or Pl. Obj., *č* for *k* in all cases.

^b Or, *-u*.

^c With Pl. Obj. *-i:*; with Fem. Sg. Obj. *-eč*.

^d Cf. D. *-k-en*, but *-č-an*; Ch. *-h-e* (< **-k-e*), but *c-o* (< **č-a*).

"Tagau" forms recorded by Redard: *hanikem-i:* I struck thee; *haneke-m* you struck me, L. *hankam-i:*; *hanki-m*. Cf. also Ku.sh. Potential *hani-jh-*, L. *hanjh-*.^a The derivation of the Fem. in *-eč* (*haneč* struck her), and Pl. in *-i:* (*hanik* struck them) is uncertain, cf., however, *šunf*, fem. of *šuryg* dog^b; *čheləč*, f. of *čhelark* white. It might be possible to derive the fem. from Old IA. **-či-*, normalized into *-ki-* in Skt., but retained as the regular fem. of *-ka-* in several Old Ir. dialects, especially in the East.^c

This derivation, however, would leave the Pl. in *-i:* unexplained. But the alternative derivation, from *-ikar-*, with progressive palatalization of *k* > *č*, would also fail to account for the difference between *-eč* and *-i:*, and would, moreover, be phonetically less plausible.

26.9. Note the difference between *hankim* he struck me (< **hanitakke-mhi*?) and *hankam* I struck him, apparently < **kka-me*.^d Similarly *hanki:* he struck you, but *hankai* you struck him.

The subj. suffixes 1. Sg./Pl. *-(a)m/n* go back to Skt. *me/naḥ*, and 2. Sg./Pl. *-ai/au* to Skt. *te/vaḥ*.

But before the Obj. suffix 1. Sg./Pl. *-m/n* L. has abolished the distinction between the Subj. suffixes 2. Sg. and Pl., and we find *hank-i-m/n* thou didst/you did strike me/us.^e—The subj. suffix 3. Sg./Pl., is zero.

26.10. The Obj. suffix 1. Sg. is *-m* in all dialects. It may ultimately go back to Skt. *asmi*. L.G. have 1. Pl. *-n*, which has been taken over from the Subj. suffix, while SE., NE. have retained the more original form *-s*.—2. Sg. has *-i:*, and 2. Pl. *-o*.

The Obj. suffix masc. *-e(:)* probably goes back to *se*, while *-a(:)* has been introduced as characteristic of the fem. on the analogy of *putr-iem* my son, *wiy-am* my daughter, etc.^f

Whenever an independent subject, noun or pronoun, is added to a transitive past, it is, with very few exceptions, put in the Obl.

An independent object is put in the Nom., with the exception of the personal pronouns 1. 2. Sg. *mam*, *tau*.

^a Cf. SW. 32.4.

^b Cf. SW. 5.3.

^c This can, I believe, be proved by the evidence of later E.Ir. dialects, v. Iranian feminines in *či* (Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown).

^d Cf. regarding *putr-iem* and *lary-am*, SW. 13.4.

^e Thus also SE.

^f Cf. SE., NE.

Simple Past

INTRANSITIVES

27.1.	I went	I came	I became
1. Sg.	gi:k/čim	ye:(i)k/čim	thek/čim
2. Sg.	gi:k/či:	ye:(i)k/či:	thek/či:
3. Sg. m.	gi:k	yeri:k	thi:k
3. Sg. f.	ge/əč	yeri:č	theč
1. Pl.	gəčim	yeričim	thečim
2. Pl.	gəču	*yeriču	theču
3. Pl.	gi:č	yeri:č	thi:č

27.2. Other examples are: *Bekim*, etc., I became; *ner:k/čim* (*nerči*: f.; *neri:k*; *neri:č*; *nerčim*; —; *neri:č*) I went out; *čhandkim* (*čhandki*: *čhandči*; *čhandi:k*; *čhandəč*; —; *čhandi:č*) I fell; *urk/čim* (—; *urrik*; *urəč*; —; —; *uri:č*) I rose; *šarikim* (—; —; *šaričim*; *šariču*; —) I went.

Saln. *gi:k'um* (*gi:khi*; *gi:k*; —; *gi:čim*; *gi:čhat*; *gi:nə*) I went.

27.3. I. *gi:k/čim* I went; *gi:k*; *arəza gičə*; 3. Pl. *ardaman gi:č*; *āik/čim* I came; 3. Sg. *ayi:k*, *āiča*. Regarding the difference between 3. Sg. f. -*əč* (I. -*iča*) and 3. Pl. -*i:č*, v. SW. 26,8. Cf. W. *leč* she died; *leič* they died. Other SE. dialects agree with Saln. in having 3. Pl. -*i:nə*, with *n* introduced from the Aorist, etc., as a distinctive element of this personal ending. In NE. there seems to be no difference between 3. Sg. f. and 3. Pl.

With Saln. 2. Pl. -*at* cf. Sanj. *bort-a*, NW. 21,2.

TRANSITIVES

27.4. I frequently noted dental *n* in *hankam*, etc., not *ŋ* as in Present *hangam*, possibly because a recent syncope has taken place in *hankam*.

From *kar-* to do, 3. Pers. *kari:k*, *kareč*, *kari:č*.^a But, with suffixes, *kakam*; *kakan-a*; *kak/č-a*, etc. From *a:r-* to bring, however, *arkam*, etc.

Stems enlarged by -*āi* (-*āi*-) have 3. Pers. -*ayi:k/č*. Thus, *gura(y)i:k* seized; *na(y)i:k/č* led; *marra(y)i:k* said; *pača'i:č* cooked her.

I. *teme(da:) mari:k* he/they said; *pi:kam-er* I drank it; *šhāikem-er* I put it; *kakam*; *to: kakāi* you did; *asā ardam*, *hanka/em-er*, *hančam-a* I struck him/her.

^a Once *kai:č* 99,5.

Tagau (Redard): *Hankam*; *mam tao hanik/čim-i*: I struck you (m./f.); *tao mam haneke-m/haniče-m*.

Saln. *han-i:kh*, -*i:čh*, -*kh'um*, -*čh'im*, -*kh'i*, -*chat* (he) struck him/them/me (m.)/us/thee (m.)/you.

USE OF THE SIMPLE PAST

27.5. (1) In ordinary, narrative style about past events. Cf. Texts, passim.—According to Redard's informant *hankam* is used about events which have taken place "some weeks or months ago".

Note the durative sense of *a:šta du: xwarri: kak-ə* 88,3 she toiled for eight weeks.

(2) In dependent clauses, after *ke*, etc. Thus, *tarnke mail berbarki: kul kawač-e*; *ata:m waxt kə čüikāi gum kač-e* 1,15, sqq. he squandered (Prox. Past) his possessions completely; at the time when he had lost (Simp. Past) them all...; *šarāi bardšar: mam mana kawak-im*. *Šira-i pačanda arik*, *kə mazur: kak-i*: ? 22,19 the king expelled me from the city.—Was he informed about you, since he banished thee?—More rarely we find *ke* with Prox. Past.

(3) Frequently followed by a Prox. Past. V. below.

(4) In the curse *Xudari hank-i*: may God strike you (lit. God struck, has stricken you).

(5) For the anterior of two possible future actions (as in Pers., Psht., etc.): *La:m xala:s kaka:m*, *tha: pa: iyam* when I have finished the work, then I shall come; *la:m kə kaka:m*, *bardaz yaga:m* I am going, when I have done my work; *a: lečim wiy-am tu waraz-a*, *tu leč: wiy-ai a: warazam* if I die, you must guard my daughter, etc....; *akui me: dāi pat i: sa:l wari: nyeyi:k au daulatband baki:m*; *i: azar rupai: dāyem-i*: if one year has passed from now on, and I have become rich, I shall give you one thousand rupees; *har azza: dečāi*, *gur-a* 6,5 marry whatever woman thou seest; cf. *wənč-a* 8,1. But note also *kawakāi*... *kakāi* 33,11, sq.

Proximate Past

INTRANSITIVES

28.1. Root + *gi:kim* I went, etc.^a E.g. *ye:(i)-gi:kim* I came; *ye:(i)-gi:k*; *ur-gi:k/gəč* he/she rose; *bušje-gi:k* he awoke; *da:kəgič* it (f.) rose; *dāye-gi:k* he ascended; *wad-gi:k* he passed away; *šar-gi:k/gəč* he/she went;

^a Cf. SW. 27,1.

čan-gi:k/gəč/gi:č he/she/they fell; *laŋ-gəčim* 247,4 I (f.) descended; *laŋ-gi:k*; *ne-gi:kim* I went out; *phal-gi:č* they laid down; *bə-gi:kim* I became.—I. *begi:k*.

Urr-neyi:k 160,8; 88,13 = *urr-gi:k* is possibly a dialect form.—*An-gi:k* 168,4 he was killed, may be a kind of passive.

Dakə-garyam 205,4; *laŋga-garyam* 205,2 are dialect forms.

Bəgəč-i: she became for you, is the only example recorded of a Pronominal Suffix with an Intransitive.

TRANSITIVES

28.2. It has not been possible to find any common functional denominator for the Proximate Past and the Future, both of which share a stem in *-wa-*.

The inflexion is identical with that of the Simple Past, except that no difference has been noted between subj. 3. Sg. with 3. Sg. f. and 3. Pl. object.

28.3. A complete paradigm has been recorded from *de-* to see.^a

Mam tau (or *tau mam*) *dewak/čam-i:* I saw you; *mam mya: dewačam-o*; *mam ae* (*gor:ra/azəza:*) *dewak/čam-a*; *mam aeme dewačam-a*.

Hama: tau dewak/čan-i: we saw you; *hama: mya: dewačan-o*; *hama: ae* (*a:dam*) *dewak/čan-a*; *hama: aeme dewačan*.

Tau mam dewak/čiz-m you saw me; *tau hama: dewačiz-n*; *tau ae* (*gor:ra:*) *dewakay-a*; *tau i:* *azəza: dewačay-a*; *tau aeme dewačay-a*.

Mya: mam dewak/čiz-m you saw me; *mya: hama: dewačiz-n*; *mya: ae* *dewak/čaw-a*; *mya: aeme dewačau*.

Ami: a:damam mam dewak/čim this man saw me; *a° a° hama: dewač-in*; *a° a° tau dewak/č-i:*; *a° a° mya: dewač-o*; *a° a° ae* (*a:dam/azəza:*) *dewak/č(-a)*; *a° a° aeme dewač(-a)*.

Ameda mam dewak/čim they saw me; *a° hama: dewač-in*; *a° tau dewak/č-i:*; *a° mya: dewač-o*; *a° ae* (*a:dam/azəza:*) *dewak/č(-a)*; *a° aeme dewač*.

28.4. From *han-*: *Du: azəza: hanwačam-a* yesterday I struck the woman; *tau du: (mam) hanwačiz-m* yesterday you struck me; *tau du: ase a:dam hanwakai*; *tau i:* *azəza: hanwačay-a*; *tau du: čuikhai azəza: hanwačay-a* . . . all the women; *hama: ae a:dam hanwakam*; *hama: aeme hanwačan*; *mya: ae hanwakaw-a*.

Cf. also *kawakam* I made; *kawak-a*, etc.^b

^a In many cases *dewa-* was pronounced *dēwa-* (with retracted *e*), or *dowa-*.

^b *Ča:lwakay-e* (= *-a*) 174,8 you opened it (Texts: *he* opened it).

28.5. Regarding *hanwak* for *hanwak-a* cf. SW. 26,7. In some cases further reduced forms were recorded. E.g. [*mā:ro*]/*mā:rwak-a*/ he killed him; [*bučā:ro*]/*-wak*/ he buried him; [*wayo*]/*waiwak*/ he put him; [*kau, kək*]/*kawak*/ he made him; [*hanāč-a*]/*hanwač-a*/ he killed her; [*hono:č*]/*hanwai:č*/ he killed her/them.

The full, non-objective form is *hanwai:(k)* 113,19. Cf. *gurāiwai:k*; *kawai:(k)* 129,15; *khanwai:(k)* . . . *khanwak* 156,13; *āiwai:(k)*; *dāiwai:č* 136,4.

28.6. I. *mam tau hanwakam-i:* I struck you; *mam sa hanwakam-e:*/ *hanwačam-a* I struck him/her; *mam i:* *wi:rmala: hanwakam*; *mam i:* *azəza: hanwačam-a* I struck a man/woman; *mam hanwak-im* he struck me (*mara: zat*); *pi:rwakam-e:* I drank it.—Isk. *čüena žāiwai:k* they all ate it.

28.7. In the translation of isolated verbal forms the Prs. Past was, in the majority of cases, rendered by the Proximate Past. Thus, *gurāiwakam* "giriftam"; *hanwak-ə* "zadan(d)"; *ornžwakam* "šustim".

According to Redard *hanwakam* denotes a "very recent" action, "not more than a week ago" ("je viens de le battre").

USE OF THE PROXIMATE PAST

28.8. (1) About a recent action in many examples given. Thus, *mam nu: gor:ra: dewakam* I saw the horse today (but, *mam du: g° d'eakam-a*, Plupf.); *mam nu: tāina: para:r dāiwakam-i:* I gave you an apple today (but *mam du: t° p° dāyakam-i:*); *tau nu: māina para:r dāiwaki-m* (but *tau du: m° p° dāyaki-m*); *mam nu: tau hanwakam-i:* (but *mam du: t° hanakam-i:*); *tau nu: mam hanwakiz-m* (but *tau du: mam hanaki-m*); *mam nu: aya:t kawakam* I spoke a word today (but *mam du: a° karakam*). In all of these sentences the Perfect was offered as an alternative to the Prox. Past: *Nu: dečekam, dāičekam-i:*, *dāičekir-m*, *hančekam-i:*, *hančekir-m*, *kačekam*.—*Nu: aya:t karakam* and *du: a° kawakam* were also said to be "admissible", but *nu: a° kawakam* was definitely stated to be the true, original form (*asli: lafz*).

In the Texts the Prox. Past in numerous cases also refers to a recent event. Thus, *te bu:ri: mā:rai:k*: *Mārai:wakam*, *kardarə māšir: māŋga:* 134,7 the servant maid said: I have (just) told her, and the master's wife says; *pu:ri-iem sai: u salamat Xudāya a:rwak-ə* 4,25 God has (just now) brought my son back safe and sound; *hanwakan* 112,15 we have (just) killed him (the soldiers—erroneously—report to the King. But a few days later, when the real Jagar Khan turns up, the King asks him:) *kəraŋg hanak-i:* (Plupf.).

dāryawa kučai yeiki: 113,3 (Simple Past) how (is it that) they had killed you, but you got out of the river?

On the whole there seems to be a tendency to use the Prox. Past in direct speech relating to recent events, as in *aʃab la:m kawakay-a* 67,24 (just now) you have done a wonderful deed.

(2) In many cases a Prox. Past follows a Simple Past or a Plupf. in the same clause, and probably refers to a somewhat later event. E.g. *te: ʒa:təmuʃi: perlai: dāik-e, au garwandī: āiwak* 140,25 the orphan girl gave her the ball of yarn, and (then) the cow ate it; *Naurozma: pešxauš khanəč, narwan xarnan kawač-a daka:* 224,1 N. had drawn her dagger, and (then) she slaughtered the nine khans. Cf. also 28,4; 122,11; *kač-a... dāiwəč* 135,3; *khanəč... gurāiwəč-a... ʃu:pāiwəč-a* 224,3; *dəkk-a... d'orwak-a* 118,10.

(3) The Simple Past of *gur-*, when placed before a Prox. Past, is often reduced to the status of an auxiliary, giving an ingressive force to the main verb. Thus, *te: ʃalla:dana gurai:k, halai:l kawak-a* 81,13 the hangmen took <him> and butchered him; *gurāik-a marwak-a* he took <it> and killed it; *ači-a gurāič-a khanwač* he took and pulled out his eye.—Cf. modern colloquial Prs. *girift xwarbi:d* he fell asleep,^a and Norwegian *han tok og drepte ham* he went (lit., took) and killed him.

(4) In a few cases, however, a Prox. Past precedes a Simple Past. E.g. *gurāiwəč... gurāiwəč... gurāyik* 51,15; *naiwačir-m... naičir-m* 190,1; *dāiwak... dāik-e* 126,6. Cf. 28,10, sq.; 107,12.—Some slight difference of style no doubt exists between the two tenses, but with the limited material at our disposal it is not possible to analyse it.

(5) A tendency may perhaps be observed to employ the Prox. Past in Ballads, even when the corresponding prose tale has the Simple Past. Cf. *wāiwak-a* 190,17, but *wāik-e* 189,4; *laʃərāiwəč-a* 190,9, but *laʃərāič* 189,3; *hanwač-a* 174,13, but *hanč-a* 171,10; *bəgi:k* 169,12, but *beriyik* 168,3.

Pluperfect

INTRANSITIVES

29.1. Root ^b + *h:kim* I was, etc.

The *h* was noted in *bi:hari:k* he had become; *parāi:h:kim* I had gone; *yeri:hari:(k)* he had come; *li:hari:k* he had died. But in the majority of

^a Phillott, Higher Prs. Grammar, p. 255.

^b From *par-* to go, with added *āi*.

cases no *h* was noted: *Biya:rik*; *yerya:rik*; *li:ari:(k)*; *nizari:č* she had gone out; *nezari:č* she had sat down; *ša:ʔari:(k)* he had gone away; *dharari:č* she had remained. Cf. the loss of *h* in *(h)a:kim* I was, and in the Present and Imperfect. A derivation from the Past Participle Passive in *-ari:k/č* seems less probable.

1. Sg. <i>yerya:(r)k/čim</i>	1. Pl. <i>yerya:čim</i>
2. Sg. <i>yerya:(r)k/či:</i>	2. Pl. <i>yerya:ču</i>
3. Sg. <i>yerya:ri:k/č</i>	3. Pl. <i>yerya:ri:č</i>

Cf. *parāya:kim* I had gone; *parāyaki:*; *parāyayik*.

TRANSITIVES

29.2. Root (+ *āi*) + *ar:kam*, etc. E.g. *hana(r)kam*; *hanari:k*; *kara:k/čam*; *karari:č*, etc. In many cases I noted *hanakam*, etc., with short *a*, but rarely *hanai:k*, etc.

Cf. I. *mam asā hana:kam-e*: I had beaten him; *mam tau hana:kem-i*; *tau/teme hana:ki:m* you/he had beaten me; but *karakam* I had done. Redard (Tagan) gives *hania:kam* (but also *haneakam*) I had beaten ("je l'ai battu il y a longtemps"); *tao mam hania:kè-m/hanəči-m* you had beaten me (m./f.); *hania:čam* (for *-čan* ?) we had beaten.

L. *-ar-* has probably been contracted from *-ear-*. Cf. also D.q. *kear:kom* I had made; Ku.sh. *hanear:čam-o* I had beaten you, and other SE. forms.^a

29.3. The inflexion is the same as that of the Simple and Proximate Past, with the same loss of the pronominal suffix in *hanak*, etc., for *hanak-e*. As the root is always followed by a vowel, *kar-* never drops its *r*.

29.4. Examples of *han-*: *Mam tau han'a:kam-i*: I had beaten you; *h'anačam-o*; *mam du: Abdur Rašid hanakam*; *du: aeme čuikhai h'anačam* yesterday I had beaten all these ones.

Tau du: mam hana(r)ki:m; *tau lary-am hanakay-a* you had beaten my brother; *tau du: asə a:dam hana(r)kai*; *hanəčay-a* you... her; *tau du: čuikhai azəza: h'anačai*.

Mya: mam h'ana:ki-m.

Ati a:dama du: mam hanak-i:m; *du: ami a:dama tau hanak-i:*; *hana'i:* he had beaten him.

Note *mam du: ati azəza: h'anačay-am* that woman had beaten me (f.) yesterday, probably for *hanač-im*.

^a SE. 29,3.

29.5. Other verbs: *Mam du: au ne ayakam-a* I had not eaten bread yesterday; *āyekan-a*; *du: dewakam-a āyak* yesterday I saw him (when) he had eaten; *āyač* he had eaten them; *la:m karakam-a tha: yeryik* he came when I had finished the work; *mam ase a:dam d'eakam, tau xabar karaikam-i:* (if) I had seen that man, I would have informed you; *karačam*; *karakāi*; *karak-a*; *kar'arič*; *kar'ač-a*; *karač*; *mam du: tāina: para:ɽ dāyak/čam-i:* I had given you (m./f.) an apple yesterday; *tau du: māina: para:ɽ dāyak/čir-m*; *dāyač-im* he had given me (f.); *ase a:dam tau n'e d'eakay-a?* had you not seen that man? *d'eakam* I had seen him; *mam du: go:ɽi: deačam*; *deačai* you had seen; *de:ari:k* he had seen him; *gurāya:(r)č-in* he had taken us; *naryač-in* he had led us; *marrāi(h)ari:k* he had said; *pačāiha:k* he had cooked; *gurāi(h)ač-in* 58,16 (Gramophone Text). The *h* in these last examples are probably to be interpreted as phonemically irrelevant glides.

USE OF THE PLUPERFECT

29.6. The Pluperfect usually denotes an action preceding another past action. E.g. *a: du: parāyakim, digar yeyikim* yesterday I had gone away, (and) I came (back) in the afternoon (*rafta buɽdim . . . a:madam*); *mam du: la:m xala:s karakam, ba:da:z ae a:dam yeryik* yesterday when I had finished my work, this man came; *la:y-am hanən biyari:k, dužman-am na wenkam* my brother had been killed, (but) I did not find my enemy; *a: a:thāi yerya:kim, Abdur Rašid dewakam* when I had come here, I saw A.R.; A. *mam bai x'abar k'a-jhai:*; B. *mam x'abar karakam-i:*, *žarda'e: n'e:ti:k* A. you ought to have informed me. B. I had informed you (*xabar da:da buɽdim*), but it has dropped from your mind.

Cf. also *yeyari:(k)* 1,11; *a:rai:k* 48,2; *karak-a* 89,4; *hanai:(k)* 124,5; *buɽdayak* 225,1; *la:ɽari:č*.

29.7. The Pluperfect is frequently used where the relation with a posterior action is tacitly assumed.^a Thus, *du: i: a:dam warya deakam, nu: yeyitik* yesterday I saw (had seen) a man in the house, (who) has come to-day; *ae a:dam a:sta ka du: yeyari:k* this is the man who came (had come) yesterday; *kole yerya:kis?* when did you (had you) come? *tadu: tau mən'at karakāi, warāy-am wašayakāi* the day before yesterday you (had) complained and scolded me. Cf. *wa:yakam* 155,13; 158,2. *Marrāyai:(k)* 114,9 seems to be parallel with the preceding *marrāi:k* and the following *marrāik-e*. Note also

^a Cf. the use of the Plupf. in Pashto.

the Pluperfect in *akui tau la:yam hanakay-a, a: tau hayg-i: a:m* if you have (had) beaten my brother, I am going to beat you.

IRREGULAR PAST *kayakam

29.8. A few peculiar forms of *kar-* have been recorded: *Pa:ɽi: kākam-a* 191,9 I looked round (but *p^o kakam* 147,10); *bāi kāyāčay-a, ma:ši-m gurāyāčay-a* 183,1 you had done well to seize (Plupf.) my wife; cf. 117,17; 139,10,13; 223,4.—*Mam xengalk-a: i: kāyčam*. *Kura: jaiga: xengalk-i: m kāyčai?* 119,13, sqq. I have (had?) arranged a betrothal for you. Where had you arranged it?—Cf. also L.u. *karekam* 191,9; 237,9.

It is perhaps possible that **kayakam* is to be derived from **karya(r)kam*, with regular loss of the final *r* of *kar-*^a before a consonant. At a later stage, when Pluperfect *-ia:~*, *-ya:~* had been contracted into *-a:~*, a new, regular form *kara:kam* was created, but the ancient type still, to some extent, remained in use.

Perfect

INTRANSITIVES

30.1. In all known Pash. dialects the Perfect Intransitive is formed with a suffix *-ti:k*, etc. The inflexion corresponds with that of other intransitive past tenses.

1. Sg. <i>yeyi-tek/č-im</i> I have come	1. Pl. <i>yeyi-teč-in</i>
2. Sg. „ „ <i>-i:</i>	2. Pl. „ „ <i>-u</i>
3. Sg. „ „ <i>-ti:k/teč</i>	3. Pl. „ „ <i>-ti:č</i>

30.2. Cf. *betək-im*; *-i:*; *-ti:k/teč*; *-teč-in*; —; *-ti:č* I have become, etc.; *parāitekim*, etc., I have gone; *letəkim* I have died; *baštekim* I have got tired, 2. Sg. f. *bašteči:*. I. *bitekim*; *beti:k*.

Šartekim, etc., is morphologically a Perfect, but it serves as a substitute for the missing Aorist of *šar-* to go. The semantic development may have been from "I have started going" to "I am off; I shall be going".

Examples are: *Du: a: parāyakim, nu: a: šartekim* yesterday I had gone (= went), and I am going to-day; *ɽua: šartekim* (= *šarɽga:m, param*) I shall go to-morrow; *a: khana: šartekim* = Prs. *berru:n merrawam*; cf. 6,3,8 and passim. I. *kenwala šartekim* I am going alone.

^a Cf. SE. 23,1.

TRANSITIVES

30.3. In SW., NW. and K. with traces also in Ch., the Transitive Perfect is formed by adding *-čik* to the root (eventually + *-āi*). The inflexion is that of the other transitive past tenses. In SE., and partly in NE., the corresponding formative element is *-eik*, or similar forms.—The subject is always put in the Obl.

		Obj. 1. Sg. m.	2. Sg. m.	3. Sg. m.
Subj. 1. Sg.	<i>han-ček-am</i>	—	<i>han-ček-am-i</i>	<i>han-ček-am-a</i>
1. Pl.	„ „ <i>-an</i>	—	„ <i>-an-i</i>	„ „ <i>-an-a</i>
2. Sg.	„ „ <i>-āi</i> ^a	<i>han-ček-i-m</i>	—	„ „ <i>-āy-a</i>
2. Pl.	„ „ <i>-au</i>	—	—	„ „ <i>-aw-a</i>
3. Sg. Pl.	„ <i>-čik</i> ^b	<i>han-ček-im</i>	<i>han-ček-i</i>	„ „ <i>-e</i>

30.5. Very frequently forms in *-čik* were noted (e.g. *gurāčik-am/āi* 287,23,27; *dāčik-e* 61,10; *marāčik-e*; *wāčik*; *wandāčik-e*), and the *-e* of the more common forms in *-ček* is probably anaptyctic. An original type *-čik-am*, etc., *-čik* would have an exact parallel in Simple Past (*han*)*k-am*: (*han*)*ik*.

While we rarely find *č* for *č* in other past tenses (*manšič*, for *-i:č*, 112,11; *karāč-a*, for *-č-a*, 70,6), *č* has been recorded in a number of Perfect forms. Thus, *hanšič(k)* 16,16; 111,13; 177,9,12; 178,2 (= *hančik-ə*); *henšič* 73,10; 177,3; 178,2; *kašič* 203,2; *dāšič* 211,9; *wandāšič* 10,3,6 (= *wandāčik-e*); *marāšič* 216,1; *maršič* 110,10. Cf. also I. *hanšekam*, etc. (v. below).

30.6. With fem. or plur. object we should expect **hanč(e)čam-a* I have beaten her/them; **hanč(e)č*, **hančič* he has beaten her/them, etc. But recorded forms are: *āšič* 73,2 he has eaten her; *garāšič* 97,14; 198,10,11 he has sent her, probably for **āičēč*, **garāičēč*. But a number of forms in *-č* are probably also Perfects, not Simple Past. Either *-čēč* has actually merged with *-č*, or I have failed to notice an unexpected gemination.

A similar assimilation has taken place in Simple Past *manč-a* (< **manšič-a*) 111,11 he has put on (clothes), preceded by *manšič* (< *-i:č*).

Examples are: *Šarāičā* (for **šarāičaw-a*) 133,5 you have taken it away (*palas* cf., the rug), following immediately upon *āičekau* you have eaten it; *wāyāč-a*, *gurāyāč-a* 80,6, following the Perfects *čanti(k)*, *marāčik-ə*; cf. possibly also *kačāi* 44,14; *kačay-a* 68,5; *čatāič-e* 107,13; *čakāičir-n* 149,1.

^a Once, **kai*.

^b Frequently noted **čič*.

It is significant that I can find no example of a Perfect being followed immediately by an obvious Simple Past with Masc. Sg. Obj. of the type *hančam-e*.

Cf. also I.² *mam i: wirrimala: hanšekam-e/mam i: arzəza: han'ečam-a* I have beaten a man/woman; *mam sā hanšekam-e/han'ečam-a* I have beaten him/her; *teme: mam hanšek-im/haneč-im* he has beaten me (m./f.); *hanšekam-i* I have beaten you; I.¹ *korr guna: kačəkam, hangg-im-ai?* what wrong have I done that you are beating me?—I. *-eč-* is probably derived with dissimilation, from **-čēč-*.

H. Penzl has furnished me with the forms *hančəkama/hančama* I have beaten him/her. Although said to be from "Kunar", they probably belong to some SW. or NW. dialects, since no Perfects of this type are known from SE.—From Tagau Redard has recorded *mam tao hančəkam-i/hančəkam-i* I have beaten you (m./f.) (Prs. *man tura: zada-am*), with the full fem. form in *-čēč*.^a

USE OF THE PERFECT

30.7. The Perfect is used when attention is being drawn to the result of a previous action, rather than to the action itself.

E.g. *ardam hančəkam* I have beaten a man; *tau hančəkam-i* I have beaten you (but *mam hanwak-im* 154,10 he struck me just now); *badam umernd-am šik kə wa:nai param, la:m zala:s kačəkam* now I hope that I may go home, I have finished my work (2. Sg. . . *umernd-ai šik . . . pa: . . . kačəkāi*); *ar:kui zara bi?* *arčəkam* 39,1 did you bring the golden seed? I have brought it; *ardam/arzəza: nawəd'ar yeri-ti:k/-tič* the man/woman has come too late; *wāda pura bitik* his term is finished; *bazara parāi-ti:k/-teč* he/she has gone to the bazaar; *mya: čarrai mam hanggair, korr nai: kačəkam?* the four of you are beating me, what wrong have I done? *hanən bagiki:, ki: hančək-i?* you were beaten, who has beaten you? *tu mam hanggimai:, kui ke laryai hančəkam* you are beating me, because I have beaten your brother; *a: tau hanggiz:m, kui ke tau laryam hančəkāi*; *a: mya: hanggiz:m, kui ke mya: laryam hančəkaw-a*; *ama: aeme ardaman hanggiz, kui ke laryan hančək-ə*; *mya: ama: hanggiz:nai:, kui ke laryan hančəkam-a*; *nu: hančəkāi, du: hanakai* to-day you have beaten him, (and) you had beaten him yesterday; *mam nu:/du: go:ra: de:čəkam (devakam)*

^a Cf. also NW. (Al. *hančəkam-a*, etc.; Sanj. *ančum-a* I have beaten her).

I have seen (saw) a horse to-day/yesterday; *mam gorlay marrčkam* I have killed the bull; cf. 10,3, sq.; 32,11.

Note: *O: barar faiga: yeyik, kə dorai paraitič* the boy came to the place when both had gone.

Static Perfect and Pluperfect, etc.

31.1. Perfect Participle in *-ik* (f. *-ēč*, plur. *-ič*) + auxiliary. E.g. *neyik harm* I am sitting (lit., "I am having sat down"). But *nerčkim* I have sat down. Cf. Psht. *narst yəm* I am sitting, but *kčena:stai yəm* I have sat down; Burushaski **huruča ba*, but **huručam*.

31.2. Thus, *čandič a:n* 222,10 are lying fallen (i.e. fainted); *baššik am* I am tired (*ma:nda astim*); *arwarik šik* 87,11 is hanging; *la:čerič a:n* 196,10 are assembled. *Čandəč ari:* 88,5 you (f.) have been lying; *šhəyik arik* 88,5 was being placed; *nerič arič* 131,2 she was sitting; *nerič ačim* I (f.) was sitting; *phalik arik/phaləč arič* he/she was lying down; *arwarik arik*. *Ardam neyik thāi* a man may be sitting; *phaləč thegaric* 20,2 they used to be lying down.—I. *nirik-am* I am sitting.

31.3. From Transitives: *Bakar su:tra warndayik šik* 45,3 (the house) is very well built (*for kada burt*); *khara šira šhai: šik* 152,10 it is placed upon the ass; *šharik arik* 21,1; *šhəyēč arič* 21,3; *dur dayik harik* the door was closed; *tiŋgik arik* he was bound, cf. 152,4; 181,1; *hanirə šik* 79,12.

Conditional and Potential

32.1. In hypothetical sentences R (+ *ai*) + Aorist of *th-*, usually with inserted particle *bai*, is found in the protasis, and a similarly structured form with Aorist of *šh-* (cf. *šharm* 119,10 "I put it" > I think) in the Apodosis.^a Regarding Present Stem with *th-* cf. SW. 24,4.

32.2. Examples are:

Awal dardatband ha:kim; *yeri bai thi:*, *i: azar rupai: dāi bai šham-i:* formerly I was rich; if you had come, I would have given you 1,000 rupees; *yeri bai thāi* ... *myare bai dāi bai šham-o*; *a° d° ha:čim*, *akui tu/mya: yeri bai thi:/āi*, ... *dāi bai šhaz-i:/u:*; *a° d° ha:ki:*, *yeri bai tham/s*, ... *māya/amar:* *dāi bai šharti-m/n*; *a° d° ha:ki:*, *akui yeri bai thāi*, ... *dāi šhay:a* (you would have given him); *a° d° ha:ču*, *akui a:/ama: yeri bai tham/s*, ... *dāi bai šhatar-m/n*.

^a Aorists in *t-* and *j-* are used as auxiliaries in the apodosis in respectively D.q. and Ku.sh. Cf. also NW. 32,1.

Dur yeri bai thi:, (*ar bai*) *tai:na: paisa: dāi bai šham/s-i:/u:* if you had come yesterday, I/we should have given you money. Cf. 101,5.

32.3. With Simple Aorist of *th-* in the protasis: *Akui a: bai dardatband tham, i: azar rupai: bai dāi bai šham-i:* if I were rich, etc.; *agar māya laryakulim war:* *bai than, tau bai nir han* (or, *nir han bai*) *šham-i:* if I had other brothers (than the one you have killed), I would not have killed you. Cf. 226,2,3; *ka-šham* 247,2.

32.4. Potential in *šh-* is also found in the protasis. E.g. *a: bai ŋəgal'a-i de-šham, a:y-a bai žau bai šham* if I see (had seen?) the man who has bound you (*vincitorem tuum*), I shall violate (should have?) his mother; **marrai-jay:* 52,13 if you had said.

With Imperfect in the apodosis: *Akui bai lary-am bai ni han-šhay-a, a: tau ni: haŋg-i: arikim* if you had not beaten (killed?) my brother, I should not have beaten you.

With Pluperfect in the protasis: *Mam ase ardam bai derakam, zabar bai šham-i:* (or, *zabar kara: bai šham-i:*, or, *tau zabar kara:kam-i:*) if I had seen that man, I should have informed you.

32.5. The Potential in *šh-* is used also in wishes, exhortations, etc.:

Mam bai zabar k'a šhai: you might have informed me (*marai: zabar čira: na da:di:* ?); *a: bai d'er šham-m-ə* 116,15 may I see him (*dā:da baršim*); *a: bai Gulmir ka-šham* 247,2 I would make G. (my husband).

Xudari ka-šhay-āi 11,4 may God grant you; cf. 117,7; 146,1.

PASSIVE

33.1. Passive Participle in *-en* + *b-* to become.

E.g. *akui a:the param, han'en bəga:m* if I go there, I shall be beaten; *han'en bag'i:ki:*, *k'i: h'ančək-i:?* you have been beaten; who has beaten you? *han'en bag'i:kim, məndayit-m m'arlum n'irya* I was beaten, but my enemy is not known; *han'en bagič* 172,4 they were killed; *lary-am han'en beti:k, ume:d-am šik ki dušman-am wəndw'am-ə au hanw'am-ə* my brother was killed; I hope I shall find my enemy and kill him; *lary-am han'en biyari:(k), dušman-am n'e w'enkam* my brother had been killed, (but) I did not find my enemy; *dur-ūi deryen begi:k* 146,13 your door was (became) closed (*perš šud*),^a cf. 45,14; 87,11; *mai bud'y'ern begi:k* the moon became covered (i.e. waned).—I. *h'anənā bitekim* I have become beaten; *žəyend begi:k/betik* it was/has been eaten.

^a But *dur dayik harik* (Static Perfect) the door was (= remained) closed.

33.2. Cf. SE., NE. -e/in, NW. -ina. Parachi -en is probably borrowed from Pashai.

For (h)an-girk he was killed, v. SW. 28,1. Cf. also SW. 21,15.

INFINITIVE

34.1. In combination with b(ay)- to be able, oblique forms in -ə (-a), -e from a verbal root noun.^a

E.g. kāya (n'e) bāiga:m I can(not) do it, cf. 33,1,7,11; 37,16; 110,4; ae gor:ar: ar: tūya dāya nā bāig(y)a:m I cannot give you this horse; āya/eyā ne bāiga:m I cannot eat/come; derya ne bāiga: 15,12 he cannot see; b'and-am, lāinge n'e bāiga:m I am stuck, I cannot come down; dha:r sax šir, dākye n'e bāiga: the hill is steep, he cannot climb it, h'ane šarm'ar n'e bāig'a:čo 73,6 you were not able to kill the dragon (han'ei 63,8); n'eri nā bāiga:k-šir: 120,3 he could not (lit., did not begin to be able to) sit down; cf. gurāya 51,5; wandāya 47,6; naryāi 27,9; urrāya 171,5; ašāi 194,4; wātāi 194,4; wāyāi 99,4 + b-.

Note wānder n'e bāiča 8,3 he could not find her; ter wiya dere ne bāiča 7,2 he could not see the girl; derya ne bāyāič 7,5,^b with Fem. bāiča conforming with the object.

With -i:, čali: 45,4; 55,10; šar:ri: 182,3. Cf. Ku.sh. -i.

Quite irregular is ae larm kara ne be[ī]ga:, sax šir: he cannot do this work, it is difficult.

Also Parachi has a separate form of the infinitive used with nar- to be able.

34.2. Infinitive in -i:k, identical with the Perfect Participle (m. Sg.), and the Simple Past (3. Sg. m.). With regular loss of i: before pronominal suffixes and case endings (-a, -as, -āi).

Nom.: O ayat kari:k (kak-ə) sax šir: it is difficult to do this work; phal:ik bāi šir: it is good to lie down; guna: dāi larm kari:k bestā(r) šir: it is better to work than (to commit) sin; au pōi:ə pelāi āik'e bestār šir: it is better to eat bread than meat; warg pāk-e/au par:ərāi dāik-e/au āik-e/gul šira [hāik-e/šasak-ə/murda: dāk-ə bāi šir: it is good to drink water/to give a beggar bread/to eat bread/to put flowers on the head/to laugh/to see a corpse (!); šasak'-əm bāi šir: it is good for me to laugh; čirnk-ə zo:r dawāiga: 244,3 he tries to seize by force.

Obl.: Āike (or āik-e?) war:āi 18,5 in order to eat.

^a Eventually with -ai-. In some cases -āi probably stands for *-āy-ə (*-ay-a).

^b Probably also dere bai yei:č, for *bāyāič, 7,3.

Gen.: Xartore: ... lerlāikes 2,13 in order to herd.

Dat. (usually with verbs of motion): Pashlawani: kakāi šarōin 62,10; ma:ši: gurāikai gi:k he went to take a wife; param ... čumkai 177,5 I shall go to sew (shoes); noukar bakai ma pa 70,15 don't go to become a servant; dowas dowas nokari: dāika:(i) yaga:m I came every day to serve; cf. 121,9; 131,3; 104,8; čandkai ma o:rōta 19,8 don't let it fall; cf. 154,11.—In one case a Prs. infinitive was used: dirdan-a paga:m 114,3 I am going to see him.

I. hani:k; Saln. han-/khar-/ar-/mur-/zu-i:k to beat/do/come/die/eat.—Also in the other dialect groups we find Infinitives in -i:k (with inflected forms).

VARIOUS VERBAL NOUNS

35.1. References are given to the numbers in the list of Noun Suffixes,^a but a brief recapitulation of the Verbal Nouns may be useful in this place:

7. -ka:.
12. -ala:, Nouns of Agency.
13. -čali:, Nouns of Action.
14. -kalar, Nouns of Agency.
18. -ana:/i:, Nouns of Action.
32. -i:k, Perfect Participles Passive.
45. -an, Nouns of Action.
55. -at, Noun of Action.

Present Participle in -mana:

35.2. This indeclinable participle is used, in combination with a verb of motion, about an action accompanying, or qualifying that of the finite verb. Final -a: is vouched for by rhymes (224,10), and by kamana: 56,9.

Examples: Xuša:li: kamana yerič 111,1 she came, being pleased; har sa:tha khai fhāimōna gadwo: let us go to every village, listening; nar:mana/warāimāna/gei dāimāna šar:tekim I go dancing/weeping/singing; žar hanm'ana (žarwam'ana) yeryi:k he came, jumping in a squatting position; čatēgmana/čangal pau: kamana yeryi:k he came running/creeping; cf. 102,9; 106,13; 165,12; 172,12; 176,5.—I. arsa arzaza: wer'aimun āiča that woman came weeping (L. warāimāna).—Cf. also W. -men.

A survival of some oblique case of Skt. -māna in an adverbial sense

^a SW. 3,2.

seems quite possible. Skt. *-a-* may have been shortened, or *-mana-* goes back to **m^ona*.^a

Verbal Adjective in *-čarl*

35.3. In combination with *b-*, *par-*, or *h-*, *-čarl* denotes prolonged, continuous activity.

E.g. *tra du: hančarl begič* they went on fighting for three days, cf. 172,13; 176,10; *pačāčarl begič* they went on boiling something^b; *šurğarn āičarl begič* the dogs went on biting (lit., eating); *pačarl bə par'an, mo 'orja* (the kids) will go on sucking, don't let them^c; *ae ardama:n tra sarat kəta:b xarncarl begič* these men went on reading; *talaxa: waičarl an* (= *harn waiga:*) 140,4 they are engaged in arranging a divorce; *tra du: guptaguri: kačarl begič* 36,15 they went on talking for three days; *dəčarl gadwor* 227,7 let us go to see (each other); *hamor ta gančarl bənən* 233,6 (dialect) we were all counted.

I. *žaičarl harič* they were going on eating each other; *emā mardum trā du ʃayga hančarl harič* they were fighting each other for three days (= *ʃayg kagarič*). Note the reciprocal force of this form in I.

ABSOLUTIVE

36.1. In *-tawai*. This is the most common form in the Texts.—E.g. *zara bi: gurūtawai iya* 38,11 come, having taken (= with) the golden grain; *wa:ya attawai yeyi:k* 36,4 he came having entered (= into) the house (*daru:n šud, a:mad*); *mam ma:ši-m hantawai* (or, *hanwač-am*) *ʃhāiwač-am* having killed my wife, I left her (*kuštīm, ma:ndīm*); *ʃarm arē katarwai warg* 51,7 having filled a cup with water; *a:šāitawai* having seized; *gurūtawai* having taken; *netowai* having gone out; *čatektawai* having run; *ʃəytawai* having tied; *kareltawai* having hid; *dāitawai* having given; *čaketowai* having mounted. Note *sarə du: khantawai* 107,4 seven days later (lit., having pulled off).

I. *asā a:dam hantawai* (or, *hankem-er*) *āik/čim* I (m. or f.) came having killed that man; *larm katarwai ayi:k* he came, having done the work.

A derivation seems possible from the Vedic absolutive in *-tawya* (with

^a Cf. Bloch, *L'Indo-aryen*, p. 254.

^b Said to be used only in the pl., **p^o begi:k* being incorrect. All examples of *-čarl* are, in fact, followed by a verb in the pl., with the exception of *tra sarat hančarl begi:k(im)* he (I) was fighting for three hours.

^c *Pačarl, āičarl* were said to be used only about animals. But cf. I. *žaičarl* below.

double accent, indicating the relative independence of the suffix), influenced by infinitives in *-tawari*.—Cf. SE. *-ta(n)*, with *t < tv*.

36.2. In *-i*.—E.g. *marraik doa kari* 13,15 she said, having said (or, saying ?) a prayer; *na:ti: na:ti: wya:l beryič* 14,1 while it went on dancing night fell; *bo:č ačhi pary-a karata* 4,1 having brought (bringing ?) boots, put them on his feet; *x'astə karr'i: han'at-i:* 181,13 having made an attempt he will kill you (i.e., he will make an attempt to).

Gur'ai, in *gəč pi'a:li: g^o* 110,10 is probably an infinitive, and *yeri*, in *yeri sāl karama* 13,14 an imperative ("come, let us look").

Cf. SE., NE. *-i*, and other N.IA. languages *-i(r)* < Pkt. *-ia*, Skt. *-ya* ^a ?

VERBAL COMPOUNDS

37.1. Verbal Compounds do not seem to be very frequent, apart from those listed above, as forming part of the inflexional system. But some examples have been recorded, corresponding to a common type in other IA. languages and in Ir. (e.g. Prs. *kardan*, *dardan*, etc.):

37.2. *Dāy-*, in *larčāi dāy-* to show; *daw dāy-* to call for; *gei dāy-* to sing.

Gur-, in *dar gur-* to catch fire.

Han-, in *lač han-* (> *lačən-*) to lie.

Kar-, in *pari: kar-* to look out; *puzta kar-* to boil; *pa:m kar-* to take care; *yaryara: kar-* to hang; *kəra: kar-* to hire.—But of a different type, with *kar-* as an auxiliary, *han- kak-ə* 149,4 he killed him.

Par-, in *bušš(ə) par-* to awake; *dar/ʃut par-* to catch fire; *dhar par-* to remain; *guṇ par-* to become deaf; *loč par-* to fall; *langə par-* to descend; *wač par-* to pass; *yeri par-* to come (*umern darga: kə lary-am badam yeri parai* he hopes that my brother will be coming now). Note **han par-*, in *an gi:k* 168,4 he was killed.—*Girga: gari:k* 115,9 he walked about, is a dialect form.

Regarding Aorist and Proximate Past with *par-* (*gi:k*), v. SW. 21,15; 28,1.

REMARKS ON SYNTAX

38.1. The following remarks aim merely at drawing attention to a few conspicuous features, selected in a rather haphazard way, of L. syntax and style. A systematic study of these subjects would require more material, and of greater variety.

^a V. Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 285.

SUBORDINATE SENTENCES

38.2. Most subordinate sentences are introduced by the particle *ke*, which, just as e.g. in Persian, is used in a great variety of contexts, and has to be translated in various ways.

(1) *Ke* very commonly serves to introduce "relative" sentences, but also asyndetic constructions are frequent.

E.g. *are a:dam (ke) du: derakam, nur yeritik* this man whom I had seen yesterday, has come today; *ae a:dam du: wari-a derakam, nur yeritik* this man whose house I had seen, etc.; *ase wari (ke) du: derakam bai wandayik arik* the house (which) I saw yesterday was well built; *ae a:dam a:sta ku du: yeyarik/aeme a:daman harn ku du: yeyarik* it is this man/they are these men who had come yesterday. Cf. also 6,5; 49,7; 136,1.

With recapitulation of the demonstrative: *Sa a:zaz: sar: sar: ke: xwarri-a karak-a, a:sam... han-a* 88,14 (the harlot) kicked that woman who had toiled for seven years; *sa... yeyik, sa a:dam ka yaryara: karak-a, teise: wariawarn* 126,1 he came... to the house of the man whom he had hanged; *sa par:awarn ka... sa yeyik* 126,1 the cowherd whom... (he) came...; cf. 50,15, sq.; 88,11; 89,4,15; 152,11.

Somewhat more complex is the construction in: *Te: wiyesa:, mese bar:ar: ke guldesta war:dayarik, sam a:zalay[gy]a:ka:si: 10,2* the girl began to play with the nosegay which this boy had arranged (*ea puella, hic puer quod sertum confecerat, eo ludere coepit*); *a:re ba:z, har ki: sira ka neyik, asum a:dam bardsar: karamma* let us make that man a king, on whose head the falcon has sat down (*is accipiter, cuiuscunque in caput descensit, eum hominem regem faciamus*).

Without *ke*: *Oma gor:arn, 'arem wey-ai pa:da: bat:ae, arem a:gar* 20,10 this your daughter, who has been born, is eating those horses (*eos equos, haec puella-tua nata est, hos edit*).

Ke must be translated as an adverb in *dur... ka sung-a zar:n-a* 188,15 the door where his dog is standing; *yeyik ke Jaga: Xarn zar:n-a* 112,13 they came (to the place) where J.Kh. is (was) standing; cf. 71,2, sq.

(2) In various types of dependent clauses:

(a) After verba sentiendi et declarandi: *D'ek-a ka sa yulam-a mo:to:ra kuca neyik-a* 79,11 he saw that his slave was sitting in the motor-car; cf. passim; *mar:arik ka* he said that (passim); *ha:ra kuca sauda: beyik ka* 79,5 he thought in his heart that...; cf. passim.

(b) Temporal: *A: ke khorya-i phalec a:m* 141,1 while I am asleep behind

you; *a: ka zandir: tham* 246,10 as long as I am alive; cf. 144,12; *daryawa kuca a:... arkim, ke... ar:an* 113,4 I was... in the river, when I brought.

(c) Causal: *Ma pa, ka te:... kor: xair ka:ek-e?* 7,8 don't go, for what good has he achieved? Cf. 27,2.

(d) Final: *Tu eikarra arir, ka larwai daigari?* 33,2 what kind of fellow are you, that you should teach them (or, who is teaching). Cf. 7,9.

(e) Concessive: *A: ka bardsar: am...* 118,5 even if I am (or, I who am) a king...

(f) Conditional: *Putr-iem ke pai beyik... marramm-e* 217,4 if a son is born to me, I shall kill...; cf. 217,7; *a: ka bai surmyat na tham...* 101,4 if I were not ill-fated; cf. 110,7; 159,3.

Ke has to be translated in various ways in: *Dura sirana yarikem-ka?* *Dura lemana yagam* 103,4 how (?) could I enter above the door? I will enter beneath the door (or, should I enter above..., or beneath...), cf. 103,7,9,12; *dura sira atalam-i, ka dura le:na atalam-i* 105,12 shall I let you enter above the door, or (?) beneath the door? (*ha:thir sira ne:garn warir, au na ka sang* 106,3 they do indeed sit down on chairs, but (?) not (alternatively?) on the floor, cf. 106,6,8; *au i: ku dhar parai, ka tau aivam-i* 72,12 and (if) only one remains, (it will happen?) that I shall eat you.

38.3. A special conditional conjunction is *akoe, koe*, with or without *ka*. V. Voc. s.v. *k'aya n'e baigam, akoe k'aya baigam-tham, ber:akk kagam* I cannot do it; if I could I should certainly do it. Cf. 28,10, sq.; 62,3; 64,22; 75,12; 83,3; 123,13.

38.4. Examples of asyndetic conditional clauses are: *N'a pair, hangiam;* *pair ge, n'e hangiam* if you don't go, I shall beat you; but if you go, I shall not beat you; *tau bai larm kawakay-a, a: baxsi: daigya:m* if you have worked, I am going to give you a reward. Cf. Voc. s.v.v. *duvars; kandi; Pa:car:arn*, and 61,2; 70,11; 151,6; 163,14; 187,5; 193,2.

38.5. Other examples of asyndetic constructions are: *Wend'am-a, dayam-i: pai* when (if?) I find it, I shall give it to you; *tau pisenat-i, wir arir* 11,3 she will know you to be a man; *umern sirik, yagai:* (I) hope that you will come; *Jang begam, are a:dam sarra nir yaga:* I am afraid that this man will not come to-morrow; *degam, a:gar* I see him coming; *bai ka:ekau, han:ekaw-a* 223,13 you have done well that you have killed him; I. *kor: gunar: ka:ekam, hangimai:*? what sin have I committed, that you are beating me?

NOMINAL SENTENCES

38.6. Nominal sentences are rare in prose texts. Examples are: *A: bə čarar; Pešarwərāi bardšar bə čarar* 98,5 I am a fool, and the king from (of) P. is also a fool; *na xars kə* 27,9 it is not fit that... (*durust ništ*); *ner yagair, xalarš* 187,5 if you do not come, it is finished.^a

Other examples may be found in direct speech: *Murda baxil, zənda baxil, er korlaŋar-m bə tau* 114,13 the dead are greedy, the living are greedy, (let) also this cap of mine (be) yours; *mayə sur kandu: kuča* 109,2 my sun is in the corn-bin.

But the majority of examples are found in verse: *Šurm har-yem larzar šira:* 192,7; 229,2 my poor heart is trembling (or, for *šira ar?*); *du: larates-am ocha:* (for *ocha: ar?*) 197,9, etc., they are the shadows of my two legs; *dunya: gul u gulap'er* 201,1 the World is (all) flowers and roses.

WORD-ORDER

38.7. The order of words is very free, and a thorough analysis of extensive texts would be necessary in order to record, and eventually to explain, all possible variations. Here only a few examples can be given.

38.8. It is perhaps admissible to say that a sequence Subject-Object-Indirect Object-Predicate is the most common one, the place of adverbs and local and temporal expressions are difficult to define.

Thus, *a: parar ardamāi/sayars-am dayam-a* I shall give an apple to the man/my sister. But also *du: sayarsam parar gurūtawai dayakam* yesterday I had taken an apple and given to my sister.

38.9. Other examples of variations of word-order are:

Bairak səm Yagar Xarn hairarn begik 98,16 Y. Kh. got very astonished, but *hairarn begik Turkostarndai bardša:* 98,12.

Tese waiwalas-a: maršier marraik-a the husband said to his wife, but also *maršes-a: marrai:k waiwalai* the wife said to her husband.

Dharra dakik 119,8 he ascended the hill, but *gə dharra* 119,3.

Pašəgar: dura na param 28,10 I shall not go to P.'s house, but *param Pašəgara dura* 28,11.

Naukar beka: ma pa 70,15 don't go to become a soldier, but *ma pa naukar beka:* 70,12.

Sartha-m ma yagartha 183,4 don't come to my village, but *mam hanat-im ma* 119,1 don't kill me.

^a Thus also in Kabuli Prs.

Mormin Xarnas i: ar-y-a aric 71,1 M. Kh. had a mother; *terse: bardšars i: ... putr-i arik* 20,6 that king had a son, but *i: garwand: aric terse: säyesars* 100,2 her sister had a cow; *i: azar ruparya haric zanakabazas* 134,3 the whoremonger had 1,000 rupees.

Wayawarnə gik he went home; *sarra noikararn pagaric* 20,3 in the morning the grooms went (there), but *gik wayawarnə; pagaric kamana səm ħaršəkaŋi:* 20,3 that girl went to the stable.^a

I: wəz ħar nokararn gurāic-e 6,8 he took some twenty servants; *Juma: do: ardamān laryə ləmba garāwəc* 27,4 J. sent two servants for his brother, but *barsa yāi ardamāi dāik-e su gorar* the father gave that horse to a man; *u(h)a: dar-waŋi: dāyeta: Narmazlum-bardšar putrai* 16,12 then you shall give a wooden axe to king N.'s son; *čarwal-a gurāic-a Jallat Xarn* 16,3 J. Kh. took her hair.

A: barba: šarra šartekim 21,8 I am going to my father's city, but *a: šartekim barbars šarra* 21,5.

Nəšəp-a <ar> wiyesau sarta- sarla murda: šik 91,15 (Gramophone Text) your daughter's fate is a seven years' corpse, but *wiyesau sarta sarla murda: nəšəp-a arsta* 86,14.

Balawaši: waiwal kar-a 159,10 make B. your husband, but *a: tau kag-i-arm waiwal* 37,1.

38.10. In some cases it seems possible to sense a special shade of meaning, or a stylistic nuance, when a word is placed after the verb.

Thus 100,12 ^b the most adequate translation may be "there was a cow, which belonged to her sister".

38.11. The final position may have an explicative or emphatic force, e.g. in *sə gurāwəc-a, žartemuri:* 109,9 (he) married her, the orphan girl (but *sə žartemuri: marməsar: gurāic-a* 108,12, with emphatic initial position?); *wariai du šorga kaga:kim, me: karam i: šauga:* 163,12 for others I used to make it two nights, (but) for this one I shall make it (only) one night. Note also the position of the negation in *wəra ma* 121,15 don't cry; *param karai, hanat-u ne* 154,3 take care that he does not kill you; *param ka larwi ne* take care that you do not become sore. But *gui m-ai* 61,6 don't eat dirt; *kə žar-a nə larwai* 120,9 that it may not become sore. But why *b'arw xabar'āik-e n'e* 125,14 he did not inform his father?

38.12. Note the inserted sentence *te: arəzar: — kaŋa šə murda ūhəyik*

^a I have noted 27 examples of the type *gik wayawarnə*, but only 9 of *wə gik*.

^b Cf. above SW. 38,9.

ari:k — *i: phakka gurāik-e* 88,5 the woman — the corpse was lying on the bed — seized a fan; cf. 88,14.

A case of contamination between two constructions is found 113,1, v. note s.l.

REPETITION

38,13. Repetition is used in a distributive or emphatic sense.

Nouns: *Warya warya girgari:(k)* 108,12 he wandered about from house to house; *te: amsarya amsarya* ^a *aryart kak-a* 118,2 she told the tale to (every) neighbour; *dura dura ye:gar-kəsi:č* 167,12 they began to come to the door (one by one), cf. 75,10; 188,13, etc.; *surrata surrat* 45,10 a beauty among beauties; *manda manda beyi:č*, etc., 69,11 they fell on each other's necks.

Adjectives: *Žutr-a auli: auli: ari:č* 69,2 his hair was very, very long; *a:la a:la manšana:* 89,7 very fine clothes; *ma:ši:č ma:ši:č paiza:r* 247,5 very pretty shoes, cf. 62,9; 65,4,6.

Adverbs: *Muso musa šhasəgar* 232,7 blandly, blandly she smiles.

Numerals: *Parnə pa:nə-wiya dāyačāi* 52,3 you gave a hundred rupees each (for the dog and the cat and the mouse), cf. 50,5.

Verbs: *Na:ti: na:ti: wyai:l byerji:č* 14,1 while it was dancing and dancing, night fell; *hanč-a o hanč-a o hanč-a o hanč-a* 102,7 she did beat and beat and beat her; *phakka hank-e o hank-e o hank-e* 93,5 she fanned and fanned and fanned; *xwarri kak-a o kak-a o kak-a* 93,4 she toiled and toiled and toiled; *sudurr parāi parāi parāi* 99,3 he goes on and on and on, very far; *g(ə)ri:k g(ə)ri:k* 44,11 he went about and about, cf. 108,3.

^a Not repeated in Texts.

NORTH-WESTERN GROUP ^a

PHONEMIC SYSTEM

VOWELS

1.1. G. has the vowel phonemes *i*; *a*; *u*; *i:*; *e*; *a:*; *o*; *u:*. All other vowels recorded are probably allophones of one of these phonemes.

Thus *e*, *a* for */i/* in G.Nj.U.Sham.Nang., etc., *wəst*; Sh.Pach. *wəst*; P. *wə/ust* 20; Sh.Pach. *čel*; G. *čil* 40; cf. also Sh. *xərs*; Sanj.Pach.Al. *xərs*; G. *xirs* bear; Al. *hi/emā* you, etc.

Likewise we find *o* for */u/* in G. *yo:romba* thunder; Sh. *borur* deaf; Al. *tə/uma* they. But note also, e.g. Sanj. *sərx* red; *pət^rrim* my son, etc.

Ā has frequently been noted for */a/* in some dialects. Thus, Sanj.Nj.U. Sham.Nang., etc., *nāw'i:* 19 (G.Sh.P. *na^o*); Sanj. *dābān* big; P. *zārd* yellow; G.Sanj.Sham.Nang. *trā* 3 (but P.Nj.U. *tra*); Sh.Sanj. *sartā* 7 (but G.Pach. *-a*; P.Nj.U.Nang.Pand. *-ə*; Sham. *-e*). Sham.Nang.Pand.Wad. have *-e/ə* in all feminines in earlier **-a*, but the phonemic status of these sounds is uncertain.

1.2. In G. *a:* is velar, in Sh. with a slight tendency towards labialization. In Al.Sham. *a:* is rather palatal.

1.3. In G.Sanj. the difference is slight between *čor* 4 and *čur* thief. And there is much vacillation between *or*, *o:* and *u:* in my notations. Cf., e.g. G.Sh.Pach.Sanj.Nang. *gor^r'ur*, but U.Sham. *-o:*; Pres. 3. Sg. *-tə:ur* in various dialects.

Note U. *orsai* is, Nj. *orsāi*, possibly with an open *o:*.

1.4. The material at our disposal does not enable us to decide the number of long, rounded vowel phonemes.

In Sham. were recorded *or* (of middle opening), *o:* and *u:*, but it is not possible to decide to what extent they are separate phonemes.

In internal and in covered final syllables we find (^a)*or*, e.g. *č^oor* 4; *d^oor* wood; *m^oor* fish; *kh^oor* ass; *wudh^oorre* rivulet, but *šor^k* palm of the hand; *kh^or* knee; *gor^or* horse; *wasor^k* calf; *ma:tro:k* frog, but, if correct, *šarm-/šorn-/čəl-ur^k* black/red/white.

^a Additional information about Pach. of Gunj will be given in the Addenda.

In final position we find *-p*, e.g. in *m/tp*: me/thee; Pres. 3. Sg. m. *-tp*. But note *dur* 2; *arzəz* woman.

After *y* Sham. *ur* was recorded in Pres. 3. Sg. f. *-tyur*; *du-wəy'u*: 40; *ay'u*: this (Obl.); *kayur*: edible pine-cone; *piyuz*: onion, and, through the influence of *-ir*, *bhairur*: much. Before *i*, *y*, *a:m'ori*: pomegranate; *go:mori*: n. of a tree; *dhory-*: to milk.

1.5. Sham. has *-un/ŋ* in Pres. 3. Pl. *-turn*; *gulun*: mouth; *golurŋ*: cow; *turŋ*: cloud; *pur'uy* (**-urŋ*?) leopard. But, if correct, *morn*: nest; *yerborn*: winter; *dhamorn*: rain; *gornor*: snake; *šornuk*: red. Note *or* before *m* in *lor*: village; *šorm*: work; *-orm*: Pron. Suff. 1. Sg.

U: was recorded also in *surw-*: to sew; *Marsam'urt*: n. of a village.

1.6. Nang. has, in most cases, *ur* corresponding to Sham. *or*, *pr*, and *-um*, not *-urm*, in *s/sum*: work; *-tum*: Pres. 1. Sg. (but *-turn* 3. Pl.); *-um*: Pron. Suff. 1. Sg. Pand. has *angor*: fire; *dor*: wood, corresponding to Nang. *-urr*.

1.7. In Al. a phonetical difference between *gorar*: m. horse, and *gori*: f., or between *šornak*: m., f. *šornā*: red. Cf. Sham. *goror*: m., *ger/ari*: f.

1.8. *U*. *ör* was recorded in *atyöd*: his; *myörot*: your; *cüörna*: of all; *wiöl* (for *ööl*?) night. Cf. Sham. *myör/ort*; *phary-om*: my shoulder; *čhar'i*: 16 (Sham.^a *čhe'i*), but, on the other hand, Sham. *-öryi/e*: in the numerals 11, 12, 13. It seems possible that Sham. has a phoneme *ər*.

1.9. Examples of relevant quantity are: G. *kam*: little; *kam*: palate; *tan*: body; *t(h)a:n*: place; *gum*: lost; *gum*: wheat; *dum*: tail; *dum*: smoke^a; *yam*: this; *nam*: name; *dal*: many; *sai*: year; Al. *gum*: *gum*; *bas*: enough; *bas*: steam.

1.10. From Sham. the following long vowels have been recorded: *i*; *e*; *a*; *o*; *u*; *ü* (?); *ər*; *i*. E.g. *čhir*: milk; *wyer*: willow; *laryom*: my brother; *šork*: palm of the hand; (*tp*: thee); *surw-*: to sew; *sudür*: far; *pharyom*: my shoulder; *širŋ*: dog.

At any rate in G. monosyllabic words with short vowels are either of Prs. origin, or not fully stressed.

1.11. Very common are morphonological changes of the types known from other dialect groups. Thus, e.g. *saita* 7: *sat(t)'i*: 17; G. *k'puzm*: work: Obl. *karma*; Nj. *šorm*: *šam-em*, U. *šam-iem*; G. *urr*: blood: *aras-a*; G. Pach. *golur(ŋ)*: cow: Obl. *golanga*; G. *šir*: head: Obl. *širar*; Pach. *hurst*: hand: *hast-iem*; U. *ors*: *ast-em*; Al. *harst*: *hast-im*; Sanj. Pach. *putr*: son: *pat'r-iem*, *putr-iem*; Al. *pur*: *putr-im*; Pach. *hore*: house: Obl. *war*;

^a But *dum*: snare, phonemically = */*do:m*/?

U. *yöir*: ware; Sanj. *wasork*: m. calf: *was'arka* f.; Sanj. *žulurk*: m. white: *želčā* f.; G. *urn*: he was: *arnam* I was; *ait*: he/she came: *aidam* I came; Sanj. *ai:de*: he came: *äidā* she came; P. *do:še*: grape: *daše-butōr*: vine; Sham. *šork*: palm of the hand: *šak-yem*; *wir*: male: *wər-širŋ*: male dog.

1.12. The diphthongs /*ai*/(*äi*)/*au*/(*ou*) are common in all dialects. E.g. G. *bai*: good; *ais*: we are; *sauzu*: green; *seilou*: flood. Numerous other combinations of vowel occurs, but it is doubtful if all of them are to be taken as real diphthongs. Cf., e.g. G. *dori*, Sh. *dure*, Sanj. *durir*, Nj. U. *düi*, etc., 12; G. *ačh'ui*: eye; *mu(ri)*: me; Sanj. *darrui*: from the hill; *hanturi(ri)*: thou beatest; *keru*: some; *triru* 30; *aur*: bread; *perleritim* I herd; G. *gureriwam* I shall seize.

From Sham. were recorded *ai*, *ori*, *ui*, *ou*, e.g. in *bhairu*: much; *amori*: pomegranate; *m/tou*: mine/thine; *ačhui*: eye.

Stress

1.13. Stress is connected with quantity, and usually falls on a long or closed syllable.

E.g. G. *panf'i*: 15; *däry'u*: river; *as'm'u:n*: sky; *gard'an*: neck; *bu'ful'ak*: knuckle; *ary'em*: my heart, but *p'arn'fa* 5; *w'ardana*: wind; *l'orkana*: fire; *z'or'mba*: stone; *w'arwata*: he threw.

Similarly in other dialects, e.g. *p'arn'fa*: *panf'i*, etc.

CONSONANTS

2.1. The following sounds have been recorded in G.:

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>	<i>ʈ ɖ</i>		<i>k g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Aspirated Stop		<i>dhʔ</i>	<i>ʈʰ</i>		<i>kʰ</i>		
Affricate				<i>č ʃ</i>			
Aspirated Affricate				<i>čʰ</i>			
Sibilant		<i>s z</i>	<i>ʂ (z)</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>h</i>
Fricative	<i>f w</i>			<i>y</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	
Vibrant		<i>r</i>	<i>ɽ</i>				
Lateral		<i>l</i>					
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>		<i>ŋ</i>		

In other dialects we find also *ph*, *bh*, *th*, *gh*, *c*, *ç*, *čh*, *ʃh*, *z*. V. below.

2.2. Examples of voiceless aspirates are: ^a

^a G. forms are unmarked. The notation of aspiration may in some cases be uncertain, especially in dialects recorded in one short interview.

Ph: U. *phyernə* foam; Sham. *phəy-orm* (Nj. *pi-*) shoulder; Sham. *paphy'ir* (Nang. *papi'er*), P. *phaphūs* lungs. But *pal-* (L. *ph°*) to fall asleep.

Th: *Th-* to become; Sham. *thamawo*: dark; *sanges-tharje* puff-ball. But *tarn* place.

Th: *Sartha* Kohnadeh, Pach. *sartha* (Obl. of *so:t*) village; Al. *thak* rogue (but G. *Tag* n. pr.); Sham. *geñh-* to tie.

Ch: Pach.Nj.Sham. *chir* (P. *ç°*) milk; Sham. *chiri* razor; Pach. *chelu:k*, Sham. *chə°* (P.Nj.Pand.Nang.Wad. *ç°*) white; Pach. *orcha* hare; Sham. *jaçhar-kolo*: *Coprinus comatus* ("devil's cap" ?); Pach.Nj.U.Sham., and also, if correct, Pand.Nang.Wad. *cha/ā* (P. *car*) 6, cf. the words for 16.

Ch: *Açhui*, Pach.Sham. *-ch-* (Sanj.P.Nj.U.Pand.Nang. *-ç-*) eye; *chanik*, U. *ch°* kid; Pach. *orchor* shade; Pach. *chan(d)-* to fall; Sham. *chāl* trick; Al. *chind-* to break. Sanj.Al. *açam* I bring (Sanj. Imper. *açhe* is probably incorrect).

2.3. Examples of voiced aspirates are:

Bh: Sham. *bhairuz* (U. *b°*) much; *bh°erni*: honey; *bhau* below; *bharwa* quince; Pach. *bhambur* wasp (probably < Par. id. < IA.). But P.Nj.U. *bürm* earth; all dialects *b-* to become.

Dh: Pach.Nj.U.Sham.Nang. (!) *dhor*, etc., P. *do(h)orr*, G. obl. *d'arrar* (Sh.Sanj.Al. *d°*, in Sanj. said to be = *dor* wood) mountain; Pach. *durm*, U.Sham. *dh°* (G. *durm* = "net"; Nang. *dirm*, "with *d°* as in *durr* wood") smoke, Pach.U.Sham. *ordharā*, etc., rivulet; Sham. *dho:y-* (G.Al. *d°*) to milk; Sham. *dho:m* showing; Sham. *dharme* n. of a plant; Sham. *d'amorn* (Nj.U.Nang. *d°*) rain.

Gh: Sham. *gharle* valley (Al. *garlā* brook); Sham. *gh°ers* (G. *gurst*) ghee; Sham. *gh°im* (all other diall. *g°*) wheat.^a

Jh: Sham. *jho:le* (Nang. *ju:l*) tree; Sham. *jhort* (U. *j°*) grass; Sham. *jhanjekatir* (Sanj.Pach.U.Nang. *j°*) girl; Sham. *jhas-* to laugh; *jh-* auxiliary verb (G.Al. *j-* to put); Sham. *bujh-* to awake.

Regarding Sham. *nh*, *wh*, cf. HPh. 2.5. *Nh-*, in Pach. *nheti:m* I sit down, is probably due to Par. influence.

No voiced aspirates have been recorded from Sanj.Al., and from G. only the doubtful *d'arrar*. No relevant examples are available from Bol.

2.4. Sham. has *c* in *caro*: mountain goat and in *m°orc*, Al. *marcā* fish. *Q* occurs in Sham. *çaçawi* (U. *kyaky°*) scorpion; *wu:çami*: strawberries.

2.5. All dialects have *z*, beside in *lw.s*, in *zo:m*, etc., stone. Cf. also

^a Cf. HPh. 2.5.

Sh.Nj.Pach.Sanj. *sunzor-m*, U. *suz°*, Pand.Nang. *sonzo* daughter-in-law, and 1. Pl. G.Al. *-anz-*, Sanj. *-ainz-*, before pronominal suffixes.

2.6. Corresponding to *x* (< *ç*) in *xa* 6; *xuri* 16; *xirr* milk; *paxin* sparrow; *dar:zka* grape, we find Sh. *ç*. But note G.Sh. *açta* 8. *ç* also in Pach. *paçinjak*; *darçka*; *açta*; *ruçk* nit; *pru:ç/ç* flea; P.Nj.U. *açta*; Nj. *çoorl* (Sh. *çorl*) wolf; U. *dorçe*; *çiç* flea.—Al. has *ç* (approximately as in Germ. *ich*) in *paçinjakā*; *darçkā*; *açtā*; *çir*; *çelak* white. But Sanj.Bol. *ç*, *ç* (and even *x*) probably denote the same phoneme in Sanj. *çā*; *çuri*; *paç'inā*; *darçkā*; *açtā*; *luç/çkā*; *puruçā*; *çuol*; *çuluk*; Bol. *xā*; *xur*; *açta*; *açti* 18; *çeluk*.

Prs. *ç* is rendered by *ç/ç/x* in *çarnu* shoulder; *çarza* branch; *nizarn* sign.

2.7. *ž* is a separate phoneme in *žuri* 11; *žur-* to eat, etc. Also the other dialects have phonemic *ž*. But in *iž/žnari* fire; *xuržn'u*: wife's sister *ž* may be taken as an allophone of *ç*.

Cf. on the other hand, *ç* < *j* in *buçtim* I awake; *kuçtim* I ask; *uçtim* I wash; Al. *baçtekam* I have got tired.

2.8. We also find *ç* < *ç* in *açu*: bull; *çu* standing. But cf. Sh.Sanj. Nj.U. *açu*, etc.; Al. *açu*: (*ç* ?); Pach. *çuw-*; Sanj. *çu:y-*; Al. *ç/çu-* to reap; Al. *çu:k* (Nang. *çir*) partridge.

All dialects have *ç*, *x*, *f*, *z* in loan-words, and G. has *f* even in *fulut* steel. *Q* has, probably by accident, been recorded only in G.Pach.

2.9. *W* is, at any rate in G., a bilabial fricative.

2.10. *H* is retained in Pach.Al.Nj., but is dropped in Sanj.P.Pand. KohRav., e.g. in Nj. *hamar* we; *han-* to beat; *horst* hand; *har-yem* heart; *him* snow; *wahand* spring, as well as in corresponding forms from the other dialects. Sham. retains *h* before *a(i)*, e.g. (*h*)*amar*; *han-*; *har*; *wharnde*, but before rounded or palatal vowels we find *w-*, *y-* in *w°ors* hand; *yim*; *yermorn*. U. has *h-* except in *ast-iem*, *yim*, and in G. I recorded (*h*)*amar*; (*h*)*an-*; *horst*; *ar-yem*; *him*. Cf. also the varying recording in Wad. *amar*; *han-*; Nang. *ar*; *him*; *emandir*; *warande*. In Bol. *çuruh'uwest* 90 *h* serves to prevent a hiatus.

2.11. All dialects have a phoneme *r*. But in Sh. *-r* was recorded for *-r* in *çir* milk, and in G. *-r* for *-r* in *açpur* rice. Note also G. *kar/rau* let us do; *ar/ruwata* he brought. Especially in initial groups there was some vacillation in recording. Thus, *br/ru*: brother; *k°r/ru:m* work; *k°r/ru* a shout; *k(u)r/ru*: where; *m°r/ri*: dead; G. *reken-*, Sh. *r°* to sell.

Cf. also Sanj. *kʷrurm*, Bol. *klurm*; Sanj. *b(ə)r/raŋ-um*; Sanj. *muri-*, Pach. Sham. *muri-*; Sanj. *reken-*, Pach. *r°*.

2.12. The velar nasal *ŋ* is probably an allophone of *n* before *k/g*, thus also in those cases where we find final *-ŋ* varying with *-ŋg*, e.g. Pach. *liŋ(g)* walnut; Sanj. *šurŋ*, Sham. *širŋ*, Pach. *šurŋg*, etc., dog. Note also *saŋdarn* anvil; Sanj. *saŋlaur* otter.

The existence of a separate phoneme *n*, apart from the allophones before *t/d*, is very doubtful. It has been recorded in *lurn* salt, but cf. Pach. Al. *lurn*, Sham. *lʷern*. But note Al. *gantraryam* I reckon.

Before a sibilant *n* is realized as nasalization of the preceding vowel in Al. *ōzriis* we wash (G., with loss of nasalization, *uštīm* 1. Sg.), and in Sh. G. Sanj. 1. Pl. *-ais* (with loss of nasalization in other dialects).

2.13. Gemination was noted, but not constantly, in various dialect forms of *čaddar* 14; *sattir* 17; *aḍḍur* half; *uḍḍe* above; *aṭṭha* bone; *ḡubba* tongue. Cf. also Sh. *barrur* lamb; *lukk* fat; *tamassum* smile (lw.s); Nj. *paṭṭor* leaf; Al. (PT) *kučči* elbow; *ṭilli* forehead; *ayyir* cloud.

