LAŅŅA, ZOR WƏLA! VAŅECĪ

Josef Elfenbein, Hildenborough (Kent)

Introduction

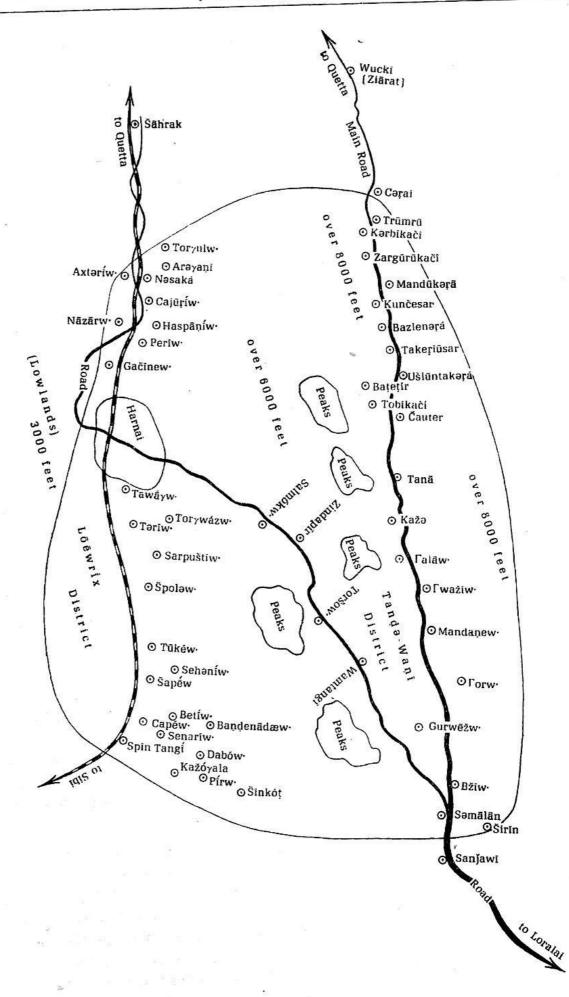
The dialects of Pashto (abbr. Pš), in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, present a complicated and fascinating picture to the student of Modern Iranian, and the relative dearth of material for their study has always been a source of regret. The comparative geographical isolation of many of these dialects makes a personal tour of the areas in which they are spoken indispensable if reliable information is to be gained; and if an attempt is to be made to do anything more than merely to sketch in the barest outlines, a fairly prolonged stay among native speakers is necessary.

Among the many dialects of Pš, Waṇecī, which is spoken in Pakistan near the North-West Frontier, occupies a position apart; it is so different from all other Pš dialects that a fair case can be made out for considering it a separate language.

In 1929 G. Morgenstierne made the first reliable investigation of it; the results were published in NTS IV, 156—175. Since then the only further was a label of site of the notes made in Morgenstierne, 'Linguistic Mission to the profin-west Frontier of India', 14.

It was with the object of collecting new material about Wan (as well as certain other Iranian languages) that I arranged a prolonged stay in Pakistan in 1961, in the former Baluchistan province. Beside the usual physical difficulties always inherent in work of this kind, there are here also the 'political' ones, attendant upon the establishment of the Pakistani authority in the area: the North-West Frontier has never been a happy place for Central governments.

The present study has some claim to completeness, containing as it does the results of my work among native speakers as well as much unpublished material of Professor Morgenstierne, which he has been kind enough to allow me to include. I should like to record here my profound gratitude to him for his generosity in extending to me the use of this material, and for his many helpful comments during the preparation of this article, which have resulted in many essential improvements.



Map of the Territory in Which Waneci is Spoken (Scale approx. 1 inch = 3 miles)

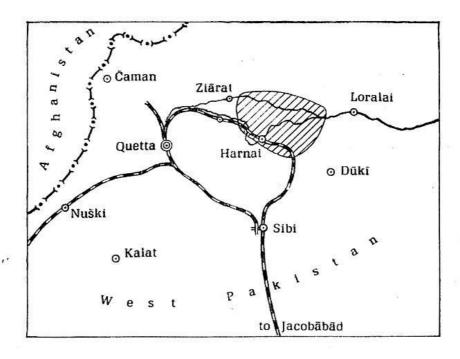
Harnai District:

Zərmāniw·
Mánzw·
Sárw·
Sayānw·
Tṛūw·
Royīw·
Γwúṇḍəw·
Γalāw·
Guḍeγwažīw·
Cokīw·
Kalēγwažīw·

Kánw·
Aspāniw·
Xadrāniw·
Urbuzūw·
Šāxánw·
Bīšexánw·
Kamāndūw·

(w· = wágura)

Zawiw-



The source of materials is indicated throughout by M(orgenstierne) or E(Ifenbein) where it seemed important to do so; this is mainly in the Vocabulary, where unmarked words may be taken to be M, E. This Vocabulary is in two parts. The first part is a general list in which grammatical forms and etymologies, where possible, are suggested. It also contains the words from NTS, IV. The second part is a list prepared by M. It is more specialised in character, and etymologies are not, as a rule, suggested.

Geographical Remarks

The territory in which Wan is spoken (see map) is small in extent, and is now even smaller than it was in 1929 when M first visited it. It is still somewhat isolated: access is solely by road, which runs from Quetta to Ziārat (in the north) or from Sibi to Harnai (in the south). As will be seen, it is roughly 20 miles long and 15 miles broad, oblong in shape and, except for the Harnai district, lies entirely in high mountains.

The territory is split by mountains into a northern and southern part, and communication between the parts is necessarily on foot or donkey-back; the only interior road, from Harnai to Səmālān, runs in a north-easterly direction. In the north, the main road is that from Quetta to Loralai, which passes through Ziārat (Wan $Wuck\bar{\imath}$, Pš $\Gamma wosk\bar{\imath}$), the largest village in the district and the nearest bazaar to Wan territory. Wan villages commence about 6 miles east of it, and all lie in the valley followed by the road. The last Wan villages are to be found to the eastwards in the Sanjāwī tahsil, about 20 miles south-west of Loralai.

The southern part of the territory extends roughly along the railway line (the loop-line Sibi-Bostān, now closed), from $\bar{S}\bar{a}hrig$ (Pš $\bar{S}\bar{a}hr\bar{a}k$) about 40 miles east of Quetta, for about 20 miles up to Spīn Tangī. $\bar{S}\bar{a}hrig$ itself is now Pš-speaking, and at present Wan territory begins about 5 miles east of it, though in 1929 $\bar{S}\bar{a}hrig$ lay in Wan territory.

Wan territory proper, especially in the north, is very wild and beautifully wooded, in great contrast with the bare surrounding areas. The soil is stony, with large numbers of juniper trees making up the large forest which surrounds Ziārat. The average altitude is over 8000 feet, giving summer temperatures which are cool and pleasant, while the winters are severe. The interior is sparsely inhabited, due to its inaccessibility, and only along the Harnai-Səmālān road are there a few villages.

It is difficult to make any reliable estimate of the number of Wan speakers, but it is very unlikely to exceed a few thousands. They are nearly all shepherds, and most are semi-nomadic. While they belong to a number of different Pš tribes, the majority are Spīn Tarīns. In the north the language is universally called $Tarīn\bar{o}$, though some informants thought $Wanec\bar{i}$ a better name, with its reference to the Tande Wani district where they thought the best Wan is spoken. The language is also referred to as $Calgar\bar{i}$ by speakers living in Quetta (who often refer to themselves as $Maxy\bar{a}n\bar{i}$).

Dialects and Informants

While I do not doubt that dialects exist within Wan, no consistent criteria were found upon which a convincing dialect division could be based. The main differences appear to lie in phonetic variation and in the use of different words; these cannot, however, by themselves form a sufficient basis for e.g. the Northern-Southern dialect division insisted.

upon by many speakers. Where it seemed significant, such Northern forms have been indicated in the Vocabulary.

Principal native sources are as follows:

- E: Mullah Sayyid Mohammed, a Neknāmzai from Čauter, very well informed, and something of an amateur folklorist; Maulana Nūr Mohammed from Ziārat, an itinerant 'doctor'; Sultān Mohammed Pānī, a Pānīzai Pashtun from Quetta, indefatigable in searching out informants and helping to deal with them.
- M: Informants not named, but all except one were from the Harnai district. Words marked MS are from an India Office manuscript.

The following notes on phonology and morphology are intended to supplement what has been said in NTS IV, and for brevity sources for each word have been omitted.

Phonology

Wan has been so heavily overlaid with Pš words, forms, and syntax that it is very often quite impossible to ascertain the genuine Wan form; the language, as might be expected, is in a state of some flux.

The Pš present in Wan comes from the South-Eastern 'soft' dialects, with further $\check{s}, \check{z} < P\check{s} \ \check{S}, \check{Z}$ and with s, z (like SE Pš s, z) < Kandahārī standard c, j.*

Wan c, j have a different origin: see below.

The characteristic Wan preference for unpalatalised forms is also shared with some of the neighbouring Pš dialects, in particular Kākarī.

The phonemes of Wan are nearly the same as those of SE Pš, with the following differences:

The short and long e-phonemes, written e and \bar{e} (phonetically $/\epsilon/$ and /e/) are kept apart;

The same is true of the o-phonemes, written o and \bar{o} (phonetically /o/ and /o/);

The vowels written \tilde{i} and \tilde{u} have approximately cardinal values and are not distinguished phonemically from \tilde{e} and \tilde{o} respectively.

The sounds written in Pš \check{z} and \check{Z} merge in Wan into a single phoneme \check{z} (/3/). The same is true of the sounds written \check{s} and \check{S} in Pš, which merge in Wan to \check{s} (/f/).

All the other Pš sounds are present, including the cerebrals; note only that the sound written c is strongly palatalised and aspirated before front vowels to $/ {\rm th}$ $/ {\rm .}$

The following notes are to be added to NTS IV, 158—162: see the Vocabulary for details.

^{*} Editorial note. Owing to technical difficulties, it was not possible to print \tilde{s} and \tilde{z} with a dot under the line; \tilde{s} and \tilde{z} are printed instead. In the same way, it was not possible to print the accent 'over \tilde{i} , \tilde{u} , \tilde{e} , \tilde{o} , \tilde{o} .

Pš $war- < avá\Theta ra-$

a) Words accented differently in Wan and Pš:

angin 'honey' Pš gabina or- 'there' in compounds, $< \dot{a}va\Theta ra$ -;

kubîr 'pigeon' Pš kautar

awlūn 'bridle' Pš mlūn (but cf. Waz. wlīn)

b) Metathesis is to be seen in

awar, owr 'fire' Pš or (but cf. also Afr. wor)

aur- 'hear' Pš ārwsparla 'yearling' Pš pšarlai swarla 'spring' Pš psarlai

c) Vocalisation of initial w-:

Pš wāŠə ušə (but also wuš) 'grass'

Pš žmanj, etc. uženz (also wženj, wuženz) 'comb'

d) Labialisation

wuš 'grass' Pš wāŠə Pš weŠt wušt 'hair' špož 'six' Pš špaŽ

e) Voicing of stops

pordug 'trousers' Pš portuk tad, tad 'thick' Pš tat

f) Other changes

 $\gamma \bar{u}$, $\gamma \bar{o}$ -/ γwa -: or- $\gamma wala$ 'hearth' Pš -yolai $-rn->-r-:bor\partial$ 'flour' Pš borna

g) -d- drops in certain verbal stems

naš- 'stick' Pš nšatal; Wan pres. za naší 'I stick' < ni-šad-

h) Wan preserves r in the clusters $-r\ddot{s}$ -, -rz-:

Pš leŽal lirš-, ləršədəl 'load up' murža 'garlic' Pš ūŽa tarš- 'flee' Pš taŠ wrīš 'awake' Pš wiŠ

- i) Perhaps a shift * $x\ddot{s} > s$ is indicated in spa 'night', if geinuine; $\ddot{s}pa$, also used, is then LW < Pš; lwes- 'to milk' < *daoxša-
- j) Perhaps the most important puzzle upon which Wan throws light is that of the palatalisation in Pš. While in general the rule runs that Pš palatalises when it can (though sporadically in several dialects), the opposite is true of Wan, which tends to avoid palatalisation. In Morgenstierne, 'Ling. Miss. . . . India', 11 it was thought that the evidence made necessary a hypothesis of depalatalisation in Wan and those

dialects of Pš (e.g. Kākarī) which have unpalatalised forms. Additional evidence now makes another scheme possible; this one, as well as being simpler, has the merit of making the strange sequence *unpalatalised original form > palatalised form > depalatalised form, seem less necessary. We have, then

OIr *
$$\check{j}$$
, $\check{c} >$ *Pš z , $s >$ { Wan z , s (also some Pš diall.) Pš (mostly) \check{z} , \check{s}

Wan $z\bar{a}wl\partial$ 'wax', $zawr\partial$ 'leech', wez- 'to kill', $z\partial ba$ 'tongue', zia 'bowstring', $z\partial rg\bar{a}$ 'quickly', zar- 'to weep', all have z<*j, and the corresponding Pš forms (mostly) show \ddot{z} , though sporadic unpalatalised forms such as e. g. Ghilz. $z\partial ba$, and Ormuri (K.) zaw^ari , $z\ddot{a}i$, wazn- (all LW < Pš) show how involved the picture really is, in Pš at least.

Wan sunda 'nose' is probably LW <Hi. $s\bar{u}nd$ while Pš (and Wan LW < Pš) $s\bar{u}nd$ is probably from some Dardic language. Wan s a ga 'sand' (Pš s a ga, but Ghilz. s a ga) is probably a LW from some Indian language, cf. Skt. $sikat\bar{a}$. While Pš has palatalised, for this word many Dard languages have forms in s- (cf. EVP s. v. sa ga); Skt. si- > regularly Hi. si-, though this word does not seem to occur in Hi. Note also Orm (K.) sa ga (< Pš).

Wan $sung\bar{u}n$ 'porcupine' < sikurna (Pš $šk\bar{u}n$ and $sk\bar{u}n$) shows a labialisation in Wan, while possibly Pš š < si-?

arwendə 'dyke, bund' is not < -bandya-, but, like Pš wand, < banda-. The -e- in Wan is borrowed from the pl. arwendî (< -ayah).

It thus becomes possible to explain the unpalatalised Wan forms as having the same origin as the (palatalised) Pš forms, with old *ya palatalising in Pš but not in Wan. There follows a list of all the words to be considered in this connexion, the few exceptions having been noted above.

Wan	Pš (various dialects)	OIr
are	ere	āвryа-
atā	atiā	aštāiti-
awā	awiā	haftāiti-
ba	bya	арауа-
bartə	byarta	apari-štā-
darlas	dyarlas	orayō-dasa-
γwasyā	γušāya	γwa-sakya-
kasər	kašr	kasyah-
mīr	myer	mierya-
marə	туагә	martya-
mesə	myāšai (but Afr., Waz. myāsai)	masya-

-	-	-	-
h	7	1	п
		ч	ю.

J. ELFENBEIN

muser	mašar	masyah-
māst	myāst	māsti-
rās-	rāš-	?
sāze	siā j a	asačya-
tārə	tyārə	tanorya-
təs	taš	tusya-
wālə	$wy\bar{a}la$ (but diall. $w\bar{a}l\theta$)	vadya-
-wust	-wīšt	visaiti
xez-	xež- (diall. xez-)	xaiz-
zγānzī	žγanzgī	?

For the words myež 'ewe', brestən 'blanket', mendī, myende 'mothers', nžendī, nəžyānde 'daughters-in-law', yendī, yande 'daughters', see the Vocabulary.

Outline of Wanetsi Morphology

Nouns

Wan

Comparable Pš forms

- 1. Mascs. ending in a consonant
 - a) Animate

				100
	Sing	g. N.	ās	иŠ
** Sq		Prep.	āsə, lewa	uŠa, levə
	Pl.	N.	lewān	uŠān
		Obl.	lewāno	uŠāno
b)	Ina	nimate		
	Sing	g. N.	kor	kor
		Prep.	kabrə	kora
	Pl.	Prep.	korūnə	korūno

2. Fems. ending in a consonant

Sing	g. N.	māst	lār
	Obl.	māste	lāre
Pl.	N.	γwaže	lāre

3. Fems. ending in -a (often dropped); corresponds to the Pš class of fems. in -a. Certain monosyllables

Sing	g. N.	stərg, zəbə, špa	xulá
	Obl.	starge, špe	xule
. a	Prep.	mzəke	xula
Pl. N	N.	stərge, āre	xule
	Obl.	pūnde	xulo
	Prep.	āro, špo	xulo