2.14. The most common types of clusters are:

- (1) Sibilant + Stop.
- (2) Nasal + Stop, or Affricate.
- (3) Stop, or *m* + *r/ʀ* (eventually with svarabhakti).
- (4) *R* + Stop, mainly in lw.s.

2.15. As in other dialect groups, there is a tendency to drop a final stop after nasal or sibilant. E.g. *zorm* (zamb-) stone; *šurŋ(g)* dog; P. *as*, Nj. *ho:st* hand.

Desonorization of final stops was noted, e.g. in *serp* apple; *wurk* water; *dorsat* 200; *ait* he came; *šurŋk* dog. Note the Sandhi assimilation in *wəzd ru:paɪ* 20 rupees; *ko:z* (< *ko:st*) *guge:* from whom did you take; *muf* (< *muč*) *guri* he fled.

MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

3.1. (1) *-a*.—G. *po:ʃa* she-goat, *sura* sun; *ḡiba* tongue; *orska* ashes; *wa:dana* wind; Sanj. *pəʃā* goat; *puru:šā* flea; *šunʃā* she-dog; Pach. *orrga* water; *pu:špa* flower; *wasaka* she-calf; Al. (PT) *orḡh'arra* irrigation channel; *warḡā* water. Cf. (3).

(2) *-a:*.—G. *da:da:* father; *ma:ma:* mother; *ba:ba:* grandfather; Sh. *ro:ba:* (G. *°ur*) fox; Sham. *ba:ba:* father.—SW. (1).

(3) *-e*.—G. *a:skarge* embers; *para:re* apple; *mu:še* mouse.—A phonetic variant of (1), cf. Sanj. *mu:šā*; Pach. *para:ra*; Sham. *po:ʃe*; *ši:še* louse; *ši:nʃe*; *w°o:re*; *wudh°o:re*, etc.

(4) *-i:*.—G. *kunḡal'i:*; U. *šo:ŋg°*; Nang. *soŋ°*; Al. *lunḡ°* mulberry; G. *čurri:* theft; Sanj. *gre:nir*; Pach. *lerni:*; Sham. *lān'i:* noon; Al. *lumbari:*; Sham. *lamba'i:* fox; Sham. *ačhi:* eye; U. Nang. Al. *go:ri:* mare; Bol. Nang. *auli:*; Nj. *or°* f. big, etc., from m. forms in *-o:/ur* (Al. *-ar*). SW. (1).

(5) *-o:/u:*.—In all NW. dialects (with the exception of Al.) we find a large number of nouns of this type, corresponding to words in SW. and Al. *-a:*, or to Prs. *-a(:)*. Thus, *go:ro:/u:* m. horse; G. *čišmu:* fountain; *dāryu:* river, etc.; U. Nj. *a:ṇḡo:* egg, etc. SW. (1).

But G. *zānu:* knee; Al. *la:ru:* dough; *da:ru:* gunpowder, etc., correspond to forms in *-u:* in Prs. and in other Pash. dialects.

(6) *-k/gi:*.—Sanj. *o:zakir* sheep; Al. *kunḡagir* baldness. SW. (6).

(7) *-arkir*.—Nj. *ḡeštarki:* f. thumb. SW. (10).

(8) *-karakir*.—U. Demin. *čharṇkarāki:* f. kid. SW. (11).

(9) *-alir*.—Al. *kaṭali:* cradle; Nang. *maṭəkali:* frog. SW. (12).

(10) *-kalu:/i:*.—G. *a:dam-ze:kalu:* cannibal; Al. *go:laŋg-le:l-karla:* cow-herd; Sanj. *ḡurum-kali:* thunder. SW. (14).

(11) *-amir*.—Nj. *maṇʃemi:* middle finger.

(12) *-ana:/i:*.—Sanj. *sayani:* sister-in-law; Al. *gairn-tēngana:* belt; *ša:ngani:* dung. SW. (18).

(13) *-aru:/i:*.—G. *awatyari:* famine; KohRav. *ḡištaru:* elder. SW. (20).

(14) *-arir*.—U. *aṇḡuša:ri:* finger-ring; *go:da:ri:* straw; Al. *ba:na:ri:* small bag (barn). SW. (22).

(15) *-o:ri:*.—Al. *ḡa:nʃo:ri:* virgin. SW. (23).

(16) *-(a)tu:/i:*.—G. *yakaṭir* small; U. *barrato:* tree; *lye:riati:* bee; *alawaṭir* pear; Sham. *kha:eto:*, Nj. *kayeṭir* ear; Pach. *šilumbaṭir* scorpion; Al. *durumṇir* pellet-bow; Al. *zo:ti:*; Sham. *ze:eti:* yoke; Sham. *estre-kharāṭir* she-ass; *ḡakaṭi* kidney; KohRav. *šulṭi:* jackal. SW. (24).

(17) *-kaṭu:/i:*.—Sanj. *barrakaṭu:* small lamb; Nj. *ḡa:nʃekaṭir*; Sham. *ḡha:nʃekaṭir*; Nang. *ḡa°*; KohRav. *ḡa:ḡkaṭe* small girl; Sham. *wa:s°kaṭir* she-calf; KohRav. *ba:lkāṭu:* boy. SW. (25).

(18) *-a(:)k*.—G. (in lw.s) *buḡul'ak* knuckle; *tairak* top of the head;

šauparak bat, etc. U. *wara:njak* ant; P. *kuryak* a kind of worm; *šarmak* black; KohRav. *pašak*; Sham. *pušake* cat; Sham. *arygušak* finger-ring. SW. (30).

(19) *-ro/urk*.—G. *šamurk*; Pach. *šor°*; Sham.Nang., etc., *šar°* (Al. *šamark*) black; G. *wasurk*; Sham.U. *°ork* calf; Nj. *dro:nork* rainbow (Al. *durunark* bow); G. *pišurk* (Sh.Nj.U.P. *°ark*) cat. SW. (31).

(20) *-irk*.—G. *čhanirk* kid; U. *žatrick* (Sham. *°uke*) mosquito. SW. (34).

(21) *-rek*.—U. *kawarek* worm. SW. (40).

(22) *-ruk*.—U. *dāruṛuk* hedgehog. SW. (41).

(23) *-in*.—Pach. *gummin* wheaten.

(24) *-warn*.—G. *pačawarn* backside; Sham. *andarworn* guts. SW. (53) ?

(25) *-as*.—G. *γarnas* bellowing; *hingas* neighing; *waryas* bleating. Cf. Par. *hengas* bellowing; Orm. *ingars* neighing, etc.

COMPOUNDS

4.1. Apart from numerals of the type Sanj.Sh. *parnja-wust* 100, and words with *wir-* male, *istri-*, etc., female, very few genuine compounds have been recorded. V. SW. Compounds.

GENDER

5.1. Two genders are distinguished in Sanj.Bol.Nj.Sham.Nang.Wad. Pand. and Al., possibly in U., but not in G.Sh.Pach. and probably not in P.

5.2. The existence of a category of gender is indicated by a separate form of the fem. adjective in Sanj. *čulurk gorur*, *čelčā bait'alā*; Al. *čelark gorar*, *čelčā gorri*: a white horse/mare; Sanj. *šarmurk šurj*, *ist'ri: šurnjā šarmčā*, Al. *šarmark šung*, *šarmčā šunfā* a black he/she-dog; Sanj. *sərx kitāb* a red book, *sərxā palqā* a red apple; Sham. *čhelurk gorar* *čhelčē gerri*; Nang.Wad.Pand. *čulurk širjg*, *čelčē širjfe*; Sham. *ardam atan'u: a*, *aur'etā 'tan'ir ya* the man/woman is thirsty; Sham. *awat'or*, *awati*: hungry. Al. *gorar-m šornark-a:*, *gorri-m šonč-a:* my stallion/mare is red; Sanj. *dāb'an barur*, *dāb'anā šarnjikā* a big boy/girl; Al. *gorar aul'a(-a)*, *gorri aul'i:-a* the stallion/mare is big; *dār aulā: šir* the hill is big; *garlā (daryarwā)* *auli: šir* the river is big; Bol. *aulur ardam*, *auli: marši*: a big man/woman; Nj. *bā-lu: ber 'orlu-a*, *šarnjekatir oli-a* the boy/girl is (very) big, cf. Nj. *kaništi: manšemis angur-em* (f.) my little/middle finger.

Gender is also distinguished in a number of verbal forms in Sanj.Sham. Al. Cf. also Nj. *sur/me: karz'a gur'āč-e* (or, *-i:*) the sun/moon was eclipsed (lit.: something (?) has seized the sun/moon).

5.3. But, without any difference of gender, G. *ya gorur/mard'u: xelurk-a* this stallion/mare is white; *ardam/marši 'andu-a* the man/woman is blind; Pach. (*estri:*) *gorur: čhelurk-a* the stallion/mare is white. Cf. G.² *ardam-e/maši: aulur: aitik* the big man/woman has come.

5.4. Sanj.Al., etc., have fem. nouns in *-a/ā/e*. Thus, Sanj. *wasark m.*, *wasarkā f.* calf; *wulurq*, *wulazqā* ass; *čanik*, *čankā* kid; *šurj*, *šurnfā* dog; Sham.Nang. *šir:irj*, *širjfe*, etc.; Al. *wasark*, *wasarkā*; *šung*, *šunfā*; *khar*, *kharā* ass. But Sanj. *muršā* mouse; *pašarkā* cat were said to denote either sex, just as Pach. *wasarka* calf.^a And the dialects which do not distinguish between genders also have numerous nouns in *-a*, in most cases ancient feminines. Cf., e.g. G.Pach. *sura* sun; G. *darzka*, Pach. *darška* grape. G.² *šurjga* dog.

5.5. Nor do forms in *-i:* denoting a female necessarily prove the existence of gender. Cf. U. *goror/i:* stallion/mare; *dugunor/i:* ram/ewe. P. *goror:* was said to denote either sex.

5.6. In dialects possessing gender as well as in those without, sex may be expressed by prefixed *wir-*, *istri-*, etc. Thus, Nj. *əstəri: gorur*; KohRav. *istri: gorur*; U. *istri: goror* (= *gorri:*); G.² *gorur: isteri:*; Al.(PT) *isturi: gorri:* mare; U. *wir-goror*; Al.(PT) *wir-gorar*: stallion; Sanj. *ist'ri: šurnfā*; Al. *istri: šung* (= *šunfā*, Al.(PT) *isturi: šurnfā*) she-dog; Al.(PT) *wir-šung*; Pach. (*wir-*) *azq:* bull; Nj. *marše-kaletir-m* my wife (*kaletro-m* my husband); Sham. *nar-gorlun* bull; *estre-garwandir:* cow; *wər-širj*, *estre-širjfe*; Nang. *estri:-nar-kikir* hen/cock.

5.7. In many cases male and female animals are denoted by different words. Thus, e.g. Sanj. *azu:* bull, *garwand'ir:* cow (*gorlun* horned cattle); *taku:* he-goat, *pəfā* she-goat; Pach. *gorur*, *est'irka* mare; *war:sen'u:* cock, *kuk'ur* hen; G. *gorur*, *mard'u:* f.; *šung*, *gurz'i:* f.; Sham. *wasok*, *wasokati:* f. calf.

NUMBER

6.1. After numerals and numerative pronouns the Sg. has a plural sense. Thus, G. *parnja roz:de:* five days; *čur seib* four apples; *do: bruri/putra* two brothers/sons; *čaqadar nokar* how many servants; *yama-qadar sul* so many years; *ya do: warl šung-a* 256.5 these two dogs of hers; Nj. *ardam bə ni:čun* many men sat down; Sanj. *biyart gorur* many horses; Pach. *špre zarnur* hundred houses; Al. *čuka gorar: airt* all the horses came (coll. Sg.). Note G. *ema čindani: de:* these knives (obj.)

^a Sham. (*aule*) *mā:š* is f., but the gender of *pušake* is not recorded.

In the Obl. cases we also find Sg. in G. *i: warla noukara:st* one of the servants; *noukara:y-a farmerwata* he ordered his servants (coll.).

6.2. A Pl. in *-a:n* occurs in: G. *sayam-am yakati:-a* my sisters are small; *sahibarn-i farmanist per-a* the German sahibs' meat; Sh. *angara:n qsk-e:* the ashes of the embers; Nj. *worya:n* children (or, our ch. ?); Sanj. *b'rarya:n-an* our brothers; *er ma:sa:na der* these men (obj.); *azagarna der* bulls (obj.); Al. *ecorarn* thieves; *emā ardama:n* these men; Sham.Pand. Nang. *ardama:n*; Sham. *aurata:n*.—Prob. < Prs.

6.3. The Pl. in *-(h)a:* is probably also of Prs. origin. Thus, G. *ema ardama: baya-a* these men are good (Sg. *ya ardam b°*); *gurra: der ekate der derhem* I saw all the horses (Sg. *gurru:*); *gorra: ekaya 'aulu:* (Sg. ! *a:* all the horses are big; *ekaya me:mana: gorra: baya-a* all the guests' horses are good (Sg. *memu:n*); *gorru:/a: mo:ma:st kru: ši:?* where is/are your horse(s) ? *tanika sāya: darri:?* have you sisters of your own ? *tanika marla: der* 253,3 his own possessions (obj.); *yam rupaya: der* these rupees (coll. Sg. *ya rupai: der*); *gira: der* the bottoms; Sanj. *gorru:ha:* horses; *ya zi:n gorru:ha:sta* these are the horses' saddles; *putrha: sons*; *ačar-em* my eyes.

6.4. Adjectives in *-or/ur* have Pl. (= f.) in *-i:*, e.g. G. Sham. *awati:* hungry; Pand. *atan'i:* thirsty. Nang. has a separate Pl. form in *ama:/mya: taney'e as/u:no* we/you are thirsty; *ardama:n taneyi: wun* the men are thirsty, but *adarse aur'etā tan'i: ya* that woman is thirsty.

6.5. With G. *b(°)rary(e)uarni:* brethren, cf. SW. Al. *lāiwani:* was said to denote "brotherhood" (*bira:darri:*), but cf. *hamar l°-is* we are brothers.

6.6. With Al. *larye-kul-i-m* my brothers; *sarye-kul-i-m* my sisters; *wiye-kul-i-m/n* my/our daughters, cf. SW. Cf. also Sanj. *barl-kur:* boys (Sg. *barru:*), G. *barl-kul*, cf. L. *barl(a)-kul*.

6.7. Note Sanj. *oryewu:-n* our children; *ya boy orya'urs-am* arsta this garden belongs to my children. In Pach. *woyu:-m* was said to be the Pl. of *putr-iem* my son. Cf. also Pach. *are čui wore* all these houses (Sg. *are hure*), but this is a rather doubtful form.

6.8. Al. has a Pl. suffix *-na:menāi* in *kharr(ā)-n°* asses (m./f.); *ark-n°* bears; *wary-n°* houses; *wasark(a)-n°* calves (m./f.); Al.(PT) *diwars-na:minai* days; *čarl-n°* hairs; *sabzar-na:munai* vegetables.

6.9. A very curious Pl. occurs in Al. *darnd* teeth (Sg. *darndā*); *marc* fishes (Sg. *marcā*); *urč* springs (Sg. *určā*).

6.10. With Al. *Ahmad-/Māmud-/Abdur-Rama:n da:* those belonging to Ahmad (*Ahmad-išar:n*), etc., cf. SW. 6,13.

CASE

	7.1.	G.(Sh.)	Sanj.	Pach.	Al.	
Nom. Sg.		<i>mu:š</i>	mouse	<i>dq:r</i>	hill	<i>zqm</i> stone
Obl. Sg.		<i>mu:ša</i>		<i>da:ra(r)</i>		<i>pu:tr</i> son
Gen. Sg.		<i>*mu:šas(t)</i>			<i>pu(r)tra(r)</i>	<i>zamba</i>
Dat. Sg.		<i>mu:šāi</i>			<i>putras</i>	<i>zambas</i>
Abl. Sg.			<i>darri:</i>			<i>ardamāya</i>
All. Sg.						<i>war:yāi</i>

Nom. Pl.	<i>*noukara:</i>	servants	<i>putrha:</i>	sons
Obl. Gen. Pl.	<i>noukara:st</i>		<i>gorru:ha:st</i>	
Dat. Pl.	<i>noukara:y(a)</i>			

7.2. Obl.—The ending is *-a(r)* in all dialects, merging with final *-ar*, *-i:*, *-ur*, e.g. in G. *da:da:* father; *andaru:* house; *ma:ši:* woman. In all oblique cases the vowel preceding the *-a(r)* is shortened and/or changed in quality.^a

Thus, G. *de:gdarna* fireplace (*°urn*); *bada:una* rope (*°urn*); *gorl'anga* cow (*°ung*); *sa/urnga* earth (*so:ng*); *kuk'ura* cock (*°ur*); *ustumba* tree (*°um*); *d'arra(r)* hill (*dq:r*); *kaya* ear (*kuri*). Irregular are *kundara*, *kuranda* roof (*kundur*); *karma* work (*k°rum*). Loan-words such as *serp* apple; *zi:n* saddle; *gap* word; *dum(b-)* tail do not change their vowel.

Pach. *sartha* village (*so:th*); *kunda* roof (*ku:nd*); *danda* roof-beam (*do:nd*); Sanj. *ardama* man; *arrewa:na* miller; *er xartera* for that reason; Nj. *dha:ra* hill (*dhar*); Al. *warya* house; *darrā* hill; *ardama* man; *hastā* hand; *mezza* table; *zami:ena* earth; Sham. *ardame:*; Nang. *°a*, plur. *°arne*; Sham. *sange(-pəi:)* mushroom; Nang.Wad.Pand. *su'anda* (Nang. sien) roof.

Pach. *wa:* is Obl. of *hore* in *war parau* let us go home, but is apparently used as a nom. in *ya war mo:putra* this house is my son's (cf. *are hore mo:putra(s) hore-a*). Cf. Nj. *yöi-m* my house; *war(ya) kuča* in the house; U. *wori*, but *ware kuča*; Sham. *whye:* house; *whar* at home.

7.3. Gen.—In G. *-st* is reduced to *-s* before pronominal suffixes, and before *č*, *k*, e.g. in *gorru:s č°*; *andaru:s k°*.—Sanj.Nj. *gorru:s*; Sanj. *barro:s* the boy's; *žandra:s* the mills; Al. *xalakas* the Creator's; *niamatas* of (this) favour. Pach. *putras(t)*; *ma:šua:st* the man's; Sham. *sanges(-tharje)* puffball.

^a Cf. NW. 1,10.

7.4. Dat.—This case has been recorded only in G. (-āi) and Al. (-āya).—Cf. SW.

7.5. Abl.—Sanj. *tarnui*: from a place; *warui* from the house, but *Sanjanāi* from S. Notice *darnui*, but SanjFar. *darnoy* from the hill; Al. *waryāi*; *ḡaryāi* from a place; *deḡdarnai* from the kettle, but *Eskināi*, *Taganwāi* from Isken, Tagau.

Sham. *saipanāi* (*dityem*) I saw in (from) a dream; *larmāy-am* from my village.

7.6. A doubtful Instrumental has been recorded in Al. *čaḡāyeu: park kari:s* we cleanse it with a sieve.

7.7. An Allative in *-wana/ā* has been recorded in Al., v. S.W. 8,8.

Case Syntax

8.1. Nominative.—In G. the Nom. is used as a subject, also with past tenses of transitive verbs. E.g. *aḡdam ... dera/farmerwata* the man saw/ordered; *mardum/naukar marata* people/the servant said; *zalk ... nilewata* people made (her) sit down; G.² *i: aḡdam kuḡum katu:n* a man was working. No example has been recorded from other dialects.

Nom. denoting an indefinite object is common. Thus, G. *kuḡum karau:* let us work; *a: turi serp dertim* I give you an apple; *au žertu:* he eats bread; *i: ḡilim warwata* they put down a rug; Sanj. *ama: kuḡum karairnz-e* let us work; *du: kuḡum karer:m* I worked yesterday; *a: au: aḡam* I shall bring bread; *gu:m ḡuryam* I shall reap wheat; Pach. *arn p^uḡom kate:m* I am working; *mḡ: p^o kačekam* I have worked; Nj. *ḡom darrozem* I have work to do (G. *kuḡum darram*); Al. *wary burak pera:* he drinks much water.

The Nom. denotes the goal in G. *barzar airt* he came to the bazaar; *šair ... peḡdin* he arrived at the city.

8.2. Oblique.—The only examples of the Obl. used as an agent with past tenses of transitive verbs are: U. *aḡda aḡdama āi žā-wat-i:* that man ate bread; Sham. *aryu: aḡdame: kar kači* this man worked; Nang. *atu: aḡdama/artene: aḡdame: soḡal'i: žin's* that man/those men ate mulberries.

In G. the Obl. is used as a subject in *ya putra korst-a?* whose son is this? *mu: putra muris: gu:n* my son had died; *zormba* (Sh. *zorm*) *čan guḡi* the stone fell; cf. 265,5; 264,15 (?).

As an object we find the Obl. in G. *tu ya aḡdama piarntur:* do you know this man? Cf. 260,13; 268,27.—Pach. *arn ḡorlanga perlāitarim* I am herding the cow.

8.3. In G. Sanj. a definite object is usually expressed by the Obl.^a + *de:*. Thus, G. *tu ya serba de: žūni:*, *a: dertm-i:* did you eat the apple I gave you? (but *tu: muri serp de:čekai* you have given me an apple); *lazzim-a tu ya au: de: žer:s* you must eat this food (but *au: žerda* eat food); *p^uran-a au: warwata, au: de: žerwata* they put food before them, they ate the food; *lazzim-a čindanis-a de: guḡu:m* I must take his knife; *karma de: zalars karau* let us finish the work; *ya karma de: karau:*; cf. 253,3; 257,9.—Sanj. *mḡ: e: urmal'u: de: anim-ar, mḡ: e: maši: anu:m-a, mo: e: mašarna de: ane:m-a* I struck this man/woman, these women; SanjFar. *ter aḡo: de: anček-e:*; čuka aḡagarna de: *anček-e:* he has beaten the bull/all the bulls.^b

But we also find *de:* after *i:* one. Thus, G. *i: muša de: arwata* he brought a mouse; *mu: turi i: ḡorru: de: bazši:š kačekam* I have given you a horse; cf. 258,7; Sanj. *mḡ: i: warla aḡdama/ma:ši: de: dii:* I saw one man/woman.

But, without *de:*, G. *i: ma:ma:/putra/wiya darlata* they had had a mother/son/sister.

Note the repetition of *de:* in G. *guḡar: de: čukate de: derhem* I saw all the horses ('the horses, all of them').

De: denotes an indirect object in G. *putra de: i: serp dertim* I give (his) son an apple; cf. 258,5; Sanj. *a: to: de: palorā derw/tam-i:* I shall give/gave you an apple.

Regarding the Obl. with Postpositions cf. NW. 9,1.

8.4. The Obl. is used in G. as a general Obl. before Dat. and Gen. of *tanḡ*-own. Thus, *putra/išparnḡa/darda: tanḡai*, etc., 265,11; 264,5; 263,23; 265,7 to his/her (own) son/husband/father; *darda: tanḡast* 256,21,23 his (own) father's; cf. 266,3.

8.5. The Obl. denotes local relations in G. *šarta, ḡadau, i: tarna šart dičekam, khanaw-a* come, let us go, in a certain place I have seen honey, let us take it out; *yam čančak i: darra* (or, *darr*) *gir guḡi* this needle had changed into a mountain; *andar'u:* in the house; *xerr wa: žer urn, bada: andar'u: netik* formerly he was at home, now he has gone out of the house; Sanj. *d'arra param* I shall go to the hill; Pach. *ama: sa:ḡha: him* we are in the village; *liḡ ḡantik saḡga:*^c the walnut has fallen to the ground; *kuḡda ḡakji:ru* let us ascend to the roof; Al. *darrā ḡadeu* let us go to the hill; *warya ner* sit down in the house; *warya ari:s* we are coming to the house.

^a But note *saiwui-m de: = saḡyas-am de:* my sister (obj.).

^b Cf. also Sanj. Pronouns + *de:* for an indirect object.

^c It is possible that forms in *-a:* are locatives.

8,6. In Pach. and Al. we find a possessive Obl. Thus, Pach. *šunga kal'ur* the dog's head; *are mō: putr'a kal'ur-a* this is my son's head; *ya: mō: putra hōre aista* this is my son's house; Al. *a:dama wari* the man's house. Cf. also G. *čukayar mermanar go:rar* all the guest's horses.

8,7. Genitive.—Examples of possessive Gen. are: G. *dardas-am andarur* my father's house; *malu:s-am putr-a* my uncle's son; *do: wail šurrga ya barur:st* this boy's two dogs; *mermanar Amir Sahibast* the Amir Sahib's guests; *sarl ya go:ru:s čaka a?* what is the age of this horse? *sadar baidast* 255,3 the sound of singing; *i: waila noukarast* 255,5 one of the servants; Sanj. *ya zirn go:ru:s ar* this is the horse's saddle; *ya zirn go:ru:harast a* these are the horses' saddles; Pach. *hōre mō: putr'as a*; *are mō: putra(s) hōre a*; *are hōre mō: putrast ar* this is my son's house; *sa maršust putr-i a* he is the man's son; Nj. *zirn go:ru:s čeluk* the saddle of the white horse; Al. *dargar-ye Xalakas* the Creator's throne; *šukrarnagi: imi: niarmatas* thanks for this favour; *lars-am warya* in my brother's house.

8,8. The Gen. is combined with a local adverb in G. *nazdik darwazur:st airt* he came near to the door; cf. 255,1; 257,17; *pačawarn brarsas* after her brother, but cf. also *pačawarn* as a postposition.

8,9. Gen. functions as an ablative in G. Thus, *yam ardam a, dur Gulbarast airt* this is the man who yesterday came from G.; *ar Sarharast irm* I am from Shutul; *amar Kohnaderi(st) aīs* we are from K.; *awatyari:st* 254,3 from hunger; cf. 255,15,19; 257,3; 260,23; 263,5; 266,3,7; *ačar-ast* 266,17 out of its eyes.

8,10. Dative.—Examples from G. are: *Musulm'arnai pačerka d'erteā, ka:fer'ai xam d'erteā* 260,11 he gave cooked food to the Muslims and raw food to the pagans; *pa:dsari: ar kawata* 263,3 they made a petition to the king; *darda'er* 254,15 (he said) to his father; *ya mušai* 266,5 (I have given thirty rupees) for this mouse. Cf. Al. *a: i: para:rū ardamāya dāiraryam* I give the man an apple; *kišt wargaya aira:* the field comes to watering.

8,11. Ablative.—Sanj. *dairuir dōr ačham* I shall fetch wood from the hill; *warwui nernam* (Al. *waryai n'āikim*); went out of the house; *fularni: tarnui: yem* I am from a certain place; *amar bazarwai (!) saudar ačis-e* we shall bring goods from the bazaar; *Sanjanai yām* I am from S.; Al. *yadai-m nāin* it went out of my memory; *Tagawāy/Eskināy-an* they are from Tagau/Isken.

It is possible that the following G. forms are also to be taken as Ablatives: *West pāisui:* 263,21 (he sells it) for twenty pice; *a nīm auy: trin rekentem*

I sell the grass for half a loaf; *čapiluri 'anwata* 264,29 he slapped him (lit., struck him with a slap); *bisyar zamatai* 257,21 with great difficulty; G.² *amar Kohnadei: aīs* we are from K.

Cf. also Sham. *la:may'am* from my village.

8,12. Allative.—Al. *waryawarnā šarlekam/garyān* I am going/we went home; *waryawarnā barariz* we carry it home.

8,13. Illative.—G. *warna ur* he is at home; *w° pa/gadau* go/let us go home; cf. 261,23; Pach. *arn warna netikam* I sit down in the house.

But *waryawarnā, warna* are probably to be taken as adverbs.

8,14. Vocative.—There is no true Voc. But in G. the Voc. particle *ai* (e.g. *ai darda:*) is repeated in *ai barur-ai* O boy.

POSTPOSITIONS

9,1. The Postpositions combine with the Obl., in Sanj. also in some cases with the Gen.

Orda, etc.—G. *ya brors-a orda* near this brother of his; cf. 254,7,11; 252,7.—Sanj. *ordu-m ni: par* sit down near me.—Al. *dukarndārā ordai* from a shopkeeper. Cf. SW.

Dai from. Only in the Sham. adverbs *bhau dai* from below; *a: ta: dai* *āiteyem* I come from there. Regarding Al. *zami:na dai* from the field; Nj. *ander: de:* 284,16 from here, cf. 16,2.

Der.—V. s. Obl.

Ga.—Pach. *ware-ga šartim* I am going home.

Gornir.—Al.(PT) *daraxta pačar g°* like the leaves of a tree.

Jer.—G. *barzara jer* in the bazaar; *darwaz'or: jer ni: pa* sit down at the door; *war: jer airt/parewais* he came/we shall go into the house; *badarna jer* 287,7 (bind him) in (i.e. with) a rope; cf. 254,23,29; 255,25; 259,27; 260,17.—Sanj. *askari:nasari:jer* *jer* in the army/textile mill; *war:s-ai/nastars-ai jer* in your house/nose.—Cf. *š-* to place?

Kuča, etc.—G. *sanga kuča* 255,1 in the field; *war kuča* 255,13 into the house; cf. 257,5,7; 259,7; *andarur kučai* from inside the house; *ter kučor:st* 253,1 from amongst them.—Nj. *čar kučer* 287,12 out of the well; *war(ya) kuča* 284,23; 285,14; U. *ware k°* in the house.—Al. *zām'ena kuča* in the field.—Cf. SW.

Lerna.—Nj. *kači: lerna* 286,9 under a tree.—Cf. SW.

Pačawarn-a.—G. *brars-ast tanke p°* 257,17 after her own brother (but *pačawarn brars-as* 257,15); *er pačawarn-ast* 266,9 after him; cf. 258,3.—

SanjFar. *zandra:s pačawarn-a* behind the mill; *pačawarn-ory* from behind you (*pas-i tur*).—Cf. SW.

Paler.—G. *bad'una p°* 259,9 with a rope; *dorstes-am p°* 255,21 with my friends; cf. 256,1; 257,13.—SanjFar. *bandaga tarnek p°* with his rifle.—Al. *merz zamba p° hanim-a* I struck the table with a stone.—Cf. SW.

Širar.—G. *gilima š°* 262,15 on the rug; *ir usturmba š°* 258,3 (he climbed up) into a tree; cf. 261,27; 262,3.—Sanj. *zambas širo* on the stone.—Pach. *daṇḍa šera* on the roof-boards.—Al. *keta:b merzā šerā warṭaryem* I put the book on the table; *kelā'ir širā* on to the baxter.—Cf. SW.

Ter.—SanjFar. *ar sarri parlorra ter aridama ter derwam-ar* to-morrow I shall give the apple to (?) that man (*man i:n serb rar ba arn ardam merdeham*).

Tagar.—G. *ustumbar t°* 286,8 under the tree; *par t°* under the foot.—Sanj. *zambas tago* under the stone.—Al. *keta:b merza tag'a šir* the book is under the table.

Turk.—Al.(PT) *sudrai t°* from afar.

Waryur.—Al.(PT) *winda:kaka w° girar-num* I went out (in order) to search for him.—Cf. SW. *warrai*.

ADJECTIVES

10.1. Regarding gender, cf. 5,2.

In P., etc., the Pl. of *awato: (yem)* (I am) hungry is (*ama:/mya:*) *awati:* (*en/unde*) (we/you are) hungry. Cf. 6,4.

10.2. In G. as well attributive as predicative adjectives can be placed after the noun. E.g. *kabra der aulur opurari* dig the grave wide. But Al. *šelark gorar* a white horse; *g° š° ar* the horse is white.

10.3. Only the last word of a group is inflected in G. *gorur: šelur:kast* 285,13 of the white horse (but Nj. *gorurs čelur:k*); *gorlung nara der* the bull (obj.); *sarhibarn-i Jarmanist* of the Germans, etc. But notice also *brarsast tanke pačawarna* 257,17.

10.4. In G. the Izafe is in common use. Thus, *andar'ur-i yakaṭir* a small house; *putra-i aulur* the elder son; *libas-e baya* a good dress; *ardam-i Pararčir* a P. man; *gorur-e aulur* a big horse.—Al.(PT) *arwarz-i haibatnark* a frightful voice.

10.5. In G. comparison is expressed by means of *karka*, lit., having done, cf. Afgh.Prs. *kada < karda*.^a E.g. *bruri sayas-as k° aulur* a the brother is bigger than his sister; *sary-a brors-as k° aulur* a.

^a V. A. Farhadi, *Le Persan parlé en Afghanistan*, p. 50¹.

NUMERALS

11.1.

G.	Sanj.	Bol.	Pach.	P.	Nj.	Al.(PT)	Nang.	Pand.	Sham.
1. <i>ir</i>	=	=	=	=	=	=	=	<i>ir</i>	<i>yir</i>
2. <i>dor</i>	=	=	=	=	=	<i>du</i> (Al. <i>dur</i>)	<i>dōr</i>	<i>dər</i>	<i>dur</i>
3. <i>trā</i>	=	=	<i>tra</i>	<i>t°ra</i>	<i>tra</i>	<i>tura</i> (Al. <i>trā</i>)	<i>trā</i>	=	=
4. <i>čor</i>	=	=	=	<i>čorr</i>	=	<i>čarr</i>	<i>čurr</i>	=	<i>č°orr</i>
5. <i>p'arnja</i>	<i>°ā</i>	<i>parnʃ</i>	<i>parnʃa</i>	<i>parnč</i>	<i>parnžə</i>	<i>parnʃa</i>	<i>parnʃ</i>	<i>p'arnʃə</i>	=
6. <i>xa</i>	<i>šā</i>	<i>xā</i>	<i>ča</i>	<i>čar</i>	<i>ča</i>	<i>šiya</i>	<i>ča</i>	=	<i>čhār</i>
7. <i>s'arta</i>	<i>°ā</i>	<i>°ə</i>	<i>°a</i>	<i>°ə</i>	=	<i>°a</i>	<i>sartə</i>	=	<i>°e</i>
8. <i>'ašta</i>	<i>arštā</i>	<i>arstə</i>	<i>aršta</i>	<i>arštə</i>	=	<i>°a</i>	<i>°ə</i>	=	<i>°e</i>
9. <i>n'awa</i>	<i>narwā</i>	<i>°ə</i>	<i>°a</i>	=	<i>narw</i>	<i>narwa</i>	<i>°ə</i>	=	<i>°e</i>
10. <i>d'aya</i>	<i>dar</i>	=	=	<i>dār</i>	<i>dār</i>	<i>darya</i>	<i>dari</i>	<i>dārə</i>	<i>darye</i>
11. <i>žor</i>	<i>žuri</i>	=	<i>žuer, žur:oi</i>	<i>žur:</i>	<i>žür</i>	<i>žari</i>	<i>žer'i:</i>	<i>žir</i>	<i>žerir, žöryir</i>
12. <i>dor</i>	<i>duri</i>	=	<i>dur:er, °oi</i>	<i>dur:</i>	<i>dür</i>	<i>duwari</i>	<i>dur'i:</i>	<i>dür</i>	<i>d°erir, d°öryir</i>
13. <i>truri</i>	<i>truri:</i>	<i>trui</i>	<i>truri</i>	<i>trui:</i>	<i>trüi</i>	<i>turui</i>	<i>tre'i:</i>	<i>trür</i>	<i>trü/öryir</i>
14. <i>čad'ar</i>	=	<i>čädd'ar</i>	<i>ča°</i>	<i>čad'äh</i>	<i>°d'eri</i>	<i>čaddar</i>	<i>čad'äi</i>	<i>°ari</i>	<i>°äi, ar</i>
15. <i>panʃir</i>	=	<i>pā°</i>	<i>pa°</i>	=	=	=	=	=	=
16. <i>xuri</i>	<i>š/xuri</i>	<i>xur:</i>	<i>čhur:</i>	<i>čur:</i>	<i>čhür</i>	<i>šur:</i>	<i>che'i:</i>	<i>chür</i>	<i>čhar/erir</i>
17. <i>sat'ir</i>	=	<i>satt'i:</i>	<i>sat'i:</i>	=	<i>satt'i:</i>	= (= Al.)	<i>sat'i:</i>	<i>°ir</i>	<i>sät(t)'i:</i>
18. <i>ašt'ir</i>	=	<i>ašt'i:</i>	<i>ašt'i:</i>	=	=	=	=	<i>°ir</i>	<i>°ir</i>
19. <i>naw'ir</i>	<i>nāw'ir</i>	<i>na'i:</i>	=	<i>naw'ir</i>	<i>nāwir</i>	<i>na(h)i:</i>	<i>nāw'ir</i>	<i>°ir</i>	<i>°ir</i>
20. <i>west</i>	=	=	=	<i>wə/ust</i>	<i>wəst</i>	<i>wi:st</i>	<i>wəst</i>	=	=
21.							<i>wəst-u-'i:</i>		<i>°-yir</i>
30. <i>tri:</i>	<i>tri:u</i>	=	<i>si:</i>		<i>wəst-o-däi</i>	<i>si:</i>	<i>„ „ -d'ari</i>		<i>°darye</i>
40. <i>čil</i>	<i>čel</i>	=	=			<i>čil</i>	<i>d'uwiyur</i>		<i>doruy'ur, duwə°</i>
50. <i>pinʃ'ar</i>	=	<i>pe°</i>	<i>pa°</i>						
60. <i>šast</i>	<i>trā-wust</i>	<i>trāyu:</i>	=		<i>trā-wiyur</i>	<i>turai-wiya:</i>	<i>tr'ə-wiyur</i>		<i>trā-wuyur</i>
70. <i>hafta:d</i>	<i>trā-už'ur-wust</i>		<i>trāyu:dar</i>						
80. <i>hašta:d</i>	<i>čur-wust</i>	<i>°west</i>	=, <i>čurru:</i>		<i>čorriyu:</i>	<i>čarr-wiya:</i>	<i>čurr- „</i>		<i>č°orr- „</i>
90. <i>nawad</i>	<i>čur-užur-wust</i>	<i>°uhur-west</i>	<i>čurru:dar</i>						
100. <i>sad</i>	=, <i>parnʃa-wust</i>	<i>°west</i>	<i>šp:re</i>		<i>parnʃur</i>	<i>šari</i>	<i>parnʃe- „</i>		=
200.							<i>dari- „</i>		<i>daryer „</i>
300. <i>trā-sad</i>							<i>panʃ'i- „</i>		
400.	<i>čor-r-sad</i>						<i>wəz- „</i>		<i>č°orr(ə)-sat</i>

11.2. Variants from other dialects:

Sh. 5-9 *parñə*; *sā*; *sarā*; *a:stā*; *narwā*; 11-14 *zurir*; *durer*; *čaddar*; 16 *sui*; 17 *satt'ir*; 20 *wast*; 30 *triru*; 40 *čel*; 60 *treru*; 70 *treru-nim*; 80 *čorr-wust*; 100 *parñə-wust*.

U. = Nj., excepting 5 *porñə*; 9-11 *nawə*; *dare*; *žori*; 14 *č'addai*.

Wad. (only 1-20) = Nang., excepting 2 *dər*; 5 *parñə*; 11 *žiry*; 13 *tri'ir*.

The notations are to some extent uncertain, especially as regards 14 *-d(d)-*; 17 *-t(t)-*; 11-13, 16 *-ui*, etc.; final *-a/ā/e/ə*.

G. 40-100 are lw.s from Prs. Cf. also Pach.Al. 30; Sh.Sanj.Bol.Al. 40; Sh.Sanj.Bol.Pach. 50; Sanj. 100.

Pach.Al. have retained the ancient word for 100, and G.Sh.Sanj. the ancient word for 30.

Sham.Nang. have retained the original vigesimal form for 40; Sh.Bol. Pach.Nj.Nang.Sham.Al. for 60; Sh.Pach.Nj.Sham.Nang.Al. for 80; Sh. Sanj.Bol.Nj.Nang.Sham. for 100; Sham.Nang. for 200; Nang. for 400. Sanj.Sham. form 400 from Pash. 4 + Prs. 100.

Sh.Sanj.Bol. have vigesimal forms remade from *wast* for 80 and 100, and in Sanj. also for 60.

In Nj.Sham.Nang. the word for 10 has been added in 30, and in Pach. in 70 and 90. In Sh. we find " $60 + \frac{1}{2}$ " for 70. It is difficult to analyse Sanj. *trā-užur-wust* 70; *čurr-°* 90, Bol. *čurr-uhur-wust*. We would expect something like " $3 + \frac{1}{2} \cdot 20$ ", but what is the origin of *-ž/hur-*?

The isogloss *ša/cha* 6 cuts across the NW. and SW. dialect areas.

In SanjFar. *ir* has an Obl. in *ya der* (on) one day.

11.3. The numerative *warla* (Pl. *wa(r)l*?) has been recorded from G. and Sanj. Thus, G. *ir warla putra/čhani:k/čančak* one son/kid/needle; *ir warla noukararst* one of the servants; *dai wal* ten; *do: wal šuryga* two dogs; *ker warl sāyaz* how many sisters; Sanj. *ir warlā palq:rā/ardama* one apple/man; *ir warlir* (f. ?) *maršir: āidā* one woman came; SanjFar. *do wal zom* two stones (*do ta: sang*).

Cf. also Sanj. *šan* in *amar: de-šan mar: de-šan anaiz-i* we two shall beat you two; *keru šan* how many.

11.4. From Al. have been recorded *duw'ai* both; *tr'aye* all three; *č'arre* all four. Cf. SW. Thus, *do'ai wiyekul'ai-m harn* both of them are my daughters; *mar: du'enaya: martam-ar* I said to both of them (Psht. *dwa:ro ta*); *duina: wiyekula:n* both of them have daughters (?).

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns

12.1.		1. Sg.					
	G.	Sanj.	Pach.	Nj.	U.	Sham.	Al.
Nom.	a:	=	a:(n)	mu:	mo:	a:	=
Obl.	mur	mō:	=	"	mo:	mo:	ma:
Gen.	mau	=	=	mōi	moru	mau	mama: ^a
Gen.	mu:st		mo:(est)		most		
Dat.	muri		more			mai (?)	marya ^a
		1. Pl.					
Nom.-Obl.	hamar	amar	hamar	=		=	=
Gen.	hamar:st	amort	"		hamort	=	hamar:ta ^a
Dat.	hamari						hamarya ^a
		2. Sg.					
Nom.	tu:	tu/ə	tu:	=		tu	tu
Obl.	"	tō:	tōre	tu:		tō:	ta:
Gen.	tu:st		"		to:s		"
Gen.	tau	=		tori	tau	tau	tauva
Dat.	turi	tōryā	"			tōri	tarya
		2. Pl.					
Nom.-Obl.	mormar	ma:	hima:	mia:	mya:/o:	mya:	hima:
Gen.	mormar:st	mort			myōort	mōyort	himar:ta ^a
Dat.		maryā					himarya

12.2. P. 1. Sg. *mor*; Dat. *māy*; 1. Pl. *amar*; 2. Sg. Dat. *tōy*; 2. Pl. *myar*. Nang.Wad.Pand. 1. Sg. Nom. Obl. *mō:/u:*; 1. Pl. (*h*)*amar*; 2. Sg. *tu*; Obl. *tu:*; 2. Pl. *myar*. Cf. also Nang. *ma: putr-iem* my son; *mu: me: jiba n'e piant'um* I do not understand your (?) language.

12.3. The Obl. has replaced the Nom. in P.Nj.U.Sham.Pand.Wad. 1. Sg. (and Nj. probably also 2. Sg.).—Pach. *arn* (= Par.) and *a:* seem to be used indiscriminately.

The addition of a Personal Pronoun emphasizes the subject in G. *te:se:*

^a Al.(PT) forms.

de: a: bi žerwam I, too, shall eat that; *kar kat'unda morm'a:*? (U. *mya: kor: katurnda*?) what are **you** doing? Cf. *tu: ... hi:* 256,1. In most cases, however, there is no apparent reason for adding the pronoun. Thus, G. *la:zim a hamar ya au de: žurw'a:s* we must eat this bread; Sanj. *a: āidam* I came; *tu žerwai* thou wilt eat; Pach. *a: aidam*; *arn garyem* I went; Nj. *amar: āičen* we have come; Al. *tu larm karā* do the work.

12.4. In G. *a:* may be used also with past tenses of transitive verbs. Thus, *a: tu: de: hančekam* I have beaten thee; *a: turi ser: derterm-i:* I gave thee an apple; *dura: turi čhanik de:čekim* yesterday I have given (gave) thee a kid; cf. 264,27. But in most instances we find the Obl. Thus *mu: turi i: ruzpai: de:čekam* I have given thee one rupee; *mu: turi i: gōr:ru: de: bazši:s kačekam* I have made thee a present of a horse.^a

12.5. In all other dialects which distinguish between 1. Sg. Nom. and Obl., the Obl. is used. E.g. Sanj. *mō: tu: de ančkam-i:* I have beaten thee; Pach. *mō: pur'orm kar'erm* (*kačekam*, *kala:am*) I worked; *mō: i mašue diem-a* I saw a woman; but also *arn palor:ra ture deram-i:* I gave thee an apple; Sham. *mo: dyc: šorm bhairu: kačekam* yesterday I have done much work, but also *a: dyc: aryi: bhairu: žaičekam* yesterday I have eaten much food; Al. *ma: i: ardam di:m* I saw a man; *ma: di:latam-a:* I had seen him.

12.6. The Obl. (in G.Sanj. with *de:*) denotes the direct object. Thus, G. *mu: de: žur* eat me; *morma: hamar: de: hantunda* you are beating us; *a: morma: de: hantim* I am beating you; Sanj. *a: tō: de: dearm-i:* I shall beat thee; *amar: ma: de: ani:* we struck you; Pach. *arn tōre (tōrya) hantim* I am beating thee; *tu: mō: hanti:*; *sa mōre hantur*. But Nj. *mu: tu: h'ant-ey-em*; *tu: mu: hant-om-i:* I am/thou art beating thee/me; Al. *tu janga beri: ke a: ta: hanam-āi* ne thou art afraid that I may beat thee.

12.7. The Obl. indicates the indirect object in G. *a: tu: de: bazši:s de:lakam* I would have given a reward; *te:se: de: mu: da* give me that; Sanj. *a: tō: de: palor:ra darm-i:* I shall give thee an apple.

The Obl. is also combined with postpositions. E.g. G. *tu: pale:* with the (cf. Al.(PT) *ma: p*); *tu: orda* near thee.

12.8. We find a possessive Obl. in G. *tu: mu: putra nā i:* thou art not my son; *mu: gor:ru: aulur a* my horse is big; *tu: andarur: de:* thy house; cf. 254,25; 255,19; Sanj. *ya ma: put'r a* he is our son; *tu: put'r* thy son; Pach. *ture putr*; *mō: hōry a* it is my house; *ya hamar: hore a:sta* this is our

^a Cf. Par., HFL., I, § 201.

house; *ya hamar sorh* a this is our village; Nj. *mor barsam-as warya kuca* in my father's house; Al.(PT) *mai gorar* my horse, etc.

12.9. The difference of function between the G. genitives *m/tau* and *m/turst* is not clear. Both types are placed after the noun. Thus, *sayar mau aulur urn* my sister was big; *ya bruri m/tau* (or, *m/turst*) a this is my/thy brother; *sayarn tau aulur urn?* were thy sisters big? *xizmat tau karem* I served thee; *ya andarur tau* a this is thy house (or, is thine?).

12.10. The forms in *-st* are predicative in G. *kalarm must ar* the pen is mine; *gorur m/turst a*, *gorur amarst/mormarst a* the horse is mine, etc.; cf. 256,1,3. But it is attributive in *sayar turst aulur urn*; *gorur amarst dur ar* *šir* our horse is at home; *g° mormarst kpur šir?* where is your horse? *sayarn amarst/mormarst* our/your sisters.

12.11. Cf. also Pach. *arde šurrg mau/morest a* that dog is mine (or, *mau*... a is my?). From U. I have recorded *ma/oru* a twice; *tau* a 4 times; *mort* a once; *ma/oru asai* twice and *tors asai* 6 times, but it is very doubtful if there is any significance in this distribution of forms. Examples are: *goror/i: mau/moru*, *tau a*; *mau/moru asai*; *goror mort a*; *arde goror/i: torz asai*; *arde wori tors asai* that house is thine. Cf. *arde wori hamort/myō:ot ar(sai)* is ours/yours.

12.12. No such difference has been recorded in Sanj. *ya putr mau/tau/amort/mort a* this son is mine/thy/ours/yours; Nj. *yōi: mory a* the house is mine; *yer gorur tory a* this horse is thine; P. *ader ode: māy/tōy a* that house is mine/thine.

12.13. Sham. *mau putras-am wary-a* my son's house; *tau putras-ai warya*; *hamort šair-ien* our father-in-law; *tau šair-ier*; *maz/ōy'ort šair-eor*; Sham.² *aryer wye: moru/tau/hamort/mōyort a* this house is mine/thine/ours/yours; *aryer mor/to: wye: a* this is my/thy house.

12.14. Dative.—G. *tu muri serp pas'am dar* give me an apple later on; *du: ar turi dhanik dertim* yesterday I gave thee a kid; *mormar amari ir gorur der baxšiš kačekāi* you presented us with a horse; cf. 255,21; 263,23, sq. (*muri*, but also *mur der*); 265,5; Sanj. *ar toryā/maryā ir warlā palq:ra dar-m-i* I shall give thee/you an apple; Pach. *arn palq:ra ture dertam-i* I gave, etc.; *tu p° mure dar!*^a Sham. *ar ni: tori parwarli: derityem* I am giving thee an apple to-day; *tu ke dyer mai dyityer, yikitarb dai-šhar-m-ei* if thou hadst come to me (?) yesterday, I should have given thee a book.

^a But also *arn tori hanti:m* I am beating thee.

Pronominal Suffixes

13.1.		G.				
		1. Sg.	1. Pl.	2. Sg.	2. Pl.	3. Pers.
Nom. Sg.	Voc. + m		Voc. + n	Voc. + i	Voc. + u	-a
Obl. Sg.	-as-am		-as-an	-as-ai		-as-a
Gen. Sg.	„					-as-as(t)
Dat. Sg.						-as-ai
Abl. Sg. (?)						-ary-a (?)
Nom. Pl.	-arn-am		-arn-en	-arn-ai		
Abl. Pl.						-ars-ast
		Sanj.				
Nom. Sg.	Voc. + m		Voc. + n	-i:	-ieu	-e ? -ar ?
Obl. Sg.	-ars-am		-ars-an	-ars-ai	-ars-au	
Gen. Sg.	-ars-am-es(t)		-ars-an-est			-ars-t ?
Dat. Sg.	-ars-am-yā			-ary-ai		-ary-ai
Abl. Sg.	-ory-em					
Nom. Pl.	-ar-em (?)		-arn-ān			

NOMINATIVE

13.2. Just as in L.^a there are two types, e.g. *-i/em* and *-am* from stems in a consonant, but the distribution is somewhat different.

1. Sg. Type I: G. *tarn-im* my place; G.Sanj. *putr-em* my son; Sh.Sanj. *pat(*)r-i:m*; Pach.P.U.Sham.Nang. *putr-iem*; Al. *-i:m*; G. *wi'-e:m* my daughter, but Sanj. *we'-um*; Pach. *wiy-u:m*; Al. *wuy-am*; G. *ar-y'em* my heart; Sh. *-i:m*; P. *-em*; Nj.U.Sham. *ha(:)r-y'e(:)m*; G. *karm'-e:m* my work; P.U. *šam-iem*; Nj. *-em*; Sanj.Pach. *ast-i'em* my hand; U. *-iem*; Al. *hast-im*; Sanj. *dand-e:m* my tooth; Nang.Pand. *-i'em*; Nang. *nast-i'em* my nose; *oršt-i'em* my lip.

Type II: G. *orrač-am* my sleep; *herwar-am* my husband's brother; G.Sanj. *šair-am* my father-in-law, but Nj. *-iem*, Pach.U.Sham. *-i'e(:)m*; Nang.Wad.Pand. *-i:m*; G. *airg-am* my tear; *po:st-am* my skin; *na:m-am* my name, but Al. *-im*; Sanj. *gila:n-am* my mouth; Al. *sabu:n-am* my soap; Sham. *whary-am* my house; *andinwarl-am* my comrade.

Nouns in *-ar* have G. *-(y)i:m*. E.g. G.Sanj. *šarmar-i:m* my son-in-law; Pach.Nj.U. *-ye/əm*; Sh. *naw'ar-yim* my grandchild; Nj. *-yem*.

^a Cf. SW. 13.4.

From nouns in -u(-o-), -i-, e.g. G. *kaluz-m* my head; *nawasuz-m* my grandson; Sh.Sham.Sanj. *šair'i-m* my mother-in-law; Pach. -*üzem*; Al. *šāšuri-m*; Sh.Sanj.Al. *išpairi-m* my wife's brother. Cf. also Sanj.Pach. *sunzot-m* my daughter-in-law (Pand. *senzum* from *s'enze*). But G. *andar'ur-em* my house.

G. *bras-um* my brother; Sanj. -*um*; Pach.Nj.U.Sham. *lary-o(z)m*; P. -*ām*; Pand. -*em*; Wad. -*im*; Al. -*am*; Nang. *la'im*; G.Pach.U. *say-um* my sister; Nj.Sham. -*om*; Nang. -*im*; Pand. -*am*; Sham. *gary-om* my cow (*gari*); G. *sayarn-um* my sisters; Sanj. *ačar'erem* my eyes.

13.3. 1. Pl. G. *tarn-in* our place; *karm-en* our work; *au-yen* our bread; *gülm-an* our rug; *karluz-n* our dress; Sanj. *pot'r-in*; Sham. *š'äir-ien/šäir'i-n* our father/mother-in-law; Al. *hast-in* our hands; *katez-an* our cheese; G. *sayarn-en* our sisters; Sanj. *b'aryarn-an* our brothers.

13.4. 2. Sg. G. *tarn-e* thy place; *au-ye* thy bread; *bro:ano-ei* thy brother; *nam-i* thy name (= Nj.); Sanj. *put'r-i* thy brother; Al. *putr-ei*; Al. *hast-ei* thy hand; G. *kay-ae* thy ear; *šung-ae* thy dog; P. *ar-äi* thy heart; Sham. *š'äir-ier* thy father-in-law; *šäir'i* (with suffix zero) thy mother-in-law; G. *sayarn-äi* thy sisters.

13.5. 2. Pl. G. *tarn-eur*; Sham. *š'äir-eor* your father-in-law; *šäiry-or* your mother-in-law; *gary-or* your cow; G. *sayarn-au* (= *sayarn mo:ma:st*) your sisters.

13.6. 3. Pers. G. *išparnē* her husband; Sanj. -*e*; G. *ar-ya* his heart; P. -*e*; G. *nam-a*; G. *šarn-a* his soul; G. *andaruz-a* his house; Nj.Nang. Sham. *w(h)ary-a*; G. *bray-a* his brother; *say-a* his sister; G. *putr-a/a* his son; Sanj. -*ar*; Al. -*e*; Sham. *š'äir-e/šäir'i-a* his father/mother-in-law.

OBLIQUE CASES

13.7. 1. Sg. Obl. Gen. G. *kayas-am* my ear's; *da:das-am* my father's; *saryas-am* my sister (Obl.); G.Sham. *putras-am*; Nang. -*as-am* my son's; G. *malus-am* my uncle's; G. *ast/ary-as-am* *fe:* in my hand/heart; *do:stes-am* *pale:* with my friend; Sanj. *putras-am-as(t)* my son's; *pot'ras-am* *der* (obj.); *weas-am-es* my daughter's; SanjFar. *bras-am der*, *sayas-am* (Obl.); Nj. *bais-am-as* my father's; Al. *las-am* my brother's; Al.(PT) *mambas-am* my uncle's; *ačcis-am* my eye's. Dat. Sanj. *pot'ras-am-yä*; Al. *las-em-äya*. Abl. SanjFar. *asto:y-em* from my hand; Al. *ya:dai-m* from my memory; Al.(PT) *hastay-em*; Sham. *larmay-äm* from my village. Loc. Al. (*ketarb*) *hastar-m* (*šir*) (the book is) in my hand; Al.(PT) *kayas-m* in my ear.

13.8. 1. Pl. Sanj. *pot'ras-an* (Obl.); *pot'ras-an-ast* (gen.). Loc. Al. *purnar-n* before us; *manjar-n* between us.

13.9. 2. Sg. G. *dandarnas-äi* thy tooth; *da:das-äi* thy father's; *no:karas-äi* thy servant; Sham. *putras-äi*; Nang. *as-äi*; Sanj. *put'ras-äi*; SanjFar. *boras-ay der* thy brother. Loc. Al. *tar hastä:* (< *-ar-e*) in thy hand. Dat. Sanj. *tu: pot'rary-äi* to thy son.

13.10. 2. Pl. Sanj. *put'ras-au der*.

13.11. 3. Pers. Obl. G. *putras-a* (Sham. -*e*); *astas-a*; *aras-a* his blood; *širas-a*; *kayas-a* his ear; *kalus-a* his skull; *čindanis-a* his knife; Al.(PT) *qabras-a* (*šira* on) his grave. Gen. G. *sayas-as* his sister's; *bro:as-ast* his brother's, from his brother; *mamas-ast* from his mother; *was-ast* from his house; *ačas-ast* from its eyes. Dat. *da:das-äi* to his father; *naukaray-a* 254,21 to his servants (?); Sanj. *ter pot'rary-äi* to his son.

13.12. The general oblique in -s has been specified through the addition of Gen. -s, Dat. -(ä)ya in Gen. Sanj. *pot'ras-am/n-ast* my/our son's; Nj. *bais-am-as* my father's; Al. *xurakas-an-es* of our food; Dat. Sanj. *potras-am-yä*; Al. *las-em-äya*.

13.13. In Pach. the existence of any inflected forms, and even Nominatives of the type **putr-ien/-eu*, etc., was denied.

Demonstrative Pronouns

		(I) This			
	G.	Sanj.	Pach.	Sham.	Al.
Nom. Sg.	<i>ya(m)</i>	<i>ya</i>	=	<i>ar(y)e</i>	<i>ya</i>
Obl. Sg.	<i>er(se:)</i>	<i>er</i>		<i>aryu:</i>	<i>imi:</i>
Gen. Sg.	<i>erst</i>	=	<i>'esist</i>		
Nom. Pl.	<i>e(:)ma</i>	<i>eme</i>	<i>ema</i>	<i>a:me (əme: ?)</i>	<i>ema</i>
Obl. Pl.		(Adj. <i>e:</i>)			(Adj. <i>imi:</i>)
Gen. Pl.		<i>eme:st</i>			
		(II) That			
Nom. Sg.	<i>sa(m)</i>	<i>sa</i>	=	<i>a:se</i>	<i>sa</i>
Obl. Sg.	<i>ter(se:)</i>	<i>ter(-se Far.)</i>	<i>ter</i>		<i>ti:, timi: (= PT)</i>
Gen. Sg.	<i>terst</i>	=	=	<i>a:tes</i>	<i>tis</i>
Dat. Sg.					<i>timiya: (PT)</i>
Nom. Pl.	<i>te(:)ma</i>	<i>t'əme</i>	<i>t'ema</i>	<i>a'tume: (əmə)</i>	<i>tōma</i>
Obl. Pl.	(Adj. <i>ter</i>)	<i>tem'er</i>	=		<i>ti:da: (Adj. timi:)</i>
Gen. Pl.	<i>termerst</i>	<i>tēmerst</i>	=		

14.3. From other dialects: Nj. *yer* this; Nj.P. *sa*; Pand.Wad. *ase* that. Nang. Obl. Sg. *atur*; Obl. Pl. *atener*; Pand. Nom. Pl. *at'am*; Wad. *ate*.

14.4. From the material available it is not possible to detect any functional difference between G. *y/sa* and *y/sam*. It also seems irrelevant if a vowel or a consonant follows. Thus, *ya(m) sayar*; *ya(m) rupar*; *°payar*; *ya/sam a:dam*.

In many dialects we find, probably emphatic, forms with prefix *a:-* (*u:-*), and from Sham.Pand.Nang.Wad. only such forms have been recorded. Thus, Pach. *are* this (cf. Sham. above); Pach. *ur* that; P. *a:sə/o*; Al. *°a*; Pand.Wad. *ase*; Obl. Sg. Nang. *atur*; Gen. Sg. Pach. *urtest*; U. *atyōrd*; Nom. Pl. Pach. *urtema*; Pand. *at'am*; Wad. *ate*; Al.(PT) *artuma*; Obl. Pl. Al.(PT) *artumir/er*; Nang. *atener*; Dat. Pl. Al.(PT) *artimirdarya*. Regarding Sham. cf. above.

14.5. There is also another, proximate demonstrative, Pach. *ardek* this very (*hamir*); P. *ade*; U. *ardə*; Al. *°i*. The deixis of Nang. *adarsə*; Nom. Pl. Pand. *arda* is uncertain. Cf. I.Isk. *arde*.

Examples:

14.6. G.—Nom. *Ya a:dam ordu-m ar, sam a:dam sudur ar* this man is near me, that man is far away; *ya andarur tau a, sa andarur tersta* this house is thine, that house is his; *yam a:dam kala du: barzara fer dera-a, sam a:dam a* this is the man whom we saw in the bazaar yesterday.

We find *y/sa(m)* used as substantives, e.g. in *ya dareka na betu* this one cannot enter; cf. 264,25; *sa bi nir-gurn* he too was sitting (Nj. *sa bə nir:ik a*); *sa muri serp derēki* he has given me an apple; cf. 255,27.

More frequently uninflected *a y/sa* are used as attributive adjectives. Thus, *ya gorru* this horse; *ya gorru:s ya putra korsta?* whose son is this? *yam rupayar* these rupees; cf. 258,5; *sam a:dam mu: der hanwata* that man struck me; *sam mulka fer* in that country.

Ya, but apparently not *sa*, may be rendered by the definite article. E.g. *ya bruri aulu* the/this elder brother.^b

14.7. Oblique Cases. *E: pačawarnast* from behind this one; *du: hamar er der dera* yesterday we saw this one; *ar ter der hantim* I beat him; *ya rupar ter der da* give him this rupee; cf. 255,7 (but *ter* 253,19 to him); *ter derte-a* 253,5 he gave to them (collective Sg., cf. 253,1); *ya gorru erst a, terst n-a* this horse belongs to this one, not to that one; *andarur terst xara:b a* his house is bad; *terst korefa* ask him; cf. 287,3; 257,27; 286,19.

^a Cf. Par. (IIFL., I, p. 66), but cf. SW. 14,2.

^b Cf. SW. 14,2.

Eiser, terse are probably emphatic forms. Thus, *du: erse: der deheru, nu: bi haitik* yesterday we saw this (very man) who has also come to-day; *tu: i: gorru: darri: terse: der mui da* you have a horse, give it to me; cf. 264,19.

14.8. Pl. (t):*ma*.—*Ema (terma) mu: der hanwata* these (those) ones struck me; *ema a:it* these ones came; *ema kurost un?* from where are these people?—Adj. *ema a:dam baya a, tema a:dam baya n-a* these men are good, but those men are not; *larzim a ema a:dam ya au der žurn* these men must eat this food; *larzim a hama: ema čindani: der gura:s* we must take these knives.

Gen. Pl.—*Sa andarur: terme:st a* that house belongs to those ones.

14.9. Sanj.—*Ya urmalu:* this man; *sa a:dam* that man; *sa antur* he is beating; *sā didi:* he came.

Mq: er urmalu:/marduma der ančkam-a I have beaten this man/these people; *mq: er ma:si/mašarna der ančurn-a* I have beaten this woman/these women; *er der 'anus-e* beat him/them; *mq: ter der anir* I struck this one; *ter mq: der anir* this one struck me; *ter put'r* his son; *ter pot'r'a:st a* it is his son's. *Terst a* it is his; *ya andarur: erst a* this house belongs to him.

SanjFar. *terse barros bo:k* that boy's garden; *tersi... anček-e:* he has beaten them.

Pl.—*Eme nāzdi:k q:ndi, teme sudur q:ndi* these ones are near, those ones are far away; *'eme āidi:* these ones came; *eme a:dam du: kuru:m katu:n* these men were working; *tumā put'ra: tanek der: antaru:n* they are beating their son.

Obl. Pl.—*Tem'e mq: der anlari:* they had beaten me; *tem'e pot'ra:st a* it belongs to their son.

Gen. Pl.—*Ya andarur: eme:st a* this house belongs to these ones; *teme:st a*.

14.10. Pach.—*Ya mo: putr a* this is my son; *ya nezdi:k a, sa sedur hor* this one is near, that one is far off.

Barru: ter putr a the boy is his son; *ter der han'aw-a* let us beat him.

Ya putr terst a this is his son; *are hore 'esista* this house belongs to this one.

Ema ayi:t these ones came; *teme pačaitu:n* they cook; *ti/ema a:it* they came; *tema nafar au: žaitu:n* those persons eat bread.—Notice *temade: ser:hu:n* they are satisfied.

Ya barru: teme:st putr-i a this boy is their son.

Are Pašai: a he is a Pashai; *are mq: putras hore a* this is my son's house;

are *šurŋg* *morest* a this dog is mine; are *čui* *hōre* *mō*: *putrast* a: all these are my son's houses.

U:sa *hōre* *urtest* a this house belongs to him; *urtema* (*nafar*) *au*: *žaiturn* those (persons) eat bread.

14.11. P.—Ase *ardam* *mu* *dāt-am-o*: that man sees me; *aso* *oāe*: *toāy* a that house is thine; *ade* *oāe*: *oālo*: a, *sā* *oāe*: *sur* a this house is big, that house is small; *ade* *oāe*: *māy* a this house is mine (Psht. *dar kor*).

Nj.—Ye: *ardam*/*goru*:/*yōi*: this man/horse/house; *sa* *nizika* he is sitting.

U.—A:da *ardam* this man; *a:da* *ardama* *āū* *žāivāt-i*:? did this man eat bread? *a:da* *goru*: *torz* *asāi* this horse is thine; *a:da* *wori* *atyōd* a this house is his.

14.12. Sham.—A: *ardam* *nəzik* *wor*, *a:se* *ardam* *sudūr* *wor*: this man is near, that man is distant; are *hanav'a*: let us beat this one; *arye*: *wye*: *moru* a this is my daughter; are *w^oorgə* *pet'o*: this one is drinking water; *aryu*: *ardame* . . . *kar* *kačekan* this man has worked; *aryu*: *aurate*:/*ardame*: *dye*: *bhairu*: *kar* *kači*: this woman/man worked much yesterday; *aryu*: *ardame* *žaičekan* this man has eaten; but also *aryi*: *aurate*: *bhairu*: *ay'i*: *žayčēi* this woman ate much bread (Sham.² *yo*: *aurate*: *ay'i*: *žaičēi*); *əme*: *ardama:n* these men (Prs. *i*: *nafarha*:); *a:me* *ardama:n* *nəzik* *w^oorn*, *artume* *ardama:n* *sudūr* *w^oorn*; *a:me* *xalke* *bhairu*: *ay'i*: *žayčēi* these people ate much bread; *a:me* *aŋg'ur*/*nāw'ur* these fingers/nails; *a:m*' *ardama:n* *šorm* *katurn* these men are working.

Note also *ni*: *yar* *ardam* *arta*: *dāi* *aiŋp*: to-day this (?) man is coming from there.

14.13. A:se *ardam* *šorm* *kato*: that man is working; *ar* *arsa* *ardam* *dityerm* I see that man; *a:se* *ardam*/*aurate* *awato*:/*i*: *ya* that man/woman is hungry; *artes* (*putrase*) *wha:y-a* his (son's) house; *artume*: *ardama:n* *dye*: *narfor*: *haryi:s* those men were ill yesterday; *artəmə* *naphər* *awati*: *wurn* those persons are hungry.

14.14. Pand.—A:se *ardam* *atanu*: a that man is thirsty; *asa*: (*ar*)*dam* *šum* *katu*: that man is working; *at'am* *ardama:n* *atan'i*: *won* those men are thirsty.

A:da *ardama:n* *šum* *katu'an* those men are working.

Nang.—Ada:sə *ardam* *šum* *kat'u*: that man is working; *ada:se* *aur'etə* *'tan'i*: *ya* that woman is thirsty.

At'u: *ardama* *sojal'i*: *žin's* that man ate mulberries; *a:ten'e*: *ardama:ne* *s^o* *ž^o* those men, etc.

Mu: *me*: *žibə* *n'e* *piantum* I do not understand this one's (?) language. But the meaning of *me*: is uncertain.

Wad.—A:se *ardam* *mu*: *det(im)u*: that man sees me; *mu*: *ad'ase* *ardam* *d'eteum* I see that man; *ate* *zal'ak* *mu*: *d'etemurn* those people see me.

14.15. Al.—Yā *ki*: a? who is this one? *yā/e* *ardam* this man; *ya* *wari* this house; *sā* *khantra*: he draws; *sa* *ardam* that man; Al.(PT) *sa* *muri:ti:k* he has died.

Ya/(ar)*sā* *wari* *imi*:/*timi*: *ardamast* a this/that house belongs to this/that man; *emā* *wari*-*nar-menāi* *imi*: *ardama:nast* a * these houses belong to these men; *imi*:/*timi*: (*ti*:) *ardama*/*marduma* *marte*: this/that man (these/those people) said; *ti*: *pur* his son; *kita:b* *ti*: *hastā*: *šir*: the book is in his hand; *ti:s* *putr-e* *for* a? is his son well?—Cf. Al.(PT) *timiyar*: to him (*urra*:); *imi*: *zastir* on account of this; *timi*: *qabra* *šira* on his tomb.

14.16. Pl. 'Ema *ardama:n* these men; *təmə* (once *temā*) *lar*m *kararn* may they work; *tuma* *hantra:n*/*khantra:n* they are beating/drawing; *tomā* *lar*m *kaw'an* they will work.

Obl. Pl. *Ti*: *da*: (?) *khane*: they drew.

14.17. A:sa *ardam*/*wari* that man/house. Al.(PT) *Ahmad* *a:sa*/*artuma* *d:irate*: A. saw him/them; *a:sa*/*artuma* *ait* he/they came; *artumi*: their; *artimi:darya*: for them (*ar'harra*:).

A:di *lar*m *kačeka*i this one has worked.

Interrogative Pronouns

15.1. Al. *ki*: who?—Yā *ki*: (*ardam*)a? who is this (man)? *ki*: *harstā*/*har*n? who is he/are they?

Gen. *kor*:*arst*.—G. *ya* *putra*/*goru*: *korsta*? whose son/horse is this? *ya* *karsi*: *korz* *guge*:? from whom did you buy this thing? Al. *yā* *wari* *karsta*? whose house is this? Al.(PT) *kar*:*i:st* a? whose is it?

Obl.—Al. *kar*: *odāi*? from whom?

G. Sanj. *kar*; Nj.U.Al. *kor* what?—G. *kar* *katunda* *morma*:? (U. *mya*: *kor* *katundə*?) what are you doing? *kar* *guna*: *kačekan*? what sin have we committed? Cf. 265.3. Sanj. *a*: *kar* *rekenarm*? what shall I sell? 265.3. Nj. *na:m-i*: *kor* a? (Burnes *name kera*?) what is your name? Al. *kor* (*šāi*) a? what is it/this thing?

G. *kyu* how much/many?—K^o *pu:nd* a 284,15 how far is it? *k^o* *putra*? 284,22 how many sons? Cf. Ka. *kyō*:; Ch. *ki:ro*.—Al. *kau* *har*n? how much

* Cf. 6,8.

was it? Cf. Sahn. *khau:*.—Al. *ema mardum kharnde arn?* how many are these men?—G. *ker-wal sāya darri?* how many sisters have you?—G. *ča-qadar no:kar?* 254,1 how many servants? *čaka* 284,9 how many? Cf. *yama-kadar* 255,17 so many.—Nj. *čō/a:* 284,10,16,23 how many?

G. *ka-lworn:* of what kind?—K° *ardam bin, barčur: je: deshe-a?* what kind of man was it you saw in the garden? Cf. Prs. *ker-launir:*.—Cf. U. *ya-xla* such.

G. *Ya gurur: kārang a?* of what kind (how) is this horse? *karangi:* 262,9 of what kind?

Relative Particle

15.2. Prs. *ki* is used as a relative in G. *sam ardam ki du: arit mara:ta, turi barši:š derwam-i:* the man who came yesterday said: I shall give you a gift. But it is perhaps also possible to translate "when he came".

In most cases our relative sentences are rendered by an asyndetic construction. E.g. *sam ardam du: arit* the man who came yesterday; *yam ardam a, du: Gulbarrast arit* this is the man who came from G. yesterday; *sam ardam a, tu: der serb dextea* it is the man who gave you an apple; *tu: ya serba de: žiini:, a: dextem-i:* did you eat the apple I gave you? Cf. 253,13,17; 255,23; 287,20.

Indefinite Pronouns

15.3. G. *ki(:)-si:* somebody, anybody.—K° *čurri: karka na burt* nobody will be able to steal it; *k° na wun* nobody was (there); cf. 253,19.

G. *kar-si:* something, anything, whatever.—K° *na weidarya* he did not find anything; *k° must a, turst a* 256,1 whatever is mine, is thine; cf. 253,19; 264,19; 265,17; (*h*)*ar-kar-si:* whatever 264,19.—Al. *har-korr (ke the)* whatever there may be.—G. *har xwarri: kawata* 266,13 whatever pains he took.

G. *ke(u)somē*.—*Ke: waxt guzarin* some time passed; *ker de: pačawar* some days afterwards; cf. 253,5.—Sanj. *keru fan au: žertun* some persons are eating bread; *keru fan qndi* there are some people.

G. (*h*)*erč* any.—*E:č saudur* any merchandise; cf. 264,21; 265,17.

G. *har-du:* both; *har-durs-a de:* 263,9 both of them (obj.); *ar-duh-ern ya karma de: karau:* let both of us do this work.

G. *čur-* all.—*čur-ern žeka na bāyin* all of us were unable to eat.—G. *čuk-*, in *čukay-a:* all of them (Nom.); *čukas-a:* (Obl.); *čukas-arst* (Gen.) (for examples v. Voc.); but also *čukake de:* (obj.), e.g. *čukate de: xarč kawata* he spent it all (the totality?); cf. Voc.

Sanj. *čurkai ni:* sit down all; *čukay-ern ničen* we all sat down; *ama: čuke-ern kuru:m karainz-er* we shall all work; *ma: čurkay-eu āidau* all of you came; *ama: čukas-an* (Obl.) *ma: der anlaxti:* we had all of us beaten you.—Pach. *hama: čui (= kul) āiden* we all came; *are čui wore* all these houses; *čūri: daraxti:* all the trees.—Nj. *mia: čuka for unda?* are you all well? *čarnea šarcom* let us all go; *hama: čarnya tu: hanteyem* (for *-en?) we are all of us beating you.—U. *čq:ena āū žāwatan* all of us ate bread; *čūōrna a:sai* it belongs to all of us.—Al. *hama: čuke garyan* we all went; *čuka go:ra: a:it* all the horses came. Sham. *mya: čūike: detoryem* I see you all; *hama: čūri-bi: awati:* yes we are all hungry.

G.Pach.AL(PT) *wari:* other.

Sanj. *da'in*; Pach. *γulu:* many.—Sanj. *mu: er d° marduma de: anerm-a* I struck these many people; *γ° a:it* many came.

Reflexive Pronoun

15.4. Sanj. *tarnēk own*.—*Sā put'ra: t° de: antaur* he beats his own son.—In G. only the stem *taŋk-* has been recorded. Thus, *tarykim wanderwam* 261,7 I shall prepare it myself; *mašyul karau: taŋka de:* let us prepare ourselves; *ma:la: taŋka de:* 253,3 his goods; *darda: taŋka je:* 255,15 to his own father; cf. 256,19; 257,13; *darda: taŋkai* 263,23 to his father; cf. 264,5; 265,7; *darda: taŋkast* 256,21 from his father. Cf. Voc.—Nj. *mu: tarnēk nirik am* I myself am sitting. Sham. *tarnkai la:may-ām* from my own village.

ADVERBS

Interrogative Adverbs

16.1. G.Pach.Burnes *kuro:*; Al. *ku(r)a:*; Nj. *kari:k* where? V. Voc.—Pach. *sa zāifa: kuro: go:re* where did the woman go? Nj. *zi:n kari:k a?* where is the saddle? Al. *ku'a: harnāi?* where were you? *k° pari a:nāi?* where had you gone? *sa kq:a (*kua:-a)?* where is he?

G. *kuro:i, kuro:st, kine:*; Sham. *kurhai* from where? V. Voc. G. *moma: ken'ai urnda?* from where are you?—Al. *kua: faryai aidai?* from where did you come?

G. *kima:l* when? V. Voc.—Al. *ki: xurn āitekai?* when (Psht. *kala*) have you come?

G. *kal* how? (?). V. Voc. *kal.³*—Sanj. *kal muri:teki:* was translated

"which one has died?" (*kudarm murda ast?*), but grammatically it seems rather to mean "how (?) have you died?"

G.Nj. *kuri* how. V. Voc.

Other Local Adverbs

16.2. G. *et'ar*; Al. *etä*; Sham. *arntäi* here.—V. Voc.

G. *iteri* from here.—Nj. *ander der* from here.

G. *tet'ar*, *terne*; Al. *atarä*; Sham. (*a*)*ta*: there.—286,8. V. Voc.

G. *okare*; Sham. *bhou* below.

G. *udde* above.

G. *dura:kowa* outside.

Other Temporal Adverbs

16.3. G.Sanj.Al. *bada*: now.

G. *har diwa*: every day, daily.

G. *mudarm* always.

G. *pačaw'ar*, *pačur*; Al. *pačar* later.

G. *xer* (*ta*) before, formerly.

G. *imsar* this year; *parsar* last year.

G.Al.Pach. *nir*; Sham. *nir*; Nj. *nü-dias* today.

G. *lur*; Pach. *feru*; Al. *sarrä*; Sham. °e tomorrow.

G.Pach.Sanj.Al. *dur*; Sham. *d'er* yesterday.

G. *aga:la* yester eve.

G. *näteri*: *der*; Pach. *porre*; Al. *uri sarä* the day after tomorrow.

G. *näteri*: *der* (= *wari*: *dur* ?); Pach. *du*: *na netä*'i'; Al. *niturur*: *dur* the day before yesterday.

Al. *nirčaw'ur* *dur*; Pach. *ne-čaur*'i': three days ago.

Modal Adverb

16.4. G. *i:kal*, *eka* thus. V. Voc., also s.v. *i:η-ka*.

VERBS

GENERAL REMARKS

17.1. Most verbal roots in G. are monosyllabic. Exemptions are: *akal*- to play, cheat; *orpur*- to dig; *piarn*- to recognize; *reken*- to sell. Cf. L. *axal*-; *orpur*-; *piern*-; *reken*-.

Formantic elements are: *

* Cf. SW. 17.1.

(1) The causative suffix *-al-* (*-ew-*).

(2) The stem-extension in *-e-* (*-eri-*).

(3) The temporal stem suffixes *-wa-*; *-la-*; *-t-* (Pres.); *-ček-*; *-ti:k* (Perf.).

(3a) Possibly an element *u/ar*, following the *-t-* in Causatives.

(4) The Past Stem suffixes *-t(er)-*; *-n-*; *-i-*.

(5) The Auxiliaries *-a:n-*; *kax-*, etc.

(6) Personal endings.

(7) Affixed pronominal suffixes.

(8) Suffixes of infinite forms.

17.2. Examples:

Han-wa-(3) *m*-(6)-*i*: (7) I shall kill you.

Gur-eri-(2) *wa*-(3)-*m* (6) I shall take.

Gur-eri-(2) *wa*-(3) *t*-(4) *im* (6) I took.

Larz-al-(1)-*i* (2)-*t*-(3) *u*-(3a)-*im* (6) I am making him shiver.

Warnd-e-(2) *la*-(3)-*t*-(4)-*a* (7) he/they had built it.

Ner-l-(1) *er*-(2) *wa*-(3)-*t* (4)-*a* (7) he had made him sit down.

Ka-t-(3) *a:n*-(5)-*am* (6) I was doing.

Der-ter-(4) *m*-(6)-*i*: (7) I gave you.

AUXILIARIES

To Be

PRESENT

18.1.	G.	Sanj.	U.	Sham.	Nj.	Pach.	Al.(PT)
1. Sg.	<i>im</i>	<i>yām</i>	<i>-yem</i> ^a	<i>yem</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>hirm</i>	<i>yem</i> (<i>im</i>)
2. Sg.	<i>i:</i>	= ^a	= ^a	<i>-er</i> ^a	=	=	(<i>hir</i>)
3. Sg.	<i>ar</i>	<i>a:(sta)</i>	<i>a:(sāi)</i>	<i>a</i>	=	<i>a:(sta)</i>	(<i>h</i>) <i>a:(sta)</i>
3. Sg.	<i>ur</i>	<i>u:(sta)</i>		<i>wo:</i>	<i>o:sāi</i>	<i>ho:</i>	
3. Sg.	<i>šir</i>	=	=		=	=	=
1. Pl.	<i>a:(i)is</i>	<i>-aīs</i> ^a	<i>-es</i> ^a	<i>yes</i>	(<i>y</i>) <i>ern</i>	<i>hirn</i>	(<i>hirst</i>) ^b
2. Pl.	<i>u:(i)nda</i>	<i>-q:nde</i> ^a	<i>-q:nde</i> ^a	<i>q:nde</i>	<i>undə</i>	<i>hista</i>	(<i>ya:</i>)
3. Sg.	<i>un</i> , (<i>a:</i>)	<i>q:ndi</i>	<i>-q:n</i> ^a	<i>wurn</i> , <i>w^oorn</i> <i>un</i>	<i>hurn</i>	<i>harn</i>	(=)

18.2. Other dialect forms are: P. *yem*; — *a*; —; —; *en*; *unde*; *en*; Pand. *yem*; *yer*; *a*; —; —; *yes*; *won'er*; *won*; Nang. *yim*; *i:*; (*y*)*a*; —; —; *as*; *urno*; *wurn*.

^a Deduced from the Present.

^b The alternative form *hirn* is probably an Imperative.

For 3. Sg. *a:sta*, etc., cf. SW. 18,3; 21,7.

3. Sg. *u:(sta)*, etc., may be based on Skt. *a:ste*.

3. Sg. *ši:* has not been recorded from Sham.Pand.Nang.Wad.Nj.Pach.P.

1. Pl. in *-n* has been taken over from the past tenses.

For Al. 1. Pl. in *-st*, cf. SW. 21,6.

2. Pl. *u:nda*, etc., may perhaps go back to an older form **-ardna*, and be based on Ved. *-atana*. For Pach. *-sta* cf. SW. 29,9.

Sanj. 3. Pl. *-ndi* (cf. Aorist) is probably originally a transitive form with pronominal suffix.

18,3. Examples:

1. Sg.—G. *a: Sa:tha:st i:m, ta:n-im Sa:ther ši:* I am from S., my home is in S.; Sanj. *fula:nir: ta:nui: yem* I am from such and such a place; Pach. *a:n hi:m* I am; *a:n se:r yim* I am satisfied; Nj. *fo:r yam* I am well; Pach. *awata:im*; P. *awato: yem*; Al. *hawata: yem* I am hungry; Sham. *a: atanhō: yam*; Pand. *atan'ur yam*; Nang. *mu: tan'u: yim* I am thirsty.

18,4. 1. Pl. G. *hama: Sa:tha:st a:is* we are from Satha; *ama: ma:ndu: n-a:is* we are not tired; Pach. *hama: se:r i:n/yin* we are satisfied; *šure xarnu hi:n* we are 100 houses (of Pashais in Pachaghan)^a; P. *ama: awati: en*; Nj. *fo:r tayar yern* we are sound and well; *ni:ē ern* we are sitting; Sham. *awati: yes*; Pand. *atan'i: yes*; Nang. *taney'e as* we are thirsty; Al.(PT) *hima^b hi:st* we are.

18,5. 2. Sg. G. *kuru: i:?* from where art thou? *tu... hi:* 256,1; Sanj. *sax-kazlu: e:* thou art dressed in red; Pach. *tu se:r e:*; Nj. *tu fo:r e:*? Pand. *atan'ur yer*; Nang. *tan'ur i:*; Al. *tu: hi:*.

18,6. 2. Pl. G. *mo:ma: kuro:st/ken'ai u:(i)nda?* from where are you? P. *mya: awati: unde?* Nj. *mia: čukə fo:r undə?* Pach. *hema: (kul nafar) se:r (h)i:sta* you are (all) satisfied; *hema: yulu: hista* you are many; Sham. *awāt'i: yō:nde*; Pand. *atan'i: won'e:*; Nang. *taney'e u:no*; Al.(PT) *hima ya:*.

18,7. 3. Sg.—G. *kuro:st a?* from where is he? *ya go:ru: murst a:(i)* this horse is mine, but also, denoting the plural, *sayar-n-am yakati:* a my sisters are small; *kyu putra a?* how many sons are there? *go:ra: čukay-a: aulu: a* all the(ir?) horses are big; Sanj. *ya andaru: terst a* this house is his; *ya zirn go:ru:s a:* this is the horse's saddle; Pach. *putr-iem a* he is my son; *lary-um a:* he is my brother; *ulu: a* he is big; *a: se:r a* this one is satisfied; *ya*

^a *Hama: yulu: (h)i:s* we are many, given by a speaker of Par., is probably not a true Pach. form.

^b For *hima*.

nezdik a this one is near; Pach. *a:dek dornd a* this is a roof-beam; P. *orē: orlo: a* the house is big; Nj. *zirn kari:k a?* where is the saddle? U. *hamot a* it is ours; *go:ro: mor/w a* the horse is mine; Sham. *awato: a*; *lau:ro: wirš a* the stick is long; Pand. *atanu: a*; Nang. *tan'u: a, tan'i: ya* he/she is thirsty; Wad. *laryim a* he is my brother; Al. *kor a?* what is it? *ka:st a?* whose is it? Al.(PT) *kiy a?* who is it?

18,8. *A:sta*, etc., are probably more emphatic forms. Thus, Sanj. *ya andaru: petra:saməs a:sta* this house is my son's; *ya bo:ry oryau:s-am a:sta* this garden is my child(ren)'s; Pach. *putr-iem a:sta* he is my son; *ya hama: hore a:sta* this is our house; *a:de wori hamot/tors a:(r)šai* this house is ours/yours; Al. *kir ha:stā?* who is it? Al.(PT) *kura: a:stā?* where is he? *a:sa ha:stā* he is.

18,9. G. *u:* denotes existence (of an animate or rational being). Thus, *eta:orika: na u:*, *teta:udde u:* he is not here/below, he is there/below; *dura kuča na u:*, *dur'a guri* he is not inside, he has gone out; *ya ardam wa:jer u:* this man is in the house.—Cf. Sanj. *petr-erm warna u:* my son is at home; Pach. *sa sōdur ho:* he is far away (but cf. above, *ya nezdik a*); Sham. *are ardam nezdik/sudūr wor* this man is near/far off.

Sanj. **o:sta*, in *ya ardam nazdik orste, sa ardam sudūr orste* this man is near, that man is far away, is probably an emphatic form of *u:/o:*.—Cf. also Nj. *zirn... wa: kuča oršai* the saddle is in the house.

18,10. G. *ši:* denotes existence, and not, as in other NW. dialects,^a an inanimate subject. E.g. *sam ardam terne ši:* (or, *a*) that man is (finds himself) there; *sam ardam sudūr ši:*; *go:ru: ama:st dura: ši:* the horse is in our house. But *wardana ne ši:* there is no wind; *do: sat andaru: ši:* there are 200 houses; *astas-am jer bisyar se:r ši:* there are many apples in my hand; *ta:n-e: kuru: ši:*? where is your home? *go:ru: mo:ma:st kfu: ši:*? from where is your horse? Cf. Sanj. *na ši: setaru:* there is no star; Pach. *da:da šera pa:štuk ši:* there are rafters on the roof-beam; Nj. *šawar-om ši:* I have a wound; *šam-erm ši:*; P.U. *šam-iem ši:* I have work to do.—But in Al. *ši:*, just as L. *šik*, is also used as a copula with inanimate subjects. Thus, *dax aulā: ši:* the hill is big; *garlā aulā: ši:* the stream is big; *keta:b hastar-m ši:* the book is in my hand.

18,11. 3. Pl. G. *ima kuro:st un? ima širzo:n Xel un* from where are they? They are Sh. Khels; Pach. *temade: se:r hurn* they are satisfied; P. *čor janen awati: en* the four persons are hungry; Nj. *čar worryarn wən?*

^a Cf. also L. *šik*.

how many children are there? Sham. *awati: wurn*; *arṃe a:damarn nazi:k w^oon*; Pand. *atanir won*; Nang. *tanay'i: wurn* they are thirsty; Al. *ki: harn?* who are they? *artuma harn* they are; Sanj. *teme/eme sudurr/nazdi:k qindi* they/these ones are far away/near; *keru jen qindi* there are some people.

PAST

18,12.

G.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Sg. <i>arnam</i> | 1. Pl. <i>arnan</i> ; <i>bernan</i> |
| 2. Sg. <i>arnāi</i> | 2. Pl. <i>arneu</i> |
| 3. Sg. <i>urn</i> ; <i>birn</i> ; <i>šin</i> | 3. Pl. <i>urn</i> |

Cf. Al. *arnum*; *harnāi*; (*h*)*arn*; Sanj. (in Imperfect) *-arnam*; —; *-urn*; *-arnen*; *-arneu*; *-urn*; SanjFar. *orna* she was; Sham. *harnəm*; *harnāi*; *haryi: m.*, *hariči f.*; *harnən*; *harnou*; *haryiš* (cf. L. *hari:k*, *hari:č*).

18,13. Examples: G. *wa: jer arnam* I was at home; *du: hama: wa: jer arnan*; *morma: šar: arnau*; *zer wa: jer urn* formerly he was at home; *saya: turt* (*saya:n tau*) *aulu: urn* your sister was (sisters were) big; cf. 256,9,23.

Sham. *a: dye: narjor: harnə/am* I was ill yesterday; *tu: d^o n^o harnāi*; *arṃe d^o n^o haryi:*; *hama: d^o n^o harnən*; *mya: d^o n^o harnou*; *artume a:damarn d^o n^o haryi:š*; *arntāi aurate hariči:* the woman was here; *ar^o auratarn haryi:š*.

18,14. *Birn* may perhaps be rendered as an ingressive (or resultative?) in *du: per berrun birn* (*urn* was not accepted) yesterday the meat (became and) was bad; *suwar: birn* 259,19 (mounted and) was riding; *pāidar: na birn* 253,19 was not found; cf. 256,11; 260,19; 266,13; *du: ama: merma:n Amir Sahibast bernan, war: de: merma:n Wazir Sahibast aīs* yesterday we (became and) were the Amir's guests, another day we are (going to be) the Vizier's guests. But such an interpretation seems unlikely in *i: ardam birn* 263,15, etc., there was a man; cf. 253,13; 258,15; 260,15.^a—Cf. Al. *benam* I became; Al.(PT) *biyarn*.

18,15. With inanimates we usually find *šin*. Thus, *astas-a(m) jer berl/serp šin* I/he had a spade/apple in my/his hand; cf. 264,19. But cf. also *zurmba astas-a jer birn* 260,19 he had (got?) a stone in his hand.—

^a Regarding Par. *hō:st* and *birn* was, v. IIFL., I, § 176.

Notice also Sanj.(Far.) *bo:k šerner* there was a garden, but *dažko-m xalars bine:* my grapes were/became finished.

18,16. Regarding G. Aor. *ba:m*; Pres. *butuyam* (Al. *beraryam*); Past *bi:garim*; Plupf. *bi:garnem*; G., etc., Perf. *birtekam*, etc.; Al. Imperf. 3. Sg. *biyarn*, v. the corresponding paragraphs.

From the root *th-* have been recorded Al. Aorist *a: them* I may be; 3. Sg. *the:*; Pres. *therar*.

CAUSATIVES

19,1. (1) G. has lengthening of the vowel in *čalka-* to open (intrans. *čal-*). *Marr-* to kill cannot be considered to be a Caus. of *muri: param* I shall die.

G. *buřam-a* I shall wake him is of uncertain formation.

19,2. (2) G.AL. *-(a)l-*. E.g. G. *banřalam* I dress somebody else (intrans. *banřam*); *čaraletarim* I herd; *larzalurim* I make shiver (intrans. *larzurim*); *niler wata* 262,9 they made it sit down.—Al. *ne:lāi:k* to make sit down; *řangalai:k* (PT *řarygalai-*) to scare; *uřřelāi-* to wake; *čindalai:k* (*čindalai-*) to cause (?) to tear (*šikla:ndan* ^a); *pačalai:k* (but *pačāi-*) to cook.

19,3. (3) G. *-ew-* in *girewāituri*: 259,23 you are taking it about. Cf. Al.(PT) *da:hwakai* to tear (*darri:dan*), but Al. *da:řik* (*čir kardan*); *řaiwatai* (for **-kai*?) to put (*marndan*).

G. has *-e-*, *-e:(i)-*, *-āi-*, corresponding to L. *-āi-*, except in the Aorist, Imperative and Simple Past.

Thus, *gure:tim* I take (Fut. *erivam*; Prox. Past. *eriwatim*; Perf. *eričekam*, but Imper. *gura*, etc.); *orpar'etim* I dig (Prox. Past 2. Sg. *orpuřwater*); *preřletim* I herd (Fut. *ewam*); *pakeřtim* I eat (Fut. *erwam*); *pačerwam* I shall cook; *māitim* I speak (Fut. *marāivam*).—Nj.Nang. *čare:tu:* is herding; Sham. *letrai-tyem* I reap; Nang. *letr'etam*; Sham. *wangaityem* I cut, fell.

19,4. Al. has Fut., Pres., Pluperf., Perf. *-āi-*, and Infin. *-ai:k* in *gur-* to take; *leř-* to herd; *orpar-* to bury; *pač-* to cook; *mar-* to speak; *warnd-* to build; *ha:r-* to hear; *wař-* to insert; *wardan-* to winnow; *d-* to give; *ž-* to eat; *ř-* to put; *w-* to weave. Notice, however, the Infinitives *marik* to speak; *pačalai:k* to cook, and the Simple Past *orparāitam-a:* (but 3. Sg. *orparate:*).

^a Cf. Prs. *šikli:dan* to be torn, and Al. *čhindik* to tear up, etc. (*kandan*).

AORIST STEM

Imperative

20.1. 2. Sg.—G. *mp: karma de: xala:s ka, gir para warna* finish my work and then go home; *u:rga gur'a y'a* 257,5 take water and come; *ni: pa* sit down; *ma mara* 254,9 don't call; *mu: de: zu: 257,7* eat me; *tu: mu: serp da* give me an apple; *fu: 285,19* put ^a; *hana* beat; *khana* pull; *widala: run*. Cf. the L. forms.

20.2. Examples from other dialects are: Sanj. *au zu: eat bread*; *ni: pa: sit down*; *go:ru: a:che* bring the horse; Nj. *khano*; U. *zor*; *ma ka*; Pach. *ni: pa*; *tu palor:ra mu:re da:* give me an apple; Sham. *šorm ka* work; *eri worge piy-ar* come, drink water; *ya* come; Al. *ne: sit down*; *tu larm karā* work; *da:ri: kuku:ti: kara* comb the beard; *kitar: bura* take the book; *tu sā bujfelā* wake him.

Corresponding to the L. imperatives in -i: ^b we find: G. *mu: de ištirka dai:* give me a wife; *yāi... opor:ari* 261,5 come and dig; *larzim a ya gapa/čindani: de: tu: marari/gurari* you must speak/take this word/knife; Pach. *tu palor:ra mu:re dāi*; Al. *lar:m kari:*; *tu lar:m (n'a) kara'i:* (don't) work (said to be "gentle, peaceful", Prs. *narmi*; *ar:armi*).

20.3. 2. Pl.—Identical with Aor. 2. Pl.—G. *barāida* 261,30 carry away (*bubari:n*); put *karāida*: 262,1 bury her; *warāida... karaida* (or *kawata*)... *žerda* 254,23 put... make... eat; *yarita* 261,21 (for **yaida*) come; *au: ačaida* bring food; Sanj. *ma: čari pede* drink tea; *ma: put'raisan de: anāida* beat our son; *ma: gere:īd'a:* take; Nj. *šar:to go*. Al. *hema larm kaya/na karaya* (do not) work; Sham. *šorm kar'ai*; *ya:re* come (2. Pl. ?).

20.4. 1. Pl.—G. *warna gađau* let us go home ^c; *barzar: gađe:u:* let us go to the bazaar; *karma de: xala:s kara'u: warna para'u:* let us finish the work and go home; cf. 256,5; *khanau-a* let us pull it out; Sanj. *šam karau* let us assemble; *ya:re au: zu'ou* come, let us eat bread; *ya:re wurga pi'ou* come let us drink water; *čari pe'au* let us drink tea; *gađau* let us go; *ama: pateraisan de: anarw-a* let us beat our son; *širw-a:* let us put it; Pach. *hama: pali:/ni:/wo:ču: parau* let us go to sleep/sit down/go into the shade; *hama: puru:m kar'au* let us work; *te: de: ki: karo ke au: žoru* (let us ?)

^a But 254,9 *je:*.

^b Cf. SW. 20,5.

^c Cf. L. *gađwo*, SW. 20,8.

call him that we may eat bread; *au: žau*; *wu:rga pe'au* let us drink water; *te: de han'aw-a* let us beat him; *ma:(tel'or) gur:m zu'au (zuw'ou)* let us cut the wheat (with a sickle); *kuṇḍa dakyi:ru* let us ascend to the roof. Nj. *hama: čarnea žeiwa* let all of us eat (but also *šar:reom* let us go); U.L. *gon.u, kario:* let us do; Sham. *hama: šorm kawo:* let us work; *ya:re ay'i: žeryoru* come, let us eat bread; *ya:re, are hanaiw-ar* come, let us beat him. Al. *gađe'o/u*; *pare'u* let us go; *larm kaye'u:* let us work; *aw'u: žāye'u:* let us eat bread; *war:ga pe:re'u:* let us drink water; Al.(PT) *hama hi:rw* let us be (?).

Irregular forms are Pach. *guramar* let us buy (it); *rekenar:ma* let us sell it; Nj. *šar:reom* let us go.

20.5. There are some special G.Sanj. imperative forms with pronominal suffixes.

(1) 2. Sg. with Obj. 3. Prs., G. -su, Sanj. -sā: G. *puf kara-su:* (or *karas-u:?*) blow it out; *or:zari: k°* guard it; cf. 261,3; *čukas-a de: hana-su:* beat all of them (*hama-iša bezan*); *zu:b h°*, *badana je tēnga-su:* 287,7 beat him well and bind him with a rope; *tri:n da-su* 259,1 give (them) hay. Sanj. *to put'ra:sāi de: 'anusā* beat your son; *er de 'anuse* beat him; *tu gur:isā* take it (*tu bigi:riš*); *ar: mat:oryem palor:ra gur:ise* I tell you to take the apple; *žor:sā* eat it (*buzuriš*).

It is scarcely possible to derive this suffix in any way from Pkt. -su, -ssa (*karesu*; *rakkhasu*; *pekkhassa*, etc.). On the other hand, a derivation from an aorist 2. Sg. also presents serious difficulties. Cf. *žor:sā*, but Aor. 2. Sg. *žer:s*.

(2) 3. Sg. with Obj. 2. Sg., G.Sanj. -sir: G. *tu: de: šuar:nmarg kuzrasir:* (for **kar-?*) 260,1; Sanj. *šuar:nmarg karāisi:* may (God) let you die young (*Xuda: tura: š° kuna*).

(3) There are also intransitive 2. Prs. forms in -sir.—2. Sg. G. *šuar:nmarg bi nerisir:* 259,21; Sanj. *š° binerisi* may you die young; G. *šimand'a: naisi:*; Sanj. *šimand'u: 'ar:nāisi:* may you live (*zinda bar:ši:*); 2. Pl. Sanj. *šuar:nmarg binousi:*; *šimand'u: ar:nousi:*—According to Kieffer Pach. *na basn'eri* do not get tired (*marnda na bar:ši:*) corresponds to Par. *na bas'eri*. But cf. G. *na baš'es* (aorist); *na ori:* 258,9 do not let.

I am not able to explain any of these forms.

From Al. have been recorded *tu ma: berdarr karāisi:m/berdailāisi:m/buffelāisi:m* wake me (*tu mara: berdarr ku*). These forms, however, are identical with the Aorist with pronominal suffix 1. Sg.

20.6. The particle *pai* ^a is found in Sham. *tu pai sar:re: ya* come tomorrow.

^a Cf. SW. 20,3.

Aorist				
21.1.				
	G.			
	I make	I take	I can	I eat
1. Sg.	kar-am	gur-ur-m	bur-m	žur-m (Sh. žuwam)
2. Sg.	„ -i:	„ -e:s	„ -s	žer-s
3. Sg.	„ -āi		„ -t	žur (?)
1. Pl.	„ -aīs	„ -aīs	baīs	žuwāis
2. Pl.	„ -aida	„ -erida		žerda
3. Pl.	„ -an	„ -an		žurn (Sh. žu'an)

21.2.				
	Sanj.			
	I beat			
1. Sg.	ana:m(-a)	gur-ur-m	bur-m(-a)	žuwam
2. Sg.	ani:	„ -ur-s(-ā)	bur-s(-e)	žer-s
3. Sg.	(dar:rai he has)		bur-t(-e)	žer
1. Pl.	anaiz-i	„ -uāinz(-i)	bōrz(-e)	žuwāiz(-a)
2. Pl.			bor-t(-a)	žerde
3. Pl.			bornd(-e)	žurn

21.3. Cf. also:

G. *han-am*, —, —, -aīs, -aida I beat; *dar-am*, -i:, -āi, -aīs I have; *par-am*, -is, -āi I go; *ba:m*, *bers*, *best* I became; *čaker* it may drip.

Sanj. *ač-am*, —, —, -i:nz(-i) I bring; *par-am*, —, —, -i:nzi I go; *karainz(-e)* we do; *deam(-i)*, *di* I see.

Pach. *kar-am*, —, —, -āidi I do.

Sham. *kar'am*, —, —, *kary'es*; *darm*.

Al. *kar-am*, -i:, —, -is; *par-am*, —, āi; *ač'am*; *žur-m*.

With 2. Sg. -s, cf. A.Ka. -s before pronominal suffixes.

With 3. Sg. -t, cf. SW. 21.8.

1. Pl. -aīs (-anz-) < *-amasi.

21.4. Examples:

G. (1) Prospective and Futuric.—*Par'am kabur gur'um* I shall go and get the news; *i: sar pačawa: ai-param* I shall come after a while; cf. 256,21; 263,27; *param*... *parāivam*, *marāivam* 254,5; *badar na žur-m/n*, *pačur žerwam/n* I am/they are not going to eat now, I/they shall eat later; *γun barm* I shall rise; *dal baīs* we shall be many; *kisi: čurri: karka na bur* 259,17 nobody will be able to steal; cf. 264,3; *ya dare:ka na bur/betur* he will not be/is not able to enter; *tu dare:ka na bur/betur*.

Dar'am is durative, just as in Prs., and probably influenced by Prs.: *Amar i: wara putra darrais* we have one son. Cf. Sanj. *a: čor: putr dar'am*; *yandar: zar darrai* the spider has poison.

21.5. (2) In dependent clauses.—*Umerd dar'am ke: de: pačawa: wa:na 'yāi* I hope he will come home in a few days; *baitim tu/ya ačam/ema n' ayi/ ayāi/ayan* I am afraid you/this man/they will not come (but, with the Present, b° *morma: n'aitunda*); *etar ya, i: sar mulat ka, ki hana na bers* come here and wait a moment, that you may not be beaten; *du: a: turi i: čhanik derčekim ki do:stesai pale: žers* yesterday I have given you a kid that you may eat it with your friends; cf. 254,19; 258,9; 261,13.

21.6. The Aorist is used after *larzim* a it is necessary. Thus, l° *a tu: ya au de: žers* you must eat this bread; ... *ya ačam*... *žur*; ... *hamar*... *žuwāis*; ... *morma: žerda*; ... *ema ačama*... *žurn*; l° *a tu/hamar/ morma: zušwax'i: kar-i: aīs/-aida* (but also 1. Pl. Imper. *karau*) you, etc., must make merry; l° *a a: čindani: de: gur-ur-m* (or, *gure:wam*) I must take his knife; l° *a hamar/ morma: 'ema čindani: de: gur-aīs/-erida* we/you must take these knives; *ya čindani: de: tu: gure:s* (or, *gurari*) you must take this knife.

21.7. The material available from other dialects does not in every case enable us to determine the exact function of the Aorist.

Sanj. *dhar:ra par'am dōr ačam* I am going (shall go) to the hill to fetch wood; *amar bazara par:nzi, saudor ači:nzi* we are going to the bazaar to bring merchandise; *a: tō: de: palp:ra darm-i:, žōs-ā* I shall give you an apple, eat it; *a: ana:m-a* I shall beat him (*ali: na mezzanam, me:gu:jam: mezzanam* "I am not beating (him) now; I say: I (am going to) beat him"); *a: paterasam de: ana:m-a* let me beat my son; *amar anaiz-i* we shall beat you; *tu mō: de: ani: gurūinz-i:* let us take it; *tu žers* you (are going to) eat (*mezuri:*, but distinguished from as well Pres. *žerturi* and Fut. *žerwai*, as from Imper. *žur*; *žōsā*); *a: bur-m-a au: žuwam* I can (or, shall be able to?) eat bread; *tu: bōs-e*... *žers*; *ya ačam bur-e au: žer*; *amar bōr-z-e au: žuwāiz-e*; *mar bor-t-a au: žerde*; *keru šan bōrnd-e au: žurn*.

Pach. *ar tu:ya han'am* I (may/am going to) beat you (Fut. *hanwam-i:*; Pres. *hanti:m*); *ar nu purōm na kar'am* I am not going to work to-day; *ša:li: zuwom(-a)* let me (?) cut the rice.

P. *mo: arse ačam diam* I shall see that man.

Al. *daxkā ač'am?* shall I bring grapes? (*biyar'am*); *hawatar benam, aw'ur žur-m* if I get (lit., got) hungry, I shall eat bread; *šarnga berayem ki sa ma: hanāid-i:m nā* I am afraid he will beat me.

Sham. *ni: ʃorm n'a katyem, sarre pai ʃorm kara:m* I am not working today, but I shall work tomorrow; *hamar karr kary'es* let us work (Prs. *bukuni:m*); *tu pai sarre: ya, kita:b dar:m-i* come to-morrow, I shall give you a book.

AORIST WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

21.8.

Al.

	Obj. 1. Sg./Pl.	2. Sg.	3. Pers.
Subj. 1. Sg. —	—	<i>hanam-ai</i>	<i>hanam-e:</i>
2. Sg. <i>hanāis-i:m/n</i>	—	—	<i>hanāis-e:</i>
3. Sg. <i>hanāid-i:m/n</i>	—	<i>hanāid-e:</i>	?
1. Pl. —	—	<i>hananz-ai</i>	<i>hananz-e:</i>
2. Pl. <i>hanāida:-m/n-ya</i>	—	—	<i>hanāida:</i>
3. Pl. <i>hanand-i:m/n</i>	—	<i>hanand-e:</i>	?

21.9. In *hanāida:-m/n-ya* the Aorist 2. Pl. ending has been reinforced by adding *-ya*, characteristic of the Present. In *hanāida:* the pronominal suffix is absent, or has merged with the final *-a:*.

A: ta: be:dar: kara:m-i: I shall wake you, is an irregular form, if not by mistake for *mar:*, etc., I woke you.

21.10. Examples from other dialects are scarce. G. *maram-a:* I shall kill him; *lāyam-a:* I shall lick it; *ʃeryem-a:* I shall put it.

Sanj. *a: tɔ: de: palɔ:rā dar:m-i:* I shall give you an apple; *a: tɔ: de: anarm-i:/dear-m-i:* I shall beat/see you; *amar: anaiz-i* we shall beat you; *a: mar: der: anarm-istou* I shall beat you (Pl.).

21.11. For the 3. Pers. we find Sanj. *-a(:)* in *a: anarm-a(:)* I shall beat him; *a: tɔ: pɔ:rāyāi palɔ:rā dar:m-a:* I shall give your son an apple; *a: bur-m-a* I can; *mar: bor-a* you (Pl.) can. But cf. *-e(:)* in *tu: bors-e*; *ya a:dam but-e*; *amar: bōz-e*; *bornd-e*; possibly also in *ʒerde* you (Pl.) shall eat it.

After 1. Pl. *-e/i(:)* has been recorded in *gurāinz-i:*; *ʒuwaiz-e*; *amar: ʒuke:n ku:rū:m kara:inz-e:* we shall all of us work; *ač:se/i:*, *ač:inz-i:* we shall bring. But we find a final *-i* also in the intransitive *pari:zi* we shall go, where there can be no pronominal suffix.

21.12. Pach. *ʃekenarm-a* I shall sell it; *Xuda: ture ʃimand'u: karāid-i:* may God keep you alive.

P. *mo: pāi diarm-e:* I shall see you; *amar: a:daman di:es-en* we shall see the men; *amar: i: a:dam der-n* a man shall see us (?).

Sham. *tu pai sarre ya, kita:b dar:m-i* come tomorrow, I shall give thee a book. Nang. Wad. *mu: tu: dya:m-e:* I shall see thee; Nang. *tu mu: dery-im* thou wilt see me; Wad. *tu amar: der-in* thou wilt see us, but also, if correct, *myar: amar: der-in* you will see us.

FUTURE STEM

22.1. For the formation of the Future stem in *-wa* of Transitive verbs (in many cases with preceding G. *-e:*, Al. *-ai*), cf. SW. 22.1. For the Future of Intransitive verbs v. 37.1.

22.2. The only examples of Future Imperative are Sanj. *tu: bi ʒerwa* thou too shalt eat (*tu ham buxur*); Pach. *hamar: tui hanwaw-u* let us beat thee.

Future Indicative

22.3.	G.	Sanj.	Pach.	Al.
	I shall eat		I shall beat	I shall make
1. Sg.	<i>ʒerw-am</i>	<i>ʒerw-am</i>	<i>hanw-am(-i:)</i>	<i>kaw-arm</i>
2. Sg.	„ <i>-ai:</i>	„ <i>-ai</i>	„ <i>-ai:</i>	„ <i>-ayi:</i>
3. Sg.	„ <i>-ai:</i>	„ <i>-ai:</i>	„ <i>-ai:d(-i:)</i>	„ <i>-ayāi (?)</i>
1. Pl.	„ <i>-ais</i>	„ <i>-aizi</i>		„ <i>-ais</i>
2. Pl.	„ <i>-ada</i>	„ <i>-aida</i>	„ <i>-aida</i>	„ <i>-aya:</i>
3. Pl.	„ <i>-an</i>	„ <i>-an</i>	„ <i>-a:nd(-i)</i>	„ <i>-an</i>

22.4. G. *gurerw-am*, *-ai:*, *-ai:*, —, —, *-an* I shall take; *pare:(i)w-am*, —, *-ai:*, *-ais* I shall go; *hanwam*; *kawam*; *pačerwam*, etc., I shall cook; *marāiwam* I shall say; *kaḍwa:s* we shall cut. Sanj. *anwai:* he will beat.

Al. *hanwam*; *ʒerwam*; *parāiw-am*, *-ai:*, *-ai:*, *-ais*, *-aya:*, *-an*.

Futures have been recorded also from Al. *khan-* to pull; *le:l-* to herd; *pi:-* to drink; *maḇ-* to crush; *di:-* to see; *čum-* to sew; *darl-* to tear; *waḇa-* to make enter; *doryis-* to milk; *ar-* to bring; *učun-* to tear; *wai-* to weave; *pačai-* to cook; *harāi-* to hear; *marāi-* to speak; *čhindāi-* to break; *o:paḇai-* to bury; *buḇfelāi-* to wake.

22.5. *Par-* to go is the only intransitive verb which has a Future in *-wa*. Other Intransitives employ a periphrastic construction, with Root + *par-*. V. SW. 21.15.

22.6. Examples from G. are:

Badar na žertur, pačurt žerwai he does not eat now, he will eat later;
b° na žertim, p° žerwam; *b° na žertaš, p° žerwaš*; *b° na ž(ert)urn, p° žerwan*;
larzim a a: čindaniša der gurerwam I must take his knife; *l° a ya ardam č° d°*
gurewai; *l° a ima ardam č° d° gureriwan*; *badar tu: der n-an-am/aš,*
l'ure t° d° hanw-am/aš I/we shall not beat you to-day, tomorrow I/we
 shall beat you; *do: ruz pačawa: karma der zalaš karaš, gir wa: žer: parerwaš*
 in two days we shall finish the work, then we shall go home again; *arsyu:*
parerwai: the water-mill will be going.

22.7. In 254,21,23 some apparently Proximate Past 3. Pers. forms occur
 in combination with a series of Imperatives 2. Pl.: *arwata ... kawata ...*
warraida ... karaida (or, *kawata*)... *žerda ... karaida*. I am not able to
 explain this apparent irregularity.

FUTURE WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

22.8. G. *tu: der hanwa-m/nz-i:* I/we shall beat thee; *hanwam-a* I shall
 beat him; *pačerwam-a* I shall cook it; *a: tui pačawa: serp derwam-i:* I shall
 give you an apple later, cf. 254,5. *Kawat-eu* was translated "do ye"
 (*bukunin*), but the form corresponds exactly to Sanj. (*sa ma: der xat* ^a)
anwat-eu he will beat you. Cf. possibly also U.I. *kawat-im* 245,3, if Fut. and
 not Prox. Past.

22.9. Sanj. *a: tor: der palo:ra derwam-i:* I shall give you an apple ^b;
mači: kawam-a I shall kiss; Sanj.(Far.) *a: sarri palo:ra ardam ter* (for
 **der*?) *dewam-a* I shall give all the apples to the man.—Sanj. *a: žarngā*
bet'uryem, sā tu: der anwai: I am afraid he will beat you, contains no
 pronominal suffix.

22.10. Pach. *arn tpre dirwam-i:* I shall see thee; *a: tpre/ya žeru hanwam-i:*;
hanwai:d-i, tima tpre hanwarnd-i I shall/he/they will beat him (to-morrow).
 But *tu/himar: mui: hanwariz/hanwaid* you (Sg./Pl.) will beat me, without
 pronominal suffix.

22.11. Sham. *a: tpre sarre parwal: derwam-i:* tomorrow I shall give
 you an apple.

22.12. Al. *hanwa-m/-is/-id/-nz-e:* I/thou/he/we will (wilt) beat him;
hanwaid-a: you (Pl.) will beat him.

^a Cf. Farhadi, *Le Persan parlé en Afgh.*, p. 86: *xat ka:št* he will sow (later on, or perhaps).
^b *Mo: torjā palo:re derwam* was translated "I gave" (*dar:dam*), but is probably a Fut.,
 with *mo:* for *a:*.

PRESENT STEM

23.1. In all NW. dialects, with the exception of Al., the Present stem is
 formed with a morpheme *-tor*, etc.^a The derivation of this phoneme is
 unknown. It cannot go back to *-ntaka-, as *t < nt* has no parallel in Pash.

To the Present stem have been added the Present and Past tenses of
 the Auxiliary.

23.2. Present Imper. forms have only been recorded in Sham. 1. Pl.:
hamar: arse hantaryou/detaryou let us be beating/seeing him; *baš'am ary'i:*
žaitaryou let us be eating bread together.

Present Indicative

	G.	Sh.	Pach.	U.	I eat Sanj.
23.3.					
1. Sg.	<i>žet-im</i>	<i>-q:ym</i>	<i>žait-im</i>	<i>-aem</i> ^b	<i>ant-uryem</i>
2. Sg. m.	<i>„ -uri:</i>	<i>-qri:</i>	<i>„ -i:</i>	<i>-qre</i>	<i>„ -uri:</i>
2. Sg. f.					<i>„ -i:</i>
3. Sg. m.	<i>„ -ur:</i>	<i>-q:</i>	<i>„ -ur:</i>	<i>-q:</i>	<i>„ -ur:</i>
1. Pl.	<i>„ -aš</i>	<i>-oaš</i>	<i>„ -in</i>	<i>-pres</i>	<i>„ -aš</i>
2. Pl.	<i>„ -unda</i>	<i>-unda</i>	<i>„ -ista</i>	<i>-q:nde</i>	<i>„ -awundau</i> ^b
3. Pl.	<i>„ -urn</i>	=	=	<i>-q:n</i>	<i>„ -urn</i>

Sham. *kat-y'em* I do, *-y'er*, *-q:* (*-yu:* f.), *-y'es*, *-q:nde*, *-urn*. Nang. *kat-'um*,
-u'ei, *-u:*, *-u'as*, *-u'no*, *-u'n*. Wad. = Nang., but 2. Sg. *-ei*.

23.4. Pand. *kat-y'em*, *-u'e*, *-u:*, *-y'es*, *-ozanei*, *-u'an*.

G. *bert-im* I can; *kat-im* (Sh. *-q:ym*) I do; *hant-im* I beat, are inflected
 as above. Cf. also G. *ušt-im* (Sh. *-uyem*) I wash; *rekent-i/em* (Sh. *-oyem*)
 I sell; *art-um* (?) I bring. Causatives have *-urim*, e.g., *marturim* I kill;
larzaliturim I make shiver.

Examples from other dialects are:

Sanj. *kat-'uryem*, *-uri:*, —, *-uraži*, *-urnde*, *-urn*; *pelexturyem* I herd;
aitur he comes; *aitundi* they come; *žerturi*; *žerturn*; SanjFar. 2. Sg. f. *aiti:*.

Pach. *hant-im*; *pačait-im* I cook, as above; *kat-im*, —, —, *-in*, *-ista*,
 — I do; *rekentur* he sells; *petim* I drink; *nhetim* I sit down; *šartim*
 I go; *guraitim* we buy.

^a Par. *-tō:n*, *-to:/a* has probably been borrowed from Pash. at an early date, as suggested
 by Par. of Shutul Sg. *-tō:n*, Pl. *-tan*. Cf. Intr. 4,5.

^b Probably with infixed Object 3. Pers. V. below.

P. *kat-em*.

Nj. (šorm) *da:rtō:em* ^a I have (work to do); *žert-ayem* ^b -*ur-i*, —, —, *unde*; *čare:tu*: 286,4 he is herding.

Sham. *hant-yem*; *pat-yem* I drink; 3. Sg. *pat-or*; *žaitiur* she eats; *ayityer* thou art coming. Note *šarteyem* I went.

U. *yāitōr* is coming; *damurn betur* it is raining; *katō:nde*.

23.5. In L. songs, especially in those said to come from the NW, dialects of U.Saig.Gon., Present forms in *-to:yem*, *-to:ye*, *-to*, *-to:yes*, *-to:nde*, *-to:n*, etc., are common. We also find Fem. forms. Thus, e.g. 2. Sg. *katie*: 199,4; *khantire*: 205,1; 3. Sg. *kāti*: 207,16; *khanti*: 205,6. But, as might be expected, *-to* is used also with Fem. subjects (208,3; 248,6), and once *khanti*: 246,6 with a Masc. subject. Evidently, AR. was not able to handle these, to him foreign forms, in a consistent manner.

23.6. 1. Pl. Only Pach.Nj. have *-n*. Note Sanj. *-ur-* in *katurāizi* (or *āiz-i*?).

23.7. 2. Pl. All dialects have forms related to G. *-unda* (Nang.Wad. *-uno*; Pand. *-'orane*i for **-u'ane*i?). Sanj. adds *-u*, probably the Pronominal Suffix 2. Pl. For Pach. *-ista* cf. SW. 21,9.

23.8. In G., the only dialect from which we possess texts of some extension, the Present has usually a durative sense. Thus, *kar katurnda morma*:? what are you doing? *kur'urm katais* we are working; *žertais, kur'urm da:rais* we are eating and working; *bada: au žertim* now I am eating; *tu kar žituri* (*žitunda*)? what are you eating?

As in L., it is also used about the future. E.g. *karm-'ern xal'as kačekan, šarta*is when we have finished our work, we shall be going; *baitim morma: n-aitunda* I am afraid you are not coming; *bada: tu: de: n-'anam, čurri: kat'uri tu: de: h'anwam-i* I shall not beat you now, but if you steal I shall beat you.

In *tu: kušturi* you asked (*pursirdi*) the Present was apparently used about a past event. Sanj. *mor* (Obl.) *dye: tori parwalis: derit-ey-erm* (Pres.) yesterday I gave you an apple, must be a contaminated or incorrect sentence.

PRESENT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

23.9. In Nj.P.Sham.Wad. Pronominal Suffixes have been recorded according to the following pattern:

^a Most dialects use the Aorist of this verb.
^b Prob. with Pronominal Infix, cf. 23,10.

	Obj. 1. Sg./Pl.	2. Sg./Pl.	3. Pers.
Subj. 1. Sg.	—	Sham. <i>-e:/or-yem</i> Wad. <i>-e-irm</i> Nj. <i>-e-yem</i>	<i>-a:-yem</i> <i>-e-um (?)</i> P. <i>-e-im</i>
1. Pl.	—	Sham. <i>-e:/or-yes</i> Wad. <i>-e(h)a:s</i> Nj. <i>-e-yen</i>	<i>-a:-yes</i>
2. Sg.	Sham. <i>-o:m/n-ye:</i> Wad. <i>-i:m/n-i</i> Nj. <i>-om-i:</i>	—	—
2. Pl.	Sham. <i>-o:m/n-or:nde</i> Nj. <i>-om-unde</i>	—	<i>-a:-unde</i>
3. Sg.	Sham. <i>-o:m/n-or:</i> Wad. <i>-im-ur:</i> P. <i>-om/on-or:</i>	<i>-ey/or-wo:</i>	—
3. Pl.	Sham. <i>-o:m/n-or:n</i> Wad. <i>-irm-urn</i>	<i>-eye/or-wo:n</i>	—

23.10. Examples: Sham. *a: tor hanter-yem* I am beating thee; *a: mya: hantoyem*; *mya: čūike: detoyem* I am seeing you all; *a:sa a:dam detayem*; *kata:yem*; *khanta:yem*; *dhoryetayem*; *lekentāi:m*; *hama: to:/mya: han/de-te:/or-yes*; *hama: a:se dā:ses*; *tu mor: han/de-tormer*; *tu ama: deto:nyer*; *mya: mo: de/han-to:mo:nder*; *mya: hama: hanto:nornder*; *a:se a:dam mo:/hama: deto:m/nor*; *a:se a:dam to:/mya: det-ey/or-wo:*; *a:təmə trā mo:/hama: de/han-torm/n-or:n*; *a:° trā to:/mya: de-tūyō°/or-worn*.

But we also find, without infix, *a: to: detyem*; *a: mya: hant-yem*; *mya: mo: hanto:nder*, etc.

Wad. *mu: tu: de/han-t-e-irm*; *mu: adarse a:dam det-e-um* (sic!); *hama: tu: de/han-t-e(h)a:s*; *tu mu:/hama: de/han-t-irm/n-i*; *mya: ama: det-in-i* (sic!); *a:se a:dam mu: dāt-im-ur*; *ate xalak mu: dāt-im-urn*.

Nj. *mu: tu: hant-e-yem*; *hant-a-yem* (with infix 3. Pers. ?); *mo:/ama: dert-e-yem/n* I/we see thee; *hama: tu: hant-e-yen*; *tu: mu: hant-om-i*; *mia: kui* (why?) *hant-om-unde*?

P. *i: a:dam dāt-e-im*; *a:se a:dam mu:/ama: dāt-əm/on-or:*.

L.u. *hant-im-or*: 236,7, cf. 248,5.

23.11. From G.Sanj.Pach.U. only a few examples of an infix 3. Pers. have been recorded. G. *čaralet-ar-im*; Pach. ^a *perlūt-a-irm* (Pach. ¹ *erit-i:m*)

^a For *-ey-*.

I herd cattle; Pach.² *a: i: čiz rekent-a-irm* I sell a thing; Sanj. *ant-a-yem* I beat him (also *antur-yem*); *sā put²rar: tarnek der: ant-a-u:* he is beating his own son; *tumā p^o t^o der: ant-a-un*; *mar: antawundau* (but also *katu:ndeu*); U. *māit-a-won* they are saying (it?).

In Sanj. we find an unexplained suffix *-i* not only in 3. Pl. *tame antawundi*; 1. Pl. *katu:raizi* but also in the intransitive *oryewu:n āiturndi* the children are coming.

ALASAI PRESENT

23.12. The Present stem morpheme is *-ra:* (fem. *-ri:*), in roots in *n, l* with inserted *t* due to a secondary segmentation. Also L.dial. *yetro:yem* I come; *kardrai* you made (*kadi:*) are probably quasi-Al. forms. Cf. PashBurn. *langetaro* (**lanetro*?) (snow) is falling. A derivation of *hantra:* < **hanra:* < **hani(t)ara(k)a-* and *do:yra:* < **dohi(t)ara(k)a-* is perhaps conceivable, but such an enlargement of ancient *-tar-* is quite hypothetical.

23.13.

Al.

	I sit down	I do	I beat	I come
1. Sg.	<i>ne-ra:yam</i>	<i>ka-ra:yam</i>	<i>han-tra:yam</i>	(<i>ai param</i>)
2. Sg.	<i>ni-ri:</i>	„ <i>-rai:</i>	„ <i>-trai:</i>	<i>ai-ri:</i>
3. Sg. m.	<i>ne-ra:</i>	„ <i>-ra:</i>	„ <i>-tra:</i>	„ <i>-ra:</i>
3. Sg. f.			„ <i>-triya:</i>	
1. Pl.	<i>ni-ri:s</i>	„ <i>-rayi:s</i>	„ <i>-trai-yi:s</i>	„ <i>-ri:s</i>
2. Pl.	<i>ne-ra:ya</i>	„ <i>-ra:ya</i>	„ <i>-tra:ya</i>	„ <i>-ra:ya</i>
3. Pl.	<i>ne-ra:n</i>	„ <i>-ra:n</i>	„ <i>-tra:n</i>	„ <i>-ra:n</i>

23.14. With *-r-* also *be-* to become; *baš-* to get tired; *buš-* to awake; *čum(b)-* to sew; *de-* to see; *doy-* to milk^a; *čur-* to reap; *ne-* to sit down; *pe-* to drink; *pač-* to be boiled, to ripen (3. Sg. *pašrar:*). The following transitive roots insert *-āi-* before *-r-*: *At-* to bring; *orpar-* to cut off; *ač-* to catch; *bušfel-* to wake; *čindal-* to tear; *d-* to give; *gur-* to seize; *har-* to hear; *š-* to put; *le:l-* to herd; *m(ar)-* to speak (*māirar:*); *muṇd-* to break; *n-* to come out; *ne:l-* to seat; *pač-* to cook; *sar-* to squeeze; *w-* to throw; *wa:dan-* to winnow; *waš-* to make enter; *ž-* to eat.

In *kar-*; *ar-* to bring, and probably also *bar-* to carry, the final *-r* of the root has merged with the *r* of the Present.

With *-tr-* also *učun-* to pick; *čhin(d)-* to break; *darl-* to tear; *gan-* to count; *han-* to strike; *khan-* to pull; *le:l-* to graze (intr.); *pačhan-* to understand; *pern-* to recognize.

^a 3. Sg. m. *do:yra:*; but also *do:ytria:* f.

Note *lošar:yam* I fall (*loš-*); *waršar:yam* I put, throw (**warš-*); *mašar:yam* I crush (*maš-*); *windar-taryam* I find.

23.15. 2. Sg. *-i:*; 1. Pl. *-is* are characteristic of intransitives. Thus, *beri(s)*; cf. *ne-*, *ai-*. 1. Pl. *-is* has also been recorded from many transitives, such as *ar-*; *bar-*; *š-*; *kar-*; *khan-*; *w-*; *war-*; *ž-*, but note also *barari:s*; *karari:s*. Only *-ari:s* in *mašari:s*; *sarāirari:s*; *wa:danāirari:s*.

Feminine forms are 1. Sg. *khantri:m*; *pačāiri:m*; *do:yiri:m* (masc. *doryrari:yam*); 2. Sg. *khantri:* (masc. *-trari:*); 3. Sg. *khantri:ya:*; *doytri:ya:*.

23.16. With pronominal suffixes: *A: ta: ne:lāirer-m-i:*^a; *a: ta: bušfelāirer-m-i:* I wake you; *le:lāira:ya* he herds it, but note *ma: bušfelāira:ma:* he wakes me.

Imperfect

23.17. The Imperfect is formed from the Present stem + the Past tense of the auxiliary. Separate Fem. forms have been recorded from some dialects.

G. *du: kuru:m kata:nam* yesterday I was working; *i: a:dam k^o katu:n* one man was working (*meikat*); *keru šān k^o katu:n-i* some men were w.; *laps a:mozta kata:nam* I was learning the language.

Sanj. *du: k^o kator:arnam*; *du: ama: k^o kator:anen*; *ma: k^o kator:arneu*; *ya a:dam/eme a:dama du: k^o katu:n(-i)*. SanjFar. *kator:n-e:* he was making (it); *aii-ona* she was coming, but also *paketa:won-e:* she used to eat grapes.

Sham. *a: kar kata:nam/katya:nam* I (m./f.) was working; *dhoryeta:nam* I was milking.

L.u. *kato'anam* 210,13 (L. *kaga:kim*); *hantj-arnam* 231,7 I (f.) was beating (L. *hanga:čim*); *hamōr . . . katō:na(n?)* 235,7 we were making.

23.18. Al. *kara:nam*, 3. Sg. *kara:n*; *hantra:nam*, 3. Sg. *hantra:*; *dera:nam* I was seeing, 3. Sg. *dera:n*; *do:yira:nam* I was milking, 3. Sg. f. *doy(it)ri:ri:nā*; *pačāira:nam*, f. *ri:ri:ri:nā* I was cooking, 3. Sg. *āira:n m., ri:ri:nā f.*; *a: sā bušfelāira:nam* I was waking him; *lošia:nam* I (f.?) was falling, 3. Sg. (f.?) *lošia:n*; *nera:nam* I was sitting down; Al.(PT) *paira:nam* I was going; *šangalaira:-ma:n* he was frightening me.

Ingressive Imperfect

25.1. This term may perhaps be applied to G. *han-kaxin* 257,13 it began to beat (L. *hanga:kəšik*).^b It is based on the Aorist, not, as in L., on the Present stem, and *kaxin* is an intransitive Simple Past.

^a With *-e:m-i:* < **a:yam-i:*?

^b Cf. SW. 25,2.

PAST TENSES

Simple Past

INTRANSITIVE

27.1.	(a)			(b)				AL.(and
	I went			I came				PT)
	G.	Pach.	Al.	G.	Sanj.	Pach.		
1. Sg.	<i>garim</i>	<i>garyem</i>	<i>garyam</i>	<i>aidam</i>	<i>aidām</i>	<i>aidam</i>	<i>aidam</i>	
1. Pl.	<i>garin</i>		<i>garyan</i>	<i>aidan</i>	<i>aidān</i>	<i>aiten</i> (?)	<i>aidan</i>	
2. Sg.	<i>garir</i>	<i>garye</i>	<i>garyāi</i>	<i>aidāi</i>	<i>aidāi</i>	<i>aidāi</i>	<i>aidāi</i>	
2. Pl.			<i>garyou</i>	<i>aidau</i>	<i>aidau</i>	<i>aidau</i>	<i>aidau</i>	
3. Sg. m.	<i>guri</i>	<i>gore</i>	<i>garir</i>	<i>airt</i>	<i>airdi:</i>	<i>airt</i>	<i>airt</i>	
3. Pl.	"	"			"	"		
3. Sg. f.	"	"	<i>garyā</i>		<i>aidā</i>	"	<i>aida</i>	

(c)	
I went out	
G.	Al.
1. Sg.	<i>nainam</i>
1. Pl.	<i>nernan</i>
3. Sg. m.	<i>nairn nairn</i>

(c)

I went out

	G.	Al.
1. Sg.		nainam
1. Pl.	nernan	
3. Sg. m.	nain	nain

27.2. (a) Sanj. *gai:m*; 3. Sg. *gorye:*; Sham. *garyem*, *garir*; KohRav. *guwai*; L.dial. *garyem/n*, *guri*. Cf. Skt. *gata-*. Pach. *lasim* I slipped; Al. *učuni:m* I ran.

(b) Sham. *aidam*, 3. Sg. *ayit*; Sanj. *i: a:dam airdir*, *i: maršir aidā*, *eme airdir* a man/woman/they came; L.dial. *yāid-am/n*; *yāidāi*. These forms are perhaps based on Skt. past participles in *-ddha-*.

I am at loss to explain Sham. *aiyartam*, given me once as an alternative past form of *ai-* to come.

(c) G. *arnam* I was, etc.; *guzarin* he passed; *bernam*, *bin* I/he was; *perdin* she arrived. Al. *nirnam* I sat down, 3. Sg. *nir*; *binam* I became, 3. Sg. *bir*; *lornam* I fell, 3. Sg. *lorin*; *pačir* it ripened; *nain* he came out.—Cf. L.dial. *nernam* I went out; *atēnam* I entered; *urēnam* I entered; *bēnam/n* I/we became; *garnam* I walked about.—Cf. 27.11.

27.3. Examples are: G. *dur karbul aidam* yesterday I came to K.; *Gulbar aidam, kitārb derwam-i:* when I (have) come to G., I shall give you

a book; *ya a:dam/ema airt* this man/they came.—Al. *i: a:dam/gor̄ar airt* a man/horse came; *a:damarn/ēuka gor̄ar airt* the men/all the horses came; *yāddāi-m nain* it passed out of my memory.

TRANSITIVE

27.4.	(a)			
	I saw		I did	
	G.	Al.	G.	Al.
1. Sg.	d(eh)e:m	di:m	kar'erm = Sanj.Pach.	karim
1. Pl.	d(eh)ern		kar'ern	
2. Sg.	dehe:		kar'i:	
3. Pers.	de:(y)a(:)	di:	karya:	kare:

27.5. G. *a:r-em*, —, *-er*, *-ea* I brought; *gug-erim*, —, *-er*, *-ia* I took; *kurejim* I asked; *warerim* I put; *werdarya* he found. Also *bāy-im*, *-in*, *-er*, *-a* I could is inflected as a transitive.

Sanj. *mur te: de: ani:* I struck him; *tu: mar/te: mur de: a°* you (Sg./Pl.)/he struck me; *ama: mar de: a°* we struck you; *mō: i: wa:lā a:dam/mašir de: di'i* I saw one man/woman; SanjFar. *mō: brās-am de: di* he saw my brother.

But, with personal endings denoting the agent, Sanj. *mur tu: aniem-i:* I struck you; *mur e: urmal'u: de: an'i:m-a:* I struck this man; *mur e: mašir de: anur-m-a* I struck this woman; *mur e: dairn marduma de: anem-a* I struck these many men; *naukar'i: karerm* I served.

Pach. *mō: dur p'rop:m kar'erm* I worked yesterday; *reken'e:m-a* I sold it; *mō: i: ma:šue/zāi:fe di'em-a* I saw a man/woman; *gum mō: zuw'erm* I cut wheat.

P. *amar i: a:dam dern* we saw a man.—Cf. L.dial. *teggim* 240,8 I bound; *diryem* 200,10 I saw; *karri:e:* 205,6 she did.

Sham. *kar'in* 1. Pl. ?

27.6. Al. *chinderm* I broke, and with *-erm* also *dory-* to milk; *mand-* to crush; *dail-* to tear; *khan-* to pull out; *pern-* to recognize; *čumb-* to sew, but *hanim* I struck; *pedim* I drank. *Aderm* from *ar-* to bring is irregular.

The 3. Sg., with masc. object, has *-er*, with the exception of *čumbir*. *Dorya* milked (the cow), has a fem. object.

27.7. As a type *-i(m)* may go back to *-ita*, while a derivation of *-er(m)* from **-ayita-* seems very doubtful. Al. *kar-* may be derived from *kṛta-* and also *ḍ* in *a:ḍ-* (G. *a:r*) probably goes back to *rt*.

27,8.	(b)				
	I gave				I said
	G.	Sanj.	Pach.	Al.	Al.
1. Sg.	de:term	detam	determ	datam	martam
1. Pl.			dete:n		
2. Sg.	deteri	deti:			martai
3. Pers.	detea				martē

27,9. G. *rekentem* I sold; *wera:ta* he wept; *marasta* he said; *widalata* he ran (intrans.!).

Sanj. *mō: tō: de: palō:rā d'etam-i:* (Pach. *a:n p° ture d'etam-i:*) I gave thee an apple; *tō: mō: der p° deti:*.

P. *katem* I did; *determ* I saw.

Nang.Wad. *mu sum karati(:)m* (Pand. *mu: sum karastam*) I worked.

L.dial. *martam* I said.

27,10. Al. *guratam* I took, 2. Sg. *°āi*; *harratam* I heard; *le:latam* I herded; *or:parate:* he dug (it?).

As a type (b) goes back to Skt. *-tta-*, e.g. Al. *dat-* < *dattu-*; G. *de:t-* < **ditta-*. Cf. Phal. *dittu*; Gambiri *kat-em* I did; *jiāt-em* I saw. In NW. *-t-* has also been generalized as a preterital morpheme in the Prox. Past and Pluperfect, but not in the Perfect, which has *-k-*, in accordance with other Pash. dialects.

27,11.	(c)		
	I ate		
	Nang.		
	1. Sg. <i>žin-iem</i>	2. Sg. <i>žin-'ei</i>	
	1. Pl. „ <i>-'in</i>	2. Pl. „ <i>-'eo</i>	
		3. Pers. „ <i>-'e</i>	

G. *žünim* (2.3. Sg. *-i:*); Sanj. *žin-'im*; Wad. *-'im*; Pand. *-iem*; Al. *žün-im* (3. Sg. *-e:*). E.g. Nang. *mō: soyal'i: žiniem* I ate mulberries. Cf. G.B. *žunim*; Dam. *žünem*; Dam. *b'inum* I saw < **vinna-*.

(d)

27,12. From Sham. some past forms have been recorded which are unknown from other dialects.

Mō: aurate han'o: I struck the woman; *mō: šorm kawo:* I worked; *mō: worga pi:wo:* I drank water.

Mō: worga pi:lo: I drank water; *mō: ay'i: bhāiru: žail'o:* I ate much bread (Psht. *wu me xura*, but *žaiči* = Psht. Perf. *xurale da*).

Mō: ay'i: (bhāiru) žaiči I ate (much) bread; *mō: worga pi:či* I drank water; *amer xalke (ay'i: aurate) bh° ayi: žayči* these people ate, etc.; *yor: aurate: a° žaiči* this woman, etc.; *dye: ayi: žaiči:* yesterday they ate, etc. (but Perf. *ni: ... žaičekən* today ... they have eaten); *ayyu: ardame:/ a:zəzu:/aurate: bh° kār kači:* this man/woman worked much.

These forms in *-(l)or*, *-či* are apparently uninflected, and their exact position in the system of past tenses cannot be determined.

WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

27,13. 1. Sg. G. *hanim-m* he struck me; L.dial. *bušfelāt-im* 233,3 she woke me; *dete-im* 239,4 he gave me; Al. *han'i-m* they (and probably also: he) struck me (*mara: zadand*).

1. Pl. G. *tu: du: čūkase deher-n* yesterday you struck all of us.

2. Sg. G. *a: turi serp dertem-i:*, Sanj. *mō: tō: de: palō:rā d'etam-i:*, Pach. *am p° ture dertam-i:* I gave thee an apple; G. *amar tu: de: de:hen-i:* we saw thee; Nang. *putr'as-em tu de'at-ei* my son saw thee; Sanj. *mō: tō: de: aniem-i:* I struck thee; L.dial. *dete:m-i:* I gave thee; Al. *ne:latam-ai:* I made thee sit down.

3. Pers. G. *hanim-a* (Sanj. *anim-a*); *putra der i: serp dertem-a* I gave (my) son an apple; *a:rem-a* I brought it; *de:he-a* thou didst see him; *dern-a* we saw him; Pach. *diem-a* I saw him; *rekene:m-a* I sold it; Nang. *ma: putr-iem deate-a* thou didst see my son; L.dial. *katam-a*; *matamm-a* I said it; Al. *datam-a* I gave it; *ma: putr-i:m/wuzy-am hanim-a* I struck my son/daughter; *ma: ma:derm-a:* I crushed (masc. and fem. object); *ma: i: zarifa di:m-a* I saw a woman; *dory(e:m)-a:* I/she milked (the cow); *ta: sā bušfelatāy-a:* thou didst wake him (*tu ura: berdar kardī*).

The final *-a(:)* of G. *de:(y)a*; *karya*; *derteā*, etc., was perhaps originally a pronominal suffix 3. Pers., but it must now be taken as part of the personal ending. Cf., e.g. *ya ardam du: mu: der dera* this man saw me yesterday.

27,14. The material at our disposal is not sufficient to establish a clear, functional distinction between the Simple and the Proximate Past. It is not possible to define the difference between, e.g. G. *kawata* and *derteā* 253,5, or between *sada:/kuru: karya:* 255,5; 256,13 he shouted/called, and *farya: kawata* 235,15 he complained. In Text LXXXIII the Prox. Past is used in the narrative in *ma:rwata ... wa:rwata ... kawata ... wa:rwata* 259, sq. he

killed... threw... did... threw. But when the same sequence of events is told in the 1. Sg. we find *marim... warerim... karim... warčekam* (Perf.).^a Cf. also 265,13: *I: pišuk gurerwata. Dardarya koreja: Ištirka guger?* *Putra marata: I: pišuk gugerim* 265,13, sqq. he bought a cat. His father asked: Did you buy a wife? His son answered: I (have) bought a cat.^b

On the whole the Prox. Past is more frequent than the Simple Past in our texts, e.g. 18 *kawata* as against 4 *karya*. On the other hand we find only *marata* he said and never **marwata*.^c

27,15. Other examples are: *Tu: ya seba de: žuni: a: du: de:term-i:* did you eat the apple I gave you yesterday? (*hamar*) *du: maiza žunim/n* yesterday I/we ate mulberries; *tu: m° žunir*; *Abdur Rašid m. žunir*; *du: arrem-a* I brought him yesterday; *ar:er* 264,17 you brought; *ar:ea* 263,19 he brought; *tu:/morma: du: pe: žerka bāy'e:* you (Sg./Pl.) could eat meat yesterday; *žerka na baya* they could not eat it^d; *du: Gulbar de: derem* yesterday I saw G.; *ora:ča derem* I saw a dream; *gozra: de: čukate de: de: hem* I saw all the horses; *du: (hamar) e:(se:) de: d(ek)ern* we saw him yesterday; *mu: de: deher* you saw me; *du: mu: de: dera* yesterday this man saw me; *ištirka gugya* he bought a wife; *du: tu: de: kurejim* yesterday I asked you; *karem* 255,17; 259,29; 285,3; *kare:n* °; *kari:* 260,3; 263,25; *karya(:)* 255,5; 256,13.

Proximate Past

INTRANSITIVE

28,1. Verbal compounds with G. *garim*, etc., I went correspond to those with L. *gi:kim*, but it is impossible to tell whether the function is the same in all dialects.

G. *čan-garim* I fell (2. Sg. *-gai:*; 3. Sg. *-guri*); *nir-garim* I sat down; *ner guri* 263,7 it emerged; *murir guri* he died; *đake guri* she ascended; *langi guri* she descended; *perd guri* she arrived; *ka:bul pare:gar-nam nar:for bi-garim* (since) I went (lit., had gone) to Kabul, I have fallen (lit., fell) ill.

Sanj. *baž-garyim* I got tired; Bol. *ai-garim*; Pach. *ai-garim* I came; Al. *a: baž-garyam* (*marnda šudam*).

Note that Sham. *ai garyam/gyi:* was translated "I am/he is coming".

^a The L. version also has *marwač*, etc., but *marčekam*, etc.

^b But cf. L. *gurača... guračwačai... guračam*.

^c But *marwata* he killed.

^d V. Voc. a.v.v. *bay-*; *xara:b*.

^e V. Voc. a.v. *bu:*.

TRANSITIVE

28,2. Corresponding to L. *hanwakam* we find G. *hanwatem*, and similar forms in Sanj.U.Al. Thus, G.

	I took	I struck	I ate
1. Sg.	<i>gure:watim</i>	<i>hanwatem</i>	
1. Pl.		<i>hanwatern</i>	<i>žerwatirn</i>
2. Sg.	<i>gureriwati</i>	<i>hanwate:</i>	
2. Pl.			<i>žerwate:u</i>
3. Pers.	<i>gureriwata</i>	<i>hanwata</i>	<i>žerwata</i>

Cf. U. *žawat-am, -an, -ai, -oru, -ir*.

28,3. G.—*Mo: de: maitu: ki mo: de: hanwata* he tells me that he (has) struck me; *terma mo: de: hanwata* they struck me; *amar du: tu: de: hanwatern* we struck you yesterday; *mo:ma: du: mo: de: hanwate:* (for **-teru* ?); Sh. *mo: de: dirwate:* you saw me.

Opurewata 261,21 he dug; **wate:* 261,25; *barwata* 262,3 they carried off; **tirn* 263,5; *darwerwata* 263,7 he called for^a; *derwata* 259,9 he gave (put); **te:* 266,21; Sh. *dirwatem* I saw; **wata* 255,11; *farmerwata* 253,15, etc., he ordered; *gure:wata* 258,25, etc., he/they took; **tim* I took; *kadwata* 263,1 they cut; *kawa(:)ta* 258,11, etc.; *khanwata* 265,15 he pulled out; **te:* 259,15; *langgerwata* 261,9 he put down; *marwata* 259,3 he killed; *nerlewata* 257,11 he made sit down; *teggwata* 262,1 they bound; *warwata* 254,15 he put; *žerwata* 257,1, etc., he/they ate; **tirn* 263,5; **teru* 262,27.

28,4. Sanj.—*Mo: anka je: šur'q: k'arwati:* (sic!) I began to beat (*mar ba zadan šurq: kadam*); Sanj.(Far.) *mo: to: de: anwartam* I struck you; *tu mo: de: anwate:* you struck me.

Sham.—*Mo: tu: hanwartam-i:* I struck thee; *mo: karr kawartam* I worked; *mo: worrga pirwatam* I drank water; *are mürš di:watāi?* didst thou see this mouse? But note *aiwatam* I came (?). Wad. *mu: tu diwatam-i:* I saw thee; *tu: mu d'iwatir-m* thou didst see me.

L.u.—*Mo: hanwat-irm* he struck me (*marat: zat*); *kawat-irm* 254,3 he made for me; *dirwat-em* he saw me.

Al.(PT).—*Ahmad ma: di:wat-um* A. saw me (*marat: di:d*); *A. a:sa di:wat-i:*, *A. artuma di:wat-e* A. saw him/them; *A. hama/hima di:wat-an/au* A. saw me/you; *daiwate* they gave; *žawate:* he ate; *gum kawatai* he lost (? *salb*).

^a Not, with Voc., made him run.

Pluperfect

INTRANSITIVE

29.1. G.—*Nigarnam* I had sat down, I was sitting (-*arnan*, -*arnāi*, -*arnau*, -*urn*); *aigarnam*, etc., I had come; *paregarnam* I had gone; *murigurn* he had died; *gum bigurn* he had become lost; *du: amar marndu: bigarnan* yesterday he had got tired.

Sanj.—*Pari:arnam* I had gone; L.u. *ni:kanam* I had sat down (L. *ne:har:kin*).

Sham.—*Pari:arnam*, -*arnāi*, -*aryiz*, -*arnen*, -*arnou*, -*aryis* (?) I had gone, etc.; *ayarnam* I had come.

Al.—*Nika:nam* I had sat down (3. Sg. *nika:n*). But without -*k*-: *biyarnam* I had become (*biya:n*); *nayarnam* I had gone away (*nayarn*); *arya:nāi* you had come; *pari:arnāi* you had gone; *baſſarnam* I had got tired; *lačandiar:n* it had fallen (*uſta:da burst*); *l'e:liar:n* it had grazed.

29.2. These forms are probably to be analysed as Static Participle in -*ik/g*, or root + *arnam*, etc., I was. The reason for the existence of both types (*nik:arnam* and *biy:arnam*) in Al. is unknown.

TRANSITIVE

29.3. The characteristic morpheme is -*la(r)t*,^a corresponding to Prox. Past -*wa:t*-, with preceding -*āi*- in some verbs. It is formed from a participle in *-*lar*.

G.—*Warndelata*: 266,13 they had built; *darlata* 256,9, etc., had had; *du: tu: mu: de: au delatez*, *žerlatim* if you had given me bread yesterday, I had eaten it.

Pach.—*Mu: p^uro:m kalatam* I had worked.

Sanj.—*Kala:tam* I had done; *žerlatam* I had eaten; *derlatam-i*: I had given it; *wi:d-anlatez* he had run (*dawirda burst*).^b

29.4. Al.—Without -*āi*-: *Kalatam* (3. Sg. -*ter*) I had done, and similar formations from *han-* to beat; *khan-* to pull; *čhin(d)-* to tear; *ar-* to bring; *čum(b)-* to sew; *dar-* to break; *maſd-* to crush; *učun-* to gather (*čirdan*); *doyi-* to milk; *pi-* to drink; *di-* to see; Al.(PT) *darr-* to have.

With -*āi*-: *Marāilatam* I had spoken, and similar forms from *waſ-* to

^a Cf. NE. -*l*.

^b Also G. *widalataz* had run, is probably originally a compound with *han-*, but the imperative *widalar* shows that *widal-* is now to be considered a separate root.

make enter; *le:l-* to herd; *pač-* to cook; *ha:r-* to hear; *o:paſ-* to cleave; *d-* to give; *w-* to weave; *ž-* to eat; *čindal-* to tear; *buſſel-* to wake; *ne:l-* to make sit down; Al.(PT) *a:č-* to cover.

29.5. With pronominal suffixes: Al. *ma: wu:y-am/putr-i:m hanlatam-a* I had beaten my daughter/son; *a: (sic!) i: qalama khanlatam-a:* I had pulled out a pen; *ma: sā buſſelāilatam-a:* I had awaked him; *ma: buſſelāilatam-āi* I had awaked you; *dāilatam-āi* I had awaked you; *di:latam-a* I had seen him.

Perfect

INTRANSITIVE

30.1.	I have come		I have sat down
	G.	Pach.	Al.
1. Sg.	<i>āitekam</i>	<i>āit-ekam</i>	<i>nitekam</i> m., <i>ni:čam</i> f.
1. Pl.		„- <i>ekan</i>	
2. Sg.		„- <i>eke:</i>	(<i>āitekāi</i> m. you have come)
2. Pl.		„- <i>ekau</i>	
3. Pers.	<i>āiti:k</i>	„- <i>ik</i>	<i>nitik</i> m., <i>ni:čā</i> f.

For the formation, cf. SW.

30.2. G.—*Bitekam* I have become; *nitigam* (Sh. *nitekam*) I have sat down, I am sitting; *netik* he has gone out; *girtik* he has walked about; *muritik* he has died.

Xer *saya:n-am yakaſi: urn, bada: aulu: bitik* formerly my sisters were small, now they have grown big.

30.3. Sanj.—*Lari bitekam* I have been wounded; *kal mur'itek-i: (?)* who (?) has died? (*kuda:m murda ast?*).

30.4. Pach.—*A:n wa:(na) n(h)etikam* I have sat down in the house; *li:ſ čantik sang'a:* the walnut has fallen to the ground; *laratik, zaxmi: orsta* he has been wounded, and is (now) wounded; *āiti:k* he has come; *γulu: āiti:k* many have come.—Notice *arn wa: šarstekam* I am going home (*xarna merrawcam*), cf. SW.

Nj.—*Āitekam* I have come; *parestekam* I have gone; *āičen* we have come (< -*tč*).^a

P.—*Pašti:k* it has ripened.

U.—*Čarst biti:* it has become noon.

^a Cf. *ni:č:n* we are sitting, Static Perfect.

Sham.—*Āitekam*; *parāitekam*, 3. Sg. *parāyeti*; *are a:dam mūrīti*: this man has died; *šatekam* (*merraptim*); *bitōkam* (Nang.Pand. *bi:°*).

L.dial.—*Nertik/ē* he is/they are sitting; *šor:ti:ē* 237,4 they are going; Pash.(Burn.) *shartke* you are going.

30.5. Al.—*Betekam/bičam* I have become; 3. Sg. *betik/bečā*; *šar:tekam/šar:čam* I am going (*merrawam*); 2. Sg. *šar:tekāi*; *nāitekam* I have gone out 3. Sg. *nāiti:k*; AL.(PT) *paraitikam* I have gone; *mūrīti:k* he has died.