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4. Mascs. ending in -a
      Sing. N.
                         spərlá, sará, wagurá
                                                  spái
           Obl.
                                                  spaya, spi
                         sari, waquri
           Prep.
      Pl.
           N.
                         sari, sariān
           Obl.
                                                  spī
                         sariāno, sarīwo, sarīyū
                                                  spo, spio, spiāno
5. Fems. in -ī
      Sing. N.
                         špažmi, gərwi
                                                  spai
      Pl.
           N.
                         mlesī, gerwī
                                                   spiāne
6. Certain mascs. in -ūn
      Sing. N.
                         špūn
                                                   pəŠtūn
                                                   pəŠtāne
            Obl.
                         špūnə
                                                   pəŠtūna
            Prep.
                         špūnə
                                                   pəŠtānə, yo/abūnān
      Pl.
            N.
                         špūnān, špənān
                                                   pəŠtāno
            Obl.
                         špūnānū
7. Certain masc. monosyllables
                         yaš, wah, lās
      Sing. N.
                                                   yar
```

8. Irregular formations. Here there exist consistent differences, characteristic for N(orthern) and S(outhern) areas.

 $\gamma r \partial$

γašə, wahə, lāstə

	•	Wa	n	Ρš
	Sing.	N.	mor	mor
	Pl.	N.	mendî (S), myende (N)	mainde, myānde, etc.
	Sing.	N.		xor
1	P1.	N.	xyendī (S), xūrī (N)	xwainde
	Sing.	N.	nžor	nŽor
	Pl.	N.	nžendī (S), nəžyānde (N)	nŽainde
	Sing.	N.	lūr	lūr
	Pl.	N.	โนิทุโ	lū ṇi
	Sing.	N.	yor	yor
	Pl.	N.	yendî (S), yande (N)	yūņe
	Sing.	N.	ndror	ndror
	Pl.	N.	endrāinde	endrāinde
	Sing.	N.	tror	tror
	Pl.	N.	trandī	trandye
	Sing.	N.	wror	wror
	Pl.	N.	wrūṇa	wrūṇa
	Sing.	N.	γarīb	γarīb
	Pl.	N.	γarībānān (cf. GrIrPh II, 223)	$\gamma arībān$

Pl.

N.

Vocatives usually in -a: landa 'O tailless ox! (= Pš). But note also $x\bar{u}re$ 'O sister!'

9. There is also a case, serving as a sort of 'ablative', formed by suffixing -(e)ya to N. sing. or N. pl. of any noun. This formation, common in Persian dialects, Bal, and others, is unknown in Pš. The following examples are due to Morgenstierne.

lota oboya daka ka! 'fill the jar with water!' tər aya draxtaya 'up to that tree' ze yreya prewatí 'I fell from the hill' ze pāņeya prewazī 'I fall from the cliff' lotaya obə to ka! 'pour water from the jar!' Harnayîya lež lere da 'it is a short distance from Harnai' ze xōbēya porta swī 'I rose from sleep' ze xūbia wriš swī 'I woke from sleep' ze xūbia činasti 'I sat up from sleep' aya šāua 'from his back' tər šāya kātə 'he looked behind himself' ze tāya puštəna kī 'from thee I ask' špeya 'at night' ze cat warī-zūya še yī 'I am better than many boys' ze gadīya pāta swī 'I missed the train' zyarda ka! gadīya de pāta s^ye! 'Hurry, you will miss the train!'

Sometimes the suffix appears as -a:

ze xūne-sara prewatī 'I fell from the roof' ze pārend dušmana wu-teršī 'yesterday I fled from the enemy'

Adjectives

These are usually treated like nouns, with the following irregular forms:

	Рš	
Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
zaŗə	zoŗ	zaṛa
tawá	tod	tawda
šna	šin	šna
xwaržə	xoŽ	xwāŽə
dṛna	drū n d	drana
pîxa	pox	paxa
	zaṛə tawá šna xwaržə dṛna	zaṛə zoṛ tawá tod šna šin xwaržə xoŽ dṛna drūnd

Pronouns

1. Personal

I. Sing.	N.	ze, zə	Pl. N.	moš, mo
	Poss.	mī, ma	Poss.	moš, mo
	Obl.	mā, mə	Obl.	moš, mo
				moša 'from us'
II. Sing.	N.	tə	Pl. N.	tās
	Poss.	tā, ta	Poss.	tāsə
	Obl.	tā	Obl.	tāsa

II dər-

III wur-

Independent (used with prepositions)

I rā-

Enclit	ic	
	Sing.	Pl.
I.	-me, -mə	-mā, -ū (?)
II.	-dī, -de, -də	-mo
III.	masc. <i>-e, -ī</i>	-0

The masc. III. sing. is also used for the fem., and -ya also for the masc.: mzeka-ya wu-kurotia 'he ploughed the field'

2. Demonstrative

fem. -a, -ya

Like Pš, with the following exceptions: $ha\gamma a$, $da\gamma a$ (sing. and pl., N. and Obl.) 'this, that, the, he' $da\gamma \partial$; $da\gamma e$ (fem. pl.); $da\gamma o$ (pl. obl. prep.) 'she, it' $d\bar{a}$ (uninfl.) 'this, that' de (uninfl.) 'these, those' $d\partial$ (fem. sing.) 'this, that, she' $a\gamma a$ 'of that', 'that'; fem. $a\gamma \partial$; pl. obl. $a\gamma \bar{u}$, $a\gamma o$ Two pronouns not in Pš: ai 'this aforesaid, this here' $ind\bar{i}$ ($\partial nd\bar{i}$, $nd\bar{i}$) (obl. only) 'this here'—follows noun.

3. Indefinite article

Suffixed: -e, -ī

Independent: i (precedes noun)

4. Other pronouns

cə (NP ki) 'that, when, what'

čok 'who'; čaγa 'whose'; ča (obl.)

čī 'when, any'

cəna 'how much, so much' (Pš cangə)

če nə 'how much, so much'

bī (masc.) ba, bya (fem.) 'other'; bī čok 'another'

zān 'self' (Pš jān)

dwārī 'they both' (also dwahrī), cf. Pš dwārə

Enclitics, Postpositions, Prepositions

čī 'in' (Pš kše) (postpos.)

minde, mənde 'on, on top of'

γa (postpos.) 'of' (Pš də)

(wa)ta 'to' (at, tə, t)

zdare 'into'

de, dī 'indeed'

sarā, səra 'with, by, near'

tər 'to, across'

pas 'after'

bande 'up, out'

Adverbial Formations

špeya 'at night' ša o xwā 'all around' man-čə, manz-čī 'in the middle' bī wrezī 'on another day'

Verbs

Personal endings (present)

	Sing.			P1.
1	-ī			-ū
2	-e	7.7	88	-0
3	-aī		*	-īn -ī

Optative

All persons: -e, -ə
Imperative
Sing. 2 -a, -ə
Pl. 2 -o, -e

Substantive verb (present)

Optative 3 Pl. win

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1 \bar{i} y\bar{u}

2 ye yo

3 [M] da (F) d\bar{o} d\bar{i}; -(\bar{i})n (suffixed) sta 'is, exists'; n\bar{o}sta, n\bar{o}st\bar{o} 'is not', etc.
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Substantive verb (past)

1	. wī			wyū		
2	we			wī, wyo		
3	(M) wî	(F)	wua	พโ		

'To beco	me':	1		4.4	20
Pres. 1	SĨ	รนิ	Past 1	swî	รพนิ
2	se	so	2	swe	swe, swo
3	S∂	sin(a)	3	(M) $s\bar{u}$, $s\partial$	รพนิ
				(F) swa, sa	swe

Optative sī

The future particle corresponding to Pš ba is ba, be, ba

Examples.

zə rāwī 'I lead' pa	ast: anim. rāwast inanim. rāwur pl. rāwī
z∂ kî 'I do' pa	ast: (M) kər pl. kṛə
	(F) ka, kə pl. kəre
zə rāsî 'I come' pa	nst: (Μ) <i>rāγa</i> pl. <i>rāγe</i> , <i>rāγ</i> ί
	(F) rāγyā pl. rāγye, rāγī
zə wấyî 'I say' pa	ast: (M) $k \partial r$ pl. (M) $w\bar{i}$
	(F) $w\bar{a}$
zə kəsî 'I see' pa	ast: (M) <i>līd</i> pl. <i>līde</i>
	(F) līda, līdə pl. līde
zə lī 'I give' pa	ast: (M) lawūṛ pl. lawe
	(F) lawa lawe

The following represents a summary of verbal types which can be distinguished on the basis of present materials.

1. Present stems in -edəl

garz, gərzed	approach	
Yərz-, Yərzed	go away	
lirš-, liršdī	load up	
mom-, mund	find	
naṛaž-	collapse	
pehiž-, u-payedə	understand	
šoraž-	shake (int.)	
tərz-, u-tərzda	turn round	
werež-, weredī	fear	
yerež-, yeredī		

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2. Present stems in -awul
  āč-, w-āča (F. S.),
      w-āčawya (F. S.),
      w-āč(aw)ər (M. S.)
  ār, w-ārew-
                                                    turn
  čalaw-, čalawiya (F. S.)
                                                    govern
  činaw-, činawur (M. S.)
                                                    cause to sit
  l-, lwa
                                                    give
                                                    milk
  lwes-, wu-lwa (F. S.)
                                                    lead
  (rāw-), rāwur (M. S.)
                                                    marry
  wādaw-, u-wādawya (F. S.)
                                                    shovel
  wāṛaw-, wāṛawya (F. S.)
          wārawī (M. S.)
                                                    be born
  zow-, wu-zo
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	9000
3. Present stems in -en- (examples due to Morgenstier	
od-	weave
ar-en- (also an-)	grind
āṛaw-en	flay
bar-en-	sweep
cak-en-	taste
cing-en- (past wə-cingī)	pull, draw
carx-en-	spin
caṭ-en-	lick
čič-en-	chew
gaṇḍ-en-	sew
kor-un-	plough
kurot-en-	dig
lik-en-	write
lun-en-	winnow
lor-en-	have
lorye? 'hast thou?'	7/5
lwand-en-	weave
leždaw-un-	load
murš-en-	rub
neγāṛ-en- (Imv. wu-neγāṛa, wu-neγāṛena)	wrap up
prîz-en-	take out
puždal-en-	squeeze
šaraw-en-	stir (soup)
ṭakaw-en-	knock
wi/unz-en-	wash
wres-en-	spin
wez-en-	kill
wurxay-in-	shave
yar-en-	show
	Show
4. Pasts in -st-	take
āxl-, w-āxst-	Assumentary.
cemul-, comlast	lie down
čīw-, (čəw-), čīost	throw
čin-, činost	sit down
rāw-, rāwast	lead
wul-, wust	hit
5. Pasts in -št-	100 mm
alwuz-, ālut	fly
č-ūz-, čəwat	enter
kəs-, kātə	see
nəš-, nəšət	stick
pre-ūz-, prewat	fall
yoz-, yot	drink
xez-, xot	rise up
6. Pasts in -xt-, -ft	
* *, wu-na	seize
winzen, wa (M. S.), wya (F. S.)	wash
wī (M. Pl.), wī (F. Pl.)	

7 Docto in mot

7.	Pasts in -ršt-	
	ān-, aret	leave
	γwāṛ-, wu-γušta (F. S.)	want
	wu-γušte (F. Pl.)	
	kān-, wu-kriš (M. S.), -kršī (M. Pl.)	pull
	-kərša (F. S.), -kəršye (F. Pl.)	
	mān-, māret	stop
	muršen-, wi-murš	rub
8.	Pasts in -rt-	
	k , kər (M. S.), krə (M. Pl.)	do
	ka (F. S.), $k(\bar{a}r)e$ (F. Pl.)	
	lawṛ-, wa-lawəṛ (M. S.), -lāwṛə (M. Pl.)	bring
	-lawa (F. S.), -lawe (F. Pl.)	
	rāw-, rāwuṛ, -əṛ (M. S.), rāwṛə (N. Pl.)	lead
	rāwa (F. S.), rāwye (F. Pl.)	
	wṛ-, wṛe	take away
	xwar-, xūr (M. S.), xwārə (M. Pl.)	eat
	xwāra (F. S.), xwāre (F. Pl.)	
	* *, məṛ	die
9.	Pasts in -t-	
	aur-, w-auriā (F. S.), w-aurī (F. Pl.)	hear
	cang-, wu-cangya (F. S.)	drag
	reb-, rebī (F. Pl.)	cut grain
	rās-, rāγya, rāγa (F. S.)	come
	wāy-, wāī	say
	wezen-, weza (M. S.), weziyā (F. S.)	kill
10.	Pasts in -an-	
	cek-, wu-cekane	milk
11.	Pasts in -yad-	
	man-, wə-manyadə	accept
12.	Stems in -aya-	
	qərz-, u-qərzya (F. S.)	jump out
	saz-, * *	burn (tr.)
13.	Stems in -k-	
	swaz-, swaz	burn (intr.)
14.	Stems in -nt-	
	kan-,	dig
	xānd-, xandī	laugh
15.	Uncertain types	
	* *, idy-	went
	cing-,	smoke
88	tos-,	descend
	wanc-,	let graze

The following texts represent rather a mixed bag. In the complete lack of a written tradition it is difficult, without a very large number of texts indeed, to make any compelling judgement of literary merit. The purpose of these texts is only to give a notion of the present state of the language: their aim is linguistic, not literary. As will be seen,

the language is in a rather fluid state, abounding as it does in Pashto and Urdu words, grammar, and expressions; I have left them untouched.

A characteristic of the language is a strong stress-accent, noted by me often as a long vowel, and by G. Morgenstierne with an accent mark. All vowels can be reduced to a when unaccented, and w and y are often reduced to a or i or dropped. Unvoicing of final consonants is also not uncommon. The better to illustrate these things, the texts have not been normalised, and the translations are as literal as possible.

I

A story, unfortunately incomplete (Sayyid Sardar Šāh, Harnai)

Da wī wrātī dre xyende wī. Ye špe bāčā daγo kor ta rāγa, put wəlār da, γwaž-e wəna, dā musere xor žaγ kər ke, mā γa kassāb mārə wī, če ne γwaše be mə xwarə! Dā manjwī wāī, ka mā γa nānwāyī mārə wī, če nə borə ba mə xware! Kaserī u-wī, ka mə bāčā mərə u-wī, ayal γa ba mə, sar-oštān saro-zaro γa wīn.

Bāčā dā tole xabre wāwrī, bartə kor ta wiyār. Sahār ye nānwāyī, kassāb u-γušt. Ai dre xyende mī u-γušte. Məser ye kassāb tə wādə kə. Manjwī ye nānwāyī tə wādə kə. Keser ye xpul wādə kə.

Špa wrez ter sū, ter sū, bāčā zaypa omendwāra swa, dā xyende ye wuta wu-γušte; xyendo zān čī salā wu-kər, če dā xor γa bə mə aulād, uštān saro-zaro γa wín. Rāsā, yow kukkūrā la zāna presnū. Ka xuleya, aγe ayal γa sar-oštān saro-zaro γa wín, aγa bə put kū, dā kukkūrā ba wuta γa škāra kū, sta γa daγa payda sū da. Dā salā-e wu-kər, rāγī xor kor ta.

No zaypa linga swa, zoë ye wu-zo. Dā a γ a sar-o \check{s} tān saro-zaro $\check{\gamma}$ a wī n ; dā xyende wulāre swe, dā čorā ye koki čī band kər. Daryāb čī ye təs kər.

Če dā xor purhoš swa, dā xyende ya wulārə swe, dā kukkūrā ye wuta škāra kər: sta γa dā paydā sū da. Bāčā ta ye mī u-wāī če, sta γa dā paydā sū da. Daγə caṭ tabyat xarāb sū.