TRANSITIVE

30.6.		I have done	
	G.	Sham.	Al.
1. Sg.	<i>kaček-am</i>	<i>kaček-am</i>	<i>kaček-am</i> , with fem. obj. <i>*kačam-a:</i>
1. Pl.	„ <i>-an</i>	„ <i>-an</i>	
2. Sg.	„ <i>-āi</i>	„ <i>-āi</i>	„ <i>-ai:</i>
2. Pl.	„ „	„ <i>-ai:</i>	
3. Sg. Pl.	„ <i>-i:</i>	„ <i>-an</i>	„ <i>-e:</i> „ „ <i>*kač-a:</i>

30.7. G.—*Mur: turi i: goru: de: bazši:š kačekam* I have made you a present of a horse; *hamar: turi... kačekan*; *tu:/morma: mūrī/amarī... kačekāi*; *ema mūrī... kačeki:*; *mur:amar: turi i: rurpai: de:čekam/n* I/we have given you a rupee; *tu:/morma:... mūrī de:čekāi*; *sa mūrī... de:čeki:*; *mur: tur: de: hančekam* I have beaten you; *tu: mur: de: hančekāi*; *tu: de: hančeki:*; *di:čekam* I have seen; *žerčekam* I have eaten; *čur:kčeker* (for *°i:*?) (the wasp) has stung him; *Xuda: tur: de: juar:nmarg kurasir, ki tu: nuzsarn kačekāi*; *kui'eka kar'i:*? may God let you die young, because you have done (me) harm. Why did you do so? *pa:nja de: mullat kačeki* he has stayed for five days; cf. 255,9.—*Agarla Abdur Rašid ta:mas-am de: xara:b kačekāi* must either mean “yestereve you, A.R., have spoilt my food”, or stand for *kačeki:* he has, etc.

Note *dur: ar: turi čhanik de:čekim* (for *°kam*?) yesterday I have given you a kid; *marrewar: angrez: mōtorā šira barčika* (for *°ke/i:*?) he will say that the Englishman has carried him off in a motor-car.^a

30.8. No pronominal suffixes have been recorded from G., nor, of course, any distinction of gender in the object. But 3. Sg. Pl. *-čeki:*, corresponding to L. *-čik*, possibly contains a fossilized Pron. suffix.

^a G. *pišak mūrša de: gurāiteki*; the cat has caught the mouse, is probably a mistake for *°čeki:*. But cf. L. dial. *kateči:(i)m* 230,5,15; *kateč* 101,15; *kati:č* 112,14; *kati:* (**kati:k*?) 109,8,9, etc.?

30.9. Pach.—*Mq: p*rp:m kačekam* I have worked; *or:ar:ča di:čekam* I have seen a dream; *mq: i: zāife: d'i:čekam-a* I have seen a woman (with Pron. suffix).

Nj.—*Me: (m.) karza gurāiči:* (for **-čik*?) *sur (f.) karza gurāič-e* an eclipse (or, “something”?) has seized the moon/sun, are probably Perfects.—Also PashBurn. “*pare jech ke*” have you got fever? may be a Perfect (**prašarčeki:*?), cf. A. *plajo:r*, etc., fever.

30.10. Sanj. distinguishes person of the subject and gender of the object in: *Mq: tq: de: ančkam-i:* I have beaten you (m.); *mq: e: urmalu: de: ančkam-a:/mq: e: dai:n marduma de: ančkam-a* I have beaten this man/these many men; *mq: i: warlā ardama de: di:čekam* I have seen one man; *mq: e: marši:/mašar:na de: ančkam-a* I have beaten this woman/these women; *kar: kačeki:* he has worked; *šagnam(ā) ančki:* dew has fallen.—The 1. Sg. with Fem. obj. *-čum-* goes back to an earlier form **-čča:m*.^a

But in *mq: i: warlā marši: di:ča* I have seen one woman, the subject is indicated only by the personal pronoun.

Such is also the case in the examples given SanjFar. With Masc. object, Sg. or Pl.: *Mo: wir-gor:or: de: ančeki:* I have beaten the stallion; *tu te: ardama de: a°* you have beaten that man; *te: ažor: de: a°* he... the bull; *tersi čuka ažaga:na de: a°* he... all the bulls; *tu: mo: de: antury, e: xartera božas-ay de: mo: a°* you are beating me, because I have beaten your brother; *Xoda: to: de: paidor: kačeki* God has created you. But notice also *te: gawa:ndi (de:) ančeki:* he has beaten the cow; *mo: to: de: a°*; *tu mo: de: a°*, which were said to denote either a Masc. or Fem. object, cf. *ančeki:* (*urra: zad, mard ya: zan*). Besides, we find *mo: to: de: anček*; *tu mo: de: a°* (Masc. or Fem. object). It is, however, very doubtful if this is correct. At any rate true Fem. object forms were given in *tu te: marši de: anča:* you have beaten (*zadi:*) that woman; *mo: te: ištiri-gor:or: de: a°* I have beaten (*zadam*) that mare; *mo: sayas-am de: deča:* I have seen (*di:dam*) my sister.

The situation in Sanj. remains uncertain, and more precise information is needed.

30.11. Sham.—*Mo:/a: žaičekam* I have eaten, etc.; *pi:čekam* I have drunk; *tu arsa a:dam di:čekāi?* have you seen this man? *hančkam-i:* I have beaten thee; *hančekyer-m* thou... me; *dhoryčam-a:* I have milked (the cow).

30.12. Al.—With masc. object: *Ma: hančekam-a* I have beaten him;

^a Cf. SW. 30,6.

arčekam I have brought him; *ma: i: ardam dičekam-a:* I have seen a man; *žaičekam-a:* (3. Sg. °ke:) I have eaten it; *le:laičekam* I have herded (it); *a:di la:m kačekai?* have you done this work? *maraičekam* (2. Sg. °kai:) I have said; AL.(PT) *buraičiker* he has buried him.

With Fem. object: *Ma: i: zarifa dičam-a* I have seen a woman; *arčam-a:*; *le: laičam-a:*; *doryičam-a:* I have milked (the cow); *doryi:č-a:* he has milked it. Once I heard *hančekam-a*, a form which, if correct, must be more original than the contracted **hančam-a*. In Prs. script the forms with Fem. object are written with single č, without any indication of a pronunciation with geminated čč.

Static Perfect

31.1. A Perfect Participle Passive has been recorded only in AL. *baššik* tired; AL.(PT) *mundik* broken (*šikastagi:*), cf. *gavir-na:ika* hunch-backed.

But a Static Perfect, based upon a participle in °ik, is known from various dialects.^a

Thus, Sh. *nirik-am* I am sitting; Nj. *mur (tarnke) nirik-em*; *tur n°-er*; *sa ba n°-a*; *amar nirč-en*; *mia: n°-undə*; *ardam ba n°-un* some men are also sitting; U. *nyirč-qrnde*; Sanj. *nirč-ai* you (f. Sg.) are sitting; *amar nirirč-en*; *ma: nirč-ou* we/you are sitting.^b

Potential

32.1. G. *žeržum* 253,23 that I might eat it (*xurda baššam*); *ar turi serp de:term-i: ki žeržai:* I gave you an apple that you might eat it. Such forms were said to involve that the person in question did not eat it (*na žerčekam*).

Sham. *tu ke dyer mai ayityer, yi: kitab dai jharm-er* if you had come to me yesterday, I should have given you a book.

AL.(PT) *maraijam* I might say (*gufta baššam*).^c With AL.(PT) *ai-tim* I might have come, cf. L.^d

PASSIVE

33.1. G. Passive Participle in -a + b- to become. E.g. *tu etar ya, ki a: (h)ana bi: param* come here, because I am going to be beaten; *etar ya, hana bi: pari:* come here, (or) you will be beaten; *(h)ana bi: garim* I was beaten;

^a Cf. SW. 31,1.

^b These forms may possibly be Perfects.

^c SW. 32,4.

^d SW. 32,1.

etar ya, i: sart mulart ka, ki hana na bers come here and wait for a while, (that) you may not be beaten.

AL.(PT) *Dina bitikam* I was seen (*dinda šudam*).

INFINITIVE

34.1. A verbal noun in -ik, Obl. -ka, etc., has been recorded from several dialects.

Nom.—Nj. *zir karik(a)* to saddle (it); AL, e.g. *karik* to do; *hanik* to beat; *marik* to speak; *dik* to see; *pačik* to boil, ripen (Intrans.); *pačalaiik* to cook (Trans.); *harraiik* to hear; *nelaiik* to make sit down; *žayik*, *zeik* to eat; *warnda(y)ik* to build.—Irregular are *birik* to become; *pidik* (but also *piik*) to drink (with *d* from the past stem *ped-*).

No Nom. in -ik has been recorded from G.Sanj.

34.2. Obl.—G. *na burm žerka/de:ka/durika/pre:lerka/paidur karka* I cannot eat/give/milk/herd/find; *na bestim mare:ka* I cannot say; *ar dare:ka na bestim/bu:m (berturi/burs, etc.)* I cannot enter; *ar kur'urm darram, na burm a:ka* I have work to do and cannot come; *čarilka na baya* 266,15 he could not open it; *au žerka baya* he could eat bread.^a—Sanj. *mq: anka šer šurq: karwatir* I began beating (*ma: ba zadan šurq: kadam*).—AL.(PT) *windar kaka warryu:* in order to find.

34.3. Gen.—G. *sada: akalkast* 255,3 the sound of dancing.—AL. *ba:das žaikas* after eating.

34.4. Dat.—G. *au žerkai etar: aitekam* I have come here to eat bread; *ištirka gure:kai* 263,27 in order to buy a wife; *wande:kai* 261,11 in order to prepare; *perralai* (in order) to graze; *durikai* (he came) to milk.—Sanj. *ama: žer:kē: parizi* we are going to eat (*ma: merri:m narn buzurim*).—AL. *hankai šurus kara:yam* I begin to beat; AL.(PT) *durykaya:* in order to milk (*barary-i do:šidan*). The latter form agrees with the ordinary dative form in AL,^b and in AL.(PT) forms in -kai are given as the ordinary, lexical forms of the Infinitive. Thus, e.g. *hankai* to beat; *birkai* to become; *šarltikai*, *girkai* to go; *aikakai* to come; *unčukai* to wash; *harrikai* to hear; *pulkai* to arrive; *kakai* to do. But notice *ur waiik* to rouse, to excite (*anger:atan*), and the irregular *jainotai* to place (*marndan*).

NW. has no special Infinitive employed with the verb "to be able", as is the case in L., and also in Par.^c

^a Probably not "it is good to eat bread", with the Obl. in -ka used as a subject.

^b Cf. NW. 8,10.

^c IFL, I, p. 79.

NOUN OF AGENCY

35.1. For G. and Sanj. cf. NW. 3,1 (10).

Al.(PT) *ka-kaila*: actor; *wai-kaila*: weaver; *a-kaila*: a person who is arriving (*waršil*); *kul bi-kaila*: a person who has disappeared; *mişai-kaila*: ploughman (*karranda*); *hurn-kaila*: spinner (*duk-riis*); *gorlang-lel-kaila*: cowherd.

Cf. Par.(Pach.) *γarp uzge-kaila*: *bōrn* snow was falling; *žir-kaila*: *herm* I am coming, with **kaila* < Pash.

ABSOLUTIVE

36.1. In G. the Oblique in *-ka* of the Infinitive serves also as an Absolute, e.g. *karka* 255,23 by doing > having done.

E.g. *za:ka opu:rika barwata* (the wind) having stirred up the dust, carried it away (*za:ka kanda burd*); *khanka* 259,33 having pulled; *gure:ka* 258,21 having bought. In *musulma:nāi pačeka dextea* 260,13 he gave the Muslims cooked (food), *p°* is probably the Obl. of the Perfect Participle Passive, and not an Absolute ("having cooked").

Regarding *karka* in comparisons, v. NW. 10,5.

VERBAL COMPOUNDS

37.1. The Future of Intransitive verbs is formed by adding the Aorist of *par-* to go to the root.^a

G.—*Čan param* I shall fall; *mu:ri: param* I shall die; *γurn bi param* I shall stand up; *i: sat pačawar ai param* I shall come in an hour.

Al.—*Bi: param* (3. Sg. *parāi*) I shall become; *ni: param* I shall sit down; *lo:t param* I shall fall; *na:m-im nāi parāi* my name shall come out; *le:l parāi* it shall graze.

Cf. also G. *čan guri* he fell; *na:for bi garim* I fell ill; Sanj. *ser bi garim* I became satisfied.

37.2. Compound verbs with *kar-*, *han-*, *der-* are common in G. Thus, e.g. *pari: katim* I look; *tamassam/širi:st/puf katur* he smiles/whistles/blows out; *γarnas/hinggas katur* it bleats/neighs; *gut kar-* to throw; *axsur han-* to sneeze; *sar-γoli: han-* to dive; *nixarn der-* to show.

From Al. may be mentioned, e.g. *fang kar-* to fight; *čorri: kar-* to steal; *ayart kar-* to tell; *žandra kar-* to grind.

^a Cf. NW. 22,1.

37.3. The nature of Sham. *mor wo:rga piur garyem* is not clear. The translation given was "having drunk water I went". But cf. *pirwo:*, etc., 27,12.

NOTE ON SYNTAX

38.1. No word for "and" has been recorded from G., and we find asyndetic constructions, e.g. in: *Gorlanga der, kukura der* 259,1 the cow and the cock; *Xuda: orda, tu: orda* 254,7,17 before God and before you; *sada: baidast, sada: akalkast* 255,3 the sound of song and of dancing; *param, dardas-am orda parāiwam, marāiwam* 254,5 I shall go, go to my father, and say.

NORTH-EASTERN GROUP

PHONEMIC SYSTEM

VOWELS

1.1. From the material available it is not possible to give any systematic account of the vocalism of NE. dialects. The vowel system of A. gave the impression of being rather complicated, and the pronunciation of my two informants differed considerably. In Ch. divergent pronunciations were also recorded by Budd. and myself, and, to some extent, Budd.'s two informants disagreed.

All dialects possess, as a minimum, the vowel qualities *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, and all but K. had *ə*.

1.2. *ɐ* was in some cases recorded as *ɪ* in A. An allophone *ä* was recorded in all dialects, especially in the neighbourhood of palatal sounds.

1.3. Ka. *ø* is probably an equivalent of *ə*. Cf. *lön* salt; *hōri*: valley forest; *ör-* to bring. Cf. also Ch. *nōni*: butter, ChB. *nōni*:; ChM. *guš'in* house; ChB. *gō/o°*; ChB. *lōš* light; Ka. *lēs*, etc.

1.4. Long vowels have been recorded in a large number of words, but there are many discrepancies between the dialects, and even within one single dialect. Thus, A.Ka. *d(h)ur̄m* smoke, but Ch. *dhum*; A.K. *mur̄ič/c* mouse, but Ka. *muč*; A.Ka.Ch. *sur* sun, but K. *sur*; A.K.Ka.(MS.) *go:* cow, but Ka.(Beitr.)ChB. *go*; Ch. *šir* milk, ChB. *čir*.

Only a few minimal pairs can be found in our material, e.g. Ka. *mac* fish, *mač* she spoke; *šir* head, *šir* milk; Ch. *lik* he died, *lik* woman. The recorded difference of quantity between A. *šol* cattle-shed and *šor̄l* rice, or between *fol* cream and *fol* (Obl. *fol̄a*) tree (Ka. *fol* cream; tree) is very doubtful.

1.5. To a large extent quantity seems to be dependent on stress, or on the syllabic structure of the word. Note the overlong vowels in K. *phir̄i*: (A. *phir̄i*) scapula; A. *čir̄ir* milk; *or̄st* hand; *thur̄un* pillar; *ceī^a 6*; *laren* salt, etc.

1.6. Diphthongs are numerous, but the material is not sufficient to allow us to establish a system of them in any NE. dialect.

Examples are: A. *ōu(r)* bread; *dāigam* I give; *ā'e* eye; *urič* spring; *čaderi* 14; *na(r)u* 9; *dare/i* 10; Ka. *yuo* 11; *dai* 10; *nau* 9; *ou* bread; *drarit* sickle; *ga(r)u* song; *setiru* 17; *poncu* thy shoes; K. *ainc* eye; *gāin* waist; *cadari* 14; *poric* he-goat; *leris* knife; *muric* mouse; *loru* your brother; Ch. *pa* 15; *bāi* good; *lui* (ChB. *lōi*) 13; *šareu* (ChB. *°ou*) autumn; *ōugen* (ChB. *ūgein*, *ōyein*) wind.

CONSONANTS

2.1.

ARETI-KANPAKI

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ʈ</i>		<i>k</i>		
Aspirated Stop	<i>ph</i>	<i>(th)</i>	<i>(tʰ)</i>		<i>g</i>	[<i>q</i>]	
Affricate		<i>c</i>	<i>ʈʂ</i>	<i>ɕ</i>	<i>(gʰ)</i>		
Aspirated Affricate			<i>(cʰʂ)</i>	<i>(ɕʰ)</i>			
Sibilant		<i>s</i>	<i>ʂ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>			
Fricative	<i>w</i>	<i>z</i>	[<i>ʒ</i>]	<i>ʒ</i>	[<i>ɣ</i>]		<i>h</i>
Vibrant		<i>r</i>	<i>ɽ</i>	<i>ɽ</i>			
Lateral		<i>l</i>	<i>ɭ</i>				
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>		<i>ŋ</i>		

Phonemes recorded only in A. are in parentheses, those only in Ka. in brackets.

2.2. No *kh* has been recorded, ancient *kḥ* resulting in *h* (written *x* in Voc.), a slightly fricative *h*. Budd. compares Ar. *ḥ* (ح). Occasional notation with *h* has no phonemic significance. Thus, A. *āhālik* to play; *hiṇato* cheek; Ka. *h/han-* to pull. No ordinary *h-* exists.

A. has *th*, *th*, *ph* in *tho:kur* span; *ā(e)thi:* bone; *thurun* pillar; *utthol* high; *phi:* shoulder; *phə'en* foam; *pho:r* oak. Cf. Ka. *phən*, but *ēpi*; *utal*; *por*.

Aspirated affricates were recorded in A.¹ *cherr* milk; *čhānik* male kid; A.² *chere* 6; *cher-wiyo* 120. But I also noted A.² *c'i:ir*; *čānik*; A.¹ *ce:ā* (also A.² corrected into *čere*); *cer-wiya*; A.^{1,2} *čilek* white. Ka. has *šir* (!); *čanik*; *ce*; *čilek*. No aspiration was heard in postvocalic position in A. *ā'e*, *āi'e* eye; *ičor* shade; *žāi'e*, *yāi'e* bear; *hač* armpit; *pačani:k* bird; *tačan-kor* carpenter; Ka. *einč*; *iča*; —; *kač-*; *pašənik*, cf. Voc. s.v.v. *ačhi:*; *orčhar*; *ač*; *kačalir*; *pašir*; *tašar*.

2.3. A weak aspiration was recorded in A. *d'u:m* smoke; *d'o:ar* mountain^b;

^a Regarding *ll*, v. NE. 2.12.

^b Said to be pronounced "with force" (Psht. *pa zo:r*), while *do:or* wood "comes slowly" (*ro: ra:zi:*).

d(o):ri: beard; *g(°)əm* wheat^a; *g'o:s* grass. Cf. Ka. *dur:m*; *dor* (= wood); *dor-i*; *gəm*; *gōs*.

2.4. Intervocalic *p*, *t*, *k* were, as in W., realized as voiceless or half-voiced lenes in A. E.g. *šūbaem* I build; *ōueđi* hungry; *trik/galo* fireplace; *činoł/do* chicken; *močagast* of the man (*močak*). In Ka. this tendency seems to be generally prevailing.^b Thus, Ka. *pał/dək* leaf (A. *°tik*, *°dđak*); *yurad'i:* yoke (A. *°ti:*); *harəda*, *°t/di:* ass A. (*harafo/ir*); *trigala*; *aidigem* I have come (A. *āitegyem*); *čap/b(a)* left; *cib-/p-* to chew. In Ka., but never in A., we also find voicing of *-č-*, e.g. in *gəč/šir* you went; *ainš-im* my eye; *pošar* king; *anšim-us* I struck you (A. *anečam-u:*).

2.5. A. *š*, *γ* are allophones of *-d-*, *-g-* in *did/šal(e)* to-morrow; *māγ'or* monkey; *bug/γun'o* lamb; *haγalo* hard; *yār-γorl* this year. Ka. *γ*, *q* occur only in lw.s. Thus, *γari:b* poor; *čarqu:* knife; *halaq/k* people. The only exception is *haqr'a* hard.

2.6. *C* occurs in A. *capať'o* claw; *cor:s-* to cough (Ka. *čos-*); *cirγ* sneeze (Ka. *ciγ*); *corrien* sieve; *cinoda* chicken (but A.² *č-*), etc. Cf. also Ka. *cū* breath; *cib-* to chew; *cima* sparrow.

Intervocalically, too, there is some vacillation between *č* and *c/s*. Thus, A. *urič/c*, Ka. *unč* spring; A. *wac/sək*, Ka. *°sik* calf; *marc*, A.² Ka. *°s* fish; *ā'e*, A.² Ka. *°č*, etc.

2.7. A. and Ka. generally agree in the distribution of *š* and *s*, e.g. in A.Ka. *šir* head; *še/iγγ* horn. In a few cases Ka. has, probably inexactly, *š* for expected *s*, as in *šinək* red; *šoi-* to kindle.

Z, beside in lw.s, occurs in A.Ka. *e/az-* to laugh.

2.8. *W* is a labio-dental fricative. Budd., in his MS, writes *nausa* grandson; *nayasi:* granddaughter; *oyes*, Gen. of *au* bread, but in Beitr. he writes *w* in all cases. It is difficult to decide if *u* is to be taken as an allophone of *w* or of *u*.

2.9. Corresponding to Ka. *y-*, A.² has a strongly fricative *y-* (approaching *ž-*) in *yoro* barley; *yār* mill; *yurori* 11; *yurak* louse, etc. A.¹ has *ž-* (v. Voc.), and *y-* only in *yur* this.

Corresponding to A.² *-j-*, A.¹ Ka. have *-y-* (or *Ø*). Thus A.² *ber'nšorik* bee; *tāšiyak* star; *bərnšul* earthquake; *māinšea* space between the fingers, but A.¹ *bāyorik*; *tāriyak*; *māya*; Ka. *beđrik*; *teyark*; *beyū:l*. But notice A.^{1,2} *lāšš-*, Ka. *lery-* shame; A.¹ *āiž-*, A.² *erñ/ž-* to wash.

^a No other dialect has an aspirate in these last two words, and the notation was vacillating and uncertain.

^b V. Budd., p. 5.

We find *-y-* also in A.¹ *oryom* my child, and, as a glide, in *wi(y)orl*, Ka. *wyol* night; *mare(y)am* I speak; Ka. *kariyam* I do.

2.10. Velar *ŋ* is probably a phoneme, e.g. in A.Ka. *še/in* horn. But it may be taken as an allophone of *n* in A.¹ *ango:r* fire (A.² *ā:r*, Ka. *ār*), etc.; Ka. *ting* bind (but *tiyam* I bind).

A. has *n* in *korn* arrow (= Ka.); cf. Ka. *čobarn* bow; *mana* apple (A. *mārdi*) < Psht.; Ka. *arna*, *āra* egg (A. *ār*). In the sequence *nd/t*, *n* may be taken as an allophone of *n*.

Nasalized vowels are probably to be interpreted as combinations of vowel + nasal. In Ka. the nasalization is irrelevant in *m/tonō* my/thy.

2.11. Ka. has palatalized *-ik/g* in *polik*^v to arrive; *kari:k*^v made; *warig*^v a Loc. of *warik* water.

2.12. Gemination has been recorded in A. *paḍḍak* (*paṭik*) leaf; *gaddito:ā* podex; *ut(t)hol* high; *wattəwi:k* kidney, but in Ka. only, morphologically conditioned, in perfects of the type *bat-tik*; *jut-tik*.

An emphatic, lengthened *ll-* (*δl-?*), with clearly observable blowing out of the cheeks (absent in *lā:en* root-fibres) was noted in A. *llen'i*: spark; *δlorn* village, Ka. *lom* ("with lengthened *l-*").

2.13. Both dialects have the initial clusters *t/dr-*; *p/bl-*; *b/d/vy-*, and A. also *str-*. In final position we find, beside *-t/dr*, also *-st*, *-št*, *-ng*, *-nt*. But note A. *dorn* tooth; A.Ka. *pa(r)n* road.—Internal combinations are, e.g. also *-r/ry-*; *-zy-*; *-sm-*.

KURANGALI

2.14. The main points of difference from the A. system are:

No voiced aspirates. But *dō:r* hill, and probably also *du:ʷm* smoke; *gō:ʷs* grass have a rising tone, replacing ancient *h* as also in *ā:l* plough; *mo:ʷk* moon; *ho:ʷt* bed.

Voiceless aspirates were noted in *kelenṭho* cheek; *thuk* saliva; *pha:l* ploughshare; *phiri* shoulder; *phuk-* to winnow; *charnik* kid; *chāy-* to fall ^a; *čhar:ni* empty; *che:* 6. But no aspiration was noted in *či:* milk; *čilek* white. *Pharṭuk* leaf; *phar:an* day after to-morrow have original *p-*. In spite of such inexact notations, it seems likely that voiceless aspirates are separate phonemes. For *kh* we find *h* (*x*) as in A.Ka.

2.15. Intervocalic *p*, *t*, *ʃ*, *c* remain, e.g. in *lup-* to sew; *etik* he has come; *čit-* to rise; *pac-* to cook. For *-k-* we find *āikyem* I came; *laikyem*

^a From **čhad-*, cf. Voc. s.v. *čhand-*?

I found, but also *pig'em* I drank; *gegem* I went; *igin-* to sell; *bugumuk* lamb; *waregye*, Obl. of *warek* water, which indicate a tendency towards sonorization of *-k-*, as in A.Ka.

2.16. Corresponding to A.Ka. *č(h)*, *ʃ* K. has *c(h)*, *z*. Thus, *cor* 4; *ainc* eye; *warcek* calf; *charnik* kid; *zip* tongue; *buz-* to awake. For earlier *ch* I have noted *ch* in *cher* 6; *č* in *čilek* white; *ch* in *čhar:ni* empty; *č* in *či:* milk, *pa:č'in* sparrow, *do:č'in* right hand. The most probable explanation of my notation is that there is no phonemic distinction between *č(h)* and *c(h)*, and that therefore the realization of the phoneme *č(h)* is liable to vary.

In lws we find *č*, *ʃ* in *činar* chenar; *kačero* mule; *ʃelo:* weaver; *ʃawar* leech, etc. Also *laʃ* shame; *hunʃuk* elbow (Voc. s.v. *kučir*) may have been borrowed from another dialect. In *žori-zal* pine; *žir* guts (Voc. s.v. *žoi-wal*) *ž* corresponds to *z* of other dialects, but note also *afo:* bull = L. *ažar*, etc.

2.17. *š* and *s* are separate phonemes. E.g. *šir* head; *širu* it is; *wo:š-* to bellow, but *šin* horn; *šē:* 16. *Šeš* summer probably stands for **šes*, and *šormak* black for **s-*.

2.18. *W* is a bilabial fricative.

Y- remains in *yo:* barley, etc. The recorded form *ʷu:* louse probably indicates a slight initial vocalic element. Intervocalic *-y-* occurs in *marayem* I say, etc.

2.19. Voiceless *λ* is common, as in Ch. and SE. E.g. *le:* 3; *ilī* female; *pu:λ* son; *maλak* brain.

2.20. Retroflex *ŋ* appears in *šorn* guts; *šurṇiṇ* dog; *gaṇ-* to count; *piṇ-* to thresh. It is doubtful whether *ŋ* is a phoneme, or a realization of */ng/* in *šin* horn; *tingi:em* I bind, etc.

2.21. No geminated consonants or initial clusters have been recorded. *Kyō:* how many? probably represents */kiō:/*. Intervocalically we find sibilant + plosive, nasal + plosive, affricate or sibilant, and *r + d*. Final clusters recorded are nasal + plosive and *št*.

CHILASI

2.22. The system closely resembles that of K.

Dh has been recorded in M.^a *dhum*, B. *d'um*^b smoke; *dhar:* stone. But note M.B. *gō(r)s* grass.

Aspiration of voiceless plosives is weak, and sometimes doubtful. Thus,

^a In this section M. = Ch.—M(orgenstierne) and B. = Ch.—B(uddruss).

^b B.(MS): "ich glaube eine leichte Aspiration zu hören".

M. *a:thi* bone (B. *āt'i*: "with very weak aspiration"); *thor-* to see (B. *tor-*); *pha:l* ploughshare; B. *phen* foam; *pheti'y'ak* butterfly (cf. Dam. *phattāi*); *sut'on* trousers. No aspiration of affricates was recorded in M.B. *čē* 6; *či(r)r* milk; *č/čilek* white; M. *carnik* kid.

2,23. In B.(MS) a retracted allophone of *k* is marked in *qar'ur* butter-milk; *qorr* when, etc. Cf. also M. *dego* cub.

2,24. The tendency to sonorize intervocalic stops is less marked than in A.Ka.K., and has been recorded only in M. *madeligy-eu* your neck; B. *kargor* boy (B.M. *karku(r)*). Cf. also Trans. Perf. 3. Sg. *-zik* < **čik*.

2,25. A phoneme *č* was recorded only in M. *čilek* white, which may be a mistake. Cf. M.B. *čē* 6; *či(r)r* milk, and lw.s, such as M. *učat* tall; *čarku* knife.

C occurs, e.g. in *corr* 4; *ucum* scorpion; *lio* she died; and *z*, apart from in lw.s, also in *zol* tree (< *š*-), etc. B. has *š*, presumably as a polite variant, in the lw.s *našer* ill; *šwandurn* life; *šowarr* maize, but cf. M. *žwarr*; M.B. *žorn* soul; B. *žarmō* clothes; *žernat* paradise.

2,26. M. *žur* bowels; *waržin* gelded goat probably contain the same phoneme as B. *žuk* partridge; *žul* hair.

2,27. *š* and *s* are probably separate phonemes, but the distinction has been less regularly observed, as well by M. as by B., than in other NE. dialects. Thus, M.B. *šur* 16 (**š*-), but *šomek* black (**s*-). Note M. *xorom-oi*, acc. to Budd. for **šorom-oi* I might go.*

2,28. *W* is bilabial. Regarding M. *oues*, Gen. of *ou* bread, and exceptional B. forms with *-u-*, cf. s. A.Ka.

Y occurs, e.g. in M.B. *yo* barley; M. *ayem* I eat.

2,29. We find *γ* in lw.s, e.g. M. *ziyar* armour; B. *yar'ei* river-bank, and, as an allophone of *-g-*, in B. *woloyor* shepherd; *öyein* wind (another informant *ügein*; M. *öugen*).

2,30. Original *h* is lost, and *h* has a stronger friction than in A.Ka.K. Thus, M. *hafo*, B. *hāfo* irrigation channel; M.B. *e/əho* branch; B. *marah-e* he said it (but M. *aneh-e* he struck him). Cf. also M. *xor* (B. *har'im*) ear; *xorofo* ass; M.B. *axpal* own; B. *xača* clay. It seems possible that *x* may be used in lw.s.

2,31. M. initial *λ* had a strong frictional element before the lateral, and was often recorded as *θλ*. But cf. M. *pul-e*, *pulesta* (of) his son (B. *pul*); *le:λ/l-* to cut grain; *yāl* mill (B. *yēl*, first recorded with *λ*).

* Texts, p. 268, 10, and Budd., ZDMG, 108/2, p. 412.

2,32. Retroflex *ŋ*, interchangeable with nasalization + *r*, occurs in B. *ar'no*, M.B. *ārno* egg; M.B. *maṇa* apple; M. *merṇ-* to thresh; B. *gaṇ*, M. *gār* big; M.B. *čār* back.

2,33. Palatalization of (*i*)*k* was recorded in M. *li:k* woman; *thorikyem-i* I saw you; M.B. *kačikyoli* mouse; B. *ka'k* he made. But in most cases the palatalization was not strong enough to be noticed.

MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

3,1. (1) A.K.Ch. *-or/i*, Ka. *-a/i*.—E.g. ChB. *gar'or/i* horse; *nos'or/i* grandchild; *šašur'or/i* father/mother-in-law.—A.Ch.K. *na(n)di* river, etc., with no corresponding masc. in *-or*, and vice versa. Masc. in *-i* are, e.g. A. *pōri* husband; A.K. *pozer'i* wife's brother.—SW. 1.

(2) A.Ka.K.Ch. *-ur*.—A.ChB. *ka(r)'ur* buttermilk; Ka.K.Ch. *urum'ur*, ChB. *rum'ur* walnut.—SW. 3.

(3) A.Ch. *-lo/i*, Ka. *-la/i*.—A. *šaral'i* autumn; ChB. *lečöl'o* tripod; A. *resil'o*, Ka. *rāsil'a* sweet; A. *šutul'o* bitter; *tigil'o* naked. For Nouns of Agency, cf. NE. 35.—SW. 12.

(3a) K. **-mor*.—*Manzume* f. middle.—SW. 17.

(4) A.Ka.K.Ch. *-no/i*.—A. *māzan'o* dress; Ka. *sumon'o* broom; *tean'a* turban; *ār-to'n'i* fire-place.—SW. 18.

(5) A.Ch. *-ro/i*, Ka. *-ra*.—A. *kašer'o*, Ka. *°r'a* shoe; A. *čangar'o* yearling kid (*čhanik*); Ch. *ičar'i* she-bear; ChB. *cimur'i* axe; *girōr'o* round.—SW. 22.

(6) A.K.Ch. *-to/i*, Ka. *-da/i*.—A. *čerať'or*, ChB. *cereť'o* thief; A. *xarať'o* m., *xāret'i* f., Ch. *xoroť'o*, *xeret'i*, Ka. *harəđ'a/i* ass; A. *yurwať'i*, Ka. *°d'i*, ChB. *yōť'o* yoke; A. *činať'or*, ChB. *°đ'o* chicken.—SW. 24.

(7) A.K.Ch. *-wo/i*, Ka. *-wa/i*.—Ka. *giraw'a/i* bride(groom); ChB. *šaušaw'i* ogress; A. *susiw'or* dry. Cf. Static Perfect. NE. 31.—SW. 26.

(8) A.K. *-inč/c*.—Possibly in A. *tarařinč* n. of a flower (cf. L. *tarranir* dog-rose); K. *apainc* pea-hen (?); *hvarinc* jackal (f. ?); *surdinc* n. of an insect.—From **ini* + *čir*?

(9) A.Ka.K.Ch. *-a/ek*.—A. *mastrak*, Ka. *mas°*, K. *mał°*, Ch. *mašl°* brain; A. *morč'a/ek*, K.Ch. *°cek* man; A. *kā:ras'ek*, Ka. *kās'ək* boy; A. *mať'ek*,

K. *mar'ak*, Ch. °ek frog; A. *tāfij'ak*, Ka. *tey'ark* star; A. *šen'a/ek*, Ka. *šin'ek*, ChB. *šin°*, Ka. *š'in'ek*, K. *šen°* red; A.Ka.K.Ch.ChB. *čil'ek* white; A. *šom'a/ek*, etc., black. With (relevant?) *a:*, A. *yu'a:k* mosquito.—SW. 30–32.

(10) A.Ka.K.Ch.ChB. *-i(:)k*.—In some cases fem. of *-ak*, *-or*. E.g. A. *kāras'ik*, Ka. *kās'ik* girl; A. *nāwas'ik* granddaughter; Ka. *pisasik*, ChB. °ōs'ik f. cat. But also Ka. *was'ik*, ChB. °cik m. calf. Uncertain gender in A. *xač'ik* thorn; *deš'ik* grape; A.K.Ch. *omer'ik* pomegranate; Ka. *ul'ik* spark. Cf. also Infinitive.—SW. 33, 34.

(11) A.Ka.K.ChB. *-uk*.—A. *mutr'uk* dirty; *to:nuk* own; *mād'uk*, Ka. *lam'uk*, ChB. *ma:s'uk* soft; K. *bugunuk* lamb; *čangaluk* wrist; *orluk* testicles; *xunj'uk* elbow; ChB. *wel-patar'uk*, A. *widl-patr'ok* bat; *por'yantr'ok* spider; *pharok* wide; K. *cucu-piy'ok* suckling.—SW. 36.

(12) A.Ka.K.Ch(B.) *-le/ik*.—A. *bandal'ek* wrist; K. *wa:celik* m./f., Ka. *wasilik* f., ChB. *wec°* f. calf; K.Ch. *mandel'ik* throat.—SW. 38.

(13) A.Ka.K.Ch.ChB. *-re/ik*.—A. *čhāngār'ik* f. yearling kid; *čičōr'ik* sparrow; *šičōri/ek* wife's sister; *žurār'ik* cowife's sister; *gambar'ek* back of the waist; Ka. *pəlogar'ik* iron chain; K. *angurik* finger; *pizur'ik*, Ch. *pe°* spleen; ChB. *angər'ik* coal; *topr'ik* arrow.—SW. 40.

(14) K. *-ruk*.—Xosur'uk cup; *gišer'uk* small wooden bowl (*ge:ši*); *lakař'uk* honeycomb.—SW. 41.

(15) A.Ch.K. *-ti/ek*.—A. *šorlat'ik*, K. *šalat'ik* small tree; A. *bleat'ik* f. mountain-goat; *šarat'ik* f. ibex; *damāt'ik* cord; *lameč'ek* small (*la:m*); Ch. *cārastek* (f?) bee; ChB. *uncat'ik* fountain; *šūriṇat'ik* she-dog.—In Ch. *yi:kač'ik*, etc., one, the suffix is probably *-kač'ik*.—SW. 42.

(16) K.Ch.ChB. *-tuk*.—K. *ucmat'uk* small scorpion; Ch.ChB. *wezetuk* sneezing; *kūtuk* (or, *kūt-uk*?) comb.—SW. 43.

(17) K. *-wak*.—*Gəpōiw'ak* foal; *šurṇiṇew'ak* puppy; *lonew'ak* mountain goat kid.—Probably original compounds, cf. A. *wā-tik* foal.

(18) A.Ka. *-wil*.—A. *gāraw'il*, Ka. *gir°* wedding.—With secondary suffix *l* from Ka. *girawil* bride? Cf. SW. 46.

(19) A.K.Ch. *-on*.—Recorded only in K. *šin-os'on*, etc., armchair.—SW. 48.

(20) K.Ch. *-iṇ*.—K. *aḷiniṇ* marrow; Ch. *a:šeliṇ* belly.—SW. 54.

COMPOUNDS

4.1. V. SW. 4.

GENDER

5.1. A distinction of two grammatical genders is observed in all dialects, and is manifest in the accompanying adjectives, or verbal forms.

Thus, A. *kaništ'o b'a:b-om* my father's younger brother; *kaništi ori*, K. *kaništ'i (dešti) ari* father's younger (elder) sister; A. *dešti aṇurast-am*, K. *dišti aṇurik*, ChB. *dešti: aṇurir* (but Ka. *dešta aṇ'uri-m*) (of my) thumb; K. *and'o:os*, *and'ir-a:s* he/she is blind; ChB. *mocik and'o-s*; A. *a: nirwo/i: oig°/čem I* (m./f.) was sitting; Ka. *i: gəṇə/i: moř'uk/sik* a big man/woman; A. *mořik/sik kaser-uwo/iwi o/a:s* the man/woman is tired; ChB. *kasar'ue*, *kasiriwi: a:s*; K. *ase moček/trik kaseriwo/i orik/č* that man/woman was tired; ChB. *buřol'o/i: old*. Cf. also Past tenses.

5.2. Ch.K. *gaṇ* is used for both genders. Thus, K. *moček/moři gaṇ o/a:s* the man/woman is big; ChB. *gaṇ bab'-om/ay'em* my grand-father/mother (possibly compound). Cf. also Ch. *ye:kač'ik moček/mō:ši* one man/woman; ChB. *bei/wa:re mocik/moři* a good/another man/woman.—Sufficient material is not available from other dialects.

5.3. In substantives we find *-o/a* m., *-i* f., e.g. in A. *gar'o*, K. *geř'o*; Ch(B.) *geř'o* m., *-ř'i:* f. horse; A. *xarař'or* m., *xāreř'iz* f., etc., ass; A. *naw'ās-om* m., *naw'āsy-om* f., etc., my grandson/-daughter (cf. Voc. and Beitr. s.v.v.); K., etc., *ka:k'ur/i:* boy/girl.

5.4. But cf. also A.² *nawas'o* m., °sik f.; A. *bleat'o* m., °at'ik f. mountain goat; Ka. *pisas'a*, ChB. *werik pišōs'o* m., Ka. *pisas'ik*; ChB. *pišōs'ik* f. cat.—Other types are A. *kāras'ek/ik*, Ka. *kā(rə)s'ek/ik* boy/girl; Ka. *was'ik*, ChB. *weri:k wač'ik* m., Ka. *wasilik*; ChB. *li:k weč'ik* f. calf; K. *šurṇiṇ* m., *šurṇat'i:* f. dog. K. *nos'ei* grandson, *nus'i:* granddaughter are originally Psht. forms (in *-ai*, *-ai:*).

5.5. Quite irregular are: Ch. *erc* m., *ičar'i:* f. bear; A. *šerr/šerrwo:(-om)* father/mother-in-law.^a

5.6. Epicles are, e.g. A.Ch. *šut'ur*, K. *sut'urr* camel; cf. A. *wirik/trik w'acək*, K. *wirik/iḷik wa:celik* calf. Different words for the male and female animal are, e.g. A.K. *šor* he-goat, *por'č/c* she-goat; K. *ařor* bull, *gor* cow; Ka. *geř'a* m., *madya:n* f. horse.

NUMBER

6.1. The material available is fragmentary. There is no specific plural morpheme in A. *moček* ma/en; *trik* woma/en; Ka. *teyark* star(s). Thus,

^a Cf. Intr. 2.4.

A. *ate moček āič* those men came; *ate moček/trik ima thoregyan-u* those men/women are seeing you; K. *ateme moček au āyen* those men eat bread.

6.2. With Ka. *kawar'ik* worm, Pl. *bo: kawar'ik*; ChB. *kuk'ān* cock, Pl. *kuk'un*; *nos'o-m* my grandson, Pl. (*mono*) *nasor-m*, cf. SE. 6.4. But note also Ka. *i: aēr'ik* a piece of coal; *omri:k* pomegranate; ChB. *karur'ik* worm; *angerik* coal; Ka. *sur-olik* sunrise, but *sur-nigrik* sunset, with no relevant difference between *-ik* and *-i:k*.

6.3. From nouns in *-o/a* we find in Pl. Ka. *atā bando* those people. But adjectives in *-a/o* have Pl. in *-i(:)*. Thus, A. *ate moček kaseriwi orič* those men were tired; *ate moček niw'i oren* those men are sitting (Sg. *ase moček niw'o: orst*); *ama ōwedi ores* we are hungry; *atā bando ōwedi oren* those people are hungry; ChB. *ewi on* they have come; *ama niwi os* (Ka. *a. n. es*) we are sitting.

6.4. Plurals in *-an* have been recorded in: Ch. *gelima:n* enemies (< Psht.); Ka. *šaidan-e* her witnesses; *yarra/en-am* my friends; *mona osten-om* my hands; ChB. *ārān'im* my tears (Sg. *ārik*).—A. *kitab'una* books is a pure Psht. form.

6.5. The plurals of A. *blo:m* my brother; *sow-om* my sister, are *blā/aw-om*; *sāw-om*. Cf. Ka. *wa-u* thy daughter, Pl. *wā-u*.

Ka. *poi* is used as a collective (with Sg. verb!) of *pač* goat.

6.6. Collective plurals in *-gul-*^a appear in Ka. *bolegul'a* children; *yo:rgul'iy-im* my friends, Obl. *yo:rgulinast'am*, with Pl. *-n* added to *-guli*.

6.7. Other examples of Obl. Pl. are: A. (*amə gāšin amə*) *močeg'ano* (*šur*) (these houses belong to these) men; K. (*āye lorm alemə*) *močegano* (*širu*) (this village belongs to these) men; ChB. *surinano*^b (*lakur'o*) puppy; Ch. *urarneno* houries.

CASE

7.1. Nominative.—A.Ka.K.Ch.—Ø.

Oblique.—A. *-a*; Ka. *-a/e*; K.Ch. *-e*.

Locative.—A.Ka. *-a(:)*; K.Ch. *-a*.

Genitive.—A. *-a/est*; Ka.K. *-a/es*; Ch. *-es*.

Ablative.—A.Ka.Ch. *-ou* (K. not recorded).

Instrumental.—A. *-āi*; Ka. *-(e)i*; Ch. *-e?* (K. not recorded).

Allative.—A.Ka. *-a/əl*; Ch. *-a(:)l* (K. not recorded).

^a Cf. SW. *-kula/i:*.

^b MS. *-inano*.

7.2. Loc., Abl. and Instr. are recorded only from inanimate nouns.—Regarding the derivation of the case morphemes, v. SW. 7.5, sqq.

Before case endings the usual vowel changes take place. Thus K. *yā:l* mill, loc. *yanla*; *korn* shoulder, loc. *karnda*, cf. *ors*, *ast-eu* thy hand.

Case Syntax

8.1. Nominative

(a) The Nom. is used as a subject, except with past tenses of transitives, and as an object (not only indefinite).

Thus, A. *orest āiži'am* I wash my hands; *a ase moček anegam-i:* I am beating that man; Ka. *a plom kariy'am*, ChB. *a kar keyim* I am working; *mam dor murāky'em* I broke the stick.

(b) In local and temporal expressions: A. *lamač'ek gāšin niw'o: ost* he is sitting in the little house; *mono barwest-om gižin* in my father's house. Ch. *ala gušin zalok o:n* there are people in this house. Ka. *dyorz bi: wyorl bi:* by day and by night.

8.2. Oblique

(a) As a subject of transitive verbs in past tenses. A. *ate močega/triga āu āik* that man/woman ate bread^a; *ate močega i: kito:b mam dāišer* that man gave me a book. Ka. *šiga/koziā marik* the judge/woman said (but also *Ališir m°*); *mofiga/sigast-a plom karik* the man/his wife worked; *mom plemofiga kači:šem* a wasp stung me. Ch. *ate močeka axpal dūnya: wā:tih-e* that man divided his goods; ChB. *koz'ie/mocike marak* the judge/man said; *ye kargoe kar keik* a boy worked; *moš'irye . . . lupizi:k* the woman had sewn.^b

(b) Possessive in Ka. *wərə mofiga ast'a* in another man's hand.

(c) Indirect object in A. *a:/mam ate močega kito:b dāiyam/dāigam* I give/gave that man a book.

(d) With postpositions: A. *folā buna* (Loc. ?) under the tree; *pande šira:* on the road; K. *waregye kucor* in the water; ChB. *Xudeye torowi* for God's sake.

(e) Temporally: ChB. *wele* at night.

8.3. Locative

In K.Ch(B.) the Loc. in *-a(:)* is distinguished from the Obl. in *-e*. Thus, Ch. *ala wātena* in this land; *a xača kar kayim* I am working at the irrigation channel; ChB. *p'anda* on the road; *dega* in the pot; *a zala om/oliyem*

^a *Ate moček āu āik* is probably incorrect.

^b But *ye moš' . . . marah-z* a woman said to him.

I am in/climb into the tree; *astar-m* in my hand. K. *yanla pinziem* I grind it at the mill; *a tono karnda orrigem* I place it on your shoulder.

In A.Ka. it is possible that locative *-a(:)* is distinguished from Obl. *-a*. Thus, A. *gəšinar* in the house; *yār'a* at the mill; *čār'or* on the back; *dhorra* on the mountain; *panda* on the road; *darya:pa* in the river; *kučar-m* in my belly. Ka. *gišinar* in the house; *ast'a* in the hand; *udar'a* in the rivulet; *warigya* in the water; *dyār'a* on the wall; *loma* in the village; *osm'ona* in the sky.

8.4. Genitive

A. *asə gəšin atə močegarst šur*, K. *asə gišin ate močega/es širu* that house belongs to that man; A. *dorrest mūdō'or* on the top of the hill; *gər'orest mandawo* on the horse's neck; *wātor-m mo:las* my share of the property; *di:danast diars-a* the day of seeing. Ka. *ow'es kuša* in the bread; *kāsəgas oya* the boy's mother; *goars pon* the cow's udder; *foles p'ast-e* the bark of the tree. Ch. *'eces dego* bear's cub; *aces buri* eyebrow; *mezes lerna* under the table; *owes* of food. ChB. *kar:gois oya* the boy's mother; *zales pəst-a*.

8.5. Ablative

A. *kurjou* from the well; *lo:m'or:ū* from the village; *dunigou* from afar; *korlou* 284,12. Ka. *šurjou* from the ladder; *gišinou* (out) of the house; *Nuristain'ou oič* they were from N.; *dor'ou goša* a wooden horse (cf. VI, 29, 32); *a nor'ou hany'em* I put out of my mind. ChB. *zalou nigym* I descend from the tree; *norou ma han-o* do not forget it.

8.6. Instrumental

A. *sūriyāi* (I sew) with a needle; *dor:m'āi* with a rope (287,8). Ka. *domi* (I bind) with a rope; *ast'iz/po'iz* (I work) with my hand/foot; *sunon'ei* (I sweep) with a broom.—ChB. *mēry'ale* (I bind) [with] a cord, is probably an oblique.

8.7. Allative

A. *dunik watun'al gek* he went to a far country; *a žaral gam nezjam* I shall bring wheat to the mill; *borrel para:m* I shall go out; *augral* down. Ka. *gišinal* into the house; *ičaril* into the shade; *dəm'al* to the pond; *sigal* (he said) to the woman; *waz'ir:al* to the vizier; cf. *kanil* out; *šidil* inside. Ch. *yeila:l perim* I go to the mill (but *ye:l gum nāyem* I bring wheat to the mill); *alakail* to a country. ChB. *w'atanal* to a country; *əc'al* into the shade; *astal* into the hand; cf. *al'al* hither.

8.8. Vocative

Final *-a* in A. *bōuwa*, Ch. *wo borw'a*: O father; ChB. *ei and'oa* O blind one! Regarding the Oblique Plural cf. NE. 6,7.

POSTPOSITIONS

9.1. *Bal* towards.—ChB. *durasto bal* towards his face.—D. *bal*, etc.

Buna under.—A. *foła buna* under the tree; *bidok buni-a* it is under the table.

Da: to.—Ka. *mošiga da:* to the man.—Cf. Ka. *əda-m* to me; A. *tana oda* from you.

De: from, etc.—Ka. *šagar de:* *širri:n* sweeter than sugar; ChB. *topake/barrwo:re de* with a rifle/broom; *mazar: de:* (cut him into two parts) from (?) the middle (Budd., I, 6).—Possibly borrowed from D.W.

Doru from.—A. *dukandazra doru* from a shopkeeper; *manar:ate/ka: doru* from me/him/whom; *musari: do eziam* I (laugh with a) smile. Ka. *teno do* from you; ChB. *mono/ete do*; *dušm'ane do* from the enemy.—Abl. of **(o)da:*, cf. L. *oida(i)*, etc., *dāi*.

Dəl towards.—Ka.ChB. *kozi(e) dəl* (they went) to the judge; Ka. *tena dəl*, ChB. *ton dəl* towards you. All. of **(o)da*?

Gani: for . . . sake.—Ka. *məna g°*.

Ke to.—Ch. *barwasto ke*, Ka. *barbasta gə* (he/they went) to his/their father.—Cf. SE. *eka*, etc.

Kuča in, etc.—Ka. *kanal kuša* under a blanket; K. *waregye kuco:* into the water; A. *po:mə kuč'o* from wool.

Lerna under.—Ch. *mezes l°* under the table.

Mili with.—A. *putrastor: m°* with his son; Ka. *i: gura m°* (to bind) to a horse; *terna m°*, ChB. *tono me:lai* with you.

Mana up to, until.—A. *Orirēt m°*.

Pač'et behind.—A. *tən'a p°*.

Pařā.—Ka. *sigas p°* among the women (Coll.); *aste p°* under the hand.—Cf. SW. *pořa* before?

Šira on.—A. *pande š°* on the road; *gəro š°*, Ka. *gər'a šera* on a horse; ChB. *te šira* on it.

Šoi for . . . sake.—ChB. *mono š°* for my sake.

Xarner after.—Ch. *le: cor: wos x°* after three or four days.—Cf. SW. *kanar*.

ADJECTIVES

10.1. Regarding Gender and Number, v. 5,1.

Examples of comparison are: Ka. *šagar de:* (cf. Postpositions) *širri:n* sweeter than sugar; A. *atest sawasto: bla:-a gār o:st* his brother is bigger than his sister (*sawasto*: Obl. or Abl.?).

NUMERALS				
11.1. A.	Ka.	Kurd.	K.	ChB.
1. e:	i:	"eāik"	ye:	=
2. du:	=	"du"	du:	du
3. tre: ^a	tre:	"treā"	le:	=
4. č ^u or:	čor:	"chār"	cor:	=
5. pa:ēž	pa:	"panz"	pa:n	pa:in
6. če: ^a	če	"chaā"	če:	če
7. sa:t	sat	=	=	=
8. a:št	ašt	"osht"	ā:št	āšt
9. na:u	nau	=	na:u	nāu
10. da:e	dai	=	da:i	dai
11. žuw'ori	yu'oi	"yooi"	yoi:	yoi
12. duw'ori	du'oi	"dooi"	duw'oi	duoi
13. truri	truw'i:	"troi"	le:ri	lōi
14. čad'eri	čad'i:	"chardai"	cad'ari	cad'ai
15. painy'u:	pa'iu	"panchiu"	pañz'i:ū	penzi:u
16. š'e:r	šir	"shir"	šē:	šur
17. sat'eu:	set'iu	"satiu"	sat'i:ū	set'iu
18. aš'eu:	ašt'iu	"ashtiu"	ašt'i:ū	ašt'iu
19. naueu:	n'ayu	"naviu"	naw'i:ū	naui:u
20. wist	wi:st	"wist"	wis	wi:st
21. (A. ² wist-mi:ir) wis-mi:ir				wi:ste-bi:yer
22. (" " " -du:) " " -du:				" " -du
30. wist-min-da:e	" " dai	"wist-bi-dai"	dai-bi-wis	" " -dai
31.		" " " -yooi"		
40. du:wiya	du:wyā:	"doiā"	di:ū	d'iyō
50.				" -bi: -dai
60. tre:-	tre- "	"treviā"	le:ū	l'e:ō
80. č ^u or:-		"ashod"	cu:r(əw)iyō	corr ^u ō
100. pa:en-		"panzyoa"	pañwiō	p'ar ⁿ ō
120. če:-				
140. sad-				
160. a:št-				
180. na:u-				
200. da:e-	dai-wya			daiyō

A.	Ka.	Kurd.	K.	ChB.
400. wist-	wis-	"wist-wiā"		wizyō
500.		" " -panzyoa		
1000. arz'ar	iz'azar			

11.2. A.² differs from A.¹ in i:; čoror; pā:ē; a:št; da:ri; yuw'ori; duw'ori; čad'd'eri; pa'n'y'u:; satteu:; nāwvyu:; wist-da:e; du-/tre-/čoror-/pažž-/čher-/sart-/a:št-/da:e-/wist-wiyo. A.² differs from A.¹ in tre:; čor:; painē; čer; ašt; naū; da:ri; yuwari; duwari; čad'e:; pañju:; šor:; sathio:; aštio:; naūyo:; west.

Kurd. "chardai" 14 is either a lw. from Prs., or, more probably written with ar to denote long a.—"Ashod" 80 is one of the rare non-vigesimal numerals in Dardic. The special resemblance to Sinhalese *asura* is no doubt incidental.—My K. informant gave, as Kurd. forms, i:; du:; tre:; čuro:; pain; če, and šor 16.

Ch. forms, differing from ChB. are: du; le; paē; če; ā:št; na:ō; da:e; yore; do:ai; lui; cad'oi; pāzi:u; sattyu:; aštyu:, ^oiru; nāvy'u:, ^oiru; wist.

11.3. Ch.ChB. yi/e-kañik just one; Ch. du-kañik just two.

Ch.ChB.Ka. du-mi(r) both; Obl. A. du-migya, Ka. ^omege, Ch. ^omike; Ka. du-myarnasta of both.—Ka. also tre-/sad-mege all three/seven. Cf. Budd. Voc. s.v. mege.

11.4. Half.—Ka. ni:m, ChB. nimaī.—Note Ka. i: p'aga maña half an apple. Budd. compares Shina.gur. bag'a-i part. If so, p^o for *b^o, cf. Ka. du baig two parts.

11.5. Numerative.—Ka. sad yin moñik seven men (Prs. haft nafar mard).

11.6. Ordinals.—Ka. čor-/pañ-/če-/sad-/magal fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh.—Cf. SE.

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns

12.1.	A.	Ka.	K.	ChB.
			1. Sg.	
Nom.	a:	a	a:	a
Obl.	mam	mom	mam	=
Gen.	monō	mono/a	morno	mono
Dat.		menala:		m'anaū
All.		monal		mundal
Abl.	manaz-doru	mondo		monodo

2. Sg.			
	A.	Ka.	K.
Nom.	<i>tu</i>	=	=
Obl.	<i>tau</i>	=	=
Gen.	<i>tonō</i>	<i>tena</i>	<i>torno</i>
Dat.	<i>tana:</i>	<i>tenala:</i>	<i>tanaū</i>
All.	<i>tana:l</i>	<i>tenadəl</i>	<i>tondal</i>
Abl.		<i>tenodo</i>	
1. Pl.			
Nom.	<i>am'a:</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>am'a:</i>
Obl.	"	"	"
Gen.	<i>am'o</i>	"	<i>am'ō</i>
Dat.		<i>amal'a:</i>	
2. Pl.			
Nom.	<i>im'a:</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>im'a:</i>
Obl.	"	"	"
Gen.	<i>im'o</i>		<i>imō</i>
Dat.		<i>imal'a:</i>	

12.2. Ch. 1. Sg. *a:*, *mam*; *mo/uno*; *marna*; 2. Sg. *tu*; *tau*, *to/uno*; 1. Pl. *am'a:*; *am'ō/o:*; 2. Pl. *im'a:*; *im'ō:*.

Kurd. 1. Sg. Nom. *ma*; 2. Sg. *tu*; 1. Pl. *amma*; 2. Pl. *ma*.

The All. and Abl. forms are combinations with Postpositions.

Examples:

A.—*A:* *tau piarneka* I know thee; *tu: mam piarneka-im-a?* dost thou know me?; *tau ate močega lašeri* that man saw thee; *monō barb-om* my father; *tonō barbestu* thy father's; *a: tana:(l) mareyam* I shall tell thee; *ama ima thoregyas-u* we see you; *ama tau lašegas-u:* we see thee; *man'a:-doru ru:pa:* gura take the money from me; *ima mam thorow-om* look ye at me; *alai geš'in am'o šu:*, *ase geš'in im'o šu:* this house is ours, that house is yours; *a ima kitorb dāiyam* I shall give you a book.

12.3. K.—*A:* *tau paṛāyim-u* I see thee; *tu mam paṛāyew-im* thou seest me; *monō lo:-m/saw-'om* my brother/sister; *torno: lo:-u/saw-'oru* thy brother/sister; *ama aṛu āy'es* we eat bread; *ima kuše ka:r kaye'u:*? what are you working at?

12.4. Ka.—*A plom kariy'am* I am working; *mom plom kari:gem* I worked; *mom plemefiga kaḍi:š-em* the wasp stung me; *mono aḥ-im* my

eye; *mona juḍr-em* my hair; *mana oy-'am* my mother; *asa m'on-do leyozli:* he is ashamed for me; *tu kariy'a* thou makest; *tau plom kari:gur* thou didst work; *a tau puley'em-u:* I make thee arrive; *tau ate močega lašiš-i:* that man saw thee; *te/ona bodi:-u:* thy speech; *t'e/ona^a ya:ren-u:* thy friends; *tena mili* with thee; *tenal'a:* for thee; *tena-d'al i:* *moḥik šoigem-'i:* I send a man to thee; *ama t'eno-do ley-in oli:* we are ashamed for thee (lit., our shame rises from thee); *ama kariy'an* we are working; pret. *ama kar'i:gan*; *am'a bab'a:-n* our father; *ima kariyoru*; pret. *ima kar'i:gu*.

12.5. Ch.—*A tau an'am-o* I shall strike thee; *tau mam keuke an'i:ew-orm?* why dost thou strike me? *muno 'at-em ge:* I am hungry; *t'uno 'at-eu kāye bi?* hast thou become hungry? *mono po:z-om/lik'-am/žorn* my husband/wife/soul; *marna w'a:ce 267,23* bring (to) me; *tu ama keuke an'i:ew-es?* why dost thou beat us? *tono b'oti/peliw'ale* thy word/neighbours; *ama bor o:s* we are many; *amor at-en k'erye-gat* we were hungry; *ama ima an'i:es-u* we beat you; *ima o:ru āyeri* you eat bread; *im'o: 'at-e:ri kāye bi?* have you become hungry?

12.6. ChB.—*A ka:r keyim* I am working; pret. *mam ka:r kaikem*; *tu mam an'i:eyew-um* thou art striking me; *mono darnd-im* my tooth; *ete mocike m'anaū marek* that man said to me; *pereno manaū oroziḥ-e* he has made me put on a shirt; *se mono-do šerm boyeleḥ-e* he was ashamed for me; *m'un-dal yalik* he will come to me; *to/u ka:r keyiu*; pret. *tau ka:r kaikiu*; *a tau an'i:m-u* I strike thee; *tono pul-iu* thy son; *te tanaū marak* he said to thee; *a tun-dal yalikem* I shall come to thee; *a ton-dal ša:m-i* I shall send him to thee; *ama ala os* we are here; *ama ka:r kaiken* we worked; *amō p'uḷ-in* our son; *ima ala niḍ* you are not here; *ima ka:r kaiki:* you worked; *imō pul-e:* your son.

Pronominal Suffixes

13.1.				
	A.	Ka.	K.	Ch.
Nom.	<i>-i/e/om</i>	=	=	=
Obl.-Gen.	<i>-est-om</i>	<i>i/ast-om</i>	<i>i/ast-a/om</i>	<i>-es(t)-em^b</i>
Loc.	<i>-a:-(u)m</i>	<i>-o/a-m</i>		<i>-a:-m</i>
1. Pl.				
Nom.		<i>-i/en</i>		<i>-en</i>
				<i>-in</i>

^a Note the variation *e/o*.

^b But also *šačos-om* of my ankle, cf. *bawo:s-e* his father (Obl.).

2. Sg.					
	A.	Ka.	K.	Ch.	ChB.
Nom.	-ie, -ou, etc.	-u/o	-(e/o)u	-eu	-(e)u
Obl.-Gen.	-ast-u				
Loc.		-o-u			
2. Pl.					
Nom.		-u/o		-e:i	-e:
3. Pers.					
Nom.	-ə/a	-e:/a(:)	-a:	-e(:)	-e
Obl.-Gen.	-ə/ast-o	ə/ast-a:		-e/ast-o	-asto
All.	-asto:l				
Abl.	-astor(?)				
Loc.	-aw-o	-a:(-ā)			

13.2. 1. Sg.

	A.	Ka.	Ch.	ChB.
My son	putr-iem	puḍr-em	puḷ-em	=
„ nose	nast-em	nast-im	nast-em	na:st-im
„ foot	po:re-em	po-im	po:ry-em	po:ry-im
„ hand		ast-im	a:st-em	ast-im

Other examples, with -e/im, are A. āṛ-i'em, Ka. ṛ-y'em my heart; A. dānd-əm, Ka. dān-um, Ch. dānd-em, ChB. dā:nd-īm my tooth; A. zīp-em, Ch. zīb-ī'em, ChB. zīb-īm, Ka. z'īb-om my tongue.

In other words we also find a dialect variation -i/em ~ -a/o/um. But, corresponding to L. -a:m, we find -om, e.g. in A. sow-om, Ka. sa(:)w-om, K.Ch. saw-om my sister; A. blor-(o)m, Ka. blor-m, K. lor-m my brother; A.ChB.Ka. ba(:)b-om, K. bab-om my father.

13.3. 1. Pl.—Ka. puḍr-in, ChB. puḷ-in our son; Ka. ley-in our shame; Ch. at-en our hunger.

13.4. 2. Sg.—A. putr-ie; dānd-āi, but A.² norm-ou thy name. The other dialects have -(e)u, etc. Thus, Ka. puḍr-u; ast-u; way-u: thy boy; wə-u: thy daughter; bodi-u thy word; K. lor-u thy brother; saw-'oru thy sister; ast-eu thy hand; Ch. at-eu thy hunger; madeliḡ^u-eu thy neck; ChB. nom-eu thy name; do:ri-u thy beard.

13.5. 2. Pl.—Ka. jon-u yourself; way-o your boy. But Ch. at-eri your hunger; ChB. puḷ-e:

13.6. 3. Pers.—A. putr-ə; diars-ə its day; blar-a; Ka. puḍr-'e; saw-a(:); nom-er; ast-e; jon-e; Ch. puḷ-er; zīp-e his heart; ChB. puḷ-e; nom-e.

In Ka.Ch. Pronominal Suffixes are added also to Auxiliaries. Thus, Ka. I,2 oiky-o there was for them; ušawo-m/u šu it has been taken up by me/you; Ch. oc-o there were for him (i.e. he had); ChB. mono tabei širw-om I have fever; mono wezeḡuk šitiwo širw-om I am sneezing (lit., sneezing has been put on for me).

OBLIQUE CASES

13.7. A. putrast-orm; bawest-om my father's; aṇuast-am my finger's; ba:bast-u thy father's; putrest-or: his son; sawast-or: (from ?) his daughter; bawast-or:l to his father; širar-um on my head; kuč-am in my belly; mandaw-o on its neck; po:raw-o on its feet.—Ka. wayist-om my boy; yārgulinast-om to my friends; sigast-a his wife; 'oyast-a his mother; ba:bast-a (= ChB.) his father; gišino-m in my house; šero-m on my head; mona ast'a/o-m in my hand; tēna ast'o-u in thy hand; tesi: asta: in his hand.—K. la:ast-om my brother's; arist-am my mother's.—Ch. acrest-em of my eye; pulest-o his son; bawast-o ke to his father (but bawors-e his father); šačor:s-om of my ankle; po:ryes-em of my foot.—ChB. ancist-em of my eye; margolist-im my friend's; durast-o bəl towards his face; asta:m kue'o in my hand.

13.8. In many cases a pron. suffix is combined with the genitive of a personal pronoun. Thus, A. monō ba:bo-m my father; monō tre wor-orm oryen I have three children; K. torno: lor-u thy brother; mono sarw-orm my sister; Ch. m'ono lik^u-am my wife.

Demonstrative Pronouns

14.1. (I) This					
	A.	Ka.	K.	Ch.	ChB.
Nom. Sg.	yu:	yu:/o	āy(e)	ā:re	ā ^a
Obl. „	ame	(a)me, am'i:		ame:	e/ime
Gen. „		mise			
All. „	ame'al				
Nom. Pl.	ame	(a)me, ami:			e/ime

^a Am-'e:i just this.

14.2.	(II) That				
	A.	Ka.	K.	Ch.	ChB.
Nom. Sg.	<i>ase</i>	(a) <i>se</i>	(a) <i>se</i>	(a) <i>se</i>	(e) <i>se</i>
Obl. "	<i>ate</i>	<i>te/i</i> , <i>at/de</i>	<i>ate</i>	(a) <i>te</i>	(e) <i>te</i>
Gen. "	(a) <i>test</i>	<i>tes</i> , <i>ad'es</i>	<i>teses</i>		<i>ti:s</i> , <i>etes</i>
Dat. "					<i>ateu</i>
Loc. "					<i>at'a</i> (adv.)
All. "	<i>atə'al</i>				<i>at'al</i> (adv.)
Nom. Pl.	<i>ate</i>	<i>te/i</i> , <i>ade</i>	<i>ute(me)</i>		<i>te(mi)</i> , <i>ete</i>
Obl. "		<i>tire</i> , <i>adi:e</i>			<i>t'ea</i>
Gen. "		<i>atena</i>			<i>tesinō</i>

14.3.	(III) This (Half-Remote)				
	A.	Ka.	K.	Ch.	ChB.
Nom. Sg.	<i>alai</i>	<i>ale/i</i>			
Obl. "	(a) <i>lesə</i> (?)		(a) <i>lema</i> (?)		
Loc. "				<i>ala</i>	<i>ala</i> (adv.)
Nom. Pl.			<i>alema</i>		

Kurd. *asse* that, Pl. *te*.

(I)

14.4. Nom. Sg.—A. *yur* (moček) *mutarej bi:k* this man became distressed ; *yur: gešin yur: močegast šur* this house belongs to this man (but cf. below, *amə močegast*) ; *yur: rupai* this rupee.—Ka. *yo: /u sik* this woman ; *yo pojar* this king ; *yo urik* this one rose ; *yur-mə* IV,1 this same.—K. 'āye moček this man ; āi gišin/lor*m* this house/village.—Ch. ā:e gušin gā*r* š*ir*u this house is big.—ChB. ā ēirak II,10 this lamp. Emphatic : *kar:goris orya am-eri a:s* I,12 the boy's mother is just this one.

14.5. Obl. Sg.—A. *alai gešin amə močegast šur* this house belongs to this man (cf. above *yur: m°*).—Ka. *mə de'arm-i* III,7 I shall give it to this one ; *mə s'iga/pojar* this woman/king (Obl.) ; *am'a mofiga də bə plom kari:k* this man worked also yesterday ; *ami:* Obl. (acc. to Beitr. Voc.).—Ch. *ame: mocehe mam thori*h*-em* this man saw me.—ChB. *eme d*ar*t-i: . . . ime were: d*ar*t-i: I,7* give to this one . . . to this other one ; *eme s'oye* on account of this.

14.6. Gen. Sg.—Ka. *mise* ^a *oyasta* III,12 to his mother.

14.7. All. Sg.—A. *ame'al yə* come to this place (adverb ?).

14.8. Nom. Pl.—A. *amə gešin amə močeg'ano šur* these houses belong to

^a Thus MS. ; Beitr. *mase*.

these men ; *a ame māžan'o: enži'a:m* I wash these clothes.—Ka. *mə tre* these three ; *mə gič* these ones went ; (a)*mə bolugul* these children.

(II)

14.9. Nom. Sg.—A. *ase moček au āyi* that man eats bread ; *ase moček/trik āik/ē* that man/woman came ; *ama ase moček gurāigyan-a* we took that man ; *a ase moček piar*ne*gam-i:* I recognize that man.—Ka. *se yai* he comes ; *ase aidik* he has come ; *ase mojuk* that man ; *ase plom kari:* he works ; *a ase anigam-i:* I kill him.—K. *se ki: moček a:s* ? who is this man ? *ase (moček) kar*r* kar:* he (that man) works ; *ase moši* that woman.—Ch. *se kar*ku*: awato: b*ir*k* that boy became hungry ; *a ase moček anizem-i* I strike that man ; *ase moček aneh-e* (he) struck that man ; *ase gušin lar*m* š*ir*u* that house is small.—ChB. *se be y*e*r: ors* he is also here ; *də ese ata oik/oc* yesterday he/she was there ; *se eik/i*t*ik* he came/has come ; *ese keye* he does ; *se mocik* that man ; *se ware moši:* that other woman ; *ese mono melai yalik* he will come with me ; *se azik marah-e* he laughed and said.

14.10. Obl. Sg.—A. *ate močeya/triga āu āik* that man/woman ate bread ; *ate močeya i: kitor*b* tau dāš*er** that man gave thee a book ; *ase gešin ate močegast šu* that house belongs to that man ; *ate yu: rup'ai dāit* give him this rupee ; *a: kitor*b* ate močeya dāiyar*m** I shall give that man a book ; *ate doru* from him.—Ka. *ate kar'ik*o** he made ; *tu ade ou det* give him bread ; *te d*i*š-e* he gave her.—K. *ase gišin ate mocegas š*ir*u*.—Ch. *te: . . . jam kah-a* he collected ; *ate mocehe . . . wā*t*i*h*-e* that man divided ; *il'al y*e*r: te: mašgul ar*m** come here, I am busy with him.—ChB. *te kaik*o** he made ; *ete yike*t*ik go mušic* he stole a cow ; *et'a d*or*ry'o ne an*ez*ir*k** he has not shaved ; *a ete ānigem-i:* I beat him ; *ete warik da't* give him water ; *te š*ir*a* on him ; *ete do* from him.

14.11. Gen. Sg.—A. *test cā*r*'o:* on its back ; *atest bāy-e* its price ; *atest sawast-o:* his sister's.—Ka. *ades pudr-e* his son ; *tes nom-e:* his name.—K. *teses saw'a:* his sister.—ChB. *ti:s pul-e* his son ; *etes nom-e* his name.

14.12. Dat. Sg.—ChB. *te ateu marak* he said to him.

14.13. Loc. Sg.—ChB. *ata* there.

14.14. All. Sg.—A. *atə'al*, Ka. *at'al* thither.

14.15. Nom. Pl.—A. *ate gešin ate močegano: šu* those houses belong to those men ; *ate moček tau thoregyan-u:* those men see thee ; *ate tre moček* those three men ; *atə xalək au āyi* those people eat bread ; *ama ate moček anič'an-a* we struck those men.—Ka. *te yai* they come ; *ade kari:* they

make; *te gāra bič* they grew up; *te wor* the/those children.—K. *ate* (mocek) *karr kairn* those (men) work; *ate kyō: zan on?* how many are they? *ase lorm ate mocegarno širu* that village belongs to those men.—ChB. *a ete pak āniyem-i:* I beat them all; *te ye: on* they are here.

With ChB. *də te-mi ata oc* yesterday those (very people) were here, cf. K. *ate-me mocek au āyen* those (very/same) men eat bread; Ka. *yu-mə* this same one.^a The same element is probably found in A. *ate močeyar-mi: tur: kul anišyer-i?* why did this very/same man beat thee?

14.16. Obl. Pl.—Ka. *adire karik^u* they made; *tire marik* they said; *tu adire ou det* give them bread.—ChB. *t'ea kaik/m'arak* they made/said.

14.17. Gen. Pl.—Ka. *atena way-e* their son.—ChB. *tesinō p'uł-e* their son (with *-nō* from the Personal Pronouns).

(III)

14.18. Nom. Sg.—A. *alai geš'in am'o šur* this house is ours; *alai moček/ pačan'irk* this man/bird; *al'ai tau kə: doru gurāigyo?* from whom did you buy this?—Ka. *ale mošuk* this man (Prs. *in*); *ali: kārəsik/sik* this girl/woman; *ali: ama babar-n os* this is our father.

14.19. No Obl. or Pl. forms have been recorded of this pronoun. In A. *ar: ales'a foł kač'e arm* I shall cut this tree, *ales'a* is probably to be analysed as *al-ese*, with emphatic *al-*. Cf. also **al-eme* in K. *ai giš'in aleme mocegas širu* this house belongs to this man; *āye lorm aleme mocegarno širu* this village belongs to these men; *aleme mocek aru āyen* these men eat bread.^b

But the adverb Ch. *ala* here, etc., is probably by origin a Loc. of this pronoun.

Interrogative Pronouns

15.1. A. *kə:*; K. *ke:/i:*, Gen. A. *kə:st*, ChB. *kires* who? (Ka. *k/gir* is a relative; cf. VI,4,5,10,11).—A. *kə:doru* 287,25 from whom? *kə:st kār'es'ek* whose boy? ^c K. *ke: estik?* who has come? *se kə: mocek ar: s* which man is that. ChB. *k'ires puł-e?* whose son?

A. *kilo*; Ka. *kila*; Ch. *kolo*; ChB. *kola* what?—A. *tono k° nom-ou šur?* what is your name? Cf. Voc. Ka. *k° ye:ri-a?* what do you want? Ch. *tu k° karr kayeu?* what work are you doing? ChB. *nom-eu k° šiu?* K. *k° paṛāikyēo?* what did you see? But also K. *ku-še karr kayeu?* (for **kul-še?*).

^a Cf. SE. 14,3, and, possibly, NE. 36,2.

^b V. W. *alete*.

^c A variant of *kə: k°* 287,21, prob. "which boy".

A. *hori*, Ka. *hoi* how many?—A. *hori warie?* how many sons? Cf. Voc. Ka. *h° halag?* how many people?—Cf. Shum. *xai*.

Ch. *kiro*, *kyō:* how much? ChB. *kyō:*, K. *kyō:* how many?—Ch. *kizo oru āyeu?* how much food do you eat? *muzdāri: kyō: šiw-o?* how much is your pay? (Psht. *co*). ChB. *kyō halok?* how many people? K. *kyō: zan?* how many persons?