Dā xyende bartə wiyārī, xpul kor ta wiyārī. Da kōkə daryāb prewā, ye zāy ta i māli wu-kərša, če xalāsa ka, kōke manj či čorā wi. Mālī caṭ xušāl sū, čorā-e kor ta prewur, zaype ta u-we, cə daryābə mə dā kōkə wu-kərša, če me xalāsa ka, dā čorā wata manj čī prot wī. Dā zaype caṭ xušāl swa, wāl, ša da; mā wata γ a olad nəsta, day mā wata γ a¹ zoē. Da γ a satənə šurū ka.¹

*

II

A narrative

(Mullah Sayyid Mohammed, Čauter)

Moš Čoterā rāhī swū, špāros sarī wyū, byār wiyārū Manē ta, kār ta. Byār mo dre calor špe wu-swe. Byā mo bī wrezī jang wu-swū Lalī Xān Kākar sərā, byā mo kār wārit, yo bī ta mo lerē lerē xabare wu-ke, byār moš rāhī swū, Wuckī têrā rāγyū. Byār Mulləhī Sāb moš u-γušt, u-wī: tas rāso! Moš γarībānān xālək wyū, byār moš rāγyū, əndī cabəl ta, tās moša gəpa wāxsta, moš walewa, nor lə moša xair da.

III

Lullaby

Lāŗolā, lāŗolā, Šer Xān lōē ke Maulā, Dardemə wlē Haronā!

×

IV

The story of Haronā, a local Pir

Waṇecī Dumar ce jang wī, byār aγū Dumarāṇū² Haronā nəmanya, byār Dumarāṇ rāγī jang ta. Waṇecīū γa dre špūnān wī, byār rāγī, aγū Dumarāṇū Haronā ta harmaze wālawe, wī tə, pīrə nī-ye! Biyār orepas, daγa Haronā kubīrī swa, asmān ta wu-xātə, dā Dumarāṇū sar mənde wu-tərzda, byār orepas dre špūnānū jang wu-kər Dumarāṇū səra. Dumarāṇ-e tole mrə krə, oreyapas Dumarāṇū Haronā wō-manya.²

*

V

A famous song

Láṇḍa,³ zór wəlá wəžó-t Xálko wəniw tléməngá; Mádək wá-kṛə pəsắtə!

Ráhman wēyəl Slémaná:
Də xūdāy párə, yáxta wanē!
Ká spīr xár lewáno wuxór,
Byár be wáxlū káčkolē;
Mádək wá-krə pəsátə!

Laṇḍa, zor wəla wəžo-t Xalko wənīw tlemanga; Madək wa-kṛə pəsātə!

Rahman wəyəl Slemanā
Də xūdāy pārə, yaxta wanə!
Ka spir xar lēwāno wuxor,
Byār be waxlū kačkolə;
Madək wa-krə pəsātə!

Laṇḍa, zor wəla wəžo-t Xalko wənīw tlemanga; Madək wa-kṛə pəsātə!

Jár sī šnē léždī tá, Cə wēnce sēm bənī ta; Yára, mzēkī dē prekē, Madək wa-krə pəsātə!

Laṇḍa, zor wəla wəžo-t Xalko wenīw tlemənga; Madək wa-krə pəsātə! Ĵār sī šna léždī tá, Cə wənce səm bənī ta; Yāra, mzekī də prekə, Madək wa-krə pəsātə!

Rahman wəyəl Slemanā:
Də xūdāy pārə, yaxta wanə!
Ka spīr xar lēwāno wuxor,
Byār be waxlū kačkolə;
Madək wa-krə pəsātə!

Málək Ámīr Áfzālá, Báxt-dī nésta lōē lá será! Mohámmed Ákbar cə tá degán də, Páēwandō de gárborō; Madək wa-krə pəsātə!

Malək Amir Afzāla,
Baxt-dī nəsta lōē la sərā!
Mohammed Akbar cə tā degān də,
Paēwandə de garborə;
Madək wa-krə pəsātə!

Laṇḍa, zor wəla wəžo-t Xalko wənīw tlemanga; Madək wa-kṛə pəsātə!³

*

VI

A song

Āī! Zəmaī saxt, dobaī zarūr, Swarla rahatə, mana beltūn, Swarla rahatə, mana beltūn.

Dərge čī kəška da, Zīra ba nāzək rāγa, Zīra ba nāzək rāγa.

Dā grān tə wāī, mərža sə, Ma ləmānī pur-ta rāsə, Ma ləmānī pur-ta rāsə.

*

VII

Three riddles

- Bāndē xwā dwē lēwān rāγī; yow γuṭ da, bī γwaž-e nəsta?
 Bāndē dow šelé rāγī; yow wuča, bī čī obə-n.
- Tâ mor sahār činə, mur andū mand-a prou də? Pelmūná də.
- Tā mor sahār čīnə, sur de špalawə?
 Awər da.

VIII

A song

Wrātī wī Bodō, os pa kawīn ke Mangō; Zərgā tə rāsa, wrātī da mokā!

*

IX

Proverbs (Ramžān, Wamtangī)

- Yow par bi armazê lawrele,
 Ce na ler kār dai, de Madek û de Torgul.
- Yow bî xûlê či lūndə zor-ləl,
 Tabār langray dē, də Šāgul.
- 3. Spin rebūn, tor lengi; Zarbī tə wəlē sarxākī!

*

X

A Song

Hajī Sayndadā! Haj ta īdīē, də Sarwar, Maṇa Malək cat day xar; Da Məkē wəgā ləgya sū, Sta pa šūnd ū pa sar. Wərža-yī sta də špo, də xāwr, ū də ārō, Hāl dər-ta lāwrī bərabār.

*

ΧI

A Yazal (Maulana Nür Mohammed, Ziārat)

Dəwā walāwṛā xūdāy, ta wūksā!
Hāl mī day kōṛī:
Zə ba ta tə wəlāwṛī rūpī;
Də Baxtnāmē spīna šūnd da, bə wa-n-ənī,
Ka har ce na rā-bandī, rāsī langəṛī,
Xpul mlāstūņe sta špo ta, dər w-ač-əwî!
Ka mī wu-manē minnat wə zārī,
Sta ba lūṇḍə wu-sī, zma ba šūnde wu-sī;
No ba war-kəm caṭ γwuržī,
Bī ba wa-manī sta xwarə,
Pa har mənī wū swarlī.

*

IIX

A song

De zaypō habargēzī nə-dī: zə yī marə! Kə mī kār wu-sū, byā ba wa-lī caṭ nōṭə.

XIII

Riddles (Mohammed Šāh, Nəsaka)

- Čarga da, marmar γa da, calor tangē, yaē stərga da? Ranglūn.
- Nə mā līdē, nə tā līdē; kūbī čī wāzgī ča līdē?
 Sar čī mastrāγzē dī.

*

XIV

Badals (Kunčesar villagers)

- Xūre zara! Yo pahār da, xware zara! Ce da yo pahār la ter sū, nīlaī zyarə zarγūn wēlār da.
- Pākistān mēlē de cə wkē? Mā drawī ša da; cə wə-kē, mā drawī ša da; ce wə-kē?
- Xor! Pa sar de, spîn sābūn da, pa sābūnə γalatə ma-sə! Pa sābūnə γalatə ma-sə!
 La yamzōlī de beltūn da, la yamzōlī beltūn da.
- Təl bī na wī xūšālī, yo wraz bē-γama, lēwān, nay-wī; yo wraz bē-γama, lēwān, nay-wī.
- 5. Pa dunyā nəsta bawār; parən la jor wī sarāban, parən la jor wī sarāban.
- 6. Xula mī dā də, wī-yəxura! Zyātə grānaī nə dī, mā zdā; zyātə grānaī nə-dī, mā zdā.

*

XV

A story (Mulla Sayyid Mohammed, Cauter)

- 1. Wrātī yə gidar də, cāhə čī prewātə də. Byā mərgalī nəsta, no ya zan mərgalī krə. 2. Byārə wo-wāye lēwā ta, wāī: Ta rāsā dānī! Lemān prātə dī, γwar γwar; ta bī mī landī prewzē! 3. Lēwī top krə lənt. Yo xē ya mərgalā krə. 4. Dera pas ya byā plangā ta wo-wī: dalta ša γwar γwar ləmān prātə dī! Aγa mī ur-ta top sū, aγa ya mī mərgale krə. 5. Dore pas ē kotərā ta uwī; aγa-ī mī murgale krə. Šaγālə mī top sū, aγa-ī mī murgale krə. 6. Do bī wrezī wərže swū. Byārə u-wāyī plange ta, plangā akā! Zə yī zə, ta ye ta; ai šaγāl kus cə šāi da? 7. Aγa u-nəšt, šəγāl-ē u-xur, gidar-ī mī wur-sarā u-xur.
- 8. Bī wrezī, ba u-wəržī sū, ba u-wāyī: plangā akā! Zə yī zə, tə yə tə; lēwə cə šāi da? 9. Aγa ba wəlār sū, lēwī mī wū-xur, gidar-ī mī wur-sarā u-xur.
- 10. Dore pas ba gidaṛ-ī war-ta u-wāī: zə-y zə, ta-y tə; ai kautor-ē cə šāi da? Aγa ba wəlāṛ sū, aγa mī wu-xuṛ.
- 11. Špa aw wrezī ter sū, ter sū, ter sū ... daγe ləže daγa putkēre wī, dā ləṛxaṇī. 12. No dā ləṛxaṇə ta prewātə, dā ləṛxānī kanī dī, mjəkī yē xurə dī. 13. Plangā wur-ta u-wē: Dā cə šāi dī? Aγa u-wē, Dā xū zə xpulī kūkē daγa kanī, ləṛxāṇī kanī. 14. Aγa wur-ta u-wī: No saṛī mrē dī, ya žina dī? "Wī, na. 15. Paskə planga mex, xula, wāṛewya, xpule gaddī ta, xpule gaddī ta, xpule gaddī ləṛxāṇī wu-kršī. 16. Plang aγa tūn ta məṛ sū. Gidaṛī dā, mī u-xuṛ.
- 17. Yo co umər ye ter kṛə, bī wrez špūn rāγī, wī gidaṛī ta: Dā ndī, cə kē? 18. Wāyī, postīnān dī, jor kī. "Wī, mā ta postīn jor kē? 19. "Wī, hō! Tā tə postīn jor kī! Tora urā təs ka! Aγa u-wāyī, tora "rā bandī xwā-ē təs kər.

- Aγa wa-rsa, aγa wra-ya u-xuṛ. Bī wrezī aba tə bī urā təs kəṛ. Aγa ya mī uxuṛ.
 Bī wrezī špūn rāγī, postīn dā cuna kəṛ dē? uWī, postīn mā joṛ kə, dai, postkī dī.
 Cə post sī, sahār rāsa, bya ba ta sarā sə!
- 23. Sahār čī špūn rāγa, u-wī, postīn əndī, jor kə dī? 24. Postīn mī jor də, ta mə-ta mlastān təs ka; mā landī xwā-ra u-kana! Zə ba ta sarā postīn kača kī.
- 25. Aγə wur-ta mlastān təs kə, gidarī ye landī xwā-e wu-kerš, γārī. 26. Cə gidar γārī ta wu-kirš, gidar wu-qərzya də, špūn ye aγa tūn ta, wārit. 27. Tər dorī zə wur-sarā yī, nor xūdāi xair kər.

*

XVI

Songs (Ghūlam Mohammed, Kažəwagura)

Anjo nara təl-mudām,
Pər garangūnō čī wəlāra;
Tosa wə-sam-ta, čī ndī wu-wīnəm
Pər gaj-larəlγī-γara.
Tosa wə-sam-ta, čī ndī wu-wīnəm
Pər gaj-larəlγī-γara.

*

XVII

Šoražī da Saləm dī; Ka šoražī səm Saləm, Tərxī šorežī. Adəm aw Alīm mər dī, Par ewārī səm Saləm wu-naražī. Adəm aw Alīm mər dī, Par ewārī səm Saləm wu-naražī.

*

Translations and Notes

I

Once there were three sisters. One night the King went to their house, hid himself, lent an ear, (while) the eldest sister cried out, If my husband will be a butcher, how much meat I shall eat! The middle one said, If my husband will be a baker, how much bread I shall eat! The youngest said, If my husband will be a king, the hair of my offspring will be of gold!

The king heard the whole conversation, and went back home. In the morning he called a baker (and) a butcher. He also called the three sisters. He married the eldest to the butcher. The middle one he married to the baker. The youngest he married himself.

⁵ The accent marks indicate stress.

¹ mā-wata-ya 'me for of': curious construction.

 $^{^{2}}$ n in plural is probably due to influence of preceding r.

Night and day passed, and passed; the king's wife became pregnant. She called the sisters (together); the sisters took counsel among themselves, that if there is a child of this sister, his hair may be of gold. Come: Let us take a puppy for ourselves; if it is true² that the hair of this child will be of gold, we will hide him, and we will show her this puppy, (saying), This was born of you. This plan they adopted, and went to the sister's house. Then the woman laboured, and gave birth to a son. His hair was of gold, and those sisters stood up, and put that child in a box. They emptied it into the river.

When the sister came to consciousness, those sisters stood near her, showed the puppy to her, (saying), This was born of you. They also said to the king that, This puppy was born of you. His very health became ruined.

The sisters stood up again, and went to their own home. The river carried the box to a place where a gardener drew it out. When he opened it, there was a child in the box. The gardener was very happy; he took the child home, said to his wife, I took this box out of the river; when I opened it, this child was lying inside it. His wife was very happy, and said, It is good; I have no children, this is a son to us. She began to take care of him.

Notes: ¹ Lit., 'this was'.
² Lit., 'in truth'.

*

II

We set out from Čauter, we were 16 men, well, we went to Manē for work. We were there 3 or 4 nights. Well, on another day we got into a quarrel about Lalī Khān Kākar, so we left our work, we said some very bad words to one another, and then we went away and came to Ziārat. Well, the Mullah Sahib called us, and said, You get out! We poor chaps were helpless, so we came here to this lawn, you sought our talk from us, we gave it; other news from us is good.

*

III

Larola, larola, Sher Khan, be great like the Lord! To Harona give my pain!

*

IV

When the Wanetsi Dumars were in battle, those Dumars would not accept Harona, so the Dumars went to battle. There were three Wanetsi shepherds, so they went, those Dumars gave insults to Harona, and said, You are no saint! Well, after that Harona became pigeons, they rose up to the sky, over the heads of those Dumars they circled, and then they gave battle to the Dumars because of the three shepherds. Every one of the Dumars was killed, and then the Dumars accepted Harona.

V

O tailless ox! Give strength to the shoulders, The people have planted a nursery, Madek has done mischiefs!

Rahman said to Sleman,
For goodness' sake, do one day's ploughing,
If the grey ass is eaten by the wolves,
Well then, we'll take up the begging-bowl!
Madek has done mischiefs!

I thank the blue bull¹
When he is taken to the plot.
Friend, a furrow was ploughed in the earth;
Madek has done mischiefs!

Malik Amir Afzala, Your fate is not great from the beginning; When Mohammed Akbar is your ploughman, The plough-joints are broken! Madek has done mischiefs!

Note: 1 Lit., 'may I be the sacrifice to'.

*

VI

Ai! Winter is hard, summer is needful (of hard work), spring is restful, autumn yearning; spring is restful, autumn yearning.

In the palm grove there is a rustling; last night a lover used to come, last night a lover used to come.

She said to her dear one, Yor are an ant, it has come up to my skirts, it has come up to my skirts.

*

VII

- 1. Q: From above two wolves came, one is fat, the other has no ears.
 - A: Above two nullahs came; one is dry, in the other is water.
- 2. Q: Your mother sits up in the morning; a dead Hindu lies on her.
 - A: It is a sheep's-wool rug.
- 3. Q: Your mother sits up in the morning, the red hisses.
 - A: It is fire.

*

VIII

Once you were in Bodo; now you at the wedding of Mango; Come quickly, there is still a chance.¹

Note: 1 One who attends many weddings as a guest is unlikely to get married.

IX

- One brings insults upon another;
 Such bad work that is, of Madek and of Torgul.
- One is putting bread in another's mouth: And Sagul's house is hungry.¹
- 3. A white shirt, and black legs; give alms to Zarbi.2

Notes: 1 Charity begins at home.

² He had a white shirt, but now he is dead; give alms to his widow.

*

X

Haji Sayndada! You went on the Prophet's haj, (But) Mana Malik is a great ass.

The wind of Mecca has touched

You on the nose and on the head.

I am hungry for your feet, your soil, and your ashes,
I bring nows to you true.

*

XI

Give a prayer to God: see! My news is bad;
I will give you rupees;
The nose of Baxtname is white, I will not leave it,
Whatever may (come) upon me — if hunger comes,
My own turban at your feet, I will put before you!