Indefinite Pronouns

15.2. Ch. *karedo* some.—K° *zalok lie* some people died. ChB. *ku bi ne* nothing.

A. *bōi*, *bə:ri/e* much, many; cf. Voc. s.v.v. *bur*, *burra*. Ka. *bo:ur*; ChB. *bō* much; Ch. *bo:* many.

ChB. *cike*; *pak* all; cf. Sawi *park* (< Prs. "complete", not, with Budd., < *pakva*).

A.Ka.Ch. *har* every.

Ka. *wa/eri*; ChB. *ware:* other.

Reflexive Pronoun

15.3. A. *tornuk*; Ka. *tonek* own; but Ch.ChB. *axp'al* (< Psht.).—Obl. A. *tonegye*; Ka. *tonige*, cf. Voc.

ADVERBS

Interrogative Adverbs

16.1. Ch. *kiro*, K. *kero* where? ChB. *k'ere*, but Ka. *k'əna* whither?

A.ChB. *kor*, K. *ko:i* when?

A.Ka. *ku:l*, Ka. *ku*, *hul*, Ch. *keu-ke*, ChB. *ku*, *kiu-ke*, K. *kor-ka* why?

Other Local Adverbs

16.2. A. *ali'ar*; Ka. *el'a*; Ch. *ala/e:*; ChB. *ala* here. Cf. Voc.—Ch. *il'al*; ChB. *al'al* hither; A. *āliat'u:* from here. Cf. A. *alai* this, etc.

Ka. *ye*, ChB. *ya:/e:* here; Ch. *yal* hither.

A.Ka. *atra*; A. *tra(:)* there.—A. *atə'al*, ChB. *at'al* thither, are probably All. of (a)se (cf. A. *ame'al* hither). Cf. also Ch.ChB. *at'a* there; *at'a/ala guš'in* in that/this house.

A. *uḍel*; Ka. *°al* upwards; K. *uḍbal*, etc., up, above; Ka. *dor-uḍ*, *an-dor* uphill.—Cf. Voc. *uḍḍāi*.

A. *au(g)rəl*; K. *aku(r)-bal*; ChB. *akə* down, below.—Ka. *ba:* down; *bu-dər* downhill.—ChB. *lena:so* below.

Ch. *andub'aha* inside. Cf. Ka. *andər* uphill, originally: into the interior (i.e. upper) part of the valley. Cf., with same meanings, Kt. *atə*; *barə*.

A. *bo:re*; Ch. *borrū* outside; *bo:ldər* out(side); Ka. *bu:(dər)* downstream.

A. *'ədək*; Ka. *°ik*; Ch. *ōdak* near.

A.Ch.K. *duni(r)k*; Ka. *du:°* far, distant.

Other Temporal Adverbs

16.3. A. *(a)bat*; Ka. *baste*, *ale/ibat*, *albat*; ChB. *alba* now.

Ka. *dāri* then.

Ka. *pur'əl*; ChB. *din'a:* formerly.

A.Ka.ChB.Kurd. *nun*; K. *nun-diwo:s* today.

K. *soder'e*; Ch. *sōlū:*, *zeri:*; ChB. *sol'iu*; Ka. *ʃim(e)r'i:* (?) tomorrow.

Ka. *porru*, and *ʃimr'i:* *ne p°* the day after tomorrow. But A. *ʃamari:*; Kurd. *ʃumar'i:* three days hence.

A. *dā:ar*; K. *dā:*; Ka.ChB. *də* yesterday.

A. *nuta:r'i:*; K. *nuta:ri*; Ka. *nuta:r'i:* the day before yesterday (= Ka. *də ni n°*?).

VERBS

GENERAL REMARKS

17.1. The structure of the verb is to a large extent the same as in L., but there are a number of significant differences.

(1) The Causative morpheme is *-ey-* (in past tenses also *-ar-*), with no trace of *-al-*.

(2) The use of the stem-extension in *-āi-* is strictly limited.

(3) There is no Future morpheme *-wa-*, and the Present morpheme *-g-* appears only in A.Ka. with Pronominal Suffixes.

(4) There are no infixed pronouns.

(5) From a synchronic point of view no auxiliary is used in the formation of the Present.

Cf., e.g.:

A. *dāi-ga-m-u* I give thee; *gur-āi-gy-am-a* I took it; ChB. *pul-it-ik-em* I have arrived; *pol-ar-z-iḥ-im* he has made me arrive; *bu-ey-am-i* I wake him; A. *gur-ar-ler-gy-am-āi* I had taken thee.

AUXILIARIES

To Be

18.1.

PRESENT

	A.	Ka.	K.	Ch.	ChB.
1. Sg.	<i>oryem</i>	<i>o(y)im</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>orm</i>	<i>om</i>
2. Sg.	<i>oryāi</i>	<i>oi</i>		<i>ori</i>	<i>oi</i>
3. Sg. m.	<i>ost</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>os</i>
3. Sg. f.		<i>a(r)s</i>	<i>as</i>		<i>as</i>
1. Pl.	<i>oryes</i>	<i>es</i>		<i>os</i>	<i>os</i>
2. Pl.	<i>oryəu</i>			<i>or</i>	<i>ō</i>
3. Pl.	<i>oryen</i>	<i>oin</i>	<i>on</i>	=	<i>on</i>
3. Inanimate	<i>š(°)u:</i>	<i>šu</i>	<i>širu</i>	=	=

18.2.

PAST

1. Sg. m.	<i>oigyem</i>	<i>oik/gim</i>		<i>oikim</i> , <i>°kyem</i>
1. Sg. f.	<i>oičem</i>			<i>ocim</i>
2. Sg. m.	<i>oigyāi</i>	<i>oigi:</i>		<i>oikez</i> , <i>°kye'</i>
2. Sg. f.	<i>oičāi</i>			<i>oce:</i>
3. Sg. m.	<i>oik</i>	<i>oik</i>		<i>oik</i>
3. Sg. f.	<i>oič</i>	<i>oič</i>		<i>oc</i>
1. Pl.	<i>oičest</i>			<i>oces</i>
2. Pl.	<i>oiču(st)</i>			<i>oc'iu</i>
3. Pl.	<i>oič</i>	<i>oič</i>		<i>oc</i>
3. Pers. Inan.	<i>šik</i>	=		

Regarding A. Past 1. Pl. *-est*, 2. Pl. *-u(st)*, cf. SW. 21.6. The *-u* of *širu* is unknown from other dialects, and *šik* is an analogical formation, cf. *blī:k* he died.

18.3. Present.—A. *ar awator oryem* I am hungry, etc. (v. Voc., p. 23); *gər gižin š'u:* it is a big house; *por-e-em čār'uk šur* my feet are wet.—Ka. *a el'a 'oyim* I am here; *mum'on-əm oi* thou art my guest; *amə mona way-'im oin* these are my sons; *osmon torwər šu* the sky is cloudy.—K. *tin'or-om* I am thirsty; *and'or-os/andir-as* he/she is blind; *gan ors/as/širu* he/she/it is big; *ate kyō zan on?* how many persons are they?—Ch. *kiro:s?* where is he? *a ala niwor-m* I am sitting here; *amar bor: ors* we are many; *ima bor: o*; *ala gušir:n lar:m širu* that house is small.—ChB. *a ye: om* I am here; *tu ni oi* thou art not; *moši as* it is a woman; *ima ala niō* you are not here; *te: ye: on*

they are here; *özbon sür şiu* the sky is clear; *mono tab'ei şirw-om* I have fever.

18.4. Past.—Ka. *mumon-am oigi*: thou wast my guest; *i: mojik/sig oik/č* there was a man/woman; *du sig-e oič* he had two wives; *tes nom-er A. šik* his name was A.—Ch. *dukačik ōw'or oc-o* he had two sons (cf. ChB. *oiky-'o* I,2 he was).—ChB. *də a at'a 'oikim/ocim* yesterday I was there; *də tu a° 'oiker/'ocer*; *də ese a° oik/oc*; *ama cike a° oces*; *də im'a a° oc'iu*; *də te-mi a° oc*.

18.5. From *b-* to become.

Imper.—2. Sg. Ka. *bə*; Pl. 2 *bu:*.

Aorist.—1. Sg. Ka. *bom*, ChB. *bem*; 3. Sg. Ka.ChB. *bə/et*.

Present.—1. Sg. Ka. *biy'am*; K. *taru/terr biy'em* I am running/passing; 3. Sg. A. *warek bir* it is melting; Ka. *čosen-im bi:* I am coughing; K. *perx biye:* he is meeting; Ch. *dun'ik be:* he is far away; *bäi biye:* it is sweet; ChB. *bura bei birye* sugar is sweet.—The interpretation of Ch. *tuno/imo 'at-eu/eri käye bir?* are you hungry? is uncertain. But the Present seems to have lost its ingressive force.

Imperfect.—1. Sg. Ka. *a ni poi bieigəm* I did not understand (Psht. ingressive *poi na šwəm*); 3. Sg. ChB. *də benzil bioik* yesterday there was an earthquake.

18.6. Past.—1. Sg. A. *bi:ergam*; Ka. *bigem* VI,36 I became; K. *waregye kuco bikyem* I sank into the water; ChB. *a pō bikem* I understood; 2. Sg. Ka. *to poi bigi-er?* did you understand? 3. Sg. m. A. *xalois bi:k* he was finished; Ka. *bik* V,7; K. *puz bik* he got lost; Ch. *awator bik* he became hungry; ChB. *garm-am bik* I got warm; 3. Sg. f. Ka. *čus bič*, ChB. *cus bic* she became silent; Ch. *bic*; 3. Pl. Ka. *bič* V,10; Ch. *la:go bic* they became numerous.

Perfect.—1. Sg. Ka. *a hi: b'idigem* I have become sweating; K. *hug bitigyem*, Ch. *zäyo bitekim* I have been wounded.

Static Perfect.—1. Sg. m. ChB. *a pō buwo ni om* I have not understood; 3. Sg. f. *biwi: as* she has become; *gəm botou b'uwo šiu* the wheat has been sown.^a

Static Pluperfect.—3. Sg. Ka. *buš biwi: oič* VI,10 she had become unconscious.

18.7. *Th-* has been recorded in A. *thia:m-ōri* let us be; Ka. *tət* IV,1 it may be.—Cf. also A. *thorot-m thāi* (may you?) look at me.

^a Cf. also Passive, 33,2.

CAUSATIVES

19.1. Causatives in *-a/ey-* have been recorded in: Ka. *bu'eyam-i:* I wake him (intrans. *buy'am*); *puley'em-u:* I make thee arrive; K. *lisayem-i* I make it slip (loosen it); *carayem-i* I herd it/them; ChB. *a tau ni'eim-u* I make thee sit down; *a dora muṛāy'em* I break the stick; *a ongor bedayem/zeley'em* I extinguish/kindle a fire; *a dor cuweyim* I burn the wood.^a

With past tenses we find *-ar-* in: ChB. *mam tau ne'a:kim-er* I made thee sit down; *ete ongor bada:zik/zala:zik* he has extinguished/kindled a fire; *ete ama pola:ces* he made us arrive; *ete mam/tau polarziḥ-im/er* he has made me/thee arrive; *mam dor muṛākyem* I broke the stick.

AORIST STEM

Imperative

20.1. 2. Sg.—This form is identical with the root. E.g. A.Ka.K.ChB. *ye(r)* come; Ka. *naṛ* shave; *an* beat; *han* (A. *ha:n*) pull; A. *ni:* sit down; ChB. *boi* fear.—With loss of *-r*, Ka.Ch(B.) *ka* do; A.Ka. *pa* go.

Irregular are Ka. *deṭ*, A. *dāit*, ChB. *da(i)t* give; A. *ḡāit*, ChB. *zat* put; Ka. *et*, K. *ait* eat. A derivation of this type from Ved. *daddhi* (> Khw. *ded*) seems doubtful.

There are also many forms in *-a/e*, some of them intransitive, which cannot be analysed as containing a Pron. Suffix 3. Pers.

Examples are: Ka. *n'ia*, ChB. *ni'e* sit down; A. *para*, Ka. *š'orə*, ChB. *hoṛa* go; A. *ače*, Ka. *ōḡe*, Ch. *wa:ce*, ChB. *ace* bring; Ka. *m'are* kill; *p'arḡe* hear; ChB. *aze* laugh; *ira* weep; *ar'a* hear; *gura* take.

Particles are added in A. *yər-na* 269,23 come (cf. L. *-ne*), and Ka. *pale-ba* lay down (cf. L. *phal-pa*).

20.2. 2. Pl. is identical with the Aorist. E.g. A. *iy'eu*, Ka. *yur*, K. *yeur*, ChB. *yiu* come; Ka. *kar'u:*, ChB. *kar'eu* do; Ka. *par'u:* go; *naṛu:* shave; *p'arḡu:* hear; *diru* give; *m'arou* kill; *paḡou* cook; *n'iu*, ChB. *ni'eu* sit down; A. *gurou* take; ChB. *azou* laugh; *leleu* cut grain.

But note also K. *yeur aru art* come ye and eat bread; ChB. *yerta*, A. *yete* come ye.

20.3. 1. Pl.—A. *(yete) šor'a:m* (come) let us go (Psht. *ra:zāi či zur*); *thia:m-ōri* let us be^b; Ka. *maram-'a* VI,43 let us say it; *ama as/de*

^a Cf. NE. 23,2.

^b Cf. NE. 18,7.

anarm-a let us beat him/them.^a But ChB. *pery'am* let us go, is probably an Aorist.

20.4. Examples of Imperatives with Pronominal Suffixes are:

1. Sg./Pl. -m/n: A.Ka. *dat-im*, Ka. *dad-'em*, *ded-'om*, Ch(B.) *da(:)t-im* give me; Ka. *dad-'en*, *d'ed-en* give us; A. *mam thor-om*, *ima mam thorow-om* (*t'hāi*) look thou/ye at me; Ka. *an-am/n*, *anaw-om/an* beat thou/ye me/us; *dirw-om* give ye me.

3. Sg. Pl. -a/o: A. *an-or*, (*ima ase moček*) '*anaw-ō* beat thou/ye (that man); Ka. *an-a*, *anaw-'o/a*, ChB. *an-'o*; A. *this-ō* (**thin-o*) bind him; Ka. *kar-'a*, *karuw-'a* do it; *ma morow-a* do not kill him; Ch. *thor-or* look at him; ChB. *s'oyo* send him; *l'el-o* cut the wheat; *māz-o* put it on; *han-o* draw it, etc.

But note Ka. *dad-i:*, ChB. *dat-i:* give him (her).

Aorist					
21.1.	A.		Ka.		
	I take	I come	I come	I break	I go
1. Sg.	<i>gur-'a:m</i>	(i) <i>yem</i>	<i>yem</i>	<i>mur-'em</i>	<i>soq-am</i>
2. Sg.	„ -'a:		<i>yi:</i>	„ -'ei	„ -ei
3. Sg.	„ -'a:i	<i>yeri</i>	<i>yet</i>	„ -'et	
1. Pl.	„ -'ees	(i) <i>yes</i>	<i>yi:</i>	„ -'es	„ -es
2. Pl.	„ -'ou	(i) <i>yeu</i>	<i>yu</i>	„ -ou	„ -o
3. Pl.	„ -'en		<i>yen</i>	„ -en	„ -en

21.2. A.—The Aorist is frequently used about the future. Thus, *ačəm* I shall bring; *de'a:m* I shall give; *mar'a:m* I shall speak (3. Pl. *mar'a:i* = -in); *an'a:m* I shall strike (Pres. *dāyam*; *mareyam*; *aniām*).

Examples: A: *i: šāi gur'a:m* I shall (may be going to) take a thing; *kurl tu ase šāi gur'a:*? why are you going to take that thing? *ase moček a° š° gur'a:i*; *ama a° š° gur'ees*; *ima a° š° gur'ou*; *ate moček a° š° gur'en*; *a: i:* *lauz mara:m* I shall speak a word.—The particle *ba*, borrowed from Psht., indicates a definite future: *A bə iyəm* I shall come; *ama ba iyəs*; *ima ba iyəu*. But a *yəm* I may be going; *ima kor yao?* when are you coming?

21.3. Ka.—*Mar-'i:m*, -'i:, -it, —, -ou, -in I, etc., shall kill (*mar'is* we will say); *a badi oigem ki em* I was now obliged to (had to) eat; 1. Pl. *ama badi oifus ki 'eyes*.

Ka. agrees with Ch. in having 3. Sg. in -t.

^a Cf. SW. 20,7.

21.4.

ChB.

	I die	I break
1. Sg.	<i>lem</i>	<i>mura-im</i>
2. Sg.	<i>lei</i>	„ -i
3. Sg.	<i>let</i>	„ -it
1. Pl.	<i>lam</i>	„ -m
2. Pl.	<i>leu</i>	„ -u
3. Pl.	<i>len</i>	„ -n

21.5. Cf. also *bem/t* I/he will be; *yet* he will come.

From Ch. only *carndet-oi* . . . *xorom-oi* 268,10 that (the day) might come (lit., fall) . . . that I might go.^a According to Buddruss -oi (D. -ai) is a modal particle denoting necessity or wish. Other examples are: A. *thia:m-'ō:i* that we may become, let us become; Ka. *šoram-oi* I must go (Pres. *man baryad berawam*); 3. Sg. *šoret-oi*; Pl. *šores-oi*, *šoro-oi*, *šoren-oi*; Ch.^b *a badi-arm ki ou em-oi* I now have to eat food.

Ch. must have got its 1. Pl. -am (< -arma) from the Imperative. Note the difference of vowel between *lam* and 1. Sg. *lem* (< *mriy-ami*?).

AORIST WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

21.6. Pronominal suffixes have been recorded mainly from A.Ka.:

Obj.	A.			Ka.			
	1. Sg.	1. Pl.	2. Pers.	3. Pers.	1. Sg.	1. Pl.	2. Pers. 3. Pers.
Subj.							
1. Sg.	—	—	-am-u:	-am-i:	—	—	-am-u: -am-i:
2. Sg.	-āy-am	*-āy-an	—	?	?	?	— ?
3. Sg.	*-et-am	*-et-an	-et-u:	-et-i:	-d-im	-d-in	-d-u: -d-i:
1. Pl.	—	—	-as-u:	-as-i:	—	—	-s-u: -a:m-a
2. Pl.	-aw-om	*-aw-on	—	?	-ew-om	*-ew-on	— -ew-a
3. Pl.	-en-am	*-en-an	-en-u:	*-en-i:	-(n)-ən	-(n)-ən	-ən-u: -ən-i:

21.7. A.—*A: bat tau/ima ne gurāigya:m-u:*, *diđale gur'a:m-u:* I am not seizing you now, I shall seize you tomorrow; *gura:m-i:* I . . . him/them; *gura:s-u* we . . . thee/you; *gura:s-i:* we . . . him/them; *gurāy-arm* thou . . . me; *gurā(y)-i* thou . . . him; *guraw-om* you . . . me; *nun tau/ima ni:* *anigam-u*, *diđ'ale anam-u* I am not beating you today, I shall beat you

^a The correct analysis and translation are given by Buddruss, ZDMG, 108, p. 412.

^b Cf. SE. 18 6: 32.1.

tomorrow; *anam-i*; *anet-u/i*; *anen-u*; *de'arm-u/i* I shall give you/him; *ima kul kitorb ni dāyaw-om*? why will you not give me the book?

21.8. Ka.—*Ama tau/ima ans-u*: we shall beat you; *ima mom anew-om* you... me; *ima se anew-a* you... him; *se mom and-im/n* he... me/us; *se ade and-i*: he... them; *te mom an-əm* (< **anən-əm*) they... me; *te ama an-ən* they... us; *te tau/ima an(ən)-u*: they... you; *ase as/de an(ən)-i*: they... him/them; *a tau pan lařam-u* I shall show thee the road; *tau dearm-i* I shall give it; *se tau mord-u* he will kill thee; *karam-e*: I shall make him.

21.9. Ch.—*A tau anam-o*, *a ima anam-ui* I shall beat thee/you; ChB. *ese mocik anet-i*: that man will kill him; (*tondal*) *řarm-i* I shall send it (to thee).

21.10. The distinction between Ch. 2. Sg. *-u* and 2. Pl. *-ui* has been obliterated in A.Ka. *-u*.

With Ka. *-ew-a* you... him/them, cf. SE. which also has 3. Obj. *-a* after 2. Subj., but *-i* in all other cases. Unfortunately we lack examples of Ka. Subj. 2. Sg. + Obj. 3., nor of A. Subj. 2. + Obj. 3.

FUTURE

22.1. There is no trace of a Future in *-wa*. But ChB. has, from *ya-* to come, a Fut. based upon a participle in *-lik*.^a E.g. *yalikem* I shall come; *se mono melai yalik* he will come with me; *āren-im yalik* (Pl. subject!) my tears will come. Also Ch. *garlik* is, with Budd., to be interpreted as **yalik*, and K. *yalcorn* is probably a Fut. 3. Pl.

PRESENT STEM

23.1. The Present Stem is distinguished from the Aorist Stem:

(1) By the addition of *-g-* in the suffixed forms of A.Ka. The absence of *-g-* in Ch.K., and in the non-suffixed forms of A.Ka., cannot be explained as due to phonetical loss.

23.2. (2) By special stem suffixes.

(a) The most common is *-(i)y-*. E.g.: A. *leřiam*; Ka. *ledriyam*; Ch. *leřiem*; ChB. *lelyem*; K. *leřiem* I cut grain.—A.Ka. *aniam*; Ch. *an'i'em*; ChB. *āniy'im*; K. *aniy'e'm* I beat.—A. *māzi'arm*; Ka. *ma'y'am*; ChB.

^a Cf. Imperfect and Pluperfect.

mēziyem; K. *mā:ziy'em* I dress.—A. *āzi'am*; Ka. *azy'am*; ChB. *āzy'em*; K. *aziy'em* I laugh.—A.Ka. *kari(y)am*; but Ch.K. *kay(i):m*; ChB. *keyim* I do.—A.Ka. *āyam*; Ch.K. *āye(:)m*; ChB. *'eryim* I eat.—A.Ka. *dā/iyam*; Ch.K. *dāyem*; ChB. *de:/ayim* I give.—A. *řori'a:m*; ChB. *hory'em*; K. *řor'em* (for **yem*?) I go.—Ka. *oliam*; ChB. *oliy'em*; K. *orliem* I rise.

(b) Original *-ay-* in A. *-a:m*; Ka. *-a:m*; Ch(B.)K. *-aye/im*: E.g. A. *bada'a:m*; Ka. *°a:m*; ChB. *beday'em* I extinguish.—A. *pařa'a:m*; Ka. *pařa'a:m*; K. *pacayem* I cook.—A. *wer'a:m*; Ka. *wiřa'a:m*; ChB.K. *iray'em* I weep.—Ka. *muř'a:m* (Aor. *°em*); ChB. *muř'ayim* (Aor. *°aim*); K. *muř'd'ayem* I break.—Ka. *gura'm*^a; K. *gura'y'em* I seize.—Ka. *ol'am*; K. *orlay'em* I raise.

To this group belong also some other transitives and causatives, e.g. A. *wil'a:m* I loosen; Ch. *ārāyem*; ChB. *areryim*; K. *aray'em* I hear; ChB. *sarazay'im*; K. *°āyem* I prepare; ChB. *zeleyem* I kindle a fire; *nierim* I make sit down; *cweyim* I burn.^b

(c) A.Ka. also have *-ey-* in A. *řorey'a:m*; Ka. *řoay'am*^c I light a fire, and in the Causatives mentioned above.

But note also A. *mar'e(y)am*; ChB. *m'ereyem*; K. *maray'e/im* I speak; A. *bory'a:m*; ChB.K. *boy'e/im* I fear.

23.3. (3) By special personal endings, not identical with those of the Auxiliary:

1. Pl. A.Ka. *-an*; Ch(B.)K. *-es*, but Aorist A.Ka. *-es*; ChB. *-am*.

2. Sg. A.Ka. *-a*; Ch(B.)K. *-i/eu(:)*, but Aorist A. *-a* (?); KaChB. *-(e)i*.

2. Pl. A.Ka. *-ou*; Ch(B.) *-e(:i)*; K. *-āi*, but Aorist ChB. *-eu*. Note the different distribution of *-u* in ChB. Present and Aorist.—Cf. Shum. 2. Sg. Pres. *-ieu*.

A.Ka. 1. Pl. *-an* has, for unknown reasons, been transferred from the Transitive Past, where it goes back to an enclitic *naḥ*.

A.Ka. have 3. Sg. *-i(:)*, and Ch(B.)K. *-e(:)*, but Ka.Ch(B.) have 3. Sg. Aor. *-t* also in the non-suffixed forms.

A.Ka. do not distinguish 3. Pl. from 3. Sg. in the non-suffixed forms.

The distinction between Present and Aorist is not always clear in the material at our disposal, and I am unable to decide to which tense belong, e.g. Ka. 2. Sg. *gura*; 2. Pl. *guro*.

^a But A. *gura:m* was given as part of the Aor. paradigm.

^b Cf. Causatives, 19.1.

^c Thus MS., but Beitr. *řoy'am*.

Present Indicative

23.4.	A.	Ka.
	I eat I go	I do I come
1. Sg.	āy-am par'am (= Ka.)	kar-iy'am yam
2. Sg.	„-ea (Ka. par'ar)	„-iy'a ya:
1. Pl.	„-an par'an	„-iy'an yam
2. Pl.	„-au par'au	„-iyau yau
3. Sg. Pl.	„-i (Ka. par'ari)	„-i: yai

Cf. A. *kar-i'am*, *-i'ar*, *-i:*.

23.5. A.—1. Sg.—*Jupa'am* I build; *a au āyam* (A.² *āyeam*) I eat bread; *a: bart warek piriam* (A.² *pereyam*) now I drink water; *a ate močega kit'ob d'āyam* I give that man a book; *a tanar! m'areyam* I say to thee; *a bart so:riam* (*param*) I am going now.

2. Sg.—*Tu bart w'arak/au p'ira/āyea*; *kul bart ne āyea?* why art thou not eating bread? *bart tu kilo kari'ar?* what art thou doing now? *tu kul kitorb ne dāyi'ar?* why art thou not giving the book? *kitorb dāya, n'e dāya?*—Either the interrogative particle has merged with the final *-a*, or, more likely, some distinction was overheard.

1. Pl.—*Ama au āyan*; *ama bart param* (*so:ri'arn*).

2. Pl.—*Ima au āyo(u)*; *ima au āyaw-a?* *ima bart par'au*; *kul ima ate močega i: kitorb ne deriou?*

3. Sg. Pl.—*As/te moček/xalək au āyi* that man (those people) is/are eating bread; *Jup'ai* he is building; *kari:* they make; *garu mar'ar* * they are singing; *ganda deri* it is stinking; *lāiy-am 'o:le:*, A.² *lāij-am 'olii:* I feel ashamed (lit., my shame is rising).

23.6. Ka.—*An-i'am*, *-i'a*, *-i'an*, *-i'au*, *-i:* I beat, etc.; *a āyam*; *a warik piy'am*; *a ar soay'am* I kindle the fire; *tena bodi:u: a paan'am* I understand thy language; *tō pian'a:*? *warik pi:* he drinks water; *se mura:* he breaks.

23.7.	Ch.	ChB.	K.
		I do	
1. Sg.	kay-im	key-'im	kay-im
2. Sg.	„-eu	„-iu	„-eu
3. Sg.	„-e	„-e	ka'e:
1. Pl. *	„-es	„-es	kay-is
2. Pl. *	„-e:ri	„-e:	„-āi
3. Pl.		„-en	ka'in

* With irrelevant nasalization.

23.8. Ch. *A oru āyem* I eat bread; *ama oru āyes*; *imar oru āyeri*; *k'iro oru āyeu?* how much bread do you eat? *yer* it is coming; *a tono boti ar'āyem* I hear your word; *a thorriem* I see; *tu thorriau*; *tuno at-eu kāye bi?* are you hungry? ChB. *Periyim* I go; *mura-y'im* (-iu, -e) I break; *mošir...* *lupi(:)ye* the woman is sewing; *mono čarin-im oliy'e* I vomit (lit., my vomiting is rising); *tu tab'ei lār'iu* you have fever; *halok alba liren* people are dying now; *k'ere periy'iu?* where are you going? *ese k'ere p'eriye?* *a m'ereyem* I speak, *to m'eriyeu*, *se m'ereye*.

23.9. A durative particle *-kat* is added to many ChB. 3. Sg. forms: *Mono lāiy-om ou wes'i:ye-kat* my wife is baking bread; *mocik alba li:ye-kat* the man is dying now; *ast'ar-m kuco olie-kat* my hand is itching (lit., in my hand itching is rising), cf. also Budd. Beitr. s.v.v. *b(e)-*; *dūd-*; *law-*; *še-*; *wer-*; *wāš-*.—Ch. *-gat* has been recorded in *muno 'at-em k'erye-gat* (= ChB. *mono at-im keye-ka*(⁴)*t*) I feel hunger (lit., my hunger is working); *'amo 'at-en k'erye-gat*.—K. *benzil bie kat* there is an earthquake.

It is tempting to explain *kat* as a 3. Sg. of the root *kar-*, and to compare the Kalasha durative particle *dāi*, *dir* (< **deti*). But as it would have to be an Aorist (in *-t*), and not a Present, its use as a durative particle would have to go back to a time when the NE. Aorist/Future was still being used as a durative present.

23.10. K. *āy-'erm* I eat (3. Sg. *-er*; 1. Pl. *-es*; 3. Pl. *-en*); *pi'em* I drink; *muci'em* I flee (3. Sg. *°iye:*); *kačiye* bites; *erciye* weaves; *wo:šiye* barks.

PRESENT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

A.Ka.

23.11. It is not always easy to distinguish the Present from the Past, except by the pronominal suffixes. Thus, A. *anega:m-i:* I strike him: **anegyam-a* I struck him; *gurāigya(r)m-u* I take you; *gurāigyam-āi* I took you; *thoregyan-u* they see you; *thoregyan-āi* they saw you. Ka. *an'igam-u* I strike you, Past *an'igam-i:*; *morigem-i* I kill him: Past *morigam-a*.

The paradigms of A. and Ka. are nearly identical. Unmarked forms are common to both dialects.^a

23.12.	Obj.	1. Sg.	1. Pl.	2. Sg. Pl.	3. Sg. Pl.
Subj.	1. Sg.	—	—	-am-u:	-am-i:
	2. Sg.	-as-i/em	-as-an Ka.	—	-ar-āi/i:
	3. Sg.	-at/d-i/em	-ad-in Ka.	-at/d-u:	-ad-i: Ka.

^a Note, *t/d* = A. *t*, Ka. *d*; *-i/em* = A. *-im*, Ka. *-em*; *-āi/i:* = A. *-āi*, Ka. *-i:*.

	Obj. 1. Sg.	1. Pl.	2. Sg. Pl.	3. Sg. Pl.
1. Pl.	—	—	-as-u:	{ -as-i: A. -am-a Ka.
2. Pl.	-aw-om	-aw-on A.	—	-aw-o/a
3. Pl.	-an-i/əm	-an-ən Ka.	-an-u:	-an-i: Ka.

23.13. The personal endings are, to a remarkable degree, different from those of the simple Present.—2. Sg. in -s is known elsewhere only from G. Aorist. The origin of 2. Sg. -ar(a)- before Object 3. Pers. is unknown, but it serves to distinguish this form clearly from 1. Pl.—3. Sg. in -at/d- recalls the Aorist, and so does 1. Pl. -as- (simple Present -an), while Ka. -am(-a) has been taken over from the Imperative. Note also that, in contrast with the simple Present, 3. Pl. is distinguished from 3. Sg.

23.14. A.—*Aneg'a:m-u* I beat you; *a ase moček aneg'a:m-i:*; *ku:l tu marm anegas-i:m?* why doest thou beat me? *ku:l tu as/te moček anegar-āi?* *ase moček mam anegat-i:m;* *ku:l ase moček tau anegat-u?* *ama tau anegas-u:*; *ku:l ima mam anegaw-o:m?* *ima ama aneg'aw-on;* *ku:l ima as/te moček anegaw-o^a;* *ate tre moček mam anegan-im;* *ku:l ate moček tau anegan-u?*

A tau/ima ni gurāigyam-u I do not take you; *ate moček ni gurāigyam-i* I do not take those men; *tu mam ni gurāigyas-im;* *tu ase moček ni gurāigyar-āi;* *ama tau/ima ni gurāigyas-u;* *ama ate moček ni gurāigyas-i;* *ima marm ni gurāigyaw-om.*—*A ase moček thorig'a:m-i:* ^b I see that man; *a tau/ima thoreg'a:m-u;* *mam tu thoregyas-im-a,* *ka n'i thoregyas-im?* *tu as/te moček thoregyarāy-a,* *ka n'i thoregyar-āi?* *ase moček/trik ima thoregyat-u:*; *ama tau/ima thoregyas-u:* (*lašegas-u:*); *ama ase moček thorigas-i:*; *mam ima thoreg'aw-om-a,* *ka n'i thoreg'aw-om?* *ate moček mam thoregyan-im;* *ate moček/trik ima thoregyan-u:*—*A as/te moček piarnegam-i:* I recognize that man/those men; *ima mam piarnegam-u:* I recognize you; *tu mam piarnegas-im-a?* *ama tau piarnegas-u:*—*Nun kit'o:b n'e dāigam-u,* *didale d'eam-u:* I am not giving you the book today, I shall give it tomorrow.

23.15. Ka.—*A tau/ima an'i:gam-u:*; *a ase/ame an'i:gam-i:*; *to mom/ama an'i:gas-em/ən;* *to as/de anizgar-i:*; *se mom/ama anizgad-em/in;* *se tau/ima an'i:gad-u:*; *se as/de an'i:gad-i:*; *ama tau/ima an'igas-u:*; *am'a as/de an'i:gam-a;* *ima mom an'igaw-om;* *ima ase an'igaw-a;* *ade mom/ama an'igan-əm/ən;* *ade tau/ima an'igan-u:*; *ade as/de an'igan-i:*—

^a Once, by mistake, *ima* . . . *anegar-o.*

^b Or, *thoregyam-i:*.

Obeigad-i: she bears it; *čaregem-i:* I herd them; *a tau dirgem-u:* I give you; *gureigar-i:e?* do you take them? *mari:gan-em* they tell me.

With -y- as a variant of -g(y)-: *A tau lešiyam-u* I see you; *puley'em-u* I make you arrive; *bu'eryam-i:* I wake him.

23.16.

Ch(B.)

	Obj. 1. Sg.	1. Pl.	2. Sg.	2. Pl.	3. Pers.
Subj. 1. Sg.	—	—	-em-u/o	-em-ui	-em-i
2. Sg.	-ew-om	-ew-es	—	—	-ew-e
1. Pl.	—	—	-es-u	-es-ui	-am-a ChB.
2. Pl.	-ey-om	-ey-es	—	—	-ey-e
3. Pers.	-en-im	-en-in ChB.	-en-u	-en-ui	?

No Subj. 3. Sg. has been recorded, but K. has -et(-im). Obj. 2. Sg. and 2. Pl. are distinguished.—Obj. 1. Pl. -es after Subj. 2. Sg. Pl., but after Subj. 3. Pl. -in (cf. Ka.).

23.17. Examples:

Ch.—*A tau thori-em-o* I see you; *tu mam thor'er-om* (for **ew-om* ?); *a ase moček an'i:em-i* I beat that man; *tu mam keuke an'i:ew-om?* why do you beat me? *tu ama an'i:ew-es;* *ama tau an'i:es-u;* *ama ima an'i:es-ui;* *ima mam keuke ani-ey-om?*

ChB.—*A tau āniy-em-u:*; *āniy-em-ui;* *āniy-em-i:*; *to mam āniy-ew-om;* *ani:ew-es;* *aniy-ew-e;* *ama tau āniy-es-u:*; *an'i:es-ui,* ^a *ima mam an'i:ey-om;* *an'i:ey-es;* *an'i:ey-e;* *ete mam āniy-en-im;* *āniy-en-in;* *āniy-en-u:*; *āniy-en-ui.* *A tau nie-im-u* I make you sit down; *dey-im-u:* I give you; *er'i:em-u* I wish you; *er'i:es-u;* *mory-im-i:* I kill him; *thoriy-em-u:* I see you.

23.18. K.—Only a few forms have been recorded, but they agree with those of Ch(B.). Thus, *morri-m-u/parāy-im-u/āniy-erm-u/dāy-em-u* I kill/see/beat/give you; *der-im-i/caraz-em-i* I milk/herd it; *parāy-ew-im* you see me; *lor-et-im* it hurts me.

Imperfect

23.19.

Ka.

ChB.

	I was doing	I was saying	I was doing	I was weeping
1. Sg. m.	<i>kariet-gem</i>	<i>maigem</i>	<i>k'eyilikem</i>	<i>ireoikem (-ocem f.)</i>
2. Sg. m.	„ -gi:		<i>k'eyiliku</i>	
3. Sg. m.	„ -k	<i>ma(ɾ)ik</i>	<i>*keyielek</i>	<i>ireoik</i>
3. Sg. f.		<i>ma:ič</i>		<i>ireyoc</i>

^a But *ama ete āniy-am-a* Pres. Imperative?

	Ka.	
	I was doing	I was saying
1. Pl.	<i>kariei-ſus</i>	<i>ma(:)iſus</i>
2. Pl.	„ <i>-ſus</i>	<i>ma(:)iſus</i>
3. Pl.	„ <i>-č</i>	<i>ma(:)ič</i>

23,20. Ka.—Intransitives and transitives are inflected alike. It is possible to analyse *karieigem*, etc., as a verbal noun (Absolutive?) + *oigim* I was. Cf. A. *ayoigym* which seems to be an Imperfect, although it was translated “I had come” (Psht. *zə raryale wum*). Note the difference between *karieigem* and Pres. *karigem*; Perfect *kar'i:gem*.—The subject is always in the nominative.

23,21. Examples are: A *dorieigem* I was having (*mezdarštam*); a *čosieigim* I was coughing; *bieigim* I was becoming/being; *karieik* it was boiling; *drudieik* it was thundering; *l'oyeik* was aching; *šidieik* was burning; *kubieik* (snow) was falling.—*Yaigir*; *yaiſus*; *yaig*, *yaič* if thou/you/he/they had(st) come (MS.), are taken in Beitr. as Imperfects (*yaik* he intended to come).

23,22. ChB.—Intransitives are of the Ka. type. E.g. *cicilyocem* I (f.) shouted; *laryoc* she had; *loyoik* was aching; *šitioik* was burning; (*ozb'on*) *guri:giaik* (the sky) was thundering (from a root *guri:g-*?).

23,23. Transitives are formed from a base in *-ye-*, etc., + *lik* + *em*, etc., with the subject in the Obl. E.g. *k'eyilikem* I was working (Psht. transl. *karr me wu-kə* I worked, not Imperfect *kar:wə*); *də mono li:za ou wesiyelek* yesterday my wife was baking bread; *də mam ž'amo-m n'izyelekem* yesterday I was washing my clothes; *mam merelikem* I was speaking; *də ete-do mam šerm boil'ikem* yesterday I was afraid of him; *lik'ielək* he was writing; *lik'i ne b'eyelək* he used not to be able to write; *mono-do šerm b'oyeleh-e* he was afraid of me (with Pron. Suffix).^a

PAST TENSES

Simple Past

INTRANSITIVE

27,1.	A.	Ka.	ChB.
1. Sg. m.	<i>āigym</i> I came	<i>g'əgom</i> I went	<i>eikim</i> I came
1. Sg. f.	<i>āičem</i>	<i>gəſim</i>	
2. Sg. m.	<i>āigyri</i>	<i>gəgi:</i>	
2. Sg. f.	<i>āičeri</i>	<i>gəſi:</i>	

^a Cf. Pluperfect, 29,1.

	A.	Ka.	ChB.
3. Sg. m.	<i>āik</i> I came	<i>gək</i> I went	<i>eik</i> I came (<i>lik</i> he died)
3. Sg. f.	<i>āič</i>	<i>gič</i>	(<i>lic</i> she died)
1. Pl.	<i>āičest</i>		
2. Pl.	<i>āiču(st)</i>	(<i>eifus</i> you came)	
3. Pl.	<i>āič</i>	<i>gə/ič</i>	<i>gec</i>

27,2. A.—*Blīk* he died; *wirerigyam* I wept.

Ka.—*Nigam* I sat down; 3. Sg. m. *nīk*; 3. Pl. *nī'ič*; *olig'am* I rose; 3. Sg. m. *olīk*; 3. Pl. *olīč*; *eik* he came; 2. Sg. m. *eigi:*; 3. Pl. *āič*; *lərigəm* I rolled down; *ərik* it flew; *mazič* they began.

Ch.—*Gik* he went; *lik/c* he/she/they died.

ChB.—*Pulikyem* I arrived.

K.—*Gegem* I went; *āikyim* I came; *lik* he died.

TRANSITIVE

27,3.	A.	Ka.	ChB.
1. Sg.	<i>āigy-am</i> ^a I ate	<i>karig-em</i> I made	<i>kaik-em</i>
1. Pl.	„ <i>-en</i>	„ <i>-en</i>	„ <i>-en</i>
2. Sg.	„ <i>-eu</i>	„ <i>-u</i>	„ <i>-iu</i>
2. Pl.	„ <i>-eu</i>	„ <i>-u</i>	„ <i>-u</i>
3. Sg. Pl.	<i>āik</i>	<i>karik</i>	* <i>kaik</i>

27,4. A.—*Dāigy-am/en* I/we gave; *mam i: šāi gurāigyam/āčigam* I took/brought a thing; *mam ploč'ō: lāčigom* I saw a dream; *mam/ama au āigy-am/en* I/we ate bread; *tau au āigyeu*; *ima au āigyeu-a?* ate *močega au āik*; *gurāigy-o: 287,25* (for *-eu?*) you took.

Ka.—*Anigem* I struck; *marigem/n* I/we spoke; *ima mar'igu*; *te mar'ik*; *āigu:* you ate; *mušič* he stole her; *ade i: moſik/sik an'ik/č* he struck a man/woman; *te ade aneč* he struck them.

ChB.—*Eikim* I ate; *zaikyim* I placed; *m'arakem* I said; 3. Sg. *marek*; *anək'im*; 3. Sg. *an'ək*; *lac* he found her; *muš'ic* he stole her; *pi:kem* I drank; *ošaigiu* thou didst take.

K.—*Aigyam* I ate; *piyem* I drank; *pačāikem* I saw; 2. Sg. *pačāikeo* (with *-eo*, cf. ChB. *-iu*).

Causatives and some other transitives have *āi/ei* before the *k/g*. Thus, Ka. *gureik* he took; *oleigem* I raised; *pus'eigom* I lost; *šup'eigem* I built. Cf. SW. 26,3.

^a With Object Sg. m.—Once *āigya:m*.

27.5.

WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

Subj.	Obj.	1. Sg.	2. Sg. m.	2. Sg. f.	3. Sg. m.	3. Sg. f.	1. Pl.	2. Pl.	3. Pl.
1. Sg.	A.		-egyan- <i>ai</i>	-i ^a am- <i>ai</i>	-egyan-a	-i ^a am-a		-i ^a am- <i>ur</i>	-i ^a am-a
	Ka.		-igen- <i>i</i>	*-i ^a jam- <i>i</i>	-igen-a	*-i ^a jam-a		-i ^a jam- <i>us</i>	-i ^a jam-a
1. Pl.	ChB.		-kam-e(<i>i</i>)	*-cem-e <i>i</i>	-kim-o	-cem-o		?	*-cem-a
	A.		*-egyan- <i>ai</i>	*-i ^a am- <i>ai</i>	-egyan-a	*-i ^a am-a		-i ^a am- <i>ur</i>	-i ^a am-a
	Ka.		-igen- <i>i</i>	*-i ^a jam- <i>i</i>	-igen-e	*-i ^a jam-a		-i ^a jam- <i>us</i>	-i ^a jam-a
2. Sg. Pl. A.	ChB.		*-kin-e <i>i</i>	*-cen-e <i>i</i>	*-kin-o	-cen-o		?	*-cen-a
	Ka.	-i ^a -am			*-egyan-a	*-i ^a am-a	-i ^a -est ^b		-i ^a am-a
	ChB.	-i ^a -em			-igyan-e	-i ^a ow-e	-i ^a -s		-i ^a ow-e
3. Sg. Pl. A.	Ka.	(-kyaw-om) ^a			*-kew-?	-cem-o	?		*-cem-a
	ChB.	-i ^a -am			-i ^a -e <i>i</i>	*-i ^a -a	-i ^a -est ^b	*-i ^a -ur(?)	*-i ^a -a(?)
	Ka.	-i ^a -em			-i ^a -e	-i ^a -a	-i ^a -s	-i ^a -us	-i ^a -e
	ChB.	(-h-em)			*-h-e <i>i</i>	-h-e	-c-es	?	(-c-a)

^a Ch. within brackets.^b Supplemented from the Perfect.—Asterisks denote plausible fillings-in of unrecorded forms.

27.6. Ch(B.) *h* must have passed through a stage **x*, which has resulted in A.Ka. *š* (with A. *š*^v as an irrelevant variant). Cf. Perfect, and SE.

In A.Ka. *š* has been extended also to Subj. 2. Sg. Pl. + Obj. 1. Sg.

27.7. A.—1. Sg. *Mam tau an-egy/ič-am-ai* I struck thee (m./f.); *mam ase moček/trik an-egy/ič-am-a* I struck that man/woman; *mam ate moček aničam-a*... those men; *mam tau gurāigyam-ai* I seized thee; *mam ase moček/trik gurāi-gy/ič-am-a*; *mam lāčig'am-a* I saw him; *mam ima thoričam-u:* (*lašičam-ur*) I saw you; *dāigyam-a* I gave him; *a:* (sic!) *kito:b dāičam-u:* I gave you a book; *mam ase moček šorīgiam-a* I sent that man.—1. Pl. *Ama ase moček anegyan-a*; *ama ate moček aničyan-a*; *ama ase moček gurāigyan-a*.—2. Sg. *Ku:l tau anišy-am?* why did you strike me? *ku:l tau ate* (Obl.!) *moček anegyaw-a?* *ku:l tau ate moček aničyaw-a?* *tau mam gurāiš-am*.—2. Pl. *Ku:l ima mam anišy-am?* *ima mam gurāiš-am*; *ima ate moček gurāigyaw-a*.—3. Pers. *Ate močega mam anišy-am* (*gurāiš-am*); *ate močega i:* *kito:b dāiš-em*^a; *a:* (not *mam*!) *ate močega šorišy-am* that man sent me; *ate močeyar tu:* (for *tau*?) *ku:l anišy-ei?* *tau ate močega lašiš-ei* that man saw thee; *wəŋiš-e:* he divided it; *karišy-e:* he made it; *ate močega i:* *kito:b ačiš-e* that man brought a book; *ate močega i:* *kito:b tau dāiš-e*; *ase* (**ate*?) *puṛ-iem bə anišy-e* he struck my son much.

27.8. Ka.—1. Sg. *Tau mom an'igem-i:*^b *se mom anigem-a*; *mom se morigem-a* I killed him; *leigem-a* I found it; *mom ima anšim-us*; *ama* (**ame*) *mom anšum-a* I struck these ones.—1. Pl. *Ama tau an'i:gin-i:*; *ama ase an'i:gen-e*; *ama ima anšun-us*; *ama ade 'anšen-e*; *ama tau lašigin-i:*; *ama ima lašifun-us*.—2. Sg. *Tau mom anš-em*; *tau ase aniguw-a*; *lešifow-a* you saw her; *tau ama anšu-s*; *tau ate anšuw-a*.—2. Pl. *Ima mom anš-em*; *ima ase anigaw-a*.—3. Pers. *Te mom anš-əm*; *tau te anš-i:*; *tire tau anš-i:* they struck thee; *ase* ° *ase 'anš-e* (*aniš-e*) he struck him; *anš-a* (me) he struck her; *anš-e* they struck them; *te/adire ama/ima anšus* he/they struck us/you; *tau ate močega lašiš-i:* he saw you; *mor(i)š-e* he killed him; *mar(i)š-e* he said to him; *gur'eis/f-e* he took him/her; *ōriš-a/e* he brought her/them; *kariš-a/e* he made her/them; *dugaš-a* he expelled her.

27.9. Ch.—1. Sg. *Tau mam* (*mam tau*) *thori:kyem-i:* I saw you.—2. Sg. *Mam tau thori:kyow-om* (*paṛai:kyow-om*) you saw me.—3. Sg. *Marah-e* he said to him; *ame: moche mam thori:em* that man saw me; *aneh-e* he struck him; *lelih-e* he reaped it; *wāṛih-e* he divided it; *kac-a* he made them.

^a Gave me, or *mam dāiš-e:* to me gave it.^b Forms in -i:ḡ-, not -ig- may possibly be Perfects.° *Ate* was rejected.

ChB.—1. Sg. *Ne'a:kim-e*: I made you sit down; *şarıkim-ei* I expelled you; *m'orik/gem-o* I killed him; *anəkim-o* I struck him; *şogem-a* I sent him; *anirəm-o* I (have ?) struck her; *lacem-o* I found her.—1. Pl. *Lacen-o*.—2. Sg. *L'acew-o*.—3. Sg. *Marañ-e* he said to him; *an'ir-o* he (has) struck her; *polarc-es* he has made us arrive.

27,10. K.—*Dəikim-i* I gave you.

28,1. Proximate Past.

Not found in NE.

Pluperfect

29,1. A.Ka.ChB. have transitive Pluperfects consisting of a verbal base, A.Ka. in *-(i)ar-*, + transitive Past of a hypothetical root *l-*. Cf. the corresponding NW. Pluperfect in *-lat-*.

E.g. A. *mam gura:lerigyam* I had taken; Ka. *gura:ligem*; Ka. *kari'a:lig-am/-ən/-u* I/we/you had made (Prs. *karda buřdam*, etc.). ChB. *ke:likem* I had made; *wasilək* she had baked (but Imperfect *keyilikem*; *wesiyelek*); *an'ələk* he had beaten; *e:lekem* I had eaten; *da:lekim* I had made (lit., given).

29,2.

WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

Subj.	A.Ka.								
	Obj.	1. Sg. m.	2. Sg. m.	2. Sg. f.	3. Sg. m.	3. Sg. f.	1. Pl.	2. Pl.	3. Pl.
1. Sg. A.	—	—	<i>-le:gyam-āi</i>	<i>-le:čam-āi</i>	<i>-le:gyam-a</i>	<i>-le:čam-a</i>	—	<i>-le:čam-u:</i>	—
1. Sg. Ka.	—	—	<i>-ligam-i:</i>	—	<i>-ligam-a</i>	—	—	<i>-ljam-us</i>	<i>-ljam-a</i>
1. Pl. A.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>-le:čam-u:</i>	—
1. Pl. Ka.	—	—	<i>-ligen-i:</i>	—	—	—	—	<i>-ljam-us</i>	—
2. Sg. Pl. A.	<i>-leš-em</i>	—	—	—	—	—	<i>-le:č-est</i>	—	—
3. Sg. Pl. A.	—	—	<i>-le:š-āi</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—

Examples:

29,3. A.—1. Sg. *Mam tau gur'a:lerigyam(-āi)*, *ania:le:gyam-āi* I had taken/beaten you (m.); *mam tau thoria:lečam-āi* I had seen you (f.); *ania:lečam-āi*; *mam ase moček/trik gura:lerigyam(-a)/-lečam-a* I had taken that man/woman; *mam ima thoria:lečam-u:* I had seen you.—1. Pl. *Ama ima thoria:lečam-u:*.—2. Sg. Pl. *Tau mam ania:leš-em*; *tau/ima mam thoria:leš-em*; *tau/ima ama ania:leč-est*.—3. Sg. (Pl.). *Ate močega mam ania:leš-em*; *tau ate močega thoria:leš-āi*.

The Psht. translation, however, was in the Imperfect (*tar zə katəlem* you were seeing me, etc.), and the interpretation of the A. forms remains doubtful.

29,4. Ka.—1. Sg. Pl. *Ağə tau de yaigi:* (Imperfect), *a tau mumon karia:ligam-i:* if you had come yesterday, I should have (lit., had) made you

(m.) my guest; *agə ase de yaig, mom m° karia:ligam-a* if he had come . . . ; *aga ima de yaifus, m° karia:ljam/n-us* if you (Pl.) . . . , I/we should have . . . ; *agə te də yaic, m° karia:ljam-a* if they . . . , I should have; *tur gi: de yaigi:*, *ama m° karia:ligen-i:*; *ase yaig, agə de mom m° karia:ligem-a* he had come, if I had made him a guest yesterday; *čand dyors purəl lašia:ligam-i:* I had seen you some days before.

29,5. ChB.—*Də weš-im ke:leñ-e* yesterday I had (?) felt cold (lit., it had (?) made my freezing).

Perfect

INTRANSITIVE

30,1.	A.	Ka.	ChB.	K.
1. Sg. m.	<i>āitegyem</i> I have come	<i>aidigem</i>	<i>ertikem</i>	—
2. Sg. m.	—	—	<i>etik'ai</i>	<i>icigeri</i> (*it-?)
3. Sg. m.	—	<i>aidik</i>	<i>etik</i>	=
3. Pl.	<i>āidit</i> (for *ič ?)	—	—	—

Cf. L. *yeritekim*; G. *āitekam*; She. *itikem*, etc.

Ka.—*Pulđigem* I have arrived; *blidik* he has died; *juttik* it has caught fire; *adik* he has entered (for *ad-dik); *cirdik* it has been torn.

Ch.—*Bitekim* I have become; *para:tik* he has gone.

ChB.—*Pulitikem* I have arrived; *pul'itik*; *šetik* it has caught fire.

TRANSITIVE

(with Object Sg. m.)

30,2.	A.	Ka.	ChB.	K.
Subj.	—	I have made	I have found	I have drunk
1. Sg.	<i>kare:gyam</i>	<i>kar'ig-am</i>	<i>kerikem</i>	<i>leik-em</i>
1. Pl.	<i>kar'irigen</i>	— <i>-en</i>	—	<i>leig'en</i>
2. Sg.	—	— <i>-u</i>	—	<i>leikiu</i>
2. Pl.	—	— <i>-u</i>	—	<i>leigi:</i>
3. Sg. Pl.	—	<i>karik</i>	<i>karzik</i>	<i>leyezik</i>
				<i>ō:şar:čik</i> has taken

30,3. No forms with Fem. Obj. have been recorded, and with Pl. Obj. only A. *derič-ist* he has given us. With Subj. 3. Sg. + Obj. A.Ka. have *-š-*, as in the transitive Past.

In A.Ka. the characteristic morpheme is *er/i:(i)-*, in contrast with Past *-i-*. Cf. the SE. Perfect in *-a/ei-*.

Only K. has 1. Sg. *-cegyem*, 3. Sg. *-cik*, corresponding to SW., NW. *-ček*, *-čirk*, and ChB. has 3. Sg. Pl. *-zik* < **cik*, and, once, *pařar-zikem* I have seen.

It seems probable that this was the original formation also in Ch., and that the type *lei:kem*, agreeing with A.Ka., may be serving a slightly different function.

30.4. A.—1. Sg. *Mam tono borti: areřigam* I have heard your word; *plowo lařer(i)gam* I have seen a dream; *nun bære pa:n kar'eřigam* to-day I have walked a long way; *mam ki alai plom xal'os kar'eřigam*, *'aigya:m* (for **a iyam* ?) when I have finished this work I shall come; *i: řait'arra käreegam* I have (?) removed a thing; *wireřigam* I have wept; possibly also *mam orestä iřiriam* (for **iřirigam* ?) I have (?) washed my hands.—1. Pl. *Ama au kar'iřigen* (for **eri-* ?) we have made bread.—3. Sg. *Kar'i:řy-e* he has made it; *d'eriř-e* * he has given him; *mar'i:ř-e* he has said to him; *ate močega/ima i: kitorb d'eriř-em* that man/you have given me a book; *derič-ist* he has given us.

No explanation can be given for the interchange between *-eri-* and *-i-*.

30.5. Ka.—1. Sg. *Pařigem* I have heard; *řupeigem* (Past *-eigem*) I have built; *kar'iřem* ^b I have done (Psht. *ma: ... křai dai*, but Past *karigem*, Psht. *ma: ... wu-kř*); probably also *mariřem* I have said, although translated as a Past (Prs. *man guřtam*, but cf. *mar'igen* we said), and *an'iřem-i:* I have struck thee (but *anigem-a* I struck him).^c—3. Sg. *Pařik* has heard (Past *p'arřik*); *mom plemořiga kađ'i:ř-em* the wasp has stung me; *te mom aniř-em* he has beaten me (Past *aniř-em*).

30.6. ChB.—*Pařarzikem* I have seen; *wasiz'ik* has prepared; *řupizik* has sewn; *anři(i)k* has struck; *zala:zik* has kindled; *bad'arzik* has extinguished; *mara:zik* has said.—With pronominal suffixes: *Pola:řih-im/-e:* he has made me/thee arrive; *eř'i:řih-im* he has wanted from me; *woziř-e* he has built it; *māzizih-e* he has put on (a dress); *pereno manaū oroziř-e* he has made me put on a dress; *ete řon-e koūvez'ik* he has hidden himself; *ete wor sā zaiřez'i:k* (**zayezi:k* ?) he has put the stone on the ground.

30.7. K.—*Acegyem* I have eaten.

Static Perfect and Pluperfect

31.1. A.Ka.ChB. have a Static Participle in Masc. Sg. *-wo*, Fem. and Masc. Pl. *-wi*,^d which is used in combination with the Present or Past Auxiliary to form a Static Perfect and Pluperfect.

^a But Past *kariřy-e:*; *dāiř-e:*.
^d V. SE. 27,5.

^b Taken as a Past, Budd. s.v.
^c Cf. SE. *-wa*.

STATIC PERFECT

31.2.

I am sitting, etc.

	A.	Ka.	ChB.
1. Sg.	<i>niwo:/i-yem</i>	<i>niwo oim</i>	<i>niwo-om</i>
2. Sg.	<i>„ -yāi</i>		* „ <i>-oi</i>
3. Sg.	<i>„ -oršt</i> ^a	* <i>niwo/i-o/a:ř</i>	* <i>niwo/i:ř-o/a:ř</i>
1. Pl.	<i>niwi-o:řes</i>	<i>niwi-es</i>	<i>niwi-os</i>
2. Pl.	<i>„ -o:řau</i>		
3. Pl.	<i>„ -o:řen</i>		* <i>niwi-on</i>

31.3. A.—*Panda řurwo oršt* he is going on the road (lit., has been starting, Psht. *lar ta rawar:n dāi*); *udor řurwo: řu* the channel is running; *kitorp řaiw'or řu* the book is lying; *susuwo:* (**iwo:* ?) *řu* it is (has become) dry; *noli: řiřiwo řu* the clouds have assembled. *Kaseriwo:* tired; *pačiwo:* cooked, ripe, are also, at any rate originally, Static Participles. Thus, *ama nun kaseriwi n'e oyes* to-day we are not tired; *ima k° oy'ew-a?* are you tired ?

31.4. Ka.—*Blīwo os* he is dead (*blī:đik* he has died); *gām pařuwo řu* the wheat is ripe; *karwo řu* it has been done; *bewi: a:ř/buwa řu:* she/it has become; *a k'aseruwo oim* I am tired; *mořik k° os/sik kaseriwi a:ř* the man/woman is tired; *uřawo-m/u řu* it has been taken up by me/you.

31.5. ChB.—*Liwo os* he is dead; *ewo oi* you are arrived; *te: ewi on* they have come; *zala olowo om* I have climbed (am up in) the tree; *zalou niřiwo om* I have descended from the tree; *beduwo řiu* it is extinguished; *mono wezeřuk řitiwo řiw-om* I am sneezing (lit., my sneezing has been put on for me); *a kasar'ue om* I am tired; *moři kasar'iwi: a:ř*.

Ch.—*A ale niw'or-m* (= K.) I am sitting here; *tu ale: niwori*.

STATIC PLUPERFECT

31.6. A.—*Ango:r řidew'or ři:(k)* the fire has been kindled; *niwo oigyem*, *niwi oičem* I (m./f.) was sitting; *tu niwo/i oigy/čāi*; *a kaseriwo oigyem* I was tired; *ama niwi/kaseriwi oičem*; *ima n°/k° oiču(st)*; *ate (moček) n°/k° orič*; *ase moček niwo/kaseriwo orič*; *ase trik niwi/kaseriwi orič*.

31.7. Ka.—*Karwo řik* it has been made; *niwo oik*; *ima karew'o-u řik* it has been made by you; *mona gurawar-m řik* it had been taken by me.

31.8. ChB.—*Hořiwo oik* he had started going, was going; *čirak astal ořawo (o)ik* II,4 he had been taking (was holding) a lamp in his hand (lit., the lamp was something-having-been-taken-in-the-hand).

^a 3. Sg. inanimate A.Ka. *řu*, ChB. *řiu* (Pluperf. A.Ka. *ři(i)k*).

PASSIVE

33.1. Passive expressions have been recorded only from Ka. The Present is expressed by the Noun of Action ^a in -a/on + the Present of *gur-* to take. Thus, *maktub alebat lihon gurari* the letter is being written now; *alebat gišin jupan gurari* the house is being built now.

33.2. The Past is expressed by a Passive Participle in -in ^b + Static Perfect of *b-*. Thus, *ali mojik/sik anin buwo/bewi: os/as* this man/woman has been killed; *maktub lihin buwo šu* the letter has been written; *gišin jupan* (for **-in* ?) *buwo šu* the house has been built.

INFINITIVE

34.1. Ka.—*Han'ik* to pull, dig; *an'ik* to strike; *olik* to rise; *mor'ik* to kill; *cibik* to chew; *bureik* to bury; *eiga* (Obl. of **eik*) *mazič* they began to eat; *sur-olik* East; *sur-nig'ik* West.

34.2. ChB.—*Pulik* to arrive; *mušik* to steal. Cf. *im-wari:ik* avalanche (from a root **war-*, scarcely = *wer-* to weep).

With *bi/ey-* to be able we find an Infinitive in -i. ^c Thus, Ka. *a lihi biy'am*, ChB. *a liki: (ne) beyim* I can(not) write.

OTHER VERBAL NOUNS

Noun of Agency

35.1. A form in -kala has been recorded in the compounds Ka. *loit-anikal'a* = ChB. *loit-däigyelo liar*; Ch(B.) *katikyol'i: rat* (lit., "biter"). Cf. also Ch. *sənga-niyəl'or* leopard ("ground-sitter", "croucher" ?).

Nouns of Action

35.2. A. -on, in a: *lih'o:n kari'arm* I write; *a siwon kari'arm* I sew. But we find -e/ni(r) in A. *āzen'i: kari'arm* I laugh; ChB. *mono čar'ini-m oliy'e* I vomit (lit., my vomiting is rising).

ABSOLUTIVE

36.1. An Absolute in -i: probably appears in Ka. *nadi: bu: han'i: öriš'-e* VI,14 having pulled them down the river, she took them away.

^a Cf. 35,2.^b Cf. SW. 3,2 (49).^c Cf. SW., SE. 34,1.

36.2. But the construction usually serving as an absolute in Ka. consists of a Past (recorded only in the 3. Sg. Pl.) + a particle -*me/i:*, which Buddruss no doubt is right in interpreting as "and".^a Thus, *ur'ik-me/uriš'-miz* he/she having risen; *eik-mi:* he having come; *gič-mi* she having gone; *gureiš'-e-miz*, *gureš'-o-m'i:*, *gureš'-i-m'i:* having seized it/her/them; *ošeiš'-e-m'e moriš'-e* V,9 having seized him, they killed him. *Pari:-m'e* V,11 having gone, is possibly to be corrected into **pari:k-*.

It is tempting to interpret Ch. *te: axp'al dūniar piṛari-meri šam kah-'a* 267,9 as "he, having put together (?) his possessions, collected them". But in ChB. we find *bi:*, not **miz*, in *wi:ste-bi:-yer* 21, etc.

COMPOUND VERBS

37.1. *Par-* to go serves as an auxiliary in A. *a pāli pararm* I fall, cf. *ni: par'a thiarm-ōri* 269,17 let us sit down (lit., let us become having sat down ?).

37.2. ChB. *laṛai-da-* to show (*laṛai-d'ayim* I show; *laṛai-dat-im* show me) is probably a compound with *dey-*, *da-* to give.

^a Cf. the numerals *wi:s-miz-i:* 21, etc.; NE. 11,1.—Cf. also the demonstratives with -*mi*, etc., NE. 14,15 ?

SOUTH-EASTERN GROUP

PHONEMIC SYSTEM

VOWELS

1.1. Budd.'s recordings as well as my own are purely impressionistic, and it is not possible to establish, with sufficient certainty, the vocalic system of any SE. dialect.

1.2. *A* is, on the whole, rather palatal, and has been recorded as *ā*, e.g. in D.W. *tāng* narrow; W. *ura/āc* sleep; *lāšani*: beautiful.

1.3. *I* and *e* are probably variants of one phoneme. Cf. W.D.¹, q. She. *fib*, D. *feb* tongue; D.q. She. *kilar*, W.D. *k(y)elar* boy; W. *risatek*, D. *re:šatik* mirror; D.q. *šire:m*, W. *siryem*, D. *šere:m* my head; D.q. *bi/eč* she became; D.W. *leč*, She. *lēc* she died. But I always heard *e* (Budd. MS. *e*), not *i*, in *west* 20.

1.4. *U* and *o* (= /*o*/?) interchange in W. *u/očū:m* scorpion; *xu/očar* lame; W.N. *xurir*, D. *ku°*, She. *ko°* heel; She. *o/ute* they; D.W. *puł*, She. *pol* bridge.—But all dialects have *u*, e.g. in *sur* sun; *puliem*, etc., my son.

1.5. In most cases *ə* can be taken as an unstressed variant of *u*, *a*, *e*, *i*. Thus, W.D. *warjan*, D.q.s. *°γən* wind; W. *feb'arm* my tongue; She. *lowar* dead (but *lawar* wounded); *məčerm* I flee (*mučikəm* I fled); W. *bustəram* my lip (probably for *busturem*, from *bustū:r*). Cf. also D.s., She. *nən*; Ig.z. *nīn*, D.W.N. *nun* to-day. Budd. has *ō* (= *ə*?) in She. *lōš* light; *ōñti*: bone, N. *luš*; D. *anfi*, etc.

1.6. Quantity is relevant, e.g. in D. *šal* lame, *šarł* rice; She. *dar'em* I stay, *dar'erm* I have; D.q. Imper. 2. Sg. *tiste*, 2. Pl. *tiste*: stand; She. Aor. 2. Sg. *tiste*, 3. Sg. *tiste*: will stand; D.s. *lay'e* thy brother, *lay'er* his brother.

The recording of length, however, is far from being consistent.^a Cf., e.g. D.q. She. (MS.) *te(:)na* thy; D.s. *ka(:)kom* I made; She. *lik°* he died; D.q. *i(:)k* he came; *gik* he went, but D.W. *lik*; *gik*, *bik*, etc.; D.W. *im*, She. *him* snow.

1.7. Within the series of long vowels we find many minimal pairs. Thus, W. *čar* 4; *čir* late; *čur* thief; *darr* wood; *dorr* face; *durr* door; *do* 2;

^a V. Budd., p. 4.

dū: yesterday; *ma:č* fish; *mū:č* rat; *ža:* barley; *žā:* 11; *žū:* louse; *mā:* moon; *me:* this (Obl.); *po:* dust; *pe:* meat; *pā:reč* she-goat, with the phonemes *i:*; *e:*; *ā:*; *a:*; *o:*; *u:*; *ū:*.

1.8. Budd. (MS.) distinguishes between, e.g. She. *pe:la* (= W.) yellow, and *pela* (W. *pila*) with; *te:na* thy, and *ot'e:na* their; *ē:m* I shall eat, and *ē:m* I shall come, but *ē:kam* I ate, and *'e:/ikem* I came. Beitr., p. 5, he gives up this distinction of quality as being too uncertain, and writes instead, e.g. *ē:m*, *'ekam* (cf. D. *'erekam*) I eat/ate; *ē:m*, *'ekem* I come/came, the circumflex denoting an overlong vowel. The problem requires renewed observation in the field.

1.9. In D.W. an overlong vowel with low, rising tone was recorded in words with original aspiration or *h*-.^a Thus D. *dū:am*, W. *dhū:am* smoke; W.D. *d(h)ā:ar* hill; D. *kā:ar* bed; *šī:ar* milk; *pī:ar* scapula; *pa:ar* holly oak; *kā:ar* ear; *bā:as* steam; *gā:as* grass; *ā:as* hand; *ī:im* snow; *dū:im* milking bowl. Words without any original aspiration have a simple, long vowel, with high tone, slightly falling towards the end. E.g. D. *dā:r* wood; *čā:r* 4; *gō:m* wheat; *bā:r* burden (< Prs.); *dū:r* door; *dō:* 2; *dā:n* tooth; *šē:r* head; *pā:* foot; *šē:* 6; *šō:r* 16.

Overlong, two-topped vowels were also recorded in D. *ā:kam* I eat; *eret* eat ye; *an'erekam/an'orokam* I beat thee/you; *an'irimge* thou beatest me; *erekam* I ate; *derekam* I give thee; *pin'irikam* I recognize; W. *ā:kam*; *pin'irigam*. Cf. also She.^b overlong, circumflexed vowel in some Present, Imperfect and Pluperfect forms, such as *pā:ikam* I went; *hā:im* I was.

1.10. Morphological shortening of vowels before a suffix is regular, just as in other dialect groups. Thus, W.D. *lam'em* my work; *puλ'iem* my son; W. *šab'arm* my tongue; She. *ka:em* my ear; D.q. *məy'a:* he speaks (1. Sg. *m'a:gom*).

1.11. The recording of diphthongs is varying and uncertain, even within each dialect.

āi (*āi*) and *ari:* are distinguished, e.g. in D.W. *ba/āi* good; D. *ainč*, She. *einč* eye (but W., etc., *anč*); D.Lg., etc., *yari* 11; *doari* 12; *arik* he was (D.s. She. *yai*; *do/uai*; D.q.s. *aik*). Cf. also D.W. *ai*, She. *ei* mother; D. *leim*, W. *lä:en*, D.s. *lein* root-fibre.

With a rounded vowel + *i* we find D.W.N. *lui*, She. *loi* 13; D. *koer*, D.q. She. *kui* like.

^a Cf. SE. 2.2.

^b Budd., p. 5.

Examples of vowels in *-u* are: D. *lauk*, She. *louk* light; D. *a/ōu*, W. *āri*, D.q.s. *ou* bread; D.D.s. *nou*, *na'uz*, W. *na(w)ū:* 19.

It is not possible, in all cases, to distinguish between true diphthongs and other sequences of vowels.

CONSONANTS

2.1. The following consonant phonemes have been recorded from D.

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>	<i>ʈ ɖ</i>		<i>k g</i>	<i>q</i>	
Affricate				<i>ɕ ʝ</i>			
Sibilant		<i>s z</i>	<i>ʂ ʐ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>			
Fricative	<i>f w</i>			<i>y</i>	<i>x γ</i>		<i>h</i>
Vibrant		<i>r</i>	<i>ɽ</i>				
Lateral		<i>l</i>					
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>		<i>ŋ</i>		

2.2. The evidence regarding the existence of aspirates is ambiguous and conflicting. Among the earlier sources LgMass. has "*dhār*" hill; "*ghora*" horse; "*ghum*" wheat,^a and LgLee. "*gās*", KuLee. "*ghās*" grass; Lg/KuLee. "*ghor/da*" horse.

Since then neither Budd., nor any other writers except myself, have recorded any aspirates.

W.¹ *thar-* to see appeared to me to be clearly distinguishable from D. *tar-*. For D.W. *pā:(e)r* holly-oak I once noted D.¹ *pha:r*. Original *kh-* usually results in W. *x-*, but cf. also W. *kandawal* shoulder; D. *k'an-* to pull; *khan'a* outside; *k(e)ara:ar* donkey; *kaha:r*, *kā:(a)r* ear. Voiced aspirates were recorded in W. *d'ar* hill; *dhū:am* smoke. But apart from these words I always noted non-aspirates.^b

It seems possible that a generation ago the phonemic distinction between aspirated and non-aspirated stops was not entirely given up.

2.3. In W. there is a tendency to pronounce intervocalic *k*, *t* as half-voiced stops. Thus, *ak/gur* down; *-k/guli* Pl. suffix; *kaig'am* I made (but *gurāikam* I seized); *bara:ar* lamb (but *xara:ar* ass). Cf. already KuLee. *kadee*, but LgLee. *ka:ee* tree.

Similarly voiced stops were opened into fricatives in W. Thus, *se:ar* cold; *yard/δ* memory; *ro:da:* guts ^c; *wa:yan* wind (= D.); *šeb/warm* my

^a But also, with no original aspiration, "*ghīki*" go; "*ang(h)ār*" fire.

^b Regarding rising tone corresponding to ancient aspiration, v. SE. 1.9.

^c D.q. *ro:za:*. Cf., inversely, W. *pero:da:*; *ke:da:* < Prs. *fi:ro:za:*; *qaiza*.

tongue. Cf. 3. Sg. Pres. D.W., etc., -*ey/ga:*, but in the western dialects (Lg.N.Kch.) -*ega:*.

2.4. *C* has only been recorded in Kch. *gornax* snake.

2.5. *D* distinguishes between the sibilants *s*, *š*, *ʃ*. Thus, *šir* head was distinguished from *šir* milk.^a Budd. makes no distinction between *š* and *ʃ* in D.s. She., and only with some diffidence in D.q.^b

2.6. In W.N.M.Kch.Kulm., where ancient *š* merges with *s*, original *š* was articulated further forward than in *D*., and was often recorded as *š*.

2.7. In Lg.z. *ʃ* was recorded in *ʃurnek* red; *ʃo:ta:* he-goat, but forms from other dialects (e.g. W. *so:nek*; Pash.Rav. "so-ata" < *š*-) render it probable that *ʃ* is an allophone of *š*, conditioned by the following velar, rounded vowel. In all other cases we find in Lgh.z. a sound intermediate between *ʃ* and *x*, resembling Ghilzai Psht. *š*. Thus, *šer* 6; *šir* milk; *šelik* white; *ašt* 8; *ašpa:ʃ* rice. *Xurirng* dog has *x* also in Lg.ch.s.

2.8. Initial *y*- remains in Lg.She., and usually in *D*. But notice *D. žur* wool (but *yur* hair); *D.q. žur* louse (*D. yur*), probably borrowed from some dialect with regular *ž* < *y*-, such as W.N. In W. *ž*- alternates with a strongly fricative *y*-.

Kch. *zur*; *zur* (but *yari* 11); She. *ʃur*; *ʃortir* yoke, with substitution of *z*, *ʃ* for the *ž* unknown to these dialects, also point to borrowing.

2.9. A phoneme *γ* occurs in lw.s, as in *D*., etc., *yari:b* poor; *rorγan* fat.

The W.N. sound rendered by *x* (< *kh*, or Prs. *x*) is realized as a very strong, hoarse *h*.^c

W. has -*h* < -*k*- before suffixes, e.g. in *marnah-i:* (*D. °ek-i:*) its hole (*marnak*); *merh-en* (*D. merky-en*) he said to him.

2.10. Apart from this W. -*h*-, which may be considered as an allophone of *x*, we find *h* mainly in She., e.g. *him* snow; *han-* to beat; *har* heart. But note She. *ast-* hand, and, with secondary *h*-, *ha:š* blood; *herək* tear, etc. Lg.z. has *har*; *heg* bear (< Psht.), but *ast-*, and *D. ba(h)ar* spring; *wahend* summer; *D.s. (h)ar* all; *har-* to hear. On the whole *h* is an unstable phoneme.

2.11. The symbol *λ* covers a rather wide range of pronunciation. It has sometimes been recorded as *θl*, but no phoneme *θ* occurs in any other position, and *λ* is probably a single phoneme, a voiceless *l*, articulated,

^a Acc. to one informant, in *šir* "the tongue moves a little further back towards the palate" (Psht. *šaba lag urusto ta:lu: ta zi:*).

^b Budd., p. 5.

^c Cf. NE. 2.31, and Budd., p. 6.

especially in Lg., with retracted tongue. Cf. Kulm. *θlornt* roof; *θlō:ali* mulberry; Lg.ch. *šungali:*; Lg. *šlungali:*; LSI.w. *šlika* woman; *atlar* work, etc.—Before *u* I have recorded Ku. *θungali:*; *θui* 13, but no conclusions can be drawn from these hurried notations.

Zyari^a writes *cl-*, e.g. in *clingali* mulberry; *clyarwan* trifork, but *šle*, *šle* 3.

2.12. Velar *ŋ* occurs, e.g. in D.W. *aŋar* fire, but frequently alternates with *ng*, as in D.W. *aŋguar* grape.

Retroflex *ɳ* occurs, e.g. in D.W. *lorɳ* salt; D.q. *šunatir* she-dog; She. *aŋā* egg; Lg.z. *škun* porcupine (< Psht.).

Nasalization is equivalent with a nasal, e.g. in W. *yāla* at the mill (= *D. yanla*).

2.13. Palatalization of *k*, *g* is frequent. Thus, *D. gye:n* waist; *kyelar* boy; She. *lik* he died.

2.14. Gemination was recorded in N. *čadd'e:* 14; *satt'ü:* 17; *č'ükka* all.

2.15. It is uncertain whether e.g. She. *kya:kəm* I had done; *pje:m* I shall drink; *dwar* 12 contain initial clusters, or rising diphthongs. Cf. *D. dwari*, *do'ari*; She. *pi'a* he will drink.

The most common types of clusters consist of sibilant or nasal + stop or affricate. In lw.s other combinations occur. Note, with elision of vowel, She. *wrek* to weep (*were:ken* he wept); *dran* husband's brother; *pranek* shirt.

2.16. Final clusters are reduced, e.g. in D.W. *ars(t)*, She. *as*, Lg.z. *ast* hand; D.D.s. *yan*, W. *žan* watermill; D.W. *warγan*, She. *waigand* wind.

MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

3.1. (1) -*a:* m.; -*i:* f.—E.g. *gora:/i:* horse. But, e.g. She. *nuni:* m. butter.—SW. 1.

(2) -*u:*—E.g. *D. limb'u:* wasp; *weremb'u:* walnut; W. *čuč'ü:* teat; Lg. *širru:* mother-in-law.—SW. 3.

(3) -*lakis*—*D. i:čalogi:* she-bear.—SW. 9.

(4) -(a)la:/i:—W. *kečala:/i:* boy/girl; D.Lg.z. *wačul'a:* calf; *D. parangali:* bird; Lg. *ančila:* eye; *karil'a:* ear; *čaril'a:* long hair.—SW. 12.

^a V. Addenda.

- (5) *-wa:la: /i:.*—W. *go:laŋwa:la:* cowherd; *aku:rawala* lower; *maŋʃewa:li:*, D. *maŋʃiw°* f. middle.—SW. 16.
- (6) *-ana:.*—D. *ʃiŋan'a:* turban; She. *hazan'a:* laughter.—SW. 18.
- (7) *-(a)ra: /i:.*—W. *tumar'a: /i:* naked; D. *čəpa:ra'a:* he-goat; D. *bumbə:ra'a:* gazelle.—SW. 22.
- (8) *-u:ra: /i:.*—W. *ēso:ra'a:* broom; *čuču:ra'a:* teat; D. *lagu:ra'a:* puppy; *šəno:ra'a:* horn; She. *wačo:ra* calf.—SW. 23.
- (9) *-(a)ta: /i:.*—W. *alowa:ta'a:*, D. *alw°* pumpkin; W. *bara:da'a:* lamb; *laŋgo:ti:* kidney; D. *ka:ra:ta: /i:* ass; *lama:ta:* hamlet; *šuna:ta:* parrot; *yo:ti:* yoke.—SW. 24.
- (10) *-la:ta:.*—W. *kačela:ta:* armpit.
- (11) *-wa: /i:.*—D. *gura:wa: /i:* bride(groom). Cf. Static Participle.—SW. 27.
- (12) *-a:(r)k.*—D.W. *m'arnak* eye of a needle; W. *yo:la:k* mosquito.—SW. 30, 31.
- (13) *-ek.*—W. *mandan'ek* churn; *wešan'ek* comb; *pe:rek* palm of the hand; *navar'ek*, D. *no:r'ek* finger-nail; W.D. *su:(r)neček* needle; D. *piāl'ek* cup; *uŋdar'ek* cat; *šarmek* black; D.She. *(h)ere:ek* tear.—SW. 32.
- (14) *-i:(r)k.*—W. *meči:k* mosquito; *somani:k*, D. *°ek* eyebrow; *er'i:k* tear; W.D. *aŋgu:ri:k*, D.q. *°ek* finger; She. *šarmi:k* black.—SW. 34.
- (15) *-o:k.*—D. *piŋd'o:k* calf of the leg.
- (16) *-uk.*—W. *tarnuk* own, self; She. *lumb'uk* wasp.—SW. 36.
- (17) *-ček.*—D.q. *tepoček* n. of a bird; She. *bremečik* bee.
- (17a) *-aŋdek.*—W. *galaŋdek* arm above the elbow; D. *čelaŋdik* chicken.
- (18) *-lek.*—W. *bu:raal'ek* old woman; *ki:ta:l'ek* girl; D. *bandol'ek* wrist; W.D.Lg.z. *wačul'ek* calf; D.q. *dukol'ik* kid.
- (19) *-rek.*—W. *deka:rek* clay pot; *a:rek* mother; *pe:fo:rek* spleen; *se:le:rek*, D. *še°* knife; W. *uŋča:rek*, D. *°rak* fountain; D.q. *kambu:rik* small jar; Lg.z. *pa:ra:rek* she-goat.—SW. 40.
- (20) *-ro:k.*—D. *čəpa:ro:k* m. kid; Lg. *čəpa:ra:u:k* he-goat.—SW. 41.
- (21) *-(a)tek.*—W. *damatek* cord; *nā:ratek*, D. *narp°* navel; W.D. *lu:(r)na:tek* bow; *wala:te'ek* bowstring; *ba:ra:tek* lamb; D. *šo:na:tek*, Lg. *xu:riŋga:rik* she-dog; W. *o:ya:tek* little son; D.q. *kuška:rik* comb (*kuš'ik*); Lg. *mučatek* mouse.—SW. 42.
- (22) *-wal.*—Only in D.q. *gura:wal* wedding.
- (23) *-an.*—D. *so:an* sewing; *na:an* dancing.—SW. 48.
- (24) *-iŋ.*—D. *kaska:niŋ* lizard.

COMPOUNDS

4.1. V. SW. 4.

GENDER

5.1. Masculine and feminine are characterized by adjectives in *-a: /i:* and *-ek /-eč*, etc., as well as by various verbal forms.

There are a few Masc. nouns in *-i:* (e.g. *a:rdmi:* man; D.q. *pa:nʃi:* husband; *nu:ni:* butter), and also Fem. ones in *-a:* (D.q.She. *ma:da:* woman).

5.2. In names of animals we find, beside the types *go:ra: /i:* horse; *wačul'a: /lek* calf, also, e.g. D.q. *uŋdar* m., *ma:di:uŋdar'i:* f. cat; Lg.z. *go:ra:*, *ma:di:go:ra:*; *na:r/ma:da-ba:* sheep; D. *na:r-kuk'u:ri* cock, *kuk'u:ri* hen; D.q. *kuk'u:ri* m., *ku:reik* f.; N. *a:ra* bull, *go:laŋ* cow; D.s. *go:laŋ*, Lg.z. *gula:n* bull, D.s.Lg.z. *ga:* cow; W. *naw'a:* grandson, *na:ti:* grand-daughter; Lg.z. *xirs* m., *heg* f. bear; *šo:ra:* m., *pa:ra:rek* f. goat; N. *xusur*, *ši:ru:* father/mother-in-law.

NUMBER

6.1. The simple noun, formally singular, may have an indefinite plural sense.

Thus, W. *ču:ri en* (the) thieves will come; *te:me: a:rdmi:* those men; *eme čurri:* these thefts; D. *gā:re:nč° a wa:ri čane:wi:* šən big stones are fallen; *pa:em tu:mi:wi:* šən my feet are wet; D.q. *zeip gura* take wives; She. *mo:ŋ gaŋ šən* the trees are big; *am'e a:rdm'i:* these men. This is the rule after numerals and numeral adjectives. E.g. W. *do: wo:ri:* two boys; *pa:nč aŋül (-r ?) šən* there are five fingers; *čən dəw'a:s* some days; D. *ga:em bo:h a:ren* I have many cows; *bo: a:rdmi: li:nč* many men died; Lg. *čor ʃan-en* they are four persons; D.q.She. *do: ma:da:* two women; She. *ka: a:rdmi:* how many men. But LSI.e., w. *do: we: /aye:* two daughters (sing. *we:/aya*).

6.2. A morpheme *-a:(r)n* (< Prs. ?) is used with nouns (mainly loan-words) denoting animate (human ?) beings, e.g. in W. *mazur'a:n*, (D. *məzd°*) *bo: a:n* the servants are numerous; *no:kar'a:n* servants; *me:manan* guests; *du:ri'a:n* weavers; Lg.N., etc., *a:daman*, LSI.w. *a:rdəma:n*; She. *šaidan* witnesses.—But note also She. *me:n'i: g'o:šəŋgan* my houses.

6.3. Concerning plurals of adjectives in *-a:*; *-ak*, v. Adjectives.

* For **ga:re:č*, Pl. of **ga:ra:k* ?

6.4. In D.q. we find plurals in *-ik* from singulars in *-ək* (*unčar'ik* fountains; *suman'ik* eyebrows; *aṇurik* fingers), and Pl. *-ik* from Sg. *-ik* (*šer-akur'ik* bear's cubs; *čelanč'ik* chickens; *aṇgoč'ik* finger-rings). Cf. D.s.She. Pl. *-ik*, Sg. *-ək* (D.s. *par'ik* goats; She. *her'ik* tears).^a Cf. also Ka. (NE.) *kawarik* worm, Pl. *°ik*. The origin of this pattern is unknown. Note D.q. *Zya:ṛ bostaṛ* lip, Pl. *°u:ṛ*.

6.5. Budd. distinguishes between Sg. D.q. *lay-'am*, D.s.She. *l'a(:)y-am* my brother; D.q. *lay-ai* thy b. and Pl. D.q.s. *lay-'im*, She. *l'ary-im*; D.q. *lay-'e* thy b. Cf. also She. *p'ašu-m* my rib, Pl. *p'ašu-yem*; D.q. *kor-'e* her heel, Pl. *kore-'a* (*kor-'im* my heels); D. *sary-am* my sister, (*čar*) *sary-em* (*aren*) (I have four) sisters; *lary-a:m*, (*lex*) *lary-em* (*aren*); W. (*ter a:demi:s*) *ory-a:* that man's son, (*dor*) *ory-e* (*aren*) he has two sons.

6.6. It seems possible that the opposition between Sg. *-a-* and Pl. *-e/i-* may have some connection with the type mentioned above, *-a-* going back to *-a:*, and *-e/i-* to the Pl. in *-e* < **-aya* mentioned by Bloch.^b

Note also D.q. *ya:ṛək-om* my beloved; D.s. *aṇurək-om* f. my finger; She. *pr'a:nək-am* my shirt; *sunčək-'am* f. my needle < **-a:-m*. Unfortunately no examples of plurals with pronominal suffixes have been recorded from nouns in *-ək*, but we would expect the form to be **-ik-em*.

6.7. LSLg.z. have plurals in *-i/ela:(n)*. Thus, LSL.e. *weryila* daughters; *ma:dilar* women; *go:ṛe:lar* horses; *tartilan* fathers; LSL.w. *ma:šilar* women; *tartilaya* fathers (Obl.); *danderlar*, Lg.z. *°ela* teeth.—Cf. L. *-ali:*, etc.

6.8. Some terms of relationship have *-k/gulir*. Thus, W. *ba:le-gulir* children; *drews-gulir-m* my brothers-in-law; D. *šarmi-kulir-m* my sons-in-law; D.s. *nawai-kulir* grandsons; *yarr-kulir-m* my friends; LSL.e. *tart-kulir* fathers.—Cf. SW.

6.9. With W.D. *lerwan-'e:*, D. *°wan-i:* his/thy brothers; D.q. *lewane-a* his brothers; D.s. *lerwani:* brothers, cf. L. *läiwarni:*, etc.

6.10. Obl. Pl. *-arna* has been recorded in W. *gušiqwar:larna* 270,15 the inhabitants of the house; *čarwarna* (v. Voc. s.v. *čarrwar*) *malarna* of the big cattle; D.q. *zaləkana* of the people; LSL.e. *dorstarnist-am* (Obl.) my friends; LSL.w. *weryanas-e:* (Obl.) his daughters. Cf. with *-en-*, D. *ančen-e:* of his eyes; *astenes-o:* of your hands; *amzorlenest-am* (Obl.) my comrades; D.q. *oyenast-arnte* for the sake of his sons; She. *madaina* of the women; *a:dmerna/i* of/to the men; LSL.e. *a:dmeryanar* of the men.

^a But note D.s. *aṇur'ək-om* my finger, Pl. *aṇur-om*.

^b L'indo-aryen, p. 172.

Other Obl. Pl. forms are LSL.w. *tartilasan* of the fathers; LSL.e. *we:laiyə(na:)* by/of the daughters^a; *tartkuliyanar* fathers.

6.11. Loc. Pl. forms in *-a* have been recorded in D.q. *merna/terna/tirs/ema ast'a kuča* in my/thy/his/your hands; She. *la:ma kuča* in the villages (Sg. *la:me: k°*); *me:na go:šangga koča* in my houses (Sg. *go:šang k°*). But cf. also Ku.Sh. *go:langga garnc d'ea* give the cows grass (Sg. *-e*), where the form in *-a* serves as a Dative.

CASE

7.1. The case morphemes are:

Obl. *-e(:)*, merging with final *-i:*, *-u:*, but forming a diphthong with *-a:*, *-er*. Thus, D. *larne* work; D.q. *go:šangge*, She. *go:šenge:* house; W. *endu:* Hindu; She. *a:dmir* man; W. *ba:dšare*, D.q. *pa:dšai* king; D. *oryai* child; W. *Dal'eri* Dale.

Loc. *-a(:)*, after *-a:* D.q. *-ya* (*aw'arya* in the air; *kuč'arya* in the street).

Abl. *-a(:)i*, with polysyllables *-e(:)*; Lg.z. *-i*. Thus, D. *larmari* from work; D.q. *darrai* from the hill; D.W. *ora/ačē:*; Lg.z. *urači* from sleep; Lg.z. *gunggi* from the house.

Gen. *-(a/e)s*, etc. After *-a:*, *-i:*, *-u:* usually *-s*, but W. *ba:dšaras* the king's. Illative.—D. *-na*.

Voc. *-a*.

Case Syntax

8.1. Nominative.—The Nom. is used as a subject, as an indefinite object, and about certain local relations. Examples will be found passim in Texts and Budd. Note from Lg.z.: *I: a:dam lirkāi* a man died; *a: larm karakum* I am working; *ama: larmie kuča merna: larm-im šir* I have work in our village; *nin duors* to-day.

8.2. Oblique.

(a) As the agent of past tenses of transitive verbs. E.g. W. *zāpe: merhen*, D.q. *zaipe merken*, She. *ma:dai merken* the woman said; D. *ter xarner*... *garāik'en* the khan sent him.

(b) As a definite or indirect object. E.g. W.D. (*mam*) *kita:be gurāigyam* I take the book (but W. *nən kita:b n'ə g°* to-day I shall not take a book; D. *mam kita:b gura:kam* I took a book); W. *čurre: mam daram-en* I shall catch the thief; D. *lorēke munerikam* I break the stick; D.q.s. *la:me/i*

^a V. above *-ila:*.

kam-i: I shall do the work; D.s. *praneke*, She. *pira:nəke* (I put on) the shirt; She. *eke ma:dai d'ada* give it to the woman; *go:lanje garnc d'ea* give the cow grass.

(c) As a possessive in D.s. *kareke paṭik* the leaf of the tree.

(d) About local relations: *Au āigye parem gu:šigyi* I shall go home to eat bread, cf. 271,1; 272,19; She. *go:šenge: pay'em*; LSI.w. *durr watane: . . . gi:k* he went to a distant country.

(e) Cf. the Postposition *kuča*.

8.3. Genitive.—W. *suturas* (D. *šutures*) *čarbū*: camel's fat; *sunčekas* (D. *es*) *ma:nah-i*: the eye of a needle; *karekes paṭā-i* the root of a tree; *gares* (= D.; *gae:s* D.q.) *pan-a* the cow's udder; *baṛšaras* (D.q. *paṛšars*) *wazir* the king's vizier; *me vela:s* this boy's; *Indu:s ast-e* the Hindu's arm; W.D. *na(n)di:s ušt-i* the bank of the river; *eme a:demis* (= D.LSI.e.; *a:dmis* D.q.She.) *si*: it is this man's; D. *šelek goṛas zi:n-e* the saddle of the white horse; *gu:ni:s sunček-i*: pack- (lit., sack's) needle; *mezies lernāi* under the table; *Yasi:n Xarnas dor: pul-e a:en* Y.Kh. has two sons; D.q. *paṭiyambares aṭat-i* the prophet's word; *paṛkes/kareṭ'i:s pa:n-e* the goat's/she-ass' udder; She. *ma:d'ars* the woman's; *warg'es ṭiky-a* drops of water; *moṭers paṭ'e-i* the tree's leaves; *danṭ'as go:šing-i* spider's nest; *pul'es*, Lg.z. *puli:s* the son's; Lg. *serpas/angurvas kaṭi-a* apple/vine-tree; *xungatikas pul-e*: son of a dog; Lg.c. *žungali:s kaṭe-a* mulberry tree; LSI.w. *Xude:s* God's.

8.4. Locative.—W.She. *larm'a* in the village; W. *yāla* at the mill; W.LSI.e. *li:/a watana* in that country; W.D.q.She. *we:la* at night; W. *darra* on the hill; D. *lar waxtar* at that time; Lg.z. *šera ti:s langar* his head aches (lit., in the head it aches him); D.q. *šarra* in the town; *saṅga* to the ground; *ṭayarya* in a place; She. *moṭa* into a tree; *panda* on the road. W. *asta gurāih-en* can be rendered "he took it in (his) hand" (cf. She. *to asta gureṭike*), and even in D. *topaya anirikam* I shoot with a gun, the concept is probably localistic.

Cf. also the Postpositions *ləma*, *šera*.

8.5. Ablative.—D. *bi:man as la:mai* he is averse to work; D.q. *wargai* out of the water; D.q.s.She. *ya:dai* from the memory; She. *ast'ai* from the hand; *moṭai* from the tree; LSI. *la:mai* from the village.—W.D. *ora/šce:* from sleep; Lg.z. *a: ur'ači ur'ekum* I rose from sleep; W.D.q.LSI.e. *watane(:)* from the country; D.q. *unčarəke* from the fountain; *sorone* (made) of gold.

Cf. the Postpositions *kučai*, *lernai*.

8.6. Illative. Only in D. *m'andana* 282,5 (he put his hands) on the neck (of his son). Cf. also D.q. *kočarna*, W. *ku°* inside.

8.7. Voc. D.q. *Xudarya* O God.

POSTPOSITIONS

9.1. The following list contains very heterogeneous elements. But the material at our disposal does not enable us to draw, in every case, a line, on purely formal criteria, between "real" postpositions, adverbs and nominal case-forms. The construction (with Nominative, Oblique, or Genitive) varies, for each postposition and between the sub-dialects.

Note the case inflection of *orda*; *urnde*; *ante*; *kuča*; *kanar*; *lerna*.

For further examples cf. Voc. and Beitr. s.vv.

9.2. *Orda/e*, etc., near, to, etc.—W. *mam pursa:n karyam terna: orda* I put a question to you; D. *tarnek tartest-am* 281,10 (I am going) to my father; D.q. *se mena pul'est-om orde eya:* he is coming to my son; cf. LSI.w. *ude*.—L. *ordar*.

Ordai from.—D. *a: terna: or° orkat ka'em* I shall ask you; *no:karə or°* 282,27 from a servant; D.q. *mena pul'est-om or°* from my son; *mena or° ma baye* do not be afraid of me; She. *tabirb o°* (he asked) the doctor; SheFerd. *te or° gura* take it from him; Lg. *terna or° pursa:n karakam* I ask you; Lg.z. *gurggi ord'ai* from the house; LSI.e. *ordai*.—L. *ordari*.

Orde-eka to.—D. *i: zar:n ma:ldar or°* 280,19 (he was going) to a rich khan; D.q. *mam tarnek ya:rist-om w'ude:ka p'a:gam* I am going to my friend.

Eka, etc., towards; in (to).—W. *hermaest-a-eka atik* 276,9 he entered her tent; *zomenesta: eka* (= D.) into his fields; *dokarn'er-ga perik* he went to the shop; cf. 272,3; 273,9; 276,1,7; D. *nən pa:em šarrega* (D.q. *ka*); *yanle:ka go:rom na:akam* I bring wheat to the mill; cf. *ele: eka* hither; D.q. *lame-ka*, *lamesta-ika'* to the/his village; *masṭit'e-ka* into the mosque.—The correct analysis is Obl. *-e* + *eka*.—*Eka* combines also with other postpositions.

Akuṛ(e) down into.—W. *čara a° we:hen/we:čan* 272,7; 274,1 he threw him/her down into the well.

Urnde to(wards).—W. *tarnuk tartestam ur°* 281,11 (I will go) to my father; cf. 271,1; 275,19; 279,5.—Cf. *orda*.

unde:ga towards.—W. *maka:n u°* towards a place; cf. 280,20.

A(:)nter, etc., to, in front of, for the sake of.—W.D. *tartestar-nde* 279,24; 282,1 (he said/went) to his father; *terna-anti: (au) Xudar ant/di* 281,13,14

(I feel ashamed before you and before God; cf. 277,3; 279,9, 281,22; 282,11; 283,17; D. *keta:b derekam war'er ardem'i: ant'e:* I give a book to another man; D.q. *paiyambar anter* (she came) to the prophet; *čurir 'ante:* for thieving; *qazir ante:* (it became known) to the judge; LSI. *anter*.

anterka.—D. *a: keta:b derekam te: ardemir a°*; *a sab'a: (a°) an'erekam* I shall beat you to-morrow.

Bo down into (?).—W. *nik nadi: bo* 274,21 he went down into the river.—

Cf. Ka. *nadi: bo:* down the river.

Bal to(wards).—W. *merna bal thare* look at me; D. *šarnesta bal* (he became thoughtful) in his mind; D.q. *kuč'a: bal* (you came) to (our) street; *asmarn bal* towards the sky; She. *dara: bal* towards the valley.

De: from, than, with (Instr.).—W. *dandi de: čipem-en* I shall bite it off with my teeth; *aməlai de* (come) with quickness (i.e. quickly); D. *terna: laryeste de: sary-ai gan* as your sister is bigger than your brother, cf. 286,14; *sunčeki de so'arn ka'em* I shall sew with a needle; cf. 283,7,13; D.q. *topake/lunaŋike de:* (to hit) with a gun/arrow; *nandi: de:* from the river; *rawarn de* rapidly; *terna elä-i de:* with hope of you; SheFerd. *sayasa: de:* (bigger) than his sister; She. *iši de:* with a broom; LSI.e. *sare:* ((w. *sarya*) *de:* (bigger) than his sister; *watatiya:ri: de:* (dying) from hunger; *lamber de:* with its tail; *dəməntəri: de:* (bind him) with a rope.—L. *dai*.

Ja: till to.—D. *Kono:ŋ ja:* (from here) to Kunar; SheFerd. *yaster Sa:la ja:* from here to Sala.

Koe: like.—D. *no:kar ko'er* 281,25 like a servant; D.q. *aŋ-tan koi* like heart-burning; She. *merna koi* like me.

Kuča in.—W. *čai:ha k°* into the well; cf. 275,1; D. *darre k°* in the mountain; cf. 282,23; D.q. *go: šing k°* into the house; *šar/darre k°* in the town/wood; She. *la:me k°*, LSI.w. *xtlama k°* in the village; Lg.z. *ama: larmie k°* in our village.—L. *kuča*.

kučai out of.—D.q. *watanasta kočai* from his country; She. *go:šeyg k°* out of the house.

kučana.—D.q. *me galars k°* inside this hole.

Kana: after.—LSI.e. *i: sa:at k°* after some time.—L. *khana:*.

kanai out of.—D.q. *šare k°* out of the town.

kana-ika.—D.s. *ya:rkəlanəst-om k°* (I go) out (?) towards my friends; cf. LSI.e. *dorre: kani:kan* from outside (?).

Lamba after (following).—W. *čura ləma* 274,11 (he went) after the thief;

cf. D. 282,5; D.q. *ek limba* (she has come) to eat ("after eating") you.—L. *limba*.

lamba:.—W. *alowata: lemāi* 275,3 (he went out) after (i.e. for) the pumpkin.

Lerna under.—W. *paristəm l°* under my foot; D.q. *merna: lena:-m* below me; She. *pole l°* under the bridge; LSI.e. *moŋe: l°* under the tree.—L. *lerna:*.

lernai (from) below.—W. *arsək l°* from below the ashes.

Miltin together with.—D. *miltin-am*, LSI.w. *merna miltin* (e. *mintin*) together with me.

Nazdik near.—D. *gu:šing nazdik* 282,24 (he came) near the house, cf. LSI. *gō:šiger nazdik* (w. *nizik*).

Pila with.—W. *šarne p°* (Ku.Sh. *pela*) with himself; cf. 272,19; D. *si:nar p° dare:ekyen* 282,7 he embraced him; D.q. *pulestom/mena pela* with my son/me; LSI.w. *sarya pila* (marriage) with his sister.—L. *palai*.

Piri like.—W. *te:ne: p° ardemir* a man like you.

Porā, etc., before.—D.q. *parŋesta por'e-i* before her husband; She. *go:šang porā* in front of the house; SheFerd.LSI.e. *merna: por:ar* (walk) in front of me.

Pəšarn like (Psht.).—W. *no:kararn p°* 281,26 like servants.

Paškin behind.—D.q. *p°-ei* behind him; She. *go:šeyg p°* behind the house; LSI. *terna: poštīn* behind you.—L. *pačakana*.

Šera on.—W. *ja:la sera* on a raft; *lerwaner sira* 280,2 (he divided it) between the brothers; cf. 274,13; 17; D. *pande šira* on the road; cf. 280,10; She. *waiŋe šera* on a stone; LSI.e. *darre: šera:* on a hill.

Te: from.—She. *warək kaŋa te ače* take water from the stream; SheFerd. *go:ŋar te:* from the well; LSI.e. *nandi: te:* from the river; *me:/ya/hla te:* from him/this/here.—Cf. *de:* ?

ADJECTIVES

10.1. Adjectives in *-ar*, and some in *-k*, are inflected for gender and number, with Fem. and Plur. *-i*, *-č*.

Thus, D. *darar/pan o:bara:/i: še:* the hill/road is steep; *sudura:/i: a/es* he/she is beautiful; W.D. *and'a:/i: a/es* he/she is blind; *ama: andi: ais* we are blind; *ete zalak/ardemi: andi: an/a:en* those people are blind; N. *wer'ek/zai:b and'a:/i: as*; Kch. *ardam/ma:ši: anda:/endi: as*; D.q. *awalwali: zeip-e:* his first wife; D.s. *gaŋa ta:t-i* grandfather; *grani(?)ei*

grandmother; She. *ir* *čani'ar/ir* *ardmi:/marda* a small man/woman; *merna/ir* *hamra:-m* my comrade(s); D.q. *merni: lay'im* my brothers. But Lg.z. *merna: l/sary-arm gaṇdar:-s* my brother/sister is big.

10.2. D.q. *šaleč* f. white; W. *šeleč* *sen* they are white (Masc. Sg. *šel'ek*),^a but Lg.z. *šeli:k* *gorar:/marda-gorar:*.

Note W. *garak* m. 275,5, *gareik* f. 272,9 hidden, disappeared.

10.3. There is no inflexion of the predicative Adj. in D. *darr/nandi: gaṇ ši:* the hill/river is big; *gaṇ* as he/she is big; She. *buṛen ardmi:/marda* an old man/woman (also Plur.).

10.4. Many Static Participles in *-wa:/i:* serve as adjectives. Thus, W.D. *pačawa:* ripe; *susuwa'a:* dry.

10.5. Case-inflexion has only been recorded in D. *wara watana* in another country. Cf., e.g. D.q.She. *merna: aslar:-m* in my hand; D. *terna: ta:teste* *gu:šiṇ* 284,24.

10.6. Comparison is expressed by means of the postposition *der*.—Cf. D.q. *se f'ama odai/kučai gaṇ* as he is the biggest of all (lit., big from amongst).

From a diachronic viewpoint, e.g. W. *de:štaz* elder, bigger; *kaṇištaz* younger, smaller are ancient superlatives.

NUMERALS

11.1.	W.	D.	She.	Kch.	Lg.c.	Lg.z.	N.
1. <i>ir</i>	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
2. <i>do:</i>	<i>dò:</i>	<i>do:</i>	=	=	=	=	=
3. <i>le:</i>	=	=	=	=	=	<i>le:</i>	<i>le:</i>
4. <i>čarr</i>	<i>čà:r</i>	=	=	=	=	=	=
5. <i>panj</i>	=	<i>penj</i>	<i>pans(?)</i>	<i>pa'nj</i>	=	<i>pānj</i>	<i>pānj</i>
6. <i>še:</i>	<i>šè:</i>	<i>še</i>	<i>še:</i>	=	<i>še:</i>	=	=
7. <i>sat</i>	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
8. <i>ašt</i>	=	=	=	=	<i>ašt</i>	<i>ašt</i>	<i>ašt</i>
9. <i>nō:</i>	=	<i>no</i>	<i>nō:</i>	<i>no:</i>	<i>nō:</i>	=	=
10. <i>de:</i>	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
11. <i>žaya, žā:</i>	<i>yari</i>	<i>yai</i>	<i>yari</i>	=	=	<i>žari</i>	<i>žari</i>
12. <i>dwaya</i>	<i>dvari</i>	<i>dvai</i>	<i>dvari</i>	=	<i>du'ari</i>	<i>duwari</i>	<i>duwari</i>
13. <i>luri</i>	<i>lui</i>	<i>loi</i>	<i>leri</i>	<i>se:zd'a</i>	=	<i>lui</i>	<i>lui</i>
14. <i>čad'er</i>	=	=	=	=	<i>čar:rd'a</i>	<i>čadil'er</i>	<i>čadil'er</i>

^a D. *gāre:nē* Pl. big (s.v. *gaṇ*), possibly for **gaṇeč*, may belong to a Masc. **gaṇek*.

	W.	D.	She.	Kch.	Lg.c.	Lg.z.	N.
15. <i>panj'ü:</i>	<i>°u:</i>	<i>penj'u:</i>	<i>panj'u:</i>	=	<i>pā:nzd'a</i>	<i>panj'i:</i>	<i>panj'i:</i>
16. <i>šor:r</i>	<i>šò:r</i>	<i>šor:r</i>	<i>šor:r</i>	<i>šar:nzd'a</i>	=	<i>šur:r</i>	<i>šur:r</i>
17. <i>sat'ü:</i>	<i>°u:</i>	<i>°iru</i>	<i>°u:</i>	<i>abda</i>	=	<i>satt'ü:</i>	<i>satt'ü:</i>
18. <i>ašt'ü:</i>	<i>°u:</i>	<i>°iru</i>	<i>°u:</i>	<i>ažda</i>	<i>hažda</i>	<i>ašt'ü:</i>	<i>ašt'ü:</i>
19. <i>na(w)ü:</i>	<i>na'u:</i>	<i>naw'iru</i>	<i>°u:</i>	<i>norzda</i>	<i>nu:°</i>	<i>naw'ü:</i>	<i>naw'ü:</i>
20. <i>west</i>	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
21. <i>west-u-yi:</i>		<i>west-e-i:</i>					
30.		<i>si:</i>					
40. <i>d'owa</i>	<i>d'owya</i>	<i>dew'ea</i>			<i>čel</i>		
50.		<i>penj'ar:</i>					
60. <i>l'ewa</i>	<i>l'ewya</i>	<i>lewea</i>					
70.		<i>lewea-de:</i>					
80. <i>č'a:rwa</i>	<i>č'a:rwyā</i>	<i>čar:rw'ea</i>					
90.		<i>„ -d'e:</i>					
100. <i>p'ain(j)wa</i>	<i>panj'wiya</i>	<i>penjwe</i>					
200. <i>derwa</i>		<i>do sad.</i>					
300. <i>panj'ünwa</i>							
400. <i>wezwa</i>	<i>wezwiya</i>						
500. <i>„ -o-painwa</i>							

11.2. Note also D.q.s. *še:*, *yai*; D.q. *loi*; *penj'u:*, D.s. *panj'u:*; D.q. *sati:u*, *ašt'iru*, *naw'iru*; Ds. *satur*, *ašt'u:*, *nou*; Ku. *panž*; *še:*; *žari*, *duwari*, *θui*, *čad'er*; *panj'i:*; *šur:r*; *sati:ri*; *ašt'iri*; *na'ür*.—LSI.e. *šə*, LSI.w. *zer*; LSI.e. *axt*.—Lg. (Masson, Leech) *se(n)zda*; *šanza*, *šenzda* 16; *habda*; *hažda*; LSI.e. *panj-wia* 100.

The Lg. dialects have borrowed from Prs. 13 and 16–19, Lg.z. also 14, 15. Cf. also Lg.z. *čel* 40; She. *do sad* 200.

11.3. The Obl. of D.D.q.She. *ir* is *eke*; Gen. D. *ekes*; D.q. *ekesta* one of them (Obl.).

11.4. D. *doreya*, D.q.She. *do-ya* both. E.g. D. *a: emar d° tare:ekam* I see you both. Obl. She. *dory'ena*; Gen. *do'ainsa* of both of them.—D.q. *de:ka* (in Song *do'aika*) both.

11.5. *Jan* is used as a numerative, e.g. in D. *wari: xalek čar: panj jan azen* the other people are four or five (persons).

11.6. Ordinals.—D.q. *aw'alwala:/ir*, She. *°wara* first.—Further ordinals in *-maṇgal*; D.q. *do:/la-maṇgal*; She. *do-/la-/čar-/pa:nč-/sat-/de:-maṇgal* the second, etc.

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns

12.1.	1. Sg.	2. Sg.	1. Pl.	2. Pl.
Nom.	a:, mam	tu, etc.	(h)ama:	(h)ema:, ima
Obl.	"	to:	"	"
Dat.	me:ne:	terne:	ama:ne:	ema:ne:

12.2. 1. Sg.—Nom. D.She.N.LSI.Lg.z. a:; W.D.q.s. mam. E.g. D. a: to: tare:gam, W. mam to: thare:gam I see thee.

12.3. 2. Sg.—Nom. She.N.Lg.z. tu(:); W.D.D.q.s.LSI.w. to:; LSI.e. tə.—Thus, D. to: mam tari:mgye: thou seest me; to: kor kar:k'e: ? what art thou doing. But also, as phonetical variants. D. tu niwa:ir thou art sitting; W. tə mam thari:mgäi.

1., 2. Pl.—She.LSI. with h-, but W.D.D.q.Lg.z. ama:; W.D.D.q.N. ema:; D.s.Lg.z. ima(:).

12.4. A dative form 1., 2. Pl. occurs in She. ham'ane:, hem'ane: for us/you. Cf. D. ema: amane: au d'adan give ye us bread; ama: em'a:ne: jawar:b derokas ab'at we are giving you an answer now (but also ama: ema: jawar:b derokas we gave you an answer). Cf. also D.q. m/tene de from me/thee; W. me:ne: sera/urnde on/to me; terne: pire like thee.

Corresponding to D.q. amodi:, She. hamodi, hermorde (come) to us, you, we find Sg. men'a-odi, tonor:de. Cf. also D.q.She. m/ternar:nte for me/thee.

12.5. (H)ama:, (h)ema:, etc., serve also as genitives. Thus, D.q. ama lay-an/-in our brother(s); ema lay-o your brothers; She. hama lary-in; hem'a lary-u; ham'a astar-n, hem'a ast-o: in our/your hands; Lg.z. ama: lek-a:n, ima lek-a:u our/your wives.

12.6. In Lg.z. also merna: "my" seems to be an uninflected Genitive, cf. merna: lary-a:m/sary-a:m my brother/sister. Thus also in Kch. lary-a:m merna:; merna: sary-a:m/feb-a:m/darri-m my sister/tongue/beard.

But in most dialects m/ternar is a possessive adjective. Thus, D. merna: lary-a:m my brother, merni: sary-a:m my sister; merni: do: sary-em a:en I have two sisters; merni: bustar-om my lip; terni: bokh go:legg a:en thou hast many cows; W.N. merni: sary-a:m; W. merna: lam-em si: I have work to do; merna:/i: a/es he/she is mine; merni: gyerna:-m si: it is at my waist; D.q. mena lay'am; mena yarr-im my friend; mena ast-im my hand; mena pullest-om yarr-e my son's friend; merni: a yarest-om zeip-i: my friend's wife.

* The -i: remains unexplained, not being governed by zeip.

12.7. A plural in -i: is recorded in D.q. meni: lay-/ast-im my brothers/hands.

Pronominal Suffixes

13.1.	1. Sg.	1. Pl.	2. Sg.	2. Pl.	3. Pers.
Nom.	-e/am, etc.	-e/an, etc.	-e:, -ai	-u:/o:	-e/a
Obl.	-es(t)a/om, etc.	-es(t)an, etc.	-es(t)e:	-es(t)o:	-es(t)a:
Abl.	-e:m				
Loc.	-a:m	-a:n	-ai	-o:	-a/ei, etc.

13.2. Nom. 1. Sg.—Type I^a has -i/em. Thus, W.D.Kch. pul'-em, She.Lg.N. -em, LSI. -im, Lg.z. pul'-i:m my son; W. ast'-em, D. -i/erm, D.s.q. -'im, She. -'i:m my hand; W. dand-i/e:m, D. -i:m, Lg.D.s. -'e:m, Lg.z. -im my tooth; W. ar-yem, D.D.q. -e:m my heart, etc. The variation within each dialect is due either to inexact recording or to latitude of pronunciation.

Type II has -a(:)m. Thus, W.D.She.Lg.Kch.N. sa(:)y-a(:)m my sister; W. la(:)y-a(:)m, D.q. lary-am, lay'-am, lay'-a:m, Lg.z. lary-a:m, etc.; W.D.D.s.N.Kch. fib-a(:)m, (but Lg. fib-erm, Lg.z. fib-i:m) my tongue; W.D. lek-a:m; She. lak-a:m, Lg.z. lek'-am (but D.q. lek-em) my wife; D. naway-am my grandson; D.s. b'ustur-am (W. -om) my lip; D.q. z'eip-om, west'-om my wife; go:šing-om my house; D.s. aṇurək-om (She. -am) my finger, etc. This -om is probably merely a labialized variant of -am. Many loan-words also have -am, irrespective of gender. Thus, D. merma:n-am (W. -om) my guest; dušman-am my enemy; D.q. γam-am my pain, etc.

Words ending in a vowel have usually -m. Thus, D.q.s. manda(:)-m my neck; D. mambi:-m my husband's sister; She. pašu-m my rib; D.q. p'a:nfi-m (but also pan'fi:-em) my husband.

With plural nouns: D.D.q.She. la(:)y-im my brothers; She. pašu-yem^b my ribs; D.s. aṇur'-om my fingers (Sg. aṇurək-om ?); D.q., etc., ast-im my hands (= Sg.).

13.3. 1. Pl.—W.D. ast-i(:)n, D.q. -e:n our hands; D.s. tart-i:n, She. -ern our father; D.q. pul-ern our son; jarn-e/i:n ourselves; D.q. lay-an our brother (lay-in our brothers); Lg.z. lek-a:n our wives.

13.4. 2. Sg.—Type I, e.g. in W. pul-i:, D. -ie:, LSI. -e:; W.D.s. ast-e:, D. -'e:, D.s.Lg.z. -i:; D.q. dand-e:; D. na:m-e: thy name; norreg-e: thy nail; D.s. tart-e:, LSI.w. -i:.

* Cf. SW. 13.4.

^b Budd. -en is a misprint.

Type II: D.D.q. *lary-ai*, LSI.w. *-ar-i*; D.s. *lay-'e*; W. *fib-ai*, W.D. *fib-ai*; D. *sary-ai*; Lg.z. *lek-ai*.

With plural nouns: D.q. *lay-er*, She. *lary-i*; D.q. *ast-er* (= Sg.).

13.5. 2. Pl.—D.D.q. *ast-or*; D.q. *pul-'or*; D.s. She. *tart-o*; Lg.z. *lek-ar-u* your wives; She. *hamr'or* (< **-ar-u*) your comrades; D.q. She. *la(:)y-or/ur* your brother(s).

13.6. 3. Pers.—Type I. A distinction has been recorded between W.D.q.s. *ast-e*, D. *-er* his hand, and W.D.q. *ast-er*, D.s. *-i*; D. *-e*: thy hand; D. *pul-er* (W.D.q. She. *-e*) his son; D.q. *fa:n-e* his soul; D.s. *lay-'e* his brother(s), and D. *pul-'er*, D.q. *fa:n-'er*; D.s. *lay-'e*: thy son, etc. Cf. also D.q. *yar-e* his friend; She. *porst-e* his skin, with short *-e*. But the recordings are not consistent. Thus, e.g. D. *ar-er* his heart; W. *ušt-er* his lip; *na:m-e*: his name; *ser-e*: his head. Cf. 1.6.

In the majority of cases we find *-i(:)* after final *-k/g*, and also in loan-words. Thus, D. *marnek-i* its hole; *norrek-i* its hoof; *aṇuṇik-i* his ring; *sunček-i* his needle; *umər-i* his age; W. *zāip-i*: his wife; *areh-i*: his mother; She. *kiṭarlik-i*: his girl; LSI.w. *go:šing-i*: his house, LSI.e. *ša:hr-i*: his town. But cf. also, e.g. D. *zirn-e* its saddle.

Type II.—D. She. LSI. *lary-a*; D. *fib-a*; She. *way-a* his daughter; *lak-a*, Lg.z. *lek-a* his wife.

From *tart-i*: father we find D.D.s. She. *tarte-'a*, LSI.e. *-iya:*, and from, She. *hamra:* comrade, *hamre-i*, and similarly with other words in *-ar*.

13.7. Plurals are, e.g. D.q. *lewane-'a* his brothers; D. *ančen-e* his eyes; D.q. *ast-e* his hands (= Sg.); LSI.e. *šor:ingan-e*: (LSI.w. *x°-i*) his dogs; D.q. *korre-'a* her heels (*kor-'e* her heel).

13.8. 1. Sg. Oblique.—W. *parist-om* (of) my foot; *larist-am* my brother; W.D. *tartest-am*, LSI.e. *-ist-am* my father; D. *pulest-am*, D.q. *-om*, She. *-es-am* my son; W.D. *want/dest-am* my share; D.q. *fa:rest-om*, She. *-as-om* myself; Lg.z. *šerastam* (*šera dard šir*) (there is pain in) my head; SheFerd. *ka:kas-am* my uncle's; LSI. *do:starnist-am* (with) my friends.—These forms serve as oblique and genitive.

1. Pl.—D.q. *pulest-en*; *yarest-ar-n*; *fa:rest-an* ourselves.

2. Sg.—W. *barbast-e* thy father's; D. *astest-er*; *largest-er*; *saryarst-er*; W.D. *fuḡ/kest-er* thy property; D.q. *pulest-er*, She. *-es-er*; D.q. *fa:rest-er*; *yarest-er*; *zaipest-er*: thy wife; *parn/est-er*: thy husband; Lg.z. *šerast-er*.

2. Pl.—D.q. *pulest-or*; *yarest-or*; *čapanest-or*: your bow(s).

3. Pers.—W.D.D.q. *pulest-a(:)*, She. *-esa*; W.D. *la:rest-a*; *tartest-ar*,

LSI.w. *-is-ar*; W. *oryest-ar*: his daughter; D.q. *yarest-ar*; *zeipest-ar*; LSI.e. *saryast-ar*, w. *-is-ar*, SheFerd. *-as-ar*; Lg.z. *šerast-ar*.

13.9. With Obl. Pl. of nouns: D. *astenest-or*: your hands; *amzolenest-am*, LSI.e. *do:starnist-am* (with) my friends; LSI. *nokara:nis(t)-e*: thy servants LSI.w. *dande:la:s-i*: thy teeth.

13.10. From D.q. are recorded some forms with repeated *-a/en-an-*. Thus, *lar-m-enan-asta-ika* to their villages; *oy-enan-ast-em/a:n ante* for my/our sons; *oy-enan-aste: (a)nte* for thy sons; *oy-enan-astar-nte* for his sons; *fa:n-anan-est-a* themselves; *yarkul-enan-ast-om/-er/-or*: my/thy/your friends.^a

13.11. Ablative.—1. Sg.—D. *šere:m* from my head; *yardeer-m*, W. *-er-m* from my memory.

13.12. Locative.—1. Sg.—D.W. *yad'ar-m* in my memory; D.q. *ar'ar-m* in my heart; *karar-m* in my ear; W.D.q. She. *astar-m* in my hand; D.s. *mena kočar-m* (= *m° koči koča*) in my belly; *do:rar-m* on my face; She. *šer'ar-m* on my head, etc.

1. Pl.—D.q. She. (*h*)*ama(:) astar-n*.

2. Sg.—D.q. She. *tena ast'a-i*.

2. Pl.—She. *asto:* (< **-ar-u*).

3. Pers.—W.D. *ast°-i*; D.q. She. *-e-i*, LSI.e. *-a-i*, w. *ha:sa-i*; W. *zaṭā-i* on his bed; *dur'ar-i* in his mouth; D. *paryar-i* on his feet.

Demonstrative Pronouns

(I) This (Proximate)

14.1.	W.	D.q.	She.	Lg.z.	LSI.
Nom. Sg.	<i>žu, er</i>	<i>yo</i>	<i>yo:</i>	<i>ye:</i>	<i>yo:</i>
Obl. „	(<i>e</i>) <i>me:/i:</i>	(<i>i</i>) <i>me/i:</i>	<i>am'e</i>	<i>mi:</i>	=
Gen. „	<i>emi:s</i>	<i>mi:s(i)</i>	<i>amise</i>	<i>mi:s</i>	=
Nom. Pl.	<i>eme:</i>	<i>im'e, mi:</i>	(<i>a</i>) <i>m'e</i>	<i>mye:da</i>	
Obl. „		„		„	

D. *yu/or*, Obl. *me:*; Kch. *er*; DMaj. *yo m.*, *ya f.*—D.q. has a Loc. (Obl.) in *ya go:šing* in this house; *ya watane* from this land; cf. W. *ya-kar* (in) this year.

Acc. to DMaj. *i/em'e* is used as a Pl. also of *elo*. Acc. to the same informant *yo* denotes something near and present, e.g. *yo a:dam* the man one

^a Cf. Ka. *yargul-in-ast-om*.

is speaking to. But *ya zeip* this woman, was said to be deprecatory, and not "nice".

(II) This

14.2.		W.	D.q.	She	LSI.e.	Lg.z.
	Nom. Sg.	<i>elo</i>	=	=	<i>e:la</i>	<i>a:la</i>
	Nom. Pl.	<i>ele</i>				"

N. *elo*; Lg.ch. *ala*.—Acc. to DMaj. *elo* denotes something near, but not necessarily visible, e.g. *elo ardam* the man (present) whom one is talking about.

The derivation of W. *alete* is uncertain. It has been recorded in *ese gu:šij alete ardemis si:* that house belongs to that (?) man; *alete xalak e:la-n* those people are there. Possibly *al-ete*, cf. K. *al-eme* these.

(III) That

14.3.	W.	D.q.	She.	Lg.z.	LSI.e./w.
Nom. Sg.	<i>se:</i>	(<i>e</i>) <i>se:</i>	(<i>o</i>) <i>se</i>	<i>use</i>	<i>u:sa/er</i>
Obl.	(<i>e</i>) <i>te:/i:</i>	(<i>e</i>) <i>te:/i:</i>	<i>o/uti:</i>	<i>tir</i> (Adj. <i>uta</i>)	<i>u/orti:</i>
Gen.	<i>tis</i>	<i>tis(i)</i>	<i>utis</i>	<i>tis</i>	(<i>u</i>) <i>tis</i>
Nom. Pl.	<i>ete:</i>	(<i>e</i>) <i>te:</i>	<i>ot'e</i>	<i>tyerda:</i> (Adj. <i>use</i>)	<i>u:ta/i:</i>
Obl.		"	"	"	
Dat.			<i>ot'erne</i>		
Gen.		(<i>e</i>) <i>terna</i>	<i>oterna</i>		<i>uterna:</i>

Cf. also D.D.s. (*e*)*se:*; (*e*)*te:*; (*a*)*tis*; Pl. (*e*)*ter*; *terna:*.—With emphatic -*me*, W. *se-me* that very; Pl. *ter-me* (271,19; 277,9; 278,3).^a

14.4. Regarding the derivation of I and III cf. SW. Demonstratives in -*l* are known from Ka. (*ale*) and from other Dard. languages, e.g. Tir. *le* this, *la:* that; Shum. *aloi*; Phal. *alo*.—Waig., with *ali*; *yir* and *sā*, has a system of demonstratives closely resembling that of SE.

Regarding the probably emphatic forms in *e-/i-/a-*, cf. SW.

Apart from DMaj. *yo m.*, *ya f.* no trace of any distinction of gender has been recorded. Cf. DMaj. *elo ardam/zeip*; W. *elo ardemis/zeip*; D. *se ardemis/zeip* this/that man/woman; W. *se kela:* that boy; *ese pan f.* that road; D.q. *yo kil'a/a:ya't f.* this boy/word. D. *yur* (*yur merni lek-arm* this my wife), and *yü* (*yü kyela:* this boy) are probably phonetic variants.—An isolated form is W. *er* in *er dā:ra:ek* this stick; *mam er watane: a:em* I am from this country.

^a Cf. NE. 14, 15.

Examples:

(I)

14.5. Nom. Sg.—D. *yo: korek šer?* Lg.z. *yer ku čis šeri?* what is this? D.q. *yo x'ofik-en* he asked him.—But attributive in W. *žu kela:* this boy; D.q. *yo wa:?* this stone; Lg.z. *yer a:dam* this man (Psht. *dar sa:rai*); *yer gūng* this house.

14.6. Obl. Sg.—D.q. *mīr merken* he said to him; *mīr-arnte:* to this one; Lg.z. *mīr mari:erkan* he said.—Attributive, also functioning as a Gen.: W. *me kela:s* this boy's; *mīr bardšare* 271,11 this king; *eme sunčekas* of this needle; D. *me: go:ra:s* this horse's; cf. 280,25; D.q. *me botas:* of this plant; *mīr weri: zeip* (Obl.) this other woman; *ime admis* of this man; *imīr pulēst-om* this my son (Obl.); *ami: admis/zaip:s* of this man/woman (< Prs. *hami:* ?); D.s. *ime ardmīr* (Obl.) this man; She. (*a*)*m'e ardmīr*; *am'e ardmīs*.

14.7. Gen. Sg.—W. *emīs pul-a:s* this one has a son; *emī(s) sayar* his sister; D.q. *mīs ... aine* XIV,2 he ... had; *mīs aresta* XII,8 his heart; *misi-arnte* on account of this; She. *amise koi* like this; Lg.z. *mīs a:la šir* this one belongs to him.

14.8. Pl.—W. *eme testewi: an* they are standing; D. *ar em'e: tari:igam* I see them; Lg.z. *myerda: yer a:en* these ones are here; *myerda matizekan* they said.—Attributive: W. *eme ardemīr*; She. *am'e ardmīr* these men; D.q. *ime pirnēar* these flowers; *ime xalakana*; She. *ame ardmerna* these men's.

(II)

14.9. Sg.—W. *ele sust ardam-a* this is a lazy man; D.q. *elo bei ne šir* this is not good; She. *el'o men'a pul-em ha:s* this is my son.—Attributive: W. *elo a:ya:t* this word; N. *elo ardam nerwar:s* this man is sitting; Lg.z. *a:la ardam*; *alə gūng* this house.

Pl.—W. *ele testiwī: arn* they are standing; Lg.z. *a:la ardamarn* these men.

(III)

14.10. Nom. Sg.—D.q. *se par* he goes; *ese ga:əya:* he sends; D.s. *ese elar as* he is here; She. *ose era* he eats; Lg.z. *use tir lāigī:* he sees him; *tis use šir* that one is his.—Attributive: W. *lāer-a: se ardemīr* that man is wounded; *ese pan sam si:* that road is flat; D. *se ardemīr mam tari:m* that man sees me; *mam se ardemīr layekam* I saw that man; *ese: ardemīr arwata: a:s* that man is hungry; D.q. *se zai:p* that woman; D.s. *ese ardmīr*;

She. *sə warir marda*: that other woman; Lg.z. *use a:dam/zai:f gir:kāi/gečāi* that man/woman went; *use gur:ng tenar šir* that house is yours. Note D.q. *se to anək-i* he (Ag.) struck you.

14.11. Obl. Sg.—W. *tir merčan* he said to her; D.q. *amar tir anigās* we beat him; *tir merken* he/she said to him; D.s. *ete la:m kaken* he worked; *etir warək d'e-a* give him water; She. *to utir na lešiya* you do not see him; *ut'ir d'e-a* give him it; Lg.z. *tir marir'e:kan* he said to him; *amar tir laikyās* we see him. Attributive: W. *tir guršipir* in that house; *ter xarner* (Obl.) that rich man; *ete a:demir mam pinirigam* I know that man; *ese guršipir ete a:demir:s šir* that house belongs to that man; D. *a: ete a:demir au derikam* I give that man bread; *eter a:demir elo a:demir mazbut* as this man is stronger than that man; *tir xarner*; D.q. *te a:dmir:s/zaipes*; Lg.z. *a:/ama: 'uta a:damir laikyam/s* I/we see this man.

14.12. Gen. Sg.—W. *tis lakane*i on the third day before that; D. *atir:s a:deme'ā bor ain* he has many servants; D. *tir:s lary-e* his brother; *tisi koi* like her; D.s. *tir:s ast-e* his hand; D.s. *atir:s tate-a*, She. *utir:s tate-a* his father; Lg.z. *tis use šir* that is his.

14.13. Pl.—D.g. *te payainē* they went; *ama te anigēs* we beat them; *ete ama anirigān* they beat us; D.s. *te la:m kan* they work; *ete elar ainē* they were here; She. *otā en* they eat; *to ut'e na lešiya* you do not see them; *ot'e ode* to them; N. *ede nirwi-an* they are sitting; Lg.z. *tye:da gir:nēāi* they went; *tye-da ye: a:en* they are here; *a: tye:da lāyek'am* I see them.—Attributive: W. *ete xalak andi: an* those people are blind; D. *duor ter a:demir: erarinē* yesterday those men came; *a: eter le: a:demir: taririgam* I see those three men.

14.14. Gen. Pl.—D.q. *(e)tena lary-e* their brother; D.s. *terna layre, terna tate-a*; She. *oterna tate-a*; *oterne* for them (Dat. ?).

Demonstrative Adjectives

14.15. D. *ōilo*; She. *eil'o*; D.q. *yau* so many.

Interrogative Pronouns

15.1. W.D.q.LSI.Lg.z. *ker/i:* who? Gen. *kis*.—W. *čur ker air?* 278,9 who are you, the thief? *kis karmiy ars?* 271,9 of whose tribe is he? D.q. *to ker-ai?* She. *kə hayir?* who are you? D.q. *ki: . . . dam-ir?* to whom shall I give it? She. *ky-arnte?* for whom? Lg.z. *kyaras (*ki: ars)?* who is it? *ye: gur:ng kis šeri?* whose is this house?

W. *koi:*?; D. *ko:*, *kore(k)*; D.q. She. *ko* what?—W. *k° kargai?* D. *tor ko: karekye?* what are you doing? D. *yo: korek šer?* what is this? Lg.z. *ye: ku-čis šeri?* what is this? W. *ku-šik*; D.q. *ko-šik* what.

D.q. *ko-zart?* of what kind?

D. *karo*; D.q. She.LSI. *kau?* how much? how many?—D. 284,11,24; SheFerd. *karu orya?* how many sons?—But also D.LSI.SheFerd. *ka?* how many?—LSI. *ka: pulerla harin?* how many sons are there? SheFerd. *ka: sarla: har:s?* how old is it? (or, *ka: sarla:?* "of how many years"?). Cf. D. *kar-lerwanir/sarai* ^a *ari:*? (2 Sg. !) how many brothers/sisters have you?

W. *x'ande?* how much? Cf. Voc. s.v.

Indefinite Pronouns

15.2. W.D. *kir* somebody, anybody; whoever.—W. 275,11; 280,16 (cf. D.).

W. *ar-ki:* 271,13,17; D.q. *ar-ki:s* (Gen.) whoever, everybody.

W. *ke-me* 278,5 somebody, any.^b—D.q. *ke-so (a:dmir)* a certain (man).

W.D.D.q.LSI.e. *ku-me(r)* something, whatever.—W.D. 281,2; D. *kome: čukam čanik* some object fell; D.q. *eč kume* nothing whatever; LSI.e. *kume: merna: wan-im liya:* whatever is my share.

W.D. *kuti:* 281,1-2; D.q. *kot(e)* somebody.—W. Gen. *ar-kute:s* 277,7 whoever; D.q. *ar-kote-a* each of them; *ar-kotesta* to each of them; *ar-kod-o* each of you.—Compounded with **th-* to become?

D.q. She. *(har)kan* however much.

W.D.D.q. She. *bo:(h)* many.

W. *čuka*; D. *čeka*; N. *čukka*; She. *če* all.

W.D. *šam* all.

W.D. *čan* some.

W.D.D.q. She. *wari:* other.

Reflexive Pronoun

15.3. W. *tarnuk*; D. *°ek*; D.q. She. *°ek* own.

PRONOMINAL ADVERBS

W. *ela*; D.s. *ela/i*; She. *al'e*; Lg.z. *al:di* here.—W. *ela-ka*; D. *eler-ka* hither.

W.D.q. *ela*; D.q. *alir*; She. *al'e*; Lg.z. *al:di*; W.D.q.s. *la/i* there.

^a The form *sarai* is unknown in other contexts.

^b Cf. *ku-me:* and *se-me:*.

D.q. She. *ču* where.—W. *ču-te*; D.q. *ču-de*; She. *ču-ti* from where.—
D.s. *čoveka*; She. *čuka* whither.

W. *kene*; LgLee. *kura* whither?

D.q. *karnte* (< **kor-ante*) why?

D.q. *karr* when?

D.q. *xul*; W. *xul-ki* why?

VERBS

AUXILIARIES

To Be

PRESENT

18,1.	W.	D.	D.s.	She.	LSI.	N.
1. Sg.	<i>arem</i>	=	<i>aim</i>	<i>haryim</i>	<i>harim</i>	-am
2. Sg.	<i>ari:</i>	=	<i>ai</i>	<i>haryi</i>	<i>hari:</i>	-ai
3. Sg.	<i>ars(t)</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>hars</i>	<i>hars</i>	-as
3. Sg. inan.	<i>si:</i>	<i>šir/er</i>	<i>ši</i>	<i>šir</i>	e. <i>šer</i> ; w. <i>šid</i>	<i>ši</i>
1. Pl.	<i>ars</i>	<i>aris</i>	<i>ares</i>	<i>haryes</i>	<i>haris</i>	-ars
2. Pl.	<i>a:e</i>	<i>ari:</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>haryeda</i>	<i>harida</i>	-ai
3. Pl.	<i>a:(e)n</i>	<i>aren</i>	<i>aren</i>	<i>harin</i>	<i>harin</i>	-an
3. Pl. inan.	<i>sen</i>	<i>šen</i>				

18,2. Cf. SheFerd. *harim*, —, *hars*, *s/šer*, —, —, *harin*, *šen*; Lg.z. 3. Sg. *as*, *šir* (*šeri*), 3. Pl. *aren*.—W. *andar-s* he is blind; *andir-es* she is blind; D. *andar-as*, *andir-is*; *awatir-em* I (f.) am hungry, with phonetical variants of -am, -as after fem. -ir. But also W. *testewir-as* she is standing, and D. -as after a fem. subject.

Regarding 2. Pl. -da, cf. 20,3.

W. *tor čurte: ari?* *mam er watani: a:em* from where art thou? I am from this country; *testewar-m* I am standing; *amar/ele testewi: as/a:en* we/they are standing; *ema andi: ā:e* you are blind; *ir ardamir a:st* * *dor orāir: aren* there is a man who has two sons; *mun'asib n'e si:* it is not necessary; *gut'a: se* (the water) is deep; *šeleč sen* they are white.

D. *awatar-em/-i:/-s* I am hungry, etc.; *awat'i: aris/-ari/-aren* we, etc., are hungry; *tor awat'i: are?* art thou (f.) hungry? *andi: ais/ai/a:en* we, etc.,

* Or, **as* *dor*, with intrusive *t* in sandhi.

are blind; *new'ar-yem/-i:/s* I am sitting, etc.; *niwir-as/-ai/-arn* we, etc., are sitting; *korna: šir* it is old; *terna asta-i šer* it is in thy hands; *čilar-e pa:k šen* his clothes are clean.

	W.	D.s.	She.	LSI.
18,3.				
1. Sg. m.	<i>arikem</i>	<i>arikim</i>	<i>ha:kim</i>	<i>hari-kim</i>
1. Sg. f.		<i>arčim</i>		„ -čim
2. Sg. m.	<i>ariki:</i>	<i>ariki:</i>	<i>ha:ki</i>	„ -ki:
2. Sg. f.		<i>arči:</i>		„ -či:
3. Sg. m.	<i>ari:k</i>	<i>aik</i>	<i>ha:kʷ</i>	<i>harik-k</i>
3. Sg. f.	<i>a:(i)č</i>	<i>arč</i>		„ -č
1. Pl.	<i>arčes</i>	=	<i>harčes</i>	<i>hari-kis</i> m. (?)
				„ -čis f. (?)
2. Pl.	<i>arče:</i>	=	<i>harču</i>	e. „ -čo, w. <i>harikida</i> m.
				„ -čida f.
3. Pl.	<i>arinč</i>	<i>ainč</i>	<i>harinč</i>	e. „ -nč, e.w. -nk m. (?)
				e.w. „ „ f.

18,4. The LSI. Masc. Pl. forms in -k have no parallel in other sources, and can scarcely be correct. It is also most unlikely that LSI.e. should have 2. Pl. m. -o, but f. -ida.—Regarding 2. Pl. -u/o, cf. L.G.A. D. agrees with W., apart from 2. Sg. m. *ariki:*.

18,5. From the root *b-* to become we find, with regular inflexion: Imper. 2. Sg. LSI. *bə/i*; 1. Pl. LSI.e. *biman*. Aor. D.q. *bi/em*; She. *berm*; *bir*; *bā*; *bers*; *berda*; *bern*; LSI. *bim*; 1. Pl. w. *bis*.

Pres. 3. Sg. W.D.q. She. *beyar* (*ba:*); LSI.w. *bigar*; LSI.e. *biya:*; 1. Sg. LSI.e. *biyim*(?).

Imperf. 1. Sg. m. LSI.w. *bigarkum*; 3. Sg. f. W. *bayarič*; D.q. *be°*.

Past. 1. Sg. m. D.q. *bikem*; LSI.e. *bikim*; 3. Sg. m. W.D.D.q. LSI.e. *bik*; She. *bi/ek*; 3. Sg. f. D.q. She. LSI.e. *bi/č*.

Perf. 1. Sg. m. W. *batakim*; She. *betekem*; LSI.w. *bitakim*; 2. Sg. m. D.q. *bitiki:*; 3. Sg. m. W.D. *betik:*; D.q. LSI.w. *biti(:)k*; 3. Sg. f. W.D. *beteč*; She. *°ač*.

Plupf. 1. Sg. m. W.D. *bearkam*; She. *°om*; 1. Sg. f. She. *°čem*; 3. Sg. m. D.q. *beycik*.

Static Perf. 1. Sg. m. W. *bowar-m*; Lg.z. *bowaryim*; LSI. *bi°*; 2. Sg. m. D.q. *bewa-ai*; 3. Sg. inan. D.q. *bewa šir*; cf. LSI. *biwar* having been.

Infin. LSI. *bik*.

Pres. Participle LSI. *bika:la:**.

18.6. From the root *t(h)-*:

Aor. She. *təm*; *tir*, *ter*, *təs*; *təda*; *tən* I may be, etc.; D.q. *ti/em*, etc. (v. Budd., p. 67); LSI. *təm*; 3. Sg. W. *tir*; D. *ter*; 3. Pl. D. *te(:)n*.—With *-ai*^b: She. *təm/n-ai* if I/they were; LSI. *təm-ai*; D.q. *tir-ai* if it were; Lg.z. *ted-ai* (Psht. *wari*).

Static Perf. LSI. *təwarim* I may (?) be.

CAUSATIVES

19.1. In most examples recorded Causatives are formed with *-l-*, often followed by *-er-* in Aor., Past, Infinitive, and *-eri-* in Present.

Thus, Imper. W. *pačala* cook; Aor. D. *pačal'erem*; Pres. D. *pačala:gam*, She. *lerm-i*; Past She. *lerkam*; Infin. She. *lerk*.

Aor. She. *niwaler-m-i*: I make thee sit down; Pres. N. *ne:lāigam*; 3. Pl. D.q. *nileringan* (with intrusive *-n-*); Past She. *niwalerkam-i*: I made thee sit down; *mam uti: niwalerčan* I... them; W. *nye:leč-an* he... her; D.q. *nilerč-es* he... us, etc. (v. Budd., p. 56, sq.); Infin. She. *niwalirk*.

Pres. N. *bušalēigam*; She. *bušalerm*; Past *bušalerkam*; Infin. *bušalerk*.

Imper. D.q. *bayile-am* make me afraid; Aor. *bayileryim*; Past *bayilekam*.

Pres. She. *sasaler-m-i* I shall dry it; Past *sasalerč-an*.

Past She. *šišal'ekem* I kindled (the fire).—Aor. D.q. *pirzaler-m-i* I shall make thee turn round; Pres. *pirzal'eigom*; Past *pirzal'ekom*. No non-caus. forms of this verb have been recorded.

19.2. Other causative formations are: Pres. W. *pinfa:ayam* I cause it to be ground (*penfirigam* I crushed); Pres. D.q. *pol'eigem* I make him arrive; Past *polerk-em* he made me arrive; Imper. D. *manfed'ar* 282,13 make him put on (a dress).

AORIST STEM

Imperative

20.1. 2. Sg.—Root, in some cases with loss of final *-r*. Thus, W.D.D.q. She. *ka* do; W.D. She. *pa* go; W. *ya*; N. *ža* come; W. *ne:* sit down; She. *ad*, Kch. *a/et* eat; She. *pe* drink; W.LSI. *šar* go away.

* Cf. 35,1 (3).

^b Cf. NE. 21,5; SE. 31,4; 32,1.

With final *-e*: D.q. She. *muče* flee; She. *tiste* stand; *hare* hear; *tarə*; W. *thare* look; N. *ate:* enter; D.D.q. She. *ače*; LSI.w. *ačar* ("respectful"?) bring; D. She. LSI. *ye:* come. Some of these forms may perhaps be 2. Pl., but acc. to D.q. (MS.) 2. Sg. *tiste* is opposed to 2. Pl. *tister*.^a

Most transitives have *-a*: W.D.q. She. *gura* seize; W. *xana* pull; *šaka* sweep; *dara* catch; *le:la* stretch out; *pačala* cook; D. *ana* beat; *waha* put; D.q. *waygea* shoot; D. *do:eya*; She. *doya* milk; She. *manja* put on; N. *mara* speak; SheFerd. *kaya:* make; *daya* give; *tinga:* bind, but *kaner* pull. LSI.w. *go:rya:* take is supposed to be a respectful form of *gora:*, cf. also *dangiya:* beat (a drum).

The hortative particle *pa*^b is added in W.D. She. Lg.ch. *ne:pa* sit down; cf. W. *dai pa* 271,3, be silent (?). Cf. 2. Pl. W.D. (ema) *ne:pe:*; N. *ni be:* sit down.

20.2. 1. Pl.—W.D.N. *pam'a(:)n*; D.q. *p'a:man*; She. *pa'erman* let us go; W.D. *kam'a:n*; D.q. She. LSI. *an* let us do; W. *unšama:n* let us wash; *šarə de šarəman* let us go (Psht. *za če zu:*, litt. go, let us go); D.Lg.ch. She. LSI. *aman*; N. *er*^c let us eat; W.Lg.ch. *paleman* let us lay down; N. *perman* let us drink; D.q. *d'aman* (that) we may give.—Cf. L. *-ma*.

20.3. 2. Pl.—In *-e(:)*: D.q. *tister* stand up; D.s. *ke:* do; N. *čuka aye* eat all of you; W. *šarə* go; D. *ne:* sit down; LSI.e. *ači* bring, but cf. also *warya* put; *manjaliya* put on.

In most cases we find *-da* especially in She. Lg. Thus, She. *kada* do; *pada* go (Aor. 2. Pl. *kareda*; *pareda*). But generally no difference between Aor. and Imper. has been recorded. E.g. She. *erda* come; *ada* eat; *gur'ada* seize; *peda* drink; *hareda* hear; *nerda* sit down; D.q. *k'anada* pull; *daweda* bend; LSI.w. *ačida* bring; *manjalerda* put on; *wareda* place; *aterda* eat; *zarida* (LSI.e. *š-*) go. Note D. *ače*... *manfeda*... *warəda*... *a:leša*... *marreda:* 282,13, sq. bring... dress... place... put... kill.

20.4. Irregular are: D. (*jam*) *ert* come (all); (*jam ne'er*) *au eret* (sit down all and) eat food; N. *äyet* eat. Since we find *-da* also in intrans. verbs, it does not seem possible to take this form as consisting of *-t/d* + pronominal suffix.

20.5. With Pronominal Suffixes we find:

1. Sg.—W. *mam thar-am* look at me; *dar-(a)m* give me; *gār-am* reckon me; *an-am* (2. Pl. *aner-am*) beat me; *baxə-am* (D. *-am*) forgive me; *di-am* (de-am) give me; Kch. *di-am*; D.q. *'an-am* (2. Pl. *'anad-am*); *d'e-am*; She. *de-m*; LSI *di-m*; LSI.e. *at-am* eat me.

^a Cf. NE. 20,1.

^b SW. 20,2.

1. Pl.—D. *to: au di-a:n* give us bread; *ema: aman'e: an dad-an* give ye us bread; D.q. *'an-an*; *'anad-an*; She. *de-n*.

3. Pers.—D. *ke-a* do it. Probably also D.q. *an-a*, *anad-a*, etc., cf. above.

Aorist

21.1.	D.q.		She.	SheFerd.
	I do	I rise	I do	I understand
1. Sg.	<i>kam</i>	<i>tist-'em</i>	<i>kar-em</i>	<i>mu:lax-m</i>
2. Sg.	<i>kai:</i>	„ -'e	„ -i:	„ -y
3. Sg.	<i>ke:</i>	„ -e:	„ -ei	„ -t
1. Pl.	<i>kas</i>	„ -es	„ -es	„ -s
2. Pl.	<i>kada</i>	„ -e ^a	„ -eda	„ -da
3. Pl.	<i>kan</i>	„ -en	„ -en	„ -nd

Cf. also She. *par-'em* I go, inflected like *kar'em*, and *tam*; *tir*; *te:*; *təs*; *tada*, *tən* I may be, and from *er/im* I come, 3. Sg. *er*; 3. Pl. *end*.

21.2. 1. Sg.—The ending is *-a/e/im*, but it is not possible to prove any correlation between these forms and ancient stems in *-a-*, *-aya-*, *-apaya-*.

(a) W. *guram-en* I take; *daram-en* I catch; *čatam-en* I lick; D.q. *kam* I make; LSI. *uram* I rise; *p(ar)am* I go.

(b) W. *xanea:m* I pull; D. *khan'e:em*; *an'eram* I beat; *aleryem* I rise.

(c) W. *čipem-en* I bite; *lagem-en* I lick; *šakem-en* I sweep; *dorem-en* (D. *doryem*) I milk; *man'jem* I put on; D. *šaem* I light a fire; *kar'em* I make; *ačem* (= N.) I bring; N. *gurem-en* I take; D.s. *alem* I mount; She. *kar'em* I make; *pyerm* (D. *pe:m*) I drink; LSI. *azem* I laugh.

(d) W. *un'ji:m-en* I wash; D. *un'jim-i*; D.q. *anim-i*, D. *likijim* I write; *parejim* I read.

21.3. 2. Sg.—The usual ending is *-i:*. Thus She. distinguishes between 2. Sg. *ti:* and 3. Sg. *te:* may be. D.q. has 2. 3. Sg. *ti*, but, if correct, 2. Sg. *tiste*, 3. Sg. *tiste:*.

21.4. 3. Sg.—Most dialects have *-e:*, e.g. W. *t(e)e:* may be.—With SheFerd. *-t* cf. LSI. *čandət* he will fall.

21.5. 1. Pl.—D. *leres* we shall die; *un'jes-i:* we shall wash; *kas-ai* we shall do.

21.6. 2. Pl.—Intrans. *-e*, Trans. *-(e)da*? But cf. D.s. *ke*.

21.7. 3. Pl. Only She (Ferd.) has *-nd*.

^a But cf. above, Imper. 2. Sg. *-e*, 2. Pl. *e:*?

WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

D.q. I give, etc.

21.8.	Obj. 1. Sg.	1. Pl.	2. Sg.	2. Pl.	3. Pers.
Subj. 1. Sg.	—	—	<i>dam-i:</i>	<i>*dam-o</i>	<i>*dam-i:</i>
2. Sg.	<i>day-a:m</i>	<i>*day-a:n</i>	—	—	<i>*day-a</i>
3. Sg.	<i>dad-im</i>	<i>dad-in</i>	<i>dad-e</i>	<i>dad-o</i>	<i>dad-i:</i>
1. Pl.	—	—	<i>das-e</i>	<i>das-o</i>	<i>das-i:</i>
2. Pl.	<i>dada-m</i>	<i>*dada-n</i>	—	—	<i>*dada</i>
3. Pl.	<i>dand-im</i>	<i>*dand-in</i>	<i>*dand-e</i>	<i>dand-a</i>	<i>*dand-i:</i>

21.9. The Pron. Suff. 3. Pers. is W.N.LSI.w. *-en*, but D.q.s.She.LSI. *-i:*. After Subj. 2. Sg. *-y-* it is *-a*, and also the type *dada(i)* must be analysed as *dada + a*. The Pron. Suff. 2. Sg. is *-e:/-i:*.

Examples:

21.10. Subj. 1. Sg.—D.D.q. *ane/im-i:/o* I beat thee/you; W. *tharem-i:/o* I see thee/you; D.q. *anim-i:* I beat it; D. *un'jim-i:*, W. *-en* I wash it; W. *dorem-en* I milk it; W. *dam-en* I give it; W. *guram-en*, N. *gurem-en* I take it; LSI.w. *hanim-in*, LSI.e. *hanim-i:* I (should) beat him.

Subj. 2. Sg.—D. *ane:am* thou beatest me; *di-a:n* thou givest us; She. *hani-'am*; D.q. *kay-a* thou makest it.

Subj. 3. Sg.—W.D. *baxčet/d-im* he forgives me; D.q. *ka'id-im* it stings me; W. *tharet-o*, She. *lešid-o* he sees you; D.q. *kad-i:* he makes it; *dawid-i* he pulls it; She. *dad-i:*; LSI.e. *hanid-i:* he beats him.

Subj. 1. Pl.—D. *un'jes-i:* we wash him; D.q. *kas-i:*.

Subj. 2. Pl.—D. *dada-n*; D.q. *kada*; LSI. *hane:da*.

Subj. 3. Pl.—D.q. *kand-i:* they make him; She. *dand-i:* they give him; LSI.w. *mare:n-i:* they (should) say to thee.

21.11. The Aorist serves as a future or a subjunctive. Thus, W. *nən ast-iem na un'ji:gəm, saba: un'ji:m-en* I do not wash my hands to-day, I shall wash them to-morrow; D. *saba: ast-i:m un'ji:m-i:*; *saba: ama: ast-irən un'jes-i:*; *nən la:m na ka:gəm, saba: la:m ka(y)'e:m* to-day I am not working, to-morrow I shall work; *saba: an'e:am*; W. *nən kita:b nə gurāigyam, sab'a: gur'am-en*; D. *baya:akam le:m* I am afraid I may die; *ama: baya:akas (bay'e:s) le'e:s^a*; *baya:akam če ma čani:* I am afraid lest (that) thou shouldst fall; *baya:akam če čan'erem*; W. *ga: ača ke dorem-en* bring the cow that I can milk it.