If you accept my entreaty and request,
There will be bread for you; for me there will be your nose;
Then I will give many kisses,
I will accept your devotions too,
In every autumn and spring.

*

XII

These are no riddles for woman; I am a man! When my work is done, then I will give much money.

*

XIII

- 1. Q: It is a cock, it is of marble, it has four legs and one eye.
 - A: Antimony-box.1
- 2. Q: I have not seen it, you have not seen it; who has seen the fat in the sheepskin?
 - A: It is the brain in the head.
- Note: 1 The receptacle for eye-shadow: it has four legs and a hole in the top.

XIV

- 1. Sister, weep! It is the first watch; sister, weep! When the first watch will have passed by, the steed will stand with yellow and green (cloths) upon it.1
- 2. This Pakistan celebration, what is it to you? My tryst is a good one; what is (the celebration) to you?
- 3. Sister! That on your head is white soap make no mistake about the soap: (away) from companions there is yearning.²
- 4. There will not always be another (?) happiness; one day without grief, Lover, you will not be.
- 5. There is no faith in the world; yesterday my lover was carefree.
- 6. This is my mouth; eat it! There is nothin more precious, I know.4

Notes: 1 A badal, sung by women when the bride leaves her father's house for that of her husband.

When proceeding to the washing-place girls put soap and clothes on their heads, and for their last washing before marriage they use white soap. After marriage they are separated from their former companions.

³ Lit., 'wolf'.

4 Nos. 5 and 6 are girls' songs.

*

XV

- 1. Once there is a fox, he has fallen into a well. But there are no companions, so herself she made companions. 2. So she spoke to a wolf; she said, Come down here! Some sheep intestines are lying, very very fat; you too jump down! 3. The wolf jumped down. So then one companion was made. 4. After that then she spoke to a leopard: Here very good fat intestines have fallen! He also jumped down to them, he also was made a companion. 5. After that she spoke to a hyena; he also became a companion. A jackal also jumped, and was also made a companion. 6. Two days later they got hungry. So she said to the leopard, Uncle leopard! I am I, you are you; this jackal, who the devil¹ is he? 7. He seized, ate the jackal; the fox also ate with him.
- 8. Another day they got hungry, again she said, I am I, you are you; what is this wolf? 9. He stood up again, and ate the wolf too; the fox also ate with him.
- 10. Afterwards again the fox said to him: I am I, you are you; this hyena, what is he? He again stood up, and ate him.
- 11. Night and day passed, passed ... passed ... (she thought of) a few of what she had hidden: those intestines. 12. So she fell to those intestines, she is pulling at those intestines, she is eating the earth. 13. The leopard said to her, What are those? Those are only my own ribs i am pulling, I am pulling at my intestines. 14. He said to her, But are they dead or alive? She said, No. 15. Then the leopard turned aside his face, mouth, into his own stomach, into his own stomach; in his own stomach he pulled out his own intestines. 16. The leopard died on the spot. The fox ate him too,
- 17. Some time passed; another day some shepherds came, said to the fox: You there, what are you doing? 18. She said, These are posteens; I am preparing them. They said, Will you prepare posteens for us? 19. She said, Yes! I will prepare posteens for you; Throw me a black lamb! She spoke, and a black lamb was thrown down from above.

- 20. She came, ate that lamb. Another day another lamb was thrown down. She ate it too. 21. Another day the shepherds came, (and asked), Of the posteen how much work is there? She said, I have made the posteen, this one is softening. 22. When it becomes soft, come in the morning; then it will be yours!
- 23. In the morning the shepherd came, said: That posteen there, is it ready? 24. (She answered), the posteen is ready, you throw your turban to me, from my side downwards raise it up! I will measure the posteen for you.
- 25. He threw down his turban, and pulled up the fox to his side, on the edge. 26. When the fox was pulled up to the edge, the fox jumped out, left the shepherd on the spot. 27. Up to that time I was with them; the rest God made good.

Note: 1 Euphemistic translation of kus, used often as a mild expletive.

*

XVI

(Like) the middle branch of the Anjo tree, always above the gorges you stand;

Come down to the plain, so that I may see Your neck, bearing an ivory ornament.

*

XVII

There is a shaking of Salem; since the Salem plain shook, The Tarxi-bush shakes. Adam and Alim are dead, On every side Salem plain is ruined, On every side Salem plain is ruined.

*

Vocabularies: Part I

In this list, due mainly to E, words cited without reference to their origin occurred without disagreement in the lists of both M and E. Pš etymologies are taken for the most part from EVP.

Abbreviations:

EVP = G. Morgenstierne, 'An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto'.

IIFL = G. Morgenstierne, 'Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages' I, II.

NTS = G. Morgenstierne, NTS, IV, 'The Wanetsi Dialect of Pashto'.

PšQ = 'Pashto Qāmūs', Kābul 1954.

āč- 'throw, build' pres. zə āčī; past w-ač(aw)ər MS, w-āča FS

Pš āčawul, pres. āčaw-, with same semantics. Cf. also NP andaxtan 'throw, build' adē pl. adēganī 'mother' [= Pš]

aka (E) 'uncle' (= Pš)

ambast (E) 'well, healthy'. Cf. NP ambast 'coarse, thick'?

ān-, aret 'let go, allow', pres. zə ānī; past mā wārit 'I left'; wāretya fem.; imv. wanə 'let do!' Pš aratəl < a-hṛšta

andū (E) 'Hindu', Pš hindū, but cf. dial. indū, andū

angīn 'honey' in NTS, 159 < áng-bīna, while Pš gabīna < nga-bīna; cf. also IIFL s. v.

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'bee', and Orm. pin 'honey'
anginmečā 'bee' cf. meč
anjo (E) 'a sweet-smelling tree'; Et. unknown
ar\bar{e}, prep. pl. ar\bar{o} 'ashes'; Pš \bar{e}r\bar{e}. Both Wan and Pš < \bar{a}erya-, with pal. in Pš from -ya-
āṛ-, past wāṛew- (E) 'turn'; Pš āwuštəl, pres. āwṛ- Wan. metathesis
arwendo, pl. arwendi (E) 'dyke, bund'; Pš wand. For ar-cf. EVP s. v. ar 'stoppage'
    (< Hi.); wand < Av. banda- 'chain' etc., while wend < bandya-. Wan has sing. e
    from. pl.: cf. common pl. -endi
atā 'mother's or father's sister'; cf. NP atā 'papa'?
atā 'eighty' Pš atiā; both from aštāiti-, with Wan unpal.
awā 'seventy', Pš awiā; both < haftāiti-, with Wan. unpal.
awlūn 'bridle', Pš mlūna, but cf. Waz. wlīna; < Av. aiwi-δāna- Wan has older form.
aur-, aurī 'hear', pres. zə aurī, also arwī; past wawrī FP, wawrīā FS; Pš ārwedəl, ārw-;
    < Av. haur-. The Wan is older
awar, aur owr 'fire', Pš \bar{o}r; < \bar{a}ar. EVP s. v. does not think Kurd. aw\bar{o}r more than
    a coincidence; in fact cf. Afr. w\bar{o}r. Probably Wan is a metath. < wor < owr < awr
āxl-, wāxst 'to take', past also wāxəst, āxist; wāxlū 'let us take'. Pš āxistəl, āxl-
ayal (E) 'child, son'; Ar.-NP 'iyāl
ēždən 'millet'; Pš Ždan < arzana-, NP arzan. Wan seems < arzanya-, but semantics
    are odd. Perhaps < āžden with initial vowel epenthesis?
īdī- 'went' (only past): īdyī 'I went', īdəyū 'we went', īdīē 'thou wentest'
oba(h) 'water' Pš óba
or- 'there', in compounds: orapas 'then, thereupon', oreyapas; hor-ta 'in that place',
     < άναθτα-, Pš war (EVP s. v. dəlē, war²), < ανάθτα-. Cf. Part II οτə
ospandə 'iron', also ospand; Pš óspana
ota 'eight', Pš ata; < ašta-. Wan o- is from ōwa 'seven' (Cf. NTS)
\bar{o}w\partial 'seven' (= Pš owa)
ūma 'unripe fruit' (cf. also wozak), Pš ūm, pl. ūma
umər 'time', Pš umr 'age'. Cf. for semantics Bal umr 'age, time' [all < NP]
ur-\gamma ula 'hearth', Pš or-\gamma \bar{a}lai; \gamma \bar{a}lai 'place' < g\bar{a}t\bar{u}. There is the usual change \bar{a} > \bar{o}
    in \gamma \delta lai 'courtyard', but \bar{a} is preserved in Pš compound forms, and in Wan. The
    alternation \gamma wa / \gamma o / \gamma u is common. Cf. Part II wurywolla
ust- 'hit', cf. wul; Pš wištəl, < Av. va\bar{e}\delta a- 'javelin'? If an old wid- /wist, then Wan
    preserves old -st- (>Pš -št-), but some Pš dial. also have -st- in this word
ušə 'grass' (in the North wuš), Pš wašə; < vāstrya-
\bar{u}št 'hair', pl. w\bar{u}št\bar{a}n, ošt\bar{a}n, Pš we\bar{S}t\partial < w\underline{r}sa-t\bar{a}-, Wan has labialised; cf. Part II (w)\bar{u}št
užd 'long', also wužd; Pš uŽd
uženz comb' v. wženj
ba (E) 'again, then', Pš bya; < apaya- 'again'
b\bar{i}, fem. by\bar{a} 'other', < bitya- (-t- drops; cf. NTS, 160)
bəl 'other' (= Pš)
beltūn (E) 'longing' (= Pš), but some Pš diall. also byeltūn
bəlwē 'shoes made of mazarî'; Et. unknown
                                                                         ban 'co-wife' (= Pš)
bən (E) 'small field', Pš ban
bande 'up, out', cf. Pš bande 'on', and also mande
barkat (E) 'heap of wheat on threshing floor'; probably NP barakat 'blessing'
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brēstən 'blanket', Pš brastan; < upari-staranī-. Wan -e- probably from a fem. in -ī barte 'again, back again', Pš byarta; < Av. apari-štā-, apara 'posterior'. Cf. also Wan abatə brt, pl. brta, brta moustache', Pš. bret borð 'flour, bread, Pš (PšQ) bōrnð, EVP bōrnð 'dried flour' with n for n; but cf. Raverty both n and n. $by\bar{a}$ 'again', also $by\bar{a}r$ (= Pš) bazang (E) 'tethering rope'; Et. unknown cabəl 'lawn'; Et. unknown $c\bar{a}h$ (E) 'well'; Pš $c\bar{a}(h)$ cek- 'to milk'; vbl. cekanəl, imv. wu-cekana 'milkl'; cf. Pš [PšQ] cekana 'a drink'? The Wan word corresponds to Pš lwašəl calor 'four' (= Pš)cemul- 'to lie down', past fem. comlasta; Pš caml-, camlāstol < hača-ni-padacuna 'how much, so much', Pš cone cang- 'to drag', pres. zə cangī, past mā wu-cangyā, cf. Pš cang 'flank'? NP čang 'claw'? cing- 'to smoke' probably a phon. variant of cang-, cang- (Pš ckal, ckawal). Cf. Part II čingcenjī (E) 'parting in the hair' (Pš sindai); Et. unknown cəplī 'sandals', Pš capləy corma (E) 'side, near, towards'; cf. zarma cutkī (E) 'woman's side-plaits' (Pš pəštəy); Et. unknown cat, cat 'many, very' (Pš der); Et. unknown cwi 'also' (E); Et. unknown cwārlas 'fourteen' (= Pš) čī-, čaw- 'to throw' past čīōst; cf. āččok 'who', Pš cok; Wan č- prob. from obl. ča čuk 'butter'; metath. from Pš kuč čalaw- 'to govern', pres. zə čalawi, past čalawiyā; Pš čalawəl camba 'back of hand'; said to be < NP. čin- 'sit down, sit up', past činost; caus. pres. za činawī, past masc. činawur; Pš kše-nāstal care, care 'knife' (= Pš) čirag, čərag 'cock', Pš cirg čerwust 'twenty-four', Pš. calerwist řeškū 'tear gland' (E); Et. unknown. Cf. Pš uška 'tear'? èwara, čwarā 'child, son'; E also heard čorā 'son', but never as in NTS 'girl'. Cf. also Bal čoro 'child' (< Hi. č'orā 'boy'), Si. č'orī 'girl'. ¿-ūz 'to enter'; cf. pre-ūz-. Prob. č- < čī 'in'; past čəwat. Cf. Pš. kŠe-watəl 'get into trouble' de particle denoting the present; also 'indeed'. Prob. < some form of da 'this' dōba 'summer', Pš dōbai (< han-tāpa-) degān 'worker, ploughman' < Pers. dehgān (NP dehqān) $da\gamma al$ 'thus', $< da-\gamma a-\theta a-$; cf. Pš $da\gamma a$ dela, dəla 'here'; Pš dəlē dānī (E) 'hither, down here'; cf. dānī, dānā, dāin 'until, while' (< Si. dāīn) $dr\bar{e}$ 'three' (= Pš) dora pas (E) 'after that', also dera pas; < da ore. Cf. ore pas; ore < ávaera-, ter dori

dərg (E) 'palm oasis'; cf. Pš (PšQ) dərgəf 'reed bed'

'to that time' < ta-ore; ta: cf. Pš dā?

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darlas 'thirteen', Pš dyārlas; < erayō-dasa-, but note Pš dre 'three' without pal.
dram- 'to go' Pš drūmēdal; dramū 'we go'; past wiyār 'he went'; imv. drma 'go!'
drund (m.), drna (f.), 'heavy', Pš drūnd, drana; < grāna-?
drawî 'tryst', cf. Pš (PšQ) drāwī 'assembly place'
dwārə, dwahrī 'both': -h- unexplained; cf. Pš dwārə
gā, gāi 'word, promise', Pš gāī 'promise'
que (E) 'cradle, cradle song'; Et. unknown
gadda (E) 'belly', Pš geda; I also heard gadda
qidar (E) 'fox', Pš gidara 'jackal' (!). Both words < Hi.; I cannot explain the change
    of meaning in Wan.
quddi 'skin for churning milk'; Et. unknown
gaj (E) 'enamelled ornament, worn by women'; < Hi. gaj 'ivory, elephant'
gekū, gyeko, kekū 'span between thumb and forefinger'; Et. unknown
garbora (E) 'clod of earth'; context transl. 'broken plough-share', whence garbora
    'broken bit'; poss. Pš [PšQ] garbora 'ground made of clods' is another word,
    though this was denied
gərwî 'collar', Pš gərwaî; cf. NP gire
garz- 'to approach', past garzed; Et. unknown
garang (E) 'ravine, gorge' (= Pš); prob. LW < Indian
gata 'wages in kind, paid to artisans', cf. Pš gatta 'wages'
gəţṭī (IIFL, 53*) 'span'; Et. unknown
γαbūn, γōbūn 'cowherd', cf. Pš γoba, γoba; -būn < Av. pā-?
γuca, γucā (γuča IIFL, 13*) 'cheek'; Et. unknown
γal 'thief', Pš γəl
yalbuz 'bee', cf. Pš ylawza; Et. unknown
yandəm 'wheat', Pš yanəm. The Wan is prob. the genuine Pš form, the Pš being LW;
    cf. Orm. ganum, NP gandum
γārī (E) 'edge', obl. of Pš γāra 'edge'? -r- was insisted upon; cf. Part II γarī
γara 'throat', Pš γarai (< Av. garah-)
yorsām, ywarsām 'packing needle', cf. Pš yund-stan; Et. unknown
γərz- (NTS, 167) 'wander, go away', cf. Pš garzēdəl, Orm. girz- 'walk about', NP
    gardidan; if Pš < NP, then necessarily at a very early stage when Pers. was
    garδίδan: cf. also possibly Pš γaṛəl, γaŠtal 'turn, twist'. If Wan, like other langs
    with forms in -rz- is borr. from Persian, why \gamma-? Or do Wan, Orm. show a separate
    development?
γοτži 'milk pail', cf. Pš γοžī 'water sack', < *γοτzya-? If so, Pš -ž- is odd
γəṛā 'calf of leg', Pš γaṛai
Yarzə (NTS, 168) 'small cloud'; Et. unknown
γαš, pl. γαšə 'tooth', Pš γᾱS̄
γuţ (Ε) 'fat'; cf. Orm. γuţ, Pš γaţ; Et. unknown
γwalūn, γalūn 'female breast'; cf. Pš lawaγūna 'milk pail', < γwalūna < gaudānā,
    Av. gaodana; Bal godān
Ywalānz 'udder', Pš Ywa-lanja
γwar 'fat', Pš γwər (< ghṛta-?)
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 $\gamma wur z \bar{\imath}$ 'kiss' (E), Pš $\gamma e \bar{Z}$ [< $gau s \bar{\imath}$ < Av. gao z- 'hide, cover' (EVP)]. But cf. also Pš $\gamma u z \bar{\jmath}$ 'embrace': perhaps only the latter is to be connected with gao z-, so that Wan, and Pš $\gamma e z \bar{\jmath}$, are rather < $s \bar{\jmath} q z r a y$ - 'secret, hidden'. Cf. also $s \bar{\jmath} q z \bar$

 $\gamma w \bar{a} r$ - 'to want, call', past FS u- $\gamma u \bar{s} t a$, FP u- $\gamma u \bar{s} t e$, pres. $z \bar{\sigma} \gamma w \bar{a} r \bar{t}$; cf. Pš $\gamma w a r a$ 'chosen'? The Wan form unexplained: expect past *- $\gamma u r \bar{s} t$?

γwasyā 'cow dung', Pš ušāya; EVP supposes < γu-šay-, Av. šāimna- 'stooling', ultimately to Skt. śakṛt. Perhaps better < γu-sakya- (Pš γοšāk), with Av. separated; an Ir. *sak- could also include Bal (through Persian) sagan 'cattle dung'

γwaž, pl. γwaže 'ear', Pš γwaŽ

γοz- 'to drink', pres. zə γοzī, past γοt; cf. perhaps Skt. gāh- 'drown'?

γuž, γwuž (E) 'embrace, kiss'; prob. LW < Pš γeŽ. Cf. also γwuržī

habargeza (E) 'riddle', pl. -gezi; cf. NP xabar-gej

hekî 'collar bone', < huška-ka- 'dry (bone)'? NTS, 161

hilā (E) 'hopeful, pregnant' cf. Pš hāmila (LW < Ar. hāmilah)?

(h)amzolā, pl. -zolī (E) 'companion', Pš həm-zolai

(h)armazē (E) 'abuse, insults' (f. pl.), cf. Ar.-Prs. harmasa(t)

hoša, hoški, hoška 'tear', Pš ōŠa; cf. wōši

 $h\bar{o}ya$ 'egg'; Pš $hag \partial y < \bar{a}ya - ka$ -, but Pš diall. $h\bar{a}$, $h\bar{o}ya < \bar{a}y\bar{a}$: Bal. \bar{a} is LW < Pš $h\bar{a}$

jār (E) 'wall', Et. unknown, cf. Part II jār

k- 'do': pres. zə kī, past MS kər, MP krə; FS ka, kā, k; FP k(ər)e; Pš krāl, kaw-

 $k\bar{u}b\bar{i}$ (E) 'sheepskin in which fat is hung', Pš (PšQ) $k\bar{u}b\bar{i}$ 'skin in which lamb is dried in summer to be eaten in winter'

kubīr (E) 'pigeon', Pš kautara; Wan < káputar-: cf. also Bal. kotar, like Pš, < kaputár-; Orm. kaftar

kucana, kucanî 'armpit'; NTS, 168, < Khet. kučənî

kača (E) 'measure, size', cf. Orm. kač- 'to measure', IIFL, 36*

kačkola (E) 'beggingg-bowl' Pš (PšQ) kačkāla 'huge mud bowl', also Hi. kačkal 'beggar's bowl': said to be < NP

kok∂ (E) 'box, cf. Pš (PšG) koka 'fruit-box'

kūkē 'ribs'; Et. unknown

 $kukk\bar{u}r(\bar{a})$ 'puppy', LW < Hi. $k\bar{u}kar$

kān- 'to pull', past u-kriš, wu-kriš (masc.), fem. wu-kərša, wu-kirše; MP wu-kəršī, FP wu-kəršye; Pš kšəl, kāž-; < Av. karš-

kunaŗī 'milk pail'; Et. unknown; but. cf. Par. kīzaŗē, Orm. kuzelī (and ultimately NP kūzē)?

kāņ 'large fountain', NTS 168; LW < Indian (Skt. khan, khā-)

kəpī (E) 'sandals', cf. Pš (PšQ) kapsī

kroz 'spade', cf. IIFL, 53* korotung 'to dig', Orm. kurāžī

korī (E) 'bad' < Pš 'leprous'?

kəs- 'to see', past $l\bar{l}d$; pres. $z \ni k \ni s\bar{l}$, imv. $w\bar{u}ksa$ 'see!' The use of $k \ni s$ - (< Av. kas-) in the pres. and $l\bar{l}d$ in the past (< NP $d\bar{l}dan$) is different from Pš, which has 1. $w\bar{l}n$ -, $l\bar{l}d \ni l$ 'to see',

2. kas-/gor-, katəl 'to look at'

kosa (E) 'sheeps-wool coat, posteen', Pš kosai

kasər, kasir, keser, kasyar 'younger'; Pš kašr < Av. kasyah (with -r from the forms

in -tar). Wan shows two different types of pal. from *-yah-.

kəška (E) 'a rustling of leaves', prob. onomat.

kotər, kautor 'hyena', cf. Pš koṭār 'wild beast', NP kaftār

kuţa(w) (E) 'donkey colt', cf. NP kotāh?

kawin (E) 'wedding ceremony', Pš kāwin (< NP kābin)

kož 'crooked', Pš koŽ

kaža, pl. $kaž\bar{e}$ 'fish', $< kaš\bar{a}$ -? Oss. kæsag may be connected, but (cf. NTS, 168) Wan points to $\check{s} < *k's$. Cf. Part II $ka\check{z}a$

kožak 'small hole, ear hole'; Et. unknown

l- 'to give', pres. zə lī, past wa-lawā FS, -lawē FP, wa-lawər MS, ləl 'giving'; zə ba wu-lwī 'I shall give'; < dā-; cf. Pš ləl 'utter, give tongue'

la 'even', adv. (= Pš)

lew, pl. lewān 'wolf', Pš lēwa; lewān 'lover' (cf. Pš lewanai 'mad'); < Av. daēvya-

leč 'upper arm', Pš leča; < daus-či-

lugā 'mist' (E), cf. Pš lūgai; usual Pš word is dūd

lagya (E) 'touched, hit', Pš lag- 'to hit', Bal. lagag; all < NP lagad 'a kick', borrowed into Indian as e. g. lagna 'to hit, kick, touch, meet' and thence into many Ir. langs</p>

 $lik \partial n$ - (NTS 166) 'to write', pres. $z \partial lik \partial n\bar{l}$ with a stem in $-\partial n$ -; < Hi. $likhn\bar{a}$, cf. Bal. likag

ləmanî 'skirts', Pš laman; < NP dāmān, actually Pš < *dāmānī; cf. Part II ləmən

lande 'down', Pš lānde; lande-t, lənt 'downwards'

linga 'giving birth', Pš langa 'puerperal'

langray (E) 'hungry'; langərî 'hunger'; cf. NP langar?

laṇḍ 'tailless ox', LW < Indian, cf. Bal. lanḍī 'a crop-tailed dog' (Lhd. lunḍo); Pš lanḍa 'cut short', Hi. lanḍ 'crop-tailled'

lūṇḍe 'bread, nān'; Et. unknown

lār 'road'; Pš lār, lyār

lūr, pl. lūnī 'daughter'; Pš lūr, pl. lūna

larəlγī 'having, possessing', cf. Pš larəl 'have', < dar-; -γī adj. suffix

lirš- (E) 'load up', pres. zə liršī, past wa-ləršədī, < Av. dərəšta-; Wan lyežd- 'load up' is LW < Pš and both words < dṛšt-

lərxanı, pl. lərxone (E), 'intestines'; cf. Pš lerai-?

lera, lar, lere (E) 'bad'; Et. unknown

lās, pl. lāstə 'hand'; cf. Pš lās, pl. lāsūnā

lōša 'dress'; cf. Pš lošai?

lwār 'on top, above', cf. Pš lwar 'lofty', < ud-brta-?

lewar 'husband's brother', (= Pš)

lawr- 'to give', past stem to l-, q. v.

lwes- 'to milk', past wu-lwā; cf. Pš lwašəl < dauxšya- Wan < dauxša-?

lyež- (E) 'load up, set out', cf. lirš-. Past wiyār (< Pš), cf. also Pš ležəl, < dərəšta-

ləž 'little, a little', < Pš ləž

lēžda 'a bull'. If (NTS, 161) < držaka- 'strong, violent', one would expect Wan *leržda: perhaps the Wan is a lost Pš word.

meč 'fly', cf. Pš mač (EVP: LW < Ind.). But on the strength of Wan, perhaps *muškī is now more likely for both

moka (E) 'chance, possibility', < NP moq'a

 $ml\bar{a}$ 'waist' (= Pš)

mālī (E) 'a gardener', < Hi.

mele (E) 'fair, celebration', < Hi. melah

mālgē (pl.) 'salt', Pš mālga

mēlmūn 'guest', Pš. melma; Wan has been influenced by NP mihmān

mēlmustyā (E) 'hospitality', Pš melmastyā

mlēsa (nmesa in north) 'grandson', Pš nmasai, nwasai; < Pers. nawāsa, common LW into Indian

mlāst 'lying down' < ham-vast-? Connexion with vad- 'lead' has poor semantics

mlastan (mlastūna NTS) 'turban' < mal-wast- 'kamarband'?

mom-, past mūnd 'to find'; pres. zə momī; Pš mundəl, mūm-

man- 'accept, believe', past wa-manyā (F), manyād-; Pš manəl, man-; LW < Indian, cf. Bal. mannag 'obey, listen' < Lhd. manaṇa 'obey'

mān- 'to stop', past māret; pres. zə mānī. Cf. NP mān'i 'impediment, obstacle'? Also in Hi., < NP</p>

mana, mənī 'autumn', Pš manai

mena 'dwelling', Pš mena

mand(e), minde NTS 163, 'on, on top of', cf. Pš bande? See also bande

manjwī (E) 'middle, middle one', Pš myanf; LW < Indian, cf. Panj. mãj. Note lack of pal. in Wan: is Pš < NP myān- while Wan < Indian? See also Part II manzwā mīr 'sun', Pš diall. mer, myer

mor 'mother', pl. myende, mendī with two different pals.; Pš mor, pl. mandī, mendī, mainde, myānde with three. All pls. untimately < -āntayah

mērmən(a) 'lady of the house', Pš mermana

muršen- 'rub', past wī-murš, pres. zə muršī; Pš mušəl, < *mṛś-; cf. also Bal. mušag merža 'ant', Pš mežai < marwičaka-; cf. also Orm. marčōī, NP morča

murža 'garlic', Pl. muržī, cf. Pš \bar{u} ža (EVP conjecture now to be emended); also IIFL 25* m = r, mur 'dead', Pš m = r, m = r

mārə, mār 'husband', Pš merə, myārə, < martya-

mərgalī (E) 'a companion', Pš malgərai, < ham-adwa- 'fellow-traveller'

mesa, mesī 'mosquito', Pš māšai, myāšai, < masya-ka-

muser 'elder', Pš mašar; < masyah-

māst 'month', Pš myāst, myāšt, < māsti-

mastrāγze (pl.) (E) 'brains', cf. Orm. mastərγ, Av. mastrəγan-, Pš (Waz.) maxrəze, all with -r-

mit 'fist', Pš mušt, mut; cf. NTS, 168: Wan is the genuine Pš word, while Pš is LW < NP-Indian

mətiā, mətyā 'urine', Pš mitiāzə < miti-yāz-; Wan < miti-

mūz, mūnz 'prayer', Pš nmunj, but diall. mūnz, < namānč-

mzək, mjək 'earth', Pš zmaka, < zama-ka-; cf. also Waz. mzəka

mež 'ewe', LW < Pš meŽ; cf. following

 $my\bar{a}z$ 'ram', myez 'ewe' (E), Pš $ma\bar{Z}$, resp. $me\bar{Z}$; $my\bar{a}z < ma\bar{e}sa$; $myez < ma\bar{e}si$; cf. EVP, 49 on the history of *-aisa-, *-aisi, and Part II maz

mžak 'rat', Pš məŽak, Bal. mušk: cf. Skt. mūŠ; Part II məža

ndror, pl. endrāinde 'husband's sister' (= Pš)

 $nguț\bar{a}$ 'thumb', also '1st or 2nd fingers'; Pš guta 'finger', < angušta-; Part II nogut nika 'great-grandfather'; cf. Pš γar $n\bar{i}k\partial < ny\bar{a}ka-$? But the -k- is difficult: cf. also Bal. $n\bar{a}ko$ 'uncle'?

nīla (E) 'steed, horse' < Pš nīlai

 $n\bar{u}m$ 'name' (= Pš)

nara 'fine, slender', Pš narai, Oss. nareg

naraž- (E) 'to collapse' < Pš naredal, naraž-

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nis- (E) 'put, plant' past wəniw; Pš niwəl, nis-
nāst 'seated, sitting', Pš nāst-əl, < ni-hasta-
nəš- 'to stick', pres. zə nəšī, past wu nəsət, -nəšt; Pš nšatəl, < ni-srišta? (Av. sraēš-
    'stick'). Pš pres. nšalam < ni-šad-; -d- drops in Wan, > -l- in Pš
nota (E) 'money' < Hi. not (ultimately < English)
nōw, f. nawa 'wet', Pš nūmd; < nambda-: -b > -w regularly in Wan
now, nov 'navel', Pš nū, nūm, < nāb-
nāzək (E) 'lover' < NP nāz-ak 'tender, soft'
nžor, pl. nžendī, nožyānde 'daughter-in-law'; Pš nŽor, pl. nŽainde, < *hnuša-; cf. also
    Bal. našar, prob. LW < Pš
pahār 'watch, time' < Hi. pahrā 'season, watch'
pahiž-, past u-payēdə 'recognise, understand, admit', pres. zə pahēžī; Pš poh 'aware,
    intelligent', Bal. poh 'intelligence'; Wan denom. in -iž- not in Pš
puka (pl. puke NTS, 161) 'sheep's dung'; Pš pača < puškā-, NP pušk. Normally old
    \breve{s}k > P\breve{s} \ \breve{c}; possibly the Wan words showing \breve{c} < \breve{s}k \ (r \eth \breve{c}, \ wu\breve{c}, \ le\breve{c}, \ \text{etc.}) are all
    LW < Pš, and the gen. Wan development is šk > k as in puka
pali 'a plough blade' (= Pš)
pelmūna 'carpet, blanket of sheep's wool'; Et. unknown
plang (E) 'leopard' < NP palang; cf. Part II prang
palasta 'bridegroom', cf. also Bal. palast; Et. unknown
pūndə 'ankle, heel' < Pš pūnda
p\bar{a}r\partial 'for the sake of, for': only in d\partial \dots p\bar{a}r\partial, < Pš
pur 'over, above' < Pš par
prou, prow 'asleep' < para-hufta-; Pš udə < hufta-
pordug (E) 'trousers, shalwar': cf. Pš, Orm. partūk, and Part II pordag
prek- (E) 'plough a furrow', past prēka; < pre-kṛal 'cut up', Pš pre-kawal
pārən, pārənd 'yesterday'; Pš pārūn, < parah- 'over, beyond', Bal. paran-, in compounds
    like parampoši 'three days hence'
prez-en- (E) 'take, seize', 1st pl. presnū < prezenū; past prenīw-. Pš prenīwal, prenis-
porta 'risen' (= Pš)
prot, fem. prātə (pl.) 'lying down' (cf. pre-wāt-); < para-wašta-, Pš prot
prew- 'carry' past prewur, fem. prewā; < pre-wr-, Pš wrəl without prefix
parewārī 'on both sides'; Et. unknown
prewat- (E) 'fall', past prewat-, prewata, prewā (last only is gen. Wan; others from
     Pš) pres. za pre-ūzi, imv. pre-wze; Pš prewatal
pəsātə (E) 'a mischief', cf. Pš pasātī