^a But also *baya:akam lea:kam* (Pres.); *ama: baye'e:s lea:kas*.

21.12. The subjunctive particle *-ai* is added in D. *dəm-y-ai* 283.11 that I may give them; LSI.w. *She. təm-ai* I should be; LSI.w. *karis-ai* that we should make; D.q. *maram-ai* I would kill; *may-ai* if thou sayest; *kay-ai* that thou mayest make (Prs. *karš ke bukuni:*); Lg.z. *ka nazdi:k ted-ai* if he should be near (Psht. *ka nazdi:k wai*).^a

FUTURE

22.1. In most SE. dialects future time is regularly expressed by the Aorist. A special future tense in *-wa:* has been recorded in LSI.w. and Lg.z., i.e. in the dialects bordering upon SW. and NW.^b

Thus, LSI.w. *hanar-wa:im-in* I shall/may beat (him); *°wary-ar* thou ... him; *°war-id-i:* he ... thee; *°war-es-i:* we ... thee; *°war-erid-a* you ... him/them; *°war-ind-i:* they ... thee. Lg.z. *ar urač kawayem* I shall sleep (Psht. *zə ba xob wə-kəəm*); *ar saba: i: serb derwarm-i:* tomorrow I shall give thee an apple; *te s° i: se:b derway-em* thou ... me; *use ardam s° i: se:b derwad-e:/o:* he ... thee/you; *derwad-im/n* he will give me/us; *ti: derwad-i:* (?) he will give thee.

PRESENT STEM

23.1. The Present Stem is distinguished from the Root (= Aorist Stem):

(1)—By the insertion of a velar; Lg.Kch.D.s.LSI.w. *k*, D. *k/g*, D.q.N. *g*, W. *g/y*. The notation of these velars is to some extent fluctuating.

In 3. Sg. most dialects have *g/y*, which tends to be elided in rapid speech. She. has no velar, but *y*, or Ø. In D.W. 3. Sg. *γ* is lost before Pron. Suff. 1. Sg. Pl., and partly before 3. Pers. Lg.z. has *g* also in 2. Sg. Pl. + Obj. 1. Sg. Pl.

The vowel is frequently shortened before 3. Sg. *-ar*. Thus, Lg.ch. *karakam*, Lg.z. *°kum*, D.s. *kar:kəm*, D. *°k/gam*, D.q. *°gam*, W. *°g/γam*, LSI.e. *°im*, She. *kay'em* I do; 3. Sg. D.D.q.s. *k(ay)ar*; LSI.w. *paikum*, Lg. *°kam*, D.s. *°kom*, D. *°k/gam*, D.q. *°gom*, W. *pa:ayam*, She. *pa(y)'em* I go; 3. Sg. LSI.w. LgLee. *paγar*, W.D.D.q.She. *p(ay)ar*; Kch. *ya:kam*, D. *ar:kam*, D.s. *ar:kəm*, W. *ar:gam* I eat; 3. Sg. Kch. *yagar*, D. *°γar*, W. *er:γar*; D.q. *ma:gom*, Lg.ch. *marekom* I speak; 3. Sg. *məγar*; D.q. *gar:ar:gom* I send; 3. Sg. *garəγar*; Lg.z. 3. Sg. *laugar* it aches.

^a Cf. Ka.Ch. *-oi*, and Budd., ZDMG, 108/2, p. 412: "An dem Aor. gefügte D. *-ai* verleiht dem Aor. modale Färbung des Wollens oder Müssens."

^b Note the difference of inflexion between this tense and those of the Static Perfect in *-wa*. SE. 31.2.

23.2. (2)—The personal endings 3. Sg. *-ar*, as well as D.N. 2. Pl. *-o* differ from those of the Aorist. Nor are they, as is the case in SW. and NW., identical with those of the auxiliary.—2. Pl. *-o:* agrees with the Pron. Suffix.

23.3. (3)—In many verbs *ar*, *ear*, or *di* is inserted between the root and the velar. But there is some discrepancy between the dialects as to the distribution of these elements. In *par-* (*par-*) to go; *kar-* (*kar-*) to do; *mar-* (*mar-*) to speak; *ar-* to eat, the *ar* seems to belong to the root.

(a)—*Ar*, in W. *or:ar:gam* I build; *šəpa:gam* I arrange; *ar:ar:gam* I hear; *kada:agam* (N. *°ā:gam*) I speak; D. *mula:akam*, D.s. *°ar:kom* (but D.q. *°ear:gom*) I understand; D. *baya:akam*; D.q. *ba:γar:gom*; N. *baa:gam* I fear; D. *pačala:gam* (but D.s. *°er:kam*) I cook; N. *muča:gam* (but D.q. *°ear:gom*) I flee; N. *pa:gam* (D. *pāyakam*) I drink.

(b)—*Ear*, in D. *lesear:gan* they slide; *alear:kam*; D.q.s. *°k/gom* (but W. *aler:gam*, D. 3. Sg. *alar:ar*) I ascend; *čatear:gam* I wash clothes; D.q. *pale'ar:gom* I lay down; *an°* I beat; *ur°* I rise, etc.—In D. *pear:kam* I drink; *lear:kam* I am dying; D.q. *wea:gom* (but D.s. *we:kom*, W. *°γa:m*) I weave, *e* belongs to the root.

(c)—*Ä/ei*, in W. *le:lāig'am* I stretch out; D.D.q. *ware:igam* (but D.q. also *°ea:gom* I extinguish; D. *mučer:ikam* I break; N. *čarāigam* (but D.q. *°ear:gom*) I herd; N. *azeigam* I laugh; *nāigam* I lead away; *ne:lāigam* I make sit down; *bučel'āigam* I wake; D.q. *opoteigom* I dig; *deigom*; N. *dāigam*; D. *derikam* I give; *gureigom*; N. *°āigam*; W. *°āigam*; D. *°er:ikam*; D.s. *°er:kam* I take.—In some cases *-āi-* corresponds to L. *-āi-*. But in other cases *-i-* may be the pronominal suffix 3. Pers.

(d)—*I:*, in transitives, probably represents the pron. suffix 3. Sg. Thus, D.W. *unš(i)ga:om*; D.q. *°i:gom* I wash; D.W. *pinirik:gam*; D.q. *°i:gom*; N. *pyeni:gom* (but D.s. *pinya:kom*) I know; D. *gure:ikam* I take it (but *°a:kam* I take); D. *šakigam* I sweep (but D.q. *šakea:gom*); D.q. *kani:gom* I pull; *doi:gom*; D.s. *dui:kam* I milk; *ma:igom* I rub, crush.

23.4. Examples from She. are: *Erm* (3. Sg. *eyar*) I come; *hare:m* I hear; *lanle:m* I build; *nie:m* I sit down; *mole:m* (SheFerd. *mullym* = "mulām") I understand; *weryem* I weave; *ka(y)em* I make (in compound verbs *kaim*, *kerm*).

In D.q., which has present *-g-*, but past *-k-*, and also in She., the distinction between the two tenses is usually quite clear. Thus, D.q. *opoteigom* I dig (pret. *°er:kam*); *čare'ar:gom* I vomit (*°əkəm*); *šar:gom* I place (*šaikom*); *gur'eigom* I take (*°kom*); D.s. *mula:kom* I understand (*°er:kom*); *ka:kom*

I make (*k'akam*); Lg.z. *ka:akom* (*k'akam*).^a But LSI. *hanikam* is given as well as Pres. as past, and D.s. *we:kom* I weave has a past *we:kam*. The correct allocation of some forms is also uncertain in D.W.

Present Imperative

23.5. 2. Sg.—W. *erya* eat; N. *damga* run; LSI.e. *hanyar-ka* beat.

2. Pl.—D. *kayarte* do.

1. Pl.—Keh. *ya:gaman*, N. *āigeman*, W. *ar:geman* let us eat; D.q. *pa:gəman* let us go.—Cf. SW.

Present Indicative

23.6.	N.	D.	D.q.	LSI.w.	She.
		I eat		I go	
1. Sg.	<i>āy-akam</i> ^b	<i>a:ak-am</i>	<i>pa:k/gom</i>	<i>pa:k-kum</i>	<i>pay-'em</i> ^c
2. Sg.	<i>ak/gāi</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ai</i>
3. Sg.	<i>ega</i>	<i>ya:ya</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>paga</i>	<i>paγ'a</i>
1. Pl.	<i>ak/gas</i>	<i>a:ak-as</i>	<i>ges</i>	<i>pa:k-əs</i>	<i>pay-ers</i>
2. Pl.	<i>ak/go</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>kida</i>	<i>eda</i>
3. Pl.	<i>agan</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>gan</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>en</i>

23.7. Examples: W. *pā:g-am*, *-ai*, *-a*; D. *pāyak-am*, *-i*, —, *pāyak-as*, *-o*, —, I, etc., drink; D. *pa:k/gam*, —, *pa:ar*, *paga:s*, —, —; D.s. *pa:k-om*, *-e*, *p(aγ)ar*, *pa:k-es*, *-o*, *-an* I go; Keh. *ya:kam*, —, *yaga*, *ya:kas*, —, *-an* I eat; SheFerd. *mul-ām*, *-āi*, —, *-ās*, *-āyde*, *murulān* I understand.

WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

23.8.	Obj. 1. Sg./Pl.	2. Sg./Pl.	3. Pers.
Subj. 1. Sg. W.	—	<i>-e:u-g-am</i>	<i>-i-g-am</i>
D.	—	<i>-e:or-k-am(-o)</i>	<i>-i-k-am</i>
D.q.	—	<i>-e: g-am-i/*o</i>	<i>*-i-g-om</i>
She.	—	<i>-e:m-i/u</i>	<i>-e-m-i</i>
Lg.z.	—	<i>-k^v-em-i:u:</i>	<i>-k^v-am</i>
2. Sg. W.	<i>-i:m/n-g-āi</i>	—	<i>*-i-g-āi(?)</i>
D.	<i>-i:m/n-k-e:</i>	—	<i>-i-k-e:</i>
D.q.	<i>-i:m/n-g-e</i>	—	<i>*-i-g-e</i>
She.	<i>-i-y-am/n</i>	—	<i>-i-y-a</i>
Lg.z.	<i>-g-i:m/n-āi:</i>	—	<i>-k-ei:</i>

^a Cf. Perf. *kāyekam*; pluperf. *kayakam*. Cf. SW. 29.8.

^b LSI.e. *pa:y-im*, *i:*; *pa:ya*; *pa:es*, *-eda*, *-in*.

^c Or, *āiga:m*, etc.

^d Contracted from **pa:ya*.

	Obj. 1. Sg./Pl.	2. Sg./Pl.	3. Pers.
Subj. 3. Sg. W.	<i>-i:m/n</i>	—	<i>-i-γ-i:</i>
D.	—	<i>-e:or-ai:k</i>	<i>-i:(-γ-i:)</i>
D.q.	—	<i>-e:eo</i>	<i>-i:</i>
She.	—	<i>-i:iid-o</i>	—
Lg.z.	<i>-g-i:m/n</i>	<i>-g-ei:/u:</i>	<i>-g-i:</i>
1. Pl. W.	—	<i>-e:or-g-as</i>	<i>*-i-g-as</i>
D.	—	<i>-e:or-k-as-o</i>	<i>-i-k-as</i>
D.q.	—	<i>-e:g-es-e/o</i>	<i>-i-g-as</i>
She.	—	<i>-is-e:or</i>	<i>-is-i:(i:)</i>
Lg.z.	—	<i>-k^v-as-i:/u:</i>	<i>-k^v-as</i>
2. Pl. W.	—	—	—
D.	<i>-i:m/n-k-o:</i>	—	—
D.q.	<i>-i:m/*n-g-o:</i>	—	—
She.	<i>-e:da-m/n</i>	—	—
Lg.z.	<i>-g^v-im/n-erida</i>	—	<i>-k^v-ada</i>
3. Pl. W.	<i>-im/*n-g-an</i>	—	<i>-i-γ-an</i>
D.	<i>-i:m/n-k-an</i>	<i>-e:or-k-an</i>	<i>-i-k-an</i>
D.q.	<i>-i:m/n-g-an</i>	<i>-e:g-an-e/o</i>	<i>-i-g-an</i>
She.	<i>-i:nd-i:m/n</i>	<i>-i:nd-i:/u:</i>	<i>-i:nd-i:(i:)</i>
Lg.z.	—	—	<i>-k-an</i>

23.9. Apart from phonetical variations, the patterns are very similar in W. and D. But with Subj. 1. Pers. D. adds a facultative, additional Obj. 2. Pl. *-o*. In D.q. Obj. 2. Pers. is indicated by *-e:*, the number being specified by suffixed Sg. *-i/e* (merging with *-e:* when the Subj. is 3. Sg.), or Pl. *-o*.

D.q. also lacks the final *-ai:k* of D. Subj. 3. Sg. + Obj. 2. Pers., as well as the *-γ* of Subj. 3. Sg. + Obj. 3. Pers. Note also W.D. Subj. 3. Sg. + Obj. 3. Pers. *-i:(γ)i:*, as compared with Subj. 3. Sg. *-γar*.

In W.D.D.q. the general formula for the formation of the Objective Present is O(bject) + P(resent suffix) + S(ubject indicator). Subj. 3. Sg. + Obj. 3. Pers. *-i:(γ)i:* > *-i:* ought also probably to be interpreted in the same manner. But in D.q. (and optionally in D.) Obj. 2. Pers. we find a type O + P + S + O, which must have arisen out of a reinterpretation of the first *-e:*.

In She., on the other hand, we ought probably to take *-i:/e:* to represent P., and *-y* S. (2. Sg.), thus arriving at a type P + S + O, e.g. in *-i-y-am*, *-i-s-e:*, *-e:da-m*, *-i:nd-i:m*. Cf. NE. (A.Ka.) and SW. (Al.).

Lg.z. *-ky-em/as-i:/u:* also conforms with the type P + S + O, which possibly also appears in *-g-i:/m/n*. With no overt indication of O, we find P + S in *-k^y-am/as/an/ada*, etc., and possibly in *-g-i:/*. We must, however, interpret *-g-i:/m/n-ai/erida* as P + O + S, parallel to L. *-g-i:/a:m*, Nj. *-ta-y-em* "I... thee". Finally Al. *-r-er-m-i:/* "I... thee" seems to represent a type P + S + S + O.

While an Objective Present is common to most Pash. dialects, it seems to have evolved independently, and in widely varying forms within the various dialects.

Examples:

23,10. Obj. 1. Sg./Pl.—W. *tə mam thar-'i:/m-g-ai?* do you see me? *ner-i:/m-g-a'i:* you are leading me; *ele za'ip mam thar-'i:/i-m* this woman sees me; *ele kiṭala: ama thar-i:/i-n* this boy sees us.—D. *to mam tar-i:/m-g^y-e:*, *ema: mam tar-i:/m-k-o* you (Sg./Pl.) see me; *se a:dem-i: mam/ama: tar-'i:/i-m/n* that man sees me/us; *ete le: a:dem-i: mam/ama: tar-'i:/m/n-g-an* those three men see me/us; *to fawa:b mam/ama: der-em/n-k^y-e:* you answer me/us; *der-im-k/g-an* they give me; *to mam k'a:nte an-'i:/im-g-e?* why do you (Sg.) beat me? cf. 281,25.—D.q. *an-i:/m/n* he beats me/us; *an-i:/m/n-g-e/o:* you (Sg./Pl.) beat me/us; *an-i:/m/n-g-an* they beat me/us.—She. *leš-i-y-am/n*, *leš-eda-m/n* you (Sg./Pl.) see me/us; *leš-i:/m/n* he sees me/us; *leš-i:/nd-im/n* they see me/us.—Lg.z. *lāi(ə)-g-i:/m/n-ai*, *lāi(ə)-g-i:/m/n-erida* you (Sg./Pl.) see me/us; *lāi-g-i:/m/n* he sees me/us.

23,11. Obj. 2. Sg./Pl.—W. *thar-e:/g-am tor*, *mam em'a thar-u:/g-am* I see you (Sg./Pl.); *ama: tor thar-e:/g-as* we see you; *mam de:/e-γ-am* I give you.—D. *a: tor tar-e:/k-g-am(-i:/)*, *a: ema: tar-oro-k-am(-o)* (*tar-ero:k-am?*) I see you (Sg./Pl.); *ama: tor tar-e:/k-g-as* we see you; *se a:dem-i: tor tar-e:/aik*, ... *ema: tar-oro:k* that man sees you (Sg./Pl.); *ete zalek tor tar-e:/k-an*, *ete le: a:dem-i: ema: tar-oro:k/g-an* (*taror:yan*) those (three) men see you (Sg./Pl.); *a:/ama: tor au de:/e-k-am/s*, *a:/ama: ema: au d^yei-o-k-am/s(-o)* I/we give you (Sg./Pl.) bread; *ama: em'arne fawa:b der-o-k-as abat* we are answering you now; *nən a: tor ne an-e:/e-k-am*, *sabar-anteke an-e:/e-k-am* I do not beat you to-day, to-morrow I shall be beating (Durative Fut.) you; *a: ema: an-oro-k-am*.—D.q. *an-er*, *an-e:/o* he beats you (Sg./Pl.); *an-er-g-am-i:*, *an-e:/g-es-o:* I/we beat you (Sg./Pl.); *an-er-g-an-o:* they beat you.—She. *leš-e:/m-i:/u* I see you (Sg./Pl.); *leš-i-s-e:/o* we see you (Sg./Pl.); *leš-i:/*, *leš-i:/d-o* ^a he sees you (Sg./Pl.); *leš-i:/nd-i:/u* they see you (Sg./Pl.).—

^a With unexpected 3. Sg. *d*. Possibly an Aorist form.

Lg.z. *lāi-k^y-em-i:/*, *lāye-k-am-u:* I see you (Sg./Pl.); *lāi-k^y-as-i:/u:* we see you (Sg./Pl.); *lāi-g-ei:/-u:* he sees you (Sg./Pl.).^a—LSI.w. *er-g-e:/k-am*,^b LSI.e. *er-er-k-am* I eat you; LSI.e. *han-er-g-i:/* he beats you.

23,12. Obj. 3. Pers.—N. *ker-i-gam* I make it.—W. *nən ast-im na unj-i:/g-am* to-day I do not wash my hands; *ama ast-in nə unj-i-γ-an*,^c *saba: unjam'an* we are not washing our hands, let us wash them to-morrow; *nən ast-ə nə unj-i:/γ-i:*, *saba: unj-i:/γ-i:* ... he is not ... to-morrow he will ...; *pinj-i:/i-g-am* I am crushing it (but *garaṭ pinjara:gam* I grind with a handmill, without Obj.).—D. *a: ete a:dem-i: au de:/i-k-am* I give that man bread; *de:/e-k-as* we give; *a: ete (le:) a:dem-i: tar-i:/i-g-am* I see that man (those three men); *a: eme: tar-i:/i-g-am* I see these ones; *to/ema: tar-i:/i-g-e/o:* do you (Sg./Pl.) see him/them? *ete a:dem-i: an-i:/i-k-am* I beat that man; *ast-im unj-i:/i-g-am*; *tor abat tarnek ast-e: unj-i:/i-γ-e:*? do you wash your hands now? *abat tarnek ast-e: unj-i:/i* now he is washing. ...—D.q. *an-i:* he beats him; *an-i:/g-as/n* we/they beat him; *an-i:/g-e/o* you (Sg./Pl.) ...; *ke-i:/g-om* I make it; *ka-i:/g-e:* you make it.—She. *leš-er-m-i* I see him/them; *leš-i-s-i:* we ...; *leš-i-y-a*, *leš-e-da* you (Sg./Pl.) ... *leš-i:* he ...; *leš-i:/nd-i* they ...—Lg.z. *lāi(e)-k^y-am/s* I/we see him/them; *lāi(e)-k-ei:/-ada* you (Sg./Pl.) see him/them; *lāye-k-an* they see him/them.—LSI.e.w. *han-i:/k-am/s* I/we beat him; *han-i:/k-an* they ...; LSI.w. *han-i:/k-i:/-ada* you (Sg./Pl.), LSI.w. *han-er-g-i:* ^d he. ...

Imperfect

23,13. Present Stem + Preterite of the Auxiliary, cf. L. Contracted forms, with loss of *-γ-* occur in all dialects. On the other hand, She., but not SheFerd., has *-γ-* in all persons in non-contracted forms.

	W.	D.q.	She.	D.
		I was going		I was coming
1. Sg. m.		<i>paya:-kem</i>	<i>payai-kem</i>	<i>era:-kam</i>
1. Sg. f.		„ <i>-čem</i>		
2. Sg. m.			„ <i>-ki:</i>	„ <i>-ki:</i>
2. Sg. f.		(<i>kaya:če</i>)		
3. Sg. m.	<i>pe(γa):rik</i>	(<i>kay'aik</i>)	„ <i>-k</i>	„ <i>-k</i>
3. Sg. f.	<i>perič</i>			

^a Lg.z. *lāi-ky-am-ai* I see (Psht. *zə winəm*); *tar-eg-āy-im* I regard (*zə go:rom*); *aro* forms given me, which I am not able to account for.

^b Probably with secondary *-g-*.

^c For *-as*?

^d But LSI.e. *han-i:/yad-i:* (Aor. ?).

	W.	D.q.	She.	D.
		I was going		I was coming
1. Pl.		<i>payar-čes</i>	<i>payar-kəs</i> ^a	<i>ɛ:ar-čes</i>
2. Pl.		„ -čē	„ -čēda	„ -čē:
3. Pl.	<i>pe(γa):inč</i>	<i>payainč</i>	<i>payainč</i>	<i>ɛ:arinč</i>

23.15. W. *waɣəgarinč* they were walking about; *ke(γ)arinč* they were doing; cf. probably also *perik/č/nč* he/she/they went < **peyarik/č/nč*. D. *azə:arakam* I was laughing; *doya:akam* I was milking; *pe:a:kam* I was drinking; *kayarik* he was doing; *payarik* he was going. D.q. *kayarikem*, *kay'arik*; *ɛyarik* he was eating; *mulayarik* he understood; *ʃut(ay)'arik* was catching fire; *wiʃi:γarinč* were passing. D.s. *ɖorikəyarik* was thundering.^b LSI.w. *hanəɣiarikim* I was beating. 3. Sg. *hanəɣarik*; *leɣa:kum* I was (not "am") dying; LSI.e. *bayarič* she became. She. *wəɣa:kəm* I was weaving; *ɛyarkəm* I was coming. 3. Sg. *ɛyarik*; *mučarikem* m., °*a:čem* f. I understood; *dararikim* I had, 3. Pl. *darainč*; *niyeik* he was going out; *gir(ey)arč* she was going round; *meaič* she was saying; *karikəm*, *karikir*, *karikʷ*, *ka:čes*; *ka:čēda*, *kainč* I was doing, etc., SheFerd. *mulia-kam*, °*ki*, °*k*, °*čas*, °*čo*, °*inč* I understood, etc.

23.16. With Pronominal Suffix. She. *doya:čim-i* I (f.) milked it; *pačal'ear-čim-i* I (f.) cooked it. Lg.z. *deɣya:kam-i* I was seeing him (or, thee?). LSI.e. *hanəyarkam-i*: ° I was beating (it); *hanəyaričid-i* she was beating it (?). Cf. probably also D. *ar tərə:arakam-o* I was seeing you. But, with Obl. Subject, *mum to: tərə:arakam-o* I (f.) was seeing thee. Notice W. *mam emə thar-wo-a:čem* I (f.) was seeing you, with infixed Object.

Regarding D.q. Present stem + Aorist of *t(h)*-, v. SE. 32.1

PAST TENSES

Simple Past

27.1. The Simple Past is characterized, as in SW., etc., by m. *k(g)*, f. *č*. In W.N. *k* > *h* before an intransitive personal ending, or a pronominal suffix. No forms corresponding to SW. Proximate Past have been recorded.

^a Prob. for **-čes*, cf. *ka:čes* we were doing.

^b From *ɖorik*-, not, with Budd. Voc., < *ɖori*-.

^c Thus, Voc. 192, but p. 98 °*γarikam-i*.

INTRANSITIVE

27.2.	W.	D.q.	She.	Lg.z.
1. Sg. m.	<i>urahem</i> I rose	<i>gi-kem</i> I went	<i>ikem</i> * I came	<i>gə-kum</i>
1. Sg. f.		„ -čem	<i>ičem</i>	„ -čum
2. Sg. m.	(N. <i>a:hir</i>) thou camest	„ -ki:	<i>iki:</i>	<i>gi-ki:</i>
2. Sg. f.	<i>arači:</i> „ „		<i>iči:</i>	„ -či:
3. Sg. m.	<i>uri:k</i>	<i>gik</i>	<i>eik</i>	<i>gi:kāi</i>
3. Sg. f.	<i>leč</i> she died	„ -č	<i>ič</i>	<i>gečāi</i>
1. Pl.			<i>erčes</i>	<i>gəčes</i>
2. Pl.		<i>giče</i>	<i>erčur</i>	<i>gəčēda</i>
3. Pl.	<i>leič</i>	<i>ginč</i>	<i>einč</i>	<i>gi:nčāi</i>

27.3. Cf. LSI. *gikyim*, *gikyir*, *gik/gič*, *gičis* (LSI.w. *gi:kis!*), *gičur*; *gi:nč*; She. —, *giki:*, *gik*, *gičes*, *gičur*, *ginč*.

1. Sg.—N. *chem* I came; *šarrahem* I went; *testehem* I stood up; D. *buʃekʷem* I woke; D.s. *ikem*, *gik/čem*; She. *t'astəkəm*; *buʃik/čem*; Lg.z. *ur'ekəm*.

3. Sg. m.—N.D. *šarrik* he went; W.D.q. *muči(r)k* he fled; W.D.D.q. *atirik* he entered; D. *gyirik*, *nirik* he went out; *čanirik* he fell; W. *nirik* he sat down; She. *likʷ*; D.z. *lik-ai* (but *lik* dead).

3. Sg. f.—W. *ateč*; *šarreč*, *neč* she went out; D.q. *čarneč*; She. *leč*; Lg.z. *leč-ai*; LSI.e. *šarrič*.

3. Pl. D.She. *linč*; D.q. *čarn'inč*.

Note D.q. 2. Pl. -e, but She. -ur, Lg.z. -eda. W. has 3. Pl. in -č, as in SW., but other dialects insert an *n*, indicating the 3. Pl.

TRANSITIVE

27.4. In most cases the vowel preceding *k/č* differs as well from that of the Present, as from that of the Perfect (*ei*, *i:*) and the Pluperfect (*ea:*), etc.

Thus, from D.q.:

(a)—Past *er*, Present *ar*.—2. Sg. *mulerker* understood (Pres. *mula:gam*); 2. Sg. *merker*, 3. Sg. *merken* said (Pres. *ma:gom*); *ware:kom* I extinguished (*wa:ar/ei-gom*); *ʃeikom* I placed; *ʃe:č-in* (*ʃa:gom*).

(b)—Past *er*, Present *ei(gom)*.—*Opo:ekam* I dug; *aware:kam* I hung up; *de:ikem* I gave; *pirzale:kom* I turned round; *pole:k-em* let me arrive; *gure:č-an* took her; *wang'eeč-an* shot her; *nile:k-en* let him sit down.

* Or., *e:kem*.

(c)—Past *a*, Present *-ea:(gom)*.—*čarəkəm* I vomited; *an'əkam-i* I struck you; *'erək-en* he wished it; *'ačək-en* he brought it; *ting'ək-en* he bound it.

(d)—Past *a*, Present *-e:(gam)*.—*P'orəkam* I irrigated; but note *kač'ik-em* it stung me.

(e)—Past *a*, Present *-i:(gom)*.—*Unš'əkəm* I washed; *kanək-en* he pulled it.

(f)—Past *a*, Present *a:(gam)*.—*kakam* I made.

Other dialects:

27.5. D.s. *mule:kom* (Pres. *°a:kom*); *ekam* I ate (*a:kom*); *we:kom* I wove (*we:kom*); *anəkam* (*°e:kom*); *kanəkam* (*°i:kom*); *vakəkam* I licked (*°i:kom*); *čereč-an* tore her (*°i:kom*); *kakom* (*ka:kom*).

D. *are:čam* I heard (f. object); *derekam* I gave; *ačəkam* I brought; *unšič-an* he washed her; *läyekam* I saw; *pini:ikam* I recognized; *ka:kam*; *gura:kam* I took (Pres. *°e:rikam*).

W. *ka:kom* (*ka:gam*); *pi:rikam* I drank; *a:akam* I ate; *ačəkam*.

N. *ke:gam* (Pres. *ka:gam*); *de:gam* I gave; *mi:le:gam* I heard; *ba:regam* I feared (*ba:regom*).

She. *kakam*; *mole:kom*; *wa:rekam*; *ma:kom*; *de:kom*; *gure:kom*; *hare:kom* I heard; *ekam* I ate; *we:kom* I wove; *pačale:kom* I cooked (and similarly other causatives in *l*); *nawe:kom* I lost; *lanle:kom* I built; *unšəkam*; *čəngekam*; *marəkam* I killed; *kanəkam* I pulled; *manšičam* I put on.

SheFerd. *mulāka:m* I understood.

Lg.z. *kakam* I made (*ka:akum*).

WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

27.6.	Obj. 1.	1. Pl.	2. Sg.	2. Pl.	3. Sg.	3. Pl.
Subj.						
1. Sg.	W.	—	—	—	— <i>k-am</i>	—
	D.q.	—	—	— <i>-k-am-i: a</i>	— <i>-č-am-o:</i>	—
	She.	—	—	— <i>" a</i>	— <i>" a</i>	— <i>-č-am</i>
	Lg.z.	—	—	— <i>"</i>	— <i>" -u:</i>	— <i>-č-am f.</i>
1. Pl.	W.	—	—	—	—	—
	D.q.	—	—	— <i>-k-an-i: a</i>	— <i>-č-an-o:</i>	— <i>-k-an a</i>
	She.	—	—	— <i>"</i>	— <i>"</i>	— <i>" a</i>
	Lg.z.	—	—	— <i>"</i>	— <i>"</i>	— <i>"</i>

^a With fem. object *-č-*.

Subj.	Obj. 1.	1. Pl.	2. Sg.	2. Pl.	3. Sg.	3. Pl.
2. Sg.	W.	—	—	—	—	—
	D.q.	— <i>-k-e-m</i>	— <i>-č-e-s</i>	—	— <i>-k-e: a</i>	— <i>-č-e:</i>
	She.	—	—	—	— <i>"</i>	— <i>"</i>
	Lg.z.	— <i>-k-u-m</i>	— <i>-č-e-s</i>	—	— <i>-k-i:</i>	— <i>-č-i:</i>
2. Pl.	W.	—	—	—	—	—
	D.q.	— <i>-k-e-m</i>	— <i>-č-e-s</i>	—	— <i>-k-o:</i>	— <i>-č-o:</i>
	She.	—	—	—	— <i>" a</i>	— <i>"</i>
	Lg.z.	— <i>-k-u-m</i>	—	—	— <i>" a</i>	— <i>"</i>
3. Pers.	W.	—	— <i>-č-i: f.</i>	—	— <i>-h-en b</i>	— <i>-č-in</i>
	D.q.	— <i>-k-em</i>	— <i>-č-es</i>	— <i>-k-i:</i>	— <i>-č-e</i>	— <i>-k-en b</i>
	She.	— <i>-k-em</i>	— <i>-č-es</i>	—	— <i>" b</i>	— <i>"</i>
	Lg.z.	— <i>-k-um</i>	— <i>-č-es</i>	—	— <i>-k-an b</i>	— <i>"</i>

27.7. The Obj. 1. Pl. is *-s* (L. *-n*). There is no overt distinction between Subj. 2. Sg. Pl. and 3. Pers. with Obj. 1. Sg. Pl.

Obj. 3. Pers. is marked only after Subj. 3. Pers., and the suffix is Sg. m. (*-k-e/en*; Sg. f. (*-č*)-*an*, Pl. (*-č*)-*in*. Final *-n* is known only from SE., but as for the vowels cf. Sg. m. Ka.Ch. *-e*; Sg. f. Ka. *-a*, Ch. *-o*).

27.8. I am not able to explain why W. has *k* in *ka:kam* I made, but *k > h* in *ke:h-en* he made him, just as in Intrans. *urahem* I rose.

ChB. also has *-h-e* = W. *-h-en*, and **-h-im* he... me, in Trans. Past and Perfect.

Examples:

27.9. D.—*Mam to: läyekam-i:*, *mam ema: läyečam-o* I saw you (Sg./Pl.); *mam anikam-i:*. *Ama: to: läyekam-i:*, *ama: ema: läyečam-o* we saw you (Sg./Pl.); *ama: to: šawa:b de:/ai-kan-i:*, *ama: ema: š° de:čam-o* we gave you (Sg./Pl.) an answer; *ama: ast-i:n unšekan* we washed our hands.—*Däyek°e-m* you gave me; *mam to: anik°e-m* you struck me; *mam to: läyek°e-m*, *ema: mam läyek°e-m* you (Sg./Pl.) saw me; *ama to:/ema: läyeč°e-s* you (Sg./Pl.) saw us; *tarek°e:* you saw him; *derek°e:* you gave it; *karek°e:* you did it.—*Ema: ast-o: unšič-o:* you washed your hands.—*Däig°-en* he gave him; *merek°-en* he said to him; *tir me:č-an* he said to her; *kaik°-en*, *kač-an* he made it/her; *kadeč-an* he/they told her; *gureč-in* he took them; *gačereč-in* he sent them.

27.10. W.—*Däič-i:* he gave you (f.); *de:h-en*, *de:č-an* he gave him/her; *me:h-en*, *me:č-an* he said to him/her; *ke:(e)h-en*, *kereč-an*, *ke:č-in* he made

^a With fem. object *-č-*.

^b With fem. object *-č-an*.

him/her/them; *ačeh-en, ačē-in* he brought him/them; *aneh-en, anē-in* he struck it/them; *marāč-an* he killed her; *kađāč-an* he told her.

27.11. D.q.—*An'akam-i*: I struck you; *an'akan-i*, *an'āčen-o* we struck you (Sg./Pl.); *an'akan, an'āčen* we struck him/them; *an'ake-m, an'eče-s* you (Sg./Pl.) struck me/us; *an'āče-o*: you (Sg./Pl.) struck them; *an'ake-o*: you (Sg./Pl.) struck him; *an'ak-em* he (she, they) struck me (m.); *an'āč-es* he struck us; *anək-i*, *an'eč-e* he struck you (Sg./Pl.); *anək-en, an'āč-in* he struck him/them; *do'i:čam* I milked (the cow); *are:č-an* he heard it (f.).

D.s.—*Mam larm k'akom* I worked; 2. Sg. *kake*; 1. Pl. *k'akan*; 2. Pl. *kako*; etc. . . *k'ak-en* he did it; *mam to lerikam-i* I saw you; *mam . . . lešičam* I saw (f. Obj.).

27.12. She.—*Han'ekam-i*; *derkam-i, derčam-o*: I saw you (Sg./Pl.); *gure-k/čam* I took him/her; *e:čam* I ate them; *der-k/čam* I gave it (m./f.); *hanakan-i, hanāčan-o* we struck you (Sg./Pl.); *han'ek/č-an* we struck him/them; *gure:ker, gure:ko* you (Sg./Pl.) took him; *gure:čor* you took her; *hanik-em, hanik-en, han'ič-an* he struck me/him/her; *han'eč-es* he struck us; *han'ič-an* he struck her; *gure:k-en, gure:č-an* he took him/her.

27.13. Lg.z.—*To mam lāyek/čam-i*: I saw you (m./f.); *mam emar lāyečam-u*: I saw you; *mam lāyek/čam* I saw him/her; *ama lāyek/čan-i*: we saw you (m./f.); *ama lāyek/čan* we saw him/her; *to a: lāyek/ču-m, lāyeče-s* you saw me (m./f.)/us; *lāyek/č-i* you saw him/her/them; *emar a: lāyeku-m* you saw me; *lāyek/č-o*: you saw him/her; *emar tye:da: lāyečor* you saw them; *ti: a: lāyek-um* he saw me; *ti: ama: lāyeč-es* he saw us; *ti: usə lāyek/č-an* he saw him/her; *ti: tye:da: lāyeč-in* he saw them.

27.14. LSI.e.—*Kak-in, kač-in*, LSI.w. *kač-an*; *m(ar):k-in* he said to him; *derker* you gave it.—But note *le:kam-an* I found him, with Pron. Suffix indicating the object after subject 1. Sg., and *hanirčam-ai* I struck her.

28.1. Proximate Past.

Not found in SE.

Pluperfect

29.1. The formantic element in D.D.q.She. is *-ea:-(-yar-)*.

INTRANSITIVE

29.2.

She.

1. Sg.	<i>e'a:k/čem</i> I had come	1. Pl.	<i>e'a:čes</i>
2. Sg.	<i>ea:k/či:</i>	2. Pl.	<i>ea:čur</i>
3. Sg.	<i>eeik/eač</i>	3. Pl.	<i>eeinč</i>

E.g. She. *buše'ark/čem* I had awoken; *teste'arkom* I had stood up; *lerik/leač* he/she had died; *beark/čem* I had become. D.s. *e'arkem* I had come.—D.s. *alea:kom* I ascend, climb, is Present.

TRANSITIVE

29.3.	D.q.	She.
1. Sg. (m. Obj.)	<i>ke'a:kom</i> I had made	<i>kyak-am</i>
(f. Obj.)	<i>nawe'arčam</i> I had lost	<i>doyarčam</i> I had milked
1. Pl.		„ <i>-an</i>
2. Sg. (m. Obj.)	<i>mea:ker</i> you had said	„ <i>-i:</i>
2. Pl.		„ <i>-or</i>
3. Pers.	<i>kaše'ark-em</i> had stung me	„ <i>-en</i> had made it

29.4. Cf. SheFerd. *muliak-am/-an/-e:/-o/-ān* I, etc., had understood. Other examples: D.q. *pirzalea:kom* I had made turn round; *unše'a:kom* I had washed; *arya:čam* I had heard.—SheFerd. *bušale'a:kam-i* I had awoken you; *hane'a:čam-o*: I had beaten you; *hanea:kam*; *gurya:kam* I had taken; *gurya:k-en* he had taken him; *ea:kam* I had eaten; *mule'a:kam* I had understood; *pačalea:čam* I had cooked.—D. *azea:kam* I had laughed; *doyaa:kam* I had milked; *tareak'e-m* you had seen me.—LSI.w. *haniya:er-kəm*, LSI.e. *haniya:kəm*. But cf. also LSI.w. *daryikyey* you had given.—Lg.z. *mam larm kayakam* I had worked.

LSI.w. *dari:k-in* he had (?) given it; *kari:k-in* he had made it; *karič-a* had made her, are doubtful forms, perhaps Perfects?

Perfect

30.1.

INTRANSITIVE

	D.	D.q.	She.
1. Sg.	<i>patek'em</i> I have gone	<i>patik/čem</i>	<i>itik/čem</i>
2. Sg.	<i>waddeki:</i> you have grown	<i>itiki:</i>	<i>itik/či:</i>
3. Sg., m.	<i>iti:k</i> he has come	<i>jutetik</i> has caught fire	<i>itik</i>
3. Sg., f.	(W. <i>ateteč</i> she has entered)		<i>itič</i>
1. Pl.		<i>patičes</i>	<i>itičes</i>
2. Pl.		<i>patičur</i>	<i>itičur</i>
3. Pl.	(W. <i>letič</i> they have died)	<i>patinč, itinč</i>	<i>itinč</i>

30.2. Examples: N. *pare:takom* I have died; W. *dametikyem* I have become satisfied; *netik, neteč* he/she has gone out; *letik* he has died;

D. *pačetik* has been cooked; *itik* has come; D.q. *ubo'etike* I have been born; D.s. *aletikom* I have mounted; She. *muč'etak/čam* I have fled; *buč'etak/čam* I have awakened; *litik, lətə* he/she has died; LSL.w. *bitakim* I have become; *bitik*; Lg.z. *wačetekum* I have got tired (Psht. *zə stərai šəwai yəm*).

TRANSITIVE

30.3. In no dialect is there any trace of forms in *-čək-*.

D.q. She. Trans. Perfects in *-ei/-ai-* correspond to Preterites in *-er-, -ar-*. E.g. D.q. *wač'eikom* I have extinguished (Pret. *er'ekom*); *naw'eičam* I have lost it (f.) (Pret. *er'čam*); *kaičkam/keičam* I have made it (m./f.) (Pret. *kakom*); 3. Sg. *kaič-en/kaič-an*.—She. *kaičəm* (Pret. *kakəm*); *kaič-en*; She.D.s. *eikam* I have eaten (Pret. *er'kam*); She. *gureikam* I have taken (Pret. *er'kam*)^a; D.q. *kač'ik-em* it has stung me (Pret. *k'ač'ik-em*); She. *do'ičam* I have milked it (Pret. *er'čam*).

Some D.W. forms are also probably Perfects. Thus, D. *abat au äikam* now I have eaten bread (Pret. *er'kam*); W. *ar'äik'om* I have heard (D. Pret. *arečək-en*); N. *sač xač'ičgem* I have sown the field.—Cf. Ka. Perf. *kar'igəm* (Pret. *igəm*).

Static Perfect and Pluperfect

31.1. The Static Perfect Participle in *-war m.*; *-wi f.* and Pl. denotes the state resulting from an action or event. It is formed from intransitives. It is not known in SW. NW., which have a Future in *-war*. But in Lg. the two functions of *-war* seem to be overlapping.

In many cases the Static Participle is used as an adjective. Thus, W. *busəwar*, D. *gasəwar* rotten; D.W. *čanəwar* fallen; D.W. *purewar*, She. *purwar* filled, full; D.W.Kch. *susuwar*, She. *səsəwar* dry; D.W.Kch. *tomowar*, She. *tunwa* wet; D. *šərawar* running (water); D. *mukuləwi* Pl. shed (tears); W. *damowar* satisfied, rich; W.D. *pačəwar* cooked, ripe (LgLee. *pačələwa*, from the causative); D. *našuwar*, W. *nasəwar*, She. *naš*^o bad; She. *wəč'iwir: sarl* last (litt. passed) year.

31.2. In combination with the present of the auxiliary we get a Static Perfect. Thus, W. *urəčəwar-s* he is fallen asleep; *lerəwar-s*, D. *lew'ar-as*, She. *ləwar/ič-ha-s* he is dead (but W. *lertik* he has died); W. *testəwiz-as/n* she is/they are standing; N. *testəwar-m/s/n* I am/he is/they are standing; W. *ama: niwi-ais* we are sitting; D.q. *niw'a aim, niwi: as* I am/she is sitting;

^a D.q. *gur'eikom* is probably also a Perfect, and not, with Budd., a Pret. Cf. *gur'erč-an/en* took her/them, with regular Pret. *-er-*.

N. *new'ar-m*; *tur new'ar-i*; *elo ardam nerwar-s*; *čükka newar-s*; *ema niwa-i*; *ede niwi-an* I am sitting, etc. (note 1. 2. Pl. *-wa: !*); W. *man awatar: bowar-m* I have become hungry; Lg.z. *ar: berdar: bowar-yim* I have become awake; D. *dur wiwar: šer* the door is shut.

31.3. Static Pluperfect is formed by adding the past of the auxiliary.

E.g. W. *xanəwar-ik* it was dug; D. *lerwar: arik* he was dead; *nawar: arik* he had been lost; *duo: elereka ew'ar: ner: arki:* yesterday you had not come here; D.q. *nəwa aik*; *niwi: -arč/ainč* he/she was, they were sitting; *pawar aikem* I had been going; *wiwiwy-arč* she had passed; D.s. *mam alaw'ar-kem* I had ascended; *war: mačəwa-ik* rain had fallen; She. *ləwar: harik* had become dead (but *lerik* had died; *lik harik* was dead); *nawar: harik* had become lost (but *nawik harik* was lost); N. *karbul perwa-ahem* I had been going (lit. I was having gone) to Kabul.

31.4. In D.q. a Static Participle of the transitive verb *kar-* to do has been recorded in *mam kawar-m aik*; *to kaw'ar-ik*; *ti kawir(!)-aik*; *ama kaw'ar-n-ik*, *em'a kaw'a-ik*; *te kawar-ik* I had done (*man kardə burdam*) (cf. Pluperfect *kerakom*). Cf. also *zeip kawə-as* he has married a woman, said to correspond to *ka'ič-an*. A similar construction is found in Ka. *ima karew'o-u šik* you had made it.

These forms ought probably to be analysed as *mam kawar-m aik* "by-me my-being-done it was".

31.5. Regarding the static part conditional, e.g. in *pawir-tin-ai* if they had gone (*rafta meburdand*), cf. above.

Without the conditional particle *-ai* we find D.q. *bor xal'eq niwi: ten XV, 30* many people may (?) be sitting (*šišta baršand*); 1. Sg. *mam niwa: tem*; W. *kačawa tir* it may have been cut off.

The exact interpretation of N. *äiwar-gum* (from *äy-* to eat) is uncertain.

Conditional and Potential

32.1 In the protasis of hypothetical sentences D.q. employs a compound tense, considering of either the Present base in *-yar-*, or the Static Participle in *-war* + Aorist of *t-*,^a and the Conditional particle *-ai*.

Thus, *payar-tin-ai* if they had gone, is rendered by Prs. *me:raftand*, and *pawir-ten-ai* by *rafta meburdand*.^b In the examples given no difference of meaning can be observed.

^a V. SE. 18,6.

^b Cf. Philot, Higher Prs. Grammar, p. 232, *agar kanda me:burdam* (arch.) if I had dug.

32,2 In the apodosis D.q., from the root *kar-*, employs a form of the type *kay-* + Obj. Infix + Past Auxiliary.

Subj.	Obj. 1. Sg.	1. Pl.	2. Sg.	2. Pl.	3. Pers.
1. Sg. m.	—	—	<i>kayakam-i:</i>	—	—
1. Pl.	—	—	—	<i>key-az-čes</i>	<i>key-a:čes</i>
2. Sg. m.	<i>kay-im-aiki:</i>	—	—	—	—
2. Pl.	<i>kay-im-ače:</i>	<i>kay-in-ače:</i>	—	—	<i>key-ače:</i>
3. Sg. m.	<i>kay-im-aik</i>	<i>key-in-aik</i>	—	<i>kay-e-aik</i>	<i>key-aik</i>
3. Pl.	<i>kay-im-ainč</i>	<i>key-in-ainč</i>	<i>key-i-ainč</i>	<i>key-i-ainč</i>	<i>keyi-ainč</i>

32,3 Since forms of no other verb have been recorded, the interpretation remains uncertain. But as a type *kay-im-ače:* must probably be interpreted as corresponding to a hypothetical Skt. "*kṛtavar-n-me-a:si:h*", *kay-* possibly being connected with the Absolutive in *-i*. The difference between *kay-* and *key-* is irrelevant.

For *kayakam-i:* we might have expected **kay-i-aikim*. Subj. 1. Pl. + Obj. 2. Pl. *keya:čes* probably stands for **kay-e-a:čes*, and Subj. 3. Pl. + Obj. 3. Prs. *keyi-ainč* for **kay-ainč*.

Examples:

32,4. (1) *Aka to ew'a t'i-ai mam to mem'ar:n kayakam-i:* If thou hadst come, I should have made thee (my) guest (Prs. *agar tu me:ar:madiz, man tura: mihma:n me:kardam*).

(2) *A. ema ey'a: t-ai,* ama ema m. k'eyar:čes* if you . . . we should have made you. . . .

(3) *A. se eya: ti-ai, ama ti: m° k'eyar:čes* if he . . . , we should have made him. . . .

(4) *A. te eya: tin-ai, ama te m. k'eyar:čes* if they . . . , we should have made them . . . ; . . . *ema te m. keyar:čis?* . . . would you have made them . . . ?

(5) *A mam eya: tim-ai, to mam m. kayimaiki:* if I . . . , wouldst thou have made me? . . . *te mam m. keyimainč* . . . they would have made me. . . .

(6) *A. mam ewa: tim-ai, ema mam m. kay'imače?* if I . . . , would you have made me . . . ? . . . *se mam m. kayimaik (kemaik)* . . . he would have made me. . . .

(7) *A. ama ew'i: tis-ai, em'a am'a m. kay'irnače?* if we . . . , would you have made us . . . ?

(8) *A. se ewa: ti-ai, ti ema m. k'ayače?* if he . . . , would you have made him . . . ?

(9) *A. ama ey'a tis-ai, se ama m. k'eyinaik* if we . . . , he would have made us. . . .

(10) *A. ima paya: tir-ai, se ema m. k'ayearik* if you had gone, he would have made you. . . .

(11) *A. te paya: (paw'ir) tin-ai, se te m. keyaik* if they . . . , he would have made them . . . ; . . . *te te m. keyiainč* . . . they would have made them. . . .

(12) *A. ama do: pay'a: tis-ai, te ama m. k'eyinainč* if we had gone yesterday, they would have made us. . . .

(13) *A. to paya: ti-ai, te to m. keyiainč* if thou . . . , they would have made thee. . . .

(14) *A. ema do: iw'ir, (eya: paya:) ti-ai, te ema m. keyiainč* if you . . . , they would have made you. . . .

(15) *A se do paya: ti-ai, te ti: do: m. keyiainč* if he . . . , they would yesterday have made him. . . .

32,5 In She. the Protasis has e.g. *hani* + Aorist of *ʃ-* + Obj. Infix + *ai*, and the Apodosis *hana:č* + Subj. + Obj. *Hani-ʃada-n-ai* if you had beaten us, etc., is a more archaic form than L. *bai han-ʃham-i:*, *dāi bai ʃhata:n*,^a *hani* probably being an Absolutive.

The stem *hana:č-*, with *č* also in Sg. m., has no parallel in other dialects.

32,6. Examples: *Kə to mam h'ani-ʃay-am-ai, a to hana:čam-i* if you had beaten me, I should have beaten you; *kə to hama hani-ʃay-an-ai, ham'a to han'a:čes-e* if you . . . we . . . you; *kə to ut'i: han'i-ʃay-ai, a to han'a:čam-i* if you . . . him, I . . . you; *kə he:m'a ham'a hani-ʃada-n-ai, ham'a hem'a han'a:čes-u:* if you (Pl.) . . . us, we . . . you (Pl.).

With the Protasis cf. SheFerd. "Past Conditional" (*marzi-yi ʃarʃiya*) *mulāʃ-am/-ai/-ad/-ās/-ada/-an*^b I might have understood (*famida bosham* Prs.), and LSI.w.e. *ka-ʃad(y)-ai* he would make/have made.

In She. a similar form occurs also in the Apodosis. Thus, *kə einč-i: bei tən-ai, ʃitawa ou ne e: ʃir-ei* if your eyes had been well, you would not have eaten burnt bread.

32,7. Other examples of conditional sentences are: D.q. *Aka tu i: mam to mem'ar:n ke:gam-i:* if you come, I shall make you my guest.

She. *Ag'ar to i: m'ena merman-om ti:* if you come, you will be my guest; *kə to mam hani-am, a to ham hane:m-i* if you beat me, I shall also beat you; *kə a do: naʃo:r təm-ai, lazm ka ne bearikem* if I had been ill yesterday, I should

^a V. SW. 32,2,4.

^b Prs. script *muclyʃ-m/-y/-l/-s/-dh/-n*.

not have been able to work; *kə* to *ew'a: t'i-āi*, *m'ena mema:n-om ti-āi* if you had come, you would have been my guest.

PASSIVE

33.1. Passive Participle in *-e/in + b-*, cf. L.Ka. Thus, She. *maktu:b l'eken bar* the letter is being written; *go:šing lanλern bar* the house is being built; *kilar hanen bar* the boy is being beaten. Cf. LSI.w. *hanin bitakim*, LSI.e. *h° bikim* I have been/was beaten, etc.

INFINITIVE

34.1. W.D.q.She. *-e/a*, only with *b(e)-* to be able. W. *dar'er n'e beregam* 277,5 I cannot catch; D.q. *marre na berik-en* he could not kill him; She. *λarm ka ne berm* (*berikem*) I can (could) not work; *a ham ka berm* XI, 9 I also can make.—Cf. L. and Budd. Kanyawali, § 31,3.

In D.q. the absolutive in *-ta* is also combined with *b(e)-*.^a

34.2. W.D.D.q.She.LSI. *-(i)k*, with Obl. *-ke* (W. *-he*); Loc. *-ka*. Nom.—W. *aλalik kerh-en* 276,11 he dallied; D.q. *nik* to go out; *anik* to beat; *mučik* to flee; *kanik* to pull; *pik* to drink; *bureik* to bury; She. *testik* to stand up; *likik* to write; *teggik* to bind; *kaik* to do; *nawek* to lose; *pačal'ek* to cook, etc.; LSI. *bik* to be.

34.3. Obl.—W. *marl kerhe nirik* 276,13 he went out to make water; *arur gur'āihe* 278,3 (they will come) to fetch food; *yanla pinšerhe pa:gam* I am going to the mill to grind corn.

Čarche (D. *čarāikye*) *garāih-en* 280,23 he sent him to graze, D. *au āigye pa:em gu:šini* I shall go home to eat food; *amar šarm pa:gas au āikye* we are all going to eat food. LSI. *eiker der* by eating. D.q. *mam namaz pa:ike pa:gom* I am going to recite my prayers; *mam šenarn kake pa:gom* I am going to bathe.

Loc. W. *weperka morheč* 272,19 she began to weep. She. *ilm hileka* (or, *hilek koča*) *šuru kak-en* XI, 10 she began to study.

VARIOUS VERBAL NOUNS

35.1. Regarding the Static Participle in *-war*, and the Passive Participle in *-en*, cf. SE. 31,1; 32,1; 33,1.

The form in *-ya:* serves only as a base for the Present, Imperfect, etc., but is not as a Participle.

^a SE. 36,1.

(1) Past Participle in *-(i)k*. W. *garak bik*, *gar'eik beč* he/she disappeared (note f. *-k*!). She. *lik/leč* dead. Lg. *testik* standing (Psht. *wala:γ*). LSI.e. *patik/əč* gone.

(2) Present Participle in *-men*, used adverbially and corresponding to L. *-mana:*, is recorded only in W. *perič girem'en girem'en* she went, wandering about.

(3) Noun of Agency in *-ka:lar*. D.q. *ar-lawə-ka:lar* one whose heart is burning. She. *dar-ka:lar* possessor (Psht. *la:urnkai*). LSI. *bi-ka:lar* being; *hani-ka:lar* striking.^a

ABSOLUTIVE

36.1. W.D.q.s. *-ta*; D.LSI.w. *-ta(i)n*.—E.g. W. *λerleta* 276,3 having stretched out; *kašeta* having cut off^b; *wəddeta* 277,19 having passed; *darreta* 279,5; *ā:šeta* 279,1 having seized; *nirta* 280,8 having gone out.—D.q. *daweta* having pulled; *mam λarm kata gikem* having done the work, I went; *wərleta* having passed.—D. *marretan* 283,11 having killed; *niritan* having gone out; *katan* (LSI.w. *°tarn*) 283,15 having done, but *pata* 282,1 having gone.

In D.q. *γ'am-an bierge gaita* XVI, 7 thou art able to bear the sorrow for me; 1. Sg. *mam gaita bie:gom* (*xurda, tahamul karda mertanam*); D.s. *paida kat'a na barkom* I cannot find it, *-ta* is combined with *b-* to be able. The starting point may have been something like "having done, I am (not) able".

36.2. W.D. *-i*. Cf. L.Ka.

W. *uri* 281,8, D. *uči* having risen; W. *eri* having eaten (?); D. *ače* having brought. Possibly also W. *h'ane* 275,1 having struck.

^a Cf. SW. 3,2 (14).

^b But, cf. *sere kafu:w aceh-en* having cut off his head, he brought it.

ADDENDA

ADDITIONAL PASHAI TEXTS

SANJAN

(Abdullatif, Gulbahar, October 1962)

I

Azm'urn turgg az, na ši: setar'ur.

The sky is cloudy, there is no star.

Jisar,^a wad'ure firw'-az, gad'au kenar'ur, fir'arr.

My dear, let us arrange a wedding, let us go to embrace, my dear.

O: farnfike:, mubarrak-ai, sarr karlu:-er.

O girl, good luck! Your dress is red.^b

O:du-m nir-paz, mači: kawarm-a xaxlu:-i.

Sit down near me, I shall kiss your mole.

II

Čark'ur: peran'ur-i:, n'i:čai wais-ai fer.

The spinning-wheel is before you, you are sitting in your house.

Umr-am terraki: nastars-ai fer.^c

My life is an ornament in your nose.

III

Də sarl naukar'i: kar'erm askar'i: fer.

For two years I served in the army.

Sartā sarl bi-guri, noikari'-erm nasar'fi: fer.

Seven years have passed, I am a servant in the Textile Factory,

gumruk'i: fer. Pear-d-e daftar yam. Čor sad ruipa'i:

in the customs division. I am an office messenger. 400 rupees

tanza:-e ma:.^d

is my salary.

^a For *fi: yar*.

^b Or, you are "red-dressed"?

^c i.e. I will sacrifice my life for your nose-ornament.—*Teraki:* was said to be a golden nose-ornament.

^d Notice *Prs. ma:*, not *Sanj. mər*. The only Pash. words are *kare:m; fer; bi-guri; -erm; yam; sartā; čor*.

The following two texts were recorded by Dr. Farhadi at Gulbahar in 1957 from an informant from "Sanjan-dormana (Ri:za-Kohesta:n)".

IV

Qalarya tarqa xarna.

Your castle is a house with windows.

Prs. Qal'a-at xarna-i tarqa ast.

To kury n'āiti: sere: dam warqa barnu?

Why do you not come (to the window, giving as a) pretext the airing (?) of your head? ^a

Prs. Tu ēirar dam kardan-i sar-i xud ra: baharna na me:kuni:, u na me:ari:?

Molā: Jain pačawarn-ory derwana-sar ar.

M. J. is mad about you.

Prs. Mullā Jān pas-i tu derwana-sar ast.

Do-wal zorm far: te: ^b parčal nešarnu.

Put two stones there on the rampart as a sign.

Prs. Do tar sang ba hamarn far: lab-i bar:m nišarna (beguzar, ya: me:guzar:ram).

V

I: baror: binez, asirwarni kato:nez. Žandras pačawarn-a

There was a boy, he was working as a miller. Behind the water-mill

terse: baror: bork šernez. I: ro:ba: barka fer: armozta bi orna.

was that boy's garden. A fox had learnt (to come) into the garden.

Har we:la aiti-orna, dazkar: der pake:tar-wonez. I: assewana di:.

Every night she was coming, and was eating the grapes. A miller saw:

"Dazkar:m xala:s binez." Ya de: asyarwarn baru bandaga tarnek pale:

"My grapes have been finished." One day the miller's boy with his rifle

barka-fer: gorye: Ača-we:l de^a,^c ro:ba: aida. Ro:ba:

went into the garden. At midnight he saw that the fox came. The fox

assewana de: di:.

saw the miller.

^a The translation of *dam kardan* is uncertain. Cf. Steingass "to infuse, steep"; Afyān Qamūs = *afsun dami:dan*. With the absolutive *warqa* cf. Al. *war:ti:s* we put (Voc. *waf*-D. to put).

^b Cf. G. *teta* there?

^c Saw her (the fox).

VI. ALASAI

(Ishpi, October 1961. Informant Ma:γur: Xam from Alasai)

Ham'al m'ari ke baz'air na'in, kišt u zera:'at zamina dai daš'irar.

When the month Hamal has passed, grain and crops sprout from the fields.

B'arriš xala:s berar, Saur m'aryā yā kišt wargaya airar.

The rain is finished and in the month Saur these crops are ready for watering. ^a

Yā wargā kari:s. Zāmen'a kuča farq šir. Barzi: zam'in

We water them. Between the fields there is a difference. Some fields

war:γ b'urak per'ar. 'A:la: zam'in trā w'argā per'ar. Saur m'aryā

drink much water. The best fields drink three waterings. In the month

'arzer-e S'aurā, xau ber'ar. 'Arzer-e J'auza m'aryā

of Saur, at the end of Saur, ears develop. At the end of the month Jauza

pašrar. Ger'ai γp'ri:s. Zam'ena kuča ther'ar. Ge sar'āwairis,

it ripens. Then we reap. It ^b will ^c be in the field. Then we press it ^d

k'alā barar'is. Ger'ai man'airis warden'āwairis.

and carry it to the threshing ground. Then we crush it and winnow it.

Pa:k ke birn, ra'i: kar'is. Ra'i: wargaw'arnā bar(ar):is.

When it is cleansed, we make heaps. We take the heaps home.

Čajaye'u: ^e pa:k kar'is. Ge žandrā bar'is,

We cleanse it with a winnowing fork. Then we take it to the mill,

abō'i: kar'is, ge w'aryā ar'is. Tan'urrā dair w'ar'is.

we make flour, then we bring it home. We throw wood into the oven.

Tan'ur šorn'ak ber'ar, aw'ur wair'is. Barzi: warxtā pušan'is:

The oven becomes red hot, and we form ^f the loaves. Sometimes we flatten

širā haw'ar kar'is, kela'i: širā, pačir

them on a board (?), we throw them on a baxter, and they are baked.

Ge destarza:nā jāir'is. Arway'ar neris,

Then we spread out a table-cloth. We sit down (with our) family,

hast'in ōr'is, aw'ur purna:n haw'ar kari:s, kat'ar-an

we wash our hands, we spread out the loaves in front of us, and whatever

har-k'or ke ther, man'ar-n jāir'is. Bismill'ar: kar'is, žāir'is.

cheese, etc., ^g there may be, we put between us. We say Bismillah and eat.

^a Litt.: comes to water.

^b Lit., may.

^c Čaj was said to mean a winnowing fork.

^d Throw down?

^e Kater, Prs. qat:q.

^f The crops.

^g Prs. me:čala:nda.

Bardas žaikas destarxan laður karis, hast-irn ōžris, šukrarnag'ir im'i:
After eating we roll up the table-cloth, wash our hands, and offer thanks for
ni'a:matas ba darg'ar-ye X'alakas du'a: kar'i:s.
this favour before the Creator's throne.

SHEWA

Written, in Prs. script, by "Abdul Qudus Ghorval Parhez, Ghoria-Khel Pashtun from Shafi-koṭ, Shewa". According to Klaus Ferdinand, who has handed over to me the following song and sentences (taken down 24th February, 1955), he knows Pashai very well from his childhood. The text given below has been romanized and vocalized from the original manuscript.

VII

Paša'i: Fazal

(1)

Durr-er, sanam, mašar: šer / A: harim ternar: patang-er.
Your face, O Idol, is a torch. / I am your moth.
Gul kori sudurri: rang-er.
Your colour is beautiful like a flower.

(2)

Ternar: durr-er: čirar: šer / yaṭur: kori harjem dary: šer.
Your face is a lamp, / my heart is a-fire like a poppy.
Mernanter: kankuri tar:ra / ka harim ternar: malang-er.
Look towards me . . . / because I am your faqir.
Gul kori, etc.

(3)

Bar:yar: ternar: purtiš, / fidari: gul kori wartiš.
She has arrived from your garden, / your devotee has passed away ^a like a flower.
Bur:yar: tarnek bar:ya kayar: / gah čur:term ^b kankawi larang-er.
Make me bowls (?) ^c in your garden / (that) I may (?) . . . your cloves.
Gul kori, etc.

^a Waff-.^c *Bur:yar* Prs. wrapper, pouch; Psht. bowl, cup. Here?^b Cf. L. *čuf* to approach?

(4)

Jawarni:š šen do:(h) duwasi: / yararm(iya?) ba hawasi:
Of-youth are two days ^a / desire is in the senses.
Yar-r-e: harim zulm ma ka derm / jawarni: tir nan qalang-er:
I am your lover, do not oppress (me?) / youth to-day you are . . .
Gul kori, etc.

(5)

Yarri: ternar: Parhez har: / ternar: astari: rerz-ma-rerz har:
Parhez is your lover / from your hand ^b he is a poor fellow.
*Be:ror: ka gar *haridi: / terseh por: kur nar-šarang-er.*
Make him sound if . . . / before him indeed you are not poison. ^c
Gul kori, etc.

VIII

LSI. Sentences

220. *Narm-er kor se:?* What is your name?
221. *Yur: gor:ar: kar-sar:la: har:* How old is this horse?
222. *Yaster Sarla ja: karu pan se:?* How far is it from here to Sala?
223. *Karu oryar-i harin?* How many children have you?
225. *Karkas-am pur:er: amer ki:arlek pila: gorrawar: kerken.* My uncle's son has married the girl of this one.
226. *Šelik gor:ar: zin-er guršing ser.* The saddle of the white horse is in the house.
227. *Gor:ar: zin-ersar: orre k(a)yar.* Lift up the saddle of the horse.
231. *Lary-a cayasa: ^d der gaṇ har:* His brother is bigger than his sister.
232. *Mur-i do: ar:ra rurpai ser.* The price of it is two rupees and a half.
234. *Amer rurpaya sayar: day-ar.* Give these rupees to (your?) sisters.
235. *Rurpaya ter: ordai gur:ar.* Take the rupees from him.
236. *Burka han-ar: au čamateki: der tingar.* Beat him well and bind him with a rope.
237. *Gur:ar-i: wark kaner.* Draw water from the well.
238. *Merna por:ra furmer.* Walk before me.
240. *Uise: gar: ker ordaya: gurraide:?* From whom did you buy that cow?
Cf. 224. *A: nan tarnek par-i:der gerkim.* To-day I went by foot.

^a Youth lasts only two days.
^c *Šarang* colocynth, poison.^b Through you.
^d For say.

SHAMAKOT

Bargromatol, June 1964

IX

Badale

Lail'ai Mazl'in arš'ux 'awwal daur'arn.

Laila (and) Majnun (were) lovers of olden times.

*Arx'er tamh'or *kar'in hary-'ar: arma:n.*

Finally hope made their hearts' longing (?)

Lail'er gar'i šar-e Buyd'art.

Laila went to the city of Baghdad.

Yi: parnde dāi dhurme,^b musulma:n.

A road show (her ?), oh Muslims.

Ji: Xud'ar, korr čhāl kar'arm? Bard o bar'ar:n.

O God, what trick shall I make ? (In) wind and rain,

Mazlin g'um kačkam. Ze yem air'ar:n.^c

Majnun I have lost. I am perplexed.

PACHAGHAN OF GWONJ

Recorded by A. E. Palwal^d

X

1. *I: pač'ar-yi Mišar'z'i birn, do hoy'ar:n-e horn.* 2. *Herč*
One king- of Nowhere there-was, two daughters-his are. Any

ešp'oš n'a kat'on. Mayt'orn ki: "I var'i pač'arast du
husband not they-make. They-say that: "One other king's two
putr'ar:n-e tet. 3. *Sad'o teme s'iye: Išp'oš kararw-'ar."*
sons-his may be. Call they *made (?). Husband(s) let-us-make-them

4. *Hya jistuf'oy k'are, payd'o b'i-goy.* 5. *Qism'at-e birn,*
(him ?). This(?) search made, found he-became. Fate-his (it) was,

ghoraw'i 'a:re in 'arsa. 6. *Išp'arnj-e m'arte: "T'o warč'ar*
bride he-brought ? her (?). Husband-her said: "Thy body-to

h'orst na hanarm, tar-ke trā šart dhararm.
hand not I-shall-strike, until three conditions I-have (got fulfilled).

^a *Prs. ume:n.*^b *Yak ra:h niša:n betē.—Dho:m dāiteye:m* "I show thee" was said to correspond, in poetry (*ba bait*), to *larāi d°* in ordinary prose.^c *Psht. sentence.*^d Cf. Addenda to Grammar, NW.

7. *Bašary tet, xurb; wə 'agar na, har tar:n'oy*
Accomplished (if) they-may-be, well; and if not, every place-from

aytigay, p'arra! 8. *'Agar šart-an bašary birn, tu*
thou-hast-come, go! If conditions-our accomplished were, thou

pač'ar, ar:n wazir-ay; tu išp'ornj, ar:n ist'irk-oy. 9. *Tra šart*
king, I vizier-thy; thou husband, I wife-thy. Three conditions

herm ar. 10. *'Awal, paltan-'oy n'a palem.* 11. *Dhoyom, muhr-am na*
these are. First, with-thee not I-shall-sleep. Second, seal-my not

dha:m. 12. *Sewom, čil ghor'o to od'arna ur'arm.*
I-shall-give(-thee). Third, forty horses thee near I-shall-leave.

13. *Ar:n par'aywam ba-tawr-i tušar'at. Tra sarl bart 'ay-param.*
I shall-go by-way-of trading. Three years later I-shall-come.

14. *'Awal, awlar:d maw dor'or-m yay.* 15. *Dhoy'om, sanduxč'o*
First, offspring my before-me may-come. Second, box(-in)

til'ar:tet, muhr-e bašary tet, darno kuč'ar:n'a tet.
gold may-be, seal-its in-order may-be, (but) grain (of gold) in-it not may-be.

16. *Seyom, čil ghor'o-'oyarn-arm ar: goroyas ka.*
Third, forty horse-youngs-my are (to be borne) (my-)horse for.

17. *Jaryašary herm tra šart ar. Bazma:n-i Xud'ar:n*
Completely these the-three conditions are. By-the-grace-of God I

g'aryim." 18. *Z'ayfa a:qil birn. Čil kan'ize g'ure, mardarna*
went." The-woman clever was. Forty maids she-took, male

puš kare. 19. *Čil ghor'o, čil tof'ak d'ete.*
dress she-made (them wear). Forty mares, forty guns she-gave.

20. *Ask'ar wh'arnd-e; t'aryge pač'ar: purt i: narye, var'i*
Troop(s) they-may-put(?); own (herself?) king's son one led, other

vaz'ir wh'arnd-e. 21. *Gory, tarnga išpa:nj'ar: dam- k'arla:*
vizier they-may-?. She-went, her-own husband bewitched(?) making,

lib'ars-e zanarn'o g'ure t'aryga par'e. 22. *I: šahra gir*
dress-of females she-took herself with. One city-in going-about

kar'e namarhum, i: vari n'oyi d'che. 23. *Z'ayfa*
she-made unknown, one the-other (another?) ? they saw. The-woman

išpa:nj'ar-y py'arne, virmal'o z'ayfa-ye na pya:n'e. 24. *Herm*
husband-her recognized, the-man woman-his not recognized. This

z'ayfa m'arte: Ay juw'orn, satr'anj han'arw i: ghor'o şiraz.
 woman said: O young-man, chess let-us-play one horse about.
 25. Satr'anj ki h'ane, 'aslan işp'arnj-e a: 26. Za:h'er mayt'o:
 Chess who played, really husband-her is. Openly she-says:
 Ay juw'orn. T'arŋge nar:marum k'aŋe. 27. Satr'anj h'ane,
 O young-man. Herself unknown she-has-made. Chess they-played,
 jaw'arn-e b'aŋhe, gor'o g'ure. 28. Čil ghor'o kuč'a:
 the-young-man-she defeated, the-horse she-took. Forty mares amongst
 e:l'a: kar'e, č'ury-e saklarwa b'i-goye. 29. Čh'a de bart
 loose she-made(-them), all-of-them pregnant became. Six days later
 ghor'o ye pačaw'arna dete. Šaharn'o lafza: ghor'o şera: to
 the-horse she back gave. Kings' word-on horse-about thou (and)
 arn banduw'arz n'a hi:n. 30. Var'i de mōhra şir'a: satranj han'e.
 I dependent not we-are. Another day seal about chess they-played.
 31. Juw'orn-i b'aŋe, m'oh[r]-e g'ure. 32. Sanduqč'o-y
 The-young-man-she defeated, the-seal-she took. The-box-she
 čarle, til'ar-ye gure. 33. Sanduqč'o-ye č'a:le, ge
 opened, the-gold-she took. The-box-she (had-)opened, (again) indeed
 mhor kar'e; m'ohr-e pačaw'arna det'e. 34. Čar'um
 sealed she-made(-it); the-seal-she back she-gave. The-fourth
 diw'os dil'ar: şera: satranj han'e, tarŋge barz'i det'e,
 day a-beloved about chess they-played, herself the-game gave(-away),
 m'arte ke: 35. J'e- wela tarŋgay isterkaye ordh'o-y
 she-said that: Tomorrow-night of-(my-)self thy-woman near-thee
 'arwam. 36. Lib'ars-e šaharn'o t'e-na kare. 37. Sam
 I-shall-bring. Dress-of kings she-not made (i.e. put on). That
 kan'irze ki wazir birn, te d'ete; zana:n'o
 maid who vizier was (to-her), she (the princess) gave(-it); women's (dress)
 tarŋgo banje. 38. Kanirze marte: "Mo yi p'arra gud'e.
 (she-)herself put-on. (To-)the-maid she-said: "Me ? ? ?
 39. P'arnja de bart pačaw'arna ya, m'ara: Ay bač'a-yi
 Five days later back (to-the-prince) come, say (to-him): O son-of
 pač'a: moy ist'irka da: ! 40. Mo ghor'o mōhr'a-ye
 king, to-me the-woman give ! I the-horse (and) the-seal-its

pačaw'arna di'am." 41. Mašbur bač'a-yi pač'a: zayfa-ye
 back I-gave(-thee)." Forced the-son-of a-king the-woman-he
 pačaw'arna dite. Zayfa harmil'o b'i-goye, ge
 back gave. The-woman (: the princess) pregnant became, indeed
 šaharn'o dires'i banje, pačaw'arna čil kan'i:za par'e ayit.
 royal dress she-put-on, back forty maids with she-came.
 42. Xasure ka bhor h'orn, ya
 (Her) father-in-law for loaded (with-gifts) they-are, this
 w'arqi orst. 43. I sarl bart putr-e payd'o: bi-goy.
 the happening is. One year later son-her born became.
 Čil ghor'o bejary goye. 44. Tarŋga
 The-forty mares accomplishing (their-purpose) went. (Her-)own
 tra mazsad harsil kar'e. 45. Tra sarl bard/t pač'a: putr,
 three aims achieved she-made. Three years later the-king's son,
 ke šp'arnj-a a:, ayit musaf'aye. 46. Čaku v'or parnda
 who husband-her is, came from-his-journey. A-little time road-on
 barq'i dharon'a. 47. Juw'orb kar'e tarŋga ba:b'aye ke: 48. Mo
 remaining he-stayed. Answer he-made his-own father-to that: My-
 istirkaye, mo putraye, čil ghor'o-oyar, sanduqč'o m'o-dora: hay
 wife, my son, forty foals, box me-before (?) ready
 karedar. 49. Zayfa hušy'ar birn, hay nō kare;
 you-shall-make. The-woman wise was, presented not she-made
 waxte ke işp'arnj-a ayit. 50. Šahra darzil
 (them); at-the-time when husband-her came. Town-into entering (when)
 bi-goy, putr'aye d'ora: hay kare. 51. Bač'a-yi pač'a:
 he-became, his-son before-him presented she-made. The-son-of the-king
 ki d'ehe, yul'u q'ahar kar'e. 52. Ayit ke talw'arra par'e
 when he-saw-it, much anger he-made. He-came that sword with
 'istirka:ye han'ay. 53. Z'ayfa m'arte: "Šaharn'a ra s'abr-a.
 his-wife he-may-strike. The-woman said: "Royal way patience-is.
 Tra šart-ay marum'at ka: !" 54. Sanduqč'o ye d'ora:
 The-three conditions-thy explained make !" The-box she before-him
 'ar'e. 55. Sayl kare; darn'o n'a ši,
 she-brought. Looking he-made; a-grain (of gold) not is (in it), (but)

- mohr-e* *baʃa:ye*. 56. *Čil ghor'o-oya: be tangga gor'os-ka az*.
 seal-its (is) in-its-place. Forty foals also his-own horse-for is.
57. *Virmal'o: hayr'orn d'ar-goy, m'arte: "K'ar sir- a.*
 The-man astonished remained, he-said: "What mystery is-it?
58. *Mohr be odho-m, sandug'e'o be xar'i.*
 The-seal also with-me (is), (but) the-box also empty (is).
59. *Ghor'o odho-m, oya: mo gor'oyis ka.* 60. *To*
 The-horse (is) with-me, (but) youngs my horse for (are). Thee
- pare na palitigam, purt be maw. Aʃ'ab ser -a:*
 with not I-have-slept, (but) son also mine (is). A-wonderful mystery it-is.
61. *Ya z'ayfa qis'o-ye az awal ta: az'er tamarm kar'e.*
 This woman the-tale-she from beginning to end complete made.
62. *Pačar: a:qil bi:n, darnist'o be-goy, aw a:farin kare,*
 The-king clever was, understanding he-became, and praise he-made,
- tarb-e zayfast bi-goy, wakarlat-e zayfaya dūte:*
 obeying the-woman he-became, deputyship-he to-his-wife he-gave:
63. "Tu: *pačar, a:n wazir-ay. Tu išpa:nʃ-am, a:n*
 "Thou (art) king, I (am) vizier-thy. Thou (art) husband-my, I (am)
- istirk-ay."* 64. *Kew sarl ki 'umər dhar-r-layni, ba zuš'i*
 wife-thy." So-many years that life-time they-had, in happiness
- ter kar'e.* 65. *A:far'i:n ba 'aql-i he:m zayfa, ki*
 passed they-made. Bravo upon wisdom-of this woman, who
- aʃ'ab hun'ar kare, tra šart ba-šary kare.*
 marvellous cleverness made, three conditions accomplished made.

NOTES

1. Prs. *maʃuz* feigned, illusory; according to Dr. Shaker (Director of the Linguistic Institute of the University of Kabul): "a fabulous country." Or, rhyme-word from *Hiʃarzi*?
3. Prs. *šadar* voice, call, also invitation to a marriage feast (Steingass). *Siye* must be the past of a transitive verb of which *sad'o* is the object. We might expect that they would want to take one husband each, but only the husband of one of the princesses is referred to in the tale.
4. *Hya*, for *ya* this, prob. attribute to *ʃistuʃoy*, since it is not an oblique, and can therefore not be the subject of *kare*.

5. *Ir*? It seems improbable that Prs. *ir* "this" should be used here (as a subject), with *arsa* that one (her) as an object.
9. *Ar* is, used as a Pl. also in other sentences.
12. *Čil ghor'o*, here and below, mares.
17. *Garim* "I am off".
20. The meaning of this passage is uncertain. *Wharnd-e* must be a 3. Pl. Aorist of L. etc. *wah* "to throw, put", etc.; here: "to assemble (an army)"? I cannot explain the second *wharnd-e*.
21. Prs. *dam kardan* "to blow upon" can, among several other meanings, also mean "to bewitch". It seems just possible that *dam* + *karla:* (noun of agency?) here means "bewitching", intending to bewitch, dupe.
22. *Warino* may possibly be an inflected form of *wari:*.
24. *Hana:w*, lit. "let us strike".
28. "According to a royal word" (?).
- Banduwaz:*. "Closed or open." According to Dr. Shaker: "dependent on, caring for." The contents of the sentence might perhaps be something like: "You and I are not bound (?) by a royal order as regards the horse."
34. *Taryge*, or: she herself?
37. *Mo yi p'arra gud'e*. Meaning unknown. We rather expect the princess to tell the maid to give her to the prince. *Mo yi* may perhaps be read as *moy i* "to me one".
39. (*Mohra*)-ye "its", i.e. "of the box".
41. *Waqi:*, according to Dr. Shaker: *waqi'i:* "the real story", not *waqi:* "protector, guardian" (= her father-in-law).
44. *Musa:faye*, prob. for **musa:faray-e*.
46. A sentence recording the king's question to the returning prince must have been omitted.
47. Cf. G. *čaku:* "a drop"?
48. The forms in *-a:ye* are difficult to account for.
- Mo-* (or *wo-*?) *dora:* for **mo dora:*?
- Hay*, Prs. *hayy* "ready, existing". According to Dr. Shaker: "she presented."
52. *Ra*, prob. for *ra:h* "way, manner (of action)".
61. *Tarb*, prob. Prs. *tarb* "follower, subject", i.e. he was won over to her side. According to Dr. Shaker: "obeying."

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO VOCABULARY

(For Numerals and Pronouns v. Grammar. Prs. loanwords are included when some special interest is attached to them, phonetically or because other Pash. dialects have retained the native term.)

The arrangement corresponds to that of Buddruss' "Vokabular" (Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Pasai-Dialekte). The numerals refer to the pages of my Voc., from which the catch-word is taken, whenever recorded there.—Regarding Pach.g. cf. Addenda to Grammar, NW.

Thus, e.g. "1a a:i: = Nang. . . .", or "3b uc'um, °umbā [i.e. uc'umbā] . . .". But "3a ab'aš Nang. . . ." indicates that the word in question is not found in my Voc.

- 1a a:i: = Nang.Pand.; ary'i: Sham. mother.
 2a au³, a(w)'ur I.AL.Pach.Sanj.; a(:)y'i: Sham. bread.
 2b ab'ō'i: = AL. flour.
 3a ab'aš Nang. bad (?). Only in *parnde* a° ar the road is Poss. *invisible, cf. Skt. *apaśya(t)* not seeing, not being in view (?).
 3b uc'um, °umbā AL. scorpion.
 uē, uēā, pl. uē Al.; iē Nang.; wiē Sham. fountain.
 uēunē-, uēunēk AL. to jump.
 aēh-, aēam AL.Sanj. I shall bring.
 4a aēhi: = Sham.; aē'i: Pand.Nang.; aēh'er-m Pach.; aēar-erm Sanj. (my) eye(s).
 4b o:ēh'a:, °or Sanj.Pach. shadow.
 a:ē, a:ēha, Pl. a:ēh'arn I; u:ē Nang.; w°o:ē Sham.; a:k, Pl. a:k-menāi AL. bear.
 'o:ēha Pach. hare.
 5a o:daī = AL. from.
 a:dam, Pl. °ma:n = Sham.Pand.Nang. man.
 5b 'uddēna, wadan'a Lg.z. fireplace.
 6a udhar, ordh'arra Pach.; od'arā I.; wudh°orre Sham. irrigation-channel, rivulet.
 ađqha, ađq'a I.AL. half.
 uđdāi, 'uđde AL. above.
 7a a(:)ya:t = AL. word.
 7b akoe, °ui AL. if.

- 8a ekeširō: K. wild boar < *ekuš-šir-ō: "down-head-ish", cf. Budd. šer-akuš.
 8b aula: = AL.; °o Bol.Pach., °i: f. Nang.; °e Sham. big.
 9a 'u:lā Sanj. spider's web.—Scarcely, as lw. from dialect with *l* < *dr*, connected with L. *udriz*, W. *uliz* snare.
 9b a:lāi: Lg.z. here.
 ul'uk G², wuluq, f. °larqā Sanj. ass.
 a:linu:k Pach. beard of maize.—Cf. Skt. *alī:na-* clinging to?
 a:le-tam'u:z I. the month Jauza.
 10a a:mai, °uyē Sanj.; °ori Sham.; °ai Pand.; °u'e: Nang. pomegranate.
 10b "amesh-kelol" Kurd. a kind of cheese.—Cf. Kt. *amiš* cheese, etc.
 11b ande here. Cf. Sham. a: ni: sūdūr andāi parya:nam to-day I had walked far up (?) here; antāi here.
 andar'u: = Sanj. house.
 12a andarw'am, °worn Sham. entrails.
 and'a:ā, °o:š Sham. liver.
 andawiāke (?) Sanj. spider.
 o:nj-, dēz-ris AL. we wash.
 12b a:nda, a:nd'ā Sham. egg.
 13a a:ndiwail, ā° Sham. comrade.
 13b anga:r, °or Sham.; °ur Pand.Nang. fire.
 14a angur = Lg.z. grape.
 anguri:(k), °ruk Lg.z.; °ur Sham. finger.
 angušak, arnguš'āk Sham. finger-ring.
 14b apainē f. K. pea-hen, arpanē f. Nang. golden oriole (*mur-y-e-zari:n*).
 o:pur-, o:parai:k AL. to cut, cleave (*burri:dan*).
 ar-, harrai:k AL. to hear.
 15a aru:, Pand.Nang. arri: peach.
 ar¹ = Nang., or Pand.; w°orr Sham. blood.
 ar-, arri:k, pret. arderm-a AL. to bring.
 15b ir = AL.Sham. clear, bright (sky).
 ur(r)-, urekam Lg.z. I rose.
 16a o:raē, u° Lg.z.; wār'arē Sham.; o:rarē AL. sleep.
 16b aryem-ja:lā AL. prune.
 aurat, °e Sham.; °a Nang. woman.
 17a or¹, ur- Pach.g. to leave.
 17b ari:n Sanj.Sham. millet.

- 18a a:smam, a° Sham.; arzmam Pand.Nang.; a° Sanj. sky.
 18b ustum, wustyrne Sham.; usān'ā I. (round) pillar.
 estri:, i° Al.; e° Nang.; estre- Sham. woman, female.—Cf. Par.Sh.
 (Benveniste) *štrir* < Pash.
 19a iſterka, °kɔ: Sanj. wife; est'irka Pach. also mare.
 esta:ri:č, istar'ir Pach. star.
 19b o:ša:, uš'ur Sanj. hedgehog; ušyamay'u: Nang. porcupine.
 ašen = I. hail.
 iſpair'i: = Al.Sanj. wife's brother.
 'ešp'a:re Sham.; 'e:° Nang. spleen.
 a:š-, ač'ai-rayam Al. I catch.
 20a u:š, Sham. wi:š long (*lau:or* w°-a the stick is long).
 a:špa:š, °o:ra Sanj.Bol.Pach.; ašpa:š Lg.z.; ešp'o:š Sham.; i° Nang.
 reaped rice.—V.
 ašari:, ašar'i: Sham.Panj.Nang.Wad. apricot.
 ā:šta, °ā I.; °e Sham.; °e Pand.Nang.Wad.; a:štā Al.; ašt Lg.z.
 eight.
 20b ašte-laur'u: Sham. plough share (Psht. *šparə*).
 21b atra, a:terāi I.; °arā Al.; cf. (a:)ta: Sham. there.
 22a aṭṭhi:, °a Al. bone.
 a:tha, °ā I.; eṭā I.Al. here.
 22b u:ṭh, o:ṣt-tem Pand.Nang. lip.
 u:ṭhu:r, uṣt'ur Al.; uṣt'ur G² camel.
 23a awata:, °tu: G², °tu:/i: Sham.; hawat'a: Al. hungry.
 25b o:ya: = Al.Pach.g. child; o:ya'us-am Sanj. of my child.
 26b a:zəz'a: = I.; °z'u: Sham. woman.
 27a az'i:, Pach.g. nave-hole.
 o:zak'i: Pach. sheep.
 27b bai, bāi Sham. good, well.
 28a ba:u¹ south(-west?); bhou (dāi) Sham. (from) below.
 ba:u², bh'awə Sham. quince.
 29a be-, bi(:)tokam Sham.Pand.Nang.Wad. I have become.
 29b bi: = Sham. seed.
 30b ba:b'a: = I.Pach.Sham.; bə° Pand.Nang. father.
 31a ba:d'a:m Sham.Pand.Nang. almond.
 31b beda:r = Al.; be:da: Lg.z. awake; be:da:lāis-i:m Al. wake me.
 bada:ya, bada: Al.Sanj. now.

- 32a buḍ-a'i:, °a:yi: Sham. grandmother.
 bu:en-b(ab)a:, buḍān-ba:b'a: Sham. grandfather.
 32b bu:yan Pach. pillow < Prs. °band wrapping-cloth.
 bu:yi:n Pach. mint < Par., with secondary γ, as in Par.pach. *urya*
 ear of wheat; *ru:ya* bowels; *na:yu:* bride.
 baj-¹, baššik Al. to get tired; baž-ga:yim Sanj. I got tired; *na basneri*
 (?) Pach. don't get tired (*ma:nda na ba:šir*).
 33a bujj-, buštik Al. he woke; caus. buššelāiram-a: I wake him; bušhetjem
 I wake.
 33b baka:r Al.Pach.Nang. good.
 34a be:l, b'e:l Sham. spade.
 34b ba:lakul, °ku: Sanj. boys.
 35a be:n, bhyerni: Sham. honey.
 bhye:n(e)-mo:n Sham. bee-hive.
 36a ba:n², ba:ngi: Nang. cock.
 ba:ns Al. Ligustum ajowan (Psht. *šperka*).
 36b bar-, bar(a:)is Al. we carry (it) off.
 barra, °a-kaṭ'u: Sanj. lamb.
 baira, bh'airu: Sham. much.
 37a bu:ra, °rak Sanj. much.
 37b berenj Sanj. husked rice.
 38a ba:ra: = Al.; °u: Sanj.Pach. boy.
 38b ba:rh- Pach.g. to defeat.
 ba:s = Al. steam.
 39a beta:, bu° I. big tree.
 39b baitalā Sanj. mare. Prs.
 bitil'i: I. rafters; roof-shingles.
 40b bay-² = Sanj. (v. Grammar) to be able.
 bo:ye L.u. behind. But *boryā birisk* Al. to descend, *burir yih* PT.
 descent; *bhou dāi* Sham. from below; cf. *bu:* Ka. down.—Cf. *baru:*¹?
 41a biya:t Pach. many.
 41b bhambu:r Pach. wasp. Prob. < Par. < IA.
 bha:r, ba:r Al. load; bho:r Pach.g. loaded. IA + Prs.
 ču:², čui Pach.; čüri-bi Sham. all.
 42a čüčül'a duck, but čüčü° Al. chicken.
 čajāyeu: Al. with (?) a winnowing fork (*čaf*?).
 42b čuika, čukai Sanj.; čuke Al.; čürike Sham. all.

- 43b *ča:l* = I.Lg.z. ; *chuhāl* (**čur:l*) KohRav. woman's hair.
čal, *čhal* Sham. trick.
- 44b *čelaṇḍik*, *čelaṇṭi* Sham. chicken.
čumb- = Al. to sew.
čima:r = I.Al. iron.
- 45a *čin'a:r* = Pand.Nang.Wad. chenar.
- 46a *čor:pa:n*, *urn* Nang. shepherd.
- 46b *čapar'ai* Al. small platform in front of a house. Psht.
čar- = Nang. to herd. *Čor:p'urn čar'or: čare:tu* the shepherd herds goats.
čar'i: Lg.z. back of the shoulder.
čar = Lg.z. ; *čor* Sanj. ; *č'or* Sham. ; *čur* Pand.Nang.Wad. four;
čarre Al. all four.
čur = Sanj.Al. (Pl. *čur'a:n*) thief.
- 47a *čar -tara:š* I. log cut square. Prs.
čar:wa:, *čar'or* Nang. goat.
- 47b *čar:raičem-i*: I. I brought cattle to the hill pasture.
čar:ska, *č'or* Sanj. ; *čoske* Sham. hare.
- 48a *čaša:*, *čaršur* Sanj. coughing.
- 48b *čačək-*, *čačəktem* Sham. I run ; *čač'ak* Al. quick.
- 49a *č(h)and-*, *čanti:k* Pach. has fallen.
- 49b *čhind-* = Al. to tear ; *čindalai:k* (Caus.) Al. to tear (Prs. *šikla:ndan*).
čhani:k, *č'*, f. *čankā* Sanj. kid.
- 50a *čhela:k* = I., f. *čhilčā*, *urk* Pach. ; *čela:k*, f. *čā* Al. ; *ik* Lg.z. ;
urk Bol. ; *čul'urk*, f. *čelčā* Sanj. ; *čol'urk*, f. *čelče* Sham. ;
čul'urk, f. *čelč'e* Pand.Nang.Wad. white.
- 50b *čhir* = I.Pach.Sham. milk.
čhir-sabat Pach. a flat basket.
čhiri Sham. razor < **kšurika:*, DIA 3727.
- 51a *dāi* = Sham. from.
de-, etc., Al.Sanj.Pach.Sham.Nang.Wad. to see. V. Grammar.
- 52b *du:*¹, *d'er* Sham. yesterday. *Ar d'er nar:for arnam* yesterday I was ill.
*du:*², *dō* Nj. ; *d'e*: Sham. day. *Trā d'e: a:ntāi harnəm* I have been here for 3 days.
- 53a *dābān* Sanj. big.
- 54a *da:l-* = Al. to break.

- 55a *da:ma:n*, *urn* Nang. ; *dham'orn* Sham. rain.—Skt. *dhamana* blowing (Par. *dhaman* wind < *Pash.).
da'in Sanj. many.
da:n(d), *da:ndā*, Pl. *da:nd* Al. ; *dand'-em* Sanj.Pach. ; *-iem* Pand. ;
da:ndō Sham. ; *dan*, *dand-im* Nang. ; *darn*, *dand-im*, demin. *dandel'a* Lg.z. tooth.
- 56a *daṇḍa:*, *e* Sham. ; *da:nd* I.Al. ; *dorṇ(d)*, Obl. *daṇḍa* Pach. rafter.
dra: Sanj. ; *drā* Lg.z. out(side).
- 56b *dar* = Al. ; *dor* Sanj.Pach.Pand. ; *d'or* Sham. ; *durr* Nang. (fire)-wood.
dar-, *darram* I.Sanj. ; *d(h)arram* Pach.g. I have.
- 57a *do:r*, *durr* Al. ; *d'ur* Sham. ; *jam derr* Nang. face ; *derr* Pand.Nang. mouth.
- 57b *dur:*¹ = Al. ; *d'ur* Sham. ; *d'ur* Nang. door.
dur-čambak Al. the month Hur (the "door-slammer", because of the strong winds).
durūti: I. wicker-gate (demin. of *durr*).
- 58a *drum* Pach.g. needle.
- 58b *dro:ṇti:*, *dru*^o Al. pellet bow.
- 59a *draṅga:* = I. maize straw.
dur-ša'i = I., *dur'ai-šal'ir* Sham. door-frame.
- 59b *dary'au*, *yarwā* Al. river.
dar'i = Al.Sanj. ; *dar* Lg.z. beard.
- 60a *de:ur*, *dre:w'ir* Sham. spider.
do:st, *do:st-ye:m* Sham. my friend.
- 60b *daš-ira*: Al. it sprouts.
de:šik, *daške* Sham. ; *o* Pand.Nang. ; *daška* Sanj.Pach. ; *okā* Al. grape.
- 61a *de:wai* = Sham. wall.
- 61b *duwa:s*, *dī*^o Al. ; *dewors*, *dīus* Pach. ; *duworse* Sham., *duors*, *durs* Lg.z. day.
- 62a *day-*, pres. *dāyraryam*, past *datam-a* Al. ; past *dertem*, fut. *derwam*, Plupf. *derlatam* Sanj. ; Past *deri-t-ey-em* Sham. to give.
- 63b *do:y-* = Al., *dory-* Sham. to milk.
du-ežna:, *de-žan* Sanj. both.
dho:m Sham. showing. *Yi: pa:nde dāi dho:me* show (me) a road (in song = *laṛai dāi*).

- 63b *dhu:m* = Pach., *dh'um* Sham.; *durm* ALg.z.; *dürm* N.; *dirm* Nang. smoke.
dhem Pach.g. soot.
- 64a *dhair* = I., *d°* ALg.z.; *dhōr* Pach.; *°ur* Nang.; *dh'or* Sham.;
dōr Sanj. mountain.
- 64b *d(h)a:ma* a hill-flower, cf. *dh'arme* Sham. a small plant with thick leaves.
ḍak- Pach. to climb, mount.
- 65b *ḍuwe* Nang., *du:* Wad. leopard. Cf. *dewio*?
- 66a *g-*, *gi:kim* Lg.z.; *garyam* ALSham. I went.
- 66b *ga:* = Lg.z.; *gari* Sham. cow.
- 67a *g'dan* Lg.z. millet. Psht.
gaḍ-, *gaḍeu* AL.; *°au* Sanj. let us go.
- 67b *ga:l-hō:st* Pach. palm of the hand.
gaw-gaw'āz Sanj. mountain goat.
- 68a *gula:b*, *g°-bā'i:* Sham. rose.
gila:n, *gōl'ar-n-am* Sanj.; *gulu:n* Sham. mouth.
gōlang, *°ury* Sanj.Sham.; *gularn* Lg.z. horned cattle.
- 68b *gu:m* = ALSanj.Pach.; *gōrm* Lg.z.; *g°um* I.; *gi'em* Nang.; *gh'irm* Sham. wheat.
gu:m-ō:u, *gu:min-au:* Pach. wheaten bread.
gō:m-dāiṇḍi: Sham. ear of wheat.
- 69a *ga:me:s*, *ga:wme:s* Sham. buffalo.
gan-, *gan-tra:yam* AL. I count.
gain, *gye:n* Lg.z. waist.
- 69b *gund* AL. a disease of wheat.
- 70a *gō:na:s*, *°ors* Sham.; *°urs* Sanj.; *°a:c* AL.; *gō:n'oré* Pach. snake.
gō:na:c-waramb'a: AL. a kind of wasp (*garu-zambur*).
ga:unda: I. watering-ditch round a fruit-tree.
gaṇ, *gaṇḍ* Lg.z. big.
- 70b *gaṇḍi:²*, *°a* AL. (big) tree.
gungur'i: Sham. twig.
- 71a *gir*, *ge(rāi)* AL. then.
- 71b *gur-* = ALSanj.Pach. to take.
- 73a *gara:t*, *ghar'aṭar* Pach.g. hand-mill.
gō:rawi:, *ghoraw'i* Pach.g.; *guraw'i:* D.q. bride.
- 73b *gara:*, *°p:* Pach. water-jar.

- 73b *gō:ra:* = ALg.z.; *°u:* Sanj.Sham.Nang.; f. *-i:* ALNang.; *geri:* Sham. horse.
- 74a *gu:s*, *gh'e:s* Sham. clarified butter.
gō:siṇ, *gu:ṇṇ* Lg.z. house.
- 74b *gaṭh-*, *geṭh-etayem* Sham. I bind it.
- 75a *ga:wāṇḍi:* = ALSanj.Pach.; *estre-g°* Sham. cow.
- 75b *ghal*, *garlā* f. I.AL. brook, river; *gharle* Sham. valley.
ṇulu: = Pach. many.
ṇanda:l Sanj. spider.
ṇunju:k Sanj. partridge.
- 76a *ṇorōmba*, *ṇurum-kal'i:* Sanj. thunder.
- 77a *hal*, *h'a:li:* Sham. ploughshare.
hal-xo Sham. yoke-peg.
hal, *hala* AL. hurry!
hama:, etc., we, v. Grammar.
hi:m = Pach.Nang., *yi:m* Sham. snow.
- 77b (h)*an-* = ALPach.Sham.Nang., *an-* Sanj. to beat, kill.
- 78b *hu:ṇḍu:* AL.; *hi°* Pach.g. song.
- 79a *ha:r¹* = Sham.Lg.z., *aṭ* Pand.Nang. heart.
- 79b *ha:st*, = *hast-im* AL.; *hō:st*, *hast-im* Pach.; *ast-i'em* Sanj.; *w°ors* Sham. hand.
- 80a l. 1 read K. *ast-eu*.
ha:ṭhi:, *haṭi:* Sham. chair.
- 80b *je:* = Sanj.Pach. in.
jua:, *ṇeru* Pach. tomorrow; *ṇeri* Sham.; *ṇuri* AL. day(time). Cf. *ṇurā:ci* Sham. dawn (?); *ṇe-wela* Pach.g. tomorrow night.
- 81a *jib*, *ṇab-um*; *jibb-er:m* Pach.; *jibā* Sham.Pand.Nang.; *jib-orm* Sham. tongue.
jabala, *°ak* Sanj. lightning.
jaḥa:-kolo: Sham. *Coprinus comatus* (lit. "Demon's cap" ?), *jaḥa* leper (*brag*).
- 81b *jō:ṇra:t*, Sham. *°ut* curded milk.
jal², *ṇhō:lā*, *ṇhō:l* Sham.; *ṇul* Nang. tree.
- 82a *jam¹* = Sanj.Nang. collected.
- 82b *ja:ma:i*, *°ma-i:m* Sanj.; *°mury*, *°mary-em* Pach. son-in-law.
jimandu: = Sanj. alive.

- 83b *ja:nšəkati:*, *ʃha:nʃə°* Sham.; *ʃanʃe°* Nang. (small) girl; *ʃ'anʃeka* Pach.; *ʃanʃəkə* Nang. (big) girl.
jenes, cf. A. Christensen, Contrib. à la dialectologie iran. (I.) 108¹: vulgar Gilaki "tu° ins-i, tu° ʃins-i? es-tu un être humain, ou es-tu une fée?"
- 84a *jang^a*, *a: ʃa:ŋga betu:yem* Sanj. I fear; *ʃangalai:k* Al. to frighten. Turner, 11810 < *vibhanga-*.
- 85a *jo:r* = Sham. in health.
jas-, *ʃhas-etye:m* Sham. I laugh.
- 86a *jo:wa:r*, *ʃawq:r'i:* Sanj. jowar.
ja:wā Al. roof-beam (Psht. *γura:skāi*) < **vyar:pa:*, cf. Skt. *vyar:paka* extending, etc.?
jh-, *ʃairaryam* I place, Past. *ʃatam-a* Al.; *ʃha:m* Sham.
- 87a *ʃha:t*, *ʃho:t* Sham. grass.
- 87b *kau* = Al.; *keru* Sanj. how many?
ke = Sham. that.
ki: *karo* Al. call him (?).
ku'a: Al. where?
- 88b *kuēi:*, *khuēi:-m* Sham. elbow.
kuča = Al.Lg.z. in(side).
- 89b *kaɖ'u:* Sanj. pumpkin.
ka:ftək, *koftəkā* Sanj. wasp.
- 90a *ka:yaz-ʃul* Nang. birch-tree ("paper-tree").
- 90b *kakar'i:* Sham. an edible mushroom.
kuk'u:r = Pach.; °*urā* f. Al.; °*ur'i:* Sham. fowl, hen; (*estri:-/nar-*) *kik'i:r* Nang.
ka:l¹, *kalā* Al.; *kho:l* Pach.g. threshing-floor.
- 91a *ka:l³*, *kal* Sanj. which? *Kal muritekir*? which one has died?
- 91b *ka:eli:* = Sanj. stretching oneself.
kilai:, *ke°* Al. baxter.
- 92b *kul'aŋ(g)* = Sham. hoe.
- 93a *k'amarā* I. supporting log in stone wall.
- 93b *kine:*, *kenāi* G.² whence?
- 94b *kuṇḍā* I. hill-pasture with sheep-pen and hut.
kuṇḍala:l'i: Pach. thistle.—Cf. L. *kuṇḍa:* bald?
ko:ṇḍə-y'u: Sham.; °*ḍa-* Nang. rye?—"Bald-barley"?
- 95a *ka:ŋgun'i:* = Sham.Nang. widow.

- 95a *kaŋgara:* = Pach. ice.
kapa:l = Al. head, skull; °*al* Sham.Pand.Nang.Wad.
kar- to do, v. NW. Grammar, passim.
- 96b *kaura:*, *kawar'u:* Sanj. rat.
ko:r = Al.Sham.; *kar* Sanj. what?
ka:r = Sham. work.
- 97a *kura:*, °*q:*, f. °*i:* Sham. foal.
kura: = G.² Pach.Al. where? *kurhai* Sham. whence?
kurāi, *kura'i:* Nang. hen.
- 97b *kargo:š* Nang. hare.
- 98a *karaɖ'a:* = Al.; °*i:* Al. pebble.
kara:r = Nang.Lg.z. wolf.
kira:r = I.Al.; *kelol* Kurd. cheese. Cf. *amesh-kelol*.
kurunē Sanj.; *quru:nʃā* Pach. crane (*kulang*). Cf. Voc. *lurnē*.
kara:r-e Al. according to. Prs.
- 98b *kar'u:* = Al.; °*i:* Sham. buttermilk.
ka:r, *kho:r* Sham. knee.
kuṛa: = I.Al. small tree, shoot (*neha:l*).
- 99a *kaskaŋiŋ*, *kaskuɖ'u:k* Sanj. lizard.
kastru:k, *kastruke* Sham. wasp.
- 99b *kuškul'i:* Nang. a kind of conifer.
- 100a *kišelma:li:*, *kešil°* Al. sweet basil.
kita:b, °*e:b* Sham. book.
katapay'u: Pach. stairs.
- 100b *kaɖ'a:*, °*u:* Nang. rivulet, etc.
- 101a *ka:t¹* = Lg.z., *ko:t* Sham. bed.
kaɖi: = Lg.z.Pand. tree.
- 101b *kaɖikyoli:* Ch. rat (Psht. *maga*), not sheep.—Prob. "the biter".
- 102a *kawal'a:* Pach. husk of maize.
kawond'a:, *kawand'q:* Sham. a man's hair.
kawa:rek, for PŦ. (Al.) *kuryak* read **kauyak* worm.
kəwit, *k'awate* Sham.; *k'awə* Pand.Nang. fig.
ka:ya:, *ka°* Al.; *kay'q:* Pach.Sham.; °*yu:* Nang. °*wu:* Pand. edible pine cone; *kay-ʃho:le* the e.p. tree.
- 102b *kuzeɖi:*, *kukuɖi:* Al. comb.—We would expect -g-.
kyani: Al. bulrush (Psht. *lox*).

- 102b **k(h)a:i**, *kah-erm* Sanj.; *khay-* Pach.; *kh^{er}*, dem. *khayeto:* Sham.; *k(h)o'e:* Pand.Nang.; *kar* Lg.z. ear.
khan- = Al.Sham.; *kan-* Sanj. to pull, etc.
- 104a **khana:**, *k^o* I.Al. out.
kha:nde Al. how much/many?
- 104b **kha:r** m. = I.Al.; *kh^{orr}* Sham. ass; *kharā* f. I.; *kharā* Al.; *estre-kharāti:* Sham.
la:i Sanj. wet; *l^o bi-garyem* I got wet (*tar šudam*).
la:i = Al.Lg.z.; *lary-um* Pach.; *-əm* Pand.; *-im* Wad.; *-'o:m* Sham.; *la-'i:m* Nang.; *blar-um* Bol.; *br^o* Sanj. brother. For Pl. cf. Grammar.
- 105b **le-**, *murir gair* Pach. (= L. panjshir); *lik* Lg.z. he died; Perf. *mur'i:tek-i:* Sanj.; *mur'iti:* Sham. he has died.
- 106a —**le:ti:**, for PashRav. *taddū* read *tāddā*; cf. Leech *ledhi*.
- 106b **lačand-** Al. to fall; *l^o-i:n* it fell; *l^o-i'arn* it had fallen. < **Pra-čchand-*?
- 107a **laḍu:** *kari:k* Al. to roll together, gather (*jam^o kardan*).
lagan, *lagana nai:k* Al. to run.
- 107b **laha:r**, *šow'u/ər* Sham.Pand.; *s^o* Nang.Wad. wounded. *Šow'ər bütəkam* Sham.
la:k, *šor:k*, *šak-əm* Sham. palm of the hand.
- 108a **lo:kan**, *lor:kala* Pach. fire.
- 108b **le:l-**, *le:l(ai:k)* Al.; *peil-* Pach.Sanj. to herd; Al. also intrans., Pres. 3. Sg. *leltrar*; *peletarwo* Pach.g. pasturage.
li:l = Pach. dew.
lu:l = Sanj. transl. *dala(-e)xafak*, acc. to Afyam Qa:mu:s a grey-coloured animal, smaller than a fox, from whose skin posteens are made; weasel (?).
- 109a **la:m¹** = I.Al.Lg.z.; *k^{ur}um* Sanj.; *k^l*- Bol.; *p'urorm* Pach. Pach.g.; *šorm* Sham.; *šum* Pand.; *sum* Nang.Wad. work.
la:m² = Lg.z.; *lor:m* Sham.; *lurmə* Pand.Nang. *o^e* Wad. village.
- 109b **li:m** = Al. tail.
lu:m² = Al. red; *prum* Pach.g. yellow.
- 110a **ləmba'i:** = Sham.; *ləm^o* Nang. fox.
- 110b **le:ni:** = Pach.; *lye^o* I.; *gre:^o* Sanj. *l(l)ā^o* Sham.Pand.Nang.Wad. noon.
- 111a **lu:n** = Al.Pach.; *lyern* Sham. salt.
lu:nā I. small embankment inside a field.
le:nē, *lye:nf* Sham. bee.

- 111a **lu:nd** = Al.Lg.z.; *ku:ndər* Sanj.; *ku:nd* Pach.; *šern* Sham.; *sien* Nang., Obl. *su'andə* = Wad.; *š^o* Pand. roof.
- 112a **la:ng**, *luryg* Pach. (?) chest, box. Pach. *l-* not < **pr-*. O. Szemerény suggests early borrowing from Greek *λάρνακα*.
li:ŋ, *li:ŋ* I.Al.Bol.Pach.Sham.; *o^{ngā}* Sanj. walnut. Cf. Turner 12079; Pash. Voc. s.v.; but Al.Pach. *r-*, Sanj. *r-* < **vr-*. Lw. from dialect with *l-* < **vr-*?
- lungal'i:** = Al.; *kung'a:l* Pach.; *o^{lā}* Sanj.Bol.; *šorngal'i:* Sham.; *šor^o* Pand.; *šor^o* Nang.Wad. mulberry; *šorngal* Pand.; *s^o* Nang. m.-tree.
- 113a **la:ru:** = Al. dough.
laur'a:, *o^o* Sham.; *oⁱ* Pach.Lg.z. stick.
larwaid^o, *lar'ai dāit'eryem* Sham. I show you.
- 113b **les-**, *las-irm* Pach. I slipped.—Cf. Kt. *las-* to let loose, to fall.
- 114a **laš'i:**, *la^o* Sanj. walnuts picked up under a tree.
lašu:k, *pur'ušā* Sanj.; *pru:š/č* Pach.; *širše* Sham.; with assimilation *tiše* Nang. flea.
lušk(ā) Sanj.; *rušk* Pach. nit. Skt. *likṣar*, but with metathesis as in Prs. *rišk*, etc. Pach. < **Par*.?
- le:tr-**, *letr'aityem* Sham.; *letr'etam* Nang. I cut grain.
lo:ṭ- = Al. to roll, fall.
- 114b **la(:)w-**, *lauto:* Sham.; *laruga:* Lg.z. it aches; *laratik* Pach. he has been hurt; *larwai* Sham. hurt, bruised.
- 115b **lawu:ṭ** golden oriole. Cf. Babur *lūkheh* (لُکْهه) id., said to be found in Nijrau? But cf. also Nang. *la'i:*.
lay-, *lāy-* Lg.z. to find.
lāy'u: = Sham. twig.
- 116b **ma:i** = Al.; *mōri* Pach.; *more* Sham. moon, month.
ma:'i: Sanj. fish. Prs.
- 117a **mači:** = Sanj. kiss.
- 118a **ma:dya:nā** I. mare. Prs.
- 118b **makui:**, *makandy'i:* Sham. gourd.
- 120b **minai** Rav.Pash. come, corrupted from PashLee. *unnai*.
mand'a:, *o^u* Pand.Nang. neck. Cf. *mhand'oy desmarl* Pach.g. scarf.
- 121b **manja:** = Al. between.
- 122b **maṇḍ-**, *maṇḍ-ik* (Pres. *maṇṭaryam*) Al. to crush (*maida kardan*).
muṇḍ-, *muṇḍ-āiraryam* Al. I break.

- 123a *mar-*, *marik* I. he said; *mar-arm*, Pres. *matuerim* Sanj.; *maitorm* Pach.g.; Infin. *marik*, Pres. *māiraryam* Al. to speak.
- 124b *mardum* = I.Sanj.Al.Lg.z. man, people.
- 125a *ma:s¹*, *marca*, Pl. *marc* Al.; *m^uorc* Sham.; *murs* Nang. fish.
- 126a *ma:s²*, *m^uorš*, *ma:še* Sham. fly.
ma^aš, *ma:š* Sanj. bean.
ma:ši = Sanj., Obl. Pl. *mašarna* woman.
ma:šu Pach. man.
mu:š = Lg.z.; *šā* G.² Sanj.; *mī:š* Sham.Nang. mouse, rat (?).
- 126b —*mišai*. Burrow (in letter, 5/4/1957) queries connection with Kharoshti Doc. *miši(ya)*, in combination with *bhumī*, "ploughed land". Cf. Bailey, *BSOAS*, 18,32, sq. for Ir. words.
mašakin Pach. made of mud. Cf. *mo:tr*? Par.pach. *maš* clay, mud < *Pash.
- 127a *mašrax*, *mašakā* Sanj.; *mašro:k* Sham.; *maškalī* Nang.; *mašduk'o* Pach.g. frog. Par.pach. *mašduka* agrees with no Dardic form and must be an early lw. < IA.
- 128b *ne:-¹*, *nai:k*, Pres. 3. Sg. *nairar*, Al. to go out; *nernam* Sanj. I went out.
- 129a *ne:-²*, *nī pa* Pach. sit down; Pres. *nhetim*; *nirčen* Sanj. we are sitting; Pres. *neraryam* Al.
- 130a —*ne:l-* = Al. to make sit down.
nu: = Al.Pach.; *nī* Sham. today.
nuce:, *nešaur'i* Pach.; *nišaw'ur dur* Al. three days ago.
- 130b *našar* Pach.; *naphor* Sham. person. Prs.
na:jo:r = Sham. sick, ill.
- 132a *nauma:li:*, *narwa^o* Al. n. of a flower.
no:m'i:, *nu^o* Pach.; *ne^o* Sham. butter.
nand'i: = Sham.Nang. river.
- 132b *na:ndro* Pach.g. leech.
neny-, "nirgich" PashLee. sunset, for **ningič*.
- 133a *nar* = Sham. male. *Nar-gorluḡ* bull.
- 133b *nargin'i:* I. door-hinge (*čul*).
na:s, *nast-erm* Sanj.; *no^s*, *nast-¹em* Nang.Pand. nose.
- 134a *nat'i:* = Nang.; *nāt'i:-m* Sham. granddaughter.
nāteri:-de:, *niturur dur* Al.; (*dur nā*) *netār'i:* Pach. the day before yesterday. Cf. Budd. s.v.
- 134b *nawa:i:*, *nāw'ay-am* Sham.; *naw'ai* Nang. grandson.

- 135a *nawar*, *nāw'ur* Sham. nail.
- 135b *naxē'a:*, *naxšeli:* I. wood-carving.
- 136a *nezi:k* = Sham.Nang.; *nazd^o* Sanj.Lg.z.; *nezd^o* Pach. near.
- 136b *pai* = Sham. verbal particle, with the Imper. and Aor.
- 137b *pe'i:* = Sham. meat.
pi:-, *pe'au* Sanj.Pach. let us drink; *piy'a:* Sham. drink! *potyerm* I drink; *pi:(di:k)*, Pres. *peraryam* Al. V. Grammar.
- 138a *pač-* = Pach.; *pačik*, Pres. 3. Sg. *pašar:* (Intrans.) Al. to ripen; *pačalavik*, Pres. 3. Sg. *pačalāira:* to cook.
- 138b *pač:*, *poč* Sanj. cotton.
pu:či:, *puri^o*, *pū'čir-šhorle* Sham. juniper (*arča*); *pu:č^o* Pand.; *pe^o* Nang.Wad. pine (*naztar*).
- 139a —*pačata:*, *pačart* Al. later.
—*pačaw'a:n* = Sanj. after.
paičan-, *paičan-traryam* Al. I understand.
- 139b *pada:ri:* = Pach., *pardari:* Al. egg.
- 140a *p'o:ja*, *°e* Sanj.Sham. goat.
- 140b *pli:eu*, *prinwa* Pach.Pach.g. fat, grease.
pala: = I.; *°u:* Pach. thorns (on a wall, Pach.).
- 141a *pul-*, *pul-girikim* I. I arrived.
pul LgLee. flower. IA. **phul*, or for *gul*?
plāyuro, read *plāg^o*.
palalu Pg. brown. Orig. "straw-coloured", cf. Skt. *pala:la*?
- 142a *pal'arke* Sanj. a tree growing in the hills, resembling the arghawan, but without conspicuous flowers.
- 142b *pan(d-)*, *pa:nda/a* Pach.Al.; *°e* Sham.Nang. road.
pie:m-, *pern-* Al., *piān-* Nang.; *pya:n-* Pach.g. to recognize, understand.
- 143b *panja-pa'u:k* Sanj. crab (?). But cf. Par. *panšar-bahu:* spider (?).
pa:mje:, *išpa:mje* Sanj.; *išpa:mj* Pach.g. husband.
- 144a *penaur'i:*, *pan'ū:* Kurd. flute.
- 144b *pap'u:*, *paphy'i:* Sham.; *papi'e:* Nang. lung.
par- = Sanj.Pach.Sham.Al. Cf. Grammar.
- 145b *par'i:* I. small rivulet inside field. Turner suggests **pari-riti*.
pa:re:, *porre'ur* Pach. the day after tomorrow.
- 146b *puruna:*, *peranur-* Sanj.; *purnar-* Al. before.
para:r, = I.AL. *°o:ra* Pach.; *°war'i:* Sham.; *°ar'i:* Pand.; *°a:li:* Nang.Wad.; *palorā* Sanj. apple.

- 147a *paroutik* Pach.Lee. bullet.
 147b *perek*, *parak'-am* Sanj. palm of the hand. It is surprising to find this E.Pash. word in Sanj., which also has the semi-lw. *kaf-e-ast-i'em*.
 148a *puṛa:ṇ(g)*, *puṛ'unj* Sanj.Pach.Sham. leopard.
puṛanj'i: Al. a flat board.
 148b *puṣak*, *pe°* Lg.z.; *puṣakā* Sanj.; *puṣ'arkā* Sham. cat.
puṣ'ek, *pe°* Kurd.; *puṣpā* I.; *pu°* Sanj.Bol.Pach. flower.
pa:štuk Pach. roof-board. *Daṇḍa šera p° šir* the roofboards rest on the roofbeam.
 149a *paši:*, *°šir* Al.; *pač/š'ir* Pach. wall (of a house). Cf. Skt. *pakṣa* side or wing of a house (Av.); wall (Lex.).
pau:ṣ, *par'uṣ* Al. the month Hamal (March-April). The explanation offered was "foot-stretching" (cf. *uṣ* long), people at that season stretching their legs after winter, and before beginning work in the fields!
pašin, *°inā* I.; *°ina* Sanj.; *°injak* Pach.; *pač'injakā* Al. bird, sparrow.
 149b *pu:tr* = Pach.; *puṭ'r*, *poṭ'r* Sanj.; *puṭr-iem* Sham.Nang.; *piṭr* Pand.Nang.; *puṭr*, *puṭr-īm* Al.; *puṭ-i'im* Lg.z. son.
 150a *paṭa:* = Al. leaf.
 151a *pa:yaṛ'ek*, *paṛ'j°* Lg.z. she-goat.
pi:a:z, *piyuz* Sham. onion.
phi:, *pha-y-orm* Sham. back of the shoulder.
 151b *p(h)al-*, *ar paltyem* I fall asleep.
 152a *ra'i:* = Al. heap of grain.
 152b *r'abul* Pach. rubber strap in pellet-bow. Kab.Prs. < Engl.
rāim'o:nā Sanj.; *remorne* Sham. poplar (*saferdar*). Cf. Khow. *romen(u)* wild poplar; Kt. *řamo*, etc.; Skt. *ra(ṣ)maṇa* n. of various trees.
 153a *ra:š-pi:* I. wooden shovel. Prs. *ra:š-be:l* + **pi:*, cf. *per-kaṭi:*.
 153b *ro:za*, *rurya* I. a fast.
 154a *rakaṭ'i:*, *ṛā* Sham.; *lekurṇek* Lg.z. kidney.
reken- = Pach.Al.; *r°* Sanj.; *l°* Sham.Nang. to sell.
sai: = I.; *say-urm* Pach.; *-orm* Sham.; *-am* Pand.; *-im* Nang. sister; Pl. *saryekulai-m* I.Al.
 156a *sadab*, *sādarb* Sham. button.
sudu:r = Al.Sanj.; *sā°* Pach.; *sud'ūr* Sham.; *sāder'e:* Nang. far.
sahar, *savre* Sham. tomorrow.

- 157a *sala:p*, *sakla:wa* Pach.g. pregnant (animal).
 157b *siani:* = Al.; *sayan'i-m* Sanj. sister-in-law.
 158a **sa:ṇ(g)*, *surj* Sanj.Pand.Nang.; Obl. *sangar* Pach.; earth, ground.
—sange-pe: Sham. mushroom (*goṣt-e-zamir*).
—sangges-tharje Sham. puffball.
sangla'u: = Sanj. otter.
 158b *sa:pan*, *sarpan'ai dityem* Sham. I saw in a dream.
sar- Al. to squeeze; Pres. I. Pl. *sardairais*.
sar'ai Pand. juniper (*arča*).—Cf. Par.pach. *sarru:* "jalghoza".
sur = Sham.; *surā/a* Al.Pach.; *sor* Pand.; *sir* Nang. sun.
 159b *su:r*, *su:l lari* Al. younger brother.
—suratala:, *səṭa/oli:* f. Sham./Nang. small. Sham. *s° jhorle* a small tree; Nang. *s° parnde* a small road.
 160b *sa:ṭh(a)*, *sorṭh*, Obl. *sa:ṭha* Pach. village.
 161a *sew-*, *surw-ut'aryem* Sham. I saw it.
se:w'ar, *°ar* Sham. bridge.
 161b *suza:*, *sənza* Pand.Nang.; *sənz-um* Nang.; *sunzot-m* Sanj.; *sumz°* Pach.Pach.g. daughter-in-law.
 162a *šari*, *šure* Pach. 100.
 162b *šukra:nag'i:* Al. gratefulness.
 163a *ša:l²*, *šul* Pach.Nang.; *šarli:* (< Prs.) Sanj.Pach. rice in the field.
šula:, *šilu:* Pach. sand.
šu:l = Al. bramble; *°le* Pach. thorn.
 163a *šilembati:*, *šilum°* Sanj. scorpion.
ša:m'a:k = Al.I.; *°u:k* Sanj.Sham.Pand.Nang.Wad.; *ša:m'u:k* Pach. black. Fem. *šamčā* I.Al.; *°e* Sham.; *šamčā* Sanj.
šam'a:l = Sham. wind.
 164a *šin* = Sham. blue.
 164b *ša:ni:l* I. green scum. Possibly < Skt. *śarda* young grass (RV.), mud, slime (Lex.) + *ni:la* n. of various plants.
šu:ṇg = Al.; *°ṇ* I.Sanj.Pach.Lg.z.; *°ṇga* G².; *širj* Nang.Wad.; *širj* Pand.; *širj* Sham. dog. Fem. *šunja* I.Al. *šur°* Sanj.; *šinje* Sham.Nang.; *š°* Pand.
šunje-ma:l. With She.(Budd.) *zarli-marl*, cf. Lari (Prs. dial.) *šarš-e-zarli:* urine.
 165a *šung'unj* Pach. hedgehog < Par. But *š'ongum* Pach.g. badger (?).
šau-para; *šorparakā* Al.; *šurpār'ak* Sanj. butterfly. V. *šarpa(r)tr*.

- 165a šar'ai, °i: Sham.; °w'ai Nang. autumn.
šar'o:, car'u: Sham. mountain-goat; cf. KohRav. saru.
- 165b *šair'i:, šay'i:r Sham.; šair Nang.Wad.Pand.Pach.g.; šair'am Sanj.;
-iem Pach.Sham.; -im Pand.Nang.; šašur'ai Al. father-in-law.
šair'u:-əm, šairu: Pach.Pach.g.; šair'i: Sham.; °i-m Sanj.Sham.;
šāšeri: Nang.; šašuri:-m Nang. mother-in-law.
- 166a šir = Al. head; Obl. šerā on.
- 167b šar:, šar-tekam Al., f. -čam I go; š/sartekam Sham. I went (me:raptam).
- 169b šyuna:ke Sham. nettle.
šizg'ai Lg.z. hedgehog < Psht.
- 170a šiau, šau Al.; šarwe Sham. ear of wheat (xo:ša).
- 170b šia:l, šu(w)p:l Sanj.; šay'orl Sham. jackal.
- 171a šo:pa:k, °urk Sham.Pand.; šurnurk Bol.; °ek Lg.z.; šornark Al.;
°urk Nang.Wad. red. Fem. šornča Al.
—šoneg zar, šurnek zar Lg.z. gold.
ša:ng, šangat'or Sham. horn.
- 171b *šar:, šar Al. (the tube of a) reed.
šor:, šotar: Lg.z. kid.
- 172a šur, šur Sham.; šorā I. ladder.
ta, te Sham. emphatic (?) particle, in la:w'ai te n'er-yem wounded
I am not.
- 172b ta: Sham. there. Tardāi from there.
- 173a taga:, t'agā Al.; °o Sanj. below, under.
- 173b ta:l, tal Sanj. ceiling.
tula:, tel'or: Pach. sickle.
- 174a tula:tekā Al. a black bird, swallow?
tamho: Sham. (in song) hope (ume:n).
- 174b tomowa:, thamaw'o Sham. dark.—Th° -a wye:la the night is dark.
tamuz, °as'i: Nang. summer. Sham. < *tamahwo, poss. connected
with Ved. tamasvat-.
- 175a tana: = Al.; °u: Nang.; atank'or: Sham.; °n'ur Pand. thirsty.—
Sham.Pand. a° from awatar, etc. Note Sham. nh < šn.
tanjak, oke Sham. needle.
- 175b tunḍa: = Al. calf; °or: Sham. young bullock.
- 176b —tra-pur, tri-pur I. three-storied house. Kab.Prs. < IA.
- 177a tarra; °r'ik Nang. star.
- 177b trim = I. grass.

- 178a taran'i: = I.; °a:n'i: Pach. briar. Also Kab.Prs.
tarangar Pach. rope-net for carrying hay. Prs. °gan.
tara:zu:-puštak Sanj. tortoise. Prs.
tauṛa: Pach. n. of a tree (tuz). Cf. Prs. torx, tury nettle tree, Celtis
australis.
- 178b tašk'o: Sham. adze.
- 179b th-, the:m Al. I may be; tet Pach.g. (it) may be.
- 180b tukor'i:, °uri: Pach.; tu° Al. pannier.
- 181a tili, tili: (?) Al. forehead.
tend'i: Pach.; tend'i: Sanj.; ti° Pach.g. apricot.
taṇ, tury(g) Sanj. Sham. cloud.
- 181b to:p hani:k Al. to jump. V. Budd. s.v. tūp.
thak = Al. rogue, cheat.
- 182a wai = I.Al.; hōri Pach.; whyer, whary-um Sham. house, home.
Obl. ware/i Nang.Pand.Wad.; war-ega Pach. homewards; whar:
Sham.; war: Pach. at home. Wari si'en Nang. house-roof. Sanj.
only in war-na at home; warwui from the house (home); wars-āi je
in thy house (home), but andar: house.
- 182b wei, we-um Sanj.; wiy'am Nang.; -'u:m (huy-'u:m?) Pach.;
hoy'arn Pach.g. (Pl.); wury-am Al.; w(h)ə/ty-orm Sham. daughter.
wei, wer Bol.Pach.; wi: Al.; wye:šho:l Sham.; wiy Nang.; we:š
Sanj. willow. But Sham. wye:wal: = Kt. br̥ac.
- 183a wu:qem'i: Sham. strawberries.
widal-, wid (h)anla:ta Sanj. he had run.
wa:dana, °darn Nang. wind; warden-āira'i:s Al. we winnow.
wedary- windar-taryam Al. I find it. Par. yudar- "to find" is prob.
an early lw. from Pash.
- 183b wa:d, warda: (Loc.) Pach.g. body.
wa:di: Al. birch-tree (haft-porist), but Sham. said to be = Kt. kok
wild apple.
wa(h)-, whaityem Sham. I place, put; w-airi:s Al. we throw, put;
warga wairaryam I throw water.
- 184b wahan(d), wh'ande Sham.; warande Nang. spring.
- 185a —wali: = Sham. rope.
wa:l², Sanj. numerative. I: warlā a single; do wal zom two stones.
- 185b wa(:)nd-, wāndayik Al. to build; Pres. wandāiga:m I.
- 187a wanj'i: = Sanj.Pach.Sham.; wa:° Al. holm-oak.

- 187a **wang-**; *wagg-aityem* Sham. I fell (a tree).
 187b **war'i** = I.Pach. other; *wuri: du:* Al. the day before yesterday;
 (*wuri-sarā* the day after tomorrow).
 188b **wer-**, *werāmun* I. weeping.
wir = Sanj. Sham. male, man.
 —**wer-mala:**, *wir-* I.; *ur-mal'u:* Sanj.; *wir-mal'o* Pach.g. man.
 —**wir-šūng**, *wir-šir* Sham. he-dog.
wir Sham. belly < **ur*. Cf. Shum.Dam. *war*; Shina d. *war*, etc.
 189a **warg**, *wargā* Al.; (*w*)*orga* Pach.; *w^oorge* Sham.; *wrgə* Pand.Nang.
 water.
waramba:, *°p:* Sham. bumble bee; *°a* Al. flying ant (Psht. *γumbura*),
 but *wirwat'i:* Al. wasp.
 189b **wirra:n**, *werr'urn* Pach. bad.
varand'o Pach.g. bundle of hay. Skt. lex. *varaṇḍa*.
waranja:k, *°a(r)njakā* Sanj. Al. ant.
weryaha:s, *wiast* Sanj. span (< *vitast*). L. has been influenced by *hast*.
 190a **wa:r**, *-wo:r* Sham. stone.
was:k = Al., f. *°a:kā*; *°p:k*, f. *°a:ka* Sanj.; *was/čarka* Pach.; *was'ok*,
 f. *wasəkaf'i:* Sham. calf.
 191a **waš(a)**, *w^oo:s* Sham. roof-beam. Par.(Pachaghan) *wəša* id. < Pash.
 —But *wa:ša* Pach.g. lock (*qušl*).
waš- I., in *ar:čal-em wašegarm* I comb my hair. W. *wešan'ek* is derived
 from this root, and is not an Ir. lw.
wa:sen'u: Pach. cock < Par.
 191b **watt-**, *waṭayik* Al. to make enter (*darzil kardan*). Does Lg.z. Perf.
waṭetekum "I have become tired" belong to this root?
 192a **waṭi:** Sanj. quail < Skt. *vartika:*.
waṭ'i: = Sham. axe.
wəṭ-, *wa:r-tayam* Al. I put, place it.
wəṭe-, *kaula:* Al. dry and empty maize cob.
 192b **way-**, *wai:k* Al. to weave; Pres. *wairayam*.
w(i)ya:l = Al.; (*w*)*erla* Pach.; *wyerle* Sham. night.
 194a **xo:j-**, *khof-* Pach.g. to ask.
 194b **xu:k** = Sanj. boar.
x'alak, *xalk* Sham. people. *A:mer xalkə bhairu: ayi: žaičəkən* these
 people have eaten much bread.
 196a **xamu:** Pach. house.

- 196a **xu:n** = Al.Lg.z. blood.
 —**xu:n** Al. in *ki-xu:n* when?
xam:, *xand'-arm* Sham. shoulder.
 197a **xargo:š**, *°u:š* Lg.z.; *kargo:š* Nang. hare.
xorm'q: Sham. date.
 197b **xar-puštak**, *xar-pušt(y)āk* Sanj. hedgehog.
xirs, *xers* Sanj. Pach. bear.
xur'u:s, *°i:s* Sham.
xorom-oi Ch. I might go (v. Budd.).
 198a **xus'ur**, not Ch. but Lg.ch., father-in-law.
 198b **xatak/x**, *°ax* Sham.; *kat'ex* I. Al.; *°ey* Pach. a kind of cheese.
 200a **ya-**, *dy-* I. Pach. Sanj. Sham. to come. V. Grammar.
 202a **yi:m** = Sham.; *hi:m* Nang. snow.
 202b **ye:m'a:n**, *°orn* Sham.; *emand'i:* (Obl. ?) Nang. winter.
 203a **zilzil'u:** = Sanj. earthquake.
zam = Al. (Obl. *zamba*); *zpm* (Gen. *zambas*) Sanj. Pach. stone.
 Pach. *zambaki:n* made of stone.
 203b **zamb'u:r**, *z°-i šatir* Sanj. honey-bee; *z°-bunḍi:* natural bee-hive, in
 compound for **porṇḍi:*, cf. Par. *parṇḍā* < *Pash. ? Or, cf. Skt.
bhaṇḍa box, vessel?
 204a **zai:p** = Lg.z.; *zāi:fā* Pach.; *zarefa* Al. woman.
 205a **ze:r** = Sham. yellow.
 —**zaxm'i:** = Sham. wounded.
 205b **ža:**, *žp:* Sanj.; *ya* Lg.z. barley.
žu: = Sanj. Pach.; *žir* Sham.; *žir* Nang. louse.
žu-, *žu-*, *žerw-* Sanj.; *žerik*, Fut. *žerw-* Al.; *žay-* I. Pach. Sham. to eat.
 Cf. Grammar.
 206a **ža:d**, *ža:der-m nertik* I. I have forgotten.
 206b **žuk**, *ž°* Al.; *žir* Nang. partridge.
žantr, *žandra* Al.; *žandrā* Sanj.; *°e* Sham.; *žandar* Nang. water-mill.
 Cf. *žandra kar-* Pach.g. to ruminate.
 207a —**žandra-w'a:r**, *ž'andre-wo:r* Sham. mill-stone.
žutr, *žitr* Nang.; *žir* (?) Sham. hair; *žutra* Pach.g. horse-hair.
 207b **ža:trik**, *°uk(e)* Sham. mosquito.
 208b **žeret'i:**, *žeret'i:* Sham. yoke.
žuw- Pach.; *žurw-* Al.; *žury-* Sanj. to cut grain. Prob. lw. from
 Kafiri, cf. Kt. *žw-*, Pr. *ui-žur-* < *ropaya-*.
žöwa:l, *žuri°* Al. guts.

PLACE NAMES, ETC.

- 208b **Alduz**, *Alidozt* I. part of *Kauṭi*.
Alasai, °*ari* Al., cf. Babur and Ain-i Akbari.
- 209a **Ašen-bumbur'i**: I. n. of a hill.
Iskye:n, *Eskin'ai* Al. from Isken.
- 209b **Ista:ri'u**: Pach. a snow-clad hill at the upper end of Pachaghan. Cf. *astarrič* star?
Išpi: = I.; *Išpi-gal* the Ishpi valley.
- 210a **Oshtur-grām**, *Ushṭar-grām* Akbarnama.
Özbin, *Uz°* Al.; *Wuz°* Sham.
Bedrau, *Budraro* Al.
- 210b **Bolayen**, °*yain* Bol. Cf. *Terin*?
Ča:nak, *Čarna:ke* Sham. Pashai vill. in Alishang.
- 211a **Di:gal**, *Diragal* Waig. k.
Daulat-ša:h, *Darulašar* Sham.Pash. vill. in Alishang. Above *Najil*?
Durna:ma = Pach.Sanj.
Drāgura:n Sham.Pash. vill. in Alishang.
Darra-i Peṭa Pach. a side-valley of *Nijrau*; *Doora-i Poota* Burnes.
- 211b **De-zia:rat** in Laghman.
Gunj Pach.; *Gwonj* Pach.g. NE. side-valley of Pachaghan, with one vill.
Ganjawun Sham. n. of a place.
Gonopa:l, *Gorna°* Sham.Pash. vill. in Alishang. *Yusup Xan* was still (1964) said to be a well known poet of the vill.
Grangal, cf. Notes on Gawar-Bati, p. 58, Lentz 882.
Giawa, *Gyau* Bol. vill. in Bolaghain.
- 212a **Terin** = Pach.
Jamše:ra:ba:d Sham.Pash. vill. in Alishang.
Kac-e ka:šef Al.Psht. speaking vill. in Tagau, above Sarobi; Survey Map *Kasib Kats*.
- 212b **Kačuri Sa:la:**. Cf. *Salao Darra* Survey Map, w. of Alingar, s. of *Mangu*; *Sá-láo* Rav.
- 213a **Kalatek**, *Qalatek* Ferdinand; *K°* was also given as the name of a vill. in the Salang valley, above Parwan.
- 213b **Konade:**, *Kohnadeh* G².
Korgal Nang.Pash. vill. on the upper Alingar; Lentz 290.
- 214a **Kurangal**, Nang. a Pash. vill.; °*gel* Waig k. a Pash. vill. on the Pech, where a certain *Šarrah* was said to be alive in 1949. He was then

- 160 years old (Psht. *ato šale karla kergi*), and his grandsons were old men. Acc. to Griffith, I., p. 464, the *Krungulies* were Kafirs converted long ago. Their village was independent, had 400 armed men, and was situated 8 cos from *Loongurze*.
- 214a **Kauṭi**, *Koṭi*: I. a vill. in a side-valley of Isken, with three wards: *Laurowain*, *Alidozt*, *Walibe:k*.
Ka:tāi-ša:l I. n. of a hill ('The Kafir's summer village').
Lodlam (**Loṭ-lam*) Survey Map a vill. in Mazar Darra. Cf. *Khaw*.
loṭh big?
Lakar-la:m Al. a vill. above Uzbin.
- 214b **La:mya** Al. a vill. below Ishpi.
Lišta-bali:, *Lšty-bl* G. R. Scarcia, *Sefat-nāme-ye Darvāš Xān-e yāzi*, Rome, 1965.
Mangu: = Nang.
- 215a **Mi:ra**: *Xe:l* Al.Psht. speaking vill. just above Markaz-e Kapisa.
Ma:sam'u:t Sham.Pash. vill. in Alishang. Rav. 344 *Māshammāt*.
M'ayi:l Sham.Pash. vill. in Alishang.
Mazar'uk Pach. a peak in Pachaghan (cf. *Prs. mazar* a shrine?).
Nangar'ač Nang.Pash. vill. in Alingar.
Nurgal Nurg. *Nurgal*; mentioned by Babur.
- 215b **Nirlam**, *Nurlam* Biddulph, map, a vill. on the upper Alingar.
Nižrau, *Nižrab*, etc. *Nižr* < Skt. *nirṣhara* torrent? But the N. river is in the greater part of its course a quiet stream.
- 216a **Pačayam** = Pach.; *Parchaghān* Rav. 338.
- 216b **Pa:nd'au** Nang.Pash. vill. in Alishang; *Pān-dú* Rav. 338.
Pi'a:r Nang.Pash. vill. in upper Alingar; *Pi:ar* Kt.; = *Pi:er'ar* Ashk. (?); Lentz 308.
Pi:r Mohammad Xan = Al. (= *Markaz-e Karpisar*).
Paražya:n, *Far°* Pach. a pass from Ghain to F.; *Faraj Khan* Tanner.
Paša(y)i:, *Paša'i:* Pach. = *Sarṭ* the Pash. speaking vill. in Pachaghan; *Darra-i Pashai* Survey Map in Andarab.
- 217a **Pašagar** = Nang. a Pash. vill. in Alingar; *Pashā-gar* Rav.; Lentz 295, 315; Worthington Jukes *Pačargir*, *Pachagar*.
- 217b **Saigel** Sham. *Sarigel* a Pash. vill. in the Alishang-Uzbin area; cf. Tanner *Sigal* in *Damench Dara* (?).
Sola:nak a pass n.w. of *Nijrau*. Cf. *Par. sulān* stair, ladder?
Sanjan = Sanj.

- 217b **Sar(i)boli**: Al. *Sarbaulāi* on the Panjshir river.
Sa:tha, acc. to G.² in Panjshir (?). But cf. *Sa:t* Pach. the Pash. vill. in Pachaghan.
- 218a **Ša:ko:t** Al. lowermost Pash. vill. in Tagau, below Alasai.
Ša:m Nang.Pash. vill. in Alingar; *Šama* Kt.; *Šama* Gharzai;
Šarm'a; *Šamgal*, *Šimgal* Lentz, 292 sq.; *Šamgel* Ashk.
Ši:mk'ai Al.Psht. vill. in Tagau; *Shinky* Elphinstone.
Ša:mako:t Sham.Pash. vill. between Uzbini and Alishang.
Šema:št, Dvoryankov *Šimašt*; Tanner *Sumásht* in *Mazār Darra*.
Ša:rway Kalo: Sham.Pash. vill. in Alishang—Uzbini area.
Ša:ri: Nang. name given by the people of Mangu to their own dialect;
Xarrega: Sham. name of a Pash. dialect (with *læ*: 3; *xurim* dog;
a: læ:m katum I am working).
Ša:kar'o: Sham.Pash. vill. in the Uzbini—Alishang area.
- 218b **Tagau** = Al., abl. *Tagawai*.
Wada'u: Wad.Nang.Pash. vill. in Alingar, just above Nangarach;
Rav. *Wadi-hu*.
We:gal, acc. to Waig.k. the inhabitants are originally Waigalis
(*We:gal qaum-i mar-s*).
Wal(i)be:k, acc. to I. a part of *Ko:ti*.
- 219a **Žunia**: Nang.Pash. vill. on the upper Alingar; *Žuni'a*: Kt.; *Žun*
Ashk.; *Žurniya* Worthington Jukes.

ADDITIONS TO THE GRAMMAR

NW.

Pachaghan of Gwonj

The following Addenda to NW. are based on extracts taken, May 1966, with the permission of the Linguistic Atlas of Afghanistan, from the slips deposited in the archives of the Atlas in Berne. The material was collected in 1965 by Mr. A. R. Palwal in the village *Gwonj* (*Gunj*), which is situated in an eastern side-valley of Pachaghan.

In the main his material agrees very well with my own from the main Pachaghan valley. But it contains some more complete paradigms, and a number of new words. I have also included a tale given, without translation, by Palwal, although some expressions remain unexplained or uncertain.

In some respects this sub-dialect of Pach. seems to have been more strongly influenced by Par. Note especially the exclusive use of *a:n* (not *a:*) I; the addition of *-r* to the personal ending 2. Pl., and the aspiration in *nhi-* to sit down.

2.2. Voiceless aspirates: *Khojfe* he asked; *kho:l* threshing floor; *čhand-* to fall; *ča* 6; *tharn* place, but *ko:r* ass; *čir* milk.

2.3. Voiced aspirates: *Gha:ra:ta:* hand-mill; *g(h)oro* horse; *g(h)u(z)m* wheat; *dhorr* hill; *wudhara* irrigation channel; *dha:r-* to have; *badhon* rope for tying a bundle. Note also *m^horč* fish (< **morč*); *wha:* at home; *wha:ša* door-lock. But, if correct without etymological value, *dha:* give; *aydham* I came; *dhoyom* second (Prs.).

5.1. No distinction of gender. But *goye* went (3. Pers.), beside *goy*, may perhaps be an ancient Fem. In the Text *goye* is used only with a female subject.

6.2. Pl. *putrarn* sons; *hoyarn* daughters.

7.2. Obl., *mohra* seal; *talwarra* sword; *tharna:* (at a) place.

7.3. Gen., *pa:čarast* the king's; *zayfast* the woman's. But *goro(ya/i)s ka* for the horse. Gen. Pl. (of Prs. words) *-arna/o*.

7.5. Abl., *dharay* from the hill; *ta:roy* from a place.

9.1. Postpositions.

Ordhor-m, *odho-y*, *oda (na)* near me/thee/him.

Bart/d after (about time).

De, denoting the object, only in *te de thana: vendwary* you will find him in some place.

- Dora:* towards.
Goni like. *Hoya:sa tana goni a:* he is like his sister.
Ka for (the sake of).
Kuca: amongst.
Limbar: in *l' goy* he went after him.
Paltana with him; *paltanoy* with thee.
Par'e (other dialects *l*) with. *Čil kanirza p°* with 40 maids; *talwazra p°* with a sword.
Sira: (for *š-* ?) on, about.
 11.1. Numerals. Like Pach., except for *žary* 11; *pin'á* 50; *troyo* 60; *trahyoda:* 70; *č'orhsw* 80.
 12.1. Personal Pronouns. 1. Sg. *an*; Obl. *mo*; Gen. *maw*; Dat. *moy*; 2 Sg. *tu*; Obl. *to*; Dat. *tuy*; 2. Pl. *himar*.
 13.2. Pronominal Suffixes. 1. Sg. *Šayr-'em* my father-in-law; *šayru-'em* my mother-in-law; *išparn'-am* my husband; *sumz-'om* my daughter-in-law; *oyan-arn* my children.
 13.3. 1. Pl. *išparnš-i:n*; *šart-an* our conditions.
 13.4. 2. Sg. *Istirk-'a/oy* thy wife; *išparn'-ary* thy husband; *wazir-ay* thy vizier.
 13.6. 3. Pers. *Putr(arn)-e* his son(s); *išparn'-e/a:* her husband; *mohr-e* its seal.
 13.11. Obl. 3. Pers. *hoya:s-a* his daughter's; *barbary-e* to his father (?).
 14.1. Demonstrative Pronouns. *Ya* this; Obl. *herm*; Pl. *herm*.
 14.2. *Sa(m)*, *arsa* that; Obl. (*ε*)*te*; Pl. *ti/eme*, *tím'am*; *timam-nam'a*. Cf. 6.8. Al. *-narmenāi*.
 14.4. *Usa* that, he.
 15.1. Interrogative Pronouns. *Kar* what?
 15.3. Indefinite Pronouns. *Kew* some; *herč* any; *čurye* all (of them); *vari* other.
 15.4. Reflexive Pronoun. *Tarnga/e* own.
 16.1. Adverbs. *Kuy* why?
 16.3. *Je* tomorrow.
 18.1. Auxiliaries, Present. *Him*; *hi*; *a:/orst/š*; *lin*; *histar*; *horn*.
 18.2. Past. *Arnam*; *arnay*; *ona*; *arnan*; *anaw*; *ona*.
 18.4. *Birn-am*; *-ay*; *-Q*; *-an*; *-aw*; *-Q*.
 18.6. Past. 3. Pers. *Bi-goy(ε)*. *Bet* is probably Aorist 3. Sg. Cf. *tet* it/they may be.

- 20.2. Imperative 2. Sg. *Ya* come; *ka:* do; *pa:ra* go; *gura* take; *mara* speak; *nhi:pa* sit down.
 20.3. 2. Pl. *Yaytar*; *karedar*; *guraydar*.
 20.4. 1. Pl. *Hanarw* let us beat; *kararw-a:* let us make it. But note Pach. *guramar*.
 21.3. Aorist. *Par-am*; *-i*; *-ay*; *-aw*; *-aydar*; *-an* I go, etc. Cf. *hana:m* I beat; *maram* I speak; *palem* I lie down.
 Note the extension of the 1. Pl. in *-w* from the Imperative.
 Irregular forms are 2. Sg. *čandes*; 3. Sg. *-et*, cf. G. *buz/t* (NW. 21.1).
 22.3. Future. *Gurayw-am*; *-ayi*; *-ay*; *-arw*; *-aydar*; *-arn*. Intransitive. *Ay-/nhi:/čhan-param* I shall come/sit down/fall.
 The type *arn xahad guraywam/ay-param* probably corresponds to Kabuli Prs. *xat be-zanom* I shall beat, which acc. to Farhadi, Le Persan parlé en Afghanistan, p. 86, is slightly dubitative. Cf., with the Past, *arn xahad maitam/čhandnam* I should (was about to ?) speak/fall, cf. Kabuli *xat zadom*.
 23.3. Present. *Kat-im*; *-i*; *-or*; *-in*; *-ista*; *-on*.
 23.17. Imperfect. Not recorded.
 27.1. Simple Past, Intransitive. (a): *Gary-em*; *-ε*; *goy(e/i)*; *gary-ε:n*; *-o*; *goy(i)*. (b): *Aydh-am*; *-ay*; *ayti (ayit)*; *aydh-an*; *-aw*; *ayit*, (c): *Chandnam* I fell.
 27.4. Simple Past, Transitive. *Gur'e-m*; *-Q*; *-Q*; *-n*; *-w*; *-Q*.
 27.8. (b): *Mait-am*; *-ay*; *-ε*; *-an*; *-aw*; *-ε*. I said, etc.
 28.1. Prox. Past, Intransitive. *Ay-/čhand-garyem*.
 28.2. Prox. Past, Transitive. *Dewatim* I gave.
 29.1. Pluperfect, Intransitive. *Ay-/čhand-arnam*, etc.
 29.3. Pluperfect, Transitive. *Guraylart-am*; *-ay*; *-ε*; *-an*; *-aw*; *-ε*. Cf. *kala:tam*.
 30.1. Perfect, Intransitive. *Aytig-am*; *-ay*; *-Q*; *-an*; *-aw*; *-Q*.
 30.2. Perfect, Transitive. *Gur'āčig-am*, etc.
 35.1. Noun of Agency. *Dam-karla:* (of uncertain meaning).
 Compound tenses are formed with *-karlo* and *-karyi* (originally Fem. ?) + Auxiliary. E.g., *arn guray-/may-/čhand-karlo him/bi:nam*; *guray-/čhan(d)-karyi him*; *arn ay/ka-kar:l'o him*. The exact meaning of these forms is unknown. Cf. Par.(Pach.) (*yarp*) *uzge-karla: bō:n* (snow) was falling, which may be a form borrowed from Pash.
 Also *dharr-laryi* "had" is a form unknown from other sources.

NE.

N. A. Dvoryankov, in his article Предварительное сообщение о говорах горных Таджикиов Кунара (Индиская и Иранская Филология, Ак. Наук СССР, Институт Народов Азии, Москва 1964, pp. 40-43), has given short lists of words from some NE. Pash. dialects. He mentions a number of languages spoken in the Kunar region, among them *Pašayi*; *Čalasi*; *Kurangaliy*. The Pash. dialect of Laghman he calls *Kurmailto*. He adds: "Among the living dialects found in these places all informants gave Sanskrit as a special dialect. Unfortunately, however, we did not succeed in discovering there a single speaker of the latter language, and we have therefore no base for either rejecting or confirming this rumour."

It seems fairly obvious that a little learning has penetrated into the Kunar valley, and given rise to romantic speculations.

The three dialects of which specimen words are given are Degano or Or(eti); Čal(asi) and Šim(ašti).

Or. agrees with Areti, e.g. in *tre* 3; *blav*^o brother. But note *bist* 20 (< Prs.); *pan'i* water (< Wotapuri ?); *pač'ak'* flower (A. *puš'ek*); *letar'a* star (K.Ch. *letoro*, but A. *tā:yak*, etc.).

Čal. = Chilasi. Cf. e.g. *ye* 1; *s'e* 3; *corr* 4; *lorm* my brother; *izor* mountain; *zol* tree. But note *žul'* hair (W. *žül-*).

Šim. is not the Gawar Bati type Shum., but a Pash. dialect closely related to Ch. We know that a Pash. dialect is spoken in Lower Shumasht,^a and, according to Lentz,^b the Pashais of Shumasht came from Kurdar 20 generations ago. But Šim. is not of this type, cf., e.g. *s'e* 3, Kurd. *ted*.

Other Šim. words are: *mok* moon (Shum. *mā:s*); *ez'or* mountain (Shum. *dar*); *vist* 20 (Shum. *isi*); *corr* 4 (Shum. *cōyur*); *corr* hair (Shum. *žur*, but Ch. *col*; *zor* tree (Shum. *golə*, but Ch. *zol*). *Cat* 7 is probably a mistake for *sat*.

SE.

The following paradigms from *Qala:y Šary'i* (Darra-i Nur) were collected by Mr. Zya:7 for the Linguistic Atlas of Afghanistan, and are given here with its permission.

^a NTS, XIII, p. 239.

^b Deutsche in Hindukusch, p. 268.

Future (Aorist). Transitive. *m'emī*; *m'əya:*; *m'e-di*; *-si*; *-da:*; *-ndi*
I shall speak, etc.

Intransitive. *Čanyarkəm*^a; *čan-'i*; *-e*; *-es*; *-e*; *-en*.

Present. Transitive. *M'ark-əm*; *-e*; *myar*; *m'ark-as*; *-o*; *-ən*.

Intransitive. *Čan-ekəm*; *-yarke*; *-ar*; *-yarkəs*; *-yarko*; *-yarkən*.

Absolute Past. Transitive. *M'arik-am*; *-ε*; *m'ek-en*; *-an*; *-o*; *-en*
(or *maiken*).

Intransitive. *Čank-'em*; *'i*; *čanik*; *čanč-'es*; *-'e*; *čan'i:nč*.

Pluperfect. Transitive. *Myark-əm*; *-e*; *-en*; *-ən*; *-o*; *-'en*.

Intransitive. *Čany'ark-em*; *-i*; *-O*; *čany'ar-čes*; *-čē*; *-nč*.

Perfect. Transitive. *M'arik-ən* (?); *-e*; *-en*; *-an*; *-o*; *-en*.^b

Intransitive. *Čant'erk-em*; [*čany'ek-i*; *O*]^c; *čant-'ečes*; *-'ečē*; *-'inč*.

^a Pluperfect ?

^b Probably = Abs. Past.

^c Past, or Pluperfect forms.