 postin 'posteen' < NP postin
 post (E) 'soft' (= Pš); postkī 'softening' (also Pš)
put 'behind, hidden', also putkere (E) 'hidden', < put-kər-? Cf. NP pušt for which this
     is the gen. Pš-Wan cognate, but does not exist in Pš. Also Bal. put 'back',
     LW < Pš? Cf. Part II puţ
 pət (E) 'burial', cf. Pš pətawəl, < Hi. pat 'covering'? Cf. part II put
 pița (E) 'load'; Et. unknown
 paewanda (E) 'joinings, joints, esp. plough-pieces', < NP pēwandah?
 paxē, f. pīxē 'near, close to': cf. Pš ja-xa?
 pox, f. pixa 'ripe, cooked' (= Pš)
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piyār 'father', < pitar- (Pš plār)
piza 'nose', Pš poza paza, < NP poz 'snout'; Bal. ponz, etc. 'nose'. Wan < *pēz-:
    cf. Pš pezwān 'nose-ring'
qərz- (E) 'jumr aut', past u qərzya; cf. Pš kažəl 'pull'?
rēb- 'to cut grain, harvest', past rēbī; < Pš rēbal
rebūn 'shirt': Et. unknown
rēbūn (E) shepherd of young kids', < re-pāna-; for re- cf. Av. raē-vant- 'beautiful,
    rich', Skt. rai 'wealth', NP place name Revand
rəč 'tick'. Pš. riča
ranglūn (E) 'antimony container, surmedan', < rang-dān-?
ruṇā, urṇā 'light', Pš rūn; < raoxšna-
ruṇa, ruṇa 'clarified butter, ghee' < raoγna-, NP rōγan
rās- 'to come', pres. zə rāsī, past rāγa (m.) rāγyā (f.), imv. rāsa; Pš rāš-, rāγləl:
    note Wan s: Pš š; Et. unknown
rištgōē (E) 'a truthful person' < rišt-gū-, Pš riŠtūnai
rā-w- 'bring, lead', pres. zə rāwī, past rāwast, rāwur, -ər [MS], rawrə [MP], rawa (FS),
    rāwye (FP); Pš rā-wastəl
s\bar{\imath} 'hundred', Pš s\partial l, < sata-; dwe s\bar{u}, s\bar{\partial}^u '200'; ter s\bar{u} '300'; c\bar{u}n s\bar{u} '400'
səga 'sand'; Pš šəga is LW < Indian, < something akin to Skt. sikatā; cf. also Bal. sik,
    six 'barren land', Pš prob. < Dard., while Wan < Indian?
sahār 'next day, in the morning', Pš sahār; < Arb.-NP saḥar
salā 'counsel, advice' (= Pš)
sam, sam (E) 'plain, plains' (= Pš); Pš meaning 'direct' is perhaps < 'plain, plainly'?
    Cf. also Orm. samo 'plains'
sunda 'nose', Pš šunda; cf. šund, pīza, and part II sunda
sū, sūņ 'lip', pl. sūṇān; < sund. Pš šuṇḍa < Dardic form of Skt. śuṇḍa 'elephant's trunk';
    Wan < an Indian form (Skt. \delta > s in many langs, cf. Hi. s\bar{u}nd)
sungūn 'porcupine', < sikurna-; Pš škūn, Bal. sinkūr, sikūn
sunzən, sənjən 'needle' (< sunt- < sutn < stun-); Pš stən, < stūnī
spa (E) 'night'. Cf. also špa; if gen., shows perhaps xš > s
spāhəta 'down, downstream'; cf. also lāntə. Et. unknown
spin 'white' (= Pš)
spir 'grey', Pš spera, < spaiera-
spərla (E) 'one-year-old kid' < upa-saradya-ka, Pš pšarlai; cf. also Pš serlai 'yearling',
    < sarada-ka-?
spyesta, spesta 'lucerne', < aspō-asti-; Pš špešta
spuž 'flea', cf. Pš spaža 'louze' < spiš-
sar 'head' (< NP); la ... sarā 'from the beginning'
sur 'red' (= P\check{s}), obl. pl. saro
saraban (E) 'carefree', 'lover'? NP sārbān 'camel driver' seems unlikely
serla 'two-year-old goat', Pš serlai
sara 'man', Pš sarai
sīstə (South), (North səga) 'grain of sand'; < Av. -sista- 'split'
satənə (E) 'care', Pš sātənə
stūnstax 'lying on back', Pš stūn; cf. also Pš stūni-staγ 'lying stiff', < Av. ustāna-
stərg, pl. stərgē 'eye'. < Pš starga
swamb, swam, spam 'eye of needle'; Pš swam, spam
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swarla 'spring season', < sparla < psarla; Pš psarlai (but diall. sparlai) < upa-sarada-ka-
swaz- (E) 'to burn' (intr.), pres. zə swazī; Pš swəl, swaj-
sxa, fem. sxī 'small calf', Pš. sxai, xsai
sxur, sxər 'father-in-law', Pš sxar, xusər
saz- [E] 'to burn' (tr.), pres. zə sazī; Pš sejəl, səj-. Orig. an -aya- caus., with no pal.
    in Wan
sāzə 'stone', Pš sīāja, < asa-čī-? NP sān 'whetstone'?
šica, šī 'right hand'; Pš šəy < srayah-ka-? Wan < srayah-čī-?
šukar 'horn', Pš škar
škara k- (E) 'to show', Pš škāra kawəl
šelē (E) 'small nullah', Pš šēla (< NP?)
šemžə, pl. šəmžē 'nostril', Pš spažma; Et. unknown
šamže [E] 'sour milk', cf. Pš šomle? šlombe? Cf. part II šamze
šin [m.], šna [f.] 'blue' (some informants also insisted on 'grey': E), Pš šīn, šna
šund, šond (E) 'nose', spinašūnd 'white-nosed'. Cf. sunda
špa 'foot', prep. pl. špo; < pša, cf. Pš diall. špa
špa 'night', Npl. špō, Obl. pl. špe; (= Pš), but cf. also spa
špol 'sheepfold' (= Pš)
špelaw- (E) 'to hiss', cf. Pš špelai 'a whistle, hiss', PšQ špel(aw)əl 'hiss'; < xšwaida-ka-
špānahār (M) 'Charles' Wain'
špāros 'sixteen', Pš špāras
špož 'six', Pš špaŽ, diall. špeŽ
špaža, špaž 'louse' (E); Pš spaŽa < spiš-
špožmí, špažmí 'moonlight', Pš spoŽmai
šoraž- [E] 'to shake' (instd.) Pš Šoredəl
šwa, šōe 'milk', Pš šauda, <xšvipta-; -pt- drops in Wan
šwī 'twenty', Pš šəl, < visaiti-
šəža 'lung', Pš saŽai, < Av. suši-
taw (m.), tawā (f.) 'hot', Pš tōd, tawa, < tafta-; -ft- drops in Wan, > Pš -d-
tabār (E) 'household', < NP tabār
tabiyat (E) 'health, condition' < NP tabīcat; common in greetings formulae
tad (E) 'thick, cf. tad
t 
otal (E) 'always': t 
otal - mud 
otal m 'always' (= Pš)
tleməngā (E) 'nursery for seedlings', perhaps < temən-gāh-: Pš tomna 'seed'
tūn 'place', < stāna-; Pš -tūn only as suffix; Part II tūna
tandə 'forehead', Pš tandai
təndar (E) 'father's brother's wife', Pš tandor, tandyāra
tang (E) 'leg', pl. tangē, Et. unknown
tārə 'darkness', Pš tyāre; < tąorya-
tər k- 'to send'; tər swəl 'to pass': cf. Pš ter 'passed', < tṛya-
t\bar{o}r 'black' (= Pš)
trobī 'millrace', cf. Pš trai 'small stream', < taraka-?
tror 'aunt', pl. trandī, Pš tror, pl. trainde, trandya; < ptrwya-, Bal. trū
tərš- (M) 'fled' (past); Pš tšəl, < Av. tərəsa-. Cf. Part II tešt-
tərəw, trwə, pl. təraw 'sour', Pš trīw
tərxī 'name of a bush', cf. Pš trīx 'bitter', NP Talxūn, a place near Shiraz
tərz- (E) 'to turn around, circle', past wu-tərzda; <tar-sya-? Bal. tarag, < Av. Itar-
    'turn, return'
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tərža 'thirsty', Pš təŽai, < taršna-

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taražmi 'moonless night', Pš taroŽmai; < tār- on model of špožmi, q. v.
tos- 'descend' imv. tosa; Et. unknown
tas (E) 'empty'; Pš taš < tusya-ka-; cf. Orm. tusk. Perhaps Orm. and Wan < tusa-ka-?
    Part II tes-
t\bar{u}wa, t\partial w\bar{a} 'mulberry', < t\bar{u}dya - < t\bar{u}tya - ? Pš t\bar{u}t is LW < NP (Pš would be *t\bar{u}l)
tad 'thick' (E; cf. also tad); Pš tat < taxta-
tol, tola, pl. tole 'all', Pš tol 'whole group', < Hi. toli 'group, society'
top 'jump' (= Pš), Et. unknown
wāy- 'say', past wāi (sg.) wī, wē (pl.), Pš wāy-, wāyal, past wel-
wāca 'jam'; Et. unknown
wu\check{c} 'dry' (= P\check{s})
wādaw- 'marry', past u-wādawya (f.): (= Pš, < Ar.) wādə 'married'
wagā 'wind', cf. Pš (Kākarī) wō, < vāta-; Wan < vāta-ka- (Usual Pš bād, < NP)
wagura 'village', cf. Pš (PšQ) wugarai 'people'; Et unknown
wayūna, wəyūna 'a mountain plant'; Et. unknown; Part II wayūna
wah, pl. waha (E) 'dyke, bund'; Et. unknown
wālə 'canal', Pš wālə, wyāla; Part II wālə
wala (E) 'ear-ring', Pš walai
wel 'bread'; Et. unknown
wul- 'to hit', pres. zo woli, past wulide, wūst; Pš wahol LW < Ind.
wəlār, f. pl. walāre 'standing', Pš wəlyār, wəlār < ava-dar-ta-
winja 'slave girl' (= Pš)
winz- 'to wash', pres. zə winzenî, past MS wā, Mpl wî; FS wya, Fpl wî: wā < wixtaka-
    (NTS, 160, 166); Pš winjel, past *wixt: -xt- drops in Wan. Cf. also NP bextan,
    Skt. vinakti
war 'door' (= Pš)
wra, urá 'he-lamb', Pš wrai
wurγawa 'palm of the hand', Pš waγōwai; < fra-gava-
wurmand (E) 'wrist', < fra-banda-; Pš marwand is a metath. form, rather than as in
    EVP < mrdu-banda-; cf. also Part II murwan
wrandara 'brother's wife', Pš wrandar-, < wror by analogy with e.g. tandor
wrārə 'nephew' (= Pš)
wrēra 'brother's daughter', Pš wrera < brāoryā-; cf. wrāra: difference in treatment
    of -y\bar{a} and -ya. Cf. also Part II wrar\partial and prec.
wriš (M) 'awake', Pš wiš
wereš- (E) 'to fear', past weredī; denom. in -ež- <e. g. Pš wera 'fear'; cf. also yērēž-
wrāte 'at first, formerly', also wrāte, wrātī; < fṛta-, but the preserved -t- is puzzling.
    Pš wrānde 'before' < frta- also, with an intrusive n from wrumbai (< fratama-)
    if correct; but then the Pš treatment of *-rt- is odd: usually -rt- > Pš -r
wəryāz 'cloud'; also oryāz. Pš wryaj, < abra-čī
wrūzī (E) 'eyebrow', Pš wrūzaī
wrez 'day', pl. wreze, wrezī; < raočya-; also wraz (Pš rwaj) < raoča-. Perhaps -e-
    is gen. Wan, while wraz < Pš.
wrez 'net'; Et. unknown
warža 'hunger, hungry', Pš wažai < wršaka-
wṛ- 'to take away', pres. zə wṛi, past wṛe; Pš wṛəl
wraki 'small': wrakiya čarga 'chick'; cf. Pš workai 'young' < wrta-ka-
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wrūn, pl. urnān, wrūnān 'thigh' (E); Pš rūn, wrūn; cf. Part II wrūn
wāraw- (E) 'to shovel', past FS wārawya; manusc. w-ārawī. Cf. also Part II: 'roll on/off'
-wust 'twenty-' in compounds. Pš wīšt
wošī 'a tear'; cf. hoša
wāwrə, wāwra 'snow'; Pš wāwra
wawri (E) 'gums', Pš wawrai
wiye 'root' < waityā-; Pš wula (cf. NTS, 160)
wiyār- 'to show', cf. Pš (PšQ) wīrawul 'unroll', and Part II wiyer 'opened, spread out'
wiyār (past) 'went', FS wiyāra, Fpl wiyāre; Pš wə-lār; Et. unknown
wazā 'willow' < vaēti- (Pš wala)
wēza 'killed', fem. weziya; Pš waželo, -a: < jan-, but Wan z < j?
wazgî 'fat from sheep's stomach', < wāz-ki-? Pš wāzda 'fat', diall. wāzga; Par.
     yāzd < vazda-. Cf. Part II wāzda
wozak 'unripe fruit' (NTS 169); Et. unknown
wəzen- 'kill', past FS wyēza, wēzā; M, Fpl wyezawī. Cf. zen- 'to kill': Pš -žəl, -žan
     only in compounds: prob. < jan-. Cf. also wēza
wužə 'shoulder', Pš wuŽai
wženj 'comb', also uženz (Harnai), žmenz (North), often wuženz: Cf. Pš Žmanj <
     fšan-čī- [Pš diall. also exhibit nearly every possible arrangement of the con-
     sonants)
 x\bar{u} (E) 'even more' (adv.) Probably < Afgh. Pers. x\bar{o}, x\bar{u} (NP x\bar{u}b)
 xəčəka 'small-, little-', in compounds like x. ngut 'little finger': cf. Pš xača guta
 xul<sup>3</sup> 'mouth', Pš xūla; Et. unknown. Cf. Part II xul<sup>3</sup>
 x\bar{a}l\partial k (E) 'helpless, ruined', prob. < NP halāk, but why x-?
 xuleya 'true'; Et. unknown: cf. xul?
 xānd- 'laugh', past xāndī; Pš xandəl
 xpul, also xpal 'own, self', Pš xpal
 x\bar{u}r, xor 'sister', pl. x\bar{u}r\bar{i}; also xw\bar{u}r (< NP). North pl. is xyend\bar{i}. Cf. Pš xor, pl. xwainde.
     x\bar{u}ri is prob. older; xyendi < -ayantah (cf. mor, etc.)
 xūrž 'sweet', < xvarəz-; Pš xoŽ. Cf. xwārž
 xw\bar{a} 'side, direction' (= Pš); Et. unknown
 xwala 'sweat' (= Pš)
 xāwr 'earth, soil', Pš xāwra: Et. unknown
 xwara (E) 'duty, contribution, offering': Et. unknown
 xwārž 'sweet', fem. xwāržə: cf. xūrž; Pš fem. xwaŽa; cf. Part II
 xwar- 'eat', past MS xūr, MPl xwāra, FS xwāra, FPI xwāre, Pš xwaral; cf. Part II xur-
 xw\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}l\bar{i} (E) 'happy', < Afgh. Pers. xw\bar{a}\bar{s}-h\bar{a}l\bar{i} (NP x\bar{u}\bar{s}-)
 xez- 'rise up', pres zə xezî, past xot; Pš xatəl, xež-. Is Wan < xiz-? Pš -ež- < -aiz-,
     cf. NP xāstan, xez- (Parth, Sogd., etc.)
 x\bar{o}z\bar{i} 'small spring' (NTS, 169 < x\bar{a}-\bar{c}\bar{i}-), Av. x\bar{a}-, etc.
 yo xe, yo co 'so then', 'some, a little'; < yow x\bar{o}, etc. Cf. x\bar{o}
 yaxt, yaxta 'plough(ing), one day's ploughing'; cf. Orm. yūx?
 yor, pl. yendî, yande 'husband's brother's wife': Pš yor, pl. yūṇē, < yāor-. The Wan
      pl. is prob. on the model of mendi, but the e/\bar{a} alternation is curious
 yerež- 'to fear'; cf. wereš-; cf. Part II yērež-
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yiržə 'bear', Pš yaŽ, < arša; cf. Part II yiržā
zāi 'place', Pš jay (diall. zai). Cf. also tūn
ziā, zyā 'bowstring', Pš žai, < jya-
zəba 'language, tongue', Pš žaba: EVP, LW < Si. jibha-, because of -b- instead of the
    expected -w-. But then Wan -z is odd: unless all j- > Wan z- regardless of origin?
zda 'known', in phrases like mā zda 'I know'; Pš zdə
zγānzī 'a kind of louse', Pš žγanzgī; Et. unknown
zyar 'large stone'; Et. unknown
zyar, zyarda 'quick', Pš zyard; cf. Part II zyarda
z\bar{o}m, z\bar{u}m 'son-in-law' (= Pš)
zəma 'winter', Pš zimai
zmenj (E) 'comb', cf. wženj
z\bar{a}n (E) 'body, self', cf. Pš j\bar{a}n (< NP), diall. z\bar{a}n
zənī, znī 'chin', Pš zənaī, zana
zūng 'knee', Pš zangūn
zunga 'threshing'; Et. unknown
zaipə 'wife', prep. sing. zaipe, pl. zaipo: < Pers.-Ar. da'if 'frail, weak'; Bal. zayp,
    zayf 'woman'
z\bar{a}r\bar{i} 'prayer, entreaty' (= Pš)
zīra (E) 'last night', cf. Pš (PšQ) zerənay 'left-over from preceding night, stale', and
    IIFL II, 265, Ydgh. wuzîr 'yesterday'
zərgā (E) 'quickly'; Pš zər, žir, < jira-? Perhaps NP zīrak?
zar\gamma\bar{u}n (E) 'green', also 'colour of a horse' (= Pš)
zarma, corma 'side, near, towards', Pš carma, < čarman 'skin, leather', Av. čaroman-;
    semantics prob. skin > outside > side. EVP (s. v. carma) notes P\ddot{s}j < c sometimes
zarūr (E) 'needful (of hard work)' < NP darūr
zəraž, žəraž, fem. zərža, žərža 'rough', Pš zi\tilde{Z} < zrša-; Wan \tilde{z} < z by assim.; Pš diall.
    also have žiž
zaṛ- 'to weep', Pš žaṛəl (< Av. gar- 'praise'); < j̃ar-; cf. also Oss. zarun
zare (n. pl.) 'old', Pš zor, fem. zara
zow- 'be born', past wu-zo, Pš zowul
zāwlə, pl. zāwle 'wax, resin', Pš žāwla; < Skt. jatu-
zawre, pl. zewrī 'leech', Pš žawara; < jarū- (Bal. zarāg < NP)
ziyar, zyar 'yellow' (= Pš)
zy\bar{a}t\partial 'much, more' (= Pš) < NP zy\bar{a}d, ultimately; with regard to such forms as Bal. zy\bar{a}t,
    it seems to me that many in Bal. are LW < Afgh. Pers., where final devoicing
    of final d is normal, rather than a preservation of old t; further support for this
    idea is e.g. Hi. ziyāt, hardly < Bal.
žab (E) 'at once'; Et. unknown
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- $\bar{z}a\gamma$ (E) 'call', Pš $\bar{Z}a\gamma$, $<\gamma a\bar{Z}-<$ Av. $gar\partial z-$
- žinā (E) 'alive', cf. Pš žwand-, žəwai; $< \frac{1}{2}iw$ -, but Wan $-n\bar{a}$ is puzzling. Cf. Part II zwendā
- -žīna (Ε) 'behind-' in compounds like γwažažīna 'behind the ear', cf. Pš war-čine 'outside', etc.?

38 - Archiv orientální

Part II: A Word list by G. Morgenstierne

All informants are from the Southern part of the region, except where noted 'North' (= Cauter). MS = manuscript in the India Office Librray. obúšta, obašta 'juniper' učkūl 'lamb' akyī 'sister, husband's sister' agá 'aware, knowing' ekár 'alone': ze ekár yî 'I am alone' alwuz- 'fly', past w-ālut amá 'father's sister' omán 'shrub, 1-11/2 metres high, with small leaves, used medicinally; Kākar Pš ōmə aná 'grandmother' ∂ni 'somebody' $(f\partial k\bar{a}ni)$; (North) heni 'this': ∂ni $k\bar{o}r$ da 'it is somebody's house'; henî sarî kor da = Pš da daya sarî kor dai 'it is that man's house'. inslî 'yarn': inslî de Yərî 'I spin' insáp 'right, right measure' anzár, pl. anzərə 'fig' aņ- 'grind', past āṇī, hāṛōwe: ze de γάndəm áṇi 'I grind wheat'; aṛénī de; mā de ándəm wú-wāṇī; mā γandəm wo-hārōwe 'I ground wheat' andá 'one-sided saddle bag' angelī 'chimney', 'fire place' (against a wall) opiw-ung (MS shing) 'beads', etc. ūr 'rain': wūr 'cloud' arbási, -usi, -əse, -əsē: sing. urbúsa 'barley' ōrə 'there': Ōrə γrūno če 'there, in the hills'; hōr čī; (h)ōrta (further off than dōrčī) 'there vonder' wurywollá, warywolá (women's language), warywolāi (men's language) 'fireplace in the middle of the floor' urmēž, wurmaz 'back of the neck' irzha (MS) 'fart' ar k- 'to bind' õr k- 'to crush' ōra 'summer' (June-July); obl. wōri; also 'autumn' ora 'flour' āṛaw- 'to skin, flay', past wāṛawī: ze de carmán āṛawénī; carmán wāṛawuna!; mā carman wārawi urum 'penultimate': urma wrezī 'on the day before yesterday' ost ung (MS) 'plough' ost-ung (MS)' plough' ašár 'ten persons coming together to help one of them in his work' axrot 'walnut' āxš, āxša, pl. -ī 'wife's brother' ōy- odél- 'to weave': ze dī kapra ōyī; mā kapra odélyi di bač 'to bleat': wuz de bačež badenī 'water jar' badūda 'kidney'

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bājár 'rain'; bājár di ōrēžī
bar- 'sweep': ze de mzeka barénî; mā mzeka wú-baryā; (perf.) mā mzeka baryā da
barî 'broom'
barywálai (men's language), -ywála (women's language) 'lock of hair'
bork-un (MS) 'crush'
brúnga 'piece of meat'
bor 'a dish made of meat and pumpkins boiled together'
bāsī, pl. bāsyānī 'yawn(ing)'
bēţē 'small hill'
bəzārá, -ārá 'fan'
cing-(en)- 'pull, draw, smoke', past cingyā: (past) ze γwā wā-cingyī; mā γwā wā-cingya;
    (pres.) ze di ywā cingenî; číləm di cingí
cərmūna 'spring'
cūrī 'sparrow'
čamarqōl 'crab'
choosh-un (MS) 'to suck'
domba 'so many'
dang 'bottle'
dor čî 'here'
gōg (North) 'smoke-hole'
gamáh (MS) 'hoar-frost'
gandə 'urine'
gásī 'harrow'
gōt 'shoe'
qwət, pl. qwəti 'finger'
Yer-(.ež)- 'to roll down'
Yanga, pl. Yangye 'spider'
γērgūnī 'twins'
γαρί 'rocky precipice'; cf. Part I γαρί
\gamma a r - (\bar{e} z) 'to graze'
Yāra k- 'to put on clothes'
yārbōž 'dewlap'
γēs 'plough-pole'
gházae (MS) 'grey partridge'
γοz- 'to stretch arms or legs': ze de γοzēžī; ze de ōbə γοzī 'I drink this water'
Yuže-largi (ghozha MS) 'centipede'
hal-masti 'plough-handle' (cf. mušti)
hãrk-(ēž)- 'to bray'
hīri, yīri 'dried curds (kurūt)'
hēra, pl. -i; hēra 'clod of earth'
jāi 'cover' (bistar)
jār (r!) 'garden wall, fence, hedge' (North)
kudēl 'tent (kiždar)'
kôdál 'hoe'
kaha 'itch' (Pš)
kal\'er (= \~s \bar{o} ra) 'hoar-frost'
kanjār 'quilt, coverlet'
kunjete 'sesamum' (-t-!)
kanga 'cough, flu'; Pš kānga 'gripes', etc.
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kángəl 'ice'
 kungār (North) 'woman's hair'
 kāna 'trowel'
 kāṇḍōli, kaṇḍōla/i-kasī (fem.) 'tortoise'; cf. kaṇḍōla 'saucer'
 kōr- 'cultivate, sow': Yándəm wu-kōrunū 'let us sow wheat'; ze de Yándəm kōrī;
     u-mā-kōrīa (North)
 kərla 'sweet scent'
 kōrarī 'rope'
 kərōt- 'to dig'
 kurkur-(ēž)- 'to cackle'
 kuteî 'bitch'
 kōwa 'small-pox'
 kawara 'basket for grapes'
 k<sup>∂</sup>žē (fem.), pl. -žē 'large fish'
 kəž-wēšta 'middle-aged man (about 40)'
lahá, lahár 'ravine' (smaller than gad) 'river'
lemān, lamān, lamán 'skin, hide'
lun- 'to winnow'
lon-golá (MS) 'soup'
lárn-ghi (MS) 'centipede'
larū 'span' (to third finger)
lor- 'to have'
lērgā, pl. -ī 'stick'
laṛ-(ēž)- 'to ache'
lāt urum kāl (North) 'three years ago'
lwaγza, pl. -i 'wasp'
lwand- 'to weave'; lwanda 'loom'
lwuž 'aching': nōw me lwuž da 'my belly aches'
min (MS) 'also'; cf. Part I mī
mlā-γuṛg 'back of the waist' (< *-gṛtaka?)
māndā 'a broad river in spate'
manzwá 'middle'; cf. Part I manjwi
mərγάi 'a kind of vessel' (?)
márza 'dwarf-palm'; cf. Waz. mazərrai, etc.
mīrža-zūn, tūn 'anthill'
murwán, urmánd 'wrist'; urmán 'upper arm'; cf. Part I wurmand
múza 'strong'; Pš mazai
māzγā 'brain'; mezγá 'neck'
maž, pl. məžā 'ram'; cf. Part I myaž
māža, múža 'rat'; cf. Part I mžak
ne, na: used as interr. particle: kahal su né? 'has he got tired'? αγα ba nən Kwaṭē
    ta rasēdə wī, ná? 'will he have arrived in Quetta today (or not)?'
nec-, ns-, nc- 'to take, seize': ze de tā lās nécī; mā lās wú-nca!; wúnca!; wúnsa!
    (North); mā wu-na
nəgində 'seam'; Waz. nginda
negucūrī (North), -ūrī 'finger-ring'
nogút, nəgút, pl. -te 'finger'; cf. Part I ngùța
nəhár 'shallow'; nahara 'ford'
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napēr- 'squeeze'
nargora 'pomegranate tree'
narli 'blossom at the time it develops into fruit'
puk 'small lizard'
puka i 'apricot'
pára 'horse's mane'
Pērmūṇa, Pairmoni (MS), Prewūna Pērwánye 'Pleiades'
parsánda 'dried meat used in the cold season'
parēra 'last (year)' etc.
pr(y)\bar{e}z- 'take out': ze di yau še-i pryezî 'I'll take one of them'; m\bar{a} yau še-i pryezō;
    ze de myaž prezéní; mā ... wú-prezya
pērā 'rock, foot of a hill'
pōṛdəg 'trousers'; cf. Part I pordug
proká (MS) 'ankle-bone'; Pš parkai
prāng 'leopard'; cf. Part I plang
pisháw-un (MS) 'twist, spin'; pešawar 'weaver'
put 'hidden, buried'; cf. Part I put, pat
pēzn-, past pezándē 'recognise'
puždal: puždalī 'squeeze' (Pš nažtējəm)
rēbūn, pl. rēbnān 'shirt' (*warai-pāna?)
ran\gamma - (\bar{e}z) 'bleat' (of a sheep)
sägär 'whetstone'
skwal- 'to shear'
sálya, pl. sílyi; also sāla 'brick': < Lhd. silh (> Orm. K. silo)
spā (masc.), pl. spī 'dog'; spī (fem.)
suṇḍa 'nose'; cf. Part I sunda, and sūṇ: suṇān 'lip'
spond(a) 'plough'
sapár 'trowel'
sa-párá (MS) 'net, snare'
sire (North) 'dung, manure'
surlúng 'eel'
sarwa 'rice-culling time': after mana, before zama
sarwál, sərwēl 'copper'
sxan 'dirty, bad-smelling'; sakhan (MS) 'rotten'
šámze, shamzae [MS] 'sour milk'; cf. Part I šamže
šinká 'clay'
šaraw- 'stir' (soup, etc.). Cf. Orm. šar?
špāras 'sixteen'; cf. Part I -os
šartālū 'peach'
šwarē (pl.?) 'curse'. Cf. šarā
tō k- 'pour out'
téltak 'cover, bedding'
tūna, pl. -i 'place, abode' (for stopping a short time); cf. Part I tūn; tā tūna čarta da?
tándə 'heifer'
tára (North) 'lock of hair'
tarká, pl. -ké 'twig'
trūž, trūš, pl. trūše 'sour'
tur- 'to fall': stora wú-turet 'a star fell'
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tes k-, tas k-, tus k-, tustob (MS) 'to throw': ze de yo šäi tes kī, tā tas kar 'you threw';
    ze tus kénî; tus ka!; mā you šäi tās kər; mā ... tesa (fem.) ka
tēšt-, past tərš 'to flee': ze de dešmāna tēštī; ze wú-təršī; ze pārənd dešmána wú-teršī
tēta 'whether'? Mullāyān kitāb wú-ksīn, tēta daya ma xūr marg rawá da 'let the Mullah
    look in the book, whether if this my sister's death is lawful'.
tawará, pl. tawarī 'palm-leaf mat'
tozh-ung (MS) 'to scratch'. Cf. Pš toğal 'to shave, plane'?
tapura 'bedding' ('real Wan word, used in the hills'); tapúri 'carpet, blanket'
waγūna 'small tree with narrow, willow-like leaves' (Kāk. Pš wala-γūne); 'a mountain
    plant'; 'a tree with small grains of šno; MS 'a plant poisonous for locusts'; cf.
    Part I wayuna
wahéc '3-4 yr. old calf'; MS wáhech; wahéca 'heifer'; wahēcī 'young bull'
wal, pl. -ūna 'slope'; cf. Pš wal 'coil, twist'?
wála 'spring, fountain'; 'rivulet'; wala (fem.) 'irrigation channel'; wyālā 'canal'; cf.
    Part I wālə
wil-, wul-, past (w) ūst 'to beat'
(w)ūn, wun, MS woon 'naked': ūn šwī; špe me unē dī
wurlán 'breadth, width'; wurlun MS 'wide, broad'; indi tawuri a cō wurlán da?
wrūn, pl. wrūnān, urnān 'thigh'. Cf. Part I wrūn
wrará 'brother's daughter'; also wrēra (cf. Part I)
wrēs- 'to spin'; MS orisana 'weave', Pš wrēšəl
wərsō 'grazing ground in the jungle'. Cf. Pš waršō, warsō
wurte 'woolen cord, thread'
wurxay-: wurxayā; MS warkháyán 'to shave': ze de žīřa wurxayīnī; mā žīra wurxayā
wāraw-, past fem. sg. wārawya 'roll on/off'; kāpila-e ... wārawya 'he unloaded the
    caravan'. Cf. Part I: 'to shovel'
warāi, warake, warakye 'unshorn wool'
*warī-zōi 'small boy'; warē kṛetī sara 'with a small ladle'
(w)ūšt: wu/əštān; wrə/eštān 'hair'; št (Pš št) <rs. Cf. Part I ūšt
wa-ta, wuta 'to him'; wa-sara 'with her'
waták 'roof beam'
wowúz, ōbōz, pl. ōbúzye (fem.) 'a wool-eating insect', Pš lwaγz; MS wabuz 'white ant'
 wyēr 'opened, spread out': ze de brēstən wyēra kī; imv. wyāra; pārənd mā dā šai bā
     ta wiyáro 'I showed you this thing yesterday'. Cf. Part I wiyār-
 wāzda, wāzda, wāzga, pl. wāzgi 'fat'. Cf. Part I wazgī
 uzγūn, pl. wuzγwúne, wuzγúne 'goat's hair'
 wuzγúra (North) 'kid with 4-6 teeth'. Cf. Pš wuzgarai 'kid'
 wēždān 'one-sided saddle bag'
 xōl 'plough-share'
 xulā, xulá 'mouth'. Cf. Part I xul
 xamazūr(a) 'a plant with small grains put into cheese'
 xūna 'room, house'
 xūnē-sár 'roof'
 xur-, past u-xūr (MS), u-xwāre (MP), ú-xwara (FS), u-xwarē (FP) 'eat'; cf. Part I
     xwar-, xur-
 khorá (MS) 'soft'
 xūr, xôr, pl. xyende, xwēndī, xwyende (North), xwyände 'sister'. Cf. Part I xūr
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zranda 'water-mill'

žyal 'gravel'

zwendá, fem. zwēndí, zwindí 'alive'. Cf. Part I žinā

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xuräyäi 'sister's son'
xoržā 'kiss'. Cf. Part Ι γ-
xworž, fem. xwarža, FP xwərži 'aching'. Cf. Pš x\bar{u}\bar{Z} 'lame, wounded' (faise r\bar{z}?)
xūrž, MP xwāržə, FS xwaržá, FP xwaržē 'sweet'; cf. Part I
xátak, xataká 'melon', Pš xatakai
xwai 'self, own': ze xwai rāyyi; mā ya xwai kor da, transl. 'dā zmā xpəl kor dai';
    xwāyī kōr ta
xwāšk, xwāš, xwāši, xwāše 'mother-in-law'
yaγ 'yoke'; yaγ-ari 'yoke-pegs'
uī-ma/ux 'together': dayū uímax salā wú-kər 'they consulted together'; dwāriwu yímax
    wú-rēbî 'they both reaped together'
yárae-dánae (MS) 'apricot'
yēr-(ēž)- 'to fear'; yērejan 'coward'. Cf. Part I yerež-
yiržá (M.), pl. yiržián; yirža; yirzáh (MS); yérža-, -ān; yerž(a); yirž 'bear'. Cf. Part I
    yiržə
yírža (F.), pl. yirže; yirža 'she-bear'
yast: kāpila-ē tēr yasta 'he let the caravan pass through'
zdare, (MS) zadrae 'inside'
zōγa 'a big tree growing in hilly country, with small, but not sharp needles, and hard
    wood': Kāk. Pš zəγ; MS zagha 'sesame, a plant eaten by animals'
azghám-un (MS) 'bear, stand, endure'
zyarda, zyard 'haste'; zyar 'quickly'. Cf. Part I zyar
zãn(-ēž-) 'be hanging'; zãnaw- 'hang up'. Cf. Pš zwarand 'hanging'
zār k- 'to put on clothes': pordug de zār ki; mā kapryē zār yustye
zorlo (MS) 'buried'
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